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THE INFLUENCE OF ST JEROME ON THE CANON OF THE WESTERN CHURCH. III.¹

WE now turn to the question of the gradual diffusion and adoption of Jerome's translation and Canon in the Western world.

Among the other complaints which Rufinus made of Jerome was that of scattering broadcast his new Bible, in which the Canon and the text of the Hebrews of his day were substituted for the Old Testament which had been accepted by the Christians from the beginning of their history. His words are :—

'Ista vero quae nunc tu interpretaris, et per ecclesias et monasteria, per oppida et castella transmittis, quomodo suscipiemus, tanquam divina, an tanquam humana?' (*Invectiv.* ii 31 : Vallarsi, ii 664).

Jerome seems to have had correspondents in many countries in the West and, indeed, his translation, which was made piecemeal, seems to have been made at the instance of several such correspondents.

Thus the Pentateuch was translated at the instance of a certain Desiderius whom he speaks of in the prologue to that work in the words :—

'Desiderii mei desideratas accepi epistolas, qui quodam praesagio futurorum, cum Daniele sortitus est nomen, obsecrantis, ut translatum in Latinam linguam de Hebraeo sermone Pentateuchum nostrorum auribus traderem.'

It is possible that he was the Desiderius, a priest of the diocese of Comminges in Aquitaine, who, with a neighbour called Riparius, wrote a joint letter to Jerome, urging him to write a treatise against Vigilantius (*in Vigilant.* ii 121 b, in Migne's edition). He may also have been the same Desiderius who, with his sister, Serenilla,

¹ For the preceding articles see vol. x pp. 481 sqq., vol. xi pp. 321 sqq.

was living at Rome about A. D. 394, and was invited by Jerome to visit him at Jerusalem; to whom also Jerome offered copies of his books, especially the *de Viris Illustribus* (see *Ep.* xlvi and Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* i 818).

In the *Prologus Galeatus* Jerome tells us that he had been urged by Chromatius to translate the books of Chronicles from the Hebrew. Chromatius was bishop of Aquileia and a very influential person at the end of the fourth century. To him Jerome dedicated his commentary on Habakkuk. To the same Chromatius together with Heliodorus, bishop of Altino, who had jointly urged him to the work, he dedicated his translation of Tobit, in the preface to which he says, addressing them, 'Mirari non desino exactionis vestrae instantiam: exigitis enim ut librum Chaldaeo sermone conscriptum ad Latinum stylum traham.' They also wished him to publish some comments on Hosea and other minor prophets. To this request he replies in the preface to the Solomonic books:—

'Commentarios in Osee, Amos, Zachariam, Malachiam, quos poscitis, scripsissem si licuisset prae valetudine. Mittitis solatia sumptuum: notarios nostros et librarios sustentatis, ut vobis potissimum nostrum desudet ingenium. . . . Itaque longa aegrotatione fractus, ne penitus hoc anno reticerem et apud vos mutus essem, tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi, interpretationem videlicet trium Salomonis voluminum.'

The three works he refers to are Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles.

Jerome dedicated more than one of his prefaces jointly to Domnio and Rogatian. The former was a priest at Rome who was subsequently canonized. Of the latter I know nothing, and he is not mentioned in Smith's very full Christian biographical dictionary. To Domnio Jerome sent his notes on the Minor Prophets with a covering letter (see *Ep.* lvii to Pammachius). To him and Rogatian he addressed the prologue to the translation of Chronicles from the Greek, and the prologue to the translation of Esdras and Nehemiah from the Hebrew. In the latter we read:—

'Tertius annus est quod semper scribitis atque rescribitis, ut Esdrae librum et Esther vobis de Hebraeo transferam, quasi non habeatis Graeca et Latina volumina: aut quidquid illud est quod a nobis vertitur non statim ab omnibus conspuendum sit.'

The so-called Gallican Psalter was translated by Jerome from the Greek at the instance of Paula and Eustochium, and he dedicated his version of Job from the Greek and addressed the Preface to Esther to the same two ladies. They were devoted to Jerome and lived and travelled with him in the East and successively became heads of a convent. Eustochium was an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar and also learnt Hebrew. In his prologue to Esther he thus apostrophizes them:—

‘Vos autem, o Paula et Eustochium, quoniam et bibliothecas Hebraeorum studuistis intrare, et interpretum certamina comprobastis, tenentes Esther Hebraicum librum, per singula verba nostram translationem aspici-’

His edition of Isaiah was also dedicated to the same ladies, whom he addresses in the words:—

‘Quem quanto plus amatis, o Paula et Eustochium, tanto magis ab eo petite, ut pro obrectatione praesenti, qua me indesinenter aemuli laniant, ipse mihi mercedem restituat in futuro: qui scit me ob hoc in peregrinae linguae eruditione sudasse, ne Iudaei de falsitate scripturarum ecclesiis eius diutius insultarent.’

