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NOTES AND STUDIES

ST JEROME AND THE VULGATE NEW TESTAMENT.

II.

§ 7. *St Jerome's Method of Revising the Sacred Text.*

1. THE freedom, or rather licence, which characterizes the commentaries of Jerome, was dropped when he revised the New Testament. The contrast is extreme. The careless, not to say unscrupulous, compiler of comments has become careful and timid. He has told us his theory of translating.[1] In his renderings of Origen and Didymus, and just as much in his hasty translations of deuterocanonical books,[2] he rendered sense for sense, and insisted that translation ought to be idiomatic and not literal. But it would not be right, he says, to apply this method to the inspired writings : 'Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera uoce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum, *absque scripturis sacris*, ubi ET VERBORVM ORDO MYSTERIVM EST, non uerbum e uerbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu' (*Ep.* lvii 5). That is to say, in his versions from the Greek Scriptures he felt bound not only to render word for word, but even to respect the order of the words. Every tiro in textual criticism is aware that the O.L. versions had almost always observed this rule, and that variations in the order between different Latin versions usually represent variations in the Greek. St Jerome retains the same principle.

2. It is important also to remember that St Jerome never attempts

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[1] Above, § 3, p. 36.

[2] Of the book of Judith he says: 'Huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi, magis sensum e sensu quam ex uerbo uerbum transferens.' He had translated Tobias just as quickly : 'Vnius diei laborem arripui.'

rhythm in revising or in translating Scripture. He never observes the rules for metrical clausulae in either the Old or the New Testament. There is never any reason for attributing a reading to St Jerome because it obeys the strict rules of the *cursus*. His determination was always to be as conservative as was consistent with being literal.

An attempt has recently been made to shew that, on the contrary, St Jerome was careful to observe rhythm in the Vulgate, by G. Gulotta, *Il ritmo quantitativo nella Volgata (Bullettino d. Soc. filologica romana,* 1917). The writer gives a list of correct rhythms which exhausts almost every possible ending, and then proves conclusively that St Jerome used these endings. There were only six regular endings allowed in the fourth century ! St Jerome uses these and no others whenever he is writing carefully. For example, the *Nouum Opus* has only *one* irregular ending, *inueniantur.* So in the very polished translations of the Paschal letters of Theophilus *Epp.* 96, 98, 100, almost every clausula is accurate.

But St Jerome is not always an observer of the rules. On the contrary, he declares that he despises oratorical devices : ' Quorsum haec tam longa *repetita principio* ? Ne a me quaeras pueriles *declamationes,* sententiarum flosculos, uerborum lenocinia, et per fines *capitum singulorum* acuta quaedam *breuiterque conclusa,* quae plausus et clamores *excitent audientum' Ep.* 52. 4. (I have italicized the correct endings !) But St Jerome suffered from bad eyesight and from cramp in the hands, so that he was obliged to dictate, and he gives this as the principal reason for his frequently unpolished manner.[1] To a modern, the brilliancy of his incomparable style seems due rather to his energy, his wit, his originality, and often to the freshness and directness which

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[1] For example, Comm. on Gal. Lib. iii, Praef. ' Accedit ad hoc, quia propter oculorum et totius corpusculi infirmitatem, manu mea ipse non scribo, nec labore et diligentia compensare queo eloquii tarditatem—my secretary frowns and fidgets, if I want to think a little—oratio . . . nisi auctoris sui manu limata fuerit et polita, non est nitida, non habet mixtam cum decore grauitatem.' So in the preface to the Comm. on Matt., which was written in great haste, he promises a more careful work, to be produced later : ' Ut scias quid intersit inter subitam *dictandi* audaciam et elucubratam *scribendi* diligentiam.' In pref. to Comm. on Amos, Lib. iii, he speaks of his temerity, ' ut quod alii stilum saepe uertendo non audent scribere, ego committerem casui, qui semper *dictantes* sequitur . . . quoniam, ut saepe testatus sum, laborem propria scribendi manu ferre non ualeo.' In another preface in Ezek. vii he complains of his eyesight : ' Haec ad lucernulam, qualiacumque sunt, dictare conamur. . . . Accedit ad hanc dictandi difficultatem, quod caligantibus oculis senectute, et aliquid sustinentibus beati Isaac, ad nocturnum lumen nequaquam ualeamus Hebraeorum uolumina relegere, quae etiam ad solis dieique fulgorem literarum nobis paruitate caecantur. Sed et Graecorum Commentarios fratrum tantum uoce cognoscimus . . . ' But this passage is, of course, much later than the revision of the N. T.

comes from hasty dictation. But his studies and tastes had given him a literary and classical taste which was never at fault in his most careless moods.

