

*NAM MIHI CARMEN ERIT CHRISTI VITALIA GESTA:*  
BOOK ONE OF THE *EVANGELIORUM LIBRI IV* OF JUVENCUS  
AND THE EVOLUTION OF LATIN EPIC IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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Master of Arts

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by  
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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

*NAM MIHI CARMEN ERIT CHRISTI VITALIA GESTA:*  
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AND THE EVOLUTION OF LATIN EPIC IN LATE ANTIQUITY

presented by David Andrew Collier,

a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

Professor Dennis Trout
Professor Raymond Marks
Professor Nate DesRosiers

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## INTRODUCTION

Juvencus' *Evangeliorum libri IV* (henceforth, *ELQ*) is one of the least studied Latin epics. It has garnered only a fraction of the attention that its Classical predecessors have, and noticeably less scholarship than some other Christian epics of Late Antiquity, such as the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius or the *Carmen paschale* of Sedulius.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the *ELQ* has great historical significance as the first “biblical” epic, rendering a harmony of the Gospels in dactylic hexameter with epic language and themes. Juvencus was a pioneer, and by reshaping the sacred with the *ornamenta* of verse he paved the way for centuries of Christian literature that includes some of Europe’s most cherished poetry.<sup>2</sup>

The primary objective of this thesis is to present the text of Book 1 of the *ELQ* with a facing English translation. As no complete English translation exists, this study will provide the opportunity for readers to familiarize themselves with the content and style of this little known epic poem. In the introduction, I present the information on the poet and the poem necessary for an informed reading of the text. In section one, I introduce biographical information on Juvencus and attempt to paint a portrait of the author using the few sources (or colors, to follow the metaphor) we have. I present the poem in section two and describe its style, format, and plot. Section three considers the

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1. Monographs focusing on biblical epic started appearing in continental Europe in the 1980s, though none focused exclusively on Juvencus. Scholarship on biblical epic was also generated in the UK and America during this period, though at this point there are still relatively few explorations of this author. Juvencus does enjoy a prominent position in Roger P.H. Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), a book to which this paper owes a great deal.

2. Juvencus 4.804-805: “Versibus ut nostris diuinae gloria legis / Ornamenta libens caperet terrestria linguae.” The divine law (*diuinae legis*) is contrasted with the earthly language (*terrestria linguae*). All quotations from the poem are from the Huemer edition (1891) unless otherwise noted.

historical, artistic, and literary contexts for this early fourth-century poem. Finally, I address problems of interpretation and briefly sketch important and recent scholarship on the *ELQ* in section four. The reader should leave the introduction with an appreciation of Juvencus as an important Christian poet, and especially an *epic poet*. The *ELQ* does not represent a sharp divide, wherein a new *genre* of “biblical” epic or *Bibelepik* separates itself abruptly from classical epic. Instead, an evolution of Latin epic is in progress here, and although the *ELQ* clearly looks forward to and anticipates a new Christian literary world, it also looks back to its classical predecessors: alluding, emulating, and admiring.

### Gaius Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus

What little information we have about Juvencus is preserved almost exclusively from the writings of St. Jerome. In his *De viris illustribus*, Jerome provides us with a brief biographical sketch of Juvencus:

LXXXIV. 1. Iuvencus, nobilissimi generis Hispanus, presbyter, quattuor evangelia hexametris versibus paene ad verbum transferens quattuor libros composuit et nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. 2. Floruit sub Constantino principe.

Juvencus, a Spaniard of a very noble family, a priest, translating the four Gospels almost to the word into hexameter verses, composed four books and other works in the same meter that pertain to the order of the mysteries. He flourished under the princeps Constantine.<sup>3</sup>

The first few words of this passage provide some important information about the poet.

We can see that Juvencus was a *nobilissimi generis Hispanus* (a Spaniard of a very noble family). This is possibly confirmed by a reference in the *Fasti* to another Gaius Vettius

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3. See Aldo Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Gerolamo: Gli Uomini Illustri* (Firenze: Nardini Editore, 1988), 190-192. Translation is mine. See also Green (2006), 1-2 for an explanation of the various possible definitions of *sacramentorum*.



Aquilinus, listed as consul in the year 286 CE.<sup>4</sup> More than likely this Aquilinus is a relative of our poet, simply given the chronology, rather than the poet himself.

Nevertheless, if Juvencus was part of a consular family, then he certainly would have qualified for the distinction *nobilissimus*.

Spain has a long history of importance within the Roman Empire, and Juvencus' ethnicity should not be thought of as provincial in the pejorative sense. For example, the emperors Trajan and Hadrian both hailed from Italica, Spain (near Seville), and many senatorial families also came from the province. Spain had also established a distinguished tradition of important literary figures, such as the Senecas, Lucan, and Prudentius. Furthermore, Spain was still an important region in the late empire, both politically and religiously. Indeed, if we follow the note *Elliberitanus* written beside Juvencus in the margin of an ancient Spanish manuscript of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, the priest may have come from the city of Elvira, where an important provincial council of bishops (of the same name) was held in the early fourth century.<sup>5</sup> Ossius, the influential Bishop of Cordoba, attended this council. Cordoba was near Elvira and an important provincial city and occasional residence of Constantine. Ossius himself presided over the Council of Nicaea and was even Constantine's confessor in the

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4. See A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Volume 1 A.D. 260-395* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 92.

5. For brief descriptions of the marginal note, see Jacques Fontaine, *Naissance de la Poésie dans l'occident chrétien: Esquisse d'une histoire de la poésie latine chrétienne du III<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), 71-72 and Green (2006), 8-9. For more on Elvira and the council, see Philip Schaff, "Elvira, Council of," in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge: Volume IV Draeseke – Goa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker House Books, 1952), 116. Available online from Christian Classics Ethereal Library of Calvin College <<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/encyc04.e.iii.html>>. For a more detailed account of the canons, see Eckhard Reichert, *Des Canones der Synode von Elvira: Einleitung und Kommentar* (Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 1990) or Samuel Laeuchli, *Power and Sexuality: The Emergence of Canon Law at the Synod of Elvira* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1972), though the latter received a poor review by Victor C. de Clercq in *Vigiliae Christianae* 29 (1975), 75-77.

emperor's later years.<sup>6</sup> As Roger Green aptly describes Elvira: "It was no backwater."<sup>7</sup>

These observations concerning Spain and our poet are confirmed when we consider the date of the poem, which offers some clues for its time of production, such as in the so-called epilogue at the end of Book 4:

Has mea mens fidei uires sanctique timoris  
Cepit et in tantum lucet mihi gratia Christi,  
Versibus ut nostris diuinae gloria legis  
Ornamenta libens caperet terrestria linguae.  
Haec mihi pax Christi tribuit, pax haec mihi saeculi,  
Quam fouet indulgens terrae regnator apertae  
Constantinus, adest cui gratia digna merenti,  
Qui solus regum sacri sibi nominis horret  
Inponi pondus, quo iustis dignior actis  
Aeternam capiat diuina in saecula uitam  
Per dominum lucis Christum, qui in saecula regnat. (4.802-812)

My mind has captured the power of faith and of sacred fear  
And the grace of Christ shines on me so much,  
That in my verses the glory of the divine law  
Willingly has taken the earthly ornaments of language.  
The peace of Christ bestows these things to me, and so does the peace of this age,  
Which he fosters, the kind ruler of the known world,  
Constantine, for whom befitting grace is present, and he deserves it,  
Who alone of kings shudders at the weight of the sacred name  
Placed upon himself, so that for his just deeds he may more  
Worthily capture eternal life for the immortal ages  
Through Christ the Lord of light, who reigns forever.<sup>8</sup>

The description of Constantine as the *terrae regnator apertae* would seem to argue that Juvenius wrote the poem sometime during Constantine's reign (306-337 CE). Jerome offers a more specific date in his *Chronicon* that confirms this conjecture – the *ELQ*

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6. See Bruno Bleckmann, "Sources for the History of Constantine," 20-21 and Mark Edwards, "The Beginnings of Christianization," 148-149, both in Noel Lenski, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For more on Osius, also see Victor C. de Clercq, ed., *Osius of Cordova: A Contribution to the History of the Constantinian Period* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 1954).

7. Green (2006), 9.

8. Translation is mine.

appears in his entry for the year 329 CE:

Iuencus presbyter, natione Hispanus, evangelia heroicis versibus explicat.

The priest Juvencus, a Spaniard, set forth the gospels in heroic verses.<sup>9</sup>

There have been a number of attempts to determine whether or not Jerome's date of 329 is correct. These arguments normally focus on the language of the poem. For example, at what point would Juvencus reasonably be able to call Constantine the ruler of the known world? What is the sacred name to which Juvencus alludes, and (depending upon one's answer) when was that name either accepted or refused by the emperor?

Ultimately, there does not seem to be any evidence (literary, historical, or otherwise) that convincingly discounts Jerome's date of 329.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Green finds several potential references in the poem to this time period. For example, he cites the reaction of Herod to the news of the Magi at 1.257-258, and how this seems to reflect a third or fourth-century emperor, fearful of someone stealing his throne, rather than a Jewish king.<sup>11</sup> This is only one instance of Green's clever readings of this poem. In this case, he relies on Jerome's date and then makes this observation about Herod. Whether the subtle references in Juvencus would point to a specific date if compiled together independently of Jerome's date remains to be shown.

Jerome also tells us that Juvencus was a priest. This need not be surprising, given the theme of the *ELQ*. Clearly Juvencus was a Christian, not only concerned with

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9. See Rudolf Helm, *Eusebius Werke VII: Die Chronik des Hieronymus, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten drei Jahrhunderte* 47 (Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 1956), ad loc. Translation is mine.

10. For details of this argument and scholars involved, see Green (2006), 4-7. Here I follow his conclusions.

11. Green (2006), 113. He does not speculate which fourth-century emperor this may imply.

glorifying the Gospels, but also with his own salvation.<sup>12</sup> It is not possible, however, to gather many details about Juvencus' spiritual life. There is not reliable evidence that demonstrates whether he was born a Christian or a convert, nor the extent of his involvement in the early Christian Church in Spain. Unfortunately, his other religious writings (such as the *ordo sacramentorum* mentioned by Jerome) have not survived. We might expect that there would be a certain amount of overt teaching or exegesis in the poem of a priest, though in the *ELQ* this is not the case.<sup>13</sup> Only a half a century later, the Spanish priest Prudentius would include extensive passages of teaching in his Christian epic, the *Pyschomachia*.<sup>14</sup>

From the poem, we can see the impressive extent of Juvencus' learning in classical literature and philosophy, likely a reflection of his upper-class upbringing. There have been several recent studies that outline the considerable quantity of allusions to classical authors in the preface alone.<sup>15</sup> An expansive classical education for a Christian was not unusual, and depended more upon his social class than religion.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, it was Juvencus' wide-ranging classical background that made possible a

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12. *ELQ*, *praefatio*, 21-24.

13. See p. 21-24, below.

14. For example, after defeating Libido, Pudicitia gives a long speech on theological issues of the Incarnation (lines 40-108). For an interpretation of the speech, see Barbara Nugent, *Allegory and Poetics: The Structure and Imagery of Prudentius' Psychomachia* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1985), 28-30.

15. See Robert Carruba, "The Preface to Juvencus' Biblical epic: A Structural Study," in *American Journal of Philology* 114 (Summer 1993): 303-312, or Roger P.H. Green, "Approaching Christian epic: The preface of Juvencus," in *Latin Epic & Didactic Poetry: Genre, Tradition, and Individuality*, ed. Monica Gale (Swansea: Gomer Press, 2004) 203-222. For more on allusions to classical authors in the poem, see p. 25-30 below and the notes to the translation, 132-142.

16. Augustine of Hippo describes his own education in his *Confessions*. Michael Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool, UK: Francis Cairns, 1985) outlines education in great detail. H.I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965) is a standard reference for ancient education and is translated into English by George Lamb (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

work like the *ELQ*. We can only understand the *ELQ* if we realize that the poet was someone who came from both a Christian *and* a classical world. Only after this recognition can we begin to see why Juvencus would want to tell the story of Christ in epic form—a genre so connected with Homer, with Vergil, and with Rome’s classical (pagan) roots.

### The Poem

*Tolle, lege!*<sup>17</sup> Undoubtedly this is the best instruction for anyone who wants to learn more about the text of the *ELQ* – simply read the poem. Nevertheless, for those unacquainted with the work, this section will introduce several aspects of the poem, using examples from Book 1 wherever possible so that the lines may be easily consulted.

#### *The Basics*

The *ELQ* is an epic poem of 3,211 Latin hexameters, divided among four books and a preface. The longest is Book 2 (829 lines), followed by Book 4 (812 lines), Book 1 (797 lines, counting the preface), and Book 3 (773). It follows the story of the Old Latin (henceforth, *OL*) Gospels,<sup>18</sup> from the birth of John the Baptist until the Resurrection. Juvencus accomplishes this by forming a harmony of the Gospels, drawing scenes from all four evangelists and paraphrasing them into verse form. The majority of the poem

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17. “Take up, Read!” Augustine, *Confessions*, 8.12.

18. Green (2006), 385-390 (Appendix 1) investigates in more detail whether Juvencus worked from the Greek or *OL* Gospels. In his commentary, Kievits prefers to cite the Greek New Testament. But in more recent work (e.g., Green, Fichtner), the *OL* Gospels are preferred, mainly due to lexical similarities. Green concludes in the appendix that the *OL* Gospels are almost certainly the principal source, though which version is uncertain, and we cannot rule out the possibility of an occasional preference for the Greek. The latter assumes that the Greek versions were available in Spain at this time period to Juvencus, another problematic question. For that matter, there are also problems in dating the *OL* Gospels.

comes from Matthew, followed by John and Luke, and only one short passage derives from Mark. Book 1 generally follows the trend of the entire poem, as Matthew accounts for around 65% of the narrative, and only 35% derives from other authors (in this case, Luke).<sup>19</sup> Below, we can see more closely how Book 1 unfolds:

Figure 1: Plot of Book 1 of the *ELQ*

<u>Lines</u>	<u>Gospel Verses</u>	<u>Scene(s)</u>
1-132	Luke 1.5-80	Birth of John the Baptist; annunciation & pregnancy of Mary
133-143	Matthew 1.19-24	The angel visits Joseph
144-223	Luke 2.1-39	The nativity & presentation at the temple
224-277	Matthew 2.1-23	The three Magi; Herod's massacre & the flight to Egypt
278-306	Luke 2.40-51	Jesus in the temple

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19. Book 2 also follows Matthew around 65% of the time, but nearly 100% of Book 3 and 90% of Book 4 follow Matthew. I calculated these percentages based upon Nils Hansson, *Textkritisches zu Juvencus: mit vollständigem Index Verborum* (Lund: Gleerup, 1950). For a brief discussion of why Juvencus favored Matthew, see Green (2006), 23-24. Here Green also considers if Juvencus worked from a previously existing harmony, or created his own. Green argues for the latter, though he may oversimplify the issue. The *Diatesseron*, a Syriac prose harmony from the second century CE, is particularly attractive as it also follows Matthew closely and leaves out some of the same scenes as Juvencus. For that matter, the *Diatesseron* could very well be a source for the *OL* Gospels themselves, and so even if Juvencus made his own harmony from the *OL* Gospels, the *Diatesseron* could still be an indirect influence. There are many implications here worth exploring. For more on the *Diatesseron* and its relationship to the *OL* Gospels, see Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia, PA: Trinity Press, 1990), §5.3, esp. 405-406, 415-416.

Figure 1 (cont.): Plot of Book 1 of the *ELQ*

<u>Lines</u>	<u>Gospel Verses</u>	<u>Scene(s)</u>
307-320 <sup>20</sup>	Luke 3.1-6	John the Baptist preaches
321-363	Matthew 3.4-17	John's sermon continues; the baptism of Jesus
364-451	Matthew 4.1-25	The devil tempts Jesus; Jesus takes Simon Peter, Andrew, Jacob, and John as disciples; Jesus begins preaching and healing
452-730	Matthew 5-7	The Sermon on the Mount
731-770	Matthew 8.1-15	Jesus continues healing

It is possible to make some general observations of Juvencus' style. The language of the *ELQ* is generally very classical. In fact, it is more common for Juvencus' Latin to err in the direction of archaisms, which were affected to lend an epic feel to his poem, rather than to include irregular forms that develop in later Latin. For example, he uses the archaic demonstratives *ollis* and *olli* in Book 1 (e.g., 1.27 or 1.399) and also the infinitive in *-ier*.<sup>21</sup> The poem is slightly paratactic, skipping from one scene to another without the sense of a complete narrative. If we consider his sources, Juvencus does attempt in most places to alleviate the sharp parataxis of the Gospels with epic-style

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20. The chart above is inspired by the helpful chart of the entire poem in Green (2006), 28-29. There is some dispute over lines 321-336. Green (2006) sees these as still deriving from Luke, with the exception of lines 323-325, which could come from Matthew or Mark (28, n.135). Green likely stays with Luke because of his observation that Juvencus "tends to adhere quite rigidly to one chosen source for each episode" (29). If we follow Green's suggestion, however, Juvencus would switch to Matthew or Mark only for the details of his clothing (323-325), and then change back to Luke to finish the scene before turning again to Matthew for the baptism of Jesus. The problem is in the similarity of this particular scene (John's admonition) in all three synoptic Gospels. Kievits (1940) and Hansson (1950) both confirm the chart above. I am content to follow the majority here.

21. For more archaisms, see James Taft Hatfield, *A Study of Juvencus* (Bonn: Carl Georgi University Press, 1890), 1 or Green (2006), 54-55.

connectives.<sup>22</sup> In book 1, *interea* is one of the more common examples of this (e.g., 43, 133, 307), though there are many others, such as *exhinc* (e.g., 130), *denique* (e.g., 731), and *sed tum* (e.g., 144). Juvencus also has the unusual habit of preferring abstract nouns. Two clear instances of this in Book 1 are found during the Sermon on the Mount, when Juvencus uses *salis saporem* for *sal* (472), or later, *substantia panis* for *panis* (595), but there are many others. Hatfield calls this tendency of Juvencus “*the most characteristic feature of this work.*” Perhaps Hatfield, in what is otherwise an extremely thorough study, went too far here. Juvencus’ frequent use of these abstract nouns could be more a consequence than a characteristic—that is, the act of paraphrasing a prose text into hexameter would require some flexibility and frequent periphrasing.<sup>23</sup> On the whole, Juvencus is successful in his efforts, and his prosody is very solid. He avoids hiatus, and although in places he will lengthen a vowel to suit his meter, it is usually within classical rules and generally speaking he follows classical models of syllable quantity. His poem is heavily spondaic—about 60% of the poem’s feet are spondees, compared to only about 55% for Horace and Vergil. He even has two verses with six spondaic feet (e.g., 4.629 *prōīec- | ūt temp- | lō tunc | dētes- | tāns arg- | ēntum*).<sup>24</sup>

There are three more aspects about the *ELQ* that are necessary to examine in

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22. Michael Roberts (1985) sees the parataxis as intentional. He argues that Juvencus “dissolve[s] the biblical narrative into a series of disparate episodes with only the slightest temporal and local connection with what proceeds and follows. This ... undermines the sense of the biblical narrative as a sequence of events ... The events of the Gospels ... become timeless manifestations of divine power, set against a generalized backdrop” (180). Green (2006) cites this exact passage and instead sees Juvencus as simply following his model (the Gospels) and their style closely, while noting that the poet does add epic-style connectives that the Gospels do not contain. In Green’s words, Juvencus “chose to let the scripture speak for itself” (71-72).

23. Quotation from Hatfield, 30. See also Green (2006), 39-40.

24. See Hatfield, 35-39 for a detailed examination of Juvencus’ prosody with statistics. According to Hatfield (37), a six-spondee line only occurs in one other Latin author “from Ennius to Terentianus Maurus” besides Juvencus – Catullus (116, 3).



closer detail, as these characteristics of the poem are hotly debated: 1) how closely the poem paraphrases the *OL* Gospels; 2) the amount of teaching and exegesis in the poem<sup>25</sup>; 3) classical allusions and imitation.

### *Loyalty to Sources*

As a rule, Juvencus follows his *OL* Gospel source very closely throughout the *ELQ*, and hence Jerome's expression describing the poem: *transferens paene ad verbum*.<sup>26</sup> The key question to ask is what exactly Jerome meant by this phrase. Does he really mean *translate*? Although Juvencus closely follows the Gospels, it becomes immediately obvious that he is not translating to the word, and to do so would be impossible when going from prose to verse. Before trying to answer this question—what Jerome may have meant—let us look first at some passages from Book 1 as compared with the same scenes from the *OL* Gospels. Jesus' longest speech in the New Testament is the Sermon on the Mount, and this scene also takes up nearly half of Book 1—an eighth of the entire poem. Sections of this speech are very characteristic of Juvencus' overall loyalty to his source. It follows Matthew's version very closely at the diegetic level, but with some clever variations at the verbal level. Let us begin by looking at Juvencus' version of the Beatitudes, lines 454-471, followed by the *OL* version of Matthew (5.3-12):

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25. Green (2006) names one of his sections "Teaching and Exegesis," and I borrow that title here.

26. "translating almost to the word."

Felices humiles, pauper quos spiritus ambit,  
 Illos nam caeli regnum sublime receptat, 455  
 His similes mites, quos mansuetudo coronat,  
 Quorum debetur iuri pulcherrima tellus.  
 Hoc modo lugentes solacia magna sequentur.  
 Pabula iustitiae qui nunc potusque requirunt,  
 Illos plena manet satiandos copia mensae. 460  
 Felix, qui miseri doluit de pectore sortem,  
 Illum nam Domini miseratio larga manebit.  
 Felices, puro qui caelum corde tuentur,  
 Visibilis Deus his per saecula cuncta patebit.  
 Pacificos Deus in numerum sibi prolis adoptat. 465  
 Felices nimium, quos insectatio frendens  
 Propter iustitiam premit; his mox regia caeli  
 Pandetur. Gaudete, operum quos iusta tenentes  
 Urgebit praeceps stimulis iniuria saeuis;  
 Plurima nam merces uobis seruatur in aethra, 470  
 Namque profetarum fuit insectatio talis.  
 (Juvencus 1.454-471)

- 3 Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.
- 4 Beati mites, quoniam ipsi [hereditate]<sup>27</sup> possidebunt terram.
- 5 Beati, qui lugunt [nunc], quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.
- 6 Beati, qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.
- 7 Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi miserabuntur.
- 8 Beati [qui] mundo [sunt] corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.
- 9 Beati pacifici, quoniam [ipsi] filii Dei vocabuntur.
- 10 Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.
- 11 Beati eritis, cum exprobaverint vobis homines et persecuti fuerint et dixerint omne malum adversum vos propter iustitiam.
- 12 Gaudete et exultate, quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in caelo; sic enim persecuti sunt et prophetae, qui erant ante vos, [patres eorum]. (Matthew 5:3-12)

There are several things worth pointing out in a comparison between these two passages. First of all, we do see that Juvencus follows the narrative rather closely. He includes all of the major examples from the Beatitudes, and in the same order. Nevertheless, at a verbal level, it can hardly be said that he is rendering the *OL* Gospels *paene ad verbum*. First, at least in part due to the demands of the hexameter, he normally takes two lines for

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27. All *OL* text is taken from Adolf Jülicher (editor), *Itala; Das Neue Testament in Altlateinischer Überlieferung*, 4 volumes (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972). If a word is surrounded by brackets [], it can vary considerably depending upon the manuscript, and Jülicher often leaves it out.

each verse, though not always (e.g., 458, 465). As discussed earlier, he also frequently abstracts the subjects. In Matthew, the subject is almost always the *beati* in both clauses, but Juvencus frequently changes the *beati* to the object in the second clause. For example, in line 455 *illos nam caeli regnum sublime receptat* (the lofty kingdom of heaven receives the humble) for Matthew's *quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum* (since theirs is the kingdom of heaven). In 458, there is *lugentes solacia magna sequentur* (great comfort will attend those who mourn) for Matthew's *beati, qui lugunt, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur* (blessed are they who grieve, for they will be consoled). The poet also seems to explain some of the phrases: the *humiles* are those whom *pauper spiritus ambit* (a poor spirit surrounds, 454), or the *mites* are those whom *mansuetudo coronat* (gentleness crowns, 456). Juvencus also seems fond of sibilant alliteration throughout this section (e.g., 454, 456, 458, 460, 464, 469, 470). Finally, the poet may be putting special emphasis on the persecuted in line 466 (*felices nimium*), although there is no such emphasis in Matthew.<sup>28</sup>

By far the most striking characteristic of this passage of Juvencus is the conspicuous *variatio*. The Beatitudes take their name from the anaphoric *beati* of these verses, their most characteristic feature.<sup>29</sup> Matthew seems to use irony following the *beati* to stress Jesus' message: *beati, qui lugunt* (happy are those who mourn) borders on oxymoron. Juvencus could follow this feature, and in fact does in his first line with *felices humiles* (454), a very close metrical version of *beati pauperes*. Instead of

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28. See below, p. 32-34.

29. For *anaphora* see Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, trans. Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, and David E. Orton (Leiden: Brill, 1998), § 629-630. I will reference a Lausberg section number for any figures that may be unfamiliar. Lausberg will provide not only a short definition, but also references to ancient and sometimes modern authors.

continuing with *felices* at the beginning of as many lines as possible and lending his passage the same feeling of the Beatitudes, instead he is very careful to change each instance and he never repeats the same introduction twice in a row. This *variatio*, following the initial *felices*, subverts the expectations of the readers, who would have been familiar with this passage and anticipating some form of *anaphora*.<sup>30</sup> This conspicuous *variatio* is an enduring characteristic of Juvencus. Let us continue to examine the Sermon of the Mount for further examples:

From Matthew 5:

21 **Audistis, quia dictum est** antiquis: Non occides, qui autem occiderit, reus erit iudicio.

22 **Ego autem dico vobis**, quod ...

...

27 **Audistis, quia dictum est** [antiquis]: Non moechaberis.<sup>31</sup>

28 **Ego autem dico vobis**, quod ...

...

31 [Audistis quia] **dictum est**: Quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam, det illi repudium.

32 **Ego autem dico vobis**: ...

...

33 Iterum **audistis, quia dictum est**: Non periurabis: reddes autem Domino iuramenta tua.

34 **Ego autem dico vobis** non iurare omnino: ...

...

38 **Audistis, quia dictum est**: Oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente.

39 **Ego autem dico vobis** non resistere malo ...

...

43 **Audistis, quia dictum est**: Diliges proximum tuum et odies inimicum tuum.

44 **Ego autem dico vobis**: diligite inimicos vestros ...

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30. I assume that the intended reader of the *ELQ* would expect certain things. Given significant lack of exegesis or teaching in the poem (see below, 21-25), I am convinced that the *ELQ* is intended for Christians and not to convert individuals to Christianity. As a result, one would expect the Christian reader to be familiar with these anaphoric lines, some of Christ's most important teachings, and Juvencus' *variatio* would in fact subvert their expectations.

31. If I have bracketed a word from the Gospel texts, it indicates that there are various readings on this word from the different manuscripts. Generally, the bracketed word is removed in some versions.

Above are several verses that occur later in the Sermon on the Mount—called the Antitheses—and they follow an anaphoric style similar to the Beatitudes. As we can see, Jesus begins each section with *audistis, quia dictum est* (you have heard, because it was said) and then counters this with *ego autem dico vobis* (but I say to you) to introduce his own interpretation of the law.

Now let us look at Juvencus' version:

<b>Audistis</b> ueteris iussum moderamine legis:	496
...	
<b>Ast ego praecipiam</b> , ne quis consurgere in iras	499
...	
<b>Haut ignota</b> , reor, <b>uobis stat cautio legis</b>	519
Corpus adulterio prohibens, <b>sed nunc mea iussa</b>	520
Occulta internae frenant molimina mentis:	521
...	
<b>Praecipiant ueteres</b> , si quis conubia rumpit,	531
...	
<b>Ast alia maneant</b> , nam casti iura pudoris	534
...	
<b>Antiquae leges prohibent</b> periuria linguis	536
<b>Sed nostris cedat iurandi audacia iussis</b>	537
...	
<b>Peruulgata diu legis praecepta tenetis:</b>	548
...	
<b>Sed tranquilla malum melius patientia uincet:</b>	550
...	
<b>Nec tibi sit placitum</b> solis succurrere amicis	561
...	
<b>Quin ego praecipiam semper</b> blando esse per omnes	563

The poet begins with *audistis*, a word that calls to mind immediately the version of the Gospels. In 499 he is still following closely with *ast ego praecipiam* (but I shall warn). After these, however, there is a similar insistence on *variatio*. Juvencus never repeats the *audistis* from the Gospels, and some of his lines are considerably different (e.g., *haut ignota, reor, uobis stat cautio legis* – by no means unknown to you, I suppose, is the provision of the law). The variation is very conspicuous again, especially when the poet

begins this section with something so close to the original.<sup>32</sup> Juvencus is playing a clever game. In a normal speech setting, an orator could use *variatio* to keep the interest of his audience, to counteract *taedium*. The orator could also use *anaphora* for this same purpose—delivering a short phrase or word over and over again as he builds toward a climax. But in both of these passages, Juvencus takes Jesus’ speech—full of well-known *anaphora*, and leads the reader to believe that he will follow the same pattern. Instead, he introduces *variatio* and demonstrates a certain degree of rhetorical sophistication.

Juvencus will also employ a number of poetic figures not found in the *OL* Gospels. These also demonstrate the variety of ways the poet will apply *variatio*. For example, in line 508 (above) we find more alliteration: *et prius ad pacem properans transcurrere petendam*. There is *synechdoche* in line 530 (*aeternis flammis* for hell) and *hypallage* in lines 516-517 (*uincula saeua ministri* for *saeui ministri*, and *tenebris carceris atri* for *tenebris atris*). In 519, *haut ignota* is an obvious example of *litotes* (for *notissima*).<sup>33</sup> Juvencus also employs a clever pun in line 549. Instead of repeating the well-known maxim from Matthew 5.38 *oculum pro oculo dentem pro dente* (an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth), he considerably changes and abstracts the concept with *laedentem semper similis uindicta sequatur* (always let a like punishment follow the one who caused harm). Once again, however, Juvencus anticipates the expectations of the reader and begins the line with an accusative active participle, creating a clever play on

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32. The Antitheses have always been problematic for scholars because Jesus says he will not change the law (Matthew 5.17), but then seems to be doing just that. One solution for this problem in recent scholarship has been to note that Jesus is focusing on the Pharisees and how their interpretation of the law is incorrect (see, e.g., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Michael Coogan, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 476. Juvencus does not seem to find a problem with 5.17, as he renders it rather carefully in lines 483-489. His lexical changes to the Antitheses do, then, seem to be a matter of *variatio* and not exegesis.

33. For *synechdoche*, see Lausberg §572; for *hypallage*, §685.2; for *litotes*, §586.

words between *dentem* and *laedentem*.

From this same section, let us look at lines 523-530 in full:

Si te forte oculi dextri laqueauerit error,  
Auctorem miserae properans conuellito labis  
Et iaculare procul. Nam membrum perdere refert    525  
Exiguum, flammis quam totum dedere corpus  
Perpetuisque animam pariter conuoluere poenis.  
Et si dextra manus mentem per deuia ducit,  
Erroris causam praestat decidere ferro,  
Quam totum aeternis corpus concedere flammis.    530

And the corresponding section from Matthew 5:

29 Quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum et proice abs te; expedit enim tibi, ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum, quam totum corpus tuum eat in gehennam.

30 Et si dextera manus tua scandalizat te, abscide eam et proice abs te. Expedit [enim tibi] ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum, quam totum corpus tuum eat in gehennam.

Here again the poet is faced with a heavily anaphoric portion of the Sermon, and although he remains loyal to the sense of the original (just as in previous examples), he does not use a single verb from the original text, removes the anaphora, abstracts the concepts (the “wandering of the right eye,” the “author of the wretched sin,” or the “cause of the error”), and includes rhetorical figures such as alliteration (e.g., 527, 528) and *hyperbaton* (e.g., 527).<sup>34</sup> The poet also has added his own line (527), with a vivid description of a soul coiled up, as though by a snake, in eternal punishments: *perpetuisque animam pariter conuoluere poenis*.

Finally, there is one more example of *variatio* from the Sermon on the Mount that should be examined before we move on. In Matthew 7.13-17, Jesus describes two paths: one path is through the narrow gate and leads to salvation, but few take it; the other path

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34. For *hyperbaton*, see Lausberg, §716.

is wide and spacious, and many take it, but it leads to damnation:

13 Intrate per angustam portam; quam lata et spatiosa est via, quae ducit ad  
perditionem, et multi sunt, qui intrant per eam;  
14 quam angusta est via, quae ducit ad vitam, et pauci sunt, qui inveniunt eam.

The first two lines (679-689) of Juvencus' take of these verses is remarkably close to the  
*OL* Gospel text:

Ite per angustam, iusti, super aethera portam.  
Quam lata et spatiosa uia est, quae limite laeuo

Once again, however, Juvencus seems to be experimenting with the expectations of the  
reader. After the first two lines he expands on the passage considerably, and finishes with  
five lines of simile that have no corresponding text in the Gospels:

Praeruptum conuoluit iter caligine mortis,  
Innumeraeque illam penetrant per prona cateruae!  
Vitalis uastis stipatur semita saxis,  
Celsaque uix paucos ducit per scrupea uirtus.  
At si quos nimium fallax inlexque malorum           685  
Planities suasit deformi lubrica lapsu,  
Adripit hos pronosque trahit uelut impetus amnis,  
Aut alacer sonipes ruptis effrenus habenis,  
Aut rectoris egens uentosa per aequora puppis.

