

VULGATA IN DIALOGUE

2023 2nd Special Issue

Handbook of the

VULGATE BIBLE

and Its Reception

Annotated Bibliography – Latin Glossary – Textual Notes



Handbuch der Vulgata und ihrer Rezeption

Kommentierte Bibliographie – Lateinisches Glossar –
Anmerkungen zum Text

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The Vulgate Institute
Chur (Switzerland) • 2023

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ISSN 2504-5156

<https://doi.org/10.25788/vidbor.v1i1.1166>

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Completeness is the grave of scholarship.

Hellmut Brunner

Preface

The *Handbook of the Vulgate Bible and Its Reception* has no model and no predecessor, being the first work of its kind.

A neglected subject

Although the Vulgate – the Latin Bible of Western Christianity from antiquity to the twentieth century – has for so long been present in culture, church, research, and teaching, it has been, and still is, neglected in research. To this day, four major desiderata, long known, remain unfulfilled:

- a cultural history of the Latin Bible
- a dictionary of Vulgate Latin
- a grammar of biblical Latin
- a linguistic and factual commentary on the Latin Bible.

The aim and scope of the present book

Since neither a cultural history of the Latin Bible nor other essential tools – a dictionary, a grammar, a commentary – can be produced without a research bibliography, it is necessary to present one as a preliminary work. The present handbook is such a bibliography, and in fact the first of its kind. Its classification, annotations, Latin glossary, and textual notes are all designed to produce a helpful research tool which, rather than merely listing books and articles, gives access to their contents.

Listed are printed works published in 1820 and later – and only in exceptional cases earlier. Modern critical research of the Vulgate – the oldest manuscripts, the language, the history – began in the second half of the 19th century, and we define two decades – the 1860s and 1870s – as the first period of modern critical research on our subject. Our chronological arrangement of sources, books, and articles makes it possible to look into the past; it also draws attention to older literature which often has not lost its value and is only rarely completely “outdated.”

Until now, scholars have rarely felt that the Vulgate Bible could in itself be a well-defined special field of academic research. Latin linguists, experts on the church fathers, church historians specializing on the Middle Ages or the early-modern period have all contributed to what one may call “Vulgate studies,” but they worked in isolation and rarely came to interact. The present book, by contrast, implies a comprehensive definition of what multi-disciplinary Vulgate Studies might consist.

Things digital

Texts and resources that exist only in digital form are included in a few cases only. Digital Vulgate editions are offered by Accordance ([Accordance Bible Software](#)) and Lexham Press (Andrew Curti, Isaiah Hoogendyk et al.: *Lexham Latin-English interlinear Bible*, 2016). The present bibliography would need to be supplemented by a webography, which to my knowledge does not (yet) exist. Express reference should be made to the online journal *Vulgata in dialogue*, from which some individual contributions are listed here. Also to be mentioned is a French online publication: *Revue de linguistique latine du Centre Ernout (De lingua latina)*.

I acknowledge the kind help and encouragement of Kornelia Weidner, Heinz-Josef Fabry, René Falkenberg, Michael Graves, Roland Hoffmann, Hugh Houghton, Martijn Jaspers, Jürgen Wehnert, Kevin Zilberberg, and, most especially, Michael Fieger and Wilhelm Tauwinkl.

I should like to ask all readers to send me corrections and additions (Bernhard.Lang@uni-paderborn.de).

Bernhard Lang

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Vollständigkeit ist das Grab der Wissenschaft.

Hellmut Brunner

Vorwort

Das vorliegende Buch hat kein Vorbild und keinen Vorläufer. Es ist das erste Werk dieser Art.

Ein vernachlässigtes Thema

Obwohl die Vulgata – die lateinische Bibel des westlichen Christentums von der Antike bis heute – in Kultur, Kirche, Forschung und Lehre stets präsent war und ist, und obwohl sie ein hervorragendes Zeugnis auch für den hebräischen und griechischen Bibeltext darstellt, wurde und wird sie in der Forschung vernachlässigt. Vier große Desiderate, seit langem bekannt, sind nach wie vor unerfüllt:

- eine Kulturgeschichte der lateinischen Bibel
- ein Wörterbuch des Vulgata-Lateins
- eine Grammatik des biblischen Lateins
- ein sprachlicher und sachlicher Kommentar zur lateinischen Bibel.

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Buches

Da weder eine Kulturgeschichte der lateinischen Bibel noch die anderen grundlegenden Handbücher – Wörterbuch, Grammatik und Kommentar – ohne eine Forschungsbibliographie erstellt werden können, muss zuvor ein solches Werk als Vorarbeit geschaffen werden. Eine solche Bibliographie wird hier vorgelegt – die erste ihrer Art. Mit ihrer Klassifikation, Zusammenfassungen, lateinischem Glossar und Stellenkommentar will sie ein hilfreiches Forschungsinstrument bereitstellen, das über die bloße Zusammenstellung von Artikeln und Büchern hinausgeht, indem es den Zugang zu ihrem Inhalt vermittelt.

Verzeichnet sind gedruckte Werke, die 1820 und später – und nur in Ausnahmefällen früher – erschienen sind. Die moderne kritische Erforschung der Vulgata – der ältesten Handschriften, der Sprache, der Geschichte – begann in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Wir betrachten zwei Jahrzehnte – die 1860er und 1870er Jahre – als die erste Zeit intensiver Forschungen über unseren Gegenstand. Die chronologische Anordnung von Quellen, Büchern und Aufsätzen ermöglicht den Blick in die Vergangenheit; sie erinnert an Altes, das seinen Wert oft nicht verloren hat und nur selten ganz „überholt“ ist.

Bislang wurde die Vulgata-Bibel nur selten als ein klar umrissenes Spezialgebiet der wissenschaftlichen Forschung angesehen. Lateinische Sprachwissenschaftler, Experten für die Kirchenväter und Kirchenhistoriker, die sich auf das Mittelalter oder die frühe Neuzeit spezialisiert haben, haben alle zu dem beigetragen, was man als „Vulgata-Studien“ bezeichnen kann, aber sie haben isoliert gearbeitet und sind nur selten zusammen gekommen. Das vorliegende Buch zielt dagegen auf eine umfassende Definition dessen, was multidisziplinäre Vulgata-Studien ausmachen könnte.

Digitales

Texte und Hilfsmittel, die nur in digitaler Form existieren, sind nur in wenigen Fällen berücksichtigt. Digitale Vulgata-Ausgaben werden angeboten von den Firmen Accordance ([Accordance Bible Software](#)) und Lexham Press (Andrew Curtis, Isaiah Hoogendyk u.a.: *Lexham Latin-English interlinear Bible*, 2016). Die vorliegende Bibliographie wäre durch eine Webographie zu ergänzen, die meines Wissens (noch) nicht existiert. Ausdrücklich verwiesen sei auf die online-Zeitschrift *Vulgata in dialogue*, aus der einzelne Beiträge hier verzeichnet sind. Weiter zu nennen ist die französische online-Zeitschrift *Revue de linguistique latine du Centre Ernout (De lingua latina)*.

Kornelia Weidner, Heinz-Josef Fabry, René Falkenberg, Michael Graves, Roland Hoffmann, Hugh Houghton, Martijn Jaspers, Jürgen Wehnert, Kevin Zilberberg sowie ganz besonders Michael Fieger und Wilhelm Tauwinkl bin ich zu Dank für Hilfe und Ermutigung verpflichtet.

Alle Benutzer lade ich ein, mir Korrekturen und Ergänzungen mitzuteilen
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Abbreviations

General

Allioli	Joseph Franz Allioli's German translation of the Vulgate Bible (cf. 18.2)
Arndt	Augustin Arndt's German translation of the Vulgate Bible (cf. 18.2)
Blaise: <i>Dictionnaire</i>	Albert Blaise: <i>Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens</i> . Turnhout 1954.
CBLa	Collectanea Biblica Latina. Rome
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series Latina. Turnhout
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna
Douay Version	Douay/Challoner version of the Bible in English (cf. 18.1)
Erasmus	Erasmus: <i>Solecismi</i> . Translated as "Errors in the Vulgate" in: R.D. Sider (ed.): <i>The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus</i> . Leiden 2019, pp. 865–948.
Glaire	Jean-Baptiste Glaire's French translation of the Vulgate Bible (cf. 18.3)
Grundl	Beda Grundl's German translation of the Vulgate New Testament (cf. 18.2)
Hagen	Jacob Arnold Hagen: <i>Sprachliche Erläuterungen zur Vulgata</i> . Freiburg 1863.
Houghton	Hugh A.G. Houghton: <i>The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts</i> . Oxford 2016; corrected edition, 2018.
Kaulen	Franz Kaulen: <i>Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata</i> . 2 nd edition. Freiburg 1904.
Knox	Ronald Knox's English translation of the Vulgate Bible (cf. 18.1)
Labourt	Saint Jérôme: <i>Lettres</i> . Edited by Jérôme Labourt. 8 vols. Paris 1949–1963.
Meershoek	G.Q.A. Meershoek: <i>Le latin biblique d'après Saint Jérôme</i> . Nijmegen 1966.
NVg	Nova Vulgata = Neo-Vulgate
PL	Patrologia Latina = Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris.
Plater/White	W.E. Plater – H.J. White: <i>A Grammar of the Vulgate</i> . Oxford 1926.
Richards	G.C. Richards: <i>A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament</i> . London 1934.
Rönsch	Hermann Rönsch: <i>Itala und Vulgata</i> . 2. Ausgabe. Marburg 1875.

Scarpat	Giuseppe Scarpat: <i>Libro della Sapienza</i> . 3 vols. Milan 1989, 1996, 1999.
Schmid/Fieger	Brigitta Schmid Pfändler – Michael Fieger (eds.): <i>Nicht am Ende mit dem Latein. Die Vulgata aus heutiger Sicht</i> . Frankfurt 2023.
Tusculum-Vulgata	Hieronymus: <i>Biblia sacra vulgata</i> . Edited by Andreas Beriger, Michael Fieger et al. Sammlung Tusculum. Berlin 2018. 5 vols. (Cf. 18.4)
Vg	Vulgata, Vulgate
Weber/Gryson	Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson (eds.): <i>Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> . 5th revised and updated edition. Stuttgart 2007. – The “Stuttgart Vulgate” (cf. 13.4).
Weinhart	Benedikt Weinhart’s German translation of the New Testament (cf. 18.2).
Zürcher	Paul Zürcher: <i>Der Einfluss der lateinischen Bibel auf den Wortschatz der italienischen Literatursprache vor 1300</i> . Bern 1970.
▲	particularly useful or noteworthy

Biblical books

Gen	Genesis	Cant	Canticles/Song of Songs
Exod	Exodus	Wisd	Wisdom of Solomon
Lev	Leviticus	Sir	Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
Num	Numbers	Isa	Isaiah
Deut	Deuteronomy	Jer	Jeremiah
Josh	Joshua	Lam	Lamentations
Judg	Judges	Bar	Baruch
Ruth	Ruth	Ezek	Ezekiel
1–2 Sam	1–2 Samuel	Dan	Daniel
1–2 Kgs	1–2 Kings	Hos	Hosea
1–2 Chr	1–2 Chronicles	Joel	Joel
Ezra	Ezra	Amos	Amos
Neh	Nehemiah	Obad	Obadiah
Tobit	Tobit	Jonah	Jonah
Judith	Judith	Micah	Micah
Esth	Esther	Nah	Nahum
Job	Job	Hab	Habakkuk
Ps	Psalms(s)	Zeph	Zephaniah
Prov	Proverbs	Hag	Haggai
Koh	Koheleth/Ecclesiastes	Zech	Zechariah
		Mal	Malachi
		1–2 Macc	1–2 Maccabees
		Matt	Matthew

Mark	Mark	Phlm	Philemon
Luke	Luke	Heb	Hebrews
John	John	Jas	James
Acts	Acts	1-2 Pet	1-2 Peter
Rom	Romans	1-3 John	1-3 John
1-2 Cor	1-2 Corinthians	Jude	Jude
Gal	Galatians	Rev	Revelation
Eph	Ephesians	Pr Man	Prayer of Manasseh
Phil	Philippians	3 Ezra	3 Ezra
Col	Colossians	4 Ezra	4. Ezra
1-2 Thess	1-2 Thessalonians	Ps 151	Psalm 151
1-2 Tim	1-2 Timothy	Laod	Laodiceans
Titus	Titus		

INTRODUCTION

- 1 The scholar's minimal shelf
- 2 Getting in touch with Vulgate research
- 3 Surveys and reference works
- 4 Latin today? Latin in the church?
- 5 Latin for beginners
- 6 Bibliographical resources

Chapter 1

The scholar's minimal shelf

Note. – If you are serious about the study of the Latin Bible, the books here listed should be not far from your desk – along with the present bibliographical manual.

The two reference editions of the Vulgate

1965. Alberto Colunga OP – Laurentio Turrado (eds.): *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam clementinam. Nova editio*. Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos. xxvii, 1256 pp., 7 maps. – First issued in 1946 and often reprinted, most recently in 2018 (15th printing), this edition offers the traditional medieval and early modern text of the Vulgate, the so-called Sixto-Clementina (or simply Clementina) of the 16th century. Even though there are other editions of the Clementina, this edition is said to be particularly accurate (but see the printing errors listed below, Chapter 16.2). ▲
2007. Robert Weber – Roger Gryson (eds.): *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. 4th, corrected edition 1994; 5th, improved edition 2007. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. xlix, 1980 pp. – This edition offers the reconstructed text of the “old,” pre-medieval Vulgate according to the textual situation of the time around 400. We are dealing here with a scholarly reconstruction; it produced a text that Jerome would have edited if he had undertaken such an edition – which in fact he did not. See below, Chapter 13.4. ▲

Four linguistic reference works

1904. Franz Kaulen: *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*. 2. Auflage. Freiburg: Herder. xvi, 332 pp. – Reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 2013. – The book includes a Latin word index (pp. 311–324, two columns per page). Although somewhat aged by now, Kaulen’s linguistic commentary on the Vulgate is still indispensable. – In the present book, it is referred to in abbreviated form: Kaulen, p. 35 (etc.). ▲
1926. William Edward Plater – Henry Julian White: *A Grammar of the Vulgate. Being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of the Vulgate Bible*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. viii, 167 pp. Reprinted in 1997. – This book supplements the work of Kaulen (1904), occasionally departing from the latter’s judgment. Review: Alexander Souter, *The Classical Review* 41 (1927) 87–88, p. 88: “The present work is indisputably superior to Kaulen, being more intelligent, accurate, and up to date.” This claim has been strongly questioned by Bengt Löfstedt (who prefers Kaulen), see below, Chapter 8.1. ▲
1954. Albert Blaise: *Dictionnaire latin–français des auteurs chrétiens*. Turnhout: Éditions Brepols. 900 pp., folio size. – Several times reprinted (2nd edition 1967, with appended “addenda et corrigenda”). While this is a general dictionary of pre-medieval Christian Latin, it does include most – not all – of the Vulgate’s vocabulary. The user must be warned, however: Blaise’s dictionary is meant to supplement other Latin dictionaries; accordingly, everything you would find in stand-

ard Latin dictionaries is omitted. Szantyr warns the user, pointing out that "das systematische Lexikon (...) ist zum Teil unzuverlässig"; J.B. Hofmann – Anton Szantyr: *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Munich 1965 (xcviii, 935, 89* pp), p. 46*, perhaps too harsh a criticism. – In the present book, this work is often referred to in abbreviated form: Blaise: *Dictionnaire*. ▲

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg: Le latin chrétien. 221 pp. – English translation: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press 1994. xvii, 157 pp. – At the time the present bibliography was compiled, this book was hard to come by.

Chapter 2

Getting in touch with Vulgate research

Note. – This chapter – like Chapter 1 and Chapters 3–6 – is meant to introduce the novice to Vulgate research. There seems to be only one essay explicitly written to serve as an introduction for Latinists (of whatever age) who wish to do private or professional research on the Latin Bible:

2023. Roland Hoffmann: Einleitung: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 3–83.

2.1 The Vulgate: an anthology of definitions and explanations, 1868–2020

2.2 The first twenty years of Vulgate research, 1860–1879

2.3 An anthology of research desiderata, 1941–2022

2.1 The Vulgate: an anthology of definitions and explanations, 1868–2020

Word studies: editio vulgata, Vulgata

Note. – The name “Vulgate” for the Latin Bible of the Middle Ages and the early modern period has only gradually emerged. When Jerome speaks of the *editio vulgata* of a biblical book, he refers to the Greek version (Septuagint) read in his time – thus for example, in the preface to the translation of the book of Esther (Sources chrétiennes 525: 378; Tusculum-Vulgata II, p. 1276).

English

1902. Henry J. White: Vulgate. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Edinburgh. Volume 4 (xi, 994 pp.), pp. 873–890. – Pages 884–885: History of the Name [Vulgate]. “Roger Bacon seems to be the first scholar who uses the term Vulgata in its modern sense, though he also applies it frequently to the Septuagint” (p. 885). Roger Bacon lived in Paris in the 13th century.

1948. Edmund F. Sutcliffe: The Name “Vulgate.” *Biblica* 29: 345–352. – Pages 348–349: Before the Council of Trent, Roger Bacon (1214–1292, Franciscan friar) was the only one to use the term “Vulgata” in the same sense as we do today. The first modern use of the term Vulgata for Jerome’s version was possibly by Hieronymus Froben, 1530, printer in Basel. ▲

2012. Cornelia Linde: *How to Correct the Sacra Scriptura? Textual Criticism of the Latin Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century*. Medium Aevum Monographs 29. Oxford. ix, 309 pp. – Pages 13–21 are on the word Vulgata. Some modern scholars – Kaulen, Stummer, Witte – have *wrongly* assumed that in the thirteenth century, there was a move towards calling Jerome’s version the *vulgata*. ▲

German

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz (viii, 501 pp.), pp. 17–22. – Kaulen reviews some sources and decides that it was only from the 13th century onwards that the name “Vulgate” came to be used as the standard designation of the Latin Bible.
1894. Odilo Rottmanner OSB: Zur Geschichte der Vulgata. *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* 114: 31–38, 101–108. – Page 32: “Seit wann trägt die Übersetzung des Hieronymus den Namen *vulgata editio* oder kurzweg *Vulgata*? Auf diese Frage vermag die Wissenschaft bis zur Stunde keine allseitig befriedigende Antwort geben.” Page 36: “Wie es scheint, wurde es erst im 16. Jahrhundert Sitte, die lateinischen Bibeln auf dem Titel als *Vulgata*-Ausgaben zu bezeichnen.” This is the most detailed nineteenth-century review of the relevant patristic and medieval sources. The author prefers a “late,” i.e., sixteenth-century dating of the general use of the word “Vulgate” as the name of the Latin Bible. ▲
1926. Gerhard Rauschen: *Grundriss der Patrologie*. Achte und neunte neubearbeitete Auflage. Freiburg (xx, 484 pp.), p. 337: “Zur Zeit des Hieronymus und noch lange nachher nannte man die LXX [Septuaginta] ‘Vulgata.’ Vom 13. Jh. an hieß die Übersetzung des Hieronymus allgemein ‘Vulgata editio’; erst im 16. Jh. wurde die lateinische Übersetzung der ganzen Heiligen Schrift, wie sie heute gedruckt wird, *Vulgata* genannt.”
1948. Arthur Allgeier: *Haec vetus et vulgata editio*. Neue wort- und begriffsgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Bibel auf dem Tridentinum. *Biblica* 29: 353–391. – According to the author, the two sixteenth-century authors Faber Stapulensis (Lefèvre d’Étaples) and Erasmus may not have invented the modern use of the term *Vulgata*, but they appropriated and propagated it; they are the key figures in the history of the word (p. 357: Faber Stapulensis und Erasmus haben “die heute übliche Bezeichnung *Vulgata* wenn nicht geschaffen, so doch sich angeeignet und verbreitet”).
1966. Berthold Altaner – Alfred Stuiber: *Patrologie*. 7th edition. Freiburg. xxiii, 543 pp. – Page 398: “Die Bezeichnung *Vulgata (editio)* ist seit dem 13. Jahrhundert allgemein üblich.”

French

1913. Eugène Jacquier: *Le Nouveau Testament dans l’Église chrétienne. Tome second: Le texte du Nouveau Testament*. Paris (vi, 535 pp.), pp. 166–169: Histoire du nom ‘Vulgate.’ After a review of the evidence, the author concludes that the alleged uses of the name “Vulgate” in Roger Bacon for our Vulgate are not convincing; an early attestation can be found in Erasmus, and, finally, the term was established by the Council of Trent.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Pages 216–217: Jerome refers to the Septuagint as the “Vulgate”; this usage is still followed by Roger Bacon in the Middle Ages – and, although often claimed, Roger Bacon did not refer to the Latin Bible as the Vulgate. It was not until the 16th century that “Vulgate” was used to refer to the common Latin Bible, as by Erasmus and the Council of Trent.

Note. – The word “Vulgata” – English and French “Vulgate” – has three more meanings:

(1) It serves as a term for “the most widely used text form of ancient [and medieval] works” (Wolfgang Müller: *Duden Fremdwörterbuch*. 3rd ed. Mannheim 1974, p. 768).

(2) It means “commonplace, common opinion.” This usage is found especially in contemporary journalism in German, English, and French. Example: “Foucault rappelle la vulgate convenue: pendant trois siècles, du début du XVII^e siècle à l’avènement de la psychanalyse au début du XX^e siècle, se serait

abattu une répression sans précédent sur les pratiques sexuelles non conjugales” (Jean-Claude Bourdin: *Michel Foucault*. Rennes 2008, p. 279).

(3) In English, it can also refer to “vulgar language, gutter language.” The *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2010) explains *vulgate* as “common or colloquial speech,” as distinct from cultivated and formal speech.

Definitions: not simply by Jerome

Note. – The Vulgate Latin Bible is a fact of the reception of Latin versions of biblical books, rather than a one-man creation by church father Jerome. This section is continued in the introductory note on “The invention of the Vulgate,” below, Chapter 14.2.

1969. Robert Weber (ed.): *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. 1st edition. Stuttgart. Volume 1. xxxi, 955 pp. – Preface: “The term Vulgate normally means the Latin Bible that has been in common use in the Western Church since the seventh century. This Bible is not the work of one author: nor is it the product of any one age. It is a collection of translations which differ both in origin and in character. (...) The Vulgate, therefore, is far from being a unity, and the only justification for calling it ‘Jerome’s Vulgate’ (as we often do) is that there is more of his work in it than there is of anyone else’s” (first page of the preface). – “Nach dem heutigen Sprachgebrauch versteht man unter (Editio) Vulgata die lateinische Übersetzung der gesamten Bibel, wie sie seit dem 7. Jahrhundert in der lateinischen Kirche allgemein gebräuchlich ist. Sie ist nicht von einem einzigen Autor in einem Wurf geschaffen worden, sondern stellt eine Sammlung von Übersetzungen dar, die nach Ursprung und Wert ganz verschieden sind. (...) Zusammengenommen ist also die Vulgata keineswegs einheitlich, und man kann sie nur in einem weiteren Sinne als Werk des hl. Hieronymus bezeichnen, da von ihm der größere Teil stammt” (erste Seite den Vorworts).

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Pages 156–157: Jerome is not the creator of the Vulgate (as is often claimed), but his translations and revisions were preferred to older Latin versions by the librarians of late antiquity, the creators of the Latin Bible of the Catholic Church. (B. Lang: In other words, the work traditionally referred to as the “Vulgate” is not the creation of a translator, but a collection that emerged in the history of the Latin Bible, which, strictly speaking, has no original text. Jerome is not the author, but the man who bore the brunt of the preliminary work.)

2011. Anthony J. Forte: The Old Latin Version of Sirach. In: Jean-Sébastien Rey – Jan Joosten (eds.): *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*. Leiden (ix, 352 pp.), pp. 199–214, at p. 200: “The Vulgate is the text of the Bible which took its initial form in the Carolingian period and a more definitive shape in the 16th century with the publication of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate.”

2012. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: The Latin Bible, c. 600 to c. 900. In: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 69–92. – Page 69: “For the period under review, the word ‘Vulgate’ (*vulgata*) is not the most appropriate way to refer to the translations of the Bible by Jerome. First, the term is anachronistic. Only from the beginning of the sixteenth century was it used to designate the commonly encountered content of Latin Bibles, which had been more or less stable since the first printing (at Mainz, c. 1450) and even before. To identify this uniform text, the Council of Trent, in 1546, used the expression *vetus et vulgata editio*. Second, it is ambiguous. When Jerome and Augustine used the word *vulgata*, they meant something different – namely, the common, unrevised Greek Bible, or the Latin translation of this, more or less what we now call Old Latin or *Vetus Latina*.

Third, the term is misleading in that it gives us to understand that the content of a Bible – let us say under Alcuin in 800 – was that of a Bible established already before that date, which is not the case.”

2020. Simone Rickerby: The Latin Versions of the Book of the Twelve. In: Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer – Jakob Wöhrle (eds.): *The Book of the Twelve*. Leiden (xix, 632 pp.), pp. 325–351. – Page 325: “The ‘Vulgate’ is a modern construct. In this study the term ‘Vulgate’ will be used to refer to the later edition of Jerome preserved in a wealth of manuscript evidence which is more or less similar, and which has been gathered together to form the Clementine Vulgate and other edited texts.”

2.2 The first twenty years of Vulgate research, 1860–1879

Note. – “Erst in diesem Jahrhundert wurde mit einer eigentlich geschichtlichen Behandlung der Vulgata Ernst gemacht.” Kaulen. – “Man hat (...) angefangen, sich mit der Latinität der Vulgata zu beschäftigen und anzufreunden.” Schegg (Only in this century began serious historical research on the Vulgate. – One has begun to study and appreciate the latinity of the Vulgate.)

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz (viii, 501 pp.), p. 12.

1871. Peter Johann Schegg: Die Vulgata. *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 6.1: cols. 1–4, at col. 1.

Historically, serious modern Vulgate studies began in the 1860s and 1870s. This period was the first golden age of research into the text, language, and history of the Vulgate. This time saw the flourishing of academic teaching and publishing in most countries of western Europe, with the German universities being considered the leaders, vying with comparable institutions in France and England. The leading paradigm of all academic study was that of historical research. A solid knowledge of languages enabled the close study of monuments and artifacts and, above all, of written documents. The majority of scholars was committed to the historical-critical method, to narrow specialization, and to the ideal of collecting, checking, and publishing facts. Historical and philological research was also committed to the idea of progress; because whoever contributed to the collection and understanding of facts, was seen as someone who contributed to the collective pursuit of enhancing and increasing knowledge. Historical and philological knowledge, understood as constituting “the truth,” was seen as a central value of civilization.

In the mind of some scholars, philology was felt to be the foundational discipline of all research in what today is called the humanities. Eberhard Nestle (1851–1913), Swabian theologian and philologist, grew up and studied in this cultural climate. He dreamt of a new age of sacred philology that included the study of Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In 1893, he ventured this prophecy: “Es ist noch nicht so weit, aber es wird mit der Zeit so kommen: *nemo theologus, nisi philologus*.” It is not yet the case so far, but it will eventually be true: no one can be a proper theologian without also being a philologist. Less dramatically, one would say that theology needs a sound philological basis; it already has one, and its quality is steadily increasing. (Eberhard Nestle: *Bengel als Gelehrter* [143 pp.], p. 85, included with separate pagination in idem: *Marginalien und Materialien*. Tübingen 1893.)

In the 1860s and 1870s, philological knowledge, Latin and other, was produced, cultivated, and transmitted by a growing, but still very small, group of professors, teachers and unaffiliated lay researchers who engaged in serious academic work. Scholars could produce great works of wide appeal such as Jacob Burckhardt’s *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 1860, or Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges’ *La Cité antique*, 1864. But key works of synthesis that drew a wide readership were far from typical. Philologists generally focused on details. Working in arcane areas of knowledge, these industrious men ed-

ited and studied manuscripts, and published the results of their research in scholarly (rather than popular) periodicals and books, printed in small editions and stored in university libraries. They typically worked as independent individuals; there was no central organizing institution to promote or coordinate research on any one particular area, and this is especially true of research on the Latin Bible as carried out in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This situation changed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Charged by the Pope to prepare a new critical edition of the Vulgate Bible, the Benedictine order organised a task force and a study centre in Rome. From 1907 to the early 1930s, it was housed at Sant'Anselmo, the Benedictine School of Theology in Rome; then the Vulgate commission had its own building, the Abbey of San Girolamo in Rome, established by the Holy See. Working on the project for most of the twentieth century, the Benedictines not only produced a critical edition of the Vulgate text of the Old Testament in many volumes (1926–1995); they also edited a collateral book series called *Collectanea Biblica Latina* (1912–1988; see [Chapter 13.3](#)). Mention must also be made of the *Vetus-Latina-Institut*; founded in 1945 at the Abbey of Beuron, Germany, it is still active today (see [Chapter 9.7](#)). Finally, the twenty-first century saw the publication, from 2017, of an online-journal titled *Vulgata in Dialogue*, and the establishment, in 2019, of a “Vulgate Institute” at the Faculty of Catholic Theology at Chur, Switzerland, headed by the founder, Professor Michael Fieger.

Interestingly, the year 1860, here taken to be the year when serious research on the Vulgate Bible began, is also the year when research in a comparable area seems to have started – research on the Greek Bible, the Septuagint. This year is mentioned in the preface to Sebastian Brock et al. (eds.), *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint*. Leiden 1973 (xviii, 217 pp.), p. ix.

We present a list of some of the foremost publications relevant to Vulgate research that were published in the 1860s and 1870s. The authors of these 51 works could be called the founders or pioneers of modern Vulgate research. We must beware, however, of overstating the case. Vulgate research has remained a peripheral academic pursuit in the nineteenth century and later.

Anyone who would embark on a research project on the Vulgate should not fail to consult books that were published before 1900 and perhaps start with publications from the 1860s. The present book includes a selection of notes on research desiderata in the area of linguistic studies on the Vulgate (below, [Chapter 2.3](#)).

Teaching ecclesiastical (and Vulgate) Latin

1864. M. Adolphe Mazure: *Cours de latin chrétien*. Paris. 629 pp.

1874. William Dodds: *The Vulgate Latin Course. Containing Grammar, Delectus, Exercise Book, and Vocabularies*. Manchester. 132 pp.

Manuscript studies and editions

1860, 1864. Carlo [Giuseppe] Vercellone: *Variae lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum Editionis*. Rome. 2 volumes. cxii, 592 pp.; xxviii, 651 pp.

1864. Frederick H. Scrivener: *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis (...) Edited with a critical Introduction, Annotations, and Facsimiles*. Cambridge. lxiv, 454 pp.

1868. Ernst Ranke (ed.): *Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum Latine Interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani*. Marburg and Leipzig. xxxii, 572 pp.

1868. *Librorum Levitici et Numerorum versio antiqua Itala, e codice perantiquo in bibliotheca Ashburnhamiensi conservato, nunc primum typis edita*. London. 160 pp.

1871–1887. Walter W. Skeat (ed.): *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon (...) together with the Early Latin Version as Contained in the Lindisfarne Ms.* Cambridge. 4 vols. xi, 258 pp.; xxxii, 144 pp.; xii, 252 pp.; xx, 197 pp.

1873. Theodor Heyse – Konstantin Tischendorf (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Latina Veteris Testamenti, Hieronymo interprete ex antiquissima auctoritate in stichos descripta.* Leipzig. lxxi, 990 pp. – The Latin text of the Clementina, compared with the readings found in Codex Amiantinus.

1874. Paul de Lagarde (ed.): *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi.* Leipzig. xvi, 168 pp.

Editions of the Vulgate Bible and Vulgate texts

1861. Carlo Giuseppe Vercellone (ed.): *Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V. et Clementis VIII.* Rome. xxiv, 839 pp. – See below, Chapter **16.2**. – The New Testament part of Vercellone's edition was also printed in Germany in 1868 (by Verlag Herder, Freiburg).

1862/63. Valentin Loch (ed.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae editionis iuxta exemplaria ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana.* Editio secunda. Regensburg. lxiv, 653 pp; 333 pp; 499 pp.; 364 pp.

1879. Eberhard Nestle – S.G.F. Perry (eds.): *Psalterium tetraglottum Graece, Syriace, Chaldaice, Latine.* Tübingen. xvi, 161 pp.

Vernacular translation of the Vulgate Bible

1865. Benedikt Weinhart: *Das Neue Testament unseres Herrn Jesus Christus. Nach der Vulgata übersetzt und erklärt.* Munich. xxxv, 783 pp.

A Latin dictionary

1879. Charlton T. Lewis – Charles Short: *A Latin Dictionary.* Oxford. xiv, 2019 pp. – This dictionary includes biblical Latin.

The Vulgate Bible's Latinity

1860. Celestino Cavedoni: *Saggio della latinità biblica dell'antica Volgata Itala.* Modena. 47 pp. – This article was first published in the periodical *Opuscoli religiosi, letterari e morali* 7[19]: 161–180, 321–346.

1864. Johann Baptist Heiss [Heiß]: *Beitrag zur Grammatik der Vulgata. Formenlehre.* Munich. 20 pp.

1869. Hermann Rönisch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata.* Marburg. xvi, 509 pp. – Second edition 1875. xvi, 526 pp.

1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata.* Bamberg. 34 pp.

1870. Franz Kaulen: *Handbuch der Vulgata. Eine systematische Untersuchung ihres lateinischen Sprachcharakters.* Mainz. 280 pp.

1874. Johann Nepomuk Ott: Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109: 757–792, 833–867. – A detailed critical review of literature, esp. the work of Hermann Rönisch. The journal has another, alternative title: *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 20 (1874). Unlike Kaulen, Ott defends the notion that the *Vetus Latina* (which he calls "Itala") originated in Africa.

1879. Gustav Koffmane: *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins bis auf Augustinus–Hieronymus.* Breslau. iv, 92 pp.

Textual notes

1861. Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Observationes criticae in librum Sapientiae*. Freiburg. 36 pp.
1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg. 106 pp. – See p. 1: “Es gibt, soviel ich weiß, aus neuerer Zeit kein Werk, welches sich mit der Erörterung des Sprachgebrauchs der Vulgata befaßte.”
1872. Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte*. Arnsberg 1872. 49 pp.

Jerome studies

1861. Moritz Rahmer: *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus. Teil 1: Die “Quaestiones in Genesin.”* Breslau. 74 pp. – Pages 5–17: Hieronymus und seine jüdischen Lehrer; pp. 17–58: Die “Quaestiones in Genesin”; pp. 59–73: Unwerth der Vulgata für die Kritik des Alten Testaments.
1865. Otto Zöckler: *Hieronymus. Sein Leben und Wirken*. Gotha. xii, 476 pp.
1872. Emil Lübeck: *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*. Leipzig. 228 pp.
1875. Wilhelm Nowack: *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus für die alttestamentliche Textkritik*. Göttingen. 55 pp.

History of the Vulgate Bible

1860. Franz Heinrich Reusch: Zur Geschichte der Entstehung der officiellen Ausgabe der Vulgata. *Der Katholik* 40.2: 1–24.
1866. Carlo Vercellone: *Sulla autenticità delle singole parti della Bibbia Volgata secondo il Decreto Tridentino*. Rome. 48 pp.
1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp.
1876. Julius Witte: *Zur Geschichte der Vulgata. Inaugural-Dissertation*. Universität Jena. Hannover. 38 pp.
1879. Leo Ziegler: *Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustinus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hl. Schrift*. Munich. 135 pp.

2.3 An anthology of research desiderata, 1933–2022

Note. – This brief section lists some of the complaints of researchers who have felt that previous research was inadequate or that research on a certain subject is altogether missing. There are of course many more gaps in research than documented here. Some of these are mentioned above, in the preface to this book, e.g., a dictionary of Vulgate Latin. Another neglected field of research are the cultural echoes of the Vulgate, tentatively explored below, in **Chapter 24**. In the long run, one would wish to have a complete annotated translation of the Vulgate Bible, for which one of the two multi-volume annotated bilingual editions of the books of the Greek Bible could serve as models: (1) the *Septuagint Commentary Series*, edited by Stanley Porter, Richard S. Hess, and John Jarrick (published by Brill, 2004–); (2) *La Bible d’Alexandrie*, edited by Marguerite Harl (published by Éditions du Cerf, 1986–), rightly famous for its rich notes.

Biblical Latin

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 461–461: "(...) es bleibt trotzdem eine beschämende Tatsache, dass wir keine grössere Monographie über die Vulgata besitzen, die den Ansprüchen der heutigen Wissenschaft genügt, und es darf ohne Übertreibung gesagt werden, dass eine derartige auch vom rein philologischen Gesichtspunkte aus ein dringendes Desideratum ist."
1972. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache. In: Kurt Aland (ed.): *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. Berlin (xxii, 589 pp.), pp. 1–92. – Page 14: "Hier müsste man eigentlich auf die Sprache der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung eingehen. Aber wir unterlassen das, weil dieses schwierige Gebiet noch ganz ungenügend beackert ist. Selbst Christine Mohrmann hat bisher diesen speziellen Teil der christlichen Latinität nicht so ausführlich behandelt wie andere Aspekte. Es wäre allerdings ein mehrbändiges Werk notwendig, um den alten Hermann Rösch [*Itala und Vulgata*, 1875] in einer Form wieder erstehen zu lassen, die der modernen Sprachwissenschaft entspräche." ▲
1985. Bengt Löfstedt: Sprachliches zur Vulgata [1985]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), pp. 289–301. – Page 289: "'Es bleibt (...) eine beschämende Tatsache, dass wir keine grössere Monographie über die [Sprache der] Vulgata besitzen, die den Ansprüchen der heutigen Wissenschaft genügt, und es darf ohne Übertreibung gesagt werden, dass eine derartige auch vom rein philologischen Gesichtspunkte aus ein dringendes Desideratum ist,' bemerkte Einar Löfstedt, *Syntactica 2* (1933), 461f. Dies gilt jetzt nicht weniger als vor 50 Jahren. Immer noch sind wir auf die alten Handbücher von H. Rösch, *Itala und Vulgata* (2. Aufl., 1875) und F. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata* (2. Aufl., 1904; Neudruck 1973) angewiesen."
1992. René Braun: *Approches de Tertullien*. Paris 1992 (vi, 345 pp.), p. 255: "... depuis le travail de H. Rösch, *Itala und Vulgata* (2^e éd. Marburg, 1875) – simple inventaire d'ailleurs, dépourvu d'explications, et aujourd'hui largement périmé – aucune étude systématique n'a été consacrée au 'latin biblique' comme tel."
2015. Martin G. Becker: Informationsstruktur und Satzordnung in der Vulgata und den frühen volkssprachlichen Bibelübersetzungen von Lefèvre d'Étaples und Casiodoro de Reina. In: Michael Bernsen – Elmar Eggert – Angela Schrott (eds.): *Historische Sprachwissenschaft als philologische Kulturwissenschaft*. Göttingen (691 pp.), pp. 601–630. – One can rightly speak of a grammar of the Vulgate, "whose complete description" – according to today's linguistic standards – "is, however, still pending" (p. 605). – Man kann mit Recht von einer Grammatik der Vulgata sprechen, "deren vollständige Beschreibung" – nach heutigem linguistischen Standards – "allerdings noch aussteht" (p. 605). ▲
2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg. xviii, 317 pp. – Page 272: "The language of the Vulgate New Testament has also not been sufficiently well studied: the results of this research [by Anna Persig] would benefit from a comparison with the Vulgate Gospels in order to see if Jerome's principles of revision agree or differ from those applied to the other books of the New Testament and to identify any changes in the relationship to the Greek text and the Old Latin versions. The language, origin and early attestations of the Vulgate and Old Latin Pauline Epistles, Acts and Revelation need to be investigated in order to determine whether the New Testament outside the Gospels was revised at different moments and by multiple revisers, as the present research has indicated for the Catholic Epistles."

The translator's implied dictionaries

2017. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Der lateinische Text des Ecclesiasticus: Von Philipp Thielmann bis zu Walter Thiele. In: Gerhard Karner et al. (eds.): *Texts and Contexts of the Book of Sirach*. Atlanta, Ga. (viii, 333 pp.), pp. 263–282, at p. 276. Bogaert calls “[die] Erstellung eines griechisch-lateinischen Wörterbuchs zu Sirach” a desideratum of research on Sirach (“ein Desiderat der Sirach-Forschung”). This would be the implied Greek-Latin dictionary used by the ancient scholars who translated Greek Sirach into Latin. – Note that a similar work does exist, though only for the Latin New Testament; see Bergren’s book, listed in Chapter 8.3. Moreover, no one has ever attempted to reconstruct Jerome’s implied Hebrew–Latin dictionary (and Latin–Hebrew dictionary) – the dictionary that did not exist on paper or parchment, but in Jerome’s head – or in the heads of his Jewish informants. Accordingly, it would be a worthy project to compile Jerome’s “Gesenius,” a book that would also list the Hebrew words that Jerome refers to in Latin alphabetic transcription.

Vetus-Latina vocabulary and Jerome’s own vocabulary

1959. Henri de Sainte-Marie OSB: Le psaume 22 (21) dans le luxta Hebraeos. In: Pierre Salmon et al., *Richesses et déficiences des anciens Psautiers latins*. Collectanea biblica latina 13. Rome (267 pp.), pp. 151–187. – The author of this article on Psalm 22 (Vg 21) distinguishes between the vocabulary of the Old Latin Bible and the vocabulary of Jerome. According to P.-M. Bogaert (*Revue théologique de Louvain* 19 [1988] 156 note 69), this study is of exemplary importance. Older works on the language of the Vulgate suffer from the fact that they do not distinguish between the language of the Old Latin translation and Jerome’s own vocabulary. ▲

Documentation of word studies

1965. Peter Nober SJ: *Biblica* 46: 107 [in a book review’s final sentence]. Nober suggests that scholars studying the vocabulary of the Vulgate (Vg) and the Vetus Latina (VL) should not hide the results of their research in monographs hard to come by; instead, they should not refrain from publishing their material in standard periodicals, and even consider to publish very short notes. These, moreover, would ideally be collected in the form of a specialized bibliography. “Außerdem wäre auch eine besondere Bibliographie (mit Verbuchung von Emendationen, illustrierten Worten, Bibelstellen (...) in Erwägung zu ziehen – damit Vg und VL in Zukunft in der Kirche genauer gelesen werden.” – Peter Nober (1912–1980) worked at the Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome as bibliographer and long-time editor of the bibliographical supplement of the journal *Biblica*. While *Biblica* still exists, the bibliography has been discontinued (see above, Chapter 6). On Nober, see J.A. Fitzmyer: In memoriam Peter Nober S.J. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 43 (1981) 434.



Jerome studies

1982. Bengt Löfstedt on Henri Goelzer: *Étude lexicographique de saint Jérôme* (Paris. xii, 472 pp.): “Dies ist immer noch die beste Darstellung von Hieronymus’ Sprachgebrauch und enthält viel wertvolles Material und interessante Beobachtungen. Andererseits ist diese Arbeit (ebenso wie die anderen Monographien Goelzers) etwas mechanisch gemacht und in vieler Hinsicht überholt. Nicht nur der Fortschritt der spätlateinischen Forschungen macht es ein Leichtes, Mehreres in Goelzers Darstellung zu korrigieren. (...) Hoffentlich wird sich jemand der Aufgabe annehmen, uns einen Ersatz für Goelzers Hieronymus- Monographie zu schenken.” Bengt Löfstedt: Hieronymus’ Kommentare zu den kleinen Propheten. *Acta classica* 25 (1982) 119–126, at p. 126.

1991. Harald Hagendahl – Jan Hendrik Waszink: Hieronymus. In: Ernst Dassmann (ed.): *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart. Volume 15 (1262 cols.), cols. 117–139. – Column 134: “Es ist sehr zu bedauern, dass noch keine exakten Untersuchungen der Übersetzungstechnik des Hieronymus, bes. seiner Wortwahl, unternommen worden sind.” The authors regret the fact that detailed analyses of Jerome’s vocabulary are lacking. ▲

Allusions to classical authors?

1941. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58] (1940) 251–269, at p. 263–264. [The article was completed in 1941.] – Stummer discusses a number of Old Testament passages that involve allusions to classical Latin literature. “Ob eine systematische Durchforschung der Vulgata unter diesem Gesichtspunkt sich lohnen würde, ist schwer zu sagen. Ich vermute, daß sich die Zahl der festzustellenden Reminiszenzen wohl etwas erhöhen würde. Aber allzuviel dürfen wir nicht erwarten. Denn Hieronymus trat an seine Übersetzungsarbeit doch nicht nur als der feingebildete Latinist. Er war vielmehr auch bei diesem Werk Priester, geistlicher Leiter von Mönchen und Nonnen, Mann der Kirche, christlicher Theologe.” – While Stummer is pessimistic about finding allusions to classical Latin literature in the Vulgate, research has proved him wrong. There has been some progress in intertextual studies, and there is scope for more; see below, Chapter 10.3. ▲

A new English translation of the Vulgate Bible

2017. Benedict Maria Andersen OSB: “Fulfilled is all that David told”: Recovering the Christian Psalter. *Sacred Music* 144.4: 9–25. – Page 25: “the time is long overdue for a fresh translation of the Old Testament based on the Latin Vulgate, with an eye perhaps also to LXX and Vetus [Latina] traditions where variant readings give rise to significant theological or spiritual insights. The Douay-Rheims Bible, of course, is a much loved and historically significant translation, but I think there is a need for a somewhat updated idiom, perhaps in the style of the RSV [Revised Standard Version]. Such a translation ought to be fairly literal, especially given the genius of the fathers and the medieval commentators for mining even the tiniest linguistic details for the choicest of spiritual gems. It would also be extremely beneficial for such a text to be accompanied by some form of gloss or catena, synthesizing the insights of these commentators, as well as of modern ones who write in their spirit.”

Chapter 3

Surveys and reference works

Before 1900

1833. (Anonymous) Über die Vulgata, ihren Werth, und Gebrauch in der lateinischen Kirche. *Theologisch-praktische Monatschrift* 10: 157–176. Printed in Rottenburg, Germany, the volume has a second title page: *Quartalschrift für katholische Geistliche*, vol. 1.
1839. Jonathan Michael Athanasius Löhni: *Grundzüge der biblischen Hermeneutik und Kritik*. Giessen (xxi, 435 pp.), pp. 332–353. – The focus of this survey of Latin Bible translations, written by a Catholic theologian (1788–1855), is on the Council of Trent and the Clementina. In one section, the author lists appreciations of the Vulgate text of the Bible by luminaries such as Hugo Grotius, J.D. Michaelis, and several Jewish authors (pp. 351–353).
1859. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette: *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*. Translated and Enlarged by Theodore Parker. Volume I. Third Edition. Boston (xxvii, 517 pp.), pp. 257–289: The Present Latin Vulgate [its origins and history].
1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp. – Reprint: Paderborn: Salzwasser Verlag 2020. – Page 12: “Erst in diesem Jahrhundert wurde mit einer eigentlich geschichtlichen Behandlung der Vulgata Ernst gemacht.” Kaulen (1827–1907) taught the Old Testament at the theological faculty of the University of Bonn, Germany. – Reviews:
1869. Peter Johann Schegg, *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 4: 377–384.
1976. Jean Gribomont OSB, in: Keith Crim (ed.): *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume*. Nashville, Tenn. 1976, p. 532: Kaulen's book is “still indispensable (...) details need checking.” (Kaulen argued that the *Vetus Latina* must have originated in Rome [rather than in Africa]. This detail is no longer supported by scholarship. B. Lang.) ▲
1881. W.W.: Vulgate. In: John Kitto (ed.): *The Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*. Volume 2. New York (994 pp.), pp. 922–927. – Page 925: “A pure text of the Vulgate is a great desideratum.”
1884. Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage*. Freiburg. vi, 599 pp. – On the Vulgate, see pp. 111–133. – A fifth, thoroughly revised edition is Franz Kaulen – Gottfried Hoberg: *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*. Erster Teil. Freiburg 1911. xi, 265; on the Vulgate, see pp. 199–221.
1888. Brooke F. Westcott: The Vulgate. In: *Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*. Revised and edited by H.B. Hackett. Volume 4. Boston (xi, pp. 2697–3667), pp. 3451–3482. – Old Latin Bible and Vulgate.
1891. Rudolph Cornely: *Historicae et criticae in u.t. [= utriusque testamenti] libros sacros compendium*. Editio altera. Paris (v, 660 pp.), pp. 105–121: De versione latina Vulgata.
1894. Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener: *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*. Fourth Edition, Edited by Edward Miller. Volume II. London (vii, 428 pp.), pp. 56–90. Includes a long list of Vulgate manuscripts. This section of the book was written by H.J. White and John Wordsworth, with the help of Samuel Berger (see volume I, 1894, xix, 418 pp., at p. viii).

1897. Eberhard Nestle: Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen. In: Albert Hauck (ed.): *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 3rd edition. 3. Band. Leipzig (832 pp.), pp. 24–58. – Pages 36–49: Vulgata.
1897. Eberhard Nestle: *Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel in übersichtlicher Darstellung*. Leipzig. ii, 239 pp. – This book reprints material from the *Realencyclopädie*. The chapter “Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen” is on pp. 84–118, with pp. 96–112 on the Vulgate. While the *Realencyclopädie* cannot be found on the Internet, this book is easily accessible as it is available from the [Internet Archive](#). ▲

English – complete Vulgate

1902. Henry J. White: Vulgate. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Edinburgh. Volume 4 (xi, 994 pp.), pp. 873–890. – The dictionary article is by one of the editors of the critical Oxford edition of the New Testament (see below, [13.2](#)). White provides a good overview of the state of research on the Vulgate at that time. ▲
1906. William Barry: Our Latin Bible. *The Dublin Review* 139: 1–23. – An essay.
1908. Eberhard Nestle: Latin Versions. In: Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.): *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. Volume II. New York (xvi, 499 pp.), pp. 191–197.
1967. P.M. Peebles: Bible – Latin Versions. In: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Volume 2. New York (1118 pp.), pp. 436–457.
1976. Jean Gribomont OSB: Latin Versions. In: Keith Crim (ed.): *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume*. Nashville, Tenn. (xxv, 987 pp.), pp. 527–532. – Three sections deal with: the Old Latin Bible – Jerome and the Vulgate – History of the Vulgate in the church.
1988. Arthur Vööbus: Vulgate. In: Geoffrey W. Bromiley (ed.): *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia. Fully Revised*. Volume 4. Grand Rapids, Mich. (xix, 1211 pp.), pp. 971–974. ▲
1992. David C. Parker: Vulgate. In: David N. Freedman (ed.): *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Volume 6. New York (xxxv, 1176 pp.), pp. 860–862. – Overview of the history of the Vulgate until today.
1992. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Latin Versions [of the Bible]. In: David N. Freedman (ed.): *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Volume 6. New York (xxxv, 1176 pp.), pp. 799–803. – Pages 800–802: two sections discuss “The books translated by Jerome” and “The Vulgate.”
1993. Margaret T. Gibson: *The Bible in the Latin West*. Notre Dame, Ind. 114 pp.
1997. Terrence G. Kardong OSB: Vulgate. In: Everett Ferguson (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*. 2nd edition. Volume 2. New York (pp. 659–1213), pp. 1167–1169.
2005. [anonymous] Vulgate. In: F.L. Cross – E. A. Livingstone (ed.): *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3rd, revised edition. Oxford (xl, 1800 pp.), pp. 1722–1723.
2014. Geert W. Lorein: The Latin Versions of the Old Testament. In: Alberdina Houtman et al. (eds.): *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*. Leiden (xiii, 311 pp.), pp. 125–145.
2014. Michael Graves: The Story of the Latin Bible and Questions about Biblical Translation for the Church Today. *Trinity Journal* NS 35: 253–273. – A very good general introduction, up to date and complete with bibliographical references. ▲
2023. Hugh A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford. xxxviii, 522 pp. – A collection of thirty-one essays. The following essay offers a survey of research: Thomas Johann Bauer: Modern Scholarship on the Latin Bible, pp. 348–364. ▲

English – Old Testament or New Testament

1901. Frederic G. Kenyon: *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London. xi, 321 pp. – Pages 168–204: introduction to the Old Latin biblical texts and the Vulgate.
1901. Eberhard Nestle: *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*. Translated from the second edition by William Edie. London (xvi, 351 pp., 10 plates), pp. 122–132.
1951. Bleddyn J. Roberts: *The Old Testament Text and Versions*. Cardiff (xv, 326 pp.), pp. 247–265: The Vulgate.
1977. Bruce M. Metzger: *The Early Versions of the New Testament*. Oxford. xix, 498 pp. Reprint: Oxford 2001. – Pages 330–362: The Vulgate, with the following sections: Jerome’s early training and commission by Pope Damasus – noteworthy manuscripts of the Vulgate – noteworthy printed editions of the Vulgate – problems concerning Jerome’s work as a reviser. Appended is an essay by Bonifatius Fischer: Limitations of Latin in representing Greek (pp. 362–374). – The first edition was published in 1964. Metzger’s other book, *The Text of the New Testament*, has a much shorter chapter on the Latin Bible: *The Text of the New Testament. Third Edition*. Oxford 1992 (ix, xvi, 310 pp.), pp. 75–79; Bruce M. Metzger – Bart D. Ehrman: *The Text of the New Testament. Fourth Edition*. Oxford 2005 (xvi, 366 pp.), pp. 105–109. ▲
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. A paperback edition with corrections was published in 2018. – This reference work is also available on the Internet (“open access”). As can be seen from the title, only the New Testament part of the Bible is treated. ▲
2020. Edward D. Andrews: *From Spoken Words to Sacred Texts. Introduction-Intermediate New Testament Textual Studies*. Cambridge, Ohio (xxiv, 644 pp.), pp. 401–420. – The focus is on Latin manuscripts and textual criticism.

German – complete Vulgate

1901. Franz Kaulen: Vulgata. In: *Wetzer und Welte’s Kirchenlexikon*. 2. Auflage. Herausgegeben von Franz Kaulen. Band 12. Freiburg (vii pp., 2106 cols.), cols. 1127–1142.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel. Ein Handbuch für Vorlesungen und Selbstunterricht*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – At the time of its publication, this was an up-to-date introduction to the Latin Bible. The author supplies an index of names and biblical passages, but regrettably not of Latin words. – Stummer taught Old Testament at the University of Munich; for a biographical sketch, see Alexander Hanspach: Exeget in schwierigen Zeiten. Der Breslauer Alttestamentler Friedrich Stummer (1886–1955). *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 59 (2001) 215–227. – Reviews:
1929. Arthur Allgeier, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 32.5: 364–366. “Man wird heute das weit zerstreute philologische und geschichtliche Material, das selbst vom Spezialforscher nur mehr mühsam überblickt werden kann, nirgends so knapp und im wesentlichen vollständig, dabei zuverlässig beisammen finden wie hier” (col. 365).
1929. Paul M. Baumgarten: Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel. *Theologische Revue* 28.10: 417–424. – Baumgarten welcomes Stummer’s book – and uses his review mainly for his controversy with C.A. Kneller SJ on the Vulgate edition of P. Sixtus V (see Chapter 16.4).
1929. Arduinus Kleinhaus, *Antonianum* 4: 351–352.
1929. Paul Rießler, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 110.4: 477–479.

1929. Paul Gächter, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 53: 162–164.
1929. D.B. Capelle, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 1: 507–508.
1930. Alberto Vaccari SJ, *Biblica* 11.1: 122–126.
1930. Arthur Allgeier: Neuere Arbeiten zur Erforschung der Vulgata. *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 83: 79–87.
1958. Karl Theodor Schäfer in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 2nd edition. Band 2. Freiburg 1958 (xiii pp., 1256 cols.), p. 383: "vielfach überholt" (in many ways outdated) – but there is still no book, in German or any other language, that would replace it. ▲
1938. Friedrich Stummer: Vulgata. In: Michael Buchberger (ed.): *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 10. Band. Freiburg (viii pp., 1118 cols.), cols. 703–706.
2015. Peter Stotz: *Die Bibel auf Latein – unantastbar?* 3rd, updated edition. Zürich. 79 pp. – The first edition was published in 2011. In French: *La Bible en latin, intangible?* Translated by Marianne Beauviche. Avignon 2015. 142 pp. In this small book, the medieval Latinist author (d. 2020) sketches the history of the Vulgate from its beginnings to the present day. For the newcomer to the field, the book provides indispensable information. ▲
2020. Thomas Johann Bauer: Von der Vetus Latina zur Nova Vulgata. Streiflichter zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel. In: Andreas Müller – Katharina Heyden (eds.): *Bibelübersetzungen in der Geschichte des Christentums*. Leipzig (162 pp.), pp. 17–56.
2023. Brigitta Schmid Pfändler – Michael Fieger (eds.): *Nicht am Ende mit dem Latein. Die Vulgata aus heutiger Sicht*. Frankfurt. 215 pp. – More than thirty authors have contributed to this collection of systematically arranged miniature essays that survey many aspects of the Vulgate. The articles deal with translation issues, some individual biblical books, and subjects such as the horns of Moses, the word "paradise," Jonah's ivy, and Jerome in art history. Particularly welcome is the fact that many of the essays deal with the New Testament, though the Old Testament is in no way neglected. ▲

German: Old Testament or New Testament

1909. Eberhard Nestle: *Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament*. 3., umgearbeitete Auflage. Göttingen (viii, 298 pp., 12 plates), pp. 121–122, 138–147.
1948. Alois Hudal – Joseph Ziegler: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Sechste Auflage, neubearbeitet von Franz Sauer. Graz (xii, 271 pp.), pp. 81–97. – The Vulgate (Jerome) – history of the Vulgate until the Council of Trent – the Council of Trent's directions on the use and editing the Vulgate – the Sistine and Clementine editions.
2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Vertumnus 14. Göttingen (256 pp.), pp. 26–80: "Hieronymus' Vulgata: Eine vierfache Einordnung" (Roman-pagan tradition – Latin Bible tradition – Greek church fathers' tradition – the pragmatic situations of liturgy and study).

Dutch

1948. Jan Olav Smit: *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*. Roermond. xvi, 296 pp. – History and twentieth-century revision of the Latin translation of the Bible. Review:

Peter Nober SJ, *Biblica* 36.1 (1955) 119–120. Nober celebrates this well-written book as currently the best and most complete survey of the history of the Vulgate Bible, and suggests that it should be translated into Latin, for the benefit of theology students. Jan Olav Smit (1883–1972) was a Catholic priest who spent most of his life in Rome – apart from a few years in Norway, where he served as an apostolic vicar (1922–1928). The story Smit tells in his book culminates in the production of the new critical edition of the Old Testament books of the Vulgate Bible by the Benedictines in Rome (see below, Chapter 13.3). ▲

French

1912. Eugène Mangenot: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500.
1950. L. Venard: Vulgate. In: A. Vacant – E. Mangenot (eds.): *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*. Tome 15.2 (cols. 1547–3928). Paris, cols. 3474–3492.
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – An essential, sophisticated overview of the origins and early history of the Latin translation of the Bible, Jerome’s contribution to the formation of the late antique-medieval *Biblia vulgata*. There is an important section titled “Première diffusion des versions hiéronymiennes” (pp. 289–291). ▲
2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Versions latines de la Bible. In: G. Mathon – G.-H. Baudry (eds.): *Catholicisme. Hier – aujourd’hui – demain*. Tome 15. Paris (1572 cols.), cols. 910–913.
2007. Yves-Marie Duval: Jérôme et la Vulgate. In: Alain Corbin et al. (eds.): *Histoire du Christianisme. Pour mieux comprendre notre temps*. Paris (468 pp.), pp. 116–120.
2014. Jean-Claude Haelewyck: Les versions anciennes. In: Christian-Bernard Amphoux (ed.): *Manuel de critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament*. Brussels (xiv, 400 pp.), pp. 75–144. – Pages 76–100: the Latin translations of the New Testament. Review: Laurent Pinchard, *Novum Testamentum* 58 (2016) 93–98.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Pages 53–247: introduction; pp. 249–300: bibliography. Behind these simple titles is a comprehensive history of the Latin Bible, the contribution of Jerome and the history of the Vulgate up to the end of the 16th century, prepared in the seminar led by Aline Canellis. – Reviews:
2019. Josef Lössl, *Journal of Theological Studies* 70: 872–874, at p. 874: “an excellent working tool for anyone who wants to study Jerome’s œuvre more generally or his endeavour to translate the Bible more specifically.”
2019. Agnethe Siquans, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 23: 392–395. ▲
2017. Laurence Mellerin: Les versions latines. In: eadem (ed.): *Lectures de la Bible. I^{er} – XV^e siècle*. Paris (652 pp.), pp. 73–90.

Italian

1963. Gaetano M. Perella: *Prelezioni bibliche. Introduzione generale alla Sacra Bibbia*. Turin (xi, 443 pp.), pp. 295–312.
2008. Mario Cimosà – Carlo Buzzetti: *Guido allo studio della Bibbia latina. Dalla Vetus Latina, alla Vulgata, alla Nova Vulgata*. Sussidi patristici 14. Rome. 201 pp. – Pages 43–61 deal with the Vulgate

Bible. The book is described as “volume primo” on the title page, but no further volume has been published.

2012. Antonio García-Moreno: *La Bibbia della chiesa. Storia e attualità della Neovulgata*. Città del Vaticano. vii, 358 pp. – The author tells the entire story of the Vulgate. The final chapter is devoted to the Neovulgate.

Spanish

2011. Antonio García-Moreno: *La Neovulgata. Precedentes y actualidad*. 2nd edition. Baranain (Navarra). 471 pp. – The first edition of the now long book was published in Pamplona in 1986. Despite the title, the book covers the entire history of the Latin Bible. Only the final chapter is devoted to the Neovulgate.

2014. José Manuel Cañas Reillo: Catorce siglos de historia de las biblias Latinas: de la tradición oral a la Biblia Políglota Complutense. *Estudios bíblicos* 77: 483–515.

2020. Jesús Ma Aguiñaga Fernández: Versiones latinas de la Biblia. *Efemérides Mexicana* 38/113: 262–293. – Brief survey of Vetus Latina, Vulgata, and Nova Vulgata, with special emphasis on Psalms and gospels.

2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74. This is the first installment of an article of which the second one will present a bibliographical update on each biblical book. ▲

Latin

1909. Rudolph Cornely SJ – Martin Hagen SJ: *Historicae et criticae in u.t. [= utriusque testamenti] libros sacros compendium*. 6th edition. Paris 1909. xv, 712 pp. – Pages 104–119: De versione Latina vulgata.

1927. Jacques-Marie Vosté OP: De latina Bibliorum versione quae dicitur “Vulgata.” *Angelicum* 4: 153–183. – This introduction, also available as a separate publication, was written for theology students studying in Rome.

1940. Augustin Merk SJ: *Introductionis in S. Scripturae libros compendium. Tomus primus*. Paris. xi, 615 pp. – Pages 171–195: De versione Latina Vulgata.

1950. Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: *Introductio generalis in sacram scripturam*. Editio quinta noviter recensita quam curavit P. Benno Gut OSB. Naples (xxiv, 637 pp.). Pages 352–416 on ancient Latin translations; pp. 372–416 on the Vulgate; pp. 391–401 on the Council of Trent and the Vulgate, and pp. 401–408 on the Sixtine and Clementine editions of the Vulgate Bible. – There is a sixth edition, revised by Ludovicus Leloir, 1958 (xxiv, 582 pp.).

Chapter 4

Latin today? Latin in the church?

Note. – The Latin language has a problem. Today, Latinists are concerned about the decline of the knowledge of Latin. All agree that one factor in the decline is the Catholic Church’s language policy, an ambivalent policy that seeks, on the one hand, to promote Latin, while on the other having its liturgy – the Mass and the Liturgy of the Hours – for pastoral reasons performed in the vernacular. Guided by the anachronistic, nostalgic and utterly unrealistic ideal of a clergy well-versed in ecclesiastical Latin, Catholic authorities insist on the relevance of Latin for students of theology, though to no avail. What follows are some documents and sources that indicate the changing fate of Latin in the church, especially its decline in recent times. Further material on the Catholic Church’s language policy can be found in Chapters 16.6 (Psalterium Pianum) and 17 (Nova Vulgata).

- 4.1 The history of Latin in Christianity
- 4.2 Official statements of the Catholic Church, 1922–1983
- 4.3 The decline of Latin in the twentieth century

4.1 The history of Latin in Christianity

Note. – On the use of Latin in the patristic period, see below, Chapter 8.9.

Some sources, 1526–1902

1526. Martin Luther: *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts*. – Luther envisioned various forms of the worship service, and did not wish to abolish the Latin mass. “The newly developed one in the Formula Missae should continue. It was appropriate from a pedagogical and ecumenical point of view. The schoolchildren who needed to learn Latin could practice the mass in Latin and thus be in a position to participate in worship services in other lands. The German mass was for simple people” (Martin Brecht: *Martin Luther. Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–1532*; translated by James L. Schaaf. Minneapolis, Min. 1990 [xvi, 543 pp.], p. 255). In Luther’s own words: “Denn ich in keinem Weg will die lateinische Sprache aus dem Gottesdienst lassen gar wegkommen, denn es ist mir alles um die Jugend zu tun”; *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Band 19. Weimar 1897 (viii, 666 pp.), p. 74.
1609. François de Sales [Franz von Sales]: *Introduction à la vie dévote*. – Part II, chapter 1: “Si vous me croyez, vous direz votre *Pater*, votre *Ave Maria* et le *Credo* en latin; mais vous apprendrez aussi à bien entendre les paroles qui y sont, en votre langage, afin que, les disant au langage commun de l’Église, vous puissiez néanmoins savourer le sens admirable et délicieux de ces saintes oraisons.” – “If you follow my advice, Philothea, you will say your *Pater*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo* in Latin, but you should also learn to understand well the words in your own language so that while saying them in the common language of the Church you can also appreciate the wonderful and

beautiful meaning of those holy prayers." François de Sales: *Introduction à la vie dévote*. Introduction par Henry Bordeaux. Paris 1939 (12, 367 pp.), p. 73; Francis de Sales: *Introduction to the Devout Life*. Translated by John K. Ryan. Garden City, N.Y. 1972 (315 pp.), p. 82.

1802. François René de Chateaubriand: *Le génie du christianisme*. Edition used: *Œuvres de Chateaubriand*. Edited by Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve. Tome II. Nendeln 1975 (749 pp.), p. 374 (reprint of a 19th-century standard edition). – In this apologetic work, the author celebrates the beauty of Christianity. He also defends the use of Latin (*le plus bel idiome de la terre* – the most beautiful idiom of the world) – in worship. One of the arguments is as follows: "De plus, et c'est une chose remarquable, les oraisons en langue latine semblent redoubler le sentiment religieux de la foule. Ne serait-ce point un effet naturel de notre penchant au secret? Dans le tumulte de ses pensées et des misères qui assiègent sa vie, l'homme, en prononçant des mots peu familiers ou même inconnus, croit demander les choses qui lui manquent et qu'il ignore; le vague de sa prière en fait le charme, et son âme inquiète, qui sait peu ce qu'elle désire, aime à former des vœux aussi mystérieux que ses besoins." – "Moreover, and this is a remarkable thing, orations in Latin seem to redouble the religious feeling of the crowd. Is this not a natural effect of our inclination to the secret? In the tumult of his thoughts and the miseries that beset his life, man, by pronouncing unfamiliar or even unknown words, believes he is asking for things that he lacks and of which he is ignorant; the vagueness of his prayer makes it charming, and his restless soul, which knows little of what it desires, likes to form requests that are as mysterious as its needs." – Interest in that which is secret or unknown is a typically romantic feature; the charm of vagueness belongs to the ideas peculiar to Chateaubriand.
1894. Ernst von Dobschütz: *Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata*. Leipzig. viii, 139 pp. – Page viii: "Gott hat uns vier heilige Sprachen gegeben: in allen wollen wir sein Lob verkünden." God's four sacred languages are Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin.
1902. Ignaz Schüch OSB: *Handbuch der Pastoraltheologie*. Neu herausgegeben von Virgil Grimmich OSB. 12. Auflage. Innsbruck (xxiv, 1041pp.), pp. 442–444: Gründe für den Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache als Cultsprache. "Die Feier des Heiligen und Geheimnisvollen erfordert den Gebrauch einer besonderen, geheiligten, Ehrfurcht erweckenden, der Entweihung nicht ausgesetzten Sprache, und durch das ahnungsvolle Helldunkel einer solchen fremden und geheiligten Sprache wird zugleich um den Gottesdienst ein gewisser geheimnisvoller Schleier gelegt, dar das Mysteriöse des katholischen Cultus ganz treffend symbolisiert und dem religiösen Gefühle ebenso entspricht als dasselbe fördert" (p. 443).

Secondary literature

English

2001. Françoise Waquet: *Latin, or The Empire of a Sign. From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. Translated by John Howe. London. vi, 346 pp. – Originally published in French (*Le Latin ou l'empire d'un signe*. Paris 1998. 414 pp.), this book includes a very detailed chapter entitled "The 'Latin Stronghold': the Church" (pp. 41–79, notes on pp. 289–295). This chapter ends with an account of the decline of Latin after the Second Vatican Council, and a brief note on "Protestant Latin" (pp. 78–79). ▲
2004. Paul Berry: *The Latin Language and Christianity*. Lewiston, NY. viii, iv, 219 pp. – A historical account.
2012. Uwe Michael Lang: *The Voice of the Church at Prayer. Reflections on Liturgy and Language*. San Francisco. 206 pp. – German edition: *Die Stimme der betenden Kirche. Überlegungen zur Sprache*

der Liturgie. Einsiedeln 2012. 261 pp. The book includes chapters on the cultural history of liturgical Latin. The author is member of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri in London.

German

1905. Jakob Felder: *Die lateinische Kirchensprache nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Feldkirch. 47 pp.
1933. Einar Löfstedt: Zur Entstehung der christlichen Latinität. In: Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 458–473. "Zweimal hat das Latein die Welt erobert, das erstmal als Stimme des jungen Römertums bei seinem sieghaften Vordringen auf dem Schauplatz der Weltpolitik, das zweitemmal als Sprache der abendländischen Kirche und der christlichen Gemeinde."
1956. Christine Mohrmann: Die Rolle des Lateins in der Kirche des Westens. *Theologische Revue* 52: 1–18. – Reprinted in: Chr. Mohrmann: *Études sur le Latin des chrétiens*. Tome II. Rome 1961 (400 pp.), pp. 35–62. The paper highlights the two trends within ecclesiastical Latin since the Renaissance: traditionalism and reformism. Reformists want to return to classical Latin and correct the un-Ciceronian barbarisms of ecclesiastical texts.
1964. Leopold Lentner: *Volkssprache und Sakralsprache. Geschichte einer Lebensfrage bis zum Ende des Konzils von Trient*. Vienna. 318 pp. – A survey of the use of Latin in the Western church, from Late Antiquity to the Council of Trent. – Reviews: Georg Langgärtner, *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 16.3–4 (1965) 314–315; Fritz Tschirch, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 95.1 (1966) 119–113 (p. 119: "Dieses Buch ist eine Enttäuschung, zumindest für einen Germanisten."); John Hennig, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 91 (1966) 593–595.

French

1964. Bernadette Lécureux: *Le Latin, langue de l'église*. Paris. 117 pp. – There is another, revised edition: Paris 1998, pp. 196. – See also eadem: Latein – die Sakralsprache der römischen Kirche. *Una-Voce-Korrespondenz* 31.5 (2001) 259–284. The author's dates: 1913–2011.
2002. Simone Deléani: Les caractères du latin chrétien. In: Enrico dal Covio – Manlio Sodi (eds.): *Il latino e i cristiani. Un bilancio all'inizio del terzo millennio*. Vatican City (ix, 518 pp.), pp. 3–25.

Italian

1960. Ugo Gallizia: *Sulle recenti sollecitudini della Chiesa per lo studio e l'uso della lingua latina*. Torino. 45 pp.
2002. Enrico dal Covio – Manlio Sodi (eds.): *Il latino e i cristiani. Un bilancio all'inizio del terzo millennio*. Vatican City. ix, 518 pp.

Dutch

1993. Antoon A.R. Bastiaensen: Het Latijn in de Christelijke kerk van het Westen. *Hermeneus. Tijdschrift voor antieke cultuur* 65: 85–94.

4.2 Official statements of the Catholic Church, 1922–1983

The documents

1922. Pope Pius XI: *Officium omnium. Epistola apostolica de seminariis et de studiis clericorum. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 14: 449–458. This apostolical letter reminds those who are responsible for the education of the clergy of their duty to teach Latin to all students of theology. *Acuratissime sermone latino volumus alumnos institui* – we want the students to be instructed thoroughly in the Latin tongue; *maiores disciplinae (...) latine et tradendae et percipiendae sunt* – the major disciplines are to be taught and learned in Latin (p. 453).
1962. Pope John XXIII: *Veterum sapientia. On the Promotion of the Study of Latin. Apostolic Constitution.* – This papal letter was issued to restore Latin as the language in which theology should be taught to students who prepare for ministry in the Catholic Church. Rahner's essay (see below), published in the same year, is a response to, and an apology of this call to return to Latin teaching where it has been abandoned, e.g., in Germany. The pope's constitution was never put to practice, and the Second Vatican Council did not come back to it. – Text:
1962. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 54: 129–135.
1962. *L'Osservatore Romano* February 24, pp. 1–2.
1962. *Mitteilungsblatt des Deutschen Altphilologenverbandes* 5.3: 8–12.
1965. Second Vatican Council: Decree on Priestly Training. *Optatam totius. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 58 (1966) 713–727. – No. 13: seminarians (i.e., students preparing for the priestly ministry) *eam linguae latinae cognitionem acquirant, qua tot scientiarum fontes et Ecclesiae documenta intelligere atque adhibere possint* – are to acquire a knowledge of Latin which will enable them to understand and make use of the sources of so many [theological] disciplines and of the documents of the Church." – The theological disciplines for the study of which the knowledge of Latin is indispensable, are listed in an apostolic letter of Pope Benedict XVI (motu proprio "Lingua Latina," 10 November 2012; *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 104 [2012] 991–995): "In our time too, knowledge of the Latin language and culture is proving to be more necessary than ever for the study of the sources, which, among others, numerous ecclesiastical disciplines draw from, such as, for example, [systematic] theology, liturgy, patristics and canon law, as the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council teaches (cf. Decree *Optatam totius*, no. 13)." One would like to add "church history."
1983. *Codex Iuris Canonici – Code of Canon Law*. Rome. – Canon 249: "The program of priestly formation is to provide that students not only are carefully taught their native language but also understand Latin well (*linguam Latinam bene calleant*)." – German: "In der Ordnung für die Priester Ausbildung ist vorzusehen, dass die Alumnen nicht nur in ihrer Muttersprache sorgfältig unterwiesen werden, sondern dass sie auch die lateinische Sprache gut verstehen."

Responses to "Veterum Sapientia" (1962)

1962. Karl Rahner SJ: Über das Latein als Kirchensprache; in: idem: *Schriften zur Theologie*. Band 5. Einsiedeln 1962 (576 pp.), pp. 411–467. – Page 421: "Der abendländische lateinische Katholik hat also gegenüber dem Latein ein doppeltes Verhältnis: Es ist für ihn wie für alle Christen der einen Kirche die Verkehrssprache heute und es ist die Sprache seiner eigenen geschichtlichen Vergangenheit in einem engeren Sinn, die er auch darum lieben und als lebendigen Grund seiner eigenen Geschichte pflegen wird." Rahner's essay is a response to the Apostolic Constitution "Veterum sapientia" of 22 February 1962. Rahner seems to have a positive attitude to this text

and celebrates the Latin language, but refrains from commenting on the pope's wish to strengthen and restore Latin as the main language of theological teaching. – The essay can also be found in the following publications:

1962. K. Rahner: Über das Latein als Kirchensprache. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 84 (1962) 257–299.
1964. K. Rahner: *Il latino, lingua della Chiesa*. Translated by Maria Bellincioni. Brescia. 104 pp.; review: Maurice Te-stard, *Latomus* 23 (1964) 580–582.
1966. K. Rahner: Latin as a church language. In: idem: *Theological Investigations*. Translated by Karl-H. Kruger. Volume 5. London 1966 (x, 525 pp.), pp. 366–416.
2005. Karl Rahner: *Sämtliche Werke*. Edited by Karl-Rahner-Stiftung. Band 16. Freiburg 2005 (xxiv, 580 pp.), pp. 231–273 (quotation at p. 239).
1963. Anton Antweiler: Das Lateinische in der Kirche. Zur apostolischen Konstitution *Veterum Sapientia* vom 22. Februar 1962. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 143: 257–324. – Antweiler expresses his critical attitude toward the restoration of Latin as the language of theological teaching. Latin, he argues, is of little help for teaching and preaching today. (At the time of its publication, this article was seen as bold and irreverent for its harsh critique of a papal document. But in Germany and elsewhere, everyone knew that the use of Latin in theological seminaries was a thing of the past.)
1963. Ugo Gallizia: Il latino della Chiesa, lingua viva o morta? *Salesianum* 25: 263–277.
2002. Alberto Melloni: Contesti, fatti e reazioni: attorno alle “*Veterum sapientia*” di Giovanni XXIII (22 febbraio 1962). *Rivista liturgica* 83.3: 391–407.

4.3 The decline of Latin in the twentieth century

1942. Julien Green. In his published diary, the writer Julien Green, then living in Baltimore, complains that in the Catholic Church in America, Latin seems no longer to reach the laity. “Dans les églises catholiques d’ici, on chante en anglais, on dit en anglais les litanies et certains paroissiens ne comportent pas un mot qui ne soit anglais. Le latin est peu à peu refoulé dans les limites de la messe dite par le prêtre, et n’arrive plus à sortir de là. Sans doute est-ce un effet de la contagion protestante, les églises protestantes étant essentiellement non latines. Phénomène de fin d’époque, d’une époque à laquelle je serai, du reste, heureux de ne pas survivre” (p. 191, 5th May 1942). – “L’Église se déromanise, en Amérique” (p. 204, 15th June 1942). Julian Green: *Journal. Tome III: 1940 1943. Devant la porte sombre*. Paris 1974. 253 pp.
1989. Walter Hoeres: De abolitione cultus sacri et liturgiae Latinae. Adnotationes philosophico-sociologicae de ecclesia Romana catholica. *Vox Latina* 25: 310–327.
2000. John P. Beal et al. (eds.): *New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*. New York 2000 (xxx, 1952 pp.), p. 320: “The understanding and use of the Latin language have declined dramatically, where they have not disappeared altogether. Candidates come to seminaries today with little or, more often, no background or experience in the Latin language. This is frequently accompanied by lack of a desire to learn it.”
2011. Bernhard Lang: Eine Weltsprache verschwindet. Latein in der katholischen Kirche im 20. Jahrhundert. *Gymnasium* 118: 57–67. Reprinted in: B. Lang: *Buch der Kriege – Buch des Himmels. Kleine Schriften zur Exegese und Theologie*. Leuven 2011 (xii, 395 pp.), pp. 353–365. – Latin was able to hold its own as a language of liturgy, law, theology, and ecclesiastical administration until the 20th century. But then it became a dead language, largely due to liturgical reforms that privileged the use of the vernacular.

2014. Philip Ford – Jan Bloemendal – Charles Fantazzi (eds.): *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*. Volume 1. Leiden. xliii, 919 pp. – Pages 719–788: Latin and the Church, with the following contributions: Jan Balserek, Theological Discourse; Irene Backus, Patristics; Carl P.E. Springer, The Reformation; Jan Michielson, Counter-Reformation; Yasmin Haskell, The Passion(s) of Jesuit Latin.
2017. Brian P. Bennett: *Sacred Languages of the World. An Introduction*. Hoboken, N.J. xiii, 224 pp. – A few pages (pp. 66–72) are devoted to sketching the debate between Catholic traditionalists who support the use of Latin in the church, and reform-minded liberals who are promote the use of vernacular languages in worship. In 2007, Pope Benedict XVI issued the Motu proprio "Summarum Pontificum" (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 99 [2007] 777–78) which declares that the Latin Mass, as celebrated before the liturgical reform of 1970, can still be celebrated under certain circumstances. This statement was meant to appease those Catholics who insisted that the Mass should be in Latin again, or be permitted to be said in Latin.

Chapter 5

Biblical Latin for beginners

Note. – Some of the textbooks and study aids listed here presuppose at least some knowledge of classical Latin, i.e., the language of authors such as Caesar and Cicero. The postclassical biblical Latin is different. Accordingly, students must familiarize themselves with the particularities of biblical Latin.

Theory: English

1693. John Locke: *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London. vii, 264 pp. Modern standard edition: edited by John W. Yolton – Jean S. Yolton. Oxford 1989. ix, 336 pp. – In this famous treatise about the education of young noblemen, Locke says much about language learning. Boys must learn not only English, but also French and Latin – not so much by studying grammar (as was then the standard method), but by practical use, especially in speaking. In the case of Latin, the mother should cooperate, learn some Latin herself, and have their young son read the gospels from the Latin Bible to her. In the biblical texts thus studied, someone who knows Latin must prepare the text by marking the long penultimate syllables of long words to ensure proper pronunciation (p. 234 of the Yolton edition). Locke thinks that two to three hours thus spent each day would facilitate the child's practical study of Latin. Locke adds that he has actually observed this method in real life – presumably during his stay in the Netherlands in the 1680s. – How about mothers learning some Latin? There is a book that might shed light on this issue, but Jane Stevenson: *Women and Latin in the Early Modern Period*. Leiden 2022. 116 pp. focusses on upper-class women who acted in political and governmental contexts, and not on mothers.
1864. Georg Büchmann, in: *Pädagogisches Archiv* 6: 633: "Ich erinnere nur daran, dass in Frankreich seit langen Jahren in unteren Klassen das Lateinische an der Lektüre der Vulgata gelehrt wird." This reference to the teaching of Latin in France on the basis of the Vulgate is an aside in a book review. Büchmann was a well-known language teacher in Berlin, Germany.
1872. Matthew Arnold: *Reports on Elementary Schools 1852–1882*. New Edition by F.S. Marvin. London 1908. xxvii, 393 pp. – Arnold (1822–1888), famous as poet and novelist, worked as a school inspector in Victorian England. From the report on the year 1872, pp. 148–150: "It may seem oversanguine, but I hope to see Latin, also, much more used as a special subject, and even adopted, finally, as part of the regular instruction in the upper classes of all elementary schools. Of course, I mean Latin studied in a very simple way; but I am more and more struck with the stimulating and instructing effect upon a child's mind of possessing a second language, in however limited a degree, as an object of reference and comparison. Latin is the foundation of so much in the written and spoken language of modern Europe, that it is the best language to take as a second language; in our own written and book language, above all, it fills so large a part that we, perhaps, hardly know how much of their reading falls meaningless upon the eye and ear of children in our elementary schools, from their total ignorance of either Latin or a modern language derived from it. For the little of languages that can be taught in our elementary schools, it is far better to go to the root at once; and Latin, besides, is the best of all languages to learn grammar by. But it should by no means be taught as in our classical schools; far less time should be spent on the grammatical framework, and classical literature should be left quite out of view. A second language, and a language coming very largely into the vocabulary of modern nations, is what Latin should stand for to the teacher of an elementary school. I am convinced that for his purpose the best way would be to disregard classical Latin entirely, to use neither Cornelius Nepos,

nor Eutropius, nor Caesar; nor any delectus from them, but to use the Latin Bible, the Vulgate. A chapter or two from the story of Joseph, a chapter or two from Deuteronomy, and the first two chapters of St. Luke's Gospel would be the sort of delectus we want; add to them a vocabulary and a simple grammar of the main forms of the Latin language, and you have a perfectly compact and cheap school book, and yet all that you need. In the extracts the child would be at home, instead of, as in extracts from classical Latin, in an utterly strange land; and the Latin of the Vulgate, while it is real and living Latin, is yet, like the Greek of the New Testament, much nearer to modern idiom, and therefore much easier for a modern learner than classical idiom can be."

German

1979. Horst Holtermann: Vulgata-Lektüre in einer 10. Klasse. *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 22.2: 52–60.
1986. Otto Schönberger: *Von Nepos zum Neuen Testament*. Bamberg. 96 pp. – Page 80: "Jeder, der Latein lernt, soll unbedingt einmal Stücke aus der Vulgata lesen, und zwar möglichst bald. Für eine Lektüre schon auf der Unterstufe spricht die Tatsache, daß das Latein recht leicht ist und daß die Kinder den Inhalt zum Teil schon kennen."
1987. Paul Barié: Latein und die Bibel. Überlegungen zu einer Vulgatalektüre. In: Wilhelm Höhn – N. Zink (eds.): *Handbuch für den Lateinunterricht. Sekundarstufe I*. Frankfurt (406 pp.), pp. 351–361.
1996. Andreas Fritsch: Zur Lektüre der Vulgata im Lateinunterricht. *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 39, no. 6: 7–23. – The author (b. 1941) taught Latin at the Free University of Berlin from 1980 to 2007.

French

1914. Julien Bezard: *Comment apprendre le latin à nos fils*. Paris. 424 pp. – The author (1867–1933), himself a schoolmaster, suggests a new method of teaching Latin, at the initial stages based on biblical paraphrases and passages. See the articles of Michaël Devaux listed below. – Reviews:
1915. R.B. Appleton: The Teaching of Latin. *The Classical Review* 29: 25–26.
1917. Frances E. Sabin: A French Schoolmaster's Method of Teaching Latin. *The Classical Journal* 13: 118–123.
2010. Michaël Devaux: *Comment apprendre le latin à nos fils* (1914) de Julien Bezard. In: Pascale Hummel (ed.): *Mésavours. Études sur la (dé)formation par la transmission*. Paris (239 pp.), pp. 61–75.
2011. Michaël Devaux: La méthode de latin de Julien Bezard: des principes à la pratique (1914–1934). In: Laurent Gutierrez (ed.): *L'Éducation nouvelle. Histoire d'une réalité militante*. Recherches & Éducatives 4. Nancy (143 pp.), pp. 79–91.

Spanish

1994. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín Cristiano*. Madrid (588 pp.), pp. 487–495: El latín bíblico y la didáctica del latín.

English textbooks

Note. – Helpful companions for all serious beginners are the following books:

2004. Norma W. Goldman: *English Grammar for Students of Latin. The Study Guide for Those Learning Latin*. Third Edition. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Olivia and Hill Press. v, 170 pp.
2013. Peter Burton: *English Grammar Guide for Language Students*. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press. 376 pp.

Elementary courses

1874. William Dodds: *The Vulgate Latin Course. Containing Grammar, Delectus, Exercise Book, and Vocabularies*. Manchester. 132 pp. – The book has often been reprinted.
1923. Joyce E. Lowe: *Church Latin for Beginners in Ecclesiastical Latin*. London. xii, 147 pp. Accompanied by the author's *Key to Church Latin for Beginners*. London 1923. 44 pp. – The fourth edition is entitled: *Church Latin for Beginners. An Elementary Course of Exercises in Ecclesiastical Latin*. London 1933. xii, 177 pp.
1933. Annie Mary Scarre: *An Introduction to Liturgical Latin*. Ditchling. 208 pp. – A second, revised edition: London 1938. 213 pp.
1944. Cora Carroll Scanlon – Charles L. Scanlon: *Latin Grammar: Preparation for the Reading of the Missal and Breviary*. St. Louis. ix, 334 pp. – Originally published by Herder, it was frequently reprinted, e.g., by Tan Books in Charlotte, N.C., 1976 and 2013.
1985. John F. Collins: *A Primer of Ecclesiastical Latin*. Washington. xviii, 451 pp. – A textbook. Pages 411–438: Latin-English Vocabulary. The textbook, considered somewhat dry (but reliable), draws for examples upon the Vulgate Bible. There is a key to the book that solves the tasks: John R. Dunlap: *An Answer Key to A Primer of Ecclesiastical Latin*. Washington 2006. ix, 168 pp.; Dunlap also corrects misprints and oversights of the textbook.
2002. Clifford R. Hull – Steven R. Perkins – Tracy Barr: *Latin for Dummies*. New York. xx, 363 pp. – This introduction to Latin includes a chapter on church Latin (chapter 13). This chapter has disappeared from the 2nd edition 2022. There are several translations of this book; the one into German – *Latein für Dummies*. Weinheim 2008. 349 pp. – includes the section on "Kirchenlatein."
2016. Reginaldus Thomas Foster OCD – Daniel Patricius McCarthy OSB: *Ossa latinitatis sola ad mentem Reginaldi – The Mere Bones of Latin, according to the Thought and System of Reginald*. Washington. xlvi, 831 pp. – This is a comprehensive Latin course, aiming to teach the Latin of all ages, down to the present time. The Reginaldus referred to in the title is Father Reginald Thomas Foster OCD (1939–2020), a Carmelite priest who taught for many years in Rome and served as a papal Latinist. Some of the reading material included in the book is from the Nova Vulgata. The book recommends the use of the Latin-English dictionary of Lewis & Short (see below, Chapter **8.3**). ▲
2020. Derek Cooper: *Basics of Latin. A Grammar with Readings and Exercises from the Christian Tradition*. Zondervan Academic Publishers. Grand Rapids, Mich. xxxi, 402 pp.
2021. Lionel Yaceczko: *Jerome's Introduction to Latin. An Elementary Latin Textbook Based on the Latin Vulgate*. Potomac, Md. xx, 242 pp.

Reading material

1919. J.P. Whitney – H.J. White: *Selections from the Vulgate*. Texts for Students. London. 60 pp.
1980. Carol D. Lanham: More on Teaching Medieval Latin. *The Classical Journal* 75.4 (1980) 335–339. – The author suggests to use *Vetus Latina* gospel text to introduce students (who already know classical Latin) to reading and understanding medieval Latin. A brief linguistic commentary on Matt 2:10–11 (*Vetus Latina*) serves as an introductory lesson.
1990. D.A. Russell: *An Anthology of Latin Prose*. Oxford. xxxiii, 251 pp. – This reader has a chapter with selections from the Vulgate (pp. 229–237): Gen 39:1–20; Koh 1:1–11; Ps 23 (Vg 22); Luke 2:1–21; Acts 17:16–34; 1 Cor 13. Some of these passages are accompanied by brief textual notes, esp. on unusual words.
1995. Keith C. Sidwell: *Reading Medieval Latin*. Cambridge. xviii, 398 pp. – This reader includes a section with Vulgate texts (pp. 29–42) that are printed with brief textual notes: 1 Sam 17; Cant 1; Luke 23; 1 Cor 13. A basic knowledge of classical Latin is presupposed.
2005. David J. Ladouceur: *The Latin Psalter. Introduction, Selected Text and Commentary*. London. 126 pp. – Intended for classroom use, the book contains an introduction to Jerome’s work on the Psalter. The author (1948–2022) had planned to write a complete linguistic commentary on the Latin Psalms, but the project was never realized. – Review: Jason Harris, *Classics Ireland* 13 (2006) 119–120.
2005. Martin Cothran: *Lingua biblica. Old Testament Studies in Latin*. Louisville, Ky. – No details were available on this title.
2005. Scott E. Goins: *A Vulgate Old Testament Reader*. Gorgias Handbooks. Piscataway, N.J. xx, 153 pp. – Selected texts from all parts of the Old Testament, but especially from the Psalms, with linguistic explanations.; pp. 111–153: dictionary, with essential vocabulary highlighted with asterisks (** and * for “very frequent” and “frequent”).
2016. Dale A. Grote: *The Vulgate of Mark with the Synoptic Parallels*. Wauconda, Ill. xxi, 442 pp. – This book with the Latin text of Mark is meant to serve as reading material for undergraduate students. To facilitate reading, each section is accompanied by a linguistic key. Pages 409–442: Complete Latin-to-English glossary. The Latin text used is that of the Neo-Vulgate (see below, **Chapter 17**), but the author uses his own punctuation (banishing, for instance, the semicolon).
2017. Randy Hilton: *Latin Bible Reader*. Pomfret, Md. 114 pp. – A Latin reader with translations of all words, based on fifteen Bible passages such as Genesis 1; 22; 45:1–19; Acts 9:1–19, and Revelation 22.
2018. Fredrick J. Long: *Illustrated Mark in Latin*. Wilmore, KY. 94 pp. – Latin text, accompanied by the author’s literal translation.
2018. Virginia Grinch – Evan Hayes – Stephen Nimis: *The Gospel of John in Greek and Latin. A Comparative Intermediate Reader. Greek and Latin Text with Running Vocabulary and Commentary*. Faenum Publishing. Oxford, Ohio. xxxix, 337 pp. – The text of the Gospel is presented in Greek and Latin on facing pages. At the bottom of each page is an apparatus of vocabulary and analysis of word forms. There is also a Latin glossary of common words not included in the apparatus (pp. 335–337). Very useful, though one must realise that the Latin text is neither that of the Clementina nor that of Weber/Gryson, but of the Nova Vulgata. ▲
2019. Vili Lehtoranta: *St. Jerome Church Latin*. Barnes & Noble. New York. 302 pp.

2020. Dale A. Grote: *The Acts of the Apostles. A Latin Reader*. Concord, N.C. xii, 261 pp. – Each section is accompanied by a vocabulary list and linguistic helps for the student. This is the only recent textbook published by a major publishing house.
2023. Jonathan Kline – Karen DeCrescenzo Lavery: *Keep Up Your Biblical Latin in Two Minutes a Day. 365 Selections for Easy Review*. Peabody, Mass. xiv, 370 pp.

German textbooks

Elementary courses

1866. Dominicus Mettenleiter: *Faßliche und praktische Grammatik der katholischen Kirchen-Sprache*. Regensburg. xv, 263 pp. – An introductory textbook, and not, as the title seems to promise, a systematically structured handbook of Latin grammar with paradigms and the like.
1896. Leopold M.E. Stoff: *Kurzgefasste theoretisch-praktische Grammatik der lateinischen Kirchensprache*. Mainz. 266 pp. – Review: Paul Geyer: *Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1 (1897) 75–102, at p. 102: "Die grammatikalischen Anschauungen sind ganz veraltet, die Regeln oft sehr ungeschickt gefasst."
1911. Johannes Zwior: *Einführung in die lateinische Kirchensprache*. Freiburg. viii, 88 pp. – The book, intended for monasteries, was published by Herder; the last, 11th and 12th editions, appeared in 1934 (viii, 138 pp.).
- 1924/25. Emmeram Leitl: *Lateinbuch für Erwachsene*. 3 Bändchen. Munich. viii, 182; viii, 158; x, 214 pp. – Many of the readings are from the Vulgate Bible.
1927. Emmeram Leitl: *Das Latein der Kirche*. Munich. 175 pp. – The work, published by the Schulwissenschaftliche Verlag of Kösel and Pustet, is subtitled: "Natürliche und kurze Einführung in das Kirchenlatein für alle, die mit der Kirche beten wollen." The book is supplemented by a glossary: Ernst Schindlbeck: *Lateinisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis zu Dr. Emmeram Leitl: "Das Latein der Kirche"*. Munich 1927. 56 pp.; the last page of this glossary offers corrections to *Das Latein der Kirche*.
1928. Benedikt Bauer: *Praktisches Handbuch zum Erlernen der lateinischen Kirchenprache*. 5th edition. Rottenburg 1928. 300 pp. – The first edition was published in 1899. The book is aimed at candidates for the priesthood, nuns, and organists.
1928. Franz Schneider: *Die Muttersprache unserer Kirche. Eine Einführung für das Volk*. Freiburg, vi, 56, 2 pp.
2004. Hanspeter Betschart: *Latinitas Christiana. Einführung in die christliche Latinität*. Olten. 156, 8 pp. – Only a few biblical texts are presented (Psalm 100 and 117; Matt 2:1–20; 6:7–13; 16:13–19; 20:1–18; Luke 2:1–20), but much grammar is provided.
2010. Monique Goulet – Michel Parisse: *Lehrbuch des mittelalterlichen Lateins. Für Anfänger*. Hamburg. 230 pp. – Translated from the French and edited by Helmut Schareika.
2015. Manfred Niehoff: *Lerne Latein mit der Bibel! Einführung ins „Bibellatein“ bzw. Kirchenlatein*. Einführungen: Theologie 7. Münster. 229 pp. – There is a 2nd, enlarged edition 2020, 298 pp. The textbook is based on the linguistics of Christian Touratier.

2015. Leo Bazant-Hegemark: *Institutio Latina. Lehrbuch der lateinischen Sprache für Studierende der Theologie*. Heiligenkreuz. 250 pp. – Among the textual examples, those taken from the Vulgate New Testament dominate.

Reading material

1918. Friedrich Slotty: *Vulgärlateinisches Übungsbuch*. Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen. Bonn. 64 pp.
1986. Otto Schönberger: *Von Nepos zum Neuen Testament*. Bamberg. 96 pp. – Pages 80–95: New Testament; Matt 12:2–3 in Latin, with German translation and commentary.
2000. Florian Kopp: *Bilder der Bibel. Texte der Vulgata und ihre Rezeption in Europa*. Bamberg. 110 pp. – There is a teacher's commentary (182 pp.) as a companion to this book of selected texts intended for Latin classes, also prepared by Florian Kopp. – Review: Martin Schmalisch, *Forum Classicum* 44 (2001) 62–64.
2008. Alois Mayr (ed.): *Die Bibel. Lateinische Bibel-Texte aus der Vulgata*. Munich. 188 pp. – The reader originated in a Latin course taught at the Albrecht-Ernst-Gymnasium Oettingen.
2012. Ulf Jesper: Christliche Wurzeln Europas – die Vulgata. In: Clement Utz (ed.): *Buchners Lesebuch Latein*. Ausgabe A 1. Bamberg (180 pp.), pp. 106–119.
2014. Ulf Jesper: *Ein Mann im Fisch, eine Frau in der Fremde. Die Geschichten von Jona und Rut*. Buchners Anfangslektüre. Bamberg. 48 pp. – Selections from the books of Jonah and Ruth, with textual notes.
2017. Franz-Joseph Grobauer et al.: *Ex libris. Latein-Einstiegstexte*. Vienna 2017. 64, xvi pp. – This reader of annotated Latin texts for the use in schools has a section "Gestalten aus der Bibel."
2018. Stefan Beck: *Hieronymus, Vulgata*. Tango – Antike zum Anfassen. Göttingen. 32 pp. – Text selections for the classroom, with collateral material and study aids.
2019. Katja Kersten-Babeck: *Tollite, legite. Mit Augustinus Latein lernen*. Speyer. 205 pp. – Although the selections in this book are from Augustine, the first three lessons introduce vocabulary and grammar with examples from the Vulgate. A second, revised edition (also with 205 pp.) was published in 2021.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart. 343 pp. Published by Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, this reader presents forty-six passages of the Latin text of Weber/Gryson (including the complete texts of Ruth, Jonah, 1 Thessalonians, and Jude; and the complete text of the Samson story, Judges 13–16, as well as of the Sermon on the Mount, Matt 5–7), accompanied by a very literal German working translation, grammatical and stylistic notes, and a Latin glossary. The Latin text used is that of the Weber/Gryson edition, though wisely with punctuation added, including quotation marks for direct speech. Among Oborski's earlier work is the German translation of the Vulgate text of the book of Jeremiah (Tusculum-Vulgata IV, pp. 234–477); in the present book, only two Jeremiah passages are included: Jer 1 and Jer 13:1–15. Corrigenda: p. 57, Gen 11:6 Und er sagte (not: Und der Herr sagte); p. 127, note on 2 Sam 12:14, read *morte morietur*; p. 317, last but one line, read *morte morieris*. ▲

French textbooks

1864. M. Adolphe Mazure: *Cours de latin chrétien*. Paris. 629 pp. – This is an elementary-level introduction for students who have not studied Latin at school. Readings are taken from the New Testament (pp. 324–340) and the Old Testament (pp. 360–383). Latin-French glossary, pp. 443–461. Mazure’s outline of Latin grammar is based on the relevant French classic: Charles-François Lhomond: *Éléments de la grammaire latine*, first published in the eighteenth century. Mazure’s textbook was reprinted in Canada in 2020.
1918. Charles Dumaine: *Le latin en 15 leçons*. 2^e édition, revue et augmentée. Paris. iv, 248 pp. – Ecclesiastical Latin is taught on the basis of the Vulgate New Testament.
1921. Madame Joseph Flad: *Cours de latin liturgique*. Paris. 360 pp.
1938. Madame Joseph Flad: *Le latin de l’église: étudié d’après la grammaire et la liturgie*. Nouvelle édition. Paris. xvi, 342 pp. – Review: L. Rochus, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 22 (1943) 241–244: this textbook relies on the recent, avant-garde notion of abandoning the systematic presentation of grammar.
1984. Bernadette Lécureux: *Cours de latin liturgique*. Paris. 95 pp.
1996. Monique Goulet – Michel Parisse: *Apprendre le latin médiéval. Manuel pour grands commençants*. Paris. 215 pp. (For the German translation, see above, 2010.) – There is a supplementary volume by the same authors: *Traduire le latin médiéval. Manuel pour grands commençants*. Paris 2003. 233 pp.
2014. Olivier Günst Horn: *Le latin par l’exemple. Initiation au latin de l’église*. Flavigny-sur-Ozerain. 304 pp. – A detailed textbook of ecclesiastical Latin, with many examples from the Vulgate. A glossary is included.
2017. Daniel Arseneault: [Apprendre le latin avec la Vulgate](#). Cercle latin de la Nouvelle-France. 2017. 110 pp.

Chapter 6

Bibliographical Resources

Note. – In this chapter, we list almost exclusively printed specialist bibliographies. Researchers, however, should not fail to consult resources that list works in the wider field of biblical studies. Regularly published in print is the *Bulletin de bibliographie biblique*, currently edited by Sophie Gloor on behalf of the Institut Romand des Sciences Bibliques (Université de Lausanne). This institute maintains an open-access database known as *Bibil* = Bibliographie biblique informatisée de Lausanne. Another most useful searchable online bibliography, established in 2019, is the *Index Biblicus* of which the technical web name is *BILDI-lx-Theo*, a website maintained by the University Library of Tübingen, Germany.

Current bibliographies

Discontinues current bibliographies

Completed bibliographies

Current bibliographies

1928–. *L'Année philologique*. – Since 1928, the annual volumes of this comprehensive bibliography have been published, offering, often with abstracts, the entire primary and secondary literature on Greco-Roman antiquity. Literature on the Vulgate Bible is listed under “Hieronymus” and “Testamenta” (= Old and New Testament). The exact title is:

L'Année philologique. Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine. Bibliographie de l'année n.n. et compléments d'années antérieures. – Recent volumes:

[2017 publications] Tomes 88.1 and 88.2. Turnhout 2019. lxiv, 1751 pp.

[2018 publications] Tomes 89.1 and 89.2. Turnhout 2020. lxiii, 1915 pp.

[2019 publications] Tomes 90.1 and 90.2. Turnhout 2021. lxvi, 2089 pp.

[2020 publications] Tomes 91.1 and 91.2. Turnhout 2022. lxviii, 2166 pp.

This bibliography is also available online from the publisher, Brepols.

1964–. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: *Bulletin de la Bible latine*. – Since volume 74 (1964), the “*Bulletin de la Bible latine*” is a regular feature of the *Revue bénédictine*; it offers abstracts and competent reviews of publications on the Latin Bible. Only the instalments published since 1995 are listed here:

Revue bénédictine 105 (1995) 200–235; 106 (1996) 386–412; 108 (1998) 359–386; 110 (2000) 135–155; 112 (2002) 152–175; 114 (2004) 179–210; 116 (2006) 133–163; 118 (2010) 145–179; 121 (2011) 456–473; 123 (2013) 385–413; 125 (2015) 154–187; 127 (2017) 148–194; 129 (2019) 189–217; 131 (2021) 450–494 (with J.-C. Haelewyck). – In 1995, the reviewers began to add numbers to the items reviewed; between 1995 and 2021, 1385 items have been reviewed.

Discontinued current bibliographies

Note. – For decades, biblical and patristic studies have been well served by current bibliographies, published in annual volumes. This has changed dramatically, as the patristics bibliography (Schneemelcher) and the Latin word studies bibliography (Hiltbrunner) were discontinued in the 1990s, and the two biblical bibliographies (Lang and the Elenchus) in 2011.

1892–1915. *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*. – In the 13 volumes of this bibliographic periodical, some of the volumes include contributions on biblical and ecclesiastical Latin. To be recommended especially is Paul Geyer: *Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896*. *Kritischer Jahresbericht* 5.1 (1897) 75–102.

1954–2011. *Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete*. – Beginning with volume 47: 2002, it was entitled *International Review of Biblical Studies* (and kept the German title as a subtitle). The last volume is vol. 56: 2011; then, to the regret of the editor, the series was discontinued. Not only journals, but especially in the last volumes also books and contributions in festschriften and anthologies were included. The entries are provided with a summary (abstract). Still useful as a treasure trove. – Der letzte Band ist Bd. 56: 2011, dann wurde die Serie eingestellt. Nicht nur Zeitschriften, sondern bes. in den letzten Bänden wurden auch Bücher und Beiträge in Festschriften und Sammelbänden ausgewertet. Die Einträge sind mit einer Zusammenfassung (abstract) versehen. Immer noch als Fundgrube nützlich.

1959–1997. Wilhelm Schneemelcher – Knut Schäferdiek (eds.): *Bibliographia Patristica. Internationale patristische Bibliographie*. Berlin. – The work ceased publication with volume 33–35: 1997 (lvii, 705 pp.; listing publications of the years 1988–1990). In the section *auctores singuli*, relevant material is listed under the name "Hieronymus."

1968–2011. *Elenchus bibliographicus biblicus*. – Since 1920, the journal *Biblica*, published by the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, has supplied a detailed, thematically organized bibliography. From 1968 (as vol. 49: 1968) until 2011, the bibliography constituted a separate publication, since 1986 under the title "Elenchus of *Biblica*." The last volume is vol. 27: 2011; then the series was discontinued. This resource is still very useful, not least because it also lists book reviews. – Peter Naber SJ (1912–1980), who for many years served as the editor of the *Elenchus*, also compiled two supplements, published as appendices in the journal *Verbum Domini*: *Elenchus supplementarius*. *Verbum Domini* 38 (1960) 324 and 1*–60*; 39 (1961) 1*–76*. ▲

1981–1992. Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 1: a – actvs. 1981. xxii, 298 pp.; vol. 2: adeo – atrocitas. 1984. 323 pp.; vol. 3: atrax – causa. 1988. 310 pp. (a misspelling in the title: it must be *atrox*); vol. 4: censeo – cur. 1992. 348 pp. – The design of this bibliography is to be commended for its thoroughness. Each entry consists of two parts: (1) a list of books, book chapters, and articles that discuss a word (example: *civitas*), and (2) a short essay that summarises the result of these studies. Due to the lack of funding (and due to the editor's age of seventy-nine), the project had to be discontinued. Hiltbrunner (1913–2017), a Latinist interested in Christian Latin, was one of Germany's leading classical scholars. ▲

Completed bibliographies

1897. Walter Arthur Copinger: *The Bible and Its Transmission, Being an Historical and Bibliographical View of the Hebrew and Greek Texts, and the Greek, Latin and Other Versions of the Bible (...) prior to the Reformation*. London. viii, 340, xxvii pp. – Listed are mainly early printed editions of the Latin Bible. The book was reprinted in 1972. Copinger (1847–1910) is remembered as a lawyer, antiquarian, and bibliographer. The accuracy of his work has been challenged.
1897. Paul Geyer: *Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1 (1897) 75–102. – Review of a series of publications.
1908. Lucien Méchineau SJ: *La langue des anciennes versions latines*. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 4.1. Paris (1058 cols.), cols. 97–99. After a short thematic introduction, the author lists relevant publications on late Latin from 1715 to 1902.
1946. John M. Lenhart: *Protestant Latin Bibles of the Reformation from 1520–1570. A Bibliographical Account*. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8: 416–432.
1955. Bruce M. Metzger: *Annotated Bibliography of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, 1914–1939*. Copenhagen. xviii, 133 pp. – Pages 34–45: The Vulgate. This chapter is in three parts: manuscripts – editions – studies.
1979. Elena Malaspina: *Gli studi sulla latinità cristiana (1951–1978)*. *Cultura e scuola* 18/7: 40–47; 18/72: 64–70.
1980. Hermann Josef Sieben: *Voces. Eine Bibliographie zu Wörtern und Begriffen aus der Patristik* (1918 – 1978). Berlin. 461 pp. – Pages 226–427: Latin words; not specific to the Vulgate, but sometimes pertinent. A reprint was published in 2014.
1983. Hermann Josef Sieben: *Exegesis Patrum. Saggio bibliografico sull'esegesi biblica dei Padri della Chiesa*. Rome. 150 pp. – Listed are mainly articles on how individual biblical passages were understood by the church fathers, including Jerome. Two thousand bibliographical items are listed, arranged according to the canonical sequence of the biblical books from Genesis to the book of Revelation.
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: *Bibliographie sélective sur l'Ancien Testament latin: éditions de texte et travaux essentiels*. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 304–314. – The bibliography follows the order of the biblical writings: Genesis – Exodus – Leviticus, etc. The items listed are almost exclusively about the *Vetus Latina*.
1989. André Vernet – A.-M. Genevois: *La Bible au Moyen Age. Bibliographie*. Paris. 131 pp.
1989. Gabriel Sanders – Marc Van Uytfange: *Bibliographie signalétique du Latin des chrétiens*. Turnhout. xi, 188 pp. – With an index of Latin words.
1994. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín Cristiano*. Madrid, 588 pp. – Pages 509–521: bibliography on biblical Latin, with many Spanish titles not listed elsewhere.
2000. Roger Aubert: *Jérôme*. In: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. Tome 27. Paris (2 pp., 1518 cols.), cols. 1021–1027. – Annotated bibliography of then recent contributions to research on Jerome and his work.
2001. Lorenzo DiTommaso: *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850–1999*. Sheffield. 1067 pp. – Relevant are the sections on 4 Ezra (pp. 469–524) and the Prayer of Manasseh (pp. 717–726).

2002. Christian Heitzmann et al.: *Lateinische Bibeldrucke. 1454–2001*. Stuttgart. xxxiii, 1396 pp. – This work, presented in three large-size volumes, gives complete and reliable descriptions of all the printed Latin Bibles of the famous collection owned by the Württemberg State Library (Württembergische Landesbibliothek) of Stuttgart, Germany. Original prints of the Gutenberg Bible (1454) are listed along with modern reprints, facsimiles, and even electronic versions. A model of its kind, this publication is to be commended for its unrivalled accuracy. ▲
2004. Peter Stotz: *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Volume 5: *Bibliographie, Quellenübersicht und Register*. Handbuch der Antike. Munich. 1059 pp.
2004. Pierre Jay: Jerome (ca. 347–419/20). In: Charles Kannengiesser: *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*. Volume 2. Leiden (xiv, pp. 673–1496), pp. 1094–1133. – Pages 1115–1133: bibliography.
2010. Alexey R. Fokin: *St. Jerome of Stridon: Biblical Scholar, Exegete, Theologian*. Moscow. 223 pp. (Russian). – Pages 184–206: A Jerome bibliography.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 363–429: Jerome bibliography. ▲
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Pages 249–300: bibliography. Listed are not only works that deal with Jerome's prefaces, but also works that deal with the Vulgate and its history more generally. ▲
2018. Adalbert Keller – Beate Hartley-Lutz: *Translationes Patristicae Graecae et Latinae – Bibliographie der Übersetzungen altchristlicher Quellen*. Hiersemanns bibliographische Handbücher. Stuttgart. xx, 768 pp. – The volume replaces the first edition of the work, published in 1997 and 2004 in two volumes. It lists the most important editions of Greek and Latin authors, including Augustine and Jerome, as well as translations into German, English, French, and Spanish, arranged alphabetically by author. An indispensable reference tool for research.
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: *Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión*. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74. – This article surveys the current state of research; appended is a bibliography of c. 170 titles (pp. 60–74), each of which is mentioned in the survey. ▲
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: *Panorama editorial de la Vetus Latina y la Vulgata: series, proyectos, ediciones de referencia*. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 52: 7–90. ▲

**MANUSCRIPTS –
LANGUAGE –
HISTORY**

Chapter 7

Manuscripts

Note. – All printed editions of the Latin Bible are ultimately based on manuscripts, some of which dating from very early times – the fourth and fifth centuries CE. In modern printed editions, variants from important manuscripts are indicated in the critical apparatus, though today, specialists prefer to consult manuscripts directly, either in printed editions or, when available, in digital editions. Many libraries that own important manuscripts now make them accessible for consultation online – and the user will immediately see that without palaeographic knowledge and experience, these manuscripts cannot be read. In the present chapter, some often-quoted Latin Bible manuscripts are listed. Those who consult the chapter must be alerted to the fact that there are actually hundreds of relevant manuscripts in the libraries. All modern printed editions list those that are used by the editors.

The manuscripts can be sorted into two groups. To our first group belong those whose text is evidence of the pre-Vulgate textual tradition, called the “Vetus Latina” (Old Latin). The second group, here given more space, is formed of Vulgate manuscripts. Scholars working with these manuscripts are quick to discover that there is no straightforward boundary between these two groups, because copyists often introduced Vetus-Latina readings into their copies of Vulgate texts.

- 7.1 Some major Vetus Latina manuscripts, mainly of the New Testament
- 7.2 Some major Vulgate manuscripts
- 7.3 Reference works and introductions
- 7.4 Collections of variant readings
- 7.5 Fischer’s “Varianten”: New Testament manuscripts statistically compared

7.1 Some major Vetus Latina manuscripts, mainly of the New Testament

Note. – The focus of the present bibliography is on the Vulgate, and not on all textual forms of the Latin Bible. Accordingly, we have chosen to present here only very few examples of manuscripts with the Old Latin text, and selected two Old Testament and several New Testament examples. There is a complete list of all know Vetus Latina manuscripts: Roger Gryson (ed.): *Altlateinische Handschriften – Manuscrits Vieux Latins. Répertoire descriptif*. Freiburg 1999, 2004. 2 vols. 379, 364 pp.

Codex Bobiense (Bobbiense)

Codex Vercellensis

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis

Codex Sangallensis 1394

Palimpsestus Wirciburgensis 64a

Vespasian Psalter

Pauline Letters of Budapest

Gospel of Matthew in Codex Sangermanensis primus

Codex Bobiense (Bobbiense)

4th century. Codex Bobiense (Turin/Torino: Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria 1163, GV II.15) gives the Latin text of the four Gospels. It is believed to be the copy of another manuscript, now lost, from the 3rd century. The manuscript has the earliest Latin text of the Gospel of Mark. Modern lists of Bible manuscripts often refer to this manuscript as manuscript "k." It may well have originated in North Africa.

1913. C. Cippola (ed.): *Il codice evangelico k della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*. Turin. 70 pp. – Facsimile edition.

Secondary literature

1930. Pieter W. Hoogterp: *Étude sur le latin du Codex Bobiense (k) des Évangiles*. Wageningen. 245 pp.

1953. Adolfine H.A. Bakker: *A Study of Codex Evangeliorum Bobbiense (k)*. Amsterdam. 84 pp.

1976. D.W. Palmer: The Origin, Form and Purpose of Mark XVI,4 in Codex Bobbiense. *Journal of Theological Studies* 27: 113–122.

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Esp. pp. 10, 22–23, 210. – Page 10: The text of this codex "appears to antedate [that of church father] Cyprian. This is most clearly shown by the ending of Mark." It is "the only gospel manuscript in Greek or Latin which has the shorter ending by itself, while Cyprian seems to be familiar with the longer ending of Mark 16:9 onwards."

2021. Claire Clivaz: Mk 16 im Codex Bobbiensis. Neue Materialien zur *conclusio brevior* des Markus-evangeliums. *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 24/Heft 47, pp. 59–85. – The article includes a section entitled: “Zum Stand der Forschung: Die fällige Neubewertung des Codex k.” The manuscript has the following ending of Mark’s gospel (p. 83): “*Omnia autem quaecumque praecepta erant ei et qui cum Petro* [the manuscript reads: *puero*] *erant breviter exposuerunt posthaec et ipse Iesus adparuit et ab orientem usque in orientem* [should be: *in occidentem*] *misit per illos sanctam et incorruptam praedicationem* [the word *praedicationem* is not in the text] *salutis aeternae. Amen.*” – In German: “Alle übermittelten Weisungen aber legten auch die, die mit Petrus waren, kurz aus; und danach erschien Jesus selbst und sandte durch sie die heilige und unvergängliche Predigt des ewigen Heil vom Osten zum Westen. Amen.”

Codex Vercellensis

4th century. Codex Vercellensis, kept in the Archivio Capitolare Eusebiano in Vercelli, Italy, is a manuscript (634 parchment pages) of the Latin Gospels, dating from the second half of the fourth century.

1749. Giuseppe Bianchini (Josephus Blanchinus): *Evangeliarum quadruplex latinae versionis antiquae seu veteris Italicae*. 2 parts. Rome. 56, cclxiv leaves; 7, cdlii leaves. Included in this pioneering work on the Vetus Latina is the first edition of the Codex Vercellensis; it has been reprinted in PL 12: 9–948 and is thus easily accessible.

1894. J. Belsheim (ed.): *Codex Vercellensis. Quatuor evangelia ante Hieronymum latine translata (...) de-nuo edidit J. Belsheim*. Oslo vii, 133 pp.

1914. Aidan T. Gasquet OSB (ed.): *Codex Vercellensis*. Rome. 242 pp. – Another edition of the manuscript.

Secondary literature

1927/28. C.H. Turner: Did Codex Vercellensis (a) contain the Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark? *Journal of Theological Studies* 29: 16–18. – The relevant page is missing from the codex, but calculations of space make the presence of the last twelve – secondary – verses unlikely. Thus one might assume that the Old Latin version did not include the secondary ending of Mark.

1977. Bruce M. Metzger: *The Early Versions of the New Testament*. Oxford. xix, 498 pp. – See pp. 312–313.

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See p. 26 and p. 211.

2021. Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni: *Fragmenta Curiensia. Ein Beitrag zu Sprache und Übersetzung des frühlateinischen Lukasevangeliums*. Berlin. xxix, 289 pp. – Associated with the Codex Vercellensis are several replacement parchment leaves dating from the 7th century. From these, the authors have selected the fragments with Luke 11:11–29 and 13:16–34 for special consideration; see Houghton, pp. 219–220.

2021. Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni: The Fragmenta Curiensia (a²) as Witnesses of the Gospel of Luke. *Early Christianity* 12: 135–156.

2022. Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni: The Codex Vercellensis (a, 3) as Witness of the Gospel of Luke. *Early Christianity* 13: 105–130. – Marred by mistakes, Gasquet’s edition of 1914 is deemed inadequate.

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis

- c. 400. This codex, the reformer Theodore Beza's 1581 gift to the university library of Cambridge, gives the text of the Gospels and the book of Acts in Greek and Latin. The library's shelf number is "MS Nn. 2.41." – Since 2012, one can find a complete electronic copy of this manuscript on the website of the Cambridge University Library.
1864. Frederick H. Scrivener (ed.): *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis (...) Edited with a critical Introduction, Annotations, and Facsimiles*. Cambridge. lxxv, 454 pp. – A printed edition of the manuscript. According to the editor, it originated "early in the sixth century," as indicated on the title page. Pages xxxi–xlv: On the Latin Version in Codex Bezae. The editor characterizes the Latin language of the manuscript as follows: "We must now state our reasons for believing that the Latin translator executed his work in some remote province, where the language, though still vernacular, had far progressed in its decline.; most probably in Gaul" (p. xl). – Reprint: Pittsburgh, Penn. 1978.
1996. Antonio Ammassari (ed.): *Bezae codex Cantabrigiensis. Copia esatta del manoscritto onciale greco-latino*. Vatican City. 947 pp.
2012. David Parker: Codex Bezae (MS Nn. 2.41). – Digital edition of the manuscript, complete with a transcription, to be accessed from the website of the Cambridge University Library. Parker suggests that the manuscript may have been produced in Berytus (Beirut), today's capital city of the state of Lebanon.

Secondary literature

1689. Richard Simon: *Critical History of the Text of the New Testament*. Translated by Andrew Hunwick. Leiden 2013. xxxvi, 368 pp. – The famous French author, an early-modern textual critic, reports that he has studied this manuscript; he quotes from it extensively, see pp. 300–332 and passim.
1891. James Rendel Harris: *Codex Bezae. A Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament*. Cambridge. viii, 202 pp. – The Greek text was reworked on the basis of the parallel Latin text. Very critical of Harris's book is Paul Geyer: *Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1 (1897) 75–102, at pp. 97–98.
1900. Cuthbert H. Turner: Notes on the Old Latin Version of the Bible. *Journal of Theological Studies* 2.8: 600–609, at p. 600: "It will soon, it may be hoped, be recognised with equal unanimity that it is hopeless to start the enquiry into the Old Latin version by the examination of a witness so corrupt and so peculiar as the codex Bezae."
1910. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis*. Texte und Untersuchungen 36. Leipzig. iv, 119 pp. – This study is famous for its suggestion that the first Latin Gospel must have been an Old Latin Gospel harmony, derived from the Diatessaron. In the words of Daniel Plooij (*A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron*. Leiden 1925 [xi, 92 pp.], p. 3): "The Latin text of Codex Cantabrigiensis is influenced by the Latin Diatessaron which was a translation from the Syriac." ▲
1926. James H. Ropes: *The Text of Acts*. The Beginnings of Christianity I.3. London. cccxx, 464 pp. – Pages lxxii–lxxiii: "Influence of the Latin on Greek" in Codex Bezae.
1946. Robert G. Stone: *The Language of the Latin Text of Codex Bezae. With an Index verborum*. Urbana, Ill. 199 pp.
1963. J. Mizzi: The Vulgate Text of the Supplemental Pages of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis. *Sacris erudiri* 14: 149–163.

1979. R. Sheldon MacKenzie: The Latin Column in Codex Bezae. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 2/6: 58–76. – The numerous phonological errors in the Latin text are due to dictation. Page 74: “The Latin text in which the phonological errors occur appears to be older than the Latin text of which the fuller readings are a part. With two exceptions [Acts 15:29; 17:19], there are no phonological errors known to me in the fuller readings in the Latin text. This must mean that when the Latin text became a part of the bilingual codex, the fuller readings were imported into it from the Greek column.”
1982. David C. Parker: A “Dictation Theory” of Codex Bezae. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 5/15: 97–112. – Sheldon MacKenzie in his 1979 article has claimed that the Latin Column of Codex Bezae includes errors typically found in dictated texts. This claim cannot be maintained. There is much evidence to support the notion that the Latin column’s errors are due to visual copying. A typically visual error is the assimilation error in *trens menses* for *tres menses* (Acts 19:8).
1986. G. J. C. Jordan: Variation in word between the Greek and Latin texts in codex Bezae. In: J.H. Petzer – P.J. Hartin (eds.): *A South African Perspective on the New Testament: Essays by South African New Testament Scholars presented to Bruce Manning Metzger during His Visit to South Africa in 1985*. Leiden (xii, 270 pp.), pp. 99–111.
1992. David C. Parker: *Codex Bezae. An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text*. Cambridge. xxiii, 349 pp.
1996. Antonio Ammassari: *Il Vangelo di Matteo nella colonna latina del Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis. Note di commento sulla struttura letteraria, la punteggiatura, le lezioni e le citazioni bibliche*. Vatican City. 238 pp. – Each of the other gospels is studied in a separate volume – *Il Vangelo di Marco* (156 pp.), *di Luca* (189 pp.), *di Giovanni* (129 pp.).
1998. Antonio Ammassari: *Gli Atti del Cristo risorto. Note di commento sulla struttura letteraria e le lezioni degli “Atti degli Apostoli” nella colonna latina del “Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis.”* Vatican City. 116 pp.
2009. David C. Parker: *Manuscripts, Texts, Theology. Collected Papers 1977–2007*. Berlin. xxii, 379 pp. – The volume includes three papers on Codex Bezae: A Dictation Theory of Codex Bezae (pp. 5–18); Codex Bezae and Other Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library (pp. 65–72); Codex Bezae: The Manuscript as Past, Present and Future (pp. 103–112).
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 28 and pp. 112–113. – “Despite the textual peculiarities of the manuscript, the overall character of the Latin version corresponds with the rest of the Latin biblical tradition: there are a handful of early readings shared with the most ancient sources, but in the Gospels the text is relatively close to the version immediately preceding the Vulgate (...) This reflects the ongoing revision of the Latin translation and its being brought into ever closer conformity with Greek texts.” According to Houghton, who follows David Parker, the manuscript was “copied around the year 400, possibly in the legal centre of Berytus (modern Beirut)” (p. 28).
2020. Peter E. Lorenz: An Examination of Six Objections to the Theory of Latin Influence on the Greek Text of Codex Bezae. In: H.A.G. Houghton – Peter Montoro (eds.): *At One Remove: The Text of the New Testament in Early Translations and Quotations*. Piscataway, N.J. (xxiii, 337 pp.), pp. 173–188.
2021. Peter E. Lorenz: *A History of Codex Bezae’s Text in the Gospel of Mark*. Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung. Berlin. xvi, 1013 pp.

Codex Sangallensis 1394

5th century. Twenty-five leaves remain of this fifth-century Italian Gospel codex. Sometime in the Middle Ages, the codex was dismantled and the leaves used for bookbinding. In the early 19th century, the leaves were discovered, and in 1822 collected into folder called Codex Sangallensis 1394 (Stuftsbibliothek St. Gallen). A few fragments were found in other libraries. The text of all four gospels is represented among the fragments.

2012. Rudolf Gamper et al. (eds.): *Die Vetus-Latina-Fragmente aus dem Kloster St. Gallen. Faksimile – Edition – Kommentar*. Dietikon–Zürich. 180 pp.

Secondary literature

2016. H.A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford (xix, 366 pp.), pp. 219–220.

Palimpsestus Wirciburgensis 64a

5th or 6th century. This Würzburg Codex (158 leaves = 316 pages of sheep parchment) has texts of Augustine. The parchment leaves used are from two different Italian codices, both of which had an earlier text arranged in two columns, now deleted, but recovered through modern palimpsest technology. The original texts were Latin Bible texts, and the text form was that of the Vetus Latina, of which the Codex Wirciburgensis is a major witness. The text fragments recovered are from the Pentateuch are from Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy; those from the Prophets include fragments of Hosea, Jonah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Ezekiel. The manuscript is kept in the university library of Würzburg, Germany; shelf number: M.p.th.f.64a. – Scholars now use the Vetus-Latina fragments to reconstruct their Greek Vorlage which in turn reflects an underlying pre-masoretic Hebrew text.

1871. Ernst Ranke: *Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium. Antiquissimae Veteris Testamenti Versionis Latinae Fragmenta*. Vienna. xiv, 432 pp.

Secondary literature

1927. A.V. Billen: *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch*. Cambridge. viii, 234 pp. – Billen presents a careful study of the Pentateuchal fragments recovered from Codex Wirciburgensis. According to him, its Latin text must have originated in “Europe,” rather than in North Africa.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Pages 34, 41, 53. Stummer lists the passages that one could decipher, basing his information on Ranke’s edition of 1871.

1978. P.-M. Bogaert OSB: Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l’étude de la tradition des Septante. Ezéchiël et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967. *Biblica* 59: 384–395.

1984. Hans Thurn: *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*. Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg 3.1. Wiesbaden (ix, 160 pp.), p. 48. – Thurn provides a detailed description of the manuscript.

2013. P.-M-. Bogaert OSB: De la Vetus Latina à l’hébreu pré-massorétique en passant par la plus ancienne Septante. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 44: 216–243.

2018. Manfred Pollner: *Die Vetus-Latina-Fragmente im Jeremiabuch*. Göttingen. 742 pp. – Review: Bonifatia Gesche, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 144 (2019) 742–744.

Vespasian Psalter

- c. 730s. Vespasian Psalter. Kept in the British Library, London as Cotton Manuscript Vespasian A 1, this book of Psalms – extant is the text of Ps 2:4 to 150 – is famous for its illuminations and the inter-linear glosses in Old English; these glosses were added in the 9th century. The name “Vespasian Psalter” reflects the fact that in the eighteenth century, the manuscript was kept in the section of the British Museum which had a bust of the Roman Emperor Vespasian.
1885. Henry Sweet (ed.): *The Oldest English Texts. Edited with Introductions and a Glossary*. London. viii, 667 pp. – While the interest of this volume is in early English texts, Seweer transcribes (for the first time) the complete Vespasian Psalter; the transcription is on pp. 188–401. In his introduction, Henry Sweet reports that the Latin text of the manuscript has been largely altered by erasure and otherwise, apparently in order to bring it more into conformity with the Vulgate readings and the conventional spellings.
1965. Sherman M. Kuhn (ed.): *The Vespasian Psalter*. Ann Arbor, Mich. xii, 327 pp. – On pp. 1–146, the author presents a complete transcription of the Latin text and the Old English glosses.
1967. David H. Wright (ed.): *The Vespasian Psalter. British Museum Cotton Vespasian A.1*. Copenhagen. 100, vi pp: 160 leaves. – This is a facsimile edition with a long introduction.

Secondary literature

1940. Victor Leroquais: *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publics de France*. Tome I. Macon. cxxxvi, 293 pp. – Page xxix: “il a existé un type de psautier qui porte, depuis le IX^e siècle, le nom de psautier romain. Aujourd’hui encore, il est représenté par plusieurs manuscrits dont les plus anciens sont le *Vespasien A. 1*. du British Museum, qui provient de Saint-Augustin de Cantorbéry et date des environs de 700; le psautier dit de sainte Salaberge, autrefois conservé à Laon, aujourd’hui à Berlin (Hamilton, 553), le psautier du monastère de Notre-Dame de Soissons, aujourd’hui exilé à Montpellier (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, ms. 409), qui date de la fin du VIII^e siècle et qui fait l’objet d’une notice de ce catalogue (t. I^{er}, p. 273–277).”
1953. *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB. Rome. xxiii, 410 pp. – In his edition of the Roman Psalter, the editor uses the Vespasian Psalter as an important textual witness; on p. xiii he reports that he has used a photograph of the manuscript. – Review: Henry S. Gehman, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955) 135–136.
2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Le psautier latin des origines au XII^e siècle. Essai d’histoire. In: Anneli Aejmelaeus – Udo Quast (eds.): *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse III.230. Göttingen (415 pp.), pp. 51–81. – On pp. 60–61, Bogaert comments briefly on the Roman Psalter and the relevant manuscripts.
2017. Alderik H. Blom: The Vespasian Psalter. In: idem: *Glossing the Psalms. The Emergence of the Written Vernacular in Western Europe from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries*. Berlin (xvi, 332 pp.), pp. 161–173. Blom calls the Vespasian Psalter the oldest surviving text of the *Psalterium Romanum* (p. 161).

Pauline Letters of Budapest

- c. 800. Codex latinus medii aevi I of the library of Hungary’s national museum, the Budapest National Széchényi Library. This is a manuscript of the Pauline epistles, believed to be written in

Salzburg, Austria. The Old Latin text of the Pauline epistles alternates with a brief anonymous commentary.

1973–1974. Hermann Josef Frede: *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*. Freiburg. 2 volumes. 286, 413 pp. – Edition and editor’s commentary volume. Frede discovered this manuscript. The actual commentary text is very brief; in the case of Galatians, for example, the commentary fills only fifteen pages in the edition (vol. 2, pp. 218–233).

Secondary literature

2014. R.F. MacLachlan: A Reintroduction to the Budapest Anonymous Commentary on the Pauline Letters. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament*. Piscataway, N.J. (xiv, 217 pp.), pp. 93–106. – Detailed description of the manuscript. One should not refer to a commentator because the work reflects the work of more than one author.

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 171 and 248–249. The commentary “seems to have originated as a series of marginal comments in a codex of the Epistles in Rome in 397 or 405” (p. 171).

Gospel of Matthew in Codex Sangermanensis primus

c. 810. Codex Sangermanensis primus. Shelf number in Bibliothèque nationale, Paris: ms. Lat. 11553. While this Bible manuscript has, generally, a Vulgate text, its text of the gospel of Matthew is pre-Jeromian (Vetus Latina). Some of the Old Testament books are also Vetus Latina. For the rest, see below, Chapter 7.2 (Codex Sangermanensis primus).

1883. John Wordsworth: *The Gospel according to St. Matthew from the St. Germain Ms. (g1), now numbered Lat. 11533*. Oxford. xliii, 79 pp. – This is an edition of the text of the gospel of Matthew which, unlike other parts of this manuscript, has a pre-Jeromian, Old Latin text. For an earlier edition of this Matthew text by Jean Martianay OSB (1695), see below, Chapter 9.7.

7.2 Some major Vulgate manuscripts

Note. – The oldest and best Vulgate manuscripts that still exist offer the text of the four Gospels. The exception is Codex Amiatinus, a “pandect,” i.e., a complete manuscript of both testaments. For the history of pandects that became more widely produced in and after the ninth century, see below, Chapters 14.3 (English: 2023 Lobrichon) and 14.4 (Alcuin & Theodulf: English 2023; Paris Bible).

Codex Sangallensis 1395

Codex Sangallensis 193

Codex Fuldensis
Codex Lindisfarnensis
St. Cuthbert Gospel
Codex Petropolitanus
Codex Sangermanensis primus
Codex Sangallensis (interlinearis) 48

Codex Sangallensis 1395

- c. 430. Fragmentary preserved codex of the four gospels, without prologue. Written in the first half of the 5th century in Italy (probably Verona, according to Dold 1941), 110 parchment leaves, written in two columns. A large part – 90 parchment leaves – is now in the Abbey Library of St. Gall as part of the Codex Sangallensis 1395 (parts of Matt 6:21 to John 17:18). Six other fragments are in other Swiss libraries and in an Austrian library; seven leaves are in the Cantonal Library of St. Gall (shelfmark: Vadian Collection Manuscript 292a; with parts of Mark 1:27–9:7). The manuscript can be viewed online, linked to a description of the manuscript (e-codices.unifr.ch).
1931. Cuthbert H. Turner (ed.): *The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels. Deciphered and Edited*. Oxford. lxxiii, 216 pp. – According to Turner (d. 1930), the manuscript, dating from around 500, was most likely meant for private study, and not for public use (pp. xiv, xxvi). In the introduction (p. xxiii), Turner reports on the fate of this manuscript. In the Middle Ages, the manuscript, which was considered obsolete, was taken apart, and the leaves were used as endpapers in bookbinding work. It was not until the last years of the 18th century that the then librarian Ildefons von Arx OSB (1755–1833) noticed the value of the scattered leaves, collected them and united them in 1822 to form the composite "manuscript 1395." Reviews:
1932. B. Capelle, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 28: 347.
1932. Walter Bauer, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 57 (1932) 349.
1957. Eduard Fischer: *Ildefons von Arx, 1755–1833. Bibliothekar, Archivar, Historiker zu St. Gallen und Olten*. Olten 1957. 408 pp.
1941. Alban Dold OSB: Neue Teile der ältesten Vulgata-Evangelienhandschrift aus dem 5. Jahrhundert (der St. Galler Sammelhandschrift 1395 zugehörig). *Biblica* 22: 105–146. – Dold found and here publishes a number of fragments, including several full pages from the Gospel of Mark (Mark 1–2 and 5–12 as well as 14:62–15:5). In addition, fragments from Matt 6 and 26 as well as Luke 22:30–35. His edition complements Turner's edition of 1931.

Secondary literature

1883. Hermann Rösch: Zur biblischen Latinität aus dem cod. Sangallensis der Evangelien. *Romanische Forschungen* 1: 419–426.
- 1941/66. Bernhard Bischoff: Zur Rekonstruktion des Sangallensis (Σ) und der Vorlage seiner Marginalien. *Biblica* 22: 147–158. – Revised and enlarged in: idem: *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* I. Stuttgart 1966 (vi, 325, viii pp.), pp. 101–111.

1954. Arthur Vööbus: *Early Versions of the New Testament*, Stockholm. xvii, 411 pp. – Page 53: “The oldest extant Vulgate manuscript of the Gospels is a portion of a manuscript called Codex Sangallensis (Σ).”

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 259–260: description of the manuscript; p. 49: a page from the manuscript. “This is the oldest surviving Vulgate gospel book, which may even have been copied during Jerome’s lifetime. It was subsequently dismembered and used for bindings” (p. 260).

Note. – According to the specialists, there exists a complete copy of the entire Codex Sangallensis made in St. Gall or in the Lake of Constance area from the first half of the 9th century: manuscript Aa 11 of Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek Fulda (part 2 of a two-volume Bible); see Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford 2016 (xix, 366 pp.), p. 265. For a description of manuscript Aa 11, see Regina Hausmann: *Die theologischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600. Codices Bonifatiani 1–3, Aa1–145a*. Wiesbaden 1992 (lv, 374, 20 pp.), pp. 39–40.

Codex Sangallensis 193

c. 500. Codex Sangallensis 193. This is a palimpsest manuscript. Under the Latin text of sermons of Caesarius of Arles, written around 800, one can make out a deleted biblical text in Latin: fragments of the Vulgate text of the Minor Prophets, Ezekiel, and Daniel, in a script that paleographers date to the fifth century. The Weber/Gryson edition of the Vulgate lists the codex as having been written in the fifth century – which makes it belong to the earliest manuscript attestations of the Vulgate text. From another palimpsest, Codex Sangallensis 567, one can add 4 pages with the text of Malachi. The link to the Vulgate is as follows: **(1)** the biblical text is that of the Vulgate, **(2)** it is accompanied by Jerome’s prologue to Daniel (Dold 1917, pp. 39–40), **(3)** it is written in true Jerome fashion *per cola et commata*. For the *per cola* writing, we give an example: *verbum dni quod factum est ad lohel filium [Fatuhel] / audite hoc sense et auribus percipite omnes habitatores terrae / si factum est istut [sic] in diebus vestris aut in diebus patrum vestrorum / (...; Joel 1.1:1–2).*

1913. Anselm Manser OSB (ed.): *Codex Sangallensis 193: continens fragmenta plurium prophetarum secundum translationem S. Hieronymi*. Beuron. 14 pp., 152 plates. An introduction offers a paleographic analysis. The text is not edited, but presented in the form of photographic plates.

1917. Alban Dold OSB: *Prophetentexte in der Vulgata-Übersetzung nach der ältesten Handschriftenüberlieferung der St. Galler Palimpseste No. 193 und No. 567*. Beuron. xl, 172 pp., 2 plates. – Introduction and transcription of the biblical texts. “Die veröffentlichten Texte sind (...) heute die ältesten erhaltenen Texte von Ezechiel, Daniel und den kleinen Propheten nach der Version der Vulgata” (p. xxi).

Codex Fuldensis

546. Codex Fuldensis. Written between 541 and 546 by Victor Capuanus, Bishop of Capua, Italy, the manuscript contains the entire New Testament; however, the Gospels are replaced by a Latin Gospel harmony (Diatessaron). This goes back to Tatian (c. 170), but was adapted to the wording of the Vulgate. Among St. Paul’s letters is also the letter to the Laodiceans (cf. below, **Chapter 23.3** of the present publication). St. Boniface acquired the manuscript and donated it

to the Benedictine monastery in Fulda in 745. Today the manuscript is in the Hessian University and State Library in Fulda (shelfmark: A.b.2, called "Bonifatianus I"; also known as "Victor Codex").

1868. Ernst Ranke (ed.): *Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum Latine Interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani*. Marburg and Leipzig. xxxii, 572 pp. – This edition is freely accessible on the Internet ([Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital](#)).

Description of the manuscript

1992. Regina Hausmann: *Die theologischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600. Codices Bonifatiani 1–3, Aa1–145a*. Wiesbaden. Iv, 20, 374 pp. – Pages 3–7: description of Codex Fuldensis (Bonifatianus I).

Secondary literature

1908. John Chapman OSB: *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*. Oxford (xi, 299 pp.), pp. 130–143: The Pauline Lectionary of the Codex Fuldensis. – A list of liturgical lessons is prefixed to the text of the Pauline letters.
1919. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*. Münster (vii, 151 pp.), pp. 1–34: Das Diatessaron des Codex Fuldensis. – According to Vogels, the Fuldensis Latin Diatessaron represents the attempt, to revise an otherwise lost Old Latin Diatessaron so as to make it conform to the Vulgate text of the Gospels. A number of Old Latin readings apparently escaped the unknown reviser's notice.
1963. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters. In: Giuseppe Ermini (ed.): *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo*. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 10. Spoleto (768 pp.), pp. 519–600. – Pages 545–557: the history of Codex Fuldensis.
1976. M.B. Parkes: The Handwriting of St Boniface: A Reassessment of the Problems. In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98: 161–179. – The annotations are believed to have come from Boniface, who may have owned the codex.
1987. Eduard Schick: Il codice di Fulda. Storia et significato di un manoscritto della Volgata del secolo VI. In: Tarcisio Stramare (ed.): *La Bibbia 'Volgata' dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Atti del simposio internazionale 1985*. Rome (197 pp.), pp. 21–29.
1995. Philip B. Payne: Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor 14.34-5. *New Testament Studies* 41: 240–262. – The scribe has written 1 Cor 14:34-35 (*mulieres in ecclesiis taceant*) on the margin. This points to a textual issue – the passage was considered problematic. See also idem: Vaticanus Distigme-obelos Symbols Marking Added Text, Including 1 Corinthians 14.34-5. *New Testament Studies* 63 (2017) 604–625.
2005. B.M. Metzger – Bart Ehrman: *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*. 4th edition. New York (xvi, 366 pp.), pp. 108, 131–133.
2010. Eric Scherbenske: The Vulgate Primum quaeritur, Codex Fuldensis, and the hermeneutical role of early Christian introductory materials. *Studia Patristica* 54: 139–144. – (Primum quaeritur – these are the first words of the Vulgate prologue to the Pauline epistles, used as the designation of this text.)
2013. Eric W. Scherbenske: *Canonizing Paul. Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*. Oxford. xii, 383 pp. – Pages 175–232 (chapter 4): Codex Fuldensis and the Vulgate Revision of the Corpus Paulinum. Page 229: "Variant readings drawn from those highly contested parts of the

Pauline corpus (especially Romans 5–6) show numerous contacts with the Pelagian controversy. Yet this controversy left no discernable traces on the text of Codex Fuldensis. (...) The Vulgate alignment with Rufinus' belief in humanity's essential goodness in these verses is most likely a happy coincidence. (...) there is no discernable stance for or against Pelagianism in Codex Fuldensis." ▲

Codex Lindisfarnensis

before 700. Codex Lindisfarnensis. Written shortly before 700 by Eadfrith (from 698 Bishop of Lindisfarne in Northumbria, England), the manuscript contains the text of the four Gospels; a literal rendering into Anglo-Saxon is set between the Latin lines. It is in the British Library, London, shelf number: Cotton Nero D.iv.

1871–1887. Walter W. Skeat (ed.): *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon (...) together with the Early Latin Version as Contained in the Lindisfarne Ms.* Cambridge. 4 vols. xi, 258 pp.; xxxii, 144 pp.; xii, 252 pp.; xx, 197 pp.

1956–1960. T.D. Kendrick et al (eds.): *Evangeliorum Quatuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*. Otun, 2 vols. – Volume 1: facsimile (259 leaves), Volume 2: commentary (xxiv, 295, 176 pp.).

2002. *The Lindisfarne Gospels*. Lucerne. 3 vols., 1 folder. – The first volume offers the manuscript in facsimile (259 leaves), the other two volumes the commentary by Michelle P. Brown (333 pp. and xvi, 32 plates, 647 pp.). The document folder has 16 pp.

Secondary literature

1981. Janet Backhouse: *The Lindisfarne Gospels*. Oxford. 96 pp. – A book of pictures with a text mainly on the illuminations. Some illustrations of pages and parts of pages show the Latin text and the Anglo-Saxon interlinear version.

2011. Michelle P. Brown: *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World*. London. vi, 184 pp.

2017. Richard Marsden: The Texts of the Lindisfarne Gospels. In: Richard Gameson (ed.): *The Lindisfarne Gospels. New Perspectives*. Leiden (xxix, 228 pp.), pp. 183–199. – Review: Catherine E. Karkov, *Speculum* 94 (2019) 1154–1156.

2020. Matthew R. Crawford: Do the Eusebian tables represent the closure or the opening of the biblical text? Considering the case of Codex Fuldensis. In: Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds.): *Canones. The Art of Harmony. The Canon Tables of the Four Gospels*. Berlin (xi, 258 pp.), pp. 17–28. – The volume can be consulted on the Internet, "open access."

Codex Amiatinus

c. 700. The Codex Amiatinus (or Amiatinus Florentinus I, or Amiatino I), created in the monasteries of St. Paul of Jarrow and St. Peter of Wearmouth (England), closely linked by a common abbot, around 700 (perhaps finished in 703, according to Chazelle 2019, p. 21), contains as a "pandect" the entire Bible, Old and New Testaments, complete with the prologues of Jerome. In 1784, the manuscript was transferred from the Tuscan monastery of Monte Amiata to the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, where it remains today. – For the text of some biblical writings – Wisdom, Sirach, books of Maccabees – the codex is the most important Vulgate manuscript; so Robert Weber 1969 in his Vulgate edition, see Robert Weber – Roger Gryson (eds.): *Biblica Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. 5th edition, Stuttgart 2007, p. xiv. One page (fol. 538v) is illustrated in Frans van Liere: *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*. Cambridge 2015 (xv, 320 pp.), p. 7. A de-

tailed description of the manuscript and many facsimile pages can be found in Celia Chazelle's book of 2019. As Chazelle points out (2019, p. 134), the codex presents the book of Psalms in Jerome's translation *iuxta hebraeos*.

1850. Konstantin Tischendorf (ed.): *Novum Testamentum Latine, interprete Hieronymo, ex celeberrimo codice Amiatino*. Leipzig. xlvii, 421 pp. – Provides only the text of the New Testament part of the manuscript. A second edition was published in 1854.
1873. Theodor Heyse – Konstantin Tischendorf (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Latina Veteris Testamenti, Hieronymo interprete ex antiquissima auctoritate in stichos descripta*. Leipzig. lxxi, 990 pp. – This critical edition presents the text of the Clementina (of Vercellone's 1861 edition) and adds the readings found in Codex Amiatinus. It caused a sensation because it made it possible for the first time to compare an ancient Vulgate text with the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, see Wilhelm Nowack: *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus für die alttestamentliche Textkritik*. Göttingen 1875. 55 pp.
1884. Paul de Lagarde: Die weisheiten der handschrift von Amiata. In: idem: *Mittheilungen*. [Band 1]. Göttingen (384 pp.), pp. 241–378. – Annotated edition of the text of Sirach and the book of Wisdom.
2000. Luigi G.G. Ricci (ed.): *La Bibbia Amiatina. The Codex Amiatinus. Riproduzione integrale su CD-ROM del manoscritto*. Florence. – The unwieldy, heavy codex (34 kg) is not suitable for the production of a facsimile; hence the digital version.

Secondary literature

1890. Henry J. White: The Codex Amiatinus and Its Birthplace. In: Members of the University of Oxford (eds.): *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica*. Volume 2. Oxford (352 pp.), pp. 273–308 (with an appendix by W. Sanday, pp. 309–324). – "(...) perhaps the finest book in the world" (p. 273). White reports on, and supports, the suggestion put forth by the Italian epigrapher Giovanni Battista de Rossi in 1886 that the codex was written around 700 in England, on the basis of texts that originated in Italy.
1907. Josef Schmid: Zur Geschichte des Codex Amiatinus. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 89: 577–584.
1922. Angelo Mercati: Per la storia del Codice Amiatino. *Biblica* 3: 324–328. – The author points to documentary evidence for the fact that the monks of Monte Amiata took great care not to lose control over their precious manuscript.
1955. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Der Vulgata-Text des Neuen Testamentes. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46 (1955) 178–196. – Page 193 note 41: "Der [Codex] Amiatinus hat sicherlich nicht durchaus einen einheitlichen Text. So ist sein Psalter ziemlich schlecht, von irischer Herkunft. (...) Ebenso hat er in Tobias eine eigene Rezension, die mit Bedas Kommentar übereinstimmt. (...) Ohne Zweifel ist auch im Neuen Testament der Paulustext nicht so gut wie in den Evangelien, und in den katholischen Briefen ist ein lokaler Einfluß nicht zu verkennen. (...) Daneben stehen die bekannten, oft diskutierten Beziehungen zu Cassiodor und seinen Bibel-Handschriften. Auch ist der Text in anderen Teilen der Bibel wirklich gut." – Reprinted in: Bonifatius Fischer OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte*. Freiburg 1986 (456 pp.), pp. 51–73. Fisher emphasizes the fact that the texts included in the codex are of unequal quality.
1990. Pierre Petitmengin: Le "Codex amiatinus". In: J.H. Martin – J. Vezin (eds.): *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*. Paris (471 pp.), pp. 73–77.
1995. Richard Marsden: *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge (xix, ix, 506 pp.), pp. 107–139.

1998. Mary Carruthers: *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*. Cambridge. xvii, 399 pp. – The book contains a detailed discussion of the ground plan representation of the Mosaic Tent Sanctuary (plate 24 and pp. 234–237).
2000. Valentina Longo – Sabina Magiri – Marco Palma: *Bibliografia della Bibbia Amatina (1990–1999)*. Rome. 55 pp.
2003. Michael M. Gorman: The Codex Amiatinus. A Guide to the Legends and Bibliography. *Studi medievali. Serie terza* 44: 863–910.
2011. Richard Marsden: Codex Amiatinus in Italy. The afterlife of an Anglo-Saxon book. In: Joanna E. Story (ed.): *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*. Tempe, Ariz. (xix, 364 pp.), pp. 217–243. – The codex was in Rome in 1587–1590, consulted for the Biblia Vulgata Sixto-Clementina.
2011. Giorgio Giurista: Atti degli Apostoli: le divisioni dei codici Vaticanus e Amiatinus. *Liber Annuus (Studium Franciscanum Biblicum)* 61: 211–227.
2015. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: IV Esdras (2 Esdras, 4–5–6 Ezra) dans les bibles latines. *Revue bénédictine* 125: 266–304. – 4 Ezra does not figure in Codex Amiatinus though numerous Vulgate manuscripts have it.
2017. Richard Gameson: *Codex Amiatinus: Making and Meaning*. Jarrow. 66 pp.
2016. Christopher de Hamel: Codex Amiatinus. In: idem: *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts*. London (v, 632 pp.), pp. 54–95. German translation: Pracht und Anmut. Begegnung mit zwölf herausragenden Handschriften des Mittelalters. Munich (751 pp.), pp. 73–120 and pp. 674–677. – Written by a major specialist, this is not a popular book. It includes a bibliographical essay placed at the end of the volume. ▲
2017. Peter Darby: The Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini* and the Gospel Prefaces of Jerome. *Speculum* 92: 343–371.
2018. Manuel Ortuño Arregui: El Códex Amiatinus: el manuscrito más antiguo de la Vulgata. *ArtyHum: Revista Digital de Artes y Humanidades* 49: 35–51.
2019. Celia Chazelle: *The Codex Amiatinus and Its "Sister" Bibles. Scripture, Liturgy and Art in the Milieu of the Venerable Bede*. Leiden. xxviii, 634 pp. – A comprehensive cultural and historical monograph. The book contains, among other things, a detailed codicological description (pp. 471–481), an overview of modern research history (pp. 25–35), an analysis of Jerome's prologues (pp. 141–148), a survey of textual form (pp. 151–157), and numerous illustrations. The starting point is a Latin note about Abbot Ceolfrith (in office 681–716) in Beda Venerabilis, *Historia abbatum*: the abbot "himself added three pandects [complete Bibles] to the one of the old translation [Vetus Latina] that he had brought from Rome. When he returned to Rome as an old man, he took one of these with him among other things as a gift. Two he left to each monastery." The Bibles left behind are lost, the Bible brought to Rome is preserved – the Codex Amiantinus. The other Vulgate manuscripts organized by the same abbot, which have not been preserved, may have served to replace the Vetus Latina (pp. 456–457). ▲
2019. Meg Boulton – Jane Hawkes (eds.): *All Roads Lead to Rome. The Creation, Context and Transmission of the Codex Amiatinus*. Turnhout. xix, 179, 20 (plates) pp. – See esp. pp. 77–87: H.A.G. Houghton, The Text of the Gospels in the Codex Amiatinus. Review: Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB, *Revue bénédictine* 131 (2021) 454–457.
2019. Richard Gameson: The Colophon of Codex Amiatinus. In: Ursula Lenker – Lucia Kornexl (eds.): *Anglo-Saxon Micro-Texts*. Berlin (viii, 377 pp.), pp. 89–116.

2019. Peter Darby: The Presentation of Jerome's First Letter to Paulinus of Nola in the Codex Amiatinus Pentateuch Diagram. *Peritia* 30: 59–87. – A diagram in the first quire of the Codex Amiatinus features five textual captions arranged in cruciform formation, one for each book of the Pentateuch. These are taken from Jerome's first letter to Paulinus of Nola (*Epistle* 53; CSEL 54: 442–465) which was written in 394 CE. Darby suggests that the Pentateuch diagram should be regarded as a highly original piece of visual exegesis designed to celebrate the contribution made by Jerome to the transmission of the Latin Bible and point the viewer towards typological interpretations of Old Testament figures and events.

Codex Amiatinus and Cassiodorus

1883. Peter Corssen: Die Bibeln des Cassiodorus und der Codex Amiatinus. *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 9: 619–633.
1890. Henry J. White: The Codex Amiatinus and Its Birthplace. In: Members of the University of Oxford (eds.): *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica*. Volume 2. Oxford (352 pp.), pp. 273–308. – The first four leaves of the codex were transcribed from, or physically taken out of, Cassiodorus' Codex Grandior.
1895. Pierre Batiffol: Amiatinus (Codex). In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 1.1. Paris. (lxiv pp. 1018 cols.), cols. 480–483. – Column 482: "On peut considérer comme acquis: 1° que le Codex Amiatinus est absolument indépendant de Cassiodore, et 2° que le prologue sur les divisions de la Bible, qui remplit les premiers feuillets de l'Amiatinus, est d'origine cassiodorienne, mais n'a pas été fait pour l'Amiatinus." The article is accompanied by a facsimile of one page of the manuscript.
1908. John Chapman OSB: *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate*. Oxford. xi, 299 pp. – In chapter 3, Chapman seeks an explanation for the high quality of the Latin text of the Gospels in Codex Amiatinus. This text may via Cassiodorus and Eugippius go back to Jerome himself. In 558, Cassiodorus used a gospel manuscript that had belonged to Eugippius and which was presumably sent to Rome by none other than Jerome himself.
- 1926–28. John Chapman OSB: The Codex Amiatinus and Cassiodorus. *Revue bénédictine* 38 (1926) 139–150; 39 (1927) 12–32; 40 (1928) 130–134.
1927. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Cassiodore et l'Amiatinus. *Revue bénédictine* 39: 261–266.
1962. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Codex Amiatinus und Cassiodor. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 6: 57–79.
1996. Paul Meyvaert: Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus. *Speculum* 71: 827–883. Also in: idem: *The Art of Words. Bede and Theodulf*. Aldershot 2008, part V. – This paper's section 9 deals with an illustration – the Ezra image in Codex Amiatinus (that seems to go back to a miniature that actually meant to depict Cassiodorus). On the image of Ezra, see now: Celia Chazelle: *The Codex Amiatinus and Its "Sister" Bibles. Scripture, Liturgy and Art in the Milieu of the Venerable Bede*. Leiden (xxviii, 634 pp.), pp. 402–413.
2013. Michelle P. Brown: Images to Be Read and Words to be Seen: The Iconic Role of the Early Medieval Book. In: James W. Watts (ed.): *Iconic Books and Texts*. Sheffield (vi, 463 pp.), pp. 93–118. – The author comments on the famous frontispiece of the codex: "The scribal figure depicted in the codex Amiatinus does not only represent Ezra, but also Cassiodorus (whose own nine-volume biblical edition is alluded to in the illumination by the books in the *armarium* which are actually labeled on the spines as the works of successive biblical editors, such as Origen and Augustine), and Bede and his scribal brethren themselves, for he is everyone who receives and disseminates scripture" (p. 104).

St. Cuthbert Gospel

c. 710/30. Manuscript of the Gospel of John. Like the Codex Amiatinus, it was made in England, probably in the double monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow. The parchment manuscript is small in size, the text is written in single columns. The text is considered a good Vulgate text. Since 1979 in the British Library, shelfmark: Additional MS 89000.

Secondary literature

2015. Claire Breay – Bernard Meehan (eds.): *The St Cuthbert Gospel. Studies on the Insular Manuscript of the Gospel of John*. London. xiii, 207 pp. – Richard Gameson provides a description of the manuscript (pp. 13–39) as well as text collations in comparison with the texts of Codex Amiatinus, Codex Lindisfarnensis (pp. 175–176), and the standard edition of the Vulgate by Robert Weber 1983 (pp. 171–174).

Codex Petropolitanus

before 800. Gospel manuscript from England, made in the late 8th century. Today in the Russian National Library St. Petersburg, shelfmark: Lat. F.v.I.8. Considered an important witness to the text of Mark in the Vulgate. – Not to be confused with the Greek “Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus”: H.S. Cronin (ed.): *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus. The Text of Codex N of the Gospels Edited (...)*. Cambridge 1899. lxiv, 108 pp.

Secondary literature

2000. René Kockelkorn: *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Petropolitanus (Lat. F.v.I.N 8). Das hiberno-sächsische Evangeliar in der Russischen Nationalbibliothek von St. Petersburg*. Luxemburg. 20 pp., illustrations.

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 215–216: description of the manuscript.

Codex Sangermanensis primus

810. This “Bible of Saint-Germain-des-Prés” is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris as “manuscript lat. 11553.” Its 191 leaves contain parts of the Old Testament (Paralipomena, Ezra, Esther, Proverbia, Sapientia Salomonis, Sirach) and the complete New Testament. This codex has two colophons that refer to Jerome, one attached to the book of Esther and concluding the Old Testament, and one attached to the Epistle to the Hebrews and ending the New Testament. For a translation of these two colophons, see below, Chapter 14.2 [The invention of the Vulgate](#). – This manuscript’s text of the gospel of Matthew is not that of the Vulgate, but that of the *Vetus Latina*; see above, Chapter 7.1.

Secondary literature

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Page 289: The Codex Sangermanensis reveals an initiative to put together Jerome’s translations. This is evidenced by two colophons – one attached to the book of Esther and a second one placed at the end of the Letter to the Hebrews. These colophons point back to the 7th century, perhaps even (according to Boniface Fischer) to the 5th century.

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford (xix, 366 pp.), p. 87–88 and pp. 213–214. – Page 87: “Several of the Old Testament books are Old Latin, as is Matthew. (...) There are a few Old Latin readings in the other Synoptic Gospels, but in the rest of the New Testament, the manuscript is the best witness to the Vulgate.” – Page 213: “This manuscript goes back to a pandect [complete Bible] assembled in the fifth century, probably in Rome.”

Codex Sangallensis (interlinearis) 48

850. Bilingual parchment manuscript from the 9th century, Greek text of the four Gospels with interlinear Vulgate text. The codex comes from Bobbio, Italy, and is now in the Abbey Library of St. Gall. The manuscript can be viewed online, linked to a description of the manuscript (e-codices.unifr.ch).
1836. H.C.M. Rettig (ed.): *Antiquissimus quatuor evangeliorum canonicorum Codex Sangallensis Graeco-Latinus interlinearis*. Zürich. vi, liv, 429 pp.

Secondary literature

1891. Hermann Rösensch: Zur biblischen Latinität aus dem cod. Sangallensis der Evangelien. In: idem: *Collectanea philologa*. Edited by Carl Wegener. Bremen (vi, 325 pp.), pp. 89–95.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 224–225: brief description of the manuscript.
2020. Hugh A.G. Houghton: The Latin Text of John in the Saint Gall Bilingual Gospels (Codex Sangallensis 48). In: H.A.G. Houghton – Peter Montoro (eds.): *At One Remove: The Text of the New Testament in Early Translations and Quotations*. Piscataway, N.J. (xxiii, 337 pp.), pp. 149–172.

Codex biblicus Legionensis (Spain)

960. On this manuscript, see below, Chapter **14.4**.

The Paris Bible

- 13th century. On the relevant manuscripts, see below, Chapter **14.4**.

7.3 Reference works and introductions

English

1901. Frederic G. Kenyon: *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London. xi, 321 pp. – Pages 171–179 list the major Vetus Latina manuscripts, pp. 193–201 surveys major Vulgate manuscripts.
1914. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: *Summaries, Divisions and Rubrics of the Latin Bible*. Turnhout 2014. xxxi, 601 pp. – Reprint of a work originally published in 1914, with a preface by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB and Thomas O’Loughlin. Review: H.A.G. Houghton, *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 67 (2016) 766–768.

1977. Bruce M. Metzger: *The Early Versions of the New Testament*. Oxford. xix, 498 pp. – Pages 293–319: Manuscripts of the Old Latin Versions; pp. 334–348: Noteworthy Manuscripts of the Vulgate. See also the shorter version of this chapter in: Bruce M. Metzger – Bart D. Ehrmann: *The Text of the New Testament. Fourth Edition*. Oxford 2005 (xvi, 366 pp.), pp. 106–109. ▲
1992. J.K. Elliott: The Translations of the New Testament into Latin: The Old Latin and the Vulgate. In: Wolfgang Haase – Hildegard Temporini (eds.): *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Band II.26.1. Berlin (xxv, 812 pp.), pp. 198–245. – Pages 224–232: Vulgate manuscripts of the New Testament; pp. 238–245 (as appendix): manuscripts of the Old Testament.
1994. Patrick McGurk: The Oldest Manuscripts of the Latin Bible. In: Richard Gameson (ed.): *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration and Use*. Cambridge (xiv, 242 pp.), pp. 1–23.
1995. J. Harold Greenlee: *Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism. Revised Edition*. Peabody, Mass. xiii, 160 pp. – Page 39: “No less than 8000 MSS [manuscripts] of the Vulgate are now known, or many more than all known Greek New Testament manuscripts. This suggests that the Vulgate Bible was the most frequently copied book of all ancient literature.”
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 187–281: Annotated list of Vulgate manuscripts. The book is now supplemented by: H.A.G. Houghton et al.: *The Principal Pauline Epistles. A Collation of Old Latin Witnesses*. Leiden 201. xi, 442 pp. ▲
- 2016–2020. Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Leiden. 6 vols., called vols. 1A (xlv, 448 pp.), 1B (xxxii, 730 pp.), 1C (xxxiv, 770 pp.) = “The Hebrew Bible”; 2A (xxxix, 497 pp.), 2B (xxxiii, 542 pp.), 2C (xxxii, 572 pp.) = “Deuterocanonical Scriptures”. – By the time of the present book’s compilation, another set of 4 volumes of the *Textual History of the Bible*, called vols. 3A, 3B, 3C, and 3D = “A Companion to Textual Criticism,” was available only online, and not in print, but announced for publication in 2023. The huge volumes of the “THB” set offer articles on the textual history of the individual books of the Old Testament and the deuterocanonical writings. The New Testament does not form part of this encyclopedia of the textual study of the Bible. As general introductions to the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate, respectively, serve the contributions of Julio Treballe Barrera: *Vetus Latina*, volume 1A, pp. 319–330, and Michael Graves: *Vulgate*, volume 1A, pp. 278–288. ▲
2020. Teunis van Lopik: On the Earliest Printed Editions of the Vulgate with a Text-Critical Apparatus. In: H.A.G. Houghton – Peter Montoro (eds.): *At One Remove: The Text of the New Testament in Early Translations and Quotations*. Piscataway, N.J. (xxiii, 337 pp.), pp. 211–238. – The very first Latin Bible with a critical apparatus printed in the margin and listing variant readings was edited by Alberto Castellano OP. Its title is: *Biblia cum concordantijs veteris et novi testamenti*. Venice 1511, 4 volumes.
2022. Andrew J.M. Irving: Latin Manuscripts Containing the Gospels, 300–c. 800 CE: VA Material Approach. In: Harald Buchinger – Clemens Leonhard (eds.): *Liturgische Bibelrezeption*. Göttingen (514 pp.), pp. 213–261. – The author explains in much detail how the early manuscripts actually look like – size, original cover, original binding, form of script used, etc. Page 238: “The earliest Western book of any kind that survives intact with its original cover is the St Cuthbert Gospel, which was produced in Monkwearmouth-Jarrow in the early eighth century.” The author lists 207 manuscripts, of which three are from the fourth century; the oldest item is Codex Bobiensis (Turin, Italy). ▲
2023. David Ganz: Early Manuscripts of the Latin Bible. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 106–120. – The author surveys the surviving ma-

manuscripts of the Latin Bible copied before 800 CE, along with the evidence for their production, correction, and use. Additional material, prefaces, canon tables, chapter lists, and illustrations are discussed. Topics include the size and format of the books, such as luxury copies on purple parchment, the scripts used to copy them, the liturgical annotations showing when particular passages were read, and the presence of glosses to the biblical text. Insular Gospel Books and Carolingian pandects receive special treatment.

2023. H.A.G. Houghton: Latin in Multilingual Biblical Manuscripts. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 152–168. – The author provides a typology of bilingual manuscripts, along with tables of multilingual codices of the New Testament and the Psalter in which a Latin text is present. The earliest Greek-Latin documents include a papyrus fragment and majuscule codices such as Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus. These are roughly contemporary with the Latin-Gothic bilingual tradition. Important evidence for Old English is provided in the oldest interlinear translations, and interlinear psalters were popular in England from the tenth to the twelfth century. Other psalters include a transliterated Greek text. Greek-Latin bilinguals with an emphasis on language study were copied in the ninth and tenth centuries. Later multilingual manuscripts (including Greek-Latin-Arabic trilinguals) reflect the political and cultural situation in which they were produced.

German

1955. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd edition. Bonn. viii, 236 pp. – This is the second edition of a book originally entitled *Handbuch der neutestamentlichen Textkritik*. Münster 1923. ix, 255 pp. This is one of the rare introductions to New Testament textual criticism ever written. Both editions, hard to come by, are still valuable. In the 1955 edition, pp. 107–110 provide a list of the major Vulgate manuscripts. ▲
1957. Karl Theodor Schäfer: *Die altlateinische Bibel*. Bonn. 31 pp.
1975. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Zur Überlieferung altlateinischer Bibeltexte im Mittelalter. In: idem: *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*. Freiburg 1985 (454 pp., 10 Blätter), pp. 404–421.
2023. Bernhard Lang: Handschriften der Vulgata. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 160–162. – An elementary introduction.

French

1908. Lucien Méchineau SJ: Latins (versions) antérieurs à S. Jérôme. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 4.1. Paris (1058 cols.), cols. 97–123. – Colonnes 102–111: list of Vetus Latina manuscripts arranged by the biblical books from the Pentateuch to the book of Revelation.
1985. Pierre Petitmengin: Les plus anciennes manuscrits de la Bible latine. In: Jacques Fontaine – Charles Pietri (eds.): *Le monde latin antique et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps. Paris (672 pp.), pp. 89–117.
1987. Roger Gryson – Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB (eds.): *Recherches sur l'histoire de la Bible latine*. Cahiers de la Revue théologique de Louvain 19. Leuven. 153 pp.

Italian

2005. Paolo Cherubini (ed.): *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della bibbia*. Città del Vaticano. xv, 562, 39 pp. – A publication of the “Scuola di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica.”

7.4 Collections of Variant Readings

Note. Why should variant readings be of interest? Because Vulgate manuscripts are often influenced by the dogmatic views of the scribes. "La dogmatique elle-même a sans doute une grande part de responsabilité dans la corruption de la Bible latine. Les altérations dogmatiques, en effet, ne sont pas rares dans le texte de la Vulgate (...) C'est la foi en la divinité de Jésus-Christ qui s'exprime en un grand nombre de falsifications de détail, toujours au détriment de son humanité." Samuel Berger: *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Paris 1893 x(xiv, 443 pp.), p. viii.

There are two older, still useful (though not always reliable) collections of variant readings, based on manuscripts and printed editions, one compiled in the sixteenth century for Pope Sixtus V by a commission headed by Cardinal Antonio Carafa (or Caraffa, 1538–1591) and printed only in 1740, and the other prepared by Carlo Giuseppe Vercellone (1814–1869) in the nineteenth century.

The variants collected by the Carafa Commission

1846. *Codicum divinae bibliothecae variantes lectiones*. PL 29: 879–1096. – With a historical introduction PL 29: 875–878. The variants collection is reprinted from the first printed edition in Josephus Blanchius (Giuseppe Bianchini): *Vindiciae canonicarum scripturarum Vulgatae Latinae editionis*. Rome 1740.
1913. Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sixto-klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Freiburg 1913 (xv, 339 pp.), pp. 240–277: Tabelle der sixtinischen Revision [of the book of Proverbs]. This comprehensive table of all the material, printed and unprinted, that was used by the commission that prepared the Sixtine edition (1590), together with the wording of the Sixtina.

Secondary literature

1913. Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sixto-klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Freiburg 1913. xv, 339 pp. – Page 138–140: "Die Vulgatarevision der Sixtinischen Kommission muss als eine vorzügliche Arbeit bezeichnet werden; namentlich im Neuen Testament wurde durch das Zurückgehen auf alte gute Handschriften eine größere Konformität mit dem griechischen Originaltext erzielt. Es kann deshalb nur bedauert werden, daß das verdienstvolle Werk nicht zu Zustimmung des Papstes fand."
1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris (xvi, 520 pp.), pp. 170–180, 182–183.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel. Ein Handbuch für Vorlesungen und Selbstunterricht*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 182–186.

The "Vercellone": Old Testament variant readings

- 1860, 1864. Carlo [Giuseppe] Vercellone: *Variae lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum Editionis*. Rome. 2 volumes. cxii, 592 pp.; xxviii, 651 pp. – The work collects variants from prints and manuscripts, from Genesis to the books of Kings. The author died in 1869, and his work was not continued. Still worth consulting.

Secondary literature

1900. Benno Jacob: Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen. V. Zur Geschichte der Vulgata im 16. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20: 49–80, at pp. 52–53.
1912. The entry on “Vercellone” in Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris 1928 (cols. 1383–2550), col. 2396 refers to “les prolegomènes remarquables de ses *Variae lectiones*.”
1987. Virginio Colciago: I barnabiti Luigi Ungarelli e Carlo Vercellone e la revisione della Volgata. In: Tarcisio Stramare (ed.): *La Bibbia ‘Volgata’ dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Atti del simposio internazionale 1985*. Rome (197 pp.), pp. 118–136.

7.5 Fischer’s “Varianten”: New Testament manuscripts statistically compared

Note. – It was not until the 1990s that computers became a tool regularly used in biblical studies. As his 1970 article shows, Bonifatius Fischer, a Benedictine monk of the abbey of Beuron, Germany, was a pioneer in using computers. Fischer also edited a computer-generated concordance published in five huge volumes (see below, Chapter 8.2).

1970. Bonifatius Fischer: The Use of Computers in New Testament Studies, with Special Reference to Textual Criticism. *Journal of Theological Studies* 21 (1970) 297–308.
- 1988–1991. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*. Freiburg. 4 vols. 48*, 496 pp.; 48*, 555 pp.; 48*, 580 pp.; 48*, 569 pp. – Each volume deals with a different Gospel: vol. 1 – variants on Matthew (1988); vol. 2 – variants on Mark (1989); vol. 3 – variants on Luke (1990); vol. 4 – variants on John (1991). The work collates the text of 16 longer sections of 462 Latin Gospel manuscripts. The work is intended to help decide for each manuscript whether it is a Vulgate text (in the sense of the Stuttgart edition of Weber/Gryson), a *Vetus Latina* text, or a mixed text. As Fischer explains in the 2010 essay listed below, the Beuron *Vetus-Latina* Institute has a computer program that allows any Gospel manuscript to be compared with any other.
2010. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert. Zwei Untersuchungen zum Text*. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 101: 119–144. – An important addition to the four volumes of 1988–1991, Fischer provides a list showing the percent agreement or difference between the 462 manuscripts he evaluated.

Assessments

- 1990–1992. J.K. Elliott [reviews of Fischer: *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*]. *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 41 (1990) 637–640; 42 (1991) 281–282, 663–664; 43 (1992) 633–635. – “(...) these volumes (...) contain much of abiding help and significance in their apparatus” (43: 635).
2000. Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Text and Language*. Oxford. xi, 232 pp. – Page 9, note 8: “The most thorough collection of Latin gospel readings is Fischer (1989). However, with an average of four Latin words per page it cannot well be read as a continuous text.” (Apart from the fact that Fischer presents a selection of Gospel texts, not complete Gospels.)

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford (xix, 366 pp.), pp. 124–125. – Houghton explains how Fischer compares Latin Gospel manuscripts.

Chapter 8

Biblical Latin

Note. – This chapter is supplemented by another one: the Latin glossary that forms **Chapter 19** of the present book.

- 8.1 Manuals and surveys of biblical Latin
- 8.2 Vulgate concordances
- 8.3 Dictionaries of biblical Latin
- 8.4 Studies of biblical lexicography
- 8.5 Latin names, words, and Latinisms in the Greek New Testament
- 8.6 Grammatical and linguistic studies of biblical Latin
- 8.7 Bibliographical glossary of grammatical and stylistic terms
- 8.8 Biblical Latin: Vulgar Latin – Late Latin
- 8.9 Christian Latin

8.1 Manuals and surveys of biblical Latin

Note. – There are several helpful surveys of biblical Latin, though none is very new. In German, Rönsch (1875) and Kaulen (1904) are still indispensable, as is Plater & White in English (1926), Blaise in French (1955, with English translation of 1994), and García de la Fuente – the most recent one (1994) – in Spanish. See also above, Chapter 2.3, for repeated complaints about the absence of a recent monograph on biblical Latin.

English

1922. Henry P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. Cambridge. xiii, 162 pp. – A reference work, not a student textbook. Considered particularly useful from its 2nd, corrected edition 1927 (xv, 162 pp.). Reprinted several times, most recently in 2013.

1926. William Edward Plater – Henry Julian White: *A Grammar of the Vulgate. Being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of the Vulgate Bible*. Oxford. viii, 167 pp. – The book is intended for readers who have learned classical Latin and have a good command of it. Included are indexes – an index of Latin words (pp. 143–151) and an index of Bible passages (pp. 151–166). Reviews:

1927. Alexander Souter, *The Classical Review* 41: 87–88, p. 88: “The present work is indisputably superior to Kaulen [*Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*. 1904], being more intelligent, accurate, and up to date.”

1927. P.D., *Revue biblique* 36.2: 312–313, p. 312: “Le manuel (...) est remarquable par sa concision et sa sobriété. (...) On goûtera particulièrement, dans la nouvelle grammaire, les deux chapitres consacrés aux éléments étrangers, hébreu et grec, surtout dans la syntaxe.”
1985. Bengt Löfstedt: Sprachliches zur Vulgata [1985]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), pp. 289–301, at pp. 289–290. Souter’s assessment is not shared by all specialists; according to Löfstedt, the Plater/White *Grammar of the Vulgate* is not only dependent upon Kaulen’s German work of 1904, but actually inferior to it, and marred by mistakes. ▲
1988. Benjamin Kedar: The Latin Translations. In: Martin Jan Mulder (ed.): *Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Assen und Philadelphia (xxvi, 929 pp.), pp. 299–338. – Pages 313–335: Jerome and the Vulgate.
1994. Albert Blaise: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C. 1994. xvii, 157 pp. – From the French, 1955. ▲
1996. Daniel J. Sheerin: Christian and Biblical Latin. In: Frank A.C. Mantello – A.G. Rigg (eds.): *Medieval Latin. An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*. Washington, D.C. (xiv, 774 pp.), pp. 137–156. – Pages 143–145: Lists of special Christian vocabulary, words given special meaning in the Bible and Christianity, and syntactical peculiarities of the Vulgate; pp. 150–156: annotated bibliography. Despite its brevity a most valuable introduction to biblical Latin.
2000. Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Text and Language*. Oxford. xi, 232 pp. – The first part of this book studies the textual history of the Old Latin Gospel texts, while the second and third parts (pp. 75–191) focus on its latinity with attention to extensions of meaning, literalism, morphology, syntax, foreign words, etc.
- 2009, 2010, 2011. Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volumes 1–4. Berlin. Vol. 1 (2009) xii, 561 pp.: Syntax of the sentence; vol. 2 (2010) xx, 556 pp.: Constituent syntax: adverbial phrases, adverbs, mood, tense; vol. 3 (2010) xxi, 529 pp.: Constituent syntax: quantification, numerals, possessions, anaphora; vol. 4 (2011) xxiii, 925 pp.: Complex sentences, grammaticalization, typology. – This monumental work is the outcome of the combined effort of an American and an Italian editor. It represents the state of what we know about Latin syntax. The many contributors to this collective work consistently consider the vast corpus of Early Latin (c. 240–90 BCE), Classical Latin of the golden age of latinity (90 BCE–14 CE), Post-classical Latin (14–200 CE), and Late Latin (200–600 CE). Some of the contributors consider *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* Bible passages when it comes to studying Late Latin. The biblical passages discussed are listed in the index of volume 1 under the names of the individual biblical books such as *Ezech.* and *gen.* (for Genesis), in volumes 2, 3, and 4 more sensibly under “*Vet. Lat.*” and “*Vulg.*,” so that the work can be used as an up-to-date linguistic commentary on the Latin Bible. ▲
- 2015, 2021. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Volume I: *The Simple Clause*; Volume II: *The Complex Sentence and Discourse*. Oxford. xxiv, 1430 pp.; xxxii, 1438 pp. – This most authoritative manual of Latin syntax is based on texts from 200 BCE to c. 450 CE (vol. I, p. 6). Volume II includes a cumulative index of sources quoted; biblical references are listed under “*Vetus Latina*” (p. 1353, 16 entries) and “*Vulgate*” (pp. 1354–1355, 19 entries). ▲
2023. Peter Stotz: Latin Bibles as Linguistic Documents. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 415–428. – The linguistic form of Latin biblical texts is strongly conditioned by its Greek models, and exhibits post-classical and sub-literary traits. It became an important component of the crystallization of Christian Latinity in Late Antiquity, was crucial in ecclesiastical life throughout the Middle Ages, and continued to wield great influence into the Modern era. This chapter considers the technical aspects of Latin biblical language: the borrowing of Greek and Hebrew words; the creation of semantic calques and oth-

er coinages; the addition of nuances to existing Latin words. Many peculiarities of grammar, morphology, and syntax may be traced to the Latin Bible, especially the *Vetus Latina*; such developments are frequently reflected in Romance languages. Certain constructions, mostly of Hebrew origin, gave rise to a 'biblical style,' which was deliberately deployed by certain writers. The failure of humanist attempts to classicize the Latin Bible show how deeply its language had become embedded in Christian discourse.

German

1875. Hermann Rösch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2nd edition. Marburg. xvi, 526 pp. – The 1st edition was published in 1869 (xvi, 509 pp.); reprints of the 2nd edition: Munich 1965 and Hildesheim 1979. This book remains the basic work of modern research on early-Christian Latin, including the language of the Vulgate. Pages 305-405: a list of words with special meanings, arranged by types of words (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, etc.). The author often highlights the vocabulary of the books Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) and Sapientia Salomonis (Book of Wisdom), both rich in words not used, or rarely used, in Jerome's Vulgate texts. – Reviews:
1870. Moritz Aberle: Das biblische Latein. *Theologisches Literaturblatt* [Bonn] 5: 321–326. This work will remain "ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel," an indispensable research tool, for many years to come (col. 323).
1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), p. 461: "Röschs grundgelehrte Arbeit (...) war für die damalige Zeit eine ausgezeichnete Leistung und ist als Stoffsammlung heute noch unentbehrlich; aber die Darstellung ist fast ausschließlich registrierend lexikalisch, die sprachliche Auffassung veraltet und das kritische Fundament manchmal zu schwach."
1992. René Braun: *Approches de Tertullien*. Paris 1992 (vi, 345 pp.), p. 255: this work is now largely outdated (aujourd'hui largement périmé). ▲
1904. Franz Kaulen: *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata. Eine systematische Darstellung ihres lateinischen Sprachcharakters*. 2nd edition. Freiburg 1904. xvi, 332 pp.; reprints Hildesheim 1973 und 2013. – The 1st edition, a book of smaller size, was published in 1870 as *Handbuch zur Vulgata. Eine systematische Darstellung ihres Sprachcharakters*. Mainz. xii, 277 pp. – Kaulen (1827–1907, Catholic Old Testament scholar in Bonn) highlights the Hebraisms of the Vulgate and advocates rendering them according to their sense, avoiding an awkward-sounding style (p. 254: Ps 110:2 [Vg 109:2] *virga virtutis tuae* = dein mächtiges Zepter, not: Zepter deiner Macht; your powerful sceptre, rather than: the sceptre of your power). The manual is indispensable to this day, not least because of its extensive lexical lists. – Reviews:
1871. Peter Johann Schegg: Die Vulgata. *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 6.1 (1871) cols. 1–4. While the reviewer appreciates that fact that the latinity of the Vulgate gets scholarly attention, he is critical of Kaulen's work. Kaulen, he argues, often misunderstands the Vulgate because he does not sufficiently take into account that it is a translation. Schegg (col. 4) does not agree with Kaulen's idea that *desponsare* in Luke 1:27 (and Matt 1:18) means "vermählen" (to marry). For Schegg, Mary and Josef were "engaged" rather than properly married. The relevant passage is in Kaulen's book on p. 177 (1870 edition); in the second edition, the passage is unchanged (p. 207).
1904. Augustinus Bludau, *Theologische Revue* 4.9: 262–263. "Das im J. 1870 erschienen Handbuch zur Vulgata war für seine Zeit eine ganz vortreffliche Arbeit. Die neue Auflage ist um 3 Bogen starker als die erste, was jedoch zum größten Teil auf den weitläufigeren Druck zurückzuführen ist. Durch eine Vermehrung des Inhaltes und durch eindringlichere Untersuchungen unsere Kenntnisse zu bereichern, hat offenbar nicht in der Absicht des Verf. gelegen. Selbst in dem Literaturverzeichnis S. 7f. findet sich als jüngste Jahreszahl 1874, und doch ist seit dieser Zeit die Tätigkeit der Gelehrten auf diesem Gebiet eine recht fruchtbare gewesen" (col. 262).
1906. Eugen Stolz, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 88: 309.

1906. Johannes Leipoldt, *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 27: 389–391.

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata übersetzt und nach dem Literalsinn erklärt*. 2. Auflage. Freiburg (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. xxxiii: "ein zum Studium der Vulgata unentbehrliches Buch." ▲

1996–2004. Peter Stotz: *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. München. 5 vols. – Volume 1 (xxxi, 723 pp.), pp. 519–551: Griechische Lehnwörter im christlichen Latein der Antike. Volume 2 (xxvi, 482 pp.), pp. 6–32: Christliche Sonderbedeutungen. – The author died in 2020. ▲

French

1884. Henri Goelzer: *Étude lexicographique de saint Jérôme*. Paris. xii, 472 pp. – Pages 227ff.: changements de signification. – Reviews:

1884. Gustav Koffmane, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 9: 361.

1982. Bengt Löfstedt: Hieronymus' Kommentare zu den kleinen Propheten. *Acta classica* 25: 119–126, at p. 126: "Dies ist immer noch die beste Darstellung von Hieronymus' Sprachgebrauch und enthält viel wertvolles Material und interessante Beobachtungen. Andererseits ist diese Arbeit (ebenso wie die anderen Monographien Goelzers) etwas mechanisch gemacht und in vieler Hinsicht überholt. Nicht nur der Fortschritt der spätlateinischen Forschungen macht es ein Leichtes, Mehreres in Goelzers Darstellung zu korrigieren. (...) Hoffentlich wird sich jemand der Aufgabe annehmen, uns einen Ersatz für Goelzers Hieronymus-Monographie zu schenken."

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg. 221 pp. – The reprint (Turnhout 1986. 209 pp.) is identical; only the bibliography (pp. 207–217 of the 1955 edition) is omitted. Translation: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C. 1994. xvii, 157 pp. – While the book deals essentially with the Latin of the Church Fathers – Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, etc. – it also often cites examples from the Vulgate. In paragraphs 41 to 45 (pp. 52–66 of the French edition), Blaise comments on the spirit of Christian Latin under the titles "L'amour mystique" and "L'amour des hommes, la charité humaine," arguing that at the level of grammar, there are hardly any difference between pagan and Christian Latin; but at the level of vocabulary and style, there are numerous ones, because Christians, inspired by their unique sense of community, used a new language of love. Blaise refers to this language as "le langage affectif" (p. 52) and "ce latin baptisé" (p. 66). This chapter reads like an addition to Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* (1802), the famous romantic apology of Christianity. Blaise's inspiration comes no doubt from Héléne Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain 1948 (iii, 412 pp.), p. 8; see the glossary, s.v. *con-, com-* (Chapter 19.2). – Reviews:

1958. Eligius Dekkers, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 83.6: 436–437. In § 205, *dabitur ei de auro Arabiae* (Ps 72:15; Vg. 71:15) is not explained correctly. "Das Büchlein stellt keine wissenschaftlichen Ansprüche" (col. 437).

1996. Daniel Sheering, in: F.A.C. Mantello – A.G. Rigg (eds.): *Medieval Latin. An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*. Washington 1996 (xiv, 774 pp.), p. 151: "This guide is dated and less complete and scientific than one would wish, but still very useful; Blaise's notes on the style and affective qualities of Christian Latin (pp. 17–66) deserve reading."

1997. Michael Gleason, *Classical World* 90 (1997) 378–379. ▲

Spanish

1990. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Introducción al latín bíblico y cristiano*. Madrid. xx, 482 pp. There is an enlarged second edition with modified title: *Latín bíblico y latín cristiano*. Madrid 1994. 588 pp. – Pages 81–144 (2nd ed., pp. 83–316) deal with biblical Latin; the rest of the book is about the Latin of early-Christian authors such as Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine. The book has a

long index of words on pp. 443–458 (2nd edn., pp. 527–565). This author also edited an anthology of Christian texts in Latin: *Antologia del latín bíblico y cristiano*. Malaga 1994. 448 pp. Characteristic of García de la Fuente's approach is the rigorous separation of Biblical Latin from Christian Latin; according to Burton, it would be better to consider Biblical Latin as a subset of a wider Christian Latin; see Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels*. Oxford 2000 (x, 232 pp.), p. 154, note 10.

2009. Rafael Jiménez Zamudio: *Versiones latinas del Libro de Rut. Una introducción al latín bíblico*. Madrid. 628 pp.

Italian

1975. Aldo Ceresa-Gastaldo: *Il latino delle antiche versioni bibliche*. Rome. 130 pp. – The author offers a brief general introduction to ancient translations of biblical texts into Greek and Latin, and, in part 2, an analysis of selected texts of which original Hebrew and Greek texts are synoptically presented with their ancient translations, including the Vetus Latina. Among the texts are Genesis 2:7, 15–18, 21–25; Ps 8; Song 1:15–17; 2: 1–3; 8:6–7; Matt 6:9–12; 14:3–42. All of these texts (and some others) are linguistically annotated.

8.2 Vulgate concordances

Note. – A concordance is a list, alphabetically arranged, of all the words found in a text. Although today one can use online Latin Bibles to find a text or work out statistics, older printed concordances are still very helpful and indeed indispensable. This is especially true of the Dutripon concordance (which is a concordance of the Clementina) and the one established by Bonifatius Fischer (which is a concordance of the reconstructed Latin Bible of Jerome).

Several electronic editions of the Vulgate Bible exist, and all of them can be searched. A particularly helpful one is available online in the Intratext Digital Library, based in Italy; it can be found on the website www.intratext.com (Hieronymi Vulgata. Hieronymiana versio. I IntraText Edition CT. Copyright Èulogos 2007).

Concordances of the entire Bible

1239. Hugh of Saint-Cher OP: *Concordantia Bibliæ*. – This was the first Vulgate concordance. Compiled with the help of many monks, printed editions appeared in the 17th and 18th centuries in Mainz, Vienna and Venice; for example: *Sacrorum Bibliorum vulgatae editionis concordantiae, Hugonis Cardinalis ordinis praedicatorum*. Mainz 1685.

1838. François Pascal Dutripon: *Vulgatae editionis bibliorum sacrorum concordantiae*. Paris. xxiv, 1484 pp. – Many reprints; e.g., 2nd edition, Bar-le-Duc 1868; 8th edition, Paris 1880; Hildesheim 2006. This is considered the most complete and reliable concordance of the Clementina. Names of persons, cities, and countries are often introduced by a brief explanatory note; for examples, see the entries on Petrus (pp. 1054), the twelve different individuals called Judas (pp. 759–769), Jerusalem (pp. 727–728), and Jesus Christus (pp. 732–733). Dutripon's dates are 1793–1867. [The 1868 edition](#) can be found on the Internet at the "Internet archive." – Literature:

1899. O. Rey: Dutripon. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 2.2. Paris (cols. 1195–2428), col. 1517.

1899. Eugène Mangenot: Concordances de la Bible. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 2.1. Paris (xii pp., 1194 cols.), cols. 892–905. Col. 899: "La plus récente édition complète des Concordances la-

tines est celle de F.P. Dutripon (...). Elle comprend vingt mille versets de plus que les autres et distingue avec soin les différents noms propres, ce qu'on ne faisait pas dans les éditions antérieures." ▲

1852. Henri de Raze SJ – Jean-Baptiste Flandrin SJ – Edmund de Lachaud SJ: *Concordantiarum SS. Scripturae manuale*. Leiden. viii, 752. – Each entry of this concordance gives five or six words of context. Thus, the entry "ASSISTO, assisti" begins with: "Jac 5 9 Ecce iudex ante januam." Occasionally, words from the *iuxta hebraeos* Psalter are also listed. This concordance was reprinted many times, mostly in Paris, until the 1960s, and served as a manual edition for students of theology.
1977. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: *Novae Concordantiae Bibliorum Sacrorum iuxta vulgatam versionem critice editam*. Stuttgart. xvii, 5699 cols. in 5 volumes. – The Latin text of the Stuttgart edition by Robert Weber, 1975 edition, is used as a basis; cf. below, Chapter 13.4. As the preface of this "Stuttgart Concordance" explains, only the biblical text is taken into account, excluding the prefaces of Jerome. Included are several non-Vulgate texts: Jerome's translation of the Psalms *iuxta hebraeos*, and all the (apocryphal) texts printed at the end of the Weber (and Weber/Gryson) edition of the Vulgate, i.e., the Prayer of Manasseh, Psalm 151, etc. ▲

Concordances of individual books of the New Testament

Note. – Within a series dedicated to publishing encyclopedias, indexes, and concordances in classical philology, the "conceptual glossary" books list all words of the Latin text in thematic arrangement. Thus in the case of the volume on the gospel of Mark, separate sections deal with the universe (sky and atmosphere, weather and winds, matter), the earth (landscape names, water, terrain and its construction, minerals, metals), plants (including mythical plants), animals (including exotic animals), man (with many subdivisions: physical being, mind and soul, man as a social being, social structure, the arts), man and his environment.

2000. Andrew Wilson: *Conceptual Glossary and Index to the Vulgate Translation of the Gospel according to John*. Hildesheim. xviii, 398 pp.
2002. Andrew Wilson: Developing Conceptual Glossaries for the Latin Vulgate Bible. *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 17: 413–426.
2006. Andrew Wilson: *Conceptual Glossary of the Vulgate Translation of the Petrine Epistles*. Hildesheim. xxxi, 339 pp.
2007. Andrew Wilson – Alistair Baron – Celia Worth: *Conceptual Glossary and Index to the Gospel according to Mark*. Hildesheim. xxxiii, 425 pp.

Concordances of the apocrypha: 4 Ezra, Psalm 151, Prayer of Manasseh

1990. Wilfried Lechner-Schmidt: *Wortindex der lateinisch erhaltenen Pseudepigraphen zum Alten Testament*. Tübingen. xi, 241 pp. – Includes concordances of 5 Ezra (= 4 Ezra 1–2) and 6 Ezra (= 4 Ezra 15–16); the Latin text of these two works is printed on pp.225–233. See below, Chapter 23.2.
1993. Albert-Marie Denis OP: *Concordance latine des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament*. Corpus Christianorum. Thesaurus patrum latinorum. Supplementum. Turnhout. xvi, 631 pp. – Included in the concordance is the text of 4 Ezra 3–14, Prayer of Manasseh, and Psalm 151. The complete running text of these three sources is printed at the end of the book (pp. 601–617 and pp. 630–631). See below, Chapters 23.2 and 23.3). – Review: J. Verheyden: Les pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament. Textes latines. À propos d'une concordance. *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 71 (1995) 383–420.

The history of biblical concordances

1899. Eugène Mangelot: Concordances de la Bible. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 2.1. Paris (xii pp., 1194 cols.), cols. 892–905. – Columns 895–899 are on the history of Latin verbal concordances. The author considers Dutripon’s edition to be the best modern Vulgate concordance.
1926. Edmund F. Sutcliffe SJ: Hugo de S. Caro. *Verbum Domini* 6: 149–156. – On pp. 155–156, the author of this Latin article deals with Hugo’s biblical concordance, compiled in the thirteenth century.
1969. Hans Heinrich Schmid: Von Konkordanz, ihren Zielen und Problemen. In: Karl Huber – Hans Heinrich Schmid: *Zürcher Bibel-Konkordanz*. Volume 1. Zürich (xxxii, 862 pp.), pp. vii–xvii. – Pages viii–ix: “Die ersten Konkordanz, im 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert entstanden, fanden (...) vor allem Verwendung in den scholastischen Disputationen des Hochmittelalters (...) da diese Disputationen lateinisch ausgetragen wurden, versteht sich, warum diese ersten Konkordanz solche zur Vulgata sind und den lateinischen Bibeltext aufschlüsseln. Als *pater concordantiarum*, ‘Vater der Konkordanz’, gilt der erste Kardinal der Dominikaner, der im Kloster St. Jakob [Saint Jacques] in Paris lebende Hugo von St. Caro. Allerdings ist von seiner zwischen 1230 und 1244 fertiggestellten Konkordanz nurmehr der Titel erhalten. Sie hat in den folgenden Jahrhunderten eine Reihe von Erweiterungen und Überarbeitungen erlebt und ist zwischen 1470 und 1687 dann in einzelnen Ausgaben gedruckt worden. Grosse Bedeutung erlangte die 1555 erstmals erschienene Konkordanz von R[obert] Estienne, um derentwillen das Neue Testament in Verse eingeteilt wurde.”
1974. R.H. Rouse – Mary A. Rouse: The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44: 5–30. – This is the standard reference text on the subject.
1979. Frans Neiryck: La concordance de Franciscus Lucas Brugensis (1617). *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 55: 366–372. – This Latin concordance became the model for later ones.
2003. Adrian Schenker OP: Die ersten Bibelkonkordanz. In: idem: *Studien zu Propheten und Religionsgeschichte*. Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände 36. Stuttgart (x, 222 pp.), pp. 185–191.
2021. Dennis Duncan: *Index, A History of the: A Bookish Adventure*. London. xii, 340 pp. – German translation: *Index, eine Geschichte des*. Munich 2022. 376 pp. While this is not per se a book on biblical concordances, these figure prominently in the text. On Hugh of St. Cher and the concordance of the Dominicans of St Jacques in Paris and its early impact, see pp. 52–55 and 76–82 (English edition). The concordance of the English Bible, made by John Marbeck (1510–1585) and first suppressed by ecclesiastical authorities, was based on a Latin Bible concordance. After the authorities’ destruction of his first draft work, Marbeck started again, and his English concordance was eventually printed in 1550 (pp. 11–14, English edition).

8.3 Dictionaries of biblical Latin

Note. – Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive dictionary of Vulgate Latin. The compiler recommends the Latin-French dictionary compiled by Albert Blaise. This author’s aim was to cover all pre-medieval Latin authors, including the Vulgate. Users must be warned, however: Blaise’s focus is on new words and old words given special meanings; he does not list common words that a Latinist would know from his reading of classical authors such as Cicero, Livy, Vergil and Suetonius. This is also true of some of the other dictionaries listed below. Accordingly, one could describe them as glossaries.

Dictionaries of Vulgate Latin
 Dictionaries of ecclesiastical Latin
 Thesaurus linguae latinae
 Other lexical resources
 Latin Vulgate dictionaries of historical interest

Dictionaries of Vulgate Latin

General

1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence. xlii, 251 pp. – Compiled by a school teacher (Dalpane) and edited by his professor of Latin at the University of Florence, this book is in two parts: pages iii–xlv are an introduction to biblical Latin (although based on Kaulen’s German manual of 1904, it also has additional material; pages 1–243 are the alphabetical Latin-Italian dictionary. Typical entries present the meaning of the Latin word in classified form (a, b, c, etc.), always with at least one biblical reference. Of particular interest are references to non-biblical texts that are occasionally given to indicate the wider use of a word. Noteworthy is the inclusion of geographical names (cities, regions, countries) and names of peoples. While this dictionary is not exhaustive, it is certainly a valuable scholarly resource to be consulted regularly. ▲
1970. Paul Zürcher: Vokabular. In: idem: *Der Einfluss der lateinischen Bibel auf den Wortschatz der italienischen Literatursprache vor 1300*. Bern (315 pp.), pp. 31–312. – Although rarely consulted by Vulgate researchers, this is nevertheless a valuable contribution to Latin lexical studies. The author’s vocabulary consists of more than 200 entries on lexical items, especially items related to the realms of church and piety. Each entry begins with a brief survey of what the word means in the Vulgate; then follows a presentation of medieval Italian texts from before Dante that use the word in its Italian form. The book does not claim to be a contribution to understanding the Vulgate’s vocabulary; nevertheless, the entries are often helpful. – In the present book, this work is referred to in the form “Zürcher, p. 136.” ▲
2021. *Vocabulaire latin-français. Les 1200 mots les plus fréquents dans la Vulgate*. Andalus Publications. 105 pp. – A simple list of equivalences. Examples from the first page: *a* = de, loin de, hors de; – *ab* = après, par, de; – *abeo* = partir, aller de l’avant, aller; – *abicio* = rejeter, jeter. No biblical references are given. The little book, published without indicating the author and the place of publication, is also available in English and Spanish editions: *Latin-English Vocabulary. The 1200 most frequent words in the Vulgate*; *Vocabulario latín-español. Las 1200 palabras más frecuentes de la Vulgata*.

Psalms

1876. Josef Barták: *Vocabula breviarii Romani in classicis aut non aut raro aut aliter occurrentia*. Prague. 137 pp. – As the Latin title explains, this glossary lists and explains words that are used in the Breviary (including the Psalms) and that are not used in classical Latin or given a different meaning.

1923. Stanislaus Stephan: *Psalmenschlüssel. Einführung in die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten und in den Gedankengang der Brevierpsalmen*. Lauban. 308 pp. (poor printing; pages 200–306 have the numbers 100–206 by mistake). – Includes a detailed Latin-German glossary of nearly 100 pages, closely printed, in two columns. The Latin vocabulary, according to the author, must be seen from the rendered Hebrew words; Latin words carry Hebrew meanings.
1928. Matthew Britt OSB: *A Dictionary of the Psalter: Containing the Vocabulary of the Psalms, Hymns, Canticles and Miscellaneous Prayers of the Breviary Psalter*. New York. xxxvi, 299 pp.
1959. William J. Konus: *Dictionary of the New Latin Psalter of Pope Pius XII*. Westminster, Md. 132 pp. – Indexes the vocabulary of the *Psalterium Pianum* (1945; s. below, Chapter 15.4). Review: G.H. Guyot, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 21 (1959) 553–554.

New Testament

1921. John M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London. xi, 125 pp. – Reprint: London: Simon Wallenberg Press 2007. Based on the Wordsworth/White text of the New Testament Vulgate (see below, Chapter 13.2), this book is a glossary rather than an elaborate dictionary. The entries are very brief, just giving an English equivalent and a few references, without any further discussion. Omitted are common words that the student of Latin would already know; also omitted are words that are very close to their English equivalent (e.g., *corruptio*). At least one word is missing: *iniurius* = illegal, lawless (2 Pet 2:7). Worth mentioning is the introduction with its lists of words that figure in the text of the Wordsworth/White edition but not in the Clementina, and words that figure in the Clementina, but no longer in the Wordsworth/White edition. ▲
1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London: Samuel Bagster. xvi, 130 pp. – Based on the Wordsworth/White New Testament text of the Vulgate (see below, Chapter 13.2), this an important lexical resource compiled by a professional Latinist, though unfortunately hard to come by. The book's significant "Introduction: The Vulgate as a Translation" (pp. iii–xvi) is followed by a glossary of 3.903 entries. Richards's dictionary can be seen as an improved version of the 1921 dictionary of Harden (whose dates are 1871–1931). In the two books, the words selected for inclusion overlap but also significantly differ. The noun *corruptio* does figure in Richards's dictionary, as does *iniurius*. In a number of cases, the author offers brief descriptions of word usage, e.g., of words such as *adimplere*, *agere*, *baptisma*, *princeps*, and *paenitentia*. The dictionary offers many textual notes, some of which are included below, in Chapter 22. – The book does not state when it was published, but all library catalogues give 1934 as the date. In the preface, the author acknowledges the help of the late Oxford classicist Cuthbert H. Turner (1860–1930), which indeed points to that date (for Turner's notes included in the *Dictionary*, see pp. viii, 30). A later printing is identical; the only change is an addition to the preface: "Students are strongly recommended to use *Grammar of the Vulgate*, Plater and White, Clarendon Press, 1926." – Literature:
1934. Very brief unsigned review: *Expository Times* 46.1 (November 1934) 64: "This little well-printed book is certain to be of the greatest practical value."
2004. David Gill: Richards, George Chatterton (1867–1951). In: Robert B. Todd (ed.): *Dictionary of British Classicists*. Volume 3. Bristol (pp. 732–1105), pp. 814–815. Richards held the professorship of classics at the University of Durham from 1927. The *Concise Dictionary* is not mentioned in this otherwise useful article. ▲
2018. Theodore A. Bergren: *A Latin-Greek Index of the Vulgate New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*. Tübingen. xii, 262 pp. – An earlier version was published as: *A Latin-Greek Index of the Vulgate New Testament*. SBL Resources for Biblical Study 26. Atlanta, Ga. 1991. xiii, 207 pp. (with index to the *Vetus Latina*, pp. 175–205, not included in the 2018 version). – This is a simple list of the Latin vocabulary of the New Testament; each entry indicates the Greek word that was thus

translated. The relevant New Testament passages are not listed, but they can be found with the help of Alfred Schmoller: *Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*. 8th edition. Stuttgart 1989. 8, 534 pp. The *Handkonkordanz* supplies at each Greek entry the Vulgate's Latin equivalent. – Review: Anna Persig, *The Classical Review* 69 (2019) 484–485.

Dictionaries of ecclesiastical Latin

1926. Albert Sleumer – Joseph Schmid: *Kirchenlateinisches Wörterbuch. Ausführliches Wörterverzeichnis zum Römischen Missale, Breviarium, Rituale (...) sowie zur Vulgata und zum Codex juris canonici*. 2nd edition. Limburg. 840 pp. – This edition was preceded by a 1st edition in 1916 entitled: Albert Sleumer: *Liturgisches Lexikon. Ausführliches Wörterbuch zum Missale Romanum, Rituale Romanum und Breviarium Romanum* (339 p.). The 2nd edition has been reprinted several times, most recently: Hildesheim 2015. Many entries are provided with references to biblical passages, esp. from the Psalms. While this is an important work, one should not be blind to its deficiencies – and note that too much space is taken up by encyclopedic entries on personal and topographical names that one would not expect to find in a linguistic dictionary. ▲
- 1954/62. Albert Blaise: *Dictionnaire latin–français des auteurs chrétiens*. Turnhout. 900 pp. – The 1962 and later reprints include Blaise's appendix with additions and corrections (pp. 868–899). The Blaise dictionary includes many references to Vulgate biblical passages. The dictionary is not infallible, but most useful. For an assessment, see above, [Chapter 1](#). ▲
1961. Wilfrid Diamond: *Dictionary of Liturgical Latin*. Milwaukee. 156 pp. – Reprinted by various publishers.
1995. Leo F. Stelten: *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin*. Peabody, Mass. xiv, 330 pp. As the preface explains, this dictionary seeks to be "as inclusive as possible of words from Sacred Scripture, from the Code of Canon Law, from the liturgy (...)." The work is roughly equivalent in scope and intent to the German "Sleumer" (the 1st edition, 1916), but cannot replace its 2nd edition of 1926. ▲

Thesaurus linguae latinae

1900 –. *Thesaurus linguae latinae*. Edited by the Academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich, and Vienna. Volume I. Leipzig. xiv pp., 2032 cols. (A to Amyzon). – This still incomplete Latin-only dictionary often lists and discusses words found in the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate. Latinists celebrate this indispensable reference tool for its careful semantic classifications, and linguists consider it the most scientific of all dictionaries ever produced. When the present book was compiled, the latest fascicles to appear were:

2021. Volume XI.2, fascicle 7. Berlin, cols. 961–1120 (relinquo – ren[n]uo).

2022. Volume XI.2, fascicle 8. Berlin, cols. 1121–1280 (renuo – repressio).

2023. Volume XI.2, fascicle 9. Berlin, cols. 1281–1372 (repressio – resilio).

2023. Volume IX.1, fascicle 4. Berlin, cols. 513–648 (nemo – netura). The fascicles of the "N" volume began to appear only in 2011 to fill the gap left in the alphabet.

Unfortunately for the user, the *Thesaurus* uses many abbreviations, and secondary literature is hard to trace. – Literature:

1968. Wilhelm Ehlers: Der *Thesaurus linguae latinae*. Prinzipien und Erfahrungen. *Antike und Abendland* 14: 172–184.

2001. Dietfried Krömer: *Thesaurus linguae latinae*. In: Hubert Cancik et al. (eds.): *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Band 15/1. Stuttgart 2001 (x pp., 1260 cols.), cols. 143–149.

2012. Bianca-Jeanette Schröder: Thesaurus linguae Latinae. In: Ulrike Haß (ed.): *Große Lexika und Wörterbücher Europas*. Berlin (viii, 533 pp.), pp. 293–300.

See also Amber Leenders: *A Student's Guide to the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae online* (to be found on the Internet).



Other lexical resources

Latin–English dictionaries

1879. Charlton T. Lewis – Charles Short: *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford. xiv, 2019 pp. – This dictionary, still available from Oxford University Press that keeps reprinting it, has a long prehistory. Its direct ancestor is the English translation of a German dictionary:

1834–1845. Wilhelm Freund: *Wörterbuch der lateinischen Sprache*. 4 volumes. Leipzig.

1851. E.A. Andrews: *Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon*. New York. xxvi, 1651 pp.

Like its predecessors, the Lewis/Short dictionary is meant to be a universal Latin dictionary, i.e., one that is not limited to the classical Latin of authors such as Cicero, Caesar, Vergil, and Livy. Biblical Latin is included. ▲

1949. Alexander Souter: *A Glossary of Later Latin to A.D. 600*. Oxford. xxxii, 454 pp. – Several reprints. Souter (1873–1949) was a major Latinist.

Latin–German dictionaries

1788. Immanuel Johann Gerhard Scheller: *Ausführliches und möglichst vollständiges lateinisch-deutsches Lexicon oder Wörterbuch*. 2nd edition. Leipzig. xxxvii pp., 7834 cols. in 3 volumes. – Includes the vocabulary of the ecclesiastical writers up to the 8th century.

1905.1907. Johann Philipp Krebs – Joseph Hermann Schmalz: *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. Siebente Auflage. Zwei Bände. Basel. viii, 811 pp.; 776 pp. – Reprint: Darmstadt 1984. – Originally compiled by a school teacher (J. Ph. Krebs, 1771–1850) and first published in 1832, this dictionary explains words as they are used by classical authors; occasionally, post-classical authors and Vulgate Latin is considered. Although today largely forgotten, this work is still a very useful companion to all other Latin dictionaries. Krebs's *Antibarbarus* was not the first of its kind; its long history includes editions of similarly titled works by Johann Friedrich Nolte, Johann Georg Seybold, and Friedrich Cellarius. ▲

2004. Peter Stotz: Wortregister. In: idem: *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters* Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Munich. Band 5 (1059 pp.), pp. 450–1055. – The index to the multi-volume reference work is designed as a Latin-German glossary.

Latin–Italian and Latin–French dictionaries

1893. Eugène Benoist – Henri Goelzer: *Nouveau dictionnaire latin-français*. Paris. xvi, 1713 pp. – Late Latin is well represented, esp. Christian Latin. This dictionary was often reprinted; all 1903 and later editions include revisions (xxxvi, 1713 pp.).

2000. Gian Biagio Conte – Emilio Pianezzola – Giuliano Ranucci: *Il Dizionario della lingua Latina*. Florence. xlvi, 2058 pp. – This comprehensive dictionary covers all of ancient Latin down to the 6th century CE, i.e., it includes biblical and Christian Latin. Sources are regularly indicated, and the Vulgate figures occasionally. ▲

Latin only dictionary

1864–1926. Egidio Forcellini: *Lexicon totius latinitatis*. Edited by Francisco Corradini and Guisepe Perin. 4 vols. Padua. Vol. 1: lxxvii, 932 + 19 pp.; vol. 2: 975 + 23 pp.; vol. 3: 1032 + 14 pp.; vol. 4: 1054 + 9 pp. Reprint: Bologna 1965. – The “+” pages are supplements compiled by Perin. – This work of large-size volumes represents the work of Forcellini (1688–1768), see Charles E. Benntt: The Authorship of the Forcellini Lexicon. *The Classical Weekly* 5.5 (1911) 34–37. Although Forcellini did not live to see his work published, it was often printed; the edition here listed is the standard one used today.

Latin Vulgate dictionaries of historical interest

1473. Heinrich von Langenstein: *Vocabularius perutilis terminus bibliae (...) difficiles (...) declarans*. Ulm. – The author (d. 1397) of this dictionary taught theology in Vienna. A copy of this book is in the State Library of Berlin, Germany (shelf no. 4^o Inc. 2624); another one, dating from 1468, is kept in the University library of Kiel, Germany.

c. 1500. *Exposicio vocabulorum psalterii secundum alphabetum* (Explanation of the words of the Psalms according to the alphabet). – The eight-page manuscript lists about 150 rare words of the Latin Psalter and provides them with a German equivalent. The unique copy is located in the Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, Switzerland (Sammelhandschrift MSC 40 QUART, fol. 236 recto bis 238 verso).

1650. Petrus Ravanelus: *Bibliotheca Sacra seu Thesaurus Scripturae Canonicae*. Geneva. – An encyclopedic treatment of Latin words of the Bible, compiled by the French Protestant scholar Pierre Ravenel (d. c. 1680).

1760. Ignaz Weitenauer SJ: *Lexicon biblicum in quo explicantur Vulgatae vocabula et phrases*. Venice. viii. 554 pp. – This edition is called “editio prima Veneta multo correctior”; the first edition was published in 1758; further editions: Augsburg 1780, Avignon 1835, Naples 1857, Paris 1857, Turin 1866. The Jesuit exegete, who taught in Innsbruck, explains words and expressions that deviate from the ordinary usage and meaning in classical Latin. An example is *absque*, used where classical Latin requires *praeter* (p. 8 of the 1760 edition). Weitenauer is always aware of the difference between classical and biblical Latin. He is also the author of a Latin version of the Bible known for the purity of its language.

8.4 Studies of biblical lexicography

English

1996. Daniel J. Sheerin: Christian and Biblical Latin. In: Frank A.C. Mantello – A.G. Rigg (eds.): *Medieval Latin. An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*. Washington, D.C. xiv, 774 pp. – Pages 143–145: lists of special Christian vocabulary and words given special meaning in the Bible and Christianity.

2019. Theodore A. Bergren: Greek Loan-words in the Vulgate New Testament and the Latin Apostolic Fathers. *Traditio* 74: 1–25. ▲

German

1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg. 34 pp. – This small fascicle of 34 densely printed pages is subtitled “Programm zur Schlußfeier des Studien-

- jahres 1869/70." The author offers a richly annotated lexicographical collection of nouns, adjectives, verbs, prepositions, as well as observations on word formation and special word combinations. – The author taught at the academy of Bamberg. He edited a Vulgate Bible with the text of the Clementina (see below, Chapter 16.2). – Review: Peter Johann Schegg: *Die Vulgata. Theologisches Literaturblatt* 6.1 (1871) 1–4.
1870. Franz Kaulen: *Handbuch der Vulgata. Eine systematische Darstellung ihres lateinischen Sprachcharakters*. Mainz. xii, 280 pp. – This is the first edition of a still useful handbook on the language of the Vulgate Bible; it is now used in its second, 1904 edition. The two editions are not dramatically different.
1875. Hermann Rösner: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2. Aufl. Marburg. xvi, 526 pp. – This is the "zweite, berichtigte und vermehrte Auflage" of a work originally published in 1869. On pp. 305–405 is a list of words with special meanings, arranged according to the kinds of words – nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, etc. – Review of the 1869 edition: Johann Nepomuk Ott: *Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109 (1874) 757–792, 833–867. ▲
1884. Philipp Thielmann: *Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein. Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 1: 68–81.
1884. Philipp Thielmann: *Über die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachlichen Untersuchungen. Philologus* 42.2: 319–378. – Includes much on lexicography of biblical Latin. On pp. 322–323, the author suggests that for lexicographical and linguistic studies, the Vulgate's inner differentiation must be taken into account. Three groups of writings must be sharply distinguished – groups A, B, and C. To A belong Wisdom, Sirach, Baruch, letter of Jeremiah, and 1 and 2 Maccabees, i.e., the Itala (= Vetus Latina). To B belong all the books revised by Jerome, i.e., the New Testament (B¹) and the Psalms (B²). Finally, to C belong all the books of the Old Testament that Jerome translated afresh. One must also keep in mind the sizes of the group: the smallest group is A, B is about three times as long as A, and C about eight times as long as A (A:B:C = 1:3:8). "Charakteristische Unterschiede zwischen den drei Abtheilungen ergeben sich schon aus einer ganz oberflächlichen Lektüre, indem jede derselben Formen, Wörter und Konstruktionen aufweist, die ihr allein eigen sind" (p. 322). ▲
1904. Franz Kaulen: *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*. 2nd, improved edition. Freiburg. xvi, 332 pp. – Reprint: Hildesheim 2013. Kaulen reworks the entire material offered by Loch in 1870 and Rösner in 1875. On pp. 13–282 he treats words and word forms, arranged according to nouns, adjectives, numeral words, pronouns, etc. The two indexes added to the work – word index and subject index – allow the handbook to be used as a dictionary. – In the present book, Kaulen's *Sprachliches Handbuch* is referred to as "Kaulen, p. nn." ▲
1937. Friedrich Stummer: *Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. Biblica* 18.1: 23–50. – Comments on *adiutorium* (Gen 2:18), *caput* (Jer 22:6), *coniunctus* (Gal 4:25), *eferre foras vasa* (Ezek 12:4), *emissarius* (Sam 22:17, etc.), *equus emissarius* (Sir 33:6; Jer 5:8); *intrare* (Deut 11:30); *irriguum* (Josh 15:19), and *requiescere* (Isa 66:2).
- 1996–2004. Peter Stötz: *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Munich. 5 Bände: xxxi, 723 pp.; xxvi, 482 pp.; xx, 352 pp.; xxv, 510 pp.; 1059 pp. – Band 1, pp. 519–551: Griechische Lehnwörter im christlichen Latein der Antike. Band 2, pp. 6–32: Christliche Sonderbedeutungen. There is a detailed lexical index in Band 5. ▲

2000. Bengt Löfstedt: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart. vii, 430 pp. – Pages 310–318: Lexikalisches zur Vulgata.
2020. Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der im Mittelalter benutzten Vulgata*. Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Sitzungsberichte 57.4. Stuttgart 2020. 52 pp. – This treatise is about Latin vocabulary related to building, written by a specialist of medieval building terminology. The terms analysed include *arifex*, *funiculus*, *lapis angularis*, *later*, *norma*, and *perpendicularum*. On these words, see the glossary below, Chapter **19.2**.

French

1884. Henri Goelzer: *Étude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité de saint Jérôme*. Paris. xii, 472 pp. – Pages 227ff.: changements de signification.
1966. Gerardus Q.A. Meershoek: *Le latin biblique d'après saint Jérôme. Aspects linguistiques de la rencontre entre la Bible et le monde classique*. Nijmegen. xv, 256 pp. – Reprint: Turnhout 1994. – Pages 4–64: what did Jerome think about the language of the Latin Bible?; pp. 64–240: a study of a number of words such as *confiteri*, *glorificare*, *honorare*, *communicare*, *cognoscere*, *renes*, *dii*, *mare*, *lacus*; pp. 245–249: index of biblical passages. Most of these words are alphabetically listed in the glossary below, in Chapter **19.2**. According to Meershoek, Jerome occasionally depends on Origen's explanation of words (pp. 92, 115, 129, 138). – Reviews:
1968. Gabriel Sanders, *L'Antiquité Classique* 37: 720–722 (with a list of minor slips and printing errors, p. 722).
1969. Bengt Löfstedt, *Gnomon* 41: 362–365 (German). Meershoek exaggerates the difference between biblical and non-biblical uses of the word *cor*, heart (p. 365). ▲
2012. Lyliane Sznajder: Quelques exemples de réorganisations lexicales en latin biblique. In: Olga Spevak – Alain Christol (eds.): *Les évolutions du latin*. Paris (392 pp.), pp. 353–376.
2020. Michèle Fruyt et al.: *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris. 326 pp. – Although not dealing specifically with biblical Latin, some of the 20 words analysed are of interest: *algoria*, *bilinguis*, *cognoscere*, *contumelia*, *examen*, *exigere*, *existimatio*, *fabula*, *fama*, *gerere*, *gloria*, *laus*, *libertas*, *potentia*, *quaerere*, *sermo*, *signum*, *vanitas*, *verbum*.

Italian – Spanish

- 1971/74. Edoardo Vineis: Studio sulla lingua dell'Italia. *L'Italia Dialettale* 34 (1971) 136–248; 36 (1973) 287–372; 37 (1974) 154–166.
1990. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Introducción al latín bíblico y cristiano*. Madrid. xx, 482 pp. – Pages 443–458: index of words. An enlarged edition was given the title *Latín bíblico y latín cristiano*. Madrid 1994. 588 pp.

Latin

1933. Walter Matzkow: *De vocabulis quibusdam Italiae et Vulgatae christianis quaestiones lexicographicae*. Berlin. 54 pp. – This thesis defended at the University of Berlin studies ten Greek words – ἀποκάλυψις, σωτήρ, εὐαγγέλιον, μετάνοια, βαπτίζειν, ἀγιάζειν, δικαιοῦν, ἀφθαρσία, κληρονομία, δοξάζειν – and their Latin equivalents such as *iustificare*, *iustificatio*, *paenitentia*, *salvare*, *salvator*, deciding in which cases a word can be considered a new Christian invention, and in which cases there is only a shift in a meaning that already existed. The latter is the case with *revelare* and *paenitentia*. – Reviews:

1935. J.B. Hofmann, *Gnomon* 10: 284–285.

1935. P. Gächter, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 59: 307.

8.5 Latin names, words, and Latinisms in the Greek New Testament

Note. – The Greek New Testament was written in a cultural situation in which Greek was dominant, but Latin had a strong presence that can be felt in some of the books of the New Testament, especially in the Gospel of Mark. The *titulus*, the inscription fixed to the cross of Christ, was in three languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (*hebraice, graece et latine* – John 19:20). Two New Testament authors have Latin names: Mark (Marcus) and Paul (Paulus); other Latin names in the New Testament include Felix (Acts 23:24), Julius (Acts 27:1,3), Justus (Col 4:11), Pontius Pilate (Pontius Pilatus), and Titus. The total number of Latin personal names in the New Testament is given as 45, of which five are female names: Claudia, Drusilla, Julia, Junia, and Prisca/Priscilla.

The Greek name for “Christians” – *christianoí* – is formed with the Latin ending *-anus* (Acts 11:26).

Here is a partial list of Latin words (all of them technical terms) in the Greek New Testament: *kênsos* = *census* (Matt 22:19), δηνάριον = *denarius* (Matt 18:28; Mark 6:37 and often), κεντυρίων = *centurio* (Mark 15:39), κοδράντης = *quadrens* (a small copper coin, Mark 12:42), κολωνία = *colonia* (Acts 16:12), κουστωδία = *custodia* (a guard, Matt 27:65; 28:11), λεγιών = *legio* (Matt 26:53), φραγγέλιον = *flagellum* (a beating, John 2:15), φραγγέλλω = *flagellare* (Matt 27:26), πραιτώριον = *praetorium* (Matt 27:27), σικάριος = *sicarius* (murderer, Acts 21:38), σπεκουλάτωρ = *speculator* (specialist soldier, Mark 6:27), σουδάριον = *sudarium* (napkin, Luke 19:20), τίτλος = *titulus* (notice, inscription, John 19:19–20).

English

1919. A.T. Robertson: *Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*. 3rd edition. London. lxxxvi, 1453 pp. – Pages 108–111: Latinisms and other foreign words. “More than forty Latin names of persons and places occur in the N.T. The other Latin words, thirty (or thirty-three), are military, judicial, monetary, or domestic words” (p. 109). Mark uses more Latinisms than any other New Testament writer (p. 110). Robertson refuses to make much of the Marcan evidence, rejecting the idea that Mark would originally have written his gospel in Latin (p. 118).
1991. David E. Aune: A Latinism in Revelation. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110: 691–692. – In Revelation 15:2, Greek νικῶν + preposition ἐκ seems to echo Latin *victoria ex* – victory over, found in Livy and Velleius Paterculus. Repeated in: David E. Aune: Revelation 6–16. *Word Biblical Commentary*. Volume 52B. Nashville 1998 (xlv pp., pp. 377–903), p. 872.
1992. F.F. Bruce, Latin. In: *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Volume 4. New York 1992 (xxxv, 1162 pp.), pp. 220–222.
1993. Robert H. Gundry: *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*. Grand Rapids, Mich. lv, 1069 pp. – On pp. 1043–1045, Gundry lists and discusses the Latinisms of the Gospel of Mark.
1998. Bas M.F. Van Iersel: *Mark: A Reader-Response Commentary*. Sheffield. 556 pp. – Not only lexical items show Latin influence but also certain syntactic structures such as deviations from normal Greek word-order and the nonfinal use of the Greek particle ἵνα (pp. 33–35).
2003. Brian J. Incigneri: *The Gospel to the Romans. The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark’s Gospel*. Leiden. xiv, 426 pp. – The author seeks to establish as likely that the Gospel of Mark was written in Rome in the year 71. Pages 100–103: The extent of the Latinisms. “The most likely place for Latinisms to

predominate is in the city of Rome, where the Latin and Greek languages were closely intermingled as nowhere else at that time. (...) it was in Rome that the ordinary person was forced to deal with both languages in daily life" (p. 102).

2019. Theodore A. Bergren: Greek Loanwords in the Vulgate New Testament and the Latin Apostolic Fathers. *Traditio* 74: 1–25. – The author's focus is on Greek Words in the Latin New Testament, but he also mentions many Latin loan-words in the Greek New Testament.
2022. Richard G. Fellows: Early Sexist Textual Variants, and Claims that Prisca, Junia, and Julia Were Men. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 84.2: 252–278. – Pages 275–276: "There are forty-five Latin names in the New Testament, and five of these belong to women (Prisca/Priscilla, Junia, Julia, Drusilla, and Claudia). Of these, only the first three may have been unsettling for early copyists who believed that women should not have positions of leadership (...) Drusilla (Acts 24:24) was not a believer and is named after her husband. Claudia appears only in 2 Tim 4:21, where she is one of four greeters and has the least prominent position behind three men. Prisca, Junia and Julia, however, may have posed problems for misogynists."
2023. Eleanor Dickey: *Latin Loanwords in Greek. A Lexicon and Analysis*. Cambridge. 700 pp. – A comprehensive inventory of all Latin words in Greek literature, up to ca. 700 CE. ▲

German

1961. Friedrich Blass – Albert Debrunner: *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 11th edition. Göttingen (xviii, 368 pp.), pp. 6–8 (§ 5): discussion of Latin words and Latinisms in the Greek New Testament. It is pointed out that Luke deletes some of the Latinisms of his sources; thus κῆνσοσ = *census* in Matt 22:17 and Mark 12:14 is replaced with φόρος (Luke 20:22, in the Vulgate: *tributum*).
2001. Marius Reiser: *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments*. Paderborn (xiv, 257 pp.), pp. 8–9. – Reiser speaks of 27 Latin loanwords in the Greek New Testament and gives a list of twelve examples such as μεμβράνα = *membrana* (2 Tim 4:13), the Latin word for parchment.
2011. Reinhard von Bendemann: Die Latinismen im Markusevangelium. In: Martina Janßen – F.S. Jones – Jürgen Wehnert (eds.): *Frühes Christentum und religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. Göttingen (218 pp.), pp. 37–52.

Italian

2000. Robert A. Maryks: I latinismi del Nuovo Testamento in relazione alla letteratura greca e alle iscrizioni (II sec. a.C. – II sec. d.C.). *Filologia neotestamentaria* 13: 23–33.

8.6 Grammatical and linguistic studies of biblical Latin

German

1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg. iv, 106 pp. – These are a Latin teacher's notes. In four chapters, the author provides general considerations on the Vulgate, textual notes on selected biblical passages of both Testaments, and a more sustained textual commentary on passages of the gospel of Matthew. Interspersed are miniature essays on

general grammatical and stylistic features of Vulgate Latin such as the introduction of direct speech with *quia*, *quod*, and *quoniam* (pp. 58–61) and how interrogative sentences are articulated (pp. 49–58). A digital copy was made by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna, Austria) and can be found on the Internet.

1864. Johann Baptist Heiss [Heiß]: *Beitrag zur Grammatik der Vulgata. Formenlehre*. Munich. 20 pp. – Heiss indicates how Vulgate Latin differs from classical Latin as codified in a modern textbook of Latin grammar.
1870. Franz Kaulen: *Handbuch zur Vulgata. Eine systematische Darstellung ihres lateinischen Sprachcharakters*. Mainz. xii, 280 pp. – For this book's second, enlarged edition, see below, 1904.
1872. Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte*. Arnsberg. 49 pp. – The first section (pp. 3–20) is entitled "Lateinischer Idiotismus der Vulgata, insbes. des Psalteriums."
1874. Johann Nepomuk Ott: Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109: 757–792, 833–867. – A detailed critical review of literature, esp. of the work of Hermann Rönsch.
1875. Hermann Rönsch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2. Aufl. Marburg. xvi, 526 pp. – The first edition was published in 1869.
1895. Alois Hartl: *Sprachliche Eigenthümlichkeiten der Vulgata*. Ried. 21 pp. – This pamphlet depends on Franz Kaulen's *Handbuch*, 1870.
1904. Franz Kaulen: *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata. Eine systematische Darstellung ihres lateinischen Sprachcharakters*. 2nd edition. Freiburg 1904. xvi, 332 pp. – For the first edition, see above, 1870.
1936. Friedrich Stummer: Hauptprobleme der Erforschung der alttestamentlichen Vulgata. In: Johannes Hempel et al. (eds.): *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 66. Berlin (viii, 239 pp.), pp. 233–239. – The volume has been reprinted in 2020.
1936. Friedrich Stummer: Die Landschaftskenntnis des Hieronymus und ihr Einfluss auf die Vulgata. *Das Heilige Land* (Köln) 80: 65–76.
1945. Friedrich Stummer: Zur Stilgeschichte der alten Bibelübersetzungen. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 61 (1945) 195–230. – Pages 212–230: Rhythmische Satzschlüsse in der Vulgata.
- 1952/53. Martin Johannesson: Zur Entstehung der Ausdrucksweise der lateinischen Vulgata aus den jüngeren griechischen alttestamentlichen Übersetzungen. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 44: 90–102. – Jerome prefers relative clauses to participial constructions found in the Greek text. He avoids constructions with the infinitive, and uses paraphrases for rendering certain nouns.
2000. Bengt Löfstedt: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart. vii, 340 pp. – Pages 289–301: Sprachliches zur Vulgata; pp. 302–309: Übersetzungstechnisches zur Vulgata; pp. 310–318: Lexikalisches zur Vulgata.
2015. Martin G. Becker: Informationsstruktur und Satzanordnung in der Vulgata und den frühen volkssprachlichen Bibelübersetzungen von Lefèvre d'Étaples und Casiodoro de Reina. In: Michael Bernsen – Elmar Eggert – Angela Schrott (eds.): *Historische Sprachwissenschaft als philologische Kulturwissenschaft*. Göttingen (691 pp.), pp. 601–630. – Pages 605 ff.: Informationsstruktur und

Satzanordnung in Hieronymus' Bibelübersetzung. One can rightly speak of a grammar of the Vulgate, "whose complete description" – according to today's linguistic standards – "is, however, still pending" (p. 605). – Man kann mit Recht von einer Grammatik der Vulgata sprechen, "deren vollständige Beschreibung" – nach heutigem linguistischen Standards – "allerdings noch aussteht" (p. 605).

2023. Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg 2023. vi, 413 pp. – Despite its title, this is not an introduction, but a collective volume of individual articles; the focus of several contributions is on Latin syntax. The editor's introduction: Roland Hoffmann: Einleitung: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata (pp. 3–83).

French

2006. Lyliane Sznajder: La parole et la voix dans la Vulgate. In: Pascale Brillet-Dubois (ed.): *Philologia. Mélanges offerts à Michel Casevitz*. Paris (381 pp.), pp. 329–338.
2011. Lyliane Sznajder: L'expression de la longue durée et de l'éternité dans la Vulgate. In: Claude Moussy (ed.): *Espace et temps en latin*. Paris (248 pp.), pp. 109–123.

Italian

1995. Marco Jennarelli: Analisi qualitative quantitative computerizzata del latino del Nuovo Testamento secondo la Biblia Vulgata. *Rivista biblica* 43: 381–390.

8.7 Bibliographical glossary of grammatical and stylistic terms

ablative absolute. This very characteristic feature of classical Latin also appears in the Vulgate, though less frequently. Examples are *ruptis vinculis* – after having broken his chains (Luke 8:29); *deficiente vino* – when the wine was running out (John 2:3); *defuncto autem Herode* – when Herod was dead (Matt 2:19).

1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg (iv, 106 pp.), p. 41. – Hagen lists passages where the subject of a sentence is placed between words of the ablative absolute; an example is *intermissis pater tuus asinis sollicitus est pro vobis* (1 Sam 10:2). One would expect *intermissis asinis, pater tuus (...)*.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 294 (no. 191: 1 Pet 4:4), 300–301 (nos. 200–202).

1926. Plater/White, pp. 39 (§ 52), 98 (§ 116).

1994. Antonio Moreno Hernández: La reducción del ablativo en latín tardío: restricciones de uso y distribución en la Vetus Latina. In: Fernando Sojo Rodríguez (ed.): *Latinitas biblica et christiana. Studia philologica varia in honorem Olegario García de la Fuente*. Madrid (602 pp.), pp. 309–317.

1996. Antonio Moreno Hernández: The Ablative Absolut in Late Latin. In: Hannah Rosén (ed.): *Aspects of Latin. Papers from the Seventh International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics*. Innsbruck (735 pp.), pp. 471–482.

2021. Marina Benedetti – Felicia Logozza – Liana Tronci: Ablative absolute in the Vulgate. Some remarks on the Gospels. In: Antonio María Martín Rodríguez (ed.): *Linguisticae Dissertatio-*

nes. *Current Perspectives on Latin Grammar, Lexicon & Pragmatics*. Madrid (885 pp.), pp. 265–280.

2023. Bernard Bertolussi – Felicia Logozzo et al.: Kontinuität und Innovation in der Partizipialsyntax der Vulgata. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 259–328, at pp. 275–285. – The abl. abs. is found in both testaments, often due to Jerome’s preference of the syntax of classical Latin.

accusative

1926. Plater/White, pp. 81–82 (§ 110).

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 76–79 (§§ 70–79).

accusative with infinitive (Acl). This construction, typical of classical Latin, still exists in biblical Latin; examples are: *abneges nosse me* – you will deny to know me (Luke 22:34; *nosse* = *novisse* is infinitive perfect of *noscere*, to know); *dicunt eum vivere* – they say that he is alive (Luke 24:23).

1904. Kaulen, pp. 288–289 (no. 182a), 294–295 (no. 191).

1926. Plater/White, p. 82 (§ 110, 4). “This ordinary construction is noticeable only from its rarity; it is usually replaced by *quod*, *quia*, or *quoniam*” (p. 82).

accusativus graecus

1904. Kaulen, p. 273 (no. 151).

adjectives

1875. Rönsch, pp. 332–338.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 130–160 (nos. 40–50).

1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), pp. xviii–xix.

1926. Plater/White, pp. 48–50.

1986. Carmen Arias Abellán: La sustantivación del adjetivo en latín. *Estudios humanísticos. Filología* 8: 79–86.

2008. Rafael Jiménez Zamudio: La colocación del adjetivo en las versiones Latinas del Libro de Rut. *Revista de estudios latinos* 8: 73–90.

2009. Eusebia Tarriño Ruiz: El adjetivo. In: José Miguel Baños Baños (ed.): *Sintaxis del latín clásico*. Madrid (838 pp.), pp. 251–272.

adverbial clauses

1951. Henry P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 3rd edition. Cambridge (xv, 162 pp.), pp. 74–74–88. Deals with clauses of: time – place – cause – purpose – consequence – concession – condition – comparison.

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 156–180 (§§ 274–323): les propositions subordonnées circonstancielles: causales – finales – consecutives – concessives – conditionnelles – temporelles – comparatives – relatives.

adverbs

1875. Rönsch, pp. 147–150, 230.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 229–235 (nos. 117–119), 281–282 (nos. 169–171).
1926. Plater/White, pp. 60–62 (§ 87), 68–69 (§ 95).
1986. Olegario García de la Fuente: Sobre el uso de los adverbios en el latín bíblico. In: Domingo Muñoz León (ed.): *Salvación en la palabra. Targum – Derash – Berith. En memoria del profesor Alejandro Diez Macho*. Madrid (848 pp.), pp. 135–156.
1992. Olegario García de la Fuente: Sobre la colocación de los adverbios de cantidad en el latín vulgar y en el latín bíblico. In: M. Iliescu – W. Maxgut (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif III*. Tübingen (x, 368 pp.), pp. 143–157.

affirmation – saying “yes.” See also below, the glossary (Chapter **19.2**) s.v. *dicere, est, etiam, sic*.

1863. Hagen, p. 52. – On “yes” (*etiam, utique, tu dixisti*) and “no” (*non*) in the Vulgate.
1896. B.L. Gildersleeve – Gonzalez Lodge: *Gildersleeve’s Latin Grammar*. New York (x, 550 pp.), pp. 298–299 (no. 471). How to say “yes” and “no” in classical Latin.
2012. Roman Müller: *Sit autem sermo vester est est non non*: Klassisches und nichtklassisches “Ja.” In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon (1085 pp.), pp. 111–120. – Müller studies some of the 42 Vulgate passages where in a dialogue situation someone says “yes,”; the affirmative answer comes either in the form of a particle (*est – Matt 5:37; etiam – Matt 11:9*) or in the form of “focus repetition” (*tu dixisti – you said so, Matt 5:37*).

anacoluthon

1904. Kaulen, p. 306 (no. 214).
1917. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41 (1917) 303–332, at pp. 324–325: “abgebrochene Relativsätze” (incomplete relative clauses).

article. Classical Latin does not have a definite or indefinite article. It is often claimed that Vulgate Latin begins to have the article. In addition to the literature listed here, see also the bibliography referred to in the glossary (below, Chapter **19.2**), s.v. *ille, illa, illud* and s.v. *unus*.

1875. Hermann Rönsch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2nd edition. Marburg (xvi, 526 pp.), pp. 419–425.
1926. Plater/White, pp. 76–80 (§§ 106, 107). – Page 76: “Latin, as is well known, has no article, definite or indefinite.” But, p. 79: “in popular Latin an attempt was made to supply this deficiency by the use of *hic, ille, or ipse*” as well as *unus* (pp. 79–80).
1932. George L. Trager: *The Use of Latin Demonstratives (especially ille and ipse) up to 600 A.D. as the Source of the Romance Article*. New York. xi, 198 pp.
1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. vi: “In the Old Testament Vulgate *hic* occasionally represents the Greek article. In the New Testament *ille*, which was destined to form the article in Romance languages, begins to appear.” Among the examples listed are *illis undecim* (Luke 24:9); *ille alius discipulus* (John 20:3).

1965. J.B. Hofmann – Anton Szantyr: *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Munich (xcviii, 935, 89* pp), pp. 191–194: *ille* (*ipse*) and *unus* as articles.
1971. Fritz Abel: *L'adjectif démonstratif dans la langue de la Bible latine. Étude sur la formation des systèmes déictiques et de l'article défini des langues romanes*. Tübingen. xxii, 207 pp. – On the basis of statistical explorations of the demonstrative pronoun *ille* (in a corpus of texts that includes the Vetus Latina), Abel suggests that by the 2nd century CE, spoken Latin (already) had an article. – This interpretation has been contested. According to Löfstedt, there is no Latin text that uses *ille* regularly and according to a set of rules, see Bengt Löfstedt: *Le problème de l'unité du latin vulgaire* [1973]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), pp. 101–105, at pp. 104–105.
1992. Robert Coleman: Italic. In: Jadranka Gvozdanović (ed.): *Indo-European Numerals*. Berlin (x, 943 pp.), pp. 389–446. – Page 390: the examples *propheta unus* (Luke 9:19) and *una ancilla* (Matt 26:29) show that *unus* can function as the indefinite article.
2011. Mari Ioanne Hertenberg: Classical and Romance Usages of *ipse* in the Vulgate. *Oslo Studies in Language* 3.3: 173–188. The evidence for *ipse* as definite article in Col 2:22 and Rev 21:18 remains inconclusive.
2020. Gerhard Schaden: Latin UNUS and the Discourse Properties of Unity Cardinals. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 65: 438–470. – Some scholars have felt that there are clear cases in the Vulgate where *unus* functions as the indefinite article. Schaden seeks to demonstrate that the alleged cases can be understood differently – *unus* being used as contrastive numeral (for examples, see below **Chapter 21** on 1 Sam 1:1-3; and **Chapter 22** on Matt 26:69–71), and *unus* as a partitive particle (for examples, see below **Chapter 21** on Judg 9:51–54; and **Chapter 22** on Matt 9:14–18 and Mark 12:38–44).

attraction. Or, more properly, “inverse attraction” [umgekehrte Attraktion]: in a sentence with a subordinate clause, the case of the relative pronoun may determine the case of the noun of the main clause.

1904. Kaulen, p. 287–288 (no. 180) provides examples from both testaments: 1 John 2:25 (*vitam aeternam*, where one would expect *vita aeterna*).
1927. Friedrich Stummer: Die neue römische Ausgabe der Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150, at pp. 146–147. Stummer adds more examples: Gen 23:15; 44:5.

betacism (b/v interchange)

1875. Rönsch, pp. 455–456.
1884. Philipp Thielmann: Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 1: 68–81, at p. 78: “Der Betacismus (d.i. die volkstümliche Aussprache des lat. *v* wie *b*), der auch sonst bekanntlich starke Verheerungen in der lateinischen Sprache angerichtet (...)”
1926. Plater/White, p. 43, n. 2 (§ 60).
1928. Arthur Allgeier: *Die altlateinischen Psalterien*. Freiburg (xi, 190 pp.), p. 58: *b* for *v* (*laudaberunt* for the correct *laudaverunt*) is frequent in Spanish manuscripts.
2011. J.N. Adams: Late Latin. In: James Clackson (ed.): *A Companion to the Latin Language*. Chichester (xxvi, 634 pp.), pp. 257–28, at pp. 275–276.

2022. Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni: The Codex Vercellensis (a, 3) as Witness of the Gospel of Luke. *Early Christianity* 13: 105–130, at pp. 112 and 116. – Page 112, n. 25: “The confusion between *u* and *b*, resulting from the merger of /w/ and /b/ in some regions, is rather common in many Old Latin Bible texts.” Examples: *obum* = *ovum* (Luke 11:12), *ueatus* = *beatus* (Luke 11:27).

causative

1926. Plater/White, p. 23 (§ 27).
1973. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: Die Wiedergabe des hebräischen Kausativs in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 85: 196–219.
2008. Roland Hoffmann: Causative Constructions in Late Latin Biblical Translations. In: Roger Wright (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. VIII. Hildesheim (xiii, 623 pp.), pp. 160–172. – The paper is published in the 8th Congress proceedings volume of the *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif* series.
2009. Gonzalo Rubio: Gonzalo Rubio: Semitic influence in the history of Latin Syntax. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax. Volume 1: Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 195–239, at pp. 223–224.
2014. Roland Hoffmann: Les constructions causatives dans les traductions latines des textes hébreux et grecs: le cas de la Vulgate de Jérôme. In: Bernard Bortolussi – P. Lecaude (eds.): *La Causativité en latin*. Paris (220 pp.), pp. 143–176.
2018. Roland Hoffmann: Zur Kausativität. Kausativ-Konstruktionen in spätlateinischen Bibelübersetzungen. In: idem: *Lateinische Linguistik*. Hamburg (xii, 301 pp.), pp. 87–110. The corpus analyzed consists of four books: Genesis, Psalms (the two Jeromian versions), and Isaiah. Unlike Hebrew, Latin does not have a separate form for denoting the causative mode, so that the translator has to resort to paraphrase.

clausula. Meant is rhythmic clause-ending, also called *cursus*.

1915. Eduard Norden: *Die antike Kunstprosa. Vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*. 3rd printing. Leipzig. xx, 968, 22 pp. – Pages 923–960 (in volume 2; the two volumes are paginated consecutively): Clausula in Latin prose. “Im Altertum hieß das rhythmische Schlußkolon *clausula* (...) Im Mittelalter wurde der rhythmische Satzschluß *cursus* genannt” (p. 959). “Die Praxis des Hieronymus ist wiederum ganz lehrreich: da, wo er spinöse Fragen behandelt, achtet er nicht oder so gut wie nicht auf den Rhythmus, aber sobald seine Rede höheren Schwung nimmt, stellt er sich ein” (p. 947).
1917. Giuseppe Gullotta: Il ritmo quantitativo nella Vulgata. *Bollettino della Società filologica romana* 27–48. – Also as a booklet: *Il ritmo quantitativo nella Vulgata*. Perugia. 24 pp.
1928. 1929. Mathieu G. Nicolau: L’origine du ‘cursus’ rythmique et les débuts de l’accent d’intensité en latin. *Revue des études latines* 6 (1928) 319–329; 7 (1929) 47–74. – Review: A.W. de Groot, *Gnomon* 11.4 (1935) 207–210.
1945. Friedrich Stummer: Zur Stilgeschichte der alten Bibelübersetzungen. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 61 (1945) 195–230. – Pages 212–230: Rhythmische Satzschlüsse in der Vulgata.
1954. Friedrich Stummer: Vom Satzrhythmus in der Bibel und in der Liturgie der lateinischen Christenheit. *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 3: 233–283.

1955. Blaise, p. 31 (§ 32).
1956. Jean Doignon: *Sacrum – sacramentum – sacrificium* dans le texte latin de la Sagesse. *Revue des études latines* 34 (1956) 240–253, at pp. 250–252.
2015. Christa Gray: *Jerome, Vita Malchi. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford. xviii, 365 pp. – In this commentary on one of the minor works of Jerome, Gray also studies the *clausulae* of his sentences (pp. 58–67), though without reference to the Vulgate.

comparison, comparative. Of the numerous possibilities of expressing the comparative in unusual ways (all listed by Kaulen), one merits to be singled out: the positive (*bonum*) may stand for the comparative (*melius*): *bonum est sperare in Domino quam sperare in principibus* – it is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in princes (Ps 118:9, Vg 117:9); *bonum erat ei si (...)* – it would have been better for him if (Matt 26:24 = Mark 14:21).

1863. Hagen, p. 24.
1864. Johann Baptist Heiss [Heiß]: *Beitrag zur Grammatik der Vulgata. Formenlehre*. Munich (20 pp.), p. 12.
1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg (34 pp.), pp. 18–19.
1872. Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte*. Arnsberg (49 pp.), p. 10.
1875. Hermann Rönsch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2nd edition. Marburg (xvi, 526 pp.), pp. 415–418, 442–443, 452–453.
1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. Des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer (64 pp.), pp. 13–14. Genetivus comparationis.
1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at p. 521.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 160–163 (nos. 51–56), 258–260 (no. 145).
1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), p. xl.
1917. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41 (1917) 303–332, at pp. 322–323.
1926. Plater/White, pp. 21 (§ 22), 67 (§ 94,a–c), 110 (§ 128,5).
1951. H.P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 3rd edition. Oxford (xv, 196 pp.), pp. 99.
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 69, 97–100.
1977. Olegario García de la Fuente: El comparativo en las antiguas versiones latinas del Salterio. *La Ciudad de Dios* 190: 299–316.
1985. Bengt Löfstedt: Sprachliches zur Vulgata [1985]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), p. 298.

2009. Rafael Jiménez Zamudio: Técnicas de traducción en las antiguas versiones de la Biblia. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 29: 75–115, at pp. 106–108, with examples from the book of Genesis.
2009. Gonzalo Rubio: Semitic Influence in the History of Latin Syntax. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax. Volume 1: Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 195–239, at pp. 209–212.
2016. Brigitte L.M. Bauer: The Development of the Comparative in Late Latin Texts. In: J.N. Adams – Nigel Vincent (eds.): *Early and Late Latin: Continuity of Change?* Cambridge 2016 (xx, 470 pp.), pp. 313–339.
2016. Robert Maltby: Analytic and Synthetic Forms of the Comparative and Superlative from Early to Late Latin. In: James Adams – Nigel Vincent (eds.): *Early and Late Latin. Continuity or Change?* Cambridge (xx, 470 pp.), pp. 340–366.
2018. Lucie Pultrová: Periphrastic Comparison in Latin. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 17.1: 93–110 (with erratum, p. 367, in the issue of the same year).
2020. Lucie Pultrová: Comparison and Negation in Latin. *Glotta* 96: 178–212.
2023. Lucie Pultrová: *The Category of Comparison in Latin*. The Language of Classical Literature. Leiden. xv, 340 pp. – This reference monograph on adjectives and adverbs such as *melior* and *optime* has sections on the theory of comparison and on periphrastic comparison (the latter being exemplified by *magis assiduus*). The study is based on the material included in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* the vocabulary of which ends with the 5th century CE.
2023. Peter Stotz: Latin Bibles as Linguistic Documents. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 415–428, at p. 424.

conditional clause [Bedingungssatz]

1904. Kaulen, p. 299 (no. 197). Conditions may be expressed with the imperative; e.g., *facite quae dixi, et vivetis* – do as I have said, and you shall live (Gen 42:18).

consecutive clause. Clauses of consequence are generally introduced by *ut* or *ita ut* plus subjunctive. Example: *et convenerunt multi, ita ut non caperet neque ad ianuam* – and many came together, so that there was no room for them even at the door (Mark 2:2). See glossary s.v. *ut* (Chapter 19.2), textual note on Col 4:6 (Chapter 22). See also below, → **infinitive**.

1951. H.P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 3rd edition. Oxford (xv, 196 pp.), pp. 81–82 (text identical with the 1927 edition).
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 163–165.
2009. Concepción Cabrillana Leal – Eusebia Tarrío Ruiz: Finales, consecutivas y comparativas. In: José Miguel Baños Baños (ed.): *Sintaxis del latín clásico*. Madrid (838 pp.), pp. 633–656.
2010. Herbert Migsch: *Studien zum Jeremiabuch und andere Beiträge zum Alten Testament*. Frankfurt. 352 pp. – **(1)** Pages 263–275: Der modale Pseudokonsekutivsatz in der Vulgata. Ein Beitrag zur Syntax des Vulgata-Lateins; **(2)** pp. 277–283: Das unvollständige negierte modale pseudokonsekutive Satzgefüge in der Vulgata (= *Biblische Notizen* 139 [2008] 99–105; Jerome writes *ut* where, according to classical rules, *ut non* or *ne* would be required); **(3)** pp. 285–294: Exodus 26,9; Richter 9,45; Judit 11,15: Noch drei modale pseudokonsekutive Satzgefüge in der Vulgata (= *Biblische Notizen* 145 [2010] 13–23; Jerome provides

free renderings; in German, one would resort to constructions with “indem”); **(4)** pp. 303–319: ..., ita ut oder ... ita, ut? Wie das modale Satzgefüge zum konsekutiven Satzgefüge wurde (p. 315: “Ich möchte die Hypothese vorlegen, dass im Verlauf des 6./7. Jahrhunderts das modal-pseudokonsekutive Satzgefüge aus dem Spätlateinischen allmählich verschwunden ist.”).

2011. Concepción Cabrillana: Purpose and result clauses. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 4. Berlin (xxiii, 925 pp.), pp.19–92.

cursus → clausula

dative case

1904. Kaulen, p. 326 (index, s.v. Dativ).

1926. Plater/White, pp. 90–92 (§§ 112).

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 86–89 (§§ 99–106).

2023. Jesús de la Villa Pollo: Die Vulgata als Erkenntnisquelle des späteren Lateins: Die Beziehungen zwischen Dativ und *ad* + Akk. als Markierung des Benefizienten. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 157–178.

direct speech, introduction to direct speech. See also below → quod, quia, quoniam

1904. Kaulen, pp. 290–291 (nos. 185, 186).

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 150–151 (§ 264). – English translation: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C. 1994. xvii, 157 pp.

2012. Lyliane Sznajder: *Dixit autem serpens ad mulierem / mulieri quoque dixit*: la double expression de l’allocutaire dans les propositions introductrices de discours directs dans la Vulgate. In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire, latin tardif IX*. Lyon (1085 pp.), pp. 271–288. – The expansion of *ad* + Acc. referring to the addressee with *uerba dicendi* as an alternative to the dative typically occurs in biblical translations and Christian literature. Sznajder analyses the distributional differences between these two constructions, especially regarding the category of the addressee-constituent, and points out differences in frequency and selection restrictions between various texts (taking into account inter alia their status as either translations or original Latin texts). It is noteworthy that, unlike the Old Testament, the New Testament was unaffected by the development of *ad*-constructions. A study of addressee expressions in the original languages leads to conclude that amongst other factors that contributed to the development of the prepositional phrase, Semitic influence strengthened an internal Latin tendency.

2020. Lyliane Sznajder: Segments introducteurs de discours direct et repérages énonciatifs en latin biblique: éléments pour une étude diastatique et diachronique. *Revue de linguistique latine du Centre Ernout* (*De lingua latina*) 11; 27 pp. (online journal).

2023. Jana Mikulová: The Variability of Late Latin: Authors’ Means for Marking Direct Discourse. In: Ivan Foletti et al. (eds.): *A Radical Turn? Reappropriation, Fragmentation, and Variety in the Postclassical World (3rd – 8th c.)*. Convivium Supplementum. Turnhout (157 pp.), pp. 48–59. – Texts from the Late Latin period (c. 200–800 CE) display a change in choices of markers – verbal, nonverbal, and zero – in direct discourse.

ellipsis

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at p. 530.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 255 (no. 138b), 301–305 (nos. 203–212).
1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), p. xli: ellipsis of the verb; pp. xxv–xxvi: ellipsis of the noun before a genitive (1 Cor 5:11 *cum eiusmodi [persona] nec cibum sumere*).
1926. Plater/White, p. 30 (§ 35). "The most frequent ellipsis is that of the copulative verb to be; this is found in both Old and New Testament, especially in proverbial or didactic sayings (Sapiential literature; Beatitudes), in ascriptions of praise, or in exclamatory sentences introduced by *quam, ecce*, etc."
1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 233–274. A general treatise, without consideration of biblical Latin.
2009. Gonzalo Rubio: Semitic influence in the history of Latin Syntax. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 1: *Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 195–239, at p. 218: verbal ellipsis.

emphasis [Betonung, Hervorhebung]. See also below → **prolepsis**

1904. Kaulen, p. 279 (no. 165).
1943. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Versio Vulgata haud raro formam textus primitivi leviter auget. *Verbum Domini* 23: 129–132. – The article is in Latin.
1948. Moritz Regula: Streifzüge auf dem Gebiet der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik. *Glotta* 31.1–2: 72–92. – On pp. 73–76, the author comments on the combination of statement and rhetorical question in sentences like *quid est homo quod memor es eius?* – who is man, that you think of him? (Ps. 8:5; p. 75). The rhetorical question underlines the statement "God cares for humankind."
2009. Brigitte L.M. Bauer: Word Order. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 1. Berlin (xii, 561 pp.), pp. 241–316. – The author mentions Luke 22:23 and Matt 15:20 in the section on cleft constructions used for emphasis (p. 285).
2011. Philip Burton: Christian Latin. In: James Clackson (eds.): *A Companion to the Latin Language*. Chichester (xxvi, 634 pp.), pp. 485–501, at p. 488. – Brief reference to expressions such as *veniens veniet* – he shall surely come (Hab 2:3).
2014. Lyliane Sznajder – Bernard Bortolussi: Topicalisation versus Left-dislocation in Biblical Latin. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 13: 163–195. – The subject is how biblical Latin highlights and emphasizes a theme.

figura etymologica/paronomasia. Examples: *et timuerunt viri timore magno* – and the men feared a great fear (Jonah 1:10; similarly 1 Macc 10:8); *sacrificate sacrificium* – sacrifice a sacrifice (Ps 4:6); *coronans coronabit* – crowing he will crown (Isa 22:18); *morte morietur* – (it) shall die a death (Sir 14:12). Also used in classical Latin: *ire iter* – to journey a journey, eine Reise reisen (Vergil: *Georgica* IV, 108).

1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg (34 pp.), pp. 28–29. The author speaks of “Doppelsetzung des gleichen Wortstammes.”
1884. Adolf Rieder: *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam, qua infinitivus absolutus cum verbo finito eiusdem radice conjungitur, planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur. Programm des königlichen Friedrichsgymnasiums zu Gumbinnen*. Gumbinnen (33 pp.), pp. 1–3. – Refers to expressions such as “to die a death” in Hebrew; the construction also exists in ancient Greek and Latin – see Livy’s expressions *occidione occidere* and *interficione interficere* – to kill by a killing.
1893. G.R. Hauschild: *Die Verbindung finiter und infiniter Verbalformen desselben Stammes in einigen Bibelsprachen*. Frankfurt. 34 pp. – The Vulgate is at the centre of this study. A shorter version with the same title was published in *Berichte des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt* 9 (1893) 99–127. Reviews:
1893. (unsigned), *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 466.
1897. Paul Geyer: *Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1: 75–102, at pp. 101–102.
1893. Philipp Thielmann: *Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at p. 504. Examples from Sirach: *retribuere retributionem* (Sir 17:19); *possidere possessionem* (Sir 51:29), etc.
1904. Kaulen, p. 272–273 (no. 150).
1926. Plater/White, p. 23 (§ 26). – Examples mentioned include *plorans poravit* (Lam 1:2) and *morte moriatur* (Exod 21:17).
1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xii: Expressions such as *benedicens benedicam* and *multiplicans multiplicabo* (both in Hebr 6:14) are “strange in Latin.”
1967. Svatopluk Štech: *Zur Gestalt der etymologischen Figur in verschiedenen Sprachen. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 81: 134–152. – The *genitivus superlativus*, known from biblical expressions such as “song of songs” (*canticum canticorum*) and “vanity of vanities” (*vanitas vanitatum*) – and sometimes called *genitivus hebraicus* – must not be considered Semitisms. It is known in many languages, including pre-biblical Latin, especially spoken Latin. The author emphasizes the emotive quality of these expressions.
1994. Walter Bühlmann – Karl Scherer: *Sprachliche Stilfiguren der Bibel*. 2nd edition. Gießen. 125 pp. – Examples from the Bible, without consideration of the Vulgate Bible (pp. 21–22. *Figura etymologica*).
2007. Werner Diem: “Paronomasie.” *Eine Begriffsverwirrung. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 157: 299–352. – Although not about Latin, this is a helpful review of the terminology.
2011. Philip Burton: *Christian Latin*. In: James Clackson (eds.): *A Companion to the Latin Language*. Chichester (xxvi, 634 pp.), pp. 485–501, at p. 488. – Brief reference to expressions such as *veniens veniet* – he shall surely come (Hab 2:3).
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), p. 317 (examples).

2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Vertumnus 14. Göttingen (255 pp.), see the index s.v. figura etymologica (p. 252).

final clauses [Finalsätze]. See below → **purpose**

future tense; how to refer to the future. See also → **tenses**

1872. Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte*. Arnsberg (49 pp.), pp. 12–13. Page 13: Gebrauch "des Futurs nicht bloss 1) von der Zukunft schlechthin, sondern 2) auch, wie das hebräische Futur (imperfekt), für unser Präsens, bes. wenn von Zuständen und Handlungen, die jetzt stattfinden und immer stattfinden werden, somit in die Zukunft hinüberreichen, oder von einem Pflegen die Rede ist, daher hauptsächlich bei allgemein ausgesprochenen Beobachtungen."

1926. Plater/White, p. 103 (§ 119 – present tense sometimes used for the future tense); pp. 104–105 (§ 121).

1927. A.V. Billen: *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch*. Cambridge. viii, 234 pp. – The book is noteworthy for its annotated glossary of words used in the Old Latin texts (pp. 185–222): future forms of verbs – *periet* and *transiet* for *peribit* and *transibit* (etc.).

1998. Antonio López Fonseca: La traducción como índice de evolución lingüística: s. Jerónimo y la expresión del futuro en latín. In: Antonio Alvas Ezquerro et al. (eds.): *IX Congreso español de estudios clásicos*. Volume 3. Madrid (viii, 281 pp.), pp. 165–170. – With examples from the New Testament.

genetivus absolutus (instead of *ablativus absolutus*). The absolute genitive, when used in Latin, is a feature foreign to correct grammar; it echoes Greek syntax.

1904. Kaulen, p. 309 (no. 215). – The genetivus absolutus in 2 Cor 10:15 is a translator's mistake.

1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), pp. xxv.

1926. Plater/White, p. 35 (§ 44). – Often used in the Vetus Latina, but rarely in the Vulgate; examples include Rom 2:15; 2 Cor 10:15, and possibly Acts 1:8.

1955. Albert Blaise: Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 85–86 (§ 96).

2023. Dorothea Keller: Übersetzungsentscheidungen bei Hieronymus und ihre Begründung. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 109–136, at p. 126, n. 57: Jerome deleted all occurrences of *genetivus absolutus* in his revision of the Gospels.

2023. Bernard Bertolussi – Felicia Logozzo et al.: Kontinuität und Innovation in der Partizipialsyntax der Vulgata. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 259–328, at pp. 281–281.

genetivus auctivus → **polyptoton**

genitive

1863. Hagen, p. 19. – Expressions such as *odor suavitatis* – savour of sweetness = sweet savour (Gen 8:21) are Hebraisms; examples are listed.
1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer. 64 pp. – The author deals with the formation of genitive plural forms such as *mensum* and *mensuum* (from *mensis*, month) where one would expect the classical form *mensium* that also appears in the Vulgate (pp. 5–7). He also comments on the *genetivus comparationis* (pp. 13–14).
1904. Kaulen, pp. 252–255 (nos. 131–138a), 253 (no. 134). – For expressions such as *Iordanis flumen* – river Jordan, see below → **names** (Kaulen, 1904).
1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), pp. xxv–xxvi. – Among other things, Dalpane refers to cases where the genitive is used, but the ruling noun is not expressed (genitivo con ellissi del nome reggente, p. xxvi–xxvi).
1926. Plater/White, pp. 93–96 (§§ 113–114; by mistake, § 114 is titled “§ 116”).
1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), p. 448: Genetiv des zeitlichen Ausgangs (genitive of temporal issue), of which John 12:1 is an example: *ante sex dies Paschae* – six days before Passover.
2014. Chiara Gianollo: Competing Constructions for Inalienable Possessions in the Vulgate Gospels. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 13.1: 93–114. On genitive constructions such as *et confestim mundata est lepra eius* – and immediately his leprosy was cleansed (Matt 8:3) vs. (dative) *non lavabis mihi pedes in aeternum* – you shall never wash my feet (John 13:8).

genitive of intensity → polyptoton

gerund, gerundiv

1904. Kaulen, pp. 276 (no. 159), 279–280 (no. 167), 299–300 (no. 199).
2006. Robert Maltby: Gerunds, Gerundivs and Their Greek Equivalents in Latin Bible Translations. In: Carmen Arias Abellán (ed.): *Latin vulgare – latin tardif VII*. Sevilla (572 pp.), 425–442.
1951. H.P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 3rd edition. Oxford (xv, 196 pp.), pp. 92–96.

glosses

1942. Patrick W. Skehan: Notes on the Latin Text of the Book of Wisdom. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 4.3: 230–243, at p. 239: In Wisd 14:16, *hic error* is a scribal gloss; it means “there’s a mistake here.” (B. Lang: No doubt a marginal gloss by oversight incorporated into the text.)
2021. Matthew Kraus: How Jerome Dealt with Glosses. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 5: 1–3. – In his translation, Jerome frequently added explanatory glosses; they are generally introduced with *id est* or *hoc est* – that is. An example is *mamzer hoc est de scorto natus* – mamzer, i.e., born from a prostitute (Deut 23:2).
2023. Matthew Kraus: Glossentradition des Hieronymus. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 30–31.

Greek influence and loanwords. Graecisms. Greek influence on the Latin of the Vulgate is considerable, and most visible in the vocabulary, just consider *angelus*, *ecclesia*, and *baptizare* (Matt 3:11, etc.). But there are many more, such as *ethnicus* (Matt 5:47), *holocaustum* (Gen 22:7, etc.), *moechari* (to commit adultery, Lev 20:10, etc.), *Paraclitus* (John 14:16, etc.) and *paralyticus* (Matt 8:6). Early manuscripts use Greek characters in at least one case: *ego sum α et ω* (Rev 1:8; 20:6; 22:13, according to the Weber/Gryson edition).

1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg (34 pp.), pp. 7–9: Greek nouns.
1875. Hermann Rönisch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2nd edition. Marburg (xvi, 526 pp.), pp. 434–451.
1879. Gustav Koffmane: *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins bis auf Augustinus–Hieronymus*. Breslau. iv, 92 pp. – Pages 32–40 deal with Greek words and influence of early-Christian Latin.
1882. Oscar Weise: *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein* [1882] = Leipzig 1964. xiv, 546 pp. With a glossary, pp. 326–544. On Christianity, pp. 319–321.
1891. Günther Alexander Saalfeld: *De Bibliorum Sacrorum Vulgatae editionis graecitate*. Quedlinburg. xvi, 180 pp. – See also the same author's earlier book: *Thesaurus italograecus. Ausführliches historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter im Lateinischen*. Vienna 1884. IV pp., 1184 cols.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 98–110 (nos. 21–23), 129 (no. 37: Greek case endings such as *post Pentecosten*, 2 Macc 12:32).
1926. Plater/ White, pp. 28–40 (§§ 33–54).
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 63–64.
1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xi – list of latinised Greek words in the New Testament.
1950. Christine Mohrmann: Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne. *Vigiliae Christianae* 4: 193–211 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome III. Rome 1965 (458 pp.), pp. 127–145. The author is very critical of Oscar Weise's book of 1882 (p. 127, note 2).
1956. Christine Mohrmann: Quelques traits caractéristiques du latin des chrétiens (1956). In: eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. 2^e édition. Rome 1961 (xxiv, 468 pp.), pp. 21–50, esp. pp. 41–47.
1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 88–119.
1983. André Petit: Problèmes de traduction di grec au latin de la Vulgate. *Cahier du Cercle Ernest-Renan* 132: 142–151. – Frequently, the translators simply transcribe Greek words instead of translating them; thus they write *angelus* (which in Latin would be *nuntius*), and *alabastrum* (Matt 26:7, which in Latin would be *unguentarium*). The author presents a list of c. 60 words found in the gospel of Matthew that transcribe Greek words.
1989. Jordi Redondo: Algunos helenismos en la "Vulgata" del Nuevo Testamento. *Helmántica* 40/121–123: 413–418.
1994. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín Cristiano*. Madrid 588 pp. – The author discerns three vital influences that shape biblical Latin: Semitic influences (pp. 170–268),

Greek influences (pp. 269–287), and vulgar Latin influences (la lengua popular, pp. 289–316). As can be seen from the page ranges, the Semitic influence is dominant.

- 1996–2004. Peter Stotz: *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Munich. 5 Bände: xxxi, 723 pp.; xxvi, 482 pp.; xx, 352 pp.; xxv, 510 pp.; 1059 pp. – Band 1, pp. 519–551: Griechische Lehnwörter im christlichen Latein der Antike.
2009. Gualtiero Calboli: Latin Syntax and Greek. In: Philip Baldi et al. (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax. Volume 1: Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 65–194. – Page 113: “In Christian Latin, the influence of Greek was stronger, as already pointed out by Rösensch (1875: 437–442), which should be employed with caution, because he considers as direct Graecisms some constructions which seem only to have been encouraged by the imitation of Greek.”
2019. Theodore A. Bergren: Greek Loanwords in the Vulgate New Testament and the Latin Apostolic Fathers. *Traditio* 74: 1–25. – Review: Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB, *Revue bénédictine* 131 (2021) 465–466. ▲

hapax legomenon

1921. John M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London. xi, 125 pp. – This glossary of New Testament Latin lists all words that are found but once in the Vulgate by prefixing them with a dagger. Examples include: † *abdicare* – to renounce, 2 Cor 4:2; † *aberrare* – to go astray, 1 Tit 1:6; † *absentia* – absence, Phil 2:12. As can be seen from these examples, a *hapax* must not be a difficult word.
2019. Theodore A. Bergren: Greek Loan-words in the Vulgate New Testament and the Latin Apostolic Fathers. *Traditio* 74: 1–25. – In the lists provided by the author, all hapax legomena are marked “Vulg. Hapax.” Examples: *corban* – dedicated, Mark 7:11; *angelicus* – angelic, Judg 13:6.
2020. Edson de Faria Francisco: A tradução de hapax legomena absolutos nos Salmos na Vulgata e sua relação com o texto protomasorético e a Septuaginta. *Revista di cultura teológica* 97: 79–109 (Portuguese). – This essay studies how Jerome translates the Hebrew hapax legomena in his two versions of the Psalms. Considered are words of the following passages: Ps 21:3; 42:5; 49:4; 66:11; 68:7, 36; 71:15; 72:6; 88:5, 13; 91:8; 107:30; 124:5; 139:16; and 144:13.

Hebraisms – Semitic influence. A Hebraism in a Latin text is a wording that seeks to preserve the linguistic peculiarities of Hebrew by imitating its syntax and idiomatic use with the result of sounding either unusual or even wrong in Latin.

1875. Hermann Rösensch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2nd edition. Marburg (xvi, 526 pp.), pp. 452–454.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 254–255 (no. 136). – The author highlights the Hebraisms of the Vulgate and advocates rendering them according to their sense, avoiding an awkward-sounding style (p. 254: Ps 110:2 [Vg 109:2] *virga virtutis tuae* = dein mächtiges Zepter, not: Zepter deiner Macht; your powerful sceptre, rather than: the sceptre of your power).
1917. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41 (1917) 303–332, at pp. 314–332. – After a survey of recent translations, the author provides a review of Hebraisms in the Latin Bible, with examples especially from the New Testament.

“Da es aber zu einer guten Übersetzung gehört, die fremdsprachige Urschrift in den heimatlichen Formen wiederzugeben, so sind derartige Ausdrücke als Fremdgebilde auszumerzen und durch deutsche Wendungen zu ersetzen. Nur so kann die Übersetzung auch dem ungebildeten Volke verständlich und sprachlich schön werden” (p. 316). One must refrain from using “unedles Übersetzungsdeutsch” (p. 319, ignoble translationese). Considered are especially: use of genitive instead of an adjective (p. 318: Gen 8:21 – *odor suavitatis* = *odor suavis*; Luke 1:48 – *humilitas ancillae suae* = *ancilla sua humilis*), genitive of quality instead of an adjective (John 5:29: *in resurrectionem vitae* = Auferstehung zum Leben; resurrection to life), comparative use of adjectives, pronouns, use of verbs, Zeugma with particles. Those who recognize the peculiarity of Hebrew-style Latin will prefer freer renderings to awkward literalism. ▲

1926. Plater/White, pp. 11–27 (§§ 9–32).

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 64.

1956. Christine Mohrmann: Quelques traits caractéristiques du latin des chrétiens (156). In: eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. 2^e édition. Rome 1961 (xxiv, 468 pp.), pp. 21–50, esp. pp. 47–49.

1981. Olegario García de la Fuente: Consideraciones sobre el influjo hebreo en el Latín bíblico. *Emerita* 49: 307–342.

1994. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín Cristiano*. Madrid 588 pp. – The author discerns three vital influences that shape biblical Latin: Semitic influences (pp. 170–268), Greek influences (pp. 269–287), and vulgar Latin influences (la lengua popular, pp. 289–316). As can be seen from the page ranges, the Semitic influence is dominant.

1996. Jean-Claude Fredouille: “Latin chrétien” ou “latin tardif”? *Recherches augustiniennes* 29: 5–23. – Page 14: *odor suavitatis* (Gen 8:21) – *odour of sweetness*, often quoted as an example of Hebraism, has a close equivalent in classical Latin; see *arbores odore mirae suavitatis* – trees of wonderful sweetness (Pliny: *Historia naturalis* VI, 198).

2003. Matthew Kraus: Hebraisms in the Old Latin Version of the Bible. *Vetus Testamentum* 53: 48–513. ▲

2009. Gonzalo Rubio: Semitic influence in the history of Latin Syntax. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax. Volume 1: Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 195–239. – The author studies the translation Latin of the Vulgate Old Testament. Page 202: “In dealing with the Vulgata, it is important, albeit difficult, to distinguish between instances of direct Semitic influence and indirect influence stemming from the Greek of the LXX and the New Testament.” There is also “an inherent difficulty in determining that a specific feature is necessarily a Semiticism when such a feature is attested in classical Latin as well. It is worthwhile to establish a distinction between quantitative and qualitative Semiticisms (...): the latter are exclusive to biblical and Christian Latin, whereas the former have precedents in the classical language” (p. 204). An essential contribution to the study of biblical Latin. ▲

2009. Rafael Jimenez Zamudio: Técnicas de traducción en las antiguas versiones de la Biblia. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 29: 75–115. – The author treats, among other things, the Semitisms in the Vulgate. Many of the Old Testament texts analyzed are taken from the book of Genesis.

2023. Chaja Vered Dürschnabel: Verbum ex verbo: Hebräische Syntax im Latein der Vulgata. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 139–155. – This paper highlights the paratactic features of biblical Latin, features that are due to the literal rendering of Hebrew *waw* conjunctivum and *waw* copulativum.

2023. Roland Hoffmann: Einleitung: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 3–83, at pp. 68–69.

hexameter. There is only one original Greek hexameter verse in the Bible – quoted in Titus 1:12; two others are slightly odd but nevertheless clear enough: James 1:17 and 4:5, see William H.P. Hatch: Note on the Hexameter in James 1:17. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 28.2 (1909) 149–151; Hans Windisch: *Die katholischen Briefe*. 3rd edition. Tübingen 1951 (vi, 172 pp.), p. 27. Latin hexameter verses can be found in Gen 3:5, John 8:12, and Acts 19:28 (and presumably elsewhere) – but one must not look for classical Vergilian metric hexameters based on the arrangement of long and short syllables; instead, what we have here are so-called rhythmic hexameters found in late-ancient authors such as the Christian poet Commodianus (3rd century).

1958. Dag Norberg: *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*. Stockholm. 218 pp. – The standard text on post-classical versification, without reference to biblical Latin.

1996. M.L.Gasparov: *A History of European Versification*. Translated by G.S. Smith and M. Tarlinskaja. Oxford. xvi, 334 pp. – The author explains the shift from classical metric to medieval rhythmic versification. No examples from the Latin Bible are given.

2015. Roberto Mori: *Metrica vis sacris non est incognita libris. La bible et sa facies metrica à partir de la lettre d'Arator à Vigile*. In: P.F. Moretti – R. Ricci – C. Torre (eds.): *Culture and Literature in Latin Late Antiquity. Continuities and Discontinuities*. Turnhout 2015 (400 pp.), pp. 129–140. – Discussed are Jerome's many references to poetic texts in the Bible that have metrical form – hexameter, iambic trimeter, and the like.

2018. Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger – Wilhelm Tauwinkl: [Some Notes about Jerome and the Hexameters in the Book of Job](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue* 2: 47–51 (online journal). – In his *Prologue to Job*, Jerome explains that the book has prose sections and poetic sections in Hebrew hexameter (Tusculum-Vulgata II, p. 1334; Sources chrétiennes 592: 398). (But note that Jerome did *not* use hexameters in translating the book of Job.)

2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Vertumnus 14. Göttingen (255 pp.), pp. 89–92. – Jerome takes a certain amount of interest in rhythmic versification, but remains vague, leaving details to specialists.

homophony. Occasionally, a Latin word is used because the underlying Greek or Hebrew word sounds similarly. The principle as such is well established in scholarship, though not many cases seem to have been studied. For a Hebrew homophonous word used to render a Greek term, see Bernhard Lang in *Sprüche der Väter. Das Weisheitsbuch im Talmud*. Stuttgart 2020 (138 pp.), p. 110 (Greek *aretê*, Hebrew *tiferet*).

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches der Weisheit. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 235–277. – On pp. 275–276, Thielmann discusses cases of homophonic translations (Übersetzung nach dem Wortklang), i.e., cases where the Latin word echoes the underlying Greek word; examples are Latin *digne* for Greek *dikaia* (Sir 14:30), Latin *turbare* for Greek *thorybeîn* (Sir 18:19).

1925. David S. Blondheim: *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina*. Paris (cxxxviii, 247 pp.), p. cix.
1928. Arthur Allgeier: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zum Sprachgebrauch der lateinischen Übersetzungen des Psalters und der Evangelien. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46: 34–48, at p. 37, note 1: Greek ῥύεσθαι translated as *erueri* in the New Testament (2 Cor 1:10).
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 66: homophony as a translation preference in the Vetus latina, with reference to Blondheim.
1934. Arthur Allgeier: In superbia et in abusione (Ps. 30,19). *Biblica* 15: 185–212. The hapax *abusio* (Ps 31:19, Vg 30:19) echoes Hebrew *wabuz*.
2023. Roland Hoffmann: Einleitung: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 3–83, at pp. 69–70.

hyperbaton, also called **trajection** [Sperrstellung]. Said to be the most common Latin figure of style, used in both prose and poetry. A famous line of Vergil provides a good example: *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas* – happy the one who is able to discern the causes of things (*Georgica* II, 490); without hyperbaton, it would be *rerum causas cognoscere*. Biblical examples: (1) *divitias peccatorum multas* – the great wealth of the sinners (Ps 37:16 [Vg 36:16]) instead of *multas divitias peccatorum*. – (2) *cum quingentorum esset annorum* – when he was 500 years old (Gen 5:31) instead of *cum esset quingentorum annorum*. – (3) *Judg 19:27 (sparsis in limine manibus* – with her hands spread on the threshold (Judg 19:27) instead of *sparsis manibus in limine*. – (4) *habebis in novissimis spem* – you shall have hope in the end (Prov 24:14) instead of *habebis spem in novissimis*. From the point of view of Latin style, hyperbaton expressions sound better.

1971. J.N. Adams: A Type of Hyperbaton in Latin Prose. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 17/197: 1–16, esp. pp. 10–11. – In his translation from the Hebrew, Jerome frequently uses hyperbaton. Examples: *eo quod plures haberet uxores* (without hyperbaton, this would be *plures uxores haberet*) – for he had many wives (Judg 8:30); *quam si septem haberes filios* – than if thou hadst seven sons (Ruth 4:15). In similar cases, the Latin New Testament avoids hyperbaton.
2006. Andrew M. Devine – Laurence D. Stephens: *Latin Word Order: Structured Meaning and Information*. Oxford (xii, 639 pp.), pp. 524–610. – Detailed study on the basis of examples from classical sources; biblical texts are not considered.
2019. Roland Hoffmann: On Word Order in the Vulgate 3: Discontinuities in the order of Noun and Modifier. In: Béla Adamik et al. (ed.): *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59: 213–226. – This instalment of the *Acta Antiqua* constitutes the proceedings volume *Latin tardif – latin vulgaire* XII.
2023. Roland Hoffmann: Beobachtungen zur Wortstellung der Vulgata im Neuen Testament. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 179–218, at pp. 198, 207–211. One of the functions of hyperbaton placement of an adjective is to bring it into sharp focus; for an example, see *magnam habet remunerationem* – has a (very) great remuneration (Hebr 10:35).
2023. Roland Hoffmann: Einleitung: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*.

zung. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 3–83, at p. 43. – 1 Macc and 2 Macc differ considerably in the use of hyperbaton: the 17 hyperbata of 1 Macc echo an original Hebrew text (which has no hyperbata), while the 95 hyperbata of 2 Macc reflect a Greek text (which has many hyperbata).

imperative

1904. Kaulen, p. 299 (no. 197). Conditions may be expressed with the imperative; e.g., *facite quae dixi, et vivetis* – do as I have said, and you shall live (Gen 42:18).
1926. Plater/White, p. 106 (§ 125). Prohibition is normally expressed by *noli* with infinitive.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), p. 315: "Zu den imperativischen Ausdrücken in der Vulgata."

impersonal expressions and meanings [unpersönliche Ausdrücke]

1904. Kaulen, pp. 188–189 (no. 92); 224 (no. 108).
1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), p. xv.
1911. Vincenzo Ussani: Un preteso uso della Vulgata. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 39: 550–557. – Ussani is critical of Kaulen (p. 224, no. 108) who argues that *dicit* and *appellavit* occasionally stand for *dicitur* and *appellatur*. The relevant passages are Gen 16:14; Isa 15:5; and Ps 87:5 (Vg 86:5). See below, **Chapter 21** (textual note on Gen 16:14).
1926. Plater/White, pp. 80–81 (§ 109).
1985. Bengt Löfstedt: Sprachliches zur Vulgata [1985]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), p. 299. – Expressions to be rendered "man" in German.
2017. Chaja Vera Duerrschnabel: (Un)Persönliche Strukturen im Lateinischen der Vulgata und ihre hebräischen Parallelen. *Philologia Classica* 12: 160–176. – In the Vulgate, the trend is toward personal expressions such as *non enim pluerat dominus deus super terram* – the Lord God had not rained upon the earth (Gen 2:5), echoing the Hebrew. But impersonal expressions do exist, see, e.g., Ps 68:15 (Vg 15): *nive dealbuntur* – they (kings) shall be whitened with snow.
2022. Michela Cennamo – Claudia Fabrizio: Non-nominative arguments, active impersonals, and control in Latin. In: Eysein Dahl (ed.): *Alignment and Alignment Change in the Indo-European Family*. Oxford (xvi, 365 pp.), pp. 188–220. – On p. 198, the authors quote Gen 19:24 as an example of a text that makes explicit what generally is expressed impersonally: *igitur Dominus pluit super Sodomam et Gomorram sulphur et ignem a Domino de caelo* – the Lord let it rain sulphur and fire over Sodom and Gomorra, from the Lord out of heaven.

indirect speech. Also called "reported speech."

1904. Kaulen, p. 292 (no. 187).

infinitive. See also → **accusative with infinitive** and → **nominative with infinitive**.

1885. Philipp Thielmann: Habere mit dem Infinitif und die Entstehung des romanischen Futurums. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 2: 48–89, 157–203. – Mentions Luke 12:50 (p. 178).
- 1891/92. Ludwig Bertram Andergassen: *Über den Gebrauch des Infinitivs in der Vulgata*. Bozen. – 2 parts, each of which has 20 pp. – Review: Paul Geyer: *Bibel- und Kirchenlatein*, 1891–1896. *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1 (1897) 75–102, at pp. 100–101. The reviewer thinks that this is an uncritical essay with gaps in the documentation of sources and the relevant scholarly literature.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 276–281 (nos. 161, 162a, 163–168), 294–295 (no. 191).
1926. Plater/White, pp. 38–39 (§ 50). See also p. 106 (§ 125): prohibition is normally expressed by *noli* with infinitive (*noli me tangere*, John 20:17).
1951. H.P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 3rd edition. Oxford (xv, 196 pp.), pp. 48–69 (passim).
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 143–144 (§§ 246–250), 183–188 (§§ 327–340).
1985. Bengt Löfstedt: Sprachliches zur Vulgata [1985]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), pp. 289–301, at p. 300.
1996. Michèle Fruyt: Le syntaxe de l'infinitif en latin tardif. *Études augustiniennes* 29: 43–73.
2014. Christian Tornau – Paolo Cecconi (eds.): *The Shepherd of Hermas in Latin*. Berlin (viii, 133 pp), p. 129: "It is well known that in Late Latin infinitives as syntactical complements of verbs and also of nouns become increasingly popular. The meaning is usually a final or a consecutive one; especially in the translations of the Bible the construction is easily recognized as a Grecism (cf. e.g., Apoc. 5,5 Vulg. *Vicit leo ... aperire librum ...*)" – the lion hath prevailed to open the book (Douay Version).
2021. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Volume II. Oxford (xxxii, 1438 pp.), p. 385–386. "The infinitive is used in Bible translation and in quotations from the Bible, where the Greek koine text has an infinitive and the agent of the infinitive is coreferential with the subject of the governing verb. (...) Christian authors rarely use infinitives in their own texts" (p. 395). Examples: *et sedit populus comedere ac bibere* – and the people sat down to eat and drink (Exod 32:6); *paene universa civitas convenit audire verbum Dei* – almost the whole city came together to hear the word of God (Acts 13:44).

interrogative pronouns and interrogative sentences [Fragepronomen, Fragesätze]. In the Vulgate, many interrogative sentences lack an interrogative signal; for an example, see John 21: 15: *diligis me plus his* – do you love me more than they? In classical Latin, it would be *diligisne me* (...), marked by the enclitic particle *-ne*.

1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg. iv, 106 pp. – Pages 49–58: Die Fragesätze in der Vulgata. The enclitic interrogative particle *-ne*, used by Jerome (Gen 29:6; 43:27), is rare; many interrogative sentences are introduced by *si*.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 172 (no. 77) – interrogative pronoun; 293 (no. 189).
1926. Plater/White, pp. 121–123 (§: 135): dependent questions.
1948. Moritz Regula: Streifzüge auf dem Gebiet der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik. *Glotta* 31.1–2: 72–92, esp. p. 75. – *quid est homo, quod memor est eius?* (Ps 8:5) – what is man that you

pay attention to him? One must distinguish between the statement (*memor es eius*) and the rhetorical question (*quid est homo?*); the rhetorical question serves to highlight the statement.

1951. H.P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 3rd edition. Oxford (xv, 196 pp.), pp. 97–98: Methods of asking questions.
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 121–122 (§§ 192–197), 152–155 (§§ 270–273). – English translation: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C. 1994. xvii, 157 pp.
1966. Gerardus Q.A. Meershoek: *Le latin biblique d'après saint Jérôme. Aspects linguistiques de la rencontre entre la Bible et le monde classique*. Nijmegen (xv, 256 pp.), pp. 234–244. – Rhetorical questions; see below, → quis? In the glossary (Chapter 19.2).
2014. Harry van Rooy: The Use of Interrogatives in the Book of Ezekiel and Their Translation in the Ancient Versions. *Journal for Semitics* 23: 615–632.

linguistic register [Sprachebene]

1952. Meinrad Stenzel: Zum Wortschatz der neutestamentlichen Vulgata. *Vigiliae Christianae* 6: 20–27. – The vocabulary is characterized by inconsistency; words that belong to literary Latin and those that belong to colloquial Latin stand side by side. The two linguistic strata are constantly mixed. On pp. 24–26, the author lists examples; in each case the literary Latin rendering of a Greek word is placed first: *logos* = sermo/verbum; *thlipsis* = pressura/tribulatio; *doxa* = claritas/gloria; *ekei* = illic/ibi; *hypsêlos* = altus/excelsus; *eipen* = ait/dixit. ▲

Menzerath rule. There is an inverse relationship between the number of words in a sentence and the length of the words: In sentences with more words, the words are generally shorter than the words in sentences with less words. (Or: In short sentences, you can use long words.)

2007. Marc Hug: Das Menzerath-Gesetz in der Vulgata. In: Peter Grzybek – Reinhard Köhler (eds.): *Exact Methods in the Study of Language and Text*. Berlin (xxi, 767 pp.), pp. 245–257. – A paper full of statistical tables.

meter → clausula → hexameter

2000. Mario Saltarelli: From Latin Metre to Romance Rhythm. In: John Charles Smith – Delia Bentley (eds.): *Historical Linguistics 1995*. Volume 1. Amsterdam (xi, 438 pp.), pp. 345–360.

names. On Latin proper names such as Marcus, see above, Chapter 8.5.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 10 (no. 9); 110–119 (nos. 24–27: transcription of Hebrew names), 122–125 (nos. 31–32); 253 (no. 134). – Page 114: “Im allgemeinen lässt sich sagen, dass der hl. Hieronymus dieselbe Form der hebräischen Eigennamen, welche wir heute lesen, wiederzugeben beabsichtigt hat; nur war er dabei von derjenigen Weise der Aussprache beeinflusst, welche er von seinem jüdischen Sprachlehrer kennen gelernt hatte. Ein Einfluss der Septuaginta ist hierbei nicht nachzuweisen.” – Frequently, we find expressions such as *Iordanis flumen* – Jordan river (Josh 15:5), with the generic noun (*flumen*) specified by the name in the genitive case. Similar expressions include *terra Aegypti* – land of Egypt (Deut 8:14; 1 Sam 12:6) and *terra Iuda* – land of Judah (Deut 34:2; Judg 15:9 – *Iuda* is indeclinable, but here used as genitive).

1926. Plater/White, pp. 11–12 (§ 10).

1947. Friedrich Stummer: *Geographie des Buches Judith*. Stuttgart. 40 pp. – The appendix discusses the place names used in the Vulgate (pp. 31–39).
2009. Joze Krašovec: Phonetic Factors in Transliteration of Biblical Proper Names into Greek and Latin. *Textus* 24: 15–36.
2005. R. Steven Notley – Ze'ev Safrai (eds.): *Eusebius. Onomasticon. The Place Names of Divine Scripture. Including the Latin Edition of Jerome*. Leiden. xxxvii, 212 pp. – Greek, Jerome's Latin, English translation. – For another edition that provides only the English translation, see Rupert L. Chapman – J.E. Taylor (eds.): *The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea. Palestine in the Fourth Century A.D.* Translated by G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville. Jerusalem 2003. 206, 8 pp.
2010. Joze Krašovec: *The Transformation of Biblical Proper Names*. London 2010. 153 pp. – See esp. pp. 84–138 on the transmission of Semitic forms of biblical proper names in the Greek and Latin linguistic traditions.
2013. Eyal Poleg: The Interpretation of Hebrew Names in Theory and Practice. In: Eyal Poleg – Laura Light (eds.): *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*. Leiden (xv, 412 pp.), pp. 217–236.
2013. Tarciziu-Hristofor Serban: À la recherche des éventuelles règles de translittération des noms propres hébraïques dans la Vulgate. In: Andreas Beriger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Vulgata Studies. Vol. 1: Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt 2015 (234 pp.), pp. 181–194.
2018. Virginia Grinch – Evan Hayes – Stephen Nimis: *The Gospel of John in Greek and Latin. A Comparative Intermediate Reader. Greek and Latin Text with Running Vocabulary and Commentary*. Faenum Publishing. Oxford, Ohio. xxxix, 337 pp. – On proper names in the Gospel of John, see pp. xvii–xviii, 319–323.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), p. 316: antonomasia, i.e., the substitution of an epithet or title for a proper name. Example: *filius David* – son of David = Jesus (Matt 21:9).

negation. See also → **affirmation**

1917. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41 (1917) 303–332, at pp. 324, 328–329. – *non omnis* = *nullus* (Matt 24:22 = Mark 13:20).
1997. Martin Haspelmath: *Indefinite Pronouns*. Oxford (xvi, 364 pp.), p. 191: *virtutesque non quaslibet* – miracles not just any = special miracles (Acts 19:11), a case of semantic enrichment through negation.
2020. Lucie Pultrová: Comparison and Negation in Latin. *Glotta* 96: 178–212.

nominative with infinitive

1896. B.L. Gildersleeve – Gonzalez Lodge: *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar*. New York (x, 550 pp.), p. 146 (no. 206). The paradigm sentence of this construction is *beatus esse sine virtute nemo potest* – no one can be happy without virtue.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 289–290 (no. 184).

nominativus pendens (nominativus absolutus). See also → **emphasis** and → **prolepsis**.

1904. Kaulen, p. 286 (no. 177).

1926. Plater/White, pp. 19 (§ 19), 80 (§ 108).

numerals

1863. Hagen, pp. 84, 90

1904. Kaulen, pp. 163–164 (nos. 57–60).

1926. Plater/White, pp. 21 (§ 23), 68 (§ 94g).

1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 85–87. – On *per ter* – three times (Acts 10:16; 11:10).

2010. Jesús de la Villa: Numerals. In: Numerals. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 3. Berlin 2010 (xxi, 529 pp.), pp. 175–238. With examples from the Vulgate.

participle.

 See also → **periphrastic conjugation**

1892. William McCracken Milroy: *The Participle in the Vulgate New Testament*. Baltimore. 32 pp. – Review: Paul Geyer: *Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1 (1897) 75–102, at p. 101.

1904. Kaulen, p. 277 (no. 162). Present participle with *esse* to form a periphrastic conjugation: *erat enim docens eos* – he was teaching them; er lehrte sie (Mark 1:22). Note that the English language permits the same construction.

1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

1926. Plater/White, pp. 108–112 (§ 128).

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. vi, note 1. – Richards lists a number of passages in which the participle is used instead of the more correct finite form of the verb. An example is *homo qui (...) docens* – the man who teaches, which in standard Latin should be *homo qui docet* (Acts 21:28, Vg and NVg). Other examples are Acts 27:1; Rom 2:7 (here the NVg has *quaerent*, instead of the participle *quaerentibus*); 1 Thess 3:1; Phil 3:3; Jude 1.

1991. Cristóbal Macías Villalobos: Sintaxis del participio en el Libro I de Samuel de la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 14.2: 267–288.

1999. Carmel Arías Abellón: Innovaciones sintácticas en el latín Cristiano: participio de presente en lugar de forma personal del verbo. In: Hubert Petersmann – Rudolf Kettemann (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif V*. Heidelberg (xviii, 567 pp.), pp. 195–207.

2002. Jesús de la Villa Polo: The Translation of the Greek Participles in the Vulgata. In: D. Shalev – L. Savicki (eds.): *Donum Grammaticum. To honour H. Rosén*. Bruxelles (xvi, 411 pp.), pp. 385–394. – Often, the Vulgate uses a Latin participle to render a Greek one.

2009. Gonzalo Rubio: Semitic influence in the history of Latin Syntax. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax. Volume 1: Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 195–239, at p. 218.

