

Sixtus of Siena, O.P.

BIBLIOTHECA SANCTA — BOOK III

On the art of expounding the volumes of the Holy Library

English translation — Bibliotheca Sancta, Book III

Note on the Latin sources. This English version is drawn from two copies of Sixtus's *Bibliotheca Sancta*. The front matter and pages 6–108 were translated from the 1586 Cologne edition (Maternus Cholinus), which carries few marginal notes; the marginal glosses were then supplied from a second, more heavily annotated copy of the same work. From page 109 onward the translation is made directly from that margin-rich copy. The printed leaf- and page-numbers in both copies are frequently misprinted, so pages are aligned by content and scan sequence rather than by the printed folios.

(Rich PDF p. 150 — printed folio 133, recto. **The opening page of BOOK THREE**, On the Art of Expounding the Volumes of the Holy Library. A full-width title and **Preface** run across the top; below, the page divides into two columns, each beginning a section: the left on the **Definition and Division of the Art**, the right **On the Twofold Sense of Divine Scripture** (historical and mystical). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS. Book III is a treatise, not a lexicon; track it by section headings.)

BOOK THREE

By F. Sixtus of Siena, of the Order of Preachers: On the Art of Expounding the Volumes of the Holy Library.

Preface

Concerning the sacred Scriptures and writers, and concerning the writings and writers that are mentioned in the sacred letters, enough (as I judge) has been said by us in the two preceding books. Now we must speak of those authors who illumined the divine Scriptures by the pious labors of their expositions. But since this cannot be done fittingly enough unless first there be explained the art, the method, and the order which those very expositors employed in expounding the sacred volumes, we have thought it worth the effort to comprehend briefly, in this third volume of the *Holy Library*, the plan and force of the whole art which the Catholic expositors have followed in explaining the divine letters; for once this has been rightly understood, those things will be grasped more easily and readily which we are to write, in the fourth book of this work, concerning the various explanations of the holy expositors.

The Definition and Division of the Art by which Sacred Scripture is Expounded

First of all, then — that we may begin from the Definition of the Art: we call the art of expounding the sacred letters ¹ that [art] which teaches the precepts and rules necessary for the elucidation of divine Scripture. This whole [art], moreover, is divided into three parts, ² that is, into the **Definitive**, the **Inventive**, and the **Dispositive**. The Definitive ³ enumerates, distinguishes, and defines the senses and expositions of the sacred letters, indicating how many and what are the senses of divine Scripture, and the kinds of its expositions. The Inventive ⁴ teaches [us] to seek out the senses — already defined — that lie hidden in the abstruse discourses of the sacred volumes, and, once they have been searched out by diligent investigation, to find them. The Dispositive ⁵ teaches [us] to bring the discovered senses of divine Scripture into the light by a fitting and duly accommodated arrangement of explanation, and to set them forth in the most apt order through the various modes, formulas, and methods of expounding — so that the greatness and majesty of the divine oracles may, so far as can be done, be nobly expressed according to the dignity of the matter, and that the devotees of the sacred volumes may be made more eager to read those beautifully arranged explanations of them. Approaching, therefore, the first part of this art, which is concerned with the definition of the senses and expositions, let us speak first about the senses themselves of sacred Scripture.

On the Twofold Sense of Divine Scripture

There are two senses of divine Scripture, the **Historical** and the **Mystical**. The Historical ⁶ is that which the narration of the deed done, and the series of the words under their common and customary signification — whether proper or metaphorical — represents in the outer bark of the letter. For there is a twofold variety, or

mode, of the historical sense,⁷ namely the proper and the metaphorical. The **Proper** is that which words and names present according to the first and bare signification of the word: as when by "wolf" and "fox" we understand the animals which are first signified by these words. But the **Metaphorical**⁸ is that which words transferred and carried over to a new signification signify; or [that] which a figurative expression circumscribes — as when in common speech we designate some greedy person by the name of "wolf," and some crafty person by the word "fox"; or as when in the divine letters Christ is called lamb, lion, rock, vine, worm, and many more of that kind,⁹ all of which are ascribed to Christ not properly, but through a certain likeness. The other sense, however — the **Mystical** and spiritual — is far more hidden and more sublime, which is not open to all, but lies concealed in the inmost marrow of the words; signified not through the words, but through the very things themselves,¹⁰ as when by the bronze serpent, hung upon the wood, Christ lifted up on the cross is designated. The difference of the two senses Paul taught us in his second epistle to the Corinthians,¹¹ saying [that the Jews...]

¹ The art of expounding the sacred letters is defined. ² The division of the Art of expounding the sacred letters. ³ What the Definitive art is. ⁴ The Inventive. ⁵ The Dispositive. ⁶ The historical sense of Scripture is defined. ⁷ The historical sense is twofold. ⁸ What the metaphorical historical sense is. ⁹ Christ is called lion, rock, vine, worm, etc., not properly but through a likeness. ¹⁰ The mystical sense of Scripture is signified not through the words, but through the very things themselves. ¹¹ 2 Cor. 3[:15].

(*Rich PDF p. 151 — printed folio 134. The chapter **On the Twofold Sense** finishes (the veil on the Jews' hearts; circumcision of flesh vs. heart), then a new section **On the Two Kinds of Exposition of the Sacred Writings** — the Historical (illustrated by Christ's exposition of the Mosaic divorce law) and the Mystical, itself divided into Allegorical, Tropological, and Anagogical, each keyed to past, present, and future. Origen and Porphyry, the Essenes and Philo; then Christ's own allegorical and tropological expositions. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.*)

[continuing from p150] ...[that the Jews] read daily and hear the reading of the Old Testament according to the letter, but that a veil is placed over their heart, so that they do not understand the spiritual understanding which gives life;¹ and, writing to the Romans, he showed that the law concerning circumcision has a twofold sense:² one according to the letter — signifying the circumcision of the flesh only, whose praise is among men; the other according to the spirit — enjoining the circumcision of the heart, greatly praised by God.

On the Two Kinds of Exposition of the Sacred Writings

For the explication of these senses, then, two kinds of exposition have been devised, namely the **Historical** and the **Mystical**. Now the Historical exposition is that which elucidates the historical, or literal, sense;³ which indeed our Lord Jesus Christ very often used in expounding the holy Scriptures. From these we may take, for example, His exposition of the law of Moses concerning the giving of the bill of divorce, which is written in Deuteronomy in these words:⁴ *If a man take a wife, and have her, and she find no favor in his eyes because of some uncleanness, he shall write a bill of divorce, and give it into her hand, and send her away out of his house.* Since the Pharisees understood this law wrongly⁵ — thinking that Moses had commanded husbands to dismiss, for any cause whatever, wives who had become hateful to them, and to take another — Christ declared it according to the true meaning of the Mosaic letter in this manner, saying:⁶ *Moses, for the hardness of your heart, permitted you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so. And I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her that is put away committeth adultery.* Our Savior would have wished to say: You Jews are a race of men fiercer and wilder than the beasts, without the fear of God, without love and without mercy; and therefore Moses indeed permitted you⁷ — but did not command you — to put away wives held in hatred: not as though it were anything lawful, but as a remedy provided against the avoidance of a greater evil, lest, driven by hatred and by despair of an inseparable marriage, you should turn to the

murder of your spouse. For it has always been an evil to put away a wife for any cause whatever, and to take another — indeed [it is] against the very nature of matrimony, established from the beginning of the human race, whose law is: ⁸ *For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they shall be two in one flesh.* This, therefore, is the first exposition — the historical, pertaining to the first sense of divine Scripture.

The other kind of Exposition — which is called **Mystical**, ⁹ that is, hidden, secluded, and spiritual, and is necessary for the elucidation of the mystical senses that are enclosed in the holy Scripture — comprises three particular species, or parts, of explanation: namely the **Allegorical**, the **Tropological**, and the **Anagogical**; distinguished according to the threefold difference of past, present, and future time. The Allegorical ¹⁰ makes manifest the foretokens and presages of the shadows and figures of things past under the old law. The Tropological turns whatever things were done and said in the holy Scriptures to the moral instruction of the present life. The Anagogical raises the mind to the loftier mysteries of future blessedness and of heavenly glory. ¹¹ So then, according to the threefold division of the times, there are [these] species of Mystical explanation.

The first invention of this [mystical exposition] Porphyry — an enemy of the Christian name — supposed to have proceeded from Origen Adamantius; ¹² concerning whom, as Eusebius reports, he himself wrote these words in the third volume against the Christians: "The Christians cling to the discourses of the Jewish Scriptures, and affirm that those things which Moses wrote in a rustic and simple style are divinely sanctioned, and set beneath figures and riddles; and they expound them as though filled with immense mysteries. This kind of exposition had its beginning from a man whom I myself, when I was still quite a boy, ¹³ saw holding the ark of all erudition. This is Origen, whose immense glory is held among their teachers." But Philo the Jew, in the book to which he gave the title *On the Contemplative Life*, reports that this kind of spiritual interpretation was long before most usual among the Essenes ¹⁴ — men foremost among the Hebrews in religion and holiness — who from the rising of the dawn until evening were accustomed to spend whole days in the reading of the divine Scriptures, which they also strove with the utmost zeal to render into spiritual and allegorical senses. But we Christians believe, much more rightly and truly, that Christ Jesus — in whom are all the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God — was the first author of this hidden exposition, ¹⁵ and first of all showed to us, both through Himself and through His disciples, each and every species of Mystical elucidation.

He taught the **Allegorical** explanation when, speaking to the Jews about John the Baptist, He said: ¹⁶ *Elias indeed shall come, and shall restore all things: but I say unto you, that Elias is already come, and they knew him not, but did unto him whatsoever they would* — signifying by these words that the life of Elijah in the Old Testament was a type and shadow of the life of John, ¹⁷ who at the outset of the New Testament came in the spirit and power of Elijah. Paul likewise, in the epistle to the Galatians, explaining allegorically the history of Abraham's two sons, ¹⁸ says: *It is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondwoman, and the other by a free woman: but he who was of the bondwoman was born according to the flesh; he of the free woman, by promise: which things are said by an allegory; for these are the two testaments, etc.* ¹⁹

Our Redeemer used the **Tropological** exposition ²⁰ when He turned the history of the repentance of the Ninevites, and of the coming of the queen of the South to Solomon, to the reproach of the most abandoned morals and the most obstinate unbelief of the Jews, saying: ²¹ *The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they did penance at the preaching of Jonas; and behold a greater than Jonas here. The queen of the South shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold a greater than Solomon here.* And Paul, in the epistle to the Corinthians, accommodating to morals the history of the Hebrews who perished in the desert, ²² says: ²³ *Our fathers all [passed through] the sea...*

¹ Rom. 2:29. ² The law concerning circumcision has a twofold sense. ³ What the historical exposition of Scripture is. ⁴ Deut. 24:1. ⁵ Christ explained the law of Moses, which was badly understood by the Pharisees. ⁶ Matt. 19:8–9. ⁷ Moses permitted the Jews to put away wives, but did not command this. ⁸ Matt. 19:5. ⁹ The mystical kind of exposition is distributed into three species. ¹⁰ The allegorical exposition. ¹¹ Tropology. Anagogy. ¹² Porphyry's lie. ¹³ Porphyry as a boy saw Origen. ¹⁴ The Essenes were, among the Hebrews, foremost in holiness. ¹⁵ Christ the Lord was the author of the mystical exposition of the Scriptures. ¹⁶ Matt. 17:11–12. ¹⁷ Elijah's life was a type and shadow of the life of John the Baptist. ¹⁸ Gal. 4:22–23. ¹⁹ Paul explains allegorically the history of Abraham's two sons. ²⁰ Christ the Lord used the tropological exposition. ²¹ Matt. 12:41–42. ²² Paul accommodated the history of the Hebrews to morals. ²³ 1 Cor. 10:1, 5–9.

(Rich PDF p. 152 — printed folio 135. The tropological example from 1 Cor 10 finishes; then Paul's **anagogical** exposition (the promised land → the heavenly Jerusalem). A key principle follows: one passage can bear all the senses at once — shown by **Eucherius's** fourfold exposition of the word "Waters" (historical, tropological, allegorical, anagogical). Then two alternative schemes are cited: **Augustine's** fourfold division (History, Allegory, Analogy, Aetiology, from On the Usefulness of Believing) and **Jerome's** threefold one (to Hedibia). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p151] ...[our fathers all] passed through the sea; but with the greater part of them God was not well pleased. Now these things were done in a figure of us, that we should not lust after evil things, as they also lusted; neither become idolaters, as some of them, as it is written: The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play. Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed fornication, and there fell in one day three and twenty thousand. Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them tempted, and perished by the serpents. Now all these things happened to them in figure; and they were written for our correction, upon whom the ends of the ages are come.

Paul used the **Anagogical** exposition ¹ in the epistle to the Hebrews, when he adapts that land of the Palestinians, promised to the fathers, to the promise of future glory, saying that that land — so greatly desired by the Patriarchs, and sought out through so many wanderings — is not the present, visible, earthly region of the Canaanites, but a future, invisible, and heavenly fatherland, having better foundations, whose builder is God; ² and [that it is] the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, thronged with many thousands of angels. So many, then, are the species of the sacred expositions.

But it must be known that not only can all things which are found in the sacred letters be plainly explained by one or another of these expositions, but also that it very often happens that one and the same passage and words of divine Scripture admit all these expositions at once. ³ Of this the most apt example is furnished by St. Eucherius in his book of *Spiritual Formulas*, illustrating by a fourfold exposition the word "Waters," which is most frequent in the holy Scriptures, in these words: **There are four kinds of divine Expositions: the Historical, the Tropological, the Allegorical, and the Anagogical.**

The **Historical** exposition is that which impresses upon us the truth of the deeds and the faith of the revelation.

The **Tropological**, or moral, exposition is that which refers the mystical understandings to the amendment of life.

The **Allegorical** exposition is that which shows the narration of the deeds to have prefigured the shadow of things to come.

The **Anagogical** exposition is that which brings forth the more sacred secrets of the heavenly figures; and these very [secrets] are made plainer by the examples set beneath them.

Water, according to history, signifies the elemental water which washes and flows through the earth, as in the beginning of Genesis: ⁴ *Let the waters be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear.*

Tropologically, Water signifies tribulations. The Psalm: ⁵ *We have passed through water and fire, and thou hast brought us out into refreshment;* and in Isaiah: ⁶ *When thou shalt pass through the waters, I will be with thee, and the rivers shall not cover thee.* Likewise it signifies wisdom, as Solomon says: ⁷ *The words from*

the mouth of a man are deep water, and an overflowing torrent the fount of wisdom. Likewise heresies, the same Solomon writing: ⁸ *Stolen waters are sweeter*. Likewise the prosperities of the world, in John, who says: ⁹ *Whosoever shall drink of this water shall thirst again*.

Allegorically, Water signifies baptism: concerning which it is read in the volume of Ezekiel: ¹⁰ *I will pour upon you clean water, and you shall be cleansed from all your defilements*. Likewise, in the Apocalypse, Peoples: ¹¹ *Many waters, many peoples*. And in Isaiah: ¹² *Blessed are you that sow upon all waters*. Likewise grace — [that] of the Holy Spirit — in John: ¹³ *If any man thirst, let him come and drink; and out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water*.

Anagogically, Water is expounded of eternal beatitude, as in Jeremiah: ¹⁴ *They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water*. Likewise it is sung of the Angels in the psalm: ¹⁵ *Let the waters that are above the heavens praise the name of the Lord*. Thus Eucherius.

But I think it by no means to be passed over that Augustine, in the book *On the Usefulness of Believing*, to Honoratus, chapter 3, seems to divide these kinds of exposition far otherwise than we and Eucherius have distinguished them, ¹⁶ speaking in this manner: **Four modes of expounding the law are handed down by certain treaters of the Scriptures: according to History, according to Allegory, according to Analogy, according to Aetiology.**

According to history, then, it is delivered when it is taught what was written, or what was done — [or] what was not done but only written as though it had been done. According to Aetiology, when it is shown for what cause a thing was either done or said. According to Analogy, when it is demonstrated that the two testaments, namely the old and the new, are not adverse to one another. According to Allegory, when it is taught that certain things which are written are not to be taken to the letter, but understood figuratively. In all these modes our Lord Jesus Christ and the Apostles made use. For [something] is taken from history, when it was objected that on the Sabbath day His disciples had plucked the ears of grain: ¹⁷ *Have you not read, He says, what David did, and they that were with him? how he entered into the house of God, and ate the loaves of proposition, which it was not lawful for him to eat, nor for them that were with him, but for the priests alone*.

To **Aetiology** pertains that [passage] which — when Christ had forbidden a wife to be put away, except for the cause of fornication, and it had been cited to Him by those questioning [Him] that Moses had permitted the license of putting away by giving a bill of divorce — He says: ¹⁸ *This Moses did for the hardness of your heart*. For here the cause is rendered why that was rightly permitted by Moses for the time, so that what Christ was enjoining might show that other times had now come.

To **Analogy** pertains that [passage] which — when Matthew had narrated the slaughter of the infants perpetrated by Herod — he straightway added the agreement of this deed with the sayings of the old testament, saying: ¹⁹ *Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying: A voice in Rama was heard, weeping and much wailing, Rachel bewailing her sons: and she would not be comforted, because they are not*.

To **Allegory** pertains that which Paul says to the Galatians: ²⁰ *It is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondwoman, the other by a free woman: which things are said by an allegory*. Thus Augustine.

But Jerome seems to distinguish these kinds of exposition somewhat more diversely, ²¹ thus writing in the twelfth question to Hedibia: **There is a threefold description and rule of the Scriptures in our heart: the first, that we understand them according to History; the second, according to Tropology; the third, according to spiritual understanding.**

In **History**, the order of the things which are written is preserved.

In **Tropology**, we rise up from the letter to greater things; and whatever was carnally done in the former people, we interpret according to a moral sense, and turn to the profit of our soul. [continues p153: In...]

¹ The use of the anagogical exposition in St. Paul. ² Heb. 11:13. ³ One and the same passage of Scripture sometimes admits all four kinds of exposition. ⁴ Gen. 1:9. ⁵ Ps. 65:12. ⁶ Isa. 43:2. ⁷ Prov. 18:4. ⁸ Prov. 9:17. ⁹ John 4:13. ¹⁰ Ezek. 36:25. ¹¹ Rev. 17:15. ¹² Isa. 32:20. ¹³ John 7:38. ¹⁴ Jer. 2:13. ¹⁵ Ps. 148:4. ¹⁶ Augustine divides the kinds of exposition of sacred Scripture otherwise than Eucherius and Sixtus do. ¹⁷ Matt. 12:4; Mark 2:23; Luke 6:1. ¹⁸ Matt. 19:7–8. ¹⁹ Matt. 2:17–18. ²⁰ Gal. 4:22–24. ²¹ St. Jerome distinguishes the kinds of exposition of Scripture otherwise than those above.

(Rich PDF p. 153 — printed folio 136. Jerome's threefold scheme closes ("Thus far Jerome"); then Sixtus reconciles the Fathers — they agree on the number of senses and differ only in how they group them: Eucherius into four, Jerome into three, Augustine into two (the scheme Sixtus follows). Three comparative **division-diagrams** follow. Then a new chapter, **On the Use and Usefulness of the Historical and Mystical Exposition**: only the literal/historical sense has probative force for defending doctrine and refuting heresy. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p152] In the spiritual θεωρία (contemplation), we pass over to loftier things, we let go of earthly things, we discourse of the blessedness of things to come and of heavenly things, so that the meditation of the present life may be a shadow of the blessedness to come. Thus far Jerome.

But that all the diversity which seems to be among these Fathers may be recalled to concord, one must know that they do not disagree at all as to the number of the four Expositions, but differ only in the manner of dividing. ¹ For that partition of the expositions which Eucherius distributed into four members, Jerome [reduced] to three, and Augustine (whom we have followed) reduced to two members — in the manner which appears in the figure set below.

Eucherius's Fourfold Division. The exposition of the sacred letters is fourfold, namely:

- **Historical** — [either] Proper [or] Metaphorical
- **Tropological**
- **Allegorical**
- **Anagogical**

Jerome's Threefold Division. The exposition of the sacred letters is threefold, namely:

- **Historical**
- **Tropological**
- **Spiritual** — which is twofold, namely: Allegorical [and] Anagogical

Augustine's Twofold Division. The exposition of the sacred letters is twofold, namely:

- **Historical** — [subdivided into] Analogical [and] Aetiological
- **Allegorical** — which in the book *On True Religion*, chapter fifty, is assigned as threefold; of which:
 - the **First** accommodates the figures of past things to things present: this retained for itself the name of *Allegorical*;
 - the **Second** pertains to morals and the affections of the soul: this is called *Tropological*;
 - the **Third** exalts [the mind] to unchangeable eternity: this is called *Anagogical*.

Let these things be said concerning the two kinds of sacred exposition; to which a few little points concerning their necessary use and usefulness seem worth adding.

On the Use and Usefulness of the Historical and Mystical Exposition

The historical kind of exposition is, first of all, supremely necessary ² for the instruction of those matters which are to be believed by us, for the confirmation and defense of the faith, and for refuting those who resist

the truth, and for convicting all heresies. For no exposition brought in for the proof of dogmas has force and strength, unless it be one that truly, purely, and genuinely unfolds the meaning of the letter.³ For since other explanations search out the senses hidden within the marrow of the letter, and thence endeavor to draw them forth from certain likenesses of things, they can easily be deceived by the images of like things — especially since this deduction and elucidation of the spiritual senses is made by the thought, discourse, and inquiry of the human wit, which is often deceived, and in obscure matters is wont frequently to invent those things toward which the mind is most inclined, whether by nature or by exercise. For if I myself should wish to establish⁴ that priests have the power of binding and loosing from sins, by the mystical exposition of that saying of Christ to the Apostles, *Loose him, and let him go*, the adversary will at once reply that this was said of the loosing of the linen cloths in which Lazarus was wrapped, and not of the loosing of sins. But if I show the very same thing from the authority and literal exposition of that saying of Christ to the Apostles,⁵ *Receive the Holy Spirit: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose you shall retain, they are retained*, he will straightway be compelled to acquiesce and to assent to the words. Accordingly, St. Augustine rightly writes thus in the epistle to Vincentius the Donatist: *But who would not most impudently strive to interpret in his own favor something set in an Allegory, unless he also had most manifest testimonies by whose light the obscure things might be illumined?* Jerome too, in the second [book] of his commentaries on Matthew, treating of the leaven hidden by the woman in three measures of meal⁶ — after he had reported the exposition of certain persons who applied that parable to the trinity of persons and the unity of essence — subjoins these words: *A pious sense, indeed; but a parable and the doubtful understanding of riddles can never avail for the authority of the dogmas.* Thus he. Therefore the literal [exposition] alone is strong for supporting truth and destroying falsehood;⁷ for since from the [first...]

¹ The Fathers are recalled to concord, as far as concerns the distinction of the expositions of Scripture. ² For what matters the historical kind of exposition is necessary. ³ What exposition of Scripture has force for proving the dogmas of the faith. ⁴ John 11:44. ⁵ John 20:22–23. ⁶ Matt. 13:33. ⁷ Only the literal exposition is valid for supporting truth and destroying falsehood.

(Rich PDF p. 154 — printed folio 137. The second usefulness of the historical/literal sense: it is the foundation of every mystical exposition (the Manichaeans' error over "In the sun he set his tabernacle" shows the danger of neglecting it). Then the counterpart: the **mystical** sense is no less necessary — without it we would be dragged back into Judaizing, and the Law's sacrifices and histories would seem absurd (Abraham's two wives = the two Testaments, per Paul). Finally, hold the mean: condemn both the dead-letter literalists and those who reject the letter to force insipid allegories. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p153] ...[for since] it is drawn from the first signification of the words, or from transferred words most closely joined to the first signification, it is more open and more efficacious than the other explanations. And this is the first and most necessary use of the historical exposition.

Its second usefulness and necessity arises from its relation to the other mystical expositions, beneath which it must needs be laid as their base and as the stable foundation of the whole spiritual edifice.¹ For unless the sense of the letter be first clear to us, how will it be possible for us to illustrate by spiritual elucidations those [passages] whose words are most obscure to us? There will be danger, too, if from words not understood we should wish to express some hidden sense, that we fall into various heresies; and that the same befall us which has befallen many heretics, especially the Manichaeans: who, since from ignorance of the Hebrew tongue they did not understand the literal sense of that saying,² *In the sun he hath set his tabernacle*, turned themselves to the supports of an allegorical exposition,³ saying that Christ after his resurrection ascended without flesh to the Father, having left his body within the compass of the solar globe — so that his flesh should be adored by us in the sun, as in the tabernacle of the Lord's body — whereas nevertheless the genuine and proper sense and exposition of the letter is this: that God set a tabernacle for the Sun in heaven, from which the Sun himself, in the early morning, like a bridegroom coming forth from his chamber, goes forth to show the splendor of his countenance to all mortals. These, then, are the necessity and the benefits of

the Historical exposition.

But the Mystical kind of exposition contains no lesser advantages, being far most useful both for the integrity of the faith and for the instruction of morals. For it is, first of all, most necessary for discerning, preserving, and explaining the purity of the gospel doctrine ⁴ — which must needs be contaminated and defiled by us with Jewish institutions, if we should everywhere wish to explain the Scriptures, especially the old ones, according to the bare letter. And it would then be necessary to return again to that ancient observance of the Jewish ceremonies, and again to be circumcised with the Jews, to sacrifice cattle, to eat the lamb and the unleavened bread, to abstain from unclean foods, and to follow the other shadows of the Hebrews — which, now that the gospel light has shone forth, have vanished away. Next, hardly any kind of defense or answer is left to us against the enemies of the law and the prophets, if they object to us: why did God once give such absurd laws — to cut off the little skin of the foreskin, to kill a lamb, to slaughter a calf, to cut the throat of a goat, to defile everything with beastly blood, to carry a peg upon the belt, and, after the manner of cats, to cover the excrements of one's own body with dug-up earth? We shall also find but few things in the old histories that would spiritually delight the soul and feed the mind, if we neglect the mystical expositions; ⁵ rather, all those things will seem to us insipid, rustic, senseless, and utterly unworthy of the divine majesty, which God commands concerning the lamb, the ram, the ox, the red heifer, the goat, the fat, the right shoulder, the liver, the breast, the belly, and the other entrails of brute beasts. And God himself will seem to command nothing great, nothing sublime, nothing worthy of God — [nothing] but sacrifices of this kind, which seem cheap, lowly, and to be despised by the wise of this world — unless you refer [them] to the sacrifice of Christ, which was made for us contemptible, abject, and despised even unto the death of the cross; outwardly indeed clothed in a sordid and cheap garment of flesh, but inwardly great, lofty, magnificent, and beautiful beyond the sons of men — [Christ] who suffers himself to be figured by unworthy words and cheap sacrifices. Therefore, in carnal sacrifices of this kind, unless we admit a mystical sense and explanation, the laws of the gentiles — whether of the Athenians or of the Lacedaemonians — will seem more rational.

But neither will the old histories be able at all to profit for the forming of morals, if we consider them according to the bare letter. For what does it profit toward salvation to know the wars and seditions of the ancient Jews, if in them we understand nothing else than slaughter and effusions of blood? What does it matter toward attaining piety to know, according to the letter, that Abraham had two wives and [two] sons, Ishmael and Isaac; that the boy Isaac was weaned from milk; that on the day of the weaning a banquet was made; that [Ishmael] played with Isaac; that Sara is indignant that the son of the handmaid should play with the son of the free woman — unless you refer the carnal history to the mystical understanding, and, together with Paul, expound that Abraham having two wives signifies Christ having two testaments and two peoples: ⁶ the one carnal, and the other spiritual, weaned from the milk of the carnal Life; and that the play of infancy [signifies] the persecution of the carnal people against the spiritual; and that on this account Sara — that is, the new law — is indignant against Hagar, the old law which perceives only carnally? ⁷ If you should expound these things mystically in this fashion, the history will help in a wonderful manner to foster and nourish in us the fire of faith and love, and will bring to our taste the delight of a wondrous savor.

Here, however, those who take up the task of expounding the sacred Scriptures must be admonished to hold the mean in these expositions, and to flee the extremes (which are always faulty). For just as certain expositors of our age are by no means to be approved, who — the mystical senses being spurned as chance thoughts devised at pleasure — perpetually sit beside the drowsy letter, and lean upon dead syllables and words alone, cold, without spirit, bloodless and lifeless: so also gravely to be condemned are certain inept expositors of our times, who — having utterly rejected the literal exposition as a matter of the slightest moment, and (as they say) worthy of Grammarians rather than Theologians — drag forth in each passage of Scripture certain forced and insipid allegories, doing violence to the divine Scripture; and, the truth of the

history being destroyed, peddle their ridiculous notions as great and hidden sacraments of the Church. These I most lovingly beseech and adjure to consider that the literal exposition is not a thing so common, cheap, and worn out,⁸ and [that... to all...]

¹ The literal exposition is the foundation of the other expositions. ² Ps. 18:5. ³ The folly of the Manichaeans, born of ignorance of the literal sense of Scripture. ⁴ The mystical kind of exposition is necessary for preserving and explaining the sincerity of the gospel doctrine. ⁵ Few things in the old histories delight the soul spiritually, if we neglect the mystical expositions. ⁶ Gal. 4:24, 29. ⁷ Abraham having two wives signified Christ having two Testaments and two peoples. ⁸ The literal explication of Scripture is the most difficult of all.

*(Rich PDF p. 155 — printed folio 138. The literal sense is in fact the hardest of all: Jerome and Augustine came to it only late — Jerome's confession in his preface to Obadiah (his youthful allegorizing vs. the literal commentary of his old age), and Augustine's in the Retractations (worn out by the labor of expounding Genesis to the letter). The historical sense is thus most noble. A new chapter follows, **On Three Particular Expositions** (Elemental, Physical, Prophetic), opening with the **Elemental** — letters as sounds and as numbers (the Resolutive and Composing modes: acronym-expansion and anagram). Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)*

[continuing from p154] ...[and that the literal exposition is not so common, cheap, and worn out, and] open to all — as they themselves boast — [as merely fit for] the pedagogues of boys, but is the most difficult of all expositions, and the most laborious, on account of the unusual and abstruse properties of the holy tongue, and on account of the abundance of most difficult matters — namely of all the arts, sciences, and disciplines — which are comprehended under the historical sense of Scripture. Witnesses of this are the two most brilliant lights of the Latin church, Jerome and Augustine,¹ who did not dare to set their hand to the Historical explanation except when already advanced in age, after they had spent many years in mystical explanations, as in easier studies. Whose words it pleases [us] to bring in here for the confirmation of our opinion, so that those who approach the exposition of the Scriptures may recognize how greatly the Historical explanation is to be esteemed. Concerning it, Jerome, in the preface of his commentaries on Obadiah, speaks thus:

*When I was a little child, I spoke as a little child, I understood as a little child, I thought as a little child; but when I became a man, I put away the things that were of a child.*² If the apostle advances, and — daily forgetting the things that are past — *reaches forth to the things that are before*,³ according to the precept of the Lord and Savior (holding the plough-handle, he looks not back behind him),⁴ how much more ought I — who have not yet come to the age of a perfect man and to the measure of Christ — to deserve pardon for this: that in my youth, provoked by ardor and zeal for the Scriptures, I interpreted allegorically the prophet Obadiah, whose history I did not know? My mind burned with mystical knowledge; and because I had read that *all things are possible to them that believe*, I was ignorant that the charisms are diverse. I knew the letters of the age [secular learning], and on that account I thought I could read the sealed book. I hoped that what I had written lay hidden in my little chests, and had vowed the first rashness of my little wit to the fire — when suddenly there is brought from Italy a copy [of it], by a certain youth as many years old as [the years] since I had once written it, praising my little work. I confess, I marveled that, however badly anyone has written, he finds a reader like himself. He was proclaiming [it]; I was blushing. He was carrying, as it were, the mystical understandings up to heaven; I, with lowered head, was kept from confessing my shame. What then? Do we condemn that in which we played as boys? By no means. But I freely profess that that was [the work] of a boyish wit, and this, which I now write, [the work] of ripe old age. Thus Jerome, when in extreme old age he wrote a commentary on the prophet Obadiah according to the letter.

But Augustine testifies that, having first written easily on Genesis according to allegory, he attempted much later a literal exposition upon the same book, but, deterred and worn out by the magnitude of the labor, was compelled to desist.⁵ His words are these, in the first volume of the *Retractations*: *When I had composed two books on Genesis against the Manichaeans — since I had handled the words of Scripture according to the allegorical exposition, not daring to expound to the letter such great secrets of natural things (that is, in what*

manner the things there said might be taken according to historical propriety) — I wished to try, in this most laborious and most difficult work also, what I could do; but in expounding the Scriptures my apprentice-effort sank beneath so great a burden of the load; and before one book was finished, I rested from the labor which I could not sustain. Thus far the words of Augustine. From which it is clear that the historical explanation is not to be neglected by the expositors of our age as if ignoble, trivial, and unlearned,⁶ since it itself surpasses almost all the mystical expositions by the excellence of noble and most learned matters.

And let these things concerning the four general and principal explanations of divine Scripture be said sufficiently; it remains for us to proceed to certain other particular explications of the same Scripture.

On Three Particular and Little-Used Expositions of Divine Scripture

After those four kinds of sacred exposition — the most excellent, and most usual among all expositors — already described by us, there are found also three particular explanations of divine Scripture,⁷ namely the **Elemental**, the **Physical**, and the **Prophetic**: of which, although the use among the divine interpreters is rare, and they seem in some way to be contained under the aforesaid common kinds, nevertheless, lest we leave untouched anything pertaining to the present purpose, we shall explain them as not unworthy to be known, beginning first from the Elemental exposition itself.

On the Elemental Exposition

The Elemental explanation — from which the elemental expositors are so named⁸ — is that which is concerned with the signification of the simple elements, or letters. But since letters signify chiefly two things, that is, the individual parts of syllables, and the marks that indicate numbers (especially among the Greeks and Hebrews, who represent every kind of number by letters),⁹ this explanation is necessarily divided into two modes of explaining.

On the First Mode of the Elemental Exposition

The First Mode — that is, the one which, from the resolution of the elements of each word, and again from a new and different connection of those same elements, deduces manifold senses, both historical and mystical, from the sacred Scriptures — this mode is cut into two parts, that is, the **Resolatory** and the **Composing**. Now the former part, in which single letters signify single words, and single [words] are expounded through single [letters], is on that account called **Resolatory**,¹⁰ because it consists wholly in the resolution of the elements: for it tears apart and separates the letters of any given word, one from another, and from each single letter draws out certain words beginning with that same letter — which lay bare the mysteries hidden in the whole marrow of that word. The latter part, which treats of **composition**,¹¹ transposes those same elements of the same word — before scattered and disjoined — again in a new order, and, placing one in the room of another with position changed, connects them, and composes from them new syllables, words, [and] parts of speech,

¹ Jerome and Augustine did not dare to set their hand to the historical explanation of the Scriptures until they were advanced in age. ² 1 Cor. 13:11. ³ Phil. 3:13. ⁴ Luke 9:62. ⁵ Augustine desisted from the literal exposition of Genesis, deterred by the magnitude of the labor. ⁶ The historical explanation of Scripture is the most noble. ⁷ There are three particular explanations of the Scriptures. ⁸ Whence the elemental expositors are so named. ⁹ Numbers among the Hebrews and Greeks are represented by letters. ¹⁰ What the Resolatory exposition of Scripture is. ¹¹ What the Composing exposition of Scripture is.

(Rich PDF p. 156 — printed folio 139. The **Resolatory** elemental exposition (letters standing for words). The Hebrews claim it as part of their Cabala, but Sixtus finds it also among the Greeks — Plato's Cratylus, and the tale of **Aesop** reading a marble column's seven letters three different ways to find (and then withhold) a treasure. Then Hebrew examples: Jerome's notarikon of נמרצת ("grievous," 1 Kings 2:8) into Shimei's five reproaches of David; the acronym **ADAM** = the four directions (with a Sibylline verse); and Daniel's

MENE, TEKEL, PHARES — single words standing for whole sentences. Running head: *LIBER TERTIVS.*)

[continuing from p155] ...[composes from them new syllables, words, and] parts [of speech], and formulas of discourse, by whose aid the understandings of the diverse senses, and the most secret mysteries, are laid open. The Hebrews claim for themselves the intention of this explanation, asserting it to be a part of the **Cabala**¹ — that is, of their more secret and Anagogical, or Allegorical, wisdom — which their Fathers received, handed down from hand to hand from their elders a little after the times of Moses. Which indeed is not sufficiently ascertained to me, since I find that the same skill of expounding existed also among the most ancient Greeks — not only in Plato, in the *Cratylus*, where he treats of a not dissimilar discipline concerning the etymology of names, but also in **Aesop** the Phrygian,² who is believed to have flourished long before the times of the Trojan war, in the same age as Orpheus and Linus. For he, as is read in his *Life*, when together with his master Xanthus he was surveying the ruins of certain old buildings, chanced upon a certain marble column on which seven Greek letters were engraved, indicating a treasure buried in that place, not far from the column. And when Xanthus was anxiously inquiring into their meaning, Aesop — having found words which began with those same characters — illustrated that writing by applying three [different] expositions.³ The letters were of this sort: **A, B, Δ, O, E, Θ, X**; which Aesop, disclosing to his master the place of the treasure that the letters designated, first expounded thus:

A — ἀπόβαθι (*ascend*); **B** — βήματα (*steps*); **Δ** — τέσσαρα (*four*); **O** — ὀρύξας (*digging*); **E** — εὕρήσεις (*thou wilt find*); **Θ** — θησαυρόν (*treasure*); **X** — χρυσίον (*golden*): that is, "Ascending four steps [and] digging, thou wilt find a golden treasure."

And so, when Xanthus had dug up the treasure and would assign no part of the gold to Aesop, Aesop modestly admonished him to obey the precept engraved on the column — [namely] what those letters contained — in this way:

A — ἀνελόμενοι (*taking [it] up*); **B** — βαδίσαντες (*go*); **Δ** — διέλεσθε (*divide*); **O** — ὃν (*which*); **E** — εὑρετε (*ye have found*); **Θ** — θησαυρόν (*treasure*); **X** — χρυσίον (*golden*): that is, "Taking [it] up, go, divide the golden treasure which ye have found."