To the same ladies apparently, although he does not mention them by name, he dedicates his preface to Jeremiah. Having said that he had not sent Baruch as well as Jeremiah, he continues:—

‘Pro his omnibus maledicta ab aemulis praestolantes, quibus me necesse est per singula opuscula respondere. Et hoc patior, quia vos me cogitis.’

In his preface to Daniel he says:—

‘Obsecro vos, o Paula et Eustochium, fundatis pro me ad Dominum preces, ut, quamdiu in hoc corpusculo sum scribam aliquid gratum vobis, utile Ecclesiae, dignum posteris.’

In his preface to the twelve lesser Prophets he says:—

‘Et quia longum est nunc de omnibus dicere, hoc tantum vos, o Paula et Eustochium, admonitas volo, unum librum esse duodecim prophetarum.’

The two famous ladies so much honoured by Jerome were taught Hebrew by him and sang the Psalter in that language. Burchard, in his description of the Holy Land, speaks of a church

dedicated under the names of the Blessed Paula and Eustochium. Jerome wrote their epitaph.

In his commentary on Isaiah Jerome speaks of a bishop Amabilis, who had asked him to send him his translation of the ten visions of that prophet from the Hebrew. He thus addresses him:—

‘Hucusque, papa Amabilis, columen caritatis et nomen, ac mihi omnium quos terra genuit amantissime, per literas flagitabas, ut tibi decem Visiones, quae in Esaia obscuratissimae sunt, historica expositione dissererem, et omissis nostrorum Commentariis, qui varias opiniones secuti multa volumina condiderunt, Hebraicam panderem veritatem, meque retractantem, et molestissimum explanationis genus in tempus aliud differentem, saepissime commonebas’ (Vallarsi, iv 167).

Who this bishop was I do not know.¹ He is also omitted from Smith’s *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Again, Jerome elsewhere tells us that Sunnias and Fretela sent him a collection of passages in which the Greek and Latin texts did not agree and asked him to tell them what, according to the Hebrew, was the interpretation of the passages in question. He replied to them in a prolix and learned letter. They wrote from the borders of Thrace and Germany and were apostrophized by Jerome in these terms (*Ep.* cvi 1):—

‘Vere in vobis Apostolicus et Propheticus sermo completus est: “In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.” Quis hoc crederet, ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quaereret veritatem: et dormitantibus, immo contendentibus Graecis, ipsa Germania Spiritus Sanctus eloquia scrutaretur? . . . Et in opere Psalterii iuxta digestionem schedulae vestrae, ubique inter Latinos Graecosque contentio est, quid magis Hebraeis conveniat significem’ (Vallarsi, i 635).

Lastly from Spain came letters from Lucinius of Baetica, asking Jerome for his version of the Bible from the Hebrew. Jerome replied (*Ep.* lxxi 5):—

‘Canonem Hebraicae veritatis, excepto Octateucho quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum. Septuaginta interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito’ (Vallarsi, i 432).

¹ ‘Nescio quo Pannoniae regionis episcopo,’ Vallarsi (iv introd.), who also compares *Ep.* lxxviii (A. D. 397).

Lucinius was a remarkable person, rich and pious, and a great student of the Scriptures, and in 397 he sent scribes specially to Bethlehem to copy Jerome's works. Thence they returned in the Lent of the following year, bringing with them their transcripts and the letter just quoted. It is plain from these facts that Jerome's translations were reproduced in large numbers, and, as we saw above, he expresses his gratitude to the bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, who had supplied him handsomely with means for paying his *notarii* and *librarii*. Among his friends were some very rich and, no doubt, generous men like the senator Pammachius. In regard to these *notarii* it is interesting to quote another passage from one of Jerome's letters, where he says:—

‘Grandem Latini sermonis in ista provincia notariorum patimur penuriam; et idcirco praeceptis tuis parere non possumus.’

We may be sure that the learning and character of Jerome became known over the greater part of the Latin world during his lifetime, and that most serious students of the Bible living in the Latin-speaking countries must have tried to obtain copies of at least some of his works, and that they would be especially attracted by the vigorous and picturesque Latinity of his style. In this way the Hebrew Canon and the contents of the Hebrew text would become widely familiar.

The opposition and criticism which his translations met with, combined with the suspicion attached to one who had been a champion of Origen and was by nature timid, caused him to impose reticence and prudence on his correspondents. Thus, in his preface to Esdras and Nehemiah, he tells Domnio and Rogatian:—

‘Omne quod scribimus, reprehendendum putant, et interdum contra se conscientia repugnante, publice lacerant quod occulte legunt . . . Itaque obsecro vos, mi Domnion et Rogatiane charissimi, ut privata lectione contenti, libros non efferatis in publicum, nec fastidiosis cibos ingeratis; vitetisque eorum supercilium, qui iudicare tantum de aliis, et ipsi facere nihil noverunt. Si qui autem fratrum sunt, quibus nostra non displicent, his tribuatis exemplar.’