3. Timidity in correcting the O.L., and the eventual adoption of readings already to be found in some O.L. codex or other, is characteristic of St Jerome in the Gospels. We have seen the same in the Epistles. There were plenty of variants to choose from: 'maxime cum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria quot codices' (*Praef. in Iosue*), and 'Tot enim sunt exemplaria paene quot codices' (*Nouum Opus*). This timidity is just what we had to expect from St Jerome, for he describes in his preface to the Vulgate Gospels the method which St Damasus had prescribed and which he followed: 'Nouum opus facere me cogis ex ueteri: ut post exemplaria Scripturarum toto orbe dispersa *quasi quidam arbiter sedeam*, et, quia inter se uariant, quae sint illa quae cum Graeca consentiant ueritate decernam.' He is not to take one copy and correct it according to the Greek, any more than he is to make a new translation; he is to *choose between existing readings*, and adopt the one which is nearest to the Greek. And he did so, he tells us, with much timidity and fear, for it is a 'pius labor, sed periculosa praesumptio, iudicare de ceteris, ipsum ab omnibus iudicandum'. It is certain, from the study of the text of the Vulgate Gospels, that the saint did correct with religious awe and erudite caution. He has omitted as unnecessary an enormous number of small corrections which we should have expected him to make. His own account is that he changed the order of the four Gospels (which was Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, in the O.L.), but preserved the O.L. readings, except where the sense of the Greek obliged him to make an alteration: 'Haec praesens praefatiuncula pollicetur quattuor tantum euangelia (quorum ordo iste est, Mt. Mc. Lc. Jo.), codicum Graecorum emendata collatione, sed ueterum. Quae *ne multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine discreparent*, ita calamo temperauimus ut, his tantum quae sensum uidebantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.'

4. St Jerome wrote a book on 'how to make a good translation', *de optimo genere interpretandi* (now *Ep.* lvii). No one who studies it will be surprised that St Jerome suggests in his commentary literal renderings of St Paul's expressions, without intending them to be adopted as a good Latin text. For Holy Scripture he wants a word for word translation. Therefore on Gal. v 13 he regretted the necessity of adding *detis*, as we have seen. Similarly on Gal. v 26 he noted 'unum uerbum apud Graecos κενόδοξοι trium uerborum circuitu Interpres Latinus expressit', i. e. *inanis gloriae cupidi*; but he has no conciser wording to propose. On *v.* 24 he had suggested *recrucifigentes* as a literal reproduction of ἀνασταυροῦντας in Heb. vi 6, instead of *rursum crucifigentes*; and on Titus i 5 he

explains ἐπιδιορθώσῃ as *supercorrigeres*. But he never supposed that any one would think he meant such neologisms as serious renderings : he is only explaining what the single Greek word is. Compare what he says of Aquila, who wished to be more literal than the LXX :

'Aquila autem, proselytus, et contentiosus interpres, qui non solum uerba, sed etymologias uerborum transferre conatus est, iure proicitur a nobis. Quis enim pro *frumento et uino et oleo* possit uel legere uel in-telligere χεῦμα, ὀπωρισμόν, στιλπνότητα, quod nos possumus dicere *fusionem pomationemque* et *splendentiam*?[1]   Aut, quia Hebraei non solum habent ἄρθρα, sed et πρόαρθρα, ille κακοζήλως et syllabas interpre-tetur et litteras, dicatque σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν, quod Graeca et Latina omnino lingua non recipit?' *Ep.* 57. 11.

St Jerome would have been greatly amused if he had known that critics would imagine he really wished to introduce *indolentes* or *indo-lorios* or *supercorrigeres*, or even *recrucifigentes* into the sacred text. He would as soon have recited in his choir at Bethlehem ' A fructu fusionis pomationisque et splendentiae multiplicati sunt '.

These four points appear to explain most of the difficulties felt by recent writers with regard to the disagreement between the Vulgate and the Pauline commentaries, and they elucidate for the textual critic St Jerome's method of revision.

§ 8. *St Jerome's Method of quoting Scripture.*

It has been constantly denied that St Jerome can be the author of the revision of the whole New Testament, because he regularly quotes the Epistles in the O.L. form. It has been as often replied that this argument proves too much : for he does not quote even the Gospels usually from his own revision, nor does he usually employ his own version of the O. T. from the Hebrew. But the question deserves to be elucidated for the reason of its intrinsic interest.

Let us begin by glancing at his quotations in his Dialogue against the Pelagians, both because it is one of his latest works (415), and because he goes methodically through a good many parts of the Bible in Book II.

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[1] The rare word *fusio* was not Jerome's invention (though it could not stand simply for *oil*) like the other two. He invented *indolorius* and *indolens* (on Eph. iv 19, above, No. 13, p. 42), though in a more serious vein, following on Cicero, who had made up the noun *indolentia*. St Apollinarius Sidonius (pref. to Carm. xiv) explains the necessity of inventing Latin terms for philosophy, and declares that Cicero used *indoloria* and *essentia* : one MS however has *indolentia*. But in one place in *de Finibus* some MSS are said to have *indoloria*, which is also in Aug. *de mor. eccl.* i 5 (7). So Jerome had some support in Cicero's nouns for his two adjectives. He would be acquainted through the grammarians with the literary curiosities of Cicero.