But when Xanthus disdained to do this, and wished to possess the gold alone, Aesop, indignant, threatened that, unless he received a part, he would carry out yet another command of the same writing, the letters prescribing thus:

A — ἀπόδος (*render*); **B** — βασιλεῖ (*to the king*); **Δ** — Διονυσίῳ (*to Dionysius*); **O** — ὃν (*which*); **E** — εὔρες (*thou hast found*); **Θ** — θησαυρόν (*treasure*); **X** — χρυσίον (*golden*): that is, "Render to King Dionysius the golden treasure which thou hast found."

But however the matter may stand — whether the Greeks or the Hebrews first devised this manner of expounding — there are, as we have already said, two parts of it. Of the former, or **Resolutive** part, in which single letters denote single words, not a few examples exist among the ancient Fathers. Among these, Jerome, in the *Questions on the third book of Kings*, examining those words of the dying David to Solomon⁴ — *Thou hast also with thee Shimei, the son of Gera, the son of Jemini, of Bahurim, who cursed me with a most grievous curse* — explains the force of that word of execrable cursing, showing the reproaches which Shimei heaped upon David [to be drawn] from the letters which are in that word, **GRIEVOUS** — which in Hebrew is written נִמְרֶצֶת (*nimretzeth*), and consists of these five letters: נ *nun*, מ *mem*, ר *resh*, צ *tsade*, ת *tav*.

⁵

In נ *nun* is signified נָאֵפִי (*naaph*), that is, **Adulterer** and ravisher of another's wife — because he had defiled himself with adultery of Uriah's wife.

In מ *mem* is signified **Moabite** — by which word Shimei reproached him with the ignobility of his own stock, that he was descended from the ignoble and unbelieving seed of the Moabites.

In ר *resh* is denoted רצח (*rotseach*), that is, **Homicide** and slayer — who took off innocent Uriah by evil guile, and slaughtered the whole royal line of Saul.

In צ *tsade* is signified צרוע (*tsarua*), that is, **Leper** — because he would be cast out from all men from his kingdom, after the likeness of a leprous man, whom the law commanded to be driven from the cities and from the company of men.

In ת *tav* is signified תועבה (*to'evah*), that is, **Abominated** — not only by men, but by God, who had utterly cast him off as an impious man.

But Augustine, in the ninth tractate on John — and before him Cyprian, in the treatise on Sinai and Sion, and after both Bede, in his commentaries on John — declaring the etymology of the name **Adam**,⁶ think the first man was so called because that earth from which he was formed was taken by God from the four cardinal points of the world, which are comprehended in the four letters of that same name. For **A** [signifies] ἀνατολήν (*Anatolē*), that is, the East; **D**, δύσις (*Dysis*), that is, the West; the other **A**, ἄρκτος (*Arktos*), that is, the North; and **M**, μεσημβρίαν (*Mesēmbria*), that is, the South. This interpretation of the name the Sibyl had expressed many ages before, in the second book of the *Oracles*, in these verses — whose sense is this:

Truly it is God who fashioned four-lettered Adam, who was first formed, and who fills up by his name the Rising [East] and the Setting [West], the South and the vigorous North.

To this part of the Resolatory exposition can also be referred the interpretation of those words of which single ones signify single whole sentences — such as those three words which (as is had in the fifth chapter of Daniel) that prodigious hand wrote on the wall before the king of Babylon,⁷ namely מְנֵה מְנֵה **MENE**, תְּקֵל **TEKEL**, פְּרָסִין **PHARESIN**, that is, **NUMBERED**, **WEIGHED**, **DIVIDED**. Daniel, expounding these by three whole sentences, interpreted thus: **NUMBERED** signifies, "Numbered is thy kingdom by God, and completed"; **WEIGHED** signifies, "Weighed in the balance, and found wanting"; **DIVIDED** signifies, "Divided is thy kingdom, and given to the Medes and the Persian."

There follows the latter part of this exposition, pertaining to **composition**, which is made by the commutation and transposition of letters.⁸

¹ What the Cabala is to the Hebrews. ² Aesop lived before the Trojan war. ³ Aesop's pleasant and varied interpretation of the seven letters. ⁴ 1 Kings 2:8 (cited as 3 Kings). ⁵ The reproaches which Shimei heaped upon David are contained in one Hebrew word. ⁶ An excellent observation on the name Adam. ⁷ Dan. 5:25–28. ⁸ The expounding composition is made by the commutation and transposition of letters.

(*Rich PDF p. 157 — printed folio 140. The **Composing** elemental mode (letters commuted and transposed). Example one: the ATBASH cipher — Jeremiah veils **BABEL** as **SESAC** (Sheshach, Jer 25:26), with the mechanics of the reversed alphabet. Example two: **Pico della Mirandola's** Heptaplus, permuting the first word of Genesis, בְּרֵאשִׁית (Bereshith), into a dozen Hebrew words that compose the sentence "The Father, in and through the Son, created...", unfolded as man-the-microcosm mirroring the three worlds. Then Sixtus turns to **Jerome's** interpretation of the Hebrew alphabet (Aleph = doctrine, Beth = house...). Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)*

[continuing from p156] ...[the latter part, pertaining to composition, which is made by the commutation and transposition] of letters. That this was in use among the most ancient Hebrews,¹ an argument is Jeremiah's prophecy against the king of Babylon, written in the 25th chapter of his prophecies. In which place the prophet, lest he should openly provoke the king himself against himself, artfully transformed the name **BABEL**, by commuting its elements, into **SESAC**, saying:² *And Sesac shall drink the cup of the wrath of God after them* — hinting that, by the word Sesac, according to the rule of this explanation, the name Babel must be understood. Now the rule of explaining this name is, as Jerome there reports, that just as we read the Greek alphabet from A to Ω in order, and again, to exercise the memory of boys, we are wont to reverse the

order of reading and to mix the last with the first — joining A with Ω, and B with Ψ — so the Hebrews proceed from א (aleph) through ב (beth) and ג (gimel), in the straight order, up to the last ת (tav), whose penultimate is ש (shin); and then, joining together at once א and ת, ב and ש, until they reach the middle of the alphabet, where the letter ל (lamed) meets כ (kaph). Whence it comes about that, just as running through the alphabet in the straight order we read BABEL, so with the order permuted we read SESAC. (For the vowel-letters between the ל, ב, and א of the name BABEL, and between the כ, ש, and ש of the name SESAC, are, according to the idiom of the Hebrew tongue, not written.)

John Pico [della Mirandola], in his *Heptaplus*, brings a most brilliant example of this explanation, expounding that first word of Genesis, **IN THE BEGINNING**. In which place he writes these words:

That word is written among the Hebrews in this way: בראשית (Bereshith). From this word, therefore: if we join the third letter to the first, the word אב (ab) is made; if, the first being doubled, we add the second, bebar is made; if we read all but the first, ראשית (reshith) is made; if we connect the fourth to the first and last, שבת (shabbath) is made; if we set the three first in the order in which they lie, ברא (bara) is made; if the first be omitted [and] the three following [taken], ראש (rosh) is made; if, the first and second being omitted, [we take] the two following, אש (esh) is made; if, the three first being omitted, we join the fourth to the last, שת (Seth) is made; again, if [we join] the second to the first, רב (rab); if after the third [we set] the fifth, then the fourth, איש (ish) is made; if we join the first two to the two last, ברית (berith) is made; if [we put] the last for the first, the last word is made, which is טוב (tob), the ת (tav) being turned into the element ט (teth) — a change most frequent among the Hebrews.

*Let us see, therefore, first what these signify in Latin, then what mysteries about all nature may be revealed by them to those not unversed in philosophy. Ab signifies "father"; bebar, "in the Son and through the Son" (for the preposition be- signified both); Reshith, "beginning"; Shabbath, "rest" and "end"; Bara, "he created"; Rosh, "head"; Esh, "fire"; Seth, "foundation"; Rab, "of the great"; Ish, "of man"; Ber [berith], "by a covenant"; Tob, "good." And if we weave the whole into a sentence in consequent order, it will be of this sort: **"The Father, in the Son and through the Son — the beginning and the end, or the rest — created the head, the fire, and the foundation of the great man, by a good covenant."** This whole sentence leaps forth from the resolution and composition of that first word. How lofty, how full of all learning its sense is, cannot be plain to all. But as some of the things signified to us by these words are at once open to all, so certain [others] are obscure. For it is known to all Christians what it is that the Father created in the Son and through the Son, and likewise what it is that the Son is the beginning and the end of all things — for he is alpha and omega, as John writes, and he himself called himself the beginning, and we have shown the end of all things to be that they be restored to their beginning. The rest is somewhat more obscure: namely, what those [words] mean — the Head, the fire, and the foundation of the great man; what that covenant is, and by what reasoning it is called good. For it cannot be seen at once and readily by all that there is here explained the whole reason, kinship, and also the felicity of the four worlds, of which we have treated and about which we finally disputed. First, then, it must be noted that the world is called by Moses a **great man**.³ For if man is a little world, surely the world is a great man. Taking occasion hence, he most aptly figures the three worlds — the intellectual, the celestial, and the corruptible — by the three parts of man,⁴ at the same time indicating by this figure not only that all the worlds are contained in man, but also briefly declaring which part of man answers to which world. Let us therefore consider in man three parts: the highest, the head; then that which reaches from the neck to the navel; the third, that which extends from the navel to the feet — for these too, in man's figure, are divided and separated by a certain variety. But it is wonderful how beautifully, how exactly, by most precise reasoning, they correspond in proportion to the three parts of the world. In the head is the brain, the fount of knowledge; in the breast is the heart, the fount of motion, life, and heat; in the last part are the genital members, the beginning of generation. Likewise also in the world: the highest part, which is the angelic or intellectual world, is the fount of knowledge, because that nature was made for understanding; the middle part, which is heaven, [is] the beginning of life, motion, and heat, in which the Sun, like the heart in the breast, holds dominion; below the Moon (as is known to all) is the beginning of generation and corruption. You see how aptly all these parts of the world and of man mutually agree. Now Moses designated the first [part] by its proper name, namely the head; the second he called fire — both because by this name heaven is reckoned by many, and because in us this portion is the beginning of heat; the third he called foundation, because by it, as is known to all, the whole body of man is founded and sustained. He added, moreover, that he created these by a good covenant, because among them a covenant of peace and friendship has*

been sanctioned — out of the kinship of natures and by mutual consent — through the law of God's wisdom. Which covenant is therefore good, because it is so directed and ordered toward God, who is the good itself, that, just as the whole world is one among itself, so at last it may be one with its author. Let us too imitate the most holy covenant of the world, that by mutual charity we also may be one with each other, and all together, through the true love of God, may happily become one with Him. Thus Pico.

But if these [examples] seem few to you, and you desire to see an example of both parts joined together at once, you have St. Jerome, in the epistle to Paula of Rome, and in the preface of his commentaries on the Lamentations:⁵ in which places, delivering certain things as, so to speak, the first rudiments of this art, he first of all interprets separately the individual elements of the Hebrew Alphabet, then shows what Mysteries are contained in the several combinations of them. His words — that I may indulge you, friendly reader — I will not be loath to subjoin here. They are these: *But now what you asked is fulfilled: that the interpretation annexed may signify the sense of each element. Aleph is interpreted "doctrine"; Beth, "house"; Gimel, "fullness"; Daleth, "of tablets"; He, "this"; Vau, "and"; Zain, "these"; Heth, "life"; Teth, "good"; Iod, "beginning"; Caph...*

¹ This composition was in use among the ancient Hebrews. ² Jer. 25:26. ³ The world is a great man. ⁴ In man there are three principal parts. ⁵ Jerome shows what mysteries are contained in the several combinations of the Hebrew elements.

(Rich PDF p. 158 — printed folio 141. Jerome's interpretation of the Hebrew alphabet finishes: the letter-meanings, then the twenty-two letters grouped into seven "connexions," each read as a spiritual sentence, climaxing in Christ ("Thus Jerome"). Then the five mystical Greek letters (Isidore): Y (the Pythagorean letter of the two life-paths, with a poem from Lactantius), Θ (death), T (the cross, Ezek 9:4), and Α/Ω (Rev 1:8) — with X (Justin Martyr, Plato) and Cicero's A/C. Sixtus's balanced verdict: value it in moderation (the alphabetic Psalms, Lemuel, Lamentations), but it also bred Gnostic madness. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p157] ...[Aleph, "doctrine"; Beth, "house"; Gimel, "fullness"; Daleth, "of tablets"; He, "this"; Vau, "and"; Zain, "these"; Heth, "life"; Teth, "good"; Iod, "beginning";] Caph, "hand"; Lamed, "discipline," or "of the heart"; Mem, "from them"; Nun, "everlasting"; Samech, "help"; Ayin, "fount," or "eye"; Phe, "mouth" (understand it said from "mouth" [os, oris], not from "bone" [os, ossis], lest you be deceived by the ambiguity of the letters); Tsade, "justice"; Coph, "calling"; Resh, "of the head"; Shin, "of teeth"; Thau, "signs." After the interpretation of the elements, the order of their meaning must be told; for out of these letters there are seven connexions [groups].

Of which the **first** is Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth — "doctrine, house, fullness, of tablets": namely, that the doctrine of the Church, which is the house of God, may be found in the fullness of the divine books.¹

The **second** connexion is He, Vau, Zain, Heth — "this, and, these, life": for what other life can there be without the knowledge of the Scriptures? — through which also Christ himself is recognized, who is the life of believers.²

The **third** connexion has Teth, Iod — "good beginning": because, although we now know all things that are written, yet we know in part, and we prophesy in part, and now we see through a glass in a riddle; but when we shall have merited to be with Christ, and shall be like the angels, then the doctrine of books shall cease,³ and then we shall see, face to face, the good beginning as it is.

The **fourth** connexion is Caph, Lamed — "hand, discipline (or, of the heart)": hands are understood in [outward] work, heart and discipline in the understanding — because we can do nothing unless we first know what is to be done.

The **fifth** connexion is Mem, Nun, Samech — "from them, everlasting help": this needs no explanation, but is clearer than all light — [namely] that from the Scriptures eternal helps are ministered.

The **sixth** connexion has Ayin, Phe, Tsade — "fount (or eye) of the mouth of justice"; according to that which we expounded in the fourth number.

The **seventh** connexion (which is also the last, because in this very seven-fold number too there is a mystical understanding) is Coph, Resh, Shin, Thau — "calling of the head, signs of the teeth": through the teeth the articulate voice is uttered, and by these signs one comes to the head of all, who is Christ, through whom one comes to the everlasting kingdom. Thus Jerome.

There are also among the Greeks, as Isidore relates, five mystical letters, ⁴ namely **Y, Θ, T, A, Ω**. Of which the first, **Y**, signifies human life: ⁵ this Pythagoras of Samos first shaped after the example of human life; its lower stem shows the first age — uncertain, indeed, and which has not yet given itself either to vices or to virtues. But the fork that remains begins from adolescence: whose right part is steep, yet tending toward the blessed life; the left, easier, but leading down to ruin and destruction. Concerning which letter a certain most ancient poet, as Lactantius testifies in book VI, chapter 3, wrote thus:

*The letter of Pythagoras, cleft by its two-horned division,
seems to present the likeness of human life.
For the way of virtue, steep, seeks the right-hand path,
and offers a difficult approach, at first, to those who look on,
but gives rest to the weary at the topmost peak.
The broad road displays a soft journey; but the final goal
hurls down the captured, and rolls them over steep rocks.
For whoever, out of love of virtue, has conquered
hard misfortunes, he shall win for himself praise and honor;
but he who will follow idle sloth and luxury,
while, with incautious mind, he flees the labors set against him,
base and needy at once, shall pass a wretched age.*

The second [letter] is **Θ** theta, which signifies death: ⁶ for the judges used to append this same letter to the names of those whom they punished with execution. And it is called **θ** theta, ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου, that is, "from death"; ⁷ whence also it has through its middle a dart — that is, the sign of death — of which a certain poet says thus: "O letter Theta, unhappy far beyond the others."

The third, **T**, shows the figure of the Lord's cross: ⁸ whence in Hebrew it is interpreted "Sign." Of which it is said in Ezekiel: *Mark Thau upon the foreheads of the men that mourn and grieve.* ⁹ But the remaining two, **α** and **ω**, Christ claims for himself — the highest and the last — for he is the beginning and the end, saying: *I am α and ω.* ¹⁰ For, these two letters running together into one another, [the series] rolls down from **α** all the way to **ω**, and again **ω** is folded back to **α** — that the Lord might show in himself both the running-down of the beginning to the end, and the running-back of the end to the beginning. To these letters Justin the Philosopher and Martyr adds also **X**, whose form he affirms — in the second *Apology* to Antoninus Pius — to contain the mystery of the most sacred cross of Christ, ¹¹ calling Plato as witness of the matter; who, in the *Timaeus*, discoursing of the Son of God, says that God placed his Son in the world in the likeness of the letter X. I pass over, for brevity's sake, that Marcus Tullius [Cicero] calls **A** the salutary letter, because it was the mark of acquittal, ¹² but **C** the unlucky one, because it was the sign of condemnation. ¹³

There are those who explode this whole kind of exposition as a ludicrous and fortuitous thing; and again others who admire it superstitiously and extol it to heaven. Not approving the extremes of these opinions, I judge, first, that an invention of this kind is not altogether to be despised — both because this view has great

authors, as I have already shown, and because there are many things in the sacred letters which cannot be mystically explained without it: such as certain Sacred poems, which are therefore called **Alphabetary**, because they are arranged according to the order of the alphabetic elements ¹⁴ — like David's seven Psalms, the maternal Instruction of King Lemuel [Prov. 31], and the Threni [Lamentations] of Jeremiah — which indeed Jerome judges to have been digested into this order of letters not in vain, nor without immense mysteries and sacraments of the Church. Besides these, there are certain other things concerning some particular letters, both Hebrew and Greek — such as, in Ezekiel, the Hebrew letter ת Thau, marked on the foreheads of those to be preserved, and, concerning Α alpha and Ω omega, the Greek characters in the Apocalypse of John.

But, as I do not condemn those who moderately and aptly accommodate these things in their places from time to time, so neither do I praise those who pursue the same too anxiously, and with useless and utterly empty labor — since it does not escape me that from this fount emanated the prodigious madness of the Valentinians and Gnostics, ¹⁵ who, as both Irenaeus and Epiphanius show in the first book against the heresies, examining all divine Scripture according to this dissection of the elements, divulged unheard-of monsters of new heresies. And let these things be said sufficiently concerning the first mode of this explanation.

On the [second mode...]

¹ The doctrine of the Church is found in the fullness of the divine books. ² Christ, who is the life of believers, is recognized through the Scriptures. ³ The doctrine of books will cease in heaven. ⁴ The Greeks have five mystical letters. ⁵ Y signifies human life. ⁶ Θ signifies death. ⁷ Whence Theta is named. ⁸ T is the figure of the Lord's cross. ⁹ Ezek. 9:4. ¹⁰ Rev. 1:8. ¹¹ The letter X contains in its form the mystery of the cross. ¹² A is the letter of acquittal. ¹³ C is the unlucky letter of condemnation. ¹⁴ There are some Alphabetary poems in the sacred writings. ¹⁵ Whence the madness of the Valentinians and Gnostics emanated.

(Rich PDF p. 159 — printed folio 142. The **Second (Arithmetical) Mode** of the elemental exposition — *gematria*, where letters carry number-values (Hebrew and Greek do, Latin only partly: I V X L C D M). Examples: **Appion** on Homer (μῆνιν → μη = 48 books); kabbalistic *gematria* on the **Tetragrammaton** (Iod 10, Vau 6, double He — per Philo); **Peter Brutus** on the "closed mem" of Isaiah 9:7 (a dating of the Messiah, Rabbi Hammai in Sanhedrin: 585 years); Augustine on the temple's "46 years" = **ADAM** (1+4+1+40) = the days Christ's body was formed in Mary's womb; and the number of the Beast, **666** (Rev 13:18). Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p158]

On the Second Mode of the Elemental Exposition

The second mode of the elemental explanation — which we may call the **Arithmetical** ¹ — labors in investigating the significations of the numbers which the letters, placed in words and syllables, represent. Which mode, as it is almost unknown among us, so among the Greeks and among the Hebrews was used chiefly for this reason: that their individual letters signify some number. ² For among the Hebrews א Aleph signifies one, ב beth two, ג ghimel three, ד daleth four, and so on in succession, the individual elements of the Hebrew alphabet indicate some number. Among the Greeks too, α represents one, β two, γ three, δ four, and the rest that follow. But among the Latins it is not so: they have only seven letters as indices of numbers, ³ that is, **I, V, X, L, C, D, M** — of which I signifies unity, V the number five, X ten, L fifty, C a hundred, D five hundred, M a thousand. And therefore the Latins neglect this mode of explanation as unfit for Latin letters — [a mode] which certain widespread expositions of both peoples show to have once been usual among the Jews and Greeks.

Of their number, among the Greeks, was that explication of Appion the Grammarian of Alexandria, who was called by Tiberius Augustus "the Cymbal of the World." ⁴ He, when he expounded that first word of the

Homeric Iliad, Μῆνιν [Mēnin, "wrath"], used to say that Homer had artfully begun his book with the syllable μη, namely so that by these two letters he might comprehend the whole number forty-eight — [the number] of the volumes by which the whole body of the Iliad and the Odyssey published by him is completed. For the Greeks designate the number forty-eight by μ [40] and η [8].

There are also among the Hebrews innumerable explanations of this kind, proceeding from the kabbalistic discipline, by which many hidden mysteries in the sacred words are opened. As, for example, in that name of God which among them is ineffable, and is written with these four letters, יהוה IEHOVA, they say that three numbers are contained: that is, Ten in the letter Iod, Six in the letter Vau, and a double Five in the two ה He. By which numbers also, they say, is signified the infinite and admirable abundance of the divine powers — because Ten by its own nature designates the fullness of all knowledge and wisdom, and Six the power that is the procreatrix of all things and of all good — just as Philo the Jew shows learnedly enough in his explanations of the *Hexaemeron* and of the *Decalogue*, whose words I omit for brevity's sake.

Peter Brutus, bishop of Catania, also brings a signal example of this exposition, in his volume against the Jews. In the fourth chapter of it, expounding that prophecy of Isaiah concerning the Messiah, *His empire shall be multiplied*,⁵ he asks why the letter מ Mem — placed in the middle of the word למרבה (*Lemarbe*, that is, "shall be multiplied") — is closed [in its final form], contrary to its nature, since nowhere in all divine Scripture is it found closed in the middle of a word, but always open.⁶ And he answers, following the opinion of Rabbi Hammai in the book *Sanhedrin*, that Isaiah wished by this closed letter מ Mem to signify — by a certain hidden device of computation — the number of the years from his own time up to the time of the Messiah. Which computation the same Rabbi Hammai, in the place just cited, set forth thus, saying: *If anyone wishes to know the time of the Messiah, let him take the number of the letter Thau, which is 400; then let him take the individual numbers of the individual letters from א aleph up to מ closed mem, whose sum is 185; and let him join it with the number 400: you will have 585 years — which, according to the computation of the Hebrews, complete the space of the whole time, from the days of Isaiah up to the coming of the Messiah, our Savior.* Which words become clearer when the significations of each Hebrew letter are considered, which are these: Aleph signifies 1, Beth 2, Ghimel 3, Daleth 4, He 5, Vau 6, Zain 7, Cheth 8, Teth 9, Iod 10, Caph 20, Lamed 30, Mem open 40, Mem closed 40, and so on; but Thau signifies 400.

To this also pertains what Augustine, in the tenth tractate on John, expounding that [saying] from the gospel of John, *Forty and six years was this temple in building*, said: that the number of the forty-six years of the temple's building signifies the building of the bodily temple which Christ built for himself out of the flesh of Adam — whose name, AΔAM, among the Greeks is composed of letters comprehending the number forty-six,⁷ since A signifies 1, Δ 4, Α 1, M 40, which numbers joined together make forty-six;⁸ for in so many days was the body of Christ completed in the womb of Mary.

But it seems to me that this form of explanation is not altogether to be despised, on account of certain places of divine Scripture which cannot be conveniently explained without a certain observation of the numeral elements. Among these, most notable is the place from the 13th chapter of the Apocalypse, whose arithmetical letters the Holy Spirit bids us diligently consider and compute, in these words:⁹ *Here is wisdom. He that hath understanding, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred sixty-six.* By which words the Holy Spirit warns that the name by which that wicked Antichrist will call himself is composed of numeral letters signifying the number 666. Concerning which arithmetical letters, and the name resulting from them, various things have been said by the Fathers — more for the exercise of wit than for the stability of assertion — of which it pleases [me] to subjoin some here.

[continues p160: In...]

¹ What the arithmetical mode of expounding the Scriptures is. ² The letters of the Hebrews and Greeks signify some number. ³ The Latins have only seven letters as indices of numbers. ⁴ Appion the grammarian was called by Tiberius "the Cymbal of the World." Why Homer began his book with the syllable μη. ⁵ Isa. 9:7. ⁶ Why מ [final mem] is closed in the middle of a word. ⁷ The number of the 46 years of the

temple's building signifies the formation of Christ's body in his mother's womb. ⁸ ΑΔΑΜ is composed of letters signifying the number 46. ⁹ Rev. 13:18.

(Rich PDF p. 160 — printed folio 143. The **666 name-tables**: four Patristic guesses at the Antichrist's name whose Greek letters sum to 666 — **Teitan** (Irenaeus & Hippolytus), **Lateinos** (Arethas), **Lampetis** (Tyconius), **Antemos** (Primasius). Sixtus closes the elemental exposition, then opens a new chapter, **On the Physical (Natural) Exposition** — which transfers Scripture's mystical discourse to the workings of nature. Its worked example: the **Tabernacle** (Exod 26–27), read as a model of the cosmos (from Philo, Josephus, Clement, Jerome) — its three parts = the three worlds; the Court = the sublunar world; the Holy Place = the celestial world (the seven-lamped candelabrum = the seven planets). Running head: **LIBER TERTIVS**.)

[continuing from p159] The name of Antichrist, according to Irenaeus and Hippolytus, is TEITAN [Teitan], that is, "Giant"; ¹ and the numeral marks from which this name is deduced are these:

T 300, E 5, I 10, T 300, A 1, N 50 — **Sum: 666**.

According to Arethas, his name is ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ [Lateinos], that is, "the Latin"; and the numeral letters are these:

Λ 30, A 1, T 300, E 5, I 10, N 50, O 70, Σ 200 — **Sum: 666**.

According to Tyconius, his name is ΛΑΜΠΕΤΙΣ [Lampetis], that is, "illustrious"; and the numeral letters are these:

Λ 30, A 1, M 40, Π 80, E 5, T 300, I 10, Σ 200 — **Sum: 666**.

According to Primasius, it is ΑΝΤΕΜΟΣ [Antemos]; and the elements of the numbers are these:

A 1, N 50, T 300, E 5, M 40, O 70, Σ 200 — **Sum: 666**.

And these things concerning the elemental explanation we have recounted perhaps more at length than was needful, that we might more fully explain a matter unusual and known to few.

On the Physical Exposition

The **Physical**, that is, Natural exposition ² is that which transfers the mystical discourses of divine Scripture to the universe, or to the powers and works of all nature — that is, to the matter, form, and parts of this sensible world — inquiring, in the divine oracles, into the motion, order, and adornment of the celestial spheres, the qualities of the elements, the properties of metals, the virtues of plants, and the habits of living creatures. This way of expounding certain notable expositors of Exodus and Leviticus especially entered upon among the Hebrews, who explained the natures of almost all things in the interpretation of these volumes, showing how Moses — according to the correspondence of the threefold world and the universal nature of things — ordered the ark, the tabernacle, the vessels, the vestments, the rites, the sacrifices, and the other mysteries as an image of these things, for placating God and the heavenly powers and for the expiation of man. An example of this explanation, gathered from Philo, Josephus, Clement of Alexandria, and Jerome, upon the tabernacle of Moses, is this:

An Example of the Physical Exposition, in the Tabernacle described by Moses (Exodus, chapters 26 and 27)

If anyone contemplates the structure of the Mosaic tabernacle, and the things which are in it, and considers each not idly but prudently, he will find that Moses, that divine man, represented in all these things, in a certain manner, the nature of the whole universe. ³ For it was fitting that he who had determined to build for God, the author of the whole world, a tabernacle made by hand, should take a likeness of those things out of which the world was founded by God. First of all, therefore, for this cause, he divided the admirable structure of his tabernacle into three parts ⁴ — namely, into the vestibule, the Hall, and the inner shrine (or, into the

Court, the Hall, and the innermost sanctuary) — which might represent to us the totality of the divine workmanship, distinguished into three parts, or into three worlds: ⁵ that is, into this sublunar world which we inhabit; into the one next to it, the celestial world; and into the highest of all, the ultramundane world — which the Theologians call angelic, the Philosophers intellectual, and which "by no one," as Plato says, "has been sufficiently extolled according to its dignity."

The **first part** of the tabernacle, therefore, called the Court and Vestibule, bore the image of this sublunar world; ⁶ to whose likeness it was placed under the open sky, defended by no roof or shade, but ever exposed to rains, to the Sun, to heat and cold. And there were engaged in it, promiscuously, not only men clean and unclean, sacred and profane, but also animals of every kind; and there was in it — on account of the sacrifices and continual immolations — a perpetual vicissitude of life and death.

The **second part**, or the Hall, which was called the Holy [Place], occupying the middle place between the vestibule and the inner shrine, and shining with the whole splendor of gold, figured the celestial world, ⁷ set between the supercelestial and the subcelestial world. For there was, in its southern region, a golden candelabrum distinguished with seven burning lamps, ⁸ which seven signify the motions of the wandering luminaries; for the Sun and the Moon, with the other planets, deflecting far from the northern regions, are more observed in the southern parts of the world. And among these lamps, the one which holds the middle summit of the candelabrum — having three lamps on either side — bears the likeness of the solar star. [continues p161: re-]fert...

¹ Various opinions of the Fathers on the name of the Antichrist. ² What the physical exposition of Scripture is. ³ Moses, in the construction of the Tabernacle, represented in a certain way the nature of the whole universe. ⁴ Why Moses divided the structure of the tabernacle into three parts. ⁵ There are three worlds: the sublunar, the celestial, and the ultramundane. ⁶ The Court of the Tabernacle bore the image of the sublunar world. ⁷ The second part of the Tabernacle figured the celestial world. ⁸ The seven lamps in the golden candelabrum signified the seven planets.

(Rich PDF p. 161 — printed folio 144. The cosmic **Tabernacle** finishes: the Sun tempers the music of the spheres; the **Holy of Holies** = the supercelestial/angelic world; the High Priest bearing the Name **IEHOVA** on his forehead = Christ/God; the hidden **Ark** = divine providence, its tablets/rod/manna = the laws of wisdom, the scepter, and liberality; the **Cherubim** = the Angels. Then a new chapter, **On the Prophetic Exposition** — its definition, and its **twofold mode** (unfulfilled prophecy pointed to its fulfillment; already-fulfilled prophecy to be fulfilled again), with examples (2 Sam 7:14 → Christ; Rachel's weeping at three levels) and its masters — Melito, Methodius, Proclus (before Theodosius, on Gog and Magog), Joachim of Fiore, and **Savonarola**. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p160] ...[the middle lamp] bears the likeness of the solar star. For the Sun — possessing the fourth orb equally from the highest and the lowest heaven, and shining in the midst among the other six wandering stars — tempers that musical and truly divine instrument of the celestial spheres.

But the **third part** of the tabernacle — most sacred and most secret of all, which was called the Penetrable, the Adytum, and the Holy of Holies — expressed the figure of the supercelestial and angelic world, ¹ which is the habitation of the Angels and of God, the best [of beings]. For just as that secret adytum of the Mosaic tabernacle was invisible and inaccessible to mortals, and no one could enter into it except the High Priest, who bore on his forehead that ineffable name, the Tetragrammaton IEHOVA: so into that supercelestial and divine world it is lawful for no one to enter, nor to look into and exactly comprehend with the mind the things which in it are invisible and incomprehensible — save for Him alone whom the highest prelate of sacred things foreshadowed, bearing on his forehead the unspeakable name IEHOVA, which is expounded, "Who is, and who shall be, and who makes to be." ² And this is the supreme governor of all things, God — He alone bearing the ineffable name IEHOVA, that is, "Ever-existing, and bestowing on the rest the power of being" — and He alone embracing the incomprehensible things of the supercelestial world with that same wisdom by which He comprehends Himself.

The **Ark**, too, which was hidden in the innermost recesses of the tabernacle, signified the divine providence and governance toward the world.³ For as the ark had been appointed for keeping the tablets of the divine law, and the rod of Aaron, and the manna, so in the storehouses of divine providence are contained all the laws of wisdom by which the whole totality of creatures is governed; the rod, and the scepter of ruling power, by which it is ruled; and the manna of most bountiful liberality, by which it is vivified and fed. And the **Cherubim**, encompassing the ark with the bendings of their wings, denote those celestial minds and blessed spirits who surround and attend the divine majesty with the obedience of most ready swiftness, as with a winged and swift ministry.⁴

On the Prophetic Exposition

The Prophetic exposition is that which — devised by no human wit, but revealed only by the inbreathing of the divine Spirit — turns the holy Scriptures to the prediction of future things with a certain and immovable truth,⁵ referring the oracles, prophecies, visions, prophesyings, and typical actions of the Prophets which are contained in the sacred letters to future changes of the times and revolutions of the ages, to the vicissitudes of kingdoms, to the adversities of nations, peoples, and cities — wars, disasters, ruins, victories, restorations, felicities, and other things like these — which the divine providence (whether the merits of mortals so demanding it, or by its hidden but nevertheless just judgment) has decreed shall come to pass hereafter.

Now there is a **twofold mode** of this exposition:⁶ of which the one refers to certain not-yet-fulfilled, or not-yet-understood, prophecies of the ancient Prophets (the divine light illuminating them), showing — and, as it were, most certainly pointing out with the finger — the places, persons, and times in which oracles long ago foretold, but not yet understood, are being fulfilled. The other mode announces that the ancient predictions of the seers — already fulfilled and recognized for many ages — are to be fulfilled again in future times. For there are in the divine letters many Prophecies which have various and manifold senses, both historical and typical,⁷ yet one more eminent than the rest, and primary, and more properly their own — namely, that to which the mind of the one prophesying was borne at first glance, and to which the Prophet especially directed the keenness of his mind. Since, therefore, some of these prophecies have been fulfilled according to their primary sense, certain divine expositors have handed down that the same are to be fulfilled again according to other, secondary senses — whether historical or typical — bringing as an example that oracle from the second book of Kings which God promised He would fulfill in Solomon: *I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son* —⁸ which Paul, writing to the Hebrews, affirms was consummated anew in Christ. And likewise that prophecy of Jeremiah: *A voice was heard in Rama: much weeping and wailing; Rachel bewailing her sons, and she would not be comforted, because they are not*⁹ — which, when the Prophet had uttered it concerning the sons of Israel about to be led away into the Babylonian captivity, Matthew — according to the truth of another understanding — transferred to the slaughter of the little ones;¹⁰ and likewise others, again, according to yet another sense, said the fulfillment of the same prophecy took place in the final destruction of the holy city, when, by the road on which Rachel is buried near Bethlehem, infinite thousands of captive Jews were sent off to Rome.

In both parts of this explanation there excelled Melito of Sardis, Methodius the Martyr, Proclus Archbishop of Constantinople, Joachim Abbot of Fiore, and others; of whom, in the first part, especially eminent was Proclus, who — as Socrates testifies in the seventh [book] of his history — when the Scythians, under their leader Rugas, had taken up arms against the Roman empire, delivered before Theodosius Augustus and his army a Prophetic oration, in which, expounding that prophecy from the book of Ezekiel, *Son of man, prophesy against Gog and Magog*,¹¹ he so bent the Prophet's words to the occasion of the imminent war that he foretold all the punishments described by Ezekiel to be hanging over the Barbarians. To which prediction God, a little afterward, gave a happy issue: fire being sent down from heaven, and the chief of the Barbarians consumed by the burning. The other part of this exposition, not far from our own times, Jerome Savonarola

professed — a man of most ardent spirit ¹² — in his public exposition of the Prophets, especially Amos, Zechariah, and Ezekiel, whose already-fulfilled prophecies he foretold would be fulfilled again in his own times. How much he availed in this part, let others judge; he himself [being] another's servant, and, according to [the word] of Paul... [continues p162]

¹ The third part of the tabernacle — namely, the Holy of Holies — expressed the figure of the Angelic world. ² The name IEHOVA is explained. ³ The Ark, which was hidden in the Tabernacle, signified divine providence. ⁴ The rod of Aaron signified the ruling power of God; the manna hidden in the Ark signifies divine liberality; the Cherubim denoted the Angels. ⁵ What the prophetic exposition of the Scriptures is. ⁶ The prophetic exposition has a twofold mode. ⁷ Prophecies have many and various senses, both historical and typical. ⁸ 2 Sam. 7:14 (cited as 2 Kings); Heb. 1:5. ⁹ Jer. 31:15. ¹⁰ Matt. 2:18. ¹¹ Ezek. 38:2. ¹² Jerome Savonarola, a man of most ardent spirit.

(Rich PDF p. 162 — printed folio 145. Sixtus closes the **First Part** of the art (the **Definitive**), then opens the **Second Part** — **On Invention**, which he chooses only to summarize (a full treatment would need its own volume, and others have covered it) so as to reach his own **Third Part**. He gives a catalogue of Invention's sub-disciplines with their authors — the **Historical** kind (Tropical, Topical, Chronical, Physical, Mathematical, Ethical) and the **Mystical** kind — then opens the **Third Part** — the **Dispositive**, which he says no author before him had ever described. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p161] ...[he himself another's servant, and, according to] the opinion of Paul, standing to his own master — I would not rashly dare to judge [him]. Thus far let it be said concerning the kinds of the sacred expositions, both universal and particular, pertaining to the first part of this art; now we must pass over to the second part of the same art.