In Juvencus, the wide and spacious path to the left envelops (here we see *convolvere*  
again) the steep journey with the shadow of death, and yet innumerable crowds of men  
take it. The life-giving path, on the other hand, is crowded in by huge rocks, and lofty  
virtue leads scarcely even a few men along its steep difficulties. Our poet describes the  
two paths of the Gospels in very vivid detail, expanding the original verses considerably  
and lending the passage the flavor of epic. Then, beginning at 685, one of the few similes  
of the poem appears: “But if the very deceitful and enticing plain of evils—slippery with  
its ugly slope—entices any of them, it snatches them up and drags them headlong like the  
rush of a river, or like a swift unbridled horse, its reins broken, or like a ship on the windy



sea lacking a captain.” The simile is exceptional and may “betray an ambition to write on a grander scale.”<sup>35</sup> It also calls to mind similar passages from Vergil, Lucan, and Horace.<sup>36</sup>

There are, of course, many other passages worth pointing out in Book 1 and elsewhere, but the above examples should give a good idea of Juvencus’ general style—one that follows the Gospels faithfully (excuse the expression), but commonly includes changes and minor expansions. These changes often occur to fit the meter, but also experiment with the expectations of the readers and give the Gospels more of an “epic feel.”<sup>37</sup>

This brings us back to Jerome and what he meant by *paene ad verbum*. Michael Roberts situates the problem within the context of grammatical versus rhetorical paraphrase (the focus of his book) and concludes that Jerome describes it in such a way to minimize the literariness of the *ELQ* in an “apologetic manner.” According to Roberts, “[t]here was danger that the “majesty” of the Holy Scriptures might be diminished [by pagan learning].”<sup>38</sup> Green, on the other hand, notes that Jerome’s vocabulary for translation varies considerably, and he “does not have a simple opposition between two

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35. Green (2006), 86, in a discussion of this passage.

36. In *Odes* 4.2 Horace describes a river (*amnis*) rushing down from a mountain and overflowing its banks. In Vergil, *Aeneid* 11.600 as Aeneas and the Trojans prepare to storm the city of Latinus, the horses are described fighting their reins: *insultans sonipes et pressis pugnat habenis*. In *Aeneid* 6.335 and *Georgics* 1.206, the seas are described *ventosa per aequora*, as above in 689. Finally, although not verbally similar, this passage calls to mind the theme at the beginning of Lucan 7, when Pompey concedes to battle Caesar after the urging of Cicero, and lets go the reins of the people to their rage, like a sailor who gives control to the winds (7.123-127).

37. For more on allusions to epic, see 25-31 and the notes to the translation 132-142 below.

38. Roberts (1985), 75-76. This is a false dichotomy, and we have already mentioned that a classical education was common for Christians as well as pagans. We will return to the question of Jerome’s opinion of Christian poetry later, see p. 37-39 below.

kinds of paraphrase but ... reacts in different ways to different situations.”<sup>39</sup> The problem for both authors is that Jerome qualifies the poem specifically as *paene ad verbum*—almost “word for word” not “verse by verse.”<sup>40</sup> Jacques Fontaine, who wrote at roughly the same time as Roberts, helps resolve this problem. He contrasts the different Latin words for translation (*versio, conversio, interpretatio*) and then points out that *transferre* (the verb from Jerome) and its substantive *translatio* is closer in meaning to transposition than to our modern idea of translation.<sup>41</sup> This is, of course, exactly what Juvenecus is doing – transposing the Gospel story into a new epic format. This definition of *transferens* considerably improves our understanding of Jerome, but we still have not cleared up the meaning (or degree of specificity) of *paene ad verbum*. The Late Antique author Macrobius, in his commentary on Vergil in the *Saturnalia*, first describes how much Vergil borrows from Homer, and then writes the following (5.3.1-2):

3 Et si vultis me et ipsos proferre versus *ad verbum paene translatos*, licet omnes praesens memoria non suggerat, tamen qui se dederint obvios adnotabo:

νευρήν μὲν μαζῶν πέλασεν, τόξω δὲ σίδηρον.<sup>42</sup>

Totam rem quanto compendio lingua ditior explicavit? Vester licet periodo usus idem tamen dixit?

adduxit longe donec curvata coirent  
inter se capita et manibus iam tangeret aequis,  
laeva aciem ferri, dextra nervoque papillam.<sup>43</sup>

3 And if you want me to produce even those things *translated almost word for word*, although my present memory will not supply all of them, nevertheless those which obviously offer themselves I will note:

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39. Green (2006), 45.

40. Ibid., 44.

41. Fontaine (1981), 70-71: “[*Transferre*] correspond au substantif *translatio*; qui est en latin l’équivalent usuel du terme technique exprimant le processus figuratif fondamental de la *metaphora*. Il implique donc métaphorisation, soit, en termes issus du latin, transposition.”

42. Homer, *Iliad* 4.23. Translation is mine.

43. Vergil, *Aeneid* 11.860-862. Translation is mine.

*He drew the bowstring to his chest, and the iron arrowhead back to the bow.*  
How carefully has this richer language set forth this entire matter? But nevertheless, has your master (Vergil), having used the same sentence, not said the very same thing?

*She drew (it) back greatly until the curved  
ends met each other and now with level hands,  
the left touches the sharp point of iron, and the right her breast with the  
string.*

Immediately we see that Macrobius' concept of *transferre paene ad verbum* is very reminiscent of how Juvencus changes the Gospels: the scene is followed closely, but there is a small amount of expansion and several small details are added. I do not mean to suggest that Macrobius borrows from Jerome, nor to comment on the quality of his criticism, but merely to show the flexibility of the Latin phrase *paene ad verbum*. While our modern minds want this to imply something very specific—something similar to our word *translation*—clearly it is a phrase that was very well suited to describe the *ELQ*.

### *Teaching and Exegesis*

Our observations thus far anticipate the following evaluations of teaching and exegesis and classical allusions in the poem. That is, we have seen that Juvencus follows the narrative of the Gospel story very closely. Switching from prose to hexameter requires some change, however, and he frequently adds poetic figures and epic language. Broadly speaking, Juvencus is much more of a poet than an exegete. The small changes that the poet does make to his source texts are almost always for aesthetic purposes or to fit the meter, and almost never in order to explain a particular passage of the Gospels or to suggest a particular doctrinal interpretation. That being said, there are many instances—usually only a word or two—that scholars take to reflect a particular

theological background (admittedly the distinction between reflection and suggestion can be very thin).<sup>44</sup> Occasionally Juvencus will explain a particular verse, also very briefly.

An example of the latter can be found in Book 1 during the visit of the Magi, when

Juvencus explains the significance of the three gifts for Jesus:

... tum munera trina  
Tus, aurum, murrum regique hominique Deoque                      250  
Dona dabant. ...

They give three gifts—incense, gold, and myrrh, tributes for the king, the man,  
and the God.

As humble as this example may seem, it is one of the more (if not most) expansive examples of explanation to be found in the *ELQ*. Examples of exegesis can be even more subtle, for example in line 679: *Ite per angustam, iusti, super aethera portam*. In the Gospel version, there is no mention of heaven, whereas here in Juvencus' line some scholars have seen the phrase *super aethera* as lending an "eschatological" focus to Jesus' command.<sup>45</sup> Other efforts to find examples of exegesis typically deal with phrases as small as *super aethera*, and require a sharp eye. I, like Green, would urge caution in reading too much into each one or two word expansion in order to find a strain of exegesis.<sup>46</sup>

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44. See R.P.H. Green, "The *Evangeliorum Libri* of Juvencus: Exegesis by Stealth?" in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*, Willemien Otten and Karla Pollmann, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2007) for distinctions of implicit and explicit exegesis, which he terms "macro-" and "micro-" exegesis (71) and the need for caution in identifying the latter in Juvencus (75).

45. Green (2006), 85. Here Green cites from Emanuela Colombi, "Paene ad verbum: gli *Evangeliorum libri* di Giovenco tra parafrasi e commentario," in *Cassiodorus* 3 (1997), 9-36. Colombi's article and Rudolf Fichtner, *Taufe und Versuchung Jesu in den Evangeliorum libri quattuor des Bibeldichters Juvencus (1.346-408)*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1994) are two important works on exegesis in Juvencus.

46. Green (2006), 90. His discussion of exegesis is very thorough and includes a closer look at Christian and biblical vocabulary. See pages 84-103. In his review of Fichtner (*Gnomon* 3 [1997]), Michael Roberts thinks that "there has been a tendency to downplay or dismiss [the exegetical element]" of

There are several larger exegetical themes that are worth pointing out. Light is a recurring motif throughout the *ELQ*, especially in the contrast between the light of salvation (often associated with Jesus) with the darkness of death.<sup>47</sup> In fact, *lumen* and *lux* are both very common throughout the poem, including Book 1.<sup>48</sup> Green explains Juvencus' emphasis on light in theological terms. According to Green, Juvencus so often returns to the theme of light in order to relate the poem to the popular pagan deity, *Sol Invictus* (the unconquered sun), though whether that relationship is "inclusive or antagonistic" is uncertain.<sup>49</sup> In a recent article, Green also notes how the vocabulary in four particular scenes of the *ELQ* seems to give the poem a slightly "anti-Arian" stance, or at least presents a version of Jesus that avoids some of the theological difficulties of the Council of Nicaea, such as the relationship between God and Jesus.<sup>50</sup> In Book 1, for example, lines 305-306 render Luke 2.52:

At puer obsequiis apte praedulcibus ambos                    305  
Ad proprium semper cogens nectebat amorem.

As Green points out, here Juvencus focuses on Jesus' relationship with other humans, whereas in the Gospels, Jesus is growing in favor *apud Deum et homines* (among God

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Juvencus (558), but likely would agree with my statement above, also saying: "Juvencus' intrusions are often subtle and depend on lexical choice. Typically they do not draw attention to themselves. An uninformed reader can pass them by without realizing the interpretative point" (ibid.). I stand by my above assertion that even if a subtle, perhaps even persistent, "exegetical element" exists, Juvencus still draws more attention to his epic language and allusions than to exegesis or interpretation.

47. For a book exclusively on light in Juvencus, see Wilfrid Röttger, *Studien zur Lichtmotivik bei Juvencus* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996).

48. For especially frequent occurrences, see Zechariah's prophesy (115-129) and Jesus' "Light of the World" parable in the Sermon on the Mount (477-482).

49. Green (2006), 123.

50. Green (2007), 76-80.

and men).<sup>51</sup> The poet nicely avoids the relationship of God and Jesus. This is certainly an interesting and subtle reading, though it is also a clear example of a “micro-exegetical” reading, and we can see why Green titled his article *Exegesis by Stealth*.

One other exegetical theme worth examining before moving on is the question of anti-Semitism in Juvencus, significant not only for its own sake but also because of some important responses in arguments that have identified it. Beginning with one of the earliest scholars of Juvencus, Charles Marold, an anti-Semitic strain has been identified in the *ELQ*.<sup>52</sup> The reasons for this are varied, and some are more valid than others: the fact that Juvencus begins with Luke instead of Matthew, thereby avoiding the Jewish genealogy of Jesus; that in following Luke 1, Juvencus still avoids some Jewish aspects, such as skipping the genealogy of Zechariah or the circumcision of John the Baptist; or that the Jews are frequently spoken of in disparaging language. Green demonstrates that the avoidance of clusters of Hebrew names, such as in a genealogy, are a metrical issue more than anything else. Also, the circumcision of Christ is not avoided, and Juvencus speaks of various other figures more negatively than he does the Jews.<sup>53</sup> It is better to consider this issue in terms first applied by Reinhart Herzog. Anti-Semitism in Juvencus,

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51. *Ibid.*, 77-78. There are three other passages Green focuses on: 2.637, where Juvencus avoids the phrase from John 5.19 “truly I say to you, the Son can do nothing of his own accord;” 3.503-504, where Juvencus skips over part of Matthew 19.17; and 4.692-693, where Juvencus leaves out Jesus calling out on the cross (Matthew 27.46).

52. Green (2006), 103-112 for his section on anti-Semitism. Other works treating the subject: Charles Marold, “Ueber das Evangelienbuch des Juvencus in seinem Verhältniss zum Bibeltext,” in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 33 (1890), 329-41; J.M. Poinssotte, *Juvencus et Israël. La représentation des Juifs dans le premier poème latin chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1979); A.P. Orbán, “Die Versifikation von Lk 1, 5-80 in den Evangeliorum Libri quattuor des Juvencus: Eine Analyse von Juvenc. 1.1-132,” in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 83 (1992); and Reinhart Herzog, *Die Biblepik der lateinischen Spätantike 1: Formgeschichte einer erbaulichen Gattung* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1975), especially 99-145.

53. Green (2006), 106-108, 111.

or *Entjudaisierung*, can be understood in the context of a larger aim of *Christianisierung* or *Applanierung*.<sup>54</sup> While Juvencus may minimize the Jewish background of Jesus and the Gospels, it is less in the interest of anti-Semitism, per se, and more in the interest of universalizing the Christian message, in expanding the scope beyond Israel and making it more meaningful to his own Roman-Christian audience. Herzog's main example of universalizing *Entjudaisierung* is line 1.123, where Zechariah calls God the parent of the stars and the earth, the sea and mankind, instead of only the Lord God of Israel.<sup>55</sup> Another often-examined instance of *Christianisierung* in Book 1 is Juvencus' version of the Lord's Prayer (590-603), specifically line 595 where he calls the bread *vitalis* (life-giving). Some scholars see this as alluding to the Eucharist.<sup>56</sup> Green also provides a number of terms found throughout Juvencus—*terrae*, *homines*, or *populi* (the whole earth and all of mankind)—that add a universalizing message to the epic.<sup>57</sup>

### *Classical Epic in the ELQ*

The *ELQ* is not without over-arching exegetical themes. The poet does not, however, add long passages of interpretation or exegesis, and what changes he does make normally consist of only a word or two and require a discerning eye. So absent is the voice of the poet that Herzog has argued that Juvencus did not want to separate his voice

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54. For the first two: “un-Semitizing” (more so than *anti*-Semitizing) and “Christianizing” respectively. *Applanierung* is a very difficult word to translate into English, so I follow Green's explanation: “the removal of material that was not understood or was deemed foreign to the poet's purpose, while at the theological level it is an attempt by the poet to ‘Christianize’ his material by replacing the national orientation with explicitly Christian concerns” (2006), 104-105. See Herzog, 111-124.

55. See Herzog, 112 or Green (2006), 105.

56. For example, Herzog (*ibid.*), and Colombi (1997), and Green (2007), 75-76.

57. Green (2006), 103-104.

from that of the evangelist. In effect, according to Herzog Juvencus is writing a new Gospel for a new Roman-Christian world.<sup>58</sup> The voices of classical authors are not absent, however, and Juvencus seems as intent on creating a new epic as a new Gospel. The *ELQ* is full of classical allusions and epic language, many examples of which we have already seen. To appreciate the full extent of the classical language, I have included endnotes after the text and translation.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, a few key examples can also demonstrate the variety of allusions—both imitative and emulative—in the *ELQ*.

*Inmortale*. From the first word of the poem Juvencus immediately calls to mind several classical poems. He sets the tone for his epic with the first word—Christianity is the path to immortality—just as Homer did with μῆνιν and Vergil with *arma virumque*.<sup>60</sup> The word itself is Lucretian, and various scholars have closely investigated it and other Epicurean language of the preface. This leads us to our first and perhaps most important hermeneutic lesson of the *ELQ*—although Juvencus constantly uses epic language that he borrows from several poets, especially Vergil (but also Lucan, Statius, and Lucretius), there is not always “interpretative complexity,” or allusion.<sup>61</sup> That is, Juvencus is not always asking us to reflect back on the original source of his language and use that as a hermeneutic tool. This seems to be the case here, and the importance (or meaning) of the

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58. Herzog (1985), 93.

59. See Appendix, p. 143-152, below. In many places where I talk about “general epic language,” the appendix will give more specific references to classical authors and texts.

60. Robert Carruba, “The Preface to Juvencus’ Biblical Epic: A Structural Study,” in *American Journal of Philology* 114:2 (1993), 306.

61. Quote from Michael Roberts, “Vergil and the Gospels: The Evangeliorum libri IV of Juvencus,” in *Romane memento: Vergil in the Fourth Century*, Roger Rees, editor (London: Duckworth Publishers, 2004), 50. Roberts here also notes the prevalence of Vergil in Juvencus: “92% of the vocabulary of Book 1 is Vergilian and all lines in the book but two contain words that occur in the same place in the line in both authors.”



Lucretian language is unclear.<sup>62</sup> Another example of the danger of over-interpretation is the last line of the preface (27): *ut Christo digna loquamur*. This is almost certainly a reference to *Aeneid* 6.662: *Phoebo digna locuti*.<sup>63</sup> There is the real possibility that Juvencus is implying a replacement of the traditional god of poetry, Apollo, with Christ. But does Juvencus want us to take this comparison further still, and to explore further differences or similarities between Jesus and old pagan gods? Where exactly this thin line of interpretation lies and when we, as readers, have crossed it, are difficult questions. As Green says, “In the ultimate scheme of things the classical poets are inferior, and transitory; but here and now their aesthetic value is not negligible, and they are an integral contribution to the poetic appeal [of Juvencus].”<sup>64</sup> Where this aesthetic value is employed (nearly everywhere) is obvious – discovering whether Juvencus is merely affecting epic language or if there is a more complex allusion at hand is the challenge.

There are allusions to Homer and Vergil elsewhere in the preface. Juvencus refers to them both, as the *cantus fluentes de Smyrnae fonte* (9) and the *dulcedo Minciadae Maronis* (10).<sup>65</sup> Here both classical epic poets—the foundations of Greek and Roman literary culture respectively—are associated with ancient rivers, Homer with the *fons* of Smyrna and Vergil the Mincio. Not to be outdone, Juvencus has his own river, one associated instead with the Judeo-Christian world—the Jordan (27).<sup>66</sup> In poetry, the

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62. Green (2004), 211-213 for a close look at Lucretius in the preface. This is largely a response to Carruba (1993).

63. Green (2006), 22-23.

64. Ibid.. There is also the question of the context of the passage from the *Aeneid*. Aeneas is in the underworld, so is Juvencus comparing *Elysium* and heaven? Green also considers this question here, but this is another example of when determining where to stop interpreting intertextual references is difficult.

65. ‘songs flowing from the spring of Smyrna,’ ‘the sweetness of Minciadean Maro.’

use of springs and rivers that prepare the poet or provide inspiration is not uncommon. In the *ELQ*, however, cleansing also carries another meaning—the Jordan is the river where Jesus was baptized.<sup>67</sup>

Klaus Thraede first used the term *Kontrastimitation* while describing Christian Latin poetry. This phenomenon occurs throughout the *ELQ* and is one of the more interesting kinds of allusion.<sup>68</sup> It can be thematic and experiment with genre boundaries, such as how Juvenecus invokes the Holy Spirit (*Sanctificus Spiritus*, 25-26), as opposed to the muse or goddess of classical poetry. The *ELQ* is a celebration of deeds (*gesta*, 19), the classical realm of epic. These *gesta*, however, are not battles or worldly triumphs, but the life-giving (*vitalia*) deeds of Christ, and we can see the challenge that Juvenecus gives to his predecessors and the emulative character of the poem.<sup>69</sup> In its purest form, however, *Kontrastimitation* is a lexical imitation, where the context of the words or phrase in the original poem contrasts with that of the same words in the imitator and helps deepen our understanding of the new poem. One example of this from Book 1 is when Juvenecus describes the star that leads the Magi to Jesus (243-245):

Ecce iteris medio stellam praecurrere cernunt  
Sulcantem flammis auras, quae culmine summo  
Restitit et pueri lustrata habitacula monstrat.

But look, they see mid-journey a star rushing ahead, plowing the sky with its flames, and it stops over the top of a building and shows the illuminated house of the boy.

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66. Carruba, 310.

67. Green (2006), 21-22. Other “irrigation of the Muses,” e.g. Propertius 3.3.51-2, Ovid, *Amores* 3.9.25-6.

68. Roberts (2004), 49.

69. Roberts (2004), 48.

In his treatment of this passage, Michael Roberts notes how similar the language of this scene is to *Aeneid* 2.692-698, where a comet heralds the special destiny of Iulus, reaffirming the crown of flames that appeared over the boy's head (2.682-686). People also observe this comet (*cernimus* 696) as it too rushes across the sky (*stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit* 694) and over rooftops (... *summa super labentem culmina tecti* 695) like the furrow of a plow (... *tum longo limite sulcus* 697).<sup>70</sup> Here we have two children, each receiving the omens of their respective "special destiny." Perhaps Juvencus sees the value of using this famous scene from the *Aeneid* to highlight the miraculous birth of Jesus, and, at the same time, he could also be emphasizing the contrast between Christ's destiny and that of Iulus, the Julian line, and Rome.<sup>71</sup>

Fichtner and Green both describe another thought-provoking instance of *Kontrastimitation* from Book 1.400.<sup>72</sup> Here Jesus is offered *tantarum gloria rerum* by the devil. Aeneas, on the other hand, is reminded of *tantarum gloria rerum* by Mercury in 4.272, when he cannot decide whether or not to stay with Dido. The phrase is exactly the same and occurs in the same part of the line in both poems. As Green points out, we first realize that Christ rejects these earthly glories, while Aeneas ultimately must decide to pursue his glory. At that point, we can "reflect that while the 'glory' for Aeneas is that of the future Rome which should inspire him, the glory in the case of Christ is the earthly glory that he must [refuse.]"<sup>73</sup> Another example of *Kontrastimitation* that uses *gloria* can

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70. Ibid., 53.

71. Ibid.

72. Green (2006), 63 and Fichtner (1994), 148-149.

73. Green (2006), 63.

be found in *divinae gloria legis* of the “epilogue” of Book 4.<sup>74</sup> Roberts points out how this phrase is very similar to *divini gloria ruris* of Vergil’s *Georgics* (1.168), a motto of sorts that is evocative of the entire poem. The *Georgics* are a collection of bucolic poetry that also reflects on the emergence of a new Rome under the rule of Octavian—a reflection that will reach its culmination in *The Aeneid*. Roberts thinks that this lexical allusion underlines the “contrasts between the two situations, between war and peace, Olympus and eternal life” and that “the peace of Christ ... is polemically opposed to the warlike would-be god of the *Georgics*.”<sup>75</sup>

Beyond *Kontrastimitation*, we have already seen some examples of Juvenecus borrowing language to highlight the epicness of his own poem, such as the simile from Book 1.685-689.<sup>76</sup> Herzog also notes a feature that he calls *epische Affektschema*, or the application of the “epic palette of emotions” to characters, such as when Christ *tristi compressit corde dolorem* (suppressed the grief in his sad heart), just like Aeneas in *Aeneid* 1.209. Juvenecus also gives a very epic opening to the Lord’s Prayer in 1.590-592:

Sidereo genitor residens in vertice caeli,  
 Nominis, oramus, ueneratio sanctificetur  
 In nobis, pater alter, tui: ...

Creator, residing at the summit of starry heaven, let your venerated name be honored among us, high Father, we pray:<sup>77</sup>

Perhaps the most exceptional example of overtly epic language comes in Book 2.25-32, when Juvenecus describes the brief storm scene on the Sea of Galilee from Matthew 8.24.

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74. See above, 4.

75. Roberts (2004), 49.

76. See above, 18.

77. Translation is mine. Compare this to Matthew 6.9 *Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum*. (Our father, you who are in heaven, let your name be honored.)

In the Gospels, this storm is described in the barest terms: *Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mare, ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus* (24). Juvencus, on the other hand, goes into great detail, depicting how the wind fills the sails (25) and the boat sped along (26). The water of the sea actually rises in anger (27), raising high mountains of water (29) and waves strike all sides of the boat (30-31). This language is very similar to the wreck of Aeneas' fleet described in the *Aeneid* (1.81-123), and as Green points out there is even a degree of *Kontrastimitation*, between Jesus' calmness and authority in the scene (2.33-38), as compared with Aeneas' own reaction (*Aeneid* 1.94-101).<sup>78</sup> I will include the text of the scene as a closing to our section on allusion in the *ELQ*:

Conscidunt nauem uentoque inflata tumescent	25
Vela suo, fluctuque uolat stridente carina.	
Postquam altum tenuit puppis, consurgere in iras	
Pontus et inmissis hinc inde tumescere uentis	
Instat et ad caelum rabidos sustollere montes;	
Et nunc mole ferit puppim nunc turbine proram,	30
Inlisosque super laterum tabulata receptant	
Fluctus disiectoque aperitur terra profundo.	

### **Contexts: Historical, Artistic, and Literary**

At this point, we have already observed several things about the *ELQ* and Juvencus' style. The poet follows the text of the Gospels closely, but uses classical language and follows the meter well. He does not follow the Gospels so minutely as not to leave room for expansion and small additions, and it is within these changes that we find the potential for exegesis and interpretation. But Juvencus was not fond of extended passages of interpretation, and he can be characterized most accurately as an exegete by

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78. Green (2006), 61-62.

*stealth*.<sup>79</sup> More characteristic by far is the epic language throughout the poem, as well as allusions to other classical authors—especially Vergil. His work is not a *cento*, such as Proba wrote. On the contrary, his borrowing from Vergil can be very clever, and we find several instances of *Kontrastimitation*.<sup>80</sup>

The context of the poem may also help give us a fuller picture of the *ELQ*, and will be the subject of this section. I will include three contextual scenarios, each of which could have played a part in both the impetus and production of this poem. The division of these scenarios into three distinctive categories is arbitrary, of course. One does not experience life or creative production in conveniently divided parts, and many different things can influence us at any given moment. Nevertheless, the separation of these contexts into categories—historical, artistic, literary—lends clarity and conciseness to their presentation, and taken as a whole they will lead to a better understanding of the *ELQ*.

### *Historical*

Following the economic and political crises of the third century CE, the Emperor Diocletian instituted a new style of imperial government. He divided the empire into two administrative halves, and two co-emperors ruled each. The imperial government—the court and its agents—became involved in the everyday lives of the cities in a relatively short period of time, because Diocletian had “defeated the first and most deadly enemy of

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79. From the title of Green (2007).

80. A *cento* is a poem that is made from the patchwork of another poet. Proba’s *cento* was a reworking of Vergil to make a sacred history *epyllion*.

empires – distance.”<sup>81</sup> That said, an ever-present imperial administration was a new development in the Roman world, and the emperor and his officials (as opposed to local elites) were forced to deal with another increasing presence in the Roman world – Christianity.

Although Christians had long presented themselves as in perpetual conflict with the pagan world, this was actually not the case until the third century.<sup>82</sup> In Pliny the Younger’s letter to Trajan from the early second century CE, Pliny, the local administrator, was distressed by the effects of Christians on civic life, but the emperor did not seem especially concerned, or at least no more than he would be with any other administrative issue.<sup>83</sup> In the insecure and unstable world of the third century CE, however, rising Christianity and abandonment of the old gods absorbed some of the blame for the empire’s problems. In 250 and 257, two short-term but empire-wide proclamations against the Christians were made.<sup>84</sup> It was only after the establishment of the tetrarchy, when the imperial government was ever more involved in local affairs, that the so-called “Great Persecution” of Diocletian was initiated – an “empire in crisis” could not forsake the old gods. The Great Persecution would last eleven years in some parts of the empire, from 303 to 314. Only after Constantine’s victory at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 and his own embrace of Christianity in the following years did the effects

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81. Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 56. This work is very accessible and also addresses recent scholarship. A standard reference is A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964).

82. *Ibid.*, 61.

83. See Pliny, *Epistulae* 10.96-97.

84. Brown (2003), 62.

of the persecution ease.<sup>85</sup>

Roger Green sees remnants of the persecution, which Juvencus would have experienced at least to some degree, in the language of *ELQ*. He notes the “special emphasis” that Juvencus places on persecution. This emphasis is found in Juvencus’ Beatitudes, which we examined previously, but there is another occurrence later in the Sermon on the Mount (565-6), where Juvencus’ language becomes “noticeably vehement.”<sup>86</sup> Juvencus frequently refers to Christians with the adjective *iustus*, perhaps reflecting a sentiment that, after so much persecution, the Christians are finally enjoying justice.<sup>87</sup>

It is this period of relative security following the advent of Constantine that allowed Christians the freedom to assert themselves. As Peter Brown notes: “We should not underestimate the fierce mood of Christians in the fourth century A.D.”<sup>88</sup> Juvencus supports this worldview in his epilogue, when he declares the peace of his age (*pax haec mihi saeculi*) as the enabling force of his poem. This is a very specific peace, that of Christ, but also one that was nurtured and promoted by his emperor (*Quam fovet indulgens terrae regnator apertae / Constantinus*). Keeping in mind as well the constant allusions to Vergil throughout the poem, I think we must compare Juvencus’ *Pax Constantina* with Vergil’s *Pax Augusta*. Our poet is enjoying the benefits of a new empire, just as Vergil did. Just as Juvencus claims that his poem shall be truly immortal (as opposed to the only nearly-immortal fame of Vergil and Homer), so, too, is his

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85. *Ibid.*, 60, 73 ff.

86. Green (2006), 120-121.

87. *Ibid.*, 121-122.

88. Brown (2003), 74.



emperor superior to Vergil's. While Vergil claims that Augustus is to join the gods on Olympus (*Georgics* 4.562: *viamque adfectat Olympo*), Juvencus' Constantine only reluctantly takes on such power (*sacri sibi nominis horret / inponi pondus*).<sup>89</sup> Juvencus' Constantine serves as the chosen emperor for the new "Christian times," as the poet himself will take his place alongside Vergil, or even beyond him, when his poetry escapes the flames of Armageddon.<sup>90</sup>

### *Artistic*

Juvencus' poetic style was clearly different from many of the classical poets before him. In his storm scene from Book 2, or even his simile from the Sermon on the Mount, there are clear signs that he could have elaborated more throughout his poem, but instead chose to follow his *OL* Gospels source closely. Scholars have wondered if this restraint reflects a larger Late Antique aesthetic at work. Jacques Fontaine suggests that we should look at Byzantine poetry or Byzantine icons "to approach correctly the sense and beauty of sacred poetry, such as Juvencus'."<sup>91</sup> In a review of Fontaine, J.H. Waszink thinks there may be a link between Juvencus' style and his nationality, noting the "unadorned but strikingly exact presentations of biblical scenes" by later Spanish renaissance painters such as Zurbarán.<sup>92</sup> Only a few years later, Michael Roberts also

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89. See Roberts (2004), 49.

90. 'Tempora Christiana,' the name of Chapter 3 of Brown (2003).

91. Fontaine (1981), 70. 'aborder correctement le sens et la beauté d'une poésie sacrée, comme celle de Juvencus.' Translation is mine.

92. J.H. Waszink, Review of *Naissance de la poésie dans l'occident chrétien. Esquisse d'une histoire de la poésie latine chrétienne du III<sup>e</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* by Jacques Fontaine, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 (1983), 76.

examined the visual arts of Late Antiquity when evaluating the poetic aesthetic of the same period.<sup>93</sup> Roberts identifies a “jeweled style,” wherein Late Antique poets valued “restricted” passages that involve enumeration and opposition. Roberts likens such passages, in their tight hierarchical arrangement and vibrant contrasting pieces, to the arrangement of a piece of jewelry, and his first example of this style is the poetic description of a pectoral.<sup>94</sup> He also recommends an aesthetic comparison between Late Antique poetry and visual arts, and notes the “uniformity of presentation, ... preference for frontality, ... and schematic organization of detail” in Late Antique art.<sup>95</sup> For example, he notes how the representation of the tetrarchy in the Arch of Constantine “imposes pattern on a subject,” though in contrast to poetry it does not have “significant variation in detail [and] the sculptor achieves a uniformity that is alien to the verbal facility of poetry.”<sup>96</sup>

I am not sure how much we can benefit from Roberts’ observations where Juvenius is concerned, given how the poet’s restraint and style limit the opportunity for the sort of passages that Roberts describes.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, I do think there is much to gain by considering the Arch of Constantine, and the value of *spolia* in the art of Late Antiquity. In a recent article on the arch, Mark Wilson Jones notes:

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93. See Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1989).

94. Roberts (1989), 10-13.

95. *Ibid.*, 69.

96. *Ibid.*, 91.

97. Though maybe the scene where Christ accosts the money changers is something similar, at least so far as enumeration and opposition goes (2.153-162).

“Most of all, [Constantine’s input] is manifest in the unitarian character of the [arch], and in its sweeping synthesis of past masterpieces of composition, proportion, sculpture, and iconography. History was compacted synchronically: the Arch of Constantine encapsulated old ways of design and heralded the new.”<sup>98</sup>

This description could hardly be more perfect when we consider the *ELQ*. Juvencus is also “synthesizing” the masterpieces of past Roman epic, and in so doing he is “heralding the new” Christian poetics. As the Arch of Constantine does this with pieces from previous imperial monuments, so Juvencus takes from Vergil, Lucan, and others. Whether or not this reflects a widespread Late Antique aesthetic of poetry and architecture is impossible to tell without further investigation, but it still helps situate the *ELQ* within the wider range of art of the fourth century.

### *Literary*

Juvencus was the first example of an epic with a Christian theme, and in the words of Michael Roberts, “his achievement was to be foundational for the development of Christian Latin poetry in Late Antiquity and for the creation of a Vergilianizing Christian poetic idiom.”<sup>99</sup> Numerous scholars, however, have credited other figures of Late Antiquity with this same effect.<sup>100</sup> In fact, it is very difficult to say into what sort of literary atmosphere Juvencus ventured. Lactantius, writing just before Juvencus, points out in the *Divinae Institutiones* that it is his past skills as an orator that allow him to put

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98. Mark Wilson Jones, “Genesis and Mimesis: The Design of the Arch of Constantine in Rome,” in *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59:1 (2000), 72.

99. Roberts (2004), 59.

100. For example, E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.R. Trask (Princeton, Princeton University Press: 1953), 446. Also Roberts (1985) gives Jerome credit for accepting the biblical epic of Juvencus and therefore helping “to legitimize the genre” (76). Jerome’s role is not so simple, as we will see (38-39).

eloquence in the service of the truth. He also bemoans the common, simple language of the Scriptures and suggests that this is why “wise and learned men” avoid reading them. He never directly encourages the production of Christian poetry, however. Instead, he is mainly concerned with the prose of the Scripture.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, both Roberts and Green see Lactantius’ writing as a major impetus for Juvenius. Clearly there was some sort of desire for Christian poetry during this period, and within half a century of Juvenius some of the greatest poets of Late Antiquity wrote their works—Ausonius, Prudentius, Paulinus, and Claudian.

Also after Juvenius we find Jerome, who is difficult to pin down on the subject of poetry. He does include Juvenius in his *De viris illustribus* (seen above) and also says this of our poet in one of his letters:

Iuuenius presbyter sub Constantino historiam domini salvatoris versibus explicavit nec pertimuit evangelii maiestatem sub metri leges mittere (*Epistulae* 70.5)

Juvenius, a priest under Constantine, set forth the story of the Lord Our Savior in verses, nor did he fear to put the majesty of the Gospels beneath the laws of meter.<sup>102</sup>

This seems like an appreciation, perhaps even an approval of the idea of poetry applied to sacred material. On the other hand, Juvenius is the *only* poet that Jerome includes in his list of famous men, and Jerome also condemns the work of *Homerocentonas* and *Vergiliocentonas*, and famously asks in a letter to Paulinus of Nola: *Quid facit cum*

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101. Roberts (1985) discusses these passages of Lactantius, 67-69; so too Green (2006), 44-46 and Mark Vessey, “*Quid facit cum Horatio Hieronymus?*: Christian Latin Poetry and Scriptural Poetics,” in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*, edited by Willemien Otten and Karla Pollmann (Brill: Leiden, 2007), 32-33.