After quoting from St Paul's Epistles (ii 1–10) in a text which is never quite the Vulgate, in 11 he says, ' Transeamus ad Euangelia '. He gives the following differences from the Vulgate :

Mt. v 22 : adds *sine causa* O.L.
      23 : *donum* twice, against all authorities, for *munus.*
        fueris recordatus alone for *rec. fu.*
        aduersus for *aduersum*, alone with R.
      37 : *amplius* O.L. for *abundantius.*
      42 : *petenti* alone with R, for *qui petit.* O.L. has *omni petenti* from Mk.
        accipere mutuum alone for *mutuari*, Vg. and O.L.
  vi 1 : *Cauete* with Aug. only, for *Attendite.*
      34 : *solliciti esse* for *esse soll.* O.L.
        de crastino for *in cr.* O.L.
        pro se with g, for *sibi ipse.*
 vii 14 : *arcta uia et angusta*, for *angusta porta et arcta uia.* This omission is found once in Amb., twice in Aug., once in Gaud.
viii 20 : adds *suum*, O.L.
 ix 13 : adds *ad paenitentiam*, O.L.
 x 9–10 : Vg. and O.L.
      21 : *frater tradet fratrem* for *tradet autem frater fratrem*, alone.
        consurgentque, from Mk, alone for *et insurgent.*
        contra for *in*, alone.
        interficient eos for *morte eos afficient.*
      22 : *cunctis* for *omnibus*, alone.
        adds *hominibus* O.L.
        etc., etc.

Some quotations follow from Mark, Luke, and John, of the same general character.

It is obvious that if we are to argue that St Jerome did not revise the Epistles because he does not quote the Vulgate, it follows equally or more certainly that he did not revise the Gospels, *quod est absurdum.* These citations of the Gospels never agree with the Vulgate against all the O.L. The number of otherwise unknown readings suggests that the writer has the Greek before him and not the Latin, and that he translates as nearly as possible to an O.L. text which he knows nearly by heart. For the O.L. resemblances are plentiful. But it is not the Vulgate which he knows by heart.

. .The quotations from the Epistles, if they do not agree with the

Vulgate, neither do they agree with the text of St Jerome's own commentaries.

Take another book, *Adv. Iouinianum*, written in 393. At first all seems smooth. In. i 28–31 we find a series of quotations from the books of Solomon, which Jerome had not yet translated from the Hebrew, and they are naturally cited according to the LXX. Similarly Gen. xxiv 42–44 appears according to the LXX, for the Vulgate of it had not been published. I dip in again at random, and find Jerem. xxi 31–34 and Ezek. xvi 62–63 and xx 43–44 cited in ii 31 almost exactly as the Vulgate, Ezekiel less exactly than Jeremiah, but clearly from the Hebrew, so that one might have argued from these passages that St Jerome had already translated the prophets from the Hebrew, if the fact were not otherwise certain.

But when we look at the citations from the Gospels, they do not agree with the Vulgate, as we should have expected, e. g. ii 23, Lk. xii 47–48, ii 29, Jn. vi 55–56. A long quotation (i 39) covers nearly the whole of 1 Pet. i–ii : it paraphrases, skips, and alters.

On the contrary, in ii 22, there are several quotations from St Paul, and their witness is illuminating. I italicize variations from the Vulgate :

A. Rom. xii 3–8 : Unicuique sicut (*two MSS* secundum quod) Deus diuisit mensuram fidei. Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent : ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra. Habentes autem donationes, secundum gratiam quae data est nobis, differentes, siue prophetiam, secundum *mensuram* fidei, siue ministerium in ministrando, siue qui docet in doctrina, qui exhortatur in exhortando, qui tribuit in simplicitate, qui praeest in sollicitudine.

This is exactly the Vulgate, except *mensura* for *rationem*. This rendering, curiously enough, is recommended instead of the usual *rationem* by Rufinus (tr. of Orig. *in loco*). But St Jerome had been quite right in the Vulgate in not putting *mensura fidei* here for ἀναλογία, as he had used the same word just above for μέτρον.

B. 1 Cor. iii 6–9 : Ego plantaui, Apollo rigauit, sed Deus incrementum dedit. Itaque neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat : sed qui incrementum dat Deus. Qui plantat et qui rigat unum sunt. Unusquisque autem propriam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem. Dei enim sumus adiutores. Dei agricultura estis (*two MSS om.* estis), Dei aedificatio estis.

St Jerome has left out *autem* after *plantat* : otherwise the passage is exactly Vulgate.

C. 1 Cor. iii 10–15 : Secundum gratiam Dei quae data est mihi, ut (*two MSS* quasi) sapiens architectus fundamentum posui, alius autem

superaedificat. Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere, praeter-
quam id quod positum est, *quod* est Christus Iesus. Si quis autem super-
aedificat super fundamentum hoc, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos,
ligna, foenam, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus *apparebit.* Dies enim *Domini
illud manifestabit, quoniam* in igne reuelabitur, et *singulorum* opus quale
sit, ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit quod superaedificauit, mer-
cedem accipiet. Si cuius (*two MSS*: cuius autem) opus arserit, detri-
mentum patietur. Ipse autem saluus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem.

Here part of verse 10 has been omitted (by a scribe?) *propter
homoeotel.*: 'unusquisque uideat quomodo superaedificet'.