On the Second Part of the Expository Art, or, On Invention

Concerning the first part of this sacred interpretive art, which we have named the **Definitive** — that is, concerning the senses of divine Scripture, and concerning the kinds of the sacred expositions, and concerning their number, definition, and usefulness — I have discoursed thus far, as much as the plan of the present undertaking seemed to require. It would now be consequent that I should pursue **Invention**, ¹ which is the second part of this Art, expounding all the rules and the several precepts of investigating and finding out the manifold and obscure varieties of the senses hidden in the divine letters. But since an exact treatment of Invention — scarcely to be unfolded [even] in a large and separate volume — cannot be comprehended in the small portion of a little book, and since many most excellent authors have left writings about it, accessible to all, it has seemed [good] to me to pass over the complete exposition of this part (as more than sufficiently explained by others) and to proceed to the third part of this art, which is called the **Dispositive** — by no author, up to this day, ever either described or observed. Yet, lest the curious reader complain that the Inventive part of the expository faculty has been utterly neglected by me, I will run through, in the briefest words, the sum of the chapters by which invention itself is comprehended, noting at the same time the names of the Authors who have treated of its several chapters.

Invention — which introduces us to the investigation of the hidden and abstruse senses of divine Scripture — is accomplished in a twofold kind: namely, the **Historical**, which hunts out the historical understandings, and the **Mystical**, which searches out the mystical meanings. Now the Historical kind of Invention embraces many species or parts, of which the more notable — and, among the rest, the more necessary — are: the **Tropical, Topical, Chronical, Physical, Mathematical, and Ethical**.

The **Tropical** ² is that which introduces the reader to the understanding of tropes, phrases, figures, idioms, properties, and locutions — especially Hebrew and Greek — and of all figurative expressions, in which the divine letters abound above the writings of all nations; ³ in which part Jerome, Augustine, Bede, and Sanctes Pagninus wrote many things, to be reviewed in the following volume. ⁴

The **Topical**, or Topographical, ⁵ is that which furnishes particular descriptions and maps of the provinces, regions, seas, mountains, rivers, forests, cities, towns, and other places which are read of in the sacred letters; which, among the Greeks, Eusebius of Caesarea did abundantly, and, among the Latins, Jerome, Bede, Matthaëus Aurogallus, Adamnan, Callistus, Orontius, and others to be enumerated in the next book. ⁶

The **Chronical**, or Chronographical, ⁷ is that which — for removing certain obscurities in the sacred letters that arise from the various computation of days, months, and years — explains all the series, successions, and enumerations of times, ages, years, Olympiads, weeks, and generations, with which the whole divine scripture is everywhere strewn. This part had, as its writers, notable beyond the rest: among the Greeks, Philo and Eusebius; among the Latins, Bede, Hermann the lame, and John Driedo — of whom we shall speak in the fourth book. ⁸

The **Physical** ⁹ teaches the history, properties, habits, and chief powers of all natural things — that is, of the heavens, the elements, animals, and plants — which are described everywhere in the sacred letters. In this part there labored, among the Latins, Bede (in the book *On the Nature of Things*), Anselm (in the book *On the Image of the World*), Honorius of Autun (in a book of the same title), and Vincent bishop of Beauvais (in the *Natural Mirror*). ¹⁰

The **Mathematical** ¹¹ is that which opens the way to understanding certain Geometrical, Astronomical, Arithmetical, and Musical considerations — some of which are in the divine letters — treating of measures, of figures, of numbers, of the plan of buildings, of the motions of the heavens, of stars, of musical instruments, of the various harmony of sounds and voices. Of these Bede, Honorius of Autun, and Isidore wrote some things. ¹²

The **Ethical** ¹³ is that which exhibits certain brief little introductions concerning the moral virtues which are delivered in the sacred letters — such as those which Bonaventure the Cardinal, Humbert Master General of the Preachers, William bishop of Lyons, and Chrysostomus Javellus composed. ¹⁴ These, then, are the chief species of invention, comprehended under the historical kind of finding-out.

The **second kind of Invention**, which is called **Mystical**, ¹⁵ raises the readers to understanding the spiritual and loftier senses of divine Scripture — that is, the Allegorical, Anagogical, and Tropological understandings — with rules, formulas, and certain precepts applied to this end, by which (as by keys) the abstruse mysteries of spiritual understanding are unlocked, and the mystical significations of all words and terms are explained. In this part there flourished, among the Greeks, Cyril; among the Latins, Tyconius the African, Eucherius, Rabanus [Maurus], Hugh of St. Victor, Sanctes Pagninus, and very many others whom we shall enumerate in the following volume. ¹⁶ Now let it suffice to have noted these few things concerning the Inventive part of this art.

On the Third Part of the Expository Art, which is called the Dispositive

[continues p163: Ter-...]

¹ What the inventive exposition is, and into what natural parts it is distributed. ² What the tropological exposition is. ³ The sacred writings abound in figurative expressions. ⁴ What authors have explained the tropological exposition. ⁵ What the topical exposition is called. ⁶ The authors of the topical exposition. ⁷ The chronical exposition is defined. ⁸ Who the sacred chronologists were. ⁹ What the physical exposition teaches. ¹⁰ What authors have illustrated the physical exposition. ¹¹ What the mathematical exposition is. ¹² What authors have treated the mathematical exposition. ¹³ The ethical exposition is defined. ¹⁴ The authors of the ethical exposition. ¹⁵ What the mystical kind of exposition is. ¹⁶ Who excelled in the mystical exposition of the Scriptures.

(Rich PDF p. 163 — printed folio 146. The **Third Part** — the **Dispositive (Methodical) exposition** opens: arranging the found senses into an ordered exposition through diverse "**Methods**." A numbered list of **24 Methods** follows, with **Psalm 116** (the shortest psalm) chosen as the running example to be worked through all of them. Then **Method One: Translation** — its definition, the need for word-for-word fidelity in Scripture,

the great translators (*Jerome, Giustiniani, Pagninus; the Seventy; Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion*), and Origen's **Tetrapla** / **Hexapla** / **Octapla**. Sixtus announces he will set out Psalm 116 in a ten-column "decapla" — the table itself follows on the next page. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p162] The **third and last** part of this sacred art — which we call the Dispositive and the Methodical ¹ — is that which teaches how to arrange the already-found senses of divine Scripture, and the already-described kinds of exposition, into an ordered series of narration, and to accommodate them through diverse modes of speaking and various ways of teaching, which we call **Methods**. Now the Methods, or ways, suited for handling and adapting the kinds of the sacred expositions, are almost innumerable; of which, those that are chief among the Catholic expositors of divine Scripture, and most used among the rest, are comprehended in the enumeration set below.

An Enumeration of the Methods which the holy expositors use in arranging the kinds of the sacred expositions; they are these:

1	Translatio (Translation)	13	Tabellaria (Tabular)
2	Stigmatica (Stigmatic)	14	Enarratio (Narration)
3	Syllabica (Syllabic)	15	Collatio (Collation)
4	Partitio (Partition)	16	Meditatio (Meditation)
5	Epitome (Epitome)	17	Poëma (Poem)
6	Egloge (Eclogue / selection)	18	Epistola (Epistle)
7	Notariaca (Notariac)	19	Inquisitio (Inquiry)
8	Paraphrasis (Paraphrase)	20	Coacervatio (Heaping-up)
9	Lexice (Lexical)	21	Thematica (Thematic)
10	Annotatio (Annotation)	22	Collectanea (Collectanea)
11	Commentatio (Commentary)	23	Scholastica (Scholastic)
12	Sciographica (Sciographic)	24	Pandesiac (Pandesiac)

These, therefore, and so many, are the Methods serving the sacred expositors, of which, in the present treatise, we are about to explain the descriptions, parts, offices, and examples, each separately. And we shall take, in place of a general theme and a most apt example for expressing the peculiar conditions and properties of each Method, **Psalm 116** ² — the shortest of all — showing how we may deduce its exposition through all the species of Methods, and turn it through the several varieties of the species, with the clearest rules and examples, taking the beginning of our treatment from the very translation of divine Scripture.

On Sacred Translation — The First Method

Translation, or Interpretation ³ — which, both according to the order of nature and according to the order of doctrine and of time, claims for itself the first place among the other explanatory methods of divine Scripture — is the Method which turns the holy scriptures from one language into another, rendering not only sense for sense, but word for word, with the utmost care and fidelity. For although, in the interpretation of secular writings, the highest praise of the interpreter is that he express not word for word (for that often renders the translation absurd), ⁴ but sense from sense, aptly and elegantly: yet in the sacred scriptures — on account of the order of the words, and the innumerable sacraments of mysteries which lie hidden in almost every single word — a duty and a necessity lies upon the faithful interpreter, that he render word for word most faithfully. In this zeal of translating there excelled, among the Latins, St. Jerome, Augustine [Giustiniani] bishop of Nebbio, and Sanctes Pagninus; ⁵ but among the Greeks, the seventy-two interpreters — approved by the

authority of the Apostles and Evangelists, who everywhere used their translation — and after them Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and some others, from whose editions various volumes of many translations were collected, both by Origen and by other Greeks and Latins. And of these, some were called Tetrapla, others Hexapla, others Octapla, from the number of columns.

For first they called **Tetrapla**⁶ those Greek codices in which the single pages were distinguished by four little columns, so that in the first column was the edition of the seventy-two interpreters, in the second the translation of Aquila, in the third that of Symmachus, in the fourth that of Theodotion.

They named **Hexapla**⁷ those Greek volumes in whose single pages six columns were arranged: of these, the first had the Hebrew text of holy Scripture, written in Hebrew letters; the second, the Hebrew text set out opposite in Greek letters, for the sake of those who did not know how to read Hebrew; the third contained the version of Aquila; the fourth, the translation of Symmachus; the fifth, the edition of the seventy-two; the sixth, the edition of Theodotion.

Octapla,⁸ however, they called those copies whose eight columns were so arranged that in the first six columns the six aforesaid translations were had; but in the seventh column, the fifth Greek edition, found by Origen at Jericho; and in the eighth, the sixth Greek edition, found by the same Origen on the Actian shore.

But, that these things may become clearer, we shall take (as we have already said), for the sake of an example, the hundred and sixteenth Psalm,⁹ whose various translations — arranged in a **decapla**, that is, in a series of ten columns — we here set before the eyes: placing in the first column the Hebrew text of the Psalm; in the second, the Chaldaic; in the third, the Greek of the seventy interpreters; in the fourth, a Latin corresponding to the Hebrew; in the fifth, a Latin corresponding to the Greek; in the sixth, a Latin corresponding to the Chaldaic; and in the four following [columns], again, four different Latin editions corresponding to the Hebrew.

[continues p164: the table (TYPVS) — Psalm 116 in ten columns]

¹ The definition of the methodical exposition. ² Psalm 116, the shortest of all. ³ Translation of Scripture is defined. ⁴ Translation is often absurd when word is rendered for word. ⁵ Authors who excelled in the translation of the Scriptures. ⁶ What were called Tetrapla. ⁷ Hexapla. ⁸ Octapla. ⁹ Ps. 116.

(Rich PDF p. 164 — printed folio 147. The **TYPVS**: the promised ten-column "decapla" of **Psalm 116** (Vulgate 116 = "Praise the Lord, all nations," the two-verse psalm) — the same psalm in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Greek, and seven differing Latin versions, displaying the variety of the Translation method. Then **Method Two: the Stigmatic (Punctuary)** — the interpretation of the Hebrew vowel-points: since the 22 Hebrew letters are all consonants, the ancient writers (and Ezra, who restored the books after the Babylonian burning) supplied the vowels by living voice. Running head: **LIBER TERTIVS**.)

Model of the tenfold translation upon Psalm 116

I. Hebrew — (the psalm in the Hebrew text)

II. Chaldaic — (the psalm in the Aramaic/Targum)

III. Greek (of the Seventy) — Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐπαινέσατε αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί· ὅτι ἐκραταιώθη τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει.

IV. Latin, answering to the Hebrew (Jerome's): *Alleluia. Praise the Lord, all nations; praise him, all peoples. For his mercy is confirmed over us, and the truth of the Lord [endureth] for ever.*

V. Latin, answering to the Greek: *Alleluia. Praise the Lord, [ye] nations; celebrate him, all peoples. For his mercy is made strong over us, and the truth of the Lord abideth unto an age.*

VI. Latin, answering to the Chaldaic: Alleluia. Praise God, all peoples; praise him, all nations. For his goodness is made strong over us, and the truth of the Lord [is] for ever.

VII. Latin, answering to the Hebrew: Alleluia. Praise Jehovah, all nations; him celebrate, all nations. For the clemency of Jehovah toward us excelleth, and his faithfulness is eternal.

VIII. Latin, answering to the Hebrew: Alleluia. Praise the Lord, all nations; proclaim him, all peoples. For his kindness toward us prevaieth, and the truth of the Lord remaineth for ever.

IX. Latin, answering to the Hebrew: Alleluia. Praise God, all nations; honor him, all ye nations. For his loving-kindness toward us is increased, and the truth of the Lord abideth unto an age.

X. Latin, answering to the Hebrew: Alleluia. Praise the Lord, all nations; all peoples also, praise him. For his grace toward us groweth more and more, and his faithfulness endureth for ever.

On the Stigmatic Mode of Expounding — The Second Method

After the first Method of translating the holy letters, there follows at once, in the second place, the **Stigmatic** (ΣΤΙΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ), or Punctuary, method of expounding,¹ which the Hebrews call פירוש הנקודות (*Perush hannekudoth*), that is, the "Interpretation of the points" [vowel-points]. Now this is a peculiar exposition of the Hebrews upon the sacred letters, which — from the various positions of the vowel-points — shows the sounds, the utterances, and the pronunciations, and the significations of the individual words, and the sense of the whole sacred reading. The invention of this interpretation had this occasion:

The old language of the Hebrews, which is called the Holy [tongue], and which the writers of the divine volumes used — and especially Ezra himself (who, after the Babylonian captivity, most faithfully restored the sacred books consumed in the burning of Jerusalem)² — has twenty-two letters; among which there are no vowel letters — that is, [letters] sounding of themselves, and filling out the voice without the aid of another letter, such as among us are a, e, i, o, u — but all are soundless, or consonants, which by themselves alone cannot burst forth into voice. For although א Aleph, and ע Ayin, and ה He, and י Iod, and ו Vau — Hebrew letters — seem at first sight to have a vowel sound, yet they are, as it were, mute, and scarcely present anything by themselves to the ears.³

Since, therefore, the ancient Hebrew writers were altogether destitute of vowels,⁴ they were compelled to use the writing of consonant letters alone; and when they wished to read it, and to express with mouth and tongue the words composed of soundless and utterly mute letters, they supplied — by the sound of the living voice — what was lacking to the Writing, adding to the consonant letters certain vowel sounds, borrowed from the common speech of their own nation and from the custom of ordinary pronunciation. For example: if this name *Lamech* had to be written, they marked it with three consonant letters only, namely למך (*Lmk*); then, when the same had to be pronounced with the living voice, from a certain natural [property] of their own pronunciation... [continues p165]

¹ What the stigmatic mode of expounding the Scriptures is. ² Ezra, after the Babylonian captivity, restored the sacred books that had been consumed in the fire. ³ The Hebrews, among the 22 letters they have, reckon none as vowels. ⁴ The ancient Hebrew writers were destitute of vowels.

(Rich PDF p. 165 — printed folio 148. The Stigmatic method continues: the origin of the Hebrew vowel-points. After the dispersion the Jews forgot Hebrew and misread/mistranslated Scripture (the crux זכר — "memory" vs. "male," which some blame for Saul's ruin), so the Rabbis devised the ten points (plus the *Scheua*) to fix the reading — yet decreed the synagogue Torah scrolls stay unpointed. Then the disputed **age of the pointing**: Elias Levita's "Tiberias, 406 years after the fall" (which Sixtus refutes) vs. the more likely late origin among the Jews of Cairo (Rabbis Hama and Assi); but the charge that the Jews maliciously

corrupted the whole text Sixtus rejects — because Jerome's Vulgate agrees with the pointed (Masoretic) reading in the key doctrinal passages. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p164] ...[from a certain natural] skill and habit of their own pronunciation, they supplied to the eye, or sounded together, that L itself, with the sound of the vowel-letter A added, and the M, likewise, with the sound of the vowel E applied; ¹ and thus, filling out the whole word with sound, they pronounced למך *Lamech*. And according to this custom all the Jews were wont to read whatever Hebrew writings [they read].

But after the kingdom of Jerusalem was utterly overthrown, and the Jews were led away by the Romans into their final and everlasting captivity, and scattered over the whole globe of the lands, they began little by little to forget their native speech, to unlearn the holy tongue, to lose the understanding of the sacred reading, and — because of the lack of vowel letters — to utter, read, understand, and expound the words of divine Scripture by themselves (as we have already said) senselessly, with various and ambiguous sounds; and even to translate them into other languages with diverse and mutually discrepant words and senses, both from ignorance and from malice. When the Rabbis, the masters of the Jews, had noticed this — fearing lest the true and genuine reading of divine Scripture, destitute of vowel letters, should utterly perish — they devised, in place of vowels, certain points and little marks ² which, set to the individual consonants, would reveal the sound of each letter and open up the proper signification of each word.

That this may be [made clear] by an apt example set before [us], let us take more clearly the word זכר (*zkr*), written with three consonants, in that divine oracle which God uttered in the book of Exodus against the Amalekites, saying: *I will blot out זכר* — that is, "the memory of Amalek from under heaven." ³ Which word (as certain Jews affirm, excusing the disobedience of King Saul more piously than truly) gave occasion to the ruin of Saul himself. For when Samuel had commanded him to fulfill the aforesaid oracle upon the Amalekites, soon to be conquered by him, he — deceived by the ambiguity of the word זכר — believed the command would be satisfied if he only took away the *males* of the Amalekites (since זכר signifies both "male" and "memory"); and, on that account, all the males being slain except the king, he reserved for himself all the booty, the gold, the silver, and the herds of the Amalekite nation. Lest, therefore, occasion of slipping should thereafter arise from equivocations of this kind, it seemed [good] to the masters of the Jews to "point" all the sacred words. For example, lest it should henceforth be brought into doubt how the aforesaid word זכר should be read, they placed under the ז (zayin) these two points ■ · ■, which are called *Tsere*, expressing the sound of the long vowel E; but under the כ (kaph) they set these three points ■ · · ■, called *Segol*, which render the sound of the short vowel E. By which annotations of points they showed that the twofold and perfect pronunciation of this word is זכר *Zecher* (which signifies "memory"), and not זכר *Zachar* (which denotes "male").

Now, to express the sounds of all the vowels — both short and long — they invented ten positions of points and little strokes, whose names, forms, and sounds are these:

- **Short:** a, e, i, o, u (*patah, segol, hiriq, qamets-hatuf, qibbuts*)
- **Long:** a, e, i, o, u (*qamets, tsere, hiriq-with-yod, holem, shureq*)

There is also, besides these ten points, another point, called **Scheua** (*shewa*), expressed by two little points, one standing perpendicularly above the other, thus ■ ■. Yet this is not reckoned among the vowels, but is called by the Grammarians, from its office, the "servant of servants," ⁴ because it serves the other vowel-points.

Although the doctors of the Hebrews interpreted [i.e. pointed] the whole of divine Scripture by these [points], and published it, so interpreted, to be read by all in common: nevertheless, that they might keep the venerable antiquity and majesty of the ancient writing untouched, they sanctioned by inviolable decree — after the image of the ancient scriptures which Moses, Ezra, and the other writers of the divine books had written —

that those lights of the Mosaic law, which are kept in the synagogues with the utmost reverence, should be written without any vowel-points, ⁵ lest some detriment should seem to be brought to the authority and majesty of the divine law by adventitious and novel additions.

Rabbi Elias the German [Elias Levita], in the preface of his book *Masoreth ha-Masoreth*, judges that the invention of points of this kind was made in the four hundred and sixth year after the last overthrow of the holy city, by the Jews of the city of Tiberias, who were always held the most cultivated of all the Hebrews in the holy tongue. ⁶ But since neither Epiphanius nor Jerome made any mention of such points, and clearly enough indicate that they had only the consonants in their codices, it seems to me more likely — what James, bishop of Christopolis, writes in the preface to the Psalms — namely, that this kind of exposition was devised long after the times of Constantine, by the Jews of Babylon of Egypt (which is now called Cairo), ⁷ by the work and skill of Rabbi Hama and Rabbi Assi, authors of the Talmudic doctrine, who first showed these marks of points. I would not, however, easily affirm what the same bishop asserts in the same place: namely, that the Rabbis of the Jews, out of hatred of the Christian religion, by unanimous consent contaminated, depraved, and perverted from the true sense all the old scripture by this addition of points, so that by this perverse artifice they might, so far as possible, obscure and extinguish the truth drawn by the Christians from the Hebrew fount; and that, for this cause (he adds), no faith is to be given to the Hebrew copies, as corrupted and falsified by an interpretation of points of this kind. ⁸ From assenting altogether to this opinion I am prevented by the translation of St. Jerome, which — in the chief passages of divine Scripture, by which the foundations of the Christian faith and the truth of our dogmas are especially proved, and about which in particular there is controversy between the Jews and us — almost always agrees with this punctuary [pointed] exposition of the Hebrews, although in matters of the slightest moment, and which... [continues p166]

¹ Jerome noted this same thing about the "pointing" of the Hebrew consonants, in his epistle to Evagrius. ² Certain points, in place of vowels, were devised by the Rabbis after the overthrow of the city of Jerusalem. ³ Exod. 17:14. — The Jews try to excuse the disobedience of Saul. ⁴ The Scheua is called by the Grammarians the "servant of servants." ⁵ The volumes of the Mosaic law which are kept in the Synagogue have no points in place of vowels. ⁶ Rabbi Elias, who thinks the Hebrew points were invented in the year 436 (so the margin; the body says 406) after the last overthrow of the city, is refuted. ⁷ The Jews of Babylon of Egypt (now called Cairo) invented the points in place of vowels. ⁸ The opinion of James of Christopolis, concerning the corrupted sacred books, is not approved.

(Rich PDF p. 166 — printed folio 149. *The Punctuary method closes: Jerome's Vulgate agrees with the Masoretic pointing except in trivia, and Augustine (City of God 15) denies the Jews corrupted their own books. Then the Prosodic illustration — the Greek analog to Hebrew pointing (accents, breathings, punctuation) — anciently absent (Epiphanius, Cisneros), added to fix reading and resolve ambiguities, illustrated by Luke 2:14 (the Gloria: "peace to men of good will," resolved by Origen's point). Then the Stigmatic paradigm on Psalm 116 (four columns: unpointed Hebrew / pointed Hebrew / transliteration / Latin), and the opening of Method Three: the Syllabic (Indicatory) — the making of indices and concordances. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)*

[continuing from p165] ...[although in matters of the slightest moment, and such as] can be interpreted in several senses without any prejudice to the truth, [Jerome's translation] often disagrees [with the pointing]. To this is added also that persuasion of Augustine, in the fifteenth [book] of the *City of God*: that no one of sound mind could ever believe that the Jews — however evil and perverse — in codices so many, and so widely and far dispersed, came together into one and conspired, out of hatred of the Christians, unto the corruption of their own volumes; ¹ so that, namely, while they envied to others the truth of Scripture, they should deprive themselves of the truth. And [let] these things [be said] concerning the Punctuary Exposition of the Hebrews.

With this [the punctuary method] the **Prosodic** illustration of divine Scripture among the Greeks seems to have some shadow of likeness ² — that is, the addition of tones, breathings, accents, points, and

hypostigmata [subscript marks]: which are now seen everywhere in the Greek codices. That these were anciently written with the bare letters only, without any marks of accents,³ there are witnesses: Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, in his book on the parts of divine Scripture, and Francisco Ximenes [Cisneros], Archbishop of Toledo, in his edition of the New Testament. But it seemed [good] afterward to the Greek Fathers to add these [marks],⁴ not only for the correct and distinct reading of holy Scripture, but also for distinguishing certain ambiguities of no small moment, which without these little marks, apices, and points could not be resolved. For example: when it came into controversy in what sense that sentence should be understood which is had in the song of the Angels, in Luke the Evangelist — καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία,⁵ that is, *And on earth peace to men of good will* — namely, whether it should be understood [that] peace was brought to men endowed with good will, on account of their good will (which sense the aforesaid Greek words seem to make, written without any punctuation, and with a point affixed under the last letter of the final word); or whether it ought rather to be understood [that] not only peace, but also good will, together with that peace itself, was exhibited to men (which sense the same words render, if they be read thus: καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, that is, *And on earth peace*; then, a mark of punctuation being interposed, there is added ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία, that is, *good will to men* — the point being removed, namely, which lay under the last letter). Origen took away the whole controversy, a small point being placed under the last letter of the word εὐδοκία, which would indicate that word to be not of the first case, but of the third [i.e., an oblique, genitive form], and to conclude the sentence thus: *And on earth peace to men [endowed] with good will*. And there are also many other ambiguities of this kind, which are removed in the sacred Greek codices by little marks of this sort — which anyone even moderately skilled in Greek letters will easily recognize by himself.

A Paradigm of the Stigmatic Interpretation upon Psalm 116, comprising four little columns:

- **I** — contains the Hebrew text, destitute of vowel-points;
- **II** — has the same text, interpreted [supplied] with vowel-points;
- **III** — contains the Hebrew words, written in Latin letters according to the interpretation of the vowel-points;
- **IV** — has the Latin translation of the same Hebrew text.

III. (Hebrew transliterated)	IV. (the Latin, in English)
Allelu & Iehova	Praise the Lord,
cal goim	all nations;
sciabachuuhu	laud him,
cal haummin	all peoples.
Chi gauar	For... is confirmed
alenu	over us
chasedo	his mercy;
ve emeth	and the truth
iehova	of the Lord,
le olam	for ever.

(Columns I and II present the same words in Hebrew script — unpointed, then pointed.)

On the Syllabic Mode of Expounding — The Third Method

The **Syllabic** (ΣΥΛΛΑΒΙΚΗ), or Indicatory, Method — which composes the indices of books (called by the Greeks *syllaboi*) — is a most ancient invention,⁶ as Marcus Tullius [Cicero], writing to Atticus, testifies. For since those studious men of old always desired to have a rich store of all things and of all words ready at hand, and with the greatest convenience, they devised for themselves indices arranged in alphabetical order, by which, with the least expense of labor and time, they might be led as if by the hand to whatever each one sought. Imitating their invention, the later lovers of letters — especially the Jurisconsults and the Theologians — reduced almost all the books of their profession into lists, syllabi, indices, tables, and most copious repertoires; among which the first place is held by that most opulent Biblical Index, which they call the *Greater Concordances of the sacred Bible*, collected by Hugh the Cardinal [of St-Cher] and Conrad of Halberstadt the Monk, with five hundred monks of various monasteries assisting...⁷ [continues p167]

¹ St. Augustine denies that the Jews corrupted the sacred books. ² What the prosodic illustration of the Scriptures is. ³ The sacred books among the Greeks were anciently written without accent-marks. ⁴ Accents were rightly added in the Greek copies of the Scriptures. ⁵ Luke 2:14. ⁶ The syllabic method is most ancient. ⁷ The Concordances of the Bibles were collected by Hugh the Cardinal and Conrad of Halberstadt — with the help, nevertheless, of 500 monks.

(Rich PDF p. 167 — printed folio 150. The Syllabic method worked out on **Psalm 116**: the great biblical **Concordance** (its authors gathered every word of the Bible alphabetically) and its immense usefulness; Sixtus recalls his own little rule-book on it. Then the **three steps** for building an exposition from it: (1) harvest every "Laudare" (praise) citation; (2) select the apter ones onto a slip, restoring from the Bible the periods the Concordance truncated; (3) sort the "forest" of texts into logical headings — the loci of "Divine Praise" (definition, causes, effects, parts, etc.). He then displays the raw first stage: an **undistinguished medley** of Scripture's praise-texts, verbatim from the Concordance (continuing onto the next page). Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p166] ...[with five hundred] monks [of various monasteries] — who gathered all the nouns, verbs, participles, adverbs, prepositions, and all the parts of speech (both declinable and indeclinable) comprehended in the whole body of the Bibles, and arranged them in alphabetical order, noting the books, the chapters, and the individual lines of the chapters, in which any word similar and concordant to the word sought might be had. And so great is both the convenience and the usefulness of this great Index,¹ that when the studious reader has first learned to handle it prudently and with judgment, and has begun to grow accustomed to familiarity with it, he immediately perceives that he has found in it a certain inexhaustible treasure — that is, a universal and most complete exposition of the whole of divine Scripture — from the use of which he may take no less fruit and delight than if he had unrolled innumerable commentaries of the expositors.

I remember that once, at the request of friends, I gave to this index a brief little commentary, entitled *On the Use and Usefulness of the Concordances of the sacred Bible*, comprising certain brief and clear rules,² by which the lovers of sacred letters, being instructed, might easily be able — from this one volume of Concordances alone, even without any commentaries of the expositors — to understand and explain the senses and the various and manifold understandings of almost innumerable passages obscure in the divine letters; and not only to explain [them], but (what is far more laborious) to procure for themselves, upon any sentence of divine Scripture, the amplest exposition, and, if there were need, even to find the matter for a whole and copious sermon. An example of this device I will set before you upon the beginning of Psalm 116, showing by what method one may, from this Index of concordances, gather a most abundant exposition upon the two first words of this Psalm; for the explaining of which, three things must first be performed by you.

First, the volume of the Concordances being opened, you will seek, under the syllable LAV, the word *Laudare* [to praise], and all the words likewise akin to that word — such as *Laus*, *Laudatio*, *Laudans*,

Laudabilis, Laudandus, and the like; and you will immediately find, under these words, all the sayings, testimonies, authorities, and sentences of both testaments pertaining to the praise of God, cited by number — though with the periods truncated, and noted very strictly.

Secondly, out of so numerous a multitude of sentences you will gather only those, and copy onto a slip, which you shall see to be more distinguished, and which you shall recognize as apter and more accommodated to your purpose; and you will easily discern them among the others, and separate them, with little labor, from the less apt — if you have first been versed in the reading of the sacred letters, and are not utterly destitute of judgment. But it will be necessary, in copying out the aforesaid authorities, always to have the codex of the Bible before your eyes, so that, it being inspected, you may faithfully supply and restore to their pristine integrity those periods which you had found truncated in the Concordances.

Thirdly, after you have written out integrally the sentences suited to your purpose, run through them all again, from first to last, with a little thought, and weigh with yourself for a while the sense of each; and then — according to that common method of partition which the Dialecticians, the rhetoricians, and all the best writers are wont [to use], and which it was necessary you should first have learned in the schools — distinguish the now-collected forest of sentences, and reduce [them] into certain orders and classes; and in these orders, separately, and under diverse titles, [arrange] the individual authorities, as they shall have seemed to you more related among themselves in sense and scope; so that, from their very disposition, the whole series of the argument "On Divine Praise" may be unfolded — that is, that there may be gathered by you the definition, the causes, the effects, the parts, the offices, the modes, the places, the times, the necessity, the usefulness, the impediments, and the like, of divine praise, which the Dialecticians and Rhetoricians bid [us] inquire into in any proposed matter.

But, that you may understand these things more plainly, I will first set before your eyes the undistinguished **medley** of sentences of divine Scripture pertaining to divine praise, taken word for word from the book of Concordances with its own numbers; then I will distribute the same authorities into particular titles by that method, so that in them you may read an exact and copious explanation of the words with which Psalm 116 begins.

An Undistinguished Medley of the Sentences of Sacred Scripture pertaining to the Praise of God, transcribed word for word from the Index of Concordances

TO PRAISE (*Laudare*).

- Ps. 23:23 — *In the midst of the church I will praise thee.*
- 21:27 — *They shall praise the Lord that seek him.*
- 34:18 — *Among a grave people I will praise thee.*
- 34:28 — *All the day thy praise.*
- 62:6 — *With lips of exultation my mouth shall praise.*
- 68:31 — *I will praise the name of God with a canticle.*
- 83:5 — *For ever and ever they shall praise thee.*
- 99:4 — *Praise his name, for it is sweet.*
- 118:175 — *My soul shall live and shall praise thee.*
- 134:3 — *Praise the Lord, for he is good.*
- 144:2 — *I will praise thy name for ever and ever.*
- *ibid.* 4 — *Generation and generation shall praise thy works.*

- 145:1–2 — *Praise the Lord, O my soul; I will praise the Lord.*
- 146:1 — *Praise the Lord, for he is good.*
- 148:2 [the page misprints 548] — *Praise the Lord, all his angels.*
- *ibid.* 2–3 — *Praise him, [all] his hosts; Sun, [and] Moon...* [continues p168]

(The Psalm-numbers are the Concordance's own, in the Vulgate reckoning.)

¹ The usefulness of the Concordances of the Bibles is very great. ² Precepts to be observed in the use of the Concordances of the Bibles.

(Rich PDF p. 168 — printed folio 151. The **undistinguished medley** of praise-texts finishes (under the headwords To Praise, Not to Praise, Praising, Laudation, Praiseworthy, Praise). Then the payoff of the Syllabic method: the **Methodical Partition** of that same medley — the texts re-sorted into topical headings (**Definition, Encomium, Necessity, Causes, Mode...**) to build a full exposition of the theme "Praise the Lord." Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing the medley from p167]

TO PRAISE (*Laudare*), continued:

- Ps. 150:2 — *Praise him according to the multitude of his greatness.*
- 150:3 — *Praise him with the sound of the trumpet, the psaltery, the harp.*
- Acts 16:25 — *At midnight they praised God.*

NOT TO PRAISE (*Non laudare*):

- Ps. 113:17 — *The dead shall not praise thee, O Lord.*
- Isa. 38:18 — *Neither shall hell nor death praise thee.*

PRAISING (*Laudans*):

- Ps. 17:4 — *Praising, I will call upon the Lord.*
- Luke 24:53 — *They were always in the temple, praising God.*

LAUDATION (*Laudatio*):

- Ps. 49:16 — *Why dost thou declare my praises?* ¹
- 144:21 — *My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord.*
- 146:1 — *To our God let praise be pleasant and comely.*

PRAISEWORTHY (*Laudabilis*):

- Ps. 144:3 — *Great is the Lord, and exceedingly to be praised.*

PRAISE (*Laus*):

- Deut. 26:19 — *He created [thee] unto his own praise.*
- Ps. 21:26 — *With thee is my praise in the great church.*
- 33:2 — *His praise [shall be] always in my mouth.*
- 49:14 — *Offer to God the sacrifice of praise.*
- *ibid.* 23 — *The sacrifice of praise shall glorify me.*
- 68:31 — *I will magnify him with praise.*
- 115:17 — *To thee I will sacrifice the host of praise.*
- 118:164 — *Seven times a day I have given praise to thee.*
- 150:6 — *Let every spirit praise the Lord.*

- Eccli. 15:9 — *Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner.*
 - Eccli. 43:33 — *He is greater than all praise.*
 - Isa. 63:7 — *The praise of the Lord for all things.*
 - Jon. 2:10 — *With the voice of praise I will sacrifice.*
 - Eph. 1:6 — *Unto the praise of his glory.*
 - Heb. 13:15 — *Let us offer the host of praise.*
 - Rev. 19:1 — *Praise and glory to our God.*
-

The Methodical Partition of the aforesaid Medley

(distributed into various classes of sentences, and beautifully accommodated to the exposition of the two first words of Psalm 116.)

The theme to be expounded: PRAISE THE LORD.

Definition

To praise God is to declare the amplitude of the divine perfections, so far as it can be done by us.

- Ps. 144:5–7 — *Generation and generation shall praise thy works, and shall declare thy power; they shall speak the magnificence of the glory of thy holiness, and shall tell thy wondrous works; and they shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts, and shall declare thy greatness; they shall utter the memory of thy sweetness, etc.*
- Eccli. 43:32,35 — *Who shall declare, and who shall magnify God as he is from the beginning? For he is greater than all praise. Glorifying the Lord as much as ever you can, still his wonderful magnificence will surpass [it].*

Encomium

Praise is the most excellent sacrifice of all, in which God is most greatly delighted.

- Ps. 49:14,23 — *Offer to God the sacrifice of praise; and the sacrifice of praise shall glorify me.*
- Ps. 68:31–32 — *I will praise the name of God with a canticle, and I will magnify him with praise; and it shall please the Lord above the young calf that bringeth forth horns and hoofs.*
- Ps. 115:8 — *To thee I will sacrifice the host of praise, and I will call upon the name of the Lord.*
- Jon. 2:10 — *But I, with the voice of praise, will sacrifice to thee for my salvation.*
- Heb. 13:15 — *By him therefore let us offer the host of praise, always pleasing to God — that is, the fruit of lips confessing to his name.*

[That God made all things unto the praise of his glory:]

- Deut. 26:19 — *God created all nations unto his praise, and name, and glory.*
- Eph. 1:4–5 — *He chose us before the foundation of the world, and predestined us unto the adoption of sons through Jesus Christ, unto the praise of the glory of his grace.*

Necessity

All creatures — insensible, sensible, and intelligible alike — are bound by divine precept to the praise of God, according to their own measure.

- Ps. 148 — *Praise the Lord, all his angels; praise him, Sun and Moon, all stars and light; praise him, ye heavens of heavens, all waters, hail, snow, ice, beasts, cattle, birds, kings of the earth, peoples, etc. — down to the end of the Psalm: Let every spirit praise the Lord.*

Causes

God is to be praised by us for innumerable causes; but chiefly for his surpassing goodness, [and] the innumerable benefits daily bestowed on us out of the bounty of the divine Goodness and mercy.

- Ps. 134:3 — *Praise the Lord, for the Lord is good; sing to his name, for it is sweet.*
- Isa. 63:7 — *Let us give praise to the Lord for all the things he hath rendered to us, and for the multitude of good things which he hath bestowed according to his indulgence, and according to the multitude of his mercies.*
- Ps. 99:4–5 — *Praise his name, for the Lord is sweet; his mercy [endureth] for ever.*

Mode

God is to be praised first in the mind, then with the voice — with Psalms, canticles, and musical instruments — and above all with good works.

- Ps. 145:1–2 — *Praise the Lord, O my soul; I will praise the Lord in my life.*
- Eccli. 51:8 — *My soul shall praise the Lord even unto death.*
- Ps. 62:6 — *With lips of exultation my mouth shall praise.*
- Ps. 146:1 — *Praise the Lord, for a Psalm is good; to our God let praise be pleasant and comely.*
- Ps. 150:3–5 — *Praise him with the sound of the trumpet; praise him on the psaltery and harp; praise him with timbrel and choir; praise him on strings and organ; praise him on well-sounding cymbals. [continues p169: Time...]*

¹ Here the Psalm actually reads "my justices" (*iustitias*), the Concordance having listed it under "Laudation."