102. Translation is mine.

*psalterio Horatius? cum evangeliiis Maro? cum apostolo Cicero?*<sup>103</sup> In a recent article, Mark Vessey synthesizes all of the previous scholarship on the question of Jerome and Christian poetry, and ultimately concludes that Jerome is, at best, ambivalent on the subject, and in his letter to Paulinus, he makes it clear that his vision of Christian literature is exegetic prose dedicated *de scripturis sanctis* and that “there is no ‘place’ for poetry as such in the Christian literary system imagined by the monk of Bethlehem.”<sup>104</sup> Although Jerome himself had nothing to do with the creation of Juvencus’ poem, he helps demonstrate that both before and after our poet there was still some doubt by prominent Christian figures whether or not Christian poetry was necessary or desirable.

In the end, one firm conclusion we can reach is that before and after Juvencus it was still uncertain whether Christians should embrace their own poetry or not. As such, it seems that Juvencus was, at least to a certain degree, taking “an emboldened step” when he ventured into Christian poetic production.<sup>105</sup> His poem was close enough to the text of the Gospels that it could be accepted without guilt by early Christians suspicious of pagan literature and its *ornamenta*, and as we have seen, it gained the approval of Jerome later that century. On the other hand, despite his loyalty to his sources, Juvencus’ poem is full of Vergilian language and allusion, while free from overt exegesis or preaching, and this demonstrates that the question of Christian poetry is at least settled in our poet’s mind. As Roger Green has noted, Juvencus shows a certain amount of respect and affection for Vergil, and never does it seem like the poet is intending to “expunge”

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103. Jerome, *Epistulae* 53.7 (those who write centos using Homer and Vergil) and 22.29.7 (What has Horace to do with the Psalters? Or Vergil with the Gospels? Or Cicero with the Apostle?).

104. Vessey (2007), 39.

105. Roberts (1985), 76 as opposed to Green (2006), who debates whether or not this step was so ‘emboldened’ (45).

the memory of the *poeta maximus* from the Roman mind and replace it exclusively with the Gospels. Juvencus is a poet who continues the tradition of Latin epic. The difference is that Juvencus' epic is not focused on the myths of ancient Rome, but the most epic tale possible for an early Christian—the story of Jesus Christ.

### Problems of Interpretation

“Juvencus at once claims and transforms such familiar epic themes as poetic rivalry, divine inspiration, literary immortality (on multiple levels), and historical self-consciousness. The effect will be long lived.”<sup>106</sup>

Long lived it was. Within a relatively short period of time, Juvencus was read as a school text alongside Vergil. His popularity continued all the way through the Renaissance, when even Petrarch mentions him briefly in one of his poems.<sup>107</sup> It is not until the rise of secularism associated with the Enlightenment, and the Romantic idea of poetic creation that Juvencus' popularity declined. His fate was the fate suffered by many Late Antique authors, whose aesthetic would not be appreciated as the popularity of Classical authors rose. For an example, we only need to look at Edward Gibbon, who famously notes that “the poetic fame of Ausonius condemns the taste of his age.”<sup>108</sup> By the time Hatfield made his commentary on the *ELQ* in 1890, he was chastised by reviewers for spending time on “so inconsiderable a poet” as Juvencus.<sup>109</sup> This trend

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106. Dennis Trout, “Latin Christian Epics of Late Antiquity,” in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, edited by John Miles Foley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 552.

107. See the *Prolegomena* to Huemer's edition for a long series of references to Juvencus found in later literature, iv – xxiii. See also Green (2006), 351-372 for more on reception of Juvencus (as well as Sedulius and Arator).

108. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapter 27, n. 1.

continued well into the twentieth century, and thus H.J. Rose:

“There were numerous minor poets, for nearly every one of any education seems to have dabbled in verse . . . Many of these authors are nameless, nearly all insignificant. . . . Scarcely better than these triflers, but bulkier and at any rate better preserved, is a man [Ausonius] who deserves some attention because he may be regarded as the first faint glimmer heralding the full day of French literature.”<sup>110</sup>

The first scholar to give serious attention to “biblical” epic was Klaus Thraede, when he included a section on the subject in his entry on epic in the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (1962). Since Thraede, there have been a number of monographs on “biblical” epic in the past two decades, including the major works we have referenced already by Herzog, Roberts, Fontaine, and Green.<sup>111</sup> In general, surveys of literature in this same time period have begun to appreciate Late Latin literature a great deal more than H.J. Rose, though not all have.<sup>112</sup>

This is not to say that these monographs mentioned above all consider the *ELQ* an epic. On the contrary, Reinhart Herzog speaks of *die Destruktion des antiken Epos*—if there are traces of epic language in the *ELQ*, it is only for edification purposes (*das erbauliche Relief*). That is, Juvencus will include flourishes of epic language only to

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109. R. Ellis, “Review of *A Study of Juvencus* by James Taft Hatfield” *The Classical Review* 4:9 (1890), 424.

110. *A Handbook of Latin Literature: From the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine* (London: Methuen & Co, 1967), 526-527.

111. There are several other recent monographs on biblical epic and Juvencus in particular. See the bibliography. There have been several recent book-length studies by students of Thraede (Flieger, Fichtner, Heinsdorff, Röttger) that are close examinations of and commentaries on particular sections of the *ELQ*. I have largely passed over textual issues in this introduction for various reasons, though see Appendix: State of the Text for more on the manuscripts and editions of the *ELQ* (143-152).

112. See, e.g., *Cambridge History of Classical Literature: Volume II: Latin Literature*, edited by E.J. Kenney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 697-698 or Michael von Albrecht, *A History of Roman Literature from Livius Andronicus to Boethius* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), II.1353-1354 for generally positive descriptions of Juvencus. But *A Companion to Latin Literature*, edited by Stephen Harrison (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005) only covers Latin literature up to A.D. 200.

increase the emotional and moralizing effect of a passage.<sup>113</sup> Michael Roberts, on the other hand, follows closely the observation of E.R. Curtius in 1948 (who earlier in the same work called biblical epic a *genre faux*) that “[it] has heretofore remained almost unnoticed that a large part of early Christian poetry is a continuation of the antique rhetorical practice of paraphrase.”<sup>114</sup> Consequently, while Roberts was ready to tie the *ELQ* to some kind of classical processes, it was the process of rhetorical paraphrase and not epic. The epic language of the *ELQ* is a result of *variatio* and the paraphrastic process. For both authors (Herzog and Roberts), the Christian element of the poem is the highest priority for Juvencus, and the epic element is seriously reduced if not obsolete. When Roger Green takes up the argument, he emphasizes the importance of the epic element of the *ELQ*. It is slightly paradoxical that a genre named biblical *epic* requires the repeated assertions of a scholar that the genre is, in fact, epic. Perhaps this signals the need for future scholars to resignify the term “biblical epic,” or to cease from using it at all.<sup>115</sup>

Green's arguments are most convincing. He sees the great importance of epic in the *ELQ* and sets out to prove that it *is* epic and much of his evidence has been gathered and presented in this introduction. We have seen how Juvencus frequently looks back to Vergil as his epic model. His syntax and lexicon are Vergilian, he often employs poetic figures common to epic and the occasional simile, and his poem is replete with intertextuality and allusions to several other texts, but above all to the *Aeneid*. We can

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113. In fact, ‘The Destruction of Epic’ is the subtitle of his entire section on this period (4<sup>th</sup> century).

114. Curtius, 142, 148. For a criticism of this approach to biblical epic (focused on Roberts), see Green (2006), 43-48. Green sees an “implicit devaluation of epic” in these critics (48).

115. In fact, I think Green’s title intentionally lacks the term, although he uses it frequently in the book. I try to avoid it whenever possible or to mark it with quotation marks.



also speculate whether there are larger thematic allusions to the *Aeneid* and how Juvenecus marshals these themes for the *ELQ*. In *Epic and Empire*, David Quint notes how epic, beginning with the *Aeneid*, can reinforce an imperial ideology, contrasting the winners with the losers and alienating the latter.<sup>116</sup> When Juvenecus specifically mentions Constantine and the *pax Constantina* as the enabling force of his poem, he seems to be contrasting his new order with the old *pax Augusta*. For our poet, the new universal Christian message is superior to that of the old pagan order. Although we have seen that there was an uncertain reception of Christian poetry in the fourth and early fifth centuries, it is still quite possible that Juvenecus may have written the *ELQ* at least in part with the desire to make the Gospels more aesthetically appealing, as Green and many past scholars have pointed out. We should not, however, forget to look at Juvenecus also as an epic poet as much as a Christian one. This is not to diminish the Christian element of the *ELQ*, for its importance is obvious. Although I have emphasized the importance of epic throughout this introduction, it has only been to draw attention to an aspect of the poem that has traditionally been ignored or rejected and not to impose new limitations or boundaries on the *ELQ*. In fact, I want to argue for the flexibility of the epic genre. I do not think that one can argue convincingly that the epicness of the *ELQ* is subordinated (or vanishes) simply because Christianity is its thematic content or because Juvenecus is interested in faithfulness to his Gospel source. To maintain this is to say that there is a static, model version of epic, and this cannot even be seriously claimed for classical Latin epic. Is Lucretius' *De rerum natura* anything but a distant cousin to Ovid's

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116. David Quint, *Epic and Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), or "Epic and Empire," *Comparative Literature* 41 (1989), 1-32.

*Metamorphoses*, and does either have the same sort of intentions as Vergil's *Aeneid*?<sup>117</sup>

The answer, I think, is no – epic evolves to suit the needs of the culture and the poets who write it, and these poets will always test, and thereby extend, its boundaries, especially in the period of Late Antiquity where new genres are emerging and new aesthetics developing at an impressive pace. Juvencus' *Evangeliorum libri IV* is another example of this evolution of work. We should imagine Juvencus as an epic poet, one that is serious about the *vitalia gesta* of Christ, but also serious about his work as an example of the highest form of literature in antiquity, and one who looks forward to his poem's immortality.

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117. For more on the difficulties of defining epic, see Richard P. Martin, "Epic as Genre," in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, edited by John Miles Foley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 9-19.

## A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION

In my translation of the *ELQ*, I have tried wherever I can to follow the Latin as closely as possible. At times I have had to change the syntax for the sake of clarity. I have also chosen to write a prose translation. The endnotes to the text focus on a few very specific issues. My primary objective is to collect references or potential allusions to other Latin authors to demonstrate their abundance throughout the *ELQ*. I would recommend reading the text and translation without interruption at first, and only to use the endnotes for further examination or study.

## CONSPECTUS NOTARUM<sup>118</sup>

<i>C</i>	codex collegii corporis Christi Cantabrig. 304
<i>R</i>	codex Musei Britannici 15 A XVI
<i>M</i>	codex Monacensis 6402 (olim Frising. 202)
<i>A</i>	codex Augiensis (Karoliruh.) 112
<i>K</i> <sub>1</sub>	Karoliruhensis 217
<i>K</i> <sub>2</sub>	“ “
<i>L</i>	Lauduneusis 101
<i>Mp</i>	Montepessulanus 362
<i>P</i>	Parisinus 9347 (olim Remensis)
<i>T</i>	Turicensis C 68
<i>B</i>	Beruensis 534
<i>Bb</i>	Bobiensis (nunc Ambrosianus C 74)
<i>Matr.</i>	Matritensis cason 14 no. 22
<i>V</i> <sub>1</sub>	Vaticanus reginae Sueciae 333
<i>V</i> <sub>2</sub>	Vaticanus Ottobianus 35
<i>H</i>	Helmstadiensis 553
<i>Hl</i>	Harleianus 3093
<i>N</i>	Neoclaustroburgensis 1243
<i>G</i>	Gedanensis XVII A 9. 66
<i>Poelm</i>	= Poelmanni editio a. 1537
<i>Reusch</i>	= Reuschii editio a. 1710
<i>Areu.</i>	= Areuali editio a. 1792

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118. This is from Huemer's edition (1891). All the text below is from the same edition. For more information on codices and editions, see Appendix (143-152).

C. VETTI AQUILINI IUVENCI  
EVANGELIORUM LIBRI QUATTUOR

PRAEFATIO

Inmortale nihil mundi conpage tenetur,  
Non orbis, non regna hominum, non aurea Roma,  
Non mare, non tellus, non ignea sidera caeli.  
Nam statuit genitor rerum inreuocabile tempus,  
Quo cunctum torrens rapiat flamma ultima mundum. 5  
Sed tamen innumeros homines sublimia facta  
Et uirtutis honos in tempora longa frequentant,  
Adcumulant quorum famam laudesque poetae.  
Hos celsi cantus, Smyrnae de fonte fluentes,  
Illos Minciadae celebrat dulcedo Maronis. 10  
Nec minor ipsorum discurrit gloria uatum,  
Quae manet aeternae similis, dum saecula uolabunt  
Et uertigo poli terras atque aequora circum

---

IN NOMINE ATQ: ADIVTORIO TRINITATIS SCAE AMEN|INCIPIT PROLOGUS EVANGELII  
VERSUUM *M*, INCIPIT PRAEFATIO IUVENCI *PRS RB* (*om. PRS*), HAEC (HIC *K<sub>2</sub>*) HIC SVNT EVANGELIA IIII  
(QA\*TVOR *K<sub>1</sub>*) VERSIBVS G. VETTI AQUILINI IUVENCI VC PRESBITERI *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>T*, INCIPIT PROLOGVS  
IUVENCI PPESBI *Mp*, INCIPIT PROLOGUS *P*, ITEM PRAEFATIO *V<sub>1</sub>*, Incipit praefatio in LIB° Iuuenci presbiteri  
*HI*, INCIPIVNT VERS' DE · IIII<sup>a</sup> · EVANGELIIS IUVENCI · HISPANIENSIS PBRI *G*, *om. rell.* 1 immortale *M Bb*  
nichil *HIN* 2 urbes *Cbb<sup>2</sup>*, orbes *K<sub>2</sub>* (*m. 1*) *V<sub>2</sub>* (*m. 1*), urbis *TN* 3 sydera *BbN* 5 m̄dū (*ū in ras. m. 2*) *Mp* 6  
innumeros *M* 7 onus *T*, <sup>h</sup>onos *K<sub>2</sub>* 8 adcumulant *RPTBb* 9 Smyrnae *CMp*, Smyrne\* (*m? eras.*) *M*, Smyrne  
*K<sub>1</sub>PTBbN*, smvrnē *H* fluentis *R<sup>1</sup>HI<sup>1</sup>*, fluentae *V* 10 min||cia\*de *M*, minciad\*e (*a eras.*) *BK<sub>2</sub>*, minchia de *MpBbH*,  
minciade *PT* caelebrat *T*, cebrant *Bb* dulcido *CK<sub>2</sub>T<sup>1</sup>HI<sup>1</sup>* 11 ne<sup>c</sup> *P* decurrit *Poelm.* 12 dum *s.l. P* secla *K<sub>1</sub>*  
(*c in ras.*) *K<sub>2</sub>MpB* volabant *P<sup>1</sup>* 13 po\*li *Mp* adque *C* aegora *C<sup>1</sup>*

THE *EVANGELIORUM LIBRI QUATTUOR*  
GAIUS VETTIUS AQUILINUS IUVENCUS

PREFACE

Nothing in the fabric of the universe is immortal – not the earth, not the kingdoms of men, not golden Rome, not the sea, not the land, not the fiery stars of heaven. For the creator of all things has established time irrevocable, when the final, burning flame will lay waste to the entire world. But yet, throughout the ages lofty deeds and distinctive virtue accompany the countless men, whose fame and glory the poets ever increase. The lofty songs flowing from the spring of Smyrna celebrate some, and the sweetness of Minciadean Maro others. The glory of the bards themselves is not any less, but ranges far and wide, abiding as if eternal, so long as the rotating pole

Aethera sidereum iusso moderamine uoluet.  
 Quod si tam longam meruerunt carmina famam, 15  
 Quae ueterum gestis hominum mendacia nectunt,  
 Nobis certa fides aeternae in saecula laudis  
 Immortale decus tribuet meritumque rependet.  
 Nam mihi carmen erit Christi uitalia gesta,  
 Diuinum populis falsi sine crimine donum. 20  
 Nec metus, ut mundi rapiant incendia secum  
 Hoc opus; hoc etenim forsitan me subtrahet igni  
 Tunc, cum flammiuoma descendet nube coruscans  
 Iudex, altithroni genitoris gloria, Christus.  
 Ergo age! Sanctificus adsit mihi carminis auctor 25  
 Spiritus, et puro mentem riget amne canentis  
 Dulcis Iordanis, ut Christo digna loquamur.

---

14 Ethera *MMP* sydereum *MK<sub>2</sub>*, siderium *B*, sidere<sup>u</sup> ( $\bar{u}$  a m. 2) *P* iussu *RMp<sup>1</sup>*, ius in *N* uoluit *R<sup>1</sup>K<sub>2</sub>Mp<sup>1</sup>*,  
 vol<sup>u</sup>et (u a m. 2) *P* 16 hominum gestis *M* mendatia *K<sub>1</sub>T* 17 aeterna *R<sup>1</sup>HI*, aeternę ( $\xi$  in ras.) *T* la<sup>v</sup>de<sup>i</sup>m<sup>s</sup> (*corr.*  
*m. 2*) *K<sub>2</sub>*, laudis (*is in ras.*) *T* 18 immortale *CMHI* 19 michi *N* 20 populis *C<sup>1</sup>V<sub>1</sub>*, *add.* in *s.l.* *C<sup>2</sup>MpK<sub>2</sub>B*, in *in textu*  
*RMK<sub>1</sub>PTV<sub>2</sub>BbHI*, in *populos Poelm. i. mg.* 22 me forsitan *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>Bb* subtrahit *C<sup>1</sup>* cū\* (*c et ~ a m. 2.*) *Mp* 23  
 descendet *C<sup>1</sup>K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>PT<sup>1</sup>*, descendit *Mp<sup>1</sup>*, descendit *Bb*, descendet *rell.* coruscans *C*, coruscus *Mp<sup>1</sup>* 24 *post* altithroni,  
 coruscans *eras. in M* 25 INVOCATIO *in mg. B* assit *N* 27 Iordanes *C*

EXPL̄ PFACIO *RK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>TBb*; IUVENCVS NOBILISSIMI GENERIS HISPANVS PRST IIII<sup>OR</sup> EVANGELIA  
 EXAMETRIS VERSIBUS PENE ADVERBVM TRANSFERENS IIII<sup>OR</sup> LIBROS CON (COM *Mp*) POSVIT ET  
 NONNVLLA EODEM METRO AD SACRAMENTORVM ORDINEM PERTINENTIA FLORVIT SVB  
 CONSTANTINO PRINCIPE VT HIERONIMVS PRST DE EO SCRIPSIT (SCRIBIT *Mp*) *RK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>MpV<sub>2</sub>HI* (*cf. Hieron.*  
*de vir. ill. c. 84 ed. Herdingianae*) – FINIT PROLOGVS *M*, EXPLICIT PROLOGVS *MpPB*

turns the starry sky around the earth and the seas as ordained.

But if poems that attach falsehoods to the deeds of ancient men have merited such enduring fame, then my unwavering faith will grant me the immortal glory of eternal praise throughout the ages and will repay my service. For my poem will be the life giving deeds of Christ, a divine gift for peoples without the crime of falsehood. Nor is there the fear that the conflagration of this world may take away this work along with it. Perhaps this will even rescue me from the flame, when Christ, the judge, the glory of the enthroned-on-high creator, will descend, shimmering, from a flame-hurling cloud.

So, come! Let the Holy Spirit, the creator of this poem, assist me, and let him rinse the mind of the poet with the pure water of the sweet Jordan, so that I may speak worthily of Christ.

C. VETTI AQUILINI IUVENCI  
EVANGELIORUM LIBRI QUATTUOR

LIBER PRIMUS

Rex fuit Herodes Iudaea in gente cruentus,

Sub quo seruator iusti templique sacerdos

Zacharias, uicibus cui templum cura tueri

Digesto instabat lectorum ex ordine uatum.

Huius inhaerebat thalamis dignissima coniux. 5

Cura his ambobus parilis moderaminis aequi,

Ambos adnexos legis praecepta tenebant.

Nec fuit his suboles, iam tum uergentibus annis,

Gratius ut donum iam desperantibus esset.

Sed cum forte aditis arisque inferret odores 10

Zacharias, uisus caelo descendere aperto

Nuntius et soli iussas perferre loquellas

(Cetera nam foribus tunc plebs adstrata rogabat):

---

INCIPIT LIBER PRIMVS *M* (probacio *in mg. glossator*), IUVENCI LIB PRIMVS DE NATIVITATE SCI IOHANNIS *B*, INCIPLIB PRIMVS *P*, *om. rell.* 1 Herodis *T*<sup>1</sup> Iudaea *plerique*, iudee *Mp* 2 quoq. *Bb* 4 degesto *M*<sup>1</sup> *instabat* (*in a m. 2*) *Hl* 5 cuius *in mg. Poelm.* *inherebat* (*in a m. 2*) *M* thalami<sup>a</sup> *Mp* coniux *CMK*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) *V*<sub>2</sub>*BBbHl*, coniun\*x (*c eras.*) *K*<sub>1</sub> 6 c<sup>f</sup>u<sup>r</sup>a<sup>l</sup> *H* paralis *K*<sub>1</sub>*Mp*<sup>1</sup> mode<sup>rami</sup>nis (*rami a m. 2*) *H* 7 adnex\*os (*s eras.*) *K*<sub>1</sub> tenebat *N* 8 ne<sup>c</sup> (*c a m. 2*) *P* h<sup>i</sup>is *M* (*saepe*), his *in ras.* *B* soboles *R*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*MpB*<sup>1</sup>*Hl*, sobolis *Bb* tunc *RMK*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*MpPTBBb*, tot *V*<sub>2</sub>*Hl* ver<sup>gine</sup>gentibus<sup>gindun</sup> *H* 9 gracios *GHI*, grandius *Mp* donum *ex corr. in Mp* desperantibus *RM*<sup>1</sup> 10 cum *corr. in qu<sup>m</sup> Mp*<sup>1</sup> sorte *V*<sub>1</sub>*V*<sub>2</sub> aditis *libri arisque*] ris *in ras.* *M*, araeque *Mp* imferret *M* 11 Zaccharias *C*, Zachari<sup>a</sup>us *K*<sub>2</sub> uidit *C* descendere *CM*<sup>1</sup> 12 nuncius *GHI* affere (*af in ras.*) *G* iu<sup>s</sup>as *M*, iussus *MpT*<sup>2</sup>, iuss\*as (*u eras.*) *K*<sub>2</sub>, uisus *V*<sub>2</sub>*Hl* loquel<sup>l</sup>as *M*, loquelas *RK*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*MpTB* 13 tū plebs *K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*T*<sup>1</sup>*Hl* plebes *RM*<sup>2</sup> (*plebes m. 1*) *V*<sub>2</sub>*GHN* astra\*ta (*r in ras., c eras.*) *Mp*, adstrata *ex asstrata B* i<sup>f</sup>a<sup>o</sup>c<sup>g</sup>e<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>t<sup>l</sup> *M*



THE *EVANGELIORUM LIBRI QUATTUOR*  
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BOOK ONE

Herod was the bloodthirsty king of the land of Judea, and beneath him was Zechariah, a follower of justice and a priest of the temple. He had the duty to watch the temple in turns as one of the order of chosen prophets. His very worthy bride was devoted to their marriage, and they had an equal concern for moderation and the teachings of the law bound them both. They did not have a child, but now the gift would be all the more pleasing to them in their desperation, because their years were increasing.

But when, by chance, Zechariah was bringing perfumes to the inner chambers and the altars, a vision came down from the open sky – an angel. It brought commands to Zechariah alone (the rest of the people had prostrated themselves before the temple doors and were praying):

‘Quem tibi terribilis concussit corde pauorem  
 Visus, cum laeti sermonis gratia placat? 15  
 Nam me dimissum rerum pater unicus alto  
 E caeli solio tibi nunc in uerba uenire  
 Praecipit et cara tibi mox e coniuge natum  
 Promittit, grandis rerum cui gloria restat,  
 Plurima qui populis nascendo gaudia quaeret; 20  
 Sobrius aeternum, clausum quem Spiritus ipsis  
 Visceribus matris complebit numine claro.  
 Istius hic populi partem pleramque docendo  
 Ad uerum conuertet iter, Dominumque Deumque  
 Continuo primus noscet plebemque nouabit. 25  
 Nomine Iohannem hunc tu uocitare memento.’  
 Olli confusa respondit mente sacerdos:  
 ‘Aemula promissis obsistit talibus aetas,  
 Nec senibus fetus poterit contingere fessis,  
 Quem deus auertens primaueo in flore negauit.’ 30  
 Haec trepidans uates; cui talia nuntius addit:

---

14 corda *Poelm.* quid tibi t. concussi corda pauore *Poelm. in mg.* 15 eum *MK<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) MpPTBbGHI*  
 laetis *C* placet *K<sub>1</sub>Mp<sup>1</sup>TBb*, placat̃ (~ a m. 2) *K<sub>2</sub>N* uisus? cū laeti sermonis munere placat *Poelm. in mg.* 16  
 propitius dimissum p. *C*, propicius rerum p. *RMK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>TV<sub>2</sub>BGHI*, demissum rerum p. *MpPV<sub>1</sub>Bb*, oppicius<sup>demissum</sup> r. p. *HI*,  
 praepitius fort. unicus *K<sub>2</sub>* 17 E] om. *M*, a nonnulli 18 praecepit *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> (a m. 2) Mp<sup>1</sup>* 19 promittit *Mp* 20 ga<sup>u</sup>dia  
*K<sup>2</sup>* quaerit *Mp<sup>1</sup>T*, quaere<sup>t</sup> *K<sub>2</sub>* 21 subrius *K<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) T<sup>1</sup>* aeterno<sup>v</sup> *K<sub>2</sub>* que *HI* in<sup>i</sup>ipsis (in a m. al.) *M* 22  
 compleuit *CRHI*, compleuit *M<sup>1</sup>*, complebit *K<sub>2</sub>TBb* 23 pleramque (ra in ras.) *R<sup>1</sup>*, plebemque sed be in ras. *CM* (c. gl.  
 plurimam), plebemque *K<sub>2</sub>P<sup>1</sup>TBbN* reuertit *Mp* (uel docendi m. 2) *V<sub>1</sub>* 24 conuertit *C*, suadebit *MpV<sub>1</sub>* dominumque  
 (que s. l) *Mp<sup>2</sup>* 25 noscit *C*, agnoscet (ag eras.) *M*, gnoscet *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> (m. 2) RB<sup>2</sup>BbH<sup>1</sup>* novabit *M* (uel uocauit m. al.)  
*MpV<sub>1</sub>G*, uocabit in ras. *C et rell.* 26 tu s. l. *RM* 27 confu\*sa (s eras.) *M* 28 aetes *K<sub>1</sub> (m. 1)* 29 fetus *CK<sub>2</sub> (m. 1)*  
*T*, f\*etus (o eras.) *M*, soboles *V<sub>1</sub>Mp Poelm. in mg.*, foetus *rell.* fes<sup>s</sup>is *M* 30 quam *MpV<sub>1</sub>* 31 uatis (a m. 1) *K<sub>2</sub>T*  
 infert *RV<sub>2</sub>HI Poelm. in mg.*

“Has a terrible vision struck fear in your heart, even when the grace of a joyous message should calm it? The One Father of all things has sent me from heaven’s lofty throne and directed me to come to speak to you now. He promises for you soon from your beloved wife a son, for whom abundant glory in all things awaits hereafter, and who, by being born, will bring much joy to the people.

“This one, closed in his mother’s womb, will be forever temperate, and the Holy Spirit will fill him with its bright power. By his teaching he will turn the great part of those people toward the true path, he will know the Lord and God first, and he will make the people new. Remember to name him John.”

The priest responded to him with a confused mind: “Her age is incompatible with and stands opposed to such promises, nor can a pregnancy occur for weary old women, which God turned away and denied them in the prime of life.”

The prophet shuddered at these things, but to him the angel added the following words:

‘Si tibi mortalis subolem promitteret ullus,  
 Ad desperandum forsán cunctatio mentis  
 Debuerat tardis haerens insistere uerbis.  
 Nunc ego, quem dominus caeli, terraeque repertor, 35  
 Ante suos uultus uoluit parere ministrum,  
 Auribus ingratis hominis uisuque receptus,  
 Supremi mandata Dei temnenda peregi.  
 Quare promissis manet irreuocabile donum,  
 Sed tibi claudetur rapidae uox nuntia mentis, 40  
 Donec cuncta Dei firmentur munera uobis.’  
 Haec ait et sese teneris immiscuit auris.  
 Interea populus miracula longa trahebat,  
 Quid tantum templo uellet cessare sacerdos.  
 Progressus trepide numen uidisse supernum 45  
 Nutibus edocuit, miserae et dispendia uocis.  
 Inde domum remeat completo ex ordine uates  
 Officio, amissamque leuant promissa loquellam;  
 Nec dilata diu uenerunt munera prolis.  
 Anxia sed uentris celabat gaudia coniux, 50

---

32 subolem *CP<sup>2</sup>BbH*, prolem *Mp*, subolem *rell.* 33 desperandum *M<sup>1</sup>K<sub>1</sub> (m. 1) K<sub>2</sub> (m. 2) Pbb* cunctatio  
*R* 34 aherens *Mp* 35 creator *Poelm.* 36 suo uultu *C* parere (*e<sub>1</sub> ex corr.*) *M*, parare *H<sup>2</sup>* 37 hominum *Mp*,  
 homini *coni. Barth.* Receptis *Bb* 38 suppremi *RK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>Hl*, supraemi *M* tempnenda *BGHN* peregi *in ras. Mp*  
 39 quare *ex corr. in M*, que iam *N* irreuocabile *Hl* 40 clauditur *M<sup>1</sup>* trepide *MpV<sub>1</sub>Hl<sup>2</sup>* uobis *ex corr. Mp* 42  
 tenuis *P* subito tenueis se misit in auras *Poelm. in mg.* immiscuit *CHI* 43 populo<sup>u</sup> *R* trahebant *Mp* 44  
 templo] in *om. CR<sup>1</sup>Mp<sup>1</sup>T<sup>1</sup>V<sub>1</sub>* cessare (*al morare s.l.*) *T* 45 egressus *edit.* 46 & docuit *Mp<sup>1</sup>* misserae\*\* (*q; eras.*)  
*MV<sub>2</sub>*, miserae *T cum rell.*, misera et *coni. Vonck.*, misera ob *Stockes* dispendia (*a ex o*) *M* 47 remeant *C*, rediit  
*Poelm. ex om. G* completo *CRK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> (m. 2) TBBb* uatis *K<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) T<sup>1</sup>* 48 amissamque *B<sup>1</sup>* promissa *B<sup>1</sup>*  
 loquellam *CMK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) T<sup>1</sup>* 50 s& *B* celabat *ex celabat B*, caelabat *M* coniux *CMK<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) T<sup>1</sup>BbHHl*

“If a mortal was promising a child to you, perhaps reluctance or even despair ought to persist, wavering about these late promises. Now I – whom the Lord of heaven, the Author of earth, wished to appear face to face with you as his agent – am received by the ungrateful ears and look of a man, but I have accomplished these mandates of the Supreme God, scorned though they are.

“By these promises an irrevocable gift remains, but your voice soon will be barred from bearing the news of your swift mind, until all of the gifts of God are confirmed by you.” He said these things and mixed himself with the gentle breezes.

Meanwhile, the people were long wondering why the priest wished to remain in the temple for so long. He came out nervously and informed them through nods that he had seen a celestial power, and that he had lost his wretched voice. And then the prophet returned home immediately, his duty finished, and the promises made his lost voice tolerable. The gift of a child did not come for a long time. But his anxious wife kept the joys of her belly hidden,

Donec quinque cauam complerent lumina lunam.

Tunc maiora dehinc idem mandata minister

Detulit ad Mariae dimissus uirginis aures.

Haec desponsa suo per tempora certa propinquo

Abdita uirgineis caste pubescere tectis 55

Et seruare diem iussis permissa parentum.

Ad quam tranquillum sermonem nuntius inquit:

‘Salue, progenie terras iutura salubri,

Desine conspectu mentem turbare uerendo.

Nam tua concipient caelesti uiscera iussu 60

Natum, quem regnare Deus per saecula cuncta

Et propriam credi subolem gaudetque iubetque

Hunc ubi sub lucem dederis sit nomine Iesus.’

Ad quem uirgo dehinc pauido sic inchoat ore:

‘Nullos conceptus fieri sine coniuge dicunt; 65

Vnde igitur subolem mihimet sperabo uenire?’