Next comes 1 Cor. iv 1–2, as the Vulgate and O.L., but that we find
quasi for *ut*, against both. Then we have:

D. 1 Cor. ix 13–19: Nescitis quoniam qui in *sacrificiis* operantur de
*sacrificiis com*edunt: qui altario deseruiunt *de* altario participantur? *Sic*
et Dominus *disposuit* his qui euangelium annuntiant de euangelio
uiuere: ego autem *non abutar horum aliquo.* Non scripsi autem haec
ut *sic* fiant in me. *Melius* est enim mihi mori quam ut gloriam meam
quis euacuet. Si *enim* euangelizauero, non est mihi gloria; necessitas
quippe mihi incumbit. Vae enim mihi est si non (*al.* nisi) euangelizauero.
Nam si uoluntate hoc ago (*al.* fecero), mercedem habeo. Si autem
nolens, dispensatio mihi credita est. Quae est ergo merces mea? Ut
euangelizans sine sumptu ponam euangelium *Christi,* ut non abutar
potestate *quae data est mihi* in euangelio. *Cum enim essem liber* ex
omnibus, omnium me seruum feci, ut plures lucrifacerem.

E. *ib.* xii 4–7: Diuisiones gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus. Et
diuisiones *ministeriorum* sunt, idem autem Dominus. Et diuisiones
operationum sunt, idem *autem* Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus.
Unicuique autem data est *adapertio* Spiritus *iuxta id quod expedit . . .*
12. Sicut corpus unum est, et membra *plura* habet, omnia autem membra
corporis cum sint multa, unum corpus *est, sic* et Christus.

F. *ib.* xii 28–31: Quosdam quidem posuit Deus in ecclesia, primum
Apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores, deinde uirtutes, *et* gratias
curationum, opitulationes, gubernationes, genera linguarum. Numquid
omnes Apostoli? Numquid omnes prophetae? Numquid omnes doc-
tores? Numquid omnes uirtutes? Numquid omnes gratiam habent
curationum? Numquid omnes linguis loquuntur? Numquid omnes
interpretantur? Aemulamini autem *dona* maiora, et adhuc excellen-
tiorem uiam uobis demonstro.

If we look back through these quotations,[1] we see at once that there

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[1] The difference between O.L. and Vg. in these passages is not very great, but
the following selection of O.L. variants may be noted; they shew that the great
likeness to the Vg is not fortuitous:—

A. 3, sicut unicuique *Aug.*, diuisit Deus A C D M T *et Ambst.*, Deus partitus est
Aug. Vigil., membra autem omnia D O *dgt gue Ruf.*, eundem habent actum C D T *dg*,
om. alter *dg*, dona (*for* donationes) *Aug. Ruf.*, diuersa(s) D *Ambst. Aug. Sed., bef.
sec.* D *Ambst. Aug.*, siue qui exhort. *Ambst. Aug. Sed.*, in exhortatione D *dgt Aug.*,
qui largitur *Ambst.*, odio habentes *Tert. Aug.*, execrantes D.

is practically no difference in them from the Vulgate, except for the one word *mensuram*, until suddenly in I Cor. iii 13 we find variations, *mani-festabit*, O.L., and *singulorum*.   It looks as if St Jerome had been using either the Vulgate or an O.L. copy almost identical with it, until he gets tired of copying, and dictates the last words from memory, or from the Greek, omitting half a verse.   The next bit, I Cor. ix 13–19, is full of readings otherwise unknown, together with reminiscences of the O.L. Again it seems natural to conclude that the wording is not taken from any actual codex.   The same is true of E.[1]

I infer that we have some reason for concluding that St Jerome had

B. irrigauit *d ac*, quidquam (*for* aliquid) D *Novat. Ambst. Oros.*, *om*. autem *Hier. alone*, autem plantat D *Nov. Amb.*, autem plantat I *Vg.*, cultura *d Ambst.*

C. gratiam *om* Dei *cf Aug. Beda*, quemadmodum *Ambst.*, alius super illud aedificat *Gild.*, superaedificauerit *f Amb. Aug.*, fundam. *om* hoc F R *al Amb.*, apparebit *Hier. alone* (*for* manifestum erit), manifestabitur *Aug.*, manifestabit D *Hier. Amb.* (*for* declarabit), exustum fuerit *Aug.*

D. sacrificiis *bis Hier. alone*, comedunt (*for* edunt) *Hier. alone*, altari *Clem.-Vg. Aug.*, de alt. (*for* cum) D *gt Hier. Ambst.*, compartiuntur *Aug. saepe*, participant *Beda*, sic *Hier. Aug.* (*for* ita), disposuit *Hier. d* (*for* ordinauit), non abutar horum aliquo *Hier. alone* (*for* nullo horum usus sum *Vg. Ambst. Aug.*), sic (*for* ita) *Hier. alone*, melius est enim mihi *Hier. alone* (*for* bonum est enim mihi magis), si enim *Hier. d* (*for* nam si), euangelizem *d*, gratia (*for* gloria) *d*, quippe *Hier. alone* (*for* enim), nam si uoluntate (*for* si enim uolens) *Hier. alone*, nolens (*for* inuitus) *Hier. alone*, quae ergo erit mea merces *Ambst.*, euangelizans *Hier. d Aug.* (*for* euangelium praedicans), quae data est mihi (*for* mea) *Hier. alone*, omnibus (*for* omnium) *d*.