(Rich PDF p. 169 — printed folio 152. The Methodical Partition of "Praise the Lord" finishes — the headings **Time, Place, Utility, Impediments, and Conflicting Passages** (apparent contradictions to be reconciled). Sixtus then closes the Syllabic method with a note to the reader on how looking up the **synonyms** of "praise" would enrich the exposition still further. Then **Method Four: On Partition** — its two offices (dividing each book into numbered chapters, and gathering the parts under titles) — with the observation that the chapter-numbering now in our Bibles is recent. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing the Methodical Partition from p168]

Time

God is to be praised not only at the appointed hours of day and night, in heart and mouth, but is to be celebrated through the whole time of life, in affection and in work.

- Ps. 118:164 — *Seven times a day I have given praise to thee.*
- Acts 16:25 — *At midnight Paul and Silas, adoring, praised God.*
- Ps. 33:2 — *I will bless the Lord at all times; his praise [shall be] always in my mouth.*
- Ps. 34:28 — *My tongue shall meditate thy justice, thy praise all the day.*
- Ps. 144:2 — *Every day I will bless thee, and I will praise thy name for ever and ever.*
- Ps. 145:2 — *I will praise the Lord in my life; I will sing to my God as long as I shall be.*

Place

God is to be praised in every place, but especially in the church and the temple.

- Ps. 112:3 — *From the rising of the sun unto the going down, the name of the Lord is worthy of praise.*
- Ps. 21:23 — *I will declare thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the church I will praise thee.*
- Ps. 34:18 — *I will confess to thee in the great church; among a grave people I will praise thee.*
- Ps. 134:1–2 — *Praise the Lord, ye servants who stand in the house of the Lord, in the courts of the house of our God.*
- Luke 24:52–53 — *The disciples, returning to Jerusalem with great joy, were always in the temple, praising and blessing the Lord.*

[That in the other life there are two eternal places — in one of which God is perpetually praised, in the other never:]

- Ps. 83:5 — *Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord; for ever and ever they shall praise thee.*
- Rev. 19:1 — *I heard as it were the voice of many trumpets in heaven, saying: Praise and glory and power to our God.*
- Ps. 113:17 — *The dead shall not praise thee, O Lord, nor any that go down into hell.*
- Isa. 38:18 — *For hell shall not confess to thee, neither shall death praise thee.*

Utility

The rewards of those who praise God are: the help of divine grace, salvation from enemies visible and invisible, and a life eternally blessed.

- Ps. 118:175 — *My soul shall praise thee, and thy judgments shall help me.*
- Ps. 17:4 — *Praising, I will call upon the Lord, and I shall be saved from my enemies.*
- Ps. 21:27 — *They shall praise the Lord that seek him; they shall live for ever and ever.*

Impediments

Sins impede us from the divine praises.

- Eccli. 15:9 — *Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner.*
- Ps. 49:16 — *God said to the sinner: Why dost thou take my covenant in thy mouth?*

Conflicting Passages [to be reconciled]

That in the divine scriptures there are passages seemingly conflicting concerning the divine praise, which must be reconciled.

- Ps. 116:1 — *Praise the Lord, all nations; praise him, all peoples.*
- Ps. 150:6 — *Let every spirit praise the Lord.*

On the contrary:

- Ps. 49:16 — *God said to the sinner: Why dost thou take my covenant in thy mouth?*
- Eccli. 15:9 — *Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner.*

Likewise this:

- Ps. 150:2 — *Praise the Lord according to the multitude of his greatness.*

On the contrary:

• Eccli. 43:33,35 [the page prints 44:35,33] — *Who shall magnify God as he is from the beginning? for he is greater than all praise.*

You see here, ingenious reader, how great a store of sentences the volume of the Concordances has supplied to you — in the particular little index of one word only — and how copious a furniture of words and of things it has furnished for explaining the first word of this psalm. And if, taking up the codex of the Concordances again, you shall search out in it the words synonymous with the verb "to praise"¹ — such as *celebro* (I celebrate), *magnifico* (I magnify), *glorifico* (I glorify), *benedico* (I bless), *exalto* (I exalt), *confiteor* (I confess), *canto* (I sing), *psallo* (I sing psalms), *prædico* (I proclaim) — and shall gather, with like zeal, the fragments of the sacred sentences placed under those synonymous words, you will again enrich your exposition with a new and far richer abundance of speech. And finally, if you shall apply the same diligence to the individual words of the same psalm, so great an affluence of all things will present itself to you that you can scarcely find the ends of the exposition you have undertaken. And let these things be said sufficiently concerning the Syllabic Method.

On Partition — The Fourth Method

Of Partition — which itself also brings much light to the divine scriptures — there are two chief offices:² namely, to **divide**, and to **gather together** the divided [parts]. Division³ divides the whole body of each volume — not rashly, but according to the analogy of the divisible matters, with the greatest reason — into members, and into parts (which they call heads, or chapters), dividing [them] by number and distinguishing [them] by the addition of numbers. And this device of dividing was invented for the convenience of teachers and learners, so that what could not be grasped as a whole at once, and in a single glance, might be more conveniently and more openly learned when divided into parts. Collection,⁴ on the other hand, gathers the particular sums of the divided parts under the strictest titles or inscriptions, by which — as by eyes — it illustrates and adorns the fronts of the individual chapters. But as regards division, it must be known that this arithmetical distinction of chapters which we now have in the Bibles is recent;⁵ for before five hundred [years...] [continues p170]

¹ Words synonymous with "to praise." ² The two offices of partition. ³ Division is convenient for teachers and learners. ⁴ What collection provides. ⁵ The arithmetical distinction of chapters in the Bibles is recent.

(Rich PDF p. 170 — printed folio 153. **Method Four (On Partition)** continues: the history of chapter and verse numbering. Before ~500 years ago Scripture was cited by narrative content, not number (the LXX added only the psalm-numbers, per Hilary; ancients like Augustine and Gregory cited by story-span). The ancient Jewish verse-division (Jerome's preserved colometry; **Elias Levita**: the Law, once one continuous text, was divided into Pesukim **436 years** after Jerusalem's fall — corroborating the p165 margin). Verses were measured by word-count (Augustine's Speculum: 6 / 12 / 18 words); verse-totals gauged a book's length (Origen on the Song = 20,000; Aristotle = 5,330). The Jews' verses are unequal (Ezra & the great synagogue; Gen 1:1 vs 1:2). Finally the old sectioning of the Gospels for the **Harmony** (Ammonius / Eusebius / Tatian: Matthew 355, Mark 235, Luke 343, John 232). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p169] ...[for before five hundred] years no passage of divine Scripture is found cited by number, either among the Hebrews or among the Greeks, except the psalms — of which, as appears from the Acts of the Apostles, they were wont, from the very beginning of the nascent church, to make mention with numbers added (for these numbers, as Hilary testifies in the preface of the psalms, the Seventy interpreters affixed to the psalms).¹ And those chapter-divisions and numbers which are now seen in the Greek copies, as well as in the Hebrew and Latin, were taken from our Latin codices. For those most ancient expositors used to divide the divine scriptures, and to cite them, not by the enumeration of chapters and the recitation of numbers, but by the allegation of particular histories — as Augustine said that he had written from the

beginning of Genesis up to the expulsion of the first parents from Paradise, and Gregory too [said] that he had expounded from the beginning of the book of Kings up to the anointing of King David — instead of what we would now say, "on the first three chapters of Genesis," and "on the first fifteen earlier chapters of 1 Kings." They divided likewise, and set forth publicly, the scriptures by places, or periods, or verses or versicles, or the sentences of the sacred volumes expressed verbatim — which they also sometimes called Chapters or Capitula — saying, for example: "On that passage of Paul where it is written, *I speak the truth in Christ*"² up to that place where it is said, *of whom is Christ, who is over all, God blessed forever*";³ or "on that which is written in Job, *The oxen were plowing, and the asses feeding*." ⁴

I find that a similar mode of division existed also among the ancient Jews: ⁵ that their codices were divided by sentences, commata, members, and verses, and distinguished by certain intervals — of which Jerome is witness, in the preface of Paralipomenon [Chronicles] and of Isaiah, asserting that, for the utility of readers, he had preserved in his own translation the same cuttings of the commata and the distances of the intervals which he had found in the Hebrew codices. Although Elias Levita, in the preface of the book *Masoreth ha-Masoreth*, affirms — following the opinion of the Rabbis ⁶ — that the whole Law was once as it were one single *Pasuk*, or one sentence, in which all things cohered without any distinction of verses, and that it was divided into *Pesukim* (that is, into verses and sentences) by the Jews of Tiberias **four hundred and thirty-six years** after the last destruction of the holy city. The author of the book of *Hebrew Questions on the books of Kings* (whom St. Thomas thinks was a Jew reborn in Christ) ⁷ shows that the Jews cut the books into a certain number of sentences, or verses — since he says that the book of Proverbs among them contains nine hundred and fifteen verses; ⁸ yet I myself have nowhere read, in the commentaries of the Hebrews, any of these sentences marked with an arithmetical mark, or expressed by a numeral word.

But it must be known that the partition of verses among the Jews is different from [that] among us and the Greeks. For the ancient Greeks and Latins distinguished the verses by an equal number of words, writing in each verse almost always six words ⁹ — partly monosyllables, partly polysyllables: which Augustine indicates clearly enough in the book whose title is *The Mirror of Divine Scripture*, in which — often noting the number of verses (sometimes collected by himself from the divine books, sometimes indeed omitted) — he sets, as an example of one verse, that saying of the ninety-ninth Psalm: *His people, and the sheep of his pasture*. ¹⁰ As an example of two verses, that sentence of Psalm 118: *How many are the days of thy servant? when wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me?* ¹¹ Again, as an example of three verses, he brings that from Psalm 149 [so the margin; the body prints 148]: *Let them praise his name in choir; on timbrel and psaltery let them sing to him; for the Lord is well pleased with his people*. ¹² In these examples, if you count the words, you will find in the first six words, in the second twelve, in the third eighteen. According to this partition of verses, therefore, I judge that the measure of the ancients is to be understood, who were wont to signify the size of volumes by the number of verses, as by a more certain mark — because books are frequently unequal, on account of the diverse abundance of their matter. In which way Jerome, expressing the size of certain books, says that Origen wrote on the Song of Songs nearly **twenty thousand** verses; ¹³ that Gregory Nazianzen comprised all his works in **thirty thousand** verses; that Hilary, in his commentaries on the psalms, borrowed from Origen nearly **forty thousand** verses; and that he himself, while expounding the epistle to the Ephesians, dictated a **thousand** verses into it daily. So too Diogenes Laertius affirms that the sum of certain Aristotelian volumes is contained under **five thousand three hundred and thirty** verses.

But the Jews, in distinguishing the verses, neither attend to the number of words, nor follow the cola or commata of the discourse, but [follow] a certain ancient custom, supported only by the authority of the elders and the tradition of the Rabbis; nor do they bring any other reason for their partition, except that Ezra and the men of the great synagogue, inspired by the divine spirit, distinguished the divine scriptures in this fashion. Whence among them the *Pesukim* — that is, the verses — are almost all unequal, ¹⁴ as appears at the outset

of Genesis, where the first *Pasuk*, or verse, is *In the beginning God created heaven and earth*,¹⁵ but the second is much longer: *And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of the Lord was borne over the waters*;¹⁶ after which follows the third verse, *And God said*, etc., far shorter. This mode of dividing, then, the ancients had — among whom, although Ammonius of Alexandria (or Eusebius of Caesarea, or Tatian) divided the four gospels by number into chapters¹⁷ — that is, the Gospel of Matthew into 355 chapters, Mark into 235, Luke into 343, John into 232 — yet I do not think that they had regard to this, that they might establish for us a fixed partition of the scriptures, but only to this, that they might indicate the places of the **Evangelical Symphony** [Harmony], in which the Evangelists said things consonant among themselves. After these, then, I have found among the ancients no numeral division of the scriptures, except in one [author]... [continues p171]

¹ The Seventy interpreters affixed the numbers to the Psalms; the Hebrews and Greeks received the chapter-divisions in the Bibles from the Latins; [and] in what manner the ancient expositors of the Scriptures divided them. ² Rom. 9:1. ³ Rom. 9:5 (the same chapter). ⁴ Job 1:14. ⁵ By what method the codices of the ancient Jews were distinguished. ⁶ Elias Levita thinks the whole Law was once as it were one single sentence. ⁷ St. Thomas thinks the author of the book of *Hebrew Questions on the books of Kings* was a Jew reborn in Christ. ⁸ The book of Proverbs among the Jews contains 915 verses. ⁹ The Greeks and Latins of old wrote, almost always, six words in each verse. ¹⁰ Ps. 99:3. ¹¹ Ps. 118:84. ¹² Ps. 149:3–4. ¹³ In what sense the name "verse" was used by the ancients; Origen wrote on the Song of Songs nearly 20,000 verses. ¹⁴ Almost all the verses in the Hebrew Bibles are unequal among themselves. ¹⁵ Gen. 1:1. ¹⁶ Gen. 1:2. ¹⁷ What the division of the Gospels into chapters once was.

(Rich PDF p. 171 — printed folio 154. **Method Four (Partition)** finishes. The history of numbered division: Hilary (Matthew into 33 canons); Luke sectioned by copyists (Ambrose 64, Bede 93); the Greeks' titles/chapters (Euthymius, Suidas, Arethas — with Gospel chapter-counts); and the twofold Latin enumeration (an older, fuller one vs. the modern chapters used by the scholastics — Hugh of St-Cher, Aquinas, etc., and followed by Kimchi). Then **On Collection** (the second office of Partition — compressing each part under a title), whose difficulty is shown by **eleven different "arguments" (summary-titles) for Psalm 116** gathered from the Fathers (Paul, Arnobius, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Cassiodorus, Euthymius, Remigius, Honorius, Smaragdus, David Kimchi). Then **Method Five: On the Epitome** opens. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p170] ...[no numeral division of the scriptures, except in] one Hilary, who cut the gospel of Matthew, expounded by himself, into thirty-three canons.¹ For as to what we noted in the first book of this work — that the Gospel of Luke, in the commentaries of Ambrose, is divided into sixty-four titles, and in the commentaries of Bede into ninety-three chapters² — we believe this was done not by the authors themselves, but interpolated by the copyists or readers, who love frequent breathing-pauses in writing or reading.

But among the Greek expositors, who flourished five hundred years ago, certain ones began to divide the sacred writings into parts numerically distinguished and marked with the characters of numbers — which they sometimes called **titles**, and sometimes **capitula** [chapters]. For thus Euthymius — or, as it seems to some, Oecumenius — divided the Gospel of Matthew into sixty-eight titles, or chapters,³ of which he inscribed the first "On the Magi," the second "On the children slain," the third "On the preaching of John," the fourth "On the doctrine of Christ," etc. But some, separating the *capitula* from the *titles*, cut the volumes into titles, and again subdivided the titles into chapters — as is gathered from Suidas and Arethas: of whom the former testifies that the Gospel of Matthew was distributed into sixty-eight titles [so the margin; the body prints 28] and into 355 chapters,⁴ and the gospel of Mark into forty-eight titles and fifty-six chapters; while the latter relates that Andrew [of Caesarea] cut the Apocalypse of John into twenty-four parts, and each of these into three chapters, so that the chapters of the whole book were seventy-two.

But among the Latins who [lived] from the thousandth year of our salvation up to these our times, I find a **twofold enumeration** of chapters:⁵ the one, as [being] older, so also more numerous — according to which the Gospel of Matthew, even in old printed codices, contains ninety-four chapters, the Gospel of Luke one

hundred and seven chapters, and the Epistle to the Romans fifty chapters; the other, later, which we now have in the common Bibles, more contracted and comprised in fewer chapters — by whose numeral citation there used, in their commentaries, Hugh presbyter Cardinal of St. Sabina [Hugh of St-Cher], Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and the rest, up to this day, the scholastic Theologians, whose chief care was to bring forth the divine testimonies from the holy scriptures by number. These Rabbi David Kimchi, and the other more recent Jews, follow in the division, calculation, and citation of the chapters of the old testament. Thus far concerning Division.

But concerning **Collection** — which is accomplished according to the [second] office of partition — it must be observed that this part is not a matter of common industry, ⁶ but of a keener skill. For just as, before we approach the division, we must diligently inspect that which is set forth to be divided, and rightly know the analogy of the parts to be divided, lest the division turn out wrongly: so, in collecting, there is need of a certain keen judgment, which may gather the separate little summaries of the individual divided parts, or chapters, aptly, briefly, and completely, and compress them as briefly as possible under certain witty and very strict titles and inscriptions, to be prefixed to the beginnings of the chapters. How difficult this is to do, that manifold diversity of the chapter-titles, or arguments, which are prefixed to the chapters of divine scripture, argues — varying in almost every one of the common codices, but especially in the chapters of the more obscure books, such as many are in the Prophets and in the epistles of Paul. In the fourth chapter of the epistle to the Romans I found ten arguments, or inscriptions: ⁷ of which some grazed the sum of one or two sentences of the whole chapter, the rest being omitted; others strayed far from the whole scope of the chapter; and some even fought diametrically against the whole meaning of the chapter. Which now, for brevity's sake, I pass over, subjoining in their place various formulas of inscriptions, or arguments, upon **Psalm 116** — so that from these you may somehow perceive the varied artifice of collecting.

Argument of Psalm 116, from Paul to the Romans, chapter 15: 1. The Gentiles [praise] God for [his] mercy, the Jews for [his] truth.

Another of Paul's, from the same place: 2. The Gentiles honor God from mercy alone, the Jews from the promises.

Of Arnobius: 3. The Gentiles, the Jews being excluded, are invited to the praises of God.

Of Eusebius of Caesarea: 4. A prophecy of the calling of the Gentiles.

Of Chrysostom: 5. A prediction of the evangelical preaching, about to occupy the whole world.

Of Cassiodorus: 6. The beginning, end, and compendium of all psalms and hymns.

Of Euthymius: 7. A laudatory psalm, calling together the whole race of mortals to the praises of Christ, and to the giving of thanks to him for such great benefits conferred upon us.

Of Remigius: 8. The whole human race is invited to celebrate God on account of the mercy shown to us in the coming of Christ.

Of Honorius: 9. The Gentiles first, then the Jews, are invited to the divine praises.

Of Smaragdus: 10. The praise of God from mercy and truth — because by these two virtues all the works of the divine perfections are comprehended.

Of David Kimchi the Jew: 11. A laudatory hymn, לימות המשיח (*limoth Hammashiach*) — that is, looking forward to the days of the Messiah.

On the Epitome — The Fifth Method

The **Epitome** (ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ) — that is, the Breviary, or compendium — is the briefest summary of the divine volumes,⁸ comprehending in the fewest words, and (so far as can be done) in succinct and clear speech, grazing [the whole]... [continues p172]

¹ Hilary divided the gospel of Matthew into 33 Canons. ² The gospel of Luke, in Ambrose's commentaries, was divided by the copyists into 64 titles, and in Bede's commentary into 93 chapters. ³ Euthymius divided the gospel of Matthew into 68 titles. ⁴ The gospel of Matthew was once divided into 68 titles and 355 chapters; Mark into 48 titles and 56 chapters; the Apocalypse into 72 chapters. ⁵ Among the Latins there was a twofold enumeration of the chapters of Scripture. ⁶ Collection is not a matter of common industry. ⁷ What arguments are extant on chapter 4 of the Epistle to the Romans. ⁸ What the Epitome of the Scriptures is.

(Rich PDF p. 172 — printed folio 155. **Method Five (Epitome)** finishes: since Psalm 116 is too short, the worked example is **Sabellicus's compendium of Genesis 1** (Cassiodorus and Richard of St. Victor named as authors). Then **Method Six: On the Ecloge (Excerpt)** — plucking scattered Scripture-excerpts — and its three forms: **Specula** (Mirrors — Augustine's Speculum); **Loci Communes** (Commonplaces grouped under headings of faith/hope/charity — Melito's Six Books of Excerpts to Onesimus, Cyprian's three books to Quirinus, Bede & Defensor's Scintillæ); and **Harmonies** (weaving parallel passages into one work — twofold: literal weaving, or Eusebius's numeral canon-tables; the Gospel harmonies of Tatian, Theophilus, Ammonius, variously titled Monopanton, Monotessaron, Pandect, Evangelical Harmony; Zacharias of Chrysopolis). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p171] ...grazing those things which are narrated more fully, and through many repetitions, in the divine scripture (to which **Tautology** is most familiar),¹ the integrity and sense of the sacred narration being always preserved. Since an example of this Method cannot be exhibited in Psalm 116, on account of its narrow brevity, I will set before you, in its stead, the first chapter of Genesis, which Marcus Antonius Sabellicus thus contracted into a Compendium.

An Example of a Compendium upon the whole first chapter of Genesis

That eternal Majesty, the maker of all things — having wrought the whole world from the beginning in six days — first separated light from darkness, when the raw matter was now present, and that formless, which God had prepared from the beginning; and this was the first light of all, the day, which shone upon the world. Night was straightway joined to it. Heaven thence, on the second day, was established on high; and this was called the firmament. Then, on the third day, the earth was made stable, and moisture was poured around the earth. The Sun, on the fourth day's light, the Moon, and the stars flashed forth into the world; of these, a few — like those greater lights — wander in fixed spaces, while the rest of the multitude, which is moreover immense, and diffused in variety, describes almost innumerable effigies of things and of animals. Soon, on the fifth day, the birds and all swimming things were given to the two elements. Finally, on the sixth day, the creeping things, and the very race of quadrupeds, were assigned to the earth; and with these, the most noble animal, man — who alone, having obtained a heavenly mind, was made to the image of God. They have left us, as report has it, not-to-be-despised monuments of this labor upon the whole of divine scripture: Aurelius Cassiodorus, and Richard [of St.] Victor.

On the Ecloge, or Excerpt — The Sixth Method

The **Ecloge** (ΕΚΛΟΓΗ), or Excerpt (for thus Melito and Cyprian called this mode of expounding),² is a Method plucking here and there, scattered from all the divine volumes, diverse authorities of the scriptures — sentences, periods, testimonies, examples, and various sayings and deeds — either for the instruction of the faith and the proof of Christian dogmas, or for the discipline of morals and the exercise of piety. Of which Method diverse formulas have been devised by ecclesiastical men, among which three are held more

usual: ³ namely, **Specula** [Mirrors], **Loci Communes** [Commonplaces], and **Harmonies**.

Specula [Mirrors] ⁴ are those volumes so called in which, according to the order of the books of both Testaments, there is heaped up indiscriminately, and without any order, a huge and undigested medley of the sentences of divine scripture, pertaining either to the erudition of faith or of morals — as Augustine did in the book which he himself entitled the *Speculum* [Mirror].

Loci Communes [Commonplaces] ⁵ are those so called in which the sentences, dispersed here and there through diverse parts of holy Scripture, are reduced into certain peculiar orders, or classes, distinguished among themselves by various titles, arguments, and chapters — such as the "places" on faith, on hope, on charity, and the like; under which are separately placed all those sentences which pertain either to faith, or to hope, or to charity, and which show and expound their nature, force, properties, and offices, each in its own words. In this part there labored Melito, bishop of Sardis, and Cyprian: ⁶ of whom the former gathered from the divine letters a work entitled Ἐκλόγων Βιβλία ἕξ — that is, *Six Books of Excerpts, to Onesimus* — in which, under various titles, he arranged in fitting order all the ethical sentences which are delivered in the sacred letters for living well and blessedly. Cyprian, moreover, wrote three books of like argument to his son Quirinus — the two former necessary for the support of faith, the third for the edification of good works. Many others also labored in this very kind; of whom some, among the Commonplaces of sacred sentences collected by themselves, inserted many sentences of the orthodox fathers, conformable to those "places," which might be, as it were, expositions of the preceding places — as Bede the presbyter did, and Defensor, an old author, in those books which they entitled *Scintillæ Scripturæ Sanctæ* [Sparks of Holy Scripture]. But others gathered the deeds and sayings of only one theme from the divine letters, and reduced [them] into one body, and illustrated [them] with brief little expositions inserted of their own — as was done by the author of the three books which are inscribed under the name of Augustine, *On the Marvels of Sacred Scripture*.

A **Harmony** ⁷ is called a work constructed from the similar sayings and sentences of diverse un-joined and un-ordered volumes, woven together mutually for the exposition of one matter, and reduced into one continuous, ordered, whole, and perfect volume. Nor are there lacking those who assign a twofold kind of Harmony: ⁸ the One, in which the parts and periods of the literal context, having a like sense, are accommodated [together]; the Other, which, without any writing of letters, is composed from numeral marks alone. In this latter kind Eusebius of Caesarea gave us an example, in the book of the Evangelical Canons, to Carpianus. But of the former kind, illustrious monuments were left ⁹ by Tatian of Alexandria, Theophilus bishop of Antioch, Ammonius of Alexandria, and many others, who compacted the histories of the four Evangelists into the body of one history — which some entitled **Monopanton** (that is, "one out of all"), others **Monotessaron** (that is, "one out of four"), others **Pandect** (that is, "containing all"), others **Evangelical Harmony**. And among these there were also some who elucidated Harmonies of this kind — whether published by themselves or by others — by adding their own explanations: as Zacharias, bishop of Chrysopolis, who [wrote] upon the Harmony of Am[monius]... [continues p173]

¹ Tautology is familiar to divine Scripture. ² The definition of the Eclogē. ³ There are three more usual formulas of the Eclogē. ⁴ What are called "Mirrors" (Specula). ⁵ Commonplaces are defined. ⁶ Melito and St. Cyprian wrote commonplaces of the sacred Scripture. ⁷ The Harmony of the Scriptures is defined. ⁸ The Harmony is of a twofold kind. ⁹ Authors who published Harmonies of Scripture.

(Rich PDF p. 173 — printed folio 156. The Eclogē (Excerpt) method concludes — Zacharias's Catena, Bruychius, and Sixtus's own forthcoming **Monotessaron of Wisdom** (harmonizing Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Sirach) — then its **three worked examples**: (1) **Commonplaces** from Cyprian's third book to Quirinus (two topics: "In nothing should we glory"; "The freedom of belief lies in the will"); (2) **literal Harmony** — the Temple-cleansing woven from all four Gospels (Matt 21 / Mark 11 / Luke 19 / John 2), with sigla a–g; (3) **numeral Harmony** — Eusebius's ten **canon-tables**, built on Ammonius's Gospel chapter-counts, enumerated by which Evangelists agree. The figure of the table itself follows on the next page. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p172] ...[Zacharias, bishop of Chrysopolis, who] upon the Harmony of Ammonius wove together a *Catena* [Chain] of explanations from the fathers; and Antonius Bruychius, who followed up the evangelical Monotessaron collected by himself with his own exposition. We too hope, if God favor our undertakings, to send forth into the light shortly a **Monotessaron of Wisdom**,¹ which we now have in hand — that is, "one out of four," namely from the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus — in which work we have reduced the individual sentences of each kind and theme, dispersed here and there through those same volumes, under fixed and distinct orders and titles, separately, and have begun to illustrate [them] with brief commentaries applied. Let these things suffice concerning the Ecloge, of whose Method we subjoin only three examples: the first, of Commonplaces, from the aforementioned books of Cyprian to Quirinus; the second, of literal Harmony, from the evangelical Harmony of Ammonius; the third, of numeral Harmony, from Eusebius.

An Example of Commonplaces, from St. Cyprian, book 3, to Quirinus (which Augustine also used against Pelagius)

THAT IN NOTHING SHOULD WE GLORY, since nothing is ours:

In the Gospel according to John: *No man can receive anything, unless it be given him from heaven.*² Likewise in the first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians: *For what hast thou that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received?*³ Likewise in the first book of Kings [1 Samuel]: *Glory not, neither speak lofty things; let not magniloquence come out of your mouth: for the Lord is the God of knowledge.*⁴ Likewise there: *The bow of the mighty is made weak, and the weak are girded with strength.*⁵ Concerning this same [matter] in the Maccabees: *It is just to be subject to God, and that a mortal should not think things equal to God.*⁶ Likewise there: *Fear not the words of a sinful man, for his glory shall be dung and worms; today he is lifted up, and tomorrow he shall not be found, because he is turned into his earth, and his thought is perished.*⁷

THAT THE FREEDOM OF BELIEVING, OR OF NOT BELIEVING, is placed in the [free] will:

In Deuteronomy: *Behold, I have set before thy face life and death, good and evil: choose life, that thou mayest live.*⁸ Likewise in Isaiah: *And if you be willing, and will hearken to me, you shall eat the good things of the land; but if you will not, and will not hearken to me, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things.*⁹ Likewise in the gospel according to Luke: *The kingdom of God is within you.*¹⁰

An Example of Literal Harmony, from the evangelical Harmony of Ammonius

(on the history of Christ casting the sellers and buyers out of the temple, woven from the sayings of the four Evangelists — namely from Matthew ch. 21, Mark ch. 11, Luke ch. 19, and John ch. 2)

JOHN: The pasch of the Jews was near, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. **MATTHEW:** And when he had entered Jerusalem, the whole city was moved, saying: Who is this? And the people said: This is Jesus the Prophet, from Nazareth of Galilee. **JOHN:** And Jesus entered into the temple of God; and when he had made a scourge of cords, he cast out all the sellers and buyers in the temple; the sheep also, and the oxen, and he poured out [the coin] of the money-changers, and overturned the brass and the seats of the sellers and the doves, and said to them: Take these things hence, and make not the house of my Father a house of business.

¹¹ **[a] MATT., MARK, LUKE:** For it is written, *My house shall be called a house of prayer* — ¹² **[b] MARK:** for all nations. ¹³ **[c] MATT., MARK, LUKE:** But you have made it a den of thieves. ¹⁴ **[d] MARK:** And he suffered not that any man should carry a vessel through the temple. ¹⁵ **[e] JOHN:** And his

disciples remembered that it is written: The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up.¹⁶ **[f] MATT.:** And there came to him the blind and the lame in the temple, and he healed them.¹⁷ **[g] LUKE:** And he was teaching daily in the temple.¹⁸

Such, then, is the example of literal Harmony, taken from Ammonius.

Eusebius of Caesarea, stirred by the zeal of Ammonius, himself also devised a new method of **Numeral Harmony**, composed from the marks of numbers alone, without any writing of the evangelical text.¹⁹ First he considered that Ammonius had cut each of the four Evangelists into many chapters²⁰ — namely Matthew into three hundred and fifty-five chapters, Mark into one hundred and thirty-five [so here; p170 gave 235], Luke into three hundred and forty-four, John into two hundred and thirty-two. Then he set these chapter-numbers one against another, according as they variously agreed or differed among themselves, and arranged them into ten classes of numeral figures — tables, or titles, which he called **canons** — in an elegant and clear order, in this manner:

- The **First** Order contained in itself four series of numbers, indicating the places, or chapters, of the gospels in which similar things were said by all four Evangelists: namely Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.
- The **Second** contained the numbers of the chapters in which three agree: Matthew, Mark, and Luke.
- The **Third** had the numbers in which three were concordant: Matthew, Luke, and John.
- The **Fourth** comprised the numbers of the chapters in which three concur: Matthew, Mark, and John.
- The **Fifth**: in which two, Matthew and Luke.
- The **Sixth**: in which two, Matthew and Mark.
- The **Seventh**: in which two, Matthew and John.
- The **Eighth**: in which two, Mark and Luke.
- The **Ninth**: in which two, Luke and John.
- The **Tenth**: in which the individual [Evangelists] wrote of certain things proper [to themselves].

You have an example of this artifice in the figure set below. [continues p174: the table]

¹ This work, promised by the author, has not yet come to light. ² John 3:27. ³ 1 Cor. 4:7. ⁴ 1 Sam. 2:3 (cited as 1 Kings). ⁵ Ibid. 2:4. ⁶ 2 Macc. 9:12. ⁷ 1 Macc. 2:62–63. ⁸ Deut. 30:16. ⁹ Isa. 1:19–20. ¹⁰ Luke 17:21 (the margin prints "27," an impossible chapter). ¹¹ John 2:13; Matt. 21:10–11; John 2:14–16. ¹² Marker a: Matt. 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46. ¹³ Marker b: Mark 11:17. ¹⁴ Marker c: Matt. 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46. ¹⁵ Marker d: Mark 11:16. ¹⁶ Marker e: John 2:17. ¹⁷ Marker f: Matt. 21:14. ¹⁸ Marker g: Luke 19:47. ¹⁹ Eusebius devised the method of numeral harmony. ²⁰ Ammonius cut each of the Evangelists into many chapters.

(Rich PDF p. 174 — printed folio 157. The **figure** promised on p173: **Eusebius's Canon I** — the Gospel sections where all four Evangelists run parallel, laid out in four columns of section-numbers (Matthew / Mark / Luke / John), with instructions for reading it and one worked row (the four "voice crying in the wilderness" texts). Then **Method Seven: On the Notariac Exposition** — interpretation by **critical marks and signs** set in Scripture (much used by the ancient Greek expositors, chiefly in the Old Testament), which are of two kinds: **Literate marks** (Greek letters, each with a name) and **Illiterate marks** (the cross, anchor, asterisk, obelus, metobelus...). The mark-lists continue on the next page. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

An Example of Numeral Harmony, from the book of the Evangelical Canons of Eusebius, to Carpianus

Of the evangelical chapters in which all four Evangelists agree.

THE FIRST CANON

(the numbers are the Ammonian section-numbers; each row lists the parallel sections in the four Gospels)

Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
VIII	II	VII	X
XI	III	X	VI
XIII	V	XIII	XV
XXIII	XXVII	XVII	XLVI
LXX	XX	XXXVII	XXXVIII
XCVIII	XCVI	CCV	XL
CXXXIII	XXXVII	LXXVII	CIX
CXLI	L	XIX	LIX
CXLII	LI	XXI	XXXV
CXLVII	LXIII	XCIII	XLIX
CXLVI	LXXXII	XCIII	XVII
CCIX	CXII	CCXXXIII	C
CCXI	CXXI	CCXXXVIII	XXI
CCXX	CXXII	CCXXXIX	LXXVII
LXXXVII	CXXXIX	CCL	CXLVI
CCXLIII	CXXXIX	CCL	CXLI

You will most easily attain the understanding of this canon, and of others like it, if you know that all the numbers which are placed from left to right in the same line indicate places of the gospels consonant and concordant among themselves. As you can observe in the first line — in which the eighth chapter of Matthew, the second of Mark, the seventh of Luke, [and] the tenth of John show that the four evangelists' sentences written below are very much alike:

- **Matthew VIII:** *This is he of whom it was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying: The voice of one crying in the desert, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths.* ¹
- **Mark II:** *As it is written in Isaiah the prophet: The voice of one crying in the desert, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths.* ²
- **Luke VII:** *It is written in the book of the sayings of Isaiah the prophet: The voice of one crying in the desert, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths.* ³
- **John X:** *I [am] the voice of one crying in the desert: Make straight the way of the Lord, as said Isaiah the prophet.* ⁴

In the other lines of this figure, and in the others which are had in the canons of Eusebius — as the same order is preserved, so the same manner of understanding is to be had.

On the Notariac Exposition — The Seventh Method

The **Notaria**, or Notariac, exposition is a Method which demonstrates the meaning of words, of sentences, and of latent senses, by means of certain marks — whether of characters, or of lines, or of points — either set beside, or inserted into, the divine Scriptures. ⁵ Of these there was a most frequent use among the most ancient (especially the Greek) expositors, and chiefly in the old testament. Of these we have gathered a few, for example's sake, from Epiphanius, Jerome, Stratonicus, Suidas, and Isidore, of which the sum is this:

Every exposition made by marks consists of a twofold variety of marks: ⁶ of these, some are called **Literate**, others **Illiterate**; whose figures and names are these.

LITERATE MARKS: 1. **A** — *apile* 2. **Γ** — *gehennon* 3. **Δ** — *diabolos* 4. **E** — *ecclisis* 5. **Z** — *zitima* 6. **M** — *mellon*

ILLITERATE MARKS: 1. **✚** (cross) — *stauron* 2. **■** (anchor) — *ancyra* 3. (anchor-form) — *ancyranos* 4. ***** (asterisk) — *asteriscus* 5. — (horizontal stroke) — *obelus* 6. **■·** — *metobelus*

(both lists continue on p175)

¹ Matt. 3:3. ² Mark 1:2. ³ Luke 3:4. ⁴ John 1:23. ⁵ What the notariac exposition is. ⁶ There are two kinds of marks.

(Rich PDF p. 175 — printed folio 158. The two mark-lists finish — **Literate marks** 7–16 (*Xenion, Uranion, Pneuma, Tropos, Ypsilon...*, and the Hebrew *Sagur*/"closed" & *Pethach*/"open") and **Illiterate marks** 7–16 (the ancient critical signs: *Ceraunion, Obelus, Lemniscus, Subliniscus, Antigrahus, Antisigma, Cryphia, Diple, Diple-with-dots*, and the Hebrew *nekudot*). Then **On the Literate Marks** — what each signifies, with a Scripture example: **A** (a threat-prophecy of changeable outcome), **Γ** (*Gehenna*), **Δ** (the devil), **E** (the calling of the Gentiles), **Z** (an abstruse question), **M** (the future), **X** (an earthly promise to the Jews), **V** (heavenly bliss), **Π** (the spiritual sense), **T** (a Hebrew idiom) — continued on the next page. Running head: *BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE*.)

(the mark-lists, continued from p174:)

LITERATE MARKS (7–16): 7. **X** — *Xenion*; 8. (digamma) — *Uranion*; 9. **Π** — *Pneuma*; 10. **T** — *Tropos* (the list misprints "Tdoros"); 11. **Y** — *Ypsilon*; 12. **Υ** — *Ypsilon ypogrammenon*; 13. **X** — *Character*; 14. **XX** — *Character diplos*; 15. (⓪) — *Sagur* [Hebrew, "closed"]; 16. (Ⓢ) — *Pethach* [Hebrew, "open"].

ILLITERATE MARKS (7–16): 7. (thunderbolt) — *Ceraunion*; 8. (dotted obelus) — *Obelos agnostigmenon*; 9. (lemniscus) — *Limniscus*; 10. (sub-lemniscus) — *Subliniscus*; 11. (C with dot) — *Antigrahus*; 12. (reversed C with dot) — *Antisigma*; 13. (C over triangle) — *Cryphia*; 14. (diple, **■**) — *Diple*; 15. (diple with dots) — *Diple periestigmene*; 16. (diamonds/points) — [*nekudot*] ("Scilus nechudot" — the Hebrew extraordinary points).