The fate of Jerome's translations was twofold. In regard to the two versions which he made in his early days at Rome at

the instance of Damasus, the Gospels and the Psalms, they were received without question everywhere as a great improvement on the older Latin version, and, as we have seen, by no one more readily than by the sharp critic of his other works, St Augustine. They were, in fact, as we shall see, the only portion of Jerome's works which the Church of Africa ever received at all. It was in Africa that these two works were first cited as authoritative in a public polemic. This has been pointed out with admirable and characteristic force and clearness by Mr Burkitt, first in his paper on the Old Latin text and the Itala in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, and secondly in what seems to me a conclusive article in vol. xi of this JOURNAL. The only point in which I venture to differ from him is on the question of nomenclature. By 'Vulgata' Jerome himself, who repeatedly uses the word, always means the so-called Old Latin, and it is quite a late and misleading practice by which the term is applied to Jerome's own translation. By 'Itala', again, Augustine, who invented the term, meant Jerome's translation of the Gospels, and I doubt whether he ever applied it to the later translations.

Mr Burkitt has shewn that in his earlier works, namely the *de Sermone Domini in Monte*, published in 394, the *de Agone Christiano* (396) and the *contra Faustum*, of uncertain date, but much earlier than 405, Augustine always uses the Old Latin version of the Gospels, while in the works he published after the year 399, when he issued the *de Consensu*, and when he had approved of Jerome's new Gospels, he quotes from the latter in his various works (*J. T. S.* xi 449). It was to these new Gospels, called *novum opus* by Jerome and written at Rome, that Augustine appropriately gave the name of *Itala*. They were the only New Testament translations by Jerome accepted by Augustine and the African Church. This was admirably shewn by Mr Burkitt in his earlier memoir by a dissection of the *Acta contra Felicem*, in which the charges of Manichaeism were brought up at the Synod of Hippo in 494. It is just to quote Mr Burkitt in his own words. He says:—

'The statements of Felix about the coming of the Holy Spirit had been so unsatisfactory that S. Augustine determined to read to him the full Biblical account. Accordingly a codex of the Gospels was handed

to him and he read from it to Felix Lc xxiv 36-49. Having read these verses he gave back the book of the Gospels and was then handed a codex of the Acts, from which he read the whole of the first chapter and the first eleven verses of the second. What S. Augustine read out is given *in extenso* in our MSS of Aug. *contra Felicem*, and an examination of the two passages leads to the surprising result that the passage from S. Luke is pure Vulgate,¹ while that of the Acts is that of S. Cyprian—the very oldest form of the African version known to us. This very remarkable state of things cannot very well be the result of corruption in our MSS of Aug. *contra Felicem*, for had the Gospel passage been corrected wholesale to the Vulgate, it is difficult to see why the still longer passage from the Acts should have wholly escaped. We cannot therefore but conclude that the codex of the Gospels handed to S. Augustine was a Vulgate codex, and the codex of the Acts was an Old Latin codex containing an 'African' text—in other words that by 404 A.D. the Gospels were read at Hippo from the Vulgate, while in some other books of the Bible, such as the Acts, the unrevised Old Latin was still publicly used' (*Texts and Studies* vol. iv pp. 57 sq.).

It is plain, therefore, that at this time, in regard to the Gospels, Augustine had adopted Jerome's version as the official text in his diocese. Perhaps this was also the case with the Psalter. In regard to Jerome's translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, Augustine continued to shew great opposition to it. Thus in *Ep.* cvi, written in 405, he tells us he had refused permission for Jerome's version to be used publicly in church, 'ne . . . magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi' (see on this Mr White's article on the Vulgate in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*). This, probably, led to the virtual exclusion of the translation in question from the African Church.

Rufinus died in Sicily in the year 410. It would appear from his polemics with Jerome that he had abandoned his earlier devotion to the Hebrew Canon. He had done this probably in response to the declaration of the African Councils on the subject and to the opinion held by the Roman see as indicated by the letter of St Innocent above quoted, which was written A. D. 405.

It was long generally supposed and widely believed that in the latter part of his life Augustine's views on the merits of Jerome's texts changed, and that he used them freely. This is quite a mistake, as has been pointed out by Kaulen, who says:—

¹ By 'Vulgate' Mr Burkitt means Jerome's version.