Nuntius haec contra celeri sermone profatur:

‘Virtus celsa Dei circumuolabit obumbrans,

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51 complerent  $CK_1K_2TBBb$ , complerent *rell.* 52 ANGELVS AD MARIAM *in mg. Bmp* unc *N*, nunc *in mg. Poelm.* 53 dimissus  $CR^1K_1K_2TN^1$ , dimissus  $B^1$  54 disponsa  $MK_2$  (*m. 1*)  $T^1bBG$  55 casta  $Mp^1$ , castis  $Bb$  56 iu<sup>s</sup>ispermis<sup>s</sup>a  $M$  57 tranquilluum  $HI$  nutus  $B^1$  inquit *ex imfit M*, infert *Poelm. in mg.* 58 progeniae  $MBb$ , proienie  $Mp$ , progenies  $N$  terrasque  $R$ , terras\*\*  $K_1$ , terras<sup>que</sup> (que *a m. 2*)  $Bb$ , terrisque  $N$  iutura (*i fort. ex f*)  $M$  (*gl. germ. helfentiu*), iu<sup>u</sup>ra (*tu a m. 2*)  $P$ , futura  $CN$ , adfutura  $H$  salubri\* (*m eras.*)  $M$ , ubri *in ras.*  $B$ , salubris  $V_1N$  *cf. Wiener Stud. 1880, p. 87* progeniem terries paritura salubrem *Poelm. in mg.* 59 disine  $M^1$  *ut videtur*, desine\*  $K_1$  60 concipient] *ci in ras.*  $B^2$ , concipient (*i a m. 2*)  $Mp$ , con\*\*\*ri<sup>pi</sup>ent  $P$  61 deus fecit  $M$  62 propitam  $P$  sobolem  $RM^1K_2$  (*m. 2*)  $PTGHI$  subolem cre<sup>a</sup>di  $MpN$  gauditque iubetque  $C$  63 nomen *ex nomine M*, nomen  $R$  64 pauido *a manu post. in mg. C*, pauida  $T^1HI$  inchoat] *at in ras. M*, incoat  $K_2$  (*m. 2*)  $P^1T^1$ , incipit  $MpV_1$ : inchoat ore *in ras. H* 65 conceptos  $K_1$  (*m. 1*)  $K_2$  (*m. 1*)  $B^1$  66 sobolem  $RM^1K_2$  (*m. 2*)  $PT^2BGHI$  spera\*\*bo  $K_1$  67 fatetur  $Mp^1V_1V_2$  *Poelm. (cf. Wiener Stud. 1888, p. 87)* 68 dei *s. l. B* circumuolitaui  $C^1$ , circumuolaba't  $RMp$ , -li- *ex lu B* \*\*obumbrans (*te eras. ?*)  $M$ , obumbras  $K_1$  (*m. 1*)

until five days passed and the moon was full.

Then afterwards the same servant was sent down and he conveyed greater instructions to the ears of Virgin Mary. This one was betrothed to one of her relatives for a certain time and was hidden away in the maidens' house. She was permitted by the orders of her parents to grow up in chastity and she watched for the day when she would be given away. To her the angel begins his soothing address:

“Greetings, you who will delight the earth with a healthy child – don’t be troubled by my awesome appearance. For your body, by celestial command, will conceive a child whom God rejoices and orders to rule for all the ages and to be regarded as his own Son. When you give birth to this one, let Jesus be his name.”

The virgin begins thus, speaking to him with a quaking voice: “They say that no conceptions occur without a husband. So, from where will I hope that a child comes to me?”

The angel, in response to these things, quickly says: “The lofty excellence of God will fly round and round and cover you in his shadow,

Spiritus et ueniet purus, lectissima uirgo,  
 Ac tibi mox puerum casto sermone iubebit 70  
 Magnificum gigni populis, quem credere sanctum  
 Supremique Dei natum uocitare necesse est.  
 Sic cognata tibi, sterilis quae credita cunctis,  
 Zachariae coniux mortali germine nuper  
 Aeuo defessis hausit miracula membris. 75  
 Sextus adest mensis: parent sic omnia iussis.  
 Virgo dehinc: 'Domino famulam nunc ecce iubenti,  
 Vt tua uerba sonant, cernis seruire paratam.'  
 Nuntius abscedens uacuis se condidit auris.  
 Illa dehinc rapidis Iudaeam passibus urbem 80  
 Zachariaeque domum penetrat grauidamque salutat  
 Elisabeth, clausae cum protinus anxia prolis  
 Membra uteri gremio motu maiore resultant.  
 Et simul exiluit mater concussa tremore,  
 Diuinae uocis completa est flamine sancto 85  
 Et magnum clamans: 'Felix o femina, salue,  
 Felicem gestans uteri sinuamine fetum.

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69 et ueniet] adueniet *B*<sup>1</sup>*G*, adueniens *H*<sup>1</sup>*N* l&is-sima *K*<sub>1</sub> (*m. 1*) 70 hunc *CMp* (*ac in mg.*), *ac reliqui*  
 mox p̄erim̄e *C* 71 populum *M*<sup>1</sup>, populus *Mp*<sup>1</sup>, populos *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) credidere *M*<sup>1</sup> 72 supraemique *M* 73 cognita  
*Mp*<sup>1</sup> sterelis *CK*<sub>1</sub> (*m. 1*) *B*<sup>1</sup>*Bb* 74 Zachariae *C* coniux *MK*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) *P*<sup>1</sup>*T*<sup>1</sup>*B*<sup>1</sup>*BbHHI* 75 de\*fessis (*f eras.*) *M*  
<sup>h</sup>auxit (*h a m. 2*) *V*<sub>1</sub>*B*, auxit *MMpK*<sub>2</sub> (*x a m. 2*) *T* (*x a m. 2*) *BbGHHI* membra *K*<sub>1</sub> (*m. 1*) 77 dein *M*<sup>1</sup> n<sup>unc</sup>\*ecce (*unc a*  
*m. 2*) *K*<sub>1</sub> ecce *T*<sup>1</sup> 78 sonē<sup>a</sup>nt *R*<sup>1</sup>, sonent *P* 79 abscedens *M*<sup>1</sup>, abscedens *HI* condedit *CT*<sup>1</sup> aures *Mp*<sup>1</sup> 80  
 SALVTATIO MARIAE AD HELISABET *B* de<sup>h</sup>inc *M* Iudeam *R et alii* 81 do<sup>m̄</sup> (*m̄ a m. 2*) *C* penetrat *M*<sup>1</sup>  
 salutat (*at in ras.*) *R*, salutet *T*<sup>1</sup> 82 Elisha&h *Mp* cum *CBP*<sup>1</sup>, quum (*uel cui m. 2*) *Mp*, cui *rell.* proles *R*<sup>1</sup> 83  
 membra *RMpK*<sub>1</sub>*T* 84 exaluit *MK*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) *T*<sup>1</sup>, exilui *Bb*<sup>1</sup>, exsiluit *CT*<sup>1</sup>*HI* concussa (*s, in ras.*) *Mp* 85 flumine *C*,  
 fame *RBK*<sub>1</sub>*T* (*ex corr. m. 2*) *GHIN*, \*\*famine (*af eras.*) *M*, uel flamine *m. al. in. mg.*, numine *Mp*<sup>1</sup>*H*, *cf. v. 140* 86  
 \*o *K*<sub>1</sub> ofleix *P* 87 sinuanime *K*<sub>1</sub> foetum *RK*<sub>1</sub>*PBBb*, faetum (*a in ras.*) *M*



and the pure Spirit will come, most excellent virgin, and soon will command with a holy sermon that a magnificent child will be born to you for the people, a child who must be believed holy and be called the Son of the Supreme God.

“In this way the wife of Zechariah, your relative and a woman of mortal origin, whom all believed to be sterile, recently has received a miracle in her body, weary with age. The sixth month is at hand, thus all things obey his commands.”

Then the virgin said: “Look, now you see that I, a servant, am ready to serve the Lord as he commands, as your words ring out.” And the angel withdrew and stole away to the empty breezes.

Then with quick steps Mary entered the city of Judea and the house of Zechariah and she greeted the pregnant Elizabeth, and immediately the anxious limbs of the child inside Elizabeth jerked with a great movement in her womb. At the same time that the mother leapt up, shaken by the motion, she was filled with a holy gust of divine words, and shouting greatly said:

“Greetings, blessed woman, carrying a blessed child in your belly!

‘Vnde meam tanto uoluit Deus aequus honore  
 Inlustrare domum, quam mater numinis alti  
 Viseret? Ecce meo gaudens in uiscere proles 90  
 Exultat, Mariae cum prima adfamina sensit.  
 Felix, qui credit finem mox adfore uerbis,  
 Quae Deus ad famulos magnum dignando loquetur.’  
 Illa trahens animum per gaudia mixta pudore  
 Subpressae uocis pauitancia dicta uolutat: 95  
 ‘Magnificas laudes animus gratesque rependit  
 Immensi Domino mundi. Vix gaudia tanta  
 Spiritus iste capit, quod me dignatus in altum  
 Erigit ex humili celsam cunctisque beatam  
 Gentibus et saeculis uoluit Deus aequus haberi. 100  
 Sustulit ecce thronum saeuus fregitque superbos,  
 Largifluis humiles opibus ditauit egentes.’  
 Tunc illic mansit trinos ex ordine menses,  
 Ad propriamque domum repedit iam certa futuri.  
 Iamque aderat tempus, quo iussum fundere partum 105

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88 aequos  $M^1$  89 illustrare  $MB^2HI$  90 uiseret (s. *eras.*)  $M$ , uisseret  $P$  proles  $M^1K_1K_2T^1P^1Bb$ ,  
 gaudens<sup>proles</sup>  $HI$  91 affamina  $CMB^2PHI$ , adfamina  $T^1$  corr. m. 2 92 que  $M^2BMp^2K_2$  (m. 2)  $TBb^2HHIG$ , que\*  $K^1$   
 affore *recentiores* credit finem *Poelm.* 93 loquitur  $M^1B^1K_2$  (m. 2) 94 animo  $RK_2$  (m. 2)  $BbHHI$  po<sup>u</sup>dore  $B$ ,  
 pudore\* (m. *eras.*)  $K_2$ , pudorem  $V_1$  *Poelm.*, pauore  $G$  animo per gaudia mixta pudorem *Poelm.* 95 subpressae  $CRT$   
 96 magnificat  $C$ , magn<sup>n</sup>ifico (nifico m. 2)  $Mp$  anima  $C$ , animo  $R^2M^2BMp^2V_1$  (m. 2)  $V_2$  (m. 2)  $HHI$  rependi  $P$ ,  
 celebrat  $Mp^1V_2$  *Poelm. in mg.* 97 immensi  $MHI$  tanta] tota *Poelm. in mg.* 98 alto<sup>u</sup>m  $R$  ipsum te caperent  
*Poelm. in mg.* 99 erigit  $CM^1BMp^1PT^1Bb^1H^1$ , erigi ex eregi  $K_2$ , erigere *rell.* 100 se<sup>c</sup>\*lis  $RM^1$  habere  $Mp^1H$  101  
 tronum *plerique*, thronum  $Mp$  seruis *Poelm. in mg.* frigitque  $C$  102 largifluis] immensis *Poelm. in mg.* humilis  
 $K_2$  (m. 1)  $P^1T$ , homines  $G$  \*egentes (a *eras.*)  $T^1$  104 apropiamque  $H$  repetat  $R$ , rediit  $M$  (m. *al.*), remeat *Poelm.*  
 105 PARTVS ELISABET  $Mp$  iussum  $M^1$  partum  $C$ , fetum *uel* foetum *rell.*; sarcina deserat aluum *Poelm.*

“Why does the Just God wish to illuminate with such an honor my home, which the mother of God visits? Behold the child rejoicing inside of me, he exults when he senses the first words of Mary. Blessed is the one who believes that there will soon be a fulfillment of the words that God speaks to his servants that he deems worthy.”

And Mary ponders her joy, tempered by a sense of modesty, and speaks trembling words in a soft voice:

“My mind gives magnificent praise and thanks to the Lord of the immense universe. The Spirit hardly accepts such great praises, because he has deemed me worthy and he raises me aloft from my humble station. The Just God has wished that I be held as blessed by all peoples and for all ages. Behold he has taken the throne from cruel men and he has broken the proud. He has enriched the destitute with abundant riches.”

Then she remained there for three months in succession, and now certain of the future she returns to her own home. And now the time was near,

Elisabeth uoluenda dies in luminis oras  
 Cogeret. Ad partus famam collecta cucurrit  
 Turba propinquorum, tum gaudia mira frequentes  
 Concelebrant nomenque iubent genitoris habere.  
 Abnuit hoc genetrix, sed Iohannes uocitetur 110  
 Ingeminat. Placuit muti tunc iussa parentis  
 Consulere, scriptoque rogant edicere nomen.  
 Sed, pro mira fides, tabulis cum scribere temptat,  
 Implicitam soluit per uerba sonantia linguam.  
 Mox etiam adsuetam penetrant spiracula mentem, 115  
 Completusque canit uenturi conscia dicta:  
 ‘Concelebrent cuncti laudes gratesque frequentent  
 Astrorum et terrae, pontique hominumque parenti,  
 Visere quod uoluit propriamque absolvere plebem.  
 En beat antiquam gentem cornuque salutis 120  
 Erecto indulget Daudis origine lumen.  
 Hoc est, quod prisca cecinere ex ordine uates,  
 Haec est illa salus, qua nos ex hostibus atris  
 Eripit, ut iuste iusto seruire queamus.

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106 Aelisabeth *M*<sup>1</sup>, elishabet *Mp* liquidas soluenda in *Poelm.* auras libri, cf. *Verg. Ge II 44* 107 Ad partus fama tantos collecta *Poelm.* 108 tunc *MMpBG*, per *Poelm. i. m.* ma\*na (g eras.) *Mp* 110 genetrix *T<sup>1</sup>HI* sed *CRM<sup>2</sup>Mp<sup>2</sup>PT*, et *rell.* Iohannis *M<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>* 111 ingemuit *V<sub>2</sub>* muti *CRK<sub>2</sub>* (s. l.) *Poelm. in mg.*, cunctis *rell.* tum *CB* 112 in scriptoque *Poelm. in textu*, in scripto rogitantque *in mg.* 113 pro mira (ra in ras.) *M*, promissa *K<sub>2</sub>* (ex corr.) *HI* tabulis *C* conscribere *RB* temptat (p a m. 2) *R* 114 implicitam (i<sub>3</sub> ex a) *MB* 115 penitran *M<sup>1</sup>* facta *HI* 116 completusque] al conscius cui *M* in *mg.* 117 concelebrant *RM* (a m. al.) *V<sub>2</sub>GHI*, concelebra<sup>n</sup>t *GH* frequentant *RM* (a m. al.) *V<sub>2</sub>GHI* 119 quod] qui *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>PBBbHHIG* gentem *HI* 120 beat\* *M*, beat\*\* (am eras.) *H* 121 indulget (in ex q;) *Mp* Daudis (s a m. 2) *M* 122 hoc] haec corr. in hoc *R* presci\* *M<sup>1</sup>* 123 qua *C*, quae *rell.*

when the day will be brought about and force Elizabeth to give birth to the foretold child. A crowd of neighbors gathered and rushed in at the news of the birth, and then the crowds celebrate the wonderful joys and demand that the child have the name of its father.

The mother refuses this and repeats that he be called John. At that point it seemed good to consult the commands of the silent parent, and they ask him to give the name in writing. But, by wondrous faith, when he tries to write on the tablets, he loosens his entangled tongue and speaks words. Immediately the Holy Spirit enters his readied mind, and filled with what is to come, he sings these knowing words:

“Let all of you give thanks and praise to the Father of the stars and the earth, the sea and men, because he has wished to help and to set free his own people. He blesses our ancient race with a raised horn of salvation and grants us the light of David. This is the thing that the ancient prophets sang about in succession, this is that salvation with which he takes us away from our wicked enemies, so that we may be able to serve the just.

At tu, parue puer, sanctus dignusque profeta 125

Dicere et Dominum mox praegrediere uiando

Ilius et populum duces per lumen apertum:

Errorrem per te spernent mortisque tenebras

Abrumpent omnes, tua qui praecepta sequentur.’

Exhinc secretis in uallibus abdita semper 130

Vita fuit puero, donec poscentibus annis

Vatis ad officium pleno pubesceret aeuo.

Interea Mariae sponso miracula mentem

Sollicitant, manifesta uteri quod pondera uidit,

Et secum uoluit, quam ratione propinqua 135

Dedecus obpressum celet thalamosque recuset.

Talia tractanti torpescunt membra sopore

Audiuitque Dei super horrida somnia uocem:

‘Accipe coniugium nullo cum crimine pactae,

Spiritus inpleuit sancto cui uiscera fetu. 140

Hanc cecinit uates uenturam et uirgine prolem,

NOBISCVM DEVS est nomen cui.’ Protinus ille

Haec praecepta sequens seruat sponsalia pacta.

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125 dignus sc̄sque *M* profeta *C* 126 dicere<sup>is</sup> *K*<sub>2</sub> (is *m.* 2) et] *om.* *C* dñ̄ *C* praegredere (*m.* 1) *MK*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*T*, praegredire *Bb*<sup>1</sup>, progrediere *Poelm.* in *mg.* iu\*\*ando *H* 127 et] ut *P* 130 exin *M* (n ex m) *K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*TBBbGH*, exinc *P*, exhin *HI* 132 pubisceret *C* 133 VISIO IOSEP *Mp* in *mg.* sponsi *M*<sup>2</sup>*Mp*<sup>2</sup>*K*<sub>1</sub>*T*<sup>2</sup>*BbGH* miraculamentum (e *a m.* 2) *H* 135 quānā *HI* ratione\* *B* 136 de<sup>de</sup>cus (de *a m.* 2) *RM*<sup>1</sup> obpressum *K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*TBBb* thalamoque *K*<sub>2</sub>*T*<sup>1</sup> caelet *M*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>1</sub>*PBB* recu\*set *M*, recusit *T*<sup>1</sup> 137 turpescunt *B*<sup>1</sup>*T*<sup>1</sup> membra *K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*T* sapore ut *videtur* *R*<sup>1</sup> 138 orrida *K*<sub>2</sub>*MpT* mox stertente dei uox est audita monentis *Poelm.* in *mg.* 139 Tu sponsam capias, uacat omni pactio fraude *Poelm.* in *mg.* 140 impleb<sup>y</sup>it *K*<sub>2</sub> cui\* *M* foetu *RMPBBb*, factu *Mp* sanctus *Bb* 141 uenturum *Bb* et uirgine *C*, ex u. *M* (in *ras.*) *K*<sub>2</sub> (*s. l. m.* 2) *PV*<sub>1</sub>*BbGHHL*, in u. *R* (*s. l.*) *MpT* (*s. l. m.* 2) in<sup>ex</sup> *K*<sub>1</sub> 143 se<sup>u</sup>at *Mp*, seruit *N* pata *B*<sup>1</sup>

“But you, little boy, will be called holy and a worthy prophet. And you will go, making the way for the Lord, and you will lead his people into the open light: they will reject sin through you and all of those who follow your commands will break off the shadows of death.”

And from there life for the boy was always hidden in the secret valleys, until his years were calling him and at his ripe age he grew into the vocation of prophet.

Meanwhile, the miraculous events disturb the mind of Mary’s husband, because he sees them manifest in the weight of her belly, and he wonders by what excuse he might suppress and hide her shame and deny the marriage. As he considers such things, his limbs grow heavy with deep sleep, and he heard the voice of God during his terrifying sleep:

“Accept without fault the marriage to your betrothed, whose body the Spirit has filled with a holy child. The prophets sang that a child would come from a virgin, whose name is Emmanuel.”

Immediately he follows these commands and obeys the marriage agreements.

Sed tum forte nouo capitum discussio censu

Caesaris Augusti iussis per plurima terrae	145
Describebatur; Syriam tunc iure regebat	
Quirinus, proprios cui tota per oppida fines	
Edebant populi, uires nomenque genusque.	
Urbs est Iudaeae Bethleem, Dauida canorum	
Quae genuit, generis quae censum iure petebat.	150
Edidit hic Mariam Daudidis origine Ioseph	
Desponsamque sibi scribens grauidamque professus	
Hospitio amborum Bethleem sub moenibus urbis	
Angusti fuerant praeparua habitacula ruris.	
Illic uirgo nouo completa in tempore fetu	155
Soluitur et puerum ueteri cunabula textu	
Inuoluunt durumque datur praesepe cubili.	
Circa sollicitae pecudum custodia noctis	
Pastores tenuit uigiles per pascua laeta.	
Ecce Dei monitu uisus descendere caelo	160

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144 DE PRECESSIONE ET XRI NATIUITATE *B* cum *HI*, tunc *B<sup>1</sup> Mp* noui-census *MK<sub>1</sub> (m. 2) PT<sup>2</sup>*, nouus *Poelm. in mg.* 145 Cesari *L*, Caesareque Augusto iussus *Poelm. i. m.*, agusti *Bb* plurima scribi *Poelm. in mg.* 146 describebatur *MK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>LB<sup>1</sup>* Siriam *C*, sirię *MK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>LPTBbGHI* tunc *CMp*, c|||u||| *R*, quae *Bb*, quam *rell.* 147 Cyrino<sup>s</sup> *Rbb* proprio *MBLPV<sub>1</sub>*, propria *H*, proprii *Poelm. in mg.* oppida *BK<sub>1</sub>* finis *CP* 148 edebant *CMpBb*, aedebant *R*, addebant *rell.* 149 iudā *HI*, iudee *pler.* Bethleem *CRM<sup>1</sup>K<sub>1</sub>MpP<sup>1</sup>* 150 genuit Mariae generis quae *C*, g. Mariae (*uel* generis *s. l. m. 2 R*) quae *RmpV<sub>2</sub>*, g. generis censumque *MK<sub>1</sub>PBBbH* 151 ededit *C*, \*edidit *M* Mariam] illam *RmpV<sub>2</sub>* originis *M<sup>1</sup>* 152 disponsamque *RK<sub>2</sub>TBb*, desponsata *N* 153 De natiuitate *xpi Mp* hospitium *LMp<sup>1</sup>V<sub>2</sub>H* Bethleem *C cum plerisque* desub *C* 154 perparua *M* (er *in ras.*) *BLMp* 154 et 155 in *mg. Mp<sup>2</sup>* 155 complet *C* tempora *MMpB<sup>1</sup>* fo&eu *M*, foetu *RmpPBb*, fa<sup>o</sup>&u *K<sub>1</sub>* nouum completo tempore foetum *Poelm.* 156 co<sup>u</sup> nabula *RB* texto (*m. I*) *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>T* Edidit et leni pannoso tegmine motu *Poelm.* 157 Textit cui durum cunas praesepe ministrat *Poelm.* inuoluunt *M<sup>1</sup>* durumque *C*, duroque *rell.* que] qu\*e *RK<sub>1</sub>* praesepe] e<sub>3</sub> ex is *M*, praesepis *H* 158 sollicite *pler.*, sollicitos *coni. Areu.* pecodum *CMp<sup>1</sup>*, pecorum *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>TBbG* cf. *Lucas II 8: φυλάττοντες φυλακὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτῶν* ANGELUS AD PASTORES *BL*, Angelus apparuit pastoribus *Mp<sup>2</sup>* 159 uigilis *L*, ui\*gines *Bb* 160 ui\*sus *M*, iussus *Poelm.* descendere *plerique*



But then, by chance, a reexamination of public records through several of the lands was being taken in a new census by the orders of Caesar Augustus. At that time Quirinus was the lawful ruler of Syria, and to him the people throughout all the towns declared their land, property, name, and tribe.

There is the city Bethlehem of Judaea, which produced David of the Psalms, and which was seeking a census of its people according to the law. Joseph enrolled Mary here, because he was in the lineage of David, and he wrote that she was his betrothed and declared her pregnant. As lodging for them both, there were the very small dwellings of a small farm outside the walls of the city of Bethlehem. There the virgin, when her pregnancy reached its end, gave birth to the child, and they wrapped him in swaddling clothes of old cloth and a rough stable pen is provided as a bed.

All around, standing guard over the sheep during the night kept the shepherds alert throughout the rich fields. Behold, an angel seemed to descend from heaven on the command of God,

Nuntius, at subitus terror tremefacta pauore  
 Prostrauit uiridi pastorum corpora terrae.  
 Talis et attonitis caelo uox missa cucurrit:  
 ‘Ponite terrorem mentis, mea sumite dicta,  
 Pastores, quibus haec ingentia gaudia porto. 165  
 Nam genitus puer est Daudis origine clara,  
 Qui populis lucem mox laetitiamque propaget.  
 Hoc signum dicam, puerum quod cernere uobis  
 Iam licet implentem gracili praesepia uoce.’  
 Talia dicenti iunguntur milia plebis 170  
 Caelestis cunctique Deum laudantque rogantque,  
 Talis et uniti uox agminis aera complet:  
 ‘Gloria supremum comitatur debita patrem;  
 In terris iustos homines pax digna sequetur.’  
 Et simul his dictis caeli secreta reuisunt. 175  
 Pastores propere ueniunt puerumque iacentem  
 Praesepis gremio cernunt; post inde frequentes  
 Dispergunt late celeris uaga semina famae.  
 Mirantes laudant, laetantes constipuerunt,  
 Omnia nocturnis monitis quod uera recurrant. 180

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161 at *in ras.*  $K_2$ , t *in ras.*  $T$ , et  $MpV_2$  subito *Poelm. in mg.* 163 attonitis  $CM$ , at<sup>l</sup>onitis  $P$  emissa  $C$   
 164 sumitae  $L$  165 post haec *ras. 4 litt. in K<sub>1</sub>* uobis quibus  $H$  gaudio  $L$  168 VISIO IOSEP  $B$  169 uoce] fotu  
*coni. Vonckius* 171 laudentque  $R^1$  172 et] *s. l. R* aere  $HI$  173 su\*preum  $C^1R^1$ , supr\*emus  $M^1$  comitatur  
*libri, comitetur edit.* 174 sequatur  $CP$ , sequetur *rell. cf. Luc. II 9 (ἐσται)* 175 histis  $Mp^1$ , hiis  $M^1$ , is  $Bb$  celsi  $H$   
 reui\*sit (*it in ras.*)  $M$  (*al reuisunt angeli in mg.*), reuisunt reuisitant  $L$ , reui\*sunt  $K_2$  176 PASTORES IN BETLEM  
 $BL$ , spatium uacuum *in Mp* 177 cremio  $M^1$  sequentes (*fort. a m. l*)  $K_2T$  *Poelm. in mg.* 178 celebris  $V_2$  (?) 179  
 constupuerunt  $K_2MpV_2BBbGH$  180 recurrant  $M^1K_1K_2PTB^2BbH$

and sudden terror made the shepherds prostrate themselves onto the green earth, and they were shaken by panic. A great voice sent from heaven rushes down upon the awed men:

“Put aside the terror in your minds, shepherds, and take up my words – I bring such enormous joys to you. A boy has been born of the noble line of David, who soon shall extend the light and grace for the people. I will relate this sign: that you may soon see a boy filling up the stables with his tender voice.”

Thousands of heavenly beings join him as he speaks such things and all of them praise and pray to God, such is the voice of the united host that fills the sky:

“Deserved glory accompanies the Supreme Father; and merited peace follows just men on earth.”

And as they hear these words they look upon the secrets of heaven. Hastily the shepherds come and see the boy lying in the center of the stable. After crowding in, they scatter the wide-ranging seeds of swift rumor. Full of wonder, they give praise and rejoice, and they were amazed because all of the nocturnal warnings turned out to be true.

Viderat octauam lucem puer, ecce recidi

Ad morem legis nomenque aptare necesse est.

Inpositumque illi est, monitis caelestibus olim

Quod Mariae uox missa Deo praecepit, Iesus.

Scripserat antiquae Moyses moderamina legis, 185

Inter quae primos prisco de sanguine uatum

Obseruare dedit fetus offerre sacrandos,

Inplumesque simul ferre ad delubra columbas.

Haec ubi per Mariam templo seruata feruntur,

Ecce senex Simeon dignus comprehendere sensu 190

Caelestes uoces, cui quondam praescia rerum

Virtus prodiderat, quod carcere corporis aegri

Deposito mortem liber requiemque uideret,

Cum primum caeli laudem terraeque salutem,

Omnia quem uatum spondent oracula Christum, 195

Vidisset templo sollemnes ferre palumbas.

Isque ubi curuato defessus corpore templum

Iam grauior penetrat, monuit quod spiritus auctor,

Ecce simul paruam gremio genetricis Iesum

Ad templum sensit uenisse, trementibus ulnis 200

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181 CIRCVMCISIO XPI *LMp*<sup>2</sup> 182 moram *T* est] *in ras. M*<sup>2</sup>, *om. G* 184 \*deo *M* IHSUS *P*, hesus *T*,  
ihesus *Bb* 185 Moyses *C* moderamine *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. I*) *PT*<sup>1</sup> 186 primus *CBbG*<sup>1</sup> natum *C*, natus *N* 187 fetus *CK*<sub>2</sub>  
(*m. I*) *T*<sup>1</sup> 188 seruata *K*<sub>2</sub>*T*<sup>1</sup> 190 DE SIMEONE *L*, DE SIMONE *B* senex<sup>uenit</sup> *L* Symeon *RK*<sub>1</sub>*PBbG*  
comprehendere *CRLK*<sup>1</sup>*PTBG*, comprehendere *MMpK*<sub>2</sub>*BbHl* sensum *MpV*<sub>2</sub> (*m. I*) *Poelm*. 191 caelestis *CMp* uocis  
*Mp* condam *Mp* 192 corpore<sup>carcere</sup> *K*<sub>1</sub>, corpore *P* 195 DE DVOBVS PVLLIS COLVMBARVM *B* 196 templo<sup>u</sup>  
*R* sollemnes *CMK*<sub>2</sub> palumbes *R*, polumbes *M*<sup>1</sup>, palumbes *M*<sup>2</sup>*MpK*<sub>2</sub> (*m. I*) *Bb*<sup>2</sup>*V*<sub>1</sub>, columbes *LT*<sup>1</sup>, balumbes *K*<sub>1</sub>,  
palumbos *V*<sub>2</sub> *Poelm. in mg.* 197 hisque *Hl* curbato *C* diffusus *R*<sup>1</sup>, defessus *M*, defessos *T*<sup>1</sup> 198 penetrat *M*  
motu<sup>u</sup>it *L* 199 genetricis *R*<sup>2</sup> *et rec.* 200 at *L* sensit *s. l. K*<sub>2</sub>*T*

The boy had seen his eighth day, when behold, it was necessary that he be circumcised according to the custom of the law and take a name. The name placed on him, which before the voice sent from God directed to Mary in heavenly prophecies, was Jesus.

Moses had written the rules of the ancient law, among which he handed it down to be observed that the first-born children of the ancient blood of the prophets be brought forward to be consecrated, and that at the same time featherless doves be brought to the shrines.

When Mary in her thoughtful observation brought these things to the temple, behold the old man Simon. He was capable of perceiving the heavenly voices and his excellence showed forth long ago a prescience of things, namely that he would see death and rest freely and abandon the prison of his sick body, when first he had seen that the glory of heaven and the salvation of the earth, Christ, whom all the oracles of the prophets promise, had brought doves as offerings to the temple.

And when Simon, tired, his body bent over and ever more grave, entered the temple as the Creator Spirit instructed him, he saw at once that the small Jesus, in the bosom of his mother, had come into the temple, and with trembling arms

Accepit puerum laetusque haec dicta profatur:  
 ‘Nunc, nunc me famulum Dominus nunc liberat atris  
 Corporis e uinclis finemque inponere uerbis  
 Dignatur cum pace suis. En splendida nostros  
 Lux oculos tua circumstat radiisque renidet, 205  
 Quam cunctis hominum lustratis gentibus addit  
 Istrahelitarum cumulatae gloria plebis.  
 Quid tantum Mariae stupuerunt pectora matris?  
 Hic puer ad casum populi datur, iste renasci  
 Concedet populos; dictum in contraria signum 210  
 Istius adueniet, percurrens debita leto  
 Atque animam matris ferro fulgente machaera,  
 Quo pateant tecti tenebrosa uolumina cordis.’  
  
 Haec ait in Simeone Deus; mox ecce profetae  
 Femineam sancto conplet spiramine mentem. 215  
 Anna fuit natu gravior, quam in flore iuuentae  
 Destituit uiduam mors immatura mariti.

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201 accipit *C* 202 liberat *RMatr.*, liberet *rell.* arctis  $R^1$ , artis  $K_1K_2LTBb$  203 uinclis  $R^1$  204 dignatur *CMp*, dignetur *rell.* suis] nitens *Mp* en] ac  $L^1HI$  splendide  $K_2$  (*m. 1*) *T* nostris  $K_1$  (*m. 1*) 205 renidet  $M^1$  (resplendet *in mg.*)  $R^2BK_1$  (*m. 2*)  $T^2$ , refulgent  $V_1$  *Poelm.*, retinet *L*, renitet *rell.* cf. *Wiener Stud. II 112* 206 addit<sup>q</sup> *L* 207 istrahelitarum cui *C*, hisraelitarum *R*, israhelitarum *rell.* comolatae *R*, cumulate<sup>a</sup>  $K_2$  *uu.* 207 et 208 p. u. 222 *in HI* 209 ca\*sum (*s eras.*) *M* 210 concidet *C*, concidet  $M^1$ , concedit  $K_2$  (*m. 1*) *T* populos  $CMK_1$  (*m. 1*)  $K_2$  (*m. 1*)  $B^1$ , populis *rell.* dictum *scripsi*, dicta *libri* cf. *Luc II 34* ἀντιλεγόμενον 211 percurret  $B^1$ , percurret  $R^1MpV_2$ , p̄currens omnia *G* loeto *uel* leto *libri* 210 et 211 *permutati in HI* 212 machera *plerique*; *Poelm. in mg.*: Concedet populis, illi signum esse negabunt

Foederis hi contra caelo uenisse tenebunt

Liur edax faciet lethum ut percurrat amarum

Atque tuam fulgens animam mihi crede machaera

213 uolumina] uelamina *N* 214 DE ANNA *LB* ait *in s. l.*  $M^2$  Simeone *plerique* 215 faemineam mentem— complet *M* 217 distituit  $M^1K_1K_2TB^1$ , constituit *Poelm. in mg.* immatura *CM*

he took the boy and happily proclaimed these words:

“Now, now, the Lord now frees me, his servant, from the black chains of my body, and he thinks it right to bring a peaceful end to his words. Behold, your splendid light surrounds my eyes and shines with its rays, a light which the glory of the vast people of the Israelites adds to all the gleaming races of men.

“Why is the heart of the mother Mary so astonished? This boy is given as an opportunity for people – he will grant that they be reborn; he is a sign that has been spoken against, and a sword running through what is owed to death and through the soul of his mother, so that the dark volumes of concealed hearts may lie open.”

God said these things through Simon; and behold, soon he fills the mind of a female prophet with the Holy Spirit. Anna was older in years, and the premature death of her husband left her bereft in the flower of her youth.