On the Literate Marks

You now have the forms and names of the literate marks; now receive the individual significations and expositions of each.

A — **Apile** (that is, *Threat*) signifies that the prophecies of the prophets, to which this mark is prefixed, are not prophecies of an immovable and inevitable decree, but of a changeable outcome, ¹ pronounced not for the sake of decreeing but of threatening — such as the prediction of Isaiah the prophet, saying to Hezekiah: [A] *Set thy house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live;* ² and likewise the prophecy of Jonah crying to the Ninevites: [A] *Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.* ³

Γ — **Gehennon** marks places which, in the old testament, speak obscurely of the perpetual punishments of Gehenna — such as that in Isaiah: [Γ] *Tophet is prepared from yesterday, prepared by the king, deep and wide; the nourishments thereof are fire and much wood: the breath of the Lord, as a torrent of brimstone, kindling it.* ⁴

Δ — **Diabolos**, prefixed to sentences, indicates that they are to be understood of the devil — such as that which Moses wrote in Genesis: [Δ] *And the serpent said to the woman: You shall not die the death;* ⁵ and that in Job: [Δ] *Behold Behemoth, whom I made with thee: he shall eat hay like an ox... he setteth up his tail like*

a cedar... he is the beginning of the ways of God.⁶

E — Ecclisis (that is, *Calling-out*) shows a period speaking of the calling of the Gentiles, or of the Church of Christ to be gathered from the Gentiles — as that in Isaiah the prophet: [E] *Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee; and the Gentiles shall walk in thy light, and kings in the brightness of thy rising, etc.*⁷

Z — Zitima (that is, *Question*) denotes an abstruse and hidden sentence, wrapped in the greatest obscurity, and involved in most difficult questions — such as that pericope of Paul in the epistle to the Romans: [Z] *When [the children] were not yet born, nor had done any good or evil (that the purpose of God according to election might stand), not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said to her: The elder shall serve the younger; as it is written: Jacob I have loved, but Esau I have hated. What shall we say then? Is there injustice with God? God forbid.*⁸

M — Mellon (that is, *Future*) is prefixed to a sentence which, although it may seem to speak of the present, yet contains a foreknowledge of future times — as in Isaiah: [M] *Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth.*⁹

X — Xenion (that is, a gift wont to be given to newcomers and guests) points out sentences which are to be interpreted of earthly and temporal gifts and promises, made especially to the Jewish people — as in Isaiah: [X] *If you be willing, and will hearken to me, you shall eat the good things of the land.*¹⁰

V — Uranion (that is, *Heavenly*) brings forth a place in which the felicity of eternal life is described — as in the eighty-third Psalm: [V] *How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! my soul longeth and fainteth for the courts of the Lord... Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord; for ever and ever they shall praise thee.*¹¹

Π — Pneuma (that is, *Spirit*) signifies that the pericope is to be understood not carnally but spiritually — as in the Song of Songs: [Π] *Arise, make haste, my love, my beautiful one, and come, my dove in the clefts of the rock, in the hollow of the wall: show me thy face, let thy voice sound in my ears; for thy voice is sweet, and thy face comely.*¹²

T — Tropos (that is, *a mode of speech*) warns that the subsequent saying is not to be understood according to the first and bare signification which the words present, but according to the customary speech of some nation. This mark the ancients used to indicate places of divine scripture expressed by Hebrew phrases, tropes, and idioms — as in Psalm 15: *The lines are fallen unto me in goodly places*¹³ — which is as much as if you should say... [continues p176]

¹ Some prophecies are of a changeable outcome. ² Isa. 38:1. ³ Jonah 3:4. ⁴ Isa. 30:33. ⁵ Gen. 3:4. ⁶ Job 40:10,11,14 (the Behemoth passage; Vulgate numbering, = 40:15,19). ⁷ Isa. 60:1,3. ⁸ Rom. 9:11–14; Gen. 25; Mal. 1:2. ⁹ Isa. 65:17. ¹⁰ Isa. 1:19. ¹¹ Ps. 83:1–3 (Vulgate; = Ps. 84). ¹² Song of Songs 2:13–14. ¹³ Ps. 15:6 (Vulgate; = Ps. 16:6).

(Rich PDF p. 176 — printed folio 159. The critical-marks method continues. The **Literate marks** conclude: **T** (Tropos — a Hebrew idiom, e.g. Naboth "blessed" = cursed God, 1 Kings 21:13); **Y** (rejection of the Jews — Isa 5); **Y-ypogrammenon** (rejection of the old Law — Isa 1); **X** Character (an author's peculiar style — Plato, Gregory); **XX** (distinctive dogmas — Plato, Origen); and the Hebrew **Sagur** (closed) & **Petach** (open) paragraph-marks. Then **On the Illiterate Marks** — the ancient text-critical signs: **+** Stauron (Christ-prophecies), **■** Ancyra (the New Covenant), **■** Anciranos (nota bene → the pointing hand), ***** Asteriscus (restorations from the Hebrew — Origen), — Obelus (spurious/superfluous — Susanna & Bel), **■** Metobelus, the **Ceraunion** (thunderbolt), and the **dotted Obelus** (doubtful — the Cainan crux, Luke 3:36). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p175] ...[which is as much as if you should say,] "The best and most illustrious lot has fallen to me." And in the third volume of Kings: [T] *Naboth blessed God and the king, and therefore he was*

stoned — that is, because he cursed God and the king, he was killed with stones.¹

Y — **Ypsilon** indicates that the sentence immediately following is to be expounded of the rejection and deposition of the Jewish people — as in this sentence of Isaiah: [Y] *I will show you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be laid waste; I will break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down; and I will make it desolate: it shall not be pruned, and it shall not be digged, but briers and thorns shall come up upon it; and I will command the clouds to rain no rain upon it.*²

Y — **Ypsilon ypogrammenon** (that is, "underwritten with a line") signifies that the sentence to which it is prefixed speaks of the rejection of the old Law according to the flesh. For example, when God says through Isaiah: [Y] *Offer sacrifice no more in vain; incense is an abomination to me; the new moon and the sabbath and other festivals I will not abide. My soul hateth your calends and your solemnities: they are become troublesome to me, I am weary of bearing them.*³

X — **Character** (that is, a stylus, a figure, or — as Gellius interprets it — a kind of speech peculiar to each author): with this mark, as Diogenes Laertius writes, the Platonists were wont to note, in the books of Plato, the phrases and locutions proper and more choice to Plato;⁴ which also, of old, in the writings of Gregory Nazianzen, Stratonius testifies (in his *Collectanea*) that certain zealous annotators of the "Gregorian character" were wont to do.

XX — **Character duplicatus** (the doubled Character): with this sign, as Diogenes reports, in the Platonic works, was employed to designate the opinions and dogmas proper to Plato,⁵ in which he entirely dissented from the other philosophers. This mark, in the volumes of Origen, Gregory Nazianzen and Basil placed, to indicate his peculiar dogmas that were discrepant from the common definition of the fathers.

o — **Segar** (that is, "Closure"), inserted in the sacred codices of the Hebrews, signifies that the following narration coheres with the prior [a "closed" section].

o — **Petach** (that is, "Gate," or "opening"), in the same divine volumes of the Jews, shows that the following narration has a different subject from the prior [an "open" section].

On the Illiterate Marks

✚ — **Stauron** (in Greek; in Latin, *Crux*, the Cross) is prefixed to the clauses of the old testament which contain a prophecy of Christ — such as that in the twenty-first Psalm: [✚] *They have dug my hands and my feet, they have numbered all my bones;*⁶ and in the sixty-eighth Psalm: [✚] *They gave me gall for my food, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.*⁷

■ — **Ancyra** (that is, an Anchor prefixed to a sentence) shows that in it mention is made of the new testament and of the Gospel — as in Jeremiah, chapter 31, where it is read: [■] *Behold the days come, saith the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant which I made with your fathers, when I led them out of the land of Egypt. And this shall be the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel: I will give my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their heart.*⁸

■ — **Anciranos** (that is, "the upper Anchor") was placed both to the sacred reading and to the commentaries of the expositors, where some matter was especially to be observed and noted beyond the rest. Now, in the place of this mark, the Jurists have substituted a **hand**, which with extended index finger points out the place.



* — **Asteriscus** (that is, an Asterism, or Star) shows words and sentences of divine scripture which the earlier interpreters omitted, but which the later Interpreters restored from the Hebrew truth. As, for example, in Jerome's translation, at Hosea: the Asterisk shining before that sentence — *Out of Egypt I called my son*⁹ — marks that it was passed over by the Seventy interpreters, and was at last restored to its place by Jerome.

In the works of Plato this mark was placed for the approval of dogmas.

— — **Obelus** (that is, a "Spit," a lance, or a spear; or a "lying-down" [horizontal], or transverse pyramidal little rod) is prefixed to words or sentences of the divine codices superfluously repeated, or in those places where the reading seems adventitious, of uncertain, obscure, or ambiguous authority — so that by such a mark, as by an arrow, suspect and superfluous things may be transfixed. Thus Jerome says that, in the book of Daniel, he transfixed the histories of Susanna and of Bel¹⁰ (because they were not had in the Hebrew volumes) by prefixing the throat-cutting Spit, as narrations taken — beyond the Hebrew truth — from Theodotion's edition. Epiphanius relates that Origen, first of all, applied to the codices of divine scripture the Asterisks (to illustrate what had been lacking before) and the Obeli (to cut the throat of superfluous things).¹¹

■ — **Metobelus** (that is, "after the spit") is placed immediately after words or sentences that have been "throat-cut" [obelized], so that the obelized [words] may be distinguished by their wording from the rest that follow in the text. As, when in Psalm 21, according to the Septuagint edition, it is read: *God, my God, look upon me, why hast thou forsaken me?* — it appears that those two words, *look upon me*, placed between the obelus and the metobelus, are superfluous.¹²

Ceraunion (that is, a "thunderbolt") is placed whenever many verses are disapproved, lest they be obelized one by one. With which sign Julius Africanus rejected the histories of Susanna and Bel, added at the end of the book of Daniel. In the Platonic books, the Ceraunion was taken up for the moral instruction of philosophy.

Obelus agnostigmenon (that is, "you have a point above" — the dotted obelus) is placed in those [passages] about which it is doubted whether they ought to be removed or added. For example, in the third chapter of Luke, the generation of Cainan — which the Evangelist interposed between the generation of Arphaxad and of Sale [Shelah], counting fifteen generations from Adam to Heber [Eber] — seems to be marked with an obelus dotted above: because in the tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis, and in the beginning of the first [book] of Paralipomenon [Chronicles], from Adam to Heber, only fourteen generations are counted, and no mention at all is made of the generation of Cainan.¹³ [continues p177]

¹ 1 Kings 21:13 (cited as 3 Kings). ² Isa. 5:5–6. ³ Isa. 1:13–14. ⁴ Locutions proper to Plato were marked by his imitators with the sign X. ⁵ Plato's dogmas were marked by a fixed sign. ⁶ Ps. 21:17–18 (Vulgate; = Ps. 22:16–17). ⁷ Ps. 68:22 (Vulgate; = Ps. 69:21). ⁸ Jer. 31:31–33. ⁹ Hos. 11:1; Matt. 2:15. ¹⁰ Dan. 13. ¹¹ Origen, first of all, applied asterisks and obeli to the divine Scriptures. ¹² Ps. 21:2 (Vulgate; = Ps. 22:1). ¹³ Luke 3:36.

(Rich PDF p. 177 — printed folio 160. The critical-signs method concludes: **Limniscus** & **Sublimniscus** (variant renderings — different vs. identical wording), **Antigraphus** (translators' divergences — Gen 37:2), **Antisigma** (transposed order — the beatitudes, Matt 5), **Cryphia** (unsolved questions — Rom 11:33), **Diple** (Scripture-citations → the modern » mark), **Diple peristigme** (added/removed passages), and **Scilus nechudoth** ("three points" — the Kabalists' letter-reading, e.g. רבים "many" = Rome / Babylon / Greece / Media, on Ps 3:2); Origen borrowed these signs from Plato. Then the **seven sigla** for the Greek versions of the OT (Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the Fifth / Sixth / Seventh editions). Finally **Method Eight: On Paraphrase** opens. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p176] **Limniscus** (that is, a little rod lying between twin points — one above, one below) is placed on those [passages] which the various interpreters of sacred scripture translated with the same sense but with different words¹ — as when, in the old psalter, in the seventy-first Psalm, according to the Septuagint edition, was placed *And their name is honorable before him*; immediately, a Limniscus (÷) being added, was subjoined *In his eyes*, according to another translation. Origen therefore interposed the Limniscus between these two translations, so that you might recognize that one sentence had been rendered by two interpreters in two different ways. This mark is taken from the surgeons,² among whom a *limniscus* is a lint,

or worn little linen cloth, made into a thin and long form, which is inserted into the two sections of an incised wound.

Sublimniscus (that is, a Simple line having a point beneath it) signifies that the sentence to which it is placed was translated by two or three interpreters with the same sense, and in the same words.

Antigraphus (that is, a Semicircle facing right, and holding a point within itself) signifies that in the translations there is a sense either different among the translators themselves, or dissenting from the Hebrew truth itself — as that place of Genesis which in Hebrew is read, *And Joseph accused his brothers to their father of a most wicked crime*,³ which Aquila rendered with a sense not only different from our edition, but plainly diverse from the Hebrew scripture itself: *His brothers had accused Joseph to their father of a most wicked crime*.

Antisigma (a reversed C) is placed at those lines and verses of divine scripture whose order is to be transposed — as it is also found placed in the ancient authors. For example, when in the Greek edition of the Gospel according to Matthew (which Chrysostom used and expounded) "the beatitude of those who mourn" is placed before "the beatitude of the meek," the "beatitude of those who mourn" is to be marked with the sign (·), so that the reader may know that the true order of the two beatitudes has been transposed.⁴ Jerome, in the place of this sign, in his translation of the book of Esther, employed the first eight letters of the Greek alphabet — written in red, from alpha to theta — so that from their position he might restore the order of the Hebrew history, which had been tossed up and down by the Seventy interpreters.

Cryphia (that is, "Concealment" — the lower part of a circle, containing a point within itself) is placed in those places where a doubtful and obscure question could not be opened or solved. Which mark some of the most ancient fathers prefixed to the words of Paul in the eleventh chapter to the Romans, *O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God!*⁵ — wishing by this sign to indicate that that question, about the election of the Gentiles and the reprobation of the Jews (attempted by the Apostle in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters), was not solved by him. The same mark the old expositors used in their commentaries, where they left an arduous difficulty undecided.

Diple (■): writers placed this in the books of ecclesiastical men, to separate or point out the testimonies of the holy scriptures, lest they be confounded with the words and reading of the commentaries. Now, in the place of this mark, this mark » has succeeded.

Diple peristigme (that is, "with twin points"): the ancients placed this on those [verses] which Zenodotus of Ephesus had wrongly added to, or removed from, the Homeric poems. The ecclesiastics used it on those [passages] which the interpreters had added to, or taken from, the Hebrew truth.

Scilus nechudoth [*shalosh nekudoth*, "three points"] — these three points, placed over any letter — are in use among the Kabalists, the Jewish expositors, whenever, through the individual letters of some word, they wish individual words to be understood. For example, when in the third Psalm it is said, *Many rise up against me*,⁶ the Kabalists, expounding this of the Jewish people, ask: who are the רבים (*rabim*), that is, the "Many," who rise up against the people of Israel? And they answer: These are those four peoples which David signifies by the four letters of the word רבים *Rabim* — that is, ר (resh), the Romans; ב (beth), the Babylonians; י (Iod), the Ionians, or Greeks; מ (mem), the Medes, or Persians. For these four words the letters, marked above with points, show. There are also very many other marks of this artifice; but these are more than enough for an example of the present discipline. Diogenes Laertius, in the third book *On the Lives of the Philosophers*, testifies that many of the aforesaid marks were placed in the books of Plato⁷ — which I judge Origen took thence, and transferred to the illustration of the divine volumes.

Besides these already-described marks, there are also certain characters by which those seven famous translations of the old testament are noted, namely:

- O signifies the edition of the seventy-two interpreters [Septuagint]; for which character the Latin expositors frequently put **LXX**, the number "two" being omitted, for brevity's sake.⁸
- AK connotes the translation of Aquila.
- Σ designates the version of Symmachus.
- Θ shows the interpretation of Theodotion.
- ε (small epsilon) demonstrates the fifth Greek edition, found by Origen in the city of Jericho, in Palestine.
- □ (called *Episigmon*, for so this mark is named) shows the sixth Greek edition, found by Origen on the Actian shore, near Nicopolis, in jars.
- Λ designates the seventh edition, published by Lucian the martyr.

On Paraphrase — The Eighth Method

Paraphrase (ΠΑΡΑΦΡΑΣΙΣ), *Ecphrasis*, or *Metaphrasis* — which (the distinction of certain rhetoricians being omitted) I wish to signify the same thing⁹ — is that [method] which turns the very narration of divine scripture into another narration corresponding to it in proportion; in which indeed, as Themistius asserts in the preface of Aristotle's *Posterior [Analytics]*, [it is permitted]...¹⁰ [continues p178]

¹ Ps. 71:14 (Vulgate; = Ps. 72:14). ² What the Limniscus is. ³ Gen. 37:2. ⁴ Matt. 5:4–5. ⁵ Rom. 11:33. ⁶ Ps. 3:2. ⁷ Origen took many marks from the books of Plato, in order to illustrate the divine Scriptures. ⁸ The Latins, for brevity's sake, put LXX for LXXII. ⁹ What paraphrase is. ¹⁰ What is permitted to the paraphrast, according to the opinion of Themistius.

(*Rich PDF p. 178 — printed folio 161. **Method Eight (Paraphrase)**, worked out on Psalm 116. The paraphrast's licenses: to compress, expand, supply, clarify, and reorder — always keeping the sense. Two species: a **stricter** one (a free translation — the **Targums** of Onkelos, Jonathan, Joseph) and a **fuller** one in two varieties — following the sense (Gregory of Neocaesarea, Titelmann) or clinging to every word (the **Interwoven Paraphrase** of Snoy of Gouda). Four worked examples on Psalm 116 follow: a **Translational** paraphrase, a **Broader** one (Titelmann), and two **Interwoven** ones (Snoy's, and Sixtus's own — the biblical words shown in bold, woven through the expansion). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)*

[continuing from p177] ...[in which indeed, as Themistius asserts in the preface of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*,] it is permitted to the Paraphrast — the integrity of the same sense being always preserved — to compress things prolix and poured out at length; freely to dilate and amplify things terse and concise; to supply things omitted; to fill up things gaping; to illustrate things involved and obscure with open and conspicuous words; and to adorn [them] with a becoming elegance of speech; and to connect those things which seem far separated among themselves and disposed in no order, and to arrange [them] in an ordered series.

Now there are **two species of Paraphrase**:¹ the one more compressed and stricter, which is nothing else than a certain freer translation — whether you call it a Paraphrastic translation, or a Translational Paraphrase, you will call it rightly. In this species there excelled, among the Hebrews, Onkelos, Jonathan, and Joseph, who published the **Targum** — that is, a Paraphrase upon the whole old testament in the Chaldaic tongue.

The **other**, which is somewhat fuller and broader, is distinguished by a twofold variety: of which the former, which follows the sense of the words rather than the words themselves, elucidates the meaning of the sacred reading under a certain copious brevity — in which matter, among the Greeks, Gregory bishop of Neocaesarea availed much, and among the Latins, Francis Titelmann. But the latter [variety], which contains more artifice, is so tenacious of the words that it does not suffer even a single word of the sacred context to be transposed, or changed, or omitted. This latter variety is called by us — and not ineptly — the **Interwoven Paraphrase**,² because it interweaves and connects the words of the sacred reading together

with the very words of elucidation with such artifice that, unless both be distinguished by characters (whether by size or by form), these could not easily be discerned from those. An example of this skill — no less laborious than profitable — Rainer Snoy of Gouda furnished, in the Paraphrase of all the psalms published by him; which, together with the formulas of the other Paraphrases, I have thought worth inserting here.

An Example of Translational Paraphrase, on Psalm 116

Praise the Lord, all nations; extol him with praises, all peoples wheresoever you are. For most copiously has he used toward us his twofold mercy, and his constancy in the promises themselves is to endure perpetually.

An Example of the Broader Paraphrase, following the sense rather than the words (from Francis Titelmann, on the same Psalm)

[Praise the Lord, all nations:] *O all you nations of the Gentiles, who once were far from God, serving idols and demons and ignorant of the true God — now give praise and glory to God the Lord, in whom, taught by the apostolic preaching, you have believed.*

[Praise him, all peoples:] *Nor let the people of the Jews alone henceforth praise God; but, without distinction, all the nations of the peoples, wheresoever established on earth, equally praise together the Lord God.*

[For his mercy is confirmed over us:] *For now, in this time of grace, it has been fulfilled for all us believers, and by [His] work the mercy once promised to the fathers has been exhibited — that is, the redemption of the human race through Christ. And the mercy of the Lord (from which we were once far, when we were by nature children of wrath) is now corroborated and established over us who believe, so that it can never be taken away from us who believe in Him.*

[And the truth of the Lord remains forever:] *And the truth of His promises will not fail us for ever; but what He promised, He will keep for the believers with infallible truth. Which twofold consideration ought indeed to be matter of the greatest joy to all believers.*

An Example of the Interwoven Paraphrase, from Rainer Snoy of Gouda, in which the words of the sacred context are distinguished from the words of elucidation by differently-formed letters

*(the sacred text in **bold**, the elucidation in plain type)*

Praise the Lord — God — **all nations** of the whole world; **praise him** — and magnify [the] benefits freely bestowed — **all peoples** of the Jews to be converted to the faith. **For it is confirmed** — by the effect of Christ's incarnation — **over us** the faithful — his **mercy**, and our reparation mercifully promised; for what he promised through the prophets, he fulfilled by the coming of Christ — **and the truth of the Lord** — which is Christ — **remains** with us unto eternity, even to the consummation of the age.

Another Example of the Interwoven Paraphrase, from our own commentaries on various psalms, in which the [sacred] context is distinguished from the exposition by capital letters

Praise the one and true God, creator of heaven and earth, and **Lord** of the whole world, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ — **all** you **nations** diffused through the whole world of lands, who live piously and holily according to the laws of nature; but especially, and before all nations, **praise**, celebrate, and with innumerable praises, hymns, Psalms, and canticles extol **him** — not with voice and tongue alone, but with the affections of the mind and works conformable to the voice; proclaim him, **all** you twelve tribes of Israel, and **peoples** of the renowned Jews, whom the Lord chose for himself as a peculiar possession out of all the

nations of the earth by a certain singular privilege. And the Lord is to be praised by you — both Gentiles and Jews — chiefly for this cause: **for**, bestowed and most fully completed, **is confirmed** (and in these latest times bountifully and splendidly poured out) **over us** — not only Jews, but also Gentiles — his **mercy**, the kindness and grace of human reparation exhibited to us in Christ Jesus, **his** only-begotten **Son**; **and** again and again is God to be celebrated by us with perpetual praise, because the **truth** of the promises which God once made through the prophets, in the holy scriptures, concerning the sending of His Son — and the fidelity of God the Father and of our **Lord**, and the firmness of His words, and the constancy of His promises — has not fallen away or utterly vanished, but has remained fixed, and still unmoved **remains**, and is so stable **unto eternity**, and shall abide for ever and ever, that no force can ever break, weaken, or change it. [continues p179]

¹ There are two species of paraphrase. ² Why the "interwoven" paraphrase is so called.

(Rich PDF p. 179 — printed folio 162. **Method Nine: On the Lexical Method** — dictionary/vocabulary exposition, in two varieties (**Universal** biblical dictionaries — Philo, Origen, Jerome, Pagninus; and **Particular** word-glosses within a commentary — Guillaud, Pintus), illustrated by a word-by-word gloss of Psalm 116 with Hebrew etymologies (Hallelujah = hallelu + Yah, Gentes = goim, gavar, emeth, chasdo, menei). Then **Method Ten: On Annotation** — brief scattered glosses/scholia (Apollinarius; Hugh of St. Victor; Anselm of Laon's **Interlinear Gloss**); two kinds, **marginal** and **interlinear** — with a worked example on Psalm 116: the Marginal Gloss keyed by letters a–f to its Marginal Annotations. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p178]

On the Lexical Method — The Ninth Method

The **Lexical** (that is, Vocabulary, or Dictionary) exposition, which declares the grammatical signification of words, has two varieties ¹ — namely the **Universal** and the **Particular** — distinguished among themselves not otherwise than as whole and parts. Of these, the former first tears apart all the words and terms (Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Latin) comprehended in the whole compass of divine scripture; then, once torn apart and distinguished, it reduces them into lexicons and dictionaries according to alphabetical order. In which kind of labor Philo the Jew and Origen among the Greeks, and Jerome and Sanctes [Pagninus] among the Latins, happily toiled. But the latter variety, of which we now especially speak, can in a manner be called a little part of the former. This [variety] certain expositors, most studious of order and perspicuity, are wont to use: who, in expounding the particular chapters, sections, and periods of the volumes, in the first place set forth the grammatical elucidation of the words, then, in the second place, subjoin the exposition of the senses, separated from the former. Which, among the Latins, Claudius Guillaud excellently performed in his commentaries on the epistles of Paul, and Hector Pintus in his explanations of Isaiah. An example of this latter part will be this:

An Example of Lexical Exposition, on Psalm 116

HALLELUJAH (הללויה): this word, among the Hebrews, is composed of two words — namely, the verb הללו *hallelu*, and the noun יה *ia* [Yah] — of which the former signifies "Praise," the latter "God." For *Ia* [Yah] is one of the names of God, which — as R. David Kimchi asserts — is called *Ia* because he is the creator of the world, and the cause of being to the world itself; for *Ia* comes from the verb היה *haiah*, which signifies "Was."

NATIONS (*Gentes*): in Hebrew are called גוים *goim*; by which name the Jews are wont commonly to call all the nations which are not of the race of the Jews.

IS CONFIRMED (*Confirmata est*): in Hebrew is said גבר *gavar*; which word the Chaldaic interpreter and the Greek translated more significantly — for the former rendered אגבר *Agebar*, but the latter ἐκκραταιώθη — of which both signify "is strengthened, is made valid and strong."

TRUTH (*Veritas*): in Hebrew, אמת *emeth*; in this place it signifies not only the adequation of the thing to the intellect, but chiefly denotes the fidelity, constancy, and firmness of [God's] sayings and promises.

HIS MERCY (*Misericordia eius*): in Hebrew, חסדו *chasdo*; the Chaldaic translated it טוביה *tuvia*, that is, "Goodness," or "kindness."

REMAINS (*Manet*): in Greek, μένει; this word is not had in the Hebrew, but only in the Greek and Latin edition; yet it is understood.

On Annotation — The Tenth Method

Annotations — which the Greeks call Σημειώσεις [*semeioseis*], σχόλια [*scholia*], and Γλώσσας [*glossas*]; we may call them *Annotamenta*, *Vacationes*, *Excerpta*, or *Lingulae* [little tongues] ² — are those by which, whenever there is no leisure for composing complete commentaries, we illustrate the holy letters here and there, scattered, with brief little interpretations — as with little stars, little tongues, and certain points — annotating only those things which seem either more obscure or more notable. In this labor, most famous among the Greeks was Apollinarius; among the Latins, Hugh of St. Victor, and Anselm of Laon, the author of the Gloss which is called the Interlinear. ³

Now among the glossators there are two varieties of Glosses, ⁴ which differ among themselves by no other reason than the site and position of the writing. Of these, the one, which is placed around the margins of the sacred context, they call extrinsic, or **marginal**; the other, intrinsic, or **interlinear** — because it is fitted within the enclosure of the lines, written in smaller letters. Of both, these are examples: in which the little alphabetic marks, interposed among the words, show the places of the annotations corresponding to the places of the sacred context.

An Example of the Marginal Gloss on Psalm 116

(the superscript letters key each word to its annotation below)

■ Alleluia. Praise ■ the Lord, all nations, ■ praise him, ■ all peoples. For confirmed over us is ■ his mercy, ■ and the truth of the Lord remains for ever.

Marginal Annotations

- ■ Although this psalm is now, in the codices of the Hebrews, ἀνεπίγραφος [*anepigraphos*] — that is, destitute of a title — yet in the Greek copies, and in the Latin edition of Jerome, the title *Alleluia* is prefixed; from which title it is gathered that the psalm is ἐπαινετικὸν [*epainetikon*, laudatory], and contains praises and thanksgivings. ⁵
- ■ With the heart, with the mouth, with work.
- ■ He puts the Gentiles before the Jews, because few of the Jews believed, [but] many of the Gentiles. ⁶
- ■ By "peoples" he understands the Jews; or, under other words, he repeats the same sentence — redoubling the word of praise, and intending [it] more and more.
- ■ [It is] the grace of human redemption.
- ■ The truth, I say, of the Gospel given through Christ; for the law contained not the truth, but the shadow of the truth: for *grace*, says John, *and truth came through Christ*. [continues p180]

¹ There are two varieties of the Lexical [method]. ² What are called Annotations. ³ Anselm of Laon was the author of the Interlinear Gloss. ⁴ The Gloss is distributed into interlinear and marginal. ⁵ Psalm 116 contains praises and thanksgivings. ⁶ The Gentiles are put

(Rich PDF p. 180 — printed folio 163. Completes **Method Ten** with the worked **Example of the Interlinear Gloss, from Anselm of Laon** on Psalm 116 (superscript letters keying each word to its interlined gloss). Then **Method Eleven: On Commentary** — a brief, somewhat fuller exposition than annotation (Ammonius Hermeas on Hyponemata = "preparations for coordinated writings"; Jerome's Matthew commentary in 15 days; the rival fuller "explanation"). Then opens **Method Twelve: On the Sciographic (Shadow-Drawing) Exposition** — teaching by pictures and diagrams (Noah's Ark, the Mosaic tabernacle, Solomon's temple, Ezekiel's temple and city, a map of Palestine, the priestly vestments); Ezekiel's brick-tile siege-drawing (Ezek 4) as biblical warrant; catalogue of masters begins (Eusebius, Jerome, Richard of St. Victor, Cassiodorus, Bede...). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p179]

An Example of the Interlinear Gloss, from Anselm of Laon — on Psalm 116

(the interlined letters, set above the words, key each word to the little gloss written beneath it)

Praise the Lord, all ■nations: praise ■him.

■ the Gentiles. ■ others also, and praise him together.

All ■peoples. ■For ■confirmed is

■ the Jews. ■ for this cause. ■ the Holy Spirit being given, while the enemies yield to the Name, on account of which we are set free.

Over us ■his mercy: and the ■truth of the ■Lord

■ the restoration of man, mercifully granted. ■ Christ's. ■ Christ, who is the truth of the Father.

■remains for ever.

■ otherwise: "unto age of age."

On Commentary — The Eleventh Method

Commentary — which in Greek is called ἀπομνημάτικη [apomnematike] ¹ — is a brief exposition of divine scripture, somewhat more copious than Annotation or the scholastic Method; in which we gather together whatever things occur to us day by day, both from the daily reading of authors and from our own invention, and come into the mind; and we write down both our own opinions and those of other expositors, without much care and order, almost extemporaneously — preparing, as it were, material either for ourselves or for others toward constructing far greater and far ampler volumes of explanations. Ammonius Hermeas said that *Hyponemata* (that is, Commentaries) are "preparations for συντάγματα [syntagmata]" ² — that is, coordinated writings, which over much time and with much skill are reduced into order. Now it has passed into custom that under the common name of "commentaries" almost all the kinds of explanation are understood. D. Jerome professed this order of commenting above the rest, in his exposition of the sixteen Prophets, and especially in the four books of Commentaries on Matthew — which he completed within the space of fifteen days with the swiftest haste. This Method needs no adducing of an example. Over against it certain men set another Method of expounding, which by a proper and peculiar appellation they call **explanation** ³ — entirely contrary to the brevity of Commentary; for "explanation," according to their own definition, is a most broad and most copious explication, long and much meditated.

On the Sciographic (Shadow-Drawing) Exposition — The Twelfth Method

The **Sciographic** — that is, the *Shadow-drawing* and *Pictorial* exposition ⁴ — is that which, by various delineations of figures and images, sets before the eyes more clearly and more openly those things which could not be very openly expressed in words; devised by the sacred expositors not so much for the sake of ornament and beauty as by reason of necessity. For, as in the Mathematical disciplines there are held almost innumerable things which, without the drawing-out of lines and figures, can neither be taught nor learned, so there are very many things in the sacred letters ⁵ which cannot be conceived by thought unless the images of the things themselves, expressed by shadows or by pictures, are beheld by the gaze of the eyes: such as are the form and figure of the Ark built by Noah; the structure of the Mosaic tabernacle; the disposition of Solomon's temple; the composition of the temple and city described by Ezekiel, and the fitting-together of its wheels; the Geographic description of the Holy Land, or of all Palestine; the ornament of the priestly vestments — which, without the aid of pictures and the addition of certain brief annotations beneath the pictures themselves, can scarcely and with difficulty be understood. But on the contrary, when pictures are employed, we attain much more by a single intuition than by long and numerous reading of commentaries; for what is gathered by the eyes is apprehended far more distinctly by the mind, and retained more tenaciously in the memory, than what is perceived by the ears alone. ⁶ Whence God himself, when he had put forth the prophecy which the prophet Ezekiel had uttered concerning the future siege of the Holy City, wishing it to be more openly explained and more deeply engraved in the minds of the Jews, commands the Prophet that, upon a brick-tile or abacus, he should delineate by Geometric art the σκιογραφίαν [*skiographian*], or shadowy picture, of the several parts of the prophecy — the form of the besieged city being sketched, together with valleys, ramparts, battering-rams, engines, and hostile camps, and the other things necessary for the siege and assault of cities — so that from the aspect of that picture the Jewish people might more surely and exactly recognize, as it were part by part, the harms foretold to it. ⁷

They have given us, in this kind of exposition, most praiseworthy Works: **Eusebius**, chiefly the bishop of Caesarea, who first depicted the topography of the whole Holy Land, a brief declaration of the same picture being added; ⁸ **Jerome**, who expressed the habit and shape of the entire Pontifical vestment with an elegant delineation; ⁹ **Richard Victorinus** [Richard of St. Victor], who designed the architecture of Ezekiel's temple in tables by Geometric methods; ¹⁰ **Cassiodorus Senator**, whose picture of the old tabernacle is most celebrated; **Bede** the Presbyter, who wrought out the schemata of the Mosaic Tabernacle and of the temple of Solomon's work with the greatest art and fidelity; ¹¹ Al■ [→ p181]

¹ What Commentary is. ² Commentaries are preparations for coordinated writings. ³ Explanation is by some set over against Commentary. ⁴ What the Sciographic exposition is. ⁵ In the Scriptures there are many things which cannot be conceived by thought, unless their images, expressed by shadows or pictures, are beheld by the gaze of the eyes. ⁶ More distinctly is it apprehended by the mind, and more tenaciously retained in memory, what is beheld by the eyes than what is perceived by the ears alone. ⁷ Ezekiel 4. ⁸ Eusebius of Caesarea first depicted the topography of the Holy Land. ⁹ Jerome depicted the habit of the pontifical vestment. ¹⁰ Richard Victorinus designed the structure of Ezekiel's temple in tables. ¹¹ Bede handed down the schemata of the Mosaic tabernacle and of Solomon's temple.

(Rich PDF p. 181 — printed folio 165. Finishes the catalogue of masters of the **Sciographic (pictorial) exposition** (Albrecht Dürer on the Tower of Babel; Johannes Buteo on the shape of Noah's Ark; others in Sixtus's own On the Catholic Expositors), then introduces a worked pictorial example: a full-page woodcut of **the Attire of the Aaronic Pontiff** (the High Priest's vestment), with a succinct declaration drawn from Philo, Josephus, Clement (Stromata V), and Jerome, its several parts keyed by letter-marks. The page is mostly the woodcut itself; the lettered key follows on p182. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing from p180]

...**Albrecht Dürer**, who also first demonstrated with the brush the form of the Tower of Babylon, and how many thousands of men could conveniently dwell in it; **Johannes Buteo**, who demonstrated the type of Noah's Ark by Mathematical skill; and, besides these, very many others, enumerated by us in the book *On the Catholic Expositors of Divine Scripture*. ¹ Of this [kind of] exposition we display to you an example, in a

picture of the Pontifical vestment ² which the supreme Priest of the Hebrews once used — a succinct declaration being appended from Philo and Josephus, from the fifth book of the *Stromata* of Clement, and from Jerome — which declares, by the marks of numeral-characters, the several parts and ornaments of that vestment.

The Attire of the Aaronic Pontiff

[The lettered declaration of the vestment continues → p182]

¹ Albrecht Dürer [depicted] the form of the Tower of Babylon, and Johannes Buteo the form of Noah's Ark. ² We exhibit an example in the picture of the Pontifical vestment.

(Rich PDF p. 182 — printed folio 165 (recto; the folio numbering runs irregularly through the plate here — see the edition note). The **lettered declaration of the High Priest's vestment** keyed to the p181 woodcut: **P** the linen tunic (Kethoneth), **R** the blue robe (Meil) with its 72 bells and pomegranates, **C** the Ephod (Superhumerales), **E** the two onyx/emerald shoulder-stones (Shoham), **T** the girdle (Abnet — with a swipe at Vatablus and Castalio), **D** the breastplate (Choshen/Rationale) with its 12 tribal gems, **M** and **G** the golden rings and chains, **Q** the mitre (Mitznepheth) crowned with the golden plate bearing the Tetragrammaton. Then opens **Method Thirteen: On the Tabular (Columnar) Exposition** — a two-column table (Scripture word / exposition), demonstrated by beginning the **Exposition of Psalm 116**. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing from p181 — the declaration of the vestment, by letters]

P. בכתנת *Kethoneth* — that is, the linen Tunic, or the inner Linen shift; in Greek ποδῆρης [*podēris*], that is, ankle-length. This clings to the body, and is so tight, with narrow sleeves, that there is scarcely any wrinkle in it, especially from the upper part; and it descends down to the legs and ankles.

R. מעיל *Meil* — a hyacinth-colored ankle-length tunic of the same color, with narrow sleeves; in the upper part, where it is drawn on around the neck, open as far as the middle of the breast; at its extreme and lowest hem — that is, at the feet — having a border distinguished, by wondrous art, with purple, scarlet, and golden flowers as well as gems; from which hang seventy-two golden bells and as many golden pomegranates, so arranged that between each pair of bells there is one pomegranate, and between two pomegranates one bell — so that, when the Pontiff enters into the Holy of Holies, he may go forth wholly vocal, sonorous, and most to be revered by the people.