2015. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Volume I. Oxford (xxiv, 1430 pp.), pp. 545–546. esse + participle: *erat autem docens in synagoga eorum* – he was teaching in their synagogue (Luke 13:10). This construction echoes the koine Greek’s periphrastic construction. A Graecism.
2023. Bernard Bortolussi – Felicia Logozzo – Lyliane Sznajder – Liana Tronci: Kontinuität und Innovation in der Partizipialsyntax der Vulgata. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 259–330.
2023. Anna Persig: Die Übersetzung griechischer Partizipien in den Katholischen Briefen der Vetus Latina und der Vulgata. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 359–392. – Greek participles without an article are generally rendered with a Latin participle. Accordingly, ὑποδεξαμένη τοὺς ἀγγέλους gets translated as *suscipiens nuntios* – she who receives the messengers (Jas 2:25).

passive voice

2020. José Miguel Baños Baños: La traducción del griego al latín en el Nuevo Testamento: de la pasiva morfológica a la pasiva léxica. In: Luz Conti et al. (eds.): Δῶρα τὰ οἱ δίδομεν φιλέοντες. Homenaje al profesor Emilio Crespo. Madrid (649 pp.), pp. 67–74.

periphrastic conjugation – also called periphrastic participle. Examples are *fuit iohannes in deserto baptizans* – John in the desert was baptizing (Mark 1:4; instead of classical *iohannes baptizavit in deserto* – John baptized in the desert); *trans iordanem ubi erat iohannes baptizans* – beyond the Jordan, where John was baptizing (John1:28); *erat praedicans* – he taught (Mark 1:39).

1904. Kaulen, p. 277 (no. 162).

1926. Plater/White, pp. 109–110 (§ 128.4).

1943. Friedrich Blaß [Blass] – Albert Debrunner: *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 7. umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Göttingen (xviii, 368 pp.), pp. 215–217 (§§ 352–356). – Since the Latin periphrastic conjugation echoes its Greek model, it is necessary to consider the relevant Greek evidence that can be found in this reference manual of New Testament Greek. (Later editions of this work are mere reprints.)

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 133–134 (§ 225).

1999. Carmel Arias Abellán: Innovaciones sintácticas en el latín cristiano: participio de presente en lugar de forma personal del verbo. In: Hubert Petersmann – Rudolf Kettemann (eds.): *Latin vulgare – latin tardif*. V. Heidelberg (xviii, 567 pp.), pp. 195–207.

2001. Marius Reiser: *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments*. Paderborn (xiv, 257 pp.), pp. 46–47. – Reiser comments on the periphrastic conjugation in the Greek New Testament.

2015. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Volume I. Oxford (xxiv, 1430 pp.), pp. 545–546. esse + participle: *erat autem docens in syagoga eorum* – he was teaching in their synagogue (Luke 13:10). This construction echoes the koine Greek’s periphrastic construction. A Graecism.

pleonasm

1955. Blaise, pp. 29 (§ 30), 101–102 (§ 132).

2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), p. 318. Example: *et ait David ad viros, qui stabant secum, dicens* – and David said to the men who stood with him, saying (1 Sam 17:26).
2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2023 (256 pp.), p. 84 (note 18).
2023. Peter Stotz: Latin Bibles as Linguistic Documents. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 415–428, at p. 425–426.

plural of nouns

1904. Kaulen, pp. 126–127 (no. 35): plural of abstract nouns such as *veritates* – truths (Ps 12:2, Vg 11:2). “Die Pluralbildung der Abstrakta ist in der späteren Latinität sehr gewöhnlich (...) indes ist sie kaum irgendwo so häufig und auffallend, als in der Vulgata” (p. 127).
1926. Plater/White, p. 18 (§ 17).
1950. Friedrich Stummer: Die Vulgata zum Canticum Annae. *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1950) 10–19, at p. 14: *deus scientiarum* – God of (all) knowledge (1 Sam 2:3), a case of *pluralis amplitudinis*. Stummer supplies bibliography on this phenomenon in Indo-European languages.

polemical language – swearwords, terms of abuse

1965. Ilona Opelt: *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen*. Heidelberg. 283 pp. – This is a fundamental study of polemical language used in Latin literature. Jerome is referred to (pp. 234–236), but not his biblical translation. See also Ilona Opelt: *Hieronymus' Streitschriften*. Heidelberg 1973 (219 pp.), pp. 172–180 and 211–219. – Opelt's 1965 book has inspired Wissemann's study of 1992.
1992. Michael Wissemann: *Schimpfworte in der Bibelübersetzung des Hieronymus*. Heidelberg. x, 211 pp. – Wissemann collects polemical and disqualifying expressions such as *canis* (dog – 1 Sam 17:43), *canis mortuus* (dead dog – 1 Sam 24:15), *vir sanguinum* (you are a man of blood – 2 Sam 16:8), *gentes apostatrices quae recesserunt a me* (apostates who have withdrawn from me – Ezek 2:3). This kind of verbal aggression appears throughout the Bible.
2001. Eberhard Bons – Bernhard Lang: Schimpfwort. In: Manfred Görg et al. (eds.): *Neues Bibel-Lexikon*. Düsseldorf 2001 (xi pp., 1238 cols.), cols. 478–479.
2008. Bianca-Jeanette Schröder: Swearwords, terms of abuse. In: *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Volume 13. Leiden (lvi pp., 988 cols.), cols. 976–977. – Translated from: Schimpfwörter. In: *Der Neue Pauly*. Band 11. Stuttgart 2002 (xi pp., 1234 cols.), cols. 173–176.
2020. Michael Wissemann: [Schimpfwörter des Hieronymus](#). *Vulgata in dialogue* 4 (2020) 23–32 (online journal).
2022. Karl-Wilhelm Weeber: *Schöner schimpfen auf Latein*. Reclam. Ditzingen. 128 pp. – No Vulgate texts are mentioned, but here is much material for comparison.
2023. Michael Wissemann: Schimpfwörter in der Vulgata. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 39–41.

politeness

2017. Peter Juhás: *Die biblisch-hebräische Partikel [NA] im Lichte der antiken Bibelübersetzungen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer vermuteten Höflichkeitsfunktion*. Leiden. xvii, 227 pp.

polyptoton. Repetition of a word within an expression. This figure of speech is also called *genetivus auctivus*, a designation used in the introduction (*praenotanda*) of the Nova Vulgata. Examples: *caelum caelorum* – heaven of heavens (Neh 9:6); *caeli caelorum* – heavens of heavens (Ps 148:4); *saeculum saeculi* – generation of generation = forever (Ps 22:27, Vg 21:27; Ps 45:7, Vg 44:7); *rex regum* – king of kings (Dan 2:37); *sanctus sanctorum* – holy one of holy ones (Dan 9:24, meant is the altar, the temple, or the high priest); *sanctum sanctorum* – holy of holies (1 Chr 23:13, the sacred space where the priest Aaron ministers).

1955. Blaise, p. 30 (§ 31).

1965. H. H.: Polyptoton. In: *Lexikon der Alten Welt*. Zurich (xv pp., 3524 cols.), col. 2401: "*polyptōton, figura ex pluribus casibus* (...) rhetorische Wortwiederholung mit Abwandlung der Flexionsform, den Wortfiguren zugehörig." The Greek word polyptoton means "with many cases."

1986. John Paul II (ed.): *Nova Vulgata. Bibliorum sacrorum editio*. Editio altera. Città del Vaticano (xxxii, 2316 pp.), p. xx. Examples of *genetivus auctivus* such as *caelum caelorum* and *saeculum saeculi*, typical of biblical Latin, have been retained. – Passages are not listed, but easy to find.

2022. Dorothea Keller: Exegetisches zu bestimmten Polyptota. In: eadem: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2023 (256 pp.), pp. 87–88 and 203–212. – The following expressions are considered: *caeli caelorum* (Ps 148:4), *civitas civitatum*, *occidens occidentis*, *ornatus ornamentorum*, *saecula saeculorum*, of which the best known is *saecula saeculorum* (Tobit 13:23; Rom 16:27; Gal 1:5; Hebr 13:21; Rev 20:10).

2023. Peter Stotz: Latin Bibles as Linguistic Documents. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 415–428, at p. 424. Stotz speaks of "genitive of intensity."

prepositions

1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg (iv, 106 pp.), p. 71: In classical Latin, two prepositions are never placed side by side as in *de trans Iordanem* (Matt 4:25). There are more examples of this, see *de sub coelo* (Luke 17:24) and *de post tergum* (Zeph 1:16).

1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg (34 pp.), pp. 23–26.

1872. Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte*. Arnsberg (49 pp.), pp. 10, 14–15.

1875. Hermann Rönisch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2nd edition. Marburg (xvi, 526 pp.), pp. 389–400. – Rönisch also lists "Präpositionen in Adverbialform" (pp. 398–400) such as *foras in: egressus sumus foras portam* – we went out before the gate (Acts 16:13).

1904. Kaulen, pp. 236–246 (nos. 121–126).
1917. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41 (1917) 303–332, at pp. 327–328: *praeterquam, nisi*.
1926. Plater/White, pp. 83–90 (§ 111).
1951. H.P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 3rd edition. Oxford (xv, 196 pp.), pp. 100–113. – All prepositions – from *a, absque, coram, clam, cum* etc. to *secus* and *supra* are listed, with examples from the Vulgate New Testament. The final section deals with prepositions that govern both the ablative and the accusative cases: *in, sub, super*.
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 93–96 (§§ 119–123). – English translation: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C. 1994. xvii, 157 pp.
1984. María Luisa Jiménez-Villarejo Fernández: Las preposiciones *ab/de/ex* en el ‘Liber Sapientiae’ de la Vulgata. In: Olegario García de la Fuente (ed.): *Actas del II Congreso Andaluz de Estudios Clásicos*. Madrid. Vol. 1, pp. 321–326.
1986. Olegario García de la Fuente: Sobre las preposiciones compuestas en el latín bíblico. *Analecta Malacitana* 9: 3–12.
1988. Bengt Löfstedt: Übersetzungstechnisches zur Vulgata [1988]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), pp. 302–309, at p. 308: “Hebraisierende Präpositionalkonstruktion statt des Dativs.”
1998. Jesús de la Villa Polo: The substitution of instrumental ablative by prepositional phrases in Latin. Some evidence from the *Vulgata*. In: B. García Hernández (ed.): *Estudios de lingüística latina. Actas del IX Coloquio Internacional de Lingüística Latina*. Madrid (xviii, 1155 pp. in 2 vols.), pp. 291–308. – The instrumental ablative, when translated into the Latin of the Vulgate, is not generally rendered by the ablative; instead, prepositional phrases are used; an example is *unanimiter in oratione* (Greek: *tê proseuchê*, dative) – unanimous in prayer (Acts 1:14).
2000. R. Jimenez-Zamudio: Perífrasis preposicionales latinas en la Vulgata. In: Benjamín García-Hernández (ed.): *Latin Vulgar y Tardío. Homenaje a Veikko Väänänen*. Madrid (xxx, 237 pp.), pp. 125–138.
2009. Gonzalo Rubio: Semitic influence in the history of Latin Syntax. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax. Volume 1: Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 195–239, at pp. 215–217.
2013. J.N. Adams: *Social Variation in the Latin Language*. Cambridge (xxi, 933 pp.), pp. 601–605. – Adams comments on the following compound prepositions: *amodo* – from now on (Matt 23:39; John 1:19); *detrans* (Matt 4:25); *deintus* (Luke 11:7.39–40).

prolepsis (and casus pendens). Also called “left dislocation.” Examples of this construction are: *Deus meus, impolluta via eius* – my God, his way is undefiled (Ps 18:31, Vg 17:31); *vir respiciens in mensam alienam, non est vita eius in cogitatione victus* – the man who is a burden to someone else’s table – his life is not spent in concern about livelihood (Sir 40:30). More examples esp. in the 1904 and 1955 handbooks and the 1981 article.

1896. B.L. Gildersleeve – Gonzalez Lodge: *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar*. New York (x, 550 pp.), p. 297. – Brief explanation; the stylistic feature is said to be typical of oral discourse; no reference to the Vulgate.
1904. Kaulen, p. 286 (no. 177).
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), p. 29 (§ 29). *Satanas expetivit vos ut cribraret sicut triticum* – Satan has desired you that he may sift you as wheat (Luke 22:31). The object *vos* is placed proleptically before the *ut* and thus is part of the introductory sentence. Blaise explains that the construction imitates Greek syntax.
1981. Olegario García de la Fuente: Consideraciones sobre el influjo hebreo en el Latín bíblico. *Emerita* 49: 307–342. – On p. 325, the author lists three typical cases of *casus pendens* that reflect Hebrew syntax: *quicumque audierit, tinnient ambas aures eius* – whosoever shall hear it, both his ears shall tingle (1 Sam 3:11); *Dominus in caelo sedes eius* – the Lord, his seat is in heaven (Ps 11:4; Vg 10:5; NVg 10:4); *Deus meus, impolluta via eius* – my God, his way is undefiled (Ps 18:31, Vg 17:31). In all three cases, there is a back-referencing *eius*. The three passages remain unchanged in the Nova Vulgata.
2014. Lyliane Sznajder – Bernard Bortolussi: Topicalisation versus Left-dislocation in Biblical Latin. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 13: 163–195. – The subject is how biblical Latin highlights and emphasizes a theme.
2015. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Volume I. Oxford (xxiv, 1430 pp.), pp. 759–760. Refers to Gen 12:14: *viderunt Aegypti mulierem quod esset pulchra nimis* – the Egyptians saw the woman, that she was very beautiful.
2017. Bernard Bortolussi. Topicalizations, Left Dislocations and the Left Periphery. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 16: 101–123. – Uses Sir 34:17 as one of the examples: *timentis Dominum beata est anima eius* – of the one who fears the Lord, blessed is the soul of him.
2020. Lyliane Sznajder: [Considérations sur la prolepse en hébreu biblique et son traitement dans la traduction biblique latine](#). *Revue de linguistique latine du Centre Ernout (De lingua Latina)* 7; 2 parts: 19 pp. and 20 pp. (online journal). Only the second part deals with the Latin Bible.
2023. Peter Stotz: Latin Bibles as Linguistic Documents. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 415–428, at p. 423. Stotz speaks of “isolated emphatic nominatives,” and gives two examples: *fili hominum dentes eorum arma et sagittae* – the children of men, their teeth are weapons and arrows (Ps 57:5, Vg 56:5); *omnis ergo qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram patre meo* – everyone who will confess me before men, him will I too confess before my Father (Matt 10:32).

pronouns

1904. Kaulen, pp. 165–175 (nos. 61–85).
1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), pp. xx–xxi.
1926. Plater/White, pp. 69–74 (§§ 96–102).
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 101–123 (§§ 131–199). – English translation: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C. 1994. xvii, 157 pp.

1975. Olegario García de la Fuente: Uso del pronombre redundante en los antiguos salterios latinos. *Durius* 3: 9–26.
1985. Bent Löfstedt: Sprachliches zur Vulgata [1985]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), p. 299.
1991. María Cruz Olivera Reyna: Pronombres en función anafórica en el Evangelio de Juan de la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 14.1: 159–166.
1997. Martin Haspelmath: *Indefinite Pronouns*. Oxford (xvi, 364 pp.), pp. 172–173: on *quis* in Matt 11:27; 22:24.
2000. Mark Janse: Convergence and Divergence in the Development of the Greek and Latin Clitic Pronouns. In: Rosanna Sornicola et al. (eds.): *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns over Time*. Amsterdam (xxxi, 323 pp.), pp. 231–258. – The author analyzes the second-position placement of unstressed pronouns (and other unstressed words, “Wackernagel’s Law”) in Vulgate Latin. Examples: *tetigit me aliquis* – someone touched me (Luke 8:46), with *me* in the second position; *hoc tibi do* – I give you (Acts 3:6), with *tibi* in the second position of the clause.
2000. Michela Cennamo: Patterns of ‘Active’ Syntax in Late Latin Pleonastic Reflexives. In: John Charles Smith – Delia Bentley (eds.): *Historical Linguistics 1995*. Volume 1. Amsterdam (xi, 438 pp.), pp. 35–55. – The following Vulgate examples are discussed: *et transite vobis* – and go! (Micah 1:11); *permissum est Paulo manēre sibimet cum custodiēte se milite* – Paul is allowed to remain with the soldier who held him in custody (Acts 28:16); *non desperans memetipsum* – without despairing (2 Macc 9:22).
2009. Rafael Jimenez Zamudio: Técnicas de traducción en las antiguas versiones de la Biblia. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 29: 75–115, at pp. 80–88.

purpose (clauses of purpose) [Finalsätze]. See also → **infinitive**.

1927. Henry P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. Second edition. Cambridge (xv, 162 pp.), pp. 79–81. – See esp. pp. 79–80 on *ut*.
2009. Concepción Cabrillana Leal – Eusebia Tarrío Ruiz: Finales, consecutivas y comparativas. In: José Miguel Baños Baños (ed.): *Sintaxis del latín clásico*. Madrid (838 pp.), pp. 633–656. – Matt 6:18 is a final clause with negation (with *ne*; it could also be *ut non*).
2011. Concepción Cabrillana: Purpose and result clauses. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 4. Berlin (xxiii, 925 pp.), pp. 19–92.

quod quia quoniam. On these three conjunctions, see the relevant entries in the word glossary below, Chapter **19.2**.

1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: Über quod, quia, quoniam nach den Verbis sentiendi und declarandi statt des Acc. C. Inf. In: idem: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg (iv, 106 pp.), pp. 58–61.
1875. Hermann Rönch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache*. 2nd edition. Marburg (xvi, 526 pp.), p. 402.

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches der Weisheit. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 235–277. – Page 260 on *quod, quia*, etc. in the book of Wisdom.
1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561. – Page 558 on *quoniam* and *quia* (*quod* is not used in Sirach).
1904. Kaulen, pp. 248 (no. 127), 290–292 (nos. 185–188).
1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), pp. xxxviii–xxxix.
1943. Dag Norberg: Zur Geschichte der Konjunktion *quod*, in: idem: *Syntaktische Forschungen auf dem Gebiet des Spätlateins und des frühen Mittellateins*. Uppsala 1943 (283 pp.), pp. 232–242.
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 147–151 (§§ 261–264). – English translation: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C. 1994. xvii, 157 pp.
1973. Virgilio Bejarano Sánchez: Un aspecto del latín de San Jerónimo: el uso de las conjunciones *quod, quia, quoniam*. *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios helénicos* 7: 19–26.
1975. Virgilio Bejarano Sánchez: San Jerónimo y la Vulgata Latina. Distribución de las conjunciones declarativas *quod, quia, quoniam*. *Helmántica* 26 (nos. 79–81): 51–55.
- 1977–1979. Olegario García de la Fuente: Uso de *quod quia quoniam* con los verbos de lengua y entendimiento en los libros de Samuel de la Vulgata. *Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos* 26–28: 159–168.
1981. Olegario García de la Fuente: Sobre el empleo de *Quod Quia Quoniam* con los verbos de “Lengua y entendimiento” en Samuel-Reyes de la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 4.1: 3–14.
1989. József Herman: *Accusatiuus cum infinitiuo et subordinnée à quod quia en latin tardif – Nouvelles remarques sur un vieux problème*. In: Gualtiero Calboli (ed.): *Subordination and other topics in Latin*, Amsterdam (xxix, 691 pp.), pp. 133–152.
1993. Victoria Eugenia Rodríguez Martín: *Quod, quia, quoniam* en las epístolas católicas de la Vulgata: su uso con los verbos de lengua y entendimiento. *Analecta malacitana* 16: 43–48.
1994. Pierluigi Cuzzolin: *Sull'origine della costruzione “dicere quod”*. *Aspetti sintattici e semantici*. Firenze. 323 pp.
2012. Gualtiero Calboli: *Syntaxe nominale et subordination en latin tardif*. In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon (1085 pp.), pp. 439–451. – The birth of the article in Romance languages was a consequence of the disappearance of the Acl and of the participial constructions no longer supported by the cases which fell out of use. The Acl was substituted by *quod, quia, quoniam* + sub./ind., even if it depended upon *uerba dicendi* and *sentiendi*. But this happened, rather than in Latin, in the Romance languages, while in Latin the Acl remained until the end, more or less challenged by *quod, quia* constructions. In his translation of the Bible Jerome eliminated almost all *ille* which was employed in the Vetus Latina to translate the Greek and Hebrew article. Jerome extended in the Vulgata the use of *quod, quia* + sub./ind. even in passages where the Acl was employed in the Vetus Latina, and this influenced the Latin of the Middle Ages. Jerome wanted to make his own translation conform with the Hebrew text where the Acl was ig-

nored and the declarative clause was either introduced by the Hebrew conjunction *kī* or the invariant relative *asher* or expressed through direct speech.

2017. Lyliane Sznajder: Quelques réflexions autour des complétives en “quia” du latin biblique. *Pallas* no. 103: 263–272. – In translating the Old Testament books, Jerome used *quod* (rather than *quia*, used in the Old Latin version).

2019. Lyliane Sznajder: Les complétives en “quoniam”: étude à partir du latin biblique. In: Lidewij van Gils et al. (eds.): *Clause and Discourse*. *Lemmata linguistica Latina* 2. Berlin (xiii, 484 pp.), pp. 174–196. – *quoniam* came to be an equivalent of *quia*.

reciprocal expressions

1892. Philipp Thielmann: Der Ersatz des Reziprokums im Lateinischen. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 7: 343–388. Deals with words such as *inter se*, *invicem*, *mutuo* (mutually, gegenseitig – one of Jerome’s favourites), *alterutrum*, and *vicissim*. – Review: Paul Geyer: Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1 (1897) 75–102, at p. 102.

relative clauses

1904. Kaulen, pp. 287–288 (nos. 180, 181).

1917. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41 (1917) 303–332, at pp. 324–325: “abgebrochene Relativsätze” (incomplete relative clauses).

1926. Plater/White, p. 127–128 (§ 138).

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 179–180 (§§ 318–323).

repetition

2020. Marcin Majewski: Repetition and not Parallelism as the Determinant of Poetry in the Hebrew Bible. A Case Study of [the] Biblical Story of Creation (Gen 1). *The Person and the Challenges. The Journal of Theology, Education, Canon Law and Social Studies Inspired by John Paul II* 11.2: 199–218. – While not on the Latin text of the Bible, this paper sets new agenda for the study of Hebrew poetry.

2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. *Vertumnus* 14. Göttingen. 255 pp. – Deals with both repetition and variation as stylistic devices. See p. 255 (index), s.v. Wiederholung (typological, exact, narrative, and syntactical repetitions).

res pro rei defectu – the thing for the absence of the thing.

1863. Hagen, pp. 22–23, explains this figure of style in an analysis of Ps 116:15 (Vg 115:15): *pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum* – precious is the death of the saints in the sight of the Lord, which means “precious is the life of the saints (etc.)” Hagen also supplies examples from ancient (pagan) literature.

rhyme does not belong to the repertoire of classical Latin poetry and rhetoric. Retrospectively, one can say: rhythm, not rhyme is the hallmark of Latin poetry. But this is not the whole story, and authors such as Wölfflin and Dingeldein have demonstrated that rhyme did have a certain existence in ancient literature. Thielmann points out certain rhyming features in Latin Sirach. An example (not in Thielmann) would be Sir 6:12: *si humiliaverit se contra te / et a facie tua abscondet se*.

1884. Eduard von Wölfflin: Der Reim im Lateinischen. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 1: 350–389. – The author quotes rhyming expressions from the Vulgate (p. 388): *cum timore et tremore* (Tob 13:6; 2 Cor 7:15), *in tremore – in timore* (1 Macc 13:2), *timor et tremor* (1 Macc 7:18).
1892. Otto Dingeldein: *Der Reim bei den Griechen und Römern*. Leipzig. iv, 131 pp.
1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at p. 548. Examples are Sir 13:4 (Weber/Gryson: *fremebit – tacebit*) and 14:22 (*morabitur – meditabitur*). "Irre ich nicht, so haben weitere Untersuchungen über die Geschichte des Reims im Lateinischen an das Auftreten desselben in lat. Bibelübersetzungen anzuknüpfen; ich würde zunächst an die Psalmen denken."
1913. Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 74: Sir 7:35 (*tuorum – sanctorum*), 7:36 (*propitiatio – benedictio*). Peters does not seem to be interested in the matter, but nevertheless notes the rhyming features in this passage.
1956. Jean Doignon: *Sacrum – sacramentum – sacrificium* dans le texte latin de la Sagesse. *Revue des études latines* 34 (1956) 240–253, at pp. 250–252.

rhythm → clausula, → hexameter, → stylistic devices

stylistic devices, figures of speech [Stilmittel]. See also → **clausula**, → **figura etymologica**, → **hexameter**

1994. Walter Bühlmann – Karl Scherer: *Sprachliche Stilfiguren der Bibel*. 2nd edition. Gießen. 125 pp. – Examples from the Bible, without consideration of the Vulgate Bible.
1998. Hans Baumgarten: *Compendium rhetoricum. Die wichtigsten Stilmittel*. Göttingen. 33 pp. – Examples are from classical sources. In the case of *figura etymologica*, a Vulgate example is quoted: *somium somniare* (to dream a dream), Acts 2:17.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart. 343 pp. – Pages 316–319: annotated alphabetic list of Latin stylistic devices. Throughout this Vulgate reader, the author comments on the stylistic devices such as alliteration, *figura etymologica*, metaphor, metonymy, etc.

subjunctive [Konjunktiv]

1904. Kaulen, pp. 288 (no. 181), 291–292 (no. 186), 296–298 (nos. 194, 195).
1926. Plater/White, pp. 106–107 (§ 126); 118 (§ 134); 121 (§ 134); 122–123 (§ 135).
1947. François Thomas: À propos du subjonctif de répétition en Latin. *Revue des études anciennes* 49: 103–110. – The subjunctive of repetition is often used in the Vulgate, esp. Num 9:16–22; 10:35–36, with imperfect forms such as *cumque elevaretur arca* – whenever the arc was taken up (Num 10:35) and *cumque ablata fuisset nubes* – whenever the cloud was taken away (Num 9:17)

superlative

1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer (64 pp.), pp. 52–53. On expressions such as *a minimo usque ad magnum* (Judith 15:8, Weber/Gryson). Page 53: "die im Spätlatein eingetretene Verwirrung unter den Komparationsgraden."

1904. Kaulen, p. 162–163 (nos. 54b, 55b–c). Kaulen points out that the positive occasionally functions as the superlative, as in *mandatum magnun* – the greatest commandment (Matt 22:36), *benedicta in mulieribus* – the most blessed of women (Luke 1:42), to which one can add *pulchra inter mulieres* – the most beautiful of women (Cant 1:7). The comparative can also function as the superlative: *maior horum autem est caritas* – but the greatest of these is love (1 Cor 13:13).
1926. Plater/White, pp. 21 (§ 23), 67–68 (§ 94), 110 (§ 128,5).
1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20, at p. 11 (with note 3; on 1 Sam 24:3).
1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xiv, note 1: “The superlative has lost its force (yet Jerome substitutes *maximus* for Old Latin *magnus* as a stronger word in Mk v 40). The Greek superlative is generally rendered by the Latin comparative.”
1943. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Versio Vulgata haud raro formam textus primitivi leviter auget. *Verbum Domini* 23: 129–132. – Superlatives used for emphasis (without being required by the original text). The article is in Latin.
1978. Olegario García de la Fuente: El superlativo en la biblia Latina. *Emerita* 46.2, 347–367.
1991. Cristóbal Macías Villalobos: Construcciones de superlativo en los libros de Samuel de la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 14: 29–39.
2016. Robert Maltby: Analytic and Synthetic Forms of the Comparative and Superlative from Early to Late Latin. In: James Adams – Nigel Vincent (eds.): *Early and Late Latin. Continuity or Change?* Cambridge (xx, 470 pp.), pp. 340–366.

supinum

1926. Plater/White, pp. 114–116 (§ 131).
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg: Le latin chrétien (221 pp.), p. 183, n. 1: “Le supin est rare chez les auteurs chrétiens.”

support verb constructions such as *paenitentiam agere* (instead of *paenitēre*)

2017. José Miguel Baños – María Dolores Jiménez López: “Odiar” en el Nuevo Testamento (odi, odios um, odio habeo): traducción y construcciones con verbo soporte en la Vulgata. *Euphrosyne* 45: 59–78.
2017. José Miguel Baños – María Dolores Jiménez López: ‘Arrepentirse’ en el Nuevo Testamento en griego y en latín: el empleo de las construcciones con verbo soporte en la Vulgata [‘To Repent’ in the New Testament in Greek and Latin: the use of constructions with a support verb in the translation of the Vulgate]. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 37: 11–32 (article in Spanish). Both classical and late Latin use support verb constructions much more frequently than Greek, which is richer in compound verbs and derivatives. This differential feature between the two languages is reflected in the Vulgate Latin translation of the original Greek text of the New Testament. Unlike the *Vetus Latina*, which in its eagerness for literalism tends to translate *verbum e verbo*, the Vulgate (especially in the Gospels) translates a Greek verbal form by a construction with supporting verb when these analytical predicates are the most classical construction in Latin or the one most widely used in the language of the fourth century CE.

swearwords → polemical language

tenses (tempora)

1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg (iv, 106 pp.), pp. 95–96.
1872. Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte*. Arnsberg (49 pp.), pp. 12–13. Page 13: Gebrauch "des Futurs nicht bloss 1) von der Zukunft schlechthin, sondern 2) auch, wie das hebräische Futur (imperfekt), für unser Präsens, bes. wenn von Zuständen und Handlungen, die jetzt stattfinden und immer stattfinden werden, somit in die Zukunft hinüberreichen, oder von einem Pflegen die Rede ist, daher hauptsächlich bei allgemein ausgesprochenen Beobachtungen."
1904. Kaulen, pp. 224–228 (nos. 109–113). – Page 226: "In Bezug auf die Bedeutung der Tempora zeigt die Vulgata besonders ihren Charakter als Übersetzung, da (...) die irrigere Anschauung der Septuaginta beibehalten ist, daß das hebräische Perfektum eine Tempusform der Vergangenheit, das hebräische Imperfektum eine Tempusform der Zukunft sei."
1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), p. xxx.
1926. Plater/White, pp. 103–106 (§§ 119–124); 123 (§ 135).
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg: Le latin chrétien (221 pp.), pp. 128–129 (§§ 216–218): Les temps dans la traduction de la Vulgate; pp. 181–182 (§§ 324–326): la concordance des temps (though without reference to the Vulgate).
2009. Gonzalo Rubio: Semitic influence in the history of Latin Syntax. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 1: *Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 195–239, esp. pp. 219–220, 230. Page 230: "In the Latin Bible, future forms can occur when the present tense is expected. This is due to the difficult translation of the Hebrew imperfective (*yqtl* or *yiqtol*), where tense-aspect range frequently covers functions fulfilled in Latin by the present and future forms." And where the present tense is expected, we often find perfect forms; this is gnomic perfect, typical of biblical texts (and not continued by Christian writers); an example is Ps 14:1 (Vg 13:1): *dixit insipiens in corde suo* – the fool says in his heart, literally (as in the Douay Version): the fool hath said in his heart (p. 219). ▲
2010. Gerd V.M. Haverling: Actionality, Tense, and Viewpoint. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 2. Berlin (xx, 556 pp.), pp. 277–523. – The author studies the changes of the use of tenses from early and classical through Late Latin, and considers examples from the Vulgate. ▲
2023. Gerd Haverling: Tempus, Aktionsart und Aspekt in der Vulgata und in den Vetus Latina-Übersetzungen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 221–257. – A study of "late Latin" features of the Vulgate's latinity.
2023. Peter Stotz: Latin Bibles as Linguistic Documents. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 415–428, at p. 424. "With regard to verbs, a typical feature of biblical language is the use of perfect forms with present meaning, again reflecting a Hebraism mediated by Greek. (...) Especially famous is Psalm 1:1: *Beatus uir, qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in uia peccatorum non stetit* ("Blessed is the man who did not set off in the plan of the ungodly and did not stand in the path of sinners")," meaning "does not set off" and "does not stand."

transcription/transliteration – Jerome’s transcription of Hebrew words with Latin letters. See also → **names**

1884. Carl Siegfried: Die Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Hieronymus. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 4: 34–83.
1948. Edmund F. Sutcliffe SJ: St. Jerome’s Pronunciation of Hebrew. *Biblica* 29: 112–125.
1978. Alessandro Penna: Scrittura e pronuncia dell’ebraico secondo S. Girolamo. *Rivista biblica italiana* 26: 275–299.
2016. Alexey Eliyahu Yuditsky: Hebrew in Greek and Latin Transcriptions. In: W. Randall Garr – Steven E. Fassberg (eds.): *A Handbook of Biblical Hebrew*. Volume 1. Winona Lake, Ind. (xii, 228 pp.), pp. 99–116.
2023. Matthew A. Kraus: *The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis*. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119, at pp. 108–110 (online journal). – This section of the paper is on transliterated words such as *ephod* (transliterated from Hebrew, Exod 25:7) and *nycticorax* (transliterated from Greek, Ps 102:7, Vg 101:7).

translation issues. See also → **Hebraisms** (esp. the 1917 article of Holzmeister) and → **homophony**

1912. Eugène Mangenot: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – At cols. 2460–2464, peculiarities of Jerome’s translation language are pointed out.
1926. Plater/White, p. 7: “Jerome has the tantalizing habit of translating the same Hebrew word by different Latin equivalents.”
1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10: 3–30.
1931. Arthur Allgeier: Die Psalmen in der mozarabischen Liturgie und das Psalterium von Saint-Germain-des-Prés. *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* 3: 179–236. – Pages 220–221. “Uns Heutigen fällt es schwer, ein Verständnis für die gezwängten und dann doch erst recht verfehlten Formen aufzubringen. Es ist eben nicht möglich, die Texte zweier Sprachen, und wenn sie auch etwas verwandt sind [Greek and Latin], so zu übersetzen, dass man für jedes Wort und jede Konstruktion einfach die wörterbuchmässige Entsprechung der andern verwendet. Aber dieses unmögliche Ziel wollte man am Anfang der lateinischen Psalterübersetzung und noch lange danach erreichen. Hier liegt der formale Grund vieler Unstimmigkeiten und seltsamen Bildungen. Für den Hörer, der nicht griechisch verstand, wer ein Dolmetsch bestellt, der Satz für Satz vermittelte, und für den Lesegebrauch wurde Wort für Wort übertragen (...) Der letzte Grund ist endlich der Glaube an die Inspiration der Septuaginta und die Meinung, dass die Inspiration *verbaliter* erfolgte.”
1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), pp. vi–ix: Disadvantages of Latin as compared with Greek; advantages of the Latin language over Greek. Richards’s introduction is a good text on “The Vulgate as a Translation” (pp. iii–xvi). ▲
1968. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: *The Vulgate as a Translation. Some Semantic and Syntactical Aspects of Jerome’s Version of the Hebrew Bible*. Jerusalem. 307, 15 pp. – English, with a Hebrew abstract. According to K.-K., Jerome initially translated literally, but later developed a preference for free, less literal renderings. (This analysis has been challenged by some later authors; see below, Keller 2023.)

1977. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Limitations of Latin in representing Greek. In: Bruce M. Metzger: *The Early Versions of the New Testament*. Oxford (xix, 498 pp.), pp. 362–374. ▲
1984. Bernard Grossfeld: The Translation of Biblical Hebrew PQD in the Targum, Peshitta, Vulgate and Septuagint. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 96: 83–101. – Jerome often uses words for counting (*numerare*), but also words for „to punish, to avenge“ (*visitare*, Exod 20:5). His translations are often close to the Septuagint and the Targum.
2009. Rafael Jiménez Zamudio: Técnicas de traducción en las antiguas versiones de la Biblia. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 29: 75–115. – The author treats the translation of Hebrew Bible texts into Latin; special attention is given to the rendering of suffixes, the *status constructus*, the relative clause, the particle *waw* (and), and the Semitisms in the Vulgate. The construction “in + accusative” is also addressed. Many of the 81 Old Testament texts analyzed are taken from the book of Genesis.
2009. Christophe Rico: La traduction du sens littéral chez saint Jérôme. In: Olivier-Thomas Venard (ed.): *Le sens littéral des écritures*. Paris (362 pp.), pp. 171–218. – “Les exemples que nous venons d’exposer soulignent l’extraordinaire précision de la traduction de Jérôme. Cette qualité se fonde d’abord sur une connaissance très fine de la langue grecque telle qu’on la parlait et écrivait à date ancienne en Judée et Galilée. Elle s’appuie d’autre part sur une stratégie interprétative qui le conduit à préserver, dans la mesure du possible, le *sensus altior* des figures au détriment du *sensus inferior*. Cette même stratégie le conduira, dans des passages clés, à laisser sa version se charger des connotations christologiques qu’acquiert un passage de l’AT quand il est lu dans la perspective globale du texte biblique, en vertu des phénomènes d’intertextualité” (p. 127).
2011. Chiara Gianollo: [Native Syntax and Translation Effects. Adnominal Arguments in the Greek and Latin New Testament](#). In: Eirik Welo (ed.): *Indo-European Syntax and Pragmatics: contrastive approaches*. *Oslo Studies in Language* 3.3: 75–101 (open-access online journal).
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg, pp. 79–122. – The author discusses Jerome’s language skills, translation principles and translation practice. With his translation, he has created a stylistically coherent, aesthetically sophisticated work of art (“mit seiner lateinischen Bibel ein stilistisch einheitliches und literaturästhetisch anspruchsvolles Kunstwerk geschaffen,” p. 89).
2016. Christophe Rico: *Le traducteur de Bethléem: le génie interprétatif de saint Jérôme à l’aune de la linguistique*. *Lectio divina* 270. Paris. 172 pp. – Some of the material was published in article form between 2005 and 2009. Reviews:
2016. Paul-Hubert Poirier, *Laval théologique et philosophique* 72: 331–333.
2018. Etienne Nodet, *Revue biblique* 125: 124–129 (with Nodet’s own observations on the subject).
2018. Lukas Michael Baumann: *Wort und Sinn. Übersetzungsreflexionen bei Cicero und Hieronymus*. Freiburg. 314 pp.
2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen (256 pp.). – See esp. pp. 219–221: Keller explains that there was no chronological development in Jerome from literal to free renderings. Variations in Jerome’s translation style has more to do with his notions of the literary types found in the Hebrew text.

translation errors can often be detected by comparing the text of the Vulgate with the text of the Nova Vulgata (see **Chapter 17**) because the latter represents a “corrected” edition of the traditional Vulgate.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 306–309.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), pp. xii–xiii.

variation, i.e., the avoidance of using the same word again. An example is the dialogue between Jesus and Peter in John 21:15–17, where two verbs for “to love” alternate – *diligere* and *amare*.

1926. Plater/White, p. 7: “Jerome has the tantalizing habit of translating the same Hebrew word by different Latin equivalents.”

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 114–115.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), pp. ix–xi. – “The enormous richness of the Latin language is shown in the deliberate variation of rendering and the great number of synonyms. In fact, Latin agrees with English, as against Greek, in disliking the repetition of the same word, if it can possibly be helped. (...) In 2 Cor. vi 14–16 St Paul himself uses rhetorical variation. The translator is equal to the occasion” (p. ix). “The absence of variation is so exceptional as to be noticeable when it occurs” (p. x).

2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen (256 pp.). – See p. 255 (index), s.v. Variation (lexical, morphological, semantic, and syntactic).

versification → **hexameter**

vulgar words and expressions, vulgar Latin [Vulgärlatein]. See also below, Chapter **8.8**.

1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer (64 pp.), pp. 5–8. A discussion of vulgar Latin forms in some of the Vulgate manuscripts. According to Thielmann, Jerome would certainly prefer classical forms, but copyists occasionally changed them.

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Über die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachlichen Untersuchungen. *Philologus* 42: 319–378. – The author uses the term “Spätlatein,” late Latin, and gives many examples, esp. from Sirach and the book of Wisdom. Very critical of Thielmann’s suggestions about regional differences within late Latin is Paul Geyer: *Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1 (1897) 75–102, at pp. 94–95.

1891. Hermann Rönch: Die ältesten lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen nach ihrem Wert für die lateinische Sprachwissenschaft. In: idem: *Collectanea philologa*. Edited by Carl Wegener. Bremen (vi, 325 pp.), pp. 1–32, esp. 15–16.

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at pp. 542–548. Thielmann lists many features of late, vulgar, African Latin. “Ein Kennzeichen vulgärer Diktion ist breite, pleonastische Ausdrucksweise,” as in Sir 7:5 – *noli velle videri sapiens* (do not want to be seen as a sage)

for Greek μή σοφίζου – do not play the sage (p. 542). Thielmann seems to indicate that the latinity of Sirach may have more “vulgar” or “late Latin” features than the rest of the books in the Vulgate.

1918. Friedrich Lammert: Die Angaben des Kirchenvaters Hieronymus über vulgäres Latein. *Philologus* 75: 395–413. – Jerome refers to vulgar Latin words mainly in his commentaries and sometimes in his letters. Actual lexical vulgarisms in his translation seem to be rare, however. Among the words listed, only a few are also in the Bible: *cubitus*, *murenula*, *nervus*, and *scruta*.
1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), pp. xiii–xv. – A list of vulgar Latin words in the New Testament and their classical equivalents. Example: classical *metus*, *metuere* (fear, to fear) is in the Vulgate abandoned for *timor*, *timēre*.
1937. Friedrich Stummer: Der dritte Band der neuen römischen Ausgabe der Vulgata. *Theologische Revue* 36: 305–311. – Stummer reviews volume 3 of the Benedictine Vulgate that offers a new text of Numbers and Deuteronomy, and discusses vulgarisms in the book of Numbers.
1971. Paul Antin OSB: Mots “vulgaires” dans saint Jérôme. *Latomus* 30: 708–709.
1979. G.J.M. Bartelink: Les observations de Jérôme sur des termes de la langue courante et parlée. *Latomus* 38: 193–220.
1994. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín Cristiano*. Madrid 588 pp. – The author discerns three vital influences that shape biblical Latin: Semitic influences (pp. 170–268), Greek influences (pp. 269–287), and vulgar Latin influences (la lengua popular, pp. 289–316). As can be seen from the page ranges, the Semitic influence is dominant.

Wackernagel’s law

1892. Jacob Wackernagel: Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1: 333–436. – An excerpt can be found in: *Probleme der lateinischen Grammatik*. Edited by Klaus Strunk. Darmstadt 1973 (451 pp.), pp. 388–408. The text is also available in a bilingual edition, German and English, with a detailed introduction and bibliography by G. Walkden: *On a Law of Indo-European Word Order*. Translated by George Walkden et al. Berlin 2020. 446 pp. – Wackernagel discovered that Indo-European languages, including Latin, give short unstressed words by preference the second position in a clause.

Note. – Although Wackernagel did not give examples from the Vulgate, the law can be illustrated from biblical texts such as Gen 1:2: *terra autem erat inanis* – the earth, however, was empty; Sir 6:10: *est autem amicus socius mensae* – a friend, moreover, is a table fellow; Gen 16:6: *ecce, ait, ancilla tua in manu tua est* – behold, he said, your handmaid is in your hand; Matt 13:18: *vos ergo audite parabolam seminantis* – and now hear the parable of the sower. In the examples, *autem*, *ergo* or *ait* is the “short, unstressed word.”

1994. J.N. Adams: *Wackernagel’s Law and the Placement of the copula esse in Classical Latin*. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary Volume. Cambridge. 102 pp. – Review: Jacqueline Dangel, *Revue des études latines* 73 (1995) 247–248.
2000. Mark Janse: Convergence and Divergence in the Development of the Greek and Latin Clitic Pronouns. In: Rosanna Sornicola et al. (eds.): *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-*

Order Patterns over Time. Amsterdam (xxxi, 323 pp.), pp. 231–258. – See above → **pronouns**, 2000.

2021. Harm Pinkster: *Oxford Latin Syntax*. Volume II. Oxford (xxxii, 1438 pp.), pp. 984–987.

word order [Wortstellung] Jerome was well aware of the fact that each language has its own sequence of words, so that the translator cannot slavishly follow the word order of his Vorlage; see Tim Denecker: *Ideas on Language in Early Christianity. From Tertullian to Isidore of Seville*. Leiden (xv, 497 pp.), pp. 276–278. See also above, → **emphasis**, → **hyperbaton**, → **prolepsis**, → **pronouns** (2000), → **Wackernagel's law**.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. iii: "The order of words in the Vulgate, far more than in Latin as written then or earlier, was the order which became normal for the Romance languages. The verb comes immediately before or after the subject, and is immediately followed by the direct object."

1983. Olegario García de la Fuente: Orden de palabras en hebreo, griego, latín y romanceamiento castellano medieval de Joel (I et II). *Emerita* 51: 41–61; 185–213.

2000. Jesús de la Villa Polo: El orden de palabras de algunos determinantes en la *Vulgata* y en la obra de Jerónimo. In: Benjamin García Hernández (ed.): *Latín vulgar y tardío. Homenaje a Veikko Väänänen (1905–1997)*. Madrid (xxx, 237 pp.), pp. 221–237.

2009. Brigitte L.M. Bauer: Word Order. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 1. Berlin (xii, 561 pp.), pp. 241–316. – The author refers to Luke 22:23 and Matt 15:20 in the section on cleft constructions used for emphasis (p. 285).

2010. Bernard Bortolussi – Lyliane Sznajder: Ordres VSO et SVO dans la Vulgate. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 11: 273–300. – About the syntactic arrangement of subject (S), verb (V), and object (O).

2014. Lyliane Sznajder: Ordre VOS et le statut des objets pronominaux dans la Vulgate. In: Piera Molinelli et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif X*. Volume 1. Bergamo (xx, 394 pp.), pp. 371–394.

2017. Lieven Danckaert: Subject Placement in the History of Latin. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 16: 125–161. – The author uses a Vulgate passage in his discussion of shifts in word order: *quia consolatus est Dominus populum suum* – because the Lord has comforted his people (Isa 49:13).

2017. Lieven Danckaert: *The Development of Latin Clause Structure: A Study of the Extended Verb Phrase*. Oxford. xxii, 356 pp. – Against received wisdom, the author finds no increase in the Verb-Object word order in the period from 200 BCE to 600 CE.

2019. Gregorio Hiniño Andrés: Precisiones sobre el orden de palabras en la "Vulgata." In: Victoria E. Rodríguez et al. (eds.): *Studia classica et emblematica*. Zaragoza (729 pp.), pp. 317–332.

2023. Roland Hoffmann: Beobachtungen zur Wortstellung der Vulgata im Neuen Testament. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 179–218. – The author studies how the Latin translation changes the word order found in the Greek source text.

8.8 Biblical Latin: Vulgar Latin – Late Latin

Is biblical Latin = vulgar/late Latin?
Is biblical Latin = North African Latin?
Vulgar/late Latin features in biblical Latin
Introductions to vulgar/late Latin
Grammars and surveys of vulgar/late Latin
Anthologies of vulgar/late Latin
Congress proceedings “Latin vulgaire – latin tardif”

Is biblical Latin = vulgar/late Latin?

Note. – Biblical Latin is not classical, Ciceronian Latin. It is different. But how to understand the difference? Two conflicting views have been proposed – the sociological and the chronological view.

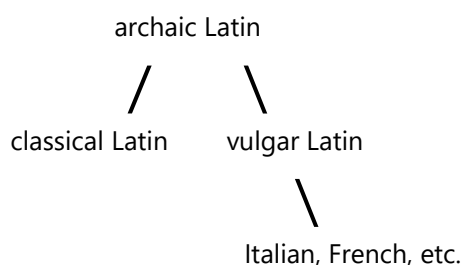
(1) The *sociological* view. According to this view, biblical Latin is tinged by “vulgar Latin,” i.e., non-elite, sub-elite or colloquial Latin. Historians of the Latin language often distinguish between the artificial written Latin of elite authors and the Latin used in everyday speech. The latter, called “vulgar Latin,” can only be reconstructed from echoes, the spoken idiom has left in written documents. One example of such a source is a passage in Suetonius’ *Lives of the Caesars* (c. 122 CE) where the author refers to a number of peculiarities of the Latin as spoken by the emperor Augustus; these are today taken to belong to vulgar Latin; Suetonius himself classifies them as such: *vulgo dicitur* – in vulgar language, it is said (Suetonius: Augustus, chap. 87). Here is the passage:

That in his everyday conversation he used certain favourite and peculiar expressions appears from letters in his own hand, in which he says every now and then, when he wished to indicate that certain men will never pay, that ‘they will pay on the Greek Kalends.’ (...) He continuously used *baceolus* (dolt) for *stultus* (fool), for *pullus* (dark) *pulleiaceus* (darkish), for *cerritus* (mad) *vaccerosus* (blockhead); also *vapide se habere* (feel flat) for *male se habere* (feel badly), and *betizae* (be like a beet) for *languere* (be weak), for which the vulgar term [*vulgo dicitur*] is *lachanizare*. Besides he used *simus* for *sumus*, and *domos* in the genitive singular instead of *domuos*. The last two forms he wrote invariably, for fear they should be thought errors rather than a habit. – Suetonius: De vita Caesarum, Augustus 87 (Loeb Classical Library)

Twentieth-century research has made much progress in research on vulgar Latin – and it has become clear that there is some evidence of vulgar Latin in the Vulgate. Historians of linguistic development highlight the fact that it was from vulgar Latin, rather than from written elite Latin, that in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages the Romance languages developed – Spanish, Italian, French, Romanian, Portuguese. There are no chronological limits to vulgar Latin; as long as Latin existed, it has always been accompanied by the vulgar variety – and left echoes even in non-vulgar Latin texts. – Major proponents:

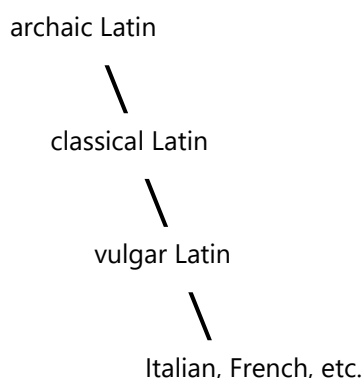
1981. Veikko Väänänen: *Introduction au latin vulgaire*. Troisième édition revue et augmentée. Paris. xxi, 273 pp. – There are no chronological limits to vulgar Latin; it is simply the spoken variety of Latin, as opposed to literary Latin. It is “la langue vivante et réelle” (p. 6).
1983. Bengt Löfstedt: Rückschau und Ausblick auf die vulgärlateinische Forschung. Quellen und Methoden. In: Wolfgang Haase (ed.): *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Band II.29.1. Berlin (xv, 507 pp.), pp. 453–479; see esp. p. 453, n. 1.
2008. Eugenio Coseriu: *Lateinisch – Romanisch. Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen zum sogenannten Vulgärlatein und zur Entstehung der romanischen Sprachen*. Edited by Hansbert Bertsch. Tübingen. xx, 484 pp. – Coseriu (1921–2002) taught linguistics at the University of Tübingen, Germany. In the preface, the editor summarizes Coseriu’s thought: “Das ‘Vulgärlatein’ ist nicht nur eine Chiffre, sondern das Diasystem des gesprochenen Lateins einer bestimmten Epoche in all seinen Varietäten, das im II. bis IV. Jahrhundert n. Chr. eine beschleunigte Entwicklung erfuhr und sich in den romanischen Sprachen fortsetzt. (...) Der Sonderfall ist damit nicht das ‘Vulgärlatein,’ sondern das fixierte, unveränderliche, klassische Schriftlatein” (p. xviii).

The sociological view can be represented as follows:



(2) According to the *chronological* view, what others call “vulgar Latin” is actually “late” Latin in the chronological sense – the Latin that marks the transition between standard Latin and the Romance languages such as French, Spanish, etc. Some features of this late Latin can be found throughout the Vulgate Bible; they announce later linguistic development. – Proponents of this view:

1929. Henry F. Muller: *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin*. Halle. ix, 172 pp. – See esp. p. viii: “Then, in the fourth quarter of the eighth century, when the essential features of the new language have been created, a rather sudden shifting of the linguistic forces takes place: the new speech is born.” The Romance language was created in a revolutionary manner, and then came the process of diversification into Italian, French, etc.
1932. Henry F. Muller – Pauline Taylor: *A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin*. Boston (xvii, 315 pp.), p. iv.
1987. Witold Mączak: Origine des langues romanes: dogme et faits; in: József Herman (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. Tübingen 1987 (viii, 262 pp.), pp.181–188. – Mączak represents the chronological view in the form of a linear stemma:



2009. Helmut Lüdtke: *Der Ursprung der romanischen Sprachen. Eine Geschichte der sprachlichen Kommunikation*. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Kiel (xxii, 926 pp.), pp. 29–47. – Lüdtke rejects the notion of a bilingualism of “high Latin” and “vulgar Latin”; instead, one must posit a gradual evolution.

See also Paul M. Lloyd: On the Definition of “Vulgar Latin”: The Eternal Return. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 80 (1979) 110–122 who points out the difficulties with the expression and suggests to abandon it altogether.

Is biblical Latin = North African Latin?

Note. – The majority of scholars is now convinced that the earliest, and presumably most, Latin translations of biblical books originated in Latin-speaking North Africa (see below, Chapter 9.4). Most scholars are also convinced, however, that the Latin language used by North African writers was just Latin, and not a particular regional variety of Latin, as was claimed by earlier scholarship.

Nineteenth century

1860. Celestino Cavedoni: *Saggio della latinità biblica dell'antica Volgata Itala*. Modena. 47 pp. – This work was first published in the periodical *Opuscoli religiosi, letterari e morali* 7[19]: 161–180, 321–346. – A glossary of Latin words used in the pre-Jeromian Latin Bible. The author thought of this first Latin Bible as having originated in North Africa during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (138–161 in office). He considered the language of this Bible to be vulgar Latin (*latino volgare*) as spoken in North Africa.

1874. Johann Nepomuk Ott: Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109: 757–792, 833–867. – The journal has another title: *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 20 (1874). Unlike Franz Kaulen, Ott defends the notion that the *Vetus Latina* (which he calls “Itala”) originated in Africa, and is written in African Latin. “Der Verfasser der Itala hat das africanische Idiom für seine Zeit vortrefflich verstanden und gehandhabt und in derselben ein Meisterwerk seiner Art geschaffen, das nicht nur der Sprachentwicklung auf africanischem Boden gewaltigen Vorschub geleistet, sondern auch mittelbar die ganze patristische Latinität beeinflußt hat. (...) Es ist geradezu unbegreiflich, wie man dem Übersetzer nur ungenügende und dürftige Sprachkenntnisse zumuten kann” (p. 765).

1875. Hermann Rönisch: *Itala und Vulgata*. Zweite Ausgabe. Marburg 1875 (xvi, 526 pp.), p. 12: “Die Sprache der Itala [= *Vetus Latina*] und sporadisch auch die der *Vulgata* ist der Hauptsache nach unverkennbar mit der römischen Volkssprache (*lingua vulgata, rustica, sermo coottidianus, plebeius, rusticus* etc.) identisch. (...) Sie wurde in Afrika zuerst Schrift- und Büchersprache (...) Sie kann deshalb auch afrikanische Latinität genannt werden.”

1882. Karl Sittl: *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache mit bes. Berücksichtigung des afrikanischen Lateins*. Erlangen. Iv, 162 pp. Reprint: Hildesheim 1972. – Sittl offers a thorough study of African Latin (pp. 67–70, 77–152). The so-called *Itala* originated in Italy, but *Sirach* and *Wisdom* are clearly African, possibly also 1 and 2 *Maccabees* (p. 152).

1897. Eberhard Nestle: Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen. In: Albert Hauck (ed.): *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 3rd edition. 3. Band. Leipzig (832 pp.), pp. 24–58. – Page 27: “Sicher ist, daß sich in Afrika die lateinische Kirchensprache ausgebildet hat, und dies wird wie anderswo an Hand der Bibel geschehen sein; auch der Sprachcharakter der ältesten uns erhaltenen Stücke der lateinischen Bibel scheint uns dorthin zu weisen.”

1897. Wilhelm Kroll: Das afrikanische Latein. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* NF 52: 569–590. According to Kroll, there was no specifically African, provincial variety of Latin. In North Africa, people spoke the Latin of their time, not a dialect peculiar to that region. There is no reason for suggesting, on linguistic grounds, that it must have been in Africa that the Wisdom of Solomon and the book of Sirach were translated into Latin (p. 571). ▲

After 1900

1915. Eduard Norden: *Die antike Kunstprosa. Vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*. 3rd printing. Leipzig. xx, 968, 22 pp. – Pages 588–598 (in volume 2; the two volumes are paginated consecutively): Das “afrikanische Latein.” There was no African Latinity, apart from the linguistic innovations of the Christians. What has been called African Latin is merely Greek Asianism (mannerism) in Latin garb.

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), p. 423: “Trotz der Zweisprachigkeit eines grossen Teils der antiken Kulturwelt [with Latin and Greek] und trotz der gesteigerten Bedeutung der nichtrömischen Gebiete ist das Latein im grossen und ganzen eine auffallend einheitliche, straff normalisierte Reichssprache geblieben, und das früher beliebte Suchen nach dialektisch-lokalen Verschiedenheiten (Sittl) ist grösstenteils negativ verlaufen.”

1949. Christine Mohrmann: Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome. *Vigiliae Christianae* 3: 67–106 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome III. Rome 1965 (358 pp.), pp. 67–126. – Pages 125–126: “Sauf des divergences très légères, la terminologie chrétienne de Rome et celle de Carthage sont identiques. Les particularités syntaxiques qui caractérisent cette langue de groupe sont les mêmes en Italie et en Afrique. (...) La raison de cette uniformité, il faut la rechercher dans l’unité spirituelle de la foi chrétienne.”

1957. Bernard Botte: Latines (versions) antérieures à S. Jérôme. In: Henri Cazelles (ed.): *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5. Paris (1480 cols.), cols. 334–347. – Columns 346–347: “La question des africanismes est loin d’être complètement réglée. On s’accorde à admettre que ces africanismes ne représentent pas en fait des particularités dialectales de l’Afrique, mais un choix fait par tel ou tel traducteur originaire d’Afrique. Il n’y a guère d’expression qu’on ne rencontre que dans la Bible d’Afrique. On peut se demander cependant si le choix, fait par plusieurs traducteurs indépendants, de certains termes identiques ne serait pas un indice que ces mots étaient caractéristiques de la langue vulgaire d’Afrique.”

1997. Konrad Vössing: Schule und Bildung im Nordafrika der römischen Kaiserzeit. Bruxelles (690 pp.), pp. 579–581.

1998. Hubert Petersmann: Gab es ein afrikanisches Latein? Neue Sichten eines alten Problems der lateinischen Sprachwissenschaft. In: B. García Hernández (ed.): *Estudios de lingüística latina. Actas del IX Coloquio Internacional de Lingüística Latina*. Madrid (xviii, 1155 pp. in 2 vols.), pp. 125–136.

2007. J.N. Adams: *The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC–AD 600*. Cambridge (xix, 828 pp.), pp. 259–270 and 516–576. – The author affirms the existence of African Latin. With reference to Jerome: *Contra Rufinum* 27 (CCSL 79: 98–99), he states that “in Jerome’s eyes, African speech had relatively low prestige” (p. 269). (But note that Jerome merely makes fun of a north African teacher’s peculiar pronunciation of Latin.)

Vulgar/late Latin features in biblical Latin

Before 1900

1860. Celestino Cavedoni: *Saggio della latinità biblica dell'antica Volgata Itala*. Modena. 47 pp. – This work was first published in the periodical *Opuscoli religiosi, letterari e morali* 7[19]: 161–180, 321–346. – Cavedoni considers the language of the Vetus Latina to be vulgar Latin (*latino volgare*) as used in North Africa. Much of its vocabulary survived into the Vulgate.
1870. Franz Kaulen: *Handbuch zur Vulgata*. Mainz. xii, 280 pp. – Page 3: The pre-Jeromian biblical translation had “durchaus volksmäßigen Charakter, insofern sie in dem Idiome des täglichen Lebens, dem sogenannten Vulgärlatein, abgefaßt war. An diesen Sprachcharakter der lateinischen Bibel war man im ganzen Abendlande so gewöhnt, daß der sonst feingebildete heil. Hieronymus, der wie die höheren Stände seiner Zeit sprach und schrieb, sich doch bei seiner Übersetzung oft an den vulgären statt an den gebildeteren Ausdruck anschloß.”
1874. Johann Nepomuk Ott: Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109: 757–792, 833–867. – The journal has another title: *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 20 (1874). – Pages 766–767: “Gewöhnlich sagt man, die Itala sei im Vulgärlatein geschrieben, eine Behauptung, die bei Licht besehen nicht stich hält. Was heißt Vulgärlatein? Ich denke, das Latein des *vulgus*, die Gestalt desselben, die es im Laufe der Zeit im Munde der niederen Volksklassen, besonders des Bauern- und Handwerkerstades, angenommen hat. (...) Im Vulgärlatein ist also die Itala nicht abgefaßt, wohl aber hat sie viele Züge mit ihm gemeinsam.” Ott thinks that translators could not have relied on Vulgar Latin with its limited vocabulary to produce a work of literature.
1875. Hermann Rösch: *Itala und Vulgata*. Zweite Ausgabe. Marburg 1875 (xvi, 526 pp.), p. 12: “Die Sprache der Itala [= Vetus Latina] und sporadisch auch die der Vulgata ist der Hauptsache nach unverkennbar mit der römischen Volkssprache (*lingua vulgata, rustica, sermo cotidianus, plebeius, rusticus* etc.) identisch. Letztere war die alltägliche Sprache des Hauses und der Familie, des Marktes und der Strassen, der Werkstätten, des platten Landes, des Feldlagers.” Rösch offers two lists of ancient authors the modern researcher can use to document vulgar Latin: a list of pagan authors (pp. 15–16: Ammianus Merellinus, Apuleius, Gellius, Petronius, etc.) and one of Christian authors (pp. 16–17: Ambrose, Arnobius, Cyprian, Augustine, Tertullian, etc.).
1890. Fulcran Vigouroux: *Manuel biblique. Ancien Testament*. Septième édition. Tome Premier. Paris. xii, 704 pp. – Page 201: “Toutes les anciennes versions latines de la Bible sont écrites, non dans la langue Classique, *lingua urbana* ou *sermo nobilis*, mais dans la langue vulgaire, *lingua rustica*, telle qu'elle était parlée par le people, à Rome et dans les provinces. Elle avait été employée par Ennius et par Plaute.”
1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at pp. 542–548. Thielmann lists many features of late, vulgar, African Latin. “Ein Kennzeichen vulgärer Diktion ist breite, pleonastische Ausdrucksweise,” as in Sir 7:5 – *noli velle videri sapiens* (do not want to be seen as a sage) for Greek *mê sophízou* – do not play the sage (p. 542). But this is just one example. Thielmann seems to indicate that the latinity of Sirach may have more “vulgar” or “late Latin” features than the rest of the books in the Vulgate. ▲

Twentieth century

1902. Henry J. White: Vulgate. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Edinburgh. Volume 4 (xi, 994 pp.), pp. 873–890. – Page 884: “The Latinity of the Vulgate is (...) partly that of the Old Latin [translation of the Bible]; and, even where Jerome was translating anew, he probably modelled his style, perhaps unconsciously, on that of the older versions. The Latin of those versions was the Latin of ordinary popular conversation, the old *lingua rustica*, with all its archaic characteristics, spoken not simply by the lower classes, but generally, even in Rome and amongst the higher classes; different, of course, from the classical Latin of literature, but at the same time not simply confined to Africa in its popular use, as some writers seem to imagine. Nor, again, do we get this Latin in its natural form; anxiety to reproduce the original as accurately as possible has led to the introduction and preservation of numerous Graecisms and Hebraisms in the translation.”
1926. William Edward Plater – Henry Julian White: *A Grammar of the Vulgate. Being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of the Vulgate Bible*. Oxford. viii, 167 pp. – On pp. 41–42, the authors explain certain peculiarities of the Vulgate’s latinity. Without aiming at terminological precision, they refer to “Christian latinity” and the “popular element” of the language (p. 41). The elements listed include the preference for longer forms of words, the preference for direct speech, and the frequent use of the present participle. “In a word, we have the first stages of the process by which the synthetical forms of the old classical languages are broken up into the analytical forms of modern speech” (p. 42). The distinction between “synthetic” and “analytic” idioms was already mentioned in Hermann Röscher: *Itala und Vulgata*. Zweite Ausgabe. Marburg 1875 (xvi, 526 pp.), p. 482; it goes back to the linguistic theory of August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845).
1932. Wilhelm Süß: Das Problem der lateinischen Bibelsprache. *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1932) 1–39. – On this essay, see Bernard Botte in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5 (1480 cols.). Paris 1957, col. 347: “trop générale et superficielle.” Review: Alberto Vaccari SJ, *Biblica* 16.2 (1935) 224–226.
1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269, p. 257–258: “Kommt man nun von der Lektüre altlateinischer Bibeltex-te zur Editio Clementina (...), so hat es in der Tat den Anschein, als sei (...) eine Rückkehr zur klassischen Sprachform vollzogen worden. Die bereits vorliegenden vier Bände der neuen römischen Vulgata [see above, Chapter 13.3] haben uns allerdings bereits belehrt, daß der ‘Ciceronianismus’ der Vulgata zum guten Teil von Alkuin herrührt. Gewiß hat Hieronymus sich an vielen Stellen dem klassischen Latein genähert, aber doch andererseits mehr (wirkliche oder vermeintliche) ‘Vulgarismen’ beibehalten als der bisherige Text vermuten ließ.”
1941. Alban Dold: Neue Teile der ältesten Vulgata-Evangelienhandschrift aus dem 5. Jahrhundert. *Biblica* 22: 105–146. – Page 109: “Das hervorstechendste Charakteristikum der ältesten Latinität der Evangelien, wie es sich gerade auf dem Boden Afrikas zeigt, ist das des Volkslateins mit seinem vulgären Wortschatz. Notwendigerweise musste, sobald sich in den gebildeteren Kreisen der allmählich wieder mehr lateinisch sprechenden Kirche Roms wissenschaftliche Tendenzen regten, der Versuch einer Textrevision dieser frühen, vielfach unbeholfenen, in der Vulgärsprache durchgeführten Übersetzung [i.e., the Vetus Latina] folgen.”
1961. L.R. [Leonard Robert] Palmer: *The Latin Language*. Third impression with corrections. London. ix, 372 pp. – Originally published in 1954 and often reprinted, this is a standard text on the early, pre-medieval history of the Latin language. “The vulgar stamp of biblical Latin (...) reflects the speech habits of the early Latin-speaking converts to whom the gospel was preached” (p. 188). The features of biblical vulgar Latin pointed out by Palmer include the preference for verbs that

begin with a preposition (*con-*, *per-*, etc.), for long words, and the avoidance of monosyllabic ones. "In the Latin Bible *esto* is used for *es* [be!, 2 Sam 10:12, and often], and *vade* does duty for *i* [go!], whereas in the plural *ite* appears and never *vadite*" (p. 169). For the description of biblical vulgar Latin, Palmer relies on Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 57–64 (which actually comments on the latinity of the *Vetus Latina*).

1965. J.B. Hofmann – Anton Szantyr: *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Munich (xcviii, 935, 89*), p. 44*: "die] alten Bibel-Übersetzer, deren Texte (die sog. 'Itala,' jetzt meist durch die Sammelbezeichnung 'Vetus Latina' ersetzt) ein verwildertes Latein bieten, wie es den Kündern des Evangeliums der kleinen Leute der unteren Schichten entspricht; ihren Einfluß auf die Folgezeit beschnitt endgültig erst die stilistische Überarbeitung des Hieronymus in der Vulgata."
1967. Joseph Herman: *Le latin vulgaire*. Que sais-je? 1247. Paris. 125 pp. – English translation (revised by the author, and with a new bibliography): József Herman: *Vulgar Latin*. Translated by Roger Wright. University Park 2000. xiv, 130 pp. – The author uses the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate as standard sources for the Latin of late antiquity. The Latin of the pre-Jeromian Bible is "un latin d'allure populaire, imprégné de vulgarismes" (p. 31), as can be seen from Genesis 3:8 Adam and Eva are said to hide themselves *abante faciem domini* (from the face of the Lord; *abante* = *ab* + *ante*, which later became French *avant*); Jerome avoided the expression and wrote *a facie Domini Dei* (pp. 31–32). A similar avoidance can be seen in Gen 37:32, where the *Vetus Latina* has *cognosci si tunica filii tui es taut non* (*si* reflecting Greek *ei*); Jerome prefers an *utrum*-*an* construction (*vide utrum tunica filii tui sit an non*; p. 96). An example of a vulgar-Latin preference can be seen in the rare use of *edere* (to eat) in the Vulgate; *comedere* and *manducare* – the vulgar equivalents – take over (pp. 102–103). ▲
1994. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín Cristiano*. Madrid 588 pp. – The author discerns three vital influences that shape biblical Latin: Semitic influences (pp. 170–268), Greek influences (pp. 269–287), and vulgar Latin influences (*la lengua popular*, pp. 289–316). As can be seen from the page ranges, the Semitic influence is dominant. ▲
1995. Otto Hiltbrunner: *Kleines Lexikon der Antike*. Sechste, völlig neubearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Tübingen. xvi, 654 pp. – This small-size, one-volume dictionary of Greco-Roman antiquity includes an entry on "Vulgärlatein" (pp. 631–632). "In der christlichen Literatur mit vulgärer Färbung spielt oft nicht so sehr das Unvermögen der Verfasser mit als vielmehr der Wunsch, zu einer Gemeinde von Leuten niederer Schichten in einer ihr nahen Sprache zu reden. (...) Vulgäre Formen, Wörter und Satzkonstruktionen finden sich besonders in den Bibel-Übersetzungen der *Vetus Latina*" (pp. 631–632).
1999. Jesús de la Villa: Algunas construcciones gramaticales y no gramaticales en latín tardío: el testimonio de la Vulgata. In: Hubert Petersmann – Rudolf Kettmann (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif V*. Heidelberg (xviii, 567 pp.), pp. 287–298.
2000. Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Text and Language*. Oxford. xi, 232 pp. – The author attributes the *Vetus Latina* of the Gospels to "native speakers of Latin with at least a moderate degree of education. It follows that their work must not be treated uncritically as a repository of vulgarisms" (p. 171). "The Old Latin Gospels are not the most heavily vulgarized of Latin texts" (p. 191).

Twenty-first century

2009. Helmut Lüdtke: *Der Ursprung der romanischen Sprachen. Eine Geschichte der sprachlichen Kommunikation*. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Kiel (xxii, 926 pp.), pp. 93–102.

2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 311–315: “Das Latein der Vulgata.”
2023. Gerd Haverling: Tempus, Aktionsart und Aspekt in der Vulgata und in den Vetus Latina-Übersetzungen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 221–257. – A study of “late Latin” features of the Vulgate’s latinity.
2023. Jesús de la Villa Pollo: Die Vulgata als Erkenntnisquelle des späteren Lateins: Die Beziehungen zwischen Dativ und *ad* + Akk. als Markierung des Benefizienten. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 157–177.

Introductions to vulgar/late Latin

1866. Hugo Schuchardt: *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*. Band 1. Leipzig. xii, 476 pp. – Page 58: “Die Hauptursache des Umsichgreifens der Rustizität liegt on der Verbreitung des Christentums. Das-selbe schlug in den untersten Ständen am frühesten und am festesten Wurzeln (...) Die, welche den Glauben predigten, bedienten sich eines ungeschminkten, volksthümlichen Vortrags (...)”
1873. Oskar Rebling: *Versuch einer Charakteristik der römischen Umgangssprache*. Kiel. 27 pp.
1899. Frédéric George Mohl: *Introduction à la chronologie du latin vulgaire. Étude de philologie historique*. Paris. xii, 339 pp.
1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 354–365.
1949. Carlo Battisti: *Avviamento allo studio del latino volgare*. Bari. iv, 348 pp.
1957. Serafim da Silva Neto: *História do latim vulgar*. Rio de Janeiro. 230 pp.
1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo. 215 pp.
1961. L.R. [Leonard Robert] Palmer: *The Latin Language*. Third impression with corrections. London. ix, 372 pp. – Pages 148–180: Vulgar Latin.
2000. József Herman: *Vulgar Latin*. Translated by Roger Wright. University Park. xiv, 130 pp. – The French version was originally published in 1967; the present translation is based on a revised edition of 1997, prepared by József Herman who also prefaced the English translation. There is also a Spanish edition: *El latín vulgar*. Translated from the French and updated by the author. Barcelona. 1997. 166 pp. The Hungarian author’s small book is said to be the best survey of its subject. – Review: Daniel Williman, *Speculum* 78 (2003) 200–201. ▲
2002. Peter Stotz: Das sogenannte Vulgärlatein. In: idem: *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Erster Band. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Munich (xxxi, 723 pp.), pp. 62–76.
2006. Reinhard Kiesler: *Einführung in die Problematik des Vulgärlateins*. Tübingen. xi, 136 pp. – A new edition, revised and enlarged by Volker Noll, was published in 2018 (xvi, 168 pp.).
2010. Arnulf Stefenelli: Vulgar Latin. In: *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Volume 15. Leiden (lviii pp., 1050 cols.), cols. 531–534.
2011. J.N. Adams: Late Latin. In: James Clackson (ed.): *A Companion to the Latin Language*. Chichester (xxvi, 634 pp.), pp. 257–283. – Page 265: “If one wishes to label these phenomena as ‘Vulgar Latin,’ for want of a better word, there is no harm in that, as long as one accepts the limitations of the term. We know little about the details of spoken Latin. The term becomes problematic if it is

given a purely social definition in keeping with its etymology.” Adams prefers to speak of ‘Late Latin’ as the prelude to the Romance languages.

2018. Josef Eskhult: Vulgar Latin as an Emergent Concept in the Italian Renaissance (1435–1601). *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 17: 191–230.
2021. Kees Versteegh: *The Ghost of Vulgar Latin. History of a Misnomer*. *Historiographia linguistica* 48.2–3: 205–227 (online journal). – Scholars should not construct a language placed between Latin and the Romance languages. Romance languages developed from Latin, and not from a scholarly construct.

Grammars and surveys of vulgar/late Latin

1907. Charles H. Grandgent: *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*. Cambridge. xviii, 219 pp. “Intended primarily for students of Romance philology, it will, I hope, be of some interest to Classical scholars as well” (p. iii). Reprinted in 1934 and 1962.
1922. Henry P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. Cambridge. xiii, 162 pp. – A reference work, not a student textbook. Considered particularly useful is its 2nd, corrected edition 1927 (xv, 162 pp.) and subsequent reprints.
- 1930/31. Ernst Kiekers: *Historische lateinische Grammatik. Mit Berücksichtigung des Vulgärlateins und der romanischen Sprachen*. Munich. Band 1: Lautlehre. xxiii, 167 pp; Band 2: Formenlehre. xi, 334 pp. – Several reprints.
1959. Theodoro Henrique Maurer: *Gramática do latim vulgar*. Rio de Janeiro. 298 pp.
1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo. vii, 210 pp. – Ten chapters: Preliminary remarks – Late Latin/Vulgar Latin/Romance – local variation in Latin – medieval Latin – the Christian influence – the influence of Greek – changes in the nominal system – changes in the meaning of words – some prepositions and particles – taboo, euphemism, and primitive conceptions of language.
1963. Veikko Väänänen: *Introduction au latin vulgaire*. Paris. xvii, 229 pp. – The second, revised and expanded edition (1967. xviii, 274 pp.) and the third edition (1981. xxi, 273 pp.) as well as subsequent reprints include an annotated anthology of texts (with John 2:13–25 *Vetus Latina* as an example; pp. 185–186 of the 1981 edition). The book is recommended by Joseph Herman: *Le latin vulgaire*. Paris 1967 (125 pp.), p. 127. There is also a Spanish translation: *Introducción al latín vulgar*. 3rd edition, revised and corrected. Madrid 1988. 449 pp.
1966. R.A. Haadsma – Jan C. Nuchelmans: *Précis de latin vulgaire. Suivi d'une anthologie annotée*. 2^e édition, revue et annotée. Groningen. 135 pp.

Anthologies of vulgar/late Latin texts

1932. Henry F. Muller – Pauline Taylor: *A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin*. Boston. xvii, 315 pp. – The anthology includes gospel texts from the *Vetus Latina* (pp. 96–102) and a few Old Testament passages from the Vulgate (pp. 111–114: Num 23:1–8; Isa 20:1–6; 1 Macc 6:33–46).
1947. Karl Goetzke: *Tabellen und Übungen zum Vulgärlatein*. Genehmigter Neudruck. Leverkusen. 57 pp. – “Vulgärlatein als Grundlage der romanischen Sprachen” (p. 48).
1950. Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz: *Antología del latín vulgar*. Madrid. 268 pp. – The revised and augmented edition of 1962 (239 pp.) was frequently reprinted.

1950. Vittorio Pisani: *Testi latini arcaici e volgari, con commento glottologico*. Turin. xv, 196 pp. – The edition now in general use is the 3rd, enhanced edition of 1975, xv, 198 pp.
1966. R.A. Haadsma – Jan C. Nuchelmans: *Précis de latin vulgaire. Suivi d'une anthologie annotée*. 2e édition, revue et annotée. Groningen. 135 pp. – The first edition was published in 1963. The anthology includes the Vetus Latina and Vulgate versions of Luke 19:1–27.
1967. Veikko Väänänen: *Introduction au latin vulgaire*. Second, revised and expanded edition. xviii, 274 pp. Originally published in 1963, the 1967 and later editions include an annotated anthology of texts. The 1981 edition includes the Vetus Latina text of John 2:13–25 (pp. 185–186).
1969. Gerhard Rohlfs: *Sermo vulgaris latinus. Vulgärlateinisches Lesebuch*. Dritte, verbessere und erweiterte Auflage. Tübingen. xiii, 90 pp. – The first edition (Halle 1951. xii, 88 pp.) included three New Testament texts in the Vetus Latina and Vulgate versions (Luke 19:1–27; Matt 13:1–9, 24–30; Acts 3:1–10), but the third edition has only the Matthew text (pp. 13–16).
2007. Johannes Kramer (ed.): *Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften*. Berlin. iv, 182 pp.
2016. J.N. Adams (ed.): *An Anthology of Informal Latin 200 BC – AD 900*. Cambridge 2016. xi, 719 pp. – Pages 429–444: John 6:51–69 in two versions – Vetus Latina and Vulgate.

Congress proceedings “Latin vulgaire – latin tardif”

Note. – The “Comité international pour l’étude du latin tardif” organizes regular international conferences. The first conference was held in Pécs (1985), for subsequent conferences, scholars met in Bologna 1988, Innsbruck 1991, Caen 1994, Heidelberg 1997, Helsinki 2000, Sevilla 2003, Oxford 2006, Lyon 2009, Bergamo 2012, Oviedo 2014, Uppsala 2016, Budapest 2018, Ghent 2022. Some of the proceedings volumes listed below include contributions to the study of biblical Latin.

1987. József Herman (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif. Actes du 1^{er} Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif*. Tübingen. viii, 262 pp. – Congress held in Pecs, 1985.
1990. Gualtiero Calboli (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif*. II. Tübingen. xii, 286 pp. – Congress held in Bologna, 1988.
1992. M. Iliescu – W. Marxgut (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif*. III. Tübingen. x, 368 pp. – Congress held in Innsbruck, 1991.
1995. Louis Callebat (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif*. IV. Hildesheim. 723 pp. – Congress held in Caen, 1994.
1999. Hubert Petersmann – Rudolf Kettemann (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. V. Heidelberg. xviii, 567 pp. – Congress held in Heidelberg, 1997.
2003. Heikki Solin (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif*. VI. Hildesheim. xvi, 594 pp. – Congress held in Helsinki 2000.
2006. Carmen Arias Abellán (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif*. VII. Sevilla. 572 pp. – Congress held in Sevilla, 2003.
2008. Roger Wright (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif*. VIII. Hildesheim. xiii, 623 pp. – Congress held in Oxford, 2006.

2012. Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgair – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon. 1085 pp. – Congress held in Lyon, 2009.
2014. Piera Molinelli et al. (ed.): *Latin vulgair –, latin tardif*. X. Bergamo. 3 vols. xx, 1–394 pp.; x, pp. 397–763; xi, pp. 765–1137. – Congress held in Bergamo, 2012.
2017. Alfonso García Leal et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgair –, latin tardif*. XI. Hildesheim. 787 pp. – Congress held in Oviedo, 2014.
2019. Béla Adamik (ed.): *Latin vulgair – latin tardif*. XIII. Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 59. Budapest. 665 pp. – Congress held in Budapest, 2018.

8.9 Christian Latin

Note. – In the twentieth century, the expression “Christian Latin” is associated with an ongoing controversy. Those who speak of “Christian Latin” highlight the presence of new vocabulary in authors such as Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, and Jerome; those who contradict downplay the difference between Christian and non-Christian Latin, pointing out that there is not much of a linguistic difference between pagan and Christian authors. Christians changed the discourse and invented new words, but did not change the structure of the language. While in this section, a generally favourable stance toward the notion of Christian Latin is presupposed, critical views are listed.

The idea of a particular Christian Latin idiom, a sort of sociolect, first suggested by the Dutch linguist and Catholic priest Josef Schrijnen (1869–1938), was mainly promoted by Schrijnen’s student, the Dutch philologist Christine Mohrmann (1903–1988) who also taught at the University of Nijmegen. While the Nijmegen hypothesis in its strong form never gained much following, it inspired many to contribute to the study of the Latin of the patristic period. We list some of the major contributions and critiques.

Christian Latin: major contributions – recent assessments

Jerome’s Latin

Christian Latin: major contributions – recent assessments

English

1951. Christine Mohrmann: How Latin Came to Be the Language of Early Christendom. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 40, no. 159: 277–288.
1958. Mark Dilworth OSB: The Syntax of Christian Latin. *Clergy Review* 43.8: 462–474.
1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 68–87: Christian Latin is a reality, though Schrijnen’s claims are occasionally exaggerated.
1966. Mark Dilworth OSB: The Vocabulary of Christian Latin. *Clergy Review* 51: 349–369, 429–447.

1987. Robert G. Coleman: Vulgar Latin and the Diversity of Christian Latin. In: József Herman (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif. Actes du 1^{er} Colloque International sur le Latin Vulgaire et Tardif*. Tübingen (viii, 262 pp.), pp. 37–52. – Suggests speaking of “Bible Latin,” not Christian Latin. The notion of a Christian Latin is a mere modern fiction.
1996. Daniel J. Sheerin: Christian and Biblical Latin. In: Frank A.C. Mantello – A.G. Rigg (eds.): *Medieval Latin. An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*. Washington, D.C. (xiv, 774 pp.), pp. 137–156. – The book was reprinted in 1999, with minor corrections. – Pages 141–142.151–152: the debate on Christian Latin, with bibliographical references. Page 141: “Though many have rejected the ‘Christian Latin’ of the Nijmegen school in whole or in part, the theory, with various nuances, nevertheless continues to exercise influence.” Page 150: “Christian Latin is no illusion.”
2008. Philip Burton: On Revisiting the Christian Latin Sondersprache Hypothesis. In: Hugh A.G. Houghton – David C. Parker et al. (eds.): *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies?* Piscataway, N.J. (xvi, 193 pp.), pp. 149–171. – Page 171: “I would suggest that earlier emphasis on radically new departures – the coinage of new words, and the creation of new senses of existing words – may have led us to overlook the specialization and the increasing frequency with which some terms are used within Christian Latin. There is very much still to be explored here.”
2011. Philip Burton: Christian Latin. In: James Clackson (eds.): *A Companion to the Latin Language*. Chichester (xxvi, 634 pp.), pp. 485–501. – This article seeks to rehabilitate the notion of Christian Latin or, more properly, the Latin of Christians.
2015. Christa Gray: *Jerome, Vita Malchi. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford (xviii, 365 pp.), p. 54: “The assumption that Latin-speaking Christians used an idiom which differed significantly in lexicon, syntax, and morphology from surrounding secular varieties is now largely discarded by scholars.”

German

1932. Josef Schrijnen: *Charakteristik des altchristlichen Latein*. Nijmegen. 56 pp. – Schrijnen’s German text is reprinted as the appendix to Christine Mohrmann: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome 4. Rome 1977 (444 pp.), pp. 367–404. There is an Italian translation, with a contribution by Christine Mohrmann: *I caratteri del Latino cristiano antico*. Bologna 1977. 135 pp. – This small book is the first statement of the theory of the Christian special language (Sondersprache) which the author also called “Kirchenlatein” (p. 26). According to Schrijnen, it was not Tertullian who created Christian Latin (as often supposed, for instance by Eduard Norden); instead, the anonymous Christians who created the Vetus Latina.
1932. Christine Mohrmann: *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin*. Teil 1. Nijmegen. 270 pp. – This is one of the essential Sondersprache studies. Much of the book comments, in alphabetical order, on Augustine’s vocabulary; pp. 74–164 list Christianisms (from *agape* to *tentatrix*), and pp. 164–211 list indirect Christianisms (from *abyssus* to *vivificare*).
1933. Einar Löfstedt: Zur Entstehung der christlichen Latinität. In: idem: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 458–473.
1939. Christine Mohrmann: Altchristliches Latein. Entstehung und Entwicklung der Theorie der altchristlichen Sondersprache. *Aevum* 13: 339–354 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. 2^e édition. Rome 1961 (xxiv, 468 pp.), pp. 3–19.
1951. Walter Dürig: Die Erforschung der lateinisch-christlichen Sakralsprache. *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 1: 32–47.

2001. Roman Müller: *Sprachbewußtsein und Sprachvariation im lateinischen Schrifttum der Antike*. Munich. 357 pp. – Pages 64–78: Das “rustike” Latein der Christen; pp. 111–115: Die augustinische Wende: *Sermo humilis* im Latein der Christen.
2009. Helmut Lüdtke: *Der Ursprung der romanischen Sprachen. Eine Geschichte der sprachlichen Kommunikation*. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Kiel (xxii, 926 pp.), pp. 92–93, 102–107.
2019. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann: Latinitas. Überlegungen zur sprachlichen Korrektheit zwischen Spätantike und Karolingerzeit. In: Uta Heil (ed.): *Das Christentum im frühen Europa*. Berlin (ix, 508 pp.), pp. 67–90. – Page 85: “Vor allem die Auseinandersetzung mit der Bibelsprache brachte eine Dynamisierung in der Sprachnorm: Stilistische Überempfindlichkeiten wurden vermehrt in Frage gestellt und Verstöße gegen die grammatikalischen Regeln dann erlaubt, wenn ein besonderer Effekt erzielt werden sollte.”

French

1933. Antoine Meillet: *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*. Paris. xiv, 292 pp. – Page 280: “le latin écrit était la langue du christianisme en Occident. Le grammairien qui regarde les choses de près n'a pas de peine à déceler chez saint Augustin des usages et des tours qui auraient choqué Cicéron. (...) Mais les formes qu'emploie saint Augustin sont en général celles de la langue classique. Cicéron n'aurait pas tout approuvé; mais ce n'est pas la forme extérieure qui l'aurait empêché de comprendre. Entre la langue la plus classique et celle de la Vulgate ou des Pères de l'Église, il n'y a que des différences de détail.” ▲
- 1939.1944. Joseph de Ghellinck SJ: Latin chrétien ou langue latine des chrétiens. *Les études classiques* 8 (1939) 449–478; 12 (1944) 286–296 – Report on recent publications on the subject.
1939. Joseph de Ghellinck SJ: Latin chrétien ou langue latine de premiers chrétiens. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 66: 821–823.
1948. Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain. iii, 412 pp. – This Sorbonne thesis (submitted in 1940) is one of the major vocabulary studies made in the spirit of Christine Mohrmann. Studied are words such as *caritas, dilectio, diligere, amare amor, frater, proximus, concordia, pax, unitas, misericordia*. These words were in general use in Latin, but used in the New Testament and by the church fathers, they were given new meanings. “Les chrétiens continuent à employer les mots de tout le monde, mais il leur donnent un sens nouveau” (p. 350). – Review: G. de Plinval, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 44 (1949) 592–595. ▲
1952. Christine Mohrmann: L'étude de la latinité chrétienne: état de la question, méthodes, résultats. In: eadem: *Latin vulgaire, latin des chrétiens*. Paris (35 pp.), pp. 17–35.
1954. Albert Blaise: *Dictionnaire latin–français des auteurs chrétiens*. Turnhout: Éditions Brepols. 900 pp., folio size. – Several times reprinted (2nd edition 1967, with appended *addenda et corrigenda*). ▲
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg. 221 pp. – English translation: *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*. Translated by Grant C. Roti. Washington, D.C. 1994. xvii, 157 pp. – The most detailed systematic account of what constitutes Christian Latin in late antiquity. ▲
- 1958–1977. Christine Mohrmann: *Études sur le Latin des chrétiens*. Rome. 4 vols. xxii, 468 pp.; 400 pp.; 458 pp.; 444 pp.– There is a second, 1961 edition of volume 1.
1991. Gerard J.M. Bartelink: L'œuvre scientifique de Christine Mohrmann (L'École de Nimègue). *Sacris erudiri* 32: 23–37.

1992. René Braun: Bible et latin des chrétiens. In: idem: *Approches de Tertullien*. Paris (vi, 345 pp.), pp. 253–266. – There was no change in the linguistic system, but Christianity prompted “un rajeunissement du vocabulaire, une coloration nouvelle dans l’emploi des mots, une prolifération d’expressions spécifiques” (p. 266). For an earlier version of this article, see: L’influence de la Bible sur la langue latine; in: Jacques Fontaine – Charles Pietri (eds.): *Le monde antique et la Bible*. La Bible de tous les temps 2. Paris 1985 (672 pp.), pp. 129–142.
1996. Jean-Claude Fredouille: “Latin chrétien” ou “latin tardif”? *Recherches augustiniennes* 29: 5–23. – Fredouille leans toward speaking about late Latin; nevertheless, he reports about his project of producing a revised and updated version of Blaise’s *Manuel du latin chrétien* (1955). Fredouille (1934–2012) seems to have abandoned the project.
1997. Simone Deléani: Le latin des Pères, un domaine encore mal exploré. In: *Les Pères de l’Église au XX^e siècle. Histoire – littérature – théologie*. Paris (575 pp.), pp. 251–264. ▲
2006. Eugeen Roegiest: *Vers les sources des langues romanes. Un itinéraire linguistique à travers la Romania*. Leuven. 265 pp. – Pages 48–61: Le latin parlé dit vulgaire. “À partir de 200, on parle le latin tardif, jusqu’aux premières textes romans. Ce sont surtout les auteurs chrétiens, comme les Africains” Tertullien et Augustin (p. 48). “Le latin chrétien est dans une certaine mesure du latin parlé, surtout des classes inférieurs” (p. 61).

Italian – Spanish

1978. Vincenzo Loi: Origini e caratteristiche della latinità cristiana. Rome. 58 pp. – Review: Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The Classical Review* 31 (1981) 230–233.
1987. Olegario Garcío de la Fuente: El latín bíblico y el latín Cristiano en el marco del latín tardío. *Analecta malacitana* 10: 3–64.
1994. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín Cristiano*. Madrid. 588 pp. – On Christian Latin, see the author’s general introduction (pp. 27–81) in which he lists the characteristics of Christian Latin; according to the author, Christian Latin in antiquity reached its most perfect form in the works of Augustine and Jerome, and Christian Latin, as it continued into the Middle Ages, rested on the language of Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine, rather than on the Language of Cicero, Caesar, or Vergil (p. 432).
1996. Olegario García de la Fuente: Latín bíblico y latín cristiano: coincidencias y discrepancias. *Recherches augustiniennes* 29: 25–41.

Jerome’s Latin

1879. Gustav Koffmane: *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins bis auf Augustinus–Hieronymus*. Breslau. iv, 92 pp.
1880. Karl Heinrich von Paucker: *De latinitate B. Hieronymi. Observationes ad nominum verborumque usum pertinentes*. Editio adiecto indice auctior. Berlin. iv, 189 pp.
1884. Henri Goelzer: *Étude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité de saint Jérôme*. Paris. xii, 472 pp. – The author considers only the corpus of Jerome’s work, but not his biblical translations. The book is said to be outdated, see the critical note of Bengt Löfstedt above, Chapter 2.3 (Jerome studies).
1905. Johann Philipp Krebs – Joseph Hermann Schmalz: *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. Siebente Auflage. Erster Band. Basel 1905. viii, 811 pp. – “Freilich muss vom hl. Hieronymus zugegeben

- warden, dass er sich von den Auswüchsen des pathetischen Stils nicht überall freigehalten hat, aber ebenso sicher ist, dass er ein immerhin relative gutes und selbst fließendes, die genaueste Bekanntschaft mit den Schätzen der klassischen Zeit vielfach bekundendes Latein schreibt“ (p. 11, Schmalz). The *Antibarbarus* holds Jerome’s Latin in high esteem. An example: the adjective *coaequalis* is deemed to be entirely superfluous and must not be used; but since Jerome uses it, it cannot be said to be a barbarism (also kann es nicht geradezu als barbarisch bezeichnet werden, p. 290).
1908. Henri Goelzer: Histoire du Latin du III^e au VII^e siècle: le latin de l’Église. *Revue internationale de l’enseignement* 55: 97–129. – A historical sketch and survey of scholarly literature about the Latin of the church fathers.
1927. Friedrich Stummer: Die neue römische Ausgabe der Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150, at p. 150. In this review of Jerome’s translation of the book of Genesis from the Hebrew, Stummer refers to Jerome’s hesitation between spoken Latin and the classical Latin that he had studied.
1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269, p. 257–258: “Kommt man nun von der Lektüre altlateinischer Bibeltex-te zur Editio Clementina (...), so hat es in der Tat den Anschein, als sei (...) eine Rückkehr zur klassischen Sprachform vollzogen worden. Die bereits vorliegenden vier Bände der neuen römischen Vulgata [see above, Chapter 13.3] haben uns allerdings bereits belehrt, daß der ‘Ciceronianismus’ der Vulgata zum guten Teil von Alkuin herrührt.”
1961. L.R. [Leonard Robert] Palmer: *The Latin Language*. Third impression with corrections. London. ix, 372 pp. – Page 201: “In Jerome and Augustine, the language of Latin Christianity reached its fullest flowering.”
1961. Giuseppe del Ton: De latino scribendi genere sancti Hieronymi. *Latinitas* 9: 167–174.
1999. Jolanta Gelumbeckaite: St. Jerome: Christian or Ciceronian Latin? Evidence from the Syntax of His Writings. In: Hubert Petersmann et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. V. Heidelberg (xviii, 567 pp.), pp. 375–380.
2002. Julijana Visočnik: Latinski klasiki v Hieronimovih pismih. *Keria: Studia Latina et Graeca* 4.2: 147–155. – Jerome’s Latin is Ciceronian. The title of this Slovenian paper is: Latin Classics in Jerome’s Letters.
2015. Christa Gray: *Jerome, Vita Malchi. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford. xviii, 365 pp. – The introduction includes a section on Jerome’s style and language – literary Latin, colloquial Latin, Later Latin, and Christian Latin (pp. 42–55).
2021. Miran Sajovic SDB: Preliminary Remarks on the Latin of Jerome. *Clotho* 3.2: 93–112. – An introduction to Jerome as a writer, with emphasis on his style. Mention is made of the use of imagery and diminutives, his attention to detail, and his love of lapidary sentences.
2023. Kevin Zilverberg: Von der Vetus Latina zu den Übersetzungen des Hieronymus. Kontinuität und Wandel im Sprachlichen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 87–108. – Comparing Vetus Latina texts with Jerome’s revisions and translations one gets a sense of Jerome’s preference for classical Latin forms and style. The texts considered include Matt 5:23–24 and Judg 6:1–3.

Chapter 9

Vetus Latina

Note. – The Old Latin – or Vetus Latina – translations of the Bible are not the subject of this book. But since some of the Old Latin texts entered the Vulgate without Jerome’s editing (the book of Jesus Sirach, the book of Wisdom [Sapientia Salomonis], the book of Baruch, and the two books of Maccabees) or form the more or less edited basis of the Vulgate text (as is the case with all the New Testament writings), the study of the Vulgate text often involves a consideration of the Vetus Latina. For this reason, a concise bibliography on the Vetus Latina is offered in the present chapter. See also above, the section on Vetus Latina manuscripts (7.1), and the examples of pre-Vulgate translations of portions of the book of Lamentations in the textual notes, below, [Chapter 21](#).

The Latin text of the Lord’s Prayer used in the Catholic liturgy today is not from the Vulgate, but from the Vetus Latina (see below, [Chapter 22](#) on Matthew 6).

The term “Vetus Latina” is used today in a multiple sense: (1) as a summary designation for all Latin biblical texts older than the Vulgate, (2) as a designation for a text older than a corresponding text of the Vulgate, (3) as a designation specifically of the Vetus-Latina text edition of the Beuron “Vetus Latina Institut,” housed in the Benedictine monastery at Beuron in southern Germany (see below, [Chapter 9.7](#)).

- 9.1 What is the Vetus Latina and why has it disappeared?
- 9.2 Surveys and introductions – Vetus-Latina philology
- 9.3 One Vetus-Latina Bible or many Latin translations?
- 9.4 African origins of the Latin Bible?
- 9.5 Jewish origins of the Latin Bible?
- 9.6 Augustine’s Itala
- 9.7 Editions of the Vetus-Latina Bible
- 9.8 The Fortunatianus commentary on the Gospels (2017)
- 9.9 Jerome and the Vetus Latina

9.1 What is the *Vetus Latina* and why has it disappeared?

Ancient sources

180. *Passio sanctorum Scillitanorum*. In the Latin Acts of the Christian martyrs is a transcript of the trial of six Christians in Carthage, North Africa. Here is an excerpt: "The proconsul Saturninus said: What have you in your case? Speratus said: The books, and the letters of a just man, one Paul." J. Stevensen – W.H.C Frend (eds.): *A New Eusebius. Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337*. London 1987 (xii, 404 pp.), p. 45. – Did Speratus, a book-owning intellectual, carry with him a case of Greek scriptures? Was he an interpreter who translated Greek scriptural texts during the liturgy? Or were these Latin scriptures, already translated? According to Bogaert, these Christian books "were probably in Latin and consisted of codices and not of rolls" – the earliest reference to the *Vetus-Latina* translation. "Es ist dies, soweit wir Wissen, die erste Erwähnung einer lateinischen Bibel, genauer wohl, eines zweigeteilten neutestamentlichen Kanons aus Büchern (= Evangelien?) und Paulusbriefen" (Ritter, p. 50). – Literature:
2007. Adolf Martin Ritter: *Alte Kirche*. Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen. Band 1. 9. Auflage. Neukirchen-Vluyn (xx, 277 pp.), p. 50.
2013. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: The Latin Bible. In: Richard Marsden et al. (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526, at p. 505.
- c. 370s. Ambrosiaster: *Commentary on Romans*, on Rom 5:14 (PL 17: 96): "It is known that there were Latin-speakers who translated ancient Greek manuscripts which preserved an uncorrupted version from earlier times. But once these problems were raised by heretics and schismatics who were upsetting the harmony of the church, many things were altered so that the text might conform to what people wanted. Thus, even the Greeks have different readings in their manuscripts. I consider the correct reading to be the one which reason, history and authority all retain. For the reading of the modern Latin manuscripts is also found in Tertullian, Victorinus and Cyprian (*nam hodie quae in Latinis reprehenduntur codicibus, sic inveniuntur a veteribus posita – Tertulliano et Victorino et Cypriano*)." Ambrosiaster: *Commentaries on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians*. Translated by Gerald L. Bray. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2009 (xiii, 270 pp.), p. 43.
- c. 396/97. Augustine: *De doctrina christiana* II, 36; CSEL 8: 43 (= 11,16; PL 34: 43): *ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus uenit codex graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere uidebatur, ausus est interpretari*. "For, in the first days of the faith, whenever a Greek manuscript came into the possession of someone who believed himself to have a modicum of ability in both languages, he hazarded his own translation." Augustine is very dismissive of the early Latin translations, and does not seem to do justice to the early translators. The translation is from Houghton, p. 11.
- c. 404. Jerome: *Praefatio in libro Iosue 1: apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria quot codices, et unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit vel subtraxerit quod ei visum est* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 314). "Among the Latins there are as many versions (*exemplaria*) as there are books, and everyone has, according to his own judgment, either added or subtracted whatever seemed right to him, and he indeed may not have been able to be certain what differed." – German: "Bei den Lateinern gibt es ebensoviele Textfassungen (*exemplaria*) wie Handschriften, und jeder hat nach eigenem Gutdünken etwas hinzugefügt oder weggelassen." – With these words Jerome complains about the multitude of Latin Bible texts that differ from each other. With his translation, he wants to put an end to this multitude by creating a new, textually reliable rendering. In modern language: He replaces the confusion of the *Vetus Latina* with a new text, which later becomes the so-called Vulgate.

Analysis of the ancient sources

1879. Leo Ziegler: *Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustinus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hl. Schrift.* Munich. 135 pp. – On pp. 4–18, the author quotes and discusses all patristic references to pre-Jeromian biblical translations.

Some modern statements

1900. H.A.A. Kennedy: Latin Versions, The Old. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible.* Volume 3. Edinburgh (xv, 896 pp), pp. 47–62. – Page 47: “The name Old Latin is used here to denote the Latin version or versions which existed previous to, or independent of, the great revision made by Jerome at the close of the 4th century. The designation is derived from the Latin Fathers themselves, who speak of ‘*uetus editio*,’ ‘*antiqua interpretatio*,’ ‘*uetus translatio*,’ and the like.” A note approves of the following definition: “Old-Latin texts mean all early Latin versions of the Bible which are not Hieronymian, of whatever date the manuscripts may be which contain them, or on whatever country they were current.”
1912. Eugène Manguet: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible.* Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – Col. 2463: “Ce qui fait la supériorité de la version de saint Jérôme sur les autres traductions anciennes de la Bible, c’est qu’elle est une œuvre scientifique, le travail d’un lettré, tandis que les précédentes avaient plutôt les caractères d’œuvres d’utilité pratique.”
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel.* Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Page 56: The designation *Vetus Latina* “will durchaus nicht alle Bibeltex-te vor Hieronymus als aus einer einzigen Übersetzung stammend bezeichnen, sondern sie nur unter einer gemeinsamen Bezeichnung zusammenfassen.”
1994. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: “*Caelorum ratio, ratio sub sole*”. L’emploi de *ratio* chez les traducteurs latins de la Bible, in: M. Fattori – M.L. Bianchi (eds.): *Ratio.* Florence (vi, 574 pp.), pp. 69–83. – Page 69: “Avant 200 (Tertullian) au moins en partie, et en totalité avant 250, la Bible grecque (Septante et Nouveau Testament) est traduite en latin, presque certainement en Afrique. Cette version sera révisée périodiquement sur des textes grecs devenu dominants, et son vocabulaire sera insensiblement rajeuni et ‘européanisé’ jusqu’au V^e et VI^e siècle. C’est la Bible des Pères latins, la *vetus Latina*, reflet de la Bible grecque. Le texte n’en est pas fixé.”
2018. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Entre canon(s) et textes bibliques. *Recherches de science religieuse* 106: 53–71. – Page 65: “Si la traduction de Jérôme selon l’hébreu a revalu sur la *Vetus Latina*, en dépit des préventions par Rufin et par Augustin, c’est en raison de son style. La vieille latine, juxtaposée au grec, faisait pale figure à côté du génie latin de Jérôme.”

9.2 Surveys and introductions – *Vetus-Latina* philology

English

1883. John Wordsworth: *The Gospel according to St. Matthew from the St. Germain Ms. (g1), now numbered Lat. 11533.* Oxford. xliii, 79 pp. – Apart from the edition of a “old Latin” manuscript of the gospel of Matthew, the editor also offers an introduction to the Old Latin Bible. Page xxx:

The term "Old Latin" is said to be "now in the process of general adoption" to refer to "all early Latin versions of the Bible which are not Hieronymian, of whatever date the manuscripts."

1894. Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener: *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*. Fourth Edition, Edited by Edward Miller. Volume II. London (vii, 428 pp.), pp. 41–56, with a detailed list of Old Latin manuscripts of the Gospels. This section of the book was written by H.J. White and John Wordsworth, with the help of Samuel Berger (see volume I, 1894, xix, 418 pp., at p. viii).
1900. H.A.A. Kennedy: Latin Versions, The Old. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Volume. 3. Edinburgh (xv, 896 pp.), pp. 47–62. – Most of the article consists of a list of manuscripts that attest to the text of the *Vetus Latina*.
1951. Bleddyn J. Roberts: The Old Latin Translations. In: idem: *The Old Testament Text and Versions*. Cardiff (xv, 326 pp.), pp. 237–246.
1976. Jean Gribomont OSB: Latin Versions. In: Keith Crim (ed.): *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume*. Nashville, Tenn. (xxv, 987 pp.), pp. 527–532. – Pages 528–530: The Old Latin Bible.
1985. Eugene Ulrich: Characteristics and Limitations of the Old Latin Translation of the Septuagint. In: N. Fernández Marcos (ed.): *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea*. Madrid (285 pp.), pp. 67–80.
1988. Arthur Vööbus: Versions. I. Latin. A. Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*). In: Geoffrey W. Bromiley (ed.): *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Volume 4. Grand Rapids, Mich. (xix, 1211 pp.), pp. 969–971. – Page 970: "We have evidence that in the 3rd century several Old Latin Versions circulated in Italy, in Gaul, and in Spain." On p. 970, Vööbus attributes to A. Baumstark the suggestion that „the Old Latin version had a long history in Africa, reaching back into pre-Christian times, and that it was later taken over by Christians“; this in fact is a suggestion made not by Baumstark but by Blondheim; see below, Chapter 9.5.
1992. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Latin Versions [of the Bible]. In: David N. Freedman (ed.): *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Volume 6. New York (xxxv, 1176 pp.), pp. 799–803. – Pages 799–800: "The Greek Bible in Latin (Old Latin)."
1992. J.K. Elliott: The transmission of the New Testament into Latin: the Old Latin and the Vulgate. In Wolfgang Haase (ed.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Band II.26.1. Berlin (xxv, 812 pp.), pp. 198–245.
1996. Eva Schulz-Flügel: The Latin Old Testament Tradition. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume 1.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 642–662. – Pages 645–650: The Old Latin translations.
2014. Frans van Liere: *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*. Cambridge. xv, 320 pp. – See esp. pp. 82–83; p. 82: "Part of the bad name the *Vetus Latina* has received comes from the negative assessment by the church fathers. In particular, Augustine and Jerome, in their letters, frequently complain about the deplorable state of the text of their Latin bible translations, and they stress the need for correction."
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 3–5: The Scintillian martyrs. Pages 9–14: Cyprian and the First Latin Bibles; pp. 86–89: Old Latin manuscripts; pp. 113–127: modern editions of *Vetus Latina* texts (with special reference to the Beuron edition). ▲

2021. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: The Vetus Latina (Old Latin). In: Alison G. Salvesen – Timothy Michael Law (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*. Oxford (xvii, 791 pp.), pp. 623–638.
2023. H.A.G. Houghton: The Earliest Latin Translations of the Bible. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 1–18. – The Old Latin version (*Vetus Latina*) refers to the earliest Latin biblical translations and their revisions up to the end of the fourth century. Few manuscripts are extant, so for most books the principal evidence is supplied by scriptural quotations in early Christian writers. These are used by editors to reconstruct text-types current in particular times and places. The majority of translations probably originated in North Africa around the end of the second century: the surviving evidence for each book appears to derive from a single initial version which underwent multiple subsequent revisions. Both the Old Testament and New Testament were based on Greek sources, and preserve important ancient readings. Old Latin forms of text continued to be copied for many centuries, and their influence can be seen in theology, and liturgy, as well as paratextual material. Several of the books later incorporated in the Vulgate, including the whole of the New Testament, are based on Old Latin versions. ▲

German

1900. Heinrich Poggel: *Die vorhieronymianischen Bibelübersetzungen*. Paderborn. 84 pp.
1909. Eberhard Nestle: *Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament*. 3., umgearbeitete Auflage. Göttingen (viii, 298 pp., 12 plates), pp. 121–138.
1927. Friedrich Stummer: Die lateinische Bibel vor Hieronymus und das Judentum. *Theologie und Glaube* 19: 184–199.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Pages 4–76: The Latin Bible before Jerome. The following subjects are dealt with: the language of the Old Latin versions (pp. 57–64); the translation method of the Vetus Latina (pp. 64–74); the text-critical value of the Old Latin version (pp. 74–76).
1953. Meinrad Stenzel: Zur Frühgeschichte der lateinischen Bibel. *Theologische Revue* 43: 97–103.
1957. Karl Theodor Schäfer: *Die altlateinische Bibel*. Bonner akademische Reden 17. Bonn. 32 pp. – On the New Testament. Schäfer agrees with Joseph Vogels that the earliest Christian text in Latin must have been a Latin version of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.
1964. Otto Eißfeldt: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. 3rd edition. Tübingen (xvi, 1129 pp.), pp. 973–975.
1972. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache. In: Kurt Aland (ed.): *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. Berlin (xxii, 589 pp.), pp. 1–92.
1973. Alfred Wickenhauser – Josef Schmid: *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. 6th, completely revised edition. Freiburg (xvi, 677 pp.), pp. 105–114.
1976. Rudolf Schnackenburg: Die Bedeutung der Vetus-Latina-Forschung für Wissenschaft und Geistesleben. *Erbe und Auftrag* 52: 327–338.
1980. Sebastian P. Brock – Viktor Reichmann: Die altlateinischen Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments (Reichmann) – Die altlateinischen Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments (S. Brock). In: Gerhard Krause (ed.): *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Band 6. Berlin (xxii, 589 pp.), pp. 172–178.
2012. Eva Schulz-Flügel: Die Vetus Latina – ein Überblick. In: Rudolf Gamper et al. (eds.): *Die Vetus-Latina-Fragmente aus dem Kloster St. Gallen*. Dietikon – Zürich (180 pp.), pp. 9–18.

2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 105–107: the Old Latin translations, with bibliography on p. 416.

French

1908. Lucien Méchineau SJ: Latins (versions) antérieurs à S. Jérôme. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 4.1. Paris (1058 cols.), cols. 97–123. – Cols. 102–111: list of *Vetus Latina* manuscripts arranged in the traditional order of the biblical books from the Pentateuch to the book of Revelation.

1913. Paul Capelle: *Le texte du Psautier latin en Afrique*. *Collectanea biblica latina* 4. Rom.

1935. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle II: La critique rationnelle*. Paris. xiv, 685 pp. – This treatise on the Greek manuscripts and the early versions of the New Testament writings includes five chapters on the *Vetus Latina* version of the Gospels, of the book of Acts, the Pauline letters, the Catholic epistles, and the book of Revelation.

1957. Bernard Botte: Latines (versions) antérieures à S. Jérôme. In: Henri Cazelles (ed.): *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5. Paris (1480 cols.), cols. 334–347.

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159, 276–314. –Page 152: “Les Pères latins n’ont utilisé qu’exceptionnellement les traductions de saint Jérôme. Le principe même de la *veritas hebraica* ne s’impose nullement à eux. C’est donc bien la *Vetus Latina* en tant qu’elle rend la Bible grecque qui est la Bible des Pères latins.” Page 146: “Les manuscrits bibliques et les citations patristiques révèlent la très grande inconstance de la *vetus latina*. Les variantes de vocabulaire sont innombrables; les différences de fond sont fréquentes. Augustin après Jérôme jugeait sévèrement cette *vitiosissima varietas*. Mais, si l’on met à part quelques cas particuliers, ces différences ne prouvent pas une pluralité de traducteurs pour un livre donné.” Bogaert characterizes the history of the Old Latin Bible as the history of its revisions (p. 146). On pages 305–314, he provides a bibliography of the *Vetus Latina* arranged by biblical books. ▲

1996. J.-C. Haelewyck: Les premières versions latines de la Bible. In: Christian-Bernard Amphoux – Jean Margain (eds.): *Les premières traditions de la Bible*. Lausanne (304 pp.), pp. 121–136.

2017. Laurence Mellerin: Les versions latines. In: eadem (ed.): *Lectures de la Bible. I^{er} – XV^e siècle*. Paris (652 pp.), pp. 73–90, at pp. 73–77. Page 73, note 3: “Les Vieilles Latines donnent en particulier des informations sur trois livres: elles attestent presque seules la forme brève originale du livre de Job; elles donnent la disposition originale du Siracide, et pour Esther un type de texte entièrement perdu en grec.”

Spanish

1962. Jesús Cantera Ortiz de Urbina: Origen, familias y fuentes de la *Vetus Latina*. *Sefarad* 22: 296–311.

2017. Manuel Ortuño Arregui: La *Vetus Latina*: Primera versión latina de la Biblia. *ArtyHum Revista de Artes y Humanidades* 33: 52–67.

2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: *Vetus Latina* y *Vulgata*: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74. – On the *Vetus Latina*, see pp. 12–25 and 35–47. ▲

2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: Panorama editorial de la Vetus Latina y la Vulgata: series, proyectos, ediciones de referencia. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 52: 7–90. See eps. Pp. 9–35: La Vetus Latina y sus ediciones. ▲

Italian

1988. Edoardo Vineis: Le antiche versioni latine dei Vangeli. In: Aldo Ceresa-Gastaldo (ed.): *Storia e preistoria dei Vangeli*. Genoa (142 pp.), pp. 61–90.
2008. Mario Cimosà – Carlo Buzzetti: *Guido allo studio della Bibbia latina. Dalla Vetus Latina, alla Vulgata, alla Nova Vulgata*. Sussidi patristici 14. Rome. 201 pp. – Pages 13–42: La Vetus Latina.

Latin

1940. Augustinus Merk SJ: *Introductionis in S. Scripturae libros compendium. Tomus primus*. Paris. xi, 615 pp. – Pages 164–171: De versione vetere Latina. Merk's chapter includes a list of the most relevant manuscripts (pp. 168–169).
1950. Hildebrand Höpfl: *Introductio generalis in sacram scripturam*. Editio quinta noviter recensita quam curavit P. Benno Gut OSB. Naples (xxiv, 637 pp.), pp. 352–372.

Vetus-Latina philology

Before 1900

1860. Celestino Cavedoni: *Saggio della latinità biblica dell'antica Volgata Itala*. Modena. 47 pp. – This work was first published in the periodical *Opuscoli religiosi, letterari e morali* 7[19]: 161–180, 321–346. – Lamenting the absence of Vetus-Latina vocabulary in scholarly dictionaries of Latin, this Italian philologist and historian compiled and here published a glossary of Latin words found in the "Itala," as he called the pre-Jeromian Latin Bible. He thought of this first Latin Bible as having originated in North Africa during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (138–161 in office). He considered the language of this Bible to be vulgar Latin (latino volgare) as spoken in North Africa.
1867. Hermann Rösensch: Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen im christlichen Afrika zur Zeit des Augustinus. *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 37.4 : 606–634. – Rösensch compiles biblical quotations from the works of Augustine, to conclude that when he wrote, several Latin Bibles circulated in Africa – free translations and more literal ones. One of the more literal ones must be the one Augustine refers to as the Itala; it circulated long before Augustine's days, as can be seen from echoes in Tertullian and Cyprian.
1868. Albrecht Vogel: *Beiträge zur Herstellung der alten lateinischen Bibel-Übersetzung*. Vienna. 99 pp. – "Unter der sogenannten Itala wollen wir uns (...) nichts anderes denken als die ursprüngliche Gestalt der im 2. Jahrhunderte vermuthlich in Nordafrika entstandenen lateinischen Bibelübersetzung" (p. 5).
1869. Hermann Rösensch: *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache erläutert*. Marburg. xvi, 509 pp. – A second, enlarged edition was published in 1875 (xvi, 526 pp.). This book is one of the pioneering works on the Vetus Latina which Rösensch calls "Itala." ▲
1871. Hermann Rösensch: *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's. Aus den Schriften des Letzteren möglichst vollständig reconstruiert*. Leipzig. vi, 672 pp.

1887. Hugo Ehrensberger: *Psalterium Vetus und die Psalterien des hl. Hieronymus. Psalm 1–17*. Tauber-bischofsheim. iv, 28 pp. – After a brief introduction, the author lists snippets of pre-Jeromian wording found in manuscript and other sources.

English

1915. Theodore B. Foster: "Mysterium" and "Sacramentum" in the Vulgate and Old Latin Versions. *The American Journal of Theology* 19: 402–415. – Page 405: The Greek verb δοξάζειν (to glorify) is not rendered uniformly in the Vetus Latina texts of Matthew 5:16 – in the various manuscripts, we find it rendered by *magnificare*, *clarificare*, and *glorificare* – the last-mentioned word is also the one adopted by the Vulgate.

1927. A.V. Billen: *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch*. Cambridge. viii, 234 pp. – The book is noteworthy for its annotated glossary of words used in the Old Latin texts (pp. 185–222): *quanto* for classical *quaecumque*, *quoad* for *donec*, the intrusive letter *t* in *Istrahel*, *iste* for *hic*, future forms of verbs – *periet* and *transiet* for *peribit* and *transibit* (etc.). ▲

1991. Theodore A. Bergren: *A Latin-Greek Index of the Vulgate New Testament*. SBL Resources for Biblical Study 26. Atlanta, Ga. 1991. xiii, 207 pp. – This book has an index to the Vetus Latina vocabulary of the New Testament (pp. 175–205, not included in the 2018 version of the same book). The compiler distinguishes between "African" and "European" vocabulary in the Vetus Latina; one example: *adnuntiare* (African) = *evangelizare* (European). ▲

1994. Natalio Fernández Marcos: *Scribes and Translators. Septuagint and Old Latin of the Books of Kings*. Leiden 1994. x, 97 pp.

2000. Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Text and Language*. Oxford. xi, 232 pp. – The first part of this book studies the textual history of the Old Latin Gospel texts, while the second and third parts deal with its latinity with attention to extensions of meaning, literalism, morphology, syntax, foreign words, etc. The author attributes the Vetus Latina of the Gospels to "native speakers of Latin with at least a moderate degree of education. It follows that their work must not be treated uncritically as a repository of vulgarisms" (p. 171). "The Old Latin Gospels are not the most heavily vulgarized of Latin texts" (p. 191). The Latin text of the passion narrative in the gospel of Matthew represents an earlier stratum than the rest of the gospel (pp. 40–44). ▲

2017. Julio Treballe Barrera: Vetus Latin [text of the Pentateuch]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 207–211.

2017. Rolando Ferri: Regional Differentiation and the Old Latin Bible? *Linguarum Varietas* 6: 269–275. – Certain rare words such as *frixoria* for "frying pan," restricted to Late Latin and found only in texts written in Italy, permit to locate certain Vetus Latina manuscripts.

2019. Benjamin Douglas Haupt: *Tertullian's Text of the New Testament outside the Gospels*. Dissertation. University of Birmingham, England. – Tertullian, when quoting the New Testament writings, did not use an already existing Latin translation but translated anew from Greek exemplars. Although Tertullian was aware of the existence of early Latin translations, he did not use them. Haupt's interpretation of the evidence is not new; earlier scholars were of the same opinion (H. Hoppe: *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian*, 1903; Theodor Zahn: *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, 1871), but the issue has now been finally decided. – Further literature:

1871. Hermann Rönisch: *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's*. Aus den Schriften des Letzteren möglichst vollständig rekonstruiert. Leipzig. vi, 672 pp. – This work forms the basis of all subsequent research.

2017. B.D. Haupt: Tertullian's Text of Galatians. In: Markus Vinzent (ed.): *From Tertullian to Tyconius*. Studia patristica 94. Leuven (xiii, 302 pp.), pp. 23–28.
2019. Hugh A.G. Houghton – C.M. Kreiencicker et al.: *The Principal Pauline Epistles. A Collation of Old Latin Witnesses*. Leiden. xi, 442 pp. – A collection of variant readings in Latin manuscripts of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians. The book includes descriptions of all the manuscripts that were collated for this publication which can be found on the Internet ("open access").
2021. Kevin Zilverberg: *The Textual History of Old Latin Daniel from Tertullian to Lucifer*. Madrid. 286 pp.
2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg. xviii, 317 pp.
2023. José Manuel Cañas Reillo: The Latin Bible and the Septuagint. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 19–36. – The Latin Bible (especially the Vetus Latina) plays a crucial role in the textual criticism of the Septuagint. It is an old and faithful translation from the Septuagint, providing information for the knowledge of lost stages of the Greek Bible and with a direct link to the oldest Hebrew tradition in Qumran manuscripts. The Latin Bible is not only a witness for stages of the Old Greek Bible that are very close to the original translation, but also preserves traces of the evolution of the Greek Bible in a way that sometimes shows a richer and broader textual panorama not always preserved in the Greek manuscript tradition. The *Vetus Latina* thus enables researchers to follow the traces of the main Greek revisions undertaken from pre-Christian times until the fifth century.

German

1900. Johann Heidenreich: *Der neutestamentliche Text bei Cyprian, verglichen mit dem Vulgata-Text*. Bamberg. 148 pp. – Arranged in two columns, the author supplies a canonically arranged list of all New Testament texts quoted by Cyprian (left column), accompanied by the text of the Vulgate where it differs (right column). It is argued that the differences are accidental rather than substantial (p. 138).
1909. Hans von Soden: *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*. Leipzig. x, 663 pp. – The reference work on the relevance of Cyprian for the study of the pre-Jeromian Latin Bible.
1914. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: Zur "afrikanischen" Evangelien-Übersetzung. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 12: 251–268.
1915. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: Versuch einer Methode zur Erforschung der lateinischen Evangelienüberlieferung. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 13: 322–333.
1928. Arthur Allgeier: *Die altlateinischen Psalterien*. Freiburg. xi, 190 pp. – Pages 137–187: Der Wortschatz der altlateinischen Psalterien. ▲
1965. Walter Thiele: *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes*. Freiburg. 245 pp. ▲
2023. Kevin Zilverberg: Von der Vetus Latina zu den Übersetzungen des Hieronymus: Kontinuität und Wandel im Sprachlichen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 87–108.
2023. Matthias Geigenfeind: *Wirkung durch Übersetzung. Die Vetus Latina Apocalypsis Johannis in Nordafrika am Beispiel von Offb 11–12*. Göttingen. 352 pp.

Italian

1971. Umberto Rapallo: *Calchi ebraici nelle antiche versioni del Levitico: studio sui Settanta, la Vetus Latina e la Vulgata*. Rome. 343 pp.
- 1971–1974. Edoardo Vineis: Studio sulla lingua dell'Italia. *L'Italia Dialettale* 34 (1971) 136–248; 36 (1973) 287–372; 37 (1974) 154–166. – Although published in a periodical, this is a monographic treatment of the language of the Vetus Latina New Testament, somewhat reminiscent of Röscher (see above, publications before 1900). A large part of this study is presented as an alphabetically arranged series of individual word studies. ▲
1985. Ernesto Valgiglio: *Le antiche versioni latine del Nuovo Testamento. Fedeltà e aspetti grammaticali*. Naples. 337 pp. – Review: Jean Maillet, *Augustinianum* 27.3 (1987) 629–630.
2008. Giovanni Bazzana: La 'Vetus Latina' del 'Cantico die Cantici.' Traduzione e interpretazione. In: Rossana Gugliemetti (ed.): *Il Cantico die Cantici nel Medioevo*. Firenze (ix, 600 pp.), pp. 91–108.

9.3 One Vetus-Latina Bible or many Latin translations?

Note. – Was there one single Vetus Latina Bible before Jerome, or do we have to reckon with many Latin translations of the Bible, partial or complete? Pierre Sabatier OSB (1683–1742), the founding father of Vetus-Latina research, was convinced that there was only one such Latin translation which he called the Itala. The notion was debated in the nineteenth century when serious modern research in the history of the Latin Bible began. Most scholars came to agree with Leo Ziegler who refuted Sabatier's idea by arguing for a multiplicity of complete or partial translations.

Nevertheless, Sabatier's idea has been revived in the twentieth century, promoted by scholars such as Karl Theodor Schäfer and scholars associated with the Vetus-Latina-Institut of Beuron.

1856. Thomas Hartwell Horne – Samuel Prideaux Tregelles: *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London (xxvii, 767 pp.), pp. 230–243: The Ancient Latin Versions Prior to the Vulgate of Jerome. – Page 235: "Thus then the early citations, early testimonies, and existing manuscripts, when rightly considered, conspire in proving that there was *one* early Latin version, and one only; that this was altered by some in two ways – by transcriptional variation, and by defective revision with Greek copies."
1879. Leo Ziegler: *Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustinus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hl. Schrift*. Munich. 135 pp. – On the basis of careful scrutiny of all the relevant ancient sources, including manuscripts, Ziegler argues that the existence of one single Latin "Urübersetzung" of the Bible before Jerome, as assumed by Sabatier, is most unlikely. There must have been multiple Latin translations, either of the whole Bible or of individual biblical books. On Ziegler's work, see the discussion in Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 50–56; Stummer agrees with Ziegler, calling Ziegler's book a fundamental study on its subject.
1921. Ernst Diehl: Zur Textgeschichte des lateinischen Paulus. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20: 97–132. – The author, a classical philologist, defends the notion that the Latin Pauline letters all derive from one single translation.
1949. Rudolf Knopf – Hans Lietzmann – Heinrich Weinel: *Einführung in das Neue Testament*. Fünfte Auflage. Berlin (xvi, 444 pp.), pp. 42–43. This edition is textually identical with the fourth edition of 1934 (though with different pagination). – This handbook distinguishes between two textual

- types of the Vetus Latina New Testament; some manuscripts can be grouped together as representing an African text, while others represent a European (or Italian) type. "Die weitere Frage, die sich nun erhebt, ob wir im afrikanischen und im europäisch-italienischen Typus zwei von Grund auf verschiedene Übersetzungen zu erkennen haben, oder ob diese beiden Typen doch trotz großer Unterschiede auf eine gemeinsame Wurzel zurückgehen, ist noch nicht spruchreif. Möglich ist, daß das Neue Testament sowohl in Karthago als auch in Europa (Rom oder Oberitalien) ins Lateinische übersetzt worden ist; doch sind jüngst beachtenswerte Gründe für die These beigebracht worden, daß alle altlateinischen Texte des Neuen Testaments auf einen einzigen, relativ am besten in d [Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis] erhaltenen Typ zurückgehen."
1952. Ernst Würthwein: *Der Text des Alten Testaments*. Stuttgart 1952 (176 pp.). – Page 67: "Das Grundproblem der Vetus-Latina-Forschung ist die Frage, ob es eine einzige Urübersetzung gegeben hat oder ob wir mit mehreren Übersetzungen zu rechnen haben. Aussagen der Kirchenväter lassen an mehrere Übersetzungen denken, so wenn Augustin zwischen der Itala und mehreren anderen lateinischen Übersetzungen unterscheidet."
1958. Karl Theodor Schäfer: Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen. In: Josef Höfer – Karl Rahner (eds.): *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 2nd edition. 2. Band. Freiburg (xiii pp., 1256 cols.), cols. 380–384. – "Für den Heptateuch, 1 und 2 Makk, Weish, Sir und Apg ist nachgewiesen, daß alle uns erhaltenen lateinischen Textformen auf eine einzige Grundübersetzung zurückgehen; dies ist auch für das Corpus Paulinum wahrscheinlich, mit Ausnahme des Hebräerbriefts, der zweimal selbständig übersetzt worden ist (...); bei der Apk ist die Frage noch umstritten, für die meisten anderen Bücher noch völlig offen" (col. 381). See also: idem: *Die altlateinische Bibel*. Bonner akademische Reden 17. Bonn. 1957. 33 pp.
1958. Walther Thiele: *Wortschatzuntersuchungen zu den lateinischen Texten der Johannesbriefe*. Freiburg. 48 pp. – At least for 1 John, the evidence points to one single Latin translation: "Wenigstens für 1 Jo läßt sich sagen, daß die lateinischen Texte auf eine Übersetzung zurückgehen" (p. 42). In a footnote the author adds that this is also the case with the book of Proverbs: "Zum Gleichen Ergebnis kommt Schildenberger für Prv."
1998. Rudolf Dietzfelbinger. *Studien zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung mit Edition von Kapitel 1*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Heidelberg. 146 pp. – According to Dietzfelbinger, the ancient evidence is best understood as reflecting two independent Latin translations of the book of Exodus – one originating in North Africa, and one on the European continent.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Page viii: "For each of the books which has so far appeared [of the Beuron Vetus Latina; see below, Chapter 9.7], both Old and New Testament, the evidence appears to point towards a single Latin version standing behind the whole of the surviving tradition. This is not to say that there were not multiple independent translations in the earliest times, but if this were the case then they have left few, if any, traces. The variety between the different forms of text which have been preserved can be explained as the result of numerous later interventions, some one-off or haphazard, others more consistent, revising a Latin version in order to bring it into accordance with a Greek source or the canons of grammar and style." Page 12: "Editors of Old and New Testament books in the [Beuron] Vetus Latina series have reached the conclusion that in each case a single Latin translation underlies all the surviving evidence for the Old Latin tradition." Pages 13–14: "Nonetheless, the theory of a single translation of all biblical books in the early third century is not without its problems (...) It therefore remains possible that the single versions claimed to underlie the surviving Latin tradition had various origins: while Africa provides the earliest evidence for the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles may have originated elsewhere."

2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg (xviii, 317 pp.), p. 166: "The statistical examination of the lexicon of 2 Peter supports the hypothesis of the derivation of the Old Latin text types from a single translation, which later divided into textual branches having their own features."
2023. H.A.G. Houghton: The Earliest Latin Translations of the Bible. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 1–18. – Houghton supports the notion of one single Old Latin translation of the New Testament and its subsequent reworking (p. 10, with reference to relevant evidence). ▲

9.4 African origins of the Latin Bible?

Note. – As one can see from some of the studies listed below, there was a debate about the region in which the oldest Latin Bible originated – in North Africa (as suggested by Nicholas Wiseman in 1833 and accepted by Hermann Röscher) or in Italy, perhaps in Rome (as argued by three German Catholic scholars – Gams, Kaulen, and Loch). Today, most scholars (including Pierre-Maurice Bogaert and H.A. G. Houghton) think that Wiseman's idea of an African origin of the Latin Bible is correct. This assumption is in agreement with the fact that it was in North Africa that Latin quickly developed into the language of the Christian church – as early as the second century.

Konrad Vössing: *Schule und Bildung im Nordafrika der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Bruxelles 1997. 690 pp., documents the extent to which the elite of North Africa was latinized, but he does not specifically comment on the Christian community.

African origins affirmed

English

1833. Nicholas Wiseman: Two letters on I John v. 7, commonly called the Three Witnesses. In: idem: *Essays on Various Subjects*. By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. London 1853, vol. 1 (xv, 644 pp.), pp. 1–70. – The suggestion that the Latin Bible originated in northern Africa is made in the second letter, originally published in 1833. Page 43: "Africa is the birthplace of the Latin version" of the Bible. Wiseman notes that in a vague manner this idea had already been suggested earlier, by Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, on the basis of the "barbarism" of its language (pp. 42–43, with reference to J.G. Eichhorn: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Fourth edition. Band 2. Göttingen 1823, p. 406). Wiseman, p. 46: "From these reflections results a strong ground of historical probability that the first Latin version was not made in Italy, but in Africa. And this is more than a mere conjecture. For we have positive proof, in the quotations of African writers, that such a version did exist in their country before the fourth century; while the whole historical evidence which we possess regarding Italy, leads us to conclude that the Greek text was used there till the commencement of that age. (...) the Italian text was imported from Africa." – For Wiseman's interest in the history of the early church, see his historically annotated novel *Fabiola, or The Church of the Catacombs* (1854). On Wiseman as a biblical scholar, see Timothy Larsen: *A People of One Book. The Bible and the Victorians*. Oxford 2011 (v, 326 pp.), pp. 43–65, who comments on the wide acceptance of Wiseman's African hypothesis (p. 59).
1888. Brooke F. Westcott: The Vulgate. In: *Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*. Revised and edited by H.B. Hackett. Volume 4. Boston (xi, pp. 2697–3667), pp. 3451–3482. – The author takes the Itala to be the fourth-century revision, made in northern Italy, of the Gospel text that was

originally translated in North Africa. The revision sought to eliminate the "provincial rudeness" of the language (p. 3454).

1901. Frederic G. Kenyon: *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London. xi, 321 pp. – Pages 168–184 introduce the Old Latin Bible and list the major relevant manuscripts. Page 169: "The roughness of the more primitive forms of the Old Latin texts, and the characteristic peculiarities of its dialect and vocabulary, have commonly been held to point to Africa as its home"; p. 170: "The theory of an African origin of the Latin Bible must be said to hold the field, and to hold it with increasing strength."
1926. James Hardy Ropes: *The Text of Acts*. The Beginnings of Christianity I.3. London (cccxx, 464 pp.), pp. cvi–cxxvii: Old Latin. – Page cxx: "Whether versions of the Latin Bible were made in Italy in independence of the African version is not known, but there is clear evidence that texts early used in Italy were strongly influenced by the labours of the African church in translating the Bible."
2013. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: The Latin Bible. In: Richard Marsden et al. (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526. – Bogaert thinks that the earliest biblical translations into Latin originated in North Africa, because "the church of Rome favoured Greek up to the middle of the fourth century" (p. 506). "Itala is a term used by Augustine in passing to designate an Italian form of the Vetus Latina, which he admired" (p. 511).
2014. Michael Graves: The Story of the Latin Bible and Questions about Biblical Translation for the Church Today. *Trinity Journal* NS 35: 253–273. – "Our earliest evidence for biblical texts in Latin comes from the second century A.D. Most scholars trace the origin of the Latin Bible to North Africa, as evidenced by the reference to 'books and letters of Paul' in the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs, around A.D. 180" (p. 254).
2020. Hugh A.G. Houghton: Scripture and Latin Christian Manuscripts from North Africa. In: Jonathan P. Yates – Anthony Dupont (eds.): *The Bible in Christian North Africa*. Part 1. Berlin (xi, 396 pp.), pp. 15–50.

German

1833. (Anonymous) Über die Vulgata, ihren Werth, und Gebrauch in der lateinischen Kirche. *Theologisch-praktische Monatschrift* 10: 157–176. Printed in Rottenburg, Germany, the volume has a second title page: *Quartalschrift für katholische Geistliche*, vol. 1. – Page 174: The Vetus Latina originated in northern Africa; reference is made to J.G. Eichhorn: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Fourth edition. Band 2. Göttingen 1823, p. 406.
1863. Hagen, p. 3. "Afrika (das proconsularische) ist, wie Wiseman aus den sprachlichen Eigenthümlichkeiten genügend nachgewiesen hat, und wie in den nachfolgenden Abhandlungen noch weiter dargethan werden wird, das Vaterland der älteren Übersetzung der hl. Schrift."
1874. Johann Nepomuk Ott: Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109: 757–792, 833–867. – Against Pius Bonifacius Gams and Franz Kaulen, Ott defends the notion that the Vetus Latina (which he calls "Itala") originated in Africa (pp. 758–759, 774–776).
1888. Theodor Zahn: *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Erster Band, erste Hälfte. Erlangen (v, 452 pp.), p. 59: The Latin Bible was created in north Africa between 210 and 240. Tertullian did not have a Latin Bible, but Cyprian did. The Latin translation presupposes an already long tradition of oral translating from the Greek into local languages – Punic and Latin. "Wenn die afrikanische Kirche so lange einer lateinischen Bibel entbehren konnte, so ist es äußerst unwahr-

scheinlich, daß in einem anderen Theil des Abendlandes früher eine solche entstanden sei. Nirgendwo gab es eine so zahlreiche, regsame, am Gesamtleben der Kirche betheiligte Christenheit lateinischer Zunge wie in Afrika" (p. 59). – Meanwhile, Zahn's view has become the majority opinion. But this was not the case when he first explained it; see these reviews:

1889. Alfred Plummer: Zahn on the Canon of the New Testament. *The Classical Review* 3.9: 410–412. – Page 412: "Among the various hypotheses put forward by Zahn in this half-volume, none is likely to attract more attention than the theory that before Tertullian's time there was no Latin Version of the New Testament (...) Zahn's theory does not seem to be a priori probable. Would not the demand for a Latin Version have produced one, at any rate of the Gospels, before A.D. 200?"

1889. Adolf Harnack: *Das Neue Testament um das Jahr 200. Theodor Zahn's Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Freiburg. 112 pp. – Pages 32–33, note: "In Bezug auf die Frage nach dem Ursprung der lateinischen Bibel hat Zahn das große Verdienst, das Problem zum ersten Mal ernsthaft angefasst zu haben. Doch kann ich nicht sagen, dass er mich überzeugt hat, indem er die lateinische Bibelübersetzung erst zwischen 220–240 ansetzt. Man müsste die Citate bei Tertullian erst noch viel gründlicher untersuchen, bevor man dem folgenschweren Urtheil beistimmen könnte, Tertullian habe alle seine lateinischen Bibelcitate extemporiert." (On Tertullian, see above, Chapter 9.2 [Surveys and introductions – Vetus-Latina philology](#), English 2019 – the work of Benjamin D. Haupt.) ▲

1897. Eberhard Nestle: Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen. In: Albert Hauck (ed.): *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 3rd edition. 3. Band. Leipzig (832 pp.), pp. 24–58. – Pages 26–35: Vetus Latina. "Sicher ist, daß sich in Afrika die lateinische Kirchensprache ausgebildet hat, und dies wird wie anderswo an Hand der Bibel geschehen sein; auch der Sprachcharakter der ältesten uns erhaltenen Stücke der lateinischen Bibel scheint uns dorthin zu weisen" (p. 27).

French

1901. Paul Monceaux: La bible latine en Afrique. *Revue des études juives* 42 [84]: 129–172; 43 [85]: 15–49. – According to Monceau, there were multiple Latin biblical texts in existence in Africa, but there was one main one, more or less complete by the time of Cyprian, and it is very likely (though this cannot be demonstrated conclusively), that it originated in Africa. All African authors use the same African Latin text, and its variations are negligible. The only author who departs from this rule is Augustine; his text is eclectic. He himself introduced an Italian variety of the biblical text into Africa, and mixed it with the African text.

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159, 276–314. – Page 143: The Latin Bible originated in Roman North Africa, beginning in the second century.

African origins doubted or denied

1862. Pius Bonifacius Gams OSB: Die alte lateinische Bibelübersetzung vor Hieronymus stammt nicht aus Africa, sondern aus Italien. In: idem: *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*. Band 1. Regensburg (xii, 422 pp.), pp. 86–102.

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp. – Pages 107–144: Itala.– According to Kaulen, the earliest Latin Bible originated in the city of Rome, and not in North Africa, as many have suggested. He repeats this view in later writings:

1901. Franz Kaulen: Vulgata. In: *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon*. 2. Auflage. Herausgegeben von Franz Kaulen. Band 12. Freiburg (vii pp., 2106 cols.), cols. 1127–1142, at col. 1129. K. thinks that "für die Christengemeinden in Rom und Italien schon zur apostolischen Zeit die heilige Schrift theilweise oder ganz in's Lateinische übertragen wurde."

1911. Franz Kaulen – Gottfried Hohberg: *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. Erster Teil. 5th edition. Freiburg (xi, 265 pp.), p.193.
1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg. 34 pp. – In a final note the author speaks out against “den grassierenden Spuk des Africanismus der Itala und der Vulgata” (p. 33; see also pp. 4–5). The Latin translation of the Bible undoubtedly originated in Italy (Rome), not in North Africa. North African church writers like Tertullian knew the “Itala,” the Old Latin Bible created in Italy.
1900. H.A.A. Kennedy: Latin Versions, The Old. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Volume. 3. Edinburgh (xv, 896 pp.), pp. 47–62. – The author believes that the oldest Latin Bible was written in Syria. On the Syrian hypothesis, see Lucien Méchineau SJ in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 4.1. Paris 1928, col. 123: “Cette hypothèse n’a aucune vraisemblance.” One should not dismiss the idea cavalierly, however. One argument that was then put forward, was the name Eleasarus (for Greek Lazaros) which was later replaced by Lazarus. Why the form Eleasarus? On this, see Cuthbert H. Turner: “(...) the primitive Latin version of St Luke’s Gospel must have been made on ground where Semitic – that is no doubt Syriac – names were more familiar than Greek. It might be possible to account satisfactorily for this by the Punic-Phoenician traditions of North Africa: more probably it points to the region of Antioch and northern Syria.” Cuthbert H. Turner: Note on the Old Latin Version of the Bible. *Journal of Theological Studies* 2.8 (1901) 600–609, at pp. 601–602.

9.5 Jewish origins of the Latin Bible?

Jewish origins suggested

1876. Julius Witte: *Zur Geschichte der Vulgata. Inaugural-Dissertation*. Universität Jena. Hannover. 38 pp. – This slim dissertation gives an overview of the history of the Latin Bible from its beginnings to the 16th century. For the early period, the author assumes that the oldest Latin Bible was already written in the 1st century, in Italy. The text was compiled by a single translator, a Greek-educated Jew, on the basis of Greek texts.
1925. David S. Blondheim: *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina*. Paris. cxxxviii, 247 pp. – Reprint: Cambridge 2013. – The work carries a long subtitle: “Étude sur les rapports entre les traductions bibliques en langue romane des juifs au moyen âge et les anciennes versions.” The American Romance philologist (1884–1934) argues that the oldest Latin translation of Old Testament books was made in the Jewish diaspora on the basis of the Greek Bible: “il est raisonnable de croire que c’est une impulsion juive qui est responsable des traits caractéristiques de la vetus Latina” (p. cxxxiii). – Reviews:
1926. Friedrich Stummer, *Literarische Wochenschrift* 2: 1091–1093. Stummer rejects the idea of Jewish influence on the origins of the Vetus Latina.
1929. Max L. Margolis, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 49: 82–84.
1926. Umberto Cassuto: Vetus Latina e traduzioni medioevali della Bibbia. *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 2: 151–158. – Like Blondheim, Cassuto attributes the Vetus Latina to Jewish translators; however, he believes the translators drew on the Hebrew text of the Bible.
1929. Arthur Allgeier, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 32.5: 364–366. – In this review of Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel* (1928), Allgeier rejects Stummer’s dismissal of the Blondheim thesis: “Stummer tritt der Meinung [Blondheims] allerdings mit beachtenswerten Gründen

- entgegen, ohne sie jedoch m.E. zu entkräften" (col. 364). "In allem stimme ich freilich nicht bei. Nicht nur denken ich über Blondheim günstiger [als Stummer] und bin sogar geneigt, wenigstens für den Psalter analog der LXX vorchristlichen Ursprung anzunehmen" (col. 365).
1942. Patrick W. Skehan: Notes on the Latin Text of the Book of Wisdom. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 4.3: 230–243, at p. 230: "The current Latin text of the book of Wisdom (...) might easily be Jewish."
1962. René Braun: "*Deus Christianorum.*" *Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien*. Paris. 645 pp. – Pages 13–14: the author considers the possibility of Jewish influence on the formation of Christian vocabulary in Latin.
1965. Jesús Cantera Ortiz de Urbina: Puntos de contacto de la Vetus Latina con el Targum arameo y con la Pešitto. *Hipótesis de un origen targúmico de la Vetus Latina. Sefarad* 25: 223–240.
1973. Umberto Cassuto: The Jewish Translation of the Bible into Latin and its Importance for the Study of the Greek and Aramaic Versions. In: U. Cassuto: *Biblical and Oriental Studies*. Translated by Israel Abrahams. Jerusalem. Volume 1, pp. 285–298. – There must have been an oral translation practice of the biblical books in the synagogues of Italy.
1978. Jean Daniélou: *Les origines du christianisme latin*. Paris (391 pp.), pp. 21–22: "Il est très vraisemblable que pour les Juifs parlant latin ont existé à date ancienne des traductions latines de l'Ancien Testament. Nous savons que, dans les synagogues, la Bible était lue d'abord en hébreu, puis dans la langue du pays, en araméen, en grec, en latin. (...) Ces traductions juifs étaient faites non sur le grec, mais sur l'hébreu. Or plusieurs auteurs, Baumstark, Blondheim, Sparks ont montré les contacts de certaines traductions latines conservés par les auteurs chrétiens avec l'original hébreu."
1982. Gilles Quispel: African Christianity before Minucius Felix and Tertullian. In: Jan den Boeft (ed.): *Actus. Studies in Honour of H.L.W. Nelson*. Utrecht (xiii, 482 pp.), pp. 257–335. – Page 261: "And the Septuagint is a targum of the Synagogue of Alexandria, deeply rooted in the tradition of oral translation during the service. (...) In the same way the Vetus Latina is the targum of Carthage. We do not know whether or not it existed in written form already in the Synagogue but we may suppose that it was handed down orally." – This long paper is now in: Gilles Quispel: *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica. Collected Essays*. Leiden 2008 (xxv, 869 pp.), pp. 387–459.
1990. Wolfgang Wischmeyer: Die Epistula Anne ad Senecam. Eine jüdische Missionsschrift des lateinischen Bereichs. In: J. van Amersfoort – J. van Oort (eds.): *Juden und Christen in der Antike*. Kampen (150 pp.), pp. 72–93. – Page 81, note 65: "Doch darf die Existenz einer lateinisch-jüdischen Bibel (...) als gesichert gelten."

Evidence is lacking

1927. Friedrich Stummer: Die lateinische Bibel vor Hieronymus und das Judentum. *Theologie und Glaube* 19: 184–199. – There is no evidence for the existence of Latin versions of biblical books produced by Jews.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 19–20: "Die Septuaginta verschwand aus dem liturgischen und theologischen Gebrauch des Judentums, und schon deswegen ist die These S. Blondheims unwahrscheinlich, daß jüdische Hände einen wesentlichen Anteil an der Übersetzung der Septuaginta ins Lateinische gehabt hätten."
1931. Anton Baumstark: Aramäischer Einfluß im altlateinischen Text von Hab 3. *Oriens Christianus* 28 [= ser. 3, no. 6]: 163–181. – The Vetus Latina version of Hab 3 echoes a Jewish Targum; while Blondheim (1925) seems to overstate his case, there must have been a Syrian element in early Chris-

- tianity that was influenced by Jewish traditions. Baumstark calls the hypothesis of Blondheim „voreilig“ (p. 169, overhasty).
1958. Christine Mohrmann: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. Rome (xxii, 468 pp.), p. 131: “Sur le territoire latin, les chrétiens sont les premiers à traduire la Bible. (...) Cette absence d’une tradition juive latine et cette présence d’une tradition grecque ont marqué le latin des chrétiens le plus ancien.”
1976. Jean Gribomont OSB: Latin Versions. In: Keith Crim (ed.): *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume*. Nashville, Tenn. (xxv, 987 pp.), pp. 527–532. – Page 528: “Any attempt to discover vestiges of Jewish pre-Christian Latin versions, made on an analogy with the LXX [Septuagint], must fail for total lack of evidence.”
- 1988/2013. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19 (1988) 137–159. 276–314. – The idea of Jewish translators cannot be completely ruled out – “certains [traductions] peuvent être issus du judaïsme” (p. 144). “On restera ouvert (...) à toute observation orientant vers une origine ou une utilisation juive” (p. 145). In a later article, Bogaert feels that the notion of Christian use of existing Latin biblical translations poses problems; instead, it is safer to assume that Christian translators would occasionally have consulted Jewish scholars; see Bogaert: The Latin Bible. In: James Carleton Paget – Joachim Schaper (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge 2013 (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526, at p. 506.
2003. Matthew Kraus: Hebraisms in the Old Latin Version of the Bible. *Vetus Testamentum* 53: 48–513. – There was no translation of the Bible directly from the Hebrew into Latin prior to Jerome. After Jerome, Jewish communities utilized a Latin Bible borrowed from Christians. ▲
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Page 71, note 2: “On a jusqu’ici aucun indice convaincant pour penser que l’origine des traductions bibliques en latin serait juive plutôt que chrétienne, même si cette hypothèse reste ouverte.”
2020. Hugh A.G. Houghton: Scripture and Latin Christian Manuscripts from North Africa. In: Jonathan P. Yates – Anthony Dupont (eds.): *The Bible in Christian North Africa*. Part 1. Berlin (xi, 369 pp.), pp. 15–50. – Jewish communities may have played a part in the earliest Latin translations of the books of the Hebrew Bible, but there is little evidence to support it.
2022. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Christlicher Einfluss auf die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Jesus Sirach. In: Siegfried Kreuzer et al. (eds.): *Bibel und Patristik*. Paderborn (xiii, 460 pp.), pp. 161–176. – Page 163: “Der Grund für die Annahme, die Übersetzung ins Lateinische könne in jüdischem Kontext entstanden sein, scheint eher unsicher.”

9.6 Augustine’s Itala

- 396/97. Augustine: *De doctrina christiana* II, 53; CSEL 80: 48 (= 15,52; PL 34: 46): *in ipsis autem interpretationibus, Itala ceteris praeferatur* – among the [Latin] translations, the Italian one is to be preferred. Although Augustine nowhere else refers to the “Itala,” the word has come to be the designation of an entire group of Old Latin texts of the Bible. The reliability of Augustine’s text has been questioned by scholars early on. In the early twentieth century, some preferred replacing *Itala* by “Aquila” (Alberto Vaccari, Henri Quentin). But now, most scholars seem to accept the traditional reading *Itala*.

Secondary literature

1824. Leander van Ess: *Pragmatisch-kritische Geschichte der Vulgata*. Tübingen 1824 (xvi, 504 pp.), pp. 21–22. – Eß reports on conjectural emendations of Augustine's text. In the eighteenth century, Richard Bentley suggested the emendation *illa*, and Archbishop John Potter thought that *usitata* (the usual one) should be read here.
1874. Johann Nepomuk Ott: Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109: 757–792, 833–867, at p. 769: The Itala is "die Bibel der kirchlichen Gemeinde und liturgischen Praxis in Africa. (...) Itala war ihr volkstümlicher Name im Gegensatz zum griechischen Original."
1879. Leo Ziegler: *Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustinus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hl. Schrift*. Munich. 135 pp. – Augustine's Itala is a Latin translation that he read in Italy; he preferred it to translations originating in North Africa.
1882. Karl Sittl: *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache mit bes. Berücksichtigung des afrikanischen Lateins*. Erlangen. iv, 162 pp. Reprint: Hildesheim 1972. – Pages 146–152: Die Heimat der sogenannten Itala. The "Itala" originated in Italy, not in Africa.
1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches der Weisheit. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 235–277. – Page 236: "Ich nenne die letzteren [i.e., the pre-Jeromian translations] nicht Itala; denn Itala ist nur die Bibel Augustins, und die verkehrte Terminologie hat schon viel Verwirrung gestiftet."
1896. Francis C. Burkitt: *The Old Latin and the Itala*. Cambridge. viii, 96 pp. – A summary of Burkitt's position can be found in Frederic G. Kenyon: *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London 1901 (xi, 321 pp.), p. 182: "Recently, however, Bentley's disbelief in the very existence of the 'Itala' has been revived by Mr. F.C. Burkitt of Cambridge. Mr. Burkitt's main position is that by his 'Itala interpretatio' Augustine meant nothing more nor less than the Vulgate [of Jerome] the New Testament portion of which had been published for some ten years at the time when he [Augustine] wrote."
1900. H.A.A. Kennedy: Latin Versions, The Old. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Volume 3. Edinburgh (xv, 896 pp), pp. 47–62. – Page 47: "It seems time now to abandon the misleading term 'Itala,' or even 'uetus Itala,' to denote the pre-Hieronymian type of text."
1901. Paul Monceau: La Bible latine en Afrique (suite et fin). *Revue des études juives* 43: 15–49. – For Monceau, the Itala is not a name for the pre-Jeromian Latin Bible; instead, he thinks of it as a specifically Italian recension. Page 16: "L'Itala n'est que la plus importante de ces recensions 'italiques' du IV^e siècle, qui apparaissent chez saint Ambroise et les auteurs italiens du temps, qui se sont conservées partiellement dans beaucoup de manuscrits, et qu'on retrouve chez saint Augustin lui-même." Monceau thinks that it was Augustine himself who introduced the Itala in north Africa (p. 15). Burkitt's position is rejected (p. 16, note 1).
1908. Joseph Denk: Burkitts These: Itala Augustini = Vulgata Hieronymi – eine textkritische Unmöglichkeit. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 6: 225–244. – Burkitt's suggestion is mistaken.
1910. F.C. Burkitt: Saint Augustine's Bible and the Itala. *Journal of Theological Studies* 11: 258–268. – See the discussion of the "Itala" in Schirner's book, 2015.
1927. Henri Quentin OSB: La prétendu Itala de St. Augustin. *Revue biblique* 36: 216–225. – See the discussion of the "Itala" in Schirner's book, 2015.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 56: "Man hat an dieser Stelle [Augustinus: *De doctrina Christiana* II] viel herumkonjiziert, weil man früher der Meinung war, es habe vor Hieronymus eben nur eine, und zwar in Afrika entstandene lateinische Bibel gegeben. Allein eine unbefangene Betrachtung der Stelle lehrt doch ganz klar, daß Augustinus hier eine in Italien gebräuchliche und natürlich auch dort entstandene Fassung des lateinischen Bibeltextes empfiehlt. Wir haben gar keinen Grund zur Annahme, daß diese Itala eine ursprüngliche, durch Augustinus in ihr Heimatland zurückgebrachte Afra sei. Es bleibt bei der Feststellung, daß wir es mit zwei Haupttypen vorhieronymianischer lateinischer Bibel zu tun haben: der Afra und der Itala."
1952. Johannes Schildenberger OSB: Die Itala des hl. Augustinus. In: Virgil Fiala – Bonifatius Fischer (eds.): *Colligere Fragmenta. Eine Festschrift für Alban Dold*. Beuron (xx, 295 pp.), pp. 84–102. – In *De doctrina christiana* II, Augustine refers to the Latin Bible text as read in Italy as *interpretatio itala*, distinguishing it from the text current in Africa.
2000. Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Text and Language*. Oxford. xi, 232 pp. – Burton quotes Augustine's passage and then explains: "The conflicting views on this controversial passage are admirably summarized by Schildenberger (1952), from which it appears that there are three opinions: 1. The passage is corrupt. (...) 2. It is a reference to the Vulgate [i.e., Jerome's translation]. (...) 3. It is a reference to an existing Old Latin tradition. This is the traditional interpretation, held by Sabatier and Jülicher; it is also upheld by Schildenberger" (p. 5). "The complications of this issue are such that, as the distinguished scholar Bonifatius Fischer observes, the term [Itala] is best avoided" (p. 6).
2015. Rebekka S. Schirner: *Inspice diligenter codices. Philologische Studien zu Augustins Umgang mit Bibelhandschriften und Übersetzungen*. Berlin. 684 pp. – The chapter "Das Thema Bibelübersetzungen und Bibelhandschriften in *De doctrina Christiana*" (pp. 20–53) includes a thematic section "Die Itala-Problematik" (pp. 46–53). According to Schirner, the word Itala, used by Augustine only once, must not be emended to "Aquila" as suggested by Vaccari and Quentin. Meant is the Latin Bible as it was read in Italy in the days of Augustine, but it must not be equated with the Old Latin translation as a whole. ▲

9.7 Editions of the Vetus-Latina Bible

A precursor: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples
Jean Martianay OSB
Pierre Sabatier OSB
Textual example from Sabatier. The Lord's Prayer
Giuseppe Bianchini's Gospel
Jülicher's Itala
The Roman Psalter (Psalterium Romanum)
The Beuron Vetus Latina
Vetus Latina Hispana

A precursor: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples

1509. Faber Stapulensis (Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples): *Quincuplex Psalterium. Gallicum, Rhomanum, Hebraicum, Vetus, Conciliatum*. Paris. – The second edition, Paris 1513, has 294 leaves. The French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1460–1536) presented five Latin versions of the book of Psalms (and had it printed by Stephanus in Paris): Psalterium Romanum (then considered the work of Jerome), Psalterium Gallicanum, Psalterium iuxta hebraeos, a pre-Jeromian version of the Psalter, and his own Psalterium conciliatum, a slightly revised version of Jerome's Gallicanum. Interesting is the inclusion of a pre-Jeromian Psalter – *psalterium vetus (...) vel maxime ante editiones a Hieronymo emendatas uterentur ecclesiae* – the Old Psalter, the one that the churches used most before the editions that were corrected by Jerome (from the preface; Bedouelle, p. 26).
1966. Heiko A. Oberman (ed.): *Forerunners of the Reformation*. Translated by Paul L. Nyhus. New York (x, 333 pp.), pp. 297–301. – Partial translation of the Quintuplex Psalterium's preface.
1979. Guy Bedouelle: *Le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefèvre d'Étaples. Un guide de lecture*. Geneva (xiii, 293 pp.), pp. 22–31: Latin text and French translation of the Quincuplex Psalterium's preface.

Secondary literature

1928. Arthur Allgeier: *Die altlateinischen Psalterien. Prolegomena zu einer Textgeschichte der hieronymianischen Psalmenübersetzungen*. Freiburg (xi, 190 pp.), pp. 2–8, esp. 4–5. The Old Latin text was evidently extracted from Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, and is similar to that recorded in Codex I (1) of Verona's Chapter Library (Biblioteca Capitolare), a bilingual, Greek and Latin Psalter from the 7th century. Later authors repeat Allgeier's suggestion; see:
1932. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: De quelques opinions sur l'ancien psautier latin. *Revue biblique* 41: 161–186. For Lagrange, the Verona Psalter is "un texte révisé d'après les citations d'Augustin" (p. 176).
1979. Guy Bedouelle: *Le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefèvre d'Étaples. Un guide de lecture*. Geneva (xiii, 293 pp.), pp. 47–48.
2022. Grantley McDonald: Bible, Editions and Translations in the Renaissance. In: Marco Sgarbi (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*. Cham. Volume 1 (xlvii, 934 pp.), pp. 383–398, at p. 387.

Jean Martianay OSB

1695. Jean Martianay: *Vulgata antiqua Latina et itala versio Evangelii secundum Matthaeum e vetustissimis eruta monumentis (...) nuncque primum edita*. Paris. – A long introductory section (without pagination) is followed by the Vetus Latina text of the gospel of Matthew (pp. 1–120) and an appended apparatus of variant readings (pp. 121–179). The text Martianay edited is that included in Codex Sangermanensis primus (Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, lat. 11553; see above, Chapter 7.2); the variant readings are from patristic sources. This is the first attempt to publish a Vetus Latina text. The French Benedictine monk (1647–1717) also produced a critical edition of the Vulgate Bible as part of his edition of Jerome’s works (see Chapter 13.1).

Pierre Sabatier OSB

1743–1749. Pierre Sabatier: *Biblorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu Vetus Italica*. Reims. 3 vols.: lxxx, 910 pp.; 1109 pp.; xxxvi, 1115 pp. – Reprint: Turnhout 1976. – In three volumes – two volumes for the Old Testament, one volume for the New Testament – Sabatier provides the biblical text in a two-column synopsis. In one column is the text of the Vulgate (with him: *vulgata nova*), in the other the text of the Old Latin Bible (with him: *versio antiqua*), so that both texts can be easily compared. A second edition was published in Paris in 1751. The French Benedictine monk (1683–1742) did not live to see the printing of his work; he died the year before its publication.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – See pp. 30–33. “Das Werk war für seine Zeit eine Leistung ersten Ranges, ein ehrendes Denkmal des berühmten Benediktinerfleißes. Es hat auch heute noch seinen Wert nicht verloren. Niemand, der sich mit der lateinischen Bibel vor Hieronymus beschäftigt, vermag es zu entbehren” (p. 33).

2003. Christian J. Wagner: *Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse. Griechisch – Lateinisch – Syrisch – Hebräisch – Aramäisch*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Göttingen. xxxiii, 241 pp. – Included in this synoptic presentation of Tobit are two Latin versions: that of the Vetus Latina (Sabatier’s text) and that of Jerome (i.e., the Vulgate text).

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 113–115.

Textual example from Sabatier: the Lord’s Prayer (Matt 6)

Versio antiqua [= Vetus Latina]	Vulgata nova [= Vulgata Clementina]
9. Sic ergo vos orabitur eum: Pater noster, qui es in coelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum.	9. Sic ergo vos orabitur: Pater noster, qui es in coelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum.
10. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua in coelo, & in terra.	10. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, & in terra.
11. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.	11. Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie.
12. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.	12. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.
13. Et ne passus nos fueris induci in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo.	13. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Sabatier: *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*. Volume 3, pp. 33–34. Sabatier’s Vulgate text (left column) is taken from the Clementina; the Jeromian version of the Lord’s Prayer offered by Weber and Gryson in the Stuttgart Vulgate differs slightly.

Giuseppe Bianchini’s Gospels

1749. Giuseppe Bianchini (Josephus Blanchinus): *Evangeliarum quadruplex latinae versionis antiquae seu veteris Italicae*. 2 parts. Rome. 56, cclxiv leaves; 7, cdLxxii leaves. – Unlike his contemporary Pierre Sabatier, Binachini (1704–1764) does not supply a reconstruction of a single text; instead, he transcribes and prints the text of several Vetus Latina Gospel manuscripts. Of these, the fourth-century Codex Vercellensis (see above, Chapter 7.1) is the most important. Bianchini’s text of Codex Vercellensis has been reprinted in the nineteenth century in Jacques-Paul Migne’s *Patrologia Latina* (PL 12: 9–948) and is thus easily accessible.

Jülicher’s Itala

1938–1963. *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung nach den Handschriften herausgegeben*. Berlin. 4 volumes edited by Adolf Jülicher (d. 1938), Walter Matzkow and Kurt Aland. Volume 1: Matthäus-Evangelium, 1938, 2nd, improved edition 1972 (viii, 214 pp.); Volume 2: Marcus-Evangelium, 1940, 2nd, improved edition 1970 (vii, 160 pp.); Volume 3: Lucas-Evangelium, 1954, 2nd, improved edition 1976 (vii, 282 pp.); Volume 4: Johannes-Evangelium, 1963 (ix, 230 pp.). – Jülicher’s editions are based exclusively on Gospel manuscripts; there are no references to quotations in patristic authors such as Cyprian, Augustine, etc.

Secondary literature

1956. Herbert Musurillo SJ: The Problem of the Itala. *Theological Studies* 17: 93–97.

2000. Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Text and Language*. Oxford. xi, 232 pp. – See pages 9–10. Burton bases his study on the Jülicher volumes, though pointing out their limitations.

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 125–127.

The Roman Psalter (Psalterium Romanum)

Note. – Robert Weber’s edition of the Psalterium Romanum is the only critical edition of the Vetus Latina Psalms; it will eventually be replaced by the corresponding volume of the Beuron edition. Claims that the Roman Psalter constitutes Jerome’s (or Augustine’s) revision of the Old Latin Psalter have haunted research in the twentieth century, but have not found many followers; see below, Chapter 11.4. Accordingly, the Psalterium Romanum must be identified as a Vetus-Latina text. On the reception of the Roman Psalter (which for a long time remained in liturgical use in England and in central Italy), see below, “secondary literature,” and Chapter 14.5.

Text

1953. *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB. Rome. xxiii, 410 pp. – The Roman Psalter is similar to the Gallican Psalter (= Vulgate Psalter), but not identical to it. – Review: Henry S. Gehman, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955) 135–136.

Secondary literature

1913. Karl Wildhagen: *Studien zum Psalterium Romanum in England und zu seinen Glossierungen*. Halle. 56 pp.
1928. Arthur Allgeier: *Die altlateinischen Psalterien*. Freiburg. xi, 190 pp. – Pages Pages 25–34: History of modern research on the Psalterium Romanum, beginning with the 1593 edition by Marius Al-terius.
1930. Paulus Volk OSB: Das Psalterium des hl. Benedikt. *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 48: 83–97. – The Psalter of St Benedict was the Psalterium Romanum, of which the best text can be found in Irish manuscripts.
1975. J.N.D. Kelly: *Jerome. His Life, Writings and Controversies*. London (xi, 353 pp.), p. 89: The extant Roman Psalter is not the work of Jerome; it may be identical with the Psalter that Jerome read when he produced the Gallican Psalter.
2014. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La survivance du Psautier romain dans les bibles: comment les reconnaître? *Revue bénédictine* 124: 348–352. – The Roman Psalter (Psalterium Romanum) is quite frequently present in Italian Bibles, because it was used in the liturgy. It is not easily distinguishable from the Gallicanum (now Vulgate). This short note recalls the edition of the Romanum by Robert Weber (1953) and gives some clues to recognize its presence.

The Beuron Vetus Latina

Note. – The Beuron Vetus Latina is based on the card files kept at the “Vetus Latina-Institut” of the Benedictine monastery of Beuron, Germany. Founded in 1945 and supported by the Vetus-Latina-Stiftung established in 1951, the institute is still active, producing editions of the Old Latin text of individual biblical books, and coordinating such work done elsewhere – for example at the universities of Birmingham, England, and Mainz, Germany. The card files have been copied and can be consulted online. The website is called [Vetus Latina Database – online \(VLD-O\)](#) and maintained by the Brepols publishing house in Turnhout, Belgium. This database contains all citations of the Old Latin Bible from the writings of the Church Fathers, collected by the Bavarian priest Joseph Denk (1849–1927) in the early twentieth century; see Heinz Haffter: Der Italaforscher Joseph Denk und der Thesaurus linguae Latinae. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 58 (1967) 139–144.

The citations can be searched individually or as a whole, following the biblical structure (book – chapter – verse). The result of a search is an image of the relevant file card.

The “Vetus Latina-Institut” was headed by the following directors: 1945–1973 Bonifatius Fischer OSB, 1973–1998 Hermann Josef Frede, 1998–2014 Roger Gryson. Since 2014, Thomas Johann Bauer is in charge of the institute.

1951–. *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*. Freiburg. – Since 1951, the “Beuron Vetus Latina” has been published in individual volumes or volume instalments. By 2023, the following items have been available: **Genesis** (1954, the first volume of the series, edited by Bonifatius Fischer), **Numbers** (incomplete), **Judges** (2023, edited by Jean-Claude Haelewyck), **Ruth** (2005), **Ezra 1** (= the book of Ezra, 2012, edited by Bonifatia Gesche), **Judith** (2020, edited by J.-C. Haelewyck), **Esther** (2008), **Canticum canticorum** (incomplete), **Sapientia Salomonis** (1985), **Jesus Sirach** (incomplete), **Isaiah** (1997), **Daniel** (2022, edited by J.-C. Haelewyck); **Mark** (2018, edited by J.-C. Haelewyck), **John** (incomplete), **Romans** (incomplete), **1 Corinthians** (incomplete), **Ephesians** (1964), **Philippians** (1969), **Colossians** (1971), **1–2 Thessalonians** (1977,

1978), **1–2 Timothy** (1981, 1982), **Titus** (1983), **Philemon** (1983), **Hebrews** (1991), **James** (1956), **1–2 Peter** (1958, 1960), **1–3 John** (1966, 1967), **Jude** (1969, edited by Walter Thiele), **Revelation** (2003). – Many volumes are now being prepared outside of Beuron – the Gospel of John and Romans at the University of Birmingham, England (David Parker et al.), the Acts of the Apostles at the University of Mainz, Germany (Wilhelm Blümer), Sirach at the Pontifical Biblical Institute (Anthony J. Forte SJ), Tobit at the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium (Jean-Marie-Auwers). ▲

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 115–125. Houghton provides a detailed introduction to the Beuron Vetus Latina. He also reports (very briefly): “Editors of Old and New Testament books in the [Beuron] Vetus Latina series have reached the conclusion that in each case a single Latin translation underlies all the surviving evidence for the Old Latin tradition” (p. 12).
2023. Thomas Johann Bauer: The Vetus Latina Institute. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 365–377. – Since 1945, the Vetus Latina Institute at the Archabbey of Beuron has overseen the preparation and publication of a comprehensive edition of the remains of the Old Latin Bible in order to replace the eighteenth-century edition of Pierre Sabatier, with material initially gathered by Josef Denk. This article sketches the history of the Institute and describes the principles of the edition as developed by its first director, Bonifatius Fischer. The types of evidence and the layout of each page are introduced. The Institute has also been responsible for numerous publications and collaborated on other editions, including the Stuttgart Vulgate and editions of the Greek New Testament.

Birmingham Vetus Latina (electronic) – Birmingham Pauline Epistles (printed)

2007. *Vetus Latina Iohannes*, edited by David Parker, Hugh Houghton and others, produced at the University of Birmingham. It can be found on the Internet under “[Vetus Latina Iohannes. The Verbum Project. The Old Latin Manuscripts of John’s Gospel.](#)” The current edition: 2.0 (April 2015), accessed 3rd October 2021. This is not a new edition of the Vetus-Latina text of John, but simply an electronic version of the relevant fascicles of the Beuron Vetus Latina. The Vetus-Latina text of the Beuron edition is being edited at Birmingham; as of 2021, both the printed and the electronic versions are incomplete.
2019. Hugh A.G. Houghton et al. (eds.): *The Principal Pauline Epistles: A Collation of Old Latin Witnesses*. Leiden. xi, 442 pp. – To compensate for the absence of the major Pauline letters – i.e., Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians – in the Beuron series, Houghton and associates decided to compile a work that offers the readings of the major Old Latin witnesses. Both manuscripts and references in commentaries and patristic literature were exploited for this valuable edition.

Vetus Latina Hispana

Note. – The idea of a publishing Vetus Latina texts specifically associated with Spain is due to Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela (1906–1962). He managed to publish a few volumes, but after his death, no one continued the project, though there is a significant exception – the publication of a Spanish book of Ruth text in 1965.

- 1953–1967. *La Vetus Latina Hispana*. Edited by T. Ayuso Marazuela. Tomo I: *Prolegomenos*. Madrid 1953. 598 pp; Tomo II: *El Octateuco*. Madrid 1967. 336 pp.; Tomo V.1-3: *El Salterio*. Madrid 1962. 1163 pp.

1957. *Psalterium Visigothicum Mozarabicum*. Edited by T. Ayuso Mazaruela. Madrid. xi, 193 pp. – This volume appeared in a different series: Biblia polyglotta Matritensia, but clearly belongs to Marazuela's project.

1965. *Vetus Latina. Rut. Estudio crítico de la versión Latina prejeromíniana (...) según el manuscrito 31 de la Universidad de Madrid*. Edited by Jesús Cantera Ortiz de Urbana. Madrid. 79 pp.

9.8 The Fortunatianus commentary on the Gospels (2017)

Note. – In 2012, the Austrian Latinist Lukas Dorfbauer discovered an ancient Latin commentary on the gospels mentioned by Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 97; PL 23: 697) but thought to be lost. The manuscript of 103 leaves is housed in the Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek of Cologne, Germany, with shelf-number Handschrift 17. The 103 folios were written in the 9th century. The text of the commentary is almost complete. The author is Fortunatianus of Aquileia, from 342 to 369 bishop of this Italian town, and the Latin gospel text he used is that of the Vetus Latina.

2017. Fortunatianus Aquileiensis: *Commentarii in evangelia*. Edited by Lukas J. Dorfbauer. CSEL 103. Berlin. vi, 286 pp. – Reviews:

2017. Christina Kreinecker, *Gnomon* 91: 226–230.

2018. Ivor J. Davidson, *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 69: 830–833.

2017. Fortunatianus of Aquileia: *Commentary on the Gospels*. Translated by Lukas J. Dorfbauer and H.A.G. Houghton. CSEL extra seriem. Berlin. xxvi, 128 pp.

Secondary literature

2013. Lukas J. Dorfbauer: Der Evangelienkommentar des Bischofs Fortunatianus von Aquileia (Mitte 4. Jh.): ein Neufund auf dem Gebiet der patristischen Literatur. *Wiener Studien* 126: 177–198.

2014. Lukas J. Dorfbauer: Der Codex Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 17. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferung des Evangelienkommentars des Bischofs Fortunatianus von Aquileia. *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek* 5: 21–68.

2017. Lukas J. Dorfbauer – Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl (eds.): *Fortunatianus redivivus. Bischof Fortunatianus und sein Evangelienkommentar*. Berlin. x, 349 pp.

9.9 Jerome and the Vetus Latina

Note. – Jerome was thoroughly familiar with the Vetus Latina version of all parts of the Bible, Old Testament and New Testament. In the case of Tobit and Judith, he produced his own translation on the basis of the Old Latin version (see [Chapter 21](#)). But there is a more general influence of the vocabulary and style of the Vetus Latina on Jerome's translations from the Hebrew – apparently an aspect not often studied, no doubt due to the incompleteness of the Beuron Vetus Latina ([Chapter 9.7](#)).

1914. Otto Procksch: *Die Septuaginta Hieronymi im Dodekapropheton*. Greifswald. 54 pp. – The Septuagint, used and regularly quoted by Jerome (in his own Latin translation), reflects a Vetus Latina text that he had corrected on the basis of Origen's Hexapla.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 118–119. “Man bekommt den Eindruck, als ob Hieronymus mitunter den Stil des von ihm geschaffenen lateinischen Alten Testament an den des Neuen hätte angleichen wollen” (p. 118). There may also be reminiscences of Vetus-Latina expressions in Jerome’s Old Testament translations, but this has not been adequately researched (p. 119).
1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10.1: 3–30. – The final section of the article (pp. 26–30) is entitled: Einfluss der Vetus Latina auf die sprachliche Gestalt der Vulgata. Jerome wanted his new version to be in the style of the Latin gospels. One example is his use of the formula *quod interpretatur* – which is interpreted. “Cephas, which is interpreted Peter” (John 1:42) serves as the model for passages such as “the mountain Hares, which is interpreted potsherds” (Judg 1:35).
1951. Bleddyn J. Roberts: *The Old Testament Text and Versions*. Cardiff (xv, 326 pp.), p. 255: “The influence of the Old Latin version is to be seen even in details of language and style in the Vulgate, a characteristic which also brings to notice the tendency of Jerome to imitate in the Old Testament the Latin of the New Testament. The rendering of the interrogative particle as *putasne* is one example of this; also, the use of *respondens* in connexion with ‘verbs of saying.’ These and many other examples show how Jerome strove to render his Latin Old Testament in a form as near as possible to the language familiar to his readers, through the use of New Testament expressions.” Roberts echoes the research of Stummer. For *putasne* – do you think, see Job 14:14; Ezek 8:6; Acts 8:30. For *respondens*, see Gen 15:9 (*respondens – inquit*) and Matt 8:8 (*respondens – ait*).
2020. Simone Rickerby: The Latin Versions of the Book of the Twelve. In: Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer – Jakob Wöhrle (eds.): *The Book of the Twelve*. Leiden (xix, 623 pp.), pp. 325–351. – Rickerby is interested in the relationship between the Old Latin version of the Minor Prophets and Jerome’s version.

Chapter 10

Jerome/Hieronymus: his life and learning

Note. – Jerome – actually Eusebius Hiëronymus – is an ever-present figure in Vulgate studies. Jerome was born in Stridon (most likely a town somewhere in modern Croatia) in c. 347. Although having a Greek name, his mother tongue is Latin. He studied in Rome where he began his career as a specialist of the biblical text. In 386, he settled in a monastery in Bethlehem, Palestine, which he himself had founded and where he spent the rest of his life devoted to biblical scholarship. It was there that he died in 420. The Catholic church considers Jerome a saint (his feast day is September 30), so that he forms, together with Gregory the Great, Ambrose and Augustine, the quadriga of “doctors of the church” (*doctores ecclesiae*, Kirchenlehrer), in traditional Catholic theology invoked as the main authorities next to the Bible. He is also called the patron saint of translators.

In the present book, three chapters are specifically dedicated to Jerome: chapters 10 (as an introduction on Jerome and his intellectual culture), chapters 11 (Jerome as a reviser and translator of biblical texts) and 20 (Jerome’s biblical commentaries).

Key dates of Jerome’s life:

c. 347	Jerome (J.) born in Stridon (modern Croatia, exact location unknown)
c. 376	J.’s first acquaintance with the Hebrew language
c. 378	J. is ordained priest by the bishop of Laodicea (in western Asia minor)
382–385	J. lives in Rome, closely associated with Pope Damasus (d. 384)
383	J. revises the Latin gospel texts
386	J. establishes a monastery in Bethlehem, Palestine, where he spends the rest of his life; writes his first commentary on biblical books (on 4 Pauline letters)
386–391	J. translates a number of biblical texts (including the Psalms) from the Greek into Latin
390–407	J. translates all the books of the Hebrew Bible from the Hebrew; see 11.8
393–416	J. writes commentaries on all the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible
394–419	letters exchanged between Augustine and Jerome, initiated by Augustine
419	J. dies in Bethlehem; age c. 72 years.

Some of these dates remain conjectural; see for instance:

1973. Pierre Jay: Sur la date de naissance de saint Jérôme. *Revue des études latines* 51: 262–280.

1979. Alan D. Booth: The Date of Jerome’s Birth. *Phoenix: The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada* 33.4: 346–353.

1981. Alan D. Booth: The Chronology of Jerome’s Early Years. *Phoenix: The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada* 35: 237–259.

1986. J. H. D. Scourfield: Jerome, Antioch, and the Desert: A Note on Chronology. *Journal of Theological Studies* 37: 117–121.

- 10.1 Jerome biographies and portrayals
- 10.2 Jerome bibliography
- 10.3 Jerome and classical culture
- 10.4 Jerome's familiarity with Hebrew and things rabbinic
- 10.5 Hebraica veritas
- 10.6 Jerome and Greek Bible translations
- 10.7 Theory and practice of translation

10.1 Jerome biographies and portrayals

Biographies
 Articles in reference works
 Jerome sources in translation (selections)

Biographies: before 1900

1516. Erasmus: Eximii doctoris Hieronymi Stridonensis vita. – Modern critical edition: *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami*. Vol. VIII.1. Leiden 2019 (vii, 737 pp.), pp. 1–79, edited by A. Morisi Guerra. This was the first source-based biographical survey. Earlier Latin biographies are by Pseudo-Gennadius (9th century; PL 22: 175–184) and Sebastian of Moneta Cassiano (ca. 1000; PL 22: 183–202).
1732. Dominicus Riviere: S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri vita. PL 22: 5–176. – Originally published in Vallarsi's seventeenth-century edition of the works of Jerome, this work was included in the *Patrologia Latina*. The author is Cardinal Domenico Rivera (1671–1752).
1865. Otto Zöckler: *Hieronymus. Sein Leben und Wirken aus seinen Werken dargestellt*. Gotha. xii, 476 pp. – Zöckler refers to Jerome as "der 'Cicero' der altkirchlichen Literatur" (p. V), and has a long chapter "Hieronymus als Bibelübersetzer und Exeget" (pp. 324–381). The interesting final chapter (pp. 464–476) sketches how Jerome and his work was evaluated from Augustine to the nineteenth century.

English

1975. J.N.D. Kelly: *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies*. London. xi, 353 pp.
1994. Patricia Cox Miller: Jerome and His Dreams. In: eadem: *Dreams in Late Antiquity. Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*. Princeton (xii, 273 pp.), pp. 205–231. See below, Chapter **10.3**.
2005. Edward J. Hahnenberg: *Bible Maker: Jerome. The Fascinating Story of the Author of the Latin Vulgate*. Bloomington, Ind. xxiv, 265 pp. – A popular, novel-like biography.

2006. Megan Hale Williams: *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*. Chicago. x, 315 pp. – On pp. 147–166, the author comments on Jerome’s extensive personal library.
2009. Andrew Cain: *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*. Oxford. xiv, 286 pp. – See esp. pp. 43–67: A pope and his scholar; pp. 168–196: the exegetical letters.

German

- 1901–1908. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Berlin. 3 Bände: viii, 298 pp.; viii, 270 pp.; viii, 293 pp. – Hans Lietzmann: “geschickt geschrieben, aber mehr in die Breite als in die Tiefe gehend”; this statement in Lietzmann’s article: Hieronymos. In: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Band VIII.2. Stuttgart 1913 (cols. 1315–2628), cols. 1565–1581, at col. 1581.
1961. Jean Steinmann: *Hieronymus. Ausleger der Bibel. Weg und Werk eines Kirchenvaters*. Translated by Auguste Schorn. Cologne 1961. 365 pp.
1992. Stefan Rebenich: *Hieronymus und sein Kreis. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Stuttgart. 328 pp.
1998. Silvia Letsch-Brunner: *Marcella. Discipula et Magistra. Auf den Spuren eines römischen Christin des 4. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin. xi, 272 pp. – A monograph about one of Jerome’s female friends, and Jerome’s relationship with her.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. Not a narrative biography but a collection of materials on the life, social connections, and work of Jerome. On pp. 155–157, the author supplies an annotated list of published Jerome biographies 1865–2010. ▲
2018. Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen: *Hieronymus. Eine historische Biografie*. Darmstadt. 320 pp. – A narrative biography, with scholarly notes and a bibliography.

French

1922. Ferdinand Cavallera SJ: *Saint Jérôme. Sa vie et son œuvre*. Deux tomes. Louvain. x, 344 pp; 229 pp. – Reviews:
1925. Henri Bremond, in: idem et al., *Manuel illustré de la littérature catholique en France de 1870 à nos jours*. Paris (cxvi, 255 pp.), p. xli: “C’est un des beaux livres de notre temps. Une biographie modèle.”
1967. Paul Antin OSB: Jérôme (Saint). In: *Catholicisme. Hier, aujourd’hui, demain*. Tome VI. Paris (1912 cols.), cols. 702–706, at col. 705: Cavallera’s work is “solide; surtout bibliographique.”
1969. Paul Antin OSB: Retouches au “Saint Jérôme” de Ferdinand Cavallera. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 70 (1969) 264–266.
1927. Henri Leclercq: *Saint Jérôme*. Louvain. 170 pp.
1953. Paulo Evaristo Arns: *La technique du livre d’après saint Jérôme*. Paris. 220 pp. – The author offers a portrait of Jerome who dictates his works and has them expertly copied for dissemination. Review: Gustave Bardy, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 48 (1953) 826–828.
1958. Jean Steinmann: *Saint Jérôme*. Paris. 383 pp. – Reissued 1985. – Semi-popular. Paul Antin OSB characterises it as “vivant, admiratif, unilatéral; des lapsus”; see *Catholicisme. Hier, aujourd’hui, demain*. Tome VI. Paris (1912 cols.), cols. 705–706.

2002. Anne Bernet: *Saint Jérôme*. Étampes. 550 pp. – Popular.
2009. Philippe Henne: *Saint Jérôme*. Paris. 329 pp. – This popular biography includes a bibliography.
2018. Lucrece Luciani: *Le démon de saint Jérôme*. Paris. 144 pp. – A psychoanalyst's essay.

Italian

1949. Angelo Penna: *San Gerolamo*. Rome. 450 pp.

Articles in reference works

1913. Hans Lietzmann: Hieronymos [16]. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Band VIII.2. Stuttgart (cols. 1315–2628), cols. 1565–1581.
1927. Henri Leclercq: Jérôme (saint). In: Fernand Cabrol – Henri Leclercq (eds.): *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. Tome VII.2. Paris (cols. 1425–2784), cols. 2235–2304.
1949. F. Cavallera: Jérôme (saint). In: Louis Pirot et al. (eds.): *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome IV. Paris (1510 cols.), cols. 889–897.
1974. Jean Gribomont OSB: Jérôme. *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. Tome VIII. Paris (1806 cols.), cols. 901–918.
1991. Harald Hagendahl – Jan Hendrik Waszink: Hieronymus. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Band 15. Stuttgart (1262 cols.), cols. 117–139. – Originally, Paul Antin OSB (1902–1980) was meant to contribute the article on Jerome; Antin's valuable draft article is published; see Paul Antin: Jérôme antique et chrétien. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 16 (1970) 35–46; Antin also wrote the entry "Jérôme (Saint)" in: *Catholicisme. Hier, aujourd'hui, demain*. Tome VI. Paris (1912 cols.), cols. 702–706.
2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 122–293 (§ 647). ▲

Jerome sources in translation (selections)

1989. J. Stevensen – W.H.C. Frend (eds.): *Creeds, Councils and Controversies. Documents Illustrating the History of the Church AD 337–461*. Revised edition. London (xxii, 410 pp.), pp. 178–205: Jerome. – A selection of documents pertaining to Jerome's life and work, mainly from his letters, in English translation.
2002. Stefan Rebenich: *Jerome*. London. xi, 211 pp. – A selection of Jerome texts in English translation, with focus on lesser-known texts. The famous letter 22 (CSEL 54: 143–211) with Jerome's dream is not included.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg (444 pp.), pp. 253–359. – Latin selections with German translations by Fürst.
2020. Justin McClain (ed.): *The Quotable Saint Jerome*. Washington. 175 pp. – Brief excerpts from the Jerome volumes in "The Fathers of the Church" series. Each excerpt is accompanied by a bibliographical reference that enables the reader to locate the passage in scholarly editions.

10.2 Jerome bibliography

1951. Paul Antin OSB: *Essai sur S. Jérôme*. Paris (266 pp.), pp. 251–257.

1959. Paul Antin OSB, in: CCSL 72: ix–lii.

2000. Roger Aubert: Jérôme. In: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. Tome 27. Paris (2 pp., 1518 cols.), cols. 1021–1027. – Annotated bibliography of then recent contributions to research on Jerome and his work.

2010. Alexey R. Fokin: *St. Jerome of Stridon: Biblical Scholar, Exegete, Theologian*. Moscow. 223 pp. (Russian). – Pages 184–206: A Jerome bibliography.

2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg (444 pp.), pp. 363–429. – Fürst presents a classified Jerome bibliography in two parts, with part 1 listing all of Jerome's works with text editions and secondary literature, and part 2 listing literature on relevant subjects such as Jerome's theological controversies, asceticism, scholarship, biblical translation and exegesis, and the reception of Jerome in theology and art. This seems to be the most comprehensive Jerome bibliography ever compiled.

10.3 Jerome and classical culture

Note. – Latin is Jerome's mother tongue. As a young man, he was sent to Rome to study under Aelius Donatus, then the most famous grammarian (Jerome, *Contra Rufinum* I, 16; CCSL 79: 15). He knows Latin literature, but he did not read works of ancient Greek literature, though he is familiar with Greek mythology. Three examples of literary references:

(1) Jerome: *Prologue to Joshua* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 320; c. 404): *mortiferi Sirenarum cantus* – the deadly songs of the sirens; die tödlichen Gesänge der Sirenen; reference to Homer: *Odyssey* XII, 158–159. Jerome refers to the sirens also in his *Commentary on Jeremiah* III, 111 (CCSL 74: 119).

(2) Jerome: *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (PL 23: 1085; CCSL 72: 271): *saepe stylum vertat, iterum quae digna legi sint scripturus* – often you have to turn the stylus [for correction], if you want to write something that people will also read a second time; oft muss man den Griffel wenden [zur Korrektur], will man etwas schreiben, das man auch ein zweites Mal liest. This is an allusion to Horace: *Satires* I, 10,80–81.

(3) Jerome: *Letter* 53,8 (CSEL 54: 461): *David, Simonides noster, Pindarus et Alcaeus, Flaccus quoque, Catullus et Serenus, Christum lyra personat, et in decachordo psalterio ab inferis excitat resurgentem* – David, who is our Simonides, Pindar, and Alcaeus, our Horace, our Catullus, and our Serenus, sings of Christ to his lyre; and on a psaltery with ten strings calls him from the lower world to rise again. David is portrayed as summing up the complete set of ancient lyrical poets of Greece (Simonides, Pindar, Alcaeus) and Rome (Horace, Catullus, Serenus), plus – to complete the number seven – Orpheus, who is not named but meant, because he is the mythical singer who calls up Eurydice from the netherworld.

While references to Greek literature are minimal, Jerome's work teems with references and quotations to the Latin classics – the quotation from Horace is just one of many examples; on Jerome's many references to Vergil, see the extra note below, at the end of this section. Of much significance is the recent insight of Catherine Brown Tkacz and especially Neil Adkin that Jerome not only quotes from clas-

sical authors in his letters, biblical commentaries, and prefaces, but also alludes to, or borrows from, Latin literature in his biblical translations. While Wilhelm Süß has suggested a relevant example as early as 1938 (a propos Jer 5:8), this is a new perspective on the Vulgate as a text spiced with literary allusions; for relevant examples, see below, the textual notes on Deut 11:10; 31:21; Judg 14:8; 20:25; Esth 5:3; 9:28; Sir 9:3; 27:15; Isa 64:6; Jer 5:9; Jonah 4:6 (all in **Chapter 21**) and Mark 6:22 (**Chapter 22**). There is much scope for intertextual analysis especially of Old Testament Vulgate passages. ▲

Mention must also be made of Rufinus: *Apologia adversus Hieronymum*, a polemical treatise dating from 401, in which Jerome is accused of his love of pagan literature. Here is a quotation:

But had he not said, What has Horace to do with the Psalter, or Maro with the Gospels, or Cicero with the Apostle? Will not your brother be offended if he sees you sitting in that idol temple? Here of course he brings himself in guilty of idolatry; for if reading causes offense, much more does writing. But, since one who turns to idolatry does not thereby become wholly and completely a heathen unless he first denies Christ, he tells us that he said to Christ, as he sat on the judgment seat with his most exalted angel ministers around him, If I ever hereafter read or possess any heathen books, I have denied you, and now he not only reads them and possesses them, not only copies them and collates them, but inserts them among the words of Scripture itself, and in discourses intended for the edification of the Church (*etiam divinis eos verbis et sermonibus ecclesiasticae aedificationis interserit*). What I say is well enough known to all who read his treatises, and requires no proof. – Rufinus: *Apology against Jerome* II, 8 (CCSL 20: 89).

Rufinus “accused Jerome of having broken his vow never to have anything to do with pagan literature. He claimed that Jerome had employed Latin calligraphers in Rufinus’ own monastery to make copies of the works of Cicero. He had paid top prices for these heathen classics. Rufinus vouched for it: he had seen the folded sheets before they were cut and bound” (Peter Brown: *Through the Eye of a Needle. Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD*. Princeton 2012 [xxx, 759 pp.], p. 277, with reference to Rufinus, *Apologia contra Hieronymum* II, 11; CCSL 20: 92). Rufinus also reports that in his monastery in Bethlehem, Jerome based the education of children on pagan literature such as Vergil (*Apologia contra Hieronymum* II, 11; CCSL 20: 92). In one of his letters, Jerome defends his use of that literature by arguing that in so doing he follows the example of biblical authors including Solomon and Saint Paul (Jerome: *Letter* 70; CSEL 54: 700–708; Labourt III, pp. 209–215).

General studies

Special studies

Studies by Neil Adkin

Jerome and Vergil

Jerome’s letter 22 to Eustochium: Jerome’s dream

General studies

1872. Emil Lübeck: *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*. Leipzig. 228 pp.

1919. Arthur Stanley Pease: The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 50: 150–167.

1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269. – Texts discussed include Ezek 8:14 (Tammuz = Adonis); Prov 26:8 (ancient custom of laying a stone at Mercury images); Jer 5:8 (echoing Cicero: *Against Piso* 69). ▲
1948. Pierre Courcelle: *Les lettres grecques en Occident, de Macrobie à Cassiodore*. 2nd edition. Paris (vi, 440 pp.), pp. 37–47. On Jerome's knowledge of Greek.
1955. Rudolf Eiswirth: *Hieronymus' Stellung zur Literatur und Kunst*. Wiesbaden. xiii, 96 pp.
1958. Harald Hagendahl: *Latin Fathers and the Classics. A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers*. Göteborg. 424 pp. – Pages 91–328: Jerome and Latin literature. This remains the standard scholarly treatment of the subject. ▲
1964. Robert Godel: Réminiscences de poètes profanes dans les lettres de St Jérôme. *Museum Helveticum* 21: 65–70. – Godel adds a number of passages from Tibullus, Vergil, Ovid, Lucanus, and Persius to the passages listed in Lübeck's 1872 study.
1970. Paul Antin: Jérôme antique et chrétien. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 16: 35–46.
1974. Harald Hagendahl: Jerome and the Latin Classics. *Vigiliae Christianae* 28: 216–227.
1982. W.C. McDermott: Saint Jerome and Pagan Greek Literature. *Vigiliae Christianae* 36: 372–382.
1991. Harald Hagendahl – Jan Hendrik Waszink: Hieronymus. In: Ernst Dassmann (ed.): *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart. Band 15 (1262 cols.), cols. 117–139, esp. cols. 135–136 on Jerome's reading of Latin literature.
2002. Julijana Visočnik: Latinski klasiki v Hieronimovih pismih. *Keria: Studia Latina et Graeca* 4.2: 147–155. – The title of this Slovenian paper is: Latin Classics in Jerome's Letters.
2007. Ann Mohr: Jerome, Virgil, and the Captive Maiden: The Attitude of Jerome to Classical Literature. In: John H.D. Scourfield (ed.): *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity*. Swansea (xii, 345 pp.), pp. 299–322. ▲
2007. Catherine M. Chin: Through the Looking Glass Darkly: Jerome Inside the Book. In: William E. Klingshirn – Linda Safran (eds.): *The Early Christian Book*. Washington (xi, 314 pp.), pp. 101–116. – See pp. 110–112. In his letter 53, Jerome condemns the compilation of *centones* (Christian poems constructed from fragments of pagan authors); his own use of pagan authors is very different.
2015. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: *Mythos bei Hieronymus. Zur christlichen Transformation paganer Erzählungen in der Spätantike*. Stuttgart. 386 pp. – Pages 84–101: myth in the Vulgate; pp. 323–332: complete list of ancient myths and where they are referred to in the works of Jerome and in his biblical commentaries and translations. ▲
2017. Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus. Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden. xiii, 266 pp. – See esp. pp. 179–182 on Jerome's classical learning. Kraus insists that Jerome's translation must be read "as a work of Latin literature" (p. 179; see also p. 175). ▲
2020. José Manuel Martínez Sánchez: [Hieronymus classicus et christianus. La defensa de los clásicos como medio para los autores cristianos](#). *Mirabilia Journal* 31: 210–226 (online journal). – Spanish, with an English abstract.

2021. Barbara Feichtinger: Quid facit cum psalterio Horatius? (Hier. Ep. 22, 29,7). Untersuchung zu Hieronymus' Umgang mit klassischen und biblischen Referenzen am Beispiel von Epistula 3 ad Rufinum. *Vigiliae Christianae* 75: 389–454.
2023. Rebekka Schirner: Quid facit cum psalterio Horatius? Reflexionen des Hieronymus über antike Bildungsinhalte. In: Anneliese Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 1–38.

Special studies

1918. Carolus Kunst: De Hieronymi studiis Ciceronis. *Dissertationes philologiae Vindebonenses* 12.2: 111–219. – This Latin doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Vienna, deals with quotations and reminiscences of Cicero in Jerome's letters. Review: Joseph Martin, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 39.26 (1919) 601–604.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – On pages 111–113, Stummer refers to ancient cultural traditions such as Cocytus, the river of death (Job 21:33).
1938. Wilhelm Süß: Der heilige Hieronymus und die Formen seiner Polemik. In: *Volkskundliche Ernte Hugo Hepding dargebracht*. Gießen (273 pp.), 212–238. – On p. 237, Süß explains that Jer 5:8 echoes Cicero: *Against Piso* 69.
1963. Ilona Opelt: Ein Senecazitat bei Hieronymus. *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 6: 175–176.
1972. Ilona Opelt: Lukrez bei Hieronymus. *Hermes* 100: 76–81; also included in: Ilona Opelt: *Kleine Schriften*. Edited by Dietmar Schmitz. Frankfurt 1997 (469 pp.), pp. 345–350.
1975. Johann Baptist Bauer: Hieronymus und Ovid. *Grazer Beiträge* 4: 13–19.
1978. J.J. Thierry: Hieronymus en Ovidius. *Hermeneus* 50: 359–361.
1984. Ilona Opelt: Der "Hebestein" Jerusalem und eine Hebekugel auf der Akropolis von Athen in der Deutung des Hieronymus von Sach 12,1–3. In: Ernst Dassmann – Klaus Thraede (eds.): *Vivarium. Festschrift für Theodor Klauser*. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband 11. Münster (384 pp., 37 leaves), pp. 287–294; also included in: Ilona Opelt: *Kleine Schriften*. Edited by Dietmar Schmitz. Frankfurt 1997 (469 pp.), pp. 85–94.
1995. Antonio V. Nazzaro: La presenza di Orazio in Girolamo. In: Marcello Gigante – Salvatore Cerasuolo (eds.): *Lecture Oraziane*. Naples (356 pp.), pp. 305–323.
1997. Catherine Brown Tkacz: Ovid, Jerome and the Vulgate. In: Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.): *Papers Presented at the 12th International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1995*. *Studia Patristica* 33. Leuven (vi, 585 pp.), pp. 378–382. – Jerome drew on Ovid's diction in similar narrative contexts. He uses the wording of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 2:44, Philebus' rash promise to Phaeton, in both the Gospel of Mark (6:22, Herod's rash promise to Salome), and in the book of Esther (5:3; 5:6; 7:2, Ahasverus' rash promise to Esther). ▲
1999. Catherine Brown Tkacz: Quid facit cum Psalterio Horatius? Seeking the Classical Allusions in the Vulgate. In: Douglas Kries – Catherine B. Tkacz (eds.): *Nova Doctrina Vetusque: Essays on Early Christianity*. New York (xi, 291 pp.), pp. 93–104. – Tkacz surveys her earlier work on the subject and supplies a statistical table of all the references in the corpus of Jerome's work to ancient authors (pp. 101–102); his favourite authors were Vergil, Cicero, Horace and Terence. Vergil is quoted "at least 174 times" (p. 95). ▲

2004. Benoît Jeanjean: 'Quand il ne reste plus que le droit de gémir': Jérôme lecteur de Cicéron et de Sénèque le Père. In: Benoît Gain et al. (eds.): *"Chartae caritatis." Études de patristique et d'antiquité tardive*. Paris (529 pp.), pp. 385–399.
2007. Marc Vessey: Quid facit cum Horatio Hieronymus? Christian Latin Poetry and Scriptural Poetics. In: Willemien Otten – Karla Pollmann (eds.): *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity*. Leiden (xi, 360 pp.), pp. 29–48.
2013. Andrew Cain: Two Allusions to Terence, *Eunuchus* 579 in Jerome. *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 63: 407–412.
2015. Christa Gray: *Jerome, Vita Malchi. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford. xviii, 365 pp. – Pages 33–34: the influence of Virgilian epic.
2016. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: Giganten und Sirenen in der Vulgata. Griechischer Mythos in der lateinischen Bibel des Hieronymus. *Museum Helveticum* 73: 78–96. ▲
2018. Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger – Wilhelm Tauwinkl: [Some Notes about Jerome and the Hexameters in the Book of Job](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue* [online-Zeitschrift] 2: 47–51. – See also the Latin hexameter verse Gen 3:5.
2020. Matthieu Richelle: Un verset, deux traducteurs, trois scénarios; retour sur une énigme textuelle (1 Rois 15,13). In: Innocent Himbaza et al. (ed.): *La Bible en face*. Cahiers de la Revue biblique 95. Leuven 2020 (xxiv, 362 pp.), pp. 223–232. – Jerome on the pagan god Priapus.
2021. Almut Trenkler – Gerd-Dietrich Warns: *Beiträge zum lateinischen Ijob. Iob 16,6; 27,16–17a; 28,1–3a bei Hieronymus und Augustinus*. Göttingen. 253 pp. – Pages 92–93: In an early version of Job 27:17 (which was not adopted into the Vulgate version), Jerome uses the verb *convertere* in a sense attested by Cicero (*In Verrem* II, 3,176): to divert money to someone who has no right to it (Geld für jemanden abzweigen, der kein Recht darauf hat).

Studies by Neil Adkin

1984. Neil Adkin: Some Notes on the Dream of Jerome. *Philologus* 128: 119–126.
1994. Neil Adkin: Juvenal and Jerome. *Classical Philology* 89.1 (1994) 69–72.
1997. Neil Adkin: Cicero's *Orator* and Jerome. *Vigiliae Christianae* 51: 25–35.
1997. Neil Adkin: Cicero, *Pro Marcello* 12 and Jerome. *Philologus* 141: 137–140.
1998. Neil Adkin: Vergil's *Georgics* and Jerome. Epist. 125,11,3–4. *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* N.F. 22: 187–198, at pp. 192–193: in Deut 11:10, Jerome uses two Vergilian words – *iacto semine* (when the seed is cast; *Georgics* I, 104) and *inriquus* (watering; *Georgics* IV, 32).
1999. Neil Adkin: Jerome's vow "never to reread the classics": Some Observations. *Revue des études anciennes* 101: 161–167. – Many have repeated Harald Hagendahl's contention that Jerome indeed had vowed never to reread the pagan classics, and kept that vow for fifteen years. According to Adkin, such a vow never existed. If Jerome did indeed abstain from reading pagan literature, it was because of his preoccupation with translating biblical texts. ▲
1999. Neil Adkin: Cicero's 'Academica' and Jerome. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 16: 11–25.
2000. Neil Adkin: Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate. *Augustinianum* 40: 77–87. ▲

2000. Neil Adkin: Jerome, Seneca, Juvenal. *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 78: 119–128. – On Jerome's knowledge and use of Seneca and Juvenal.
2003. Neil Adkin: Biblia Catilinaria. *Maia* 55: 93–98. – Judg 20:25 echoes Cicero: *In Catilinam* IV, 11.
2003. Neil Adkin: *Jerome on Virginité: A Commentary on the 'Libellus de Virginitate Servanda' (Letter 22)*. Cambridge. xxxvi, 458 pp. – This is a scholarly commentary on Letter 22, without the Latin text and without a translation. Reviews:
2004. Michael Winterbottom, *Journal of Theological Studies* n. s. 55: 722–724.
2004. Y.-M. Duval, *Revue des études augustiniennes* 50.1: 217–219.
2004. Neil Adkin: 'Ad fontem ewcurramus Hebraei': Jerome, Marcella and Hebrew (Epist. 34). *Euphrosyne* n.s. 32: 215–222. – Jerome exaggerated his knowledge of Hebrew.
2005. Neil Adkin: Hieronymus Sallustianus. *Grazer Beiträge* 24: 93–110.
2005. Neil Adkin: Persius in Jerome. *Maia* 57.1: 1–11.
2011. Neil Adkin: Some Alleged Echoes of Apuleius in Jerome. *Classical Philology* 106: 66–75.
2011. Neil Adkin: The Death of Dido and the Vulgate Text of the Gang-bang at Gibeah. *Maia* 63: 451–454. – The wording of Judg 19:27 (*sparsis in limine manibus* – with her hands spread on the threshold) in Jerome's Vulgate translation echoes Vergil: *Aeneid* IV, 663–665, Queen Dido's suicide. The description of the Levite's dead concubine "uses language that comes straight from Virgil's account of the death of Dido" (p. 452). ▲
2011. Neil Adkin: Virgil's Smooth-talking Pygmalion and Jerome's Commentaries on Mordiloquent Minor Prophets. *Euphrosyne* n.s. 44: 235–237.
2013. Neil Adkin: Cicero's *Pro Milone* and Jerome. *Euphrosyne* 41: 367–374.
2018. Neil Adkin: Horace, *Carm.* 2,17,5 and Quintilian, *Inst.* 6 prooem in Jerome. *Prometheus* 44: 202–208.
2019. Neil Adkin: Cicero's *Pro Sexto Roscio* and Jerome. *Museum Helveticum* 76: 88–95.

Jerome and Vergil

Note. – In late antiquity, Vergil was felt to be the most prestigious Latin author; in this assessment, Jerome and Augustine agreed. Augustine calls him *poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus atque optimus* – the great poet, the most famous and best of all (*De civitate Dei* I, 3; CSEL 40.1:7). Here are some of Jerome's quotations of Vergil's poetry from one of his prologues and from his biblical commentaries (and many more could be added, especially from Jerome's letters):

(1) Jerome: *Prologue on Joshua* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 320; c. 404): *dum spiritus hos regit artus* – as long as the spirit guides these limbs; solange der Geist diese Glieder lenkt; without reference to Vergil by name. Vergil: *Aeneid* IV, 336

(2) Jerome: *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (CCSL 72: 325): *nullum cum victis certamen et aethere cassis* – with vanished folk and bodies void of breath there is no warring; kein Krieg mit Ermordeten und Menschen ohne Atem; Vergil: *Aeneid* XI, 104.

(3) Jerome: *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (CCSL 72: 312): (...) *varius et mutabile semper femina* – a shifting, changeful thing was woman ever; veränderlich immer schwankt ja das Weib; Vergil: *Aeneid* IV, 569–570.

(4) Jerome: *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (CCSL 72: 316): *nescia mens hominis fati sortisque fortunae* – mind of man, blind to fate and coming doom; Menschengeist, nicht kundig des eignen Geschicks und der Zukunft; Vergil: *Aeneid* X, 501.

(5) Jerome: *Commentary on Jeremiah* (PL 24 [1845]: 769; 24 [1865]: 798): *Hippomanes, vero quod nomine dicunt pastores, lentum distillat ab inguine virus* – the clammy fluid, rightly named hippomanes in shepherds' language, oozes from their groin (translated by J.W. MacKail); was richtig der Hirte die Rosswut nennet, langsam entropft das Gift dem Leibe der Stuten (translated by Johann Heinrich Voß); Vergil: *Georgica* III, 280–281. This quotation appears in a description of male sexual excess which Vergil compares to that of horses.

(6) Jerome: *Commentary on Galatians* (PL 26 [1845]: 347): *nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinunt agnos* – I don't know who has cast an evil eye on my tender lambs; doch weiß ich nicht, welch Aug mir verhext hat die Lämmer die zarten; Vergil: *Eclogue* III, 108.

There is also a poetic form that Jerome borrows from Vergil: the hexameter verse; Jerome has the serpent use it in Paradise: *eritis sicut deus, scientes bonum et malum* (Gen 3:5). Rhythmic verses and parts of verses are also found elsewhere in the Vulgate, e.g., at the beginning of Acts 17:26 – *fecitque ex uno omne genus*.

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1872. Emil Lübeck: *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*. Leipzig. 228 pp. – On pp. 167–191, the author lists the Vergil passages quoted by Jerome.

1924. Harrison C. Coffin: The Influence of Vergil on St. Jerome and St. Augustine. *The Classical Weekly* 17, no. 22 (April 7): 170–175.

1954. Alfons Kurfess: Vergils vierte Ekloge bei Hieronymus und Augustinus. *Sacris Erudiri* 6: 5–13. – Jerome: *Letter* 53,7 (CSEL 54: 454) and other passages.

1958. Harald Hagendahl: *Latin Fathers and the Classics. A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers*. Göteborg. 424 pp. – Pages 91–328: Jerome. Page 276: "No poet, no classic author altogether came nearer to Jerome's heart than Virgil (...). Virgil is mentioned even oftener than Cicero, and the quotations (...) outnumber those from the master of Latin prose. Lübeck (pp. 167–191) lists 128 cases, 19 from Eclogues, 29 from Georgics, 80 from Aeneid. (...) Jerome's familiarity with Virgil is set in a strong light if we consider the passages where a full line (or more than one line) is quoted literally. They amount to 70 with a total number of nearly 150 full lines."

1961. Jean Steinmann: *Hieronymus. Ausleger der Bibel*. Cologne 1961. 365 pp. – Index s.v. "Vergil."

1968. Alan Cameron: Echoes of Virgil in St. Jerome's Life of St. Hilarion. *Classical Philology* 63: 55–56. "Jerome's mind was saturated with Virgil" (p. 55).

1987. Maurice Gilbert SJ: Jérôme et l'œuvre de Ben Sira. *Le Muséon* 100: 109–120. – Page 110: Without giving examples, Gilbert asserts that there are more than 140 references to Vergil.

1998. Neil Adkin: Vergil's Georgics and Jerome. Epist. 125,11,3–4. *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* N.F. 22: 187–198, at pp. 192–193: in Deut 11:10, Jerome uses two Vergilian

words – *iacto semine* (when the seed is cast; *Georgics* I, 104) and *inriguus* (watering; *Georgics* IV, 32).

1999. Catherine Brown Tkacz: Quid facit cum Psalterio Horatius? Seeking the Classical Allusions in the Vulgate. In: Douglas Kries – Catherine B. Tkacz (eds.): *Nova Doctrina Vetusque: Essays on Early Christianity*. New York (xi, 291 pp.), pp. 93–104. – Tkacz supplies a statistical table of all the references in the corpus of Jerome’s work to ancient authors (pp. 101–102); his favourite authors were Vergil, Cicero, Horace and Terence. Vergil is quoted “at least 174 times” (p. 95).
2002. Marco Tullio Messina: Due note su Virgilio in Girolamo. In: Isabella Gualandri (ed.): *Tra IV e V secolo. Studi sulla cultura latina tardoantica*. Milano (x, 331 pp.), pp. 119–139. – On two Vergil quotations in Jerome’s commentaries on Koheleth (Ecclesiastes) and Isaiah.
2003. Marco Tullio Messina: *L’autorità delle citazioni virgiliane nelle opera esegetiche di san Girolamo*. Rome = *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali (...)* Serie 9, vol. 16, fasc. 4 (i.e., pp. 536–662).
2011. Neil Adkin: The Death of Dido and the Vulgate Text of the Gang-bang at Gibeah. *Maia* 63: 451–454. – The wording of Judg 19:27 (*sparsis in limine manibus* – with her hands spread on the threshold) in Jerome’s Vulgate translation echoes Vergil: *Aeneid* IV, 663–665, Queen Dido’s suicide. The description of the Levite’s dead concubine “uses language that comes straight from Virgil’s account of the death of Dido” (p. 452). ▲
2014. Andrew Cain: Jerome. In: Richard F. Thomas – Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.): *The Virgil Encyclopedia*. Volume II. Chichester (pp. 469–944), p. 689: “Jerome quoted Virgil more than any other classical writer, even Cicero. He knew most, if not all, of the Virgilian corpus by heart and directly quoted or referenced it, approximately two hundred times in his writings.”
2022. Marie Revellio: *Zitate der Aeneis in den Briefen des Hieronymus*. Berlin. xi, 396 pp.

Jerome’s letter 22 to Eustochium: Jerome’s dream

384. Jerome: *Letter 22 to Eustochium*. Jerome asks: *Quid facit cum Psalterio Horatius? Cum Evangeliiis Marco? Cum Apostolo Cicero?* – “What has Horace to do with the psalter, Virgil with the gospels, Cicero with the Apostle?” (22, 29; CSEL 54: 189; Labourt I, p. 144). In the same letter he recounts a dream in which a judge – presumably Christ – orders Jerome to be beaten for being a Ciceronian rather than a Christian – *Ciceronianus es, non Christianus* (22, 30; CSEL 54: 190; Labourt I, p. 145); in the dream, Jerome makes an oath no longer to turn to *codices saeculares* – pagan books (22, 30; CSEL 54: 190–191).

Text and translations of letter 22

1910. *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*. Pars I. Edited by Isidor Hilberg. Vienna (vii, 708 pp.), pp. 143–211 = CSEL 54: 143–211.
1933. Jerome: Letter XXII. In: *Select Letters of St. Jerome*. Translated by F.A. Wright. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass. (xvi, 510 pp.), pp. 52–159.
1936. Hieronymus: 22. Brief: An Eustochium. In: *Des heiligen Kirchenvaters Eusebius Hieronymus ausgewählte Briefe*. Übersetzt von Ludwig Schade. I. Briefband. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (BKV). Munich (xxviii, 412 pp.), pp. 58–117.
1949. Saint Jérôme: *Lettres. Tome I*. Edited and translated by Jérôme Labourt. Collection Budé. Paris (170 double pp.), pp. 110–160.

1963. *The Letters of St. Jerome*. Translated by Charles Christopher Mierow. Ancient Christian Writers 33. New York (vi, 281 pp.), pp. 134–179.
1989. J. Stevenson – W.H.C. Frend (eds.): *Creeds, Councils and Controversies. Documents Illustrating the History of the Church AD 337–461*. London 1989 (xxii, 410 pp.), pp. 180–181 (excerpt from letter 22).
1990. D.A. Russell: *An Anthology of Latin Prose*. Oxford. xxxiii, 251 pp. – Pages 224–226: Jerome: Epitula 22:29–30. Annotated Latin text, no translation.
2011. Jérôme: *La lettre 22 à Eustochium, De virginitate servanda*. Traduite et commentée par Yves-Marie Duval et Patrick Laurence. Bégrolles-en-Mauges. 376 pp. – A publication of the Abbaye de Bellefontaine.
2018. Lucrece Luciani: *Le demon de saint Jérôme*. Paris (139 pp.), pp. 18–20 (excerpt from letter 22).

Echoes

1444. Sano di Pietro: The Flagellation of Jerome [Die Geißelung des Hieronymus]. This Renaissance painting, an altar predella now in the Louvre, shows a scene from Jerome's dream – on the order of the enthroned Christ, two winged angels punish the young Jerome.
1644. John Milton: *Areopagitica*. – In his famous speech against pre-publication censorship in England, Milton refers to Jerome's dream. He thinks that it was the devil, and not God, who ordered Jerome to be chastised for reading Cicero. Milton, of course, was opposed to censorship and the ban on pagan or heretical works. – John Milton: *Areopagitica*. Edited by John W. Hales. Oxford 1894 (xlv, 159 pp.), pp. 14–15.

Note. – Despite his familiarity with ancient pagan literature and his use of it, Jerome's attitude towards it was ambivalent. The most relevant document on Jerome's ambivalence is his letter 22 to his friend Eustochium. Interestingly, one of Jerome's contemporaries had similar worries about his study and knowledge of pagan literature – John Cassian; see his *Collationes* XIV, 12 (PL 49: 974–979). – There is much secondary literature on Jerome's dream as recounted in letter 22; we list mainly recent titles some of which are interested in the psychology and interpretation of dreams.

Secondary literature

1919. Arthur Stanley Pease: The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 50: 150–167. – Page 159: "(...) it is likely that the vision had some effect for fifteen years or so, but after that he regarded it as in no way binding."
1920. Pierre de Labriolle. In: Vincenzo Vannutelli (preface): *Miscellanea Geronimiana*. Rome (viii, 330 pp.), pp. 219–226.
1958. Harald Hagendahl v: *Latin Fathers and the Classics*. Göteborg. 424 pp. – On pp. 318–329, the author discusses Jerome's dream and the possible duration of his abstention from reading classical texts.
1963. Johannes Jacobus Thierry: The Date of the Dream of Jerome. *Vigiliae Christianae* 17: 28–40.
1963. Paul Antin OSB: Autour du songe de saint Jérôme. *Revue des études latines* 41: 350–377. – Also in: idem: *Recueil sur saint Jérôme*. Brussels 1968 (474 pp.), pp. 71–100.
1984. Neil Adkin: Some Notes on the Dream of Jerome. *Philologus* 128: 119–126.

1991. Barbara Feichtinger: Der Traum des Hieronymus – ein Psychogramm. *Vigiliae Christianae* 45: 54–77. – Includes a commentary on Rufinus of Aquileia’s critique of Jerome (pp. 63–67).
1994. Patricia Cox Miller: *Dreams in Late Antiquity*. Princeton 1994 (xii, 273 pp.), pp. 210–212.
1997. Barbara Feichtinger: Ne vero sopor ille fuerat aut vana somnia ... (Hier., ep. 22, 30,6). Überlegungen zum geträumten Selbst des Hieronymus. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 43: 41–62.
2003. Neil Adkin: *Jerome on Virginité: A Commentary on the ‘Libellus de Virginitate Servanda’ (Letter 22)*. Cambridge. xxxvi, 458 pp. – This is a scholarly commentary on Letter 22, without the Latin text and without a translation. – Reviews:
2004. Michael Winterbottom, *Journal of Theological Studies* n. s. 55: 722–724.
2004. Y.-M. Duval, *Revue des études augustiniennes* 50.1: 217–219.
2007. Ann Mohr: Jerome, Virgil, and the Captive Maiden: The Attitude of Jerome to Classical Literature. In: J.H.D. Scourfield (ed.): *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity*. Swansea (xii, 345 pp.), pp. 299–322, at pp. 302–305.
2008. Leopoldo Gamberale: Virgilio nel sogno di Gerolamo: spunti per la costruzione di una biografia intellettuale. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 136.2: 171–197; also in: idem: *San Gerolamo intellettuale e filologo*. Rome 2013 (xx, 181 pp.), pp. 15–39.
2008. Burkhard von Dörnberg: Der Traum bei Hieronymus. In: idem: *Traum und Traumdeutung in der Alten Kirche*. Leipzig (397 pp.), pp. 318–342, esp. pp. 322–334.
2012. Bart J. Koet: Jerome’s and Augustine’s Conversion to Scripture through the Portal of Dreams. In: idem (ed.): *Dreams as Divine Communication in Christianity*. Leuven 2012 (xii, 292 pp.), pp. 93–124. – Letter 22 dates from 384; according to Bart Koet, Jerome subsequently refers to classical literature far less than before. The present writer (B.L.) is not so sure of Koet’s conclusion, because Jerome’s commentary on Ecclesiastes, with its most frequent references to ancient literature, dates from 388/389.
2018. Lucrèce Luciani: *Le démon de saint Jérôme*. Paris (144 pp.), pp. 18–20. – This is a psychoanalyst’s essay.
2021. Jan R. Stenger: “Eines der ärgerlichsten Musterstücke verlogener Rhetorik”: Hieronymus’ Traum und die Begründung seiner Autorschaft. In: Gregor Britto – Bardo Maria Gauly (eds.): *Auf der Suche nach Autofiktion in der antiken Literatur*. Berlin (x, 246 pp.), pp. 213–240. – Jerome’s memory is shaped through quotations, intertextual allusions, and topoi, so that the ‘I’ remembered is at the same time the basis and product of his skill as an author. – The essay title quotes a line from Alfred Schöne: *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in der Bearbeitung des Hieronymus*. Berlin 1900, p. 240; Schöne considered Jerome’s dream story a pure fiction.
2023. Rebekka Schirner: Quid facit cum psalterio Horatius? Reflexionen des Hieronymus über antike Bildungsinhalte. In: Anneliese Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 1–38, at pp. 5–11.

10.4 Jerome’s familiarity with Hebrew and with things rabbinic

Note. – Jerome was the first Christian Hebraist. In modern research, the extent of Jerome’s knowledge of Hebrew is controversial. It has even been suggested that Jerome invented his knowledge of Hebrew in the interest of self-promotion. According to recent majority opinion, Jerome had a passable, though not perfect, knowledge of Hebrew. But doubts persist, and the critical arguments of

James Barr and E. Burstein are not to be dismissed lightly. The extreme thesis of Pierre Nautin (1977, 1986), however, that Jerome knew no Hebrew at all, is considered exaggerated. – As a Christian Hebraist, Jerome did not have immediate successors. On the post-Jeromian story of Christian Hebraism, see below, Chapter 14.8.

Sources

386. Jerome: *Commentary on Galatians* III (PL 26: 399): *sed omnem sermonis elegantiam, et Latini eloquii venustatem, stridor lectionis Hebraicae sordidavit* – “My reading of Hebrew, a harsh and guttural language, has ruined all the elegance of my style and the charm of my Latin prose.” St. Jerome: *Commentary on Galatians*. Translated by Andrew Cain. The Fathers of the Church 121. Washington 2010 (xxv, 283 pp.), p. 204.
- 386/89. Jerome: *Preface to the Book of Chronicles* (Paralipomenon, translated from the Greek; Sources chrétiennes 592: 340). Jerome reports that for his work, he enlisted the help of *de Tiberiade legis quondam auctorem, qui apud Hebraeos admirationi habebatur* – a certain master of the Law whom the Jews admire; einen gewissen Meister des Gesetzes, der bei den Juden in hohem Ansehen steht.
392. Jerome: *Preface to Daniel* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 454). “Conscious that among them (the Jews) I was only a smatterer, I once more began to study Chaldee. And, to confess the truth, to this day I can read and understand Chaldee better than I can pronounce it.” – “(…) und ich, der ich mir bei ihnen [den Juden] wie ein Halbgebildeter vorkam, begann erneut Schüler der chaldäischen (= aramäischen) Sprache zu sein. Und um die Wahrheit zu gestehen, bis zum heutigen Tag kann ich die chaldäische Sprache besser lesen und verstehen als aussprechen.” (German translation: Tusculum-Vulgata IV, pp. 765/67, see below, Chapter 11.7). Knowledge of Chaldee, i.e., Aramaic, is necessary to translate the Aramaic parts of the book of Daniel.
393. Jerome: *Preface to Job* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 398). – “I remember that in order to understand this volume, I paid a not inconsiderable sum for the services of a teacher (*quemdam praeceptorem*), a native of Lydda, who was amongst the Hebrews reckoned to be in the front rank; whether I profited at all by his teaching, I do not know; of this one thing I am sure, that I could translate only that which I previously understood.” – “Ich weiß noch gut, wie ich, um dieses Buch zu verstehen, einen aus Lydda stammenden Lehrer (*quemdam praeceptorem*), der bei den Hebräern [Juden] zu den erstklassigen zählte, teuer bezahlt habe. Ob der Unterricht bei ihm mir irgendetwas gebracht hat, weiß ich nicht; eines aber weiß ich sicher: Übersetzen konnte ich nur das, was ich vorher verstanden hatte.” In the same preface, we also read: *Hebraeum sermonem ex parte didicimus* – “we have acquired some slight knowledge of Hebrew” – “Immerhin habe ich die hebräische Sprache bis zu einem gewissen Grad erlernt.” (German translation: Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus*. Freiburg 2016 [444 pp.], pp. 335 and 337.)
393. Jerome: *Commentary on Haggai*, at the end (PL 25:1416). I, Jerome, must ask the reader not to pay attention to my unpolished style and to consider “how much time I (already) lost for studying the Hebrew language” (*quam multo tempore Hebraeae linguae studio perdidit*). Jerome had no time to polish his Latin.
400. Jerome: *Preface to the Pentateuch* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 310) “If anywhere in the translation I have been seen by you to err, ask the Hebrews. Consult the teachers of the many different cities.” – “Wenn du meinst, in meiner Übersetzung sei mir irgendwo ein Fehler unterlaufen, dann frage einen Hebräer, wende dich an einen Rabbinen (*magister*) in den einzelnen Städten!” (German translation: Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus*. Freiburg 2016 [444 pp.], p. 347.)

408/10. Jerome: *Commentary on Isaiah*, on Isa 22:15,16 (PL 24 [1865]: 282: "the Hebrew who instructed me in the Old Testament (...)") (*Hebraeus autem qui nos in veteris instrumenti erudit...*) explained an item as follows.

413. Jerome: *Letter 125*, 12 (CSEL 56: 131). Jerome reports his first attempt to study Hebrew. This was around 375/77, when he spent some several years with monks in the desert of Chalkis in Syria, east of the city of Antioch. One of the monks, a convert from Judaism, gave him lessons: *cuidam fratri qui ex Hebraeis crediderat me in disciplinam dedi* – I had myself be instructed by one of the brothers who had come to the faith from the Jews; ich ließ mich ausbilden von einem gewissen Bruder, der vom Judentum konvertiert war.

Secondary literature

Before 1900

1861. Moritz Rahmer: Hieronymus und seine jüdischen Lehrer. In: idem: *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*. Heft 1. Breslau (74 pp.), pp. 5–16. – On rabbi Moritz Rahmer and his discovery of Jerome, see Görge K. Hasselhoff: *Die Entdeckung des Christentums in der Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Berlin 2010 (vii, 351 pp.), pp. 137–163; Agnethe Siquans: Hieronymus und die Vulgata in der Wissenschaft des Judentums, in: Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart 2023 (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 159–198, esp. pp. 186–195.

1875. Wilhelm Nowack: *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus für die alttestamentliche Textkritik*. Göttingen. 55 pp. – See pp. 5–11; page 6: "Überhaupt fehlt den Sprachkenntnissen des Hieronymus, wie dies ja auch kaum anders sein konnte, Sicherheit und feste grammatische Grundlage. Schon in Bezug auf das Alphabet sind seine Kenntnisse ungenügend." Nevertheless, Nowack considers the Vulgate to be an important witness to the pre-Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible – which he demonstrates through extensive discussion of individual passages.

1884. Carl Siegfried: Die Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Hieronymus. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 4: 34–83.

1894. Samuel Krauss: The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers: Jerome. *Jewish Quarterly Review* 6.2: 225–261. – Also available in book form: Samuel Krauss: *The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers*. Piscataway, N.J. 2008 (97 pp.), pp. 55–91.

1898. Moritz Rahmer: Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 42.3: 97–107. – On passages in Jerome's *Commentary on Amos*.

1898. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: Saint Jérôme et la tradition juive dans la Genèse. *Revue biblique* 7: 563–566.

English

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1948. Edmund F. Sutcliffe SJ: St Jerome's Hebrew Manuscripts. *Biblica* 29 (1948) 195–204.

1967. James Barr: St Jerome's Appreciation of Hebrew. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 49: 281–302.

1970. Jay Braverman: *Rabbinic and Patristic Tradition in Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*. Diss. Yeshiva University, New York. – Also published as a book, 1978 (see the 1978 entry).

1974. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: Jewish Traditions in the Writings of Jerome. In: D.R.G. Beattie (ed.): *The Aramaic Bible. Targums in Their Historical Context*. Sheffield (470 pp.), pp. 420–430.
1978. Jay Braverman: Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. Washington. xvi, 160 pp. – Sixteen Jewish interpretations are used by Jerome, of which six are not attested elsewhere.
1987. Robert Hayward: Saint Jerome and the Aramaic Targumim. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32.1 (1987) 105–123.
1992. D.P. McCarthy: Saint Jerome's translation of the Psalms: the question of Rabbinic Tradition. In: H.J. Blumberg (ed.): *"Open thou mine eyes ..." Essays on Aggadah and Judaica presented to Rabbi William G. Braude*. Hoboken, N.J. (xx, 339 pp.), pp. 155–191.
1992. Dennis Brown: *Vir Trilinguis. A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome*. Kampen. 229 pp. – See esp. pp. 167–193: Jerome, Jews and Judaism. Brown comments on Jerome's study of Hebrew (pp. 71–82) and his Hebrew teachers (pp. 167–174; p. 172: *Hebraeus meus* = my Hebrew tutor). – Review: John McGuckin, *Novum Testamentum* 37 (1995) 194–196.
1993. Adam Kamesar: *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible. A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesis*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford (xiii, 221 pp.), pp. 176–191.
1993. Stefan Rebenich: Jerome: The "vir trilinguis" and the "Hebraica veritas." *Vigiliae Christianae* 47: 50–77. – Pages 56–58, 60–63: synthesis of the debate about Jerome's knowledge of Hebrew. ▲
1994. Adam Kamesar: [review of: Roger Gryson, ed.: *Commentaire de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe*]. *Journal of Theological Studies* 45 (1994) 728–731. Kamesar objects to Gryson's notion of Jerome's lack of competence in Hebrew.
1995. Neil Adkin: A Note on Jerome's Knowledge of Hebrew. *Euphrosyne* N.S. 23: 243–245.
1996. Eva Schultz-Flügel: The Latin Old Testament Tradition. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume 1.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 642–662. – Page 655: "His knowledge of this language [Hebrew] surely was noteworthy in his time, but not sufficient enough for translating quite independently. Therefore, many corrections 'from the Hebrew' result from the readings of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. But there are also traces which point to the possibility that Jerome made use of the assistance of his Jewish friends."
2004. Neil Adkin: *Ad fontem sermonis recurramus Hebraei: Jerome, Marcella and Hebrew (Epist. 34)*. *Euphrosyne* N. S. 32: 215–222.
2007. Michael Graves: *Jerome's Hebrew Philology. A Study Based on His Commentary on Jeremiah*. Leiden. xii, 228 pp. – Pages 13–75: Reading Hebrew as a "Grammarian"; pp. 76–127: The sources of Jerome's Hebrew scholarship. 2007. "Hebrew was not a 'dead language' in Jerome's day, but was still being used actively" (p. 81). His "combination of the Greek versions and rabbinic Hebrew scholarship into a single philological method was Jerome's greatest innovation as a Hebrew philologist" (p. 127).
2007. Pieter W. van der Horst: The Site of Adam's Tomb. In: M.F.J. Baasten et al. (eds.): *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture*. Dordrecht (x, 320 pp.), pp. 251–255. –The view expressed several times by Jerome that Adam was buried in Hebron (Kiryat-Arba) also determined his translation of Josh 14:15. He traces the thought back to *Hebraei* (Jews) (*The Life of saint Paula* = *Letter* 108, 11; CSEL 55: 319).
2008. David L. Everson: An Examination of Synoptic Portions within the Vulgate. *Vetus Testamentum* 58: 178–190. – A comparison between passages in Samuel/Kings and parallel passages in Chronicles

- shows progress in Jerome's proficiency in Hebrew, as well as his later preference of a less literal, smoother Latin style.
2008. Nathalie B. Dohrmann: Lessons from Jerome's Jewish Teachers: Exegesis and Cultural Interaction in Late Antique Palestine. In: eadem (ed.): *Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Exchange*. Philadelphia (viii, 340 pp.), pp. 66–86.
2008. M.H. Williams: Lessons from Jerome's Jewish Teachers: Exegesis and Cultural Interaction in Late Antique Palestine. In: D.B. Dohrmann – D. Stern (eds.): *Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Exchange: Comparative Exegesis in Context*. Philadelphia (viii, 339 pp.), pp. 66–86.
2009. Hillel I. Newman: Why Should We Measure Jerome's Hebrew Competence? In: Andrew Cain – Josef Lössl (eds.): *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Abingdon (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 131–140.
2009. John Cameron: The Rabbinic Vulgate? In: Andrew Cain – Josef Lössl (eds.): *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Abingdon (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 117–129.
2010. Robert Hayward: *Targums and the Transmission of Scripture into Judaism and Christianity*. Leiden. xv, 432 pp. – Pages 281–299: Jewish Traditions in Jerome's Commentary on Jeremiah and the Targum of Jeremiah; pp. 300–317: Saint Jerome and the Aramaic Targumim; pp. 318–338: Some Observations on St. Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis and the Rabbinic Tradition.
2012. Görg K. Hasselhoff: Revising the Vulgate: Jerome and His Jewish Interlocutors. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 64: 209–221.
2013. Alison Salvesen: "Tradunt Hebraei." The Problem of the Function and Reception of Jewish Midrash in Jerome. In: Michael Fishbane – Joanna Weinberg (eds.): *Midrash Unbound. Transformations and Innovations*. Oxford (viii, 472 pp.), pp. 57–82. – The texts considered include Genesis 27:15 as discussed in Jerome's *Hebrew Questions in Genesis*, and Hab 3:5, as discussed in Jerome's commentary on Habacuc. According to Salvesen, Jerome did have a decent knowledge of Hebrew.
2014. Geert W. Lorein: The Latin Versions of the Old Testament. In: Alberdina Houtman et al. (eds.): *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*. Leiden (xiii, 311 pp.), pp. 125–145. – The author lists the following passages where the Vulgate is close to the Targum: Num 19:2; Josh 19:33; Judg 4:11; 1 Sam 22:9; Eccl/Koh 1:14; Isa 5:2; Jer 2:21 (p. 128).
2015. Tim Denecker: Language Attitudes and Social Connotations in Jerome and Sidonius Apollinaris. *Vigiliae Christianae* 69.4: 393–421. – On Jerome's attitude towards the Hebrew language.
2017. Matthew A. Kraus: Rabbinic Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Numbers. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 16: 539–563.
2017. Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus. Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden. xiii, 266 pp. – Reviews:
2018. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfänder, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 143: 600–602.
2018. Pieter W. van der Horst, *Vigiliae Christianae* 72: 107–110. ▲
2018. Matthew A. Kraus: [The Vulgate and Christian-Jewish Dialogue](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue* 2: 1–14 (online journal). – Drawing on his recent research on Vulgate Exodus and Numbers, the author presents some examples of his translation that combine Classical, Jewish, and Christian traditions in order to illustrate the translation technique of the Vulgate. This translation technique offers ways of thinking about Jewish-Christian dialogue.

2020. Thomas E. Hunt: *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity*. Leiden. vii, 296 pp. – Pages 124–146: Hebrew in Jerome's Literary Production.

German

1902. Wilhelm Bacher: Eine angebliche Lücke im hebräischen Wissen des Hieronymus. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 22: 114–116.
1909. Victor Aptowitzer: Rabbinische Parallelen und Aufschlüsse zu Septuaginta und Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 29: 241–252. – Aptowitzer (1871–1942) was a learned Talmudist based in Vienna; in 1938, he emigrated to Palestine. Some of Aptowitzer's observations were taken up by Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–30. ▲
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 105–110.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: Spuren jüdischer und christlicher Einflüsse auf die Übersetzung der großen Propheten durch Hieronymus. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 8: 35–48.
1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10: 3–30. – This article's section (i), pp. 4–20, deals with the presence of Jewish traditions in Jerome's translation of Samuel and Kings; for an example, see textual note on 1 Sam 1:5 (Chapter 21). The article was written in Jerusalem and given the date "17 August 1929." Stummer's main source for things rabbinical is the 1909 article of Aptowitzer.
1930. Cyrus H. Gordon: Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49: 384–416. – Pages 384–387: history of research on Jewish influence on Jerome.
1935. Louis Ginzberg: Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern. VI: Der Kommentar des Hieronymus zu Jesaja. In: Salo W. Baron – Alexander Marx (eds.): *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut*. New York (xciii, 614, 160 pp.), pp. 279–314.
1937. Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zu dem Problem "Hieronymus und die Targumim." *Biblica* 18.2: 174–181.
1939. Samuel Klein: Targumische Elemente in der Deutung biblischer Ortsnamen bei Hieronymus. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 83: 132–141.
1954. Martin Rehm: Die Bedeutung hebräischer Wörter bei Hieronymus. *Biblica* 35: 174–197.
1973. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: Die Wiedergabe des hebräischen Kausativs in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 85: 196–219.
1977. Hans Peter Rüger: Hieronymus, die Rabbinen und Paulus (2 Kor 4,16). *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 68: 132–137. – Rabbinic parallels to Jerome's comments on Koheleth 9:14–15.
1986. Pierre Nautin: Hieronymus. In: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Band 15. Berlin (785 pp.), pp. 304–315. – Page 310: "Hieronymus war kaum in der Lage, eine Bibelübersetzung aus dem Hebräischen anzufertigen oder auch nur eine bereits vorliegende Übersetzung am hebräischen Text zu verifizieren. Seine iuxta hebraeos-Edition des Alten Testaments wurde ebenfalls an Hand einer hexaplarischen Septuaginta hergestellt."

1993. Günter Stemberger: Hieronymus und die Juden seiner Zeit. In: D.A. Koch – H. Lichtenberger (eds.): *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter*. Göttingen (400 pp.), pp. 347–364. Also in: Günter Stemberger: *Judaica minora*. Volume 2. Tübingen 2010 (ix, 787 pp.), pp. 66–81.
2002. Josef Lössl: Hieronymus und Epiphanius von Salamis über das Judentum ihrer Zeit. *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 33: 411–436. – Page 415, note 16: "Die großen Diskrepanzen in der Beurteilung der Hebräischkenntnisse Hieronymus' in der modernen Forschung resultieren weniger aus einer Verschleierungstaktik auf Seiten Hieronymus, was seine Hebräischkenntnisse angeht, als aus einer gewissen Unklarheit auf Seiten vieler Forscher, was sie denn unter 'Hebräischkenntnissen' genau verstanden wissen wollen." Page 416: "Hieronymus und Epiphanius sahen das Judentum weithin aus häresiologischer Perspektive."
2003. Siegfried Risse: Hebräischkenntnisse des Hieronymus. In: Hieronymus: *Commentarius in Ionam Prophetam – Kommentar zu dem Propheten Jona*. Translated by Siegfried Risse. Fontes Christiani 60. Turnhout (250 pp.), pp. 35–37.
2010. Friedrich Avemarie: Hieronymus und die jüdische Genesis. *Hebraicae questiones und die Vulgata im Vergleich*. In: Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt (ed.): *Moderne Religionsgeschichte im Gespräch*. Berlin (545 pp.), pp. 74–93. – Also in: idem: *Neues Testament und früh-rabbinisches Judentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Tübingen 2013 (xxxiii, 966 pp.), pp. 825–839.
2014. Günter Stemberger: Hieronymus und die Rabbinen. Zum Koheletkommentar. In: Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger – Elisabeth Birnbaum (eds.): *Hieronymus als Exeget und Theologe. Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Koheletkommentar des Hieronymus*. Leuven (xviii, 331, 7 pp.), pp. 87–104.
2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomium-übersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart. 280 pp. – Pages 68-82: Jerome and Judaism. Discussed are, among other things, Jerome and his Jewish teachers, the expressions "Jewish" and "Hebrew" in Jerome, Judaism and Christianity at the time of Jerome. The word *iudaeus* has a rather negative sound, while *hebraeus* has a positive, occasionally idealizing sense (p. 70).
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 79–83: Jerome's language skills; pp. 137–144: Jerome and Jewish biblical interpretation; pp. 421–423: bibliography on Jerome and Jewish biblical Interpretation (arranged chronologically, with contributions from 1854 to 2014). Fürst acknowledges Jerome's knowledge of Hebrew as extensive and in-depth, though not perfect (p. 81).
2023. Agnethé Siquans: Hieronymus und die Vulgata in der Wissenschaft des Judentums. In: Anneliese Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 159–198.

French

1914. Albert Condamin: L'influence de la tradition juive dans la version de saint Jérôme. *Revue des sciences religieuses* 5: 1–21. – Condamin denies rabbinical influence on Jerome, an interpretation rejected by later authors.
1934. Gustave Bardy: Saint Jérôme et ses maîtres hébreux. *Revue bénédictine* 46: 145–164. – When Jerome claims to have learned a fact from his Hebrew teachers and informants, he is not always to be trusted. In certain cases, one can show that his actual source was a Christian writer – Origen or Eusebius.

1975. Eitan Burstein: La compétence de Jérôme en hébreu. Explication des certaines erreurs. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 21: 3–12. – Jerome’s knowledge of Hebrew was rather limited.
1978. Jan Smeets: Traditions juives dans la Vulgate de Daniel et le commentaire de Jérôme. *SIDIC* (Service international de documentation judéo-chrétienne) 12.2: 16–26.
1977. Pierre Nautin: *Origène. Sa vie et son œuvre*. Paris. 474 pp. – Nautin’s book includes long passages on Jerome (esp. pp. 214–219, 326–361). Nautin argues the extreme thesis that Jerome exaggerated his knowledge of Hebrew. In fact, he had not acquired any Hebrew language skills, invented the encounter with Jewish scholars, and had no familiarity with the Jewish art of interpretation. What information he offers about the Hebrew biblical text is all taken from Eusebius and Origen. See also Nautin’s other work on Jerome: *Études de chronologie hiéronymienne* (393–397). *Revue des études augustiniennes* 19 (1973) 69–86, 213–29; 20 (1974) 251–284; idem: Hieronymus, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Volume 15. Berlin 1986 (785 pp.), pp. 304–315. – Today, Nautin’s opinion is considered exaggerated, if not misleading. ▲
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Page 158, note 76: “La connaissance de l’hébreu don’t Jérôme se vante est, en fait, assez limitée.”
1991. Roger Gryson: Saint Jérôme traducteur d’Isaïe: réflexions sur le texte d’Isaïe 14,18–21 dans la Vulgate et dans *In Esaiam*. *Le Muséon* 104: 57–72. According to Gryson, who follows Pierre Nautin, Jerome’s competence in Hebrew was limited.
2011. Anne-Françoise Loiseau: Jérôme et les traditions exégétiques targumiques, en particulier dans les XII. *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 44: 81–126.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Pages 78–83 survey what is known about Jerome’s knowledge of Hebrew and the modern debate about the extent of that knowledge. His passion for this ancient language derives from Jerome’s conviction that Hebrew is the mother (*matrix*) of all languages, as he states in his commentary on Zephaniah (CCSL 76A: 708). We may add that Augustine thought of Hebrew as the language spoken by everyone before the Tower of Babel, including Adam and Eve in paradise (*De civitate Dei* XVI, 11,1; PL 41: 490; CSEL 40.2: 146–147. Jerome must have been of the same opinion that seems to be implied by the biblical story.

Italian – Spanish

1988. Ilona Opelt: San Girolamo e i suoi maestri ebrei. *Augustinianum* 28: 327–338. – At least five different Hebrew authorities can be found in Jerome’s work. Opelt’s work is considered fundamental to the question of Jerome’s Jewish teachers. ▲
1997. Sandro Leanza: Gerolamo e la tradizione ebraica. In: C. Moreschini – G. Menestrina (eds.): *Motivi letterari ed esegetici in Gerolamo*. Brescia (300 pp.), 17–38. – In his edition of Eusebius of Caesarea’s commentary on Isaiah (1706), Bernard de Montfaucon OSB realized that when Jerome attributes an information to his Jewish masters, he may actually have taken this information from Eusebius. ▲
2003. Raúl González Salinero: *Biblia y polémica antijudía en Jerónimo*. Madrid. 294 pp.

Swedish

1986. Per Beskow: Hieronymus och judarna. In: Sten Hidal (ed.): *Judendom och kristendom under de första århundradena*. II. Oslo (304 pp.), pp. 243–253.

Hebrew

1982. J. Schwartz: Jerome and the Jews of Judea. *Zion* 47: 186–191. – Hebrew, English summary.

10.5 Hebraica veritas

Note. – The reference to “Hebrew truth” expresses Jerome’s conviction that the true biblical text of the Old Testament books is not that of the Septuagint (or other Greek versions), but the Hebrew text read in the synagogues of his time, including the synagogues of the city of Rome and that of Bethlehem with which he maintained a relationship apparently originally kept secret in order to avoid controversy among Jews. Today, scholars no longer believe in the simple notion of *Hebraica veritas*, because they understand that the stability and originality of the Hebrew text tacitly assumed by Jerome did not exist. Jerome would have been shocked to learn that sometimes the Septuagint provides a better text than the Hebrew codices on which he relied. Accordingly, “Jerome’s *Hebraica veritas* loses its simplicity and charm”; moreover, from a modern perspective, “there are intellectual flaws in the idea of *Hebraica veritas*” (William McKane: *Selected Christian Hebraists*. Cambridge 1989. X, 268 pp., at p. 2). While McKane is not very clear about the intellectual flaws, one must keep in mind that for Jerome, Hebrew truth is always Christian truth, for he never abandoned the notion that the Jews do not have the full (i.e., Christian) understanding of the wording of the Hebrew Bible. In other words: for Jerome, *Hebraica veritas* is a philological notion, but not a theological one. According to Jerome, the Jews have the proper philological understanding of the biblical text, but they ultimately misunderstand its theological implication.

Sources

390. Jerome: *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, preface (CCSL 72: 2): Speaking about Origen, his emulated model, Jerome reports that this scholar, “overpowered by the Hebrew truth” (*Hebraica veritate superatus*), enlisted the Hebrew language as his ally. Chronologically, this is Jerome’s first published reference to Hebrew truth.
- 391/92. Jerome: *Prologue to Samuel and Kings* (prologus galeatus; Sources chrétiennes 592: 334): “And when you understand anything of which you were ignorant before, either (if you are grateful) consider me a translator, or (if ungrateful) a paraphraser, although I am not at all conscious of having deviated from the Hebrew original (*quippiam de hebraica veritate*). Certainly, if you are incredulous, read the Greek and Latin books and compare (them) with these little works, and wherever you will find differences among these, ask any one of the Hebrews (...).” – German (Tusculum-Vulgata II, p. 257): “Wenn Du verstanden hast, was Du zuvor nicht wusstest, dann halte mich entweder für einen Übersetzer; wenn Du dankbar bist – oder für einen Paraphrasten, wenn Du undankbar bist, obwohl ich mir ganz und gar nicht bewusst bin, irgendetwas von der hebräischen Wahrheit (*quippiam de hebraica veritate*) verändert zu haben. Wenn du allerdings misstrauisch bist, dann lies die griechischen Handschriften und die lateinischen, und vergleiche sie mit diesen kleinen Werken, und wo auch immer du siehst, dass sie voneinander abweichen, frag irgendeinen der Hebräer (...).”
403. Jerome: *Letter to Sunnia and Fretela*: “Whenever in the Old Testament there is a difference between what the Greeks (read) and what the Latins (read), we take our refuge with the Hebrew truth” (*Letter* 106, 2; CSEL 55: 249: *In Veteri Testamento, si quando inter Graecos Latinosque diversitas est, ad Hebraicam confugimus veritatem.*) The passage can also be found, in Latin and English, in Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. 2022 (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 80–81. – On Jerome’s letter 106, see below, Chapter **11.4**.

Secondary literature

English

1992. Sarah Kamin: The Theological Significance of the *Hebraica Veritas* in Jerome's Thought. In: Michael Fishbane (ed.): *Sha'arei Talmon*. Winona Lake (xlix, xi, 431, 165 pp.), Ind., pp. 243–253.
1993. Stefan Rebenich: Jerome: The "vir trilinguis" and the "Hebraica veritas." *Vigiliae Christianae* 47: 50–77. – See pp. 62–65 on Jerome's *veritas hebraica* controversy, i.e., the controversy about the authority of the Septuagint, with his contemporaries.
1996. Eva-Schulz-Flügel: The Latin Old Testament Tradition. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume I.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 642–662. – Pages 657–662: The problem of *Hebraica veritas* in Jerome and Augustine.
2006. Giuseppe Veltri: Christian Theology: From the *Veritas Graeca* to the *Veritas Hebraica*. In: idem: *Libraries, Translations, and "Canonic" Texts*. Leiden (xi, 278 pp.), pp. 42–77.
2008. Paul B. Decock: Jerome's Turn to the *Hebraica veritas* and His Rejection of the Traditional View of the Septuagint. *Neotestamentica* 42: 205–222. – Pages 215–220: Jerome defends his preference of the Hebrew text by arguing that Jesus and the apostles quote from it (rather than from the Septuagint). For Jerome, the Septuagint is a translation, not a revelation. "It is instructive to notice how in his commentaries he usually gives first his translation from the Hebrew text and then his translation from the Septuagint in its Hexapla form. However, when quoting from memory he may reproduce the *Vetus Latina*, the text which was commonly used by Latin-speaking Christians" (p. 219).
2009. John Cameron: The Rabbinic Vulgate? In: Andrew Cain – Josef Lössl (eds.): *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Abingdon (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 117–129. – Page 117: "Dominique Barthélemy argued that Jerome sought by means of his biblical translations to replace the Old Testament of the Church with the Bible of the rabbis. Rufinus and Augustine would likely have been happy to concur. Undaunted by such formidable opposition, I intend to disprove the argument." On the basis of his study of Jerome's translation of the Psalms *iuxta Hebraeos*, Cameron concludes that, while Jerome was willing to utilize whatever philological assistance from the Jews and Jewish written sources he could muster, he was very reticent to reflect Jewish exegetical expertise in his translations.
2009. Andrew Cain: *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*. Oxford. xiv, 286 pp. – Pages 64–65: "Modern scholars of the Bible take for granted a reading knowledge of Hebrew as being essential to their discipline. In the late fourth century, however, the climate could not have been more different. The leading Latin biblical scholars looked askance at 'Hebrew verity' as a working hermeneutical concept. By advocating the supremacy of the Hebrew text Jerome was challenging the assumption, widely held among Greek and Latin contemporaries, that the Septuagint was divinely inspired." Can emphasize the opposition to his approach he was confronted with early on, e.g., by Ambrosiaster, then the leading biblical expert in the city of Rome (p. 66).
2010. Monika Ozóg: Saint Jerome and *veritas hebraica* on the basis of the correspondence with Saint Augustine. *Vox Patrum* 30: 511–519.
2012. Edmon L. Gallagher: The Textual Theory of Jerome and His Opponents. In: idem: *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory*. Leiden (ix, 266 pp.), pp. 197–208.

2017. Kevin J. Zilverberg: The Neo-Vulgate as Official Liturgical Translation. In: Joseph Briody (ed.): *Verbum Domini. Liturgy and Scripture*. Wells, Somerset (270 pp.), pp. 93–125. – Page 96: “Given the chaos of so many divergent Greek and Latin manuscripts and the much greater conformity of the Hebrew manuscripts then available, Jerome can be forgiven for his lack of appreciation of textual plurality. (...) Jerome, like Origen, underappreciated the textual value of the LXX.”
2019. Teppei Kato: Hebrews, Apostles, and Christ: Three Authorities of Jerome’s *Hebraica Veritas*. *Vigiliae Christianae* 73: 420–439. – In the preface to the Chronicles translation, Jerome invokes three authorities: **(1)** the “Hebrews” (Jews) philologically endorse his translation, – **(2)** the apostles support it both philologically and theologically (Old Testament quotations being in agreement with the Hebrew text, rather than with the Septuagint); – **(3)** Christ, of course, functions as the highest authority.
2020. Thomas E. Hunt: *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity*. Leiden. vii, 296 pp. – Pages 132–136: The Stability of the *Hebraica Veritas*.
2020. Martin Meiser: Jerome as a Textual Critic. In: idem: *The Septuagint and Its Reception. Collected Essays*. Tübingen (ix, 603 pp.), pp. 362–378.

German

1993. Gianfranco Miletto: Die “hebraica veritas” in S. Hieronymus. In: Helmut Merklein et al. (eds.): *Die Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition*. Frankfurt (569 pp.), pp. 56–65. – Jerome has used Hebrew manuscripts the text of which at times departs from that of the *textus receptus*. These manuscripts have left traces in the Vulgate.
1994. Christoph Marksches: Hieronymus und die “Hebraica veritas.” In: Martin Hengel – Anna Maria Schwemer (eds.): *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum*. Tübingen (xii, 325 pp.), pp. 131–181.
2008. James Alfred Loader: Die Problematik des Begriffes *Hebraica veritas*. *Hervormde teologiese studies* (Pretoria) 64: 227–251.
2014. Günter Stemberger: Hieronymus und die Rabbinen. Zum Koheletkommentar. In: Elisabeth Birnbaum – Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger (eds.): *Hieronymus als Exeget und Theologe*. Leuven (xviii, 331 pp.), pp. 87–104. – Jerome knows many Jewish traditions, though it is difficult to say how he came to know them.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 107–111: Die “Wahrheit des Hebräischen”; with chronologically arranged bibliography (1992–2016) on pp. 416–417. Page 109: “Mit diesem Interesse am hebräischen Text des Alten Testaments war Hieronymus originell und innovativ. Es war zwar nicht gänzlich neu, doch sehr anders gelagert als bei seinen Vorgängern. So interessierte sich Origenes für den hebräischen Text und die jüngeren griechischen Bibelversionen ausschließlich zu dem Zweck, den Septuaginta-Text besser zu verstehen.”
2022. Siegfried Kreuzer: *Hebraica veritas und Graecitas originalis. Hieronymus und die neuere Septuagintaforschung*. In: idem et al. (eds.): *Bibel und Patristik*. Paderborn (xiii, 460 pp.), pp. 3–33.
2023. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica Veritas*. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 22–23.
2023. Teppei Kato: *Hebraica Veritas und die Zitate aus dem Alten Testament im Neuen Testament*. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 24–25.

French

1984. Colette Estin: *Les Psautiers de Jérôme à la lumière des traductions juives antérieures*. Rome. 238 pp. – Hebrew truth, for Jerome, does not merely imply the reference to the Hebrew text; it also means reference to the Jewish translators Theodotion and, especially, Aquila and Symmachus. Review: Bernard Couroyer OP, *Revue biblique* 93.1 (1986) 149–152. ▲

Italian

1997. Emanuela Prinzivalli: "Sicubi dubitas, Hebraeos interroga." Girolamo tra difesa dell' "Hebraica veritas" e polemica anti-giudaica. *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 14: 179–206. – Jerome thought of the correct, Hebrew-based translation of the Scriptures as a common ground for Jewish-Christian disputes (p. 192). ▲

10.6 Jerome and Greek Bible translations

Note. – Before translating from the Hebrew, Jerome relied on the Septuagint, esp. when translating (in 388) what came to be called the Gallican (or Vulgate) Psalter. In his *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (PL 23: 935–1062; see below, Chapter **20.2 Genesis**), Jerome cites the textual versions of the Hebrew, Septuagint, Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion. Jerome's attitude towards the Septuagint and the other Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible (by Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion) was ambivalent. On the one hand, he used them frequently, on the other, he was well aware of the flaws they had. According to some scholars, Jerome relied more on the Greek translations than he would ever have admitted.

For surveys of the post-Septuagint translations, see:

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 20–21.

1968. Sidney Jellicoe: *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford 1968 (xix, 423 pp.), pp. 76–99. – A classical scholarly statement. ▲

2000. Armin Schmitt: *Der Gegenwart verpflichtet. Studien zur biblischen Literatur des Frühjudentums*. Berlin (viii, 328 pp.), p. 51: "Aquila zeigt eine beinahe übertriebene Treue und Bindung zum hebräischen Original; im Gegensatz dazu ist Symmachus bestrebt, als eleganter Stilist griechischer Idiomatik gerecht zu werden. Zwischen beiden steht Theodotion als Rezensent und Übersetzer, der sich eng an das hebräische Original unter gleichzeitiger Schonung und Bewahrung der Septuaginta anschließt."

2005. Michael Tilly: *Einführung in die Septuaginta*. Darmstadt (135 pp.), pp. 87–91.

2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg 2016 (444 pp.), pp. 95–105 (plus bibliography on pp. 414–415).

One post-Septuagint Greek book is easily available: Theodotion's version of the book of **Daniel**, because in this case, Theodotion's text (rather than the Septuagint version) has become part of the standard Greek Bible. Accordingly, Greek Bibles used in Greek Orthodoxy print only the text of Theodotion, whereas modern scholarly editions such as that of Rahlfs/Hanhart print both versions. In the Rahlfs/Hanhart *Septuaginta* (revised edition, edited by Robert Hanhart, Stuttgart 2006. Ixxii, 1184, 941 pp.), the Septuagint text of Daniel is placed on the upper half of the page, while the Theodotion

text occupies the lower half (second part, pp. 870–936). Vernacular translations of the Greek Bible also include the two versions:

2007. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations*. Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. Oxford (xx, 1027 pp.), pp. 994–1022.

2009. *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Kraus und Martin Karrer. Stuttgart (xxviii, 1507 pp., maps), pp. 1424–1462.

Sources

Jerome and the Septuagint (and Origen's Hexapla)

Jerome and Symmachus, Aquila, Theodotion

Sources

384. Jerome: *Letter 28,2 to Marcella. Aquila qui verborum Hebraeorum diligentissimus explicator est* (Labourt II, p. 19) – Aquila who most carefully explains the words of the Jews.

384. Jerome: *Letter 32,1 to Marcella. Iam pridem cum voluminibus Hebraeorum editionem Aquilae con-fero, ne quid forsitan propter odium Christi synagoga mutaverit* (Labourt II, pp. 37–38) – for some time past I have been comparing Aquila's version of the Old Testament with the scrolls of the Hebrew, to see if from hatred to Christ the synagogue has changed the text. – This letter shows that Jerome very early in his career, in Rome, studied Aquila's Greek version of the Hebrew Bible.

388/89. Jerome: *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, preface. "Translating directly from the Hebrew, I have, however, attached myself above all to the version of the Septuagint translators, but only insofar as they do not deviate too much from the Hebrew text. I have also sometimes mentioned the translations by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. I had indeed to avoid discouraging the zeal of my reader by too much novelty" (PL 23 [1845]:1011–1012 = PL 23 [1883]: 1062).

c. 390. Jerome: *Commentarioli in Psalmos*. On Psalm 9: *Septuaginta interpretes Christi passionem et resurrectionem (...) celare voluerunt, ne a gentibus illo tempore facile nosceretur* (CCSL 72: 191) – the Seventy Translators wanted to hide the suffering and resurrection of Christ (...) lest it be easily known by the Gentiles at that time.

c. 391. Jerome: *Preface to the Psalter iuxta hebraeos* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 416). *studiosissime postulasti ut post Aquilam, Symmachum et Theodotium novam editionem Latino sermone transferr-em* – you have earnestly requested that, in the steps of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion, I should produce a new edition in the Latin language.

393. Jerome: *Prologue to Job (iuxta hebraeos)* (PL 28: 1082; Sources chrétiennes 592: 402). The Jew Aquila and the judaising heretics Symmachus and Theodotion *qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt* – who, by deceitful translation, have obscured many mysteries of the Saviour.

396. Jerome: *Letter to Pammachius* = Letter 57,11 (CSEL 54: 523). *Aquila autem, proselytus et contentiosus interpres, qui non solum verba, sed etymologias verborum transferre conatus est, iure proicitur*

a nobis – On the other hand we do right to reject Aquila, the proselyte and controversial translator, who has striven to translate not words only but their etymologies as well.

398/400. Jerome: *Prologus in Pentateucho* 2 (Sources chrétiennes 592: 308). "I don't know which author was the first to come up with the lie of putting 70 little houses in Alexandria, distributing the translators there and having them all write the same thing. Aristaeus, however, a bodyguard of Ptolemy, and much later Josephus have reported nothing of the sort. They write rather the Seventy would have gathered in one and the same hall and would have conferred, not prophesied. It is one thing to be a seer, another to be a translator. In prophesying, the spirit foretells the future; but translating is a matter of learned knowledge and of having a rich vocabulary along with an understanding of what is to be translated." – German (after A. Fürst): "Ich weiß nicht, welcher Autor sich als erster die Lüge hat einfallen lassen, in Alexandria 70 Häuschen hinzustellen, die Übersetzer darauf zu verteilen und alle dasselbe schreiben zu lassen. Aristaeus hingegen, ein Leibwächter des Ptolemaeus, und viel später Josephus haben nichts derartiges berichtet. Sie schreiben vielmehr die Siebzig hätten sich in ein und derselben Halle versammelt und konferiert, nicht prophezeit. Eine Sache ist es nämlich, Seher, eine andere, Übersetzer zu sein. Beim Prophezeien sagt der Geist künftiges voraus, beim Übersetzen kommt es auf gelehrtes Wissen und einen reichen Wortschatz an, ferner auf das Verständnis dessen, was übersetzt werden soll."

404/410. Jerome: *Letter* 106,2 (CSEL 55: 249). Jerome characterises two textual types of the Greek Bible, calling the one the *koinê* or *communis*, the other the *septuaginta*. While the two represent the same text, they are nevertheless different. The *koinê* type has been corrupted during the process of transmission and is therefore unreliable. The Septuagint, by contrast, is the pure text included in Origen's hexapla, and this text can be found (only) in the manuscripts of scholars (*in eruditorum libris*).

Jerome and the Septuagint (and Origen's Hexapla)

English

1998. Jennifer M. Dines: Jerome and the Hexapla: The Witness of the Commentary on Amos. In: Alison Salvesen (ed.): *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. Tübingen (xvi, 500 pp.), pp. 421–436.
2009. Annemarie Kotzé: Augustine, Jerome and the Septuagint. In: Johann Cook (ed.): *Septuagint and Reception. Essays*. Leiden (x, 411 pp.), pp. 245–260.
2009. Reinhart Ceulemans: The Latin Patristic Reception of the Book of Canticles in the Hexapla. *Vigiliae Christianae* 63: 369–389. – Jerome adds to our knowledge of the Hexaplaric recension of the Septuagint because he revised the Old Latin text on the basis of that recension.
2017. Kevin J. Zilverberg: The Neo-Vulgate as Official Liturgical Translation. In: Joseph Briody (ed.): *Verbum Domini. Liturgy and Scripture*. Wells, Somerset (270 pp.), pp. 93–125. – Page 96: "Jerome, like Origen, underappreciated the textual value of the LXX."
2017. Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus: Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden. xiii, 266 pp. – See pp. 105–134: The Critical Use of the Septuagint and Versions. ▲
2022. Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 66–68: The Hexapla.

German

1861. Moritz Rahmer: Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus. Durch eine Vergleichung mit den jüdischen Quellen kritisch beleuchtet. Breslau (74 pp.), p. 70: "Hieronymus' Versabteilung stimmt meist mit der massoritischen [überein]. Dagegen streitet er oft in den Commentarien gegen die falsche Versabteilung der LXX."
1914. Otto Procksch: *Die Septuaginta Hieronymi im Dodekapropheton*. Greifswald. 54 pp. – The Septuagint, used and regularly quoted by Jerome (in his own Latin translation), reflects a Vetus Latina text that he had corrected on the basis of Origen's Hexapla.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: Einführung in die lateinische Bibel. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 97–105. – "Die Zahl der Stellen, an welchen Hieronymus der Septuaginta folgt, ist Legion" (p. 101).
1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10: 3–30. – This article's section (ii), pp. 21–25, deals with the influence of the Septuagint on the work of Jerome.
1952. Joseph Ziegler: Die Septuaginta Hieronymi im Buch des Propheten Jeremias. In: Virgil Fiala – Bonifatius Fischer (eds.): *Colligere Fragmenta. Eine Festschrift für Alban Dold*. Beuron (xx, 295 pp.), pp. 13–24.
1986. Pierre Nautin: Hieronymus. In: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Band 15. Berlin (785 pp.), pp. 304–315. – Page 310: "Hieronymus war kaum in der Lage, eine Bibelübersetzung aus dem Hebräischen anzufertigen oder auch nur eine bereits vorliegende Übersetzung am hebräischen Text zu verifizieren. Seine iuxta hebraeos-Edition des Alten Testaments wurde ebenfalls an Hand einer hexaplarischen Septuaginta hergestellt."
2000. Eva Schulz-Flügel: Hieronymus, Feind und Überwinder der Septuaginta? Untersuchungen anhand der Arbeiten an den Psalmen. In: Anneli Ajmelaesus – Udo Quast (eds.): *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse III.230. Göttingen (415 pp.), pp. 33–50.
2014. Mogens Müller: Die Septuaginta als Bibeltext in der ältesten Kirche: Graeca veritas contra Hebraica veritas. In: Wolfgang Kraus – Siegfried Kreuzer (eds.): *Die Septuaginta. Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*. Tübingen (xiv, 928 pp.), pp. 613–636.
2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomium-übersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart. 280 pp. – On the Septuagint, see pp. 215–239, 253–254.
2022. Siegfried Kreuzer: Hebraica veritas und Graecitas originalis. Hieronymus und die neuere Septuagintaforschung. In: idem et al. (eds.): *Bibel und Patristik*. Paderborn (xiii, 460 pp.), pp. 3–33.
2022. Eva Schulz-Flügel: Hieronymus. In: Martin Meiser – Florian Wilk (eds.): *Die Wirkungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte der Septuaginta*. Gütersloh (689 pp.), pp. 619–627.
2023. Aline Canellis: Hieronymus, Origenes und die Vulgata. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 167–169.

French

1987. Pierre Jay: *L'exégèse de saint Jérôme d'après son "Commentaire sur Isaïe."* Paris (496 pp.), pp. 411–417: Saint Jérôme et les Hexaples.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris (530 pp.), pp. 90–91: a long footnote on Jerome's references to Origen's Hexapla.

Italian

1987. Sandro Leanza: Le tre versioni geronimiani dell'Ecclesiaste. *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 4: 87–108. – The version of the lemmata in the commentary on Ecclesiastes, though a true version of the Hebrew and sometimes more literal than that of the Vulgate, is still tied in part to the Septuagint.
2007. Valeria Capelli: Segni diacritici ed eredità filologica origeniana in Gerolamo. *Adamantius* 13: 82–101.
2019. Daniela Scardia: Ex hebraeo transferre (Hier. In Mal. 3,1). Gerolamo, la Settana e I Vangeli. *Commentaria Classica* 6: 193–241. – According to Jerome, the authors of the Gospels relied directly on the Hebrew text, and not on the Septuagint.

Jerome and Symmachus, Aquila, Theodotion

English

1827. John Jahn: *An Introduction to the Old Testament. Translated from the Latin and German Works of John Jahn*. With additional references and notes by Samuel H. Turner and William R. Whittingham. New York (xxiv, 546 pp. and indexes), p. 61: "Symmachus, according to the testimony of Eusebius and Jerome, was a semichristian or Ebionite (...). His version, as Jerome frequently asserts, was published after that of Theodotion (...). Symmachus was better acquainted with the rules of translation than his fellow interpreters, and has observed them more accurately; for he has not, says Jerome, translated word for word, like Aquila, but according to the sense. He bestowed upon his work the care of a revision, as we learn from Jerome, Commentary in Nahum 3, and in Jeremiah 32." – This book is based on the work of Martin Johann Jahn (1750–1816), priest, scholar, specialist of oriental languages, and exponent of the Catholic Enlightenment.
1927. W.W. Cannon: Jerome and Symmachus: Some Points in the Vulgate Translation of Koheleth. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 45: 191–199.
1930. Cyrus H. Gordon: Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49: 384–416, at pp. 397–404.
1991. Alison Salvesen: *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*. Manchester. xviii, 329 pp. See pp. 265–281: Symmachus' influence on Jerome. Jerome often preferred the Symmachus rendering.
1996. Eva Schultz-Flügel: The Latin Old Testament Tradition. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume 1.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 642–662. – Page 655: "(...) many corrections 'from the Hebrew' result from the readings of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion."
1999. Adam Kamesar: The Bible Comes to the West. In: James E. Bowley (ed.): *Living Traditions of the Bible*. St. Louis, Miss. (206 pp.), pp. 35–61. – Pages 49–50: "A careful study of Jerome's Latin translation reveals that in most cases, it is very close to the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion. Jerome knew these texts directly and from Origen's Hexapla, and they served as his primary guide to the meaning of [the] Hebrew text. The result is that the Vulgate, while it still maintains features of the Septuagint/Old Latin translation, may be regarded in general as a sort of representative of what I have called the 'non-Septuagintal' tradition of Greek translation."
2009. John Cameron: The Rabbinic Vulgate? In: Andrew Cain – Josef Lössl (eds.): *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Abingdon (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 117–129, esp. pp. 122–124 on Jerome's reliance on Jewish Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible.

2017. Justin Rogers: Vulgate [text of the Psalms]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 104–110. – On pp. 105–106, Rogers deals with “the use of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion” Jerome made when translating the Psalms from the Hebrew. Despite its title, this handbook article deals not with the Gallican Psalter, but exclusively with the Psalter translated from the Hebrew.
2017. Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome’s Translation of the Book of Exodus: Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden. xiii, 266 pp. – See the many references to Symmachus in the book’s index (p. 261).
2020. Simone Rickerby: The Latin Versions of the Book of the Twelve. In: Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer – Jakob Wöhrle (eds.): *The Book of the Twelve*. Leiden (xix, 623 pp.), pp. 325–351. – In the translation of the Twelve Prophets, Rickerby sees a strong influence of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. “Whether the influence of Symmachus on Jerome is direct or secondary (i.e., based on other sources such as Origen, Eusebius, and Epiphanius) is a real question” (p. 329, n. 19).
2023. Matthew A. Kraus: The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119. – Pages 101–102: “The Vulgate can follow what Jerome lists as the Hebrew (Gen. 2:2 LXX *dies sexta*, Vg *dies septima*), or Symmachus as a representative of the Hebrew (Gen. 2:23 LXX *mulier*, Vg/Sym *virago*), or Aquila and Symmachus as representatives of the Hebrew (Gen. 2:21 LXX *extasis*, Vg *sopor*), or Aquila and Theodotion as representative of the Hebrew (Gen. 3:1 LXX *sapientior*, Vg/Aq/Th *callidior*), or other Latin manuscripts in combination with Aquila, Symmachus, and primarily Theodotion (LXX *ad vesperam*, other Latin codices *post meridiem*, Vg *ad auram post meridiem*), or Symmachus and Aquila (Gen. 2:8 LXX *oriens*, Vg *principium*), or the Septuagint against Symmachus (Gen. 2:15 LXX/Vg *paradisum voluptatis*, Sym *paradisum amoenitatis et deliciae*).”

German

1912. Otto Bardenhewer: *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*. Dritter Band. Munich (x, 665), p. 623. Commenting on Jerome’s commentary on Daniel, Bardenhewer notes: “Zur Grundlage nimmt er (i.e., Jerome) seine Übersetzung aus dem Hebräischen bzw. Aramäischen, bei den deuterokanonischen Stücken (...) seine Übersetzung Theodotians.”
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 97–105. – “Nicht ungern hat Hieronymus dem Aquila Gefolgschaft geleistet” (p. 102). “Nicht immer ist es so leicht festzustellen, welchem der drei genannten Übersetzer Hieronymus gefolgt ist” (p. 104).
1943. Joseph Ziegler: Die jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen als Vorlagen der Vulgata in den prophetischen Schriften. In: idem: *Sylloge. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta*. Göttingen 1971 (678 pp.), pp. 139–229.
1948. M. Johannesson: Hieronymus und die jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 73: 145–152.
2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomium-übersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart. 280 pp. – See pp. 100–157: Jerome and Hexapla, influences of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. “An einer Vielzahl von Stellen lehnt Hieronymus die Übersetzung des Theodotion ab. Dabei wendet er sich entweder der Septuaginta (Dtn 32,31), Symmachus (7,11), oder anderen jüdischen Traditionen zu (...). Eine Stelle, an der Hieronymus sich gegen Theodotion und für Aquila entscheidet, ist (...) nicht zu belegen” (p. 139).

French

1912. Emmanuel Podechard: *L'Ecclésiaste*. Études bibliques. Paris (xvii, 499 pp.), pp. 211–212: Jerome translated the book in 393 or 394, “uniquement d’après l’hébreu, mais rapidement et d’une façon assez libre. Saint Jérôme s’y inspire fréquemment de Symmaque et n’est pas très littéral. Son original hébreu s’éloigne d’ailleurs quelquefois du texte massorétique.”
1984. Colette Estin: *Les Psautiers de Jérôme à la lumière des traductions juives antérieures*. Rome. 238 pp. – Hebrew truth, for Jerome, does not merely imply the reference to the Hebrew text; it also means reference to the Jewish translators of the Bible into Greek – Theodotion and, especially, Aquila and Symmachus. ▲
2016. Aline Canellis: *Le Commentaire sur l'Ecclésiaste de saint Jérôme*. In: Laurence Mellerin (ed.): *La réception du livre de Qohélet, Ier-XIIIe siècle*. Paris 2016 (310 pp.), pp. 205–228, at p. 212: “Si Jérôme a, en général, une préférence marquée pour la traduction de Symmaque, il n’en évoque pas moins celle d’Aquila et, à un moindre degré, celle de Théodotion.”

Spanish

1983. José González Luis: La traducción Vulgata y Símaco. *Tabona* 4: 267–280.

10.7 Theory and practice of translation

Note. – Jerome’s translations are generally fairly literal, though occasionally he would depart from exaggerated literalism. But he did not believe in the free rendering of sacred texts. It is worthwhile to compare. Evagrius of Antioch, one of Jerome’s contemporaries (and personally known to him), preferred a less literalistic approach, as he explains in the preface to his Latin translation of the Greek *Life of Antony* (which is not a sacred text): “A literal translation made from one language to another conceals the meaning, like rampant grasses which suffocate the crops. As long as the text keeps to the cases and turns of phrase, it is forced to move in an indirect way by means of lengthy circumlocutions, and it finds it hard to give a clear account of something which could be succinctly expressed. I have tried to avoid this (...) and have translated in such a way that nothing should be lacking from the sense although something may be missing from the words. Some people try to capture the syllables and letters, but you must seek the meaning” (PL 73: 125–126; CCSL 170: 3; Carolinne White: *Early Christian Lives*. London 1998 [lvii, 220], p. 799). Interestingly, Jerome quotes from this passage in his *Letter to Pammachius* (Letter 57, 6; PL 22: 572; CSEL 54: 511; Labourt III, pp. 61–62).

Also note that Jerome occasionally refers to his own translation and to the Septuagint as *editio*, a word that takes on the meaning of “translation”, see his reference to *nostra editio* = our (i.e., my) translation (Jerome: *Commentary on Jeremiah*, CSEL 59: 398). *editio* = translation can also be found in Augustine (used for the Septuagint: *De civitate Dei* XVI, 10; CSEL 40.2: 145 – *secundum vulgatam editionem, hoc est interpretum septuaginta*). See Siegfried Reiter: Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Hieronymus. *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 39, no. 29: 690–695, at cols. 695–696.

Jerome texts on translating

Jerome’s letter to Pammachius (letter 57)

Messianic translations

Secondary literature on Jerome as a translator

Jerome texts on translating

Note. – The complete set of Jeromian reflections on translating are dealt with in the following book: Lukas M. Baumann: *Wort und Sinn. Übersetzungsreflexionen bei Cicero und Hieronymus*. Freiburg 2018. 314 pp.

388. Jerome: *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, preface (CCSL 72: 249). – (...) *hoc breviter admonens, quod nullius auctoritatem secutus sum; sed de hebraeo transferens, magis me septuaginta interpretum consuetudini coaptavi, in his dumtaxat, quae non multam ab Hebraicis discrepabant. Interdum Aquilae quoque et Symmachi et Theodotionis recordatus sum, ut nec novitate nimia lectoris studium deterrerem, nec rursus contra conscientiam meam, fonte veritatis omisso, opinionum rivulos consecarer.* "Let me briefly note that I have not followed any one authority. Translating from the Hebrew, I have adopted, as I am used to, the wording of the Septuagint wherever it does not differ much from the Hebrew. Occasionally I am noting [the Greek versions of] Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion to the extent that I neither deter the reader through too much novelty, nor follow the channels of opinion against my conscience by way of departing from the source of truth." – German: "Ich will kurz erklären, dass ich keiner Vorlage gefolgt bin, sondern mich bei meiner Übertragung aus dem Hebräischen mehr an die gewohnte Fassung der Septuaginta-Übersetzer gehalten habe, zumindest dort, wo sie nicht allzu sehr vom Hebräischen abweicht. Manchmal bedachte ich auch Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion. So wollte ich weder den Eifer des Lesers durch allzu viel Neuheit verschrecken noch andererseits gegen mein Gewissen die Quelle der Wahrheit verlassen."
390. Jerome: *Prologus in libro Regum (prologus galeatus)*. – *Lege ergo primum Samuhel et Malachim meum; meum, inquam, meum: quicquid enim crebrius vertendo et emendando sollicitus et didicimus et tenemus, nostrum est. Et cum intellexeris quod antea nesciebas, vel interpretem me aestimato, si gratus es, vel paraphrastên, si ingratus, quamquam mihi omnino conscius non sim mutasse me quippiam de Hebraica veritate* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 334). – "So read my Samuel and King books first! Mine, I say, mine! For what we have acquired by repeated translation and very careful improvement, and what we possess, that is ours. And if you learn anything that you did not know before, you shall take me either for a translator, if you are friendly to me; or less friendly, for a paraphraser, though I am not at all aware that I have changed anything in the truth of the Hebrew." – "Lies also als erstes meine Samuel- und Königsbücher! Meine, sage ich, meine! Denn was wir uns durch wiederholtes Übersetzen und sehr sorgsames Verbessern angeeignet haben und was wir besitzen, das gehört uns. Und wenn du etwas lernst, was du zuvor nicht gewusst hast, sollst du mich entweder für einen Übersetzer halten, wenn du mir freundlich gesonnen bist; oder weniger freundlich, für einen Paraphrasierer, obwohl ich mir überhaupt nicht bewusst bin, dass ich irgendetwas an der Wahrheit des Hebräischen geändert hätte" (translated by A. Fürst).
392. Jerome: *Origen's Homilies on Luke*, preface (Fontes Christiani 4.1: 56). – In the preface to his Latin translation of Origen's Greek homilies on Luke, Jerome offers this comment: "Translating is a distressing task, like a torture – as Tullius [Cicero] says, it is writing with someone else's taste, and not one's own." German: Übersetzen "ist allerdings keine angenehme Aufgabe, eher eine Art Marter; denn es gilt, nicht nach seinem eigenen, sondern, wie Cicero sagt, nach fremdem Geschmack zu schreiben" (Fontes Christiani 4.1: 56/57).

394. Jerome: *Prologue to Job* (Sources chrétiennes 592: 396, 398). – *Haec autem translatio nullum de veteribus sequitur interpretem sed ex ipso hebraico arabicoque sermone et interdum syro, nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonavit. (...) hoc unum scio non potuisse me interpretari nisi quod ante intellexeram.* – “Moreover, this translation follows no translator of old but comes from the Hebrew and Arabic speech and sometimes from the Syriac: here it reflects the word, here the sense and now both together. (...) of this one thing I am sure, that I could translate only that which I previously understood.” German: “Diese Übersetzung folgt keinem von den alten Übersetzern, sondern wird aus der hebräischen und der arabischen und bisweilen der syrischen Sprache bald die Worte, bald den Sinn, bald beides zugleich anklingen lassen. (...) Eines aber weiß ich sicher: Übersetzen konnte ich nur das, was ich vorher verstanden hatte.” (Tusculum-Vulgata II, pp. 1333, 1335)
396. Jerome: *Letter 57 “de optimo genere interpretandi” to Pammachius* (On the Best Way of Translation; PL 22: 568–579; CSEL 54: 503–526; Labourt III, pp. 55–73). – In this first statement of translation theory written in antiquity, Jerome famously distinguishes between literal and free translating. *Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum, absque scripturis sacris, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu, habeoque huius rei magistrum Tullium* (57,5; CSEL 54: 508). – “I do not only declare, but loudly proclaim that in translating from the Greek – except for the Sacred Scriptures where even the order of the words is a mystery – I do not translate word for word, but [the words] according to their meaning. My master for so doing is Cicero.” – “Denn ich gestehe es nicht nur ein, sondern bekenne es offen, dass ich bei der Übersetzung der Griechen – abgesehen von den Heiligen Schriften, wo auch die Wort(an)ordnung ein Mysterium ist – nicht wortwörtlich, sondern singemäß übersetze. Und als Lehrer dafür habe ich Cicero.” – Jerome’s option for free translation is also evident from his praise of the work of another translator (*Letter 57,6*; CSEL 54: 512): “It is enough to name, for now, Hilary the Confessor, who translated the Homilies on Job and very many treatises on the Psalms from Greek into Latin. Nor did he stick sluggishly to a literal translation [literally, ‘to the sleeping letter’], and he wrenched himself away from the foul method of translation of rustics: rather, just as if by the right of victor, he translated the sense (*sensus*), having captured it, into his own language.” – The setting is as follows: Bishop Epiphanius of Salamis (Cyprus) had written a letter of gentle rebuke to Bishop John of Jerusalem. A monk who did not read Greek had asked Jerome to translate it for him. Jerome complied. Against his wish, his translation was made public, and fell under hostile criticism (from Rufinus, as it transpired). Jerome was reproached for having failed to translate word for word (*me verbum non expressisse de verbo*).
- 398/400. Jerome: *Prologus in Pentateucho* 3 (Sources chrétiennes 592: 308): “One thing is to be a seer (*vates*), another is to be a translator (*interpres*). In prophesying, the spirit foretells the future; but translating depends on learned knowledge and on having a rich vocabulary along with an understanding of what is to be translated.” – German: “Eines ist es, Seher, ein anderes, Übersetzer zu sein. Beim Prophezeien sagt der Geist künftiges voraus, beim Übersetzen kommt es auf gelehrtes Wissen und einen reichen Wortschatz an, ferner auf das Verständnis dessen, was übersetzt werden soll.”
- 391/92. Jerome: *Letter to Sunnia and Fretela* (*Letter 106*, 55; CSEL 55: 275): *eadem igitur interpretandi sequenda est regula, quam saepe diximus, ut, ubi non fit damnum in sensu, linguae, in quam transferimus, euphonia et proprietates conservetur.* – We should always follow the rule which I have repeated so often: that where there is no damage in the sense, we should translate idiomatically and use euphonious language. – The passage can also be found in Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 122–123.

Jerome's letter to Pammachius (letter 57)

Text and translations

Monolingual editions: Latin

1859. Hieronymus: *Epistola 57*. PL 22: 568–579.
1910. *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*. Pars I. Edited by Isidor Hilberg. Vienna (vii, 708 pp.), pp. 503–526 = CSEL 54: 503–526. – 2nd edition, 1996.
1974. Heinrich Marti: *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit. Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen*. Munich. 348 pp. – Pages 186–194: Latin excerpt from Letter 57 of Jerome to Pammachius, with explanatory notes.
1980. Hieronymus: *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (Epistula 57). Ein Kommentar von Gerhardus J. Bartelink. Leiden. viii, 133 pp. – Latin text and German commentary, no translation. Bartelink (pp. 2–3) rejects Nautin's 1973 interpretation of Jerome's letter. Review: Paolo Serra Zanetti, *Gnomon* 58 (1986) 222–225.

Bilingual editions

1953. Saint Jérôme: *Lettres. Tome III*. Edited and translated by Jérôme Labourt. Collection Budé. Paris. 264 double pp. – The Pammachius letter is on pp. 55–73.
2007. Edoardo Bona: *La libertà del traduttore. L'epistola De optimo genere interpretandi di Gerolamo. Test latino, introduzione, traduzione et note*. Rome. 155 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and Italian, accompanied by a long introduction (pp. 9–70).

Translations: English – German

1893. Jerome: Letter 57. In: W. H. Freemantle: *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*. A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series, volume 6. New York (xxxv, 524 pp.), pp. 112–119. – The volume has been reprinted several times.
1937. Hieronymus: 57. Brief: An Pammachius. Über die beste Art zu übersetzen. In: *Des heiligen Kirchenvaters Eusebius Hieronymus ausgewählte Briefe*. Übersetzt von Ludwig Schade. II. Briefband. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (BKV). Munich 1937 (512 pp.), pp. 262–287. – Reprint: Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1968.
1973. Hieronymus: Brief an Pammachius. In: Hans Joachim Störig (ed.): *Das Problem des Übersetzens*. Darmstadt (xxxiii, 475 pp.), pp. 1–13. – This German translation, by Wolfgang Buchwald, omits the beginning; the translation starts at 57,7 (*ego enim non solum fateor ...*). The text translated is CSEL 54: 508–526.
1976. Jerome: *To Pammachius. On the Best Method of Translating* (St. Jerome, Letter 57). Translated by Louis G. Kelly. Ottawa. xiii, 24 pp.
1997. Jerome: The Best Kind of Translator. Letter to Pammachius. In: Douglas Robinson (ed.): *Western Translation Theory from Herodotus to Nietzsche*. Manchester (xxi, 337 pp.), pp. 23–30. – This translation was first published in: *The Satirical Letters of St. Jerome*. Translated by Paul Carroll. Chicago 1956 (xxviii, 198 pp.), pp. 132–151; it has been revised by Douglas Robinson for the 1997 edition.

2012. Jerome: Letter to Pammachius. Translated by Kathleen Davis. In: Lawrence Venuti (ed.): *The Translation Studies Reader*. 3rd edition. Milton Park (xiv, 546 pp.), pp. 21–30. – The translation of the Pammachius letter is included in the *Translation Studies Reader* in the 2nd (2004) and later editions.

Discussions of the Pammachius letter

1973. Pierre Nautin: Études de chronologie hiéronymienne (suite). *Revue des études augustiniennes* 19: 69–86. – In his Pammachius letter, Jerome dissimulates his true intention. The letter, while on the surface dealing with translation issues, is actually directed against John of Jerusalem and Rufinus of Aquileia whom he in a veiled manner accuses of heresy (pp. 82–84).
1976. G. Bartelink: Quelques observations sur la lettre LVII de saint Jérôme. *Revue bénédictine* 86: 296–306.
1985. P. Serra Zanetti: Una nota sul *mysterium* dell' *ordo verborum* nelle scritture. *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 6: 507–520. – On Letter 57,5,2.
1987. Clara Montella: Et verborum ordo mysterium est. Dialettica e paradosso nel *De optimo genere interpretandi* di Girolamo. *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli* 9: 253–267.
1988. Michel Banniard: Jérôme et *l'elegantia* d'après le *De optimo genere interpretandi*. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 305–322.
1992. Douglas Robinson: The Ascetic Foundations of Western Translatology: Jerome and Augustine. *Translation and Literature* 1: 3–25.
2007. Robert Lamberton: Theory and Practice of Translation in Late Antiquity. In: Harald Kittel et al. (eds.): *Übersetzung – Translation – Traduction. An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Band 2. Berlin (xxxv pp., pp. 1064–1799), pp. 1170–1170, esp. pp. 1163–1165 with a detailed summary of Jerome's letter.
2010. Lawrence Venuti: Genealogies of Translation Theory: Jerome. *Boundary 2. An International Journal of Literature and Culture* 37.3: 5–28. – This article offers a historical examination and ideological critique of Jerome's famous *Letter to Pammachius* (395 CE), exploring its complex relations to the Roman translation tradition, on the one hand, and to an emerging Christian tradition, on the other hand, with examples taken from the New Testament and Jerome's own translating. Jerome's letter is the most influential statement of what can be called the instrumental model of translation, the notion that translation is the reproduction or imitation of an invariant contained in or caused by the source text. – Venuti ranks as one of the world's leading translation theorists.
2019. Maciej Litwin: Types and Figures. Comments on Lawrence Venuti's Reading of Jerome. *Translation Studies* 12.3: 357–372. – Venuti does not take into account the fact that Jerome was an orthodox Christian writer.
2021. Jessica van t'Westeinde: *Roman Nobilitas in Jerome's Letters*. Tübingen. xii, 287 pp. – Pages 221–231 deal with Jerome's letter 57 to Pammachius.

Messianic translations

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz (viii, 501 pp.), pp. 174–175: Isa 11:10; 16:1; Hab 3:18.
1891. Rudolph Cornely SJ: *Historicae et criticae in u.t. [= utriusque testamenti] libros sacros compendium*. Editio altera. Paris (v, 660 pp.), p. 107. There are Old Testament passages that are messianic in a very general sense (*latiore quodam sensu*); but Jerome made the messianic meaning explicit.

1912. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme [second instalment]. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138. Condamin addresses the question of how doctrinal considerations influenced Jerome's translation of a number of passages.
2000. Arie van der Kooij: The Cities of Isaiah 24–27 according to the Vulgate, Targum and Septuagint. In: Hendrik Jan Bosman et al. (eds.): *Studies in Isaiah 24–27*. Leiden (xii, 277 pp.), pp. 183–198.
2003. Joachim Becker: 'Iustus' statt 'iustitia.' Zu einer messianisierenden Übersetzungsweise des Hieronymus. In: Klaus Kiesow – Thomas Meurer (eds.): *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*. Münster (x, 620 pp.), pp. 21–34.
2007. Alison Salvesen: Messianism in Ancient Bible Translations in Greek and Latin. In: Markus Bockmuehl – J.N. Carlton Paget (eds.): *Redemption and Resistance. The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity*. London (xxvii, 381 pp.), pp. 245–261. – Page 261: Jerome's "own [translation] choices can be surprising: sometimes non-messianic readings replace traditional Christian interpretations, while Christological renderings can appear in unexpected places."
2012. Martine Dulaey: Habacuc 2,1–4 chez les Pères. In: Matthieu Arnold – Gilbert Dahan – Annie Noblesse-Rocher (eds.): *"Le juste vivra de sa foi" (Habacuc 2,4)*. Études d'histoire de l'exégèse 3. Paris (144 pp.), pp. 41–73. – Jerome takes the passage to be an announcement of the coming of Christ (CCSL 76A: 599).
2023. Matthew A. Kraus: [The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119, at pp. 113–115 (online journal). – Exod 4:13; 6:12; Hab 3:13.
2023. Roland Hoffmann: Einleitung: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 3–83, at pp. 71–73: "Christliche Deutung des Alten Testaments."
2023. Bernhard Lang: Jesus im Alten Testament. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 43–44.

Secondary literature on Jerome as a translator

426. Augustine: *De doctrina christiana* IV, 20, 41 (CCSL 32: 148). The "highly learned Jerome" (*vir doctissimus*) had "specifically cited the purely Hebrew verse measures used by some prophets," but "in the interest of faithful wording he did not translate the verse measures"; Augustine is referring to Jerome's prologue to the book of Job. – German: Der "hochgelehrte Hieronymus" (*vir doctissimus*) habe die von manchen Propheten "gebrauchten rein hebräischen Versmaße eigens angeführt", "im Interesse des getreuen Wortlautes aber hat er die Versmaße nicht übersetzt." Augustine wrote this after Jerome's death (Jerome died in 420).

English

1990. Catherine Brown Tkacz: Literary Studies of the Vulgate: Formula Systems. In: *Proceedings of the Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Conference* [Villanova, Pa.] 15: 205–219. – A study of the formulas *secundum opera manuum eorum* and *super caput* in twenty-four books of the Bible.
2013. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: The Latin Bible. In: James Carleton Paget – Joachim Schaper (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526. – Page 516: "Overall, he succeeded in producing a faithful version of the Hebrew Bible, halfway between the Ciceronian prose of his own epistles and the laborious word-for-word style of the *Vetus Latina*." ▲

2014. David L. Everson: The Vetus Latina and the Vulgate of the Book of Exodus. In: Thomas B. Dozeman – Craig A. Evans – Joel N. Lohr (eds.): *The Book of Exodus. Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*. Leiden (xx, 669 pp.), pp. 370–386. – Page 385: “As the years went by, having translated an ever-increasing number of Hebrew books, Jerome’s confidence and proficiency with the Hebrew language resulted in in freer translations.”
2017. Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome’s Translation of the Book of Exodus: Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden. xiii, 266 pp. See esp. the introduction (pp. 1–14): Jerome and translation technique. ▲
2017. Tim Denecker: *Ideas on Language in Early Christianity. From Tertullian to Isidore of Seville*. Leiden. xv, 497 pp. – While this is not a book on translation theory, it offers much on Jerome’s handling of languages. For the passages on Jerome, see this book’s index on persons and the index on ancient sources (works of Jerome).
2022. Michael Graves: Principles of Translation in [Jerome’s] Epistle 106. In: Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 55–65. – The five key concepts on biblical translation are: (1) the sense of the text should not be damaged; (2) traditional renderings should be retained where possible; (3) each language has its own unique manner of expression that should be respected; (4) one need not translate word for word, if other principles demand a less literal translation; (5) the translation should reflect proper Latin in terms of basic grammatical correctness, naturalness, and clarity (p. 65).
2023. Adam Kamesar: Jerome and the Hebrew Scriptures. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 49–64. – The great bulk of the Latin Bible known as the Vulgate is made up of Jerome’s translations of the books of the Old Testament in its Hebrew form. Isidore of Seville, in his *Etymologiae*, one of the most influential works of medieval Latin literature, offers a brief statement about those translations, noting two points: Jerome made them from the Hebrew, and did so in an eloquent fashion (*Etymologiae* VI, 4.5). This article focusses on Jerome’s change of the textual basis of the Latin Old Testament from the Greek to the Hebrew, and his work of translation as a literary endeavour.
2023. Kevin J. Redmann: *Verborum Ordo: A Typological Approach to Word-Order Literalism as an Indication of Saint Jerome’s Translation Technique in the Vulgate*. Rome. 232 pp. – A statistical study.

German

1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10: 3–30.
1970. F. Winkelmann: Einige Bemerkungen zu den Aussagen des Rufinus von Aquileia und des Hieronymus über ihre Übersetzungstheorie und -methode. In: Patrick Granfield OSB – Josef A. Jungmann SJ (eds.): *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*. Band II. Münster (pp. 500–972), pp. 532–547.
1978. Ulrich Köpf: Hieronymus als Bibelübersetzer. In: Siegfried Meurer (ed.): *Eine Bibel – viele Übersetzungen. Not oder Notwendigkeit?* Stuttgart (232 pp.), pp. 71–89.
1991. Harald Hagendahl – Jan Hendrik Waszink: Hieronymus. In: Ernst Dassmann (ed.): *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Band 15. Stuttgart (1262 cols.), cols. 117–139. – Column 134: “Es ist sehr zu bedauern, dass noch keine exakten Untersuchungen der Übersetzungstechnik des Hieronymus, bes. seiner Wortwahl, unternommen worden sind.”