Casta sed in templo semper pro coniuge uita  
 Et cultus cessere Dei; quae numine iussa  
 Cognouit Christum et simili sermone locuta est. 220  
 Inde ubi sollemnem pueri pro nomine legem  
 Conpleuit genetrix et Ioseph omnia mirans,  
 Ad patriam laeti repedant puerumque reportant.  
 Gens est ulterior surgenti conscia soli,  
 Astrorum sollers ortusque obitusque notare; 225  
 Huius primores nomen tenuere Magorum.  
 Tunc hinc delecti Solymos per longa uiarum  
 Deueniunt regemque adeunt orantque doceri,  
 Quae regio imperio puerum Iudaea teneret  
 Progenitum: sese stellae fulgentis ab ortu 230  
 Admonitos uenisse uiam, quo supplice dextra  
 Exortum terris uenerabile numen adorent.  
 Territus Herodes Solymorum culmina uatum  
 Quique profetarum ueterum praedicta recensent  
 Imperio accitos iubet omnia quaerere legis, 235  
 Quis pateat, quae sint genitalia moenia Christo,

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219 cultos (*m. 1*)  $K_1T$  nomine *C* 220 simile  $P^1$  loquuta *M* 221 solemnem *RL*, solempnem *B*,  
 sollempnem *GH* 222 conpleuit  $CK_1K_2TBBb$  genetrix  $Mp^1$  223 repetant  $R^1$ , remeant *L*, redeunt *Poelm.* 224  
 VBI MAGI VIDERUNT STELLAM. *Mp*, MAGORVM MVNERA ET VISIO STELLE. *L* est *s. l. RHI* Gens est  
 Eoi Phoebos orto proxima regni *Poelm.* 225 solers  $RMLK_2$  (*m. 2*)  $PTBBb$  226 priores  $M^1$  227 tunc hinc laeti *C*,  
 tunc hinc delecti  $K_2Bb$ , hinc lecti *R*, tunc hi\* dilecti *M*, (*al* hinc lecti proceres) *L*, tunc hi delecti  $BK_1PV_1V_2H$ , hinc  $l^* \& I$   
 (*a eras.*)  $Mp$ , H<sup>1</sup>unc <sup>di</sup>lecti *L*, hinc lecti proceres (*in ras.*)  $T^2$ , tunc hinc delati proceres *G*, hinc laeti proceres *HI*  
 solimos *plerique* 229 iudam *HI*, iudea *plerique* 230 progenitum dicunt *M* stillae *C* et stellae sese  $LT^2$  231  
 admonitus *C*, ammonitos *MG* dextera *M*, dextra\*  $K_1$  232 nomen  $C^1K^1$  (*m. 1*)  $T^1B^1$  233 Terribilis *M* (*al* territus *i.*  
*mg.*) Herodis  $C^1M$  *alii* Solimorum *plerique* culmine  $M^1B^1$  234 profetarum *CT* 236 quo *Poelm.* *in mg.*  
 pateant  $TBBHI$  sit *H*



But a pure life always spent in the temple and the worship of God took the place of her husband. And because she was instructed by God she recognized Christ and spoke a speech similar to Simon's. Then, after the mother and Joseph (who was in awe at everything) completed their solemn duty concerning the name of the boy, they happily returned to their homeland and brought back the child.

There is a distant people, who know the rising sun and are skillful at distinguishing the rising and falling of the stars – the best of these have the name Magi. Chosen ones came on a long journey from there to Jerusalem, and they approached the king and beseeched him to be informed where in Judaea the begotten child was held. They said that they had come on a journey, informed by the rising of a shining star, so that they may worship as suppliants the venerable God that had arisen on earth.

Terrified, Herod summons the head priests of Jerusalem and those who examine the predictions of the ancient prophets and orders them to inquire into all of the laws where it may be revealed what Christ's place of birth is,

Omnia uenturum spondent quem oracula uatum.  
 Tunc manifestatur, Bethleem quod moenibus illum  
 Progigni maneat, cui sacram ducere plebem  
 Istrahelitarum sancta uirtute necesse est. 240  
 Hinc iubet Herodes Persas pertendere gressum  
 Inuentumque sibi puerum monstrare colendum.  
 Ecce iteris medio stellam praecurrere cernunt  
 Sulcantem flammis auras, quae culmine summo  
 Restitit et pueri lustrata habitacula monstrat. 245  
 Gaudia magna Magi gaudent sidusque salutant,  
 Et postquam puerum uidere sub ubere matris,  
 Deiecti prono strauerunt corpore terram  
 Submissique simul quaesunt; tum munera trina  
 Tus, aurum, murrā regique hominique Deoque 250  
 Dona dabant. Totam mox horrida somnia noctem  
 Sollicitant saeuumque iubent uitare tyrannum.  
 Denique diuersis Herodis callibus aulam

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237 uentura *Mp*<sup>1</sup>, uenturum quem *M* spondeantq. *L* 238 Tum *MK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>TLBbG* Bethleem *CRMK<sub>1</sub>Mp*  
 240 is\*rahelitarum (t *eras.*) *C* sancta] prompta *MpV<sub>2</sub>*, sacra *Poelm.* est] *om.* *Mp* 241 De eo quod magi obtulerunt  
 dno munera *Mp m. al.* hic *C*<sup>1</sup>, tunc *V<sub>2</sub> Poelm. in mg.* Herodis *M*<sup>1</sup> 242 colendum] uidendum *Poelm. in mg.* 243  
 itineris *M*<sup>1</sup>, uiae *Poelm. in mg.* stillam *C* 244 quae] *qR C, q̄ R<sup>2</sup>*, quae in (*sic*) *M*, et *HI* culmina *Mp*<sup>1</sup> 245 restetit  
*M*<sup>1</sup> 246 magna magis redeunt puero *Poelm.* 248 deiec\*ti *C*, dilecti (*al* deiecti) *M*, deiecte *V<sub>1</sub> (m. I)* strauerunt  
*C*<sup>1</sup>*N*, texuerunt *M* (*al* strauerunt *i. m.*), texerunt *rell. cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 719* terram caesi strauere iuueni 249  
 submissique *K<sub>1</sub>*, submisique *Bb*, submissisque *N* quaesutum *C* tunc *Poelm. in mg.*; mox mystica munera promunt  
*Poelm.* 250 murrā *C*, myrram *uel* mirram *rell.* 251 dona<sup>da</sup>bant (da a *m. 2*) *MK<sub>2</sub>T*, donabant *BbG* (bant *in ras.*), d.  
 ferunt *Hieron. in Math. I 2, 11, Alcuin. de diu. off. 5 Poelm.*, dono dabant *B* *cf. Wiener Stud. 1880, p. 110* tota *L*  
 sompnia *R* 252 tyrann<sup>n</sup>dum *M*, tyrannum *CBG* 253 Herode<sup>s</sup> *K<sub>1</sub>* calcibus *K<sub>2</sub>*

who all of the oracles of the prophets promised would come.

Then it becomes clear: the one who must rule the holy people of the Israelites with his holy virtue will be born in the walls of Bethlehem. Then Herod ordered the Persians to continue on their course and to point out the boy to him, once found, to be worshiped.

But look, they see mid-journey a star rushing ahead, plowing the sky with its flames, and it stops over the top of a building and shows the illuminated house of the boy. The Magi rejoice greatly and give thanks to the star, and after they saw the boy at the breast of his mother, they prostrated themselves and covered the ground with their bent bodies as they prayed together humbly. They give three gifts—incense, gold, and myrrh, tributes for the king, the man, and the God.

But horrible dreams disturbed the Magi for the entire night and ordered them to avoid the cruel tyrant. And so they fled from the palace of Herod by different roads,

Diffugiunt patriamque Magi rediere latenter.

Ipsum etiam puerum monitis caelestibus actus 255

Aegyptum cum matre simul transportat Ioseph.

At ferus Herodes sibimet succedere credit,

Quem callens astris quaesisset cura Magorum.

Quorum praecauto discessu sollicitatus

Horribilem iussit Bethlehem per compita caedem. 260

Infantes cunctos teneramque sub ubere plebem

Auellit ferro nullo sub crimine culpaе.

Haec etiam caedes olim praescripta manebat,

Quam bonus Hieremias diuino numine iussus

Conplorat, subolis misero pro funere matres 265

Horrendis grauter caelum pulsare querellis.

Ast ubi sopitus furor est et saeua tyranni

Infantum horribili feritas satiata cruore,

Extinxisse putat cunctos, quos unus et alter

Annus letiferi miseros obpresserat aeuī. 270

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254 diffugiuntque *M*, difugiunt *K*<sub>1</sub>, defugiunt *B*<sup>1</sup> redire *MK*<sub>1</sub> (*m. 1*) *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) *T*<sup>1</sup> laetantes *al* latentes *M*, latentes *RLMpPT*<sup>1</sup>*BbGHHI* cf. *Wiener Stud. l. c. p. 90 p. uers. 256 DE PVERIS INTERFECTIS AB HERODE Mp, p. uers 257 PASSIO INFANTVM L 255 etiam] & K*<sub>1</sub> (*m. 1*) *post u. 256 uersus unius spatium C Aegyptum CBG 257 ad CBL Herodis M*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) *T 259 discessu\* (s eras.) M, discessi Bb*<sup>1</sup> 260 Bethlehem *CRMK*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*PT* competa *RLK*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*MpTB*, comp&añ *K*<sub>2</sub>; crudeli tinxit Bethlemica compita caede *Poelm.* 261 que *om. V*<sub>2</sub> ubera *RHL*, hubere *P* 262 Euellit *M* (auelli *in mg.*), auelli *RK*<sup>1</sup>*MpPBBbV*<sub>2</sub> fero *LMP*; Innocuam in sinibus rigido succumbere *f. Poelm. in mg.* 263 caedis *M*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) prescripta *R*, perscripta (*m. 1*) *K*<sub>2</sub>*T* 264 nomine *C*<sup>1</sup>*M* (*al* numine *i. m.*), munere<sup>numine</sup> *K*<sub>1</sub> 265 conplorat *RK*<sub>1</sub>*TB*, conplorant *K*<sub>2</sub>, conploraret *Bb* sobolis *RM*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 2*) *LP*<sup>1</sup>, suboles *Bb*; suboles miserum *Mp* miserae *Poelm. in mg.* matris *M*<sup>1</sup> 266 hor<sup>r</sup>endis (*rendis in ras.*) *K*<sub>1</sub>, horridis *P*<sup>1</sup> querelis *RM*<sup>1</sup>*MpBGHHI*, querillis (*m. 1*) *K*<sub>2</sub>; horrenda grauter pulsabant aethera uoce *Poelm. i. m.* 267 t<sup>r</sup>oror *L* ti<sup>r</sup>ranni (*r eras.*) *C*, tyran<sup>n</sup>di *M* 268 horribili] roseo *Poelm. in mg.* ferita *C* 269 extinxisse *RL* unus *CRPN*, primus (*al* unus) *M*, primus *rell.* 270 annos *C*<sup>1</sup>*M* loetiferi *plerique I* misseros *MP*<sup>1</sup>, misere *Poelm.*, miserandos *p. conī. Arev.* obpraesserat *M*, subpresserat *RL Poelm.*; miserandus praesserat *MpV*<sub>1</sub>, miserandus cesserat *Poelm. in mg.*

and returned home in secret.

Driven by heavenly warnings, Joseph also takes the boy at once to Egypt with his mother. But savage Herod believes that the one whom the Magi sought out by their careful attention to the stars will succeed him. Disturbed by their cautious departure, he orders a horrible slaughter throughout the districts of Bethlehem. All of the infants and those still under the breast he killed without charge of crime.

The slaughter, which good Hieremias bemoaned after he was informed by God, came to pass as once prophesied – that mothers, because of the miserable deaths of their children, would gravely strike the sky with terrible laments. But after his madness was calmed and the cruel savagery of the tyrant was sated by the blood of infants, Herod thought that he had killed all of those wretched children who were crushed in only the first or second year of their mortal life.

Mirandis rursus deuinctus membra sopore

Urgetur monitis Mariam puerumque Ioseph

Aegypto ad patriam uectare, ubi Nazara felix

Olim praedictum puero dedit addere nomen.

Dixit et alterius quondam praenuntia uatis 275

Vox instincta Deo: Veniet, ueniet mea proles

Aegypto ex alta terris lumenque salusque.

Crescebat rapidis annorum gressibus infans,

Praecurrens aeuum sapientia praeueniebat

Gratiaque in uultu et uerbis ueneranda micabat. 280

Et iam bisseos aevi conprenderat annos,

Cum paschae ritum seruando ex more parentes

Ad templum laetis puerum perducere festis

Omnibus annorum uicibus de more solebant.

Ergo aderant paschae pariter cunctisque diebus 285

Festorum inpletis patriam remeare parabant,

Cum puer in populo comitis uestigia matris

Deseruit templice libens secreta petiuit.

Illum per uicos urbis perque abdita tecta

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271 rursus *M*<sup>1</sup> deuinctos *R*, deuictus *M* (al deuinctus *i. m.*) *H* membra *T* sopore *C* 272 urgetur *RM*<sup>2</sup> *MpK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>PG* 273 Aegypto *C* (*passim*) uectarae *R*, u&tare *L* felex *M*<sup>1</sup> 274 praedicta *B*<sup>2</sup> *T* ex corr. ut uidetur, praedicto *RM* (al praedictum *i. m.*) 275 alterius iussi *MK<sub>2</sub>T* 276 instructa *Bb*, instructa *Poelm. in. mg.* mea ueniet *M*, ueniat mea *HI* prolis *M*<sup>1</sup> *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>T* 277 EX EGIPTO VOCAVI FILIVM *B* exaltat *LG* nomenq; (al lumenq;) *M* 278 infans *M*<sup>1</sup> 279 precur\*ens *C*, occurrens *B* 280 omniaque *Poelm. in. mg.* et\*\* (in eras.?) *M* uerba<sup>is</sup> *P* micabant *Poelm. in. mg.* post u. 280 inscriptio euanida in *L* 281 comprehenderit *C*, comprehenderit *M*<sup>1</sup> *MpTBb*, cõpnd& *G* 282 DVODECIM ANNORVM REMANSIT IN TEMPLO *B* conpascae *L* seruantes *N*, servare *Poelm.* 283 laeti *MpV<sub>2</sub>* *Poelm. in. mg.* 284 solebant] sciebant *G* 286 festum implentes *M* (al festorum implet in *mg.*) uu. 285 et 286 in *mg.* adscripti in *Mp* 287 tum *LHI* *Poelm.* 289 perque urbis *M*<sup>1</sup> (al urbis perque) urbes *V<sub>1</sub>*

Joseph, his limbs bound up by sleep, is urged by miraculous warnings to bring back Mary and the boy from Egypt to their homeland, where Blessed Nazareth gave the name to the boy, as predicted long ago. The voice of even another prophet, animated by God, once spoke these predictions: “He will come – my son, the light and salvation of the earth, will come from upper Egypt.”

And the infant grew in the rapid progressions of years; surpassing wisdom outstripped his age, and a venerable grace flashed in his face and his words. He then had reached twelve years of age, when his parents, dutifully following the rite of Passover, led the boy to the temple for the happy festivities and made it a habit to do so every year. And so they attended Passover together and after all the days of the festivals were finished, they were preparing to return home when in the midst of the people the boy left his mother, who was accompanying him, and gleefully sought out the hidden places of the temple.

The mother searched for him through the neighborhoods of the city, through its tucked away buildings,

Perque iteris stratas per notos perque propinquos 290

Quaerebat genetrix; sed lux ubi tertia uenit

Ad templum propere remeat, uatumque choreis

Inuenit insertum legumque obscura senili

Tractantem coetu. Vix admiratio digna

De pueri uerbis senibus fuit; at pia mater: 295

‘Nate, ait, amissum lacrimis te quaero profusis

Anxia cum genitore gemens. Quae causa parentum

Discernit gressu templique in sede retentat?’

Ille autem: ‘Quid me tantum, quid quaeritis?’ inquit.

‘An nondum sentis, genetrix, quod iure paternis 300

sedibus et domibus natum inhabitare necesse est?’

Haec ait et gressum sociat patriamque reuisit;

Nec genetrix tanti persensit pondera uerbi,

Ordine cuncta tamen cordis secreta reseruant.

At puer obsequiis apte praedulcibus ambos 305

Ad proprium semper cogens nectebat amorem.

Interea ueteris scripti per debita currens

Omnia saeculorum series promissa trahebat.

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290 iteris] uiae *Poelm. in mg.* stratus  $R^1$  totos *H* 291 genetrix  $CRM^1MpK_1K_2T$  292 at *L* choregis *L*, coronae *Poelm. in mg.* 293 rerumque *Mp* 294 ammiratio  $MpB^2G$ , admiratio  $fuit M$  295 fuit *s. l. M* ad  $Mp^1T^1$  298 discernit *CMp*, secreuit  $V_1$ , secernit *rell.* gressum *BH* insidere temptat *HI* 299 quid<sub>2</sub>] qui  $K_2$ , *s. l. K\_1* inquit *MMp* 301 inhabitare] in *s. l. K\_2* 302 *inscriptio euanida in L* reuix<sup>s</sup>it *Mp*, reuisa<sup>t</sup> *G*; *uers. in marg. inf. adscr. K\_2* 303 REGRESSIO DE HIERVSALEM *B* naec  $K_1$  304 ordinem  $B^1$  secreto<sup>a</sup> *M* reseruat  $RK_1LTV_1$ , seruauit reseruat *M*, <sup>re</sup>serua<sup>t</sup> *Mp*, reuisunt *G* 305 arte (apte *in mg.*) *Mp*, aptae *P*, aptos *H* 306 eos (*al* semper cogens *in mg.*) *M*, <sup>suu</sup>cogens *L*, habens  $G^1$  necta<sup>b</sup>bat *M*, uectabat *Poelm. in mg.* 307 DE IOHANNE *B* scripti ueteris *B* 308 saeculorum  $MMpK_1$  serie  $K_2T^1$



through the roads of their journey, and among their friends and relatives; but when the third day came, she returned in haste to the temple, and found him among the groups of priests and discussing obscure matters of law in the company of old men. The admiration of the old men concerning the words of the boy was hardly appropriate; but his pious mother said:

“Child, your father and I are looking for you, lost as you are, anxious and crying with falling tears. What reason separates you from your parents and keeps you at the altar of the temple?”

The boy, however, asked: “Why are you both searching for me so much? Do you not think, mother, that it is necessary by law for a son to dwell in his paternal seat and home?”

He said these things, joined them, and returned home; nor did his mother perceive clearly the weight of such words, although the hidden places of her heart kept them in order. But the boy brought them close together with his delightful obedience, and bound them to love him always. Meanwhile, the succession of the centuries, following its predetermined course, fulfilled all the promises of the old writings.

Zachariae suboles desertis uallibus omnes  
 Ad deponendas maculas clamore uocabat, 310  
 Fluminis ut liquidi caperent miranda lauacra,  
 Quis animae uirtus abluta sorde niteret;  
 Esaias uates cecinit quod numine iussus:  
 ‘Vox late resonat desertis uallibus; amplas  
 Instruite stratas, omnis sit recta uiarum 315  
 Semita, quae Domini digne uestigia gestet.  
 Subsident colles, uallis complebitur omnis;  
 Corriget anfractus iteris bona linea recti  
 Corporeisque oculis lumen tractare serenum  
 Omnibus indulget genitor Dominusque salutis.’ 320  
 Ergo aderant populi passimque hinc inde ruentes  
 Conplebant ripas auidique lauacra petebant.  
 Texta camelorum fuerant uelamina saetis,  
 Et zonae pellis medium cinxere profetam.  
 Et tenuem uictum praebent siluestria mella. 325  
 Isque ubi tot populos diuersis sedibus ortos

\*325 Edere locustas solitus ruralibus aruis

309 Zachariae *C* suboles *RPBbHL*, sobolis *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>G*, subulis *L* in uallibus *C* 310 deponendas (de *s. l. m.* 2) *M*, deponentes *P* 311 ca\*perent (r *eras.*) *M* lauachra *B* 312 queis (?) *V<sub>1</sub>* uirtus *CMpPV<sub>1</sub>Bb*, species *rell.* ablutatas ordine (?) *M<sup>1</sup>*, <sup>di</sup>\*\*luta <sup>a</sup>sorde *G* (*corr. a m. 2*) 313 Esaias *CMK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>PTBb*, Isais uel *Ysaias rell.* uatis *K<sub>2</sub>* nomine *C* 314 VOX CLAMANTIS IN DESERTO *B* late sonuit *G* 315 instruite] te *s. l. M<sup>2</sup>*; instruit estrate<sup>a</sup>s *Mp* omnes (*m. l.*) *K<sub>2</sub>T*; omnis iussit *H* 316 digna *R* gestat *R<sup>1</sup>* D. plantis calcanda beatis *Poelm. in mg.* 317 ualles (*m. l.*) *K<sub>2</sub>T* omnes *C* 318 corrigat *R<sup>1</sup>K<sub>2</sub>* (*m. l.*), corrigat *HL* tamfructus *K<sub>2</sub>T* iteris] callis *Poelm.* 320 dominus genitorque *B* 323 textum *M<sup>1</sup>* camel\*orum *CM* sed<sup>is</sup> *L*, saetes *T<sup>1</sup>* 324 pellis zonae *Mp* cinxere *RLT<sup>1</sup>*, tinxere (*m. l.*) *K<sub>1</sub>*, cing<sup>x</sup>ere *K<sub>1</sub>*, cinxerunt *P<sup>1</sup>* profetam *CB* 325 u. 325 *antecedit 325\** in *CRM<sup>2</sup>K<sub>1</sub>MpV<sub>1</sub>BGHHI*, in *margin. add. K<sub>2</sub>T<sup>2</sup>V<sub>2</sub>Bb<sup>2</sup>* hedere *V<sub>2</sub>* solitus] sonitus *T<sup>2</sup>* 326 ibi *P<sup>1</sup>* populis *C*

The child of Zechariah was loudly calling everyone into the desert valleys to put away their sins, so that they might take miraculous baths in river water, by which the virtue of the soul might shine and wash away its sin. The prophet Isaiah, ordered by God, sang that: “A voice cries out far and wide in the desert valleys: Prepare the wide roads, let every footpath of the roads be straight, which worthily carry the footprints of God. The hills will sink down, every valley will be filled; a good straight line will straighten the bent path, and the Father and Lord of salvation allows all human eyes to see the serene light.”

And so people were present and rushing from everywhere, from here and there, and they filled the banks and eagerly sought the baths. The prophet’s garments had been woven from the rough hairs of camels, and leather belts encircled his waist. Woodland honey provides his meager sustenance. And he, when he sees so many people rising up from diverse places,

Inruere ad fluuium cernit, sic incipit ore:  
 ‘Vipereae gentis suboles, quis debita uobis  
 Supplicia urgentesque iras euadere monstrat?  
 Sed facite, o miseri, fructum, si paenitet, aptum, 330  
 Nec generis uestri tollat fiducia mentes.  
 Nam facile e saxis etiam pro nomine plebes  
 Succedet uestro, suboles quia degener errat.  
 Proxima roboreis iamiam radicibus instat  
 Cunctorum ante oculos acies leuata securis. 335  
 Caedentur siluae steriles ignemque fouebunt.  
 Nunc ego praeteritas maculas in flumine puro  
 Abluere institui; ueniet sed fortior alter,  
 Cuius uincla pedum non sum contingere dignus.  
 Abluet ille hominis sancto spiramine mentem 340  
 Flammarumque globis purgabit noxia corda.  
 Illius et manibus ruralis pala tenetur  
 Et propria ipsius purgabitur area frugum  
 Horreaque inplebit secreti copia farris  
 Aeternusque leues paleas populabitur ignis.’ 345

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327 DE BAPTISMO IOHANNIS ET VERBUM EIVS AD POPVLVM B 329 subplicia  $K_1$  turgentisque  
*M ut uidetur* 330 miseris  $Mp^1$  penitet *plerique* 332 e] est\* (& *eras.*) *M*, *add.*  $B^2$ ;  $ex^s$  axis *L* plebis *CM*; potis est  
 dura superum rex cote creare *Poelm.* 333 succedent  $RMpV_1V_2GHHL$ , succedunt  $MK_1PTV_2Bb$  subolis  $K_2T$  errat]  
 \*\*\* *M*, erret  $L^1$ ; progeniem quando suboles sua d. e. *Poelm.* 334 robori<sup>e</sup>s *R* iam iamq; *R* 335 acie<sup>s</sup> *M*, acies\*  $K_2$ ,  
 aciesque *Poelm.* leuigata *Matr.*, sublata *Poelm.* in *mg.*, elata *coni.* *Arev.* 336 caedantur  $R^1$ , caeduntur  
 $M^1K_1K_2TV_1V_2BbHl$  sterelis *C* foueba<sup>n</sup>t *H* 337 ergo  $CK_1$  339 uinc\*la *M* tingere  $K_1$  condignus *Mp* 340  
 abluit *C* hominis *C*, om̄s *R*, homines *rell.* s̄co\* (*s eras.*)  $K^1$  in spiramine  $RLV_2Hl$  mentem *C*, mergens *rell.*  
 343 harea *L*, a\*rea  $K_1$  344 orreaque *M* impleuit  $CK_2B^1$

rush into the river, he begins to speak thus:

“You offspring of a serpentine race, who shows you how to avoid deserved punishments and rising anger? But bear the fruit, wretched ones, that is fitting if you repent, nor let the self-confidence of your race lift up your minds. For easily even from the rocks a people can come up in your place, since an unworthy child wanders astray. At this very moment, the sharp edge of an axe stands very near over the roots of an oak before the eyes of all. The unfruitful trees will be struck down and will keep the fire burning.

“Now I have undertaken to wash away your past sins in this pure river; but another, stronger one shall come, and I am not worthy to touch the soles of his sandals. That man will cleanse the mind of man with the Holy Spirit and will purge sinful hearts with balls of flame. The farmer’s spade is held in his hands, and his own threshing floor will be purged – a bounty of separated grain will fill his storehouses and an eternal flame will lay waste to the unimportant chaff.”

Haec ait et properis per siluam passibus ipsum

Cernit Iordanis ueneranda lauacra petentem.

Sed uetat increpitans uates et talia fatur:

‘Tunc meis manibus dignaris mergier undis,

Cum tua me melius possint mundare lauacra?’ 350

Dixit Iohannes, cui talia reddit Iesus:

‘Nunc sine, nam decet hoc, sic sancta per omnia nobis

Iustitiae consecrandus complebitur ordo.’

Haec memorans uitreas penetrabat fluminis undas.

Surgenti manifesta dei praesentia claret. 355

Scinditur auricolor caeli septemplicis aethra

Corporeamque gerens speciem descendit ab alto

Spiritus aeriam simulans ex nube columbam

Et sancto flatu corpus perfudit Iesu.

Tunc uox missa Dei longum per inane cucurrit 360

Ablutumque undis Christum flatuque perunctum

Adloquitur: ‘Te, nate, hodie per gaudia testor

Ex me progenitum, placet haec mihi gloria prolis.’

Tum petit umbrosos montes et lustra ferarum

Obsequiumque illi patris praebere ministri 365

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347 Iordanis *CR<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>Mp<sup>2</sup>PBHI Poelm.*, Iohannes *rell.* 348 sed uetat] succedet *M* 349 digneris *RK<sub>1</sub> (m. 1) LTHI Poelm. in mg.* mergi<sup>et</sup> (er a m. 2) *M*, er in *ras. T* 350 mundare *CMpP*, purgare *rell.* 351 Iohannis *CM<sup>1</sup>K<sub>2</sub>* reddidit *MK<sub>1</sub> (m. 1) Bb*, dicit *N* 352 si<sup>c</sup> *R* 353 iustiae *R* implebitur *Mp* 354 post memorans: que celer *eras. in M* uitteas *P* penetrat fluminis undas *M*, xps penetrabat in undas *K<sub>1</sub>LBbGHI*; celer uitreas xps penetrabat i. u. (xps a m. 2) *K<sub>2</sub>T*, uitreans penetrabat in <sup>fluminis</sup> undas *H* fluminis undas in *ras. B*; undi<sup>s</sup> *Mp* 355 surgenti\* (s *eras.*) *R* 356 aethera *C*, aetra *MMp<sup>1</sup>*, aether *V<sub>1</sub>*; aethera caeli *Poelm. in mg.* 357 descendit *CMPB alii* 358 ex] in *HI* 359 perfundit *RK<sub>1</sub>T* 360 mane *Mp* 361 ambitumque *Poelm. in mg.* umbrosos *HI* 365 que] *om. M* patri *CMp*, patrii *PV<sub>2</sub> (m. 2)*, patrii<sup>s</sup> *B (s a m. 2)* praebere (u *eras.*) *K<sub>1</sub>*

He said these things and he saw that very one seeking the revered baths of the Jordan with quick steps through the forest. But the prophet forbids it and says these things, crying out:

“You think it right to be submerged in the water by my hands, when your baths can better cleanse me?” So spoke John, and Jesus replied to him thus:

“Now let it happen this way, for this is fitting, and the order of justice, pursued through all holy things, will be fulfilled by us.” He said these things and made his way into the clear waves of the river. The manifest presence of God becomes clear to him as he rises from the water. The golden aether of heaven is parted open seven-fold and the Holy Spirit, in physical form, descends from heaven, appearing like a dove flying from a cloud, and with a holy breath it envelops the body of Jesus.

Then a voice, sent from God, rushes through the vast sky and addresses Christ, who was now washed by the waves and anointed by the Spirit: “Son, today I show through these joyous things that you are born from me; this glorious child pleases me.”

Then Jesus seeks the shady mountains and the lairs of wild animals, and the swift ministers of his father rushed to offer their service,

Certabant rapidi, mox liuor daemonis atram  
 Cum terrore rapit mentem, nec defuit aegro  
 Temptandi interea Christum uersutia fallax.  
 Quadraginta illi fuerant ex ordine soles,  
 Ex quo nulla cibi potusque alimenta dabantur, 370  
 Sed contexta simul firmi ieiunia cordis  
 Terrarum ad regnum mentis secreta tenebant.  
 Tunc epulas demum monuit conquirere corpus.  
 Horrendi interea sceleris fallacia temptans:  
 ‘Si te pro certo genuit Deus, omnibus,’ inquit, 375  
 ‘His poteris saxis forti sermone iubere  
 usum triticei formamque capessere panis.’  
 Christus ad haec fatur: ‘Nil me iam talia terrent;  
 Nam memini scriptum, quoniam non sola tenebit  
 Vitam credentis facilis substantia panis, 380  
 Sed sermone Dei complet pia pectora uirtus.  
 Rursus at ille dolos uersutis artibus aptans  
 Nectere temptator properat. Nam moenibus urbis  
 Mox inferre pedem sensit, uis liuida Christum

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366 certabat  $V_1$  rabidi  $RPT^2B^2Bb$  libor  $C$  demonis libri ater  $MG$  *Poelm.* 367 TEMPTATIO  
 DIABOLI  $B$  terrore  $e_2$  in *ras.*)  $R$  aegro] ergo  $N$  368 temptandi (i ex o)  $C$  in terra  $N$  369 quadragenta  $C$ ,  $XLta$   
 $M$  fuerunt  $R^1MV_2$  370 potusque  $CV_2N$ , pote<sup>u</sup>sue  $M$ , potusue *rell.* 372 at  $C$  mentis  $CMp^2T$ , cordis *rell.*  
 tenebat  $G$  373 tuncque  $BV_1V_2H$  epulas  $R$  daemum  $MK_1K_2$ , demon  $G$   $\bar{e}qui***rere$   $R$ , conquire  $M^1$  374  
 horrendum  $K_2N$ , horridi  $P$  interea\* sceleris ( $s_1 a m. 2$ )  $M$  fallatia  $R$  et alii, fallantia  $P$  375 certe  $HI$  inquit  
 plerique 376 hiis  $M^1$  po\*teris (s *eras.*)  $K_1$  sas<sup>x</sup>is  $Mp$  forte  $K_1$  ( $m. 1$ ) 377 in *mg. inf. adscr. m. al. in C*  
 capissere  $M^1$ ; quod non sit sola datura *Poelm. in mg.* 380 credenti<sup>s</sup>  $K_2$ , credentes  $T^1$  382 dolus  $M^1K_2$  ( $m. 1$ )  
 abtans  $Mp$  383 nectere  $K_2$  ( $m. 1$ ) prope  $scit^{erat}$   $M$  nam] quam *Barthius* 384 uis] s *ex corr. C*



but soon envy instills fear in the dark mind of the demon, nor, meanwhile, did he, though troubled, lack the deceitful cunning to tempt Christ.

It had been forty days in a row since he was given the last nourishment of food and drink, but the fasting, combined with the strength of his heart, focused the recesses of his mind toward the kingdom of earth. Then, at last, his body warned him to search for food.

Meanwhile, the deceit of the terrible villain tempted him and said: “If truly God bore you, then you will be able with a forceful word to order all these rocks to take on the use and form of wheat bread.”

Christ replies to these things: “Such things do not deter me, because I am mindful of the scripture, that easily obtained bread will not sustain the life of the believer alone, but that the virtuous one fills his pious heart with the word of God.”

But, in turn, the tempter, suiting tricks to his cunning arts, hastens to weave them. For he soon sensed that he had approached the walls of a city,

Culmine marmoreo fecit consistere templi. 385

Tum sic adgreditur uocis fallente ueneno:

‘Si Deus est uere genitor tibi, culmine templi

Aera per uacuum saltu iaculabere corpus.

Testis erit scriptura tibi, quae spondet aperte

Mandatum summi genitoris tale ministris, 390

Ut lapsum studeant casu defendere corpus;

Et famulis minibus current tua membra leuare,

Ne lapidis laedat summas offensio plantas.’

Reddidit his Christus dictis contraria dicta:

‘Me meminisse magis scripti caelestis oportet, 395

Ne uires Domini fidens audacia temptet.’

Rursus in adrupti montis consistere celsis

Mox furibunda iugis sensit fallacia Christum,

Ostendens illi fulgentia regna per orbem:

‘Cernis, ait, quae sit tantarum gloria rerum? 400

Cuncta tuo possum iamiam concedere regno,

Talia donantem si me ueneratus adores.’

Tunc sic instantem dictis reiecit Iesus:

‘Effuge pestiferi rabies uaesana ueneni,

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385 marmorei *Poelm.* fecit  $V_1V_2Bb$ , S||| ||| C, tendit *Poelm. in mg.*, suasit *rell.* 386 tum  $CM^2K_1K_2PT$ , tunc *rell.* 388 aether (*m. I*)  $K_1$ , ar\*<sup>e</sup>a T, aer *Bb* iacula<sup>ue</sup>re (ue a *m. 2*) M 389 testes  $K_1$  ait *HI* spondit  $M^1$ ; spondeat *perte H* 390 mundatum  $B^1$  genitore *Bb* tale] id esse *Poelm. in mg.* ministri *RHI* 392 famuli||| C, famuli  $MpPG^2HI$  curent  $K_2PTBb$  394 Christus] ihs C dictis xps L 395 me] *om. C^1RMK\_1K\_2TMpBBbGH* scriptis P 396  $\bar{\alpha}$   $K_2$  (*m. I*)  $K_2TBb$  tempta<sup>t</sup> BL 397 arrupti *Mp* montes C 398 iugis] magis *Poelm. in mg.* 399 illi  $CRP^1V_1V_2H^1$ , olli *rell.* 400 tanta  $T^1$  401 tuo] tibi *Poelm. in mg.* possim  $TBbG$  403 stantem  $M^1Mp^1$  404 rabie suae sana M; uesania  $LK_1$  (*m. I*)

and, envious and vehement, he made Christ stand on the marble roof of a temple. Then he addresses him with his deceitful and poisonous voice:

“If God is truly your father, then hurl your body from the top of this temple and into the open sky. The scripture will be a witness for you, which promises clearly that the angels of the Highest Father have the following mandate, to be ready to defend your fallen body from any misfortune and to rush to lift up your limbs with their servile hands, lest a blow from a rock hurt even the soles of your feet.”