C. אפד *Ephod* — which the Septuagint interpreter [renders] ἐπωμίδα [*epōmida*], Aquila ἐπίγραμμα [*epigramma*]; we may call it the **Superhumerales** (shoulder-piece), because it is laid over both shoulders. It is an elegant little sleeveless cloak, woven of hyacinth, scarlet, purple, and gold, after the manner of a monastic scapular without a cowl; it has two shoulder-pieces — that is, it consists of two equal parts, of which one covers the back, the other the breast down to the navel; in which, around the middle of the breast, a certain empty hollow (*lacuna*) is left for the reception of the Rational.

E. שהם *Shoham* — which the Septuagint translated "emeralds" (*Smaragdōs*), Josephus "sardonyxes." They are two gems enclosed in gold, of such magnitude that on each of them the names of six Patriarchs are contained, engraved; which, in place of clasps, join the shoulder-pieces on both sides around the neck.

T. אבנט *Abnet*, in Chaldaic המינא *Hemyana* — is a girdle, or a broad belt (Zone) four fingers wide, empty within, so woven that it might seem the slough of a serpent putting off its old age, or the intestine of some oblong animal; consisting of a byssine (linen) thread, interwoven with flowers and gems of scarlet, purple, hyacinth, and gold; which, once and again around the breast, binds the ephod and the tunics, and flows down to the ankles. Wherefore Vatablus and Castalio err, ¹ who in their scholiastic annotations painted this Zone in the likeness of a short and broad strap descending from the breast down to the navel, according to the

measure of the Ephod; for the aforesaid description of Philo refutes them.

D. חֹשֶׁן *Choshen*, in Greek λόγιον [*logion*] — we may name it the **Rationale** (breastplate). It is a cloth of a palm's breadth square, variegated with gold and the same colors as the Ephod, so that it fills up exactly the square hollow left before the breast; to which are inwoven and bound with gold twelve gems of diverse kinds, incomparable in magnitude, beauty, and price, distinguished into four rows, so that in each little row three stones are placed, and on each stone one of the names of the tribes is engraved.

M. טַבְּאוֹת זָהָב *Tabbaoth Zahav* — are four golden rings, one at each of the four corners of the Rational, having opposite to themselves — on the edge of the hinder shoulder-piece, under the armpits — four other rings, by which the Ephod is fastened with intervening hyacinthine ribbons.

G. שֶׁרְשֵׁרֹת זָהָב *Sharsheroth Zahav* — are golden chains, which, fastened by golden rings to the two upper corners of the Ephod that look toward the neck, were coupled in the upper part with the settings of the sardonyxes, lest the magnitude and weight of the stones should break the hyacinthine ribbons.

Q. מִצְנֶפֶת *Mitznepheth* — which the Greeks [call] τιάραν [*tiaran*]; some call it a Cap (*Galerum*), others an *Infula*, having the figure of a linen half-sphere little cap, and having no peak at the top, common to all the priests. Upon it is set another, somewhat higher, hyacinthine little cap, which the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, and Solomon in the book of Wisdom, call a **Mitre** and a **Diadem**.² A golden crown surrounds this with a triple row; in the hinder part of which little golden cups, very like the flowers of henbane, are seen; but in the front part, which overhangs the forehead, the holy Name of God — which by the Jews is reckoned ineffable — is incised with four Hebrew letters, namely י *Iod*, ה *He*, ו *Vau*, ה *He*.

On the Tabular (Columnar) Exposition — The Thirteenth Method

The **Tabular** — that is, the **Columnar** Method³ — is a most orderly fitting-together of a compendious, lucid, and most rich exposition, by tables and columns; which sets before the eyes most clearly and most distinctly the sense of the Sacred reading, and, as it were in a mirror, demonstrates the elucidation of the individual words in a most beautiful order and a most fitting series of numbers, and greatly conduces to the ease of apprehension and the stability of memory. For this is implanted in us by nature: that the more distinctly and orderly things are set before the eyes, the more easily, lucidly, and distinctly the intellective faculty apprehends them, and the more tenaciously and longer the memory preserves them. Now the artifice of this kind of fitting-together is arranged⁴ chiefly in two tablets, or columns, so digested on the same page that the first tablet, or column, contains the individual words of the Sacred reading — expressed in larger letters, collocated one under another from the head to the heel of the same column in most fitting order, and marked with their numbers; but the second column comprehends the words of the exposition, described in smaller characters, corresponding over against (*è regione*) the individual words of the Holy reading, so that in each line of Scripture one of the words of the Sacred context, and the exposition of that same word, are discerned at one and the same view — as appears in the subjoined example.

Exposition of Psalm 116

(First column: the words of the Psalm, numbered; second column: the exposition set over against each.)

1. **PRAISE** — with your minds admire, with your tongues declare, with your works express, the works of God. 2. **THE LORD** — God, and especially the Father, of things vi■ [→ p183]

¹ The error of Vatablus and Castalio, heretics. ² Wisdom 18:24; Ecclesiasticus 45:14. ³ What the Tabular method is. ⁴ What the arrangement of the Tabular method is like.

(Rich PDF p. 183 — printed folio 166. Finishes the **columnar Exposition of Psalm 116** (numbered words 2–14, each glossed). Then opens **Method Fourteen: On Narration** (public preaching) — its two species, the

Homily (a familiar, homely address to the people, in three parts: Preparatory, Didactic, Adhortatory) and the **Declamation/Sermon** (same order but grander in style, sharper against vice; Chrysostom the supreme master). A worked **Example of a Homily on Psalm 116**, gathered from **St. John Chrysostom** begins: **First Part (Preparatory)** — the meadow-and-garden vs. the ever-green reading of the Psalms; **Second Part (Didactic)** — "Praise the Lord, all nations" as a short psalm of great meaning, the calling of the Gentiles (Hosea 2:23; Rom 9:25). Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing the Exposition of Psalm 116 from p182]

2. **THE LORD** (cont.) — God, and especially the Father, the creator of all things visible and invisible: celebrate [him]. 3. **ALL** — as many of you as inhabit the whole globe of the earth, from East to West and from North to South. 4. **NATIONS** — you who, without circumcision, live piously and holily under the law of nature. 5. **PRAISE** — extol [him] with psalms, with hymns, and with all the applause of words and of affections. 6. **HIM** — whose glory all creatures perpetually declare. 7. **ALL** — twelve tribes of Israel: you, I say, above the other nations, praise him together. 8. **PEOPLES** — renowned [peoples] of the Hebrews, whom God by a singular privilege chose for himself, out of all the nations of the earth, as a peculiar possession. 9. **FOR** — for this cause chiefly is God to be praised most highly by us, both Jews and Gentiles: because — 10. **IS CONFIRMED** — that is, granted, and most fully completed, and in the last times poured out in abundance. 11. **OVER US** — not only the Jews, but also the Gentiles; not only the just, but also sinners. 12. **HIS MERCY** — the kindness and grace of human restoration, shown to us in the incarnation of Christ. 13. **AND THE TRUTH** — of the promises which he had made through the prophets concerning the sending of his Son: that [truth], I say. 14. **OF THE LORD** — the fidelity of God the Father, etc.

On Narration — The Fourteenth Method

Narration ¹ is an exposition of divine scripture delivered publicly to the people; which is distinguished into the **Homily** and the **Declamation**. The **Homily** ² — which some call a *Tractate*, others a *familiar colloquy* — is a familiar and homely elucidation of divine scripture to the common people, whose aim ³ is to explain the senses of the scriptures, not only that it may introduce the hearers to a thorough knowledge of the mysteries of sacred doctrine, but that it may exhort them to the observance and the execution of the things they have heard. For you understand in vain, unless you carry out in deed what you have grasped. ⁴ Now the homilists — that is, those who use such familiar colloquies with the people — are wont almost always to distribute their Homilies into three parts, ⁵ namely the **Preparatory**, the **Didactic**, and the **Adhortatory**. In the **First**, with brief but varied and pleasant introductions they pave the way for the hearers, while they briefly set before them the sum of the reading to be expounded, and show both its excellence, its delight, and its usefulness. In the **second** part they lucidly explain the words of the divine reading, whether according to the history, or according to the spiritual understanding, or according to both, as the matter requires. Then in the **Third** — which is always concluded in certain brief little prayers or doxologies — they descend to morals and to the ordering of life, exhort to virtue; and, as far as the law of familiar colloquy allows, piously admonish, moderately reprove, lightly rebuke, sweetly stir up the affections, call minds away from base and sordid cares, kindle them to the pursuit of the honorable, and inflame them to living well and blessedly.

The **Declamation**, or Sermon, ⁶ observes the same, and in nearly the same order, as the Homily — except that it uses a somewhat grander style, and, the course of the exposition being often interrupted, more frequently digresses to morals; more keenly rises up against the crimes of men; and, with greater vehemence of spirit and of words, and with a more stirring voice, reproves the wickedness of the multitude — more freely uncovering the peculiar vices of each order, state, and sex, more severely rebuking, more harshly chiding, and more gravely detesting them, yet always with the modesty of evangelical and true piety preserved. Supreme in both parts of this Method was **John Chrysostom**, ⁷ to whom the Greek Church never had a superior, nor the Latin an equal, nor perhaps will have hereafter.

An Example of a Homily on Psalm 116, gathered from St. John Chrysostom

First Part: Preparatory

Sweet indeed is a meadow, and a garden; yet far more sweetly than either breathes the divine reading of the Psalms. There, one may find flowers, but such as wither in time; here, on the other hand, there occur sentences that endure in their native vigor. There the west wind (Favonius) breathes; here the breeze of the Holy Spirit blows. There thorns hedge the garden in place of a wall; here the providence of God renders the reader safe. There the cicadas are clamorous with their shrilling; here [are] songs resounding with sweet jubilation. There, from the very sight, a certain delight is conceived; here, from the very hearing, very much of usefulness is plucked. For the meditation of the Psalms brings much pleasure and consolation; it draws the mind away from earth, exalts the thought, raises the spirit, and carries it aloft. A garden is circumscribed within some one place; but the melody of hymns is carried about in every inhabitable place of the earth. A garden, moreover, serves men's needs according to the quality of the seasons; but the reading of the Psalms flourishes alike in winter and in summer time, leafy on every side, and laden (dropping its grains) with the weight of its fruits. Be attentive, therefore, to the words of this Psalm, which we have undertaken to expound — the shortest of them all — for the sake of those who cannot hold long Psalms in memory.

Second Part: Didactic

PRAISE THE LORD, ALL NATIONS: it is a short Psalm, but one having great meaning; for it contains a Prophecy of the Church of believers, and a prediction of the evangelical preaching, which was to occupy the whole globe of the earth. For the Psalm calls together to the praise of God not merely two or three nations only, but ALL NATIONS and peoples. By "all nations and peoples" we understand here not only the Jews, but all the nations, as many as anywhere exist, in the whole world; of whom Hosea said: *I will call not-my-people, my people; and her that was not beloved, beloved: and [one] shall rise up to rule the nations: and the nations shall hope in him*⁸ — which indeed came to pass, when the coming of Christ shone forth. Then he shows how much the nations [→ p184]

¹ What Narration is. ² What a Homily is. ³ What the aim of the Homily is. ⁴ You understand in vain, unless you carry out in deed what you have grasped. ⁵ Homilies are wont to be distributed into three parts. ⁶ In what respects the Declamation differs from the Homily. ⁷ The greatest preacher was D. Chrysostom. ⁸ Hosea 2:23; Romans 9:25.

(Rich PDF p. 184 — printed folio 167. Continues the worked **Chrysostom Homily on Psalm 116**. End of the **Didactic** part: "his mercy is confirmed over us" = we are saved by God's mercy alone; "and the truth of the Lord remains" = Christ is that Truth (John 1:17; 14:6). Then the whole **Third Part (Adhortatory)**: praising God is no light thing but the greatest sacrifice (Ps 50:23; 69:31); praise with deeds as well as words (Matt 5:16); the seraphim's praise and Isaiah's "Woe is me" (Isa 6:5); praise God with the angels (Ps 148); a wicked life makes God blasphemed among the nations (Rom 2:24 / Isa 52:5); guard tongue, lips, ears (Eph 4:29,31; Matt 5:33; Ps 50:20). Ends at the catchword "DOXO[logia]." Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing the Homily on Psalm 116, from p183 — Second Part, Didactic]

...the nations have occasion for praising [God], saying: **FOR HIS MERCY IS CONFIRMED OVER US** — that is, because not by our own deeds, nor by our life, nor by our own confidence, but by the mercy and clemency of God alone, are we saved. And this mercy, he says, is "confirmed" — that is, it has been made firm, strengthened, has grown together, and been made firm and solid, and harder than a rock. For it daily receives increase, daily spends itself, and never fails: so that it may daily rejoice in its gains, because *there is greater joy in heaven over one sinner converted from the vanity of his way than over ninety just who have no need of penance*. There follows: **AND THE TRUTH OF THE LORD REMAINS FOR EVER**. What is this truth that remains for ever? The Truth is Christ — so called because in his coming that truth shone forth most greatly which in the old testament had lain hidden under types and figures. Signifying this very thing,

the Evangelist also said: *The Law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Christ.*¹ This same truth is also that which holds a right, true, and whole faith, and which cleaves to Christ, who says, *I am the way, the truth, and the life*² — he is the truth that remains for ever, and leads us on to the Ancient of Days, to our eternal God, who abides without end. To his perpetual praise, therefore, the Psalm here calls us together.

Third Part: Adhortatory

Moreover, this praise which God requires of us is no light thing, but a mighty and most excellent ministry, the greatest sacrifice, and by far the offering most acceptable to God of all. For "the sacrifice of praise," he says, "shall glorify me"; and again, "I will praise the name of God, and I will magnify him with praise: and it shall please God above a young calf that puts forth horns and hoofs."³ Nothing does God require of us so much as praises and thanksgivings; for this cause he breathed a soul into us, made us rational, and severed us from the brutes by speech — that we might praise, celebrate, and continually glorify him. Not that he himself has need of our praising, but that he may teach us to be grateful, and to acknowledge the Bestower of so many good things; and that whatever gain comes from this celebration may return to ourselves, and make us ever worthy of greater helps. Now it is not, as some wrongly suppose, a matter of small moment and slight labor to praise God. Rather, if we would offer anything to God, we have nothing greater than praise, nothing more difficult than praise. "And what difficulty," you will say, "has praise? To whom, even of humble and abject condition, is it not easy to render this, and to praise God?" If you learn the matter diligently and exactly, O beloved, you will see both the labor that is in it, and the gain — which is very great — that is gathered from it. First, indeed, this praise is required of the just; and one must first rightly order one's life, and so sing hymns to God: for "praise is not comely in the mouth of a sinner."⁴ Secondly, one must praise not with words only, but also with deeds: and this praise God chiefly requires, this glory. "Let your light so shine before men," he says, "that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven."⁵ So the Cherubim and Seraphim praise God; wherefore Isaiah too, when he had heard that mystical melody of the angels, afflicts himself and accounts himself wretched, saying: "Woe is me, for I am a man having unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people having unclean lips."⁶ And therefore, when the Prophet enjoins that praises be offered, he begins from the higher Powers, saying thus: "Praise the Lord from the heavens, praise him all his angels."⁷ One must therefore become an angel, and so praise God, that his glory may be made illustrious by the right ordering of our life. For just as, when we live wickedly, God is visited with insults and reproaches — God saying: "You have made me to be despised among the nations of the earth: and because of you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles"⁸ — so, when we take care for virtue, the name of God is glorified because of us by others also. And this is God's most glorious magnifying: when through countless tongues we offer him glorification, praising God not only with our own tongues, but also stirring up our neighbors to magnify God in our name. And this indeed comes to pass when, even in silence and saying nothing, we so live that men are astonished at our good works, and, bursting forth into divine praises, say: "Glory to you, O God — what manner of men are your servants! what philosophy they display! how they despise present things! how all things are reckoned by them a shadow and a dream, and they are fixed on nothing visible, but pass all things by, like men who dwell in a foreign land, as pilgrims, and daily long and pant to migrate out of this life!" How much, do you think, is God celebrated and magnified by these words? And — what is very admirable and rare — even those who so judge of us shortly desist from their error, and, provoked by our example, return to the best life.⁹ For just as, when a light has appeared, it dispels the darkness, so also virtue, if it be conspicuous in us, puts wickedness to flight and drives off the darkness of error, and stirs up the minds of the beholders to glorify God, no less by words than by deeds. Let us therefore not think this praise of God a light matter, but let us strive that, before our very face, our life may praise him. Let us so order our life that we give no one occasion for blasphemy, but rather make all break forth into the praises of God; let us decline from evil, be zealous for virtue; let each one of you flee vice in continence, and work the virtue of sobriety. Whoever is hasty and of a rash tongue, and blurts out

whatever comes to hand, let him set a guard upon his mouth, and never utter words without profit, but let him hear Paul saying: "Let all clamor, and wrath, and blasphemy, and obscenity and scurrility be taken away from you, with all malice"¹⁰; and again, "[Let] any good word [go forth] that is useful for edification, that it may give grace to the hearers."¹¹ Let him also flee vain oaths in every way, hearing the saying of Christ: "It was said to them of old, You shall not forswear yourself; but I say to you, Swear not at all."¹² And with all these let us fortify our tongue, our lips, and our mind, that nothing of evil thoughts may either be born within, or be uttered abroad through the tongue. Let us also carefully hedge our ears, that they hear not vain fables: as also blessed Moses enjoins, saying, "You shall not receive a vain report."¹³ Let us not speak against our neighbor, lest David accuse us, saying: "Sitting, you spoke against your brother, and against the son of your mother you laid a stumbling-block."¹⁴ If, then, we so exercise our ears, our tongue, our mind, and our works, and make our works consonant with our words, not only shall we be worthy praisers of God, but in our name also "all nations shall praise the Lord, and all peoples shall praise him together."

DOXO [logia → p185]

¹ John 1:17. ² John 14:6. ³ Psalm 50:23 (Vulg. 49:23); Psalm 69:31–32 (Vulg. 68:31–32). ⁴ Ecclesiasticus 15:9. ⁵ Matthew 5:16. ⁶ Isaiah 6:5. ⁷ Psalm 148:1–2. ⁸ Romans 2:24 (citing Isaiah 52:5). ⁹ By the example of the good, the impious desist from error and return to the best life. — The praise of God is no light matter. ¹⁰ Ephesians 4:31. ¹¹ Ephesians 4:29. ¹² Matthew 5:33–34. ¹³ Exodus 23:1 (so cited; "You shall not receive a vain report"). ¹⁴ Psalm 50:20 (Vulg. 49:20).

(Rich PDF p. 185 — printed folio 168. The **Doxology** closes the Chrysostom homily. Then **Method Fifteen: On Collation (Conference)** — expounding scripture by dialogue, in two species, **Continuous** (one speaker reports a conversation — Cassian's Conferences; Zacharias of Hierapolis's dialogue on Daniel's golden statue, the ΧΡΥΣΕΙΚΩΝ; Sadoleto on Romans) and **Interrupted** (speakers alternate, Plato/Cicero style — Apollinaris the Younger, Salonijs, Gerson). Both are demonstrated on Psalm 116: a continuous collation (master and Aurelius) and an interrupted one (dialogue of Aurelius and Augustine: this short psalm is the compendium of all, since all God's works reduce to Mercy and Truth, Ps 25:10). Then opens **Method Sixteen: On Meditation** — the affective, contemplative exposition. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing the Homily on Psalm 116, from p184]

Doxology

Let us pray, that these things may be granted us by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory, dominion, and honor, now and always, and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

On Collation (Conference) — The Fifteenth Method

Collation, or the Collative exposition,¹ is that which expounds the divine oracles by familiar and mutual colloquies and dialogues; of which there are two species² — namely the **Continuous** and the **Interrupted**. Now the **Continuous**³ is that in which, the course of the discourse being unbroken, one person speaks throughout, reporting a conversation held by himself or by another with others, and at the same time connecting, by the words "I say" and "he says," the questions and answers of those conversing — as among the Greeks Cebes the Theban did in the dialogue whose title is πινάξ [*pinax*], that is, the **Tablet**, explaining the sense of a mystical picture; and among the Latins Severinus Boethius, in the two dialogues he published on the exposition of Porphyry. But the **Interrupted**⁴ is that in which — lest "I say" and "he says" be too often and tediously repeated — the progress of the narration is interrupted, and, after the manner of Plato and Cicero, various persons are brought in conversing among themselves and examining the senses of the sacred volumes by mutual questionings, so that the discourse seems to be held face to face as if by persons present. The former species of Collation was embraced, among the Greeks, by John Cassian,⁵ discoursing on many

places of the divine letters in his *Conferences*; and by Zacharias, bishop of Hierapolis, in his dialogue upon the golden statue of Daniel,⁶ which is entitled ΧΡΥΣΕΙΚΩΝ [*Chryseikon*, "the Golden Image"]; and among the Latins by Jacobus Sadoletus, bishop of Carpentras, in his commentaries on the epistle to the Romans. The latter species was followed, among the Greeks, by Apollinaris the Younger, bishop of Laodicea, reducing the evangelical and apostolic writings to the form of a dialogue; and among the Latins by Salonijs, bishop of Vienne, and by John Gerson — of whom the former expounded the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes of Solomon, the latter the Song of Songs of Solomon, in dialogue. Examples of both species are these:

An Example of Continuous Collation, on Psalm 116

When yesterday, expounding the hundred-and-sixteenth Psalm in a sermon, I had said that this same Psalm is the beginning, end, sum, and compendium of all Psalms and Hymns, our Aurelius, who was then present, came to me when the discourse was finished; and when he had fallen into talk about the things I had spoken, he said that he wondered how this Psalm — by far the shortest of all — could comprehend all Hymns and Psalms; and he asked that this be explained to him by us. Then I: "There is nothing, best son, why you should wonder, if you consider that the whole kind of Psalms and Hymns was invented for the singing of the praises of the divine works, but especially for celebrating those twin virtues of the most high God, Mercy and Truth — the fullness of which comprehends all the deeds and wondrous works of God, David saying: *All the ways of the Lord are Mercy and Truth.*"⁷ And thereupon Aurelius: "I confess," he said, "that not only is this the aim of all hymns, but that all the divine works are contained in these two virtues. But what you would gather from this, set forth." I then [said]: "Do you not see how these two most excellent works of God, Mercy and Truth, are set forth in the present Psalm most abundantly — in brief words indeed, yet plainly eloquent and fruitful?" "I see," said he, "and I have both sufficiently in view." Then I, as though drawing a conclusion from what he had granted, said: "Since, therefore, this Psalm declares the praises of the divine mercy and truth, by which all the divine works, everywhere sung in all songs and hymns, are comprehended — it follows that, as many as there are in the whole compass of Psalms and odes, it embraces the praises and encomia of the divine works, as though compressed into a sum and compendium," etc.⁸

An Example of Interrupted Collation, on the hundred-and-sixteenth Psalm

AURELIUS: Tell me, venerable Augustine — is it true, what I lately heard when you were preaching, that the hundred-and-sixteenth Psalm is the beginning, end, and compendium of all Psalms and hymns? **AUGUSTINE:** It is true, my Aurelius. **AUR.:** I wonder how it can be that a Psalm, by far the shortest of all, should comprehend so many and almost innumerable hymns, Psalms, and odes. **AUG.:** Yet so it truly is. For just as all lines run together into the very center of a circle, so into this one Psalm all the rest flow together as into the end and beginning of all Psalms. **AUR.:** I could wish this to be explained more openly. **AUG.:** Do you grant that every kind of Psalm and hymn contains the praises of God, and was framed chiefly for celebrating the divine works?⁹ **AUR.:** I grant it. **AUG.:** Do you confess that the sum of all the divine deeds is referred to those two most splendid works — Mercy, I say, and Truth?¹⁰ **AUR.:** I confess it; and often too I have that saying of David upon my lips: *All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth.* **AUG.:** But do you not see how this Psalm proclaims these two admirable works of God, in brief but most fruitful words? **AUR.:** I see indeed, and acknowledge it well enough. **AUG.:** Therefore, since the aim and argument of this Psalm is to celebrate those two things, within which the arguments of all the Psalms are compressed, it is agreeable [to reason] that all the Psalms are concluded in this one Psalm, etc.

On Meditation — The Sixteenth Method

Meditation¹¹ — or Contemplation, or the affective exposition — is a narration bursting forth, from the inmost and fervent affections of a glowing spirit, into living and ardent words; which certain devout expositors are especially wont to use, who direct all their efforts to this one end: that they may rouse and

provoke themselves to the love of the things they read and explain; that they may in a manner transform into themselves what they handle, and, by the living experience of affections and works, may feel what they set forth in words — always with [→ p186]

¹ What Collation is. ² There are two species of Collation. ³ What the Continuous collation is. ⁴ What the Interrupted collation is. ⁵ Cassian's *Conferences* are the continuous [kind]. ⁶ Daniel 2. ⁷ Psalm 25:10 (Vulg. 24:10). ⁸ All the divine works are contained in mercy and truth. ⁹ Every kind of Psalm contains the praises of God. ¹⁰ The things done by God are referred to mercy and truth. — Psalm 25:10 (Vulg. 24:10). ¹¹ What Meditation is.

(Rich PDF p. 186 — printed folio 169. Continues **Method Sixteen (Meditation)**: its three exercises — **Ascent** into God, **Descent** into oneself, **Return** to God (as prayer) — worked on "In Christ are all the treasures of God's wisdom" (Col 2:3); masters named (Bernard, Peter of Ailly, Savonarola, Titelmann). Then a full **Meditation on Psalm 116** (the affective "That highest Good..."; Sir 43:33). Then opens **Method Seventeen: On the Poetic Exposition** — two kinds, **Verse** (Carmineum: Apollinaris Sr., Gregory Nazianzen, Juvenius, Arator) and **Prose-and-Vers** (Prosocarmineum, after Boethius and Martianus Capella: Eulalius of Cynopolis, Williram of Marburg). A **Verse Exposition of Psalm 116** — an iambic ode — begins (text on p187). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing Method Sixteen (Meditation), from p185]

...always dwelling with God in pious thoughts, sweet meditations, ardent desires, and fiery colloquies; ever aspiring, sighing, and panting after those things which, in explaining the divine scriptures, by the enlightening of the Spirit they have learned, and now within themselves, by the enkindling of the same Spirit, have begun to experience. This Exposition many, briefly defining it, call a **soliloquy of the soul speaking with God about the divine scriptures**; or thus: Meditation is the most secret speech of the expositor with God, and the most ardent contemplation of the divine darkness. Now this divine kind of explanation — scarcely known to very few — is accomplished chiefly by three exercises, ¹ that is, by **Ascent** into God, **Descent** into oneself, and **Return** into God. For example, if that saying of Paul to the Colossians is to be explained — *In Christ are all the treasures of the wisdom of God* ² — etc.:

First, the expositor will lift up his mind into God, and will piously contemplate how great and how admirable is the wisdom of God; and, with all the splendor of speech he can, he will display the treasure of the divine wisdom, which by a single and unceasing gaze always beholds and surveys all things — not only the greatest and noblest, but each least and meanest thing; to whom all the stars of heaven and all the sands of the sea are numbered; to whom every mind and every will speaks; to whom lies open every thought however hidden; and whom no secret escapes, reaching even to the inmost and impenetrable and unsearchable recesses of the human heart.

When the expounder has long and much revolved these things in wondering mind, **in the second place** let him turn his pen upon himself, and, descending into himself, let him meditate how that God, who beholds all things, directs his eyes even upon him, and considers all his thoughts and desires, his words too, and all his deeds, and continually observes them. After he has weighed these with himself in utmost reverence, he will apply all that he had already conceived of God to his own person, in this manner: *O how great a necessity of doing well lies upon me, who do all things in the eyes of God who beholds all! O that I, a sinner, might find grace and good-will in the eyes of Christ Jesus, whose knowledge knows me and whose wisdom perpetually beholds me! O that I may please him! O that I may ever do the things that offend not his sight!*

Thirdly, returning into God, whence he had descended, he will frame his explanation, in the manner of a prayer, thus supplicating: *O Savior of men, Christ Jesus, in whom are all the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God — you who deign to look with the eyes of your supreme wisdom upon me, a most vile little worm, from whom none of my thoughts are hidden, with whom the groaning of my heart and the desire of my wretched will is not concealed — grant me, your servant, that I may do nothing unworthy of the sight of your*

majesty.

Most renowned in this form of expounding were **Bernard the Abbot**, **Peter of Ailly**, cardinal of Cambrai, **Jerome Savonarola**, and **Franciscus Titelmannus**.

An Example of Meditation, on Psalm 116

That highest Good, than which nothing greater can be conceived, is — as the most wise son of Sirach says — greater than all praise; ³ for its essence is incomprehensible, its majesty inaccessible, and its name utterly ineffable — which no creature can conceive in mind, much less express in words. Yet God himself commands, and bids, and wills to be praised by the mouth of men: and now especially, in the present Psalm, through the mouth of David he calls together all the peoples of the Hebrews and all the nations of the Gentiles to his own praises. What then shall I do? With what words, with what tongue shall I — a mute little worm — praise the unpraisable God? Though all the members of my body should be turned into tongues, and all my limbs should resound with a human, nay even an angelic, voice, I could say nothing worthy of his divine loftiness: before whose sight all praise falls silent, and every encomium ends in silence. Shall I then be silent? and despise the voice of God, crying to me through the mouth of David, and provoking me to praise my Creator? Far be it. I know what I shall do. I will fall down at the feet of him whom the Cherubim, the Seraphim, and all the hosts of angels ceaselessly praise together with heavenly hymns; and from my inmost heart I will say to him: O most clement Almighty God, whose incomprehensible majesty cannot be praised — grant that at least I may offer you some praises for your works, which can be celebrated; but especially for the mercy which you have shown to me, a wretch, and for the truth of your promises, which you have fulfilled in me. Do not leave me an orphan, but confirm your mercy over me: that your truth — Christ, my life — may remain with me for ever, and unto age of age. Amen.

On the Poetic Exposition — The Seventeenth Method

Of the **Poetic** explanation — which expounds the divine volumes in various kinds of verse — there are two kinds. ⁴ The one, consisting of verse only, is called the **Verse** (*Carmineum*) kind; which, in expounding the sacred volumes, was used among the Greeks by Apollinaris the Elder and Gregory Nazianzen, and among the Latins by Juvenius the presbyter and Arator the deacon. The other kind is, after the imitation of the works of Boethius *On the Consolation of Philosophy* and of Martianus Capella *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, intermingled with variety of prose and verse, and for that reason called by most the **Prose-and-Vers** (*Prosocarmineum*) kind; ⁵ in which kind there prevailed most, among the Greeks, Eulalius bishop of Cynopolis, and among the Latins Williram, abbot of Marburg — each of whom elucidated the Song of Songs of Solomon with a graceful intermingling of prose and verse.

An Example of Verse Exposition, on the hundred-and-sixteenth Psalm

An ode of two cola and two strophes (dicolos distrophos), consisting of iambic senarii and dimeters.

OMNES [→ p187]

¹ Meditation is accomplished chiefly by three exercises. ² Colossians 2:3. ³ Ecclesiasticus 43:33 (Sirach). ⁴ The poetic exposition of the Scriptures is of two kinds. — The Verse kind of Poetics. ⁵ The Prose-and-Vers kind of Poetics.

(Rich PDF p. 187 — printed folio 170. The **verse ode on Psalm 116** (iambic; nations praise the Father with one voice; God's mercy = the Son sent, his truth = his oath to Abraham and David, which endures brighter than the sun). A Prose-and-Vers example is skipped for brevity. Then **Method Eighteen: On the Epistle** — exposition by letters to friends (Isidore of Pelusium's 10,000 letters; Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose). Then **Method Nineteen: On Inquiry** — expounding by investigation and untying difficulties, in three species: **Problem** (leaves the question open — Augustine's Genesis to the Letter), **Question** (answers with firm

[continuing the Verse Exposition of Psalm 116, from p186]

An example of the **Prose-and-Verse** exposition is omitted for brevity's sake.

The **Epistolary** Method ¹ was used by those who expounded the divine scriptures by letters and epistles, sent especially to friends who consulted them. Of their number, among the Greeks, was Isidore of Pelusium, who, in explaining the sacred volumes, wrote up to ten thousand letters; among the Latins, Jerome, and sometimes Augustine and Ambrose, of whom very many epistles of the holy oracles survive. To append an example of this Method I judge to be superfluous.

Sixtus of Siena, Bibliotheca Sancta, Book III — English translation — p. 65

Inquiry ² is that which expounds the divine scriptures by the investigation and untying of difficulties; of which there are three species: ³ the **Problem**, the **Question**, and the **Disputation**.

The **Problem** ⁴ — which is also called a "problematic Question" — is that in which the reply to a proposed interrogation about the holy letters is given rather by inquiring ambiguously than by determining anything certain; or whose answer settles nothing by firm assertion, but still leaves what had been proposed to be inquired into more diligently: as happens in almost all the questions which Augustine, in the twelve books *On Genesis to the Letter*, rather (as he himself confesses) sought than found. ⁵

The **Question** — which some call an "Inquiry" (*Percontatio*), others a "Simple question," others a "little question" (*Quæstiuncula*) — is that in which the reply to the proposed interrogations is given with a certain and firm assertion, and a simple brevity: as is done in the two books of the *Evangelical Questions* of St. Augustine. ⁶

The **Disputation** ⁷ — which by some is called a Debate (*Disceptatio*), a Contest (*Decertatio*), and a Composite Question — is that which, upon some part of the sacred volumes, with contraries brought in on both sides (the reasonings and argumentations both of heretics and of catholics), disputes most amply and most learnedly: whether to defend, in an apologetic manner, the truth of the divine scripture shaken by the engines of heretics, or to exercise and more and more sharpen the powers of the wit. Above all mortals in this kind of disputation there prevailed Augustine, bishop of Hippo, ⁸ especially in the books of disputations against the Manichees and against the Pelagians. Examples of the three species of this Method, adapted to one and the same proposition by St. Augustine, are these:

An Example of a Problem

Or of a problematic Question, upon the lie by which the Egyptian midwives deceived Pharaoh, from Augustine in the Questions on Exodus.

Concerning the lie of the midwives, by which they deceived Pharaoh, it is wont to be asked whether such lies are approved by divine authority — since it is written that God did well to the midwives. ⁹

Response. It is answered that it is uncertain whether God, out of mercy, pardoned the lie, or whether he judged the lie itself worthy of reward. For the midwives did one thing in saving the little infants alive, another in lying to Pharaoh; for in saving them alive there was a work of mercy, but that lie they used for their own sake, lest Pharaoh should harm them — which could pertain not to praise, but to pardon. Yet no authority for lying is to be taken from this; but this Question must be discussed more diligently by other examples, which are found in the scriptures like to this.

An Example of a Simple Question

Upon the same lie of the midwives, from Augustine's book To Consentius, Against Lying.

Since God did good to the lying midwives, and built them houses, it is rightly asked whether he approved their lie. ¹⁰

Response. That it is written that God did good to the midwives — it was not so done because they lied, but because toward men they were merciful for God's sake. In them it was not the deceit that was rewarded, but the good-will, the kindness of the mind, not the iniquity of the liar. For just as it would not be strange and absurd if God should be willing to pardon certain evil works committed by them at some earlier time on account of later good ones, so it is not to be wondered at that, at one time, in one case, God, beholding both — that is, the thing done mercifully and the thing done deceitfully — [→ p188]

¹ The Epistolary Method. ² What Inquiry is. ³ There are three species of Inquiry. ⁴ What a Problem is. ⁵ The Questions of St. Augustine on Genesis are Problems. ⁶ What a Question is. ⁷ What a Disputation is. ⁸ Augustine excelled in disputing. ⁹ Exodus 1:20. ¹⁰ Exodus

(Rich PDF p. 188 — printed folio 171. Finishes the midwives' case (their reward was temporal, not eternal). Then the third example of Method 19 — a full **Disputation** on lying (from Augustine, On Lying, to Consentius): the **Proposition**; the **Adversaries' arguments** (the Priscillianists: Sarah, Jacob, the midwives; "would you not lie to save a life?"); the **Catholics' arguments** (the Decalogue, Sir 7:14, Wis 1:11, Ps 5:7, Matt 5:37, Eph 4:25); the **Determination** (one must never lie); the **Refutation** (the OT cases are figurative/prophetic; the midwives were rewarded for charity, not the lie; never lie even to save another's bodily life). Then opens **Method Twenty: On the Collected Exposition** — three species (Rhapsody, Syllegma, Abbreviation), and the first, **Rhapsody** (Stromatic exegesis), begins. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing the Simple Question on the midwives' lie, from p187]

...both rewarded the good, and on account of it pardoned that evil. It remains, therefore, that we understand a reward to have been rendered to those women for their humanity and mercy — a reward, to be sure, temporal, not eternal.

An Example of a Disputation

Upon the same lie of the midwives, from Augustine's book On Lying, to Consentius.

The Proposition of the Disputation

Great is the question about lying, which often troubles us in our very daily acts — some thinking that one must sometimes lie with a certain honorable, dutiful, and merciful lie, but others affirming that a good man ought in no way to lie.

The Arguments of the Adversaries

Those, then, who agree with the Priscillianist heretics that it is sometimes lawful to lie ¹ — that is, to declare a falsehood with the will to deceive — bring forward testimonies for their opinion out of the sacred letters: recalling that Sarah, when she had laughed, denied to the angels that she had laughed; ² that Jacob, questioned by his father, answered that he himself was Esau, his elder son; ³ and that the Egyptian midwives lied (that the Hebrew infants being born might not be killed), with God even approving and rewarding them. ⁴ And, choosing many examples of this kind, they recall the lies of those men whom you would not dare to blame; and thus [urge] that you must confess that a lie can sometimes be not only not worthy of reproof, but even worthy of praise. They add also — whereby they may press not only those devoted to the divine books, but all men and common sense — saying: If someone flees to you who by your lie could be freed from death, will you not lie? If a sick man asks something which it is not expedient for him to know, one who might even be more gravely afflicted by your not answering — will you dare either to speak the truth to the man's ruin, or rather to keep silence, than to aid his health by an honorable and merciful lie? By these and such [arguments] they think themselves most abundantly pressed [to conclude] that, if the cause of counsel requires it, we may sometimes lie.