2001. Walter Burkert: Sinn und Sinnlichkeit. Antike Wurzeln unserer Sprache. In: idem: *Kleine Schriften VIII. Philosophica*. Göttingen (ix, 310 pp.), pp. 293–304. On Jerome, pp. 299–301.
2008. Markus Mülke: *Der Autor und sein Text. Die Verfälschung des Originals im Urteil antiker Autoren*. Berlin. 419 pp. – Pages 124–163: Hieronymus und die Übersetzung der biblischen Schriften.
2014. Andreas Gipper: Vertikales Übersetzen. Vom translatorischen Umgang mit Sakralsprache. *Die Welt des Orients* 44.2: 251–262. – Sacred texts must be translated literally to conserve their sacred quality.
2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomium-übersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart. 280 pp. – Especially pp. 25–67: Der Übersetzer Hieronymus.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 83–83–93: principles and practice of translating.
2017. Gerd-Dietrich Warns: *Die Textvorlage von Augustins Annotationes in Iob. Studien zur Erstfassung von Hieronymus' Hiob-Übersetzung iuxta Graecos*. Göttingen. 590 pp. – Jerome often resorted to translating an expression twice (Doppelübersetzung). G.-D. Warns also offers his thoughts on Jerome's development as textual critic and Hebraist (pp. 525–526).
2017. Michael Margoni-Kögler: [Hieronymus philologus. Einblicke in sein Bibelübersetzen: Prinzipien, Praxis, Relevanz](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue* 1: 31–69 (online journal).
2018. Lukas Michael Baumann: *Wort und Sinn. Übersetzungsreflexionen bei Cicero und Hieronymus*. Freiburg. 314 pp.
2019. Tatiana Bachniak: Die Regel der Übersetzung nach Hieronymus in der Theorie und Praxis. *Vox Patrum* 21: 25–42.
2022. Georg Fischer: Hieronymus, ein Pionier als Übersetzer und Ausleger. In: Veronika Bachmann et al. (eds.): *Menschsein in Weisheit und Freiheit*. Leuven (x, 603 pp.), pp. 534–549.
2023. Marcela Andoková – Jozef Tiño: Gottes Gnade und Gerechtigkeit im lateinischen Psalter. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 331–357, at p. 333, note 6: "Moderne Gelehrte sind sich immer noch nicht einig darüber, ob Hieronymus eine freie Übersetzung der Bibel (insbesondere des Psalters) nach seinem Vorgänger Cicero oder eine wörtlichere Übersetzung bevorzugte, die dem Leser beim Vergleich der Wiedergabe mit dem Ausgangstext besser dienen könnte."
2023. Daniel Schmitz: [A trifaria varietate ad fontes](#): Hieronymus' Übersetzungsarbeit als Weiterentwicklung der Heiligen Schrift. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Sondernummer*: 45–59 (online journal).
2023. Dorothea Keller: Übersetzungsentscheidungen bei Hieronymus und ihre Begründungen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 109–137. – When Jerome defends or explains his translation, he regularly and essentially invokes the *sensus*, the meaning, as his criterion, though style sometimes also plays a role.
2023. Aline Canellis: (1) Hieronymus und die am wenigsten schlechte Art der Bibelübersetzung; (2) Übersetzungsprobleme und Lehrmeinungen. The two introductory articles can be found in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 158–160 and pp. 169–171.

French

- 1911–1912. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 2 (1911) 425–440; 3 (1912) 105–138. – The first instalment deals with Jerome's Hebrew text that corresponds largely to our Masoretic Text. The second part addresses the question of how doctrinal considerations influence Jerome's translation of a number of passages.
1920. Albert Condamin SJ: Un procédé littéraire de St. Jérôme dans sa traduction de la Bible. In: Vincenzo Vannutelli (ed.): *Miscellanea Geronimiana. Scritti varii publicati nel XV Centenario della morte di San Girolamo*. Rome (viii, 330 pp.), pp. 89–95.
1933. Georges Cuendet: Cicéron et Jérôme traducteurs. *Revue des études latines* 11: 380–400.
1938. F. Blatt: Remarques sur l'histoire des traductions latines. *Classica et mediaevalia* 1: 217–242. – Literal translation (*le littéralisme chrétien*) was promoted by Christians, whereas free translations were more characteristic of pagan translation culture (*libéralisme préchrétien*).
2010. Pierre-Emmanuel Douzat: Erreurs de traduction volontaires et paresse du contresens. *Anabases* 11: 137–148 (with English summary, p. 293). The author comments specifically on Jerome's "free" renderings that support his idea of the precedence of celibacy over marriage in Tobit.
2016. Christophe Rico: *Le traducteur de Bethléem: le génie interprétatif de saint Jérôme à l'aune de la linguistique*. *Lectio divina* 270. Paris. 172 pp.

Dutch

1978. G.J.M. Bartelink: Hieronymus over de vertaalproblematiek. *Hermeneus* 50: 105–111.

Spanish – Italian

1979. Antonio García-Moreno: San Jerónimo, traductor paradigmático. *Scripta theologica* 11.3: 889–928.
2013. Leopoldo Gamberale: Problemi di Gerolamo traduttore fra lingua, religione e filologia. In: idem: *San Gerolamo. Intellettuale e filologo*. Rome (xvii, 181 pp.), pp. 41–78.

Latin

1886. Gottfried Hoberg: *De Sancti Hieronymi ratione interpretandi*. Bonn. 39 pp. – A doctoral dissertation.

Chapter 11

Jerome's Bible

- 11.1 Surveys and introductions
- 11.2 Reference works
- 11.3 Jerome and the Gospels
- 11.4 Jerome and the Psalms
- 11.5 Books Jerome translated more than once (non-Vulgate versions)
- 11.6 The biblical canon
- 11.7 Jerome's prefaces
- 11.8 Chronology of Jerome's biblical translations
- 11.9 The Eusebian canon tables

11.1 Surveys and introductions

English

1856. Thomas Hartwell Horne – Samuel Prideaux Tregelles: An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. London. xxvii, 767 pp. – Pages 243–257: The Revision of the Latin by Jerome – the Vulgate. – On Tregelles (1813–1875), see Timothy C.F. Stunt: *The Life and Times of Samuel Prideaux Tregelles: A Forgotten Scholar*. Cham 2020. Xviii, 282 pp.
1965. W.H. Semple: St Jerome as Biblical Translator. *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 48: 227–243.
1993. David Norton: *A History of the Bible as Literature. Volume One: From Antiquity to 1700*. Cambridge. xvii, 375 pp. – Pages 30–40: Jerome.
1993. Stefan Rebenich: Jerome: The “vir trilinguis” and the “Hebraica veritas.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 47: 50–77. – A splendid introduction and survey to all issues relating to Jerome's work on the Bible.
▲
1996. René Kieffer: Jerome: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume 1.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 663–681.
1996. Eva Schulz-Flügel: The Latin Old Testament Tradition. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume 1.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 642–662. – Outline: bibliography – the Old Latin translations – Jerome's Hexaplaric recension – the Vulgate, its translational and interpretative character – the problem of Hebraica veritas in Jerome and Augustine.

1996. Catherine Brown Tkacz: Labor tam utilis. The Creation of the Vulgate. *Vigiliae Christianae* 50: 42–72.
1999. Edward A. Synan: The Vulgarity of the Vulgate. In: Douglas Kries – Catherine Brown Tkacz (eds.): *Nova Doctrina Vetusque. Essays on Early Christianity*. New York (xi, 291 pp.), pp. 105–119. – An introduction to the main figures involved with the origins of the Vulgate Bible: Pope Damasus, Jerome, and Augustine.
2003. Dennis Brown: Jerome and the Vulgate. In: Alan J. Hauser – Duane F. Watson (eds.): *A History of Biblical Interpretation*. Volume 1. Grand Rapids, Mich. (xxi, 536 pp.), pp. 355–379. – Outline: Jerome as a translator (pp. 356–364); biblical interpretation (pp. 364–371); Jerome’s legacy (pp. 371–372); bibliography (pp. 372–379). The same author also contributed to an encyclopedia: Jerome (c. 340–420), in: Donald K. McKim (ed.): *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*. 2nd edition. Downers Grove, Ill. 2007 (xxviii, 1106 pp.), pp. 565–571.
2013. Adam Kamesar: Jerome. In: James Carleton Paget – Joachim Schaper (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 653–675.
2013. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: The Latin Bible. In: James Carleton Paget – Joachim Schaper (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526.

German

1912. Otto Bardenhewer: *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*. Band 3. Freiburg. x, 679 pp. – See pp. 615–619.
1994. Henning Graf Reventlow: Eine Bibel für das Abendland: Hieronymus. In: idem: *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*. Band 2. Munich (324 pp.), pp. 39–52. Translation: A Bible for the West. In: idem: *History of Biblical Interpretation*. Volume 2. Translated by James O. Duke. Resources for Biblical Study 61. Atlanta, Ga. 2009. (x, 313 pp.), pp. 32–45.
2002. Eva Schulz-Flügel: Vulgata. In: Siegmar Döpp – Wilhelm Geerlings (eds.): *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*. 3rd edition. Freiburg (xviii, 763 pp.), pp. 726–727.
2009. Alexander Achilles Fischer: *Der Text des Alten Testaments*. Stuttgart. ix, 379 pp. – See pp. 169–175. – Translation: *The Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Erroll F. Rhodes. Grand Rapids, Mich. 2014. xix, 343 pp.
2014. Elisabeth Birnbaum: Wenn ein Heiliger übersetzt. Hieronymus und die Vulgata. *Bibel und Kirche* 69: 14–19.
2018. Dominik Markl: Ein exzentrisches Genie. Hieronymus übersetzt die Bibel ins Lateinische. *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 23, no. 4: 42–48.

French

2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Versions latines de la Bible. In: G. Mathon – G.-H. Baudry (eds.): *Catholicisme. Hier – aujourd’hui – demain*. Tome 15. Paris (1572 cols.), cols. 910–913. – Jerome edited his translations of biblical books as individual works and did not organize a complete edition. His translation initially contributed to the richness of variants of Latin translations, which he actually wanted to overcome. The first compilation of Jerome’s translations was made around 450 by a librarian. The Codex Sangermanensis primus (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. Lat. 11553; ca. 810; see above, Chapter 7.2) seems to go back to the latter’s biblical codices (in which, however, large parts of the Old Testament are missing).

11.2 Reference works

English

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – This reference work can be consulted on the Internet (“open access”). Pages 19–42: The fourth century and the beginnings of the Vulgate; pp. 43–68: The fifth to the seventh centuries; pp. 297–344: bibliography.

German

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp. – Pages 145–189: Der hl. Hieronymus.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Pages 77–124: Die Bemühungen des hl. Hieronymus um den lateinischen Bibeltext; pp. 222–262: Latin text of the prefaces, without translation.

2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Reference work on the life and work of Jerome, with extensive bibliography (pp. 363–429). Designed as a comprehensive handbook, the book does not primarily offer new, surprising theses, but provides an encyclopedic overview that incorporates the author’s own research. ▲

2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 122–293 (§ 647). – Pages 187–198: biblical translations; pp. 235–272: Jerome as exegete and homilist. ▲

French

1911–1912. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 2 (1911) 425–440; 3 (1912) 105–138. – Pages 430–434: Jerome’s Hebrew original corresponds to the Masoretic text; pp. 434–440 (with additions, p. 105): Jerome is concerned with elegant Latin, which is why, unlike the Hebrew original, he varies the Latin expression; pp. 105–131: free translations, clarifying additions, abridgements, smoothing of literary breaks; pp. 132–138: dogmatically biased renderings.

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. ▲

2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – The detailed introduction (pp. 53–300) makes this volume a standard reference resource on the Latin Bible and its history in antiquity. ▲

11.3 Jerome and the Gospels

Pope Damasus and Jerome

Note. – Damasus, bishop of the city of Rome from 366 to his death in 384, must be seen as an enthusiastic promotor of Latin in the Christian community. He is a key figure in the introduction of Latin in

Western Christianity, as has been shown by Maurta K. Lafferty: Translating Faith from Greek to Latin: Romanitas and Christianitas in Late Fourth-Century Rome and Milan. *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11 (2003) 21–62. Jerome's revision of the Latin gospels must be seen within this Latin renaissance in Pope Damasus' Christian Rome.

382–384. Jerome edits the Latin New Testament, but probably only the four Gospels. The prologue to the text of the Gospels is dedicated to Pope Damasus, whom he addresses as his patron: "You urge me to make a new work out of an old one" (*novum opus facere me cogis ex veteri*; PL 29: 557; Sources chrétiennes 592: 470).

Secondary literature

1954. Arthur Vööbus: *Early Versions of the New Testament*. Stockholm. xvii, 411 pp. – Pages 56–57: "There is no extant record of the order issued by Damasus, but we have its quintessence in Jerome's prefatory letter to Damasus (PL 29: 557) (...) Against his will, Jerome accepted the assignment."
1970. T.C. Lawler: Jerome's First Letter to Damasus (Ep. 15). In: Patrick Granfield et al. (eds.): *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*. Band 2. Münster (pp. 499–972), pp. 548–552.
1983. Pierre Nautin: Le premier échange épistolaire entre Jérôme et Damase – lettres réelles ou fictives? *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 30: 331–344. – Jerome could have faked the commissioning of the revision of the Latin Bible by Damasus, Bishop of Rome. In general, Jerome had a penchant for such fictions. Accordingly, the letters claimed to be written by Damasus were actually written by Jerome.
1992. Stefan Rebenich: *Hieronymus und sein Kreis. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Stuttgart. 328 pp. – Although not denying that Jerome worked under the patronage of Pope Damasus, Rebenich thinks that the project of a revised Latin gospel text was initiated by Jerome, and not by the Pope. Most likely Jerome managed to convince Damasus that the revision was a viable and indeed necessary project (p. 150).
2005. Andrew Cain: In Ambrosiaster's Shadow. A Critical Re-Evaluation of the Last Surviving Letter Exchange between Pope Damasus and Jerome. *Revue des études augustinienes* 51.2: 257–277.
2006. Annelie Volgers: Damasus' Request: Why Jerome Needed to (Re-)answer Ambrosiaster's "Questions." In: F. Young et al. (eds.): *Studia Patristica* 43. Leuven (xviii, 569 pp.), pp. 531–536.
2009. Andrew Cain: A Pope and His Scholar. In: idem: *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*. Oxford (xiv, 286 pp.), pp. 43–67.
2009. Ursula Reutter: *Damasus, Bischof von Rom (366–384). Leben und Werk*. Tübingen. xi, 567 pp. – The book includes a chapter on the two letters of Damasus included in the corpus of Jerome's own letters as letters no. 19 and 35 (pp. 21–30). The two letters are printed in Latin with a German translation. It is also explained that the two Damasus letters are presumably letters actually written by Jerome himself; nevertheless, they testify to Damasus' interest in things biblical and to the communication between Damasus and Jerome in the years 382–384.
2015. Markus Mülke: Damasus und Hieronymus: Die lateinische Evangelienrevision und ihre papstgeschichtliche Bedeutung. In: idem – Lothar Vogel (eds.): *Bibelübersetzung und (Kirchen)politik*. Göttingen (189 pp.), pp. 41–68. – According to Mülke (pp. 50–65), Jerome's revision of the Latin gospels coincided with the shift from Greek to Latin in the Liturgy as celebrated in the city of Rome. ▲

2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Page 180: “Damasus fördert ideell und finanziell die Arbeiten des Hieronymus als Exeget und Übersetzer. So korrespondierte er mit ihm über exegetische Probleme ... Ferner unterstützte Damasus (...) die Überarbeitung des lateinischen Bibeltextes, die er in Rom mit der Revision der Evangelien und des Psalters (...) in Angriff nahm. Im Hintergrund stand hier möglicherweise auch die Einführung des Lateinischen als Liturgiesprache in Rom zwischen 360 und 382.” – How about the Latin liturgy? In Italy and North Africa, too, the primary liturgical language was Greek for a long time; the readings were in Greek, then orally translated into Latin for those not conversant with Greek – this liturgical practice gave rise to the pre-Jeromian Latin translations; so Bruce M. Metzger: *The Early Versions of the New Testament*. Oxford 1977 (xix, 498 pp.), p. 286.
2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 122–293 (§ 647). – Page 191: One does not have to question Jerome’s claim that his revision of the gospel text has been commissioned by Damasus. It may well be that the death of Damasus in December 384 has interrupted Jerome’s revision work.
2021. Emanuele Di Sano: *Sub umbra Damasi: I rapporti fra Girolamo e Ambrosiaster alla luce del progetto ecclesiologico di Damaso*. In: Ingo Schaaf (ed.): *Hieronymus Romanus: Studies on Jerome and Rome on the Occasion of the 1600th Anniversary of His Death*. Turnhout (609 pp.), pp. 153–191. – Both Ambrosiaster and Jerome supported Damasus’ pastoral-ascetic project.
2022. Barbara Feichtinger: PR in eigener Sache? Untersuchungen zur Korrespondenz des Hieronymus mit Damasus. In: Sara Fascione (ed.): *Concatenatur sibi epistulae nostrae: Reading Ancient Latin Letter Collections*. Foggia (316 pp.), pp. 249–305.

Secondary literature on the Vulgate Gospels

English

1908. John Chapman OSB: *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*. Oxford. xi, 299 pp.
- 1922–1923. John Chapman OSB: St. Jerome and the Vulgate New Testament. *Journal of Theological Studies* 24: 33–51. 113–125. 282–299.
1976. A.W. Argyle: Notes on the New Testament Vulgate. *New Testament Studies* 22: 223–228. – The four Gospels are not consistent in their translation of certain words; this points to the possibility that Jerome was helped in his revision by one or two assistants. Jerome seems to have revised Matthew 1–13 and Mark 1–9, leaving the rest of these gospels to reviser B. The gospel of John seems to have been revised either by Jerome himself or by another assistant. At any rate, it seems that we can recognize the work of three hands. – There is a response by Albert A. Bell: Jerome’s Role in the Translation of the Vulgate New Testament. *New Testament Studies* 23 (1977) 230–233. Bell objects to Argyle’s hypothesis by arguing that Jerome did not work evenly.
1979. Bruce M. Metzger: St Jerome’s Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament. In: Ernest Best et al. (eds.): *Text and Interpretation. Studies in the New Testament*. Cambridge (xv, 268 pp.), pp. 179–190; also in: B.M. Metzger: *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional, and Patristic*. Leiden (x, 234 pp.), pp. 199–210.
1992. John K. Elliott: The Translations of the New Testament into Latin: The Old Latin and the Vulgate. In: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Band II.26.1. Berlin (xxv, 812 pp.), pp. 198–245. – The section on the Vulgate begins on p. 220.

2008. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *Augustine's Text of John. Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts*. Oxford. xii, 407 pp. – Discusses the deviations from the Vulgate found in Augustine's writings.
2012. Markus Mülke: Biblical Poetry as Translation – Biblical Translation as Philology? Jerome's Promotion of Juvencus' *Evangeliorum Libri* and His Own Latin Revision of the Gospels. *Variants. The Journal of the European Society for Textual Scholarship* 9: 19–29.
2013. Philip Burton: The Latin Version of the New Testament. In: Bart D. Ehrman – Michael W. Holmes (eds.): *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*. 2nd edition. Leiden (xii, 884 pp.), pp. 167–200. – In the 1st edition of 1995 a contribution with the same title was authored by Jacobus H. Petzer (pp. 113–130). – Burton, p. 182: "The Vulgate New Testament is simply another stage in the development of the Latin Bible. In the case of the Gospels, we say with confidence that we are dealing essentially with a revision of existing traditions produced by Jerome in the mid-380s. We may also point to his sources, a text close to Codices Vernonensis 04 (b) and (especially in John) Corbeiensis 08 (ff²); a particular contribution of Jerome's was his use of [a Greek] text not unlike that of Codex Sinaiticus. For the rest, we do not know the name of the reviser, except that it is very unlikely to be Jerome."
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 31–35: Jerome and the Vulgate Gospels. "Jerome lost momentum as his revision of the Gospels progressed. He intervened most frequently in Matthew and least so in John. (...) There are several indications that Jerome was responsible for the revision of the Gospels only and not the rest of the New Testament" (p. 34).
2018. Timothy William Dooley: *Jerome's Text of the Gospels, the Vetus Latina, and the Vulgate. With Comparative Tables of Jerome's Text of Matthew and Mark*. PhD Thesis, King's College, London. 269 pp. – This unpublished thesis, supervised by Markus Vinzent, provides tables that allow a comparison between how Jerome in his own work quotes Matthew and Mark, and the wording of the critically established Vulgate text. Surprisingly, the bulk of Jerome's quotations does not closely resemble the Vulgate text; instead, it either reflects the Vetus Latina or his personal linguistic choices. The inevitable conclusion is that Jerome may not have been the only person to have a hand in creating what came to be the Vulgate text of the gospels. Dooley speaks of "the piecemeal production of the patchwork Vulgate" (p. 220). The most radical possible conclusion would be: the traditional Vulgate text of the gospels does not represent the original revision work of Jerome. Although Jerome was never consistent in his choices, the evidence would allow for the conclusion that toward the very end of his life, he tended to adopt some Vulgate readings that he had previously avoided. – (B. Lang: Dooley's argument seems to reduce Jerome's contribution to the creation of the Vulgate text. The evidence of Jerome's own Bible quotations has been known for a long time, but was considered irrelevant by those who defended Jerome's authorship of the revision of the Latin text of the Pauline letters; see Alfred Durand SJ: *Saint Jérôme et notre Nouveau Testament latin. Recherches de science religieuse* 6 [1916] 531–549, esp. p. 541: "Si la divergence des citations, prises des Épîtres, d'avec le texte actuel de la Vulgate, prouvait que saint Jérôme n'a pas révisé cette portion du Nouveau Testament, il faudrait conclure pareillement qu'il n'a pas traduit l'Ancien Testament, ni même révisé les Évangiles, tellement il cite ici et là d'une façon à peu près identique.") ▲
2023. Christina M. Kreinecker: Jerome and the Vulgate Gospels. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 37–48. – This article revisits key questions concerning the Vulgate gospels and discusses their character as a revision in relation to Jerome's preface and his linguistic abilities. Various examples of typical textual features and differences in comparison with the Old Latin are presented together with aspects of Jerome's technique of revision. The challenge of identifying possible Latin and Greek templates is met by

looking at the methodological assumptions underlying previous suggestions. These are in fact mostly based on an outdated text-critical understanding of the New Testament manuscript tradition. Instead, a broader approach to the transmission of the Vulgate gospels is to be favoured; not limited to considering manuscripts, it makes full use of biblical quotations in then contemporary Christian writings.

Other languages

1955. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd edition. Bonn. viii, 236 pp. – Vogels points out the inconsistency of renderings of Greek words (pp. 104–105) and gives examples: ἀρχιερεύς = *princeps sacerdotum* (Matt), *summus sacerdos* (Mark), *pontifex* (John). (This example has already been adduced by Eberhard Nestle in the preface to his 1906 edition of the Latin New Testament.) "(...) auch innerhalb des einzelnen Buches gewahren wir eine Mannigfaltigkeit des einzelnen Wortes, wie sie kaum einem und dem nämlichen Übersetzer in die Feder laufen wird" (p. 104).
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: *Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión*. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74, at pp. 27–29: La revisión jeronimiana de los Evangelios.

11.4 Jerome and the Psalms

Note. – Jerome produced three Latin versions of the Psalms: (1) a first one, translated from the Septuagint (see De Buyne, French 1930); (2) a second one, translated from the Greek recension established by Origen (the so-called Psalterium Gallicanum), and (3) a third one, based on the Hebrew text (iuxta Hebraeos). Only the second one, the Psalterium Gallicanum (also, and more properly, called Jerome's hexaplaric psalter) became part of the Vulgate (though the Weber/Gryson edition has admitted the iuxta Hebraeos Psalter into its pages).

Introductions – surveys

Jerome: the Gallican Psalter (= Hexaplaric Psalter = the Vulgate book of Psalms)

Jerome: Epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam (Letter 106)

Liber Psalmorum iuxta Hebraeos

Jerome's first book of Psalms – the Psalterium Romanum?

Arthur Allgeier

Introductions – surveys

English

1932. E. Ward: Jerome's Work on the Psalter. *Expository Times* 44: 87–92.

1992. D.P. McCarthy: Saint Jerome's translation of the Psalms: the question of Rabbinic Tradition. In: H.J. Blumberg (ed.): *"Open thou mine eyes..." Essays on Aggadah and Judaica presented to Rabbi William G. Braude*. Hoboken, N.J. (xx, 339 pp.), pp. 155–191.
2005. David J. Ladouceur: *The Latin Psalter. Introduction, Selected Text and Commentary*. London. 126 pp. – Intended for classroom use, the book contains an introduction to Jerome's work on the Psalter.
2014. Scott Goins: Jerome's Psalters. In: William P. Brown (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*. Oxford (xix, 661 pp.), pp. 185–198.
2021. Alessandro Capone: Gerolamo interprete dei Salmi nel periodo romano. In: Ingo Schaaf (ed.): *Hieronymus Romanus: Studies on Jerome and Rome on the Occasion of the 1600th Anniversary of His Death*. Turnhout (609 pp.), pp. 355–393. – Concerning Jerome's early involvement with editing the Latin Psalms, the author considers evidence from Jerome's correspondence.
2022. Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. xix, 363 pp. – Pages 7–12: Jerome's three translations of the Psalms.
2023. Oliver W.E. Norris: The Latin Psalter. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 65–76.

German

1931. Arthur Allgeier: *Die Überlieferung der alten lateinischen Psalmenübersetzungen und ihre kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung*. Freiburg. 27 pp.
1954. Petrus Salmon OSB: Das Problem der Psalmen. Text und Interpretation der Psalmen zur Zeit des hl. Hieronymus. *Benediktinische Monatsschrift* 30: 393–416.
2000. Eva Schulz-Flügel: Hieronymus, Feind und Überwinder der Septuaginta? Untersuchungen anhand der Arbeiten an den Psalmen. In: Anneli Ajmelaesus – Udo Quast (eds.): *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse III.230. Göttingen (415 pp.), pp. 33–50.
2005. Siegfried Risse: Überblick über die Arbeiten des Hieronymus zu den Psalmen. In: Hieronymus: *Commentarioli in Psalmos – Anmerkungen zum Psalter*. Translated by S. Risse. Fontes Christiani 79. Turnhout (268 pp.), pp. 7–22.
2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 122–293 (§ 647). – On the Psalms, pp. 192–194.
2021. Michael Wissemann: [Das doppelte Psalterium der Vulgata](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue* 5: 9–19 (online journal).
2023. Marcela Andoková – Jozef Tiňo: Gottes Gnade und Gerechtigkeit im lateinischen Psalter. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 331–357. – The article includes a survey section entitled "Hieronymus als Übersetzer des Psalters."

French

1929. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: La reconstitution du psautier hexaplaire. *Revue bénédictine* 41: 297–324. – See the critique of Arthur Allgeier: Der Brief an Sunnia und Fretela und seine Bedeutung für die Textherstellung der Vulgata. *Biblica* 11 (1930) 86–107.
1930. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Le problème du Psautier romain. *Revue bénédictine* 62: 101–126. – The so-called Roman Psalter has nothing to do with Jerome. Jerome's first Latin Psalter, produced in Bethlehem, is not extant. However, some of it is accessible in Jerome's letters sent to Rome and especially in Jerome's *Commentarioli* written ca. 386/388 (p. 125). On the *Commentarioli*, see below, Chapter **20.2**. ▲
1940. Victor Leroquais: *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publics de France*. Tome I. Mâcon. cxxxvi, 293 pp. – Pages xxvii–xl: Les trois traductions [du livre des Psaumes] de saint Jérôme.
1982. Pierre Jay: La datation des premières traductions de l'Ancien Testament sur l'hébreu par Saint Jérôme. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 28: 208–212. – The shift from Greek to Hebrew base text began with Jerome's translation of the Psalms.
1977. Colette Estin: *Saint Jérôme, traducteur des Psaumes. Étude sur une approche de la "vérité hébraïque."* Paris. xv, 308 pp. – This is the manuscript of an unpublished doctoral thesis; the library of Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, has a copy.
1984. Colette Estin: *Les Psautiers de Jérôme à la lumière des traductions juives antérieures*. Rome. 238 pp. – The author summarizes the state of research on Jerome's works on the Psalms (pp. 25–30): Jerome worked on the Psalms three times: a first time in Rome, but nothing survives of his apparently cursory treatment of a pre-existing Latin Psalter; a second time in Bethlehem, where he created a thorough treatment of the Psalms according to the Septuagint (hexaplaric Psalter, also called Gallican Psalter because of its reception history); a third time, also in Bethlehem, he created a Psalter according to the Hebrew (*iuxta Hebraeos*). Reviewers Hilhorst and Sparks feel that Estin overestimates Jerome's dependence upon the Greek even in his *iuxta hebraeos* version. – Reviews:
1985. H.F.D. Sparks, *Journal of Theological Studies* n. s. 36.2: 488–495.
1986. Bernard Couroyer, *Revue biblique* 93: 149–152.
1986. A. Hilhorst, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 17.2: 245–248.
2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Le psautier latin des origines au XII^e siècle. Essai d'histoire. In: Anneli Aejmelaeus – Udo Quast (eds.): *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse III.230. Göttingen (415 pp.), pp. 51–81. – On pp. 58–60, Bogaert comments briefly on Jerome's two Psalters.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris 2017. 530 pp. – Pages 212–213: The history of *Psalterium Romanum*, *Psalterium Gallicanum* and *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*.

Italian – Spanish

1952. Alberto Vaccari SJ: I salteri de S. Girolamo e di S. Agostino. In: idem: *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*. I. Rome (xlvii, 395 pp.), pp. 207–255.

2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: *Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión. Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74, at pp. 29–31: Las versiones jeronimianas del Salterio.

Jerome's Gallican Psalter (= Hexaplaric Psalter = the Vulgate book of Psalms)

Note. – More editions of the Vulgate Psalter and collateral literature can be found below, in the textual notes, Chapter 21.

1953. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem as codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 10: *Liber Psalmorum ex recensione Sancti Hieronymi*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB. Rome. xvi, 298 pp. – This volume is part of the Benedictine Vulgate; see below, Chapter 13.3. – Review: Henry S. Gehmann, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955) 134–135.

Jerome: Epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam (Letter 106)

- c. 391/392. Jerome: *Letter 106 – epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam*. This is a treatise about the textual differences between Jerome's (Gallican) Psalter and a Greek manuscript that two Gothic scholars have compared. Jerome answers their questions in a long letter. The date given is that of Graves. Altaner's date is c. 404/410; other authors opt for "400 or 404–410" (*Sources chrétiennes* 592: 117) or a date between 393 and 401.

Text

1864. Hieronymus: *Epistola CVI ad Sunniam et Fretelam*. PL 22: 837–867.
1912. Hieronymus: *Epistulae. Pars II: Epistulae 71–120*. Edited by Isidor Hilberg. Vienna (516 pp.). Letter 106 is on pp. 247–289 = CSEL 55: 247–289.
1940. Der Brief des hl. Hieronymus an Sunnia und Fretela. In: Arthur Allgeier: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata. Ihre Eigenart, sprachliche Grundlage und geschichtliche Stellung*. Paderborn (314 pp.), pp. 21–68. Allgeier presents the Latin text after Hilberg (1912) and adds notes. Allgeier suggests an emendation (end of chap. 3): *circuiter* (not *circuitu*). No translation. – Reprint: New York 1968.
1953. Hieronymus: *Epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam de Psalterio quae de LXX interpretum editione corrupta sint*. In: *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem as codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 10: *Liber Psalmorum ex recensione Sancti Hieronymi*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB. Rome (xvi, 298 pp.), pp. 8–42.
1955. Jérôme: *Lettres*. Tome V. Edited and translated by Jérôme Labourt. Collection Budé. Paris. 217 double pp. – On pp. 104–144, a bilingual, Latin and French edition of letter 106, with improved Latin text (see esp. p. 125, line 12: *et septuaginta iuxta hexaplorum veritatem*). See also the additional note on pp. 215–216.
2022. Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. xix, 363 pp. – A bilingual, Latin and English edition, complete with introductory material and commentary by one of the foremost specialists on Jerome. On pp. 15–16, Graves lists all 177 passages from the Psalms that are discussed in Letter 106. Unlike De Bruyne, Graves does not consider Sunnia and Fretela as fictive persons (see Graves's critique of De Bruyne, pp. 41–46). Graves dates the letter to c. 391/392, i.e., much earlier than other authors. ▲

Secondary literature

1876. Otto Ohrloff: *Die Bruchstücke vom Alten Testament der gotischen Bibelübersetzung kritisch untersucht*. Halle. iii, 45 pp. – On pp. 28–32, the author comments on Jerome's *Letter* 106. Apart from offering definitions of a few words, Jerome discusses minor translation issues that are generally without relevance for the general meaning of a passage. The interest of Jerome's correspondents was no doubt in the method of translation, and here Jerome has much to offer. Sunna and Fretela apparently planned to produce a Gothic translation of the Psalms. – Review: Julius Wellhausen, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1.12 (1876) 307–308.
1929. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: La lettre de Jérôme à Sunnia et Fretela sur le Psautier. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 28: 1–13.– Page 1: "Sunnia et Fretela sont des personnages fictifs, ils n'ont jamais écrit à Jérôme et ils n'ont jamais reçu la lettre 106. Cet écrit est un correctoire du psautier, comme on en a fait plusieurs au XIII^e siècle, mais Jérôme lui a donné la forme plus vivante, plus mouvementée, d'une lettre; ceux qu'il veut instruire – ou, si l'on préfère, ceux qu'il veut réfuter – ne sont pas des Goths, mais des Latins." According to De Bruyne, Jerome meant to attack Augustine or, more specifically, Augustine's own revision of the Latin Psalter made around the year 400. (The assumption that Augustine produced a revised book of Psalms is a favourite idea of De Bruyne. B. Capelle supports this idea: "Le texte d'Augustin porte traces d'une revision légère, mais systématique, laquelle ne se rencontre que chez lui et dans les textes qui dependent de lui"; Capelle thinks, however, that De Bruyne exaggerates the extent of Augustine's revision; see B. Capelle, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 39 [1943] 470.)
1930. Arthur Allgeier: Der Brief an Sunnia und Fretela und seine Bedeutung für die Textherstellung der Vulgata. *Biblica* 11: 86–107. – Allgeier agrees with De Bruyne that the request of the two Goths is a mere literary *topos*. Allgeier thinks that one should prefer the Latin wording of the Sunnia letter to the wording of our modern printed Vulgate; page 91: "Durch den Brief erhält der gedruckte Vulgatatext manche Korrekturen."
1932. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Le Psautier de Stuttgart. *Speculum* 7: 361–366. – Page 361: Jérôme "discute environ 180 passages du Psautier gallican dans sa lettre 106 adressée à Sunnia et Fretela. Depuis longtemps on a reconnu que cette célèbre lettre est le commentaire authentique du Psautier gallican. Une leçon que Jérôme affirme se trouver dans ce Psautier doit être acceptée, même si elle ne se trouve dans aucun manuscrit."
1932. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: De quelques opinions sur l'ancien psautier latin. *Revue biblique* 41: 161–186. – This article is in three parts: (1) Commenting on De Bruyne's article of 1929, Lagrange explains why he does not accept the idea of a fictional situation that would have prompted the writing of this letter (pp. 162–172); – (2) Lagrange rejects De Bruyne's idea that Augustine would have produced his own revised Latin book of Psalms (pp. 172–179); – (3) The Roman Psalter may have been the European (rather than African) version of the *Vetus Latina* Psalter; Lagrange presents the recent theories of De Bruyne (who thinks that the Roman Psalter reflects Augustine's revision work) and Allgeier (who attributes the Roman Psalter to Jerome's revision work carried out during his stay in Rome) (pp. 179–186).
1935. Jacques Zeiller: La lettre de saint Jérôme aux Goths Sunnia et Fretela. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 79: 238–250.
1940. Arthur Allgeier: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata. Ihre Eigenart, sprachliche Grundlage und geschichtliche Stellung*. Paderborn. 314 pp. Reprint: New York 1968. – Pages 23–68: *Epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam* (letter 106). Pages 64–65: "Die Haltung, welche Hieronymus im 106. Brief zur LXX einnimmt, ist frei von irgendwelcher Mystik, wie sie die Verehrung Augustins noch bis in die letzte Periode des Schaffens bekundet. Für Hieronymus ist LXX eine altehrwürdige Übersetzung, die nicht unter-

schätzt, aber auch nicht überschätzt wird. Auch dem Hebräischen gegenüber zeigt er ein bemerkenswert abgeklärtes Urteil; es hält sich namentlich von der naiven Begeisterung und Übertreibung des Anfängers fern.“ According to Allgeier, Jerome in this letter looks already back at his two Psalters, and he comes to prefer the Septuagint-based one – which is Allgeier’s own, idiosyncratic interpretation. (See the reviews of Allgeier’s book below, at the end of this Chapter 11.4)

1950. Berthold Altaner: Wann schrieb Hieronymus seine Ep. 106 ad Sunniam et Fretelam de Psalterio? *Vigiliae Christianae* 4: 246–248. – The letter about the Psalms was written between the years 404 and 410. For a critique of this “late” dating, see Michael Graves in: Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by M. Graves. Atlanta, Ga. (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 48–49.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Page 246: The letter and the addressees may be fictitious.
2022. Michael Graves: Introduction. In: Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by M. Graves. Atlanta, Ga. (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 1–76. – Although the “letter” is a treatise rather than a normal letter, Graves does not accept De Bruyne’s “fiction” theory. Graves dates the letter to c. 391/392, i.e., a few years after the publication (in 387) of the Gallican Psalter.
2023. Dorothea Keller: Übersetzungsentscheidungen bei Hieronymus und ihre Begründung. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 109–136. – Page 115, n. 21: “Der Brief wurde bisweilen für eine Adressatenfiktion gehalten (...); im Laufe dieser Untersuchung werden allerdings verschiedene Unstimmigkeiten hervortreten, die eher darauf hindeuten, dass Hieronymus sich echten Kritikpunkten gegenüber zu rechtfertigen hatte.” Keller uses several examples from *Letter 106* to shed light on Jerome’s theory of translation.

Liber Psalmorum iuxta Hebraeos

Note. – How did Jerome evaluate his two psalm versions: the Gallican Psalter and the Psalter *iuxta Hebraeos*? Jerome himself indicates how he felt about the matter in his *Letter 106* to Sunnia and Fretela. Speaking about his version of Psalm 74 (Vg Ps 73), he comments that “it is clear that the psalm should be sung as we translated it [in the Gallican Psalter], and nevertheless it should be known what the Hebrew truth contains. For what the Seventy translated [from Hebrew into Greek] should be sung in the churches in view of its antiquity, and what comes from scholars should be known for the sake of understanding the Scriptures” (*Letter 106*, 46; CSEL 55: 270; Graves, p. 115). The Gallican Psalter, based on the Greek of the Septuagint, is for worship, whereas the *iuxta Hebraeos* Psalter is for scholarship. While we cannot say exactly when Jerome translated the Psalms from the Hebrew, the most likely date is around 391. According to Michael Graves, Jerome began working on the translation when he was about half way through writing his *Letter 106* to Sunnia and Fretela (Graves, pp. 51 and 55). – For the references, see Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. 2022. xix, 363 pp.

Text – translation

1874. Paul de Lagarde (ed.): *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*. Leipzig. xvi, 168 pp.
1922. J.M. Harden (ed.): *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos. Edited with an Introduction and Apparatus Criticus*. London. xxxi, 195 pp.
1954. Henri Marcotte de Sainte-Marie OSB (ed.): *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos. Édition critique*. Collectanea biblica latina 11. Rome. lxx, 262 pp. – The scholarly standard edition. It has been incorporated into the Stuttgart Vulgate edited by Weber and Gryson (see below, 2007). ▲

1960. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela (ed.): *Psalterium Sancti Hieronymi de Hebraica Veritate Interpretatum. Editio critica*. Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia. Madrid. vii, 298 pp. – This edition is not meant to supersede the edition of H. de Sainte-Marie (1954). The aim is rather to recover the Latin text that Spanish envoys copied from Jerome's original manuscript and brought back to Lucinus in Spain; see Jerome: Letter 71 (CSEL 55: 1–7). For his edition, the editor has collated 27 manuscripts. On Lucinus, see Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg 2017 (444 pp.), p. 210.
1994. André Frossard – Noël Bompois: *Les Psaumes*. Paris. 309 pp. – The translation is based on Jerome's translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew. Frossard (1915–1995), a French convert and conservative Catholic, worked as a journalist and writer.
2007. Robert Weber OSB – Roger Gryson (eds.): *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 771–955. The iuxta Hebraeos is always on the pages with odd numbers – p. 771, p. 773, etc.
2018. Hieronymus: *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch – deutsch*. Edited by Andreas Beriger et al. Berlin (1247 pp.), pp. 23–769. – This volume of the bilingual Tusculum-Vulgata has the Latin Weber/Gryson text and a German translation by Andreas Beriger, Sophie Holland, and others.

Secondary literature

1906. Jakob Ecker: Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi in seinem Verhältnis zu Masora, Septuaginta, Vulgata mit Berücksichtigung der übrigen alten Versionen untersucht. In: Bernhard Johann Endres (ed.): *Festschrift des Priesterseminars zum Bischofs-Jubiläum*. Trier (572 pp.), pp. 391–496.
1926. Arthur Allgeier: Ist das Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos die letzte (3.) Psalmenübersetzung des hl. Hieronymus? *Theologie und Glaube* 18: 671–687. – The Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos is traditionally considered to be the 3rd Psalm edition of the church father. Allgeier contradicts this view. The correct sequence is: Psalterium Romanum – iuxta Hebraeos – Gallicanum. (Scholars have not generally agreed.)
1930. Arthur Allgeier: Die mittelalterliche Überlieferung des Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos von Hieronymus und semitistische Kenntnisse im Abendland. *Oriens Christianus* series 3, Nr. 3–4: 200–231.
1950. Charles M. Cooper: Jerome's "Hebrew Psalter" and the New Latin Version. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 69: 233–244. – Page 233: Jerome's Psalter "rests on a Hebrew text that is half way between its early situation as reflected in the LXX [Septuagint] and its final fixation in the MT [Masoretic Text]."
1952. Alberto Vaccari SJ: I Salteri di S. Girolamo e di S. Agostino. In: idem: *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* I. Rome (xlvi, 395 pp.), pp. 207–255.
1956. John H. Marks: *Der textkritische Wert des Psalterium Hieronymi iuxta Hebraeos*. Winterthur. 155 pp. – The author thinks that Jerome's Psalter iuxta hebraeos is actually a Psalter iuxta Aquilam (et Symmachum). – Reviews:
1957. W. Baars, *Vetus Testamentum* 7: 215–217.
1957. Bonifatius Fischer, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 82: 579–580.
1958. A. Jeffery, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 77: 81–82.
1958. Ludwig Bieler: Notes on the Durham Copies of the Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos. *Scriptorium* 12: 282–283.

1959. Henri de Sainte-Marie OSB: Le Psaume 22 (21) dans le iuxta hebraeos. In: Pierre Salmon OSB et al.: *Richesses et déficiences des anciens Psautiers latins*. Collectanea biblica latina 13. Rome 1959 (267 pp.), pp. 151–187.
1960. Joseph Ziegler: *Antike und moderne Psalmenübersetzungen*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1960, no. 3. Munich. 68 pp. – Page 22, note 1: “Unter den alten Psalterien ist *He* [Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos] am besten erforscht.”
1984. Colette Estin: *Les Psautiers de Jérôme à la lumière des traductions juives antérieures*. Rome. 238 pp. – The author agrees with John H. Marks (1956), arguing that the iuxta Hebraeos is based essentially on Aquila’s literal version in Greek.
2006. John S. Cameron: *The Vir Tricultus. An Investigation of the Classical, Jewish and Christian Influences on Jerome’s Translation of the Psalter iuxta Hebraeos*. Diss. Oxford.
2009. John Cameron: The Rabbinic Vulgate? In: Andrew Cain – Josef Lössl (eds.): *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Abingdon (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 117–129.
2017. Justin Rogers: Vulgate [text of the Psalms]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 104–110. – Despite its title, this handbook article is about the Psalms as translated from the Hebrew (and not about Jerome’s Gallican Psalter). “The ‘Hebrew’ Psalter was one of the earliest of Jerome’s translations iuxta Hebraeos. As such, the translation is closer to the Hebrew than later translations of other biblical books. (... But) the translation as a whole is idiomatic. The ‘Hebrew’ Psalter is not slavishly literal” (p. 105).
2022. Martijn Jaspers: [The Dead Sea Scrolls and Variant Readings in Jerome’s Psalterium iuxta hebraeos](#). The Fourth Book of the Psalter (Psalms 90–106) as a Case Study. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 6: 1–14 (online journal). – This paper examines the textual variants in the fourth book of the Psalter (Psalms 90–106) found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and compares these readings with Jerome’s Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos. Even though these variants are not exhaustively listed in current editions of the Hebrew and Latin editions of the Psalms, several interesting agreements between readings in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jerome’s Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos can be found.
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: *Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión*. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74. – Page 42: As for the Latin text of the Psalms, medieval Bibles are divided: French manuscripts and the edition of the Bible prepared by Alcuin of York have the Psalterium Gallicanum (Vulgate text), whereas the edition of Theodulf of Orleans, the majority of Spanish Bibles and, interestingly, the Codex Amiatinus all have the Psalter iuxta Hebraeos (p. 42).

Jerome’s first book of Psalms – the Psalterium Romanum?

Note. – In the preface to his Gallican Psalter, Jerome reports: “A short time ago when I was in Rome, I emended the Psalter. I corrected it, although hastily, for the most part based on the Seventy translators” (Sources chrétiennes 592: 406). Traditionally, this work was believed to survive in the *Psalterium Romanum* (critically edited by Robert Weber, 1953). Recent mainstream scholarship recognizes two facts: (1) the *Psalterium Romanum* has nothing to do with Jerome; instead, it must be considered a Vetus-Latina text, i.e., a pre-Jeromian version of the Psalms in Latin; (2) Jerome’s Psalms revision of c. 386/388 is not extant, though believed to survive in part in Jerome’s *Commentarioli* on the Psalms. – The bibliography that follows deals exclusively with the *Psalterium Romanum*. – See also below, Chapter **14.5**.

Text

1846. Hieronymus: *Liber Psalmorum iuxta Septuaginta interpretes*. PL 29: 119–398. – This edition prints the text of two Latin translations based on the Greek (Septuagint) text: the Gallican (Vulgate) text on the left, and the Roman Psalter on the right.
1953. *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*. Edited by Robert Weber. Rome. xxiii, 410 pp. – The Roman Psalter is similar to the Gallican Psalter (= Vulgate Psalter), but not identical to it. Review: Henry S. Gehman, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955) 135–136.

Secondary literature: before De Bruyne

1912. E. Pannier: *Psaumes (Livre des)*. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.1. Paris (1282 cols.), cols. 807–838, at col. 829: Jerome's first revision of the Psalter "forme le *Psalterium romanum*, employé autrefois à Rome jusqu'à saint Pie V [1568], maintenu dans le Missel et dans une partie du Bréviaire, ainsi que dans l'office capitulaire de Saint-Pierre de Rome; saint Jérôme en décrit le principal caractère" as essentially conservative in his *Letter* 106, 12 to Sunnia et Fretela (PL 22: 843).
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 82–84. Stummer assumes that the Roman Psalter represents Jerome's revision work. (It was only with De Bruyne's 1930 paper that this consensus assumption collapsed.)

De Bruyne and later

1930. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Le problème du psautier romain. *Revue bénédictine* 42: 101–126. – Three suggestions: (1) the Roman Psalter, though traditionally associated with Jerome, cannot be considered the work of Jerome; it contains too many erroneous readings that Jerome would certainly have improved; (2) traces of Jerome's very early, Bethlehemite, revision of the Psalms may have survived in the *Commentarioli in Psalmos* (see below, Chapter 20.2) of the church father; (3) the Roman Psalter represents the revision work of Augustine (as mentioned in Augustine: *Letter* 261; CSEL 57:620). Suggestion (1) has received general acclaim, while scholars tend to be more reserved about suggestions (2) and (3). A brief summary of De Bruyne's article can be found in: Bleddyn J. Roberts: *The Old Testament Text and Versions*. Cardiff 1951 (xv, 326 pp.), pp. 248–249. ▲
1931. Arthur Allgeier: Die erste Psalmenübersetzung des heiligen Hieronymus und das Psalterium Romanum. *Biblica* 12: 447–482. – Page 482: "Das Psalterium Romanum ist eine Verbesserung und Anpassung des afrikanischen Psalters an den europäischen Sprachgeist, welche in der Mailänder Kirchenprovinz, in Spanien, in Gallien Richtung gebend wurde, vom 7. Jahrhundert ab den angelsächsischen Kulturkreis eroberte und von da aus auch nach Deutschland siegreich vordrang." Allgeier considers the *Psalterium Romanum* to be the work of Jerome (an opinion that apparently arose in the 8th century), while Donatien De Bruyne OSB denies the *Psalterium Romanum* to the church father. Allgeier's view has not prevailed.
1932. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: De quelques opinions sur l'ancien psautier latin. *Revue biblique* 41: 161–186. – Critical report on the controversy between De Bruyne and Allgeier (pp. 179–186). De Bruyne thinks that the Roman Psalter reflects Augustine's revision work, while Allgeier attributes the Roman Psalter to Jerome's revision work carried out during his stay in Rome. Lagrange tentatively suggests that the Roman Psalter may have been the European (rather than African) version of the *Vetus Latina* Psalter (p. 186). ▲

1952. Alberto Vaccari SJ: I salteri de S. Girolamo e di S. Agostino. In: idem: *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*. I. Rome (xlvii, 395 pp.), pp. 207–255. – Pages 219–221: Jerome knew and used the Roman Psalter.
1975. J.N.D. [John Norman Davidson] Kelly: *Jerome. His Life, Writings and Controversies*. London (xi, 353 pp.), p. 89: The extant Roman Psalter is not the work of Jerome; it may be identical with the Psalter that Jerome read when he produced the Gallican Psalter.
2014. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La survivance du Psautier romain dans les bibles: comment les reconnaître? *Revue bénédictine* 124 (2014) 348–352. – The Psalterium Romanum is often hard to distinguish from the Psalterium Gallicanum.

Arthur Allgeier

Note.– Allgeier (1882–1952), trained as a Catholic theologian and Assyriologist, taught Old Testament exegesis at the University of Freiburg from 1919 to 1951. After World War II, he served his university as its first rector (1945–1946). The titles listed below represent only a selection of his contributions to research on the Latin Psalter. Interestingly, his contemporary Friedrich Stummer (1886–1955) had a very similar career and similar interests; he too was trained in Catholic theology and Assyriology, taught Old Testament (1923–1953, after the Second World War in Munich), and specialized in research on the Latin Bible. Both scholars published important work in the 1920s, a decade in which Latin Bible studies flourished and saw the publication of books of lasting value.

Allgeier's favourite idea was that the Vulgate Psalter (Psalterium Gallicanum) and *Letter 106* represented Jerome's final word on the Psalms and was his most accomplished achievement. Allgeier claims to have established the following sequence of Jerome's work on the Psalms:

Psalterium Romanum
 Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos
 Psalterium Gallicanum
 Letter 106 to Sunnia and Fretela.

Allgeier's sequence implies that Jerome came to disbelieve in the usefulness of his Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos. Allgeier did not find followers. Today, most scholars are likely to believe in a different sequence, namely:

Psalterium Romanum (not by Jerome)
 (a lost Psalter by Jerome)
 Psalterium Gallicanum
 Letter 106 to Sunnia and Fretela
 Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos

Accordingly, Allgeier's speculations are without a firm basis.

1926. Arthur Allgeier: Ist das Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos die letzte (3.) Psalmenübersetzung des hl. Hieronymus? *Theologie und Glaube* 18: 671–687. – The Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos is traditionally

considered to be the 3rd Psalm edition of the church father. Allgeier contradicts this view. The correct sequence is: Psalterium Romanum – iuxta Hebraeos – Gallicanum. – Reviews:

1948. Jan Olav Smit: *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*. Roermond (xvi, 296 pp.), p. 187, note 99 (here translated from the Dutch): “Arthur Allgeier, *Theologie und Glaube* 18 (1926) 671–687 believes that the Psalterium Gallicanum was made by Jerome *after* the Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos, which opinion seems to be refuted by the statement of Jerome himself in the Preface to the Hebrew Psalter about the Seventy, PL 28 (1846): 1126: *Quorum translationem diligentissime emendatam olim meae linguae hominibus dederim* [whose translation, carefully corrected, I gave some while ago to those who speak my own tongue].”
1928. Arthur Allgeier: *Die altlateinischen Psalterien*. Freiburg. xi, 190 pp. – Review: F.C. Burkitt: Jerome’s Work on the Psalter. *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1929) 395–397.
1929. Arthur Allgeier, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 32.5: 364–366. – In this review of Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel* (1928), Allgeier rejects Stummer’s dismissal of the Blondheim thesis that postulates the existence of an oral Latin targum in the Jewish synagogue: “Stummer tritt der Meinung [Blondheims] allerdings mit beachtenswerten Gründen entgegen, ohne sie jedoch m.E. zu entkräften” (col. 364). “In allem stimme ich freilich nicht bei. Nicht nur denke ich über Blondheim günstiger [als Stummer] und bin sogar geneigt, wenigstens für den Psalter analog der LXX vorchristlichen Ursprung anzunehmen” (col. 365). – No one seems to have shared Allgeier’s idea that the Vetus-Latina Psalter would be a pre-Christian work.
1930. Arthur Allgeier: Der Brief an Sunnia und Fretela und seine Bedeutung für die Textherstellung der Vulgata. *Biblica* 11: 86–107. – Allgeier agrees with De Bruyne that the request of the two Goths is a mere literary *topos*. Allgeier thinks that one should prefer the Latin wording of the Sunnia letter to the wording of our modern printed Vulgate; page 91: “Durch den Brief erhält der gedruckte Vulgatatext manche Korrekturen.”
1931. Arthur Allgeier: Die erste Psalmenübersetzung des heiligen Hieronymus und das Psalterium Romanum. *Biblica* 12: 447–482.
1937. Arthur Allgeier, *Theologische Revue* 36.3: 94 (in a review): “Es ist mir nie in den Sinn gekommen, das Ps. Romanum als eine Originalübersetzung zu betrachten. Die Überlieferung sagt ausdrücklich, daß die Tätigkeit des h. Hieronymus am Psalmentext eine Revision gewesen ist. Infolgedessen konnte die Revision vielerlei enthalten, was Hieronymus vermieden hätte, wenn er ganz neu hätte aufbauen können. Man darf auch bloß das Ps. Gallicanum prüfen und dazu den 106. Brief *ad Sunniam et Fretelam* halten, um auf Schritt und Tritt festzustellen, wieviel Hieronymus sogar hier im Text stehen ließ, was einem so klassizistisch geschulten Schriftsteller in seiner eigenen Arbeit nicht durchgegangen wäre. Ja selbst das Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos erweist sich noch stark traditionsgebunden” (col. 94).
1940. Arthur Allgeier: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata. Ihre Eigenart, sprachliche Grundlage und geschichtliche Stellung*. Paderborn. 314 pp. Reprint: New York 1968. – The so-called Gallican Psalter, established on the basis of the Septuagint, is generally considered the earlier, the Psalter from the Hebrew the later translation of Jerome. Allgeier proposes to reverse the chronology; the Gallican Psalter represents a considerable advance (“einen erheblichen Fortschritt,” p. 304) over the other rendering of the Psalms. According to Allgeier, the Gallican (Vulgate) Psalter, once it is improved on the basis of Jerome’s *Letter to Sunnia and Fretela*, represents Jerome’s mature work on the Psalms. All reviewers challenge this interpretation. In fact, Allgeier has found no following. – Reviews:
1941. Alberto Vaccari SJ, *Biblica* 22.3: 317–322.
1941. Heinrich Vogels, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 66: 250–251.

1942. Josef Linder SJ, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 66: 152–153.
1943. B. Capelle, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 39: 469–470. Very critical of Allgeier's book.
1952. Alberto Vaccari SJ: I salteri de S. Girolamo e di S. Agostino. In: idem: *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*. I. Rome (xlvii, 395 pp.), pp. 207–255, esp. pp. 221–230.
1956. John H. Marks: *Der textkritische Wert des Psalterium Hieronymi iuxta Hebraeos*. Winterthur (155 pp.), pp. 36–46.
1948. Arthur Allgeier: Lateinische Psalmenübersetzung in alter und neuer Zeit. In: *Wissenschaft und Leben. Reden zur Universitätsfeier am 1. Juni 1946*. Freiburger Universitätsreden. Neue Folge Heft 2. Freiburg (28 pp.), pp. 7–20. Allgeier repeats his idea that Jerome considered his Gallican (Vulgate) Psalter his final achievement, made after the *iuxta hebraeos* version. Allgeier also briefly comments on the new Psalter of Pius XII (pp. 15–17) which is ultimately linked to Jerome's *iuxta hebraeos* version, and thus represents a radical break with the Vulgate Psalter.
1951. Bleddyn J. Roberts: *The Old Testament Text and Versions*. Cardiff (xv, 326 pp.), pp. 253–254. – A brief summary of Allgeier's views.

11.5 Books Jerome translated more than once (non-Vulgate versions)

Note. – When Jerome moved from Rome to Palestine (Bethlehem), he spent the first years there translating biblical books from the Greek (Septuagint) version or revising Vetus-Latina texts – Job, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Koheleth, 1 and 2 Chronicles, and Psalms. Jerome's prologues to these translations are still extant: the prologue to 1 and 2 Chronicles (Sources chrétiennes 592: 338–347), the prologue to Job (Sources chrétiennes 592: 384–391), the prologue to the Psalms (Sources chrétiennes 592: 406–411), and the prologue to Proverbs, Koheleth, and Song of Songs (Sources chrétiennes 592: 422–431). Apart from the Psalms revision, which became the Vulgate text (see above, Chapter 11.4), the other Greek-based translations either disappeared or had a rather shady existence. Jerome himself reports in a letter to Augustine that these texts have disappeared due to someone's fraud: *ob fraudem cuiusdam* (letter 134, PL 22: 1162; CSEL 56: 263). Fully extant is the Latin text of the book of Job. It has also been claimed that fragments of two more books survived – Koheleth and Song of Songs.

Job

Note. – Jerome translated the book of Job twice: first from Greek (ca. 390), then, a little later (392/93), from Hebrew. Only the latter version is included in the Vulgate. The literature listed below refers only to the translation from the Greek, the one *not* adopted by the Vulgate. For the Vulgate version of Job, see below, Chapter 21.

Text

1846. Hieronymus: *Liber Job secundum Septuaginta*. PL 29: 61–114. – Jerome's translation of the book of Job from the Greek. Still considered the standard text of this work.
1887. Paul de Lagarde: *Mittheilungen*. Volume 2. Göttingen (388 pp.), pp. 189–237: "Des Hieronymus Übertragung der griechischen Übersetzung des Iob."
1893. Carl Paul Caspari: *Das Buch Hiob (1,1–38,16) in Hieronymus' Übersetzung aus der alexandrinischen Version nach einer St. Galler Handschrift saec. VIII*. Kristiania. 108 pp.

2017. Hieronymus: Prologus iuxta emendationem graecam (in libro Iob). Sources chrétiennes 592: 384–391. – A critical edition of Jerome’s prologue to his translation of the book of Job from the Greek, dated to between 386 and 389 (p. 384).

Secondary literature

1945. James Herbert Gailey: *Jerome’s Latin Version of Job from the Greek. Chapters 1–26. Its Texts, Character and Provenance*. Princeton. Published by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor. 177 pp.

1950. Peter J. Erbes: *Die Job-Übersetzungen des hl. Hieronymus*. Maschienenschriftliche Dissertation. Freiburg. – Unpublished typewritten thesis.

2012. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Job latin chez les Pères et dans les bibles. D’une version courte à des versions longues sur le grec et sur l’hébreu. *Revue bénédictine* 122: 48–99, 366–393.

2017. Gerd-Dietrich Warns: *Die Textvorlage von Augustins Annotationes in Iob. Studien zur Erstfassung von Hieronymus’ Hiob-Übersetzung iuxta Graecos*. Göttingen. 590 pp. – Augustine used Jerome’s translation of the book of Job made on the basis of the Greek.

2017. Almut Trenkler: *Die beiden Rezensionen von Augustins Adnotationes in Iob im Licht von Hieronymus’ erster Ijob-Übersetzung*. Göttingen. 331 pp.

2021. Almut Trenkler – Gerd-Dietrich Warns: *Beiträge zum lateinischen Ijob. Iob 16,6; 27,16–17a; 28,1–3a bei Hieronymus und Augustinus*. Göttingen. 253 pp. – Pages 92–93: In an early version of Job 27:17 (which was not adopted into the Vulgate version), Jerome uses the verb *convertere* in a sense attested by Cicero (*In Verrem* II, 3,176): to divert money to someone who has no right to it (Geld für jemanden abzweigen, der kein Recht darauf hat). – Review: Markus Witte, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 135.1 (2023) 169–170.

Koheleth (Ecclesiastes)

Note. – Jerome created three Latin versions of the book of Koheleth. Two have survived in their entirety: the first in his Koheleth commentary of 388/89, and the Vulgate version of 397 or 398. Both are based on the Hebrew text. A third version, preserved only in fragments, represents a translation from the Greek.

1987. Sandro Leanza: Le tre versioni geronimiani dell’Ecclesiaste. *Annali di storia dell’esegesi* 4: 87–108. – The version included in the lemmata of the commentary on Ecclesiastes, though a true version of the Hebrew and sometimes more literal than Jerome’s Vulgate version, is still tied in part to the Septuagint.

Song of Songs (Canticum canticorum)

Note. – Donatien de Bruyne and Alberto Vaccari discovered a Jeromian non-Vulgate version of the Song of Songs, based on the Septuagint.

Text

1959. Alberto Vaccari SJ (ed.): *Cantici canticorum vetus Latina translatio a S. Hieronymo ad Graecum textum hexaplarem emendata, detexit, edidit apparatu critico instruxit Alberto Vaccari*. Rome. 39 pp.

Secondary literature

1926. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Les anciennes versions latins du Cantique des Cantiques. *Revue bénédictine* 38: 97–122.

1958. Alberto Vaccari SJ: Recupero d'un lavoro critico di Girolamo 3. Cantico dei Cantici. In: idem: *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* II. Rome (xvi, 518 pp.), pp. 121–146.

2009. Reinhart Ceulemans: The Latin Patristic Reception of the Book of Canticles in the Hexapla. *Vigiliae Christianae* 63: 369–389. – Ceulemans tells the story of how Jerome's hexaplaric Latin recension was rediscovered in the twentieth century (pp. 371–375).

11.6 The biblical canon

Note. – Jerome is known for his insistence that only those books that belong to the Hebrew Bible should qualify as “canonical” books of the Old Testament. But there is more to be said about Jerome and the canon, as can be seen both from the sources here quoted, and the secondary literature listed. The term *canon* is firmly established in Jerome's vocabulary, and he regularly associates it with “the Church.” When he says that the Church (*ecclesia*) has not received a certain book “among the canonical Scriptures” (*inter canonicas scripturas*; see below, *Prologus in libris Salomonis*), one can ask what exactly he means by the “Church.” A possible answer might be that Jerome is thinking of the canon of the Sacred Scriptures as established by the Synod held in Rome in the year 382. Although we do not know whether the Synod of Rome used the expression *scripturae canonicae* – the canonical Scriptures –, the synod of Hippo in North Africa, held in 393, did use it (*Concilia Africae*, edited by Charles Mounier, CCSL 149: 21).

Sources

Secondary literature: Decretum Damasi

Secondary literature: Old Testament and apocrypha

Secondary literature: New Testament

Further secondary literature

Sources

Note. – Most of the relevant Jerome sources can be found in Latin and English in this publication: Edmon L. Gallagher – John D. Meade (eds.): *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity*. Oxford 2017 (xii, 337 pp.), pp. 197–216: *Prologus galeatus*, *Letter 53*, and *Letter 107*. The *decretum Damasi*, however, does not figure in this otherwise excellent collection. ▲

382. Synod of Rome. This synod, held under Pope Damasus, issued a decree (*decretum Damasi*) that lists all the books that belong to the biblical canon of both testaments. Jerome was present at this synod, presumably serving Damasus as an advisor. (This document is included in the *decretum Gelasianum*, named after Pope Gelasius, 492–496, a sixth-century privately compiled document. That it includes an original decree of Damasus has been controversial, but seems to be firmly established in present-day scholarship.) For Damasus' "canon" document, see the following editions:
1846. *Decretum de libris recipiendis, et non recipiendis*. PL 19: 787–794. – The list of canonical books of both testaments is on cols.791–793.
1847. *Conciliorum sub Gelasio habitorum relation*. Concilium Romanum I. PL 59: 157–159.
1900. C.H. Turner: *Latin Lists of the Canonical Books*. 1. The Roman Council under Damasus, A.D. 382. *Journal of Theological Studies* 1.4: 554–560. – At pp. 557–559, Turner provides a critical edition of Damasus' list of the canonical biblical books.
1904. Theodor Zahn: *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Zweite vermehrte und vielfach verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig (iv, 92 pp.), pp. 84–85: Der römische Kanon vom Jahre 382. – Latin text of the list, without translation.
1912. Ernst von Dobschütz: *Das Decretum Gelasianum (...) in kritischem Text herausgegeben und untersucht*. Leipzig. viii, 362 pp. – The text of the canon list is on pp. 5–6.
1961. Pontificia commissio de re biblica (ed.): *Enchiridion Biblicum*. Editio quarta. Rome (xvi, 284 pp.), pp. 12–13 (no. 26). The document, in Latin.
2005. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann: *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*. 40th edition. Freiburg (xxxviii, 1811 pp.), pp. 90–91 (nos. 179–180). See also the English edition: Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Compendium of Creeds, Definitions, and Declarations on Matters of Faith and Morals*. San Francisco 2012 (xxxvii, 1399 pp.), nos.179–180.
2009. Ursula Reutter: *Damasus, Bischof von Rom (366–384). Leben und Werk*. Tübingen (xi, 567 pp.), pp. 471–473, Latin and German.
393. Jerome: *Prologus in libro Regum* (so-called *Prologus galeatus*; Sources chrétiennes 592: 322–337; Tusculum-Vulgata II, pp. 250–259). – In this prologue, Jerome addresses the question of which books belong in the canon of the Christian scriptures. In the *Prologus*, he lists the books included in the Hebrew Bible, and then adds: "Whatever falls outside these must be set apart among the Apocrypha (*inter apocrypha*). Therefore Wisdom (*Sapientia*), which is commonly entitled Solomon's, with the book of the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobias, and the Shepherd [of Hermas] are not in the canon (*non sunt in canone*). I have found the first book of Maccabees in Hebrew; the second is in Greek, as may be proved from its very style" (Sources chrétiennes 592: 332; Tusculum-Vulgata II, 254).
394. Jerome: *Letter 53,8–9* (CSEL 54: 454–463). Addressed to Paulinus of Nola, this letter serves as an invitation to read the books of the Bible. The enumeration of the individual books of both testaments and their brief characterization gives us a good idea of Jerome's biblical canon. Several books are in groups: the Twelve Prophets, the trilogy of the Solomonic writings (Prov, Koh, Cant), the "Lord's Four" (the four Gospels), Paul's Epistles (fourteen, including Hebrews).

396. Jerome: *Commentary on the book of Jonah*, preface (Sources chrétiennes 323: 164): *Liber quoque Tobit, licet non habeatur in canone tamen, quia usurpatur ab ecclesiasticis viris* – but the book of Tobit, while not belonging to the canon, is nevertheless used by authors of the church.
398. Jerome: *Prologus in libris Salomonis* (Septuaginta) (Sources chrétiennes 592: 430; Tusculum-Vulgata III, p. 772). Commenting on the fact that he has not included in his translation of the Solomonic books neither the book of Wisdom nor that book of Jesus Sirach, he adds: “Therefore, just as the Church also reads the books of Judith, Tobias, and the Maccabees, but does not receive them among the canonical Scriptures (*inter canonicas scripturas non recipit*), so also one may read these two scrolls for the strengthening of the people, but not for confirming the authority of ecclesiastical doctrine.”
403. Jerome: *Letter* 107:12 (CSEL 55: 302–303). Jerome tells a mother how to use biblical books in the education of her (then) baby daughter. The first book to be exposed to is the book of Proverbs, the last one, after the reading of all the other biblical books of both testaments, is the Song of Songs (Canticles). Many of the biblical books of both testaments are named in this reading list. There is also this warning: “Let her avoid all apocryphal writings, but if she is led to read such, (it should not be) for the truth of the doctrines which they contain, but out of respect for the miracles contained in them. Let her understand that they are not really written by those to whom they are ascribed, that many faulty elements have been introduced into them, and that it requires infinite discretion to look for gold in the midst of dirt” (p. 303).

Secondary literature: Decretum Damasi

1900. C.H. Turner: Latin Lists of the Canonical Books. 1. The Roman Council under Damasus, A.D. 382. *Journal of Theological Studies* 1.4: 554–560. – “The treatment of the 2nd and 3rd Epistles of St John betrays the influence of St. Jerome: and we know that Jerome was present at the Council of A. D. 382. To the same source may perhaps be referred the phrase used in describing the book of Jeremiah—*cum Cinoth id est Lamentationibus suis*—since it recurs word for word in the *Prologus Galeatus*” of Jerome (p. 554).
1912. Ernst von Dobschütz: *Das Decretum Gelasianum (...) in kritischem Text herausgegeben und untersucht*. Leipzig. viii, 362 pp. – Unlike other scholars, Dobschütz does not believe in the existence of a Roman Synod of 382 and a canon of biblical books then decreed. The entire document is a private compilation by a scholar working in the first half of the sixth century. This was not a particularly intelligent scholar, because he misunderstood some of the material that he included in his work. (Subsequently, Dobschütz’s opinion remained the minority view.) – Reviews:
1913. F.C. Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies* 14 (1913) 469–471. Endorses Dobschütz’s views.
1913. John Chapman OSB: On the Decretum Gelasianum *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*. *Revue bénédictine* 30: 187–207, 315–333. Dobschütz got it all wrong.
1913. E. Amann, *Revue biblique* 10: 602–608. The author compares the views of Dobschütz and Chapman without deciding about whose view one should adopt.
1930. Eduard Schwartz: Zum Decretum Gelasianum. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 29: 161–168. – “Fest steht, daß der das zweite Exzerpt bildende Kanon Einfluß des Hieronymus aufweist in dem Zusatz zu Jeremia (...) *cum Cinoth id est lamentationibus suis* und in der Verteilung der Johannesbriefe auf den Apostel [1 Joh] und den Presbyter (...) [2–3 Joh]. Das fällt schwer für Damasus und die Abfassung im Jahr 382 oder später ins Gewicht” (p. 165).
1990. Anton Ziegenaus: *Kanon. Von der Väterzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte I.3a. Freiburg (252 pp.), pp. 132–133.

2009. Ursula Reutter: *Damasus, Bischof von Rom (366–384). Leben und Werk*. Tübingen (xi, 567 pp.), pp. 468–513: Decretum Damasi. According to Reutter, there is good evidence for the suggestion that Jerome had a hand in drawing up the list of the biblical books deemed to be canonical. The Damasus list (pp. 471–473, Latin and German) includes several books which Jerome later would not consider canonical: Tobit, Judith, and 1–2 Maccabees.

Secondary literature: Old Testament and apocrypha

1878. Samuel Davidson: *The Canon of the Bible*. Third edition, revised and enlarged. London. xii, 279 pp. – “It has been conjectured by [Benedikt] Welte, that the conclusions of the African councils in 393 and 397 influenced Jerome’s views of the canon, so that his later writings allude to the apocryphal works in a more favourable manner than that of the *Prologus galeatus* or the preface to Solomon’s books. One thing is clear, that he quotes different passages from the Apocrypha along with others from the Hebrew canon. (...) The practice of Jerome differed from his theory; or rather he became less positive, and altered his views somewhat with the progress of time and knowledge” (pp. 191–192). – Davidson does not know of a canon decreed by Damasus in a council held in Rome in 382. The councils held in North Africa in Hippo (393) and Carthage (397) are discussed in Anton Ziegenaus: *Kanon. Von der Väterzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte I.3a. Freiburg 1990 (252 pp.), pp. 136–137. Benedict Welte (1805–1885) was a Catholic biblical scholar who taught at the University of Tübingen, Germany.
1909. The Influence of Saint Jerome on the Canon of the Western Church. *Journal of Theological Studies* 10: 481–496, at pp. 489–469.
1912. Otto Bardenhewer: *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*. Band 3. Freiburg. x, 665 pp. – Vacillating in matters of the canon, Jerome has introduced no small confusion into the history of the Old Testament canon (“in die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Kanons keine geringe Verwirrung hineingetragen”, p. 629).
1969. J.F. Hernández Martín: San Jerónimo y los deuteroconónicos del Antiguo Testamento. *La Ciudad de Dios* 182: 373–384.
1985. Jérôme: *Commentaire sur Jonas. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et commentaire par Yves-Marie Duval*. Sources chrétiennes 323. Paris. 460 pp. – On pp. 328–329, Duval comments on Jerome’s biblical canon : Tobit, Judith, Maccabees, etc.
1987. Maurice Gilbert SJ: Jérôme et l’œuvre de Ben Sira. *Le Muséon* 100: 109–120. – While initially rejecting the canonicity of the book of Sirach, in 404 he tacitly changed his mind and henceforth accepted the canonicity (p. 118).
1990. Anton Ziegenaus: *Kanon. Von der Väterzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte I.3a. Freiburg (252 pp.), pp. 144–146.
2012. Edmon L. Gallagher: *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory. Canon, Language, Text*. Leiden. ix, 266 pp. – Pages 50–53 and pp. 98–103: Jerome.
2012. Edmon L. Gallagher: The Old Testament Apocrypha in Jerome’s Canonical Theory. *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20: 213–233. – In the Prologus Galeatus (Preface to Samuel and Kings), Jerome speaks in favor of the Hebrew canon of the Old Testament. Other statements of Jerome are more friendly towards the apocryphal writings and even show appreciation for them.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Pages 118–156: Le canon biblique de Jérôme, pp. 119–148: L’Ancien Testament. Page 118 provides a list of all the passages where Jerome uses the words *canon* and *canonicus*. ▲

2018. Gilles Dorival: Problèmes du canon de l’Ancien Testament, notamment en Occident. In: Élie Ayroutlet – Aline Canellis (eds.): *L’exégèse de saint Jérôme*. Saint-Étienne (381 pp.), pp. 15–30.
2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 122–293. – Pages 197–198 on Jerome and deuterocanonical literature.
2021. Casey K. Croy: *Sequencing the Hebrew Bible. The Order of the Books*. Sheffield. xvi, 247 pp. – Includes a comparison between the ordering of the biblical books in rabbinical lists and the sequence given in Jerome’s writings.

Secondary literature: New Testament

1909. H.H. Howorth: The Influence of Saint Jerome on the Canon of the Western Church. *Journal of Theological Studies* 10: 481–496, at pp. 484–489.
1990. Anton Ziegenaus: *Kanon. Von der Väterzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte I.3a. Freiburg (252 pp.), pp. 140–143.
1990. Uwe Swarat : Das Werden des neutestamentlichen Kanons. In : Gerhard Maier (ed.) : *Der Kanon der Bibel*. Gießen (vi, 199 pp.), p. 27: “Mit einiger Sicherheit kann man sagen, daß eine von Bischof Damasus geleitete römische Synode vom Jahr 382 ein Bibelverzeichnis aufstellte, das unsere 27 neutestamentlichen Bücher enthält. Da Hieronymus auf dieser Synode als Berater des Damasus wirkte und einige Einzelheiten des Verzeichnisses mit Sondermeinungen des Hieronymus übereinstimmen – etwa die Unterscheidung eines Presbyters Johannes als Verfasser des 2. und 3. Johannesbriefes und vom Apostel als Verfasser des 1. Briefes –, kann man wohl davon ausgehen, daß der dort erstmals im Abendland so abgegrenzte Kanon wesentlich auf den Einfluß des Hieronymus zurückgeht.”
2012. Thomas O’Loughlin: Jerome’s *De viris illustribus* and Latin Perceptions of the New Testament’s Canon. In: Janet Elaine Rutherford et al. (eds.): *The Mystery of Christ in the Fathers of the Church*. Dublin (244 pp.), pp. 55–65. – Jerome’s *De viris illustribus* includes a section on the authors of the writings that belong to the canon of the New Testament. This section can be considered a “canon list,” because it tells us how Jerome felt about the canonical authors – and the early-Christian authors whose writings are not considered “canonical.” (Also note that some passages from *De viris illustribus* were later used as prefaces to the collection of Pauline letters, to the letter of James, to the letters of Peter, and to the letter of James; the relevant passages are printed in Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 [viii, 290 pp.], pp. 258–262.) ▲
2016. Marius Reiser : Warum folgt in einer griechischen Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments auf die Apostelgeschichte der Römerbrief und nicht der Jakobusbrief? *Theologische Beiträge* 47: 33–36. – The sequence of the New Testament writings is a neglected subject of scholarship. According to ancient Greek codices, the sequence should be “Gospels – Acts – Catholic Epistles (beginning with James) – Paul’s Epistles – Revelation.” By contrast, all modern standard editions of the Greek New Testament follow the Vulgate’s sequence that places the Pauline Epistles before the Catholic Epistles – and the reason for this inversion is unknown. Reiser suspects that the first popular modern edition of the Greek New Testament, that of Eberhard Nestle, simply followed Luther (who followed the Vulgate).
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Pages 118–156: Le canon biblique de Jérôme, pp. 148–156: Le Nouveau Testament.

Further secondary literature

English

- 1909–1912. H.H. Howorth: The Influence of Saint Jerome on the Canon of the Western Church. *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1909) 481–496; 11 (1910) 321–337; 13 (1912) 1–18. – With the exception of the first instalment (which is about Jerome), the series deals with what the author calls “Jerome’s pernicious influence on the views held of the Canon in the middle ages” and beyond (p. 496).
1952. P.W. Skehan: St Jerome and the Canon of the Holy Scriptures. In: F.X. Murphy (ed.): *A Monument to St. Jerome*. New York (xv, 295 pp.), pp. 257–287.
2016. Daniel Kerber: The Canon in the Vulgate Translation of the Bible. *The Bible Translator* 67.2: 168–183.
- 2019–2020. Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Leiden, volumes 2A (2020. xxxix, 497 pp.), 2B (2019. xxxiii, 542 pp.), 2C (2020. xxxii, 572 pp.). – These volumes contain detailed articles on each of the deuterocanonical writings. Volume 2A, subedited by Frank Feder and Matthias Henze, has the survey articles; Edmon L. Gallagher writes about “The Latin Canon” (pp. 166–190) and “Latin Texts” (pp. 398–405).
2020. Edmon L. Gallagher: The Latin Canon. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2A. Leiden (xxxix, 497 pp.), pp. 166–190. – This survey article begins with Jerome (pp. 172–175) and outlines the history of the biblical canon up to the Council of Trent and the Clementine edition of the Vulgate Bible.
2023. Edmon L. Gallagher: Deuterocanonical Books in Latin Tradition. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 91–105. – A set of biblical books not considered canonical by all Christians has often found a place in Latin biblical manuscripts, and in some cases has received canonical sanction. This article considers not only the so-called Roman Catholic deuterocanonical books (Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, 1–2 Maccabees, Additions to Daniel, Additions to Esther) but also other writings important in the Latin biblical tradition such as 3–4 Ezra. The bulk of the essay surveys each of these books in terms of its origins in Latin, the manuscript sources, and the relevant editions. The canonical history of these works is also discussed.
2023. Raúl Villegas Marín: Scripture and the North African Conciliar Canon Lists. In: Jonathan P. Yates – Anthony Dupont (eds.): *The Bible in Christian North Africa*. Part II. Berlin (in press).

German

1910. Ludwig Schade: *Die Inspirationslehre des heiligen Hieronymus*. Biblische Studien 15, 4–5. Freiburg. xv, 223 pp.
1970. Maurice E. Schild: *Abendländische Bibelvorreden bis zur Lutherbibel*. Heidelberg. 286 pp. – Pages 42–48: On Jerome, *letter* 53, a text in the Middle Ages often included in Bibles as a general Introduction. Schild summarizes the letter.

French

1984. Otto Wermelinger: Le canon des Latins au temps de Jérôme et d’Augustin. In: Jean-Daniel Kaestli – Otto Wermelinger (eds.): *Le Canon de l’Ancien Testament. Sa formation et son histoire*. Geneva (399 pp.), pp. 153–210.

2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Les livres d'Esdras et leur numérotation dans l'histoire du canon de la Bible latine. *Revue bénédictine* 110: 5–26.
2005. Pierre-Maurice Bogart OSB: Le livre de Baruch dans les manuscrits de la Bible latine. Disparition et réintégration. *Revue bénédictine* 115: 286–342.
2008. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Les livres des Maccabées dans la Bible latine. Contribution à l'histoire de la Vulgate. *Revue bénédictine* 118: 201–238.
2014. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Les frontières du canon de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Occident latin. In: R. Gounelles – Jan Joosten (eds.): *La Bible juive dans l'Antiquité*. Prahins (Switzerland) (271 pp.), pp. 41–95. – Summarized in *Revue bénédictine* 125 (2015) 186–187.

11.7 Jerome's Prefaces

Note. – Many editions of the Vulgate include the prefaces that Jerome wrote to introduce his new translations. Since he did not translate all the books of the Bible, and did not supply prefaces for all the biblical books, medieval editors have filled this gap by various strategies. Sometimes, they excerpted suitable passages from Jerome's work (especially from Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, PL 23: 638–650), or wrote their own prefaces that were then thought to be by Jerome.

A special case is Jerome's preface to the Gospels. There is an authentic *Praefatio sancti Hieronymi presbyteri in Evangelio* (critically edited in *Sources chrétiennes* 592: 470–481), doubled by an inauthentic prologue to a commentary on the four Gospels (*Expositio in IV Evangeliorum*). Modern critics have discovered the latter text's non-Jeromian character. The modern editor dates it to c. 700 and thinks of Ireland as its place of origin, see José Carracedo-Fraga: El prólogo de la *Expositio quattuor Evangeliorum* atribuida a Jerónimo (CPL 631 y CLH 65): presentación, edición crítica y comentario. *Euphrosyne* 47 (2019) 93–118 (with an English abstract).

Jerome extensively quotes from several of his prefaces in Jerome: *Apologia adversus Rufinum* II, 25–33 (PL 23: 448–455); translated in Saint Jerome: *Dogmatic and Polemical Works*. Translated by John N. Hritz. The Fathers of the Church 58. Washington 1965 (xix, 403 pp.), pp. 145–159.

Latin text only

1864. Jerome's prefaces are included in the text of the Vulgate as printed in Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (volumes 28 and 29). Examples are the preface to the Pentateuch translation (PL 28: 147–152), the preface to the books of Samuel and Kings (PL 28: 547–558 i.e., the famous *Prologus galeatus*), and the preface to the translation of the Gospels (PL 29: 525–530).
1920. [Donatien De Bruyne OSB] *Préfaces de la Bible Latine*. Namur. 266 pp. – The author presents the Vulgate prologues of Jerome (with critical apparatus), but also edits many other texts that were used as introductions in medieval Bible manuscripts. The book is now widely accessible as a reprint with an English title (and the editor's name added; the 1920 edition did not indicate his name): *Prefaces to the Latin Bible*. Introductions by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert & Thomas O'Loughlin. Turnhout 2015. xv, 266 pp. Some of the non-Jeromian prologues are analysed in Otto Zwierlein: *Die antihäretischen Evangelienprologe und die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments*. Stuttgart 86 pp.).
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Pages. 222–262: Latin text of Jerome's prefaces, without translation. Stummer includes the passages excerpted from Jerome's *De viris illustribus* used as prefaces for the Pauline epistles, the epistles of Peter and the epistle of James.

1974. Heinrich Marti: *Übersetzer der Augustinzeit. Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen*. Munich. 348 pp. – Pages 175–178: Extracts from two prefaces (to the books of Kings, to Job) in Latin, with annotations.
2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber – Roger Gryson. 4th, corrected edition 1994; 5th, improved edition 2007. Stuttgart. xlix, 1980 pp. – This edition of the Latin Bible includes the Latin text of Jerome’s prefaces, each placed before the biblical book it introduces.

Complete translations, bilingual editions, and selections

1893. [complete translation] *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*. Translated by W.H. Freemantle. A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second Series, vol. 6. New York 1893 (xxxv, 524 pp.), pp. 487–494.
2002. [text selections] Jerome: Preface to the Vulgate Version of the Pentateuch. In: Stefan Rebenich: *Jerome*. London (xi, 211 pp.), pp. 101–105. – Rebenich’s book of Jerome text selections includes a translation of the preface to Jerome’s translation of the Pentateuch.
2008. [text selections] Mario Cimosà – Carlo Buzzetti: *Guido allo studio della Bibbia latina. Dalla Vetus Latina, alla Vulgata, alla Nova Vulgata*. Sussidi patristici 14. Rome. 201 pp. – The preface to the Four Gospels is supplied in Latin and English (pp. 53–57).
2016. [text selections] Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 326–349: bilingual selections from Jerome’s prefaces, Latin and German; a longer quotation from the Daniel preface is given only in translation (p. 116). The first edition, published in 2003, offered only the German translation, but not the Latin text.
2017. [text selections] Jerome: Prologus Galeatus. In: Edmon L. Gallagher – John D. Meade (eds.): *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity*. Oxford 2017 (xii, 337 pp.), pp. 198–203. – The prologue to the books of Samuel and kings, Latin with annotated English translation.
2017. [bilingual edition] Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Critically edited Latin text of the complete set of Jeromian prefaces (pp. 301–509), accompanied by a French translation, explanatory notes, and a long introduction. (One interesting detail: the *prologus galeatus*, i.e., Jerome’s prologue to the books of Samuel and Kings, is not considered the “helmeted prologue” or “der behelmte Prolog”; instead, the expression *galeatum principium omnibus libris* is rendered as “exorde empanaché à tous les livres,” which would be “the embellishing exordium to all the books; der als Schmuck dienende Prolog zu allen Büchern”; p. 332, note 1.) The introduction of the book tells the story of Jerome’s Bible translation. This is an indispensable standard work on Jerome and his biblical translations. – Reviews:
2019. Josef Lössl, *Journal of Theological Studies* 70: 872–874.
2019. Agnethe Siquans, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 23: 392–395. ▲
2018. [bilingual edition] Andreas Beriger – Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger (eds.): *Hieronymus: Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch-deutsch*. Sammlung Tusculum. Berlin. 5 vols. 889 pp., 1483 pp., 1247 pp., 1285 pp., 1401 pp. – Each of Jerome’s prefaces, given in Latin and German, is placed where it belongs – before the biblical texts that it introduces. Note that this edition puts the name of Jerome (Hieronymus) on the title page.

Secondary literature

1964. Paolo Igino Cecchetti: S. Girolamo e il suo "Prologus Galeatus." Alle origine della Volgata. *Lateranum* NS 30: 77–114. – Also included in: *Scritti di Monsignore Paolo Igino Cecchetti*. Rome 1967 (xxxvii, 470 pp.), pp. 79–118.
1970. Maurice E. Schild: *Abendländische Bibelvorreden bis zur Lutherbibel*. Gütersloh. 286 pp. – Pages 13–70 deal with Jerome's prologues and the Jeromian texts that were later used as prologues in manuscripts and printed editions of the Vulgate Bible.
1973. Klaus Gamber: Der "Liber Comitis" des Hieronymus. Ein wenig beachteter Zeuge der Vulgata. In: Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.): *Studia Evangelica* 6. Berlin (676 pp.), pp. 147–153. – The prologue preceding the *Liber Comitis*, an early liturgical pericope book, is considered a pseudepigraphic work of the 6th century (Germain Morin) – wrongly. It could be a genuine, hitherto unrecognized Jerome letter, not least because the pericope texts offer the text of the Vulgate. The letter is addressed to Constantius, a confidant of the church father who lived in Rome.
2009. Domenico Ciarlo: Sui prologhi alle traduzioni bibliche di Girolamo. *Koinonia* 33: 27–45.
2012. Edoardo Bona: Appunti di lettura della *Praefatio in Euangelio* di Gerolamo (con un occhio all'epistolario Gerolamo–Agostino). In: Marina Passalacqua et al. (eds.): *Venuste noster. Scritti offerti a Leopoldo Gamberale*. Hildesheim (726 pp.), pp. 347–369.
2014. Andrew Cain: Apology and Polemics in Jerome's Prefaces to His Biblical Scholarship. In: Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger – Elisabeth Birnbaum (eds.): *Hieronymus als Exeget und Theologe. Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Koheletkommentar des Hieronymus*. Leuven (xviii, 331 pp.), pp. 107–128. – Page 127: Jerome "used his non-expository prefaces (...) to defend himself against scurrilous allegations about his close association with senatorial women, acquit himself of accusations of plagiarism, attack his critics and literary rivals, and justify his controversial Hebrew philology."
2017. Alessandro Lagtoia: Alle soglie dei commentarii: dall'epistola prefatoria al prologo gerominiano. *Auctores nostri* 18: 69–103.
2020. Michal Sołomieniuk: Saint Jerome's Prologues to the Biblical Books in the Vulgate: The Introductory Issues. *Vox Patrum* 76: 67–86. – Polish, brief English abstract.
2023. Roland Hoffmann: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 3–83, at pp. 8–26. – A look at some of the prologues, esp. the two prologues to the Psalms and the prologues to the Pentateuch and to Joshua.
2023. Bernhard Lang: Vorworte zu den Büchern der Vulgata. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 32–34. – A brief survey.

11.8 Chronology of Jerome's biblical translations

1920. Laurent Henri Cottineau OSB: Chronologie des versions bibliques de Saint Jérôme. In: Vincenzo Vannutelli (preface): *Miscellanea Geronimiana*. Rome (viii, 330 pp.), pp. 42–68. – Proposes a chronology of Jerome's biblical translations. Discussed in Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 94.
1922. Ferdinand Cavallera SJ: *Saint Jérôme. Sa vie et son œuvre*. Deux tomes. Louvain. x, 344 pp; 229 pp. – Tome 2, pp. 153–165: Chronology of the translation work (the details of which are questioned today). Jerome had translated all the prophetic books by 393, the Pentateuch with Joshua and

Judges were done in the years 398–406, and finally his entire translation underwent a final revision in 405/06; after that, in 407, he translated the books of Judith and Tobit. (Cavallera seems to be the only scholar to speak of Jerome’s “final revision” of his translation.)

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – The author presents a rough chronology of the 15-year translation effort from Hebrew, but notes by way of introduction that although the sources on the translator’s life “flow very abundantly, they are not sufficient to allow us to determine in what time each book of the Old Testament was translated” (pp. 91–92).
1948. Jan Olav Smit: *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*. Roermond (xvi, 296 pp.), pp. 36–37 supplies a chronological table of Jerome’s translations.
- 1973–1974. Pierre Nautin: Études de chronologie hiéronymienne (393–397). *Revue des études augustiniennes* 19: 69–86. 213–29; 20: 251–284. – Also see idem: Hieronymus. In: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Berlin 1986. Volume 15, pp. 304–315.
1981. Alan D. Booth: The Chronology of Jerome’s Early Years. *Phoenix: The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada* 35: 237–259.
1982. Pierre Jay: La datation des premières traductions de l’Ancien Testament sur l’Hébreu par Saint Jérôme. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 28: 208–212. – The shift from Greek to Hebrew base text began with the translation of the Psalter.
1995. Hermann Josef Frede: *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis der Sigel* (Vetus Latina 1.1, 4th edition). Freiburg. 1049 pp. – Pages 510–532: chronology of Jerome’s works. This may currently be considered the standard chronology. See the chronological table below!
2013. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: The Latin Bible. In: Richard Marsden et al. (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526. – Page 515: “The chronology of [Jerome’s] translations from the Hebrew is at all points difficult to establish.”
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris 2017. 530 pp. – Pages 94–98: Chronologie des traductions faites par Jérôme. This is a tabular overview of various datings; the work itself follows the dates suggested by Yves-Marie Duval, noted below within the presentation of Frede’s chronology of 1995.
2020. Thomas E. Hunt: *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity*. Leiden 2020. vii, 296 pp. – A book on the scholarly work of Jerome in the years 386 to 393, especially on his commentaries on the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philemon and Titus.
2023. Roland Hoffmann: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 8–10 (with chronological tables based on Canellis and Duval).

Frede’s chronology of Jerome’s translations

Note. – While it seems difficult if not impossible to establish a reliable chronology of Jerome’s translation work, one can at least hope to produce a tentative chronology of his prologues, always marking the completion of a translation project. The following chronological outline follows H.J. Frede (1995), but alternative opinions are indicated in brackets. Frede’s chronology has been adopted by Roger Gryson: *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latin de l’antiquité et du haut moyen âge*. Volume 1 (Vetus Latina 1.1; 5th edition). Freiburg 2007 (575 pp.), pp. 526–548.

For a comparable chronological list of Jerome's biblical commentaries, see Pierre Jay: *Jérôme et la pratique de l'exégèse*. In: Jacques Fontaine – Charles Pietri (eds.): *Le monde antique et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps 2. Paris 1985 (672 pp.), pp. 523–542, at p. 542; see below, Chapter **20.1**.

- 383 Praefatio in Evangelio (Duval: 383–384)
- 386 (after 385) Praefatio in libro Psalmorum (Psalterium Gallicanum; Duval: 386–390; Graves: 387)
- 386/89 Praefatio in libro Paralipomenon (Septuaginta), according to Duval
- 387 Prologus in Iob iuxta emendationem Graecam (Duval: 386–389)
 Prolog to Paralipomenon in the hexaplaric recension (Duval: 386–389)
 Praefatio de translatione Graeca zu Prov, Eccl, Cant (Duval: 386–389)
- 390/92 Prologus in Danihele propheta (Duval: before 393)
 Prologus in Isaia propheta
 Prologus in libri Hieremiae propheta
 Prologus duodecim prophetarum (Duval: before 393)
 Praefatio zum Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos (Pierre Nautin: 398; Duval: before 392)
- 393 Prologus in Pentateucho (Duval: 398–400)
 Prologus in libro Regum (also known as Prologus galeatus; Duval: 391–392)
- 394 Prologus in libro Iob (Duval: before 394)
- 396 Epistula 57 – To Pammachius, about the Best Translation
 Prologus in libro Paralipomenon (Duval: 396–398)
- 397/98 Prologus Hiezechielis (Duval: before 393)
- 398 Prologus in libris Salomonis
- 399 Prologus Tobiae (and Judith, according to Duval)
- 400 Praefatio in libro Ezrae (Duval: 394–395)
 Epistula 106 – To Sunnia and Fretela, about the Psalms (Altaner: 404–410)
- 404 (shortly before 404) Prologus Hester (Duval: 404–405)
 Praefatio in libro Iosue (Duval: 404–406)
- 407 (before 407) Prologus Iudith (Duval: 399)

11.9 The Eusebian canon tables

Note. – The Greek church father Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–340) divided each of the gospels into brief sections – Matthew into 335, Mark into 236, Luke into 342, and John into 232 sections. The first canon lists the sections that are common to all four gospels, the second canon those sections that are common to Matthew, Mark, and Luke; the third canon those common to Matthew, Luke and John –

and so on; the tenth, final canon, lists passages that have no parallels in other gospels. The canon tables are only of use if the gospel text is partitioned into the numbered Eusebian sections (called the “Eusebian apparatus”).

Eusebius explains the system in his letter to Caprianus; the Greek text of this letter can be found in *Patrologia Graeca* 22: 1276–1277 and in Nestle–Aland (eds.): *Das Neue Testament Griechisch und Deutsch*. Edited by Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland. Stuttgart 1986 (v, 38*, 779 pp.), pp. 39*–40*. For an English translation, see Matthew Crawford: *The Eusebian Canon Tables. Ordering Textual Knowledge in Late Antiquity*. Oxford 2019 (xvii, 372 pp.), pp. 295–296.

In his prologue to the four gospels, dedicated to Pope Damasus and written in 383 or 384 (*Sources chrétiennes* 592: 470–481), Jerome refers at length to the Eusebian canons. He considered them so useful that he placed them before his Latin text of the Gospels.

Editions

1846. Eusebius: *Canones Evangeliorum*. PL 29: 531–542.

1920. [Donatien De Bruyne OSB] *Préfaces de la Bible Latine*. Namur (266 pp.), pp. 158–170. – This is a critical edition with variant readings from a variety of medieval manuscripts. De Bruyne had this book printed without his name on the title page, and without a preface or any other explanatory material. The copy that is now widely available is a reprint; it is given an English title: D. de Bruyne: *Prefaces to the Latin Bible*. Introductions by Pierre-Maurice Bogart & Thomas O’Laughlin. Turnhout 2015. xv, 266 pp.

1961. Eberhard Nestle (ed.): *Novum Testamentum Latine. Textum Vaticanum cum apparatu critico*. Editio nona. Stuttgart (xix, 657 pp.), pp. xv–xviii. – The canon tables can be found in all editions of the Nestle Latin New Testament, of which the first edition was published in 1906 (with the canon tables on pp. xv–xviii of the first edition also).

2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 1516–1526. – Numerical table with text-critical apparatus.

2018. Hieronymus: *Biblia sacra vulgata*. Edited by Andreas Beriger, Michael Fieger et al. Sammlung Tusculum. Band V. Berlin 2018 (1401 pp.), pp. 25–37.

2021. Martin Wallraff: *Die Kanontafeln des Euseb von Kaisareia*. Untersuchung und kritische Edition. Berlin. viii, 266 pp. – Review: Thomas J. Kraus, *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 27 (2022) 127–129 (German). ▲

Secondary literature

1899. J. van den Gheyn: Eusèbe. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 2.2. Paris (cols. 1195–2428), cols. 2051–2056, at cols. 2051–2052.

1908. Eberhard Nestle: Die eusebianische Evangelien-Synopse. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 19: 40–51, 93–114, 219–232. – This article remains a valuable account.

1938. Carl Nordenfalk: *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln. Kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den vier ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte*. Göteborg. Textband – 320 pp.; Tafelband – 13 pp., 168 plates.

1959. H.H. Oliver: The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus: Textual Tradition and Translation. *Novum Testamentum* 3: 138–145.

1981. Walter Thiele: Beobachtungen zu den eusebianischen Sektionen und Kanones der Evangelien. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 72 (1981) 100–111.
1993. Patrick McGurk: The Disposition of Numbers in Latin Eusebian Canon Tables. In: Roger Gryson (ed.): *Philologia sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien*. Freiburg (674 pp. in 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 242–258.
1999. Thomas O’Loughlin: The Eusebian Apparatus in Some Vulgate Gospel Books. *Peritia* 13: 1–92.
2004. Petra Sevrugian: Kanontafeln. In: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Band 20. Stuttgart (1292 cols.), cols. 28–42.
2010. Thomas O’Loughlin: Harmonizing the Truth: Eusebius and the Problem of the Four Gospels. *Traditio* 65: 1–29.
2013. Martin Wallraff: *Kodex und Kanon. Das Buch im frühen Christentum*. Berlin. xv, 78 pp. – Page 34: After the Bible, the Eusebian canon tables are the best transmitted text of antiquity.
2014. Satoshi Toda: The Eusebian Canons: Their Implications and Potential. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament*. Piscataway, N.J. (xiv, 217 pp.), pp. 27–44. The author focusses on the Passion narrative.
2014. Elizabeth Mullins: The Eusebian Canon tables and Hiberno-Latin Exegesis: the Case of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 940. *Sacris erudiri* 53: 323–343.
2019. Matthew Crawford: *The Eusebian Canon Tables. Ordering Textual Knowledge in Late Antiquity*. Oxford. xvii, 372 pp. – Page 7: “Moving from the world of Greek into Latin, we find the Canons in the majority of Vulgate gospelbooks, including most of the well-known ones, such as Codex Fuldensis (6th c.), the St. Augustine Gospels (early 8th c.), and the Lindisfarne Gospels (early 8th c.), not surprisingly, since Jerome incorporated a Latin version of the apparatus in the new Vulgate edition he created for Pope Damasus in the earl 380s.”
2020. Matthew R. Crawford: Do the Eusebian Tables Represent the Closure or the Opening of the Biblical Text? Considering the Case of Codex Fuldensis. In: Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds.): *Canones. The Art of Harmony. The Canon Tables of the Four Gospels*. Berlin (xi, 258 pp.), pp. 17–28. – The volume can be consulted on the Internet, “open access.”

Chapter 12

In Jerome's Shadow: Rufinus the Syrian?

Note. – It is generally agreed that the Vulgate text of the Gospels represents the revision work of Jerome. It was he who poured over the Old Latin Gospels and the Greek text, and produced a revised text that eventually became the Vulgate version of the Gospels. It is also generally felt that the rest of the Vulgate New Testament – the Acts of the Apostles, all the epistles, and the book of Revelation – are different. A standard idea was explained in *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* by Thomas Hartwell Horne and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (London 1856, xxvii, 767 pp.): “But in this time he [Jerome] seems to have completed his revision of the remainder of the New Testament; a revision less complete and uniform than that of the Gospels, and in which many parts seem to have received hardly any alteration from his hand. This may probably have arisen from the rest of the books having been less altered by copyists and revisers than was the case with the Gospels” (p. 245).

While the Horne/Prideaux manual thinks that a revision of the book of Acts etc. was not actually necessary, others have suggested that there was indeed a very thorough revision of the New Testament texts not touched by Jerome:

1965. “Der unbekannte Schöpfer der Vulgata der Paulus- und der Katholischen Briefe arbeitet viel sorgfältiger [als Hieronymus] und sucht weitaus konsequenter die Kongruenz mit dem Griechischen herzustellen. Auch verzichtet er auf die eigenwilligen, ja willkürlichen stilistischen Änderungen, die bei Hieronymus eine so erhebliche Rolle spielen.” Hermann Josef Frede: *Der Paulustext des Pelagius. Sacris erudiri* 16 (1965) 165–183, at p. 182.

1989. “Wann der Rest des Neuen Testaments revidiert worden ist und durch wen das geschah, ist nicht sicher. (...) Dabei ist die Revisionsarbeit hier sorgfältiger und konsequenter durchgeführt als das durch Hieronymus bei den Evangelien geschah.” Kurt Aland – Barbara Aland: *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*. Zweite, ergänzte und erweiterte Auflage. Stuttgart 1989 (374 pp.), p. 197.

Since the early twentieth century there has been a debate, still continuing, about who actually did the revision: was it Jerome or, perhaps, someone else? Three answers were suggested, and three schools developed – the critics, the apologists, and the detectives. **(a)** The *critics* argued that it was not Jerome who did it, but we simply don't know who it was; this interpretation was first suggested by Hugh Pope OP in 1914. **(b)** The *apologists* sought to establish that the traditional attribution to Jerome still makes sense. And **(c)** the *detectives* – actually just three, all of them Benedictine monks – claimed to have found the fingerprints of the one who did the job, and to have identified the man. Accordingly, this section is in three parts. We must start with the detectives, because most of the critics and the apologists responded to the – exaggerated, as they argue – claims of the detectives.

12.1 Three detectives: Donatien De Bruyne, Célestin Charlier, and Bonifatius Fischer

12.2 Jeromian apologists

12.3 The critics: neither Jerome nor Rufinus

12.1 Three detectives:

Donatien De Bruyne, Céléstin Charlier, and Bonifatius Fischer

Note. – These three Benedictine monks suggested names for the otherwise elusive reviser of the New Testament texts left untouched by Jerome. De Bruyne suggested the name of Pelagius, Charlier the name of Cassiodorus, and Fischer the name of Rufinus the Syrien (who is sometimes called Pseudo-Rufinus). De Bruyne's suggestion prompted enormous critical reaction, with no one following him; most of his critics sought to defend Jerome as the reviser. Charlier's suggestion was apparently never taken seriously. So in this section we can list only followers of Fischer.

Three detectives

1915. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Études sur les origines de notre texte latin de St. Paul. *Revue biblique* n.s. 12: 358–392. – Jerome never uses the Vulgate text of the Pauline letters, not even in his commentaries on some of the Pauline letters. The Vulgate text of Paul's letters does not go back to Jerome, but to Pelagius. But how could a text touched by someone who came to be seen as a controversial figure in the history of theology become adopted into the Vulgate Bible? De Bruyne noted that Pelagius' particular doctrines did not influence his (Vulgate) edition of the Latin Pauline text. – Reactions:
1917. Ernesto Buonaiuti: Pelagio e le volgata Paolina. *Athenaeum* 5: 108–112. – The author is critical. If Pelagius had really made those revisions of the Latin Pauline text that De Bruyne wants to attribute to him, his followers would have flocked to make the master's corrected version their own.
1961. Hermann Josef Frede: *Pelagius, der irische Paulustext, Sedulius Scottus*. Freiburg. 165 pp. – Most scholars, including Frede, now believe that Pelagius already used a Vulgate text for his commentary on Paul's letters.
- 1962–1963. Karl Theodor Schäfer: Pelagius und die Vulgata. *New Testament Studies* 9: 361–366. – Pelagius did not know the text of our Vulgate. His text of the Pauline letters was still one that belongs to the Old Latin tradition; but it was a text that stood close to the Vulgate wording. It cannot be shown that Pelagius himself had a hand in the production of a revised Latin text of the Pauline letters.
1963. Céléstin Charlier OSB: Cassiodore, Pélagie et les origines de la Vulgate paulinienne. In: *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus 1961*. Volume 2. Rome. (627 pp.), pp. 461–470. The Vulgate text of the Pauline letters was not created by Pelagius, but by Cassiodorus (c. 550/60) on the basis of Pelagius' commentary on the Pauline letters. – It seems that this suggestion was not considered by other scholars. It remained an isolated opinion.
1972. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache. In: Kurt Aland (ed.): *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. Berlin (xxii, 589 pp.), pp. 1–92. – Page 73: "Zur Vulgata der Paulusbriefe gehört auch der Prolog *Primum quaeritur*. Er stammt vom Autor der Vulgata und nicht von Pelagius, der ihn schon in abgewandelter Form benützt. Damit ist der *terminus ante quem* der Vulgata gegeben. Einen *terminus post quem* gibt die Benützung von Hieronymus, *De viris illustribus* 5 durch den Autor des Prologs in seinen Ausführungen über den Hebräerbrief. Demnach ist die Vulgata [des Neuen Testaments] nach 393 entstanden und vor 404–410. Aus dem Prolog ergibt sich ferner, daß der Autor nicht Hieronymus ist, weil er über [den] Hebr[äer]brief] abweichende Ansichten vertritt. Außerdem ist zu erschließen, daß die Paulusbriefe zuerst revidiert wurden, wohl bewußt im Anschluß an die Evangelienrevisionen des Hieronymus, dann erst die übrigen Teile des Neuen Testaments. (...) Schließlich scheinen die Ausführungen über den Römerbrief nahezu legen, daß der Autor zwar in Rom gearbeitet hat, aber mit dem Zustand der dortigen Gemeinde nicht zufrieden war. Das alles läßt sich mit der (...) Hypothese vereinbaren, daß Rufin der Syrer der Autor der Vulgata war." – Page 49: "Wiederholt wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß die Evangelien eine Arbeit des Hieronymus

sind, (...) während die übrigen Teile des Neuen Testaments [der Vulgata] eine Revision darstellen, die gegen 400 in Rom vielleicht durch Rufinus den Syrer geschaffen worden ist. Diese Revision ist nicht stufenweise erfolgt (...) Die beiden Bestandteile der Vulgata [das Werk des Hieronymus und das Werk des Rufinus] haben als gemeinsames Merkmal die entschiedene Abkehr vom Westlichen Text [des griechischen Neuen Testaments. Vielleicht wurden sie [die beiden Teile] schon zu Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts miteinander vereinigt, und zwar in Rom. Die Überlieferung lief jedoch nicht über Handschriften des ganzen Neuen Testaments oder gar der gesamten Bibel (...), sondern vielmehr über Teilhandschriften, und das Hauptzentrum der Verbreitung war Italien.“ – Page 68: “Die Vulgata wird zuerst benützt von Pelagius und seinen Anhängern.”

Note. – The dating of the revision of the Old Latin text by a learned reviser – whom Fischer identifies with Rufinus the Syrian – depends on the date and authorship of the Vulgate prologue *Primum quaeritur* to the Pauline Epistles (for editions and translations, see below, Chapter 22, introductory note on the [Pauline Epistles](#)). It is generally agreed that this prologue is not by Jerome, but it echoes a Jeromian passage on the letter to the Hebrews – Jerome’s *De viris illustribus* 5:9–11 (PL 23: 647–650), a work written in 393. This leads to a date of c. 400. It stands to reason to suppose that the prologue and the revision of the text of the letters come from the same pen – according to Fischer’s, from that of Rufinus the Syrian. Alternatively, it has been suggested that *Primum quaeritur* is the work of Pelagius (G. de Plinval), but this is not a completely different option, because Rufinus is said to be an early follower of Pelagius.

Among the few things known about this Rufinus is that he stayed for some time at Jerome’s monastery in Bethlehem, that he was sent to Rome by Jerome, and that he did not believe in the doctrine of original sin. The last-mentioned information comes from Augustine: *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* II, 3 (PL 44: 387) – *Coelestius dixit: sanctus presbyter Rufinus Romae qui mansit cum sancto Pammachio: ego audivi illum dicentem quia tradux peccati non sit* – Coelestius said: the holy presbyter Rufinus who in Rome stayed with the holy Pammachius: I have heard him say that there was no transmission of sin.

Some followers of Fischer’s Rufinus-the-Syrian hypothesis

1972. Walter Thiele: Probleme der Versio Latina in den Katholischen Briefen. In: Kurt Aland (ed.): *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. Berlin (xxii, 589 pp.), pp. 93–119. – Page 117: „Die ausgeprägte (...) Eigenstellung, die die Vulgata in den Katholischen Briefen (und im ganzen zweiten Teil des Neuen Testaments) durch die konsequente Ausscheidung ‚westlicher‘ Zusätze gewinnt, paßt gut zu der von Bonifatius Fischer vorgetragenen (...) Annahme, den Autor der neutestamentlichen Vulgata in einem Schüler des Hieronymus zu sehen und an Rufin den Syrer zu denken, der sich freilich von Hieronymus getrennt hat, in Rom aber im Haus des Pammachius verkehrte und nach dem Zeugnis des Marius Mercator als der Vater des Pelagianismus im Abendland galt. Für die Katholischen Briefe sind Pelagius und seine Anhänger wie in den Paulusbriefen die frühesten Zeugen der Vulgata.“

1974. Jean Gribomont OSB: S. Jérôme. *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. Tome VIII. Paris (1806 cols.), cols. 901–918, at col. 909: “Le caractère plus méticuleux de la révision du reste du Nouveau Testament confirme, par un argument interne, les raisons de ceux qui en retirent la paternité à Jérôme et l’attribuent à Rufin le syrien.”

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. –Page 159: “On reconnaît (...) aujourd’hui qu’il” – Jérôme – “n’a pas touché aux Épîtres pauliniennes et catholiques, ni aux Actes et l’Apocalypse. Les cercles pélagiens de Rome et Rufin le Syrien sont vraisemblablement

le milieu d'origine et l'auteur de la révision devenue vulgate de ces livres du Nouveau Testament." See also Bogaert: The Latin Bible. In: Richard Marsden et al. (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge 2013 (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526, at pp. 517–518, where he also accepts the Rufinus-the-Syrian hypothesis.

1999. Sebastian Thier: *Kirche bei Pelagius*. Berlin. ix, 358 pp. – Page 35: Thier agrees with Frede (1961) and Fischer, arguing that Pelagius must have had connections with Rome where Rufinus the Syrian had produced and released his edited (Vulgate) version of the Pauline letters by 399/400.
2013. Eric W. Scherbenske: *Canonizing Paul. Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*. Oxford 2013. xii, 383 pp. – Pages 183–184: "The regnant scholarly opinion attributes the authorship of the Vulgate revision of the Corpus Paulinum to Rufinus of Syria. (...) Rufinus moved in the upper echelons of society, among the social, intellectual, and ecclesiastical elite of later fourth-century Rome, where he would have been ideally positioned to undertake the task of revising portions of the Latin New Testament. Apparently associated with Jerome's monastery in Bethlehem, Rufinus of Syria appears to be the same Rufinus sent as an envoy to Milan by way of Rome, where he was to greet Rufinus of Aquileia before the Origenist controversy [that estranged Rufinus of Aquileia from his friend Jerome] reached a fever pitch. (...) Rufinus the Syrian's emergence as the likely candidate for the Vulgate revision of Paul's letters (and other parts of the New Testament) has much to commend itself." Scherbenske attributes *Primum quaeritur* – the Vulgate prologue to the Pauline letters – to Rufinus and refers to this prologue's "nascent Pelagianism" (pp. 185–198).
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Pages 202–203: "L'attribution de cette révision (...) au prêtre Rufin le Syrien, durant son séjour à Rome entre 399 et 405 à Rome a été proposée par B. Fischer. Elle est actuellement admise par les spécialistes de la Bible Latine. Cette attribution est d'autant plus vraisemblable que, d'une part, Rufin le Syrien a séjourné à Bethléem auprès de Jérôme avant 399 et que, d'autre part, il passe pour avoir été, à Rome, l'inspirateur de Pélage (...) Cela expliquerait à la fois que Rufin ait révisé le texte latin du corpus paulinien, dans le sillage de la révision des Évangiles par Jérôme, et que Pélage se soit servi de la préface *Primum quaeritur* et de la révision rufinienne du texte des épîtres pour ses propres commentaires." The Canellis volume attributes the pseudo-Jeromian preface *Primum quaeritur* to the Vulgate Pauline epistles (Sources chrétiennes 592: 492–501; also included in the Weber/Gryson Stuttgart Vulgate) to Rufinus the Syrian.
2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Der Syrer Rufin. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 307–310 (§ 650.1), esp. pp. 309–310. – Duval's short note, appended to his handbook entry on Rufinus the Syrian briefly reports on Bonifatius Fischer's suggestion and its reception, without actually taking a position. While not actually affirming the hypothesis, Duval does consider it seriously.

12.2 Jeromian apologists

1916. Alfred Durand SJ: Saint Jérôme et notre Nouveau Testament latin. *Recherches de science religieuse* 6: 531–549. – Against De Bruyne (and earlier critics such as Erasmus), Durand defends the traditional attribution of the revision of the entire New Testament to Jerome. This article has a long section on how Jerome himself deals with his own versions and revisions: he rarely quotes them literally, so that his biblical quotations cannot be a decisive argument against the attribution of the Vulgate text to Jerome. "Si la divergence des citations, prises des Épîtres, d'avec le texte actuel de la Vulgate, prouvait que saint Jérôme n'a pas révisé cette portion du Nouveau

Testament, il faudrait conclure pareillement qu'il n'a pas traduit l'Ancien Testament, ni même révisé les Évangiles, tellement il cite ici et là d'une façon à peu près identique" (p. 541).

1916. Eugène Manguet: S. Jérôme ou Pélage éditeur des Épîtres de S. Paul dans la Vulgate. *Revue du clergé français* 86: 5–22, 193–213.
1917. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: La Vulgate latine de l'épître aux Galates et le texte grec. *Revue biblique* 26 [= nouvelle série 14]: 424–450. – Jerome did revise the Latin text of Galatians – first before he wrote his commentary on Galatians (a revision he never published), and then a second time, afterwards; the second revision came to be our Vulgate text. There is no evidence for attributing the Vulgate revision of the Pauline letters to Pelagius (p. 448).
1918. Eugène Manguet: Saint Jérôme réviseur du Nouveau Testament. *Revue biblique* n.s. 15.1–2: 244–253. – Jerome did the revision of the Pauline letters. The article is followed by a friendly response: Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: La révision de la Vulgate par saint Jérôme (pp. 254–257).
1920. Alberto Vaccari SJ: Bolletino Geronimiano. *Biblica* 1: 533–562. – This report on recent research on Jerome deals mainly with De Bruyne's hypothesis that it was Pelagius who did the revision of the Pauline epistles (pp. 534–541). According to Vaccari, De Bruyne fails to convince his peers; the most plausible assumption is still to assume that Jerome himself did revise all of the New Testament.
- 1922/23. John Chapman OSB: St Jerome and the Vulgate New Testament. *Journal of Theological Studies* 24: 33–51, 113–125, 282–299. The author defends Jeronian authorship of the complete revision of the New Testament against recent critical opinion. By 391, the revision was completed and published (p. 297). "I used to suppose that having corrected the Gospels and Acts with great care, St Jerome had slurred over the rest of the New Testament. I see now that this hasty opinion was unfounded. The variety of readings in the Gospel codices was enormous; the 'Western' interpolations in Acts necessitated radical operations; but in the Epistles the variations in the Greek were small, the Old Latin variants were neither numerous nor important. Far less alteration was necessary, and what alterations St Jerome actually made, he made with extreme caution and timidity. I see no signs of haste or superficiality, only of reverence for a traditional text, of fear of malignant criticism, and (especially) of deference to the wishes of his deceased patron, Pope Damasus. I am assuming already that St Jerome revised the whole New Testament" (p. 282). – There is a sympathetic report on Chapman's defense of Jerome as the reviser of the entire New Testament (and not only the Gospels):
1924. Hugo Bévenot OSB: Hieronymus und die Vulgata des Neuen Testaments. *Theologische Revue* 23:7: 241–244.
1940. Augustin Merk SJ: *Introductionis in S. Scripturae libros compendium. Tomus primus*. Paris. xi, 615 pp. – Page 173: The opinion that the Pauline text of the Vulgate goes back to Pelagius is to be rejected. Merk attributes the revision of text of the Pauline Epistles to Jerome; however, it is unclear what his Latin original looked like. In any case, it was not a "textus africanus."

12.3 The critics: neither Jerome nor Rufinus

1914. Hugh Pope OP: Jerome's Latin Text of St Paul's Epistles. *Irish Theological Quarterly* 9: 413–443. – The Pauline Epistles of the Vulgate are not the product of Jerome's revision. Pope no longer believes in the accuracy Jerome's statement that "I revised the New Testament accurately from the Greek, the Old Testament I translated according to the Hebrew" (*Novum Testamentum Graece fidei reddidi, Vetus iuxta Hebraicum transtuli*; Jerome: *De viris illustribus* 135; PL 23:758–759). One of the major reasons for doubting Jerome's involvement with producing the Vulgate text of the

Pauline letters is the fact that Jerome, in his commentaries on Pauline letters, uses a Latin text different from that of the Vulgate. ▲

1920. Ferdinand Cavallera: Saint Jérôme et la Vulgate des Actes, des Épîtres et l'Apocalypse. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 21: 269–292. – Cavallera presents the results of a painstaking analysis of all of Jerome's quotations of New Testament passages outside of the Gospels. The results: (1) Jerome never claims authorship of the Latin version he quotes from, but refers to its translator (*latinus interpres*) as someone distinct from him; (2) the text Paul quotes, and comments on in his commentaries on the Pauline letters, is not the Vulgate, but not very different from it; (3) the revision of the text of the Pauline letters and the rest of the New Testament was made after Jerome, partly inspired by Jerome's work.
1969. Robert Weber: Preface [to the first edition of the "Stuttgart Vulgate"]: "In the New Testament, all books have an Old-Latin base; but this base has been revised in the light of the Greek with varying degrees of thoroughness – in the Gospels rather hurriedly, in most other books more carefully. The reviser of the Gospels was certainly Jerome: the reviser(s) of the other books, or groups of books, are altogether unknown." Quoted from Robert Weber – Roger Gryson (eds.): *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*. Fourth edition. Stuttgart 1994, p. xxix.
1993. Stefan Rebenich: Jerome: The "vir trilinguis" and the "Hebraica veritas." *Vigiliae Christianae* 47 [1993] 50–77. – "Stylistic reasons, especially regarding the translation of Acts, finally shake his [Jerome's] declaration made in *De viris illustribus* that he had translated the whole New Testament from the Greek into Latin" (p. 51).
2003. Roger Gryson (ed.): *Apocalypsis Iohannis*. Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 26.2. Freiburg. 787 pp. – Gryson hesitates to name Rufinus of Syria as the reviser of the book of Revelation's Latin text, but he does acknowledge that the Vulgate revision of the New Testament, save for the Gospels, was carried out by one single person.
2012. Walter Dunphy: Ps-Rufinus (the 'Syrian') and the Vulgate: Evidence Wanting! *Augustinianum* 52: 219–256. The *Liber de fide* (PL 21:112–1154, also in PL 48:451–488), a text ascribed to Rufinus, reflects the Greek text of the Bible, and stays independent from both the Old Latin and Vulgate texts. Accordingly, there is no reason for associating Rufinus with the Vulgate.
2013. Philip Burton: The Latin Version of the New Testament. In: Bart D. Ehrman – Michael W. Holmes (eds.): *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*. 2nd edition. Leiden (xii, 884 pp.), pp. 167–200. – Page 182: "The Vulgate New Testament is simply another stage in the development of the Latin Bible. In the case of the Gospels, we say with confidence that we are dealing essentially with a revision of existing traditions produced by Jerome in the mid-380s. (...) For the rest, we do not know the name of the reviser, except that it is very unlikely to be Jerome; it has been claimed that the translation technique differs, and in any case if this were Jerome's work, we would expect to find at least some reference to it in his correspondence."
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Page 34: "There are several indications that Jerome was responsible for the revision of the Gospels only and not the rest of the New Testament." Page 41: "The safest approach is to admit that the reviser of the books other than the Gospels in the Vulgate New Testament remains unknown, although the work seems to have been carried out in Rome after 393 (the quotation from Jerome: *De viris illustribus* 5 in the prologue) and before 410 (the latest date for Pelagius' commentary)."
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74. – Page 38: If it

is probable that Rufinus the Syrian has edited the Vulgate text of the Pauline corpus, this does not imply that he also edited the rest of the New Testament – the book of Acts, the Catholic epistles, and the book of Revelation.

2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg (xviii, 317 pp.), pp. 16–17, 263: There is no evidence in support of Rufinus the Syrian being the Vulgate reviser. The question of who it was is still open.
2023. Anna Persig: The Vulgate New Testament Outside the Gospels. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 77–90. – The Vulgate Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse are first attested in manuscripts dated around the sixth century; these texts, united with Jerome's revision of the Gospels, have been transmitted in the manuscript tradition under the name of Jerome. At the beginning of the twentieth century the attribution to Jerome was questioned and Pelagius was proposed as the reviser of these writings. Another hypothesis, that the reviser was Rufinus the Syrian, a member of the Pelagian circle, was advanced on the basis of the dating of the *Primum quaeritur*, the prologue to the Vulgate Pauline Epistles, and the correspondence of Rufinus' citations to the Vulgate. However, this theory is founded on uncertain grounds. Anna Persig assesses earlier hypotheses and underlines the necessity of addressing the problem of the authorship of the Vulgate New Testament outside the Gospels from different perspectives and employing new methodologies.

Chapter 13

Modern editions of the Jerome-Rufinus Bible

Note. – The modern editions of the Latin Vulgate Bible listed in this chapter are those that most scholars refer to when they wish to use the earliest textual form of the Vulgate, especially the original form of Jerome’s contribution. Placed at the beginning is the Martianay-Vallarsi Vulgate, a precursor of the modern editions. Of the standard critical editions, the Stuttgart edition of Weber and Gryson is the one most scholars are using today. There are also translations of the scholarly reconstructed text – see especially the German “*Tusculum Vulgate*” (see Chapter 18.4).

For surveys of modern Vulgate editions, see:

1977. Bruce M. Metzger: *The Early Versions of the New Testament*. Oxford 1977 (xix, 498 pp.), pp. 348–352: Noteworthy printed editions of the Vulgate.

2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: Panorama editorial de la Vetus Latina y la Vulgata: series, proyectos, ediciones de referencia. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 52: 7–90, at pp. 35–45 (Benedictine Vulgate, Oxford New Testament, Stuttgart Vulgate).

13.1 The Vulgate of Martianay and Vallarsi

13.2 The New Testament of Wordsworth and White (Oxford Vulgate)

13.3 The Old Testament of the Benedictines of Rome (Roman Vulgate)

13.4 The Stuttgart Vulgate of Weber and Gryson

13.1 The Vulgate of Martinay and Vallarsi

Note. – A first attempt to restore the original wording of the Latin Bible going back to Jerome was made by the Benedictine monk Jean Martinay (1647–1717); he called it *Divina bibliotheca* and included it in his edition of Jerome’s works (Paris 1693–1706, five volumes). Martinay’s edition of Jerome’s works was revised by the Italian scholar Domenico Vallarsi (1702–1771); it was published in several volumes, first in Verona, then in Venice. Vallarsi’s edition also included a Vulgate with text-critical notes.

Jacques-Paul Migne reprinted the Martinay-Vallarsi text in his *Patrologia Latina*, so that this edition is still readily available – in libraries and on the Internet: PL 28 and 29, Paris 1845 and 1846; reprinted several times, complete with Martinay’s long introduction. – For information on the story of Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*, see Howard Bloch: *God’s Plagiarist. Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne*. Chicago 1994 (vii, 152 pp.); idem: *Le plagiaire de Dieu: la fabuleuse industrie de l’abbé Migne*. Paris 1996 (238 pp.).

13.2 The New Testament of Wordsworth and White (Oxford Vulgate)

Note. The Oxford edition of the Latin New Testament is the first truly critical edition of the Latin New Testament. It forms the basis of the Weber/Gryson (Stuttgart) edition. It also prompted the compilation of two indispensable Latin-English glossaries, by Horden (1921) and Richards (1934), see Chapter 8.3.

1889–1954. John Wordsworth – Henry J. White et al. (eds.): *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi*. Oxford. 3 vols. xxxviii, 779 pp. (first fascicle 1889, complete volume 1898); 765 pp. (first fascicle 1913, complete volume 1941); 596 pp. (1954). – After the death of Wordsworth (1843–1911), White (1859–1934) was responsible for the project, and after White's death, the project was directed by H.F.D. Sparks. The editors used *Codex Amiatinus* as their basic source (see above, Chapter 7.2). Known as the "Oxford Vulgate." – Reviews:

1982. J.H. Bernard: The Vulgate of St Mark. *Hermathena* 8: 122–126. Codex Amiatinus is generally followed (p. 125).

1955. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Der Vulgata-Text des Neuen Testamentes. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46: 178–196.

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford 2016, pp. 129–131.

1911. Henry J. White: *Novum Testamentum Latine. Secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem*. Editio minor. Oxford. xx, 620 pp. – A corrected edition was published in 1920; all subsequent reprints remain unchanged. The huge apparatus of the three-volume edition is replaced by a minimalist apparatus which lists the readings of only a few manuscripts. Also indicated is where it departs from the text of the Clementina. The book includes Jerome's preface to the gospels (pp. xiv–xvi) as well as the Eusebian tables (pp. xvii–xx). ▲

Reports and assessments

1901. Frederic G. Kenyon: *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London. xi, 321 pp. – Page 203: "It is the great service of Bishop Wordsworth and Mr. White to have given us back the Vulgate, so far as the Gospels are concerned, much as it left the hands of Jerome, and to have enabled us to estimate alike the materials with which he worked, and the deterioration which his work underwent in the course of the Middle Ages."

1909. Hans von Soden: *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*. Leipzig 1909. x, 663 pp. – Page 2, note 1: "Der Apparat ist bis zur Grenze der Übersichtlichkeit überfüllt und gibt dennoch kein Bild der Geschichte des Vulgatatextes, wie man es, in Gedanken etwa an das schöne Buch von [Samuel] Berger, vorgeführt zu sehen wünscht. Er unterscheidet nicht zwischen Varianten und Fehlern, Wichtigem und Quisquilien." The critical view that the Oxford edition's apparatus is lacking clarity has often been repeated.

1911. H.J. White: John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, and His Work on the Vulgate New Testament. *Journal of Theological Studies* 13, no. 50: 201–208.

1935. Alexander Souter: Henry Julian White and the Vulgate. *Journal of Theological Studies* 36, no. 141: 11–13. – Souter tells the story of the Oxford New Testament and refers to some criticism relating to the use, or non-use, of certain manuscripts.

1986. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte*. Freiburg 1986. 456 pp. – Page 73: “Trotz vielerlei methodischer und anderer Mängel ist das Ergebnis, der Text von Wordsworth/White, nicht schlecht. Das kommt daher, daß die Überlieferung in den Handschriften gut ist. (...) Aber selbstverständlich ist manche Einzellesung noch zu korrigieren.”
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford 2016. xix, 366 pp. – Page 131: “Notwithstanding the superior editorial text of the Stuttgart Vulgate [of Weber/Gryson] and its dependence on some unreliable editions of manuscripts and Christian authors, the Oxford Vulgate continues to provide a rich treasury of readings and material not easily accessible.”

13.3 The Old Testament of the Benedictines of Rome (Roman Vulgate)

Note. – The story of the Benedictine text-critical edition Vulgate of the Old Testament – called “Roman Vulgate” or “Benedictine Vulgate” – extends from 1907 to 1995. In early 1907, the Benedictine order was asked whether they would accept the task of producing a new, text-critical edition of the Vulgate Bible; see the relevant document in *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 40 (1907) 446–448 (Letter of Cardinal Rampolla, April 30, 1907). Upon agreement, Pope Pius X, by a breve issued on December 3, 1907, charged the Benedictine order with the task. Under the directorship of Henri Quentin OSB (1872–1935) and the supervision of Cardinal Francis Aidan Gasquet OSB (1846–1929), work was immediately begun at Sant’Anselmo, the Benedictine School of Theology in Rome. In 1933, the task force found a new home and place of work in the Abbazia di San Girolamo in Rome (Pontificia Abbazia di San Girolamo in Urbe, also known as the “Vulgate Abbey”), founded and endowed by Pope Pius XI, see *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 26 (1934) 290. The first abbot was Henri Quentin OSB; in 1935, he was succeeded by Pierre Salmon OSB (1896–1982). The first volumes, prepared by Henri Quentin, are considered by critics to have been made on a questionable critical basis. The Roman Abbey was suppressed in 1984, but the monks were allowed to complete the work. The final volume was published in 1995.

The text of P. Pius X’s 1907 breve can be found in: Maria Encarnación Varela Moreno: Los Benedictinos y la historia de la edición crítica de la Vulgata. *Miscelanea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos. Sección de hebreo* 24 (1975) 37–66, at pp. 60–61 (followed by other documents, on pp. 61–66).

Lively reports on the early work of the newly-founded Benedictine task force can be found in these publications:

1909. *The Revision of the Vulgate. A Report*. Rome: Sant’ Anselmo. – This illustrated anonymous invitation to contribute money to the project was most likely written by Francis Gasquet OSB, then the abbot of Sant’Anselmo.
1912. Francis A. Gasquet: Vulgate, Revision of. In: Charles G. Herbermann (ed.): *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Volume XV. New York (xv, 800 pp.), pp. 515–520. – The text of this encyclopedia is available on the Internet (Wikimedia commons).
1927. Cunibert Mohlberg OSB: Die Vulgata der Vulgata-Kommission. *Theologische Revue* 26.5: 177–184. – Col. 178: “Es war, sagt eine gute mündliche Überlieferung, der Benediktiner Ambrogio Amelli [1848–1933] von Monte Cassino, der den Plan einer Textrevision der Vulgata zuerst erwog, und dann in einer Denkschrift dem hochsel. Papste Pius X. vortrug. Am 30. April 1907 geschah der erste offizielle Schritt zur Verwirklichung dieses Gedankens. Pius X. frug den damali-

gen Abt-Primas des Ordens D. Hildebrand de Hemptinne, ob der Orden des h. Benedikt sich bereit sähe, die langwierige Arbeit der Vulgata-Revision zu übernehmen.“

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 208–209.

1948. Jan Olav Smit: *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*. Roermond (xv, 295 pp.), pp. xiv–xv, 90–107, 153–164, plus several photos showing the Abazia San Girolamo in Rome and the Benedictines at work (plates pp. 17, 18, 21, 22, 367, 368, 273, 274).

The whole story of the making of the Benedictine Vulgate is told in the following publication:

2016. Réginald Grégoire OSB: *Histoire de la révision de la Vulgate*. In: Nadia Togni (ed.): *Les bibles atlantiques*. Florence (xxxii, 578, 32 pp.), pp. 183–229. – See esp. pp. 209–221: “La vie d’une communauté de moines érudits. L’abbaye pontificale de Saint-Jérôme à Rome.”

The Roman Vulgate of the Benedictines: the edition

The pre-history of the Roman Vulgate: Henri Quentin OSB

Critical statements and reviews after the publication of the first volumes

More on Quentin

Assessments

Appendix: *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, 1912–1988

The Roman Vulgate of the Benedictines: the edition

1926–1995. Henri Quentin et al. (eds.): *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. Rome. 18 vols., produced by Typografia Poliglotta Vaticana. – Critical text of the Old Testament, known as the “Edition of the Benedictines.” The first volume – Genesis – appeared in 1926, and the last volume of the series – vol. 18, the books of Maccabees – in 1995. The edition of the critically established text is presented *per cola et commata*, i.e., in accordance with Jerome’s way of presenting his translation, each short meaningful unit receives its own line, and there are no further marks such as commas or full stops. On the layout *per cola et commata*, see Malcolm B. Parkes: *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*. Aldershot 1992 (xvi, 327 pp.), p. 161.

The pre-history of the Roman Vulgate: Henri Quentin OSB

1922. Henri Quentin OSB: *Mémoire sur l’établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris. xvi, 520 pp. – On the Vulgate manuscripts of the Pentateuch and the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. Quentin classifies manuscripts according to the Lachmann method. For selected text sections he provides a variant apparatus, and at the end (pp. 513–515) he offers the text of Exodus 2 with text-critical apparatus to illustrate the results of his study. The Codex Amiatinus is one of the main textual witnesses. The individual volumes are listed below, [Chapter 21 • Textual notes on the Old Testament](#).

- 1922/23. F.C. Burkitt: The Text of the Vulgate. *Journal of Theological Studies* 24: 406–414.
1923. Emmanuel Flicoteaux OSB; [review of Quentin: *Mémoire*]. *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 84: 382–384. – Page 384: "le très beau chef-d'œuvre d'une science critique sûre d'elle-même."
1923. Josef Linder SJ: [review of Quentin's *Mémoire*]. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 47: 572–577.
1923. Alberto Vaccari SJ: [review of Quentin's *Mémoire*]. *Biblica* 4: 401–407.
1924. Henri Quentin OSB: La critique de la Vulgate. *Revue bénédictine* 36: 137–164. – Mit Antworten von Donatien De Bruyne OSB und F.C. Burkitt.
1924. Edward K. Rand: Dom Quentin's Memoir on the Text of the Vulgate. *Harvard Theological Review* 17: 197–264. – A sharp criticism. The author considers Quentin's method of text production to be misguided; his mathematical tables are completely useless, despite the great amount of time spent on their creation.
1924. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: [review of Quentin: *Mémoire*]. *Revue biblique* 33: 115–123. – "La nouvelle théorie manque de souplesse" (p. 122).
1924. Norbert Peters, *Theologische Revue* 23.7: 244–247.
1925. D.J. Chapman OSB: The Families of Vulgate mss in the Pentateuch. *Revue bénédictine* 37: 5–46, 365–403.
1926. Henri Quentin OSB: *Essais de critique textuelle (ecdotique)*. Paris. 177 pp. – Review: Alberto Vaccari SJ, *Biblica* 7 (1926) 447–449.
1926. Henri Quentin OSB: *La Vulgate à travers les siècles et sa révision actuelle*. Rome. 24 pp. – Text of a paper given by Quentin.
1927. Henri Quentin OSB: Une méthode de critique et de classement des manuscrits. *Revue des études latines* 5: 150–155.

Critical statements and reviews after the publication of the first volumes

1926. Alberto Vaccari SJ: [review of: *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam (...) Genesis*]. *Biblica* 7: 449–455.
1927. P.D., *Revue biblique* 36.2: 313–315.
1927. Cunibert Mohlberg OSB: Die Vulgata der Vulgatakommision. *Theologische Revue* 26.5: 177–184. – Review of the Genesis volume, "die erste Gabe der nun 19 Jahre arbeitenden Vulgata-Kommision" (col. 180). The author indicates that the editor generally follows the readings of Codex Amiatinus (col. 183).
1927. Alfred Rahlfs, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 189: 148–152.
1927. F.C. Burkitt: Notes on Genesis in the Latin Vulgate. *Revue bénédictine* 39: 251–260.
1927. Friedrich Stummer: Die neue römische Ausgabe der Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150. – On pp. 141–144, Stummer summarises Quentin's method, regretting that Quentin did not include in his critical apparatus the readings found in some other manuscripts. "Es wiederholt sich die Erscheinung, die uns schon aus den bisher erschienenen Faszikeln des Neuen Testaments von Wordsworth und White bekannt ist: die editio Clementina entbehrt an einer nicht unbeträchtlichen Anzahl von Stellen der handschriftlichen Fundamentierung" (p. 144). "Die Bedeutung des Buches ist keineswegs damit erschöpft, daß es über die Clementina ein gutes Stück hinaus und in sehr vielen, ja wohl den meisten Fällen bei der endgültigen Lesart anlangt. Es bringt die ganze Vulgataforschung in mehr als

einer Hinsicht in Fluß; die Übersetzungstechnik des Hieronymus, sein Schwanken zwischen gesprochenem und gelerntem, klassischem Latein; die Geschichte des Vulgatatextes und die Eigenart seiner Familien kann nun in ganz anderer Intensität studiert werden als bisher“ (p. 150).

1927. Josef Linder SJ: Die neue kritische Vulgata-Ausgabe. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 51: 267–273.
1927. M.A. van den Oudenrijn OP, *Angelicum* 4: 196.
1927. José María Bover SJ: La nueva edición de la Vulgata. *Estudios eclesiásticos* 6: 79–85, 186–207, 415–428. – Bover is very critical of Quentin’s approach.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 208–221. Stummer notes that according to Quentin’s edition of Jerome’s Genesis, there were mistakes in the Jeromian archetype, and Quentin suggests emendations (e.g., in Gen 24:32; see below, [textual note](#) on this passage, in Chapter **22**).
1930. Alberto Vaccari SJ: [review of: *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam (...) Exodus et Leviticus*]. *Biblica* 11: 458–464. Vaccari offers an abridged list of the critical apparatus, lamenting the fact that too many irrelevant variants are noted. He also points out the two major problems (difetti della critica seguita dall’esimo benedettino) he has with the Benedictine edition: the tenacious adherence to two or three overvalued manuscripts, and the readiness (troppo facile) to resort to conjectures (p. 462).
1937. Heinrich Herkenne: Zur Revision der lateinischen Kirchenbibel. *Das Heilige Land* 81: 93–193.
1937. Pierre Salmon OSB: *La révision de la Vulgate. État des travaux, difficultés et résultats*. Rome. 36 pp.
1937. Friedrich Stummer: Der dritte Band der neuen römischen Ausgabe der Vulgata. *Theologische Revue* 36: 305–311. – Stummer reviews the volume that offers a new Vulgate text of Numbers and Deuteronomy – and discusses the wording of many passages, esp. from the book of Numbers.
1937. Alberto Vaccari SJ, *Biblica* 18.1: 126–132. – Review of the volume with the text of Numbers and Deuteronomy.
- 1937/38. B. Oppermann: Die neue Benediktinervulgata. *Bibel und Liturgie* 12: 345–347.

More on Quentin

1935. Cunibert Mohlberg OSB: Commemorazione dell’abate Dom Enrico Quentin. *Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 11: 13–39. – Obituary.
1959. Ludwig Bieler: The Grammarian’s Craft. A Professional Talk. *Folia. Studies in the Christian Perception of the Classics* 10.2: 3–42. – On pp. 13–19 and in note 44 (p. 38), Bieler discusses Quentin’s method of establishing the proper text. “The most serious objection is the practice of sample collation of extensive texts” (p. 18). Bieler’s paper has been printed in other places as well.
1977. Henri de Sainte-Marie: L’édition critique de la Vulgate. *Lettre de Ligugé* 184: 7–20.
1987. Henri de Sainte-Marie: Storia dell’ edizione critica della Volgata; in: Tarcisio Stramare (ed.): *La Bibbia ‘Vulgata’ dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Atti del simposio internazionale 1985*. Rome (197 pp.), pp. 144–148.
2016. Réginald Grégoire OSB: Histoire de la révision de la Vulgate. In: Nadia Togni (ed.): *Les bibles atlantiques*. Florence (xxxi, 578, 32 pp.), pp. 183–229. – See pp. 204–208: La méthode de Dom Quentin.

2019. Luca Avellis: Il ruolo di Dom Henri Quentin nella filologia del '900. *Vetera Christianorum* 56: 31–45.

Assessments

1938. Friedrich Stummer: Vulgata. In: 1938. In: Michael Buchberger (ed.): *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 10. Band. Freiburg (viii pp., 1118 cols.), cols. 703–706. – Col. 705: “Die Ausgabe ist (...) kein ‘offizieller’ Text wie die editio Clementina, sondern dient der wissenschaftlichen Forschung. Sie bietet einen zwar nicht endgültigen, aber im ganzen der Clementina weit überlegenen und die von Hieronymus gewollte Form erreichenden Text.”
1965. Willem Baars: On a Latin Fragment of Sirach. *Vetus Testamentum* 15: 280–281. – Page 280: “One of the outstanding features of the later volumes [i.e., beginning with vol. 5] of the Benedictine Vulgate is the inclusion of the nearly complete evidence of manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts dating from before 800 AD.”
1992. Dominique Barthélemy OP: *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*. Tome 3. Fribourg. xxiv, ccxlii, 1150 pp. – Page cci: “Nous avons relevé et mentionné ci-dessus [aux pages cci–ccii] quelques imperfections et inexactitudes de l’apparat de l’édition des bénédictins de San Girolamo. Elle constitue cependant l’une des plus belles réalisations qu’ait produit l’édition critique des textes anciens. Remarquons toutefois qu’assez souvent l’édition manuelle de R. Weber (...) a amélioré les choix textuels qu’avaient faits les éditeurs de [l’Abbaye de] San Girolamo.” – Idem: *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. 2012 (xxxii, 688 pp.), p. 530: “We have located and mentioned above several imperfections and inaccuracies in the apparatus of the edition by the San Girolamo Benedictines. Nevertheless, it constitutes one of the finest realizations of the critical editing of ancient texts. At the same time, R. Weber’s manual edition (...) quite frequently improves the textual choices made by the editors of [the Abbey of] San Girolamo.”
1997. Emanuel Tov: *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis, Min. (xl, 456 pp.), p. 153, note 112: “This edition [of the Benedictines] contains a great many – mainly orthographic – variants. But the eclectic text does not always evidence a judicious insight (...) Containing fewer data in its apparatus, but showing a keener insight is the *editio minor* of R[obert] Weber.” – German: *Der Text der hebräischen Bibel. Handbuch der Textkritik*. Stuttgart 1997 (xxxiv, 376 pp.), p. 128, note: “Diese Edition [der Benediktiner] enthält eine große Zahl von – vor allem orthographischen – Varianten. Der eklektische Text zeugt jedoch nicht immer von kluger Einsicht (...). Obwohl der Apparat weniger Details bietet, ist doch die *editio minor* von R[obert] Weber (...) vorzuziehen.” However, the verdict is unlikely to apply to all volumes of the Benedictine edition.

Appendix: Collectanea Biblica Latina, 1912–1988

Note. – The Benedictine order not only produced the critical edition of the Vulgate Old Testament; it also published a series of seventeen books as “Collectanea Biblica Latina” (CBLa). Some of the titles are text editions, while others are research monographs. What follows is the complete list.

1912. Ambrogio M. Amelli OSB (ed.): *Liber Psalmorum iuxta antiquissimam latinam versionem*. CBLa 1. Rome. xxxiv, 174 pp.
1913. Heinrich Joseph Vogels (ed.): *Codex Rehdigeranus. Die vier Evangelien nach der lateinischen Handschrift R 169 der Stadtbibliothek Breslau*. CBLa 2. Rome. xlvi, 300 pp.

1913. Paul Capelle: *Le texte du Psautier latin en Afrique*. CBLa 4. Rome. xi, 267 pp.
1914. Aidan Gasquet OSB (ed.): *Codex Vercellensis*. 2 Volumes. CBLa 3. Rome. xxiv, 238 pp.; 242 pp.
1921. Donatien De Bruyne OSB (ed.): *Les fragments de Freising: épîtres de S. Paul et épîtres catholiques*. CBLa 5. Rome. li, 68 pp.
1922. Henri Quentin OSB: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*. CBLa 6. Rome. xvi, 520 pp.
1944. 1953. Pierre Salmon OSB: *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil (Paris, ms. Lat. 9427)*. Tome 1. *Édition et étude comparative, contribution à l'histoire de la vulgate et de la liturgie en France au temps de Mérovingiens*. CBLa 7. Rome. cxxiii, 233 pp. – Tome 2. *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil (Paris, ms. Lat. 9427). Étude paléographique et liturgique suivie d'un choix de planches*. Rome. CBLa 9. Rome. vii, 77, 66 pp.
1945. Robert Weber OSB (ed.): *Les anciennes versions latines du deuxième livre des Paralipomènes*. CBLa 8. Rome. li, 94 pp.
1953. Robert Weber OSB (ed.): *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins. Édition critique*. CBLa 10. Rome. xxiii, 410 pp.
1954. Henri de Sainte-Marie OSB (ed.): *Sancti Hieronymi psalterium iuxta Hebraeos. Édition critique*. CBLa 11. Rome. lxx, 262 pp.
1959. Pierre Salmon OSB: *Les "Tituli psalmodum" des manuscrits latins*. CBLa 12. Rome. 190 pp.
1959. Pierre Salmon OSB et al.: *Richesses et déficiences des anciens psautiers latins*. CBLa 13. Rome. 267 pp.
1972. Francesca Merlo (ed.): *Il Salterio di Rufino*. Editio critica a cura di Francesca Merlo. Commento da Jean Gribomont OSB. CBLa 14. Rome. xi, 207 pp.
1984. Colette Estin: *Les psautiers de Jérôme à la lumière des traductions juives antérieures*. CBLa 15. Rome. 238 pp.
1987. Tarcisio Stramare (ed.): *La Bibbia "Vulgata" dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Atti del Simposio Internazionale in Onore di Sisto V, Grottammare, 29–31 agosto 1985*. CBLa 16. Rome. 197 pp.
1988. André Thibaut OSB: *L'infidélité du peuple élu: apeithō entre la Bible hébraïque et la Bible latine*. CBLa 17. Rome. 336 pp. – The title's "Latin Bible" refers to the Vetus Latina.

13.4 The Stuttgart Vulgate of Weber and Gryson

Note. – Since the Stuttgart Vulgate is today the Latin Bible most scholars use, this is the place to point out one of its particularities – the layout of the text in sense-lines, and the omission of punctuation such as periods and commas. This layout is in accordance with ancient manuscript practice, as can be seen especially in [Codex Amiatinus](#) (above, Chapter 7.2) from which the sense-lines are generally taken. Jerome himself practiced this way of putting texts on the page, as he himself explains in the preface to his translation of the book of Isaiah:

"No one, when he will have seen the Prophets to be written in verses, would think them to be bound in meter among the Hebrews, and to have anything in common with the Psalms or the works of Solomon. But what is customary to be used in writing Demosthenes and Cicero (who certainly wrote prose and not in verses): [the layout] in distinct phrases and sections (*per cola et commata*), we also, providing ease of reading, have used this new kind of writing in our new translation." (Sources chrétiennes 592: 432; Tusculum-Vulgata IV, p. 14).

Another Jeromian reference to this layout can be found in the preface to the translation of the book of Ezekiel (Sources chrétiennes 592: 449; Tusculum-Vulgata IV, p. 536).

The layout *per cola and commata* can also be found in other editions of the Latin Bible – the Oxford Vulgate and the Vulgate of the Benedictines (above, Chapters 13.2 and 13.3).

Editions

1994. Robert Weber OSB – Roger Gryson (eds.): *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. 5th revised and updated edition. Stuttgart. xliii, 1980 pp. – This scholarly manual edition contains the text of the Old and New Testaments with text-critical apparatus and the prefaces (prologi) of Jerome. Although based on the Oxford Vulgate for the New Testament, and the Vulgate of the Benedictines of Rome for the Old Testament, the Latin text represents a revised version of these. The editors' aim is to present the original version produced by Jerome (and other ancient editors). This edition was first published in 1969, followed by several improved editions in 1983 (3rd ed.), 1994 (4th ed.), and 2007 (5th ed.). The 1994 edition – with revised apparatus of the book of Wisdom, the minor prophets, 1–2 Maccabees, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews – is often cited as the standard edition of the Vulgate Bible. Known as the "Stuttgart Vulgate" and the "Weber/Gryson Edition."
2007. Robert Weber OSB – Roger Gryson (eds.): *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. 5th revised and updated edition. Stuttgart. xlix, 1980 pp. – For the 5th edition, the text-critical apparatus of the books of Ruth, Isaiah, and Revelation was revised. Some printing errors have also been corrected. This edition was reprinted without changes in 2010. ▲

Reviews of the Stuttgart Vulgate

1969. Guy-Dominique Sixdenier: Le III^e livre d'Esdras et la Vulgate de Stuttgart, *Revue des Études anciennes* 71 (1969) 390–401. – The first part of the article, pp. 391–394, introduces the 1st edition of the Stuttgart Vulgate.
1978. G.D. Kilpatrick: The Itala. *The Classical Review* n. s. 28: 56–58. – Page 57: "The Stuttgart manual edition of the Vulgate rests on three great works of scholarship: **(1)** the Roman edition of the Vulgate Old Testament (1926–) of which we still await four fascicles; **(2)** Wordsworth's and White's edition of the Vulgate New Testament; **(3)** *Vetus Latina*, the Beuron edition of the Old Latin (1949–). (...) It may be regarded as far as the text is concerned as a revised edition of the Roman Vulgate and Wordsworth and White, with *Vetus Latina* contributing a number of corrections."
2016. Hugh A.H. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament*. Oxford 2016. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 127–129: Stuttgart Vulgate. Houghton alerts readers to the fact that this edition "is not a guide to the medieval Vulgate" (p. 128), but wants to present the earliest form of the Vulgate text.
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: Panorama editorial de la *Vetus Latina* y la Vulgata: series, proyectos, ediciones de referencia. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 52: 7–90, at pp. 42–45.

Chapter 14

After Jerome: The Vulgate's First Millennium, 400–1450

- 14.1 From dispute to reception: Jerome, Rufinus, and Augustine (a prologue)
- 14.2 The invention of the Vulgate
- 14.3 Reference works on the Bible in the Middle Ages
- 14.4 From Pelagius to the Paris Bible and Windesheim
- 14.5 The Psalms in the Middle Ages
- 14.6 Bible correctories
- 14.7 Chapters and verses (Middle Ages – Early Modern Times)
- 14.8 The knowledge of Hebrew in the Middle Ages
- 14.9 Miscellanea

14.1 From dispute to reception: Jerome, Rufinus, and Augustine (a prologue)

- Rufinus' critique of Jerome's translation
- The Jerome-Augustine correspondence
- The inspiration of Scripture: Jerome's view
- Augustine's knowledge and use of Jerome's translation
- Miscellanea on Augustine

Rufinus' critique of Jerome's translation

Note. – Originally and for many years, Rufinus of Aquileia was a close friend of Jerome's. But in the 390s, their friendship ended, and the two attacked each other in polemical writing. In his *Apology against Rufinus*, Jerome reports of a letter of retraction in which he, Jerome, allegedly admitted that his translations from the Hebrew were faulty. This fake letter, Jerome explains, must have been by Rufinus.

401. Rufinus: *Apologia contra Hieronymum* II, 36 (CCSL 20: 111): "Perhaps it was a greater piece of audacity to alter the books of the divine Scriptures which had been delivered to the Churches of Christ by the Apostles to be a complete record of their faith by making a new translation under the influence of the Jews. Which of these two things appears to you to be the less legitimate? As to the sayings of Origen, if we agree with them, we agree with them as the sayings of a man; if we disagree, we can easily disregard them as those of a mere man. But how are we to regard those translations of yours which you are now sending about everywhere, through our churches and monasteries, through all our cities and walled towns? Are they to be treated as human or divine? And what are we to do when we are told that the books which bear the names of the Hebrew Prophets and lawgivers are to be had from you in a truer form than that which was approved by the Apostles? How, I ask, is this mistake to be set right, or rather, how is this crime to be expiated?" (translated by W.H. Fremantle)
- 401/2. Jerome: *Apologia adversus Rufinum* II, 24 (PL 23: 447–448): "It is the same man, therefore, who had concocted in my name this letter of penance because I had translated evilly the Hebrew volumes, who is said to make the charge that my reason for translating Sacred Scripture was to condemn the Septuagint, so that I stand accused whether the things that I have translated are false or true, as long as I admit that I have erred in the new undertaking, or as long as the new edition is considered a condemnation of the old. (...) Did I say anything against the Septuagint translators, whose work I revised very carefully many years ago, and gave to the students of my own language, and expound daily in the convent of my brethren; whose Psalms I constantly sing and meditate upon? Was I so foolish as to wish to forget in my old age what I learned in my youth? All of my treatises are interwoven with their testimonies. My commentaries on the twelve prophets are an explanation of both my version and that of the Septuagint." Saint Jerome: *Dogmatic and Polemical Works*. Translated by John N. Hritzu. The Fathers of the Church 58. Washington 1965 (xix, 403 pp.), pp. 144–145. – The best edition of this text can be found in Jérôme: *Apologie contre Rufin*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et index. Sources chrétiennes 303. Paris 1983. xix, 359 pp.
1905. J. Brochet: *Saint Jérôme et ses ennemis: étude sur la querelle de Saint Jérôme avec Rufin d'Aquilée et sur l'ensemble de son œuvre polémique*. Paris. xvi, 494 pp.
1947. P. Courcelle: Paulin (de Nole) et la controverse entre Jérôme et Rufin. *Revue des études latines* 80: 274–279.
1953. C.C. Mierow: Jerome and Rufinus. *The Classical Bulletin* 30: 1–20.
1963. K. Romaniuk: Une controverse entre Jérôme et Rufin d'Aquilée à propos de l'Épître aux Éphésiens. *Aegyptus* 43: 84–106.
1970. Friedhelm Winkelmann: Einige Bemerkungen zu den Aussagen des Rufinus von Aquileia und des Hieronymus über ihre Übersetzungstheorie und -methode. In: Patrick Granfield et al. (eds.): *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*. Band 2. Münster (pp. 499–972), pp. 532–547.
1991. Barbara Feichtinger: Der Traum des Hieronymus – ein Psychogramm. *Vigiliae Christianae* 45: 54–77. – Includes a commentary on Rufinus of Aquileia's critique of Jerome (pp. 63–67).
1993. Pierre Lardet: *L'Apologie de Jérôme contre Rufin. Un commentaire*. Leiden. xxxii, 564 pp. – This commentary continues the author's earlier work on Jerome's *Apologia adversus Rufinum*, see Lardet's bilingual edition of this text (Sources chrétiennes 303).

2004. Marc Vessey: Jerome and Rufinus. In: Frances Young et al. (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge (xxv, 538 pp.), pp. 318–327.
2013. Leopoldo Gamberale: Rufino contro Gerolamo. Conoscere e riconoscere Terenzio. In: idem: *San Gerolamo. Intellettuale e filologo*. Rome 2013 (xvii, 181 pp.), pp. 153–168.
2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart. 280 pp. – See pp. 52–55.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. Zweite Auflage. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 238–241.

The Jerome–Augustine correspondence

Note. – Jerome and Augustine, the two foremost Christian intellectuals of their day, never met. But after Augustine had sent Jerome a first letter in 393 or 394, they maintained a correspondence for many years, though they never became close friends. Augustine was initially very critical of Jerome’s scholarship but eventually came to appreciate it. Here is one of Augustine’s critical notes from the year 403 (letter 71,4 in Augustine’s letters = letter 104 in Jerome’s letters; *Fontes christiani* 41: 162):

“For my part, I would rather that you would furnish us with a translation of the Greek version of the canonical Scriptures known as the work of the Seventy translators. For if your translation [from the Hebrew] begins to be more generally read in many churches, it will be a grievous thing that, in the reading of Scripture, differences must arise between the Latin churches and the Greek churches.” (Translated by J.G. Cunningham)

“Im Übrigen würde ich es lieber sehen, wenn Du uns eher die griechischsprachigen kanonischen Schriften übersetzen würdest, die den siebenzig Übersetzern zugeschrieben werden. Wenn man nämlich in immer mehr Gemeinden damit anfängt, für die Lesungen Deine Übersetzung [aus dem Hebräischen] zu benutzen, wird die höchst missliche Folge die sein, dass die lateinischen Kirchen nicht mehr mit den griechischen übereinstimmen.” (Translated by Alfons Fürst)

One of Augustine’s letters (no. 19*) and one of Jerome’s letters (no. 27*) – were discovered in 1981 and published by Johannes Divjak in 1983. The complete correspondence has been included in the works of Jerome and in the works of Augustine, with different numbering, which occasionally causes confusion; a convenient list of the correspondence in the works of Augustine and Jerome can be found in *Sources chrétiennes* 592: 18.

Bilingual editions: Latin–German, Latin–French

2002. Alfons Fürst (ed.): *Augustinus – Hieronymus. Epistulae mutuae – Briefwechsel*. *Fontes christiani* 41.1–2. Turnhout. 2 vols. 543 pp.
2010. Carole Fry: *Lettres croisées de Jérôme et Augustin. Traduites, présentées et annotées*. Paris. lxxviii, 501 pp.

The letters in English

1990. Carolinne White: *The Correspondence (394–419) between Jerome and Augustine of Hippo*. Lewiston, N.Y. 252 pp. – English translation of the letters. ▲

The letters in German

1917. Augustinus: *Ausgewählte Briefe I*. Translated by Alfred Hoffmann. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. Kempten 1917. vi, 340 pp. – Includes letters 28, 40, 67, 71, 73 and 82 to Jerome, in German translation.

1994. Ralph Hennings: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon des Alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gal. 2,11–14*. Leiden. xi, 395 pp. – The entire correspondence and its editions are presented. (Subsequent research, esp. by Alfons Fürst, corrects details as well as the chronology of the letters proposed by Hennings.)
1999. Alfons Fürst: *Augustins Briefwechsel mit Hieronymus*. Münster. ix, 289 pp. – A book about the letters, without a consecutive translation of the text. Pages 139–145 deal with the controversy over Jerome’s translation of the Bible.
2002. Alfons Fürst (ed.): *Augustinus – Hieronymus. Epistulae mutuae – Briefwechsel*. Fontes christiani 41.1–2. Turnhout. 2 vols. 543 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German, of the letters exchanged between Jerome and Augustine. In Volume 1, pp. 51–60, the editor discusses Augustine’s critique of Jerome’s translations. In Volume 1, pp. 14–15, the editor supplies a chronological table of this correspondence, covering the years 394 to 419. There is also an exhaustive bibliography (vol. 2, pp. 508–520). ▲

The letters in French

1983. Johannes Divjak: *Les lettres de saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak*. Paris. 390 pp. – Contains a previously unknown letter to Jerome; published here as Epistula 19*.
2010. Carole Fry: *Lettres croisées de Jérôme et Augustin. Traduites, présentées et annotées*. Paris. lxxviii, 501 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and French. Review: Mikaël Ribreau, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 229 (2012) 541–544. ▲

Secondary literature on the dispute between Jerome and Augustine

English

1979. R.J. O’Connell: When Sainly Fathers Feuded: The Correspondence between Augustine and Jerome. *Thought* 54: 344–364.
1996. Eva-Schulz-Flügel: The Latin Old Testament Tradition. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume I.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 642–662. – Pages 657–662: The problem of Hebraica veritas in Jerome and Augustine. “Augustine is known to have been the most important opponent of Jerome’s veritas Hebraica, and his arguments stand for the majority of the opposition against the new version. The central point of this opposition was not to refuse the Hebrew original as a standard as such, but to defend the obligatory authority of the Septuagint against that of the Hebrew claimed by Jerome. (...) Augustine rejected the Hebrew text because, by abandoning the Greek authority, the unity of the Church and its apostolic tradition would be in danger” (p. 658).
1999. Anne P. Carriker: Augustine’s Frankness in His Dispute with Jerome over the Interpretation of Galatians 2:11–14. In: Douglas Kries – Catherine Brown Tkacz (eds.): *Nova Doctrina Vetusque. Essays on Early Christianity*. New York (xi, 291 pp.), pp. 121–138. – Page 128: “The most accurate assessment of the interpersonal relations between Jerome and Augustine is surely Grützmacher’s [1908], for he writes that we owe it to Augustine’s chivalry and modesty that the dispute did not degenerate into a bitter squabble. It is Augustine who pleads that Jerome and he be able to conduct a friendship that does not suffer injury or envy when one corrects the other.” Carriker surveys earlier scholarship on the subject (pp. 125–128).
2000. G. Heidl: Hebraica veritas and Hubris. Remark on the Controversy between Jerome and Augustine. In: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (ed.): *L’esegesi dei Padri latini*. Rome (770 pp., 2 vols. with continuous pagination), vol. 1, pp. 41–48.

2007. Allan K. Jenkins – Patrick Preston: *Biblical Scholarship and the Church. A Sixteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*. Aldershot (xiii, 325 pp.), pp. 3–26: The roots of the problem. – Page 22: “What lay at the heart of the disagreement between Jerome and Augustine was the authority of the Septuagint. (...) Augustine, like Origen, believed in the Septuagint to be divinely inspired, even in those passages not found in the Hebrew. (...) Although the debate between Jerome and Augustine turned on the authority of the Septuagint, the question at issue was in effect that of the authority of the Old Latin versions.”
2009. Annemarie Kotzé: Augustine, Jerome and the Septuagint. In: Johann Cook (ed.): *Septuagint and Reception. Essays*. Leiden (x, 411 pp.), pp. 245–260.
2010. Monika Ozóg: Saint Jerome and *veritas hebraica* on the basis of the correspondence with Saint Augustine. *Vox Patrum* 30: 511–519.
2016. Edmon L. Gallagher: Augustine and the Hebrew Bible. *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 67: 97–114. – Influenced by Jerome, Augustine’s developed an innovative theory whereby both the Hebrew text and its Greek translation could be correct, guiding the reader to spiritual insight even if they said different things.
2018. Markus Mülke: Progress or Problem? Augustine on the *Vetus Latina* and Jerome’s *Vulgata*. In: Antonio Guzmán – Javier Martínez (eds.): *Animo decipiendi? Rethinking Fakes and Authorship in Classical, Late Antique, and Early Christian Works*. Groningen (vii, 325 pp.), pp. 245–261.
2019. Mohamed-Arbi Nsiri: Between Jerome and Augustine. Some Intellectual Preoccupations of Late Antiquity. In: John Tolon (ed.): *Geneses. A Comparative Study of the Historiographies of the Rise of Christianity, Rabbinic Judaism, and Islam*. London (260 pp.), pp. 98–113.

German

1879. Franz Overbeck: Aus dem Briefwechsel des Augustinus mit Hieronymus. *Historische Zeitschrift* 42: 222–259. Also in: idem: *Werke und Nachlaß*. Edited by E.W. Stegemann et al. Band 2: Schriften bis 1880. Stuttgart 1994 (ix, 576 pp.), pp. 335–377.
1908. P. Aßlauer: *Die persönlichen Beziehungen der drei größeren Kirchenlehrer Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustinus*. Vienna. 134 pp.
1994. Alfons Fürst: *Veritas Latina. Augustins Haltung gegenüber Hieronymus’ Bibelübersetzungen*. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 40: 105–126. – Also in: idem: *Von Origenes und Hieronymus zu Augustinus*. Berlin 2011 (viii, 535 pp.), pp. 359–384.
2007. Winrich Löhr: Der Briefwechsel [Augustins] mit Hieronymus. In: Volker H. Drecoll (ed.): *Augustin Handbuch*. Tübingen (xix, 799 pp.), pp. 421–427. –The 2nd edition of 2014 is unchanged.
2010. Alfons Fürst: Hieronymus. In: Cornelius Mayer (ed.): *Augustinus-Lexikon*. Vol. 3. Basel (lviii pp., 1284 cols.), cols. 317–336.
2011. Alfons Fürst: *Veritas Latina. Augustins Haltung gegenüber Hieronymus’ Bibelübersetzungen*. In: idem: *Von Origenes zu Hieronymus und Augustinus. Studien zur antiken Theologiegeschichte*. Berlin (viii, 535 pp.), pp. 359–384.
2019. Christoph Kugelmeier: Aliud est vatem, aliud esse interpretem: zur Spannung zwischen Adressatenorientierung und Texttreue in Septuaginta und Vulgata. In: Katharina Heyden et al. (eds.): *Übertragen heiliger Texte in Judentum, Christentum und Islam*. Tübingen (iv, 300 pp.), pp. 93–111.

2021. Barbara Feichtinger: Hieronymus und Aurelius von Karthago: Eine (Nicht-)Begegnung in Rom. In: Ingo Schaaf (ed.): *Hieronymus Romanus: Studies on Jerome and Rome on the Occasion of the 1600th Anniversary of His Death*. Turnhout (609 pp.), pp. 51–75. – On Jerome’s letter to Augustine found in 1981 – letter 27* of the corpus of Augustine letters (CSEL 88: 130–133).
2023. Roland Hoffmann: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg 2023 (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 3–83, at p. 33: “Die ekklesiologische Funktion der Bibelübersetzung galt für Augustin mehr als ihre wissenschaftliche Wahrheit. Hieronymus zeigte sich aber in dieser Frage wenig nachgiebig und entschied sich in der Regel für die zweite Möglichkeit.”

French

1932. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: La correspondance échangée entre Augustin et Jérôme. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 31: 233–248.
1939. Paul Auvray: Saint Jérôme et saint Augustin. La controverse au sujet de l’incident d’Antioche. *Recherches de science religieuse* 29: 594–610.
1956. G. Joussard: Réflexions sur la position de saint Augustin relativement aux Septante dans sa discussion avec saint Jérôme. *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 2: 93–99.
2005. Anne-Isabelle Bouton-Touboullic: Autorité et tradition. La traduction latine de la Bible selon Saint Jérôme et Saint Augustin. *Augustinianum* 45: 185–229.
2008. Jeannine Siat: Pierre et Paul dans l’Épître aux Galates: la controverse Jérôme – Augustin. In: Gérard Nauroy – Marie-Anne Vannier (eds.): *Saint Augustin et la Bible*. Berne (ix, 345 pp.), pp. 259–273. – The milieu in which the two scholars worked determined their respective opinions. Jerome “condamne les hérésies judéo-chrétiennes qui existent encore en Syrie” (p. 272). “La crainte d’Augustin est réelle et son argumentation répond d’avantage aux affirmations des manichéens qu’aux lettres de Jérôme. Il veut qu’aucun soupçon de mensonge, fut-il officieux ou feint, ne pèse sur les Écritures, car ce serait donner raison aux manichéens qu’Augustin connaît bien” (pp. 272–273).
2012. Carole Fry: La parole contre la langue: les vulgarismes dans la correspondance croisée de Jérôme et d’Augustin. In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon (1085 pp.), pp. 909–920. – There are topical, highly rhetorical passages in these letters, but when it comes to discussing scholarly subjects, a less polished style is used.
2021. Mohamed-Arbi Nsiri: “Nos ... inter nos eruditionis causa disseruimus”: désaccords et conciliations dans les échanges épistolaires augustino-hiéronymiens. *Clotho* 3: 191–221.

Italian – Spanish – Portuguese

2012. Edoardo Bona: Appunti di lettura della *Praefatio in Euangelio* di Gerolamo (con un occhio all’epistolario Gerolamo–Agostino). In: Marina Passalacqua et al. (eds.): *Venuste noster. Scritti offerti a Leopoldo Gamberale*. Hildesheim (726 pp.), pp. 347–369. – One section is entitled: Agostino e le traduzioni come testimonianza di autenticità del testo (pp. 361–367). According to Bona, Augustine’s letter 28,2 (Fontes christiani 41.1: 98–103) may include a reference to Jerome’s preface to the gospels.

2019. Teppei Kato: ¿Griego o hebreo? Agustín y Jerónimo sobre la traducción bíblica. *Augustinus* 64: 173–185.
2019. Marcus da Silva Cruz: Septuaginta ou Vulgata? A controvérsia acerca da tradução das Escrituras na correspondência de Jerónimo e Agostinho. *Revista Dialogos Mediterânicos* 16: 45–62. – Portuguese.

Latin

1825. Severin C.W. Bindsböll: *Augustinus et Hieronymus de scriptura sacra ex hebraeo interpretanda disputantes*. Copenhagen. 27 pp.

The inspiration of Scripture: Jerome's view

Note. – At times, Jerome speaks of the *Septuaginta interpretes qui, Spiritu Sancto pleni, e aquae vera fuerunt transtulerunt* – the Septuagint translators who, full of the Holy Spirit, translated that which was true (Preface to the book of Chronicles [Paralipomena], translated from the Greek; *Sources chrétiennes* 592: 342). But Jerome wavers in his evaluation of the Septuagint. He seems to have come to believe that only the Hebrew text is divinely “inspired.”

1910. Ludwig Schade: *Die Inspirationslehre des heiligen Hieronymus*. *Biblische Studien* 15,4–5. Freiburg. xv, 223 pp.
1930. Charles J. Costello: *St Augustine's Doctrine on the Inspiration and Canonicity of Scripture*. Washington, D.C. xiii, 118 pp.
1952. Paul Auvray: Comment se pose le problème de l'inspiration des Septante. *Revue biblique* 59: 321–336. – In the early church, the Septuagint translation held canonical authority and was therefore deemed inspired. Today, one should come back to the idea and accept not only the authority of the Hebrew text, but also that of the Septuagint.
1963. Pierre Benoit OP: L'inspiration des septante d'après les Pères. In: *L'homme devant Dieu. Mélanges offerts au Père Henri de Lubac*. Tome 1. Paris (380 pp.), pp. 169–187. Also in: idem: *Exégèse et théologie*. Tome 3. Paris 1968 (446 pp.), pp. 69–89.
1986. Giuseppe Veltri: L'ispirazione della LXX tra leggenda e teologia. Del racconto di Aristeo alla “veritas Hebraica” di Girolamo. *Laurentianum* 27: 3–71. ▲
2012. Edmon L. Gallagher: *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory*. Leiden (ix, 266 pp.), pp. 205–208. – Gallagher reports on the Augustine-Jerome dispute. Augustine “consistently attributes the prophetic gift to the original [Greek] translators” (p. 207). “We thus find in Augustine the first sustained attempt among Christian authors to divorce the authoritative biblical text from dependence on the Hebrew” (p. 208).
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme. Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. *Sources chrétiennes* 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Pages 55–61: Inspiration de la Septante.
2021. Aaron D. Henderson: The Inspiration of Scripture and of the Septuagint in Book XXVIII of Augustine's City of God. *The Heythrop Journal* 63: 1–9.

Augustine's knowledge and use of Jerome's translation

403. Augustine: *Letter 71,6* to Jerome (CCSL 31A: 38; *Fontes christiani* 41.1: 164–167) in Augustine's collection of letters = *Letter 104* in Jerome's collection of letters. *Proinde non parvas deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quod evangelium ex Graeco interpretatus es, quia et paene in omnibus nulla offensio est, cum scripturam Graecam contulerimus. Unde si quisquam veteri falsitati contentiosus favet, prolatis collatisque codicibus vel docetur facillime vel refellitur.* – At the same time, we are in no small measure thankful to God for the work in which you have translated the Gospels from the original Greek, because in almost every passage we have found nothing to object to, when we compared it with the Greek Scriptures. By this work, any disputant who supports an old false translation is either convinced or confuted with the utmost ease by the production and collation of [Greek] manuscripts. – See Hugh A.G. Houghton: Augustine's Adoption of the Vulgate Gospels. *New Testament Studies* 54 (2008) 450–465, at p. 456: "Augustine's first reference to Jerome's revision of the Gospels occurs in a famous passage in his letter to Jerome, *Epistula 71.6*, dated to 403. Given that Augustine does not mention this version in their earlier correspondence but offers enthusiastic praise here, it is likely that he had only recently become aware of its existence. He also states that he has compared Jerome's revision with a Greek text, finding it 'almost without fault'."
- c. 420. Augustine: *Letter 261,5* (CSEL 57:620): *Psalterium a sancto Hieronymo translatum ex hebraeo non habeo* – I don't have a copy of the Psalter translated by saint Jerome. – This dictum has been read as a straightforward expression of Augustine's appreciation of Jerome's work, but Capelle says that the words, read in context, do not allow for such an interpretation; see B. Capelle, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 39 (1943) 469–470, at p. 470 (in Capelle's review of Arthur Allgeier's book of 1941; see Chapter 11.4).
- 426/27. Augustine: *De doctrina christiana* IV, 7,15 (PL 34:96). Augustine uses the example of Amos to show the beauty of biblical language and the elegance of prophetic rhetoric. He does not take the Latin biblical text from the *Vetus Latina*, which is based on the text of the Greek Bible (Septuagint); he quotes it "as the priest Jerome, experienced in both languages [Hebrew and Latin], rendered it in his translation from Hebrew into Latin" (*sicut ex hebraeo in latinum eloquium – presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguae perito interpretante – translata sunt*).
1894. Odilo Rottmanner OSB: Zur Geschichte der Vulgata. *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* 114: 31–38, 101–108, at p. 103: "Augustinus hat das Neue Testament oder wenigstens das Evangelium in der Revision des Hieronymus als vortreffliche Arbeit anerkannt und vielfach gebraucht; was aber das Alte Testament anbelangt, hat er bei aller Hochschätzung seines gelehrten Freundes dessen Übersetzung nur ausnahmsweise verwendet oder zur Vergleichung herbeigezogen; von einer Vertrautheit mit dem aus dem Hebräischen übersetzten Psalterium aber findet sich, außer einer kurzen Notiz aus dem Jahr 416, kaum eine Spur."
1896. Francis C. Burkitt: *The Old Latin and the Itala*. Cambridge. viii, 96 pp. – A summary of Burkitt's position can be found in Frederic G. Kenyon: *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London 1901 (xi, 321 pp.), p. 182: "Recently, however, Bentley's disbelief in the very existence of the 'Itala' has been revived by Mr. F.C. Burkitt of Cambridge. Mr. Burkitt's main position is that by his 'Itala interpretatio' Augustine meant nothing more nor less than the Vulgate [of Jerome] the New Testament portion of which had been published for some ten years at the time when he [Augustine] wrote."
1907. Alfred Rahlfs: *Septuaginta-Studien*. 2. Heft: *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*. Göttingen (256 pp.), pp. 81–83. Rahlfs shows that Augustine actually used Jerome's Gallican Psalter. It is evident "daß

Augustin im Laufe der Zeit sich mehr an Gall[icanum] gewöhnt hat, ohne jedoch seinen alt-lateinischen Psaltertexten ganz untreu zu werden."

1910. F.C. Burkitt: Saint Augustine's Bible and the Itala. *Journal of Theological Studies* 11: 258–268. – Burkitt defends his view that Augustine actually used the Vulgate, which he refers to as Itala. For one detail, see the glossary, s.v. *porro* (Chapter 19.2).
1913. Paul Capelle: *Le texte du Psautier latin en Afrique*. Rome. xi, 267 pp. – Augustine's main work on the Psalms are his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, compiled over many years, from 392 to 416 or 422. In the later sections, especially in the 16 long enarrationes dictated in and after 415, Jerome's Gallican version dominates (pp. 143–158).
1932. Christine Mohrmann: *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin*. Teil 1. Nijmegen (270 pp.), p. 63: "den Hieronymus-Text der Evangelien schätzt Augustin ungemein," though he uses it in his scholarly work, notably in *De consensu evangelistarum* (written in 400) where exactness is relevant. Unlike Burkitt, Mohrmann does not think that the Vulgate Gospels were used in the church of Augustine.
1986. Anne-Marie La Bonnardière (ed.): *Saint Augustin et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps 3. Paris. 462 pp. – (1) Pages 303–312: La Bonnardière: Augustin a-t-il utilisé la 'Vulgate' de Jérôme?; p. 304: "Nos recherches sur la Biblia Augustiana nous ont permis de repérer progressivement les œuvres d'Augustin qui révèlent, plus ou moins ouvertement, une connaissance des traductions bibliques réalisées par Jérôme. Ce sont des œuvres généralement tradives." – (2) Pages 313–322: Madeleine Moreau: Sur un commentaire d'Amos – *De doctrina christiana* IV, 7, 15–21. A positive reference to a translation of Jerome from the Hebrew (with citation of the translator) with quotation of Amos 6:1–6 is in Augustine: *De doctrina christiana* IV,7 (PL 34: 96). ▲
2008. Hugh A.G. Houghton: Augustine's Adoption of the Vulgate Gospels. *New Testament Studies* 54: 450–465. – The author examines literal references to the Gospel of John and proposes to distinguish between citations from memory and citations from a consulted manuscript. The biblical text of Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum* (400) is that of Jerome's Vulgate.

Miscellanea on Augustine

1932. Wilhelm Süß: *Studien zur lateinischen Bibel*. I. *Augustins Locutiones und das Problem der lateinischen Bibelsprache*. Acta et Communicationes Universitatis Tartuensis, B 29. Tartu. 144 pp. – A book on Augustine's references to textual issues of the Latin Bible he used. Augustine frequently comments on the peculiarities of biblical Latin.
2008. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Les bibles d'Augustin. In: Gérard Nauroy – Mari-Anne Vannier (eds.): *Saint Augustin et la Bible*. Berne (ix, 345 pp.), pp. 17–36. – Augustine relied mainly, almost exclusively, on the Vetus Latina. The author also discusses Augustine's attitude towards Jerome's translations.
2009. Andrew Cain: *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*. Oxford. xiv, 286 pp. – Page 65, note 91: "Throughout his career, Augustine remained loyal to the Old Latin version of the Old Testament."
2011. Alfons Fürst: *Von Origenes zu Hieronymus und Augustinus*. *Studien zur antiken Theologiegeschichte*. Berlin. viii, 535 pp. – Pages 359–384: Veritas Latina. Augustins Haltung gegenüber Hieronymus' Bibelübersetzungen.
2011. Neil Adkin: Labor tam utilis. Sallust in Augustine on the Vulgate. *Augustiana* (Leuven) 61: 49–53.
2015. Rebekka S. Schirner: *Inspice diligenter codices*. *Philologische Studien zu Augustins Umgang mit*

Bibelhandschriften und Übersetzungen. Berlin. 684 pp. – See esp. the chapter “Das Thema Bibelübersetzungen und Bibelhandschriften in De doctrina Christiana” (pp. 20–53) which includes a thematic section “Die Itala-Problematik” (pp. 46–53); see above, Chapter 9.6. ▲

2016. Edmon L. Gallagher: Augustine on the Hebrew Bible. *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 67: 97–114.

2017. Gerd-Dietrich Warns: *Die Textvorlage von Augustins Annotationes in Iob. Studien zur Erstfassung von Hieronymus' Hiob-Übersetzung iuxta Graecos*. Göttingen. 590 pp. – See also: Almut Trenkler – Gerd-Dietrich Warns: Der Mittelteil des 1. Kapitels von Augustins Adnotationes in Iob. *Vulgata in Dialogue 2* (2018) 53–68.

2017. Almut Trenkler: *Die beiden Rezensionen von Augustins Adnotationes in Iob im Licht von Hieronymus' erster Ijob-Übersetzung*. Göttingen. 331 pp.

14.2 The invention of the Vulgate

Note. – The “invention” of the Vulgate implies two closely linked phenomena: **(a)** the firm association of Jerome’s biblical translations with good Latin versions of the books not translated or revised by Jerome, and **(b)** the adoption of this Bible throughout the church in all parts of Europe and in northern Africa. Since there is only indirect evidence of both the association and the success story of the Vulgate Bible, the early history of the Vulgate remains obscure. Three major players in this early period can be discerned or conjectured, however – **(1)** Pammachius, **(2)** educated Christians such as Gregory the Great, and **(3)** the booksellers of the city of Rome.

(1) Jerome’s friend Pammachius, a nobleman of Rome, supported and presumably organized the dissemination of Jerome’s writings, including his biblical translations, in the city of Rome. Although he died in 410 – ten years earlier than Jerome – he nevertheless seems to have promoted the reputation and availability of Jerome’s works in Rome. Pammachius was married to Paulina, the daughter of Paula – the Paula to whom Jerome owed the funding of his monastery in Bethlehem and thus his entire existence.

(2) Educated readers of the biblical books who came to be convinced of the superior quality of Jerome’s translations over earlier versions – among them, Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome from 590 to his death in 604. In his main work, the *Moralia in Iob* (xx, 32,62; PL 76: 174; CCSL 143A; 1048), Gregory declares his confidence in Jerome’s version: *haec nova translatio ex hebraeo (...) credendum est quicquid in ea dicitur et oportet ut verba illius nostra expositio subtiliter rimetur* – “this new translation from the Hebrew (...) one must believe whatever is said there; our own exposition must needs be conform with it.” A selection of similar appreciative statements can be found in PL 28: 139–142; beginning with Augustine, the relevant excerpts are arranged chronologically, with the last item being from Trithemius (15th century).

(3) In the fifth and sixths centuries, Rome was Western Europe’s city of books; see Renate Schipke: *Das Buch in der Spätantike. Herstellung, Form, Ausstattung und Verbreitung in der westlichen Reichshälfte des Imperium Romanum*. Wiesbaden 2013 (280 pp.). The scriptoria of the city of Rome seem to have adopted Jerome’s translations and other reliable versions which they began to collate to create a corpus. Apparently, one could make money from the production of codices with good texts, especially with the Gospels and the Psalms – the books most in demand. But also by producing good Bibles, complete with both testaments. As it happens, we seem to have evidence of the work of a learned editor who may have been associated with the book-selling trade of the city of Rome. This person, whose name and identity remain unknown, has left his “fingerprints” in the form of two colophons that have found their way into an early ninth-century biblical manuscript: the Codex Sangermanensis primus

(Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, ms. Lat. 11553; see above, Chapter 7.2 on the Vulgate manuscripts). The following is the text of these two colophons (in the translation of Pierre-Maurice Bogaert: *The Latin Bible*. In: Richard Marsden et al. (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge 2013 (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526, at pp. 521–522:

“End of Esther. Deo gratias. Here ends the Old Testament, meaning all the canonical scriptures, numbering 24 books, which priest Jerome translated from the Hebrew truth. With the greatest care and interest, I have looked at the codices to find (his) editions. These I have collected into a single corpus and copied into a pandect. The remaining scriptures, which are not canonical but known as ecclesiastical, are the following; Judith, Tobit, the two books of Maccabees, the Wisdom known as Solomon, and the book of Jesus son of Sirach, as well as the book of the Shepherd of Hermas.”

“End of [the Epistle] to the Hebrews. Read in peace. Book collection [i.e., Bible] of Priest Jerome of Bethlehem. According to the Greek from corrected copies. Beginning of the book of Shepherd.”

Interestingly, this early Vulgate edition included the “Shepherd of Hermas.” This is a second-century Christian novel set in Rome. Its very first sentence refers to this setting: “The man who brought me up sold me to a woman named Rhoda in Rome.” (A translation of this Greek novel can be found in Michael W. Holmes: *The Apostolic Fathers in English*. 3rd edition. Grand Rapids, Mich. 2006 [335 pp.], pp. 199–287.) That this text associated with the city of Rome became part of early forms of the Vulgate would be in keeping with the idea that the Vulgate Bible was invented in Rome.

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1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Page 126: At first, there was opposition to Jerome’s translation, but over time, the opposition became weaker and eventually disappeared, perhaps due to the recognition of Jerome’s superior style. “Nach und nach verstummte freilich der Widerspruch. Es mehrten sich die Fälle, wo man die Übersetzung des Hieronymus nicht bloß in der Theologie, sondern auch im Gottesdienst verwendete. Einer der Gründe dafür mochte auch gewesen sein, daß die neue Übersetzung bei aller Schonung des Hergebrachten, die Hieronymus geübt hatte, doch dem Stil- und Sprachgebrauch der gebildeten und gebildeteren Kreise ziemlich weit entgegenkommt. Aber es brauchte noch Jahrhunderte, bis sie in den ausschließlichen Gebrauch der Kirche überging.” Page 128: “Immerhin läßt sich aber sagen, daß im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert sich der Text des Hieronymus durchgesetzt hatte.”
1931. Cuthbert H. Turner (ed.): *The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels. Deciphered and Edited*. Oxford 1931. lxiii, 216 pp. – Page xiv: “In sharp contrast to the later attitude of the Roman Church to the version of St Jerome, neither pope Damasus nor his immediate successors made any attempt, so far as we know, to recommend, still less to enforce, the acceptance of the new revision of the Gospels for official and public use: it was left to make its way unaided by its intrinsic merits, and in St Gregory’s time, two centuries later, the old and the new version still existed side by side.”
1952. Meinrad Stenzel: Zum Wortschatz der neutestamentlichen Vulgata. *Vigiliae Christianae* 6: 20–27. – Page 24: “Recht lange hat es gedauert, ehe das Werk des Hieronymus allgemeine Anerkennung fand. Aber sämtliche Väterzitate der nachhieronymischen Zeit zeigen uns seinen Einfluss. Auch da, wo Kirchenväter die von ihnen verwandten Bibeltex te *ad hoc* aus dem Griechischen übersetzten, sind sie in Wortwahl und Satzkonstruktion von Hieronymus abhängig. So etwa Augustinus selbst bei seinen langen Zitaten im 18. Buche des Gottesstaates.”
1996. Eva-Schulz-Flügel: The Latin Old Testament Tradition. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume I.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 642–662. – Page 657. “The success of Jerome’s translation did not result from the fact Jerome himself stressed, that is, the necessity to go back *ad fontes* in order to get nearer to the real truth, the *Hebraica veritas*. Rather, it was the tendency to obtain a standard text which caused its final victory.”

2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Versions latins de la Bible. In: G. Mathon – G.-H. Baudry (eds.): *Catholicisme. Hier – aujourd'hui – demain*. Volume 15. Paris (1572 cols.), cols. 910–913. – Col. 912: "Jérôme n'a certainement pas édité lui-même une Bible latine complète ni même donné une édition groupée de ses propres traductions. Elles ont circulé d'abord séparément et, dans un premier temps, elles n'ont fait qu'ajouter à la variété qu'elles veulent combattre." Jerome edited his translations of biblical books as individual works and did not organize a complete edition. His translation initially contributed to the richness of variants of Latin translations, which he actually wanted to overcome. The first compilation of Jerome's translations was made around 450 by a librarian. The Codex Sangermanensis primus (Bibliothèque Nationale ms. Lat. 11553; dating from c. 810) seems to go back to the latter's biblical codices (in which, however, large parts of the Old Testament are missing). ▲
2018. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Entre canon(s) et textes bibliques. *Recherches de science religieuse* 106: 53–71. – Page 65: "Si la traduction de Jérôme selon l'hébreu a révalu sur la *Vetus Latina*, en dépit des préventions par Rufin et par Augustin, c'est en raison de son style. La vieille latine, juxtaposée au grec, faisait pale figure à côté du génie latin de Jérôme." See also Bogaert: The Latin Bible. In: Richard Marsden et al. (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge 2013 (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526, at p. 518: "the remarkable Latinity of his translations from the Hebrew swiftly won over the 'line-by-line' nature of the *Vetus Latina*."

14.3 Reference works on the Bible in the Middle Ages

Before 1900

1824. Leander van Eß: *Pragmatisch-kritische Geschichte der Vulgata*. Tübingen. xvi, 504 pp. – On pages 134–145, the author supplies an anthology of Latin texts written between the 5th and the 13th centuries to demonstrate that the Vulgate was not the only biblical translation used in the Latin church. This collection is still valuable, but the user must be warned – the editor neither offers translations nor much of a commentary. The author's declared objective is to undermine the authority that the Vulgate enjoys in the Catholic Church. Kaulen (*Geschichte der Vulgata*, 1868, p. 12): "Leander van Ess hat mit leidenschaftlicher Heftigkeit einen grossen Theil seines Lebens dazu verwendet, das Ansehen der Vulgata herabzusetzen."
1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp. – Reprint: Paderborn: Salzwasser Verlag 2020. – According to Jean Gribomont OSB, in: Keith Crim (ed.): *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume*. Nashville, Tenn. 1976, p. 532 Kaulen's book is "still indispensable (...) details need checking." For the Middle Ages, see pp. 190–301. ▲
1887. Samuel Berger: *De l'histoire de la Vulgate en France*. Paris. 24 pp. – Text of an inaugural lecture held at the Faculté de théologie protestante in Paris, November 4, 1887.
1893. Samuel Berger: *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Paris. xxiv, 443 pp. – Reprint: Hildesheim 1976. Berger tells the success story of the Vulgate from the time of the Merovingians to the time of Charlemagne. During this time, the Vulgate established itself as the valid biblical text in Western Europe. – Reviews:
1893. Pierre Battifol: La Vulgate hiéronymienne d'après un livre nouveau. *Revue biblique* 2: 544–559. Berger's chapter on the Theodulf revision is said to be the most accomplished of his book, amounting to a definitive statement.
1894. T.K. Abbott: M. Berger's History of the Vulgate. *Hermathena* 9, no. 20: 50–55.

1894. Peter Corssen, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1: 855–875. Corssen disagrees with some of Berger's basic assumptions.
1894. Odilo Rottmanner OSB: Zur Geschichte der Vulgata. *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* 114: 31–38, 101–108, at pp. 103–107. "Welch wohltuenden Eindruck macht dagegen die 'Geschichte der Vulgata in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten des Mittelalters' durch ihre sachliche Vollständigkeit und Genauigkeit" (p. 104).
1894. Ernst von Dobschütz: *Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata*. Leipzig. viii, 139 pp. – Page vi: "Berger's Versuch, den Stoff textgeschichtlich in geographische Orientierung zu bringen, ist einer der glücklichsten Griffe, und wird gewiß von dauerndem Erfolg begleitet sein."
1901. H.J. White: Samuel Berger. *Journal of Theological Studies* 2.6 (1901) 262–265. – Obituary of the French scholar, 1843–1900. Page 263: "The result of many years' labour appeared in his *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen age*, published in 1893. This book was the first really scientific attempt that had been made to unravel the tangled mass of Vulgate MSS, to group them and to trace the history of each group; and it showed abilities of the highest order. The author was a palaeographer and a historian as well as a textual critic, and he made use of each part of a many-sided erudition in his work. It is to him that we owe the discovery of the lines on which the Vulgate texts travelled over Europe; how the early and pure texts were brought from Italy to Northumbria, and were multiplied in England; how they afterwards with the Irish and English missionary monks made their way back across the continent, spreading slowly downwards through France, till in the southern provinces they met and coalesced with the less pure type of text that had been developing in Spain and moving up northwards. The history of the text of the Vulgate anterior to the Alcuinian and Theodulfian recensions of the ninth century was unknown till M. Berger wrote it in this book. Yet, as the title showed, it was the history of the Vulgate during the first half of the *Middle Ages* that he wrote; the problem of the earliest MSS of the Vulgate even he had not been able to solve."
1895. Sir Frederic Kenyon: *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*. London. vi, 255 pp. – Pages 174–188: The Vulgate in the Middle Ages. – Pages 176–177: "The truest text of the Vulgate was no doubt preserved in Italy. The worst was unquestionably in Gaul, which we may now begin to call France. But two countries, situated at different extremes of Western Christendom, preserved somewhat distinct types of text, which eventually had considerable influence upon the history of the Vulgate. These were Spain and Ireland. Each was, for a considerable period, cut off from communication with the main body of Christendom: Spain, by the Moorish invasion, which for a time confined the Christian Visigoths to the north-western corner of the peninsula; Ireland, by the English conquest of Britain, which drove the ancient Celtic Church before it, and interposed a barrier of heathendom between the remains of that Church and its fellow Christians on the Continent. The consequence of this isolation was that each Church preserved a distinct type of the Vulgate text, recognisable by certain special readings in many passages of the Bible. The Spanish Bible was complete, and its text, though of very mixed character, contains some good and early elements; witness the Codex Cavensis and the Codex Toletanus (...). The Irish Bible as a rule consists of the Gospels alone, and its text is likewise mixed, containing several remarkable readings; but its outward form and ornamentation had a special character and a peculiar beauty, the connection of which with the Bibles produced in northern England forms an intriguing problem."

English

1969. Raphael Loewe: The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate. In: G.W.H. Lampe (ed.): *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2. Cambridge (ix, 565 pp.), pp. 102–154. – Now considered outdated, essentially replaced by F. Van Liere's contribution to the *New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2, 2012 (see below).
1993. Margaret T. Gibson: *The Bible in the Latin West*. The Medieval Book 5.1. Notre Dame, Ind. xi, 100 p.

2012. Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2. Cambridge. xxii, 1045 pp. – Pages 69–92: Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: The Latin Bible, c. 600 to c. 900; pp. 93–109: Frans Van Liere: The Latin Bible, c. 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546 (on the history of the Latin text); pp. 380–391: Laura Light: The Thirteenth Century and the Paris Bible. ▲
2012. Cornelia Linde: *How to Correct the Sacra Scriptura? Textual Criticism of the Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century*. Medium Aevum Monographs 29. Oxford. ix, 309 pp. – Pages 27–78: The Vulgate and Medieval Editions of the Bible.
2014. Frans van Liere: *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*. Cambridge. xv, 320 pp. – Pages 53–79: The medieval canon; pp. 80–109: The text of the medieval Bible; pp. 273–302: Bibliography. – See also: Frans van Liere: The Latin Bible, c. 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546. In: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge 2012 (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 93–109.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – This reference work can be found on the Internet (“open access”). – Pages 69–95: The eighth and ninth centuries; pp. 96–110: The tenth century onwards: scholarship and heresy.
2023. Paul Mattei: The Use of the Latin Bible in the Early Church. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 121–138. – The use of the Bible is more than simply the application of hermeneutic principles and exegetical techniques, or the literary genres within which these are deployed. P. Mattei offers a broad account of the presence of Scripture within the intellectual and religious life of Latin Christians in antiquity. The chronological scope is from the beginnings of Christian literature in Latin to the time of Bede. This may be divided into three stages: the Antenicene period, with its three major personalities of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius; the zenith, from Nicaea to Chalcedon, marked by the great Christological and Trinitarian controversies, with individuals such as Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome of Stridon, and Augustine of Hippo (esp. *De doctrina christiana*); the inheritance, with teachers such as Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and Bede, who lead to the dawn of the Carolingian age.
2023. Guy Lobrichon: The Production of Medieval Bibles. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 187–207. – The author presents the development of the Latin Bible in the West from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Overall, five types of bibles are found in this period: liturgical bibles, glossed bibles, portable bibles, luxury bibles, and picture bibles. Some are in the form of pandects containing the complete text, from the giant ‘Atlantic Bibles’ to the all-in-one Paris Bibles. Their production, contents, and organisation are described, including details of the sequence of books and their paratexts (prefaces, prologues, and *argumenta*). The rise of illustrated bibles is seen in the two Bibles of Pamplona and the *Bible moralisée*, as well as certain ‘parabiblical’ books such as the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the *Biblia pauperum*. Consideration is given to the role played by patrons as well as producers and users in developing new styles and formats, and the contexts in which they were used, such as the requirements of the different religious orders and schools. – Page 187: “Pandects, containing the entire Bible in a single volume of large dimensions, and smaller books devoted to separate parts of Scripture, coexisted for a long time. The former were rare before those created in Tours in the first half of the ninth century (...): they remained confined to treasuries or royal or princely chapels until about the year 1000.” ▲

German

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Pages 141–158: Die Geschichte des Vulgatatextes von der Zeit Karls d. Gr. bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters.
1939. Hans Rost: *Die Bibel im Mittelalter*. Augsburg. 429 pp. – The large-size book offers much material on German translations of the Vulgate Bible dating from before the Reformation.
1980. Viktor Reichmann: Zur Geschichte der Vulgata. In: Gerhard Krause et al. (eds.): *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Volume 6. Berlin (770 pp.), pp. 178–181.
2023. Dominic Bärsch: Exemplaria Scripturarum toto orbe dispersa. Hieronymus und die Textgenese der Vulgata in Spätantike und Mittelalter. In: Anneliese Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 89–105.

French

1984. Pierre Riché – Guy Lobrichon (eds.): *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps. Paris. 639 pp. – Many essays on all aspects of the (Latin) Bible in medieval religion and culture. Most important is the contribution of Laura Light: Versions et révisions du texte biblique (pp. 55–93).
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Bogaert's essay constitutes a standard reference work.
2008. Guy Lobrichon: Les traductions médiévales de la Bible dans l'occident latin. In: Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed.): *Biblia. Les bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*. Paris 2008 (xii, 274 pp.), pp. 19–36. The author presents a realistic account. There was no firm ecclesiastical control of the text, no notion of its stability. The editorial activity of Alcuin is a modern scholarly myth. Even the scholars active in 13th-century Paris did not care about a uniform text as much as some modern researchers would make us believe. ▲

Italian

1996. Giuseppe Cremascoli – Claudio Leonardi (eds.): *La Bibbia nel Medioevo*. La Bibbia nella storia 17. Bologna. 485 pp.

14.4 From Pelagius to the Paris Bible and Windesheim

Pelagius (c. 360–420)
Cassiodorus (c. 485–588)
Gregory the Great (540–604)
Isidore of Seville (560–636)
Alcuin and Theodulf: the Carolingian Bibles
The Latin Bible in Ireland
The Latin Bible in England
The Latin Bible in Italy – Atlantic Bibles
The Latin Bible in Spain
The Cistercian Old Testament of Stephen Harding (1109)
The “Paris Bible” (*exemplar Parisiense*, 13th century)
Roger Bacon (1220–1292)
Heinrich von Langenstein (d. Vienna 1397)
The Netherlands: Windesheim (1420s)

Pelagius (c. 360–420)

Note. – It has been suggested by Donatien De Bruyne OSB (1915) that the Latin text of the Pauline letters was edited by Pelagius, and that his edition became part of the Vulgate, but the idea has been abandoned by recent scholarship. See above, Chapter 12.2, and in the textual notes (Chapter 22) the note on Romans 5:12. One must not confuse Donatien De Bruyn with his near-namesake Theodore de Bryn, a recent author on Pelagius.

1961. Hermann Josef Frede: *Pelagius, der irische Paulustext, Sedulius Scottus*. Freiburg. 165 pp. – The Pauline texts that Pelagius commented on is the already existing Vulgate text, and not a text specially edited by Pelagius.

1962–1963. Karl Theodor Schäfer: Pelagius und die Vulgata. *New Testament Studies* 9: 361–366. – Pelagius did not know the text of our Vulgate. His text of the Pauline letters was still one that belongs to the Old Latin tradition; but it was a text that stood close to the Vulgate wording. It cannot be shown that Pelagius himself had a hand in the production of a revised Latin text of the Pauline letters.

1966. Georges de Plinval: Précisions sur l'authenticité d'un prologue de Pélagie: "Primum quaeritur." *Revue des études augustiniennes* 12.3–4: 247–253. – Plinval defends Pelagius' authorship of *Primum quaeritur*, the Vulgate's prologue to the translation of the Pauline epistles.
1968. Ernst Nellesen: Der lateinische Paulustext im Codex Baliolensis des Pelagiuskommentars. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 59: 210–230. – A critical response to this article is by Walter Thiele: Zum lateinischen Paulustext – Textkritik und Überlieferungsgeschichte. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 60 (1969) 264–273.
1972. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache. In: Kurt Aland (ed.): *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. Berlin (xxii, 589 pp.), pp. 1–92. – Page 68: "Die Vulgata wird zuerst benützt von Pelagius und seinen Anhängern."
1993. Theodore de Bruyn: *Pelagius' Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans*. Oxford. viii, 236 pp. – In the appendix, the author presents a new recension of Pelagius' commentary on Romans (pp. 155–189). Review: Yves-Marie Duval, *Latomus* 55 (1996) 665–667.
1999. Sebastian Thier: *Kirche bei Pelagius*. Berlin. ix, 358 pp. – Page 35: In agreement with Frede (1961), the author argues that Pelagius must have had connections with Rome where Rufinus the Syrian had produced and released his edited (Vulgate) version of the Pauline letters by 399/400.
2021. Giuseppe Caruso: Girolamo, Pelagio e Roma. In: Ingo Schaaf (ed.): *Hieronymus Romanus: Studies on Jerome and Rome on the Occasion of the 1600th Anniversary of His Death*. Turnhout (609 pp.), pp. 77–100.

Cassiodorus (c. 485–588)

- 1926/27. John Chapman: The Codex Amiatinus and Cassiodorus. *Revue bénédictine* 38 (1926) 139–150; 39 (1927) 12–32.
1962. Codex Amiatinus und Cassiodor. *Biblische Zeitschrift* NS 6: 57–79.
1963. Céléstin Charlier: Cassiodore, Pélagie et les origines de la Vulgate paulinienne. In: *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus 1961*. Volume 2. Rome (627 pp.), pp. 461–470. – The author suggests that the Vulgate form of the Pauline letters was established by Cassiodorus on the basis of Pelagius' commentary on these letters; see above, Chapter **12.1**.
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Of special relevance is the section pp. 289–291: Première diffusion des versions hiéronymiennes. Page 284: "Cassiodore, pour la première fois semble-t-il, désigne du nom de *pandectes* des Bibles complètes en un codex. Ce ne serait pas un hasard si ce contemporain de Justinien avait emprunté à la grande œuvre juridique du règne (533) ce nom prestigieux. Il est peut-être aussi le premier à avoir, de fait, édité des Bible en un volume."
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 58–59: Cassiodorus [485–588]. – As early as the 5th century, the idea of the "pandect" is developed, the idea of presenting the entire Bible of the Old and New Testaments in a single codex or a uniformly designed set of codices. Cassiodorus is also committed to this idea. A pandect is, for example, the [Codex Amiatinus](#), see above, Chapter **7.2**.

Gregory the Great (540–604)

- 580/85. Gregory: *Moralia in Iob*. Two passages: **(1)** Book i, Epistle 5 (PL 75: 516; Sources chrétiennes 32bis: 134). *novam vero translationem edissero; sed cum comprobationis causa exigit, nunc novam, nunc veterem per testimonia assumo; ut quia sedes apostolica, cui Deo auctore praesideo, utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur* – Now it is the new Translation that I comment on; but when a case to be proved requires it, I take now the new and now the old for testimony. Just as the Apostolic See, over which I preside by ordinance of God, uses both, the labours of my undertaking may have the support of both. – **(2)** Book xx, 32,62 (PL 76: 174; CSEL 143A: 1048). Gregory declares his confidence in Jerome's version: *qui haec nova translatio ex hebraeo nobis Arabicoque eliquio cuncta verius transfudisse perhibetur, credendum est quicquid in ea dicitur et oportet ut verba illius nostra expositio subtiliter rimetur* – because this new translation is said to have transferred every thing from the Hebrew and Arabic more truly, we should believe whatever is delivered in it, and our interpretation must research its words with exactness.
1829. Johann Baptist Gerhauer: *Biblische Hermeneutik*. Erster Theil. Kempten (xiv, 385 pp.), p. 342: "Erst im VI. Jahrhunderte entschied das Ansehen des Papstes Gregor des Großen für die neue Version des Hieronymus. Er legte sie bei seiner moralischen Auslegung des Buches Job zum Grunde, und in seinen übrigen Schriften gebrauchte er dieselbe ganz allein. Dieser Vorgang des Kirchenhauptes machte dem bisherigen Kampfe ein End, und verschaffte der Übersetzung den Sieg. Im VII. Jahrhunderte wurde sie zuerst in Spanien die herrschende und anerkannte; und endlich wurde sie nach und nach in allen lateinischen Kirchen aufgenommen."
1908. John Chapman OSB: *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*. Oxford (xi, 299 pp.), pp. 203–216: The Vulgate Text [of the Gospels] of St. Gregory. Vulgate and Old Latin readings are mixed in the gospel texts that are prefixed to each of Gregory's gospel homilies.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 126: "Zur Zeit Gregors des Großen († 604) hatte sich die neue Übersetzung Gleichberechtigung neben der alten errungen, so daß dieser Papst beide nebeneinander verwendet."
1951. Pierre Salmon OSB: Le texte de Job utilisé par saint Grégoire dans les *Moralia*. In: Adalbert Metzinger (ed.): *Miscellanea biblica et orientalia, Athanasio Miller OSB (...) oblata*. Rome (viii, 511), pp. 187–194. The Latin text that Gregory uses is "un bon témoin de la Vulgate" (p. 194).
1986. Jean Gribomont OSB: Le texte biblique de Grégoire. In: J. Fontaine – R. Gillet – S. Pellistrandi (eds.): *Grégoire le Grand*. Paris (690 pp.), pp. 467–475.

Isidore of Seville (560–636)

- c. 600. Isidore: *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I, 12,9 (PL 83: 748). Jerome's translation is "generally" used, by "all churches" (*generaliter omnes ecclesiae*), because it is "truer in the sentences and clearer in the words" (*veracior [...] in sententiis et clarior in verbis*).
- c. 620. Isidore: *Etymologiae* VI, 4,5 (PL 82: 236): "Also the priest Jerome, skilled in three languages, translated the same Scriptures from Hebrew into Latin speech, and rendered them eloquently (*eloquenterque transfudit*). His translation (i.e., the Vulgate) is deservedly preferred over the others, for it is closer in its wording, and brighter in the clarity of its thought (*cuius interpretatio merito ceteris antefertur; nam est et verborum tenacior, et perspicuitate sententiae clarior*) [and, inasmuch as it is by a Christian, the translation is truer]." English translation from Isidore of Seville: *The Etymologies*. Translated by Stephen A. Barney et al. Cambridge 2006 (xii, 475 pp.), p. 139. The words enclosed between square brackets are in some of the manuscripts.

Note. – Isidore’s words were often repeated throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. Here is one version: *Novissime superveniens sanctus Hieronymus peritus in tribus linguis: hebraica, graeca et latina. Primo correxit translationem LXX interpretum in latino (...) postea vero transtulit immediate bibliam de hebraeo in latinum (...) et hanc translationem nunc ubique utitur tota Romana ecclesia, licet non in omnibus libris. Et ipsius translationem merito caeteris antefertur, quia est verborum tenacior et perspicuitate sententiae clarior.* – Finally came saint Jerome, specialist in three languages – Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. At first, he corrected the Latin version of the translation of the Seventy (...) and afterwards he translated the Bible immediately from Hebrew into Latin (...) and it is this translation that is now used in the entire Roman church, though not in all books. And his translation is rightly preferred to others, because its words are more gripping and its meaning brighter. The passage can be found in PL 113:25 (associated with the *Glossa ordinaria*, the medieval handbook on the Bible) and in the preliminary matter of the [Complutensia](#), the sixteenth-century polyglot Bible (see Chapter **15.2**); from this latter source, Allgeier quotes it (Arthur Allgeier: *Haec vetus et vulgata editio. Neue wort- und begriffsgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Bibel auf dem Tridentinum. Biblica* 29 [1948] 353–391, at p. 376).

Alcuin and Theodulf: the Carolingian Bibles

English

1924. Edward Power: Corrections from the Hebrew in the Theodulfian Mss. of the Vulgate. *Biblica* 5: 233–258.
1931. Edward K. Rand: A Preliminary Study of Alcuin’s Bible. *Harvard Theological Review* 24: 323–396.
- 1964–1965. Felix Gryglewicz: The St.-Adalbert-Codex of the Gospels. *New Testament Studies* 11: 256–278. – This Latin gospel codex originated sometime between 800 and 851, after Alcuin’s revision, in the Benedictine monastery of St. Martin, Tours. It is the best witness to Alcuin’s text that we have. This manuscript is kept in the Chapter Library of Gniezno (Gnesen) in Poland as MS 1. It figures neither in the apparatus of the Oxford New Testament of Wordsworth/White nor in the Stuttgart text of Weber/Gryson. See the note in Houghton, p. 82.
1969. Robert Weber OSB (ed.): *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. Volume 1. Stuttgart (xxxi, 956 pp.). – First page of the preface: “Italy, Spain, Gaul Ireland, all had their own recensions which differed the one from the other. In the time of Charles the Great, Theodulph of Orleans undertook a revision, the text of which is preserved in several manuscripts. However, most manuscripts of this period preserve a text associated with the name of Alcuin, which exercised no small influence in later Vulgate history. It was a development of this ‘Alcuinian’ text that provided the basis for the Paris Bible of the thirteenth century: the Paris text, in turn, was used for the first printed Bible; and it appeared subsequently, with but minor variations, in all the early printed editions, including even the official Roman edition published under the authority of Pope Clement VIII in Rome in 1592.”
1994. Rosamond McKitterick: Carolingian Bible Production: The Tours Anomaly. In: Richard Gameson (ed.): *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration and Use*. Cambridge (xiv, 242 pp.), pp. 63–77. – On Alcuin.
1995. Berenice M. Kaczinsky: Edition, Translation and Exegesis: The Carolingians and the Bible. In: Richard E. Sullivan (ed.): *The Gentle Voices of Teachers. Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*. Columbus, Ohio (xiv, 361 pp.), pp. 171–185.

2012. D. Ganz: Carolingian Bibles. In: R. Marsden – E.A. Matters (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2: *From the 600 to 1450*. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 325–337.
2014. Frans van Liere: *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*. Cambridge. xv, 320 pp. – Page 95: “Although with little doubt Charlemagne’s *General Admonition* provided the impetus for Alcuin and Theodulf’s work, their texts were not promoted as official bible texts. (...) Eventually, various local traditions blended to form the *textus receptus* of the medieval Vulgate.”
2014. Michael Graves: The Story of the Latin Bible and Questions about Biblical Translation for the Church Today. *Trinity Journal* NS 35: 253–273. – Theodulf “employed critical signs in his Latin edition, included Jerome’s Hebrew-based Psalter, followed more closely the Hebrew order of books, and made corrections towards the Hebrew, probably with the help of Jews” (p. 272).
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 81–86: Charlemagne, Alcuin and Theodulf.
2023. Shari Boodts: The Bible in the Carolingian Age. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 169–186. – The author discusses the copying and study of the Bible during the reign of Charlemagne and his immediate successors. The Carolingian age was marked by technological innovations that led to a notable increase in the production of biblical manuscripts, in particular single-volume bibles or pandects, while powerful patrons stimulated the creation of lavishly decorated luxury bibles. The ninth century further witnessed a dynamic tradition of study and exegesis of the Bible, steered in large part by the Carolingian rulers’ desire to consolidate their empire through the centralization of religious practice and education. While a large corpus of biblical commentaries was produced by leading intellectuals such as Hrabanus Maurus, Florus of Lyons, and Haymo of Auxerre, it was the work of Theodulf of Orleans and Alcuin of York on the text of the Bible that was decisive in shaping the Carolingian legacy.
2023. Guy Lobrichon: The Production of Medieval Bibles. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 187–207. – Page 188: “From the ninth century, the version known as the Vulgate as revised by the team of Alcuin outranked its competitors.”

German

1930. Arthur Allgeier: Der Brief an Sunnia und Fretela und seine Bedeutung für die Textherstellung der Vulgata. *Biblica* 11: 86–107. – Page 97: It is generally known that the Alcuin Bibles presented the Psalms according to Jerome’s translation *iuxta hebraeos* (and not the Gallican Psalter that later became the standard Vulgate book of Psalms).
1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269, p. 257–258: “Kommt man nun von der Lektüre altlateinischer Bibeltexte zur Editio Clementina (...), so hat es in der Tat den Anschein, als sei (...) eine Rückkehr zur klassischen Sprachform vollzogen worden. Die bereits vorliegenden vier Bände der neuen römischen Vulgata [see above, Chapter 13.3] haben uns allerdings bereits belehrt, daß der ‘Ciceronianismus’ der Vulgata zum guten Teil von Alkuin herrührt.”
1957. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: *Die Alkuin-Bibel*. Freiburg. 19 pp.
1965. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Großen. In: Wolfgang Braunfels (ed.): *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*. Volume 2. Düsseldorf (306 pp.), pp. 156–216. –

Reprinted in: Bonifatius Fischer: *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*. Freiburg 1985 (454 pp., 10 Blätter), pp. 101–202.

1975. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Zur Überlieferung altlateinischer Bibeltex-te im Mittelalter. *Nederlandse Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 56: 19–33. – Reprinted in: idem.: *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*. Freiburg 1985 (454 pp., 10 Blätter), pp. 404–421.

1985. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*. Freiburg. 454 pp., 10 Blätter. – Pages 9–34: Codex Amiatinus und Cassiodor; pp. 101–202 Bibeltex-t und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Großen; pp. 203–403: Die Alkuin-Bibeln.

French

1893. Samuel Berger: *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Paris. xxiv, 443 pp. – Reprint: Hildesheim 1976. Much, though not exclusive, importance is attributed to Alcuin (730–804), a monk at St. Martin’s Monastery in Tours, who arranged for the production of cor-rect Bible manuscripts (pp. 185–242: Alcuin et les bibles de Tours). There is also a celebrated section on Theodulf (pp. 145–184); cf. the assessment of Pierre Battifol: La Vulgate hiéronymienne d’après un livre nouveau. *Revue biblique* 2 (1893) 544–559: Berger’s chapter on the Theod-ulf revision is said to be the most accomplished of his book, amounting to a definitive state-ment. On Theodulf, Berger writes: “L’œuvre de Théodulf n’était pas née viable, parce qu’elle ten-dait à perpétuer l’ancienne liberté et la diversité des textes dans un empire don’t l’unité était la loi” (p. xvii); “l’œuvre de Théodulf n’a pas laissé une trace profonde dans la littérature biblique de la France” (p. 184).

1912. Eugène Mangelot: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Paris. Volume 5.2 (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – Columns 2474–2478: Les manuscrits de l’époque carolin-gienne. Special reference is made to the Bible editions of Theodulf and Alcuin.

1974. François L. Ganshof: Charlemagne et la révision du texte latin de la Bible. *Bulletin de l’Institut Belge de Rome* 44: 271–281.

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. –Pages 291–293: the Caro-lingian Bible.

1984. Laura Light: Versions et révisions du texte biblique. In: Pierre Riché – Guy Lobrichon (eds.): *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps. Paris (639 pp.), pp. 55–93. – The author character-izes the two Vulgate revisions of Alcuin and Theodulf as being very different – Alcuin merely purified the Vulgate from some of the Vetus Latina interpolations (p. 63), Theodulf created a scholarly reference text (pp. 64–65). Theodulf adopted Jerome’s Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos, and rejected a number of apocryphal writings – 3 Corinthians, 3 and 4 Ezra, Letter to the Laodiceans.

2004. Guy Lobrichon: Le texte des bibles alcuiniennes. In: Philippe Depreux – Bruno Judic (eds.): *Alcuin, de York à Tours*. Rennes (507 pp.), pp. 209–219 = *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l’Ouest* 111.3 (2004) 209–219. – The notion of textual conformity and revision, as assumed in modern scholarship, is a myth. In reality, the Bibles that came from the Tours scriptorium show too much diversity to support the idea of a coherent editorial project. Moreover, “la bible offerte par Al-cuin à son maître [Charlemagne] n’est pas destinée à faire foi, à l’instar d’un *exemplar* qu’on sor-tirait du trésor pour le recopier, mais elle est destinée à la lecture liturgique dans la chapelle pa-latine. Les lecteurs doivent pouvoir identifier d’un seul coup d’œil les différents registres tex-tuels, distinguer les préfaces des Pères et la parole de Dieu” (p. 216). ▲

2006. Caroline Chevalier: Les révisions bibliques carolingiennes. *Temas medievales* (Buenos Aires) 14: 7–29.
2012. A. Candiard – C. Chevalier-Royet: Critique textuelle et recours à l’hébreu à l’époque carolingienne: Le cas exceptionnel d’une Bible de Théodulf (Bible de Saint Germain, ms. Paris, BnF lat. 11937). In: Annie Noblesse-Rocher (ed.): *Études d’exégèse médiévale offertes à Gilbert Dahan par ses élèves*. Turnhout (286 pp.), pp. 13–34.
2023. Claire Tigolet: *Théodulf d’Orléans (vers 760–820). Histoire et mémoire d’un évêque carolingien*. Turnhout. 291 pp.

Italian – Spanish

2009. Marco Cardinali (ed.): *La Bibbia carolingia dell’Abbazia di San Paolo fuori le Mura*. Vatican City. 69 pp.
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74, at pp. 47–49.

The Latin Bible in Ireland

Note. – The most famous Irish biblical manuscript (though possibly produced in Scotland or England) is the Book of Kells of ca. 800. The illuminated manuscript has the Vulgate text of the four gospels (with a few pages missing, and ending at John 17:13), though the text shows influence of the Vetus Latina. The book is kept in Trinity College, Dublin, as manuscript A.1.[58].

1893. Samuel Berger: *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Paris (xxiv, 443 pp.), pp. 29–45. Irish and anglo-saxon manuscripts.
1961. Hermann Josef Frede: *Pelagius, der irische Paulustext, Sedulius Scottus*. Freiburg. 165 pp.
1975. Martin McNamara: The Bible in Ireland (AD 600–1150). *Scripture Bulletin* 6.2 (1975/76) 36–39.
1980. Peter Brown: *The Book of Kells. Forty-eight Pages and Details in Colour from the Manuscript in Trinity College Dublin*. Selected and introduced by Peter Brown. London. 96 pp. – German translation: *Das Evangeliar von Kells. Ein Meisterwerk frühirischer Buchmalerei*. Übersetzt von Gottfried Kerscher. Freiburg. 96 pp.
1987. Martin McNamara: The Text of the Latin Bible in the Early Irish Church. Some Data and Desiderata. In: Próinséas Ní Chatháin et al. (eds.): *Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions*. Stuttgart (xii, 523 pp.), pp. 7–55.
1990. Martin McNamara: *Studies on Texts of Early Irish Latin Gospels (AD 600–1200)*. Steenbrugge. xv, 248 pp.
2015. Bernard Meehan: Irish Pocket Gospel Books. In: Claire Bray – Bernard Meehan (eds.): *The St Cuthbert Gospel. Studies on the Insular Manuscript of the Gospel of John*. London (xxii, 207 pp.), pp. 83–102.
2022. Martin McNamara: *The Bible in the Early Irish Church, A.D. 550 to 850*. Leiden. xii, 339 pp.
2023. Martin McNamara: The Bible in Insular Tradition. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 139–151. – The author considers the Latin Bible in

Insular tradition, principally that of Ireland, from earliest times until around the fourteenth century. It first examines the relevant background in Ireland during the period, noting the manifold contacts with Northumbria, Bede, and Anglo-Saxon England. It then lists and discusses Irish biblical manuscripts, in the sequence of complete Bibles, Psalters (containing the *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum* texts), gospel books, glosses on the Pauline Epistles and commentaries on other New Testament books. Finally, mention is made of Irish scribes and scholars on the European continent.

The Latin Bible in England

Note. – The most conspicuous contribution of English monks to the history of the Vulgate is the production of two famous codices: **(1)** the Codex Amiatinus c. 700; see above, the manuscripts Chapter **7.2**; and **(2)** the *St. Cuthbert Gospel* (formerly known as the Stonyhurst Gospel), c. 710 (see below, 2015, and above, Chapter **7.2**). But England has made other, most important contributions to the study of the Vulgate, notably the division of the biblical writings into “chapters” (see below, the article of Saenger, 2008).

1893. Samuel Berger : *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Paris (xxiv, 443 pp.), pp. 29–45. Irish and anglo-saxon manuscripts.
1930. Hans Hermann Glunz: *Britannien und Bibeltext. Der Vulgatatext der Evangelien in seinem Verhältnis zur irisch-angelsächsischen Kultur des Frühmittelalters*. Leipzig. 187 pp.
1931. S. Harrison Thompson: Bishop Gundulph of Rochester and the Vulgate. *Speculum* 6: 468–470.
1933. Hans Hermann Glunz: *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon. Being an Inquiry into the Text of Some Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels*. Cambridge. xx, 383 pp. – Reprint: Cambridge 2010. – Reviews:
1934. F.C. Burkitt: The Vulgate in England. *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (no. 137): 60–63.
2012. Frans Van Liere: The Latin Bible, c. 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546; in: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 93–109, at p. 95: “His [Glunz’s] main point was that the Vulgate text of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries looked much more like the printed editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than the critical editions based on the early manuscript evidence.”
1937. M.L.W. Laistner: The Latin Versions of Acts Known to the Venerable Bede. *Harvard Theological Review* 30: 37–50.
1995. Richard Marsden: *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge. xix, ix, 506 pp. – The standard study of the Vulgate text in early medieval England. The Codex Amiatinus, written in England, is the oldest known, basically intact full Bible from anywhere in Western Europe, and for some scriptures, the oldest extant Latin manuscript of any type (p. 183). ▲
2008. Paul Saenger: The Anglo-Hebraic Origins of the Modern Chapter Division of the Latin Bible. In: Francesco Javier Burguillo – Laura Meier (eds.): *La fractura historiográfica*. Salamanca (831 pp.), pp. 177–202. – The chapter division, traditionally attributed to Stephen Langton, actually predates Langton. It was invented in twelfth-century England.
2013. Eyal Poleg: *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England*. Manchester. xxi, 263 pp.
2015. Claire Bray – Bernard Meehan (eds.): *The St Cuthbert Gospel*. Studies on the Insular Manuscript of the Gospel of John. London. xxii, 207 pp. – With its original leather binding, this is “the earliest

intact European book" (p. 1). "The text of John in the St Cuthbert Gospel is a good Vulgate – a relatively pure version of Jerome's translation" (p. 17). On pp. 171–183, Richard Gameson presents a collation of the variant readings and the textual subdivisions.

2019. Celia Chazelle: *The Codex Amiatinus and its "Sister" Bibles. Scripture, Liturgy, and Art in the Milieu of the Venerable Bede*. Leiden. xxviii, 634 pp.

2020. Eyal Poleg: *A Material History of the Bible, England 1200–1553*. Oxford. xxxiv, 227 pp.

2023. Peter Darby – Máirín MacCarron (eds.): *Bede the Scholar*. Manchester. xvi, 321 pp. – Includes these (and other) papers: Bede's Biblical *capitula* and the Oriented Reading of Scripture at Wearmouth-Jarrow (Celia Chazelle, pp. 53–96); Bede, Ceolfrith and Cassiodorus: Biblical Scholarship at Wearmouth and Jarrow (Altan T. Thacker, pp. 141–174).

The Latin Bible in Italy – Atlantic Bibles

2003. Guy Lobrichon: Pour l'étude de la tradition et du texte de la Vulgate latine en Italie (XIII^e siècle). In: idem: *La Bible au Moyen Âge*. Paris (247 pp.), pp. 173–180.

2007. Sabina Magrini: Production and Use of Latin Bible Manuscripts in Italy during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century. *Manuscripta* 51: 209–257. – Appended is a list of manuscripts, grouped according to provenance from Lombardy (Bologna), the Veneto (Padua, Venice), northern Italy, and central Italy (Tuscany, Umbria).

2013. Grazia Melli – Marialuigia Sipione (eds.): *La Bibbia nella letteratura italiana. V: Del Medioevo al Rinascimento*. Brescia. 712 pp. – The editor of the *Bibbia nella letteratura italiana* series is Pietro Giblellini.

2021. Roberta Casavecchia – Marilena Maniaci – Giulia Orofino (eds.): *La Bibbia a Montecassino – The Bible at Montecassino*. Turnhout. 438 pp. – The manuscript collection of the Montecassino Abbey presents an exemplary case study, both for the total number of biblical manuscripts it preserves (just under a hundred, and for the diversity of types (complete 'monolithic' Bibles, Old and/or New Testament sequences of varying size and physiognomy, and individual glossed books with commentary beside the text), as well as for the presence of a significant group of codices in Beneventan minuscule produced for internal use within the same Abbey or in its dependencies in a period centered around the eleventh century (with sporadic extensions into the twelfth and thirteenth). The present catalogue aims to deepen our current knowledge of the presence, transmission and reception of the Bible in one of the most important and emblematic medieval Benedictine monasteries.

Atlantic Bibles

2005. Emma Condello: La Bibbia al tempo della riforma gregoriana: le Bibbie atlantiche. In: Paolo Cherubini (ed.): *Forme e modelli della traduzione manoscritta della bibbia*. Vatican City (xv, 562, 39 pp.), pp. 347–372.

2016. Houghton, pp. 100–101: "Atlantic Bibles" (Riesenbibeln). Page 100: "Large Bibles produced in northern Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are known as Atlantic Bibles, after the giant Atlas. These are associated with the reforms of Pope Gregory VII: some were used as control texts for the revised liturgy, while others were commissioned by lay people and presented to monasteries. They are very similar in format and decoration. (...) Rome was the principal centre of production."

2016. Nadia Togni (ed.): *Les bibles atlantiques*. Florence. xxxi, 578, 32 pp.

2023. Guy Lobrichon: The Production of Medieval Bibles. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 187–207, at pp. 191–193. – Page 192: “The initiative of the ‘Atlantic Bibles’ came up against the wall of the churches, which were for the most part fixed in their traditional loyalties. These Bibles therefore only experienced limited success outside Italy.”

The Latin Bible in Spain

1893. Samuel Berger: *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Paris (xxiv, 443 pp.), pp. 8–28. See also pp. xiv–xv: “L’Espagne est la patrie des plus mauvais textes et des meilleurs.” Berger also refers to an enigmatic figure 1 who calls himself Peregrinus and who is said to be responsible for the Spanish recension of the Vulgate: “nous pouvons considérer comme admis à la science que Peregrinus, ou l’auteur qui se cache sous ce nom, est l’éditeur de la recension espagnole des livres saints” (p. 28).

1914–1919. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Études sur les origines de la Vulgate en Espagne. *Revue bénédictine* 31: 373–401.

1941. José María Bover SJ: La Vulgata en España. *Estudios bíblicos* (segunda época) 1: 11–40, 167–185. – See the abstract in Bruce M. Metzger, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 66.4 (1947) 410: The first epoch (1), which extends from the fifth to the eighth century, is the epoch of local texts and of autonomous transcriptions. During it two great families predominated: the Spanish and the Italian, or, better, the Italo-Anglican: besides these, two other families of less importance appear: the Irish and the French. The two primitive Spanish editions of Peregrinus and St. Isidore belong in this period. The second epoch (2) is characterized by two great recensions made about the year 800: that of Alcuin, based on the Italian or Italo-Anglican text, and that of Theodulf, of Visigothic origin, based on the Spanish or Hispanicized text. The third epoch (3) is that of an artificial, uniform text, produced by the Sorbonne of Paris. In tracing the fortunes of the Vulgate in Spain, the author indicates the relationship between various codices of the Vulgate and their position in his chronological outline.

2005. Paolo Cherubini: Le bibbie spagnole in visigotica. In: idem (ed.): In: idem (ed.): *Forme e modelli della traduzione manoscritta della bibbia*. Vatican City (xv, 562, 39 pp.), pp. 108–173.

2019. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz: Les préfaces de la Bible latine dans le haut Moyen Âge hispanique. *Annuaire de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études*. Section des sciences historiques et philologiques 150 (2017–2018): 205–221. – After an overview of vulgate research since the end of the 19th century, with special attention to the study of the history of the Latin Bible in Spain, the author deals specifically with the pseudo-Isidorian biblical prologues.

2019. Eulàlia Vernet i Pons: The Bible of Vic (1268) and the Disputation of Barcelona (1263): Textual and theological value of the Hebrew Bible glosses. In: Matthias M. Tischler et al. (eds.): *Transcultural Approaches to the Bible. Exegesis and Historical Writing in the Medieval Worlds*. Turnhout (viii, 253 pp.), pp. 1–22.

2021. Marie Frey Rébeillé-Borgella: La diffusion de la révision hiéronymienne des traductions bibliques dans les livres liturgiques latins (V^e–XII^e siècles): l’exemple des Douze Prophètes. *Clotho* 3: 167–189. – A study of Spanish liturgical sources.

Peregrinus episcopus (5th century, second half)

Note. – The otherwise unknown Spanish bishop Peregrinus produced a recension of the Vulgate. Introducing Vetus-Latina expressions into the Vulgate text, he produced a mixed version occasionally re-

ferred to as the "Spanish Vulgate." Peregrinus also wrote prologues to the Pauline letters. Peregrinus' recension is best represented in the eighth/ninth-century Codex Biblicus Cavensis (also known by the name of its scribe as the Bible of Danila; a complete Latin Bible, today in the Cava Abbey in Salerno, Italy).

1955, 1956. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela: La Biblia visigótica de la Cava dei Tirreni. *Estudios bíblicos* 14: 49–65, 137–90, 355–414; 15: 5–62.

1999. Paolo Cherubini: La Bibbia di Danila: un monumento 'trionfale' per Alfonso II di Asturie. *Scrittura e Civiltà* 23: 75–131.

2010. Luciano Pedicini (ed.): La Biblia de Danila. *Codex Biblicus Cavensis*, MS 1 de la abadía de la Santísima Trinidad de Cava dei Tirreni. Edición facsímil. Oviedo. – Facsimile edition, without pagination, but with some unpaginated introductory material.

2010. Paolo Cherubini – José Antonio Valdés Gallego – Alfonso García Leal: *La Biblia de Danila (Codex Biblicus Cavensis, MS. 1 de la Abadía de la Santísima Trinidad de Cava dei Tirreni)*. Oviedo. 206 pp. – See esp. pp. 61–111: José Antonio Valdés Gallego: El texto y la lengua del Cavensis. Review: Carlos Benjamín Pereira Mira, *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder* 7 (2012) 259–264.

The Bible of Isidore (c. 600)

2014. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz: Las versiones del Salterio latino en las obras de Isidoro de Sevilla. In: Carmen Codoñer et al. (eds.): *Wisigothica: After M.C. Díaz y Díaz*. Florence (xxiv, 763 pp.), pp. 49–66.

2015. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz: Ediciones y versiones altomedievales de la Biblia Latina: el caso de Isidoro de Sevilla. In: Miguel Anxo Pena González et al. (eds.): *A quinientos años de la Políglota*. Salamanca (420 pp.), pp. 67–80.

2016. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz: Isidoro de Sevilla y el texto de la Biblia Latina: el estado de la cuestión. *Aemilianense* 4: 75–104.

2016. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz: Bibliothecam compilavit: la Biblia de Isidoro de Sevilla. *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia andaluza* 9: 33–44.

Codex biblicus Legionensis (960)

Note. – At the center of the studies on the Vulgate in Spain is the complete manuscript of the entire Bible with the text of the Vulgate, written in León or Valencia in 960, called "Codex biblicus Legionensis" or "Codex Gothicus." The illuminated manuscript is kept in the Royal Collegiate Library (Biblioteca de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro) in León. A brief description of the manuscript is given in Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford 2016, p. 249.

1961. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Algunas observaciones sobre el "Codex Gothicus" de la R.C. de S. Isidoro en León y sobre la tradición española de la Vulgata. *Archivos Leoneses* 15: 5–48.

1965. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela: *La biblia visigótica de San Isidoro de León. Contribución al estudio de la Vulgata en España*. Madrid. 201 pp., 13 leaves of plates.

1999. Olegario García de la Fuente: El codex biblicus Legionensis y la introducción de la Vulgata en España. In: *Codex Biblicus Legionensis, Léon, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro. Veinte estudios*. León (339 pp.), pp. 269–280. – There is also an English translation of the entire book: *Codex Biblicus Legionensis. Twenty Studies*. Translated by Seven Dodd. León 1999, 339 pp.; pages 269–279: O. García de la Fuente: The Codex Biblicus Legionense and the Introduction of the Vulgate into Spain.
2006. Maria Teresa Muñoz García de Iturrospe: Para una historia visigoda de la Biblia Latina. In: Aires Augusto Nascimento et al. (eds.): *Actas do IV Congresso internacional de latim medieval hispânico*. Lisbon (xvii, 1005 pp.), pp. 505–517.

The Cistercian Old Testament of Stephen Harding (1109)

Note. – Stephen Harding (d. 1134), now a saint of the Catholic Church, was elected abbot at the Cistercian abbey of Cîteaux in France. He is credited with having revised the Latin text of the Old Testament, producing a “clean” copy. Stephen Harding’s four-volume parchment codex is now in the Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon (manuscripts 12 to 15). Harding is credited with the idea of compiling so-called correctories (see below, Chapter 14.6).

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp. – Harding is mentioned on pp. 245–246 in the chapter on correctories.
1912. Eugène Mangelot: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Paris. Volume 5.2 (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – A note on Harding is on cols. 2479–2480. Mangelot refers to Jean Mabillon OSB (d. 1707) who discovered the Harding manuscript; Mabillon’s relevant essay can be found in PL 166: 1373–1376; 28: 67–69.
1917. Tiburtius Hümpfer: Die Bibel des hl. Stephan Harding. *Cistercienser-Chronik* 29: 73–821.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 146–147.
1939. Karl Lang: *Die Bibel Stephan Hardings. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der neutestamentlichen Vulgata*. Bonn. 55 pp. – Partial edition of a doctoral dissertation.
1993. Matthieu Cauwe: La Bible d’Étienne Harding. Principes de critique textuelle mis en œuvre aux livres de Samuel. *Revue bénédictine* 103: 414–444.
1998. [Stephan Harding] Drei Texte, die Abt Stephan Harding zugeschrieben werden. In: Hildegard Brem – Alberich Martin Altermatt (eds.): *Einmütig in der Liebe. Die frühesten Quellentexte von Cîteaux*. Turnhout (xv, 341 pp.), pp. 203–215. – Among the three texts is the *monitum*, a letter that tells the story of the Bible revision during which Jewish scholars were consulted. As a result of this work, certain verses were deleted. The letter (here pp. 210–213 in Latin with German translation) is in Dijon’s Bibliothèque municipale (ms 13, fol. 150 verso). The Latin text can also be found in PL 166: 1373–1376 and on pp. 416–417 of Cauwe’s 1993 article.
2014. Alessia Trivellone: Images et exégèse monastique dans la Bible d’Étienne Harding. In: Gilbert Dahan (ed.): *L’exégèse monastique au Moyen Âge (XI^e–XIV^e siècle)*. Paris (340 pp.), pp. 85–111.
2015. Cornelia Linde: *How to Correct the Sacra Scriptura? Textual Criticism of the Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century*. Medium Aevum Monographs 29. Oxford (ix, 309 pp.), p. 250 and passim.

The “Paris Bible” (*exemplar Parisiense*, 13th century)

Note. – The Paris Bible (or *exemplar Parisiense*, though there presumably never was a master codex) represents a text made for the university. Some of the Paris Bibles are illuminated display codices. In the Paris Bibles, the biblical books are arranged more or less as they are in the Gutenberg Bible and the Clementina, and the books are divided into chapters, also as in the Gutenberg Bible and the Clementina. There are four major witnesses: **(1)** Bibliothèque nationale: Ms. Lat. 16719–22 (four volumes) from the Dominican convent St. Jacques, 13th century; **(2)** Bibliothèque nationale: Ms. lat. 15 467 from the Sorbonne, also 13th century (1270); **(3)** Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, Ms. 5, 14th century; **(4)** Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana: Codex vaticanus latinus 7664, also 14th century. – This information is from Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 149.

English

1994. Linda Light: French Bibles c. 1200–30. A New Look at the Origins of the Paris Bible. In: Richard Gameson (ed.): *The Early Medieval Bible*. Cambridge (xiv, 242 pp.), pp. 155–176. – This study of fourteen one-volume Bibles from the first three decades of the thirteenth century concludes that the “Paris Bible” did not all of a sudden appear around 1230, instead, from c. 1200, some Bibles already looked very much like the later Paris Bible. The Paris Bible was the result of only minor modifications of a Bible already in existence. ▲
2011. Laura Light: The Bible and the Individual: The Thirteenth-Century Paris Bible. In: Susan Boynton – Diane J. Reilly (eds.): *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. New York (viii, 364 pp.), pp. 228–246.
2012. Laura Light: The Thirteenth Century and the Paris Bible. In: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 380–391.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 105–108: Paris Bibles.
2020. Edmon L. Gallagher: Latin Texts [of deuterocanonical books, including Tobit, Judith, 1–2 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, 3 Ezra, 4 Ezra, Prayer of Manasseh, Psalm 151; also with reference to the “Paris Bible”]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible. Volume 2A*. Leiden (xxxix, 497 pp.), pp. 398–405.
2023. Gilbert Dahan: Paris Bibles and Scholarship. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 241–257. – In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Paris was the centre of scholarship on the Latin Bible, giving rise to a distinctive type of manuscript known as the ‘Paris Bible.’ Dahan traces the development of biblical studies from the schools to the university, along with the typical didactic structure of these lessons. It also gives an account of the role of religious orders (especially the Dominicans and Franciscans). The characteristic features of the Paris Bibles are described, followed by other scholarly tools such as the *correctoria*, concordances, and *distinctiones*. The most famous biblical commentators associated with Paris in this period are listed, along with their principal exegetical outputs.
2023. Guy Lobrichon: The Production of Medieval Bibles. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 187–207. – On the Paris Bibles, see pp. 193–197, with table 13.1: “Order of books and prologues in English Bibles and Paris Bibles.” ▲

French

1883. Samuel Berger: Des essais qui ont été faits à Paris au treizième siècle pour corriger le texte de la Vulgate. *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 16: 41–66.
- 1889/90. J.-P.P. [Jean-Pierre Paulin] Martin: Le texte Parisien de la Vulgate Latine. *Le Muséon* 8 (1889) 444–466; 9 (1890) 55–70, 301–316.
1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris. xvi, 520 pp. – The early printed editions of the Latin Bible “dérivent toutes de l'édition princeps de Mayence (vers 1452) [= bible de Gutenberg], qui reproduit elle-même le texte alors vulgaire de l'Université de Paris, c'est-à-dire de la plus récente et de la moins pure de toutes non recensions de la Vulgate” (p. 94).
1978. Amaury d'Esneval: La division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l'édition Parisienne du XIII^e siècle. *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 62: 559–568. – The division of the biblical books into the chapters as we know it is the work of Stephen Langton. His work began in c. 1200–1205, and was completed by 1220. It quickly superseded the earlier division into much shorter chapters. The further division of the text into verses came in the 16th century.
1984. Laura Light: Versions et révisions du texte biblique. In: Pierre Riché (ed.): *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps. Paris (639 pp.), pp. 55–93.
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Pages 297–299: Les Biblia Parisiensia. – According to Bogaert, its origin is connected with Stefan Langton. In addition to the standard canonical books, the Paris Bible also contains the following writings: 3 Ezra, 4 Ezra, Prayer of Manasseh, and Baruch; but not the Epistle to the Laodiceans.
2004. Guy Lobrichon: Les éditions de la Bible latine dans les universités du XIII^e siècle. In: Giuseppe Cremasoli – Francesco Santi (eds.): *La Bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia dell'esegesi*. Florence (xvi, 379 pp.), pp. 15–34.
2010. Gilbert Dahan. Les commentaires bibliques d'Étienne Langton. In: Louis-Jacques Bataillon et al. (eds.): *Étienne Langton, prédicateur, bibliste, théologien*. Turnhout (694 pp.), pp. 201–239.
2012. Laura Light: The Thirteenth Century and the Paris Bible. In: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 380–391.
2014. Chiara Ruzzier: Quelques observations sur la fabrication des bibles au XIII^e siècle et le système de la *pecia*. *Revue bénédictine* 124: 151–189. – The 13th century saw the development of the production of Latin Bibles, mostly from Paris and other medieval university towns. Considering the large number of surviving manuscripts (about 2000), we have to ask how this production – at least 20 000 copies – could have been achieved in a few decades without using the “*pecia* system” that developed at the same time to increase the dissemination of academic texts. This manufacturing technique allowed the multiplication of copies from a single manuscript divided into sections that were rented, section by section, to different scribes working simultaneously.
2016. Patricia Stirnemann: La naissance de la Bible du 13^e siècle. *Lusitania Sacra* 34: 95–104. – For an abstract, see *Revue bénédictine* 131 (2021) 459–460.
2021. Chiara Ruzzier: Quels sont les ancêtres des bibles portatives? Enquête sur les bibles de petite taille antérieures au XIII^e siècle. *Scrineum* 18: 109–147 (open access). – The article studies the codicological and textual features of seven complete Latin Bibles (pandects) dating to the second

half of the twelfth century and of different origins (England, France and southern Italy) and places their production within that of complete medieval bibles.

2022. Chiara Ruzzier: *Entre Université et ordres mendiants: la production des bibles portatives au XIII^e siècle*. Berlin. xiv, 338 pp. – Most 13th century Latin Bibles are portable Bibles produced in Paris and other towns hosting a medieval university. These manuscripts were intended for personal use and their dimensions also made them ideal preaching tools for the mendicant friars. This volume explores the production systems of these Bibles, their material and paratextual aspects, as well as their use, with a focus on the technical solutions devised to miniaturise the Bible.

German

1888. Heinrich Denifle OP: Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 4: 263–311, 471–601. – One section of this article deals with “Das Exemplar Parisiense” (pp. 277–292). According to Denifle, there was one original copy, though it is not extant. While the Paris Bible became the standard text of the Latin Bible, its value is doubtful: “So hatte die Pariser Universität durch ihre Bibel der Christenheit nicht bloss einen schlechten Dienst erwiesen, indem sie, allerdings unbewusst, einen höchst fehlerhaften Text verbreitete, sondern sie hat auch dasjenige, was sie anstrebte, einen einheitlichen Text, nicht durchgehends, völlig nur hinsichtlich der Kapiteleintheilung erreicht” (p. 291).
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Pages 149–155. Stummer supplies a list of the major textual witnesses of the Paris Bible. He also addresses the shortcomings of the Paris Bible (mixing of Old Latin and Jeromian texts) and contemporary criticism of it.
- 1963,1965. Niels Hastrup: Zur frühen Pariser Bibel – auf Grund skandinavischer Handschriften. *Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d’histoire* 24 (1963) 242–269; 26 (1965) 394–401.
2014. Matthias M. Tischler: *Die Bibel in Saint-Victor zu Paris*. Münster. 669 pp. – In the High and Late Middle Ages, the Augustine Canons of Saint-Victor formed a community of scholars. The author describes their considerable collection of Bibles, today distributed among various libraries in Paris. Pages 51–102: Canon and canon formation in the Bible manuscripts (a unified canon theory is lacking); pp. 102-104. The textual versions of the Bible manuscripts.

Italian – Spanish

2000. Sabina Magrini: La ‘Bible parisienne’ e i Vangeli. In: Francesco D’Aiuto – Giovanni Morello – Ambrogia M. Piazzoni (eds.): *I Vangeli dei popoli. La parola e l’immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*. Vatican City (xxvii, 493 pp.), pp. 99–105.
2005. Sabina Magrini: La Bibbia all’università (secoli XII–XIV): La ‘Bible de Paris’ e la sua influenza sulla produzione scritturale coeva. In: Paolo Cherubini (ed.): *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della bibbia*. Vatican City (xv, 562, 39 pp.), pp. 407–422.
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74, at pp. 50–51.

Roger Bacon (1220–1292)

Note. – Roger Bacon, English Franciscan friar, today celebrated as a polymath and natural philosopher, expressed strong objections against the “Paris Bible,” i.e., the Paris recension of the Vulgate Bible. He spent many years in Paris as a member of the Franciscan convent, but eventually returned to England where he died at Oxford.

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz (viii, 501 pp.), pp. 266–271.
1888. J.-P.P. Martin: La Vulgate latine au treizième siècle, d’après Roger Bacon. *Le Muséon* 7: 88–107. 169–169. 278–291. 381–393. – The author surveys what Roger Bacon says about the Paris Bible. – Also available as a separate publication: Paris 1888. 73 pp.
1888. Heinrich Denifle OP: Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 4: 263–311, 471–601. – On pp. 277–281, Denifle comments on Roger Bacon (and is critical about Martin’s account).
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 149–152. – Bacon was one of the fiercest enemies of the Paris Bible. He considered it a bad text, one into which its Parisian revisers had introduced new mistakes.
1948. Edmund E. Sutcliffe SJ: The Name “Vulgate.” *Biblica* 29: 345–352. – Pages 348–349: Before the Council of Trent, Roger Bacon (1214–1292, Franciscan friar) was the only one to use the term “Vulgata” in the same sense as we do today. (This notion has been contradicted; see above, [Chapter 2.1](#)). ▲
1988. Pierre Lardet: Un lecteur de Jérôme au XIII^e siècle. Langues et traduction chez Roger Bacon. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l’Occident et l’Orient*. Paris 1988 (508 pp.), pp. 445–463.
2001. Laura Light: Roger Bacon and the Origin of the Paris Bible. *Revue bénédictine* 111: 483–507.
2001. Benoît Grévin: L’hébreu des franciscains. Nouveaux éléments sur la connaissance de l’hébreu en milieu chrétien au XIII^e siècle. *Médiévales* 41 (automne 2001) 65–82.2012. – Christian scholars who studied Hebrew were often associated with Roger Bacon.
2012. Cornelia Linde: *How to Correct the Sacra Scriptura? Textual Criticism of the Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century*. Medium Aevum Monographs 29. Oxford. ix, 309 pp. – On pages 140–153, the author discusses Roger Bacon’s objections to the Paris Bible.

Heinrich von Langenstein (d. Vienna 1397)

1985. Johann Baptist Bauer: Heinrich von Langenstein über die Vulgata des Hieronymus. In: *Für Kirche und Heimat. Festschrift Franz Loidl zum 80. Geburtstag*. Herausgegeben von seinen Freunden und Schülern. Vienna (520 pp.), pp. 15–28.

The Netherlands: Windesheim (1420s)

Note. – A remarkable Bible workshop in the Windesheim monastery near Zwolle produced an accurate version of the Vulgate Bible. It is believed to survive in two manuscripts: **(1)** one written written by Thomas a Kempis, otherwise known as the author of the *Imitation of Christ*; for a description of this manuscript, see below, Kurt Hans Staub, 1979; **(2)** and another one written by Jacobus van Enckhuysen in 1462 to 1467, the so-called Zwolle Bible (see below, Engelhart 2012). Both manuscripts would merit a closer look by someone specializing on the text of the medieval Latin Bible.

1886. Karl Grube (ed.): *Des Augustinerprobstes Iohannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*. Halle. xxxviii, 824 pp. – In chapter 26 of his chronicle of the Windesheim monastery, the Augustinian canon Johannes Busch (1400–1479) reports about the canons' search for Latin Bible manuscripts in the interest of producing a reliable edition. The Latin text of Chapter 26 is on pp. 311–313. Of this text exists a German summary in: Hans Rost: *Die Bibel im Mittelalter*. Augsburg 1939 (viii, 428 pp.), pp. 129–130.
1927. Friedrich Stummer: Die neue römische Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150. – Stummer (p. 143) regrets that the Benedictine critical edition of the Vulgate book of Genesis has not used some late-medieval manuscripts such as the codex written by Thomas a Kempis.
1937. Nico Greitemann: *De Windesheimsche Vulgaatreviesie in de vijftiende eeuw*. Hilversum. 88 pp. – According to Greitemann, the revised text of the Windesheim congregation is best represented in the 5 volumes of the Darmstadt Bible, a manuscript written by Thomas a Kempis in 1427 to 1439 (Universitätsbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs. 324). Greitemann found no influence of the Windesheim text on later printed editions; in other words: the Windesheim text did not make any wider impact. – Reviews:
1938. J.H. Vogels, *Theologische Revue* 62 (1938) 174.
1939. Hans Rost: For a summary of Greitemann's book, see Hans Rost: *Die Bibel im Mittelalter*. Augsburg 1939 (viii, 428 pp.), p. 130. Rost supplies a summary of Greiteman's study.
1979. Kurt Hans Staub: *Bibelhandschriften*; Hermann Knaus: *Ältere theologische Texte*. Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt. Band 4. Wiesbaden (331 pp.), pp. 26–30. – This catalogue of the Darmstadt Landesbibliothek describes its "manuscript 324," the five volumes of the Bible manuscript written by Thomas a Kempis. This text includes a detailed bibliography.
2012. Helmut Engelhart: Zwole-Bibel. In: idem (ed.): *Lexikon zur Buchmalerei*. Zweiter Halbband. Stuttgart (pp. 333–757), pp. 755–757. – Today in the University Library of Utrecht, the Netherlands (shelf no. cat. 31), this is a complete Vulgate Bible. Bound in 6 heavy volumes. Interestingly, the last volume is a *psalterium triplex*; it gives the text of Psalterium Gallicanum (left), Psalterium Romanum (centre), and Psalterium iuxta hebraeos (right) in three parallel columns. (Regrettably, some pages are missing; the Psalter, e.g., begins in the middle of Psalm 2:5 – *con]turbabit eos. Ego autem [...]*. B. Lang.)

14.5 The Psalms in the Middle Ages

Note. – Next to the Gospels, the Psalms were the most important part of the Bible in medieval ecclesiastical culture. The book of Psalms begins with a portrait of the pious man who day and night reads in this very book, and praises him with the words *Beatus vir* – "Blessed is the man" (Ps 1:1). In the Middle Ages, this man was identified with none other than the monk. The Psalms constituted (and still constitute today) the essential part of the Liturgy of the Hours as celebrated daily in all monasteries.

For the book of Psalms, medieval authors used four names: *Psalterium*, *liber psalmodum*, *liber hymnorum*, and *liber soliloquiorum* (see Gerhard Ebeling: Luthers Psalterdruck vom Jahre 1513. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 50.1 [1953] 43–99, at p. 49).

The Middle Ages knew three Latin versions of the book of Psalms, and in some medieval manuscripts (such as the Eadwine Psalter of c. 1150/60; Trinity College Cambridge, Ms. R. 17.1; or the Psalter of the

Zwolle Bible, see Chapter **14.4**, at the end – [The Netherlands](#)), they were set in parallel columns for comparison: the Roman Psalter, Jerome’s Psalter iuxta Hebraeos, and Jerome’s Psalter translated from the Greek. Each of the three versions has its own history and use or non-use: **(1)** The Roman Psalter, today considered a pre-Jeromian, *Vetus Latina* text, was the standard text of the Psalms until the early Middle Ages, and it continued to be used in all churches of the city of Rome and in some other Italian cities – Milan and Venice (see above, Chapters **9.7** and **11.4**); **(2)** Jerome’s translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew figures prominently in Spanish Bibles; the text is also used in the [Codex Amiatinus](#) (see above, Chapter **7.2**). **(3)** Due to the initiative of Alcuin, Jerome’s Psalter based on the Septuagint came to be considered the actual Vulgate Psalter (so-called Gallican Psalter); it gained in importance due to the prestige of the Paris Bible. It was the Psalter printed in the Gutenberg Bible and became the standard text of the Psalms in post-medieval Catholicism.

Sources

- c. 400. Augustine: *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. – Psalm 118, prooemium: *Psalmos omnes caeteros, quos codicem Psalmorum novimus continere, quod consuetudine ecclesiae Psalterium nuncupatur (...)* – all the other psalms, which, as we know, are included in the book of Psalms, which ecclesiastical usage calls *Psalterium (...)* (PL 36/37: 1501). Augustine explains that the book of Psalms is also known as *Psalterium*. What he does not say, seems to be implied, namely, that *psalterium* actually refers to a string instrument (see Ps 57:9; Vg 56:9), so that it is by metonymy that the book of Psalms is given this title. In other words: the church calls the book of Psalms “The Harp.”
- c. 550. Benedict of Nursia: *Regula*. – In chapters 8–20 of the *Rule*, Benedict gives detailed instructions about which psalms are to be sung when. The instruction is based on the idea that all of the 150 psalms are to be sung each week (*Rule* no. 18: *ut omni hebdomada psalterium ex integro numero centum quinquaginta psalmorum psallatur*). For a summary of Benedict’s instructions, see Susan Gillingham: *Psalms through the Centuries*. Volume 1. Blackwell Bible Commentaries. Oxford (xviii, 382 pp), pp. 51–55.
842. Walahfrid Strabo: *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticorum* 25 [26]: *Psalmos autem, cum secundum LXX Interpretes Romani adhuc habeant, Galli et Germanorum aliqui secundum emendationem quam Hieronymus pater [read: presbyter] de LXX editione composuit, Psalterium cantant. Quam [emendationem] Gregorius, Turonensis episcopus, a patribus [read: partibus] Romanis mutuam, in Galliarum dicitur ecclesias transtulisse* (PL 114: 957) – “However, although the Romans still have the psalms according to the Seventy Interpreters [i.e., the Septuagint], the Gauls and some of the Germans chant the Psalter according to the version which the priest Jerome composed from the Seventy [Interpreters], which Gregory, bishop of Tours, is said to have borrowed from Roman areas and brought to the churches of Gaul.” – Walahfrid’s book *About the Origins and Development of Things pertaining to the Church* is considered the first treatise on liturgical history ever written.
1920. [Donatien De Bruyne OSB] *Préfaces de la Bible Latine*. Namur (266 pp.), pp. 42–117. – This is a critical edition of Psalm prefaces (by Jerome, Pseudo-Jerome, Cassiodore, etc.) found in medieval manuscripts of the Psalms, complete with an apparatus of variant readings from these manuscripts. – De Bruyne had this book printed without his name on the title page, and without a preface or any other explanatory material. The copy that is now widely available is a reprint; it is given an English title: D. de Bruyne: *Prefaces to the Latin Bible*. Introductions by Pierre-Maurice Bogart & Thomas O’Laughlin. Turnhout 2015. xv, 266 pp.

Secondary literature

English

1929. F.C. Burkitt: Jerome's Work on the Psalter. *Journal of Theological Studies* 30: 395–397. – The wide diffusion of the Gallican Psalter is connected with the diffusion of the New Hymnary that ousted the old Benedictine Hymnary, not very long after the time of Charlemagne (p. 396 – an aside, without further elaboration),
1991. John Harper: *The Forms and Origins of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century. A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*. Oxford. xiv, 337 pp. – Pages 67–72: The Psalter. After a general introduction, this chapter deals with “problems of numbering and nature,” the Psalms in the Mass and in the daily office, and psalmody.
1998. Martin McNamara: The Psalms in the Irish Church. In: John L. Sharpe – Kimberley van Kampen (eds.): *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*. London (xi, 260 pp.), pp. 89–103.
2000. Martin McNamara: *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*. Sheffield. 492 pp. – A collection of essays.
2008. Columba Stewart OSB: Prayer among the Benedictines. In: Roy Hammerling (ed.): *A History of Prayer. The First to the Fifteenth Century*. Brill's Companion to the Christian Tradition. Leiden (xviii, 484 pp.), pp. 201–221. – Pages 205–206: The communal liturgy of the Benedictines does not allow for personal prayer within the communal liturgy; this “may suggest the beginnings of a shift from the earlier understanding of psalmody as a sharing of sacred text that invited a response in prayer, to the medieval (and later) view that the act of singing psalms was itself prayer, not requiring any pause for silent prayer amidst the psalmody.”
2012. Theresa Gross-Diaz: The Latin Psalter. In: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 427–445. – The author surveys the reception history of the Psalterium Romanum, the Psalterium iuxta hebraeos, and the Psalterium gallicanum. ▲
2013. Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik: *Text and Context in Jerome's Psalters: Prose Translations into Old, Middle and Early Modern English*. PhD Dissertation, Catholic University of Lublin. 789 pp. – This thesis is available online.
2014. Frans van Liere: *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*. Cambridge. xv, 320 pp. – Pages 29–33: Psalters. “One of the most common types of partial bibles was the psalter. In fact, it was so common to have the Psalms in a separate psalter that some bible codices did not even include the Psalms” (p. 29).
2017. Alderik H. Blom: *Glossing the Psalms. The Emergence of the Written Vernacular in Western Europe from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries*. Berlin (xvi, 332 pp.), pp. 37–41: the Psalms in monastic life – the text of the Latin Psalter – spread and use of the different Psalter versions. Page 40: “In Gaul the Gallicanum was probably already widespread as early as 500. In this region it had a strong influence on local liturgical texts still based on Old Latin versions, resulting in various mixed varieties.¹⁹⁴ In the wake of the Carolingian liturgical reforms, however, the text of the Gallican Psalter itself gradually spread throughout Europe. Thus, in Germany, Central and Southern Italy it ousted the [Psalterium] Romanum, in Northern Italy and Gaul it replaced various Old Latin versions and in Spain it finally took the place of the Mozarabic Psalter by the twelfth century. (...) In Ireland, too, the Gallican Psalter was the most commonly used version from the late sixth or early seventh century onwards, and it became standard throughout the medieval Gaelic world.” ▲

2023. Oliver W.E. Norris: The Latin Psalter. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 65–76.

German

1926. Arthur Allgeier: Ist das Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos die letzte (3.) Psalmenübersetzung des hl. Hieronymus? *Theologie und Glaube* 18: 671–687. – “Es ist immer noch nicht gelungen, die Persönlichkeit oder die Stelle ausfindig zu machen, von der die plötzliche Einführung des Gallikanums in der abendländischen Kirche ausgegangen ist. Vielfach ist Gregor von Tours [d. 594] vermutet worden. Bei Beda Venerabilis [c. 700] ist der Prozeß bereits im Gang. Es fehlt aber nicht an früheren Spuren. Bereits ist von den *enarrationes in psalmos* des hl. Augustin [420] die Rede gewesen” (p. 686).
1930. Paulus Volk OSB: Das Psalterium des hl. Benedikt. *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 48: 83–97. – The Psalter of St Benedict was the Psalterium Romanum, of which the best text can be found in Irish manuscripts.
1940. Arthur Allgeier: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata. Ihre Eigenart, sprachliche Grundlage und geschichtliche Stellung*. Paderborn. 314 pp. – Pages 303–307: Die lateinische Psalmenüberlieferung des Mittelalters.
1970. Johann Marböck: *Das Eindringen der Versio Gallicana des Psalteriums in die Psalterien der Benediktinerklöster Oberösterreichs*. Vienna. xvi, 122 pp.
1986. Heinz Meyer: Der Psalter als Gattung in der Sicht der mittelalterlichen Exegese. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20: 1–24.
2013. Felix Heinzer: “Wondrous Machine.” Rollen und Funktionen des Psalters in der mittelalterlichen Kultur. In: Jochen Bepler – Christian Heitzmann (eds.): *Der Albani-Psalter. Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung*. Hildesheim (230 pp.), pp. 15–31.

French

1893. Germain Morin: Une révision du Psautier sur le texte grec par un anonyme du neuvième siècle. *Revue bénédictine* 10: 193–197. – Manuscript Munich 343 represents a revision of the Ambrosian Psalter.
1929. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: La reconstitution du psautier hexaplaire latin. *Revue bénédictine* 41: 294–324. – In the ninth century, monks in Saint-Gall and on the Reichenau island compiled psalters that displayed the texts of several Latin versions in synoptic columns. They were the first, it seems, to have given one of these columns the name of Gallican Psalter, and another one the name Roman Psalter. This is where these designations originated (pp. 299–300). De Bruyne wants to abandon the designation “Gallican Psalter”; instead, he would suggest speaking of “le psautier hexaplaire latin.” ▲ – See the critique of Arthur Allgeier: Der Brief an Sunnia und Fretela und seine Bedeutung für die Textherstellung der Vulgata. *Biblica* 11 (1930) 86–107.
1932. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: De quelques opinions sur l’ancien psautier latin. *Revue biblique* 41: 161–186. – Page 179–180 on the Roman Psalter: “On le trouve pour la première fois dans la règle de saint Benoît, puis sous la plume de Cassiodore et surtout de saint Grégoire le Grand. Aux temps carolingiens on l’attribua à saint Jérôme, et cette opinion régnait sans conteste quand De Bruyne l’a contredite nettement.”
1940. Victor Leroquais: *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publics de France*. Tome I. Macon. cxxxvi, 293 pp. – The author’s long introduction comments on the history and use of the

Latin Psalms in the Middle Ages. There is also a second volume (519 pp.) and a volume of plates (cxl planches). – Review: R. Maere, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 40 (1944) 201–204.

1948. Henri Leclercq: Psautier. In: Henri Marrou (ed.): *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. Tome XIV.2. Paris (cols. 1225–3146), cols. 1950–1967.
2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Le psautier latin des origines au XII^e siècle. Essai d'histoire. In: Anneli Aejmelaeus – Udo Quast (eds.): *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse III.230. Göttingen (415 pp.), pp. 51–81. – The author provides a survey that chronicles twentieth-century research on the text of the Latin Psalms in North Africa, Italy, Spain, Ireland, etc. ▲
2008. Martin Morard: *La harpe des clercs. Réceptions médiévales du Psautier latin entre usages populaires et commentaires scolaires*. Paris. 2833 pp. – Microfiche edition of a long dissertation defended at the University of Paris.

Italian – Spanish

2005. Paul Vézin: I libri dei Salmi e dei Vangeli durante l'alto medioevo. In: Paolo Cherubini (ed.): *Forme e modelli della traduzione manoscritta della bibbia*. Vatican City (xv, 562, 39 pp.), pp. 267–280.
2022. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo: Vetus Latina y Vulgata: síntesis histórica y estado de la cuestión. *Tempus. Revista de Actualización Científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 51: 7–74, at pp. 23–25 and 42. As for the Latin text of the Psalms, medieval Bibles are divided: French manuscripts and the edition of the Bible prepared by Alcuin of York have the Psalterium Gallicanum (Vulgate text), whereas the edition of Theodulf of Orleans, the majority of Spanish Bibles and, interestingly, the Codex Amiatinus all have the Psalter iuxta Hebraeos (p. 42).

14.6 Bible correctories

Note. – Medieval correctories are lists of Bible passages that need to be corrected in the biblical manuscripts in common use. The idea seems to have originated with the Cistercian monk [Stephen Harding](#) in the early 1100s (see above, Chapter [14.4](#)). The compilers were Dominicans and Franciscans. A passage from the Correctorium of the Franciscan friar William de la Mare (1240–1290) exemplifies the idea:

[1 Sam 9:20] *Nonne tibi et domui patris tui*. Antiqui non interponunt *omni* nec etiam septuaginta, quare presumo quod non fuit in antiquis hebreis.

Translation: [1 Sam 9:20, read:] not for you and for your father's house. The ancients do not put in *all* [et *omni* domui tui – and for all your father's house], not even the Septuagint, so I would assume that it was not in the original Hebrew text.

A remarkable correction; the word *omni* is in the Vulgate, but not in the Greek text. The corrector attempts to produce a more original text by consulting a Greek Bible. The reference to the Septuagint is accurate – the Septuagint does not have the word. The Massoretic text, however, reads *kol bet-abika* – “all your father's house.” So on modern standards, the corrector's note would be irrelevant. Nevertheless, the example shows the corrector's attention to detail. (The example is from Gilbert Dahan 2000, p. 228, see below.)

Secondary literature

Before 1900

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp. – Pages 244–278: Correctorien.
1883. Samuel Berger: Des essais qui ont été faits à Paris au treizième siècle pour corriger le texte de la Vulgate. *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 16: 41–66.
1888. Heinrich Denifle OP: Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 4: 263–311, 471–601. – Denifle’s study culminates in his edition of the 13th-century Latin text of the book of Proverbs, accompanied by an edition of the relevant passages from several correctories (pp. 483–566). Review: Odilo Rottmanner OSB: Zur Geschichte der Vulgata. *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* 114 (1894) 31–38, 101–108, at pp. 107–108. ▲
1899. J. van den Gheyn: Nicolas Maniacoria, correcteur de la Bible. *Revue biblique* 8: 289–295.
1899. Eugène Mangenot: Correctoires de la Bible. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 2.1. Paris (1194 cols.), cols. 1022–1026.

English

1902. H.J. White: Vulgate. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Edinburgh. Volume 4 (xi, 994 pp.), pp. 873–890, at p. 879: List of the major correctories: **(1)** *Correctorium Parisiense* (also called *correctorium Seninense*; Bibliothèque nationale, ms. Lat. 17); **(2)** *correctorium sorbonicum* (included in a Sorbonne manuscript); **(3)** *correctorium* of the Dominicans (Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 16,719 – 16,722), c. 1240, represents an attempt to bring the Vg text closer to the Hebrew and Greek; **(4)** *correctorium Vaticanum* (Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana, ms. Lat. 3466). The Correctorium mentioned in the last place is considered by the author to be the best; it is also cited in the Oxford Vulgate of the New Testament (see above, Chapter 13.2).
2000. Gilbert Dahan: Genres, Forms and Various Methods in Christian Exegesis of the Middle Ages. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume 1.2. Göttingen (729 pp.), pp. 196–236.
2012. Cornelia Linde: *How to Correct the Sacra Scriptura? Textual Criticism of the Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century*. Medium Aevum Monographs 29. Oxford. ix, 309 pp. – On pages 140–153, the author discusses Roger Bacon’s objections to the Paris Bible.

German

1931. Gotthold Prausnitz: Über einige Bibelkorrektorien des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 103: 457–464.
1931. Gotthold Prausnitz: Französische Bibelkorrektorien des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 48: 649–664.

French

1912. Eugène Mangenot: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – Col. 2481: “D’après les notes manuscrites de l’abbé Paulin Martin, conservés à la bibliothèque de l’Institut Catholique de Paris, nous pouvons signaler quelques Bibles, reproduisant les notes critiques des Correctoria, à savoir, les mss. Latins 20, 22,

28, 31, 10420 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris et les Bibles latines, 13 de la bibliothèque Mazarine et A.L.S., de la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de la même ville.”

1977. Vittorio Peri: “Corretores immo corruptores.” un saggio di critica testuale nella Roma del XII secolo. *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 20: 19–125.
1987. Jean Gribomont: Les Orthographica de la Bible latine: éditions, manuscrits, fragments, instruments de travail. In: Alfonso Maierù (ed.): *Grafia e interpunzione del Latino nel Medioevo*. Rome (224 pp.), pp. 1–13.
1992. Gilbert Dahan: La connaissance de l’hébreu dans les correctoires de la Bible du xiii^e siècle. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 23: 178–190.
1997. Gilbert Dahan: La critique textuelle dans les correctoires de la bible du xiii^e siècle. In: Alain de Libera et al. (eds.): *Langages et philosophie. Hommage à Jean Jolivet*. Paris (xx, 426 pp.), pp. 365–392.
1998. Gilbert Dahan: La connaissance du grec dans les correctoires de la Bible du XIII^e siècle. In: Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda – Jean-François Genest (eds.): *Du copiste au collectionneur. Mélanges d’histoire des textes et des bibliothèques*. Turnhout (xxiv, 684 pp.), pp. 89–109.
2004. Gilbert Dahan: Sorbonne II. Un correctoire biblique de la seconde moitié du xii^e siècle. In: Giuseppe Cremascoli – Francesco Santi (eds.): *La bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia dell’esegesi*. Florence (xvi, 379 pp.), pp. 113–153.
2009. Gilbert Dahan: La critique textuelle au moyen âge et l’apport des victorins. In: Rainer Berndt SJ (ed.): *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris*. Münster (692 pp.), pp. 443–458. – Page 444: “Sous réserve de ce que nous apprendront les travaux de M. Matthias Tischler, nous ne connaissons qu’une seule bible confectionnée à Saint-Victor au xii^e siècle, celle que conservent les manuscrits 14359 et 14396 du fonds latin de la Bibliothèque nationale de France et le manuscrit 47 de la Bibliothèque Mazarine; elle daterait de 1145–1150.” On pp. 457–458, the author gives examples of lists of variants and quotes variant readings in Gen 37, 1 Sam 14, and Gal 3.
2018. Gilbert Dahan: La critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament dans les correctoires du XIII^e siècle. In: Christian-Bernard Amphoux et al. (eds.): *Philologie et Nouveau Testament*. Aix-en-Provence (328 pp.), pp. 17–28. – The author considers three correctories: Hugh of Saint-Cher, Sorbonne I, and Sorbonne II.
2021. Gilbert Dahan: La traduction de Jérôme dans les correctoires bibliques du XIII^e siècle. *Revue d’études augustiniennes et patristiques* 67.1: 125–137. – The author studies the following passages: Isa 7:14; 14:19; 21:11; 26:10.17; 38:14; 60:4; 63:14.

14.7 Chapters and Verses (Antiquity – Middle Ages – Early Modern Times)

Note. – This note ought to begin with punctuation (in Latin, *distinctio*); although the relevance of this subject is generally acknowledged, we will touch it only briefly. In antiquity, punctuation was not supplied by an author or scribe, but by the reader; accordingly, the reader of (Latin) biblical texts at times has a difficult task, and may make mistakes; see Augustine: *De doctrina Christiana* III, 2 [3–5] (PL 34: 66–67). Also consider the fact that Jerome sought to help the reader by writing his biblical translations *per cola et commata* (see above, Chapter 13.4 Note). On the subject of punctuation, see Malcolm B. Parkes: *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*. Aldershot 1992. xvi,

327 pp.; Gilbert Dahan: *La ponctuation de la Bible au XII^e et XIII^e siècles*; in: Valérie Fasseur et al. (eds.): *Ponctuer l'œuvre médiévale*. Geneva 2016 (718 pp.), pp. 29–56.

Another subject not considered here are the Eusebian *canones evangeliorum*, a list of sections of the four Gospels in the interest of facilitating comparison; see above, Chapter **11.8**.

On the history of chapter divisions in the Greek Bible, see Charles E. Hill: *The First Chapters. Dividing the Text of Scripture in Codex Vaticanus and Its Predecessors*. Oxford 2022. xxiii, 488 pp.

The story of chapters and verses is, roughly, as follows: originally, there were no chapter divisions in biblical books. In the Gospels, for the sake of easy comparison between them, Eusebius in the fourth century devised a system of sections that were smaller than the later chapters; Jerome adopted the Eusebian system and noted the section numbers in the margin (as does the Weber/Gryson edition of the Vulgate). In the thirteenth century, chapter divisions were introduced into the entire Bible. Each chapter was further divided into sections marked with the letters A to G, placed in the margin. Eventually, verse numbers were introduced. How did early printers handle the matter? Here are some examples:

1454. Gutenberg Bible. – All books are divided into numbered chapters. There are no further divisions. (Below, Chapter **15.1**.)

1528. Robertus Stephanus: Biblia. – Has chapters that are divided into sections A, B, C etc. These letters are printed in the margin. (Below, Chapter **15.2**.)

1547. Louvain Bible. – This edition divides its chapters into sections A, B, C etc. These letters are printed in the margin. (See below, Chapter **16.3**.)

1555. Robertus Stephanus: Biblia. – This edition divides its chapters into A, B, C. etc. sections, but adds (presumably for the first time in a Latin Bible) verse numbers that are inserted into the text. After each verse, a pilcrow sign (¶) and a number are inserted (¶ 1, ¶ 2 etc.).

1592. Clementina. – The Clementina has chapters and verse numbers – very much like the Bibles we are used to. The chapters are no longer divided into A, B, C etc. sections. The verse numbers are placed beside each column of text, and, and in the running text, an asterisk (*) is inserted between each verse. (Below, Chapter **16.5**.)

Despite its undeniable merits, the division of the biblical text into chapters, and the chapters into verses, is not without problems. **(1)** Complete uniformity of the reference system was never achieved. The most obvious example are the Psalms where the traditional Vulgate (and Catholic) numbering departs from that of the Hebrew and Protestant Bibles. There are also other inconsistencies. The final verse of the book of Malachi is Mal 4:6 in the English Bibles, including the *New Revised Standard Version* (1989); in Hebrew Bibles, the textually identical last verse is Mal 3:24. **(2)** Not all the traditional chapter divisions make sense to the modern reader who would at times divide the text into different, more adequate sections. Interestingly, the rather unconventional *New English Bible* (1970) did not use the chapter and verse numbers as divisions within the biblical text; instead, they were printed unobtrusively in the margin. This decision is explained as follows: "Any system of division into numbered verses is foreign to the spirit of this translation." It would be desirable to follow the *New English Bible* and to insert verse numbers into the running text only in editions meant for scholarly use. A similar approach was used as early as 1864 in Augustin Crampon's French translation of the four Gospels (and explained in the preface to this translation).

Chapters and verses

Before 1900

1888. Heinrich Denifle OP: Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 4: 263–311, 471–601. – On the chapters, pp. 281–282, 289–291. Denifle attributes the new chapters to Stephan Langton whose work predated the creation of the Paris Bible which uses Langton's system. Langton must have devised his system of chapters before 1206, i.e., before he left the university to become a cardinal.
1892. Otto Schmid: *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen der heiligen Schrift. Insbesondere über die Capitel-Eintheilung Stephan Langtons im XIII. Jahrhunderte*. Graz. 120 pp. – Page 103: "Stephan Langton ist also der Urheber der modernen Capitel-Eintheilung, doch haben viele andere daran verbessernde Änderungen getroffen." The numbering of the verses as they are used today were devised by Robert Étienne; he introduced them into his Latin Bible of 1555 (p. 109). ▲
1893. George F. Moore: The Vulgate Chapters and Numbered Verses in the Hebrew Bible. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 12: 73–78. – Sixteenth-century printed Hebrew Bibles adopted the Vulgate's reference system.
1899. Eugène. Mangenot: Chapitres de la Bible. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Paris. Volume 2.1 (xii pp., 1194 cols.), cols. 559–565.

English

1998. J.S. Penkower: The Chapter Divisions in the 1525 Rabbinic Bible. *Vetus Testamentum* 48: 350–374.
2007. Joop H.A. van Banning: Reflections upon the Chapter Divisions of Stephan Langton. In: M.C.A. Korpel et al. (eds.): *Method in Unit Delimitation*. Leiden (231 pp.), pp. 141–161.
2007. Adrian Schenker OP: Chapter and Verse Divisions. In: Hans Dieter Betz et al. (eds.): *Religion Past and Present*. Volume II. Leiden (cxii, 664 pp.), pp. 489–490.
2007. Christopher R. Smith: *The Beauty behind the Mask: Rediscovering the Books of the Bible*. Toronto. 148 pp. – Pages 13–40: The Problem with Chapters and Verses. The history of chapter and verse division is briefly presented, ending on a critical note: "Chapter and verses keep us from recognizing what kind of literature we are reading" (p. 16).
2008. Paul Saenger: The Anglo-Hebraic Origins of the Modern Chapter Division of the Latin Bible. In: Francesco Javier Burguillo – Laura Meier (eds.): *La fractura historiográfica*. Salamanca (831 pp.), pp. 177–202. – The chapter division, traditionally attributed to Stephen Langton, actually predates Langton. It was invented in twelfth-century England. ▲
2011. H.A.G. Houghton: Chapter Divisions, Capitula Lists, and the Old Latin Versions of John. *Revue bénédictine* 121: 316–356.
2014. Frans van Liere: *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*. Cambridge. xv, 320 pp. – Pages 43–45: Chapter and Verse.
2014. Geert W. Lorein: The Latin Versions of the Old Testament. In: Alberdina Houtman et al. (eds.): *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*. Leiden (xiii, 311 pp.), pp. 125–145. – Page 138: "Stephan Langton was the first to introduce the current division of the Bible into chapters. (...) His system did not reach its final form on his first attempt, but in 1207 it must have reached it; from 1220 it spread rapidly and widely, together with the Paris Bibles."

German

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 162–163.
1969. Hans Heinrich Schmid: Von Konkordanzen, ihren Zielen und Problemen. In: Karl Huber – Hans Heinrich Schmid: *Zürcher Bibel-Konkordanz*. Volume 1. Zürich (xxxii, 862 pp.), pp. vii–xvii. – Page ix: “Grosse Bedeutung erlangte die 1555 erstmals erschienene [lateinische] Konkordanz von R[obert] Estienne, um derentwillen das Neue Testament in Verse eingeteilt wurde.”
1994. Bernhard Lang: *Die Bibel. Eine kritische Einführung*. 2nd edition. Paderborn. 284 pp. – Pages 38–40: Die Einteilung in Kapitel und Verse.
2001. Hellmut Haug: Zur abweichenden Kapitel- und Verszählung im Alten Testament. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 113: 618–623. – In English Bibles there are several Old Testament passages where the numbering of chapters and verses differs from the usual Hebrew numbering. The reason for this was discovered, though never published, by Eberhard Nestle (1851–1913): the standard division of the Hebrew text into chapters and verses goes back to the Hebrew Bible printed in Amsterdam in 1661 by Joseph Athias.

French

1912. [anonymous] Versets dans la Bible. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Paris. Volume 5.2 (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2403–2404.
1978. Amaury d’Esneval: La division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l’édition Parisienne du XIII^e siècle. *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 62.4: 559–568. – The division of the biblical books into the chapters as we know it is the work of Stephen Langton. His work began in c. 1200–1205, and was completed by 1220. It quickly superseded the earlier division into much shorter chapters. The further division of the text into verses came in the 16th century. ▲
1987. Jean Vézin: Les divisions du texte dans les évangiles jusqu’à l’imprimerie. In: Alfonso Maierù (ed.): *Grafia e interpunzione del Latino nel Medioevo*. Rome (224 pp.), pp. 1–13.
2010. Louis-Jacques Bataillon (ed.): *Étienne Langton: prédicateur, bibliste, théologien*. Turnhout. 694 pp.
2019. Mike Arcieri: La division des versets dans le Nouveau Testament. *Théologie évangélique* 18: 93–121.

14.8 The knowledge of Hebrew in the Middle Ages

Note. – The two foremost sources for our knowledge about the study of Hebrew in the Middle Ages are a thirteenth-century Hebrew-Latin-French glossary originating in the Ramsey abbey, and a decree of the Council of Vienne (1312). Here are the details:

Ramsey glossary. The Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey in England was a centre of Hebrew learning. Its Hebrew-Latin-French dictionary, known as the “Longleat House Dictionary” (Longleat House MS 21 ff.29–143) is still extant, kept in the library of Longleat House near Warminster (Wiltshire). The Hebrew is transliterated with Latin characters, and when the Vulgate translation does not correspond, a new Latin version is suggested. The work has been edited; see below, 2008.

Council of Vienne, 1312. According to Decree no. 24, the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca as well as “the place, where the papal court resides” (which was then Avignon) and the to establish language schools in which Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic is taught – not to train biblical schol-

ars (who are not mentioned at all) but to train missionaries sent out to preach in these languages to Jews and Muslims. – Literature:

1933. Berthold Altaner: Die Durchführung des Vienger Konzilsbeschlusses über die Errichtung von Lehrstühlen für orientalische Sprachen. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 52 (1933) 226–236.
1934. Ewald Müller: *Das Konzil von Vienne*. Münster 1934 (xiii, 756 pp.), pp. 636–642.
1973. Joseph Alberigo et al. (eds.): *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*. 3rd edition. Volume 2. Bologna 1973 (655 pp.), pp. 379–380: Council of Vienne, 1312.
2008. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger – A. Grondeux (eds.): *Dictionnaire hébreu–latin–français de la Bible hébraïque de l'abbaye de Ramsey (xiii^e siècle)*. Turnhout 2008. cxliv, 289 pp.

Before 1900

1884. Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. 2nd, improved edition. Freiburg. vi, 599 pp. – Page. 126: “Das Studium des Hebräischen, Chaldäischen und Arabischen war im späten Mittelalter theils durch die rege literarischen Thätigkeit der Juden, theils durch die Controverse mit den spanischen Arabern neu belebt worden und wurde durch die Päpste eifrigst gefördert.” Kaulen mentions the names of two Christian biblical philologists: Raimund Martin (d. 1286) and Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1340).
1893. Samuel Berger: *Quam notitiam linguae hebraicae habuerint Christiani medii aevi temporibus in Gallia*. Paris. xii, 60 pp.
1893. Eberhard Nestle: Nigri, Böhm und Pellican. Ein Beitrag zur Anfangsgeschichte des hebräischen Sprachstudiums in Deutschland. 35 pp. – This chapter in Nestle’s *Marginalien und Materialien*. Tübingen (a book of the author’s scholarly papers, without continuous pagination) deals with the early scholarly study of biblical Hebrew in fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century Germany.

English

1924. E. Power: Corrections from the Hebrew in the Theodulfian Mss. of the Vulgate. *Biblica* 5: 233–258.
1935. Edmund F. Sutcliffe: The Venerable Bede’s Knowledge of Hebrew. *Biblica* 16.3: 300–306.
1989. William McKane: *Selected Christian Hebraists*. Cambridge. x, 268 pp. – Pages 42–75: Andrew of St Victor [d. 1175]. While the Hebrew knowledge of this English-born Parisian scholar was poor, his Bible commentaries are characterized by great interest in Hebrew. See also Rainer Berndt: *André de Saint-Victor († 1175), exégète et théologien*. Turnhout 1991. 403 pp.
1999. A. Bergquist: Christian Hebrew Scholarship in Quattrocento Florence. In: W. Horbury (ed.): *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*. Edinburgh (xiv, 337 pp.), pp. 224–233.
2000. G.R. Evans: The Impact of Christian Contact with Jewish Exegetes. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume I.2. Göttingen (729 pp.), pp. 254–257. – Page 254: “Hugh of St Victor consulted Jews on the Hebrew text and he included transliterations of certain Hebrew words [in his biblical commentaries]. Stephen Harding had led the way here. To judge from his use of explanations which do not appear to have a Christian source and which he himself refers to ‘the Jews,’ he also tried to follow the exegetical methods of the

Hebrew tradition where it seemed appropriate to him.” – Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1142) was the leading exegete in Paris.

2000. Gilbert Dahan: Hebrew, knowledge of. In: André Vauchez (ed.): *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. Volume I. Cambridge (xviii, 809 pp.), p. 657. “Herbert of Bosham was undoubtedly the first true Hebraist: his commentary on the Psalms shows a real knowledge of the Hebrew language.”
2006. Deborah L. Goodwin: *“Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew”: Herbert of Bosham’s Christian Hebraism*. Leiden. xii, 300 pp.
2012. Stephen G. Burnett: *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1600)*. Leiden. xx, 344 pp.
2014. Eva de Visscher: *Reading the Rabbis. Christian Hebraism in the Work of Herbert of Bosham*. Leiden. viii, 222 pp. – Herbert of Bosham, c. 1120–1194.
2017. Marie Thérèse Champagne: Christian Hebraism in Twelfth-Century Rome: A Philologist’s Correction of the Latin Bible through Dialogue with Jewish Scholars and their Hebrew Texts. *Studies in Church History* 53 (2017) 71–87. – Based in Rome, the Christian Hebraist Nicolaus Maniacutius worked on the Latin Psalter with the help of Abraham Ibn Ezra. An important paper on Christian Hebraism in the Middle Ages. ▲
2022. Paul F. Grendler: *Humanism, Universities, and Jesuit Education in Late Renaissance Italy*. Leiden. xiii, 517 pp. – Pages 59–105: Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy 1515–1535. This article features several Christian Hebraists, esp. Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536) and Fra Felice da Prato (1460–1559).
2022. Frans van Liere: “Hebraica Veritas”: The History of a Christian Idea. In: Johannes Heil – Sumi Shimahara (eds.): *From Theodulf to Rashi and Beyond: Texts, Techniques, and Transfer in Western Europe 800–1100*. Leiden (xviii, 510 pp.), pp. 21–42.
2023. Damian Fleming: Bede and the Hebrew Alphabets. In: Peter Darby – Máirín MacCarron (eds.): *Bede the Scholar*. Manchester (xvi, 321 pp.), pp. 175–197.

German

1930. Arthur Allgeier: Die mittelalterliche Überlieferung des Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos von Hieronymus und semitistische Kenntnisse im Abendland. *Oriens Christianus* series 3, 3–4: 200–231.
1973. Matthias Thiel: *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters*. Spoleto. 449 pp.
2022. Ursula Schattner-Rieser: Notizen zu zwei jüdisch-stämmigen Leibärzten im Umfeld Maximilians I. Wegbereiter des humanistischen Interesse an der Hebraistik. In: Markus Debortol et al. (eds.): *“Per tot discrimina rerum.” Maximilian I. (1459–1519)*. Vienna (528 pp.), pp. 157–170.

French

1961. Henri de Lubac SJ: *Exégèse médiévale 3: Les quatre sens de l’écriture*. Paris 1961. 562 pp. – The book has a chapter on the appreciation of Jerome’s work in the Middle Ages; we refer to the English edition: *Medieval Exegesis*. Volume 3: *The Four Senses of Scripture*. Translated by E.M. Macierowski. Grand Rapids, Mich. 2009. xvii, 777 pp. Pages 177–193: The Hebrew, the Greek, and saint Jerome. Page 177: “On every side, during the Carolingian age, Hebraic studies were exalted.” But compare p. 180: “Nevertheless, this *veritas hebraica*, or *auctoritas hebraica* that is unceasingly invoked often seems more like a dogma of faith than an established fact.” And p. 181: “(...) practically speaking, the *veritas hebraica* is quite simply the Latin text of Jerome.”

1992. Christoph Dröge: Quia morem Hieronymi in transferendo cognovi. Les débuts des études hébraïques chez les humanistes italiens. In: Ilana Zinguer (ed.), *L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance*. Leiden (260 pp.), pp. 65–88.
1992. Gilbert Dahan: La connaissance de l'hébreu dans les correctoires de la Bible du xiii^e siècle. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 23: 178–190.
1993. Gilbert Dahan: L'enseignement de l'hébreu en occident médiéval. *Histoire de l'éducation* 57: 3–22.
1996. Gilbert Dahan: Lexiques hébreu/latin? Les recueils d'interprétations des noms hébraïques. In: Jacqueline Harnesse (ed.): *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge*. Louvain-la-Neuve (xiii, 723 pp.), pp. 480–526.
2001. Benoît Grévin: L'hébreu des franciscains. Nouveaux éléments sur la connaissance de l'hébreu en milieu chrétien au XIII^e siècle. *Médiévales* 41 (automne 2001) 65–82.
2011. Gilbert Dahan (ed.): *Nicolas de Lyre. Franciscain du XIV^e siècle – exégète et théologien*. Paris. 398 pp.
2012. Adrien Candiard OP – Caroline Chevalier-Royet: Critique textuelle et recours à l'hébreu à l'époque carolingienne. In: Annie Noblesse-Rocher (ed.): *Études d'exégèse médiévale*. Turnhout (412 pp.), pp. 13–34.
2018. Gilbert Dahan – Anne-Zoë Rillon-Mame (eds.): *Les hébraïsants chrétiens en France au XVI^e siècle*. Geneva. 442 pp.

14.9 Miscellaneous

1963. Giuseppe Ermini (ed.): *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo*. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 10. Spoleto. 768 pp.
1979. Jean Gribomont – Jean Mallet: Le latin biblique aux mains des barbares. Les manuscrits VEST des prophètes. *Romanobarbarica* 4: 31–106. – The authors address the question of how much the “barbarians” actually understood of the Latin biblical text they copied. The result: some things may indeed have remained obscure to them (p. 96).
1984. Pierre Riché – Guy Lobrichon (eds.): *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*. Paris. 639 pp.
2003. Guy Lobrichon: *La Bible au Moyen Âge*. Paris. 247 pp. – This volume reprints 14 papers published earlier, all of them bearing on the Bible in the Middle Ages. There is also a general introduction (pp. 7–15).

Chapter 15

Printers, Humanists, and Reformers

Note. – The primordial event that changed the history of the Bible (and cultural history as a whole) was the invention of printing. Around 1500, the generation that grew up with printing developed two key ideas about the Bible: that one should produce, and make available through printing, correct editions of the Latin Bible; and that one should produce and print vernacular translations of the biblical text. The 16th century has come to be associated primarily with the second of the two ideas, the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages such as German, English, and French. That we hardly associate the sixteenth century with the printing of Latin Bibles has to do with twenty-first century cultural amnesia in a time in which people no longer think of Latin as an important language. Latin, of course, was then the language of higher education and higher culture, including religious culture. Humanists and reformers sought to produce correct editions of the Vulgate, and even sought to produce new Latin versions, thought to be superior to the Vulgate.

For a recent general assessment of early printing culture, see Thomas Kaufmann: *Die Druckmacher. Wie die Generation Luthers die erste Medienrevolution entfesselte*. Munich 2022. 325 pp.

On early printed Bibles, see:

2002. Christian Heitzmann et al.: *Lateinische Bibeldrucke. 1454–2001*. Stuttgart 2002. xxxiii, 1396 pp. (3 large-size volumes). – This work lists all the printed Latin Bibles of the famous collection owned by the Württemberg State Library (Württembergische Landesbibliothek) of Stuttgart, Germany. Original prints of the Gutenberg Bible (1454) are listed along with modern reprints, facsimiles, and even electronic versions. ▲
2012. Frans Van Liere: The Latin Bible, c. 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546; in: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 93–109, at pp. 107–109.
2023. Paul Needham: The Latin Bible in the Renaissance and Early Print Culture. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 274–291. – Four stages may be identified in the transmission of the Vulgate text in the first century of its printing. (1) First is the Gutenberg Bible, probably completed in 1455, closely related to the tradition of Paris Bibles. (2) Next come the partial corrections in a 1462 Mainz edition, followed by additional adjustments in Franz Renner's 1475 Venice Bible. (3) Finally, there are the emendations of Robert Estienne's Paris editions of 1528, 1532, and 1540, leading to (4) the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. Other humanist printers and scholars made major contributions in this period, most notably Desiderius Erasmus, Anton Koberger, Lucantonio Giunta, Santi Pagnini, and Sebastian Münster. The most advanced textual scholarship, by Gobelinus Laridius on the Old Testament, did not become part of broader tradition. An important role was also played by the development of multilingual editions, especially the Complutensian Polyglot and multiple-column psalters. Developments in the selection of biblical books and the creation of paratextual material and indexes are also considered, as well as the printing of the standard medieval commentaries alongside the biblical text.

- 15.1 The Gutenberg Bible, 1454
- 15.2 Castellano – Complutensia – Stephanus
- 15.3 Lorenzo Valla (Erasmus' precursor)
- 15.4 Erasmus
- 15.5 Martin Luther
- 15.6 Protestant Latin Bibles

15.1 The Gutenberg Bible, 1454

Note. – The famous Gutenberg Bible is the first printed edition of the Vulgate Latin Bible. It became the model for subsequent printings. Despite intensive research, it is unknown from which manuscript the printing was made. Since this Bible does not have a title page that would indicate the name of the printer, the association with Johann Gutenberg (c. 1400–1468) rests on indirect evidence. While in the past some scholars doubted the Bible's association with Gutenberg, this is no longer the case today.

The Gutenberg Bible

1454/55. [Gutenberg-Bible] Mainz. 2 vols. 1268 pp. – This printed edition, completed in 1454 or early 1455, does not have a title page. There are recent facsimile reprints: **(1)** Wieland Schmidt – Friedrich Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller (eds.): *Johannes Gutenbergs zweiundvierzigzeilige Bibel. Faksimile-Ausgabe*. Munich 1977, 1979. 2 vols. 325 leaves (vol. 1, facsimile); 205 pp. (vol. 2, commentary). – **(2)** *La Bible de Gutenberg de 1454*. Cologne 2018. 2 vols. 324, 317 leaves, accompanied by a booklet of 144 pages written by Stephan Füssel.