But Christ disagreed with these words: “I should remember the greater scripture of heaven – let not impudent boldness tempt men of the Lord.”

As soon as the raging falsehood sensed Christ standing on the lofty cliffs of a steep mountain, he showed him the shining kingdoms throughout the earth and said: “Do you see what glory there is in such great earthly things? I can hand them all over to your rule at this very moment, if you pray to me and worship me, the giver of such great things.”

Then Jesus drove away the one standing before him with these words:

“Get away, you mad frenzy of pestilential poison,

Haereat ut semper nobis immobile iussum, 405

Ut iustus caeli Dominum deuotus adoret

Unius et famulans ueneretur nomen in aeuum.’

Talibus excussus fugit per deuia daemon.

Ille ubi Iohannem cognouit carceris umbris

Inmersum, tristi compressit corde dolorem, 410

Finibus et statuit Zabulorum ponere sedes,

Ut dictum Esariae concurreret ordine longo:

‘Terra Zabulorum et regionis Neptala nomen,

Et uia trans pelagus longe Galilaea per arua

Trans et Iordanen gentes populique tenebris 415

Inclusi magnum lumen subitumque uidebunt,

In mortisque illis umbra residentibus alma

Exoritur fidei resplendens luce uoluntas.’

Ergo instare Dei regnantis munera Christus

Nuntiat increpitans praeconia larga salutis. 420

Praeteriensque uidet ponti per litora fratres,

Praesolidum Simonem, dignum cognomine Petri,

Andreamque simul, sinuosa uolumina lini

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405 nobis semper *RHI*, s. nobis cum *M* iussum donum *R*, iussum<sup>donum</sup> *V*<sub>2</sub> 406 dominum caeli *V*<sub>1</sub>  
deuotos *C* ad\*oret (h *eras.*) *B* 407 nomen *C*<sup>1</sup>*MLMpPV*<sub>2</sub>*BBbG*, numen *rell.* 408 excusus *MMp* 409 ag<sup>co</sup>gnouit  
(cog *m.* 2) *M* 410 inde<sup>sub</sup>mersum (sub *a m.* 2) *C*, demesum *V*<sub>1</sub>, submersum *RM*<sup>1</sup>*LK*<sub>2</sub> (*m.* 1) *MpTBbHI* corda  
*R*<sup>2</sup>*Mp*<sup>2</sup>*Bb*, cordae *M* dolorem *C*<sup>1</sup>*MV*<sub>2</sub>*Bb*<sup>2</sup> *Poelm.* in *mg.*, dolore *rell.* 411 istatuit *Mp*<sup>1</sup> Sabulorum *C*, dialon nunc  
*M*<sup>1</sup>, diabulorum *K*<sub>2</sub>, zabulon<sup>1</sup>um *L*, Zabulon *Poelm.* pedes *M*<sup>1</sup> 412 isaiae *R*, esaiae *M* in ordine *M*<sup>1</sup> longo *C*,  
secli <sup>uel</sup>longo *P*, saec\*li *MK*<sub>1</sub>, saeculi *rell.* 413 terrę *H* Sabulorum *C*, dialon haec *M*<sup>1</sup>, Zabulon *K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*PTBbG* *Poelm.*  
414 Galilaea per arua] *ego*, Galilaeaque arua *libri*, Galilaeiaque arua *Barth. Arev.* 416 inclusique *R* uidebunt (d *et b*  
*a m.* 2) *C* 417 umbras (*M*) almas *T*<sup>1</sup> resedentibus *K*<sub>1</sub> (*m.* 1) *P* 418 splendens *V*<sub>1</sub>*V*<sub>2</sub> uo<sup>lu</sup>ce *M* uoluptas *K*<sub>2</sub>*T*  
419 uenire instare *Mp* dñe *C*<sup>1</sup> 420 longa *M*<sup>1</sup> 421 uidit *R*<sup>1</sup>, uidens *T* littera *K*<sub>1</sub> 422 persolidum *N* Symonem  
*RM*

so that always our command may hold fast: that the just and devoted one worships the Lord of heaven and, in so worshipping, venerates the name of only one forever.” Repelled by such words, the demon flees into solitude.

When Jesus learned that John had been thrown into the shadows of prison, he contained his grief in his sad heart, and he resolved to establish a home in the territory of Zebulon, so that what Isaiah said may come to pass at last:

“The land of Zebulon and the region of Neptala, the way across the sea far away through Galilean lands and across the Jordan, a race and people who are surrounded by shadows will see a great and sudden light, and a desire of faith, resplendent with a nourishing light, rises for those living in the shadows of death.”

Thereafter Christ announced that the gifts of Ruling God were at hand, shouting the bountiful news of salvation. And passing along the shores of the sea, he sees brothers, steadfast Simon, worthy of the name Peter, and with him Andrew, casting out the winding lengths of a net,

Piscibus insidias disponere marmoris undis.  
 ‘Nunc,’ inquit, ‘pisces capitis maris aestibus altis, 425  
 Sed me si libeat sectari, fortia uobis  
 Prouenient hominum praepulchra indagine lucra.’  
 Olli confestim firmato pectore certi  
 Retibus abiectis pariter praecepta sequuntur.  
 Post fratres Iacobum Iohannemque marinis 430  
 Insidias gregibus maculoso innectere textu  
 Ut uidit similemque dedit de litore uocem,  
 Illi Zebedeum genitorem in puppe relinquunt  
 Illico sectantes pulcherrima iussa salutis.  
 Exhinc per terram Galilaeam sancta serebat 435  
 Insinuans populis regni praeconia Christus  
 Donabatque citam inualidis aegrisque medellam;  
 Et mox crebra procul Syriam iam fama tenebat  
 Mille sonans uerbis praesentia munera Christi.  
 Denique certatim languoris tabe peresos 440  
 Diuersisque malis nexos, quis longa dolore  
 Absumpsit populans membrorum robora tabes,  
 Monstrabant Christo; facili sed munere cunctos

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424 marmoreis *M* 425 inquit *M et alii* altos  $M^1 K_1 K_2 M p^1 V_1 T$  427 pulchra  $M^1$ , perpulchra *LN*, preclara (pre in ras.) *T*, clara *Bb* indaginem *H* 428 illi  $K_1 K_2 L^2 T B b^1 H I$  429 secuntur *MpTBG* 430 fratres geminos *CLMpV\_2BH*, fratres<sup>geminos</sup> *RM*, geminos *Poelm. in mg.* 433 Zebedeum  $M^1$ , Zebe&eum *Mp* puppi *M* 434 illico *L* 435 exin\*\* (de eras.) *M* Galileam  $M^1 T$ , Galileæ  $K_1 K_2$  (m. I) *LMpGH*, Galilee\* *B* sereba\*t (n eras.) *M*, ferebat *Poelm. in mg. uu.436-438 in mg. sup. M^2* 436 regna<sup>i</sup> *Mp* 437 inualidisq. *C*, fessis  $V_1 T$  aegris *C* 438 siriam *CB* 439 mille sonis  $M^2 L^2$ , mellisonis  $C^2$ , m. sonant  $K_2$  (m. I) uerbis *C*, linguis *rell.* 440 praessos  $M^1$  441 longo *L* doloris *MMpK\_2* (m. I) *PBH*, dolorum  $V_1 G$  442 absumsit *M*, adsumpsit  $T^1 B b$  robura  $M^1$  tabis  $C^1 K_1 K_2 T$  443 facile (m. I)  $K_1 K_2 P T$  monere  $L^1$

to ensnare fish in the waters of the sea. “Now,” he said, “you capture fish in the billowing deeps of the sea, but if it is pleasing to follow me, very great profits will come to both of you from the beautiful fishing of men.”

Immediately certain in their stout hearts, they follow his precepts and together cast their nets aside. Afterward, when he saw that the brothers Jacob and John were setting a trap for schools of fish with their porous net and gave a similar speech from the shore, they left their father Zebedeus in the boat, following the noble commands of salvation.

Then Christ spread the holy news throughout the land of Galilee and made it known to the people of the kingdom, and he speedily cured the weak and sick. Before long, rumor frequently reached far off Syria, announcing with thousands of words the presence of Christ’s gifts. And then they showed to Christ those eaten away by plague and those afflicted with diverse illnesses, the strength of whose limbs long illness had grievously consumed and destroyed;

Reddebat propere miranda ad gaudia sanos.

Iamque animae ipsius morbi saeuique furores 445

Et lunae cursum comitata insania mentis

Discessere graui sermonis pondere iussa.

Illum stipantes miracula magna mouentem

Mixtae sectantur turbae Solymique Syrique

Et Iudaea frequens populis Galilaeaque plebes, 450

Quos et Iordanes dirimit stagnante fluento.

Hos populos cernens praecelsa rupe resedit

Ac sic discipulis gremium cingentibus inquit:

‘Felices humiles, pauper quos spiritus ambit,

Illos nam caeli regnum sublime receptat, 455

His similes mites, quos mansuetudo coronat,

Quorum debetur iuri pulcherrima tellus.

Hoc modo lugentes solacia magna sequentur.

Pabula iustitiae qui nunc potusque requirunt,

Illos plena manet satiandos copia mensae. 460

Felix, qui miseri doluit de pectore sortem,

Illum nam Domini miseratio larga manebit.

Felices, puro qui caelum corde tuentur,

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444 reddebant (m. 1)  $K_1K_2PT$  446 comitata  $C^1$  mentes  $Mp^1$  448 stipantis (m. 1)  $K_2T$  cuncta  $M^1Mp^2$   
449 solimique  $C$  et alii, solimyque  $R$  Sirique  $C$  et alii 450 Iuda (m. 1)  $K_2T$  gallilea  $B$  plebis (m. 1)  $MK_2T$   
451 Iordanes  $CK_1T^1B$ , Iordanis *rell.* in stagnante  $B$  452 in *mg. adscr.*  $M^2K_2T^2$  rupe] in *om CMH, exhibent rell.*  
<sup>re</sup>sedit (re a m. 2) 453 DE BEATITVDINE  $B$  praemium (?)  $M^2$  456 decorat  $HI$  457 debetur  $M^1$  458 hoc  
 $CM^1PV_1$ , hic *rell.* solatio  $R^1M^1K_2$  (m. 2)  $T^1Bb$  magna  $C$ , digna *rell.* sequetur  $R^1M^1K_2TBb$  459 *add.*  $M^2$  460  
plane  $M^1$ , plene  $Bb$  mane\*\*t (bi *eras.*)  $M$  satiandos  $C$ , saturandos *rell.* *cf. Sedul. P. c. I 6 (ed. Huemer)*



but quickly he healed all of them with his natural gift, so that they might wonder at their joys. Now diseases of the soul, fierce madness, and the insanity of the mind that follows the course of the moon departed, ordered out by the weighty dignity of his word. Mixed crowds of Jews and Syrians, populous Judaea and even the Galileans, whom the Jordan river divides apart with its overflowing stream, surround and follow him as he performs his great miracles.

Seeing these people, he sits down on a very high rock, and, his disciples encircling him, begins thus:

“Blessed are the humble, whom a poor spirit surrounds, for the high kingdom of heaven receives them; similar to these are the meek, whom gentleness crowns, to whose right the most beautiful earth is owed. In the same way great comfort will attend those who mourn.

“The full bounty of a feast waits to satisfy those who now seek the food and drink of justice. Blessed is the one who has grieved the lot of the miserable in his heart, for the abundant compassion of the Lord will await him. Blessed are those who look to heaven with a pure heart,

Visibilis Deus his per saecula cuncta patebit.  
 Pacificos Deus in numerum sibi prolis adoptat. 465  
 Felices nimium, quos insectatio frendens  
 Propter iustitiam premit; his mox regia caeli  
 Pandetur. Gaudete, operum quos iusta tenentes  
 Urgebit praeceps stimulis iniuria saeuus;  
 Plurima nam merces uobis seruatur in aethra, 470  
 Namque profetarum fuit insectatio talis.  
 Discite uos hac in terra salis esse saporem.  
 Hic sapor amissa si iam uirtute senescit,  
 Quae salis absumptos acuet substantia gustus?  
 Nec quisquam uani post haec superest salis usus, 475  
 Ni longe abiectum cuncta ut uestigia calcent.  
 Vos estis mundi clarum (ne abscondite) lumen.  
 Nam quis praecelsis inpostam rupibus urbem  
 Occultare queat? Vestrum sic lumen ad omnes  
 Perveniat rerumque decus sub luce serena 480  
 Ponatur. Cunctis genitoris gloria uestri  
 Laudetur, celsi thronus est cui regia caeli.  
 Non ego nunc priscas leges dissoluere veni

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464 hos  $M^1$  manebit  $L$  465 in *mg. add. m. 2*  $K_2T$  467 praemit *CRM alii* 468 post<sup>operum</sup>  $T$  corr. *m. 2*  
 iussa  $RM^1K_1K_2LTG$ , iussat (at *in ras.*)  $B$  tenent  $Bb^1$  469 urgebit *RML alii* 470 uobis] *om. m. 1 in K<sub>2</sub>T* aetra  $R$   
 471 profetarum  $CB^1$  472 VOS ESTIS SAL TERRE  $B$  in hac terra  $M^1$ ; haec  $Bb^1$  473 si] protinus  $C$ , si\* (c *eras.*)  
 $B$  senescet  $V_1$  474 qua  $K_2T^1$  absumptos  $C$ , absumptus  $R^1K_2$  (*m. 1*)  $L^1T^1$  acuit  $C$  475 nequicquam  $M^1Mp^1B^1$ ,  
 nec quicquam *RHIT*, neccuiquam  $K_1K_2$  (*m. 1*)  $Bb$ , nequiquam *RT*, nec quiquam *PG* 476 ni] nil  $CK_2$  (*m. 1*) ut] *om.*  
 $P$  477 VOS ESTIS LEX MUNDI  $B$  clarum mundi  $C$  nec  $K_1$  478 in praecelsis  $M$  impositam  $C$ , inpositam  
 $R^2M^1K_2$  (*m. 1*)  $LH$  479 q; ad *HL* sic  $C$  (c *in ras.*), sed *rell.* 481 cuncti (*m. 1*)  $K_2T$  482 t<sup>h</sup>ronus (h *a m. 2*)  $B$   
 483 NON VENI SOLVERE LEGEM  $B$  des<sup>is</sup>oluere  $B$

“God will be seen by and available to them forever. God adopts the peacemakers into the number of his offspring. Exceedingly blessed are those whom gnashing persecution hounds for the sake of justice, for soon the kingdom of heaven will be open to them. Rejoice, those of you keeping to just action, whom injustice will pursue recklessly with cruel goals, for a great reward is reserved for you in heaven; for so too was the persecution of the prophets.

“Know that you are the flavor of salt in this world. If this flavor now declines, its strength lost, what substance will enhance these flavors of salt when swallowed? Nor does any enjoyment of this flavorless salt remain afterward, except that, tossed aside, all feet trample upon it.

“You are the clear light of the world – do not hide! For who is able to hide a city perched on steep cliffs? Thus let your light reach everyone and let the beauty of things be placed beneath a bright light. Let the glory of your creator, whose throne is the kingdom of lofty heaven, be praised by all.

“I have not come now to dissolve the ancient laws,

Vertere nec, ueteres ponunt quae iussa profetae;  
 Omnia nam uobis per me complenda manebunt. 485  
 Vera loquor, donec caeli terraeque marisque  
 Interitus ueniat, legis nec littera saltem  
 Aut apicis parui gracilis distinctio deerit,  
 Omnia quin fiant digesto ex ordine saeculi.  
 Si quis enim minimam mandati soluere partem 490  
 Ausus erit, pariterque homines audendo docebit,  
 Hic minimi nomen caelesti in sede tenebit.  
 At quicumque operis proprii moderamina seruans  
 Inuiolata simul tradet praecepta priorum,  
 Magnus erit magnique feret trans sidera nomen. 495  
 Audistis ueteris iussum moderamine legis:  
 Humano si quis macularit sanguine palmas,  
 Ille reus ferro persoluet uindice poenas.  
 Ast ego praecipiam, ne quis consurgere in iras  
 Audeat atque odio fratris feruente moueri. 500  
 Nam reus hic aequo poenas sub iudice pendet.  
 Nec minor illorum conuicia flamma sequetur,  
 Qui fatui miserie uident sub nomine fratrem.

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484 uetere *C* profetae *CB*, prophetae *R* 486 loquar *MT* 487 legum *R*<sup>1</sup> saltem *CMpB*<sup>2</sup>, saltim *rell.*  
 488 deri<sup>e</sup>\*t (n *eras.*) *C*, derit *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) *T* 489 digesto *C*, digesta *RK*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*LTBBb*, degesta *R*<sup>2</sup>*MB*<sup>1</sup>, di\*gesta *Mp*, digestae  
*P* saeculi *MK*<sub>1</sub> 491 suadendo *V*<sub>2</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1?*) 492 in] *om. HI* 493 moderamine *RV*<sub>2</sub> (*a m. 2*) 494 tradit *CK*<sub>2</sub>*T*  
 495 erit] enim *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) ferit *corr. in feret C* 497 macula<sup>ue</sup>rit (ue *a m. 2*) *C*, maculauerit *M*<sup>1</sup>*Mp*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>1</sub> (*m. 1*) *B*<sup>1</sup> 499  
 iniquas *Mp*<sup>1</sup> 500 fratres *L* 501 aequae *C*<sup>2</sup>*RM*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>2</sub>*L*<sup>1</sup>*TV*<sub>1</sub>*V*<sub>2</sub>*BbG* pones *Mp*<sup>1</sup> reddet *M* (*al pendet m. al.*)  
*K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*TV*<sub>1</sub>*V*<sub>2</sub>*Bb* 502 illorum *i. m. C*<sup>2</sup> 503 miserie *C* (que *a m. 2*) *RMLK*<sub>2</sub>*TV*<sub>2</sub> cient (*c in ras.*) *BT*, uocent *Mp*,  
 dent *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*)

“nor to change those commands which the ancient prophets put in place; for all of these things, which will be fulfilled by me, will then remain for you. I speak truly: until the destruction of heaven and of the earth and the sea shall come, not a single letter of the law, nor a thin mark of a small point will be wanting, but rather all things shall come to pass according to the ordained order of the ages.

“For if anyone dares to dissolve even the smallest part of the law, and likewise teaches men to dare the same, this one will hold the name of the least in the seat of heaven. And whosoever, protecting the way of his own work, at the same time hands down inviolate the precepts of the ancestors, will be great and will carry the name of a great man across the stars.

“You have heard what the rule of the ancient law has ordered: if anyone has stained his palms with human blood, that culprit will pay the penalty, the sword his punisher. But I shall warn you that no one should dare to rise in anger or be moved by seething hatred against his brother, for this culprit will pay the penalty before a fair judge. Nor will a lesser flame follow the accusations of those who call a brother by the name of fool or wretch.

Sin offerre uoles, uenerans altaria, munus

Et tua tunc tacitae mentis penetralia tanget, 505

Quod tibi sit cum fratre domi suscepta simultas,

Munera cuncta illic aditis admota relinque

Et prius ad pacem properans transcurrere petendam.

Fraterno demum iam conciliatus amori

Offer grata Deo tranquillo pectore dona. 510

Est tibi praeterea semper contraria uirtus

Corporis; hoc casti celeri curetur amore,

Dum rapidae tecum graditur per compita uitae.

Accusabit enim polluti corporis usus

Et te sublimi statuet sub iudice uinctum. 515

Damnatum rapient ad uincla saeua ministri

Nec prius e tenebris solueris carceris atri,

Ultima quam minimi reddatur portio nummi.

Haut ignota, reor, uobis stat cautio legis

Corpus adulterio prohibens, sed nunc mea iussa 520

Occulta internae frenant molimina mentis:

Nec minus optati quam facti poena luenda est.

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504 SI OFFERS MVNVS TVVM B si M<sup>1</sup> uolens C<sup>1</sup>M<sup>2</sup>Mp<sup>1</sup>V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>BBb<sup>1</sup>HHL munus CV<sub>1</sub>, munis N, donis *rell.* 505 tuae CM<sup>1</sup>Bb<sup>1</sup> tum CPBb<sup>2</sup>N tacita C<sup>2</sup> tangit RMLMpP (in K<sub>1</sub>T a m. 2) BHHI 507 illis<sup>c</sup> T acditis L, aditis *plerique*, adito R *ex corr.* 508 prope\*rans (t *eras.*) R, properet P<sup>trans</sup>currere (trans a m. 2) R, transcurrere\* (s *eras.*) C pe|||<sup>end</sup>am (t a m. 2) R, petendum (m. 1) K<sub>2</sub>T amora K<sub>1</sub> (m. 1), amari G<sup>1</sup> 510 offer\* (s *eras.*) CK<sub>2</sub>THI tranquillo\* K<sub>1</sub> 511 ESTO CONSENTIENS ADVERSARIO TUO B Virtus contraria semper RMpBbHIN *Poelm.* 512 caste K<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) T<sup>1</sup> caeleri R 513 rapida M, rapide *nonnulli* compita CM (m. al.) MpPBb, compita TK<sub>2</sub> (m. 1); uias competa G<sup>1</sup> 515 statuet (e ex i) C 516 uincla MpB<sup>1</sup> saeui M<sup>1</sup> 517 mitteris RK<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) TV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> *Poelm.*, carc<sup>1</sup>eris ||||<sup>atn</sup> solu<sup>1</sup>eris M (diri *fort. eras.*) 519 aut CM 521 occultare (m. 1) K<sub>2</sub>T internae si M ferient L, feriant RK<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) T<sup>1</sup>BBbHHIB 522 est] *om.* MpV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>

“But rather, if you wish to offer a gift while praying at the altar, and then it reaches the innermost parts of your silent mind, that you have had a feud with your brother at home, leave all the gifts you brought and first rush to seek after peace. Only now, after you are united together in brotherly love, offer grateful gifts to God with a calm heart.

“Hereafter the strength of your body is always at odds with you; but this will be tended to by swift love of abstinence, while he walks with you through the crossroads of an impetuous life. For he will call to account the habits of an unchaste body, and he will have you stand in chains before a lofty judge. Once convicted, his agents will seize you and throw you in cruel chains, nor will you be released from the darkness of black prison, before the last payment of the smallest coin is returned.

“By no means unknown to you, I suppose, is the provision of the law prohibiting the body from adultery, but now my commands curb the hidden efforts of the inner mind: nor should a lesser penalty be paid for the desire than for the deed.

Si te forte oculi dextri laqueauerit error,  
 Auctorem miserae properans conuellito labis  
 Et iaculare procul. Nam membrum perdere refert 525  
 Exiguum, flammis quam totum dedere corpus  
 Perpetuisque animam pariter conuoluere poenis.  
 Et si dextra manus mentem per deuia ducit,  
 Erroris causam praestat decidere ferro,  
 Quam totum aeternis corpus concedere flammis. 530  
 Praecipiant ueteres, si quis conubia rumpit,  
 Scribere discidium, iuris feralia uerba.  
 Sola uiri recte discedet adultera tectis,  
 Ast aliae maneant, nam casti iura pudoris  
 Auctore amittet mulier deserta marito. 535  
 Antiquae leges prohibent periuria linguis,  
 Sed nostris cedat iurandi audacia iussis.  
 Nec fas est homini caelum iurare per altum,  
 Quod sedes Domini, nec quae uestigia gestat  
 Terra Dei, Solymaeue urbis uenerabile nomen, 540  
 Quod regis magni propria est, iurabitur umquam.

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523 SI OCVLVS TVVS SCANDALIZAT TE B 524 auctorem M miserae M<sup>1</sup> conuellito M<sup>1</sup> 526  
 post exiguum, aestibus eras. in M, flammis Bb<sup>2</sup> in mg. 527 conuellere R<sup>1</sup>MK<sub>2</sub> 528 dextera M diuidia M<sup>1</sup> 529  
 praestet BbG ferro in ras. Mp causam magis utile uellere f. Poelm. in mg. 530 in mg. add. Mp concidere  
 C<sup>1</sup>HI, condere (m. 1) K<sub>2</sub>T 531 permittunt Poelm. in mg. rumpet RM<sup>1</sup>MpK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>PV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>HI 532 discidium (:  
 separationem m. al.) M 533 recti Bb discedat RPT<sup>1</sup>BHHI 534 SI QVIS DIMISERIT VXOREM B alia HI  
 pudoris Bb 535 auctore M<sup>1</sup>, auctore HI amittat R, amittit M<sup>1</sup>K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>G, mittet (corr. in -at) T, emittit Bb 536 legis  
 HI linguis (in, ui a m. 2) C 537 caedat R 538 nec] om. M est] om. K<sub>1</sub> 539 sedis M<sup>1</sup>K<sub>2</sub>T domini C, est d.  
 M<sup>1</sup>, d. est rell. neque CMP<sup>1</sup>, nec eius que M, nec quod Poelm. in mg. 540 terram pedis<sup>dei</sup> M Solimae R,  
 solimeq<sup>e</sup> K<sub>2</sub>BbG 541 quod corr. in quae K<sub>1</sub>



“If by chance a wandering right eye ensnares you, quickly pluck out the author of this wretched sin, and throw it far away. For it is better to lose a small limb than to give one’s whole body to flames and to coil up your soul in eternal penalties. And if the right hand leads the mind into devious things, it is better to cut off the cause of the error with a sword than to concede the whole body to eternal flames.

“The ancients advise to write a divorce if anyone violates a marriage – ruinous words of law. Adultery alone will divide the house of a man, but let the others remain, for a wife will lose her status of pure modesty if deserted by a husband who has written a divorce.

“Ancient laws prohibit perjury in speech, but let the audacity of swearing yield to our laws. For it is not right for man to swear by lofty heaven, which is the seat of God, nor will the earth, which carries God’s imprint, nor the venerable name of the city of Solomon, which belongs to the great king, ever be sworn by.

Nec caput in proprium cuiquam iurare licebit,  
 Namque potestatem minimi non esse capilli  
 Cernitis albumue aut nigrum mutare colorem.  
 Est est sufficiat, quod non est dicite: non est. 545  
 Quod superest istis, totum fallaciter aegro  
 Suggestet obreptans animo uis tetra ueneni.  
 Peruulgata diu legis praecepta tenetis:  
 Laedentem semper similis uindicta sequatur,  
 Sed tranquilla malum melius patientia uincet; 550  
 Ac si quis partem palma percusserit oris,  
 Mox aliam uultus partem praebere memento.  
 Auferet aut tunicam si quis ui iudicis instans,  
 Cede libens pariterque ferat tua pallia secum.  
 Si te forte aliquis passus per mille iubebit 555  
 Ire uiam grauidique oneris perferre laborem,  
 Mox perges aliudque iteris comitabere duplum.  
 Si quis egens poscet uel si simulabit egentem,  
 Ex animo miserans largire; aut mutua si quis  
 Orabit, tribue, et mitem ne subtrahe uultum. 560

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544 SIT SERMO VESTER EST EST NON NON *B* albumque *V*<sub>1</sub> 545 sufficiet *M*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*T**B**b**G*, sufficiant (ant *in ras.*) *L*, te *add. N* dicere *M*<sup>1</sup>*L**K*<sub>1</sub> (*m. 2*) *T*<sup>2</sup>*H**I* *Poelm. in mg.* 546 hiis *M*<sup>1</sup>, histis *Mp* egre *HI* 547 suggestet *C*<sup>1</sup>*RMMp*<sup>1</sup>*Bb*, suggerit *rell.* uis] *s ex r M* tetra *C*, thethra *R* 548 peruulta (*u<sub>1</sub> ex corr.*) *M*<sup>1</sup> 549 laedentem *p*<sub>1</sub> *R* sequetur *Mp*<sup>1</sup>*L* 550 manum *K*<sub>1</sub> uincit *K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 2*) *G* 551 SI TE CVSSERIT MAXILLA *B* at *L* 552 alteram u. p. partem *M*<sup>1</sup>; alium *L* 553 auferat *RV*<sub>1</sub>*BbGHHI*, auferit *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*) *T*<sup>1</sup> tunicam *RM et alii* 554 pariter *M*<sup>1</sup> feret *K*<sub>1</sub> (*m. 1*) 555 SI ANXIAVERIT MILLE PASSVS *B* te *om. M*<sup>1</sup>*L*<sup>1</sup> super *C* iubebat *K*<sub>1</sub> 556 grauemque iteris *C* labores *M*<sup>1</sup>*LT*<sup>1</sup> 557 moxque *M*<sup>1</sup> pergens *K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*LTBbGH* aliutque *CT*<sup>1</sup> dublum *M*<sup>1</sup> 558 si] se *M*<sup>1</sup>*Mp*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 2*) *PT*<sup>2</sup>*Bb* poscit *CM*<sup>1</sup>*B*<sup>1</sup> simulauit *R*, simi<sup>1</sup>lau<sup>b</sup>it *M* (*corr. m. 2*) 559 mutuo *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. 1*), mutu& *M*<sup>1</sup> 560 tribuae *M* mitem *L*, tristem *V*<sub>1</sub>

“Nor will it be allowed for anyone to swear by his own head, for indeed you see that you do not have the power over even the smallest hair or to change its color to white or black. Let yes suffice for yes, say that which is not is not. Anything beyond these, the foul power of poison will supply all of it, deceitfully stealing upon a weak mind.

“You hold to observe precepts of the law, commonly shared for a long time: always let a like punishment follow the one who caused harm, but tranquil patience better conquers an evil deed. If someone hits a part of your face with his palm, straight away remember to offer the other side of your face. Or if someone, relying on the authority of a judge, takes away your tunic, give it freely and likewise let him take your cloak with him. If by chance someone orders you to go on a journey for a mile and to endure the weight of a heavy burden, straightaway you will persevere and undertake another journey of twice the distance.

“If a needy person begs or if he looks like someone in want, pity him in your soul and give bountifully; or if someone asks to borrow something, allow it, and do not avert your gentle face.

Nec tibi sit placitum solis succurrere amicis

Aut caecis odiis inimicos ducere dignos.

Quin ego praecipiam semper blando esse per omnes

Obsequio precibusque Deum mollire benignis

Pro uita ipsorum, qui uos excindere gaudent 565

Aduersisque truces animis odiisque sequuntur.

Nam genitor noster communia lumina solis

Communesque dedit pluuias iustisque malisque.

Quod si coniunctos tantum ueneramur amicos,

Quis locus his iustae poterit mercedis haberi? 570

Seruit amicitiae tantum gens dedita lucris.

Sed uos perfecto similes estote parenti.

Sicubi iustitiae pandetur pulchra facultas,

Deuitate oculos hominum; nam nulla manebit

Merces, posterius quae factum tale sequatur. 575

Adplaudet tantum sterilis laudatio uulgi.

Sed quod dextra facit, faciat, nescire sinistram

Conueniet; iustis meritis tum digna rependet

Occulti solus scrutator praemia cordis.

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561 succurre *C* 562 dignus *L*<sup>1</sup> 563 ergo *K*<sub>1</sub> (*m. I*) blandum super *R*, uos (*M*) blando semper *MT*<sup>d</sup>, blando super esse *LK*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*MpPV*<sub>1</sub>*V*<sub>2</sub>*BBb* 564 obsequium *RL*; blanda—obsequia *Bb*<sup>1</sup> praecipibus *omnes fere* 565 excindere *MT*<sup>2</sup>, excingere *K*<sub>1</sub> 566 aduersusque *L* secuntur *CK*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*TBb* 567 PLVIT SVPER IVSTOS ET INIVSTOS *B* nostro (*m. I*) *K*<sub>1</sub> 569 ueneraemur *L*<sup>2</sup> 571 geni<sup>s</sup> *M* 572 perfecto\* (*s. eras.*) *C*, perfecti *Poelm. in mg.* panditur (*m. I*) *K*<sub>2</sub>*T* pulchra iusta *C*, pulcra *RLV*<sub>1</sub>*V*<sub>2</sub> 574 deuites *Poelm. in mg.* nam] *s. l. K*<sub>2</sub>*T*, quia *N* 575 mercis *CR*<sup>1</sup>; merces in caelo *Poelm.* sequetur *HI* 576 sterelis *CM*<sup>1</sup> 577 QVOD FACIT DEXTERA TVA *B* sed te *M*<sup>1</sup>*K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*LV*<sub>1</sub>*TBb*<sup>1</sup> dextera *M* facit *M* (*m. al. s. l.*), *s. l. RBb*<sup>2</sup>, *om. TV*<sub>1</sub> facies *corr. in* facias *s. l. K*<sub>2</sub>, faciens *HI* sinistra *HI* 578 cū ueniet *M* (*m. al.*) *P*<sup>1</sup>*HI*, conuenit *V*<sub>1</sub> iustis] hiis *M*, his *K*<sub>2</sub> (*m. I*) *T*, et iustis *V*<sub>1</sub> 579 occulti\* (*s. eras.*) *K*<sub>2</sub>

“Nor is it right for you to help only your friends or to regard enemies worthy of blind hatred. Rather I will advise always to have gentle obedience toward everyone and to mollify God with benign prayers on behalf of the life of those very ones who rejoice to destroy you and follow you ferociously with hostile minds and with hatred. For our Father has given the light of the sun and the rain to be common to both the just and the wicked. What if we venerate only our close friends, what place for a just reward will there be? The people who serve only friendship are devoted only to profit. But you, be like your perfect Father.

“Whenever the beautiful opportunity for justice presents itself, avoid the eyes of men; for no reward will remain that follows after such a deed. The empty praise of the mob applauds such a deed. But let the right hand do what it does, and it will be fitting that the left not know; the one and only seer of the hidden heart will repay just deserts.