‘Man schloss dies aus dem sogenannten Sittenspiegel des hl. Augustinus, einer Anweisung zum gottseligen Leben, die centorienartig aus blossen Bibelstellen zusammengefügt ist. Bis zum Jahre 1852 war hiervon bloss ein Text bekannt, der die Bibelstellen aus der Uebersetzung oder der Revision des hl. Hieronymus enthielt, und so schien allerdings jene Meinung begründet. In dem angegebenen Jahre indessen veröffentlichte Angelo Mai aus einer uralten Handschrift einen andern Text, der nach allen Anzeigen das ächte und ursprüngliche Speculum Augustini bildet, und dieser ist durchaus der alten, unrevidirten Itala entnommen’ (Kaulen *Gesch. der Vulgata*; see also *Nova Patrum Bibl.* vol. i p. ii pp. i-viii, 1-117, Rome 1852).

It is plain, therefore, that when St Augustine wrote the *Speculum* he maintained his earlier attitude, and while accepting the Gospels and the Psalter in Jerome’s version rejected all his other translations, and *a fortiori* rejected his canon. This would otherwise be clear from the decision of the second Council of Carthage held in 419, which was attended by the Pope’s representative Faustinus, bishop of Potentia. At this Council the decisions of the previous Councils of Hippo and Carthage of 394 and 397 in regard to the Canon were reaffirmed.

Jerome himself died on September 20, A. D. 420. In the *de Civitate Dei*, begun in 413 and finished in 426, and therefore some years after Jerome’s death, Augustine speaks very plainly in regard to the issue between them. Thus he says:—

‘Ex hac Septuaginta interpretatione etiam in Latinam linguam interpretatum est, quod ecclesiae Latinae tenent; quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris Hieronymus, homo doctissimus, et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Graeco sed ex Hebraeo in Latinum eloquium easdem scripturas converterit. Sed eius tam literatum laborem quamvis Iudaei fateantur esse veracem, septuaginta vero Interpretes in multis errasse contendunt: tamen ecclesiae Christi tot hominum auctoritati ab Eleazaro tunc pontifice ad hoc tantum opus electorum neminem iudicant praefendum: quia etsi non in eis unus apparuisset Spiritus sine dubitatione divinus, sed inter se verba interpretationis suae septuaginta docti more hominum contulissent, ut quod placuisset omnibus hoc maneret, nullus eis unus interpres debuit anteponi’ (*de Civ. Dei* xviii 43).

Augustine, during his life and after his death, dominated the opinions of the African Church. As Kaulen says: ‘Das ganze fünfte und sechste Jahrhundert hindurch erhielt sich in ihr (i. e. the whole African Church) die alte Itala, und zwar nicht bloss

beim kirchlichen Gebrauch, sondern auch im literarischen Verkehr' (*op. cit.* 191). Hody long ago pointed this out, quoting the African writers in proof of it; viz. Marius Mercator, a layman and a considerable writer, who was in Rome in 417-418, and apparently outlived the Council of Chalcedon; Cerealis Afer, bishop of Castellum in Numidia, who wrote a work *adv. Maximinum*, and flourished about the year 485; Victor Vitensis, who flourished in the latter half of the fifth century; and Facundus, bishop of Hermiana in the province of Byzacene, who died after 571.

The only exception that I can find to the consistent use of the earlier Latin version by the Latin Church of Africa is Licinianus of Carthage, who in two letters written in 584 uses Jerome. For Gen. ii 7 see Migne *P.L.* lxxii 693.

More remotely connected with our subject than the names previously cited, is Junilius, the famous scholar of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was always treated as an African bishop until Kihn, in *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Afrikanus als Exegeten* published in 1880, shewed that he was not even an ecclesiastic. He apparently died about 551. He fills an interesting place in the history of the Western Canon. In his quotations he follows the Old Latin. What makes his Biblical theory remarkable is the fact that he follows, in part at least, the Canon of his master Theodore of Mopsuestia. His list of books is contained in the *Instituta regularia divinae legis* lib. i cap. 2. The books are thus classified:—

OLD TESTAMENT.

Libri perfectae auctoritatis:

Historia:

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Iesu Nave, Iudicum, Ruth, Regn. i-iv.

Propheta:

Psalmorum, Osee, Esaiae, Ioel, Amos, Abdiae, Ionae, Michaeae, Naum, Habacuc, Sophoniae, Hieremiae, Ezechiel, Daniel, Aggaei, Zachariae, Malachiae.¹

Proverbia:

Salomonis proverbiorum, Iesu filii Sirach.

¹ These books, says Dr Salmon, are arranged in what is evidently a chronological order and not in the order usually adopted.

Simplex doctrina :

Ecclesiastes.

Libri mediae auctoritatis, quos Plures ad Canonicos adiungunt :

Paralip. 2, Iob, Esdrae 1, Iudith, Hester, Maccab. 2. Hi libri non inter Canonicas Scripturas currunt, quoniam apud Hebraeos quoque super hac differentia recipiebantur sicut Hieronymus caeterique testantur.¹

Libri quos *quidam* ad Canonicos adiungunt :

Sapientia. Cantica Canticorum.²

NEW TESTAMENT.