Secondary literature

English

- 1941. Robert H. Pfeiffer: *Introduction to the Old Testament*. New York (xiii, 917 pp.), p. 125: "The first printed edition of the Vulgate, the Bible of 42 lines, or Mazarin Bible (issued before August 15, 1456), is attributed on insufficient evidence to J. Gutenberg (d. 1468), the reputed inventor of printing." – At the time of compiling the present bibliography (2023), there is general agreement that there is enough evidence for Gutenberg to be the printer of the Bible.
- 1952. Francis J. Crump: Gutenberg Bible. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 14: 213–218.
- 1987. Paul Needham: The Text of the Gutenberg Bible. In: Giovanni Crapulli (ed.): *Trasmissione dei testi a stampa nel periodo moderno*. II. Rome (x, 329 pp.), pp. 43–84.
- 1996. Martin Davies: *The Gutenberg Bible*. London. 64 pp. – An illustrated publication of the British Library.
- 2001. Christopher De Hamel: *The Book. A History of the Bible*. London. xi, 352 pp. – German translation: *Das Buch. Eine Geschichte der Bibel*. Berlin 2001. xi, 325 pp.

2012. Dominique Barthélemy OP: *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. (xxxii, 688 pp.), pp. 497–513. – Translated from the French edition, 1992.
2015. Stephan Füssel: Gutenberg Bible. In: *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*. Volume 10. Berlin (xxviii pp., 1216 col.), cols. 1022–1024. – “By the year 1500, the end of the age of incunabula, ninety-four complete editions of the Latin Vg. were published, twenty-two of which had a direct connection to the Gutenberg Bible” (col. 1024).
2017. Eric Marshall White: *Editio princeps. A History of the Gutenberg Bible*. Turnhout. 465 pp. – The author not only describes the making and original impact of this Bible, but also comments on its complete oblivion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Gutenberg Bible was re-discovered around 1700, and has been an object of admiration and research ever since. White’s book is the authoritative reference source on the Latin Gutenberg Bible. Review: Mart van Duijn, *Renaissance Quarterly* 72 (2019) 1048–1049. ▲

German

1954. Heinrich Schneider: *Der Text der Gutenbergbibel. Zu ihrem 500jährigen Jubiläum untersucht*. Bonn. 120 pp. – See also idem: Fünfhundert Jahre Gutenbergbibel. *Bibel und Kirche* 9 (1954) 68–72. Schneider (1908–1994), who taught Old Testament at the Theological Faculty of the Gutenberg University, Mainz, scrutinized all the Latin Bible manuscripts still available in Mainz, or known to have been there in the fifteenth century, to find the manuscript on which the Gutenberg Bible was based. To no avail. He managed, however, to find one manuscript that came relatively close (Stadtbibliothek Mainz II 67 Biblia latina, ca. 1300 Northern France).
1979. Robert Weber: Der Text der Gutenbergbibel und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der Vulgata. In: Wieland Schmidt – Friedrich Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller (eds.): *Johannes Gutenbergs zweiundvierzigzeilige Bibel. Faksimile-Ausgabe*. Volume 2. Munich (205 pp.), pp. 13–31.
1979. Heinrich Karpp: Die kirchengeschichtliche Bedeutung der Gutenberg-Bibel. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 76: 310–330.
1993. Leonhard Hoffmann: Die Gutenbergbibel. Eine Kosten- und Gewinnschätzung des ersten Bibel-drucks auf der Grundlage zeitgenössischer Quellen. *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* 39: 255–319. – The subtitle indicates the author’s economic-history approach, but the article deals with many other subjects relevant to understanding the Gutenberg Bible. ▲
1993. Kurt Aland: Die Ausgaben der Vulgata des Neuen Testaments von Gutenberg bis zur Clementina. In: Roger Gryson (ed.): *Philologia sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien*. Freiburg (674 pp. in 2 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 654–669.
2009. Gerhardt Powitz: Der Text der Gutenberg-Bibel im Spiegel seiner zeitgenössischen Rezeption. *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 84: 29–70.

French

1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l’établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris. xvi, 520 pp. – The early printed editions of the Latin Bible “dérivent toutes de l’édition princeps de Mayence (vers 1452) [= bible de Gutenberg], qui reproduit elle-même le texte alors vulgaire de l’Université de Paris, c’est-à-dire de la plus récente et de la moins pure de toutes non recensions de la Vulgate” (p. 94; cf. p. 76).

1992. Dominique Barthélemy: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. Tome 3. Fribourg (xxiv, ccxlii, 1150 pp.), pp. clxxix–clxxxix. – Barthélemy calls the Gutenberg Bible the *editio princeps* of the Vulgate Bible. He lists all the minor Old Testament textual differences between the book's first and second printing. Translation: Dominique Barthélemy: *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. 2012 (xxxii, 688 pp.), pp. 497–513.
2018. Stephan Füssel: *La Bible de Gutenberg de 1454*. Cologne. 116 pp. – This booklet accompanies a facsimile edition of the Gutenberg Bible (Taschen Verlag).

Spanish

1953. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela: Valor crítico de la Biblia de Gutenberg. *Cultura bíblica* 109: 165–167. – The Gutenberg Bible's text represents the medieval Paris text which, as is generally agreed, is not of much value for reconstructing the authentic Vulgate text.

15.2 Castellano – Complutensia – Stephanus

Alberto Castellano

1511. *Biblia cum concordantijs veteris et novi testamenti*. Edited by Alberto Castellano OP. Venice 1511. 4 volumes.
1922. Henri Quentin OSB: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome – Paris (xvi, 520 pp.), pp. 96–99.
2020. Teunis van Lopik: On the Earliest Printed Editions of the Vulgate with a Text-Critical Apparatus. In: H.A.G. Houghton – Peter Montoro (eds.): *At One Remove: The Text of the New Testament in Early Translations and Quotations*. Piscataway, N.J. (xxiii, 337 pp.), pp. 211–238. – The very first Latin Bible with a critical apparatus printed in the margin and listing variant readings was edited by Alberto Castellano OP.

Complutensian Polyglot edition

- 1514–1517. *Polyglotta Complutense*. Alcalá. 6 vols. – A facsimile edition was published in Rome, 1983–1984. Vols. I–IV contain the Old Testament: Hebrew text in the outer columns, the Greek of the Septuagint in the inner column, and the Latin Vulgate in the center. There are no verse divisions. There are chapter divisions with subdivisions marked by capitals A, B, C, and D. Volume V contains the New Testament in Greek and Latin in two columns. The Acts of the Apostles are positioned after the Epistle to the Hebrews following the Pauline Epistles. Vol. VI contains aids for students of the Hebrew and Greek texts; also provided is a glossary of Hebrew and Aramaic words with Latin equivalents, and explanations of the meaning of the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek names in the Bible. Vol. V, printed in 1514, presented – for the first time in history – a printed Greek text of the New Testament, two years before Erasmus published his Greek New Testament. Accordingly, one must consider this text the *editio princeps* of the Greek New Testament.
1998. Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros: Vorbemerkung zu der Complutenser Polyglottbibel. In: Nicolette Mout (ed.): *Die Kultur des Humanismus. Reden, Briefe, Traktate, Gespräche von Petrarca bis Kepler*. Munich (420 pp.), pp. 149–153. – German translation of Cisneros' preface to the Polyglot Bible. An excerpt: "Schließlich ist im Buch der Psalmen noch daran zu erinnern, daß die von uns

verwendete übliche lateinische Übersetzung als Interlinearversion über die Zeilen des griechischen Septuagintatextes gesetzt ist, weil sie ihm fast Wort für Wort entspricht. Die Übersetzung des heiligen Hieronymus nach dem hebräischen Urtext haben wir dagegen in die mittlere Kolonne gesetzt“ (p. 153). English: Finally, it should be remembered concerning the book of Psalms that the usual Latin translation we use is set as an interlinear version over the lines of the Greek Septuagint text, because it corresponds to it almost word for word. The translation of St. Jerome according to the original Hebrew text, on the other hand, is placed in the middle column. – Part of Cisneros’ text is quoted in the original Latin in two publications:

1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l’établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris (xvi, 520 pp.), p. 99.

1948. Arthur Allgeier: Haec vetus et vulgata editio. Neue wort- und begriffsgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Bibel auf dem Tridentinum. *Biblica* 29: 353–391, at p. 375. ▲

Secondary literature

1912. Eugène Mangelot: Polyglottes. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Paris. Volume 5.1 (1282 cols.), cols. 513–529. On the Complutensia, see cols. 514–518.

1917. Mariano Revilla Rico: *La Políglota de Alcalá. Estudio histórico-crítico*. Madrid. 3, xvi, 178 pp.

1935. R. Miquelez – P. Martínez: El códice complutense o la primera Biblia visigótica de Alcalá. *Anales de la Universidad de Madrid* 2: 204–219.

1968. Basil Hall: The Trilingual College of San Ildefonso and the Making of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. *Studies in Church History* 5: 114–146.

2002. Maria Victoria Spottorno: The Textual Significance of Spanish Polyglot Bibles. *Sefarad* 62: 375–392. – “The texts of the Complutensian Polyglot are still in the need of a deep and sound study within the scope of today’s textual advances” (p. 384).

2008. Maria Teresa Ortega-Monasterio: [Textual Criticism of the Bible in the Spanish Renaissance](#). *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 13. (online journal, without continuous pagination; this article has 9 pp.)

2008. Adrian Schenker OP: The Polyglot Bible of Alcalá 1514–17. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume II. Göttingen (1248 pp.), pp. 286–291. – Page 291: “Except for the Psalter where the editors prepared a Latin recension of their own, they tried to prefer the authentic Vulgate text.” Contrary to what is often claimed, the original texts were never assimilated to the Vulgate wording. ▲

2014. Luis Vegas Montaner: Las versiones latinas en la Políglota Complutense. *Estudios Bíblicos* 72: 177–202. – The Complutensian Polyglot Bible contains a Vulgate text edited by the humanist Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522). Mention is made of the disagreement between Cardinal Cisneros and Nebrija on the criteria to be applied to the edition of the Vulgate text – Nebrija wanted a revision of the Vulgate text on the basis of the original texts, while the Cardinal wanted to have the traditional Vulgate. – Apparently, Nebrija’s participation in the Polyglot task force was only a brief episode; see Thomas Hudgins: *The Greek New Testament of the Complutensian Polyglot*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Madrid 2017 (367 pp.), pp. 46–55.

2016. Antonio Alvar Ezquerro (ed.): *La Biblia Políglota Complutense en su contexto*. Alcalá de Henares. 379 pp.

2016. Frances Luttikhuisen: The Ximenez Polyglot. *Unio cum Christo* 2.1: 83–98. – The Ximenez Polyglot Bible was part of a larger educational project—the University of Alcalá—implemented by Car-

dinal Cisneros at the turn of the sixteenth century in order to revive learning and encourage the study of the Scriptures. Following a brief biography of Cisneros, his reforms, and the social-religious context in which the Bible was produced, this article goes on to discuss the project itself, the manuscripts consulted, the printing, and the scholars involved. Cisneros' focus on biblical studies at the University of Alcalá developed into an interest in Christian humanism and the writings of Erasmus, which would later bring forth fruit in the evangelical movements in Seville and Valladolid in the 1550s.

2017. Natalio Fernández Marcos: The First Polyglot Bible. In: Andrés Piquer Otero – Pablo A. Torrijano Morales (eds.): *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions*. Leiden (xix, 575 pp.), pp. 3–18.

2020. José Manuel Cañas Reillo: La Vulgata en las políglotas de Alcalá y Amberes. In: Gilbert Dahan – Annie Noblesse-Rocher (eds.): *La Vulgate au XVI^e siècle*. Turnhout (279 pp.), pp. 165–219.

Note. – The Complutensian Polyglot Bible did not remain the only one of its kind. The largest and most famous one became the London Polyglot Bible of the mid-seventeenth century, also known as the Walton Polyglot Bible. On this subject, see Adrian Schenker OP: The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London: 1568–1658. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume II. Göttingen (1248 pp.), pp. 774–784.

Stephanus' Bible(s)

Note. – Robert Estienne (alias Robertus Stephanus, 1503–1559) is the most important printer of the 16th century. His first Latin Bible of 1528 is considered the first attempt to produce a critically compiled Vulgate text. Estienne drew on several manuscripts. He also printed Greek and Hebrew editions of the Bible as well as ancient classics. He earned special merit for the insertion of verse numbers in various Bible editions (not yet in the 1528 edition, but in the 1555 edition, see above, Chapter 14.6).

1528.1555. Robertus Stephanus (ed.): *Biblia*. Paris. – In these two years, Stephanus published important Latin Bibles with a text that he himself had revised.

Secondary literature

1900. Benno Jacob: Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen. V. Zur Geschichte der Vulgata im 16. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20: 49–80, at pp. 56–59.

1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome – Paris. xvi, 520 pp. – Pages 104–120: Les bibles de Robert Estienne (1528–1557). Estienne was the first to use old manuscripts, the first to devise a critical apparatus in the form familiar to modern textual critics, and the first to use verse numbers.

1954. Elizabeth Armstrong: *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus*. Cambridge. xx, 309 pp. – Unrevised reprint edition by Cambridge University Press, 2011. There is also a revised and enlarged edition: Appleford 1986. xxii, 342 pp.

1960. Heinrich Schneider: Der Vulgata-Text der Oratio Manasse, eine Rezension des Robertus Stephanus. *Biblische Zeitschrift* NF 4: 277–282.

1986. Dominique Barthélemy OP: Robert Estienne éditeur de la Bible [and subsequent sections]. In: idem: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. Tome 2. Fribourg (xviii, *71, 1013 pp.), pp. *29–*43, *47. This text has been translated: Robert Stephanus, Bible Editor. In: idem: *Studies in the*

Text of the Old Testament. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. 2012 (xxxii, 688 pp.), pp. 175–192. – A very detailed, rich account of Robert Estienne’s Bible editions and his conflict with the Inquisition.

2008. Bernard Roussel: La Biblia éditée par Robert Estienne à Paris, en 1532. In: Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed.): *Biblia. Les bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*. Paris (xii, 274 pp.), pp. 107–128.
2020. Eran Shuali: Le travail de Robert Estienne sur ses éditions de la Vulgate (1528–1557): pratique et conception d’une critique textuelle. In: Gilbert Dahan – Annie Noblesse-Rocher (ed.): *La Vulgate au XVI^e siècle*. Turnhout (279 pp.), pp. 107–122. – A study of Etienne’s Latin text of Gen 9 and Mark 1.

15.3 Lorenzo Valla (Erasmus’ precursor)

Note. – The Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) was the first to systematically address the issue of the Latin language of the Vulgate and point out its differences from classical Latin. Valla’s relevant work remained unpublished during his lifetime. One manuscript was found by Erasmus and published in 1505 as *Adnotationes*. An earlier form of Valla’s manuscript was discovered only in the twentieth century and published by Alessandro Perosa as *Collatio Novi Testamenti* (1970).

Editions

1505. Lorenzo Valla: *In Latinam Novi Testamenti interpretationem ex collatione Graecorum exemplarium Adnotationes*. Edited by Erasmus. – The text can be found in: Lorenzo Valla: *Opera omnia*. Edited by Eugenio Garin. Turin 1962, vol. 1 (viii, 1010 pp.), pp. 801–895 (reprint of the 1540 Basel edition of Valla’s *Opera omnia*) where it is titled *In Novum Testamentum (...) annotationes*.
1970. Lorenzo Valla: *Collatio Novi Testamenti*. Edited by Alessandro Perosa. Florence. lvii, 304 pp.

Secondary literature

1977. Jerry H. Bentley: Biblical Philology and Christian Humanism: Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus as Scholars of the Gospels. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 8.2 (July 1977) 8–28. – See also the same author’s book: *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*. Princeton 1983 (xiii, 245 pp.), esp. pp. 36–66.
1994. Christopher S. Celenza: Renaissance Humanism and the New Testament: Lorenzo Valla’s Annotations to the Vulgate. *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24, 33–52.
2012. Christopher S. Celenza: Lorenzo Valla’s Radical Philology: The “Preface” to the Annotations to the New Testament in Context. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42: 365–394.
2013. Carlo Carena: Le ‘Annotationes in Novum Testamentum’ di Erasmo da Rotterdam e Lorenzo Valla. In: Grazia Melli – Marialuigia Sipione (eds.): *La Bibbia nella letteratura italiana. V: Del Medioevo al Rinascimento*. Brescia (712 pp.), pp. 399–414. – The general editor of the *Bibbia nella letteratura italiana* series is Pietro Gibellini (b. 1945).
2014. Christopher Calenza: Lorenzo Valla und das Neue Testament. In: Anna Heinze – Sebastian Möckel – Werner Röcke (eds.): *Grenzen der Antike. Die Produktivität von Grenzen in Transformationsprozessen*. Berlin (vi, 414 pp.), pp. 145–168.

2016. Annet den Haan: Valla on Biblical Scholarship. *Renaissanceforum* [Denmark] 11: 23–39. – The author comments on humanistic scholarship at the papal court of Nicholas V in the 1450s.

15.4 Erasmus

Erasmus' edition of the New Testament

Secondary literature on Erasmus' New Testament and related writings

Erasmus and Edward Lee

Erasmus and Frans Titelmans

Erasmus' edition of the New Testament

Note. – (1) Erasmus' edition of the New Testament is a heavy tome, complete with Annotations that are actually a commentary on the entire New Testament. Historians of biblical scholarship celebrate it as one of first ever printed editions of Greek New Testament; though not the *editio princeps* (which can be identified: it is in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, printed in 1514), it was most significant. While this is true, it is not the whole story. It stands to reason to assume that Erasmus' idea was not in the first place to supply a printed edition of the Greek text. Instead, he wanted to produce a reliable Latin version, one that corrects the mistakes of the Vulgate – the mistakes the ancient translators made, and the corruptions that have crept in during the process of transmission. Erasmus attributed the mistakes in the Vulgate mainly to obtuse, ignorant scribes who produced an adulterated version of Jerome's original Latin edition. One may compare Erasmus' Latin New Testament with Luther's vernacular Bible. Whereas Luther wanted a Bible for everyone, Erasmus wished to supply one for the educated elite. This is how Erasmus distinguishes himself from Jerome: "Jerome's undertaking is different from mine. He introduced a new text into the church, I introduce it only into private homes and studies" (*Collected Works of Erasmus. Volume 72: Controversies* [with Edward Lee]. Edited by Jane E. Phillips. Toronto 2005 [xxxviii, 449 pp.], p. 100).

Several editions of Erasmus' New Testament supplied just the Latin text (no Greek, no annotations), one printed by Erasmus' own printer, Johannes Froben, in 1522; for details, see R.D. Sider (ed.): *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Leiden 2019 (xxvi, 1062 pp.), pp. 183–184.

(2) *Example of Erasmus' translation*, from the 1519 edition of Erasmus' Greek-Latin New Testament of 1519):

Luke 1:1–4 (Erasmus, 1519): *Quoniam complures aggressi sunt contexere narrationem earum quae inter nos certissime fidei sunt, rerum, sicuti tradiderunt nobis ii qui ab initio suis oculis viderant, ac pars aliqua fuerant eorum quae narrabant: visum est et mihi, ut, cunctis ab initio exacta diligentia pervestigatis, deinceps tibi scriberem optime Theophile, quod agnoscas eorum de quibus edoctus fueras, certitudinem.*
– In literal German translation: Da ja ziemlich viel (*complures*) sich angeschickt haben, die Erzählung derjenigen Begebenheiten aneinander zu reihen (*contexere*), welche unter uns von der sichersten Glaubwürdigkeit sind, soweit es uns diejenigen überliefert haben, welche es von Anfang an mit eige-

nen Augen gesehen hatten und zu einem bedeutenden Teil (*pars aliqua*) Beweis dafür gewesen waren (*fueraut eorum*), worüber sie berichteten: [so] schien es auch mir gut zu sein, dass ich – nach gründlicher Erforschung des Gesamten (*cunctis pervestigatis*) seit Beginn mit genauer Gewissenhaftigkeit – dir der Reihe nach (*deinceps*) schriftlich berichte, mein bester Theophilus, damit du die Echtheit dessen erkennen könntest, worüber du unterrichtet worden warst. – Latin Text and German translation from: Stefan Sonderegger: Philologische Probleme der deutschen Bibelübersetzung: der Prolog des Lukas-Evangeliums; in: Vilmos Ágel – Andreas Gardt et al. (eds.): *Das Wort – seine Strukturelle und kulturelle Dimension*. Tübingen 2002 (xv, 344 pp.), pp. 201–216, at pp. 202–203. Erasmus' version is in classical Latin and pays more attention to the tenses than the Vulgate version.

(3) Why did Erasmus call the first edition of his Greek-Latin New Testament “Novum Instrumentum” rather than “Novum Testamentum”? The Latin noun *instrumentum* means “document,” and some of the early-Christian authors have actually used the word to designate the Old Testament. Examples can be found in Jerome (*Commentary on Isaiah*, on Isa 22:15,16; PL 24 [1865]: 282) and Augustine. The latter indicates that the book that is commonly called Vetus Testamentum would be more properly called Vetus Instrumentum (*quod distinctius vetus instrumentum quam vetus testamentum vocatur*; Augustine: *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* III, 4,12; PL 44: 595).

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1516. Erasmus (ed.): *Novum Instrumentum omne*. Basel. – This first edition of Erasmus' bilingual, Greek and Latin, edition of the New Testament left the press on August 19, 1516. Erasmus had established a critical Greek text to which he added his own Latin version, though the underlying Vulgate text can frequently be recognized. Erasmus made several improved editions – now retitled to *Novum Testamentum omne* – that were published, all in Basel by the same printer, Johann Froben (d. 1527), in 1519, 1522, and 1527; the 1535 edition was printed by Johann Froben's son Hieronymus Froben.

1967. Erasmus: In *Novum Testamentum Praefationes – Vorreden zum Neuen Testament*. In: Erasmus von Rotterdam: *Ausgewählte Schriften. Acht Bände lateinisch und deutsch*. Edited by Werner Welzig. Darmstadt. Vol. 3 (xl, 495 pp.), pp. 1–115. – This is a bilingual, Latin and German edition of the three prefaces – *paraclesis, methodus, apologia* – that Erasmus printed at the beginning of his New Testament. The translation is by Gerhard B. Winkler.

1986. Erasmus: *Novum Instrumentum omne*. Stuttgart. xli, 324, 630 pp. – This facsimile edition, introduced by Heinz Holeczek, reproduces the first edition (xli, 324, 630 pp.).

2001–. Erasmus: *Novum Testamentum ab Erasmo recognitum*, edited by Andrew J. Brown. Amsterdam and Leiden. – This critical edition forms part of the Amsterdam/Leiden edition of Erasmus' *Opera omnia*. Of this edition of the *Novum Testamentum*, vols. 2, 3, and 4 are already available (Leiden 2001, 2004, and 2013), but vol. 1 is still not published (as of 2023).

2019. Erasmus: *Solecismi – Errors in the Vulgate*. Translated by Alexander Dalzell, in: Robert D. Sider (ed.): *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Collected Works of Erasmus, volume 41. Leiden 2019 (xxvi, 1063 pp.), pp. 865–948. – One of the texts Erasmus included in the editions of 1519, 1522, and 1527 is entitled “Solecismi,” the word for “linguistic mistakes.” It consists of several lists of mistranslations, linguistic inaccuracies, interpolations and the like in the Vulgate text.

2019. Erasmo de Róterdam: *Escritos de introducción al Nuevo Testamento*. Edited by Inmaculada Delgado Jara and Victoriano Pastor Julián. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 754. Madrid. xl, 405 pp. – Spanish translation of the introductory material included in Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum omne*.

2020. Robert D. Sider (ed.): *Erasmus on the New Testament. Selections from the Paraphrases, the Annotations, and the Writings on Biblical Interpretation*. Toronto. 336 pp.

Secondary literature on Erasmus' New Testament and related writings

English

1976. Jerry H. Bentley: Erasmus' Annotationes in Novum Testamentum and the Textual Criticism of the Gospels. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 67: 33–53. – Page 38: "By far the greatest number of the notes are concerned with the justification, defense, explanation, or criticism of the Latin translation, either that of the Vulgate, or Erasmus' own."
1980. Henk Jan de Jonge: Erasmus and the comma Johanneum. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 56: 381–389.
1983. Jerry H. Bentley: *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*. Princeton, N.J. xiii, 245 pp.
1984. Andrew J. Brown: The Date of Erasmus' Latin Translation of the New Testament. *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8: 351–380. – Up to 1514, Erasmus had no intention of publishing a new Latin translation. In fact, the first, 1516, edition of his Greek New Testament included a Latin version "much closer to the Vulgate" (p. 369) than the later editions.
1984. Henk Jan de Jonge: Novum Testamentum a nobis versum. The Essence of Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament. *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 35: 394–413. – Erasmus called the first edition of his New Testament an "instrument" (*instrumentum*) because he used the Greek text to improve the Latin translation. He did not evaluate the Greek text on its own terms.
1986. Henk Jan de Jonge: Erasmus' Method of Translation in his Version of the New Testament. *The Bible Translator* 37: 135–138. – Erasmus' aim was to attain greater clarity by replacing the clumsy Late Latin by a clear and idiomatically pure Latin of the classical period. The result was a radically revised Vulgate text in which about forty per cent of the words were changed.
1987. John C. Olin: Erasmus and Saint Jerome. The Close Bond and Its Significance. *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 7: 33–53.
2006. Jan Krans: *Beyond What Is Written: Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament*. Leiden (ix, 384 pp.), pp. 67–90: The importance of the Vulgate.
2007. Allan K. Jenkins – Patrick Preston: *Biblical Scholarship and the Church. A Sixteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*. Aldershot. xiii, 325 pp. – Two chapters deal with Erasmus: Erasmus and the return to the original languages of Scripture (pp. 27–52), Erasmus' debates with traditionalists (pp. 53–80). Pages 53–64 deal specifically with the authority of the Vulgate. Maarten Dorp, one of Erasmus' critics, "shared Erasmus' pleasure in good Latin and had no problem with his improving the Latin style of the Vulgate, but he considered that to suggest on the basis of the Greek that the Vulgate was in error at any point would gravely undermine its authority" (p. 53).
2011. Grantley Robert MacDonald: *Raising the Ghost of Arius: Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and Religious Differences in Early Modern Europe*. PhD Dissertation: University of Leiden. – Published in 2016, see below!
2013. Marie Barral-Baron: Philological Practice and Religious Controversy: Erasmus, Critical Reader of the Vulgate and Patristic Texts. In: Michael Van Dussen – Pavel Soukup (eds.): *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378–1536*. Turnhout (viii, 350 pp.), pp. 315–339.

2016. Jan Krans: Deconstructing the Vulgate. Erasmus' Philological Work in the *Capita* and *Solecismi*. In: Martin Wallraff et al. (eds.): *Basel 1516. Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament*. Tübingen (xix, 319 pp.), pp. 187–206.
2016. Grantley McDonald: *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe. Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and Trinitarian Debate*. Cambridge. xvii, 384 pp.
2016. Marijke H. de Lang (ed.): [Erasmus]. *The Bible Translator 67*: 5–68. This thematic issue includes the following contributions: M.H. de Lang: "Fidelius, apertius, significantius" (the book's editorial, pp. 5–8); J.K. Elliott: "Novum Testamentum editum est." The Five-Hundredth Anniversary of Erasmus' Greek New Testament (pp. 9–28); H.J. de Jonge: Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament: Aim and Method (pp. 29–41); G. McDonald: Erasmus and the Johannine Comma (1 John 5.7–8) (pp. 42–55); Alejandro Coroleu: On the Reception of Erasmus' Latin Version of the New Testament in Sixteenth-Century Spain (pp. 56–68). – Elliott and de Jonge agree: Erasmus' original motive for editing the Greek New Testament was to present his new version of the Latin text (a Jeronian project). The Greek was to be there to enable learned readers to check the reliability of his translation.
2016. Toan Do: A Plea for the "Novum Instrumentum." Erasmus and His Struggle for a New Translation. *Philosophy & Theology* 28: 141–163. – Erasmus' idea was to provide an "instrument" that helps understand the New Testament properly.
2016. Hilmar M. Pabel: St. Jerome's Exegetical Authority in Erasmus of Rotterdam's "Annotations on the New Testament." *Church History and Religious Culture* 96.4 : 565–549.
2018. Henk Jan de Jonge: Erasmus' Novum Testamentum of 1519. *Novum Testamentum* 61: 1–25.
2019. Robert D. Sider (ed.): *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Toronto 2019. xxvi, 1062 pp. This is volume 41 of the Toronto English edition of the "Collected Works of Erasmus." – Pages 3–388: The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus. An Introduction. On pp. 25–84, Sider offers a description and analysis of the first (1516) edition of Erasmus' New Testament. The original plan had been to place the Greek text and the Latin Vulgate text side by side, but eventually, Erasmus replaced the Vulgate version by his own translation in which, nevertheless, the Vulgate still provides the substratum (p. 41). "Erasmus undertook his work on the New Testament to repair the inadequacies of the text of the Vulgate (...) whose faults he imputed (...) to the Translator. Erasmus was certain that the translator responsible for the Vulgate was not Jerome, but some unknown individual" (p. 63). Erasmus wants "to make the biblical prose more Latinate. This generally coincides with efforts to express the Greek with more precision than one found in the Vulgate" (p. 47). One of the problems Erasmus was confronted with by some of his critics – such as Frans Titelmans of Leuven – was that they considered the Vulgate to be divinely inspired (pp. 20, 333). ▲
2020. Riemer Faber: Erasmus' Novum Instrumentum (1516): Reforming the Bible into the Bible of the Reformation. In: J. Marius J. Lange van Ravenswaay – Herman J. Selderhuis (eds.): *Renaissance und Bibelhumanismus*. Göttingen (376 pp.), pp. 295–312. – Page 299: "While the Novum Instrumentum represents the first published Greek text of the New Testament, it does not present a text necessarily superior to that of the Vulgate."
2023. Jan Bloemendal: Erasmus and Biblical Scholarship. In: Eric MacPhail (ed.): *A Companion to Erasmus*. Leiden (x, 362 pp.), pp. 68–89.

German

1975. Heinz Holeczek: *Humanistische Bibelphilologie als Reformproblem bei Erasmus von Rotterdam, Thomas More und William Tyndale*. Leiden. vi, 413 pp.
2016. Petra Schierl: Die lateinische Übersetzung. Erasmus' Revision der Vulgata. In: Ueli Dill – Petra Schierl (eds.): *Das bessere Bild Christi. Das Neue Testament in der Ausgabe des Erasmus von Rotterdam*. Basel (220 pp.), pp. 111–114.
2017. Moisés Mayordomo (ed.): *Theologische Zeitschrift* 73, Heft 3: 205–338: Erasmus. – Henk Jan de Jonge: Erasmus' Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments. Ziel und Methode (pp. 207–221; Erasmus wanted to publish an improved, corrected Latin version of the New Testament for the use of the educated); Ueli Zahnd: Der Humanist und die Scholastiker. Alte Reaktionen auf ein Neues Testament? (pp. 275–298; unlike Erasmus, Maarten van Dorp was convinced of the correctness of the Vulgate; it did not need any factual correction, but only linguistic improvement); Martin Karrer: Das Neue Testament des Erasmus und Luthers (pp. 299–324; Luther used Erasmus' edition of the New Testament).
2023. Ingo Schaaf: ... quem [...] hominem fuisse non possum diffiteri. Anmerkungen zu Hieronymus in der humanistischen Rezeption. In: Anneliese Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 107–122: Jerome in the work of Erasmus and other humanists.

French

1950. L. Venard: Vulgate. In: A. Vacant – E. Mangenot (eds.): *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*. Tome 15.2. Paris (cols. 1547–3928), cols. 3474–3492. – Column 3486: "Le cardinal Cajétan [Thomas de Vio Cajetan OP, 1469–1534], influencé par l'autorité d'Erasme, désireux d'autre part de faciliter les controverses avec les protestants qui refusaient de prendre pour base le text de la Vulgate et entendaient fonder leur argumentation sur les seuls textes originaux, adopta dans l'ensemble la position d'Erasme, attribuant par exemple une autorité théologique moindre à l'épître aux Hébreux et aux deux petites épîtres johanniques [2 Joh, 3 Joh], rejetant nettement aussi l'authenticité de la finale de Marc, XVI,9 sp., du récit de la femme adultère, Joa., VII,53–VIII,11 (...) et du Comma johanneum." Of Cajetan the following word has been transmitted: *non interpretis graeci et latini sed ipsius tantum hebraei textus autoritas est* – "the authority is not located in the Greek and Latin translators, but only in the Hebrew text"; mentioned by Eberhard Nestle: *Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen*, in: Albert Hauck (ed.): *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 3rd edition. 3. Band. Leipzig 1897 (832 pp.), pp. 24–58, at p. 52.
2020. Thierry Amalou – Alexandre Vanautgaerden (eds.): *1516. Le Nouveau Testament d'Erasme. Regards sur l'Europe des humanistes*. Turnhout. xix, 370 pp. – A collection of scholarly papers read at a 2016 conference held at the library of the Sorbonne, Paris. Here is a selection: André Godin: 'Novum Instrumentum', 'Philosophia Christi': Enjeux et mis en œuvre d'un humanisme biblicopatrastique (pp. 47–52; Erasmus published his book as a "study Bible" in the interest of promoting piety); Luigi-Alberto Sanchi: Guillaume Budé et la critique érasmiennne du Nouveau Testament en latin (pp. 53–60); Alexandre Vanautgaerden: "Monumentum paratum est." Chronique des travaux récents sur le Nouveau Testament d'Érasme (2016–2020) (pp. 211–302). There is also a list of Erasmus' works (pp. 345–354).

Italian

2020. Cecilia Asso: Erasmo et *l'interpres*. Le polemiche sulla Vulgata del Nuovo Testamento. In: Gilbert Dahan – Annie Noblesse-Rocher (eds.): *La Vulgate au XVI^e siècle*. Turnhout (279 pp.), pp. 77–106.

Erasmus and Edward Lee

1520. Edward Lee: *Annotationes Edouardi Lei in Annotationes novi testamenti Desiderii Erasmi*. Paris. – Lee, an English cleric (born c. 1485, he was substantially younger than Erasmus; Lee became archbishop of York) was one of Erasmus' fiercest critics, and listed 243 objections against Erasmus' annotations in his first edition of the New Testament, and another 25 objections to Erasmus' annotations in the 1519 edition. Erasmus made an effort to refute them all, esp. in two printed pamphlets: *Responsio de annotationes Lei* and *Liber tertius E.R. quo respondet reliquis annotationibus Ed. Lei*, both printed in 1520. – Annotated translations of Erasmus' writings against Lee can be found in: *Collected Works of Erasmus. Volume 72: Controversies* [with Edward Lee]. Edited by Jane E. Philipps. Toronto 2005. xxxvii, 449 pp.

Secondary literature

1902. Augustinus Bludau: *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner*. Freiburg. vi, 145 pp. – A brief version with the same title was published in *Biblische Studien* 7 (1902) 86–125.
1986. Robert Coogan: The Pharisee against the Hellenist: Edward Lee versus Erasmus. *Renaissance Quarterly* 39: 476–506. – Coogan focuses on the theological side of the dispute – the charge of Pelagianism.
1992. Robert Coogan: *Erasmus, Lee and the Correction of the Vulgate. The Shaking of the Foundations*. Geneva. 125 pp. – Expanded version of the author's 1986 paper. Review: R. Bergley, *Renaissance Quarterly* 47 (1994) 994.
1999. Gerard Huijng: Textual Variation in Erasmus' Polemics. In: H.T.M. Vliet (ed.): *Produktion und Kontext*. Tübingen (vii, 347 pp.), pp. 111–124.
2008. Cecilia Asso: Martin Dorp and Edward Lee. In: Erika Rummel (ed.): *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*. Leiden (viii, 336 pp.), pp. 167–196.
2019. Robert D. Sider (ed.): *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Leiden (xxvi, 1063 pp.), pp. 151–153.

Erasmus and Frans Titelmans

2003. Paolo Sartori: La controversia neotestamentaria tra Frans Titelmans ed Erasmus da Rotterdam (1527–1530 ca.). *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 52: 77–135.
2009. Paolo Sartori: Divine Inspiration and Biblical Translators: The Vetus Interpres of the Latin New Testament in a Comparison of Erasmus, Petrus Sutor and Frans Titelmans. In: Wim François et al. (eds.): *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period*. Leuven (xviii, 488 pp.), pp. 87–110.
2019. Tomasz Karol Mantyk: Migrations of the Word of God: Francis Titelmans' Defence of the Vulgate. *The Biblical Annals* 9.3: 525–546 (article in Polish). Against Erasmus, Titelmans' *Prologus apologeticus pro veteri et ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti Latina interpretatione* (Antwerp 1530) argues that when migrating to Latin, the text was closely supervised by God so as to ensure its correctness.

15.5 Martin Luther

Luther's Latin Bible texts – Luther and the Vulgate

Editions

1513. [edited by Luther] *Sepher Tehillim hoc est liber laudum sive hymnorum qui psalterium David dicitur*. Wittenberg. – Facsimile edition with Luther's handwritten notes: *Wolfenbütteler Psalter 1513–1515*. Edited by Eleanor Roach – Reinhard Schwarz. 2 Bände. Frankfurt. 3, 115 leaves (facsimile); xxxvi, 558 pp. (studies). – Literature:
1953. Gerhard Ebeling: Luthers Psalterdruck vom Jahre 1513. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 50.1: 43–99; also in: idem: *Lutherstudien*. Band 1. Tübingen 1971 (xii, 341 pp.), pp. 1–68.
2014. Jun Matsuura: Psalterdruck und Manuskripte zu Luthers Psalmenvorlesung (1513–1515) – Ihre Wege durch die Geschichte. In: Irene Dingel – Henning P. Jürgens (eds.): *Meilensteine der Reformation*. Gütersloh (296 pp.), pp. 28–45.
1529. [partial Vulgate Bible, edited by Luther] *Pentateuchus. Liber Iosue. Liber Iudicum. Liber Regum. Novum Testamentum*. Wittenberg. – Offered is a text of the Vulgate, revised to conform more closely to the Hebrew and Greek. For an example, see below, [textual note](#) on Phil 4:22 (Chapter 22). Interestingly, this edition omits the “comma Johanneum” (1 John 5:7–8; see below, Chapter 22). – Literature:
1912. Eberhard Nestle: Lateinische Bibelstudien in Wittenberg 1529. *Philologus* 71: 314–317. – In Matt 8:3 *volo mundare* (mundare being not an infinitive but a passive imperative) is replaced with *mudus esto*; and the *nobilis decurio* (Mark 15:43) is made an *honestus senator*. These and other examples show that the Vulgate text is deemed inadequate and needs emendation in the interest of linguistic elegance and readability.
1914. *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Reihe “Deutsche Bibel”*: Band 5. Weimar 1914 (xxvii, 804 pp.). This is the work in the “Weimar Edition,” the modern historical-critical edition of the works of Luther; the responsible editors of this volume are Eberhard Nestle (d. 1913) and Erwin Nestle. At pp. 2–12 is Luther's Latin preface to the Old Testament, at pp. 475–479 his preface to the New Testament.
1987. Martin Brecht: *Martin Luther*. Volume 3. Stuttgart (471 pp.), p. 108 (= idem: *Martin Luther. The Preservation of the Church, 1532–1546*. Minneapolis, Min. 1993 [xvii, 511 pp.], p. 102). – In modern Luther biographies such as this one, the Vulgate revision is mentioned only briefly.
2019. Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele: “Nova propemodum translatio”: Luther and the Vulgate. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 110: 7–22, esp. pp. 16–19. – A full discussion of this work.
2020. Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele: Luthers Übersetzung der Bibel ins Deutsche und Lateinische. In: Andreas Müller et al. (eds.): *Bibelübersetzungen in der Geschichte des Christentums*. Leipzig (162 pp.), pp. 73–100.
1529. [Latin Psalter, edited by Luther] *Psalterium translationis veteris correctum*. Wittenberg. Reprinted with a new preface in 1537. – This is a Vulgate Psalter, revised according to the Hebrew. – Literature:
1957. *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Reihe “Deutsche Bibel”*: Band 10.II. Weimar 1957 (ci, 349 pp.), pp. 158–289. This is the modern critical edition of this text. Pages 185–192 print the text of two prefaces, one by Luther alone, and one by Luther and Justus Jonas.
2019. Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele: “Nova propemodum translatio”: Luther and the Vulgate. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 110: 7–22, esp. p. 20.
1530. Martin Luther: On Translating: An Open Letter [Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen]. In this treatise on translating, Luther explains his approach mainly with reference to translating into German expressions found in the Vulgate. – Literature:

1909. Luther: Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen. In: *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Band 30.2. Weimar 1909 (viii, 716 pp.), pp. 632–639. – Critical edition.
2007. Luther: On Translating. In: *Selected Writings of Martin Luther*. Edited by Theodore G. Tappert. Volume 4: 1529–1546. Minneapolis, Min. 2007 (xxiii, 403 pp.), pp. 173–194.

Secondary literature

English

1946. John M. Lenhart: Protestant Latin Bibles of the Reformation from 1520–1570. A Bibliographical Account. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8: 416–432.
1976. Heinz Bluhm: The Nature of the Wittenberg 1529 Revision of the Vulgate: Galatians I. *Aquila* 3: 1–20.
2010. Bruce Gordon: The Authority of Antiquity. In: Polly Ha – Patrick Collinson (eds.): *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*. London (xxxvii, 250 pp.), pp. 1–22. – Pages 9–10: “Following the tradition of Erasmus, Protestant culture retained a complex relationship with the Vulgate, and the story is by no means exhausted by the polemical denunciations found throughout the writings of the reformers. The first Protestant Latin Bible appeared in Wittenberg in 1529. Originally intended as a revision of the Vulgate, the team of scholars led by Melancthon, according to their preface, discovered the text to be so corrupt that they had little choice but to return to the Hebrew, leading to an extensive revision (...). In the preface Luther made a crucial and revealing distinction: this translation of 1529 was intended only for the use of students and theologians, and not for the wider body of the faithful. In other words, it was to be circulated among scholars only and not those clergy that might be able to use it in sermon preparation. They, the preface continued, were to remain with the version of the Vulgate.”
2019. Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele: “Nova propemodum translatio”: Luther and the Vulgate. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 110: 7–22. – “in a research project at the University of Marburg, we reconstructed Luther’s work on the Latin Bible over the course of his life. This article outlines (...) the results of this research” (p. 9). Schäufele also tells the story of the “Wittenberg Vulgate” and the Wittenberg Latin Psalter, both published in 1529 (pp. 16–20). After having completed these projects, Luther lost interest in revising the Vulgate text. The Vulgate Bible “no longer played a role for Luther; he used the Latin scholarly language sovereignly and autonomously in order to guarantee the best possible and most accurate rendering of the Hebrew (or Aramaic) or Greek sense of Scripture” (p. 21).

German

1918. Ernst Thiele: Eine Handschrift der Vulgata aus Luthers Bücherei. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 91: 138–143. – An 11th-century codex.
1941. Hermann Dippelt: Hatte Luthers Verdeutschung des Neuen Testaments den griechischen Text zur Grundlage? *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 38: 300–330. – Page 326: “Der Vulgatatext ist seine Grundlage geblieben” (the Latin text remained his foundation). Page 329: “Das Griechische fand nur gelegentlich, zumeist auf Anregung durch die Annotationes des Erasmus Berücksichtigung.” ▲
1947. Heinrich Bornkamm: Die Vorlagen zu Luthers Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments. In: idem: *Luther. Gestalt und Wirkungen. Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Gütersloh 1975 (308 pp.), pp. 65–73. – Agrees with Dippelt’s essay of 1941.

1988. Rudolf Riedinger: Nach welcher Vorlage übersetzte Martin Luther den Hebräerbrief für das Septembertestament 1522? *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 30: 93–112. – The text from which Luther translated Hebrews for the “September Testament” is not the Greek text, but that of the Vulgate. ▲
1992. Rudolf Riedinger: Welchen Grundtext übersetzte Martin Luther für seine deutsche Bibel? *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 42: 325–330. ▲
1999. Martin Brecht – Eberhard Zwink (eds.): *Eine glossierte Vulgata aus dem Umkreis Martin Luthers*. Vestigia Biblicae 21. Berne. 407 pp. – Subtitle: “Untersuchungen zu dem 1519 in Lyon gedruckten Exemplar in der Bibelsammlung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart.”
2015. Martin Rösel: Revision und Neuübersetzung. Die Apokryphen in der Lutherbibel 2017. In: Albrecht Buschmann (ed.): *Gutes Übersetzen*. Berlin (ix, 399 pp.), pp. 283–295. – Page 289: Some of the apocryphal books were translated from the Vulgate, with no or minimal participation of Luther: Judith, Tobit, and 1 Maccabees. The translation of Judith and Tobit was the work of Justus Jonas, 1 Macc was translated by Melancthon.
2015. Eberhard Zwink: Die lateinische Biblia Sacra Vulgata: zu ihrer Geschichte und ihrer Bedeutung für die reformatorische Bibelübersetzung. In: Jürgen Schefzyk – Eberhard Zwink (eds.): *Luthers Meisterwerk. Ein Buch wie eine Naturgewalt*. Mainz (112 pp.), pp. 18–25. ▲
2017. Christine Christ-von Wedel: Erasmus und Luther als Ausleger der Bibel. In: eadem – Sven Grosse (eds.): *Auslegung und Hermeneutik der Bibel in der Reformationszeit*. Berlin (xvii, 425 pp.), pp. 367–380. Both Luther and Erasmus worked with the Vulgate as their basic text, but their interests differed widely. Luther’s interest is theological, Erasmus’ focus is on historical and philological questions. The author discusses how the two read Galatians. Luther frequently relied on Erasmus’ notes and text, without acknowledging it. ▲
2017. Menno Aden: Woraus hat Martin Luther übersetzt? Die Erasmus-Edition in Latein und Griechisch als Vorlage. *Sprachspiegel* 73.3: 74–82. – Luther translated the New Testament from the Latin text of Erasmus, and only for certain words took the Greek text into account.
2020. Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele: Luthers Übersetzung der Bibel ins Deutsche und ins Lateinische. In: Andreas Müller et al. (eds.): *Bibelübersetzungen in der Geschichte des Christentums*. Leipzig (164 pp.), pp. 73–100.

15.6 Protestant Latin Bibles

General

The Zurich Latin Bible

Sébastien Castellio’s Latin Bible

General

1946. John M. Lenhart: Protestant Latin Bibles of the Reformation from 1520–1570. A Bibliographical Account. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8: 416–432. – A survey of Protestant editions of the Vulgate Bible (and not about new translations into Latin).
2008. Jean-Pierre Delville: L'évolution des Vulgates et la composition de Nouvelles versions latines de la Bible au XVI^e siècle. In: Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed.): *Biblia. Les Bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*. Paris (xii, 274 pp.), pp. 71–106. – This volume includes another interesting article: Olivier Millet: La distinction de la prose et de la poésie dans la disposition typographique des Bibles latines de la Renaissance (1505–1557), pp. 191–209.
2012. Josef Eskhult: Latin Bible Translations in the Protestant Reformation. In: Bruce Gordon – Matthew McLean (eds.): *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*. Leiden (xii, 306 pp.), pp. 167–185. The same paper is also published in the journal *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 106 (2006): 31–67. – This article surveys the development of Latin translations of the Old Testament in the period 1500–1750, from the beginning of biblical Hebrew humanism about 1500 until the era of Enlightenment in the middle of the eighteenth century. The methods of translation are investigated and the reception among contemporary critics is accounted for. The article also surveys the use of and attitude towards the Vulgate among Protestants.
2012. Mark W. Elliott: Looking backwards: The Protestant Latin Bible in the Eyes of Johannes Piscator and Abraham Calov. In: Bruce Gordon – Matthew McLean (eds.): *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*. Leiden (xii, 306 pp.), pp. 291–302.
2015. Bruce Gordon: Creating a Reformed Book of Knowledge: Immanuel Tremellius, Franciscus Junius, and Their Latin Bible, 1580–1590. In: Karen E. Spierling (ed.): *Calvin and the Book. The Evolution of the Printed Word in Reformed Protestantism*. Göttingen (170 pp.), pp. 95–121.
2017. Bruce Gordon: Teaching the Church: Protestant Latin Bibles and Their Readers. In: Jennifer Powell McNutt – David Lauber (eds.): *The People's Book. The Reformation and the Bible*. Downers Grove, Ill. (ix, 249 pp.), pp. 13–32. – Page 19: "Despite the polemical bursts, Protestants could not and did not wish to separate themselves from the Vulgate, whatever its shortcomings, for it was essential to their claim to the tradition of the church. They were not prepared to part company with the Vulgate, and its influence in the Protestant culture, although seldom acknowledged, remained powerful. All the work of the Protestant translators of the Bible into Latin stood in the shadow of Jerome's Bible which they continued to consult and never claimed to replace."
2020. Marie-France Monge-Strauss: *Traduire le livre de Jonas. De Lefèvre d'Étaples à la version révisée de Genève (1530–1588)*. Paris. 688 pp. – The appendix (pp. 633–660) presents in synoptic form the Vulgate text of Jonah together with other Latin translations.
2023. Annie Noblesse-Rocher: Protestant Latin Bibles. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 320–332. – Despite its emphasis on translations into the vernacular, the Protestant Reformation also saw a series of revisions and new editions of the Latin Bible in the sixteenth century. Some of these reflected Humanist interest in original sources and Latin learning (Sebastian Castellio). Others involved greater or lesser alteration of the Vulgate text with reference to Hebrew or Greek, and the provision of annotations (the Zurich Bible, Andreas Osiander, Martin Luther, Sebastian Münster, Immanuel Tremellius, Theodore Beza). Bilingual and polyglot editions are also considered (*Biblia franco-latina*, *Biblia germano-latina*, Elias Hutter, David Wolder, Antwerp polyglot). The nature of the revisions is examined with particular reference to the book of Genesis.

The Zurich Latin Bible

1543. *Biblia sacrosancta testament veteris et novi e sacra Hebraeorum lingua Graecorumque fontibus*. Zurich. – The famous Zurich Latin Bible is a new translation, not just a revised edition of the Vulgate Bible.

Secondary literature

1996. Claire Gantet: La religion et ses mots: la Bible latine de Zurich (1543) entre la tradition et l'innovation. *Zwingliana* 23: 143–167.
2008. Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed.): *Biblia. Les Bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*. Paris. xii, 274 pp. – A volume of essays on Latin Bibles in the 16th century.
2008. Christoph Bultmann: Beyond the Vulgate. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 120.1: 92–106. – Page 95, n. 12: "The translation is the work of a reformed scholar at Zurich, Leo Jud (1482–1542), complemented by Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564), and was first published in Zurich in 1543. Among other editions, it was republished by Robert Stephanus (1503–1559) in Paris in 1545, together with exegetical notes by Franciscus Vatablus (d. 1547). See *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed., ed. by A. Hauck, vol. 3 (1897), 49–57 (52f.); 185–187; vol. 9 (1901), 550–553. On Bibliander see C. Christ-von Wedel (ed.), *Theodor Bibliander 1505–1564*, 2005; H. Amirav and H.-M. Kirn, Notes on the Reformation, humanism, and the study of Hebrew in the sixteenth century: the case of Theodore Bibliander (1505–64), in: *Dutch Review of Church History* 87 (2007), 161–171."
2010. Bruce Gordon: The Authority of Antiquity. In: Polly Ha – Patrick Collinson (eds.): *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*. London 2010 (xxxvii, 250 pp.), pp. 1–22. – This paper includes a section on the Zurich Latin Bible of 1543 (pp. 16–18).
2014. Bruce Gordon: Remembering Jerome and Forgetting Zwingli: The Zurich Latin Bible of 1543 and the Establishment of Heinrich Bullinger's Church. *Zwingliana* 41: 1–33.
2020. Annie Noblesse-Rocher: Les "révisions" de la Vulgate dans les cercles protestants au XVI^e siècle. In: Gilbert Dahan – Annie Noblesse-Rocher (eds.): *La Vulgate au XVI^e siècle*. Turnhout (279 pp.), pp. 123–142.

Sébastien Castellio's Latin Bible

1551. The French humanist Sébastien Castellio (Chateillon, 1515–1563) published a Latin Bible which in its reception came to be overshadowed by the French Bible produced by the same author (first printed in 1555). Castellio's Latin Bible is a re-written Vulgate, intent on offering a text that satisfies the taste of those who wished to read the Bible in the language of Cicero rather than that of Jerome. Accordingly, Castellio eliminated almost all Hebraisms. A feast for Latin scholars!
2008. *Biblia Sacra ex Sebastiani Castellionis interpretation, eiusque postrema recognitione*. Préface de Jean Ercole. Hildesheim. Pars 1: Libri Veteris Foederi. 18* pp., 1518 cols. – Pars 2: Libri Novi Foederis. 2*, 506 cols., followed by indexes without pagination. – This is a fine two-volume edition of Castellio's Latin Bible, printed in Frankfurt (Germany) in 1697, reprinted in Hildesheim 2008 as part of the collected works of the German philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754) who used the Castellio Bible whenever referring to the biblical text. This edition also includes, at the end of volume 1, IV Ezra (cols. 1281–1318) and extracts from Josephus (cols. 1318–1334 and 1405–1518); the Josephus texts were added by Castellio to the 1554 edition of his Bible. ▲

2020. Sebastian Castellio: *Annotationes in Pauli epistulam ad Romanos ex cap. IX*. Critical Edition and English Translation by Michiel Op de Coul and Mirjam van Veen. Geneva. xxxvi, 66 pp. – Castellio’s Latin Bible has an extensive apparatus of exegetical notes placed at the foot of each page. In the case of Romans 9, an extended note runs over several pages (in the 2008 reprint edition, see Pars 2, cols. 243–252). This note is presented in Latin together with an English translation and an introduction. – Review: Jean-Pierre Sternberger, *Études théologiques et religieuses* 97 (2022) 264–265.

Secondary literature

1870. Moritz Aberle: Das biblische Latein. *Theologisches Literaturblatt* [Bonn] 5: 321–326. – Col. 321: “Unter den Gründen der Abneigung (...) womit in der Renaissanceperiode die Vulgata betrachtet wurde, steht in erster Linie die Sprache derselben. Je mehr diese Zeit in der Ausdrucksweise des Cicero (...) das Ideal und die höchste Norm der Gedankenmitteilung erblickte, um so mehr mußte sie sich durch das ihr vielfach gemein und selbst barbarisch klingende Latein der Vulgata abgestoßen fühlen. Daher die Versuche, dieses Erbstück der alten Kirche durch neue, dem herrschenden Geschmack entsprechende Übersetzungen zu verdrängen oder das Ärgernis dadurch zu beseitigen, daß man wenigstens dem Texte classisch gewendete Paraphrasen an die Seite stellte. Wir legen auf diese Arbeiten nur noch geringen Werth. Die Bibel des Castalio z.B. hat für uns nur noch die Bedeutung einer literarischen Curiosität, und weit entfernt, in ihr unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Geschmacks eine Verbesserung zu sehen, müssen wir sie in dieser Hinsicht als eine schwere Verirrung erklären.”
1897. Eberhard Nestle: Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen. In: Albert Hauck (ed.): *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 3rd edition. 3. Band. Leipzig (832 pp.), pp. 24–58, at pp. 53–54.
1997. Hans Guggisberg: *Sebastian Castellio: 1515–1563. Humanist und Verteidiger der religiösen Toleranz im konfessionellen Zeitalter*. Göttingen (ix, 353 pp.), pp. 55–78: Bible translations.
2003. Hans Guggisberg: *Sebastian Castellio, 1515–1563. Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*. Translated by Bruce Gordon. Aldershot (xiv, 303 pp.), pp. 49–72: The Bible Translations.
2008. Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud – Anne-Laure Metzger-Rambach: Reformuler la Vulgate? Castellion devant le IV^e livre d’Esdras. In: Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed.): *Biblia. Les bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*. Paris (xii, 274 pp.), pp. 157–172. Castellio presents a text that is massively edited in the interest of having an elegant, almost classical Latin.
2008. Nicole Geunier: Le “Cantique des Cantiques” dans la Bible latine de Castellion. In: Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed.): *Biblia. Les bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*. Paris (xii, 274 pp.), pp. 145–156.
2012. Irena Backus: Moses, Plato and Flavius Josephus. Castellio’s Conceptions of Sacred and Profane in His Latin Versions of the Bible. In: Bruce Gordon – Matthew McLean (eds.): *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*. Leiden (xi, 306 pp.), pp. 143–166.
2013. Josef Eskhult: Castellion, traducteur de la Bible latine: Image de soi et réception durant la Renaissance et l’Âge Classique. In: Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed.): *Sébastien Castellion: des Écritures à l’écriture*. Paris (567 pp.), pp. 109–138.
2018. Peter Stotz: Castellios neues Sprachkleid für die Bibel – was hat es dem sermo piscatorius voraus? In: Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer (ed.): *Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563) – Dissidenz und Tole-*

ranz. Göttingen (613 pp.), pp. 103–130. – On Castellio’s attempt to improve the Bible’s Latin that was said to be in the language of fishermen (*sermo piscatorius*).

2018. Mirjam van Veen: Johan Jakob Wettstein’s (1693–1754) Use of Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563). In: Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer (ed.): *Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563) – Dissidenz und Toleranz*. Göttingen (613 pp.), pp. 575–588.

Chapter 16

The Vulgate in Modern Catholicism, 1546–1979

- 16.1 The Council of Trent (1546) and the authority of the Vulgate
- 16.2 Protestant critics of the Council of Trent and of the Vulgate
- 16.3 Louvain Bible
- 16.4 The Bible of Pope Sixtus V, 1590
- 16.5 The “editio Clementina,” 1592
- 16.6 The Popes and the Latin Psalms, 1568–1969

16.1 The Council of Trent (1546) and the authority of the Vulgate

The council
Secondary literature
Official declarations, 1941 and 1943

The council

1546. Council of Trent. Fourth Session: *De editione et usu librorum sacrorum* – On the Edition and Use of the Sacred Books (also known as the Decree “Insuper” and “the Vulgate decree”; 8th April 1546). – “Considering that no little utility may accrue to the Church of God if, out of all the Latin editions now in circulation, it would be known which is to be held as authentic, the sacred and holy synod ordains and declares: that the old and vulgate edition – which by long usage of so many ages has been approved in the Church – be held as authentic (*pro authentica habeatur*) in public lectures, disputations, sermons, and exposition. No one is to dare or presume to reject it under any pretext soever.” – German: “Erwägend, dass der Kirche Gottes nicht wenig Nutzen zuteil werden könne, wenn bekannt wird, welche von allen lateinischen Ausgaben, die von den heiligen Büchern im Umlauf sind, für authentisch zu halten sind, beschließt und erklärt dasselbe hochheilige Konzil, dass diese alte Vulgata-Ausgabe, die durch den langen Gebrauch so viele Jahrhunderte in der Kirche anerkannt ist, bei öffentlichen Lesungen, Disputationen, Predigten und Auslegungen als authentisch gelten soll (*pro authentica habeatur*), und dass niemand wagen oder sich unterstehen soll, diese unter irgendeinem Vorwand zu verwerfen.” The Council decrees that editions of the Bible may not be printed without prior examination by the bishop.

Strangely enough, it was [John Calvin](#) who was the first to publish the Council's decrees in print – accompanied by his critique; see below, Chapter **16.2**.

Text of the decree in Latin and in translation:

2002. Josef Wohlmuth (ed.): *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien*. Band 3. Paderborn (xviii, pp. 875–1135, 1*–170*), pp. 664–665. Latin and German.

2005. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*. 40th edition. Freiburg (xxxviii, 1811 pp.), nos. 1506–1508 (pp. 497–498). Latin and German.

2012. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Compendium of Creeds, Definitions, and Declarations on Matters of Faith and Morals*. San Francisco (xxxvii, 1399 pp.), nos. 1506–1508. Latin and English.

Secondary literature

Before 1900

1591. Robert Bellarmine: *De editione Latina vulgata, quo sensu a Concilio Tridentino definitum sit, ut pro authentica habeatur* – On the Latin Vulgate edition, in which sense the Council of Trent wanted it to be taken as authentic. This theological treatise, first printed in 1749, is edited in: Xavier-Marie Le Bachelet SJ: *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine. Étude et documents inédits*. Paris 1911 (xi, 210 pp.), pp. 107–125.
1685. Richard Simon: *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*. Rotterdam. – New edition: Paris 2008. 954 pp., edited by Pierre Gibert, with slightly modernized spelling. Pages 431–440 (Gibert's edition): "En quel sens l'ancienne version latine a été déclaré authentique par le concile de Trente." Conclusion: "le texte hébreux est véritablement authentique," but all translations made in good faith are "aussi authentiques à leur manière." Accordingly: "Cette question qu'on examine d'ordinaire avec tant de chaleur, si la Vulgate est seule authentique et la véritable Écriture, me paraît assez inutile" (p. 432).
1720. Augustin Calmet OSB: *Nouvelles Dissertations*. Paris. 8 leaves, 540 pp. – Pages 39–54: Dissertation sur la Vulgate. "(...) il faut convenir que la Vulgate, qui est en usage dans l'Église Romaine & Catholique, est encore la plus parfaite & la meilleure Traduction que nous ayons de la Bible." The declaration of the Council of Trent that the Vulgate is authentic does not mean that it is preferable to the original text.
1820. Georg Riegler: *Kritische Geschichte der Vulgata*. Sulzbach. xii, 156 pp. – The author's interest is in the Council of Trent and the question of whether Catholics are bound to the Vulgate at the expense of the original text, a question much debated among Catholics until the 20th century. Riegler steers a sound middle course between contempt of the Vulgate and exaggerated loyalty to it. Nevertheless, Hildebrand Höpfl warns that Riegler's book "fußt auf dem unzuverlässigen Angaben und tendenziösen Entstellungen des Paolo Sarpi"; see Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sixto-klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Freiburg 1913 (xv, 339 pp.), p. 1, note. Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623) is the author of the first critical history of the Council of Trent: *Istori del concilio Tridentino*. London 1619 – published under the pseudonym Pietro Solave Polano; it was published in London to circumvent Italian censorship.
1824. Leander van Eß: *Pragmatisch-kritische Geschichte der Vulgata im Allgemeinen, und zunächst in Beziehung auf das Trientische Decret*. Tübingen. xvi, 504 pp. – Added is the subtitle: "Oder: Ist der

Katholik gesetzlich an die Vulgata gebunden?“ Van Eß emphasizes the value of the Vulgate, but restricts it (like Georg Riegler, 1820).

1829. Johann Baptist Gerhauser: *Biblische Hermeneutik*. Erster Theil. Kempten (xiv, 385 pp.), p. 336. “Das Dekret des Kirchenrathes von der Authentie der Vulgata ist nicht dogmatisch, sondern nur disciplinarisch, d.i. es wird dadurch keine Glaubenslehre vorgetragen, sondern nur eine kirchliche Anordnung getroffen.” In other words: when you reject the authentic character of the Vulgate, you are wrong, but you cannot be called a heretic, because you don’t reject a dogma.
1838. Giuseppe Brunati: *Dissertationi bibliche*. Milan. 276 pp. – Pages 53–86: Del nome, dell’autore, de’correttori, dell’autorità e dell’uso della Volgata, in spiegazione e difesa del decreto del Concilio di Trento sulla medesima. – There is a Latin version of this essay, printed as a separate publication: Josephus Brunati: *De nomine, auctore, emendatoribus et authentia Vulgatae dissertatio*. Vienna 1827. 80 pp.
1866. Carlo Vercellone: *Sulla autenticità delle singole parti della Bibbia Volgata secondo il Decreto Tridentino*. Rome. 48 pp.
1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp. – Pages 379–419: Concil zu Trient; pp. 420–496: Officieller Text.
1890. Pierre Battifol: *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V, d’après des documents nouveaux*. Paris. viii, 154 pp. – The book is on the history of the Vaticana, the papal library in Rome. On pp. 72–80, the author reports on Cardinal Antonio Carafa’s interpretation of the Council of Trent’s view of the Vulgate. Carafa died on January 14, 1591. Review: (anonymous) *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 15 (1891) 778–780.
1892. Alfred Loisy: La question du canon des Écritures au concile de Trente. In: idem: *Histoire critique du texte et des versions de la Bible*. Tome premier. Amiens (255 pp.), pp. 247–255.
1894. Emil Lingens SJ: Die Vulgata und das Tridentinum. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 18: 759–761. – On the basis of new studies by Catholic scholars it is argued that dogmatic writers such as the cardinals Franzelin and Mazella have exaggerated the church’s teaching authority in things biblical. The Church has no power to determine what pertains to historical scholarship.

English

1947. James M. Vosté OP: The Vulgate at the Council of Trent. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9: 9–25. – The author tells the story of the Council of Trent’s Vulgate decree, promulgated on the eighth of April, 1546. The author emphasizes this decree’s disciplinary, rather than dogmatic, nature, and discusses the meaning of the word “authentic.”
1948. Edmund F. Sutcliffe: The Council of Trent and the Authentia of the Vulgate. *Journal of Theological Studies* 49: 35–42.
1953. Peter G. Duncker: The Canon of the Old Testament at the Council of Trent. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 15: 277–299. – A careful review of all available sources, including diaries.
1963. Joseph Crehan SJ: The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to the Present Day. In: S.L. Greenslade (ed.): *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 3. Cambridge (ix, 589 pp.), pp. 199–237.
1966. Robert E. McNally SJ: The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles. *Theological Studies* 27: 205–227.

1994. William McCuaig: The Tridentine Ruling on the Vulgate and Ecclesiastical Censorship in the 1580s. *Renaissance and Reformation* 18.3: 43–55. – Four works by the historian Carlo Signonio (1523–1584) were the target of censures in the early 1580s. In his Old Testament studies, Signonio relied on Jewish sources such as the Septuagint, Philo, and Josephus, and was attacked as a “Judaizer.” His books, though, were never placed on the index of prohibited books. His case reveals the mentality that prevailed after the Council of Trent.
2002. Theodore P. Letis: The Vulgata Latina as a sacred text: what did the Council of Trent mean when it claimed that Jerome’s Bible was ‘authentica’? *Reformation* 7: 1–21.
2008. Jared Wicks: Catholic Old Testament Interpretation in the Reformation and Early Confessional Eras. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume II. Göttingen (1248 pp.), pp. 617–648. – This encyclopedic account includes sections on the Council of Trent’s biblical canon (pp. 624–627), the authenticity of the Vulgate (pp. 627–629), and the Sixto-Clementine Bible edition (pp. 623–636).
2016. Antonio Gerace: What Is the Vulgate? Girolamo Seripando’s Notes on the Vulgate. *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 48 (2016/17) 440–462. – Transcription and first edition of previously unpublished material.
2016. Antonio Gerace: Francis Lucas ‘of Bruges’ and Textual Criticism of the Vulgate before and after the Sixto-Clementine (1592). *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 3: 201–237.
2016. Daniel D. Kerber: The Canon in the Vulgate Translation of the Bible. *The Bible Translator* 67: 168–183.
2019. Luke Murray: *Jesuit Biblical Studies after Trent. Franciscus Toletus and Cornelius a Lapide*. Göttingen. 218 pp. – The book offers a chapter on the Bible at the Council of Trent (pp. 41–47) and discusses the attitude of the two scholars – Toletus (1532–1596), Lapide (1567–1637) – to the Vulgate (pp. 101–104, 145–150). Neither felt bound by the Vulgate text of the Bible. Toletus was involved in the preparations of the Sixto-Clementina.
2020. Edmon L. Gallagher: The Latin Canon. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2A. Leiden (xxxix, 497 pp.), pp. 166–190. – Pages 186–188: Council of Trent.
2020. Benedict D. Fischer – Wim François et al.: The “Golden Age” of Catholic Biblical Scholarship (1550–1650) and Its relation to Biblical Humanism. In: J. Marius J. Lange van Ravenswaay – Herman J. Selderhuis (eds.): *Renaissance und Bibelhumanismus*. Göttingen (376 pp.), pp. 217–274. – This richly documented essay discusses the following subjects: **(1)** Catholic biblical humanism into the Council of Trent, c. 1500–1550; **(2)** the “Golden Age” of Catholic biblical scholarship in the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century. The “Golden Age” came to an end with the rise of historical criticism. The Council of Trent and the subsequent editions of the Latin Bible are dealt with on pp. 233–236, 242–243. There is a rich bibliography on pp. 261–274.
2023. Antonio Gerace: The Council of Trent and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 292–304. – The author outlines the history of the Latin Vulgate in the sixteenth century, from the discussions leading to the Fourth Session of the Council of Trent (1546), when it was proclaimed as the ‘authentic’ edition, up to the eventual publication of the Sixto-Clementine edition in 1592. It sets out the four abuses of the Scriptures condemned by the Council and the responses through which these were addressed, as well as the two Tridentine decrees on Scripture. The important work in Louvain of John Henten and Francis Lucas of Bruges on editions of the Vulgate is described, which played a key role in the activity of the five Roman Committees for the Emendation of the Vul-

gate. Information is also given on the membership of these committees and the failure of the Sixtine Vulgate of 1590. – One detail (p. 295, note 6): In one of the Council sessions Bishop Bertani maintained that the Vulgate Bible was inspired by the Holy Spirit. It had always been in use in the Church, and even Christ and his disciples used it (*immo Christus et discipuli ea usi sunt*); but here either the Italian bishop or the diarist who records the matter seems to have confused the Vulgate with the Greek Bible.

German

1912. Johann Baptist Nisius SJ: Vulgata. In: Michael Buchberger (ed.): *Kirchliches Handlexikon*. Band 2. Munich (8 pp., 2932 cols.), col. 2646. – “Im Sinne der Konzilsdekrete [des Konzils von Trient] muss (...) nicht nur die Authentizität der Vulgata im Allgemeinen, sondern wenigstens in ‘dogmatischen’ Texten eine wesentliche Konformität der Vulgata mit dem Urtext festgehalten werden. Über die nähere Bestimmung dieser Authentizität gehen die Urteile der katholischen Theologen noch weit auseinander.” Generally rejected was early on – e.g., by Bellarmine, the notion of the Vulgates “absolute perfection.” If it could be shown that a dogmatically relevant passage such as 1 John 5:7 was not in the original Vulgate, then this passages authenticity would not be guaranteed by the Council.
1913. Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: Das Tridentinische Dekret über die Authentizität der Vulgata. In: idem: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sixto-klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Freiburg (xv, 339 pp.), pp. 1–43. – The Vulgate Bible is authentic only in matters pertaining to faith and morals; this is what the Council of Trent had in mind, and this was also the position of Robert Bellarmine.
1914. Albert Maichle: *Das Dekret “De editione et usu sacrorum librorum.” Seine Entstehung und Erklärung*. Freiburg. xvi, 118 pp. – On the Council of Trent’s decree on the Vulgate Bible. On the basis of new documents, it is no longer possible to take the decree as intending to make an authoritative doctrinal (dogmatic) statement. The author also elucidates the term “authentic” (pp. 98–118). ▲
- 1914–1916. Wilhelm Koch: Der authentische Charakter der Vulgata im Lichte der Trienter Konzilsverhandlungen. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 96 (1914) 401–422. 542–572; 97 (1915) 225–249. 529–549; 98 (1916) 313–354.
1929. Norbert Peters: *Unsere Bibel. Die Lebensquellen der Heiligen Schrift*. Paderborn. xvi, 528 pp. – Pages 74–81: Die Vulgata. – Among others things the author discusses the notion of authenticity. “Der Satz: Die Vulgata ist authentisch heißt (...) nichts weiter als: Die Vulgata ist die von der Kirche als zuverlässig und beweiskräftig anerkannte Bibelgestalt” (pp. 75–76).
1940. Arthur Allgeier: Authentisch auf dem Konzil von Trient. Eine wort- und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 60: 142–158.
1946. M.A. van den Oudenrijn OP: *Unsere authentische Kirchenbibel*. Olten. 38 pp.
1957. Hubert Jedin: *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*. Band 2. Freiburg (x, 550 pp.), pp. 42–82. – A detailed historical account on the council’s biblical debates, based on all available sources.
1983. Ulrich Horst OP: Der Streit um die Autorität der Vulgata. Zur Rezeption des Trienter Schriftdekrets in Spanien. *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 29: 195–280. – Reprinted in: idem: *Päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit wider konziliare Superiorität? Studien zur Geschichte eines (ekkesiologischen) Antagonismus vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*. Paderborn 2016 (426 pp.), pp. 195–280.

1988. Hermann Josef Sieben: Die Kontroverse zwischen Bossuet und Leibniz über den alttestamentlichen Kanon des Konzils von Trient. *Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie* 3: 201–214. – Controversy over the status of the deuterocanonical writings. The philosopher and ecumenical protagonist Leibniz believed that the Council of Trent had banned those who held to the canon of the ancient church (the canon without deuterocanonical writings).
2000. Ulrich Horst OP: Melchior Cano und Dominicus Bañez über die Autorität der Vulgata. Zur Deutung des Trienter Vulgatadekrets. *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 51: 331–351. – Cano (Spanish Dominican theologian, 1509–1560), defended the value of the Vulgate before the Council of Trent. Cano's central thesis: "Wenn unter Katholiken in Glaubensdingen Streit entsteht, ist er an Hand der Vulgata zu entscheiden. Theologen, die durch ihre Kritik das Ansehen der Vulgata mindern, spielen den Häretikern in die Hände" (p. 335).
2013. Sandra Hübenenthal – Christian Handschuh: Der Trienter Kanon als kulturelles Gedächtnis. In: Thomas Hieke (ed.): *Formen des Kanons. Studien zu Ausprägungen des biblischen Kanons von der Antike bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart (267 pp.), pp. 104–150.
2015. Peter Walter: Schriftverständnis und Schriftauslegung auf dem Konzil von Trient. In: Wilhelm Damberg – Ute Gause et al. (eds.): *Gottes Wort in der Geschichte. Reformation und Reform in der Kirche*. Freiburg (333 pp.), pp. 85–95.
2016. Ulrich Horst OP: *Päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit wider konziliare Superiorität? Studien zur Geschichte eines (ekklesiologischen) Antagonismus vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*. Paderborn. 426 pp. – Pages 195–280: Der Streit um die Autorität der Vulgata. Zur Rezeption des Trienter Konzils in Spanien; pp. 281–304: Melchior Cano und Dominicus Bañez über die Autorität der Vulgata. Zur Deutung des Trienter Vulgatadekrets; pp. 305–335: Robert Bellarmin und die Vulgata.
2017. Matthias Geigenfeind: Die Patmos-Worte lateinisch gelesen. Vergleich des Textes der Johannesapokalypse in der Vulgata Sixtina (V-Sixt) von 1590 und der Sixto-Clementina (SC) von 1592. In: Marcus Sigismund – Darius Müller (eds.): *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse II*. Berlin (viii, 546 pp.), pp. 231–282. – Pages 232–235: Die Vulgata(-Revision) als Krönung und Abschluss des Tridentinums.

French

1912. Eugène Manguet: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – Cols. 2484–2490: Authenticité [de la Vulgate] déclarée par le concile de Trente.
1935. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle II: La critique rationnelle*. Paris (xiv, 685. Pp.), pp. 294–307.
1942. Siméon Vaillhé: L'autorité de la Vulgate et le concile de Trente. *L'année théologique* 2: 244–264.
1984. G. Bedouelle: Le canon de l'Ancien Testament dans la perspective du Concile de Trente. In: Jean-Daniel Kaestli et al. (eds.): *Le Canon de l'Ancien Testament*. Geneva (399 pp.), pp. 253–282.
1993. Pierre Petitmengin: Bible latine et Europe savant. In: Jacques Fontaine et al. (eds.): *Patristique et antiquité en Allemagne et en France de 1870 à 1930*. Paris (xvi, 322 pp.), pp. 73–92.
2020. Gilbert Dahan – Annie Noblesse-Rocher (eds.): *La Vulgate au XVI^e siècle. Les travaux sur la traduction latine de la Bible*. Turnhout. 279 pp. – Two papers are of special interest: G. Dahan, Les éditions de la Vulgate de 1500 à 1546 (pp. 13–52); Antonio Gerace, 1547–1592: dalla Vulgata Lovaniensis alla Sisto-Clementina (pp. 221–237).

Italian

1946. G.-M. Vosté – Jacques-Marie Vosté OP: La Volgata al Concilio di Trento. *Biblica* 27: 301–319.
1946. Alberto Vaccari SJ: Egesi ed esegeti al Concilio di Trento. *Biblica* 27: 320–337. – Cf. idem: Note tridentine. *Biblica* 27: 404–411.
1953. Beniamino Emmi OP: Il decreto tridentino sulla Volgata nei commenti della prima polemica protestantico-cattolica. *Angelicum* 30: 107–130. See also the article's sequel in *Angelicum* 30: 228–272.
1957. Beniamino Emmi OP: Una votazione pro e contro I testi originali della S. Scrittura al Concilio di Trento? *Angelicum* 34: 379–392. – The Council did not position the Vulgate against the Greek and Hebrew texts; instead, it affirmed its superiority to vernacular translations.
2009. Carlo Buzzetti: La traduzione della Bibbia e il Concilio di Trento. *Salesianum* 72: 473–490. – Vernacular translations of the Bible were discussed, but no decision was made.

Spanish

1946. S. Muñoz Iglesias: El decreto tridentino sobre la Volgata y su interpretación por los teólogos del siglo XVI. *Estudios bíblicos* 5: 137–169. – About Luis de León.
1956. Olegario García de la Fuente: El Canon bíblico en el Concilio de Trento según Jerónimo Seripando. *Ciudad de Dios* 169: 35–72.
1958. Félix Asensio SJ: Juan de Mariana ante el binomio volgata-decreto tridentino. *Estudios bíblicos* 17: 275–288. – On a recently discovered and published report that Juan de Mariana wrote about a case of suspected heresy.

Latin

1946. Jacques-Marie Vosté OP: Vulgata in Concilio Tridentino. *Franciscan Studies* 6.4: 418–436.
1951. Peter G. Duncker OP: De singulis S. Scripturae libris controversis in Concilio Tridentino. In: Adalbert Metzinger (ed.): *Miscellanea biblica et orientalia, Athanasio Miller OSB (...) oblata*. Rome (viii, 511), pp. 66–93. – The author presents how, according to all available sources (including diaries and thematic treatises), theologians felt about the canonicity and relevance of the deuterocanonical writings of the Bible.

Official declarations, 1941 and 1943

1941. Schreiben der päpstlichen Bibelkommission an die Bischöfe Italiens (20. August 1941). Explained is the meaning of the Council of Trent's decree on the authority of the Vulgate. The letter supports the general notion that a translation can never be superior to the original text (German: "die allgemeine Auffassung, die niemals annehmen wird, dass eine Übersetzung dem Originaltext überlegen sein könne"; no. 3795 in Denzinger/Hünemann). For the text in the original Italian and in translation, see:
2005. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünemann (eds.): *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*. 40th edition. Freiburg (xxxviii, 1811 pp.), nos. 3794–3796 (pp. 1045–1046).
2012. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünemann (eds.): *Compendium of Creeds, Definitions, and Declarations on Matters of Faith and Morals*. San Francisco (xxxvii, 1399 pp.), nos. 3794–3796.

1943. Pope Pius XII: Encyclical letter "Divino afflante Spiritu" (30th September 1943). – The encyclical letter comments on the "authenticity of the Vulgate" emphasized by the Council of Trent, stating that the Vulgate's authority is actually limited. As is known today, the text of the encyclical was drafted by Augustin Bea SJ, a German Jesuit close to the pope, and associated with the Pontifical Biblical Institute as this institute's director from 1930 to 1949. This institute was committed to studying the biblical languages Hebrew and Greek, and thereby contributed to diminishing the authority of the Vulgate. On this institute's new Latin book of Psalms, the *Psalterium Pianum*, see below, Chapter **16.6**. For the text in Latin and in translation, see:

2005. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*. 40th edition. Freiburg (xxxviii, 1811 pp.), no. 3825.

2012. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Compendium of Creeds, Definitions, and Declarations on Matters of Faith and Morals*. San Francisco (xxxvii, 1399 pp.), no. 3825.

16.2 Protestant critics of the Council of Trent and of the Vulgate

Note. – The Council of Trent's appreciation of the Vulgate Bible prompted critical voices. The foremost of those who attacked the Vulgate as a translation that distorts true biblical doctrine was a Frenchman – the reformer John Calvin (1509–1564). His polemical stance toward the Vulgate Bible was rediscovered and developed by two Englishmen in the nineteenth century: Clarence Esme Stuart (1828–1903) and George Henslow (1835–1925). Henslow is also remembered for his contributions to botanics, and he figures in the history of spiritualism in which he believed.

The most prominent Catholic counter-critic was the Italian Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621), made a saint of the Catholic church in 1930, and declared a doctor of the church in 1931. He is chiefly remembered as a representative of the Counter-Reformation.

As a matter of fact, not all Protestants were as critical toward the Vulgate Bible as these men; some actually defended its quality. A prominent voice is that of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) who sought to promote Christian unity. In his *Votum pro pace ecclesiastica* (Amsterdam 1642. 118 pp.) he discusses biblical translations and states: *At tutissima omnium iis, qui nec hebraice nec graece dedicerunt, est vulgata versio, quae nullum habet malum dogma, sicut tot saeculorum & gentium consensus iudicavit.* "But the most reliable of all (translations) for those, who have studied neither Hebrew nor Greek, is the Vulgate Version; according to the consensus of so many centuries and peoples, it has no bad doctrine." The notion of *consensus gentium*, known to classical authors such as Cicero and Seneca, is often invoked to support claims of truth. We can also refer to Thomas Hartwell Horne – Samuel Prideaux Tregelles: *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London 1856 (xxvii, 767 pp.), p. 252; commenting on the Sixtina and the Clementina editions of the Vulgate, they state that "It has often been supposed that these papal recensions were in some measure biased by doctrinal considerations; but it would be hard to prove this, the points in which the Vulgate is doctrinally wrong were just the same *prior* to all such revision."

John Calvin

Martin Chemnitz

Bellarmino, counter-critic

Stuart, Henslow, and others

John Calvin

1547. John Calvin: Acta Synodi Tridentinae cum antidoto. In: *Ioannis Calvini Opera que supersunt omnia*. Edited by Wilhelm Baum et al. Volumen VII. Braunschweig 1868 (lv pp., 748 cols.), pp. xxxiv–xxxvii, cols. 365–506. – English translation: Acts of the Council of Trent: With the Antidote. In: idem: *Tracts Relating to the Reformation*. Translated by Henry Beveridge. Volume III. Edinburgh 1851 (521 pp.), pp. 17–188. – Calvin criticizes: **(a)** the Council of Trent’s list of biblical books for its inclusion of the apocrypha; **(b)** the questionable teachings based on the apocrypha, as, e.g., purgatory on 2 Maccabees and exorcism on the book of Tobit; **(c)** the numerous translation errors (with many examples). – *In translationibus, praeter unam vulgatam, damnandis, ut crassior est inscitia, ita magis barbarum edictum. Sacra Dei oracula Moses et prophetae lingua hebraica, apostoli graeca prodiderunt (...) Porro qui linguas tenant, hanc interpretationem [i.e., Bibliam Vulgatam] deprehendunt infinitis erratis scatere: idque apertissimis demonstrationibus planum faciunt. Patres decernunt ex adverso, etiam si ex fonte ipso purum liquorem proferant, etiamsi ex certa veritate falsum coarguant, minime esse audiendos* (col. 414). *In summa, hoc voluit spiritus Tridentinus suo decreto, ne quid nobis significet scriptura, nisi quod monachi somnando luserint* (col. 417–418). – English translation: “In condemning all translations except the Vulgate, as the error is more gross, so the edict is more barbarous. The sacred oracles of God were delivered by Moses and the Prophets in Hebrew, and by the Apostles in Greek. (...) [Those] who are acquainted with the languages perceive that this version [the Vulgate] teems with innumerable errors; and this they make manifest by the clearest evidence. On the other hand, the Fathers of Trent contend that, although the learned thus draw the pure liquor from the very fountain and convict the infallible Vulgate of falsehood, they are not to be listened to” (p. 71). “The sum is, that the spirit of Trent wished, by this decree, that Scripture should only signify to us whatever dreaming monks might choose” (p. 76).
1953. Beniamino Emmi OP: Il decreto tridentino sulla Vulgata nei commenti della prima polemica protestantico-cattolica. *Angelicum* 30: 107–130. – Emmi deals with the anti-Tridentine polemics of Philipp Melancthon (pp. 112–117) and Calvin (pp. 117–124) and the relevant Catholic responses. The article has a sequel entitled: Il decreto tridentino sulla Vulgata nei commenti della seconda polemica protestantico-cattolica. *Angelicum* 30: 228–272.
1970. Theodore W. Casteel: Calvin and Trent. Calvin’s Reaction to the Council of Trent in the Context of His Conciliar Thought. *Harvard Theological Review* 63: 91–117. – Casteel points out that there is a French version of Calvin’s book on the Council of Trent, “somewhat longer and earthier than the Latin original” (p. 100). The title is *Les Actes du Concile de Trent, avec le remède contre la poison*. Geneva 1548. 347 pp.
1999. Johannes Calvin: Acta Synodi Tridentinae, cum Antidoto – Die Akten des Trienter Konzils, mit einem Gegengift. In: idem: *Reformatatorische Kontroversen*. Calvin Studienausgabe 3. Neukirchen-Vluyn (xi, 378 pp.), pp. 107–206. – This is a long excerpt rather than the complete text, though there is an introduction by Eberhard Busch, and the excerpted passages in Latin and German.
2003. Rémi Gounelle: Jean Calvin et le décret sur les livres sacrés du Concile de Trente. In: Marc Boss – Raphaël Picon (eds.): *Penser le Dieu vivant. Mélanges offerts à André Gounelle*. Paris (499 pp.), pp. 315–326.
2017. Michael Horton: John Calvin’s Commentary on the Council of Trent. In: Jennifer Powell McNutt – David Lauber (eds.): *The People’s Book. The Reformation and the Bible*. Downers Grove, Ill. (ix, 249 pp.), pp. 155–170.

2018. Emidio Campi: The Council of Trent and the Magisterial Reformers. In: Wim François – Violet Soen (eds.): *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545–1700)*. Volume 1. Göttingen (423 pp.), pp. 277– 309. On Calvin and the Vulgate, see pp. 298–300.

Martin Chemnitz

1565/73. Martin Chemnitz: *Examen decretorum Concilii Tridentini*. 4 volumes. Frankfurt. – The German Lutheran theologian Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), by some called the “second Martin” (i.e., the second Martin Luther), published this important and very influential critique of the Council of Trent’s decrees. From the first volume’s section “Concerning Sacred Scripture”: “Although in the old version [the Vulgate] the true sense of the Scripture is often not sufficiently expressed, and often also corrupted through errors of copyists, they decree that the Vulgate edition must be considered the authentic one so that no one may dare to take it upon himself to reject it in disputations or expositions under any pretext whatsoever, even though it is clearly shown to depart from the original sources.”

1971. Martin Chemnitz: *Examination of the Council of Trent I*. Saint Louis, Missouri (706 pp.), p. 39–40, translated by Fred Kramer.

Bellarmino, counter-critic

1586. Robert Bellarmine: *De verbo Dei*. – The Jesuit theologian’s lectures *On the Word of God* includes a detailed interaction with Calvin’s lists of errors in the Vulgate. There is a nineteenth-century edition of Bellarmine’s book in: Robertus Bellarminus: *Disputationes*. Edited by Franz Sausen. Mainz 1842 (xiii, 424 pp.); on pp. 137–146 (de auctoritate Latinae editionis vulgatae) he defends the authority of the Vulgate as stated by the Council of Trent; on pp. 147–166 he defends the wording of many Vulgate passages against the criticism of Calvin and Martin Chemnitz. A German summary of Bellarmine’s arguments can be found in: Karl Werner: *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der christlichen Theologie*. 4. Band. Schaffhausen 1865 (xviii, 780 pp.), pp. 419–425. There is also a brief excerpt from *De verbo Dei* in English translation, included in: Richard J. Blackwell (ed.): *Galileo, Bellarmine and the Bible*. Notre Dame, Ind. 1991 (x, 291 pp.), pp. 187–194.

2020. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin: The Bible and the Early Modern Catholic Tradition. In: Erminia Ardissino – Élise Boilet (eds.): *Lay Reading of the Bible in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden (xv, 312 pp.), pp. 113–135. – Bellarmine was aware that his Protestant critics possessed many cogent arguments concerning the inaccuracies that abounded in the Vulgate text. Yet, he would defend the sufficiency (rather than the inerrancy) of the Vulgate (p. 116).

Stuart, Henslow, and others

1856. Clarence Esme Stuart: *The Bible and the Versions of the Bible. Or, The Vulgate Compared with the Original Scriptures*. London. 75 pp. – Subtitle: An attempt to show that the Vulgate can neither be made a substitute for the original Scriptures, nor the basis of modern translations.

1909. George Henslow: *The Vulgate. The Source of False Doctrines*. London. x, 141 pp. –Reprint 2015. Henslow (1835–1925) discusses and critiques theological terms derived from the Vulgate and doctrines associated with them, such as sacrifice, satisfaction, purgatory, predestination.

2008. Michael Wood: *The Jerome Conspiracy*. Second edition. Bloomington, Ind. 160 pp. – Set in a modern fictional frame, the book argues that, looked at from the vantage point of the New Testament, the Septuagint must be seen as the Christian Old Testament, and not, as Jerome

claimed, the Hebrew Bible. Jerome got it all wrong, and therefore the Vulgate Bible with its emphasis on "Hebrew truth" must be rejected. One of the new, and problematic, teachings of Jerome is the doctrine of eternal damnation in hell. (It is interesting to see the doctrine of eternal damnation to be traced to Jerome. Most scholars would identify Augustine as the main proponent of this doctrine – as the one whose legacy continues to shape Christian teaching. B. Lang)

2013. David W. Daniels: *Did the Catholic Church Give Us the Bible? The True History of God's Words*. Ontario, Cal. 199 pp. – This anti-Catholic cartoon book, originally published in 2005 and now expanded, calls the Vulgate Jerome's "Latin perversion" of the Bible (p. 53).

16.3 Louvain Bible

Note. – Between 1547 (publication of the Louvain Bible's first edition) and 1592 (publication of the *Vulgata Clementina*), the Leuven Latin Bible was considered to be the best Vulgate Bible then available. It was published immediately after the Council of Trent, in 1546, had expressed the wish for church-approved editions (see above, Chapter 16.1). Eventually, the Louvain Bible was used by the editors of the *Clementina*. The name of the first edition's editor is Johannes Henten alias Hentenius (1499–1566), the editor of the second, revised edition of 1574 is François Luc de Bruges (Lucas Bruggensis, 1549–1619).

1547. *Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata* (...). Leuven. – Latin preface by John Henten (Ioannes Hentenius). Here is a passage from the first page of Henten's preface (translated by Dominique Barthélemy: *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. 2012 (xxxii, 688 pp.), p. 196–197: "There is no one who does not know, to give only one example among many, what assiduous work and what expenses Robert Stephanus, royal printer at Paris (*quem honoris causa nomino* – whom I name with praise) undertook in order to place at our disposition Bibles that are carefully prepared and perfectly accurate (...). And meanwhile deceitful Christians have influenced that courageous man, rapacious wolves disguised in lambs' skin, have swayed him particularly in the marginal notes, prefaces and indices. And since they have corrupted even the best books (...) his Imperial Majesty had every reason to decide that these pernicious books (...) be removed from the hands of the people."
1574. *Biblia*. – This is the second, revised edition of the Leuven Bible, edited by the philologist Lucas de Bruges. Lucas published companion materials in which he explained his textual choices, based on linguistic insight and the manuscripts that he consulted. His "Variae lectiones in latinis bibliis" have been reprinted in: Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.): *Sacrae Scripturae cursus completus*. Tomus 28. Paris 1845 (668 cols.), cols. 599–620.

Secondary literature

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz (viii, 501 pp.), pp. 433–440.
1900. Benno Jacob: Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen. V. Zur Geschichte der Vulgata im 16. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20: 49–80, at pp. 54–56.
1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris. xvi, 520 pp. – Pages 128–146: Les bibles de Louvain.

1986. Dominique Barthélemy OP: La Bible de Louvain. In: idem: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. Tome 2. Fribourg (xviii, 71, 1013 pp.), pp. *46–*49. This text has been translated: The Louvain Bible. In: idem: *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. 2012 (xxxii, 688 pp.), pp. 195–199. – While Barthélemy's focus is on vernacular Bibles, he also refers to the Louvain Vulgate edited by John Henten. He explains that Henten's Bible closely follows Robert Stephanus' Vulgate text, but differs in the notes.
2008. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible de Lobbes à Trente? *Revue bénédictine* 118: 135–147. – Since the end of the seventeenth century, local traditions refer to the sending of some handwritten Bibles to Councils (Constance, Basel, Trent). As for the Lobbes Bible (Tournai, Sem. 1, is the first volume), it is possible to prove that both volumes were sent to Louvain where Franciscus Lucas Brugensis was preparing before 1580, in coordination with Rome (Bellarmine) and Anvers (Plantin), a critical edition of the Vulgate according to the wish of the Council of Trent.
2012. Wim François: Augustine and the Golden Age of Biblical Scholarship in Louvain (1560–1660). In: Bruce Gordon – Matthew McLean (eds.): *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*. Leiden (xii, 306 pp.), pp. 235–289.
2016. Antonio Gerace: Francis Lucas 'of Bruges' and Textual Criticism of the Vulgate before and after the Sixto-Clementine (1592). *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 3: 201–237.
2018. Wim François – Antonio Gerace: Trent and the Latin Vulgate: A Louvain Project? In: Wim François – Violet Soen (eds.): *The Council of Trent in Europe and Beyond (1545–1700)*. Volume 1. Göttingen (423 pp.), pp. 131–174.
2019. Antonio Gerace: *Biblical Scholarship in the Louvain "Golden" Sixteenth Century*. Göttingen. 296 pp. – Pages 41–83: Louvain and the "Authentic" Text of the Vulgate.
2020. Antonio Gerace: 1547–1592: Dalla Vulgata Lovaniensis alla Sisto-Clementina. In: Gilbert Dahan – Annie Noblesse-Rocher (ed.): *La Vulgate au XVI^e siècle*. Turnhout (279 pp.), pp. 221–238.

Another Catholic Bible

1923. Carl Alois Kneller SJ: Eine päpstlich approbierte Vulgata vor 1590? *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 47: 328. – There is a 1573 Latin Bible printed in Lyon, entitled: *Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata Romaeque revisa, cum licentia summi pontificis* – revised in Rome, and published with papal permission.

16.4 The Bible of Pope Sixtus V, 1590

Note. – In 1546, the Council of Trent had decided that "henceforth Holy Scripture, especially the old and common edition, is to be printed as carefully as possible" (*decernit et statuit, ut posthac sacra scriptura, posissimum vero haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur*; Denzinger/Hünemann, no. 1508). This was generally understood that theological faculties should co-operate with printers in the production of good editions of the Latin Bible (see Kneller and Quentin). But one of the post-Tridentine popes, Felice Peretti alias Sixtus V, in office from 1585 to his death on August 28, 1590, set himself the aim of producing his own edition of the Vulgate, a recension that should be the authoritative text for the entire church. There was a papal commission, but to speed up things, Sixtus himself made many suggestions and decided about the readings to be adopted. By the spring of 1590, the book had been beautifully printed in the Vatican's own printshop, and it began to be distributed. But then, in August, Sixtus died. He was followed by four popes in quick succession: Urbanus VII (September 1590), Gregory XIV (December 1590 to October 1591), Innocent IX (October to Decem-

ber 1591), and Clement VIII (January 1592 to March 1605). What exactly happened with the new edition of the Bible after the death of Pope Sixtus is not entirely clear. There was some crisis around this Bible, a new recension was produced, and published under the auspices of Pope Clement – the edition known as the Clementia or Sixto-Clementina (though it has little to do with the edition produced under Sixtus V). The official version of what had happened, stated in Bellarmine’s autobiography, refers to Pope Gregory as a key figure, and reads as follows:

In 1591, when Gregory XIV was considering what to do with the Bible published by Sixtus V, in which a great many erroneous changes had been made, there was no lack of distinguished men who were of opinion that that Bible ought to be publicly banned; but N. (i.e., Bellarmine) proved in the presence of the Pope that this Bible ought not to be banned, but so corrected that it might be published in an improved form without detriment to the honour of Pope Sixtus V. This could be done by removing the erroneous alterations as quickly as possible and reprinting the Bible under the name of the same Sixtus, with the addition of a preface in which it was suggested that some errors, whether by the typesetters or others, had crept into Sixtus’ first edition as a result of its hasty production. (...) The advice of N. pleased Pope Gregory, and he ordered that his commission be formed to quickly revise the Sistine Bible and to make it conform again to the ordinary Bible, namely the Louvain Bible. (...) and after the death of Gregory and Innocent IX, Clement VIII published the revised Bible under the name of Sixtus, with a preface written by the same N. (i.e., Bellarmine). (Bellarmine, pp. 38–39)

This brief account seems to conceal more than it reveals. What are the real reasons of the opposition against the Vulgata Sixtina? Is it really the many mistakes? Was there a conspiracy against this edition? But why and what for? To this day, only fragments of the real story seem to be known; but the best survey can be found in Stummer’s *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*.

1887. *Die Selbstbiographie des Cardinals Bellarmin*. Lateinisch und deutsch mit geschichtlichen Erläuterungen. Herausgegeben von Joh. Jos. Ign. von Döllinger und Fr. Heinrich Reusch. Bonn (iv, 352 pp.); the above excerpt is on pp. 38–39 in Latin, on p. 63 in German translation.

1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l’établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris (xvi, 520 pp.), pp. 136–138.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: 1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 181–205 (Die Vulgatarevision unter Sixtus V. und Klemens VIII.), 263–272. ▲

2012. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Compendium of Creeds, Definitions, and Declarations on Matters of Faith and Morals*. San Francisco 2012 (xxxvii, 1399 pp.), no. 1508.

Editio Sixtina

The papal bull *Aeternus ille celestium*

Secondary literature

The Baumgarten debate, 1907–1935

Editio Sixtina

1590. *Biblia Sacra vulgatae editionis (...) a Sixto V P.M. recognita et approbata*. Rome: Typographia Apostolica Vaticana. 3 vols. – Many major libraries have a copy of this edition: Bodleian Library, Oxford; Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The copy of the Bayerische

Staatsbibliothek, Munich, can be found on the Internet (open access). For exact bibliographical descriptions of the Sixtina, see:

1900. Michael Hetzenauer OC: *Wesen und Principien der Bibelkritik auf katholischer Grundlage*. Innsbruck (xiii, 212 pp.), pp. 117–120. – The author also provides the official list of this edition's printing mistakes (pp. 136–148).

2002. *Die Bibelsammlung der württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*. Erste Abteilung. Vierter Band: Lateinische Bibeldrucke 1454–2001; Teil 2: 1565–2001. Stuttgart (pp. 477–977), pp. 633–634 (no. D 942).

The papal bull *Aeternus ille celestium*

1590. Sixtus V: *Aeternus ille celestium*. March 1, 1590. This is the bull that promulgated the new edition of the Latin Bible. The text is used as the preface of the Bible (11 unnumbered pages). The central passage reads as follows: "For glory of God almighty, the conservation and advancement of the Catholic faith, and the use of the holy and universal Church, we decree and declare by this our ordinance which is to endure forever, that the Latin Vulgate edition of the sacred pages of both the Old and New Testaments, which has been received as authentic by the Council of Trent, is, without any doubt or controversy, to be esteemed the very text which we now amend and publish. (...) If any inquisitor or bishop should deliver to a printer, to be published, a copy differing in any manner from this now printed in the Vatican press, or should, by his seal or signature, approve any printed copy which differed from this, – to him, if he were alive, – even though he were resplendent with the dignity of an archbishop, primate, patriarch, or any other or greater dignity, it is prohibited to enter any church; but if he is of an inferior rank, he incurs the sentence of excommunication by the very act." – The beginning of this passage in Latin: *ad (...) Catholicae fidei conservationem (...) hac nostra perpetuo valitura constitutione (...) statuimus et declaramus, eam Vulgatam (...) quae pro authentica a Concilio Tridentino recepta est, sine ulla dubitatione aut controversia censendam esse hanc ipsam, quam nunc (...) evulgamus*. (The Latin can be found in van EB, p. xvii; Hetznauer, p. 63; Baumgarten, p. 55; and Jan Olav Smit, p. 227.) – We list translations and editions:

1822. Leander van EB (ed.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis juxta exemplar ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana Romae 1592*. Tübingen. Pars III (xxvi, 342 pp.), pp. x–xxi.

1859. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette: *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*. Translated and Enlarged by Theodore Parker. Volume I. Third Edition. Boston (xxvii, 517 pp.), pp. 284–286: English translation of part of Sixtus' bull.

1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz (viii, 501 pp.), pp. 449–457. Latin text with commentary.

1887. Ignaz Döllinger: [Anmerkung] 25. In: *Die Selbstbiographie des Cardinals Bellarmin*. Lateinisch und deutsch mit geschichtlichen Erläuterungen. Herausgegeben von Joh. Jos. Ign. von Döllinger und Fr. Heinrich Reusch. Bonn (iv, 352 pp.), pp. 114–116. – German translation of part of the bull as printed in the 1590 Bible. The crucial passage reads as follows: "Zur Erhaltung und Mehrung des katholischen Glaubens (...) verordnen und erklären Wir durch diese Unsere Constitution, die ewig gelten soll, (...) dass die von Uns jetzt veröffentlichte Ausgabe ohne alle Anzweiflung und Bestreitung als die Vulgata anzusehen ist, welche das Tridentiner Concil als authentisch recipiert hat" (p. 115).

1900. Michael Hetzenauer OC: *Wesen und Principien der Bibelkritik auf katholischer Grundlage*. Innsbruck (xiii, 212 pp.), pp. 51–69. Complete text in Latin.

1911. Paul Maria Baumgarten: *Die Vulgata Sixtina und ihre Einführungsbulle*. Münster 1911 (xx, 170 pp.), pp. 40–65. – This is not the text as it appears in the 1590 Bible, but the text of the bulla as a separate text, found in the Vatican Archive by Baumgarten.

1948. Jan Olav Smit: *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*. Roermond 1948 (xv, 295 pp.), pp. 225–227. – A long Latin excerpt, no doubt copied from Baumgarten.

Secondary literature

Before 1900

1824. Leander van Eß: *Pragmatisch-kritische Geschichte der Vulgata im Allgemeinen, und zunächst in Beziehung auf das Tridentische Decret*. Tübingen. xvi, 504 pp. – According to Friedrich Stummer (*Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928, p. 207), Eß misunderstands the history of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate; Stummer points out Eß’ “total irrigen Meinung, [Papst] Sixtus habe Handschriften benutzt, welche die Herausgeber der Klementinen vernachlässigt hätten.”
1847. Aloisio M. Ungarelli: De castigatione vulgatae bibliorum editionis peracta iussu Concilii Tridentini. In: idem: *Praelectiones de Novo Testamento et Historia vulgatae bibliorum editionis a Concilio Tridentino*. Rome (vi, 228 pp.), pp. 111–224. – Ungarelli offers a detailed account of the making of the Sixtina and Clementina. He also supplies a selection of original documents (pp. 217–224), appended to his account. Still a useful resource. – Variant form of the author’s name: Luigi Maria Ungarelli (1779–1845). Ungarelli was one of the very first Egyptologists who could read the hieroglyphs.
1855. [Aloisio Maria Ungarelli] *Histoire de la correction de la Vulgate d’après le P. Ungarelli, Barnabite. Analecta Juris Pontificii. Recueil de dissertations sur différents sujets de droit canonique, de liturgie et de théologie*. Septième livraison. Rome, cols. 1331–1341. – A French summary of Ungarelli’s research.
1860. Franz Heinrich Reusch: Zur Geschichte der Entstehung der officiellen Ausgabe der Vulgata. *Der Katholik* 40.2: 1–24. – Against the claim that the Sixtina was never published, it must be stated that this assertion has been disproved by Ungarelli (p. 11).
1887. Ignaz Döllinger: Die Vulgata-Ausgaben von Sixtus V. und Clemens VIII. In: *Die Selbstbiographie des Cardinals Bellarmin*. Lateinisch und deutsch mit geschichtlichen Erläuterungen. Herausgegeben von Joh. Jos. Ign. von Döllinger und Fr. Heinrich Reusch. Bonn (iv, 352 pp.), pp. 111–128. – Church historian Döllinger (1799–1890) appended to his edition of Bellarmine’s autobiography a note in which he presented a historical reconstruction of the rise and fall of the Sixtina, with special attention to Bellarmine.
1892. [Eberhard Nestle] *Ein Jubiläum der lateinischen Bibel. Zum 9. November 1892*. 27 pp. – The anonymously published pamphlet is signed “E. N.” A summary of Nestle’s account can be found in: Paul Maria Baumgarten: *Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590 und ihre Einführungsbulle*. Münster 1911 (xx, 170 pp.), pp. 20–22.
1897. Eberhard Nestle: Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen. In: Albert Hauck (ed.): *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 3rd edition. 3. Band. Leipzig (832 pp.), pp. 24–58. – On pages 46–48 the author tells the story of the creation of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. Nestle attributes the destruction of the Sistine Vulgate edition printed in 1590 to Cardinal Bellarmine SJ: “Namentlich der Jesuit Bellarmin, dessen *Controversiae* [Papst] Sixtus auf den Index [der verbotenen Bücher] gesetzt hatte, wußte [Papst Gregor] XIV. zu bereden, daß eine neue Verbesserung der Vulgata zu veranstalten sei, wobei er auch die Lüge nicht scheute, daß Sixtus noch selbst die Verbesserung seiner Ausgabe befohlen habe” (p. 47).

After 1900

1913. Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sixto-klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Freiburg. xv, 339 pp. – Page 149: “So ist die Bibel Sixtus’ V. im Grunde genommen eine verbesserte Ausgabe des Bibeltextes des 13. Jahrhunderts, während die

- von der Kommission vorgeschlagenen [und von P. Sixtus abgelehnten] Korrekturen mehr den ältesten Handschriften und der Kritik entsprechen." On pp. 240–277, Höpfl supplies, as an example, a synoptic table that shows all the commission's materials and suggestions relating to the book of Proverbs, together with the Pope's final text.
1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris (xvi, 520 pp.), pp. 170–180 (La commission sixtine présidée par le Cardinal Carafa), 181–192 (Sistina).
1926. Ludwig von Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. Zehnter Band. Freiburg (xxxii, 666 pp.), pp. 147–152, 154–164. – According to Pastor (who follows C.A. Kneller, SJ), the Vulgate bull of P. Sixtus was never published.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 181–205: Die Vulgatarevision unter Sixtus V. und Klemens VIII. – Still the best survey of what we know about the two revisions. Stummer is fully aware of and appreciative of Baumgarten's contributions (see below in this Chapter). He ponders Bellarmine's claim that Sixtus had actually planned to withdraw his edition of the Bible and decides that one must call this a lie, or rather a "Notlüge" (p. 202; white lie). To which one may add: Bellarmine may have resorted to a white lie which, according to Jesuit casuistry, is famously permitted in certain cases. ▲
1935. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle II: La critique rationnelle*. Paris (xiv, 685 Pp.), pp. 307–312: L'édition officielle de la Vulgate. – Page 310: "Dom Quentin a bien mis en lumière (...) que l'animosité contre l'œuvre de Sixte V ne venait pas des partisans d'une correction plus complète, telle qu'avait été proposé par le Card. Carafa. On trouvait au contraire que le Pape avait changé beaucoup trop la tradition ou la routine représentée par la bible de Louvain (...). L'obstruction opposée aux corrections venait donc d'une tendance ultra-conservatrice." ▲
1941. Sebastian Tromp SJ: De revisione textus Novi Testamenti facta Romae a Commissione Pontificia circa a. 1617 praeside S.R. Bellarmino. *Biblica* 22: 303–306. – A revision of the New Testament text of the Sixto-Clementia, undertaken by a commission headed by Robert Bellarmine, was completed, but not approved by the pope and therefore not introduced into the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate Bible.
1948. Jan Olav Smit: *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*. Roermond (xv, 295 pp.), pp. 67–74, 225–227. – Pages 225–227: excerpts from the Latin text of the papal bull *Aeternus ille caelestium*, with which P. Sixtus promulgated his Latin Bible.
1948. Arthur Allgeier: Lateinische Psalmenübersetzung in alter und neuer Zeit. In: *Wissenschaft und Leben. Reden zur Universitätsfeier am 1. Juni 1946*. Freiburger Universitätsreden. Neue Folge Heft 2. Freiburg (28 pp.), pp. 7–20, at p. 14: "Als Papst Sixtus V. daran ging, (...) eine neue Ausgabe der Vulgata herauszugeben, ließ er die ältesten Handschriften vergleichen. Dazu gehören der Codex Amiatinus, ein Codex Toletanus und ein Codex Vallicellianus. Die beiden ersten Zeugen stammen aus dem 7. Jahrhundert, der Amiatinus aus England, der Toletanus aus Spanien, der Vallicellianus gehört der Schrift nach dem 9. Jahrhundert an und ist gallischer Herkunft. Nur in ihm steht das Psalterium Gallicanum," whereas the others have the Psalterium iuxta hebraeos. The Pope, of course, decided for the Gallicanum.
1987. Tarcisio Stramare (ed.): *La Bibbia 'Vulgata' dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Atti del simposio internazionale 1985*. Rome. 197 pp. – Pages 61–67: Henri de Sainte-Marie: Sisto V e la Volgata; pp. 68–97: Francesco Andreu: Il teatino Antonio Angellio e la Volgata Sistina.

2008. Ulrich Horst OP: Robert Bellarmin und die Vulgata. Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion über die päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit. *Theologie und Philosophie* 83: 179–208. – Reprinted in: idem: *Päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit wider konziliare Superiorität? Studien zur Geschichte eines (ekkesiologischen) Antagonismus vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*. Paderborn 2016 (426 pp.), pp. 305–335.
2011. Thomas Dietrich: Schriftverständnis und Schriftauslegung bei Robert Bellarmin (1542–1621). In: Christoph Bultmann – Lutz Danneberg (eds.): *Hebraistik – Hermeneutik – Homiletik*. Berlin (viii, 576 pp.), pp. 341–356.
2017. Ronald Hendel: The Dream of a Perfect Text. Textual Criticism and Biblical Inerrancy in Early Modern Europe. In: Joel Baden et al. (eds.): *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls*. Volume 1. Leiden (xlv, 725 pp.), pp. 517–538, esp. pp. 525–527.

The Baumgarten debate, 1907–1935

Note. – Paul Maria Baumgarten (1860–1948) was originally trained as a historian, but in Rome he studied theology and was ordained Catholic priest in 1894. His discovery of the original document with which Pope Sixtus V had promulgated his new edition of the Latin Bible prompted an extended controversy between Baumgarten and several Jesuit historians. The latter defended the old Jesuit notions that this Bible had never been formally published, that Sixtus himself felt ambivalent about it and would have it revised, and that today, only very few copies existed. As Baumgarten showed, all of this was wrong. It seems that a final critical account of the “Sixtina,” its origins and fate, is still lacking today. Since a full documentation of the Baumgarten controversy would take up too much space, only a few relevant publications are listed.

Baumgarten’s publications

1907. Paul Maria Baumgarten: Die Veröffentlichung der Bulle ‘Eternus ille celestium’ vom 1. März 1590. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 5: 189–190. – Brief report about the author’s discovery of the original manuscript of the papal bull in the Vatican archive.
1907. Paul Maria Baumgarten: Das Original der Konstitution ‘Eternus ille celestium’ vom 1. März 1590. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 5: 337–351. – This is a critical edition of the papal bull with which P. Sixtus V promulgated the new edition of the Vulgate Bible.
1911. Paul Maria Baumgarten: *Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590 und ihre Einführungsbulle. Aktenstücke und Untersuchungen*. Münster. xx, 170 pp. – According to Baumgarten, the Sixtine Vulgate Bible was superior in its design and text to the Clementine edition. “Die sixtinische Bibel von 1590 war (...) eine druckerische Leistung allerersten Ranges. (...) Die Clementina von 1592 hat viel mehr Druckfehler” (p. v). “Auf Grund von ganz einwandfreien zeitgenössischen Mitteilungen konnte ich (...) feststellen, daß Sixtus nicht einen Augenblick daran gedacht hat, das von ihm mit ganzer Kraft geförderte Werk seiner Bibelausgabe als mißlungen wieder einzuziehen” (p. xi). – Positive Reviews:
1912. Norbert Peters, *Theologie und Glaube* 4: 20.
1912. Eberhard Nestle, *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 33.3: 57.
1915. Alfred Rahlfs, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 177, no. 5: 292–305.
1922. Paul Maria Baumgarten: *Neue Kunde von alten Bibeln*. Rom: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers. xxii, 402 pp. – A collection of valuable articles not published elsewhere, esp. on Bellarmine’s autobiography (pp. 166–210), the creation and subsequent demotion of the Sixtine Bible (pp. 263–290), and his own contributions to the debate about the Sixtine Bible (pp. 364–374).

1922. Paul Maria Baumgarten: Einige Tatsachen über die Bibelbulle Sixtus' V. und ihre kanzeimäßige Behandlung. *Theologie und Glaube* 14: 298–306.
1922. Paul Maria Baumgarten: Neue Forschungen zur Vulgata Sixtina von 1590. *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 16: 161–191, 241–270. – A series of nine brief studies, all of which deal with the Sixtina, the promulgation bull of March 1, 1590, the surviving copies of the Sixtina, the letters accompanying the presentation copies of the Sixtina sent to European royalty, etc. On pages 256–261, Baumgarten offers a list of printing errors found in the Sixtina. Baumgarten is critical of the views of J.B. Nisius who argues that the papal bull of March 1, 1590 was never formally published (and is therefore irrelevant). Review: Ignaz Rohr, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 104 (1923) 265 – “Die Untersuchung zeigt souveräne Beherrschung des Materials.”
1924. Paul Maria Baumgarten: Zur Vulgate Sixtina von 1590. *Theologische Revue* 23.4: 121–124.
1927. Paul Maria Baumgarten: *Neue Kunde von alten Bibeln*. Des zweiten Bandes erster Teil. Krumbach. xix, 176, 151 pp.
1929. Paul Maria Baumgarten: Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel. *Theologische Revue* 28.10: 417–424. Baumgarten offers a critique of the articles of C.A. Kneller SJ and laments the fact that Ludwig von Pastor, in vol. 10 of his History of the Popes, uncritically follows this Jesuit scholar (cols. 420–422).
1930. Paul Maria Baumgarten: Eine neue Bellarmino-Biographie. *Theologische Revue* 29.5: 185–192.
2013. Isa-Maria Betz: *Paul Maria Baumgarten – Deutscher Kirchenhistoriker und römischer Priester*. Hamburg (318 pp.), pp. 169–228: Baumgarten inmitten der Vulgata-Bellarmino-Kontroverse. A detailed account of a German historian's controversies about the publication of the Vulgata Sixtina in 1590, and its abolishment by Bellarmine who replaced it with the Clementina in 1592. Pages 176–177: Baumgarten acted as the modern, critical historian. He paid no attention to clerical sensibilities and the wish of the Jesuits, to keep any criticism away from the pope and the soon-to-be-sainted Bellarmine in a political situation in which the Pope's extended state no longer existed (and was eventually reduced to the Vatican State in 1929). ▲

Contributions to the debate, mostly critical of Baumgarten

1910. François Xavier Le Bachelet SJ: Ce que Bellarmin dit de la Bible de Sixte-Quint en 1591. *Recherches de science religieuses* 1: 72–77.
1911. François Xavier Le Bachelet SJ: *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine. Les attaques. Études* 126: 748–773.
1911. Xavier-Marie Le Bachelet SJ: *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine. Étude et documents inédits*. Paris. xi, 210 pp. – Documents on pp. 103–199.
1912. Enrico Rosa SJ: La storia della Volgata Sistina e l'opera del Bellarmino. *Civiltà Cattolica* 3:161–180.
1912. Joseph Michael Heer: Zur Kontroverse über die Sixto-Clementinische Vulgata. *Der Katholik*. Vierte Folge 9: 418–426. Heer accepts that the Sixtina was duly promulgated by Pope Sixtus (as argued by Baumgarten), but nevertheless argues in favour of the possibility that the Pope may have expressed the wish to withdraw the publication. Heer appreciates the sound judgment of Bellarmine; he should not be accused of bad faith and perpetrating an intrigue against the Sixtina.
1912. Fridolin Amann: *Die Bibel Sixtus' V. Ein Überblick über ihre Geschichte mit neuem Quellenmaterial aus dem venezianischen Staatsarchiv*. Freiburg. 31 pp.

1912. Fridolin Amann: *Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590. Eine quellenmäßige Darstellung ihrer Geschichte mit neuem Quellenmaterial aus dem venezianischen Staatsarchiv*. Freiburg. xix, 160 pp. – Pages 37–44: Die Arbeitsweise und die kritischen Grundsätze der sixtinischen Kommission. Page 3: “Sixtus V. wollte nur verwirklichen, was das Konzil von Trient angeregt hatte.”
1912. Johann Baptist Nisius SJ: Zur Geschichte der Vulgata Sixtina. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 36: 1–47, 209–251. – The author summarises the study of Baumgarten 1911, which he also criticizes. The Sixtina was beautifully designed externally, but its many printing errors prevented it from being useful (p. 211).
1913. Eugène Mangenot: *La Vulgate de Sixte-Quint*. Paris. 44 pp.
1914. Johann B. Nisius SJ: Schlussergebnisse der Forschung und Kontroverse über die Vulgata Sixtina. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 38: 183–266. – The author summarizes the results of recent research on the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate, with special reference to the contributions of Hildebrand Höpfl and Fridolin Amann.
- 1922–1924. Carl Alois Kneller SJ: Zur Vulgata Sixtus’ V. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 46 (1922) 313–325, 468–479; 47 (1923) 154–160, 601–611; 48 (1924) 133–151.
1923. Carl Alois Kneller SJ: [review of Baumgarten: *Neue Kunde von alten Bibeln*]. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 47: 585–593.
1927. August Merk SJ: Bibel und Bulle Sixtus’ V. *Scholastik* 2: 515–540. – Unlike Jesuits Nisius and Kneller, Merk leans toward the assumption that Sixtus did promulgate his Bible.
1928. Carl Alois Kneller SJ: Die Bibelbulle Sixtus’ V. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 52: 202–224.
1935. Carl Alois Kneller SJ: Neue Studien zur sixtinischen Vulgatabulle. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 59: 81–107, 268–290. – According to Kneller, Pope Sixtus V prepared a bull to promulgate his edition of the Vulgate Bible, but the document, although eventually printed, was not formally published.

16.5 The “editio Clementina,” 1592

Note. – Published at the behest of Pope Clement VIII in 1592, the Biblia Clementina henceforth served as the official biblical text of the Catholic Church until the end of the twentieth century. Interestingly, this edition did not claim to be authoritative in the way it was stated in the papal bull *Aeternus ille celestium* that had promulgated the 1590 editio Sixtina (see above, Chapter 16.4). On the title page of the 1592 printing does not figure a pope’s name. The 1604 edition and subsequent ones mention two names – Sixtus V and Clement VIII. This work is referred to as the “Clementine Vulgate,” “Clementina,” “Sixto-Clementina” or “Xystina-Clementina.”

Editio princeps: the Clementina

Modern editions of the Clementina: standard editions – scholarly editions

Secondary literature: the Clementina

Thomas James, Protestant polemicist

Editio princeps: the Clementina

1592. *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti quinti pont. Max. iussu recognita atque edita*. Rome. 1131, 23 pp. – The “editio Clementina” was prepared by a Vulgate commission under Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna. The title page does not mention the name of Pope Clement VIII, though the preface refers to him by name. This edition has an appendix with three extra, non-canonical ancient writings: the prayer of Manasseh, the Third book of Ezra, and the Fourth book of Ezra. For bibliographical descriptions of the Clementina, see:

1900. Michael Hetzenauer OC: *Wesen und Principien der Bibelkritik auf katholischer Grundlage*. Innsbruck (xiii, 212 pp.), pp. 127–131.

2002. *Die Bibelsammlung der württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*. Erste Abteilung. Vierter Band: Lateinische Bibeldrucke 1454–2001; Teil 2: 1565–2001. Stuttgart (pp. 477–977), pp. 638–640 (no. D 950).

1592. (Preface and papal bull of promulgation) The *praefatio ad lectorem* (*In multis magnisque beneficiis*, unsigned, but known to be by Robert Bellarmine) is followed by the bull of Clement VIII (*Cum sacrorum Bibliorum vulgatae editionis textus*). These two Latin texts are often included in later editions of the Clementina such as the Colunga/Turrado one. In the *praefatio*, Bellarmine explains: “Sixtus V commanded the work thus finished to be put to the press; and when it was printed, and ready for publication, the same pontiff, perceiving that many errors had crept into the Holy Bible, through fault of the press (...), declared and decreed that the whole edition should be recalled; but he was unable to accomplish this, being prevented by death. Gregory XIX, (...) who had succeeded Sixtus in the pontificate, determined to follow up and finish his plan.” In Latin: *Sixtus V (...) opus tandem confectum typis mandari iussit. Quod cum jam esset excusum et ut in lucem emitteretur, idem pontifex operam daret, animadvertens non pauca in sacra Biblia praeli vitio irrepisse (...) totum opus sub incudem revocandum censuit atque decrevit. Id vero cum morte praeventus praestare non potuisset, Gregorius XIV qui (...) Sixto successerat, eius animi intentionem executus perficere aggressus est.* – For preface and papal bull, see:

1859. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette: *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*. Translated and Enlarged by Theodore Parker. Volume I. Third Edition. Boston (xxvii, 517 pp.), pp. 287–288: English translation of part of Bellarmine’s preface.

1900. Michael Hetzenauer OC: *Wesen und Principien der Bibelkritik auf katholischer Grundlage*. Innsbruck (xiii, 212 pp.), pp. 69–76. Latin text of the preface and the papal bull, without translation.

Note. – The Clementina was typeset not from a new manuscript but from corrected sheets of the Sixtina Bible; see Joseph Michael Heer: Zur Kontroverse über die Sixto-Clementinische Vulgata. *Der Katholik*. Vierte Folge 9 (1912) 418–426, at pp. 425–426.

The text of the Clementina is very carefully and beautifully presented, using many features of the best typography then available. Here is one sentence in this edition’s typography: *Eritque semen tuum quasi pulvis terræ: dilataberis ad Occidentem, & Orientem, & Septentrionem, & Meridiem, & BENE-DICENTUR IN TE & in femine tuo cunctæ tribus terræ.* (Gen 28:14) In this example one can see the use of the “long s” (in *semen* and *quasi*), the use of capitalized words (such as *Occidentem*), of complete phrases in capital letters, the use of the ampersand (&), a ligature (æ), the distinction between v and u (as in *tuum* and *pulvis*) and especially the rich punctuation with commas and colons. Long sequences of words without punctuation are studiously avoided, so that there is never an unbroken sequence of more than ten words. Other features include the use of the letter j in words such as *ejus*, round brackets, and the question mark (though not of the exclamation mark and inverted commas). Chapters and verses are carefully numbered – chapters with Roman numerals (*caput xxviii*) and verses with Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3...). Moreover, quotations are frequently marked off from the rest of the text by being

indented. Occasionally, parts of a sentence are placed between brackets for easy reading; an example is (*erant autem scenofactoriae artis*) – they were tent-makers by trade (Acts 18:3). Each page has two columns; while this feature clearly echoes medieval manuscripts and remained characteristic of the layout of Bibles through the centuries, it also functional because it allows the reader to focus easily on a sentence. – Some editions of the Clementina reproduce all or most of these features, for instance the Nestle New Testament of 1906 listed below.

Two subjects must also be considered for those who work with the Clementina and its precursor: the textual differences between the two, and printing errors:

(1) Differences between the Sixtina and the Clementina. These are minor differences, but they are nevertheless noteworthy. Some of these are listed and discussed in the following publications:

1600. Thomas James: *Bellum papale sive concordantia discors Sixti Quinti et Clementis Octavi circa Hieronymiam editionem*. London 1600. 78 pp.

1822/24. Leander van Eß (ed.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis juxta exemplar ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana Romae 1592*. Tübingen. 3 vols.: 646 pp.; 648 pp.; xxvi, 342 pp. – Volume III was published in 1822, volumes I and II followed in 1824. The critical apparatus lists readings of the Sixtina (1590).

1856. Thomas Hartwell Horne – Samuel Prideaux Tregelles: *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. London 1856 (xxvii, 767 pp.), pp. 256–257.

1900. Benno Jacob: *Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen. V. Zur Geschichte der Vulgata im 16. Jahrhundert. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20: 49–80, at pp. 61–80.

1900. Michael Hetzenauer OC: *Wesen und Principien der Bibelkritik auf katholischer Grundlage*. Innsbruck (xiii, 212 pp.), pp. 148–155: a synoptic presentation of what the author thinks were the major differences.

1922. Henri Quentin OSB: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*. Rome and Paris (xvi, 520 pp.), pp. 186, 195–198.

(2) Printing errors. Despite its careful design, the printing was done in haste, within four months. As a result, the Clementina edition includes a large number of uncorrected printing errors, so that an index of corrigenda – a new *correctorium* (cf. above, Chapter **14.6**) – had to be appended. Several lists of errors have been published:

1845. Lucas Brugensis (Lucas of Bruges): *Romanae correctionis in latinis bibliis editionis vulgate jussu Sixti V. Pont. Max. recognitis, loca insigniora*. In: Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.): *Sacrae Scripturae cursus completus*. Tomus 28. Paris (668 cols.), col. 485–600. – This is the private scholarly work of the editor of the 1574 edition of the Louvain Bible. After the Sixto-Clementina had been published, he offered notes with suggestions for improvement. A typical entry reads (col. 568): *Matt 12:31. Spiritus autem blasphemia non remittitur. Cave ne nominativum blasphemia commutes cum genitivo blasphemiae*. – Beware of exchanging the nominative *blasphemia* for the genitive *blasphemiae*.

1900. Michael Hetzenauer OC: *Wesen und Principien der Bibelkritik auf katholischer Grundlage*. Innsbruck (xiii, 212 pp.), pp. 136–148 – the official list of printing errors (Correctorium Vaticanum).
1913. Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sixto-klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Freiburg. xv, 339 pp. – See pp. 292–296: Die Korrekturen des P. Toletus zur Bibel von 1593 (inkl. Die Vorschläge von Lucas Brugensis); pp. 297–301: Liste der von Lucas Brugensis und Colvenerius gesammelten anscheinenden Errata in der Bibel von 1593, mit den Bemerkungen des Baronius.
1919. Carl Alois Kneller SJ: Zur Geschichte der klementinischen Vulgata-Ausgaben. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 43: 391–438. – While Lucas of Bruges published his own textual notes, there were also official lists of corrigenda; Keller's article prints them and provides a discussion. ▲

Modern editions of the Clementina

Note. – Most printers and editors of Vulgate Bibles seek to present a clean text in which earlier errors and mistakes are corrected. In what follows we list some editions reputed for their accuracy. Most of the “scholarly editions” listed below have a critical apparatus.

Standard editions

1849. Valentin Loch (ed.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis. Juxta exemplaria ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, Romae 1592 et 1593*. Regensburg. 4 parts, bound as 2 volumes. xlii, 416 pp.; 349 pp.; 318 pp.; 404 pp. – In the 1st part, the Jerome Prologues are printed in Latin on pp. xvii–xlii. At the very end, after the New Testament, the Latin text of three writings is printed under the heading “Libri apocryphi”: Oratio Manassae, Esdrae liber III, Esdrae liber IV. – The editor taught at the Lyceum of Bamberg, a university-like academic institution.
- 1862/63. Valentin Loch (ed.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae editionis juxta exemplaria ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana*. Editio secunda. Regensburg. lxiv, 653 pp; 333 pp; 499 pp.; 364 pp. – This second edition, and further editions of Loch's Vulgate, sought to present an improved edition. In order to achieve this, Loch introduced a number of new readings; for examples, see the textual notes on Josh 4:14 and 2 Sam 3:1 (**Chapter 21**).
1906. Michael Hetzenauer OFM Cap. (ed.): *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis. Ex ipsis exemplaribus vaticanis*. Innsbruck. xxxvii, 1142, 173* pp. – In the appendix (pages with an asterisk *), the editor supplies lists of differences between various editions of the Vulgate Bible. Hetzenauer (1860–1928) subsequently published more editions, including one in pocket size (five small volumes, Regensburg 1922). His text of the New Testament was reproduced by Eberhard Nestle (see below, scholarly editions, 1906). Review:
1908. G. Mallows Youngman: Hetzenauer's Edition of the Vulgate, *The American Journal of Theology* 12: 627–636. According to Yougman, Hetzenauer's edition is superior to Vercellone's, because it is based on the 1593 edition of the Clementina (and not on the inferior one of 1592, the one used by Vercellone).
1927. *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*. Ediderunt complures scripturae sacrae professores Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis et Seminarii Sancti Sulpitii. Paris. xiv, 1280, 288, 31, 16 pp. – Known as the Paris professors' Bible (die Pariser Professorenbibel), much used in theological education in Rome, France, Germany, Belgium, and elsewhere, in many editions. One example: the 1956 printing has xli, 1280, [288], 152*, 16 pp. and includes the **Psalterium Pianum** on pp. 1*–120* (see below, Chapter **16.6**).
1965. Alberto Colunga OP – Laurentio Turrado (eds.): *Biblia sacra juxta vulgatam clementinam nova editio*. Biblioteca de autores cristianos. Madrid. xxvii, 1256 pp., 7 maps. – First published in 1946

and often reprinted – most recently in 2018 (15th printing) – the Colunga-Turrado edition is said to be the most reliable edition of the Clementina currently available. Some of its features: the Old Testament is titled “Antiquum Testamentum”; not used are the letter “j,” (*Jesus, eius, iudex*), ligatures such as æ, and quotation marks; the Vulgate book of Psalms is printed, synoptically, with the *Psalterium Pianum* of 1945 (see below, Chapter **16.6**); the Clementina appendix (Prayer of Manasseh etc.) is not included in the 1965 edition, though some earlier, illustrated editions of the Colunga-Turrado Vulgate, including one printed in 1946 (xxiv, 1592, 122 pp.), have these books in a separately paginated appendix of 122 pages. – Reviews:

1946. Teófilo Ayuso: Una edición Española de la ‘Vulgata.’ *Arbor* 6: 460–463.

2016. Houghton, p. 132: “The Clementine Vulgate is often a better guide to the text of the medieval Vulgate than the critical editions of the earliest available text. The current standard reference edition is that of Colunga & Turrado 1946, a form of which is available online.” The online version can be found on the [website of the “Internet archive.”](#)

2023. Bernhard Lang: In my 1965 copy, I detected several printing errors: p. 35, Gen 41:23 read *quoque* (not *quoqne*); p. 257: in 2 Sam 12:31, read *serravit* (not *servavit*, though this is a manuscript reading); p. 706: in Isa 35:4, the first word must be *dicite* (not *dicit*); p. 991, in the text of Matt 28:16, the first letter of the name of Jesus is missing; p. 1103, there is a note on Rom 11:2, but it must be Rom 11:3, and the Old Testament parallel indicated there must be 3 Reg 19:10.14 (and not 91). ▲

2003. Alberto Colunga OP – Michelangelo Tabet (eds.): *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti V pontificis maximi iussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita*. Cinisello Balsamo (Milano). 1277 pp. – A new edition, printed in Italy, of the text edited by Alberto Colunga in 1946 by the publishing house “San Paolo.”

2005. Michael Tweedale (ed.): *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam. Editio electronica*. London. xi, 1512 pp. – Unlike the original Clementina, the text distinguishes between prose and poetry. There is no appendix with Oratio Manassae etc. The orthography distinguishes between i and j, so that we find *ejus, judicare, and Jesus* (not *eius, iudicare, etc.*). Also used is the trema in words such as *introëuntes* (Mark 11:2) to alert the reader that meant is not *oe* (æ). This digital edition, approved by the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of England and Wales, is easily found on the Internet: under “[The Clementina Vulgate Project](#),” or on the website [academia.edu](#) under the name [Abel Covarrubias](#), or at [www.wilbourhall.org](#). The file can be downloaded as a PDF free of charge. The Clementina text used is that of Colunga/Tabet (see above, 2003), and Michael Tweedale has seen to it that textual mistakes such as typos have been eliminated from the electronic edition; by now, it should be free from errors.

Scholarly editions

1822/24. Leander van Eß (ed.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis iuxta exemplar ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana Romae 1592*. Tübingen. 3 vols.: 646 pp.; 648 pp.; xxvi, 342 pp. – Volume III was published in 1822, volumes I and II followed in 1824. The critical apparatus lists readings of the Sixtia (1590) as well as readings found in the Clementina editions of 1593 and 1598.

1842. 1850. Karl Lachmann – Philipp Buttmann (eds.): *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*. 2 vols. Berlin. lv, 720 pp; xxv, 701 pp. – Published in two volumes in 1842 and 1850, this is the second edition of Lachmann’s New Testament in Greek and Latin. His first edition of a Greek New Testament and Latin Vulgate, published in 1831, was heavily criticised for relying on a narrow range of sources. The second edition takes into account later Latin manuscripts. There is a recent reprint edition, published by Cambridge University Press.

1855. G.C.C. Theile – R. Stier (eds.): *Novum Testamentum Tetraglottum*. Bielefeld. viii, 1060 pp. – The book was reprinted by Diogenes Verlag, Zürich 1981, as an inexpensive paperback. – In the

1840s, the two Lutheran scholars Karl Gottfried Wilhelm Theile (1799–1854) and Ewald Rudolf Stier (1800–1862) produced a complete polyglot Bible of several volumes. The most successful part, the New Testament, was subsequently (1855) published in smaller format. It included the Greek textus receptus, Luther’s German translation, and the Authorized Version, plus the Vulgate text of the Clementina. The Clementina column has a small critical apparatus that lists variant readings, esp. from Codex Fuldensis and Codex Amiatinus.

1861. Carlo Giuseppe Vercellone (ed.): *Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V. et Clementis VIII*. Rome. xxiv, 839 pp. – This work was considered the most careful edition of the Vulgate at the time. In the introduction, Vercellone lists c. 250 Old Testament and c. 80 New Testament passages where he corrects obvious mistakes of the early editions of the Clementina; but he refrains from introducing new readings. [Vercellone](#) has made an outstanding contribution to the study of the Vulgate text; see above, Chapter **7.4**.
1873. Theodor Heyse – Konstantin Tischendorf (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Latina Veteris Testamenti, Hieronymo interprete ex antiquissima auctoritate in stichos descripta*. Leipzig. lxxi, 990 pp. – This critical edition presents the text of the Clementina (of Vercellone’s 1861 edition) and adds the readings found in Codex Amiatinus.
1906. Eberhard Nestle (ed.): *Novum Testamentum Latine. Textus Vaticanus cum apparatu critico*. Stuttgart. xx, 657 pp. – The edition, often reprinted, also includes the [Letter to the Laodiceans](#) (p. xix; see below, Chapter **23**) and Jerome’s letter to Pope Damasus which is the prologue to the Gospels (PL 29: 525; Sources chrétiennes 592: 470). The 2nd edition of 1912 is changed in details; later editions are only reprints. A 9th edition appeared in 1961. Eberhard Nestle (1851–1913), born in Stuttgart, was a Lutheran theologian. – Editions from 1984 on, edited by Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, do not offer the text of the Vulgate, but the text of the “Nova Vulgata,” i.e., a modern Vulgate revision (see below, [Chapter 17](#)). ▲
1965. *Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V [quinti] Pont. Max. iussu recognita et Clementis VIII [octavi] auctoritate edita. Editio emendatissima apparatu critico instructa cura et studio Monachorum Abbatiae Pontificae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*. Marietti editore. Turin. xv, 1244 pp., 8 plates. – Edited by the Benedictine monks of the Pontifical Abbey of Saint Jerome (Rome) who are otherwise responsible for producing the critical edition of the Vulgate Old Testament (see above, Chapter **13.3**). Originally published in 1959, this so-called “Marietti Bible” is a most unusual edition of the Clementine text of the Vulgate Bible, because it has a critical apparatus that lists some of the readings of the Abbey’s critical Vulgate edition. In the case of the Psalms, this edition prints three Latin translations in synoptic arrangement: the Psalterium Gallicanum (Vulgate text), Jerome’s *iuxta hebraeos*, and the Psalterium Pianum, pp. 434–665. – Review (of the 1959 edition): Joseph Ziegler, *Biblische Zeitschrift* NF 5 (1961) 116–117.

Secondary literature: the Clementina

Before 1900

1847. Aloisio M. Ungarelli: *De castigatione vulgatae bibliorum editionis peracta iussu Concilii Tridentini*. In: idem: *Praelectiones de Novo Testamento et Historia vulgatae bibliorum editionis a Concilio Tridentino*. Rome (vi, 228 pp.), pp. 111–224. – Ungarelli offers a detailed account of the making of the Sixtina and Clementina. He also supplies a selection of original documents (pp. 217–224), appended to his account. Still a useful resource. – Variant form of the author’s name: Luigi Maria Ungarelli (1779–1845). Ungarelli was one of the very first Egyptologists who could read the hieroglyphs.

1855. [Aloisio Maria Ungarelli] Histoire de la correction de la Vulgate d'après le P. Ungarelli, Barnabite. *Analecta Juris Pontificii. Recueil de dissertations sur différents sujets de droit canonique, de liturgie et de théologie*. Septième livraison. Rome, cols. 1331–1341. – A French summary of Ungarelli's research.
1860. Franz Heinrich Reusch: Zur Geschichte der Entstehung der officiellen Ausgabe der Vulgata. *Der Katholik* 40.2: 1–24.
1868. Franz Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz. viii, 501 pp. – Pages 420–496: Officieller Text.
1887. Ignaz Döllinger: [Anmerkung] 25. In: *Die Selbstbiographie des Cardinals Bellarmin*. Lateinisch und deutsch mit geschichtlichen Erläuterungen. Herausgegeben von Joh. Jos. Ign. von Döllinger und Fr. Heinrich Reusch. Bonn (iv, 352 pp.), pp. 111–128.
1893. Eberhard Nestle: Ein Jubiläum der lateinischen Bibel. Zum 9. November 1892. 27 pp. In: idem: *Materialien und Marginalien*. Tübingen (several studies with individual pagination, bound into one volume), at the very end of the book.

After 1900

1900. Benno Jacob: Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen. V. Zur Geschichte der Vulgata im 16. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20: 49–80. – Jacob identifies the Löwen critical editions of the Vulgate as the basis of both the Sixtina and the Clementina. But while the Sixtina generally rejects the marginal critical notations, the Clementina accepts these. "C[lementina] zieht in der Regel die Randlesart der Pariser und Löwener kritischen Ausgabe vor und zwar auf die Autorität des griechischen Textes hin. (Wenn auch vereinzelt lateinische Zeugen zugestimmt haben mögen). Was sich bisher nur schüchtern am Rande aufgehalten hatte, das wird jetzt mit programmatischer Entschiedenheit als einzig legitime Lesart in den Text aufgenommen. Das aber ist ein Zeichen der neuen Zeit" (p. 639). Jacob's essay includes a comparative list of the Latin Psalm titles as they appear in the Sixtina and the Clementina (pp. 64–80).
1908. Eberhard Nestle: Latin Versions. In: Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.): *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. Volume II. New York (xvi, 499 pp.), pp. 191–197. – Page 196: "As a matter of fact, the Sixtine edition is typographically more correct than the Clementine, but the text of the Clementine is an improvement on that of the Sixtine."
1912. Eugène Mangenot: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – Cols. 2490–2498: La Bible sixto-clémentine.
1913. Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sixto-klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Freiburg. xv, 339 pp. – See esp. pp. 278–279: Tabelle der klementinischen Revision.
1913. René Michaud: La question de la Bible Sixto-Clémentine. *Nouvelle revue théologique* 45: 759–768.
1919. Carl Alois Kneller SJ: Zur Geschichte der klementinischen Vulgata-Ausgaben. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 43: 391–438. – "Über die Entstehungsgeschichte der klementinischen Vulgata ist viel geschrieben worden, über ihre späteren Geschicke sehr wenig" (p. 391). The article aims to remedy this deficiency. Kneller provides helpful lists of correctories that improve the text of the Clementina and that have often been disregarded. Since Kneller accurately lists the contents of the proofreadings (i.e., tabulates the erroneous and the correct readings in each case), this is an important, foundational essay for textual criticism of the Clementina. ▲
1922. Paul Maria Baumgarten: *Neue Kunde von alten Bibeln*. Rome. xxii, 402 pp. – This self-published book has a few pages on the early editions of the Sixto-Clementina, all produced by the Vatic-

an's own printers. Of the first edition, the 1592 folio, only 500 copies were printed, and it took almost a decade until they were sold (p. 320). Of the quarto edition of 1593, 2.800 copies were printed, and sold very quickly (pp. 326, 328).

1922. Henri Quentin: *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*. Rome and Paris. xvi, 520 pp. – Pages 192–208: L'édition de Clément VIII. "Dans l'ensemble, l'édition Clémentine est un peu meilleure que la Sixtine, mais elle ne marque pas un progrès considérable" (p. 197).
1927. Ludwig von Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. Elfter Band. Freiburg (xxxix, 804 pp.), pp. 473–476.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Pages 158–174: Die Vulgata von der Erfindung des Buchdruckerkunst bis zum Konzil von Trient; pp. 174–181: Die ersten Arbeiten zur Revision der Vulgata; pp. 181–205: Die Vulgatarevision unter Sixtus V. und Klemens VIII. On pp. 263–272, Stummer offers previously unpublished Italian and Latin texts on the history of the origin of the Clementine Vulgate. Stummer's opinion on the textual character of the Clementina (p. 203): the text is far from representing the work of Jerome. It is nothing but a slightly revised version of the [Paris Bible](#) (on the latter, see above, **14.4**). ▲
1928. Arthur Allgeier: *Die altlateinischen Psalterien*. Freiburg. xi, 190 pp. – Pages 14–25: Die Psalterfrage und die Sixto-Clementina.
2016. Bruce Gordon – Euan Cameron: Latin Bibles in the early modern period. In: Euan Cameron (ed.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 3. Cambridge (xx, 975 pp.), pp. 187–216.
2017. Matthias Geigenfeind: Die Patmos-Worte lateinisch gelesen. Vergleich des Textes der Johannesapokalypse in der Vulgata Sixtina (V-Sixt) von 1590 und der Sixto-Clementina (SC) von 1592. In: Marcus Sigismund – Darius Müller (eds.): *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse* II. Berlin (viii, 546 pp.), pp. 231–282.
2023. Antonio Gerace: The Council of Trent and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 292–304. – The author outlines the history of the Latin Vulgate in the sixteenth century, from the discussions leading to the Fourth Session of the Council of Trent (1546), when it was proclaimed as the 'authentic' edition, up to the eventual publication of the Sixto-Clementine edition in 1592. The important work in Louvain of John Henten and Francis Lucas of Bruges on editions of the Vulgate is described, which played a key role in the activity of the five Roman Committees for the Emendation of the Vulgate. Information is also given on the membership of these committees and the failure of the Sixtine Vulgate of 1590.

Thomas James, Protestant polemicist

1600. Thomas James: *Bellum papale sive concordantia discors Sixti Quinti et Clementis Octavi circa Hieronymiam editionem*. London. 78 pp. – A polemical treatise about the differences between the Vulgate edited under P. Sixtus and the edition published under P. Clement. – Reviews:
1870. Fr. Heinrich Reusch: *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Vierte, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg (ix, 229 pp.), p. 212: "Die Differenzen zwischen der sixtinischen und der clementinischen Ausgabe (s. Thomas James, *Bellum papale*, London 1600) sind alle ohne doctrinelle Bedeutung und größtentheils auch kritisch nicht sehr bedeutend."
1884. Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg (vii, 599 pp.), p. 130: "Wer sich die Mühe geben will, die von Thomas James (...) aufgesuchten Unterschiede zwischen der sixtinischen und der clementinischen Ausgabe näher anzusehen, wird leicht zweierlei entdecken: erstens, wie geringfügig die Verschiedenheiten sind, und wie wenig dabei Glaube und Sitten,

das Object der päpstlichen Unfehlbarkeit, in Betracht kommt; zweitens, wie viel mehr die kritischen Gründe auf Seiten der späteren Ausgabe stehen. Bemerkenswert ist insbesondere, daß an den bezüglichen Stellen gewöhnlich Sixtus von der Festsetzung seiner Commission abgewichen, die clementinische Ausgabe aber wieder zu derselben zurückgekehrt ist."

1688. Thomas James: *A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers*. London. 14 leaves, 560 pp. – Includes an English version of the author's *Bellum papale*.
1843. Thomas James: *A Treatise of the Corruptions of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, for the Maintenance of Popery*. Revised and Corrected from the Editions of 1612 and 1688. By John Edmund Cox. London. xlii, 348 pp. – Cox is also the editor of an 1841 edition of James's *Bellum papale*.
1900. Benno Jacob: Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen. V. Zur Geschichte der Vulgata im 16. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20: 49–80, at pp. 51–52: a brief summary of the contents of James's *Bellum papale* and its reception. The author also mentions that James's work threw a shadow on Bellarmine's reputation and prevented him from becoming a canonized saint of the Catholic Church.
1935. Carl A. Kneller SJ: Neue Studien zur sixtinischen Vulgatabulle. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 59: 81–107. 268–290. – Kneller tells the story of Thomas James's research on the official papal promulgation of the (first, 1590) Sixtine Bible (pp. 82–85). James was told by several Catholic theologians that this Bible had never been officially promulgated.
1991. R.W. Clement: Librarianship and Polemics. The Career of Thomas James (1572–1629). *Libraries & Culture* 26 (1991) 269–282. – Thomas James was the first librarian of the Bodleian library in Oxford. James's polemics against the pope's Vulgate edition is part of his librarianship. The Bodleian was founded as a repository of truth, as a resource in the battle against Christianity's corruption by Jesuits and the pope.

16.6 The Popes and the Latin Psalms, 1568–1969

Note. – There are four Latin versions of the Psalms that were at one time or another considered the standard or ecclesiastically approved text: (1) Psalterium Romanum, (2) Psalterium Gallicanum (= Vulgate Psalter), (3) Psalterium Pianum, and (4) the book of Psalms included in the Nova Vulgata. The Liturgy of the Hours or breviary read (or recited or sung) every day by Catholic priests and religious, either individually or in community, is based on the Psalter. Several popes felt responsible for supplying good Latin texts; they gave directions or made suggestions. It may actually be that Pope Damasus (in office 366–384) ordered or supported Jerome's revision of a Latin Psalter, but the evidence for this is not strong enough to allow for considering Damasus the first pope to give instructions about the Latin Psalms. The first pope to do so was Pius V.

Pope Pius V and the Breviary Psalter, 1568

Pope Pius X and the Breviary Psalter, 1911/13

Psalterium Pianum – the Latin Psalter of P. Pius XII, 1945

Psychologically problematic Psalms, 1968

The Neovulgate Psalter of P. Paul VI, 1969

Pope Pius V and the Breviary Psalter, 1568

1568. Pius V.: Bull "Quod a nobis" (9th July 1568). This document prescribes the use of the *Psalterium Gallicanum* in the Liturgy of the Hours. Later, the same pope (by the bull "Quo primum," 14th July 1570) prescribes its use for all editions of the Missale Romanum. The 1568 text can be found, in Latin and German, in the following publications:

2006. Alexander Zerfaß – Angelus A. Häußling: Die Bulle "Quod a nobis" Papst Pius V. vom 9. Juli 1568 zur Promulgation des nachtridentinischen Breviarium Romanum. *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 48: 334–353.

2012. Angelus A. Häußling OSB: Die Bulle "Quod a nobis" Papst Pius V. vom 9. Juli 1568 zur Promulgation des nachtridentinischen Breviarium Romanum. In: idem: *Tagzeitenliturgie in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Münster (356 pp.), pp. 186–205.

Pope Pius X and the Breviary Psalter, 1911/13

1911. Pius X: Constitutio apostolica "Divino afflatus" de nova psalterii in breviario romano dispositione (1st November 1911). *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 3: 633–651. The reform concerned the distribution of the Psalms of the breviary.

1913. Pius X: Motu proprio "Abhinc duos annos" (23rd October 1913). *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 5: 449–451. This document promulgates the breviary reform announced in 1911.

Secondary literature

2011. Paul Cavendish: An Introduction to the Reform of the Roman Breviary. *Usus Antiquior. A Journal Dedicated to the Sacred Liturgy* 2: 32–60, 129–152.

2014. Honoré Vinck: *Pie X et les réformes liturgiques de 1911–1914: psautier, bréviaire, calendrier, rubriques*. Münster. 530 pp. – The architect of the reform was Pietro Piacenza.

Psalterium Pianum – the Latin Psalms of P. Pius XII, 1945

Note. – The desire for a Latin Psalter in better language, closer to classical Latin, was occasionally discussed by Catholic theologians; for examples, see the following works:

1928. Heinrich Herkenne: Das Problem einer Revision der Psalmen mit besonderer Rücksichtnahme auf das Brevier. *Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge* 5: 234–248.

1929. Xaver Schmid: De Breviario Romano reformando commentatio. *Ephemerides liturgicae* 48: 25–33.

1929. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: La reconstitution du psautier hexaplaire latin. *Revue bénédictine* 41: 294–324. – Page 324: A careful edition of the Vulgate Psalter "nous laisse très loin de l'idéal qui doit être de donner aux prêtres un psautier intelligible et conforme au texte primitif. Il faudrait pour cela une réforme plus profonde qui est de plus en plus désirée par l'élite du clergé." To which De Bruyne adds that "l'usage du psautier hexaplaire [i.e., the Gallican Psalter of the Vulgate] n'est nullement ancien, et son introduction dans la liturgie a été une faute; il était uniquement destiné à l'étude."

1938. Joseph Coppens: Pour une nouvelle version du Psautier sur la base du Psautier gallican et à l'usage de la récitation privée. *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 15: 5–33.

1940. Victor Leroquais: *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publics de France*. Tome I. Macon. cxxxvi, 293 pp. – Page xl: The author briefly comments on the Benedictine Vulgate and its

Psalter (which was eventually published in 1953). He considers this revised Latin Psalter to be only one step towards what is yet to be produced: a Latin psalter – “une traduction exacte et limpide du psautier, traduction faite sur l’original hébreu, préalablement reconstitué et rendu à sa pureté primitive.”

The idea was taken up by Pope Pius XII, known for his admiration of Ciceronian Latin. He asked the Jesuit Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome to produce a revised text; Augustine Bea SJ served as the chairman of the committee that produced the new version that was subsequently recommended for breviary prayer by Pope Pius XII in 1945. The Vulgate language was completely abandoned. The Latin text of the *Psalterium Pianum* was not widely received in the Church, but several translations based on it were; in Germany, for example, the Guardini Psalter.

*

1945. Pope Pius XII: *Motu proprio “In cotidianis precibus”* (24th March). “We have ordered [on January 19, 1941] that a new Latin translation of the Psalms should be made, which should follow exactly and faithfully the original texts, taking into account as far as possible the ancient venerable Vulgate and other ancient translations, as well as evaluating the various readings according to the norms of criticism. (...) The intended new translation having been made with due effort and care by the professors of our Pontifical Biblical Institute, we present it with paternal affection to all those who are obliged to pray daily the church’s liturgy of the hours.” – German: “Wir haben [am 19. Januar 1941] befohlen, es solle eine neue lateinische Übersetzung der Psalmen erscheinen, die sich genau und getreu nach den ursprünglichen Texten richten, soweit als möglich die alte ehrwürdige Vulgata und andere alte Übersetzungen berücksichtigen sowie die verschiedenen Lesarten nach den Normen der Kritik bewerten solle. (...) Nachdem die beabsichtigte neue Übersetzung von den Professoren unseres päpstlichen Bibelinstituts mit der angemessenen Mühe und Sorgfalt angefertigt worden ist, legen wir sie mit väterlicher Zuneigung allen denen vor, die verpflichtet sind, die kirchlichen Tagzeiten täglich zu beten.” – Editions and translations:

1945. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 37: 65–67.

1945. P. Pius XII: *Litterae apostolicae motu proprio datae: de novae Psalmorum conversionis Latinae usu in persolvendo divino officio*. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 7.3: 348–350. Latin, no English translation.

1945. P. Pius XII: *On the New Latin Psalter and Its Use in the Divine Office*. *Orate Fratres* 19: 337–340.

1946. P. Pius XII: *The New Latin Psalter and Its Use in the Divine Office*. In: *Liber Psalmorum – The Psalms: A Prayer Book*. New York (xiv, 416, 29* pp.), pp. vi–x. Translation reprinted from *Orate Fratres* 19 (1945) 337–340.

1949. German translation in: Athanasius Miller OSB: *Die Psalmen nach dem neuen in Auftrage von Papst Pius XII. hergestellten lateinischen Wortlaut*. Lateinisch und Deutsch. Freiburg (xiii, 543 pp.), p. xi.

Editions of the 1945 Psalter

1945. *Liber Psalmorum cum Canticis Breviarii Romani. Nova e textibus primigeniis interpretatio latina, cura professorum Pontificii Instituti Biblici*. Rome. xxxi, 349 pp. Second edition, also 1945: xxiv, 350 pp. – While this is essentially a new translations of the book of Psalms, the new *Liber Psalmorum* includes, as indicated by its title (*cum Canticis ...*), several other poetic texts, the so-called liturgical canticles: the canticle of the three boys (Dan 3:52–88), of David (1 Chr 29:10–13), of Isaiah (Isa 12:1–6 and 45:15–26), of Tobit (Tobit 13:1–10), of Hezekiah (Isa 38:10–20), of Judith (Judith 16:15–21), of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10), of Jeremiah (Jer 31:10–14), of Moses (Exod 15:1–18 and Deut 32:1–43), of Habakkuk (Hab 3:1–19), of Sirach (Sir 36:1–16), of Zachary (Luke 1:68–79), the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55), and the Nunc dimittis (Luke 2:29–32).

1946. *Psalmi et Cantica Breviarii Romani. Neue lateinische Übersetzung aus dem Hebräischen nach der Editio typica Vaticana.* Im Auftrag des Bischofs von Münster herausgegeben von Heinrich Gleumes. Münster. 184 pp.
1946. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam.* Nova editio. Edited by Alberto Colunga OP and Laurentio Turrado. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. Madrid (xxiv, 1256 pp.), pp. 449–582. – This often-reprinted edition of the Vulgate presents the new Psalms translation synoptically with the Vulgate Psalter, explaining in a two-line note that the new version enjoyed papal approval for liturgical use.
1956. *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam.* Edited by the professors of the seminary Saint-Sulpice in Paris. Paris. xli, 1280, 288, 120* pp. – Originally published in 1927, but subsequently revised, the Saint-Sulpice edition was meant for Catholic seminary students in all countries. The 1956 edition includes the text of the Psalterium Pianum as an appendix with separate pagination (pp. 1* – 120*).

Glossaries

1947. J. Knackstedt: Kurzes Psalmen-ABC. *Bibel und Kirche. Jahrbuch 1947.* Stuttgart, pp. 31–33. – Brief glossary of rare words used in the new translation.
1947. Paul Wermers: *Wörterverzeichnis zur neuen lateinischen Übersetzung der Psalmi et Cantica Breviarii Romani.* Münster. 47 pp.
1949. Arthur Allgeier: *Die neue Psalmenübersetzung. Der liber Psalmorum cum Canticis Breviarii Romani. Mit einer Tabelle des neuen Wortschatzes.* Freiburg. 347 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German. With a long Latin–German glossary, pp. 259–347.
1959. William J. Konus: *Dictionary of the New Latin Psalter of Pope Pius XII.* Westminster, Md. 132 pp. – Lists the vocabulary of the Psalterium Pianum. Review: G.H. Guyot, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 21 (1959) 553–554.

English translation

1946. *Liber Psalmorum – The Psalms: A Prayer Book.* New York. xiv, 416, 29* pp. – The Latin and English titles in full: *Liber Psalmorum cum Canticis Breviarii Romani, nova e textibus primigeniis interpretatione Latina cura professorum Pontificii Instituti Biblici auctoritate Pii Papae XII edita – The Psalms: A Prayer Book. Also the Canticles of the Roman Breviary. New English Translation (...) with Ecclesiastical Approbation.* – This is a bilingual, Latin and English, edition of the Psalterium Pianum. After the Pope’s apostolic letter “In cotidianis precibus” (pp. vi–x) there is an introductory essay by William H. McClellan SJ entitled “Purpose of the Psalms” (pp. xi–xv). The fourth, enlarged edition of 1947 has more introductory material (xxiv, 416, 29* pp.). – Review: Dominic J. Unger, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8 (1946) 355–359.
1947. Ronald Knox: *The Psalms. A New Translation.* New York. 239 pp. – Review: Graves H. Thompson, *Interpretation* 1 (1947) 525: “The translation is rather free, and often approaches interpretation.” Psalm 1:6 is given as an example: “They walk, the just, under the eye of the Lord’s favour, the path of the wicked, how soon is it lost to sight.” The underlying Latin: *Quoniam Dominus curat viam iustorum, et via impiorum peribit.* – There was also a bilingual, Latin and English edition, of Knox’s translation.
1949. *New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible, Translated from the Latin Vulgate.* New York. 1086, 367 pp. – Edited under the patronage of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine by Howard G. Cavaleo, this Bible supplies the text of the Douay/Challoner Bible, but includes a new English version of

the Psalms based on the Psalterium Pianum. With minor revisions, this version of the Psalms survives in the original, 1970, edition of the New American Bible.

1949. Ronald Knox: *The Old Testament Newly Translated from the Latin Vulgate*. London 1949. xi, 1604 pp. – The translation includes, as an appendix, an “Alternative Version of the Psalms,” i.e., a translation of Psalterium Pianum.

German translation

1947. Claus Schedl: *Die Psalmen nach dem neuen römischen Psalter übersetzt*. Vienna. ix, 315 pp.
1948. Simon Stricker OSB: *Der vatikanische Psalter. Deutsch-lateinisch*. Münster. 367 pp. – A bilingual, Latin and German edition. The translator is a monk of the Benedictine Abbey Maria Laach.
1949. Athanasius Miller OSB: *Die Psalmen nach dem neuen in Auftrage von Papst Pius XII. hergestellten lateinischen Wortlaut*. Lateinisch und Deutsch. Freiburg. xiii, 543 pp.
1949. Arthur Allgeier: *Die neue Psalmenübersetzung. Der liber Psalmorum cum Canticis Breviarii Romani. Mit einer Tabelle des neuen Wortschatzes*. Freiburg. 347 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German. With an introduction by Allgeier, and a long Latin–German glossary, pp. 259–347. Reviews:
1950. Meinrad Stenzel, *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 1: 102–104. The German version is owed to three young scholars: Heinrich Schneider (Ps 1–50), Othmar Haggelbacher (Ps 51–100), and Alfons Deißler (Ps 102–150); Stenzel notes the differences of style and translation methods between the three translators.
1951. Rudolf Meyer, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 76.11: 682. Friendly.
1950. Romano Guardini: *Deutscher Psalter*. Nach der lateinischen Ausgabe Papst Pius’ XII. übersetzt im Auftrag der Deutschen Bischöfe. Munich. 255 pp. – A note in this first edition of the “Guardini Psalter” explains that the fidelity to the original was verified by the Old Testament scholar Hubert Junker (1891–1971). In German-speaking lands, the Guardini Psalter was considered the authoritative liturgical Psalter for three decades, until the publication of the “Einheitsübersetzung” of the Bible in 1980. The Einheitsübersetzung’s book of Psalms is an “ecumenical” text, translated from the Hebrew by a committee with Catholic and Protestant members. – Review: Arthur Allgeier, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 76 (1951) 40.

French translation

1948. S. Ely: *Le Psautier romain. Traduction et commentaire du Liber Psalmorum édité par l’Institut Biblique Pontifical à Rome*. St-Maurice. 465 pp.
1951. *Le Psautier du bréviaire romain*. Latin et français. Nouvelle version. Paris. xvi, 104*, 574 pp.

Spanish and Italian translations

1947. Junta parroquial del Carmen: *El Salterio del Breviario Romano*. Tucumán (Argentina). 232 pp.
1948. Juan Prado: *Nuevo Salterio latino-español*. Madrid. 1400 pp. – The bilingual, Latin and Spanish edition is supplemented by an exhaustive scholarly commentary on the Psalms.
1949. Primilio Galetto: *I Salmi e i Cantici del Breviario Romano. Traduzione italiana dei testi originali secondo la nuova versione Latina del Pontificio Istituto Biblico*. Rome. xxxvi, 720 pp.

Dutch translation

1969. Adelbert Willem Bronkhorst OP: *Psalterium voor gemeenschapsgebed*. Boxtel. 403 pp.

Secondary literature

English

1946. Augustine Bea SJ: The New Psalter: Its Origin and Spirit. Translated by Augustin Ward. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8: 4–35.
1946. Matthew Stapleton: Catholic Bible Translation. *The Journal of Bible and Religion* 14: 198–202.
1947. P.P. Saydon: The New Latin Translation of the Psalter. *Melita theologica* (Malta) 1.2: 13–32. – The author is enthusiastic about the new version: “I believe that the new Psalter will become universal before it is made obligatory” (p. 32).
- 1947–1949. Ernest Lussier: The New Latin Psalter: An Exegetical Commentary. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 226–234; 324–328; 465–470. – 10 (1948) 81–86; 196–202; 291–295; 408–412. – 11 (1949) 82–88; 207–212; 316–322; 447–452.
1948. Reginald Ginns: The New Latin Psalter. *Blackfriars* 29, no. 337: 188–192. – Presentation of the Psalterium Pianum and review of Augustin Bea: *Le nouveau Psautier latin*, 1947.
- 1949–1950. Thomas E. Bierd: Some Queries on the New Psalter. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 11 (1949) 76–81, 179–187, 296–307; 12 (1950) 34–47, 213–220, 301–310.
1950. Charles M. Cooper: Jerome’s “Hebrew Psalter” and the New Latin Version. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 69: 233–244.
1950. W. Rees: The New Latin Translation of the Psalms. *Scripture* 4.7: 205–212.
1953. Christine Mohrmann: The New Latin Psalter: Its Diction and Style. *American Benedictine Review* 4: 7–33 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome II. Rome 1961 (400 pp.), pp. 109–131. Translated from Christine Mohrmann: Quelques observations linguistiques à propos de la nouvelle version du Psautier. *Vigiliae Christianae* 1 (1947) 114–128, 168–182. – Page 115 (of *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Vol. II): “The most striking innovation of all lies really in the region of linguistic form. The Latin of the early Christians has been replaced by a classicist Latin, although a few Christian elements have been retained. The result is an artificial and dualistic Latin, a humanistic Latin with some concessions to Christian usage.” According to Mohrmann, the translators failed to take the Vulgate language into account. The words *confessio* and *confiteri* (praise, to praise) have been eliminated (pp. 122–123), and the same is true of *salutare* (pp. 123–124). ▲
2023. Kevin Zilverberg: The Nova Vulgata. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 378–391. – The new Latin Psalter can be considered a “failed experiment at a time of strong momentum for the Catholic Liturgical Movement” (p. 380).

German

1948. Arthur Allgeier: Methodische Folgerungen aus der neuen römischen Psalmenübersetzung. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 73: 203–208. – “Die neue Übersetzung deckt sich mit der Vulgata selten” (col. 203). The author presents Ps 29 (Vg 28) in synoptic fashion so that one can see the differences between the new version and that of the Vulgate. At the end of the article, Allgeier briefly refers to his (controversial) idea that Jerome produced first the Psalterium *iuxta hebraeos*, and then, as an improved version, the (Vulgate) *Psalterium gallicanum* (see above, Chapter 11.4).
1948. Arthur Allgeier: Lateinische Psalmenübersetzung in alter und neuer Zeit. In: *Wissenschaft und Leben. Reden zur Universitätsfeier am 1. Juni 1946*. Freiburger Universitätsreden. Neue Folge Heft 2. Freiburg (28 pp.), pp. 7–20. – The new Psalter of Pius XII, ultimately linked to Jerome’s *iuxta*

hebraeos version, represents a radical break with the Vulgate Psalter which is based on the Greek text (pp. 15–17).

1948. Joseph Ziegler: Die neue lateinische Übersetzung der Psalmen und Cantica des Breviers. In: Gustav Söhngen (ed.): *Aus der Theologie der Zeit*. Regensburg (229 pp.), pp. 144–189.
1949. Augustin Bea SJ: *Die neue lateinische Psalmenübersetzung. Ihr Werden und ihr Geist*. Freiburg. viii, 170 pp. – See esp. pp. 95–130 on the new translation’s latinity. The book was first published in French and Spanish; the Spanish translation is: *El nuevo Salterio latino*. Translated by Pablo Termes Ros. Barcelona 1947, 186 pp. This book is generally understood as revealing Bea as the driving force behind the “Psalterium Pianum”; accordingly, some authors speak of the “Bea Psalter.” Review: David Winton Thomas, *Erasmus* 2 (1949) 451–454.
1949. Heinrich Bleienstein SJ: Zur neuen lateinischen Psalmenübersetzung. Das Psalterium Pianum und seine ersten Übersetzungen. *Geist und Leben* 22: 310–314.
1950. Barnabas Steiert: Das Psalterium Pianum in seiner sprachlichen Neuheit gegenüber der Vulgata. *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* [Analecta Cisterciensia] 6: 166–180.
1951. Joseph Ziegler: Das neue lateinische Psalterium. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 63: 1–15.
- 1951–1955. Barnabas Steiert: Einführung in die neue römische Psalmenversion. *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* [Analecta Cisterciensia] 7 (1951) 91–166; 11 (1955) 199–324.
1964. Arnold M. Goldberg: Der Psalter im liturgischen Gebrauch. II: Zu Problemen der deutschen Übertragung. *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 9: 82–91.
1971. Georg Schmuttermayr: *Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22, Studien zu einem Doppeltext. Problem der Textkritik und Übersetzung und Psalterium Pianum*. Munich. 240 pp.
1989. Stjepan Schmidt: *Augustin Bea. Der Kardinal der Einheit*. Graz (1050 pp.), pp. 114–116. – This is an important source because the author, personal secretary to Bea for many years (1959 to 1968), corrects a myth that has never ceased to circulate. Told was the story that the new Latin Psalter was Bea’s die, and that he imposed it in Pope Pius. The very opposite is true: the new psalter was the Pope’s own idea, and he imposed it on Bea. Bea himself would have preferred a more prudent, less radical revision of the Vulgate text. ▲
2011. Bernhard Lang: Eine Weltsprache verschwindet. Latein in der katholischen Kirche im 20. Jahrhundert. *Gymnasium* 118: 57–67. Reprinted in: idem: *Buch der Kriege – Buch des Himmels. Kleine Schriften zur Exegese und Theologie*. Leuven 2011 (xii, 401 pp.), pp. 353–365. – The author tells the story of the introduction and regrettable eventual demise of the Psalterium Pianum.

French

1945. Gustave Lambert: La nouvelle traduction des Psaumes. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 67: 431–442.
1946. Augustin Bea SJ: Le nouveau psautier. *La Maison-Dieu* 5: 60–106.
1947. Augustin Bea SJ: *Le nouveau Psautier latin. Éclaircissements sur l’origine et l’esprit de la traduction*. Paris 1947, 209 pp.
1947. Christine Mohrmann: Quelques observations linguistiques à propos de la nouvelle version du Psautier. *Vigiliae Christianae* 1: 114–128, 168–182. – The author points out that the Psalterium Pianum eliminates the verb *confiteri* in the sense of “to praise,” replacing it with *laudare*. Thus

the traditional *in aeternum confitebor tibi* (Ps 30:1, Vg 29:13) becomes in *aeternum laudabo te*. – For an English version of this text, see Christine Mohrmann: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome II. Rome 1961 (400 pp.), pp. 109–131.

1949. Clément Van Puyvelde: Le Nouveau Psautier. *Les Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales* 30.2: 49–52.
1966. Gerardus Q.A. Meershoek: *Le latin biblique d'après saint Jérôme*. Nijmegen (xv, 256 pp.), p. 85. – The new translation eliminates *confiteri* = to praise, replacing it with *gratias agere, laudare* and, dubiously, *celebrare*. On *celebrare*, see also p. 100.
2009. Maurice Gilbert SJ: Le nouveau Psautier latin: 1945. In: idem: *L'Institut Biblique Pontifical. Un siècle d'histoire (1909–2009)*. Rome (488, 8 pp.), pp. 127–131, 206–209. This is the quasi-official account, written by the chronicler of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome; the book prints the text of several documents not available elsewhere (pp. 206–209). ▲

Italian

1945. Augustin Bea SJ: La nuova traduzione Latina del Salterio. *Biblica* 26: 203–237.
1946. Augustin Bea SJ: *Il nuovo Salterio Latino. Chiarimenti sull'origine e lo spirito della traduzione*. Rome. iv, 180 pp.
1950. Giuseppe Scarpato: *Il Liber psalmodum e il Psalterium Gallicanum*. Milan. 46 pp.
1955. Augustin Bea SJ: I primi dieci anni del nuovo Salterio latino. *Biblica* 36: 161–181.
- 1955/1956. Andrea d'Alpe: La versione dei Salmi di S. Girolamo confronta con la Volgata e la nuova versione del P.I.B. *Rivista biblica* [italiana] 3 (1955) 311–331; 4 (1956) 17–33. – P.I.B. = Pontificio Istituto Biblico. The text discussed in most detail is Psalm 95:1–11 (Vg 94:1–11 – *venite exultemus*).

Spanish

1948. Agustín Bea SJ: El nuevo Salterio latino. *Revista Bíblica* [Argentina] 10: 2–8.
1962. S. Bartina SJ: El salmo 78,72 y la reciente versión Latina. *Estudios bíblicos* 21: 311–314. – In Psalm 78:72 (Vg 77:72), the *Psalterium Pianum* has *et pavit eos (...) et prudentiā manuum suarum duxit eos*. A better wording would be *et pasceret eos (...) et prudentiā manuum suarum duxeret eos*.

Psychologically problematic Psalms, 1968

Note. – Theologians and liturgists have long been debating the appropriateness of using certain psalms in liturgical prayer, psalms that seem to contradict Christ's command to love one's enemies. In 1968, P. Paul VI approved of the papal liturgy commission's decision not to use the problematic passages in the Liturgy of the Hours. Theologians, however, still debate the wisdom of this decision. Some would argue that to vent one's anger in prayer has therapeutic value for those who pray.

1968. P. Paul VI, handwritten note of January 3, sent to Annibale Bugnini, secretary of the papal Council of the Liturgy. "In my view it is preferable that a selection be made of psalms better suited to Christian prayer and that the imprecatory and historical psalms be omitted (though these last may be suitably used in certain circumstances)." Annibale Bugnini: *The Reform of the Liturgy (1948–1975)*. Translated by Matthew J. Connell. Collegeville, Min. (xxxiii, 974 pp.), p. 509. – Litur-

gical scholars remember Bugnini (1912–1982) as the “architect” of the Catholic Church’s liturgical reforms.

1968. Congregatio de Cultu Divino – Congregation of Divine Worship: General Instruction of the Liturgy of the Hours – Allgemeine Einführung in das Stundengebet. – No. 131: “Three psalms (78, 83, and 109) have been omitted from the psalter cycle because of their curses; in the same way, some verses have been omitted from certain psalms (...) The reason for the omission is a certain psychological difficulty, even though the psalms of imprecation are in fact used as prayer in the New Testament, for example, Revelation 6:10, and in no sense to encourage the use of curses.” – German: “Die drei Psalmen 58, 83 und 109, in denen der Fluchcharakter überwiegt, sind in das Psalterium des Stundengebets nicht aufgenommen. Ebenso sind einzelne derartige Verse anderer Psalmen ausgelassen. (...) Diese Textauslassungen erfolgten wegen gewisser psychologischer Schwierigkeiten, obwohl Fluchpsalmen sogar in der Frömmigkeitswelt des Neuen Testaments vorkommen (z.B. Offenbarung 6,10) und in keiner Weise zum Verfluchen verleiten sollen.” – United States Catholic Conference (ed.): *General Instruction of the Liturgy of the Hours*. Washington 2005. – This document, issued with approval of P. Paul VI, removes from the Liturgy of the Hours (or Divine Office) c. 120 verses.

The debate about problematic psalms

1962. E. Bernimont: L’inégale valeur des psaumes. Remarques à propos d’une éventuelle refonte du psautier liturgique. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 84: 843–852.
2013. Daniel Michael Nehrbass: *Praying Curses. The Therapeutic and Preaching Value of the Imprecatory Psalms*. Eugene, Oregon. xiii, 213 pp.

Secondary literature on the liturgical reform

1990. Annibale Bugnini: *The Reform of the Liturgy (1948–1975)*. Translated by Matthew J. Connell. Collegeville, Min. (xxxiii, 974 pp.). – This is the quasi-autobiography of Bugnini (1912–1982) who from 1948 to 1975 headed the pontifical liturgical commission. On pp. 491–511 he describes the debate that led to the exclusion of the deprecatory psalms from Catholic worship. The book was originally published in Italian (1983); there is also a German translation: *Die Liturgiereform 1948–1975*. Übersetzt von Heinrich Venmann. Freiburg 1988. 1014 pp.
2016. Gabriel Torretta OP: Rediscovering the Imprecatory Psalms. A Thomistic Approach. *The Thomist* 80: 23–48. – The author tells the story of the elimination of the deprecatory psalms from the liturgy, suggests an interpretative framework, and argues for the cautious reintroduction of the passages.
2021. Bernhard Lang: Der allegorische Imperativ. Vier Methoden zum Umgang mit Gewalttexten des Alten Testaments. *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 105: 103–115. – One section of this article comments on the “General Instruction of the Liturgy of the Hours” and its attitude towards the so-called imprecatory psalms (German: Rache- und Fluchpsalmen).
2022. Wojciech Węgrzyniak: The Imprecatory Psalms in the Liturgy of the Hours after the Second Vatican Council: Reform, Reception and the Current State of the Debate. *Verbum Vitae* 40.4: 1075–1096. – Page 1089: “Removing difficult fragments from the Bible at first glance may seem fruitful and sensible, but in the long term, it risks a perversion of understanding the proper meaning of Divine Revelation.” The article includes a long bibliography (pp. 1089–1091) and all the problematic Psalm passages in English translation (pp. 1092–1096).

The Neovulgate Psalter of P. Paul VI, 1969

Note. – In anticipation of the 1971 reform of the “liturgy of the hours” in the Catholic Church, a revised version of the Vulgate book of Psalms was issued. Although this was not explicitly stated, it was meant to supplant both the old Vulgate Psalter and the Psalter of P. Pius XII. Interestingly, the papal commission charged with the revision of the Vulgate Bible was originally headed by Augustine Cardinal Bea who had been the driving force behind the *Psalterium Pianum* of 1945. But Bea (d. 1968) did not live to see the publication of the new book of psalms.

First edition

1969. Pontificia commissio pro Nova Vulgata bibliorum editione (ed.): *Liber Psalmorum*. Città del Vaticano. xii, 177 pp. – The preface is signed by Pedro Rossano, secretary of the Pontifical Commission for the Edition of the Nova Vulgata.

Secondary literature

1969. Stefano Schmidt: Il primo libro della Neo-Vulgata: Il Salterio. *Civiltà Cattolica* 120: 556–560.

1987. Jean Gribomont: La révision conciliaire du Psautier de la Neo-Vulgata. In: Tarcisio Stramare (ed.): *La Bibbia “Vulgata” dalle origini ai nostri giorni*. Vatican City (197 pp.), pp. 192–197.

2005. F.L. Cross – L.A. Livingstone (eds.): *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Third Edition Revised. Oxford (xl, 1800 pp.), p. 1353 (in the unsigned entry “Psalter,” pp. 1353–1354): The Latin text in the Roman Catholic Breviary of 1971 “is an eclectic one which seeks to combine fidelity to the Hebrew with some of the felicities of style of the Vulgate.”

2023. Kevin Zilverberg: The Nova Vulgata. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 378–391, at pp. 381, 382, 386–387. – Due to its frequent use, the book of Psalms was the first biblical book revised for the Nova Vulgate. Its first text, published in 1969, was subsequently slightly revised in 1974, 1979, and 1986.

Chapter 17

Nova Vulgata, 1979

Note. – The Nova Vulgata, or Neovulgate, is a modern revision of the Vulgate, prepared by theologians and philologists on ecclesiastical commission, with the aim of bringing the traditional Vulgate text into conformity with the underlying original Hebrew and Greek texts. In the Nova Vulgata project that began to be worked on in 1966, the goal of improving the Latin style was not pursued. The president of the papal commission was Eduard Schick (1906–2000), former professor of New Testament and Bishop of Fulda, Germany. Also involved were Cardinal Augustin Bea SJ (1881–1968) and Tarcisio (Tarsicio) Stramare OSJ (1928–2020).

The idea of a Nova Vulgata – an improved version of Jerome’s Latin Bible – was not entirely new when it was thought up in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council. We can name at least two authors who had expressed the idea earlier: Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP and Robert Weber OSB. In 1924, commenting on the Benedictine Vulgate, Lagrange remarked that “on eût pu concevoir une révision du travail de saint Jérôme, d’après la science moderne mieux informée” (*Revue biblique* 33 [1924] 118). A similar idea was expressed by Robert Weber in a privately printed publication in which the learned author made suggestions for a revised Vulgate Psalter for use in the monastic liturgy of the Hours (Robert Weber: *Psalterii secundum Vulgatam Bibliorum Versionem Nova Recensio*. Pro manuscripto. Clervaux 1961. 192 pp., see p. 8).

Chapters **6** to **13** of this handbook are about three textual types of the Latin Bible: **(1)** the Vetus Latina (dealt with in Chapter **6**), **(2)** the Latin Bible as it existed in the patristic period – Jerome’s Vulgate as reconstructed by modern scholarship (for editions, see Chapter **13**), **(3)** the medieval and early modern Vulgate, best represented by the Clementine edition of 1592 (dealt with in Chapter **16.2**). The Neovulgate of the Catholic Church, published in the late twentieth century, adds **(4)** a fourth Latin Bible text. One way of defining the relationships of these four textual types of the Latin Bible is as follows:

- The Vetus Latina (1) belongs to the prehistory of the Latin Bible.
- Jerome’s Vulgate (2) as reconstructed by modern scholarship is actually nothing but a scholarly afterthought on the Clementine edition (3).
- The Clementine edition (3) has been the Catholic Church’s Bible for close to four centuries, and we may consider it the “real” Vulgate.
- The Neovulgate (4) is a kind of modern ecclesiastical afterthought on the Clementine Bible (3), based on a combination of what scholars have reconstructed as Jerome’s Vulgate (2) with modern Hebrew and Greek textual studies.

17.1 Official documents

17.2 Editions

17.3 Secondary literature

17.1 Official documents

1966. Paul VI: [Speech to the Cardinals, 23rd December 1966]. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 59 (1967) 48–59, at pp. 53–54. – This speech includes a brief reference to the commission charged with the production of the Nova Vulgata. “The work in progress of the Commission, presided over by Cardinal Agostino Bea, for the preparation of a new Bible in Latin, the Neo-Vulgate, as it is already called, would require a different discourse; an edition desired by the progress of biblical studies and by the need to give the Church and the world a new and authoritative text of Sacred Scripture. We are thinking of a text in which the Vulgate of St. Jerome will be respected to the letter, where it faithfully reproduces the original text, as it results from the present scientific editions; it will be prudently corrected where it deviates from it, or does not interpret it correctly, adopting for this purpose the language of the Bible. It will be prudently corrected where it deviates from it or does not interpret it correctly, adopting the language of Christian *latinitas biblica* for this purpose; in such a way that respect for tradition and the sound critical demands of our time are reconciled.” – This is the first papal document that refers to the Nova Vulgata by its Italian name, Neo-Vulgata. The Jesuit Cardinal Augustine Bea, in charge of the project, did not live to see its completion; he died in 1968.
1979. John Paul II: Apostolic Constitution “Scripturarum thesaurus” (22nd April 1979). The papal constitution entitled “The Treasure of the Scriptures” declares the Neovulgate to be the authentic biblical text of the Catholic Church. This document means the end of a period of four hundred years that began in 1546 when the Council of Trent recognized the Vulgate to be the church’s Bible. – Text:
1979. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 71: 557–559.
1997. Heinrich Rennings – Martin Klöckener (eds.): *Dokumente zur Erneuerung der Liturgie*. Kevelaer 1997. Vol. 2 (801 pp.), pp. 340–342 (nos. 3706–3709). German translation.
2001. Congregatio de Cultu Divino – Congregation of Divine Worship: Instruction “Liturgiam authenticam” (7th May 2001). The English subtitle of this document reads: “On the use of vernacular languages in the publication of the books of the Roman liturgy.” Article no. 24: “Furthermore, in the preparation of these translations for liturgical use, the *Nova Vulgata Editio*, promulgated by the Apostolic See, is normally to be consulted as an auxiliary tool, in a manner described elsewhere in this Instruction, in order to maintain the tradition of interpretation that is proper to the Latin Liturgy. (...) It is advantageous to be guided by the *Nova Vulgata* wherever there is a need to choose, from among various possibilities [of translation], that one which is most suited for expressing the manner in which a text has traditionally been read and received within the Latin liturgical tradition.” Article no. 37: “If the biblical translation from which the Lectionary is composed exhibits readings that differ from those set forth in the Latin liturgical text, it should be borne in mind that the *Nova Vulgata Editio* is the point of reference as regards the delineation of the canonical text.” – German: “(24) Ebenso soll man bei der Erarbeitung von Übersetzungen der Heiligen Schrift für den liturgischen Gebrauch den Text der vom Apostolischen Stuhl promulgierten Nova Vulgata als Hilfe heranziehen, um die exegetische Tradition zu wahren, vor allem hinsichtlich der lateinischen Liturgie. (...) (37) Wenn die Bibelübersetzung, aus der das Lectionar schöpft, Lesarten aufweist, die von denjenigen des lateinischen liturgischen Textes abweichen, ist darauf zu achten, dass sich alles, was die Festlegung des kanonischen Schrifttextes betrifft, nach der Norm der Nova Vulgata richtet.” – Text and translations:
2001. De usu linguarum popularium in libris liturgiae Romanae edendis. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 93: 685–725.
2001. Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments: *Liturgiam authenticam. Vernacular Languages in the Books of the Roman Liturgy. Instruction*. Catholic Truth Society. London. 52 pp.

2001. *Der Gebrauch der Volkssprache bei der Herausgabe der Bücher der römischen Liturgie*. Verlautbarungen des Apostolischen Stuhls 154. Bonn. 111 pp. Latin and German.
2005. English Translation of *Liturgiam authenticam*. In: Peter Jeffery: *Translating Tradition. A Chant Historian Reads Liturgiam authenticam*. Collegeville, Min. (168 pp.). pp. 121ff.

17.2 Editions

Note. – The Neovulgate has a number of *typographical features* absent from the Clementina. Introduced were exclamation marks (!) in addition to the Clementina's question marks; an example is the emphatic "no" in Romans 6:2, where the Neovulgate has «Absit!» Direct speech is always placed within French guillemets (« ... »), and within direct speech, quotations are marked with double inverted commas ("..."). Sayings and slogans are also marked out with guillemets; examples are «Omnia licent!» (1 Cor 10:23) and «Cretenses semper mendaces (etc.)» (Tit 12). Moreover, *italics* are used to indicate echoes or quotations from the Old Testament. Here are a few examples: Et ait Dominus ad serpentem: «Quia fecisti hoc, maledictus es inter omnia pecora et omnes bestias agri! (...)». (Gen 3:14 NVg) – Iesus autem dixit: «Ego sum, et videbitis Filium hominis a dextris sedentem Virtutis et venientem cum nubibus caeli». (Mark 14:62 NVg) The typography of quotation marks follows modern style, as does the placing of the full stop after the quotation mark. The Neovulgate is visibly «made in Italy.»

Another feature absent from the Clementina (and from the [NVg's online version](#)) is the critical apparatus in the printed editions published by the Libreria Editrice Vaticana. There are three kinds of apparatus: (1) most of the Old Testament books have a small number of textual notes that justify the Latin text in places where it differs from the Hebrew text or, in the case of Greek books (such as 1 and 2 Macc), from the Greek; (2) the books of Tobit and Judith have an apparatus that lists manuscripts, much in the form of standard critical editions such as the Weber/Gryson Vulgate; (3) all the books of the New Testament have a detailed apparatus that gives the traditional wording of the Clementina or Weber/Gryson when the main text differs.

A preliminary edition

1969. Pontificia commissio pro Nova Vulgata bibliorum editione (ed.): *Liber Psalmorum*. Città del Vaticano. xii, 177 pp. – This thorough revision of the traditional Vulgate text provides the text of the Psalms for the new Liturgy of the Hours of the Catholic Church, introduced in 1971. The text was subsequently made part of the Nova Vulgata. The preliminary edition is important for its prolegomena (pp. vii–xii) which explain why many passages were revised, especially in the interest of avoiding ungrammatical phrases.

Editio princeps

1979. John Paul II (ed.): *Nova Vulgata. Bibliorum sacrorum editio*. Città del Vaticano. xiii, 2154 pp. – The second edition (editio altera) of 1986 (xxxi, 2316 pp.) and later reprints include the text of the Apostolic Constitution "Scripturarum thesaurus" (iii–viii), a "praefatio ad lectorem" (ix–xiv, signed by Eduard Schick) and "praenotanda" (xv–xxviii). The second, 1986 edition includes minor revisions of the Latin wording; the most notable change is the suppression of *laveh*, in the first edition used in a small number of passages such as Exodus 6:3 (where Jerome has *Adonai*). Some further changes are briefly noted in Kevin Zilverberg: *The Nova Vulgata*. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 378–391, at p. 382.

Further editions

1992. Kurt Aland – Barbara Aland (eds.): *Novum Testamentum Latine*. 2nd edition. Stuttgart. [xi], 680 pp. – With text-critical apparatus. The names of the two editors are in small print in the book's long subtitle; in big letters, above the title, we read "Nestle–Aland," in memory of previous editions of the Latin New Testament, but this is misleading, because the editions prior to 1984 had the traditional text of the Clementina. The 1st edition of the Aland-Aland *Novum Testamentum Latine* was published in 1984; a third, updated one in 2014, "durch Apparate und Perikopenüberschriften ergänzt" (xxi, 789 pp.). The copyright statement reads: "Copyright 1986 Libreria Editrice Vaticana." – Review: Roger Gryson, *Revue théologique de Louvain* 16 (1985) 65–67; Gryson objects to this edition as overestimating the importance of the Nova Vulgata; for this small-size edition it would have been better to retain the traditional Vulgate text.
2015. Fortunato Frezza (ed.): *La Sacra Bibbia. Testo bilingue latino-italiano*. Città del Vaticano. Ivi, 4417 pp.– This bilingual edition prints the text of the Nova Vulgata and the translation of the Italian Bishops' Conference (3rd edition, 2008). The two versions – the NVg Latin text and the Italian text – often have different textual bases; in other words: you cannot use the Italian text as a translation of the Nova Vulgata. The Italian translation is accompanied by brief exegetical notes. For the researcher more relevant are the notes to the Latin text, because they indicate the text-critical basis of the Latin text.

Psalterium monasticum

Note. – The Benedictine order (OSB) has its own liturgy of the Hours (or Divine Office, officium divinum). It has adopted the Psalter of the Neovulgate. The edition of 1981 is the *editio princeps* of the new Benedictine book of the Hours.

1981. *Psalterium cum canticis Novi et Veteris Testamenti iuxta regulam S.P.N. Benedicti*. Edited by the Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes. Paris. xi, 560 pp. – On the cover, the book is called *Psalterium monasticum*, the name by which this book is generally known.

17.3 Secondary literature

The papal constitution *Scripturarum thesaurus* (22nd April 1979)

The authority of the Neovulgate

Reviews of the text of the Neovulgate

The papal constitution *Scripturarum thesaurus* (22nd April 1979)

1979. Fritzeo Lentzen-Deis: Die Neovulgata von Papst Johannes Paul promulgiert. Zur Apostolischen Konstitution "Scripturarum Thesaurus." *Bibel und Liturgie* 52: 204–207.
1980. Antonio Garcia Moreno: Scripturarum thesaurus (promulgación de la Neovulgata), primer aniversario. *Scripta Theologica Pamplona* 12: 849–869.
2008. Mario Cimosà – Carlo Buzzetti: *Guida allo studio della bibbia latina. Dalla Vetus Latina, alla Vulgata, alla Nova Vulgata*. Rome. 201 pp. – Pages 62–93: history and idea of the Neovulgate; pp.

171– 191: Latin text of the Apostolic Constitution “Scripturarum thesaurus” 1979 by P. John Paul II, complete with “praefatio ad lectorem” and “praenotanda.”

The authority of the Neovulgate

Note. – Some of the authors listed here object to the Roman instruction *Liturgiam authenticam* (7th May 2001) that it confers upon the Neovulgate an authority that the original Vulgate never seems to have had.

English

2001. John Fitzsimmons: Rome’s Tight Rein. *The Tablet* 26th May: 765–766. – “From a biblical scholar’s point of view, which is what I am by profession, to be told that all matters of textual doubt must be resolved by reference to the Neo-Vulgate is risible as well as insulting.”
2001. Joseph Jensen OSB: *Liturgiam authenticam* and the New Vulgate. *America* 185.5 (August 13): 13.
2001. Richard J. Clifford SJ: The Authority of the Nova Vulgata: A Note on a Recent Roman Document. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 63: 197–202. – On the instruction “*Liturgiam authenticam*” (2001).
2005. Peter Jeffery: *Translating Tradition. A Chant Historian Reads Liturgiam authenticam*. Collegeville, Min. 168 pp. – Said to be the most sustained critique of *Liturgiam authenticam*.
2011. Dennis MacMannus: Translation Theory in “*Liturgiam authenticam*.” In: Neil J. Roy (ed.): *Benedict XVI and the Sacred Liturgy*. Dublin (204 pp.), pp. 116–131.
2016. Oliver G. Dy: The Latin Vulgate as an “Auxiliary Tool” of Translation. *Historical Perspectives on Liturgiam authenticam. Études le liturgie/Studies in Liturgy* 97:141–170. – The assignment of an important role to the Vulgate is an obstacle to the Catholic Church’s ecumenical agenda. The article is in French.
2019. Mario Toni Subardijo: The Fundamental Criterion of Liturgical Translation: Valde utilis apud populum. *Jurnal teologi* (Santa Dharma University) 8:17–30.

Other languages

2002. Boris Repschinski SJ: Anmerkungen zu einigen Thesen von *Liturgiam authenticam*. *Protokolle zur Bibel* 11: 71–76. – The Instruction “*Liturgiam authenticam*” (2001) published by the Congregation for Divine Worship exaggerates the authority of the Nova Vulgata by declaring it the absolute standard for all vernacular biblical texts used in the liturgy.
2004. Dieter Böhler SJ: Anmerkungen eines Exegeten zur Instructio Quinta “*Liturgiam authenticam*.” *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 54: 205–222.
2005. Jean Delisle: Les nouvelles règles de traduction du Vatican. *Meta. Journal des traducteurs* 50.3: 831–850.
2019. Giuseppe de Virgilio – Tarcisio Stramare: Die Bedeutung der Neo-Vulgata anlässlich ihres vierzigjährigen Jubiläums. *Theologisches* 49.9–10: 493–502.
2021. Ignacio Carbajosa Pérez: *Hebraica veritas versus Septuaginta auctoritatem: ¿ Existe un texto canónico del Antiguo Testamento ?* Estella. 147 pp. – This survey on the authority of biblical translations, especially the Vulgate, through the ages, ends with a chapter on the Neovulgate.

Reviews of the text of the Neovulgate

Note. – Many of the articles on the Neovulgate are by Tarcisio Stramare OSJ (1928–2020, who died a victim of the corona pandemic; his first name is sometimes spelled Tarsicio). Since 1973, Stramare was involved with the production of the Neovulgate as one of its editors.

English

1982. Sean Quinlan [review of *Nova Vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum Editio*]. *Irish Theological Quarterly* 49: 305. – The reviewer notes that the old (theological) *crux* of Romans 5:12 (*in quo omnes peccaverunt*) has received a new interpretation (*eo quod omnes peccaverunt*). He regrets the absence of textual notes that would explain such passages.
1992. J.K. Elliott [review of Fischer: *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*. IV]. *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 43 (1992) 633–635. – Page 634: “In the [present] John volume, we again see that in its desire to provide a Latin counterpart to the Greek text of NA26 [Greek New Testament, 26th edition by Nestle and Aland], the Latin textual support [of the Neo-Vulgate] is often shaky.” (One has to keep in mind, however, that the *Nova Vulgata* is based upon recent editions of the Greek New Testament, but its editors have not sought support from early Latin manuscripts such as those analysed by Fischer. B. Lang.)
2017. Kevin J. Zilverberg: The Neo-Vulgate as Official Liturgical Translation. In: Joseph Briody (ed.): *Verbum Domini. Liturgy and Scripture*. Wells, Somerset (270 pp.), pp. 93–125. – Pages 102–112: authority und use of the NVg; 112–116: NVg textual improvements; 120–125: bibliography. –The author offers a defense of the New Vulgate and presents many textual examples. “I maintain that the NV [*Nova Vulgata*] stands in continuity with our Judean-Christian tradition of Greek and Latin biblical translation” (p. 116). Zilverberg is one of the foremost apologists of the NVg.
- 2017–2018. John Francis Elwolde: A Text-critical Study of the *Nova Vulgata* of Sirach 41. *Tamid: Revista Catalana Annual d'Estudis Hebraics* 12 (2016–2017) 7–63; 13 (2018) 35–93. The NVg new text of Sirach is closer to the text of the Septuagint than the traditional Vulgate text that was used as the basis for revision. The author is not quite satisfied with the NVg text of Sirach and suggests that it should be revised.
2018. Benno A. Zuiddam: The New Vulgate and the “Missing” Verses: Do all changes lead to Rome? *Neotestamentica* 52: 433–470. – In the New Testament, the Clementina edition of the Vulgate Bible echoes the Greek *textus receptus*, whereas the *Nova Vulgata* is based on today’s text-critical editions of the Greek text. The author provides two lists; the first one lists and discusses all the passages where the *Nova Vulgata* omits complete Clementina verses (such as Matt 17:21), the second one lists and discusses all passages where significant words or phrases are absent from the *Nova Vulgata* (such as Matt 5:44; 6:13; and Rom 8:1). Here is the list of Clementina verses omitted in the NVg: Matt 17:21; 18:11; 23:14; Mark 7:16; 9:44.46; 11:26; 15:28; Luke 17:36; 23:17; John 5:4; Acts 8:37; 15:34; 24:7; 28:29; Rom 16:24. This study clearly shows that the Greek *textus receptus* and the Clementina represent slightly expanded versions of the original biblical text. ▲
2023. Kevin Zilverberg: The *Nova Vulgata*. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 378–391. – The *Nova Vulgata*, or Neo-Vulgate, is a revised Vulgate Bible published in 1979 by the Catholic Church for use principally in Latin-language liturgies, and as a template for vernacular lectionaries. The Second Vatican Council’s 1963 call for a revised Latin Psalter led to the formation of a committee that was soon expanded to undertake a revision of the entire Bible. The dozen committee members and their collaborators used modern editions of biblical texts in the original languages to correct the Vulgate when it significantly diverged from these. The near-total collapse of the use of Latin in Catholic liturgies

after the Council has meant that the Neo-Vulgate is read mostly by a minority of clergy and laypeople, still numbering in the thousands, who daily pray the *Liturgy of the Hours* in Latin. Zil-verberg comments on the prehistory of the Nova Vulgata: "The Italian Benedictine Isidoro Chiari produced a predecessor to the Neo-Vulgate in 1542 by using Hebrew and Greek to correct the Vulgate. He strove for moderation and recognized the importance of maintaining continuity with the received text, even as he claimed to have made eight thousand interventions. Chiari's Bible, however, was just one among many editions that did not gain approval for liturgical use" (p. 379).

German

1972. Eduard Schick: Eine Neuausgabe der Vulgata. *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 120 (1972) 345–347.
1978. Eduard Schick: Die 'Neue Vulgata'. Anlaß, Methode und Ziel der 1977 abgeschlossenen Revision der Vulgata. Die Bibel in der Welt. *Jahrbuch des Verbands der Ev. Bibelgesellschaften in Deutschland* 18: 203–211.
1978. Vinzenz Hamp, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 22.2: 284–285.
1979. Vinzenz Hamp: Die neue Vulgata. *Klerusblatt. Zeitschrift der katholischen Geistlichen in Bayern und der Pfalz* 9: 195–197.
1979. Fritzeo Lentzen-Dies: Die Neovulgata von Papst Johannes Paul promulgiert. Zur apostolischen Konstitution "Scripturarum Thesaurus." *Bibel und Liturgie* 52: 204–207.
1981. Tarcisio Stramare: Die Neo-Vulgata. Zur Gestaltung des Textes. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 25: 67–81.
1981. Eduard Schick: Bedeutung der Neo-Vulgata. *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 129: 376–378.

French

1979. Albert L. Descamps: La Nouvelle Vulgate. *Espirit et Vie* 89: 598–603.
1987. Tarcisio Stramare (ed.): *La Bibbia "Vulgata" dalle origini ai nostri giorni*. Rome. 297 pp. – Pages 176–191: Jean Mallet, La latinité de la Néo-Vulgate; 192–197: Jean Gribomont, La révision conciliaire de la Néo-Vulgate.
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–1159. 276–314. – On p. 304, the Nova Vulgata is characterized as follows: "D'une manière générale, elle vise à incorporer à la Vulgate les acquis les plus sûrs de l'exégèse en respectant autant que possible la langue et le texte des anciens traducteurs. Cependant pour Tobie et Judith, l'adaptation hiéronymienne a été totalement abandonnée au profit d'une nouvelle version sur le grec, très proche de la *vetus latina*. Le livre d'Esther retrouve à leur place naturelle non seulement les suppléments du grec, mais aussi ceux que la *vetus latina* est seule à avoir conservés, par exemple la prière de Juifs en 3,15d–i et la magnifique litanie des huit *ego audiui ex libris maiorum meorum* de la prière d'Esther en 4,17s–aa."
1996. Tarcisio Stramare: Die Neo-Vulgata. Zur Gestaltung des Textes. *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 165: 67–81.
2005. Christophe Rico: L'art de la traduction chez saint Jérôme. La Vulgate à l'aune de la Néovulgata: l'exemple du quatrième Évangile. *Revue des études latines* 83: 194–218. – English abstract (p. 194): Jerome's translation appears to be stylistically more elegant and semantically more precise than the Neovulgata.

2008. Régis Courtray: La traduction de Daniel-Vulgate face à la Néovulgate. *Anabases* 8: 107–126.
2016. Christophe Rico: *Le traducteur de Bethléem: le génie interprétatif de saint Jérôme à l'aune de la linguistique*. Lectio divina 270. Paris. – Pages 145–152: Vulgate et Néovulgate.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris. 530 pp. – Page 222: “Pour l'historien, la Nova Vulgata est une sorte de monstre, un texte artificiellement construit.”

Italian

1978. Tarcisio Stramare: La Neo-Vulgata. *Bibbia e Oriente* 20: 271–277.
1979. Tarcisio Stramare: Il libro dell'Ecclesiastico nella Neo-Vulgata. In: *Kirche und Bibel. Festgabe für Bischof Eduard Schick*. Herausgegeben von den Professoren der Philosophisch-theologischen Hochschule Fulda. Paderborn (502 pp.), pp. 443–448. This article is also in *Rivista biblica* [Italiana] 27 (1979) 219–226.
- 1979–1980. Tarcisio Stramare: La Neo-Vulgata: impresa scientifica e pastorale insieme. *Estudios bíblicos* 38: 115–138.
1981. Tarcisio Stramare: Storia e caratteristiche della Neo-Vulgata. *Bibbia e Oriente* 23: 193–199.
1987. Giuseppe Scarpato: Osservazioni sul testo della “Sapientia” nella Nova Vulgata. *Rivista biblica* 35: 187–194. – The Neovulgate’s version of the book of Wisdom includes many bad, unnecessary and unjustified alterations of the traditional Vulgate text. The examples considered are Wisd 1:2, 5, 6, 8, 14, 15; 2:15, 20, 22; 4:3, 20; 5:22. ▲
1987. Tarcisio Stramare: La Neo-Vulgata. Storia della revisione, sue finalità e caratteristiche. In: idem (ed.): *La Bibbia ‘Vulgata’ dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Atti del simposio internazionale 1985*. Rome (197 pp.), pp. 149–175.
1989. Giuseppe Scarpato: *Libro della Sapienza*. Volume primo. Brescia 1989 (478 pp.), p. 401, note 1: “The only thing to be hoped for is that the Nova Vulgata in its entirety will soon be rejected by the experts (as is already happening), and will also be taken off the market to make way once again for the reprinting of the Vulgate, in a text critically reconstructed with work already well underway and entrusted to competent scholars” (B. Lang’s translation). Scarpato’s notes on the Latin text (pp. 413–478) often refers to the Nova Vulgata, criticizing its textual choices or paraphrases. ▲
2001. Tarcisio Stramare: Il cammino della Scrittura nella tradizione testuale Latina. *Ricerche storico bibliche* 13: 133–151. – Includes comments on the Neovulgate.

Spanish

1986. Néstor Giraldo Ramírez: La nueva vulgata. *Cuestiones teológicas* 13/137: 513–524.
2011. Antonio García-Moreno: *La Neovulgata. Precedentes y actualidad*. 2nd edition. Baranain (Navarra). 471 pp. – The first edition was published in Pamplona 1986. Only the book’s last chapter deals with the Neovulgate.

Dutch

1981. Willem Baars: Exit Vulgata. Nabetrachting bij een Bijbelvertaling. *Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift* 35: 101–110.

Latin

2017. Caelestis Eichenseer OSB: De versione Latina retractata epistularum Novi Testamenti. *Vox latina* 53/209: 347–354. – The Latin text of the epistolary corpus within the New Testament constitutes an improvement over the corresponding text of the Vulgate. This is a reprint of an article originally published earlier; Eichenseer (1924–2008) was a Latinist who promoted spoken Latin in which he was famously fluent.

Chapter 18

The Vulgate Bible in vernacular translations

Note. – Until the twentieth century, Catholic vernacular Bibles had to be based on the Clementine Bible. What follows is just a selection of the most common translations in some Western languages – English, German, French. Some of these – especially the Douay Version and the Allioli Bible – became bestselling Bibles in English and German. For a survey, see:

2023. Olivier Dy – Wim François: Vernacular Translations of the Latin Bible. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 392–405. – The stated use of the Latin Vulgate as a source text for translation is a characteristic feature of Catholic vernacular Bibles published before the twentieth century. In a milieu shaped and informed by confessional confrontations, Catholic translators felt compelled by the declaration of the Vulgate’s authenticity at Trent in 1546 to recognize and deploy the Vulgate as their primary source in a clear and visible expression of Catholic identity. The later shift in the choice of source texts away from the Vulgate and towards the texts of Scripture in the original languages occurs as a result of developments both in Catholic biblical scholarship and in the understanding of the Tridentine decree, following the release of new information about Trent with the opening of the Vatican Archives in 1880. Changes in the choice and prioritization of the source texts of biblical translation are illustrated through a historical survey of Catholic Bibles in German, French, English, and Dutch.

2023. Bernhard Lang: Übersetzungen der Vulgata. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 162–165. – An elementary introduction to translations into English and German, esp. Allioli, Tusculum-Vulgata, Douay Version, and Knox.

There is no clear-cut border between Bible translations based on the Vulgate and translations based on the Hebrew and Greek text, because the Vulgate has influenced, and continues to influence, modern biblical translations. For examples, see Sakae Kubo: The Influence of the Vulgate on the English Translations of Certain Psalms. *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 3.1 (1965) 34–41.

- 18.1 English translations
- 18.2 German translations
- 18.3 French translations
- 18.4 Scholarly translations: English, German, and Romanian

18.1 English translations

The Wyclifite Bible

Douay Version (also known as Douay-Rheims Version)

The Knox Bible

The Wyclifite Bible

Note. – In the circle of John Wyclif (1330–1384) of Oxford originated a literal middle-English translation of the Vulgate Bible, in the 1370s and 1380s. It seems that the Douay Version echoes some of the linguistic decisions made by the Wyclifite translators.

Editions

1850. Josiah Forshall – Frederic Madden (eds.): *The Holy Bible (...) in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers*. Oxford. 4 Volumes. lxiv, 687 pp.; 888 pp.; 897 pp.; 749 pp. – Vol. 1 has a long introduction and a list of the manuscripts (pp. i–lxiv). The biblical text is printed twice, for there are two versions, by the editors called “Earlier Version” (EV) and “Later Version” (LV). The two versions are printed in synoptic columns.
2010. Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible. In: Mary Dove (ed.): *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible. The Texts of the Medieval Debates*. Exeter (lxvii, 236 pp.), pp. 3–85. – With introduction (pp. xx–xxix) and notes (pp. 188–201). – This “prologue” has recently received scholarly attention; see below, Somerset, 2014.

Secondary Literature

1952. Hugh Pope OP: The Wycliffite Versions of the Bible. In: idem – Sebastian Bullough OP: *English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and Amplified. St. Louis – London (ix, 787 pp.), pp. 67–88.
1984. F.F. Bruce: John Wycliffe and the English Bible. *Churchman* 98: 294–306.
1993. David Norton: *The History of the Bible as Literature*. Volume 1 Cambridge (xvii, 375), pp. 78–84, 314–316. – On pp. 314–316, the author presents in synoptic layout the Latin text of Matt 4: 18–25 with the two versions of the Wyclifite Bible (in modernised spelling).
1998. Christina von Nolcken: Lay Literacy, the Democratization of God’s Law and the Lollards. In: John L. Sharpe – Kimberley van Kampen (eds.): *The Bible as Book. The Manuscript Tradition*. London (xi, 260 pp., 32 leaves), pp. 177–196.
2003. David Daniell: *The Bible in English. Its History and Influence*. New Haven. xx, 899 pp. – Pages 66–95: The Wyclif (“Lollard”) Bibles.
2006. Mary Dove: Wyclif and the English Bible. In: Ian Christopher Levy (ed.): *A Companion to John Wyclif, Late Medieval Theologian*. Leiden (xxi, 489 pp.), pp. 396–406.
2011. Susan Boynton – Diane J. Reilly (eds.): *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages. Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*. New York. viii, 364 pp. – Includes articles on

"The Bible in English in the Middle Ages" and "The first complete vernacular Bible," as well as a glossary.

2012. Richard Marsden: *The Bible in English*. In: idem – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 217–238. – Marsden also tells the story of English Bible translations before the Wyclifite Bible.
2014. Frans van Liere: *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*. Cambridge 2015 (xv, 320 pp.), pp. 199–203: The Wyclifite Bible.
2014. Fiona Somerset: *Feeling like Saints. Lollard Writings after Wyclif*. Ithaca, N.Y. (xiii, 315 pp.), pp. 166–202: Lollard Parabiblica. – On the "General Prologue" to the Wyclifite Bible.
2016. Henry Ansgar Kelly: *The Middle English Bible. A Reassessment*. Philadelphia. xiv, 349 pp. – A revisionist account. Kelly suggests to distinguish between the actual Bible translation (which has nothing to do with Wyclif and his circle) and the Wyclifite prologue (that is sometimes included in the manuscripts). Kelly expresses doubts about Wyclif's command of Latin – a suggestion that does not sound convincing.
2020. Elizabeth Solopova – Jeremy Catto – Anne Hudson (eds.): *From the Vulgate to the Vernacular. Four Debates on an English Question c. 1400*. Toronto. cxxxvi, 8, 216 pp. – Nicholas of Hereford is identified as one of the translators of the Wyclif Bible.
2020. Alina Markova: *Wyclifsche Bibelübersetzung. Ein Projekt im Spannungsfeld zwischen Anforderungen und Möglichkeiten*. Frankfurt. 280 pp. – One section deals specifically with this translation's rendering of the Latin *ablativus absolutus*.
2020. Andrew Kraebel: *Biblical Commentary and Translation in Later Medieval England*. Cambridge. xiv, 302 pp.

Douay Version (also known as Douay-Rheims Version)

Note. – The English Douay version, of which the New Testament was published ten years before the Clementina, is based on a text that is close to, but not identical with, the Clementina (see below, the note on the bilingual edition of 2010–2013). Subsequently, the Douay Bible came to be known for its antiquated language. In the eighteenth century, its language was so thoroughly revised that it still reads very well today. The revision was done by Richard Challoner (1691–1781) who diminished the Latinisms and made the Douay Bible more conform with the Clementine edition of the Vulgate. (An example of a Latinism that survived the revision can be found in Matt 22:6: "And the rest laid hands on his servants and, having treated them *contumeliously*, put them to death.") What today – and in the present book – is referred to as the Douay Version could actually be called the Challoner version, because only the Challoner revision became widely used by Catholics. It ceased to be the Bible of English-speaking Catholics towards the end of the 20th century when new Catholic Bibles such as the Jerusalem Bible (1966) and the New American Bible (1970) were published. These were based upon the original languages rather than on the Vulgate.

Today, the Douay Version is appreciated as a very literal rendering of the Latin text; in the words of Tuuka Kauhanen: "the translation is literal enough to almost work as an interlinear translation" (*Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica* 50 [2016] 197, in a book review).

Why is this version called the Douay or Douay-Rheims Bible? Because it originated at Douay (Douai) in France, where the English Catholics had their seminary for theological research and the training of future priests. Founded in 1568, the college moved to Rheims in 1578–1593. It then returned to Douay, moved to Durham in England in 1795 (due to its being closed subsequent to the French Revolution)

where it became Ushaw College. The college there functioned as a Catholic seminary until 2011 when it had to be closed due to the shortage of vocations for the priesthood.

1582. [Gregory Martin] *The Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ. Translated Faithfully into English out of the Authenticall Latin (...) in the English Colledge of Rhemes*. Reims. – This is the first, New Testament part of the “Douay-Rheims” Bible. The Old Testament followed in 1609 and 1610 in two volumes printed in Douay (Douai). Gregory Martin and William Allen, members of the English Catholic College in Douai, France, are believed to be the main translators responsible. The Douay-Rheims Bible available today offers the text revised by Richard Challoner in the 18th century. Challoner’s thorough revision served to align the translation with the Clementina; it is also said to be under the influence of the King James Bible.
1749. [Richard Challoner] *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Latin Vulgat (...) First Published by the English Colledge of Rheims, Anno 1582. Newly Revised, and Corrected according to the Clementin Edition of the Scriptures*. [Dublin?]. [iv], 500 pp. – It was with this revision that the “Douay” Version’s success began.
1872. *The Vulgate New Testament. With the Douay Version of 1582 in Parallel Columns*. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons. xi, 352 pp. – Unlike most editions of the Douay Version, this one has the original English wording, rather than that of the Challoner revision.
1952. Hugh Pope OP – Sebastian Bullough OP: *English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and Amplified. St. Louis – London. ix, 787 pp. – The appendix reprints the preface to the 1582 Rheims New Testament (pp. 601–650) and the preface to the 1609 Rheims Old Testament (pp. 651–665).
1956. Bernard Griffin (ed.): *The Holy Bible. Douay Version*. London. ix, 1282, 351 pp.– This pocket edition, distributed by the Catholic Truth Society and reprinted several times, has this note on the title page: “Translated from the Latin Vulgate (...) This edition contains notes compiled by Bishop Challoner, 1691–1781.”

Research editions

1975. *The Douay Bible: The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English. A Facsimile of the 1609/1610 Edition*. English Recusant Literature 265, 266. 2 Volumes. Ilkley, Yorkshire 1975. 1115, 1124 pp.
- 2010–2013. Angela M. Kinney – Swift Edgar (eds.): *The Vulgate Bible. Douay-Rheims Translation*. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library. Cambridge, Mass. 7 volumes: 1: xxxvii, 1151 pp. (Pentateuch); 2A: xxxvi, 1125 pp., and 2B: xii, pp. 1128– 1921 (the historical books of the Old Testament); 3: xxxvii, 1167 pp. (poetical books); 4: xxxvii, 1130 pp. (major prophets); 5: xxxvii, 631 pp. (minor prophets, Maccabees); 6: xxxix, 1538 pp. (New Testament). – Latin and English. Each volume includes the preface of Swift Edgar; in volume 1, it is on pp. vii–xxx. The English Douay-Rheims translation, published in 1582 (New Testament) and 1609/10 (Old Testament), is used as a starting point. The Latin text provides the Vorlage used by the translators. It corresponds to the text of the printed Latin Bibles of the type of the Gutenberg Bible common at that time. The Latin text is not that of the Clementina, but an earlier form that at times differs from it. – Reviews:
2016. Tuukka Kauhanen, *Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica* 50: 196–197.
2017. Michael Graves, Glimpses into the History of the Hebrew Bible through the Vulgate Tradition; in: Andrés Piquer Otero – Pablo A. Torijano Morales (eds.): *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Traditions*. Leiden 2017 (xix, 575 pp.), pp. 217–254. According to Graves (p. 219 ▲), this work fails as a convincing scholarly publication, because the English text is not that of the original Douay version, but that of the Challoner revision; moreover, the Latin text is that of the standard modern Vulgate editions, but emended to conform with the

English translation. Such a reconstruction of the presumed Vorlage of the Douay translation is both doubtful and superfluous. The Douay text Vorlage is actually quite close to the Clementina.

Revisions of the Douay Version

1859. Francis Patrick Kenrick: *The Book of Job and the Prophets*. Baltimore. 799 pp. – The translator, bishop of Baltimore, translates from the Vulgate and offers, as the title page explains, “a revised edition of the Douay version.” Cf. Hugh Pope OP – Sebastian Bullough OP: *English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and Amplified. St. Louis – London 1952 (ix, 787 pp.), pp. 458–463: Dr. Kenrick’s Version of the Bible, 1849–60.
1949. *New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible, Translated from the Latin Vulgate*. New York. 1086, 367 pp. – Edited under the patronage of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine by Howard G. Cavalero, this Bible supplies a revised version of the Douay/Challoner Bible, but includes a new English version of the Psalms based on the *Psalterium Pianum* (see Chapter **16.6**).
2009. Ronald L. Conte (translator): *The Holy Bible: Catholic Public Domain Version*. Morrisville, N.C. – As the title page explains, this version is “translated from the Pope Sixtus V and Pope Clement VIII Latin Vulgate Bible, using the Challoner-Douay Version as a guide.” The translator has rewritten the Douay version in contemporary English. He also placed the text on the Internet where it is readily available (complete with minor revisions of the printed edition).

Secondary literature

1837. Nicholas Wiseman: Catholic Versions of Scripture. *Dublin Review*, April 1937; now in: idem: *Essays on Various Subjects*. By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. London 1853, vol. 1 (xv, 644 pp.), pp. 71–100. Wiseman does not think very highly of Challoner’s revision of the original Douay Version. “To call it any longer the Douay or Rheimish version is an abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as it was originally published; and as far as simplicity and energy of style are concerned, the changes are in general for the worse. For though Dr. Challoner did well to alter many too decided Latinisms which the old translators had retained, he weakened the language considerably by destroying inversion where it was congenial, at once to the genius of our language and to the construction of the original, and by the insertion of particles where they were by no means necessary” (p. 75). As an example, Wiseman quotes Hebrews 13:9; in the original 1592 Rheims edition, we read: “With various and strange doctrines be not led away”; which became in Challoner’s revision: “Be not carried away with various and strange doctrines.” Here, the powerful inversion has been removed, and the force of the sentence weakened – as in many other passages. Wiseman calls for a new translation for Catholics. – Wiseman (1802–1865), a famous Catholic churchman, is known for his sense of language, style, and literature; see above, Chapter **9.4**.
1859. John Henry Newman: The Text of the Rheims and Douay Version of Holy Scripture. *The Rambler. A Catholic Journal and Review* 1859, July number: 145–169. – An essay by the famous convert to Catholicism who in 2019 was declared a saint of the Catholic Church. The *Rambler* was then edited by Newman. According to Newman, “Challoner’s version is even nearer to the Protestant than it is to the Douay; nearer, that is, not in grammatical structure, but in phraseology and diction.” ▲
1902. James G. Carleton: *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*. Oxford. vii, 259 pp. – Much of the book consists of synoptic tables that show the influence of the Douay-Rheims version on the English Authorized Version, also known as the King James Version. The author deplores “the frequent transference to its (the Douay Version’s) pages of Latin expressions,

- strange, then and now, to the English ear" (p. 20). Some examples: supersubstantial bread (Matt 6:11); he was assumed (Acts 1:2; Douay/Challoner Version: he was taken up); odible to God (Rom 1:30; Douay/Challoner Version: hateful to God).
1904. J.H. Lupton: Versions (English). In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible. Extra Volume*. Edinburgh (xiii, 936 pp.), pp. 236–271. – The Douay version and its revision by Challoner are dealt with on pp. 251–253.
1940. Hugh Pope: Some Omissions in the Rheims-Douay Version. *Clergy Review* 19: 112–121.
1943. James A. Kleist SJ: Monsignor A. Knox's New Rendering of the New Testament. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 5: 311–317. – "After the old Douay Version, with its occasional variations, had gone into our flesh and blood through its use for centuries, it was felt that a new age required a new translation" (p. 311). "The Douay V. is a venerable document. It has edified and instructed and consoled generations of Catholic readers throughout the English-speaking world. No standard history of English literature can pass it by unnoticed and unsung. But even the best things in the world have their limited day of glory when their literary value is bound up with some practical and immediate purpose in our lives. (...) Beyond its literary quality, therefore, it must have the power to speak to us in accents to which we are accustomed in our day. Students of English literature will continue to consult and appreciate the old Douay V., but if the common man of the twentieth century is to live by his English Bible, it must be bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh" (p. 312).
1947. R.C. Fuller: Bishop Challoner and the Douay Bible. *Scripture* 21: 8–18.
1952. Hugh Pope OP – Sebastian Bullough OP: *English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and Amplified. St. Louis – London. ix, 787 pp. – Pages 249–272: The Rheims Version of the New Testament, 1582; pp. 294–307: The Douay Version of the Old Testament; pp. 355–371: Dr. Challoner's Revisions; pp. 479–496: Editions of the Rheims-Douay since 1896. The most detailed account, esp. valuable for its chapter on Challoner's revisions. ▲
1982. Bruce Vawter: The Jerusalem Bible. In: Lloyd A. Bailey (ed.): *The Word of God. A Guide to English Versions of the Bible*. Atlanta, Ga. (228 pp.), pp. 98–112. – In the 18th century, Bishop Richard Challoner, assisted by Francis Blyth, revised the Douay Bible several times – first in 1749 (New Testament), then particularly incisively in 1752, but again thereafter. The printings of the Douay Bible that have appeared since then offer diverse texts, as they are based on different editions of the Douay/Challoner Bible.
1993. David Norton: *A History of the Bible as Literature. Volume One: From Antiquity to 1700*. Cambridge (vii, 375 pp.). – On pp. 122–138, the author discusses the origins and controversies surrounding the Rheims-Douai Bible. Very readable presentation. ▲
2003. David Daniell: *The Bible in English. Its History and Influence*. New Haven 2003. xx, 899 pp. – Pages 358–368: The Rheims New Testament, 1582. – Review: Germain Marc'hadour: The Bible in Europe from Reuchlin to Benedict XVI. *Moreana* 43 [165] (2006) 158–190, esp. pp. 169–186; the reviewer is critical of Daniell's book.
- 2007/8. Peter Borggraefe: Zur Druckgeschichte der Douai-Bibel. *Analecta Coloniensia* 7/8: 53–56. – "Diese von Challoner redigierte Ausgabe [von 1749 und 1750] ist seitdem bis heute die Basis für alle Neuauflagen der Douai-Bibel. Eine zweite Auflage erscheint 1764 in London. Danach ist der Bann gebrochen. Die Douai-Bibel, in zahlreichen Ausgaben in England und Irland gedruckt, wird die offizielle Bibel der britischen Katholiken im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert" (p. 56).

2013. Daniel Cheely: Douay-Rheims Version. In: *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*. Berlin. Volume 6 (xxvii pp., 1230 cols.), pp. 115–118.
2015. Katrin Ettenhuber: "A comely gate to so rich and glorious a citie": The Paratextual Architecture of the Rheims New Testament and the King James Bible. In: Kevin Killeen et al. (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*. Oxford (xxi, 793 pp.), pp. 54–70.
2018. Gordon Campbell: The Catholic Contribution to the King James Bible. In: Robert Armstrong et al. (eds.): *The English Bible in the Early Modern World*. Leiden (x, 217 pp.), pp. 131–140. – See above, James G. Carleton: *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*, 1902. According to Campbell, proof that the King James translators used the Douay Version emerged in 1969, when Ward Allen published the notes of one of the translators (p. 133). The relative lack of Latinisms in the King James text of the Old Testament may reflect the fact that the translators did not have the Douay Old Testament to hand (p. 134). The language that the King James translators spoke during their meetings was Latin rather than English (p. 135). In the eighteenth century, Richard Challoner's revision of the Douay Version "was an extraordinary accomplishment. He took his pruning shears to the Latinisms" (p. 138). ▲

The Knox Bible

Note. – Ronald Knox (1888–1957), translator, Englishman, convert, Catholic priest, classical scholar, and writer, made this translation on behalf of the Catholic bishops of Great Britain, and received their approval. The Knox Bible is generally known to be a free, "dynamic" translation. Unlike Protestant translators, Knox never intended his version to gain an authority comparable to the original biblical text. For him, as for most Catholic theologians then, the Latin text was considered the stable foundation of theology, preaching, and spirituality. Translations are meant to serve the believer, and not the scholar who would always refer to the Latin text.

1947. 1949. Ronald A. Knox: *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Newly Translated from the Latin Vulgate*. London 1947. xiii, 605 pp. (one volume); *The Old Testament Newly Translated from the Latin Vulgate*. London 1949. xi, 1604 pp. (two volumes). – There were also earlier editions, published in 1944 and 1949, "printed for private circulation," "for private use only." Noteworthy is the translation of the alphabetic acrostics, the Old Testament poems in which each verse begins with the next letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The Vulgate offers no equivalent of this form, but Knox uses the English alphabet in texts such as Proverbs 31:10ff.

Secondary literature

1943. James A. Kleist SJ: Monsignor A. Knox's New Rendering of the New Testament. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 5: 311–317. – The British Catholic magazine *The Tablet* published in its January 9, 1943 issue Ronald Knox's new English translation of Luke 2:42–52. Kleist offers a critique and proposes a revised version of it. (B. Lang: Kleist supposes that Knox translates the Greek text; but in fact, Knox translates the text of the Vulgate.)
1947. Edward F. Siegman: A Lesson in Bible Translation: Msgr. Knox's New Testament. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9: 65–88.
1949. Patrick W. Skehan [review of Knox's translation of the Old Testament]. *Theological Studies* 10: 325–332.
1949. Ronald Knox: *The Trials of a Translator*. New York. xii, 113 pp. – The translator's own story.

1952. Hugh Pope OP – Sebastian Bullough OP: *English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and Amplified. St. Louis – London. ix, 787 pp. – Pages 502–504: The Work of Monsignor Knox, 1944–49. “Msgr. Knox worked with a committee (which included Father Pope) which passed the draft edition. (...) In this version Msgr. Knox breaks entirely new ground; he translates the Vulgate into excellent English of a most readable type, of set purpose ignoring all previous versions.”
1959. Evelyn Waugh: *The Life of the Right Reverend Ronald Knox*. London. 354 pp. – German translation: *Ronald Knox. Biographie*. Übersetzt von Hugo Maria Kellner. Würzburg 1965. 340 pp.
1985. Milton T. Walsh: *Ronald Knox as Apologist*. Rome. ix, 488 pp. – A doctoral dissertation, submitted to the Gregoriana in Rome.
1993. Solange Dayras: The Knox Version, or The Trials of a Translator. In: David Jasper (ed.): *Translating Religious Texts*. London (xiv, 143 pp.), pp. 44–59. – Knox worked for 15 years on his translation of the Vulgate Bible.
2013. Aidan Mathews: The Holy Bible: Knox Version. *The Furrow* 64: 565–570. – An Irish drama producer’s essay on the Knox version.
2016. Francesca Bugliani Knox (ed.): *Ronald Knox: A Man for All Seasons. Essays on His Life and Works*. Toronto. xvi, 386 pp. – The book includes a contribution on “Ronald Knox as Translator of the Bible” by Sheridan Gilley. – Review: David Jasper, *Literature and Theology* 32 (2018) 373–374.
2022. Andrew J. Horne: On Criticising the Knox Bible. *Classical Reception Journal* 14: 204–221. ▲

18.2 German translations

Note. – The classic German translation of the Vulgate Bible, that of Allioli, dates from the nineteenth century. It stands at the end of a long series of earlier German translations. From among the earliest, medieval ones, two have been selected for comment: the Wenceslas Bible (a manuscript) and the Mentelin Bible (a printed edition).

<p>The Wenceslas Bible (Wenzelsbibel)</p> <p>The Mentelin Bible</p> <p>The Allioli Bible</p> <p>Further German translations</p>

The Wenceslas Bible (Wenzelsbibel): a historic German translation

1385–1400. The so-called Wenceslas Bible is an unfinished, magnificently illuminated manuscript with the German text of most of the Old Testament (the Minor Prophets, the two nooks of Macca-bees and the New Testament are missing), translated from the Vulgate. The German language is the German spoken in Prague at that time. The manuscript is in the Austrian National Library in Vienna as “Codices 2759 to 2764.”

1990. *Wenzelsbibel. König Wenzels Prachthandschrift der deutschen Bibel*. Erläutert von Horst Appuhn. Mit einer Einführung von Manfred Kramer. Dortmund. 8 vols. 416 pp.; 314 pp.; 268 pp.; 300 pp.; 304 pp.; 288 pp.; 312 pp.; 367 pp. – This reduced-size facsimile edition contains all pages of the Wenceslas Bible, but does not provide a transcription of the German text of the Wenceslas Bible itself; instead, it prints Augustin Arndt's modern German Vulgate translation. In the introductory essay (Volume 1, pp. 7–20), Manfred Kramer explains that we do not know the translator's name, but we do know who his client was: Martin Rotlev, the king's banker who probably had the Bible translation made around the year 1375. The Wenceslaw Bible is considered the best of the German Bible translations before Luther. Kramer points out the richness of the translation's vocabulary and the non-intrusive use of Latinisms: "Latinismen stören nicht die Flüssigkeit und Lesbarkeit des Textes; ungewöhnlich ist der reiche Wortschatz" (p. 12).
2023. *Die Wenzelsbibel. Digitale Edition und Analyse*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien. Vienna. – Alternative title: *Wenzelsbibel digital*. This digital edition, produced by Fachbereich Germanistik of the University of Salzburg under the directorship of Professor Manfred Kern, can be accessed on the internet (<https://edition.onb.ac.at/wenzelsbibel>). In the summer of 2023, the digital edition had only the German text of the book of Genesis, but more is to follow.

Secondary literature

- 1889/92. Wilhelm Walther: *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*. Braunschweig (vii pp., 766 cols.), cols. 291–306.
1898. Franz Jelinek: *Die Sprache der Wenzelsbibel (...). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Sprache*. Görz. 110 pp. – Reprint: Graz 1975. – In this linguistic study, only the prologue to the translation is presented (pp. 6–8).
1900. Wilhelm Kurrelmeyer: The Wenzelbible. Cod. Pal. Vindeb. 2759–2764. *American Journal of Philology* 21.1: 62–75. – The article presents, in transcription, the text of 3 Ezra 8:85–91 (a text included in the Clementina's appendix; see below, Chapter 23.2) and Tobit 5:23–27.
1970. František M. Bartoš: Der Schöpfer der Rotlev-Bibel. In: Horst Gericke et al. (eds.): *Orbis mediaevalis. Festgabe für Anton Blaschka*. Weimar (274 pp.), pp. 31–44. – The translator could be Heinrich of Mügeln or Johannes of Tepl (1350–1415).
1999. Heimo Reinitzer: Wenzelsbibel. In: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. 2 Auflage. Teil 10. Berlin (ix pp., 1692 cols.), cols. 869–875; with an addition in Teil 11. Berlin 2004 (xv pp., 1714 cols.), col. 1648.

The Mentelin Bible

1466. The printer Johannes Mentelin (1410–1478) published the first complete German Bible in Strasbourg.
- 1904–1915. Wilhelm Kurrelmeyer (ed.): *Die erste deutsche Bibel*. 10 Bände. Tübingen. 5006 pp. – Published as part of the "Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart." Presented is the wording of the Strasbourg 1466 edition, and noted are the variant readings of the subsequent printings published elsewhere between 1470 and 1518. The anonymous translation originated in the fourteenth century in the area of Nürnberg, Germany.

Secondary literature

1939. Hans Rost: *Die Bibel im Mittelalter*. Augsburg (viii, 428 pp.), pp. 364–365.
1987. Heimo Reinitzer: Oberdeutsche Bibeldrucke. In: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. 2. Auflage. Teil 6. Berlin (vi pp., 1290 cols.), cols. 1276–1290; with an addition in Teil 11. Berlin 2004 (xv pp., 1714 cols.), cols. 1073–1074.
2022. Michael Landgraf: *Deutsche Bibeln vor und nach Luther*. Stuttgart. 160 pp. – Pages 64–99: Deutschsprachige Bibeldrucke 1466 bis 1522.

The Allioli Bible

1830. Joseph Franz Allioli (translator): *Die heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments. Erster Theil, welcher die fünf Bücher Mosis und das Buch Josue enthält*. Nürnberg. xl, 418 pp. – This is the first volume of the first edition of the often-reprinted Allioli Bible. In the preface (“Vorwort,” pp. xxxii–xxxvii) Allioli explains his aim and method of translation: Unlike other Catholic translations, he explains, he seeks to stay strictly with the Vulgate text, and not compromise his translation by mixing it with what the original ancient texts say. “Was die Übersetzung betrifft, so folgte ich mit gewissenhafter Treue unserer lateinischen Kirchenübersetzung in der Art, dass ich sie zwar im Sinne des Originals aufzufassen bemüht war, so lange es sich nur mit der Latinität vertrug, nie aber mir erlaubte, sie darnach abzuändern. Durch eine Vermengung des Originals mit dem lateinischen Texte, wie sie in so vielen katholischen Bibel-Übersetzungen (...) zu finden ist, schien mir die Absicht der Kirche, welche sie bei der Herausgabe einer authentischen Übersetzung hatte, nicht nur nicht erreicht, sondern gewissermaßen illudiert [untergraben], indem durch derlei Übersetzungen derselbe Misstand hervorgerufen wird, dem eben durch die Guttheißung einer Kirchenübersetzung begegnet werden sollte” (pp. xxxii–xxxiii). In accordance with this program, Allioli always translates the Vulgate text; if the Hebrew or Greek text differs, this is noted in a footnote but not entered in the text.
1838. Joseph Franz Allioli: *Die Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments*. Landshut. 3., durchgesehene und verbesserte Auflage. Six volumes. Landshut. – The New Testament volume titled *Das Neue Testament. Aus der Vulgata mit Bezug auf den Grundtext neu übersetzt von Dr. Joseph Franz Allioli* is available from the German “Books on Demand” publisher; edited by Conrad Eibisch, it provides the text of the 1838 edition (Norderstedt 2018. 476 pp.).
1942. *Das Neue Testament*. Deutsch nach der Vulgata. Übersetzt von Joseph Franz von Allioli. Kolmar. 832 pp. – The text of the annotated translation is on pp. 10–772, the rest is preface and appendix. Allioli’s translation is slightly edited, and the commentary indebted to Martin Dibelius, Otto Dibelius, and Romano Guardini. The editor’s name is indicated as “L.A.W.” which is Ludwig Athanasius Winterswyl (Wintersig), a Catholic theologian and writer associated with the then modern theology of Guardini.
1965. *Das Neue Testament. Die Übersetzung von Allioli anhand des griechischen Textes neu erarbeitet von Eleonore Beck und Gabriele Miller*. Stuttgart. 769 pp. – This adaptation marks the departure from the Allioli Bible in Germany. Allioli himself wanted to reproduce the Vulgate and explicitly did not want to follow the Greek biblical text.

Secondary literature

1965. Paul Heinz Vogel, in: Johannes Schildenberger OSB et al.: *Die Bibel in Deutschland. Das Wort Gottes und seine Überlieferung im deutschen Sprachraum*. Stuttgart. 408 pp. – The success story of the Allioli Bible is told on pp. 284–287. From the 7th edition in 1851, the bilingual Latin and

German main edition was published by the Pustet publishing house in Regensburg, which placed the editing of the 10th edition (1899–1900) in the hands of Augustin Arndt SJ.

1975. Engelbert M. Buxbaum: Joseph Franz von Allioli (1793–1873); in: Heinrich Fries – Georg Schwaiger (eds.): *Katholische Theologen Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert*. Band 2. Munich (550 pp.), pp. 233–268.
1993. Wilhelm Baumgärtner (ed.): *Joseph Franz von Allioli 1793–1873. Leben und Werk*. Amberg. 252 pp. – Exhibition catalog and collection of essays.
1998. Markus Lommer: Ein Oberpfälzer erobert den deutschen Sprachraum. Die Bestseller-Bibel des Joseph Franz von Allioli (1793–1873). *Die Oberpfalz* 86: 202–212.

Further German translations

1851. Valentin Loch – Wilhelm Reischl: *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. Nach der Vulgata mit steter Vergleichung des Grundtextes übersetzt und erläutert. 4 Bände. Regensburg. xxxiv, 498 pp.; xii, 640 pp., xxiv, 660 pp.; xlviii, 1215 pp. – Several editions of this translation were published until the early twentieth century, with a fifth edition in 1915. The translation is accompanied by a commentary that takes up much space – and prevented this translation from becoming popular.
1865. Benedikt Weinhart: *Das Neue Testament unseres Herrn Jesus Christus. Nach der Vulgata übersetzt und erklärt*. Munich. xxxv, 783 pp. – Reprinted several times, also in partial editions, for example: *Das Neue Testament unseres Herrn Jesus Christus. Evangelien und Apostelgeschichte*. Taschenausgabe. Freiburg 1920. vii, 320 pp. – The translator, professor of Catholic dogmatics in Freising, died in 1901.
1898. Beda Grundl OSB: *Das Buch der Psalmen*. Augsburg. xxiv, 300 pp. – Subsequently, several revised editions were published.
1900. Beda Grundl OSB: *Das Neue Testament unseres Herrn Jesus Christus. Nach der Vulgata übertragen*. Augsburg. 2 Teile – iv, 579 pp; iv, pp. 582–1232. – Several times reprinted (12th edition, Augsburg 1916. viii, 710 pp.); there is also a partial edition: *Die vier heiligen Evangelien und die Apostelgeschichte*. 2nd edition. Augsburg 1904. viii, 496 pp.
1900. Augustin Arndt SJ: *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis – Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. 3 Bände. Regensburg. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German, of which the first edition was published in 1899–1901. Subsequent editions were slightly revised. The details of the 6th edition of 1914 are as follows: xlv, 22, 1468 pp.; 1475 pp.; 1019 pp. Arndt has thoroughly revised the Allioli translation, which resulted in a new version. – Literature:
1917. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41: 303–332, at p. 308–309: “Der Verleger Pustet hatte P. Augustin Arndt S.J. gewonnen, für den altbewährten Allioli die 10. Auflage zu bearbeiten. Nach dem Beispiele des hl. Hieronymus unterzog sich der Herausgeber seiner Aufgabe in der Weise, dass er zunächst (1898–1900) sich mit einer leichten Verbesserung begnügte, um dafür in der nächsten Ausgabe tiefer zu schürfen und eine durchaus selbständige Arbeit vorzulegen. (...) Wie man vernimmt, ist gegenwärtig eine Neubearbeitung im Gange.” The planned new edition to which Holzmeister refers never materialised; the last edition remains that of 1914. Arndt died in 1925.

1910. Augustin Arndt S.J.: *Das Neue Testament unseres Herrn Jesus Christus*. Regensburg. vi, 760, 14* pp.
1923. Athanasius Miller OSB: *Die Psalmen. Übersetzt und kurz erklärt* (Ecclesia orans). 5. bis 10. Auflage. Freiburg. xiv, 547 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German. The Latin text is that of the Vulgate, but the author's translation is often based on the Hebrew text, as appears from the translator's textual notes. The 1923 edition of Miller's translation represents a reworked edition of a book originally published in 1920.
2021. Rodrigo H. Kahl OP: *Die liturgischen Psalmen der lateinischen Kirche. Lateinisch – deutsch. Textfassungen der Vulgata. Wörtliche Übersetzung*. Kulmbach. xxxii, 528 pp. – This bilingual edition, Latin and German, offers a literal rendering, complete with some grammatical notes. The introduction discusses the merits of some earlier German renderings.

18.3 French translations

The Sacy translation

Note. – Le Maître de Sacy – actually Isaac Louis Le Maître (1613–1684) – is a French priest closely associated with the controversial Jansenist monastery of Port-Royal. His French translation of the Vulgate Bible used to be celebrated as a masterpiece of French literature that had its classical age in the seventeenth century – *l'âge classique* of Blaise Pascal, Jean de La Fontaine, Jean Racine, Molière et Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet.

1667. [Isaac Louis Le Maître, called de Sacy] *Le Nouveau Testament de Nostre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ traduit en françois selon l'édition Vulgate*. Mons. 2 volumes. – This edition is also known as "le Nouveau Testament de Mons." The work was completed by Sacy's translation of the Old Testament, published in 30 volumes, 1665–1695. It is known as "la bible de Sacy" and "la bible de Port-Royal."
1864. *La sainte Bible traduite par Le Maître de Sacy*. Éditions Furnes & Cie. Paris. 1020 pp.
1990. Philippe Sellier (ed.): *La Bible. Traduction de Louis-Isaac Lemaître de Sacy*. Edited by Philippe Sellier. Éditions Robert Laffont. Paris 1990. 1680 pp. – Unfortunately for historians and philologists, the language of this edition has been slightly edited. Accordingly, it must be used with caution.

Secondary literature

1858. Benjamin Pozzy: *La Bible et la version de Lemaître de Sacy*. Paris. 56 pp. – The Protestant minister attacks de Sacy's translation as being manipulated so as to prove standard Catholic doctrines not shared by Protestants.
1899. Eugène Mangenot: "La traduction (...) n'est pas toujours assez littérale; elle vise plus à la clarté et à l'élégance qu'à la fidélité. De toutes les versions françaises, elle est la plus pure au point de vue du langage, et la mieux écrite," notes Mangenot in: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 2.2. Paris (cols. 1195–2428), col. 2368.
1910. Daniel Lortsch: *Histoire de la Bible en France*. Paris. xxi, 590 pp. – Written by a protestant minister, this book includes a chapter on the Sacy translation.

1978. Michel de Certeau: L'idée de la traduction de la Bible au XVII^e siècle: Sacy et Simon. *Recherches de science religieuse* 66: 73–91.
1987. Christian Cannuyer: Versions modernes de la bible. In: Pierre-Maurice Bogaert et al. (ed.): *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la Bible*. Turnhout (43, 1363 pp.), pp. 1329–1338. – “En 1665, les jansénistes français travaillèrent à une nouvelle traduction de la Bible, essentiellement l'œuvre de Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy. Cette version de Port-Royal fut interdite dès 1665 par le roi de France. Les jansénistes comme Lefèvre et Benoist avant eux, confinèrent alors leur manuscrit à des imprimeurs du Nord. La maison hollandaise Elzevier supporta l'entreprise financièrement et techniquement, et un éditeur du Mons (Hainaut belge), Gaspard Migeot, diffusa ce Nouveau Testament en 1667, s'étant d'abord assuré des autorités ecclésiastiques et civiles des Pays-Bas catholiques. L'ouvrage, interdit en France par les autorités de ce pays, puis par une bulle du pape Clément IX en 1668, connut cependant un succès de librairie étonnant et demeura autorisé dans les Pays-Bas catholiques, où une quarantaine d'éditions en furent commercialisées entre 1668 et 1734. Par ailleurs, en 1668, Le Maistre de Sacy était encouragé par le roi de France à reprendre, avec l'aide de théologiens sûrs et patentés, sa traduction intégrale; celle-ci parut de 1672 à 1696” (p. 1332).
2007. Bernard Chédozeau: *Port-Royal et la Bible: un siècle d'or de la Bible en France, 1650–1708*. Paris 2007. 511 pp.
2008. Bertram E. Schwarzbach: Louis Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy, in: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Band II. Göttingen 2008 (1248 pp.), pp. 566–575, esp. pp. 574–575. – According to Schwarzbach, people have exaggerated the literary quality and linguistic elegance of the Sacy translation.
2013. Bernard Chédozeau: *L'univers biblique catholique au siècle de Louis XIV. La Bible de Port-Royal*. Paris 2013. 905 pp. in 2 volumes. – Sellier's 1990 edition does not include the translator's long prefaces, but these have been made available in this work.
2021. Gilbert Dahan: Le Maistre de Sacy et la Vulgate. In: Hubert Aupetit – Simon Icard – Élisabeth Vuillemin (eds.): *Port-Royal et l'interprétation des Écritures*. Paris (330 pp.), pp. 17–28. – De Sacy was well aware of alternative readings of the Latin text. He used the work of François Luc de Bruges (see above, **16.3 Louvain Bible**). For an abstract of Dahan's article, see *Revue biblique* 129 (2022) 143–144.
2021. Jean-Robert Armogathe: Antoine Arnauld et le Nouveau Testament de Mons. In: Hubert Aupetit – Simon Icard – Élisabeth Vuillemin (eds.): *Port-Royal et l'interprétation des Écritures*. Paris (330 pp.), pp. 29–48. – There were literary controversies about the Sacy translation of the New Testament; Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694) defended the translation. For an abstract of Armogathe's article, see *Revue biblique* 129 (2022) 144.

Other French translations

Note. – The major Vulgate translations, both going back to the 19th century, are by Augustin Crampon, Jean-Baptiste Glaire, and Louis-Claude Fillion. The last-mentioned translator avoids Glaire's extreme (but for the scholar helpful) literalism. Note that only early editions (and reprints) of Crampon's New Testament are based on the Vulgate; the classical French “Bible de Crampon,” representing his later translation work, is based on the original languages (and not the Latin Bible). Interestingly, French Catholics in the twentieth century generally no longer relied on a translation of the Vulgate. German and English-speaking Catholics, by contrast, still often relied on Vulgate-derived versions such as the Allioli Bible and the Douay Version.

1864. Augustin Crampon: *Les Quatre Évangiles*. Traduction nouvelle. Paris. xvi, 579 pp. – From the translator’s preface: “Nous avons suivi, pour la traduction, la Vulgate latine, dont le mérite est aujourd’hui reconnu des meilleurs critiques, tels que Lachmann et Tischendorf; les rares et légères différences du texte grec sont indiquées en note.” – It was with this edition that Crampon (1826–1894), canon of the Amiens Cathedral, started to publish his translation of the Vulgate New Testament.
1885. Augustin Crampon: *Nouveau Testament de N.S. Jésus Christ*. Traduit sur la Vulgate. Tournai. xii, 542 pp. – Facsimile reprint: Bouère, 1989.
- 1888–1904. Louis-Claude Fillion: *La Sainte Bible commentée d’après la Vulgate*. Paris. 8 volumes. – Fillion (1843–1927) provides the Vulgate text and a French translation in synoptic arrangement. The work revises Le Maistre de Sacy’s translation so as to bring it closer to the Vulgate.
1889. Augustin Crampon: *Le Livre des Psaumes suivi des Cantiques des Laudes et de Vêpres*. Traduction nouvelle sur la Vulgate. Paris 470 pp. – Another edition: *Le Livre des Psaumes suivi des Cantiques du Bréviaire Romain en Latin–Français*. Traduction sur la Vulgate. Paris 1925. 723 pp.
1911. Jean-Baptiste Chabot: *Les saints Évangiles. Traduction nouvelle d’après la Vulgate*. Tours. 98, 480 pp. – There is a second edition, 1923. (The translator is not the same person as the orientalist by the same name.)
1992. Jean-Baptiste Glaire: *La Sainte Bible selon la Vulgate*. Traduite par Jean-Baptist Glaire. Argenté-du-Plessis. xxx, 1968 pp. – This is a new printing of a nineteenth-century very literal translation that began to be published in 1861. There are many editions, including bilingual, Latin and French ones, some edited by Fulcran Vigouroux. Glaire (1798–1879), a Catholic priest, taught Hebrew and oriental languages at the Sorbonne’s faculty of theology (which was closed down in 1885).
1994. André Frossard – Noël Bompois: *Les Évangiles*. Paris. 337 pp. – A translation of the Vulgate text, by Frossard (1915–1994), a then well-known French journalist, intellectual, member of the French Academy, and convert to Catholicism.

18.4 Scholarly translations: English, German, and Romanian

Note. – While most of the vernacular translations mentioned above are official or semi-official texts, often approved by ecclesiastical authorities, made for both private and liturgical reading. The translations listed in this section are of a different character. Based on the Stuttgart Vulgate Bible of Weber and Gryson (see above, Chapter 13.4), they are private translations meant for scholarly study.

The Cunyus translation (partly Latin and English)

Note. – The American pastor John G. Cunyus translated the complete Vulgate Bible on the basis of the Stuttgart (Weber/Gryson) edition’s text of 1994. Some of his books offer only the English translation, but some also give the Latin text, as indicated below. In the bilingual volumes, the Latin text is not printed as a continuous text; instead, after each Latin verse the translation is given. This is good for study, but not for quick reading. All books are published by Searchlight Press, Dallas, Texas. – The list that follows is incomplete.

2008. John G. Cunyus (translator): *The Way of Wisdom: Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon. A Latin–English Interlinear Translation*. Glen Rose, TX. 396 pp.

2009. John G. Cunyus (translator): *The Audacity of Prayer. A Fresh Translation of the Book of Psalms. Latin–English edition*. Glen Rose, TX. 400 pp.
2010. John G. Cunyus (translator): *The Gospel according to Mark. A Latin–English Verse-by-Verse Translation*. Dallas, TX. 122 pp.
2010. John G. Cunyus (translator): *Pastoral and General Epistles. A Latin–English Verse-by-Verse Translation*. 296 pp.
2010. John G. Cunyus (translator): *The Latin Torah. Fresh Translation of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*. Dallas, TX. 788 pp.
2011. John G. Cunyus (translator): *Romans. A Latin–English Verse-by-Verse Translation*. Dallas, TX. 126 pp.
2012. John G. Cunyus (translator): *Luke–Acts. A Latin–English Verse-by-Verse Translation*. Dallas, TX. 296 pp.
2016. John G. Cunyus (translator): *The Latin Testament Project New Testament*. Dallas, TX. 772 pp.
2016. John G. Cunyus (translator): *The Latin Testament Project Bible*. Dallas, TX. 944 pp.

The bilingual Tusculum Vulgate (Latin and German)

2018. Hieronymus: *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch–deutsch*. Sammlung Tusculum. Edited by Andreas Beriger – Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger. Berlin. 5 vols. 889 pp. (Pentateuch), 1483 pp., 1247 pp. (includes the Psalms), 1285 pp., 1401 pp. (New Testament). – The Latin text is that of Weber and Gryson (5th edition, 2007), which the translation seeks to reproduce as faithfully as possible. Both versions of the Jerome Psalter are translated separately. The prefaces of Jerome are also included in both languages. The translation of each individual book is signed; thus the translation of Genesis is by Rebekka Schirmer and Jessica Wanzek, Exodus by Dorothea Keller, and the Psalms by five translators including Andreas Beriger and Sophie Holland. – Reviews and notes:
2019. Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers: [Richtlinien für Übersetzer](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue*. Sondernummer 2019: 37–38 (online journal).
2019. Martin Karrer: [Die Übersetzung der Vulgata und der Septuaginta ins Deutsche – Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue*. Sondernummer: 1–15 (online journal).
2019. Jutta Krispenz: [Die Übersetzung eines "kanonischen Textes"](#) – Der hermeneutische Rahmen für die Vulgata Tusculum Deutsch. *Vulgata in Dialogue*. Sondernummer: 17–20.
2019. Hans Förster, *Theologische Revue* 115: 461–463.
2020. Matthew Kraus, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (online journal).
2020. Friedemann Weitz, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 23: 1135–1140. Weitz points out inconsistencies and feels that there should be more and more helpful explanatory notes.

The Romanian bilingual edition

2015. Adrian Muraru – Wilhelm Tauwinkl (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgata VII. Evangelii et Actus Apostolorum – Evangheliile și Faptele Apostolilor*. Bukarest. – The following studies are related to this edition:
2015. Andreas Beriger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Vulgata Studies. Vol. 1: Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt 2015 (234 pp.), pp. 133–141: Wilhelm Tauwinkl: Consecvența traducerii în contrapondere cu stilul limbii. Variante de redare a termenilor caro și corpus în traducere-

rea românească a Vulgatei; – pp. 151–162: Monica Broșteanu: A Few Words Used in Paul's Letters which Have Proved Challenging for the Translators into Romanian.

2018. Ștefan Șuteu, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Theologia Catholica* 63 (2018) 161–163. An English review of the bilingual edition.

QUICK REFERENCE

Chapter 19

A glossary of biblical Latin

Note. – Those looking for the meaning of a particular word in the Vulgate will first consult one of the dictionaries, especially the dictionaries of Blaise and Dalpane – and will regret the fact that there is no comprehensive dictionary of Vulgate Latin. Other relevant sources are the manuals of Kaulen, Plater/White, and Meershoek. Also very helpful is Scarpat’s commentary on the book of Wisdom. The glossary offered below is based on these reference manuals of biblical Latin, on recent articles published in periodicals and collective volumes, and on the compiler’s cursory reading of Vulgate texts. Although we have allowed for some exceptions, the glossary is bibliographic in nature, in keeping with the rest of the present book.

One would think that the traditional Christian Latin derives from the Vulgate Bible. While this is true in a way, it is not the whole story. Since the text of the Vulgate Bible was for the most part created or fixed around the year 400, one has to consider the fact that the words of Scripture frequently echo already established theological or ecclesiastical vocabulary and semantics.

19.1 Essential lexical resources

19.2 Glossary

19.1 Essential lexical resources

Note. – For these and more lexical resources, see above, in the “Biblical Latin” section (Chapter 8.3), where all titles are annotated.

English

1879. Charlton T. Lewis – Charles Short: *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford. xiv, 2019 pp.

1921. John M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London. xi, 125 pp.

1926. W.E. Plater – H.J. White: *A Grammar of the Vulgate*. Oxford 1926. viii, 167 pp. – Referred to as Plater/White, followed by page number.

1927. Henry P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 2nd edition. Cambridge. xv, 162 pp. – Includes many notes on words.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London. xvi, 130 pp. ▲

German

1904. Franz Kaulen: *Sprachliches Handbuch der biblischen Vulgata*. 2nd, improved edition. Freiburg. xvi, 332 pp. – Here referred to as “Kaulen, p.” (followed by page number).

1926. Albert Sleumer – Joseph Schmid: *Kirchenlateinisches Wörterbuch. Ausführliches Wörterverzeichnis zum Römischen Missale, Breviarium, Rituale (...) sowie zur Vulgata und zum Codex juris canonici*. 2nd edition. Limburg. 840 pp.
1970. Paul Zürcher: Vokabular. In: idem: *Der Einfluss der lateinischen Bibel auf den Wortschatz der italienischen Literatursprache vor 1300*. Bern (315 pp.), pp. 31–312. – A glossary of more than 200 lexical items, alphabetically arranged from *abominari* to *zizania*. – In this glossary referred to as Zürcher, followed by page number.

French

- 1954/62. Albert Blaise: *Dictionnaire latin–français des auteurs chrétiens*. Turnhout. 900 pp. – The 1962 and later reprints include Blaise's appendix with additions and corrections (pp. 868–899). Blaise often, though not systematically, lists Vulgate texts, sometimes also Vetus Latina ones. It seems that he prefers listing New Testament passages, at the expense of Old Testament ones. – Here referred to as Blaise: *Dictionnaire* (followed by page number or lemma).

Italian

1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence. xlii, 251 pp.

19.2 Glossary

Note. – At the beginning of each entry, essential lexical equivalents are given in English and, put between square brackets [], in German and sometimes in French. The body of the entry is generally in English, but often German and French translations are added. The entries are not meant to be exhaustive.

As for the spelling, these are the preferences now adopted by all scholarly editions: *caelum* (not *coelum*), *caritas* (not *charitas*, which is the spelling of the Clementina), *femina* (not *foemina*), *eius* (not *ejus*), *paenitentia* (not *poenitentia*), *virī* (not *uirī*). An exception is *coenaculum* (Clementina) which the Weber/Gryson edition and the Nova Vulgata spell *cenaculum* (Luke 22:12).

A

a, ab – by, from [von, seit]. The use of this preposition in the Vulgate is often puzzling due to literal renderings echoing Hebrew or Greek. Examples: *iustificatae sunt enim a te* – they are more justified than you (echoing Hebrew *min*, Ezek 16:52); *quid habet amplius sapiens a stulto* – what has the wise man more than the fool? (Koh 6:8). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 24: comparison.

1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg (34 pp.), pp. 25–26: prepositions *ab* and *in*. In many cases, these prepositions have "eine so frappante und fremdklingende Verwendung, daß Nachahmung und Herübernahme aus einer anderen Sprache unverkennbar sind" (p. 25).

1875. Rönsch, pp. 409, 442, 426, 452.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 236–237 and 258–259 (comparison).

1926. Plater/White, p. 98.

1981. Otto Hiltbrunner: a, ab, abs. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 1 (xxii, 298 pp.), pp. 1–12.

abire – to walk, to go; to leave, to go away [gehen, wandeln; weggehen]. The first meaning – to walk, to go – is the most common (Ps 1:1; Matt 4:24; 12:1; John 4:47; Acts 1:25, and often); when required by the context, the second meaning (the usual one in classical Latin) is meant, as in Matt 19:15; Mark 6:1; John 4:8. There are also passages where it is hard to decide between the two possibilities, such as 1 Kgs 17:5. For the first, normal meaning, see Hagen and Rönsch. → **ire** – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 83.

1875. Rönsch, p. 346.

1981. Otto Hiltbrunner: abeo. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 1 (xxii, 298 pp.), pp. 23–24.

abominari, abominatio, abominatus, abominabilis – to hate, to abhor, abomination, abominable [verabscheuen, Abscheu/Greuel, abscheulich]. Lev 26:13; Deut 18:12; Ps 5:7; Prov 3:32; 11:20; 15:9; Isa 49:7; Tit 1:16. The lexical group belongs to the religious and moral vocabulary of distancing. God is often the subject: *omnia enim haec Dominus abominabitur* – the Lord abhorreth all these things (Deut 18:12), i.e., everything associated with pagan magic. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 69, 144, 297.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 61, 139.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 31–33.

1981. Otto Hiltbrunner – M.E.H. Hermans: abomino, abominor. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 1 (xxii, 298 pp.), p. 47.

absque – besides, without [außerdem, ohne]. **(1)** besides. In some passages, *absque* replaces the classical *praeter*: *absque me non est deus* (Isa 44:6; cf. Isa 44:8; 45:6) – besides me there is no God. – **(2)** without. In some passages, it replaces *sine*: *absque fratre vestro minimo* (Gen 43:5) – without your youngest brother. – **(3)** away from, as in *absque synagogis facient vos* (John 16:2) – they will separate you from the synagogues, literally: they will make you away from the synagogues. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 389–390.

1904. Kaulen, p. 237.

1926. Plater/White, p. 99.

1973. Edoardo Vineis: Studio sulla lingua dell'Italia. *L'Italia Dialettale* 34 (1971) 136–248; 36 (1973) 287–372; 37 (1974) 154–166, at pp. 364–365.

abusio – abuse [Herabsetzung]. Used only in Ps 31:19 (Vg 30:19). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, pp. 61–62.

1934. Arthur Allgeier: In superbia et in abusione (Ps. 30,19). *Biblica* 15: 185–212.

1981. Otto Hiltbrunner: abusio. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 1 (xxii, 298 pp.), pp. 109–110.

abyssus – fem. abyss, Hades [Abgrund, Unterwelt]. Gen 1:2; Rom 10:7, etc. On the full range of meanings, see the literature:

1932. Christine Mohrmann: *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin*. Teil 1. Nijmegen (270 pp.), p. 165. In Ps 36:7 (Vg 35:7), *abyssus* refers metaphorically to the depth (unermessliche Tiefe) of God's judgements.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 33–34.

1981. Otto Hiltbrunner: *abyssus*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 1 (xxii, 298 pp.), pp. 112–115.

accipere – to take, to accept, to receive [nehmen, annehmen]. *calicem salutaris accipiam* – I will take the chalice of salvation (Ps 116:13; Vg 114/115:13). Special meanings: **(1)** In military contexts, this common verb can have the special meaning of to conquer, erobern (Stummer): Judith 3:15; see also Deut 20:15 (*urbes, quas in possessionem accepturus es* – the cities that you will take into possession). – **(2)** In a military context, *accipere* can also refer to taking something as spoil, carrying it off (1 Macc 1:23–24) or destroying it (1 Macc 1:33). – **(3)** to carry, or have, something about one; etwas mit sich herumtragen, dabei haben – such as bread (Matt 16:5). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 347–348.

1926. Plater/White, p. 57.

1934. Friedrich Stummer: Lexikographische Bemerkungen zur Vulgata. In: Pontificio Istituto Biblico (ed.): *Miscellanea Biblica*. Volume 2. Rome (406 pp.), pp. 179–202, at pp. 180–182.

1981. Otto Hiltbrunner: *accipio*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 1 (xxii, 298 pp.), pp. 171–180.

ad – to [zu], preposition. → **aio, ait** → **dicere**. – Literature:

2016. John Adams – Wolfgang de Melo: *Ad versus the Dative: from Early to Late Latin*. In: J.N. Adams – Nigel Vincent (eds.): *Early and Late Latin: Continuity of Change?* Cambridge (xx, 470 pp.), pp. 87–131.

2023. Jesús de la Villa Pollo: Die Vulgata als Erkenntnisquelle des späteren Lateins: Die Beziehungen zwischen Dativ und *ad* + Akk. als Markierung des Benefizienten, in: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg 2023 (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 157–177.

Adam – Adam, personal name. Jerome seems to have used the form "Adam" for all cases (Weber/Gryson edition), while texts not touched by him have *Adae* as genitive case (Sir 35:24). In the Clementina, one can see the effort to use *Adae* for better syntactic comprehension; thus Gen 2:20 (Clementina) has *Adae* as dative case (*dativus commodi* – "for Adam"). The matter is discussed by Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith*. *Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), pp. 4–5.

addere – to add, to repeat [hinzufügen, wiederholen]. In Hebrew, repeated action is expressed by prefixing the verb "to add"; the Vulgate imitates this: *et addidit alterum servum mittere* – and again, he sent another servant (Luke 20:11; *addere* followed by accusative with infinitive). See also Judg 10:1; 1 Macc 10:88, etc. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 25–26.

1875. Rönsch 453.

1904. Kaulen, p. 235 (no. 120).

1926. Plater/White, pp. 23–24 (§ 28).

adinventio – invention [Erfindung]. Not used in the New Testament, but used in pre-Jeromian texts (Wisdom 14:12; Sirach 40:2) and often in Jerome's translations: Deut 28:20; Judg 2:19; 1 Chr 16:8; Ps 106:39 (Vg 105:39); Jer 17:10, etc. "The use of *inventio* in the text of Jerome is a remnant of an older textual tradition (possibly preferred by Jerome), rather than an introduction of new vocabulary by Jerome"; Simone Rickerby: *Lexical Variation in the Latin Text of the Jewish Greek Bible*. Melbourne College of Divinity – University of Divinity (307 pp.; unpublished PhD thesis), p. 170. Rickerby's thesis is a study of the noun *adinventio*.

adiutorium – help [Hilfe]. This is a frequent noun in the Vulgate (Judith 8:10 etc.). Stummer posits a second meaning, based on Gen 2:18 (with echoes in Sirach 36:26; Tob 8:8): helper, adiutrix [Hilfskraft, Gehilfin]. – Literature:

1937. Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1: 23–50, at pp. 23–26.

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*. Blaise lists the Vulgate word, defining it as "aide, personne qui assiste."

Adonis – Adonis. Pagan god, mentioned only in Ezek 8:14. See the [textual note](#) on this passage in Chapter 21.

adorare – to honor, to worship [huldigen, verehren]. Meant is the performance of a gesture of submission, either for curtesy, or for religious worship. The everyday meaning of "saluting" appears in 2 Sam 18:21, the religious meaning in Exod 34:14 (*noli adorare Deum alienum* – do not venerate a foreign god). The expression *adorabunt coram te, Domine* (Ps 86:9, Vg 85:9) means: they shall prostrate before you, o Lord. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 439.

1904. Kaulen, p. 176.

1926. Plater/White, p. 37.

1966. Meershoek, pp. 157–165.

1970. Zürcher, p. 35.

1995. Olegario García de la Fuente: Notes de sémantique biblique latine: le verbe *adorare*. In: Louis Callebaut (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IV. Hildesheim (723 pp.), pp. 219–236.

advena – stranger, alien [Fremder]. Used in both testaments, e.g., *advena sum et peregrinus* – I am a stranger and sojourner (Gen 23:4; Douay Version). – Literature:

1984. Otto Hiltbrunner: *advena*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 2 (323 pp.), pp. 17–19.

2009. Lyliane Sznajder: L'étranger immigré dans le texte biblique du Pentateuque d'une langue à une autre. In: Bernard Bortolussi et al. (eds.): *Traduire, transposer, transmettre dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine*. Paris 2009 (229 pp.), pp. 27–46. Sznajder also discusses related words such as *peregrinus*, *colonus*, *proselytus*.

aeger, aegrotus – sick [krank]. The Clementina has the form *aeger* in Mark 6:13; 16:18; Acts 5:16, while Jerome seems to have preferred *aegrotus* (Ezek 34:4 and Mark 6:13; 16:18 in the Weber/Gryson

edition). Outside the Bible, this is not a common word for “sick”; see [textual note](#) on Mark 16:18 below, Chapter **22**.

ait, ait – I said, he said [ich sagte, er sagte]. **(1)** *ecce, ait, ancilla tua in manu tua est* – behold, he said, your handmaid is in your hand (Gen 16,6); this is the most general way in which the verb is used, as in classical Latin. – **(2)** The verb may be followed either by the dative (as in classical Latin), as in *cui ille ait* (1 Sam 4:16) – he said to him; or by *ad*, as in *ait ad eam rex* (2 Sam 14:5) – and the king said to her. – Literature:

1911. Eberhard Nestle: “He Said” in the Latin Gospels. *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (July 1911) 607–608. *ait* is often used in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, less frequently in John and Acts. In some manuscripts it is almost or altogether absent, no doubt due to the idea of some grammarians that when you quote something using *ait*, you imply that he is wrong.

2016. John Adams – Wolfgang de Melo: Ad versus the Dative: from Early to Late Latin. In: J.N. Adams – Nigel Vincent (eds.): *Early and Late Latin: Continuity of Change?* Cambridge (xx, 470 pp.), pp. 87–313.

ait vs. dixit – he said [er sagte]. **(1)** Both words are used to say “he said,” but there is a difference in style. The word *ait* (Exod 34:6; Matt 26:15,25; Luke 17:22) belongs to classical, *dixit* to postclassical usage; see Stenzel. – **(2)** Jerome occasionally uses the two words in the interest of variation, as in Gen 1:9,11; Num 24:3; Jer 3:10–11. → **dicere** – Literature:

1952. Meinrad Stenzel: Zum Wortschatz der neutestamentlichen Vulgata. *Vigiliae Christianae* 6: 20–27.

aliquis – someone [jemand]. Deut 22:23; Judg 4:20 and very frequently. Chiara Gianollo: Latin *aliquis* as an epistemic indefinite. In: S. Chiriacescu (ed.): *Proceedings of the VI Nereus Workshop*. Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Konstanz, Arbeitspapier 127. Universität Konstanz 2013 (150 pp.), pp. 55–81 (open access).

allocutio – speech, consolation, appeasement [Rede, Trost, Beschwichtigung]. In the book of Wisdom (Wisdom 3:18; 8:9; 19:12), *allocutio* means consolation and appeasement.

1875. Rönsch, p. 305.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 60–61.

1989. Scarpato I, p. 444; Scarpato also points out that passages in Catullus and Seneca come close to this meaning.

amare – to love [lieben] → **amicus, amicitia etc.**

ambitio – retinue, entourage [Gefolge]. 1 Macc 9:37; Acts 25:23. – Rönsch, p. 522; Kaulen, p. 13; Plater/White, p. 54 (suggests “pomp”).

Amen. – In several passages, prayers end on *Amen*, as used in Christian worship today (Neh 13:3; Tobit 13:3; Prayer of Manasseh; the Lord’s prayer Matt 6:13 [Clementina, but not in Weber/Gryson], Rom 11:36). Two particularities deserve special mentioning: **(1)** The book of Psalms, where one might expect a final *Amen*, ends on *Alleluia*. In the Hebrew, four of the five sections (or books) of the Psalms end on *Amen*, but the Vulgate and the Neovulgate have *fiat* (so be it), see Ps 41:14 (Vg 40:14); 72:19 (Vg 71:19); 89:53 (Vg 88:53); 106:48 (Vg 105:48). – **(2)** Subscriptional *Amen* at the end of biblical books. No book of the Old Testament has *Amen* as its final word – the one exception being the Prayer of Manasseh (Weber/Gryson, Clementina). Do all New Testament writings end on *Amen*? According to the Clementina, most do (though not Matthew, Mark, John,

James, 2 and 3 John). The Weber/Gryson edition is only slightly more restrictive, but does place it at the end of the Gospel of John. Very restrictive in its use is the Nova Vulgata; it places *Amen* to the end of only five letters, in agreement with standard critical editions of the Greek New Testament – Romans, Galatians, Philippians, Jude, and 2 Peter. – Literature:

1896. W.H. Hogg: "Amen." Notes on Its Significance and Use in Biblical and Post-Biblical Times. *Jewish Quarterly Review* 9: 1–23.

2017. Régis Courtray: Les Pères latins face aux mots hébreux et araméens non traduits: alleluia, amen, hosanna, maranatha. In: Clémentine Bernard-Valette et al. (eds.): *Nihil veritas ervescit. Mélanges offerts à Paul Mattei*. Turnhout (xxv, 838 pp.), pp. 327–348.

amicus, amicitia, amare, amor – friend, friendship, to love, love [Freund, Freundschaft, lieben, Liebe].

(1) The Song of Songs uses *amica* (Cant 1:8,14; 2:1,10,13,16,17; 6:3) for "female friend," but the male friend is generally called *dilectus* (Cant 1:12,15; 2:3,8–10; 5:10, etc.) rather than *amicus* (which nevertheless is used once: Cant 5:16; see also the *amici* in the plural: Cant 5:1; 8:13). The expression *amore languo* – I languish with love (Douay Version), I am love-sick (Cant 2:5; 5:8) – is used twice. In the one passage where one would definitely expect *amor*, Jerome has *dilectio: fortis est ut mors dilectio* – strong as death is love (Cant 8:6). – (2) Abraham is called *amicus Dei* – friend of God (Judith 8:22; Jas 2:23). – (3) David and Jonathan are called *amabiles* (friends, lovers, 2 Sam 1:23), and David says of Jonathan: *amabilis super amorem mulierum, sicut mater unicum amat filium suum, ita ego te diligebam* – a friend above the love of women, as the mother loves her only son, so I did love you (2 Sam 1:26). – (4) The New Testament love passages generally use *caritas* and *diligere*, and not *amor* and *amare* (John 4:7–11; 5:1–3; 1 Cor 13), but there are exceptions: *amor fraternitatis* – brotherly love (1 Pet 1:22; 2 Pet 1:7); Jesus to Peter: *Simon Ioannis, amas me* – Simon, son of John, do you love me? (John 21:17). The claim that "God is love" is rendered *Deus caritas est* (1 John 4:8). – Literature:

412–426. Augustine: *De civitate Dei* XIX, 7 (CSEL 40.2: 12–14). Augustine discusses the scriptural terminology of love – *caritas, dilectio, diligere, amare*. One of the texts referred to is John 21:15–17, where *diligere* and *amare* alternate. The chapter is titled *amorem et dilectionem indifferenter et in bono et in malo apud sacras litteras inveniri* – that the words love (*amor*) and regard (*dilectio*) are in Scripture used indifferently of good and evil affection (translated by Marcus Dods).

1948. Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain. iii, 412 pp. – According to the author, it was only due to the theology of Augustine that by the end of the fourth century, *amor* had established itself as another word for Christian love (pp. 97–98).

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 78: Blaise prefixes his entry on *amor* by stating that "chez les chrétiens, on trouve plus souvent *affectio, dilectio, caritas*."

1971. Elisabeth Mayer: *Amicitia bei Hieronymus, Ambrosius und Augustinus*. Dissertation, University of Vienna. 279 pp.

1984. Viktor Reichmann: *amo*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 2 (323 pp.), pp. 201–214. In the same volume, pp. 171–190, is Reichmann's article "amicitia."

2023. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: Hieronymus über Freundschaft (*amicus, amicitia*), in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 140–142.

2023. Anna Kraml: Liebe in der Vulgata. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 53–54.

angariare – to exact service [zu Dienstleistung nötigen]. Matt 5:41; 27:32; Mark 15:21. The cultural background of the word is explained in Hagen, p. 30.

anima – soul [Seele]. **(1)** Generally meaning “soul,” the word takes on multiple meanings. Note the repeated use of *anima mea* (my soul) as self-address in the Psalms: Ps 42:6.12 (Vg 41:6.12); 43:5 (Vg 42:5); 103:1.2.22 (Vg 102:1.2.22); 104:1.35 (Vg 103:1.35). – **(2)** To translate or not to translate? In many cases, *anima* does not have to be translated at all, because *anima mea* (my soul) means “I” (Gen 27:4.25; Isa 1:14; Luke 1:46 – *maginificat anima mea dominum* – my soul praises the Lord = I praise the Lord), *anima tua* “you” (Gen 27:19), *anima nostra* “we” (Josh 2:14), *anima eius* “he” (Isa 15:4), etc. Where the Vulgate has *sana animam meam* (Ps 41:5 [Vg 40:5]) – heal my soul, the Psalterium Pianum says *sana me* – heal me. An interesting case is Sir 40:30: *alit enim animam suam cibis alienis* – he nourishes his soul (= himself) with other people’s food; in classical Latin, one would say: *alit enim se cibis alienis*. – **(3)** *quaerere animam alicuius* – to seek someone else’s life – means: to seek to kill him (Ps 35:4 [Vg 34:4]; 86:14 [Vg 85:14], and often). The expression echoes a Hebrew idiom. – **(4)** The dative plural may take the form *animabus* instead of *animis*, e.g., 1 Macc 3:21, Hebr 13:17, and 4 Ezra 7:100, to distinguish it from *animis* (dative plural of *animus* = spirit). The form *animabus* is also in the title of Augustine’s *De duabus animabus* (On the Two Souls, CSEL 25.1: 51–80). – Literature:

1949. Alexander Southern: *A Glossary of Later Latin*. Oxford (xxxii, 545 pp.), s.v. *anima* (re: *animabus*).

1970. Zürcher, p. 48.

1978. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Anima en la Biblia Latina. Helmántica* 29: 5–24. Classification of the meanings, esp. pp. 11–13.

1984. Viktor Reichmann: *anima*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 2 (323 pp.), pp. 230–241.

2015. Christa Gray: *Jerome, Vita Malchi. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford (xviii, 365 pp.), p. 232. – “The only instance of the vocative *anima* without *mea* occurs at Luke 12:19.”

annulare – to destroy [vernichten]. Sir 21:5. Jerome did not like the word which he considered vulgar. – Meershoek, pp. 46–49.

aperire – to open [öffnen]. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Aperire* (abrir) y *claudere* (cerrar) en la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 17.2 (1994) 249–270.

aqua – water [Wasser]. Olegario García de la Fuente: Significados y simbolismo de *aqua* (el agua) en la Vulgata. *Analecta malacitana* 18 (1995) 271–318.

architectus – master builder [Baumeister]. Sir 38:28; Isa 3:3; 1 Cor 3:10; 2 Macc 2:30. – Literature:

1998. Günther Binding: *Der früh- und hochmittelalterliche Bauherr als sapiens architectus*. 2. Auflage. Darmstadt (480 pp.), pp. 245–281.

2020. Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart (52 pp.), pp. 20–22.

argumentum – mark, riddle, miracle [Merkmal, Rätsel, Wunder]. These three special meanings of the Latin noun can be found in Wisd 5:12 (characteristic feature), Wisd 8:8 (riddle), and Acts 1:3 (miracle). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 305–306.

1926. Plater/White, p. 54.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 61.

1984. Adolf Lumpe: argumentum. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 2 (323 pp.), pp. 299–302.

1989. Scarpat I, p. 462.

artifex – specialized craftsman, artificer [Kunsthandwerker, der Kunstferige]. **(1)** Carpenter: Ooliab, described as *artifex lignorum egregius* (Exod 38:23) – an excellent artificer in wood (Douay Version), ein hervorragender Künstler in Holzarbeit; *artifex sapiens* – skilful workman (Isa 40:20); *artifex faber* – carpenter (Wisd 13:11); *opus artificis* – work of a craftsman/stonecutter (Sir 45:11 [Vg 45:13]). – **(2)** Metalworker: Demetrius the silversmith is an *artifex* (Acts 19:24). The quotation of the name – Ooliab, Demetrius – implies the high reputation that specialized craftsmen enjoyed. – **(3)** God is called *artifex et conditor* of a *civitas* (Hebr 11:10) – artificer and founder; Kunstfertiger und Gründer; meant is no doubt: architect and founder. – Literature:

1984. Otto Hiltbrunner: artifex. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 2 (323 pp.), pp. 315–321.

2020. Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), pp. 22–32. Discussion of the terminology and selected Vulgate passages.

aruspex – diviner, seer [Opferschauer, Seher]. The classical *haruspex* appears as *aruspex* in 2 Kgs 21:6; 23:5; Dan 2:27. Bruno Poulle: Les haruspices de saint Jérôme. In: idem (ed.): *L’Etrusca disciplina au V^e siècle après J.-C.* Besançon 2016 (259 pp.), pp. 147–155.

auris – ear [Ohr]. Olegario García de la Fuente: Uso y significados de auris (el oído) en la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 19.1 (1996) 29–40.

autem – but, and [aber, und]. Often used as a sentence connector. – Literature:

1892. Jacob Wackernagel: Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1: 333–436. – Also available in a bilingual edition, German and English, with a detailed introduction and bibliography by G. Walkden: *On a Law of Indo-European Word Order*. Translated by George Walkden et al. Berlin 2020. 446 pp.

Note. – Wackernagel discovered that Indo-European languages, including Latin, give short unstressed words by preference the second position in a clause. Although Wackernagel did not give examples from the Vulgate, the law can be illustrated from biblical texts such as Gen 1:2: *terra autem erat inanis* – the earth, however, was empty; Sir 6:10: *est autem amicus socius mensae* – a friend, moreover, is a table fellow; Tobit 7:9: *postquam autem locuti sunt* – after they had spoken; Matt 8:22: *Jesus autem ait illi* – but Jesus said to him; Matt 14:6: *die autem natalis Herodis* – on Herod’s birthday. In these examples, *autem* is the “short, unstressed word.”

1913. Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 58: on Sir 6:10 – “*autem* Lat ist einfach verknüpfend (= ferner, weiter, und).”

2023. Matthew Kraus: Satzverbindungen. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 28–29.

B

baptizare – to baptize [taufen]. Very frequently in the New Testament. The original meaning of “to wash” is used only Sir 34:30; Judith 12:7; Mark 7:4. Jerome does not use the word in his translation; his word for “to wash” is *lavare*. In the case of Judith 12:7, he echoes the *Vetus Latina*. – Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), p. 24.

benedicere – to bless [segnen]. The verb is also used in the sense of *maledicere* = to curse (Job 2:9; 1 Kgs 21:10.13). One could call this a euphemism, but Plater/White, p. 22 derives this meaning from *benedicere* = to speak a final blessing, to say farewell to. – Zürcher, p. 62.

benefacere – to do good [Gutes tun]. For a study of the whole range of words with *bene-* and *bon-*, i.e., *benefacere*, *benignus*, *benignitas*, *bonitas* in the New Testament, see Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain 1948 (iii, 412 pp.), pp. 184–189.

bilinguis – double-tongued, with a double tongue [doppelzünftig]. Prov 8:13; Sir 6:1; 28:15; 1 Tim 3:8. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), pp. 26–34 (but there is no reference to the Latin Bible in this article).

-bilis, -ilis – Formative element of adjectives such as *acceptabilis* (for classical *acceptus*, 2 Cor 6:2 and frequently), *amabilis* (2 Sam 1:23), *contemptibilis* (for *cuntemptus*, Wisd 10,4), *docibilis* (John 6:45), *honorabilis* (precious, Ps 72:14, Vg 71:14; NVg has *pretiosus*), *incredibilis* (for *incredulus*, Luke 1:17; *incredulus* is used in John 3:36), *inhabitabilis* (Jer 17:6, uninhabited), *rationabilis* (Röm 12,1), *inconsutilis* (for *inconsutus*, John 19:23). These endings, rather than indicating a possibility, indicate a fact – as in classical Latin *dissociabilis* (Horace), *genitabilis* (Lucretius), *penetrabilis* (Ovid). → **docibilis** – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 109–116.

1893. J.H. Bernard: The Vulgate of St Luke. *Hermathena* 8: 385–389, at p. 386.

1904. Kaulen, p. 139–1142.

1926. Plater/White, p. 48.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 59.

C

cadere – to fall [fallen]. – *cecidit, cecidit Babylon* – fallen, fallen is Babylon (Isa 21:9). But note the special sense of “to come (before)”: *si forte cadat oratio eorum in conspectu Domini* – if their supplication may come before the Lord (Jer 36:7; Plater/White, p. 22). – Literature:

1970. Zürcher, p. 69.

1988. Adolf Lumpe – Otto Hiltbrunner: *cado*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 3 (310 pp.), pp. 169–173.

1994. Cristóbal Macías Villalobos: Los verbos *cadere* y *caedere* en la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 17: 25–52.

caedere – to cut down, to kill [fallen, töten]. Literature:

1988. Adolf Lumpe – Otto Hiltbrunner: *caedo, -ere*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 3 (310 pp.), pp. 178–181.

1994. Cristóbal Macías Villalobos: Los verbos *cadere* y *caedere* en la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 17: 25–52. – Page 25 (translated from the Spanish): “In this article we intend to review the whole range of meanings presented in the Vulgate by two verbs which, on the basis of their formal resemblance (for example, in the perfect), unconsciously and involuntarily, speaking of one leads us to evoke the other. Moreover, as will be seen, many of these meanings, at least in *cadere*, are proper to biblical-Christian Latin and, for this very reason, novel. Let us begin by saying that both verbs have an important representation in the Vulgate, more important in the case of *cadere*, which appears a total of 412 times as opposed to 95 for *caedere*. Likewise, *cadere* is also the one with the most significant richness, especially in biblical-Christian meanings, while almost all the meanings of *caedere* are those already common in classical times.”

caelum – heaven, sky [Himmel]. **(1)** The word appears in Gen 1:1 (*in principio creavit Deus caelum et terram*) and is often used throughout the Bible. God is *rex caeli* – king of heaven (Dan 4:37), *Deus caeli* – God of heaven (Tobit 12:6), *Dominus Deus caeli* – Lord God of heaven (Gen 24:7; Neh 1:5), and *dominus caeli* – Lord of heaven (Tobit 7:20). The word is also used in the plural: *caeli enarrant gloriam Dei* (Ps 19:2; Vg 18:2) – the heavens shew forth the glory of God (Douay Version); die Himmel erzählen die Herrlichkeit Gottes (Allioli); les cieux racontent la gloire de Dieu (Glaire). The risen Christ says: *data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra* – all power has been given to me in heaven and on earth (Matt 28:18). – **(2)** sky or heaven? In Latin, one could make this distinction by using *caelum* for the abode of God, and *aer* (genitive *aeris*) for the sky. Accordingly, one could speak of *princeps potestatis huius aeris* (Eph 2:2) – the prince of the power of the sky. The Vulgate, however, hardly anywhere makes this distinction, and uses *caelum* for the sky also: *volatiles caeli* (Gen 1:26) – the birds of the sky; *facies caeli* – the face of the sky (Matt 16:3) = “das veränderliche Aussehen des Wolkenhimmels” (Lumpe-Hiltbrunner, p. 195). – **(3)** *caeli* – the heavens. The plural of *caelum* is very rare in classical Latin (see Meershoek, pp. 188–197), but frequently used in the Bible, e.g., in Genesis (Gen 2:1 *perfecti sunt caeli and terra* – finished were the heavens and the earth) and in Lord’s Prayer: *pater noster qui es in caelis* (Matt 6:9). – Literature:

1966. Meershoek, pp. 182–197.

1970. Zürcher, p. 70.

1988. Adolf Lumpe – Otto Hiltbrunner: *Caelum, caelus*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 3. Bern (310 pp.), pp. 187–195.

1996. Cristóbal Macías Villalobos: *Caelum en la Vulgata. Fortunatae. Revista canaria de Filología, Cultura y Humanidades Clásicas* 8: 235–265.

2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), p. 34 suggests the meaning “firmament” for *caeli* in Gen 2:1.

cantrix – female singer [Sängerin]. The word is used twice in the Weber/Gryson edition of the Vulgate (2 Sam 19:35, Koh 2:8); in both passages, the Clementina has the more common *cantatrix*, and Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, lists only *cantatrix*. The Nova Vulgata has *cantrix* in 2 Sam 19:36 (= 2 Sam 19:35 Weber/Gryson), but *cantatrix* in Koh 2:8.

caritas – love [Liebe]. In the New Testament, *caritas* is a key word. *caritatem dedit nobis pater* – the Father has love (Douay Version: charity) bestowed upon us (1 John 3:1). → **amicus, amicitia, etc.** – Literature:

1948. Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain. iii, 412 pp. – See esp. the sections “*diligere, caritas* et leurs synonymes dans le latin classique” (pp.

30–42) and *"diligere, caritas et leurs synonymes dans le latin biblique"* (pp. 43–61). According to the author, it was only due to the theology of Augustine that by the end of the fourth century, *amor* had established itself as another word for Christian love (pp. 97–98). – Review: G. de Plinval, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 44 (1949) 592–595.

1988. Viktor Reichmann: *caritas*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Bern. Vol. 3 (310 pp.), pp. 249–261.

2023. Anna Kraml: *Liebe in der Vulgata*. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 53–54. The same volume also includes Kraml's article *"Vielfalt der caritas"* (pp. 101–103) and Benedict Collinet, *"Die geordnete Liebe (caritas ordinata) (Hld 2,4b)"* (pp. 56–57). On *caritas ordinata* see also F. Chatillon: *Au dossier de la caritas ordinata, Revue du moyen-âge latin* 4 (1948) 65–66.

causa – reason, profit [Ursache, Gewinn, Nutzen]. In the idiom *sine causa*, the word means "profit"; accordingly, *sine causa* = without profit, i.e., in vain; vergeblich; Blaise: en vain, pour rien. This idiom is frequently used, see Ps 73:13 (Vg 72:13); Matt 15:9; Gal 3:4. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 87–88.

1875. Rönsch, p. 306.

1904. Kaulen, p. 14.

1926. Plater/White, p. 54.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 61.

1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 140.

celte – ablative of *celtis*, chisel [Meißel]. While a word *celtis* (chisel) may actually exist in the Latin vocabulary, it is presumably safer to declare *celte* in Job 19:24 an error for *certe*. See below, Chapter 21, [textual note](#) on Job 19:24.

chaos – dark gulf? [dunkler Abgrund?]. Used only once in the Vulgate, in Luke 16:26 (Clementina, NVg), the Greek word seems to designate the "gulf" between two parts of the netherworld. The element of "darkness" is normally associated with the Greek word – therefore "dark gulf" in J.M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1921 (xv, 126 pp.), p. 18. But manuscript evidence and the Greek text of the passage suggest that one must read *chasma*, gulf (Weber/Gryson). See below, [textual note](#) on Luke 16:26 in Chapter 22.

civitas – city [Stadt]. (Cain) *aedificavit civitatem* – (Cain) built a city (Gen 4:17). In biblical Latin, *civitas* is the standard word for "city," and the English word actually derives from it. A fragment of the Roman writer Ennius explains the original difference between *urbs* and *civitas* as follows: *urbs est aedificia, civitas incolae* – *urbs* refers to the buildings, *civitas* to the inhabitants; see Gesine Manuwald (ed.): *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*. Vol II. Göttingen 2012, p. 260, no. 130. → **urbs**. – Literature:

1961. Paul Antin: *La ville chez saint Jérôme. Latomus* 20: 298–311, esp. 304.

1970. Zürcher, p. 82.

1992. Adolf Lumpe: *Civitas*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 4. Bern (348 pp.), pp. 55–68. Bibliographical list and survey.

clamare, clamor – to proclaim, to shout; call [verkünden, rufen; Rufen]. The words function in two semantic domains: prophecy and prayer: (1) In prophecy, *clamare* refers to prophetic proclamation, as in the well-known expression *vox clamantis in deserto* (Isa 40:3) – the voice of one crying

out in the desert. Here, as often, *clamare* means “parler de façon inspiré” (Meershoek, p. 142, where the author also lists ancient texts that use *clamare* for the proclamation of a philosophical message). – (2) When used in the context of prayer, *clamare* highlights the urgency of one’s request (Meershoek, pp. 140–156): *clamor meus ad te [Deus] veniat* (Ps 102:2, Vg 101:2) – let my cry come to thee (Douay Version); *misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamantem Abba Pater* (Gal 4:6) – he has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, (and the Spirit) cries – Abba, Father. It seems that there are no pagan parallels to this use of *clamare*.

clarificare – to glorify [verherrlichen]. (1) Frequently in John (John 12:28; 13:31, etc.). Jerome does not use the word; he prefers *glorificare*, but explains that in revising the Old Latin text of John, he did not wish to change what the ancient read, because the meaning was the same – *noluimus ergo immutare quod ab antiquis legebatur, quia idem sensus erat* (Letter 106, 30; CSEL 55: 262). – (2) In Acts 4:21, the verb means “to extol; preisen.” → **-ficare** – Literature: Rönsch, p. 175; Meershoek, pp. 108–111.

claritas – light, splendour [Licht, Glanz]. In the Old Testament, the word is used only in Tob 13:20 and Wisd 7:25 (i.e., Vetus Latina). The word is not used in Matthew and Mark, but used in Luke (2:9), John, Acts, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians and the book of Revelation. It seems that Jerome avoided it. – Literature:

1956. Antonius J. Vermeulen: *The Semantic Development of Gloria in Early Christian Latin*. Nijmegen (xxii, 236 pp.), pp. 24–25.

1966. Meershoek, p. 97: “Le silence de Jérôme sur *claritas* peut s’expliquer du fait que *claritas* se présente beaucoup moins dans les textes européens Si les philologues de nos jours peuvent constater qu’effectivement *maiestas* se présente plutôt dans les textes européens et *claritas* dans les textes africains, ce fait se trouve confirmé par les témoignages explicites de Jérôme et d’Augustin.” Unlike Jerome, Augustine did use the word *claritas*.

1992. Otto Hiltbrunner: *Claritas*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 4. Bern (348 pp.), pp. 69–72, esp. 72.

claudere – to shut [schließen]. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Aperire (abrir) y claudere (cerrar) en la Vulgata*. *Analecta Malacitana* 17.2 (1994) 249–270.

clementia – benignity, indulgence [Milde, Güte]. *breviter audias nos pro tua clementia* – listen to us briefly according to your benignity (Acts 24:4). *Clementia* is a typical attitude expected of Roman men in authority, e.g., an emperor or, as in the Acts passage, a Roman procurator. While the word is used only once in the New Testament (Acts 24:4), Jerome uses it several times in the Roman sense, ascribing it to a king (Prov 16:15; 20:28; Esth 4:11; 8:4; 13:2). The noun is used once in the Psalterium Pianum (Ps 143:11; Vg 142:11): *pro clementia tua educ de angustiis animam meam* – in thy mercy rescue me from my cruel affliction (Knox). A famous treatise about the subject is Seneca: *De clementia* (On Mercy, 55/56 CE), dedicated to emperor Nero. – Literature:

1957. Karl Winkler: *Clementia*. In: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Band 3. Stuttgart (1272 cols.), cols. 206–231.

1970. Traute Adam: *Clementia Principis. Der Einfluß hellenistischer Fürstenspiegel auf den Versuch einer rechtlichen Fundierung des Principats durch Seneca*. Stuttgart. 148 pp.

1992. Otto Hiltbrunner: *Clementia*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 4. Bern (348 pp.), pp. 92–106.

2023. Marcela Andoková – Jozef Tiño: *Gottes Gnade und Gerechtigkeit im lateinischen Psalter*. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium*

der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 331–357, at p. 351: "Warum verwendet Hieronymus das Adjektiv *clemens* (...)? Die Antwort könnte wieder in klassisch-lateinischen Texten gefunden werden, in denen *clemens* und *clementia* als positive Eigenschaften, ja als Tugenden (*virtutes*) des Menschen angesehen werden, während *misericors* und *misericordia* bei klassischen Autoren (besonders bei stoischen Philosophen) als negative Emotionen, ja als Laster (*vitia*) galten."

2023. Elisa Della Calce: "*Mos uetustissimus*" – *Tito Livio e la percezione della clemenza*. Berlin. 460 pp.

coenaculum/cenaculum. – dining room [Speisezimmer]. In the New Testament, *coenaculum* is used to translate *hyperôon*, "upper room" (Luke 22:12). Jerome uses it in his rendering of a Hebrew word that actually means "upper room," presumably to echo New Testament usage; see Judg 3:20; 2 Sam 19:1 (Vg 18:33), 1 Kgs 17:19, and often. → **triclinium** – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 118.

cogitare, cogitatio – to think, thought, to worry, worries [denken, Gedanke, sich Sorgen machen, Sorgen]. The semantic domain of worrying, echoing Greek *merimnáô*, surfaces in Wisd 8:9; Sir 31:1–2; Matt 6:27. Another meaning is "to plan," see 1 Sam 24:11; Judith 5:26.– Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 308, 352–353.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 15, 294.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 61.