Sunt quos praetumidae tollit iactantia mentis, 580

Et precibus propriis gaudent adsistere turbas  
 Multifluisque diem uerbis ducendo fatigant;  
 His uotis pompae fructus succedit inanis.  
 Sed secreta domus precibus penetralia castis  
 Claudantur paucisque Deum uenerabere uerbis. 585

Scit pater ipse, tui quae sit trepidatio cordis.  
 Nil absente Deo loquimur, nil abdita clausum  
 Pectoris antra tegunt, praesens Deus omnia cernit.  
 His igitur uotum placeat concludere uerbis:

Sidereo genitor residens in uertice caeli, 590

Nominis, oramus, ueneratio sanctificetur  
 In nobis, pater alte, tui: tranquillaque mundo  
 Adueniat regnumque tuum lux alma reclaudat.  
 Sic caelo ut terris fiat tua clara uoluntas,  
 Vitalisque hodie sancti substantia panis 595

Proueniat nobis; tua mox largitio soluat  
 Innumera indulgens erroris debita prauis;  
 Et nos haut aliter concedere foenora nostris.

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580 sunt\*\* (et *eras.*?) *M* iactantia *CK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>(?)*, iactatio *rell.* 581 praecibus *plerique* gaudet *L*  
 assister & *B* turbis *R<sup>1</sup>* 582 docendo *M<sup>1</sup>* 583 succidit *K<sub>2</sub>T<sup>1</sup>* 584 custis *C*, -tis in *ras.* *R* 585 claudantur *Poelm.*  
 dñm *M<sup>1</sup>* uenerabile *C*, uenerauere *K<sub>2</sub>T<sup>1</sup>Bb* 586 precatio *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> (m. 1)* *T<sup>1</sup>Bb<sup>1</sup>G* 587 nihil (*utroque loco*) *M<sup>1</sup>K<sub>2</sub>PT<sup>1</sup>*  
 clausi *T ex corr.* 589 placat *C* 590 resedens *L* post in uertice: in culmine *eras.* in *C* 592 tranquilloque *M*  
 593 regnique tui *M (m. al.) L<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>Bb<sup>1</sup>*, regnumque tuum *RM<sup>1</sup>K<sub>2</sub> (m. 1)* alma\*\*\*\* (ampla *eras.*) *C*, ampla *RV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>*  
 reclaudat\*\*\*\*\* (patescat *eras.*) *C*, recludat *Bb*, patescat *RV<sub>2</sub>*, redundat *M (corr. in -et) B<sup>1</sup>G*, redundet  
*MpK<sub>1</sub>PT<sup>2</sup>V<sub>1</sub>HHI* 594 sic \*\* (in *eras.*) *C*, in *M<sup>1</sup>R<sup>1</sup>K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> (m. 1) PTBb* caelo\* in *M* ut] *om. R*, et ut *L*, et in *K<sub>2</sub>T*  
 tua fiat *RPV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>BbHI*, tua fit (*m. 1*) *T* 595 sub<sup>s</sup>tantia *P* 598 aut *CMK<sub>2</sub>TBb* aliter conueniat *M<sup>1</sup>* concidere *C*  
 foenora foederā *C*, fenore *M<sup>1</sup>* fas est *V<sub>1</sub>HI*, nostris *rell., fort. nostrum uel nosti*

“There are those whom the vanity of a swollen mind carries away, and they rejoice when crowds are present for their prayers and spend the day speaking profusely. But the reward for such inane pomp will follow these sorts of prayers. Rather, let the secret innermost parts of your house be closed for your chaste prayers and venerate God with few words. The Father himself knows what trepidation is in your heart. We say nothing with God absent, nor do the hidden recesses of our heart cover up anything closed within it: ever-present God sees all things. Therefore, let it be pleasing to conclude your prayer with these words:

“Creator, residing at the summit of starry heaven, let your venerated name be honored among us, high Father, we pray: let your tranquil, nourishing light come to the world and reveal your kingdom.

“So in heaven as on earth let your clear wish be done, and today let the life-giving substance of holy bread come to us; soon let your forgiving generosity release our innumerable debts of crooked sin, and let us likewise pardon debts to us.

Tetri saeua procul temptatio daemonis absit  
 Eque malis tua nos in lucem dextera tollat. 600  
 Sic etenim genitor populis delicta remittet,  
 Si uestra alterni uobis peccata uelitis  
 Cedere nec durum erratis intendere pectus.  
 Sunt etiam praegrata Deo ieiunia plebis;  
 Sed propriam multi faciem foedare laborant, 605  
 Quo uanam captent hominum ieiunia famam.  
 Tu uero et grato crinem nitifactus oliuo  
 Laetantem puris de fontibus ablue uultum,  
 Ut solus genitor deuoti pectoris altum  
 Seruitium cernens laudet meritumque rependat. 610  
 Vanum est defossis terra inuigilare talentis.  
 Illic aerugo et tineae dominantur edaces,  
 Cunctaque diripiunt fures egesta latebris.  
 Condite thesauros uobis in uertice caeli;  
 Non aerugo illos tineaeue aut horrida furum 615  
 Factio diripiet. Vobis ubi condita res est,  
 Illic corda etiam simili dictione tenentur.  
 Corporis est lumen, quo publica lumina cernis;

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599 taetri *CR* 60 delicta] peccata *HI* remittit *MMpV<sub>2</sub>B* 603 concedere *M<sup>1</sup>* erretis *M* intendere *CR<sup>1</sup>V<sub>1</sub>*, impendere *uel* impendere *rell.* 604 semper grata *M<sup>1</sup>*, pregrata *R*, pergrata *rec.* 605 foedare *ex* foedere *MK<sub>1</sub>*, foedera *P<sup>1</sup>* 606 cum ieiunio *M<sup>1</sup>* 607 et] *om. M* gratum *M<sup>1</sup>* madefactus *M<sup>1</sup>* (*ut uidetur*) *Poelm. in mg.* 608 abluet *L* 609 abtum *M<sup>1</sup>K<sub>2</sub>T<sup>1</sup>*, aptum *HI* 610 laudet] *om. M*, laudem *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>PTV<sub>1</sub> rec.* rependet *M<sup>1</sup>Mp* 611 deffosis *M<sup>1</sup>* terrae *RMK<sub>2</sub> (m. 2) LT<sup>2</sup>V<sub>1</sub>B* 612 aedaces *MMp* 613 deripiunt *RV<sub>2</sub>*, diripient *T* congesta *T* 615 tineaeue illos *M<sup>1</sup>K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>TBb* haud *Mp* orrida *CMp* 616 cuncdita *L* 617 dictione *CMK<sub>2</sub>T*, dictione *B*, ditione *rell.* 618 qui *M<sup>1</sup>* puplica *C*



“And let the cruel temptation of the foul demon be absent, and let your right hand take us away from evil and into light.

“For in this way the Father will forgive the transgressions of man, if you should want to shed your transgressions one by one and not to turn an unforgiving heart to sins.

“Fasts of the people are also very agreeable to God; but many men labor to disfigure their faces, so that the fasts of men may achieve empty fame. But you, your hair shining with pleasing unguents, cleanse your happy face with the pure fountains, so that only the Creator sees and praises the lofty devotion of your dutiful heart and repays your effort.

“It is vain to horde buried treasure on earth. For on earth rust and voracious worms rule, and thieves plunder and carry away all things to hiding places. Place your treasures in the height of heaven – no rust, worms, nor horrible deed of thieves will plunder them. Where your property has been stored, there too your heart is held by the same control.

“You see the universal light with the light of your body;

Sed si pura acies oculis simplexque nitebit,  
 Clare totius splendebunt corporis artus. 620  
 Sin uero nequam fuerit paruumque uidebit,  
 Obscurae incumbent super omnia membra tenebrae.  
 In nigras lumen sed si conuertitur umbras,  
 Ipsis horror erit quantus sine luce tenebris?  
 Nemo potest dominis aequae seruire duobus, 625  
 Unius aut odiis cedit uel cedit amori,  
 Nec pariter dominum seruus patietur utrumque.  
 Haut umquam poterit quis diuitisque Deoque  
 Inseruire simul; sed uos haec iussa tenete:  
 Sollicitet proprio ne uos pro corpore uestis, 630  
 Neu faciles uictus aegra disquirite cura.  
 Nonne animam pluris facimus quam corporis escas?  
 Aut dubitat corpus quisquam praepone re uesti?  
 Aerias spectemus aues: num uomere presso  
 Terga soli subigunt, iaciunt aut semina farris, 635  
 Aut segetum culmos incurua falce recidunt?  
 Proueniet tamen his satias potusque cibique.

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619 oculi  $MK_1Mp^2TG$ ; oculi acies  $MK_1K_2MpPTB$ , oculis acies  $V_1$  620 Et totius clare  $M$  (*in ras. m. al.*)  $MpP$ , clare\*totius  $K_1$ , clare & totius  $K_2G$ , totius clare  $V_1$ , tunc totius clare  $V_2$  (*m. l.*) 621 si uero  $C$  (*u ex n*)  $HI$  paruumque  $H$ , paruumque  $C$ , prauumque (*pra in ras.*)  $M$ , prauumque (*ra in ras.*)  $B$ , prauumque *rell.* 623 tenebras<sup>ubras</sup>  $M$  624 quantus (*s a m. 2*)  $R$  626 hodiis  $RT^1$  cedit  $C$ , cedit (*utroque loco*)  $M^1K_1K_2$ , cedit (*altero loco*)  $P^1V_2$  627 aut  $CK_2T^1V_2N$  629 NEQVE DE VICTV NEQVE DEV . . .  $B$  630 pro] de  $RHI$ , per  $K_1$  (*m. l.*) 631 facilem uictum  $M^1K_1BbN$ ; facilis  $V_2$  disquerite (*disquerere m. al.*)  $M$ , disquerere  $BK_1P$  632 quam]  $q$ ;  $K_1$  (*m. l.*)  $Mp$  633 haud  $P^1$  dubitet  $V_1$  (*m. 2*) quisque  $Mp^1B^1$  uestri  $Bb$  634 aereas  $Mp^1PHI$ , aeria  $B$  num  $CP(?)N$ , non *rell.* 635 soli *s. l.*  $R^2$ , *in ras.*  $K_2$ ; terram umquam  $LB^1(?)$  636 haut  $K_1$ , nec *Poelm. in mg.* segitum  $K_2T^1$ , segemitum  $Bb$  637 prouenit  $M^1$ , proueniat  $K_2$ ; prouenit attamen  $T^1$  hiis  $M$  satietas  $M$ , saties  $TK_2$  (*m. 2*)  $HHL$ , sacitas  $L$

“If the pure and simple keenness of the eye shines, then the limbs of the entire body will shine brightly. But truly if it is worthless and sees little, then dark shadows will lie over your entire body. But if the light is turned completely into black shadows, how great will be the horror without light in such darkness?

“No one can serve equally two masters; one yields to hatred of the other, or to love, nor can the servant equally support each master. Nor will anyone serve both riches and God at the same time; but keep these commandments:

“Do not worry about the clothes on your body, nor search after easy victuals for your feeble care. Do we not make our soul worth more than the food for our body? Does anyone doubt whether to place their body before clothes?

“Let us look at the birds in the sky: surely they do not till the ridges of the earth with a plow, throw seeds of grain, or cut away stalks of grain with a curved sickle, do they? But, nevertheless, he will provide for them enough food and drink.

Nonne Deo magis est hominum curatio cordi?  
 Nec dignum fuerat uestis suspendere curam  
 Pectoribus nostris; non, si cubitalia possent 640  
 Incrementa suis homines inponere membris.  
 Cernite, per pingues agros ut lilia fulgent!  
 Non ulli tamen his umquam incubuere labores,  
 Nec Solomona illum, cum regni diuitis aula  
 Aflueret, talis contextit gratia uestis. 645  
 Quod si pratorum fruticumque uirentia laeta  
 Ipse Deus uestit nostris obnoxia flammis,  
 Cur uobis potior non est fiducia patris?  
 Ergo cibum potum uestemque et inania cuncta  
 Gentibus infidis terrenam linquite curam. 650  
 Vos potius digne caelestia quaerite regna  
 Iustitiamque Dei – spontanea cetera current –,  
 Crastina nec uobis curetur copia rerum;  
 Quisque dies sibimet satis est pro fraude diurna.  
 Iudicium uestrum fugiat damnatio saeua; 655  
 Nam Dominus uestri iuris documenta sequetur,

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638 cordis *RK<sub>2</sub>MpPB* 639 fuerit *coni. Areu.* 640 non sic ubi talia *plerique*, num sic cubitalia *coni. Areu.*  
 Pectoribus si nunc habitam transire figuram *Poelm. in mg.* possunt *M<sup>1</sup>Hl Poelm.* 641 hominis *K<sub>2</sub> (m. 1)*; per se  
 nemo potest aut quicquam imponere membro *Poelm. in mg.* 642 fulgent] florent *ante eras. in C*, florent *M (d. sc. m.*  
*al.) P (uel fulgent s. l.) V<sub>2</sub> (?)* 643 nonnulli *R<sup>1</sup>MK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>T*, nulli *Mp h|||* quam *R his om. P labores ligones C*,  
 labores (*uel ligones m. 2*) *RP*, ligones *M (labores add. m. al.) K<sub>1</sub> (s. l. labores) K<sub>2</sub> (ex. corr.) L* 644 Solomona *C*,  
 Salomona *rell. illum] grauem Poelm. in mg.* 645 afluerit *K<sub>1</sub>T<sup>1</sup>*, affluerit *Bb*, afflueret *rell. ueste's post 645*  
 Naturale bonum terries commune placebit *K<sub>1</sub>TV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>*, *add. in M (m. al.) Mp (in mg.)* 646 fruticumque *K<sub>1</sub> (m. 1) Mp*  
 652 current surgent *C* 656 uestri iuris *CG*, iuris uestri *rell. doco<sup>u</sup>menta T*, documenta (*cu in ras.*) *M*

“Does God not have more care in his heart for men? It would not be worth it to worry about clothing in our hearts; not, if men were not able to increase the growth of their limbs. Look, how the lilies glisten throughout the rich fields! Nevertheless none of them ever toils, such an attractive piece of clothing never covered even Solomon, when his palace was flowing in an overabundance of the riches of his kingdom. But if God himself clothes the happy green plants of the meadows and of the bushes, which are pray to our flames, why do you not have stronger faith for the Father? So leave earthly worry for food, drink, and clothing and all empty things for the faithless peoples.

“Seek rather the heavenly kingdoms and the justice of God – the rest will flee of their own accord – and do not care about the riches of tomorrow; each day in and of itself has enough sin for a day.

“Let cruel damnation flee from your judgment; for the Lord will look for proofs of your justice,

Quae uos in terris statuetis tempore capti:  
 Mensuram tibi, quam ponis, portare necesse est.  
 Cernis adhaerentem fistucam in lumine fratris,  
 Nec tamen in proprio tignum consistere sentis 660  
 Atque oculum prius alterius purgare laboras;  
 Deripe sed proprio fallax de lumine lignum,  
 Tunc minimam alterius curabis demere aristam.  
 Ne canibus sanctum dederitis neue uelitis  
 Turpiter inmundis iactare monilia porcis. 665  
 Namque illa in caeno pedibus subiecta iacebunt  
 Conuersique sues uasto uos uulnere rumpent.  
     Poscenti dabitur, quaerens inuenta tenebit,  
 Pulsantique aditus foribus pandetur apertis.  
 Vos homines natis panem poscentibus omnes 670  
 Non lapidem dabitis piscemue petentibus anguem;  
 Vos, inquam, rigidi, quibus alte est insita cordis  
 Durities, uestris dabitis semper bona natis.  
 Indulgens hominum genitor bona mitia digne  
 Quam praestare magis gaudet poscentibus aequis! 675

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\*657 Haec eadem uobis genitor seruabit in aethra

657 quaecumque *R*, quae uobis *M*<sup>1</sup>*V*<sub>2</sub> *Poelm. in mg.* in tempore *M*<sup>1</sup> post 657 uers. 657\* legitur in *RK<sub>1</sub>LV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>BbGHHI*, in marg. add. in *MK<sub>2</sub>MpP<sup>2</sup>*, interpos. in *B<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup>* 658 quam] quod *HI* pa<sup>n</sup>is *HI* 659 DE FESTVCO IN OCVLO PATRIS *B* fisticam *CM<sup>1</sup>K<sub>2</sub>TBb* 660 proprio *P*<sup>1</sup> lignum ex tignum *C*, dignum *M*, tegnum (*m. 1*) *K<sub>2</sub>T* 662 diripe *RLMpB* *Poelm.*, eripe *MK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>TBbG* *Poelm. in mg.* trabem *R* (uel tignum *m. 2*) *V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>*, dignum *M* 663 ū *C* aretam *R*<sup>1</sup> 664 nec *RK<sub>1</sub>PBG* neue] ne *C* 665 inmundis *C* 666 insceno *HI* 667 conuerseque *K<sub>2</sub>T<sup>1</sup>*; conuersaeq; alii conuersisque canes *Poelm. in mg.* sues *R* uasto u.] nastantes *HI* 669 pandentur *M*, panditur (*m. 1*) *K<sub>2</sub>T* 670 uos homines] quis uestrum *K<sub>2</sub>* (*m. 1*) *T* 672 regidi *M*<sup>1</sup>, ridigi *P* 674 homini *Poelm. in mg.* digne] donet *C*; an donet Quae?

“which you, unlawful even in this time, will establish on earth: you must bear the measure which you place on yourself.

“You see the stick clinging fast in the eye of your brother, but you do not see that there is a beam in your own eye, and yet first you strive to purge the eye of the other. Hypocrite, take away the wood from your own eye, and then you will care to take away the little piece of grain from the other.

“Do not give a holy thing to dogs, and do not wish to throw jewelry to filthy pigs. For the things thrown down under foot will lie in the mud, and the pigs, turned against you, will thrash you with a huge wound.

“To the one asking, it will be given; the one seeking will hold on to what he has found; and to the one knocking, the entrance, its doors wide open, will be open. For all of you men will not give a stone to your children when they ask for bread, or a serpent to those who ask for a fish. I say that even the unbending of you, who have a hardness of heart lodged deeply inside, you will always give good things to your children. And how much more the Creator of man, worthily granting these humble goods, rejoices to offer them to just men who ask!

Quae cupitis uobis hominum benefacta uenire,

Haec eadem uestro cunctis praestate fauore.

Haec legis summa est, hoc ius dixere profetae.

Ite per angustam, iusti, super aethera portam.

Quam lata et spatiosa uia est, quae limite laeuo 680

Praeruptum conuoluit iter caligine mortis,

Innumeraeque illam penetrant per prona cateruae!

Vitalis uastis stipatur semita saxis,

Celsaque uix paucos ducit per scrupula uirtus.

At si quos nimium fallax inlexque malorum 685

Planities suasit deformi lubrica lapsu,

Adripit hos pronosque trahit uelut impetus amnis,

Aut alacer sonipes ruptis effrenus habenis,

Aut rectoris egens uentosa per aequora puppis.

Obseruate illos, falso qui nomine uobis 690

Insidias faciunt appellanturque profetae.

Hos ouium species uestit, sed saeua luporum

Pectora fraude tegunt, lacerantque incauta trahentes

Agmina credentum, saeuus quos decipit error.

Fructibus e propriis noscuntur talia monstra; 695

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676 cupitis ex cupidis C 679 DE ANGVSTA ET LATA VIA B super ||||| aethera C (sidera *eras.*), supra (pra *in ras.*) sidera M, super aethera *RLB*<sup>2</sup>, supra sidera *rell.* 680 quod *Poelm. in mg.* 682 penetrant *M*<sup>1</sup> 683 strictis *V*<sub>1</sub> 684 ducet *RK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>BbG* scropea *M et alii* 685 quos] nos *HI* 686 plenities *R* labu *C* 687 adripit *B*<sup>1</sup>, abripit *R<sup>2</sup>ML*; arreptos *Mp*<sup>1</sup>, pronosque *pcites B cē* (uelut *s. l. m. al.*) *M* amnes *K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>T* 688 effrenos *R*<sup>1</sup> (-us *m. 2*), effrenis *B<sup>1</sup>L*, efenis *H* abenis *C*, habens *M<sup>1</sup>P*, abneis *L* 689 agens *L* pupis *B<sup>1</sup>P* 690 ADTENDITE A FALSIS PROPHETIS *B* et illos *K<sub>1</sub> (m. 1)* nomina (*m. 1*) *K<sub>2</sub>T* qui falso *HI* 691 profetae *C (passim) T* 693 incautos *M<sup>1</sup>* 694 *om. M<sup>1</sup>K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> (add. m. 2) T<sup>1</sup>Bb<sup>1</sup>* edentum *C*, credentum *RK<sub>1</sub>Mp<sup>2</sup>TGH*, credendum *L* sc\*uus *HI* 695 & *M<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>*, ex *N* noscantur *N*



“Whatever good deeds of men you want to come to you, offer these same things to all with goodwill. This is the highest rule of law; the prophets have spoken this law.

“Go through the narrow gate to heaven, just ones. How wide and spacious is the way on the left path, which envelops the steep journey with the shadows of death, and innumerable crowds enter it easily. The life-giving path is crowded in by vast rocks, and lofty virtue leads scarcely even a few men through its steep difficulties.

“But if the very deceitful and enticing plain of evils—slippery with its ugly slope—entices any of them, it snatches them up and drags them headlong like the rush of a river, or like a swift unbridled horse, its reins broken, or like a ship on the windy sea lacking a captain.

“Observe those, who trick you with their false name and are called prophets. Their appearance wears the form of a sheep, but they hide with their deception cruel hearts of wolves, and they drag away and cut down the incautious crowds of believers, whom cruel sin deceives.

“Such monstrous things are known by their fruits;

Quemque petat finem fallax doctrina uidendum est.  
 Nam neque de tribulis ficus nec sentibus uuas  
 Prouenisse umquam ruris per terga notastis.  
 Utque arbor proprio uestitur germine pomi,  
 Sic dolus illorum fructu monstrante patescit. 700  
     Non ego palpantum uerbis et honore mouebor,  
 Nec, me quod dominum praeblanda adolatio dicet,  
 Praemia caelestis capient spontanea sedis.  
 Illi sed merito gaudebunt munere regni,  
 Qui facient nostri genitoris iussa uolentes. 705  
 Adueniet mox summa dies, quae iure seuro  
 Praemia iustitiae tribuet scelerique gehennam.  
 Tunc mihi multorum clamabit talia fletus:  
 Nonne tuo quondam magnae sub nomine nobis  
 Virtutes sanctis domuerunt omnia iussis? 710  
 Saepe etiam nostra est uox adnumerata profetis  
 Seruiuitque tuo nobis sub nomine daemon.  
 Tunc iurabo illis, quod talis cognita numquam  
 Vita mihi est hominum, gestis quae sordet iniquis.

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\*696 Quapropter rerum molitio perspicitur

696 quamque *HI* est *om. V<sub>2</sub>* NON COLLIGVNT DE SPINIS VVAS *B* 696\* legitur in *CV<sub>2</sub>* (*sed uncis inclusus*) *G*, *add. K<sub>1</sub>* (*m. 2*) *Mp<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup>Bb* 697 nec] neq. *L* 698 notatis *RM<sup>1</sup>T* 701 NON OMNIS QVI DICIT MIHI DÑE DÑE *B* 702 adolatio *optimi* 703 capient *C*, accipit *B<sup>1</sup>*, capiat *HI*, capiet *rell.* sedes *K<sub>2</sub>T<sup>1</sup>* 704 olli *Poelm.* *in mg.* munera *M<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>* 705 facient *CK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>T<sup>1</sup>PBb*, faciunt *rell.* uolenter *H* 706 saeuero *RMP* 707 gehennem *Mp<sup>1</sup>* 708 clamauit *CM<sup>1</sup>* 709 nobis sub nominee uirtus *Poelm.* 710 ἀρῆρῆντ domuerunt *C*, *fort.* uirtutes (*scil. erant*), nostris paruerunt *etc.* iussis *M* Exstitit et nostris parebant *Poelm.* 714 gentis *L*

“and whatever end their false doctrine seeks must be laid bare. For you know that figs, over the surface of the land, never come from thistles, nor grapes from thorns. But as a tree is clothed in its own budding of fruit, just so does the trickery of those men lie open because their fruit show it.

“I am not moved by the words, nor the distinction of those who caress me, nor will they take hold of the rewards of the celestial throne freely, just because their sweet speaking adoration says that I am the Lord. But those who willingly act upon the commands of our Father enjoy their deserved reward of the kingdom.

“But soon that final day will come, which will bestow by strict law rewards for justice and hell for wickedness. Then the lamentation of many men will clamor: ‘Did our great strength not conquer all things in your name with holy commands? Our voice was counted with the words of the prophets, and the demon became enslaved to us in your name.’ Then I will declare to them that such a life for men, which is so filthy with horrible deeds, has never been recognized by me.

Quisque meis monitis auresque et facta dicabit, 715  
 Hunc aequabo uiro solidis fundamina saxis  
 Ponenti, librata super cui moenia surgent.  
 Illa domus pluuiis uentisque inlaesa manebit  
 Torrentumque minas firmato robore uincet,  
 Haerent inmotae quoniam fundamina petrae. 720  
 Qui uero auditu tantum mea iussa tenebit  
 Diuersisque procul factis per lubrica perget,  
 Hunc similem faciam, uolucris qui fulcit harena  
 Fundamenta domus; primo cui flamine uenti  
 Et pluuias infusus coepit cum incumbere riuus, 725  
 Omnis subuerso procumbit pondere moles  
 Insequiturque graui tectorum strage ruina.<sup>7</sup>  
 Talia dicentem fixa admiratio plebis  
 Immensum stupuit, quoniam transcenderat alte  
 Doctrinam ueterum Christo concessa potestas. 730  
 Denique linquentem celsi fastigia montis  
 Stipabat gaudens populorum turba sequentum.  
 Ecce sed horrenda confixus uiscera tabe,

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715 DOMVS SVpra PETRAM FVNDATA B quis M 716 sasis Mp<sup>1</sup> 717 ponentem (m. 1) K<sub>2</sub>T,  
 promenti L; p. domus M surgunt K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> (m. 2) 719 uincet HI 720 inmotae CR alii immota—petrQ P,  
 immoto—fundamine Poelm. in mg. 721 DOMVM SVPER ARENA B 722 diuersis M pergit CV<sub>1</sub> 723 uolucris  
 P, pulueri M<sup>1</sup> que (m. 1) K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub> figit ex fulcit C 724 flamine CK<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>MpTV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>, flamina rell. 725 infusus  
 CM<sup>1</sup>Mp<sup>1</sup>PV<sub>1</sub>, effusus uel efusus rell. coepere (cum om.) K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>T 726 in mg. add. Mp omnes T<sup>1</sup> procumbet M<sup>1</sup>B,  
 p<sup>1</sup>rocumbent P molis RM<sup>1</sup>K<sub>1</sub>K<sub>2</sub>LPT<sup>1</sup>Bb 727 grauis H Poelm. tectorem HI strange (m. 1) K<sub>1</sub> ruina (sic) C  
 728 dicentem] I ex corr. Mp (cf. Matth. VII 29), dicenti K<sub>1</sub>, dicente<sup>1</sup> K<sub>2</sub>, dicente V<sub>1</sub> fixa magna C, fixa V<sub>1</sub>, magna rell.  
 729 immensum C transcenderet B<sup>1</sup> 732 st\*ipabat (p eras.) R 733 horrida M<sup>1</sup>

“Anyone who dedicates their ears and their deeds to my instructions, this one I will make equal to the man who builds foundations with solid rocks, whose walls will rise aloft. That house, unharmed by winds and rain, will remain, and conquer the threats of torrents with its firm strength, since foundations of unmoved stone hold fast.

“But anyone who will only hold to my commands upon hearing them and will persist on uncertain things, with actions in stark contrast, I will make this one the same as one who props the foundations of his home up on sand, and the rain begins to weigh down, first with a blast of wind, then with streams pouring in, and the whole structure falls, its foundations overturned, and ruin follows the heavy destruction of the rooftop.”

The admiration of the people was fixed upon him as he spoke such things and he left them completely speechless, since the power granted to Christ had transcended the doctrine of the ancients. Then, the rejoicing crowd of people followed and thronged around him as he was descending from the top of the high mountain.

But behold, a young man, afflicted by a horrible wasting disease of his body,

Quem toto obsessum foedarat corpore lepra,  
 Procubuit uenerans iuuenis Christumque precatur: 735  
 ‘Ut caream tandem languoris pondere tanti,  
 Sufficiet uoluisse tuum.’ Tum dextera Christi  
 Adtactu solo purgavit lurida membra.  
 Incolumique dehinc: ‘Celaris gaudia, iussit,  
 Et legi parens offers tua munera templo.’ 740  
 Inde recedenti supplex se protinus offert  
 Centurio et precibus proiectus talibus orat:  
 ‘Impubis pueri cruciatur spiritus aeger,  
 Cuius cuncta repens membrorum munia languor  
 Dissoluit uitamque tenet iam poena superstes. 745  
 Sed iussu miserere precor, nam tecta subire  
 Crimina nostra uetant uitae lucisque parentem.  
 Nunc uerbo satis est iubeas remeare salutem.  
 Subiectos mihi saepe uiros sic nostra potestas  
 Officiis uerbo iussis parere coegit.’ 750  
 Dixerat. Ille uiri motus precibusque fideque  
 Talia conuersus populo dat dicta sequenti:

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734 DE LEPROSO *B* totum (*m. 1*)  $K_2$  foedauerat  $R^1 M^1$ , f\*ederat  $K_2$  (auit *corr. m. 2*) *P*, fedauit  $K_1 T^2 Bb$   
 735 procumbit  $M^1$  precatur  $CRM^1$  alii, precato<sup>u</sup>r  $K_1$  736 caream  $CK$  (*m. 1*) *T*, careat *rell.* tandem aliquando *B*  
 languoris (*m. 1*)  $K_1 K_2 PT$  pondera  $M^1$ , ponderae *G* 737 sufficiat *Poelm.* dum  $M^1$ , tunc *R* 738 a\*tactu (*t eras.*) *R*,  
 atactu *B*<sup>1</sup>, adtactu (*m. 1*)  $K_2 T$  lurida libida *C*, lu\*rida  $K_1$  739 incolomique  $RMp$ , incolome<sup>1</sup>que  $KT$  celaris *scripsi*  
 (*cf. Matth. VIII 4* nemini dixeris), caelare  $CRM$ , caelaret *Poelm. in mg.*, celare  $K_2$  (*are in ras.*) *rell.* haec gaudia  $RM$   
 (*haec m. al.*)  $K_2 LMpPT^2$  *Poelm.* 740 offers tua *C*, offerret  $RMpBV_1 V_2 G$ , offerre  $M^1$ , offerri  $K_1 BbH$ , offerit  $T^1$ ,  
 offerri\*\*  $K_2$ , *fort.* offer tum templi *HI* 741 recidenti *C*, recedente  $K_1$  (*m. 1*), recedente *HI* aufert *HI* 742  
 uenturo *HI* proiecti<sup>u</sup>s  $K_1$  743 impubis  $CB$  puer  $M^1$  spu<sup>s</sup> (*s m. al.*) *M* 744 raepens  $M^1$ , tepens *Poelm.* (*cf. Sed.*  
*P. c. IV 287 H.*) langor *plerique cf. supra u.* 736 746 precor  $RM$  alii 747 parenta<sup>m</sup>  $K_2$  748 uero *M*, uerba  
 $K_2 T^1$ , uerbu *HI* iubeat<sup>s</sup>  $K_1$  749 potes|||||tas *C* 750 parare *L* 751 mo\*tus *P*

whose entire body leprosy had besieged and ruined, came, beseeching, and pleaded with Christ:

“So that I may be finally without the burden of such great suffering, your will is enough.” Then the right hand of Christ cleansed his pale limbs with only a touch. And then to the healed man he commanded: “Conceal your joy, and obeying the law, present your gifts to the temple.”

Then a centurion offered himself as suppliant before Jesus as he was leaving and, prone before him, spoke with such prayers:

“The sick spirit of my young boy is being tortured, and a rapid fatigue has deprived him all use of his limbs and this hardship holds his life now and will outlive him. I beg you to take pity for my orders, for our crimes forbid that the provider of life and light come under our roof. It is sufficient now that you command his health to return with only a word. For my power often compels men who are subject to me to obey their duties from a word.”

He had spoken. Then Christ, moved by the prayers and the faith of the man, turned around and spoke to the people following him thus:

‘Haut umquam talem memini me gentis auitae  
 Inuenisse fidem; sed ueris discite dictis,  
 Quod multos homines diuersis partibus orbis 755  
 Progenitos caeli regnum sublime uocabit  
 Cum patribus nostris uitali adcumbere mensae,  
 Progenies quorum caecis demersa tenebris  
 Dentibus horrendum stridens fletumque frequentans  
 Perpetuis poenae cruciatibus acta subibit. 760  
 At tibi iam, iuuenis, mentis uirtute fidelis,  
 Ut credis, ueniet fructus cum luce salutis.’  
 Dixerat et dicto citius cum uoce loquentis  
 Ad puerum celeris transcurrunt munera uerbi,  
 Ingressusque domum miles properante recursu 765  
 Praeuenisse Dei laetatur dona medentis.  
 Aedes inde Petri sanctus penetrabat Iesus,  
 Cuius anhela socrus aestu febrique iacebat.  
 Utque illi dextram tetigit saluator Iesus,  
 Sana ministerium praebebat femina mensis. 770

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\*762 Quae cupis extimplo obtineas poscens sapienter

753 aut *CM* 754 uiris *C* 755 quam multos *Poelm.* 578 demersa *C*, *plerique* dimersa 759 gentibus *HI*  
 frequētas *Bb* 760 poenae *CV*<sub>1</sub>, poenam *rell.* 761 ac *HI* *Poelm.* tū *M*<sup>1</sup> iuuenis lenis *C*, iuueni<sup>s</sup> (*s a m. 2*) *K*<sub>2</sub>*T*  
*post u.* 762 obtenes quae cupis rogando sapienter extimplo (extimplo *M*) *CM*, quae cupis extimplo optineas poscens  
 sapienter *K*<sub>2</sub> (*i. m. m. 2*) 763 in *mg. adscr. Mp*<sup>2</sup> loquentes *CP* 764 celeris *R* percurrunt *Poelm. in mg.* 765  
 procurante (?) *H* cursu *M*<sup>1</sup> 767 hedes *T*, sedes *HI* penetrabat *M*<sup>1</sup> hiesus *C* 768 an\*hela (*c eras.*) *M*, anela  
*LMp*, anaelo *P*, hanela *HI* 769 atque *HI* dext\*ram (*e eras.*) *MK*<sub>2</sub> seruator *V*<sub>1</sub> SAPIENTISSIMI VIRI  
 IUVVENC I XRĪANI EVANGELIORVM LIBER PRIMVS EXPLICIT *C*, EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMVS *RMLMpPV*<sub>1</sub>,  
 EXPLIC LIBER PRIMVS GAI (VEIŦ) AQVILINI SIVE IUVVENC I VERSVS EVANGELIORVM *B*, G. VETTI  
 IUVVENC I PRESBITERI EVANGELIORVM (*om. K*<sub>1</sub>) LIBER PRIMVS *K*<sub>1</sub>*K*<sub>2</sub>*TBb*



“At no time do I remember that I have found such faith in the ancient race; but listen to my true words: the lofty kingdom of heaven will call many men, born in many diverse parts of the world, to recline at the life-giving table with our ancestors. Ancestors whose progeny have been plunged in black shadows, grinding their teeth and engaging in horrible weeping, and, driven by the perpetual torture of their punishment, will undergo it. And now, young man, for the virtue of your faithful mind, as you believe, a reward will come to you with the light of health.”