Historia :

Libri perfectae auctoritatis :

Evang. iv, Act. Ap.

Simplex doctrina :

Pauli Ep. 14, Petri ad Gentes 1, Ioannis Ep. 1.

Libri mediae auctoritatis :

Iacobi Ep. Petri 2da³ } a quamplurimis caeteris adiunctae.
Iude, Ioannis 2 et 3 }
Apocalypsis, de qua apud Orientales admodum dubitatur.

The important fact in regard to the Canon just reported, which was doubtless of Syrian origin, is the note in which Junilius asserts that the two Books of Chronicles and Job were not accepted as canonical either by the Jews or by Jerome, which it is not possible to explain.

Having traced the history of the Canon in Africa during and after the time of Jerome, let us now turn to Gaul. There Jerome had several personal friends and correspondents and was widely known and esteemed ; but the main influence in spreading his text and teaching we cannot doubt was the famous monastery of Lerins. We can hardly doubt also that its general introduction into Gaul and its rapid adoption there were due to that very remarkable person Cassian, the father of Western monachism. He was born between A. D. 350 and 360, where, it is not certainly

¹ Neither Baruch nor Lamentations is mentioned in this list; they were doubtless included in Jeremiah. Tobit has also been excluded, doubtless by mistake, since it is quoted later on in the book.

² Dr Salmon notes that the low place assigned by Junilius to the Song of Solomon and the book of Job is in accordance with the estimate of these books formed by Theodore of Mopsuestia.

³ Junilius, says Salmon, quotes as Peter's the passage from his second epistle, which book he puts into the doubtful class.

known, but probably in the West, as his language was Latin; but he lived for some years with the anchorites of the Nitrian desert, and then at Bethlehem. In 405 he was at Constantinople, whence the same year he went to Rome. Here he probably stayed till 407, when he possibly paid another visit to the East and then went to Massilia in Southern Gaul, then famous for its culture, where he founded two monasteries, for men and women respectively, over one of which he apparently presided as abbot. Tillemont says that many monasteries owed their origin to him in that part of Gaul. He died when very old between 440 and 450 (Smith *Dictionary of Christian Biography* sub voce 'Cassianus'). He was the author of works on the monastic and eremitic life, and on the Nestorian heresy. His long career in the East, and notably in Palestine, no doubt made him familiar with the writings of his great contemporary Jerome, and we are not surprised to find him in his famous *Collationes* offering his commendation of Jerome's Biblical version. Thus he writes:—

'Si in sanctis suis non confidit, et in angelis suis reperit pravitatem (Iob xv) sive *ut emendatior translatio* habet: Ecce inter sanctos eius nemo immutabilis, et coeli non sunt mundi in conspectu eius.'

In his quotations, however, Kaulen says he used the old translation, and he gives as a sample Proverbs xii 16 (Migne *xlx* 1041).

Among the monasteries, the foundation of which was due to Cassian, was that of Lerins, the first abbot of which was St Honoratus, who became bishop of Arles and died on January 14 or 15, 429. Hilary (401–449) succeeded Honoratus, both as abbot of Lerins and as bishop of Arles. A contemporary of his, Eucherius, was born at the end of the fourth century, went to Lerins in 410, became bishop of Lyons in 429, and died between 449 and 455. In his work entitled *Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiae*, he cites the Psalms and the book of Job according to the Hebrew, and doubtless from Jerome. In his *Instructionum libri duo ad Salonium filium* i 1 (Migne *P. L.* 1775 B) we are told:—

'Etymologia, quae hic in Latino non sonat, in Hebraeo sermone servatur. Vir enim vocatur *is* et mulier *issa*. Quod animadvertitur pulcherrime recens custodisse *translatio* divina, dicens: Haec vocabitur virago quia ex viro sumpta est.'

Again:—

‘Quid est quod in annis Mathusalem quatuordecim anni per diligentem supputationem ultra diluvium deprehenduntur, cum octo tantum animae in arca fuisse referantur? Resp. Error in numero est: quippe cum in *Hebraeorum libris* ita legatur, ut intra diluvii tempus hic quatuordecim annorum numerus expleatur’ (*ib.* 777 A).

In the Psalms:—

‘Sciendum est tamen *melius* et secundum *Hebraeum verius* dici,’ &c. (*ib.* 791 D).

In book ii of the same work:—

‘Quorum nominum vocabula, ad haec quae obscuriora sunt in translatione veteri habentur. Haec vero quae lucidiora apparent, *novae translationis* textu continentur’ (Hody *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus* pp. 397 sq.).