E. ministeriorum (*for* ministrationum) *Hier. d Iren. Hil. Aug.*, autem (*for* uero) *Hier. Iren. Hil.*, adapertio *Hier. alone*, iuxta id quod expedit *Hier. alone*, plura (*for* multa) *alone*, est (*for* sunt) *Hier. d Hil. Tyc. Aug.*, sic (*for* ita) *Hier. Hil. Tyc. Aug.*

F. et (*for* exin) *Hier. Hil.*, gratias curationum *Hier. with Vg. only* (gratiam cur. *Amb. Ambst.*), dona sanitatum *Hier. in Ephes.*, donationes sanitatum *d Aug.*, curationes infirmitatum *Hil.*, maiora *Hier. in Naum. and adu. Pelag.*, *with best MSS of Vg.* A G, meliora *ceteri omnes*, supereminentiorem *or* supereminentem *Aug.*, magis excellentiorem *Sed*.

[1] We have but to turn over one page to find an example of Hieronymian careless-ness, ii 26 : '. . . sciat in Matthaeo et in Marco, apostolis qui uniuersa sua dimiserant *centuplum* repromissum.   In Euangelio autem Lucae *multo plura* id est πολὺ πλείονα, et penitus in nullo euangelio pro *centum* scriptum esse *septem*.'   In reality the Greek MSS of Lk. xviii 30 have πολλαπλασίονα, except D, ἑπταπλασίονα ; and every O.L. codex extant, I believe, reads *septies tantum*, viz. *a b c d e ff i l q r*, with Cyprian thrice, Ambrose, Augustine !   Though the Old Syriac (*cur sin*) has 'a hundred-fold', with the Greek cursives 472, 1241, yet Ephrem (ap. Moesinger) cites *sevenfold*.   It seems certain that the usual (if not universal) reading of St Jerome's day in the Latin copies must have been *septies tantum*, as Jovinian evidently read.   All Vg. MSS have *multo plura*.   Of the semi-Vg. MSS, *gig* has *septies tantum*, but *f* and *aur* have the Vg. reading.   The Arabic Diat. has 'twice as many'.   In Matt. xix 29 most Greek MSS have (as Jerome reads) ἑκατονταπλασίονα, with the 'Western' D *Tifl. Iren.* and all the Latin MSS, Hil., &c. ; whereas the Neutral B L *al* (but not ℵ) have πολλαπλασίονα with *Orig.* and *sah*, and among the Latins *Auct. prom.* (*multiplicia*).

not the Vulgate Gospels before him, but that it is much more probable that he was using the Vulgate Epistles !

§ 9. *St Jerome's Quotations from the Gospels in the Commentary of St Matthew.*

We have seen how variable and how arbitrary is St Jerome's method of citation. But there is more surprising evidence in store. In his commentary on St Matthew he uses the Vulgate (though not very accurately) as his text. We should expect him, therefore, always to quote the other Gospels from the Vulgate. He does not. We should expect him at least to quote St Matthew from the Vulgate which he is using as text. He does not !

I give the quotations as they occur in the first book of the commentary :

1. Lk. xii 49 (on Mt. iii 12): Ignem ueni mittere *super* terram, et *quam (al. quem) uolo ut ardeat,* so in six other places St Jerome quotes, against all other authorities.

2. Mt. xvi 23 (on Mt. iv 10): uade *retro* me, Satana (as in Mk. viii 33) with *c* Rufin (*Bened. Patr.*). Vg. with *d e g f k q* uade post me ; *b d ff Hil. Amb. Hier. (in Isai.)* u. retro post me ; *Aug.* redi post me.

3. Jn. xviii 23 (on Mt. v 41): Si male locutus sum, *argue* de malo ; *sin* autem bene, quid me caedis ? argue *Hier. alone* ; sin *d*.

4. Lk. xxiii 34 (on Mt. v 44): Pater, *ignosce* illis, *quod enim faciunt* nesciunt. *Hier. alone.*

5. Mt. vii 4 (on Mt. vi 1): *Dimitte ut tollam* festucam de oculo tuo. *Hier. alone.*

6. Mt. xxiii 24 (on Mt. vii 3): *culicem liquantes* et camelum glutientes ; *a c d e g ff h* liquantes culicem ; Vg. excolantes culicem.

7. Mt. xxvi 72 (on Mt. vii 18): *nescio* hominem, *with h* quia nescio hominem ; Vg. *b f ff g* quia non noui hominem.

8. Lk. v 8 (on Mt. viii 34): exi a me, *Domine,* quia *uir* peccator sum. Domine *before* quia, *with* G Q *b c ff l q, after* sum *a* Vg. ; uir (*for* homo) *a d.*

9. Mt. iii 7 or Lk. iii 7 (on Mt. ix 14): *generatio* uiperarum, quis ostendit uobis fugere *ab ira uentura* ? generatio *with b ff Amb. Aug.* (progenies Vg. *in Mt.,* genimina Vg. *in Lk.*) ; ab ira uentura *Hier.* (a uentura ira Lk.), Vg. *etc.* a futura ira.