Jesus had spoken and as soon he spoke, the gifts of his swift word rushed to the boy, and the soldier speedily returns to his house and rejoices that the gifts of the healing God had come.

Then Holy Jesus entered the house of Peter, whose mother-in-law was lying down, heaving and feverish. When Jesus the Savior touched her right hand, the woman, now healthy, prepared the dinner table.

## NOTES

### Abbreviations

- H: Huemer (1891) edition of the *ELQ*.  
R: Roberts (2004).  
G: Green (2006).  
G<sub>1</sub>: Green (2004).  
JH: Hatfield (1890).  
K: Kievits (1940).

### Preface

1. *immortale* – both G and G<sub>1</sub> consider whether this word is Lucretian (V 91-96) as noted in previous scholarship, and conclude that the Lucretian element is overstated. Compare also to Lucan I.72-74: ... *sic, cum compage soluta / saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora / antiquum repetens iterum chaos*.
2. Compare to Ovid, *Ars amatoria* III 113: *simplicitas rudis ante fuit, nunc aurea Roma* (JH, K).
3. Note the trifold structure and compare to Lucretius V 93-96: *quorum naturam triplicem, tria corpora, Memmi / tris species tam dissimilis, tria talia texta / una dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos / sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi*. Also Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I 256-258: *esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur adfore tempus / quo mare, quo tellus correptaque regia caeli / ardeat et mundi moles operosa laboret*; and XII 40: *caelestesque plagas, triplicis confinia mundi* (G).
4. *inreuocabile* – This could also be Lucretian. Compare to I 468: *inrevocabilis abstulerit iam praeterita aetas* (G<sub>1</sub>). But see also Horace, *Epistulae* I 18.71: *volat irrevocabile verbum* (G<sub>1</sub>) or Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I 256-258 (above, n. 3) (K).

9. *Smyrnae* is a reference to Homer; this is one of the seven potential cities of origin of the poet (K).
10. *Minciadae* is a reference to the river Mincius which flows near the hometown of Vergil (Mantua) (K).
11. *gloria discurret* – compare to Lucan IV 574: *ore ratem totum discurrens Fama per orbem* (K).
12. The immortality of the poet and of their poems is a common theme in Latin literature (e.g., Ovid, *Amores* I 15, Lucan IX 980-1 (G), and Horace, *Carmina* III 30 (K)).
- 13-14. This theory that the sky rotates around the earth was widely held in antiquity, following Anaxagoras. Compare to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II 70-71: *adde, quod adsidua rapitur vertigine caelum / sideraque alta trahit celerique volumine torquet* (K).
16. For the notion of fame adding lies, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IX 137-139 (G).
18. Compare to Statius, *Thebaid* VIII 759: *venerat et misero decus inmortalis ferebat* (H, K, G<sub>1</sub>).
20. Compare to *Aeneid* IV 550: *non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam* (JH).
23. Compare to Horace, *Odes* I 34.6: *igni corusco nubila dividens* (G<sub>1</sub>).
- 25-27. The Holy Spirit serves as Juvencus' muse; this theme will recur often in later Christian poetry. Rivers are a common font of inspiration (e.g., Horace, *Epistulae* II 2.120, *Odes* IV 2.5-8); so too is cleansing (e.g., Propertius III 3.51-52, Ovid, *Amores* III 9. 25-26) (G).

27. Compare to *Aeneid* VI 662: *quique pii vates et Phoebos digna locuti* (JH, R, G, K).

### Book One

1. Compare the opening of Book One to *Aeneid* VII 45-46: *... rex arva Latinus et urbes / iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat* (G). Wolfgang Kirsch, *Die lateinische Versepiik des 4. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie-Verl., 1989) also discusses the opening of Book One in detail (110).
2. *servator iusti* – compare to Lucan II 389: *... servator honesti*; or V 122: *Appius Hesperii scrutator ad ultima fati* (K).
3. Compare to *Aeneid* VII 443: *cura tibi divom effigies et templa tueri* (K).
8. Compare to Lucan I 129: *Nec coiere pares. alter vergentibus annis*; and II 105: *non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis* (H, K, JH (only I 129)).
10. Compare use of *sed cum forte* to *Aeneid* III 301: *sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona*; and *Aeneid* VI 171: *sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha* (G).
27. *olli*: an archaism also used by Vergil, e.g. *Aeneid* I 254 (K). Also compare to *Aeneid* II 736: *confusam eripuit mentem. Namque avia cursu* (H).
30. Compare to *Aeneid* VII 162: *ante urbem pueri et primaevae flore iuventus* (H, JH, K).
35. Compare to *Aeneid* XII 829: *olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor* (H, JH, K).

42. Compare to *Aeneid* IV 499: *haec effata silet, pallor simul occupat ora* (G); or X 664: *sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae* (K).
51. Compare to *Aeneid* III 645: *tertia iam lunae se cornua lumine complent* (JH, K).
59. Compare to *Aeneid* VI 376: *desine fata deum flecti sperare precando* (K).
62. Completes this line with 2 words ending in –que. This occurs 12 other times in the *ELQ* and 54 times in the *Aeneid* (e.g., I 18, IV 83, IV 581) (JH, K).
64. Compare to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I 386: *detque sibi veniam, pavido rogat ore pavetque*; or to Statius, *Thebaid* XI 121: *subfundi maculis, torvo sic inchoat ore* (H, K).
67. *profatur* – this is also used in Vergil (e.g., *Aeneid* I 561, IV 364) (K).
79. Compare to *Aeneid* VII 619: *foeda ministeria et caecis se condidit umbris* (JH, K); also to IV 278: *et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram* (G); or XII 592: *intus saxa sonant, vacuas it fumus ad auras* (K). Similar usage of *se condidit* in the *Aeneid*: e.g., V 243, II 621, VIII 66 (K).
80. Compare to *Aeneid* VII 156-157: *haud mora, festinant iussi rapidisque feruntur / passibus* (H, K).
88. Compare to *Aeneid* VI 129: *hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci, quos aequus amavit* (K).
96. Compare to Statius, *Thebaid* VII 379: *nec laudare satis dignasque rependere grates* (H).
97. Compare to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II 35: *ille refert: ‘o lux inmensi publica mundi* (JH, K).

103. Compare to Vergil, *Georgics* IV 507: *septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine menses* (K).
104. Compare to *Aeneid* VIII 580: *dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri* (K).
106. Compare to *Aeneid* IX 7: *auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro* (H, JH, K, G); and also Vergil, *Georgics* II 47: *sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis oras* (JH, K, G); and *Aeneid* VII 660: *furtivom partu sub luminis edidit oras* (G).
122. Compare to *Aeneid* V 524: *seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates* (K).
123. Compare to *Aeneid* VII 128: *haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat* (G); or also to Lucan VII 254: *haec est illa dies mihi quam Rubiconis ad undas* (G).
125. *at tu parve puer* – Compare to Vergil, *Eclogue* IV 60 (*incipi, parve puer*), a poem which Constantine saw as messianic (G).
132. Compare to *Aeneid* III 491: *et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo* (K).
148. Compare to *Aeneid* X 149: *regem adit et regi memorat nomenque genusque* (H, K).
153. Compare to *Aeneid* XII 116: *campum ad certamen magnae sub moenibus urbis* (H, K).
172. Compare to *Aeneid* IX 112-113: *... tum vox horrenda per auras / excidit et Troum Rutulorumque agmina complet* (H, K).
177. Compare to Lucretius III 529: *inde pedes et crura mori, post inde per artus* (K).
192. K discusses the Platonic description of the body in chains (*Phaedo* 67 D), and notes that this is also found in a fragment of Origen.
213. Compare to Statius, *Thebaid* I 351: *inglomerat noctem, tenebrosa volumina torquens* (H, K).

216. Compare to *Aeneid* VIII 160: *tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas* (H, K).
217. Compare to *Aeneid* XI 166: *debita erat nostrae. Quod si immatura manebat* (H, K).
235. Compare to *Aeneid* XI 235: *imperio accitos alta intra limina cogit* (H, K).
243. Compare to language of *Aeneid* II 692-698 (H, JH, K, G).

*Aeneid* II 692-698

*ELQ* I 243-245

stella  
 cucurrit  
 cernimus  
 sulcus  
 culmina  
 summa

stellam  
 praecurrere  
 cernunt  
 sulcantem  
 culmine  
 summo  
 (taken from K (82))

244. Compare to Lucan V 562: *aera dispersos traxere cadentia sulcos* (K).
247. Compare to *Aeneid* V 285: *Cressa genus, Pholoë, geminique sub ubere nati* (K).
260. Compare this alliteration *per compita caedem* to Vergil, *Georgics* II 382:  
*praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum* (K).
265. Compare to Ovid, *Amores* II 6.9: *alitis in rarae miserum devertere funus* (H, K).
266. Compare to Statius, *Silvae* V 1.22: *fataque et iniustos rabidis pulsare querelis* (K).
286. Compare to *Aeneid* XI 793: *pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes* (H, K).
288. Compare to *Aeneid* VIII 463: *Hospitis Aeneae sedem et secreta petebat* (H, K).
302. Compare to Vergil, *Georgics* IV 390: *Hic nunc Emathiae portus patriamque revisit* (K).

305. Compare to *Aeneid* XI 155: *et praedulce decus primo certamine posset*; note that in this scene in the *Aeneid* Evander is lamenting Pallas, and here Juvencus is describing Jesus' loving relationship with his parents (G).
307. The way time is described here—something more or less unchangeable that is fulfilled—may call to mind Vergil, *Eclogues* IV 4-5: *Ultima Cymaei venit iam carminis aetas, / magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo* (G).
310. Compare to *Aeneid* XII 312: *nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat* (H, K).
331. Compare to *Aeneid* I 132: *tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?* (H, K).
341. Compare to Vergil, *Georgics* I 473: *flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa* (H, K, JH); or to *Aeneid* III 574: *attollitque globos flammaram et sidera lambit* (H, K).
345. Compare to *Georgics* I 368: *saepe levem paleam et frondes volitare caducas* (K).
346. *haec ait* – a common transition found in the *Aeneid* (e.g., IV 630; X 285, 379, 444) (K).
348. Compare to *Aeneid* III 485: *textilibusque onerat donis ac talia fatur* (H, K).
349. *mergier* – here Juvencus uses an infinitive in –ier, a Vergilian archaism (G).
354. Compare to *Aeneid* III 389: *cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam* (H, K); or to *Aeneid* VII 759: *Te nemus Angitiaae, vitrea te Fucinus unda* (JH, K). G also comments on Testard (1990) and his comparison of this line to Lucan I 222 (*turba vado faciles iam fracti fluminis undas*), and the baptism of Jesus with Caesar crossing the Rubicon, though with reservations (59).
357. Compare to *Aeneid* VIII 423: *Hoc tunc Ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto* (H, K).



360. Compare to *Aeneid* XII 354: *ante levi iaculo longum per inane secutus* (H, K); or also JH points out *Aeneid* XI 296 and II 694, which both end with *cucurrit*.
361. *perunctum* – this is a play on words as *perunctus* has the same meaning as the literal definition of *Christus*, anointed one (G 55).
364. Compare to Vergil, *Georgics* II 471: *non absunt; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum* (H, JH); or also to *Aeneid* III 646-7 and VII 404, which both end with *inter deserta ferarum* (JH).
369. Compare to Vergil, *Georgics* IV 507: *septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine menses* (K).
383. Compare to *Aeneid* XII 116: *campum ad certamen magnae sub moenibus urbis* (H, K).
388. Compare to Vergil, *Georgics* III 109: *aera per vacuum ferri atque adsurgere in auras* (H, K).
400. Compare to *Aeneid* IV 272: *sit e nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum* (H, JH, G, K).
410. Compare to *Aeneid* I 209: *spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem* (H, JH, G, K).
411. Compare to *Aeneid* III 88: *finibus et statuit Zabulonum ponere sedes* (K).
423. Compare to *Aeneid* XI 753: *saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat* (H, JH, K).
440. Compare to *Aeneid* VI 442: *Hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit* (H, JH, K).
452. Compare to *Aeneid* III 245: *una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno*; or also to V 180: *summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit* (K).

466. Compare to *Georgics* II 458: *o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint* (K).
467. Compare to *Aeneid* VII 210: *aurea nunc solio stellantis regia caeli* (JH, K).
469. Compare to Lucan I 263: *urgentes addunt stimulos cunctasque pudoris* (JH, K).
477. Compare to *Aeneid* X 11: *adveniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus* (JH, K).
482. Compare to *Aeneid* VII 210 (above, n. 467) (H, JH, K).
486. Compare to *Aeneid* I 598: *quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque* (H, K).
495. G notes epic overtones of this line (42).
499. Compare to *Aeneid* X 90: *obiecit? quae causa fuit consurgere in arma* (JH, K); perhaps via Valerius Flaccus I 673: *armorumque hominumque truces consurgere in iras* (H, K).
514. Compare to Catullus 62, 46: *cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem* (K).
519. Compare to *Aeneid* II 91: *(haut ignota loquor) superis concessit ab oris* (H, K).
534. Compare to Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I 100: *ille locus casti damna pudoris habet* (H, K).
540. Compare to Ovid, *Ars amatoria* III 407: *Sanctaque maiestas et erat venerabile nomen* (H, K).
556. Compare to Vergil, *Georgics* II 343: *Nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem* (H, K).
579. *scrutator* – see above, n. 2.
582. Compare to *Aeneid* VIII 94: *Olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant* (H, K).
590. Compare to *Aeneid* I 225: *litoraue et latos populos, sic vertice caeli* (K).
592. Compare to Ovid, *Ars amatoria* II 38: *da veniam coepto, Iupiter alte, meo* (K).

614. Compare to *Aeneid* I 225, see above n. 590 (H, K).
637. Compare to Lucretius V 1388: *cum satiate cibi; nam tum sunt omnia cordi* (JH, K).
667. Compare to *Aeneid* IX 580: *spiramenta animae letali volnere rupit* (H, K).
682. Compare to Silius Italicus XV 235: *bellantum nisu passim per prona voluti* (JH, K).
688. See discussion about this simile in the introduction above, especially n. 36.
697. Compare to Vergil, *Eclogues* IV 29: *incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva* (K).
706. Compare to *Aeneid* II 324: *venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus* (H, K).
717. Compare to *Aeneid* I 437: *o fortunate, quorum iam moenia surgunt* (JH, K).
728. Compare to *Aeneid* IV 362: *talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur* (H, G, K).
730. Compare to Lucan II 76: *saepe virum, frustra que hosti concessa potestas* (K).
738. Compare to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIV 747: *luridaque arsuro portabat membra feretro* (H, K).
746. Compare to *Aeneid* VI 117: *alma, precor, miserere; potes namque omnia, nec te* (H, K).
750. Compare to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I 385: *Pyrrha prior iussisque deae parere recusat* (H, K).
751. Compare to *Aeneid* II 152: *Dixerat. Ille, dolis instructus et arte Pelasga* (JH, K).
752. *dat dicta* – to “give words” is a frequent expression in the *Aeneid*, e.g., II 790, VI 628, VII 323, 471 (K).
753. Compare to Statius, *Thebaid* IV 383: *omnipotens Nysaeae pater, cui genti avitae* (K).

755. Compare to *Aeneid* XII 708: *ingentis, genitos diversis partibus orbis* (H, K).
759. Compare to *Aeneid* VI 288: *horrendum stridens flammisque armata Chimaera* (H, K).
763. Compare to *Aeneid* I 142: *sic ait et dicto citius tumida aequora placat* (H, JH, K).

APPENDIX  
THE STATE OF THE TEXT OF THE *ELQ*

There is a large number of surviving codices that contain the *ELQ*. This may be surprising at first, given the relative obscurity of Juvencus today, but less so if one remembers that Juvencus enjoyed constant popularity until the Renaissance. Indeed, most of the surviving texts of the *ELQ* are found in codices that contain several other texts, such as the Bible itself and various works of Origen, Hilary, Augustine, Isidore, and other poets like Paulinus, Sedulius, and Arator. There are, however, fewer editions of our author, and only two that qualify as modern critical editions. Both of these are from the late nineteenth century: an 1896 Teubner edition (Leiden) by Charles Marold and, shortly thereafter, a *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* edition by Johannes Huemer in 1891 (Vienna).

Marold's primary concern in the preface to his edition is evaluating the three oldest manuscripts of the *ELQ*, which he also considers the most reliable. According to Marold, the best and oldest codex is found in *codex Collegii corporis Christi Cantabrigiensis* 304, which he designates as *C<sup>l</sup>*.<sup>125</sup> Along with this codex, he also favors two others from the eighth century, *codex Musei Britannici* 15 A XVI and *codex Monacensis* 6402, abbreviated *R* and *M* respectively.<sup>126</sup> Based on these three codices, he provides a very simple stemma for the manuscript tradition of the *ELQ*, in which he notes

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125. Marold describes it as earning the *praestantissimum locum* (vii) and also notes that "*hic codex multis locis lectionem genuinam solus praebet*" (ix). He dates it at seventh century, but I follow Hansson and list it as eighth below (see figure A2).

126. Marold describes both codices briefly and explains why he prefers *C<sup>l</sup>* to them (x-xi). Both are still useful, however; in the case of *R*, "*locis non paucis lectionem genuinam servavit vel solus vel una cum C<sup>l</sup>*" (x) and in the case of *M*, because "*non negandum est, archetypum codicis M ex eodem fonte fluxisse, ex quo R et C<sup>l</sup>*" (xi).

the relationship of these three codices as related to the *archetypus* ( $\alpha$ ) and their own respective archetypes ( $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ):

Figure 2: Marold Stemma (p. xi)



Marold follows these three manuscripts whenever possible, and he mentions other manuscripts only very briefly in his preface and of those consults primarily only ninth-century manuscripts to check and confirm the *archetypus*. As for the rest he just notes them as part of the “huge crowd of codices from the ninth to the sixteenth century.”<sup>127</sup>

Huemer, in general, follows Marold’s methods and edition very closely.

Nevertheless his preface is more descriptive and he points out many important issues that Marold was content to leave to his *apparatus* or not to comment upon. For example, he reproduces H. Bradshaw’s original description of the *codex Collegii corporis Christi Cantabrigiensis* 304 (which Huemer abbreviates as *C*) in full, providing a detailed summary of the condition of our oldest manuscript.<sup>128</sup> Huemer also briefly assesses the previous editions of the *ELQ*. He prefers the edition of Poelmann (or Pulmann) (1528) because according to him this edition best confirms his own *emendanda* and *explicanda*.<sup>129</sup> He mentions and describes very briefly a few other editions, however, such as those by Fabricius (1562), Reusch (1710), Arevalus (1792), and Marold, whom

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127. xii.

128. xxiv – xxv.

129. xxxvi.

he calls an *editor doctissimus*.<sup>130</sup> Huemer also provides some information on and gives examples of extant Latin, German, and Irish glosses found in some of the codices.<sup>131</sup>

Huemer outlines his methodology in some detail. Like Marold, he tries to follow the oldest codex, *C*, whenever possible. In Huemer's words, *C* is often the only text that can give the *lectionem genuinam*.<sup>132</sup> Duplicate verses (sometimes several verses in a row) and duplicate words are a recurring textual problem in the *ELQ*. Often a duplicate of a given verse or word will appear either in the margin or above the line and these exist at times even in *C* where the writing is all by one hand. The question then is whether these duplicate verses were written by a glosser or have been transferred from the archetype, and thus perhaps from the poet himself. According to Huemer, these duplicates normally take two forms: either the verse (or word) serves to change or explain or it expands or introduces *variatio* of some kind – all fine distinctions, to be certain.<sup>133</sup> Huemer claims that the best route to resolve these duplicate verses is to consult codex *C*, which normally will prove or refute either one or the other.<sup>134</sup> In the cases where *C* does not offer the answer, Huemer will consult other more recent codices to confirm or refute a reading. From these, he prefers first the eighth-century manuscripts found in codices *R*, *M*, and *A*, and then the ninth-century codices *K<sub>1</sub>*, *K<sub>2</sub>*, *T* and then *L Mp*, and *P*. He

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130. xxxvii.

131. xli.

132. xxxviii.

133. An example of the first kind (*mutandi vel explicandi causa*) is II.109: *Inde Philippus ait: "Cernes, dubitare quiesce,"* and its duplicate II.109\*: *"Progrediensque uide nam oculis tueri licebit."* An example of the second kind (*variandi vel augendi causa*) is I.645: *"Aflueret, talis contexit gratia uestis,"* and its duplicate: I.645\* *Naturale bonum terries commune placebit"* (xxxvii-xxxviii).

134. xxxviii.

employs more recent manuscripts only to establish archetypal groups, which he also describes very briefly.<sup>135</sup> He does not, however, generate a stemma.

Two commentaries of note arrive some half a century after Huemer, one for the first book of the *ELQ* by Kievits (1940), and another for the second book by de Wit (1947).<sup>136</sup> These commentaries, published in the same series and in a similar style, tend to focus more on explaining Juvencus' vocabulary or syntax, comparing a given verse or scene to its corresponding passage from the *OL* Gospels or Greek New Testament, or in accounting for various orthographical differences and other small matters. They do not entirely neglect textual variants and at times will comment on a textual problem, but this is not their sole (or even primary) goal. In fact, a work that focuses exclusively on textual criticism does not appear until *Textkritisches zu Juvencus* by Nils Hansson (1950).

Hansson's work is very much a response to Marold, Huemer, and the two commentaries. This critic does not feel that past work has been adequate – Marold focuses on too few texts, Huemer follows Marold too closely, and Kievits and de Wit do not address textual problems in enough detail. He spends the majority of his book dealing with what he finds to be major textual problems, and he also puts a particular amount of focus on the duplicate verses (*Doppelfassungen*) that Huemer notes briefly in his preface.<sup>137</sup> Hansson also provides the most detailed list of codices from the eighth<sup>138</sup> to the twelfth centuries, which I will recreate below:

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135. xxxix – xl.

136. Herman Hendrik Kievits, *Ad iuveni evangeliorum: librum primum commentarius exegeticus* (Groningen: M. de Waal, 1940), and Jan de Wit, *Ad iuveni evangeliorum: librum secundum commentarius exegeticus* (Groningen: M. de Waal, 1947).

137. For an English summary and review of Hansson, see J.H. Mozley, "Review of *Textkritisches zu Juvencus*," *Classical Review* 2 (1952), 89-90.



Figure 3: *ELQ* Codices (Hansson p.19-20)

<b>Symbol</b>	<b>Century</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Contents</b>	<b>Location (1950)</b>
C	8	Codex Collegii Corporis Christi Cantabrigiensis 304	pref. – IV 732	Bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi, Cambridge
Vp	“	Codex Vaticanus latinus 5759	I.615-677, 719-II.8, 93-224, 633-, 657, 797-820, III.37-60 107-129	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
M	“ (?)	Codex Monacensis Clm. 6402	pref. – IV 790	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
A	8/9	Codex Augiensis CXII	III.1-IV.387	Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe
R	9	Codex Musei Britannici (Royal and Kings Mss.) 15 A XVI	pref. – IV.810	British Museum, London
Av	“	Codex Anversianus M. 312 (Denucé 62)	pref-IV.311	Musaeum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp
V <sub>1</sub>	“	Codex Reginensis 333	pref.-IV.812	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
S	“	Codex Audomaropolitanus 266	pref.-IV.565, 665-799	Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer
Mp	“	Codex Montepessulanus 362	pref.-II.657, 679-IV.812	Bibliothèque de l’Université Montpellier
L	“	Codex Laudunensis 101	I.145-IV.51, 180-812	Bibliothèque Communale, Léon
P	“	Codex Parisinus 9347	pref.-IV.812	Bibliothèque Nationale Paris

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138. Hansson dates the oldest codex *C* as eighth century, instead of seventh like Marold and Huemer.

Figure 3 (cont.): *ELQ* Codices (Hansson p.19-20)

<b>Symbol</b>	<b>Century</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Contents</b>	<b>Location (1950)</b>
P <sub>2</sub>	“	Codex Parisinus 18553	pref.-IV.812	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
C <sub>2</sub>	“	Codex Cantabrigiensis Ff IV 42	pref.-II.773, III.1-476, 539-IV.812	University Library, Cambridge
Al	9	Codex Albiensis 99	pref.-IV.624	Bibliothèque Roche-gude, Albi
K <sub>1</sub>	9/10	Codex Augiensis CCXVII (foll. 1-40)	pref.-IV.811	Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe
K <sub>2</sub>	“	Codex Augiensis CCXVII (foll. 68-125)	pref.-II.62, 117-443, 498-IV.811	Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe
T	“	Codex Turicensis C 68	pref.-IV 811	Zentralbibliothek, Zürich
B	“	Codex Bernensis 534	pref.-IV.812	Stadt-Bibliothek, Bern
Bb	“	Codex Ambrosianus (Bobiensis) C 74 Sup.	pref.-IV.812	Biblioteca Ambrosiana Milan
V <sub>2</sub>	“	Codex Ottobonianus 35	pref.-IV.812	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
Ma	“	Codex Matritensis 10029	pref.-I.581, II.225-IV.811	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
Ph	10	Codex Phillipicus 1824	pref.-IV.812	Öffentl. Wissenschaft. Bibliothek (= Preussische Staatsbibl.), Berlin
Sg	“	Codex Sangallensis 197	pref.-II.515, 677-IV.357, 514-812	Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gallen
Mb	“	Codex Musei Britannici add. 19723	pref.-II.41, 155-IV.605, 665-723	British Museum, London

Figure 3 (cont.): *ELQ* Codices (Hansson p.19-20)

Symbol	Century	Name	Contents	Location (1950)
P <sub>3</sub>	“	Codex Parisinus 10307	pref.-IV.812	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
E	“	Codex Spinalensis 74	pref.-I.447, II.131-III.688, IV.802-812	Bibliothèque Publique, Épinal
Am	“	Codex Ambianus 404	pref.-I.540, 601-727 II.13-109, 178-316, 542-III.78, 121-414, 464-707	Bibliothèque Municipale, Amiens
C <sub>3</sub>	11	Codex Cantabrigiensis Gg V 35	pref.-IV.812	University Library, Cambridge
Hl	“	Codex Harleianus 3093	pref.-IV.812	British Museum, London
H	“	Codex Helmstadiensis 553	pref.-IV.812	Herzogliche Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
Ca	“	Codex Casinensis 326 Q	pref.-IV.812	Abbazia di Montecassino, Cassino
Bx	“	Codex Bruxellensis 1179 (9964-66)	I.1-IV.812	Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels
Ca <sub>2</sub>	12	Codex Casinensis 560 Q	pref.13-22, I.18-IV.812	Abbazia di Montecassino, Cassino <sup>139</sup>

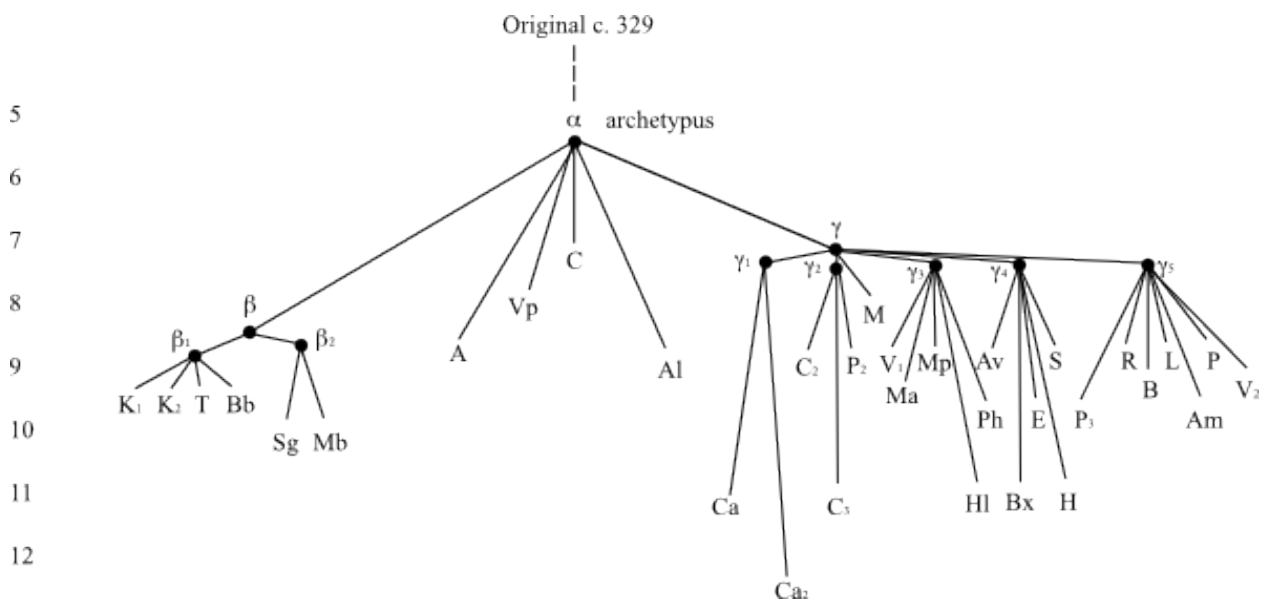
From this chart, Hansson creates a stemma for the codices of the *ELQ* that is significantly more extensive than Marold's. He also faults Huemer for providing only basic

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139. Just as Huemer uses different abbreviations than Marold in places, so too does Hansson differ from Huemer. To prevent confusion, Huemer's *Conspectus Notarum* has been included before the beginning of the text and translation above.

descriptions of several codices and no stemma.<sup>140</sup> He does warn, however, that there is possible contamination and the borders between the groups of his stemma are “unclear” and in some cases “up for discussion.”<sup>141</sup> In other words, the stemma is not the final word on the matter, though it does help us grasp the full manuscript tradition of the *ELQ*. I have reproduced the stemma below, with some minor modifications:

Figure 4: *ELQ* Stemma (Hansson p. 30)



Although Hansson does not include some of the later codices in his chart and stemma, Huemer notes several manuscripts later than the twelfth century, which I will list briefly below:

140. 29.

141. 30, “*unscharf*,” and “*diskutabel*.”

Figure 5: Later Codices

Century	Name
15	Codex Mediceus 1. plut. XXIII 15
“	Codex Musei Britannici 19744 (c. 1467-1468)
“	Codex Parisinus latinus 8321
“	Codex Bibliotheca Collegii Romani
15/16	Codex Mediceus 2 plut. XXVI 20
15/16	Codex Gandavensis 17 (463) (c.1480-1505)
16	Codex Monacensis 5934 (c. 1522) <sup>142</sup>

Hansson accomplished a great deal of valuable work in his monograph, and his charts and stemma paint a much clearer picture of the manuscript tradition of the *ELQ*. Unfortunately, textual criticism of the *ELQ* followed the course of scholarship on the *ELQ* in general, and for most of the twentieth century there was little work done on the texts. However, former students of Klaus Thraede have put out several books in the past decade. All of these books investigate a particular section of the *ELQ* and include some textual criticism alongside their main arguments. Other than these books, however, there has been no other recent work on the text.<sup>143</sup>

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142. Huemer lists these all very briefly (p. xxxv-xxxvi), but does not describe his use of them in any detail, only citing that “*Maroldus collegit*” (xxxv). In fact, Marold also lists these in his preface (xvi). Huemer also lists some manuscripts of the sixteenth century in even less detail (xxxvi), noting only their names (e.g., codex Barthii, duo Colonienses quos sub Ludovico Pio scriptos, codex Fuldensis, codex Mersburgicus).

143. To list some of these briefly: Rudolf Fichtner, *Taufe und Versuchung Jesu in den Evangeliorum libri quattuor des Bibeldichters Juvencus* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1994), which focuses on I.346-408; Wilfred Röttger, *Studien zur Lichtmotivik bei Juvencus* (Münster: Aschendorfsche Verlag., 1996), which examines 21 separate (but usually small) passages that deal with light and also provides a full comparison with Gospel texts at the end; Manfred Flieger, *Interpretationem zum Bibeldichter Juvencus: Gethsemane, Festnahme Jesu, und Kaiphasprozeß* (Stuttgart: Tuebner, 1993), which focuses on 4.478-565; and Cornel Heinsdorff, *Christus, Nikodemus und die Samaritanerin bei Juvencus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), which is a commentary on 2.177-242 and 2.243-327 and also includes an appendix of verbal

In the end, we are left with an incomplete textual picture of Juvencus. Hansson, for one, notes a fair amount of dissatisfaction with our “current” 1890 edition of the *ELQ*. Furthermore, Hansson’s readings of the text have yet to be applied to a new edition. Even this reader becomes annoyed at times with Huemer’s enormous apparatus. On the other hand, Juvencus’ manuscript tradition is complicated, and there are a remarkable number of codices that will have to be reviewed if a scholar is to prepare a new edition. Whether this amount of work is necessary or worthwhile for an author who is at the moment so little studied is a valid question. Nevertheless, for a textual critic who is interested in biblical epic and is familiar with Juvencus’ style, there is a great deal of work to be done.

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borrowings from the Gospels. There have also been articles along the same lines as these books (e.g., Marcel Testard, “Juvencus et le sacré: dans un episode des Evangeliorum libri IV” *Bulletin de l’Association Guillaume Budé* (1990), 3-31, which focuses on 2.25-42.

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