Kaulen names among his quotations from Jerome’s translation in the *de Gubern. Dei*, Proverbs xi 22, Jer. xlv 22. Eucherius apparently used both versions indifferently. A more remarkable thing about him is that he not only followed Jerome’s text but also the Hebrew Canon. For in his *quaestiones* on the Old Testament, in *Instruction.* i 1, he treats only of the Pentateuch, Job, Kings, Micah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Chronicles, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles: a list which, while it omits much besides, is yet significant in its omission of all the so-called Apocrypha.

Salonius, the son of Eucherius, born while the latter was still a layman, was the pupil of Salvian, under whom he was taught at Lerins. He is supposed to have died before 475 (see Dr Stokes in Smith’s *Dictionary of Christian Biography* iv 579). In his work entitled *Expositio mystica in Parabolas Salomonis et Ecclesiasten* he follows Jerome’s version in his quotations. Kaulen specially quotes Job xxvi 5 as a sample.

St Vincent of Lerins, who probably died about 450, wrote a very famous work entitled *Adversus profanas omnium novitates Haereticorum Commonitorium*. In this work, which was published in 434, Jerome’s translation is used (see Kaulen, followed by White in Hastings’s Dictionary). Kaulen mentions, as proving the fact, a quotation from Deuteronomy xiii 1 (Migne I 650). Dom

Chapman points out, however, that in the Gospels he uses a mixed text (see *Vulgate Gospels* 166-167).

Prosper of Aquitaine, who was born about 393, took up his residence at Marseilles about 426-429. There he became a monk and there he lived till the year 440, when he returned to Rome with Pope Leo the First and apparently died there some time after A. D. 463. He was a great admirer of Jerome, and, doubtless, of his works. Thus we find him writing in his Chronicle, sub an. 386:—

‘Hoc tempore Hieronymus Presbyter in Bethleem toto iam mundo clarus habitabat, egregio ingenio et studio universali Ecclesiae serviens.’

While in his poem *de Ingratis*, as Hody (*op. cit.* p. 397) reminds us, he thus speaks of him:—

‘Tunc etiam Bethlei praeclari nominis hospes,
Hebraeo simul et Graio, Latioque venustus
Eloquio, morum exemplar, mundique magister
Hieronymus libris valde excellentibus hostem
Dissecuit.’

Kaulen gives a quotation from Job xix 25 (see Migne li 256) as an example of his use of Jerome’s version.

Arnobius, also a Gaulish prelate who flourished in the middle of the fifth century and wrote a commentary on the Psalms about the year 460, in commenting on the title of Psalm lxiv—

‘In finem Psalmus David Canticum Aggaei, Hieremiae et Ezechielis de verbo peregrinationis, et de populo transmigrationis, cum inciperent proficisci’—

claims that the three prophets’ names which do not occur in the Hebrew were added by Esdras, whom by implication he dates after the Seventy. He says:—

‘In Hebraeo non habet nec Hieremiam nec Aggaeum, nisi solum David. Sed Hesdra habens charitatem eorum, voluit eos memorare, asserens istum Psalmum David cecinisse eos in prophetationis suae initio.’

Thus again commenting on the title of Psalm cxi, which in the LXX is ‘Alleluia reversionis Aggaei et Zachariae’, he says:—

‘Vir Dei Hesdra propheta, cum recapitularet omnem Legem, Dei nutu quaedam adiunxit. Unde etiam Aggaeo et Zachariae istum titulum consecravit’ (Hody *op. cit.* pp. 397 sq.).

Some time during the fifth century there flourished at Arles a rhetorician named Julianus Pomerius, a Moor by birth. In the *de Vita contemplativa* he uses Jerome's text. Kaulen quotes Ezekiel xxxiv 1 ff from Migne lix 436 as a sample.

Claudianus Mamertus, a native of Gaul and brother of another Mamertus, archbishop of Vienne, with whom he has been confounded by Hody, was a famous literary personage of the fifth century. He lived at Vienne as a priest and was a friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, who on his death in 474 wrote his epitaph. In his work *de Statu Animae* he follows Jerome's version.

Faustus, known as Faustus Regiensis or Rhegensis, i. e. of Riez in Provence, was born at the close of the fourth century. He entered the monastery of Lerins about 426, where he became a great student of Scripture and where he was elected abbot in 432 or 433, and eventually he became bishop of Riez. About 481 he was banished from his see, apparently by the Arians, who had become supreme, and he lived on at least till A. D. 492. He also was a friend of Sidonius Apollinaris. He wrote a *Sermo ad Monachos*, in which, as in his work *de Libero Arbitrio*, he followed Jerome's version. For an example, see Migne lviii 812. Dom Chapman shews in regard to the Gospels that, while in the three Synoptics he used a mixed text, in St John he entirely follows the Old Latin.