1989. Scarpat I, pp. 418, 424–425, 454, 455–456, 464–465.

cognoscere – to know, to get acquainted with [wissen, jemanden kennenlernen]. The typically biblical meaning is that of "carnal knowledge," i.e., making love to someone: *Adam vero cognovit uxorem suam Hevam: quae concepit et peperit Cain* (Gen 4:1) – Adam knew Eve his wife who conceived and gave birth to Cain. See also Matt 1:25. Interestingly, Latin also occasionally uses *cognoscere* in the sense of having sexual relations: *Octavius Pontiam Postumiam stupro cogitam et nuptias suas abnuentem impotens amoris interfecerat* (Tacitus: *Histories* IV, 44) – Octavius had known Pontia Postumia through rape, and, as she refused to marry him, he murdered her in a fit of amatory passion. – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 186.

1966. Meershoek, pp. 127–132.

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris (326 pp.), pp. 35–53, esp. 43–44.

colaphizare – to buffet, to beat [schlagen, misshandeln]. Not a Latin word, *colaphizare* and the noun *colaphus* (blow, cuff; Schlag) echo Greek *kolaphizein*. For the verb, see 2 Cor 12:7, 1 Pet 2:20; noun, Matt 26:27, 1 Cor 4:11. – Kaulen, p. 223.

columba – dove [Taube]. The dove appears in both testaments. Today, we know that Jerome mistranslated certain expressions in the books of Jeremiah and Zephaniah by introducing *columba* for a word that actually means "destruction, destructive" (Jer 25:38; 46:16; 50:16, Zeph 3:1). – Literature:

1986. Michael Wissemann: Jona gleich Taube? Zu vier Vulgataproblemen. *Glotta* 64: 36–47.

2023. Bernhard Lang: "Taube" (*columba*) als Fehlübersetzung. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 96–97.

comedere – to eat [essen]. **(1)** In older Latin, *edere* means “to eat.” It has two lower-register synonyms: *comedere* (to eat up completely, manger entièrement, ganz aufessen) and *manducare* (“to chew,” the more vulgar word). Jerome uses mostly *comedere* (Gen 2:17; Deut 32:13, 38; Prov 6:8, etc.), rarely *edere*, in his original translations of the Old Testament; he had to adopt *manducare* in his revisions of the text of the Psalms and the New Testament because he had less scope for his own stylistic decisions. *comedere* is “das dem Hieronymus am meisten geläufige Wort für *essen*, das er nicht weniger als 512mal verwendet (in Tobias nur 4:17, fehlt in Judith), wogegen es in den übrigen Partien der Vulgata eine ziemlich bescheidene Rolle spielt” (Thielmann 1884, p. 352).– **(2)** In order to vary the word, Isa 7:22 uses both *comedere* and *manducare*; Matt 12:1–4 has *manducare* – *comedere* – *edere*. – **(3)** Derived nouns meaning “eater, glutton” are *comestor* (of which Wisd 12:5 is the first attestation in Latin) and *comessor* (Prov 28:7, Rönsch and Scarpata). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 55.

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Über die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachlichen Untersuchungen. *Philologus* 42.2: 319–378, at p. 352.

1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 40–41.

1967. Joseph Herman: *Le latin vulgaire*. Que sais-je? 1247. Paris (125 pp., pp. 102–103.

1996. Scarpata II, p. 541.

2005. Claude Moussy: Nouveaux préverbés en *com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (eds.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at p. 333.

2009. Helmut Lüdtke: *Der Ursprung der romanischen Sprachen. Eine Geschichte der sprachlichen Kommunikation*. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Kiel (xxii, 926 pp.), pp. 99 and 101–102. “(...) das volkstümliche, bei den Gebildeten verpönte *manducare*” (p. 102).

2015. Christa Gray: *Jerome, Vita Malchi. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford (xviii, 365 pp.), p. 45, note 165.

communis, communicare – common, held in common, to participate in; unclean, to defile [gemeinsam, teilnehmen an; unrein, verunreinigen]. **(1)** As far as the semantic domain of communication is concerned, there are passages where *communicare* means “to have fellowship with” – Sir 13:1, 2, 21; Kaulen, p. 177. – **(2)** The specific biblical meaning is that of defilement: *verbum communicat proprie scripturarum est et in publico sermone non teritur* – the expression “it defiles” is peculiar to the Scriptures, and not used in public speech (Jerome: *Commentary on Matthew*, PL 26: 106–107, on Matt 15:11). *commune aut immundum* (Acts 11:8) – common or unclean (Douay Version)/common, i.e., unclean, reflecting Greek *koinon ê akátharton*; hard to translate because the second word is meant to explain the first; accordingly, it would suffice to say: unclean. – Literature:

1948. Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain (iii, 412 pp.), pp. 267–269 on *communicare*.

1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), p. 104.

1966. Meershoek, pp. 117–126.

compati/conpati – to suffer with [mitleiden]. Verbum deponens. The verb may denote the solidarity in suffering – when one member of one’s body suffers, then the entire body suffers (1 Cor 12:26); when we suffer together with Christ, we will be resurrected together with him (Rom 8:17). In 1

Pet 3:8, believers are exhorted to be *compatientes* – compassionate. – Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain 1948 (iii, 412 pp.), pp. 341–348.

complacēre – to be acceptable to, to please [wohlgefällig sein, gefallen]. The verb is constructed either personally or impersonally. Personally, as in *complacuit sibi in illo anima mea* (Isa 42:1) – my soul finds pleasure in him, is pleased with him. Impersonally as in *in quo bene complacuit animae meae* (Matt 12:18) – *in whom there is a good pleasure for my soul*. For detailed studies, see Hagen, pp. 69–70; Rönsch, pp. 184–185; Kaulen, pp. 187, 204, 263.

complēre, implēre, explēre – to fulfil, to fill up [erfüllen, vollenden]. Typical idiomatic expressions are *impleti sunt dies ut pareret* (Luke 2:6) – fulfilled are the days so that she gave birth; *iam tempus expletum est* (Gen 29:21) – the time is now fulfilled. These verbs are used in an idiom that reflects the Hebrew notion of a cycle to be completed. Hagen, pp. 43–46; Kaulen, pp. 177, 236.

comprehendere – to take hold of, to overwhelm, to know, to understand [festhalten, wissen, verstehen]. **(1)** Intellectually: For “to know,” see 1 Cor 9:24; for “to understand,” John 1:5 (see the relevant [textual note](#) in Chapter **22**); Eph 3:18. – **(2)** Physically: The meaning “to overwhelm” applies in John 12:35, while in Acts 1:16, “to arrest” would be the proper translation. – Literature:

1921. John M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London. xi, 125 pp.22.

1934. Richards, p. 23.

con-, com- – with [mit]. Identical with the preposition *cum*, *con-* serves as a formative element, prefixed to nouns and verbs [Bildungselement am Anfang von Nomina und Verben]. – See below the textual notes (Chapters **21** and **22**) on Sir 37:4 and Phil 2:18. – Literature:

1891. Hermann Rönsch: *Zeitwörter mit cum zusammengesetzt*. In: idem: *Collectanea philologica*. Edited by Carl Wegener. Bremen (vi, 325 pp.), pp. 245–246.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 203–207. – A list of compound verbs with *con/com-*.

1932. Christine Mohrmann: *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin*. Teil 1. Nijmegen (270 pp.), pp. 96–99. Composite words with *con-/com-*, though often based on Greek words starting with *syn-*, are typically Christian words.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.). “*Syn* meaning ‘along with’ occurs in the Greek N.T. in composition with nouns, adjectives and verbs. The literal translation of such compounds leads to an extension of the Latin vocabulary. (...) The compound verbs become more frequent in the Epistles” (p. viii). In classical Latin, the semantic value of the prefix *con-* is different: it serves to strengthen the meaning of the word.

1948. Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain (iii, 412 pp.), p. 8: Some of the *con-* words reflect the Christian notion of community – “traduisent l’aspect communautaire essentiel au christianisme: par exemple le développement de *compati, compassio* [to suffer together, mitleiden] s’explique par le notion du corps mystique dans lequel tous les membres souffrent ensemble; si les chrétiens ont aimé à se donner le titre de *conservi* [fellow servants, Mitknechte], c’est parce qu’ils se savaient étroitement unis dans le service d’un même maître. Dans un cas comme celui-ci, ce sont bien les idées chrétiennes elles-mêmes qui ont entraîné la prédilection pour une certaine forme des mots.”

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 59. According to Albert Blaise, words prefixed with *con-* and *com-* are typically Christian, echoing a new

sense of community and fellowship (ein neues Gemeinschaftsbewusstsein): “Les composés avec le préfixe *cum* sont en grande faveur, soit pour renforcer le sens du mot simple, soit pour marquer d’une manière plus expressive l’union avec nos frères, avec leurs joies et leurs souffrances” (p. 59).

2005. Claude Moussy: Nouveaux préverbés en *com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (eds.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen 2005 (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336. Moussy lists many verbs and some nouns: *congaudēre* and *congratulari* – to rejoice together with, sich mitfreuen; *compatiri* – to suffer with, mitleiden; *condolēre* – to suffer with another, to have compassion, mitleiden, Mitleid empfinden; *collaborare* – to work together with, zusammenarbeiten; *conseruus* – fellow-servant, Mitknecht (Rev 19:10); *contribulis* – fellow-tribesman, Stammesgenosse (Lev 25:17).

2011. Claude Moussy: *La polysémie en latin*. Paris (320 pp.), pp. 189–205. On the various meanings of the prefix *con-/com-*.

concordia – unanimity [Eintracht]. Wisd 18:9; Sir 25:2; Job 25:2. It is interesting to see that this word, dear to Roman political sentiment, is almost absent from the Bible. One would expect it in Acts 1:14; 2:46 (which has *unanimiter*), but *concordia* is never used in the New Testament. – Literature:

1932. Eiliv Skard: *Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe: Euergetes – Concordia*. Oslo 1932. 106 pp.

1948. Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain (iii, 412 pp.), pp. 315–319; see also pp. 325–329 on *unanimiter*.

1967. Eiliv Skard: Concordia. In: Hans Oppermann (ed.): *Römische Wertbegriffe*. Darmstadt (xi, 552 pp.), pp. 173–208.

1992. Viktor Reichmann: Concordia. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 4. Bern (348 pp.), pp. 185–210.

concupiscere, concupiscentia – to desire, desire; concupiscence [begehren; das Begehren, die Lust]. *non concupisces uxorem proximi tui* – do not desire (or: lust for) the wife of your neighbour (Deut 5:21; cf. Exod 20:17); *ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit* – and from this (the beauty of women) lust is enkindled as a fire (Sir 9:9; Douay Version); *concupiscentia carnis (...) et concupiscentia oculorum* – concupiscence of the flesh (...) concupiscence of the eyes (1 John 2:16, Douay Version); *circa reliqua concupiscentiae* – the lusts after other things (Mark 4:19, Douay Version), promiscuous worldly desires (Richards, p. 24). – Literature:

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at p. 541. The author lists *concupiscere* and *concupiscentia* as a word that belongs to the specifically Christian vocabulary.

1934. Richards, p. 24.

1965. Walter Thiele: *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes*. Freiburg (245 pp.), pp. 24, 31 and 96.

1992. Otto Hiltbrunner: (1) *concupiscentia*; (2) *concupisco*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 4. Bern 1992 (348 pp.), pp. 215–218, 218–220.

condere, conditor, conditio – create, creator, creation [erschaffen, Schöpfer, Schöpfung]. The Vulgate Bible’s standard term for “to create” is *creare*, but some passages use *condere* (Col 1:16) and derivatives: *conditor* (only Hebr 11:10) and *conditio* (Ezek 28:15). *Condere* also functions in other

contexts, see, e.g., *condere leges* (Isa 10:1), "to legislate, to establish laws." – [first name not indicated] Köchling: Condo. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 4. Bern 1992 (348 pp.), pp. 220–226, esp. 225.

- confitēri, confessio** – to acknowledge, to confess, to praise; confession, praise [anerkennen, bekennen, preisen; Bekenntnis, Lobpreis]. This group of words has four meanings: **(1)** to acknowledge God or Christ (Rom 10:9); **(2)** to declare openly, offen erklären (Matt 7:23; John 1:20); **(3)** to confess one's sins, Sünden bekennen: *confiteor peccatum meum* – I acknowledge my sins (Gen 41:9); cf. 1 John 1:9; and **(4)** to praise God, Gott loben (Ps 33:2, Vg 32:2; Sir 17:25–27; Matt 11:25; Luke 2:38; 10:21, and frequently). The fourth meaning is the most characteristic Christian innovation. Jerome laconically explains that *confessio pro laude posita est* – *confessio* is put for praise (*Commentarioli in Psalmos* VI, CCSL 72: 187; cf. *Commentarioli in Psalmos* CXXXV, CCSL 72: 241). See also Jerome: *Commentary on Matthew* XI, 25: *confessio non semper paenitentiam, sed gratiarum actionem significat, ut in psalmis saepissime legimus* (CCSL 77: 85) – *confessio* does not always refer to penitence, but to thanksgiving, as we often read in the Psalms. – Literature:
1863. Hagen, p. 83.
1904. Kaulen, pp. 15, 178.
1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata übersetzt und nach dem Literalsinn erklärt*. 2., vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 15: in the Vulgate Bible, *confiteri* more often means "to praise" than "to acknowledge."
1939. Christine Mohrmann: *Altchristliches Latein*. *Aevum* 13: 339–354 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. Rome 1961 (xxiv, 468 pp.), pp. 3–19, at pp. 11–12: "Wenn (...) das bestehende Wort *confiteri* die Bedeutung 'den christlichen Glauben bekennen' erhielt, so haben wir es mit einem unmittelbaren (direkten) Christianismus zu tun."
1949. Hans Rheinfelder: *Confiteri, confessio, confessor* im Kirchenlatein und in den romanischen Sprachen. *Die Sprache* 1: 56–67.
1956. Christine Mohrmann: *Quelques traits caractéristiques du latin des chrétiens* (1956). In: eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. 2e édition. Rome 1961 (xxiv, 468 pp.), pp. 21–50, at pp. 30–33. "Pendant les premiers siècles l'idée de la confession de foi, plus tard celle de la confession des péchés était dominante. Le sens de 'louer Dieu' appartenait au latin biblique et n'a pas été usuel dans la langue courante."
1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 78–79.
1966. Meershoek, pp. 67–85.
1970. Zürcher, pp. 85–86.
1980. Ernesto Valgiglio: *Confessio nella Bibbia e nella letteratura cristiana antica*. Turin. 355 pp. – Review: J. den Boeft, *Vigiliae Christianae* 36 (1982) 191–193.
1992. Helmut Nowicki: *Confessio*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 4. Bern (348 pp.), pp. 226–232. In the same volume, by the same author: *Confiteor* (pp. 238–243). Page 230: "Im christlichen Latein (...) hat *confessio* drei Bedeutungsaspekte: 1. Bekenntnis des Glaubens, 2. Bekenntnis der Sünden, 3. Bekenntnis des Ruhmes Gottes bzw. Lobpreis (...); die beiden ersten Aspekte gehen auf Beeinflussung von griechisch *exhomológēsis* und *exagóreusis* zurück, die beide mit *confessio* wiedergegeben werden, der dritte Aspekt ergab sich aus der Wiedergabe der hebr. Verbalbildung *hōdāh*

'bekennen, preisen' durch griechisch *exhomologeitai*, das im biblischen Latein mit *confite-tur* übersetzt ist."

2019. Kevin Zilberberg: Cultic Verbs in Vetus Latina Daniel and in Jerome's Translation of the Greek Additions to Daniel. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59: 445–452. – Page 451: "Jerome (...) prefers *confiteor* over *exomologesin facio*, and repeats this choice for its many occurrences in Dan 3. In fact, *exomologesis*, a well-established word in Christian literary Latin by Jerome's time, makes no appearance in his translations and revisions that make up most of the Vulgate. Again, this must be due in part to the growth and the growing confidence of the Latin church, which would have included many faithful ignorant of Greek. Indeed, from the 5th century onward *exomologesi* is less frequently attested in Christian writings."

conflatile → **idolum**

congratulari – to join in rejoicing ("to co-rejoice") [sich mitfreuen]. 2 Sam 8:10; Luke 1.58; 15:6; Phil 2:17–18. *ut saluaret eum congratulans* – to greet him as one who shares his joy (1 Sam 8:10). *vos gaudete et congratulamini mihi* – rejoice and rejoice with me (Phil 2:18; not: beglückwünscht mich, as in Tusculum-Vulgata). The synonymous *congaudere* is used 1 Cor 12:26; 13:6. Cf. Livy: *Ab urbe condita* III, 54,7: *congratulantur libertatem concordiamque civitatem restitutum* – together, they rejoice in the community's restored liberty and concord. → **gratulari** – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 355.

2005. Claude Moussy: Nouveaux préverbés en *com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (eds.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at p. 329: "*Congrator*, forme ancienne attesté depuis Plaute, a d'abord signifié 'féliciter', mais chez les écrivains chrétiens, depuis la Vetus Latina, le préverbé est devenu synonyme de *congaudeo* et de *collaetor*."

congregare – to gather, to have pity on someone [versammeln, Mitleid haben mit jemandem]. The verb has two meanings: **(1)** passive voice: to be gathered (Gen 25:8; 49:29); – **(2)** active voice: to have pity on someone or something, to comfort (Jes 54:7; Sir 30:24). – Claude Moussy: Nouveaux préverbés en *com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (eds.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen 2005 (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at p. 334.

conscientia – conscience [Gewissen]. In the Old Testament only Gen 43:22; Prov 12:18; Koh 7:23; Wisd 17:10 (*perturbata conscientia* – a troubled conscience); Sir 13:30; but very often in the New Testament, esp. in the Pauline letters: Rom 2:15; 1 Cor 8:7; 2 Cor 1:12; 1 Tim 3:9; Tit 1:15; 1 Pet 2:19; 3:16, etc. – *opus legis scriptum est in cordibus suis, testimonium reddente illis conscientia ipsorum* – the works of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness to them (Rom 2:15, Douay Version). New Testament scholars debate whether Paul's notion of conscience (*syn-aidêsis*) echoes Stoic and Roman philosophy – Paul, writing in Greek, but thinking like a Roman. – Literature:

1922. Joseph Hebing: Über *conscientia* und *conservatio* in philosophischem Sinne von Cicero bis Hieronymus. *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 33: 136–152, 215–231, 298–326. – In the scholarly debate about the historical origins of the notion of conscience, Cicero plays an important role; Hebing comments on the relevant passages of Cicero's forensic speeches on pp. 217–221.

1955. Gunnar Rudberg: Cicero und das Gewissen. *Symbolae Osloenses* 31.1: 96–104.

1969. Peter W. Schönlein: Zur Entstehung eines Gewissensbegriffs bei Griechen und Römern. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* NF 112.4: 289–305. – The notion of “conscience,” so important for ethical discourse, is a genuinely Roman invention, and has its original setting in forensic rhetoric.
1992. Helmut Nowicki: *Conscientia*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 4. Bern (348 pp.), pp. 243–250. More than 50 articles and books on *conscientia* are listed (years 1863 to 1989), followed by a brief survey in which Cicero and Seneca figure prominently. “Im biblischen Latein ist *conscientia* subjektive Grundlage, nicht aber Triebfeder sittlichen Handelns” (p. 249).
2003. Philip Bosman: *Conscience in Philo and Paul. A Conceptual History of the Synoida Group*. Tübingen 2003 (x, 318 pp.), pp. 71–75: *conscientia*. Bosman is critical of the account of Schönlein (1969), arguing that “it has to be accepted that either the words [Greek *syn- eidêsis*, Latin *conscientia*] developed independently or that the Romans borrowed their word from the Greeks” (p. 75).
2008. Marleen Verschoren: *Lex in cordibus scripta and conscientia (Romans 2:15)*. *Augustiniana* 58.2: 75–93.
2014. Richard Sorabji: *Moral Conscience through the Ages: Fifth Century BCE to the Present*. Chicago. 265 pp. – Traces the notion to ancient Greek dramatists.
2023. Atilla Németh: The Metaphors of *conscientia* in Seneca’s Epistles. *Mnemosyne* 76.2: 258–286.

consummare – to finish, to complete [vollbringen, vollenden]. This is the most common meaning, as in *consummatum est* (John 19:30) – it is finished, es ist vollbracht. There are several other meanings: **(1)** to spend, to waste (money); verbrauchen, verschwenden; dépenser (Luke 15:14); **(2)** to destroy; vernichten; anéantir (Ps 119:87, Vg 118:87). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 355–356.

1904. Kaulen, p. 235.

2005. Claude Moussy: Nouveaux préverbés en *com-* dans la *Vetus Latina* et dans la *Vulgate*. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (eds.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at pp. 334–335.

contumelia – insult, abuse, reproach, dishonour [Beleidigung, Misshandlung, Tadel, Unehre]. *facere vas in contumeliam* (Rom 9:21) – façonner une vase destiné à des usages vils (Blaise); *contumelias affectos occiderunt* (Matt 22:6) – killed those that were abused (Richards: *contumeliā* [ablative] *afficere* = “almost to scourge”). – Literature:

1934. Richards, p. 28.

1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 218.

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris (326 pp.), pp. 54–60 (without reference to the Bible).

convallis – valley [Tal]. A variant of *vallis*. Jos 15:8; Cant 2:1; Ps 104:10 (Vg 103:10); Ezek 31:12. Jerome seems to use the word occasionally in the form *convalle*, see Siegfried Reiter: Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Hieronymus. *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 39, no. 28 (1919) 666–671, at col. 667.

conversatio, conversari – conduct, manner of living, social contact [Verhalten, Lebensweise, sozialer Umgang]. One of the typical Vulgate words. **(1)** manner of living: *date ex vobis viros sapientes et gnaros, et quorum conversation sit probata* (Deut 1:13) – give me from among you wise men whose manner of life is approved; *deponere vos secundum pristinam conversationem veterem hominem* (Eph 4:22) – to put off the old man (shaped) according to the former way of life; *nostra autem conversatio in caelis est* (Phil 3:20) – our way of life is in heaven. – **(2)** social contact: *dii quorum non est cum hominibus conversatio* (Dan 2:11) – the gods whose conversation is not with men (Douay Version); the gods who do not associate with men; *qui adeptus est gloriam in conversatione gentis* (Sir 50:5) – he obtained glory in his conversation with the people (Douay Version); who obtains honour through his dealings with the people (problematic is the translation of Tusculum-Vulgata: er hat Ruhm erlangt durch den Lebenswandel des Volkes). – **(3)** In Sir 18:21.24, however, *conversatio* means “change” (= *conversio*); Blaise: *Dictionnaire*. – **(4)** In Sir 38:14, read *conservationem*; see textual note, Chapter **21**. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 310, 356.

1904. Kaulen, p. 16 (read Eccli instead of “Pred”).

1934. Richards, p. 29. – Two special meanings: “community” (Eph 2:12) and “citizenship” (Phil 3:20 – *nostra autem conversatio in caelis est*).

1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 219.

1964. H. Hoppenbrouwer OSB: *Conversatio. Une étude sémasiologique*. In: A.J. Vermeulen et al.: *Le développement sémasiologique d'épipháneia* [and further studies]. Nijmegen 1964 (144 pp.), pp. 45–95.

convertere, conversus – to turn, to be turned; again [wenden, gewendet; wieder, abermals]. „Again“: this special use of *convertere* (to turn) and *conversus* is based on an idiomatic use of the Hebrew verb *šūb* – “to do something yet again.” Examples: **(1)** *conversusque fecit illud vas alterum* – and turning he made another vessel (Douay Version), i.e., he made again another vessel (Jer 18:4). – **(2)** *Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos* – God, you will make us alive again (Ps 85:7, Vg 84:7; see also Ps 71:20–21, Vg 70:20–21). – **(3)** *non convertar ut disperdam Ephraim* – I will not return to destroy Ephraim (Douay Version), i.e. I will not again destroy Ephraim. – **(4)** *sic conversus cogitavi* – so turning again I have thought (Douay Version); i.e., so again I have thought (Zech 8:15). – **(5)** *et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos* – and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren (Douay Version). This standard translation is to be corrected: and you (Peter) strengthen again your brothers (Luke 22:32). – **(6)** *nisi conversi fueritis ut efficiamini sicut parvuli* – unless you become like children again (Matt 18:3). – **(7)** *convertit autem Deus et tradidit eos servire militiae caeli* – but God had them serve again the host of heaven (Acts 7:42). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 20–21.

1868. Gerhard Schneemann: Versuch einer Exegese von Luc. 22,32. *Der Katholik* 48.1: 404–428, esp. p. 409.

1904. Kaulen, p. 236.

1953. Edmund F. Sutcliffe SJ: “Et tu aliquando conversus,” St Luke 22,32. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 15: 305–310

2001. See also Hebrew dictionaries s.v. *shub*, such as Ludwig Koehler – Walter Baumgartner: *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated by M.E.J. Richardson. Volume II. Leiden 2001 (xiv, pp. 907–2094), p. 1430.

cor – heart [Herz]. In biblical language, the heart often stands for “mind” and “intelligence,” see the phrase *propter cordis inopiam* (Prov 6:32) – because of the poverty of his mind. Two idioms are of interest: **(1)** *loqui ad cor. et loquar ad cor eius* (Hos 2:14) – and I will speak to her heart (words of love). While this expression does not sound strange to the modern ear, Jerome thought of it as a difficult biblical idiom; in two passages, where it could appear – Gen 34:3; 50:21 – he resorts to paraphrase that omits the word *cor*. Interestingly, the Nova Vulgata retains Jerome’s paraphrase in Gen 50:21, but in Gen 34:3, it offers a literal rendering: *locutus est ad cor eius* – he spoke to her heart. – **(2)** The idiom *dicere/loqui in corde suo* – to say in one’s heart – means “to think”; Ps 14:1 (Vg 13:1: *dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est Deus* – the fool hath said in his heart: there is no God; Douay Version); Koh 2:1; 4 Ezra 9:38. – Literature:

1926. Plater/White, p. 15. On the semantic range of *cor*.

1951. H. Flasche: El concepto del “cor” en la Vulgata. *Estudios bíblicos* 10: 5–49.

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 223.

1966. Meershoek, pp. 166–176.

1969. Bengt Löfstedt, *Gnomon* 41: 362–365 (German). Meershoek exaggerates the difference between biblical and non-biblical uses of the word *cor*, heart (p. 365).

creatura – creation, creature [Schöpfung, Geschöpf]. *praedicate evangelium omni creaturae* – preach the gospel to all creatures, i.e., to all human beings (Mark 16:15). Rendering Greek *ktísis* (creation) and *ktísma* (creature) and unknown in classical Latin, this noun came to be an often-used Christian word. Since *creare* in classical Latin means “to endow with growth” (Wachstum schenken), it was not a natural choice (Bastiaensen). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 41.

1904. Kaulen, p. 92.

1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), p. 61.

2006. Antoon A.R. Bastiaensen: Wortgeschichte im altchristlichen Latein: *creatura* und *genimen*. In: André P.M.H. Lardinois et al. (eds.): *Land of Dreams. Greek and Latin Studies in Honour of A.H.M. Kessels*. Leiden (xxiv, 414 pp.), pp. 339–354.

credere – to believe, to trust [glauben, vertrauen]. **(1)** Secular: *credidit ergo Achis David* – Achis believed (or trusted) David (1 Sam 27:12); *innocens credit omne verbo* – the innocent believes (or trusts) every word (Prov 14:15). In both examples, *credere* is followed by the dative case. – **(2)** Religion. While faith is → **fides**, the corresponding verb is *credere* which became a technical term, not necessarily followed by an object. Examples of the absolute use: *multi autem eorum qui audierunt verbum crediderunt* – many of those who heard the word believed (Acts 4:4); *omnis qui credit* – everyone who believes (Acts 13:39); *credentes* – believers (Acts 4:32); *si credis ex toto corde* – if you believe with all your heart (Acts 8:37). – **(3)** The usual sentence constructions are as follows: **(a)** *credere* + dative: *credidit Abram Deo* – Abram believed God (Gen 15:6); **(b)** *credere* + in + acc.: *crede in Dominum Iesum* – believe in the Lord Jesus (Acts 16:31); *non credebant in eum* – they did not believe in him (John 12:37); **(c)** *credere* + in + ablative: *crediderunt multi in Domino* – many believed in the Lord (Acts 9:42); **(d)** *credere* + acc. and infinitive (Acl): *credo filium Dei esse Iesum Christum* – I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God (Acts 8:37). The Acl variety can also be found in classical Latin, see *redisse primo legiones credunt* – at first, they supposed (historic present tense) that the legions had returned (Caesar: *De bello Gallico* VI, 39). – Kaulen, p. 264; Zürcher, p. 104.

cubiculum – bedroom [Schlafzimmer]. Ezek 8:12 and many times. For a list and discussion of all references, see M. Manuela Gächter OP: [Cellar or Bedroom? Observations on Song 1,3 Vulg \(1,4\). *Vulgata in Dialogue* 3 \(2019\) 47–58 \(online journal\).](#)

cubitus – forearm, cubit [Unterarm, Elle]. A masculine word. Jerome explains that whenever the cubit is meant, the word should be *cubitum*; but in his translation, he would follow the vulgar usage – *cubitus* for both forearm and cubit (*Commentary on Ezekiel*; CCSL 75: 561–562). – Literature:

1966. Meershoek, pp. 62–63.

2015. Christa Gray: *Jerome, Vita Malchi. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford (xviii, 365 pp.), p. 44.

2023. Kevin Zilverberg: Von der Vetus Latina zu den Übersetzungen des Hieronymus. Kontinuität und Wandel im Sprachlichen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 87–108, at p. 97.

custodire – to guard, to preserve [bewachen, bewahren]. – Cristóbal Macías Villalobos: *Custodire y su familia de palabras en la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 19 (1996) 395–418.*

cutis – skin [Haut]. Examples: let hunger devour the beauty of his skin (*pulchritudinem cutis eius*, Job 18:13); the skin of the head with hair (*cutis capitis cum capillis*, 2 Macc 7:7). For literature, see → **pellis**.

D

datum, data (plur) – gift, gifts [Gabe, Gaben]. Classical Latin would generally use *dona* rather than *data*. Sir 4:3 (and often); Matt 7:11; Luke 11:13; Jam 1:17. In the expression *secundum datum suum* – according to his gift (Sir 1:10; meant is: because of his gift), the translator may have thought of → **datus**.

datus, -ūs – gift [Gabe]. A rare word, in the Vulgate only in Sir 7:37; 18:18. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 89.

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 1: 68–81, at p. 74.

1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 238.

de – from, of [von]. Preposition. Special uses: **(1)** partitive preposition, as in Acts 2:17: *effundam de spiritu meo* – I will pour out of my spirit (Douay Version); ich will von meinem Geist ausgießen (Allioli, Grundl, Arndt); je répandrai de mon Esprit (Glaire). A better translation would be: I will pour out my spirit, because the partitive particle *de* corresponds to the partitive particle in modern French which has no equivalent in English and German. Further examples: *quidem de filiis Levi sacerdotium accipientes* (Hebr 7:5) – those of the sons of Levi, having received the priesthood = the Levites, having received the priesthood; *sapiens de architectis* (Isa 3:3) – a sage from the architects = a wise master builder; *dabitur ei de auro Arabiae* (Ps 72:15; Vg. 71:15) – gold of Arabia will be given to him. – **(2)** concerning. *de bono opere non lapidamus te* (John 10:33) – concerning good works we do not stone you; though one may also translate “it is not because of good works that we are stoning you.” *indignati sunt de duobus fratribus* (Matt 20:24) – indignant at the two brothers. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 392–396.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 238–239.

1921. Anne-Marie Guillemin: *La préposition 'de' dans la littérature latine et en particulier dans la poésie latine du Lucrèce à Ausone*. Chalon-sur-Saône. viii, 134 pp. – Not specifically on late Latin.

1926. Plater/White, pp. 99–100.

dea – goddess [Göttin]. Used only once in the Old Testament and once in the New Testament: Solomon worships Astharte, the goddess (*dea*) of the Sidonians (1 Kgs 11:5,33), and saint Paul is not guilty of “blasphemy against your goddess (*dea*),” i.e., against Diana of Ephesus.

devotus, devovēre – devote, pious; to vow [fromm, hingebungsvoll; weihen]. Examples: **(1)** *mente devota* (Exod 35:21, 29; 2 Chr 29:31) – with a devout mind (Douay Version), mit opferwilligem Herzen (Arndt), mit hingebungsvollem Sinn (Tusculum-Vulgata). – **(2)** *iuxta quod mente devoverat, ita faciet ad perfectionem sanctificationis suae* (Num 6:21) – according to that which he had vowed in his mind, so shall he do for the fulfilling of his sanctification (Douay Version). – **(3)** *devoverunt se dicentes* (Acts 23:12) – they vowed by saying (...). Note that *devotio* – used only Acts 23:14 – means “cursing, curse,” like *devotatio* (1 Kgs 8:38). – Literature:

1957. Jean Chatillon: *Devotio*. In: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. Tome 3. Paris (1884 cols.), cols. 703–710, esp. cols. 705–706. Chatillon separates the use of *devovēre* etc. in Acts 23 from the other occurrences, because in Acts, meant is not just a vow or promise (as a superficial reading would suggest), but something more powerful; see the Douay version’s “they bound themselves under a curse” (to kill the apostle Paul). The other occurrences of this terminology represents a semantic development toward designating an interior act of piety, a development that later came to be characteristic of Christian Latin.

diaconus, diaco(n) – deacon [Diakon]. The two Latin equivalents for saying “deacon” (echoing Greek *diakôn*) are mixed in the New Testament; see the textual notes (Chapter 22) on Philippians 1:1 and 1 Timothy 3:8.12. – Literature:

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, has two separate entries – *diacon* and *diaconus*.

1970. Zürcher, p. 116.

dicere – to say [sagen]. **(1)** The verb is either followed by the dative (*dicere alicui*, as in classical Latin) or by the preposition *ad* – *dicere ad aliquem*. Examples: *dixitque ad eos* (Gen 37:6) – and he said to them; *ego autem dico vobis* (Matt 5:28) – but I say to you. Cf. Adams/de Melo. – **(2)** When it comes to translating *dicere*, one has to be flexible; one example: *ego dixi, Domine, miserere* (...) (Ps 41:5; Vg 40:5) – I said, o Lord, be merciful on me, or: I asked, o Lord, (...). Sometimes, the best translation may be “to think” (Sir 31:13); in this case, *dicere* means almost the same thing as *dicere in corde* – so say in one’s heart, i.e., to think secretly (Ps 4:5; 53:1 [Vg 52:1]). – **(3)** *tu dicis, tu dixisti* (Matt 26:25) – you said (it), yes. – **(4)** *tibi dico* – I say to you (Luke 7:14), the formula of persuasion (Überredungsformel, Hofmann 1936, p. 125). – **(5)** *ut ita dicam* – so to speak, sozusagen: a rhetorical flourish, used in 1 Sam 20:3 (see the textual note on this passage, below Chapter 21). – **(6)** *dicens* is sometimes treated as indeclinable; example: *vidi alterum angelum* (...) *dicens magna voce* – I saw another angel (...) who said with a mighty voice (Rev 14:6–7; instead of: *dicentem*); Plater/White, p. 19 (§ 19). – See also → **ait vs. dixit** → **inquit**. – Literature:

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. 2. Auflage. Freiburg (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 10: “*dicere in corde* oder auch bloß *dicere*, nach der Anschauung der Hebräer denken.” Ps 4:5 *quae dicitis in corde vestris* – was ihr [in eurem Herzen] denket (p. 8).

1911. Vincenzo Ussani: Un preteso uso della Vulgata. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 39: 550–557. – Ussani is critical of Kaulen (p. 224, no. 108) who argues that *dicit* and *appellavit* occasionally stand for *dicitur* and *appellatur*. The relevant passages are Gen 16:14; Isa 15:5; and Ps 87:5 (Vg 86:5).
1936. J.B. Hofmann: Lateinische Umgangssprache. Zweite, durch Nachträge vermehrte Auflage. Heidelberg (xvi, 252 pp.), p. 125.
1966. Paul Antin OSB: *Ut ita dicam* chez Saint Jérôme. *Latomus* 25: 299–304. – For an occurrence, see 1 Sam 20:3: *ut ita dicam* – as I may say.
2012. Roman Müller: *Sit autem sermo vester est est non non*: Klassisches und nichtklassisches “Ja.” In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon (1085 pp.), pp. 111–120.
2016. John Adams – Wolfgang de Melo: *Ad* versus the Dative: from Early to Late Latin. In: J.N. Adams – Nigel Vincent (eds.): *Early and Late Latin: Continuity or Change?* Cambridge (xx, 470 pp.), pp. 87–131.
- dies** – day [Tag]. Among special expressions, note *antiquus dierum* – the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:9, a name of God, Kaulen, p. 254: ein Hochbetagter). Olegario García de la Fuente: Significados y simbolismo de “dies” (dia) en la Vulgata. In: Luis Gil Fernández (ed.): *Corolla Complutensis. In memoriam Josephi S. Lasso de la Vega*. Madrid 1998 (787 pp.), pp. 539–548.
- diffamare** – to spread abroad, to slander [verbreiten, verleumden]. Literally, to spread the *fama* = rumour, news; Gerücht, Kunde. The positive or neutral meaning is the more frequent one (Matt 9:31; Mark 1:45; 1 Thess 1:8). The negative meaning is used Wisd 2:12 and Luke 16:1. – Hagen, p. 80; Kaulen, p. 208; Richards, p. 36 (who has “to accuse” for Luke 16:1, in accordance with the Douay Version).
- dignari** – to grant [geruhen]. This deponens is difficult to translate. It is a word of elevated speech and politeness: someone eminent such as God or a nobleman does not simply act, but he “deigns to act,” er geruht zu handeln. The idiom indicates that the eminent person acts freely, not being forced by anyone, even when asked by someone to act. Examples: **(1)** *sicut castra Aegyptorum videre dignatus es* (Judith 9:6) – as thou (God) wast pleased to look upon the camp of the Egyptians (Douay Version); as thou didst let them (your eyes) fall long ago on the Egyptians (Knox; very free, *dignatus es* remains untranslated); wie du damals geruht hast, das Lager der Ägypter zu betrachten (Tusculum-Vulgata). – **(2)** *et nosse me dignareris peregrinam mulierem* (Ruth 2:10) – and that thou shouldst vouchsafe to take notice of me a woman of a foreign country (Douay Version); why wouldst thou take notice of an alien woman such as I am? (Knox); und mich, eine fremde Frau, zu erkennen gewürdigt hast? (Tusculum-Vulgata). Also note that the two cases are dissimilar in that the act of the eminent person is inimical in example (1), and friendly in example (2). – Of *dignari* the Antibarbarus states: “Im christlichen Latin ist es sehr beliebt”; Johann Philipp Krebs – Joseph Hermann Schmalz: *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. Siebente Auflage. Erster Band. Basel 1905 (viii, 811 pp.), p. 447.
- diligere, dilectio** – to love, love [lieben, Liebe]. *fortis est ut mors dilectio* – strong as death is love (Cant 8:6). – Anna Kraml: Liebe in der Vulgata. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 53–54.
- dimittere**. – to send away, to forgive, to allow, to leave behind [entlassen, (Schulden) erlassen, erlauben, hinterlassen]. The most famous passages are **(1)** *dimitte nobis debita nostra* (Matt 6:12) – relieve/cancel our debts; forgive us our debts (Douay Version); erlass uns die Schulden; remettez-nous nos dettes (Glaire); **(2)** *quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam* (Matt 19:9 – whoever sends

away (i.e., divorces) his wife. The complete range of meanings is explained and documented by Hagen, pp. 68–69; Kaulen, pp. 178–179.

disciplina – knowledge, instruction; chastisement [Wissen, Unterweisung, Züchtigung]. **(1)** knowledge, instruction. *educate illos in disciplina et correptione Domini* (Eph 6:4) – bring them up in the teaching and correction of the Lord; see below, textual note on Eph 6:4 (Chapter **22**). – **(2)** chastisement: *virga disciplinae* (Prov 22:15; cf. Sir 33:25) – rod of correction, Zuchtrute; *recipere disciplinam* (Lev 26:23) – to amend, sich bessern; see esp. Hebr 12:5–11. – Literature:

1989. Scarpat I, p. 414.

2002. Rainer Berndt: *Scientia und disciplina in der lateinischen Bibel und in der Exegese des hohen Mittelalters*. In: idem – Matthias Lutz-Bachmann et al. (ed.): *“Scientia” und “disciplina.” Wissenschaftstheorie und Wissenschaftspraxis im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*. Berlin (294 pp.), pp. 9–36.

discolus → **dyscolus**

docibilis – instructed, taught (and not “docile”) [unterrichtet, belehrt, aber nicht “gelehrig”]. *erunt omnes docibiles Dei* (John 6:45) – they shall all be taught by God. This meaning is far away from the semantic range of standard Latin, where *docilis* refers to the one who learns easily, and *docibilis* simply does not exist in the vocabulary, as has been observed by Erasmus. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 110.

2003. *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami*. Amsterdam. Vol. 6.6, p. 92: *docilis autem est is qui facile discit. ‘Docibilis’ vox est Latinis auribus inaudita*.

doctrina – teaching, knowledge, wisdom [Lehre, Wissen, Weisheit]. The contents of the book of Sirach is called *doctrina sapientiae et disciplinae* – the teaching of wisdom and instruction (Sir 50:29). At the end of the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew states: *cum consumasset Iesus verba haec, admirabatur turba super doctrina eius* (Matt 7:28) – when Jesus had fully ended these words, the people were in admiration of his doctrine (or teaching); the Douay Version has “doctrine,” Knox has “teaching.” The teaching of the apostles is called *doctrina apostolorum* (Acts 2:42). – Darius Alekna: *Doctrina dans la Bible latine et le De doctrine christiana d’Augustin*. *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 65 (2018) 315–333.

doma – house, roof [Haus, Dach]. Prov 21:9; 25:24; Neh 8:17; Jer 19:13. This is a Greek loanword (*dōma*). Jerome thinks of the typically oriental house with a flat top (*Letter* 106, 63; CSEL 55: 278). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 241–242.

1966. Meershoek, pp. 221–233. Note that Meershoek insists, against Blaise, that *doma* is never used in the *Vetus Latina*.

dominari – to rule, to have dominion over [herrschen über]. Verbum deponens, followed by dative, genitive, or accusative; also by the prepositions *super* (+ accusative) and *in* (+ accusative or ablative). An example with dative: *tu dominaris potestati maris* (Ps 89:10, Vg 88:10) – you have dominion over the power of the sea; du herrschst über die Gewalt des Meeres. Example with *in*: *superbiam nunquam in tuo sensu (...) dominari permittas* – never allow pride to rule over your mind (Tobit 4:14). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 91–92.

1875. Rönsch, p. 438. Examples of *dominari* + genitive.

1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer (64 pp.), pp. 12–13. The most detailed discussion.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 264–265. Refers only to *dominari* followed by genitive.

1926. Plater/White, p. 36–37 (§ 47). Followed by genitive like Greek κυριεύειν.

domus, fem. – house [Haus]. **(1)** The word can also mean “family” (Jer 31:31; Luke 1:27) and “household” (Acts 16:15; esp. Phil 4:22 – *qui de Caesaris domo sunt*, i.e., who are members of Nero’s household; see the textual note in Chapter **19.2**). – **(2)** *domūs viduarum* – the houses of the widows (Matt 23:14; Luke 20:47) = the property of the widows; das Vermögen der Witwen. – **(3)** *domi*, in classical Latin, means “at home”; in Tobit 2:20, it stands for *domum* = to the home. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 94.

1904. Kaulen, p. 18.

1934. Richards, p. 39.

2004. Bernhard Linke: Domus. In: Hubert Cancik et al. (eds.): *Brill’s New Pauly. Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Volume 4. Leiden (xviii pp., 1202 cols.), cols. 651–652.

2013. Michael J. Mordine: Domus Neroniana: The Imperial Household in the Age of Nero. In: Emma Buckley et al. (eds.): *A Companion to the Neronian Age*. Chichester (xvi, 486 pp.), pp. 102–117. – The imperial household (*domus*) was a physical space, a patrilineal social unit, a political apparatus, and a component in the imperial ideology of power. Also note that later, in the 2nd century CE, the *domus Caesaris* came to be called *aula Caesaris*, the imperial “court.” Aloys Winterling: *Aula Caesaris. Studien zur Institutionalisierung des römischen Kaiserhofes in der Zeit von Augustus bis Commodus (31 v. Chr. – 192 n. Chr.)*. Munich 1999. x, 285 pp.

dulcis, dulcedo – sweet, sweetness [süß, Süße]. Often applied to God: Ps 31:20 (Vg 30:20); 1 Pet 2:3, etc. *suavis* (sweet) can be used synonymously: *o quam bonus et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus* – o how good and sweet is thy spirit, O Lord, in all things (Wisd 12:1, Douay Version).

1937. Joseph Ziegler: *Dulcedo Dei. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der griechischen und lateinischen Bibel*. Münster 1937. viii, 107 pp.

1957. Jean Chatillon: *Dulcedo, dulcedo Dei. Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. Tome 3. Paris (1884 cols.), cols. 1777–1795, esp. cols. 1781–1783: Les versions latines de l’Écriture.

1985. Paul Maiberger: Zur “dulcedo dei” im Alten Testament. *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 94.2: 143–157; also published under the same title in *Analecta cracoviensia* 18 (1986) 167–184. – Some of Ziegler’s suggestions are not well-founded. The sweetness of God has more background in the pre-Vulgate biblical text than assumed by Ziegler.

duo – two [zwei]. Olegario García de la Fuente: Significados y simbolismo de *duo* (dos) y sus derivados en la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 20.1 (1997) 5–22.

dyscolus – perverse, deformed [missgestimmt]. The Weber/Gryson edition spells *discolus*. Used only once in the Vulgate Bible, in 1 Pet 2:18, where it characterizes a slave’s master who is unkind and unfriendly rather than gentle. J.M. Harden (*Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London. 1921 [xi, 125 pp.], p. 37) and Richards (p. 40) suggest “peevish, irritable.” In classical Greek, the noun *dyskolos* is a well-known word for the unfriendly person; a fourth-century BCE Greek char-

acter comedy by Menander, entitled *Dyskolos*, has received the English title of *The Grouch*, in German *Der alte Griesgram*.

E

ecce – behold! [siehe!]. Presentative particle, generally placed at the beginning of a sentence, implying a gesture of presentation or indicating surprise or suddenness. – **(1)** In direct speech, *ecce* is often the first word: *Si ergo dixerint vobis: Ecce in deserto est, nolite exire* (Matt 24:26) – if they will say to you: Behold, he is in the desert, do not go out. See also the verbal exchange in 1 Sam 9:6–8. In John 19:26 (*ecce filius tuus* – here is your son, or: this is your son) it has deictic function.– **(2)** In the form *et ecce*, it points to a new element of a story (Gen 25:24; 34:25; Matt 28:9; Luke 1:20, 36; 2:25) or, in direct speech, a new statement (Matt 28:20). – **(3)** *ecce* figures prominently in reports on visions, see Ezek 8:2; Zech 1:18; 2:1; 5:1; 6:1. – Literature:

1893. Albrecht Köhler: Zur Etymologie und Syntax von *ecce* und *em*. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 221–234.

1926. Plater/White, p. 80 (§ 108).

1939. Martin Johannesson: Das biblische *kai idou* in der Erzählung samt seiner hebräischen Vorlage. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 66.3–4: 145–195

1954. Martin Johannesson: *Et ecce* und sein Ersatz in der Vulgata. *Glotta* 33: 125–156.

1971. D. Vetter: *hinnē* siehe. In: Ernst Jenni – Claus Westermann (eds.): *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Band I. Munich (xli pp., 942 cols.), cols. 504–507. – English: *hinnēh* behold; in: Jenni – Westermann (eds.): *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Volume 1. Peabody. Mass. 1997 (lii, 448 pp.), pp. 379–380. – This is a dictionary entry on the Hebrew presentative adverb *hinnē* with statistics on its occurrence in Old Testament books; it is most frequently used in Jeremiah, Genesis, and Ezekiel. – Jerome's rendering is *ecce*.

2020. Camilo Andrés Bonilla Carvajal: The Syntax of the Latin Presentative Adverb *ecce*. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 19.1: 27–57.

2023. Ruth Montreal: *Aeneas als Held und Erzähler. Zur narrativen Gestaltung von Vergils Aeneis*. Göttingen (423 pp.), pp. 137–145: Zur narrativen Funktion von *ecce*.

ecclesia – assembly, church [Versammlung]. Transcribing Greek *ekklêsía*, this word is used in both Testaments. *Ecclesia sanctorum* – the assembly of the saints (the pious) – Ps 89:6 (Vg 88:6); *super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam* – upon this rock I will build my church (Matt 16:18; metaphorically, the *ecclesia* is seen as a building). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 320: lists some early patristic evidence for *ecclesia* = church building.

1904. Kaulen, p. 103.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 119–120.

1989. Israel Peri: *Ecclesia und Synagoga in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments*. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 33: 245–251.

edere – to eat [essen]. → **comedere**

eius, eorum, earum – of him, of them [von ihm, von ihnen]. **(1)** These genitive singular and plural forms are often used instead of the possessive pronoun *suus, sua, suum*. Example: *orabat Dominum (...) ut dirigeret viam eius* – she prayed to the Lord that he would direct her action (in classical Latin, *viam suam*). The two ways of expressing possession can be used side by side, see Rev 19:2 (*iusta sunt iudicia eius; in prostitutione sua; servorum suorum*). – **(2)** Occasionally, *eius* is used pleonastically and defies translation: *beatus cuius Deus Iacob adiutor eius* – blessed the one whose helper is the God of Jacob (Ps 146:5, Vg 145:5).

eloquium – word, speech [Wort, Rede]. *fluat ut ros eloquium meum* – let my speech flow like dew (Deut 32:2; Rom 3:2, etc. → **sermo** → **verbum**)

1904. Kaulen, p. 18.

2006. Lyliane Sznajder: La parole et la voix dans la Vulgate. In: Pascale Brillet-Dubois (ed.): *Philologia. Mélanges offerts à Michel Casevitz*. Paris 2006 (381 pp.), pp. 329–338, at p. 332: “*Eloquium* se présente comme un synonyme nouveau venu de *verbum* – *sermo* (il ne présentait pas le sens de ‘parole’ en latin Classique), relativement peu fréquent (48 occurrences dans l’AT, quasiment absent du NT), spécialisé dans les emplois hors du Pentateuque.”

emissarius – the one sent out [der Ausgesandte]. This literal meaning can be seen in the expression *caper emissarius* (Lev 16:8, 26) – emissary goat, der zu entlassende Bock, le bouc émissaire. But the word has taken on special meanings – one is sent out for a special purpose. Two special meanings are prominent: **(1)** murderer, robber, functionary of a tyrannical régime; Räuber, Mordgeselle, Scherge (1 Sam 22:17; Ezek 7:22; Micah 1:14). Jerome explains it as meaning *latrunculus* in his commentary on Micah (PL 25:1217). Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1 (1937) 23–50, at pp. 32–33. Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, suggests “sicaire.” – **(2)** The expression *equus emissarius* (Sir 33:6; Jer 5:8), rendered “stallion horse” (Douay Version), is the horse used for reproduction. One may think of *emissio seminis*, sperm ejaculation.

eo quod – because [weil] → **quod (4)**

epulari – to eat [speisen]. Verbum deponens. Luke 15:32; 16:19. Note that in Luke 12:19, *epulare* (imperative form of the verbum deponens) sums up eating and drinking in one word, like German “schmausen” (Grundl). See below, Chapter 22, textual note on Luke 12:19.

epulum, epulae, epulatio – meal, feast, banquet [Mahl, Gastmahl]. *mira exultatio, epulae atque convivium, et festus dies* (Esth 8:17) – wonderful rejoicing, feasts and banquets, and festive days. – Renzo Petraglio: *Epulum, epulae, epulatio nella Volgata. Considerazioni sul latino biblico*. Brescia 1975. 192 pp.; review: Raymond Tournay OP, *Revue biblique* 83 (1976) 635–636.

equus, -itis. – rider, horseman [Reiter]. This is the normal meaning, as in Ezek 38:4. But in several passages, it stands for “horse [Pferd]” (= *equus*), as in Exod 15:19; Isa 21:7 (but not Jer 46:4). Interestingly, Blaise (*Dictionnaire*, p. 312) considers *equus* in Exod 15:19 an adjective, and translates: il entra à cheval (*equus*) dans la mer. – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 19: “*equus* heißt nach altem Sprachgebrauch nicht bloß Reiter, sondern auch Roß,” and refers to an Ennius fragment in support of the equation *equus* = *equus*.

1934. Friedrich Stummer: Lexikographische Bemerkungen zur Vulgata. In: Pontificio Istituto Biblico (ed.): *Miscellanea Biblica*. Volume 2. Rome (406 pp.), pp. 179–202, at pp. 188–192.

1937. Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1: 23–50, at pp. 48–50.

ergo – because, therefore, consequently; but; nevertheless [daher, infolge dessen; trotzdem]. Connective particle. **(1)** The meaning “because, therefore” is well attested: Gal 3:21; Hebr 2:14; John 18:37; 1 John 4:19. – **(2)** The adversative meaning, though rare, is exemplified by Matt 15:33: *unde ergo nobis in deserto panes tantos?* – but whence so much bread in the desert? *Thesaurus linguae latinae*. Vol. V.2. Leipzig 1931 (2134 cols.), col. 769. – **(3)** The meaning “nevertheless” is used in Ps 82:7 (Vg 81:7 *iuxta Hebraeos*); Matt 13:27. Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, p. 313.

eruerere – pluck out, deliver [ausreißen, befreien]. The semantics of deliverance is more frequent (Ps 22:21; Vg 21:21, etc.), but the “plucking” is meant in Matt 5:29; 18:9; Jer 39:7.

es, esto – you are; be! [du bist; sei!]. This form of *esse* (to be) is frequently used: *tu es Petrus* – you are Peter (Matt 16:18). The same form, in classical Latin, also means *be!* (imperative), but the Vulgate never uses *es* in this sense. Instead, the Vulgate uses *esto*, plural *estote* (32 times): *esto mihi in Deum protectorem* – be thou unto me a God, a protector (Ps 31:3, Vg 30:3, Douay Version); *estote sicut ego* – be like me (Gal 4:12). – Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund 1933 (xiii, 492 pp.), p. 38.

esse – to be [sein]. One of the most common words of Latin; see → **es, esto** → **est**. A peculiar construction is *esse in* + accusative = to be something, to function as something: *ut sis in populum peculiarem* (Deut 14:2) – so that you are his own people; *esto mihi in Deum protectorem* (Ps 31:3, Vg 30:3) – be thou unto me a God, a protector. One would expect *esse* + nominative (*ut sis populus peculiaris, esto mihi Deus protector*). This construction seems to be a colloquialism, see B.L. Gildersleeve – Gonzalez Lodge: *Gildersleeve’s Latin Grammar*. New York (x, 550 pp.), p. 247 (no. 385.3, note 3 on *esse in* and *habere in* + accusative).

est – he/she/it is [er/sie/es ist]. This very common verb is also used to answer a question in the affirmative – “yes!” Matt 5:37 (locus classicus); 2 Cor 1:17–20; Jas 5:12. See also → **etiam** → **sic** → **utique**. – Literature:

1934. Richards, p. 43.

2012. Roman Müller: *Sit autem sermo vester est est non non*: Klassisches und nichtklassisches “Ja.” In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon 2012 (1085 pp.), pp. 111–120, at pp. 116–118, with discussions of parallel passages in Latin literature (Cicero, Seneca, Appendix Vergiliana).

esto → **es, esto**

et – and [und]. “And” is not always the best equivalent of *et*, because it frequently introduces a statement that modifies or elucidates an antecedent statement. Examples: **(1)** *erat autem hora tertia et crucifixerunt eum* – it was the third hour *when* they crucified him (Mark 15:25); **(2)** *homo nascitur ad laborem, et avis ad volatum* – man is born for labour, *as* the bird is for flying (Job 5:7); **(3)** *ita ut accepti essent tam Deo quam hominibus et cunctis habitantibus in terra* – so that they found favour with God and with men, *yes*, with all the inhabitants of the land; here *et* has explicative force (and does not serve as a conjunctive particle; cf. Nissen). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, pp. 230 (instead of *etiam*), 296 (modificative Sätze – “statements of modification”).

1915. Paul Nissen: *Die exegetische Copula (sog. et explicativum) bei Vergil und einigen anderen Autoren*. Kiel. 59 pp.

2009. Rafael Jimenez Zamudio: Técnicas de traducción en las antiguas versiones de la Biblia. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 29: 75–115, at pp. 97–100: how *Vetus Latina* and Vulgate render the Hebrew connective particle *waw*; examples from Genesis.

2023. Chaja Vered Dürschnabel: Verbum ex verbo: Hebräische Syntax im Latein der Vulgata. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 139–155. – This paper highlights the paratactic features of biblical Latin, features that are due to the literal rendering of Hebrew *waw* conjunctivum and *waw* copulativum.

etiam – also, yes; even [auch, ja; sogar]. **(1)** The affirmative meaning – yes – is rare, but found several times in the New Testament (Hagen, Müller): Matt 11:9; 15:27; Acts 5:8; Rev 22:20; sensibly, the Nova Vulgata sets it off by a comma placed after it. → **est** → **sic** → **utique**. – **(2)** *etiam* may also mean “even”: *ecce luna etiam non splendet* – behold, even the moon does not shine (Job 25:5). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 82.

1950. Friedrich Stummer: Die Vulgata zum Canticum Annae. *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1950) 10–19, at p. 17 (on Job 25:5).

1981. Veikko Väänänen: *Introduction au latin vulgaire*. Troisième édition, revue et augmentée. Paris (xxi, 237 pp.), p. 151. – A list of words for saying “yes”: *certe, plane, immo, verum, ita, sic, etiam*.

2012. Roman Müller: Sit autem sermo vester est est non non: Klassisches und nichtklassisches “Ja.” In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon (1085 pp.), pp. 111–120, at p. 116.

euge – *euge* – well done! [trefflich!, recht so!]. Interjection, often repeated: *euge euge*. Ps 35:21, 25 (Vg 34:21, 25); 40:16 (Vg 39:16); 70:4 (Vg 69:4); Ezek 25:3; 26:2; Matt 25:21, 23; Luke 19:17. This Greek word transliterates Greek *euge*; the only passage where it is not in the Greek is Ezek 25:3.

ex – out of, from [aus, von]. Preposition, followed by ablative. Vulgate Latin occasionally uses *ex* as the partitive particle (→ **de** as partitive preposition): *si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane* (John 6:52) – if any man eat of this bread (Douay Version). A better translation would omit the preposition, because English, like German (but unlike French), does not use a partitive preposition: if anyone eats this bread. More examples: *et qui missi fuerant, erant ex pharisaeis* (John 1:24) – and they who were sent were Pharisees. A special case may be *et ex illis occiditis* (Matt 23:34) – and you will kill them (according to the Douay Version – you will kill some of them); the translator has to decide whether the notion of “some of them” is or is not required by the context.

examen – swarm [Schwarm]. This special meaning of *examen* can be found in the book of Judges: *examen apum* – swarm of bees (Judg 14:8); see below, the relevant textual note in Chapter **21**.

exemplum – example [Beispiel]. In several passages (notably Ruth 4:11; Deut 29:22 [Vg 29:23]; Esth 1:18), *exemplum* is a plus with no precise equivalent in the source language (Skemp).

1996. Pierre Hamblenne: *L'exemplum formel dans l'œuvre de Jérôme*. *Augustinianum* 36.1: 93–146. – On the genre *exemplum* in der work of Jerome.

2011. Vincent T.M. Skemp: Learning by Example. *Exempla in Jerome's Translations and Revisions of Biblical Books*. *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 257–285.

expiare – to expiate, to cleanse ritually [entsühnen, rituell reinigen], used only in the Old Testament. *Expiabis sanctuarium* (Ezek 45:18) – you shall expiate the sanctuary. – Stanislas Lyonnet SJ: Expiation et intercession. À propos d'une traduction de saint Jérôme. *Biblica* 40 (1959) 885–901 – an article on the rendering of ritual vocabulary in the Vulgate.

exterminare, exterminatio – to destroy, destruction [zerstören, Zerstörung]. Note the name Exterminans (Rev 9:11), which has disappeared from the Nova Vulgata. In Matt 6:16, the verb has the special meaning “to disfigure.” – Hagen, p. 75; Kaulen, p. 180; Meershoek, pp. 53–56; Scarpat I, pp. 422–423.

F

fabricare, fabricator, fabrica – to make, maker, the thing made [herstellen, Hersteller, das Gemachte]. A necklace is made (*fabricare*) by a craftsman (*artifex*, Cant 7:1), and God is the Maker (*fabricator*) of everything (Koh 11:5). In the book of Ezekiel, *fabrica* refers to the building as that which is “erected” (Ezek 43:10–11). – Günther Binding – Susanne Lindscheid-Burdich: *Planen und Bauen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*. Darmstadt 2002 (652 pp.), p. 298.

fabula – story, proverb [Erzählung, Spruch]. The meaning “proverb,” known from classical Latin, appears in Deut 28:37; 1 Kgs 9:7; Tobit 3:4. – Literature:

1863. Hagen (p. 20) quotes several passages from classical literature for comparison; one of his examples is Horace: *Epistle I, 13: Asinaeque paternum / cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias* – turn your paternal name of Asina into a jest, and make yourself a common story (or proverb); another example: Ovid: *Amores III, 1,21: fabula tota jactaris in urbe* – you are talked of all over the city.

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), pp. 98–115. Strangely, *fabula* = proverb is not mentioned in this otherwise detailed semantic history.

facere – to do, to make [tun, machen]. One of the most frequent words of Latin; *facio* – “I do,” *memoriam facio* – I make mention of (Eph 1:16). Special cases: **(1)** *facere* followed by infinitive is a frequent construction. Examples: *fecitque eam regnare* (Esth 2:17) – and he made her rule; *faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum* (Matt 4:19) – I will make you to be fishers of men. – **(2)** The special meaning of “to celebrate” is found in expressions such as *apud te facio pascha* – with you I will celebrate Passover (Matt 26:18). This meaning may also be intended in *hoc facite in meam commemorationem* – this you shall do/celebrate in memory of me (1 Cor 11:24); see Richards, p. xvi. – **(3)** *facere* may also be used for saying “to spend time”: *data est ei potestas facere menses quadraginta duo* – given to him is the power to spend forty-to months (Rev 13:15); *ut diem Pentecosten facerent Hierosolymis* – to spend the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem (Acts 20:16); see also Matt 20:12; Acts 15:33; Jas 4:13. – **(4)** *(et) factum est* – and it happened. This frequently used expression marks the beginning of an episode in a story; see Josh 1:1; 1 Sam 1:12; 4:1; Neh 6:1; Matt 11:1; 19:1; 26:1. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 306–307.

1886. Philipp Thielmann: *Facere mit dem Infinitiv*. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 3: 180–238.

1904. Kaulen, p. 278.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), pp. xii and xvi.

1947. Michael Metlen: *The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued)*. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 106–110. – “The overabundance of *facere* in the Scriptures is owing to Hebrew influence” (p. 109).

fascinare, fascinatio – to bewitch, bewitching [verhexen, Verhexung]. Meant is: to injure with the evil eye; see Elliott and textual notes on Wisd 4:12; Gal 3:1, below, Chapters **21** and **22**. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 74, on *fascinatio*, Wisd 4:12.

1904. Kaulen, p. 69, on *fascinatio*, Wisd 4:12.

2016. John H. Elliott: *Beware the Evil Eye*. Volume 3. Eugene, Ore. 2016 (xxx, 348 pp.), pp. 13, 56 and 219–220 on Wisd 4:12; Gal 3:1.

femina → mulier

-ficare. – Compound verbs with *-ficare* at the end, referring to a “making into something,” are very common in the Vulgate. Kaulen notes 16 verbs; among these, the following are used more than once: *beatificare, clarificare, convivificare, fructificare, glorificare, honorificare, iustificare* (important for the subsequent theological discourse about “justification”), *magnificare* (Luke 1:46: *magnificat anima mea Dominum* – my soul praises the Lord; see also Ps 20:6, Vg 19:6), *mortificare, salvificare, sanctificare*, → **vivificare**. The last item can be used as a semantic paradigm: *vivificare* = *vivum facere*, to make alive, keep alive, as in 2 Kgs 8:5: *cuius vivificaverat filium* – (the woman) whose son he had (miraculously) revived, restored to life. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 174–180.

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, at pp. 512–513.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 218–221.

1926. Plater/White, pp. 52–53.

1932. Christine Mohrmann: *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin*. Teil 1. Nijmegen (270 pp.), pp. 255–256.

2014. Emanuela Marini: Les verbes en *-ficare* dans les siècles II/II à VII: une mise au point. In: Piera Molinelli et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgare – latin tardif*. X. Volume 1. Bergamo (xx, 394), pp. 133–150.

fides (fem.), **fidelis** – faith, trust; faithful, trusting [Glaube, Vertrauen; gläubig, der Gläubige, vertrauend]. **(1)** Secular: *argumentum fidei* – proof of fidelity (Gen 39:16); *qui denudat arcana amici fidem perdit* – who discloses a friend’s secrets loses his trust (Sir 27:17); also 2 Kgs 12:15. – **(2)** Religious: a basic word in the Bible, especially in the New Testament. *iustus autem in fide sua vivet* – the just man shall live by his faith (Hab 2:4; cf. Rom 1:17). Scholars discuss the relationship between Greek *pistis* and Roman *fides*, two words with largely overlapping semantics. – Literature:

1879. Gustav Koffmane: *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins bis auf Augustinus–Hieronymus*. Breslau (iv, 92 pp.), pp. 54–55.

1904. Kaulen, p. 19.

1909. Walter F. Otto: Fides. In: *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 6. Band. Stuttgart (2878 cols.), cols. 2281–2886. Col. 2281: “Den Römern der klassischen Zeit galt die Treue [*fides*] in öffentlichen und privaten Angelegenheiten als eine echt altrömische Tugend.”

1916. E. Fraenkel: Zur Geschichte des Wortes Fides. *Rheinisches Museum* 71: 187–199.

1929. Richard Heinze: *Fides*. *Hermes* 64: 140–166; reprinted in: idem: *Vom Geist des Römertums*. Edited by Erick Burck. 3rd, enlarged edition. Darmstadt 1960 (458 pp.), pp. 59–81. This article is considered a statement of reference on the Roman notion of *fides*.
1958. Otto Hiltbrunner: *Latina graeca. Semasiologische Untersuchungen über lateinische Wörter im Hinblick auf ihr Verhältnis zu griechischen Vorbildern*. Berne (208 pp.), p. 189 (index).
1969. Carl Becker: *Fides*. In: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Band 7. Stuttgart (1288 cols.), cols. 801–839. – The author diagnoses the Christian reception of the Roman notion of *fides* in the age of the church fathers.
1970. Zürcher, pp. 134–135.
1977. Olga Weijers: Some Notes on ‘fides’ and Related Words in Medieval Latin. *Archivum latin-tatis medi aevi* 40: 77–102.
1986. Gérard Freyburger: *Fides. Étude sémantique et religieuse depuis les origines jusqu’à l’époque augustéenne*. Paris. 361 pp. – This is a fundamental study of the meaning of *fides* in pre-Christian, pagan Latin texts. Reprinted in 2009.
2006. Gérard Freyburger: Points de vue récents sur la *fides* romaine. In: J. Champeaux – M. Chassignet (eds.): *Aere perennius. Hommage à Hubert Zehnacker*. Paris (702 pp.), pp. 185–196.
2006. Angela Standhartinger: *Eusebeia* in den Pastoralbriefen. Ein Beitrag zum Einfluss römischen Denkens auf das entstehende Christentum. *Novum Testamentum* 48: 51–82. – Page 54: “die Mehrzahl der Belege von *pistis* in den Pastoralbriefen nimmt das römische Konzept der *fides*, der Bundestreue und Loyalität der Untertanen und Kinder gegenüber Imperium und Vätern auf.”
2014. Gerson Schade: “You too, my child?” On Trust and Perfidy in Classical Literature. *Symbolae Philologorum Posnanensium Graecae et Latinae* 25 (2014) 185–201.
2015. Suzan J.M. Sierksma-Agteres: *Pistis* and *Fides* as Civic and Divine Virtues. A Pauline Concept through Greco-Roman Eyes. In: Cilliers Breytenbach (ed.): *Paul’s Graeco-Roman Context*. Leuven (xxi, 757, 7 pp.), pp. 525–543.
2015. Teresa Morgan: *Roman Faith and Christian Faith: Pistis and Fides in the Early Roman Empire and the Early Churches*. Oxford 2015. xi, 626 pp. – The basic notion is trust, fidelity, allegiance.
2017. Thomas Schumacher: Den Römern ein Römer. Die paulinischen Glaubensaussagen vor dem Hintergrund des römisch-lateinischen *fides*-Begriffs. In: Jörg Frey (ed.): *Glaube. Das Verständnis des Glaubens im frühen Christentum und in seiner jüdischen und hellenistisch-römischen Umwelt*. Tübingen 2017 (xxv, 957 pp.), pp. 207–218.
2019. Robert D. Sider in: idem (ed.): *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Toronto (xxvi, 1063 pp.), p. 802, n. 20: *fidelis* in the Vulgate New Testament means either “faithful” or “trusting.”
2020. Carlos Lévy: De l’éloquence à la philosophie: l’évolution sémantique de “fides.” In: Christophe Grellard et al. (eds.): *Genèses antiques et médiévales de la foi*. Paris (252 pp.), pp. 209–224.

fiducia – confidence, boldness [Zuversicht, Mut]. **(1)** Engels distinguishes between the powerful witnessing of the early-Christian preachers (Acts 4:29) and the good conscience that enables the believer to have a good relationship with God (Hebr 4:16). In both cases, the Vulgate uses *fidu-*

cia. According to Renswoude (p. 10), *fiducia* belongs to the vocabulary of Stoic philosophy where it refers to “stability and tranquility, and flowing on from that undisturbed state of mind, to the ability to speak with courage and self-confidence.” – Literature:

1964. L. J. Engels: *Fiducia dans la Vulgate: le problème de la traduction parrêsia–fiducia*. In: A.J. Vermeulen et al.: *Le développement sémasiologique d'épipháneia* [and further studies]. Nijmegen (144 pp.), pp. 94–141.

1964. Giuseppe Scarpato: *Parrhesia: storia del termine e delle sue tradizioni in latino*. Brescia (143 pp.), pp. 122–134: il termine *fiducia*. There is a new, revised edition of this book: *Parrhesia greca, parrhesia cristiana*. Brescia 2001. 186 pp.

2019. Irene van Renswoude: *The Rhetoric of Free Speech in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge. x, 272 pp.

2022. Hartmut Leppin: *Paradoxie der Parrhesie. Eine antike Wortgeschichte*. Tübingen. viii, 263 pp.

firmamentum – fortress, firmament, strength [Burg, Firmament, Stärke]. **(1)** Basic examples: *fiat firmamentum* – let there be a firmament – Gen 1:6; fortress – Ps 71:3 (Vg 70:3); strength – Ps 73:4 (Vg 72:4); Sir 3:34 (or, as the Douay Version has it: a sure stay; Peters: eine Stütze). The word is already used in the Vetus Latina, see Augustine: *De Genesi ad litteram* II, 1,1 (PL 34: 263). – **(2)** Special cases. (a) *firmamentum panis* (Ps 105:16, Vg 104:16) – the essential (foundational) supply of bread; see the textual note on this passage, below, Chapter **21**. (b) In 1 Tim 3:15, the meaning seems to be “basis, foundation”; one senses that the translator refers to what is elsewhere called *fundamentum* (Job 38:4; Isa 28:16; Jer 51:26). See also the textual note on 1 Tim 3:15, below, Chapter **22**. (c) In Sir 3:34, *firmamentum* seems to mean something like moral strength, virtue. (d) In Sir 4:29, *firmamentum* could mean “the main point” (see textual note on the passage, Chapter **21**). – Literature:

1913. Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 49: suggests *fundamentum* = Hauptsache for Sir 4:29.

1945/46. Guy-Dominique Sixdenier: Notes sur l'emploi par la Vulgate du mot *firmamentum*. *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 19: 17–22.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 136–137.

1989. Scarpato I, p. 448.

foedus, -eris, neutr. – alliance, treaty, covenant [Bund]. For *foedus* as a political treaty, see Hos 10:4; 12:2 (Vg 12:1). Jerome translates Hebrew *berit* as *foedus* (Jer 31:31) or *pactum* (Ezek 37:26), with the exception of a few traditional expressions, whereas in the sections not translated by Jerome, the Latin text has → **testamentum**. “Hieronymus und die weiteren Bearbeiter der Vulgata zeigen sichere Konstanz im Umgang mit den Rechtsbegriffen. Wenn Gott sich mit den Menschen verbündet, passt sowohl der allgemeine Begriff *pactum* mit dem zugehörigen Verb *pangere* als auch der im Wechsel gebrauchte Begriff *foedus*” (Becker, p. 95). – Literature:

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314, at pp. 156–157.

2019. Christoph Becker: “Bund” in der Vulgata aus rechtshistorischer Sicht. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 3: 1–12.

2022. Christoph Becker: Vertrag, Bund und Testament in der Heiligen Schrift. Diktion römischen Rechts aus Vetus Latina und Vulgata. In: Franz Sedlmeier – Hans Ulrich Steymans (eds.):

Bundestheologie bei Hosea? Eine Spurensuche. Berlin (xii, 438 pp.), pp. 69–106. The noun “*foedus* bezeichnet im römischen Recht hauptsächlich den Vertrag zwischen Völkern, geschlossen von einem Repräsentanten des römischen Gemeinwesens mit einem Repräsentanten eines anderen Gemeinwesens” (p. 88).

2023. Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen: Der Alte und der Neue Bund bei Hieronymus. In: Christian A. Eberhardt – Wolfgang Kraus (eds.): *Covenant. Concepts of Berit, Diatheke, and Testamentum*. Tübingen (x, 720 pp.), pp. 611–625. The article traces the development of Jerome’s covenant theology, beginning with the theological explanations he gave to Damasus in 383 and ending with its impact on his translation work in Bethlehem. A strong anti-Jewish orientation of the theology of the covenant is also manifest in some of Jerome’s works; evidence of this is his interpretation of the book of Job. The reference of Jerome’s terminology to the *foedus* concept of the late antique state is also considered.

2023. Christoph Becker: *Foedus: Die Darstellung der Bündnisse im Alten Testament*. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 171–174.

foras – outside of, without [außerhalb], adverb, followed by accusative. *foras portam exteriorem* – outside the outer gate (Ezek 47:2). See also Lev 16:27; Acts 21:5.

forma – model [Vorbild]. One of the many meanings of *forma* is “model to be emulated; nachzuahmendes Vorbild,” as in Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 1:7; 2 Thess 3:9.

fornicarius – male prostitute [Prostituierter]. According to the Lewis/Short dictionary (p. 770; see Chapter 8.3), the word derives from the architectural term *fornix*, arch or vault; *fornix* also came to mean brothel, because brothels could be in underground vaults. This notion echoes Isidore: *Etymologiae* X, 110, who refers to the female prostitute (*fornicatrix*) as a woman whose body is made publicly available under vaults. A conspicuous passage is 1 Cor 6:9: *fornicarii* are excluded from the kingdom of God; translations simply transcribe the word as “fornicators” (Douay Version) or “fornicateurs” (Glaire) or use vague terms such as “the debauched” (Knox), “Unzüchtige” (Allioli) or “Hurer” (Tusculum-Vulgata). All of these renderings imply “fornication” understood as “sexual intercourse between people not married to each other” (Oxford Dictionary of English). Along the same lines, Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 361, offers “fornicateur, adultère, débauché” for *fornicarius*. Early-modern commentators thought that in 1 Cor 6:9 the word would refer to pederasts; Adam L. Wirrig: *Trial of Translation. An Examination of 1 Corinthians 6:9 in the Vernacular Bibles of the Early Modern Period*. Eugene, Ore. 2022. 174 pp.

forsitan – perhaps [vielleicht]. Jerome does not use the synonymous adverb *fortasse*. – Peter Juhás: Beobachtungen zum biblisch-hebräischen Satzadverb *ʿulaj*. Funktionen, Übersetzungslösungen des Hieronymus und Problemstellen der antiken Bibelübersetzungen. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 97.1 (2021) 1–36, at pp. 18–21.

frater, fraternitas – brother, brotherhood [Bruder, Bruderschaft]. (1) In the New Testament, all believers are “brothers,” and Paul addresses them as such (1 Cor 3:1). Paul also calls his fellow Jews fratres (Rom 10:1). – (2) *fraternitas* is never used as an abstract concept like the French *fraternité*; instead, it is just another way of referring to brothers in the plural. In 1 Pet 3:8, believers are admonished to be *fraternitatis amatores* – lovers of the brotherhood (Douay Version), lovers of the brethren (Knox); Pétré avoids the noun by referring to *charité fraternelle* (Pétré, p. 324), and the same avoidance suggests itself for *caritate fraternitatis invicem diligentes* – loving each other with brotherly love (Rom 12:10). – Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain 1948 (iii, 412 pp.), pp. 104–140, esp. pp. 113–117 on the New Testament.

funiculus – rope (Koh 12:6), guideline (rope/string used in building and surveying) [Seil, Richtschnur bei Bauen und Landvermessung]. Meant is a string attached to two stakes to establish a straight line. A *funiculus* is not used for measuring distances. According to Binding, the building process was initiated by laying out a grid with the help of two strings (*funiculi*) that form a right angle. *funiculum (ex)tendere* (2 Kgs 21:13; Lam 2:8) – to tighten, i.e. to use, the rope/guideline. *funiculus mensorum* (Zech 2:1) – surveyors' rope. *funiculus lineus* (Ezek 40:3) – lining rope, *lineus* being the qualifying adjective of *linea* = guideline. – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, pp. 20–21. Refers to metaphoric uses such as *funiculum maris* (Zeph 2:5) – sea coast [Meeresküste].
2002. Günther Binding – Susanne Lindscheid-Burdich: *Planen und Bauen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*. Darmstadt 2002 (652 pp.), pp. 119–126.
2013. Günther Binding: Zur Bedeutung von *funiculus* und *linea* als Richtschnur in Antike und Mittelalter. *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 48: 447–470.
2020. Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart (52 pp.), pp. 12–1.

G

gaudēre → **laetare, laetitia**

genimen – fruit, produce [Frucht, Erzeugnis]. *genimina agri* – produce of the field (Ezek 36:30); *genimina viperarum* – offspring of vipers (Luke 3:7). Echoing Greek *gennēma*, this word is unknown in classical Latin. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 26.
1904. Kaulen, p. 95.
1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence 1911 (xlii, 251 pp.), p.100.
2006. Antoon A.R. Bastiaensen: Wortgeschichte im altchristlichen Latein: *creatura* und *genimen*. In: André P.M.H. Lardinois et al. (eds.): *Land of Dreams. Greek and Latin Studies in Honour of A.H.M. Kessels*. Leiden 2006 (xxiv, 414 pp.), pp. 339–354.

gentes – peoples, pagans, non-Christians [Völker, Heiden, Nichtchristen]. Ps 2:1; 96:5 (Vg 95:5); Isa 9:1; Matt 6:32; 1 Cor 1:23; 5:1. In late Latin, the word has the secondary meaning “barbarians,” which prepares the way for the Vulgate meaning “pagans.” → **natio, nationes** – Literature:

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 464–467.
1956. Christine Mohrmann: Quelques traits caractéristiques du latin des chrétiens (1956). In: eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. 2e édition. Rome 1961 (xxiv, 468 pp.), pp. 21–50, at pp. 26–27.
1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 74–75.
1965. Ilona Opelt: Griechische und lateinische Bezeichnungen der Nichtchristen. Ein terminologischer Versuch. *Vigiliae Christianae* 19: 1–22.

1965. Walter Thiele: *Die lateinischen Texte des ersten Petrusbriefes*. Freiburg 1965 (245 pp.), pp. 185–189: *nationes, gentes*.
1970. Zürcher, p. 146.
2018. Tim Denecker: Among Latinists. Alfred Ernout and Einar Löfstedt's Responses to the 'Nijmegen School' and Its Christian Sondersprache Hypothesis. *Historiographia Linguistica* 45: 325–362. – The author comments on the differences between Mohrmann and Löfstedt in their assessment of the concept of *gentes*: Löfstedt describes the new Christian meaning of *gentes* as merely a semantic shift (Umprägung), while Mohrmann sees it as a complete semantic innovation (Neupprägung).
- gigas, gigantes** – giant, giants [Riese, Riesen]. Gen 6:4; Job 16:14; etc. (19 Old Testament passages). Jerome usually follows the Septuagint in the use of this mythological word, but occasionally (Ps 88:11 [Vg 87:11]; Isa 24:14), he introduces it himself. – Literature:
2015. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: *Mythos bei Hieronymus. Zur christlichen Transformation paganer Erzählungen in der Spätantike*. Stuttgart 2015 (386 pp.), pp. 90–91.
2016. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: Giganten und Sirenen in der Vulgata. Griechischer Mythos in der lateinischen Bibel des Hieronymus. *Museum Helveticum* 73: 78–96.
2018. Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: [Übersetzungsvarianten der Schlüsselbegriffe in Gen 6,4](#): Wie fügen sich die *gigantes* aus Genesis 6,1–4 in den Kontext der hebräischen Bibel? *Vulgata in dialogue* 2 (2018) 15–30 (online journal).
- gloria** – glory, honour, majesty [Herrlichkeit, Ruhm, Ehre]. There are two semantic domains to be distinguished: the traditional Latin meaning, and the specifically biblical meaning. **(1)** Traditionally, *gloria* means the honour people seek in society, as stated in Matt 23:5. This meaning can be analysed in terms of the anthropology of "honour and shame." Two biblical texts tell the reader not to impair one's *gloria* through *crimen* or *macula* (1 Macc 9:10; Sir 33:24). – **(2)** Jerome: "In the sacred scriptures, *gloria* means something else – (it is used) when something sublime and divine manifests itself to human perception" (*significat et aliud in scripturis divinis gloria, cum augustius aliquid et divinius hominum se praebet obtutibus*; Jerome: *Commentary on Galatians* III, 5 on Gal 5:26; PL 26 [1845]: 423, CCSL 77A: 200). *impleverat enim gloria Domini domum Domini* (1 Kgs 8:11) – for the Glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord; denn die Herrlichkeit des Herrn erfüllte das Haus Gottes (in similar statements, Jerome has → *maiestas*: 2 Chr 7:1–2; Ezek 43:4). But this is not the only meaning of *gloria*; see *da gloriam Deo* – give glory to God (John 9:24), where *gloria* means "praise." – **(3)** In Sir 43:10, *gloria* is used of the light of the stars: *species caeli gloria stellarum* (Clementina, NVg) – the beauty of heaven (consists in) the light of the stars; Weber/Gryson has *gloriosa stellarum*. – Literature:
1904. Kaulen, p. 36: *gloria* = Ursache des Ruhms (Ps 89:18 [Vg 88:18]).
1951. Mauritius Steinheimer OFM: *Die Doxa tou theou in der römischen Liturgie*. Munich. 117 pp. – The Latin equivalents of Greek *doxa* are *claritas, gloria, and maiestas*.
1954. Christine Mohrmann: Note sur Doxa (1954). In: eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. 2^e édition. Rome 1961 (xxiv, 468 pp.), pp. 277–289.
1956. Antonius J. Vermeulen: *The Semantic Development of Gloria in Early Christian Latin*. Nijmegen. xxii, 236 pp. – On the Vetus Latina, see pp. 18–23, on the Vulgate, pp. 24–27. Page 26: "On closer examination we see that gloria has acquired practically all the different meanings of δόξα." Page 27: "*gloria* was the predominant word in the Vulgate, and also we may presume in the common parlance of the Christians. Still, it did not do justice to the

aspect of light in δόξα; it could hardly express the idea of material light without the admixture of some spiritual, immaterial nuance. *Claritas* expressed the idea of light more effectively. *Maiestas* was a little more frequent than *claritas*, but covered the idea of δόξα only partially. It emphasized the aspect of power in δόξα, and often signified the imposing appearance of God. The content of δόξα, therefore, is spread over three different words, *gloria*, *claritas* and *maiestas*. Of those three *gloria* has become the most important and frequent rendering of δόξα."

1965. Walter Thiele: *Die lateinischen Texte des ersten Petrusbriefes*. Freiburg 1965 (245 pp.), pp. 179–184.

1966. Meershoek, pp. 86–113.

1967. Ulrich Knocke: Der römische Ruhmesgedanke. In: Hans Oppermann (ed.): *Römische Wertbegriffe*. Darmstadt (xi, 552 pp.), pp. 420–445. – Page 444: "Die Projektierung der Gloria in die Sphäre des Transzendenten, des Ewigen, ihre Bindung an die Betätigung der christlichen Tugenden, vor allem die Lösung aus dem Kreis der sozialen Wertgedanken erwirkt die gründlichste Änderung ihres Inhalts: die *aeterna gloria*, die *gloria* bei und durch Gott, ist allein die wahre *gloria*."

1970. Zürcher, p. 147–149.

1989. Scarpat I, pp. 445–446.

1998. María Eugenia Steinerg: Doxa-gloria, una serie compleja: doxa en la Septuaginta y el Nuevo Testamento; gloria en la Vulgata. *Nova tellus* 16.2: 175–204.

2002. Jean-François Thomas: *Gloria et laus: étude sémantique*. Leuven 2002. 460 pp. pp. – Review: Jean-Paul Brachet, *Bulletin de la Société linguistique* 98 (2002) 283–285.

2008. Lyliane Sznajder: *Gloria* dans la Vulgate ou le double poids de la traduction biblique latine, in: Gislaine Viré (ed.): *Autour du lexique latin. Communications lors du XIII^e Colloque International de linguistique latine*. Bruxelles 2008 (294 pp.), pp. 203–217.

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), 144–155. – Pages 147–148: "dans la Vulgate, *gloria* correspond à grec *doxa*, 'renom', et à l'époque hellénistique 'éclat, majesté, splendeur royale', le terme grec traduisant hébr. *kābôd* lorsqu'il dénote la puissance et la splendeur de Dieu qui se manifeste entre autres, à travers les théophanies. *Gloria* fut choisi parce qu'il exprime l'idée de brillant, ce que corrobore le fait que les autres termes retenues pour traduire le même mot grec exprimant aussi l'éclat et le prestige éclatant: *claritas* dans les traductions d'Afrique de la Vetus Latina, *maiestas* dans les autres."

glorificare – to honour, to praise, to glorify [ehren, lobpreisen, verherrlichen]. The verb has several meanings: **(1)** to honour someone – God or a human person: 1 Sam 2:30; 1 Macc 14:39, also expressed by *gloriam dare* (John 9:24); – **(2)** to praise someone or something: Exod 15:2; Lam 1:8; 2 Cor 9:13. – **(3)** There are also special uses, associated with "glorification": *cum glorificatus fuero in Pharaone* (Exod 14:18) – when I have manifested my glory with Pharaoh (Douay Version: when I shall be glorified in Pharaoh). *quia Iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus* (John 7:39) – because Jesus had not yet been elevated to the state of glory (see also John 12:16). → **-fiacre** – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 175–176.

1904. Kaulen, p. 219.

1928. Arthur Allgeier: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur Sprachgebrauch der lateinischen Übersetzungen des Psalters und der Evangelien. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46: 34–49, at pp. 44–47, on Jerome's preference for this verb (over *magnificare*).

1966. Meershoek, pp. 99–113. Page 99: This verb "était probablement une formation nouvelle, créée pour les besoins d'une traduction aussi littérale que possible du grec *doxazein*."

1970. Zürcher, p. 150.

grandis – big, large, great, grand [groß, riesig]. In late Latin, this adjective tends to supplant the corresponding classical adjectives *magnus* and *ingens*. In the book of Jonah, the "big fish" is *piscis grandis* (2:1), the "mighty storm" *tempestas grandis* (1:11), but also *tempestas magna* (1:4) and *ventus magnus* (1:4), because Jerome loves variation. Israel is *natio grandis* – a great nation (Deut 4:7). In Ezek 17:7 we have also the variation: *aquila grandis, magnis alis*, a large eagle with big wings. In the New Testament, *grandis* appears only in Mark 14:15 (*coenaculum grande* – a large dining-room) and Hebr 5:11; 11:24. – Literature:

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Über die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachlichen Untersuchungen. *Philologus* 42.2: 319–378, at p. 358: "Dagegen bekundet Hieronymus, bei dem (...) auch *magnus* einen breiten Raum einnimmt, eine auffallende Neigung für das doch mehr volkstümliche *grandis* (104 Stellen); streben nach Abwechslung mag auch hier der Grund sein. Auch das rhetorische *ingens*, das ihm namentlich aus seiner Lektüre des Vergil geläufig sein musste, verwendet er 16mal."

2015. Christa Gray: *Jerome, Vita Malchi. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford (xviii, 365 pp.), p. 186–187.

gratulari – to rejoice [sich freuen]. *qui gratulati sunt in tua ruina* (Bar 4:31) – those who rejoiced at your ruin (Rönsch, p. 367). → **congratulari**

H

habēre – to have [haben]. Several special meanings are noteworthy: **(1)** *habēre aliquid contra aliquem* – to have something against someone, meaning: to have been wronged by someone (Matt 5:23; Mark 11:25; Rev 2:4). – **(2)** *bene habēre, deterius habēre* – to feel good, to feel bad; Mark 5:26; 16:18. – **(3)** *habēre* followed by infinitive may refer to an ability – "to be able to": *non habent retribuere* (Luke 14:14) – they have not anything to give in return. – **(4)** *habēre* followed by infinitive can also be a way of periphrastically referring to the future; Plater/White quote examples from the *Vetus Latina* only. A possible example is Luke 12:50: *baptismo autem habeo baptizari* – there will be a baptism wherewith I am to be baptized (though Thielmann, p. 178 thinks that this passage does not belong here). – **(5)** *habēre* followed by participle perfect passive serves as a paraphrase for the simple verb. Example: *habe me excusatum* (Luke 14:18) – hold me excused (Douay Version), consider me to be excused (for simple imperative *me excusa* – excuse me). The expression *excusatum habēre* is good classical Latin: *vitiosa excusata habe* (Ovid: *Tristia* IV, 1,1–2) excuse the faults (in my book); see further on Luke 14:18 in the textual notes, Chapter 22. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 42.

1885. Philipp Thielmann: Habere mit dem Infinitif und die Entstehung des romanischen Futurums. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 2: 48–89, 157–203. – Mentions Luke 12:50 (p. 178).

1885. Philipp Thielmann: Habere mit dem Part. Perf. Pass. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 2: 372–423, 509–549. – Mentions Luke 14:18 (p. 540).
1904. Kaulen, pp. 277–278 (no. 163) on necessity; 281 (no. 170) on “to feel good,” etc.
1926. Plater/White, p. 38 (§ 50b).
1934. Richards, p. 55: *habēre* plus infinitive (above, no. 3) is good classical Latin. Example: *de re publica nihil habeo ad te scribere* – I have nothing to write to you (or: nothing to report) about the republic (Cicero: *Ad Atticum* II, 22,6).
1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg (221 pp.), pp. 129–131 (§§ 219–221).
1996. Michèle Fruyt: Le syntaxe de l’infinitif en latin tardif. *Recherches augustiniennes* 29 (1996) 43–73, at pp. 60–68.
2013. J.N. Adams: *Social Variation in the Latin Language*. Cambridge (xxi, 933 pp.), pp. 654–660: *habeo*-future.
2014. George B. Tara: *Les périphrases verbales avec habeo en latin tardif*. Paris (402 pp.), pp. 298–304.
2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg (xviii, 317 pp.), pp. 214–215 on *habēre* + infinitive.

haruspex → **aruspex**

hedera – ivy [Efeu]. The word belongs to the bucolic vocabulary of Vergil, Jerome’s favorite ancient author. In Jonah 4:6–10, Jerome paints a scene in which the corrupt city of Nineveh, expected to perish, is surrounded by a bucolic landscape. The word also appears in 2 Macc 6:7 in a pagan context – Jews had to wear ivy-wreaths in honor of Bacchus.

hoc est → **id est**

homo – man, someone [Mensch, Mann, jemand]. – (1) Note expressions such as *homo rex* – a king (Matt 18:23; 22:2), *homo paterfamilias* – a father (Matt 20:1; 21:33), *inimicus homo* – an enemy (Matt 13:28), with pleonastic *homo*. – (2) *homo* is often to be rendered impersonally: *probet autem se ipsum homo* – everyone should test himself (1 Cor 11:28); *et homo non erat* – and there was no one (Gen 1:5); *non potest eas* (i.e., *res difficiles*) *homo explicare sermone* – no one can explain difficult things using human language (Koh 1:8). Further examples can be found in Exod 33:11; Lev 25:10; 1 Kgs 8:31; 1 Cor 4:1; and Gal 6:1. – Literature:

1917. Urban Holzmeister SJ: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41 (1917) 303–332, at p. 325.
2011. Anna Giacalone Ramat – Andrea Sansò: L’emploi indéfini de *homo* en latin tardif: aux origines d’un européanisme. In: Michèle Fruyt – Olga Spevac (eds.): *La quantification en latin*. Paris (457 pp.), pp. 93–116. – Many examples from the Vulgate are quoted.
2014. Brigitte Bauer: Indefinite *Homo* in the Gospels of the Vulgate. In: Piera Molinelli et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif* X. Volume 2. Bergamo (x, pp. 397–763), pp. 415–436.

homo interior – the inner man [der innere Mensch]. – Rom 7:22: “cette partie supérieure de l’âme qui trouve sa satisfaction dans la loi de Dieu” (Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 392). – Hans Peter Rieger: Hieronymus, die Rabbinen und Paulus (2 Kor 4,16). *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 68 (1977) 132–137.

honestus, honestas, honestare – wealthy, rich, wealth, to make rich [reich, Reichtum, reich machen].

This group of words in the Vulgate often refers to “wealth” rather than to “honor”; see Tobit 1:16; Sir 11:14 (*paupertas et honestas a Deo sunt*); 31:1; Wisd 10:11. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 48–49.

1875. Rönsch, p. 367.

1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer (64 pp.), pp. 51–52.

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Über die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachlichen Untersuchungen. *Philologus* 42.2: 319–378, at p. 325: only Sir 37:13 is *honestas* = Anständigkeit (decency, honesty).

1908. Joseph Michael Heer: *Die versio latina des Barnabasbriefes und ihr Verhältnis zur altlateinischen Bibel*. Freiburg. lxxxiv, 132 pp. – “Da sich der Klassenunterschied in der römischen Kaiserzeit in einer Schroffheit entwickelte, dass die Bürgerschaft nicht nur nach dem Besitz in Arm und Reich, sondern zugleich nach der Ehre in die sehr ungleichen Hälften der *honestiores* und der *humiliores* geschieden wurde, so fiel *honestus* und *dives* faktisch in eins zusammen. (...) Man hat den Gebrauch von *honestus* = reich früher als Afrikanismus in Anspruch genommen (Thielmann u.a.). Ein ursprünglicher Provinzialismus mag es immerhin sein” (p. xlix).

1913. Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 200.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 61.

honorare – to honour [ehren]. Jerome points out that *honorare* in biblical language often has the special meaning of “to honour with gifts,” as is the case when parents are to be honoured or widows and elders (Matt 15:4; 1 Tim 5:3, 17; *Commentary on Matthew*, PL 26: 105–106 on Matt 15:4). Meershoek, pp. 114–116. → **honorificare**

honorificare – to make a donation, to support with financial means [eine Gabe geben, finanziell unterstützen]. Matt 15:5–6. See esp. Sir 7:33: *honorifica sacerdotes* – make donations to the priests. – Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín cristiano*. Madrid 1994 (588 pp.), p. 253. → **-ficare**

horripilare – to bristle with hair [von struppigen Haaren strotzen]. This verb is attested only once – in Sir 27:15; the wording echoes the episode in Apuleius’ *Golden Ass* (III, 24) where the hero Lucius metamorphoses into a hairy donkey. See the textual note on Sir 27:15 in Chapter 21. – Philipp Thielmann: *Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach*. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, at p. 512.

I

id est – that is, that means [das ist, das heißt]. Like *hoc est*, *id est* introduces explanatory glosses. Examples: *mamzer hoc est de scorto natus* – mamzer, i.e., born from a prostitute (Deut 23:2); *ne vocetis me Noemi id est pulchram* – you shall not call me Noemi, i.e., beautiful (Ruth 1:20). – Literature:

2021. Matthew Kraus: How Jerome Dealt with Glosses. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 5: 1–3.

2023. Matthew Kraus: Glossentradition des Hieronymus. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 30–31.

idipsum / id ipsum, in idipsum – altogether, equally; immediately [allesamt, gleichfalls; sofort]. The expression seems to refer to “oneness in the abstract sense” (Einssein als Abstraktum, Kaulen), and is used either temporally or socially. **(1)** Examples of the social meaning: *exaltemus nomen eius in idipsum* – let us extol his name together (Ps 34:4 [Vg 33:4], Douay Version); *id ipsum sapientes* – feeling the same way (Phil 2:2); *ut idipsum dicatis omnes* – that you all speak (*dicere*, subjunctive) unanimously (1 Cor 1:10). – **(2)** Examples of the temporal meaning: *in pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam* – in peace I lay down now (or: immediately), and rest (Ps 4:9, Hoberg), or: I will at once fall asleep; *et loquebatur in idipsum* – and immediately spoke (Ps 41:7–8 [Vg 40:7–8], with *in idipsum* belonging to the previous verse; Hoberg, p. 142; but see textual note on Ps 41:7–8, Chapter **21**). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 29–31.

1904. Kaulen, p. 170: “das Einssein als Abstraktum.”

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. 2. Auflage. Freiburg (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 11.

1921. Plater/White, p. 72.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. vii. Richards refers to Ammianus Marcellinus who starts a sentence with *is ipse* (xvi, 10,16).

1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 476.

1973. Edoardo Vineis: Studio sulla lingua dell’Italia. *L’Italia Dialettale* 34 (1971) 136–248; 36 (1973) 287–372; 37 (1974) 154–166, at pp. 341–342.

2012. Roman Müller: *Sit autem sermo vester est est non non*: Klassisches und nichtklassisches “Ja.” In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon 2012 (1085 pp.), pp. 111–120, at pp. 113 and 118: *id ipsum* may also mean “yes” (and one may ponder the relevance of this fact for understanding some of the Vulgate passages, B. Lang).

idolum – idol [Götzenbild], a loan-word from the Greek (*eidôlon*). *Rachel furata est idola patris sui* (Gen 31:19) – Rachel stole away her father’s idols (Douay Version); Rachel stahl die Hausgötzen ihres Vaters (Allioli). The word is also used in the New Testament: Rom 2:22; 1 Cor 8:4; 10:19, etc. The form *idolium* is attested only once (1 Cor 8:10, reflecting Greek *eidôlion*). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 243: *idolium*.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 168–169.

2008. Lyliane Sznajder: *Non facietis vobis idolum et sculptile* (vulg. Lev. 26,1). In: Danièle Auger – Étienne Wolf (eds.): *Culture classique et christianisme*. Paris 2008 (420 pp.), pp. 399–411 (deals with *idolum*, *sculptile*, and *conflatile*).

2022. Stefanie Peintner: *Gott im Bild. Eidôlon. Studien zur Herkunft und Verwendung des Begriffs für das Götterbild in der Septuaginta*. Turnhout. 289 pp.

iesus – Jesus. Jesus Christ is not the only person with this name. Joshua (Iosue) is occasionally called *iesus* (title of the book of Joshua, Sir 46:1), and there are three more persons called *iesus*: a high priest (Hag 1:1; Zech 3:3–9, renamed *iesua* in NVg), the author of the book of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus, prologue), and *iesus qui dicitur iustus* (Col 4:11). Jerome has introduced the name of Jesus (Christ) in Hab 3:18 (changed in NVg), as has a Christian interpolator in 4 Ezra 7:28. – Bernhard Lang: Jesus im Alten Testament. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 43–44.

ille, illa, illud – he, she, it [er, sie, es]. Occasionally, *ille* (like → **ipse**) functions as what eventually will become the definite article in Romance languages: *ille recusabat stuprum* – he refused the (act of) adultery (Gen 39:10); *et ille alius discipulus praecurrit citius Petro* – and the other disciple ran faster than Peter (John 20:4); *et ille discipulus* – and this disciple (John 20:8). – Literature:

1919. G. Wolterstorff: Entwicklung von "ille" zum bestimmten Artikel. *Glotta* 10.1–2: 62–93. – Review: Otto Roßbach, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 39, no. 28: 50–51.

1926. Plater/White, p. 79.

1932. George L. Trager: *The Use of Latin Demonstratives (especially ille and ipse) up to 600 A.D. as the Source of the Romance Article*. New York. xi, 198 pp.

1971. Fritz Abel: *L'adjectif démonstratif dans la langue de la Bible latine. Étude sur la formation des systèmes déictiques et de l'article défini des langues romanes*. Tübingen. xxii, 207 pp.

1992. Maria Selig: *Die Entwicklung der Nominaldeterminanten im Spätlatein*. Tübingen. 238 pp.

1996. Michèle Fruyt: Remarques sur les origines latines de l'article défini des langues romanes. *Antiquité Traditive* 4 (1996) 345–350.

2009. Gualtiero Calboli: Latin Syntax and Greek. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 1: *Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 65–194. – Page 116: "I have previously explained this usage [of *ille*], following Abel (1971), as an inner-Latin development and not a Graecism – I no longer hold this position; for two reasons: first, *ille* (or *ipse*) does not occur in Latin as a quasi-article; second, Jerome was a purist and a lover of Cicero, but this is not relevant to the presence of Graecism in the Vetus Latina, which seems to be Vulgar Latin or a basilect, from which Graecism was not excluded. Coleman (...) and Adams (...) considered this problem constructively, but their treatment is rather disappointing."

2012. Gualtiero Calboli: Syntaxe nominale et subordination en latin tardif. In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon (1085 pp.), pp. 439–451. – In his translation of the Bible Jerome eliminated almost every *ille* that was employed in the Vetus Latina to translate the Greek and Hebrew article.

2015. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Vol. I. Oxford (xxiv, 1430 pp.), p. 1149: "the overall conclusion must be that *ille* did not function as a fully-fledged article in the period covered by this Syntax. The same must be said for *ipse*." The period covered by Pinkster's *Syntax* is 200 BCE to 450 CE.

impius, impietas → **pius**

implère → **complère**

improperium – shame, reproach [Schmach, Schmähung, Vorwurf]. *verba improprii* (Sir 31:42) – words of reproach, Schmähworte; *improperium expectavit cor meum* – my heart expected reproach (Ps 69:21; Vg 68:21). "*Improperium* (...) ist ursprünglich nur in der afrikanischen Latinität gebräuchlich und häufig in der Vulgata" (Hagen, p. 19). See also Kaulen, p. 42; and, specifically on *improperare* (to reproach), Rönsch, p. 368.

in – in, into, because, with etc. [in, wegen, mit usw.] To the reader, this preposition's use in the Vulgate poses many problems due to echoing either Greek or Hebrew. Moreover, compared to classical Latin, the ablative often stands for the accusative, and vice versa. Examples: **(a)** *humiliavit in terra vitam meam* (Ps 143:3; Vg 142:3) – he has brought down my life to earth (*humiliare in* + ablative; one would expect accusative *in terram*, which is actually used in the Psalterium Pianum;

see Chapter **16.6**. **(b)** *ne pereamus in anima viri istius* (Jonah 1:14) – so that we will not perish *because* (*in* + ablative) of this man. **(c)** *qui poenitentiam egerunt in praedicatione Jonae* (Matt 12:41) – who repented *because* of Jonah’s preaching. **(d)** *ut sis in populum peculiarem* (Deut 14:2) – so that you are (*esse in* + accusative) his own people. For another example of *esse in* + accusative, see *esto mihi in Deum protectorem* (Ps 31:3, Vg 30:3) – be thou unto me a God, a protector. **(e)** *ponam te in gentibus* (Gen 17:6) – I will make you *into* (*ponere in* + accusative) (many) peoples. **(f)** *delectaverunt te filiae regum in honore tuo* (Ps 45:9–10, Vg 44:9–10) – the daughters of kings have delighted you to honour you (one would expect: *in honorem tuam*); *in* means “for the sake of, aiming at.” **(g)** *iurare in auro templi* (Matt 23:16) – to swear by the gold of the temple; one would expect *per aurum templi*. – **(h)** *si percutimus in gladio?* (Luke 22:49) – should we fight with the sword? – classical Latin would use the mere ablative, without the preposition *in*; this is “instrumental *in*” (Löfstedt, pp. 452–453). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 14–16.

1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg (34 pp.), pp. 25–26: Die Präpositionen ab und in. “In vielen Fällen” haben diese Präpositionen “eine so frappante und fremdklingende Verwendung, daß Nachahmung und Herübernahme aus einer anderen Sprache unverkennbar sind” (p. 25).

1875. Rönsch, pp. 396–397.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 239–241: *in* has all the meanings of the Hebrew preposition “*b*”; he lists 6 meanings: with = accompaniment (mit = Begleitung); with = modality (mit = Modalität); because of, in order to (wegen, um ... willen); by, by means of = instrumentality (durch, vermittels); of (in enumerations; an – bei Aufzählungen); as, in the role of (wie, als, in der Eigenschaft von).

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. Zweite, vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 108: *exultare in Domino* (Ps 33:1, Vg 32:1) = des Herrn wegen frohlocken, to rejoice because of the Lord. (Alternatively, the expression might be considered an untranslatable religious idiom. B. Lang).

1922. Henry P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. Cambridge (xv, 162 pp.), pp. 110–112.

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 452–456: instrumental *in* (*in gladio* = with the sword), reflects Greek *en*, but also the Hebrew preposition *be*. “So ist letzten Endes hinter manchen oben zitierten bibellateinischen Konstruktionen nicht nur griechisches Vorbild deutlich zu erkennen, sondern es schimmert vielfach, obwohl schwächer und entfernter, auch hebräischer Einfluss hindurch” (p. 456).

1947. Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued). *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9: 106–110, at p. 108: “The preposition *in* is used countless times throughout the Vulgate, and following the Greek model, to express various Hebrew shades of adverbial ideas, such as instrumentality, cause, means, etc.”

1973. Edoardo Vineis: Studio sulla lingua dell’Italia. *L’Italia Dialettale* 34 (1971) 136–248; 36 (1973) 287–372; 37 (1974) 154–166, at pp. 360–361.

2010. Silvia Luraghi: Adverbial Phrases. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 2. Berlin (xx, 556 pp.), pp. 19–108. Page 52: “Typical

of Christian Latin is the instrumental use of *in* plus ablative," as in the expression *in gladio* (see example **h**).

2023. Peter Stotz: Latin Bibles as Linguistic Documents. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 415–428, at p. 425. Stotz comments on "the use of the preposition *in* before a predicate (*in praedictivum*), a Hebraism mediated through Greek (εἰς) that subsequently became common. It usually has a consecutive or resultative character, as in *factus est homo in animam uiuentem* ("The human became into a living soul"; Gen 2:7) or *enuitriuit eum sibi in filium* ("she brought him up into a son for herself"; Acts 7:21)."

incipere – to begin, to do (in the future) [anfangen, tun (in der Zukunft)]. *incipere* + infinitive is a periphrastic way of referring to the future. *incipiam vos semper commonere* – I will always remind you (2 Pet 1:12; cf. the literal but clumsy Douay Version: I will begin to put you always in remembrance). More examples: John 4:47 (*incipiebat enim mori* – he was going to die); Jas 2:12 (*incipientes iudicari* – those who are to be judged); Acts 3:3; 27:10. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 369–370.

1926. Plater/White, p. 105 (with note 1).

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 422.

2016. Giovanbattista Galdi: On *coepi/incipio* + infinitive: Some New Remarks. In: J.N. Adams – Nigel Vincent (eds.): *Early and Late Latin: Continuity of Change?* Cambridge 2016 (xx, 470 pp.), pp. 246–264.

2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg (xviii, 317 pp.), pp. 64–65.

incredibilis – not believing, incredible [ungläubig, ungläublich]. – **(1)** not believing (*non credens*) [ungläubig]. But, against one's expectation, the word is not used to say "not to be trusted, not to be believed." Accordingly, *incredibilis animae memoria* (Wisd 10:7) – monument of a soul that does not believe; *incredibiles ad Dominum* (Bar 1:19) – not believing in the Lord. – **(2)** hardly to be believed, incredible, extraordinary; ungläublich, außergewöhnlich. *Incredibili furore libidinis* (Judg 20:5) – with incredible fury of lust; *incredibili pulchritudine* (Esth 2:15) – (a woman) of incredible/extraordinary beauty; (eine Frau) von ungläublicher Schönheit; (une femme) d'une incroyable beauté (Glaire). – Literature:

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at pp. 529, 532.

1875. Rönsch, pp. 332–333.

1904. Kaulen, p. 147.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 59.

infidelis – faithless, unbelieving [ungläubig]. The adjective may also mean "unreliable" [unzuverlässig] (Koh 5:3, Kaulen). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 333.

1904. Kaulen, p. 130.

1951. H. Schmeck: Infidelis. Ein Beitrag zur Wortgeschichte. *Vigiliae Christianae* 5: 129–147.

1965. Ilona Opelt: Griechische und lateinische Bezeichnungen der Nichtchristen. Ein terminologischer Versuch. *Vigiliae Christianae* 19: 1–22.

1988. André Thibaut OSB: *L'infidélité du peuple élu*. Rome 1988 (3336 pp), pp. 263–265 (only *Vetus Latina* and non-biblical Christian Latin).

infirmitas – illness [Krankheit]. This is the most common word for “illness, sickness”; less often but prominent is also *languor*. The most common classical term, → **morbus**, is not used in the Vulgate. Annette Weissenrieder – Andé Luiz Visinoni, Illness, Suffering, and Treatment in a Changing world. Old Latin Gospels and “Medical” Vocabulary. *Early Christianity* 13.3 (2022) 317–341, at pp. 321–335.

ingens – great, mighty [groß, mächtig, riesig]. This very common Latin adjective is used in the Old Testament (e.g., Esth 4:3 *planctus ingens* – a great mourning; 1 Chr 5:23 *ingens numerus* – a great number), but never in the New Testament. → **grandis**

iniquitas – iniquity [Bosheit]. – Literature:

1989. Scarpat I, p. 453.

170. Zürcher, p. 177.

2006. Lyliane Sznajder: *Impietas et iniquitas dans la Vulgate*, in: Jean-Paul Brachet – Paul Moussy (ed.): *Latin et langues techniques*. Paris (334 pp.), 295–316.

iniurius – lawless, illegal, unjust [ungerecht]. Although clearly attested (2 Pet 2:7), this adjective is absent from the standard dictionaries such as Blaise, Souter, and Harden; but it does figure in Richards’ dictionary. In 2 Pet 2:7, *iniuria* is not a noun (*inuiria* = injury, injustice), but an adjective belonging to *conversatione*; accordingly, *iniuria ac luxuriose conversatione* – by unjust and lewd behaviour. For details, see below, Chapter 22, textual note on 2 Pet 2:7.

inquit – he said [er sagte]. The word marks direct speech as in *delebo, inquit, hominem quem creavi* – I will destroy, he said, the man whom I have created (Gen 6:7); *ne appropinques, inquit, huc* – do not, he said, come near (Exod 3:5). To use *inquit* rather than *dixit* is more elegant. Moreover, the word “adds stress to the word after which it appears.” – Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome’s Translation of the Book of Exodus: Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden 2017 (xiii, 266 pp.), p. 88, note 74.

inspirare – to breath into [einhauchen]. Divine inbreathing in the Vulgate generally refers to God’s breathing-in of life into man, as in Gen 2:7; Wisd 15:11; Sir 4:11 (Vg 4:12). The only passage that clearly speaks of the inbreathing of words (in the sense of verbal inspiration) is 2 Pet 1:21. – John C. Poirier: *The Invention of the Inspired Past. Philological Windows on the Theopneustia of Scripture*. London 2021 (xvi, 249 pp.), pp. 17–19 speaks of vivificationist vs. inspirationist inbreathing.

intelligere – to understand, to be wise [verstehen, weise sein]. The meaning “to be wise” is well attested (Ps 2:10; Wisd 6:2). In some passages, however, the verb does not refer to mere intellectual comprehension; instead, it implies a decision or emotional involvement, so that in modern languages, one would resort to expressions that include the word “heart.” Examples: *beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem* (Ps 41:2; Vg 40:2) – blessed the one who has a heart for the poor and need; *omnis qui audit verbum regni et non intelligit* (Matt 13:19) – everyone who hears the message of the kingdom and does not take it to heart. Cf. also Ps 5:2; 50:22 (Vg 49:22); Matt 13:23; 24:15; Mark 13:14. – Hagen, pp. 84–85; Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 462.

intendere – to hearken, to consider mercifully [hören, sich etwas zu Herzen nehmen]. *pulchritudine tua intende* (Ps 45:5, Vg 44:5) is a special case; see the textual note below, in Chapter 21. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 371–372.

1979. Eva Odelman: Note sur l'emploi du verbe *intendere* dans le psaume XLIV de la Vulgate. *Revue bénédictine* 89: 303–305.

inter – among, between [unter, zwischen]. The preposition *inter* is also “used to express a superlative in accordance with Hebrew usage”; as in *benedicta tu inter mulieribus* (Luke 1:42) – you are the most blessed of women. – Henry P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. Cambridge (xv, 162 pp.), p. 106.

investigabilis – unsearchable [unerforschlich]. Although *investigare* means “to test” (Ps 139:3, Vg 138:3), *investigabilis*, with privative *in-*, is not to be emended to *ininvestigabilis*, a form found in the Codex Fuldensis (Eph 3:8, Weber/Gryson). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 148.

1956. Otto Hiltbrunner: Der Schluss von Tertullians Schrift gegen Hermogenes. *Vigiliae Christianae* 19: 215–228: a long discussion of *ininvestigabilis*.

1959. J. Mehlmann: *Anexichnístos* = *investigabilis* (Röm 11,33; Eph 3,8). *Biblica* 40: 902–914.

invocare – to call upon [anrufen]. Examples: *invocare nomen Domini* – to call upon the name of the Lord (Gen 4:26; cf. Deut 32:3; 2 Sam 6:2); *laudans invocabo Dominum* – with praise I will call upon the Lord (Ps 18:4, Vg 17:4). With 162 occurrences in the Vulgate (though not used in the Gospels), this is a standard verb for “to pray.” – Marie Frey Rébeillé-Borgella: *Vocare, uocatio, leurs préverbés et préfixés: étude sémantique*. Doctoral dissertation. Université de Lyon 2012 (483 pp.), pp. 284–306; page 305: “il est remarquable que, quand le complément d'*inuocare* a un référent qui n'est pas le Seigneur et qui n'appartient pas au domaine de la religion, cet emploi soit toujours dans un passage où la traduction latine s'écarte du texte original ou dans un livre biblique qui n'a pas été traduit par Jérôme.”

ipse – self [selbst] In the Vulgate, *ipse* (self) is often used as an intensifying pronoun, but also as a personal pronoun, and, finally, in the sense of “the same.” – (1) Intensifying personal pronoun: (a) *ipse dominabitur tui* (Gen 3:15) – he will dominate you. (b) *anima enim ipsius in eo est* (Acts 20:10) – his soul is in him (lit.: the soul of him (...); i.e., he is alive). (c) *mulier timens Dominum ipsa laudabitur* (Prov 31:30) – a woman who fears the Lord, she will be praised. (d) *et ipsa concepit filium* (Luke 1:36) – and she has conceived a son. (e) *quae sunt omnia in interitum ipso usu* (Col 2:22) – which all are unto destruction by the very use (Douay Version). (f) *ipsa vero civitas* (Rev 21:18) – but the city itself. Hagen, p. 77; Plater/White, p. 72. (g) *ipse intrabit in regnum caelorum* – only he will enter into the kingdom of heaven (Matt 7:21). – (2) Personal pronoun. *et ipse vobis demonstrabit cenaculum grande* (Mark 14:15) – and he will show you a large dining room. Many examples are listed in Hertenberg, pp. 176–181. – (3) *ipse* = *idem*. The statement *ex ipso ore procedit benedictio et maledictio* (Jas 3:10) is to be rendered “out of the same mouth comes blessing and cursing.” *Christus heri et hodie ipse (idem, NVg) et in saecula* (Hebr 13:8) – Christ yesterday and today, (is) also the same forever. Kaulen, p. 169. – (4) *ipse* can also serve as a substitute of the definite article (which does not exist in classical Latin); see the textual note on Ps 32:1 (Vg 31:1) in Chapter 21. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 77.

1875. Rönsch, pp. 422–423, 480 note 5. – On *ipse* as definite article.

1904. Kaulen, p. 168 (no. 73).

1926. Plater/White, pp. 72, 79.

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), pp. 107–108 (§§ 154–158).

2011. Mari Ioanne Hertenberg: Classical and Romance Usages of *ipse* in the Vulgate. *Oslo Studies in Language* 3.3 (2011) 173–188, esp. pp. 176–181.

ire – to go [gehen]. **(1)** The perfect form *ivit* (he went) is occasionally used, instead of the classical *iit*, see Gen 12:4; 2 Sam 11:10; Matt 21:30. Also *iebat* (imperfect) for classical *ibat* – he went (see Judith 12:7 Weber/Gryson: *exiebat*). – **(2)** The imperative *i* (go!) is never used in the Vulgate; instead, the Vulgate uses *vade* (181 times); the reason is the avoidance of monosyllabic verb forms. Accordingly, one says *vadit* (21 times), never *it* for “he goes,” and *vadis* (10 times), never *is* for “you go.” Rarely used is *eo* (2 times) for “I go,” the normal form is *vado* (Löfstedt, p. 38 after Wackernagel). Well-known passages: *vade in pace* – go in peace (Mark 5:34), *vade et tu fac similiter* – go and do likewise (Luke 10:37). – **(3)** The semantic range is wide; *ire cum aliquem* means “to be with, to accompany” (Gen 12:4; Num 22:12; Luke 7:11, etc.). → **abire** → **vadere** – Literature:

1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith*. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), pp. 48–49.

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 38–40. Page 38: “Den dezidiert zweisilbigen und den dreisilbigen Formen von *ire* macht *vadere* fast keine Konkurrenz.”

1998. María Dolores Verdejo Sánchez: El verbo “eo” en la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 21.2: 603–609; this paper is included in the online edition: *Analecta Malacitana electronica* 24 (June 2008).

2016. Andrea Nuti: Between aspect and deixis: *Vado* in classical Latin and the evolution of motion verbs. *Pallas* 102: 69–77.

irriguum – water place, source [Wasserstelle, Quelle]. Stummer postulates the existence of this word for Josh 15:19; Judg 1:15. Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1 (1937) 23–50, at pp. 37–43. The word is neither in Blaise (*Dictionnaire*) nor in Souter (*A Glossary of Later Latin*).

ita – so, thus [so]. Hagen (p. 80) suggests the meaning “yes” for Luke 15:7,10, and places a comma after it.

-iter, -ter – Formative element appended to create adverbs. In classical Latin, adverbs are formed with the affix (*i*)*ter* only from adjectives such as *levis*, *fortis*, *celer*, *felix* and *elegans*; this kind of word formation has been generalized in Vulgate Latin: *duriter* (Wisd 5:23), *infirmiter* (Wisd 4:4), *sinceriter* (Tob 3:4), where the classical forms would be *dure*, *infirme*, *sincere*. – Kaulen, pp. 233–234; Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 59.

iudicare – to judge [richten]. Depending upon the context, the verb has the following meanings: **(1)** to judge [richten], with direct object (*iudicare aliquem*, instead of classical *iudicare de aliquo*): Matt 19:28. – **(2)** to rule, to govern [herrschen] – a semantic Hebraism: Ps 2:10. – **(3)** to do justice, to promote someone’s right, to vindicate [recht schaffen], as in *iudica me, Deus* (Ps 43:1, Vg 42:1) – do me justice, o God; schaffe mir recht, Gott. In classical Latin, one would say: *ius redde mihi, Deus* (Ps 42:1, Psalterium Pianum). – Hagen, pp. 90–91. – **(4)** to punish, to condemn: *qui credit in eum, non iudicatur* – who believes in him, will not be condemned (John 3:18); et *iudicabo te iudicium adulterarum* – and I will inflict the punishment of adulteresses on you (Ezek 16:38).

iugis, iugiter – continual (adjective), continually (adverb) [immerwährend, immer]. *quasi iuge convivium* – like a continual feast (Prov 15:15); *holocaustum iuge* – continual sacrifice (Ezra 3:5); *per singulos dies iugiter* – every day continually (Exod 29:38). Rönsch, pp. 118–119 and p. 150; Kaulen, p. 233 (read: 2 Mos. 29,38); Claude Moussy: Les emplois de iugis et iugiter dans la latinité tardive, in: Louis Callebaut (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif*. IV. Hildesheim 1995 (723 pp.), pp. 237–249.

Iunia – Junia. Latin female name, mentioned only Rom 16:7. See the discussion in Chapters **8.5** (introductory note; English 2022) and **22** (Rom 16:7).

Iuppiter, genitive **Iovis** – The deity Jupiter appears in 2 Macc 6:2 and Acts 14:12–13 (Vg 14–12); 19:35 (*Iovisque prolis* – and Jupiter’s offspring).

ius – law, justice [Gesetz, Recht] – used only in the Old Testament. – Igor Filippov: Bible and Roman Law. The Notions of Law, Custom and Justice in the Vulgate. In: Angelo Di Berardino et al., *Lex et religio*. Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 135. Rome 2013 (782 pp.), pp. 105–141, at pp. 117–141: discussion of words from the realm of law; considered are: *aequitas, caerimonia, consuetudo, edictum, fas, ius, iudicium, iustitia, lex, mandatum, mos, ordo, praeceptum, rectum, regula, ritus, veritas*. “The text of the Vulgate leaves no doubt that Jerome used the Roman legal notions thoughtfully” (p. 117).

iustus, iustitia – just, the Just One; justice [gerecht, der Gerechte; Gerechtigkeit]. In several Old Testament passages, *iustus* is used as a messianic title: the Just One; see Isa 41:2.10; 45:8; 51:5.7; 62:1.2; Zeph 3:3. – Literature:

2003. Joachim Becker: ‘Iustus’ statt ‘iustitia.’ Zu einer messianisierenden Übersetzungsweise des Hieronymus. In: Klaus Kiesow – Thomas Meurer (eds.): *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*. Münster 2003 (x, 620 pp.), pp. 21–34.

2023. Marcela Andoková – Jozef Tiño: Gottes Gnade und Gerechtigkeit im lateinischen Psalter. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 331–357.

2023. Benedikt Collinet: Das Wortfeld Gerechtigkeit in der Vulgata (*iustitia, iustus*). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 60–61.

K

kalendae – calends [die Kalenden]. Used only in the plural (plural tantum). This typically Latin word designates the first day of the month. Jerome uses the word freely in his translations of Old Testament books: Num 10:10; 29:6; 1 Sam 20:5.18.24.27.34, etc. One example: *calendas vestras et solemnitates vestras odivit anima mea* – my soul hates your calends and your solemnities (Isa 1:14). The underlying Hebrew *hōdeš* refers to the day of the new moon which, according to the ancient Israelite lunar calendar, is the first day of the month. In the New Testament, *kalendae* is not used; its place is taken by *neomenia* – new moon (Col 2:16). Vernacular translations of the Vulgate render *kalendae* in Isa 1:14 as: new moons (Douay Version), the new month begins (Knox), Neumonde (Allioli), calends (Glaire), Kalenden[feiern] (Tusculum-Vulgata).

L

labor, laborare – labour, to labour [Arbeit, arbeiten]. Metonymically, labor also refers to the “fruit of labour” (Deut 28:33; John 4:38). Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 36. On metonymical meaning.

2008. Christophe Rico: Figure et théorie du signe: les solutions de Saint Jérôme. *Modèles linguistiques* 58 (2008) 79–98.

lactare (I), ablactare – to suckle, to wean [stillen, entwöhnen, abstillen]. Gen 21:7–8; 1 Kgs 1:23; 6:10; Job 3:12; Luke 2:29, et al. → **nutrire, nutrix**. Jean Trinquier: Le lexique latin de l’allaitement. In: Yasmina Foehr-Jansens et al. (eds.): *Allaiter de l’Antiquité à nos jours*. Turnhout 2023 (989 pp.), pp. 177–180.

lactare (II) – to entice, to allure [verlocken, verführen]. *ego lactabo eam* (Hos 2:16, Vg 2:14) – I will allure her (Douay Version). See also *lactatum* – enticed, the correct reading in Job 31:27 (Weber/Gryson; the Clementina has *laetatum* – rejoiced [gefremt]). – Rönsch, pp. 213–214; Alberto Vaccari SJ: “Lacto” nella Volgata. *Biblica* 2 (1921) 219–221.

lacus – cistern, pond, pit [Zisterne, Teich]. **(1)** Forms. For Jerome, the genitive is *laci* (Isa 14:15; Jer 37:15), while classical Latin has the genitive *lacūs* (1 Macc 9:33). Kaulen, p. 120. – **(2)** Meanings. The normal, classical meaning of *lacus*, “sea,” is completely absent from the Vulgate. Most occurrences require the meaning cistern or pond (Gen 40:15; Exod 7:19; Jer 38:6). In the book of Daniel the *lacus leonum* (Dan 6:7), usually rendered lions’ den, is a pit. – Literature:

1975. Rönsch, pp. 315–316.

1966. Meershoek, pp. 211–220.

1970. Zürcher, p. 180.

1994. Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín Cristiano*. Madrid (588 pp.), p. 256.

2023. Kevin Zilverberg: Von der Vetus Latina zu den Übersetzungen des Hieronymus. Kontinuität und Wandel im Sprachlichen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 87–108, at pp. 96–97.

laetari, laetitia – to rejoice, joy [jubeln, Freude]. The stem *laet-* is used very frequently in the Vulgate: 368 times in the Old Testament, but only 9 times in the New Testament. The statistics for the semantically synonymous *gaudēre/gaudium* is more balanced: 162 occurrences in the Old Testament, and 119 in the New Testament. – Anna Kraml: “Tu laetitia Israhel” (Jdt 15,10 Vg). The reception of ‘Joy’ in the Vulgate’s translation of the Old Testament. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 75–84 (online journal). Kraml studies the relevant vocabulary in Genesis, Deuteronomy, Tobit, and Judith. Interestingly, the Greek text of Judith has no reference to “joy.”

lapis angularis – cornerstone [Eckstein]. This architectural term most likely refers to the main stone in a building’s foundation, so that cornerstone = foundation stone. The biblical passages (such as Ps 118:22 [Vg 117:2]; Matt 21:42; 1 Pet 2:6) are discussed by Binding. – Literature:

1998. Günther Binding: *Der früh- und hochmittelalterliche Bauherr als sapiens architectus*. 2. Auflage. Darmstadt (480 pp.), pp. 315–323.

2020. Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), pp.34–41.

later – brick [Backstein, Ziegel]. *coctus later* (Isa 16:7.11; cf. Gen 11:3) is fired brick [gebrannter Backstein], whereas *later* (Ex 5:7; Isa 9:1; Nah 3:14), without the adjective, is the sun-dried mud-brick [luftgetrockneter Lehmziegel]. – Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), pp. 44–46.

latinus, latine – Latin, in Latin [lateinisch, auf Lateinisch]. The Latin language is referred to only rarely in the Bible. It appears in the description of the note (*titulus*) fixed to the cross of Christ in Luke 23:38 (*litteris latinis* – [written] with Latin letters) and John 19:20 (*scriptum Latine* – written in Latin). It also figures in Rev 9:11 (Weber/Gryson, Clementina): *latine habet* (Clementina: *habens*) *nomen Exterminans* – in Latin he has the name Destroyer.

laus – praise [Lob]. Very frequently used in both Testaments. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), pp. 156–166; this source explains the semantic closeness to → **gloria**, adding that “la *laus* a alors un caractère moins solennel que la *gloria*” (p. 160).

legere – to read [lesen]. In Acts 27:13, this verb has a special nautical meaning – “to sail along the coast, to coast along”; see textual note on this passage, below, in Chapter 22.

lex – law [Gesetz]. Cristóbal Macías Villalobos: *Lex en la Vulgata. Analecta Malacitana* 23.1 (2000) 171–190.

libertas – freedom [Freiheit]. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), pp. 167–179.

lignum – stick (of wood), tree [Stock (aus Holz), Baum]. – (1) stick, stave: *existis cum gladiis et lignis* – you came out with swords and staves (Mark 14:48). – (2) tree: in many passages, *lignum* is used for saying “tree”: *silva lignorum germantium* – a wood of sprouting trees (Koh 2:6); *omnia ligna silvarum* – all the trees of the woods (Ps 96:12, Vg. 95:12). See also Gen 1:11; 2:16–17; 3:2–3.6; Ps 105:33 (Vg 104:33); Prov 3:18; 11:30; Koh 11:3; Cant 2:3; Ezek 17:24; Joel 1:19; Rev 22:2. In classical Latin, *lignum* is used for “tree” very rarely, the main occurrence being Vergil: *Aeneid* XII, 767: *venerabile lignum* – tree held in reverence; but there is also the dictum *in silvam ne ligna feres* (Horace: *Satires* I, 10,34; quoted by Jerome at the end of his Preface to the Psalter *iuxta hebraeos*), to be translated either “Don’t carry wood into the forest” or “Don’t carry trees into the forest.” More frequently used for “tree” is *arbor* (Gen 21:15; Matt 3:10, and often). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, pp. 23–24.

1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence 1911 (xlii, 251 pp.), pp. 139–140.

1969. Olli Makkonen: Waldterminologie im Latein. *Arctos: Acta Philologica Fennica. Nova Series* 6: 81–90. – Page 83: “Das Wort *lignum* dürfte ursprünglich das Holzmaterial bedeutet haben. Weil aber die allgemeinste Gebrauchsweise des Holzes Verbrennen zur Erzeugung von Wärme war, wird damit meistens gerade Brennholz gemeint, während Bauholz *materia* oder *materies* heisst.”

2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), p. 316–317: *lignum* (wood) can be used metonymically for *arbor* (tree).

ligurius, ligyrius – Ligurian (stone) [ligurischer (Stein)]. Exod 28:19; 39:12. Jerome translates the Hebrew word *lešem* as *ligyrius* (Weber/Gryson) or *Ligurius* (Clementina) = Ligurian stone, be-

cause one of the trade routes of Baltic amber ended in Liguria. – Felix Albrecht: *Vom Bernstein zum Luchsstein. Der im Hebräischen mit Išm bezeichnete Stein und seine Äquivalente in Septuaginta und Vetus Latina*. Indogermanische Bibliothek. Heidelberg 2020. 103 pp.

lucifer – light bearer, i.e., the planet Venus, the morning star [Lichtträger, d.h. der Planet Venus, der Morgenstern]. Job 11:17; 38:32; Ps 110:3 (Vg 109:3); Isa 14:12; 2 Pet 1:19. In Isa 14:12, the word is used as a personal name of Satan. According to Karsten C. Ronnenberg: *Mythos bei Hieronymus. Zur christlichen Transformation paganer Erzählungen in der Spätantike*. Stuttgart 2015 (386 pp.), pp. 86–90, Jerome, when using the name, did not think of a pagan deity.

M

magis – more, rather [mehr, vielmehr]. In late Latin, *magis* is often used in periphrastic comparison. An example is *magis bonus* – better (Wisd 8:20) which would be *melior* in classical Latin. In the expression *quanto magis melior* – how much better (Matt 12:12), the word *magis* is actually superfluous. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 75–76.

1875. Rönsch, p. 342.

1955. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 98.

2018. Lucie Pultrová: Periphrastic Comparison in Latin. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 17.1: 93–110, at p. 108.

magnus – great, big; biggest, greatest [groß; der größte, höchste]. Occasionally, the positive is used instead of the superlative, and typically so in the case of *magnus*, so that *magnus* means “the biggest one,” as in *a minimo usque ad magnum* – from the smallest to the biggest (Judith 15:8); *sacerdos magnus* – the high priest, literally the greatest priest (Sir 50:1); *quod est mandatum magnum in lege* – what is the greatest (most important) commandment in the Law (Matt 22:36); *rex magnus super omnem terram* – the greatest king, ruler of all the world (Ps 47:3, Vg 46:3); *rex magnus super omnes deos* – the greatest god, ruler of all gods (Ps 95:3, Vg 94:3); *rex magnus ego, dicit Dominus exercituum* – I am the greatest king, says the Lord of Hosts (Mal 1:14). – In some passages, the superlative meaning of *magnus* may be considered: *Esaias propheta magnus et fidelis in conspectu dei* – the prophet Isaiah, great and faithful in the sight of God, could actually mean: the greatest and most faithful prophet in the sight of God (Sir 48:25). A New Testament example is the acclamation *magna Diana Ephesiorum* – great (or: the greatest) is Diana of the Ephesians (Acts 19:28). – Kaulen, p. 162. → **grandis**

maiestas – glory, majesty [Hoheit, Würde, Herrlichkeit, Majestät]. Deriving as it does from *maius* (bigger), *maiestas* does not have an exact Greek equivalent. The NVg often has *gloria* where the Clementina has *maiestas*. – (1) Divine majesty. Most of the 34 Vulgate passages (2 Chr 7:1; Ezek 43:4; Matt 19:28, etc.) that use it speak of the *maiestas* of God, see esp. Ezek 43:4: *et maiestas Domini ingressa est templum* – and the glory/majesty of the Lord entered the temple (also see the parallel passage that uses → **gloria**, 1 Kgs 8:11). Christ will come *cum virtute multa et maiestate* (Matt 24:30) – with much power and majesty (or: in all his power and glory, in all his majesty, → **virtus** and *maiestas* being synonymous). Only one passage, Acts 19:27, refers to the *maiestas* of goddess Diana; meant is her reputation; translators have a variety of suggestions for the Acts passage: Douay Version: majesty, Grundl: Erhabenheit, Knox: greatness, Glaire: la majesté. – (2) One passage is special: *qui scrutator est maiestatis opprimitur a gloria* (Prov 25:27) – a searcher of majesty will be overwhelmed (Douay Version). Knox has: “search too high, and

the brightness shall dazzle thee"; and adds in a note that this is what the Latin seems to mean, "but it is difficult to derive this or any meaning from the Hebrew text as it stands." – Frederic Raurell: Valor teològic específic de 'maiestas' en la Vulgata. *Revista Catalana de Teologia* (Barcelona) 20.1 (1995) 1–35.

mamona – mammon [Mammon]. Matt 6:24; Luke 16:9,11,13. This is a Semitic word, spelled either *mammona* (Clementina) or *mamona* (Weber/Gryson). – B.A. Mastin: Latin *mam(m)ona* and the Semitic Languages. A False Trail and a Suggestion. *Biblica* 65 (1984) 87–90.

manducare – to eat [essen] → **comedere**. Christine Mohrmann: *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin*. Teil 1. Nijmegen (270 pp.), pp. 192–193.

mansuetus – meek [sanftmütig]. In Zeph 2:3, *mansueti* are the good people, the righteous ones, while *quaerite mansuetum* – search for the Meek One, takes *mansuetus* to be a messianic title. The Christian type of the messianic *mansuetus* is the prophet Jeremiah, see *ego quasi agnus mansuetus qui portatur ad victimam* – I was like a meek lamb, carried to be a victim (Jer 11:19). – Sara Margarino: Lessico profetico del servo sofferente in Girolamo – il *mansuetus*. In: Sandra Isetta (ed.): *Il capro espiatorio. Mito, religione, storia*. Genoa 2007 (345 pp.), pp. 219–235.

manus, -ūs – hand [Hand]. Several idioms are noteworthy: **(1)** *anima mea in manibus meis* – my soul is in my hands (Ps 119:109, Vg 118:109), i.e., in danger. This is a literal rendering of the underlying Hebrew idiom. – **(2)** *Aegypto dedimus manum* – we have given the hand to Egypt (Lam 5:6), i.e., we have surrendered to Egypt. – **(3)** *etiamsi manus ad manum fuerit* – though hand should be joined to hand (Prov 16:5, Douay Version). This expression does not make sense in Latin; the expression echoes a Hebrew idiom for saying "I am sure." See textual note on Prov 216:5 (Chapter 21). – **(4)** *mittentes per manus Barnabae et Sauli* (Acts 11:30) – sending (the money) in the care of Barnabas and Saul; or simply: by B. and S.

mare – sea [Meer]. The noun is used for the sea as a general concept (Gen 1:10 – the plural *maria*; Prov 8:29; Koh 1:7; Dan 3:78), the Mediterranean (*mare occidentale*, Deut 11:24; *mare Palaestinarum*, Exod 23:31), but also for lakes such as the lake of Galilee (Matt 15:29). Moreover, *mare* is used in topographical and geographical descriptions to indicate the western direction because the Mediterranean is the western limit of Palestine (*occidens*, *occidentalis*). *mare quod respicit ad occidentem* (Num 35:5) – the sea that looks to the west. – Meershoek, pp. 202–210.

Maria – personal name. Note only the mother of Jesus (and some other women) are called Maria in the New Testament. The name also occurs in the Old Testament as rendering of Miriam the prophetess (*Maria prophetissa*, Exod 15:20). On the latter, see Agnethe Siquans, Mirjam (Mari) in der Vulgata; in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 125–126.

medium – middle [Mitte]. *abyssi in medio mari* – the depths in the midst of the sea (Exod 15:8, Douay Version); *firmamentum in medio aquarum* – a firmament in the middle of the waters (Gen 1:6). In classical Latin, *medius* (central) is an adjective with spacial meaning. In Vulgate Latin, *medium* appears as a new spatial noun. – Eusebia Tarrío Ruiz: El adjective. In: José Miguel Baños Baños (ed.): *Sintaxis del latín clásico*. Madrid (838 pp.), pp. 251–272, at p. 268.

melior – a better one [einer, der besser ist], adjective. Note the following syntactic possibilities: *numquid non ego melior tibi sum quam decem filii* – am I not better to you than ten sons? (1 Sam 1:8; *melior quam* is classical Latin); *melius est modicum iusto super divitias peccatorum multas* – better is a little to the just than the great riches of the wicked (Ps 37:16 [Vg 36:16]; *melius super* is late Latin).

-mentum – formative element of many nouns (Bildungselement vieler Nomina), used to form long, impressive words. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 22–25.

1926. Plater/White, p. 46.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 57: We can see “daß die Sprache der lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen beim Nomen jene volltönenden Endungen liebt, die dann später in lautgesetzlich abgewandelten Formen in die aus der *lingua vulgaris* entstandenen romanischen Sprachen übergegangen sind. So treffen wir *deliramentum* (Luc 24,11) für *delirium* (vgl. ital. deliramento); *exsecramentum* (Sir 15,13) für *exsecratio*; *aeramentum* (Sir 12,10) für *aes*; *figmentum* (Ps 103,14, Vg 102,14); *inquinamentum* (2 Cor 7,1), *iuramentum* (Matth 5,33 u. oft); Apoc 5,8 steht *odora-mentum* für *odor*.”

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. viii: “The Latin language is full of heavy and sonorous form-endings” such as *-mentum*. Richards says this in a section in which he lists the advantages Latin has over Greek.

mingere – to urinate [urinieren]. Jerome’s literal rendering *mingens ad perietem* – one urinating against the wall (1 Sam 25:22.34; 1 Kgs 14:10; 16:11; 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8) of the underlying Hebrew stands for “male”. Some vernacular versions of the Vulgate have the exact equivalent: any that pisseth against the wall (Douay Version); (was) an die Wand pisset (Allioli); der die Wand nässt (Arndt), while others prefer something like “every male” (Knox). NVg gets rid of the expression by saying *quidquid masculini sexūs* – someone of male sex.

minutum – something small [etwas Kleines]. In several gospel passages (Mark 12:42; Luke 12:59; 21:2), this participle-turned-noun is used to render Greek *lepton*, the name of a small coin. Apparently, the translator invented this Latin word for the occasion. – Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo 1959 (vii, 210 pp.), p. 107.

miserēri, misertus – to have compassion for/on someone [sich jemandes erbarmen; avoir pitié de]. Verbum deponens. The verb can be followed by: **(1)** the person in the dative case (dativus commodi), as in *misertus est eis* (Matt 14:14) – he felt compassion for them; **(2)** the person in the genitive case as in *misere nostri* (Luke 17:13) – have pity on us!; **(3)** the preposition *in*, as in *in servis suis miserabitur* (Deut 32:36) – he will have mercy on his servants; **(4)** the preposition *super*, as in *misertus est super eos* (Mark 6:34) – he felt compassion for them. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 86.

1875. Rönsch, pp. 413–414.

1904. Kaulen, p. 268.

1973. Edoardo Vineis: Studio sulla lingua dell’Italia. *L’Italia Dialettale* 34 (1971) 136–248; 36 (1973) 287–372; 37 (1974) 154–166, at pp. 327–329.

2013. Cristina Tur Altarriba: Las construcciones de *miseret* y de *misereor/miseror* en latín. *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos* 33.2: 239–251. – The article deals only with classical Latin; biblical Latin is not considered.

misericordia – compassion, mercy [Barmherzigkeit]. *diligit misericordiam et justitiam, misericordia plena est terra* – he loveth mercy and judgment, the earth is full of the mercy of the Lord (Ps 33:5 [Vg 32:5]). Compare this Latin dictum of Caesar: *Haec nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus* – let this be our new method of conquering – to fortify ourselves by mercy and generosity (Evelyn S. Shuckburgh); let this be the new style of conquest, to make

mercy and generosity our shield (D.R. Shackleton Bailey in the Loeb Classical Library); transmitted in Cicero: *Ad Atticum* IX, 7. – For a semantically similar word, see → **clementia**. – Literature:

1948. Hélène Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain (iii, 412 pp.), pp. 229–239.

2002. Jutta Schöggel: *Misericordia. Bedeutung und Umfeld dieses Wortes und der Wortfamilie in der antiken lateinischen Literatur*. Graz. viii, 234 pp.

2021. Paola Francesca Moretti: *Misericordia: Some Remarks on the Word and Its Pagan History*. In: Markus Vinzent (ed.): *Studia Patristica* 113.10. Leuven (xiii, 132 pp.), pp. 9–27.

2023. Marcela Andoková – Jozef Tiño: *Gottes Gnade und Gerechtigkeit im lateinischen Psalter*. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 331–357. – A study with focus on Psalms 33 (Vg 32) and 112 (Vg 111).

moechari – to commit adultery [Ehebruch begehen], a loan-word from Greek *moicháomai/moicheúō*. Classic passages are Matt 5:8; 19:9. The noun *moechia* – adultery is used only once (Wisd 14:26). – Milena Z. Joksimovic: *Terminology of Adultery in Vulgate and Its Social, Historical and Cultural Context*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Belgrade; this unpublished thesis in Serbian (with English abstract) can be found on the Internet website “academia.edu.”

morbis – illness [Krankheit]. This very common Latin word is used only once in the Clementina: *nos et patres nostri talibus morbis languemus* – we and our fathers suffered from such illnesses (4 Ezra 8:31). The Weber/Gryson edition has *mortalibus moribus egimus* (have acted according to mortal customs) and relegates *morbis* to the apparatus. The standard Vulgate word for illness is → **infirmitas**.

mucus – saliva [Speichel]. Peters suggests reading *mucus* (instead of *mutus* – mute; stumm) in Sir 20:31: “And like mucus (or saliva) in their mouths they hold back their rebukes; und wie Schleim im Munde halten sie ihre Rügen zurück.” The conjectured word occurs only here in the Bible. – Norbert Peters: *Ein neues Wort (mucus) der lateinischen Bibel? Theologie und Glaube* 1 (1909) 210.

mulier – woman [Frau]. Latin has two standard words for ‘woman’: *femina* and *mulier*. The Vulgate prefers *mulier*; *mulier* occurs c. 500 times, *femina* only 35 times. In the New Testament, *femina* is used only 5 times. See textual note on 2 Sam 1:26 (Chapter 21). – Literature:

1948. Christine Mohrmann: *Mulier. À propos de II Reg. 1,26. Vigiliae Christianae* 2 (1948) 117–119 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome III. Rome 1965 (458 pp.), pp. 269–271, at p. 270.

2008. Otto Hiltbrunner: *Mulier oder femina. Augustinus im Streit um die richtige Bibelübersetzung. Vigiliae Christianae* 62.3: 285–302. In his *Sermons* Augustine opposes the wish to replace *mulier* with *femina* in the scriptures, i.e., the world of popular language (*mulier*) with that of the literary word (*femina*). He explains the matter as follows: it is only in popular speech that *mulier* means a married woman, whereas in the Bible women of any age – including the Virgin Mary – are called *mulieres*. *Femina* is a word which in Old Latin inspires reverence through its use in sacral contexts and which was preferred by poets from Augustan times onwards. Thus, it is regarded as more elevated than the commoner *mulier*. Nevertheless, because *mulier*, unlike *femina*, agrees with Hebrew *iššâh* and Greek γυνή in being used only of human beings (though applicable to women of all ages and condi-

tions), it remains the most appropriate Latin translation. See esp. Augustine: *Sermon* 291 (PL 38: 1317–1318).

2023. Giulia Leonardi: Das Frauenbild des Hieronymus und seine Auswirkungen auf die Übersetzung der Bibel (*mulier, uxor, femina*). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 121–122.

2023. Agnethe Siquans: Frau, Ehefrau (*mulier*) in der Vulgata. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 122–124.

multivolus – unstable, promiscuous [unbeständig, der Promiskuität zugeneigt]. The adjective is used only once in the Bible – in Sir 9:3: *ne respicias mulierem multivolam* – look not upon a woman that hath a mind for many (Douay Version): sieh nicht nach einem buhlerischen Weibe (Allioli). The adjective *multivolus* – literally: longing for many, viel begehrend – in Catullus: *Carmina* 68a, 128, describes Lesbia, Catullus' promiscuous lover. The Sirach translator echoes Catullus' language; see the textual note on Sir 9:3 (Chapter 21). – Rönsch, p. 226; Kaulen, p. 151.

N

natale, gen. natalis – birthday [Geburtstag]. *die autem natalis Herodis* – on the day of Herod's birth (= on H.'s birthday; Matt 14:6); here *natalis* is genitive of the noun *natale*; otherwise, one would expect *die natali* (with *natalis* as adjective "pertaining to birth"). The noun *natale* is also used 2 Macc 6:7; Mark 6:21. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 86.

1875. Rönsch, p. 104.

1934. Richards, p. 79: anniversary of birth or accession day.

natio, nationes – nation, nations [Volk, Völker]. (1) Wisd 6:3 (*nationes*); *virī religiosi ex omni natione* (Acts 2:5) – devout men out of every nation. Occasionally, as in Judith 5:22, *nationes* are "pagan nations." – (2) For Wisd 12:10, the meaning "generation" has been suggested (Douay Version; similarly Allioli: Geschlecht). – Walter Thiele: *Die lateinischen Texte des ersten Petrusbriefes*. Freiburg 1965 (245 pp.), pp. 185–189 (*nationes, gentes*). → **gentes**

nazaraeus – Nazirite, holy [Nasiräer, heilig]. "Nazirite" is the standard meaning of the word (Num 6:21; Judg 16:17); in Matt 2:23, it is, in the mind of Jerome, only loosely associated with the town of Nazareth. Accordingly, in Matt 2:23, *nazaraeus* is an adjective meaning "holy." – Michael L. Moran: Nazirites and Nazarenes: The Meaning of Nazaraeus in Saint Jerome. *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9.2 (2006) 320–366.

ne – so that not, in order not [sodass nicht, damit nicht], followed by subjunctive, introduces result and purpose clauses. *faciem tuam lava, ne videaris hominibus ieiunians* – wash your face so that you are not seen as one who is fasting (Matt 6:18); *orate ne intretis in tentationem* – pray in order not to fall into temptation (or: so that you won't fall into temptation; Luke 22:40).

necessitas – necessity, use; distress [Bedürfnis, Gebrauch; Bedrängnis]. For the meaning "distress," see Sir 6:10; 18:25; 29:2; 2 Cor 6:4; 12:10.

nequam – evil, wicked, worthless [schlecht, böse, nichtsnutzig, wertlos]. This adjective is irregular because it is indeclinable; see, e.g. *nequam est natio eorum* – theirs is a wicked generation (Wisd 12:10 Clementia; the Weber/Gryson edition has *nequa est natio eorum*). *nequam* can also serve as the plural form: *alii duo nequam* – two other evil men (Luke 23:32). The declinable adjective *nequs* appears in the Weber/Gryson edition of Sir 28:23 (*lingua nequa* – wicked tongue); Wisd 12:10. The superlative *nequissimus* is a normal adjective, though it may have the attenuated

sense of “an evil person.” – Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), pp. 9–10.

nervus – nerve, sinew, stocks [Nerv, Sehne, Fußstock]. **(1)** *nervus ferreus cervix tua* – your neck is an iron sinew (Isa 48:4; Douay Version). – **(2)** *mitti/mittere in nervum* – to be put/to put in the stocks (2 Chr 16:10; Jer 20:2; 29:26). On this torture instrument, see the [textual note](#) on Jer 20:2 in Chapter **21**. Du Cange’s *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* notes *nervus* = ξυλοπέδη, i.e., wooden block for fixing the feet.

nomen – name, person [Name, Person]. In Acts 1:15 (Weber/Gryson); Rev 3:4; 11:13, *nomen* is the word for “person.” According to Blaise, this usage is compatible with classical Latin poetry. – Literature:

1954. Albert Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 556.

1954. Christine Mohrmann: A propos de deux mots controversés de la latinité chrétienne: *tropaeum* – *nomen*. *Vigiliae Christianae* 8: 154–173 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome III. Rome 1965 (458 pp.), pp. 331–350, at pp. 344–350. According to the author, the New Testament influenced the semantic development of *nomen* in Christian Latin.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 207–208.

1985. Bengt Löfstedt: *Lexikalisches Zur Vulgata* (1985). In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), p. 316–317.

nonne → **num, numquid**

norma – try square, angle measure [Rechtwinkelmaß], a tool in the form of a right-angled triangle, used in house building. 1 Kgs 7:9; Isa 44:13 (*extendere normam* – to apply the try square); Jer 31:39 (*norma mensurae* – angle measure – seems to be a more descriptive expression). – Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), pp. 9–12; idem – Susanne Lindscheid-Burdich: *Planen und Bauen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*. Darmstadt 2002 (652 pp.), pp. 139–144.

novissimus – the last one [der letzte]. *si quis vult primus esse, erit omnium novissimus* – if any man desire to be first he shall be the last of all (Mark 9:34, Douay Version). Certain special meanings are noteworthy: **(1)** *novissimus virorum* is “the last,” i.e., “the most abject of men” (Isa 53:3, Douay Version; cf. Jer 50:12), but *novissimus* has a different, positive meaning in the phrase *primus et novissimus* – the first and the last one, said of God or Christ (Isa 41:4; 48:12; Rev 22:13). See [textual note](#) on Isa 53:3 (Chapter **21**). – **(2)** *novissima* (plur.) – the last things, or perhaps the last hours, is used metonymically for “death” in Christian Latin. Examples: (a) *novissima mea* (Num 23:10), parallel to *mea mors* – my end (cf. also Deut 32:20); (b) *habebis in novissimis spem* (Prov 24:14) – you shall have hope in the end (in your end); (c) *memento novissimorum* (Sir 28:6; 38:21) – remember the latter end (Douay Version at 38:21); look at thy last end – bethink thee of thy own end (Knox); gedenke der letzten Dinge (Tusculum-Vulgata). – **(3)** *novissima* may also mean “the future”: *novissima iustorum* (Wisd 2:16) – the future of the righteous (cf. also Deut 32:29); *novissima tua* (Job 8:7) – your future things, i.e., your future wealth. – Philipp Thielmann: *Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, at p. 530.

num, numquid – if, whether [ob]. These particles are used to introduce an interrogative clause when a negative answer is expected, as in *num custos fratris sum ego?*(Gen 4:9) – am I my brother’s

keeper? If, a positive answer is expected, the introductory particle is *nonne* or *numquid non*; see *numquid non ego melior tibi sum quam decem filii?* (1 Sam 1:8) – am I not better to you than ten sons? – Hagen, pp. 50–51.

nutrire, nutrix – to feed, to suckle; nurse [füttern, stillen; Amme]. *accipe, ait, puerum istum et nutri mihi* – take this boy and suckle (him) for me (Exod 2:9); *sicut portare solet nutrix infantulum* – as a nurse usually carries the baby (Num 11:12). → **lactare**

nycticorax – nightraven (Douay Version) [Nachtrabe]. Deut 14:17; Ps 102:7 (Vg 101:7): in both instances, Jerome transliterates the bird's name from the Septuagint. Jerome explains the name in *Letter 106*, 63 (CSEL 55: 279). The word is kept in NVg.

O

oblivio – oblivion, being forgotten [Vergessenheit]. Note the classical Latin phrase *nulla* (or *numquam*) *oblivione deleri* – not (or: never) to be consigned to oblivion, not to be forgotten, used in Deut 31:21; Esth 9:28; Jer 23:40; 50:5; Koh 6:4 (but never used in the New Testament). See textual note on Esth 9:28 (below, Chapter 21).

obsecrare – to implore, to entreat [beschwören, bitten]. The verb is often used in the first person singular – *obsecro* – to say “please,” both in prayer (Gen 24:12; Num 14:19; 2 Kgs 20:3; 1 Chr 21:8) and in interhuman communication (1 Kgs 3:17). → **quaeso** → **rogare** – Literature:

1936. J.B. Hofmann: *Lateinische Umgangssprache*. Zweite, durch Nachträge vermehrte Auflage. Heidelberg (xvi, 252 pp.), pp. 130–131.

2017. Peter Juhás: *Die biblisch-hebräische Partikel na im Lichte der antiken Bibelübersetzungen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer vermuteten Höflichkeitsfunktion*. Leiden 2017 (xvii, 227 pp.), esp. p. 77.

occidens, occidentalis – west, western [West, westlich]. In several books of the Old Testament, especially in Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, and Ezekiel, cardinal points are often invoked in topographical and similar descriptions. For designating the west, the Hebrew text regularly uses the “Sea,” the Mediterranean. Jerome often renders it literally, using *mare* (sea), but even more often, he prefers to speak about *occidens* or *occidentalis*. Occasionally, he combines *mare* and *occidens*: *haec est plaga contra mare, ad occidentem* (Josh 18:14) – this is the coast towards the sea, westward (similarly Exod 36:27, 32). – Meershoek, p. 209.

odisse, odio habere – to hate [hassen]. – (1) In classical Latin, this is a defective verb. Its forms in the perfect tense express the present tense: *odi* = I hate (not: I hated). The Vulgate often treats it like a normal verb *odire*, so that we get forms such as *odiens* = hating (Wisdom 11:25) and *odiētur* = will be hated (Sir 20:8; 21:31). Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 281–283.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 60.

2017. José Miguel Baños – María Dolores Jiménez López: “Odiar” en el Nuevo Testamento (*odi, odios um, odio habeo*): traducción y construcciones con verbo soporte en la Vulgata. *Euphrosyne* 45: 59–78. Analysed are all instances of *miseô* = to hate in the New Testament.

2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg (xviii, 317 pp.), pp. 245, 257: *odientes*, Jude 1:23.

2023. Kevin Zilverberg: Von der Vetus Latina zu den Übersetzungen des Hieronymus. Kontinuität und Wandel im Sprachlichen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 87–108, at p. 98 (with note 28).

offerre – to give (to God), to sacrifice [(Gott etwas) geben, opfern]. *Offeretis holocaustum (...) Domino* – you shall offer a holocaust (...) to the Lord (Num 29:2). Zürcher, p. 213: “*Offerre* ‘opfern’ gehört vor allem dem Alten Testament an. In der biblischen Bedeutung treffen wir es hier weit über 200 mal. Neben ihm führen die von den heidnischen Römern verwendeten Verben wie *vovere* und *consecrare* ein viel kümmerlicheres Dasein, während *donare* fast immer Gott als handelnde Person hat, und *dicare* überhaupt fehlt. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass Hieronymus hier bewusst die heidnisch-sakralen Termini gemieden hat und ein Verb für eine profane Tätigkeit ins Sakrale erhoben hat.” English: *Offerre* ‘to sacrifice’ belongs especially to the Old Testament. In the biblical meaning we meet it here well over 200 times. Next to it, the verbs used by the pagan Romans, such as *vovere* and *consecrare*, lead a much more puny existence, while *donare* almost always has God as the acting person, and *dicare* is absent altogether. It seems reasonable to assume that Jerome here deliberately avoided the pagan sacred terms and elevated a verb for a profane activity to the sacred. – Literature: Gustav Koffmane: *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins bis auf Augustinus–Hieronymus*. Breslau 1879 (iv, 92 pp.), p. 64; Zürcher, p. 213.

omnipotens – almighty [allmächtig]. A regular epithet of God in both testaments. In Jerome’s version, God presents himself to Abraham, saying *ego deus omnipotens* – I am God almighty (Gen 17:1); see also Exod 3:15 (*Omnipotens nomen eius* – the Almighty is his name) and Tobit 13:4 (*non est alius Deus omnipotens praeter eum* – there is no other almighty God beside him). The word is frequently used in the book of Revelation (Rev 4:8; 11:17; 19:15, etc.). The Prayer of Manasseh begins with the words *Domine Deus omnipotens patrum nostrorum* – Lord, almighty God of our fathers. In Roman pagan discourse, *omnipotens* had come to be a regular epithet of Jupiter who is “almighty Olympus, the Father of heaven, the ruler of mankind” and “the almighty Father, the first Lord of the universe” (*pater omnipotens rerum cui prima potestas*, Vergil: *Aeneid* X, 1–2; X, 100). The epithet was taken over by Christians for their God. While the original meaning in Latin seems to be “having power over all things” or “having power in all things,” the standard Christian notion is “having all power” (Lewis). – Literature:

2009. C.S. Lewis: *The Problem of Pain*. San Francisco (167 pp.), p. 16.

2018. Bernhard Lang: God Almighty: Divine Power and Authority in the Biblical and Patristic Periods. In: Benedikt P. Göcke – Christian Tapp (eds.): *The Infinity of God*. Notre Dame, Ind. (vii, 436 pp.), pp. 187–211, esp. pp. 206–208.

onocentauri – donkey centaurs [Eselskentauren]. Isa 34:14, translation based on the Septuagint. The word, unknown to Greek mythology, clearly echoes *hippocentauri*, mythical beings that combine a human and a horse body (mentioned in Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* I, 37). – Literature:

1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269, at p. 252.

2015. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: *Mythos bei Hieronymus. Zur christlichen Transformation paganer Erzählungen in der Spätantike*. Stuttgart (386 pp.), pp. 94–96.

orare, oratio – to pray, prayer [beten, Gebet]. These very frequent words are used in both testaments. *intende voci orationis meae* – listen to the voice of my prayer, cries the Psalmist (Ps 5:3). The Lord’s prayer is introduced with the words *sic ergo vos orabitis* – thus therefore shall you pray (Matt 6:9). Less often, the Bible uses *precari* and *preces*. For saying “speech,” the Vulgate never

uses *oratio*, which would be the normal word in classical Latin. – The noun *oratorium* (Judith 9:1) – place of prayer – is a *hapax* in the Vulgate. Jerome: *Letter* 140,4 (CSEL 56: 272): *oratio iuxta grammaticos omnis sermo loquentium est; (...) in scripturis autem sanctis difficile orationem secundum hunc sensum legimus: sed eam quae ad preces et obsecrationes pertinet* – according to the grammarians, *oratio* is all speech of those who are speaking; (...) but in the sacred scriptures, we hardly find this meaning of *oratio*; instead, it has to do with requests and supplications. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 319.

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 1: 68–81, at p. 78: "die drei Stadien der Bedeutungsentwicklung von *orare*: reden, bitten, beten."

1904. Kaulen, pp. 25, 269.

1907. Johann Philipp Krebs – J.H. Schmalz: *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. Siebente Auflage. Zweiter Band. Basel 1907 (776 pp.), pp. 224–225.

1911. Einar Löfstedt: *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*. Uppsala (359 pp.), p. 41: "Als die neue Religion eine spezielle Bezeichnung für den ausserordentlich wichtigen Begriff des Betens bedurfte, hat man mit richtigem psychologischem Instinkt das alte, feierliche, in der Alltagssprache schon ungebräuchliche *orare / oratio* aufgegriffen und diesen Worten damit ein neues und dauerndes Leben gesichert."

1929. C. Mueller: *Oratio – oratorium*. In: *Donum Natalicum Schrijnen*. Nijmegen (xxvii, 926 pp.), pp. 717–718.

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 463–464.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 218–220.

1996. Claude Moussy: *Oratio, sermo, contentio*. *Lingua latina* 4: 35–44.

2022. Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni: The Codex Vercellensis (a, 3) as Witness of the Gospel of Luke. *Early Christianity* 13: 105–130, at p. 123; refers to *orare* as "addressing the Caesar, asking for anything that should be done."

orbis – circle [Kreis], often used in the collocation *orbis terrae* (Ps 19:5 [Vg 18:5]; Ps 50:12 [Vg 49:12]; Luke 4:5) and *orbis terrarum* (Ps 24:1 [Vg 23:1]; Wisd 1:14; 2:24; 13:2) – circle of the earth, Erdkreis. These are genuine Latin expressions, well attested in classical Latin. The expression occurs for the first time in a fragment of P. Rutilius Rufus, the consul of 105 BCE. Both *orbis terrae* and *orbis terrarium* describe "the circular aspect of the terrestrial sphere as it presents itself to Jupiter cruising about in the ether or enjoying a cycloramic view of the earth from his watch-tower in the skies. These two fancies are both suggested in *Aeneid* I, 223–33 and the latter version of the conceit is explicitly set forth by Ovid in *Fasti* I, 85f." (de Witt, p. 362). A significant use is Cicero: *De natura deorum* II, 66,165: *qui quasi magnam insulam incolunt quam nos orbem terrae vocamus* – those (i.e., the human beings) who inhabit the big island that we call the circle of the earth. – Literature:

1907. Johann Philipp Krebs – J.H. Schmalz: *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. Siebente Auflage. Zweiter Band. Basel 1907 (776 pp.), pp. 657–658. "Was das Verhältnis von *orbis terrae* zu *orbis terrarum* betrifft, so bedeutet das erstere das Erdganze, das andere das

römische Weltreich. (...) Doch wird dieser Unterschied nicht durchgängig beobachtet" (p. 657).

1942. Norman W. de Witt: Orbis terrarium. *The Classical Journal* 37: 362–363.

ordo – order [Ordnung]. The word has multiple contextual meanings. **(1)** "Rarely *ordo* is used in the meaning 'institutionalized regulation'. The most evident example is found in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel [Ezek 43:11]: *universa praecepta eius cunctumque ordinem eius et omnes leges eius ostende eis.*" Igor Filippov: Bible and Roman Law. The Notions of Law, Custom and Justice in the Vulgate. In: Angelo Di Berardino et al.: *Lex et religio*. Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 135. Rome 2013 (782 pp.), pp. 105–141, at p. 124. Note the juxtaposition of *praecepta*, *ordo*, and *leges*. – **(2)** *ordo caeli* (Job 38:33), read in the light of the verse immediately preceding (v. 32), means "how heaven works." – **(3)** *secundum ordinem Melchisedech* (Ps 110:4; Vg 109:4) – according to the rule (Greek *taxis*) applied to Melchisedech. **(4)** The *septem ordines* ("seven orders," in all English translations) of 4 Ezra 7:91 are seven ways in which the blessed are rewarded in the hereafter; commentators indicate the possibility that the terminology reflects seven levels of heaven.

ornamentum, ornatus – ornament, adornment [Schmuck, Zierde]. In Latin, the two nouns are originally synonymous, but authors often use them in ways that impose a slight distinction. **(1)** *ornamentum*. In the Vulgate used 18 times; examples: *et ornavi te ornamento* (Ezek 16:11) – I decked thee with ornaments (Douay Version, Knox), ich habe dich mit Schmuck geschmückt (Tusculum-Vulgata); *videntes simulacra aurea et argenta et ornamenta eorum* (2 Macc 2:2) – seeing the idols of Gold and silver and the ornaments of them (Douay Version), en voyant des statues d'or et d'argent et les ornements dont elles étaient revêtues (Moussy). – **(2)** *ornatus*. In the Vulgate used 15 times. Examples: *nunc depone ornatum tuum* (Exod 33:5) – lay aside thy ornaments (Douay Version), meant are "les habits de fête," i.e., fine clothing (Moussy); *mulier ornata meretricio* (Prov 7:10) – a woman in right harlot's guise (Knox). For Gen 2:1 as a special case, with Ciceronian echoes, see textual note on this passage (Chapter 19.2). – Claude Moussy: *Ornamentum et ornatus: de Plaute à la Vulgate*. *Revue des études latines* 74 (1996) 92–107.

osculum dare, osculari – to kiss, to give a kiss [küssen, einen Kuss geben]. Daniel Ayora Estevan: "Dar un beso" (*philêma dounai*) y "besar" (*phileô, kataphileô*) en el Nuevo Testamento: sus traducciones al latín, gótico y antiguo eslavo eclesiástico. *Euphrosyne* 47 (2019) 457–478. All Latin renderings of the Greek words for "kissing, giving a kiss" in the New Testament are examined, starting with *osculum mihi non dedisti* (Luke 7:45) – you have not given me a kiss, i.e., you have not welcomed me.

P

pactum – covenant [Bund]. → **foedus** – Literature:

1970. Zürcher, p. 221.

2023. Christoph Becker: *Pactum* als Ausdruck einer gegenseitigen Willensübereinkunft. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 174–175.

paenitēre, paenitentiam agere – to repent, to do penance; but also: to regret [Buße tun; auch: bedauern]. This is a specifically Christian meaning of a word that classical Latin uses mostly impersonal (*me paenitet* – I regret). *paenitentiam agere* – to do penance; Buße tun (Wisd 5:3; Matt 3:2). See also Luke 10:13 (to do penance in sackcloth and ashes), Judith 5:19 (to regret). In Rev 2:21, *paenitēre a fornicatione* means: to repent of fornication. – Literature:

1934. G.C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. 86: the preposition "ab denotes what is given up by the penitent, Heb vi 1: *paenitentiam habēre*, to feel penitent, like *gratiam habēre*, to feel gratitude, Lk xiii 3: *paenitentiam agere* (common), to express penitence in words, like *gratias agere*, to return thanks."
1952. Raphael Loewe: Jerome's Treatment of an Anthropopathism. *Vetus Testamentum* 2: 261–272. – In his commentaries, Jerome is more tolerant of the possibility of *paenitentia* of God than in some of his renderings of *nhm* in his translations.
1970. Zürcher, pp. 237–238, 240.
1971. Edoardo Vineis: Studio sulla lingua dell'Italia. *L'Italia Dialettale* 34 (1971) 136–248; 36 (1973) 287–372; 37 (1974) 154–166, at pp. 245–246.
1989. Scarpat I, p. 458.
2017. José Miguel Baños – María Dolores Jiménez López: 'Arrepentirse' en el Nuevo Testamento en griego y en latín: el empleo de las construcciones con verbo soporte en la Vulgata ['To Repent' in the New Testament in Greek and Latin: the use of constructions with a support verb in the translation of the Vulgate]. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 37: 11–32 (article in Spanish). The paper discusses *paenitēre/paenitentiam agere* and defines the place of these words in this history of the Latin language.
2017. Menno Aden: Woraus hat Martin Luther übersetzt? Die Erasmus-Edition in Latein und Griechisch als Vorlage. *Sprachspiegel* 73.3: 74–82. Page 79: "*Poenitentia* ist die durch Strafe ausgedrückte Wiedergutmachung; vgl. *paeniteo* jemanden peinigen. Hier scheint die lateinische Sprache kein passendes Wort zu haben, denn das ist eine geradezu verfälschende Wiedergabe des griechischen Begriffs *metanoia*, als dessen Übersetzung *poenitentia* im NT durchwegs erscheint."

pallidus, pallor – pale, paleness [bleich, Blässe].– **(1)** The adjective *pallidus* is used only once in the Vulgate, in Rev 6:8. García Ureña et al. suggest to render *equus pallidus* (Rev 6:8), normally rendered "pale horse," as "a death-green horse" (p. 191). – **(2)** *pallor* is rare: Lev 14:37; Judith 6:5; Esth 15:10. Note esp. Ps 68:14 (Vg 67:14): the back feathers of a dove are *in pallore auri* – in a pale green gold. – Lourdes García Ureña et al.: *The Language of Colour in the Bible*. Berlin 2022 (xv, 238 pp.), pp. 185–204.

pallium – cloak, garment [Mantel, Gewand]. Worn by men (Gen 39:12; 2 Kgs 2:13) and women (Isa 3:22 Weber/Gryson [the Clementina has *palliola*]; Cant 5:7). For details, see textual note on Isa 3:22 (Chapter 21).

panis – bread [Brot]. → **subcinericius**

parabola – parable, proverb [Gleichnis, Sprichwort/Spruch]. *factus sum illis in parabolam* – I became a byword for them (Douay Version), ich wurde ihnen zum Gespött (Hoberg) (Ps 69:12, Vg 68:12); *et docebat eos in parabolis multa* – and he taught them much through parables (Marc 4:2). In late Latin, *parabola* came to mean "word," i.e., French *parole*. – Literature:

1644. Hugo Grotius: *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (Paris), on 1 Kgs 5:12 (Vg 4:32): *parabola* = *gnōmai* (Greek), *sententiae*. That is, in modern language: proverbs. Quoted by Christoph Bultmann: Beyond the Vulgate. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 120.1 (2008) 92–106, at p. 98.
1863. Hagen, pp. 18–20.

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg (xxxv, 5484 pp.), pp. 237, 240.
1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 83–84.
1970. Zürcher, p. 222.
1989. Giuseppe Scarpato: Note sul termine *parabola*. In: *Mnemosynum. Studi in Onore di Alfredo Ghiselli*. Bologna (xxxi, 562 pp.), pp. 507–514.
2023. Frank Oborski: Weisheitsspruch (sententia, proverbium, parabola). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 92.

Paraclitus – Paraclete [Paraklet]. As for the spelling, the Clementina has *paraclitus*, while the Weber/Gryson edition prefers *paracletus*. Greek loanword in the Fourth Gospel: John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7. “Probably agent at law, advocate, representative (...), in 1 Jo ii 1 the same word is rendered *advovatus*” (Richards, p. 87). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 106: *paraclitus*, with a long “i.”
1926. Plater/White, p. 32 (§ 39: Greek terms).
1934. Richards, p. 87.
2021. Marie Frey Rébillé Borgella: La traduction de *paraklêtos* dans les citations bibliques des Pères de l’Église latins: *paracletus*, *advocatus* ou *consolator*? In: Markus Vinzent (ed.): *Studia Patristica* 123. Leuven (462 pp.), pp. 271–288.

paradisus – paradise [Paradies]. Used several times in the paradise story of Genesis (Gen 2:8, 9; 3:1) for the Garden of Eden, it is also used to designate the abode of the blessed in heaven (Sir 44:16; Luke 23:43; 2 Cor 12:4; Rev 2:7), most explicitly in 4 Ezra (4 Ezra 7:36, 123; 8:52). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 106.
1926. Plater/White, p. 9, note 3.
1970. Zürcher, pp. 223–224.
1923. Kevin Zilverberg: Von der Vetus Latina zu den Übersetzungen des Hieronymus. Kontinuität und Wandel im Sprachlichen. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 87–108, at p. 100.
2023. Bernhard Lang: Beschreibung des Paradieses (*paradisus*). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 181–183.

pars – part [Teil]. The plural *partes* in Matt 2:22 means “region”: *secessit in partes Galilaeae* – he went away to (the region of) Galilee. See also *lesus secessit in partes Tyri et Sidonis* – he retired into the coasts of Tyre and Sidom (Matt 15:21, Douay Version). This semantics is typical of late Latin. – Literature:

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 440–441. – This semantics reflects that of the Greek word *mérê* (plural of *méros*), “parts” = regions.
1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), p. 113.

pellis – skin [Haut]. The Vulgate has two words for “skin”: *pellis* and *cutis*. In the book of Job, both words are used, see Job 7:5 and 30:30 for *cutis*, and 10:11 and 19:26 for *pellis*. – Anne Grondeux:

"Cutis" ou "pellis": les dénominations médiolatines de la peau humaine. In: Claudio Leonardi (ed.): *La pelle umana – The human skin*. Florence 2005 (776 pp., 86 plates), pp. 113–130.

persona – person, face [Person, Angesicht]. Used in both testaments in approximately the same sense as our "person." **(1)** A typically biblical phrase is *acceptio personae* – respect of person (German: Ansehen der Person): *sine acceptione personarum iudicare* – to judge without respect of persons (1 Petr 1:17; cf. Deut 16:19; Lev 19:15; Rom 2:11; Col 3:25), i.e., without considering someone's social status or class. – Hans Rheinfelder: *Das Wort "Persona." Geschichte seiner Bedeutung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des französischen und italienischen Mittelalters*. Halle 1928 (xiii, 200 pp.), pp. 81–83. – **(2)** A special case is 2 Cor 2:10 where *persona* may mean "face," as in Lev 19:15; see textual note on 2 Cor 2:10 (Chapter **22**).

Pharao – title of the king of Egypt. – Henri Quentin: Sur la forme indéclinable du mot Pharao dans les manuscrits de la Bible latine. *Biblica* 8 (1927) 92–94.

pharetra – quiver [Köcher]. Jer 51:11; Ezek 7:11. Rykle Borger: Die Waffenträger des Königs Darius. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Exegese und zur semitischen Lexikographie. *Vetus Testamentum* 22.4 (1972) 385–398.

pietas (fem.) – loyalty, godliness, piety [Loyalität, Pflichtgefühl, Frömmigkeit]. The noun is a key term of 1 Timothy: 1 Tim 2:10; 3:16; 4:7,8; 6:5,6. The Douay Version's word for *pietas* is "godliness" (accepted by Richards, p. 91); Knox tries "virtuous life" (2:10), "holiness" (4:7,8), and "religion" (6:5,6). Allioli and Grundl have "Gottesfurcht" (2:10) and "Gottseligkeit" (3:16; 4:7,8; 6:5,6), while Arndt decides for "Frömmigkeit." In French, Glaire opts for "piété." In ancient Roman culture, *pietas* is considered one of the main virtues – and difficult to translate. See also → **fides** and the textual note on Acts 10:2 (Chapter **22**). – Literature:

1879. Charlton T. Lewis – Charles Short: *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford (xiv, 2019 pp.), p. 1374: "*dutiful conduct towards the gods, one's parents, relatives, benefactors, country, etc., sense of duty.*"

1941. Carl Koch: Pietas. In: *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Neue Bearbeitung. 39. Halbband. Stuttgart (1312 cols.), cols. 1221–1232. – Cols. 1221–1222: "Im Gegensatz zu *fides*, deren Verwendung wesentlich der außerfamiliären Seite des römischen Lebens angehört und die als *Fides populi romani* dem göttlichen Schirmherrn der Staatsordnung Iuppiter unterstellt ist, liegt die Entstehung und der maßgebliche Verwendungsbereich des Begriffs *pietas* im Kreis der Familie und Blutsverwandtschaft. (...) *pietas* bezeichnet ursprünglich den Zustand des Menschen, der allen Pflichten, welche die *di parentes* seines Geschlechts von ihm verlangten, gewissenhaft nachgekommen ist."

1958. Walter Dürig: *Pietas liturgica. Studien zum Frömmigkeitsbegriff und zur Gottesvorstellung der abendländischen Liturgie*. Regensburg. 243 pp.

1967. Josef Liegle: Pietas. In: Hans Oppermann (ed.): *Römische Wertbegriffe*. Darmstadt (xi, 552 pp.), pp. 229–273.

1992. James D. Garrison: *Pietas from Virgil to Dryden*. University Park, Penn. x, 340 pp.

2003. Mary Rose D'Angelo, Eusebeia: Roman Imperial Family Values and the Sexual Politics of 4 Maccabees and the Pastorals. *Biblical Interpretation* 11: 139–165. – Page 141: "*eusebeia* appears to carry the implications of *pietas*, the Roman and imperial virtue that best approximates 'family values' combined with religious observance."

2004. Blandine Colot: Pietas. In: Barbara Cassin (ed.): *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies*. Paris (xxiv, 1531 pp.), pp. 942–945.

2006. Angela Standhartinger: *Eusebeia* in den Pastoralbriefen. Ein Beitrag zum Einfluss römischen Denkens auf das entstehende Christentum. *Novum Testamentum* 48: 51–82. See esp. pp. 58–68: *eusébeia* und *pietas* in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Page 81: "Mit der Einführung der *eusébeia* greifen die Pastoralbriefe den politisch-gesellschaftlichen Diskurs um die *pietas* auf."
2011. Bonnie J. Flessen: *An Exemplary Man. Cornelius and Characterization in Acts 10*. Eugene, Ore. (ix, 195 pp.), pp. 68–113. – Although the word *pietas* is not used, the characterization of Cornelius paraphrases the Roman virtue of *pietas*.
2012. Bianca-Jeanette Schröder: Römische 'pietas' – kein universelles Postulat. *Gymnasium* 119: 335–358.

pinna, pinnaculum – pinnacle [Zinne]. These nouns are used only in Luke 4:9 and Matt 4:5, in the same episode of Jesus and his being tempted by the devil. On the Latin word, see Rönsch, p. 38; Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni: The Codex Vercellensis (a, 3) as Witness of the Gospel of Luke. *Early Christianity* 13 (2022) 105–130, at pp. 128–129.

pius, impius, impietas – pious, wicked, wickedness [fromm, gottlos, Schlechtigkeit]. – In Rev 15:4, translators often opt for the meaning of "holy" (the Greek has ὅσιος): *quia solus pius es* – thou alone art holy (Douay Version); *du allein bist heilig* (Allioli); accordingly, the Nova Vulgata has *quia solus solus Sancus*. But the Latin, as it stands, may mean: *car vous seul êtes miséricordieux* (Glaire). *Impius* is more often used than *pius*. – On *pius* in the pagan Latin vocabulary → **sanctus** – Literature:

2002. Lyliane Sznajder: Les emplois de *impius* et *impietas* dans la Vulgate; in: Lionel Mary – Michel Sot (eds.): *Impies et païens entre Antiquité et Moyen Âge*. Paris (187 pp.), pp. 31–53.
2003. Sten Hidal: Why Is the Latin Bible so Impious? On *pius* and Its Compounds in the Vulgate, in: Anders Piltz (ed.): *For Particular Reasons. Studies in Honour of Jerker Blomqvist*. Lund (345 pp.), pp. 143–148.
2006. Lyliane Sznajder: *Impietas* et *iniquitas* dans la Vulgate, in: Jean-Paul Brachet – Paul Moussy (eds.): *Latin et langues techniques*. Paris (334 pp.), pp. 295–316.

plebs, plebis, fem. – people [Volk]. Ps 28:8 (Vg 27:8); 85:7 (Vg 84:7); Luke 1:68; 7:16, etc. In the Vulgate, *plebs* is not used in contexts that oppose Plebeians to Patricians as in classical sources; *plebs* is simply synonymous with *populus*. In Exod 11:2–3, Jerome uses the two words for the sake of stylistic variation: *dices ergo omni plebe (...) dabit autem Dominus gratiam populo suo* – say to all people (...) and the Lord will give favour to his people; the same variation appears in Prov 30:25–26, though in reverse order (*populus – plebs*). In the Psalms, the Psalterium Pianum, known for its preference for classical Latin, avoids *plebs* and uses *populus*. – Literature:

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 469–470.
1965. Vincenzo Loi: *Populus Dei – plebs Dei*. Studio storico-linguistico del 'Popolo di Dio' nel latino paleo-cristiano. *Salesianum* 27: 606–628.

plenus, repletus, replēre – full, to fill [voll, füllen]. Luke 1:28 (*gratia plena* – full of grace; see textual note on this passage, below, Chapter 22); 1:41, 67. In Rom 15:19, *replēre evangelium* is unusual; see the textual note below, in Chapter 22. – Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Exegese der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 62 (1950) 152–167, at p. 161–167.

pontifex – pontiff, high-priest [Pontifex, Hoherpriester]. *pontifex id est sacerdos maximus inter fratres suos* – the pontiff, i.e., the chief priest among his brothers (Lev 21:10). In this passage, Jerome uses a pagan word, but then goes on to explain it. The word is also used in the New Testament, though only in John (Joh 11:52; 18:22) and Hebrews (Hebr 3:1 and often). → **sacerdos** – On the use of pontifex in Christian and biblical texts, see Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni: The Codex Vercellensis (a, 3) as Witness of the Gospel of Luke. *Early Christianity* 13 (2022) 105–130, at pp. 120–123.

populus → **plebs**

porro – further, moreover, but [weiter, aber]. *porro unum est necessarium* (Luke 10:42) – but one thing is necessary; *porro homines mirati sunt* (Matt 8:27) – but people wondered. This word belongs to Jerome’s vocabulary; it rarely, if ever, appears in texts not touched by him (Bogaert). – Literature:

1910. F.C. Burkitt: Saint Augustine’s Bible and the Itala. *Journal of Theological Studies* 11: 258–268, at p. 262. Burkitt notes that *porro* is typical of the Vulgate version of Luke 10:42; accordingly, when Augustine quotes this passage in sermons 104 and 169, it must be the Vulgate that he quotes.

1934. Richards, p. 92: “then, in consequence,” to which he adds “Jerome.”

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314, at p. 157.

portentum – miracle [Wunder]. “Un examen rapide des emplois des noms latins du prodige dans la Vulgate montre que les deux termes les plus utilisés sont *portentum* et *prodigium*, mais se rencontrent aussi des occurrences de *monstrum* et d’*ostentum* (...) On peut observer une certaine répartition entre ces vocables selon les livres de l’Ancien Testament ou du Nouveau Testament: p. ex., *portentum* se lit surtout dans le Deutéronome et dans les livres des Prophètes, *ostentum* dans l’Exode, *prodigium* dans les Psaumes, *monstrum* dans le livre de la Sagesse et dans le Siracide. Dans le Nouveau Testament, on rencontre surtout *prodigium* et parfois *virtus*.” Claude Moussy: Signa et portenta. In: Lea Sawicki – Donna Shalev (eds.): *Donum grammaticum. Studies in Latin and Celtic Linguistics*. Leuven 2002 (xvi, 411 pp.), pp. 265–275, at p. 268.

potentia – strength, power [Kraft, Stärke]. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), pp. 180–209.

praedicare, praedicatio – to preach, to proclaim; preaching, proclamation [predigen, verkünden; Predigt, Verkündigung]. These are real Bible words, used in both testaments. A public fasting is publicly ordered/proclaimed (1 Kgs 21:9), one proclaims forgiveness and liberation to the captives (Isa 61:1), John the Baptist proclaims: “do penance” (Matt 3:1–2), Jesus does likewise (Matt 4:17), the risen Lord tells his disciples to preach the gospel to all creatures (Mark 16:15), Paul preaches circumcision (Gal 5:11) and the crucified Christ (1 Kor 1:23), ministers are told to preach “the word” (i.e., the Christian message; 2 Tim 4:2). In all of these cases, preaching or proclaiming has a content that is indicated. But *praedicare* can also be used absolutely, without indication of what is proclaimed; thus Lady Wisdom “preaches abroad” (Prov 1:20, Douay Version), Jonah is told to go to Niniveh and preach there (Jonah 1:2), the disciples go forth and preach everywhere (Mark 16:20). – Literature:

1954. Christine Mohrmann: Praedicare, tractare, sermo. Essai sur la terminologie de la prédication paléochrétienne. *La Maison-Dieu* 39: 97–107.

1962. René Braun: “Deus Christianorum.” Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien. Paris (644), pp. 430–434.

1970. Zürcher, p. 241 (not completely reliable).

precari – to pray [bitten, beten]. *precamini vos pro me ad Dominum* (Acts 8:24) – pray for me to the Lord.

2011. Frédéric Chapot: Le vocabulaire de la prière dans la première littérature chrétienne, in: Sophie Roesch (ed.): *Prier dans la Rome antique. Études lexicales*. Paris (143 pp.), pp. 115–137.

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), pp. 210–224: *precari*. – Page 214: According to E. Benveniste (1969), “le trait distinctif de **prek-* c’est une demande orale, adressée à une autorité supérieure, et qui ne comporte pas d’autres moyens que la parole.”

presbyterus – elder, dignitary, priest [alter Mann, Honorator, Priester]. A loanword that transliterates Greek *presbyteros*. The specifically Christian meaning of “priest” is clearly present in James 5:14 (*presbyteri ecclesiae* – the priests of the church, Douay Version). In Sirach, we find the original meaning of “elder, dignitary” (Sir 6:34 [Vg 6:35]; 7:14 [Vg 7:15]; 8:9). – Richards, p. 95; Zürcher, pp. 244–245.

Priapus – Name of a pagan god, 1 Kgs 15:13; 2 Chr 15:16.

1912. (anonymous) Priape. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.1. Paris (1282 cols.), cols. 662–663. – “Il n’est pas nommé dans le texte original des Écritures, mais saint Jérôme a traduit par son nom le mot hébreu *mifletset* III Reg xv,13; 2 Par xv, 16 (...) parce que *mifletset* désigne, d’après le contexte, un objet idolâtrique obscène en l’honneur d’Astarthé” (pp. 662–663).

1920. Maurice Vernes: Une curiosité exégétique: le culte de Priape en Israël d’après la Vulgate. *Journal asiatique* 15: 100–107.

1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269. – Page 254: interpretatio Romana.

2016. Philippe Borgeaud: Jérôme traducteur et la Mère des dieux (“Commentaire à Osée”). In: Corinne Bonnet et al. (eds.): *Dieux des Grecs, dieux des Romains*. Bruxelles (249 pp.), pp. 229–238.

2020. Matthieu Richelle: Un verset, deux traducteurs, trois scénarios: retour sur une énigme textuelle (1 Rois 15,13). In: Clemens Locher – Innocent Himbaza (eds.): *La Bible en face. Études textuelles et littéraires*. Cahiers de la Revue biblique 95. Leuven (xxiv, 362 pp.), pp. 95–111.

pro eo quod – because [weil] → **quod** (4)

prodigium → **portentum**

prophetissa / prophetis – prophetess, female prophet [Prophetin]. *Maria prophetissa* – Mary the prophetess (Exod 15:20, Clementina). The Weber/Gryson edition has *Maria prophetis*, using *prophetis* as the feminine of *propheta* (male prophet). Jerome uses the form *prophetis* (acc. *prophetin*, abl. *prophetide*) several times in his *Commentary on Isaiah*. – Literature:

1989. Robert Gryson: Barachie et la prophétisse. *Revue biblique* 96.3: 321–337, at pp. 328–334.

2023. Agnethe Siquans: Prophetin (*prophetis, prophetissa*). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 124–126.

proximus – nearest, next, neighbour [der Nächste]. **(1)** *proxima*, fem. = the closest female. *omnis homo ad proximam sanguinis sui non accedet* – a man may not approach the closest of blood (Lev 18:6). – **(2)** “The neighbour,” a central concept of biblical ethics: *qui despicit proximum suum peccat* – who despises his neighbour, commits a sin (Prov 14:21); *dixit ad Iesum: Et quis est Proximus meus?* – and he said to Jesus: And who is my neighbour (Luke 10:29). – Hélène Pétré: *Cari-tas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain 1948 (iii, 412 pp.), pp. 141–160, esp. 141–146 on the New Testament.

Q

quaerere deum – to seek God [Gott suchen]. Ps 9:11; 1 Chr 16:11; 2 Chr 34:3; Acts 17:27, and often. The set expression’s original meaning has to do with seeking information from the deity by means of an oracle; however, it came to mean “to be religious.” – Literature:

1963. Giuseppe Turbessi: *Quaerere Deum*. Il tema della “ricerca di Dio” nell’ambiente ellenistico e giudaico, contemporaneo al Nuovo Testamento. *Analecta Biblica* 18: 383–398.

1964. Giuseppe Turbessi: “*Quaerere Deum*”: la ricerca di Dio in antichi testi cristiani. *Rivista de ascetica e mistica* 9: 240–255.

quaeso – I ask [ich bitte]. In direct speech, this defective verb takes the place of our “please”: *dixit ergo Abram ad Lot: ne quaeso sit iurgium inter me et te* – Abram said to Lot: Please let there be no quarrel between you and me (Gen 13:8). The Douay Version has “I beseech you,” but Arndt omits it in his German translation. For the use of *quaeso* in prayer, see 2 Kgs 30:3. – Another way of saying “please” is *rogo te* (I ask you); → **rogare**. Also used are *oro* (Gen 44:18) and *obsecro* (→ **obsecrare**).

quare – why, because [warum, weil]. In classical Latin, *quare* is the interrogative particle “why?” (often used in the Vulgate: Ps 2:1 etc.); in late Latin, it is also used as the causal conjunction “because” (Josh 10:4).

quia – because, that [weil, dass]. This entry’s focus is not on the causal conjunction, but on specialized uses that are semantically different. **(1)** Often, the word loses its semantic content and, placed after a *verbum dicendi*, signals direct discourse, echoing Greek *hoti*: *et mulieri dicebat quia iam non propter tuam loquelam credimus* – and they said to the woman: We now believe, not for thy saying (John 4:42; Douay Version); the Clementina places a colon [:] before *quia*, but it should be placed after *quia*. See also Matt 5:20; 26:72; 24:7; Mark 6:23; John 1:20; Acts 2:13; Rom 3:10, and often in the New Testament. Interestingly, and sensibly, the Nova Vulgata consistently omits *quia*. – **(2)** *quia* may introduce a dependent clause, meaning “that”: *omnes gentes agnoscant quia tu es Deus* (Judith 9:19) – all nations shall acknowledge that you are God. → **quod** → **quoniam**. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 58–61.

1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 692.

2017. Lyliane Sznajder: Quelques réflexions autour des complétives en “quia” du latin biblique. *Pallas* no. 103: 263–272.

quis? – who? [wer?]. **(1)** Rhetorical questions are a regular feature of the biblical style, used mostly to point out a difficulty, something rare, or an impossibility. *quis consurget mihi adversus malignantes?* (Ps 94:16, Vg 93:16) – who will rise up for me against the evildoers? Many examples and Jerome’s commentaries are discussed in Meershoek, pp. 234–240. – **(2)** The “bare interrog-

ative pronoun" is also used in sentences such as these: *si quis mortuus fuerit non habens filium* – if someone dies, having no son (Matt 22:24); *neque patrem quis novit, nisi filius* – neither knows anyone the Father, save the son (Matt 11:27). Martin Haspelmath: *Indefinite Pronouns*. Oxford 1997 (xvi, 364 pp.), pp. 172–173.

quod – that [das, was], a multipurpose particle. – **(1)** As in classical Latin, *quod* is the neuter relative pronoun (*qui, quae, quod*): *mandatum hoc, quod ego precipio tibi hodie* – this commandment which I command you today (Deut 30:11). – **(2)** *quod* often introduces direct speech, echoing the Greek particle ὅτι; *Sed sicut scriptum est quod oculus non vidit (...)* – but, as it is written: That eye hath not seen (...) (1 Cor 2:9; Douay Version); see also Luke 4:10 and many New Testament passages. → **quia** → **quoniam** – Literature:

1875. Hagen, pp. 58–61.

1904. Kaulen, p. 290.

1981. O. García de la Fuente: Sobre el empleo de *quod quia quoniam* con los verbos de lengua y entendimiento en Samuel-Reyes de la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 4: 3–14.

1994. O. García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín cristiano*. Madrid (588 pp.), pp. 238–239.

(3) *quod* may introduce a clause that depends upon a verb of declaring or perceiving, meaning "that" (and becoming *que* in French): *ne aestimet dominus meus rex quod omnes pueri filii regis occisi sunt* – my lord should not think that all the king's sons were killed (2 Sam 13:32); *vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona* – God saw the light that it was good (Gen 1:4); *Jesus autem videns quod sapienter respondisset* – Jesus, seeing that he answered wisely (Mark 12:34); *agnovi quod in his quoque esset labor* – and I came to understand that in these things is pain (Koh 1:17). This frequent construction replaces the classical Acl (accusativus cum infinitivo) construction that would be *ne aestimet (...) omnes pueros filios regis occisos esse; Jesus autem videns eum sapienter respondisse; agnovi in his esse laborem*. – Literature:

1926. Plater/White, p. 119–120 (§ 134).

1943. Dag Norberg: Zur Geschichte der Konjunktion *quod*, in: idem: *Syntaktische Forschungen auf dem Gebiet des Spätlateins und des frühen Mittellateins*. Uppsala 1943 (283 pp.), pp. 232–242.

1967. Lorenzo di Fonzo OFM Conv.: *Ecclesiaste*. Torino (xx, 379 pp.), p. 143.

1989. J. Herman: Accusativus cum infinitivo et subordonnée à *quod quia* en latin tardif – Nouvelles remarques sur un vieux problème. In: Gualtiero Calboli (ed.): *Subordination and other topics in Latin*, Amsterdam 1989 (xxix, 691 pp.), pp. 133–152.

1994. Pierluigi Cuzzolin: Sull'origine della costruzione "dicere quod"; aspetti sintattici e semantici. Firenze 1994. 323 pp.

(4) *quod* with other particles indicates a causal relationship – because [weil, weshalb]: **(a)** *eo quod / pro eo quod* (Gen 3:10; Jer 25:8–9; Ezek 28:6; Am 5:11; also *propter quod* – Jas 4:2–3); see Kaulen, pp. 249–250 (no. 128); Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Volume II. Oxford 2021 (xxxii, 1438 pp.), pp. 292–293; **(b)** *iuxta quod* (Acts 2:24); **(c)** *propter quod* (Luke 4:18; Acts 8:11). Plater/White, p. 63. – **(5)** *quod si* – but if: *quod si pauper est (...)* – but if he is poor (Lev 14:21). The expression *quod si* refers to something that precedes it – an elegant expression known from classical Latin; examples are listed in Charlton T. Lewis – Charles Short: *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford. (xiv, 2019 pp.), p. 1518 (s. v. *quod* viii).

quoniam – for, because, that [denn, wegen, dass]. Conjunction; → **quia** → **quod**. Special uses: **(1)** The word often functions as the signal that announces direct speech, like Greek ὅτι: *si quis dixerit quoniam diligo Deum*, 1 John 4:20; see also Mark 8:31; Acts 6:14; Hebr 7:7, and many passages in the New Testament. – **(2)** *quoniam* may introduce a dependent clause, meaning “that”: *ut annuntient quoniam rectus (est) Dominus Deus noster* (Ps 92:16, Vg 91:16) – that they proclaim that the Lord our God is righteous; *nemo cum temptatur dicat quoniam Deo temptor* – let no one say, when he is tempted, that he is tempted by God (Jas 1:13). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, pp. 58–61.

2021. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Vol. II. Oxford (xxxiii, 1438 pp.), p. 79.

2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg (xviii, 317 pp.), p. 53: “*quoniam* is the most frequent conjunction in the Vulgate.”

R

ratio – reason, order [Grund, Ordnung]. The most distinctive use of *ratio* is in Job 38:33.37 and Koh 8:17: “Il y a une *ratio* dans la création, mais elle échappe à l’homme”; thus Bogaert, p. 81. – Literature:

1933. Albert Yon: *Ratio et les mots de la famille reor. Contribution à l’étude historique du vocabulaire latin*. Paris. xvi, 290 pp. – Review: W. Kroll, *Gnomon* 11.11 (1935) 621–623.

1994. P.-M. Bogaert: “Caelorum ratio, ratio sub sole”. L’emploi de *ratio* chez les traducteurs latins de la Bible. In: M. Fattori – M.L. Bianchi (eds.): *Ratio*. Florence 1994 (vi, 574 pp.), pp. 69–83, at p. 81. Bogaert suggests a Ciceronian background for Jerome’s introduction of *ratio* in the Job and Koheleth passages (pp. 73–74: Cicero: *De natura deorum* II, 46,119; *In Verrem* II, 2, 52).

rationale – pectoral, breastplate [Pektoral, Brustschild]. In Exodus 28:15, *rationale* is the word for the highpriests’ pectoral. Since *rationale* is based on the Greek translation’s *lógion*, one might suppose that what is meant is something like “spiritual (instrument)” (B. Lang). The word is discussed by P.-M. Bogaert: “Caelorum ratio, ratio sub sole”. L’emploi de *ratio* chez les traducteurs latins de la Bible, in: M. Fattori – M.L. Bianchi (eds.): *Ratio*. Florence 1994 (vi,574 pp.), pp. 69–83, at pp. 78–79.

recordari – to remember [sich erinnern]. *recordamini qualiter locutus est vobis (...) et recordatae sunt verborum eius* – remember how he spoke unto you (...) and they remembered his words (Luke 24:6,8). – Arthur Allgeier: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur Sprachgebrauch der lateinischen Übersetzungen des Psalters und der Evangelien. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46: 34–49, at pp. 41–44.

religio, religiositas, (ir)religiosus – piety, pious observance, pious (impious) person [Frömmigkeit, fromme Beachtung, frommer (unfrommer) Mensch]. The noun *religiositas* is used only in Sirach (Sir 1:17.18.26). In the Vulgate, *religio* essentially means “piety” and “pious observance” (Exod 12:43; Lev 7:36). Examples: **(a)** The *vir irreligiosus* (Sir 37:12) is the man who lacks any sense of *sanctitas*. **(b)** Dan 3:90: *benedicite, omnes religiosi, Domino* (Douay Version: o all ye religious, bless the Lord; Allioli: preiset, alle Frommen, den Herrn) uses *religiosus* in the sense of “the pious person.” **(c)** *virii religiosi ex omni natione* (Acts 2:5) – devout men out of every nation (Douay

Version). – In Acts 26:5, however, *nostra religio* is “our (Jewish) religion.” – For another word denoting “religion,” see → **ritus**. – Literature:

1879. Gustav Koffmane: *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins bis auf Augustinus–Hieronymus*. Breslau (iv, 92 pp.), pp. 55–56.
1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at p. 540.
1971. Robert Schilling: L’originalité du vocabulaire religieux latin. *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 49: 31–54, at pp. 40–44: on the words *religio* and *religiosus* in classical (pagan) Latin.
1986. Ernst Feil: *Religio. Die Geschichte eines neuzeitlichen Grundbegriffs vom Frühchristentum bis zur Reformation*. Göttingen 1986 (290 pp.), pp. 53–56: Der Befund der Vulgata. Checking whether the later concept of religion is already present in the Latin Bible, Feil decides that it is not. (B. Lang: Feil overlooks that modern Bible translations such as the Douay Version of Acts 26:5 and Jas 1:26-27 render the noun *religio* used there as “religion,” which actually makes sense in the case of Acts 26.)
1998. Axel Bergmann: *Die ‘Grundbedeutung’ des lateinischen Wortes Religion*. Marburg. 69 pp. _ The word derives from *rem ligere* = to bind something, idiomatic for considering something skeptically and acting with hesitation.
2018. Christian Tornau: Religio. In: Robert Dodaro et al. (eds.): *Augustinus-Lexikon*. Band 4. Basel (lxiv pp., 1322 cols.), cols. 1134–1145.
2021. Pedro Giménez de Aragón Sierra: Antiguos orígenes cristianos del actual concepto de religión. *Isidorianum* 30.1: 11–58. – A study of the notion of *religio* in Jerome’s Old Testament translations and in the New Testament text of the Vulgate.

renes – kidneys [Nieren]. In Old Testament Texts, the kidneys are referred to as the seat of thinking, paralleling the semantics of *cor* (heart; Jer 17:10). Jerome explains that he has not found this metaphor elsewhere (*Tractatus in Psalmos*, CCSL 78: 375, on Ps 15:7): *usque ad noctem increperunt me renes mei* (Ps 16:7, Vg 15:7) – until (late) at night, my kidneys have admonished me. Instead of speaking of kidneys, translations such as the Douay Version speak of “reins,” a word listed as archaic in *Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary* (1951), but not in the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (3rd edition, 2010). The Psalterium Pianum has deleted the *renes* from Ps 15:7, replacing it with *cor*, heart: *per noctem me monet cor meum*. – Meershoek, pp. 177–181; Scarpat I, pp. 416–417.

replère → **plenus**.

reptilia – reptiles [Reptilien, Kriechtiere). Gen 1:20.24. This word, used as designation of a specific class of animals, does not exist in classical Latin; it was invented by the translators of the Vetus Latina; see Augustine: *De Genesi ad litteram* III, 11,16 (PL 34: 285). See Kaulen, p. 141 and esp. the entry *reptilis* by Charles Kuper in a forthcoming fascicle of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

retiaculum – net [Netz]. In Ps 141:10 (Vg 140:10), *retiaculum*, used metaphorically, is a hunter’s and fisher’s instrument. In Exod 38:5 and Jer 52:23, the word refers to a net-like structure associated with ritual buildings. – Literature:

1870. Wilhelm Schmitz: retiaculum. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* NF 25: 625–627.
1875. Rönsch, pp. 219–220.

1904. Kaulen, p. 52.

retro – back, behind, before; after, in the future [zurück, rückwärts, bevor; künftig], adverb and preposition. **(1)** *vade retro me* – go behind me (Mark 8:33); *ex omnibus retro maioribus* – from all the ancestors before (them) (Esth 14:5). Rönsch, pp. 343, 399. – **(2)** The meaning “in the future” is rare, but attested in Exod 16:32; see the textual note on this passage (Chapter 21).

revelare, revelatio – to unveil, to reveal; unveiling, revelation [enthüllen, offenbaren; Enthüllung, Offenbarung]. *sed est Deus in caelo, revelans mysteria* – there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries (Dan 2:28). Used in both testaments, these words belong to the specifically biblical and theological language. In his Galatians commentary, Jerome comments on this fact – something new requires new language (CCSL 77A: 26–27). – Dorothea Keller: Übersetzungsentscheidungen bei Hieronymus und ihre Begründung. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg 2023 (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 109–136, at pp. 125–126.

ritus, ritūs – (Luke 14:18). → **obsecrare** → **quaeso** ceremony, rite; religion [Zeremonie, Ritus; Religion]. **(1)** *hic est ritus leprosi* – this is the rite of a leper (Lev 14:2, Douay Version). – **(2)** Several translations, including the Douay Version and the Tusculum-Vulgata, suggest “religion” for *ritus* in Judith 14:6. → **religio**

rogare – to ask [bitten]. In direct speech, this verb is also used for saying “please”: *rogo te, habe me excusatum* – please hold me excused

S

sabbatum – sabbath, week [Sabbat, Woche]. This technical term means “week” in Matt 16:2; Luke 18:12; 24:1; John 20:1. – Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 728.

sacerdos – priest [Priester]. It has been observed that *archiereus* (high priest) does not have a stable Latin equivalent in the gospels – we find *pontifex*, *princeps sacerdotum*, and *summus sacerdos*. Burkitt thinks that Jerome would use *pontifex* (Mark 15:11) and *princeps sacerdotum* (Mark 1:44; 2:26), but not *summus sacerdos*. – F.C. Burkitt: “Chief Priests” in the Latin Gospels. *Journal of Theological Studies* 9 (1908) 290–297, esp. p. 295.

sacramentum – secret, mystery, sanctuary [Geheimnis, Heiligtum]. **(1)** secret (Wisd 2:22: *sacramenta Dei* – the secrets of God; 1 Tim 3:16: *magnum est pietatis sacramentum* – great is the mystery of godliness [Douay Version]; Eph 5:32; Rev 1:20; 17:7) is the normal meaning in the Vulgate. – **(2)** sanctuary (Wisd 12:5). – → **sacrum, sacramentum, sacrificium** – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 323.

1904. Kaulen, p. 26.

1915. Theodore B. Foster: “Mysterium” and “Sacramentum” in the Vulgate and Old Latin Versions. *The American Journal of Theology* 19: 402–416. The article deals only with the New Testament.

1934. Richards, p. 107.

1956. Jean Doignon: *Sacrum – sacramentum – sacrificium* dans le texte latin de la Sagesse. *Revue des études latines* 34 (1956) 240–253.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 262–263.

sacrum, sacramentum, sacrificium – holy thing, mystery, sacrifice [Heiliges, Geheimnis, Opfer]. These three words are used to translate Greek *mystêrion*. The original Latin equivalent is *sacrum*, as can be demonstrated on the basis of epigraphic evidence. As can be seen in the book of Wisdom, Christians preferred *sacramentum*. The actual innovation of the book of Wisdom's Latin translator is the use of *sacrificium* for *mystêrion*; the reason is the Latin style: the use of *sacrificium* permits the creation of alliterations, clausula rhythm, and rhyme (Doignon). – Literature:

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches der Weisheit. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 235–277, at pp. 268–269.

1924. J. de Ghellinck S.J. et al.: *Pour l'histoire du mot "sacramentum."* I. *Les Antécédents*. Louvain. ix, 392 pp.

1925. Odo Casel OSB: review of J. de Ghellinck et al. *Theologische Revue* 24.2: 41–47.

1956. Jean Doignon: *Sacrum – sacramentum – sacrificium* dans le texte latin de la Sagesse. *Revue des études latines* 34: 240–253. The author is critical of what Thielmann writes about the words in question.

saeculum – age, generation, time, eternity, world [Zeitalter, Generation, Zeit, Ewigkeit, Welt]. This world shares the semantic range of Greek *aiôn*. – **(1)** eternity – the eternity formula, Ewigkeitsformel. *pseudopropheta cruciabitur die ac nocte in saecula saeculorum* (Rev 20:10) – the false prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever (Douay Version; literally: unto the ages of the ages); der falsche Prophet wird gequält werden in alle Ewigkeit (Allioli); (le diable) et le faux prophète seront tourmentés jour et nuit dans les siècles des siècles (Glaire). As can be seen from these renderings, only the French has a (conventional) literal translation – siècles des siècles. *Saecula saeculorum*, often used (Tobit 13:23; Rom 16:27; Gal 1:5; Hebr 13:21; 1 Pet 4:11), is a polyptoton (also called *genetivus auctivus*) expression, see above, Chapter 8.7, in the grammatical glossary s.v. polyptoton. A variant is *saeculum saeculi* – siècle du siècle, age of the age = forever (frequently in the Psalms: 9:6; 22:27, Vg 21:27; 45:7, Vg 44:7; 83:18, Vg 82:18). – **(2)** world. Koh 9:6 (*nec habent partem in hoc saeculo* – they have no part in this world); Wisd 13:9 (*aestimare saeculum* – to make a judgment of the world, Douay Version); Matt 13:22 (*sollicitudo saeculi istius* – the care of this world; Rom 12:2 (*nolite conformari huic saeculi* – be not conformed to this world, Douay Version); 2 Tim 4:9; Tit 2:12. In some instances, *mundus* is synonymous, cf. *nolite diligere mundum* – do not love the world (1 John 2:15). – **(3)** In certain cases, the decision between the temporal and the spatial meaning, between "eternity" and "world," remains unclear. *tu es Deus conspexeris saeculorum* (Sir 36:19) – you are God, the beholder of all ages (Douay Version); le Dieu qui voit dans les siècles (Glaire); der die Zeitalter überblickt (Tusculum-Vulgata). All vernacular translations of the Vulgate, and all translations of the Greek text (*ho theòs tôn aiônôn* – God of the ages) think of the temporal semantics. But the spatial meaning is not impossible: God, overseer of the world (or worlds); see Bauer 1988, col. 54, and the reference of Peters (1913, p. 297) to "Gott der Welt." See also the textual commentary on Hebr 1:2 (Chapter 22). – Literature:

1874. Johann Nepomuk Ott: Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109: 757–792, 833–867, at pp. 765–766.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 27–28.

1913. Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Übersetzt und erklärt. Münster (lxxviii, 470 pp.), p. 297.

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 470–473 on the pejorative semantics of *saeculum*, the “evil world.”
1934. Richards, p. 107.
1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, pp. 732–733.
1970. Zürcher, p. 265.
1970. Árpád P. Orbán: *Les dénominations du monde chez les premiers auteurs chrétiens*. Nijmegen xviii, 243 pp.
1988. Walter Bauer: *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*. 6., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Berlin (xxiv pp., 1796 cols.), col. 54. – Within the lemma *aiôn*, Sir 36:17 is listed in the sub-section “die Welt als räumlicher Begriff,” but it is added that some of the passages listed may actually have a temporal meaning.
2011. Lyliane Sznajder: L’expression de la longue durée et de l’éternité dans la Vulgate. In: Claude Moussy (ed.): *Espace et temps en latin*. Paris (248 pp.), pp. 109–123.
2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen (256 pp.), pp. 206–208.

saltem – at least, at all events [zumindest, auf jeden Fall]. Focus particle of argumentative force. While the literature does not refer to Vulgate examples (Josh 10:28; Jer 3:4), it is nevertheless illuminating:

2001. Bernard Bortolussi – Lyliane Sznajder: Syntaxe et interprétation de *saltem*. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 7.1: 35–59.
2016. Rodie Risselada: The Pragmatics of “at least”: *saltem*, *utique*, *dumtaxat*, *certe*. *Pallas* 102: 191–199.

salus, salvare, salvator – salvation, to save, saviour [Heil, erlösen, Erlöser, Heiland]. These are new Christian words or, more precisely, words that were given new, specifically Christian meanings. The underlying Greek words *σωτηρία*, *σώζειν* and *σωτήρ*, do not translate easily into Latin. In the words of Cicero: *hoc (σωτήρ) quantum est? ita magnum ut latine uno verbo exprimi non possit. Is est nimirum Soter, qui salutem dedit (In Verrem IV, 63 [154])* – and what does this word mean? It means so much that it cannot be rendered by any single Latin word; Soter in fact is the one who has furnished safety. In the Latin version of the book of Wisdom, the translator uses *sanitas* (health; Wisd 6:26; 18:7). – Literature:

1893. Eduard Wölfflin: *Salvator. Salvare. Mediator. Mediare. Mediante*. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 592.
1897. Wilhelm Kroll: Das afrikanische Latein. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* NF 52 (1897) 569–590, at p. 583, note 2.
1904. Kaulen, p. 183–184.
1926. Plater/White, p. 9–10.
1939. Pierre de Labriolle: *Salvator*. *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 14: 23–36.

1941. Pierre de Labriolle: *Salvator*, in: *Mélanges en hommage à la mémoire de Fr. Martroye*. Paris (xxiii, 394 pp.), pp. 59–72.
1950. Christine Mohrmann: Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne. *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950) 193–211, at pp. 203–205.
- 1956: Christine Mohrmann: Quelques traits caractéristiques du latin des chrétiens (1956). In: eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome I. 2^e édition. Rome 1961 (xxiv, 468 pp.), pp. 21–50, at pp. 23–24.
1970. Zürcher, pp. 267–270.
2003. Joachim Becker: 'Iustus' statt 'iustitia.' Zu einer messianisierenden Übersetzungsweise des Hieronymus. In: Klaus Kiesow – Thomas Meurer (eds.): *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*. Münster (x, 620 pp.), pp. 21–34, at p. 24, note 15: a collection of Jerome's references to *salvator* in his biblical commentaries.
2023. Anna Persig: The Language of Imperial Cult and Roman Religion in the Latin New Testament: The Latin Rendering of "Saviour." *New Testament Studies* 69.1: 21–34. – On p. 24, the author supplies a list of the occurrences of *salvator* and *salutaris* in the Latin New Testament (Vulgate and Vetus Latina).

salutare – to greet [grüßen]. *intravit in domum (...) et salutavit Elisabeth* – she entered the house (...) and greeted Elisabeth (Luke 1:41). There seem to be two special meanings of the verb: **(1)** to visit, see textual note on Luke 10:4 (Chapter **22**); – **(2)** to rescue (*salutare* = *salvare*), Rönsch, p. 380, see textual note on Sir 22:31 (Chapter **21**).

salutare, gen. salutaris – salvation [Heil]. *calicem salutaris accipiam* (Ps 116:13, Vg 114/115:13) – I will take the cup of salvation. One would expect *calicem salutarem*, because *salutaris* is also an adjective, but *salutare* is often used as a noun, see Gen 49:17; Ps 21:2 (Vg 20:2); Ps 132:16 (Vg 131:16); Luke 2:29. In Ps 68:20 (Vg 67:20), *Deus salutarium nostrorum* – God of our salvations, the plural *salutaria* can be understood as augmentative plural; Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 734 – Dieu, qui nous sauve de toutes manières.

salvator – saviour [Erlöser, Heiland]. (*deus*) *qui est salvator omnium hominum* – (God) who is the saviour of all men (1 Tim 4:10). – Literature :

1937. Pierre de Labriolle: Histoire du mot latin *salvator*. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 81 : 110–111.

1939. Pierre de Labriolle: *Salvator*. *Archivum latinitatis mediæ aevi* 14 : 23–36.

1941. Pierre de Labriolle : *Salvator*. In: Société nationale des antiquaires de France (ed.) : *Mélanges en hommage à la mémoire de François Martroye*. Paris (394 pp., 23 plates), pp. 59–72.

salvus – safe, healed, healthy [wohlbehalten, heil]. It is not easy to translate this standard word of the biblical and Christian vocabulary. A typical expression is *salvum facere aliquem* – to save someone, to keep someone free of harm, as in *salvum me fac Deus meus* – save me, o my God (Ps 3:8, Vg 3:7); *Domine salvum fac regem* – o Lord, save the king (Ps 20:10, Vg 19:10); *fides tua te salvum fecit* – your faith has healed you (Douay Version: your faith hath made you whole, Luke 17:19). – Literature:

1928. Arthur Allgeier: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur Sprachgebrauch der lateinischen Übersetzungen des Psalters und der Evangelien. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46: 34–49, at pp. 35–39: *salvum facere/fieri*, esp. in the Gospels.

2022. Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni, Illness, Suffering, and Treatment in a Changing world. Old Latin Gospels and “Medical” Vocabulary. *Early Christianity* 13.3: 317–341, at p. 338.

sanctificare – to sanctify, to make holy [heiligen, heilig machen]. Used in the Lord’s Prayer: *sanctificeter nomen tuum* – your name shall be made holy (Matt 6:9), and often (Gen 2:3; 1 Cor 6:11; etc.). It may also mean “to sacrifice” (Exod 13:2). – Rönsch, p. 178; Kaulen, pp. 220–221; Zürcher, pp. 270–271.

sanctus, sanctitas – sacred, holy, holiness [heilig, Heiligkeit]. Literature:

1970. Zürcher, pp. 271–273.

1982. Olegario García de la Fuente: Sobre la colocación del adjetivo *sanctus* en el latín bíblico. *Analecta malacitana* 5 (1982) 205–210.

2009. Joachim Becker, *Biblica* 90.3: 432: Under the influence of the Vetus Latina, Jerome regularly uses *sanctus* for Hebrew *ḥāsīd*.

2013. Marie Frey Rébeillé-Borgella: *Sanctus et sanctitas dans les Bibles latines*. *Conserveries mémorielles* 14: 2013 (online journal). – “Dans le monde latin non-chrétien, quand *sanctus* est appliqué à un homme, il désigne l’homme inviolable en raison d’une fonction religieuse ou l’homme qui possède certaines qualités, indépendamment de la religion. Le *uir sanctus* est un homme intègre, irréprochable, en raison de qualités morales intrinsèques qui ne sont pas liés au monde divin. Dans les livres bibliques, l’homme *sanctus* est un homme fidèle à Dieu, croyant, qui respecte celui en qui il croit et qui accomplit ses devoirs envers lui [exemples discussed: 1 Sam 2:9; Ps 18:26, Vg 17,26; 145:17, Vg 144:17; Prov 2:7; Mic 7:2]. La notion la plus proche dans le vocabulaire latin serait celle de *pietas*, d’homme *pius*.”

2022. Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni: The Codex Vercellensis (a, 3) as Witness of the Gospel of Luke. *Early Christianity* 13: 105–130, at pp. 124–128.

sanguis, plur. sanguines – blood [Blut]. **(1)** There is the alternative form *sanguen* (genitive *sanguinis*); see Kaulen and textual note on Deut 12:16 (Chapter 21). – **(2)** The Greek language can form the plural of “blood”: *ta haimata* means bloodshed, acts of bloodshed. On the basis of the Greek, the Vetus Latina uses *sanguines* for saying “acts of bloodshed,” in Latin a strange-sounding neologism used in Ezek 9:9 and Ps 51:16 (Vg 50:16); in 2 Sam 16:8 and Prov 29:10, *vir sanguinum* = man of bloodshed(s), murderer. – **(3)** A special case is John 1:13, where it is stated that believers are born from God, and not *ex sanguinibus* – not of blood (Douay Version); nicht aus dem Geblüte (Beda Grundl); the “blood” here may actually be the male sexual fluid (B. Lang). – Literature:

c. 400. Augustine: *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 50 (PL 36: 579). Augustine comments on the fact that the plural *sanguines* is not part of the standard Latin vocabulary.

1875. Rönsch, p. 273.

1904. Kaulen, p. 121 (no. 30): *sanguen* = blood in Ex 30:10; Ezek 45:19; p. 126 (no. 34): *sanguines* = Blutschulden.

1971. Edoardo Vineis: Studio sulla lingua dell’Italia. *L’Italia Dialettale* 34 (1971) 136–248; 36 (1973) 287–372; 37 (1974) 154–166, at p. 203.

2009. Jacob Wackernagel: *Lectures on Syntax with Special Reference to Greek, Latin, and Germanic*. Translated by David Langslow. Oxford (xx, 982 pp.), p. 18.

sanitas – health [Gesundheit]. *non est sanitas in carne mea* (Ps 38:4, Vg 37:4) – there is no health in my flesh; *restituta est sanitati* – (the hand) is restored to health (Matt 12:13). Other meanings include welfare (Wisd 6:26) and salvation (Wisd 18:7), in both cases a translation of Greek σωτηρία. In Isa 58:2, *sanitas* also refers to salvation. – Literature:

1999. Giuseppe Scarpato: “sanitas” come traduzione Latina di σωτηρία (Sap 6,26; 18,7). In: Núria Carduch Benages – Jacques Vermeulen (eds.): *Treasures of Wisdom*. Leuven (xxvii, 463, 7 pp.), pp. 241–253.

2018. Isabelle Schrive: *Isaïe 58: Une critique textuelle*. Thèse de doctorat. Université de Strasbourg. 281 pp. (unpublished doctoral thesis). *Et sanitas tua citius orietur* (v. 8) – et ta santé se lèvera rapidement; “nous retenons le sens Classique de santé, au sens de santé physique et mentale.”

→ **salus, salvare, salvator**

sapientia, sapiens – wisdom, wise [Weisheit, weise]. Frequently used in both testaments.

1974. S. Koster: Vir bonus et sapiens. *Hermes* 102: 590–619.

1965/66. G. Garbarino: Evoluzione semantica dei termini sapiens e sapientia nei secoli III e IV a. C. *Atti dell'accademia delle scienze di Torino. Classe di scienze morali* 100: 253–284.

2021. Juliette Dross: Sapientia, virtus, philosophia. Quelques remarques sur les représentations de la sagesse dans l'œuvre philosophique de Sénèque (enjeux, héritage et postérité). In: Stéphanie Anthonioz – Cécile Dogniez (eds.): *Représentations et Personnification de la Sagesse dans l'antiquité et au-delà*. Leuven (442 pp.), pp. 281–303.

scala – ladder, flight of stairs [Leiter, Treppe]. In classical Latin, the word *scalae* is *plurale tantum*, but Gen 28:12–13 uses *scala* in the singular. In 1 Macc 5:30, *scalae* is plural “ladders.” – Kaulen, p. 126.

scientia – knowledge [Wissen]. – Rainer Berndt: Scientia und disciplina in der lateinischen Bibel und in der Exegese des hohen Mittelalters. In: idem – Matthias Lutz-Bachmann et al. (eds.): “*Scientia*” und “*disciplina*.” *Wissenschaftstheorie und Wissenschaftspraxis im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 2002 (294 pp.), pp. 9–36.

scruta, plur. – cheap, low-quality stuff [billiges Zeug, Trödel]. Jerome seems to have liked the expression *scruta vendens* – seller of cheap stuff: 1 Kgs 10:15; Neh 3:31 (Vg 3:30), though in these passages, there is no emphasis on the cheapness, doubtful quality or second-hand kind of what is sold. The Douay Version has “they that sell by retail, sellers of small wares.” Jerome found the expression in Horace: *Epistles* I, 7,65 (see Chapter 21, textual note on 1 Kgs 10:15), a passage almost verbally echoed in Jerome: *Life of Hilario* 38 (PL 23: 48). – Literature:

1918. Friedrich Lammert: Die Angaben des Kirchenvaters Hieronymus über vulgäres Latein. *Philologus* 75: 395–413, at p. 406: Lammers considers *scruta* a word of vulgar Latin.

2000. Neil Adkin: Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate. *Augustinianum* 40: 77–87, at pp. 81–82.

sculptile – image [Bild]. Rönsch, p. 117. → **idolum**

sculptura – bas-relief, low relief [Flachrelief]. 1 Kgs 7:24; 2 Chr 2:14; Acts 17:29. This is a technical term for a particular kind of artwork, not to be confused with three-dimensional “sculpture” in the modern sense of the term.

secus – near, by [nahe, bei], preposition followed by the accusative case. *Anna autem sedebat secus viam* – Anna sat by the wayside (Tobit 11:5); *praeteriens secus mare Galilaeae* – as he passed by the sea of Galilee (Mark 1:16); *quaedam ceciderunt secus viam* – some fell by the wayside (Matt 13:4; also 13:19; Luke 8:5). The use of *secus* as a preposition belongs to postclassical Latin. According to Burkitt, this use of *secus* is not attested before the fourth century CE. – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, p. 399.

1904. Kaulen, p. 244.

1908. F.C. Burkitt: *secus*. *Journal of Theological Studies* 9: 297–300.

1926. Plater/White, pp. 69 (§ 95), 88 (§ 111: in the Vulgate only as preposition, in classical Latin mainly as adverb).

sensus, sensatus – mind, understanding, sense; the one who has understanding [Verstand, Sinn, der Einsichtige]. The meaning depends upon the context. In Sirach, *sensus* is the normal word for “understanding, Verstand,” see Sir 1:30; 3:15,25, etc. (Thielmann); *sensatus* (Sir 21:8) is the one who has understanding. In Rom 1:28, “frame of mind” has been suggested (R. Knox translation). In Rom 14:5, “opinion” (R. Knox) is a good option; in German: Meinung (Allioli), Überzeugung (Grundl). – Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, at p. 538.

sentire – to feel, to think, to judge, to perceive [fühlen, denken, urteilen, wahrnehmen]. – Pedro Riesco García: La multimodalidad de “sentio.” Un verbo para la expresión perceptiva, emotiva y valorativa en latín. In: Laura Camimno Plaza et al. (eds.): *Scripta manent. Nuevas miradas sobre los estudios clásicos y su tradición*. Santiago de Compostela 2022 (410 pp.), pp. 89–102.

sermo – word, speech [Wort, Rede]. **(1)** While less frequent than *verbum*, *sermo* is synonymous; the two are interchangeable, and often function in the same context; see Ps 19:3–4 (Vg 18:3–4), where the translator uses *verbum*, *loquela*, and *sermo*. The noun *sermo* has lost the classical meaning of “language, level of language, way of talking.” The noun very rarely refers to conversational exchange or a sequence of words; instead, it may refer to a single word (1 Sam 3:17). In the Old Testament, the plural *sermones* refers to the words transmitted in an act of communication (Gen 24:33), but never to successive speeches that are exchanged. In the Old Testament, *sermones* are never sermons in the Christian sense (which emerges in the 4th century), though the expression *sermo exhortationis* (Acts 13:15) comes close. – **(2)** In Acts 1:1, the gospel of Luke is called *primus sermo*, rendered as “former treatise” (Douay Version), “erstes Buch” (Grundl). This is clearly postclassical usage. – **(3)** In John 1:1, the Vulgate has *in principio erat verbum*, while the Vetus Latina has *in principio erat sermo*. – **(4)** In a few passages, *sermo* means “deed, incident, matter,” no doubt a Hebraism (Hagen, Kaulen, Plater/White): 2 Sam 12:21 (*quis est sermo quem fecisti* – what is the deed that you have done?); 1 Kgs 15:5 (*excepto sermone Uriae Hetthei* – except the matter of Urias the Hittite); Acts 8:21. Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 33.

1904. Kaulen, p. 28

1926. Plater/White, p. 18 (§ 16).

1954. Christine Mohrmann: Praedicare, tractare, sermo. Essai sur la terminologie de la prédication paléochrétienne. *La Maison-Dieu* 39: 97–107.

1977. Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle: Sermo: Reopening the Conversation on Translating Jn 1,1. *Vigiliae Christianae* 31: 161–168.

1996. Claude Moussy: Oratio, sermo, contentio. *Lingua latina* 4: 35–44.

2006. Lyliane Sznajder: La parole et la voix dans la Vulgate. In: Pascale Brillet-Dubois (ed.): *Philologia. Mélanges offerts à Michel Casevitz*. Paris (381 pp.), pp. 329–338, at p. 332.

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris (326 pp.), pp. 246–255.

si – particle with multiple usages. Examples: **(1)** *si* – if [wenn] – introduces the conditional clause: *vovit etiam votum, dicens: si fuerit Deus mecum (...)* – and he made a vow, saying: if God shall be with me (...) (Gen 28:20). – **(2)** interrogative particle, left untranslated. Example: *et respondens dixit Jesus ad legisperitos et Pharisaeos, dicens: si licet sabbato curare?* – and Jesus answered the teachers of the law and the Pharisees, saying: Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath? (Luke 14:3). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 49–50: interrogative particle *si*.

1904. Kaulen, p. 248 (no. 127).

2015. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Vol. I. Oxford 2015 (xxiv, 1430 pp.), p. 334.

2021. Peter Juhás: Beobachtungen zum biblisch-hebräischen Satzadverb *ʿulaj*. Funktionen, Übersetzungslösungen des Hieronymus und Problemstellen der antiken Bibelübersetzungen. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 97.1: 1–36. – The adverb expresses epistemic modality, mostly with its dubitative nuance and to signal politeness. To translate this adverb, Jerome prefers hypotactic constructions with the junctures *si forte* and *si quo modo* which he uses synonymously (pp. 23–24). Also discussed are *si, si quid* (pp. 21–22) and *sin autem* (pp. 22–23).

sic – so, thus, yes [so, auf diese Weise, ja]. In late Latin, *sic* is one of the words used for saying “yes.” A possible biblical example is Sir 31:13 (re-punctuated: Non dicas: Sic, multa ...). Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, at p. 545. → **est** → **etiam** → **utique**

signum – sign, miracle [Zeichen, Wunder]. Exod 4:8–9; John 2:11. – Literature:

1970. Zürcher, p. 291.

2002. Claude Moussy: Signa et portenta. In: Lea Sawicki – Donna Shalev (eds.): *Donum grammaticum. Studies in Latin and Celtic Linguistics*. Leuven 2002 (xvi, 411 pp.), pp. 265–275.

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris (326 pp.), pp. 256–282, esp. pp. 270–271.

similitudo – likeness, parable, saying [Gleichnis, Spruch]. The unusual meaning of “saying” is used in Wisd 5:3; Ps 44:15 (Vg 43:15), echoing the underlying Greek *parabolê*. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 18.

1874. Johann Nepomuk Ott: Die neueren Forschungen im Gebiete des Bibellatein. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 44/109: 757–792, 833–867, at pp. 765–766.

1904. Kaulen, p. 28: in Wisd 5:3 and Ps 44:15 (Vg 43:15), *similitudo* means “mockery” (German: Gespött). According to Kaulen, these two passages support the notion that the *Vetus Latina* was translated by someone with limited linguistic competence.

simplex, simplicitas – honest, frank, guileless; simplicity, openness [ehrlich, aufrichtig, unverdorben; Einfachheit, Offenheit]. *volo vos sapientes esse in bono et simplices in malo* – I would have you to

be wise in good and simple in evil (Rom 16:19, Douay Version); *estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae* – be wise as serpents and simple as doves (Matt 10:16); *ut sitis sine querela, et simplices filii Dei, sine reprehensione* – that you may be blameless and sincere (*simplices*) children of God, without reproof (Phil 2:15; Douay Version). Otto Hiltbrunner: *Latina graeca. Semasiologische Untersuchungen über lateinische Wörter im Hinblick auf ihr Verhältnis zu griechischen Vorbildern*. Bern 1958 (208 pp.), pp. 15–105; “Die lateinischen Kirchenschriftsteller (...) übernahmen (...) das Wort im wesentlichen so, wie es in der profanen Sprache gebraucht wurde. Der moralische Wertbegriff, so wie er sich im zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert gefestigt hatte, wird in die christliche Wertordnung hineingenommen” (p. 93).

sincerus, plur. sincerus, sincere, sinceriter – sincere, honest [ehrlich, aufrichtig, ungeheuchelt]. *non ambulavimus sinceriter coram te* – we have not walked sincerely before thee (Tobit 3:5, Douay Version); *quidam autem ex contentione Christum annuntiant non sincere* – some out of contention preach Christ not sincerely (Phil 1:17, Douay Version). The original meaning of *sincerus* is “intact, unimpaired” [unversehrt, intakt, unbeeinträchtigt]; see Otto Hiltbrunner: *Latina graeca. Semasiologische Untersuchungen über lateinische Wörter im Hinblick auf ihr Verhältnis zu griechischen Vorbildern*. Bern 1958 (208 pp.), pp. 106–154.

sirenes – Sirens [Sirenen]. Figures of Greek mythology, mentioned only once in the Bible, in Isa 13:22 (as in the Septuagint, Isa 13:21). – Literature:

1875. Rönsch, pp. 245–246.

1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269, at p. 252.

1994. Sabine Wedner: *Tradition und Wandel im allegorischen Verständnis des Sirenenmythos*. Frankfurt (277 pp.), pp. 173–175.

2004. Manolis Papoutsakis: Ostriches into Sirens. Towards an Understanding of a Septuagint Crux. *Journal of Jewish Studies* 55: 25–36. – The author explains how the Sirens, not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, entered the Greek translation.

2015. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: *Mythos bei Hieronymus. Zur christlichen Transformation paganer Erzählungen in der Spätantike*. Stuttgart (386 pp.), pp. 91–93.

2016. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: Giganten und Sirenen in der Vulgata. Griechischer Mythos in der lateinischen Bibel des Hieronymus. *Museum Helveticum* 73 (2016) 78–96, at pp. 89–94.

2023. Dorothea Keller: Übersetzungsentscheidungen bei Hieronymus und ihre Begründung. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 109–136, at pp. 118–120.

spiritus, gen. spiritūs – wind, breath, spirit, demon [Wind, Atem, Geist, Dämon]. Normally, *spiritus* is used for “spirit.” A special case is Acts 2:2 where *spiritus* refers to “wind.” Jean-Marie Sevrin: *Spiritus dans les versions latines de la Bible*; in: M. Fattor – M. Bianchi (eds.): *Spiritus. IV° Colloquio Internazionale Roma 7–9 gennaio 1983*. Rome 1984 (xii, 644 pp.), pp. 77–91.

stibium – antimony [Spießglanz]. Used as eyepaint: *oculos stibio depingere* (2 Kgs 9:30, Jer 4:30, Ezek 23:40). The word *stibium* is also part of a female name, see textual note on Job 42:1 (Chapter 21). – Literature:

1898. G.M. Mackie: Eye. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Volume 1. Edinburgh (xv, 864 pp.), p. 814: “Eye-paint was a paste made of antimony powder, giving a brown-black burnished stain to the eyelashes.”

1925. E.A. Wallis Budge: *The Mummy. A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology*. 2nd edition. Cambridge (xxii, 513 pp.), p. 259. In Jer 4:30, Budge sees "an allusion to the wide-open appearance which stibium gives to women's eyes in the East."

1954. Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, p. 775: "poudre d'antimoine (pour farder en noir)" – antimon powder for black blush.

structura – structure, architectural design [Gefüge, Bauart]. Meant is not the built object, but the architectural design. *aspice quales lapides et quales structurae* (Mark 13:1) – behold what kind of stones and what a design; siehe, welche Steine und welche Gefüge/Bauart. – Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), pp. 32–34.

suavis – sweet [süß]. → **dulcis, dulcedo**

subcinericius – (baked) under ashes [(unter Asche) gebacken]. *subcinericius panis* – ash bread; Gen 18:6; Exod 12:39; Judg 7:13; 1 Kgs 19:6; Hos 7:8. For the relevant baking method, see textual note on Gen 18:6 (Chapter 21).

subter – under, beneath [unter, unterhalb]. This word belongs to Jerome's vocabulary; it is often used in the Old Testament, and absent from the New Testament. **(1)** preposition: *et sederet subter unam juniperum* – he sat under a juniper-tree (1 Kgs 19:4); in classical Latin, one would say sub. – **(2)** adverb: *et eris semper supra, et non subter* – you shall always be above, and not beneath (Deut 28:13). – Plater/White, p. 89.

summus sacerdos → **sacerdos**

super – above, because [über, wegen]. Preposition. Two notable usages: **(1)** Followed by the accusative, this preposition also serves in comparisons, being the equivalent of English "than" or "more than"; see *super mel dulcis* – sweeter than honey (Sir 24:24:27); *melius est modicum iusto super divitias peccatorum multas* – better is a little to the just than the great riches of the wicked (Ps 37:16 [Vg 36:16]); *diligebat Ioseph super omnes filios suos* – he loved above all his sons (Gen 37:3, Douay Version). – **(2)** More rarely, *super* means "because" or "relating to": *nomini tuo da gloriam super misericordia tua* – give glory to your (God's) name because of your mercy (Ps 114:1–2 [Vg 113B:1–2]; Kaulen, p. 242). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 242.

1911. 1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), p. 222.

super- – over- [über-]. Many verbs are formed with the preposition *super*: *superabundare, superaedificare, supererogare* etc. While in some cases, the formative element contributes to the meaning, this is not always the case. In the case of *supergaudere*, the meaning is to assert one's triumph over (*super*) someone by rejoicing: *non supergaudeant mihi* – they (the enemies) shall not rejoice over me (Ps 35:19, Vg 34:19; alternatively, one could say *non gaudeant super me*). One also senses the preference for long words in late Latin. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 74: "der mit *super* componierten Wörter gibt es eine große Anzahl, namentlich in den Büchern, welche der *alten* Vulgata [= Vetus Latina] angehören."

1875. Rönsch, pp. 200–202: list of 17 verbs prefixed by *super-*.

1904. Kaulen, pp. 215–217.

1926. Plater/White, p. 52.

suscipere – to take, to receive, to support [nehmen, erhalten, unterstützen]. Besides these common meanings, the verb *suscipere* can have at least one special meaning: that of “to focus on something or someone” in the interest of overwhelming and gaining full control; Ps 17:12 (Vg 16:12) indicates a technical term of hunting and warfare, see the textual note on Ps 17:12 (Chapter 22) and Friedrich Stummer: Lexikographische Bemerkungen zur Vulgata. In: Pontificio Istituto Biblico (ed.): *Miscellanea Biblica*. Volume 2. Rome 1934 (406 pp.), pp. 179–202, at pp. 199–201

synagoga – assembly, place of assembly [Versammlung, Versammlungsort]. Transcribing Greek *synagôgê*, the word is used in both Testaments. **(1)** In Acts 13, we hear of the regular religious assembly on Sabbath where passages from the Bible are read and Paul speaks up (v. 14, 15, 43). This terminology may have influenced Exod 34:31 where Israel’s elders are called *principes synagogae* – heads of the assembly. – **(2)** A building for religious meetings is clearly meant in Matt 23:6; Luke 7:5. – **(3)** Examples of meetings or groups that are not specifically religious: Ps 86:14 (Vg 85:14): *synagoga potentium quaesierunt animam meam* – the assembly of the mighty have sought my soul (i.e., sought to kill me; German: trachteten mir nach dem Leben); Ps 7:8; 82:1 (Vg 81:1– the assembly of the gods). – Kaulen, p. 109; Zürcher, p. 291–292; Israel Peri: Ecclesia und Synagoga in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 33 (1989) 245–251.

T

tectum – roof [Dach]. *passer solitarius in tecto* (Ps 102:8, Vg 101:8) – a lonely sparrow on the roof, or, perhaps, in the nest; the second possibility is indicated in Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 809. In Jer 30:18, *tectum* may be a tent (as suggested by the parallelism with *tabernacula*, tents) or a house. – Meershoek, pp. 221–233.

-ter → **-iter**

testamentum – covenant, treaty, witness [Bund, Zeugnis]. **(1)** A *testamentum* = covenant or better: treaty may be concluded between humans (1 Macc 1:12). But characteristically, the covenant is between God and Israel: *arca testamenti Domini et Mayses* – the ark of the covenant between the Lord and Moses (Num 14:44) or between God and king (Ps 89:40, Vg 88:40). God’s *testamentum* = covenant with Aaron, Phineas, and David is referred to in Sir 45:8 (*testamentum aeternum*).19.30.31 (though the Douay Version has “testament” in v. 19). The expression *novum testamentum* (new covenant) is used Matt 26:28; Mark 14:24. In Jer 31:31, where one would expect *novum testamentum*, the Vulgate has *foedus novum*; → **foedus**. – **(2)** The translation “covenant” does not cover the whole range of meanings: *testamentum* may also be used for “divine commandment, law” (Ps 25:10, Vg 24:10), for “promise” (Judith 9:18; 1 Macc 2:54) and “last will” (Hebr 9:16). Becker (2022) prefers the rendering as “testimony.” – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, pp. 30–31.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 294–295.

2022. Christoph Becker: Vertrag, Bund und Testament in der Heiligen Schrift. Diktion römischen Rechts aus Vetus Latina und Vulgata. In: Franz Sedlmeier – Hans Ulrich Steymans (eds.): *Bundestheologie bei Hosea? Eine Spurensuche*. Berlin (xii, 438 pp.), pp. 69–106. Jerome’s words are *foedus* and *pactum*, the Vetus Latina and the New Testament (in continuity with the Vetus Latina of the Old Testament) has *testamentum*. Becker consistently translates *testamentum* as witness [Zeugnis]. “Der juristische Gehalt des in der Evangelienüberset-

zung benutzten Begriffs *testamentum* ist Zeugnis, insbesondere Bezeugung des Willens, was mit dem eigenen Vermögen nach dem Tode geschehen solle“ (p. 93).

2023. Christoph Becker: *Testamentum*: Die Darstellung des Erblasserwillens im Neuen Testament. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 176–178.

2023. Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen: Der Alte und der Neue Bund bei Hieronymus. In: Christian A. Eberhardt – Wolfgang Kraus (eds.): *Covenant. Concepts of Berit, Diatheke, and Testamentum*. Tübingen (x, 720 pp.), pp. 609–623. The article traces the development of Jerome’s covenant theology, beginning with the theological explanations he gave to Damasus in 383 and ending with its impact on his translation work in Bethlehem. A strong anti-Jewish orientation of the theology of the covenant is also manifest in some of Jerome’s works; evidence of this is his interpretation of the book of Job. The reference of Jerome’s terminology to the *foedus* concept of the late antique state is also considered.

testimonium – witness, testimony [Zeugnis]. In passages such as Acts 14:3 and 16:2, one can see difference between *testimonium* and → *testamentum*: *testimonium* is the more general word, lacking the specifically legal connotation. – Christoph Becker: Vertrag, Bund und Testament in der Heiligen Schrift. Diktion römischen Rechts aus Vetus Latina und Vulgata. In: Franz Sedlmeier – Hans Ulrich Steymans (eds.): *Bundestheologie bei Hosea? Eine Spurensuche*. Berlin 2022 (xii, 438 pp.), pp. 69–106, at p. 99.

thyinus – scented, of the citrus-tree [vom Citrusbaum]. This adjective is used only in the expression *lignum thyinum* – scented wood, attested only in the Vulgate Bible (1 Kgs 10:11–12; 2 Chr 9:10–11; Rev 18:12). The word transliterates Greek *thyinos* – of the citrus-tree. – Literature:

1862. Karl Jacobitz – Ernst E. Zeller: *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. 2nd edition. Leipzig 1862 (xviii, 1845 pp.), p. 719: Greek *thya* – “bei den Römern *citrus*, ein afrikanischer Baum von wohlriechendem Holze, wovon Balken zu Tempeleindachungen, Türen etc. und farbige Maserstücke zu Tischplatten benutzt wurden, wahrscheinlich *thuia cypressoidea*.”

1904. Kaulen, p. 142: “vom Sandelbaum herrührend.”

1998. David E. Aune: *Revelation 17–22*. Word Biblical Commentary. Grand Rapids, Mich 1998 (xlvi, pp. 905–1354), pp. 999–1000: a detailed discussion of this tree and its products.

tormentum – torment, torture [Qual]. Wisd 2:19; 3:1; Rev 18:7. – S. Brant: Tormenta. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Sprache der Itala. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 5 (1888) 286–289.

tractare, tractatus – to discuss, to treat; thought (abhandeln, behandeln; Gedanke). *male tractare* – to treat someone badly (Acts 7:6). *recte tractare verbum veritatis* – to discuss the word of truth correctly (2 Tim 2:15; Douay Version: rightly handling the word of truth). *cogitatio atque tractatus* (Josh 22:24) – thought and design (Douay Version, Knox); Gedanke und Verabredung (Arndt); la pensée et le but (Glaire). – Gustave Bardy: *Tractare, Tractatus. Recherches de science religieuse* 33 (1946) 211–235.

triclinium – dining room [Speisezimmer]. This is what the noun means in 1 Sam 9:22. In two passages, it refers to the women’s room or women’s private quarters (2 Kgs 11:2; Esth 2:13), made explicit in the Esther passage: *triclinium feminarum*. The word is not used in the New Testament; when the notion is referred to, the word used is → **coenaculum / cenaculum** (Luke 22:12).

tunica – shirt, tunic [Hemd, Tunica]. This typically Latin word is used to designate the priestly garment (Lev 17:4, Douay Version: tunick), but also the undergarment (Cant 5:3), the fine coats of Joseph and Jesus (Gen 37:3; John 19:23) and the shirt of Peter (John 21:7). “The tunica, cut and sewn

from two pieces of generally white woolen or linen material, was worn by both men and women of the Roman upper classes as an undergarment underneath the toga, and as the sole garment by the lower classes"; Rolf Hurschmann: *Tunica*. In: *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Volume 15. Leiden (lviii pp., 1050 cols.), col. 28.

U

unicornis – unicorn [Einhorn]. Used in Isaiah (Isa 34:7) and the Psalms (Ps 22:22 [Vg 21:22], 28:6 [Vg 29:6], 77:69 [Vg 78:69], 91:11 [Vg 92:11]). The use of the word most likely entered the biblical vocabulary via Aquila's Greek translation. Jerome explains the word as meaning *rhinoceros* (Commentary on Habacuc, PL 25: 1314). – Henri de Sainte-Marie OSB: *Le psaume 22 (21) dans le luxta Hebraeos*. In: Pierre Salmon OSB et al.: *Richesses et déficiences des anciens Psautiers latins*. *Collectanea biblica latina* 13. Rome (267 pp.), pp. 151–187, at pp. 163–164.

unigenitus – only, only begotten [einzig, eingeboren]. This Christian word echoes Greek μονογενής which, in Greek, means "only, unique," and does not put an emphasis on "begetting." An early attestation is Tertullian's quotation of John 1:14 (*Adversus Praxean* 15; PL 2: 197). It was only in Jerome's days, subsequent to christological debates, that it came to mean "only begotten." Accordingly, Jerome in John 1:14.18; 3:16.18; 1 John 4:9 changed the *Vetus Latina unicus* to *unigenitus*. All of these passages are christological, though *unigenitus* is also used in the quasi-christological passage Hebrews 11:17 (where it refers to Abraham's son Isaac). – Dale Moody: *God's Only Son*. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 72 (1953) 213–219.

unus, -a, -um – one [einer, eine, eines], forms. In classical Latin, this is an irregular adjective: *unius* (genitive), *uni* (dative), *unum* (accusative), *uno* (ablative). Vulgar Latin uses *uno* also for the dative case; see *lateri uno* – for one side (Exod 27:14); *arieti uno* – for one ram (Num 29:14). – Kaulen, p. 164 (no. 60).

unus, -a, -um – one [einer, eine, eines], used as an indefinite article. Classical Latin does not have an indefinite article, but in biblical Latin *unus* may be used in this function. Examples: *subter unam juniperum* – under a juniper-tree (1 Kgs 19:4; note that trees are fem.); *puer unus* – a boy (John 6:9; classical Latin would have *puer quidem*); *propheta unus* – a prophet (Luke 9:19); *drachma una* – a drachma (Luke 15:8). This interpretation of *unus* is suggested by Plater/White, Coleman, and Pinkster, but Schaden suggests a new interpretation.

1875. Rönsch, p. 425.

1926. Plater/White, pp. 79–80 (§107).

1992. Robert Coleman: *Italic*. In: Jadranka Gvozdanovic (ed.): *Indo-European Numerals*. Berlin (x, 943 pp.), pp. 389–446. – Page 390: the examples *propheta unus* (Luke 9:19) and *una ancilla* (Matt 26:29) show that *unus* can function as the indefinite article.

2010. Jesús de la Vila: *Numerals*. In: Philip Baldi et al. (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 3. Berlin (xxi, 529 pp.), pp. 175–238. – Pages 225–233: The evolution of *unus* into the indefinite article.

2015. Harm Pinkster: *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Vol. I. Oxford (xxiv, 1430 pp.), p. 1114. Pinkster's example: *et accessit ad eum una ancilla dicens* – and a servant girl came to him and said; the indefinite article *una* is used to indicate that a new entity is introduced into the discourse.

2020. Gerhard Schaden: *Latin UNUS and the Discourse Properties of Unity Cardinals*. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 65: 438–470. Schaden seeks to demonstrate that the alleged cases

can be understood differently – *unus* being used as contrastive numeral (for examples, see below in Chapter **21** on 1 Sam 1:1-3; and in Chapter **22** on Matt 26:69–71), and *unus* as a partitive particle (for examples, see below in section **21** on Judg 9:51–54; and in Chapter **22** on Matt 9:14–18 and Mark 12:38–44).

urbs – city [Stadt]. In classical Latin, *urbs* is the usual word for “city,” often denoting the city of Rome. In the Old Testament Vulgate *urbs* is frequently used, also for Rome (*ab urbe Roma* – 1 Macc 7:1; 15:15). It is never used in Sirach, and in the New Testament only in Acts 16:12, 39 (for Philippi). In the New Testament *civitas* is the ordinary word for “city,” and Jerusalem is called *sancta civitas* (Matt 27:53). In the Old Testament, both *urbs* and *civitas* are used; in the book of Jonah, Nineveh is consistently called a *civitas* (Jonah 3:2.3; 4:11). – Literature:

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), pp. xiv–xv: a brief note on the semantic field of settlement: *urbs, civitas, castellum*.

1961. Paul Antin: La ville chez saint Jérôme. *Latomus* 20: 298–311.

2013. Igor Filippov: Bible and Roman Law. The Notions of Law, Custom and Justice in the Vulgate. In: Angelo Di Berardino et al., *Lex et religio*. Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 135. Rome 2013 (782 pp.), pp. 105–141, at p. 113–115. The author explores the semantic field of “settlement” (*ager, castellum, castrum, civitas, oppidum, pagus, urbs, vicus, villa*).

ut – particle with multiple meanings that introduces certain clauses. **(1)** Clauses of consequence (consecutive or result clauses) are often introduced by *ut* or *ita ut* with subjunctive = so that: *sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut filium suum unigenitum daret* (John 3:16) – God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son; *et convenerunt multi, ita ut non caperet neque ad ianuam* (Mark 2:2) – and many came together, so that there was no room for them even at the door. More examples in H.P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. 3rd edition. Oxford 1951 (xv, 196 pp.), p. 81. – **(2)** The particle *ut* also introduces clauses that indicate a purpose; see textual note on Col 4:6 (Chapter **22**). With negation: *vigilate et orate ut non intretis in tentationem* – be vigilant and pray so that you won’t enter into temptation (Matt 26:41; cf. Mark 14:38); this may also be considered a clause of purpose. – **(3)** In classical Latin, clauses of concession can be introduced by *ut* = although; Wiseman suggests that this is also the case in Isa 7:15; see below, textual note on Isa 7:15 (Chapter **21**). – **(4)** Special cases are studied in Herbert Migsch: *Studien zum Jeremiabuch und andere Beiträge zum Alten Testament*. Frankfurt 2010. 352 pp. – Pages 277–283: Das unvollständige negierte modale pseudokonsekutive Satzgefüge in der Vulgata (= *Biblische Notizen* 139 [2008] 99–105; Jerome has *ut*, where standard grammar would require *ut non* or *ne*); pp. 303–319: ..., ita ut oder ... ita, ut? Wie das modale Satzgefüge zum konsekutiven Satzgefüge wurde.

utique – yes, certainly [ja]. **(1)** In Psalm 55:13 (Vg 54:13), *utique* is used as an adverb meaning “certainly.” The particle is also used to say “yes” in laconic affirmative answers: *creditis quia hoc possum facere vobis? dicunt ei: utique* – do you believe that I can do this for you? They said: yes (Matt 9:28); Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 862. For another example, see Matt 21:16. See also → **est** → **etiam** → **sic**. – **(2)** *non utique* – not indeed (1 Cor 5:10). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 52.

1875. Rönsch, p. 344.

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 862 takes *utique* to be a strong affirmation – si certainement, oui certainement.

uxor – wife [Ehefrau] → **mulier**

V

va → vah

vadere – to go [gehen]. **(1)** In the Vulgate, *vadere* is practically synonymous with *ire*. *Dixit ad eam Agar ancilla Sarai unde venis et quo vadis* (Gen 16:8) – he said to her: Agar, handmaid of Sarai, where do you come from and where do you go?; *vade in pace* (Mark 5:34) – go in peace. In late Latin, there is a particular preference for the imperative form *vade* (181 times), as in the example from Mark; it replaces *i* (imperative of *ire*). For more on *vadere* as replacement for *ire*, see → **ire**. — **(2)** The meaning “to be, to stay” echoes Hebrew usage, as in *ego vadam absque liberis* (Gen 15:2) – I will remain childless; see the textual note on Gen 15:2 below, in Chapter **21**. – Literature:

1933. Einar Löfstedt: *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*. Zweiter Teil. Lund (xiii, 492 pp.), pp. 38–40.

2016. Andrea Nuti: Between aspect and deixis: *Vado* in classical Latin and the evolution of motion verbs. *Pallas* 102: 69–77.

vae – woe [wehe], interjection of lamentation (*vae mihi* – woe is me [Douay Version, New Revised Standard Version], Isa 6:5) or menace. The Douay Version also renders it as “alas” (Jer 22:18). The word can also be used as a noun (Prov 23:29; Ezek 2:9; Rev 9:12). When used as an interjection, *vae*, in classical Latin, is followed by the dative case (*vae victis* – woe to the conquered, wehe den Besiegten; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* V, 48,9). The dative case is also used in the Vulgate, see *vae impio* – woe to the wicked one (Isa 3:11); *vae tibi, terra, cuius rex puer est* – woe to you, land, whose king is a child (Koh 10:16). But *vae* can also be followed by a nominative or vocative: *vae qui contradicit factori suo* – woe to him who gainsays his Maker (Isa 45:9); *vae domine, vae inclyte* – alas, o lord, alas, o nobleman (Jer 22:18; cf. Rev 18:19). – Literature:

1982. Bengt Löfstedt: Hieronymus’ Kommentare zu den kleinen Propheten. *Acta classica* 25: 119–126, at p. 125; supplemented by idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), p. 292.

2023. Hans Förster: Weherufe im Matthäusevangelium. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 117–119. – Förster thinks of the *vae* of Matt 23:13 as a word indicating a threat or menace (not expressing grief, as in the underlying Greek).

Note. – In English “woe is me” has become proverbial, though today it is used humorously. It is found in the Douay version for *vae mihi*, see Ps 120:5 (Vg 119:5); Isa 6:5; Jer 4:31; 10:19 (and in more passages of Jeremiah); Micah 7:1; see also 1 Cor 9:16, where *vae enim mihi est* is rendered “woe is unto me.” The expression is also used in versions not based on the Latin, such as the King James Version, the Revised Standard Version, The New Revised Standard Version, the New American Bible, and the Standard English Version. The expression “woe is me” is to be explained as follows: *woe* is a noun, *me* an archaic dative case rendering Latin *mihi*. Some modern translations avoid the “woe,” replacing it with alas, too late, shame, oh, ah, or trouble – all found in the New English Bible (which has “ah me” in Jer 4:31, but “woe is me” in Isa 6:5).

vaenire, vaeneo – to be sold [verkauft werden]. Also spelled *venire*, though this causes confusion with *venire, venio* = to come. The verb is used in Matt 10:29; Luke 12:6; John 12:5; 1 Cor 10:25. The spelling in the printed editions varies. Nestle consistently spells *vaenire*, the Colunga/Turrado edition is inconsistent (*veneunt* Matt 10:29, elsewhere *ae*), and Weber/Gryson and NVg always have the simple *e*.

vah – ah! [oh!]. Exclamation. Matt 27:40 (Clementina, but omitted in Weber/Gryson, NVg); Mark 15:29. The Weber/Gryson edition adopts the spelling *va*, but NVg stays with *vah*. The Douay Version

leaves the word untranslated, Knox has “come now.” German translators are divided between “ei” (Allioli, Grundl), “ha” (Arndt), and “seht mal” (Tusculum-Vulgata). Glaire opts for “Ah.” According to Hofmann, the word originally expressed pain, but came to be used in various contexts so that only gestures and body language would allow the audience to understand. – J.B. Hofmann: *Lateinische Umgangssprache*. 4. Auflage. Heidelberg 1978, pp. 14–15.

vallicula – small valely, small cavity [kleines Tal, kleine Vertiefung]. The word is attested only once before Jerome – by Servius in his commentary on Vergil: *Aeneid* XI, 522 (in the form *vallecula*). – Olga Monno: Una “piccola valle” tra la grammatica e i testi sacri. *Vetera Christianorum* 48 (2011) 273–283.

vanitas, vanus – emptiness, frustration, vanity; empty, vain, profitless [Leere, Vergänglichkeit, leer, vergeblich, erfolglos]. In classical Latin, “emptiness” would be the translation of choice. In Deut 32:21, *vanitates* means “empty gods”. More examples: *vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas* – vanity of vanities, and all is vanity (Koh 1:1; Douay Version); *vani autem sunt omnes homines in quibus non subset scientia Dei* – but all men are vain, in whom there is not the knowledge of God (Wisd 13:1, Douay Version); *vanitati enim creatura subjecta est* – created nature has been condemned to frustration (Rom 8:20, Knox; Tusculum-Vulgata: Vergänglichkeit). The idea of “frustration” is suggested by Jerome’s occasional translation of Hebrew *hebel* as *frustra* (Koh 6:4). – Literature:

1907. Johann Philipp Krebs – J.H. Schmalz: *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. Siebente Auflage. Zweiter Band. Basel 1907 (776 pp.), pp. 713–714.

1999. Scarpat III, p. 347.

2006. Jean-Jacques Lavoie: *Habel habalim hakol habel*. Histoire de l’interprétation d’une formule célèbre et enjeux culturels. *Science et Esprit* 58: 219–249. – Page 226: Jerome “rend *hbl* par *vanitas*, mot déjà utilisé par la Vetus Latina et par Ambroise pour rendre *hbl* en Qo 1,2 (In Psalmum xxxix enarratio; PL 14: 1110), et qui signifie ‘mensonge, opinion trompeuse, vanité, frivolité, jactance’. Or, c’est cette signification moralisatrice du mot *vanitas* que retiendront presque tous les commentateurs latins du Moyen Âge.”

2011. Gérard Fry in Jérôme: *Commentaire de l’Ecclésiaste*. Translated by G. Fry. Paris (353), pp. 70–71, note 25: “Le latin *uanitas*, formé sur *uanus*, ‘vide, inutile’ signifie littéralement ‘état caractérisé par le vide’. ‘Néant’ pourrait en être une traduction satisfaisante.”

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris (326 pp.), pp. 283–291. It is surprising that the article on *vanitas* does not include references to the Bible.

2023. Andreas Vonach: Ist die Vergänglichkeit absurd? Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Wiedergabe von *hebel* als *vanitas*. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 175–183. – A study of the use of *vanitas* and *vanescere* in Jerome’s Old Testament translations. Page 179: “Deutlich sichtbar wurde, dass Hieronymus Derivate von *vanescere* grundsätzlich für eher abstraktere Wortbedeutungen verwendet, außer wenn es um Fremdgötter geht, während er bei sehr konkreten Aussagen über das menschliche Leben und Dasein eher auf Begriffe wie *frustra* und dergleichen zurückgreift. Verwendet er das abstraktere *vanescere*, so kommt das Hauptaugenmerk auf das Motiv des ‘Flüchtigen / Vergänglichen / Unbeständigen’ und in der Weiterführung dann des ‘Verwehenden / Vergeblichen’ zu liegen.”

vas, vasis – vessel [Gefäß]. *vasa argentea et aurea* – vessels of silver and gold (Exod 11:2; 12:35). Special meanings: **(1)** In Ezek 12:4, *vas* refers to the “field pack” of someone to be deported.; see the relevant textual note in Chapter 21. – **(2)** In 1 Thess 4:4, the “vessel” is the wife as a man’s sexual

partner; see the textual note on this passage (below, Chapter **22**) and Doignon. – **(3)** On disputed suggestions about *vas* as a nautical term meaning “sea anchor,” see below, Chapter **22** (Acts 27:17). – Literature:

1911. Francesco Dalpane – Felice Ramorino: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata. Con osservazioni morfologiche e sintattiche*. Florence (xlii, 251 pp.), p. 237.

1970. Zürcher, pp. 305–306.

1982. Jean Doignon: L'exégèse latine ancienne de I. Thessaloniens 4:4–5 sur la possession de votre *vas*. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 83: 163–177.

velle, volo – to wish, to love [wollen, lieben]. *Volo* means not only “I want,” but often “I love, I delight (in something),” especially in the Psalms: Ps 18:20 (Vg 17:20); 22:9 (Vg 21:9); 34:13 (Vg 33:13); 112:1 (Vg 111:1: *in mandatis eius volet nimis* – he delights in his laws), but never in the New Testament (but see the textual note on Matt 27:43; Chapter **22**). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 185.

1916. Albert Sleumer: *Liturgisches Lexikon*. Limburg (339 pp.), p. 334.

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire, s.v. volo* (aimer quelqu'un, se complaire en lui).

venire → **vaenire**

verbum – word [Wort]. A striking feature of the Vulgate semantics of *verbum* is the meaning “event” (Hagen, Kaulen): *nuntiavit David omnia verba praelii* – reported to David all the events of the battle (2 Sam 11:18); *non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum* – no thing will be impossible with God (Luke 1:37). → **sermo** – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 36 – a list of passages where *verbum* = *res*. (But note that Exod 1:14 is erroneously listed.)

1904. Kaulen, p. 32.

1926. Plater/White, p. 18 (§ 16).

1950. Christine Mohrmann: Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne. *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950) 193–211, at pp. 205–206.

2006. Lyliane Sznajder: La parole et la voix dans la Vulgate. In: Pascale Brillet-Dubois (ed.): *Philologia. Mélanges offerts à Michel Casevitz*. Paris (381 pp.), pp. 329–338, at p. 332: “*Verbum* – *verba* est le terme le plus utilisé (plus de 700 occurrences dans l’Ancien Testament, plus de 150 dans le Nouveau Testament) et il est assez proche des emplois classiques. Cependant, *verbum* au singulier a régulièrement le sens de ‘ensemble de propos tenus’ bien plus que celui, Classique et usuel, de ‘mot isolé’. Les *verba* sont à l’occasion, comme en latin classique, des paroles confiés à l’écrit: *omnia verba legis huius quae scripta sunt in hoc volumine* (...) (Deut 28,58). Le terme peut avoir un contenu prescriptif (*decem verba*, Deut 4,13, etc.: ‘les dix commandements’).”

2020. Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris (326 pp.), pp. 292–308, esp. 298–299.

veritas – truth [Wahrheit]. Literature:

1904. Kaulen, pp. 126–127 (no. 35): plural of abstract nouns such as *veritates* – truths (Ps 12:2, Vg 11:2). “Die Pluralbildung der Abstrakta ist in der späteren Latinität sehr gewöhnlich (...) indes ist sie kaum irgendwo so häufig und auffallend, als in der Vulgata” (p. 127).

1934. Richards, p. 126: *veritas* = truth, reality, sincerity.

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 842: In Ps 54:7 (Vg 53:7), *veritas* means “véracité, sincérité (des promesses).”

2023. Kevin Zilverberg: Worship in Truth (John 4:23–24): Polyvalent *Alētheia* and *Veritas* in the Greek and Latin Church Fathers of Africa. In: Mariusz Biliniewicz (ed.): *Worship in Spirit and in Truth: Essays to Mark the Twentieth Anniversary of the Publication of Benedict XVI / Joseph Ratzinger’s The Spirit of the Liturgy*. Wells, Somerset, England (252 pp.), pp. 163–184.

vesper, -a, -um – of the evening [abendlich], adjective. Used only in the expression *verspera hora* – the time of the evening (Mark 11:11); Kaulen, p. 132; see textual note on Mark 11:11 (Chapter **19.2**).

vidēre – to see [sehen]. Intent on rendering the Hebrew as literally as possible, Jerome does not depart from his ambitious project when it comes to render the Hebrew word for seeing even in cases where the experience meant is not actually visual. Examples include *verba Amos (...) quae vidit super Israel* (Am 1:1) – the words of Amos (...) which he saw concerning Israel (Douay Version); *ne obliviscaris verborum quae viderunt oculi tui* (Deut 4:9) – do not forget the words that your eyes have seen. – Literature:

1966. Meershoek, pp. 133–139.

2001. Fernando Soja Rodríguez: Significados del verbo “video” en la Vulgata. In: Antonio Alberte Gonzales et al. (eds.): *Actas del Congreso internacional “Cristianismo y tradición latina.”* Madrid (434 pp.), pp. 175–182.

vir – man, male person [Mann]. This is the normal meaning, but *vir* can also mean “each one [jeder]”; an example is *clamaverunt viri ad deum suum* (Jonah 1:5) – everyone cried to his god. See also Isa 14:18; 1 Kgs 12,24; Cant 8:11. – Kaulen, p. 173; Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín cristiano*. Madrid 1994 (588 pp.), pp. 198–200.

virgo – young woman, virgin [junge Frau, Jungfrau]. Gen 24:43; Isa 7:14; Matt 1:23, etc. See textual note on Isa 7:14, where “virgin” is the traditional rendering (Chapter **21**). In Ps 45:15 (Vg 44:15), *virgines* are just “young women,” not “virgins.”

viridis, viror – green, verdure [grün, das Grün]. *in viridi ligno* (Luke 23:31) – in the green wood (Douay Version); am grünen Holze (Arndt). – Lourdes García Ureña et al.: *The Language of Colour in the Bible*. Berlin 2022 (xv, 238 pp.), pp. 133–184. This work also studies the associated vocabulary – *viriditas, virēre, virescere*.

virtus – strength, power [Kraft]. The noun has many meanings: **(1)** strength, power: *in omni virtute tua serva vias eius* (Sir 6:27) – serve her (i.e., wisdom) with all your power. Power can embody itself in city walls that are called *virtus* (singular) in Ps 48:14 (Vg 47:14); 122:7 (Vg 121:7). – **(2)** army (Judith 2:7), as in English “armed forces,” in German “Streitkräfte.” This meaning is derived from *virtus* = strength, see *armavit viros virtutis* – he armed strong men (1 Macc 14:32). – **(3)** *virtutes* = miracles (Matt 7:22). – **(4)** *virtutes* – the “powers,” a name given to a class of angels (Rom 8:38). – **(5)** fruit, produce (Joel 2:22). – **(6)** divine majesty. *a dextris virtutis Dei* (Matt 26:64; Mark 14:62) – the right hand of the majesty of God; *cum virtute multa et maiestate* (Matt 24:30) – with much power and majesty (or: in all his power and glory, in all his majesty, *virtus* and → **maiestas** being synonymous). – **(7)** Do we have to add “virtue” (i.e., moral strictness) as another meaning? The meaning “virtue,” though adopted by some translators for Ruth 3:11 (*mulierem te esse virtutis*) and 4:11 (*exemplum virtutis*), does not seem to be correct; in both cases, “strength” in the sense of determination seems to be preferable. This is also the case in Sir 31:23 (Vg 31:28), if the

conjecture *virtutis* (for *veritatis*) is accepted. Two interesting passages from the book of Judith must also be considered: Judith 10:4 (*non ex libidine sed ex virtute*) and 16:26 (*virtuti castitatis adiunca*); in either case one comes close to “virtue,” but “strength, determination” seems to be what Jerome had in mind. But it is hard not to say “she was adhering to the virtue of chastity” (Judith 16:26); one has to bear in mind, however, that “virtue of chastity” is not a pleonasm, because *virtus* per se does not imply chastity. When chastity comes into view, it must be made explicit. – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 78: “Das Wort *virtus*, sowohl im Singular als im Plural, kommt in der Vulgata nur in der Bedeutung von *dynamis* vor, nie im moralischen Sinne für ‘Tugend.’”

1904. Kaulen, p. 33–34, lists only four meanings: power/strength, army, “the powers” (a class of angels), produce.

1970. Zürcher, p. 308.

2014. Silke Schwandt: *Virtus. Zur Semantik eines politischen Konzepts im Mittelalter*. Frankfurt 2014 (227 pp.), pp. 45–53 on *virtus* in the Vulgate Bible.

2022. Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni, Illness, Suffering, and Treatment in a Changing world. Old Latin Gospels and “Medical” Vocabulary. *Early Christianity* 13.3 (2022) 317–341, at pp. 336–337.

2023. Andreas Vonach: Tugend/Tugendhaftigkeit (*virtus*). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 61–63. – The author detects an increasing “moralization” of the *virtus* concept, so that it shades into our “virtuousness.”

visitare, visitatio – to visit, visitation [besuchen, heimsuchen; Heimsuchung, Besuchung]. Etymologically derived from *vidēre* “to see,” this verb has many meanings, in some of which the visual aspect is lost. – **(1)** to visit: this is the normal meaning in classical Latin. *infirmus (eram) et visitastis me* – I was ill, and you have visited me (Matt 25:36). In English, “to see” also means “to meet, to visit,” generally in an informal way. When Samson wants to “see” his wife, Jerome uses not *visitare* but *invisere*: *invisere volens uxorem suam* – meaning to visit his wife (Douay Version; Judg 15:1). – **(2)** to pay attention to someone: *quid est homo (...) quoniam visitas eum* – what is man (...) that you pay attention to him? (Ps 8:5). In this case, the visual meaning is present, so that Hoberg translates “was ist der Mensch (...), dass du auf ihn siehst?” Another possible translation: what is man (...), so that you look after him (care for him)? Here also belongs Gen 21:1: *visitavit autem Dominus Saram sicut promiserat* – and the Lord took care of Sarah, as he had promised (and she became pregnant); and Jer 27:22: *usque ad diem visitationis* – until the day of the visitation (i.e., until the day, God will again take care of his people). – **(3)** to punish; this meaning is peculiar to Christian Latin. In 71 passages, *visitare* renders the Hebrew verb *pāqad* among whose many meanings is that of “to avenge, to punish”. Example: *visitans iniquitatem patrum in filios* – visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children (Exod 20:5; Douay Version). German translations traditionally use “heimsuchen.” – Literature:

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. 2., vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 20.

1951. Friso Melzer: *Der christliche Wortschatz der deutschen Sprache*. Lahr (528 pp.), pp. 321–322.

1965. Heinrich Fürst: *Die göttliche Heimsuchung. Semasiologische Untersuchung eines biblischen Begriffes*. Rome. 77 pp.

1984. Bernard Grossfeld: The Translation of Biblical Hebrew PQD in the Tragum, Peshitta, Vulgate and Septuagint. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 96: 83–101, esp. p. 87.

Note. – The traditional German rendering of *visitare* as “heimsuchen” is problematic in cases where the divine visitation is meant as an act of grace, rather than as one of punishment. Such is the case Luke 1:78: *visitavit nos oriens ex alto* – uns heimsuchte der Aufgang aus der Höhe (Grundl). The Tusculum-Vulgate combines “besuchen” und “erscheinen,” but only “besuchen” would be a literal rendering. The problem is well known to German authors, see Bardo Weiß: *Ekstase und Liebe. Die unio mystica bei den deutschen Mystikerinnen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. Paderborn 2000 (ix, 987 pp.), pp. 140–141, who suggests “besuchen” and, for *visitatio* – “Besuchung.”

vivere – to live [leben]. This is a very common verb. Notable is its use in oath-like assertions such as *vivo ego* – as I live (Zeph 2:9; Ezek 35:6; Allioli: so wahr ich lebe). A notable expression of assertion is *vivit Dominus in vivit Dominus quia rectus es tu* (1 Sam 29:6) – as the Lord liveth, thou art upright (Douay Version). – Literature:

1863. Hagen, p. 40.

1926. Plater/White, p. 23 (§ 25).

1959. Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 84–85.

vivificare – to bring to life [lebendig machen]. – Vincenzo Loi: Il verbo latino vivificare. *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, sezione linguistica 7 (1966) 105–117; Zürcher, pp. 310–311. → **-ficare**

vocare, vocatio – to call, to name, to invite; calling [rufen, benennen, einladen; Berufung]. Especially the verb is very frequent, in both testaments (665 occurrences of the verb). *Vocare* is a paradoxical term in the Vulgate. Some of its uses (those that concern the most common communication) make it a verb of the common, even daily lexicon, while others (mainly in the New Testament) characterize the technical term, which belongs to the biblical idiolect – the divine call to conversion. – Marie Frey Rébeillé-Borgella: *Vocare, uocatio, leurs préverbés et préfixés: étude sémantique*. Doctoral dissertation. Université de Lyon 2012 (483 pp.), pp. 30–97, 129–137.

Z

zelotypia – jealousy [Eifersucht]. Used Numbers 5:14–15, this word transcribes the Greek ζηλοτυπία which Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes* IV, 8 still inserts into his text in Greek letters. The Septuagint uses the word in Num 5:15. Here is Cicero's definition: *obtrectatio est ea, quam ζηλοτυπίαν intelligi volo, aegritudo ex ea, quod alter quoque potiatur eo, quod ipse concupiverit* – detraction (and I mean by that, jealousy) is a grief even at another's enjoying what I had a great inclination for (C.D. Yonge's translation); Missgunst aber ist – und zwar die, die ich als ζηλοτυπία verstanden haben möchte – Kummer darüber, dass auch der andere das erreicht, was man selbst begehrt hat (Erst A. Kirfel's German translation). – Kaulen, p. 110.

Chapter 20

Jerome's Bible commentaries

Note. – Strictly speaking, Jerome's commentaries do not belong in a Vulgate bibliography. But researchers are likely to consult them for the translator's understanding of the biblical text. It seems that in some cases, Jerome worked on the translation and the commentary at the same time. This is the conclusion of Caterina Moro's work on the minor prophets. She argues that after having finished his commentaries, Jerome most likely went over his translation again, bringing it closer to the Hebrew; see Caterina Moro: *La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. Adamantius* 13 (2007) 102–125.

Several passages in Jerome's work explain what a commentary is and should be, and what manner of writing it entails:

(1) A commentary must "explain the dark, deal succinctly with the obvious, dwell longer on the doubtful" (*obscura disserere, manifesta perstringere, in dubiis immorari*). – Jerome: *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, CCSL 77A: 158.

(2) "In the commentaries (...) there is freedom of discussion" (*in commentariolis ubi libertas est disserendi*). – Jerome: *Apologia contra Rufinum* I, 19; CCSL 79: 19; PL 23: 413.

(3) "What is the task of a commentary? It is to interpret someone else's work, to put in plain language what is expressed obscurely. It also enumerates the opinions of many, saying: some interpret the passage in this sense, others in that; the one support their opinion by such and such evidence or reasons – so that the intelligent reader, after reading these different explanations and having many brought before his mind for acceptance or rejection, may judge which is true, and like a good money changer may reject the coins of spurious mintage." (*Commentarii quid operis habent? Alterius dicta edisserunt, quae obscurae scripta sunt plano sermone manifestant, multorum sententias replicant, et dicunt: Hunc locum quidam sic edisserunt, alii sic interpretantur, illi sensum suum et intelligentiam his testimoniis et hac nituntur ratione firmare, ut prudens lector, cum diversas explanationes legerit et multorum vel probanda vel improbanda didicerit, iudicet quid verius sit et, quasi bonus trapezita, adulterinae monetae pecuniae reprobet*). – Jerome: *Apologia contra Rufinum* I, 16; CCSL 79: 14–15; PL 23: 409–410; written in 401). In some of his commentaries – for example, the commentaries on Habakkuk, Galatians and Daniel – Jerome often notes the opinions of others, even without evaluating them, a fact that has led to speaking of "multiple-choice exegesis." See also the article by Bernhard Lang 2014 in the general bibliography below.

(4) A commentary is not a thematic dissertation and therefore it is not possible to polish one's style and display eloquence – writes Jerome in the introduction to his *Commentary on Ephesians* (PL 26: 440).

A chronology of Jerome's commentaries (according to Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg 2016 [444 pp.], pp. 390–397):

386	Commentaries on Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians, Titus
388/89	Commentary on Koheleth (Ecclesiastes)
391/92	Hebrew Questions on Genesis
392	Commentarioli in Psalmos (before 393)
393	Commentaries on Nahum, Micah, Zephaniah, Haggai, Habakkuk
396	Commentaries on Jonah, Obadiah
398	Commentary on Matthew
406	Commentaries on Zechariah, Malachi, Hosea, Joel, Amos
407	Commentary on Daniel
408/10	Commentary on Isaiah
410/14	Commentary on Ezekiel
414/16	Commentary on Jeremiah

20.1	Introduction
20.2	Jerome's Old Testament commentaries
20.3	Jerome's New Testament commentaries
20.4	Jerome: Letter 53

20.1 Introduction

Bibliographies

2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 390–397: list of Jerome's commentaries, with bibliography of secondary literature.
2018. Adalbert Keller – Beate Hartley-Lutz: *Translationes Patristicae Graecae et Latinae – Bibliographie der Übersetzungen altchristlicher Quellen*. Hiersemanns bibliographische Handbücher. Stuttgart. xx, 768 pp. – The section on Jerome (pp. 379–394) lists the complete set of Jerome's commentaries. The main editions (in most cases without PL, though) are followed by translations into English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Unfortunately, not all entries are reliable because they often indicate the bilingual character of what is in fact either an edition of the Latin text or what is simply a translation (without the Latin text).

Introductions and thematic studies

English

1923. John Chapman OSB: St Jerome and the Vulgate New Testament. III. *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (April 1923) 282–299. – Page 282: “It was well known that as a commentator he [Jerome] was free, inconsistent, amassing all sorts of incongruous and even unorthodox material, so that the results are of ever varying value.”
1927. Alexander Souter: *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul*. Oxford. x, 244 pp. – Page 137: “Among all the ancient commentators on the Bible he stands supreme. Though his commentaries were rapidly produced, not painstakingly copied out by his own hand, but dictated to an amanuensis, sometimes at the rate of a thousand lines per day, though he is fully conscious of their defects, and though he writes in a plain every-day style, the commentaries hold their commanding position because their author approached his task with a well-furnished mind (...) with a determination to use the very best authorities at his command.”
1952. L. Hartmann: Jerome as an Exegete. In: F.X. Murphy (ed.): *A Monument to St. Jerome*. New York (xv, 295 pp.), pp. 37–81.
1981. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: The Hebrew Text of Joel as Reflected in the Vulgate. *Textus* 5: 16–35. – Page 17: “Jerome’s writings include numerous remarks on his translation. However, these have to be used *cum grano salis*. Jerome’s translation technique was not consistent, and his letters and commentaries were not necessarily produced simultaneously with the translation. His translation of the book of Joel (ca. 392) antedated this commentary (ca. 407) by approximately 15 years. It is not reasonable to assume that Jerome was then able to remember correctly why he had chosen a certain rendition fifteen years earlier. Yet, used with caution, the evidence of the Vulgate and remarks in the commentary, can contribute to the verification of variants.”
1992. Dennis Brown: *Vir Trilinguis. A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome*. Kampen. 229 pp. – Jerome was eager to find good manuscripts but he believed, erroneously, that older manuscripts would necessarily have the more accurate text. Although Jerome believed in *hebraica veritas*, he remained attached to the Septuagint. – Reviews:
1995. John McGuckin, *Novum Testamentum* 37: 194–196.
1995. J.Cl. Haelewyck, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 90: 121–123.
1993. Stefan Rebenich: Jerome: The “vir trilinguis” and the “Hebraica veritas.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 47: 50–77. – Pages 53–55: Jerome in his biblical commentaries relies heavily on the commentaries of Origen, exploiting them to the point of plagiarism – which did not remain unnoticed by his contemporary critics.
1996. René Kieffer: Jerome: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics. In: Magne Saebø (ed.): *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation*. Volume I.1. Göttingen (847 pp.), pp. 663–681.
1999. Mark Stansbury: Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries, Their Writers and Readers. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 33: 49–82. – Pages 55–56: Jerome’s view of the nature of the commentary.
2004. Pierre Jay: Jerome (ca. 347–419/20). In: Charles Kannengiesser: *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*. Leiden. Volume 2 (xiv, 673–1496 pp.), pp. 1094–1133. – The author comments specifically on the popularity that Jerome’s commentaries enjoyed in the Middle Ages.
2005. Pierre Jay: Science and Biblical Philology: Jerome, in: Claudio Moreschini – Enrico Norelli: *Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature*. Volume 2. Peabody, Mass. (xxv, 734 pp.), pp. 298–320. –

Page 313: "Some of Jerome's commentaries were devoted to the New Testament, but they do not represent the best of his exegetical activity."

2005. Richard Sharpe: The Varieties of Bede's Prose. In: Tobias Reinhardt et al. (eds.): *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose*. Oxford (x, 497 pp.), pp. 339–354. – Page 350: Sharpe comments on how Bede imitates Jerome's language. This language is often hard to understand because of the long, rambling sentences. Sharp points to one example in Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel: "(...) in discussing Ezek 28:1–10 (CCSL 75: 386–388) Jerome produced a single 'sentence' of 532 words; there are passages in this lengthy commentary where several such rambling 'sentences' follow one another. With quotations heaped up there are often complete sentences within the exegetical 'sentence,' and one cannot define the number of sentences simply by where the [modern] editor has chosen to include a full stop."
2007. Michael Graves: "Judaizing" Christian Interpretations in the Prophets as Seen by Saint Jerome. *Vigiliae Christianae* 61.2: 142–156. – Jerome attributes certain interpretations with which he disagrees to "our Judaizers."
2007. Catherine M. Chin: Through the Looking Glass Darkly: Jerome Inside the Book. In: William E. Klingshirn – Linda Safran (eds.): *The Early Christian Book*. Washington (xi, 314 pp.), pp. 101–116. – Jerome's letters 53 and 85 are important sources for understanding Jerome's reading of biblical texts. In order to understand Scripture, you need a guide, someone who shows the way (*monstrans semitam*; Letter 53:6).
2016. Aline Canellis: Jerome's Hermeneutics. How to Exegete the Bible? In: Tarmo Toom (ed.): *Patristic Theories of Biblical Interpretation: The Latin Fathers*. Cambridge (xv, 262 pp.), pp. 49–76.
2020. Bernhard Klinger: [Between Scylla and Charybdis](#): Jerome as Interpreter of the Minor Prophets. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 4: 5–22 (online journal).
2020. Thomas E. Hunt: *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity*. Leiden 2020. vii, 296 pp. – Hunt writes about Jerome's commentaries on several New Testament epistles – Philemon, Titus, Ephesians, Galatians.
2023. Matthew A. Kraus: [The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119 (online journal). – Through a consideration of select textual examples, this paper recommends intertextual reading of the biblical translation by demonstrating the value of comparing specific renderings of the Vulgate to Jerome's exegetical comments. Such comparisons clarify noteworthy features of the translation and offer evidence of how readers may have understood his renderings.

German

1906. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 2. Berlin. viii, 270 pp. – Page 111 on Jerome's biblical commentaries: "Dieses Riesenwerk (...) verliert bei näherer Betrachtung viel von dem imponierenden Eindruck, den es zunächst macht. Es ist sehr ungleichartig und größtenteils sehr unselbständig gearbeitet."
1912. Otto Bardenhewer: *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*. Volume 3. Freiburg. x, 679 pp. – Pages 619–630. The author briefly summarizes the content of the commentaries. His presentation concludes with an evaluative review (pp. 627–630). Jerome lacked a clear exegetical conception. In the course of his work, he turned away more and more from Origen and his allegorism in order to value the meaning of the literal sense more highly. He also vacillated in matters of the canon and has introduced no small confusion into the history of the Old Testament canon ("in die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Kanons keine geringe Verwirrung hineingetragen," p. 629).

1970. Wilfrid Hagemann: *Wort als Begegnung mit Christus. Die christozentrische Bibelauslegung des Kirchenvaters Hieronymus*. Trier. xxxi, 236 pp.
1993. Caroline P. Bammel: Die Paulus-Kommentare des Hieronymus: die ersten wissenschaftlichen lateinischen Bibelkommentare? In: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (ed.): *Cristianesimo latino e cultura greca sino al sec. IV*. Rome (430 pp.), pp. 187–207.
2014. Bernhard Lang: Die Bibelkommentare der Kirchenväter (ca. 200–600). Kleines Kompendium mit Forschungsstand und Beispieltexen. In: David Kästle – Nils Jansen (eds.): *Kommentare in Recht und Religion*. Tübingen (xii, 465 pp.), pp. 57–97. – Refers to Jerome: *Adversus libros Rufini* I,16 (CCSL 79: 14–15; PL 23: 409–410; written in 401); see above, introductory note to Chapter 20.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Pages 122–144: biblical exegesis (with a helpful chronological list of Jerome’s biblical commentaries, pp. 124–125); pp. 390–397: list of Jerome’s commentaries, with bibliography of secondary literature. Jerome did not comment on the Pentateuch and the historical writings of the Old Testament (Joshua, Judges, books of Samuel and Kings, etc.). He commented mainly on the prophetic books of the Old Testament.
2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 122–293 (§ 647). – The chapter on Jerome’s commentaries and homilies is on pp. 235–272. ▲
2022. Georg Fischer: Hieronymus, ein Pionier als Übersetzer und Ausleger. In: Veronika Bachmann et al. (eds.): *Menschsein in Weisheit und Freiheit*. Leuven (x, 603 pp.), pp. 534–549.

French

1941. F.M. Abel: Parallélisme exégétique entre S. Jérôme et S. Cyrille d’Alexandrie. *Vivre et Penser* 1: 49–119, 212–230.
1985. Pierre Jay: *L’exégèse de saint Jérôme d’après son “Commentaire sur Isaïe”*. Paris. 496 pp. – Jerome’s commentaries are much indebted to the grammarians of the Hellenistic period and the teaching of his own teacher Donatus. His use of allegory is prudent, and he often resorts to spiritual and topological exegesis.
1985. Pierre Jay: Jérôme et la pratique de l’exégèse. In: Jacques Fontaine – Charles Pietri (eds.): *Le monde antique et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps 2. Paris 1985 (672 pp.), pp. 523–542. – At p. 542 there is a convenient chronological list of Jerome’s biblical commentaries. The earliest commentaries are on the New Testament – on Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus (years 386 and 387); then Jerome turned to writing commentaries on books of the Old Testament (388 to 416). He began with Koheleth (388/89), and subsequently produced commentaries on all the prophetic books. He interrupted the production of prophetic commentaries only once, in 398, for writing a commentary on the gospel of Matthew. ▲
1985. Yves-Marie Duval: Introduction aux commentaires de Jérôme. In: Jérôme: *Commentaire sur Jonas. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et commentaire*. Sources chrétiennes 323. Paris (460 pp.), pp. 25–104. – This thorough introduction to Jerome’s biblical commentaries ins in four parts: la préface; les lemmes et leurs différences; la “lettre” et l’histoire; l’interprétation spirituelle. ▲

1990. Pierre Lardet: Jérôme exégète. Une cohérence insoupçonnée. *Revue des études augustinienne*s 36: 300–3007.
1990. Pierre Jay: Saint Jérôme et le triple sense des Écritures. *Revue des études augustinienne*s 36: 214–227.
1992. Dominique Barthélemy: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. Tome 3. Fribourg 1992 (ccxliii, 1150 pp.), pp. ccii–cciii: Jérôme commentateur de la Vulgate. – Note esp. p. ccii: "Parfois le commentaire de Jérôme, en justifiant l'authenticité de certaines traductions larges de la Vulgate nous permet de comprendre comment le traducteur les rattachait au sens littéral de l'hébreu qu'il avait sous les yeux." – Idem: *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. 2012 (xxxii, 688 pp.), p. 532: "Sometimes Jerome's commentary, in justifying the authenticity of certain broad translations of the Vulgate, provides an understanding of how the translator related those translations to the literal sense of the Hebrew text that he had in front of him." ▲
1995. Pierre Jay: *Jérôme, lecteur de l'Écriture*. Cahiers Évangile, supplément 104. Paris. 75 pp.
2001. Jérôme: *Commentaire de l'Éclésiaste. Traduction, introduction, annotations, guide thématique de Gérard Fry*. Paris. 353 pp. – Page 317, note placed at the end of the translation: "Comme il le fera toujours, et selon l'usage en vigueur, sans procéder à la moindre synthèse ni tirer le moindre enseignement, Jérôme termine abruptement. Le lecteur moderne aura un sentiment d'inachevé devant cette fin où s'accumulent simplement toute une série de considérations destinées à expliquer le dernier stique. On pourrait tirer de cette absence de fin – qui ne fait que répondre à l'absence d'une vraie introduction – qu'un commentaire de ce type n'est fait pour être consulté, et qu'à l'image des chaînes, il n'est pas prévu pour avoir une cohérence issue de la présence d'un fil conducteur méthodologique, didactique (...) ou thématique."
2017. Paul Mattei : Jérôme. Le grand bibliste offre une synthèse équilibrée des tendances de l'exégèse latine. In : Laurence Mellerin (ed.): *Lectures de la Bible. 1^{er} – XV^e siècle*. Paris (652 pp.), pp. 259–268. With Jerome's commentaries on Isa 1:3; Am 8:9–10; Hos 11 :1–2; Mark 8:22–26 in French translation.
2018. Élie Ayroulet – Aline Canellis (eds.): *L'exégèse de saint Jérôme*. Saint-Étienne. 381 pp. – Papers of an international conference held in France in 2015.
2018. Benoît Mounier: La figure du prophète dans l'œuvre exégétique de Jérôme. In: Frédéric Chapot et al. (eds.): *Figures mythiques et discours religieux dans l'Empire gréco-romain*. Turnhout (293 pp.), pp. 79–96.

Italian

1950. Angelo Penna: *Principi e carattere dell'esegesi di S. Gerolamo*. Rome. xvi, 235 pp.
2002. Emanuela Prinziavalli: Il sacrificio in Girolamo. *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 19: 111–126. – A study on Jerome's interpretation of sacrifice, based on four passages from his commentaries: *In Esaiam* I, 1 and XVIII, 66 (CCSL 73: 73: 16–17 and 771); *In Hieremiam* II, 40 (CCSL 74: 81); *In Malachiam* I, 1 (CCSL 76: 911–912).
2005. Adam Kamesar: San Girolamo, la valutazione stilistica de profeti maggiori, ed i generi dicendi. *Adamantius* 11: 179–183.
2012. Valeria Capelli: Gerolamo e le citazioni dell'Antico nel Nuovo Testamento: testimonianze di tradizione indiretta? In: Marina Passalacqua et al. (eds.): *Venuste noster. Scritti offerti a Leopoldo*

Gamberale. Hildesheim (726 pp.), pp. 315–346. – How Jerome comments on Old Testament passages that are referred to in the New Testament.

2013. Leopoldo Gamberale: *Pratica filologica e principi di metodo in Gerolamo*. In: idem: *San Gerolamo. Intellettuale e filologo*. Rome (xvii, 181 pp.), pp. 79–97.

A statement on the quality of available editions

1993. *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe*, I–IV. Edited by Roger Gryson and P.-A. Deproost. Freiburg. 496 pp. – In the introduction, Gryson notes that the editions of Jerome’s biblical commentaries in the CCSL series do not meet today’s standards (pp. 118–119). They correct the *textus receptus* and construct an apparatus based on a few selected manuscripts. In other words: they are not complete critical editions based on all the available material.

Note. – Jerome’s biblical commentaries were edited for a first print edition by Erasmus, and later many times, until they have found their way into series such as *Patrologia Latina* (PL) and *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (CCSL). PL is notoriously inadequate. But by today’s critical standards, not even the CCSL editions are adequate. New editions are called for. The best new ones are those by Roger Gryson (Isaiah), Yves-Marie Duval (Jonah), Sincero Mantelli (Habakkuk) and Régis Courtay (Daniel). Others are in the making (see below, Benoît Mounier on Hosea).

20.2 Jerome’s Old Testament commentaries

Genesis

Psalms

Koheleth (Ecclesiastes)

Isaiah

Jeremiah

Ezekiel

Daniel

The twelve Minor Prophets

Genesis

Jerome’s Hebrew Questions on Genesis

1883. Hieronymus: *Liber hebraicarum quaestionum in Genesim*. PL 23: 935–1062.

1959. Hieronymus: *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*. Edited by Paul de Lagarde. CCSL 72: 1–56. Turnhout.

1995. *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*. Translated by C.T. Robert Hayward. Oxford. xiii, 274 pp. – Hayward offers both a translation and a thorough commentary. Interestingly, the Vulgate and the Hebrew Questions on Genesis agree 99 times and disagree approximately 80 times, including 24 occasions where the Vulgate follows the Septuagint, even when Jerome shares concerns about the Septuagint in the Hebrew Questions on Genesis (p. 11). ▲
2002. Jerome: Preface to the Book of Hebrew Questions. In: Stefan Rebenich: *Jerome*. London (xi, 211 pp.), pp. 93–97. – Rebenich's book of Jerome selections includes a translation of the preface.
2004. San Jerónimo: *Cuestiones relativas al Antiguo Testamento*. Translated by Rosa María Herrera García. Madrid. xxvii, 607 pp. – This is volume 4 of the bilingual Spanish edition of Jerome's *Obras completas*. It includes the "Cuestiones hebreas sobre el Génesis."
2016. Hieronymus: Untersuchungen zur hebräischen Sprache im Buch Genesis. Vorwort. In: Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. Freiburg (444 pp.), pp. 322–327. – Jerome's prologue in Latin and German.
2016. Girolamo: *Questioni ebraiche*. Translated by G. Polizzi. Opere di Girolamo 2. Rome. 582 pp. – Latin text with Italian translation.