10. Lk. xii 6 (on Mt. x 29): Quinque quoque passeres, secundum Lucam, qui *duobus assibus* ueneunt. duobus assibus *Hier. alone* ; dipondio Vg. O.L.

11. Jn. i 29 (on Mt. xi 1): Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit *peccata* mundi. *Hier. with* O *Wal, c l r rur Cypr. Opt. Zeno* : peccata *for* peccatum.

11. Jn. iii 26 (on Mt. xi 1): *Magister, cui tu perhibuisti* (*al.* praebuisti) *testimonium ad* Iordanem, ecce *discipuli* eius baptiz*ant,* et *plures* (*al.* omnes) ueniunt ad eum. *Jerome quotes the same strange form in Ep.*

121, 1, *exc.* iuxta Iordanem.   Vg. *and* O.L., *with Greek*: Rabbi, qui erat tecum trans Iordanem, cui tu testimonium perhibuisti, ecce hic baptizat, et omnes veniunt ad eum.

12. Lk. vii 35 (on Mt. xi 19): In quibusdam euangeliis legitur: iustificata est sapientia ab operibus suis; i. e. the singular reading of ℵ ἔργων.   Vg. etc. ab omnibus filiis suis.   (*om. πάντων Greek* D L X Ψ 1–18–131–209, 28, 703, *arm, cur.*)

13. Lk. xi 20 (on Mt. xii 28): In Luca istum locum ita scriptum legimus: Si autem ego in digito Dei eicio daemones. Vg. *of Lk. has* porro si in digito Dei eicio daemonia.   Evidently Jerome has intentionally preserved the wording of Mt., while substituting *digito* for *spiritu.*

14. Jn. i 26 (on Mt. xii 28): Medius stat inter uos, quem nescitis. inter uos *Hier. alone* (*for* uestrum) *om.* A E *a*; *Hier.* D E Ep^mg R T X* (i. e. Irish family of Vg.) O.L. (exc. *c* Aug.) stat; Vg. stetit; stat inter uos *a*; nescitis C D E G H R T *cflq δ aur Aug.*; ignoratis *a b r Cypr.*; non scitis Vg. *etc.*

15. Mk. iii 30 (on Mt. xii 32): *quia* 'dicebant, spiritum immundum habet.   quoniam dic. eum (illum *a cff*) spiritum immundum habere *a b cffgq*; *but f has* quoniam dicebant, spiritum immundum habet.

16. Mk. viii 11 or Lk. xi 16 (on Mt. xii 38): in alio euangelista: uolumus a te signum uidere *de caelo*.   Here Jerome simply adds *de caelo* from Mk. or Lk. (= Mt. xvi 1), while retaining the wording of Mt. xii 38.

17. Jn. xiv 31 (on Mt. xii 45): surgite *et abeamus* hinc *Hier. alone*. Vg. *and* O.L. surgite, eamus hinc.

18. Jn. viii 56 (on Mt. xiii 17): Abraham cupiuit diem meum uidere; et uidit et laetatus est.   *Hier. Ambst.* cupiuit, *Aug. Auct. Prom.* concupiuit, Vg. O.L. exultauit.   *Hier. Ambst. Aug. Auct. Prom.* uidere, Vg. O.L. ut uideret.   *Hier. alone* laetatus (*for* gauisus).

19. Lk. xvii 5–6 (on Mt. xiii 32): Adauge nobis fidem ... *Amen dico uobis*, si habueritis fidem *quasi* granum sinapis, et dixeritis monti huic, *migra* de loco isto, *migrabit*.   Adauge n. fid. *is only in Lk.*, amen di. uo. *is only in Mt. xvii 19–20. Lk. has* huic arbori moro *etc. Mt. has* monti huic *etc. Hier. alone* migra ... migrabit, *Hier. in Ezech.* 42 et c. Lucif. transmigra, Vg. O.L. transi ... transibit.   *Notice that in Luke d (with Greek D) has* si haberetis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicebatis utique *monti huic, transi hinc ibide et transibat et* moro transplantari in mari et obaudisset uobis, *so syr cur.   Hier. alone* quasi *for* sicut.

20. Mt. iv 19 or Mk. i 17 (on Mt. xiii 47): *sequimini* me, et faciam uos piscatores hominum.   *Hier. alone* sequimini *for* uenite post.   Vg. O.L. uos fieri, *om.* fieri *Hier. with h Amb. Aug.* (*saepe*) *Auct. Prom.*

21. Lk. iii 1 (on Mt. xiv 3): Anno quintodecimo imperii Tiberii Caesaris ... Philippo *uero* ... regionis.   *Hier. alone* uero *for* autem.

22. Mt. x 23 (on Mt. xiv 13): Quum uos *persequuti fuerint* in *ista ciuitate*, fugite in aliam.   *Hier. with d Aug.* persequuti fuerint *for* Vg. O.L. persequentur; Vg. ciuitate ista.

23. Jn. vi 9 (on Mt. xiv 17): Est hic quidam puer, qui habet quinque panes.   *Hier. alone* est hic quidam puer, *Aug.* est hic puer quidam,

b e est hic puer, *a d* est puer hic, *ff* est hic puer unus, Vg. est puer unus hic.