Salvian of Marseilles, 400-481, is apostrophized by Hilary of Arles in 429 as *the most blessed man Salvianus the presbyter*, and in his old age he was called *Episcoporum magister*. According to Hody, in his work *de Gubernatione Dei*, he follows entirely, or almost entirely, Jerome's version. In his book *adversus Avaritiam* he follows the Old Latin. In his fourth epistle he uses *cucurbita* instead of *hedera*, in Jonah, as against Jerome.

Avitus, son of Hesychius, archbishop of Vienne, who was a person of senatorial rank, succeeded his father as archbishop in A. D. 490. He died on Feb. 5, A. D. 517. Several of his works are extant. M. Berger says of his Bible references:—

‘A l'exception du livre de Baruch et d'une seule citation d'Ésaïe [ii 3, 4 in *Ep.* xxii] les prophètes paraissent toujours cités par saint Avit d'après la Vulgate. Les livres des Rois et celui de Job, au contraire, ainsi que le Psautier, suivent l'ancienne version, tandis que le Pentateuque et les Proverbes sont cités alternativement d'après l'un et

l'autre texte. Dans la Genèse et dans les Proverbes, nous constatons des rapprochements remarquables avec un texte absolument gaulois, le livre anonyme cité, cents ans auparavant, par Prosper d'Aquitaine.'

In the New Testament, on the other hand, says M. Berger, there is not a single citation from the Vulgate (i. e. from Jerome's version). He explains this by the fact that the new version of the New Testament was not very superior to the old, and fewer changes had been made in it than in the Old Testament, with the result that the older translation remained longer in use.

Caesarius of Arles, 470-542, uses the new translation in his prayers and letters. Kaulen quotes samples, two in Job xl 6 and Numbers vi 23; see Migne lxxvii 1126.

St Germanus of Paris, who died in 576, uses the new version in his exposition of the Gallican Liturgy. Kaulen gives as a sample Numbers vi 23; see Migne lxxii 94.

Ennodius was of Gallic origin and born at Arles in 473 and died in 521. In his letters and smaller works he quotes from Jerome: an example from Isaiah li 7 is quoted by Kaulen (Migne lxxiii 195).

Eleutherius was born at Tournai about the middle of the fifth century and died in 531 or 532. In his sermons he quotes Jerome's version. Kaulen refers to Isaiah ix 7 from Migne lxxv 92 as an example.

As to the Councils held in Gaul, we find, according to Hody, p. 401, that only the Itala is used in the Acts of that of Orange held in 529; while in the Council of Tours held in 567 Jerome's version is employed.

In regard to the Gallican Liturgy Kaulen says:—

'Die gallicanische Liturgie, von deren biblischen Bestandtheilen uns nur Handschriften aus dem 7. und 8. Jahrhundert vorliegen, zeigt die spätere Uebersetzung, jedoch in einer Gestalt, welche auf den gleichzeitigen Gebrauch der ältern schliessen lässt' (*op. cit.* 200; see also Mabillon *de Liturgia Gallicana* iii, Paris 1785, and *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* in Muratori *Mus. Ital.* i, and Migne lxxii).

If we turn to Spain the Synod of Seville held in 590 issued the new version. It had been employed there, however, some fifty years earlier by Justus of Urgel in a commentary on Canticles; see Migne lxxvii.

Both the old and the new Latin versions are found in the Mozarabic rite. In the Missal there are several lections of Epistles and Gospels from Jerome's version; the introits and offertories come from the old version. The psalter used was the *Psalterium Vetus*. Similarly in the Breviary, while the Psalter shews no signs of Jerome's handiwork, the case is different with the Canticles. As Kaulen says:—

‘Die gedachten *cantica* dagegen sind auffallender Weise dem spätern Texte des Alten wie des Neuen Testaments entnommen. Vermuthlich ist ihre Zusammenstellung zu bequemerem Gebrauch erst später geschehen, als nur noch Exemplare der hieronymianischen Bibel in Umlauf waren; denn die nämlichen *cantica* sind da, wo sie den Officien an der zugehörigen Stelle eingerichtet stehen, meist nach dem Texte der Itala gegeben. Was sonst noch biblischen Ursprungs im Brevier ist, stammt ebenfalls aus der Itala’ (Kaulen, pp. 199 sq.).

It is plain, therefore, that during the sixth century and until the Arians dominated Southern Gaul, the Gaulish and Spanish churches very largely used Jerome's version of the Latin Bible.

We have very little evidence that Jerome's version was used in the fifth century in Italy. The only author known to me who quotes it is Sedulius, a poet who wrote in the middle of the century, and refers to Jerome in laudatory terms, and was himself afterwards praised by Pope Gelasius. He uses Jerome's version in his *Carmen Paschale*.