Secondary literature

1861. Moritz Rahmer: *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus. Teil 1: Die "Quaestiones in Genesim."* Breslau. 74 pp. – On the *Quaestiones*, see pp. 17–58. This work will be re-issued with critical commentary: Susanne Plietzsch: *Präsenz des Judentums im Christentum. Kommentar zu den patristisch-rabbinischen Motivparallelen in Moritz Rahmers "Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus" zum Buch Genesis*. Europäisch-jüdische Studien. Berlin 2024 (forthcoming). – There are differences between Jerome's renderings in the Vulgate text of Genesis and his explanations in the *Questiones*; Rahmer explained this by assuming that the Vulgate text was corrupt. But this assumption is incorrect, because between the translation and the writing of the *Quaestiones*, Jerome may have changed his opinion; see C.H. Gordon: Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49: 384–416, at p. 385. On Rahmer and Jerome, see also Agnethé Siquans: Hieronymus und die Vulgata in der Wissenschaft des Judentums, in: Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart 2023 (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 159–198, esp. pp. 186–195.▲
1898. Marie-Joseph Lagrange: Jérôme et la tradition juive dans la Genèse. *Revue biblique* 7: 563–566.
1992. Dennis Brown: *Vir Trilinguis. A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome*. Kampen. 229 pp. – Review: John McGuckin, *Novum Testamentum* 37 (1995) 194–196.
1993. Adam Kamesar: *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible. A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford. xiii, 221 pp. – This is the basic scholarly work on the subject. Reviews:
1995. Charles Wilke, *Speculum* 70: 160–162.
1995. G. Dorival, *Latomus* 54 (1995) 894–897. According to Dorival, the author has not demonstrated the independence of *Quaestiones* 41,43 of Origen.
2006. Rainer Jacobi: Argumentieren mit Terenz. Die Praefatio der Hebraicae Quaestiones in Genesim. *Hermes* 134: 250–255.
2010. Robert Hayward: Some Observations on St. Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis and the Rabbinic Tradition. In: idem: *Targums and the Transmission of Scripture into Judaism and Christianity*. Leiden (xv, 432 pp.), pp. 318–338.

2011. Helen Kraus: *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations of Genesis 1–4*. Oxford (xiii, 241 pp.), pp. 85–94: Jerome and the Vulgate.
2013. Friedrich Avemarie: Hieronymus und die jüdische Genesis. Hebraicae Quaestiones und Vulgata im Vergleich. In: idem: *Neues Testament und früh-rabbinisches Judentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Tübingen (xxxiii, 966 pp.), pp. 825–839. – Originally in: Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt (ed.): *Moderne Religionsgeschichte im Gespräch*. Berlin 2010 (545 pp.), pp. 74–93.

Psalms

Note. – Around 1900, Germain Morin OSB (1861–1946) produced critical text editions of Jerome’s works on the Psalms. He reconstructed three works: **(1)** *Commentarioli in Psalmos* (incipit: *Proxime cum Origenis Psalterium*), **(2)** *Tractatus in Psalmos* (incipit: *Psalterium ita est quasi magna domus* – the Psalter is like a stately mansion), **(3)** *Tractatus in Psalmos XIV* (series altera). Morin’s editions are included in the *Corpus Christianorum* (CCSL). – Not considered in what follows is Hieronymus: *Breviarium in Psalmos*. PL 26: 821–1278, because today, this work is believed to be a non-Jeromian compilation (that may include some authentic Jeromian passages).

In some his letters, Jerome makes the explanation of a psalm the focus of his writing; here is the list:

Ps 45 (Vg 44), discussed in *Letter* 65; CSEL 54: 616–647; Labourt III, pp. 140–167. See the textual note on Ps 45 (Chapter **22**).

Ps 90 (Vg 89), discussed in *Letter* 140; CSEL 56: 269–289; Labourt VIII, 75–96.

Ps 119 (Vg 118), discussed in *Letter* 30; CSEL 54: 243–249; Labourt II, 31–35.

Ps 127 (Vg 126), discussed in *Letter* 34; CSEL 54: 259–264; Labourt II, 44–48.

On the Psalms in Jerome’s letters, see Hieronymus: *Commentarioli in Psalmis – Anmerkungen zum Psalter*. Translated by Siegfried Risse. *Fontes christiani* 79. Turnhout 2005 (268 pp.), pp. 10–12.

Also relevant is *Letter* 106 to Sunnia and Fretela (CSEL 55: 247–289; Labourt V, 104–144) which is a treatise on textual questions associated with the Latin Psalms. See Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. xix, 363 pp., and above, Chapter **11.4**.

Jerome’s commentary (commentarioli)

1845. Hieronymus: *Liber de expositione Psalmorum*. PL 26: 1277–1300 (beginning with the words *Psalterium ita est quasi magna domus*). – Including as it does much non-Jeromian material, this edition is deemed inadequate and should no longer be relied on. Note that this volume also presents the text of non-Jeromian commentaries: *Breviarium in Psalmos* (PL 26: 801–1270) and *Secunda expositio super Psalmum cxix* (PL 26: 1269–1278).

1895. Germain Morin OSB (ed.): *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur Commentarioli in Psalmos*. *Anecdota Maredsolana* III.1. Maredsous – Oxford. xx, 114 pp.

1959. Hieronymus: *Commentarioli in Psalmos*. Edited by Germain Morin OSB. CCSL 72: 163–245.

2004. San Jerónimo: *Cuestiones relativas al Antiguo Testamento*. Translated by Rosa María Herrera García. Madrid. xxvii, 607 pp. – This volume 4 of the bilingual Spanish edition of Jerome’s *Obras completas* includes the “Fragmentos selectos del Salterio.”

2005. Hieronymus: *Commentarioli in Psalmos – Anmerkungen zum Psalter*. Translated by Siegfried Risse. *Fontes Christiani* 79. Turnhout. 268 pp. – The translator supplies a long introduction in

which he also surveys (pp. 7–22) Jerome’s work on the Psalms. According to Risse, the old standard edition of the *Commentarioli* in PL 26: 821–1270 should no longer be consulted for scholarly purposes.

Jerome’s homilies (tractatus in Psalmos, homilies 1–59)

1897. Hieronymus: *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos, in Marci evangelium aliaque varia argumenta*. Edited by Germain Morin OSB. *Anecdota Maredsolana* III.2. Maredsous – Oxford. v, 424 pp. – The Latin text of the homilies is edited on pp. 1–316.
1958. Hieronymus: *Tractatus LIX in Psalmos*. Edited by Germain Morin. *Editio altera, aucta et emendata*. CCL 78: 1–352.
1964. Jerome: *The Homilies of Saint Jerome. Volume I (1–59 On the Psalms)*. Translated by Marie Liguori Ewald. *Fathers of the Church* 48. Washington. xxxi, 430 pp. – Homilies nos. 1–59.
1999. San Jerónimo: *Comentarios a los Salmos*. In: idem: *Obras homiléticas*. Translated by Mónica Marcos Celestino. *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos* 593. Madrid. xviii, 1035 pp. – This is volume 1 of the Spanish bilingual edition of Jerome’s *Obras completas*.
2018. Girolamo: *59 Omelie sui Salmi (1–115). Omelia sul Salmo 41 ai neofiti*. Translated by Alessandro Capone. Rome. 521 pp. – Volume 9.1 of *Opera omnia di San Girolamo*.
2018. Girolamo: *59 Omelie sui Salmi (119–149). Omelie sui Salmi, seconda serie*. Translated by Alessandro Cappone. Rome. 443 pp. – Volume 9.2 of *Opera omnia di San Girolamo*.

Jerome’s homilies on the Psalms, second series (homilies 60–74)

1902. Germain Morin: *Quatorze nouveaux discours inédits de Saint Jérôme sur les Paumes*. *Revue bénédictine* 19: 113–144.
1903. Hieronymus: *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos quatuordecim*. Edited by Germain Morin OSB. *Analecta Maredsolana* III.3. Maredsous – Oxford xxi, 203 pp.
1958. Hieronymus: *Tractatus in Psalmos series altera*. Edited by Germain Morin. *Editio altera, aucta et emendata*. CCL 78: 355–447.
1967. Jerome: *Homilies on the Psalms*. Translated by Marie Liguori Ewald. *Fathers of the Church* 57. Washington. x, 295 pp. – The homilies 60–74 are translated on pp. 3–118.
1999. San Jerónimo: *Comentarios a los Salmos*. In: idem: *Obras homiléticas*. Translated by Mónica Marcos Celestino. Madrid. xviii, 1035 pp. – This is volume 1 of the Spanish bilingual edition of Jerome’s *Obras completas*.

Secondary literature on the commentary and the homilies

English

1907. Arthur Stanley Pease: *Notes on St. Jerome’s Tractates on the Psalms*. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 26: 107–131. – Analysis of the three bodies of commentaries distinguished by Germain Morin. **(1)** *Commentarioli* (on 125 Psalms): much learned material is presented, reference to other scholar’s opinions is made; addressed is a learned readership. – **(2)** *Tractatus in Psalmos* (homilies 1–59 on 59 Psalms): these are sermons orally delivered to monks. “Jerome’s style is always rapid, but in these sermons, it is marked by an unusual swiftness. Short sentences succeed one another with the simplest sorts of connectives; unusual words and long periods are avoided; the

enthusiasm of the speaker leads to frequent use of apostrophe, rhetorical questions, and repetition. (...) it is clear that he is not addressing a learned audience" (p. 109). The monastic life comes into view, and mentioned are several heresies that are to be shunned. The language is informal, colloquial, and less classical than the language of the *Commentarioli*. – (3) *Tractatus*, second series (homilies on 14 Psalms). Psalms 10 and 15 are dealt with in a scholarly manner, so that we have a written work. The other Psalms, by contrast, are dealt with in the informal, colloquial style. ▲

1987. J.C. Howell: Jerome's Homilies on the Psalter in Bethlehem. In: Kenneth G. Hoglund et al. (eds.): *The Listening Heart. Essays in Wisdom and the Psalms*. Sheffield (xiii, 351 pp.), pp. 181–197.
2018. Andrew Cain: Jerome. In: Anthony Dupont et al. (eds.): *Preaching in the Patristic Era*. Leiden (xii, 541 pp.), pp. 274–293. – Cain comments on the unpolished oral style of Jerome's homilies. ▲
2021. Lorenzo Perrone: *Mysteria in Psalmis. Origen and Jerome as Interpreters of the Psalter*. In: Mariusz Szram – Marcin Wysocki (eds.): *The Bible in the Patristic Period*. Leuven (x, 209 pp.), pp. 59–86. – This is vol. 103 of the series *Studia Patristica*.

French

1909. Germain Morin: Les tractatus de Saint Jérôme sur les Psaumes X et XV. *Revue bénédictine* 26: 467–469.
1930. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Le problème du Psautier romain. *Revue bénédictine* 62: 101–126. – The so-called Roman Psalter has nothing to do with Jerome. Jerome's first Latin Psalter, produced in Bethlehem, is not extant. However, some of it is accessible in Jerome's letters sent to Rome and especially in Jerome's *Commentarioli* written ca. 386/388 (p. 125).
1966. Gerardus Q.A. Meershoek: *Le latin biblique d'après saint Jérôme. Aspects linguistiques de la rencontre entre la Bible et le monde classique*. Nijmegen. xv, 256 pp. – Pages 177–179: on Jerome's interpretation of the *renes* in Ps 16:7 (Vg Ps 15:7) in *Tractatus in Psalmos* (CCSL 78: 375).
1988. Pierre Jay: Jérôme à Bethléem: les Tractatus in Psalmos. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l'occident et l'orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 363–380. – The Psalms homilies, though inspired by Origen, must be seen as authentic Jeromian compositions. Vittorio Peri (in his Italian book, 1980) got it all wrong.
1993. Pierre Jay: Jérôme et Augustin lecteurs d'Isaïe. A Propos du 'Tractatus de Psalmo 96' de Jérôme. *Augustinus* 38: 291–302.
1993. Benoît Jeanjean: Contribution à la datation des Tractatus de Psalmis (Alterra Series). In: E.A. Livingstone (ed.): *Studia Patristica* 28. Leuven (vii, 259 pp.), pp. 49–53.

Italian

1954. Pierre Salmon OSB: Il testo e l'interpretazione dei Salmi ai tempo di S. Girolamo e di S. Agostini. *Rivista biblica* 2: 193–219.
1980. Vittorio Peri: Omelie origeniane sui salmi: Contributo all'identificazione del testo latino. Città del Vaticano. 196 pp. – According to Peri, the homilies traditionally attributed to Jerome are actually by Origen.

2013. Alessandro Capone: "Folia vero in verbis sunt": parola divina e lingua umana nei *Tractatus in psalmos* attribuiti a Gerolamo. *Adamantius* 19: 437–456. – The author studies the image of the tree, and, following G. Morin, supports Jeronian authorship.
2016. Daniela Scardia: Ex parte totum: la sineddoche nei *Tractatus in Psalmos* di Gerolamo tra esegesi, polemica e retorica. *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 13: 115–158.
2017. Giovanna Stefanelli: Cristiani, giudei, pagani: lessico, esegesi e polemica nel 'Tractatus in Psalmos' di Gerolamo. *Augustinianum* 57: 81–105.
2017. Alessandro Capone: Numeri e simboli nell'esegesi geronimiana dei Salmi. *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 59: 163–168.
2018. Alessandro Capone: Scomposizione e composizione dei *Tractatus in psalmos* di Gerolamo. In: Élie Ayroulet – Aline Canellis (eds.): *L'exégèse de saint Jérôme*. Saint-Étienne 2018 (381 pp.), pp. 131–152.
2018. Daniela Scardia: Melius dicitur graece: termini greci ed esegesi nei *Tractatus in Psalmos* di Gerolamo. In: P.B. Cipolla et al. (eds.): *Spazi e tempi delle emozioni. Dai primi secoli all'età bizantina*. Rome (327 pp.), pp. 231–269.
2019. Daniela Scardia: Spunti polemici e questioni filologiche nel *Tractatus in Psalmum* 15 di Gerolamo. *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 16: 131–214.
2019. Giulio Malvasi: Sulla datazione dei "Tractatus in Psalmos 89 e 90 series altera" di Gerolamo. *Sacris erudiri* 58: 95–109.
2020. Daniela Scardia: Tractatus in psalmum 15,8 (series altera). Gerolamo tra rispetto dei modelli e autonomia esegetica. *Augustinianum* 60: 427–452. – Jerome's exegesis depends upon that of Origen.

Koheleth (Ecclesiastes)

Jerome's commentary

Note. – Written in the year 388, this is the first fully extant Old Testament commentary by of Jerome. The work bristles with quotations from ancient authors such as Vergil; for examples, see above, Chapter **10.3**.

1845. Hieronymus: *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*. PL 23 [1845]: 1009–1116. – The pagination of the 1883 edition differs: PL 23 [1883]: 1061–1174.
1959. Hieronymus: *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 72: 249–361.
2001. Jérôme: *Commentaire de l'Ecclésiaste*. Traduction, introduction, annotations, guide thématique de Gérard Fry. Paris. 355 pp. – The guide to this commentary's themes is on pp. 319–34. The author also lists the ancient sources quoted or alluded to (pp. 343–344) – notably passages from Vergil and Horace, Jerome's favourite Latin authors.
2004. San Jerónimo: *Cuestiones relativas al Antiguo Testamento*. Translated by Rosa María Herrera García. Madrid. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. xviii, 607 pp. – This volume 4 of the bilingual Spanish edition of Jerome's *Obras completas* includes the "Comentario al Eclesiastés."

2004. Jerónimo: *Comentario al Eclesiastés*. Translated by José Boira Sales. Biblioteca de patrística 64. Madrid. 248 pp.
2012. St. Jerome: *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*. Translated by Richard J. Goodrich and David J.D. Miller. Ancient Christian Writers 66. New York. vii, 258 pp.
2014. Elisabeth Birnbaum (transl.): *Der Koheletkommentar des Hieronymus. Einleitung, revidierter Text, Übersetzung und Kommentierung*. Latin text revised by Michael Margoni-Kögler. Berlin. viii, 428 pp. – This is a CSEL volume, unnumbered, *extra seriem*. Bilingual edition, Latin and German, with a revised CSEL text, and an introduction (pp. 1–45).

Secondary literature

1986. Sandro Leanza: Sulle fonti del commentario all'Ecclesiaste di Girolamo. *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 3: 173–199.
1988. Sandro Leanza: Sull commentario all'Ecclesiaste di Girolamo. Il problema esegetico. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed): *Jérôme entre l'occident et l'orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 267–282.
1989. Hans Thurn: Zum Text des Hieronymus-Kommentars zum Kohelet. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 33: 234–244.
1994. Rainer Berndt: Skizze zur Auslegungsgeschichte der Bücher Proverbia und Ecclesiastes in der abendländischen Kirche. *Sacris erudiri* 34: 5–32.
- 1999–2000. Matthew A. Kraus: Christian [sic], Jews, and Pagans in Dialogue: Saint Jerome on Ecclesiastes 12:1–7. *Hebrew Union College Annual* 70–71: 183–231. ▲
2014. Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger – Elisabeth Birnbaum (ed.): *Hieronymus als Exeget und Theologe. Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Koheletkommentar des Hieronymus*. Leuven. xviii, 331, 7 pp.
2016. Aline Canellis: Le recours aux poètes latins dans le "Commentaire sur l'Écclésiaste" de saint Jérôme. *Latomus* 75.1: 156–179.
2016. Aline Canellis: Le *Commentaire sur l'Écclésiaste* de saint Jérôme. In: Laurence Mellerin (ed.): *La réception du livre de Qohélet, Ier-XIIIe siècle*. Paris 2016 (310 pp.), pp. 205–228.
2017. Aline Canellis: "Laetare, Israel": relecture de l'histoire d'Israël dans le *Commentaire sur l'Écclésiaste* de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 91: 159–175.
2020. Stuart Weeks: *Ecclesiastes 1–5*. International Critical Commentary. London. lxxiv, 658 pp. – Pages 217–221: Note on the peculiarity of Jerome's commentary on the book of Kohelet (Ecclesiastes) and the translation of the book, with tables on readings of the Hebrew text presupposed by Jerome. In his own commentary, Weeks also occasionally refers to the Vulgate (cf. pp. 497 and 500). On p. 400, Weeks discusses Jerome's commentary on Koh 2:5.

Isaiah

Jerome's commentary

1865. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Isaiam prophetam libri duodeviginti*. PL 24: 17–704. – The 1845 edition prints the text on columns 17–678.
1963. Hieronymus: *In Isaiam*. Edited by Marc Adrien. CCSL 73 and 73A: 1–799.

- 1993–1999. *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe*. Edited by Roger Gryson, P.-A. Deproost, and others. Freiburg. 1991 pp. – Published in 5 fascicles, this is an edition of the Latin text, based on manuscripts. Reviews:
1994. Adam Kamesar, *Journal of Theological Studies* 45: 728–731; Kamesar finds that Gryson’s notion of Jerome’s lack of competence in Hebrew is unconvincing.
1995. Marc Milhau: *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe*. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 41: 131–143.
1996. Yves-Marie Duval, *Latomus* 55: 418–420.
2007. San Jerónimo: *Comentario a Isaías*. Translated by José Anoz. Madrid. 2 vols. xvii, 933 pp.; 589 pp. – These are volumes 6a and 6b of the bilingual Spanish edition of Jerome’s *Obras completas*.
- 2013–2017. Girolamo: *Commento a Isaia*. 4 volumes. Translated by Riccardo Maisano. Rome. 368pp.; 421 pp.; 42 pp.; 580 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and Italian.
2015. St. Jerome: *Commentary on Isaiah. Including St. Jerome’s Translation of Origen’s Homilies 1–9 on Isaiah*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Writers 68. New York. xii, 1120 pp.

Secondary literature

1908. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 3. Berlin. viii, 293 pp. – Pages 178–193: Der Jesajakommentar.
1916. Félix-Marie Abel OP: Le commentaire de saint Jérôme sur Isaïe. *Revue biblique nouvelle série* 13: 200–225.
1935. Louis Ginzberg: Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern. VI: Der Kommentar des Hieronymus zu Jesaja. In: Salo W. Baron – Alexander Marx (eds.): *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut*. New York (xciii, 614, 160 pp.), pp. 279–314.
1960. Serafin Gozzo OFM: De s. Hieronymi Commentario in Isaiae librum. *Antonianum* 35: 49–80, 169–214. The author points out that among the Latin fathers, Jerome is the only one who wrote a complete commentary on Isaiah.
1972. A.F.J. Klijn: Jerome’s Quotations from a Nazorean Interpretation of Isaiah. *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 60: 241–255. – In his commentary on Isaiah, written in 403, Jerome five times refers to an interpretation found among the Nazoreans.
- 1983/84. R.G. Jenkins: The Biblical Text of the Commentaries of Eusebius and Jerome on Isaiah. *Abr-Nahrain* 22: 64–78.
1984. Manlio Simonetti: Sulle fonti del commento a Isaia di Girolamo. *Augustinianum* 24: 451–569.
1984. Bengt Löfstedt: Zu Hieronymus’ Jesaja-Kommentar. *Orpheus* n.s. 5: 197–203.
1985. Pierre Jay: *L’exégèse de saint Jérôme d’après son “Commentaire sur Isaïe.”* Paris. 496 pp. ▲
1988. Jean-Claude Haelewyck: Le lemme vulgate du commentaire de Jérôme sur Isaïe. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l’Occident et l’Orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 391–402.
1988. Roger Gryson: La tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Jérôme sur Isaïe. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l’Occident et l’Orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 403–425.
1989. Roger Gryson – P.-A. Deproost: La tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Jérôme sur Isaïe (Livres I et II). *Scriptorium* 43: 174–222.

1990. Adam Kamesar: The Virgin of Isaiah 7:14: The Philological Argument from the Second to the Fifth Century. *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 41: 51–75. – Pages 62–75 deal with Jerome’s understanding of Isa 7:14. ▲
1999. Michael J. Hollerich: *Eusebius of Caesarea’s Commentary on Isaiah. Christian Exegesis in the Age of Constantine*. Oxford. ix, 230. – In his own commentary on Isaiah, Jerome relied on the commentaries of Origen and Eusebius. Page 54–55: “In the preface Jerome lists his predecessors in the study of Isaiah and mentions that Eusebius’ commentary was written *iuxta historicam explanationem* (CCSL 73: 3). In book 5 of the commentary Jerome twice refers to Eusebius’ promise to give a historical interpretation of Isaiah, which Jerome acknowledges was not at all Origen’s intention. But he criticizes Eusebius for inconsistently falling back upon Origen’s clever allegorizations whenever the literal sense failed him (CCSL 73: 160).”
2004. Charles Kannengiesser: *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*. 2 Volumes. Leiden. xxxiv, 669 pp.; xii, pp. 671–1496. – Volume 2: “(...) the Commentary on Isaiah, finished in 410, is at once the fullest and the finest of all Jerome’s exegetical works” (p. 1098). “It is the Commentary on Isaiah (...) which enjoys the greatest favor [in antiquity] in spite its size. Thirty manuscripts predating the predating the tenth century have come down to us” (p. 1100).
2009. Andrew Cain: *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*. Oxford. xiv, 286 pp. – Pages 156–157: In the Isaiah commentary (*In Isaiam* XVI, on Isa 58:7; PL 24 [1865]: 587), the passage Isa 58:7 (if you see a man who is naked, clothe him) prompts Jerome to sound a word of criticism against those who, to gain popularity with the masses, tear a cloak in parts and give it to the poor. Jerome is here thinking of the famous cloak episode in Sulpicius Severus: *Life of Martin* 3:1–2. (Paul Antin was the first to point out the reference.)
2021. Krystina-Maria Redeker: Aspects of the “Suffering Servant” in the Commentaries on the Book of Isaiah by Jerome and Haimo of Auxerre. In: Markus Vinzent (ed.): *Studia Patristica* 128. Leuven (xvi, 438 pp.), pp. 205–214.

Homily

1963. Hieronymus: *In Esaia parvula abbreviatio*. Edited by Germain Morin. CCSL 73A: 801–809.
1993. Yves-Marie Duval: *L’In Esaia parvula abbreviatio de capitula paucis de Jérôme*. In: Roger Gryson (ed.): *Philologia Sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien für Josef Frede und Walter Thiele*. Freiburg (10, 674 pp. in 2 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 422–482.

De Seraphim

Note. – This treatise on Isaiah 6:1–9 is part of the corpus of Jerome’s letters, counted as letter no. 18B (CSEL 54: 97–103). It is most likely a text to be attributed to Origen. – Letter 18B must not be confused with the “Treatise against Origen on the Vision of Isaiah,” which is an altogether different text. This treatise, discovered and first published by Ambrosius Amelli in 1901, was attributed to Jerome, but is now generally considered a work of Theophilus of Alexandria; see Origenes: *Die Homilien zum Buch Jesaja*. Eingeleitet und übersetzt von Alfonst Fürst und Christian Hengstermann. Berlin 2009 (400 pp.), pp. 180–187 (introduction) and pp.330–365 (bilingual edition, Latin and German).

Jerome's/Origen's commentary

1910. Hieronymus: Epistula 18B. In: Isidor Hilberg (ed.): *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*. Pars 1. Vienna = CSEL 54:97–103.
1949. Jérôme: Lettres 18A et 18B. In: Saint Jérôme: *Lettres*. Edited by Jérôme Labourt. Tome I. Paris (lxvii, 170 pp.), pp. 53–78. – Bilingual edition. Latin and French.
2009. Hieronymus: Brief 18B. In: Origenes: *Die Homilien zum Buch Jesaja*. Eingeleitet und übersetzt von Alfons Fürst und Christian Hengstermann. Berlin (vii, 400 pp.), pp. 322–329. Bilingual edition, Latin and German, with introduction on pp. 18–20. Fürst attributes this treatise to Origen and thinks that Jerome translated it c. 380 in Constantinople.
2015. St. Jerome: *Commentary on Isaiah. Including St. Jerome's Translation of Origen's Homilies 1–9 on Isaiah*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Writers 68. New York. xii, 1120 pp. – Appendix 2: Jerome's Epistle 18 AB to Damasus (translated into English).

Secondary literature

1988. Pierre Nautin: Le "*De Seraphim*" de Jérôme et son appendice "*Ad Damasum*." In: Michael Wissemann (ed.): *Roma renascens. Beiträge zur Spätantike und Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Frankfurt (450 pp.), pp. 275–293. – The treatise, allegedly written in Constantinople in 380, largely on the basis of Origen's work, is actually a work that dates from 387, i.e., from after the Death of Damasus (d. 384) to whom it is dedicated. "Notons que le texte [biblique] qu'il cite est toujours celui de la Septante. Nulle trace d'une utilisation de l'hébreu" (p. 268).
2007. Alfons Fürst: Hieronymus gegen Origenes: Die Vision Jesajas im ersten Origenismusstreit. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 53: 199–322. – Also in: idem: *Von Origenes und Hieronymus zu Augustinus*. Berlin 2011 (viii, 535 pp.), pp. 239–274.
2022. Zoltá Olah: Vor und nach der Hinwendung zum Prinzip der veritas hebraica bei Hieronymus. Die Auslegung von Jesaja 6 als Testfall. In: Siegfried Kreuzer et al. (eds.): *Bibel und Patristik*. Paderborn (xiii, 460 pp.), pp. 297–308.

Jeremiah (Hieremias)

Jerome's commentary

Note. – The commentary on the book of Jeremiah is unfinished; it includes only chapters 1 through 32.

1845. Hieronymus: *Commentarius in Ieremiam prophetam*. PL 24: 679–900. – In the 1865 edition of PL 24, the column numbers are 707–936 (with incomplete prologue; there was one page not printed).
1913. Hieronymus: *In Hieremiam prophetam libri sex*. Edited by Siegfried Reiter. CSEL 59: 1–440.
1960. Hieronymus: *In Hieremiam*. Edited by Siegfried Reiter. CCSL 74: 1–347. – Has the same text as the 1913 edition.

2008. San Jerónimo: *Comentario al profeta Jeremías. Libros I–VI*. Edited and translated by Mónica Marcos Celestino. Madrid. xlvi, 592 pp. – This is volume 7 of the Spanish bilingual edition of Jerome's *Obras completas*.
2012. Jerome: *Commentary on Jeremiah*. Translated by Michael Graves. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. li, 232 pp.
2015. Hieronymus: Kommentar zum Buch Jeremia. In: Marianne Schlosser (ed.): *Die Gabe der Unterscheidung. Texte aus zwei Jahrtausenden*. 2nd edition. Sankt Ottilien (367 pp.), pp. 41–50. – German translation, by Florian Mair OFM, of brief passages on Jeremiah 23 and 28 where Jerome discusses the theme of false prophecy.

Secondary literature

1908. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 3. Berlin. viii, 293 pp. – Pages 212–221: Der Jeremiakommentar.
1919. Siegfried Reiter: Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Hieronymus. Im Anschluß an meine Ausgabe von *In Hieremiam libri sex*. *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 39, no. 27: 642–646; no. 28: 666–671; no. 29: 690–695. In the first instalment, the author discusses the words *obsetrix/obsterix* and *decalogus* (the latter as a feminine word); in the second, *abyssus*, *mole*, *convalle*, *complacitio*, plural noun neuter + verb in singular; in the third, *constructio ad sensum*, causal *qua*, *maxime cum*, *magis* = rather, *editio* = translation (cols. 695–696), *statuere* = *aufferre*.
1989. William McKane: Jerome's Use of the Septuagint in His Commentary on Jeremiah. In: idem: *Selected Christian Hebraists*. Cambridge (x, 268 pp.), pp. 199–200, 246.
2007. Michael Graves: *Jerome's Hebrew Philology. A Study Based on His Commentary on Jeremiah*. Leiden. xii, 228 pp. – In his commentary on Jeremiah, Jerome discusses 76 Hebrew words (p. 97). His "combination of the Greek versions and rabbinic Hebrew scholarship into a single philological method was Jerome's greatest innovation as a Hebrew philologist" (p. 127).
2009. Philip Rousseau: Jerome on Jeremiah: Exegesis and Recovery. In: Andrew Cain – Josef Lössl (ed.): *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Abingdon (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 73–83.
2010. Robert Hayward: *Targums and the Transmission of Scripture into Judaism and Christianity*. Leiden. xv, 432 pp. – Pages 281–299: Jewish Traditions in Jerome's *Commentary on Jeremiah* and the Targum of Jeremiah.
2017. Giuseppe Caruso: Le accuse di Pelagio nel 'Commentarium in Hieremiam' di Girolamo. *Augustinianum* 57: 107–121.
2017. Giuseppe Caruso: "Noua ex ueteri haeresis." Echi della controversia pelagiana nei prologhi del commentario In Hieremiam di Girolamo. In: Clémentine Bernard-Valette et al. (eds.): *Nihil veritas ervbescit. Mélanges offerts à Paul Mattei*. Turnhout (xxv, 838 pp.), pp. 299–312. – Jerome undertook the composition of the *Commentarium in Hieremiam* in the last years of his life. In those same years he was deeply concerned about the rise of the Pelagian controversy, against which he had already made a stand. Although the *Commentarium* has a predominantly exegetical purpose, there is a clear echo of Jerome's commitment to fight Pelagius and his epigones. This is clear from the text itself but it is even clearer from the prologues to the first four books.
2018. Paul-Irénée Fransen: Projet lyonnais d'un abrégé du commentaire de Jérôme sur Jérémie. *Revue bénédictine* 128: 316–326. – In the manuscripts Lyon 448 (+ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 152) and Lyon 468 (+ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n. acq. lat. 602), marginal markings ("potences") reveal the preparation of an abridged form of Jerome's *Commentary on Jeremiah* in the

circle of Florus. If it ever existed, it is not preserved. It is possible nevertheless to reconstruct roughly what it would have been.

2022. Georg Fischer SJ: Hieronymus, ein Pionier als Übersetzer und Ausleger. In: Veronika Bachmann et al. (eds.): *Menschsein in Weisheit und Freiheit*. Leuven (x, 603 pp.), pp. 534–549. – Page 546: Jerome’s commentary on the book of Jeremiah “ist sozusagen das ‘Glanzstück,’ das letzte große Werk, mit dem Hieronymus seine biblisch-exegetische Tätigkeit beschließt und das ihn auf der Höhe seines Könnens zeigt. Seine Auslegung besticht u.a. durch die Präzision der Übersetzung, die Breite des Wissens, die Feinfühligkeit für Textdetails, die theologische und geistliche Ausrichtung. Für die westliche Kirche war eine solche Kommentierung in der Antike, noch dazu in geschliffenem, elegantem Latein, mit reichhaltigem Wortschatz, vom Niveau her über Jahrhunderte unerreicht, und sie sollte es bis ins Mittelalter bleiben.”

Ezekiel (Hiezechiel)

Jerome’s commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Prophetam Ezechielem libri quatuordecim*. PL 25: 15–490.
1964. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Ezechielem*. Edited by François Glorie. CCSL 75: 3–743.
- 2005–2006. San Jerónimo: *Comentario a Ezequiel*. Translated by H.B. Riesco Álvarez. Madrid. 2 vols. xxi, 599 pp.; xii, 794 pp. – These are volumes 5a and 5b of the Spanish bilingual edition of Jerome’s *Obras completas*.
2017. Jerome: *Commentary on Ezekiel*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Writers 71. New York. xii, 695 pp.

Secondary literature

1908. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 3. Berlin. viii, 293 pp. – Pages 199–211: Der Kommentar zu Ezechiel. Page 203: “Allerdings hat er [im Ezechiel-Kommentar] nicht so ausgiebig wie in seinem Jesajakommentar die jüdische Auslegung referiert. Es sind mehr Einzelheiten, die er berichtet. So erklärten die Hebräer Ez 24,15: Ich werde dir die Augenlust hinwegnehmen, von den Stirnbinden, die die babylonischen Rabbinen um das Haupt trugen, auf denen der Dekalog aufgezeichnet war.”
1935. Friedrich Stummer: *Monumenta historiam et geographiam Terrae sanctae illustrantia. Prima series*. Florilegium Patristicum 41. Bonn. 95 pp. – This collection of Jerome texts on the geography of the Holy Land includes the Latin text of the commentary on Ezekiel 47:15–21 (PL 25: 497–502) with Stummer’s explanatory notes.
2002. Douglas Kries: Origen, Plato, and Conscience (‘synderesis’) in Jerome’s Ezekiel Commentary. *Traditio* 57: 67–83.
2009. Andrew Cain: *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*. Oxford. xiv, 286 pp. – Page 156: In his commentary on Ezekiel 36:1–15, Jerome rejects the expectation of a this-worldly millennium current among some of his contemporaries including Sulpicius Severus (Jerome: *In Ezechielem* XI on Ezek 36:1–15; PL 25: 339).
2014. Aline Canellis: L’exégèse de la première vision d’Ézéchiél dans *In Hiezechielem* de saint Jérôme. Hiezechiel quoque uidit Dominum in forma hominis sedentem super Cherubim. In: Françoise Vinel (ed.): *Les visions de l’Apocalypse. Héritage d’un genre littéraire*. Turnhout (259 pp.), pp. 127–153.

2016. Benjamin Garstad: Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre in Jerome's "Commentary on Ezekiel." *Vigiliae Christianae* 70.2: 175–192.

Daniel (Danihel)

Note. – Augustine, with reference to the succession of four kingdoms indicated in the visions of Daniel, recommends Jerome's commentary: "Some have interpreted these four kingdoms as signifying those of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans. They who desire to understand the fitness of this interpretation may read Jerome's book on Daniel, which is written with a sufficiency of care and erudition (*legant presbyteri Hieronymi librum in Danielelem, satis diligenter eruditeque conscriptum*)." Augustine: *The City of God* XX, 23 (PL 41: 635; CSEL 40.2: 488; as translated by Marcus Dods).

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Danielelem prophetam liber unus*. PL 25: 491–584.

1958. *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*. Translated by Gleason L. Archer. Grand Rapids, Mich. 189 pp. – Reprinted: Eugene, Ore. 2009.

1964. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Danielelem libri tres (quatuor)*. Edited by François Glorie. CCSL 75A: 771–950.

1966. San Girolamo: *Commento a Daniele*. A cura di Silvano Cola. Rome. 210 pp.

2006. San Jerónimo: *Comentario a Ezequiel. Comentario al profeta Daniel*. Translated by H.B. Riesco Álvarez. Madrid. xii, 794 pp. – This is volume 5b of the Spanish bilingual edition of Jerome's *Obras completas*.

2016. Alfons Fürst: 2016. *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. Freiburg (444 pp.), p. 116: German translation of a long passage from the preface to the *Commentary on Daniel*.

2019. Jérôme: *Commentaire sur Daniel*. Introduction, texte, traduction, notes et index par Régis Courtray. Sources chrétiennes 602. Paris. 622 pp. – Bilingual edition Latin and French. The translator supplies a newly-established text that improves the one edited by F. Glorie in 1964. According to Courtray, the commentary was written in 407 CE. – Reviews:

2021. Michael Winterbottom, *Journal of Theological Studies* n. s. 72: 999–1001.

2022. Heinrich Holze, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 147: 693–694.

Secondary literature

1897. J. Lataix: Le commentaire de St Jérôme sur Daniel. *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 2: 164–173. 268–277. – This article is actually by Alfred Loisy.

1908. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 3. Berlin. viii, 293 pp. – Pages 164–177: Der Danielkommentar.

1912. Otto Bardenhewer: *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*. Dritter Band. Munich (x, 665), p. 623: "Er [i.e., Jerome] wollte nicht mehr, wie bei den kleinen Propheten, den gesamten Text besprechen, sondern das Wichtigste und Schwierigste herausgreifen und in freierer Weise erörtern. Mit besonderer Einläßlichkeit behandelt er die Weissagung von den 70 Jahrwochen. Breiten Raum widmet er auch der den ganzen Kommentar durchziehenden Polemik gegen den Neuplatoniker Porphyrius und seine Angriffe auf das prophetische Buch. Er schöpft dabei, wie er selbst angibt, aus älteren Streitschriften gegen Porphyrius (...) Im übrigen stützt er sich in erster Linie wieder

auf Origenes. Zur Grundlage nimmt er seine Übersetzung aus dem Hebräischen bzw. Aramäischen, bei den deuterokanonischen Stücken (...) seine Übersetzung Theodotions.“

1975. Teodoro Larriba: Comentario de San Jerónimo al Libro de Daniel. Las profecías sobre Cristo y el Anticristo. *Scripta theologica* (Navarra) 7: 7–50.
1978. Jan Smeets: Traditions juives dans la Vulgate de Daniel et le commentaire de Jérôme. *SIDIC* (Service international de documentation judéo-chrétienne) 12.2: 16–26.
1978. Jay Bravermann: *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel. A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*. Washington. xvi, 160 pp. – Sixteen Jewish interpretations are used by Jerome, of which six are not attested elsewhere. Review: David Satran, *Tarbiz* 52 (1982/83) 145–153.
2000. Josef Rist: Hieronymus als Apologet, Exeget und Geschichtstheologe in den Commentarii in Daniele. In: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (ed.): *L'esegesi dei Padri latini*. Rome (770 pp., 2 vols. with one pagination), vol. 2, pp. 439–448.
2005. J.P.K. Kritzing: St Jerome's Commentary on Daniel 3. *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 16: 54–69.
2007. Régis Courtray: Der Danielkommentar des Hieronymus. In: Katharina Bracht et al. (eds.): *Die Geschichte der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum und Islam. Studien zur Kommentierung des Danielbuches in Literatur und Kunst*. Berlin (xi, 394 pp.), pp. 123–150.
2009. Régis Courtray: *Prophète des temps derniers. Jérôme commente Daniel*. Paris. 508 pp. – A comprehensive work (originally a thesis) by a scholar who would later edit and translate Jerome's Daniel commentary for the "Sources chrétiennes" series.

The twelve Minor Prophets

Jerome's commentaries

Note. – The commentaries on the individual books of the Twelve Prophets (Hosea, Jonah, etc.) are included in the editions listed below. Some of them are listed again, for bibliographical convenience, under the individual minor prophets Hosea, Joel, etc.

- 1884: Hieronymus: *In duodecim prophetas minores commentariorum viginti libri*. PL 25: 809–1585. – Contents: Hosea (PL 25: 815–946), Joel (PL 25: 947–988), Amos (PL 25: 989–1096), Obadiah (PL 25, 1097–1118), Jonah (PL 25: 1117–1152), Micah (PL 25: 1151–1230), Nahum (PL 25: 1231–1272), Habakkuk (PL 25: 1273–1338), Zephaniah (PL 25: 1337–1388), Haggai (PL 25: 1387–1416), Zechariah (PL 25: 1415–1542), Malachi (PL 25: 1541–1578).
- 1969/70. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in prophetas minores*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76 and 76A. – Contents: In Osee, CCSL 76: 1–158; In Ioelem, CCSL 76: 159–209; In Amos, CCSL 76: 211–348; In Abdiam, CCSL 76, 349–375; In Ionam, CCSL 76: 377–419; In Michaeam, CCSL 76: 421–524; In Naum, CCSL 76A: 525–578; In Abacuc, CCSL 76A: 579–654; In Sophoniam, CCSL 76A: 655–711; In Aggeum, CCSL 76A: 713–746; In Zachariam, CCSL 76A: 747–900; In Malachiam, CCSL 76A: 901–942. – Bengt Löfstedt warns of this edition; the editor, he says, often misunderstands the text; Löfstedt offers a thorough critique and numerous textual notes; see Bengt Löfstedt: Hieronymus' Kommentare zu den kleinen Propheten. *Acta classica* 25 (1982) 119–126.

2000, 2003. San Jerónimo: *Comentarios a los profetas menores*. Translated by A. Domínguez García. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 606 & 631. Madrid. 2 vols. xxiv, 949 pp.; xii, 840 pp. – These are volumes 3a and 3b of the Spanish annotated bilingual edition of Jerome's *Obras completas*.

2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.

Secondary literature

1902. Moritz Rahmer: *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*. Teil 2: *Die Commentarii zu den zwölf kleinen Propheten*. Berlin. 47, 19, 48, 60 pp.

1906. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 2. Berlin. viii, 270 pp. – Pages 110–127: Der Kommentar zu den fünf kleinen Propheten Nahum, Micha, Zephanja, Haggai und Habakuk; pp. 195–207: commentary on Jonah and Obadiah. In the first section (pp. 110 ff.), the author comments on Jerome's commentaries in general, while in the second section (pp. 195 ff.) he deals with the commentaries on Jonah and Obadiah individually.

1908. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 3. Berlin. viii, 293 pp. – Pages 102–114: The commentaries on Zechariah, Malachi, Hosea, Josel, and Amos.

1914. Otto Procksch: *Die Septuaginta Hieronymi im Dodekapropheten*. Greifswald. 54 pp. – The Septuagint, used and regularly quoted by Jerome (in his own Latin translation), reflects a *Vetus Latina* text that he had corrected on the basis of Origen's Hexapla.

1978. Adelrich Staub OSB: *Die exegetische Methode des Hieronymus im Kommentar zum Zwölfprophetenbuch: eruditio saeculi und scientia scripturarum*. Uznach. xxiv, 289, 67 pp. – A thesis presented to the Pontificio Atheneo Sant'Anselmo, Rome, the university of the Benedictine order.

1982. Bengt Löfstedt: Hieronymus' Kommentare zu den kleinen Propheten. *Acta classica* 25: 119–126. – A series of important textual notes meant to improve the edition in CCSL 76 and 76A.

1997. Susanne Müller-Abels: Hieronymus, Prologe zu den Kommentaren zum Zwölfprophetenbuch. Exegese und Rhetorik. In: E.A. Livingstone (ed.): *Studia Patristica* 33. Leuven (ix, 612 pp.), pp. 345–351.

2007. Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Girolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13: 102–125. – The author compares the fragments of Latin text used as lemmata in the commentaries, with the version that became the Vulgate. In many cases, the Vulgate is closer to the Hebrew text than what is offered in the commentary.

2011. Neil Adkin: Virgil's Smooth-talking Pygmalion and Jerome's Commentaries on Mordiloquent Minor Prophets. *Euphrosyne* n.s. 44: 235–237.

2011. Anne-Françoise Loiseau: Jérôme et les traditions exégétiques targumiques, en particulier dans les XII. *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 44: 81–126.

2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. Freiburg (444 pp.), pp. 393–395. – A bibliography of commentary editions, with indication of much secondary literature.

2020. Bernhard Klinger: [Between Scylla and Charybdis](#): Jerome as Interpreter of the Minor Prophets. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 4: 5–22 (online journal).

Hosea (Osee)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Osee prophetam libri tres*. PL 25: 815–946.
1969. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Osee*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76: 1–158.
2006. Girolamo: *Commento a Osea*. Introduzione, traduzione e note di Marco Tullio Messina. Rome. 326 pp.
2015. Jérôme: *Commentaire sur Osée*. – In his thesis on this commentary, Benoît Mounier (see below, secondary literature) supplies a critical edition of the prologue and book 1 (pp. 209–257, with critical apparatus); in a separate fascicle (without pagination), he offers a French translation of prologue and book 1 based on his critical text, and a translation of the rest of the commentary based on the CCSL text. The thesis is available on the Internet.
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.

Secondary literature

1995. Maria Christina Pennachio: "Quasi ursa rapis catulis." Os 13,8 nell'esegesi di Gerolamo e Cirillo di Alessandria. *Vetera Christianorum* 32: 143–161.
1997. A.A. Macintosh: *Hosea*. The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii. – Page lxxxii: "Of considerable importance in evaluating [Jerome's] translation of Hosea is his own commentary on the prophecy, which clearly reflects his Christian standpoint and, replete with references to the New Testament, becomes at times devotional in character. An example of lyrical beauty is his comparison of 2.9 with the parable of the Prodigal Son of Lk 15.11–32. If the commentary is marked by such characteristics, there remains much useful material on textual matters." Page lxxxiii: "The Vulgate displays no particular or consistent knowledge of Hosea's dialect and no textual variant not found in the earlier versions is adopted in this commentary on the basis of this version."
2001. Eberhard Bons: La signification de *arkos aporuumenê* en LXX Osée XIII 8. *Vetus Testamentum* 51: 1–8. – Jerome takes this to mean *ursa indigens cibo* – famished bear (CCSL 76: 145), but the more likely meaning is "cornered bear," an animal that cannot escape from the hunters.
2015. Benoît Mounier: "*In manu prophetarum assimilatus sum*" (Osée 12,10). *Recherches sur le Commentaire sur Osée de Jérôme. Philologie et herméneutique, avec les prolégomènes d'une édition critique*. Diss. Strasbourg. vii, 649 pp. – Abstract: Composé à la fin de 406, le Commentaire sur Osée de Jérôme se trouve à la charnière entre ses commentaires bibliques sur les Petits et les Grands prophètes. Au sein de ce vaste projet exégétique, l'ouvrage constitue un bon exemple d'une herméneutique désormais bien maîtrisée. Avec un fort souci de cohérence, l'exégète y déploie l'interprétation littérale essentiellement historique pour lancer l'interprétation spirituelle déclinée en deux sens, l'un anti-hérétique, l'autre mystique, tous deux présentés comme fondamentaux pour comprendre le livre d'Osée. L'œuvre constitue également un témoin clé pour saisir l'importance de la typologie, christocentrique et ecclésiale, pour expliquer les Prophètes selon Jérôme.
2016. Philippe Borgeaud: Jérôme traducteur et la Mère des dieux ("Commentaire à Osée"). In: Corinne Bonnet et al. (eds.): *Dieux des Grecs, dieux des Romains*. Bruxelles (249 pp.), pp. 229–238.

Joel (loel, lohel)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Ioelem*. PL 25: 947–988.
1969. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Ioelem*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76: 159–209.
2010. Girolamo: *Commento ad Aggeo e a Gioele*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 198 pp.
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp. – See vol. 2, pp. 262–300: “On the Prophet Joel to Pammachius.”

Secondary literature

2004. Aline Canellis: Julien d'Éclane et l'In Joel 1,4 de saint Jérôme. In: Benoît Gain et al. (eds.): *Chartae caritatis. Études de patristique et d'antiquité tardive*. Paris 2004 (529 pp.), pp. 359–375.
2013. Aline Canellis: Saint Jérôme et l'In Joel 3,18C. De la traduction à l'exégèse spirituelle. In: Alessandro Garcea et al. (eds.): *Polyphonia Romana*. Hildesheim (xix, 874 pp. in 2 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 523–531.
2023. Aline Canellis: Die Auslegung der Antiochenischen und Alexandrinischen Schulen durch Hieronymus am Beispiel des kleinen Propheten Joel. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 165–167.

Amos

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Amos*. PL 25: 989–1096.
1969. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Amos*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76: 211–348.
2002. Bettina Höhmann: *Der Amos-Kommentar des Eusebius Hieronymus. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Münster. 484, xxiii pp. – Provides a translation (pp. 96–317), followed by the Latin text (pp. 318–484, without notes). Jerome often refers to pagan literature, including Cicero, Horace, and Virgil, listed on p. 51.
2016. Hieronymus: *Commentarius in Amos prophetam*. In: Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg (444 pp.), pp. 352–359. – Bilingual, Latin and German text of one section (II, 4,4–6; CCSL 76: 260–262).
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.

Secondary literature

1898. Moritz Rahmer: Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 42.3: 97–107. – On passages in Jerome's *Commentary on Amos*.
1981. Pierre Lardet: Culte astral et culture profane chez s. Jérôme. A propos d'une tournure suspecte (*errore combibimus*) et d'allusions non élucidées du Commentaire sur Amos. *Vigiliae Christianae* 35: 321–345.

1998. Jennifer M. Dines: Jerome and the Hexapla: The Witness of the Commentary on Amos. In: Alison Salvesen (ed.): *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. Tübingen (xvi, 500 pp.), pp. 421–436.
2009. Aline Canellis: L'érudition dans le Livre I du *Commentaire sur Amos* de saint Jérôme. *Eruditio antiqua* 1: 45–62.

Obadiah (Abdias)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Abdiam*. PL 25: 1097–1118.
- 1969: Hieronymus: *In Abdiam*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76: 349–375.
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.
2019. Girolamo: *Commenti ai profeti Abdia e Zaccaria*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 408 pp.

Secondary literature

1906. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 2. Berlin (viii, 270 pp.), pp. 203–207.
2009. Aline Canellis: L'art de la *consequentia* dans l'*In Abdiam* de saint Jérôme. In: Perrine Galand-Halyn et al.(eds.): *Manifestes littéraires dans la latinité tardive*. Paris (366 pp.), pp. 187–204.

Jonah (Jonas)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Jonam prophetam liber unus*. PL 25: 1117–1152.
1956. Jérôme: *Sur Jonas*. Translated by Paul Antin OSB. Sources chrétiennes 43. Paris. 137 pp. – Includes a detailed introduction, pp. 7–33.
1969. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Ionam*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76: 377–419.
1985. Jérôme: *Commentaire sur Jonas. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et commentaire par Yves-Marie Duval*. Sources chrétiennes 323. Paris. 460 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and French; bilingual text on pp. 160–317. This new edition of the text of Jerome's commentary is to be preferred to all earlier editions. Review: Henri de Sainte-Marie OSB, *Revue bénédictine* 99 (1989) 221–236.
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1991. Timothy Michael Hegedus: *Jerome's Commentary on Jonah. Translation with Introduction and Critical Notes*. Master's thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ont. (available online).
1992. Girolamo: *Commento al libro di Giona*. Translated by Nicoletta Pavia. Collana di testi patristici 96. Rome. 113 pp.
2003. Hieronymus: *Commentarius in Ionam prophetam – Kommentar zu dem Propheten Jona*. Translated by Siegfried Risse. Fontes christiani 60. Turnhout. 250 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German, with a comprehensive introduction.
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.

2017. Girolamo: *Commenti ai profeti Sofonia, Aggeo, Abacuc e Giona*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 405 pp.

Secondary literature

1906. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Berlin. Volume 2 (viii, 270 pp.), pp. 195–203.

1966. Yves-Marie Duval: Saint Augustin et le *Commentaire sur Jonas* de saint Jérôme. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 12: 9–40.

1973. Yves-Marie Duval: *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine. Sources et influence du commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme*. Paris. 2 vols. 749 pp. – Much of Jerome's commentary depends upon the work of Origen.

1988. Jean-Louis Gourdain: Les Psaumes dans l'explication de la prière de Jonas (In Ionam 2,2–10). In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 381–389.

2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 122–293. – Page 250: "Der Kommentar zu Jona beutet neben Origenes eine jüdische Quelle zum Auftrag des Propheten in Ninive aus und enthält einen heftigen Angriff gegen die Vorstellung der Apokatastasis."

2020. Katharina Bracht: The Appropriation of the Book of Jonah in 4th Century Christianity by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Jerome of Stridon. In: Valentino Gasparini et al. (eds.): *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Berlin (viii, 597 pp.), pp. 531–552, esp. pp. 541–548.

2020. Katharina Bracht: Die Rezeption des Jona-Buches bei Hieronymus von Stridon: Der Jona-Kommentar als heteronomer Text. *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 37: 29–52.

Micha (Michaea)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Michaeam*. PL 25: 1151–1230.

1969. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Michaeam*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76: 421–524.

2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.

2017. Girolamo: *Commenti ai profeti Naum e Michea*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 338 pp.

Nahum (Naum)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Naum*. PL 25: 1231–1272.

1970. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Naum*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76A, pp. 525–578.

2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.

2017. Girolamo: *Commenti ai profeti Naum e Michea*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 338 pp.

Secondary literature

1984. Yves-Marie Duval: Jérôme et Origène avant la querelle origéniste: la cure et la guérison ultime du monde et du diable dans l'*In Nahum*. *Augustinianum* 24: 471–494.

Habakkuk (Abacuc, Habacuc)

Note. – This commentary is distinguished by its particularly learned character, no doubt due to its addressee, Chromatius of Aquileia.

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Abacuc*. PL 25: 1273–1338.

1970. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Abacuc*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76A: 579–654.

2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.

2017. Girolamo: *Commenti ai profeti Sofonia, Aggeo, Abacuc e Giona*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 405 pp.

2018. Hieronymus: *Commentarius in Abacuc*. Edited by Sincero Mantelli. CCSL 76–76A bis 1: 5–98. – New edition in the series "CCSL."

Secondary literature

2000. Yves-Marie Duval: Jérôme et le "sens des prophètes." De la nécessité, et des difficultés de la *consequentia*. L'exemple de l'*In Habacuc*. In: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (ed.): *L'esegesi dei Padri latini*. Rome (770 pp., 2 vols. with one pagination), vol. 2, pp. 411–438.

2007. Sara Margarino: *Nos coeptum carpamus iter ...* I prologi al libro di Abacuc, un tassello nel mosaico geronimiano ai profeti minori. *Auctores nostri* 4: 263–288.

2010. Sincero Mantelli: Quia scabraeus uel cantharus uermis est stecoris. Una glosa erasmiana nel Commentario ad Abacuc di Girolamo. *Augustinianum* 50: 443–451. – The words quoted in the title, though found in printed editions of Jerome's commentary on Habakkuk (CCSL 76A: 606), constitute a gloss introduced by none other than Erasmus: "the scarab or cantharus actually is a dung beetle." There are other editorial intervention due to Erasmus.

2012. Sara Margarino: Il commento al Cantico di Abacuc in Girolamo. Un esempio di esegesi speculare all'Apocalisse. In: Sandra Isetta (ed.): *Apocalisse. Il senso della fine*. Futur Antico 8. Genova (182 pp.), pp. 59–69.

2012. Martine Dulaey: Habacuc 2,1–4 chez les Pères. In: Matthieu Arnold – Gilbert Dahan – Annie Noblesse-Rocher (eds.): *"Le juste vivra de sa foi" (Habacuc 2,4)*. Études d'histoire de l'exégèse 3. Paris (144 pp.), pp. 41–73. – Jerome takes the passage to be an announcement of the coming of Christ (CCSL 76A: 599).

2013. Sincero Mantelli: La visione di Isaia nella controversia origenista: note sull'In Habacuc di Gerolamo. *Adamantius* 19: 185–202. – The author takes up a topic that has already been treated by Duval and Fürst, but needs a new treatment; for the earlier studies, see:
2000. Yves-Marie Duval: Jérôme et les “sens des prophètes” de la nécessité et des difficultés de la *consequentia*. L'exemple de l'In Habacuc. In: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (ed.): *L'esegesi dei Padri latini*. Rome (769 pp. in 2 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 411–438.
2007. Alfons Fürst: Hieronymus gegen Origenes. Die Vision Jesajas im ersten Origenismusstreit. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 53: 199–233.

Zephaniah (Sofonias)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Sophoniam*. PL 25: 1337–1388.
1970. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Sophoniam*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76A: 655–711.
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.
2017. Girolamo: *Commenti ai profeti Sofonia, Aggeo, Abacuc e Giona*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 405 pp.

Haggai (Aggeus)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Aggaeum*. PL 25: 1387–1416.
1970. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Aggaeum*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76A: 713–746.
2008. *Le Commentaire sur Agée de Jérôme*. Traduction et notes d'Eran Shuali. Mémoire – Unpublished master's thesis, accessible on the author's Internet site (academia.edu).
2010. Girolamo: *Commento ad Aggeo e a Gioele*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 198 pp.
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.
2017. Girolamo: *Commenti ai profeti Sofonia, Aggeo, Abacuc e Giona*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 405 pp.

Secondary literature

2008. Marco Tullio Messina: La simbologia numerica nel commento a Aggeo di San Girolamo. In: Paola Francesca Moretti et al. (eds.): *Debita dona. Studi in onore di Isabella Gualandri*. Naples (566 pp.), pp. 299–315.

Zechariah (Zaccharias)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Jonam prophetam liber unus*. PL 25: 1415–1542.
1970. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in prophetam Zachariam*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76A: 747–900.
2009. Girolamo: *Commento a Zaccaria – Commento a Malachia*. Translated by Domenico Ciarlo. Rome. 362 pp.
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.
2019. Girolamo: *Commenti ai profeti Abdia e Zaccaria*. Translated by Marco T. Messina. Rome. 408 pp.

Secondary literature

1968. Pierre Jay: Le vocabulaire exégétique de saint Jérôme dans le commentaire sur Zacharie. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 14: 3–16.
1999. Neil Adkin: Sallust, Hist. frg. 2, 64 and Jerome's Commentary on Zechariah. *Latomus* 58: 635–639.
2007. Aline Canellis: Le livre II de l'In Zachariam de saint Jérôme et la tradition alexandrine. *Sacris erudiri* 46: 111–141. – The article is also published in *Adamantius* 13 (2007) 66–81.
2009. Aline Canellis: L'In Zachariam de Jérôme et la tradition alexandrine. In: Andrew Cain – Josef Lössl (eds.): *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Farnham (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 153–162.

Malachi (Malachias)

Jerome's commentary

1884. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in Malachiam*. PL 25: 1541–1578.
1970. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in prophetam Malachiam*. Edited by Marc Adriaen. CCSL 76A: 901–942.
2009. Girolamo: *Commento a Zaccaria – Commento a Malachia*. Translated by Domenico Ciarlo. Rome. 362 pp.
2016. Hieronymus: *Commentarius in Malachim prophetam*. In: Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg (444 pp.), pp. 348–353. – Bilingual, Latin and German text of one section (I, 11–13; CCSL 76A: 911–913).
- 2016/17. Jerome: *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. 2 vols. xxx, 310 pp.; xli, 416 pp.

Secondary literature

1999. Yves-Marie Duval: Vers l'In Malachiam d'Origène. Jérôme et Origène en 406. In: Wolfgang A. Biernert et al. (eds.): *Origeniana Septima*. Leuven (xxv, 848, 7 pp.), pp. 233–259.

20.3 Jerome's New Testament commentaries

Matthew
Mark
The epistles of St. Paul (introduction)
Galatians
Ephesians
Titus
Philemon

Matthew (*Evangelium secundum Matheum/Matthaeum*)

Jerome's commentary

1845. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei libri quatuor*. PL 26: 15–218. – Based on a printed edition of Jerome's works from the 18th century – and today considered outdated (though still useful).
1969. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in Mattheum libri quatuor*. Edited by David Hurst and Marc Adriaen. CCSL 77: 1–283.
- 1977/79. Jérôme: *Commentaire sur S. Matthieu*. Translated by Émile Bonnard. Sources chrétiennes 242 et 259. Paris. 348, 259 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and French, with a long introduction (pp. 9–50).
1982. Alexandre Olivar: Trois nouveaux fragments en onciale du commentaire de saint Jérôme sur l'Évangile de Matthieu. *Revue bénédictine* 92: 76–81.
1999. Jerónimo: *Comentario al Evangelio de Mateo*. Introducción y notas: Roberto Peña OSB, traducción: Hnas. Bernarda Bianchi di Carcano y María Eugenia Suárez OSB. Biblioteca de patristica 45. Madrid. 343 pp. – The translation is by two Benedictine nuns.
2002. San Jerónimo: *Comentario a Mateo* [and other works]. Translated by Virgilio Bejarano. Madrid. xxx, 767 pp. – This is volume 2 of the bilingual Spanish edition of Jerome's *Obras completas*.
2008. St. Jerome: *Commentary on Matthew*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. The Fathers of the Church 117. Washington. xvi, 347 pp. – Translated is the Latin text provided in CCSL 77. Pages 15–16: "Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew* was written in Bethlehem in March 398. (...) Jerome dictated his *Commentary on Matthew* over the course of two weeks. The work shows signs of hasty composition, such as, at times, extreme brevity and numerous inaccurate citations from the Bible and Josephus. Jerome's commentary is not very extensive. He translates the text of Matthew's Gospel in the lemma and then paraphrases or explains the words with brief glosses and commentary notes."

Secondary literature

1906. Georg Grützmacher: *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Band 2. Berlin. viii, 270 pp. – Pages 244–270: Der Matthäuskommentar des Hieronymus. Grützmacher notes Jerome's dependence upon Origen's commentary, and refers to many passages where Jerome quotes variant readings in the manuscripts that he consulted. As a bad historian, Jerome committed a number of mistakes such as having John the Baptist decapitated somewhere in Arabia (p. 260). Grützmacher thinks of Jerome's Christianity as deficient, lacking any interest in the Sermon on the Mount (a most important text for Grützmacher's Protestant contemporaries).
1935. Alexander Souter: Greek and Hebrew Words in Jerome's Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel. *Harvard Theological Review* 28: 1–4. – A list of the many words written with Greek letters found in manuscripts collated by the author.
1935. Friedrich Stummer: Hamesukan terumah (Jes 40,20) in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 53: 283–285. – Page 285, note 1: Stummer comments on Jerome's explanation of Matt 1:1 (PL 26[1866]: 21): why is David mentioned before Abraham? For stylistic reasons.
1941. Alexander Souter: Notes on Incidental Gospel Quotations in Jerome's Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel. *Journal of Theological Studies* 42: 12–18. – Of 104 quotations from the gospel of Matthew, only 33 harmonize with the Vulgate text, while the other 71 are definitely different. "From all this it is clear that Jerome had no particular respect for his own revision (...) even when he was writing a commentary on a Gospel" (p. 13).
1958. Harald Hagendahl: *Latin Fathers and the Classics*. Göteborg. 424 pp. – Page 212: Unlike Jerome's commentaries on the books of the prophets and the Pauline epistles, his commentary on Matthew "is completely devoid of quotations and other borrowings from classical [Latin] poetry."
1978. Berthold Altaner – Alfred Stuiber: *Patrologie*. 8th edition. Freiburg. xxiii, 672 pp. – On p. 400 it is noted that Jerome's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew is "superficial" (oberflächlich).
1983. Bengt Löfstedt: Notizen zu Hieronymus' Matthaeus-Kommentar. *Aevum* 57: 123–124.
1988. Hervé Savon: Jérôme et Ambroise, interprètes du premier Évangile. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 205–225.
2011. Megan H. Williams: Chromatius and Jerome on Matthew. In: Pier Franco Beatrice et al. (eds.): *Chromatius of Aquileia and His Age*. Turnhout (xi, 711 pp.), pp. 193–226.
2013. Peter Widdicombe: The Patristic Reception of the Gospel of Matthew. The Commentary of Jerome and the Sermons of John Chrysostom. In: Eve-Marie Becker – Anders Runesson (eds.): *Mark and Matthew II. Comparative Readings*. Tübingen (viii, 418 pp.), pp. 105–119.
2020. Yves-Marie Duval: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus. In: Jean-Denis Berger – Jacques Fontaine – Peter Lebrecht Schmidt (eds.): *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 n. Chr.)*. Zweiter Teil. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 8. Abteilung, Band 6.2. Munich (xlii, 1005 pp.), pp. 122–293 (§ 647). – On the Matthew commentary, see pp. 253–254 (with bibliography).
2021. Daniela Scardia: I cristiani come *genus regale et sacerdotale* nel Commento a Matteo di Gerolamo. *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 18: 605–644.

Mark

Jerome's homilies

Note. – In what follows, we do not consider the pseudo-Jeromian commentary on Mark included in Jerome's works in *Patrologia Latina* (PL 30: 589–644). Considered are exclusively the ten homilies discovered and subsequently edited by Germain Morin. They do not figure in any of the older collections of patristic texts.

1897. Germain Morin OSB (ed.): *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos, in Marci evangelium aliaque varia argumenta*. Anecdota Maredsolana III.2. Maredsous – Oxford (v, 423 pp.), pp. 317–370.
1958. Hieronymus: *Tractatus in Marci Evangelium*. Edited by Germain Morin OSB. CCSL 78: 451–500.
1965. S. Girolamo: *Commento al Vangelo di S. Marco*. Traduzione R. Minuto, prefazione R. Marsiglio. Rome. 104 pp.
1966. Jerome: Homilies on the Gospel of St. Mark on Various Topics. In: *The Homilies of St. Jerome*. Volume 2. Translated by Marie Liguori Ewald. The Fathers of the Church 57. Washington (x, 295 pp.), pp. 119–192. – These are Jerome's homilies 75 to 84.
1986. *Marc commenté par Jérôme et Jean Chrysostome*. Translated by Marie-Hélène Stébé. Paris. 170 pp.
1988. Jerónimo: *Comentario al Evangelio de San Marcos*. Translated by Joaquín Pascual Torró. Introducción y notas de F. Guerrero Martínez. Biblioteca de Patrística 5. Madrid. 104 pp. – Later editions: 1995. 132 pp.; 2015. 140 pp.
1990. Girolamo: Omelie sul vangelo di Marco. Translated by Silvano Cola. In: idem: *Omelie sui vangeli e su varie ricorrenze liturgiche*. Collana di testi patristici 88. Rome (244 pp.), pp. 33–117. – Translation of the ten homilies.
1999. San Jerónimo: Comentario a San Marcos. In: idem: *Obras homileticas*. Translated by Mónica Marcos Celestino. Madrid. xviii, 1035 pp. – This is volume 1 of the Spanish bilingual edition of Jerome's *Obras completas*.
2005. Jérôme: *Homélie sur Marc*. Translated by Jean-Louis Gourdain. Sources chrétiennes 494. Paris. 232 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and French. The Latin text is from Germain Morin's edition (CCSL 78).
2017. Paul Mattei : Jérôme. Le grand bibliste offre une synthèse équilibrée des tendances de l'exégèse latine. In : Laurence Mellerin (ed.): *Lectures de la Bible. I^{er} – XV^e siècle*. Paris (652 pp.), pp. 259–268. With Jerome's commentary on Mark 8 :22–26 in French translation (pp. 267–268).

Secondary literature

2020. Ana Rodríguez Láiz: [La recepción del Evangelio de Marcos desde Jerónimo hasta Erasmo](#). *Mirabilia Journal* 31 (2020) 322–336 (online journal). – Spanish with English abstract.

The epistles of St. Paul

Jerome's commentaries

Note. – Jerome did not write commentaries on the entire Pauline corpus, but only on four letters: Galatians, Ephesians, Titus and Philemon.

1845. Hieronymus. PL 26: 307–618. – Contents: *Commentaria in epistolam ad Galatas* (PL 26: 307–438), ad Ephesios (PL 26: 439–554), ad Titum (PL 26: 555–599), ad Philemonem (PL 26: 599–618).
2010. San Jerónimo: *Comentarios paulinos*. Translated by Manuel A. Marcos Casquero. Madrid. lxxv, 783 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and Spanish, volume 9 of Jerome's *Obras completas*.
2010. *St. Jerome's Commentaries on Galatians, Titus and Philemon*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Notre Dame, Ind. xi, 416 pp.

Secondary literature

1918. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: La révision de la Vulgate par saint Jérôme. *Revue biblique* 27: 254–257. – “Saint Jérôme, dans ses commentaires des épîtres paulines, s'est comporté s'il n'avait pas révisé la version latine antérieurement. M. [Eugène] Mangelot croit toujours à l'existence antécédente de cette révision; peut-être saint Jérôme n'en avait-il pas un exemplaire à Bethléem. En tout cas, il ne l'a pas commenté. De cette attitude je concluais qu'elle n'existait pas” (p. 254).
1919. Adolf von Harnack: *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes*. II. Leipzig. iv, 183 pp. – Pages 141–168: Origenistisches Gut von kirchengeschichtlicher Bedeutung in den Kommentaren zum Philemon-, Galater-, Epheser- und Titusbrief.
1923. John Chapman OSB: St. Jerome's Quotations from the Epistles in the Commentaries on St. Paul. *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (January 1923) 113–125.
1927. Alexander Souter: *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul*. Oxford (x, 244 pp.), pp. 96–138, esp. pp. 100–104.
1979. Pierre Nautin: La date des commentaires de Jérôme sur les épîtres paulinienne. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 74:5–12. – The were all written in one year, between spring and autumn 386.
1993. Caroline P. Bammel: Die Pauluskommentare des Hieronymus: die ersten wissenschaftlichen lateinischen Bibelkommentare? In: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (ed.): *Cristianesimo latino e cultura greca sino al sec. IV*. Rome (430 pp.), pp. 187–207.
2004. Jonathan Yates: Weaker Vessels and Hindered Prayers. *Augustiniana* 54: 243–259. – „The fact that all of Jerome's Pauline commentaries (there were four in total: Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians and Titus) were written at the urging of his female friends and supporters Paula, Eustochium, and Marcella most probably rendered his comments more 'philogynist'” (p. 245, n. 9).
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg (444 pp.), pp. 390–392. – Bibliography on the Pauline commentaries of Jerome – text editions, translations, and secondary literature.
2020. Thomas E. Hunt: *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity*. Leiden 2020. vii, 296 pp. – A book on the scholarly work of Jerome in the years 386 to 393, especially on his commentaries on the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philemon and Titus.

2021. Andrew Cain: Polemic, Patronage and Memories of Rome in the Prefaces to Jerome's Pauline Commentaries. In: Ingo Schaaf (ed.): *Hieronymus Romanus: Studies on Jerome and Rome on the Occasion of the 1600th Anniversary of His Death*. Turnhout (609 pp.), pp. 485–508.
2021. Andrew Cain: *Jerome's Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles and the Architecture of Exegetical Authority*. Oxford. xi, 290 pp. – Page 13: "Jerome dictated all four of his Pauline commentaries in quick succession between the (early?) summer and early autumn of 386. (...) The one on Philemon came first."

Galatians

Jerome's commentary

1845. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in epistolam ad Galatas libri tres*. PL 26: 307–438.
2006. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Galatas*. Edited by Giacomo Raspanti. CCSL 77A. Turnhout. clxxx, 315 pp. – The commentary is CCSL 77A: 5–227 (with notes on pp. 231–284). – Raspanti has also produced the 2010 annotated Italian translation of this commentary.
2010. Girolamo di Stridone: *Commento alla Epistola ai Galati*. Translated by Giacomo Raspanti. Corpus Christianorum in Translation 1. Turnhout. 396 pp.
2010. *St. Jerome's Commentaries on Galatians, Titus and Philemon*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Notre Dame, Ind. (xi, 416 pp.), pp. 47–275. – On p. 237 (CCSL 77A: 187), Scheck translates *aemulatio*, one of the vices mentioned in Gal 5:20, as jealousy, but meant is envy. Review: E.J. Hutchinson, *The Medieval Review* 2011, no. 11.10.06 (online journal).
2010. St. Jerome: *Commentary on Galatians*. Translated by Andrew Cain. The Fathers of the Church 121. Washington. xxv, 283 pp.

Secondary literature

1914. J.B. Lightfoot: *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*. London (xiv, 384 pp.), p. 232: "Though abounding in fanciful and perverse interpretations, violations of good taste and good feeling, faults of all kinds, this is nevertheless the most valuable of all the patristic commentaries on the Epistle to the Galatians: for the faults are more than redeemed by extensive learning, acute criticism, and lively and vigorous exposition."
1966. Gerardus Q.A. Meershoek: *Le latin biblique d'après saint Jérôme. Aspects linguistiques de la rencontre entre la Bible et le monde classique*. Nijmegen (xv, 256 pp.), pp. 86–88. – Meershoek comments on Jerome's explanation of the term *gloria* (in Jerome's commentary on Gal 5:26; PL 26: 423).
1970. Margaret A. Schatkin: The Influence of Origen upon Saint Jerome's Commentary on Galatians. *Vigiliae Christianae* 24: 49–58.
2002. Alfons Fürst: Der Disput [zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus] über Paulus' Konflikt mit Petrus (Gal 2,11–14). In: Augustinus – Hieronymus: *Epistulae mutuae – Briefwechsel*. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Alfons Fürst. Erster Teilband. Fontes christiani 41.1. Turnhout (259 pp.), pp. 27–51.
2004. Giacomo Raspanti: Agrediar opus intemptatum. L'Ad Galatas di Gerolamo e gli sviluppi del commentario biblico latino. *Adamantius* 10: 194–216. – Jerome is an innovative commentator; his

commentary project has a polemical side to it, because Jerome was confronted with the work of other commentators (Marius Victorinus and Ambrosiaster).

2007. Martin Meiser: *Galater*. Novum Testamentum Patristicum 9. Göttingen. 373 pp. – Page 39: “Hieronymus stellt in seinem im Sommer 386 verfassten und als Frühwerk einzustufenden, von Origenes beeinflussten umfangreichen Werk den Galaterbrief in den Gesamtkontext der paulinischen Briefe: Das Thema ist dasselbe wie im Römerbrief, nur der Fassungskraft der Galater (Gal 3,1) gemäß dargeboten und auf ihre Situation bezogen. Schon im Prolog nimmt der Gelehrte auf Gal 2,11–14 Bezug, benennt die Grundsätze seiner Auslegung und polemisiert gegen Porphyrius. Im weiteren Verlauf hält er gegen Marcion an der Identität des allegorisch auszulegenden alttestamentlichen Gesetzes fest, wie es auch in Gal 4,4 *ex muliere* und nicht *per mulierem* heißt. Der Kommentar zeugt von Belesenheit in der Bibel, aber auch in der pagan-antiken Literatur und ist wertvoll nicht nur für die damalige textkritische Situation.” The phrase *ex muliere* (Gal 4:4) is taken to refer to the virgin birth.
2009. Giacomo Raspanti: The Significance of Jerome’s Commentary on Galatians in His Exegetical Production. In: Andrew Cain – Josef Lössl (ed.): *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Abingdon (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 163–171.
2009. Andrew Cain: Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius in Jerome’s Commentary on Galatians. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 55: 23–51.
2010. Andrew Cain: An Unidentified Patristic Quotation in Jerome’s Commentary on Galatians (3,6,11). *Journal of Theological Studies* 61: 216–225. – On Gal 6:11.
2011. Andrew Cain: Jerome’s Pauline Commentaries between East and West. Tradition and Innovation in the Commentary on Galatians. In: Josef Lössl – John W. Watt (eds.): *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle in Late Antiquity*. Farnham (vi, 343 pp.), pp. 91–110.
2011. Ian Christopher Levy: *The Letter to the Galatians*. The Bible in Medieval Tradition. Grand Rapids, Mich. (xii, 277 pp.), pp. 25–29. “Saint Jerome wrote the largest of the Latin Galatians commentaries” (p. 25).
2014. Hugh A. Houghton: The Biblical Text of Jerome’s Commentary on Galatians. *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 65: 1–24. – Numerous Old Latin readings occur in both the editorial text and the critical apparatus of the recent edition of Giacomo Raspanti (2010).
2014. Michel Fédou: Jérôme lecteur de l’épître aux Galates: l’héritage d’Origène. In: Isabell Bochet – Michel Fédou (eds.): *Exégèse patristique de l’épître aux Galates*. Paris (277 pp.), pp. 133–154.
2020. Thomas E. Hunt: *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity*. Leiden. vii, 296 pp. – Pages 181–202: Paul and the Incarnation in Jerome’s Commentary on Galatians.
2022. Joseph Verheyden: Paul, Jerome and Galatians: Two Comments in the Margin of Martin Meiser’s *Galater*. In: Siegfried Kreuzer et al. (eds.): *Bibel und Patristik*. Paderborn (xiii, 460 pp.), pp. 309–334.

Ephesians

Jerome’s commentary

1845. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum ad epistolam ad Ephesos libri tres*. PL 26: 439–554.

- 1996/97. Francesco Pieri: *L'esegesi di Girolamo nel Commentario a Efesini*. Diss. Bologna. Unpublished.
– The annotated critical edition of the commentary text established by Pieri is translated by Ronald Heine (2002).
2002. Ronald E. Heine: *The Commentaries of Origen and Jerome on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*. Oxford. xi, 297 pp. – Heine also translates Origen's commentary and supplies an introduction. The commentary of Jerome depends on Origen. On pp. 10ff., the author deals with the dispute between Jerome and Rufinus.
2010. Girolamo: *Commento alla lettera agli Efesini – Commento alla lettera a Tito*. Translated by Dag Tessore. Rome. 352 pp.

Note. – Jerome defends several of the interpretations he suggested in this commentary in another one of his works: *Apologia adversus Rufinum* I, 21–29 (PL 23: 414–421); translation in Saint Jerome: *Dogmatic and Polemical Works*. Translated by John N. Hritz. The Fathers of the Church 58. Washington 1965 (xix, 403 pp.), pp. 86–97.

Secondary literature

1963. Kazimierz Romaniuk: Une controverse entre Jérôme et Rufin d'Aquilée à propos de l'épître de saint Paul aux Ephésiens. *Aegyptus* 43: 84–106.
1975. F. Derriau: Le commentaire de Jérôme sur Éphésiens nous permet-il de connaître celui d'Origène? In: Henri Crouzel et al. (eds.): *Origeniana: premier colloque international des études origéniennes*. Bari (374 pp.), pp. 163–179.
1987. Elizabeth A. Clark: The Place of Jerome's Commentary on Ephesians in the Origenist Controversy: the Apokatastasis and Ascetic Ideals. *Vigiliae Christianae* 41: 154–171.
1988. Jean-Marie Matthieu: Grégoire de Naziance et Jérôme: Commentaire de l'In Ephesios 3, 5,32. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 115–127. In his commentary on Eph 5:32, Jerome quotes Gregory of Nazianzus.
1991. S.M. Oberhelman: Jerome's Earliest Attack on Ambrose: On Ephesians, Prologue (ML 26: 469D–70A). *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 121: 377–401. – Jerome initiated and conducted for almost thirty years a malicious assault on Ambrose's character, as well as his literary and exegetical merits. (The abbreviation ML is not used in the present book; we use PL = Migne's Patrologia Latina.)
1998. Neil Adkin: The Prologue to Jerome's Commentary on Ephesians: Quia nostra non scribas. *Rheinisches Museum* 14: 95–96.
1999. Francesco Pieri: Mit und nach Origenes. Über einige christologische Themen im Epheserbriefkommentar des Hieronymus. In: Wolfgang A. Bienert – Uwe Kühneweg (ed.): *Origeniana Septima*. Leuven (xxv, 848, 7 pp.), pp. 623–631.
2000. Francesco Pieri – Ronald E. Heine: Recovering Origen's Commentary on Ephesians from Jerome. *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 51: 478–514.
2006. Johannes B. Bauer: Et numquam laeti sitis. Zur Interpretation von Ev. Hebr. (Hieronymus, In Eph. 5,4). *Vigiliae Christianae* 60: 342–345. – Jerome quotes a dominical word from the Gospel according to the Hebrews; the logion may echo Luke 14:12.

2020. Thomas E. Hunt: *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity*. Leiden. vii, 296 pp. – Pages 57–85: Recapitulation and Literary Ethics in the Commentary on Ephesians; pp. 86–105: Imitation in the Commentary on Ephesians; pp. 106–123: Reading and Being in the Commentary on Ephesians.

Titus

Jerome's commentary

1845. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in epistolam ad Titum liber unus*. PL 26: 555–600.
2003. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli apostoli ad Titum et Philemonem*. Edited by Federica Bucchi. CCSL 77C. Turnhout. cxviii, 126 pp. – CCSL 77C: 3–73: Ad Titum.
2010. *St. Jerome's Commentaries on Galatians, Titus and Philemon*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Notre Dame, Ind. (xi, 416 pp.), pp. 277–349.
2010. Girolamo: *Commento alla lettera agli Efesini – Commento alla lettera a Tito*. Translated by Dag Tessore. Rome. 352 pp.

Secondary literature

- 1976/77. Ilona Opelt: Hieronymus bei Dante. *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch* 51/52: 65–83. – In *Paradiso* XXIX, 22–45, Dante refers to Jerome by name as an authority on the assumption that the angels were created before the world. The implied reference is to Jerome's commentary on Titus (PL 26 [1845]: 559–560).
2001. Federica Bucchi: Sulla tradizione manoscritta del Commento alla Lettera a Tito di Girolamo. *Eikasmos* 12: 301–321.
2002. Federica Bucchi: Il Commento alla Lettera a Tito di Gerolamo. *Adamantius* 8: 57–82.
2004. Federica Bucchi: Edizione critica di commenti di Girolamo alle epistole paoline a Tito e a Filemone. *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 21: 379–385.
2004. Jonathan Yates: Weaker Vessels and Hindered Prayers. *Augustiniana* 54: 243–259. – Jerome's commentary on Titus is "a relatively superficial work composed in haste in 386" (p. 244).
2019. Tim Deneker: Getting the Accent Right: Jerome in Tit. 3:9 in Isidore eccl. Off. 2.11.4. *Vigiliae Christianae* 73: 138–148. – Isidore of Seville picks up the Jeromian commentary on Titus 3:9 in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (section: De lectoribus).

Philemon

Jerome's commentary

1845. Hieronymus: *Commentariorum in epistolam ad Philemonem liber unus*. PL 26: 599–618.
2003. Hieronymus: *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli apostoli ad Titum et Philemonem*. Edited by Federica Bucchi. CCSL 77C. Turnhout. cxviii, 126 pp.– CCSL 77C: 77–106: Ad Philemonem.
2010. *St. Jerome's Commentaries on Galatians, Titus and Philemon*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Notre Dame, Ind. (xi, 416 pp.), pp. 351–382.

Secondary literature

2000. Ronald E. Heine: In Search of Jerome's Commentary on Philemon. *Harvard Theological Review* 93: 117–133.
2004. Federica Bucchi: Edizione critica di commenti di Girolamo alle epistole paoline a Tito e a Filemone. *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 21: 379–385.
2010. Alfred Friedl: St. Jerome's Dissertation on the Letter to Philemon. In: D. Francis Tolmie (ed.): *Philemon in Perspective: Interpreting a Pauline Letter*. Berlin (xii, 394 pp.), pp. 289–316.

20.4 Jerome: Letter 53

394. Jerome: *Letter* 53. Jerome urges the priest Paulinus, the future bishop of Nola (southern Italy), to study the Bible and supplies a survey of the books of both testaments. In medieval Bible manuscripts, the letter was often used as Jerome's preface to the Latin Bible. The text is also included in the Gutenberg Bible (see Chapter 15.1); placed before the book of Genesis, it fills this edition's first pages.

Editions: Latin and bilingual

1910. Sancti Hieronymi Epistula LIII ad Paulinum. Edited by Isidor Hilberg. CSEL 54: 442–465. – This is the standard critical text edition.
1920. [Donatien De Bruyne OSB]: *Préfaces de la Bible Latine*. Namur (266 pp.), pp. 1–7. Now widely accessible as a reprint: *Prefaces to the Latin Bible*. Introductions by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert & Thomas O'Loughlin. Turnhout 2015. xv, 266 pp.
1926. Epistula LIII S. Hieronymi ad Paulinum Presbyterum. In: *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 1: *Librum Genesis ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi recensuit D. Henricus Quentin*. Rome (xlviii, 427 pp.), pp. 3–37.
1928. Epistula LIII S. Hieronymi ad Paulinum presbyterum. In: Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 222–232. – Latin text of the Quentin edition 1926, no translation.
1953. Jérôme: *Lettre* 53. In: Saint Jérôme: *Lettres. Tome III*. Edited and translated by Jérôme Labourt. Collection Budé. Paris (215 double pp., and pp. 219–264), pp. 8–25. Bilingual edition, Latin and French.
1958. Girolamo: *Le tre lettere del Santo Dottore a S. Paolino di Nola*. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e note a cura di Pietro Giuseppe Cirillo. Tivoli. 113 pp.
2017. Jerome: *Epistle* 53. In: Edmon L. Gallagher – John D. Meade (eds.): *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity*. Oxford 2017 (xii, 337 pp.), pp. 203–210. Bilingual edition, Latin and English, of sections 8 and 9, where Jerome discusses the biblical books of both testaments. The English text has explanatory notes.

Translations

1893. Jerome: To Paulinus [on the Study of Scripture]. In: *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second Series. Volume 6: St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works*. Translated by W. Fremantle. New York (xxxv, 524 pp.), pp. 96–102.

1937. Hieronymus: Brief 53: An den Priester Paulinus. In: *Des heiligen Kirchenvaters Eusebius Hieronymus ausgewählte Briefe*. Übersetzt von Ludwig Schade. II. Briefband. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (BKV). Munich (512 pp.), pp. 241–250.

Secondary literature

1970. Maurice E. Schild: *Abendländische Bibelvorreden bis zur Lutherbibel*. Heidelberg. 286 pp. – Pages 42–48: German summary of the letter.

2006. Aline Canellis: Une amitié par lettres et ses aléas: la correspondance entre Paulin de Nole et Jérôme. In: Patrick Laurence – François Guillaumont (eds.): *Epistulae Antiquae IV*. Louvain (421 pp.), pp. 215–232.

2007. Catherine M. Chin: Through the Looking Glass Darkly: Jerome Inside the Book. In: William E. Klingshirn – Linda Safran (eds.): *The Early Christian Book*. Washington (xi, 314 pp.), pp. 101–116.

2014. E.J. Hutchinson: And Zeus Shall Have no Dominion; or, How, When, Where, and Why to “Plunder the Egyptians”: The Case of Jerome. In: Peter Escalante et al. (eds.): *For the Life of the Nations. Essays on Creation, Redemption, and Neo-Calvinism*. Landrum, SC (xvi, 281 pp.), pp. 49–80, at pp. 63–70.

2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris (530 pp.), pp. 205–209.

2020. Thomas Tsartsidis: Jerome, Ep. 53.7 and the Centonist Proba. *Classical Quarterly* 70.1: 453–458.

Chapter 21

Textual notes on the Old Testament

Note. – Students of the Vulgate Bible would love to have a textual commentary that explains linguistic (including lexical) peculiarities, rare words, differences between the standard editions of the Vulgate (the Clementina and the Stuttgart Vulgate), and elucidates certain obscure matters relevant for understanding a passage properly. Such a commentary, alas, has never been compiled. The notes here offered cannot fill this gap, but they will no doubt be helpful for student and scholar alike. – The biblical books are arranged in the sequence they have in the Weber/Gryson or “Stuttgart” edition of the Vulgate.

Genesis

Text

1926. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 1: *Librum Genesis ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi recensuit D. Henricus Quentin*. Rome. xlviii, 427 pp. – This is volume 1 of the text-critical Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3, and the reviews listed there.

Secondary literature

1898. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: Saint Jérôme et la tradition juive dans la Genèse. *Revue biblique* 7: 563–566.

1927. F.C. Burkitt: Notes on Genesis in the Latin Vulgate. *Revue bénédictine* 39: 251–260.

1927. Friedrich Stummer: Die neue römische Ausgabe der Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150. – “Tatsächlich erweist sich der Vulgatatext der Genesis als im großen sehr konstant überliefert. (...) Es wiederholt sich die Erscheinung, die uns schon aus den bisher erschienenen Faszikeln des Neuen Testaments von Wordsworth und White bekannt ist: die editio Clementina entbehrt an einer nicht unbeträchtlichen Anzahl von Stellen der handschriftlichen Fundamentierung” (p. 144).

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290), p. 116: “Bei der Genesis hat man geradezu den Eindruck, Hieronymus habe ein Buch in gut lesbarem Latein schaffen wollen.”

1942. D.F. Reuschenbach: *Hieronymus als Übersetzer der Genesis*. Diss. theol. Fribourg.

1948. Felix Reuschenbach: *Hieronymus als Übersetzer der Genesis*. Fribourg. 122 pp. – Part of a thesis defended in 1942.

1969. 1974. Emanuele Testa: *Genesi*. Torino. xix, 455 pp.; xviii, 667 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes. The first volume is on Gen 1–11.

1982. Jane Barr: The Vulgate Genesis and St. Jerome's Attitude to Women. In: Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.): *Studia Patristica* 17.1. Oxford (xx, 460 pp.), pp. 268–273. – This article is sometimes wrongly attributed to Jane Barr's husband, the biblical scholar James Barr.
1986. Umberto Neri: *Genesi. Versione ufficiale italiana confrontata con ebraico masoretico, Greco dei Settante, sirico della Peshitta, latino della Vulgata*. Torino. cxlvi, 662 pp. – This publication prints an Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and indicates whether ancient versions, including the Vulgate, differ. In the introduction, the author offers a brief portrait of Jerome's version of Genesis (pp. lxxii–lxxvi).
2009. Rafael Jimenez Zamudio: Técnicas de traducción en las antiguas versiones de la Biblia. *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 29: 75–115. – The author treats the translation of Hebrew Bible texts into Latin (Vetus Latina, Vulgata); special attention is given to the rendering of suffixes, the *status constructus*, the relative clause, the word *waw* (and), and the Semitisms in the Vulgate. The construction "in + accusative" is also addressed. Many of the 81 Old Testament texts analyzed are taken from Genesis.
2012. David L. Everson: The Vetus Latina and the Vulgate of the Book of Genesis. In: Craig A. Evans – Joel N. Lohr – David L. Petersen (eds.): *The Book of Genesis*. Leiden (xxiii, 763 pp.), pp. 519–536.
2017. Matthew Kraus: Vulgate [text of the Pentateuch]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 189–195. – The Hebrew text underlying Jerome's translation of the Pentateuch is close to the Masoretic text. ▲
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 29–69. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation) of Gen 1:1–2:25; 3:1–24; 4:1–15; 5:31–9:19; 11:1–9; 12:1–8; 18; 22:1–18, with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.

Textual notes

- Gen 1:1–4:15a.** For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 29–43.
- Gen 1:1–8.** Cécile Biasi: "Commencer" et "créer" (Genèse 1,1–8). L'approche d'historien et d'hébraïsant de saint Jérôme à la lumière de la Préface au Pentateuque. In: Béatrice Bakhouché (ed.): *Science et exégèse. Les interprétations antiques et médiévales du récit biblique de la création des éléments (Genèse 1,1–8)*. Turnhout 2016 (384 pp.), pp. 189–224.
- Gen 1:2.** *spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas* – the spirit of God moved over the waters (Douay Version). "The Hebrew has *merefeth*, which we can render as 'was brooding over' or 'was keeping warm,' in the likeness of a bird giving life to its eggs with warmth," explains Jerome in his *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (PL 23: 939). Matthew A. Kraus: *The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis. Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 99–119, at pp. 110–111 (online journal).
- Gen 1:5.** *factumque est vespere et mane dies unus* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – and it happened / in the evening and in the morning / day one; und es geschah / am Abend und am Morgen / Tag eins. This sounds grandiose, but it is a series of unrelated phrases. It does not make sense. In his very literal French translation, Glaire (see Chapter **18.3**) has: "et d'un soir et d'un matin se fit un jour unique." Castellio (see above, Chapter **15.6**) transforms the sentence: *ita extitit ex vespere & mane dies primus* – the first day came to exist of evening and morning; apparently understanding *mane* as an archaic noun without declension.

Gen 2:1. *perfecti sunt caeli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum* – so the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the furniture therein (Douay Version; similarly Knox), also wurden Firmament und Erde verfertigt und all ihr Schmuckwerk (Oborski), also wurden die Himmel und die Erde und ihr ganzer Schmuck vollendet (Tusculum-Vulgata). What is the precise meaning of *ornatus*? Jerome may have thought of the expressions *ornatus mundi* and *ornatus caeli*, both used in Cicero (*De natura deorum* II, 17; II, 94) who may have tried to find Latin expressions for Greek κόσμος. “Cicéron aime se servir d’ornatus pour décrire le bel ordre du monde (*ornatus mundi*) ou la beauté du ciel (*ornatus caeli*)” (Moussy, p. 101). The idea is that the world has a beautiful order. See Cicero: *Topica* XX, 77: *ipse mundus eiusque omnis ordo et ornatus* – the world itself, and its whole order and ornaments (translated by C.D. Yonge; one may translate: order and beauty). – Literature:

1996. Claude Moussy: *Ornamentum et ornatus: de Plaute à la Vulgate*. *Revue des études latines* 74 (1996) 92–107, at pp. 101 and 107.

2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), p. 34. ▲

Gen 2:7. *spiraculum vitae* – breath of life (Douay Version). Jerome translates very carefully. As early as c. 200, Tertullian insisted that the reference here is not to God’s *spiritus* but to his *afflatus*, see Tertullian: *Against Marcion* II, 9,1–2 (Sources chrétiennes 368: 62–64).

Gen 2:8. *plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradisum voluptatis a principio* – the Lord God had planted a paradise of pleasure in the beginning. **(1)** Jerome does not place the garden “in the east” (which is the Septuagint’s correct rendering), but he has it created “in the beginning.” Jerome follows the rabbinical notion that the paradise was created before the creation of heaven and earth, as mentioned by Jerome: *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (PL 23: 940). – **(2)** Here and in some subsequent verses (Gen 2:9.10.15.16; 3:1, etc.) Jerome uses the word *paradisus*. Although the word *paradise* does exist in the Hebrew vocabulary (as *pardes*, see Cant 4:3, Koh 2:5), it is absent from what is today known as the “paradise story.” It was introduced into this story before Jerome in the Septuagint (Gen 2:8.9.10.15.16; 3:1, etc.) which uses it to render Hebrew *gan* (garden). The *Vetus Latina* follows in the steps of the Septuagint. – **(3)** paradise of pleasure: Jerome follows Symmachus’ understanding of *eden* as description of paradise, not its location.

Gen 2:18. *faciamus ei adiutorem similem sui* (Benedictine Vulgate 1926; see above, Chapter 13.3) – let us make him a helper, his equal. Stummer conjectures *adiutorium simile sui* – a help, his equal, taking *adiutorium* as a word for “Hilfskraft, Gehilfe” (help), repeated in Sir 36:26 and Tob 8:8. The Clementina reads: *faciamus ei adiutorium simile sibi*; Weber/Gryson: *faciamus ei adiutorium similem sui*. – Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1 (1937) 23–50, at pp. 23–26.

Gen 3:1. *sed et serpens erat* (...) – literally, this would be “but and the serpent was,” reflecting Jerome’s double translation of the Hebrew *we* (and). Some translations seek to echo Jerome: aber auch die Schlange war (Tusculum-Vulgata); aber nun war die Schlange (Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch*. Stuttgart 2022 [343 pp.], p. 37). The NVg has *et serpens* (omitting the *sed*). In classical Latin, one would say *serpens autem erat*.

Gen 3:5. *eritis sicut dii, / scientes bonum et malum*. – Rhythmic hexameter verse, reproducible in English and German: You shall be as Gods, / knowing good and evil (Douay Version, King James Version); You will be like gods, / knowing both good and evil (New English Bible); wissend um Gut und Böse, / werdet Ihr werdet sein wie Götter (cf. the German translation of Paul Rießler: Und ihr seid wie Gott, / erkennend Gutes und Böses). For another Hexameter verse, see John 8:12. See Chapters 8.7 (hexameter); 24:5 (German literature, 1806).

Gen 3:15. *ipsa conteret caput tuum* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – she (*mulier*) will crush your head. This translation gives the woman enormous power over the serpent. The context would require *ipsum*, referring back to *semen* (neutr.): *ipsum conteret caput tuum* – it (the *semen* – seed, offspring) will crush your head, or perhaps: *they* will crush. Some manuscripts have *ipse*, the masculine form, which à la rigueur could also refer to *semen*. – Literature:

1769. Claudius Fransen: *Disquisitiones biblicae*. Editio Altera. Tomus primus. Luca (xii, 648 pp.), pp. 231–233.

1927. Die neue römische Ausgabe der Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150, at p. 147: *ipsa* is the reading of both the Clementina and the Benedictine edition (and the Weber/Gryson one); Stummer would opt for *ipse* as the original Jeromian word.

1929. Paul Maria Baumgarten: Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel. *Theologische Revue* 28.10: 417–424, at col. 424. *ipsa* or *ipse*? Baumgarten tells this anecdote: “Vor langer Zeit erzählte mir Kardinal Gasquet, daß er einst bei Pius X. auf die Sache zu sprechen kam. Als der Papst hörte, daß man in Zukunft wohl *ipse* werde lesen müssen, wurde er zunächst sehr betroffen, sagte aber dann, wenn man eine Lesart mit Sicherheit als die richtige erweisen könne, müsse man sich damit abfinden, da dogmatische Schwierigkeiten nicht vorlägen.” (Pius X died 1914, so he did not live to see the Genesis volume of the new Benedictine edition which, in fact, reads *ipsa*.)

1948. Jan Olaf Smit: *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*. Roermond (xvi, 296 pp.), pp. 133–145; p. 273 reproduces the page of the Benedictine edition – with *ipsa* in the main text, and *ipse* in the apparatus.

1952. Alberto Vaccari SJ: Occhio al commento! A proposito di ‘ipse’ o ‘ipsa’ in Gen 3,15. In: Virgil Fiala – Bonifatius Fischer (eds.): *Colligere Fragmenta. Eine Festschrift für Alban Dold*. Beuron (xx, 295 pp.), pp. 34–39 – Vaccari supports the reading *ipsa*.

2007. Alison Salvesen: Messianism in Ancient Bible Translations in Greek and Latin. In: Markus Bockmuehl – J.N. Carlton Paget (eds.): *Redemption and Resistance. The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity*. London (xxvii, 381 pp.), pp. 245–261, at pp. 256–257.

Gen 3:20. *vocavit Adam nomen uxoris suae Hava/Heva* – the name of Eve has the form *Hava* in the Weber/Gryson edition of the Vulgate, whereas the Sixto-Clementine edition has the spelling *Heva*. Interestingly, the Nova Vulgata (see above, Chapter 17) changes her name to *Eva*.

Gen 4:1–16. Lizette Harritsø: Kainfortaellingen i antikke oversættelser og fortolkninger. *Dansk teologisk tidsskrift* 75.3 (2012) 187–202.

Gen 4:8. *egrediamur foras* (Vg, NVg) – let us go forth abroad (Douay Version). This sentence is not in the Hebrew text, but in the Greek translation. – Matthew A. Kraus: *The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis. Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 99–119, at p. 111 (online journal).

Gen 5. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 133–137 and 155–157.

Gen 6:4. *gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis* – but giants were on earth in those days. – Literature:

2016. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: Giganten und Sirenen in der Vulgata. Griechischer Mythos in der lateinischen Bibel des Hieronymus. *Museum Helveticum* 73: 78–96.

2018. Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: [Übersetzungsvarianten der Schlüsselbegriffe in Gen 6,4](#): Wie fügen sich die *gigantes* aus Genesis 6,1–4 in den Kontext der hebräischen Bibel? *Vulgata in dialogue* 2: 15–30 (online journal).

Gen 6:5. *videns autem Deus quod multa malitia hominum esset in terra, et cuncta cogitatio cordis intenta esset ad malum omni tempore* – moreover, God seeing that the badness of human beings was great on earth, and all the thought of their heart was bent toward evil all the time. The Latin vocabulary seems to echo that of Cicero: *cogitatio* is the reasoning power or faculty of thought, and *intentus* (the words *intenta esset ad* are without basis in the Hebrew) describes the direction of human thought toward specific objects. C.T.R. Hayward: Jerome and the 'Inclination' (*yetser*): The Evidence of the Vulgate. In: James Aitken et al. (eds.): *The Evil Inclination in Early Judaism and Christianity*. Cambridge 2021 (ix, 371 pp.), pp. 232–246. ▲

Gen 7:13. *articulus* = point of time. – Plater/White, p. 54.

Gen 8:1. *recordatus est autem* (...) (Benedictine Vulgate). Stummer argues that the insertion of *est* (which is not in the Clementina), spoils the grammar of the sentence. In fact, the Weber/Gryson edition omits the *est* and thereby returns to the wording of the Clementina. – Friedrich Stummer: Die neue römische Ausgabe der Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150, at p. 147.

Gen 8:7. Noah sent a raven out of his ark – *qui egrediebatur, et [non] revertebatur* = which went forth and did [not] return. The word *non* is in the Clementina, but omitted in the Weber/Gryson edition and the Nova Vulgata. Even medieval text critics realized that *non* does not belong here. – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 151–152, 203, 217.

Gen 8:21. (1) *et ait ad eum* (Weber/Gryson) – and said to himself. The Hebrew has "and said to his (own) heart" (NVg: *locutus est Dominus ad cor suum*), a Hebrew idiomatic way of saying "he thought by himself." The Clementina omits the awkward-sounding, non-classical *ad eum* (Stummer). — (2) *odor suavitatis* (Gen 8:21) – *odour of sweetness*, often quoted as an example of Hebraism, has a close equivalent in classical Latin; see *arbores odore mirae suavitatis* – trees of wonderful sweetness (Pliny: *Historia naturalis* VI, 198); cf. Fredouille. – Literature:

1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10: 3–20, at p. 6.

1996. Jean-Claude Fredouille: "Latin chrétien" ou "latin tardif"? *Recherches augustinienes* 29: 5–23, at p. 14.

Gen 9:23. *operuerunt verenda patris sui* (Clementina) – covered the nakedness of their father (Douay Version). Literally: covered the venerable things. The Benedictine and Weber/Gryson editions have *verecunda*, a word with the same meaning; its originality is defended by Stummer. – Friedrich Stummer: Die neue römische Ausgabe der Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150, at p. 145.

Gen 15:2. *ego vadam absque liberis* – I will remain childless; I must go the way of childless men (Knox). The meaning "to be, to stay" for *vadere* echoes Hebrew usage. Here are some problematic translations that suggest an emphasis on dying in childlessness: I shall go without children (Douay Version), ich gehe kinderlos dahin (Arndt), moi, je m'en irai sans enfants (Glaire).

Gen 16:14. *propterea appellavit puteum illum* – therefore, this source is called (...); deswegen nennt man diesen Quell. Not: therefore she (Hagar) called this source (...). (1) According to Kaulen (p. 224), *appellavit* is a Hebraism for *appellatur*. The third person is used where the English uses the

passive voice, and the German uses “man”; for a similar case, see the textual note on Exod 15:23. Kaulen adds that many translations based on the Vulgate (Douay Version, Allioli, Tusculum-Vulgata) had themselves tricked into believing that it was Hagar who did the naming (“sich von dem scheinbar naheliegenden Zusammenhang täuschen lassen und Agar [Hagar] als Subjekt betrachtet”). According to Kaulen, the etiology of the name is associated with the Hagar episode, but Hagar is not the name-giving agent. – **(2)** Reception of the Kaulen argument. Augustin Arndt follows Kaulen’s rendering: “Darum nannte man jenen Brunnen den Brunnen des Lebendigen und des mich Sehenden.” The grammar section of Dalpane’s dictionary also accepts Kaulen’s view: Francesco Dalpane: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata*. Florence 1911 (xlii, 251 pp.), p. xv. – **(3)** Kaulen’s view is rejected by Ussani; Hagar must be considered the name-giving agent; see Vincenzo Ussani: Un preteso uso della Vulgata. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 39 (1911) 550–557.

Gen 17:6. *ponam te in gentibus* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – I will make nations of thee (Douay Version); ich will dich zu Völkern machen (Allioli), but Blaise suggests: “je te placerais à la tête des nations”; Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, p. 633 (s.v. ponere). The Tusculum-Vulgata has: “ich werde dich unter die Völker setzen.”

Gen 18:6. *fac subcinericios panes* – make ash bread (B. Lang); mache in der Asche gebackene Brote (Tusculum-Vulgata); fais des pains cuits sous la cendre (Glaire). Translations not recommended include: make cakes upon the hearth (Douay Version); make girdle-cakes (i.e., cakes baked on a heated flat metal plate; Knox). The adjective *subcinericius* is also used Exod 12:39; Hos 7:8 etc. – a common word in Jerome’s vocabulary. The Lewis/Short dictionary (**8.3**) says “baked under the ashes” – the most ancient way of baking: the dough is buried in the hot leftover ashes of a fire. Known to anthropologists as “ash bread”; for a detailed description of primitive “baking without baking tools,” see Gustaf Dalman: *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*. Band IV. Gütersloh 1938 (xiv, 452 pp, plates), pp. 29–38. In today’s Spanish, “pan subcinericio” refers to pita bread (German: Fladenbot).

Gen 20:16. *mementoque te* [i.e., Saram] *deprehensam* – and remember that you (Sarah) have been convicted (of lying), und gedenke, dass du (Sara, der Lüge) überführt worden bist. – This is a clarifying addition; *deprehendere* means here: to convict of the lie, as in classical Latin *prendere,prehendere*. Jerome alludes to the fact that Sarah had been passed off as Abraham’s sister (Gen 20:2). So we are dealing with the debate about the so-called sins of the patriarchs of Israel. Loosely translated: And do not forget that you are to blame for this yourself.

Gen 21:1–2. Jerome simplifies and suppresses the traces of the combination of various source documents. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at pp. 137–150.

Gen 22:1–19. Literature:

2022. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen (256 pp.), pp. 137–150 and 157–163.

2023. Benedikt Collinet: Die Bindung Isaaks (Gen 22,1–19). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 145–147.

Gen 24:32. *paleas et faenum et aquam ad lavandos pedes* [respective] *camelorum et virorum* – hay and straw and water to wash the feet – for the camels and for the men, respectively; Heu und Stroh und Wasser zum Waschen der Füße – für die Kamele beziehungsweise für die Männer. This translation is proposed as corresponding to Jerome’s style by Alberto Vaccari, who argues for the authenticity of the formulation. Thus, the Latin text is not to be corrected. – Vaccari’s two

papers were prompted by the Benedictine's critical edition of Genesis, published in 1926; this edition had a conjectural text (p. 241): *ad lavandos pedes eius et virorum* (= NVg; a reading also adopted by the New English Bible). The Weber/Gryson edition departs from the Benedictine text by returning to the traditional reading: *ad lavandos pedes camelorum et virorum*. – Literature:

1926. Alberto Vaccari SJ: *Ad lavandos pedes camelorum* (Gen 24,32 Vulg.)? *Biblica* 7: 439–443.

1927. Alberto Vaccari SJ: "Viri qui venerant cum eo" (Gen. 24,32 Vulg.). *Biblica* 8 (1927) 94–95.

1927. Friedrich Stummer: Die neue römische Ausgabe der Vulgata zur Genesis. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* NF 4 [45.1]: 141–150, at p. 149. Stummer, like Vaccari, defends the traditional wording.

Gen 27:4.19.25. *anima mea – anima tua – anima mea*: in each case, *anima* does not have to be translated; as often in the Vulgate, these expressions refer to "me" and "you." Accordingly, not "my soul may bless thee" (Douay Version), but simply "I may bless you." – Olegario García de la Fuente: *Anima en la Biblia Latina. Helmántica* 29 (1978) 5–24, at pp. 11–13.

Gen 27:12. *et inducam super me maledictionem* (Clementina) – I shall bring upon me a curse (Douay Version); ich würde über mich einen Fluch bringen. The form *inducam* is "ein übel angebrachter Vorschlag der Sixtinische Kommission; aber unglücklicherweise hat Sixtus V. gerade diesen sich zu eigen gemacht, und aus seiner Bibel ist er dann auch in die Klementina übergegangen." All manuscripts have *inducat* – he brings upon me a curse, er bringt einen Fluch über mich. – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 216.

Gen 27:28. *abundantiam frumenti et vini* – abundance of corn and wine. Some manuscripts add *et olei* – and oil, echoing Psalm 4:8. For the manuscript evidence, see the apparatus in Weber/Gryson.

Gen 31:31–32. *quid inscio te pofectus sum – quod autem furti me arguis* = I have left without your knowledge – that you accuse me of theft; ich bin gezogen ohne dein Wissen – dass du mich des Diebstahls beschuldigst. Jerome's explanatory additions. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 107.

Gen 33:1–2. In *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (PL 23: 989), Jerome explains that Jacob divided his children in two (rather than three) groups. – Matthew A. Kraus: *The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis. Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 99–119, at p. 112 (online journal).

Gen 34:5–7. Condamin refers to this passage as an example to demonstrate the elegance of Jerome's translation: "Il va sans dire que, dans son gout pour l'élégance de la forme, Jérôme rompt le plus possible la monotonie de la phrase hébraïque par l'emploi des participes passés ou des conjonctions avec le subjonctif." – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 105, note 2.

Gen 34:27. *caeteri filii Iacob* – the other sons of Jacob (or: the rest of the sons of Jacob). The word *caeteri* does not have an equivalent in the Hebrew. Jerome adds the word for clarity, as does the New English Bible.

Gen 37–50. Valerio Barbieri: La linguistica testuale applicata alla Vulgata: le parti narrative di Gn 37–50. *Liber Annuus* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum) 63 (2013) 9–44. – This is a study of Jerome's way of rendering the Hebrew tenses. Jerome sought to produce an elegant Latin text that avoids the simple paratactic structure characteristic of biblical Hebrew prose.

Gen 38:12. *opilo* – shepherd, Schafhirt. A rare word, but Plautus uses it: *opilo qui pascit alienas oves* (*Asinaria* III, 1,36). – Kaulen, p. 43.

- Gen 39:3–6.** Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Vertumnus 14. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 151–153 and 163–164.
- Gen 39:10–19.** A free translation or rather paraphrase in which Jerome introduces the word *stuprum* – adultery (v. 10) that has no basis in the Hebrew text. The Nova Vulgata keeps Jerome’s *ille recusabat stuprum* – he refused the (act of) adultery. Also note Jerome’s use of *ille* as a personal pronoun meaning “he.” – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at pp. 107–108.
- Gen 39:19.** *nimum credulus verbis coniugis* – giving too much credit to his wife’s words (Douay Version). This is not in the Hebrew, but represents an explicative addition by Jerome. The Nova Vulgata omits the words.
- Gen 40:21–23.** Jerome supplies a free translation. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 108.
- Gen 42:36. (a)** *absque liberis me esse fecistis, Ioseph non est super, Simeon est in vinculis* – you have made me without children: Joseph is no more (Glaire: Joseph n’est plus), Simeon is in bonds. Jerome does not render the Hebrew text literally; according to the Hebrew and Greek texts, Simeon is also said to be no more. Jerome seeks to be more precise. The Nova Vulgata keeps close to Jerome’s version (*Simeon tenetur in vinculis*). The problem with Jerome’s rendering is that it weakens Jacob’s lament. Luther did not like Jerome’s version here, and sounded a note of regret (Luther, *Weimarer Ausgabe*, vol. 44, p.513). Cf. Umberto Neri: *Genesi*. Torino (cxlvi, 662 pp.), p. lxxvi. – **(b)** *Ioseph non est super* – Joseph is no more. This is not very good Latin; it should be *non superest*; *superesse* = to survive (see Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *supersum*), like *supervivere* (Exod 21:21). Alternatively, one could think of a shortened form of *non est superstes*.
- Gen 49:10.** *donec veniat qui mittendus est et ipse erit expectatio gentium* – until the one comes who is sent, he that the nations are expecting; bis der kommt, der gesandt werden soll, er, auf den die Völker warten. – One of the most profiled messianic prophecies of the Vulgate. The Hebrew text is difficult. In the Targum Onkelos we find the following rendering: “(...) until the Messiah comes, to whom belongs the kingdom, and him shall nations obey”; Bernard Grossfeld: *The Targum Onkelos to Genesis*. The Aramaic Bible 6. Edinburgh 1988 (xiv, 193 pp.), p. 158. Jerome seems to be indebted to the Jewish interpretation.
- Gen 49:22–26.** Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 153–154 and 164–166.

Exodus

Text

1929. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 2: *Libros Exodi et Levitici ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome (485 pp.), pp. 73–293. – This is volume 2 of the Benedictine Vulgate, edited by the monks of the Abbazia San Girolamo, Rome; see above, Chapter 13.3.

Secondary literature

1996. Matthew Aaron Kraus: *Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus Iuxta Hebraeos in Relation to Classical, Christian, and Jewish Traditions of Interpretation*. PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
2014. David L. Everson: The Vetus Latina and the Vulgate of the Book of Exodus. In: Thomas B. Dozeman – Craig A. Evans – Joel N. Lohr (eds.): *The Book of Exodus. Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*. Leiden (xx, 669 pp.), pp. 370–386.
2017. Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus: Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden. xiii, 266 pp. – Page 61: "Despite his assertion in Ep. 57 that biblical translation requires the literal (*verbum ad verbum*) method, Vg Exodus itself is a free translation." Pages 223–244: bibliography; pp. 263–266: index of words. – Reviews:
2018. Pieter W. van der Horst, *Vigiliae Christianae* 72: 107–110.
2019. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfänder, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 143: 600–602. ▲
2017. Matthew Kraus: Vulgate [text of the Pentateuch]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 189–195.

Textual notes

- Exod 4:22–26.** This is a notoriously difficult passage. Kraus offers the following commentary: "Does Moses say to Pharaoh or does God say to Moses 'Lo, I will kill your firstborn son' (4:23)? Does God meet Moses or his firstborn son, and does God intend to kill Moses or his firstborn son? And why does Zipporah circumcise the son? Jerome both maintains and resolves these ambiguities. By beginning verse 24 with the clause connector *cumque*, he joins verse 24 to 23. This connection makes sense only if he understood 'Lo, I will kill your firstborn son' (*ecce ego interficiam filium tuum*) as addressed to Moses. The referent of the third person singular in verse 24 – *Dominus* (...) *volebat occidere eum* 'the Lord (...) sought to kill him' – remains ambiguous because it may refer to Moses or Moses's son. The Latin, however, clarifies why Zipporah knew to circumcise her son: *idcirco* 'for this reason,' because God was intending to kill him [Moses or the child]." – Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus*. Leiden 2017 (xiii, 266 pp.), p. 192.
- Exod 5:3.** Lorenzo Malusà: L'interpretazione gerominiana di "h̄rb" in tre passi biblici. *Bibbia e oriente* 19 (1977) 259–261. – This article comments on Exod 5:3; Lev 26:7; Deut 28:22
- Exod 6:3.** *et nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – and my name ADONAI I did not shew them (Douay Version). Strangely departing from Jerome's reference to the Jewish name of God, the Nova Vulgata has *Dominum* rather than Adonai.
- Exod 11:2–3.** Ancient versions of this passage and Exod 12:35–36 are studied by Domenico Lo Sardo: '[...] et adcommodauerunt illis': The Despoiling of the Egyptians in Exod 11:3b and the Role of the Vetus Latina. *Biblische Notizen* NF 196 (2023) 25–49.
- Exod 12:16.** F. Luciani: Ex. 12,16b secondo la Vetus Latina e la Volgata. *Rivista biblica* 33 (1985) 461–464.
- Exod 12:36.** *ut commodarent eis* – so that they lent them. *commodare* = to lend; *commodarent* is subjunctive imperfect.

- Exod 15:14.** *ascenderunt populi, et irati sunt* (Clementina) – nations rose up, and were angry (Douay Version). The Weber/Gryson edition has *adtenderunt populi* (...) – nations paid attention – a conjecture based on the Hebrew text; the Nova Vulgata follows the conjecture with *attenderunt*.
- Exod 15:19.** *ingressus est enim eques Pharao cum curribus et equitibus in mare* – literally: the horseman of Pharaoh with chariots and horsemen entered the sea. Instead of *eques* (horseman) one would expect *equi* (horses). Explanations: **(1)** The standard explanation is that in this passage, *eques* means “horse” (see glossary, s.v. *eques*, Chapter **19.2**) and is used with collective meaning – the horses. **(2)** Another suggestion is to emend *eques* to *equus*, with collective meaning “the horses” (Hagen, pp. 6–7). **(3)** Yet another suggestion is that of Blaise (*Dictionnaire*, p. 312); he considers *eques* an adjective meaning “on horseback,” and translates: *il entra à cheval dans la mer*.
- Exod 15:20.** *Maria prophetissa* (Clementina) – Mary the prophetess. The Weber/Gryson edition has *Maria prophetis*, using a rare form for saying “female prophet.” See above, the glossary under *prophetissa* / *prophetis* (Chapter **19.2**).
- Exod 15:23.** *Et venerunt in Mara, nec poterant bibere aquas de Mara, eo quod essent amare: unde et [congruum loco] nomen imposuit, [vocans illum] Mara, [id est, amaritudinem]* – and they came to Mara, but could not drink the water of Mara, because it was bitter: therefore one gave [the place an appropriate] name, [calling it] Mara, [that is, bitterness]. Jerome expands the explanation by adding what is placed between brackets. Note that *imposuit* is to be translated impersonally “one imposed (the name),” in German: *man gab den Namen*. For a similar case of impersonal name-giving, see the textual note on Gen 16:14.
- Exod 16:15.** *dixerunt ad invicem: manhu? [quod significat: quid est hoc?]* – they said to each other: *manhu?* [which means: what is this?]. The words placed within brackets are Jerome’s explanatory gloss, without equivalent in the Hebrew text; the addition reads like an ancient grammarian’s comment. – Matthew Kraus: [How Jerome Dealt with Glosses](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue* 5 (2021) 1–3, at p. 2 (online journal).
- Exod 16:32.** *in futuras retro generationes* – in future generations. The adverb *retro* here refers to the future, not to the past (as in classical Latin); it underlines the adjective *futurus*; a possible translation is “all future generations.” Jerome uses it elsewhere in this sense, see Jerome: *Life of Hilari- on* XI [20] (PL 23: 39). – Neil Adkin: Jerome, ‘Vita Hilaronis’ 11,13. *La parola del passato* 54, no. 306 (1999) 192–197.
- Exod 18:20.** *caerimonias et ritus* – the ceremonies and the manner of worshipping (Douay Version). **(1)** Here Jerome departs from both the Greek and the Hebrew text, producing a reading “which is quite questionable because in both texts [Hebrew and Greek] not a word is said about a rite”; Igor Filippov: *Bible and Roman Law. The Notions of Law, Custom and Justice in the Vulgate*. In: Angelo Di Berardino et al., *Lex et religio*. *Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum* 135. Rome 2013 (782 pp.), pp. 105–141, at p. 123. – **(2)** The expression *caerimonias et ritus* is a typical enumerative Latin way of saying what in modern jargon is simply called religious ritual or, in German, *Kult*; see Bernhard Lang: *Wie sagt man “Kult” auf lateinisch und griechisch? Versuch einer Antwort anhand antiker und christlicher Texte*. In: Christoph Auffarth et al. (eds.): *Ἐπιτομή τῆς οἰκουμένης. Studien zur römischen Religion in Antike und Neuzeit*. Stuttgart 2002 (284 pp.), pp. 29–36.
- Exod 19:2.** *castrametati sunt in eodem loco, ibique Israel fixit tentoria* – they prepared the ground for the camp there, and it was there that Israel pitched the tents. The Hebrew text says twice that the Israelites pitched camp – presumably evidence of a redactional problem. Jerome varies the expression to produce a smooth text. – Wolfgang Oswald: *Moderne Literarkritik und antike Rezeption biblischer Texte*; in: Helmut Utzschneider et al. (eds.): *Lesarten der Bibel. Beiträge zu einer Theorie der Exegese des Alten Testaments*. Stuttgart 2006 (319 pp.), pp. 199–209, at p. 203.

- Exod 23:13.** *per nomen externorum deorum non iurabilis*. Instead of *iurabilis*, one would expect *com-memorabilis*. What we have here is a specifically Jeromian interpretation. – Augustin Merk SJ: *Introductionis in S. Scripturae libros compendium*. Paris 1940 (xi, 1092 pp. in 2 vols.), tomus primus, p. 176.
- Exod 26:9.** *ita ut sextum sagum in fronte tecti duplices* – in this way you double the sixth curtain in front of the roof. Jerome translates freely; in German, one would resort to a construction with “indem.” Herbert Migsch: *Studien zum Jeremiabuch und andere Beiträge zum Alten Testament*. Frankfurt 2010. 352 pp. – Pages 285–294: Exodus 26,9; Richter 9,45; Judit 11,15: Noch drei modale pseudokonsekutive Satzgefüge in der Vulgata (= *Biblische Notizen* 145 [2010] 13–23).
- Exod 29:43.** Mathias Ederer: Ein Altar zu viel? (Ex 29,43b). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 87–89.
- Exod 32:8.** *isti sunt dii tui Israel* – these are your gods, Israel. Note that God (who is speaking) does not simply repeat what Aaron said (*hi sunt dii* [...], Exod 32:4); instead, God uses *iste* which has a derogatory connotation in Latin. – Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome’s Translation of the Book of Exodus: Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden 2017 (xiii, 266 pp.), pp. 200–201.
- Exod 33:7.** *omnis populus qui habebat aliquam quaestionem* – all the people that had any question (Douay Version). – Following the Hebrew more closely, the NVg has *omnis qui quaerebat Dominum* – everyone who sought the Lord. – Matthew Kraus: Befragung (*quaestio*) (Ex 33,7), in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 70–71.
- Exod 33:14.** *facies mea praecedet te* – I myself (lit. “my face”) will go before you; je marcherai en personne devant toi. – Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 111 (§ 167).
- Exod 34:29.** *ignorabat quod cornuta esset facies sua* – he knew not that his face was horned; er wusste nicht, dass sein Antlitz gehörnt war; the famous passage that attributes “horns” to the face or head of Moses. Jerome’s translation echoes the Greek version of Aquila which has ὅτι κεκεράτωτο. – See also below, Chapter 24.7.
1769. Claudius Fransen: *Disquisitiones biblicae*. Editio Altera. Tomus primus. Luca (xii, 648 pp.), pp. 253–254.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 102.
1970. Ruth Melinkoff: *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. Berkeley, Cal. xix, 210 pp.
1976. L.R. Bailey: Horns of Moses. In: Keith Crim (ed.): *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume*. Nashville (xxv, 998 pp., maps), pp. 419–421.
2019. Eric X. Jarrard: Double Entendre in Exodus 34: Revisiting the QRN of Moses. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 131 (2019) 388–406 (on the Hebrew text of the pas-sage).
2020. Gerd Blum: “In foramine petrae.” Michelangelos wörtliche Auslegung der Vulgata und die Hörner seines Moses in San Pietro in Vincoli. *Vulgata in dialogue* 4, 45–78 (online journal).
2023. Martin Mark: Die Hörner des Mose (*cornutus*), in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 49–51.
2023. Matthew Kraus: Auffallende Stellen zu Hörnern (Ex 34,29-35; Num 10,5-7). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 51–53.

Exod 35:10–11, 17–18. Binding suggests the following literal translation: “Wer immer von euch klug/geschickt (*sapiens*) ist, möge kommen und machen, was der Herr befohlen hat, nämlich das Zelt (*tabernaculum*) und seine Bedeckung (*tectum*) sowie Umkleidung (*operimentum*), die Ringe (*anulos*) und das Bretterwerk (*tabulata*) mit den Türrigeln (*vectibus*), die Pflöcke (*paxillos*), und die Sockel (*bases*) (...) die Vorhänge (*cortinas*) der Halle (*atrii*) mit Säulen (*columnis*) und Sockeln (*basibus*), den Vorhang (*tentorium*) im doppelflügligen Eingang (*in foribus*) des Vorhofes (*vestibuli*), die Pflöcke (*paxillos*) des Zeltes (*tabernaculi*) und der Halle mit ihren Seilen (*funiculi*).” Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), p. 46.

Exod 36:27. The Hebrew text says: “six boards at the rear of the Mishkan, to the Sea.” Jerome paraphrases: *contra occidentem vero, id est, ad eam partem tabernaculi quae mare respicit, fecit sex tabulas* – but against the west, to wit, at the side of the tabernacle which looketh to the Sea, he made six boards (Douay Version). Why the paraphrase? Because Jerome wanted to keep the /Mediterranean) Sea, used in the biblical text rather often to indicate the west.

Exod 39:3. *priorum colorum* – of the previous colours (i.e., those listed in Exod 39:1). Jerome abbreviates by not repeating what the reader knows already.

Exod 39:8. *fecit et rationale opere polymito* – he also made a “rational” with embroidered work (Douay Version); sodann machte er den Brustschmuck in kunstvoll gewirkter Arbeit (Arndt). The ablative *opere polymito* is best understood as *ablativus descriptivus* (Ablative of quality); see B.L. Gildersleeve – Gonzalez Lodge: *Gildersleeve’s Latin Grammar*. New York (x, 550 pp.), p. 257 (no. 400).

Exod 39:17–21. Jerome omits several details that are already known from chapter 28.

Exod 40:3. *dimittesque ante illam velum* – and shalt let down the veil before it (Douay Version). Since *dimittere* actually means “to remove,” the correct form should be *demittesque* (*demittere* = to let down) as suggested by Valentin Loch in the preface to his 1849 Vulgate edition (p. viii). This reading is listed in the apparatus of Weber/Gryson. The Nova Vulgata has *abscondes illam velo* – screen it off with a veil.

Exod 40:13. Jerome shortens the sentence.

Leviticus

Text

1929. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 2: *Libros Exodi et Levitici ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome (485 pp.), pp. 337–485. – On this edition, see above, Chapter 13.3.

Jerome on Leviticus

394. Jerome: *Letter 53, 8: in promptu est Leviticus liber, in quo singula sacrificia, immo singulae paene syllabae et vestes Aaron et totus ordo Leviticus spirant caelestia sacramenta* (CSEL 54: 454). “The meaning of Leviticus is self-evident – every sacrifice that it describes, nay more: every word that it contains, the description of Aaron’s vestments, and everything concerning the Levites is replete with heavenly mysteries!” (B. Lang’s translation)

2023. Elise Albanese: Die Opferterminologie in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Buches Levitikus. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 139–140.

Secondary literature

1941. Heinrich Kaupel: Beobachtungen zur Wiedergabe des [hebräischen] Infinitivus absolutus in der Vulgata des Buches Leviticus. *Biblica* 22: 252–262. – “Wo Hieronymus in Lv den Inf. abs. übersetzt, erfasst er dessen Funktion treffend. Das läßt sich oft sogar von der Wahl der Ausdrucksweise sagen, z.B. hinsichtlich der Adverbien und Hilfsverben” (p. 262). Jerome did a good job.
1971. Umberto Rapallo: *Calchi ebraici nelle antiche versioni del Levitico: studio sui Settanta, la Vetus Latina e la Vulgata*. Rome. 343 pp.
2017. Matthew Kraus: Vulgate [text of the Pentateuch]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 189–195.

Textual notes

- Lev 1–7.** Innocent Himbaza: Textual Witnesses and Sacrificial Terminology in Leviticus 1–7. In: Yohanan Goldman et al. (eds.): *Sofer mahir. Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker*. Leiden 2006 (viii, 307 pp.), pp. 95–111.
- Lev 5:21–24 (Vg 6:2–5).** Jerome translates freely. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at pp. 108–109.
- Lev 23:8.** F. Luciani: Lev. 23,8b secondo la Vetus Latina e la Volgata. *Rivista biblica* 33 (1985) 465–468.
- Lev 9:10.** Canillo Neri: Il grasso per la salvezza (Lv 9,10). *Adamantius* 10 (2004) 33–40.
- Lev 10:11.** *doceatisque filios Israel omnia legitima mea quae locutus est Dominus* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson, NVg) – and may teach the sons of Israel all my rules which the Lord has spoken. The problem word is *mea* which does not fit the context; the Weber/Gryson edition keeps it but indicates in the apparatus that the Benedictine edition has omitted it (as a conjectural emendation). The expression *legitima mea* (my laws) appears in 1 Kgs 9:4.
- Lev 11:5.** *choerogryllus* – hare. Jerome transliterates the Septuagint word *choirogryllios*, as he does in the parallel passage Deut 14:7. In other passages, he translates the underlying Hebrew *šāfān* as *herinacius* – hedgehog (Ps 104:18, Vg 103:18; Douay Version: irchin, Allioli: Igel) and *lepusculus* – rabbit (Prov 30:26). Jerome discusses the matter in *Letter* 106,65 (CSEL 55: 281–282; Jerome: *Epistle* 106 (On the Psalms). Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. [xix, 363 pp.], pp. 132–133). – Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen: La conception et la terminologie de l'alimentation chez saint Jérôme. In: Marie-Hélène Marganne et al. (eds.): *Pratiques et stratégies alimentaires dans l'Antiquité tardive*. Liège 2022 (169 pp.), pp. 119–127, at pp. 125–127.
- Lev 14:21.** *quod si pauper est (...)* – but if he is poor. The expression *quod si* refers to something that precedes it – an elegant expression known from classical Latin; examples are listed in Charlton T. Lewis – Charles Short: *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford. (xiv, 2019 pp.), p. 1518 (s. v. *quod* viii).
- Lev 14:37.** *vallicula* = cavity, Vertiefung. Before Jerome, the word is attested only once – in Servius' commentary on Vergil: *Aeneid* XI, 522 (in the form *vallecula*). – Olga Monno: Una “piccola valle” tra la grammatica e i testi sacri. *Vetera Christianorum* 48 (2011) 273–283.
- Lev 18:6.** *turpitudine* – ugliness. Meant are the sexual organs, and one can feel the ascetic translator's fear of sexuality. The Douay Version mitigates the sentence by speaking of of “nakedness,” but Allioli has “Schande.” The Nova Vulgata has kept *turpitudine*. The humanist Sebastian Castellio (d. 1563; see Chapter 15.6) in his Latin Bible replaces *turpitudine* with *natura*.

Lev 19:15. *non consideres personam pauperis, nec honores vultum potentis* – respect not the person of the poor, nor honour the countenance of the mighty. Both *persona* and *facies* translate Hebrew *pānîm*, “face.” As often, Jerome varies, as required by good Latin style. *Persona* means here “the exterior of the human individual” (das Äußere des Menschen), see Hans Rheinfelder: *Das Wort “Persona.” Geschichte seiner Bedeutung.* Halle 1928 (xiii, 200 pp.), p. 81.

Lev 20:2–27. *morte moriatur* – he will die a death (Douay Version: dying let him die). The *morte mori* formula, first used in v. 2, and then six more times in the same chapter, plus another three times elsewhere in Leviticus (Lev 24:16.17; 27:29) to render Hebrew *môt yamût* and similar expressions, is close to *occidione occidi* used by Livy (*Ab urbe condita* IX, 38,3) and therefore acceptable Latin. Jerome uses the *morte mori* formula only “wenn kürzere, feierliche autoritative Worte in gehobener Sprechweise vorliegen, besonders in Gottessprüchen” (p. 258). – Heinrich Kaupel: *Beobachtungen zur Wiedergabe des [hebräischen] Infinitivus absolutus in der Vulgata des Buches Leviticus.* *Biblica* 22 (1941) 252–262, esp. pp. 255–258.

Lev 22:24. Jerome adds the “testicles” (*testiculi*) that are not in the Greek and Hebrew, no doubt because of decency. – Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus.* Stuttgart 2016 (280 pp.), pp. 196–197.

Lev 23:8. Ferdinando Luciani: Lv 23,8b secondo la Vetus Latina e la Volgata. *Rivista Biblica* 33 (1985) 465–468.

Lev 25. Giuseppe Marocco: Dallo “Yobel” del testo ebraico al “Giubileo” della Volgata. *Archivio teologico torinese* 7 (2004) 51–61.

Lev 25:17. *contribulis* – fellow-tribesman, Stammesgenosse (as in 2 Macc 4:10; 1 Thess 2:14).

Lev 26:7. Lorenzo Malusà: L’interpretazione gerominiana di “ḥrb” in tre passi biblici. *Bibbia e oriente* 19 (1977) 259–261. – This article comments on Exod 5:3; Lev 26:7; Deut 28:22.

Numbers (Numeri)

Text

1936. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem.* [Tomus] 3: *Libros Numerorum et Deuteronomii ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi.* Edited by Henri Quentin. Rome (xi, 528 pp.), pp. 63–285. – On the Benedictine Vulgate of which this is volume 3, see above **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1937. Friedrich Stummer: Der dritte Band der neuen römischen Ausgabe der Vulgata. *Theologische Revue* 36: 305–311. – Stummer reviews volume 3 of the Benedictine Vulgate that offers a new text of Numbers and Deuteronomy, and discusses the wording of many passages, esp. from the book of Numbers.

2017. Matthew Kraus: Rabbinic Traditions in Jerome’s Translation of the Book of Numbers. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 136: 539–563. ▲

2017. Matthew Kraus: Vulgate [text of the Pentateuch]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible.* Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), 189–195.

Textual notes

- Num 2:4.** *septuaginta quatuor milia sescentorum* (Benedictine Vulgate, Weber/Gryson) – seventy-four thousand and six hundred. One would expect *sescenti* (nominative plural), and not genitive plural *sescentorum*. Friedrich Stummer (*Theologische Revue* 36 [1937] 308) calls it a vulgarism. The Clementina has *sexcenti*, the Nova Vulgata *sescenti*.
- Num 3:4.** *mortui sunt* [enim] *Nadab et Abihu* – [then] Nadab and Abihu died. The Benedictine Vulgate and Weber/Gryson omit the word *enim*, the Clementina and the New Vulgate have it. Historically, *enim* appears first in the Gutenberg Bible. According to Stummer (*Theologische Revue* 36 [1937] 307), it may nevertheless be original, because it would reflect Jerome's translation style.
- Num 5:31.** *maritus* = husband, Ehemann is a mistranslation; meant is the lover of the adulteress, not her husband. – Guillaume Cardascia: Sur quelques erreurs de la Vulgate. Nombres 5,31 – Luc 10,36. *Revue biblique* 111 (2004) 419–422.
- Num 7:23.** *hircos quinque* – five buck-goats, fünf Ziegenböcke. Thus correctly in the 7th edition 2007 of the Weber/Gryson Vulgate (see above, Chapter 13.4). Earlier editions have the printing error *hi cos quinque*.
- Num 8:4.** *ex auro ductibili tam medius stipes quam cuncta* [quae] *ex utroque calamorum latere nascebantur* – of beaten gold (was) both the shaft in the middle, and all that came out of both sides of the branches (Douay Version). The *quae* (in the Clementina, but not in the Benedictine Vulgate and Weber/Gryson) is necessary, otherwise the sentence does not make sense. – Friedrich Stummer, *Theologische Revue* 36 (1937) 309–310.
- Num 10:5–6.** *prolixior atque conscius clangor* – a longer and uninterrupted tone; *pari ululatu tubae* – the same howling of the trumpet. – Matthew A. Kraus: Auffallende Stellen zu Hörnern. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 51–53: the rendering in the German Tusculum-Vulgata is not exact.
- Num 13:30 (Vg 13:31).** *murmur populi qui oriebatur contra Mosen* (Benedictine Vulgate, Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – the murmuring of the people that arose against Moses. One would expect *quod* (not *qui*), because *murmur* is a neuter word. Friedrich Stummer (*Theologische Revue* 36 [1937] 308) calls it a vulgarism. But it may be that the *qui* is linked to *populus* (rather than to *murmur*).
- Num 14:3.** *utinam mortui essemus in Aegypto et non in hac solitudine, utinam pereamus et [non] introducat nos Dominus in terram istam* – oh that we had died in Egypt, and not in this vast wilderness! Oh that the Lord may [not] bring us into this land! This text, complete with the word *non* (here placed within brackets), is in the Benedictine Vulgate and in the Weber/Gryson edition. The Clementina has a wrong punctuation and lacks the first *non*. – Friedrich Stummer, *Theologische Revue* 36 (1937) 310.
- Num 15:11–15.** Jerome abridges and provides a free translation. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 109.
- Num 16:23–35.** Jerome abridges, thereby making incoherencies invisible (incoherencies that are relevant evidence for source criticism). – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 124–127.
- Num 21:1.** (*venisse Israel*) *per exploratorum viam* – after the manner of scouts, that is, singly and scattered; nach Art von Kundschaftern, d.h. einzeln und zerstreut. *Venire* here has the meaning “to walk, to wander,” in German “gehen, wandern.” – Kaulen, pp. 32 and 185.

Num 21:10–20. The reasons for the significant differences between the Hebrew Text and the Vulgate are not to be explained by the existence of textual variants, but rather derive from a thorough reception of Rabbinic interpretations of Num 21:14–20. – Literature:

2023. Matthias Ederer: Unforeseen Miracles along the Banks of the Arnon River. Num 21:10-20 in the Vulgate and in Rabbinic Traditions. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 157–173.

2023. Matthias Ederer: Wie kommt das Rote Meer in das Bergland östlich des Jordan? (Num 21,14f.). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 84–85.

Num 21:20. *vallis (...) et quod respicit contra desertum* (Weber/Gryson) – a valley (...) and it looks toward the desert. According to Stummer, this would be the correct text, even though *quod* is a vulgarism for *quae* (because *vallis* is feminine). The standard editions are problematic: the Clementina does not have the *et* (which is well attested in the manuscripts), and the Benedictine Vulgate has *et quo*. – Friedrich Stummer, *Theologische Revue* 36 [1937] 308.

Num 22:22. The Hebrew text reads, “Then the wrath of God was kindled because he went”; Jerome omits the phrase *because he went*. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 127.

Num 24:17. *orietur stella ex Iacob et consurget virga de Israel* – a star shall rise out of Jacob, and a rod (or: stem, Knox) shall spring up from Israel. “It is noteworthy that in the Vulgate the most faithful rendering of the Hebrew is offered, without messianic overtones at all,” argues Johan Lehman: “To bless with a mouth bent on cursing”: Patristic Interpretations of Balaam (Num 24:17), in: George H. van Kooten – Jacques van Ruiten (eds.): *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, Early Christianity and Islam, Themes in Biblical Narrative* 11. Leiden 2008 (xx, 328 pp.), pp. 287–299, at p. 289. – One should be aware, however, that some vernacular translations of the Vulgate text introduce a strong messianic element by rendering *virga* with “sceptre” (Douay Version) and “Scepter” (Arndt).

Num 29:14. *arieti uno* – for one ram (dative). One would expect *uni* as the dative case of *unus*, but here Jerome uses late Latin. The NVg retains *uno*.

Num 33:1–49. Aline Canellis: L’exégèse de *Nombres* 33,1-49 : d’Origène à saint Jérôme (*Epist.* 78 à Fabiola). In: Emauele Prinzivalli et al. (eds.): *Transmission et réception des Pères grecs dans l’Occident, de l’Antiquité tardive à la Renaissance*. Paris 2016 (597 pp.), pp. 57–79.

Num 33:48–50. Matthias Ederer: Ein neues Ende für eine langwierige Perikope? (Num 33,48–49.50). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 86–87.

Num 35:15–31. The Vulgate seems to have a good feeling for the nuances of the text which, while refraining from having God himself pronounce curses, seeks to denounce certain unlawful acts very strongly. “[Der Übersetzer hat] ein feines Empfinden für den Inhalt des Textes (...), der nicht von Gott direkt gesprochene Droh- und Strafsentenzen bringen will, sondern eine schärfere Abgrenzung von verschiedenen möglichen Fällen gibt” (p. 257). “Darüber hinaus befließigt sich hier Hieronymus überhaupt einer freieren, abwechslungsreichen, ja gut lateinischen Wiedergabe des etwas eintönigen H[ebräischen]” (p. 257). – Heinrich Kaupel: Beobachtungen zur Wiedergabe des [hebräischen] Infinitivus absolutus in der Vulgata des Buches Leviticus. *Biblica* 22 (1941) 252–262.

Num 35:23–24. Jerome abridges and provides a free translation. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 110.

Deuteronomy (Deuteronomium)

Text

1936. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 3: *Libros Numerorum et Deuteronomii ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Edited by Henri Quentin. Rome (xi, 528 pp.), pp. 347–528. – This is volume 3 of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomium-übersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart. 280 pp. – Review: Martin Meiser, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 142 (2017) 353–355.

2017. Matthew Kraus: Vulgate [text of the Pentateuch]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), 189–195.

2025. Kevin J. Zilverberg: Old Latin and Vulgate Versions of Deuteronomy. In: Dominik Markl – Craig A. Evans – Kyung S. Baek (eds.): *The Book of Deuteronomy: Composition, Contexts, Interpretation, and Reception*. Leiden (forthcoming).

Textual notes

Deut 1:37–38. *nec miranda indignatio, cum* (v. 37) – *pro te – exhortare et* (v. 38) = not surprising (is his) wrath against the people, since – instead of you – admonish and; nicht verwunderlich (ist sein) Zorn – anstelle von dir – ermahnen und. Jerome adds explanatory words. – Literature:

1912. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3: 105–138, at p. 128.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 117: “Der ganze Passus (...) ist Auffüllung und hat keine Entsprechung im Original, sondern ist eingesetzt, um den Gedankengang deutlicher und den Fluß der Rede angenehmer zu machen.”

Deut 4:34. *si fecit Deus ut ingrederetur* (...) – if God made that he would go. The word *fecit* may reflect the word used by Symmachus, though Symmachus’ version of the verse is not known. A literal version of the Hebrew text would require something like “if God has attempted”; but this may have seemed theologically inappropriate and was changed. – Abraham Geiger: *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*. Frankfurt 1928 (x, 500, 51 pp.), p. 287.

Deut 6:12. *cave diligenter* – take heed diligently (Douay Version). An apt rendering of the Hebrew *dativus ethicus* (*leka*), notes Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1929 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 117.

Deut 8:15. *serpens flatu adurens et scorpio ac dipsas* – the serpent with its burning breath and the scorpion and the *dipsas* snake. According to Kryscuk, the *dipsas* snake, absent from the Hebrew, takes the place of what in the Hebrew text is “dry land”; Jerome’s version echoes, though misreads, a Greek version that he consulted – most likely the text of Symmachus (which is not extant). – Literature:

2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart (280 pp.), pp. 129–130. “Dass Hieronymus nach

den brennenden Schlangen und den Skorpionen noch das Wort *dipsas*, eine weitere Schlangenart, verwendet, stellt ein Kuriosum dar. Nirgends sonst ist dieses Wesen bei Hieronymus belegt“ (p. 129).

2021. Lukasz Krzysczuk: The Question of St. Jerome's Translation ex Hebraica veritate: the Example of Deut. 8:15. *Philologia classica* 16: 241–261.

Deut 11:10. *ubi iacto semine in hortorum morem aquae ducuntur irriguae* – where, when the seed is cast, waters are to water it after the manner of gardens. The translator makes the sentence into a line of poetry by using Vergilian words: *iacto semine* (when the seed is cast) is from Vergil: *Georgics* I, 104, and *irriguae* (*irriguus*, watering) from *Georgics* IV, 32. – Literature:

1998. Neil Adkin: Vergil's *Georgics* and Jerome. Epist. 125,11,3–4. *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* N.F. 22: 187–198, at pp. 192–193. ▲

2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart (280 pp.), pp. 240–241. Jerome “behilft (...) sich mit dem ihm wohl vertrauten Bild von Bewässerungsgräben, die die Felder durchziehen” (p. 241).

Deut 11:30. *vallem tendentem et intrantem procul vos* – the valley that reaches far away from you; das Tal, das sich weit von euch weg erstreckt. Stummer equates *tendens* and *intrans*. – Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1 (1937) 23–50, at pp. 35–37.

Deut 12:16. *absque esu dumtaxat sanguinis quod (...) efundes* (Benedictine Vulgate, Weber/Gryson) – without the eating of the blood that you (...) shall pour out. One expects *quem* (instead of *quod*), because *sanguis* is masculine, not neuter. Stummer calls this a vulgarism, while Herkenne believes it to be due to an archaic form of the word for blood: *sanguen* (which is neuter); Kevin Zilverberg leans toward Herkenne's solution (personal communication). The Clementina and the Nova Vulgata have *quem*. – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 121 (no. 30) discusses *sanguen*, *sanguinis* (blood) as an alternative form of *sanguis*, without, however, referring to Deut 12:16.

1937. Friedrich Stummer, *Theologische Revue* 36: 308.

1937. Heinrich Herkenne, *Das Heilige Land* 81: 103.

Deut 14:28. *aliam decimam* – another tithe. “By itself, the reference to another tithe” (*alia decima*) in Deuteronomy 14:28 may seem peculiar because it does not follow the Hebrew which also does not make a special point to distinguish between the tithe mentioned in verses 14:22–23. The *Commentary on Ezekiel* 45:1 indicates that Jerome was quite conscious of different types of tithes and therefore highlights that the third-year tithe mentioned in Deuteronomy is specifically dedicated to priests. The fact that he emphasizes this in the translation indicates that not only was he aware of different types of tithes, but he also chose to bring this detail to the attention of the reader” (Kraus, p. 107). – Literature:

2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart (280 pp.), pp. 174–177.

2023. Matthew A. Kraus: [The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119, at pp. 106–108 (online journal).

Deut 17:9. “The notion of *veritas* was so important for Jerome that occasionally he appended it without any evident necessity. Thus, in Deuteronomy we read that in difficult cases one should

seek the advice of men versed in laws who will 'announce you the verdict.' The Hebrew text says (...) literally: 'they will reply you the word of justice' (...) Jerome slightly modifies the phrase: *iudicabunt tibi iudicii veritatem* thus making reference to the 'verity of the judgment.'" Igor Filipov: Bible and Roman Law. The Notions of Law, Custom and Justice in the Vulgate. In: Angelo Di Bernardino et al., *Lex et religio*. Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 135. Rome 2013 (782 pp.), pp. 105–141, at p. 139.

Deut 19:3. *in tres aequaliter partes totam terrae tuae provinciam divides* – you shall divide in an equal manner the entire area of your land into three parts. Note that the translator uses the adverb *aequaliter* to qualify the verb, and not the adjective to qualify the noun (which would produce *partes aequales*); *aequaliter* is introduced for purely stylistic reasons – it lacks an equivalent in the Hebrew but has Latin parallels (Isidore of Seville; *Etymologiae* XIV, 2,2: *non aequaliter dividere*). Also note the close parallel in Caesar: *De bello gallico* I, 1,1: *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres* – all Gaul is divided into three parts.

Deut 21:22. *adiudicatus morti adpensus fuerit in patibulo* – (when) the one condemned to death has been hanged on the gallows; (wenn) der zum Tode verurteilte am Galgen aufgehängt worden ist. Jerome interprets the text christologically, harmonizing it with the New Testament passion narratives. – Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart 2016 (280 pp.), pp. 245–246.

Deut 23:3 (Vg 23:2). *mamzer hoc est de scorto natus* – mamzer, i.e., one born from a prostitute. The explanatory gloss is Jerome's addition. On such glosses, see Matthew Kraus: [How Jerome Dealt with Glosses](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue* 5 (2021) 1–3 (online journal).

Deut 23:12. *habebis locum extra castra, ad quem egrediaris ad requisita naturae* – you shall have a place outside the camp to which you may go "for the necessities of nature." The expression *ad requisita naturae*, added by Jerome for clarification, has no basis in the Hebrew text; it seems to echo Sallustius as quoted in Qunitilian: *Institutio oratoria* VIII, 6,59. – Neil Adkin: *Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate*. *Augustinianum* 40 (2000) 77–87, at pp. 82–87. ▲

Deut 26:5. *Syrus persequebatur patrem meum* – the Syrian pursued my father (Douay Version). Very different from the underlying Hebrew. The NVg has *Syrus vagus erat pater meus* – my father was a wandering Syrian. – Literature:

2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart (280 pp.), pp. 199–205.

2023. Teppei Kato: Ein wandernder Aramäer? (Dtn 26,5). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 68–70.

Deut 26:10. *et dimittes eas in conspectus domini Dei tui, et adorato Domino Deo tuo* (Clementina, NVg). Two ways of translating the second half of the sentence have been suggested: **(1)** and thou shalt leave them (the first-fruits) in the sight of the Lord your God, and worship the Lord your God (imperative); **(2)** (...), after having worshipped the Lord your God (ablatives absolutus). The problem with (1) is that *adorare* is normally followed by the accusative. Kaulen (pp. 261–262) prefers the first possibility, thinking that the wording of the Clementina requires it. But the Weber/Gryson edition, with its omission of the *et* before *adorato*, would favour the second possibility.

Deut 28:22. Three kinds of fever: *febris, frigus, ardor* – a free, but nevertheless adequate translation. – Literature:

1884. Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg (vi, 599 pp.), p. 122.

1977. Lorenzo Malusà: L'interpretazione gerominiana di "ḥrb" in tre passi biblici. *Bibbia e oriente* 19 (1977) 259–261. This article comments on Exod 5:3, Lev 26:7, Deut 28:22.
- Deut 28:50.** Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: Ein äußerst unverschämter Volksstamm (Dtn 28,50). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 68.
- Deut 29:10 (Vg 29:11).** *exceptis lignorum caesoribus, et his qui comportant aquas* – except for the hewers of wood and those who bring water. In his translation, Jerome excludes the hewers of wood and the water-carriers from the ritual community. This is either a mere mistake of the translator, or a conscious decision to exclude the lowest on the social scale. More likely seems to be the idea that Jerome made a mistake. Alternatively (not mentioned by Makkonen) one could think of a Jewish interpretation that came to Jerome's knowledge. – Literature:
1868. Friedrich Kaulen: *Geschichte der Vulgata*. Mainz (viii, 501 pp.), p. 175: "gerade das Gegen-
theil vom Hebräischen."
1969. Olli Makkonen: Waldterminologie im Latein. *Arctos: Acta Philologica Fennica. Nova Series* 6: 81–90, at pp. 84–85.
- Deut 29:22 (Vg 29:23).** The noun *exemplum* (example) does not have an equivalent in the Hebrew text. – Vincent T.M. Skemp: Learning by Example. *Exempla in Jerome's Translations and Revisions of Biblical Books. Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 257–285.
- Deut 31:21.** *quod nulla delebit oblivio* – which no oblivion shall delete. Compare Cicero: *Ad familiares* II, 1,2: *meam tuorum erga me meritorum memoriam nulla umquam delebit oblivio* – my memory of your kindnesses toward me will never be deleted by oblivion, i.e., I will never consign to oblivion your kindness toward me. This must not be a specific echo of Cicero, but the parallel shows that Jerome used an expression from classical Latin. The same phrase is used elsewhere in Jerome's translation – Esth 9:28; Koh 6:4; Jer 23:40; 50:5. – Neil Adkin: *Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate. Augustinianum* 40 (2000) 77–87, at pp. 80–81. ▲
- Deut 32:1–43.** Kamphausen presents his reconstruction of Jerome's original wording on the basis of a selection of textual witnesses such as Codex Amiatinus. Here is a list of the differences between Kamphausen's version and [Weber/Gryson]: v. 6 – *reddes [reddis]*; v. 15 – *salvatore [salutari]*; v., 17 – *ignoraverunt [ignorabant]*; v. 42 – *de captivitate [et de captivitate]*. – Adolf Hermann Heinrich Kamphausen: *Das Lied Moses Deut. 32,1–43*. Leipzig 1862 (xii, 331 pp.), pp. 315–323: "Das Lied des Mose nach der lateinischen Übersetzung des Hieronymus."
- Deut 34:6.** *et sepelivit eum* – and he buried him. "Weigert discusses this passage where the singular of the verb "bury" in the version according to the Hebrews contrasts with the plural in the Septuagint. The singular indicates that God, not the Israelites, buried Moses, while the comment in Epistula 109 indicates that Jerome was aware of the issue and legitimates the divine burial with his translation" (Kraus, p. 115). – Literature:
2016. Sebastian Weigert: *Hebraica veritas. Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus*. Stuttgart (280 pp.), pp. 211–212.
2023. Matthew A. Kraus: The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 99–119, at p. 115.

Joshua (Iosue)

Text

1939. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 4: *Libri Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome (xi, 490 pp.), pp. 37–186. – This is volume 4 of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1952. Donato Baldi: *Giosuè*. Torino. xiv, 177 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

2008. Sipilä Seppo: The Book of Joshua in the Vulgate. In: Voitila Anssi (ed.): *Scripture in Translation*. Leiden (xxxviii, 748 pp.), pp. 17–26.

2023. Bernhard Lang: Hebraismen im Buch Josua. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 34–35.

Textual notes

Josh 4:14. *advivere* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – to be still alive; noch leben. The verb is not to be changed into *adhuc viveret* (a reading of many printed editions, adopted in Loch’s 1863 edition of the Vulgate, and by Loch rendered as “solange er lebte” – as long as he lived), see the discussion in Kaulen (p. 202). Since the expression is unusual, NVg has *omnibus diebus vitae suae* – all the days of his life.

Josh 5:1. *reges Chanaan, qui propinqua possidebant magni maris loca* (Clementina) – kings of Kanaan who owned places close to the Big Sea. In classical Latin, *propinquus* is followed by the dative case, so that *magno mari* would be correct – and this is the reading of Weber/Gryson and NVg.

Josh 9:7. *ne forsitan in terra qae nobis sorte debetur habitetis* – don’t you perhaps live in the land that will fall to us by lot?; wohnt ihr vielleicht nicht im Land, das uns durchs Los (zuteil) werden soll? – Peter Juhás: Beobachtungen zum biblisch-hebräischen Satzadverb *ʿulaj*. Funktionen, Übersetzungslösungen des Hieronymus und Problemstellen der antiken Bibelübersetzungen. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 97.1 (2021) 1–36, at pp. 25–26.

Josh 14:15. The view expressed several times by Jerome that Adam was buried in Hebron (Kiryat-Arba) also determined his translation of Jos 14:15. He traces the idea back to *Hebraei* (Jews) (*The Life of Saint Paula* = Letter 108, 11; CSEL 55: 319). – Pieter W. van der Horst: The Site of Adam’s Tomb. In: M.F.J. Baasten et al. (eds.): *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture*. Dordrecht 2007 (x, 320 pp.), pp. 251–255.

Josh 15:19. *iunge irriguam* (Weber/Gryson: *inriguam*) – add a water place (or source); füge hinzu eine Wasserstelle (oder Quelle). Stummer postulates a noun *irriguum* = water place, source. – Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1 (1937) 23–50, at pp. 37–43.

Josh 18:14. *haec est plaga contra mare, ad occidentem* – this is the coast towards the sea, westward. Jerome paraphrases in the interest of clarity; the Hebrew text has “this (is) towards the Sea,” i.e., the Mediterranean.

Josh 19:15. The place is called *Jerala* (not: *Jedala*); Jerome – or his informant – mistook the Hebrew letter *dalet* for the similarly looking letter *resh*.

Josh 22:24. *cogitatio atque tractatus* – thought and design (Douay Version, Knox); *Gedanke und Verabredung* (Arndt); *la pensée et le but* (Glaire). – Gustave Bardy: *Tractare, Tractatus. Recherches de science religieuse* 33 (1946) 211–235.

Judges (Liber Iudicum)

Text

1939. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 4: *Libri Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome (xi, 490 pp.), pp. 215–368. – Volume 4 of the Benedictine Vulgate, see above, Chapter 13.3.

Secondary literature

1888. Franz von Hummelauer SJ: *Commentarius in libros Iudicum et Ruth*. Paris, 20–22: The author compares the masoretic text with the Vulgate version, indicating that Jerome tends to add explanatory glosses, especially Judges 19–21.

1912. Albert Condamin SJ: *Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at pp. 110–111: Following Franz von Hummelauer, the author lists Jerome's most important explanatory additions.

1912. Eugène Mangenot: *Vulgate*. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – Col. 2461: "Par amour de la clarté, le traducteur latin ajoute parfois quelques mots d'explication. (...) Comme l'a remarqué le P. de Hummelauer, *Commentarius in libros Iudicum et Ruth*, Paris 1888, pp. 20–22, les explications ajoutées pour éclaircir le texte sont assez fréquentes dans le livre des Juges. Voir quelques spécimens, ii 19; viii 1, 11; ix 25, 36; xi 39; xv 9, 16, 19; xvii 9; leur nombre augmente à partir du c. xix."

1963. Angelo Penna: *Giudici e Rut*. Torino. viii, 287 pp. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

Textual notes

Judg 1:15. *da et irriguam aquis* (Clementina: *da et irriguam aquis*) – give me also a source with water. See note on Joshua 15:19.

Judg 4–5. Agnethe Siquans: *Debora* (Debbora) in der Vulgata; in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 127–128.

Judg 6:18. *nec recedas hinc* (Clementina) – and you shall not depart from here. Weber/Gryson has *ne recedes hinc*, which is closer to classical usage (because *nec* = *neque* means "and not," and does not include *ne*).

Judg 9:25. Jerome adds this gloss: *dum illius praestolabantur adventum* – while they waited for his arrival; während sie auf seine Ankunft warteten. – Albert Condamin SJ: *Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 111 (after Franz von Hummelauer).

- Judg 9:45.** Jerome translates freely; in German one resorts to formulations with "indem." – Herbert Migsch: *Studien zum Jeremiabuch und andere Beiträge zum Alten Testament*. Frankfurt 2010 (352 pp.), pp. 285–294: Exodus 26,9; Richter 9,45; Judit 11,15: Noch drei modale pseudokonsekutive Satzgefüge in der Vulgata (= *Biblische Notizen* 145 [2010] 13–23).
- Judg 9:51–54.** *mulieres (...) una mulier (...) a femina interfectus* – women (...) a certain woman (...) slain by a woman. The *una* of *una mulier* is partitive; it means "one of these women." – Gerhard Schaden: Latin UNUS and the Discourse Properties of Unity Cardinals. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 65 (2020) 438–470.
- Judg 11:30–38.** A. Penna: The Vow of Jephthah in the Interpretation of Jerome. In: F.L. Cross (ed.): *Studia Patristica* IV. Berlin 1961 (viii, 533 pp.), pp. 162–170.
- Judg 12:6.** Matthew Kraus: Sprachspiel (Ri 12,6). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 38–39.
- Judg 13–16.** The Samson story. Complete text, Latin and German working translation, accompanied by notes on vocabulary and grammar, in: Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 69–87.
- Judg 14:8.** *examen apum* – a swarm of bees. For this meaning of *examen*, see Vergil: *Aeneid* VII, 64–67: "A strange thing happened now: a tight-packed swarm of bees / came loudly humming through the limpid air, and settling / upon the top of that tree, they interlocked their feet. / Next moment a swarm (*examen*) was hanging down from the green bough." It may well be that in translating the biblical passage, Jerome thought of the Vergilian text (B. Lang). On *examen* as "swarm," see Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), pp. 61–73, esp. 62–63. The translation of Vergil is from *The Aeneid of Virgil*. Translated by C. Day Lewis. New York 1952. 288 pp. ▲
- Judg 18:30.** *Gersam filii Moysi* – Gershom son of Moses (Vg, NVg). The Hebrew text has "son of Manasseh," but the Vulgate has the correct reading accepted by modern textual criticism.
- Judg 19:4.** *comedens cum eo et bibens familiariter* (Vg, NVg) – eating with him and drinking familiarly. The Hebrew has: they ate and drank and he stayed there.
- Judg 19:27.** *ecce concubina eius iacebat ante ostium sparsis in limine manibus* – behold, his concubine lay before the door with her hands spread on the threshold. **(1)** Why with her hands spread (*sparsis manibus*)? Because this wording echoes Vergil's *Aeneid* IV, 663–665, the suicide of Dido. – Neil Adkin: The Death of Dido and the Vulgate Text of the Gang-bang at Gibeah. *Maia* 63 (2011) 451–454. – **(2)** Note the elegant hyperbaton: *sparsis in limine manibus* (instead of *sparsis manibus in limine*). ▲
- Judg 20:25.** *eruperunt filii Benjamin de portis Gaba; et occurrentes eis tanta in illos caede bacchanti sunt* – Benjaminites burst forth from the Gates of Gibeah and meeting them raged like a bacchant against them with such great slaughter (Kraus's translation). **(1)** Why like a bacchant? Because the passage parallels, and no doubt echoes, Cicero: *In Catilinam* IV, 11: *aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis* – the sight of Cethegus and his madness raging amid your slaughter; das Bild des rasenden Cethegus bei eurer Niedermetzlung. Neil Adkin: *Biblia Catilinaria*. *Maia* 55 (2003) 93–98; Matthew A. Kraus: *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus. Translation Technique and the Vulgate*. Leiden 2017 (xiii, 266 pp.), pp. 39–40. – **(2)** How is *cedere* to be understood: as "to cut off, to kill" (*caedere*) or as "to flee" (*cedere*)? The first possibility is chosen by the Douay Version ("they thought to cut them off"), the second possibility in Arndt's German translation ("sie meinen nämlich, dass jene, wie sie vorher getan, flohen"). ▲

Judg 20:32. *putaverunt enim solito eos more cedere.* – How is *cedere* to be understood? Two options: (1) *cedere* = *caedere*, to kill: for they thought to cut them off [or: kill them, B. Lang], as they did before (Douay Version); car ils pensaient qu'ils les tailleraient en pièces comme de coutume (Glaire). – (2) *cedere* = to flee: sie meinten nämlich, daß jene, wie sie vorher getan, flohen (Arndt); sie glaubten nämlich, dass sie auf die gewohnte Weise nachgaben (Tusculum-Vulgata). While the main text of the Benedictine Vulgate edition (p. 351) has *cedere*, the apparatus lists manuscripts that have the spelling *caedere*.

Ruth

Text

1939. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 4: *Libri Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome (xi, 490 pp.), pp. 369–392. – Part of the Benedictine Vulgate, see above, Chapter 13.3.
2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 358–363. – Compared to earlier editions of the “Stuttgart Vulgate,” the text-critical apparatus of the book of Ruth has been revised in this 5th edition.

Secondary literature

1963. Angelo Penna: *Giudici e Rut*. Torino. viii, 287 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
2017. Vincent Skemp: Vulgate [text of the Five Scrolls]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 441–446.
2018. Andreas Vonach: [Theologische Akzentsetzungen in der Vulgataversion des Rutbuches](#). *Vulgata in dialogue* 2: 31–46 (online journal).
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 88–103. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation), with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.
2023. Andreas Vonach: Eheterminologie und Ehemoral im Buch Rut. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 82–83.

Textual notes

- Ruth 1:1–5.16–17-20.** Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 169–175 and 186–192.
- Ruth 2:16.** *ut absque rubore colligat, et colligentem nemo corripiat* – that she may gather without being shamed (or: without blushing), and nobody rebuke her when she gathers. Jerome inserts *absque rubore* – an elegant explanatory gloss without equivalent in the Hebrew text. But what exactly does the addition mean? Two possibilities have been suggested: (1) without blushing, i.e., without shame (Douay Version), ohne Scheu (Allioli), sans honte (Glaire); (2) without being

shamed, without being molested, unbehelligt, i.e., "dass sie ohne Beschämung sammle, und niemand sie tadle beim Sammeln" (Valentin Loch; see Chapter **18.2**). –The Nova Vulgata omits *absque rubore*.

Ruth 2:19–3:1. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 175–181 and 192–194.

Ruth 3:4–14. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 194–196.

Ruth 3:11–4:22. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 178–185 and 196–202.

Ruth 3:11. *mulierem te esse virtutis* – that thou art a virtuous woman (Douay Version); dass du eine tugendhafte Frau bist (Arndt; similarly Luther); tu es une femme de vertu (Glaire). But considering the fact that *virtus* rarely, if ever, has this meaning in the Vulgate, one should perhaps translate differently – "that you are a capable woman"; see on Ruth 4:11. – Kaulen, p. 34.

Ruth 4:6. This is perfect legal Latin (in schönstem Juristenlatein ausgesprochen), esp. the noun *privilegium* belongs to legal language. – Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 180 and 181, note 46.

Ruth 4:11. *ut sit exemplum virtutis* – **(1)** she may be an example of virtue (Douay Version); qu'elle soit un exemple de vertu (Glaire); dass sie ein Tugendbeispiel sei (Arndt). However, as Kaulen (see on Ruth 3:11) explains, this would be the only context where *virtus* actually refers to virtue. Accordingly, one might well consider a different translation, one that highlights Ruth's strength and capability. Ronald Knox avoids "virtue"; instead, he speaks of "worth": a bride worth the winning (3:11); may Ephratha know her worth (4:12). – **(2)** See also Vincent T.M. Skemp: Learning by Example. *Exempla in Jerome's Translations and Revisions of Biblical Books. Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 257–285 who points out that the noun *exemplum* lacks a precise equivalent in the source language.

Ruth 4:11–15.18–22. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 181–185.

1–2 Samuel (Liber I–II Samuhelis, Liber I–II Regum)

Text

1944. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 5: *Liber Samuhelis ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome. xvi, 377 pp. – The text of 1 Sam is on pp. 71–232; the text of 2 Sam on pp. 233–365. This volume is part of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20. At pp. 4–16, the author comments on a number of passages from 1 and 2 Samuel where he detects rabbinic influence.
1946. Robert Weber OSB: Les interpolations du livre de Samuel dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate. In: *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati. Volume 1. Studi e Testi* 121. Rome, pp. 19–39. – Jerome’s wording was often expanded by additions copyists found in other Latin manuscripts – manuscripts that offer a text based on the Septuagint.
1960. Gino Bressan: *Samuele*. Torino. xvi, 739 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge: aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Page 295: The text of 1–2 Samuel that Jerome offers is shorter than the text of the *Vetus Latina*. This did not escape the notice of the users – and they filled in what was missing in Jerome’s text. Thus, pieces of the *Vetus Latina* found their way into the Vulgate. The same phenomenon can be observed in other biblical books (e.g., in the book of Proverbs).
1991. C. Macias Villalobos: Construcciones de superlativo en los libros de Samuel de la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 14: 29–39.

Textual notes

- 1 Sam 1:1–3.** *fuit vir unus (...) duas uxores (...) duo filii* – there was one man (...) two wives (...) two sons. The *unus* of *vir unus* may be explained not as an indefinite article; instead, it may indicate a numerical contrast. – Gerhard Schaden: Latin UNUS and the Discourse Properties of Unity Cardinals. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 65 (2020) 438–470.
- 1 Sam 1:5.** *Annae autem dedit partem unam tristis* – but to Anna he gave one portion with sorrow (Douay Version); Anna aber gab er traurig einen einzigen Anteil (Arndt). Why *tristis*? The Hebrew text would require “a double share.” The reason for Jerome’s rendering is unknown. Stummer points out that in medieval Judaism, David Kimchi’s explanation is compatible with Jerome’s version, and may either reflect an ancient exegetical tradition, or even betray David Kimchi’s knowledge of the Vulgate text. – Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20, at pp. 4–5.
- 1 Sam 1:6.** *affligebat quoque eam aemula eius, et vehementer angebat, in tantum, ut exprobraret quod Dominus conclusisset vulvam eius* – her rival also afflicted her, and troubled her exceedingly, so that she [Anna] became angry that the Lord had had shut up her womb. – Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20, at pp. 5–6.
- 1 Sam 2:1–10.** An in-depth linguistic analysis against the background of the Hebrew text can be found in Friedrich Stummer: Die Vulgata zum Canticum Annae. *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1950) 10–19.

- 1 Sam 2:1.** *et exaltatum est cornu meum in Deo meo* (Clementina) – and my horn is exalted because of my God. **(1)** The expression *in Deo meo* has its basis in the Greek, i.e., in the Vetus Latina. The Weber/Gryson edition has *in Domino* – in the Lord. – **(2)** *cornu* – horn is a symbol of power and courage both in Hebrew and Latin. The Hebrew-Latin analogy is pointed out in Lewis/Short Latin dictionary (see Chapter **8.3**), p. 471 at the end of the *cornu* entry. Stummer refers to Horace: *Carmina* iii, 21,18: you (the wine chalice) give horns (= courage) to the poor man (*addis cornua pauperi*), an allusion to the horns protruding from Bacchus's head. – Stummer: Die Vulgata zum Canticum Annae (as in the note on 1 Sam 2:1–10), p. 12.
- 1 Sam 2:3.** *et ipsi [= ab ipso] cogitationes praeparantur* – and by him planes are prepared; und von ihm werden Pläne vorbereitet. – Stummer: Die Vulgata zum Canticum Annae, p. 15 (as in the note on 1 Sam 2:1–10).
- 1 Sam 2:6.** *deducit ad infernum* (Clementina: *ad inferos*) *et reducit* (Weber/Gryson) – he bringeth down to hell and brineth back again (Douay Version). The Clementina's text represents a stylistic and rhythmic improvement of Jerome's original sentence. – Stummer: Die Vulgata zum Canticum Annae, p. 18 (as in the note on 1 Sam 2:1–10).
- 1 Sam 2:8.** *cardines terrae* – the (four) points of the earth. Meant are the north, south, west and east points of the earth, imagined as a flat disk. This is authentically Roman terminology. – Friedrich Stummer: Die Vulgata zum Canticum Annae, p. 18 (as in the note on 1 Sam 2:1–10). ▲
- 1 Sam 2:14.** *sic faciebant universo Israeli venientium in Silo* – thus they did to all Israel who came to Silo. One would expect *venienti* (NVg), in accordance with *universo* (rather than plural genitive *venientium*). Löfstedt suggests to understand *venientium* as a partitive form: each of those coming to Silo. Bengt Löfstedt: Sprachliches zur Vulgata [1985]. In: idem: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), p. 293.
- 1 Sam 2:17.** *retrahebant* (Clementina) or *detrahebant* (Weber/Gryson)? "In der Vulgata ist ein Schreibfehler: r statt d" (note in Arndt's translation). The Weber/Gryson reading is to be preferred: the young men try to prevent people from offering sacrifice.
- 1 Sam 9:6.** What the man of God says *sine ambiguitate veniet* – will undoubtedly come. An apt rendering of the doubling of the Hebrew verb. – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 117.
- 1 Sam 10:2.** *intermissis pater tuus asinis sollicitus est pro vobis* – forgetting about the asses, your father is concerned about you. The subject of the sentence is placed between words of the ablative absolute; one would expect *intermissis asinis, pater tuus (...)*. – Hagen, p. 41.
- 1 Sam 11:7.** *et egressi sunt*. Thus correctly in the 7th, 2007 edition of the Weber/Gryson Vulgate. Earlier editions have a printing error (*egressis unt*).
- 1 Sam 14:41.** *Et dixit Saul ad Dominum Deum Israel: [Domine Deus Israel,] da indicium: [quid est quod non responderis servo tuo hodie? Si in me, aut in Ionatha filio meo, est iniquitas haec, da ostensionem: aut si haec iniquitas est in populo tuo, da sanctitatem.] Et deprehensus est Ionathas et Saul, populus autem exivit* – And Saul said to the Lord God of Israel: O Lord God of Israel, give a sign. Why is it that you do not respond to your servant today? If this iniquity is in me, or in my son Jonathan, give a sign; but if this iniquity is in your people, give sanctity. And Jonathan and Saul were taken, and the people escaped. The complete text is in the Clementina; the text placed within square brackets is left out in the Weber/Gryson edition (following early manuscripts). It seems that Jerome's version, as it appears in the best manuscripts, is defective. – Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: La révision de la Vulgate. *Revue biblique* nouvelle série 5.1 (1908) 102–113, at pp. 107–108.

- 1 Sam 15:4.** *et recensuit eos quasi agnos* – he (Saul) counted them like lambs. The Hebrew, misunderstood by Jerome, has “counted them at Telaim” (NVg: *recensuit eos in Telem*). Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20, at p. 8, thinks that Jerome’s rendering echoes a Jewish understanding of the passage.
- 1 Sam 15:12.** *et erixisset sibi fornicem triumphalem* – and he had erected for himself a triumphal arch. The noun *fornix* is the technical term for the free-standing Roman arch. The translator makes King Saul look like a roman general – “Saul im Gewande eines römischen Kaisers” – who immortalizes his victory in having an arch built in his honour. – Literature:
1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58] (1940) 251–269, at p. 255.
2021. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid: The Interpretatio Romana as a Principle of Translation in Jerome. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 5: 41–44.
2023. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: Die Inszenierung Sauls als römischer Kaiser (1Sam 15,12). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 35–37.
- 1 Sam 16:14–18:30.** For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 104–120.
- 1 Sam 17:4.** *vir spurius* – a baseborn man (Douay Version), ein Bastard (Arndt). The adjective *spurius*, in Roman legal language, means “illegitimate,” see the dictionary of Lewis & Short (see Chapter 8.3). According to Aptowitzer and Stummer, this characterization may reflect a Jewish exegetical tradition, see Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20, at pp. 8–9. The Nova Vulgata has *vir propugnator* – a warrior.
- 1 Sam 20:3.** *uno tantum (ut ita dicam) gradu ego morsque dividimur* – I and death – we are just one step from each other, so to speak. The words *ut ita dicam* constitute an elegant rhetorical flourish, added by the translator. Jerome “mildert nach Rhetorenart eine Kühnheit des Ausdrucks für seine Leser durch *ut ita dicam*”; Wilhelm Süß: Das Problem der lateinischen Bibelsprache. *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1932) 1–39, at p. 39. Jerome often uses *ut ita dicam* and similar expressions in his own writings, see Paul Antin OSB: *Ut ita dicam* chez Saint Jérôme. *Latomus* 25 (1966) 299–304.
- 1 Sam 20:30.** *fili mulieris ultro rapientis* – thou son of a woman that is the ravisher of a man (Douay Version). The Septuagint has a similar expression: “you son of traitorous girls.” Stummer suspects an underlying Jewish exegetical tradition (“ein ganz klares Beispiel des rabbinischen Einflusses auf Hieronymus,” Stummer, p. 9). The NVg changes the expression to *fili mulieris perverse* – you son of a woman of evil manners. – Literature:
1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10: 3–20, at pp. 9–10.
2023. Michael Fieger: [Mother’s curse at the court of King Saul in 1 Sam 20:30](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 149–155 (online journal).
2023. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: Du liebst den Sohn Isais (1 Sam 20,30). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 57–58.

- 1 Sam 21:8 (Vg 21:7).** *erat autem ibi quidam de servis Saul (...) intus tabernaculo Domini* – but there was one of Saul’s officials inside the Tent of the Lord. There is nothing about the Lord’s Tent in the Hebrew; the addition of the Tent echoes a Jewish interpretation of the passage. Jewish tradition grants Doeg the status of a teacher of the Law. – Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20, at pp. 10–11.
- 1 Sam 22:9.** *Doeg Idumaeus, qui assistebat, et erat primus inter servos Saul* – Doeg the Idumaeen, who was present, and who was the first among Saul’s officials. The Hebrew does not say that Saul was “the first among Saul’s officials”; this information is based on Jewish exegetical tradition as found in the Targum. – Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20, at p. 11.
- 1 Sam 23:13.** *dissimulare*. – The verb has two meanings; here are the preferences of translators: **(1)** to abstain from doing something: to forbear (Douay Version), to say no more about (Knox), keine Erwähnung tun (Allioli, Arndt), versäumen (Rönsch, p. 523); **(2)** to pretend: feindre (Glaire), vorgeben (Tusculum-Vulgata). The underlying Hebrew as well as the Greek translation would support the first option.
- 1 Sam 28:6.** *et non respondit ei neque per somnia neque per sacerdotes* – and he (God) did not answer him, neither by dreams, nor by priests. The “priests” are not in the Hebrew text which refers to *urim* (hence NVg: *neque per Urim*), some kind of oracle in the hands of priests. Jerome offers a free rendering.
- 2 Sam 1:18.** *considera Israel, pro his qui mortui sunt super excelsa tua vulnerati* (Clementina) – consider, o Israel for them that are dead, wounded on thy high places. As Lagrange has observed, this passage must be deleted from the Vulgate, because it represents an addition to Jerome’s text. What we have here is the pre-Vulgate wording, based on the Septuagint; Jerome’s version is given in the next verse (v. 19: *inclyti, Israel, super montes ...*). The Weber/Gryson edition omits the passage, and so does the NVg. – Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: La révision de la Vulgate. *Revue biblique* nouvelle série 5.1 (1908) 102–113, at p. 107.
- 2 Sam 1:26.** *amabilis super amorem mulierum [sicut mater unicum amat filium suum, ita ego te diligebam]* – lovable above the love of women. [As a woman loves her only son, so did I love you.] The sentence placed between brackets is in the Clementina, but Weber/Gryson and the Nova Vulgata omit it. It is clearly an explanatory gloss, added to explain why *mulier* is used here, and not *femina*. According to Mohrmann, *mulier* is the woman who has lost her virginity. Interestingly, the Douay version has “as the mother loveth her only son.” – Christine Mohrmann: *Mulier*. À propos de II Reg. 1,26. *Vigiliae Christianae* 2 (1948) 117–119 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome III. Rome 1965 (458 pp.), pp. 269–271. See also the glossary, Chapter **19.2** (s.v. *mulier*).
- 2 Sam 3:1.** *David proficiscens* (Clementina) – David marching forward. The Latin participle does not make sense here. Loch in his 1862/63 edition replaced it with *proficiens* – making progress, translating “David stieg” – David ascended (in his German translation of the Old Testament); this is also the reading of the Weber/Gryson edition The NVg has *invalescens* – growing stronger.
- 2 Sam 8:10.** *ut salutaret eum congratulans* – to greet him as one who shares his joy, or: to greet him and rejoice with him. See glossary s.v. *congratulari*, Chapter **19.2**.

2 Sam 11:1–12:15. For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar.* Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 120–127.

2 Sam 12:31. *populum quoque eius adducens serravit, et circumegit super eos ferrata carpenta; divisitque cultris, et traduxit in typo laterum* – and bringing forth the people thereof (i.e., of the city), he sawed them, and drove over them with knives, and made them pass through brick-kilns (Douay Version); die Bevölkerung derselben führte er gleichfalls herbei und ließ sie zersägen, mit Eisen beschlagene Wagen über sie herfahren, sie mit Messern zerhacken und durch Ziegelöfen ziehen (Arndt); et amenant ses habitants, il les scia, fit passer sur eux les chariots armés de fer, les partagea avec des couteaux, et les fit passer dans le moule des briques (Glaire). – **(1)** The Hebrew text and the Septuagint say that David made the prisoners of war do forced labour; Jerome, by contrast, saw here a particularly cruel method of torture and execution. Interestingly, the Targum seems to think of torture: “And he brought forth the people who were in it, and he set them [B. Lang: to work?, to be tortured?] at saws and pricks of iron and at axes of iron. And he dragged them in the streets”; *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets*. Introduction, translation and notes by Daniel J. Harrington SJ and Anthony J. Saldarini. Edinburgh (x, 320 pp.), p. 181. – **(2)** The Colunga/Turrado edition of the Vulgate (see Chapter **16.2**) has *servavit* – he spared (them); all other recent editions of the Clementina have *serravit*, but *servavit* does exist in manuscripts and quotations. For the manuscript evidence, see the Benedictine Vulgate, vol. 5, p. 286 (apparatus) which refers to the 6th-century manuscript G 82 Sup. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. An example of a quotation with *servavit* is listed in Pseudo-Jerome: *Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel*. Edited by Avrom Saltman. Leiden 1975 (173 pp.), p. 127 (no. 142).

1–2 Kings (Liber II–III Regum)

Text

1945. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem.* [Tomus] 6: *Liber Malachim, ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi.* Rome. viii, 354 pp. – The text of 1 Kings is on pp. 67–20B, the text of 2 Kings on pp. 209–342. This is volume 6 of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1929. Friedrich Stummer: Einige Beobachtungen über die Arbeitsweise des Hieronymus bei der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus der hebraica veritas. *Biblica* 10 (1929) 3–20, at pp. 16–20. Stummer comments on a number of passages that seem to show the influence of Jewish exegetical traditions.

1951. Salvatore Garofalo: *Il libro dei re.* Torino. ix, 295; second edition 1960, ix, 299 pp. –Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

1993. Antonio Moreno: Afinidades léxicas entre Vetus Latina y Vulgata en los libros de Reyes. In: Roger Gryson (ed.): *Philologia sacra. Biblische und partistische Studien.* Freiburg (10, 674 pp. in 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 74–89.

2014. Julio Trebollo – Pablo Torijano: The Behavior of the Hebrew Medieval Manuscripts and the Vulgate, Aramaic and Syriac Versions of 1–2 Kings vis-à-vis the Masoretic Text and the Greek Version. In: Elvira Martin-Contreras – Lorena Miralles Maciá (eds.): *The Text of the Hebrew Bible*. Göttingen (262 pp.), pp. 101–133.
2020. Matthieu Richelle: Un verset, deux traducteurs, trois scénarios: retour sur une énigme textuelle (1 Rois 15,13). In: Clemens Locher – Innocent Himbaza (eds.): *La Bible en face. Études textuelles et littéraires*. Cahiers de la Revue biblique 95. Leuven (xxiv, 362 pp.), pp. 95–111. – In the books of Kings, Jerome “suit généralement de manière très fidèle son modèle hébraïque, qui est sensiblement identique au texte masorétique” (p. 95).

Textual notes

- 1 Kgs 5:1 (Vg 4:21).** *a flumine terrae Philisthiim* – from the river of the land of the Philistines. The wording of the Vulgate is incorrect; it must be: *a flumine* [i.e., the Euphrates] *terram Philisthiim* – from the Euphrates River [King Solomon controlled] the land of the Philistines, etc. – Hugo Grotius: *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (Paris 1644), quoted in Christoph Bultmann: Beyond the Vulgate. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 120.1 (2008) 92–106, at p. 99. NVg has: *a Flumine usque ad terram Philisthim*.
- 1 Kgs 7:9.** *norma* – try measure, a builder’s tool; see glossary s.v. *norma* (Chapter 19.2).
- 1 Kgs 10:15.** *universique scruta vendentes* – and all who sell cheap stuff. The word *scruta* (plural) is a rare word; Jerome found it no doubt in Horace: *Epistle* I, 7,64–65: *Vulteium mane (...) vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello* – (he met) Vulteius as he was selling early in the morning worthless old stuff to people who wear just a tunic. See also Neh 3:31 (Vg 3:30) and the glossary s.v. *scruta* (Chapter 19.2). – Neil Adkin: *Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate*. *Augustinianum* 40 (2000) 77–87, at pp. 81–82. ▲
- 1 Kgs 15:13. (1)** *Maacham matrem suam amovit ne esset princeps in sacris Priapi et in luco eius quem consecraverat* – he removed his mother Maacha from being the princess in the sacrifices of Priapus, and in the grove which she had consecrated to him (Douay Version). The pagan god Priapus, portrayed as a standing male figure with erected penis, was known throughout the Roman world. Jerome’s explanatory paraphrase draws upon the Septuagint, rabbinic tradition, and his own familiarity with pagan sacred groves and grottoes. – **(2)** *simulacrum turpissimum* – the filthy idol (Douay Version); the adjective *turpissimum* is the translator’s explanatory gloss. – Literature on Priapus:
1920. Maurice Vernes: Une curiosité exégétique: le culte de Priape en Israël d’après la Vulgate. *Journal asiatique* 15: 100–107.
2016. Philippe Borgeaud: Jérôme traducteur et la Mère des dieux (“Commentaire à Osée”). In: Corinne Bonnet et al. (eds.): *Dieux des Grecs, dieux des Romains*. Bruxelles (249 pp.), pp. 229–238.
2020. Matthieu Richelle: Un verset, deux traducteurs, trois scénarios: retour sur une énigme textuelle (1 Rois 15,13). In: Clemens Locher – Innocent Himbaza (eds.): *La Bible en face. Études textuelles et littéraires*. Cahiers de la Revue biblique 95. Leuven (xxiv, 362 pp.), pp. 95–111. See also on 2 Chr 15:16. –
- 1 Kgs 17:7.** *post dies* – after some time (Douay Version). Literally rendered “after days,” must be an idiom. Knox says “after a while,” and Löfstedt suggests “nach einigen Tagen,” and one might consider: “schon nach wenigen Tagen.” For similar, more elaborate expressions, see Gen 4:3

(*post multos dies*) and Gen 38:12 (*evolutis autem multis diebus*). – Bengt Löfstedt: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (vii, 430 pp.), p. 317.

1 Kgs 18:27. *forsitan loquitur* – perhaps he is speaking; vielleicht spricht er. Peter Juhás: Beobachtungen zum biblisch-hebräischen Satzadverb *ʿulaj*. Funktionen, Übersetzungslösungen des Hieronymus und Problemstellen der antiken Bibelübersetzungen. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 97.1 (2021) 1–36, at pp. 26–28.

1 Kgs 21:1. *haec vinea erat Naboth Hiezrahelitae qui erat in Hiezrahel* – this vineyard was of Nabot the Jezrehalite, who (*qui*) was in Jezrahel. This is the Weber/Gryson reading. But the text requires *quae*, referring to the vineyard. Modern editions of the Clementia have the correct reading: *quae*, e.g., the editions of Loch, Hetzenauer, and Colunga/Turrado.

1 Kgs 22:38. Anne-Françoise Loiseau: Jérôme dans le sillage d’Aquila et du Targoum: Vg iuxta Hebraeos Ps 42[41],2 et Vg 1 R 22,38. *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 51 (2018) 156–169.

2 Kgs 11. Benedikt Collinet: [Athaliah on the Throne](#) (2 Kgs 11 = 4 Reg 11). Considerations on the Source-Problems in Early Latin History of Interpretation. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 37–43 (online journal).

2 Kgs 21:6. *pythones et aruspices*. Jerome uses special terms for soothsayers from the Greco-Roman world. The noun *aruspex* (*haruspex*) is also used 2 Kgs 23:5 and Dan 2:27.

1–2 Chronicles (I–II Paralipomenon)

Text

1948. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 7: *Libri Verborum Dierum ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome. xii, 323 pp. – This is a volume of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1966. Lino Randellini: *Il libro delle Cronache*. Torino. xv, 507 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

2008. David L. Everson: An Examination of Synoptic Portions within the Vulgate. *Vetus Testamentum* 58: 178–190. – A comparison between passages in Samuel/Kings and parallel passages in Chronicles leads to the following conclusion: As translations, Samuel and Kings tend to be more literal with regard to temporal clauses, word order, use of conjunctions, and redundant maintenance of subjects. Chronicles is less literal and frequently adds material for clarification. Changes were made and liberties taken to create a smoother style.

2017. Edmon L. Gallagher: Vulgate [text of 1–2 Chronicles]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 688–692.

Textual notes

- 1 Chr 2:52.** *qui videbat dimidium requietionum* – Allioli translates “und er sah die Hälfte der Ruhe” (and he saw half of the repose) and explains: “besaß die Hälfte des elterlichen Gutes” (owned half of the parental estate). – *Die Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments. Aus der Vulgata (...)* von Joseph Franz Allioli. Dritte, durchgesehene und verbesserte Auflage. Band 2. Landshut 1838 (506 pp.), p. 289.
- 1 Chr 10:13.** *pythonissa* – witch (Douay Version, Knox), prophetess, fortune-teller, Wahrsagerin. Mohrmann argues that the word belongs to Christian everyday language (“der lebendigen christlichen Umgangssprache angehört,” p. 202). Christine Mohrmann: *Die altchristliche Sonder-sprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin*. Teil 1. Nijmegen (270 pp.), pp 201–202.
- 1 Chr 16.** Martijn Jaspers: *Bis repetita placent*: Jerome’s translations of Psalm citations in 1 Chronicles 16. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 61–74 (online journal). – Detailed comparative analysis of Jerome’s renderings of Ps 105:1–15 (Vg 104:1–15) = 1 Chr 16:8–22 and Ps 96:1–13 (Vg 95:1–13) = 1 Chr 16:23–33.
- 2 Chr 15:16.** On the pagan god Priapus in Jerome, see Matthieu Richelle: Un verset, deux traducteurs, trois scénarios; retour sur une énigme textuelle (1 Rois 15,13). In: Clemens Locher – Innocent Himbaza (eds.): *La Bible en face*. Cahiers de la Revue biblique 95. Leuven 2020 (xxiv, 362 pp.), pp. 223–232. See also on 1 Kgs 15:13.
- 2 Chr 15:17.** *excelsa autem [non] derelicta sunt in Israel, attamen cor Asa erat perfectum cunctis diebus eius* – but the high places were [not] abolished in Israel, nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect all his days; die Höhen aber wurden in Israel [nicht] abgetan; doch war das Herz Asas ungeteilt (*perfectum*), so lange er lebte. The *non* is not attested, but required by the sentence (and the underlying Hebrew). Valentin Loch inserts it in his 1849 Vulgate edition, explaining in his preface (p. ix) that it is his own suggestion. Strangely enough, the Neovulgate did not add the *non*.
- 2 Chr 16:10.** *iussit mitti eum in nervum* – he ordered him to be put in the *nervus*. The Douay Version and Knox have “prison” for *nervus*, but Jer 20:2 seems to require “stocks,” a torture instrument; see textual note on Jer 20:2, so this may apply here as well.
- 2 Chr 29:19.** *coram altare Domini* (Clementina) – before the altar of the Lord (Douay Version). The noun *altare* follows the paradigm *mare, maris* (sea), with the accusative case being *altare*, and the ablative *altari*. Since *coram* is followed by the ablative case, the correct form is *altari*, the reading adopted by Weber/Gryson and NVg.

Ezra – Nehemiah (Liber I–II Ezrae)

Text

1948. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 8: *Libri Esrae, Tobiae, Iudith ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome (xii, 280 pp.), pp. 17–151. – A volume of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1957. Bruno M. Pelaia: *Esdra e Neemia*. Torino. xii, 231 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
2017. Edmon L. Gallagher: Vulgate [text of Ezra-Nehemiah]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 630–634.

Textual notes

Ezra 4:2. *ecce nos immolamus victimas* – behold, we have offered sacrifices; siehe, wir haben Opfer dargebracht. According to Kaulen, *ecce* should be replaced by *ei*, a word missing but required in the Latin: *ei nos immolamus* – to him we have offered sacrifices; ihm haben wir Opfer dargebracht. Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. 2., verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg 1884 (vi, 599 pp.), p. 131. The Neovulgate omits the words *ecce nos*, and simply writes: *et immolavimus*.

Neh 3:31 (Vg 3:30). *scruta* (plural) – cheap stuff; see textual note on 1 Kgs 10:15.

Neh 9:7. *ex igne Chaldaeorum* – from the fire of the Chaldeans (instead of *de Ur Chaldaeorum* [NVg] – from Ur of the Chaldeans). On this, see Jerome: *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos* on Gen 11:28 (PL 23: 1005): *tradunt autem Hebraei ex hac occasione istiusmodi fabulam tradunt quod Abraham in ignem [Hebrew or, actually meaning “light”] missus sit, quia ignem colere noluerit quem Chaldaei colunt, et dei auxilio liberatus de idolatriae igne profugerit* (as for the name Ur, the Jews hand down the fable that Abraham was thrown into the fire because he did not want to worship fire; with God’s help liberated from the fire of idolatry, he fled; – anlässlich des Namens Ur überliefern die Juden die Fabel, Abraham sei ins Feuer geworfen worden, weil er das Feuer nicht verehren wollte; mit Gottes Hilfe aus dem Feuer des Götzendienstes befreit, sei er geflohen). Gen 11:31 is rendered correctly by Jerome: *eduxit eos de Ur Chaldaeorum. Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*. – A note to the passage of *Hebraicae quaestiones* explains that the rabbinic story can be found in Pirke de R. Eliezer (PL 23: 1005).

Tobit (Liber Tobiae)

Note. – *Liber quoque Tobit, licet non habeatur in canone tamen, quia usurpatur ab ecclesiasticis viris* – but the book of Tobit, while not belonging to the canon, is nevertheless used by authors of the church. Jerome: *Commentary on the book of Jonah*, preface (Sources chrétiennes 323: 164). This is why Jerome could be persuaded to produce a Latin translation. In his preface to the book of Tobit, Jerome explains how he worked: a Hebrew interpreter translated the Aramaic text into Hebrew (apparently orally), and Jerome translated the Hebrew into Latin, which he dictated to his scribe (Sources chrétiennes 592: 370). One may doubt the accuracy of this description because it seems to exaggerate Jerome’s knowledge of Hebrew. Moreover, Jerome does not mention his use of the Vetus Latina text of Tobit which modern research identifies as another source used by him. The Aramaic text mentioned by Jerome is not extant, but fragments have turned up in Qumran (fragments 4Q196–199).

The Neovulgate (1979; see above, Chapter 17) has abandoned the traditional Jeromian Vulgate version of the book of Tobit. Instead, it supplies a new Latin version based on the so-called “longer” Greek text of the book of Tobit, close to the Vetus Latina version. The Neovulgate calls the book “Liber Thobis,”

the hero Tobias, and the hero's father Thobi. The notes that follow are about the old, Jeromian version of Tobit.

Text

1948. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 8: *Libri Esrae, Tobiae, Iudith ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome (xii, 280 pp.), pp. 163–209. – This is volume 8 of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.
2003. Christian J. Wagner: *Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse. Griechisch – Lateinisch – Syrisch – Hebräisch – Aramäisch*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Göttingen. xxxiii, 241 pp. – Included are two Latin versions: that of the Vetus Latina (Sabatier's text) and that of Jerome (i.e., the Vulgate text). Jerome's translation occasionally echoes the Vetus Latina version. Wagner's introduction comments extensively on the Vulgate version (pp. xxiv–xxviii). The Vulgate text, though reproducing that of the Weber/Gryson edition, introduces punctuation for easier reading.
2004. Stuart Weeks – Simon Gathercole – Loren Stuckenbruck (eds.): *The Book of Tobit. Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions. With Synopsis, Concordances, and Annotated Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac*. Berlin. x 792. pp.

Translation

1545. Martin Luther (translator): *Die gantze Heilige Schrift Deudsch*. Wittenberg 1545. – This is the last edition of the complete German Bible translated and edited by Luther. It includes a German translation of the Vulgate text of the book of Tobit, contributed by Luther's associate Justus Jonas. The translation can be found in this edition: Luther: *Die gantze Heilige Schrift Deudsch*. Herausgegeben von Hans Volz et al. Munich 1972 (2 vols., continuous pagination: 144*, 2516 pp.), vol. 2, pp. 1733–1750: Das Buch Tobie.
1857. Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Das Buch Tobias, übersetzt und erklärt*. Freiburg. I, 144 pp. – Reusch's commentary is on the Vulgate text which is presented in synoptic fashion, Latin and German. The German version follows the Latin text as closely as possible.

Secondary literature

English

1995. Neil Adkin: Tobit and Jerome. *Helmántica* 46: 109–114.
1996. Carey A. Moore: *Tobit. A New Translation and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible. New York. xxx, 336 pp. – Pages 61–63: Moore discusses the text of Jerome, and in a table lists individual phrases and expressions that may be considered the translator's personal ingredient; some of these express Jeromian preference for celibacy (lust not a reason for marriage, sexual abstinence for the first three nights of marriage – Tobit 3:16–18; 6:17–20.) Jerome's translation is "a hasty reworking of the Old Latin on the basis of an Aramaic text" (p. 62).
2000. Vincent T.M. Skemp: *The Vulgate of Tobit Compared with Other Ancient Witnesses*. Atlanta, Ga. 486 pp. – From this study, the Vulgate book of Tobit emerges as a revision of its Vetus Latina predecessor. The revision was based on an Aramaic Vorlage which Jerome's Jewish informant translated into Hebrew for him, and it was with the Hebrew version that Jerome actually worked. Occasionally, Jerome embellishes the text or highlights certain ideas dear to his own theology.–

Pages 6–15: earlier research on the Vulgate text of the book of Tobit; pp. 15–21: Jerome’s prologue. Page 463: In the extra material in the Vulgate of Tobit there is a tendency to add references to tears (at least 6 times), especially in prayers made with tears (4 times). – Reviews:

2003. Christian J. Wagner, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 128: 1021–1023.

2004. Jean-Marie Auwers, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 49: 357–359. ▲

2002. Vincent T.M. Skemp: Jerome’s Tobit. A Reluctant Contribution to the Genre Rewritten Bible. *Revue bénédictine* 112: 5–35. – A re-study of Jerome’s dependance upon the Vetus Latina text.
2009. Danuta Shanzer: Jerome, Tobit, alms, and the “Vita aeterna.” In: Andrew J. Cain – Josef Lössl (eds.): *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy*. Aldershot (xiii, 283 pp.), pp. 87–103.
2015. Edmon L. Gallagher: Why Did Jerome Translate Tobit and Judith? *Harvard Theological Review* 108: 356–375. – Pages 374–375: the (brief) prologues for Tobit and Judith, Latin and English.
2019. Michaela Hallermayer: Latin [text of Tobit]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2C. Leiden (xxxii, 572 pp.), pp. 440–443.
2020. José Lucas Brum Teixeira: *Magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum* (Hier. in Prol. Jud.): Jerome’s Translation Art in the Vulgate of Tobit. *Revista de cultura teológica* 97: 22–35.
2022. Beate Ego – Lucas Brum Teixeira: “Narrate omnia mirabilia eius” (Tob 12:20 Vg): Jerome’s Vulgate of Tobit as a *Wundergeschichte*. In: József Zsengellér (ed.): *Understanding Texts in Early Judaism*. Berlin (xi, 482 pp.), pp. 153–160.

German

1800. Karl David Ilgen: *Die Geschichte Tobi’s nach drey verschiedenen Originalen, dem Griechischen, dem Lateinischen des Hieronymus und einem Syrischen. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen exegetischen und kritischen Inhalts, auch einer Einleitung versehen*. Jena. cclxviii, 268 pp.
1853. Otto Fridolin Fritzsche: *Die Bücher Tobit und Judith*. Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments. Zweite Lieferung. Leipzig. 212 pp. – On the Vulgate, pp. 12–14. Jerome translated an Aramaic text, and subsequently edited it thoroughly on the basis of the Vetus Latina version.
1857. Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Das Buch Tobias, übersetzt und erklärt*. Freiburg. I, 144 pp. – The introduction has a section on the Vulgate (pp. xxxii–xliv). According to Reusch, Jerome’s Vulgate version is not a literal translation. It echoes the Vetus Latina version (which explains the non-Jeromian character of some of its vocabulary) and constitutes an abridgement of the original text. “Der Text, welchen die Clementinische Ausgabe der Vulgata gibt, ist im Ganzen in kritischer Hinsicht gut. (...) An einigen Stellen ist indeß der recipirte Text [der Vulgata] sicher corrupt; auch ist mitunter die Interpunction desselben unzweckmäßig” (p. xlii). Reusch’s commentary is on the Vulgate text which is presented in synoptic fashion, Latin and German. The German version follows the Latin text as closely as possible. ▲
1965. Friedrich Dingermann: Tobis. In: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 2. Auflage. Freiburg (15* pp., 1448 cols.), cols. 215–217. – Col. 216: “Die Vulgata, die Hieronymus (...) in Anlehnung an die altlateinische Übersetzung anfertigte, ist mitunter mehr Paraphrase als Übersetzung.”
1969. Johann Gamberoni: *Die Auslegung des Buches Tobias in der griechischen und lateinischen Kirche der Antike und der Christenheit des Westens bis um 1600*. Munich. 355 pp. – For Martin Luther’s German Bible, the book of Tobit was translated from the Vulgate by his assistant Justus Jonas (pp. 238–241).

2023. Lucas Brum Teixeira: Buch Tobit in der Vulgata des Hieronymus und das mittelalterliche Judentum. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 71–73.

French

1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogart OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Page 159: “L’insistance de Tobie grec en faveur de l’endogamie est remplacée dans la version hiéronymienne par un plaidoyer en faveur de la chasteté dans le mariage.” According to Bogaert (p. 158, note 78), Jerome produced the book of Tobit on the basis of the *Vetus Latina*. See also Bogaert: *The Latin Bible*. In: Richard Marsden et al. (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge 2013 (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526, at p. 516: “When he agreed to produce Tobit and Judith in Latin, he largely paraphrased the *Vetus Latina*.”

2010. Pierre-Emmanuel Douzat: Erreurs de traduction volontaires et paresse du contresens. *Anabases* 11: 137–148 (with English summary, p. 293). The author comments specifically on Jerome’s “free” renderings that support his idea of the precedence of celibacy over marriage in Tobit.

Italian – Spanish

1928. R. Galdos: Valor de la version Jerominiana del libro de Tobit. *Estudios eclesiásticos* 7: 129–145.

1953. Giuseppe Priero: *Tobia*. Torino. 147 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

1975. Francesco Vattioni: Tobia nello *Speculum* e nella prima Bibbia di Alcalà. *Augustinianum* 15: 169–200.

1976. Tullio Aurelio: La giustizia di Sara e Tobia. Confronto tra testo Greco e Vulgata. *Bibbia e Oriente* 18: 273–282.

1978. Francesco Vattioni: La *Vetus Latina* di Tobia nella Bibbia di Roda. *Revista catalana de teologia* 3: 173–201.

1978. J.R. Busto Saiz: Algunas aportaciones de la *Vetus Latina* para una nueva edición crítica del libro de Tobit. *Sefarad* 38: 53–69.

Textual notes

Tobit, title. In the Vulgate, no distinction is made between the name of Tobit and his son Tobias. Both are called Tobias.

Tobit 1–3. In his translation, Jerome took many liberties with the text; thus, in chapters 1–3, he transformed the original first-person narrative into a third-person one.

Tobit 1:1–3. In the Latin, this is one single sentence.

Tobit 1:16. *honorare* = to honour, to reward; honorieren, belohnen. – Kaulen, p. 181.

Tobit 2:20. *haedum caprarum (...) detulisset domi* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – she brought the young kid home. While this is the natural translation, the Latin expression sounds odd, because literally, it means “she brought the kid at home.” Instead of *domi* (at home) one would expect *domum*. The Nova Vulgata translates differently, without using *domi* or *domum* (Tobit 2:13 NVg).

- Tobit 2:12–18.** Jean-Marie Auwers: Tobie 2,12–18 (Vulgate) et la tradition latine d'interprétation du livre de Tobie. In: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (ed.): *L'esegesi dei Padri latini*. Rome (1770 pp., 2 vols. with one pagination), vol. 1, pp. 77–82.
- Tobit 5:23.** Daniel A. Bertrand: "Un baton de vieillesse": à propos de Tobit 5,23 et 10,4 (Vulgate). *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 71 (1991) 33–37.
- Tobit 6:16–18.** (16) Then the angel Raphael said to him, 'Listen to me, and I shall show you who they are over whom the demon can prevail. (17) For they are those who so enter marriage that in their minds they shut out God from themselves and give themselves over to their lust, as a horse or a mule that has no understanding; over those the demon has power. (18) But when you take her, go into the bridal chamber, and for three days keep yourself continent from her; occupy yourself with nothing else but prayers with her. (19) That very night, burn the fish's liver on fire, and the demon will be put to flight. (20) But on the second night you will be admitted to companionship with the holy patriarchs. (21) On the third night, you will obtain a blessing that healthy children may be born to you both. (22) After the third night has passed, in the fear of the Lord you will take the virgin, moved rather for love of children than for lust, so that in the seed of Abraham you may obtain a blessing in children.' – Translation of the Vg text by Joseph A. Fitzmyer: *Tobit. Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature*. Berlin 2003 (xviii, 374 pp.), pp. 219–220.
- Tobit 6:17–20.** A midrashic expansion: Raphael counsels sexual abstinence for the first three nights of Tobias' marriage. "In this pious expression of self-restraint an interpolation supplied by Jerome, the celibate? Or was it in his particular Aramaic text?" Carey A. Moore: *Tobit. A New Translation and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible. New York 1996 (xxx, 336 pp.), p. 63. Tobias follows the angel's counsel, see Tobit 8:4.
- Tobit 6:22.** Lucas Brum Teixeira: *Accipies virginem cum timore Domini* (Tob 6:22 Vg). Jerome's Translation Technique and Ascetic Ideals in the Vulgate of Tobit. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 85–92 (online journal).
- Tobit 7:9.** *postquam autem locuti sunt* – after they had spoken. Considered in isolation, this passage does not pose any difficulty. But compared to other ancient versions, one wonders whether *locuti sunt* is the proper reading. One of the Greek versions (Greek II) refers to taking a bath: "Now when they had bathed and washed themselves (...)." Accordingly, one would expect *laverunt* (and not *locuti sunt*), or perhaps *loti sunt* (*lotus* being the participle perfect of *lavare* – to wash) – they washed – both attested as Vetus Latina readings. As for the Vulgate, one could consider *locuti sunt* a corruption of an earlier *loti sunt*. Couroyer opts for a different explanation: the Aramaic verb that Jerome translated most likely referred to washing, but that word sounds very much like the Aramaic word for speaking. – Literature:
1857. Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Das Buch Tobias, übersetzt und erklärt*. Freiburg (I, 144 pp.), p. xlii, note 2, and p. 77: read *loti*.
1984. Bernard Couroyer OP: Tobie, VII,9. Problème de critique textuelle. *Revue biblique* 91.3: 351–361; with Couroyer's summary in *Revue biblique* 93.1 (1986) 152.
2003. Christian J. Wagner: Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse. Göttingen (xxxiii, 241 pp.), p. 81. – Tob 7:8 (Vetus Latina) includes the phrase *et postquam laverunt*.
- Tobit 7:14.** *ut ista coniungeretur cognationi suae* – so that she would be married to her kindred. One would expect "married to her kinsman," i.e., Tobit (*cognato suo*), and this is how Reusch translates. – Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Das Buch Tobias, übersetzt und erklärt*. Freiburg 1857 (I, 144 pp.), p. 78.

Tobit 9:8. *invenit Tobiam descumbentem: et exsiliens [salutavit eum], osculati sunt se invicem* (Clementina) – he found Tobias as he was reclining (at the table), and he leaped up [and greeted him], and they kissed each other. The words in square brackets are not in the text; they are added by Reusch on the assumption that they must have dropped out and must be restored. – Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Das Buch Tobias, übersetzt und erklärt*. Freiburg 1857 (I, 144 pp.), p. 97, note 2.

Tobit 10:10. *vacca* – cow (French la vache, Italian vacca). The original Vulgate reading may have been *in vasis* (instead of Vg *in vaccis*), a reference to “vessels, Gerätschaften.” – Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Das Buch Tobias, übersetzt und erklärt*. Freiburg 1857 (I, 144 pp.), p. 100, note 5.

Tobit 14:16. *et completis annis nonaginta novem in timore Domini, cum gaudio sepelierunt eum* (Clementina) – and after he had lived ninety-nine years in the fear of the Lord, with joy they buried him (Douay Version). The Clementina punctuation, followed by the Douay Version, is clearly wrong; the comma must be placed after *gaudio*: (...) in the fear of the Lord with gladness, they buried him. A typical fairy-tale ending.

Tobit 14:17. *ita ut accepti essent tam Deo quam hominibus et cunctis habitantibus in terra* – so that they found favour with God and with men, yes (or: i.e.), with all the inhabitants of the land. The *et* has explicative force (and does not serve as a conjunctive particle). For *et explicativum*, see Paul Nissen: *Die epexegetische Copula (sog. et explicativum) bei Vergil und einigen anderen Autoren*. Kiel 1915. 59 pp.

Judith

Note. – In his preface to Judith, Jerome claims to have used an Aramaic text, but he actually worked from a Greek Vorlage and often followed the Old Latin translation. As Jerome explains, he did not produce a literal rendering, but a free one: *magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum transferens* – not rendering (the text) word by word, but rather sense by sense (Sources chrétiennes 592: 374; Tusculum-Vulgata II, p. 1220).

The Neovulgate (1979; see above, Chapter 17) has abandoned the traditional Jeromian Vulgate version of the book of Judith. As in the case of the book of Tobit, it supplies a new Latin version based on the Greek text of Judith, close to the Vetus Latina version.

Text

1948. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 8: *Libri Esrae, Tobiae, Iudith ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Edited by Pierre Salmon OSB. Rome (xii, 280 pp.), pp. 219–280. – This is one of the volumes of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3.

Secondary literature

English

1899. F.C. Porter: Judith, Book of. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Volume 2. Edinburgh (xv, 870 pp.), pp. 822–824. – Although Jerome had the Old Latin version before him, he followed an Aramaic version that is reflected even in the homiletic passages (p. 822).

1925. Edwin Edgar Voigt: *The Latin Versions of Judith*. Leipzig. 54 pp. – Reprint: Eugene, Ore. 2022. – While the bulk of this Yale dissertation deals with the Vetus Latina text of the book of Judith, pp. 46–54 are on the Vulgate. According to Voigt, Jerome worked from an Aramaic text rather than

(as has been suggested) producing a hasty abridgement of the Old Latin version. There is no evidence that he depends upon the Old Latin version. The Vulgate adds 32 verses that are unattested in the Greek and Old Latin texts; among these are Judith 4:12–14; 5:15–19; 6:16–18; 7:19–22; 8:24–25; 9:7–9; 14:9–10.

2012. Stephen D. Ryan OP: The Ancient Versions of Judith and the Place of the Septuagint in the Catholic Church. In: Géza G. Xeravits (ed.): *A Pious Seductress. Studies in the Book of Judith*. Berlin (225 pp.), pp. 1–21. – Demonstrates the influence of the Vetus Latina on Jerome's version of the book of Judith. Several passages of Jerome's version of Judith are analysed in detail: Judith 8:6, 14, 31–33; 9:16; 10:4; 15:11; 16:26.
2015. Edmon L. Gallagher: Why Did Jerome Translate Tobit and Judith? *Harvard Theological Review* 108: 356–375. – Pages 374–375: The (rather brief) prologues to Tobit and Judith, Latin and English.
2015. Simone Rickerby: *Lexical Variation in the Latin Text of the Jewish Greek Bible*. Melbourne College of Divinity – University of Divinity. 307 pp. (unpublished PhD thesis). – There is a short section (pp. 252–253) on the book of Judith. "It is almost as if Jerome started each verse by glancing at the older Latin tradition but then turned his attention exclusively to the Aramaic/Hebrew" (p. 253).
2017. Barbara Schmitz – Lydia Lange: Judith: Beautiful Wisdom Teacher or Pious Woman? Reflections on the Book of Judith. In: Eileen Schuller – Marie-Theres Wacker (eds.): *Early Jewish Writings. Bible and Women 3.1* Atlanta, Ga. (xv, 299 pp.), pp. 29–48. – Includes a section that compares the figure of Judith as portrayed in the Greek text with the portrait in Jerome's version.
2019. Lawrence M. Wills: *Judith. A Commentary on the Book of Judith*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis. xxviii, 498 pp. – Pages 389–438: Jerome's Vulgate and Septuagint Compared. This section of Wills's commentary includes a study of Jerome's version of the book of Judith, and a synoptic presentation of the Vulgate and Septuagint versions of the book in English. ▲
2019. Stephen Ryan: Latin [text of Judith]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible. Volume 2C*. Leiden (xxxii, 572 pp.), pp. 77–82.
2020. Dionisio Candido: Manipulating God? On the Theology of the Book of Judith. In: Eberhard Bons et al. (eds.): *Die Septuaginta – Themen, Manuskripte, Wirkungen*. Tübingen (xii, 944 pp.), pp. 79–90, at pp. 87–88: Some changes in the Latin textual tradition.
2021. Barbara Schmitz: "Lord, God of all might" (Jdt 13:4 LXX). A Comparison between the Greek Version (Jdt 13:4-5, 7 LXX) and Vulgate (Jdt 13:6-7, 9 Vulg.). In: Angela Kim Harkins – Barbara Schmitz (eds.): *Selected Studies on Deuterocanonical Prayers*. Leuven (xi, 241 pp.), 89–111. – Page 109: "The Vulgate version is (...) much more than a mere translation – it can be understood as a glimpse of the theological and cultural transition from the 4th to the 5th centuries CE."
2022. Chris L. de Wet: Virtue, Asceticism, and the Masculinized Woman: Judith in Early Christian Greek and Latin Interpretations from the Second to the Fifth Century CE. In: Johann Cook – Gideon R. Kotzé (eds.): *The Septuagint South of Alexandria*. Leiden (xix, 485 pp.), pp. 114–134.
2022. Giulia Leonardi: The Original Language of the Book of Judith: A Comparison with the Vulgate. In: Gideon R. Kotzé et al. (eds.): *XVII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Atlanta, Ga (xxiii, 837 pp.), pp. 89–112. – On the basis of Jerome's Latin text, the author suggests that Jerome's Aramaic Vorlage echoes a lost Hebrew archetype.

German

1853. Otto Fridolin Fritzsche: *Die Bücher Tobit und Judith*. Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments. Zweite Lieferung. Leipzig. 212 pp. – On the Vulgate, pp. 121–123. Fritzsche thinks of Vulgate Judith as a free reworking of the Old Latin text. Jerome’s reliance on the Old Latin text can be seen in many Latin words and constructions that Jerome does not use elsewhere. “Als Resultat ergibt sich so, dass Hieronymus hauptsächlich nur nach Handschriften des Vet. Lat. arbeitete, aber dabei so flüchtig verfuhr und so große Willkür sich gestattete, dass auf diese Weise ein so unfertiges Werk zu Stande kam wie das vorliegende ist” (p. 122).
1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith*. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier. Speyer. 64 pp. – Jerome’s Vorlage was the Vetus Latina text (p. 37); from the Vetus Latina, he copies the verb *baptizare* (to wash), which he otherwise never uses (p. 24). Jerome’s departures from the Vetus Latina version are due not to his Aramaic Vorlage; instead, all changes are due to Jerome’s creative intervention, especially to his interest in elaboration and adding a flourish here and there (pp. 54–55). On pp. 39–54, Thielmann comments on individual Judith passages. ▲
1947. Friedrich Stummer: *Geographie des Buches Judith*. Stuttgart. 40 pp. – The appendix discusses the place names used in the Vulgate (pp. 31–39).
2012. Barbara Schmitz: *λουδιθ und Iudith. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis der Judit-Erzählung in der LXX und der Vulgata*. In: Johann Cook – Hermann-Josef Stipp (eds.), *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*. Leiden 2012 (xvi, 493 pp.), pp. 359–379. – On the basis of a careful analysis of Jerome’s preface, Schmitz reconstructs the phases of Jerome’s work on the book of Judith: “Im ersten Arbeitsschritt ist der ‘chaldäische’ Judit-Text von einem Dolmetscher mündlich ins Hebräische übersetzt worden, den Hieronymus im zweiten Arbeitsschritt ad hoc ins Lateinische übertragen hat. Diese Übertragung wurde dann im dritten Arbeitsschritt von einem Schreiber schriftlich festgehalten. Diesen von ihm selbst erstellten lateinischen Text hat Hieronymus im vierten Arbeitsschritt mit anderen ihm vorliegenden Textfassungen, wahrscheinlich altlateinischen Handschriften, verglichen. Den fünften Arbeitsschritt beschreibt Hieronymus folgendermaßen: ‘Die sehr fehlervolle Verschiedenheit der vielen Handschriften habe ich weggeschnitten: Nur das, was ich in chaldäischen Worten voll verständlich finden konnte, habe ich lateinisch ausgedrückt.’ Hieronymus hat somit eine eigene Auswahl aus dem ihm vorliegenden Textbestand getroffen” (p. 375).
2015. Lydia Hilt: *Dominus contulit splendorem* (Idt 10,4). Das Motiv der Schönheit im Buch Judith. In: Andreas Beriger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Vulgata Studies. Vol. 1: Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt (234 pp.), pp. 91–108.
2016. Lydia Lange: *Die Juditfigur in der Vulgata. Eine theologische Studie zur lateinischen Bibel*. Berlin. X, 456 pp. – Jerome’s translation is not an exact rendition of the Greek text. Instead, Jerome actually retold the story, often using his own words. By way of adding a sentence here and there, he manipulated the story to say what he wanted it to say. His aim was to present Judith as a model of chastity, cf. Judith 15:11 and 16:26 of the Vulgate version. Judith’s literary portrait corresponds exactly to the ideal of female chastity and asceticism that Jerome extolled and fervently recommended to the recently widowed Salvina; the relevant letter, dating from 400, actually mentions Judith (letter 79:11). As Lange explains, Jerome’s textual additions, compared to the rest of the text, are syntactically more complex (p. 387).

French

1903. F. Prat: Judith, livre de. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 3.2. Paris (cols. 1053–1916), cols. 1822–1833. – Col. 1825: Jerome most likely proceeded the same way as with the book of Tobit: he used a Hebrew interpreter who translated for him. He also used the *Vetus Latina*. Jerome's tendency to abridge the text resulted in a version about twenty per cent shorter than the *Vetus Latina* text.
1966. André Marie Dubarle OP: *Judith. Formes et sens des différentes traditions*. Rome. 2 volumes, 191 pp., 203 pp. – Especially valuable for its synoptic presentation of source texts to highlight Jerome's indebtedness to the *Vetus Latina* and the (lost) Aramaic version that he used. According to Dubarle, the Hebrew or Aramaic version of Judith, echoed in Jerome's version, survived as it were underground in Jewish circles, only to surface again in medieval midrashim.
1968. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La version latine du livre de Judith dans la première Bible d'Alcala. *Revue bénédictine* 78: 7–32.
1975. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Recensions de la vieille version latine de Judith, I. Aux origines de la Vulgate hiéronymienne: le Corbeiensis. *Revue bénédictine* 85: 7–37. – It can be shown that Jerome relied on the Old Latin version of Judith. ▲
1988. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159. 276–314. – Page 185: As Philipp Thielemann has shown long ago (1883), Jerome produced his version of the book of Judith from the *Vetus Latina*, despite the disrespect he expresses for it in his preface. See also Bogaert: The Latin Bible. In: Richard Marsden et al. (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 1. Cambridge 2013 (xxvii, 979 pp.), pp. 505–526, at p. 516: "When he agreed to produce Tobit and Judith, he largely paraphrased the *Vetus Latina*."
1993. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Judith dans la première Bible d'Alcala (Complutensis 1) et dans la version hiéronymienne (Vulgate). In: Roger Gryson (ed.): *Philologia sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien*. Freiburg (10, 674 pp. in 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 116–130.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris (530 pp.), p. 374, note 6. – The possibility is considered that after having produced his translation of Tobit with the help of an interpreter who knew Aramaic, Jerome no longer needed the interpreter when he worked on his Latin version of the book of Judith, because he had made progress in his knowledge of Aramaic. (B. Lang: This idea of "progress in Aramaic" seems unlikely. In his preface to Judith, Jerome simply omits the details of his procedure.)

Italian

1959. Giuseppe Priero: *Giuditta*. Torino. x, 139 pp. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
2020. Giulia Leonardi: Giuditta "mulier sancta et venerabilis": la rivisitazione moralistica dell'eroina nella Vulgata di Gerolamo. *Adamantius* 26: 525–536. – Jerome's modifications of his Vorlage serve a double purpose: (1) to emphasize Judith's chastity, simplicity, secluded lifestyle and "manliness" (*mulier virilis*); (2) to exalt the values of penance and prayer. In order to understand the reasons for these changes, the relevant passages of the Vulgate are compared to extracts from other works of Jerome. ▲

Textual notes

Judith 1:6. *Iadason* (Clementina) or *Hyadas* (Weber/Gryson)? The name of the river is unstable in the textual transmission. Thielmann emends to *Hydaspen*. – Literature:

1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), p. 39.

1925. Edwin Edgar Voigt: *The Latin Versions of Judith*. Leipzig (54 pp.), p. 53. Most likely, Jerome transcribed this name from a corrupt spelling found in the Aramaic text that he translated.

Judith 4:1. *habitabant in terra Juda* (Clementina) – they dwelt in the land of Judah. Weber/Gryson has *in terra Iudaeae*.

Judith 4:8. *in ieiuniis et orationibus* (Clementina) – in fastings and prayers. The Weber/Gryson edition omits *et orationibus*, words imported from Judith 4:12. –Thielmann: *Beiträge*, p. 40 (see above, on Judith 1:6).

Judith 5:1. *praepararent se* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – they prepared themselves. One would expect *praeparassent* (pluperfect subjunctive), a reading found in Codex Amiatinus. Thielmann: *Beiträge*, pp. 40–41, thinks that the Amiatinus text is the correct Jeromian one.

Judith 5:4. *obviam nobis* (Clementina) – to us. Thielmann (*Beiträge*, pp. 41–42; see on Judith 1:6) prefers the reading *in obviam nobis*, as does the Weber/Gryson edition.

Judith 5:22. *exterminati sunt proeliis multis nationibus* (Weber/Gryson) – they were destroyed in many battles by the (pagan) nations. The Clementina has *a multis nationibus* – in battles by many nations, but the *a* should perhaps have been placed before *nationibus* (were destroyed in many battles by the nations). Thielmann: *Beiträge*, p. 42 (see on Judith 1:6).

Judith 6:13. *dum vinceret filios Israhel* – when he would have defeated the sons of Israel; quand il aurait vaincu les fils d’Israël; sobald er die Israeliten besiegt habe. In classical Latin, it would be *cum vicisset*. Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 175 (§ 311).

Judith 8:2. *in diebus messis hordiariae* (Weber/Gryson) – in the days of the barley harvest. The reading *hordeaceae* (Clementina) is to be rejected, because this adjective means “made of barley” (as in Num 5:15). – Thielmann: *Beiträge*, pp. 43–44 (see on Judith 1:6).

Judith 8:5. *secretum cubiculum* – private chamber (Douay Version). “An enclosed room on the top storey of her house, a typical feature of houses in Roman times,” Barbara Schmitz: “Lord, God of all might” (Jdt 13:4 LXX). A Comparison between the Greek Version (Jdt 13:4-5, 7 LXX) and Vulgate (Jdt 13:6–7, 9 Vulg.). In: Angela Kim Harkins – Barbara Schmitz (eds.): *Selected Studies on Deuterocanonical Prayers*. Leuven 2021 (xi, 241 pp.), 89–111, at p. 103.

Judith 9:11. *tabernaculum nominis tui* (Clementina) – dwelling-place of your name; or *tabernaculum honoris tui* – dwelling-place of your honour (Weber/Gryson)? Thielmann (*Beiträge*, pp. 45–46) opts for the latter version.

Judith 10:4. Vincent T.M. Skemp: Learning by Example. Exempla in Jerome’s Translations and Revisions of Biblical Books. *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 257–285.

Judith 11:15. Jerome translates freely; in German one resorts to formulations with “indem.” – Herbert Migsch: *Studien zum Jeremiabuch und andere Beiträge zum Alten Testament*. Frankfurt 2010. 352 pp. – Pages 285–294: Exodus 26,9; Richter 9,45; Judit 11,15: Noch drei modale pseudokonsequitive Satzgefüge in der Vulgata (= *Biblische Notizen* 145 [2010] 13–23).

Judith 12:8. *orabat dominum deum Israel ut dirigeret viam eius* – she prayed to the Lord the God of Israel that he would direct her way; sie bat den Herrn, den Gott Israels, dass er ihren Weg lenke. For *viam eius*, with possessive pronoun in the genitive case, it would have to be *viam suam* in classical Latin. – Kaulen, p. 168.

Judith 13:6–9. Barbara Schmitz: “Lord, God of all might” (Jdt 13:4 LXX). A Comparison between the Greek Version (Jdt 13:4-5, 7 LXX) and Vulgate (Idt 13:6–7, 9 Vulg.). In: Angela Kim Harkins – Barbara Schmitz (eds.): *Selected Studies on Deuterocanonical Prayers*. Leuven 2021 (xi, 241 pp.), 89–111.

Judith 13:22. *benedixit te Dominus (...) quia per te (...)* – the Lord has blessed you, because through you. The *quia* is to be changed to *qui*, as suggested by Thielmann: *Beiträge*, p. 50 (see above, on Judith 1:6).

Judith 13:29–14:6. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Jérôme hagiographe et conteur. La conversion d’Achior dans le livre de Judith. In: Geert Van Oyen – André Wénin (eds.): *La surprise dans la Bible*. Leuven (xli, 474 pp.), pp. 111–123.

Judith 14:6. *relicto gentilitatis ritu credidit Deo* – leaving the religion (*ritus*) of the Gentiles, he believed in God. This description of conversion echoes Christian fourth-century notions. Of special interest is the possibility of translating *ritus* as “religion,” as is done in the Douay Version, the Tusculum-Vulgata, and Schmitz, while Allioli has “Dienst,” and Glaire “culte.” Knox elegantly avoids the issue by speaking of “heathenry.” – Barbara Schmitz: “Lord, God of all might” (Jdt 13:4 LXX). A Comparison between the Greek Version (Jdt 13:4-5, 7 LXX) and Vulgate (Idt 13:6–7, 9 Vulg.). In: Angela Kim Harkins – Barbara Schmitz (eds.): *Selected Studies on Deuterocanonical Prayers*. Leuven 2021 (xi, 241 pp.), 89–111, at p. 107.

Judith 13:31. *in omni gente quae audierit nomen tuum* (Weber/Gryson) – in every nation that will hear your name. Thielmann (*Beiträge*, p. 50; see Judith 1:6) suggests an emendation: *qui audierit* – in every nation the one who will hear your name (...).

Judith 15:7. *onustati sunt valde* (Clementina) – they were laden exceedingly (Douay Version). The *onustati* must be changed to *honestati* (Weber/Gryson) – they were much honoured, or rather: they were made rich. – Thielmann: *Beiträge*, pp. 51–52 (see Judith 1:6).

Judith 15:8. *a minimo usque ad magnum* (Weber/Gryson) – from the least to the greatest. *magnum* as “greatest” (rather than merely “great”) is typical of late Latin. The Clementina has *a minimo usque ad maximum*, which is classical Latin (and is used in Gen 19:11). – Thielmann: *Beiträge*, pp. 52–53 (see above, on Judith 1:6).

Judith 16:7. *confodit* (Clementina) or *confudit* (Weber/Gryson)? *confodere* – to stab, to pierce; *confundere* – to put to shame. Thielmann: *Beiträge*, p. 53 (see above, on Judith 1:6) prefers *confudit*.

Judith 16:26. Vincent T.M. Skemp: Learning by Example. Exempla in Jerome’s Translations and Revisions of Biblical Books. *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 257–285; Stephen D. Ryan OP: The Ancient Versions of Judith and the Place of the Septuagint in the Catholic Church. In: Géza G. Xeravits (ed.): *A Pious Seductress. Studies in the Book of Judith*. Berlin 2012 (225 pp.), pp. 1–21, at p. 8.

Esther (Hester)

Note. – Jerome’s text of the book of Esther is presented in two parts: first, the translation of the Hebrew text (Est 1:1–10:3), then, appended, the seven additional passages that Jerome found in Greek manuscripts. This sequence (which makes sense to the textual scholar) is reproduced in the Roman Be-

nedictine edition of 1951 and in the Weber/Gryson edition. This was also the way in which the Clementina and all its subsequent Latin editions and translations presented the text. On Jerome's editorial decisions, see the discussion by József Zsengellér: Addition or edition? Deconstructing the Concept of Additions, in: Géza X. Xeravits et al. (eds.): *Deuterocanonical Additions of the Old Testament Books*. Berlin 2010 (180 pp.), pp. 1–15.

In the Neovulgate of 1979, by contrast, the presentation of the Vulgate text of Esther has been redesigned by placing the extra passages where they belong in the story. This way, the book of Esther begins with a dream of Mordechai rather than with the deposition of the Persian queen who is then replaced by Esther. In the words of Bogaert: "Le livre d'Esther retrouve à leur place naturelle non seulement les suppléments du grec, mais aussi ceux que la *vetus latina* est seule à avoir conservés, par exemple la prière de Juifs en 3,15d–i et la magnifique litanie des huit *ego audiui ex libris maiorum meorum* de la prière d'Esther en 4,17s–aa." Pierre-Maurice Bogaert: La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19 (1988) 137–1159. 276–314, at p. 304. The Neovulgate was not the first Bible to abandon Jerome's (scholarly) method of presenting the text. Some Catholic vernacular Bibles had done so already, e.g., the New American Bible (1970). Scholars, however, still prefer Jerome's editorial decision.

Text

1951. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 9: *Hester et Iob ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome. xi, 207 pp. –This is one of the volumes of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3.

Secondary literature

2017. Vincent Skemp: Vulgate [text of the Five Scrolls]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 441–446.

2019. Jean-Claude Haelewyck: Latin [text of the Additions to Esther]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 405–408. – "The Vulgate additions are completely independent of the Old Latin tradition. The translation was in fact done from the text of the LXX [Septuagint]" (p. 406).

2019. Simon Bellmann – Anatheia Portier-Young: The Old Latin Book of Esther: An English Translation. *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 28: 267–289. – This is a wonderful resource for comparing Jerome's rendering with the *Vetus Latina* version of Esther. For a German version of this translation, see the appendix (p. 319 ff.) of Simon Bellmann: *Politische Theologie im frühen Judentum. Eine Analyse der fünf Versionen des Estherbuches*. Berlin 2020. xiii, 386 pp.

Textual notes

Esth 1:6. (1) *carpassini*. Kaulen does not want *carpassini* to be understood as a color adjective (in the colour of cotton, baumwollfarben, from *carpasus*, cotton), but as a noun: cotton curtains. Kaulen, p. 142. – **(2) *aërius*** – having the colour of the air or the sky, ie., sky-blue; luftfarbig, himmelblau. Also used in Esth 8:15. Kaulen, p. 130; Hermann Rönsch: *Semasiologische Beiträge zum lateinischen Wörterbuch*. II. Heft. Leipzig 1888 (87 pp.), p. 1.

Esth 1:13. *leges ac iura maiorum*. The expression "should be interpreted as 'laws and judicial customs of ancestors' rather than 'laws and rights of ancestors'." Interestingly, the word "ancestors" does not figure in the relevant Hebrew and Greek texts of Esther. Igor Filippov: *Bible and Roman Law*.

The Notions of Law, Custom and Justice in the Vulgate. In: Angelo Di Berardino et al.: *Lex et religio*. Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 135. Rome 2013 (782 pp.), pp. 105–141, at p. 117.

Esth 1:18. The noun *exemplum* is a plus with no precise equivalent in the Hebrew text. Vincent T.M. Skemp: Learning by Example. Exempla in Jerome's Translations and Revisions of Biblical Books. *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 257–285.

Esth 5:3. *quid vis Esther regina? quae est petition tua? Etiam si dimidiam partem regni petieris, dabitur tibi* – what do you want, Queen Esther? What is your request? If you should even ask one half of the kingdom, it shall be given to you. According to Tkacz, this wording echoes Ovid: *Metamorphoses* 2:44, Philebus' rash promise to Phaeton: *quodvis pete munus*; but Adkin does not accept the Esther passage as an echo of Ovid.

1997. Catherine Brown Tkacz: Ovid, Jerome and the Vulgate. In: Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.): *Papers Presented at the 12th International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford* 1995. Studia Patristica 33. Leuven (vi, 585 pp.), pp. 378–382. Tkacz also refers to similar passages: Esth 5:6; 7:2; Mark 6:22.

2000. Neil Adkin: Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate. *Augustinianum* 40: 77–87, at pp. 77–78. ▲

Esth 5:6. See textual note on Esth 5:3.

Esth 7:2. See textual note on Esth 5:3.

Esth 9:4. *fama quoque nominis eius crescebat cotidie et per cunctorum ora volitebat* – the fame of his name increased daily, and was spread abroad through the mouths of all. The phrase *volitare per ora* is from Vergil: *Georgics* III, 1, and is a favourite expression of Jerome. – Neil Adkin: Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate. *Augustinianum* 40 (2000) 77–87, at pp. 78–80. ▲

Esth 9:28. *Isti sunt dies quos nulla umquam delebit memoria* – these are the days that shall never be forgotten. Compare Cicero: *Ad familiares* II, 1,2: *meam tuorum erga me meritorum memoriam nulla umquam delebit oblivio* – my memory of your kindnesses toward me will never be deleted by oblivion, i.e., I will never consign to oblivion your kindness against me. This must not be a specific echo of Cicero, but the parallel shows that Jerome used an expression from classical Latin. The same phrase is used elsewhere in Jerome's translation – Deut 31:21; Koh 6:4; Jer 23:40; 50:5. – Neil Adkin: Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate. *Augustinianum* 40 (2000) 77–87, at pp. 80–81. ▲

Job (Iob)

Note. – The Vulgate includes Jerome's translation of the book of Job from the Hebrew. Another, earlier version by Jerome, was based on the Greek; see above, Chapter 11.5.

Text

1951. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 9: *Libri Hester et Iob ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Rome. xi, 207 pp. – One of the volumes of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3.

Translations

1884. Johann Langer: *Das Buch Job in neuer und treuer Übersetzung nach der Vulgata*. Luxemburg. xvi, 213 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German, accompanied by a commentary. A 3rd edition was

published in Freiburg 1989. xix, 219 pp. – The third edition of 1889 has xx, 219 pp. In some library catalogues, the author is listed as Jean Langer.

1925. Louis Barret (translator): *Job selon la Vulgate*. Toulon. 126 pp. – A French translation of the book of Job, based on the Vulgate text.

Secondary literature

1950. Peter J. Erbes: *Die Job-Übersetzungen des hl. Hieronymus*. Diss. Freiburg. – Typewritten thesis, submitted to the University of Freiburg, Germany.

1953. Pierre Salmon OSB: De quelques leçons du texte du Job dans la nouvelle édition de la Vulgate. In: Romualdo Ma Díaz (ed.): *Miscellanea biblica B. Ubach*. Montserrat (xi, 474 pp.), pp. 177–184. – The “new edition” of the Vulgate of Job is the Benedictine one listed above.

1957. Johann Baptist Bauer: Initium viarum suarum “primitiae potentiae Dei” (Job 40,19, cf. 26,14 et Prov 8,22). *Verbum Domini* 35: 222–227. – A German abstract is in *Internationale Zeitschriftensschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete* 6 (1958/59) 71 (no. 483). – In this Latin article, Bauer suggests a new interpretation on the assumption that Hebrew *drk* here means “power” (*potentia*), and not “way” (*via*). His suggestions were not received into the Nova Vulgata, but continues to be discussed in scholarship on this passage.

2012. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Job latin chez les Pères et dans les bibles. D’une version courte à des versions longues sur le grec et sur l’hébreu. *Revue bénédictine* 122: 48–99, 366–393. – The first Latin translation of Job was made from the original short Greek text (Old Greek) of the Septuagint. It was subsequently revised according to long Greek texts (with the supplements of Theodotion), among others by Jerome whose first translation on the Greek is preserved. Afterwards Jerome translated Job a second time on the Hebrew. The essay reconstructs this complicated history on the basis of patristic citations of the short text and of the revised texts. Some manuscripts of the translation of Jerome on the Hebrew (Vulgate) try to recover “pluses” of the Septuagint.

2018. Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger – Wilhelm Tauwinkl: [Some Notes about Jerome and the Hexameters in the Book of Job](#). *Vulgata in dialogue* 2, 47–51 (online journal). – See also the hexameter verse in Gen 3:5, and [Chapter 8.7](#) (s.v. hexameter).

2019. Jason Soenkens: Latin [text of Job]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 198–202.

2023. Tobias Häner: [Job, the “vir simplex” \(Job 1:1, 8; 2:3\): Ambiguities in the Hebrew Book of Job and the Vulgate](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 121–131 (online journal). – The author comments on ambiguities in the portrayal of God (Job 1:16; 2:3) and of Job (Job 9:22; 32:1). There is also a section on Job 1:1.

2023. Tobias Häner: Rezeptionsgeschichte des Buches Hiob. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 80–181.

Textual notes

Job 1:1. *vir ille simplex* – this simple man. “What Jerome intends by translating *tm* with ‘simplex’ in Job 1:1 and further on is to shift the image of Job from ‘Job the blameless’ – i.e., Job as an example of virtue and moral integrity, to ‘Job the simple’ – i.e, Job as a rather ordinary person that is steadfast in his trust in God’s grace” (p. 129). – Tobias Häner: [Job, the “vir simplex” \(Job 1:1, 8; 2:3\): Ambiguities in the Hebrew Book of Job and the Vulgate](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 121–131, at p. 129 (online journal).

Job 5:7. *homo nascitur ad laborem, et avis ad volatum* – man is born for labour, as the bird is for flying; der Mensch ist für die Arbeit geboren, wie der Vogel zum Flug. Since this is a comparison, Kaulen (p. 296) suggests to render *et* with *as* or *like*, to produce a more dynamic proverb.

Job 19:24. *celte* (Clementina) is seen as a problem word. Two options: **(1)** It may refer to a *celtis* = chisel; see Kaulen, p. 39; Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 142: “burin de graveur. lob 19,24 pour graver des lettres dans la pierre.” This is the opinion of the revisers of the NVg who exchange it for *stilo ferreo* – with an iron chisel. **(2)** It is an incorrect reading for *certe*, the reading adopted by Weber/Gryson on the basis of Codex Amiatinus. – See also above, Chapter **19.2**, in the glossary s.v. *celte!* – On the scholarly debate, see:

1875. Rönsch, p. 93.

1876. Karl von Becker: Die sogenannten Celte oder Streitmeißel. *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung Augsburg*. 24. Dezember, pages 5503–5504. The word *celtis* does not exist, and to derive from this word the name of the Celts and their weapons, is unfounded. “Streitmeißel hat es nie gegeben, und dieses sonderbare Wort ist nur zur Begründung einer unmöglichen Theorie erfunden” (p. 5504). Mention is made of Job 19:24. The author of the article was a then well-published author on the history of the Celts.

1889. Johannes Heller: Das Wort *celte* in der Clementinischen Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 13: 207–210.

1916. F.C. Burkitt: On *celtis* ‘a chisel’: A Study in Textual Tradition. *Journal of Theological Studies* 17.7: 389–397.

1921. F.C. Burkitt: On *celtis* ‘a chisel’: A Further Note. *Journal of Theological Studies* 22.4: 380–381.

1969. Aelred Baker: The Strange Case of Job’s Chisel. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 31: 370–379.

Job 19:25(–27). *scio enim quod redemptor meus vivat et in novissimo de terra resurrecturus sim* (Weber/Gryson) – but I know that my redeemer lives, and that in the last (day) I will rise up. The Greek, the Hebrew, and the Vetus Latina have no equivalent of *in novissimo* (Weber/Gryson; the Clementina reads: *in novissimo die*), i.e., they make Job expect to be restored to health in the present life. In the Vulgate, by contrast, Jerome attributes to Job a personal confession of faith in the eschatological resurrection of the dead. According to Jerome (*Letter* 53, 8; PL 22: 545; CSEL 54: 455–456), the passage does indeed announce the resurrection of the dead. Interestingly, the Nova Vulgata keeps Jerome’s interpretation by retaining *in novissimis*. – The beginning of the passage has become a frequently quoted scripture: aber ich weiß, dass mein Erlöser lebet (Luther); for I know that my redeemer liveth (King James Version, 1611).

2016. Françoise Mies: Exégèse critique et histoire de la réception de Job: “Je sais que mon rédempteur est vivant.” In: Olivier-Thomas Venard – Régis Burnet (eds.): “Dieu a parlé une fois – Deux fois j’ai entendu.” *L’exégèse de l’Écriture à l’heure de l’histoire de la réception*. Paris 2016 (382 pp.), pp. 153–216, at p. 175: “C’est la Vulgate qui a rendu notre passage [Job 19:25–27] vraiment célèbre.”

2021. Carsten Ziegert: “Ich weiß, dass mein Erlöser lebt.” Hiob 19,25–27 in der Septuaginta und in der Vulgata. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 65: 134–150.

2021. Andrea Ravasco: The Latin Manuscript Evidence in Job 19:25–26. A Comparison with the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. *Lumina* 5: 217–226.

Job 21:33. *dulcis fuit glareis Cocyti* – he hath been acceptable to the gravel of Cocytus (Douay Version), den Kieseln des Cocytus war er angenehm. Jerome refers to the death river Cocytus known from Greco-Roman mythology. – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 111; cf. the note in the Tusculum-Vulgata II, p. 1407.

- Job 25:5.** *ecce etiam luna non splendet* – behold, even the moon does not shine; siehe, sogar der Mond leuchtet nicht. On *etiam* = even (German: sogar), see Friedrich Stummer: Die Vulgata zum Canticum Annae. *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1950) 10–19, at p. 17.
- Job 28:28.** *timor Domini* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – fear of the Lord. Patristic sources have a second version: *pietas Domini* – devotion toward the Lord. – Georges Folliet: La double tradition patristique du verset Job 28,28. "*pietas/timor Domini est sapientia.*" *Sacris erudiri* 45 (2006) 159–189: the expression *timor Domini* was introduced by Jerome (against the Septuagint and Augustine).
- Job 29:18.** Françoise Lecoq: Y a-t-il un phénix dans la Bible? À propos de Job 29,18, de Tertullien (De resurrectione carnis 13, 2–3) et d'Ambroise (De excessu fratris 2, 50). *Kentron. Revue pluridisciplinaire du monde antique* 30 (2014) 55–82. – Includes a section on the Vetus Latina and Jerome's rendering of the verse.
- Job 31:27.** *lactatum* (Weber/Gryson) – enticed, verführt, is the correct reading. The Clementina has *laetatum* – rejoiced, gefreut. Alberto Vaccari SJ: "Lacto" nella Volgata. *Biblica* 2 (1921) 219–221. – Interestingly, the Nova Vulgata has *decepit me* – it (my heart) has deceived me.
- Job 36:16.** Patrick W. Skehan: Job 36:16. Vulgate. In: idem: *Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom*. Washington 1971 (xii, 25 pp.), pp. 89–95.
- Job 38:33.37.** *ratio* here means "order." For this word, Jerome may be indebted to Cicero who uses it in a similar context; cf. Cicero: *De natura deorum* II, 46,119; *In Verrem* II, 2, 52; see the entry on *ratio* in the glossary (above, Chapter 19.2).
- Job 42:14.** *Cornustibii* (Clementina, NVg *Cornu stibii* (Weber/Gryson). The spelling of Weber/Gryson indicates how this name is to be understood: as *cornu stibii* – horn of *stibium* = black powder for the eyes or eyelashes. The female name Qeren ha-Puk, in most English translations kept as Ker-en-happuch, has received multiple renderings: Dark Eylids (Ronald Knox), Applescent (James Moffat; this would be Apfelduft in German), Schminkhorn (Allioli). but only Knox's seems to render the Latin. But what exactly is *stibium*? Jerome uses the word in Jeremiah 4:30: *pinxeris stibio oculos tuos* – you have painted your eyes with *stibium* (Douay Version: with stibic stone, Allioli: schminktest deine Augen mit Schminke).

*

Note. – The name of the third of Job's daughters, *Cornustibii* (Job 42:14), invented by Jerome, stands out for its imaginative quality. Strangely enough, the name was often misunderstood, but Roger Bacon is on the right track.

- c. 600. Gregory the Great: *Moralia in Iob XXXV*, 17, 43 (PL 76: 774; *Moral Reflections on the Book of Job*. Volume 6. Translated by Brian Kerns. Collegeville, Min. 2022 [576 pp.], p. 528): "As for *Cornustibii*, although the word is not *Cornus* but *Cornu*, followed not by *Cantantium Fistula Tibium* [*Pipe of Singers*] but *Tibia* [*feminine gender, not neuter*], by not at all preserving the correct gender in the Latin language, I imagine the translator preferred to express the matter simply, but to keep the style of the language from which he was translating. Or perhaps in composing one word out of two, *Cornu* and *Tibia*, he was at liberty to give both words, translated into one part of speech in Latin, whatever gender he preferred." Gregory, as it happens, was wrong because he did not understand that Jerome thought of *stibium*, not *tibium*.
- c. 1290. Roger Bacon: *Et est stibium genus medicamenti quo mulieres solebant suas linire facies, ut albescent, quod idem est quod cerusa vel consimile, et incipit ab s libera. Et quia tale quid solebat poni in vase, ut in cornu vel alio, ideo dicitur ibi stibii, quia nec cornus aliquid significat nec tibii.* "Stibi-

um is the kind of medical substance with which women used to treat their faces to make it white; it is the same as ashes or something similar, and it begins with the letter *s*. And because this kind of thing was usually kept in a receptacle, such as a horn or something, this is why it is here called *cornu stabii* (horn of *stabium*). Neither *cornus* nor *tibii* means anything in Latin." – *Fr. Rogeri opera quaedam inedita*. Edited by J.S. Brewer. Volume 1. London 1859 (c, 573 pp.), p. 518.

Psalms (Psalmi, liber Psalmorum)

Note. – Jerome created two Psalters: a first one translated from Greek (so-called Psalterium Gallicanum) and a second one translated from Hebrew (iuxta Hebraeos). The Vulgate includes only the Psalter translated from the Greek, the so-called Gallican Psalter. The Stuttgart Vulgate (Weber/Gryson) prints the Latin texts of both versions. Robert Weber describes the Vulgate Psalter as "an Old-Latin text which was corrected by Jerome to agree with the Greek of Origen's Hexapla" (Weber/Gryson, p. xxix).

With the Vulgate Psalms, one must always pay attention to the correct numbering, because this partly deviates from the today's usual numbering (according to the Hebrew Bible). Here is an overview:

modern numbering	Vulgate numbering
Ps 1–8	1–8
Ps 9–10	9
Ps 11–113	10–112
Ps 114–115	113
Ps 116	114–115
Ps 117–146	116–145
Ps 147	146–147
Ps 148–150	148–150

Text

1509. *Psalterium Quincuplex*. Printed in Paris, this edition of five versions of the book of Psalms includes the two Jeromian versions – the *iuxta Hebraeos* and the Gallicanum. The compiler is the French humanist Faber Stapulensis (Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, 1460–1536).
1913. A.B. Macaulay – James Brebner: *The Vulgate Psalter. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary*. London. xxi, 242 pp.
1953. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem as codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 10: *Liber Psalmorum ex recensione Sancti Hieronymi*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB. Rome. xvi, 298 pp. – This volume is part of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**. – Review: Henry S. Gehmann, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955) 134–135.
1961. Robert Weber OSB (ed.): *Psalterii secundum Vulgatam Bibliorum Versionem nova recensio*. Abbaye de S. Maurice et S. Maur, Clervaux. 192 pp. – Two columns: on the left, the traditional Vulgate text, on the right: alternative formulations meant to replace incomprehensible phrases with better Latin wording.

1994. *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB – Roger Gryson. 4th, corrected edition 1994; 5th, corrected edition 2007. Stuttgart (5th edition: xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 770–953. – This edition offers Jerome’s two versions of the Psalms – Gallican Psalter and iuxta Hebraeos – synoptically on facing pages.

Glossaries

1900. François C. Ceulemans: *Introductio et commentarius in Psalmos*. Mecheln. 400 pp. – On pp. 26–30, the author presents a glossary of Latin words.

1903. Jakob Ecker: *Porta Sion. Lexikon zum lateinischen Psalter (Psalterium Gallicanum)*. Trier. viii, 234 pp., 1936 cols. – The full subtitle: “Lexikon zum lateinischen Psalter (Psalterium Gallicanum) unter genauer Vergleichung der Septuaginta und des hebräischen Textes mit einer Einleitung über die griechisch-lateinischen Psalmen und dem Anhang Der apokryphe Psalter Salomons.” This is a very learned work. Its Vulgate Latin dictionary (1936 cols.) includes numerous quotations from commentaries on the Psalms. The book uses Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic fonts – a conspicuous display of philological learning.

1913. A.B. Macaulay – James Brebner: *The Vulgate Psalter*. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. London. xxiii, 242 pp. – The vocabulary is very brief (pp. 231–233).

1923. Stanislaus Stephan: *Psalmenschlüssel. Einführung in die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten und in den Gedankengang der Brevierpsalmen*. Lauban. 308 pp. (poor printing; pages 200–306 have the numbers 100–206 by mistake). – Includes a detailed Latin-German glossary of nearly 100 pages, closely printed, in two columns. The Latin vocabulary, according to the author, must be seen from the underlying Hebrew words; Latin words carry Hebrew meanings.

1928. Matthew Britt OSB: *A Dictionary of the Psalter: Containing the Vocabulary of the Psalms, Hymns, Canticles and Miscellaneous Prayers of the Breviary Psalter*. New York. xxxvi, 299 pp. – In addition to the dictionary there is also an introduction devoted to “The Latinity of the Vulgate Psalter” (pp. xix–xxxvi). The author notes the absence of the accusative with infinitive (well known to readers of classical Latin, p. xx). Helpful, but not scholarly.

1937. Francis J. Pinkman: *Knots Untied of the Latin Psalter. New and enlarged edition*. London. 44 pp. – This Latin–English glossary was first published in 1936 (39 pp.).

2021. Rodrigo H. Kahl OP: *Die liturgischen Psalmen der lateinischen Kirche. Lateinisch – deutsch. Textfassungen der Vulgata. Wörtliche Übersetzung*. Kulmbach. xxxii, 528 pp. – This bilingual edition, Latin and German, has a brief glossary of Latin words on pp. xxii–xxiv.

Study aids and translations

Note. – The Psalms form the central part of the Catholic “liturgy of the hours” or breviary, daily read, recited, or sung by monks, priests, and nuns. In the past, i.e., before the 1970s, this was done in Latin, and the text was the Gallican Psalter of the Vulgate, in personal prayer alternatively the Psalter of P. Pius XII (see above, Chapter 16.6). But reading the Psalms intelligently has never been an easy task; this is especially true of the (Gallican) Vulgate Psalter: “Der Wortlaut des Vulgatapsalters ist streckenweise mit bloßer humanistischer Schulbildung nicht zu bewältigen” (Arthur Allgeier: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata. Ihre Eigenart, sprachliche Grundlage und geschichtliche Stellung*. Paderborn 1940 [314 pp.], p. 8). As a remedy, specialists produced numerous study aids and translations. What follows is a selection of English and German publications; a few titles in French are added.

English

Note. – The standard English translation of the Vulgate Psalms is the Douay Version or, to be more precise, the Douay-Challoner version (see above, Chapter **18.1**). Ronald Knox's translation is irrelevant for the study of the Vulgate Psalms, because Knox translated the Psalterium Pianum, and not the Vulgate text.

1901. James McSwiney SJ: *Translation of the Psalms and Canticles with Commentary*. Dublin. xxxii, 659 pp. – Two English translations are synoptically presented: a literal rendering of the Vulgate Psalms, and a literal rendering of the Hebrew text.
1911. John Henry Bernard (ed.): *The Psalter in Latin and English*. London. xx, 324 pp. – The English text is the one used by the Church of England in its liturgy, i.e., the Authorised Version or King James Version.
1913. A.B. Macaulay – James Brebner: *The Vulgate Psalter*. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. London. xxiii, 242 pp. – The vocabulary is very brief (pp. 231–233), but there are textual notes on some of the Psalms (pp. 213–230).
- 1920/24. Patrick C. Boylan: *The Psalms: A Study of the Vulgate Psalter in the Light of the Hebrew Text*. Dublin. 2 vols. lxxix, 299 pp.; xi, 404 pp. – The text of the Vulgate Psalms and a literal translation are printed in synoptic columns. There are also explanatory notes that frequently refer to the Hebrew text.
- 1939–1944. William H. McClellan SJ: Obscurities in the Latin Psalter. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1 (1939) 69–74, 150–153, 243–248, 353–357. – 2 (1940) 64–69, 173–178, 253–258, 341–345. – 3 (1941) 55–60, 167–173, 259–265, 356–361. – 4 (1942) 58–62, 152–158, 252–257, 349–354. – 5 (1943) 80–84, 207–213, 345–349, 466–471. – 6 (1944) 99–103, 353–356. (The series consists of 139 notes on as many passages; the final instalment ends with notes 137 on Ps 140:10b; 138 on Ps 143:13b, and 139 on Ps 140:10b. It seems that McClellan served as one of the translators of the English version of the Psalterium Pianum; see Chapter **16.6**.)
2005. David J. Ladouceur: *The Latin Psalter. Introduction, Selected Text and Commentary*. London. 126 pp. – Latin text of selected Psalms (pp. 25–49: Ps 1–15 and others), with commentary (51–126). Used is the text of the Clementina; occasionally, the wording of the Weber/Gryson edition is indicated.
2009. John G. Cunyus (translator): *The Audacity of Prayer. A Fresh Translation of the Book of Psalms. Latin–English edition*. Glen Rose, TX. 400 pp. – Interlinear translation. The Latin text is that of Weber/Gryson, 1994.

German

1860. Valentin Thalhoffer: *Erklärung der Psalmen*. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Regensburg. xlvi, 810 pp. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German. Page xix: "Dem Vulgata-Text der Psalmen haben wir eine deutsche Übersetzung nebenan gestellt. Sie ist möglichst wörtlich gehalten (...) Gar manche Stelle hätte sich schöner und wohlklingender deutsch geben lassen (...); allein dann wäre die Übersetzung in vielen Fällen kein getreues Spiegelbild des Originals mehr gewesen." – The first edition was published in 1857 (viii, 740 pp.), the 9th edition in 1923 (xii, 898 pp.). The "Thalhoffer" was a standard resource on the Psalms for Catholic clergy, meant to facilitate praying the breviary. Thalhoffer's autobiography has recently been edited: Claudius Stein et al. (eds.): *Ecce homo: speculum vitae meae*. Die Lebenserinnerungen des Liturgiewis-

- senschaftlers (...) Valentin Thalhofer (1825–1891). *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistums-geschichte* 44 (2010) 547–589.
1872. Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte*. Arnsberg. 49 pp. – After an introduction to the linguistic peculiarities of the Latin psalm language, Psalms 1 to 4 are linguistically explained.
1892. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata übersetzt und nach dem Literalsinn erklärt*. Freiburg. xxxi, 389 pp. – The author, a professor in Freiburg, provides a translation and a linguistic key of the Latin text. The second, improved and enlarged edition of Hoberg's book, published in 1906 (xxxv, 484 pp.), includes the Vulgate text of the Psalms. Hoberg's book offers a most valuable textual commentary on the Vulgate Psalms. – Reviews:
1893. J.K. Zenner SJ, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* 45: 72–76. The reviewer misses a consideration of the Hebrew text.
1893. Paul Schanz, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 14: 99–100. ▲
1917. Franz Jetzinger: *Die Psalmen und Cantica des Breviers*. Regensburg. 311 pp. –The author prints the complete Latin text of the Psalms (Psalterium Gallicanum), accompanied by explanatory footnotes. The introduction explains linguistic peculiarities – “sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten der lateinischen Psalmenübersetzung” (pp. 11–18). “Im lateinischen Psalmentext findet sich eine Reihe von Stellen, die nach dem Wortlaut des Latein einfachhin unverständlich sind. In den weitaus meisten dieser Fälle liegt die Ursache nicht etwa in dem dunklen oder gar geheimnisvollen Sinn des hebräischen Originals, sondern bloß in der irrigen, schiefen oder falschen Übersetzung der LXX [Septuaginta], denen der Lateiner folgen mußte. Solche Stellen nach dem Latein erklären zu wollen, ist demnach ein prinzipieller Fehler; man kann dabei nichts anderes feststellen als höchstens das, was sich die LXX-Übersetzer unter den betreffenden Worten gedacht haben mochten” (p. 11).
1923. Stanislaus Stephan: *Psalmenschlüssel. Einführung in die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten und in den Gedankengang der Brevierpsalmen*. Lauban. 308 pp. (poor printing; pages 200–306 have the numbers 100–206 by mistake). – Includes a detailed Latin-German glossary of nearly 100 pages, closely printed, in two columns. The Latin vocabulary, according to the author, must be seen from the underlying Hebrew words; Latin words carry Hebrew meanings. The translation tends toward paraphrase, occasionally influenced by dogmatic bias; for an example, see the rendering of Psalm 2:7: “Du bist ein Sohn mir; ich lass' im ew'gen Heute dich aus meinem Schoß hervorgeh'n.” (You are a son to me. In the eternal now, I let you come forth from my womb.) In the translation section, the Psalms are printed in Latin and German, though not in the canonical sequence, but in the sequence in which they are printed in the Roman breviary.
2021. Rodrigo H. Kahl OP: *Die liturgischen Psalmen der lateinischen Kirche. Lateinisch – deutsch. Textfassungen der Vulgata. Wörtliche Übersetzung*. Kulmbach. xxxii, 528 pp. – This bilingual edition, Latin and German, provides a literal rendering, complete with some brief grammatical notes. The introduction discusses the merits of some earlier German renderings. There is also a brief glossary of Latin words (pp. xxii–xxiv).

French

1889. Augustin Crampon: *Le Livre des Psaumes suivi des Cantiques des Laudes et de Vêpres*. Traduction nouvelle sur la Vulgate. Paris 470 pp. – Another edition: *Le Livre des Psaumes suivi des Cantiques du Bréviaire Romain en Latin–Français*. Traduction sur la Vulgate. Paris 1925. 723 pp.
1893. Louis-Claude Fillion: *Les Psaumes commentés d'après la Vulgate et l'Hébreu*. Paris. 664, 32 pp.

Secondary literature

1833. (Anonymous) Über die Vulgata, ihren Werth, und Gebrauch in der lateinischen Kirche. *Theologisch-praktische Monatsschrift* 10: 157–176. Printed in Rottenburg, Germany, the volume has a second title page: *Quartalschrift für katholische Geistliche*, vol. 1. – Page 171: “Am häufigsten, und zugleich wohl auch mit dem meisten Rechte klagt man über den unlateinischen und unverständlichen Ausdruck der in der Vulgata enthaltenen Psalmenübersetzung. Allein gerade diese ist auch der schwächste Theil der Vulgata. Sie ist keine aus dem Grundtexte, sondern aus der alexandrinisch-griechischen Übersetzung, und zwar wahrscheinlich aus einem sehr entstellten Texte derselben entstanden.”
1915. John James Jepson: *The Latinity of the Vulgate Psalter*. Washington. xiii and 95 pp. – A thesis.
1928. Arthur Allgeier: *Die altlateinischen Psalterien*. Freiburg. xi, 190 pp. – Pages 137–187: Der Wortschatz der altlateinischen Psalterien. The alphabetical index of the vocabulary of the Vulgate Psalms is accompanied by references to pre-Vulgate texts; for the sigla used, see p. xi of Allgeier’s book. ▲
1929. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: La reconstitution du psautier hexaplaire latin. *Revue bénédictine* 41: 294–324.
1936. Riccardo Arconada: *Ecclesiae Psalmi Paenitentiales*. Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici 76. Rom 1936. 143 pp. – The seven “penitential Psalms” (Bußpsalmen) are Ps 6; 32 (Vg 31); 38 (Vg 37); 51 (Vg 50); 102 (Vg 101); 130 (Vg 129); 143 (Vg 142). The author highlights the text-critical value of the Vulgate Psalms. ▲
1940. Arthur Allgeier: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata. Ihre Eigenart, sprachliche Grundlage und geschichtliche Stellung*. Paderborn. 314 pp. – In much of this book, the author continues his studies of the Vulgate Psalter’s vocabulary, begun in 1928.
1955. Giorgio Castellino: *Libro dei salmi*. Torino. xi, 912 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate and Psalterium Pisanum texts on opposite pages. The Vulgate text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
1960. Joseph Ziegler: *Antike und moderne Psalmenübersetzungen*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1960, no. 3. Munich. 68 pp. – The author offers many observations and points out creative mistranslations (pp. 43–44) such as *daemonium meridianum* – the noonday devil, Mittagsdämon (Ps 91:6, Vg 90:6) und *unicornis* – unicorn, Einhorn (Ps 29:6, Vg 28:6).
2020. Dieter Böhler SJ: Adrian Schenker, Hieronymus und die Revision der Einheitsübersetzung. In: Innocent Himbaza et al. (eds.): *La Bible en Face*. Cahiers de la Revue biblique 95. Leuven 2020 (xxiv, 362 pp.), pp. 41–78. – On the revised German “Einheitsübersetzung” (2016), its textual basis of Psalms 2, 22, 24, 36, 48, 51, 65, 138, and 145, and its relationship with Jerome.
2023. Marcela Andoková – Jozef Tiño: Gottes Gnade und Gerechtigkeit im lateinischen Psalter. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 331–357.

Textual notes

- Ps 1–4.** Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte*. Arnsberg 1872. 49 pp. – Pages 21–36: philological notes on Psalms 1 to 4.

- Ps 1.** Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar.* Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 128–129. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation), with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.
- Ps 1:1–2.** *beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum (...) et in lege eius meditabitur* – blessed (is) the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked (...) and in his law meditates. Two notes: **(1)** *abire* is a normal Vulgate verb for saying “to walk”; accordingly, there is no nuance of “walking away” in the sense of leaving the path of the righteous. – **(2)** “Die Perfecta in V. 1 besagen, was der Gerechte bisher gethan hat, und das Futur in 2b, was zu thun er immerfort sich bestrebt”; Peter Hake: *Sprachliche Erläuterungen zu dem lateinischen Psalmentexte.* Arnsberg 1872 (47 pp.), p. 22.
- Ps 2. (1)** Inverted commas: Psalm 2 gains in clarity through the use of inverted commas to indicate the various speakers. The Clementina does not use quotation marks, but Zorell marks off verses 3, 6 and 7–9, as do the Psalterium Pianum and the NVg; see Francisco Zorell SJ: *Psalterium ex Hebraeo Latinum.* Rome 1928 (xxii, 311 pp.), p. 2; R.C. Fuller: Why does verse 3 of Psalm 2 appear in inverted commas in the New Latin Psalter? *Scripture* 4.8 (1950) 249–250. – **(2)** Jutta Krispenz: Workshop zu Psalm 2. Masoretischer Text und Vulgatatext im Vergleich. In: Andreas Beriger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Vulgata Studies. Vol. 1: Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt 2015 (234 pp.), pp. 49–60.
- Ps 2:6.** *ego autem constitutus sum ab eo* – but I am appointed king by him (Douay Version). The speaker here is the king. This is a literal rendering of the Greek text. The Nova Vulgata (and, earlier, Jerome himself in the *iuxta hebraeos* Psalms), makes God the speaker; accordingly, the NVg has: *ego autem constitui regem meum* – but I have appointed my king.
- Ps 2:7.** Michael Fieger: *Küsst den Sohn und nicht die Füße.* Textkritische und bibeltheologische Beobachtungen zu Psalm 2,7.11–12a. *Vulgata in dialogue* 1 (2017) 7–30 (online journal).
- Ps 2:12. (1)** *apprehendite disciplinam* – embrace discipline (Douay Version). This is after the Septuagint; the *iuxta Hebraeos* has *adornate pure* – adore in purity; see Kraus, pp. 117–118. – **(2)** *pereatis de via iusta.* The Douay Version has “you shall perish from the just way,” which does not fully capture the meaning. The verb *perire* has two meanings: “to get lost when walking, to take the wrong path, to deviate from the right path” and “to perish.” Both meanings are here combined. Perhaps: “you shall perish when you deviate from the right path.” – Matthew A. Kraus: *The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis.* *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue IOVS 2022:* 99–119, at pp. 117–118 (online journal).
- Ps 3:3.** *non est salus ipsi in deo eius* – literally: not is salvation for him in the God of him; nicht ist Heil für ihn in dessen Gott. Here *eius* is used where classical Latin would have *suo*. This is often the case in the Vulgate. See textual note on Judith 12:8.
- Ps 4:8.** *a fructu frumenti, [et] vini, et olei sui.* The Weber/Gryson edition has the *et*, the Clementina omits it. The “oil” is not in the Hebrew text, and therefore omitted in the Nova Vulgata. The ternary *frumentum, vinum, oleum* is also present in some Latin manuscripts of Gen 27:28 (see the apparatus in Weber/Gryson), no doubt echoing this Psalm.
- Ps 4:9–10.** *in pace in idipsum dormiam, et requiescam; quoniam tu, Domine, singulariter in spe constituisti me.* The passage is awkward because of the strange *idipsum* (see above, the glossary, Chapter 19.2, s.v. *idipsum*). McClellan suggests this rendering: I will at once (both) lie down and rest; for you, o Lord, makest me dwell in security. One could also say: I will at once fall asleep. – Acc-

cording to Allgeier, one would expect *in pace in eo ipso dormiam* – in peace, in peace itself, I will sleep. – Literature:

1939. William H. McClellan: Obscurities in the Latin Psalter. III. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1: 243–248, at p. 248.

1948. Arthur Allgeier: Lateinische Psalmenübersetzung in alter und neuer Zeit. In: *Wissenschaft und Leben. Reden zur Universitätsfeier am 1. Juni 1946*. Freiburger Universitätsreden. Neue Folge Heft 2. Freiburg (28 pp.), pp. 7–20, at p. 15.

Ps 5:6. *neque habitabit iuxta te* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg). A conjecture might be *habitavit*.

Ps 8:4–5. *quoniam videbo caelos tuos (...) quid est homo, quod memor es eius?* Two stylistic analyses have been proposed: **(1)** According to Kaulen, the conditional clause is constructed here without “*si* with subjunctive,” as often in English and German: had I known this (...), hätte ich das gewusst (...) = if I had known this. After the introductory *quoniam* a comma or a dash is to be put, because it belongs to the following sentence: *Quoniam – videbo caelos tuos (...)*. Translation: “For – I see your heaven (...) [so I have to ask:] What is man (...)” – **(2)** *quid est homo, quod memor es eius?* – what is man that you pay attention to him? One must distinguish between the statement (*memor es eius*) and the rhetorical question (*quid est homo?*); the rhetorical question serves to highlight the statement (Regula). – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 298.

1948. Moritz Regula: Streifzüge auf dem Gebiet der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik. *Glotta* 31.1–2 (1948) 72–92, esp. pp. 73–76.

Ps 9:7. *periiit memoria eorum cum sonitu* – their memory has perished with a noise (Douay Version). Al-lioli’s German “*verschwunden ist ihr Andenken mit dem Schalle*” is a literal rendering, but it does not make sense. The Tusculum-Vulgata has “*zugrunde gegangen ist die Erinnerung an sie zusammen mit dem Klang [ihres Namens].*”

Ps 12:3 (Vg 11:3). *labia dolosa in corde et corde locuti sunt* – two renderings have been suggested: **(1)** with deceitful lips and with a double heart they have spoken (Douay Version); leurs lèvres sont trompeuses; ils ont parlé avec un cœur et un cœur (Glaire); mit trügerischen Lippen, mit doppeltem Herzen reden sie (Hoberg, p. 31). Hoberg, following Kaulen, also explains that *labia dolosa* is accusative in the sense of *accusativus graecus*. See also the rendering of the NVg: *in labiis dolosis, in duplici corde locuti sunt*. – **(2)** listige Lippen sind in ihrem Herzen, und mit ihrem Herzen haben sie gesprochen (Tusculum-Vulgata); but the Tusculum-Vulgata’s rendering does not seem to be correct. – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 273 (no. 151) – *accusativus graecus*.

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata übersetzt und nach dem Literalsinn erklärt*. 2nd edition. Freiburg 1906, pp. 31–32.

Ps 12:6 (Vg 11:6). *ponam in salutari* – I will set him in safety (Douay Version). One would expect *ponam eum in salutari*. The Nova Vulgata has *ponam in salutari illum (...)*

Ps 12:7 (Vg 11:7). *purgatum terrae*. Translators have suggested various possibilities of understanding the expression: purged from the earth (Douay Version, Tusculum-Vulgata); approved for the earth (McClellan); bewährt bei den Menschen auf Erden (Hoberg); im irdenen Tiegel erprobt (Al-lioli); purifié dans la terre (Glaire). – Literature:

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata übersetzt und nach dem Literalsinn erklärt*. 2nd edition. Freiburg 1906, p. 31.

1939. William H. McClellan: Obscurities in the Latin Psalter. II. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1 [1939] 150–153, at p. 152.

Ps 14:1 (Vg 13:1). *dixit insipiens in corde suo* – the fool says in his heart, literally (as in the Douay Version): the fool hath said in his heart. Where one would expect the present tense *dicit*, the text has perfect tense *dixit*. This is gnomic perfect, see Gonzalo Rubio: Semitic influence in the history of Latin Syntax. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 1: *Syntax of the Sentence*. Berlin 2009 (xxii, 561 pp.), pp. 195–239, at p. 219.

Ps 14:3 (Vg 13:3). *sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum* – their throat is an open supulchre (etc.). – With these words begins a long Christian interpolation inserted at the end of v. 3. The source of this interpolation is Rom 3:13–18. In the Weber/Gryson edition, the interpolated passage is marked; in the Clementina, it is simply part of the text. The Neovulgate omits the passage. – Leopoldo Gamberale: *San Gerolamo. Intellettuale e filologo*. Rome 2013 (xx, 181 pp.), pp. 102–110: Un'interpolazione cristiana nel Salmo 13.

Ps 16:3 (Vg 15:3). *mirificavit omnes voluntates meas in eis* – he hath made wonderful all my desires in them (Douay Version). A conjectural emendation could improve the sense: *suas* (instead of *meas*): (...) all *his* desires. The NVg retains the first person by saying *omnis voluntas mea in eos*. The conjecture is suggested in A.B. Macaulay – James Brebner: *The Vulgate Psalter*. London 1913 (xxiii, 242 pp.), p. 213.

Ps 16:7 (Vg 15:7). *benedicam Domino* (Weber/Gryson) – *benedicam Dominum* (Clementina, NVg).

Ps 17:10 (Vg 16:10). *adipem suum concluderunt* (Clementina, NVg) – they shut his fat. The sentence does not make immediate sense. Suggestions: they have shut up their fat (Douay Version); (sie) verschlossen ihr gefühlloses Herz (Allioli); sie haben ihr Fett eingeschlossen (Tusculum-Vulgata); ils ont fermé leurs entrailles (Glaire). Allioli's is a free translation, the other translations try to be literal.

Ps 17:11 (Vg 16:11). *oculos suos statuerunt declinare in terram* – they have stationed their eyes (i.e., diligently watched) to cast me down to the ground. One has to read (or think) *declinare me*. – William H. McClellan: Obscurities in the Latin Psalter. III. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1 (1939) 243–248, at p. 243.

Ps 17:12 (Vg 16:12). *susceperunt me sicut leo paratus ad praedam* – they have taken me, as a lion prepared for the prey (Douay Version). This translation does not make sense. The verb *suscipere* means "to focus on something or someone" in the interest of overwhelming something or someone, as the comparison shows (and Sir 21:2). Stummer thinks that the word belongs to the vocabulary of hunters and warriors. In translation: they go after me/lie in wait for me, act like a lion intent on making prey; sie sehen es auf mich ab/sie lauern mir auf, (sind) wie ein Löwe bereit zum Beute(machen). – Friedrich Stummer: Lexikographische Bemerkungen zur Vulgata. In: Pontificio Istituto Biblico (ed.): *Miscellanea Biblica*. Volume 2. Rome 1934 (406 pp.), pp. 179–202, at pp. 199–201.

Ps 17:14 (Vg 16:14). *a paucis de terra divide eos in vita eorum* – divide them from the few of the earth in their life (Douay Version); trenne sie in ihrem Leben von den Wenigen des Landes (Allioli); séparez-les pendant leur vie du petit nombre *de ceux qui sont à vous sur la terre* (Glaire). Most likely, God is asked to cut the enemies off from the land, i.e., to kill them. The "few" must be the righteous ones, God's friends, as Glaire has it.

Ps 21 (Vg 20). Pierre Salmon OSB et al.: *Richesses et déficiences des anciens psautiers latins*. Collectanea biblica latina 13. Rome (267 pp.); this volume includes two papers on Psalm 21: **(a)** on pp. 23–34; Barnabé Steiert OSB: La Vulgate et le texte massorétique; pages 24–26 deal specific-

ally with Psalm 21; the Latin text used is that of the Benedictine Vulgate; **(b)** on pp. 51–105: Jean Gribomont OSB – André Thibaut OSB: *Méthode et esprit des traducteurs du psautier grec*; offered is a close reading of verses 2–8 of the Latin text with reference to the underlying Greek version.

Ps 21:2 (Vg 20:2). *et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer* – and because of the salvation coming from you he will greatly rejoice. Note the *genetivus objectivus* – your salvation = the salvation coming from you.

Ps 21:13 (Vg 20:13). *quoniam pones eos deorsum, in reliquiis tuis praeprabis vultum eorum*. The wording does not make sense. **(1)** The closest translation is: “You will turn them backwards, but in those remaining to you, you will establish their face; du wirst sie rücklings kehren, in den dir Übrigbleibenden jedoch ihr Antlitz herstellen.” Jerome has improved the second part of the sentence in the Psalter iuxta hebraeos: *funes tuos firmabis contra facies eorum* – with your bowstring you will aim against their face, mit deiner Bogensehne wirst du wider ihr Antlitz zielen. Franz Jetzinger: *Die Psalmen und Cantica des Breviers*. Regensburg 1917 (311 pp.), pp. 11–12 und 66. – **(2)** “Le latin ne signifie guère plus rien. (...) nous nous inspirons volontiers de 2 Sam 8,2 pour comprendre le verset de la manière suivante: tu les mettras sur le dos / et tes cordes, tu les tendras au-dessus de leur visage.” Barnabé Steiert OSB: *La Vulgate et le texte massorétique*. In: Pierre Salmon OSB et al.: *Richesses et déficiences des anciens psautiers latins*. Rome (267 pp.), pp. 23–34, at p. 26. – **(3)** The Nova Vulgata has a completely new wording: *quoniam pones eos dorsum, arcus tuos tendes in vultum eorum* – for you shall put them back (or: to flight, you shall aim your shafts against their face. *Ponere dorsum* seems to be a set expression for saying “to put down” which, in a military context, means “to put to flight”; see Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, s.v. deorsum.

Ps 22 (Vg 21). **(1)** Pierre Salmon OSB et al.: *Richesses et déficiences des anciens Psautiers latins*. Collectanea biblica latina 13. Rome 1959 (267 pp.); this volume includes two papers on Psalm 22: **(a)** the first one is on pp. 151–187: Henri de Sainte-Marie OSB: *Le psaume 22 (21) dans le Iuxta Hebraeos*; the author provides an examination of the choice of words in comparison with the *Vetus Latina* version. According to P.-M. Bogaert (*Revue théologique de Louvain* 19 [1988] 156 note 69), this study is of exemplary importance. Older works on the language of the Vulgate suffer from the fact that they do not distinguish between the language of the Old Latin translation and Jerome’s own vocabulary. ▲ **(b)** The second article is on pp. 23–34: Barnabé Steiert OSB: *La Vulgate et le texte massorétique*; on pp. 27–33, the author examines the Vulgate text and the underlying Hebrew. – **(2)** Joaquim Mendes de Castro: *O Salmo 21 (22) nos Setenta e outras versoes*. *Euphrosyne* 29 (2001) 59–68; comparison of different translations, including *Vetus Latina*, Vulgate and Nova Vulgata.

Ps 22:2 (Vg 21:2). *longe a salute mea verba delictorum meorum* – far from my salvation are the words of my sins (Douay Version); das Geschrei meiner Sünden entfernt mein Heil (Allioli); weit weg von meiner Rettung sind die Worte meiner Vergehen (Tusculum-Vulgata); les paroles de mes péchés sont loin de mon salut (Glaire). – Perhaps: (I am) far away from my salvation, (because) of the voice of my sins (B. Lang).

Ps 22:3 (Vg 21:3). *(clamabo) et nocte, et non ad insipientiam mihi* – (I shall cry) by night, and it shall not be (reputed) as folly in me (Douay Version); (ich rufe) des Nachts, ist es nicht umsonst für mich? (Allioli); (je crierai) et pendant la nuit, et ce n’est point à moi une folie (Glaire).

Ps 23 (Vg 22). Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 129–130. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation), with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.

Ps 25 (Vg 24). André Thibaut OSB: La révision hexaplaire de saint Jérôme. In: Pierre Salmon OSB et al.: *Richesses et déficiences des anciens Psautiers latins*. Collectanea biblica latina 13. Rome 1959 (267 pp.), pp. 107–149. – Jerome’s “Roman Psalter” version of Ps 25 is taken as the base text for a study of how Jerome revised it to produce the Vulgate (Gallican) version.

Ps 26:12 (Vg 25:12). *pes meus stetit in directo* – my foot hath stood in the direct way (Douay Version); mein Fuß ist gestanden auf rechtem Wege (Allioli); mon pied est demeuré ferme dans la droite voie (Glaire). These translations presuppose the equation *in directo* = *in directo itinere*. Alternatives: **(1)** my foot stands on level ground; thus David J. Ladouceur: *The Latin Psalter*. Bristol 2005 (126 pp.) who explains that the expression “may be taken literally to refer to the level ground of the temple court and figuratively in a moral sense” (p. 96); similarly Sleumer, *directum* = “der gerade, ebene Weg,” Albert Sleumer: *Liturgisches Lexikon*. Limburg 1916 (339 pp.), p. 102. – **(2)** The Tusculum-Vulgata has: “mein Fuß hat gradeaus gestanden.”

Ps 27:4 (Vg 26:4). *unam petii a domino, hanc requirem*. Why *unam*? One might think that *unam rem* is in view, but the feminine (*unam, hanc*) echoes Greek *μίαν* and Hebrew *ahat* (Hebrew text). Thus, a Hebraism is present. Jerome explains the matter in his *Commentary on Ecclesiasts VII, 20/30* (CCSL 72: 313): Hebrew uses a feminine form instead of a neutral one; nevertheless, he keeps it in the Vulgate Psalms, but changes it in the *Psalterium iuxta hebraeos*: *unum petivi a domino, hoc requiram*. The Nova Vulgata has: *unum petii a Domino, hoc requiram*. – Daniel J. Sheerin: Christian and Biblical Latin. In: Frank A.C. Mantello – A.G. Rigg (ed.): *Medieval Latin. An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*. Washington, D.C. 1996 (xiv, 774 pp.), pp. 137–156, at p. 146.

Ps 27:12 (Vg 26:12). *et mentitia est iniquitas sibi* – and a lie in its own interest (*sibi*, dativus commodi) is iniquity.

Ps 29:6 (Vg 28:6). *et communuet eas tamquam vitulos Libani, et dilectus quemadmodum filius unicornium* – and shall reduce them to pieces, as a calf of Libanus, and as the beloved son of unicorns (Douay Version); und er zerschmettert sie (die Zedern) gleich Kälbern des Libanon, und der Geliebte ist wie ein junges (*filius*) Einhorn; et les mettra en pieces comme *il y mettrait* un jeune taureau du Liban: et le bienheureux *sera* comme un petit de licorne (Glaire). The Vulgate text reproduces the wording of the Septuagint, but the latter misunderstood the Hebrew text; according to Jetzinger, the Hebrew text states: “Er lässt sie tanzen wie ein Kalb, den Libanon und Hermon gleich einem Wisentjungen.” Franz Jetzinger: *Die Psalmen und Cantica des Breviers*. Regensburg 1917 (311 pp.), pp. 12–13 and 79–80. The same suggestion is made by McClellan: “and he made them leap like a calf, Lebanon and Sirion like a young wild ox.” William H. McClellan: Obscurities in the Latin Psalter. III. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1 (1939) 243–248, at p. 247. – Ziegler considers *unicornis* = unicorn, Einhorn, one of Jerome’s creative mistranslations. Joseph Ziegler: *Antike und moderne Psalmenübersetzungen*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1960, Nr. 3. Munich 1960 (68 pp.), pp. 43–44.

Ps 29:9 (Vg 28:9). *vox Domini praeparantis cervos, et relevabit condensa* – the voice of the Lord prepareth the stags, and he will discover the thick woods (Douay Version); die Stimme des Herrn macht gebären die Hinden, und entblößet die dichten Wälder (Allioli, echoing the Hebrew text); la voix du Seigneur prépare des cerfs, et elle découvrira des lieux sombres et épais (Glaire).

Ps 31:2 (Vg 30:2). *in te, Domine speravi, non [= ne] confundar in aeternum* – in you I trust, Lord, in order never to be confounded. According to Hagen (p. 94), *confundar* is not future tense, but subjunctive. In fact, the *Psalterium Pianum* (see Chapter 16.6) has: *ad te, Domine, confugio, ne confundar in aeternum*; in Knox’s translation: never let me be ashamed of my trust; Guardini: Laß mich nicht ewig zu Schanden werden.

Ps 31:19 (Vg 30:19). *abusio* – abuse, Herabsetzung. The noun *abusio* is used only here in the Vulgate. Allgeier offers a thorough analysis of the semantic range of this word in Latin and concludes that Jerome selected it because of the similarly sounding (“homophonous”) Hebrew word that he thus translates – the word *wabuz*. The translation method used is called homophony. – Arthur Allgeier: *In superbia et in abusione* (Ps. 30,19). *Biblica* 15 (1934) 185–212.

Ps 32:1 (Vg 31:1). *ipsi David* (Clementina) – for David. The word *ipsi* (dative voice of *ipse*) is used to mark the case of David as dative, reflecting the underlying Greek article (τῷ Δαυιδ). The Weber/Gryson edition has *huic David* (*huic* being the dative of *hic*). This is definitely a case of *ipse* serving as the definite article.

Ps 32:4 (Vg 31:4). *conversus sum in aerumna mea* – I turned (writhed?) in my misery.

Ps 33:1 (Vg 32:1). *exultate, justi, in Domino* – rejoice in the Lord, o ye just (Douay Version); jubelt, ihr Gerechten, im Herrn (Tusculum-Vulgata). The expression *in Domino*, by all translations treated as an idiom, may be rendered “because of the Lord”; this is what Hoberg suggests: “des Herrn wegen frohlocken = ihn preisen”; Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. Zweite Auflage. Freiburg (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 108; cf. Today’s New International Version (TNIV): “Sing joyfully to the Lord, you righteous.”

Ps 33:5 (Vg 32:5). *diligit misericordiam et iustitiam, misericordia plena est terra* – he loveth mercy and judgment, the earth is full of the mercy of the Lord (Douay Version). The NVg changes the first words to *diligit iustitiam et iudicium* – he loves justice and judgment, which is what Jerome has in his *iuxta hebraeum* translation. – Marcela Andoková – Jozef Tiño: Gottes Gnade und Gerechtigkeit im lateinischen Psalter. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 331–357.

Ps 34:8 (Vg 33:8). *immittet angelus Domini in circuitu timentium eum* – the angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him (Douay Version). The problem with this translation is that *immittere* does not mean “to encamp.” One would expect either (1) *immittet angelum Domini in circuitu timentium eum* – he shall send the angel of the Lord (to be) around those who fear him (Allgeier), or (2) *immittet se angelus Domini* – the angel of the Lord shall place himself (Hoberg). – Literature:

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. 2. Auflage. Freiburg 1906 (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 112.

1948. Arthur Allgeier: Lateinische Psalmenübersetzung in alter und neuer Zeit. In: *Wissenschaft und Leben. Reden zur Universitätsfeier am 1. Juni 1946*. Freiburger Universitätsreden. Neue Folge Heft 2. Freiburg (28 pp.), pp. 7–20, at p. 15.

Ps 39:2 (Vg 38:2). *posui ori meo custodiam* – I have set a guard to my mouth (Douay Version). Here *ponere* stands for *imponere* = to impose. Blaise takes *ori meo* as “datif de lieu.” – Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 89 (§ 103).

Ps 39:13 (Vg 38:13). *advena sum apud te et peregrinus sicut omnes patres mei* – I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner as all my fathers were (Douay Version). – Jean Louis Gourdain: Jérôme et l’étranger du Psaume 38,13. In: Benoît Gain et al. (eds.): *Chartae caritatis. Études de patristique et d’antiquité tradive*. Paris 2004 (529 pp.), pp. 377–383.

Ps 41:7–8 (Vg 40:7–8). *et loquebatur. in idipsum adversum me susurrabant omnes inimici mei* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson). As often, *in idipsum* (immediately, together; see the glossary, Chapter 19.2) creates difficulties for the translator. (1) The Douay Version has: “and spoke to the same purpose. All my enemies whispered together against me,” apparently translating *in idipsum*

twice (to the same purpose; together), as if it would belong to the end of v. 7 and also stand at the beginning of v. 8. In this case, one could speak of *in idipsum* as being a double-duty modifier (see Spearficio 1998). – (2) Hoberg and the Edgar/Kinney 2011 edition (and, without punctuation, also the Weber/Gryson edition) would have the full stop after *in idipsum*, making it belong to v. 7; he translates the end of v. 7 as “and spoke immediately.” – (3) But the Clementina text as it stands could mean: “(...) and spoke. All my enemies whispered together”; this translation is supported by Jerome’s *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos: simul adversum me murmurabant omnes*. – Literature:

1906. Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. 2. Auflage. Freiburg 1906 (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 142.

1998. Ambrogio Spreafico: Nahum I 10 and Isaiah I 12–13: Double-Duty Modifier. *Vetus Testamentum* 48.1: 104–117, at p. 104: “M.J. Dahood shows (...) in his study of Hebrew poetry that a suffix, a participle, a word, an expression or even a phrase can have a double function within a text: it can refer at the same time to what precedes it and to what follows it. He calls this phenomenon double-duty modifier.” See: Mitchell Dahood SJ: A New Metrical Pattern in Biblical Poetry. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 29 (1967) 574–579.

2011. Swift Edgar – Angela M. Kinney (eds.): *The Vulgate Bible. Douay-Rheims Translation. Volume III: The Poetical Books*. Cambridge, Mass. (xxxviii, 1187 pp.), p. 258: *egrediebatur foras et loquebatur in idipsum*. (8) *Adersum me* (...).

Ps 42:2 (Vg 41:2). Jerome’s *Psalter iuxta Hebraeos* differs greatly from the *Ps Gallicanum*, because, following Aquila, it has *sicut areola praeparata ad irrigationes aquarum* (*Tusculum-Vulgata*: wie ein Beet, das bereit ist für Bewässerungen). *praeparata* seems to be a homophonous translation of *πεπρασιάται*, a Greek word not attested elsewhere. – Literature:

1924. Maternus Wolff: Aquilas und Hieronymus zu Ps 42.2. *Theologische Revue* 23.7: 269–270.

2018. Anne-Françoise Loiseau: Jérôme dans le sillage d’Aquila et du Targoum: Vg iuxta Hebraeos Ps 42[41],2 et Vg 1 R 22,38. *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 51: 156–169.

Ps 42:3 (Vg 41:3). *sitivit anima mea ad Deum fortem vivum* – my soul thirsts for the strong living God. This is the wording of the Clementina; the Sixtina had: (...) *ad Deum fontem vivum* – for God, the living source. This is a printer’s error, though one that makes much sense; Benno Jacob calls it “einer der schönsten Schreibfehler, die je gemacht worden sind”; Benno Jacob: *Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen*. V. Zur Geschichte der Vulgata im 16. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20 (1900) 49–80, at p. 62.

Ps 44:15 (Vg 43:15). *posuisti nos in similitudinem gentibus* – you have made us into a likeness for the nations. This does not make sense. It should be something like (...) *in fabulam*, you have made us a *byword* (Douay Version; Allioli: Sprichwort) among the nations. Or, as Jerome has it elsewhere (Deut 28:37): *in proverbium ac fabulam omnibus populis*. The *Psalterium Pianum* (see Chapter 16.6) has *fecisti nos fabulam inter gentes*. Oddly, the *Nova Vulgata* stays close to the Clementina: *posuisti nos similitudinem in gentibus*. – Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg 1863 (iv, 106 pp.), pp. 18–20.

Ps 45 (Vg 44). Jerome: *Ad Principiam virginem explanation Psalmi 44* (letter 65; CSEL 54: 616–647; Labourt III, pp. 140–167). In his letter to Principia, Jerome presents his textual analysis of Psalm 45. – Literature:

2015. Aline Canellis: L'exégèse du Psaume 44 selon Jérôme (Ep. 65 à Principia). In: eadem et al. (eds.): *Caritatis scripta. Mélanges de littérature et de patristique*. Turnhout (376 pp.), pp. 177–190.
2019. Giovanni Antonio Nigro: L'esegesi gerominiana del Salomo 44 LXX (Ep. 65 Hilberg). *Vetera Christianorum* 56 (2019) 139–156.
2023. Konrad Kremser: [MT and LXX Version of Psalm 44\[45\] in the light of the Vulgate iuxta Hebraicum](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 133–148 (online journal).
- Ps 45:2 (Vg 44:2)**. *calamus scribae velociter scribentis* – pen of a scribe who writes swiftly. Alfred Wikenhauser: Der hl. Hieronymus über Psalm 44 (45) 2. *Archiv für Stenographie* 59 (1908) 187–188.
- Ps 45:5 (Vg 44:5)**. *pulchritudine tua intende*. How to render this? Here are some suggestions: with thy beauty set out (Douay Version); in deiner Schönheit beginne (Allioli); in deiner Schönheit ziehe aus (Arndt); avancez dans votre beauté (Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 462) – but these translations do not make sense. Glaire has this suggestion: dans votre beauté, tenez *votre arc*, with the last two words being added for clarity. Odelman offers a comparison between the Hebrew text and Jerome's two versions of Ps 45:5 (Vg 44:5): Eva Odelman: Note sur l'emploi du verbe *intendere* dans le psaume XLIV de la Vulgate. *Revue bénédictine* 89 (1979) 303–305.
- Ps 48:7 (Vg 47:7)**. *tremor apprehendit eos. Ibi dolores* (...) (Clementina in the editions of Loch and Hetzenauer). Colunga/Turrado has a semicolon (;) after *eos*. But this is also questionable. Kaulen (p. 12) suggests *tremor apprehendit eos ibi, dolores* (...). The NVg has *tremor apprehendit eos, dolores*.
- Ps 51:16 (Vg 50:16)**. *erue me de sanguinibus, deus* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – deliver me from bloods, o God; or, more properly: deliver me from (the danger of) bloodshed. The plural form "bloods" does not belong to standard Latin, as Augustine observes (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 50; PL 36: 597): *expressit Latinus interpres verbo minus latino proprietatem tamen ex graeco* – the Latin translator has conveyed the sense from the Greek using a word not wholly Latin.
- Ps 51:19 (Vg 50:19)**. *cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernet* (Weber/Gryson) – a contrite and humble heart does God not despise. Instead of *spernet*, the Clementina has *despicies* "you do not despise"; here God is addressed. The Clementina reading, retained by NVg, reflects influence from Jerome's Psalter iuxta hebraeum.
- Ps 54:7 (Vg 53:7)**. *veritas* here means "véracité, sincérité (des promesses)," Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 842.
- Ps 59:14 (Vg 58:14)**. *Deus dominatur Iacob finium terrae* (Weber/Gryson) – the God of Jacob rules over the ends of the earth. This is how this sentence is to be translated; *Iacob* stands in hyperbaton position (B. Lang), and *dominari* is followed by the genitive case (Kaulen, pp. 264–265); one may also conjecture a noun – *dominator* (misread by a scribe as *dominatur*). The rendering offered in the Tusculum-Vulgata (dass Gott durch Jakob über die Grenzen der Erde herrscht) does not seem to be viable. The Clementina/NVg wording (*Deus dominabitur Iacob, et finium terrae*) represents a revision, bringing the words closer to the Greek.
- Ps 62 (Vg 61)**. B. Villegas Mathieu: Cuatro Padres ante un Salmo. El Salmo 61 comentado por Hilario, Ambrosio, Jerónimo y Agustín. *Teología y vida* [Santiago de Chile] 20 (1979) 63–76.
- Ps 68:13 (Vg 67:13)**. *rex virtutum dilecti dilecti, / et specie domus dividere spolia*. Literally: the king of the armies (*virtus* = army), beloved, beloved, / and the beauty of the house (i.e., the housewife); der König der Heere (*virtus* = Heer), Geliebte, Geliebte, / und die Schöne des Hauses (= die Hausfrau) kann Beute verteilen. The first half verse makes no sense because of a mistranslation.