The Arguments of the Catholics

On the contrary, those to whom it seems that one must never in any way lie act much more strongly, using first the divine authority: since in the Decalogue itself it is written, *Thou shalt not bear false witness* ⁵ — under which category every lie is comprehended; for whoever declares anything bears witness to his own mind. But, lest anyone contend that not every lie is to be called false witness, what will he say to that which is written, *Make no manner of lie* ⁶ and *The mouth that lieth slayeth the soul* ⁷? — which, lest anyone suppose it can be understood with certain liars excepted, let him read in another place, *Thou shalt destroy all that speak a lie*. ⁸ Whence the Lord himself with his own mouth thus says: *Let there be in your mouth, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatever is more than this, is of evil*. ⁹ Hence also the Apostle, when he enjoined that the old

man must be put off — by which name all sins are understood ¹⁰ — consequently says, laying it among the first: *Wherefore, putting away lying, speak the truth.* ¹¹

The Determination of the Disputation

These things, therefore, being considered on both sides, those seem to me rather to be heard who say that one must in no wise lie. ¹² For all the testimonies of the scriptures counsel nothing else than that one must never lie at all.

The Refutation of the Heretical Objections

Nor are we frightened by those examples of lies brought forward from the old books; for there, whatever was done can be taken figuratively, although it really happened — and whatever is done or said figuratively is not a lie. ¹³ For every statement is to be referred to that which it states; and everything done or said figuratively states this, which it signifies to those to whom it was uttered to be understood. Whence it is to be believed that those men, who are recorded to have been worthy of authority in prophetic times, said and did prophetically all the things that are written of them, and that no less prophetically there befell them whatever so befell — so that by the same prophetic Spirit they were judged fit to be committed to memory and to writing. But concerning the midwives — since we cannot affirm that, by a prophetic spirit meant to signify some future truth, they reported one thing for another to Pharaoh — we say that they were approved and rewarded by God not for the lie, but for their charity and affection toward the innocent infants of the Hebrews. But what, if someone flees to me who could be freed by my lie? what, if a sick man who is to be healed by my lie consults me — shall I lie? Far be it: for *he who lies slays the soul.* ¹⁴ Wherefore, since by lying eternal life is lost, one must never lie for anyone's temporal life; for it is not fitting that one should die spiritually, that another may live bodily. ¹⁵ In no way, therefore, and on no pretext, do we determine that one must lie.

On the Collected Exposition — The Twentieth Method

The **Collection**, or the Collected or Collective Method, ¹⁶ is an exposition which takes, from any writings whatsoever, either the very words of the authors together with their senses, or the senses alone without the words — turning others' words and senses to its own use. Of this there are three species: ¹⁷ namely **Rhapsody**, **Syllegma**, and **Abbreviation**.

On Rhapsody

Rhapsody ¹⁸ — which some have called *Stroma*, or *Stromatic exegesis* — is an exposition cemented together out of various compositions of authors, there being heaped into one connection not only the senses, but the very clauses, sentences, and whole periods and paragraphs of the authors, with no word at all changed. And this Rhapsody itself is likewise threefold: ¹⁹ [→ p189]

¹ The Priscillianists held that it is sometimes lawful to lie. ² Genesis 18:15. ³ Genesis 27:19. ⁴ Exodus 1:19–20. ⁵ Exodus 20:16. ⁶ Ecclesiasticus 7:14 (Vulg. 7:13). ⁷ Wisdom 1:11. ⁸ Psalm 5:7 (Vulg. 5:7). ⁹ Matthew 5:37. ¹⁰ By the name "old man" all sins are understood. ¹¹ Ephesians 4:25. ¹² One must never lie. ¹³ What is said or done figuratively is not a lie. ¹⁴ Wisdom 1:11. ¹⁵ It is not fitting that one, by lying, should die spiritually, that another may live bodily. ¹⁶ What Collection is. ¹⁷ There are three species of Collection. ¹⁸ What Rhapsody is. ¹⁹ Rhapsody is threefold.

(Rich PDF p. 189 — printed folio 172. Rhapsody's threefold division — **Hagiographic**, **Ecclesiastical**, **Ethnic**. On **Hagiographic Rhapsody** (a self-exposition of Scripture by Scripture; Augustine, De doctrina 3.26; masters Bernard, Martin of Laon the Carthusian, Henry Elmesius of Germipolis). A worked **cento** (**Specimen**) on **Psalm 116** — the psalm's skeleton words woven together out of ~30 other scripture passages, each keyed by a superscript letter to a marginal source. Then opens **On Ecclesiastical Rhapsody, or the Catena** — a word-for-word collection from the Fathers, twofold (Anonymous / Named); the Anonymous

catena (Procopius of Gaza on the Octoteuch) begins, continuing on p190. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing On Rhapsody, from p188]

...is distinguished by a threefold variety: namely into **Hagiographic**, **Ecclesiastical**, and **Ethnic**.

On Hagiographic Rhapsody

Hagiographic Rhapsody ¹ — which some call ἐαυτοῦ ἐξήγησιν [*heautou exegesis*], that is, a "self-exposition" [of Scripture by itself] — is an elucidation of divine scripture, collected out of the very words and bare sentences of divine scripture, dispersed here and there, and reduced into one body, illustrating the more obscure places from the clearer ones. This method Augustine greatly commends in the third book *On Christian Doctrine*, chapter 26, and prefers it to the other expositions, ² asserting that certain obscure places in the sacred letters cannot be better and more rightly understood and expounded than from other clearer places of the holy scriptures, in which those same things are recited more clearly and openly. But the Hagiographic expositor must, in fitting these places together, use such dexterity and art that those sentences may appear not to have been dragged by force into that place, but to have sprung up there of their own accord. And that this may be done more aptly and gracefully, it will be allowed to the expositor — rarely, yet sometimes — to insert a few little words of his own, by which, as by little handles, the sayings of Scripture, far separated from one another, may cohere in a more elegant structure. In this part there labored, in times past, St. Bernard, and Martin of Laon the Carthusian (whose *Paraenetic* book, to a novice monk, still survives — heaped together with wondrous art out of sacred sentences interwoven with one another); and, in our own times, Henry Elmesius of Germipolis, ³ who lately fitted together, with beautiful art, homilies on all the Epistles and Gospels which are read through the circuit of the year, out of the bare *Stromata* and Rhapsodies of holy Scripture. Let a Specimen of this exposition be the following:

A Specimen of Hagiographic Rhapsody, on Psalm 116

(In it those few words written in a different and somewhat larger type are not of the text of divine scripture, but taken in from elsewhere. But the little minuscule letters, interlined together with the numbers set in the margin, show the chapters of the scriptures from which the pieces of this cento are taken.)

PRAISE THE LORD — ■ God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, ■ who blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places in Christ; who predestined us unto the adoption of sons, through JESUS CHRIST, unto himself, according to the purpose of his will, unto the praise of the glory of his grace — ■ praise and exalt him above all forever — **ALL NATIONS:** ■ you who once were Gentiles in the flesh, who were called "uncircumcision" by that which is called "circumcision" made by hand in the flesh; ■ you who once were led, going astray, to dumb idols; ■ you who at that time were without Christ, alienated from the citizenship of Israel, and strangers to the testaments, having no hope of the promise, and without God in this world — but now, in Christ Jesus, you who once were far off are made near in the blood of Christ; ■ you who once were not the people of God, but now are the people of God, who had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy; ■ you who now are no longer strangers and foreigners, but are fellow-citizens of the saints and of the household of God. ■ To you I say, O Gentiles — ■ out of every nation that is under heaven, ■ from the East and the West and the North and the South — ■ to you, I say, O Gentiles, ■ whom God created unto his praise, his name, and his glory: ■ bring to the Lord glory and honor; ■ shout to God with the voice of exultation, ■ sing to him a canticle, sing well to him with jubilation, ■ admonishing yourselves in Psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles, singing and making melody in your hearts with joy, ■ and giving thanks always, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to God and the Father. **PRAISE HIM** — ■ give glory to his praise, ■ sing him a psalm ■ in the voice of exultation and of confession — **ALL PEOPLES:** ■ O Israelites, whose is the adoption of sons, the glory, the testament, the legislation, the service, and the

promises; whose are the fathers, of whom is Christ, who is over all things, God blessed forever; ■whom the Lord God chose that you should be to him a peculiar people out of all the peoples that are upon the earth — not because you surpassed all nations in number (since you are fewer than all), but because the Lord loved you, and kept the oath which he swore to your fathers. ■■And do you also, O Gentiles, honor God for his mercy: **FOR HIS MERCY IS CONFIRMED OVER US** — the Gentiles — ■■when the goodness and kindness of God our Savior appeared, not by the works of justice which we had done, but according to his own mercy he saved us, by the laver of regeneration and the renovation of the Holy Spirit, whom he poured out abundantly through Jesus Christ. Do you too, ■■all the seed of Israel, glorify him. For **THE TRUTH OF THE LORD** — ■■who keeps truth forever, ■■whose name is Faithful and True, ■■who is not as man, that he should lie — **REMAINS FOR EVER**; ■■for it is impossible for God to lie: he who ■■swore an oath to Abraham our father that he would give himself to us in his beloved Son, ■■in whom we have redemption through his blood, ■■and the hope of eternal life, which God, who lies not, promised before the ages of the world. ■■To him be glory unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Marginal source-keys (first series): **a** Rom 15:6 · **b** Eph 1:3, 5 · **c** Dan 3:57 · **d** Eph 2:11 · **e** 1 Cor 12:2 · **f** Eph 2:12–13 · **g** 1 Pet 2:10 · **h** Eph 2:19 · **i** Rom 11:17 · **k** Acts 2:5 · **l** Luke 13:29 · **m** Rom 11:13 · **n** Deut 26:19 · **o** Ps 29:2 (Vulg. 28:2) · **p** Ps 47:2 (Vulg. 46:2) · **q** Ps 33:3 (Vulg. 32:3) · **r** Col 3:16 · **s** Eph 5:20 · **t** Ps 66:2 (Vulg. 65:2) · **u** Judith 16:2 · **x** Ps 42:5 (Vulg. 41:5) · **y** Rom 9:4–5 · **z** Deut 7:6–8.

Marginal source-keys (second series, from "And do you also..."): **aa** Rom 15:9 · **bb** Titus 3:4–6 · **cc** Ps 22:24 (Vulg. 21:24) · **dd** Ps 146:6 (Vulg. 145:6) · **ee** Rev 19:11 · **ff** Num 23:19 · **gg** Heb 6:18 (so to be read; printed "6, 8") · **hh** Luke 1:73 · **ii** Eph 1:7 · **kk** Titus 1:2 · **ll** Rom 11:36.

On Ecclesiastical Rhapsody, or the Catena

Ecclesiastical Rhapsody — which by the common appellation is called a **Catena** ⁴ — is an exposition collected word-for-word out of the various writings of the ecclesiastical Fathers. This is twofold: ⁵ **Anonymous** and **Named** (*Proonyma*). Now the **Anonymous** catena ⁶ is that which, the names of the authors being untold and suppressed, reduces their sentences and sayings alone into the consonance of one continuous narration — no otherwise than if one man alone were speaking — in which the expositor sometimes adds some things of his own, that he may more becomingly and more clearly connect the diverse varieties of the unconnected sentences. This, among the Greeks, Procopius of Gaza excellently performed, who [expounded] the Octoteuch — that is, the first eight books of the Old Testament [→ p190]

¹ What Hagiographic Rhapsody is. ² St. Augustine commends the Hagiographic Rhapsody. — Obscure places of Scripture are best explained through clear places of the same Scripture. ³ Henry Elmesius composed homilies out of the very sentences of Scripture. ⁴ The definition of Ecclesiastical Rhapsody. ⁵ Ecclesiastical Rhapsody is twofold. ⁶ The Anonymous catena.

(Rich PDF p. 190 — printed folio 173. Finishes the **Anonymous Catena** (Procopius on the Octoteuch from unnamed Fathers; Eucherius of Lyons, Isidore of Seville). Then the **Named Catena** (Catena Proonyma) — each excerpt attributed (Oecumenius, Theodolus of Coele-Syria; Bede, Aquinas, Aloysius of Verona) — with a worked **Catena on Psalm 116** (Jerome, Cassiodorus, the Gloss, Lyra, Hugh of St-Cher). Then opens **Ethnic Rhapsody** — culled from Gentile authors, twofold **Catena** and **Cento** (the Cento woven from poets' half-lines; Dominic Nanus of Alba; Empress Eudocia's Homerocentos, Proba Falconia's Virgiliocentos). A worked **Ethnic Catena on 2 Peter 3** (the world's fiery end) begins — the Vulgate text and the Sibylline Oracles, book 2 (verse) — continuing on p191. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing On Ecclesiastical Rhapsody (the Catena), from p189]

...expounded from the Rhapsodies of unnamed Fathers; and among the Latins, Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, and Isidore, bishop of Seville.

The Named Catena

The **Named Catena** (*Catena Proonyma*)¹ is that which weaves the periods and sentences of the expositors together by the same art of texture — differing from the former catena in this one thing only, that the former omits the names of the authors, whereas this ascribes the names of its authors within the text of the scripture, or outside the text in the margins of the pages; most of all observing this, that it may not superfluously repeat the sentences of all the authors who have brought the same explanation upon the same place, but may take up only those expositions in which different expositors have said different things about the same matter. So, among the Greeks, did Oecumenius and Theodolus, presbyter of Coele-Syria; and among the Latins,² the Venerable Bede, Thomas Aquinas, and Aloysius, bishop of Verona.

An Example of a Catena, on Psalm 116

JEROME: This Psalm is small in the number of its verses, but great in the sacrament of spiritual mystery. **CASSIODORUS:** For the choir of the saints cries out, saying that all nations ought to praise the Lord — *Praise the Lord, all nations.* **THE GLOSS:** that is, all the Gentiles. **LYRA:** [the Gentiles] to be called to the faith of Christ. **JEROME:** You who, the idols being forsaken, have come to him through faith — which the Magi, coming from the East, began, offering gifts to the new-born King, as Matthew says.³ *Praise him, all peoples.* **LYRA, HUGH the Cardinal, THE GLOSS:** that is, all the Jews divided into twelve tribes, who — as though using reason, because they lived under the law — are called "peoples," in respect of the Gentiles, who lived as it were like cattle, without law. **LYRA:** He sets the Gentiles before the Jews, because few of the Jews believed at first, and many of the Gentiles, as the Apostle says.⁴ **CASSIODORUS:** The reason why the Lord ought to be praised throughout the whole world is subjoined, when it is said: *For his Mercy is confirmed over us.* **HUGH the Cardinal:** When, in the coming of Christ, he showed forth the mercy which he had promised through the Prophets. **CASSIODORUS, THE GLOSS:** For what he had promised through the Prophets, he fulfilled in the coming of Christ, and confirmed his mercy; because whatever he gave, he guarded, that it might never be moved. **JEROME, THE GLOSS:** Or, the mercy was then confirmed, when he poured out the Holy Spirit upon believers, according to the promise which Luke the Evangelist records. **LYRA:** And when he says "is confirmed," he speaks of the future in the manner of the past, on account of the certainty of the Prophecy; for in the coming of Christ, and not before, was the mercy of God confirmed in effect, which before was awaited with great longing — *and the truth of the Lord remains for ever.*

On Ethnic Rhapsody

Ethnic Rhapsody is an exposition culled word-for-word from the sayings and sentences of Gentile authors. And this too is twofold,⁵ namely the **Catena** and the **Cento** (also called *Centro*). The Cento differs from the Catena in that the latter, without great labor, gathers lengthy periods and long shreds of discourse into one texture — especially from writings that consist of prose, or loose speech; but the Cento is put together with greater labor and more skillful industry, chiefly out of the writings of the poets, from whose various and unconnected verses a certain new structure of verse is solidified — in this manner, namely, that into one verse there come together either two half-lines, or one half-line and the following one together with a middle. For to place two whole verses joined together is unfitting, and to fit three in one series is mere trifling. Not a few wits, by no means to be despised, labored in collecting these Rhapsodies in various ways; but in my own judgment they did not always obtain from the Gentiles the exposition of the divine scriptures which they sought, but rather a certain symphony and consonance between the divine sentences and the profane sentences of the Gentiles — not altogether useless to students of the sacred letters. In the former form of this Ethnic Rhapsody labored Dominic Nanus of Alba,⁶ expounding various places of the four Evangelists from the sayings of the Gentile philosophers, orators, and poets. But in the latter form, two most illustrious women exercised their wit with the highest praise:⁷ **Eudocia**, daughter of Leo the Athenian philosopher and wife of

the Emperor Theodosius, and **Proba Falconia**, wife of the proconsul Adelphus — of whom the former wove Ὅμηρόκεντρα [*Homerokentra*], or **Homerocentos**, but the latter **Virgiliocentos**: that is, they either transcribed or expounded various places of both Testaments out of the Greek verses of Homer and the Latin verses of Virgil. Examples of these labors are these:

An Example of an Ethnic Catena

On that passage from the second epistle of Peter, chapter three.

This heaven which now is, and the earth, are laid up for fire against the day of judgment: in which the heavens shall pass away like a river, and the elements, set on fire, shall be dissolved; and the earth, and the things that are in it, shall melt away; and the heavens being inflamed, the elements too shall liquefy.

The Vulgate edition has it thus: *The heavens which now are, and the earth, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment... the day of the Lord shall come as a thief, in which the heavens shall pass away with great violence, and the elements shall be dissolved with heat; but the earth, and the works which are in it, shall be burnt up.*⁸

The Sibyl, in the second book of the Oracles:

Then a burning, fiery river shall flow down from heaven on high,

And shall utterly consume all places;

The earth... [→ p191]

¹ The definition of the Named catena. ² The authors of the Named catena. ³ Matthew 2. ⁴ Romans 11:25. ⁵ Ethnic Rhapsody is twofold — Catena and Cento; wherein they differ. ⁶ Dominic Nanus wrote an ethnic Catena. ⁷ Empress Eudocia and Proba Falconia wrote Centos. ⁸ 2 Peter 3:7, 10.

(Rich PDF p. 191 — printed folio 174. Finishes the **Ethnic Catena** — a chain of pagan witnesses to the world's fiery end (the Sibyl, Plato's Timaeus, Lucretius V, Ovid Metam. I, Seneca To Marcia, Lucan Pharsalia I). Then a worked **Virgilian Cento on Psalm 116** (half-lines patched from the Aeneid/Georgics/Eclogues, each keyed to its source, making Virgil "sing" the Nativity and the calling of all nations to praise God). Then the two remaining species of Method 20 — the **Syllegma** (collection of senses only; Haymo, Rupert of Deutz, Jerome) and **Abbreviation** (compressing the Fathers' vast volumes; Theophylact; Odo condensing Gregory's Moralia). Then opens **Method Twenty-One: On Accumulation** — twofold (of senses / of testimonies); the first mode heaps the four senses (History as base, then Moral, Allegory, Anagogy), continuing on p192. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing the Ethnic Catena (on the world's end), from p190 — the Sibyl]

...and the Earth, and the vast Ocean, and the blue pools of the sea,

lakes, rivers, springs, and stern Dis [the underworld],

and the celestial pole: the lights of heaven too shall flow together into one

molten mass, their form utterly destroyed;

the stars shall fall — for all things shall be torn away from heaven.

Plato, in the Timaeus.

Time was made together with heaven, so that, having been made together, they shall also be dissolved together — if ever any dissolution of them shall come to pass.

Lucretius, book five.

One day shall give [it] to destruction; and the mass sustained through many years,

*and the fabric of the world, shall fall in ruin.
Nor does my mind deceive me: how new and wondrous a thing
comes to my mind — the coming destruction of heaven and earth.*

Ovid, book one of the Metamorphoses.

*He remembers, too, that it stands in the fates that a time shall come
when the sea, when the earth, and the seized palace of heaven
shall burn, and the laborious mass of the world shall be in travail.*

Seneca, at the end of the book of consolation to Marcia.

If the common fate can be a solace to you: nothing shall stand in the place where it stands. [Time] shall lay all things low and carry them off with itself; it shall press down mountains, swallow up seas, turn aside rivers; and, the intercourse of nations being broken, it shall dissolve the fellowship and gathering of the race; elsewhere it shall draw mountains down into vast chasms; it shall shake cities with tremors, and send up breaths of pestilence from the depths, and kill every living thing, the world being submerged; and with vast fires it shall scorch and burn up mortal things. And when the time shall come at which the world, about to renew itself, extinguishes itself, these things shall give way by their own strength, and star shall rush upon star, and — all matter blazing — with one fire whatever now shines in its ordered place shall burn.

Lucan, book one of the Pharsalia.

*— So, when the frame being loosed, the last hour
shall have gathered so many ages of the world,
seeking again the ancient chaos, all the stars
shall clash with stars mixed together; the fiery stars
shall make for the sea; the earth shall refuse to stretch out its shores,
and shall shake off the sea; and Phoebe [the moon], going contrary to her brother [the sun],
refusing to drive her chariot obliquely across the sphere,
shall demand the day for herself; and the whole discordant
fabric of the sundered world shall confound its covenants.*

An Example of a Cento, on Psalm 116

From the verses of Virgil, formerly composed by us: in which the whole race of mortals is invited to celebrate God, on account of the Mercy shown to the human race in the nativity of Christ.

■ You lands, and stretches of the sea, ■ you nations in long array
■ who dwell [therein], ■ various in tongues and in dress ■ throughout the world —
■ where Aurora returns to us and brings back the day,
■ and where the late reddening evening kindles its lamps —
■ celebrate the common God, ■ singing a paean.
■ Great-hearted heroes, ■ boys and unwed maidens,
■ mothers and men, ■ in the office of praises so great,
■ yourselves lift up joyful voices to the stars:
■ because a new offspring has come down from heaven on high,
■ and has brought to us at last, after long time,

■help, and the coming of God; ■when a woman first,
 ■bearing the face and dress of a Virgin, ■wonderful to tell,
 ■brought forth a boy neither of our race nor of our blood —
 ■a boy being born, ■whom the stars of heaven obey.

Virgilian source-keys: **a** Aen. 6 · **b** Aen. 8 · **c** Aen. 6 · **d** Aen. 8 · **e** Aen. [—] · **f** Georg. 1 · **g** Georg. 1 · **h** Aen. 8 · **i** Aen. 6 · **k** Aen. 6 · **l** Aen. 6 · **m** Aen. 6 · **n** Aen. 8 · **o** Ecl. 4.5 · **p** Ecl. 4 · **q** Aen. 8 · **[r]** Ecl. 1 · **r** Aen. 8 · **t** Aen. 1 · **u** Aen. 2 · **y** Ecl. 4 · **z** Aen. 10.

On the Syllegma

The **Syllegma** — that is, a "collection of senses"¹ — is an exposition collected, according to the sense only, out of the various commentaries of the expositors. In it, only the truth of the sense being preserved (which is drawn out of the expositions of others), the kind of diction is varied, and a different style is adopted: as among the Latins Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, and Rupert, abbot of Deutz, did; and, as it also seems to some, St. Jerome,² who culled all the commentaries of the Greek expositors.

On Abbreviation

Abbreviation differs from the **Epitome** (of which we spoke above) only in this:³ that the Epitome gathers the divine scriptures into brevity, whereas this compresses into a compendium and a sum the lengthy explanations and most ample volumes of the expositors of divine scripture, with a succinct and clear brevity — so that they may be more easily read and understood, both by the busy and by the simpler, with little expense of time and labor. In this part there labored more successfully, among the Greeks, Theophylact, the abbreviator of Chrysostom, and among the Latins Odo the Abbot, who compressed the thirty-five books of the Commentaries of Gregory on Job⁴ into the narrow bounds of one small volume.

On Accumulation — The Twenty-First Method

Accumulation (*Coacervatio*), or the amassing manner of expounding, is twofold:⁵ the one consisting in the accumulation of senses, the other of testimonies. The **first** is that which, for the elucidation of the passage taken up, either heaps together four or six chief expositions of divine scripture at once mingled and confused, or, gathering them singly and separately, subjoins one after another and joins them into one series of continuous explanation. For among the expositors there are some who, keeping no order, confound Historical, Ethical, and Mystical explanations, without any distinction, into one heap; but, on the contrary, some to whom order is pleasing lay down first the Historical narration, as the basis of the whole explanation; in the second place they set over it the Moral, for the profit of readers; thirdly they add the Allegory; fourthly the Anagogy, for delight and ornament — which [→ p192]

¹ The Syllegma is defined. ² St. Jerome excerpted his commentaries out of the writings of the Greeks. ³ In what respect Abbreviation differs from the Epitome. ⁴ The 35 books of St. Gregory [the *Moralia in Job*] were reduced to the narrow bounds of one small volume. ⁵ There is a twofold mode of Accumulation.

(Rich PDF p. 192 — printed folio 175. Finishes **Method 21 (Accumulation)**: the first mode (heaping the four senses — Denis the Carthusian, William Pepin; Gregory confounds Allegory and Anagogy) and the **second mode** (aggregating testimonies — the mammoth commentaries of Henry of Langenstein on Genesis and Thomas Hasselbach on Isaiah 1; Gregory's *Moralia in Job* as the great quarry from which Paterius, Bede, and others drew; the example is Gregory on Job 1:20). Then **Method 22: On the Thematic Exposition** — mapping a whole theme onto a scriptural figure (after Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*): Philo's Abraham = the contemplative man and Joseph = the civil man; Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Moses; Ambrose's On Abraham. Then opens **Method 23: On the Scholastic Method** — twofold, Old and New, continuing on p193. Running

head: *LIBER TERTIVS.*)

[continuing Method 21 (Accumulation), first mode, from p191]

...which, among the more recent, Denis the Carthusian observed in his commentaries on the Psalms, and William Pepin in his commentaries on Genesis and Exodus, most diligently. But among the ancients, St. Gregory, in his commentaries on Job, immediately after the Historical exposition subjoins the Allegorical and the Anagogical (which with him are the same); ¹ and from these, lastly, he draws out the springs of the Ethical (moral) narration, for the forming of morals.

The Second Mode of Accumulation

The **second** mode of Accumulation is placed in the aggregation of testimonies; which, for the untying and confirmation of the passage proposed, brings together into one various testimonies, authorities, and similar passages out of the divine letters, contracted into one — and these again, especially if they be obscure and involved, it expounds in particular, a new exposition being interposed and superadded; whence it happens that, while the expositor proceeds by expounding the individual scripture-testimonies adduced, the body of the explanation grows in a manner immense, and scarcely finds an end. In this kind of expounding there toiled, among the scholastics, **Henry of Langenstein**, ² who, having spent many years in the public exposition of Genesis, scarcely reached the fourth chapter of that book after four whole years, having published on these four great volumes, in which he interpreted almost all the books of both Testaments. Him **Thomas Hasselbach** surpassed by a far more prolix work, ³ who, when in the space of one-and-twenty years he had not yet reached the end of the first chapter of Isaiah (which he had continuously expounded), at last left twenty-four books of his Exposition on the first chapter of Isaiah. But among the Fathers, St. Gregory labored in this task with greater praise, ⁴ who in all his writings — but especially in the thirty-five books of his Commentaries on Job — so heaped together the sentences and fragments of so many divine oracles, and expounded what he had heaped up, that from these, as from a most rich storehouse, many not ignoble expositors received entire expositions of almost all the volumes of holy scripture: such as Paterius, notary of St. Gregory; Claudius, abbot of Chiusa; Bede the Presbyter; Alulf the monk; Werner of Paris; and very many other students of the Gregorian reading, who gathered from Gregory's sentences explanations upon both Testaments. Since an example of this Method cannot be given without much prolixity, we remit the curious reader to the commentaries of St. Gregory on Job, but especially to the second book of that work — in whose 29th, 30th, and 38th chapters, for the exposition of that sentence, *Then Job arose, and rent his garments, and, his head being shaved, falling down upon the earth, adored, etc.*, ⁵ there are brought forward and explained twelve divine testimonies gathered from various places of the Bible.

On the Thematic Exposition — The Twenty-Second Method

The **Thematic** Method of explaining ⁶ is that which applies particular parts of divine scripture, together with their expositions, to the treatment of some particular subject — showing that the whole body of the subject undertaken, and its several members and parts, are to be found, as though painted in a picture, in the proposed places of holy scripture. The artifice of this interpretation, St. Ambrose intimates, flowed from Xenophon, the hearer of Socrates, who — in that book which he entitled *Κύρου παιδῖαν* [*Kyrou paidian*], that is, the **Education of Cyrus** — setting before himself the person of Cyrus king of the Persians, and the narration of the things done by him, described the discipline of a just and wise king from the inmost bosom of Philosophy. Him afterward the distinguished expositors of the divine volumes emulated. Among whom **Philo**, among the Jews, being about to treat of the subjects of the twofold life (namely the contemplative and the political), wrote two separate books: in the former, entitled *On the Life of the Wise Man Perfected by Doctrine*, or *On Abraham*, he expounds summarily the life of Abraham gathered from the 12th to the 23rd chapter of Genesis, showing that Moses wished to paint in Abraham the image of a man perfected through

contemplation;⁷ but in the latter, entitled *On the Civil Man*, or *On Joseph*, expounding selectively the deeds of Joseph from the 37th chapter of Genesis to the 48th, he teaches that Joseph is the exemplar of the civil man,⁸ and one fit for the helm of the commonwealth. This same thing, among the Greeks, **Gregory of Nyssa** performed, in the book to which he gave the title *On the Perfect Life of Man*, or *On the Life of Moses*, in which, briefly explaining what Moses wrote of himself in the Pentateuch, he expressed in the image of Moses whatever conduces to a perfect kind of life.⁹ This very thing also, among the Latins, **Ambrose** did, in various books which, under diverse titles and subjects, he composed for the explanation of the Old Testament — but especially in the two volumes entitled *On Abraham the Patriarch*, or *On the Man Perfect through Action*, in which, explaining the deeds of Abraham from the 12th to the 18th chapter of Genesis, he delineated the idea of the moral and truly active man. In these authors, therefore, you may read an example of the present method, which cannot here be inserted on account of its prolixity.

On the Scholastic Method — The Twenty-Third Method

The **Scholastic** kind of exposition is twofold:¹⁰ **Old** and **New**. Now the **Old** is that which, in expounding the holy letters, those most eloquent Fathers once used, who — after a long exercise of eloquence, coming from the schools of the Rhetoricians to sacred studies — [made] their expositions [→ p193]

¹ St. Gregory confounds the Allegorical and Anagogical exposition. ² Henry of Langenstein published 4 great volumes on the first 4 chapters of Genesis. ³ Thomas Hasselbach wrote 24 books on the first chapter of Isaiah. ⁴ The Commentaries of St. Gregory on Job are commended. ⁵ Job 1:20. ⁶ The Thematic method is defined. ⁷ Moses depicted in Abraham the image of a man perfect through contemplation. ⁸ Joseph was the exemplar of the civil man. ⁹ Moses was a perfect man. ¹⁰ The Scholastic kind of exposition is twofold.

(Rich PDF p. 193 — printed folio 176. Continues **Method 23 (Scholastic)**: the **Old** scholasticism = the eloquent Fathers who brought rhetorical polish to sacred exposition (Prudentius, called by Bede the noblest Spanish scholastic; Musaeus, Julian, Eucherius per Gennadius; Jerome; Paul at the Areopagus). Then the **New** scholasticism — born c. 1130, after Lothair II revived the buried Roman law-books and monks, seeing scripture eclipsed by legal study, imitated the jurists — distributed into **ten genres**: Concordances, Dictionaries, Histories, Postils, Question-books, Lectures, Compendia, Sermon-books, Metrical works, Meditations — each here described. Then a note on the scholastics' plain, barbarism-laden style (they aim only to teach, not to please) and the rhetoricians' scorn of them, continuing on p194. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing Method 23 (Scholastic), from p192 — the Old scholasticism]

...their expositions with the rhetorical ornaments which they had brought with them, for the sake of delighting — mingling in also the weightiest affections for the stirring of minds, so that the things they said might not only be understood by the hearers, but also loved. And in this signification Bede the presbyter, in the book *On the Metrical Art*, called Prudentius the most noble Scholastic of the Spaniards;¹ and Gennadius, in his catalogue of illustrious writers, reckoned Musaeus, Julian, Eucherius, and very many others among the Scholastics — that is, among the highest professors of Scholastic eloquence. Jerome too writes that he, while still glowing in the very studies of the Rhetoricians, painted many things about sacred matters with a scholastic flower [of style]; and in his Commentaries on the epistle to Titus he says that the Apostle Paul, when he was preaching in the Areopagus, drew the argument of his sermon from the inscription of the Altar of the Athenians, with a certain scholastic elegance.

The New Scholasticism

The **other** kind of scholastic explanation — which we now have, compounded from sacred Theology and Philosophy, especially the Peripatetic — is recent and new,² born about four hundred years ago, a little after the times of the Emperor Lothair II, who in the year of the Lord 1130 found the books of the Roman laws covered over with dust, brought them back to light, and commanded that they be publicly read in the schools,

and that law be pronounced according to those laws. And so, by this occasion, the treasury of the laws was recalled into use, whence many wrote many commentaries on the laws. But, the studies of the laws now flourishing everywhere, and being embraced by all the most learned (as is wont to happen in a new thing), certain devout clerics and monks, perceiving that the knowledge of sacred scripture was growing cold and being despised in comparison with the study of the laws, themselves also undertook the Theological study, and, by the example of the Jurisconsults, began to expound the holy books and to publish their expositions in writing. Of these, those which up to this day have been more in use in their schools are distributed into **ten orders**:³

- The **first** embraces Concordances;
- the **Second**, Dictionaries;
- the **Third**, Histories;
- the **Fourth**, Postils;
- the **Fifth**, Question-books;
- the **Sixth**, Lectures;
- the **Seventh**, Compendia;
- the **Eighth**, Sermon-books;
- the **Ninth**, Metrical [works];
- the **Tenth**, Meditations.

1. In the **Concordances**,⁴ then, they first digested all the words — both declinable and indeclinable — contained in the divine volumes into alphabetical order, all and every one of the books, chapters, and lines being noted, in which any words are found similar and concordant to the word sought.

2. In the **Dictionaries**⁵ (which they also called *Distinctionaria*, on account of the manifold distinctions of the words that are in them), they expounded all the words of divine scripture, disposed in alphabetical series, in a manifold sense both literal and spiritual — dividing, distinguishing, defining, and dilating the significations of the individual words, and treating diverse matters according to the nature of each word.

3. In the **Histories**,⁶ they reduced all the historical books of both Testaments into one body of continuous and complete history, interspersing (wherever the series of things seemed to require it) many histories not only external — borrowed from undoubted writers — but also apocryphal narrations, received rather by the tradition of the ancients than by any writing; adding besides, for explaining the obscure places of the history, brief little annotations gathered from the sayings of the holy Fathers.

4. In the **Postils**,⁷ they elucidated the divine Scriptures according to the literal and spiritual understanding most simply and most briefly, all subtlety of disputations being entirely omitted.

5. In the **Question-books**,⁸ on the contrary, almost all expositions of Scripture being set aside, they proposed obscure doubts and questions out of various places of the scriptures, and, with contraries brought in on both sides (both Philosophical and Theological arguments), disputed most subtly and most fully about the places proposed.

6. In the **Lectures**,⁹ embracing both parts, they expounded the manifold senses of the Scriptures more broadly and more fully than they had done in the Postils, restricting into a narrow compass the questions which they had treated most amply in the Question-books, and mingling them with their own explanations.

7. In the **Compendia**,¹⁰ they divided the books of divine Scripture (either all, or some) by a certain general partition into parts and members, and, thus divided member by member, compressed them into brief summaries.

8. In the **Sermon-books**,¹¹ they set forth popular sermons and discourses upon diverse places of divine Scripture, woven together out of scholastic doubts and moral instructions.

9. In the **Metrical** [works],¹² they expounded the holy books with a manifold variety of new verses and Rhythms first invented by themselves.

10. In the **Meditations**¹³ (which are also called affective contemplations), they explain the divine letters by certain imaginary representations, which they devised for the moving and inflaming of minds.

Moreover, as regards the phrase — that is, the manner of speaking — it is the same for all of them.¹⁴ They use no coloring of secular eloquence, no choice of accurate elocution; inasmuch as they desire neither to delight nor to sway, but only to teach. They have a simple, brief, and compressed narration; but a lowly, open, and most common, worn-out speech — stuffed, according to the custom of the vulgar, with barbarisms and solecisms; yet in the Lectures, and especially in the Question-books, obscure and abstruse, both on account of the subtlety of the most difficult Questions, and on account of certain new and Barbarous words, unheard by Latin ears, and lately sprung up in their own Schools. Whereby it happens that some of the Rhetoricians, devoted to eloquence,¹⁵ not only abstain from reading them, but also [reject] the very name "scholastic" as Barbarous, unlearned, [→ p194]

¹ Prudentius is called by Bede the most noble scholastic of the Spaniards. ² When Scholastic Theology began to flourish. ³ The expositions of the sacred Scriptures are distributed into 10 orders. ⁴ Concordance. ⁵ Dictionaries. ⁶ History. ⁷ Postil. ⁸ Question-books. ⁹ Lectures. ¹⁰ Compendia. ¹¹ Sermon-books. ¹² Metrical. ¹³ Meditations. ¹⁴ What the style of the Scholastics is like. ¹⁵ The error of some who are more than fairly devoted to eloquence.