In Italy the use of Jerome's version spread slowly. In regard to the popes I will quote a paragraph from Kaulen, adding in each instance, in brackets, a specimen sample of the quotation. He says:—

‘Leo der Grosse (440–461) braucht zwar die Uebersetzung des hl. Hieronymus eben so oft, jedoch bedient er sich der Itala (Gen. xlix 10 from Migne liv 250). Auch der hl. Hilarus (461–468) citirt, wie es scheint, nach der erstern (Lev. xxi 13: Thiel *Epist. Rom. Pontiff.* 1867, p. 168), Felix III (483–492) (Gen. iv 7: Thiel *ib.* 269) und Gelasius I (492–496) (Jonah iii 4: Thiel *ib.* 306) nach der letztern. Anastasius II (496–497) führt das Alte Testament nach der Itala, das Neue nach der Revision des hl. Hieronymus an (1 Kings xvi 7; Romans xiv 13: Thiel *ib.* 617); Symmachus dagegen (498–514) gebraucht bloss die alte Uebersetzung (Ezech. xviii 20; Rom. xii 19: see Thiel *ib.* 614, 711) und auch von Hormisdas (514–523) ist dies das Wahrscheinlichere (Psalms cxxvi 1: Thiel *ib.* 878). Die Itala brauchen

ferner Bonifacius II (530-532) (Proverbs xix 14: Migne lxxv 33), Johannes II (533-535) (Proverbs viii 15: Migne lxxvi 17) und Agapetus (535-536) (Proverbs xxi 13: Migne lxxvi 46). Vigilius citirt eine Stelle des Buches Exodus nach dem hl. Hieronymus (Ez. xxiv 14: Migne lxxix 59). Pelagius I aber (505-560) führt noch einmal eine Stelle aus den Sprichwörtern nach der Itala an (Proverbs xviii 3: Migne lxxix 413). Die folgenden Päpste Johannes III (560-573) (Gen. xxxi 38: Migne lxxii 16), Benedict I (574-578) (Gen. ii. 24: Migne lxxii 683) und Pelagius II (578-590) (Job xci 26: Migne lxxii 740) halten sich einzig an die hieronymianische Uebertragung' (Kaulen *op. cit.* 201 sq.).

In regard to the ritual books at this time Kaulen says:—

‘Im Allgemeinen lässt sich bei ihnen die Beobachtung machen, dass die Lesestücke, welche die Gemeinde zumeist angingen, aus der hieronymianischen Uebersetzung stammen, während die vom Clerus zu verrichtenden Gebete, sowie die vom Chor vorzutragenden Gesangstücke auf dem herkömmlichen ältern Texte fussen’ (*ib.* 199).

Again he says:—

‘Der ambrosianische Ritus hat das, was aus den Psalmen stammt, nach dem *Psalterium Romanum*, die Lesestücke vom hl. Hieronymus, alles andere aus der Itala. Ueber die römische Liturgie lässt sich nicht so genau Aufschluss geben, weil die Lectionarien der fraglichen Zeit verloren gegangen sind¹ und die einzig uns erhaltenen Sacramentarien keine biblischen Bestandtheile haben. Nur die älteste Urkunde, das sogenannte *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, das aus dem Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts stammt, hat Bibelstellen nach der Itala angewandt.’

Kaulen cites in this behalf some quotations of Muratori, *de Rebus Liturgicis*, viz. Isaiah vii 14, Job xii 24, 2 Thess. iii 6, 1 Tim. iii 1 (Kaulen *op. cit.* 199-201).

In regard to individual Italians, John the Deacon, whose date is uncertain, in a letter printed by Migne uses Jerome's text: Kaulen cites Job xxvii 2-4 from Migne lix 402. Saint Faustinus in one of his homilies cites Jonah iii 4 (see Migne lix 409) from Jerome's version. It is not quite certain that this last writer was an Italian or lived in Italy.

The deacon Paschasius, who flourished at the beginning of the sixth century, in his work *de Spiritu Sancto*, uses Jerome's version. Kaulen quotes as an example Isaiah xlv 24 from Migne lxxii 12.

¹ Der sogen. *Comes* oder *Lectionarius Romanus* mag immerhin vom hl. Hieronymus herrühren, stammt aber in seiner jetzigen Gestalt aus späterer Uebearbeitung.

In quoting passages of Holy Scripture, such as those above given, from the various writers who flourished in Gaul, Spain, and Italy during the fifth and sixth centuries, we must not forget that what took place in regard to Augustine's *Speculum* already cited, no doubt took place elsewhere, and that the later and more popular version was substituted for the older one by the scribes, who copied out new texts, so that Jerome had a continual tendency to displace the old Vulgate. As Kaulen says: '... Die Stellen der Itala von den Abschreibern nicht selten nach der spätern Vulgata geändert worden sind' (*op. cit.* p. 193 note).

I have in this paper carried down the story to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, the time when Cassiodorus introduced fresh elements into the story. The discussion of these must be reserved for another occasion.

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