In the Psalterium iuxta hebraeos Jerome has: "The kings of the armies will ally (*foederabuntur*), unite," which however does not quite meet the Hebrew, since that speaks of the flight of the armies.

Ps 68:14 (Vg 67:14). The back feathers of a dove are *in pallore auri* – in a pale green gold. – Lourdes García Ureña et al.: *The Language of Colour in the Bible*. Berlin 2022 (xv, 238 pp.), pp. 199–201.

Ps 68:15 (Vg 67:15). *caelestis* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – the Heavenly One, he that is in heaven (Douay Version); der Himmlische, Gott im Himmel (Allioli); le *roi* du ciel (Glaire; cf. *rex caeli*, Dan 4:37). Although the name does not seem to be unusual (cf. Ps 2:4: *qui habitat in caelis* – he that dwelleth in heaven, Douay Version), revisers generally replace this divine name with another one: Robustissimus (Jerome: *iuxta hebraeos*), Omnipotens (Castellion, Psalterium Pianum, NVg).

Ps 68:19 (Vg 67:19). *accepisti dona in hominibus, etenim non credentes inhabitare Dominum Deum*. According to Macauley and Brebner, two translations are possible, depending on whether *credentes* is understood as nominative or accusative. Nominative: (...) for they were not believing that the Lord God does dwell (in Sion, or among men). Accusative: thou hast received gifts in men, (received) those not believing the Lord dwells. The accusative is supported by Jerome's own paraphrase in his *Letter* 106, 41 (CSEL 55: 266): *accepisti (...) et eos qui non credebant Dominum inhabitare posse mortalibus* – you received even those (men) who did not believe that the Lord can dwell with (or: among) mortals. – Literature:

1913. A.B. Macaulay – James Brebner: *The Vulgate Psalter*. London (xxiii, 242 pp.), p. 221.

2022. Michael Graves, in: Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. 2022 (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 211–213.

Ps 68:20 (Vg 67:20). *Deus salutarium nostrorum* – God of our salvations. The plural *salutaria* can be understood as augmentative plural; Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 734 – Dieu, qui nous sauve de toutes manières.

Ps 69:12 (Vg 68:1). *factus sum illis in parabolam* – I became a byword for them (Douay Version), ich wurde ihnen zum Gespött. – Gottfried Hoberg: *Die Psalmen der Vulgata*. 2. Auflage. Freiburg 1906 (xxxv, 484 pp.), p. 237.

Ps 72:14 (Vg 71:14). *honorabile nomen eorum coram illo* – precious is his name before him. **(1)** The Vulgate wording reflects that of the Septuagint. But the Septuagint's *ónoma* (*nomen*) may be a misreading of an original *háima* – blood, which would render the Hebrew (Hagen, p. 22). – **(2)** The NVg has *pretiosus erit sanguis eorum coram illo*. In fact, *honorabilis* means "precious," and not "honourable" (the latter is used in the Douay Version, and as "ehrwürdig" in Allioli), see s.v. *-bilis* in the glossary (Chapter 19.2). See also Ps 116:15 (Vg 115:15): *pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum* – precious is the death of the saints in the sight of the Lord.

Ps 73:1 (Vg 72:1). *quam bonus Israel Deus* – how good to Israel is God. Note that the name Israel is never given a dative-case ending.

Ps 79:10 (Vg 78:10). (...) *effusus est*: The sentence should not end with a colon [:] as in the 1849 edition of Loch; it should end with a full stop as in the Colunga/Turrado edition and the NVg. – Kaulen, p. 12.

Ps 82:7 (Vg 81:7). *vos autem sicut homines moriemini* – but you like men shall die (Douay Version). The *iuxta hebraeos* translation has *quasi Adam moriemini* – you shall die like Adam. Isaka discusses the difference with reference to Jerome's commentaries on this verse. – Tamiko Isaka: Adam in Psalm 81.7 (= 82.7) in the Psalter according to the Hebrew Bible of the Vulgate. *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences* 56 (2015) 43–48.

- Ps 87:1 (Vg 86:1).** *fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis* – the foundations thereof are in the holy mountains (Douay Version). Meant are the foundations of Sion, which is mentioned only in the following sentence. This is a “proleptic” construction.
- Ps 87:5 (Vg 86:5).** *numquid Sion dicet.* **(1)** According to Kaulen (p. 224, no. 108) and some translators (Allioli, Hoberg, Arndt), this must be translated as follows: of Sion, will one not say?; wird man nicht von Zion sagen?, i.e., like *numquid de Sion dicitur*. – **(2)** This interpretation is rejected by Vincenzo Ussani: Un preteso uso della Vulgata. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 39 (1911) 550–557, at pp. 551–555; accordingly, the translation must be: Sion – will she not say...?, which corresponds to the Douay Version’s “shall not Sion say.”
- Ps 89:11 (Vg 88:11).** *tu humiliasti sicut vulneratum superbum* – thou hast humbled the proud as one that is slain (Douay Version). The word *superbus* renders the Greek ὑπερήφανος, but the Hebrew has Rahab, adopted by NVg (*tu conculcasti sicut vulneratum Rahab*).
- Ps 90 (Vg 89).** Jerome: *Ad Cyprianum presbyterum de Psalmo 89* (letter 140; CSEL 56: 269–289). In this letter, Jerome presents his linguistic analysis of Psalm 90.
- Ps 91:6 (Vg 90:6).** *daemonium meridianum* – noonday devil, Mittagsdämon; one of Jerome’s creative mistranslations. – Joseph Ziegler: *Antike und moderne Psalmenübersetzungen* Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1960, Nr. 3. Munich 1960 (68 pp.), pp. 43–44.
- Ps 94:15 (Vg 93:15).** *et qui iuxta illam* (sc. iustitiam) [sunt, sunt] *omnes qui recte sunt* – and they that are near it are all the upright in heart (Douay Version). A very elliptic sentence; Kaulen, p. 284.
- Ps 95 (Vg 94).** Jeremia J. M. Mayr: Nova et Vetera in den Texten der Liturgie. Anfragen an eine besondere Form der Koexistenz, in: Anneliese Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart 2023 (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 39–88, at pp. 61–64: synoptic comparison of three Latin versions in liturgical use: Psalterium Romanum, Psalterium Gallicanum (Vg), Nova Vulgata.
- Ps 96:1–13 (Vg 95:1–13).** Martijn Jaspers: *Bis repetita placent*: Jerome’s translations of Psalm citations in 1 Chronicles 16. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 61–74 (online journal). – Detailed comparative analysis of Jerome’s renderings of Ps 105:1–15 (Vg 104:1–15) = 1 Chr 16:8–22 and Ps 96:1–13 (Vg 95:1–13) = 1 Chr 16:23–33.
- Ps 102:7 (Vg 101:7).** *nycticorax* – nightraven (Douay Version). Jerome transliterates the word used in the Septuagint without translating it. One may think of an owl. Today, ornithologists use the word as the technical term for the night heron (German: Nachtreiher).
- Ps 102:8 (Vg 101:8).** *passer solitarius in tecto* – a lonely sparrow on the roof, or, perhaps, in the nest; the second possibility is indicated in Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 809. For *tectum* = a dove’s nest, see Vergil: *Aeneid* V, 216. Vergil uses *tectum* = house as a poetic word for the bird’s abode.
- Ps 102:24 (Vg 101:24).** *respondit ei in via virtutis suae, paucitatem dierum meorum nuntia me* – literally: he has answered him in the way of his strength, declare unto me the fewness of my days (of life); er hat ihm geantwortet auf dem Weg seiner Kraft, verkünde mir die geringe Zahl meiner (Lebens-)Tage. This makes little sense, because here the Greek text has failed to understand the Hebrew. Jerome suggests in the Psalterium iuxta hebraeos: *adflixit in via fortitudinem meam, abbreviavit dies meos* – he (God) broke my strength on the way, shortened my days. This is also what the Nova Vulgata says: *humiliavit in via virtutem meam, abbreviavit dies meos*.
- Ps 103:7 (Vg 102:7).** Alberto Vaccari: Due note di S. Girolamo al Salmo 102,7. In: idem: *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*. II. Rome 1958 (xvi, 518 pp.), pp. 81–82.

Ps 104:17 (Vg 103:17). *illic passerer nidificabunt, herodii domus dux est eorum* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – there the sparrows shall make their nests, the highest (literally: the leader) of them is the house of the heron (Douay Version). Jerome discusses the verse in *Letter 106*, 65 (CSEL 55: 281) and offers a new translation: *ibi aves nidificabunt, milvi abies domus est* – there the birds build their nests; the house of the kite is the silver fir. In the NVg, the second half of the verse reads *erodii domus in vertice earum* – the heron’s house (nest) is at their top. For the passage of *Letter 106* in Latin text and English translations with commentary, see:

2022. Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 132–133, 271–272. “In Ep. 106, Jerome is giving a fresh translation based on Aquila and Symmachus so as to make clear what is present in the Hebrew” (p. 272).

2023. Matthew A. Kraus: [The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119, at p. 104 (online journal).

Ps 104:25 (Vg 103:25). *hoc mare magnum et spatiosum manibus* – here is the sea, great and wide for/with hands. The noun *manibus* does not make sense in the Latin. It is meant to render the Hebrew *yādayim*, “both hands,” no doubt an idiom for saying “very.” The Weber/Gryson edition places an asterisc, the ancient text-critical sign before the word (**manibus*), indicating its absence from the Greek. The Nova Vulgata omits it, writing *hoc mare magnum et spatiosum et latum*. Interesting, though problematic, are the vernacular renderings of the Vulgate wording: so is this great sea, which stretcheth wide its arms (Douay Version); dieses große Meer, das ausbreitet seine Arme (Allioli); cette mer est grande et spatieuse des deux côtés (Glaire). Sleumer suggests *spatiosus manibus* = weit nach beiden Seiten; Albert Sleumer – Joseph Schmid: *Kirchenlateinisches Wörterbuch*. 2nd edition. Limburg 1926 (840 pp.), p. 496.

Ps 105:1–15 (Vg 104:1–15). Martijn Jaspers: [Bis repetita placent](#): Jerome’s translations of Psalm citations in 1 Chronicles 16. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue* (2023) 61–74 (online journal). – Detailed comparative analysis of Jerome’s renderings of Ps 105:1–15 (Vg 104:1–15) = 1 Chr 16:8–22 and Ps 96:1–13 (Vg 95:1–13) = 1 Chr 16:23–33.

Ps 105:16 (Vg 104:16). *firmamentum panis* (Ps 105:16, Vg 104:16) – the essential (foundational) supply of bread; suggestions include: support of bread (Douay Version), Stütze des Brotes (Allioli), soutien de pain (Glaire), le pain qui soutient (Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 354). The Psalterium Pianum has *subsidium panis* – supply of bread (Knox). – Literature:

1945/46. Guy-Dominique Sixdenier: Notes sur l’emploi par la Vulgate du mot *firmamentum*. *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 19: 17–22.

Ps 105:23 (Vg 104:23). *accola* = *adcola* = colon, Greek πάροικος, as in Acts 6:14; distinct from *incola* = inhabitant.

Ps 106:13 (Vg 105:13). *cito fecerunt, obliti sunt operum eius* – they had quickly done, they forgot his works (Douay Version). Meant is: they soon forgot. – Plater/White, p. 22.

Ps 106:38 (Vg 105:38). *et interfecta est terra* – and the land is killed (Weber/Gryson); *et infecta est terra* – and the land is polluted (Clementina, NVg). The expression *et terra interfecta est* also appears in Isa 24:5 (Weber/Gryson), but here the Clementina (followed by NVg) again has *infecta*. How to explain the differences? It seems that *interfecta* is used in the Vetus Latina, and that both Augustine and Jerome (in the Psalterium Gallicanum) stick to it. The reading *infecta* does appear in Jerome’s work, but not in the text of his translations. – Literature:

2013. Leopoldo Gamberale: Salmo 105,38. Un testa da non correggere per congettura. In: idem: *San Gerolamo. Intellettuale e filologo*. Rome 2013 (xvii, 181 pp.), pp. 147–151. Gamberale

(p. 150, note 12) feels that the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* does not deal adequately with the *interficere* passages.

Ps 106:46 (Vg 105:46). *dedit eos in misericordias in conspectus omnium* – he made them find mercy with all, er ließ sie Erbarmen finden bei allen. – Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg 1870 (34 pp.), p. 33.

Ps 109:6 (Vg 108:6). *et diabolos* (Weber/Gryson: *diabulus*) *stet a dextris eius* – and may the devil stand at his right hand (Douay Version). The devil is in the Greek, rendering satan, which merely stands for the human adversary; accordingly, the Nova Vulgata has *adversarius* (and not *diabolus*).

Ps 109:7 (Vg 108:7). *cum iudicatur, exeat condemnatus, et oratio eius fiat in peccatum* – when he is judged, may he go out condemned, and may his prayer be turned to sin. “Nach hebräischem Gebrauch steht das Imperfektum auch für den Konjunktiv oder Optativ; die Vulgata hat dies nachgeahmt und dadurch die prophetischen Aussprüche des Originals anscheinend zu Wünschen oder Flüchen umgewandelt, die als Vorhersagungen zu übersetzen sind, z.B. Ps 108,7: (...) Wenn er gerichtet wird, so wird er als schuldig hervorgehen, und sein Gebet wird zur Sünde werden” (Kaulen, pp. 117–228).

Ps 109:24 (Vg 108:24). *caro mea immutata est propter oleum* – my flesh is changed because of (the lack of) oil. This is a case of *brevitas*, i.e., of abbreviation for rhetorical effect. The specific form of brevity used is called *res pro rei defectu* – the thing (stands) for the thing’s absence. – Literature: 1863. Hagen, p. 22.

1913. A.B. Macaulay – James Brebner: *The Vulgate Psalter. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary*. London (xxiii, 242 pp.), p. 227.

Ps 110:2 (Vg 109:2). *virga virtutis tuae* – literally: the scepter of your power, das Zepter deiner Macht = your powerful scepter, dein mächtiges Zepter. Hebraism. – Kaulen, p. 254.

Ps 110:3 (Vg 109:3). Verse 3 is rather unusual: *tecum principium in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum, ex utero ante luciferum genui te* – with you is the dominion (*principium*) in the day of your power in the splendor of the saints. I begat thee from the womb before the dawn; – bei dir ist die Herrschaft (*principium*) am Tag deiner Macht im Glanz der Heiligen. Ich zeugte dich aus dem Schoß vor der Morgenröte. The Hebrew text is difficult or corrupt. – M.F. Băltăceanu: Psaume 110 (109). Traduction, éléments et commentaire. In: Andreas Beriger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Vulgata Studies. Vol. 1: Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt 2015 (234 pp.), pp. 73–90.

Ps 111:6 (NeoVg 110:6) *virtutem operum suorum annuntiavit populo suo, ut det illis hereditatem gentium*. Herbert Migsch: Psalm 111,6 (Nova Vulgata). Eine unvereinbare zielsprachige Kohärenzstörung. In: Herbert Migsch: *Studien zum Jeremiabuch und andere Beiträge zum Alten Testament*. Frankfurt 2010 (352 pp.), pp. 257–262. – The tenses of the two parts of the sentence do not fit together. God cannot have announced the strength of his works to his people in the past (*annuntiavit*) and give them the inheritance of the peoples (= the land of Canaan) only in the present or future (*ut det illis*). The sense requires simultaneity.

Ps 112:1 (Vg 111:1). *in mandatis eius volet nimis* – he will have the greatest pleasure in his commandments; an seinen Geboten wird er größte Lust haben. In this context, the verb *velle* does not mean “to wish,” but “to love, to have pleasure (in something).” And *nimis* indicates the superlative – “very much, sehr”; Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (122 pp.), p. 99.

- Ps 113:2 (Vg 112:2).** *sit nomen Domini benedictum, ex hoc nunc, et usque in saeculum* – literally: the name of the Lord be honoured, from the now, and until eternity. As Kaulen, p. 281, suggests, *nunc* is here used as a noun: “the present moment.”
- Ps 116:15 (Vg 115:15).** *pretiosa in conspectus Domini mors sanctorum* – precious is the death of the saints in the sight of the Lord, which means “precious is the life of the saints (etc).” Hagen, p. 22, analyses the passage as an example of *res pro rei defectu* (see above, Chapter 8.6, s.v.).
- Ps 118:8 (Vg 117:8).** *bonum est confidere in Domino quam confidere in homine* – it is better to have confidence in the Lord than to have confidence in man. One would expect the comparative *melius est*, but this is a typical case of the Vulgate’s use of the positive instead of the comparative. Accordingly, the Douay Version’s “it is good to trust in the Lord” is inadequate. – Hagen, p. 24; Kaulen, p. 162 (no. 54a).
- Ps 118:9 (Vg 117:9).** *bonum est sperare (...)* – it is better to hope (...), as in the previous verse.
- Ps 119:51 (Vg 118:51).** *superbi inique agebant usquequaque a lege autem tua non declinavi* – the proud did iniquitously altogether: but I declined not from thy law (Douay Version). The NVg brings this closer to the Hebrew (following Jerome’s *iuxta Hebraeos*). It also avoids the strange juxtaposition of imperfect (*agebant*) and perfect (*declinavi*) by using the perfect consistently; hence: *superbi deriserunt me vehementer; a lege autem tua non declinavi* – the proud scoffed at me bitterly; but I did not turn away from your law.
- Ps 121:1 (Vg 120:1).** *levavi oculos meos in montes, unde veniet auxilium mihi* – I have lifted up my eyes to the mountains, from whence help shall come to me (Douay Version); j’ai levé mes yeux vers les montagnes, d’où viendra mon secours (Glaire); ich hebe meine Augen zu den Bergen, von welchen mir Hilfe kommt (Allioli); I lift up my eyes to the hills, to find deliverance (Knox, who translates the Psalterium Pianun). As can be seen from these translations, the second part of this sentence is traditionally understood as a dependent clause. But it must be read as a question, as indicated by the Weber/Gryson text that assigns a new line to the interrogative clause: From where will help come to me? This is also how the Tusculum-Vulgata and the Nova Vulgata have it (see the NVg text’s question mark: [...] *in montes: unde veniet auxilium mihi?*). The stylistically correct German version must be: Ich hebe die Augen zu den Bergen – die Augen, not “meine” Augen.
- Ps 125:5 (Vg 124:5).** *declinantes autem in obligatione* – such as turn aside in bonds (Douay Version). Allioli and Loch presuppose: (...) *in obliquationes* – those who turn to deviations. Kaulen discusses the issue and decides to stay with the traditional reading which he understands as saying: those who oppress (the inhabitants of Jerusalem). – Kaulen, p. 73.
- Ps 127 (Vg 126).** Michael Fieger et al.: Der Herr gibt den Seinen Schlaf. In: Andreas Beriger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Vulgata Studies. Vol. 1: Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt 2015 (234 pp.), pp. 229–234. – The contributors are S.M. Bolli, Adrian Muraru and Wilhelm Tauwinkl.
- Ps 127:2 (Vg 126:2).** *cum dederit dilectis suis somnum* (Clementina) – when he shall give sleep to his beloved (Douay Version; this translation takes these words to be the beginning of a sentence that continues in the following verse). The Nova Vulgata rephrases: *verumtamen dabit ipse dilectis suis duplicia* – indeed, the he will give his beloved ones a double share. This translation is based on a conjectural emendation of the Hebrew text, as explained by Planas. – Literature: 1975. Francisco Planas: Breves notas a los salmos 127, 11 y 8. *Cultura bíblica* 32, no. 261 (1975) 279–281. The author refers to Deut 21:17 for comparison – the firstborn son receives a double share of the inheritance.

2023. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: “Den Seinen gibt es der Herr im Schlaf” (Ps 127,2b). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 91–92.

Ps 132:15 (Vg 131:15). *vidua* – widow, Witwe (Weber/Gryson, Clementina). The *vidua* echoes the Greek text; Jerome was aware of the translation error, and corrected the passage accordingly in the *iuxta hebraeos*. He discusses the matter in *Questiones hebraicae in Genesis* (on Gen 45:21) and in his *Commentarioli in Psalmos*; the relevant texts are quoted by Josef Linder SJ, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 66 (1942) 153. The NVg has *cibaria* – provisions, Lebensmittel.

Ps 139:6 (Vg 138:6). *mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me* – thy knowledge is become wonderful to me (Douay Version). Actually, it must be “too wonderful for me,” but one must be aware of the fact that the Latin is awkward, see Kaulen, p. 259: “mangelhafte Übersetzung.”

Ps 141:10 (Vg 140:10). *incident in rete eius* (Weber/Gryson) – they shall fall in his net; *cadent in reticulo eius* (Clementina) – they shall fall in his net; *cadent in reticula sua* (NVg) – they shall fall into his nets (*reticula* – plural, accusative). Hard to tell why the original Jeromian version, as given in the Weber/Gryson edition, should have been changed into the Clementina wording. A possible explanation would be the preference of long words in late Latin (such as *calceamentum* instead of *calceus* for shoe in Luke 10:4); see Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), pp. 57–58.

Ps 147:17. *ante faciem frigoris eius quis sustinebit* – before his cold who can withstand?, vor seiner Kälte wer hält stand? – Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg 1870 (34 pp.), p. 32.

Ps 151. On this apocryphal psalm, see below, Chapter **23.3**.

Proverbs (Proverbia Salomonis, Liber Proverbiorum)

Text

1957. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 11: *Libri Salomonis, id est Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum*. Rome. xvi, 202 pp. – A volume of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1888. Heinrich Denifle OP: Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 4: 263–311, 471–601. Denifle’s study culminates in his edition of the 13th-century Latin text of the book of Proverbs, accompanied by an edition of the relevant passages from several correctories (pp. 483–566).

1913. Hildebrand Höpfl OSB: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sixto-klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Freiburg 1913 (xv, 339 pp.), pp. 240–277: Tabelle der sixtinischen Revision [of the book of Proverbs]; pp. 278–291: Tabelle der klementinischen Revision [of the book of Proverbs]. Two comprehensive tables show all the material, printed and unprinted, that was used by the commissions that prepared the Sixtine edition (1590) and the Clementine edition (1592). ▲

1930. Cyrus H. Gordon: Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49: 384–416.

1954. Seraphinus M. Gozzo OFM: De opera S. Hieronymi in Librum Proverbiorum. *Antonianum* 29: 241–254. – Jerome did not include the passages that the Septuagint adds to the Hebrew text, but they were later introduced into the Latin text to make it conform to the Septuagint.
1966. Francesco Vattioni: Saggio sulla Volgata dei Proverbi. *Vetera Christianorum* 3: 143–160.
2017. Justin Rogers: Vulgate [text of Proverbs]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 271–275. – Vulgate Proverbs “reflects greater variation in rendering Hebrew idioms than Jerome’s earliest translations *iuxta Hebraeos* (e.g., in the ‘Hebrew’ Psalter).”
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 131–137. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation) of Prov 1:1–6; 2; 16, with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.

Textual notes

- Prov 2.** For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 131–133.
- Prov 3:7.** *time Deum et recede a malo* (Clementina) – fear God and stay away from evil. The Weber/Gryson edition has *time Dominum* (as in the inscription of the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire, see above, Chapter **18.7**). The Nova Vulgata has *time Dominum* – fear the Lord.
- Prov 3:35.** *stultorum exaltatio ignominia*. The meaning of this second half of a couplet is not entirely clear. Kaulen suggests to understand *exaltatio* as “Selbstschätzung, Überhebung” which leads to something like: “the fools’ self-promotion is a disgrace.” – Kaulen, p. 68.
- Prov 4:11.** *viam sapientiae monstrabo tibi, ducam te per semitas aequitatis* (Clementina) – I will shew thee the way of wisdom, I will lead thee by the paths of equity (Douay Version). The Weber/Gryson edition has *monstravi* and *duxi* – I have shown you, I have led you – in the perfect tense, most likely to be understood as a gnomic perfect: I show you, I lead you. The Weber/Gryson reading was already suggested as the original Jeromian wording by Heinrich Denifle OP: Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 4 (1888) 263–311, 471–601, at p. 581, note 1.
- Prov 8:22.** *Dominus possedit me in initio viarum suarum* (Clementina, NVg) – the Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways (Douay Version); *Dominus possedit me initium viarum suarum* (Weber/Gryson) – the Lord possessed me, the beginning of his ways. Paul Mattei: “Le Seigneur m’a créée, prémices de ses œuvres.” Pr 8,22s dans la patristique latine de Tertullien au VI^e siècle. In: Theresia Hainthaler et al. (eds.): *The Wisdom of God – Die Weisheit Gottes. Forscher aus dem Osten und Westn Europas an den Quellen des gemeinsamen Glaubens*. Innsbruck 2017 (412 pp.), pp. 205–223.
- Prov 8:23.** *ab aeterno ordinata sum* (Clementina, NVg) – I was appointed (or, set up) from everlasting; *ab aeterno ordita sum* (Weber/Gryson) – I began from everlasting (from *ordiri* – to begin). It is not quite clear, though, how Jerome understood the deponent verb *ordiri*. In Psalm 2:6, there is a similar situation: In the Vulgate version, Jerome has: *ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo* – but I have been appointed king by him; in the *iuxta hebraeos*, Jerome has: *ego autem orditus sum regem meam* – but I have appointed (or woven?) my king.

- Prov 8:30.** Cyrus H. Gordon: Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49 (1930) 384–416, at pp. 389–390.
- Prov 10:1–12.** Jutta Krispenz: [Beobachtungen zur Übersetzungsweise der Vulgata im Vergleich zum masoretischen Text](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Sondernummer* (2023) 29–36, at pp. 33–34 (online journal).
- Prov 10:4b.** The Clementina has a verse 4b that is absent from the Weber/Gryson edition: *Qui nititur mendaciis, hic pascit ventos; idem autem ipse sequitur aves volantes* – He that trusteth to lies feedeth the wind: and the same runneth after birds that fly away (Douay Version); wer sich auf Lügen verlässt, weidet Winde und läuft fliegenden Vögeln nach (Paul Rießler in: *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Bundes*. Übersetzt von Paul Rießler und Rupert Storr. 13th edition. Mainz 1961 [xv, 1533, 65, 39, 44, xiii], appendix AT 41).
- Prov 13:23.** Jerome has “Much food is in the new fields of fathers; / and others are gathered without judgment.” The second half may have been inspired by Jewish exegesis, see Cyrus H. Gordon: Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49 (1930) 384–416, at p. 390. Today, the Hebrew is understood differently, hence the NVg version: *Multi cibi in novilibus pauperum, et est qui perit, deficiente iudicio* – much food is in the new fields of the poor, and there is one who perishes for lack of judgment.
- Prov 15:15.** Jerome translates the second part of the saying very freely. Stummer discusses the expression *secura mens* in detail, see Friedrich Stummer: *Secura mens quasi iuge convivium* (Prov 15,15b). Ein Beitrag zur Exegese der Vulgata. *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 4 (1953) 37–45.
- Prov 16.** For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 134–137.
- Prov 16:5.** *etiamsi manus ad manum fuerit*. There is an underlying Hebrew idiom that means “I am sure, I bet.” Translators have suggested the following renderings: though hand should be joined to hand (Douay Version); liegt auch Hand in Hand (Allioli); lors même qu’une main serait dans une main (Glaire). The Nova Vulgata has *manus in manu* – hand in hand. The best Latin translation would be: *inter manūs est* – it is clear, it is evident; es liegt auf der Hand.
- Prov 23:10.** *ne attingas parvulorum terminos* – touch not the bounds of little ones (Douay Version). As the Hebrew text is understood today, the landmark not to be touched is the “ancient” (Hebrew *’olām*) one, but Jerome’s interpretation reflects Jewish tradition, see Rahmer. The Nova Vulgata has *ne attingas terminos viduae*, reflecting an amendment of *’olām* to *’almānā* “widow.” – Literature:
1861. Moritz Rahmer: *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*. Breslau (74 pp.), pp. 64–67.
2009. Michael V. Fox: *Proverbs 10–31*. The Anchor Yale Bible. New Haven (xix, pp. 477–1205), p. 980: “An example of the Vulgate witnessing to a minor variant [of the Hebrew text] is Prov 23:10.”
- Prov 24:14.** *habebis in novissimis spem* – you shall have hope in the end. Note the elegant hyperbaton (instead of *habebis spem in novissimis*).
- Prov 25:16.** *mel invenisti* (...) – have you found honey; hast du Honig gefunden (...). The conditional clause here is constructed without “*si* with subjunctive,” as often in English and German (had I known this [...], hätte ich das gewusst [...]). The same construction appears in Sir 21:1 and Jam 5:13. – Kaulen, p. 298.

Prov 26:1–16. Jutta Krispenz: *Beobachtungen zur Übersetzungsweise der Vulgata im Vergleich zum masoretischen Text*. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Sondernummer* (2023) 29–36, at pp. 34–35 (online journal).

Prov 26:8. *sicut qui mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii* – as he that casteth a stone into the heap of Mercury (Douay Version). A reference to the ancient custom of laying a stone at the pillars of Mercury. – Friedrich Stummer: *Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata*. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58] (1940) 251–269, at p. 254.

Prov 28:7. *qui autem comessatores pascit* – but he who feeds (elevates) gluttons. In classical Latin, the verb *pascere* – to feed – is generally used only of animals; here it is used of the father who elevates his children and commits the mistake of overfeeding them. In classical Latin, one would use *alere* – to nourish, to support.

Prov 30:1. *vir cum quo est Deus, et qui Deo secum morante confortatus* – the man with whom God is, and who is strengthened as God abides with him. – Here the Vulgate departs drastically from the Hebrew; Jerome’s translations of the names (Ithiel, etc.) reflects rabbinic exegesis. – Literature:

1930. C.H. Gordon: Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49: 384–416, at p. 411.

2022. Alexander T. Kirk: Toward a Reading of Proverbs 30:1b. *Vetus Testamentum* 72.4–5: 631–649, at pp. 636–637.

Prov 31:21. *omnes enim domestici vestiti sunt duplicibus* – all her domestics are clothed with double garments (Douay Version); alle ihre Hausleute sind doppelt gekleidet (Allioli). The adjective *duplex* means twofold; since a noun *duplex* = double clothing is not attested, the expression is best explained as being elliptical for *vestimenta duplicia* (in the sentence: *vestimentis duplicibus*). – Einar Löfstedt: *Coniectanea. Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der antiken und mittelalterlichen Latinität*. Stockholm 1950 (146 pp.), p. 65.

Koheleth (Ecclesiastes)

Note. – In his preface to the Solomonic writings (Proverbs, Song of Songs, Koheleth), Jerome characterizes his translation of these three writings as a *tridui opus*, a work of three days (Sources chrétiennes 592: 428; PL 28: 1241). This is not to be taken literally; the idiomatic phrase seems to refer to “a work that took but little time.”

Text

1957. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 11: *Libri Salomonis, id est Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum*. Rome. xvi, 202 pp. – This volume belongs to the Benedictine Vulgate of which it is volume 11; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1899. E. Philippe: *Ecclésiaste, le livre de l’*. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 2.2. Paris (cols. 1195–2428), cols. 1533–1543. – “Quoique achevée très rapidement, puisque saint Jérôme ne mit que trois jours, avec son maître d’hébreu, à traduire les écrits de Salomon, elle [la Vulgate] rend exactement l’original; elle est élégante, recherché même; elle ajoute, elle supprime, selon que la clarté l’exige, et aussi le génie du latin. Il est vrai qu’elle n’est pas absolu-

ment sans défauts; ainsi on lui reproche quelques faux sens et quelques additions discutables; mais au total, de toutes les versions de l'hébreu, c'est encore celle qui est la plus exacte et la plus apte à reconstituer l'hébreu primitive" (col. 1539).

1912. Emmanuel Podechard: *L'Ecclésiaste*. Études bibliques. Paris (xvii, 499 pp.), pp. 211–212: Jerome translated the book in 393 or 394, "uniquement d'après l'hébreu, mais rapidement et d'une façon assez libre. Saint Jérôme s'y inspire fréquemment de Symmaque et n'est pas très littéral. Son original hébreu s'éloigne d'ailleurs quelquefois du texte massorétique."
1927. W.W. Cannon: Jerome and Symmachus: Some Points in the Vulgate Translation of Koheleth. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 45: 191–199.
1967. Lorenzo di Fonzo OFM Conv.: *Ecclésiaste*. Torino. xx, 379 pp. – This volume is part of "La Sacra Bibbia. Volgata Latina e traduzione italiana dai testi originali, illustrate con note critiche e commentate," edited by Salvatore Garofalo. Presented are, on facing pages, a new Italian translation (left pages) and the Vulgate text (right pages), with an apparatus of textual notes on both the Italian and the Latin texts. Occasionally, the notes refer to Dalpane's dictionary of Vulgate Latin (see above, [Chapter 8.3](#)). This seems to be the only twentieth-century commentary with a complete set of textual notes on the Vulgate version of Ecclesiastes. ▲
1976. Patrick Sims-Williams: Cuthswith, Seventh-Century Abbess of Inkbarrow, Near Worcester, and the Würzburg Manuscript of Jerome on Ecclesiastes. *Anglo-Saxon England* 5: 1–21.
1987. Sandro Leanza: Le tre versioni geronimiani dell'Ecclésiaste. *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 4: 87–108.
1992. Sandro Leanza: Il traduttore è d'umor nero. Notazioni sulla Vulgata dell'Ecclésiaste. In: Louis Holtz et al. (eds.): *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes*. Tome I: *Antiquité tardive et christianisme ancien*. Paris (660 pp.), pp. 107–110.
2017. Vincent Skemp: Vulgate [text of the Five Scrolls]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 441–446.
2020. Stuart Weeks: *Ecclesiastes 1–5*. International Critical Commentary. London. lxxiv, 658 pp. – Pages 217–221: Note on the peculiarity of Jerome's commentary on the book of Kohelet (Ecclesiastes) and the translation of the book, with tables on readings of the Hebrew text that Jerome presupposes. In his own commentary, Weeks also occasionally refers to the Vulgate (cf. p. 497 on Old Latin Koh 3:3, and p. 500 on Koh 3:7).

Textual notes

Koh 1:2. *vanitas vanitatum [et] omnia vanitas* – vanity of vanities, all (is) vanity. **(1)** The Weber/Gryson edition omits the Clementina's *et*, thus it is placed here within square brackets. – **(2)** The traditional translations are "vanity" (Douay Version) and "Eitekleit" (Allioli), but other words have been suggested: shadow (Knox), Nichtigkeit (Tusculum-Vulgata). On discussions of the Latin word, see the Latin glossary above, Chapter **19.2**.

Koh 1:3. *quid habet amplius homo de universe labore quo* (Weber/Gryson: *quod*) *laborat sub sole?* – what more does one have (gain) from all the labour with which one labours under the sun? The Clementina's *quo* (instrumental ablative) is better Latin than Weber/Gryson's *quod*; the Weber/Gryson version is to be rendered "the labour that he labours."

Koh 1:8. *Cunctae res difficiles; / Non potest eas homo explicare sermones* (Clementina) – all things are difficult; a human being cannot explain them through language. According to Kaulen (p. 286), the Clementina's punctuation misinterprets the construction. This is a case of placing the object at the beginning in the nominative case; one should translate thus: All difficult things – no hu-

man being can explain them through human language. The correct punctuation would be *cunctae res difficiles: non potest* (etc.).

- Koh 1:8.** *non saturator oculus visu, nec auris auditu impletur* (Clementina) – neither is the eye filled from seeing, nor is the ear filled from hearing. The Weber/Gryson edition has *impletur auditu*, which rhymes with *auditu*, as is to be expected from Jeromian style.
- Koh 1:18.** *(agnovi) eo quod in multa sapientia multa sit indignatio, et qui addit scientiam addit [Weber/Gryson: addat] et laborem* – I realized that in much wisdom is much trouble, and one who adds knowledge adds pain. – The Weber/Gryson edition has better Latin, because the parallel construction requires the subjunctive *addat*. Lorenzo di Fonzo OFM Conv.: *Ecclesiaste*. Torino 1967 (xx, 379 pp.), p. 145.
- Koh 2:5.** *feci hortos et pomeria* – I made gardens and orchards; ich ließ Gärten anlegen und Obstgärten. – Only the 5th, 2007 edition of the Weber/Gryson Vulgate has the correct spelling *pomeria*; following the Clementina, the earlier editions have *pomaria*. The Nova Vulgata keeps, incorrectly, *pomaria*.
- Koh 2:6.** *silva lignorum germinantium* – a forest of budding trees. The noun *lignum* normally means “wood,” but in poetry, it may serve as a word for “tree.” The choice of the word may be inspired by Vergil: *Aeneid* XII, 767, Lorenzo di Fonzo OFM Conv.: *Ecclesiaste*. Torino 1967 (xx, 379 pp.), p. 147. ▲
- Koh 3:5.** *tempus amplexandi et tempus longe fieri ab amplexibus* – a time to embrace and a time to be far from embraces (Douay Version). See also Jerome’s paraphrase in his letter 22 to Eustochium: *tempus et amplexandi et tempus abstinendi manus a complexu* – a time for embracing and a time from holding one’s hands back from embracing (letter 22:19; CSEL 54: 168).
- Koh 3:11.** *et mundum tradidit disputationi eorum* – and he (God) delivered the world to their (people’s) strife; er lieferte die Welt ihrem (der Menschen) Streit aus. According to the Hebrew, God gives something into the “heart” (*belibbam*) of the people; Jerome read a deviating Hebrew text – “to their strife” (presumably: *le-ribbam*). – James L. Crenshaw: *Ecclesiastes. A Commentary*. Philadelphia 1987 (192 pp), p. 97.
- Koh 4:3.** *et feliciorum utroque iudicavi* – and I judged (him) happier than both. – Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: *Glücklicher sein* (Koh 4,3). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 73–74.
- Koh 5:3.** *infidelis* – *unreliable; unzuverlässig*. Kaulen, p. 130.
- Koh 6:4.** *oblivione delebitur nomen eius* – by oblivion his name will be deleted, i.e., his name will be forgotten. On this phrase from classical Latin, see textual note on Esth 9:28.
- Koh 6:10.** *qui futurus est iam vocatum est nomine eius* – (he) who will be in the future already has a name; wer künftig sein wird, hat schon einen Namen. Jerome understands this as an announcement of the Messiah, because prophets have a name even before they are born (Jer 1:5), see Jerome’s commentary PL 23: 1060: *aperte de salvatoris praedicatur adventi* – the coming of the saviour is clearly announced; klar angekündigt ist das Kommen des Erlösers. – Albert Condamin SJ: *Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 136.
- Koh 8:14.** *sunt iusti quibus mala proveniunt* (Clementina, NVg) – there are just men to whom evil things happen. Weber/Gryson has *multa* (instead of *mala*): many things happen to the just.

Koh 8:17. *ratio* here means "order." For this word, Jerome may be indebted to Cicero who uses it in a similar context; see Cicero: *De natura deorum* II, 46,119; *In Verrem* II, 2, 52; see the entry on *ratio* in the glossary (above, Chapter 19.2). ▲

Koh 9:14–15. There are rabbinic parallels to what Jerome writes on this passage. – Hans Peter Rieger: Hieronymus, die Rabbinen und Paulus (2 Kor 4,16). *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 68 (1977) 132–137.

Song of Songs (Canticles, Canticum Canticorum)

Note. – Unlike most books of the Old Testament, Jerome translated the Song of Songs not from Hebrew but from Greek.

Text

1957. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 11: *Libri Salomonis, id est Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum*. Rome. xvi, 202 pp. – This is a volume of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3.

Translation

2017. *Das Hohelied. Das Lied der Lieder*. Erstmals ins Deutsche übersetzt aus der Nova Vulgata und eingeleitet von Manfred Gerwing. Fromm Verlag. London. 48 pp. – This is a new German translation, based on the text of the Nova Vulgata.

Secondary literature

1915. Franz Jetzinger: Sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Hohenlied. *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 68: 303–314. – The author supplies a glossary of Latin words and names in the Vulgate text of the Song of Songs. Some words make little sense when understood from the Latin vocabulary; instead, they must be understood as imperfect renderings of the underlying Hebrew.

1968. Gianfranco Nolli: *Cantico dei Cantici*. Torino. 144 pp. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes. ▲

2009. Sara Japhet: Did Rashbam Know the Vulgate Version of the Song of Songs? *Textus* 24: 263–285.

2016. Jean-Marie Auwers: Jérôme, interprète et traducteur du Cantique des cantiques. In: Thomas Johann Bauer (ed.): *Traditio et translatio. Studien zur lateinischen Bibel*. Freiburg (xx, 219 pp.), pp. 31–48. – An abstract of this paper is in: Élie Ayroulet – Aline Canellis (eds.): *L'exégèse de saint Jérôme*. Saint-Étienne 2018 (381 pp.), pp. 153–154.

2017. Vincent Skemp: Vulgate [text of the Five Scrolls]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 441–446.

Textual notes

Cant 1:1. *ubera* – breasts. A mistranslation of the underlying Hebrew. Jerome's rendering does not make sense because the first sentence of the Song of Songs is spoken by the bride, and the

ubera would be the breasts of the man. The correct rendering would be *amores* = caresses. – F. Jetzinger: Sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Hohenlied. *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 68 (1915) 303–314, at pp. 310 and 314. – The Nova Vulgata replaces *meliora sunt ubera tua* with *meliores sunt amores tui* (and counts the verse as Cant 1:2).

Cant 1:4 (Vg 1:3). (1) *introduxit me rex in celleraria sua* – the king hath brought me in his storerooms (Douay Version). One would expect *cubiculum* (bedroom), the word used by the Vetus Latina, but Jerome may have associated this passage with Song 2:4 (*cella vinaria* – wine cellar). – (2) *memores uberum tuorum* – remembering thy breasts (Douay Version). As in Cant 1:1, the *ubera* are the “breasts” of the man. This is a mistranslation in the Latin, hence the Nova Vulgata: *memores amorum tuorum* (counted as Cant 1:4). – Literature:

2019. M. Manuela Gächter OP: [Cellar or Bedroom? Observations on Song 1,3 Vulg \(1,4\)](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue* 3: 47–58 (online journal).

2023. M. Manuela Gächter OP: Schlafzimmer oder Vorratskammer? (Hld 1,4). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 79–80. The same volume includes another article by Gächter: Brüste oder Liebschaften? (Hld 1,2,4; 4,10; 7,13), pp. 80–81.

Cant 1:7. *pulchra inter mulieres* – the most beautiful of women. The positive (*pulchra*) functions as the superlative (*pulcherrima*). – See Kaulen, p. 162 (no. 54b), though this passage is not listed.

Cant 1:10. *vermiculatus* – in filigree; a technical term from the goldsmith’s art. – Kaulen, p. 150.

Cant 3:9. *ferculum*. The context requires the meaning “carriage” (Greek φορῆϊον) rather than “meal” (a meaning common in medieval Latin).

Cant 3:10. The end of the verse as printed in the Clementina is problematic: “in the midst he covered with love the daughters of Jerusalem.” The NVg revises: *medium eius stratum ebeneum* – in its middle is an inset of ebony. The “daughters of Jerusalem” belong to the following sentence.

Cant 4:8. *coronaberis* – you shall be crowned. Jerome may have read *te’utri* – you shall be crowned. The coronation of the bride reflects Jewish influence, see Mishnah, tractate Sotah 9:14: “In the war against Vespasian they decreed against the wearing of wreaths by bridegrooms and against the wedding drum,” see *The Mishnah: A New Translation* by Jacob Neusner. New Haven 1988 (xlv, 1162 pp.), p. 464. – Johannes B. Bauer: Die drei hebräischen Lesarten in Hld 4,8. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 50.2 (2006) 260–264.

Cant 4:9. *vulnerasti cor meum* – you have wounded my heart (says the young man to his beloved). Allusion is made to ancient mythology – the god Cupid wounds the heart with the arrow of love.

Cant 5:6. *ut locutus est* (Clementina) – when he spoke (Douay Version). This translation reflects the underlying Hebrew text, but seems problematic. The NVg changes the expression to *quia discesserat* – because he had left (*discedere* = to leave). In Aramaic, the verb *dabara* means “to leave, to flee.” – Fortunato Frezza (ed.): *La Sacra Bibbia. Testo bilingue latino-italiano*. Vatican City 2015 (lvi, 4417 pp.), p. 2234, note.

Cant 5:7. *pallium* – veil (Douay Version). Knox has “cloak,” the Tusculum-Vulgata “Mantel,” providing better equivalents of the typical cloak worn by men in late antiquity as a street dress. Jerome renders the same underlying Hebrew word as *theristra* (plural of *theristrum*) in Isa 3:23’s list of female ornaments; in this case, Jerome transcribes the Greek θέριστρον which the dictionary glosses as “light shawl or stole” (Gary A. Chamberlain: *The Greek of the Septuagint. A Supplemental Lexicon*. Peabody, Mass. 2011 [xlii, 256 pp.], p. 82).

Cant 6:11 (NVg 6:12). *anima mea conturbavit me propter quadrigas Aminadab* (Clementina) – my soul troubled me because of the chariots of Aminadab. The NVg has *non advertit animus meus cum posuit me in quadrigas principis populi mei* – my spirit did not realise when he placed me in the chariot of the prince of my people. In the Hebrew, read *nadib ammî* – prince of my people. – Fortunato Frezza (ed.): *La Sacra Bibbia. Testo bilingue latino-italiano*. Vatican City 2015 (lvi, 4417 pp.), p. 2237, note.

Cant 8:5. *ibi corrupta est mater tua, ibi violata est genitrix tua* (Clementina) – here your mother was corrupted, here your birth-giver was deflowered. NVg: *ibi parturivit te mater tua, ibi te parturivit genitrix tua* – here your mother bore you, here your birth-giver bore you. In the Hebrew, read *yoladtek = genitrix*. – Fortunato Frezza (ed.): *La Sacra Bibbia. Testo bilingue latino-italiano*. Vatican City 2015 (lvi, 4417 pp.), p. 2239, note.

Cant 8:6. *lampades ignis atque flammaram* (Clementina) – the lamps are fire and flames. NVg: *lampades ignis atque flammae divinae* – the lamps are fire and divine flames. In the Hebrew, read *shalhebet yah* – flames of God. – Fortunato Frezza (ed.): *La Sacra Bibbia. Testo bilingue latino-italiano*. Vatican City 2015 (lvi, 4417 pp.), p. 2240, note.

Cant 8:11–12. *pacificus* – the peaceable (Douay Version). One should use a capital letter: the Peaceable, for this is how Jerome translates the name of Solomon. The Nova Vulgata gets rid of *pacificus*, replacing it with *Salomon*.

Wisdom of Solomon (Sapientia Salomonis)

Note. – In his preface to the writings of Solomon (after the Hebrew, 398), Jerome lists the reasons why he does not translate the book. The book breathes Greek spirit and came, according to some, from the Jew Philo of Alexandria. The text of the Wisdom of Solomon that found its way into the Vulgate belongs to the Vetus Latina.

Text

1884. Paul de Lagarde: *Die weisheiten der handschrift von Amiatina*. In: idem: *Mittheilungen*. [Band 1]. Göttingen (384 pp.), pp. 241–378. – Pages 243–282: annotated Latin text of Sapientia Salomonis from Codex Amiatinus (see above, Chapter 7.2).

1964. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 12: *Sapientia Salomonis – Liber Hiesu filii Sirach*. Rome. xxiii, 375 pp. – This volume belongs to the Benedictine Vulgate edition; see above, Chapter 13.3. – Reviews:

1965. Robert A. Kraft, *Gnomon* 37: 777–781.

1965. G.G. Willis, *Journal of Theological Studies* n. s. 16: 154–156.

1977–1985. *Sapientia Salomonis*. Edited by Walter Thiele. Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 11.1. Freiburg. 598 pp. – Critical edition of the Latin text.

Latin text with textual notes

1989.1996.1999. Giuseppe Scarpato: *Libro della Sapienza. Testo, traduzione e commento*. Brescia. 3 volumes: 478 pp., 546 pp., 461 pp. – Each of the three volumes of this Italian commentary ends with a section that prints the Latin text (which is that of the Benedictine edition of 1964) followed by extensive textual notes; in vol 1, this is on pp. 399–478 (Wisd 1–6), in vol. 2 on pp. 491–546 (Wisd 7–12), in vol. 3 on pp. 331–384 (Wisd 13–19). At the end of vol. 3 is list of all significant Latin

words of the book of Wisdom (vol. 3, pp. 396–398). Scarpat suggests a number of emendations and improved readings of the Latin text; some of these are reported in the textual notes below. Scarpat often refers to the Nova Vulgata of which he is very critical (see above, Chapter 17.3). Scarpat does not provide a running translation of the Latin text. ▲

Secondary literature

1861. Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Observationes criticae in librum Sapientiae*. Freiburg. 36 pp. – Extensive notes on the Greek and Latin texts, presented in small print. Two densely packed columns per page. For examples of Reusch’s textual suggestions, see below, textual note on Wisd 5:22 and 19:8.
1881. William John Deane: *The Book of Wisdom. The Greek Text, the Latin Vulgate and the Authorised English Version with (...) Commentary*. Oxford. vii, 224 pp. – Page 41: “Of the versions the Latin contained in the Vulgate is the most important for antiquity and literalness. It is really the old Italic rendering of the second or third century (...) impartial criticism will detect in it many errors arising from misunderstanding the original, and many obscurities of expression which only tend to ‘darken knowledge.’ There are also some additions which are plainly not sanctioned by the original. But (...) it probably represents the reading of manuscripts earlier than any that have come down to us, and, in this respect, at any rate, is of great critical value, while its language is interesting as presenting provincialisms and phrases which point to an African origin. These are noted in the commentary as they occur.” For the additions to the Vulgate, see p. 224 (index).
1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches der Weisheit. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 235–277. – On pp. 275–276, Thielmann discusses cases of homophonic translations (Übersetzung nach dem Wortklang), i.e., cases where the Latin word echoes the underlying Greek word; an example is Latin *digne* for Greek δίκαια (Wisd 14:30); see the linguistic glossary, Chapter 8.7, s.v. homophony. A thorough linguistic analysis, still very valuable.
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn. viii, 290 pp. – Page 73: “Es gab aber auch solche [Übersetzer], die sich mühten, nicht nur richtig, sondern auch gut zu übersetzen; zu ihnen gehört z.B. der Urheber des lateinischen Buches der Weisheit.” Stummer highlights the linguistic quality of the Latin translation of the book of Wisdom.
1929. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Étude sur le texte latin de la Sagesse. *Revue bénédictine* 41: 101–133.
1942. Patrick W. Skehan: Notes on the Latin Text of the Book of Wisdom. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 4.3: 230–243. – These notes focus on the Latin plusses that have no basis in the underlying Greek text, and on semantic issues, mostly in conversation with Thielmann (1893) and De Bruyne (1929). Skehan also points out the problematic punctuation in some modern Vulgate editions, and problematic divisions into poetic lines.
1956. Jean Doignon: *Sacrum – sacramentum – sacrificium* dans le texte latin de la Sagesse. *Revue des études latines* 34: 240–253. – These three words are used to translate Greek μυστήριον. The original Latin equivalent is *sacrum*, as can be demonstrated on the basis of epigraphic evidence. As can be seen in the book of Wisdom, Christians preferred *sacramentum*. The actual innovation of the book of Wisdom’s Latin translator is the use of *sacrificium* for μυστήριον; the reason is the Latin style: the use of *sacrificium* permits the creation of alliterations, clausula rhythm, and rhyme. Doignon is critical of Thielmann (1893, pp. 268–269).
1968. Jean Gribomont: L’édition vaticane de la Vulgate et la Sagesse de Salomon dans sa recension italienne. *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 4: 472–496.

2019. A. Glicksman: Latin [text of Wisdom of Solomon]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2C. Leiden (xxxii, 572 pp.), pp. 498–506.
2020. Sophie-Christin Holland: *Studien zur lateinischen Sapientia Salomonis*. Diss. Phil. Humboldt-Universität. Berlin. – Unpublished thesis, available on the Internet.

Textual notes

- Wisd 1:7.** *et hoc* [spiritus], *quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis* – and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice (Douay Version). Since *hoc* (neuter) refers back to the divine spirit, one would expect the masculine forms *hic, qui*. – Alois Hudal et al.: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Sechste Auflage, neubearbeitet von Franz Sauer. Graz 1948 (xii, 271 pp.), pp. 79–80.
- Wisd 2:2.** *et sermo scintilla ad commovendum cor nostrum* – and the word is a spark in the being moved of our heart (or: in the movement of our heart); und das Wort ist ein Funken beim Bewegtwerden unseres Herzens (oder: bei der Bewegung unseres Herzens). – Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Exegese der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 62 (1950) 152–167, at pp. 153–157.
- Wisd 2:6.** *creatura* (Clementina). The word must be emended: *creaturam* (Scarpata I, p. 402); the Weber/Gryson edition also has *creaturam*.
- Wisd 2:7.** *flos temporis* – the flower of the time. Thielmann suggests the addition of *verni: flos verni temporis* – the flower of springtime (which is also in NVg). – Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), p. 15.
- Wisd 2:19.** *reverentia* – how to translate this noun? Here are some suggestions: meekness (Douay Version), gentleness (Knox), Unterwürfigkeit (Allioli), Ehrfurcht (Tusculum-Vulgata). Another possibility is “piety,” reflecting an underlying (though conjectural) Greek εὐσέβεια, see P.W. Skehan: Notes on the Latin Text of the Book of Wisdom. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 4.3 (1942) 230–243, at p. 237.
- Wisd 2:25.** *imitantur autem illum* – they (people) imitate him (the devil). Thielmann suggests to emend the verb: *iniritant autem illum* – they challenge him. – Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), pp. 15–16. Scarpata I, p. 435 discusses the difficulty.
- Wisd 3:11.** *et inutilia opera eorum* (Clementina) – and their works unprofitable (Douay Version). Weber/Gryson has *et inhabitabilia opera illorum* – with the same meaning. The adjective *inhabitabilis* takes its sense from *habitare*, the intensive form of *habere* (to have), see Scarpata I, p. 440.
- Wisd 4:1.** *generatio* (Clementina). Read: *enim in generatio* (Scarpata I, p. 402).
- Wisd 4:2.** *eam cum se duxerit* (Weber/Gryson, Scarpata) – when it goes away. For *se ducere* = *abire*, see Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), pp. 16–17; Scarpata I, p. 446.
- Wisd 4:12.** *fascinatio enim nugacionis obscurat bona* – the evil eye of wickedness obscures what is good. – John H. Elliott: *Beware the Evil Eye*. Volume 3. Eugene, Ore. 2016 (xxx, 348 pp.), pp. 13 and 56.
- Wisd 5:3.** *hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum et in similitudinem improprietatis* – das sind diejenigen, welche wir einst hatten zum Gelächter (welche uns zum Gelächter dienten) und zu schimpflichen, schmähenden Erzählungen (und welche zu beschimpfenden Erzählungen uns Veranlas-

sung gaben) (Hagen, p. 19); these are those whom we had then for laughter and for scandalous stories.

Wisd 5:19. *iudicium certum* (Clementina, Weger/Gryson) – true judgment (Douay Version), sure judgment. Possibly meant is *iudicium rectum* (different sequence of letters). The reading *rectum* is attested, see Walter Thiele (ed.): *Sapientia Salomonis*. Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 11.1. Freiburg 1977 (598 pp.), p. 82. NVg has: *iudicium non fictum* – a judgement not made up.

Wisd 5:22. *ibunt directae emissions fulgurum, et tanquam a bene curvaton arcu nubium exterminabuntur, et ad certum locum insilient* – aimed shafts of lightning shall go, and like from a well-bent arc of clouds shall be directed to the aim, and leap to the target. – This is a much-discussed verse; Reusch, Thielmann, De Bruyne, Skehan and Scarpata have all commented on it. The key idea, suggested by Reusch, Thielmann and Scarpata, is that *exterminabuntur* does not mean “shall be destroyed” (which would be the normal meaning in Latin), but has the unusual meaning “shall be directed to a terminus.” Accordingly, *exterminabuntur* and *ad certum locum insilient* are essentially synonymous. – Literature:

1861. Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Observationes criticae in librum Sapientiae*. Freiburg (36 pp.), p. 19: fortasse exterminari dixit interpres pro “in terminum mitti.”

1942. W.P. Skehan: Notes on the Latin Text of the Book of Wisdom. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 4.3: 230–243, at pp. 232–233.

1989. Scarpata I, pp. 466–467. Scarpata also points out that the NVg version misunderstands the Clementina’s *directe* (= the adjective *directae*, not an adverb).

Wisd 5:23. *et scandescet* (Weber/Gryson) or *excandescet* (Clementina)? – Scarpata (I, p. 402) suggests *excandescet*.

Wisd 6:26. *multitudo autem sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum* – the multitude of the wise is the welfare (*sanitas*) of the whole world (Douay Version). – Giuseppe Scarpata: “sanitas” come traduzione Latina di σωτηρία (Sap 6,26; 18,7). In: Núria Carduch Benages – Jacques Vermeylen (eds.): *Treasures of Wisdom*. Leuven 1999 (xxvii, 463, 7 pp.), pp. 241–253.

Wisd 8:20. *magis bonus* – periphrastic comparative in the sense of “better.” – Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 98.

Wisd 10:11. *honestus* = rich, wealthy. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 200.

Wisd 10:20. *victricem* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina). – Scarpata II, p. 492, suggests *vinditricem*.

Wisd 11:5–9. This passage has Latin expansions and may also be corrupt, and possibly a weak rendering. Skehan seeks to reconstruct a text that makes sense. – P.W. Skehan: Notes on the Latin Text of the Book of Wisdom. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 4.3 (1942) 230–243, at pp. 235–236.

Wisd 12:10. *nequa est natio illorum* (Weber/Gryson); *nequam est natio eorum* (Clementina) – worthless is their generation. The classical *nequam* is an indeclinable adjective; in vulgar Latin, it takes the declinable form *nequs*. – Literature:

1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. des Buches Judith*. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier. Speyer (64 pp.), pp. 9–10.

1996. Scarpata II, p. 543.

- Wisd 12:19.** *oportet justum esse et humanum* – the just must also be humane. – P.W. Skehan: Notes on the Latin Text of the Book of Wisdom. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 4.3 (1942) 230–243, at p. 238.
- Wisd 14:11.** *et in muscipulum pedibus insipientium* – and as a mousetrap for the feet of the unwise. The Douay Version has “snare,” but one should keep the literal rendering here suggested.
- Wisd 14:16.** *hic error* – there’s a mistake here! This is a scribal gloss, as was seen by De Bruyne and Skehan. – P.W. Skehan: Notes on the Latin Text of the Book of Wisdom. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 4.3 (1942) 230–243, at p. 239.
- Wisd 14:26.** *Dei immemoratio* (Clementina) – forgetfulness of God. The Weber/Gryson edition has *Domini inmemoratio*. It must be *doni immemoratio* – forgetfulness of the gift, an emendation suggested by Joseph Ziegler, *Biblische Zeitschrift* NF 5 (1961) 117 on the basis of the Greek; Scarpata III, p. 336 has *doni inmemoratio* in the main text. In keeping with the Greek, NVg has *gratiarum inmemoratio*.
- Wisd 15:18.** *sed et animalia miserrima colunt insensata [insensate, Weber/Gryson] enim comparata his aliis sunt deteriora* (Clementina). The Clementina’s wording does not make immediate sense. Some solutions: **(1)** “they also venerate the most abject animals which, compared to those other insensible (beings), are even more worthless; sie verehren auch die elendesten Tiere, die, mit jenen anderen einsichtslosen (Wesen) verglichen, noch minderwertiger sind.” Stummer, who does not know the Weber/Gryson wording, considers *insensata enim comparata* as accusativus absolutus (possibly the only instance in the Vulgate; another instance is 2 Macc 15:37 according to Codex Mediolanensis Ambros. E 26 inf.). Stummer does not offer the translation his discussion would lead to. – **(2)** Mohrmann (p. 29): “Si l’on garde la leçon *illis* et si l’on considère les mots *insensata* (...) *comparata* comme un nominative absolu, on pourrait traduire: on adore même les bêtes les plus odieuses; si l’on compare les idoles inanimées à ces bêtes, celles-ci (les bêtes) sont pire que celles-là (les idoles).” – **(3)** The Weber/Gryson wording leads to: “but they also venerate the most abject animals; senselessly compared with these others [the man-made idols], they are even worse.” This corresponds to the translation given in the Tusculum-Vulgata. – Literature:
1950. Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Exegese der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 62 (1950) 152–167, at pp. 157–160.
1952. Christine Mohrmann: À propos de Sap. 15,18. *Vigiliae Christianae* 6 (1952) 28–30 = eadem: *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Tome III. Rome 1965 (458 pp.), pp. 273–275.
- Wisd 18:7.** *suscepta est autem a populo tua sanitas quidem iustorum* – thy people receives the salvation (*sanitas*) of the just (Douay Version). – Giuseppe Scarpata: “sanitas” come traduzione Latina di *sôtêria* (Sap 6,26; 18,7). In: Núria Carduch Benages – Jacques Vermeylen (eds.): *Treasures of Wisdom*. Leuven 1999 (xxvii, 463, 7 pp.), pp. 241–253.
- Wisd 19:5.** *mirabiliter transiret* (Clementina) – (thy people) might wonderfully pass through (Douay Version). Scarpata III, p. 332 reads: *mirabile iter consequeretur* – might follow a miraculous way.
- Wisd 19:8.** *videntes tua mirabilia et monstra* (Clementina) – seeing your miracles and wonders. Reusch suggests to omit the word *et* so that we get *mirabilia monstra* – wonderful miracles; this is also the reading of the Weber/Gryson edition, Scarpata (III, p. 344) and the Nova Vulgata. – Franz Heinrich Reusch: *Observationes criticae in librum Sapientiae*. Freiburg 1861 (36 pp.), p. 35.

Jesus Sirach (Ben Sira, Liber Iesu filii Sirach, Ecclesiasticus)

Note. – In his preface to the writings of Solomon (from the Greek, 386/89), Jerome indicates the reasons why he does not translate the book – he does not count it as part of the canon of the Bible (but see the contribution of Gilbert 1987). In the preface to the writings of Solomon (after the Hebrew) of 398, Jerome mentions that he had seen a Hebrew version of the book of Jesus Sirach. – The text included in the Vulgate, translated from Greek, is pre-Jeromian (late 2nd or early 3rd century CE) and therefore belongs to the Vetus Latina.

Recent commentaries on the book of Jesus Sirach are based on the Greek and on extant Hebrew fragments; they rarely if ever comment on the Latin text.

Text

1884. Paul de Lagarde: Die weisheiten der handschrift von Amiatina. In: idem: *Mittheilungen*. [Band 1]. Göttingen (384 pp.), pp. 241–378. – Pages 283–378: annotated Latin text of Sirach from Codex Amiatinus (see above, Chapter 7.2).

1899. Heinrich Herkenne: *De Veteris latinae Ecclesiastici capitibus I–XLIII. Una cum notis ex eiusdem libri translationibus (...) Latina altera (...) depromptis*. Leipzig. 268 pp. – Reviews:

1899/1900. A. Cowley, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 12: 168–171.

1903. Rudolf Smend, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 28: 71–72.

1903. W. Kroll, *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 6.1: 129–130.

1964. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 12: *Sapientia Salomonis – Liber Iesu filii Sirach*. Rome (xxiii, 375 pp.) pp. 105–375. – This is a volume of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3. According to Alexander A. Di Lella (in: Patrick W. Skehan – AA. Di Lella: *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*. The Anchor Bible. New York 1987. xxiii, 620 pp., at p. 62), “this work now makes obsolete all the earlier editions of the Vulgate.” – Review: Robert A. Kraft, *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 777–781.

1987–2005. *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)*. Edited by Walter Thiele. Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 11.2. Freiburg. 726 pp. – This critical edition based on the manuscript tradition has appeared in individual fascicles; with the 9th fascicle, ending with the text of Sirach 24, the editor ends his contribution due to high age. Thiele, born in 1923, died in 2016. Thiele was critical of De Bruyne’s view (who thought of textual expansions as additions made exclusively within the Latin textual tradition); at least some expansions seem to have been made within the Greek textual tradition.

2014–2021. *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)*. Edited by Anthony J. Forte. Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 11.2. Freiburg. – The work of Thiele is continued by Anthony Forte. Two fascicles are available so far, published in 2014 and 2021; they lead up to Sirach 33:26.

Synopses

1968. Francesco Vattioni: *Ecclesiastico. Testo ebraico con apparato critic e version greca, Latina e siriana*. Naples. liv, 283 pp. – For a brief characterization, see Egger-Wenzel’s *Polyglot Edition*, pp. xvi–xvii.

2022. Renate Egger-Wenzel (ed.): *A Polyglot Edition of the Book of Ben Sira with a Synopsis of the Hebrew Manuscripts*. Leuven. lii, 927 pp. – Although the title emphasizes the Hebrew column, this

polyglot edition does have a Latin column, based on the Stuttgart Vulgate (Weber/Gryson), with notes from the Beuron Vetus Latina and the Nova Vulgata. The "Salzburg Ben Sira Polyglot" represents the ripe fruit of a project initiated by Friedrich Vinzenz Reiterer (b. 1947), now an emeritus of the University of Salzburg, Austria. – Review: Markus Witte, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 135.2 (2023) 350–351.

2024. Wolfgang Kraus – Heinz-Josef Fabry – Burkard Zapff (eds.): *Das Weisheitsbuch Ben Sira/Jesus Sirach. Synopse der hebräischen, griechischen, lateinischen und syrischen Texttraditionen mit deutscher Übersetzung*. Göttingen. c. 544 pp. (forthcoming). – For a project description, see Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Projekt: Sirach-Synopse. *Early Christianity* 7: 249–255. The right column is for the Latin text, complete with a text-critical apparatus and a helpful literal German translation of the Latin. In the textual notes below, referred to as "Göttingen Synopsis 2024." ▲

Translation

1906. Wilhelm Müller: *Buch Sirach. Aus der Vulgata übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen*. Regensburg. – A German translation of the Vulgate text.

Secondary literature on the textual history

English

1965. W. Baars: On a Latin Fragment of Sirach. *Vetus Testamentum* 15: 280–281.
1987. Alexander A. Di Lella OFM, in: Patrick W. Skehan – A.A. Di Lella: *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*. The Anchor Bible. New York. xiii, 620 pp. – Page 57: The Latin version was made "probably in the second century This early version lacked the grandson's Prologue as well as the Praise of the Ancestors (chaps. 44–50); the latter was unknown to the Latin Fathers prior to Isidore of Seville (d. 636). This Latin text did contain, however, chap. 51 and also an intrusive chap. 52, the Prayer of Solomon (= 2 Chr 6:13–22). In the fifth or sixth century, the Old Latin of Sirach began appearing in manuscripts of the Vulgate after it had first undergone many alterations by scribes and editors who also added the prologue and chaps. 44–50. As a result of this complicated history, the Old Latin of Sirach has more doublets, variants, glosses, and interpolations than any other book of the Latin Bible."
2008. Maurice Gilbert SJ: The Vetus Latina of Ecclesiasticus, in: G. Xeravits – J. Zsengéller (eds.): *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira*. Leiden (xii, 267 pp.), pp. 1–9. – Page 9: The Latin text of Sirach is based on a lost Greek version written between 80 BC and 80 AD.
2011. Anthony J. Forte: The Old Latin Version of Sirach: *editio critica* and Textual Problems. In: Jean-Sébastien Rey – Jan Joosten (eds.): *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*. Leiden (ix, 352 pp.), pp. 199–214. – Article by the editor of Sirach in the Beuron Vetus Latina series; at the end of the article is the critical edition of Sir 25:1–2 as a sample.
2011. Jason Gile: The Additions to Ben Sira and the Book's Multiform Textual Witness. In: Jean-Sébastien Rey – Jan Joosten (eds.): *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*. Leiden (ix, 352 pp.), pp. 237–256. – One peculiarity of the Latin text (and its Greek Vorlage) is that nearly all the additions occur in Sir 1–24. The most sensible reason relates to the genre of the first part of the book: the proverbial nature of sentence literature would easily allow for the incorporation of new aphorisms.

2013. Severino Bussino: *The Greek Additions in the Book of Ben Sira*. Rome. 512 pp. – This is a study of the Greek additions that are characteristic of the longer version of the Greek text of the book of Jesus Sirach. The Latin version reflects this version – and has some more additions.
2014. Anthony J. Forte: *Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici: Apologia pro interprete latino*. *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 47: 69–92. – “The Latin text of Sirach is sometimes so slavishly literal that it is at times unintelligible. There has been a tendency among scholars to impute ignorance of Latin and Greek to the Latin translators of the Septuagint. This writer is not of this opinion. Rather, it is my view that the numerous errors in the Latin were more often the work of bad copyists” (p. 72). As for the many additions in the Latin text, Forte states that “the Vetus Latina never had the authoritative stature of the Septuagint and its non-canonical status was one factor that contributed to the freedom with which the Latin text was altered” (p. 72). Forte comments on a number of Sirach passages (Sir 25–28, from the relevant fascicle of the Beuron Vetus-Latina edition, edited by Forte).
2019. Bradley Gregory: Latin [text of Ecclesiasticus]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 243–255. – The Vulgate text of Sirach represents a North African Vetus-Latina text, though it shows some signs of revision. The influence of later readings has resulted in some doublets in the text.

German

1796. M. Bengel – Ernst Gottlieb: Über die muthmaßliche Quelle der alten lateinischen Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Eichhorns allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur* 7: 832–864.
1884. Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg (vi, 599 pp.), pp. 289–290 (in small print). – “Die lateinische Übersetzung in der Vulgata stammt aus der Itala, ohne vom hl. Hieronymus revidiert zu sein. Sie ist kritisch nicht gesichtet” (p. 289). “Unbedingt aber ist der innere Werth der lateinischen Übersetzung viel größer als der des griechischen Textes; Klarheit, logischer Zusammenhang, Vollständigkeit des Gedankenganges ist viel mehr als bei ersterer als bei letzterem zu suchen. Der Vulgatatext hat daher viel mehr Anspruch darauf, ein treues Ebenbild des verloren gegangenen Originals zu sein als die griechische Übersetzung” (p. 290). According to Kaulen, the Latin text echoes the lost Hebrew original text better than the Greek translation, and is in itself more coherent. He also suggests a number of emendations of the Vulgate text, some of which are listed below, in the textual notes. See also this later edition of Kaulen’s book: Franz Kaulen – Gottfried Hoberg: *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. Zweiter Teil. Freiburg 1913 (ix, 299 pp.), pp. 195–197.
- 1893/94. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561; Die europäischen Bestandteile des lateinischen Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 9 (1894) 247–284. – The Latin text of Sirach is due to two translators. The bulk of the text (Sir 1–43 and 51) – like much of the Vetus Latina – goes back to a creative North African translator at the beginning of the 3rd century; the rest comes from a European translator who worked merely mechanically, producing a correct, but colourless text. The prologue is a later addition. Thielmann reports how he experienced the difference between the two translations: with the second translator “versiegte der Quell der Africanismen fast gänzlich, die Plastik der afrikanischen Ausdrucksweise (...) wich einer korrekten und glatten, aber farblosen Diktion, bisher nicht gebrauchte Wörter traten auf, dafür waren andere, die bisher zu den Lieblingen des Übersetzers gehört hatten, völlig verschwunden, wieder andere zeigten eine von der bisher üblichen abweichende Bedeutung, kurzum, es war ein vollständiger (...) Szenenwechsel” (p. 247). – Critical reviews of Thielmann’s work:

1897. Paul Geyer: Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1: 75–102, at p. 95. Geyer argues that there is no reason to distinguish between a North African and a European translator; instead, one should speak of two translators whose level of erudition differs.
2005. Walter Thiele (ed.): *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)*. *Vetus Latina*, 11.2. Freiburg (726 pp.), pp. 120–124. Thiele traces the Latin *Sirach* to one single translator. ▲
2016. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Was verstehen die lateinischen Übersetzer des Buches *Jesus Sirach* unter Sühne? In: Thomas Johann Bauer (ed.): *Traditio et translatio. Studien zur lateinischen Bibel*. Freiburg (xx, 219 pp.), pp. 49–73. – The different translations of the “atonement” vocabulary in the earlier chapters and in chap. 45 supports Thielmann’s notion of two different translators (pp. 58–59).
1906. Rudolf Smend: *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, hebräisch und deutsch*. Berlin. xxii, 95, 81 pp. Pages cxx–cxxi: “Der Text des lateinischen *Sirach* ist in den Handschriften durch zahlreiche Schreibfehler und viele willkürliche Änderungen entstellt. (...) zumeist wird der Text durch Emendationen geheilt werden müssen.” The Latin text is frequently corrupt and in need of emendation. ▲
1996. Maurice Gilbert SJ: *Jesus Sirach*. In: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Band 17. Stuttgart (1300 cols.), cols. 878–906.
1997. Walter Thiele: Die lateinischen *Sirach*texte als Zeugnis der griechischen *Sirach*überlieferung. In: Jostein Ådna et al. (eds.): *Evangelium – Schriftauslegung – Kirche*. Göttingen (x, 460 pp.), pp. 394–402. – From the workshop of the editor of the *Vetus Latina* text of *Sirach*.
2003. Friedrich V. Reiterer: *Zählsynopse zum Buch Jesus Sirach*. Berlin. xii, 247 pp. – Page 21–22: Der lateinische Text. “Nach allgemeiner Übereinstimmung ist die lateinische Übersetzung des *Sirach*-Buches (anders als im protokanonischen Bereich) kein eigenständiges Werk des Hieronymus, vielmehr hat er offensichtlich unter Verzicht auf eine eigene Übersetzung weithin die ihm vorliegende *Vetus Latina* übernommen” (p. 21).
2014. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Die *Vetus-Latina*-Version des Buches *Jesus Sirach* als Zeuge für die Version Griechisch II. In: Wolfgang Kraus – Siegfried Kreuzer (eds.): *Die Septuaginta – Text – Wirkung – Rezeption*. Tübingen (xiv, 928 pp.), pp. 698–712. – The article includes a section titled “die Überlieferung des lateinischen *Sirach*-Textes” (pp. 701–703).
2016. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Projekt: *Sirach*-Synopse. *Early Christianity* 7.2: 249–255. – “Von herausragender Bedeutung ist auch die lateinische Übersetzung [des Buches *Jesus Sirach*], die auf einer längeren griechischen Fassung (G2) oder einer ihr nahestehenden Version beruht. Sie ist wohl im 2./3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. in Nordafrika entstanden und schon in den Schriften des Cyprian von Karthago († 258) nachzuweisen. Eine leicht überarbeitete Fassung dieser altlateinischen Übersetzung nahm Hieronymus in die *Vulgata* auf” (p. 251).
2017. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Der lateinische Text des *Ecclesiasticus*: Von Philipp Thielmann bis zu Walter Thiele. In: Gerhard Karner et al. (eds.): *Texts and Contexts of the Book of Sirach*. Atlanta, Ga. (viii, 333 pp.), pp. 263–282. – History of research, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, up to the present day. “Bei der Erforschung des *Sirach*buches geht es nicht darum, den ursprünglichen oder wenigstens besten Text, den man erreichen kann, wiederzugewinnen, sondern zu verstehen, wie sich der Text entwickelt hat” (pp. 281–282). ▲

French

1899. G. Touzard: *Ecclésiastique, Le livre de*. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 2.2. Paris (cols. 1195–2428), cols. 1543–1557. – Columns 1548–1549: Version latine. The Latin of this version is defective, as can be seen from barbarisms such as *defunctio* (1:13), *reciprocitas* (1:17,18,26), *compartior* (1:24), *inhonoratio* (1:38), *obduratio* (2:2; 5:1.10), *receptibilis* (2:5). There is

a large number of verses that are not in the Greek: 1:17–19.26.35b; 2:2b.3a.6c.10.16b.21; 3:1.4b.10b.16.24b.28.32, and others. According to Touzard, the Latin version is superior to the Greek *textus receptus*.

1928. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Étude sur le texte latin de l'Écclésiastique. *Revue bénédictine* 40: 5–48. – Doublets were added to the Latin text of the Book of Sirach within the Latin text history. If one deletes the doublets, one receives the oldest form of the Latin text of Sirach whose basis is "Greek I." "Aucun texte de la Bible n'a été plus altéré au cours d'une longue histoire par des réviseurs anonymes, aucun n'est semé de plus de pièges et de traquenards" (p. 47). – For a long time, this article was the basis of research on the Latin text of Sirach; but eventually, Walter Thiele challenged De Bruyne's view (see Thiele's edition of the Latin text). For a relevant comment on De Bruyne's paper, see also Anthony J. Forte: *Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici: Apologia pro interprete latino. Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 47 (2014) 69–92, at p. 85.
1929. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Le titre, le prologue et la finale de l'Écclésiastique. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 47: 257–263. – For the Latin version of Sirach three translators were responsible: an African translator for chapters 1–43 and 51, a European one for 44–50, and a third one for the preface.
1987. Maurice Gilbert SJ: Jérôme et l'œuvre de Ben Sira. *Le Muséon* 100: 109–120. – Gilbert provides a complete list of all Sirach citations in Jerome – 78 passages, plus 5 more in his translation of Origen texts (p. 110). Jerome only rarely quotes the Old Latin text of the book of Sirach, but almost always translates directly from the Greek (pp. 118–120). At first, Jerome rejected the canonicity of the book of Sirach, but in 404 he tacitly changed his mind and henceforth accepted the canonicity (p. 118).
2011. Thierry Legrand: La version latine de Ben Sira: état de la question, essai de classement thématique des 'additions.' In: Jean-Sébastien Rey – Jan Joosten (eds.): *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*. Leiden (ix, 352 pp.), pp. 215–234. – Page 234: The Latin version makes additions to give the sapiential teaching a new orientation, making it more spiritual and theological.
2017. Aline Canellis (ed.): *Jérôme: Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*. Sources chrétiennes 592. Paris 2017. 530 pp. – Pages 484–491: The Non-Jeromian prologue to Sirach.

Italian

1967. Francesco Vattioni: S. Girolamo e l'Ecclésiastico. *Vetera Christianorum* 4: 131–149. – The author provides a list of all passages where Jerome refers to Sirach texts or quotes them. The study is not reliable, however, writes M. Gilbert in *Le Muséon* 100 (1987), p. 109.
1979. Tarcisio Stramare: Il libro dell'Ecclésiastico nella Neo-Vulgata. In: *Kirche und Bibel. Festgabe für Bischof Eduard Schick*. Herausgegeben von den Professoren der Philosophisch-theologischen Hochschule Fulda. Paderborn (502 pp.), pp. 443–448.

Further secondary literature

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Über die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachlichen Untersuchungen. *Philologus* 42.2: 319–378, at pp. 323–328: on the vocabulary of Latin Sirach. Thielmann developed this article later, see idem: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561. Thielmann's work is still most useful as a thorough linguistic analysis of the language – lexicography and grammar – of Sirach. In fact, Thielmann's 1893 article is still the most detailed account of the late-Latin features of a biblical book (B. Lang). ▲

1913. Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Übersetzt und erklärt. Münster. lxxviii, 470 pp. – Peters often comments on the Vulgate version, frequently pointing out that the translator misunderstood and expanded the Greek text. Peters's basis is the Hebrew and Greek text, but on page lxxviii he declares: "In der Übersetzung habe ich den Text der Sixto-Klementinischen Kirchenbibel zugrunde gelegt. Nur an ein paar Stellen, wo es unumgänglich notwendig war, habe ich mir Änderungen erlaubt. Öfter sah ich mich gezwungen, von der schiefen Interpunktion der üblichen Drucke abzugehen." This passage may be a fragment of an earlier, unpublished commentary by Peters, a commentary that was meant to include the Latin text, accompanied by a translation. – Norbert Peters (1863–1938) taught at the Catholic seminary of Paderborn, Germany; in one of his books, he refers to his reputation as a representative of the "critical school" within Catholic biblical scholarship; see Norbert Peters: *Unsere Bibel*. Paderborn 1929 (xvi, 528 pp.), p. vi. ▲
1966. Hilaire Duesberg OSB – Irénée Fransen: *Ecclesiastico*. Torino. ix, 353 pp. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes. ▲
2006. Maria Carmela Palmisano: "Salvaci, Dio dell'universo!" *Studio dell'eucologia di Sir 36H,1–17*. *Analecta Biblica* 163. Rome 468 pp. – On pp. 351–352, the author lists words for "the poor" such as *humilis, pauper, mediocris, egenus*, together with their Greek and, if available, Hebrew textual basis.
2011. Conleth Kearns OP: *The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus. Its Teaching on the Future Life as a Clue to Its Origin*. Berlin. vi, 333 pp. – This is the text of a 1951 dissertation, then unpublished, and now edited with new introductory material compiled by Maurice Gilbert. According to Kearns, the enlarged version of the Greek Ecclesiasticus, represented by MS 248 in the Vatican Library and by the Latin Ecclesiasticus, dates from ca. 75–60 BCE, and most likely originated in Essene circles. Kearns thinks of the enlarged book of Sirach ("Sirach II") as due to a conscious expansion made in the interest of adding eschatological teachings. – Reviews:
2011. Jean-Sébastien Rey: L'espérance post-mortem dans les différentes versions du Siracide. In: Jean-Sébastien Rey – Jan Joosten (eds.): *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*. Leiden (ix, 352 pp.), pp. 257–279. The opposite of what Kearns thought is true: the Greek translator actually de-eschatologised the text.
2015. Markus Witte: *Texte und Kontexte des Sirachbuchs*. Tübingen. x, 325 pp. – Page 5: "Insofern Kearns erstmals den Versuch unternahm, die Überschüsse, die G-II gegenüber dem älteren und ursprünglicheren Kurztext (G-I) aufweist, inhaltlich zu klassifizieren und religionsgeschichtlich vor dem Hintergrund des jüdischen Schrifttums aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit (vor allem im Vergleich zu Dan 12, 1 Hen, Jub, SapSal, PsSal) zu verorten, ist seine Untersuchung nach wie vor von großer Bedeutung für das Verständnis des Judentums in der Zeit von 200 v. Chr. bis um 100 n. Chr. Seine These der essenischen Herkunft von G-II als einer systematischen eschatologischen Revision von G-I ist angesichts des gegenwärtigen Standes der Erforschung des Qumranschrifttums, die zur Abfassungszeit der Untersuchung Kearns noch in den Anfängen steckte, allerdings nicht mehr zu halten."
2016. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Was verstehen die lateinischen Übersetzer des Buches Jesus Sirach unter Sühne? In: Thomas Johann Bauer (ed.): *Traditio et translatio. Studien zur lateinischen Bibel*. Freiburg (xx, 219 pp.), pp. 49–73. – The normal words for "atonement" and "to atone" are *propitiatio* and *propitiare* (Sir 17:29 [Vg 28]; 18:11.20; 34:18–19 [Vg 21–23]). Exceptions are Sir 45:16.23 (Vg 20.28) where the translator uses *placēre* – to please, a mistake for *placare* – to appease. The exceptional translation in chapter 45 may be due to a different translator, as suggested by Thielmann (pp. 58–59).
2016. Bradley C. Gregory: Vice and Virtue in the Moral Vision of the Latin of Sirach. *Biblica* 97: 41–61.

2019. Gualtiero Rota: Straniera, prostituta o donna libertina? Riflessioni di metodo in margine alle traduzioni Greco e Latina del Siracide. In: Michela Canepari et al. (eds.): *Tradurre i Testi Sacri*. Padua (151 pp.), pp. 49–68.
2022. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Christlicher Einfluss auf die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Jesus Sirach. In: Siegfried Kreuzer et al. (eds.): *Bibel und Patristik*. Paderborn (xiii, 460 pp.), pp. 161–176. – The most obvious passages that show Christian influence are Sir 43:23 (Vg 43:25) and 47:11–12 (Vg 47:13–14), in the Weber/Gryson text. The author discusses many other passages that Christian readers would no doubt have understood in a Christian sense.
2023. Bernhard Lang: Buch Ecclesiasticus (Jesus Sirach). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 77–79. – Lang lists some of the words that the Latin version of Sirach contributes to the Vulgate vocabulary, e.g. *religiositas*.

Textual notes

Sir title. In the Latin textual tradition, Ecclesiastes (Koheleth) and Ecclesiasticus were often associated, and both were also associated with Solomon (see Sir 52:1 – *et declinavit Salomon genua in conspectus totius ecclesiae*); accordingly, it makes sense to derive the title “Ecclesiasticus” from the older title “Ecclesiastes.” This idea was suggested by Donatien De Bruyne. – Literature:

1929. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Le titre, le prologue et la finale de l’Ecclesiastique. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 47: 257–263, at pp. 260–262.

1987. Walter Thiele: Zum Titel des Sirachbuches in der lateinischen Übersetzung. In: Roger Gryson – Pierre-Maurice Bogaert (ed.): *Recherches sur l’histoire de la Bible latine*. Louvain-la-Neuve (153 pp.), pp. 43–49.

2019. Bradley Gregory: Latin [text of Ecclesiasticus]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 243–255, at p. 243: “The Latin title Ecclesiasticus, attested as early as the time of Cyprian (mid-third century CE), is frequently held to relate to the book’s use in catechesis. However, it is also possible that the title calls attention to the book as used uniquely by the church, unlike the book of Proverbs, which is also canonical in Judaism.” By “use in catechesis,” the author refers to the instruction of those who applied for baptism.

Sir 1:17.18.26. *religiositas*. The word, used only in this passage in the Vulgate, is translated as “religiousness” in the Douay Version. See also Sir 37:12: *vir irreligiosus*.

Sir 1:31–32. These two verses are in the Clementina and NVg; the Weber/Gryson edition relegates them to the apparatus.

Sir 2:3. *sustine sustentationes Dei* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) may be rendered “halte aus den Aufschub Gottes” (Peters) or “ertrage die Prüfungen Gottes” (Kaulen takes this to be a meaning not attested elsewhere), but the expression more likely is a mistake for *sustine tentationes Dei* – endure God’s temptations (Thielmann). The Göttingen Synopsis 2024 also struggles with the verse; it suggests, as a literal rendering, “stütze die Stützung Gottes,” which, however, does not make sense; the main text has “harre auf die Unterstützung Gottes” (wait for God’s support), and the note suggests “halte das Zurückhalten Gottes aus” (endure God’s holding back). – Literature:

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8: 511–561, at p. 538.

1904. Kaulen, p. 37.

1913. *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Übersetzt und erklärt. Münster. (lxxviii, 470 pp.), p. 22.
2024. Wolfgang Kraus – Heinz-Josef Fabry – Burkard Zapff (eds.): *Das Weisheitsbuch Ben Sira/Jesus Sirach. Synopse der hebräischen, griechischen, lateinischen und syrischen Texttraditionen mit deutscher Übersetzung*. Göttingen (forthcoming).
- Sir 4:3.** Read: *angustiantis* (instead of: *angustianti*). – Franz Kaulen – Gottfried Hoberg: *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. Zweiter Teil. Freiburg 1913 (ix, 299 pp.), p. 195.
- Sir 4:4.** Read: *in prudentia* (instead of *in praesenti*). – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 375.
- Sir 4:29.** *et firmamentum in operibus justitiae (sc. dignoscitur)* – and steadfastness in the works of justice (Douay Version); und seine Stütze sind Werke der Gerechtigkeit (Allioli); und deren Bekräftigung an Werken der Gerechtigkeit (Göttingen Synopsis 2024); et sa fermeté par les œuvres de justice (Glaire). At first glance, the sentence seems to mean: someone’s virtue is recognized in his righteous doings. Nevertheless, Peters seems to suggest something like: but the most relevant thing (*firmamentum* = Hauptbeweis, Hauptpunkt, Hauptsache) is deeds of righteousness. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 49.
- Sir 5:3.** *quomodo potui* – “How strong am I!” – “Wie stark bin ich!” – Translation suggested by Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 52.
- Sir 6:31.** *alligatura* (Clementina) – a binding. The Weber/Gryson edition has *netura*, by Thielmann emended to *nectura* – a binding: *decor enim vitae est in illa, et vincula illius netura salutaris* (Weber/Gryson) – for in her is the beauty of life, and her bands are a healthful binding (Douay Version); denn Schmuck des Lebens ist an ihr und ihre Fesseln sind ein heilsames Gewebe (Göttingen Synopsis 2024; with alternative renderings of *netura salutaris*: heilsames Band, hyazintfarbene Fäden). – Literature:
1875. Rönsch, p. 40. – On *alligatura*.
1884. Philipp Thielmann: Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 1: 68–81, at pp. 68–71.
2023. Michael Hillen: *netura*. *Thesaurus linguae latinae*. Volume IX.1, fasc. 14. Berlin (cols. 513–648), col. 648. The noun *netura* is a *hapax*. There is also a brief note in Vol. IX.1, fasc. 3, col. 419: *nectura* (which would also be a *hapax*) is a wrong variant reading for *netura*.
2024. Wolfgang Kraus – Heinz-Josef Fabry – Burkard Zapff (eds.): *Das Weisheitsbuch Ben Sira/Jesus Sirach. Synopse der hebräischen, griechischen, lateinischen und syrischen Texttraditionen mit deutscher Übersetzung*. Göttingen (forthcoming).
- Sir 7:37.** *gratia dati in conspectu omnibus hominibus* (Clementina). **(1)** The meaning is not entirely clear: a gift hath grace in the in the sight of all the living (Douay Version); Wohltätigkeit ist allen Lebenden angenehm (Allioli); durch Gnade gegeben im Angesicht alles Lebenden (Tusculum-Vulgata); que la reconnaissance d’un bienfait soit à la vue de tout vivant (Glaire). – **(2)** *dati* is genitive of *datum* (gift). The Weber/Gryson edition has *datūs*, genitive of *datus* (gift). *datus* (gift) is also used Sir 18:18.
- Sir 9:3.** *ne respicias mulierem multivolam* – look not upon a woman that hath a mind for many (Douay Version): sieh nicht nach einem buhlerischen Weibe (Allioli). The adjective *multivola* – longing for many, viel begehrend – means “promiscuous”; in Catullus: *Carmina* 68a, 128, it describes Lesbia, Catullus’ promiscuous lover: *praecipue multivola est mulier*. According to Rota, the Sirach

translator echoes Catullus' poem. – Gualtiero Rota: Sir. 9.1–3 LXX/VL: *hetairizoménê – multivola* e un plausibile ipotesto catullino. *Sileno* 36 (2010) 129–194; idem: Catullo in Ben Sira, in: Giuseppe Gilberto Biondi (ed.): *Il Liber di Catullo. Tradizione, Modelli e Fortleben*. Cesena 2011 (vi, 211 pp.), pp. 91–110. ▲

- Sir 9:9 (Vg 9:13).** *non alterceris cum illa in vino* – do not flirt with her at the wine party; schäkere nicht mit ihr beim Wein(trinken). According to Peters, "*altercari* bezeichnet das neckende, schäkernde Wortgeplänkel," a meaning required by the context. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 83.
- Sir 10:19–11:6.** Kathrina Lentz: *Crainte de Dieu, Sagesse et Loi. Aspects théologiques à partir de Si 10,19–11,6*. Atlanta, Ga. 2020. lx, 351 pp. – Detailed textual analysis of all ancient versions on pp. 13–104.
- Sir 11:5.** *Read in terra* (instead of: *in throno*). – Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg 1884 (vi, 599 pp.), p. 289.
- Sir 11:14.** *honestas* = wealth, Reichtum. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 200.
- Sir 11:23.** *honestare* = to make rich, reich machen. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 101.
- Sir 12:10.** *aeruginare* – to rust. A rare word. – Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg 2022 (xviii, 317 pp.), p. 49.
- Sir 12:17–18.** This verse doesn't make sense. The repetition on 18a of verse 16a (*in oculis suis lacrimatur inimicus* – an enemy has tears in his eyes) is only one of several problems. Verses 17 and 18 should be reduced to one verse. NVg has *si incurrerint tibi mala, invenies eum illic priorem, / et quasi adiuvans suffodiet plantas tuas* – if evil things come upon you, you will find him to be the first one there / and, as if helping, he will make a hole under your feet. Other suggestions are listed in Selmer's article. – Carl Selmer: A Study of Ecclus. 12:10–19. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8.3 (1946) 306–314, at p. 311.
- Sir 13:9.** *humiliare Deo, et exspecta manus eius* (Clementina) – humble thyself to God, and wait for his hands (Douay Version). – Deemed a secondary addition, this verse is omitted from the Weber/Gryson edition.
- Sir 13:13.** *ne improbus sis ne impingaris* – do not be impertinent so that you don't annoy; sei nicht unverschämt (unartig), damit du nicht anstoßest. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 115.
- Sir 13:22.** Read: *pars* (instead of: *pax*): "for what has the rich man in common with the poor?; oder was hat der Reiche mit dem Armen gemein?" (B. Lang). – Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg 1884 (vi, 599 pp.), p. 289; accepted by N. Peters.
- Sir 15:21.** *spatium peccandi* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson, NVg) – licence to sin (literally: space to sin). On the basis of an ancient quotation, Nestle suggests *laxamentum peccandi* as the original Vetus-Latina reading. – Eberhard Nestle: Sirach, Book of. In: James Hastings (ed.): *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Volume 4. Edinburgh 1902 (xi, 994 pp.), pp. 539–551, at p. 546.
- Sir 18:6.** *aporiabitur* (Clementina, NVg) – he will feel his distress (*aporia*), cf. the Douay Version: "he shall be at a loss." The Sixtina and Weber/Gryson have: *operabitur* – he will act (again); er wird (wieder) tätig werden.

Sir 18:24. *memento (...) tempus retributionis in conversatione faciei* – be aware of the time of retribution because of the change of his face. The noun *conversatio*, derived from *convertere* (to change), here means the same as *conversio*. Elsewhere in the Vulgate, *conversatio* means “way of life,” see the glossary s.v. *conversatio* (Chapter 19.2).

Sir 18:32. *assidua est enim commissio illorum* – for their concertation is continual (Douay Version); they (i.e., poor men) will be vying still one with another in wastefulness (Knox). The Weber/Gryson edition has: *ad duas est enim commissio illorum* – denn zu Zweierlei führt die Verbindung mit ihnen (Göttingen Synopsis 2024). The problem word is *commissio*; Thielmann suggests “Verbindung, Gesellschaft?,” while Peters suggests “Ausgabe” as a literal rendering of the two syllables of Greek συμ-βολή; another possibility is to equate *commissio* with *commissum* – crime (B. Lang). – Literature:

1893. Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, at p. 536.

1913. Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 156.

2024. Wolfgang Kraus – Heinz-Josef Fabry – Burkard Zapff (eds.): *Das Weisheitsbuch Ben Sira/Jesus Sirach. Synopse der hebräischen, griechischen, lateinischen und syrischen Texttraditionen mit deutscher Übersetzung*. Göttingen (forthcoming).

Sir 19:4. *insuper habere* – to condemn. – Rönsch, p. 371.

Sir 20:31. *mutus* – mute, stumm. Peters suggests an emendation; read: *mucus* = saliva, Speichel, which leads to the following translation: “And like *mucus* (or saliva) in their mouths they hold back their rebukes; und wie Schleim im Munde halten sie ihre Rügen zurück.” The word *mucus* is not used elsewhere in the Vulgate. – Norbert Peters: Ein neues Wort (*mucus*) der lateinischen Bibel? *Theologie und Glaube* 1 (1909) 210.

Sir 21:1. The conditional clause here is constructed without “*si* with subjunctive,” as often in English and German (had I known this [...]; hätte ich das gewusst [...]). The same construction appears in Prov 26:16 and Jam 5:13. – Kaulen, p. 298.

Sir 21:5. *obiurgatio et inuriae annullabunt substantiam, et domus quae nimis locuples est annullabitur superbia* – injuries and wrongs will waste riches, and the house that is very rich shall be brought to nothing by pride (Douay Version). The verb *adnullare*, here used twice in the sense of “to destroy, to annihilate,” is rare; Graves lists fourth-century CE occurrences and discusses the word, see Jerome: *Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*. Translated by Michael Graves. Atlanta, Ga. 2022 (xix, 363 pp.), pp. 253–254.

Sir 21:11. *via peccatorum complanata lapidibus* – the way of sinners is made plain with stones (Douay Version); der Weg der Sünder ist mit Steinen gepflastert. The Greek has “is free of stones,” which makes sense in the countries of the East; only Romans knew plastered streets. Accordingly, the Latin version can be understood as reflecting the translator’s Roman milieu. (Knox’s free translation omits the stones: How smoothly paved is the path of sinners!) – Friedrich Stummer: “Via peccatorum complanata lapidibus” (Eccli 21,11). In: Virgil Fiala – Bonifatius Fischer (eds.): *Colligere Fragmenta. Eine Festschrift für Alban Dold*. Beuron (xx, 295 pp.), pp. 40–44.

Sir 21:26. *fenestra* could have the archaic meaning of “door.” – Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, at p. 537.

- Sir 22:31.** *amicum salutare non confundar* – never will I be ashamed to greet a friend of mine (Knox). Two possibilities: **(1)** “To greet” may actually imply the act of paying a visit; see Bernhard Lang: 1982. Grußverbot oder Besuchsverbot? Eine sozialgeschichtliche Deutung von Lukas 10,4b. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 26 (1982) 75–79. – **(2)** Another suggestion is to consider *salutare* not to mean “to greet,” but “to rescue, to defend” (= *salvare*); thus, Rönsch, p. 380, accepted by Francesco Dalpane: *Nuovo lessico della Bibbia Volgata*. Florence 1911 (xlii, 251 pp.), p. 204.
- Sir 23:32.** *heredem* (instead of: *heriditatem*). – Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg 1884 (vi, 599 pp.), p. 289.
- Sir 24.** Maurice Gilbert SJ: Les additions grecques et latines à Siracide 24. In: Jean-Marie Auwers (ed.): *Lectures et relectures de la Bible*. Leuven 1999 (xlii, 482, 7 pp.), pp. 195–207.
- Sir 24:6a.** On the wording of the passage in the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate, see Maurice Gilbert: L’interpretazione di Siracide VL–Vg 24,6a. *Biblica* 96 (2015) 113–118.
- Sir 24:23–24.** *honestas* = wealth (v. 23). Verse 24 (*ego mater pulchrae dilectionis* ...) is not in the Greek but belongs to the Latin additions. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 200.
- Sir 27:5.** *sicut in percussura cribri remanebit pulvis, sic aporia hominis in cogitatu illius* – as one sifteth with a sieve, the dust will remain: so will the perplexity of a man in his thoughts (Douay Version); wenn in der Durchlöcherung eines Siebes Dreck (*pulvis*, in the Greek: κοπρία) zurückbleiben wird, so die Ratlosigkeit eines Menschen bei seinem Überlegen (Göttingen Synopsis 2024). The word *aporia* no doubt echoes the Greek κοπρία (refuse), in the Latin rendered *pulvis*; but how to translate *aporia*? Allioli’s Schwachheit (explained as Sündhaftigkeit in the notes) and Douay’s perplexity seem to miss the meaning; meant is: the human mind is like a sieve, what stays in the mind is the world’s refuse – or perhaps, closer to Greek ἀπορία – the insoluble problems. The Göttingen Synopsis has Ratlosigkeit, a standard rendering of Greek ἀπορία.
- Sir 27:15.** The presence of *horripilatio* (hairiness) and *ures* (ears) in the same verse can be explained as an echo of Apuleius: *Metamorphoses* (The Golden Ass) III, 24: Lucius, when miraculously metamorphosing into a donkey, gets long, hairy ears. The Apuleius passage uses the rare word *horripilare* – to be full of hair. – Literature:
1884. Philipp Thielmann: Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 1: 68–81, at pp. 71–73.
2016. Gualtiero Rota: Sir 27,15 VL (Apul. *Met.* 3,24; Herm. 3,1,5). *Paideia* 71: 575–594. ▲
- Sir 30:24.** *congrega cor tuum in sanctitate eius*. In literal translation, you get something like: gather up thy heart in his holiness (Douay Version); versammle dein Herz in seiner Heiligkeit (Tusculum-Vulgata); réunis ton cœur dans la sainteté de Dieu (Glaire) – all of which does not mean anything. One may consider this possibility: comfort your heart with his (God’s) holiness; tröste dein Herz mit seiner (Gottes) Heiligkeit. On *congregare* = to comfort, trösten, see Claude Moussy: Nouveaux préverbés en *com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (ed.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen 2005 (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at p. 334.
- Sir 31:1.** *honestas* = wealth, Reichtum. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p. 200.
- Sir 31:13.** *non dicas sic: Multa sunt super (mensam)* (Clementina) – do not say so (or: do not think this): Many things are on the eating table; ne dis pas ainsi: Il y a bien des choses qui sont sur cette table (Glaire). Thielmann suggests a different punctuation: *non dicas: Sic, multa sunt* (...) – don’t

say (or think): O yes, many things (...). In late Latin, *sic* is one of the words used for saying "yes"; in the Sirach passage, it may serve as an exclamation. NVg omits the word *sic*. – Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, at p. 545.

Sir 31:23 (Vg 31:28). *et testimonium veritatis illius fidele* – and the testimony of his truth is reliable. Peters conjectures *testimonium virtutis illius* – testimony of his determination (or strictness; here *virtus* seems to come close to meaning "virtue"). – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), p.259.

Sir 33:6. *equus admissarius* (Weber/Gryson) – *equus emissarius* (Clementina). The expression means "stallion, Hengst," see note on Jeremiah 5:8.

Sir 34:17. *timentis Dominum beata est anima eius* – the one who fears the Lord – his soul is favoured. One would expect *timens*, but what we have here is a case of prolepsis or "left dislocation" from *beata est anima timentis Dominum*. – Bernard Bortolussi. Topicalizations, Left Dislocations and the Left Periphery. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 16 (2017) 101–123.

Sir 36:1–19. Maria Carmela Palmisano: La prière de Ben Sira dans les manuscrit hébreux et dans les versions anciennes. In: Jean-Sébastien Rey – Jan Joosten (eds.): *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira*. Leiden 2011 (ix, 352 pp.), pp. 281–296, at pp. 288–290. The Latin adds repetitions and explanatory developments.

Sir 36:2. *ut cognoscant quia non est Deus nisi tu, et enarrent magnalia tua* (Clementina) – so that they come to know that there is no God besides you, and tell your wonders. The Weber/Gryson edition has *et cognoscant (...) ut enarrent magnalia tua*. The Clementina wording may show the influence of v. 5 of this chapter (*ut cognoscant ...*).

Sir 36:19. *tu es Deus conspexeris saeculorum* – you are God, the beholder of all ages (Douay Version); le Dieu qui voit dans les siècles (Glaire); Gott, der die Ewigkeiten durchschaut (Allioli); der die Zeitalter überblickt (Tusculum-Vulgata); qui voit tous les siècles devant lui (Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 207). One might consider something like "the beholder of the worlds," a rendering that would match the underlying Greek ὁ θεὸς τῶν αἰώνων – God of the ages/God of the world; see the glossary s.v. saeculum (Chapter 19.2).

Sir 37:4. *sodalis amico coniucundatur in oblectationibus* – a companion takes pleasure in the joy of his friend; un compagnon prend plaisir à la joie de son ami. *coniucundari* = to join in rejoicing, sich mitfreuen – the word is used only in this passage, not elsewhere; *oblectatio* = pleasure, Freude. – Claude Moussy: Nouveaux préverbés en *com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (eds.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen 2005 (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at p. 329.

Sir 38:14. *propter conversationem illorum* – because of their way of life (?). Peters suspects an error and suggests to change to *conservationem* – because of their preservation. The NVg has *curacionem* – healing. – Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Münster 1913 (lxxviii, 469 pp.), pp. 313–314.

Sir 38:20. *in abductione permanet tristitia* (Clementina, NVg) – in withdrawing aside sorrow remaineth (Douay Version). Instead of *abductione*, one would expect *solitudine*: in solitude, sorrow stays.

Sir 38:25. *qua sapientia replebitur*. The Tusculum-Vulgata takes these words to be the beginning of the next verse, so that we get: "With what (kind of) wisdom will be filled the one who holds the plough (...)?; durch welche Weisheit wird erfüllt werden, der den Pflug hält (...)?" But if you change *qua* into *quia*, as suggested by Valentin Loch (in the preface to his 1849 edition of the

Vulgate, p. viii), you will get the following: “Who engages in little work will receive wisdom, because (*quia*) he will be filled with wisdom; wer wenig tätig ist, wird Weisheit empfangen, weil (*quia*) er von Weisheit erfüllt wird.”

Sir 39:29 [24]. *et viae illius viis* [read: piis] *eorum directae sunt* – and his ways were made straight for their ways [read: their pious ones]. Suggested by Joseph Ziegler, *Biblische Zeitschrift* NF 5 (1961) 117 on the basis of the Greek (ὁδοί). The NVg has *viae illius sanctis directae sunt*.

Sir 40:22. *gratiam et speciem desiderabit oculus tuus et super hoc viride sationis* – your eye desires kindness and beauty, but more than these, the green sown fields (literally: the green of sown fields), *viride* is the neuter form of the adjective *viridis* – green. The construction is discussed in Lourdes García Ureña et al.: *The Language of Colour in the Bible*. Berlin 2022 (xv, 238 pp.), p. 143.

Sir 40:30–31. *vir respiciens in mensam alienam, non est vita eius in cogitatione victus; alit enim animam suam cibus alienis. Vir autem disciplinatus et eruditus custodiet se* (Vg, NVg) – ein Mann, der auf einen fremden Tisch schaut: sein Leben besteht nicht in der (eigenen) Planung des Lebensunterhaltes, denn er nährt seine Seele mit fremden Speisen. Ein belehrter und gebildeter Mann aber wird sich davor hüten (Göttingen Synopsis 2024). A possible translation of v. 30: the man who is a burden to someone else’s table, he does not spend his life in being concerned about (his) livelihood. The verb *respicere* (to observe) also means “to be a burden to,” as listed in Karl Ernst Georges: *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*. 11. Auflage. Bd. 2. Hannover 1962 (iv pp., 3376 cols.), col. 2350. Also note the casus pendens or prolepsis construction of v. 30 (see above, Chapter 8.7, s.v. prolepsis).

Sir 40:32. Read: *impudentis* (instead of: *imprudentis*). The meaning of the first hemistich seems to be: in the mouth of the shameless, begging (*inopia*) is sweet. – Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg 1884 (vi, 599 pp.), p. 289.

Sir 41. John Francis Elwolde: A Text-critical Study of the Nova Vulgata of Sirach 41. *Tamid: Revista Catalana Annual d’Estudis Hebraics* 12 (2016–2017) 7–63; 13 (2018) 35–93. The NVg new text of Sirach is closer to the text of the Septuagint than the traditional Vulgate text that was used as the basis for revision. The author is not quite satisfied with the NVg text of Sirach and suggests that it should be revised.

Sir 43:23 (Vg 43:25). *et plantavit illum Dominus Iesus* (Weber/Gryson) – and the Lord Jesus planted it. This is an explicitly Christian version of this passage. The Clementina has a different wording: *et plantavit in illa Dominus insulas* – and the Lord planted in it islands. – Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Christlicher Einfluss auf die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Jesus Sirach. In: Siegfried Kreuzer et al. (eds.): *Bibel und Patristik*. Paderborn 2022 (xiii, 460 pp.), pp. 161–176, at pp. 167–168.

Sir 43:24. Read: *hilarem* (instead of: *humilem*). – Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg 1884 (vi, 599 pp.), p. 289.

Sir 45:16 (Vg 45:20). *placere populo suo* – to please his people (Weber/Gryson). This is a mistake for *placare* – to atone (for his people); the Clementina actually has *placare*. – Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Was verstehen die lateinischen Übersetzer des Buches Jesus Sirach unter Sühne? In: Thomas Johann Bauer (ed.): *Traditio et translatio. Studien zur lateinischen Bibel*. Freiburg 2016 (xx, 219 pp.), pp. 49–73, at pp. 55–57.

Sir 45:22 (Vg 45:27). *terra gentes* – the land, the peoples (Weber/Gryson, Clementina). It must be *terra gentis* – the land of the people. – Literature:

1884. Franz Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg (vi, 599 pp.), p. 289.

1913. Norbert Peters: *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*. Übersetzt und erklärt. Münster (lxxviii, 470 pp.), p. 391.

Sir 45:23 (Vg 45:29). *placuit de Israhel* (Weber/Gryson) – he pleased relating to Israel. This is a mistake for *placuit Deo pro Israel* (Clementina) – he pleased God on behalf of Israel. This, however, is also a mistake, because the proper verb would be *placavit* – he appeased (see above, on **Sir 45:20**). Peters (p. 392, see on **Sir 45:22**) considers *Deo* as an addition necessitated by *placuit* (corrupted from *placavit*).

Sir 47:11 (Vg 47:13). *Christus purgavit peccata ipsius* (Weber/Gryson) – Christ purged him of his sins. Here the translator christianised the text. The Clementina reads differently: *Dominus purgavit peccata ipsius* – the Lord purged him of his sins.

Sir 48:25. *Esaias propheta magnus et fidelis in conspectu dei* – the prophet Isaiah, great and faithful in the sight of God, der Prophet Jesaja, groß und treu im Angesicht Gottes. “The Greek text says that Isaiah was faithful ἐν ὁράσει αὐτοῦ ‘in his vision,’ but the Latin introduces the idea of divine approval by taking the pronoun as referring to God: *in conspectu Dei* ‘in the sight of God.’” – Bradley Gregory, in: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden 2019 (xxxiii, 542 pp.), p. 250.

Sir 49:11. *nam commemoratus est inimicorum in imbre, benefacere illis qui ostenderunt rectas vias* (Vg, NVg) – for he made mention of the enemies under the figure of rain, and of doing good to them that shewed right ways (Douay Version). This sentence is “parfaitement inintelligible” (Lagrange, p. 111). On the basis of the then newly discovered Hebrew text of Sirach, Norbert Peters suggests that the Latin should be *atque etiam commemoratus est Iob, qui amplexus est vias rectas* – and he (Ezekiel) also referred to Job who embraced the right ways. – Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *La révision de la Vulgate. Revue biblique nouvelle série 5.1* (1908) 102–113, at pp. 110–111.

Sir 50:1. *Simon Oniae filius sacerdos magnus qui in vita sua suffulsit donum et in diebus suis corroboravit [templum]* – Simon, son of Onias, the high priest who in his life propped up the *domus* (temple) and in his days fortified (it). The text is that of Weber/Gryson, the word *templum* is added in the Clementina, no doubt to complete the parallelism. German translation (Göttingen Synopsis 2024): Simeon, der Sohn des Onias, der Hohepriester, der in seinem Leben das Haus aufrechterhielt und (es) in seinen Tagen verstärkte.

Sir 50:5. *qui adeptus est gloriam in conversatione gentis*. At a first reading, the words do not make sense. Various options: **(1)** one could tease sense out of the words: he obtained glory in his conversation with the people (Douay Version), i.e., he obtained honour through his dealings with the people; il a acquis de la gloire en vivant au milieu de la nation (Glaire); er hat Ruhm erlangt durch den Lebenswandel des Volkes (Tusculum-Vulgata); der Herrlichkeit beim Wandel unter dem Volk erlangte (Göttingen synopsis). – **(2)** one may assimilate the sense to the underlying Greek: See in what state he comes out to meet the people (Knox); er ward geehrt bei seinem Erscheinen unter dem Volke (Allioli). The NVg follows the Greek with a new Latin translation.

Sir 50:29. *doctrinam sapientiae et disciplinae scripsit [Weber/Gryson: scripsi] in codice isto Iesus filius Sirach* (Clementina) – [I,] Jesus, son of Sirach, wrote into this codex the teaching of wisdom and instruction (B. Lang); diesen Unterricht zur Weisheit und Zucht hat in diesem Buch aufgezeichnet Jesus, der Sohn Sirachs (Allioli; similarly Tusculum-Vulgata); Jésus, fils de Sirach, a écrit la doctrine de la sagesse et de science dans ce livre (Glaire). – **(1)** Note the difference between classic-

al in libro scribere and Neolatin *aliquid in librum scribere* (to write something into a book); see Johann Philipp Krebs – Joseph Hermann Schmalz: *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. Siebente Auflage. Zweiter Band. Basel 1907 (776 pp.), p. 547. – (2) "Codex (...) ist bekannt, aber immerhin ist es für die Geschichte des antiken Bücherwesens nicht ohne Interesse, zu sehen, wie hier der Übersetzer sein Produkt als *codex* bezeichnet"; Philipp Thielmann: Die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Sirach. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893) 511–561, p. 536 – though Thielmann should have written "der Autor" (the author rather than "der Übersetzer" (the translator).

Isaiah (Isaias)

Text

1969. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 13: *Liber Isaiae. Ex interpretatione Sancti Hieronymi*. Rome. lxiv, 295 pp. – This volume is part of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3.
2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 1097–1165. – Compared to earlier editions of the Stuttgart Vulgate, this edition has a revised text-critical apparatus of the book of Isaiah.

Translation

1900. Jean Langer (translator): *Der Prophet Isaias. In wortgetreuer Übersetzung nach der Vulgata*. Reimich. v, 206 pp.

Secondary literature

1957. Angelo Penna: La Volgata e il manoscritto IQ Is^a. *Biblica* 38: 381–395.
1958. Angelo Penna: *Isaia*. Torino, x, 632 pp. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
1964. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: Divergent readings in Jerome's Isaiah. *Textus* 4: 176–210.
1981. Arie van der Kooij: *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*. Fribourg (xi, 374 pp.), pp. 299–322. – "Vulg Jes stellt in der Tat eine ziemlich wörtliche Übersetzung dar. Das bedeutet aber nicht, dass sie nicht auch Fälle enthielte, aus denen die Vorliebe der Hieronymus für die Wiedergabe einer bestimmten Deutung eines Wortes oder eines Satzes (statt einer wortwörtlichen Übersetzung) hervorgeht" (p. 300). "Obwohl Hieronymus in den meisten Fällen, in denen LXX Jes vom hebräischen Text dieses Buches abweicht, dem hebräischen Text den Vorzug gibt, liegen auch Wiedergaben in Vulg Jes vor, die er LXX Jes entnommen hat und die nicht mit dem hebräischen Text übereinstimmen" (p. 301). The author discusses many passages, often in conversation with Kedar-Kopfstein's 1964 article.
1991. Roger Gryson: Saint Jérôme traducteur d'Isaïe. *Le Muséon* 104: 57–72.

2003. Joachim Becker: 'Iustus' statt 'iustitia.' Zu einer messianisierenden Übersetzungsweise des Hieronymus. In: Klaus Kiesow – Thomas Meurer (eds.): *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*. Münster (x, 620 pp.), pp. 21–34. – Becker comments on several passages in which *iustus* is a messianic title that means "the Just One": Isa 1:26; 41:2.10; 45:8; 51:5.7; 62:1.2.
2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.
2020. Anni Maria Laato: Isaiah in Latin. In: Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Isaiah*. Oxford (xviii, 736 pp.), pp. 489–503.

Textual notes

- Isa 1:1–9.** Ammendola Serena: Isaia 1,1–9 nella Vetus Latina et nella Vulgata. In: Riccardo Maisano et al. (eds.): *Seminario interdisciplinare sul libro del profeta Isaia*. Naples 2007 (344 pp.), pp. 59–75.
- Isa 1:9.** *Dominus exercituum* – the Lord of hosts (Douay Version). The translation reflects that of Aquila (κύριος στρατίων). – Arie van der Kooij: *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*. Fribourg 1981 (xi, 374 pp.), p. 301.
- Isa 1:26.** *civitas iusti* – the city of the Just One, i.e., the Messiah. Here Jerome introduces a messianism where the Hebrew text would require *civitas iusta* or (as in NVg) *Civitas iustitiae* – the Righteous City. – Joachim Becker: 'Iustus' statt 'iustitia.' Zu einer messianisierenden Übersetzungsweise des Hieronymus. In: Klaus Kiesow – Thomas Meurer (eds.): *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*. Münster 2003 (x, 620 pp.), pp. 21–34, at p. 21.
- Isa 2:22.** In his commentary on Isaiah 2:22, Jerome defends his translation by correcting a Jewish anti-Christian reading. He also tells the reader how to interpret this verse as a messianic reference. The relevant passage of Jerome's commentary can be found, in Latin and English, in Matthew A. Kraus: *The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis*. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue IOVS 2022*: 99–119, at p. 105 (online journal).
- Isa 3:3.** (*auferet a Jerusalem prudentem eloquii mystici* – (he will take away from Jerusalem) the skilful in eloquent speech (Douay Version), der geschickt ist in geheimnisvoller Rede (Allioli), den Kenner der mystischen Rede (Tusculum-Vulgata). Jerome follows Symmachus, while modern translations of the Hebrew suggest "expert enchanter" (New Revised Standard Version, Jewish Publication Society; see also NVg's *prudentem incantatorem*), i.e., magician. – Friedrich Stegmüller: *Prudentem eloquii mystici*. Zur Geschichte der Auslegung von Is 3, 3, in: Leo Scheffczyk et al. (eds.): *Wahrheit und Verkündigung*. Band I. Paderborn 1967 (xxxix, 924 pp.), pp. 599–618.
- Isa 3:23.** *theristra*, plural of *theristrum*. Jerome transcribes the Greek θέριστρον which the dictionary glosses as "light shawl or stole" (Gary A. Chamberlain: *The Greek of the Septuagint. A Supplemental Lexicon*. Peabody, Mass. 2011 [xlii, 256 pp.], p. 82). The Douay Version has "fine veils." Jerome in his commentary on Isaiah describes it as a cloak (*pallium*) worn by women in the summer to protect them against sun and heat, and indicates that it is worn in his day by women in Arabia and Mesopotamia, but apparently not in Palestine (PL 24 [1865]: 72; CCSL 73: 57). Jerome is followed by the Tusculum-Vulgata with "Sommerkleider," though this word, in German, suggests a light dress with much exposure of skin to the sun. What Jerome has in mind is a loose garment that covers the body from head to feet – something like a modern muslima's tchador.
- Isa 5:10.** *triginta modii sementis facient modios tres* – thirty bushels of seed shall yield three bushels (Douay Version). Stummer: "Wenn es Is 15,10b heißt: *triginta modii sementis faciunt modios tres*,

so ersparte er [the translator] damit seinen Lesern die ihnen unverständlichen Maßbezeichnungen (...), gab aber das zwischen beiden bestehende Zahlenverhältnis (10:1) gut wieder. Die zeitgeschichtliche Färbung ging zwar verloren, aber die Plastik des Ausdrucks blieb erhalten – und das war bei einem Text, der das Versagen menschlicher Arbeit durch Gottes Strafverfügung schildern will, die Hauptsache.“ Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58] (1940) 251–269, at p. 254.

Isa 6:2. *Seraphim stabant super illud* – Seraphim stood above him. In his commentary on Isaiah, Jerome explains why he departs from the Septuagint which has the Seraphim stand around the divine throne. – Matthew A. Kraus: *The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis*. *Vulgata in Dialogue*. *Special issue IOVS 2022*: 99–119, at pp. 117–118 (online journal).

Isa 6:5. Michael Fieger – S.M. Bolli: Unreine Werke oder unreiner Mensch? (Jes 6,5bc). In: Andreas Berger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt 2015 (234 pp.), pp. 35–48.

Isa 6:9–10. *excaeca cor populi huius* – make blind the heart of this people. On the basis of the Hebrew text, one would expect “make fat the heart of this people.” The choice of the verb *excaecare* is possibly due to its presence in John 12:40. – Literature:

1984. Craig A. Evans: Jerome’s Translation of Isaiah 6:9–10. *Vigiliae Christianae* 38: 202–204.

2023. Hans Förster: Das Volk mit verhärtetem Herzen (Jes 6,9f.). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 112–113.

Isa 7:1–25. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 102–111. “Gutes klassizistisches Latein hat Hieronymus hier nicht angestrebt” (p. 111).

Isa 7:14. *virgo* – virgin. It is only here and in Gen 24:43 that *virgo* translates Hebrew *almah*. Jerome’s commentary on Isaiah has an extensive discussion of the word *virgo* (PL 24: 109–112) – and the debate continues. While the Tusculum-Vulgata, departing from tradition, renders the word as “junge Frau,” Keller (2023) joins Kamesar (1990) in defending “Jungfrau” (virgin), the traditional translation.

1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 100.

1947. Cuthbert Lattey: The Term “almah” in Is. 7:14. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9: 89–95, at p. 95.

1990. Adam Kamesar: The Virgin of Isaiah 7:14: The Philological Argument from the Second to the Fifth Century. *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 41: 51–75. – Pages 62–75 deal with Jerome’s understanding of Isa 7:14. Jerome “brings a series of philological arguments in defense of the Christian interpretation of Isa. 7: 14, all of which are based on the Hebrew rather than the Greek text. These arguments are presented in their fullest form in three passages: *Adversus Jovinianum*, 1. 32; *Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim*, 24: 43; *Commentarii in Isaiam*, 3 (7: 14)” (p. 62). Jerome’s argument is essentially etymological: he takes *almah* to mean *abscondita*, i.e., the hidden, cloistered woman. Even though the word *almah* itself does not mean “virgin,” the concept implies virginity (*Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim*, on Gen 24:43).

2013. Christophe Rico: *La mère de l’Enfant-Roi. Isaïe 7,14. “Almâ” et “Parthenos” dans l’univers biblique*. Paris. 190 pp.

2018. Sissel Undheim: *Borderline virginites: sacred and secular virgins in late antiquity*. London. xi, 224 pp.
2019. Michael Fieger: *Vulgate in Use: A Lexical Approach. Why Talk about the Virgin in Isaiah 7:14? Vulgata in Dialogue 3*: 29–36 (online journal).
2020. Florian Lippke: *Exkurs: ʿIm/ʿImh in sprachhistorischer Dimension. Vulgata in Dialogue 4*: 1–4. – A note on Fieger’s 2019 paper.
2020. Magdalena Józwiak: Hieronim ze Strydonu jako vir trilinguis na przykładzie komentarza do Iz 7,10-16. *Vox Patrum 76*: 49–66 (Polish, English abstract).
2023. Matthew A. Kraus: *The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis. Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119, at pp. 112–113 (online journal).
2023. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), p. 107, note 21. Three arguments in defense of *virgo* = virgin: (1) Jerome’s paraphrase *abscondita* (hidden) thinks of a girl that remains hidden from men; (2) the ancient debate is not about the Virgin Mary’s virginity, but about the prophetic character of Isa 7:14; (3) Jerome’s translation echoes a then well-established patristic discourse on virginity.
2023. Dorothea Keller: Übersetzungsentscheidungen bei Hieronymus und ihre Begründung. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 109–136, at pp. 120–123.
2023. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: Jungfrau, junge Frau, junges Mädchen (*virgo*) (Jes 7,14). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 46–49.
- Isa 7:15.** *butyrum et mel comedet ut sciat reprobare malum et eligere bonum*. All translations give something like “he shall eat butter and honey, that he may know to refuse the evil and to choose the good” (Douay Version); “on butter and honey shall be his thriving, till he is of the age to know good from harm” (Ronald Knox). According to Nicholas Wiseman, this is wrong; from Jerome’s commentary on the passage, it is clear that *ut* = *quamvis* (although), so that Jerome’s version says: “The Messiah should eat the common food of infants [butter and honey], although he, in truth, possessed discretion and knowledge”; see *Essays on Various Subjects*. By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. London 1853, vol. 1 (xv, 644 pp.), p. 99. According to Wiseman, this understanding clearly emerges from Jerome’s commentary on Isaiah. The interpretation which Wiseman gives is indeed Jerome’s (see his commentary, PL 24: 112), but it seems that Jerome’s interpretation is not supported by the wording of Jerome’s translation of Isaiah 7:15.
- Isa 8:2.** *filium Barachiae* (Clementina, Weber Gryson) – the son of Barachia. Jerome most likely wrote *lebarachiae*, as in his *Commentary on Isaiah* (CCSL 73: 110). Roger Gryson: *Barachie et la prophétisse. Revue biblique 96.3* (1989) 321–337, at pp. 323–328.
- Isa 8:3.** *et accessi ad prophetissam* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – and I went to the prophetess. Gryson argues that Jerome must have had *prophetin*, the accusative form of *prophetis*; but the form did not survive when later scribes copied the text. – Roger Gryson: *Barachie et la prophétisse. Revue biblique 96.3* (1989) 321–337, at pp. 328–334.
- Isa 8:9.** *audite, universae procul terrae* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – and give ear, all ye lands far off (Douay Version). According to Gryson, Jerome most likely followed Aquila in writing *audite, universa procul terrae* – listen, you all of the lands afar; but this wording did not survive when the

sentence was copied by the scribes. – Roger Gryson: Barachie et la prophétisse. *Revue biblique* 96.3 (1989) 321–337, at p. 335.

Isa 8:13. *Dominum exercituum ipsum sacrificate* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – the Lord of Hosts, him you shall sacrifice. The first two words are in *casus pendens*; in standard Latin, this should be in the nominative case: *Dominus exercituum*. – Roger Gryson: Barachie et la prophétisse. *Revue biblique* 96.3 (1989) 321–337, at p. 335.

Isa 9:2. *in regione umbrae mortis* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – in the land of the shadow of death. According to Gryson, Jerome most likely wrote *umbramortis* (one word, reflecting the underlying Hebrew *tsalmawet*), as he did in Jer 13:16 (Benedictine edition); this would have to be rendered as “in the land Deathshadow.” – Roger Gryson: Barachie et la prophétisse. *Revue biblique* 96.3 (1989) 321–337, at pp. 335–336.

Isa 10:14. *et non fuit qui (...) aperiet os et ganniret* – and there was none (...) to open the beak and to chirp; es gab keinen, der den Schnabel öffnete und zwitscherte. The onomatopoeic word *gannire* denotes the speech of animals incomprehensible to man – the yapping of dogs, the chirping of birds; cf. the chattering seagull in Apuleius: *The Golden Ass* (V, 28), which speaks “chatteringly” to Venus – *haec ille verbosa et satis curiosa avis in auribus Veneris (...) ganniebat*. – Martin Johannessohn: Zur Entstehung der Ausdrucksweise der lateinischen Vulgata aus den jüngeren griechischen alttestamentlichen Übersetzungen. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 44 (1952/53) 90–102, at p. 100.

Isa 11:1. *et egredietur virga de radice Jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – and there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. This is a translation based on the Septuagint, and not on the Hebrew text. Jerome in his commentary on Isaiah (PL 24: 144) understood the verse to be a messianic prophecy, with *virga* indicating the *virgo* Mary, and the *flos* indicating Christ. According to Jerome, the original Hebrew text must have spoken not of *netser* (flower) but of *nazir*, i.e., *nazaraeus* = holy, a name of Jesus in Matt 2:23 (Moran). – Literature:

2005. Michael L. Moran: Nazirites and Nazarenes: The Meaning of Nazaraeus in Saint Jerome. *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9.2 (2006) 320–366, esp. pp. 355–359.

2007. Alison Salvesen: Messianism in Ancient Bible Translations in Greek and Latin. In: Markus Bockmuehl – J.N. Carlton Paget (eds.): *Redemption and Resistance. The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity*. London (xxvii, 381 pp.), pp. 245–261, at p. 260.

Isa 11:2–3. *spiritus scientiae et pietatis et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – the spirit of knowledge and piety, and will fill him with the spirit of the fear of the Lord. – This passage follows the Septuagint; the original Jeromian reading did not include *pietatis*, but must have read *timoris Domini* instead, as it is mentioned twice in the Hebrew text. The Nova Vulgata omits the reference to *pietas*. – Literature:

1990. Roger Gryson: Les six dons du Saint-Esprit. La version hiéronymienne d’Isaïe 11,2.3. *Biblica* 71: 395–400.

2023. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: Von der Gottesfurcht zur Frömmigkeit (Jes 11,2). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 54–55.

Isa 11:10. *et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum* – and his sepulchre will be glorious; und sein Grab wird herrlich sein. The Hebrew text says: “his place of rest (i.e., his residence) will be glory; sein Ruhesitz (= seine Residenz) wird Herrlichkeit sein.” Jerome makes the sentence a prophecy about Jesus. In his commentary, Jerome explains that he chose *sepulchrum* (grave) *ut manifestum legenti*

sensum faceremus – to reveal the meaning to the reader (PL 24: 149). – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 133–134.

Isa 12:3. *haurietis aquas de fontibus salvatoris* – you shall draw waters out of the Saviour’s fountains; ihr werdet Wasser schöpfen aus den Quellen des Erlösers. The Hebrew text merely refers to the “fountains of salvation.” Jerome changes the sentence so as to have a messianic prophecy. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 133.

Isa 13:22. *et sirenes in delubris voluptatis* – and Sirens in the temples of lust. This is the only passage in the Vulgate Bible where the Sirens are mentioned. The NVg omits the *sirenes*.

1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269, at p. 252.

2016. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: Giganten und Sirenen in der Vulgata. Griechischer Mythos in der lateinischen Bibel des Hieronymus. *Museum Helveticum* 73: 78–96.

For more bibliography, see the glossary, s.v. *sirenes* (Chapter 19.2).

Isa 14:12. *quomodo cecidisti de caelo, Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris?* – how art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning? (Douay Version, here clearly indebted to the King James Version). In his commentary, Jerome explains: “For greater ease of understanding we translated this phrase as follows: ‘How have you fallen from heaven, Lucifer, who arose in the morning.’ But if we were to produce a literal translation from the Hebrew, it would read, ‘How you have fallen from heaven, howling son of the dawn.’ Lucifer is also signified with other words. And he who was formerly so glorious that he was compared to a bearer of lightning is now told that he must weep and mourn.” Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah* V, 14 (CCSL 73: 168–169). The word *lucifer* belongs to the vocabulary of classical Latin where it means “bringing light” and, personified, refers to the planet Venus. The Vulgate version of the line almost verbatim reproduces the Vetus Latina version: *quomodo cecidit de caelo lucifer* which is a translation of the Septuagint where we have *heôsphóros*.

Isa 14:18–21. Roger Gryson: Saint Jérôme traducteur d’Isaïe: réflexions sur le texte d’Isaïe 14,18–21 dans la Vulgate et dans *In Esaiam*. *Le Muséon* 104 (1991) 57–72. According to Gryson, Jerome’s competence in Hebrew was limited.

Isa 14:31. *et non est qui effugiet agmen eius* (Clementina) – and there is none who shall escape his troop. While Jerome’s translation is presumably wrong, it is on the very basis of his translation that the original Hebrew text can be restored and translated: “none is fleeing among his summoned troops.” Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, A Note on Isaiah xiv, 31. *Textus* 2 (1962) 143–145.

Isa 15:5. (1) *cor meum ad Moab clamabit (...) clamorem contritionis levabunt* – my heart shall cry to Moab (...) they shall lift up a cry of destruction (Doay Version). In his Isaiah commentary, Jerome explains that “*cor meum (...) clamabit* should be understood as having a sorrowful tone while the rendition of *shever* as *clamorem contritionis* represents the ‘cry of shared grief.’ The commentary explains why Jerome calls attention to sympathy and empathy: either because even enemies are God’s creatures or because the disasters even of enemies can evoke sympathy. The suffering of those who deserve still arouses a shared sense of pain,” Kraus, p. 106. – (2) *per ascensum enim Luith flens ascendet* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – he will go up weeping by the ascent of Luith. While this translation seems to be straightforward, Kaulen (p. 224, echoing Allioli’s translation) has “man steigt weinend auf die Höhe von Luith.” The explanation would be that the third per-

son singular stands for an impersonal subject. But this view has been contested with the argument, that the change between a singular and a plural verb in the same sentence is not that unusual (in this very verse: *flens ascendet [...] clamorem contritionis levabunt*); see Ussani, pp. 556–557. The Douay Version has “they shall go up,” and NVG changes *ascendet* to present tense plural *ascendant*. – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 224 (no. 108).

1911. Vincenzo Ussani: Un preteso uso della Vulgata. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 39 (1911) 550–557, at pp. 556–557.

2023. Matthew A. Kraus: [The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119, at p. 106 (online journal).

Isa 16:1. *emitte agnum dominatorem terrae de petra deserti ad montem filiae Sion* – send forth the lamb, the ruler of the earth, from the rock of the desert to the mountain of the daughter of Zion; sende das Lamm, den Herrscher der Erde, vom Felsen der Wüste zum Berg der Tochter Zion. The Hebrew wording is unclear; it is about the sending of tribute of lambs to the sovereign. Jerome makes it into a messianic prophecy. *Petra deserti* (rock of the desert) is according to Jerome a designation for Ruth, who figures in the family tree of Jesus (Matt 1:5; cf. PL 24: 171, and further Jerome: *Letter* 53, PL 22: 546). – Literature:

1912. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3: 105–138, at pp. 134–135.

1986. Dominique Barthélemy OP: *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*. Tome 2. Fribourg (xviii, 71, 1013 pp), pp. 118–120.

Isa 22:18. *quasi pilam mittet te in terram latam et spatiosam* – he will toss thee like a ball into a large and spacious country. The passage is reminiscent of Plautus: *enim vero di nos quasi pilas homines habent* – truly the gods use us men as footballs (playthings) (*Captivi* 22). Considering the fact that *pila* (ball) is not often used by Jerome, the Isaiah passage may echo the Plautus passage. Calabretta, who points out the parallel, is ambivalent about the influence. – Marianna Calabretta: Echi del verso 22 dei *Captivi* di Plauto in Girolamo. *Maia* 64.1 (2012) 57–63.

Isa 24–27. Arie van der Kooij: The Cities of Isaiah 24–27 according to the Vulgate, Targum and Septuagint. In: Hendrik Jan Bosman et al. (eds.): *Studies in Isaiah 24–27*. Leiden 2000 (xii, 277 pp.), pp. 183–198.

Isa 24:5. *et terra infecta est* (Clementina, NVG; Douay Version: the earth is infected) – *et terra interfecta est* (Weber/Gryson). For the difference, see textual note on Ps 106:38 (Vg 105:38).

Isa 26:3. *vetus error abiit: servabis pacem; pacem, quia in te speravimus* – the ancient error has departed: you shall preserve peace; peace because we have hoped in You. The first three words of the Latin are far removed from the Hebrew. Jerome presents a free rendering. The “ancient error” is that of idolatry. – C.T.R. Hayward: Jerome and the ‘Inclination’ (*yetser*): The Evidence of the Vulgate. In: James Aitken et al. (eds.): *The Evil Inclination in Early Judaism and Christianity*. Cambridge 2021 (ix, 371 pp.), pp. 232–246, esp. pp. 242–246.

Isa 29:11. Matthew R. Crawford: Scripture as “One Book.” Origen, Jerome, and Cyril of Alexandria on Isaiah 29:11. *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 64 (2013) 137–153.

Isa 29:24. Paolo Serra Zanetti: Et mussitatores discent legem (Is. 29,24 Vulg.). In: *Mnemosynum. Studi in Onore di Alfredo Ghiselli*. Bologna (xxxi, 562 pp.), pp. 515–519; also in: idem: *Imitadores di Gesù Cristo. Scritti classici e cristiani*. Bologna 2005 (667 pp.), pp. 459–463.

- Isa 34:4.** *et complicabunter sicut liber caeli* – and the heavens will be rolled up like a book. – Wolfgang Hübner: Das Auf- und Zusammenrollen des Himmelsbuches als volumen. *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* 136 (2023) 209–222; abstract: In antiquity the default state of a *volumen* was seen as unrolled or unfurled (sc. open), books (*volumina*) being rolled up for storage and unrolled for reading. But Jerome employs the verb *replacare* and Rufinus *revolvere* for the act of closing a scroll. Neither is thus in conformity with the established usage of these verbs (sc. for opening a volume). These two marked variant expressions regard the default state as rolled-up, to be unrolled for reading and subsequently rolled up for storage. Each author compares the eschatological prophecy of Isaiah (34,4), which threatens that God will roll (up) the heaven like a *volumen*, to a second biblical passage: Jerome to the creation of the universe (Gen 1:1), and Rufinus to the book of Revelation (6:14). In the context of the opening of the “book with seven seals,” Rufinus quotes Isaiah’s prophecy about rolling up the heavens and promises another book, the “book of life” that will be opened up at the Last Judgement.
- Isa 34:11.** *perpendicularum* – plumbline [Lot], or “plummet,” as the Douay Version has it. Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), p. 18.
- Isa 34:14.** *onocentauri* – onocentaurs, donkey centaurs, Eselcentauren; Douay Version: monsters. The word, unknown to Greek mythology, clearly echoes *hippocentauri*, mythical beings that combine a human and a horse body (mentioned in Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* I, 37). – Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58] (1940) 251–269, at p. 252; Karsten C. Ronnenberg: *Mythos bei Hieronymus. Zur christlichen Transformation paganer Erzählungen in der Spätantike*. Stuttgart 2015 (386 pp.), pp. 94–96.
- Isa 35:4.** *dicite pusillanimis: conformamini* – say to the fainthearted: take courage! (Douay Version, Knox). The German Allioli version has “seid getrost,” which is somewhat weak; see the Tusculum Vulgata’s “Seid stark” (be strong), and Kaulen (p. 205): “sich ermannen.” – Note that the 1965 printing of the Colunga/Turrado edition of the Vulgate Bible (**16.2**) has a printing error: *dicit* (instead of the correct *dicite*).
- Isa 40:2.** *completa est malitia eius* – completed is her (Israel’s) sin. The reading *malitia* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) must be changed to *militia*, as required by the underlying Hebrew text: *completa est militia eius* – completed is her term of service; sein Kriegsdienst ist beendet. – Friedrich Kaulen: *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments*. 2nd, improved edition. Freiburg 1884 (vi, 599 pp.), p. 131. The NVg has *militia*.
- Isa 40:20.** *forte lignum et imputribile elegit* – he elected a strong and non-rotting wood. To avoid repetition, Jerome did not write *lignum forte, lignum imputribile*. – Friedrich Stummer: Hamesukan terumah (Jes 40,20) in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 53 (1935) 283–285.
- Isa 41:2.** *quis suscitavit ab oriente iustum* – who has raised up the Just One from the east? Jerome uses *iustus* as a messianic title, and the Clementina prints it with a capital letter. The same title also appears in Isa 41:10; 45:8; 51:5.7; 62:1.2. Modern editions are inconsistent in their use of a capital letter for *Iustus*; the Colunga/Turrado edition has the spelling *Iustus* only in Isa 41:2.10; the Bible of the Paris Professors (see Chapter **16.2**) has it in Isa 41:2.10 and 45:8. – Joachim Becker: ‘Iustus’ statt ‘Iustitia.’ Zu einer messianisierenden Übersetzungsweise des Hieronymus. In: Klaus Kiesow – Thomas Meurer (eds.): *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*. Münster 2003 (x, 620 pp.), pp. 21–34.

Isa 44:12. Three items used in idol-making are mentioned: file (*lima*, Feile), burning coals (*prunae*, plural), and hammer (*malleus*, also plural). Why *lima* should be mentioned first, remains unclear, but it is not possible to give the word a different meaning such as “pair of tongs.”

Isa 44:13. *norma* – try measure, a builder’s tool; see glossary s.v. *norma* (Chapter 19.2).

Isa 45:1–8. Dorothea Keller: *Gattung und Stil in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Untersuchungen zur hieronymianischen Bibelübersetzung am Beispiel hebräischer Wiederholungsfiguren*. Göttingen 2022 (256 pp.), pp. 111–122 and 129–132.

Isa 45:1. *haec dicit Dominus Christo meo Cyro* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – this said the Lord to my Christ Cyrus: The NVg has *haec dicit Dominus de uncto suo Cyro* – this said the Lord concerning Cyrus, his anointed.

Isa 45:8. *rorate caeli desuper et nubes pluant iustum, aperiat terra et germinet salvatorem* – drop down dew, ye heavens, from above: and let the clouds rain the *just*; let the earth be opened and bud forth a *Saviour*; sendet Tau, ihr Himmel, von oben, und ihr Wolken, regnet *den Gerechten* (herab), die Erde öffne sich und sprosse den *Heiland*. The Hebrew text says: “Drip down, heavens, from above, and let the clouds pour down righteousness; let the earth open up and salvation bear fruit, and righteousness sprout with it” (New American Standard Bible). – “Träufle, du Himmel, von oben! Und ihr Wolken, fließt (über) von Gerechtigkeit! Das Land öffne (seine Ackerfurchen), und sie sollen fruchtbar sein mit Heil” (Elberfelder Bibel 2006). Jerome transforms the passage into a messianic prophecy. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 133.

Isa 49:10. *ad fontes aquarum potabit eos* (Clementina) – at the fountain of waters he shall give them drink. The Weber/Gryson edition reads: (...) *portabit eos* – to the fountain of waters he will take them; the NVg has *adducet eos*, which is synonymous.

Isa 51:5. *prope est iustus meus, egressus est salvator meus* – my just one is near at hand, my Saviour is gone forth (Douay Version); nahe ist mein Gerechter, ausgezogen ist mein Retter (Tusculum-Vulgata). The Hebrew text says: “My righteousness is near, my salvation has gone forth” (New American Standard Bible). Jerome transforms the passage into a messianic prophecy. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 133.

Isa 53:2–3. *et non erat aspectus et desideravimus eum, / despectum et novissimum virorum* – and he has no beauty, and we desired him, a despised one, the last one of the men (B. Lang, similarly Tusculum-Vulgata); et il n’avait pas un aspect agréable, et nous l’avons désiré; méprisé, et le dernier des hommes (Glaire). **(1)** Allioli translates as if the text included a negation (*non desideravimus eum* – wir verlangen sein nicht), but Jerome most likely thought that people had desired the coming of the Messiah. **(2)** While literally, *novissimus virorum* is “the last,” i.e., “the most abject of men” (Douay Version; cf. Jer 50:12), this is not the whole story. In Jerome’s mind, it must have had the connotation of the “eschatological” man of the book of Revelation where Christ says, *ego sum alpha et omega, primus et novissimus* – I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last (Rev 22:13). There may also be an implied echo of other Isaiah passages where God proclaims, *ego primus et ego novissimus* – I am the first and the last (Isa 48:12) and *ego Dominus primus et novissimus ego sum* – I, the Lord, I am the first and the last (Isa 41:4). – Literature:

2023. Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: *Isaiah 53:3: The “novissimum virorum” – a whole profile in just one verse*. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 93–97 (online journal).

2023. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: Der letzte aller Männer (*novissimum virorum*) (Jes 53,3). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 89–91.

- Isa 53:7.** *oblatus est quia ipse voluit* – he was offered because he himself wanted it. This wording is close to the Greek of Symmachus: he was brought in and he obeyed. – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: *Vulgate in Use: An Exegetical Approach. How Does the Subject in Isaiah 53:7 act? Vulgata in Dialogue* 3 (2019) 37–46 (online journal).
- Isa 54:7.** *in miserationibus magnis congregabo te* – with great compassion I will comfort you; mit großem Trost werde ich dich trösten. For *congregabo* = to comfort, see Claude Moussy: Nouveaux préverbés en *com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (ed.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen 2005 (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at p. 334. See also the Douay Version: “with great mercies I will gather thee.”
- Isa 57:9.** *ornasti te regi unguento* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – thou hast anointed yourself for the king with ointment (Douay Version). In his 1862/3 edition, Loch suggests an emendation, reading (with the Sixtina 1590) *regio unguento* – with royal (i.e., precious) ointment.
- Isa 58.** Isabelle Schrive: *Isaïe 58: une critique textuelle*. Thèse de doctorat. Université de Strasbourg 2018. 281 pp. – On pp. 73–93, the author analyses the Vetus Latina and Vulgate versions of this passage. *et sanitas tua citius orietur* (v. 8) – et ta santé se lèvera rapidement; “nous retenons le sens Classique de santé, au sens de santé physique et mentale.”
- Isa 64:4 (Vg 64:5).** *tu iratus es et peccavimus* – thou art angry, and we have sinned (Douay Version). Jerome in his Isaiah commentary, calls this *ordo praeposterus*, the consequence being said before the reason (PL 24: 647), but linguistically, this is not correct, because the anger is here indeed the very reason for Israel’s sinning. – Walter Groß: Jes 64,4: “Siehe, du hast gezürnt, und dann haben wir gesündigt.” Zu 2000 Jahren problematischer Rezeption zweier brisanter Sätze. In: Reinhard G. Kratz et al. (eds.): *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift*. Berlin 2000 (viii, 352 pp.), pp. 163–173.
- Isa 64:6 (Vg 64:6).** *et cecidimus quasi folium universi* – we have all fallen like a leaf. When translating the sentence, Jerome no doubt thought of Vergil: *lapsa cadunt folia* (dropping leaves fall), used as an image of death (*Aeneid* VI, 310). ▲
- Isa 66:5.** *et abicientes propter nomen meum / glorificetur Dominus* (Weber/Gryson). Barthélemy suggests a different division on the basis of the majority of ancient textual witnesses (and the Clementina): *et abicientes / propter nomen meum glorificetur Dominus*. The correct translation would be: “(...) they hate you and cast you out; for the sake of my name let the Lord be glorified.” Dominique Barthélemy: *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*. Tome 3. Fribourg 1992 (xxiv, ccxlii, 1159 pp.), p. cci–ccii; idem: *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. 2012 (xxxii, 688 pp.), p. 531.

Jeremiah (Hieremias)

Text

1972. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 14: *Liber Hieremiae et Lamentationes. Ex interpretatione Sancti Hieronymi (...) quibus additur liber Baruch secundum recensionem Theodulfianum*. Rome. xlv, 387 pp. – This volume belongs to the Benedictine Vulgate series; see above, Chapter 13.3.

Secondary literature

1952. Angelo Penna: *Geremia*. Torino. x, 441 pp. – Commentary on the book of Jeremiah, Lamentations, and the Letter of Jeremiah (= Baruch 6 in the Vulgate). Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
1969. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: Textual Gleanings from the Vulgate to Jeremiah. *Textus* 7: 36–58. – In a number of passages such as Jer 8:17, Jerome based his translation on a Hebrew text different from ours.
2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.
2018. David L. Everson: Jeremiah in the Latin. In: Jack R. Lundbom et al. (eds.): *The Book of Jeremiah. Composition, Reception and Interpretation*. Leiden (xix, 545 pp.), pp. 394–413. – Pages. 411–412: “In all of the analyses above, Jerome consistently follows the Masoretic Text over and against the Septuagint, but does so with ever increasing freedom in his translation. (...) as the years went by, having translated an ever-increasing number of Hebrew books, Jerome’s confidence and proficiency with the Hebrew language would have allowed him greater freedom.” A similar view about Jerome’s translations becoming less literal over the years can be found in Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: *The Vulgate as a Translation*. PhD dissertation. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1968.
2023. Georg Fischer SJ: [Differences in Jerome’s Translations of the Book of Jeremiah](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 1–6 (online journal). – Jerome translated the book of Jeremiah twice; first for what would become the “Vulgate”, and then, twenty years later, in 414–416, for his commentary on Jeremiah. In both cases, Jerome aimed at producing a literal rendering of the Hebrew. Surprisingly, the Vulgate translation of Jeremiah is more often closer to the Hebrew text than the rendering in the Jeremiah commentary.
2023. Georg Fischer SJ: (1) Übersetzungen des Buches Jeremia von Hieronymus im Vergleich mit dem hebräischen Text; (2) Das Buch Jeremia in der Vulgata im Vergleich mit dem Text aus dem Kommentar des Hieronymus; (3) “Früh” oder “unermüdlich”? – eine spezifisch jeremianische Rede-weise. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 63–65; 65–67; 93–95.

Textual notes

- Jer 1.** For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 138–141.
- Jer 2:34.** *non in fossis inveni eos, sed in omnibus quae supra memoravi* – not in ditches have I found them, but in all places (*omnibus = omnibus locis*) which I mentioned before (Douay Version). The last part of the sentence – *quae supra memoravi* – has no basis in the Hebrew; this is the translator’s explanatory gloss. The Nova Vulgata revises the sentence and omits the explanatory gloss.
- Jer 3:1.** *tu autem fornicata es cum amatoribus multis, tamen revertere ad me, dicit Dominus, et ego suscipiam te* – thou hast prostituted thyself to many lovers. Nevertheless, return to me, saith the Lord, and I will receive thee (Douay Version). In letter a to Rusticus dated to 408, Jerome explains that the Hebrew text has something not found in the Greek and Latin texts available to him: *pro quo scriptum est iuxta hebraicam veritatem quod in graecis et latinis (codicibus) non ha-*

betur: et tu reliquisti me, tamen convertere, et suscipiam te, dicit Dominus (Letter 122, PL 22: 1041–1042). As a matter of fact, *et suscipiam te* has no equivalent in the Greek. But it has also no equivalent in the Hebrew text. Accordingly, the Nova Vulgata omits the phrase *et ego suscipiam te*. – Literature:

1944. Patrick Cummins OSB: Jerome against Jerome: A Study of Jeremias 3:1. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 61: 85–90. The words *et suscipiam te* were not in Jerome's original translation; they were inserted by a reviser on the basis of the Rusticus letter and Jerome's *Commentary on Jeremiah* (PL 24: 699). Cummins provides a new translation of the verse: "It is commonly said: If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and marry another man, can she return to him again? Would the land not be defiled and profaned? Now thpu hast sinned with many lovers: shalt thou then return to me, saith the Lord? [and I will receive thee]."

Jer 4:23–26. *aspexi terram – vidi montes – intuitus sum – aspexi*. Unlike his Hebrew Vorlage, Jerome varies the expression to achieve linguistic elegance. – Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 2 (1911) 425–440, at p. 439.

Jer 5:8. *equi amatores et admissarii facti sunt* (Weber/Gryson) – *equi amatores et emissarii facti sunt* (Clementina) – they are become as amorous horses and stallions (Douay Version). **(1)** *Equus amissarius/emissaries* means "stallion, Hengst"; the expression presumably reflects the notion of sending a powerful stallion to impregnate a mare. – **(2)** The wording of the passage alludes to Cicero: *Against Piso* 69: *admissarius iste (...) ad illius hanc orationem hinniebat* – this profligate fellow (...) took pleasure in this man's speech. The verb *hinnire* (to take pleasure in) is also used in Jer 5:8. – Literature:

1883. Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. Des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer (64 pp.), pp. 14–15.

1937. Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1: 23–50, at pp. 33–35

1938. Wilhelm Süß: Der heilige Hieronymus und die Formen seiner Polemik; in: *Volkskundliche Ernte Hugo Hepding dargebracht*. Gießen (273 pp.), pp. 212–238, at p. 237.

1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269, at pp. 258–259. ▲

Jer 10:3–5. Binding suggests the following literal translation: Denn das Holz aus dem Wald hat die Hand des Kunstfertigen (*artifex*) mit dem Beil (*ascia*) zu einem Werk zurechtgeschlagen. Mit Silber und Gold hat er jenes verziert; er hat es mit Nägeln und Hämmern zusammengefügt, damit es sich nicht auflöst. In Ähnlichkeit mit einer Palme sind sie gefertigt, und sie reden nicht. – Because wood from the forest the hand of the craftsman (*artifex*) has beaten with the axe (*ascia*) into a work. With silver and gold, he has decorated it; he has joined it together with nails and hammers, so that it does not disintegrate. In likeness of a palm tree they are made, and they do not speak. – Günter Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen, unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2000 (52 pp.), p. 8.

Jer 13:1–15. For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 141–144.

- Jer 13:16.** *et ponet eam in umbram mortis* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – and he will place it in the shadow of death. – According to Gryson, Jerome wrote *umbramortis* as one word; in translation: “and will place it in Deathshadow”; see the textual note above, on Isa 9:2. Roger Gryson: Barachie et la prophétisse. *Revue biblique* 96.3 (1989) 321–337, at pp. 335–336.
- Jer 17:4.** *ignem succendisti in furore meo* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson) – you (singular) have inkindled a fire in my wrath. According to Barthélemy, the proper reading is: *succendistis* – you (plural) have inkindled. – Dominique Barthélemy: *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*. Tome 3. Fribourg 1992 (xxiv, ccxlii, 1159 pp.), p. ccii; idem: *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament*. Translated by Stephen Pisano et al. Winona Lake, Ind. 2012 (xxxii, 688 pp.), p. 531.
- Jer 17:6.** *in terra (...) inhabitabili* – in a land not inhabited. (1) *inhabitabilis*, like other adjectives on *-(b)ilis*, refers to a fact, and not a possibility; hence *uninhabited*. See the glossary, Chapter 19.2 s.v. *-bilis*. (2) In late Latin, one would expect *ininhabitabilis*, because *inhabitare* = *habitare*. And in fact, *ininhabitabilis* is occasionally used by Jerome in his commentary on Jeremiah, see Siegfried Reiter: Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Hieronymus. *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 39, no. 28 (1919) 666–671, at cols. 668–670.
- Jer 18:4.** *conversusque fecit illud vas alterum* – and turning/iterating, he made another vessel, which means: and he made again another vessel. The standard translation “and turning he made another vessel” (Douay Version) is misleading, because it misreads the underlying Hebrew idiom based on the verb *šūb*. – Kaulen, p. 236.
- Jer 20:2.** *et misit eum [i.e., Ieremiam] in nervum* – and he put him in the *nervus*. How to translate *nervus*? Here is what the translators make of it: (a) and put him in the stocks (Douay Version, Knox), legte ihn in den Stock (Allioli); (b) schickte ihn ins Gefängnis (Tusculum-Vulgata; thus also Luther), le jeta dans la prison (Glaire, who explains that the temple prison is meant). Jerome comments on the verse in his *Commentary on Jeremiah: nos autem nervum diximus more vulgari, quod tormenti genus etiam in Actibus apostolorum legimus, quando apostoli Paulus et Silas in custodiam carceris dati sunt* (PL 24 [1865]: 834) – but we follow common practice in speaking of *nervus* [stocks], a kind of (instrument of) torture of which we read when the apostles Paul and Silas were put in prison. Since Acts 16:24 explicitly refers to the stocks (*et pedes eorum strinxit ligno* – and made their feet fast in the stocks, literally: in the wood), translators should not merely refer to the prison. – The dictionaries have *nervus* (or *nervum*) = prison, but this meaning does not apply to Jer 20:2. Lammert notes that *nervus* belongs to the “vulgar” vocabulary, marked as such by Jerome (*more vulgari*); see Friedrich Lammert: Die Angaben des Kirchenvaters Hieronymus über vulgäres Latein. *Philologus* 75: 395–413, at pp. 403–404.
- Jer 20:3.** *pavor* = terror. Jerome’s translation is here unique, because he departs from all ancient versions, but agrees with medieval Jewish and modern lexical opinion; his source must be Jewish. – Jerome: *Commentary on Jeremiah*. Translated by Michael Graves. Downers Grove 2012 (li, 232 pp.), p. 121.
- Jer 22:6.** *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*. Generally, the sentence is translated as “thou art to me Galaad, the head of Libanus” (Douay Version); “du bist mir ein Galaad, eine Höhe des Libanon” (Allioli). Stummer suggests understanding *caput* as a topographical designation meaning “Vorgelände” (tract of land in front of ...), so that we get: “Galaad, you are to me the land that leads up to Mount Libanus.” – Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1 (1937) 23–50, at pp. 24–29. Blaise in his *Dictionnaire latin-français* actually recognizes this interpretation, listing as he does Jeremiah 22:6 in the semantic category “commencement, début.”

- Jer 23:6.** *et hoc est nomen quod vocabunt eum: dominus iustus noster* – and this is the name that they shall call him: The Lord, Our Just One (Douay Version); und das ist der Name, mit dem sie ihn nennen werden: der Herr, unser Gerechter. The Hebrew text says: (...) the Lord, our Righteousness (or, salvation); der Herr, unsere Gerechtigkeit (oder: unser Heil). Jerome takes this to be a messianic prophecy. – Albert Condamin SJ: *Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. Recherches de science religieuse* 3 (1912) 105–138, at p. 133.
- Jer 23:40.** *quae numquam oblivione delebitur* – which shall never be deleted by oblivion. On this phrase from classical Latin, also used in Jer 50:5, see textual note on Esth 9:28. ▲
- Jer 25:38.** *ira columbae* – wrath of the dove; der Zorn der Taube (similarly Jer 46:16; 50:16; Zeph 3:1) is now considered a translation mistake, based on Hebrew *yona* = dove. The “dove” interpretation can also be found in Jewish medieval interpretation (Yefet ben Eli, David ben Abraham). Wissemann suggests that the correct translation would be *per iram et vim*, NVg has *ira violentiae*, but a simple *furor* would also do (B. Lang). – Literature:
1986. Michael Wissemann: Jona gleich Taube? Zu vier Vulgataproblemen. *Glotta* 64: 36–47.
1986. Dominique Barthélemy: *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*. Tome 2. Fribourg (xviii, *71, 1013 pp.), p. 662.
2023. Bernhard Lang: “Taube” (*columba*) als Fehlübersetzung. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 96–97.
- Jer 29:26.** *ut mittas eum in nervum et in carcerem* – to put him in the stocks and in prison (Douay Version). On *nervus* = stocks, see textual note on Jer 20:2.
- Jer 30:10.** *affluet* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson). This is the correct reading; the Benedictine Vulgate (1972) misprints the word as *afluet*, which would mean “flow off; wegfließen” – the opposite of what is actually meant. – Herbert Migsch: *Affluet oder afluet Jer 30,0 Vulg: ein Druckfehler im Text der römischen Vulgata. Biblische Notizen* 173 (2017) 101–103. – The Nova Vulgata has a different wording; the phrase *et cunctis affluet bonis* – and abound with all good things (Douay Version) – does not figure in the passage.
- Jer 31:39.** *norma* – try measure, a builder’s tool; see glossary s.v. *norma* (Chapter 19.2).
- Jer 35:8–10.** Herbert Migsch: *Die Kohärenzstörung in Jeremia 35,8–10. Eine exegetischgeschichtliche Studie*. Frankfurt 2011. 352 pp. – Migsch comments on vernacular translations based on the Vulgate text of Jeremiah 35 (pp. 93–98).
- Jer 35:14a.** *praevaluerunt sermones Ionadab (...) quos praecepit filiis suis* – prevailed have the words of Jonadab, which he commanded his sons. The relative clause introduced by *quos* refers to *sermones*, not to the name Jonadab, as the Hebrew would demand. – Herbert Migsch: *Jeremia 35 Vulg,14a: eine hexaplarische Lesart. Biblische Notizen* 169 (2016) 141–145.
- Jer 36:7.** *si forte cadat oratio eorum in conspectu Domini* – if their supplication may come before the Lord. – For *cadere* = to come (before), see Plater/White, p. 22.
- Jer 46:16.** *gladius columbae* (sword of the dove) is a translation error, see on Jer 25:38. Wissemann suggests *gladius cruentus*, NVg has *gladius saeviens*.
- Jer 50:16.** *gladius columbae* (sword of the dove). See on Jer 46:16; 25:38.
- Jer 50:5.** *quod nulla oblivion delebitur* – what no oblivion will delete. On this phrase from classical Latin, also used in Jer 23:40, see textual note on Esth 9:28. ▲
- Jer 50:39.** *fauni ficarii* (Clementina) – fig fauns, Feigenfaune. The Weber/Gryson edition has *fatui ficarii* – foolish fig [demons], which looks like a polemical corruption (Stummer). The Nova Vulgata re-

places *fauni ficarii* with *thoës* (plur. of *thos*) – “wolves, jackals.” – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 111.

Lamentations (Lamentationes, Threni)

Text

1972. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 14: *Liber Hieremiae et Lamentationes. Ex interpretatione Sancti Hieronymi ... quibus additur liber Baruch secundum recensionem Theodulfianum*. Rome. xlv, 387 pp. – This is a volume of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Translation

1872. Michael Seisenberger: *Die Klagelieder des Propheten Jeremias nach der Vulgata mit Berücksichtigung des hebräischen Textes*. Regensburg. iv, 151 pp. – The Latin text is accompanied by a German translation and a commentary.

Secondary literature

1952. Angelo Penna: *Geremia*. Torino. x, 441 pp. – Commentary on the book of Jeremiah, Lamentations, and the Letter of Jeremiah (= Baruch 6 in the Vulgate). Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes. There is a second, revised and updated edition, included in Penna’s *Geremia, Lamentazioni, Baruch*. Torino 1970. x, 368 pp.

2007. Philip S. Alexander: *The Targum of Lamentations. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes*. The Aramaic Bible 17B. Collegeville, Min. (xvi, 224 pp.), pp. 48–49: “The Vulgate.” – Page 48: Jerome’s “translation is readable and rather stylish (more so than either the LXX or the Peshitta): Jerome himself draws attention in his Prologue to Jeremiah to the literary care he took over it (*et civitatis suae ruinas quadruplici planxit [Jeremias] alphabeto, quod nos mensurae metri versibusque reddimus* [PL 28:904]), perhaps with its potential liturgical use in mind. It is not, however, particularly accurate. The liberties Jerome was prepared to take with the text are illustrated at 4:20, where it has been altered to give a christological meaning.”

2017. Vincent Skemp: Vulgate [text of the Five Scrolls]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 441–446.

Textual notes

Lam title. The Vulgate edition by Weber and Gryson calls the title of the book *Lamentationes*. In the Clementina and its many editions, the title is *Threni, id est lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae*.

Note. – In Latin, the word *threni* is a loan word from Greek, where θρῆνος means “lamentation, lamentation of the dead”; otherwise, Latin says *lacrima* for “tear.” (Curiously, the German word “Träne,” formerly also spelled “Thräne,” is said to be etymologically unrelated to the Greek word.) The attribution of the book of Lamentations to Jeremiah can be found in the Septuagint’s introductory statement; see the textual note that follows.

Latin introduction. As can be seen from the text-critical apparatus of the Benedictine Vulgate and Weber/Gryson, some manuscripts prefix the actual translation with a short preface: *et factum est postquam in captivitatem redactus est Israel et ierusalem deserta est sedit ieremias propheta flens et planxit lamentatione hac in ierusalem et amaro animo suspirans et eiulans dixit* (the passage is in the Septuagint in Greek, in Latin in the Clementina, but absent from NVg). “And it happened that after Israel was carried into captivity and Jerusalem was deserted, the prophet Jeremiah sat down wailing, and uttered these lamentations in Jerusalem, and with a bitter spirit sighing and wailing he said: how does the city sit solitary, the one that was full of people! (etc.)” – Gideon Kotzé: Short Notes on the Value of the Septuagint and Vulgate for the Interpretation of Lamentations 1:1. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 36: 75–93, p. 80: “the textual evidence suggests that the introductory paragraph in some Vulgate manuscripts did come from his [Jerome’s] hand.” According to Seisenberger, Jerome must have found the passage in a Hebrew manuscript: Michael Seisenberger: *Die Klagelieder des Propheten Jeremias nach der Vulgata*. Regensburg 1872 (iv, 151 pp.), pp. 16–17.

Lam 1:1. Gideon Kotzé: Short Notes on the Value of the Septuagint and Vulgate for the Interpretation of Lamentations 1:1. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 36: 75–93. – Page 89: “By witnessing to the content of Lam 1:1 from different angles, the Greek and Latin translations furnish the exegete with unique interpretations of the verse that are well worth considering.”

Lam 2:8. *antemurale* – bastion, bulwark; Bastei. – Kaulen, p. 154.

Lam 4:20. *spiritus oris nostri christus dominus captus est in peccatis nostris* – the breath of our mouth, Christ the Lord, is taken in our sins (Douay Version), or better “captured in our sins.” For Jerome, clearly a messianic prophecy, hence his explanatory gloss *Christus dominus*. To avoid the notion of messianism and to render the Hebrew correctly, the Nova Vulgata has *unctus Domini* – the anointed one of the Lord. – Literature:

2007. Alison Salvesen: Messianism in Ancient Bible Translations in Greek and Latin. In: Markus Bockmuehl – J.N. Carlton Paget (eds.): *Redemption and Resistance. The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity*. London (xxvii, 381 pp.), pp. 245–261, at p. 260.

2007. Philip S. Alexander: *The Targum of Lamentations. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes*. The Aramaic Bible 17B. Collegeville, Min. (xvi, 224 pp.), pp. 48: “a blatant example of the orthodox corruption of Scripture. It is simply inconceivable that Jerome could have found this in any of his Hebrew exemplars, and even if he inherited it as a traditional translation, a quick check would have established that it did not correspond to the Hebraica veritas.”

Lam 5:13. *adolescentibus impudice abusi sunt* – *abuti* (with following ablative) means “abuse,” so that we get: they have abused the young men for fornication; sie haben die jungen Männer zur Unzucht missbraucht. The Hebrew text has: “young men must carry millstones; die Jünglinge mussten den Mühlstein schleppen”; which is also what NVg has (*adulescentes moles portaverunt*). According to Jewish understanding, there is a euphemism here, which Jerome resolves. – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 107.

Baruch (Liber Baruch), with “Letter of Jeremiah”

Note. – The book begins with the words *Et haec verba libri quae scripsit Baruch filius Neeri*. The Hebrew text is lost, only translations exist. Today’s commentaries are based on the Greek text. The Latin translator used a Greek text. Jerome did not translate the book; accordingly, the Vulgate text of Baruch is actually that of the *Vetus Latina*.

Chapter 6, included only in Latin Bibles (and their vernacular equivalents), is often dealt with as a separate work, titled "Letter of Jeremiah." Jerome calls it a pseudepigraphon, and states that he would exclude it from his (unfinished) commentary on Jeremiah; see the brief reference to it in Jerome's preface to his Jeremiah commentary (PL 24: 706). There are three important Latin quotations from the Letter of Jeremiah in patristic sources, all of them different from the Vulgate version:

211/12. Tertullian: *De scorpiace* 8 (PL 2: 160). – Tertullian quotes LetJer/Bar 6:3–5: *Et nunc videbitis deos Babyloniorum aureos et argenteos et ligneos portari super humeros, ostentantes nationibus timorem, Cavete igitur ne et vos consimiles sitis allophylis, et timore capiamini, dum aspicitis turbas adorantes retro eos et ante; sed dicite in animo vestro: Te, Domine, adorare debemus.* – "And now you shall see borne upon (men's) shoulders the gods of the Babylonians, of gold and silver and wood, causing fear to the Gentiles. Beware, therefore, that you also do not be altogether like the foreigners, and be seized with fear while you behold crowds worshipping those gods before and behind, but say in your mind, Our duty is to worship You, O Lord." – Most likely, Tertullian translated directly from a Greek text.

251/52. Cyprian: *De dominica oratione* 5 (PL 4: 522). – Cyprian refers briefly to LetJer/Bar 6:5: *Per Hieremiam quoque haec eadem Spiritus sanctus suggerit et docet dicens: in sensu autem tibi debet adorari Deus.* – "The Holy Spirit, moreover, suggests these same things by Jeremiah, and teaches, saying, But in the heart ought God to be adored by you."

346/50. Firmicus Maternus: *De errore profanarum religionum* XXVIII, 4–5 (PL 12: 1044–1045). – The author quotes four passages from LetJer. Here is the text of the first passage, LetJer/Bar 6: 5–10: *Dicite autem corde vestro, tibi oportet adorare, Domine. Angelus autem meus vobiscum est, legem autem exquiram ab animabus vestris. Lingua eorum polita fabro, ipsa etiam inaurata et inargentata falsa sunt, et non possunt loqui: et sicut virgini hortatu amantis accepto auro fabricati sunt coronas supra capita deorum suorum. Est autem quando subtrahent sacerdotes a diis suis aurum et argentum, et erogabunt illud in semetipsos. Dabunt etiam ex ipso et prostitutis meretricibus, ornabuntque illos ut homines vestimentis, deos argenteos et aureos et ligneos.* (PL 12: 1044) "However, say in your heart, 'it is necessary to adore you, O Lord.' Nevertheless, my messenger is with you; moreover, I shall search out your spirits by the law. Their tongue was smoothed by a workman, also they themselves coated with gold and silver are false and are not able to speak. And by taking gold, they made crowns for the heads of their own gods just as for a young girl loving ornaments. Moreover, sometimes the priests take the gold and silver from their own gods and spend it on themselves. They also will give from this even to public harlots and decorate as men, those gods of gold, silver and wood with clothes." (Translation from Richard E. Oster: *Julius Firmicus Maternus, De errore profanarum religionum. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Unpublished dissertation. Rice University, Houston, Tex. 1971) – The text here differs widely from the Vulgate version, as well as from the text of Tertullian.

Text

1902. Gottfried Hoberg (ed.): *Die älteste lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Baruch*. Freiburg. 2nd edition. 91 pp. – A first edition was published the same year: Vienna. 104 pp. Greek and Latin text in parallel columns.

1972. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 14: *Liber Hieremiae et Lamentationes. Ex interpretatione Sancti Hieronymi (...) quibus additur liber Baruch secundum re- censionem Theodulfianum*. Rome. xlv, 387 pp. – This is one of the volumes of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3.

Secondary literature

1879. Johann Jakob Kneucker: *Das Buch Baruch. Geschichte und Kritik, Übersetzung und Erklärung*. Leipzig. xii, 362 pp. – Pages 141–162: the two Latin translations; here the author comments extensively on the linguistic peculiarities of the Latin texts. Still indispensable! ▲
1895. E. Philippe: Baruch. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 1.1. Paris (lxiv pp. 1018 cols.), cols. 1475–1484. – Cols. 1480–1481: “La version latine vient du grec, c’est l’ancienne Itala avec ses défauts et ses qualités. S. Jérôme n’a pas touché à ce livre, on le sait. On peut dire qu’elle rend le grec servilement: on le voit à la latinisation des mots grecs, aux provincialismes qui s’y trouvent, et à l’usage des pronoms *ille*, *ipse*, qui tiennent lieu de l’article grec. (...) On a deux recensions de ce texte: l’une que l’on appelle *Vetus Latina a*, l’autre *Vetus Latina b*; celle-ci diffère de la première par plus d’élégance, de brièveté en général, par quelques additions et des sens divers. La première donne le texte grec vulgaire, l’autre le *textus receptus*, lorsqu’elle s’écarte de sa voisine.”
1953. Angelo Penna: *Baruch*. Torini. vi, 59 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), the commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief textual notes. There is a second, revised and updated edition, included in Penna’s *Geremia, Lamentazioni, Baruch*. Torino 1970. x, 368 pp. ▲
1972. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Le livre deutéronomique de Baruch dans la liturgie romaine. In: Jean-Jacques von Allmen et al.: *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte*. Leuven (xxxii, 540 pp.), pp. 31–48.
1980. María Dolores Verdejo Sánchez: [Algunas consideraciones gramaticales sobre el libro de Baruch](#). *Analecta Malacitana* 3: 291–307. – A detailed survey of the linguistic peculiarities of the book of Baruch, based on the text of the 1972 Benedictine edition. The paper is included in the online edition: *Analecta Malacitana electronica* 24 (June 2008).
1982. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Le personnage de Baruch et l’histoire du livre de Jérémie. Aux origines du livre deutérocanonique de Baruch. In: Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.): *Studia Evangelica* 7. Berlin (570 pp.), pp. 73–81.
1985. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*. Freiburg. 545 pp., 10 Blätter. – Page 146: “Das Werk Theodulfs [bei der Herstellung eines korrekten Bibeltexes im frühen Mittelalter] blieb nicht ohne Wirkung. Für Baruch ist sein schlechter, willkürlich geänderter Text sogar zur Vulgata geworden, da dieses Buch in der Alkuinbibel fehlte.”
2005. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Le livre de Baruch dans les manuscrits de la Bible latine: disparition et réintégration. *Revue bénédictine* 115: 286–342. – With a new appendix included in: Bogaert: *Le livre de Jérémie en perspective. Recueil des travaux*. Leuven 2020 (lviii, 535 pp.), pp. 377–434. ▲
2019. Lutz Doering: Textual History of 1 Baruch. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 3–11. – Page 7: “Many important early Vulgate manuscripts lack Baruch because Jerome declined to translate it. While there is evidence of earlier Latin translations, now lost, the oldest surviving Latin manuscripts are five pandects from Theodulf’s workshop. This version became ‘Vulgate’.”
2019. Edmon L. Gallagher: Latin [text of Baruch]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 18–23. – Manuscripts, text forms, editions.

Textual notes

- Bar 1:18–19.** *non fuimus subjectibilis illi* – we were not submissive/obedient to him; wir waren ihm nicht unterwürfig (= *subjecti*); *eramus incredibilis ad dominum deum nostrum* – we were in disbelief to the Lord our God; wir waren ungläubig (= *non credens*) (...). The ending *-bilis* here indicates not only the possibility, but the actuality. – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 59.
- Bar 3:14.** *longiturnitas* – long duration; lange Dauer. A word formation typical of late Latin. “Formen wie *longiturnitas* (Bar 3,14) für *longitudo* hätten Cicero und Cäsar als Barbarismen verabscheut.” – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 58.
- Bar 4:31.** *gratulari* – to rejoice at, to congratulate oneself; sich freuen, sich beglückwünschen. – Kaulen, p. 180.

Ezekiel (Hiezechiel)

Text

1978. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 15: *Liber Hiezechielis. Ex interpretatione Sancti Hieronymi*. Rome. lxxxii, 297 pp. – This volume is part of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter 13.3.

Secondary literature

1948. Francesco Spadafora: *Ezechiele*. Torino. x, 357 pp., 3 tavole. – This commentary on Ezekiel, published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief textual notes. In many cases, the commentator offers his own Latin version that would render the Hebrew more exactly. ▲
2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.
2023. Tobias Häner: Rezeptionsgeschichte des Buches Ezechiel. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 178–179.

Textual notes

- Ezek 8:14.** *Adonis*. – Instead of Tammuz (adopted by NVg as Thammuz), a deity unknown to his Latin readership, Jerome uses the well-known name of Adonis. – Literature:
1928. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn (viii, 290 pp.), p. 111.
- 1940: Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58] (1940) 251–269, at p. 254.
2015. Karsten C. Ronnenberg: *Mythos bei Hieronymus. Zur christlichen Transformation paganer Erzählungen in der Spätantike*. Stuttgart (386 pp.), pp. 96–98. 2021. Michael Fieger – Brigitta Schmid: The Interpretatio Romana as a Principle of Translation in Jerome. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 5: 41–44.
2023. Michale Fieger – Brigitta Schmid Pfändler: Adonis als besserer Tammuz (Ez 8,14). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 37–38.

- Ezek 8:16.** *quasi viginti quinque viri dorsa habentes contra templum domini* – about (*quasi*) twenty-five men, with their backs to the temple of the Lord. – Jesús de la Villa: Numerals. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 3. Berlin 2010 (xxi, 529 pp.), pp. 175–238, at p. 182.
- Ezek 12:4.** *eferre foras vasa* – literally: to bring out one’s stuff; seine Sachen hervorholen; but it actually refers to *colligere sarcinas*, to collect one’s luggage (Stummer). Following an established meaning of *vas* in classical Latin, one may think of the “field pack,” the luggage carried by a soldier (Spadafora); see Livy: *Ab urbe condita* XXI, 47,2. – Literature:
1937. Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1: 23–50, at pp. 31–32.
1948. Francesco Spadafora: *Ezechiele*. Torino (x, 357 pp.), p. 99.
- Ezek 16:30.** *in quo mundabo cor tuum* – wherein shall I cleanse thy heart (Douay Version). Jerome’s translation is based on Symmachus. – Friedrich Stummer: *amula* (Ez xvi 30A). *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954) 34–40, at p. 35.
- Ezek 16:52.** *iustificatae sunt enim a te* – they are more justified than you (echoing Hebrew *min*). In standard Latin, this would be: *sunt magis iustae quam tu*. – Kaulen, p. 237.
- Ezek 24:16.** *et non planges neque plorabis* – and thou shalt not lament nor weep (Douay Version). Note the alliteration in the Latin, evidence of Jerome’s wish to produce a rhetorically powerful translation. In French, one would speak of “plandre et pleurer.”
- Ezek 24:25.** *tollam ab eis (...) desiderium oculorum eorum, super quo requiescunt animae eorum* – I will take away from them (...) the desire of their eyes upon which their souls rest (Douay Version). Stummer suggests: “(...) in which their souls find pleasure (or satisfaction).” – Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1 (1937) 23–50, at pp. 43–47.
- Ezek 37.** For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 144–149.
- Ezek 39:11–16.** Stefan Freund: Polyándrion (Ez 39,11–16): Eine Septuaginta-Übersetzung und ihre Fortwirkung im Lateinischen. In: Wolfgang Kraus – Siegfried Kreuzer (eds.): *Die Septuaginta. Text – Wirkung – Rezeption*. Tübingen 2014 (xiv, 928 pp.), pp. 713–727. πολυάνδριον means “burial place.” The Vulgate does not use the word in this passage, but the Septuagint does, and Jerome in his Ezekiel commentary discusses the matter.
- Ezek 40:7,9.** *thalamus* – chamber [Kammer], *vestibulum* – hall [Halle], *frons* – porch [Vorbau]. These words, repeated throughout Ezek 40, are often misunderstood by modern translators. – Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), pp. 41–42.
- Ezek 43:10–11.** Binding suggests the following literal translation: “Sie sollen das Bauwerk messen (*metiantur fabricam*) und [wenn] sie sich schämen wegen allem, was sie getan haben, zeige ihnen die Gestalt des Hauses und sein Ausführung (*figuram domus et fabricae eius*), [und zwar] Ausgang, Eingang und dessen ganze Darstellung (*omnem descriptionem eius*), und alle seine Vorschriften (*universa praecepta eius*) und alle seine Gesetze davon zeige ihnen, und schreibe es in ihre Augen (*scribes in oculis eorum*) und sie sollen alle seine Darstellungen und Vorschriften beachten, und sie sollen sie ausführen (*custodiant omnes descriptiones eius et praecepta illius et faciant ea*).” Binding does not think that *descriptio* refers to a drawing; instead, it seems to be a

verbal description. – Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), pp. 43–44.

Ezek 43:11. “Rarely *ordo* is used in the meaning ‘institutionalized regulation’. The most evident example is found in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel: *universa praecepta eius cunctumque ordinem eius et omnes leges eius ostende eis.*” – Igor Filippov: Bible and Roman Law. The Notions of Law, Custom and Justice in the Vulgate. In: Angelo Di Berardino et al., *Lex et religio*. Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 135. Rome 2013 (782 pp.), pp. 105–141, at p. 124.

Daniel (Danihel)

Text

1981. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 16: *Liber Danihelis. Ex interpretatione Sancti Hieronymi*. Rome. xlv, 152 pp. – This is one of the volumes of the Benedictine Vulgate known for its extensive text-critical notes; see above, Chapter **13.3**. – This edition indicates, as does the Weber/Gryson edition, the passages for which Jerome (like modern textual critics) had no Hebrew text; he translated these passages – Dan 3:24–90; 13; 14 – from the Greek, and clearly indicated his source.

Synopsis

2000. Klaus Koch – Martin Rösel: *Polyglottensynopse zum Buch Daniel*. Neukirchen-Vluyn. 322 pp. – The Masoretic text, the Syriac translation, two Greek translations, and the Vulgate version are presented in parallel columns. For the Vulgate text, the editors use the Weber/Gryson edition.

Secondary literature

1886. Godofredus [Gottfried] Hoberg: *De sancti Hieronymi ratione interpretandi*. Diss. Theol. Bonn. iii, 39 pp.– On pp. 17–33, the author comments on Jerome’s translation of the book of Daniel. As Hoberg points out, Jerome occasionally avoids the Hebraisms of an overly literal rendering by using an adjective instead of a noun; here is a partial list of examples: *et viris fortissimis* (Dan 3:20); *regnum sempiternum* (Dan 7:27); *cornu insigne* (Dan 8:5); *urbes munitissimas* (Dan 11:25); *honor regius* (Dan 11:21).

1952. Giovanni Rinaldi CRS: *Daniele*. 3rd, revised and enlarged edition. Torino. vi, 158 pp. – The first edition of 1949 has 135 pp., the fourth edition x, 165 pp. Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew/Aramaic text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes. ▲

1978. Jan Smeets: Traditions juives dans la Vulgate de Daniel et le commentaire de Jérôme. SIDIC (Service international de documentation judéo-chrétienne) 12.2: 16–26.

2007. Régis Courtay: Jérôme, traducteur du livre de Daniel. *Pallas* 75: 105–124.

2008. Régis Courtay: La traduction de Daniel-Vulgate face à la Néovulgate. *Anabases* 8: 107–126. – The article includes an annotated list of the differences between the Daniel text of the Vulgate and that of the Nova Vulgata.

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of Daniel]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1C. Leiden (xxxiv, 770 pp.), pp. 568–571.
2019. José Manuel Cañas Reillo: Latin [text of the Additions to Daniel]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 153–157.
2019. Kevin Zilberberg: Cultic Verbs in Vetus Latina Daniel and in Jerome’s Translation of the Greek Additions to Daniel. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59: 445–452. – This volume of the *Acta Antiqua* publishes the proceedings of the XIIIth congress of *Latin vulgair – latin tardif*. – The expressions treated, each corresponding to a Greek verb, are: *seruio, colo, famulor, appareo, exomologesin facio, hymnum cano, sacrifico, timeo, benedico, adoro, laudo, confiteor*, and *primitiae*. Jerome sometimes maintains continuity with Vetus-Latina vocabulary, he also often departs from it. Page 452: “Jerome staked out a course between continuity and innovation, which would eventually become the Latin church’s standard.”

Textual notes

- Dan 2:31.** S. Prete: Declino e corrompimento morale nella escatologia occidentale. Nota alle interpretazioni su Dan 2,31; 7,3 di Ippolito e Girolamo. *Divus Thomas* 82 (1979) 145–156.
- Dan 3:23.** *in medio camino* (Clementina) – in the midst of the furnace. Weber/Gryson and NVg have *in medio camini*, in conformity with normative grammar. – Régis Courtray: La traduction de Daniel-Vulgate face à la Néovulgate. *Anabases* 8 (2008) 107–126, at p. 110.
- Dan 3:25 (Vg 3:92).** Nebuchadnezzar sees four men walking unhurt in the midst of the fiery furnace, and “the form of the fourth is like the Son of God” (*et species quarti similis filio Dei*). Jerome observes that most commentators consider the fourth figure to be Christ, but he himself cannot see how “an ungodly king could have merited a vision of the Son of God,” and he therefore considers the figure an angel, although the typological significance is Christ (*Commentary on Daniel*, PL 25: 511–512; CCSL 75A: 807–808).
- Dan 3:90.** *benedicite, omnes religiosi, Domino* – Douay Version: o all ye religious, bless the Lord (Douay Version); preiset, alle Frommen, den Herrn (Allioli). The German translation is the correct one, because *religiosus* means “the pious person.” The Nova Vulgata does not seem to like the word *religiosus*; it has *benedicite, omnes, qui timetis Dominum, Deo* – all you, who fear the Lord, bless God.
- Dan 6.** For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 149–154.
- Dan 6:6.** What is the correct vocative form of Darius? The Clementina has *Dari*, Weber/Gryson *Darie*, which is better Latin, as suggested by Philipp Thielmann: *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Vulgata, insbes. Des Buches Judith. Beigabe zum Jahresbericht 1882/83 der Königlichen Studienanstalt Speier*. Speyer 1883 (64 pp.), p. 4.
- Dan 6:19 (Vg 6:18).** *cibique non sunt inlati* (Clementina: *allati*, NVg *illati*) *sunt coram eo* (Weber/Gryson) – and no food is brought in before him. *inlatus/illatus* and *allatus* are the passive participles of *inferre* and *adferre*, “to bring in” and “to bring toward.”
- Dan 7:3.** S. Prete: Declino e corrompimento morale nella escatologia occidentale. Nota alle interpretazioni su Dan 2,31; 7,3 di Ippolito e Girolamo. *Divus Thomas* 82 (1979) 145–156.
- Dan 9:23.** Bernhard Lang: Übersetzungen der Vulgata; in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 162–165. – A comparison of several modern translations of this verse. The meaning is rendered clearly only in the Knox

translation: "Even as thy prayer began, a secret was disclosed, and I am here to make it known to thee, so well heaven loves thee. Mark well, then, the message, and read the revelation aright."

Dan 9:26. *et non erit eius* [populus qui eum negaturus est] – and he will not be [the people that shall deny him]. Jerome's words *et non erit eius* do not actually make much sense, but the context requires something like: he will no longer exist among the living. The Neovulgate changes the Vulgate version to *et nihil erit ei* – and he will have nothing. Placed between brackets is a Christian gloss, presumably based on the notion that a word is missing – *populus*, and this word is then further explained; all of this changes the text to mean: "and the people that deny him shall not be his" (Douay Version). The gloss is found in the Clementina, but omitted from the Weber/Gruyson edition and from the NVg. – The passage is often commented upon:

1891. Joseph Knabenbauer: *Commentarius in Daniele prophetam*. Paris (524 pp.), pp. 229–259: the gloss is not from Jerome, but was inserted later into the Vulgate text.

1912. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3: 105–138, at pp. 136–137.

1940. Friedrich Stummer: Griechisch-römische Bildung und christliche Theologie in der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 17 [58]: 251–269, at p. 265.

2021. Kirsten Macfarlane: *Biblical Scholarship in an Age of Controversy*. Oxford (xi, 265 pp.), p. 32: how the passage was discussed in the sixteenth century on the basis of the underlying Hebrew text.

Dan 11:38–39. *deum autem Moazim in loco suo venerabitur* – he will worship (*venerari* = to worship, a *verbum deponens*) the god Moazim in his sanctuary (*locus* = sacred place). – The problem with this and the immediately following sentence is that the translator misunderstood a word, mistaking it for a name; the correct interpretation would be: he would worship the god of the strongholds in his sanctuary. The Nova Vulgata has *deum autem oppidorum in loco suo venerabitur*.

Dan 11:45. *et figet tabernaculum suum Apedno inter maria* – and he will pitch his tent in Apedno between the seas. Here the translator mistook the Aramaic word *apadna* for a place name; he should have said: and he will pitch his residential tent. The mistake is not Jerome's; he inherited it from earlier sources, see the discussion in E.F.C. Rosenmüller: *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*. Pars decima. Leipzig 1832 (445 pp.), p. 431. See also the explanation given by Edmund Kalt: *Biblisches Reallexikon*. 2nd edition. Erster Band. Paderborn 1938 (vii pp., 1084 cols.), col. 112 s.v. Apadno: "Die Vulgata (Dn 11,45) hat Apadno, das dem hebr. *appeden* (persisch *apadana* = Palast, Burg) entspricht, irrtümlich als Namen einer Stadt aufgefaßt. Der Satz heißt: Er schlug seine Palastzelte zwischen dem (Mittel)meer und (Sion), dem Berg der heiligen Pracht." The Nova Vulgata has: *et figet tabernacula palatii sui inter maria super montem sanctum decoris*.

Dan 13:1–64. For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 155–164.

Dan 13:54–59. Jean Robaey: Paronomasia e graeca veritas. Teoria e prassi traduttiva di Gerolamo in Susanna 54–55.58–59. *Adamantius* 10 (2004) 63–71.

Dan 14:42. *Tunc rex ait: Paveant omnes habitantes in universa terra deum Danielis quia ipse est salvator, faciens signa et mirabilia in terra, qui liberavit Danielelem de lacu leonum* (Clementina) – Then the king said: Let all the inhabitants of the whole earth fear the God of Daniel: for he is the Saviour, working signs and wonders in the earth, who has delivered Daniel out of the lions' den

(Douay Version). – This final verse of the book of Daniel does not belong to the original text. It first appears in the margin of MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale 11504 (9th century). Accordingly, it is absent from the Weber/Gryson edition and the Nova Vulgata. – Alberto Vaccari, L'ultimo versetto di Daniele. *Rivista biblica* 2 (1954) 248–250.

The Twelve Minor Prophets (Liber duodecim Prophetarum)

Text

1987. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 17: *Liber duodecim prophetarum. Ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*. Milano. xlvii, 290 pp. – A volume of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**. – Page ranges of the individual prophetic books: Hosea, pp. 79–117; Iohel, pp. 118–130; Amos, pp. 131–156; Abdias, pp. 157–160; Ionas, pp. 161–169; Micha, pp. 170–188; Naum, pp. 189–197; Habacuc, pp. 198–207; Sofonias, pp. 208–217; Aggeus, pp. 218–223; Zacharis, pp. 224–259; Malachias, pp. 260–271.

Secondary literature

1953. Meinrad Stenzel: Das Dodekapropheten in Übersetzungswerken lateinischer Schriftsteller des Altertums. I. *Theologische Zeitschrift* 9: 81–92. – Where Rufinus of Aquileja departs from the *Vetus Latina* wording, he generally uses the same vocabulary as does (his arch enemy) Jerome, with whom he shares the educational background.

1953–1969. Giovanni Rinaldi CRS: *I profeti minori*. Torino. 3 volumes: xiii, 218 pp; xvi, 213; xix, 244 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes. ▲

2007. Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Girolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13: 102–125.

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

2020. Simone Rickerby: The Latin Versions of the Book of the Twelve. In: Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer – Jakob Wöhrle (eds.): *The Book of the Twelve*. Leiden (xix, 623 pp.), pp. 325–351. – Rickerby is interested in the relationship between the Old Latin version of the Minor Prophets and Jerome's version. She studies the following examples: Hosea 2:12; 10:1; Jonah 4:4–5; Zeph 3:1–2.4b; Mal 1:6a, and sees a strong influence of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

Hosea (Osee)

Secondary literature

1974. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: Textual Gleanings from the Vulgate to Hosea. *Jewish Quarterly Review* 65: 73–97.

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual notes

Hos 2:21–22 [Vg 2:19–20]. *et sponsabo – et sponsabo – et sponsabo* = and I will espouse thee; und ich werde mich verloben. **(1)** As pointed out by Condamin, Jerome repeats the verb three times, following the Hebrew text, and contrary to his otherwise practiced principle of variation in expression. He comments on the rhetoric of repetition in his Hosea commentary (PL 25: 840). – **(2)** „Die Auffassung des Bundesschlusses als Verlobungsvorgang (Verb *sponsare*) in der Prophetie Hoseas unterstreicht wegen ihrer feierlichen Anmutung sowohl die Analogie zum Staatsvertrag (Hauptwort *sponsio* als feierlicher Akt) als auch die Analogie einer aus dem Verlöbniß im familienrechtlichen Sinne (*sponsare* als spezielleres Verb gegenüber dem allgemeinen Verb für förmliches Versprechen *spondēre*) hervorgehenden innigen Lebensgemeinschaft“ (Becker, pp. 95–96). – Literature:

1911. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 2: 425–440, at p. 440.

2022. Christoph Becker: Vertrag, Bund und Testament in der Heiligen Schrift. Diktion römischen Rechts aus Vetus Latina und Vulgata. In: Franz Sedlmeier – Hans Ulrich Steymans (eds.): *Bundestheologie bei Hosea? Eine Spurensuche*. Berlin (xii, 438 pp.), pp. 69–106.

Hos 4:14. *et cum effeminatis sacrificabant* – and sacrificed with the effeminate. What are the “effeminate”? The context requires a word for designating a special group of (pagan) priests or temple servants. Jerome thinks of them as the equivalents of the Roman Galli, servants of the Magna Mater, who castrated themselves; see his Commentary on Hosea (CCSL 76: 44–45). Eberhard Bons: The History of Israel and the Early History of Rome in the Light of Jerome’s Writings, in: Ingo Schaaf (ed.): *Hieronymus Romanus: Studies on Jerome and Rome on the Occasion of the 1600th Anniversary of His Death*. Turnhout 2021 (609 pp.), pp. 137–150, at pp. 145–148.

Hos 10:10. The Vulgate version of the verse suggests that Jerome here follows a Greek rather than a Hebrew Vorlage. – Simone Rickerby: The Latin Versions of the Book of the Twelve. In: Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer – Jakob Wöhrle (eds.): *The Book of the Twelve*. Leiden (xix, 632 pp.), pp. 325–351, at p. 337–342.

Hos 13:8. Maria Christina Pennachio: “Quasi ursa rapis catulis.” Os 13,8 nell’esegesi di Gerolamo e Cirillo di Alessandria. *Vetera Christianorum* 32 (1995) 143–161.

Joel (loel, lohel)

Secondary literature

1981. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein: The Hebrew Text of Joel as Reflected in the Vulgate. *Textus* 5: 16–35.

2007. Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13: 102–125, at pp. 122–124.

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

2023. Aline Canellis: Die Auslegung der Antiochenischen und Alexandrinischen Schulen durch Hieronymus am Beispiel des kleinen Propheten Joel. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 165–167.

Textual notes

- Joel 1:4.** Aline Canellis: Julien d'Éclane et l'«In Joel» 1,4 de saint Jérôme. In: Benoît Gain et al. (eds.): *Chartae caritatis. Études de patristique et d'antiquité tardive*. Paris 2004 (529 pp.), pp. 359–375.
- Joel 2:13.** *praestabilis*. The word is used only here in the Vulgate. A possible rendering: being above malice (*super malitia*); erhaben über Böswilligkeit (*super malitia*). Or rather: easily forgetting, conciliatory; leicht vergessend, versöhnlich. – Kaulen, p. 141.
- Joel 2:22.** *Virtus*. The word here refers to the “produce” of crop plants (German: “Ertrag” von Nutzpflanzen). – Kaulen, p. 33.

Amos

Secondary literature

1902. W.O.E. Oesterley: *Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos*. Cambridge. vii, 112 pp.
1953. Giovanni Rinaldi: *I profeti minori: Introduzione generale – Amos*. Torino. xiii, 218 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual notes

- Am 5:24.** Eberhard Bons: Gerechtigkeit Israels oder Gericht Gottes? (Amos 5,24). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 58–60. – Jerome’s version of the verse departs from that of the Septuagint.
- Am 6:1–6.** Writing in 426 or 427, In his later years, Augustine could not escape the charm of Jerome’s translation. – Madeleine Moreau: Sur un commentaire d’Amos. De doctrina christiana IV, vii, 15–21, sur Amos VI, 1–6, in: A.-M. Bonnardière (ed.): *Saint Augustin et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps. Paris 1986 (462 pp.), pp. 313–322.
- Am 7:1.** *post tonsorem regis* (Weber/Gryson) – after the king’s mower; nach dem Abscherer für den König; *post tonsionem regis* (Clementina) – after the king’s mowing; nach dem Abscheren für den König. The Clementina seems to make more sense. Cf. Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 197. – The Nova Vulgata has *post fruges demessas regis* – after the royal crops had been mowed.

Obadiah (Abdias)

Secondary literature

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual note

Obad 20. David Weissert: Obadja 20. Septuagint and Vulgate. *Textus* 24 (2009) 85–106.

Jonah (Iona)

Secondary literature

2007. Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13: 102–125, at pp. 119–122. – Moro offers a detailed comparison between the Vulgate text of Jonah and the textual fragments we have in the lemmata of Jerome’s commentary on Jonah (as edited by Yves-Marie Duval). The result is as follows (p. 122): of the 30 variants found, 20 can be judged in terms of greater or lesser closeness to the Hebrew. Of these 20, in 12 cases the Vulgate text is closer to the Hebrew, and in 8 cases the commentary lemma is closer. From these 8 one could perhaps subtract the variant *in mari* of 1:4, which could be a false correction, and *ad Dominum* of 3:8 which has a correspondence in the Targum, so it could depend on a respectful interpretation or on a Hebrew variant found in the text used. In the translation of Jonah, one can speak of a first edition corresponding to the lemmas of Jerome’s commentary, and a second one (rendered closer to the Hebrew) corresponding to the Vulgate.
2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.
2020. Marie-France Monge-Strauss: *Traduire le livre de Jonas. De Lefèvre d’Etaples à la version révisée de Genève (1530–1588)*. Paris. 688 pp. – The appendix (pp. 633–660) presents in synoptic form the Vulgate text of Jonah together with other Latin translations. Included are Jerome’s version found in this commentary on Jonah and the text as presented in the Clementina. Review: Gilbert Dahan, *Études théologiques et religieuses* 97 (2022) 109–110, who points out the occasionally inaccurate Latin in this doctoral dissertation.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 164–172. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation), with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.
2023. Bernhard Lang: Buch Jona. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 75–76.

Textual notes

- Jonah 1:4.** *Dominus autem misit ventum magnum in mari* (Weber/Gryson) – the Lord sent a mighty wind in the sea. The Clementina has the better and no doubt more original, Jeromian reading: (...) in mare (to the sea, accusative). – Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13: 102–125, at p. 119.
- Jonah 1:5.** *clamaverunt viri ad deum suum* – everyone cried to his god. – This use of *viri* in the sense of “everyone” is a Hebraism; in classical Latin, one would say: *unusquisque clamavit*. – Kaulen, p. 173
- Jonah 2.** Meinrad Stenzel: Zum Vulgatatext des Canticum Jonae. *Biblica* 33 (1952) 356–362.
- Jonah 2:3.** *de ventre inferni* (Weber/Gryson) – *de ventre inferi* (Clementina, NVg) – out of the belly of the underworld (or hell); out of the belly of the dead. Against the Benedictine Vulgate, which has *inferi*, the Weber/Gryson edition prefers *inferni* as the original Jeromian reading. The latter

makes better sense. It may be that Jerome, who uses *inferi* in his commentary on Jonah, originally had *inferi*, but later corrected it to *inferni*.

Jonah 3:9. *quis scit si convertatur et ignoscat deus* – who knows whether God will turn and forgive; wer weiß, ob sich Gott wendet und vergibt. – Peter Juhás: Beobachtungen zum biblisch-hebräischen Satzadverb *ʿulaj*. Funktionen, Übersetzungslösungen des Hieronymus und Problemstellen der antiken Bibelübersetzungen. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 97.1 (2021) 1–36, at pp. 31–32.

Jonah 4:6. *hedera* – ivy. The plant’s name is *qiqayon* in Hebrew. According to the *Vetus Latina*, this is a *cucurbita*, a pumpkin (German: Kürbis). But Jerome translates differently, calling the plant a *hedera*, ivy (German: Efeu) – which caused opposition that is famously echoed in the correspondence between Jerome and Augustine. Why an ivy? To give the scene a bucolic flavor, because *hedera* belongs to the bucolic vocabulary of Jerome’s favorite ancient author, Vergil. Ivy is the first plant the earth brings forth in the announced bucolic Golden Age. “But on thee, O boy, untilled shall earth first pour childish gifts – wandering ivy-tendrils (*errantis hederas*) and fox-glove, and Colocasia with the laughing acanthus” (Vergil: *Fourth Eclogue*, translated by J.W. MacKail). In the book of Jonah, Jerome paints a scene in which the corrupt city of Nineveh, expected to perish, is surrounded by a bucolic landscape. ▲

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Note. – The famous case of Jonah 4:6 merits documentation. Here are the relevant passages from Augustine’s and Jerome’s letters:

(1) Augustine: *Epistula* 71,3,5 (PL 33: 242–243; CSEL 34.2: 253; *Fontes christiani* 41.1: 164–165): “For, when a certain bishop of ours began to have your translation read in the church over which he presides, a particular passage in the prophet Jonah caused a disturbance because it was presented in far different language than had become familiar to the senses and memory and had been chanted for so many years.” – “Ein Bischof, einer unserer Brüder, hatte in der von ihm geleiteten Gemeinde eingeführt, bei den Lesungen Deine Übersetzung zu benutzen. Da erregte eine Stelle beim Propheten Jona Aufsehen, die bei Dir ganz anders lautet, als alle sie von jeher im Gedächtnis hatten und sie Generation für Generation vorgetragen worden war.” – German translation by Alfons Fürst; English translation from *The Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century*. Part II, Volume 1: Letters 1–11. Translated by Roland Teske SJ. Hyde Park, NY 2001 (470 pp.), pp. 267–268.

(2) Jerome: *Epistula* 112, 22 (CSEL 34.2: 322–323; CCL 55: 32–393; *Labourt* VI, pp. 42–43; *Fontes christiani* 41.1: 228–229): “Perhaps it is the old dispute about the *gourd* which has been revived, after slumbering for many long years since the illustrious man, who in that day combined in his own person the ancestral honours of the Cornelii and of Asinius Pollio, brought against me the charge of giving in my translation the word *ivy* instead of *gourd*. I have already given a sufficient answer to this in my commentary on Jonah. At present, I deem it enough to say that in that passage, where the Septuagint has *gourd*, and Aquila and the others have rendered the word *ivy* (*kissos*), the Hebrew manuscript has *ciceion*, which is in the Syriac tongue, as now spoken, *ciceia*. It is a kind of shrub having large leaves like a vine, and when planted it quickly springs up to the size of a small tree, standing upright by its own stem, without requiring any support of canes or poles, as both gourds and ivy do. If, therefore, in translating word for word, I had put the word *ciceia*, no one would know what it meant (...). I therefore put down *ivy*, that I might not differ from all other translators. But if your Jews said, either through malice or ignorance, as you yourself suggest, that the word is in the Hebrew text which is found in the Greek and Latin versions, it is evident that they were either unacquainted with Hebrew, or have been pleased to say what was not true, in order to make sport of the gourd-planters.” – “Womöglich geht es, wie schon vor etlichen Jahren, erneut um den Kürbis. Damals erhob ein Cornelius und ein Asinius

Pollio den Vorwurf, statt *Kürbis* hätte ich *Efeu* übersetzt. Im Kommentar zum Propheten Jona habe ich dazu schon ausführlicher Stellung genommen. So beschränke ich mich jetzt auf den Hinweis, dass die siebzig Übersetzer [der Septuaginta] 'Kürbis' und Aquila wie alle anderen 'Efeu', der griechisch *kittos* heißt, übersetzen. Im hebräischen Text steht an dieser Stelle *ciceion*, wofür die Syrer gewöhnlich *ciceia* sagen. Es handelt sich um eine Pflanze mit breiten Blättern nach Art von Weinlaub, die nach dem Einpflanzen rasch zu einem kleinen Baum emporwächst ohne Stangen und Stützen, wie sie für Kürbis- und Efeugewächse vonnöten sind, gestützt allein vom eigenen Stamm. Hätte ich mich dafür entschieden, wortwörtlich zu übersetzen und *ciceion* zu transkribieren, würde das niemand verstehen. (...) In Übereinstimmung mit den anderen Übersetzern habe ich also 'Efeu' in den Text gesetzt." German translation by Alfons Fürst, *Fontes christiani* 41.1, p. 229.

(3) Augustine: *Epistula* 82, 35 (CSEL 34.2: 386–387; *Fontes christiani* 41.2: 332–333): "Hence, if in Jonah that plant is in Hebrew neither an ivy nor a gourd plant, but something else that supports itself by its own trunk without any stakes, I would prefer that we read 'gourd plant' in all the Latin translations." – "Wenn jene Pflanze im Buch Jona im Hebräischen weder ein Efeu- noch ein Kürbisstrauch ist, sondern irgendein anderes Gewächs, das, getragen vom eigenen Stamm, ohne jede Stütze in die Höhe wächst, dann möchte ich in allen lateinischen Ausgaben lieber beim Kürbis bleiben." The German translation is by Alfons Fürst. For the English translation, see *The Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century*. Part II, Volume 1: Letters 1–11. Translated by Roland Teske SJ. Hyde Park, NY 2001 (470 pp.), p. 332.

1514. Albrecht Dürer: Der heilige Hieronymus im Gehäus – Saint Jerome in His Study. Copper etching. – This etching belongs to the most accomplished and rightly most famous works of the German artist. Fixed to one of the heavy beams of the study's ceiling is a huge pumpkin or rather bottle-gourd, complete with an equally huge leaf of the plant. Rather than being a decorative element, it is intended to remind the viewer of a famous anecdote – the dispute between Jerome and Augustine on the translation of a passage in the book of Jonah. According to art historian Adolf Weis, Dürer captures the very moment when Jerome writes a letter to Augustine to defend his decision not to call the plant a pumpkin but an ivy. On this interpretation of the etching, it makes sense that the saint is placed at the center of the pictorial axis that connects the books (the Bible translation, placed on the shelf in the lower left corner) with the gourd (placed at the upper right corner of the etching). From Jerome's perspective, the gourd is depicted as a trophy that hangs from the ceiling to his left, whereas the proper translation is in the books, to his right. Interestingly – and perhaps inspired by the anecdote and Dürer's etching), Luther in his German translation of the Bible restored the "pumpkin" (Kürbis) that Jerome had banned from the Vulgate. The King James Version of 1611 opted for "gourd," designating a group of plants that include the pumpkin. – On Dürer's etching, see Peter W. Parshall: Albrecht Dürer's St. Jerome in His Study. A Philological Reference. *The Art Bulletin* 53 (1971) 303–305; Adolf Weis: " ... diese lächerliche Kürbisfrage ..." Christlicher Humanismus in Dürer's Hieronymusbild. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 49 (1982) 195–201.

1520. Erasmus: *Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei*; in: *Collected Works of Erasmus*. Edited by William Barker et al. Volume 72. Toronto 2005 (xxxvii, 449 pp.), p. 100: "How many things did he [Jerome] introduce in the books of the Old Testament which at that time differed from the reading of the church! How he derides those pumpkin-farmers in Africa, carrying on like gods and causing an uproar on account of one little word being changed in Jonah!"

1534. Martin Luther: *Biblia*. – Originally, before translating the book of Jonah, Luther followed the Vulgate in speaking of Jonah's *hedera*, i.e., ivy (Lectures on the Minor Prophets, see the *Weimarer Ausgabe* of Luther's works, Band 13, p. 256). In his translation of the book of Jonah, Luther de-

parted from the Vulgate by calling the plant a pumpkin or gourd (Kürbis, Jonah 4:7–7). This interpretation is highlighted by the insertion of an illustration that unites several episodes from the story of Jonah in one complex drawing. In this drawing we can see Jonah's bower, unbotanically crowned with a huge gourd.

1966. Gerardus Q.A. Meershoek: *Le latin biblique d'après saint Jérôme. Aspects linguistiques de la rencontre entre la Bible et le monde classique*. Nijmegen (xv, 256 pp.), pp. 40–42.
1979. Nova Vulgata. – Open the Nova Vulgata at Jonah 4:6 and you will find the word *hedera*, ivy. The editors have not dared to change the word. It must be pointed out, though, that modern translations, though not adopting Jerome's "ivy," nevertheless hesitate. The New English Bible (1970) has "climbing gourd" and adds, in a note, that "castor-oil plant" would be another possibility. The German Einheitsübersetzung (revised version, 2016) has *Rizinusstrauch*, which is the castor oil plant.
1988. Pierre Hamblenne: Relectures de philologue sur le scandale du lierre/ricin (Hier. In Ion. 4.6). *Euphrosyne* 16: 183–223.
1993. Stefan Rebenich: Jerome: The "vir trilinguis" and the "Hebraica veritas." *Vigiliae Christianae* 47: 50–77. – See pp. 58–60 on the *hedera* controversy.
2007. Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13: 102–125, at pp. 120–121.
2010. Anne Fraïsse: Comment traduire la Bible? Un échange entre Augustin et Jérôme au sujet de la "citrouille" de Jonas 4,6. *Études théologiques et religieuses* 85: 145–165.
2010. Giovanni B. Bazzana: Cucurbita super caput ionae. Translation and Theology in the Old Latin Tradition. *Vetus Testamentum* 60.3: 309–322. – In Jerome's day, the scene of Jonah resting under the gourd (i.e., in a luxuriant environment), often depicted in funerary art, was seen as an image of eschatological peace, announcing the coming of a this-worldly kingdom of God. By removing the gourd, Jerome sought to exclude this interpretation. (B. Lang: Bazzana's interpretation is not immediately convincing. He does have a point, however, in showing that the "gourd" interpretation, reflected as it is in early-Christian art, was well established and well known, so that we can understand the opposition against Jerome's "ivy." On the iconography of Jonah reclining under the gourd, see, in addition to Bazzana's article, Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer: *Jonah through the Centuries*. Chichester [x, 294 pp.], pp. 224–225.) ▲
2011. Alfons Fürst: Kürbis oder Efeu? Zur Übersetzung von Jona 4,6 in der Septuaginta und bei Hieronymus. In: idem: *Von Origenes zu Hieronymus und Augustinus. Studien zur antiken Theologiegeschichte*. Berlin (viii, 535 pp.), pp. 315–322. – Originally published in: *Biblische Notizen* 72 (1994) 12–19.
2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. Freiburg (444 pp.), p. 110.
2023. Sebastian Weigert: Die Hebraica Veritas und die Septuaginta im zeitgenössischen Widerstreit: Kürbis oder Efeu? (Jona 4,6–10). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 144–145.

Micah (Micha, Michaea)

Secondary literature

2007. Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13: 102–125, at pp. 116–118.
2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual notes

Micah 1:1. In the Stuttgart Vulgate (Weber/Gryson) the prophet's name is *Micha*, while the Clementina has *Michaea*.

Micah 1:11. *et transite vobis, habitatio pulchra, confusa ignominia* – and go, your beautiful home is bewildered with shame! Note the pleonastic *vobis*. – Literature:

1999. Michela Cennamo: Late Latin Pleonastic Reflexives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 97: 103–150, at p. 124.

2000. Michela Cennamo: Patterns of 'Active' Syntax in Late Latin Pleonastic Reflexives. In: John Charles Smith – Delia Bentley (eds.): *Historical Linguistics 1995*. Volume 1. Amsterdam 2000 (xi, 438 pp.), pp. 35–55.

Micah 2:12. *congregatione congregabo* – zu einer Schar zusammenscharen. The addition of the ablative of the cognate noun serves to emphasize. – Plater/White, p. 23.

Micah 3:1. *non vestrum est scire iudicium*. The genitive *vestrum* constructed with *esse* indicates a relationship of possession; accordingly: "Is it not your part to know the judgment (concerning you)?; Kommt es euch nicht zu, das Urteil (über euch) zu kennen?" – Plater/White, p. 93.

Micah 5:3 (Vg 5:4). Jerome's translation: "And he will stand and shepherd in the strength of the Lord, in the magnanimity (*in sublimitate*) of the name of the Lord, and they will convert, because now he will be magnified as far as the end of the earth." Jerome takes this to be a messianic passage. – Riemer Roukema: *Micah in Ancient Christianity. Reception and Interpretation*. Berlin 2019 (xv, 283 pp.), p. 139.

Nahum (Naum)

Secondary literature

2007. Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13: 102–125, at pp. 112–116.
2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual note

Nah 2:10. *nigredo* – blackness; nominal form derived from *niger* with the affix *-do*. – Plater/White, p. 46.

Habakkuk (Abcuc, Habacuc)

Secondary literature

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual notes

Hab 2:2. *scribe visum, et explana eum super tabulas, ut percurrat qui legerit eum* – write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he that readeth it may run over it (Douay Version). According to his commentary, Jerome believes that the tablets refer to the “tablets of the heart,” and so he may be thinking of quickly grasping something intellectually. – Thomas Renz: Reading and Running: Notes on the History of Translating the Final Clause of Hab 2:2. *Vetus Testamentum* 69 (2019) 435–446.

Hab 3. Meinrad Stenzel: Zum Vulgatatext des Canticum Habacuc. In: Virgil Fiala OSB – Bonifatius Fischer OSB (eds.): *Colligere fragmenta. Festschrift für Alban Dold*. Beuron 1952 (xx, 295 pp.), pp. 25–33.

Hab 3:2. *in medio annorum* – in the middle of the years; in der Mitte der Jahre. Jerome notes the alternative reading provided by the Septuagint: *in medio duorum animalium cognosceris* – God will be recognized “between two animals.” – Sincero Mantelli: La visione di Isaia nella controversia originista: note sull’*In Habacuc* di Gerolamo. *Adamantius* 19 (2013) 185–202.

Hab 3:5. *et egredietur diabolus ante pedes eius* – and the devil shall go forth before his feet (Douay Version). The Hebrew text refers to Resheph which modern commentators identify as the name of a Canaanite deity. Jerome renders the word as *diabolus*, justifying this with recourse to Jewish midrash; see Jerome’s *Commentary on Habacuc* (CCSL 76A: 626–627) and Alison Salvesen: “Tradunt Hebraei.” The Problem of the Function and Reception of Jewish Midrash in Jerome. In: Michael Fishbane – Joanna Weinberg (eds.): *Midrash Unbound. Transformations and Innovations*. Oxford 2013 (viii, 472 pp.), pp. 57–82, at p. 72.

Hab 3:13. *egressus es (...) in salutem cum christo tuo* – you went forth (...) for salvation with your anointed; du ziehst aus zum Heile mit deinem Gesalbten. The Hebrew text says: You went forth (...) for saving your anointed; du bist ausgezogen zur Rettung deines Gesalbten. – Literature:

1912. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3: 105–138, at p. 134.

2023. Matthew A. Kraus: [The Vulgate and Jerome’s Biblical Exegesis](#). *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 99–119, at pp. 114–115 (online journal). Kraus quotes the relevant passage of Jerome’s *Commentary on Habacuc*.

Hab 3:17. Sara Margarino: Girolamo sapiente agricoltore della terra promessa: esegi profetica del fico, della vite e dell’ulivo. *Auctores nostri* 8: 231–241.

Hab 3:18. *exultabo in deo lesu meo* – I will rejoice in God, my Jesus; ich werde jubeln ob meines Gottes Jesus. The Hebrew text has: I will rejoice in the God of my salvation. The christological interpretation may be occasioned by the Magnificat (Luke 1:47, Brown) or by Matt 1:21 (Becker) as Jerome’s relevant intertext. – Literature:

1912. Albert Condamin SJ: Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible de saint Jérôme. *Recherches de science religieuse* 3: 105–138, at p. 134.
1992. Dennis Brown: *Vir trilinguis. A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome*. Kampen (229 pp.), p. 119.
2003. Joachim Becker: 'Iustus' statt 'iustitia.' Zu einer messianisierenden Übersetzungsweise des Hieronymus. In: Klaus Kiesow – Thomas Meurer (eds.): *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*. Münster (x, 620 pp.), pp. 21–34, at pp. 32–33.

Zephaniah (Sophonias)

Secondary literature

1909. Sidney Zandstra: *The Witness of the Vulgate, Peshitta and Septuagint to the Text of Zephaniah*. New York. 52 pp. – Page 16: "The [Vulgate] Latin text of Zephaniah reveals frequent conflict between the careful translator and the literary artist. Occasionally Jerome's faithfulness to the Hebrew leads him to do violence to the Latin idiom (1:2 *congregans congregabo* ; 2:11 *adorabunt eum vir de loco suo*). More frequently he is satisfied with an ad sensum rendering from which the reading of his exemplar could never be recovered without the help of the Massoretic Text."
2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual notes

- Zeph 2:3.** *quaerite iustum, quaerite manusuetum* – seek the Just One, seek the Meek One. In this sentence, *iustus* and *manusuetus* are messianic titles. – Joachim Becker: 'Iustus' statt 'iustitia.' Zu einer messianisierenden Übersetzungsweise des Hieronymus. In: Klaus Kiesow – Thomas Meurer (eds.): *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*. Münster 2003 (x, 620 pp.), pp. 21–34.
- Zeph 2:7.** *et erit funiculus eius qui remanserit de domo Iuda* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – and it shall be the portion of him that shall remain of the house of Juda (Douay Version). Barthélemy suggests that the original Vulgate reading must have been: *et erit funiculus eius his qui remanserint de domo Iuda* – and it will be the portion of each of those who remained of the house of Judah. – Dominique Barthélemy: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. Tome 3. Fribourg 1992 (xxiv, ccxlii, 1159 pp.), p. ccii and p. 892.
- Zeph 2:13.** Jerome refers to Assyria by name (*Assur*), but he translates the name Assyria's capital city Niniveh as *speciosa*, i.e., the Beautiful (or, as the Douay Version has it: "the beautiful city"). Jerome's rendering "is perhaps based on some Midrashic interpretation" (Zandstra). There is another possibility, however: *speciosa* could be a mistake for *spatiosa* – the spacious city, the big city (B. Lang), see the book of Jonah which refers to Niniveh as the *civitas grandis* (Jonah 1:2), a passage in which Jerome stays with the name Ninive without offering a translation of it. Jerome occasionally uses the adjective *spatiosus* (Gen 24:25; Ex 3:8). In Zeph 2:13, NVg restores the name of the city – *Nineve*, as had done Ronald Knox in his translation of Zeph 2:13. – Sidney Zandstra: *The Witness of the Vulgate, Peshitta and Septuagint to the Text of Zephaniah*. New York 1909 (52 pp.), p. 17, note 1.

Zeph 3:1. *civitas columba* – city dove. This is a translation mistake based on *yona* = dove, a translation already found in the Septuagint (ἡ πόλις ἡ περιστερὰ) and the Vetus Latina (Lucifer of Cagliari, *De Athanasio* I, 36; PL 13: 869: *civitas columba*). Wissemann suggests *provocatrix et redempta civitas superba*, NVg has *civitas violenta* – violent city. – Michael Wissemann: Jona gleich Taube? Zu vier Vulgataproblemen. *Glotta* 64 (1986) 36–47.

Haggai (Aggeus)

Secondary literature

2007. Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13 (2007) 102–125, at pp. 111–112.

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual notes

Hag 1:1. This passage refers to a Jerusalem high priest by the name of Joshua. Jerome writes *Jesus*. To avoid confusion with Jesus Christ, the NVg spells the name *lesua*.

Hag 1:10. *et terra prohibita est ne daret germen suum* – and the earth was hindered from yielding her fruits (Douay Version). This rendering coincides with that of the Targum, see K.J. Cathcart– R.P. Gordon: *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*. Edinburgh 1989, p. 178: “and the earth has stopped yielding fruit.” Pointed out by Caterina Moro: La traduzione di Gerolamo dei profeti minori. *Adamantius* 13 (2007) 102–125, at pp. 111–112.

Hag 2:10. *magna erit ... plus quam* – great will be, greater than; groß wird sein, größer als. This is an unusual way of expressing the comparative; in classical Latin, one would use *maior*, “greater.” – Plater/White, p. 67.

Zechariah (Zaccharias)

Secondary literature

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual notes

Zech 1:16. *perpendicularum* – plumbline [Lot], not “building line,” as the Douay Version has it. Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata*. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), p. 18.

Zech 3:3–9. This passage refers several times to a Jerusalem high priest by the name of Joshua. Jerome writes *Jesus*. To avoid confusion with Jesus Christ, the NVg spells the name *lesua*.

Zech 3:9. *ecce ego caelabo sculpturam eius* (Clementina, NVg) – behold, I will grave the graving thereof (Douay Version); siehe, ich werde seine Schnitzereien ziselieren (Tusculum-Vulgata). Loch’s 1862/63 edition and that of Weber/Gryson prefer the spelling *celabo*, without implying a differ-

ent meaning. According to standard dictionaries, *celare* means “to hide,” whereas *caelare* is to be rendered as “to engrave in relief.” In his commentary, Jerome explains that the passage is about engraving (PL 25: 1440).

Zech 4:7,9–10. *educet lapidem primarium. (...) manus Zorobabel fundaverunt domum istam, et manus eius perficient eam. ... laetabuntur, et videbunt lapidem stagnetum in manu Zorobabel.* Binding suggests this translation: er (Zorobabel) wird den Grundstein aufsetzen. (...) Die Hände Zorobabels haben dieses Haus fundamentierte, und seine Hände werden es auch vollenden. (...) Sie werden sich freuen und das Bleilot in der Hand Zorobabels sehen. He (Zorobabel) will lay the foundation stone. (...) The hands of Zorobabel have made the foundation of this house, and his hands will finish it. (...) They will rejoice and see the plumb line in his hand. – Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata.* Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), p. 19.

Zech 6:3.7. *equi varii et fortes* – horses, spottet and strong (v. 3); *qui autem erant robustissimi* – those (horses) that were very strong (v. 7). The superlative of *robustus* is attested only here. – Philip Suciadi Chia: The analysis of the translation of [*amutsim*] in Zechariah 6:3 and 6:7. *Theological Journal Kerugma* 1.1. (2018) 19–25; idem: Why do the ancient texts differ in their translations of [*amutsim*] in Zechariah? *Verbum et ecclesia* 43.1 (2022) 1–5.

Zech 6:10. *sume a transmigratione (...) et venies (...) et intrabis (...) et sumes aurum:* If a series of utterances begins with a verb in the imperative, it is followed by verbs in the future tense with imperative meaning. – Kaulen, p. 228.

Zech 6:11. *iesus*, see note on Zech 3:3–9.

Zech 9:6. *separator* – alien, foreigner. – Kaulen, p. 88, with reference to the derivation of the word in Jerome.

Zech 10:2. *simulacra locuta sunt inutile* – the idols have spoken what was unprofitable (Douay Version); die Götzenbilder reden Unnützes (Allioli); die Götzenbilder haben Unnützes gesprochen (Tusculum-Vulgata). For *inutilis*, Richards (p. 67) has “useless, unprofitable.”

Zech 12:3. *lapis oneris* – a burdensome stone (Douay Version); Laststein (Allioli). – Ilona Opelt: Der “Hebestein” Jerusalem und eine Hebekugel auf der Akropolis von Athen in der Deutung des Hieronymus von Sach 12,1–3. In: Ernst Dassmann – Klaus Thraede (ed.): *Vivarium. Festschrift für Theodor Klauser.* Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband 11. Münster 1984 (384 pp., 37 leaves), pp. 287–294; also included in: Ilona Opelt: *Kleine Schriften.* Edited by Dietmar Schmitz. Frankfurt 1997 (469 pp.), pp. 85–94.

Zech 12:6. *sicut facem ignis in faneo* (Weber/Gryson) – like a torch of fire in hay; wie eine Fackel des Feuers im Heu. The Clementina has (by mistake): *sicut faciem in faneo*, which does not make sense.

Zech 13:4. Vincent T.M. Skemp: Learning by Example. Exempla in Jerome’s Translations and Revisions of Biblical Books. *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 257–285.

Zech 14:5. *et fugietis ad vallem montium eorum* (Clementina, NVg) – and you shall flee to the valley of their mountains. The proper reading must be *montium meorum* (Weber/Gryson). See the discussion in Dominique Barthélemy: *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament.* Tome 3. Fribourg 1992 (xxiv, ccxlii, 1159 pp.), p. ccii and pp. 1005–1006.

Malachi

Secondary literature

2017. Michael Graves: Vulgate [text of the prophetic books of the Bible]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 1B. Leiden (xxxii, 730 pp.), pp. 645–652.

Textual notes

Mal 1:6. (1) *filii honorat patrem (...) ubi honor meus est?* – the son honours the father (...) where is the honour due to me? Jerome discusses his use of *honor* as the appropriate idiomatic Latin translation, to be preferred to *gloria* (and *glorificare*) in his *Commentary on Malachi* (PL 25: 1547). Meershoek, pp. 95–96. – **(2)** *honor meus* – my honour = the honour due to me; die mir gebührende Ehre. – Plater/White, p. 72.

Mal 3:19–24 (Vg 4:1–6). Bernhard Klinger: Reading Mal 3:19–24 as Mal 4:1–6 (VUL): Jerome’s Vulgate as Approach to a Textual Problem. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue 2023*: 7–16.

1 Maccabees (Liber I Macchabeorum)

Text

1932. Donatien De Bruyne OSB – Bonaventure Sodar OSB: *Les anciennes traductions latines des Machabées*. Anecdota Maredsolana IV. Maredsous (lxiv, 227 pp.), pp. 1–101. – This is the highly-acclaimed edition of several Old Latin manuscripts of 1 and 2 Macc. – Reviews:

1933. Elias Bickerman, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 58: 340–341.

1933. Alberto Vaccari SJ, *Biblica* 14: 477–481.

1995. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. [Tomus] 18: *Libri I – II Macchabeorum*. Edited by Jean Mallet OSB. Rome. lxxv, 266 pp. – This is the last volume of the Benedictine Vulgate Bible; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1827. John Jahn: *An Introduction to the Old Testament. Translated from the Latin and German Works of John Jahn*. With additional references and notes by Samuel H. Turner and William R. Whittingham. New York (xxiv, 546 pp. and indexes), p. 543: “The Vulgate version was made before the time of Jerome, and from a Greek text.”

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Über die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachlichen Untersuchungen. *Philologus* 42.2: 319–378. – See esp. p. 328, where the author points out the late-Latin features of 1 Maccabees’ latinity.

1931. Hugo Bévenot OSB: *Die beiden Makkabäerbücher*. Bonn (xii, 260 pp.), p. 45: “der sog. Vulgatatext der Makkabäerbücher stammt nicht von Hieronymus, sondern ist lediglich eine stilistische Glättung der altlateinischen Übersetzung. Diese (...) soll nach Dom de Bruyne aus einem griechischen Text gefertigt worden sein, der älter und besser war als jener der noch vorhandenen griechischen Codices.” The Vulgate text represents a stylistically polished version of the Old Latin text.

1953. Angelo Penna: *Libri dei Maccabei*. Torino. x, 267 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes. ▲
2008. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Les livres des Maccabées dans la Bible latine: contribution à l’histoire de la Vulgate. *Revue bénédictine* 118: 201–238. – How did the less sure of the available texts of 1–2 Maccabees became the received Latin text (Vulgate)? The critical editions of D. De Bruyne (1932) and of the Benedictine monks of San Girolamo in Rome (1995) pave the way to a history of the diffusion of the multiple text types and allow to distinguish the factors giving an advantage to one of them: its disposition *per cola et commata* in small *codices* by Italian (and perhaps Roman) booksellers; its use in the scriptoria of Tours (Alcuin) and Orléans (Theodulf) ca 800. Some characteristic readings of the Vulgate are already witnessed in Africa about 400.
2019. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Latin [text of 1 Maccabees]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2C. Leiden (xxxii, 572 pp.), pp. 125–131.

Textual notes

- 1 Macc 1:1.3–5.** The Latin translator produced a free rendering. Verse 1 speaks of Alexander both biblically (who came from the land of Kittim) and historically (*qui primus regnavit in Graecia* – who was the first to rule over Graecia). In the Latin’s Greek Vorlage, the reference to Alexander’s being the first ruler seems to be a gloss based on 1 Macc 6:2. The Latin translator understood Hellas = Graecia not as the Hellenistic empire, but as designating the Greek motherland. – Guy Darshan: Textual History of the Account of Alexander the Great in 1 Maccabees. *Biblica* 98.4 (2017) 600–609.
- 1 Macc 1:7.** *et vocavit pueros suos nobiles qui secum erant nutriti a iuventute* – and he appointed (literally: called) his servants – those who were brought up with him (literally: fed with him) – (to be) nobles. Kaulen p. 25 suggests *pueri* = civil servants, Beamte, but here it sounds like “peers.” In English, the word “peers” has two meanings: a member of the nobility in Britain or Ireland; a person of the same age or status; the word is not derived from Latin *puer*, but from Latin *par* = equal.
- 1 Macc 3:20.** The Clementina reads *superbia*; but it must be *superba*, as in the edition of Weber/Gryson. The Nova Vulgata uses an altogether different word – *contumelia*.
- 1 Macc 7:8–9.** *et elegit rex ex amicis suis Bacchidem (...) et misit eum*, [ut videret exterminium quod fecit Iudas: sed] *et Alcimum impium constituit in sacerdotium* – and the king chose one of his friends, Bacchides, (...) and sent him [to see the havoc that Judas has made] and the wicked Alcimus he appointed priest. The words between brackets are in the Clementina, but not in Weber/Gryson and NVg.
- 1 Macc 5:11.** *extra flumen* – beyond the river, jenseits des Flusses. – Kaulen, p. 239.
- 1 Macc 9:31.** *ambitio* – retinue, entourage; Begleitung, Gefolge. This is a special meaning of *ambitio*. Rönsch, p. 522; Kaulen, p. 13.
- 1 Macc 9:48.** *et dissiliit Ionathas*, [et qui cum eo erant, in Iordanem,] *et transnataverunt ad eos Iordanem* – and Jonathas jumped [and those who were with him, into the Jordan] and they swam over the Jordan to them. The words set between brackets are absent from the Weber/Gryson text, but included in the Clementina. Both versions of the text are problematic and require emendation. The NVg has: *Et dissiliit Ionathas et, qui cum eo erant, in Iordanem et transnataverunt in ulteriora; et non transierunt ad eos Iordanem* – and Jonathas jumped together with those

who were with him, into the Jordan, and swam to the other side; and they (i.e., the enemy) did not cross the Jordan to them.

1 Macc 14:5. *et fecit introitum in insulis maris* – he made a passage in the isles of the sea. This does not make sense. The *in* must be omitted so that the meaning is: he opened up the passage to the isles of the sea. Hagen, p. 25. The Nova Vulgata omits the preposition *in*.

2 Maccabees (Liber II Maccabeorum)

Text

1932. Donatien De Bruyne OSB – Bonaventure Sodar OSB: *Les anciennes traductions latines des Machabées*. Anecdota Maredsolana IV. Maredsous (lxiv, 227 pp.), pp. 102–227. – Highly-acclaimed edition of pre-Vulgate versions. – Reviews:

1933. Elias Bickerman, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 58: 340–341.

1933. Alberto Vaccari SJ, *Biblica* 14: 477–481.

1995. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*. Tomus 18: Libri I – II Maccabeorum. Edited by Jean Mallet OSB. Rome. lxxv, 266 pp. – The final volume of the Benedictine Vulgate; see above, Chapter **13.3**.

Secondary literature

1827. John Jahn: *An Introduction to the Old Testament. Translated from the Latin and German Works of John Jahn*. With additional references and notes by Samuel H. Turner and William R. Whittingham. New York (xxiv, 546 pp. and indexes), p. 546: "The Latin Vulgate version is older than Jerome, and is a free translation from the Greek."

1884. Philipp Thielmann: Über die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachlichen Untersuchungen. *Philologus* 42.2: 319–378. – See esp. p. 328.

1931. Hugo Bévenot OSB: *Die beiden Makkabäerbücher*. Bonn (xii, 260 pp.), p. 45: "der sog. Vulgatatext der Makkabäerbücher stammt nicht von Hieronymus, sondern ist lediglich eine stilistische Glättung der altlateinischen Übersetzung. Diese (...) soll nach Dom de Bruyne aus einem griechischen Text gefertigt worden sein, der älter und besser war als jener der noch vorhandenen griechischen Codices." The Vulgate text represents a stylistically polished version of the Old Latin text.

1953. Angelo Penna: *Libri dei Maccabei*. Torino. x, 267 pp. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Hebrew text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes. ▲

1961. Robert Hanhart: Zum Text des 2. und 3. Makkabäerbuches. Probleme der Überlieferung, der Auslegung und der Ausgabe. *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 1961, Nr. 13. Göttingen. pp. 5–65 (= pp. 427–487). On pp. 21–28 (= 443–450), the author discusses the Latin textual tradition; characteristically, the Latin text is shorter than the Greek, but some of the abridgements can also be found in some Greek manuscripts.

2008. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Les livres des Maccabées dans la Bible latine: contribution à l'histoire de la Vulgate. *Revue bénédictine* 118: 201–238. – For an abstract, see above, secondary literature on 1 Macc.
2017. Jenny Teichmann: [Greek Brothels in Jerusalem? Vulgate Readings in the Second Book of the Maccabees](#). *Vulgate in Dialogue* 1: 83–101 (online journal). The article offers a general characterization of the Vulgate text of 2 Macc (with no special emphasis on brothels – though these are referred to in 2 Macc 4:12, on the basis of an obscure Greek wording). For a German version of the article, see: Griechische Bordelle in Jerusalem? Übersetzerische Besonderheiten in der Vulgata-Fassung des Zweiten Buchs der Makkabäer; in: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 393–410.
2019. Johannes Schnocks: Latin [text of 2 Maccabees]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2C. Leiden (xxxii, 572 pp.), pp. 156–159.
2023. Roland Hoffmann: Einleitung: Linguistische Perspektiven in der Vulgata. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 3–83, at p. 43. – 1 Macc and 2 Macc differ considerably in the use of hyperbaton: the 17 hyperbata of 1 Macc echo an original Hebrew text (which has no hyperbata), while the 95 hyperbata of 2 Macc reflect a Greek text (which has many hyperbata).

Textual notes

2 Macc 1:19. *contutari* – to protect; schützen, sichern. – Kaulen, p. 206.

2 Macc 4:10. *contribulis* – fellow-tribesman, Stammesgenosse (as in Lev 25:17; 1 Thess 2:14).

2 Macc 4:12. *lupanar* – brothel, plural *lupanares* – brothel houses. The Jerusalem high priest Jason introduced Greek institutions and, according to the Greek text of this passage, “led the strongest men under the sunhat.” The New Revised Standard Version translates this as “he induced the noblest of the young men to wear the Greek hat,” while the German translation of the Septuagint has “(er) beordnete die kräftigsten Epheben dortin [i.e., to the gymnasium] und brachte sie unter den Petasos-Hut,” explaining that wearing this hat meant commitment to participate in Greek-style sports events. The Latin text has nothing about the Greek hat and instead refers to brothels. – Literature:

2017. Jenny Teichmann: Greek Brothels in Jerusalem? Vulgate Readings in the Second Book of the Maccabees. *Vulgate in Dialogue* 1: 83–101.

2023. Jenny Teichmann: In Bordelle bringen? (2Macc 4,12). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 147–148.

2 Macc 4:13. *gentilis* – pagan. The reader of the Latin text would hardly realise that the word renders ἑλληνικός – Greek. – Jenny Teichmann: Greek Brothels in Jerusalem? Vulgate Readings in the Second Book of the Maccabees. *Vulgate in Dialogue* 1 (2017) 83–101, page 83: “the translator/redactor of the Vulgate was not overly concerned with problems of cultural identity, and instead of giving the most faithful rendering, he simply gave a term he (and his Christian audience) was more used to: *gentilis*.”

2 Macc 4:19. *viros peccatores* – sinners, Sünder. The expression must be emended to *viros spectatores* – spectators, Zuschauer, suggests Hagen, p. 35. Another emendation, better fitting the context, would be *viros portatores* – porters (B. Lang).

2 Macc 6:7. *in die natalis regis* – on the king’s birthday, literally: on the day of the king’s birth. One would expect *in die natali* (with *natalis* as adjective), but the translator uses the noun *natale* =

birth (Hagen, p. 86). In classical Latin, one would write *die natalis regis*, without the preposition *in*.

2 Macc 9:22. *non desperans memetipsum* – without despairing. Note the pleonastic reflexive. – Michela Cennamo: Patterns of 'Active' Syntax in Late Latin Pleonastic Reflexives. In: John Charles Smith – Delia Bentley (eds.): *Historical Linguistics 1995*. Volume 1. Amsterdam 2000 (xi, 438 pp.), pp. 35–55.

2 Macc 10:17. *omnes simul non minus a viginti milibus trucidaverunt* – they all conjointly killed no fewer than (*non minus a*) twenty thousand. – Jesús de la Villa: Numerals. In: Numerals. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 3. Berlin 2010 (xxi, 529 pp.), pp. 175–238, at p. 182.

2 Macc 10:29. *ducatum praestare* – to provide guidance. The expression is also used in Matt 15:14. Hagen, p. 88.

2 Macc 11:25. *secundum suorum maiorum consuetudinem* (Clementina; Weber/Gryson has *maiorum suorum*, which corresponds closer to classical usage) – in accordance with the custom of their ancestors, “which vividly reminds us of the Roman formula *mores maiorum*.” – Igor Filippov: Bible and Roman Law. The Notions of Law, Custom and Justice in the Vulgate. In: Angelo Di Bernardino et al.: *Lex et religio*. *Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum* 135. Rome 2013 (782 pp.), pp. 105–141, at p. 122.

Chapter 22

Textual notes on the New Testament

The Four Gospels

Latin synopsis

1935. Johann Perk SS: *Synopsis latina quattuor evangeliorum secundum Vulgatam editionem*. Paderborn. 35*, 160 pp. – Reviews: Heinrich Vogels, *Theologische Revue* 35 (1937) 9–10; Urban Holzmeister, *Biblica* 18.2 (1937) 221–223. According to Vogels, this is not a proper synopsis because in many cases, the parallel text is not synoptically placed. – Salesian Father Perk (d. 1955) also published a German synopsis.

Gospel harmonies

2023. Ulrich B. Schmid: Latin Gospel Harmonies. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 225–240. – Latin Gospel Harmonies have attracted comparatively little interest within broader biblical tradition. The oldest extant Latin harmony is Codex Fuldensis, and scholarship has tended to use this in conjunction with vernacular harmonies to try to reconstruct a lost Old Latin *Vorlage* rather than examine the surviving later manuscripts. After a brief account of the history of research, this chapter presents a gospel pericope (John 2:1–11) from fourteen Latin harmony manuscripts. This provides an impression of their textual variety, especially in later manuscripts. A comparison between earlier and later commentaries on Latin gospel harmonies show that the same traditions are utilized, which belong to the wider stream of medieval commentary tradition manifested in the *Glossa ordinaria*. Finally, an outline is given of the likely trajectory from the Fuldensis-type Vulgate harmony to vernacular harmonies via the glossed Latin harmony.

Secondary literature

1907. Eberhard Nestle. Die Evangelien der lateinischen Vulgata. *Philologus* 66: 526–530.
1907. Eberhard Nestle: The Gospels in the Latin Vulgate. *American Journal of Theology* 11: 501–502. – Each of the four Latin gospels was written by a separate translator, so that the text goes back to a time when the four gospels were not yet united to form a collection.
1908. John Chapman OSB: *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*. Oxford. xi, 299 pp.
1928. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Vulgatastudien. Die Evangelien der Vulgata untersucht auf ihre lateinische und griechische Vorlage*. Münster. iv, 345 pp. – Review: Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP, *Revue biblique* 38 (1929) 261–264.
1935. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle II: La critique rationnelle*. Paris (xiv, 685. Pp.), pp. 281–291.
1943. Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation. *The [American] Ecclesiastical Review* 109: 101–115; 304–312. – Notes on Matthew and Mark.

- 1946–1947. Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8 (1946) 83–86; 230–235; 433–437. – 9 (1947) 106–110; 220–225. – Notes on Luke and John.
2001. Tarcisio Stramare: I Vangeli della Vulgata. *Rivista biblica* 49: 155–172.
2000. Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels. A Study of Their Texts and Language*. Oxford. xi, 232 pp. – Pages 192–199: Jerome’s Translation Technique. Jerome’s revision of the Old Latin Gospel text produced a version that is frequently closer to the Greek than the text of the *Vetus Latina*. As a result, it is sometimes less comprehensible.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – Pages 31–35: Jerome and the Vulgate Gospels. “Jerome lost momentum as his revision of the Gospels progressed. He intervened most frequently in Matthew and least so in John. (...) There are several indications that Jerome was responsible for the revision of the Gospels only and not the rest of the New Testament” (p. 34).
2020. Felicia Logozzo – Liana Tronci: [Subordination vs. coordination: la traduction du verbe *erchomai* dans les Évangiles](#). *Revue de linguistique latine du Centre Ernout (De lingua latina)* 18; 35 pp. (online journal).

Matthew (Evangelium secundum Matheum/Matthaeum)

Secondary literature

1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg. iv, 106 pp. – Pages 62–101: linguistic commentary on selected passages of Matthew.
1943. Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation. *The [American] Ecclesiastical Review* 109: 101–115. – Linguistic notes on selected passages of the Latin gospel of Matthew.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 157–160 for a survey of the Latin manuscripts.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 184–186, 189–204, 206–208. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation) of Matt 2:1–12; 3:13–17; 5–7; 6:30–44; 21:1–11, with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.

Textual notes

- Matt 1:19.** *nollet eam traducere* – he did not wish to hand her over (to the sight of the people). Here *traducere* is an abbreviated form of the idiom *traducere per ora hominum* – to hand over to public view (as in Livy: *Ab urbe condita* II, 38). – Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg 1863 (iv, 106 pp.), p. 63.
- Matt 1:25.** *donec peperit filium [suum primogenitum]* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – until she would give birth to [her firstborn] son. The Nova Vulgata omits the two words set between brackets because they are not in the modern standard editions of the Greek text.
- Matt 2:1.** *cum ergo natus esset iesus in Bethleem Iudaeae* (Weber/Gryson, NVg) – when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judah (Douay Version) – The Clementina has: *in Bethleem Iuda*, apparently a short form of saying *in Bethleem terra Iuda* – in Bethlehem in the land of Judah (as in Matt 2:6), where *terra Iuda* is ablativus loci.

- Matt 2:1.** *magi ab oriente venerunt Jerosolymam* – oriental magi came to Jerusalem (not: magi came from the Orient to Jerusalem). – Hagen, p. 64.
- Matt 2:20.** *qui quaerebant animam pueri* – those who sought to kill the boy. The idiom *quaerer animam*, to seek the soul (or life), is used in 1 Kgs 19:10 (quoted Rom 11:3) and elsewhere.
- Matt 2:22.** *secessit in partes Galilaeae* – he went away to Galilee (literally: to the region of Galilee). For *partes* = region, see Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo 1959 (vii, 210 pp.), p. 113. Translations: retired into the quarters of Galilee (Douay Version); he withdrew into the region of Galilee (Knox); begab sich in das Gebiet von Galälää (Grundl); zog er weg in die Gegend Galilääs (Tusculum-Vulgata); il se retira dans le pays de Galilée (Glaire).
- Matt 2:23.** *quoniam nazaraeus vocabitur* – for this reason, he is called “holy.” In the mind of Jerome, the adjective *nazaraeus* (which Jerome takes to mean “holy”) is only loosely associated with the town of Nazareth. – Michael L. Moran: Nazirites and Nazarenes: The Meaning of Nazaraeus in Saint Jerome. *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9.2 (2006) 320–366.
- Matt 3:12.** *cujus ventilabrum in manu sua* – the fan is his hand. The word *cujus* is not to be translated; it reflects Hebrew usage; see Ps 40:5 (Vg 39:5) and Hagen, pp. 67–68.
- Matt 3:15.** *tunc dimisit eum* – then he (John) gave him permission (to be baptized); dann gab er (Johannes) ihm (Jesus) die Erlaubnis (getauft zu werden). – Hagen, p. 68.
- Matt 4:6.** *angelis suis mandabit* – he will commission his angels. The Clementina prints *mandavit*; this is not the verb in the perfect tense, but a special spelling – betacism: the interchange of *b* and *v*. – Plater/White, p. 43, note 2.
- Matt 4:15.** *Terra Zabulon, et terra Nephatalim, Via maris trans Iordanem, Galilaea gentium* (Clementina). There must be a comma after *Via maris*, so that we have four regions that are subsumed under the common name “Galilee of the Gentiles.” This is how Hagen understands the passage. There is another possibility, however; NVg has *Terra Zabulon et terra Naphtali, / ad viam maris, trans Iordanem, / Galilaea gentium*, which suggests that *ad viam maris, trans Iordanem* indicates that Zabulon and Naphtali are on the other side of the Jordan. – Hagen, pp. 70–71.
- Matt 4:24.** *et abiit opinio eius in totam Syriam* – and his fame went throughout all Syria (Douay Version). The verb *abire*, rather than meaning “to leave,” stands for *ire*, “to go”; and *opinio* means “rumour” (like *fama* or *rumor*).
- Matt 5–7.** Sermon in the Mount. Latin text with German working translation, complete with vocabulary and grammatical notes in: Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 189–204.
- Matt 5:1–16.** M. Mees: Mt 5,1–26 in den altlateinischen Bibelübersetzungen. Emendare et traducere in ihrem Einfluss. *Vetera Christianorum* 3 (1966) 85–100.
- Matt 5:3.** *beati pauperes spiritu* – blessed are the poor in spirit (Douay Version, Knox). German: selig die Armen im Geiste (Allioli, Arndt, Grundl, Weinhart; Tusculum-Vulgata: selig die im Geist Armen). According to the Plater/White grammar (p. 96), the ablative *spiritu* defines the place where the poverty is located.
- Matt 5:13.** *in quo salietur?* – In classical Latin, one would use *quo*, not *in quo*. Two translations are possible: with what shall (the earth) be salted?; with what shall (the salt) be salted? If one is prepared to rely on Mark 9:49, then the second possibility is the one that the Matthean passage has

in mind (Claire's option; see Chapter 18.3). The natural rendering, however, is the first one (Alioli).

Matt 5:20. *dico enim vobis, quia* (...) (Clementina) – but I say to you (...). The word *quia* must not be translated because echoing Greek ὅτι it merely serves as what we express by a colon [:]. The word *quia* in this function is often used in Matthew, see Matt 5:22, 28,32. The Nova Vulgata consistently omits the superfluous placing of *quia* before quotations.

Matt 5:23. *frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te* – literally: your brother has something against you. The literal translation of this idiom does not work, however; meant is: if you have wronged your brother (so that he has a reason to be angry with you); this is clear from the parallel passage, Mark 11:25. – Hagen, p. 72.

Matt 6:4. *qui videt in abscondito* – who seeth in secret (Douay Version). This translation suggests that God watches secretly, which is most likely meant. Hagen quotes one translator's option for "der ins Verborgene sieht" (who sees that which is hidden), but this would require a different Latin wording – *qui abscondita videt*. Hagen, p. 74.

Matt 6:9–13. The wording of the Lord's prayer differs in the two standard editions of the printed Vulgate text.

Stuttgart Vulgate (Weber/Gryson)	Clementina (and Nova Vulgata)
<i>Pater noster qui in caelis es / sanctificetur nomen tuum / veniat regnum tuum / fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra / panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie / et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimissimus debitoribus nostris / et ne inducas nos in temptationem / sed libera nos a malo.</i>	<i>Pater noster, qui es in coelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo, & in terra. Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in temptationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.</i>

The Nova Vulgata follows the Clementina, but omits the final *Amen* and uses a capital letter for *Malo* – deliver us from the Evil One, i.e., the devil.

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Note. – The bread petition of the Lord's prayer merits a closer look. In what follows we list some ancient sources as well as some modern secondary literature on the subject.

383/84. Jerome. – The Vetus Latina version of the bread petition reads: *panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie* (the words still used today in the liturgy). When Jerome edited the Vetus Latina text of the Gospel of Matthew, he changed the bread petition, making it read (according to both the Stuttgart Vulgate and the Clementina): *panem nostrum supersubstantialem* [as a literal rendering or "loan translation" of Greek *epiousios*] *da nobis hodie* (Matt 6:11).

398. Jerome: *Commentary on Matthew*. – In the Commentary on Matthew I, 6 Jerome deals with the rendering of the Lord's Prayer. Concerning Matt 6:11 he writes: *In evangelio qui appellatur secundum Hebraeos pro supersubstantiali pane reperi mahar quod dicitur crastinum, ut sit sensus: panem nostrum crastinum, id est futurum, da nobis hodie. Possumus supersubstantialem panem et*

aliter intelligere: qui super omnes substantias sit, et universas superet creaturas. (PL 26: 43 = CCSL 77: 37) – “In the Gospel called ‘according to the Hebrews,’ I found (...) *maar*, that is, ‘tomorrow’ (*crastinum*), so that the sense is: Our bread of tomorrow – the bread to come – give us today. We can also understand the supersubstantial bread in another way – it is above all substances and surpasses all creatures.” – German: “Im Evangelium, das ‘nach den Hebräern’ heißt, habe ich (...) *maar* gefunden, das ‘morgen’ (*crastinum*) heißt, so dass der Sinn ist: Unser morgiges Brot – das zukünftige – gib uns heute. Wir können das übersubstantielle Brot auch anders verstehen – es steht über allen Substanzen und übertrifft alle Geschöpfe.”

425/29. John Cassian: *Collationes* IX, 21 (PL 49: 794) explains that the Matthean version of the Lord’s prayer asks for *panem nostrum supersubstantialem*. As a young man, John Cassian had spent some time in a monastery in Bethlehem, where he must have become familiar with Jerome’s version of the Lord’s prayer.

Secondary literature

1908. Gerhard Loeschcke: *Die Vaterunser-Erklärung des Theophilus von Antiochien. Eine Quellenuntersuchung zu den Vaterunser-Erklärungen des Tertullian, Cyprian, Chromatius und Hieronymus*. Berlin. 51 pp.

1915. W. Schmid: Epiusios. *Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache* 6: 28–39.

1968. Walter Dürig: Die Deutung der Brotbitte des Vaterunsers bei den lateinischen Vätern bis Hieronymus. *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 18: 72–86.

1988. Siegfried Heinemann: *Oratio Dominica Romanice. Das Vaterunser in den romanischen Sprachen bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen. xii, 224 pp. – This book is an annotated reader of the Lord’s Prayer in Latin and the various Romance vernacular languages; on pp. 73–79 the author presents three early Latin versions: Tertullian’s Paternoster, the Vetus Latina Version, and that of the Vulgate. ▲

2004. Kenneth W. Stevenson: *The Lord’s Prayer. A Text in Tradition*. London. ix, 290 pp. – Pages 73–75: Jerome. It seems that in Bethlehem, Jerome used his Vulgate version of the Lord’s prayer rather than the usual Vetus Latina text.

2015. Adrian Muraru: “Pater noster” (Mt 6,9–13) în limba română – nume și verbe între stabilitate și fluctuație. In: Andreas Beriger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt 2015 (234 pp.), pp. 61–72. – Romanian.

2023. Wilhelm Tauwinkl: Eucharistisches Brot? *Supersubstantialis* (Mt 6,11). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 99–100.

2023. Hans Förster: Führe uns nicht in Versuchung? (Mt 6,13). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 116–117. – *tentatio* refers to a “testing,” not a temptation.

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Matt 6:16. – *exterminant enim facies suas* (Clementina) – they disfigure their faces. Jerome comments on the passage, arguing that this is not the right word for this passage (*Commentary on Matthew* I, 6; PL 26: 43–44); he prefers *demoliuntur*, which has been adopted by the Weber/Gryson edition and the Nova Vulgata. – Meershoek, pp. 53–56.

Matt 6:18. *ne videaris hominibus ieiunians* – in order not to be seen by others when (you are) fasting. This is a final clause with negation – with *ne*; it could also be *ut non*. – Concepción Cabrillana Leal – Eusebia Tarrío Ruiz: Finales, consecutivas y comparativas. In: José Miguel Baños Baños (ed.): *Sintaxis del latín clásico*. Madrid 2009 (838 pp.), pp. 633–656.

Matt 6:27. *adiicere* (*adicere*, Weber/Gryson, NVg) *ad staturam suam cubitum unum* – to add a single cubit to one’s stature. All of this is straightforward; but the Latin translator has misunderstood the Greek text that refers to extending one’s lifespan. Hence the Nova Vulgata: *adicere ad aetatem suam cubitum unum* – to add to one’s lifespan a single cubit.

Matt 7:2. *in qua mensura mensi fueritis* – in the measure with which you (yourself) measured, or: with what measure (...). In classical Latin, one would omit the *in*. The expression *quā mensurā* would be a case of ablative of measure where the standard of measure is put in the ablative, accompanied by a verb of measure or judgment. See Hagen, p. 77 and B.L. Gildersleeve – Gonzalez Lodge: *Gildersleeve’s Latin Grammar*. New York (x, 550 pp.), p. 259 (no. 402).

Matt 7:21. (*ipse*) *intrabit in regnum caelorum* – (only he) will enter the kingdom of heaven. The Vulgate has this phrase twice; the Nova Vulgata simplifies the sentence by deleting it at the end (where it has no equivalent in Greek). For *ipse* as an intensifying pronoun, see → **ipse** in the glossary, Chapter **19.2**.

Matt 8:2–3. *si vis, potes me mundare (...) dicens: Volo. Mundare* (punctuation of the Clementina) – if you wish to clean me (...) he said: Yes. Be cleaned. – Note that the repetition of *velle* (*vis* – *volo*) implies a yes/no question, so that *volo* (I will) may be rendered as “yes,” or “yes, I will.” The form *mundare* is first the infinitive „to clean,” and then, in clever rhetoric, the imperative passive, “be thou cleaned.” – Literature:

1896. B.L. Gildersleeve – Gonzales Lodge: *Gildersleeve’s Latin Grammar*. New York (x, 550 pp.), p. 74 (on the imperative in the passive voice).

2012. Roman Müller: *Sit autem sermo vester est est non non*: Klassisches und nichtklassisches “Ja.” In: Frédérique Biville et al. (eds.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. IX. Lyon 2012 (1085 pp.), pp. 111–120. Müller does not discuss this passage specifically, but it fits the pattern that he explains.

Matt 8:8. *sed tantum dic verbo* – only say the word (Douay Version). Why should there be *verbo* rather than the expected *verbum*? Because the Greek text has *eipe logô* (*logos* in the dative case), which is as enigmatic. It may be a Greek idiom that refers to the speaking of an authoritative, magic word – *dic verbo* = “speak with power.” In classical Latin, *uno dicere verbo* means “to say (something) by words merely,” as in Catullus: *Carmen 67, 15: non istuc satis est uno te dicere verbo, sed facere ut quivis sentiat et videat* – it is not enough for you to say this by words merely, but so to act that everyone may feel it and see it.

Matt 9:14–18. *Pharisaei* (14) (...) *princeps unus* (18) – Pharisees (...) one (of their) leaders. The *unus* of *princeps unus* does not have to be read as an indefinite article; it may indicate a partitive relationship: the Pharisees – one of them. – Gerhard Schaden: Latin UNUS and the Discourse Properties of Unity Cardinals. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 65 (2020) 438–470.

Matt 9:15. *fili sponsi* – literally: sons of the bridegroom; Glaire, the literalist (see Chapter **18.3**), has “les fils de l’époux.” Meant are: friends of the bridegroom. The Nova Vulgata replaces the awkward expression, saying *convivae nuptiarum* – wedding guests.

Matt 9:16. *tollit plenitudinem* – takes away the fulness. This is a translation error; Greek *plêrôma* (here rendered *plenitudo*) is the subject, and not the object. NVg corrects the passage. – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xii and p. 92.

- Matt 10:1.** *et dedit illis potestatem spirituum immundorum* (Clementina, NVg) – and he gave them power over (genitivus objectivus) unclean spirits. Read, or rather misread, as genitivus subjectivus, the expression would mean: he made them have the power of unclean spirits.
- Matt 10:14.** *et quicumque non receperit vos, neque audierit sermones vestros: exeuntes foras* (...) – and whoever has not welcomed you, nor listened to your words – (you will be) those who go out (...). This is an anacoluthon – a syntactical discontinuity; the words before and the words after the colon [:] are not syntactically linked. The Nova Vulgata does not change the sentence.
- Matt 10:16.** *mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum* – I send you like sheep to the wolves. The Latin is all but elegant. A literal rendering might be: I will send you (to be) like sheep among wolves. In classical Latin, it would be *mitto vos tamquam oves inter lupos* (Castellion).
- Matt 10:29.** *nonne duo passeressive asse veneunt: et unus ex illis non cadet super terram sine Patre vestro?* (Clementina) – Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father (Douay Version). The Clementina has the question mark [?] in the wrong place, and the Douay Version places it correctly – as does the Nova Vulgata.
- Matt 12:18–21.** This passage quotes Isa 42:1–4, but the text differs slightly from that offered in the Isaiah text of the Vulgate, and the version Jerome gives in his letter 121. – Michael Fieger – Wilhelm Tauwinkl: *Bemerkungen zur Hebraica Veritas in den alttestamentlichen Zitaten des Matthäusevangeliums nach Hieronymus. Vulgata in Dialogue 6* (2022) 71–75.
- Matt 13:18.** *vos ergo audite parabolam seminantis* – and now hear the parable of the sower. With the word *ergo* the speaker indicates that he is returning to his actual subject. Moreover, the expression *parabola* semantic sounds like an already established title of the story. – Otto Schönberger: *Von Nepos zum Neuen Testament*. Bamberg 1986 (96 pp.), p. 94.
- Matt 13:19.23.** *omnis qui audit verbum regni et non intelligit, [ad eum] venit malus et rapit quod est in corde eius* – everyone who hears the message of the kingdom and does not take it seriously – [to him] the Evil One comes and takes away that which is sowed into his heart. One would expect the sentence to include *ad eum*; so what we have here is an ellipsis. The verb *intelligere*, normally meaning “to understand,” here has a more practical meaning of “taking something seriously.” – Hagen, p. 84.
- Matt 13:44.** *prae gaudio illius* – for joy thereof (Douay Version), rejoicing at this; vor Freude darüber. – Hagen, p. 85.
- Matt 15:9.** *sine causa* – without profit, i.e., in vain; vergeblich. This idiom is frequently used in the Vulgate, see Ps 73:13 (Vg 72:13); Gal 3:4. – Hagen, pp. 87–88; Kaulen, p. 14.
- Matt 15:14.** *ducatum praestare* – to provide guidance. The expression is also used in 2 Macc 10:29. – Hagen, p. 88.
- Matt 15:20.** *haec sunt quae coninquinant hominem* – these are the things that defile a human being. A so-called cleft construction for emphasis. – Brigitte L.M. Bauer: *Word Order*. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 1. Berlin 2009 (xii, 561 pp.), pp. 241–316, at p. 285.
- Matt 15:27.** *etiam* means “yes,” see the glossary s.v. *etiam*, above, Chapter 19.2.
- Matt 16:3.** *facies caeli* – the face of the sky = “das veränderliche Aussehen des Wolkenhimmels.” – Adolf Lumpe – Otto Hiltbrunner: *Caelum, caelus*. In: Otto Hiltbrunner (ed.): *Bibliographie zur lateinischen Wortforschung*. Band 3. Bern 1988 (310 pp.), pp. 187–195, at p. 195.
- Matt 16:21.** *oportet eum ire* – he must go. In classical Latin, this would be *oportet se ire*.

Matt 16:23. *non sapis ea quae Dei sunt.* Two meanings of *sapere* have been suggested: **(1)** to taste, to have taste for: thou savourest not the things that are of God (Douay Version); tu ne goutes pas ce qui est de Dieu (Glaire); du hast nicht Sinn für das, was Gottes ist (Arndt); weil du das nicht verstehst, was von Gott ist (Tusculum-Vulgata); **(2)** to think, to have in mind: these thoughts of thine are not God's (Knox); du sinnst nicht das, was Gottes ist (Weinhart).

Matt 18:3. *nisi conversi fueritis ut efficiamini sicut parvulis* – unless you become like children again. On constructions with *convertere* (to turn) to say “again,” see the glossary s.v. *convertere, conversus* (Chapter 19.2). – Edmund F. Sutcliffe SJ: “Et tu aliquando conversus,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 15 (1953) 305–310, at pp. 308–309.

Matt 18:28. *redde quod debes* – pay what thou owest (Douay Version). This is a formulaic request, known from Petronius (*Saturae* 57,5 – cena Trimalchionis), no doubt belonging to the language of law and business. – Friedrich Stummer: “Via peccantium complanata lapidibus” (Eccli 21,11), in: Bonifatius Fischer – Virgil Fiala (eds.): *Colligere fragmenta. Festsschrift Alban Dold.* Beuron 1952 (xx, 295 pp.), pp. 42–44, at p. 42. ▲

Matt 19:24. **(1)** Jerome interprets the saying about the camel and the eye of a needle (*camelum per foramen acus transire*) as an expression of absolute impossibility, while for Augustine, it indicates only a difficulty that can be overcome through the intervention of God (Caruso). – **(2)** According to a tradition first attested in a Latin Pelagian source from sometime between 413 and 430 CE, *camelus* in this passage does not mean “camel” (the animal), but refers to a *funis nauticus* (rope, cable; German: Schiffstau); the Latin word, not attested elsewhere, is spelled *camellus* in this text (Denk). – Literature:

1904. Joseph Denk: Camelus: 1. Kamel, 2. Schiffstau (Matth. 19,23). *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 5 (1904) 256–257. – As an aside, Denk refers to “cable” (German “Kabel”), a word originally – before electricity cables – belonging to nautical language. The word does not seem to be etymologically related to *camelus*. Cable most likely derives from late Latin *capulum*, see Wolfgang Pfeifer: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*. Second edition. Munich (xxvii, 1665 pp.), p. 605.

1906. Eberhard Nestle: Das Kamel als Schiffstau. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 7.1: 182–183. Additions to Denk's short note; the “rope” idea can be found in Cyril of Alexandria (492 CE).

2020. Giuseppe Caruso: Girolamo critic di Agostino? A proposito dell'interpretazione di Mt. 19,24. *Augustinianum* 60: 133–164.

Matt 20:12. *una hora facere* – to work for one hour (ablative). One would expect *laborare* instead of *facere*. The verb *facere* does not seem to have this precise meaning elsewhere; it echoes the underlying Greek ποιᾶν, which in Ruth 2:19 (Septuagint) also means “to work” in an agricultural context. The underlying Greek μίαν ὥραν ἐποίησαν actually means “they have spent one hour” which, in Latin, would be *unam horam fecerunt*; compare Seneca: *Letters* 66,4: *quamvis autem paucissimos una fecerimus dies* – while we were together only for a few days).

Matt 20:25. *principes gentium dominantur eorum* – the princes of the Gentiles control them. The verb *dominari*, to control (verbum deponens), is followed by genitive; it should be earum (fem.) because *gens* is a feminine word. Interestingly, or by oversight, NVg has kept *eorum*.

Matt 21:42. *lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli* – the stone that the builders rejected has become the head of the corner. One would expect *lapis* (instead of *lapidem*), but the form can be explained as *attractio*; see Hagen, pp. 93.

- Matt 22:4.** *altilia* – fatlings (Douay Version), Mastvieh (Allioli, Grundl), les animaux engraisés. Hagen (p. 93) suggests: poultry, fish, etc. [Geflügel, Fische, etc.]. Gregory the Great understood *altilia* as fat poultry, as can be seen from the feathers to which he refers (*Homilies on the Gospels* 38,4; PL 76: 1284).
- Matt 22:6.** *contumeliis affectos occiderunt* – killed those that were abused. Richards, p. 28: *contumeliā* (ablative) *afficere* = “almost to scourge.” On the semantic range of *contumelia*, see Michèle Fruyt et al. (eds.): *Le vocabulaire intellectuel latin. Analyse linguistique*. Paris 2020 (326 pp.), pp. 54–60.
- Matt 22:18.** *neq̄itia eorum* – their wickedness (Douay Version). According to Förster, the underlying text does not necessarily refer to the wickedness of the interlocutors of Jesus; instead, Jesus recognises their “problem.” – Hans Förster: *Bosheit oder Schwierigkeit?* (Mt 22,18); in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 107–109.
- Matt 22:20.** *superscriptio* (Clementina), *suprascriptio* (Weber/Gryson, NVg) – inscription (on a coin). According to Hagen (p. 93) not attested elsewhere in ancient authors, but see Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 798, s.v. *superscriptio*.
- Matt 22:30.** *neque nubent, neque nubentur* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – they neither marry nor are married. This is not idiomatic Latin, explains Jerome – there is no passive voice of *nubere*, to marry. A woman marries (*nubit*), but a man takes a wife (*uxorem ducit*; *Commentary on Matthew* III, 22; PL 26: 164). Jerome explains the matter, but does not offer a correct Latin version; it would be *nec homines ducunt uxores, nec nubent feminae*. – Meershoek, pp. 65–63.
- Matt 22:36.** *mandatum magnum* – the greatest (most important) law. One would expect *maximum*, but the positive for the superlative is a well-known feature of Vulgate Latin. – Kaulen, p. 162; Plater/White, p. 67.
- Matt 23:5.** Joel B. Itzkowitz: Jews, Indians, Phylacteries: Jerome on Matthew 23:5. *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 17 (2007) 563–572.
- Matt 23:13.** *vae autem vobis scribae* – woe to you scribes (Douay Version). While the Vulgate’s *vae* is treating (with punishmen), the underlying Greek’s *ouai* indicates a lamentation or grief (and may be rendered “alas”). – Hans Förster: *Weherufe im Matthäusevangelium*; in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 117–119.
- Matt 24:36.** *de die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli caelorum [neque filius] nisi pater solus* – about day and hour no one knows, neither the angels [nor the son], only the Father. Weber/Gryson and the Clementina lack *neque filius*, but the NVg has it, in accordance with what today’s text critics consider Matthew’s original wording. – J.K. Kitchen: Variants, Arians and the Trace of Mark: Jerome and Ambrose on ‘neque filius’ in Matthew 24:36. In: Ineke van t’Spijker (ed.): *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture. The Role of Exegesis in Early-Christian and Medieval Culture*. Leiden 2009 (vi, 341 pp.), pp. 15–40.
- Matt 25:21, 23.** *euge* – well done! [trefflich!, recht so!]. Interjection. The Greek has simple *eu* – very well!, but Greek *euge* is well attested, e.g., in the parallel passage Luke 19:17.
- Matt 25:35.** *hospes eram et collexistis me* – literally: I was a stranger, and you have picked me up – ihr habt mich aufgelesen. Douay and King James versions: “you took me in.” In late Latin, the verb *colligere*, in addition to meaning “to gather,” also acquired the meaning “to harbor, to lodge.” – Claude Moussy: *Nouveaux préverbés en com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (eds.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen 2005 (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at p. 334 (j’étais un étranger et vous m’avez recueilli).

- Matt 26:26–28.** John N. Suggit: The Perils of Bible Translation. An Examination of the Latin Versions of the Words of Institution of the Eucharist. In: Jacobus H. Petzer (ed.): *A South African Perspective on the New Testament*. Leiden 1986 (xii, 270 pp.), pp. 54–61.
- Matt 26:28.** *effundetur* – will be shed. The Neovulgate has *effunditur* in the present tense, which obscures the dramatic announcement of Christ’s death. – Lynne C. Boughton: Transubstantiation and the Latin Text of the Bible: A Problem in the Nova Vulgata Bibliorum. *Gregorianum* 83 (2002) 209–224.
- Matt 26:69–71.** *una ancilla (...) vidit eum alia [ancilla]* – a servant maid (...) another one [another maid]. It has been claimed that *unus* here is a clear instance of a proto-indefinite article; but what we have here is a contrastive use of *unus – una* vs. *alia*. – Gerhard Schaden: Latin UNUS and the Discourse Properties of Unity Cardinals. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 65 (2020) 438–470.
- Matt 26:72.** *et iterum negavit cum iuramento: Quia non novi hominem* (Clementina) – and again he denied with an oath: I know not the man (Douay Version). – The word *quia*, which simply announces the quotation, should be placed *before*, and not after, the colon. The correct punctuation would be (...) *cum iuramento quia: Non novi hominem*. Kaulen, p. 290.
- Matt 27:35.** *ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem: dividerunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem* – that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying: they divided my garments among them, and among my vesture they cast lots (Douay Version). This passage of the Clementina represents an addition to the original Vulgate text; the Weber/Gryson edition and NVg omit it. It came from John 19:24.
- Matt 27:43.** *liberet nunc, si vult eum* (Clementina, NVg). The punctuation is problematic; it must be: *liberet nunc, si vult, eum* – he will deliver him, if he wishes. Interestingly, the Douay Version has “let him now deliver *him* if he will have him,” the italicized *him* representing an elucidating addition; in this case, *si vult eum* would mean “if he loves him” (see the glossary s.v. *velle*; Chapter 19:2) – which would correspond to Ps 22:9 (Vg 21:9): *salvum faciat eum, quoniam vult eum* – let him save him, because he delights in him.
- Matt 28:1.** *vespere autem sabbati, quae lutescit in prima sabbati venit Maria* – after the Sabbath, when it became light on the first day of the week, Mary came; nach dem Sabbat, als es Licht wurde zum ersten Wochentag, kam Maria (Loch, p. 33). – The Nova Vulgata has: *sero autem post sabbatum, cum illucesceret in primam sabbati, venit Maria Magdalena videre sepulcrum* – late after the sabbath, when it became light on the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene came to see the tomb. Noteworthy is that *sabbatum* first means Sabbath, and then week. The NVg omits the *quae*, a word that has no referent (“hat gar kein Wort, worauf es sich bezieht,” Hagen, p. 101). – Literature:
1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg (iv, 106 pp.), p. 101.
1870. Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg 1870 (34 pp.), p. 33.
- Matt 28:19.** *euntes ergo docete omnes gentes* – going then teach all peoples. The Vulgate’s *docete* is the correct translation of the underlying Greek μαθητεύσατε. The idea that the Greek should be rendered *discipulos facite omnes gentes* (make disciples of all peoples), first found in Heinrich Bullinger (1538), is incorrect. The act of teaching aims at making disciples, but the making of baptized disciples is a second act within the missionary process. Luther’s translation of the passage agrees with the Vulgate (see the wording of the 2017 German Luther version: “lehret alle

Völker“). – Wolfgang Reinbold: “Gehet hin und machet zu Jüngern alle Völker”? Zur Übersetzung und Interpretation von Mt 28,19f. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 109 (2012) 176–205.

Mark (Evangelium secundum Marcum)

Secondary literature

1892. J.H. Bernard, The Vulgate of St Mark. *Hermathena* 8: 122–126. – Review of the Oxford (Wordsworth/White) text of the gospel of Mark. See above, Chapter **13.2**.
1943. Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation. II. *The [American] Ecclesiastical Review* 109: 304–312. – Linguistic notes on selected passages of the Latin gospel of Mark.
1966. Francesco M. Uricchio: *Vangelo secondo Marco*. Torino. xix, 730 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
1999. Jean-Claude Haelewyck: La version latine de Marc. *Mélanges de science religieuse* 56: 27–52.
2007. Andrew Wilson – Alistair Baron – Celia Worth: *Conceptual Glossary and Index to the Gospel according to Mark*. Hildesheim. xxxiii, 425 pp. – See above, Chapter **8.3**.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 160–163 for a survey of the Latin manuscripts.
2021. Peter E. Lorenz: The Latin Version and the Greek Tradition in the Gospel of Mark. In: *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior*. Edited by Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung. Volume 1:2, part 3: *Studien*. Stuttgart (vi, 246 pp.), pp. 133–173. – On the Vetus Latina text of Mark.

Textual notes

- Mark 1:30.** Roland Hoffmann: Beobachtungen zur Wortstellung der Vulgata im Neuen Testament. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg 2023 (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 179–218, at pp. 211–212: a detailed analysis of the word order of this sentence.
- Mark 1:31.** *ministrabat*. The Wordsworth/White edition (see above, Chapter **13.2**) has *ministrabit* by mistake (lapsus), as indicated in the apparatus of Weber/Gryson. There is no manuscript support for *ministrabit*.
- Mark 1:39.** *et erat praedicans in synagogis eorum, et in omni Galilaea* – and he preached in their synagogues, and in all of Galilee (or: throughout Galilee). (...) *et in omni Galilaea*: the *et* (and) obscures the meaning, and it lacks a basis in the Greek. The NVg omits the *et*.
- Mark 4:19.** *circa reliqua concupiscentiae* – the lusts after other things (Douay Version), i.e., promiscuous worldly desires (Richards, p. 24). Unchanged in NVg.
- Mark 6:13.** *ungebant multos aegrotos* (Weber/Gryson, NVg) – they anointed many sick. The Clementina has *aegros*. See below, textual note on Mark 16:18.
- Mark 6:22.** *pete a me quod vis* – ask of me what you wish, and I will give it to you. According to Tkacz, this wording echoes Ovid: *Metamorphoses* 2:44, Philebus’ rash promise to Phaeton: *quodvis pete*

munus; but Adkin does not consider the Marcan passage to constitute an actual echo of Ovid. – Literature:

1997. Catherine Brown Tkacz: Ovid, Jerome and the Vulgate. In: Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.): *Papers Presented at the 12th International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1995*. Studia Patristica 33. Leuven 1997 (vi, 585 pp.), pp. 378–382. Tkacz also refers to more passages of the same kind, see the book of Esther (5:3; 5:6; 7:2, Ahasverus' rash promise to Esther).

2000. Neil Adkin: Biblia Pagana: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate. *Augustinianum* 40: 77–87, at pp. 77–78. ▲

Mark 6:30–44. For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 204–206.

Mark 8:33. See textual note on Matt 16:23.

Mark 9:2–8. Jean-Louis Gourdain: Jérôme exégète de la Transfiguration. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 40 (1994) 365–373.

Mark 11:11. *vespera hora* – the evening hour. The nouns *vesper* (masc.) and *vespera* (fem.) refer to “the period just before darkness” (Richards, p. 126). The expression *vespera hora* can be explained in two ways: **(1)** *vesper* is an adjective (forms: *vesper*, *vespera*, *vesterum*). In standard Latin, one would say *vesperalis hora*, *hora vespertina*, or *sera hora*. – **(2)** The noun *hora* may be deleted because it is superfluous, see Mark 11:19. – Literature:

1904. Kaulen, p. 13 (no. 41): *vesper* is an adjective; the usual noun *vespera* must be seen as an elliptic expression for *vespera hora*.

1921. John M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1921 (xi, 125 pp.), p. 123: *verspera* is “perhaps an adjective.”

1954. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 844 has *vesper* as an adjective, but knows only one occurrence – this Marcan passage.

Mark 12:1. Roland Hoffmann: Beobachtungen zur Wortstellung der Vulgata im Neuen Testament. In: idem (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg 2023 (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 179–218, at pp. 213–214: analysis of the word order of this sentence.

Mark 12:38–44. *domos viduarum* (40) ... *una vidua pauper* (42) ... *vidua haec* (43) – The *una* of *una vidua pauper* is to be understood as a partitive particle, because it refers back to the widows mentioned earlier. – Gerhard Schaden: Latin UNUS and the Discourse Properties of Unity Cardinals. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 65 (2020) 438–470.

Mark 14:24. *effundetur* – will be shed. The Neovulgate has *effunditur* in the present tense, which obscures the dramatic announcement of Christ's death. – Lynne C. Boughton: Transubstantiation and the Latin Text of the Bible: A Problem in the Nova Vulgata Bibliorum. *Gregorianum* 83 (2002) 209–224.

Mark 14:31. *me simul commori tibi* – that I die together with you. *Commori* (to die with) does exist in classical Latin, “but apparently it was not thought to be sufficiently clear” as can be seen from the addition of *simul*. – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. viii.

Mark 14:62. *sedentem a dextris virtutis Dei* – sitting at the right hand of the divine majesty. *virtus* here is not “power” but “majesty” (as in the parallel passage Matth 26:64). Omitting *Dei*, the NVg has *a dextris sedentem Virtutis* – at the right hand of the Power, which renders the Greek literally; *Virtus* (Greek *dynamis*) is used as a designation for God.

Mark 15:25. *erat autem hora tertia et crucifixerunt eum* – it was the third hour *when* they crucified him. – Kaulen, p. 296 (modificative Sätze – “statements of modification”).

Mark 15:34. *ut quid dereliquisti me?* – what for did you forsake me? – The usual rendering “why have you (...)” does not do full justice to the Latin wording. – Hans Förster: Von Gott verlassen – warum oder zu welchem Zweck? In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 113–114.

Mark 16:9–20. *surgens autem mane (...)* – but rising early (...). There are three forms of the ending of Mark: **(1)** the open ending, i.e., Mark 16:8 being the last sentence of the Gospel: “for they were afraid”; – **(2)** the short ending, which adds just one brief sentence; – **(3)** the long ending, which adds v. 9–20. The textual situation is as follows: the short, one-sentence ending **(2)** can be found in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (see above, Chapter 7.1); the long ending **(3)**, v. 9–20) is in all editions of the Vulgate – in Weber/Gryson, the Clementina, and the NVg.

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Note. – The ending of the gospel of Mark has received the attention of many commentators. Worthy of note are the relevant statements of Jerome and Richard Simon. Camille Focant and Étienne Nodet provide updates on the issue.

Jerome: In one of his letters, Jerome mentions the fact that in his day, very few Greek manuscripts actually included the final verses of the Gospel of Mark: *in raris fertur evangelis omnibus Graeciae libris paene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus* – in rare gospel (manuscripts) can it be found, though nearly all books of Greece do not have this section at the end; Jerome: *Letter 120,3 to Hedibia/ad Hedybiam de questionibus duodecim*; PL 22:987 – CSEL 55: 481). It may be that Jerome here simply echoes a statement he found in Eusebius (*ad Marinum* 1; *Patrologia Graeca* 22: 937). On Eusebius, see James A. Kelhoffer: *Conceptions of “Gospel” and Legitimacy in Early Christianity*. Tübingen 2014 (xxiii, 400 pp.), pp. 121–164; Clayton L.L. Coombs: *A Dual Reception: Eusebius and the Gospel of Mark*. Minneapolis, Min. 2016 (xv, 271 pp.), pp. 117–187.

Council of Trent: The proceedings (*acta*) of the Council of Trent mention that when the question of the biblical canon was discussed in 1546, the ending of the gospel of Mark was brought up; but it was decided not to refer to the matter in the Council’s official decree. Stephan Eheses (ed.): *Concilii Tridentini Acta*. Volume 5.2. Freiburg 1911 (lx, 1079 pp.), p. 41.

Richard Simon: In the modern period, Richard Simon (1638–1712) was one of the first to discuss the matter; see Richard Simon: *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*. Rotterdam 1689; English translation: Richard Simon: *Critical History of the Text of the New Testament*. Translated by Andrew Hunwick. Leiden 2013 (xxxvi, 368 pp.), pp. 99–105 and p. 362; the relevant passage in German translation: Werner Georg Kümmel: *Das Neue Testament. Geschichte der Erforschung seiner Probleme*. Munich 1958 (viii, 597 pp.), pp. 47–50.

Camille Focant: La canonicité de la finale longue (Mc 16,9–20). Vers la reconnaissance d’un double texte canonique? In: Jean-Marie Auwers – Henk Jan de Jonge (eds.): *The Biblical Canons*. Leuven 2003 (lxxxviii, 718 pp.), pp. 587–597. – According to Focant, it is useful to distinguish between literary authenticity and ecclesiastical canonicity; the latter can be maintained when scholars decide about literary inauthenticity.

Étienne Nodet: De l'authenticité de la finale de Marc. *Revue biblique* 129 (2022) 589–604. – The “longer ending” of Mark was originally meant not specifically as the conclusion of the gospel of Mark; instead, it was written as the conclusion of the corpus of the four gospels, with Mark being placed at the end. When the order of the four gospels was rearranged, Mark lost its final position, but the “longer ending” stayed attached to it.

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Mark 16:18. *super aegrotos manus imponent* (Weber/Gryson, NVg) – they shall lay hands upon the sick. **(1)** *aegrotus* – sick: “The term is not attested in any medical treatise written in Latin and, even more important, in any Latin version of the Gospels previous to the Vulgate. This could be interpreted as a direct intervention of Jerome’s revision work on older translations”; Annette Weissenrieder – Andé Luiz Visinoni: Illness, Suffering, and Treatment in a Changing world. Old Latin Gospels and “Medical” Vocabulary. *Early Christianity* 13.3 (2022) 317–341, at p. 328. – **(2)** The Clementina has *aegros* (instead of *aegrotos*). See also the textual note on Mark 6:13.

Mark 16:20. *amen*. Some manuscripts, including Codex Amiatinus and Codex Fuldensis, add the word *amen* to the end. Whereas the Oxford Vulgate of Wordsworth/White (see above, Chapter **13.2**) adopts *amen* as belonging to the Vulgate of Mark, the Weber/Gryson edition rejects it. It is also absent from the Clementina and the Nova Vulgata.

Luke (Evangelium secundum Lucam)

Secondary literature

1893. J.H. Bernard: The Vulgate of St Luke. *Hermathena* 8: 385–389. – Notes on selected passages, published as a review of the Luke fascicle of the Oxford edition of the Vulgate New Testament, edited by Wordsworth and White (see above, Chapter **13.2**).

1911. Alexander Souter: The Type or Types of Gospel Text used by St Jerome as the Basis of His Revision, with Special Reference to St Luke’s Gospel and Codex Vercellensis. *Journal of Theological Studies* 12: 583–592.

1926. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: Die Vorlage des Vulgatatextes der Evangelien. *Revue bénédictine* 38, 123–138. – Reconstruction of the Vulgate’s Vorlage in Luke 22:39–24:11. In 151 instances, the Vorlage departs from the critically edited Vulgate text of Wordsworth and White (see above, Chapter **13.2**).

1946/47. Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as Translation III. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8 (1946) 83–88. 230–235; 9 (1947) 106–110. – Short linguistic notes on selected passages of the gospel of Luke (ending at p. 108; what follows, is on John).

1986. Virgilio Bejarano: Las proposiciones completivas y causales en el evangelio de san Luca de la Vulgata Latina. In: *Homenaje a Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez*. Tomo II. Madrid (x, 676 pp.), pp. 81–88.

2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 162–164 for a survey of the manuscript tradition.

2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 175–183, 208–232. – German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar of Luke 1:46–55; 2; 22–24.

Textual notes

Luke 1:17. *incredibiles* (Gryson/Weber after Wordsworth/White; NVg); the Clementina has *increduli*, the incredulous. – Kaulen (p. 147) points out that in Vetus Latina texts and texts deriving from them, such as Wisd 10:7 and Luke 1:17, *incredibilis* means “not believing.”

Luke 1:27. (*missus est angelus*) *ad virginem desponsatam viro* – (the angel is sent) to a virgin married to a man (Douay Version: espoused to a man). According to Kaulen (p. 207), the translation “zu einer Jungfrau, die mit einem Manne verlobt war” (to a woman, engaged to a man) is not correct. Kaulen quotes de Sacy’s French version: à une vierge qu’un homme avait épousée (so also Glaire: à une vièrge qu’avait épousée un homme). German versions of the Vulgate have “verlobt” (Allioli, Grundl, Arndt, Tusculum-Vulgata), and Knox has “betrothed to a man” (= engaged to a man) – a mistake, according to Kaulen. Kaulen was contradicted in a review by one of his Catholic peers: Peter Johann Schegg: Die Vulgata. *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 6.1 (1871) 1–4, at col. 4.



Luke 1:28. *ave gratia plena* – hail, full of grace. Why *gratia plena* for Greek *kekharitôméné*? **(1)** The Vulgate version allows to suggest three explanations that are not mutually exclusive: Syriac influence (from the Peschitta), the translator’s inclination toward elaborate expressions, and preference for rhythmic formulations (Stummer, pp. 161–167). – **(2)** Some of the Old Latin translations have the more literal rendering *ave gratificata*. Luther departs from *gratia plena* = *full of grace* in his German translation by saying “gegrüßet seistu holdselige,” on the basis of the Greek; in English, this would be, “I greet you, blessed one,” or even, as a modern Luther biographer suggests, “lovely one” (Brecht, p. 108). Modern authors concur: *gratia plena*, while a fine poetic phrase, has misled theologians into making the one who is full of grace into a heavenly mediatrix “dispensing grace” (Foster, p. 402). – Literature:

1505. Lorenzo Valla: *Opera omnia*. Edited by Eugenio Garin. Turin 1962, vol. 1 (viii, 1010 pp.), p. 830a. The underlying Greek word actually means *gratificata* = *in gratiam recepta est* (received into grace).

1519. Erasmus’ New Testament (2nd edition) departs from the Vulgate’s *gratia plena*; according to Erasmus, the angel says *ave gratiosa*.

1523. Erasmus: Paraphrase on Luk 1–10. Translated and annotated by Jane E. Phillips. In: *Collected Works of Erasmus*. Volume 47. Torino 2016 (xix, 316 pp.), p. 40 (with note on pp. 40–41): “Hail and rejoice, maiden, uniquely der and favoured.” The Latin text is *ave, inquit, et gaude, virgo gratiosa et favorabilis*; see *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami*. Volume VII.2. Leiden 2018 (vii, 615 pp.), pp. 80–82, edited by J. Bloemendal.

1530. Martin Luther: On Translating: An Open Letter [Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen]. In: *Selected Writings of Martin Luther*. Edited by Theodore G. Tappert. Volume 4: 1529–1546. Minneapolis, Min. 2007 (xxiii, 403 pp.), pp. 173–194, at pp. 182–185. Luther discusses the translation of *ave gratia plena* at length. This text can be found in the critical edition: *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Band 30.2. Weimar 1909 (viii, 716 pp.), pp. 632–639, at pp. 639–639.

1915. Theodore A. Foster: “Mysterium” and “Sacramentum” in the Vulgate and Old Latin Versions. *The American Journal of Theology* 19 (1915) 402–416, at p. 402.

1950. Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Exegese der Vulgata. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 62 (1950) 152–167, at pp. 161–167.

1976. Jerry H. Bentley: Erasmus' Annotationes in Novum Testamentum and the Textual Criticism of the Gospels. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 67: 33–53, at p. 41.
1993. Martin Brecht: *Martin Luther. The Preservation of the Church, 1532–1546*. Translated by James L. Schaaf. Minneapolis, Min. 1993 (xvi, 511 pp.), p. 108.
1998. Carlo Buzzetti: *Kechairitôméné – “Full of Grace”?* Translating Today under Three Influences: The Greek, the Vetus Latina, the Vulgate. In: Joze Krašovec (ed.): *The Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia*. Sheffield (1908 pp.), pp. 1329–1340.
2015. Gary Waller: *A Cultural Study of Mary and the Annunciation. From Luke to the Enlightenment*. London. xi, 219 pp.
2019. Robert D. Sider in: idem (ed.): *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Toronto 2019 (xxvi, 1063 pp.), p. 72.
- Luke 1:28.** *benedicta tu in mulieribus* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – the phrase is absent from many Greek manuscripts and today deemed secondary (hence omitted in NVg), constructed on the basis of Luke 1:42. The expression *in mulieribus* does not make sense in Latin; it reflects the Semiticising Greek Vorlage, which in turn reflects a (lost) Hebrew text. Luke 1:42 has the more comprehensible *inter mulieres* (for which compare the expression *pulcherrima inter mulieres* – the most beautiful of women, Cant 1:7). Meant is the superlative: you are the most blessed of (all) women. Interestingly, the Vetus Latina has *benedicta tu inter mulieribus*.
- Luke 1:32.** *et Filius Altissimi vocabitur* – and he will be called the Son of the Most High. Fulcran Vigouroux (in a note in Glaire, 1905) explains that *vocabitur* is a Hebraism for saying “he will be the Son of the Most High.”
- Luke 1:42.** *benedicta tu inter mulieres* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg). The preposition *inter* can be “used to express a superlative in accordance with Hebrew usage”; accordingly, the meaning is: you are the most blessed of women. – Henry P.V. Nunn: *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. Cambridge (xv, 162 pp.), p. 106.
- Luke 1:45.** *beata (...) quae credidisti* – blessed (are you) who has believed = blessed are you because you have believed. The relative clause expresses a causal relationship. – Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 179 (§ 320).
- Luke 1:46.** *magnificat anima mea dominum* – my soul doth magnify the Lord (Douay Version); hoch preiset meine Seele den Herrn (Allioli); mon âme exalte le Seigneur. These traditional renderings are literal and poetic, but one must know that *anima mea* stands for “I,” see the glossary s.v. *anima* (above, [Chapter 19.2](#)). The Common English Bible (2011), based on the Greek, has: “with all my heart I glorify the Lord.”
- Luke 1:54–55.** *suscepit Israel puerum suum, recordatus misericordiae suae, sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini eius in saecula*. The proper translation is: he protects his son Israel forever (*in saecula*), thoughtful of his mercy, as he has said (promised) to our fathers, to (dative) Abraham and his seed. *In saecula* is to be associated with the protection. – Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg 1863 (iv, 106 pp.), pp. 33–34.
- Luke 1:58.** *et congratulabuntur ei* – and were rejoicing with her; und freuten sich mit ihr (Allioli). A synonym is *congaudere* (1 Cor 12:26). – Claude Moussy: *Nouveaux préverbes en com-* dans la Vetus Latina et dans la Vulgate. In: Sándor Kiss – Luca Mondin – Giampaolo Salvi (eds.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études linguistiques*. Tübingen 2005 (xx, 606 pp.), pp. 327–336, at p. 329. – The Tusculum-Vulgata’s rendering is incorrect: “und sie beglückwünschten sie”; cf. the Douay Version: “and they congratulated with her.”

- Luke 1:68.** *fecit redemptionem plebis suae* – he wrought the redemption of his people (Douay Version). Lorenzo Valla did not like the expression; it should be *fecit redemptionem plebi suae* – he wrought the redemption for his people (dative case), adding that *populo suo* would be even better. The NVg has *plebi suae*. – Lorenzo Valla: *Opera omnia*. Edited by Eugenio Garin. Turin 1962, vol. 1 (viii, 1010 pp.), p. 831a.
- Luke 2:5.** *ut profiteretur* – in order to present himself. *Profiteri* is the technical term “to present oneself for enrolment,” exemplified by Sallust: *Catilina* 18,3. – Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels*. Oxford 2000 (x, 232 pp.), p. 195.
- Luke 2:14.** *in terra pax homibus bonae voluntatis* – and on earth peace to men of good will (Douay Version); und Friede auf Erden den Menschen, die guten Willens sich (Grundl). – Literature:
1967. Franz Xaver Remberger: Ein altes Mißverständnis im Weihnachtsgesang der Engel. *Theologie der Gegenwart* 10.3: 174–175.
1977. Ernst Hansack: Luk 2,14: Friede den Menschen auf Erden, die guten Willens sind? Ein Beitrag zur Übersetzungstechnik der Vulgata. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 21 (1977) 117–118. According to Hansack, *bonae voluntatis* for Greek εὐδοκία is what linguists call an analytical translation, a separate rendering of εὖ and δοκία. The original translator understood this as a reference to divine goodwill, not to human goodwill, as modern renderings have erroneously suggested.
2018. Hildegard Scherer: [Bonae voluntatis. Zur Deutung von Lk 2,14 bei Augustinus, Luther und Johannes XXIII. Vulgata in dialogue 2](#) (2018) 69–84 (online journal).
2023. Daniel Schmitz: Menschen guten Willens (*bonae voluntatis*) (Lk 2,14). In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 103–105.
- Luke 2:38.** *et haec (...) confitebatur Domino* – and she (...) praised the Lord. The Douay Version’s “confessed to the Lord” is a survival of the Latinisms characteristic of the original Douay Version.
- Luke 4:5.** *et duxit illum diabolus [in montem excelsum] et ostendit illi* – and the devil took him [on a high mountain] and showed him. The words between brackets are omitted in the Weber/Gryson Vulgate and the NVg, but they are in the Clementina (no doubt imported from Matt 4:8 – *in montem excelsum valde*).
- Luke 4:10.** *scriptum est enim, quod Angelis suis mandavit de te* (Clementina), to be translated as “for it is written, that: He has given his angels charge over you” (Douay Version). Blaise in his *Dictionnaire*, p. 694 writes: (...) *est enim: quod 'angelis suis mandavit ...'*, with quotation marks to identify the words quoted. The proper punctuation should be: (...) *est enim quod: angelis suis*. The particle *quod* announces the quotation; see the glossary s.v. *quod*, Chapter 19.2.
- Luke 4:34.** *sine* (Vg, NVg) – let us alone (Douay Version), lass (Grundl). The verb is *sinere* – to allow, to let alone. The underlying Greek word was misunderstood by the translator; Greek *ea* is an exclamation. – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xiii.
- Luke 6:17.** *et multitudo copiosa plebis ab omni Iudaea et Hierusalem et maritima Tyri et Sidonis* (Clementina, NVg) – and a great multitude of people from all of Judea and Jerusalem and the coastland of Tyre and Sidon. The reading *maritimae* (Weber/Gryson) does not make sense. – Bengt Löfstedt: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Philologie*. Stuttgart 2000 (ix, 430 pp.), p. 315–316.