24. Jn. xxi 7 (on Mt. xiv 28): accinctus *ependyte* suo. Vg. O.L. tunicam.

To these examples must be added the places which agree with the Vulgate.

1. Jn. vi 51 (on Mt. vi 11): ego sum panis uiuus, qui de caelo descendi. Vg. O.L.
2. Mt. xxviii 19 (on Mt. x 5): euntes docete . . . sancti. Vg. O.L.
3. Mt. iii 17 (on Mt. xi 1): hic est . . . complacui. Vg. O.L.
4. Mt. ix 14 (on Mt. xi 1): Tunc accesserunt . . . non ieiunant. Vg. O.L.
5. Lk. xvii 21 (on Mt. xii 28): regnum Dei intra uos est. Vg. O.L.
6. Mt. iii 2 (on Mt. xii 28): paenitentiam agite . . . caelorum. Vg. O.L.
7. Mt. xxi 43 (on Mt. xiii 28): auferetur . . . fructus eius. Vg. O.L. *exc. b* (fructum).
8. Mt. xiv 15 (on Mt. xv 33): supra legimus: uespere autem facto accesserunt . . . locus, et reliqua. Vg. O.L.
9. Mt. x 5 (on Mt. xi 23): In uiam gentium . . . intraueritis. Vg. O.L.

These are not only fewer in number, but also represent the O.L. (either all or nearly all authorities) as well as the Vulgate.

We reach the conclusion that St Jerome in his Commentary did not quote the Vulgate Gospels or even the (almost) Vulgate text of St Matthew on which he was commenting.[1] If we are to infer that his non-Vulgate quotations from the Epistles prove that he is not the reviser of the Vulgate epistles, we must here infer that he is not the reviser of the Vulgate Gospels, nay, that the author of the commentary (as he does not quote his own text) is not the author of the commentary.

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[1] St Jerome did not adopt his own translations from the Hebrew for liturgical use in his own monastery, for he tells us in 395–396 that he regularly explained the Septuagint text to the community—no doubt the lessons or Psalms for the day: ' nec inimicum debere aestimari eorum (*sc.* LXX) quos in conuentu fratrum semper edissero' (*Praef. in Paralip.*). In his (early) *Commentarioli* on the Psalms he uses his ' Roman' Psalter; in the *Tractatus* on the Psalms he seems to use his Gallican Psalter. He does not comment on his version from the Hebrew, to which the *Tractatus* may be posterior. Of course he may have adopted his versions from the Hebrew for liturgical use after the completion of the whole. But his freedom of quotation up to his last years certainly suggests that he did not even introduce his own revision of the Gospels. Probably the same choir books remained in the monastery without change, except that he introduced the Gallican Psalter, later than the date of the *Commentarioli* and before the delivery of the *Tractatus*. But then a Psalter would wear out, whereas a lectionary would endure for generations.

§ 10. *St Jerome's Quotations from the Epistles in the Commentaries on St Paul.*

We find the same phenomena in the Commentaries on St Paul that have astonished us in the Commentary on St Matthew. St Jerome quotes in them from Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus, but not usually according to the text which he had carefully made up as a basis for his comments! I cite the text of the Commentary as *Text* wherever it differs from Vg.

1. Gal. i 4 (on Eph. ii 1–5): ut *eruat* nos de praesenti seculo *nequam*; and (on Eph. iii 8–9): ut eriperet nos de praesenti saeculo *nequam.* eruat *alone,* eriperet Vg.; nequam Vg., malo *Text.*

2. Gal. ii 20 (on Gal. i 11–12): uiuo autem iam non ego, uiuit *autem* in me Christus. aûtem *for* uero *alone.* (Jerome has *uero* in transl. Orig. Luc. xv.)

3. Gal. iv 1, 4 (on Eph. i 9): haeres *quamdiu* paruulus est . . . *ut* autem uenit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus filium suum. quamdiu *with d g Vict. Ambst. Aug. Sed.,* quanto tempore Vg. ut *alone.* In *Ep.* 112. 14 (in 404) Jerome has *temporum plenitudo* against Vg.

4. Gal. iv 24–25 (on Gal. i 17): quae *quidem* sunt per allegoriam dicta. Haec enim sunt duo testamenta; unum quidem a monte Sina, in seruitutem generans, quae est Agar. Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui *iunctus* est ei quae nunc est Ierusalem. quidem (*so Corssen reads*) *with Tert.,* Vg. *om.* iunctus *alone,* coniunctus *Aug.* Vg., conterminus *Text. Hil.,* confinis *Aug.,* consonat *d g,* affinis *Sed.,* coniungitur *Ambst.*

5. Gal. v 8 (on Gal. i 10). See above, p. 50.

6. Gal. v 17 (on Eph. ii 1–5): caro *quippe desiderat* aduersus spiritum, *et* spiritus aduersus carnem. quippe *alone,* enim Vg. *al,* nam *d Ambst. Vict.* (Text nam, autem, *or* enim—the MSS vary). desiderat *alone for* concupiscit Vg. O.L. et *alone for* autem.