- Luke 6:18–19.** On the vocabulary used here – *languor* (illness), *curare* (to attend to the bodily needs), *virtus* (healing power), see Annette Weissenrieder – André Luiz Visinoni, *Illness, Suffering, and Treatment in a Changing world. Old Latin Gospels and “Medical” Vocabulary. Early Christianity* 13.3 (2022) 317–341, at pp. 322, 333, 336–337.
- Luke 10:4.** *neminem per viam salutaveritis* – and salute no man by the way (Douay Version); you are to give no one greeting on your way (Knox). Possibly, *salutare* means here more than mere greeting; it may actually mean “to visit,” which may be the implication of the injunction, see Bernhard Lang: *Grußverbot oder Besuchsverbot? Eine sozialgeschichtliche Deutung von Lukas 10,4b. Biblische Zeitschrift* 26 (1982) 75–79.
- Luke 10:34.** *duxit in stabulum* – he brought him to an inn (Douay Version). The noun *stabulum* is rendered “tavern” by Richards (p. 115). Meant is no doubt a simple place for staying over night, because elsewhere (2 Chr 9:25), the word is used for putting up animals (like “stable” in English). – (Joseph) Heinrich Vogels: *Stabulum. Biblische Zeitschrift* 11 (1913) 4.
- Luke 10:36.** *quis videtur tibi proximus fuisse illi.* In the Latin, the question about the neighbor is misleading; it should be: *proximum egisse* (the question is: who behaved as a neighbour?). Many modern translations – including the Bible de Jérusalem – translate correctly. The neighbor is the poor man, not the Samaritan. – Guillaume Cardascia: *Sur quelques erreurs de la Vulgate. Nombres* 5,31 – Luc 10,36. *Revue biblique* 111 (2004) 419–422.
- Luke 11:53.** *os eius opprimere de multis* – to oppress his mouth about many things (Douay Version). This is a mistranslation; the Greek text says “to interrogate about many things.” NVg: *et eum allicere in sermone de multis* – and to gain him with words about many things; another problematic rendering that does not seem to capture what the Greek text is saying.
- Luke 12:19.** *requiesce, comede, bibe, epulare* – take thy rest, eat, drink, make good cheer (Douay Version); repose-toi, mange, bois, fais grande chère (Glaire). The verb form *epulari* is the imperative of the deponens *epulari*, which means “to eat, to dine”; the Douay Version and Glaire take it to sum up the three imperatives; thus also Allioli: “laß dir wohl sein.” While these renderings can be defended on stylistic grounds, one must not forget that the notion of “eating well” (German: *speisen*) is the dominant note. In the Latin text, *epulari* seems to sum up eating and drinking in one notion, like German “*speisen*.” Nevertheless, one may also consider the fact that in the *Vetus Latina*, *epulari* can be synonymous with verbs denoting “to rejoice” – *laetari* and *exsultare* (Rönsch, p. 362).
- Luke 12:29.** *nolite in sublime tolli* – be not lifted up on high (Douay Version). According to Philip Burton: *The Old Latin Gospels.* Oxford 2000 (x, 232 pp.), p. 195, the Vulgate rendering of *μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε* “is practically meaningless.” Here Jerome has introduced a literal translation at the expense of making sense. The NVg has: *nolite solliciti esse* – don’t worry; macht euch keine Sorgen.
- Luke 14:14.** *non habent retribuere tibi* – they are not able to repay you. The verb *habere* followed by infinitive is good classical Latin.
- Luke 14:18–19.** *habe me excusatum* – hold me excused (Douay Version), consider me to be excused. The expression *excusatum habere* is good classical Latin: *vitiosa excusata habe* (Ovid: *Tristia* IV, 1,1–2) excuse the faults (in my book); *excusatum habeas me rogo: ceno domi* (Martialis II, 79,2) – please excuse me, I eat at home. Note that *habere* here means “to consider.”
- Luke 14:28.** *computare sumptus* – to calculate the costs/expenditures. For the German translation, Binding suggests “den Aufwand überschlagen, berechnen,” Günther Binding: *Ein Beitrag zur*

sachgerechten Übersetzung baubezogener Bibelstellen. Unter bes. Berücksichtigung der (...) Vulgata. Stuttgart 2020 (52 pp.), p. 47.

Luke 15:7. *dico vobis quod ita gaudium erit* (Clementina) – I say to you: Yes, there will be joy. The particle *quod* (omitted by NVg) indicates direct speech (like Greek ὅτι), and *ita* means “yes”; one should place a comma after it.

Luke 15:8. *everrit* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson, NVg) – she swept (the house), from *everre* = to sweep. One must realize, however, that this is a conjecture introduced by the Clementina. The manuscripts have *evertit* = she turned out (the house, *evertere*). The reading *evertit* could mean: she turned the house upside down to find the lost coin. The reading *evertit*, known in the Middle Ages, is presupposed by the Wiciffite Bible (Pope/Bullough p. 84). – Literature:

1893. J.H. Bernard: The Vulgate of St Luke. *Hermathena* 8 (1893) 385–389, at p. 388.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. 44: “the Greek *saroi* makes *everrit* certain.”

1952. Hugh Pope OP – Sebastian Bullough OP: *English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and Amplified. St. Louis – London (ix, 787 pp.), p. 84.

1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, does not list *everre*.

Luke 15:10. *ita dico vobis, gaudium erit* – yes, I say to you, there will be joy; or: Yes, this is what I am telling you: there will be joy. See note on Luke 15:7. NVg has: *Ita dico vobis: Gaudium fit (...)*.

Luke 15:11–32. Alessandro Capone: L’interpretazione di Luc. 15:11–32 nell’ep. 21 di Gerolamo. *Sacris erudiri* 55 (2016) 57–78.

Luke 16:1. *diffamatus est apud illum quasi dissipasset bona ipsius* – he was accused (*diffamatus*) unto him that he had wasted his goods (Douay Version); a report came to him that this steward had wasted his goods (Knox). Knox’s version reflects the fact that *diffamare* does not per se refer to a negative act. German versions: *dieser wurde bei ihm [the owner] angegeben [= angezeigt], als verschwende er seine Güter* (Grundl, similarly Arndt); *wurde bei ihm verleumdet* (Tusculum-Vulgata). The Tusculum-Vulgata seems to suggest that the accusation was false. Blaise’s preference is “*dénoncer*” (*Dictionnaire*, p. 270).

Luke 16:19–31. J.H. David Scourfield: A Note on Jerome’s Homily on the Rich Man and Lazarus. *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1997) 536–539.

Luke 16:26. (1) *et in his omnibus* (all editions of the Vg, including NVg) – and besides all this (Douay Version). The underlying Greek – ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις – seems to be an idiom; the Latin wording echoes the phrase, though in Latin it does not normally mean what it is meant to say here. See Plater/White, p. 101. – **(2)** *inter nos et vos chaos magnum firmatum est* (Clementina, NVg) – between us and you a big chaos is fixed. Why chaos, a word actually used in the Douay version? Meant is “a great abyss,” and the Greek has the relevant word, χάσμα. There is some manuscript evidence for Latin *chasma*, and, as De Bruyne argues, *chasma* must be considered the original Jeromian reading; it has also been adopted by Weber/Gryson; *inter nos et vos chasma magnum firmatum est*. It is strange that the Nova Vulgata keeps the Clementina’s *chaos*. – Donatien De Bruyne: Notes de philologie biblique. *Revue biblique* 30 (1921) 400–409, at pp. 400–405. See also *Collected Works of Erasmus. Volume 48: Paraphrase on Luke 11–24*. Translated and annotated by Jane E. Phillips. Toronto 2003 (xv, 318 pp.), p. 102, note 37.

Luke 17:21. *ecce enim regnum dei intra vos est* (Vg and Vetus Latina in Codex Bezae) – behold, the kingdom of God is inside you. It has been claimed that the underlying Greek (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν)

should be rendered "is among you," but the Latin rendering is to be considered correct. Unlike the Greek ἐντός, the Latin *intra* unambiguously means "inside, within." On linguistic grounds, the modern understanding (i.e., "is among you") is to be rejected. – Ilaria Ramelli: Luke 17:21: 'The kingdom of God is inside you.' The ancient Syriac versions in support of the correct translation. *Hugoye. Journal of Syrian Studies* 12.2 (2009) 259–286, at p. 262. ▲

Luke 19:31. *Dominus operam eius desiderat* – the Lord desires its (the donkey's) service. The Greek text says that the Lord actually "needs" the donkey (cf. NVg: *Dominus eum necessarium habet*). The semantics of the verb *desiderare* – to want, to miss, to feel the lack of – "may even have helped the biblical translators get around a potential theological difficulty at Luke 19:31, where Jesus states he 'needs' the Palm Sunday donkey: it has been proposed that the rendering *dominus operam eius desiderat* ... was devised to avoid making the Lord appear to 'need' anything." – P.H. Burton: On Revisiting the Christian Latin Sondersprache Hypothesis. In: H.A.G. Houghton et al. (eds.): *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies?* Piscataway N.J. 2008 (xvi, 193 pp.), pp. 149–171, at p. 160.

Luke 19:37. *virtutes* – mighty works (Douay Version); Wunder (Allioli), Wunderwerke (Arndt, Beda Grundl).

Luke 19:40. *si hi tacuerint, lapides clamabunt* (Clementina, NVg). In classical Latin, this would be: *si hi tacerent, lapides clamaverent*; or: *si hi tacuissent, lapides clamavissent*. – Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued). *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 106–110, at p. 106.

Luke 20:11. *et addidit alterum servum mittere* – and again, he sent another servant. Construction: *addere* followed by accusative with infinitive. In Hebrew, repeated action is expressed by prefixing the verb "to add"; the Vulgate imitates this. – Kaulen, p. 235 (no. 120); Plater/White, pp. 23–24 (§ 28).

Luke 20:20. *insidiatores* – spies. This is the meaning suggested by Richards. The Tusculum-Vulgata thinks of "bandits" ("Leute, die ihm einen Hinterhalt legen"), accepted by Förster. – Literature:

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. 64.

2023. Hans Förster: Leute, die einen Hinterhalt legen (Lk 20,20); Jesus bei einer Rede fassen. Two associated articles in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 110–112.

Luke 21:24. *cadent in ore gladii* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – they will fall by the mouth of the sword; no doubt a Hebraism for *cadent acie gladii* (*acies* = sharpness) – they will fall by the sharpness of the sword. – Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued). *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 106–110, at p. 107.

Luke 21:26. *virtutes caelorum* – the powers of heaven = the military forces of heaven; die Heere des Himmels. The word *virtus* is frequently used in this sense. – Kaulen, p. 34.

Luke 21:33. *caelum et terram transibunt / verba mea non transient* (Weber/Gryson) – heaven and earth will perish, but my words shall not perish. The Wordsworth/White edition (see above, Chapter 13.2) has *transibunt* both times (like the Clementina and the NVg), explaining in a note that this must have been what Jerome in his revision had intended, but carelessly left the second clause untouched.

Luke 21:34. *in (...) curis huius vitae* – in the cares of this life. The underlying Greek *meríana* is normally rendered *sollicitudo* in the Vulgate, and not *cura*; cf. Matt 13:22 – *sollicitudo saeculi istius* – the care of this world.

Luke 22–24. For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar.* Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 208–232.

Luke 22:20. *fundetur* – will be shed (Clementina). The Neovulgate has *funditur* in the present tense, which obscures Christ’s dramatic announcement of his death. – Lynn C. Boughton: Transubstantiation and the Latin Text of the Bible: A Problem in the Nova Vulgata Bibliorum. *Gregorianum* 83 (2002) 209–224.

Luke 22:31. *Satanas expetivit vos ut cribraret sicut triticum* – Satan has desired you that he may sift you as wheat. The object *vos* is placed proleptically before the *ut* and thus is part of the introductory sentence. Blaise explains that the construction imitates Greek syntax. The NVg retains the word order and places a comma between *vos* and *ut*. – Albert Blaise: *Manuel du latin chrétien.* Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 29 (§ 29).

Luke 22:32. *et tu aliquando confirma fratres tuos* – and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren (Douay Version); *wenn du einst bekehrt bist, stärke du deine Brüder* (Grundl) This standard translation is to be corrected: and you (Peter) strengthen again your brothers. This is a Hebraism echoing Hebrew *šûb*; see the glossary s.v. *conversus* (Chapter 19.2).

1868. Gerhard Schneemann: Versuch einer Exegese von Luc. 22,32. *Der Katholik* 48.1 (1868) 404–428, esp. p. 409.

1904. Kaulen, p. 236.

1953. Edmund F. Sutcliffe SJ: “Et tu aliquando conversus,” St Luke 22,32. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 15 (1953) 305–310.

Luke 22:49. *si percutimus in gladio?* (Clementina, NVg) – shall we strike in the sword? The Latin wording, a literal rendering of the Greek, does not make sense. But once the reader knows that *in* stands (strangely enough) for *cum*, then the meaning is clear.

Luke 23:16. *emendare* = to chastise physically; presumably echoing official terminology – Kaulen refers to a passage in Ulpianus. – Kaulen, p. 179.

Luke 24:6,8. *recordamini qualiter locutus est vobis (...) et recordatae sunt verborum eius* – remember how he spoke unto you (...) and they remembered his words. The verb *recordari* (to remember) seems to have been due to Jerome’s revision, because the Vetus Latina uses *rememoramini* and *rememoratae sunt*. – Arthur Allgeier: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zum Sprachgebrauch der lateinischen Übersetzungen des Psalters und der Evangelien. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46 (1928) 34–48, at p. 44.

Luke 25:53. *amen* (Clementina, Weber/Gryson). The Nova Vulgata omits the final *amen*.

John (Evangelium secundum Iohannem)

Concordance

2000. Andrew Wilson: *Conceptual Glossary and Index to the Vulgate Translation of the Gospel according to John.* Hildesheim. xviii, 398 pp. – See above, Chapter 8.3.

Reading guide

2018. Virginia Grinch – Evan Hayes – Stephen Nimis: *The Gospel of John in Greek and Latin. A Comparative Intermediate Reader. Greek and Latin Text with Running Vocabulary and Commentary*. Faenum Publishing. Oxford, Ohio. xxxix, 337 pp. – The text of the Gospel is presented in Greek and Latin (the Latin of NVg!) on facing pages. At the bottom of each page is an apparatus of vocabulary and analysis of word forms and grammar. Helpful sections deal with grammatical and stylistic features of John's Gospel in Greek and Latin (pp. xii–xxxiii), list and comment on proper names (pp. xvii–xviii, 319–323), and offer a Latin glossary of common words not included in the apparatus (pp. 335–337). "The Latin translation follows the Greek word order as much as possible and regularly translates pronouns and prepositions, resulting in an equally mannered Latin prose compared to the terseness generally sought for by classical authors" (p. xii). Very useful, though one must realise that the Latin text is neither that of the Clementina nor that of Weber/Gryson, but of the Nova Vulgata. ▲

Secondary literature

1895. J.H. Bernard: The Vulgate of St John. *Hermathena* 9: 181–190. – Reviewing the Oxford Vulgate edition's fascicle on John, the author discusses selected passages, esp. passages where there is no Greek manuscript warrant for a Latin reading.
1947. Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued). *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 106–110. 220–225. – Starting on p. 108, Metlen offers linguistic notes on selected passages of the Latin text of John.
1991. María Cruz Olivera Reyna: Pronombres en función anafórica en el Evangelio de Juan de la Vulgata. *Analecta Malacitana* 14.1: 159–166.
2005. Christophe Rico: L'art de la traduction chez saint Jérôme. La Vulgate à l'aune de la Néovulgata: l'exemple du quatrième Évangile. *Revue des études latines* 83: 194–218.
2008. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *Augustine's Text of John*. Oxford. ix, 407 pp. – Discusses deviations from the Vulgate found in Augustine's writings.
2008. Hugh A.G. Houghton: Augustine's Adoption of the Vulgate Gospels. *New Testament Studies* 54: 450–465. – The author examines literal references to John's Gospel and proposes to distinguish between citations from memory and citations from a consulted manuscript.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 165–167 for a survey of the Latin manuscripts.

Textual notes

John 1:1. *in principio erat verbum* – in the beginning was the Word. The Vetus Latina has *sermo* for Greek *logos*: *in principio erat sermo*. – Literature:

1964. C.A.L. Jarrot: Erasmus' 'in principio erat sermo': A Controversial Translation. *Studia Philologica* 61.1: 35–40.

1977. Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle: Sermo: Reopening the Conversation on Translating Jn 1,1. *Vigiliae Christianae* 31: 161–168.

John 1:1–2. *et Deus erat verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum* (Clementina's punctuation) – and God was the Word. It was in the beginning with God. Augustine: *De doctrina christiana* III, 2[3] (PL 34:66) comments on a heretical punctuation (*distinctio*): *et Deus erat. Verbum hoc erat in*

principio apud Deum – and God was. This Word was in the beginning with God. By this punctuation, the heretics avoid calling the Word a divine person.

John 1:3-4. *sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est in ipso erat vita*. The issue is punctuation. Two possibilities have been suggested: **(1)** *sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est. In ipso vita erat* – without him was nothing made that was made. In him was life (Clementina). Mehlmann argues that this is what Jerome had in mind, and this understanding corresponds to that of the Clementina. **(2)** *sine ipso factum est nihil / quod factum est in ipso vita erat* – without him was nothing made; what was made in him was life (this is what the stichos arrangement of the Weber/Gryson edition seems to indicate). The second possibility was supported by Erasmus who pointed out the Johannine resumptive style of beginning a clause with a word from the preceding clause (Robert D. Sider in: idem [ed.]: *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Toronto 2019 [xxvi, 1063 pp.], p. 302). Some modern translations of the Greek text have understood the matter, e.g., the New Revised Standard Version: “without him not one thing came into being. What has come into being in him was life.” – Discussions:

1945. G.D. Kilpatrick: John 1,3–4 and Jerome. *Journal of Theological Studies* 46: 191.

1955. Johannes Mehlmann OSB: De mente S. Hieronymi circa divisionem versuum Jo 1,3s. *Verbum Domini* 33: 86–94.

1964. Hugolinus Langkammer: Die Zugehörigkeit des Satzteils *ho gegonen* in Joh. 1,3.4 bei Hieronymus. *Biblische Zeitschrift* NF 8: 295–298.

1968. Kurt Aland: Über die Bedeutung eines Punktes. Eine Untersuchung zu Joh 1,3.4. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 59: 174–209.

John 1:5. *et tenebrae eam (s. lucem) non comprehenderunt* – and the darkness did not understand it (the light). As soon as “darkness” was identified as referring to that part of humanity that did not accept Christ, the verb used – *comprehendere* – was “to understand.” – Walter Nagel: Die Finsternis hat’s nicht begriffen (Joh 1,5). *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 50 (1959) 132–137, at pp. 136–137.

John 1:9. There are two Latin Versions of this passage: **(1)** *erat lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in mundum* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – he was the true light that illuminates every man as he (i.e., every man) enters the world; according to this wording, the Word illuminates everyone at his or her birth. This is in agreement with the Peshitta: “He was the true light which lighted every man who came into the world” (Lamsa). According to Rico, the Vulgate version, like other ancient versions (Vetus Syra, Peshitta), represents the ancient understanding of the Johannine passage. – **(2)** The NVg changes the passage: *erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem, veniens in mundum* – he was the true light that illuminates every man, when he (Jesus, the light) enters the world. – Literature:

1985. *Holy Bible from the Ancient Eastern Text*. George M. Lamsa’s Translation from the Aramaic of the Peshitta. San Francisco (xx, 1244 pp.), p. 1052.

2005. Christophe Rico: L’art de la traduction chez saint Jérôme. La Vulgate à l’aune de la Néovulgate. L’exemple du quatrième Évangile. *Revue des études latines* 83: 194–218, at p. 201.

John 1:13. *qui non ex sanguinibus (...) sed ex Deo nati sunt* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – those who are not born from blood(s), but from God. See the glossary s.v. *sanguis* (above, Chapter 19.2). “Bloods” seems to refer to the male sexual fluids. The three expressions: *non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri* refer to the same thing – male intercourse. The blood nature of semen is discussed in Aristotle: *On the Generation of Animals* 726

- a/b, see *The Works of Aristotle II*. Great Books of the Western World. Chicago 1952 (699 pp.), pp. 266–267. The identity of blood and male semen is ancient and survives in Dante: *Purgatorio* XXV, 37–48.
- Joh 2:1–11.** For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 187–188.
- John 2:8–9.** *architriclinus* – head steward, Speisemeister, a word that transliterates Greek ἀρχιτρικλινος. Used only here in the Vulgate, it is a rare word in Latin. Jerome, though, uses it in his *Commentary on Isaiah I* on Isa 1:22 with reference to the Johannine passage (PL 24 [1863]: 39). Cf. Theodore A. Bergren: Greek Loanwords in the Vulgate New Testament and the Latin Apostolic Fathers. *Traditio* 74 (2019) 1–25, at p. 17.
- John 2:15.** Mayara Nogueira Xavier: O latim da Vulgata e de outras traduções bíblicas em língua Latina. *Língua, Literatura e Ensino* 5 (2010) 219–227. – This paper, in Portuguese, offers a comparison of the Vulgate version of this verse with two Vetus-Latina renderings.
- John 4:6.** *Iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere* – Jesus, being wearied with his journey (Douay Version). The word *fatigatus* is already in the Vetus Latina. The choice of this word obscures the correspondence with John 4:38, where forms of *laborare* (to do tiresome work) are used for the same underlying Greek word, κοπιᾶω (to work hard). – Christophe Rico: Figure et théorie du signe: les solutions de Saint Jérôme. *Modèles linguistiques* 58 (2008) 79–98, at p. 95.
- John 4:23.** *venit hora et nunc est* – the hour comes. Classical Latin would use the future tense – *veniet hora et adest*. – Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued). *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 106–110, at p. 109.
- John 4:52.** *et dixerunt ei: Quia heri hora septima reliquit eum febris* – and they said to him: yesterday, at the seventh hour, the fever left him. – The Clementina’s punctuation is here misleading: *quia* does not belong to the message spoken, but to the introduction, echoing as it does the Greek ὅτι that announces the subsequent quotation. Accordingly, the correct punctuation would be: *dixerunt ei quia: heri hora septima ...* Kaulen, p. 290.
- John 5:2.** *est autem Hierosolyma super Probatica piscina* (Weber/Gryson) – there is in Jerusalem near the Probatica (Sheep Gate) a pond; the Clementina does not have the word *super*, which leads to the translation: “there is in Jerusalem the Probaica pond” (making “Probatica” the name of the pond). Meant is: *ad Probaticam portam* (near the Probatica) *est piscina*. The NVg deals with the matter by supplying commas: *est autem Hierosolymis, super Probatica, piscina*. – Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued). *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 106–110, at p. 109.
- John 5:4.** This verse is missing in the Weber/Gryson edition and in NVg. The Clementina adds the folkloric story about the angel who moves the water.
- John 6:51–69.** J.N. Adams: Gospel of John (6.51–69) from the Vetus Latina (Codex Palatinus e), and the Corresponding Passage from the Vulgate. In: idem: *An Anthology of Informal Latin 200 BC – AD 900*. Cambridge 2016 (xi, 719 pp.), pp. 429–444. Adams, a well-known Latinist, prints the text in the Vetus Latina Version, the Vulgate text, and the Greek text; the detailed commentary that he offers compares the Vetus Latina version with that of the Vulgate.
- John 7:37–38.** *et clamabat dicens: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me et bibat. Qui credit in me, sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre eius fluent (...)* (Clementina) – and he cried, saying: If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink. He that believeth in me, as the scripture saith: Out of his belly flow

rivers (...) (Douay Version). The Nova Vulgata changes the punctuation, placing a full stop after *credit in me: et clamavit dicens: «Si quis sitit, veniat ad me et biba, qui credit in me. Sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre eius fluent (...)»*. – Teppai Kato: Hieronymus und das alttestamentliche Zitat (Joh 7,38); in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 105–106.

John 7:39. *nondum erat Spiritus* [datus] – for the Spirit was not [had not been given]. The word *datus* is in the Clementina, but not in the Weber/Gryson edition. On this, see the comment in Richard Simon: *Critical History of the Text of the New Testament*. Translated by Andrew Hunwick. Leiden 2013 (xxxvi, 368 pp.), p. 301 (originally published in 1689): “It seems highly probable that *datus* was added by the Latin translator, duly mindful that the context of the passage is the gifts of the Holy Spirit.” Before Richard Simon, Erasmus had already suspected that *datus* was not in the original text; see *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami*. Volume 6.6. Amsterdam 2003 (404 pp.), p. 102.

John 7:53–8:11. This famous *pericope adulterae* (passage on the adulteress) is in the Vulgate, but missing from the earliest Greek manuscripts. And, accordingly, in modern Bibles, the text is generally printed with an explanatory note, as is the case in the New Revised Standard Version that places it between brackets.

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Note. – The adulteress pericope. All editors of the New Testament, whether in Greek or in a translation, including the Vulgate, must decide how to go about the “adultery pericope” John 7:53–8:11. In 384/5, when Jerome revised the Old Latin text of the Gospel of John, he included the passage (see Lorenz 2019). Later, in 415, Jerome mentions the passage in *Adversus Pelagianos* II, 17: “In the Gospel according to John, in many Greek and Latin manuscripts, we find (the passage) about the adulteress” – “Im Evangelium nach Johannes findet sich in vielen griechischen und lateinischen Handschriften (der Abschnitt) über die Ehebrecherin” (*in evangelio secundum Iohannem in multis et Graecis et Latinis codicibus inventur de adultera muliere*; CCSL 80: 75–78). Contemporary textual research points out that the pericope is actually found in only a few Greek manuscripts, including Codex D (Codex Bezae, Cambridge; early 5th century = Jerome’s time; see above, Chapter 7.1). But this bilingual Codex (Greek–Latin) could owe the passage to a Latin textual tradition. In what follows we list recent opinion on the passage.

1535. Erasmus: *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*. In: *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami*. Volume 6.6. Amsterdam 2003 (404 pp.), p. 103–104: *Historia de muliere non habetur in plerisque Graecis exemplaribus. In nonnullis adiecta erat in calve. Atque adeo Chrysostomus nullam facit huius mentionem, edisserens Evangelium Iohannis, legens hoc contextu: Scrutare et videte quia a Galilea propheta non surgit.* – In his *Annotations on the New Testament*, of which the final version was published in 1535, Erasmus notes that the *adultera* pericope is missing from most Greek manuscripts, and that in many it is written in the margin. John Chrysostom, moreover, when commenting on the word “Search and see that no prophet arises from Galilee” (Joh 7:52), does not mention the passage. Although the passage is apocryphal, it may nevertheless relate an authentic event in the life of Jesus. – The Latin quotation is from the “Amsterdam critical edition” of Erasmus’ works.

1866. Carlo Vercellone: *La storia dell’ adultera nel Vangelo di s. Giovanni*. Rome. 44 pp.

2004. Udo Schnelle: *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. Leipzig. xxviii, 346 pp. – Page 170: This is an old apocryphal Jesus story; understood as illustrating John 8:15, it eventually entered the canonical tradition.

2007. Josep Rius-Camps: *The Pericope of the Adulteress Reconsidered. The Nomadic Misfortunes of a*

- Bold Pericope. *New Testament Studies* 53: 379–405. – Originally the passage was in the Gospel of Mark (placed after Mark 12:12), was taken up by Luke (Luke 20:19), then banished from both Gospels, only to reappear later in some manuscripts in various places.
2009. Chris Keith: The Initial Location of the Pericope Adulterae in Fourfold Tradition. *Novum Testamentum* 51: 209–231.
2009. Chris Keith: *The Pericope Adulterae, the Gospel of John, and the Literacy of Jesus*. New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents 38. Leiden. xvi, 350 pp. – Taking a cue from a brief comment from Edgar Goodspeed about the purpose of the *Pericopae Adulterae* (PA), Keith makes a two-fold argument: (1) the PA is best understood as making a claim that Jesus was “grapho-literate” (i.e., he could write) in the face of challenges from the Pharisees in John 7:15 (cf. 7:52) that he was illiterate; and (2) the PA was inserted into the Johannine textual tradition in the third century in order to respond to pagan challenges that Christians (and their founder) were illiterate and uneducated.
2015. Philip Wesley Comfort: *A Commentary on the Manuscripts and Text of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids, Mich. (443 pp.), p. 258: “The passage, which is clearly a later addition, came from oral tradition. It does not belong to John’s gospel as part of the original text.”
2016. David Alan Black – Jacob N. Cerone (eds.): *The Pericope of the Adulteress in Contemporary Research*. New York. xvii, 195 pp. – Four contributors – T. Wassermann, J. Knust, C. Keith, L. Hurtado – think that the pericope represents a later insertion into the Fourth Gospel; two contributors – J.D. Punch and Maurice Robinson – think of it as an original Johannine text.
2017. András Handl: Tertullianus on the Pericope Adulterae (John 7:53–8:11). *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 112: 5–34. – Around the year 200, this passage was unknown in North Africa.
2017. Dennis R. MacDonald: The Sinful Woman (John 7:53–8:11). In: idem: *The Dionysian Gospel. The Fourth Gospel and Euripides*. Minneapolis, Min. (xviii, 250 pp.), pp. 219–222.
2019. Jennifer Knust – Tommy Wassermann: *To Cast the First Stone: The Transmission of a Gospel Story*. Princeton. xix, 440 pp. – Pages 209–249: “In Many Copies”: The Pericope Adulterae in the Latin West. John 7:53-8:11, though not found in all the Greek and Latin manuscripts accessible to him (Jerome: *Adversus Pelagianos* II:17; CCSL 80: 76), was incorporated by Jerome into the Vulgate and thus given a permanent place in the Bible. This book developed out of earlier work published by the authors, notably this co-authored article: Earth Accuses Earth: Tracing what Jesus Wrote on the Ground. *Harvard Theological Review* 103 (2010) 407–446.
2019. Peter Lorenz: Jerome, Paula, and the Story of the Adulteress: Why did Jerome overrule his Old Greek copies? *Conversations with the Biblical World* 39: 155–184. – “We cannot entirely evade the possibility that Jerome himself introduced the story into this gospel in his revision of the four gospels, perhaps even shaping the story into its final Johannine form” (p. 160). Jerome had personal reasons (and not scholarly ones associated with the Greek manuscripts he consulted) for including this pericope in his revised text of the Latin Gospel of John. What reasons? The identification of the woman’s sin as a sexual sin (v. 4) fits with the accusation of sexual offense that Jerome and indirectly Paula were accused of (p. 168).
2020. Tommy Wassermann: The Text of the Pericope Adulterae in Early Latin Writers. In: H.A.G. Houghton – Peter Montoro (eds.): *At One Remove: The Text of the New Testament in Early Translations and Quotations*. Piscataway, N.J. (xxiii, 337 pp.), pp. 263–286.
2020. Jennifer Knust – Tommy Wassermann: The Pericope of the Adulteress (John 7:53–8:11): A New Chapter in Its Textual Transmission. *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 85: 49–82.

2021. Matthieu Arnold et al. (eds.): *Jean 8, 3–11. La femme adultère*. Études d'histoire de l'exégèse 17. Paris. 198 pp.

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John 8:12. *qui sequitur me non / ambulat in tenebris*. This is a rhythmic hexameter verse (actually, what the ancients call a pentameter). For another example, see Gen 3:5. Translations can reproduce the meter: who follows me will not / walk in utter darkness; German: Wer mir folgt, geht nicht / einher in Finsternis.

John 8:25. *principium quia et loquor vobis* (Weber/Gryson) – *principium, qui et loquor vobis* (Clementina) – *in principio: id quod et loquor vobis!* (NVg; translated by Rico: au commencement: cela même que je vous dis). The sentence does not seem to make sense. On a first reading, one would suggest something like "(I am) the beginning, because I talk to you; I who talk to you am the beginning"; which remains enigmatic. The following suggestions have been made: **(1)** Metlen suggests as the meaning: *omnino sum quod loquor* – truly, I am what I am saying. Metlen identifies *tên archên* (rendered *principium*) as an adverbial accusative that means "doubtlessly, very much so." Accordingly, one could offer as a literal rendering: "To begin with (or: basically): that what I am saying to you." – **(2)** According to Rico, the literal translation is "le principe, du fait même que je vous parle" or "au commencement, du fait que je vous parle." The meaning would be "le Christ est (au) Principe, précisément du fait qu'il est Parole" (p. 217). – Literature:

1947. Michael Metlen: The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued). *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 220–225, at p. 220

2005. Christophe Rico: L'art de la traduction chez saint Jérôme. La Vulgate à l'aune de la Néovulgate. L'exemple du quatrième Évangile. *Revue des études latines* 83: 194–218, at pp. 204–206, 217–218.

2023. Christophe Rico: Jn 8,25 au risque de l'herméneutique: les versions anciennes. *Revue biblique* 130.1: 54–71. Suggests the following rendering of the Weber/Gryson version: au principe (et au commencement), du fait même que je vous parle.

John 9:11. *vade ad natatoriam Siloae* – go to the Siloe bath. Thus correctly the Weber/Gryson edition, whereas the Clementina has *ad natatoria*. The adjective *natatorius* (apt for swimming) forms the basis for *natatoria* "bathing pool." Meant is: *vade ad aquam natatoriam* – go to the water in which one can swim. – K.E. Georges: *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*. 6th edition. Leipzig 1868, s.v. *natatorius*; Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 58.

John 12:3. *libram unguenti nardi pistici pretiosi* – a pound of ointment of right spikenard (Douay Version), ein Pfund echter, kostbarer Nardensalbe (Grundl). *pisticus* transcribes Greek πιστικός and seems to mean "genuine" (Richards, p. 91, who adds a question mark). Rico thinks that it implies a reference to Mary's faith (Greek πίστις). – Literature:

2002. J. Luzarraga: El nardo y la Sulamita en la unción de Maryam (Jn 12:1–8). *Gregorianum* 83.4: 679–715.

2005. Christophe Rico: L'art de la traduction chez saint Jérôme. La Vulgate à l'aune de la Néovulgate: l'exemple du quatrième Évangile. *Revue des études latines* 83: 194–218, at pp. 216–217.

John 13:10. *qui lotus est, non indiget [nisi] ut [pedes] lavet* – he that is washed needeth not [but] to wash [his feet] (Douay Version). The longer version is that of the Clementina, Weber/Gryson

- gives the shorter text. – N.M. Haring: Historical Notes on the Interpretation of John 13:10. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 13 (1950) 355–380.
- John 13:27.** *fac citius* – do (it) quickly. The comparative form expresses the superlative: as soon as possible; möglichst rasch. Urban Holzmeister: Die katholischen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des Neuen Testaments seit Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 41 (1917) 303–332, at p. 323.
- John 14:24.** *sermonem, quem audistis, non est meus* – the word that you have heard is not mine (not my word). One would expect *sermo* (and not *sermonem*); the accusative form *sermonem* is a case of *attractio*; Hagen, p. 93. NVg has: *sermo quem audistis, non est meus*.
- John 16:2.** *absque synagogis facient vos* – they will separate you from the synagogues, literally: they will make you away from the synagogues.
- John 16:13.** *docebit vos [in] omnem veritatem* – he will teach you all truth. Weber/Gryson has the *in*, the Clementina omits it. One suspects that if there is to be *in*, the verb must be *ducet* (future tense of *ducere*, to lead) – he will lead you to all truth. The NVg has: *deducet vos in omnem veritatem*.
- John 19:25.** *Maria Cleophae* – Mary (wife) of Cleophas. Genitive of belonging or association, génitif d'appartenance, Genitiv der Zugehörigkeit. – Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 81.
- John 19:34.** *lancea latus eius aperuit* – with a spear he opened his side (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg). The underlying Greek ἤνοιξεν (he opened) is considered to be a scribal error for the correct verb ἔνυξεν– he pierced or wounded (his side). – Pedro Cabello Morales: 'Lancea latus eius aperuit' (Jn 19,34): ¿Error escribal o interpretación telógica? In: Antonio Rodríguez Carmona (ed.): *Como Yo os he amado. Miscelanén sobre los escritos joánicos*. Estella 2011 (512 pp.), pp. 231–263.
- John 20:25.** *nisi videro in manibus eius fixuram [figuram] clavorum* – except I shall see in his hands the mark – *fixura/figura* – of the nails. The Clementina and Codex Amiatinus have *fixura* = fixing, Weber/Gryson *figura* = image (echoing the Greek *typos*). Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 354 (s.v. *fixura*) draws attention to Origen's homilies on Luke where Jerome's translation uses the expression *fixura clavorum* (Homily 17,5; *Fontes Christiani* 4.1: 198). The NVg has a new expression: *signum clavorum*. There is little difference in meaning; it seems, however, that *fixura* is more descriptive, indicating the fixing wound. Quite apart from the wording, one may point out a factual problem: the actual wound would not be in the hand, but in the wrist, though tradition depicts Christ's transpierced hands.
- John 21:12.** *nemo discentium* – none of the learners (Weber/Gryson); *nemo discumbentium* – none of those who sat there (Clementina; *discumbere*; cf. Douay Version: none of them that were at meat); *nemo discipulorum* – none of the disciples (NVg).
- John 21:15–17.** H.A.G. Houghton: A Flock of Synonyms? John 21:15–17 in Greek and Latin Tradition. In: Peter Doble – Jeffrey Kloha (eds.): *Texts and Traditions. Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott*. Leiden 2014 (xix, 418 pp.), pp. 220–238.
- John 21:22.** *Dicit ei Iesus: Sic eum volo tenere donec veniam (Clementina); Dicit ei Iesus: si sic eum volo tenere donec venio (Weber/Gryson); Dicit ei Iesus: «Si eum volo tenere donec veniam (...)» (NVg)*. – Interestingly, the reading adopted by the Nova Vulgata was suggested by the Greek humanist Cardinal Bessarion in the mid-fifteenth century, see Annet den Haan: Valla on Biblical Scholarship. *Renaissanceforum* [Denmark] 11 (2016) 23–39, at p. 30.

John 21:25. *si scribantur (...) scribendi sunt.* "This is an unsuccessful attempt to transliterate the Greek present subjunctive and present participle passive. The Latin should read *si scriberentur (...) scribendi essent* as the idea is a contrary-to-fact action." – Michael Metlen: *The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation (continued)*. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 9 (1947) 220–225, at p. 224.

John 21:25. *amen* (Weber/Gryson). Neither the Clementina nor the Nova Vulgata have the final *amen*.

Acts of the Apostles (Acta Apostolorum, Liber Actuum Apostolorum)

Secondary literature

1914. Adolf Jülicher: *Kritische Analyse der lateinischen Übersetzungen der Apostelgeschichte*. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 15: 163–188. – A study of the Vulgate text of Acts based on the six major manuscripts.
1913. Eugène Jacquier: *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Église chrétienne. Tome second: Le texte du Nouveau Testament*. Paris (vi, 535 pp.). – "Pour les Actes des apôtres, saint Jérôme a amélioré le latin des vieilles versions; il l'a rendu plus correct et plus élégante" (p. 176). – "La révision des Actes est donc indéniable, bien que saint Jérôme ait laissé subsister un certain nombre de mauvaises leçons" (p. 177).
1920. Ferdinand Cavallera SJ: *Saint Jérôme et la Vulgate des Actes, des Épîtres et de l'Apocalypse*. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 21: 269–292. – Jerome has nothing to do with the Vulgate text of Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse.
1926. James Hardy Ropes: *The Text of Acts*. The Beginnings of Christianity I.3. London (cccxx, 464 pp.), pp. cxxvii–cxxxv: Vulgate. – Page cxxvii: "Jerome's skill in departing as little as possible from Old Latin renderings, while by slight change and rearrangement of words he yet attained, even in order, extraordinary exactness of agreement with his Greek standard, and produced an excellent translation, is worthy the greatest admiration. Wordsworth and White [see above, Chapter 13.2] believe that a series of renderings which they collect show that his Greek text differs from any known to us, but on close scrutiny these instances, with hardly an exception, do not seem to require this supposition."
1928. W.P.H. Hatch: *The Vulgate, Peshitto, Sahidic, and Bohairic Versions of Acts and the Greek Manuscripts*. *Harvard Theological Review* 21: 69–95.
1935. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle II: La critique rationnelle*. Paris (xiv, 685. Pp.), pp. 436–441.
1937. M.L.W. Laistner: *The Latin Versions of Acts Known to the Venerable Bede*. *Harvard Theological Review* 30: 37–50.
1975. José O'Callaghan: *Nuevo pergamino de la Vulgata latine (Act 10,23–48)*. *Biblica* 56: 410–415.
1993. Jacobus H. Petzer: *The Textual Relationships of the Vulgate in Acts*. *New Testament Studies* 39: 227–245.
1993. Jacobus H. Petzer: *Texts and Text Types in the Latin Version of Acts*. In: Roger Gryson (ed.): *Philologia sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien*. Freiburg (674 pp. in 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 259–284.
1993. Stefan Rebenich: *Jerome: The "vir trilinguis" and the "Hebraica veritas."* *Vigiliae Christianae* 47: 50–77. – "Stylistic reasons, especially regarding the translation of Acts, finally shake his

[Jerome's] declaration made in *De viris illustribus* that he had translated the whole New Testament from the Greek into Latin" (p. 51).

2011. Giorgio Giurista: Atti degli Apostoli: le divisioni dei codici Vaticanus e Amiatinus. *Liber Annuus* (Studium Franciscanum Biblicum) 61: 211–227.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 167–169 for a survey of the Latin manuscripts.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 232–269. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation) of Acts 1:1–11; 2; 9:1–25; 17:14–34; 25–28, with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.

Textual notes

Book title. *Actus apostolorum* (Clementina, NVg) – deeds of the apostles, Taten der Apostel. The noun *actus -ūs* means "action, deed" (Richards, p. 2). The manuscript title reads *incipit liber actuum apostolorum* (Weber/Gryson). Sometimes, the title is given as *acta apostolorum*, but this form of the title does not appear in standard editions.

Acts 1:1. *primum quidem sermonem* – the first treatise/book. This is a rare, postclassical meaning of *sermo*. Glaire has: mon premier récit.

Acts 1:15. *turba hominum* – a crowd of men (Clementina, NVg). Erasmus (p. 906) points out that the correct reading must be *turba nominum* – a crowd of names (= persons), reflecting the underlying Greek. Weber/Gryson have *turba nominum* on the basis of Codex Fuldensis. – *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Edited by Robert D. Sider. Collected Works of Erasmus 41. Toronto 2019 (xxvi, 1063 pp.).

Acts 2:1. *cum completerentur dies Pentecostes* – literally: when the days of Pentecost were fulfilled, means: when the day of Pentecost arrived. 49 days have to pass, and the 50th day is Pentecost. Why the plural of *dies*? Because *dies* in the plural means "time." The idiom is fully explained by Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg 1863 (iv, 106 pp.), p. 43–46. – NVg simplifies the expression: *cum completeretur* (singular!) *dies* (singular!) *Pentecostes*.

Acts 2:9. Josef Denk: Act. 2,9 Judaeam (Vulgata) Judaei (Itala) – ein Kolumbusei. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 34.3: 599–607.

Acts 2:13. *alii autem irridentes dicebant: Quia musto pleni sunt isti* – but others, mocking, said: These men are full of new wine (Douay Version). As Kaulen (p. 290) observes, the colon should be placed after, and not before, *quia*, a word that merely indicates that a quotation is to follow (reflecting Greek ὅτι).

Acts 2:17–28. Kobus J.H. Petzer: Variation in Citations from the Old Testament in the Latin Version of Acts. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 19: (1993) 143–157, studies Acts 2:17–22 (echoing Joel 2:28–32) and Acts 2:25–28 (citing Psalm 16:8–11, Vg 15:8–10).

Acts 2:17. *effundam de spiritu meo* – I will pour out of my spirit (Douay Version); ich will von meinem Geist ausgießen (Allioli); je répandrai de mon Esprit (Glaire). A better translation would be: "I will pour out my spirit," because the partitive particle *de* corresponds to the partitive particle in modern French which has no equivalent in English and German. – Plater/White, p. 100.

Acts 2:23. *adfigentes interemistis* (Weber/Gryson; NVg: *affigentes*) – as those who fixed him (to the cross) you have killed (him); als (ihn ans Kreuz) Heftende habt ihr (ihn) getötet. The Clementina

has *affligentes*, from *affligere* (to strike), which does not make sense. – Carl Alois Kneller SJ: Zur Geschichte der klementinischen Vulgata-Ausgaben. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 43 (1919) 391–438, at p. 405.

Acts 2:39. *quoscumque advocaverit Dominus Deus noster* – those whom the Lord our God calls. The verb *vocare* would have sufficed; the use of *advocare* is no doubt due to the fact that the underlying Greek has προσκαλεῖν (and not just καλεῖν). – Marie Frey Rébeillé-Borgella: *Vocare, uocatio, leurs préverbés et préfixés: étude sémantique*. Doctoral dissertation. Université de Lyon 2012 (483 pp.), pp. 365–366.

Acts 2:47. *in idipsum* renders the Greek ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό which seems to mean “to the same place.” According to Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 476, the expression means “ensemble.”

Acts 4:13. *comperto quod homines essent sine litteris* – understanding that they were illiterate men; als sie erfuhren, dass die Männer ohne Bildung sind. The verb *comperto* (*comperire* = to understand, learn; erfahren) is participle perfect in ablative voice, so that we have ablativus absolutus. – Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 198 (ayant appris que ...). – In classical Latin, one would prefer the accusativus cum infinitivo (ACI) construction: *comperti eos homines sine litteris esse*.

Acts 4:21. *omnes clarificabant id quod factum fuerat* – all extolled what had been done. The verb *clarificare* is here used where one would expect *laudare* – to praise. The Nova Vulgata changes the sentence to *glorificabant Deum* – they praised God.

Acts 6:14. *audivimus enim eum dicentem: quoniam Iesus Nazarenis hic (...)* – for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth (...). Two remarks: **(1)** the colon should be placed before, rather than after *quoniam* (see the glossary s.v. *quoniam*; and above, on Acts 2:13, for a similar case). – **(2)** *hic* has derogatory force, echoing the Greek.

Acts 7:6. *locutus est autem ei Deus: Quia erit semen eius accola* – and God said to him that his seed should be a sojourner (*accola* = *adcola* = colon, Greek *pároikos*, as in Ps 105:23, Vg 104:23; distinct from *incola* = inhabitant). Here *quia* announces indirect speech; one should not spell it with a capital letter; placing the colon after *quia*, one could print as follows: (...) *ei Deus quia: Erit (...)*. – Kaulen, p. 290.

Acts 7:17. *tempus promissionis quam confessus erat Deus Abrahae* – the time of the promise which God had promised to Abraham (Douay Version). Is “to promise” the correct translation for *confiteri*? Richards (p. 25) suggests “to agree,” but this must be a mistake. “The time drew near for the fulfilment of the promise which God had made to Abraham” (Knox); le temps de la promesse que Dieu avait jurée à Abraham (Glaire) – free renderings. Grundl has “die Zeit der Verheißung, die Gott dem Abraham zugesagt hatte,” which is not very elegant. *Confiteri* means “to declare,” possibly “to reveal.”

Acts 7:42. *convertit autem Deus et tradidit eos servire militiae caeli* – but God had them serve again the host of heaven. This is a case of *convertere* followed by a verb to mean “again,” see the glossary s. v. *convertere, conversus* (above, Chapter 19.2).

Acts 8:27. *qui erat super omnes gazas* – who had charge over all her treasures (Douay Version). *gaza* – treasury is a Greek word, here simply transliterated from the Greek. The word is used only here in the Vulgate Bible, and rarely elsewhere. – Theodore A. Bergren: Greek Loanwords in the Vulgate New Testament and the Latin Apostolic Fathers. *Traditio* 74 (2019) 1–25, at p. 18.

- Acts 10:2.** The characterization of Cornelius ascribes to Cornelius the virtue of Roman *pietas*, though this word is not used. – Bonnie J. Flessen: *An Exemplary Man. Cornelius and Characterization in Acts 10*. Eugene, Ore. 2011 (ix, 195 pp.), pp. 68–113.
- Acts 10:15.** *communis* – impure, unclean. This is a special, biblical meaning of the adjective (Meerhoeck, p. 117). The Nova Vulgata does not change it. See also below, on Acts 11:8.
- Acts 10:16.** *hoc autem factum est per ter* – this happened three times. For *per ter*, classical Latin would have just *ter*. The same expression is used in Acts 11:10. It echoes Greek ἐπὶ τρίς. – Einar Löfstedt: *Late Latin*. Oslo 1959 (vii, 210 pp.), pp. 85–87.
- Acts 11:8.** *commune aut immundum* – common or unclean (Douay Version), reflecting Greek κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον; hard to translate because the second word is meant to explain the first; accordingly, it would suffice to say: unclean; alternatively, one could say: unclean or impure, defiled or impure.
- Acts 11:26.** It is only here and in Acts 26:28 and 1 Pet 4:16 that the New Testament uses the designation *Christiani*. The word merely transcribes the Greek χριστιανοί. This is a Latin word formation, as the ending *-ανοί/-anus* shows. The word is also attested in Suetonius: *Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae* – the Christians, a species of people with new and evil superstitions (Suetonius: *De vita Caesarum* VI, 16 in the vita of Nero). A related Latin word formation in Acts is the word πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρῖνον = *navis alexandrina* = Alexandrian ship (Acts 27:6; 28:11).
- Acts 15:2–6.** In the Greek text, this passage refers to πρεσβύτεροι several times. The Latin uses two words: *presbyteri* and *seniores*.
- Acts 16:12.39.** Only here does the Vulgate (and the N Vg) use the word *urbs* for city in the New Testament; otherwise, it is always *civitas*. In the two verses of Acts, the Codex Bezae (above, Chapter 7.1) has *civitas*. In the Old Testament books, however, *urbs* is often used.
- Acts 17:18. (1)** *philosophus* – philosopher. Well-known, derived from Greek φιλόσοφος, this word appears only here in the Vulgate Bible. – **(2)** *seminiverbius* – idle babbler, another hapax: “a bird that picks up seeds, hence one who picks up scraps of information, babbler” (Richards, p. 110); grand discoureur (Blaise: *Dictionnaire* 750). In Christian Latin, the word came to be used to mean “preacher,” understood as the one who spreads the word; see Peter Stotz: *Latin Bibles as Linguistic Documents*. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford 2023 (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 415–428, at p. 421.
- Acts 17:26.** The beginning of this sentence has a rhythmic form: *fecitque ex uno omne genus*.
- Acts 17:27.** *quaerere Deum* – to seek God, Gott suchen. – Giuseppe Turbessi: *Quaerere Deum. Il tema della “ricerca di Dio” nell’ambiente ellenistico e giudaico, contemporaneo al Nuovo Testamento. Analecta Biblica* 18 (1963) 383–398; idem: “Quaerere Deum”: la ricerca di Dio in antichi testi cristiani. *Rivista de ascetica e mistica* 9 (1964) 240–255.
- Acts 18:3.** *scenofactoria* – tent-maker, a partial transliteration of Greek σκηνοποιός. The word seems to be attested only here, and not elsewhere in Latin texts.
- Acts 19:11.** *virtutesque non quaslibet faciebat Deus per manum Pauli* – and God wrought special (literally: not just any) miracles by the hand of Paul. This is a case of semantic enrichment through negation. – Martin Haspelmath: *Indefinite Pronouns*. Oxford 1997 (xvi, 364 pp.), p. 191.
- Acts 19:13.** *exorcista* – exorcist, transliteration of Greek ἐξορκιστής. Only here in the Vulgate Bible.

- Acts 19:27.** *pars* here means "line of business." – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. 87.
- Acts 19:28.** *Magna Diana / Ephesiorum* – great is Artemis / of Ephesians; groß die Artemis / der Stadt Ephesus; grande est l'Artemis / de la ville d'Éphèse. A rhythmically shouted slogan with six accents. See the entry on → hexameter in Chapter 8.7.
- Acts 19:35.** *(cultrix) magnae Dianae Iovisque prolis* – (worshipper) of the Great Diana and of Jupiter's offspring. This is a mistranslation, because the Greek text does not refer to two items that are worshipped, but only one, and Diana's image is said to have fallen from the sky. Hence NVg: *(cultrix) magnae Dianae et simulacri a Iove delapsi* – (worshipper) of the Great Diana and (her) image, fallen from heaven. *Iuppiter* (genitive *Iovis*) refers here, as often in Latin, to the sky or heaven.
- Acts 21:38.** *sicarius* – terrorist, assassin, from Latin *sica* – dagger, Dolch. This is a genuine Latin word. The Greek text uses the Latin loan-word σικάριος. The word is used only here in the Vulgate Bible. Josephus seems to be the only ancient author to refer to (Jewish) σικάριοι, see Martin Hengel: *The Zealots*. Translated by David Smith. Edinburgh 1989 (xxiv, 487 pp.), pp. 46–49.
- Acts 22:3.** Paul calls himself *aemulator legis* – zealot for the law. In the Greek text, he calls himself ζηλωτής τοῦ θεοῦ – zealot for God. The Nova Vulgata follows the Greek by saying *aemulator Dei*.
- Acts 23:12,14,21.** *devoerunt se dicentes* (v. 12) – they vowed by saying (...). Note that *devotio* – used only v. 14 in the Vulgate – means "cursing, curse," like *devotatio* (1 Kgs 8:38). – Literature:
1957. Jean Chatillon: *Devotio*. In: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. Tome 3. Paris (1884 cols.), cols. 703–710, esp. cols. 705–706. According to Chatillon, meant is not just a vow or promise (as a superficial reading would suggest), but something more serious and powerful; see the Douay version's "they bound themselves under a curse" (to kill the apostle Paul, v. 12), Knox's "they bound themselves under a solemn curse," or Allioli's "sie verschworen sich unter Verwünschungen."
- Acts 24:4.** *breviter audias nos pro tua clementia* – I desire thee of thy clemency to hear us in few words (Douay Version); what we ask of thy courtesy is no more than a brief audience (Knox); höre uns kurz an im Einklang mit deiner Güte (Tusculum-Vulgata). *clementia*, used only here in the Vulgate New Testament, is a Roman virtue typically expected from someone in a position of authority, e.g., of an emperor. In this passage, Paul's appeal is to the *clementia* of Felix, Roman procurator of Judaea. On *clementia*, see the glossary s.v. (Chapter 19.2).
- Acts 27:1.** George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xii: "There is no grammar in Ac. xxvii 1." The NVg has: *tradiderunt et Paulum* (instead of Vg *et tradi Paulum*).
- Acts 27:2.** *ascendentes navem Adrumetinam* (Weber/Gryson: *Hadrumetinam*) – going on board a ship of Adrumetum (Douay Version). As Denk points out, the Latin translator thought of the African port city Hadrumetum; but this is a mistake – the name should be Adramytteum, a city in Mysia (Asia Minor). The NVg has *Hadramyttenam*. – Joseph Denk: *Zur Itala. Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 33.4 (1909) 804–808, at pp. 804–806.
- Acts 27:11.** *naucleerius* – ship-owner, captain. Only here used in the Vulgate Bible, the word transliterates Greek ναύκληρος.
- Acts 27:13.** *cum sustulissent de Asson* – they weighed (the anchors) at Assos; sie lichteten (die Anker) bei Assos. This is a translation error, due to the mention of the city of Assos (Acts 20:13). The

Greek word *asson* means “nearer.” It should read: they departed and sailed closer (*asson*) along Crete. The NVg has: *propius legebant Cretam* – to sail closely along Crete. The verb *legere*, which normally means “to read,” has here a special, nautical meaning: sailing along, to coast along; entlang segeln (like *iuxta navigare*, Acts 27:8); this meaning is not listed in Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, but it is indicated in John M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1921 (xi, 125 pp.), p. 68; Richards, p. 70.

Acts 27:14. *auraquilo* – northeast wind. Only here used in the Vulgate Bible, and generally rare in Latin. The word transliterates Greek εὐρακῦλων. – Theodore A. Bergren: Greek Loanwords in the Vulgate New Testament and the Latin Apostolic Fathers. *Traditio* 74 (2019) 1–25, at p. 16.

Acts 27:17. *summisso vase* – letting down the *vasa* (ablative absolute). It is far from clear what *vasa* (translating Greek *skeuos*) refers to here. The word seems to mean “instrument, vessel,” but some authors think of a special nautical meaning such as “sea anchor” or “sail yard.” The recent treatment by Börstinghaus rejects these conjectures, arguing that the expression refers to throwing out baggage (as in Jonah 1:5). – Jens Börstinghaus: *Sturmfahrt und Schiffbruch. Zur lukanischen Verwendung eines literarischen Topos in Apostelgeschichte 17,1–18,6*. Tübingen 2010 (xviii, 554 pp.), pp. 368–381.

Acts 27:40. *artemon* – foresail, Besansegel (Grundl: stellten das Besansegel gegen den Wind; presumably following the *Textbibel* of Emil Kautzsch and Karl Heinrich Weizäcker, 1899). Transliteration of Greek *artémôn*. Latin word only here in the Vulgate Bible.

Acts 27:41. *dithalassus*, only here used in the Vulgate Bible, transliterates Greek διθάλασσοϛ; it is a rare word in Latin (Bergren). The Douay Version translates literally: “a place where two seas meet,” Grundl has “Landzunge.” A modern word is reef (German: Riff), but other words are also suggested – sandbank, cross-currents (Newman, p. 46). – Literature:

1993. Barclay M. Newman: *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament*. Stuttgart 1993. iv, 203 pp.

2019. Theodore A. Bergren: Greek Loanwords in the Vulgate New Testament and the Latin Apostolic Fathers. *Traditio* 74: 1–25, at p. 16.

The Pauline Epistles

The prologue “*Primum quaeritur*”

Note. – In the Vulgate, the corpus of Pauline letters is generally preceded by a Latin prologue, often referred to as *Primum quaeritur*, its first words. Since this prologue is quite unlike Jerome’s prologues to his translations and revisions, scholars have sought to determine the date and author of this prologue – without reaching unanimity. On one of the relevant debates and the text’s attribution to Rufinus the Syrian, a contemporary of Jerome, see above, Chapter 12.1 (note). Another suggestion, still attractive, is to see Pelagius as the author (Georges de Plinval).

Text and translation

1941. Prologus in epistulis Pauli apostoli. In: John Wordsworth – Henry J. White (eds.): *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi*. Volume 2. Oxford (765 pp.), pp. 1–5.

1994. Incipit prologus in epistulis Pauli apostoli. Weber/Gryson, pp. 1748–1749.

1992. Prologus in epistulis Pauli apostoli. *Sources chrétiennes* 592: 492–501. – Bilingual edition, Latin and French, annotated.
2018. Incipt prologus in epistulis Pauli apostoli. *Tusculum-Vulgata V*, pp. 698–703. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German.

Secondary literature

1966. Georges de Plinval: Précisions sur l'authenticité d'un prologue de Pélage: "Primum quaeritur." *Revue des études augustiniennes* 12.3–4 (1966) 247–253.
1978. Nils Dahl: The Origins of the Earliest Prologues to the Pauline Letters. *Semeia* 12: 233–277.
2010. Eric W. Scherbenske: The Vulgate Primum Quaeritur, Codex Fuldensis and the Hermeneutical Role of Early Christian Introductory Materials. In: Alan Cameron et al. (eds.): *Studia Patristica* 44: 139–144.
2018. Timothy William Dooley: *Jerome's Text of the Gospels, the Vetus Latina, and the Vulgate*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College, London 2018, pp. 220–244: Vulgate Paul and Pelagius.
2018. Timothy W. Dooley: Marcionite Influence in the Primum Quaeritur Preface to Vulgate Paul. In: Markus Vinzent (ed.): *Studia patristica* 99: 139–156.

Secondary literature on the Vulgate text of the Pauline letters

Note. – Did Jerome revise the Old Latin version of the Pauline epistles to produce what came to be the Vulgate text? For this debate, see above, Chapter 12, and esp. 12.2 for scholars who say yes, Jerome did do the revision.

1912. Eugène Mangelot: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – Col. 2458: "Pour les Épîtres, l'auteur a adopté peu de leçons grecques et il s'est contenté de polir le texte latin et de le rendre plus élégant."
1915. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Étude sur les origines de notre texte latin de saint Paul. *Revue biblique* n.s. 12: 358–392. – Jerome never uses the Vulgate text of the Pauline letters, not even in his commentaries on some of the Pauline letters. The Vulgate text of Paul's letters does not go back to Jerome, but to Pelagius. On the debate, see Chapter 12.1.
1920. Ferdinand Cavallera SJ: Saint Jérôme et la Vulgate des Actes, des Épîtres et de l'Apocalypse. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 21: 269–292. – Jerome has nothing to do with the revision of the Latin version of the Pauline letters. The text he uses is close to the Vulgate, but pre-Vulgate, corrected in the spirit of Jerome, but after Jerome.
1921. Ernst Diehl: Zur Textgeschichte des lateinischen Paulus. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20: 97–132. – The author, a classical philologist, defends the notion that the Latin Pauline letters all derive from one single translation. This translation was revised some time during the fourth century, resulting in a proto-Vulgate text.
1935. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle II: La critique rationnelle*. Paris (xiv, 685. Pp.), pp. 500–515.
- 1962–1963. Karl Theodor Schäfer: Pelagius und die Vulgata. *New Testament Studies* 9: 361–366. – Pelagius did not know the text of our Vulgate. His text of the Pauline letters was still one that belongs to the Old Latin tradition; but it was a text that stood close to the Vulgate wording. It can-

not be shown that Pelagius himself had a hand in the production of a revised Latin text of the Pauline letters.

1964. Felix Rodriguez SJ: El texto latino de la cartas de S. Pablo. *Estudios bíblicos* 39: 383–388.
1969. Walter Thiele: Zum lateinischen Paulustext. Textkritik und Überlieferungsgeschichte. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 60: 264–273.
2013. Eric W. Scherbenske: *Canonizing Paul. Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*. Oxford. xii, 383 pp. – Pages 175–232 (chapter 4): Codex Fuldensis and the Vulgate Revision of the Corpus Paulinum; pp. 183–184: “The regnant scholarly opinion attributes the authorship of the Vulgate revision of the Corpus Paulinum to Rufinus of Syria. (...) Rufinus moved in the upper echelons of society, among the social, intellectual, and ecclesiastical elite of later fourth-century Rome, where he would have been ideally positioned to undertake the task of revising portions of the Latin New Testament. (...) Rufinus the Syrian’s emergence as the likely candidate for the Vulgate revision of Paul’s letters (and other parts of the New Testament) has much to commend itself.” Page 209: “This text prepared by Rufinus of Syria adhered to the following principles: **(1)** adherence to the Greek text, in particular to Alexandrian text-type; and **(2)** avoidance of ‘Western’ Greek and distinctively Old Latin readings.”
2015. Ch. Kugelmeier: Übersetzungstheoretische und übersetzungspraktische Fragen am Beispiel des Corpus Paulinum. In: Andreas Beriger – Michael Fieger et al. (eds.): *Beiträge zum I. Vulgata-Kongress des Vulgata Vereins Chur in Bukarest* (2013). Frankfurt (234 pp.), pp. 109–120.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 169–176 for a survey of the Latin manuscripts.

Romans

Secondary literature

1916. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: La Vulgate latine de l’épître aux Romains et le texte grec. *Revue biblique* 25 [= nouvelle série 13]: 225–239. – Lagrange compares the Latin text of Wordsworth/White (see above, Chapter **13.2**) with the text of the Clementina, and supplies lists of differences.
1952. Vincenzo Iacono: *Le epistole di S. Paolo ai Romani, ai Corinti e ai Galati*. Torino (xi, 581 pp.), pp. 97–251. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes; these frequently point out that a Latin word belongs to postclassical Latin (and indicate the classical equivalent).

Textual notes

Rom 1:15. *ita (quod in me) promptum est et vobis (...) evangelizare* – so (as much as is in me) I am ready to preach the gospel to you also (Douay Version; the brackets in the Latin are in the Clementina). Richards (p. 97) suggests a different translation: my part is eager (*promptus/promptus*) to preach to you; “the translator took *to kat’emé* as subject (...) this may be right.” NVg has: *itaque, quod in me est, promptus sum et vobis (...) evangelizare*, which corresponds to the Douay Version.

Rom 1:28. *tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum: ut faciant ea, qua non convenient.* How to translate *reprobus sensus* and *non convenire*? Very literal renderings: God delivered them up to a reprobate sense, to do things which are not convenient (Douay Version); überließ sie Gott dem verwerflichen Sinne, zu tun, was sich nicht geziemt (Allioli); Dieu les a livré à un sens reprobé, de sorte qu'ils ont fait les choses qui ne conviennent pas (Glaire). Other translators are somewhat more interpretative: gab sie Gott verächtlichem Sinnen preis, das zu tun, was sich nicht geziemt (Grundl); so God has abandoned them to a frame of mind worthy of all scorn, that prompts them to disgraceful acts (Knox).

Rom 4:16. The grammar is not correct. The Vulgate text (Clementina) must be corrected as follows: *ideo* [hereditas est] *ex fide ut secundum gratiam firma sit promissio omni semini, non ei* [sc. semini] *qui* [read: quod] *ex lege est solum, sed et ei* [sc. semini] *qui* [read: quod] *ex fide est Abrahae.* Twice, *qui* must be replaced by *quod*. – Rudolph Cornely SJ: *Commentarius in S. Pauli apostoli epistolas. 1: Epistola ad Romanos.* Paris 1896 (806 pp.), p. 237. The corrected text can be translated as follows: therefore [the legacy is] from faith, that according to grace the promise is for all (his) seed, not for [the seed] which is from the law alone, but also for [the seed] that is from the faith of Abraham. Strangely enough, the Neovulgate has kept the Vulgate's *qui* (rather than changing it to *quod*).

Rom 5:12. *et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned (Douay Version). Not all is clear in this verse. Richards (p. 64) suggests *in quo* = “in view of the fact that, because (...) not *in whom* (Adam) as St. Augustine translated.” Codex Fuldensis omits *mors*. – The Nova Vulgata does have *mors*, but says: *eo quod omnes peccaverunt* – because all have sinned.

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Note. – Romans 5:12 (Vg) and the doctrine of Original Sin merit a separate note. The modern theological debate about original sin – defended by conservative Christians, rejected by liberal theological thinkers – regularly discusses this passage because the Vulgate wording figures prominently in Catholic theology. At the beginning of the debate is this doctrine's invention in the patristic period. Pelagius, a contemporary of Jerome and Augustine, saw in this Vulgate text evidence that sin was transmitted socially by example, rather than genetically by nature. Each individual is thus responsible for his own death. Augustine did not agree and insisted on the genetical transmission of human sinfulness and its consequence, death. An early document on which Augustine and others relied is Ambrosiaster's *Commentary on Romans* (ca. 370s) in Latin. The relevant passage on Romans 5:12 reads as follows:

In quo, id est, in Adam, omnes peccaverunt. Ideo dixit, in quo, cum de muliere loquatur, quia non ad speciem retulit, sed ad genus. Manifestum itaque est in Adam omnes peccasse quasi in massa; ipsa enim per peccatum corruptus, quos genuit, omnes nati sunt sub peccato. Ex eo igitur cuncti peccatores, quia ex eo ipso sumus omnes. (PL 17: 92)

“In whom,” (*in quo*) that is, in Adam, “all sinned.” He [i.e., Paul] said, “in whom,” in the masculine, although speaking about the woman, because his reference was to the race, not the sex. It is therefore plain that all men sinned in Adam as in a lump (*quasi in massa*). For Adam himself was corrupted by sin, and all whom he begat were born under sin. Thus we are all sinners from him, since we all derive from him. (Translation by J.N.D. Kelly: *Early Christian Doctrines*. 4th edition. London 1968 [xii, 501 pp.], p. 354. For another translation, see Amrosiaster: *Commentaries on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians*. Translated by Gerald L. Bray. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill. [xxiii, 270 pp.], p. 40.)

We list a few titles about the debate:

1989. Bruce Harbert: Romans 5:12: Old Latin and Vulgate in the Pelagian Controversy. *Studia Patristica* 12: 261–264.

1990. J.B. Valero: Pecar en Adán según Ambrosiaster. *Estudios eclesiásticos* 65: 147–191 (Spanish).
2008. James W. Haring: Romans 5:12, Once Again: Is It a Grammatical Comparison? *Journal of Biblical Literature* 137: 733–741. – This is a recent exegetical contribution to understanding the Greek text of Paul.
2013. Eric W. Scherbenske: *Canonizing Paul. Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*. Oxford 2013 (xii, 383 pp.), pp. 215–221. – The word *mors* “was in circulation long before the Pelagian controversy and is clearly not a Pelagian gloss.”

In the early sixteenth century, scholars began to have doubts about the Vulgate version of Romans 5:12. In Erasmus' 1512 New Testament, the end of v. 12 reads as follows: *et sic in omnes homines mors pervasit, quatenus omnes peccavimus* – and so death came upon all men, inasmuch as all have sinned. For the ensuing controversy, see:

2021. Tomasz Karol Mantyk: Translating Romans 5:12 in the Early 16th Century: Franciscus Titelmans' Polemic against Humanists. *The Biblical Annals* 11.2: 301–326. – In a 1529 publication, Titelmans (d. 1537) claimed that Erasmus' translation of this verse threatened the dogma of original sin and promoted the resurgence of Pelagianism.

The traditional doctrine of original sin, strongly defended by Augustine, has been authoritatively stated by the Council of Trent in 1546. This council published an entire decree on original sin; the most relevant passage is the decree's second anathema:

“Si quis Adae praevaricationem sibi soli et non eius propagini asserit nocuisse,” acceptam a Deo sanctitatem et iustitiam, quam perdidit, sibi soli et non nobis etiam eum perdidisse; aut iniquitatum illum per inoboedientiae peccatum “mortem” et poenas “corporis tantum in omne genus humanum transtulisse, non autem et peccatum, quod mors est animae”: anathema sit, “cum contradicat Apostolo dicenti: Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines mors pertransit, in quo omnes peccaverunt” (Rom 5:12).

If anyone asserts that Adam's sin harmed only him and not his descendants and that the holiness and justice received from God which he lost was lost only for him and not for us also; or that, stained by the sin of disobedience, he transmitted to all mankind only death and the sufferings of the body but not sin as well which is the death of the soul, *anathema sit*. For he contradicts the words of the apostle: “Sin came into the world through one man, and death through sin, and so death spread to all men as all sinned in him” (Rom 5:12 Vg).

“Wer behauptet, die Übertretung Adams habe nur ihm und nicht seiner Nachkommenschaft geschadet,” die von Gott empfangene Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit, die er verloren hat, habe er nur für sich und nicht auch für uns verloren; oder er habe, befleckt durch die Sünde des Ungehorsams, “nur den Tod” und die Strafen “des Leibes auf das ganze menschliche Geschlecht übertragen, nicht aber auch die Sünde, die der Tod der Seele ist”: der sei mit dem Anathema beleg, “da er dem Apostel widerspricht, der sagt: Durch *einen* Menschen ist die Sünde in die Welt gekommen, und durch die Sünde der Tod, und so ging der Tod auf alle Menschen über; in ihm haben alle gesündigt” (Röm 5,12 Vg).

Latin text and translation:

1983. J. Neuner SJ – J. Dupuis SJ (eds.): *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*. London (xxxv, 740 pp.), no. 509 (p. 138).
2005. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*. 40th edition. Freiburg (xxxviii, 1811 pp.), no. 1512 (p. 499).

Much ink has been spilled in the modern debate about this decree that has become increasingly controversial among Catholic theologians. We list only a few contributions:

1960. Julius Gross: *Geschichte des Erbsündendogmas*. Band 1. Munich. 386 pp. – This splendid history of the doctrine of original sin starts with an analysis of the Council of Trent’s relevant decree.
1960. Stanislas Lyonnet: Le péché originel en Rom. 5.12. L’exégèse des Pères grecs et les décrets du Concile de Trente. *Biblica* 41: 325–355.
1964. A. Vanneste: La préhistoire du décret du Concile de Trente sur le péché originel. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 86: 355–368, 490–510.
1965. A. Vanneste: Le décret du Concile de Trente sur le péché originel. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 87: 688–726.
1966. Herbert Haag: *Biblische Schöpfungslehre und kirchliche Erbsündenlehre*. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 10. Stuttgart. 75 pp. – English translation: *Is Original Sin in Scripture?* New York. 127 pp. Review: Alan Smith OP, *The Thomist* 33 (1969) 793.
2012. John Benedict Endres: The Council of Trent and Original Sin. *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 22: 51–91.

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Rom 5:14. Like Romans 5:12, this is also a passage invoked in the Pelagian controversy, see Eric W. Scherbenske: *Canonizing Paul. Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*. Oxford 2013 (xii, 383 pp.), pp. 225–228.

Rom 5:16. *non sicut unum peccatum* (Clementina) – not as one sin; *non sicut unum peccantem* (Weber/Gryson) – not as one sinner. NVg has: *non sicut per unum, qui peccavit*, which paraphrases the Weber/Gryson wording and stays close to the Greek.

Rom 6:16. Like Romans 5:12.14, this verse was also invoked in the Pelagian controversy. – Eric W. Scherbenske: *Canonizing Paul. Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*. Oxford 2013 (xii, 383 pp.), pp. 221–225.

Rom 7. For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 270–274.

Rom 8:20. *vanitati enim creatura subjecta est* – created nature has been condemned to frustration (Knox); die Schöpfung ist nämlich der Vergänglichkeit unterworfen (Tusculum-Vulgata; similarly Grundl; but Allioli: der Eitelkeit unterworfen).

Rom 8:32. *omnia nobis donabit* – he will give us all, er wird uns alles schenken. The Clementina has *donavit*; this can be identified as betacism, the exchange of *b* and *v*; see also above, on Matt 4:6. – Plater/White, p. 43, note 2.

Rom 11:20. *noli altum sapere* – be not high-minded (Douay Version). The late-Latin phrase means “to be high-minded or proud” (Lewis/Short); “eine hohe Meinung von sich haben” (Krebs). Literature:

1879. Lewis/Short (Chapter **8.3**), p. 1629.

1907. Johann Philipp Krebs – Joseph Hermann Schmalz: *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. Siebente Auflage. Zweiter Band. Basel (776 pp.), p. 535.

Rom 12:16. *non alta sapientes.* – See note on Rom 11:20.

Rom 14:5. *unusquisque in suo sensu abundet.* How to render *sensus* and *abundare*? Literal renderings: let every man abound in his own sense (Doay Version); que chacun abonde dans son sense (Glaire). Other, more interpretative renderings: let either rest fully content in his opinion (Knox); ein jeder sei nur von seiner eigenen Meinung überzeugt (Allioli); jeder genüge seiner Überzeugung (Grundl).

Rom 14:23. *qui autem discernit* (Vg, NVg) – but he who discerns (Douay Version). According to Richards (p. 37), *discernere* is the wrong word, because *diakrīnesthai* means “to hesitate.”

Rom 15. F.F. Bruce: *The Letter of Paul to the Romans*. Grand Rapids, Mich. 1985. 274 pp. – Page 26: “In Amiatinus and a few other Vulgate codices the Pauline letters are supplied with ‘chapter summaries’ (Lat. *breves*) taken over from a pre-Vulgate Latin version. In them, Romans is divided into fifty-one ‘chapters’ or sections. For the last two of these the summaries are as follows: 50. Concerning the danger of grieving of one’s brother with one’s food, and showing that the kingdom of God is not food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. 51. Concerning the mystery of God which was kept in silence but has been revealed after his passion. – The summary of section 50 corresponds to 14:1–23; that of section 51 corresponds to the doxology of 16:25–27. This suggests that a shorter edition of the letter existed in which the concluding doxology followed immediately after 14:23.” – Philip Wesley Comfort: *A Commentary on the Manuscripts and Text of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, Mich. 2015 (443 pp.), p. 314 gives the same information. The absence of chapter 15 could be due to Marcion who eliminated the chapter; he did not have to eliminate chapter 16 because he did not know this text. – On the section summaries, see Donatien De Bruyne OSB: *Summaries, Divisions and Rubrics of the Latin Bible*. Turnhout 2014. xxxi, 601 pp. = Reprint of a book originally published in 1914, with a new preface by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB and Thomas O’Loughlin.

Rom 15:19. *replēre evangelium* – to replenish the gospel (Douay Version). This does not make sense. Therefore, translators resort to paraphrase: to complete the preaching of the gospel (Knox); répandre (Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 713), annoncer l’évangile (Glaire); das Evangelium predigen (Gundl), verkünden (Arndt). The Vulgate text supplies a literal rendering of the Greek text (πληρόειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), which is itself unusual, but has a close parallel in Col 1:25 (*implēre verbum Dei* – to fulfil the word of God). Possibly, Greek πληρόειν means “to do something with total commitment.”

Rom 16:7. *salutate Andronicum et Iuniam* – greet Andronicus and Junia. **(1)** The Vulgate text. Today, Junia is taken to be the name of a woman, not a man, and the Vulgate is taken to be a strong witness. According to Thorley (p. 21), “any Latin reader would immediately take Iuniam to be a woman’s name.” Some translations of the Vulgate text differ from this insight: salute Andronicus and Junias (Douay Version); grüßet den Andronikus und Junias (Allioli, Arndt, Tusculum-Vulgata); saluez Andronique et Junie (Glaire in a note explains that this is a short form of a man’s name). There is one exception, however: grüßt Andronikus und Junia (Beda Grundl OSB, 1916; see above, Chapter **18.2**). Also note that the alleged Latin personal name *Junias* is not attested. – **(2)** Jerome, a church father known for his association with ascetic women, had no doubts about Junia being a woman. He refers to her either as Junia (PL 23: 895; 29: 774; 30: 715) or Julia (*Commentary on Philemon*, PL 26: 617–618). – Literature:

1996. John Thorley: Junia, a Woman Apostle. *Novum Testamentum* 38 (1996) 18–29.

2020. Yii-Jan Lin: Junia: An Apostle before Paul. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 139.1: 191–209.

2023. Hans Förster: Mann oder Frau; Junia(s) (Röm 16,7), In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 106–107.

1–2 Corinthians (Ad Corinthios I–II)

Secondary literature

1952. Vincenzo Iacono: *Le epistole di S. Paolo ai Romani, ai Corinti e ai Galati*. Torino (xi, 581 pp.), pp. 263–409 (1 Cor), 421–509 (2 Cor). – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
1960. Heinrich Zimmermann: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der attlateinischen Überlieferung des 2. Korintherbriefs*. Bonn. xxiv, 439 pp. – On the Vulgate, pp. 239–252. – Reviews:
1961. Bonifatius Fischer, *Theologische Revue* 57: 162–165-
1962. Walter Thiele, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 87: 353–355. Both reviewers are closely associated with the Vetus Latina Institut of Beuron; they are very critical of Zimmermann’s study.

Textual notes

- 1 Cor 2:9.** *sed sicut scriptum est: Quod oculus non vidit* (...; Clementina) – but, as it is written: That eye hath not seen (...; Douay Version). According to Kaulen, the Clementina’s punctuation, followed by all editions, is faulty: *quod* is not used as a pronoun, but as an introductory particle, echoing Greek ὅτι. Accordingly, the correct punctuation would be: *scriptum est quod: oculus non vidit* (...; Kaulen); see also the punctuation of Blaise: *sicut scriptum est: quod «oculus non vidit (...)*» Interestingly, the Nova Vulgata has: *sed sicut scriptum est: «Quod oculus (...)*»; it would have been better to omit the superfluous *quod*. If one really wishes to use a pronoun at the beginning of the quotation (“that which the eye ...”), then one must say *quae* (and not *quod*); Cornely. – Literature:
1890. Rudolph Cornely SJ: *Commentarius in S. Pauli priorem epistulam ad Corinthios*. Paris (v, 536 pp.), p. 62.
1904. Kaulen, p. 290.
1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 693.
- 1 Cor 2:14.** The Latin wording is awkward. The ancient translator did not take into account that the Greek neuter plural (rendered *ea quae*) is constructed with the verb in the singular. But this is not possible in Latin. The correct wording would be: *Animalis autem homo non percipit ea, quae sunt spiritus dei: stultitia enim est (must be: sunt) illi, et non potest [ea] intelligere: quia spiritualiter examinatur* (must be: examinantur) – the sensual man does not perceive the things that are of the spirit of God, for they are stupidity to him. And he cannot understand them, because they must be spiritually examined. – Literature:
1890. Rudolph Cornely SJ: *Commentarius in S. Pauli priorem epistulam ad Corinthios*. Paris (v, 536 pp.), p. 71.
1904. Kaulen, p. 308.
- 1 Cor 6:9.** *fornicarii* are excluded from the kingdom of God. Translations simply transcribe the word as “fornicators” (Douay Version) or “fornicateurs” (Glaire) or use vague terms such as “the debauched” (Knox), “Unzüchtige” (Allioli) or “Hurer” (Tusculum-Vulgata). Early-modern commentators thought that the word refers to pederasts; Adam L. Wirrig: *Trial of Translation. An Examin-*

ation of 1 Corinthians 6:9 in the Vernacular Bibles of the Early Modern Period. Eugene, Ore. 2022. 174 pp. See above, the glossary s.v. *fornicarius* (Chapter 19.2).

1 Cor 8:10. *in idolio recumbens* – one who reclines (at table) at the idol's temple; einer, der im Götzentempel isst (Grundl). The noun *idolum*, only here used in the Vulgate Bible, transliterates Greek εἰδωλεῖον – idol's temple.

1 Cor 10:25. *omne quod in macello venit* (Weber/Gryson, NVg) – everything (edible) that is sold on the marketplace. Two notes: **(1)** *macellum*, Greek μάκελλον, a word apparently at home in both Latin and Greek. The etymology could be Semitic, associated with the root *akal*, to eat. The word is used only here in the Bible. Interestingly, the Douay Version says, "whatever is sold in the shambles," using an archaic word for the butcher's slaughterhouse. Allioli has "Fleischmarkt," meat-market, Ronald Knox "open market." Cf. Bauer, col. 989. – **(2)** The verb *venit* is not a form of *venire*, *venio* "to come," but from *venire*, *veneo* "to be sold." To avoid the confusion, Codex Fuldensis has *venditur*. Some editions of the Clementina have *vaenit*, another spelling of *venit* that may alert the reader to think about the word (see the editions of Loch 1849 and Nestle 1906; but not Colunga/Turrado; *vaenit* is also in Cornely 1890). – Literature:

1890. Rudolph Cornely SJ: *Commentarius in S. Pauli priorem epistulam ad Corinthios*. Paris (v, 536 pp.), pp. 301 and 303 (*quidquid in macello venditur*).

1988. Walter Bauer: *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. 6th edition. Berlin 1988 (xxiv pp., 1796 cols.), col. 989.

1 Cor 13. For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 274–276.

1 Cor 13:4. (*caritas*) *non agit perperam* – (love) dealeth not perversely (Douay Version), rendering Greek περπερεύεται – does not vaunt itself, is not boastful. The Latin translation may be a mere guess, based on the similarity of the Greek and the Latin words. Another possibility is that the translator thought of *perperus* = boaster (though this exact meaning is not listed in the dictionaries). – Richards, pp. xiii and 90.

1 Cor 14:34–35. In Codex Fuldensis (see above, Chapter 7.2), the scribe placed 1 Cor 14:34–35 (*mulieres in ecclesiis taceant*) in the margin to indicate a textual problem. – Literature:

1995. Philip B. Payne: Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor 14.34-5. *New Testament Studies* 41 (1995) 240–262.

2017. Philip B. Payne: Vaticanus Distigme-obelos Symbols Marking Added Text, Including 1 Corinthians 14.34-5. *New Testament Studies* 63 (2017) 604–625.

2020. Edward D. Andrews: *From Spoken Words to Sacred Texts. Introduction-Intermediate New Testament Textual Studies*. Cambridge, Ohio (xxiv, 644 pp.), pp. 418–419.

1 Cor 14:39. *itaque fratres [mei], aemulamini prophetare* – wherefore, [my] brethren, be zealous to prophesy. The pronoun *mei* is added in the Neovulgate that follows the Greek text; but no doubt the simple *fratres* would be better Latin.

1 Cor 15:51. *omnes quidem resurgemus sed non omnes inmutabimur* – (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – we shall all indeed rise again, but we shall not all be changed; wir werden zwar alle auferstehen, aber nicht alle verwandelt werden (Beda Grundl). This doctrinally significant passage appears in the ancient Greek manuscripts in various forms, discussed by Jerome: *Letter* 119 (CSEL 55: 446–469) and Rufinus of Aquileia: *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed* 43 (PL 21: 382). Modern textual

criticism departs from the reading that underlies the Vulgate; accordingly, Cornely and the Nova Vulgata have *non omnes dormiemus, sed omnes mutabimur* – we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed; wir werden nicht alle entschlafen, aber wir werden alle verwandelt werden. – Literature:

1890. Rudolph Cornely SJ: *Commentarius in S. Pauli priorem epistulam ad Corinthios*. Paris (v, 536 pp.), p. 509.

1921. Cuthbert Lattey SJ: The Vulgate Reading of 1 Cor. XV.51. In: idem et Joseph Keating (eds.): *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures. The New Testament*. Volume III. London (lxiv, 258 pp.), pp. 221–223.

1937. Georg Brandhuber CSSR: Die sekundären Lesarten bei 1 Kor. 15,51. *Biblica* 18: 303–333. 418–438, esp. 327–328 on Jerome’s discussion, and p. 430 on the Vulgate.

2 Cor 2:5. *ut non onerem omnes vos* – that I may not burden you all. The translation of the underlying Greek is problematic: “The translator should have made *contristavit* govern *omnes vos* and given *onerensus sim* instead of *onerem*.” G.C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. 84.

2 Cor 2:10. *donavi propter vos in persona Christi* (2 Cor 2:10) – for your sakes I (i.e., Paul) have done it in the person of Christ (Douay Version, similarly Knox); ich habe um euretwillen an Christi Statt vergeben (Grundl); ich habe euret wegen durch die Person Christi vergeben (Tusculum-Vulgata); j’en ai usé à cause de vous dans la personne du Christ (Glaire). The underlying Greek is ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ – before the face of Christ (a Hebraism, reflecting *lipnê*); accordingly, this is how one may translate the Latin, with *persona* meaning “face,” as in Lev 19:15. See also Mark 12:14 where the Greek πρόσωπον (face, person) is rendered as *facies*, but could have been translated as *persona*.

2 Cor 4:16. *is qui foris est (...)* *is qui intus est* – the one who is outside (...) the one who is inside. This is the classical passage about the “inner man” and the “outer man,” a terminology not received into the Vulgate. The expressions that came to be used in theology – *exterior homo*, *interior homo* – come from this very passage’s words of the *Vetus Latina*. – Literature:

1951. Otto Hiltbrunner: *Exterior homo*. *Vigiliae Christianae* 5: 55–60, esp. pp. 56–57.

1977. Hans Peter Rüger: Hieronymus, die Rabbinen und Paulus (2 Kor 4,16). *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 68: 132–137. Rabbinic parallels to Jerome’s comments on Koheleth 9:14–15.

2 Cor 5. For a German working translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar, see Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart 2022 (343 pp.), pp. 276–279.

2 Cor 10:15. *spem autem habentes crescentis fidei vestrae in vobis magnificari* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – having hope to become great among you, as your faith is growing; Hoffnung habend, unter euch groß zu werden, wenn euer Glaube wächst. The expression *crescentis fidei vestrae* imitates the Greek *genetivus absolutus*, although Latin should put the *ablativus absolutus* instead (Kaulen, p. 309). Accordingly in classical Latin, it would be: *crescente fide* (without a pronoun). Interestingly, the Nova Vulgata changes the traditional text in the interest to make it conform with standard Latin grammar: *spem autem habentes, crescente fide vestra, in vobis magnificari*.

2 Cor 11:25. *naufragium* – shipwreck, derived from the Greek verb ναυαγέω, to be shipwrecked. Only here attested in the Vulgate Bible.

Galatians (Ad Galatas)

Text

1885. *Epistula ad Galatas. Ad fidem optimorum codicum Vulgatae*. Edited by Peter Corssen. Berlin. 55 pp. – Corssen (1856–1928), German classical philologist, produced a critical edition of the original Vulgate text of Galatians on the basis of the relevant manuscripts.

Secondary literature

1917. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: La Vulgate latine de l'épître aux Galates et le texte grec. *Revue biblique* 26 [= nouvelle série 14]: 424–450. – Text-critical observations, with a defense of the notion that the Vulgate text of Galatians represents most likely the work of Jerome (and not of Pelagius, p. 448).

1920. Ferdinand Cavallera: Saint Jérôme et la Vulgate des Actes, des Épîtres et l'Apocalypse. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 21: 269–292. – The Latin Galatians text that Jerome comments on is close to the Vulgate, but clearly pre-Vulgate. Jerome attributes the Latin version to a *latinus interpres* distinct from him, frequently pointing out the translator's inexactitudes (p. 285).

1952. Vincenzo Iacono: *Le epistole di S. Paolo ai Romani, ai Corinti e ai Galati*. Torino (xi, 581 pp.), pp. 521–581. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

Textual notes

Gal 2:11–14. Giacomo Raspanti: San Girolamo e l'interpretazione occidentale di Gal 2,11–14. *Revue des études augustiniennes* 49 (2003) 297–321.

Gal 2:19. *Christo confixus sum cruci* – with Christ I am nailed to the cross. Because *configere* in this sense does not exist in classical Latin, Richards calls this "the most curious experiment in language." – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. viii.

Gal 3:1. (1) *quis vos fascinavit* [non obedire veritati] *ante quorum oculos Jesus Christus praescriptus est* [in vobis] *crucifixus?* – who has bewitched you [that you should not obey the truth] before whose eyes Jesus Christ has been set forth, crucified [among you]? The text set between brackets is not in Weber/Gryson's edition, but it is in the Clementina. In his commentary on Galatians, Jerome comments on the matter, and omits what is here set between brackets because, as he explains, it has no equivalent in the best Greek manuscripts (PL 26:348). The assumption of the Weber/Gryson edition seems to be that the explanatory gloss was not in the original Vulgate, but was reintroduced during the later transmission process. – **(2)** *praescriptus* (Clementina) or *proscriptus* (Weber/Gryson)? Meant is "placed" *ante oculos*, before the eyes. The NVg has yet another verb – *descriptus*. John M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1921 (xi, 125 pp.), p. 92: *praescribere* = to write in front of. – **(3)** *quis vos fascinavit* – who has be-

witched you? (Douay Version). One must actually translate: who has injured you with the evil eye? This is how Jerome uses *fascinare*, as he explains in his commentary on the passage (PL 26: 347) invoking Vergil (*Eclogue* III, 103), who uses *fascinare* in exactly this sense: "I do not know which evil eye has injured (*fascinavit*) my tender lambs." See the discussion in John H. Elliott: *Beware the Evil Eye*. Volume 3. Eugene, Ore. 2016 (xxx, 348 pp.), p. 13 and pp. 219–220. Paul seems to have feared that the Galatians were under a curse or "evil eye," see Jeremy Wade Barrier: *Witch Hunt in Galatia*. Lanham, Md. 2020. xiv, 395 pp.

Gal 3:25. *iam non sumus sub paedagogo* (Clementina, NVg) – we are no longer under a paedagogue. The preposition *sub* is here followed by the ablative (*paedagogo*), as is usual in post-classical Latin; classical Latin would use the accusative case (*paedagogum*).

Gal 4:23. *secundum carnem* – according to the flesh. "Ebenso alt wie *carnalis* ist das Adverbium *carnaliter*, womit bereits Itala, *Gal.* 4, 23 das griech. κατὰ σάρκα übersetzt wird. Die Vulgata gebraucht hier die Übertragung *secundum carnem*, scheint also gegen die adverbiale Bildung Bedenken zu haben; auch andere Autoren vor Augustin verwenden das Wort offenbar mit einiger Zurückhaltung. In Augustins Zeit jedoch scheint es völliges Bürgerrecht erworben zu haben, denn bei Augustin tritt es massenhaft auf." – Christine Mohrmann: *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin*. Teil 1. Nijmegen (270 pp.), p. 89.

Gal 4:25. *conjunctus* = topographically: adjacent to, in the vicinity of; German: benachbart. The Nova Vulgata rewrites the whole sentence and no longer uses *coniunctus*. – Friedrich Stummer: Beiträge zur Lexikographie der lateinischen Bibel. *Biblica* 18.1 (1937) 23–50, at pp. 29–30.

Ephesians (Ad Ephesios)

Textual notes

Eph 1:17. *Deus domini nostri Jesu Christi pater gloriae*. There are two possibilities of how to connect *domini nostri Jesu Christi*: (1) the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory; (2) the God, the Father of glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. The first variant is more likely, which can be expressed by putting a comma after *Christi*. Accordingly, NVg has: (...) *Deus domini nostri Jesu Christi, pater gloriae, (...)*.

Eph 1:23. *qui omnia in omnibus adimpletur* (Clementina, NVg). Translators differ in their analysis of *adimplētur*: **(1)** deponens (= *adimplet*): der alles in allem vollendet/erfüllt (Allioli/Grundl). This is also the opinion of Valentin Loch: *Materialien zu einer lateinischen Grammatik der Vulgata*. Bamberg 1870 (34 pp.), p. 32 (welcher erfüllt). **(2)** reflexive: qui se complète entièrement dans tous ses membres (Glaire); **(3)** passive voice: who is filled all in all (Douay Version), who everywhere and in all this is complete (Knox), der in allem durch alle erfüllt wird (Arndt), der in allem in Bezug auf alles erfüllt wird (Tusculum-Vulgata). Jerome, too, reads the verb as a passive voice form: *Commentary on Ephesians: non ait, qui omnia in omnibus adimplet, sed qui omnia in omnibus adimplētur. (...) sicut ergo adimplētur imperator, si quotidie eius augeatur exercitus, et fiant novae provinciae et populorum multitudo succrescat, ita et dominus noster Iesus Christus in eo quod sibi credunt omnia, et per dies singulos ad fidem eius veniunt, ipse adimplētur in omnibus* (PL 26: 464) – he did not say, Who fills all things in all, but 'Who is filled in respect to all things in all' (...) just as the emperor is filled if his army is enlarged daily and new provinces are created and a multitude of peoples grows up, so also our Lord Jesus Christ himself is filled in all things to the extent that all things believe in him and each day come to his faith (translated by Ronald E. Heine).

Eph 3:1–7. This is a long string of linguistic units, but not a real sentence. There is no predicate.

Eph 3:8. (1) *in gentibus evangelizare* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – to preach (the gospel) among the Gentiles. NVg has: *gentibus evangelizare* (without the *in*). The Latin preposition *in* reflects a Greek ἐν, found in some Greek manuscripts but today considered a spurious reading. – **(2)** *investigabiles divitias Christi* (Clementina, Wordsworth/White, NVg) – the unsearchable riches of Christ (Douay Version). The Weber/Gryson edition has *investigabiles*; this is the reading of Codex Fuldensis, but to adopt the reading is not justified; see above, the entry *investigabilis* in the glossary (Chapter 19.2).

Eph 6:4. *educate illos in disciplina et correptione Domini* – bring them up in the discipline and correction of the Lord (Douay Version); *erzieht sie in Zucht und Vermahnung des Herrn* (Grundl); *élevez-les dans la discipline et la correction du Seigneur* (Glaire). As can be seen, these translations seem to understand *disciplia et correptio* as a hendiadys, one notion explained with two synonymous words. Another possibility would be to take *disciplina* as intellectual instruction, and *correptio* as referring to chastisement: educate them in the teaching and chastisement of the Lord.

Philippians (Ad Philippenses)

Textual notes

Phil 1:1. *cum diaconibus* (Clementina) or *cum diaconis* (Weber/Gryson, NVg)? – with the deacons. The correct form would be *cum diaconis*, but forms such as *diaconibus* (as dative plural of *diaconus*) are attested in the Vulgate, see Plater/White, p. 65; cf. the reference to similar forms in Albert Blaise: *Manuel du Latin chrétien*. Strasbourg 1955 (221 pp.), p. 68. Kaulen, p. 120, suggests *diaco*, genitive: *diaconis*; similarly, Olegario García de la Fuente: *Latín bíblico y latín critiano*. Madrid 1994 (588 pp.), p. 291: *diacon, diaconis*.

Phil 2:11. The Nova Vulgata reads: «*Dominus Iesus Christus!*» *in gloriam dei patris*, and not, as in the Vulgate: *Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est dei patris*, thus identifying the confession of “every tongue” as an acclamation consisting of three words. – Klaus Gamber: *In gloria est dei patris*. Zu einer Textänderung in der Neo-Vulgata. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 24 (1980) 262–266.

Phil 2:18. *vos gaudete et congratulamini mihi* – rejoice, and join me in rejoicing; *freut euch und freut euch mit mir* (not: *beglückwünscht mich*, as the Tusculum-Vulgata has it). See above in the glossary s.v. *congratulari* (Chapter 19.2).

Phil 3:3. *qui (...) et non in carne fiducia[m] habentes* – who (...) and not having confidence in the flesh (Douay Version). One would expect the finite verb form *habent* (instead of the participle plural *habentes*). – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. vi, note 1.

Phil 3:20. *nostra autem conversatio in caelis est* – our way of life is in heaven (Conte; cf. Chapter 18.1, revisions of Douay Version); *unser Wandel ist im Himmel* (Arndt). The Douay Version has the now obsolete “conversation” for *conversatio*. Grundl suggests “Bürgerrecht” which reflects the Greek πολιτεύμα, as does *municipatus*, the word that replaces *conversatio* in the Nova Vulgata. But “citizenship” is not what the ancient would immediately have taken as the meaning of *conversatio*.

Phil 4:3. *etiam rogo te, germane compar, adiuva illas quae mecum laboraverunt* – and I entreat thee also, my sincere companion (*compar*), help those [women, *illas*] who have laboured with me

(Douay Version). Richards, p. 23, reads *germane Compar*, taking *Compar* to be a personal name: “probably a proper name, with allusion to its sense of peacemaker.” Some commentators and translators of the underlying Greek text also take Σύζυγε as a proper name; thus the Bible de Jérusalem has: Syzyge, vrai “compagnon.”

Phil 4:22. *qui de Caesaris domo sunt* – that are of Caesar’s household (Douay Version), those who belong to the Emperor’s household (Knox), ceux qui sont de la maison de César (Glaire), die vom Hause des Kaisers (Grundl). *domus Caesaris* – the emperor’s household – is a genuinely Latin expression; meant is Nero’s household; see the glossary, s.v *domus* (Chapter 19.2). But the Latin wording has been contested. Erasmus in his New Testament has *maxime vero qui sunt ex Caesaris familia*, and so has Luther’s 1529 Wittenberg edition of the Vulgate (which comprised Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, New Testament). Recent criticism has also decided that Paul was not thinking of the *domus Caesaris*, but of the *familia Caesaris*, which is an altogether different concept, recently given conflicting interpretations by Flexenhar and Stadhartinger. An additional problem is the place from which Paul sends the letter – from somewhere in Asia minor (presumably Ephesus: Flexenhar, Stadhartinger) or from Rome (O’Brian). – Literature:

1991. Peter T. O’Brian: *The Epistle to the Philippians*. The New International Greek Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids, Mich. (xli, 597 pp.), p. 554. The expression “those of the imperial household” refers not to the members of the Emperor’s family or relations, “but to the great number of slaves and freedmen from whose ranks the imperial civil service was staffed. These were scattered throughout the provinces of the Empire, although the largest concentration was obviously in Rome,” from where Paul sends his greetings. The “Christian freedmen” may have had special links with the citizens of Philippi as a Roman colony.”

2019. Michael Flexenhar: *Christians in Caesar’s Household: The Emperor’s Slaves in the Making of Christianity*. University Park, Penn.: xvi, 191 pp. – Page 28: “The *familia Caesaris* of Philippians 4:22 was a particular, local group of imperial slaves. It was a *familia* of Caesar in Roman Asia, not a reference to a group in Rome or even an empire-wide organization of slaves and freedmen.” To the *familia* belonged an army of low-level functionaries employed in Asia Minor.

2021. Angela Standhartinger: Greetings from Prison and Greetings from Caesar’s House (Philippians 4.22): A Reconsideration of an Enigmatic Greek Expression in the Light of the Context and Setting of Philippians. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 43.4: 468–484. – There is no technical Latin term *familia Caesaris* in antiquity, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας cannot mean imperial slaves and freedpersons. Instead, the expression is a spontaneously coined code, a creative metaphor reflecting the conditions of a prisoner in an imperial prison in Ephesus. The saints from the house of Caesar are most likely Paul’s believing co-prisoners.

Colossians (Ad Colossenses)

Textual notes

Col 2:13. *convivificare* = to revive together with someone; mitlebendig machen. – Kaulen, p. 218.

Col 3:5. *mortificare* = to mortify, abtöten (as an act of asceticism). The word has strongly influenced the history of Christian asceticism. Already used by Augustine (*De doctrina christiana* 1,25; PL 34: 28), it came to dominate spiritual language in Thomas a Kempis’s *De imitatione Christi*.

Col 3:11. *sed omnia et in omnibus Christus*. Thus correctly in the 7th edition of the Weber/Gryson Vulgate. Instead of *et*, the earlier editions had *er* (a printing error not found in other editions of the Vulgate New Testament).

Col 4:6. *sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, ut sciatis quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere* – let your speech always be with grace seasoned with salt, so that you may know you ought to answer each one (Cabrillana). The particle *ut* introduces a clause that indicates result or purpose, without clear distinction between the two; in the antecedent clause, the correlative *ita* is omitted. The Colossians passage is quoted and translated, but not analyzed, in Concepción Cabrillana: Purpose and result clauses. In: Philip Baldi – Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.): *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*. Volume 4. Berlin 2011 (xxiii, 925 pp.), pp.19–92, at pp.63–64.

1–2 Thessalonians (Ad Thessalonicenses I–II)

Secondary literature

1965. Ernst Nellesen: *Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Überlieferung des ersten Thessalonicherbriefes*. Bonn. 307 pp. – The Old Latin text originated in Africa. The Latin text used by Pelagius in his commentary represents an advanced form of the pre-Vulgate text.
1965. Pietro Rossano: *Lettere ai Tessalonesi*. Torino. ix, 159 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 280–292. – Bilingual text of 1 Thess (Latin and German working translation), with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.

Textual notes

- 1 Thess 1:7.** *forma* – model (to be emulated); nachzuahmendes Vorbild, as in 2 Thess 3:9.
- 1 Thess 2:14.** *contribulis* – fellow-tribesman, Stammesgenosse, qui est de la même tribu/compatriote (as in Lev 25:17; 2 Macc 4:10).
- 1 Thess 3:1.** George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xii: “There is no grammar in (...) 1 Th. iii.1.” The NVg has *solī* (dative case of *solus*; the Vg has the non-existing dative plural *solis*).
- 1 Thess 4:4.** *suum vas possidēre in sanctificatione* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina, NVg) – to own one’s *vas* in saintliness; sein *vas* in Heiligkeit besitzen. What is *vas*? Normally, it would mean “vessel, Gefäß,” but here it is a euphemism for one’s wife, seen as a sexual partner. Meant may be the vagina (Blaise). – Literature:
1955. Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 837: “organe sexuel masc. ou fém.”
1982. Jean Doignon: L’exégèse latine ancienne de I. Thessaloniens 4:4–5 sur la possession de votre *vas*. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 83: 163–177-
2000. Gian Biagio Conte et al.: *Il Dizionario della lingua Latina*. Florence 2000 (xlvi, 2058 pp.), p. 1303.

2 Thess 3:9. *forma* – model (model to be emulated); nachzuahmendes Vorbild, as in 1 Thess 1:7.

1–2 Timothy (Ad Timotheum I–II)

Secondary literature

1953. Pietro de Ambroggi: *Le epistole pastorali di S. Paolo a Timoteo e Tito*. Torino. xvi, 258 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

Textual notes

1 Tim 1:19. *nafragare* – to be shipwrecked, echoing Greek ναυαγέω. Used only here in the Vulgate Bible.

1 Tim 2:11. *mulier in silentio discat* – let the woman learn in silence (Douay Version). The noun *silentium* here “is not silence, but privacy. St. Paul did not wish women to be ignorant; he ordered (...) that they should be instructed privately,” George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. 112.

1 Tim 3:6. *in iudicium incidat diaboli* – literally: he falls into (subjunctive) the judgement of the devil; meant is: he is destined for the condemnation suffered by the devil (*diaboli* = objective genitive). Richards, p. 67.

1 Tim 3:8.12. In the Weber/Gryson text, we read in the same chapter first *diaconos* (accusative plural of *diaconus*) and then *diacones* (nominative plural of *diacono* or *diaconus*, -onis) for “deacons,” echoing Greek διάκονοι. In v. 12, the Clementina, followed by the NVg, has *diaconi* (plural of *diaconus*). On these forms, see the note on Philippians 1:1.

1 Tim 3:15. *firmamentum* – the meaning seems to be “basis”; one senses that the translator refers to what is elsewhere called *fundamentum* (Job 38:4; Isa 28:16; Jer 51:26). Suggestions include: ground (Douay Version), foundation (Knox), Grundfeste (Allioli), Grundlage (Tusculum-Vulgata), fondement (Glaire). – Guy-Dominique Sixdenier: Notes sur l’emploi par la Vulgate du mot *firmamentum*. *Archivum latinitatis mediæ aevi* 19 (1945/46) 17–22.

1 Tim 5:11. *cum enim luxuriatae sunt in Christo* – when they (i.e., young widows) have grown wanton in Christ. This does not make sense; it must be *in Christum* (= *adversus Christum*, *in iniuriam Christi*) in the sense of “against Christ.” – Hagen, p. 43. The NVg has *adversus Christum*.

1 Tim 5:15. *quaedam (viduae) conversae sunt retro Satanam* (Clementina, NVg) – some (widows) have turned away toward [literally: behind] Satan. The adverb *retro* is here used as a preposition; this is not idiomatic Latin. Instead, it reflects the Greek text (ὀπίσω τοῦ Σατανᾶ).

2 Tim 1:9. *ante tempora saecularia* – a long time ago; vor sehr langer Zeit. – Kaulen, p. 131.

2 Tim 2:4. *negotia saecularia* – secular business; weltliche Geschäfte. – Kaulen, p. 131.

- 2 Tim 2:22.** *sectare vero iustitiam fidem [spem] caritatem pacem* (Weber/Gryson, NVg). The Clementina inserts *spem* to have the famous ternary “faith – hope – love.” Erasmus pointed out that, on the basis of the Greek, *spem* should not be there (Erasmus, p. 925). – *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus*. Edited by Robert D. Sider. Collected Works of Erasmus 41. Toronto 2019 (xxvi, 1063 pp.).
- 2 Tim 2:24.** *docibilis* – docile, teachable; gelehrig. The humanist Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) objected to the word that it does not occur in good Latin. He is right. Also, the sense is unusual, because word formations of this kind express an activity (rather than a passive state), cf. *terribilis est iste locus* = terrible/awful is this place, schrecklich ist dieser Ort (Gen 28:17). – Kaulen, p. 140; Cornelia Linde: *How to Correct the Sacra Scriptura? Textual Criticism of the Latin Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century*. Oxford 2012 (ix, 309 pp.), p. 227.
- 2 Tim 3:6.** *captivas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis* – they lead captive silly women laden with sins (Douay Version). Richards (p. 78) affirms the meaning “silly woman” for *muliercula*, whereas Harden decides for the neutral “little woman,” see J.M. Harden: *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1921 (xi, 125 pp.), p. 76.
- 2 Tim 3:8.** *Iannes et Mambres* (Clementina). Weber/Gryson and NVg have *Iannes et Iambres*. The name *Mambres* can be traced to rabbinic sources. – H.F.D. Sparks: On the Form of Mambres in the Latin Version of II Tim 3:8. *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1938) 257–258.
- 2 Tim 3:16.** *omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata* – all divinely inspired Scripture. *divinitus* is an adverb. There is a special class of adverbs ending on *-itus*. This ending, derived from *ire* (to go), indicates a “coming from,” as in *caelitus* – coming from heaven. Accordingly, *divinitus* means “coming from God.” A parallel passage is Cicero: *De domo sua /On his House* I, 1: *multa divinitus (...) a maioribus nostris inventa atque instituta sunt* – many things have been devised and established by our ancestors under divine guidance; viele Dinge wurden von unseren Vorfahren durch göttliche Fügung gefunden und eingerichtet. – M. Meiring: *Lateinische Grammatik*. 5th edition. Bonn 1874 (viii, 488, 6 pp.), p. 148.
- 2 Tim 4:13. (1)** *penulam (...) veniens offer tecum* – when you come, bring the *penula* (*paenula*) with you. What exactly is a *paenula*? Translators generally think of it as a Roman piece of garment, a hooded cloak. Luttenberger, who studies the Greek text of the passage, defends the (contextually well-fitting) notion that meant is some sort of book-case. He also indicates that a kind of cover (Hülle, for books) would be within the semantic range of *paenula* (p. 335). – **(2)** *et libros, maxime autem membranas* – and the books (scrolls), especially the parchments. Interestingly, the Greek text speaks of *μεμβράνα*, using the Latin word for parchment. This passage seems to be the earliest attestation of this Latin loanword in a Greek text (Reiser). – Literature:
1670. Bartholus Bartholinus [Bertel Bartholin]: *Commentarius de paenula*. Editio altera. Copenhagen. xxvi, 120 pp., 3 plates. – Includes a chapter on 2 Tim 4:13, arguing that the *penula* is a case for transporting books. The first edition of the book was published in 1655.
1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. 86: *paenula* = cloak, overcoat; Richards adds “not book-case.” Richards also suggests that *membrana* in this sentence means “parchment (...) for notes, not at this time for books” (p. 75).
1938. Lilian M. Wilson: *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*. Baltimore. xiii, 178 pp., 95 plates. – The authoritative book on Roman clothing, including the *paenula* (which normally had a hood).

2001. Marius Reiser: *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments*. Paderborn (xiv, 257 pp.), p. 9.

2012. Joram Luttenberger: *Prophetenmantel oder Bücherfutteral? Die persönlichen Notizen in den Pastoralbriefen*. Leipzig (430 pp.), pp. 335–343.

Titus (Ad Titum)

Secondary literature

1953. Pietro de Ambroggi: *Le epistole pastorali di S. Paolo a Timoteo e Tito*. Torino. xvi, 258 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

Textual note

Tit 1:16. *sunt abominati et incredibiles* – they are abominable and unbelieving; sie sind abscheulich und ungläubig. In classical Latin, *incredibilis* would mean “unbelievable”; but here, as often in the Vulgate, it has the meaning “unbelieving.” – Friedrich Stummer: *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*. Paderborn 1928 (viii, 290 pp.), p. 59.

Tit 3:4. *benignitas et humanitas apparuit Salvatoris nostri Dei* – the goodness and kindness of God our Saviour appeared (Douay Version). Renderings of *humanitas* include Freundlichkeit (Tusculum-Vulgata), Menschenfreundlichkeit (Allioli, Arndt), Menschenliebe (Grundl). Knox has “love for man,” echoing Greek φιλανθρωπία. Pétré notes that in non-Christian Latin, *humanitas* was never said of a deity, and that the word, as applied to God in the Titus passage, did not make much of an impression on the early-Christian writers. Jerome, for instance, uses the synonymous *clementia* in his *Commentary on Titus* (PL 26: 592). In fact, “ce passage scripturaire ne paraît avoir eu aucune influence sur le développement du vocabulaire latin chrétien,” writes Héléne Pétré: *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*. Louvain 1948 (iii, 412 pp.), p. 212. The church fathers were more interested in Christian acts of *humanitas* (kindness) such as caring for widows and orphans; see Blaise: *Dictionnaire*, p. 396 (s.v. *humanitas*).

Philemon (Ad Philemonem)

Secondary Literature

2023. Hans Förster: Onesimus – Eigentum verpflichtet? In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 109–110.

Textual notes

Phlm 1:2. *et Appiae sorori charissimae* – and to Appia, our dearest sister (Douay Version; King James Version: to our beloved Apphia; Luther: und Appia der lieben). This is the wording of the Clementina. The Weber/Gryson edition suppresses the *charissimae*, as does the Nova Vulgata. An intermediate position is taken by Wilhelm Reischl in his 1866 German translation of the New Testament (based on the Vulgate) – he puts the word in brackets: “und an Appia, die [geliebteste]

Schwester." As for the underlying Greek text, we can report that although modern critical editions also suppress Paul's love for Appia (or Apphia), the traditional Byzantine Greek text does include the word ἀγαπητῆ. Recent critical editions of the Greek text tend to consign this word to the apparatus, thus in the literal sense marginalizing it. But it does figure in one recent edition: *The New Testament in the Original Greek Byzantine Textform*. Compiled and Arranged by Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont. Southborough, Mass. 2005. xxiv, 587 pp. It can also be found in any edition of the Greek Bible used in the Greek Orthodox Church. With or without *charissimae*, Appia is the only woman who is addressed by name in the prescript of a biblical letter.

Phlm 1:8. *quod ad rem pertinet* – that which is to the purpose (Douay Version). Förster suggests (in German) "was zur Sache gehört," see Hans Förster: Onesimus – Eigentum verpflichtet?, in: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 109–110.

Phlm 1:14. According to the exhaustive Dutripon concordance, *uti*, the variant form of the conjunction *ut* ("that"), is used only here in the Vulgate Bible. The NVg keeps *uti*. But note that *sicuti* (for *sicut*) is used several times in the Bible: Isa 25:10; Eph 3:5; 1 John 3:2, etc.

Hebrews (Ad Hebraeos)

Secondary literature

1906. Eberhard Nestle (ed.): *Novum Testamentum Latine. Textum Vaticanum cum apparatu critico*. Stuttgart. xx, 675 pp. – On the first page of his Latin preface, the editor refers to the large number of translators of the New Testament writings. Regarding the Letter to the Hebrews, he remarks: *Similiter epistolam ad Hebraeos non eadem manus vertisse videtur, cui Paulinarum epistularum versionem debemus* (likewise, it is clear that we do not owe the translation of the Letter to the Hebrews to the same hand as the Pauline letters).
1906. Johannes Evangelist Belser: Die Vulgata und der griechische Text im Hebräerbrief. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 88: 337–369.
1920. Adolf von Harnack: Studien zur Vulgata des Hebräerbriefs. In: idem: *Kleine Schriften zur Alten Kirche*. Band 2. Leipzig 1980 (vi, 908 pp.), pp. 577–599. – The article was first published in 1920 (in: *Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1920, pp. 179–201), and again, with additions, in 1931 (*Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche* I. Berlin 1931 [ix, 256 pp.], pp. 193–234). According to Harnack, the Letter to the Hebrews was translated twice before Jerome; the Vulgate shows traces of both versions.
1929. Karl Theodor Schäfer: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Übersetzung des Hebräerbriefes*. Freiburg. 46 pp. – Schäfer disagrees with Harnack's thesis: although two versions of the Latin letter to the Hebrews can be traced, only one entered the Vulgate.
1952. Teodorico Ballarini OFM Cap.: *L'Epistola agli Ebrei*. Torino. vi, 236 pp. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

Textual notes

Hebr 1:2. *in filio (...) per quem fecit et saecula* – by his son (...) by whom he made the world (Douay Version); durch seinen Sohn (...) durch den er auch die Welten erschuf (Grundl). While these translations (and Kaulen, Blaise) decide for *saecula* (plur.) = world, the Tusculum-Vulgata thinks of the temporal semantics of the word: durch seinen Sohn (...) durch den er auch die Zeiten geschaffen hat (the times, i.e., the cycles of times). According to Allioli, who opts for *saecula* = world, the notion of time is implied: "Tiefsinnig wird in der Sprache der Schrift das Wort Welt mit einem Worte bezeichnet, das zugleich die Zeiten bedeutet, weil das Räumliche ohne die Zeit nicht denkbar ist." – Literature:

1838. *Die Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments*. Aus der Vulgata (...) von Dr. Joseph Franz Allioli. 3. Auflage. 6. Band. Landshut 1838 (494, 15 pp.), p. 321, n. 6.

1904. Kaulen, p. 27.

1954. Blaise: Dictionnaire, p. 732.

2018. Tusculum-Vulgata V, p. 993.

Hebr 1:4. *tanto melior (...) quanto differentius* – as much better (...) so much more exalted (or outstanding). On *differens* "outstanding," see Hermann Rönsch: *Semasiologische Beiträge zum lateinischen Wörterbuch*. II. Heft. Leipzig 1888 (87 pp.), p. 8.

Hebr 6:14. The expressions *benedicens benedicam* (blessing I shall bless) and *multiplicans multiplicabo* (multiplying I shall multiply) – stylistically to be explained as *figura etymologica* (see above, Chapter 8.7) – are "strange in Latin." – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xii.

Hebr 8:1. *capitulum* = summary (Richards, p. 17).

Hebr 9:4. *aureum habens turibulum*. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: La construction de la Tente (Ex 36–40) dans le Monacensis de la plus ancienne version latine: l'autel d'or Hébreux 9,4. In: Adrien Schenker et al. (eds.): *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque*. Geneva 2005 (318 pp.), pp. 62–76.

Hebr 9:28. *Christus semel oblatus est ad multorum exhaurienda peccata* – Christ was offered once (in sacrifice) to empty out (?) the sins of many (people). To the Latinist, *exhaurire* (to empty out) sounds odd. The translator probably meant to say "to take away, to remove." Richards (p. 45) refers to Cicero: *Ad familiares* IX, 14,4: *libentius omnes meas (...) laudes ad te transfuderim, quam aliquam partem exhauseris ex tuis* – I would more gladly transfer to you all my renown (...) rather than draw from you any portion of yours (transl. W. Glynn Williams, Loeb Classical Library).

Hebr 13:8. *Jesus Christus heri, et hodie: ipse et in saecula* (Clementina) – Jesus Christ, yesterday, and today; and the same for ever (Douay Version). The Clementine's punctuation is incorrect; there should be no colon; it should be: *Jesus Christus heri, et hodie ipse, et in saecula* – Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today, and for ever (Kaulen, p. 169). The Nova Vulgata has: *Jesus Christus heri et hodie idem, et in saecula!*, adjusting the punctuation, and replacing *ipse* with *idem*, in conformity with classical usage.

Hebr 13:16. *communio*. How to translate the word? The Tusculum-Vulgata has "Gemeinschaft," but more likely is "distribution (of alms)" as suggested by Richards, p. 23.

The Catholic Epistles: James – 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude

1916. Adolf von Harnack: *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. VII. *Zur Revision der neutestamentlichen Textkritik. Die Bedeutung der Vulgata für den Text der katholischen Briefe und der Anteil des Hieronymus an dem Übersetzungswerk*. Leipzig. iii, 130 pp. – Reviews:
1916. Hans Lietzmann, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 41: 341–342.
1923. John Chapman OSB, *Journal of Theological Studies* 24: 283–284, note 1.
1935. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle II: La critique rationnelle*. Paris (xiv, 685. Pp.), pp.551–568.
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 176–181 for a survey of the manuscript tradition of the so-called Catholic epistles, i.e., James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude.
2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg. xviii, 317 pp. – This is “the first complete study of the lexicon, morphology and syntax of the Old Latin and Vulgate Catholic Epistles” (p. 25). The differing linguistic character of the individual epistles and the varying degrees of agreement between the Vulgate and the Vetus Latina reveal that the Vulgate Catholic Epistles do not form a unitary corpus: 1 Peter, 1 John, 2 John and Jude appear to be more conservative and accomplished than James, 2 Peter and 3 John. This variation may be due to their gradual inclusion in the western canon, which could explain their separate origins and different processes of revision. On the other hand, the close relationship between the Vulgate and the Vetus Latina in all the letters indicates that the Latin versions known today derive from a common archetype. ▲
2023. Anna Persig: Die Übersetzung griechischer Partizipien in den Katholischen Briefen der Vetus Latina und der Vulgata. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 359–392. – Page 359: “Die Übersetzung der griechischen Partizipien war eine der schwierigsten Aufgaben der Übersetzung der Bibel ins Lateinische. Die Übersetzer mussten zwischen wörtlicher Wiedergabe wählen, die zu den griechischen Partizipialkonstruktionen passten (...) und freien Übersetzungen (...).”

James (Epistula Jacobi)

Secondary literature

1908. Johannes Evangelist Belser: Die Vulgata und der griechische Text im Jakobusbrief. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 90.3: 329–339. – “Gerade auch im Jakobusbrief enthält die Vulgata ganz erhebliche Versehen, Unvollkommenheiten und Unebenheiten.”
1909. Max Meinertz: Die Vulgata und der griechische Text im Jakobusbriefe. *Der Katholik*. 4. Folge Band 40: 466–473. – Meinertz shares Belser’s view that the Vulgate text of James is inadequate; he supplements Belser’s 1908 paper and gives more examples.
1913. Eugène Jacquier: *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Église chrétienne. Tome second: Le texte du Nouveau Testament*. Paris (vi, 535 pp.), p. 178: “La révision de l'épître de saint Jacques a été très profond si nous en jugeons par la comparaison de la Vulgate et du seul manuscrit vieux latin que nous en avons, le Corbeiensis.”

1949. Pietro de Ambroggi: *Le epistole cattoliche di Giacomo, Giovanni e Giuda*. 2. edizione. Torino. 315 pp. – First edition, Torino 1947. 288 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
1955. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Der Vulgata-Text des Neuen Testaments. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46: 178–196. – Page 195: “In Jac haben wir keinen afrikanischen Vetus-Latina-Text überliefert; Augustinus zitiert schon in seinen Frühschriften, den ältesten überhaupt erhaltenen Zitaten, die zu einer Untersuchung ausreichen, praktisch die Vulgata.”
2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg. xviii, 317 pp. – On James, pp. 30–84. Page 80: “The Vulgate [of James] attests several loan-words connected with Christianity (*blasphemare, moechari, zelare, thesaurizare, psallere, daemon, diabolus, zelus, propheta* and *ecclesia*) but three times translates Greek terms with the equivalent Latin words (*pupillus, conventus* and *simulatio* against *orphanus, synagoga* and *hypocrisis* in the Vetus Latina).”

Textual notes

- Jas 1:5.** *qui dat omnibus affluenter* (Vg, NVg) – (God) who gives to all (men) abundantly. The Greek text’s equivalent of *affluenter* is ἀπλῶς = generously, which amounts to the same. It has been conjectured that the translator may have read ἀφθόνως = liberally; see George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xiii.
- Jas 1:13.** *intentator* (Clementina), *intemptator* (Weber/Gryson). This “is a bad word and a mistranslation of ἀπειραστός κακῶν – untempted to evil” (Richards, p. xii). The word is a “form coined by a foreigner or a less educated Italian to render ἀπειραστός κακῶν, which he took as active, *not tempting to evil*, instead of passive, *not tempted to evil*” (Richards, p. 65). The NVg does not use the word, writing *Deus enim non tentatur malis*.
- Jas 3:7.** *etiam ceterorum* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – “and of the rest” (Douay Version). Loch in his 1849 edition (p. ix) suggests the reading *cetorum*, from *cetus* = sea beast, so that we would have: “and even (huge) sea beasts,” which corresponds to what the underlying Greek text says. The Nova Vulgata accepts this suggestion and has: *et etiam cetorum*.
- Jas 3:10.** *ex ipso ore procedit benedictio et maledictio* – out of the same mouth come(s) blessing and cursing. In classical Latin, it would not be *ipse*, but *idem*. – Kaulen, p. 169.
- Jas 3:17.** There are two problematic expressions in this verse: **(1)** *bonis consentiens* (Clementina) – consenting to the good (Douay Version). This seems to be an addition; Codex Amiatinus does not have it; accordingly, the Weber/Gryson edition and the NVg omit it. It makes sense that the original text should have 7 (rather than 8) items to describe wisdom. **(2)** *non iudicans* – without judging (Douay Version). Editors and authors seem to be unsure about the exact meaning of the expression. Codex Fuldensis and the Sixtina omit *non*, so that *iudicans* is taken to mean “having a (good) judgment.” For *non iudicans*, translators suggest “uncensorious” (Knox), “nicht parteiisch” (Arndt), “ohne Parteilichkeit” (Grundl), “ohne Richtspruch” (Tusculum-Vulgata). – An alternative would be “ohne zu zweifeln” (Max Meinertz in *Der Katholik* 40 [1909] 470), a meaning listed by for the underlying Greek ἀδιάκριτος in Hans Windisch: *Die katholischen Briefe*. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Dritte, stark umgearbeitete Auflage von Herbert Preisker. Tübingen 1951 (vi, 172 pp.), p. 26 (“frei von Zweifel,” free of doubts). But this rendering would echo the underlying Greek rather than the Latin word actually used.

Jas 5:13. The conditional clause here is constructed without resorting to “*si* with subjunctive,” as often in German (Hätte ich das gewusst [...]) and English (Had you obeyed orders [...]). See also Prov 26:16 and Sir 21:1. – Kaulen, p. 298.

Jas 5:17. *passibilis* = able to suffer, leidensfähig. – Kaulen, p. 140.

1–2 Peter (Epistula Petri I–II)

Secondary literature

1913. Eugène Jacquier: *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Église chrétienne. Tome second: Le texte du Nouveau Testament*. Paris (vi, 535 pp.), p. 179: Jerome's revision was superficial: “sa révision a été légère, surtout pour la 1^{re} épître de Pierre, car plus que dans les autres écrits il a laissé subsister des inexactitudes ou des traductions littérales qu'elles en deviennent inintelligibles.”

1965. Walter Thiele: *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes*. Freiburg. 245 pp. ▲

2006. Andrew Wilson: *Conceptual Glossary of the Vulgate Translation of the Petrine Epistles*. Hildesheim. xxxi, 339 pp. – See above, Chapter 8.3.

2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg. xviii, 317 pp. – On 1 Peter, see pp. 85–131, on 2 Peter, pp. 132–166. Page 129: In 1 Peter, “the Vulgate attests several loan-words connected with Christianity (*blasphemare, moechari, zelare, thesaurizare, psallere, daemon, diabolus, zelus, propheta* and *ecclesia*) but three times translates Greek terms with the equivalent Latin words (*pupillus, conventus* and *simulatio* against *orphanus, synagoga* and *hypocrisis* in the *Vetus Latina*).”

Textual notes

1 Pet 2:9. *gens sancta* – holy nation; heiliges Volk. Walter Thiele: *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes*. Freiburg 1965 (245 pp.), pp. 185–189.

1 Pet 2:18. *sed etiam dyscolis* – (be not only submissive to the gentle masters) but also to the froward (Douay Version). – J.M. Harden (*Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament*. London. 1921 [xi, 125 pp.], p. 37) and Richards (p. 40) translate *dyscolus/discolus* as “peevish, irritable.” See above, s.v. in the glossary (Chapter 19.2).

1 Pet 3:7. Jonathan P. Yates: Weaker Vessels and Hindered Prayers. 1 Peter 3:7 in Jerome and Augustine. *Augustiniana* [Leuven] 54 (2004) 243–259.

1 Pet 3:8. *compatientes fraternitatis amatores*. Two ways of reading this passage: **(1)** a comma – real (Loch, Nestle, Paris Professors' edition, NVg) or imagined (Douay Version) – is placed after *compatientes*; accordingly, one must translate: having compassion one of another, being lovers of the brotherhood (Douay Version; similarly Allioli, Grundl, Tusculum-Vulgata). – **(2)** without the comma, as in the Colunga/Turrado edition, the translation would be: passionate lovers of the brethren. – Also note that “Liebhaber der Brüderlichkeit” (Tusculum-Vulgata) for *fraternitatis amatores* is not a correct rendition, because *fraternitas* never refers to the abstract notion of *fraternité*, but merely stands for “brothers”; see the glossary s.v. *frater, fraternitas* (Chapter 19.2).

1 Pet 3:21. *similis formae* – in a similar way (genitive). Listed in Plater/White (p. 93, § 113) as genitive of quality. The NVg has a different wording.

- 1 Pet 3:22.** *qui est in dextera dei* [deglutiens mortem ut vitae aeternae heredes efficiemur] *profectus in caelum subjectis sibi angelis et potestatibus et virtutibus* – who is on the right hand of God [swallowing death, so that we be heirs of life everlasting] who ascended to heaven, subjecting angels and powers and virtues; der zur Rechten Gottes ist [den Tod verschlingend, damit wir des ewigen Lebens Erben seien], aufgefahren in den Himmel, sich Engel und Kräfte und Mächte unterwerfend. – The words set between brackets are in the Clementina, but not in the edition of Weber/Gryson, and not in NVg. – Houghton, pp. 179–180.
- 1 Pet 4:12.** *nolite peregrinari in fervore* – think not strange the burning heat (Douay Version); euch befremde nicht die Feuerprobe (Grundl). Actually, *peregrinari* means “to travel, to sojourn abroad.” What we have here is a mistranslation of the Greek ξενίζειν which means “to surprise, astonish” (and “there seems to be no instance of *peregrinari in* = to be surprised at”, Richards); accordingly, the Greek text says “do not be surprised at the fiery ordeal,” and the NVg has *nolite mirari in fervore*. – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London 1934 (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xiii.
- 1 Pet 4:16.** On the name *Christiani*, see the textual note on Acts 11:26.
- 1 Pet 5:5.** *omnes autem invicem humilitatem insinuate* – do you all insinuate humility one to another (Douay Version). Richards, p. 64: “Did the translator find *egkolpôsthe* put in the folds of a robe?”
- 2 Pet 1:12.** *incipiam vos semper commonēre* – I will always remind you (2 Pet 1:12). The literal but clumsy Douay Version – I will begin to put you always in remembrance – fails to understand that *incipere* + infinitive is a way of referring to the future. See the glossary s.v. *incipere*, Chapter 19.2.
- 2 Pet 2:4.** *in tartarum* – down to lower hell (Douay Version); in den Abgrund (Allioli). This is the only passage where the Vulgate uses *tartarus* for the netherworld. The Greek has τάρταρῶν = to send down to Tartaros. – A linguistic analysis of this sentence is offered by Anna Persig: Die Übersetzung griechischer Partizipien in den Katholischen Briefen der Vetus Latina und der Vulgata. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg 2023 (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 359–392, at p. 380.
- 2 Pet 2:7.** *et justum Lot oppressum a nefandorum iniuria, [ac luxuriosa] conversatione eripuit* – and he (God) delivered the just (man) Lot, oppressed by the impious men’s injustice, [and lewd] way of life; il a délivré le juste Lot opprimé de l’outrage des infâmes et de leur vie dissolue (Glaire). This is the Clementina’s wording and meaning; what is set between brackets is omitted in the Weber/Gryson Vulgate. It is easy to see why the text was expanded – the rare adjective *iniurius* (unjust, illegal) was, because of its being put in the feminine form *iniuria*, mistaken as the noun *iniuria*, injustice; hence the comma placed after *iniuria*. The wording of the Weber/Gryson edition is to be rendered as follows: he delivered the just man Lot, oppressed by impious men’s unjust way of life. The Nova Vulgata restores *luxuriosa*, indirectly, by saying *oppressum a nefandorum luxuria* – oppressed by the lewdness of the impious (and by not using *iniurius*).

1–3 John (Epistula Iohannis I–III)

Secondary literature

1949. Pietro de Ambroggi: *Le epistole cattoliche di Giacomo, Giovanni e Giuda*. 2. edizione. Torino. 315 pp. – First edition, Torino 1947. 288 pp. – Published in the series “La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana” (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.
1955. Bonifatius Fischer OSB: Der Vulgata-Text des Neuen Testaments. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46: 178–196. – Page 195: “In 1 Joh ist der Pelagianer Caelestius (...) der frühes- te sichere Vulgata-Zeuge.”
1958. Walter Thiele: *Wortschatzuntersuchungen zu den lateinischen Texten der Johannesbriefe*. Freiburg. 48 pp. – Review: B.M. Metzger, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79 (1960) 95–96. ▲
2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg. xviii, 317 pp. – On 1 John, see pp. 167–2190; on 2 John, pp. 211–222; on 3 John, pp. 223–236. Page 207: “All the loan-words of 1 John express Christian and religious concepts: those attested in the Vulgate (*scandalum, antichristus, diabolus* and *pseudopropheta*) are of common use and also present in the other Catholic Epistles. In four cases in which some of the Old Latin versions have the loan-words *paracletus, chrisma, agape* and *idolum*, the Vulgate features the Latin equivalent renderings *advocatus, unctio, caritas* and *simulacrum*.” The Vulgate reviser of 3 John adopts an approach that differs from that of the other Johannine epistles (p. 236).

Textual notes

- 1 John 1:4.** *haec scribimus vobis ut gaudeatis, et gaudium vestrum sit plenum* (Clementina) – these things we write to you that you may rejoice, and your joy may be full. According to the Weber/Gryson edition, the author does not write to promote the joy of the addressees, but to enhance his own joy: *haec scribimus vobis ut gaudium nostrum sit plenum* – these things we write to you so that our joy be full. Similarly NVg: *haec scribimus nos, ut gaudium nostrum sit plenum*.
- 1 John 2:20–21.** *nostis* (= *novistis*, from *noscere*) *omnia – ignorantibus veritatem – scientibus eam*: you know everything, to those who ignore truth, to those who know it. The translator on purpose uses three different Latin words for the Greek οἶδατε, thrice repeated.
- 1 John 2:25.** *et hanc est repromissio (quam ipse pollicitus est nobis) vitam aeternam* – And this is the promise which he hath promised us: life everlasting (Douay Version). In the Latin we have added the brackets for structural clarity. One would expect *vita aeterna* (instead of *vitam aeternam*). This is a case of “inverse attraction” (Kaulen, p. 288, no. 180). The NVg keeps *vitam aeternam*.
- 1 John 4:16.** *nos cognovimus et credidimus caritati quam habet Deus in nobis* – we have known and have believed in the love that God has for us. The NVg changes to *nos, qui credidimus, novimus caritatem* (...) – we who have believed, know the love (...).
- 1 John 4:20.** *si quis dixerit quoniam diligo deum* – if any man say: I love God (Douay Version). The word *quoniam* is not to be translated, for it simply serves as the particle that announces a quotation, reflecting the Greek ὅτι. – Kaulen, p. 290.

1 John 5:7–8. *Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant* [in caelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra:] *spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis; et tres unum sunt.* – The edition of Weber/Gryson omits the words placed within brackets, as does the Nova Vulgata, whereas the Clementina has these words. Traditional translations of the Vulgate such as the Douay Version, Allioli and Glaire follow the Clementina. On the authenticity debate, see the **Note** immediately below.

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Note. – The text 1 John 5:7–8 is the famous “Johannine comma” (comma Johanneum), the “Johannine passage.” This passage is not in the ancient Greek manuscripts. It is also lacking in the best Vulgate manuscripts such as Codex Fuldensis and Codex Amiatinus. Erasmus and Luther were aware of the problem, and since their time, the issue has been much debated. Three schools formed: the critics, the apologists, and the compromisers. (a) The *critics* rejected the comma as an interpolation that sought to support the doctrine of the Trinity; (b) the *apologists* sought to defend the passage as authentic; (c) the Catholic *compromisers* thought up a compromise between the two camps.

The story of the debate involved luminaries such as Erasmus and Isaac Newton, and is told in piecemeal fashion in German articles published by Augustinus Bludau (1862–1930) in the early 1900s, and, more recently, by Grantley McDonald in a 2016 monograph in English.

The critics. The first to attack the presence of the *comma* in the Vulgate was Erasmus. In the first edition of his Greek New Testament (1516), he did not have it, neither in his Greek text, nor in his attached Latin translation. When Luther worked on his Vulgate edition of 1529, he presumably had a copy of the first or second edition of Erasmus’ Greek New Testament in hand, so he omitted the *comma* both from this Latin edition (see above, Chapter 15.5) and his German translation of the Bible.

Unfortunately, neither Erasmus’ New Testament nor Luther’s Bible stayed free from the comma. In Luther’s case, it was the printers of his Bible who introduced it into the text toward the end of the 16th century; it was not until the 1912 revision of the German Luther Bible that the *comma Johanneum* was removed. In the case of Erasmus, the story is more complex. He was attacked by Edward Lee who believed in the authenticity of the passage (1520; see above, Chapter 15.3). Erasmus was quick to answer: “If I had come across one manuscript that had the reading found in our [Vulgate] text, I would have added the phrase missing in the others on the strength of that one. Since that did not happen, I did the only thing possible and indicated what was lacking in the Greek texts.” (Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei. In: *Collected Works of Erasmus*. Edited by William Barker et al. Volume 72. Toronto 2005 [xxxvii, 449 pp.], pp. 403–419, p. 404.) But within the next years, Erasmus did come across such a manuscript, a “codex Britannicus,” as he reports, and he restored the passage in the 3rd (1522) and subsequent editions of his Greek New Testament.

Frequently, the Erasmus episode was told as follows: Erasmus supposedly had *promised* his critic Edward Lee that he would restore the comma (which he had omitted in his 1517 edition of the Greek New Testament) if it existed in one Greek manuscript. In 1980, in an article published in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, Henk Jan de Jonge exposed and exploded the myth whose origin he could trace only to 1818. Later, in 2016, Grantley McDonald could show that the myth goes back to the way in which Richard Simon told the Erasmus story (1689). The first fully developed myth is from 1721, when David Martin told the story in the form in which it was later repeated many times.

Today, we know that Erasmus was ill advised to restore the passage to his edition. In the 19th century, Orlando Dobbin found the Greek manuscript where Erasmus had found the comma: a codex written around 1500, now housed in the library of Trinity College in Dublin. The passage is clearly translated

from the Vulgate, and so this codex is worthless as a witness to the original Greek text (Orlando T. Dobbin: *The Codex Montefortianus. A Collation*. London 1854. xx, 194 pp.). But by the time Dobbin published his book, the critical view was already well established. Textual critics such as Richard Simon (*Critical History of the Text of the New Testament*. Translated by Andrew Hunwick. Leiden 2013 [xxxvi, 368 pp.], pp. 173–185), Johann Jacob Wettstein and John Scott Porter had settled that matter. In his *Principles of Textual Criticism, with Their Application to the Old and New Testaments* (London. xviii, 515, xiii [plates]) Porter devoted an entire chapter to the Johannine comma (pp. 494–512), and made much of the fact that the interpolation is not in the most ancient Latin manuscripts.

Final critical insight came from two German manuscript scholars: Ernst Ranke and Georg Schepps. Ranke edited the oldest extant Vulgate manuscript, the Codex Fuldensis of the 6th century. In it he discovered a pseudo-Jeromian prologue to the Catholic epistles; this prologue chides careless scribes who had omitted a passage that would serve to support belief in the Trinity (*in quo maxime et fides catholica roboratur et patris et filii et spiritus sancti una divinitatis substantia conprobatur*; Ernst Ranke [ed.]: *Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum Latine Interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani*. Marburg 1868 [xxxii, 572 pp.], p. 399). Schepps found the ultimate source of this statement in the work of a fourth-century Christian theologian of Spain by the name of Priscillian; in this author's *Liber apologeticus*, which Schepps edited, he found the complete text of the comma Johanneum (CSEL 18:6, published in 1889).

The consensus critical view, as stated by Hugh Houghton in 2016 is this: In 1 John 5, "The additional mention of 'the Father, the Word and the Spirit' (*pater uerbum et spiritus*) appears to have originated in Latin tradition, possibly as a gloss at the end of the fourth century" (Houghton, p. 178).

The apologists. Apologists defended the authenticity of the Johannine passage, feeling that it was a valid scripture to be cited in support of the trinitarian notion of God as Father, Son, and Spirit. We have already referred to Edward Lee who in his 1520 attacked Erasmus' Greek New Testament for his omission of the Johannine passage (*Annotationes Edouardi Lei in Annotationes novi testamenti Desiderii Erasmi*; see above, Chapter 15.4). English Bible readers found the passage in the King James Version, first published in 1611 and still read today. Catholics found it in their Latin Vulgate Bible and its vernacular derivatives such as the English Douay Version and the German Alliolli Bible. Among the foremost apologists was the Nicholas Wiseman, Cardinal of the Catholic Church. He sought to answer the question why Augustine, who would have had numerous occasions to refer to the passage, never actually quoted it. The answer: the passage had, by oversight of some scribe, been lost from the (Italian) Latin Bible that Augustine used (Nicholas Wiseman: Two letters on I John v. 7, commonly called the Three Witnesses. In: idem: *Essays on Various Subjects*. By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. Volume 1. London 1853 (xv, 644 pp.), pp. 1–70, at p. 34).

The most authoritative voice to defend the Johannine passage was that of the Sanctum Officium Inquisitionis, the institution that supervises all theological teachers and authors in the Catholic Church. One cannot safely reject or even doubt the authenticity of the Johannine Comma, the Sanctum Officium declared in 1897, with approval of Pope Leo XIII (*Acta Sanctae Sedis* 29 [1896/97] 637). While there was no further censorship about the matter, the message was clear enough. Later, in 1927, the same institution made a similar declaration in the interest of sounding less harshly:

"This decree [of 1897] was issued in order that the audacity of private teachers might be restrained who arrogate to themselves the right either to reject completely the authenticity of the Comma Johanneum or at least to cast doubt on it by final judgment on their part. By no means, however, did it intend to prevent Catholic authors from investigating the facts more fully (...) and tending to a

view contrary to authenticity.” – German: “Dieses Dekret wurde erlassen, damit die Dreistigkeit privater Lehrer gezügelt werde, die sich das Recht anmaßen, die Authentizität des Comma Johanneum entweder völlig zu verwerfen oder durch letztgültiges Urteil ihrerseits wenigstens in Zweifel zu ziehen. Keineswegs aber wollte sie verhindern, dass katholische Schriftsteller den Sachverhalt umfassender erforschen (...) und zu einer Auffassung neigen, die der Echtheit entgegengesetzt ist.”

1928. *Theologische Revue* 27.6: 229–230: the declaration in Latin.

2005. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*. 40th edition. Freiburg 2005 (xxxviii, 1811 pp.), nos. 3681–3682.

2012. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünermann (eds.): *Compendium of Creeds, Definitions, and Declarations on Matters of Faith and Morals*. San Francisco 2012 (xxxvii, 1399 pp.), nos. 3681–3682.

One senses the underlying message: the battle of the apologists is actually lost, but one did not have the courage to revoke the earlier statement.

The compromisers. The problem for Catholic theologians was aggravated by the authority the Vulgate enjoyed. The Council of Trent had, in the sixteenth century, declared that the Vulgate would be the firm basis for teaching and preaching. Is a possibly inauthentic passage also authoritative in the sense of the Council? Catholic theologians were quick to invoke the two pillars upon which Catholic theology rests: Scripture and Tradition. When the Johannine comma would its place in Scripture, it would still be an authoritative and remarkable piece of Tradition, hallowed by its old age. This is how Alfred Loisy felt about the matter in 1901 (*Études bibliques*. Paris 1901 [160 pp.], p. 15), and we hear the very same message from the German exegete Edmund Kalt. In Kalt’s own words: “Kann das Comma Johanneum auch nicht als unzweifelhaftes Bibelzitat für die Trinität verwendet werden, so bleibt seine Bedeutung als ein ehrwürdiges Traditionszeugnis bestehen.” (Edmund Kalt: *Biblisches Reallexikon*. 2nd, revised edition. Paderborn. Volume 1 [vii pp., 1084 cols.], col. 350) If the Comma Johanneum cannot be used as an unquestionable biblical quotation for the Trinity, its significance remains as a venerable testimony to tradition. In this way, one could follow the critics’ deletion of the Johannine comma from the biblical text, and yet hold on to it as supporting the dogma of the Trinity.

It is this way of thinking that came to be dominant in Catholic theology. Accordingly, when the Neovulgate was published in 1979 – the authoritative revised edition of the Vulgate –, the Johannine comma had disappeared from its pages, and no protest was heard. So, in the end, the critics won the debate, but the apologists did not lose face.

Contributions to the debate and secondary literature

1516–1535. Erasmus. This humanist’s annotations on 1 John 5:7–8 can be found, in English translation in: Grantley McDonald: *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe. Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and Trinitarian Debate*. Cambridge 2016 (xvii, 384 pp.), pp. 315–322.

1689. Richard Simon: *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*. Seconde édition revue et corrigée par l’auteur. Rotterdam. 16, 298 pp. – Pages 142–153 deal with the Johannine comma, demonstrating that it does not belong to the biblical text.

1690. Isaac Newton: *An Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture*. – This essay, sent to John Locke, points out that the Johannine comma is absent in some ancient manuscripts. Newton’s essay was not published during his lifetime; it was first printed in 1754. Cf. Grantley Mc-

- Donald: *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe. Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and Trinitarian Debate*. Cambridge 2016 (xvii, 384 pp.), pp. 159–180.
1887. J.-J.-P. Martin: *Le verset des trois témoins célestes. I Jean, v. 7, et la critique biblique contemporaine*. Amiens. 63 pp.– The comma johanneum is an interpolation that originated in Spain. Review: Paul Schanz, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 71 (1889) 175–176.
1889. Matthias Flunk SJ: Die drei himmlischen Zeugen. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 13: 212–216. – The author defends the authenticity of the comma Johanneum against the arguments of recent critics, especially against Ignaz Döllinger.
1900. Michael Hetzenauer OC: *Wesen und Principien der Bibelkritik auf katholischer Grundlage*. Innsbruck (xiii, 212 pp.), pp. 187–206. – The author defends the originality and authenticity of the passage.
1902. Augustinus Bludau: Der Beginn der Controverse über die Aechtheit des Comma Johanneum (1 Joh. 5,7.8.) im 16 Jahrhundert. *Der Katholik* 26: 25–51, 151–175.
1903. Augustinus Bludau: Das comma Iohanneum (1 Ioh 5,7) im 16. Jahrhundert. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 1: 280–302. 378–407.
1904. Augustinus Bludau: Richard Simon und das Comma Iohanneum (1 Joh 5,7). *Der Katholik* 84: 29–42. 114–122.
1905. Karl Künstle: *Das Comma Iohanneum auf seine Herkunft untersucht*. Freiburg. 64 pp.
1906. Augustinus Bludau, review of: Karl Künstle, *Das Comma Johanneum* (1905). *Biblische Zeitschrift* 3: 440. – The comma Johanneum, although declared authentic by the Sanctum Officium in 1897, owes its existence to Priscillian, a heretic. – Bludau published many papers on the comma, consistently arguing that it is inauthentic. His articles are listed in Grantley McDonald: *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge 2016 (xvii, 384 pp), pp. 328–329.
1906. Josef Denk: Ein neuer Textzeuge zum Comma Johanneum. *Theologische Revue* 5.2: 59–60. Jerome excluded the comma from his revision of the New Testament, but his *Tractatus* on Ps 91 seems to presuppose its existence in the Latin tradition. Accordingly, Jerome was aware of this debated passage.
1915. Adolf von Harnack: Zur Textkritik und Christologie der Schriften des Johannes. *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 37: 534–737. – Pages 572–573 are an appendix on the Johannine comma and its Latin forms.
1921. Augustinus Bludau: Der Prolog des Pseudo-Hieronymus zu den katholischen Briefen. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 15 (1921) 15–34, 125–138.
1928. Eduard Riggenbach: *Das Comma Johanneum*. Gütersloh. 43 pp.
1959. Walter Thiele: Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum (I Joh 5,7f.). *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 50: 61–73.
1980. Henk Jan de Jonge: Erasmus and the comma Johanneum. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 56: 381–389. – On Erasmus' reception of the comma into the third edition of his New Testament.
1985. Franz Posset: John Bugenhagen and the Comma Johanneum. *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 49: 245–251. – Both Luther and Bugenhagen were convinced of the inauthenticity of the passage.
1999. Joseph M. Levine: Philology and History: Erasmus and the Problem of the Johannine Comma. In: idem: *The Autonomy of History. Truth and Method from Erasmus to Gibbon*. Chicago (xviii, 249 pp.), pp. 25–52.

2006. Rob Iliffe: Friendly Criticism: Richard Simon, John Locke, Isaac Newton and the Johannine Comma. In: Ariel Hessayon – Nicholas Keene (eds.): *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*. Aldershot, Hampshire (ix, 255 pp.), pp. 137–157.
2013. Andrew J. Brown: Codex 61 (Montfortianus) and 1 John 5,7–8. In: idem (ed.): *Novum Testamentum ab Erasmo recognitum*. Tomus 4.2. Leiden (698 pp.), pp. 30–111. – In this volume of the Amsterdam/Leiden critical edition of Erasmus' *Opera omnia*, the editor devotes a long chapter to the study of the source of Erasmus' reception of the Johannine comma. He affirms that many readings found in this Greek manuscript, including the comma, have a Vulgate origin.
2014. Margalit Finkelberg: The Original versus the Received Text. With Special Emphasis on the Case of the "comma Johanneum." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 21: 183–197.
2015. David M. Whitford: Yielding to the Prejudices of His Times: Erasmus and the Comma Johanneum. *Church History and Religious Culture* 95: 19–40. – The author tells the story of Erasmus' omission of the Comma Johanneum in the first edition of his New Testament, but added it in the third edition.
2016. Grantley McDonald: *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe. Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and Trinitarian Debate*. Cambridge. xvii, 384 pp. – The book is in two parts, with the first being devoted to Erasmus, and the second to theological debates about the Trinity. Anti-trinitarians such as John Milton rejected the comma as valid scriptural evidence for the Trinity. This is the standard scholarly resource on the debates about the *comma Johanneum*. See also: idem: Erasmus and the Johannine Comma (1 John 5.7–8). *The Bible Translator* 67 (2016) 42–55. – Reviews:
2017. Dirk van Miert, *Renaissance Quarterly* 70: 1165–1167.
2018. Hilmar M. Pabel, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 69.2: 399–401. ▲
2020. Juan Hernández: The Comma Johanneum. A Relic in the Textual Tradition. *Early Christianity* 11 (2020) 60–70.
2023. Hans Förster: Das sogenannte *Comma Johanneum*. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 114–115.

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3 John 6. *quos, benefaciens, deducens digne Deo* (Clementina) – whom you, doing a good thing, bring forward in a way worthy of God; *quos bene facies deducens digne Deo* (Weber/Gryson) – whom you do a good thing by bringing them forward in a way pleasing to God. NVg has *bene facies subveniens illis in via digne Deo*.

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Jude (Epistula Iudae)

Secondary literature

1949. Pietro de Ambroggi: *Le epistole cattoliche di Giacomo, Giovanni e Giuda*. 2. edizione. Torino. 315 pp. – First edition, Torino 1947. 288 pp. – Published in the series "La Sacra Bibbia Volgata latina e traduzione Italiana" (edited by Salvatore Garofalo), this commentary presents a modern Italian translation of the Greek text, and the untranslated Vulgate text on opposite pages. The Latin text is accompanied by brief philological notes.

2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 293–295. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation) of Jude, with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.
2022. Anna Persig: *The Vulgate Text of the Catholic Epistles. Its Language, Origin and Relationship with the Vetus Latina*. Freiburg (xviii, 317 pp.), pp. 237–260. – Page 257: “The Epistle features numerous abstract and derived nouns: some are postclassical formations, such as *exultatio* and *habitaculum*, others are words attested in classical Latin but subject to semantic extensions in the Christian era, for instance *contradictio*, *seductio* and *dominator*, and nouns first attested in Christian literature, such as *murmurator*, *inlusor* and *delusor*, the latter with only two attestations. Further peculiarities of the lexicon of Jude are the rare derivational adjective *querellosus* at 16 and the verb *eradicare* at 12, which, following a few attestations in comedy and Varro, reappears as a revival in Christian literature.”

Textual notes

- Jude 3.** *supercertari* – to contend earnestly (Douay Version). “There is no evidence of a deponent *certor* ever having been in use” – George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London (xvi, 130 pp.), p. xii.
- Jude 13.** *despumantes suas confusiones* – they who spit out their shame; die ihre Schande ausspeien. *despumare* – to spit out, ausspeien; *confusio* – shame, Schande (as in Hebr 12:2); cf. Plater/White, p. 54. Glaire has “jetant l’écume de leurs infamies.”

Revelation (Apocalypsis Iohannis Apostoli)

Text

2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 1882–1906. – Compared to earlier editions of the Stuttgart Vulgate, this edition contains a revised text-critical apparatus for the book of Revelation.

Secondary literature

1912. Eugène Mangenot: Vulgate. In: Fulcran Vigouroux (ed.): *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Tome 5.2. Paris (cols. 1383–2550), cols. 2546–2500. – Col. 2458: “Quant à l’Apocalypse, le texte de l’Itala est demeuré dans la Vulgate, et saint Jérôme a fait peu d’emprunts aux manuscrits grecs.”
1920. Ferdinand Cavallera SJ: Saint Jérôme et la Vulgate des Actes, des Épîtres et de l’Apocalypse. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 21: 269–292. – Jerome was not involved in the production of the Vulgate text of the book of Revelation.
1920. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung*. Düsseldorf. iv, 247 pp.
1935. Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: *Introduction à l’étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle II: La critique rationnelle*. Paris (xiv, 685. Pp.), pp. 612–616.

1955. Francesco Lo Bue: Old Latin Readings of the Apocalypse in the 'Wordsworth-White' Edition of the Vulgate. *Vigiliae Christianae* 9: 21–24. – The author suggests improvements of the apparatus of the Worsworth-White text of the book of Revelation.
1955. Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd edition. Bonn 1955 (viii, 236 pp.), pp. 103–104. – The Latin Text of the Apocalypse has several errors (for examples, see the textual notes below).
1992. Bruce M. Metzger: *The Text of the New Testament. Third, enlarged edition*. Oxford. ix, xvi, 310 pp. – Page 253: Metzger criticizes the book by H.J. Vogels (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung*, 1920); Vogels does not draw the right conclusions from the realization that the Vulgate text of the Apocalypse is based on a Greek text of the type found in Codex Sinaiticus. "The Vulgate therefore possesses so little importance in the textual criticism of the book of Revelation."
2016. Hugh A.G. Houghton: *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Text, and Manuscripts*. Oxford. xix, 366 pp. – See pp. 181–183 for a survey of the relevant manuscript tradition.
2017. Matthias Geigenfeind: Die Patmos-Worte lateinisch gelesen. Vergleich des Textes der Johannesapokalypse in der Vulgata Sixtina (V-Sixt) von 1590 und der Sixto-Clementina (SC) von 1592. In: Marcus Sigismund – Darius Müller (eds.): *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse II*. Berlin (viii, 546 pp.), pp. 231–282.
2022. Frank Oborski: *Vulgata-Lesebuch. Clavis Vulgatae. Lesestücke aus der lateinischen Bibel mit didaktischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Stuttgart (343 pp.), pp. 298–309. – Bilingual text (Latin and German working translation) of Rev 6; 11:1–14; 16; and 22:13.16.17, with explanatory notes on vocabulary and grammar.
2023. Matthias Geigenfeind: *Wirkung durch Übersetzung. Die Vetus Latina Apocalypsis Johannis in Nordafrika am Beispiel von Offb 11–12*. Göttingen. 352 pp.

Textual notes

- Rev 1–3.** Álvaro Salazar Valenzuela: Mensaje a las siete iglesias en el *Apocalipsis* de la *Vulgata*: análisis de traducción funcionalista del griego al latín. *Revista historias del orbis terrarum* 18 (2017) 111–141. – A discussion of translation issues from Greek to Latin in Rev 1:1–6; 1:15; 3:3.
- Rev 1:13.** *podēre*. This is the ablative case of *podēres* (-is), the word for priestly garment (transliterating Greek ποδήρης). The *ē* is long. Some modern Vulgate editions indicate the proper pronunciation by writing *podēre* (Nestle Latin New Testament, 1912).
- Rev 1:20.** *sacramentum*. "In one place at least (Rev 1:20) any Latinist would approve of the choice of *sacramentum* 'the sacred symbol' of the seven stars – and would be equally disappointed not to find it in Rev 17:5." Theodore B. Foster: "Mysterium" and "Sacramentum" in the Vulgate and Old Latin Versions. *The American Journal of Theology* 19 (1915) 402–416, at pp. 403–404.
- Rev 3:4.** *habes pauca nomina in Sardis* – you have only a few individuals (who have not defiled their garments). Though normally meaning "name," *nomen* here is the word for "person." A similar use can be found in Rev 11:13. According to Blaise (*Dictionnaire*, p. 556), this usage is compatible with classical Latin poetry.
- Rev 3:11.** *nemo* – no one else, kein anderer. In classical Latin, one would say *nemo alter*.
- Rev 5:8.** *aperuisset* (has opened). Mistake for *accepisset* (has received). – Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd edition. Bonn 1955 (viii, 236 pp.), p. 104. –

In the same verse: *odoramenta* (plur.) – odours (Douay version), incense (Ronald Knox), for classical *odores*.

Rev 5:12. *divinitatem* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – deity, Gottheit. Mistake for *divitias* – wealth, Reichtum. – Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd edition. Bonn 1955 (viii, 236 pp.), pp. 103–104. The Nova Vulgata, in fact, has *divitias*.

Rev 6:8. *et ecce equus pallidus* – and behold, a pale horse (Douay Version). While all translations of the Vulgate translate the adjective as “pale” (cf. Tusculum-Vulgate: ein fahles Pferd), a recent study suggests “a death-green horse,” see Lourdes García Ureña et al.: *The Language of Colour in the Bible*. Berlin 2022 (xv, 238 pp.), pp. 185–192.

Rev 6:8. *quattuor partes terrae* (Weber/Gryson, Clementina) – (power over) the four quarters of the earth; (Macht über) die vier Teile der Erde. Mistake for *quartam partem* – (power over) one quarter of the earth, (Macht über) den vierten Teil der Erde. – Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd edition. Bonn 1955 (viii, 236 pp.), p. 104. The Nova Vulgata, in fact, has *quartam partem*.

Rev 9:11. *et Latine habens nomen Exterminans* – and in Latin has the name Exterminans (the Terminator, Destroyer). The Greek text translates the Hebrew name into Greek, and the Latin translator adds what the name means in Latin. In German, the name would be “der Verderber.” In order to stay with the Greek, the Nova Vulgata omits the Latin translation of the name.

Rev 11:13. *nomina hominum septem milia* – 7000 people. For *nomen* = person, see above on Rev 3:4.

Rev 11:19. *arca testamenti* – arc of the testimony. “Es erscheint vollkommen natürlich, allgegenwärtigem Umgang mit Aufzeichnungen rechtlich belangreicher Geschäfte abgeschaut, wenn sich im öffnenden Himmelstempel die Bundeslade, ein Dokumentenkasten, ein Urkundenschrein (*arca*) sichtbar wird, worin Gottes Zeugnis (*testamentum*) lagert.” – Christoph Becker: Vertrag, Bund und Testament in der Heiligen Schrift. Diktion römischen Rechts aus Vetus Latina und Vulgata. In: Franz Sedlmeier – Hans Ulrich Steymans (eds.): *Bundestheologie bei Hosea? Eine Spurensuche*. Berlin 2022 (xii, 438 pp.), pp. 69–106, at p. 94.

Rev 13:16. *et faciet omnes pusillos et magnos (...) habere characterem in dextera manu sua* – and he shall make all, little and great (...) to have a character in their right hand (Douay Version). On *character* = brand [Mal], see Richards, p. 17: “being literally in use for recruits to the army from about A.D. 350, applied by St Augustina to the indelible ‘character’ of baptism and orders.”

Rev 14:3. *dicere* (to say). Mistake for *discere* (to learn). – Heinrich Joseph Vogels: *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd edition. Bonn 1955 (viii, 236 pp.), p. 104.

Rev 14:4. *virgines enim sunt* – they are virgins. While the Clementina’s punctuation associates this phrase with what precedes, the Tusculum-Vulgata considers it the beginning of a new sentence. More likely, the Clementina has the correct version. – Dorothea Keller: Übersetzungentscheidungen bei Hieronymus und ihre Begründung. In: Roland Hoffmann (ed.): *Lingua Vulgata. Eine linguistische Einführung in das Studium der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung*. Hamburg 2023 (vi, 413 pp.), pp. 109–136, at p. 121, n. 39.

Rev 14:6–17. *vidi alterum angelum (...) dicens magna voce* – I saw another angel (...) who said with a mighty voice (Rev 16:6–7). One would expect *dicentem*; but *dicens* is here treated as indeclinable. NVg has kept the *dicens*. – Plater/White, p. 19 (§ 19).

Rev 15:4. *quia solus pius es* (Clementina). How to render *pius*? Translators often opt for the meaning of “holy” (the Greek has ὅσιος): thou alone art holy (Douay Version); du allein bist heilig (Allioli); ac-

cordingly, the Nova Vulgata has *quia solus Sancus*. But the Latin, as it stands, may mean: car vous seul êtes miséricordieux (Glaire).

Rev 21:19. *carcedonius* (Weber/Gryson) or *calcedonius* (Clementina, Nova Vulgata)? There is confusion about the name of one of the precious stones mentioned in this passage. The spelling *carcedonius* would imply a reference to the city of Carthage, in Greek Καρχηδών, leading to the rendering as “stone of Carthage.” But the Greek text of Revelation supports the reading of the Clementina. It is not easy to identify this stone. There are at least two suggestions about what modern translations call chalcedony: **(1)** “Chalkedon was a green stone according to Pliny, from the copper mines near Chalcedon,” explains W.M. Flinders Petrie in James Hastings (ed.): *Dictionary of the Bible*. Volume 4. Edinburgh 1902 (xi, 994 pp.), p. 621; the reference is to Pliny: *Historia naturalis* 37, 115 where this author refers to a cloudy variety of green iaspis. **(2)** Others think of an essentially white stone in antiquity often used for cutting stamp seals, see Wolfgang Zwickel (ed.): *Edelsteine in der Bibel*. Mainz 2002 (viii, 99 pp.), pp. 67–68.

Rev 22:19. *auferet Deus partem eius de libro vitae* (Codex Fuldensis, Clementina) – Gods hall take away his part out of the book of life (Douay Version). Weber/Gryson and NVg have: *de ligno vitae* – out of the tree of life.

Rev 22:20. *etiam venio cito: Amen* (Clementina) – surely, I come quickly. Amen (Douay Version). NVg places a comma after *etiam*, here used as a word of affirmation, as in Matt 11:9.

Rev 22:21. *amen* (Clementina). There is no final *amen* in the Weber/Gryson edition and the Nova Vulgata. Some modern translations of the New Testament have the final *Amen* – the New Revised Standard Version (1989), the English Standard Version (2001); but it is lacking in most recent translations such as the Common English Bible (2011), the Bible de Jérusalem (French, 2000), the Danish Bible (1992), and the three most widely used German Bibles: the Zürcher Bibel (2007), the Einheitsübersetzung (2016) and the Lutherbibel (2017). All editions of the Clementina and all modern vernacular translations of the Clementina, including the Douay Version, Allioli and Gundl, however, have the *Amen* in Rev 22:20. Knox, who has the “Amen,” notes in the margin: “Many of the Greek manuscripts omit the word ‘Amen’” [a more correct wording would be: “lack the word ‘Amen’”; B. Lang].

Chapter 23

Textual notes on the appendix to the Vulgate

Note. – Medieval Bible manuscripts regularly included books that we today find neither in Catholic nor in Protestant Bibles. They were generally considered part of the Bible, though there was no official theological or ecclesiastical decision on the matter. A recent source-critical study of the *Imitation of Christ*, spiritual classic dating from the early fifteenth century, identifies quotations and allusions to some of these books: the Prayer of Manasseh, the Third Book of Ezra, and the Fourth Book of Ezra (Becker, p. 763). The Gutenberg Bible of 1454 contained the Latin text of three books that were not distinguished from the rest – the Prayer of Manasseh (vol. 1, fol. 226 recto), 3 Ezra (vol. 1, fols. 239 recto – 246 verso), 4 Ezra (vol. 1, fols. 247 recto – 260 verso).

In its Fourth Session, 1546, the Council of Trent decided about which a books rightfully belonged to the Bible; the full list is included in the council’s decree of 8th April 1546; in this list, neither the Prayer of Manasseh nor 3 and 4 Ezra figure (Denzinger/Hünemann, nos. 1502–1503). Henceforth, they were excluded from Catholic editions of the Bible. With certain exceptions, though. The *editio princeps* of the so-called Clementina edition of the Vulgate, published in 1592, included the Prayer of Manasseh and 3 and 4 Ezra, placed in an appendix at the end of the Bible. This appendix was included upon the initiative of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine SJ. Some subsequent editions of the Vulgate placed this appendix after the books of the Old Testament, while others simply omitted it. The appendix no longer figures in the Nova Vulgata of 1979.

Interestingly, four of the Vulgate “apocryphal” books are included in the 2010 revised edition of the French *Traduction œcuménique de la Bible*, commonly known as TOB: 3 and 4 Ezra, Prayer of Manasseh, and Psalm 151 (*L’aventure de la TOB*).

2002. Kenneth Michael Becker: *From the Treasure-House of Scripture. An Analysis of Scriptural Sources in De Imitatione Christi*. Turnhout 2002. 767 pp.

2005. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünemann (eds.): *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*. 40th edition. Freiburg. xxxviii, 1811 pp.

2010. *L’aventure de la TOB. 50 ans de traduction œcuménique de la Bible*. Paris. 155 pp.

2012. Heinrich Denzinger – Peter Hünemann (eds.): *Compendium of Creeds, Definitions, and Declarations on Matters of Faith and Morals*. San Francisco. xxxvii, 1399 pp.

23.1 Reference editions

23.2 The appendix to the Clementina

23.3 Psalm 51 – Laodiceans (Weber/Gryson Vulgate)

23.1 Reference editions

1946. *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam clementinam nova edition*. Edited by Alberto Colunga OP and Laurentio Turrado. Madrid. xxiv, 1592, 122* pp. This illustrated edition and its several reprints, have the Vulgate appendix in a 122 pp. section placed at the end of the book; in this appendix the Latin text of Prayer of Manasseh, 3 Ezra and 4 Ezra are on pp. 3*–44*. Important to know: most editions of the Colunga-Turrado Vulgate do not include this appendix; it is found only in the early, illustrated editions. ▲
2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, improved edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 1907–1976. – This “Stuttgart Vulgate” has an appendix with the complete set of the writings listed below: Prayer of Manasseh, 3 Ezra, 4 Ezra, Psalm 151, Letter to the Laodiceans, complete with text-critical apparatus. ▲

Note. – Since the pre-critical, Clementina text of the Prayer of Manasseh and 3 and 4 Ezra are absent from most editions of the Colunga/Turrado edition of the Vulgate Bible, one may consult the Vulgate editions such as the *editio minor* of Michael Hetzenauer (which places the text at the end of the Old Testament), the edition of Valentin Loch (which places them at the end of the Bible), or the Paris Professors’ Bible. Here are the bibliographical details:

1849. *Biblia Sacrae vulgatae editionis*. Edited by Valentin Loch. Regensburg. Vol. 4 (404 pp.), pp. 293–343, section entitled “Libri apocryphi.”
1922. *Biblia Sacra secundum vulgatam Clementinam*. Edited by Michael Hetzenauer. Regensburg. Vol. 4 (437 pp.), pp. 355–436.
1956. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*. Ediderunt complures scripturae sacrae professores Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis et Seminarii Sancti Sulpitii. Paris – Tournai (xli, 1280, [288], 152*, 16 pp.), pp. 121*–152. – This edition has the traditional text of Oratio Manassae, 3 Ezra and 4 Ezra in the appendix, pp. 121*–152*.

Translation

2018. Andreas Beriger – Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch–deutsch*. Band 5. Sammlung Tusculum. Berlin (1401 pp.), pp. 1179–1397. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German, of the complete Vulgate appendix. Translated is the text of the Weber/Gryson Vulgate of 2007. Rainer Knab translated 3 Ezra, the other texts have been translated by Clemens Müller.

Secondary literature

2020. Edmon L. Gallagher: Latin Texts [of deuterocanonical books, including Tobit, Judith, 1–2 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, 3 Ezra, 4 Ezra, Prayer of Manasseh, Psalm 151; with reference to the “Paris Bible”]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2A. Leiden (xxxix, 497 pp.), pp. 398–405.
2023. Edmon L. Gallagher: Deuterocanonical Books in Latin Tradition. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 91–105. – A set of biblical books not considered canonical by all Christians has often found a place in Latin biblical manuscripts

and in some cases has received canonical sanction. This article considers not only the so-called Roman Catholic deuterocanonical books (Tobit, Judith, etc.) but also other writings important in the Latin biblical tradition: 3–4 Ezra, the Prayer of Manasseh, Psalm 151, Canticles, Laodiceans, 3 Corinthians, and the Gospel of Nicodemus. The bulk of the article surveys each of these books in terms of its origins in Latin, the manuscript sources, and the relevant editions. The canonical history of these works is also discussed.

23.2 The appendix to the Clementina

Prayer of Manasseh (Oratio Manasse)

3 Ezra (Liber Ezrae tertius)

4 Ezra (Liber Ezrae quartus)

Prayer of Manasseh (Oratio Manasse)

Note. – The short text, to be accommodated on a single printed page, exists in two Latin versions – an ancient and medieval one on the one hand, and a modern one on the other. The critical Vulgate edition by Weber and Gryson contains the ancient text, while the modern editions, dependent on the Vulgata Clementina, offer a text used by Robert Estienne for his Vulgate print edition of 1540. Estienne edited the text to bring it closer to the Greek original. In 1960, the matter was elucidated by the Old Testament scholar Heinrich Schneider (Mainz). Today's commentaries on the Oratio Manasseh are based on the Greek text, see Pieter W. van der Horst – Judith H. Newman: *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*. Berlin 2008 (xvi, 298 pp.), pp. 145–180 (introduction, translation, commentary, bibliography).

Text and translation

1850. *Oratio Manasse*. PL 86: 856–858.

1946. *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam clementinam nova editio*. Edited by Alberto Colunga OP and Laurentio Turrado. Madrid. xxiv, 1592, 122* pp. – The Prayer of Manasseh is on p. 3*.

1974. Eva Oßwald: Das Gebet Manasses. In: *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*. Band IV.1. Gütersloh (47 pp.), pp. 15–27.

1985. James H. Charlesworth: Prayer of Manasseh. In: idem (ed.): *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Volume 2. London (I, 1006 pp.), pp. 625–637.

2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), p. 1909.

2018. Andreas Beriger – Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch–deutsch*. Band 5. Sammlung Tusculum. Berlin (1401 pp.), pp. 1180–1183. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German. The translator is Clemens Müller.

Bibliography

1999. Andreas Lehnhardt: *Bibliographie zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*. Gütersloh (xvi, 502 pp.), pp. 343–347.

Secondary literature

1960. Heinrich Schneider: Der Vulgata-Text der Oratio Manasse. Eine Rezension des Robertus Stephanus. *Biblische Zeitschrift* NF 4: 277–282.
2019. Vasile Babota: Latin [text of the Prayer of Manasseh]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2C. Leiden (xxxii, 572 pp.), pp. 250–254.

3 Ezra (Liber Ezrae tertius)

Note. – The book begins with the words *Et egit Iosias pascha in Hierosolymis*. There may have been an original Hebrew or Aramaic version of the book, but it is lost. Today's commentators refer to the Greek text. Martin Luther did not like the book; he considered it a "Jewish invention" (*tertium Esrae puto esse figmentum iudaicum*; *Weimarer Ausgabe. Tischreden* Band 1, p. 112, no. 268). His word that he would throw the book into the Elbe River is famous; see *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Weimarer Ausgabe. Tischreden*. Band 1. Weimar 1967 (xli, 656 pp.), p. 208, no. 475.

Text and translation

1751. Pierre Sabatier (ed.): *Bibliorum sacrorum versiones antiquae, seu Vetus Italica*. Volume 3. Paris (xxxvi, 1115 pp.), pp. 1040–1075. – Reprint: Turnhout 1976.
1946. *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam clementinam nova edition*. Edited by Alberto Colunga OP and Laurentio Turrado. Madrid. xxiv, 1592, 122* pp. – The Latin text of 3 Ezra is on pp. 5*–19*.
2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 1910–1930. – Latin text with text-critical apparatus.
2018. Andreas Beriger – Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch–deutsch*. Band 5. Sammlung Tusculum. Berlin (1401 pp.), pp. 1184–1151. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German. The translator is Rainer Knab.

Secondary literature

1907. Hugh Pope OP: The Third Book of Esdras and the Tridentine Canon. *Journal of Theological Studies* 8, no. 30: 218–232.
1910. Harry Clinton York: The Latin Versions of First Esdras. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 26: 253–302. – Pages 274–286: On the Vulgate of 1 Esdras (= 3 Ezra). The Vulgate text is a new translation of a Greek text, not a revision of the Old Latin version. Already attested by Cyprian around 250 (Cyprian, *Letter* 74,9), it must have been written in the first half of the 3rd century CE.
1969. Guy-Dominique Sixdenier: Le III^e livre d'Esdras et la Vulgate de Stuttgart. *Revue des Études anciennes* 71: 390–401. – Starting at p. 395: Le troisième livre d'Esdras: sa première édition critique. – The Stuttgart Vulgate contains for the first time a critical edition of the Latin text of 3 Ezra, drawing on manuscripts and noting variant readings. Sixdenier notes further variants and encourages further research into this text.
2014. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Die älteste lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Esdras A – eine neue Entdeckung. *Vetus Testamentum* 64: 401–415. – The author reports on her discovery of a pre-Vulgate Latin version of 3 Ezra in a Spanish manuscript.
2016. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Von Nordafrika über Paris nach Stuttgart: Wie kommt die verderbte Fassung der Übersetzung von Esdras A' in die Vulgata? In: Siegfried Kreuzer et al. (eds.): *Die Septu-*

aginta – Orte und Intentionen. Tübingen (xvi, 923 pp.), pp. 117–131. – The text of 1 Esdras = 3 Ezra in the Clementina is based on two corrupt manuscripts from the 12th century.

2019. Bonifatia Gesche OSB: Latin [text of 3 Ezra]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 447–453.

Textual notes

3 Ezra 1:12. *beneolentia* – pleasing odor, Wohlgeruch. A rare word. – Philipp Thielmann: Lexikographisches aus dem Bibellatein. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 1 (1884) 68–81, at p. 73.

3 Ezra 4:41. The often-quoted saying about victorious truth goes back to an ancient Egyptian model, to be found in the Saying of Ptahhotep. – Paul Humbert: *Magna est veritas et praeualet* (3 Ezra 4,35). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 31: 148–150. – In the Clementina and the Weber/Gryson edition, this verse is numbered v. 41 (instead of 35).

4 Ezra (Liber Ezrae quartus)

Note. – The book begins with the words *Liber Ezrae prophetae, filii Sarei*. The original text, presumably in Hebrew, is lost; only translations exist, including the Vulgate recension which is based upon a lost Greek translation (which often shines through). Today's commentaries are based on the Latin textual tradition. An important textual witness is the Codex Sangermanensis primus (Bibliothèque Nationale ms. Lat. 11553; ca. 810). Modern commentaries often refer to the book as "2 Esdras" (leading to much confusion). Names such as "Ezra-Apocalypse" are also used. Some parts are occasionally given their own titles:

4 Ezra 1–2 = 5 Ezra

4 Ezra 3–14 = 4 Ezra (in the narrower sense; also called Ezra Apocalypse)

4 Ezra 15–16 = 6 Ezra

"Since the first printed Bible (Gutenberg 1452–1455) and probably some time before, 5 Ezra, 4 Ezra and 6 Ezra are grouped together in one book on the Latin Bibles, under the title IV Ezrae." Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB, in: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), p. 541.

Bibliographical survey

2001. Lorenzo DiTommaso: *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850–1999*. Sheffield. 1067 pp. – Pages 470–472: 4 Ezra in Latin. This bibliography also provides a list of the Latin manuscripts that include the complete text of chapter 7 (p. 470).

Latin text of 4 Ezra

1895. Robert L. Bensly (ed.): *The Fourth Book of Ezra. The Latin Version Edited from the MSS*. Cambridge. xc, 107 pp. – Review: Paul Geyer: Bibel- und Kirchenlatein, 1891–1896. *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 5.1 (1897) 75–102, at pp. 98–99.

1910. Bruno Violet: *Die Ezra-Apokalypse (IV. Ezra). 1. Teil: Die Überlieferung*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller. Leipzig. lxvi, 446 pp. – Edition of the Latin text. Violet (1871–1945) was a German Protestant minister whose interest in research culminated in the publication of this edition.
1946. *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam clementinam nova edition*. Edited by Alberto Colunga OP and Laurentio Turrado. Madrid. xxiv, 1592, 122* pp. – The Latin text of 4 Ezra is at the end of the book, on pp. 21*–44*.
1983. A.F.J. Klijn: *Der lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Esra*. Berlin. – Edition of the Latin text. There is also an *index grammaticus* by Gerard Mussies.
2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 1931–1974. – Latin text with text-critical apparatus. In the preface to the 4th edition 1969, Gryson explains that “for 4 Esdras, the editions of Klijn and Bergren contribute nothing really new” (4th ed., p. xxxv). Which is to say: Bruno Violet’s edition of 1910 still forms the text-critical basis.

Concordance of 4 Ezra

1990. Wilfried Lechner-Schmidt: *Wortindex der lateinisch erhaltenen Pseudepigraphen zum Alten Testament*. Tübingen. xi, 241 pp. – In this Latin concordance, 4 Ezra is included in the corpus of texts analysed. The references are given as 4 Esr (= 4 Ezra 3–14), 5 Esr (= 4 Ezra 1–2), and 6 Esr (= 4 Ezra 15–16). The five-volume concordance of Bonifatius Fischer (see Chapter 8.2) also gives references to the text of 4 Ezra.

Translations of 4 Ezra – English

Note. – Those editions of the Bible in English that include a section with the Old Testament apocrypha generally have a translation of 4 Ezra (called “the Second Book of Esdras”).

1970. The Second Book of Esdras. In: *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha*. Oxford (xxi, 1166; viii, 275; ix, 337 pp.), part II, pp. 19–53.
1974. Jacob M. Myers: II Esdras. In: idem: *I and II Esdras. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible. Garden City, NY (xxiv, 384 pp.), pp. 105–354. – All 16 chapters are translated and explained.
1983. Bruce M. Metzger: The Fourth Book of Ezra. With the Four Additional Chapters. In: James H. Charlesworth (ed.): *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Volume 1. London (I, 995 pp.), pp. 517–559.
1989. 2 Esdras [= 4 Ezra]. In: *The Holy Bible (...) with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books. New Revised Standard Version*. Oxford, xxi, 996, 298, 284 pp. – In the Apocrypha section, the translation of 4 Ezra is on pp. 248–281; there are also a few textual notes.
1989. The Second Book of Esdras. In: *The Revised English Bible with Apocrypha*. Oxford –Cambridge (xvii, 828; iv, 205; iv, 236 pp.), part II, pp. 15–41.
1990. Michael Edward Stone: *Fourth Ezra. A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*. Hermeneia – A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible. Minneapolis. xxii, 496 pp. – In the introduction, the author reports on modern research into the Latin text (pp. 3–4). Stone’s commentary does

not include two major textual additions that he classifies as secondary and not part of the original text: Chapters 1–2 and Chapters 15–16.

2020. Lisbeth S. Fried: 4 Ezra. In: Jonathan Klawans – Lawrence M. Wills (eds.): *The Jewish Annotated Apocrypha*. Oxford (xxxiv, 796 pp.), pp. 345–389. – The translation of 4 Ezra 3–14 (i.e., the Jewish nucleus of 4 Ezra) is that of the New Revised Standard Version (1989); introduction and commentary are by L.S. Fried.

Translations of 4 Ezra – German

1900. Hermann Gunkel: Das vierte Buch Esra. In: Emil Kautzsch (ed.): *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. Band 2. Tübingen (vii, 540 pp.), pp. 331–402.
1928. Paul Rießler: Esdras viertes Buch [Kapitel 3–14, pp. 255–309]; Esdras fünftes Buch [Kapitel 1–2, pp. 310–317]; Esdras sechstes Buch [Kapitel 15–16, pp. 318–327]. In: idem: *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel*. Heidelberg. 1342 pp. – The notes on the Esra books are on pp. 1282–1287.
1981. Josef Schreiner: Das 4. Buch Esra. In: *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*. Band 5.4. Gütersloh, pp. 291–412. – Volume 5 was published 1974–2003 in 9 fascicles, 1246 pp. Schreiner's translation is in fasc. 4.
2015. Bonifatia Gesche: *Die Esra-Apokalypse*. Kleine Bibliothek der antiken jüdischen und christlichen Literatur. Göttingen. 72 pp. – This translation is accompanied by a scholarly introduction and textual notes.
2018. Clemens Müller, in: Andreas Beriger – Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch–deutsch*. Band 5. Sammlung Tusculum. Berlin (1401 pp.), pp. 1252–1391. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German.

Translations of 4 Ezra – French

1987. Pierre Geoltrain: Quatrième livre d'Esdras. In: *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires*. Edited by André Dupont-Sommer and Marc Philonenko. Paris (cxlix, 1903 pp.), pp. 1393–1470. Translation with valuable textual notes. ▲
2010. *La Bible. Traduction œcuménique*. 11th edition. Paris (2763 pp.), pp. 2017–2057. – This and later editions of the well-known TOB Bible include a translation of 4 Ezra.

Secondary literature on 4 Ezra

1907. Donatien De Bruyne OSB: Un manuscrit complet du IV livre d'Esdras. *Revue bénédictine* 24: 254–257.
1910. Bruno Violet: *Die Esra-Apokalypse (IV Esra). Band 1: Die Überlieferung*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller. Leipzig (lxvi, 446 pp.), pp. 433–438. – The author prints the text of all patristic Latin references to 4 Ezra, which makes his book an indispensable resource.
1957. Bruce M. Metzger: The "Lost" Section of II Esdras (= IV Ezra). *Journal of Biblical Literature* 76: 153–157.
1958. Joshua Bloch: Some Christological Interpolations in the Ezra-Apocalypse. *Harvard Theological Review* 51: 87–94. – In six passages, the messiah is referred to as God's "son" (4 Ezra 7:28.29; 13:32.37.52; 14:9) – a Christian interpolation.

2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Les livres d'Esdras et leur numérotation dans l'histoire du canon de la Bible latine. *Revue bénédictine* 110: 5–26.
2013. Karina Martin Hogan: The Preservation of 4 Ezra in the Vulgate: thanks to Ambrose, not Jerome. In: Matthias Henze – Gabriele Boccacini (eds.): *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch*. Leiden (xvi, 456 pp.), pp. 381–402.
2013. Florentino García Martínez: The Authority of 4 Ezra and the Discovery of America. In: idem: *Between Philology and Theology*. Leiden (xvii, 194 pp.), pp. 147–171.
2015. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: IV Esdras (2 Esdras, 4–5–6 Ezra) dans les bibles latines. *Revue bénédictine* 125: 266–304. – The article recalls the function of IV Esdras in the history of the canon of the Old Testament (it is absent from the *Amiatinus*, see above, Chapter 7.2). On the basis of a provisional inventory of 133 Latin Bibles containing IV Esdras (listed in Appendix 3), it examines the various configurations attested in the diffusion of Ezra-Nehemiah followed by III Esdras and the three components of IV Esdras in its "French" tradition (φ, with chapter 7 curtailed, depending from Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 11505 mutilated). Its diffusion begins in the thirteenth century, especially in England, rarely in the *Biblia Parisiensis*, according to two sequences: 5–3–4–6 Ezra, which is not exceptional, and 3–5–4–6 Ezra, which becomes prevalent (synthesis in Appendix 2). From the Bible of Gutenberg onwards, 5–4–6 Ezra are grouped in one book, IV Esdras which becomes omnipresent. Appendix 1 proposes a stemma. The article finally recalls the need to distinguish clearly the systems of numbering the books proposed in the manuscripts and those ones used today.
2019. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Latin [text of 4 Ezra]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 488–499. – The author deals in particular with the following individual texts (pp. 495–497): 4 Ezra 4:24; 6:7–10; 7:29 und 13:40.
2021. Shayna Sheinfeld: 2 Esdras. In: Gerbern S, Oegema (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Apocrypha*. New York (xix, 598 pp.), pp. 253–269.

Text and translation of 5 Ezra (= 4 Ezra 1–2)

1990. Theodore A. Bergren: *Fifth Ezra. The Text, Origin, and Early History*. Atlanta, Ga. xvii, 479 pp. – Text of 4 Ezra 1–2 on the basis of several manuscripts.
2001. Michael Wolter: 5 Esra. In: idem: *5. und 6. Esra-Buch*. Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-jüdischer Zeit. Band 3, fascicle 7. Gütersloh (pp. 767–880), pp. 781–820. – German translation with introduction and notes.
2018. Veronika Hirschberger: *Ringens um Israel. Intertextuelle Perspektiven auf das 5. Esrabuch*. Leuven. viii, 332 pp. – In the appendix (pp. 277–293) the author provides two German translations – one of the Vulgate edition of Weber/Gryson and one of the Bergren text.

Secondary literature on 5 Ezra (= 4 Ezra 1–2)

1986. Robert A. Kraft: Towards Assessing the Latin Text of "5 Ezra": The Christian Connection. *Harvard Theological Review* 79: 158–169. – 5 Ezra (= 4 Ezra 1–2) is a Jewish text, revised by a Christian.
1995. Bruce W. Longenecker: *2 Esdras*. Sheffield. 128 pp. – A textbook on 4 Ezra. The author also discusses 4 Ezra 1–2 (pp. 114–121). According to some scholars, this text was presumably written after the Bar Kochba revolt (132–135), that is, in 135 or shortly thereafter; as a Christian text, it is "indicative of a conscious need to define the Christian church in relation to its Jewish parentage

and contemporaries in ways which resemble earlier rather than later patterns. If these suggestions are correct, they support a mid-second century date for 5 Ezra" (p. 115).

2019. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Latin [text of 5 Ezra]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 531–533.

Text and translation of 6 Ezra (= 4 Ezra 15–16)

1992. A. Frederik J. Klijn: *Die Esra-Apokalypse (IV. Esra). Nach dem lateinischen Text unter Benutzung der anderen Versionen*. Berlin. xxxv, 129 pp. – Latin text with German translation.

1998. Theodore A Bergren: *Sixth Ezra. The Text and Origin*. Oxford. xiii, 282 pp. – Reprinted in 2009.

2001. Michael Wolter: 6 Ezra. In: idem: *5. und 6. Esra-Buch*. Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-jüdischer Zeit. Band 3, fascicle 7. Gütersloh (pp. 767–880), pp. 821–868. – German translation with introduction and notes.

Secondary literature on 6 Ezra (= 4 Ezra 15–16)

2019. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Latin [text of 6 Ezra]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 541–542.

Textual notes

4 Ezra 1:5–25. M.D. Brocke: On the Jewish Origin of the "Improperia" (V Ezra 1,5–25). *Immanuel* 7 (1977) 44–51.

4 Ezra 1:38. Theodore A. Bergren: The People "coming from the East" in 5 Ezra 1:38. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 108 (1989) 675–683.

4 Ezra 2:1–32. Theodore A. Berggren: "Two Mothers" in 5 Ezra 2:1–32. *Vigiliae Christianae* 73 (2019) 440–462. – The author takes 5 Ezra (= 4 Ezra 1–2) to be "a post-250 Latin composition of North African origin," a Christian text of the third century.

4 Ezra 4:8. In the Latin text, the last line lacks a parallelism; Geoltrain (1987) restores it on the basis of the Ethiopic text: "et je ne suis pas entré au paradis."

4 Ezra 4:41. The Latin has *in inferno promptuaria animarum*; Geoltrain translates this on the basis of the Ethiopic text as if the Latin had *infernum et promptuaria animarum*.

4 Ezra 5:36. *numera mihi [dies] qui necdum venerunt*, Geoltrain's addition after the Ethiopic text.

4 Ezra 7:13. *maioris saeculi* – of the greater world; meant is the future world; Geoltrain (1987).

4 Ezra 7:28–29. *filius meus Iesus* (28), *filius meus Christus* (29) – my son Jesus, my son, the Messiah. In v. 28, "Jesus" is a Christian interpolation. Present in all the Latin manuscripts, it is old, but certainly not original in the Jewish apocalypse. In v. 29, "Christus" refers to the Messiah; some manuscripts have "Iesus," a patent Christianization. – Literature:

1940. L. Gry: La "mort du Messie" en IV Esdras, VII, 29 (III, V,4). In: H.P. Vincent OP (ed.): *Mémorial Lagrange*. Paris (v, 384 pp.), pp. 133–139.

1958. Joshua Bloch: Some Christological Interpolations in the Ezra-Apocalypse. *Harvard Theological Review* 51: 87–94, esp. pp. 88–93.

2019. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Latin [text of 4 Ezra]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible*. Volume 2B. Leiden (xxxiii, 542 pp.), pp. 488–499, at p. 497.

4 Ezra 7:35. *justitiae vigilabunt et iniustitiae non dominabuntur* (Clementina) – the good deeds will wake up, and the evil deeds will no longer rule/prevail. – The Weber/Gryson edition has: *iustitiae vigilabunt et iniustitiae non dormibunt* – the good deeds will wake up, and the evil deeds will not/no longer sleep, i.e., because it is judgement day.

4 Ezra 7:36–106. Concerning the text of 4 Ezra, nineteenth-century research has provided a pleasant surprise. In the traditional printed editions of the Vulgate, there is a gap in the 7th chapter. This is due to the fact that a leaf is missing from a Codex Sangermanensis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 11505, fol. 821/22). However, the missing text was discovered in other manuscripts and could be reinserted into the Vulgate text (as chapter 7:36–106). Accordingly, older printed editions of the Vulgate, including the Clementina, have a short chapter 7, but newer ones have a long one. The short form of the chapter can be found in older Vulgate editions, e.g., in *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis*. Edited by Valentin Loch. Tomus IV. Regensburg 1849 (494 pp.), pp. 322–324. The long, complete form of the chapter is in *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. by Robert Weber – Roger Gryson. 5th edition. Stuttgart 2007 (xlix, 1980 pp.), pp. 1943–1950. – Literature:

1875. Robert L. Bensley: *The Missing Fragment of the Latin Translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra*. Cambridge. 95 pp.

1957. B.M. Metzger: The 'Lost' Section of II Esdras (= IV Ezra). *Journal of Biblical Literature* 76: 264–278.

1990. Michael Edward Stone: *Fourth Ezra. A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*. Minneapolis 1990 (xxii, 496 pp.), pp. 3–4. – Stone tells the story of the discovery of the missing section.

1995. Bruce W. Longenecker: *2 Esdras*. Sheffield (128 pp.), pp. 111–112: "It has been suggested that 4 Ezra 7.36–140, a section of the book which appears to have been lost' in the transmission of the text, is missing in almost all the extant manuscripts of 4 Ezra since it includes material which is problematic for the church's teaching about prayers for the dead and the possibility of second repentance after death (7.102–115). It may, then, not have been accidentally lost, but purposefully removed."

2001. Lorenzo DiTommaso: *A Bibliography of Pseudepographa Research 1850–1999*. Sheffield 2001 (1067 pp.), p. 470. – The author presents a list of seven manuscripts that include the missing passage.

4 Ezra 7:60. *repromissa creatura* – the promised creation. This must be: the promised judgment (*repromissa iudicium*); the Latin has misread the Greek κρίσις (judgment) as κτίσις (creation). – Geoltrain.

4 Ezra 7:78. *inspiratio* = soul, as in Gen 2:7 which has *spiraculum*.

4 Ezra 7:87. *inhonoribus* (Weber/Gryson), read: *in inhonoribus*.

4 Ezra 8:6. *locum hominis*. The expression does not make sense; it must be: *forma hominis* (most likely was the underlying Greek τύπος misread as τόπος). Geoltrain.

4 Ezra 8:31. *nos et patres nostri talibus morbis languemus* (Clementina) – we and our fathers suffered from such illnesses. The Weber/Gryson edition has *mortalibus moribus egimus* (have acted according to mortal customs, i.e., have committed mortal sins) and relegates *morbis* to the apparatus.

4 Ezra 9:21. *plantationem de tribu multa* – a plant out of a big tribe. This expression does not make sense; it must be: a plant coming from a big forest (*de silva multa*).

4 Ezra 14:26. *absconse* = heimlich. – Kaulen, p. 232.

23.3 Psalm 151 – Laodiceans (Weber/Gryson Vulgate)

Psalm 151

Note. – Psalm 151 is not actually a psalm, but a short first-person narrative of David, culminating in David's victory over Goliath. It was appended to the book of Psalms because the Psalms were believed to be essentially a book of King David's poetry.

Text and translation

1953. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem as codicum fidem. 10: Liber Psalmorum ex recensione Sancti Hieronymi.* Rome (xvi, 299 pp.), p. 299. – This 10th volume of the text-critical Benedictine Vulgate (see above, Chapter 13.3) was edited by Robert Weber OSB. The critical edition of Ps 151 is on the book's last page.
2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem.* Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, corrected edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), p. 1975. – Latin text with text-critical apparatus.
2018. Andreas Beriger – Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch–deutsch.* Sammlung Tusculum. Band 5. Berlin (1401 pp.), pp. 1392–1393. – Bilingual edition, Latin and German. The translator is Clemens Müller.

Secondary literature

2000. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Le psautier latin des origines au XII^e siècle. Essai d'histoire. In: A. Aejmelaus – U. Quast (eds.): *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen.* Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse III.230. Göttingen (415 pp.), pp. 51–81, at pp. 7–58.
2003. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert OSB: Aux origines de la fixation du canon. *Scriptoria, listes et titres.* In: Jean-Marie Auwers et al. (eds.): *The Biblical Canons.* Leuven, pp. 153–176. – Page 166: "(...) la présence du Ps 151 est très répandu dans les psautiers latins." ▲
2019. Felix Albrecht: Latin [text of Psalm 151]. In: Armin Lange (ed.): *Textual History of the Bible.* Volume 2C. Leiden (xxxii, 572 pp.), pp. 302–305.

Letter to the Laodiceans (Epistula ad Laodicenses)

Note. – The Letter to the Laodiceans is a short pseudepigraphical epistle from Paul to the church in Laodicea, preserved only in Latin, included in the *Codex Fuldensis* (see above, Chapter 7.2). The original Greek text is lost. The letter begins with the words: *Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus.* In a letter written in 392/93, Jerome reports that "some are also reading (the letter) to the Laodiceans, but all reject it" (Jerome: *De viris illustribus* 5: *legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses, sed ab omnibus exploditur*; PL 23: 650).

Text and translation

1899. Wilhelm Schulz: Beiträge zu dem Texte der Vulgata aus spanischen Handschriften. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 42: 36–58, at pp. 36–39. – Latin text with apparatus that lists variant readings found in Spanish manuscripts.
1905. Adolf Harnack: *Die apokryphen Briefe des Paulus an die Laodicener und Korinther.* Bonn. 23 pp. – Latin text, accompanied by a commentary. A second, reprint edition was published in Berlin, 1931. We quote from the Berlin edition: "Es ist übrigens nach Inhalt und Form die wertloseste Urkunde, die aus dem kirchlichen Altertum auf uns gekommen ist" (p. 3; It is with regard to content and form the most worthless document that has come down to us from Christian antiquity).

Harnack considers the letter a Marcionite forgery, i.e., one that favours the (allegedly) problematic views of Marcion – but Schneemelcher is not convinced; see below, Schneemelcher 1997.

1906. Eberhard Nestle (ed.): *Novum Testamentum Latine. Textum Vaticanum cum apparatu critico*. Stuttgart. xx, 657 pp. – Page. xix: Ad Laodicenses. – Latin text with critical apparatus. In later editions of Nestle’s Latin New Testament, the text is printed on p. xii.
1997. Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.): *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*. 6th edition. Band 2. Tübingen (viii, 703 pp.), pp. 41–44. – Translation with a long introduction. Page 43: “Man tut dem Autor dieses dürftigen und zusammengestoppelten Machwerks zu viel Ehre an, wenn man ihn mit der Elle antiker literarischer Gewohnheiten mißt.” – There is an English edition: Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.): *New Testament Apocrypha*. Revised Edition. English translation edited by R. McL. Wilson. Volume 2. Cambridge 1992 (viii, 771 pp.), pp. 42–46; see p. 44: the letter “does not purpose to be a rhetorical performance, and the author had obviously no literary ambitions. Too much honour is done the author of this paltry and carelessly compiled concoction when we judge him by the yardstick of ancient literary practices.”
1999. *Das Neue Testament und frühchristliche Schriften*. Übersetzt von Klaus Berger und Christiane Nord. Frankfurt. 1373 pp. – Pages 1190–1191: Der Brief an die Laodizener – German translation. Berger asserts that this document is “mehr als eine sinnlose Kompilation” (p. 1190), more than a mere stupid compilation.
2007. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber OSB and Roger Gryson. 5th, improved edition. Stuttgart (xlix, 1980 pp.), p. 1976. – Latin text with text-critical apparatus.
2018. Andreas Beriger – Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers – Michael Fieger (eds.): *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch–deutsch*. Band 5. Sammlung Tusculum. Berlin (1401 pp.), pp. 1394–1397.

Secondary literature

1914. Rudolf Knopf: Laodicenerbrief. In: Edgar Hennecke (ed.): *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*. Tübingen (xvi, 604 p.), p. 204.
2002. Régis Burnet: Pourquoi avoir écrit l’insipide épître aux Laodicéens? *New Testament Studies* 48: 132–141.
2013. Bart D. Ehrmann: *Forgery and Counterforgery: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics*. New York. x, 628 pp. – Pages 439–445: “The Letter to the Laodiceans.” Ehrmann offers a good summary of the debate initiated by Harnack in 1905.

Textual notes

Laod 5. *Et nunc faciet deus ut quae sunt ex me ad profectum veritatis evangelii (...) deservientes et facientes benignitatem operum quae [?] salutis vitae aeternae* (Nestle’s edition). – This passage does not lend itself to translation. It is deemed corrupt, which is why editors and translators feel at a loss. Nestle has introduced the three dots to indicate where he feels that words are missing. Here is Schneemelcher’s translation: “And now may God grant that those who come from me for the furtherance of the truth of the gospel (...) may be able to serve and to do good works for the well-being of eternal life.”

Laod 17. *Salutate omnes fratres in osculo sancto* – greet all brothers with a holy kiss. Knopf (1904) considers it a spurious passage, and both Nestle and the Weber/Gryson Vulgate exclude it from the main text; the Weber/Gryson edition places it in the apparatus, while Nestle does not even mention it.

RECEPTION

Chapter 24

The Vulgate Bible in art, life, and literature

24.1 Introduction

24.2 The Latin Bible and Jerome in legend, literature, and fiction

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24.1 Introduction

1988. Germain Marc'hadour: Influence de la Vulgate sur la culture de l'Occident. In: Yves-Marie Duval (ed.): *Jérôme entre l'occident et l'orient*. Paris (508 pp.), pp. 465–481. – This somewhat rambling essay by a Catholic priest (1921–2022, ordained in 1944) refers to words that French and Breton owes to the Vulgate (cilice, holocauste, talent, grabat, jubilé), to echoes of the Vulgate in Christopher Marlowe and Paul Claudel, and to the literary criticism of Valery Larbaud. Page 470: “Nous prêtres qui avons vécu le séminaire avant 1945 sommes les derniers représentants d'une espèce qui remonte au Concile de Trente, et que l'on trouvait aussi bien à Vancouver ou à Sydney qu'à Santiago ou à Quimper. La Vulgate, notre livre de chevet, relayée en outre par tous nos manuels de théologie, eux aussi en latin, fournissait la matière, sérieuse ou comique, d'un 'style camail', équivalent catholique de ce que les Huguenots appellent 'le patois de Canaan'.”

2007. André Paul: *La Bible et l'Occident. De la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie à la culture européenne*. Paris. 411 pp. – Italian translation: *La Bibbia et l'Occidente. Dalla biblioteca di Alessandria alla cultura europea*. Brescia 2009. 387 pp. – The author refers to the Vulgate Bible as a founding document of Western culture. It should not be monopolized by the church, but be considered a monument of Western culture.

24.2 The Latin Bible and Jerome in legend, literature, and fiction

c. 400. Postumianus. This wealthy traveler visited Jerome in Bethlehem, where he stayed for six months at Jerome's monastery. Postumianus' friend Sulpicius Severus includes Postumius' portrait of Jerome in his *Dialogues* (compiled c. 403/404). The report culminates in this sentence: “He is always occupied in reading, always at his books with his whole heart: he takes no rest day or night; he is perpetually either reading or writing” (*totus semper in lectione, totus in libris est: non*

die, non nocte requiescit; aut legit aliquid semper, aut scribit: Dialogi I, 9; CSEL 1: 161). A longer passage from Postumianus' report, in German translation, can be found in Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg 2016 (444 pp.), p. 234.

1263/66. Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea*. – The famous Golden Legend's substantial chapter on saint Jerome is a compilation of all then known materials on Jerome's life. Mention is made of Jerome's knowledge of languages, the success of his biblical translations, and of course of the legendary lion whom the saint acquired as a companion after having removed a thorn from his paw. Editions and translations:

2012. Jacobus de Voragine: *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. With an Introduction by Eamon Duffy. Princeton (xxi, 789 pp.), pp. 597–602.

2022. Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea – Goldene Legende*. Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar von Bruno W. Häuptli. Dritter Teilband. Freiburg (xi, 1629–2447), pp. 1906–1921. – This bilingual edition was originally published in 2014; for the 2022 edition, the text has been reviewed.

1300. Dante: *Divina Commedia*. Dante not only knew and quoted the Vulgate Bible (see below, Chapter 24.5, [Italian literature](#)). In his work, one also finds echoes of some of Jerome's other writings – his letters, the Prologus galeatus, and the commentary on Titus. In the Divine Comedy, he invokes the authority of Jerome to argue that the angels were created before the world: *Paradiso* XXIX, 22–45; the implied reference is to Jerome's commentary on Titus (PL 26 [1845]: 559–560). – Ilona Opelt: Hieronymus bei Dante. *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch* 51/52 (1976/77) 65–83.

1764. Voltaire: *Les contes de Guillaume Vadé*. In the preface, Voltaire tells the fictional story of one Jérôme Carré who was given the names of seven saints at birth. To decide which one to use, he later in life studied the life of each of them – and was disappointed because he failed to find anything of worth in them. Eventually, he came to investigate the life of saint Jerome: “Je me suis vu ainsi réduit au seul nom de Jérôme; mais ce Jérôme, le seul patron qui me restait, ne m'a pas été plus utile que les autres. Est-ce que Jérôme n'aurait pas de crédit en paradis ? J'ai consulté sur cette affaire un très-savant homme: il m'a dit que Jérôme était le plus colère de tous les hommes; qu'il avait dit de grosses injures au saint évêque de Jérusalem, Jean, et au saint prêtre Rufin ; que même il appela celui-ci *hydre* et *scorpion*, et qu'il l'insulta après sa mort: il m'a montré les passages. Je me vois obligé de renoncer enfin à Jérôme, et de m'appeler Carré tout court; ce qui est bien désagréable.” – English: I was thus reduced to the name of Jerome; but this Jerome, the only patron saint I had left, was no more useful to me than the others. Would Jerome have credit in heaven? I have consulted a very wise man on the matter: and was told that Jerome was the most choleric of all men; that he had spoken great insults to the holy bishop of Jerusalem, John, and to the holy priest Rufinus; that he even called the latter a hydra and a scorpion, and that he insulted him after his death: I was shown the passages. So I saw myself obliged to renounce Jerome also, and to call myself Carré tout court; which is most unpleasant. – *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*. Texte établi par Louis Moland. Tome 10. Paris 1877 (636 pp.), p. 7.

1924. H.G. Wells: *The Dream. A Novel*. New York (318 pp.), pp.153–154 (chapter 4, § 9). – The Englishman Harry Mortimer Smith tells the story of his life. As a boy, he worked at a chemist's shop in London in the early 1900s. “My first reaction to this chemist's shop was a violent appetite for Latin. I succumbed to its suggestion that Latin was the key to all knowledge. (...) and soon I could even construe whole phrases. I dug out Latin books from the second-hand booksellers' boxes, and some I could read and some I could not. There was a war history of that first Caesar (...) and there was a Latin New Testament; I got along fairly well with both.”

1981. Colette Estin: Saint Jérôme, de la traduction inspirée à la traduction relativiste. *Revue biblique* 88: 199–215. – Imaginary, partly satirical dialogue between Jerome and a critical reader of his translation. Jerome rejects the idea that the Greek translation of the Bible (Septuagint) owes itself to

divine inspiration (as, for example, is argued by the legend in the Letter of Aristeas and by Augustine). According to Jerome, only the Hebrew text is divinely “inspired.” Jerome wavers in his evaluation of the Septuagint; see above, Chapter 14.1. It may well be that Estin was inspired by the Dominican Marie Joseph Lagrange who in a 1932 article included a satirical dialogue between Jerome and his modern critic Donatien De Bruyne; see Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP: De quelques opinions sur l’ancien psautier latin. *Revue biblique* 41: 161–186, at pp. 171–172.

Jerome novels

1990. Jean Marcel: *Jérôme ou de la traduction. Roman*. Montréal. – Jean Marcel, born in 1941, is a Canadian novelist and literary scholar writing in French.
2008. Michael Wood: *The Jerome Conspiracy*. Second edition. Bloomington, Ind. 160 pp. – Set in a modern fictional frame, the book argues that, looked at from the vantage point of the New Testament, the Septuagint must be seen as the Christian Old Testament, and not, as Jerome claimed, the Hebrew Bible. Jerome got it all wrong, and therefore the Vulgate Bible with its emphasis on “Hebrew truth” must be rejected. One of the new, and problematic, teachings of Jerome is the doctrine of eternal damnation in hell.
2009. Alain Le Ninèze: *La controverse de Bethléem. De l’évangile à la Vulgate*. Roman historique. Paris. 110 pp. – Historical novel in French. The author, a classical philologist born in 1948, is the author of several novels about early Christianity. He claims to be an agnostic.
2015. Joan B. O’Hagan: *Jerome and His Women*. Sydney. x, 276 pp. – With a historical postscript by Richard Johnson, emeritus professor of classics, this is a serious historical novel. It includes a glossary of names and a bibliography. The novel is set in Rome where O’Hagan spent most of her life. The Australian author (1924–2014) did not live to see this novel published.

24.3 Liturgy and spirituality: the layman and the Vulgate

Latin stock prayers

Latin and the lay person

“Tobias nights”: the Vulgate and deferred marital intercourse

Latin and church music

Latin stock prayers

Note. – Before the reform of the Catholic liturgy subsequent to the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s, the intelligent lay person was expected to know a number of Latin phrases used at Mass as well as a small number of Latin prayers: the Paternoster (Lord’s Prayer), the Ave Maria (Hail Mary) and the Salve Regina.

4th century. The Lord’s Prayer (Paternoster, Matt 6:9–13). The liturgical standard wording is as follows:
Pater noster, qui es in coelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, & in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita no-

stra, sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen. – This text represents the Vetus Latina version of the Lord’s prayer. Jerome for what became the Vulgate text changed only one expression, to bring it closer to the underlying Greek: instead of *panem nostrum quotidianum*, he wrote *panem nostrum supersubstantialem*. See above, Chapter 22, entry on Matt 6.

- c. 1000. The Angelic Salutation (Luke 1:28.42): *Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus* (etc.) – Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus (etc.); Gegrüßet seist Du, Maria, voll der Gnade, der Herr ist mit Dir, du bist gebenedeit unter den Frauen, und gebenedeit ist die Frucht deines Leibes, Jesus. Frequently recited both in the liturgy and in private prayer, the Angelic Salutation, constructed from two verses from the gospel of Luke, had the form given here by 1000; later, another sentence was added, asking the Virgin to be one’s advocate with the heavenly judge. The Latin of the prayer version differs only slightly from the Vulgate text that reads, at the beginning: *Ave: gratia plena, Dominus tectum*, etc. The prayer version also adds the names Mary and Jesus to the biblical text.
1140. Bernhard of Clairvaux: *Salve Regina* (hail, holy queen – gegrüßest seist du, Königin). – This Marian antiphon contains the phrase *ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle* (to you we sigh, mourning and weeping in this valley of tears – zu dir seufzen wir, trauernd und weinend in diesem Tale der Tränen). The phrase *in lacrimarum valle* – in the valley of tears – is from Psalm 84:7 (Vg 83:7).

Latin and the lay person

Note. – In the Catholic past, even beyond the Middle Ages and well into the twentieth century, preachers would occasionally throw in a Latin word or a verse from the Latin Bible, and at least the better educated among their audience would understand.

- c. 1350. Henry Suso: *Little Book of Letters 7*. – Suso exhorts to spiritual discipline in monasteries and then concludes by saying: “Weh denen, die solches hingehen lassen und ihres Herzens Frieden hierin suchen! Von ihnen spricht Jesajas: *pax, pax, et non est pax*; das ist so viel gesprochen als: Sie sagen: Friede, Friede, und es ist doch nicht Friede.” – “Alas for those who let it all pass and thereby seek peace for their heart. Isaiah says about them: *Pax, pax, et non est pax*. This means: They say peace, peace, but there is no peace.” *Des Mystikers Heinrich Seuse O.Pr. Deutsche Schriften*. Übersetzt von Nikolaus Keller. Regensburg 1926 (lxiii, 478 pp.), pp. 348–348; Henry Suso: *The Exemplar. With Two German Sermons*. Translated by Frank Tobin. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York 1989 (xvi, 416 pp.), p. 353. The verse quoted in Latin is Jeremiah 6:14 (not Isaiah).
- c. 1350. Johannes Tauler. In his German sermons, Tauler occasionally quotes from the Latin Bible. Two examples: **(a)** *Sermon 11* (German, p. 82; English, p. 60): “Das ist gerade das, was die Braut im Hohenlied spricht: *Introduxit me rex in cellarium* [Cant 1:3] – der Herr hat mich geführt und geleitet in seinen Weinkeller, und da hat er seine Liebe geordnet.” – “Thus the Beloved in the Song of Songs says: *Introduxit me rex in cellarium* [Cant 1:3] – to his own cellar the King has brought me and there he has truly ordred that love.” – **(b)** *Sermon 23* (German, p. 154; English, p. 79–80): “Nun kommt Sankt Peter und unterweist uns ganz klar und deutlich, welche die Vorbereitungen hierzu [zum Empfangen des Heiligen Geistes] sind, und spricht: *Estote prudentes* [1 Peter 4:7]. Das bedeutet nicht eigentlich: ‘Seid weise’ in unserer Sprache, sondern eher soviel wie: ‘Seid klug, seid besonnen,’ das heißt, wenn ein Mensch etwas gut und oft geübt hat, so ist

er dessen kundig; er hat es durchschaut und ist wohlbewandert darin." – "Now along comes Saint Peter to instruct us clearly and beyond a doubt what we have to do to prepare for [the reception of] the Holy Spirit. *Estote prudentes*, he says [1 Peter 4:7]. This does not exactly mean *be wise*. A better reading would be: *act with discernment*, the discernment one acquires when one has practiced a thing often and well and now knows it thoroughly." Johannes Tauler: *Predigten*. Translated by Georg Hofmann. Volume 1. 3rd edition. Einsiedeln 1987 (xx, 306 pp.); Johannes Tauler: *Sermons*. Translated by Maria Shradly. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York 1985 (xvi, 183 pp.).

1609. François de Sales [Franz von Sales]: *Introduction à la vie dévote*. – Part II, chapter 1: "If you follow my advice, Philothea, you will say your *Pater, Ave Maria* and *Credo* in Latin, but you should also learn to understand well the words in your own language so that while saying them in the common language of the Church you can also appreciate the wonderful and beautiful meaning of those holy prayers." Francis de Sales: *Introduction to the Devout Life*. Translated by John K. Ryan. Garden City, N.Y. 1972 (315 pp.), p. 82.
1654. Blaise Pascal: *Mémorial*. – The famous note about a nocturnal religious epiphany contains (depending on the tradition) two or three Latin Vulgate quotations: *Deum meum et Deum vestrum – my God and your God* (John 20:17); *dereliquerunt me fontem aquae vivae – they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water* (Jer 2:13); *non obliviscar sermones tuos – I will not forget thy words* (Ps 119:16, Vg 118:16). An English translation of the memorial can be found in Pascal: *Pensées*. Translated by A.J. Krailsheimer. Penguin Classics. Harmondsworth 1966 (359 pp.), pp. 309–310.
- 19th century. Kierkegaard. – Niels W. Bruun – Finn G. Jensen: Kierkegaard's Latin translations of the New Testament: a constant dialogue with the Vulgate. In: Lee C. Barrett – Jon Stewart (eds.): *Kierkegaard and the Bible. Vol. 2: The New Testament*. Farnham 2010 (xiii, 338 pp.), pp. 209–220.

"Tobias nights": the Vulgate and deferred marital intercourse

Note. – The angel told Tobias and his wife to abstain from having marital intercourse during the first three nights after their wedding (Tobit 6:16–22; 8:4 in the Vulgate version). This passage inspired the practice of spending the first three nights without sex (*sine copula carnalis*). In 1234, King Louis IX of France, called Louis the Pious, is reported to have followed the custom of keeping *triduum castitatis*, the three nights of chastity.

1523. Martin Luther: Das siebte Kapitel S. Pauli zu den Corinthern. – In a 1523 sermon, Luther reports that in some places, people follow the example of Tobias. While this is a laudable custom of moderation, one must not make it a law. *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Weimarer Ausgabe*. Band 12. Weimar 1891 (xvi, 706 pp.), pp. 101–102. For more on Luther and the Tobias nights, see Gamberoni's 1969 book, as listed below.
1862. Anton Birlinger: *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben. Zweiter Band: Sitten und Gebräuche*. Freiburg (xxxvi, 482 pp.), p. 334: "Eine wunderschöne, auf der Bibel beruhende Sitte im Allgäu (z.B. Christatzhofen, Egloffs) war, ob's jetzt noch so ist, weiß ich nicht, die Sitte, die 'Tobiasnächte' zu halten."
1969. Johann Gamberoni: *Die Auslegung des Buches Tobias in der griechischen und lateinischen Kirche der Antike und der Christenheit des Westens bis um 1600*. Munich. 355 pp. – Gamberoni comments on medieval and early-modern commentaries on Tobit 6:18–22 (pp. 185–190); he also notes Luther's references to the custom (pp. 233–234).

1995. Alain Boureau: *Le droit de cuissage: la fabrication d'un mythe (XIII^e–XX^e siècle)*. Paris (325 pp.), pp. 192–208. – A large part of this book's chapter 6 deals with the Tobias nights. Translations: *The Lord's First Night: The Myth of the Droit de Cuissage*. Chicago 1998 viii, 300 pp.; *Das Recht der Ersten Nacht. Zur Geschichte einer Fiktion*. Düsseldorf 1996 (381 pp.), pp. 246–264.
2011. Jane Merrill – Chris Filstrup: *The Wedding Night: A Popular History*. Santa Barbara (xii, 256pp.), pp. 66–75: "Tobias Nights."
2023. Lucas Brum Teixeira: *Accipies virginem cum timore Domini* (Tob 6:22 Vg). Jerome's Translation Technique and Ascetic Ideals in the Vulgate of Tobit. *Vulgata in Dialogue. Special issue*: 85–92 (online journal).

Latin and church music

2023. Bernhard Schrammek: Die Vulgata und die Musica Sacra. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 128–129.
2023. Michael Maul: Johann Sebastian Bach: ein guter Lateiner? In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 129–131.

24.4 Latin loanwords and Latin sayings from the Vulgate

Note. – While there is some truth in the notion that the religious and specifically theological terminology of modern languages frequently, and typically, is based on the Vulgate Bible (see below, Metzger, 1962), this is not the whole story. In fact, theological terminology in Latin derives largely from pre-Vulgate Latin authors such as Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine. Tertullian has no doubt translated directly from the Greek (without using existing translations), while Cyprian and the others used Latin biblical texts today called *Vetus Latina*.

Some Vulgate words in European languages

Secondary literature

Latin sayings from the Vulgate

Books of sayings

Some Vulgate words in European languages

abominabilis – In English, abominable means "detestable, causing moral revulsion," and the same word has entered romance languages: abominable (French), abominabile (Italian). As a foreign word, "abominabel" is listed in German dictionaries, but it is rarely used. In the Bible, this word, like the noun abomination, is typical of the book of Proverbs (Prov 3:32; 11:20, and often). The book *Purity and Danger* (1966) by the anthropologist Mary Douglas includes a chapter entitled "The abominations of Leviticus."

angelus – The Greek word ἄγγελος (pronounced *ángelos*) means "messenger." When it refers to a supernatural messenger sent by God, the Vulgate Bible, rather than translating the word, merely transliterates it. As "angel" it has entered the English language; other European languages have

it in the form "der Engel" (German), "l'ange" (French), and "angelo" (Italian). "And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God (*missus est angelus Gabriel a Deo*) into a city of Galilee called Nazareth ..." (Luke 1:26).

antichristus – The Antichrist (1 John 2:18), a figure opposing the rule of Christ, is not a well-defined character, but the word is in the vocabulary of all western languages.

altare – Unchanged in Italian (altare), slightly changed in English (altar), German (der Altar) and Danish (alter), this is a rather common word. The words "if therefore you offer your gift at the altar (*munus tuum ad altare*), and there you remember that your brother has anything against you (...)" constitute a well-known passage from Christ's Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:23).

baptizare – This loanword from the Greek (Matt 3:11) has been adopted into French (baptizer) and English (to baptize), but not into German which has its own word: taufen.

caper emissarius – The scapegoat (the goat that escapes, or rather is sent away; Lev 16:8) is capro emissario in Italian, Sündenbock in German, but in French, "bouc émissaire" has conserved much of the Latin expression.

christianus – With "Christian," the English language has the full word, complete with the typically Latin ending *-anus*. Germans say der Christ, the corresponding French word is chrétien. The relevant biblical passage is Acts 11:26: it was in Antioch that the disciples were first called *christiani*.

crux – The Roman instrument of deadly torture (Matt 27:32) has entered all western languages, though altered to suit preferred pronunciations: cross in English, Kreuz in German, and la croix in French; the corresponding verb *crucifigere* (Matt 27:23) has been adopted as to crucify, in German kreuzigen, and in French crucifier. But *crux* has also entered the western vocabulary for use in certain idiomatic expressions. The *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2010) gives two examples: one for the meaning *crux* = the decisive point at issue (the *crux* of the matter is that attitudes have changed); and another one for a particular point of difficulty, where the plural can also be used: both *cruces* can be resolved by a consideration of the manuscripts.

diabolus – This loanword from Greek διάβολος (Rev 12:9, and many times in the gospels) is most clearly echoed in the English adjective diabolical, but the word devil (and its German equivalent, der Teufel) are also derived from it.

diaconus – The deacon derives his name from the Latin *diaconus* (1 Tim 3:8), a loanword based on the Greek διάκονος. The Germans say Diakon, the French diacre.

discipulus – Those most closely associated with Jesus are called his disciples (Matt 5:1), in French les disciples. Germans have their own word: die Jünger.

ecclesia – In French, the church is called *église*, derived from *ecclesia* (Matt 16:18; Acts 20:28). Iglesia, the Spanish word for church, stays even closer to its Latin parent word. The Italian equivalent is chiesa.

episcopus – The book of Acts refers to *episcopi* who govern the church (Acts 20:28). The word metamorphosed into bishop, Bischof (German), évêque (French) vescovo (Italian) and bispo (Spanish). The adjective "episcopal" has conserved more of the original sound.

evangelium – Das Evangelium is the German word for gospel, reflecting the title of the gospels (e.g., *evangelium secundum Matthaeum*). French has l'évangile, while the English "evangel" is said to be archaic, but it survives in American English. The adjectives "evangelical" and "evangelisch" derive from *evangelicus*, early attested in Tertullian and Cyprian.

fides – Jesus said, *habete fidem Dei* (Mark 11:22) – have faith in God. French calls faith “la foi,” but German has its own word: der Glaube.

firmamentum – The firmament, created by God in the beginning (Gen 1:6–8), has made its way into all western languages.

in Domino – in the Lord, im Herrn, dans le Seigneur. This formulaic expression is an idiom used especially by those Christians whose language echoes that of the Bible. The meaning is generally un-specific, though one may detect meanings such as “with the help of Christ” or “because of God, because of Christ.” “Rejoice in the Lord” (*exultate in Domino*, Ps 33:1, Vg 32:1) and “children, obey your parents in the Lord” (Eph 6:1) are just two examples out of many.

iustificatio – Justification, one of the watchwords of Pauline theology (Rom 8:10), has entered theological jargon in English and French, but not in German which has Rechtfertigung.

Lucifer – one of the names given to Satan, derived from the Vulgate version (and ultimately, from the Vetus Latina) of Isa 14:12, though one must note that this passage does *not* use *lucifer* as a name of Satan. In rendering this passage, traditional biblical translations such as the Douay Version and the King James Bible have kept the Vulgate’s Lucifer. Luther, by contrast, has Morgenstern.

mammona – This Aramaic word has found its way into the Greek and Latin New Testament. “You cannot serve God and mammon” (Matt 6:24) has become proverbial in several languages. Mammon is money. The *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2010) spells the word with a capital letter, suggesting that Mammon would be one of the devil’s names.

paenitentia – *paenitentiam agite* (Matt 3:2) – do penance! In English, the nouns penance and penitence derive from *paenitentia*.

paradisus – This word from the early chapters of the book of Genesis (Gen 2:8, 10, etc.) and used in a promise Jesus made to a man crucified with him (Luke 23:43) has entered all western languages: paradise, le paradis, das Paradies.

praedicare – *praedica verbum!* – preach the word! (2 Tim 4:2). The verb and its derivatives – to preach, preaching, preacher – has entered many languages, including German (predigen) and French (prêcher). The English word derives from the French prêcher.

presbyter – The word echoes Greek πρεσβύτερος and means “an old man.” From passages such as James 5:14 it has entered English as presbyter. It is also shortened to priest, prêtre (French) and il prete (Italian). The German equivalent is Priester.

propheta – This Greek word found its way from the Greek Bible into the Latin one, and became a foreign word in all western languages. The *Oxford Dictionary of English* (3rd edition, 2010) explains: “a person regarded as an inspired teacher or proclaimer of the will of God: the Old Testament prophet, Jeremiah” and quotes the proverb: “a prophet is not without honour save in his own country” (Matt 13:57).

proselytus – Technically, this Greek word, adopted into the Latin Bible (Matt 23:15; Acts 2:11) means a Gentile converted to Judaism. In some European languages such as English, a proselyte is, more generally, someone who has changed his opinion or political allegiance.

psalmus – The liber Psalmorum – the book of Psalms – is consistently called thus in English. Other European languages have the same word as der Psalm (German) or le psaume (French). One also refers to the book of Psalms as the Psalter, although, in the Vulgate, *psalterium* is the name

of a musical instrument (Ps 57:9 [Vg 56:9], rendered "psaltry" in the Douay Version), and never of a book of sacred songs.

reptile – Reptiles are a class of cold-blooded animals such as snakes, crocodiles and lizards. People are not generally aware that this is not a Latin word in general use. The word *reptile* was invented to translate Genesis 1:20,24. In Italian, it has become *rettile*.

salus – *Nostra salus*, our salvation, is close at hand, writes Saint Paul (Rom 13:11); the word has entered French as *le salut*.

salvator – Christ is *salvator* (2 Pet 2:20). This word has entered the English religious vocabulary as *saviour*, the French vocabulary as *sauveur*.

sanctus – In the New Testament, believers are also called *sancti*, the saints (Acts 9:13). In English and French, the saints and *les saints*, respectively, are believed to be those of the dead who already now enjoy special closeness to God and Christ in heaven. In Italian, *santo*, plural *santi*. As often, the German language has its own word, *die Heiligen*; but contemporary Germans understand when they are confronted with the archaic *Sankt Petrus*.

scandalum – *vae homini illi, per quem scandalum venit* – woe to that man by whom the scandal cometh (Matt 18:7, Douay Version). Originally a Greek word meaning a kind of trap, as in 1 Cor 1:23 – "we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed a stumbling-block (σκάνδαλον)." The word has come to mean "annoyance, nuisance," and was adopted into English as *scandal*, into French as *le scandale*, into German *das der Skandal*. – Olivier Got: *Histoire du mot 'scandale.'* *Sigila* no. 33 (2014.1) 13–21.

scriptura – *omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est* (2 Tim 3:16) – all scripture, divinely inspired, is useful. In English, *Scripture* has become a word for the Bible, as has the German "die Schrift," usually "die Heilige Schrift." While *Die Heilige Schrift* used to be printed on the title page of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish German Bibles, this has gone out of fashion; recent editions are entitled *Die Bibel*. But note that *biblia* is not a word found in the Vulgate Bible.

spiritus sanctus – Believers are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and the *spiritus sanctus* (Matt 28:19), i.e., the Holy Spirit. The French stays closer to the Latin by saying *l'Esprit-Saint* or *le Saint-Esprit*. The Italian equivalent is *lo Spirito Santo*.

visitatio, visitare – "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, *visiting* the iniquity of the fathers unto the third and fourth generation" (Exod 20:5, King James Version). The *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2010) defines "visitation" as "a disaster or difficulty regarded as a divine punishment."

Secondary literature

1913. A.B. Macaulay – James Brebner: *The Vulgate Psalter. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary*. London. xxiii, 242 pp. – The book includes an appendix entitled "Examples of Mottoes and Phrases Derived from the Vulgate Psalter" (pp. 235–242). Two examples: *Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor* (Ps 50:7) – "hence the name asperges for the ceremonial use of holy water." *Calicem salutaris accipiam* (Ps 115:4). A common motto on Communion chalices.

1934. George C. Richards: *A Concise Dictionary to the Vulgate New Testament*. London: Samuel Bagster. xvi, 130 pp. – Pages xiv–xv: a list of Latin Vulgate words in Romance languages.

1962. Bruce M. Metzger: *The Early Versions of the New Testament*. In: Matthew Black – H.H. Rowley (eds.): *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*. Edinburgh 1962 (xv, 1126, 16 pp.), pp. 671–675. – Pages 671–672: "The influence of the Latin Vulgate has been simply enormous. (...) The religious terminology of the languages of western Europe [i.e., French and English] has been in great part

derived from or influenced by the Vulgate (e.g., words like justification, sanctification, salvation, regeneration, election, reconciliation, satisfaction, sacrament, communion, congregation, orders, penance, and priest)."

1970. Paul Zürcher: *Der Einfluß der lateinischen Bibel auf den Wortschatz der italienischen Literatursprache vor 1300*. Bern 315 pp. – This is essentially a dictionary. Each entry begins with the meaning of a lexical item in the Vulgate, which is then followed into the Italian literary language. – Review: Peter Wunderli, *Vox Romana* 31 (1972) 128–131.
1985. Richard Braun: L'influence de la Bible sur la langue latine. In: Jacques Fontaine – Charles Pietri (eds.): *Le monde latin antique et la Bible*. Paris (672 pp.), pp. 129–140.
1992. Olegario García de la Fuente: La Biblia en el diccionario de la lengua española a través de la Vulgata. *Fortunatae. Revista canaria de Filología, Cultura y Humanidades Clásicas* 4: 213–228. – The author considers several Spanish words that are derived from the Vulgate; an example is *cizaña* in the sense of discord, based on Matt 13:25–30.
2008. Guido Cifoletti: Ebraismi passata attraverso il latino della Vulgata nelle lingue europee. In: Francesco Apesi (ed.): *Il mio cuore è a oriente*. Milan (816 pp.), pp. 175–190.
2020. Hans Förster: Translating from Greek as Source Language? The Lasting Influence of Latin on New Testament Translation. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 43: 85–107. – There is a subtle influence of the Latin Bible on how even today's philologists read the Greek New Testament. As Förster demonstrates, standard dictionaries of biblical Greek frequently echo how Greek words were translated into the Latin of the *Vetus Latina* or Vulgate.

Latin sayings from the Vulgate

Note. – The following sayings are collected from books of sayings such as the ones by Büchmann and Kudla, and checked against the explanations found in standard English dictionaries. The problem with many collections of Latin quotations (here not listed) is that they neither give the exact source reference nor an explanation of the meaning – which makes such collections worthless for serious study. In the past, the use of Latin quotations in oral and written discourse was a sign of erudition; today, this is no longer the case because the knowledge of Latin has dramatically declined.

abyssus abyssum invocat – deep calleth on deep [ein Abgrund ruft den andern]. Used as a saying in the sense: one mistake gives rise to another one (Ps 42:8, Vg 41:8).

Amen – This word is placed at the end of prayers, as in the Lord's prayer (Matt 6:13 Clementina) and other biblical prayers (Neh 13:31; Tobit 13:23).

anathema sit – be it cursed [das sei ausgeschlossen] (1 Cor 16:22). More generally used is the word *anathema* in English in sentences such as "Racial hatred was anathema to her" (this sentence is from the *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 2010).

compelle intrare – compel them to come in! [nötige sie hereinzukommen!] This sentence is said to have been the scriptural basis for forced baptism and similar measures of violent missionary activity (Luke 14:23).

dei gratia – according to the grace of God [von Gottes Gnaden] (1 Cor 3:10). The word *gratiā* is here in the ablative case. The expression used to be attached to names of royalty and nobility to express their legitimacy: Sigismundus Augustus Dei gratia rex Poloniae (Sigismundus Augustus, by the grace of God king of Poland).

Deus absconditus – the hidden God [der verborgene Gott] (Isa 45:15).

Deus vult – God wants it [Gott will es]. Sometimes used as a Christian motto, this expression echoes 2 Samuel 14:14: *nec vult Deus perire animam* – God does not want any soul to perish.

dies irae – the day of wrath [Tag des Zorns] (Rom 2:5; Rev 6:17). English dictionaries generally list this expression, explaining that it refers to a Latin hymn on the Day of Judgment, sung in requiem masses.

dixi et salvavi animam meam – I have spoken and saved my soul [ich habe gesprochen und meine Seele gerettet] (after Ezek 3:18–19; 33:8–9). The expression was famously used by Karl Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875) to express his relief at denouncing someone he perceived as a charlatan. Many used the same words both before and after Marx.

ecce homo! – behold the man! [welch ein Mensch!] (Joh 19:5). Some English dictionaries list the expression, explaining that these were the words used by Pilate in presenting Christ, wearing the crown of thorns, to the people. “Ecce homo” has become the standard title of paintings that show Christ wearing the crown of thorns. It is also the title of an autobiographical book by Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900); it was published after the author’s death, first in 1908, and in its original form only in the 1970s.

eritis sicut deus scientes bonum et malum – you shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil [ihr werdet sein wie die Götter, Gutes und Böses erkennend]. This is Jerome’s famous Hexameter rendering of the words that the Serpent spoke to Eve in paradise (Gen 3:5; Jerome actually wrote *dii*, not *deus*). When quoted, people generally refer to the first three words only.

habeat sibi – let him have his will [meinethalben]. After Genesis 38:23, where the phrase means something different (“let her take it to herself”).

homo proponit, sed deus disponit – Man proposes, God disposes [Der Mensch denkt, Gott lenkt]. This proverb seems to echo Proverbs 16:9: *cor hominis disponit viam suam, sed domini est dirigere gressus eius* – the heart of man disposeth his way, but the Lord must direct his steps (Douay Version).

imago Dei – image of God [Gottes Ebenbild], According to the book of Genesis, God created man *ad imaginem suam, ad imaginem Dei creavit illum* – he created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him (Gen 1:27).

in illo tempore – in that time [in jener Zeit]. In the gospel of Matthew, the phrase serves as an unspecific introduction to episodes told: *in illo tempore abiit Iesus per stada sabbato* – in that time, Jesus went through a cornfield on Sabbath (Matt 12:1). Mircea Eliade, the Romanian theorist of religion, uses the expression as a technical phrase to refer to the “time outside recorded history, mythical time” during which founding events take place; see Eliade: *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. London 1958 (xv, 484 pp.), pp. 395–397.

iota – This is the smallest letter of the Greek alphabet. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus says that not even a *iota* of the (Jewish) law would pass from the law (*iota unum ... non praeteribit* – Matt 5:18). Accordingly, *iota* is a proverbial expression for saying “something small”; the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2010) gives an example: “Nothing she said seemed to make an iota of difference” (which should be: a *iota* ..., B. Lang).

ira columbae – the wrath of the dove [der Zorn der Taube] (Jer 25:38). This mistranslation of Jerome led to a fine poetic and paradoxical expression. It appears to have given rise to the French saying *craignez la colère de la colombe*.

mulier taceat in ecclesia – the woman is to be silent in church [die Frau schweige in der Kirche/Gemeinde]. Based on a passage in one of the letters of Paul (1 Cor 14:34: *mulieres in ecclesia taceant*), this passage is often invoked by both conservative and feminist members of the church, as the slogan of the old, patriarchal order, or for accusing Saint Paul of a deeply-rooted patriarchal bias.

nihil novi sub sole – nothing new under the sun [nichts Neues unter der Sonne]. The saying echoes the Vulgate's *nihil sub sole novum* (Koh 1:10). The common form is presumably better Latin, but Jerome's version has a better rhythm (with stress on the three vowels i, o, and u).

noli me tangere – touch me not! [rühre mich nicht an!] This is what Jesus said to Mary Magdalene as she approached him on Easter morning (John 20:17). Listed in English dictionaries as "a warning against touching or interference" (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1951).

non possumus – we cannot [wir können nicht] (Acts 4:20). The *Oxford Dictionary of English* 2010 defines it as a noun "used as a statement expressing inability to act in a matter."

nunc dimittis– now let (your servant) depart (Luke 2:29). Used in French: "Dire son *nunc dimittis*: expression employée – avec plus ou moins d'humour – pour signifier que l'on accepte de partir, de céder la place, voire, dans un registre plus grave, de mourir, parce qu'on a eu la joie de voir l'accomplissement de son œuvre ou de son désir le plus cher"; Danielle Fouilloux et al.: *Dictionnaire culturel de la Bible*. Paris 1990 (304 pp.), p. 178.

omnis homo mendax – every man is a liar [jeder Mensch ist ein Lügner] (Ps 116:11, Vg 114/115: 11; Rom 3,4). This statement has become proverbial.

pater peccavi – father, I have sinned [Vater, ich habe gesündigt]: the first words spoken by the prodigal son upon his return (Luke 15:18). The phrase is used to indicate that one admits and regrets something that one has done.

Paternoster, pater noster – Our Father [Vater unser] (Matt 6,9) are the first two words of the Lord's prayer. The word paternoster has come to be used for many things, including, in German and English, an elevator (British: lift) that never stops. In French, one generally abbreviates the expression to *pater*, and to say of someone *il ne sait pas son pater* is to indicate that he is stupid. In France, as elsewhere, the Lord's prayer was the first text young children were taught to learn by heart.

peccata clamantia – screaming sins, sins that cry out to heaven for vengeance [himmelschreiende Sünden]. In Genesis, it is the blood of Abel, murdered by his brother Cain, that cries to heaven (Gen 4:10; cf. 18:20). Christian tradition identifies four such sins: murder, sodomy (i.e., perverse sexual activity), oppression of the poor, and defrauding workers of their wages.

quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri non feceris – what you do not wish to be done to you, do not do to another [Was du nicht willst, dass man dir tu, das füg auch keinem andern zu.]. This is a reformulation of Tobit 4:16: *quod ab alio odis fieri tibi vide ne alteri tu aliquando facias*, commonly known as the Golden Rule [die Goldene Regel].

seminare zizania – to sow weed [Unkraut säen] (Matt 13:25). In Italian, "seminare zizania" is a popular saying. Based on the parable of the weeds, it refers to the act of driving a wedge, of sowing discord. The same idiom exists in Spanish as *sembrar cizaña*. In English (to sow discord) and German (Zwietracht säen), the saying echoes the parable without using the Vulgate word.

talent – talent [Talent]. This word, used in a parable of Jesus (Matt 25:15: *talenta*, plur.), has entered many languages, though as a natural, intellectual or physical, gift. Both *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* of 1951 and the *Oxford Dictionary of English* 2010 have a reference to Matthew 25.

ubi sunt ...? – where are ...? [wo sind ...?] This nostalgic rhetorical question is famous through its use in the student song *Gaudeamus igitur* which includes the line *ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere* (where are those who have been in the world before us?). It is much older than this song. It appears in the Vulgate at Zechariah 1:5 (*patres vestri ubi sunt?*, here with a polemical bent) and Baruch 3:16–19. See also Job 14:10.

vae mihi – woe unto me (Isa 6:5; see Latin Glossary, Chapter 19.2). In the Douay Version – and subsequently in the King James Bible – translated as “woe is me,” this became an English saying, today used as an ironic expression of self-pity.

vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas – vanity of vanities, all is vanity [Eitelkeit der Eitelkeiten, alles ist eitel] (Koh 1:2). The *Oxford Dictionary of English* 2010 has an entry on *vanitas*, defining it as “a still-life painting of a 17th-century Dutch genre containing symbols of death or change as a reminder of their inevitability,” without referring to the biblical source of the term. *Vanitas! Vanitatum vanitas!* is the title of a German baroque poem by Andreas Gryphius (1643).

ventum seminare – to sow wind [Wind säen]. The phrase is from Hosea 8:7: *ventum seminabunt et turbine metent* – they sow the wind and reap the whirlwind [Wind säen und Sturm ernten]. The complete sentence has become a Latin proverb, and equivalents exist in many languages; e.g., in Italian (*chi semina vento raccoglie tempesta*).

vox clamantis in deserto – the voice of one crying out in the desert [Stimme des Rufers in der Wüste] (Isa 40:3). Also quoted as *vox clamans in deserto* – a shouting voice in the desert. Used in the sense of “he speaks, and nobody listens.”

vox populi vox Dei – the voice of the people is the voice of God. This saying is first attested in Alcuin (c. 800), and seems to echo Isa 66:6: *vox populi (...) vox Domini*.

zizania → seminare zizania

Books of sayings

1864. Georg Büchmann: *Geflügelte Worte. Der Citatenschatz des deutschen Volkes*. Berlin. 220 pp. – Büchmann (1822–1884), born in Berlin, worked in Berlin as a school teacher of languages, apparently mainly French and English. His collection of “winged words” includes Latin, Greek, French and English quotations that appear in German written and oral discourse. Büchmann’s book occasionally indicates who is quoting where, but his concern is to identify the original literary source of a saying. As is to be expected, in his collection biblical sayings figure prominently – mostly from Luther’s German Bible, but also Latin expressions from the Vulgate. Subsequent enlarged and revised editions are still being edited and printed, and have up to twenty-five quotations from the Vulgate. Some of these are listed above.

1956. Heinrich G. Reichert: *Urban und human. Unvergängliche lateinische Spruchweisheit*. 4th edition. Hamburg. 376 pp. – Reprinted 1980, St. Ottilien. This delightful book provides essays on quotations such as *panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie* (Matt 6:11; pp. 119–123) and *eritis sicut deus scientes bonum et malum* (Gen 3:5; 114–118).

1999. Hubertus Kudla: *Lexikon der lateinischen Zitate*. Munich. 603 pp. – This collection of quotations does not indicate who is quoting, but the user learns what are known quotations and their original sources. The biblical quotations are easy to find in the book because they are marked by a graphic sign – an open book.

2002. Ernst Lautenbach: *Latein–Deutsch: Zitaten-Lexikon. Quellennachweise*. Münster. 932 pp. – This collection of brief passages and sayings excerpted from ancient and some later authors places

each entry under a Latin lemma. Each excerpt is accompanied by a source reference (which may be biblical). The excerpts seem to reflect the compiler's personal preferences; there is no effort to collect passages that are frequently quoted by others. There is also a section on common Latin expressions such as *a priori*, *ius civile*, and *eo ipso* (pp. 810–923).

2016. Klaus Bartels: *Veni, vidi, vici. Geflügelte Worte aus dem Griechischen und Lateinischen*. 16th edition. Darmstadt. 216 pp. The text of this book corresponds to that of the enlarged 11th edition, Mainz 2006. 216 pp. To the scholar's delight, the author of this anthology includes nineteen Latin words and phrases from the Vulgate Bible; the compiler gives exact sources, explanations, and sometimes bibliographical references. – Review (of the 11th edition): Jürgen Werner, *Gymnasium* 114 (2007) 398–402.

24.5 Vulgate quotations in literature – from Dante to Eco

Italian literature
English literature
German literature
French literature
Polish literature
A secondary source

Italian literature

1294. Dante: *La vita nuova*. – One of Dante's reflections on his poems has a Latin motto from the book of Lamentations: *quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium* (Lam 1:1; *La vita nuova*, chapter 28). The words "How does the city sit solitary, that was full of people! How is she become as a widow!" The city referred to by Dante is Florence, and the lamentation is about the death of Beatrice; with her death, Florence has lost its most precious citizen.
1320. Dante: *La divina comedia*. – The *Divine Comedy* is written in Tuscan vernacular; interspersed Latin quotations, often taken from the Vulgate, stand out concisely and contribute to the linguistic relief. The *Inferno* contains no biblical quotations, the *Purgatorio* many, the *Paradiso* few. Examples: *In exitu Israel de Aegypto* (Purg. 2,46; Ps 114:1, Vg 113:1); *miserere* (Purg. 5,24 as a reference to the repentance psalm, Ps 51, Vg 50); *beati pauperes spiritu* (Purg. 12,110; Matt 5:3); *adhaesit pavimento anima mea* (Purg. 19,73; Ps 119:25, Vg 118:25); *neque nubent* (Purg. 19,137; Matt 22:30); *virum non cognosco* (Purg. 25,129; Luke 1:34); *veni sponsa de Libano* (Purg. 30,11; Cant 4:8); *diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram* (Parad. 18,91.93; Wisd 1:1). – Literature:
1925. L. Negri: Dante e il testo della Vulgata. *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 85: 288–307;
2011. V. Stanley Benfell: *The Biblical Dante*. Toronto. xii, 299 pp. – Pages 107–142: Una nuova legge: The Beatitudes in the *Purgatorio*.

2012. Carolyn Lund-Mead – Amilcare Iannucci: *Dante and the Vulgate Bible*. Rome. 725 pp. – A list of all biblical passages quoted or alluded to by Dante.
2013. Nicola di Nino: Le beatitudini nel "Purgatorio" dantesco. In: *La Bibbia nella letteratura italiana*. Vol. V, Brescia (712 pp.), pp. 259–270. – The editor of the *Bibbia nella letteratura italiana* series is Pietro Gibellini.
1350. Petrarch: Ascent of Mount Ventoux (*Familiarum rerum libri IV, 1*). In this letter, Petrarch reports about an expedition in which he and his brother, accompanied by to servants ascended Mount Ventoux in the Provence (in 1336). The text is Latin, and includes several quotations from the Vulgate Bible. One expression is from the book of Job: *tenebrae et umbra mortis* – darkness and the shadow of death (Job 3:5; see IV, 1,14). – Edoardo Fumagalli: Petrarca e la Bibbia. In: Grazia Melli – Marialuigia Sipione (eds.): *La Bibbia nella letteratura italiana*. Vol. V: *Del Medioevo al Rinascimento*. Brescia 2013 (712 pp.), pp. 271–304.
1980. Umberto Eco: *Il nome della rosa*. Milan. 503 pp. – This successful medieval novel is peppered with untranslated Latin quotations; many are taken from the Vulgate. Already on the first page of the prologue we read *vidimus nunc per speculum in aenigmate* (1 Cor 13:12). In the chapter "First Day. Tertia" the protagonist Brother William murmurs: *Eris sacerdos in aeternum* (you will be priest in eternity; after Ps 110:4, Vg 109:4). If these are still familiar quotations, the author also resorts to remote passages such as Jeremiah 13:26: *nudavi femora contra faciem tuam* (*I have exposed your thighs opposite your face*), with Latin commentary by Jerome (PL 24 [1865]: 798): *sive nudabo et relevabo femora et posteriora tua* (that is, I will expose and bare your thighs and your buttocks; chapter "Second Day. Tertia"). And so it goes on. Latin Bible quotations are indispensable for the milieu color. – Literature:
1982. Umberto Eco: *Der Name der Rose*. Translated by Burkhart Kroeber. Munich. 655 pp. – Many quotations are explained in the appendix of the German translation of the novel (pp. 639–645).
1999. Adele J. Haft – Jane G. White – Robert J. White: *The Key to "The Name of the Rose."* Ann Arbor. 194 pp. – This book provides on pp. 94–176 the translation of the Latin quotations in Eco's novel. However, some quotations are missing, e.g., the Vulgate quotation *vidimus nunc per speculum* from the prologue and *nudavi femora* (...) from "Second day. Tertia."
2006. Andrés Lema Hincapié: Versión en español de los pasajes en latín de El Nombre de la Rosa, de Umberto Eco. *Praxis filosofica* 23: 125–146. – This is the most complete list of the Latin passages; they are translated into Spanish.

English literature

- 1370/90. William Langland: *Piers Plowman*. – The Middle English poem contains Latin quotations from almost all the books of the Bible. Examples: *Date, et dabitur vobis* (1, 201; Luke 6:38); *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis* (7,177; Matt 16:19). – Literature:
1927. M. Ray Adams: The Use of the Vulgate in "Piers Plowman." *Studies in Philology* 24: 556–566.
2003. Mary Clemente OP: Piers Plowman as Biblical Commentary. *Essays in Medieval Studies* 20: 85–94.
1588. Christopher Marlowe: *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*. – Marlowe (1564–1593) begins his Faustus drama with a scene in which the protagonist bends over the Bible and reads: "Jerome's Bible, Faustus! View it well! *Stipendium peccati mors est*. Ha! *Stipendium*, etc. The reward of sin is death: that's hard. *Si pecasse negamus, fallimur, & et nulla est in nobis veritas*: If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there's no truth in us." Faustus reads Romans 6:23 and 1 John 1:8. The Latin quotations do not actually reproduce the Vulgate text verbatim; this is how one would refer to the two passages from memory. – This is from Doctor Faustus I, 1, 36–42 the

- "B text," printed 1616). Richard M. Cornelius: *Christopher Marlowe's Use of the Bible*. New York 1964. 321 pp.
1599. William Shakespeare: *Henry V.* – After the victory in the battle of Agincourt, the king gives the order: "Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*." (IV 8,123) The "Non nobis" is Psalm 115, Vg 113. Cf. Naseeb Shaheen: Shakespeare, the Psalter, and the Vulgate in *Henry V., Shakespeare Quarterly* 43 (1992) 71–72.
1708. Jonathan Swift: *An Argument against Abolishing Christianity*. – The satirical essay contains (towards the end) the following paragraph: "The Freethinkers consider it as a sort of edifice, wherein all the parts have such a mutual dependence on each other, that if you happen to pull out one single nail, the whole fabric must fall to the ground. This was happily expressed by him who had heard of a text brought for proof of the Trinity, which in an ancient manuscript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the hint, and by a sudden deduction of a long Sorites, most logically concluded: why, if it be as you say, I may safely drink on, and defy the parson." – German: "Deshalb sehen die Freidenker das Christentum auch als ein Gebäude an, in dem alle Teile so aufeinander ruhen, dass der ganze Bau zusammenstürzen muss, wenn man auch nur einen einzigen Nagel herauszieht. Dem hat kürzlich ein Mann glücklich Ausdruck gegeben, als er hörte, dass ein Text, den man gemeinhin zum Beweis der Dreieinigkeit anführte, in einem alten Manuskript ganz anders lautete. Er begriff den Wink sofort und kam durch eine Kette von Folgerungen rasch zu dem logischen Schluss: Wenn dem so ist, wie sie sagen, so kann ich in aller Ruhe weiterhuren, saufen und dem Pastor Trotz bieten." Swift, Einwände gegen die Abschaffung des Christentums, in: Swift: *Die menschliche Komödie. Schriften, Fragmente, Aphorismen*. Edited by M. Freund. Stuttgart 1957 (li, 343 pp.), pp. 136–150, at p. 149. Reference is made to the debate about the comma Johanneum (1 John 5:7–8, see above, Chapter 22, textual notes on 1 John).
1916. James Joyce: *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Edited by Chester G. Anderson. New York 1968 (vi, 570 pp.), pp. 104–105 and 244. In this famous novel, two passages from the Vulgate are quoted in Latin, and left untranslated: Sirach 24:17–20 and Matt 26:69, the latter being *et tu cum Jesu Galilaeo eras* – thou also wast with Jesus the Galelean (Douay Version). Alex Mueller: "The Soft Beauty of the Latin Word": Experiencing Latin in James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. *Classical and Modern Literature* 26.2 (2006) 179–196, esp. pp. 187–189.
1922. Thomas Hardy: "After Reading Psalms xxxix, xl, etc." This autobiographical poem of a well-known and celebrated English novelist attaches a brief quotation from the Vulgate Psalms to each of the stanzas, so that we get an additional poem in Latin. Here are the Latin lines: *quoniam tu fecisti* – because you have done it (Ps 39:10, Vg 38:10); *me deduxisti* – you have guided me (Ps 73:24, Vg 72:24); *me suscepisti* – you have upheld me (Ps 41:13, Vg 40:13); *dies meos posuisti* – you have placed my days (Ps 39:6, Vg 38:6); *Domine, tu scisti* – Lord, you have known (Ps 40:10; Vg 39:10); *quem eligisti* – whom you have chosen (Ps 65:5; Vg 64:5). The poem was first published in Hardy's *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (1922). Hardy also used quotations from the Bible as epigraphs; an example is the poem *In tenebris II* (1869): *Considerabam at dexteram, et videbam; et non erat qui cognosceret ne ... non est qui requirat animam meam* (Ps 142:5, Vg 141:5); the translation, not given by Hardy, would be: "I looked on my right hand, and beheld: and there was no one who would know me (...) there is no one that hath regard to my soul" (Douay Version). – Literature:
- 2007–2008. John Leonard: Hardy's After Reading Psalms xxxix, xl, etc. *The Explicator* 66: 15–18.
2015. Maxwell J. Fabiszewski: A Glossary of Greek and Latin in Thomas Hardy's Poetry. *The Hardy Society Journal* 11: 92–95.

1934. James Joyce: *Ulysses*. The Modern Library. New York. xvii, 767 pp. – Page 43 (chapter 3): “You were going to do wonders, what? Missionary to Europe after fiery Columbanus. Fiacre and Scotus on their creepstools in heaven split from their pintpots, laudlatinlaughing Euge! Euge!” – *Ulysses*. Roman. Übersetzt von Hans Wollschläger. Herausgegeben und kommentiert von Dirk Vanderbeke u.a. Frankfurt 2004 (xii, 1122 pp.), p. 61: “Du wolltest gern Wunder tun, was? Europa missionieren nach dem feurigen Columbanus. Fiacrius und Scotus auf ihren Schemeln im Himmel haben glatt ihr Bier verschüttet vor lautlallateinischem Lachen: Euge! Euge!” As Stephen Dedalus the idea of becoming a missionary who would bring Christianity to Europe, following the example of the Irish saint Columbanus. But the saints in heaven would respond to the idea with Homeric laughter, represented by the interjection *euge, euge*, known from the Vulgate Psalms (Ps 35:21, 25, Vg 34:21, 25, and other passages). – The famous novel includes further quotations and echoes of the Vulgate Bible.
1978. Geoffrey Hill: *Veni coronaberis*. – This title of one of the many poems by Geoffrey Hill means “come and you shall be crowned” (Cant 4:8). The poem can be found in Geoffrey Hill: *Tenebrae*. London 1978 (48 pp.), p. 39. G. Hill (1932–2016) has a reputation as a writer of difficult, erudite, cryptic poetry, and among the difficulties are his snippets of untranslated Latin and other languages. One of the author’s more recent poems, *The Triumph of Love* (1999), uses Neh 6:3 as an epigraph in Hebrew, Latin, Luther’s German, and the King James Version.

German literature

1798. Friedrich Schiller: *Wallensteins Lager*. – Drama, first staged in 1798, first published 1800. Set in Bohemia in 1633, the historical drama introduces the famous commander-in-chief of the imperial army during the Thirty-Year’s War; it sets the stage for two more dramas that complete the Wallenstein trilogy. In his sermon addressed to the soldiers, a Capuchin friar quotes in Latin from the Vulgate the advice John the Baptist gives: *contenti estote stipendiis vestris* – be content with your pay (Luke 3:14; first act, 8th scene). The English title is *The Camp of Wallenstein*.
1806. Johann Wolfgang Goethe: *Faust. Der Tragödie erster Teil*. – In *Faust I*, Genesis 3:5 is quoted from the Vulgate: *eritis sicut deus, scientes bonum et malum* (line 2048; a conspicuous hexameter verse). The verse – the word of the serpent in paradise – is written by Mephisto, disguised as Faust, in the album of a student. A few lines earlier, reference is made to the tree in Paradise, that tree whose fruit promises the gaining of knowledge and thus godlikeness (lines 2038–20399: “Grau, Freund, ist alle Theorie, und grün des Lebens goldner Baum” – listen, my friend: the golden tree of life is green, all theory is grey. In the Vulgate, however, we read: *eritis sicut dii* – you will be like gods. Apparently, Goethe has adapted the wording of the Vulgate to Martin Luther’s translation, which reads: “und werdet sein wie Gott” – and will be like God. – Literature:
1994. Markus Ciupke: *Des Geklippers vielverworrner Töne Rausch. Die metrische Gestaltung von Goethes “Faust.”* Göttingen (307 pp.), pp. 56–57. “Vers 2048 erinnert, wenn man ihn nach den modernen Betonungsregeln akzentuierende und nicht quantifizierend betrachtet, stark an einen Hexameter” (p. 56). The author suggests the following (standard) accentuation: *éritis sicut déus sciéntes bónum et málum*. (Alternatively, one might read *deús*. B. Lang.)
1999. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: *Faust. The First Part of the Tragedy*. Translated by John R. Williams. Wordsworth Classics of World Literature. Ware, Herefordshire. xvii, 226 pp. – This is the English translation used above.
1859. Arthur Schopenhauer: *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. Zweiter Band. 3. Auflage. Leipzig (vi, 740 pp.), p. 303: *Magna est vis veritatis et praevalabit* – strong is the power of truth, and it will prevail. – While this is not an exact quotation of 3 Ezra 4:41 (Clementina: *magna est veritas et*

praevalet), it certainly echoes it. The German philosopher (1788–1860) quotes it first in 1841, and later several times, including in *The World as Will and Representation*, one of the major German contributions to philosophy. Arthur Hübscher: *Groß ist die Wahrheit ... Schopenhauer-Jahrbuch* 59 (1978) 182–183.

1901. Karl May: *Et in terra pax*. Reise-Erzählung. In: Joseph Kürschner (ed.): *China. Schilderungen aus Leben und Geschichte, Krieg und Sieg. Ein Denkmal den Streitern und der Weltpolitik*. Leipzig. xl pp; 548, 444, 462 pp. The novel “*Et in terra pax*” is at the beginning of part III, with new pagination, filling cols. 1–284. – For this anthology which celebrates the German victory over Chinese rebels against their colony, May wrote a pacifist China novel. The title is from Luke 2:14. May did not know Latin, but the quotation from the Christmas story was familiar. May’s novel was frequently published as a separate book (first edition: Freiburg 1904. 660 pp.), and is still available.
1924. Thomas Mann: *Der Zauberberg*. Roman. Frankfurt 1991. 1002 pp.). – The Jesuit Leo Naphta quotes biblical dicta: **(1)** *assument pennas ut* (Vg sicut) *aquilae* – they will take wings like eagles (Isa 40:31, left untranslated by the author, p. 542). A few pages later, Naphta alludes to the quotation: “Und wo bleiben die Adlerschwingeren?” (And where are the wings of eagles?, p. 527). **(2)** *Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Wer wird mich befreien aus dem Körper dieses Todes?* (p. 621, Rom 7:24, this time with a translation).
1945. Ernst Jünger. His wartime diary, Jünger discusses the notion of love, arguing that love, in earthly life, involves particularity and exclusivity; this will be different in life everlasting. And then he quotes, in Latin, without giving the translation: *Cum enim a mortuis resurrexerint, neque nubent, neque nubentur, sed sunt sicut angeli in caelis*. This is Mark 12:25. – Ernst Jünger: *Tagebücher* III. Stuttgart [no date] (686 pp.), p. 403 (entry dated March 24, 1945).

French literature

1588. Michel de Montaigne: *Essais*. – The *Essais* are in French, but spiced with Latin quotations, mostly from classical Roman authors such as Seneca, Cicero, and Vergil. But there are also some biblical quotations, generally one-sentence passages. Book II, essay 12, titled “Apology for Raimond de Sebonde,” has Latin quotations from Gen 3:5; Col 2:8; Ps 94:11 (Vg 93:11); Wisd 9:14; 1 Cor 1:25; 1 Cor 1:19 – in this sequence. – *The Essays of Michel de Montaigne*. Translated by Charles Cotton. Chicago 1952 (viii, 543 pp.), pp. 233, 233, 242, 244, 251, and 267. See M. S. Meijer, *Montaigne et la Bible.* *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne* 20 (1976) 23–57.
1759. Voltaire: *Candide, ou L’optimisme* (299 pp.), p. 292. Here is a passage from one of the last pages of Voltaire’s satirical novel: “I know also,” said Candide, “that we must cultivate our garden.” “You are right,” said Pangloss, “for when man was first placed in the Garden of Eden, he was put there *ut operaretur eum*, that he might cultivate it; which shows that man was not born to be idle.” – Candide’s teacher Pangloss quotes the Bible in Latin, and adds a translation of the words quoted (Gen 2:15).
1830. Stendhal: *Le Rouge et le Noir*. – Julien Sorel already as a child knows the Latin New Testament by heart. Only later does his knowledge of Latin grow beyond biblical Latin. He is given a Latin edition of Tacitus by his friendly bishop, dedicated with the following sentence: *Erit tibi, fili mi, successor meus tanquam leo quaerens quem devoret*. Stendhal does not trust his readers’ knowledge of Latin and translates: *Car pour toi, mon fils, mon successeur sera un lion furieux, et qui cherche à dévorer* (after 1 Pet 5:8).
1831. Victor Hugo: *Notre-Dame de Paris, 1482*. – It is not surprising to find Latin quotations in this novel set in medieval Paris. One reads, *Qui non laborat, non manducet* – he who does not work, shall not eat. The corresponding Vulgate phrase is *si quis non vult operari nec manducet* (2 Thess

- 3:10). The quotation appears in book 7, chapter 4. The following editions have been consulted: Victor Hugo: *Œuvres complètes: Roman I*. Edited by Jacques Seebacher. Éditions Robert Laffont. Paris 1985 (vii, 970 pp.), p. 690; German: *Der Glöckner von Notre-Dame*. Translated by Else von Schorn. Frankfurt 1957 (521 pp.), p. 272. The English title of the book is *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*.
1848. Honoré de Balzac: *L'envers de l'histoire contemporaine*. – The novel is about a secret society. In a time of moral decline, it wants to bear Christian witness – and win a new member (more must not be revealed here). The motto of the society is: *Transire benefaciendo* (go about giving benefits; after Acts 10:38). According to Balzac, Paris is ruled by a web of invisible secret societies, some beneficial, and some evil. – The English title is: *The Wrong Side of Paris*, the German title: *Die Rückseite der Zeitgeschichte*. The book is part of Balzac's *Scènes de la vie Parisienne*.
1862. Victor Hugo: *Les Misérables*. – The first part of the novel, which consists of many individual stories, is about the saintly bishop of the small town of Digne. The bishop never locked his house so that anyone could enter at any time. When one of his parish priests thinks that this is careless, the bishop taps him on the shoulder and says: *Nisi Dominus custodierit domum, in vanum vigilant qui custodiunt eam* (French, p. 23; German, p. 34). The quotation, left untranslated by the author, says: "Unless the Lord keep the house, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it; Wenn nicht der Herr das Haus bewacht, halten umsonst Wache, die es bewachen" (after Psalm 127:1–2; Vg 126:1–2). Another biblical quotation, also left untranslated by the author, reads: *quia multum amavit* – "because he has loved much; weil er viel liebte" (Luke 7:47; French, p. 44; German, p. 66). – The page numbers are from the following editions: Victor Hugo: *Les Misérables*. Presented by Annette Roas, with notes by Guy Roas and Annette Roa. Éditions Robert Laffont. Paris 1985. xv, 1271 pp.; *Die Elenden*. Translated by Paul Wiegler et al. 5th edition. Volume 1. Berlin 1995. 620 pp.
1905. Joris-Karl Huysmans: *Les foules de Lourdes*. Geneva 1972. ix, 346 pp. – This journalistic essay on the Catholic pilgrimage place where pilgrims hope to be miraculously cured from all sorts of ailments has an untranslated epigraph (p. v): *Et secutae sunt eum turbae multae, et curavit eos ibi* – and great multitudes followed him, and he healed them there (Matt 19:2). In the text, the author invokes Col 1:24: *adimpleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi* – I fill up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ (p. 154).
1909. Léon Bloy: *Le Sang du pauvre*. Paris. – The book is peppered with Latin quotes from the Vulgate Bible, some translated, some left untranslated. Examples, with page numbers of the 1932 Paris edition (231 pp.): *vae vobis divitibus quia habetis consolationem vestram* – malheur à vous, riches, qui avez votre consolation! (Luke 6:24 with French translation; p. 68); *Sinite pueros venire ad me. Talium est enim enim regnum Dei* – let the children come to me; of such is the kingdom of God (Luke 18:16, without translation; p. 179).
1915. Paul Claudel: *Corona Benignitatis Anni Dei*. Paris. 240 pp. – The title of this collection of religious poems translates as "Wreath of the Year of God's Goodness" (German: Kranz des Jahres der Güte Gottes). It is taken from Psalm 65:12 (Vg 64:12).
1936. Georges Bernanos: *Journal d'un curé de campagne*. – Twice, at the very beginning and at the very end of the diary, the diarist quotes from the Vulgate: *sinite parvulos [venire ad me]* – let the children [come to me] (Mark 10:14); *non sciunt quod facient* (must be: *faciunt*) – they know not what they do (Luke 23:34). Why, in the second reference, the departure from the Vulgate? I suspect that Bernanos sought to improve the Latin by changing the indicative to the subjunctive which, however, would be *faciant*. At any rate, such quotations are to be expected from a priest whose training was based on the Vulgate and who reads the daily breviary prayers in Latin. In English,

the novel is called *Diary of a Country Priest*, in German *Tagebuch eines Landpfarrers*. – The relevant passages in selected editions:

2015. Bernanos: *Œuvres romanesques complètes*. Edited by Jacques Chabot et al. 2 vols. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Paris, vol. II (xxxvi, 1251 pp.), pp. 232, 420.

2019. Georges Bernanos: *Journal d'un curé de campagne*. Éditions Albin Michel. Paris (345 pp.), pp. 78, 338.

2019. Bernanos: *Diary of a Country Priest*. Translated by Howard Curtis. Penguin Classics. London (243 pp.), pp. 46, 238.

Polish literature

1895/96. Henryk Sienkiewicz: *Quo vadis?* – The historical novel by the Polish author is about the love of the Roman Vinicius for the Christian Lygia in the time of Emperor Nero who persecuted Christians. The title of the book is taken from the legend of Saint Peter, which in turn borrows the word from John 13:36: *Domine, quo vadis?* – Lord, where are you going? This phrasing, which is more complete than the book title, is found at the end of the novel (chapter 57 and epilogue). The English translation consulted is: H.A. Sienkiewicz: *Quo Vadis*. Translated from the Polish by Jeremiah Curtin. Summit Classic Press. Akron, Ohio 2013. ix, 324 pp.

A secondary source

2021. Henryk Hoffmann. *Latin in Modern Fiction. Who Says It's a Dead Language?* Wilmington, Del. xx, 285 pp. – The author lists and translates Latin words and phrases – all Latin words and phrases, not just biblical ones – he finds in selected works of twentieth-century literature in English, featuring such authors as John Scott Fitzgerald, Aldous Huxley and John Updike; there is also a short chapter on Umberto Eco. The author rarely indicates the Latin sources. In one case, when referencing the source, he is mistaken: *sero sapiunt Phryges* (too late the Phrygians become wise) is definitely not from the biblical book of Zechariah (p. 5). The author has no doubt found the saying in an Internet search that led to an old commentary on Zechariah where the saying is quoted; see *Matthew Henry's Commentary on the Whole Bible*. Peabody, Mass. 1991 (xxi, 2485 pp.), p. 1569. Nevertheless, this is a remarkable book.

24.6 Literary criticism

French

1821. Joseph de Maistre: *Les soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*. Tome second. Paris (475 pp.), pp. 59–62: “Lisez donc sans cesse les psaumes, non, si vous m’en croyez, dans nos traductions modernes, qui sont trop loin de la source, mais dans la version latine adoptée dans notre église. (...) vous verrez comment une syllable, un mot, et je ne sais quelle aide légère donne à la phrase, feront jaillir sous vos yeux des beautés de premier ordre (...) et les expressions les plus magnifiques se présentent en foule ... quelle abondance d’images! Quelle richesse d’expressions!” – Read the psalms over and over again, not, if you believe me, in our modern translations, which are too far from the source, but in the Latin version adopted by our church. (...) you will see how a syllable, a word, and I do not know what slight help is given to the sentence, will bring forth before your eyes beauties of the first order (...) and the most magnificent expressions appear in abundance (...) what an abundance of images! What a wealth of expressions!

1857. Gustave Flaubert: Letter to Ernest Feydeau: "Je viens de lire d'un bout à l'autre le livre de Cahen [Samuel Cahen's French translation of the Hebrew Bible]. Je sais bien que c'est très fidèle, très bon, très savant, n'importe! Je préfère cette vieille Vulgate, à cause du latin! Comme ça ronfle, à côté de ce petit français malingre et pulmoniaque! Je te montrerai deux ou trois contresens (ou enjolivements) de ladite Vulgate qui sont beaucoup plus beaux que le sens vrai." – I have just read Cahen's book [Samuel Cahen's French translation of the Hebrew Bible] from cover to cover. I know that it is very faithful, very good, very learned, whatever! I prefer this old Vulgate, because of the Latin! How it snores, next to this little puny and pulmonary French! I will show you two or three misinterpretations (or embellishments) in the said Vulgate which are much more beautiful than the true meaning. – Gustave Flaubert: *Correspondance 1857–1864*. Préface de Maurice Nadeau. Les œuvres, tome 9. Lausanne 1965 (551 pp.), p. 101.
1946. Valéry Larbaud: *Sous l'invocation de Saint Jérôme*. Paris. 341 pp. – This fundamental work of translation studies includes a chapter entitled "Jérôme, patron des traducteurs"; it declares Jerome to be the genius and patron of translators. The church father is said to have devised a language that gave the Bible its cultural radiance; his language, at once popular and noble, is characterized by majestic simplicity of style. – Literature:
1953. *Œuvres complètes de Valéry Larbaud*. Tome huitième: Sous l'invocation de Saint Jérôme. Paris (405 pp.), pp. 13–68: Le patron des traducteurs. – This is the French standard edition of the text.
1956. V. Larbaud: *Sankt Hieronymus, Schutzpatron der Übersetzer*. Translated by Annette Kolb. Munich. 62 pp. – An abridged German translation.
1961. Jean Steinmann: *Hieronymus. Ausleger der Bibel*. Translated from the French by Auguste Schorn. Cologne 1961 (364 pp.), pp. 195–196. – A long quotation from Larbaud's book.
1984. V. Larbaud: *An Homage to Jerome: Patron Saint of Translators*. Translated by Jean-Paul de Chezet. Marlboro, Vermont 1984. x, 44 pp. – English translation of the relevant chapter.
1995. Anne Chevalier: Le Saint Jérôme de Larbaud; in: Auguste Dezalay – Françoise Lioure (eds.): *Valéry Larbaud. Espaces et temps de l'humanisme*. Clermont-Ferrand 1995 (x, 194 pp.), pp. 105–116.
1997. *Sous l'invocation de Saint Jérôme*. Paris. 353 pp. The French text has frequently been reprinted; this is the "édition augmentée de textes annexes."
1949. Paul Claudel: Il faut rendre l'Ancien Testament au peuple chrétien. In: idem: *J'aime la Bible*. Paris 1955 (155 pp.), pp. 41–44. – Pages 41–42: "Il faut rendre l'Ancien Testament au peuple chrétien. (...) De ce texte sacré nous avons le bonheur de posséder une transcription incomparable, sanctionnée depuis des siècles par l'autorité et par la pratique de l'Église, en qui je vois le chef-d'œuvre, le sommet, la gloire de la langue latine: je veux parler de la Vulgate. S'il ne tenait qu'à moi, elle formerait la base de l'éducation des enfants, comme les poèmes d'Homère, qu'elle domine d'une telle hauteur, l'étaient autrefois de celle des jeunes Grecs." – English: "We must give the Old Testament back to the Christian people. (...) Of this sacred text we have the good fortune to possess an incomparable transcription, sanctioned for centuries by the authority and practice of the Church, in which I see the masterpiece, the summit, the glory of the Latin language – I mean the Vulgate. If it were up to me, it would form the basis of the education of children, as the poems of Homer, which it dominates with such a height, were formerly the basis of the education of young Greeks." – German: "Es gilt, das Alte Testament dem christlichen Volk zurückzugeben. (...) Zum Glück besitzen wir eine unvergleichliche Übertragung dieses heiligen Textes, die seit Jahrhunderten von der Autorität und der Praxis der Kirche gutgeheißen wird, in der ich das Meisterwerk, den Höhepunkt, den Ruhm der lateinischen Sprache sehe: ich meine die Vulgata. Könnte ich allein bestimmen, so würde sie die Grundlage für die Erziehung der Kinder bilden, so wie einst die Dichtung Homers, die sie turmhoch überragt, die Grundlage der Erziehung der griechischen Jugend waren." – The comparison of the Old Testament with the po-

etry of Homer and the assertion of the Bible's superiority echoes François-René de Chateaubriand: *Génie du Christianisme* (1802; part II, book 5: The Bible and Homer). Claudel's essay was originally included as the preface in: Jean de Monléon OSB: *Histoire sainte. Tome 1*. Paris 1953, 491 pp., and dated November 15, 1949. An English translation can be found in: Paul Claudel: *The Essence of the Bible*. New 1957 (120 pp.), pp. 29–31; for a German version, see Claudel: *Briefe über die Bibel*. Kaldenkirchen 1956 (61 pp.), pp. 13–16. – Literature:

1981. Michio Kurimura: La Vulgate dans *L'Histoire de Tobie et de Sara*, moralité en trois actes de Paul Claudel. *Études de langue et de littérature française* (Tokio) 38: (1981) 49–71.

2000. Maryze Bazaud: *Bible de Paul Claudel*. Centre Jacques Petit 92. Besançon 2000, vii, 904 pp. 2 vols. – Bazaud lists all of the poet's biblical references, arranged according to the canonical order of the biblical scriptures, in the words of the Vulgate.

2012. Marie-Ève Benoteau-Alexandre: *Les Psaumes selon Paul Claudel*. Paris. 908 pp.

German

1863. Jacob Arnold Hagen: *Sprachliche Erörterungen zur Vulgata*. Freiburg (iv, 106 pp.), pp. 7–8: "Abgesehen von der Treue, die allgemein anerkannt ist, hier jedoch nicht in Betracht kommt, ist die Sprache der Vulgata im Ganzen klar und fließend, kräftig und würdevoll, wie es dem Gegenstand der Darstellung geziemt. Am schönsten ist unstreitig der Pentateuch und überhaupt die von Hieronymus selbständig übersetzten Bücher; aber auch in den Evangelien, die von Hieronymus nur hie und da gebessert wurden, ist eine Kraft und Würde der Sprache, die bei dem Leser einen nachhaltigen Eindruck zurückläßt." – English: Apart from the fidelity, which is generally acknowledged, but not considered here, the language of the Vulgate is on the whole clear and fluent, vigorous and dignified, as befits the subject matter. The most beautiful is undoubtedly the Pentateuch and, in general, the books translated independently by Jerome; but even in the Gospels, which Jerome improved only here and there, there is a strength and dignity of language that leaves a lasting impression on the reader.

1932. Wilhelm Süß: Das Problem der lateinischen Bibelsprache. *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27: 1–39. – Pages 14–15: "Soweit meine Kenntnis reicht, ist auffallenderweise nirgends bei den Vätern etwas von einem Gefühl für die spezifische Schönheit des Bibellateins zu spüren, während in neuerer Zeit trotz des Verdikts der Schulpedanten doch eigentlich immer die wohlherwogene Verwendung von lateinischen Bibelziten bei Poeten und Romanschriftstellern besonders romanischer Zungen Zeugnis dafür ablegte, daß man stimmungsgemäß sich dem Zauber dieser Sprache nicht entzog."

2016. Alfons Fürst: *Hieronymus. Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. 2nd edition. Freiburg. 444 pp. – Hieronymus hat "mit seiner lateinischen Bibel ein stilistisch einheitliches und literaturästhetisch anspruchsvolles Kunstwerk geschaffen" (p. 89). Jerome "created with his Latin Bible a stylistically uniform and literary-aesthetically sophisticated work of art."

English

c. 1907. Francis Thompson in a critical essay: "No tongue can say so much in so little. And literary diffuseness is tamed in our Vulgate not only by the terser influence of of rustic Latin, but by the needs begotten of Hebrew brevity. Nor to any unprejudiced ear can this Vulgate Latin be unmusical. For such an ear [no authority is] needed to certify its fine variety of new movement. *Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni* [Cant 2:10]; that and the whole passage which follows, or that preceding strain closing it – *fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis, quia amore languo* [Cant 2:5]: could prose have more loveliness of melody? Compare it even

with the beautiful corresponding English of the Authorised (Protestant) Version; the advantage in music is not to the English, but to the soft and wooing fall of these deliciously lapsing syllables." Francis Thompson (1858–1907) was an English Catholic poet. Everard Meynell: *The Life of Francis Thompson*, New York 1913 (ix, 361 pp.), p. 171.

1941. Julien Green: Translation and the 'Fields of Scripture' – La traduction et le "Champ des Écritures." In: idem: *Le langage et son double – The Language and Its Shadow*. Paris 1987 (401 pp.), pp. 177–203. – This essay was originally written in English and published in 1941; the French translation is the author's own. Page 182/84: "Like a great many American children I was brought upon the king James Version. (...) But when I was about sixteen, I discovered two other versions which I read with unequal pleasure. One was a French version, the other was the Vulgate. (...) [Green did not like the French Bible.] From the Vulgate I received a very different impression. To begin with, owing to my ignorance and ingenuousness, I thought that, Latin being older than either English or French, the Vulgate must of necessity be nearer to the original. Quite apart from that, I was awed by the magnificence of the language as well as by the venerable age of the translation. This, I said to myself, is the Bible the Christian Church was reading when England was still peopled with illiterate half-savages who could barely express anything like a thought. Each sentence seemed bathed in incense. The most familiar and simplest phrases of the English Bible appeared here clothed in a majesty the like of which I had never dreamed. It was a real joy to read the Prophets in this superb language which, as it were, had 'caught their shrieks in cups of gold.'" The poetic expression quoted at the end is from William Blake's poem "The Mental Traveller."
1974. Northrop Frye: "Vulgate Bible the most sustained mistranslation in history." This incomplete sentence is part of the notes, the Canadian literary critic (1912–1991) wrote for a lecture. In the notes, the context is the theme of literary translation. What claims to be the translation of a literary work may in fact be a new, altogether different work. Frye, who was an ordained minister of the United Church of Canada, most likely meant to refer to Jerome's making the Old Testament a book about Christ, thereby giving it an artificial coherence – hence the aphorism. We must beware of misunderstanding the aphorism because it is not meant to be critical of the Vulgate. *Collected Works of Northrop Frye*. Edited by Robert D. Denham and Michael Dolzani. Volume 25. Toronto (lviii, 519 pp.), p. 334.
1975. J.N.D. Kelly: *Jerome. His Life, Writings and Controversies*. London. xi, 353 pp. – Page 163: Jerome "raised the vulgar latinity of the Christians to the heights of great literature."

24.7 The Vulgate Bible in art: illustrations, inscriptions, echoes

Note. – From late antiquity until the Renaissance, Western artists relied on the Vulgate when it came to depict biblical figures or scenes. In the sixteenth century, artists began to draw upon vernacular Bibles. There are at least three traditional iconographic motifs directly deriving from the Latin Bible: the horns of Moses, INRI, and the veiled Synagogue.

Iconography

Individual works of art

Secondary literature

Iconography

Moses cornutus – the horned Moses [der gehörnte Mose]. – Artists often portray Moses with horns protruding from his upper forehead. The most famous example is Michelangelo's Moses sculpture mentioned below. This iconography is based on Jerome's rendering of Exodus 34:29, a passage that describes how Moses's face was changed after he had encountered God: *cornuta esset facies sua* – his face was horned. This passage has also echoed in literature; see the example from Thomas Mann quoted below.

1944. Thomas Mann: *Das Gesetz*. As Moses worked on the two tablets on which he inscribed the Ten Commandments, "it seemed to him as if rays like two horns stood out from the locks of his forehead." The original German text has: "Und immer war ihm dabei, als stünden ihm Strahlen gleich einem Paar Hörner aus dem Stirnhaar hervor." – Thomas Mann: *The Tables of the Law*. London 1947 (124 pp.), p. 109 (chapter 18); *Das Gesetz*, in: idem: *Sämtliche Erzählungen*. Frankfurt 1963 (766 pp.), pp. 641–694, at p. 688.

1963. E.G. Suhr: The Horned Moses. *Folklore* [London] 74: 387–395.

1970. Ruth Melinkoff: *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. Berkeley, Cal. xix, 210 pp.

2019. Eric X. Jarrard: Double Entendre in Exodus 34: Revisiting the QRN of Moses. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 131 (2019) 388–406. – A biblical scholar seeks to understand the Hebrew text of the Exodus passage.

Insipiens – the fool [der Tor]. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo: deus non est* – the fool said in his heart: there is no God (Psalm 53:2, Vg 52:2). Illustrated Psalters frequently include a portrayal of the fool. The illustrations of the 13th century conceive the *insipiens* as a moral personification. Nudity and baldness are the visual expression of the shameful state of an *insipiens*, while the stick and the bread appear as symbols of the rebellion against the faith, as it suggests the fifth verse of the Psalm. From the 14th century a new image of the *insipiens* appears in terms of natural fool or court jester. – Angelika Gross: L'exégèse iconographique du terme *insipiens* du Psaume 52. *Historical Reflections/Reflexions historiqués* 16 (1989) 265–285.

INRI – the title of the cross [der Kreuzestitel]. Whenever artists depart from depicting a merely abstract cross by creating a crucifix, i.e., a cross with the dead, loin-clothed, tortured, and pierced body of Christ, they regularly fix to it a *titulus* – an inscription that reads INRI, for *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum* (John 19:19) – Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. The complete passage: *Scriptis autem et titulum Pilatus. Et posuit super crucem. Erat autem scriptum; Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Iudaeorum* – And Pilate wrote a title also; and he put it upon the cross. And the writing was: Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews. Famous examples include the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire (which abbreviates only the name of Jesus) and Grünewald's Isenheim altarpiece (which has *inri*), see below. – E. Lucchesi Palli: Kreuztitulus. In: Engelbert Kirschbaum SJ (ed.): *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*. Band 2. Freiburg 1970), 36* pp., 716 cols), cols. 648–649.

Synagoga velata – the veiled Synagogue [die Synagoge mit Augenbinde]. Until this day, writes saint Paul, whenever the text of the Old Testament is read, there is a veil upon the heart of the Jews (*velamen positum est super cor eorum*), so that they do not understand that the sacred text is ac-

tually about Christ (1 Cor 3:14–15). Inspired by this passage, medieval artists have often given the Synagogue the form of a woman whose eyes are veiled, so that she cannot see (the truth, i.e., Christ). Typically, the blindfolded Synagogue is portrayed in tandem with Ecclesia, church personified, who freely looks around.

1946. Wolfgang Seiferth: *Synagoge und Kirche im Mittelalter*. Munich. 246 pp. – English translation: *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages. Two Symbols in Art and Literature*. New York 1970. ix, 213 pp.

2011. Nina Rowe: *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City. Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge. xvii, 326 pp.

Individual works of art

Maskell Ivory Crucifixion

420/30. Carved ivory relief showing dead Judas hanging from a tree and Christ crucified, portrayed as a man with a youthful, vigorous, muscular body. Above the nimbed head of Christ is the abbreviated titulus inscription REX IVD for *rex Iudaeorum* – King of the Jews. This is most likely the earliest example of the titulus inscription in Christian art. The ivory object, which may have been made in Rome, is in the British Museum (MME 1856, 06–23.5). – Jeffrey Spier: *Picturing the Bible. The Earliest Christian Art*. New Haven (xvi, 309 pp.), pp. 229–232.

Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire

962 or c. 1000. Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire; Reichskrone des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, kept at the Imperial Treasury at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna (Kaiserliche Schatzkammer in der Hofburg, Wien). This unique work of art has five quotations from the Vulgate Bible: (1,2) associated with two portrayals of Christ are two inscriptions – *IHC nazarenus rex iudeorum* (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, John 19:19); *p(er) me reges regnant* (by me kings reign, Prov 8:15); (3) associated with King Solomon: *time Dominum et recede a malo* (fear the Lord and stay away from evil, Prov 3:7); (4) associated with King David: *honor regis iudicium diligit* (the king's honour loves judgment, Ps 99:4, Vg 98:4); (5) associated with the prophet Isaiah who promises King Hezekiah: *ecce adiciam super dies tuos xv annos* (and I [God] will add to your days fifteen years, Isa 38:5). Jan Keupp et al.: *Die Reichskleinodien – Herrschaftszeichen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*. Regensburg 2009 (108 pp.9, pp. 29, 35).

Jan van Eyck: Last Judgment

1430s. This Last Judgment painting originated in Bruges (Brugge, in Belgium; it is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The lower part of the painting shows hell, and if you carefully study it, you will find several Latin inscriptions – *ite vos maledicti in ignem eternam* – you, the damned, go into the eternal fire (Matt 25:41); *chaos magnum* – the great abyss (Luke 16:27); *umbra mortis* – shadow of death (Ps 23:3, Vg 22:4).

Michelangelo: Moses

1513–1515. The sculpture of the horned and bearded Moses as seated figure with two tablets of the law is now in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome. The sculpture echoes Exodus 34:29 (*cornuta esset facies sua*), a Vulgate passage that shaped the iconography of Moses. Literature:

1970. Ruth Melinkoff: *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. Berkeley, Cal. xix, 210 pp.

2008. Benjamin Blech – Roy Doliner: *The Sistine Secrets. Michelangelo's Forbidden Messages in the Heart of the Vatican*. New York 2008. xvi, 320 pp. Blech, an American rabbi, teams up with a Jewish art historian to reassess Michelangelo's attitude towards the Jews. A controversial book.
2020. On Michelangelo and the Vulgate Bible, see Gerd Blum: "In foramine petrae." Michelangelos wörtliche Auslegung der Vulgata und die Hörner seines Moses in San Pietro in Vincoli. *Vulgata in Dialogue* 4: 45–78 (online journal).
2023. Gerd Blum: Die Hörner von Michelangelos Moses zwischen Affirmation und Abwertung. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 133–134.

Grünewald: The Isenheim altarpiece

1513–1515. In Mathias Grünewald's altarpiece, now housed in the Musée Unterlinden in Comar, Alsace, the central figure is the crucified Christ. On the cross, above Christ's thorn-crowned head is a rectangular wooden board onto which a sheet of paper is fixed, inscribed *i.n.r.i.*, the traditional abbreviation of *Iesus Nazarenus rex iudaeorum* – Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, as reported in the Gospel of John (John 19:19).

Albrecht Dürer: Saint Jerome

1514. Der heilige Hieronymus im Gehäus – Saint Jerome in His Study. Copper etching. – This etching belongs to the most accomplished and rightly most famous works of the German artist. It shows Jerome as he sits at his desk, absorbed by writing. Fixed to one of the heavy beams of the study's ceiling is a huge pumpkin or rather bottle-gourd, complete with an equally huge leaf of the plant. Rather than being a decorative element, it is intended to remind the viewer of a famous episode – the dispute between Jerome and Augustine on the translation of a passage in the book of Jonah. According to art historian Adolf Weis, Dürer captures the very moment when Jerome writes a letter to Augustine to defend his decision not to call the plant a pumpkin but an ivy. On this interpretation of the etching, it makes sense that the saint is placed at the center of the pictorial axis that connects the books (the Bible translation, placed on the shelf in the lower left corner) with the gourd (placed at the upper right corner of the etching). From Jerome's perspective, the gourd is depicted as a trophy that hangs from the ceiling to his left, whereas the proper translation is in the books, to his right. Interestingly – and perhaps inspired by the episode and Dürer's etching – Luther in his German translation of the Bible restored the "pumpkin" (Kürbis) that Jerome had banned from the Vulgate. The King James Version of 1611 opted for "gourd," designating a group of plants that include the pumpkin. – Literature:
1971. Peter W. Parshall: Albrecht Dürer's St. Jerome in His Study. A Philological Reference. *The Art Bulletin* 53 (1971) 303–305.
1982. Adolf Weis: " ... diese lächerliche Kürbisfrage ...". Christlicher Humanismus in Dürer's Hieronymusbild. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 49: 195–201.
2013. Ulrich Kuder: *Dürer's "Hieronymus im Gehäus."* *Der Heilige im Licht*. Hamburg 307 pp. – Kuder, a medieval art historian, asks why Jerome is not surrounded by books; he suggests that Dürer knew of Jerome's promise, given in a dream (Jerome: Letter 22; see above, Chapter **10.3**), no longer to read pagan authors. (This aspect of Kuder's interpretation of Dürer's etching will no doubt remain controversial. B. Lang).
2023. Bernhard Lang – Gia Toussaint: Dürer "Hieronymus im Gehäus." In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 135–136.

Some other examples of medieval and early-modern Jerome iconography are discussed in these sources:

1974. Renate Mieke: Hieronymus. In: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*. Edited by Wolfgang Braunfels. 6. Band. Freiburg (26* pp., 587 cols.), cols. 519–529.
2003. Rosa Giorgi: *Saints in Art*. Translated by Thomas Michael Hartmann. Los Angeles (384 pp.), pp. 179–184.
2011. Ronald V. Huggins: The Repentance of Jerome. *Midwestern Journal of Theology* 10: 190–200, at pp. 197–200.
2023. Anneliese Felber – Christoph Gottmann-Binder: Hieronymus als Gelehrter in der Ikonographie. In: Anneliese Felber (ed.), *Hieronymus und die Vulgata. Quellen und Rezeption*. Stuttgart (ix, 212 pp.), pp. 123–157. – The article shows the development from the late antique author's picture to "Jerome in his study" by Tommaso da Modena, Jan van Eyck and Albrecht Dürer, who finally, with the introduction of the skull into the interior space establishes the connection with the (popular) type of the penitent. A new conception of space, the vanitas theme, as well as a changed attitude towards death characterize the representations at their peak and make Jerome a contemplative thinker.
2023. Andreas Mertin: Der heilige Hieronymus im Bild. In: Schmid/Fieger, pp. 131–133.

Tympanon of the cathedral of Saint-Denis, France

1830s. The original, 12th-century Last Judgment tympanon of the main portal of this famous gothic church is no longer extant. In the 19th century, it was replaced by a Christ enthroned who acts as the judge of the Last Judgement. He holds two banderoles inscribed with his words: VENITE BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI (come, blessed ones of my father, Matt 25:34) and DISCEDITE A ME MALEDICTI (depart from me, you cursed ones, Matt 25:41)

Henri Matisse: illustrations of the Song of Songs (early 1950s)

1962. [Henri Matisse, 1869–1954] *Cantique des Cantiques de Salomon selon la Vulgate*. Translated by Claude Grégory. Le Club français du livre. Paris. 82 pp. – This is a bilingual, Latin and French, edition of the Song of Songs, accompanied by fifteen lithograph drawings by Matisse, in black and white. The translator of the Vulgate text is Claude Grégory. – The drawings are from the early 1950s, and the model was Denise Rebecca Arokas, later a fashion model in Paris.

2006. Michel Butor: *Cantique de Matisse*. Paris. 57 pp.

Secondary literature

English

1898. David Kaufmann: Errors in the Septuagint and Vulgate from which Illustrations and Sculptures Dervied Their Origin. *Jewish Quarterly Review* 11.1: 163–166. – The author considers two cases: Ps 24:7 (Vg 23:7): *attolite portas principes vestras*; and Ps 28:7 (Vg 27:7): *refloruit caro mea*.
1965. Peter Brieger: Bible Illustration and the Gregorian Reform. *Studies in Church History* 2: 154–164.
1999. John Williams (ed.): *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*. University Park, Penn. 229 pp.

2003. C. Michael Kauffmann: *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 700–1550*. London. xxxii, 365 pp.
2004. Frank O. Büttner: *The Illuminated Psalter. Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of Its Images*. Turnhout. viii, 616 pp.
2006. Christopher G. Hughes: Art and Exegesis. In: Conrad Rudolph (ed.): *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*. Malden, Mass. (xxii, 676 pp.), pp. 173–192. – “This chapter sets out to describe the relationship between art and biblical exegesis as it is expressed in the Romanesque and Gothic periods, as well as in the modern art historical literature on the subject” (p. 173).
2012. John Lowden: Illustration in Biblical Manuscripts. In: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 446–820.
2012. John Mitchell: The Bible in Public Art, 600–1050. In: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 755–784.
2012. C. Michael Kauffmann: The Bible in Public Art, 1050–1450. In: Richard Marsden – E. Ann Matter (eds.): *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge (xxii, 1045 pp.), pp. 785–820.
2018. Richard K. Emmerson: *Apocalypse Illuminated. The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts*. University Park, Penn. 288 pp.
2023. Guy Lobrichon: The Production of Medieval Bibles. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 187–207. – The author presents the development of the Latin Bible in the West from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Overall, five types of bibles are found in this period: liturgical bibles, glossed bibles, portable bibles, luxury bibles, and picture bibles. The rise of illustrated bibles is seen in the two Bibles of Pamplona and the *Bible moralisée*, as well as certain ‘parabiblical’ books such as the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the *Biblia pauperum*. Consideration is given to the role played by patrons as well as producers and users in developing new styles and formats, and the contexts in which they were used, such as the requirements of the different religious orders and schools.
2023. Michelle P. Brown: Latin Bibles: Materiality and Art History. In: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible*. Oxford (xxxviii, 522 pp.), pp. 459–490. – M.P. Brown deals with the materiality and art history of illuminated manuscript books of the Bible and its component parts in Latin, with some reference to their western vernacular language derivatives. It covers the late Roman and Early Christian period to the Reformation. The arrangement is broadly chronological, addressing themes such as the codicological format, scripts, artistic style, iconography, devotional intent, performative liturgical use, patronage, and context of production and use. The socio-historical contextualization of Bibles is also discussed. The chapter also considers the role of illumination as a form of visual biblical exegesis and its value and functions in the complex literacy of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.
2023. Robin M. Jensen: The Bible in the Pictorial Art of Late Antique North Africa. In: Jonathan P. Yates – Anthony Dupont (eds.): *The Bible in Christian North Africa*. Part II. Berlin (in press).

French

1940. Victor Leroquais: *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publics de France*. Tome I. Macon. cxxxvi, 293 pp. – The author’s long introduction includes much material on the iconography

- of illuminated medieval Latin Psalters. There is also a second volume (519 pp.) and a volume of plates (cxl planches). – Review: R. Maere, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 40 (1944) 201–204.
1985. Françoise Monfrin: La Bible dans l'iconographie chrétienne d'Occident. In: Jacques Fontaine – Charles Pietri (eds.): *Le monde antique et la Bible*. La Bible de tous les temps 2. Paris (672 pp.), pp. 207–239.
2009. Roselyne de Ayala (ed.): *La Bible et les peintres de la Renaissance*. Paris. 463 pp. – Preface by Jean Delumeau.
2017. Guy Lobrichon: Naissance des Bibles en images. In: Laurence Mellerin (ed.): *Lectures de la Bible. 1^{er} – XV^e siècle*. Paris (652 pp.), pp. 485–514.

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