7. Gal. v 19 (on Gal. v 13): manifesta autem sunt opera carnis (= Vg. O.L.), and (on Eph. v 11): man. a. s. op. c. quae sunt fornicatio, et rel. (= Vg. O.L.), *and* (on Eph. vi 12): (A) fornicationem, immunditiam, luxuriam, *idololatriam,* inimicitias, contentiones, aemulationes, iras, rixas, dissensiones, *haereses, insidias,* ebrietates, comessationes, et *reliqua* his similia, *and* (on Tit. iii 10–11): (B) Manif. autem s. op. c. quae sunt fornicatio, immunditia, luxuria, *idololatria,* ueneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, irae, rixae, dissensiones, *haereses,* inuidiae, ebrietates, comessationes, et *caetera* his similia, quae praedico uobis, sicut praedixi, quoniam qui *haec* agunt, regnum Dei non *possidebunt.* (*The* omission in A of *ueneficia,* and *insidiae* for *inuidiae* are slips of a scribe or a printer.) *For* luxuria *Corssen gives* impudicitia *as Text, but the comm. shews that Jerome gave* luxuria *Both A and B agree with Text* (*and comm.*) *against* Vg. *in omitting* homicidia (see p. 45). idololatria *with g Iren. Cypr. Lucif. Ambst.,* idololatrocinia *d,* idolorum seruitus Vg. *Text Aug.,* haereses *with Text d Ambst.,* sectae Vg. *om.* reliqua (A) *or* caetera (B) Vg. *etc.* haec *with Text, Conc. Carth. apud Cypr. for*

talia Vg. *Iren. Cypr. Lucif. Ambst. Aug.* possidebunt *Text with d Iren. Aug. for* consequentur Vg. *Lucif. Ambst.*

8. Gal. vi 2 (on Eph. iv 2): *alterutrum* onera *uestra* portate. Alterutrum . . . uestra *with Cypr.* Alter alterius Vg. *d Aug. (bis)* Text, inuicem . . . uestra *Tert. Opt. Ambst. Aug. (saepe) Sed. with Hier.* (Ep. 11).

9. Gal. vi 17 (on Phlm. 1): de caetero nemo mihi molestus sit ; ego enim stigmata Domini nostri Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto. D. n. I. C. *Auct. prom. and Text (Corssen) Auct. prom. Ambst.,* Domini Iesu *Text* (Vallarsi) *and Comm.* with Vg. Clem., Domini I. Ch. *d Aug.,* Iesu Vg.

10. Eph. ii 2 (on Eph. vi 12): In quibus *ambulastis aliquando* iuxta saeculum mundi *istius,* secundum principem potestatis aeris, spiritus qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentiae. aliquando ambulastis Vg. O.L., iuxta *alone (for* secundum Vg. O.L.), istius *alone for* huius Vg. *Text (and comm.)* O.L., aeris *add* huius Vg. O.L. *om.* Text. filios *with* Vg., filiis *Text (and comm.).*

11. Eph. ii 3 (on Gal. ii 15): eramus filii natura irae sicut et ceteri. eramus natura Vg. O.L.

12. Eph. ii 7 (on Eph. iii 8–9): ut ostenderet in *uenturis* saeculis. uenturis *alone,* superuenientibus Vg. O.L.

13. Eph. v 16 (on Eph. ii 1–5): redimentes tempus, *quoniam* dies mali sunt, *and* (on Eph. vi 13) *quia* dies mali sunt. quoniam Vg., quia *d Amb. Pel. (Ep. ad Dem.).*

14. Eph. vi 12 (*Praef. in Eph.* p. 542): non est nobis *pugna* aduersum carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersum *principatus* et potestates, aduersus rectores tenebrarum *istarum,* aduersum spiritualia nequitiae in caelestibus, *and freely* (on Eph. vi 12): sed quasi *principatus* et potestas, rector tenebrarum et nequitia spiritualis. pugna *with Hil. Tyc. Hier. in Ezech.* (xvi 29 and xxviii 1), conluctatio Vg. *Text.* principatus *with Text Cypr. Amb. Ambst.,* principes Vg. *Hier. (in Ezech. and c. Iov.), om.* principes et *d Lucif. Hil.,* rectores *with Ambst.,* mundi rectores Vg. *etc.* istarum *alone for* harum Vg. O.L.

15. Titus i 12 (on Gal. iv 24): dixit quidam ex *eis,* proprius *eorum* propheta : Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, uentres pigri. eis *alone,* illis Vg., ipsis *Ambst. ;* eorum *Text* (Vg. A C V) *d g,* ipsorum Vg. *(best,* D F G H).

Only two quotations agree exactly with the Vulgate and the O.L.

1. Eph. v 18 (on Gal. v 19–21): uinum in quo est luxuria.

2. Titus i 6–7 (on Eph. vi 4): filios habentem fideles, non in accusatione luxuriae, aut non subditos.

It is clear, again, that on the principles of those who deny that St Jerome revised the Epistles, he is not the author of his own commentary, since his quotations differ from his text !

<div align="right">JOHN CHAPMAN.</div>

(To be continued.)