(Rich PDF p. 194 — printed folio 177. Finishes **Method 23 (Scholastic)**. Sixtus defends the scholastics against the rhetoricians who scorn them: Cicero himself asked of a philosopher erudition, not eloquence; Paul was "rude in speech, yet not in knowledge" — and Sixtus was raised in their schools. He lays out the **five props** of the scholastic method (Division, Distinction, Definition, Argumentation, Allegation/Citation), the anatomy of a scholastic commentary (the "subject" + four causes; Preface and Treatise, endlessly subdivided), and of a scholastic sermon (Exordium from a **Theme**; a threefold/fourfold Narration; a closing "Practical" of rebukes; the Manipulus Florum and Polyanthea as quote-quarries). A roll of masters by genre (Hugh of St-Cher, Bersuire, Peter Comestor, Lyra, Albert, Aquinas, Vincent Ferrer, Godfrey of Viterbo, Bonaventure, Gerson...). Then a worked **Dictionary exposition, from Pierre Bersuire's Dictionary, on the letter A**, begins (continues p195). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing Method 23 (Scholastic), from p193]

...unlearned, and abhor it as worthy of no esteem — who indeed seem to me gravely to err in this, and to despise the judgment of their own Cicero, which they so greatly admire. For he requires of a philosopher not eloquence, but erudition.¹ For in the book *On the Ends of Goods and Evils*, making mention of Epicurus, he says: "The style of that Philosopher does not offend me; for he both embraces in words what he wishes, and says plainly what I understand. And yet from a Philosopher, if he brings eloquence, I accept it; if he has it not, I do not much demand it." Since, therefore, Cicero does not at all require eloquence of philosophers, I do not see why the same should be so greatly demanded of the Scholastic Theologians — who, though (according to Paul's saying) they be *rude in speech, yet not in knowledge*;² but the more they are destitute of elegance of elocution, the more they excel in erudition, setting forth things not painted but solid, teaching the things that most profit and that pertain to the intended end, and teaching thus, as is fitting, both with the rude and with the learned. But of these things elsewhere; for I have not undertaken, in the present place, to take up the defense of the Scholastics (in whose schools I was educated and advanced), but only to explain their manner of expounding.

The Five Props of the Scholastic Method

As, then, regards the manner of teaching, the whole Method of their explanation rests chiefly upon five props³ — namely: **Division**, **Distinction**, **Definition**, **Argumentation**, and **Allegation** (Citation) — according to the custom of the Peripatetics and the Jurisconsults. In **Divisions** they so abound⁴ that they explain no period of divine scripture, however brief, unless they first divide and distribute it into diverse parts and members. Of **Distinctions** so great is the force among them⁵ that they distinguish almost every single word of the passage taken up into various and diverse significations of words and things, and explain each distinct one by its own definitions and descriptions. Of **Allegations** they are so copious⁶ that in any matter proposed they bring forward a numerous multitude of witnesses and testimonies, the name of the authors being always cited, with the title of the books and the number of the chapters, from which the testimonies are drawn.

The **prefaces** of their commentaries — whether these be Postils, Lectures, Compendia, or whatever else — they always begin⁷ from some sentence of the holy scriptures, but taken from outside the book which they are about to expound, and from some other sacred volume; and from the words of that sentence they draw out the argument of the whole book (which they call the *subject*), together with the four causes of the work, which they call Material, Formal, Efficient, and Final. These being explained, they divide the whole work into two principal parts⁸ — namely, the **Preface** (*Proæmium*) and the **Treatise** — and again subdivide each of these into three or four less-principal [parts], and these again they dissect into yet smaller particles; and in this manner, now dividing, now explaining what is divided, they reach at last the end of the book.

In almost this manner they treat that part which pertains to popular discourses, which they call **Preachings**, dividing them into **Exordium** and **Narration**.⁹ The Exordium they begin from some sentence, taken almost always either from the Gospel reading or from the epistle read that same day in the sacred mysteries — which they call the **Theme**.¹⁰ Then, the argument of the sermon being briefly proposed, they divide the things to be said by a partition chiefly threefold or fourfold, into three or four parts — which some call Mysteries, some Doctrines, some Truths, some Advisements — terminating each member of the partition in a rhythmic consonance, that they may be more easily apprehended by the mind and more tenaciously retained in the memory. Then, in the **Narration** (which they call the *Familiar* part), following the order of the proposed partition, at the beginning of each Mystery or truth they accommodate to the exposition of the proposed passage certain scholastic doubts — taken either from the theological summae of St. Thomas, Albert, Alexander, Bonaventure, and Scotus, or from the dogmas of the Peripatetics — confirmed most copiously from many testimonies (of divine scripture and of the ecclesiastical Fathers, as well as of poets, orators, and Gentile writers, gathered either from the *Manipulus Florum* [Handful of Flowers] or from the *Polyanthea*, and cited by name and by number). These being explained, at last, at the end of the Mystery, they turn to the detestation of vices — which they call the **Practical** part, and **Fervor** — using worn-out and most common reproofs, chidings, and rebukes.

The Chief Masters of the Scholastic Method

This, then, is the scholastic Method, described according to its orders and parts; in which the more excellent were:¹¹ as regards the **Concordances**, Hugh of St-Cher and Conrad of Halberstadt; in the **Dictionaries**, Pierre Bersuire the Frenchman, and Marcus of Ulm; in the **Histories**, Peter Comestor, author of the *Scholastic History*; in the **Postils**, Hugh of St-Cher and Nicholas of Lyra; in the **Lectures**, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas; in the **Sermon-books**, St. Vincent the Spaniard [Ferrer] and Robert of Lecce; in the **Metrical** [works], Godfrey of Viterbo and Peter Riga of Reims; in the scholastic **Meditations**, Bonaventure the Cardinal and Landulph the Carthusian, John Gerson, and Denis the Carthusian. From these, therefore, we have thought fit to insert in this place certain more notable examples of the scholastic variety, for the exact knowledge of the present artifice.

An example of an exposition taken from the **Concordances** you may see above, in the Third Method.

An Example of a Dictionary Exposition

From the Dictionary of Pierre Bersuire, the Frenchman by surname.

Of the Dictionary. — Exposition on the letter A, or, concerning the letter A.

In the first place we may note that this letter, or syllable, **A**, can be taken in three ways; for it is taken as an initial letter (*litera principiativa*); as an interjection of grieving and lamenting [→ p195]

¹ Cicero requires in a philosopher not eloquence, but erudition. ² 2 Corinthians 11:6. ³ The method of teaching scholastic Theology rests chiefly on five props. ⁴ Division is very frequent among the Scholastics. ⁵ Great is the force of Distinctions in Scholastic Theology. ⁶ The Scholastics are diligent in citing authors. ⁷ The scholastic Theologians are wont to begin the prefaces of their commentaries from some sentence of Scripture. ⁸ The Scholastics divide their works into prefaces and treatises. ⁹ The scholastics divide their sermons into Exordia and Narrations. ¹⁰ What the "Theme" is in the sermons of the scholastics. ¹¹ The authors who excelled beyond the rest in the Scholastic Method.

(Rich PDF p. 195 — printed folio 178. Finishes the **Dictionary example** (Bersuire on the letter **A**: three senses — the initial letter = God, "I am alpha and omega" [Rev 1:8]; the interjection of grief = the human condition [Wis 7:3, the newborn's first cry]; the ablative preposition = evil princes [2 Cor 11:32; Ps 140]). The **Scholastic-History** example is skipped (Peter Comestor, "Master of the Scholastic History"). Then a full worked **Scholastic Question** — Whether God is to be praised, especially with the mouth? — in strict Thomistic form (three Objections; Sed contra from Ps 116 & 62; a Respondeo distinguishing why we use words toward God vs. toward man; and Replies to the three). Then a **Scholastic Lecture on Psalm 116** opens, expounding the psalm's four causes from "A shortened word the Lord hath made" (Isa 10:22 / Rom 9:28), continuing on p196. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing the Dictionary example (Bersuire on the letter "A"), from p194]

...of lamenting; and as an ablative preposition. By the first [sense] I can understand the Author-of-all-beginnings of all things; by the second I can take the wretched man and wayfarer; but by the third, the impious man and sinner.

For, **in the first way**, A is the first letter of the alphabet, signifying him who is first in the order of things — namely God, who says of himself in Apocalypse 1: *I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end*. ¹ For "Alpha" in Greek is the same as "A" in Latin. **In the second way**, A is the interjection of one grieving; and so it can signify the human condition, which is doleful and empty (vain) — whence this is that first cry which the boy, coming into this misery, at once utters, saying "A, A," as if grieving for the misery into which he has entered; of which it is written in Wisdom 7: *I, being born, drew in the common air, and, weeping, sent forth my first voice, like all others*. ² **In the third way**, A is an ablative preposition, serving the Ablative — that is, the princes of the world; and so it can signify to me proud men, who always wish to be set before others — and especially prelates and bailiffs, who serve "the ablative," that is, the princes of the world, who cease not to take away the goods of their subjects. 2 Corinthians 11: *At Damascus the governor of the nation of King Aretas wished to seize me*, etc.; ³ whence of such an "A" can be said that which is written in Psalm 140: *From the wicked man deliver me*. — Again, of the first "A," the initiative, can be said whatever is said of God, or of a beginning; of the second "A," the lamentative, whatever is said of human misery; of the third "A," whatever is said of evil princes, etc. I pass over, for brevity's sake, the other significations of this letter, which the same author pursues at length, with many words, at the beginning of his Dictionary.

An Example of Scholastic History

...which, for brevity's sake, we here omit; you may see it in the history of Peter Comestor, who by a certain excellence is called by the Scholastics the **Master of the Scholastic History**.

An Example of a Scholastic Question, on Psalm 66

[so printed; the objections and reply that follow work with Psalm 116, whose text is cited in the sed contra.]

It is asked: **whether God is to be praised, and especially with the praise of the mouth?**

Objection 1. And it seems that [he is] not. For the Philosopher says in the first [book] of the Ethics: "Of the best things there is not praise, but something greater and better." But God is above all the best things; therefore praise is not owed to God, but something greater than praise. Whence in Ecclesiasticus 43 it is said that God is greater than all praise.⁴

Objection 2. Moreover, the praise of God pertains to his worship, for it is an act of religion; but God is worshipped more with the mind than with the mouth — whence the Lord, in Matthew 15, against certain persons adduces that saying of Isaiah: *This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.*⁵ Therefore the praise of God consists more in the heart than in the mouth.

Objection 3. Moreover, men are praised with the mouth to this end, that they may be provoked to better things; for as the wicked grow proud from their praises, so the good are provoked by their praises to better things — whence it is said in Proverbs 27: *As silver is tried in the melting-pot, so a man is tried by the mouth of them that praise him.*⁶ But God is not provoked to better things by the words of men, both because he is immutable and because he is supremely good and has nothing whereby to grow; therefore God is not to be praised with the mouth.

But on the contrary is that which is said in Psalm 116: *Praise the Lord, all nations, etc.;*⁷ and in Psalm 62: *My mouth shall praise thee with lips of exultation.*⁸

I answer that it must be said that we use words toward God for one reason, and toward man for another.⁹ For toward man we use words that we may express to him the conception of our heart, which he cannot know except by our words; and therefore we use the praise of the mouth toward man,¹⁰ that it may be made known either to him or to others that we hold a good opinion of the one praised — so that by this we may both provoke him who is praised to better things, and lead others (before whom he is praised) into a good opinion, reverence, and imitation of him. But toward God we use words — not indeed that we may manifest our conceptions to him who is the inspector of hearts, but that we may lead ourselves, and others who hear, to his reverence; and therefore the praise of the mouth is necessary,¹¹ not indeed for God's sake, but for the sake of the one praising, whose affection is stirred up toward God by praising him — according to that of the Psalm: *The sacrifice of praise shall glorify me.*¹² And in so far as a man ascends toward God in affection through divine praise, in so far by this is he drawn back from those things which are against God — according to that of Isaiah 48: *For my praise I will bridle thee, lest thou perish.*¹³ The praise of the mouth also profits toward this, that the affection of others may be provoked toward God — whence it is said in the psalm, *His praise shall be always in my mouth*, and afterward is subjoined, *Let the meek hear and be glad. Magnify the Lord with me.*¹⁴

Reply to Objection 1. It must be said that we can speak of God in two ways: in one way, as regards his essence; and thus, since he is incomprehensible and ineffable, he is greater than all praise — but according to this comparison there is owed to him reverence, and the honor of *latria* (adoration).¹⁵ Whence also in the psalm, according to Jerome's translation, it is said: *To thee praise is silent, O God*¹⁶ — as regards the first; *and to thee shall the vow be rendered* — as regards the second. In another way, [we speak of God] according to his effects, which are ordained to our benefit; and according to this, praise is owed to God — whence it is said in Isaiah 63: *I will remember the mercies of the Lord; the praise of the Lord over all things which the Lord hath rendered to us.*¹⁷ And Dionysius says, in the first chapter *On the Divine Names*: "Every holy hymn of the theologians (that is, divine praise) thou shalt find dividing the manifestative and laudative namings of God unto the blessed processions of the *Thearchy* — that is, of the divinity."

Reply to Objection 2. It must be said that the praise of the mouth is useless to the one praising, if it be without the praise of the heart;¹⁸ for then [only] does he speak praise to God, when he ponders the great works of his deeds with affection. Yet the exterior praise of the mouth avails to excite the interior affection of the one praising, and to provoke others to the praise of God, as has been said.

Reply to Objection 3. It must be said that we do not praise God for his own benefit, but for our benefit, as has been said.

An Example of a Scholastic Lecture, on Psalm 116

A shortened word (verbum abbreviatum) hath the Lord made upon the earth — Isaiah, chapter 10, and to the Romans, chapter 9.¹⁹ In this sentence of Isaiah are touched the four causes of this Psalm — namely, the Material, the Formal, the Agent [Efficient], and the Final. And **first the Material** is intimated by the word "VERBVM" (Word), because the matter treated in this psalm is the mercy and truth of God, shown forth in the incarnate Word [→ p196]

¹ Revelation 1:8. ² Wisdom 7:3. ³ 2 Corinthians 11:32. ⁴ Ecclesiasticus 43:33. ⁵ Matthew 15:8, citing Isaiah 29:13. ⁶ Proverbs 27:21. ⁷ Psalm 116:1 (Vulg.). ⁸ Psalm 63:6 (Vulg. 62:6): "with joyful lips shall my mouth praise." ⁹ For a different reason we use words toward God than toward man. ¹⁰ Why men are praised. ¹¹ God is praised with the mouth not for God's own sake, but for the sake of the one praising. ¹² Psalm 50:23 (Vulg. 49:23). ¹³ Isaiah 48:9. ¹⁴ Psalm 34:1–3 (Vulg. 33:2–3). ¹⁵ To the ineffable God, as regards his essence, is owed the honor of *latria* (adoration). ¹⁶ Psalm 65:2 (Vulg. 64:2), per Jerome: "praise waits for thee in silence." ¹⁷ Isaiah 63:7. ¹⁸ The praise of the mouth without the praise of the heart is useless to the one praising. ¹⁹ Isaiah 10:22; Romans 9:28.

(Rich PDF p. 196 — printed folio 179. Finishes the **Scholastic Lecture on Psalm 116**: the psalm's four causes worked out (Formal = "shortened"; Agent = "the Lord hath made" [through David]; Final = "upon the earth" = the whole world's benefit); its structure (Title "Alleluia" / Treatise, subdivided); and the scholastic difficulty "whether God is to be praised" with its answer (as to essence, God is above all praise; as to his effects — mercy and justice — he is rightly praised). Then **On the Scholastic Compendium** — Prose vs. Metrical; Universal vs. Particular; the Particular further split into **Tree** (branching-diagram) and **Column** (two-column) forms. A worked **Universal Compendium from Pierre Auriol (Cardinal)** divides all Scripture into eight principal parts by eight modes of teaching, then divides Genesis (the "political/legislative" part) in exhaustive detail. Continues on p197. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing the Scholastic Lecture on Psalm 116, from p195]

...incarnate. **The Formal** is touched in the word "ABBREVIATVM" (shortened), because the form of this psalm is a compendious brevity, comprehending all the divine praises that are dispersed throughout the whole book of psalms. **The Agent** [cause] is touched there, "FECIT" (hath made): "DOMINVS" (the Lord) — for God was the agent cause, who made this Psalm through the mouth of David.¹ **The Final** is touched in the words "SVPER TERRAM" (upon the earth), because the end which moved God to send the incarnate Word, and to pronounce this Psalm concerning the incarnate Word, was the benefit of the whole earth. Now the present psalm is divided, after the manner of the other psalms, into two parts — namely, into **Title** and **Treatise** (which begins, "Praise the Lord," etc.). The Title is "Alleluia," in which it is intimated that this Psalm is *hallelujatic* — that is, laudatory — inviting the whole world to praise God for the mercy obtained in the coming of the incarnate Word. But in the Treatise the author carries out what he had proposed in the title; and it is divided into two parts: in the first he invites all men to praise God; in the second he renders the cause of the invitation, there: "For his mercy is confirmed." The first part is again divided into two: the second begins there, "Praise him, all peoples"; the first there, "Praise the Lord, all nations" — in which he invites the Gentile nations (which are called "nations") to the praise of God. But a difficulty arises: whether God is to be praised? And it seems not; for the Philosopher says, in the first [book] of the Ethics, that of the best things there is not praise, but something greater and better; but God is above all the best things; therefore praise is not owed to God, but something greater than praise — whence in Ecclesiasticus 43 it is said that God is

greater than all praise.² But on the contrary is that which is here said in the Psalm, "Praise the Lord, all nations." I answer, it must be said that we can speak of God in two ways: in one way, as regards his essence;³ and thus, since he is incomprehensible and ineffable, he is greater than all praise — but according to this comparison there is owed to him reverence, and the honor of *latria*. In another way, according to his effects, which are ordained to our benefit (such as mercy and justice); and according to these, God is to be praised, and in fact is praised in the present psalm, etc.

On the Scholastic Compendium

The **Scholastic Compendium** is divided into **Prose** and **Metrical**;⁴ and of these, the Prose is twofold: the one **Universal**, which divides, enumerates, and gathers only the chief heads of the whole work; the other **Particular** and more distinct, elaborated with greater industry, which divides the primary parts of the whole work into smaller particles, and the particular members even down to the least articles and the incisions of the articles — enumerating them, and summarily touching upon them, for the easier convenience of the apprehensive faculty and for the help of memory. This [Particular kind] is again distinguished into two, namely into **Tree** (*Arboreum*) and **Column** (*Columnare*): of which the Tree⁵ is so called because, digested through many deductions and divisions of lines and branches proceeding from one trunk, it represents the appearance and figure of a branching tree. But the Column⁶ is so named because it is wont to be written in two columns of the same page: in the first of which the individual clauses, members, and incisions of the compendium are fitted, in fitting order, one under another; but in the other column, the words or sentences of holy Scripture, corresponding to the individual members of the compendium, are collocated over against them (*è regione*). Examples of both are these:

An Example of a Universal Scholastic Compendium

From the compendium of Pierre Auriol, the Cardinal, on the whole of Scripture.

Divine Scripture can be divided into eight principal parts, according to the eight modes of teaching which it assumes.⁷ For it teaches *politically* and *legislatively* in its first part, namely in the Pentateuch; it teaches, secondly, *chronicle-wise* — or historically and narratively — in its second part, namely in the ten books: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Tobit, Judith, and the rest that follow (in which the author briefly pursues the division of the other parts). These being finished, he again undertakes the division of the first part, in these words:

And so the first part, which is Political and legislative, is contained under five books. For it treats: first, of the quality of the **Lord** who enjoins the law; secondly, of the quality of the **servant** who proposes the law; thirdly, of the quality of the **assembly** that contains the law; fourthly, of the quality of the **people** that admits the law; and fifthly, of the brevity of the **epilogue** that expounds the law. **Genesis**, then, begins the political part, and treats of the Lord who enjoins the law — describing his omnipotence, in that he was the creator of all things from the beginning (which it declares in five chapters); in that he was the savior of men in the flood (which it declares in four other chapters); in that he was the disperser of all nations, their lip being confounded, throughout the whole world (which it declares in two chapters). Describing also his benevolence and friendship toward men, especially toward the spiritual fathers of Israel — which it shows from the segregation of Abraham: as to place, *Go forth out of thy land*⁸ and *out of thy kindred*; as to the sign of circumcision; as to the deed of the son of oblivion — and this from the twelfth chapter to the twenty-fifth. Likewise from the keeping of Isaac, whom he preserved and guarded among those wicked nations — and this from the 25th chapter to the twenty-ninth. Likewise from the predilection and multiplication of Jacob, from the twenty-ninth chapter to the thirty-ninth. Likewise in the exaltation of Joseph, from the thirty-ninth chapter to the end. As if that book wished to argue thus: "The laws of that Lord who is most omnipotent, and the only benevolent God, are to be observed by men; but that Lord who instituted and enjoined the laws

EXEM [PLVM $\rightarrow$ p197]

(Rich PDF p. 197 — printed folio 180. A single-page worked **Columnar Compendium** (the two-column form of the Particular Scholastic Compendium) on the opening of the **Epistle to the Romans** (1:1–7) — from a compendium Sixtus himself gathered in 1557 for Cardinal **Giovanni Battista Cicada of Genoa** (titular of St. Clement). The left column is the analytical breakdown of the salutation into Salutant / Saluted / Greeting (each subdivided); the right column sets, over against each member, the corresponding words of Romans 1. Ends with the catchword "EXEM[plum]" → p198. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

An Example of a Particular Scholastic Compendium (the Columnar form)

The First Part of this epistle, serving for the salutation, comprehends three things, which render the epistle worthy of faith and acceptable — namely, the **Salutant** (one saluting), the **Saluted**, and the **Greeting** (*salus*):

[illegible]

so that:	[respectively]	through
the heart may look	within	cruelty
the body may rise	without	sanctity
the head may prostrate itself	below	humility

as if to say:	[respectively]	[respectively]
Look	more inwardly	through the clarity of faith
Lift up	more outwardly	through the honesty of faith
Bow the heads	more downward	by pondering your frailty

• **For the first** (Luke 18): *Look up, thy faith hath made thee whole* [Luke 18:42] — namely, the faith also of the sacrament.

• **For the second** (1 Tim 2): *I will that men pray in every place, lifting up pure hands* [1 Tim 2:8] — that is, without crime.

• **For the third** (Ps 110): *He shall crush heads in the land of many* [Ps 110:6] — namely, of the humbled.

Behold Christ coming in:	with	that we may:
flesh	humility	trust
mind	kindness	love
[the] end	majesty	revere him

Since he is our:	from	through
Companion	the humanity assumed	incarnation
Physician	the courtesy of visiting	consolation
Lord	the power of judging	remuneration

Lest we:	[respectively]	[by his]
be afraid	of the summit	divinity
grow faint	because of crime	carnality (humanity)
lie hidden	from the examination	rigor

- **For the first** (Luke 1): *He hath regarded the humility of his handmaid* [Luke 1:48] — namely, powerfully.
- **For the second** (Luke 22): *The Lord, turning, looked upon Peter* [Luke 22:61]; there follows, *And he wept bitterly* — namely, [by repenting].
- **For the third** (Ps 103): *Who looketh on the earth, and maketh it tremble* [Ps 104:32] — namely, because of guilt.

Lift up:	to	through
the tongue	sobriety	the acceptance of fasting
the hands	usefulness	the occupation of exercise
the feet	eternity	the elevation of desire

That:	[respectively]	by
the tongue may take	the food of temperance	fasting
the hand may do	the work of holiness	working
the foot may flee	to the place of security	panting (longing) — etc.

On the Last Mode of the Scholastic Compendium (the Metrical)

The **Metrical Compendium** ¹ is a most strict sum of the sacred volumes, comprehended in very few words, in whose individual words the arguments of the individual chapters of divine scripture are compressed with a most artificial brevity. Such is that brief little summary of the whole Old and New Testament, most briefly concluded by **Alexander of Villedieu**, of Dol, in a hundred and twelve hexameters ² — in which the individual words touch upon the arguments of the individual chapters of the sacred scripture. And, lest the narrowness of the brevity should take away the understanding of the verses, to each word is subscribed, by an arithmetical mark, the number of the chapter whose sum is contained in it — interlinear little glosses of smaller writing being also added, indicating the signification of each word. An example of this compendium, taken from Alexander himself, is this: [→ p199]

(Rich PDF p. 199 — printed folio 182. The worked **Metrical Compendium of Genesis** — Alexander of Villedieu's mnemonic hexameters, one tag-word per chapter (1–26), each glossed. Then **On the Metrical Explanation of the Scholastics**: Sixtus concedes the learned scorn sacred verse, but records it — the scholastics devised it to lure a rhyme-loving age to Scripture, borrowing meter from classical Latin and rhyme from the vernacular; its two species are **Prose-Verse** and **Verse**, the latter split into **Rhythmic** and **Leonine**. **On the Rhythmic Exposition** — a worked rhyming paraphrase of **John 1:1–4** from Denis the Carthusian (Vulgate text ■ verse). Then **On the Leonine Exposition** (from "Leo" its inventor; Heroic and Elegiac; the Heroic threefold: Monorhythmic, Dirhythmic, Isogrammatic), opening **On the Monorhythmic** (continues p200). Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing the Metrical Compendium, from p198]

A Metrical Compendium on the Book of Genesis

Each tag-word is one hexameter's-worth of a chapter; beneath each is subscribed the chapter number and a brief gloss of what it recalls.

Ch.	Tag-word	Recalls
1	Six	the six days
2	He forbids	the tree of life
3	They sin	the first parents
4	Abel	is slain
5	Enoch	is translated
6	And the ark is made	by Noah
7	They enter	into the ark
8	He goes out	Noah, from the ark
9	He sleeps	naked before his sons
10	They are diversified	the sons and daughters of Noah [the nations]
11	The Tower	Babel is built
12	And Abram	goes out of his land
13	Lot	is separated from Abraham
14	Kings	are conquered by Abraham
15	He believed	Abraham, [believed] God
16	Flight	of Hagar
17	Circumcision	of Abraham and his household
18	Laughter	of Sarah, behind the door
19	Brimstone	rains upon Sodom
20	The king of Gerar	took away Sarah
21	She bears	Sarah bears Isaac
22	He offers	Abraham [offers] his son
23	Sarah	dies
24	Rebecca	is joined to Isaac
25	After the twins	Esau and Jacob

Ch.	Tag-word	Recalls
26	The wells	which Isaac dug

— and the rest, that follow.

On the Metrical Explanation of the Scholastics

I am not unaware that the Poetry of the Scholastics is despised by all the learned,¹ and utterly hissed off as inept, superstitious, and worthy of laughter; yet, lest I seem to be wanting to the plan of the work I have undertaken — in which I proposed to indicate all the varieties of exposition, whatever they be — I shall not be reluctant to explain this part too, briefly, whose occasion was this:² When throughout all Europe the custom had already grown up that **Rhythms** (that is, unpolished verses, ending in the same consonance of the final syllable, composed in the vernacular idiom of each province) should be sung, the poetry of Vernacular Rhythms began to be held in such price that no poem seemed worthy of any applause or praise which was destitute of rhythmic harmony. Wherefore, when the Scholastics desired to allure the men of their age (given to rhythms) to the studies of the sacred letters, taking occasion from this, they too devised a new method of the Metrical art, compounded from the old Latin and the recent vernacular poetry. From the old they took the quantity of syllables, the number of feet, and the laws and measures of the whole verse, most diligently to be observed; but from the new and vernacular they took the consonances of rhythms, the like endings of syllables, and sometimes an equal number of syllables and letters in the diverse verses. And they distinguished this new Poetry — or Metrical exposition of divine scripture — into two species:³ namely, into the **Prose-Verse** (*Prosocarminea*), which is composed of verses with prose intermingled, and into the **Verse** (*Carminea*), which consists of verse alone. This latter they again divided into two parts — that is, into the **Rhythmic** and the **Leonine** — of which we shall here set down both the descriptions and the examples.

On the Rhythmic Explanation

The **Rhythmic** Exposition⁴ consists of unpolished and rude verses, which answer to one another by an equal number of syllables and by the likeness of the final syllables. An example of it, taken from the exposition of the Carthusian [Denis the Carthusian] on the beginning of the gospel according to John, is thus:

Scripture (John 1)	Rhythmic paraphrase
In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.	Thou, the Word, in the beginning / wast, with no beginning, / in the Father eternally / abiding, timelessly. // Confounded are the heretics / who slanderously assert / that thou didst begin from a mother, or in time, / and in body: / but that "thou wast not before" — / herein these men are shown to lie. // ...Thou wast with God the Father, / true God with him — / not as through an instrumental / cause distinct from the Father.
All things were made by him,	Through thee all things were formed, / O Christ, uncreated Power. / Through thee were all things made, / thou who teachest even through dreams; / O everlasting Glory, / O Light supremely to be loved. // The World was created through thee — / but as through a co-principal, / first exemplary Cause; / through thee it stands firm in good things.
and without him was made nothing.	Apart from thee, nothing — and sin — / was made; thou holdest it not to have / true being as to the formal, / for it is not any posited thing.
What was made, in him was life.	The creatures, in thee, were life, / O infinite Light; / for in thee, ideally, / they existed vitally.

On the Leonine Exposition

The **Leonine** [exposition] — so called from **Leo**, its first inventor⁵ — is that which, the metrical laws of the Latin poets being preserved, adds a rhythmic consonance (rhyme) to the verses. And this is bipartite: namely, **Heroic**, consisting of hexameter verse, and **Elegiac**, running in hexameter and pentameter verses. Again, the Heroic is distinguished by a threefold division: namely, into **Monorhythmic**, **Dirhythmic**, and **Isogrammatic** — of which the definitions and examples here follow.

On the Monorhythmic

The **Monorhythmic**⁶ is when each two hexameters, in similarly-ending syllables [→ p200]

¹ The poetry of the scholastics is despised by the learned. ² On what occasion the scholastic Poetry was invented. ³ There are two species of scholastic Poetry. ⁴ What the Rhythmic exposition is. ⁵ What the Leonine exposition is. ⁶ The Monorhythmic exposition is defined.

(Rich PDF p. 200 — printed folio 183. The Leonine sub-forms of scholastic verse: the **Monorhythmic** and **Dirhythmic**, then the **Isogrammatic** ("equal-letter"), divided into **Simple** and **Figured** — the latter a cross-shaped figured poem after Rabanus Maurus. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

[continuing the Monorhythmic, from p199]

...syllables, terminate the last foot of the verse, they make a rhythmic symphony. An example of it, contained in the exposition of Peter Riga [Petrus Rigensis] on the beginning of the book of Job, is this:¹

*Some masters ascribe the book of Job to Moses,
as its author; but the opinion is false, of a perverse
judgment it proceeds. Others have held the little books
to have had no author born [i.e. no single named author] — but these things too are refuted,
as falsehood is wont to be, etc.*

On the Dirhythmic

The **Dirhythmic** exposition² is when, in two hexameter verses, a rhythmic consonance (rhyme) is kept both in the middle of the verse and at its end. Of which sort there are many in the same Peter Riga, especially in his exposition of the fourteenth chapter of Job, where the author expounds that sentence, *Who can make clean that which is conceived of unclean seed, save thou, who alone art?* [Job 14:4] in these verses:³

*Scripture unfolds the pure mysteries of Christ,
Concerning the sacred Breath [Spirit] who came forth without guilt,
Not out of the unclean, proceeding from clean seed,
Cleansing the unclean — through whom mind and flesh are made clean.*

Such also is the postillary exposition of Alexander of Villedieu [Alexander Dolensis] on the Acts of the Apostles, thus beginning:

*If thou wouldst know the transacted Apostolic deeds,
This Postil shall handle those for thee in verses.*

On the Isogrammatic

The **Isogrammatic** — that is, the **Equal-letter** — exposition ⁴ is that in which any two hexameters, succeeding one another, together with the consonance of rhyme have also an equal number of letters, and as many letters are counted in the one verse as in the other. This they are wont to divide into the **Simple** and the **Pictured**, or **Figured**.

On the Simple Isogrammatic

The **Simple** ⁵ is that to which, beyond the rhyme and the equal number of letters, no further artifice is added. Of this sort there are many verses in Peter Riga, in his exposition of the book of Job, especially upon those words of the third chapter, *Let the day perish wherein I was born* [Job 3:3], which are expounded in these verses: ⁶

Let that day perish, which brought me forth to birth, ■
Nor let that night behold the rising of the noble Dawn, ■ 34
Let that night be heavy, nor worthy of the favor of praise, ■
Let it stand Sundered, far from the honor of the true light. ■ 36

If you count the letters of these verses, you will find in each verse of the former distich 34 letters, and in each verse of the latter distich 36 letters. ⁷

On the Figured Isogrammatic

The **Figured** exposition ⁸ is that which, beyond the rhythmic consonances and the equal number of letters, adds yet another new artifice to the verse — of most curious subtlety and of immense labor and time. For by the arrangement and placement of the letters set within the verses it expresses various images of figures — such as angels, men, birds, quadrupeds, trees, crosses, rings, and other figures like these: which letters of the verses, marked out in red-lead [minium] or any other color, both form the figure and unfold the history and mystery of that same figure. The scholastic poets borrowed this invention — which may appear rather the vanity of men at play than of expositors — from **Rabanus Maurus**, bishop of Mainz, whose poem, elaborated with a like skill of industry, still survives, entitled *On the Praises of the Holy Cross* [*De sanctae crucis laudibus*]. From it we set before you the following example, expressed in the figure of a cross:

[Figured poem in the shape of a cross (carmen figuratum). Each hexameter is split into a left arm-part, a central stripe of letters (printed colored, tracing the cross), and a right arm-part; the whole is read across in the ordinary way, while the central stripe read down the axis, and again from right to left, yields the two hidden verses given below. Transcribed exactly as printed:]

Upper arm of the cross

Left	Center	Right
Arbor , odore poten s,	f r o	ndoso vertice nata,
Qua s umma vere sacr	o u f	luit ordineertas,
Hortu s ditat us, & pa	r c u	i nullus in orbe est,

Left	Center	Right
Florib us & folijs	m i l	leno germine dives,
Omne s exce dens alt	a s g	rauitudine syluas,

Cross-beam

Left	Center	Right
Cùm totam piè	magnu · s u e · stit · h	onosq; decusque
Ambit verus h	onor: l a · et us loq	nitur ea voto
Stans homo li	uor ho · c n a · tio · ni	deuegat atra

Lower arm of the cross

Left	Center	Right
Demo nis ho rrend us	r e m	scire laude moveri.
Arbor sola tenens v	a r i	os virtute colores,
Purpu reo regis sub	t a c	tu roscida fulgens
A Ete rnos & rad io.st	a n t	in te nam pie vincta
A Edes t urrita, ex ho	c d u	dum es nomine beata.

[The outer hexameters, read straight across (left + center + right), come out — where legible — as e.g.: "Arbor odore potens **f**ronioso vertice nata" (A tree, mighty in fragrance, born on a leafy crown); "Hortus ditatus, & **par cui** nullus in orbe est" (An enriched garden, whose equal is nowhere in the world); "Floribus & folijs **mill**eno germine dives" (Rich in flowers and leaves with a thousandfold seed); "Arbor sola tenens **var**ios virtute colores" (A tree alone holding, by its power, colors of many kinds). The lines are contrived to force the letters of the central stripe, so several read stiffly.]

If you notice, all these verses consist of an equal number of letters; and, reading down through the middle of them, this verse is read:

Forma sacrata crucis venerando fulget amictu.

(The sacred form of the cross shines in venerable vesture.)

And again, while you move from right to left, this other:

Magnus vestit honor, latus loquor hoc nationi.

(A great honor clothes it; broadly I speak this to the nation.)

[→ p201: EXEM(PLVM)...]

¹ The Monorhythmic exposition, by an example. ² What the Dirhythmic exposition is. ³ Job 14:4. ⁴ The Isogrammatic exposition is defined. ⁵ The Simple Isogrammatic is defined. ⁶ Job 3:3. ⁷ In each verse of the first distich, 34 letters; in each of the second, 36. ⁸ What the Figured exposition is.

(Rich PDF p. 184 [printed folio 184]. A worked **Example of a Scholastic Sermon** (Robert, bishop of L'Aquila, on the Wrath of God, Eph 5:6) — with an embedded quaestio "whether there be wrath in God" and a closing jeremiad — then opens **On Scholastic Meditation**. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

An Example of a Sermon, or of a Scholastic Discourse

From Robert, bishop of L'Aquila [Roberto, episcopus Aquilanus]. A sermon on the wrath of God, upon that text, "The wrath of God cometh upon the sons of unbelief." Ephesians ch. 5. ¹

The wrath of God cometh upon the sons of unbelief: these are the words of the Doctor of the Gentiles [Paul], originally at Ephesians ch. 5, and in the epistle of the present Lord's day.

I have judged it the most effective remedy for sinners, that they may return to repentance, to set before their face beforehand the terribleness and horror of the wrath of God. For, as Augustine says in the 4th book *On Christian Doctrine*, the merciful, long-suffering of God makes very many unbelievers sin without fear, because they do not reckon God to be the avenger of their sins. ² We therefore, wishing to provide against this danger, shall in the present sermon make our discourse on the wrath of God; and although to many who have an infected taste such words are grievous, yet to the humble and devout they will seem the medicine of languishing souls. For Augustine says (23, q. 4, ch. *Piety itself*): The physician is troublesome to the raging madman, and the father to the undisciplined son; yet not for that reason is medicine to be denied to the sick, nor discipline to be withdrawn from the son. To this we are called, that we may cry out, and reprove, and detest offenses, and proclaim the dread judgments of God — for by Isaiah, ch. 58, the Lord says: *Cry aloud, cease not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare unto my people their crimes* [Isa 58:1]. For the salvation, then, and the correction of sinners we speak securely of the wrath of God: concerning which three principal mysteries are to be contemplated. ³

The first is called **Contemptibility** [the despising of it]. The second, **Terribleness**. The third, **Nearness**. But let the Virgin Mary first be saluted: *Hail Mary, full of grace*, etc.

The first mystery to be contemplated concerning the wrath of God is called **Contemptibility**. In which it is worth seeing why it is that many, when they hear men speak of the dread wrath of God, do not fear it, but rather, as experience teaches, despise it with laughter. And three principal reasons for this error can be gathered. ⁴

The **first** is called [the reason] of foolish thinking. The **second**, of false opinion. The **third**, of long-continued expectation [i.e. delay].

The first reason why the wrath of God is not feared by many is called [that] of foolish thinking: because they suppose that in God there is no wrath. Concerning whom we ask, whether in God there is wrath? ⁵ Some argue that there is not — because no passion befalls God, but wrath is a certain passion; therefore it does not befall God. And they confirm their error: because every sin is to be removed from God, but wrath is one of the seven capital vices; therefore it is to be removed from God.

Nevertheless, against those who hold thus there are authorities and sayings, whether of Sacred Scripture or of the Gentile and moral philosophers. Whence Exodus 15: *In the multitude of thy glory thou hast put down all our adversaries; thou didst send forth thy wrath, which devoured them* [Exod 15:7]. ⁶ And in ch. 32, Moses, praying to God, says: *Let thy wrath cease, and be appeasable over the wickedness of thy people* [Exod 32:12]. ⁷ And 2 Kings 22: *Great is the wrath of the Lord kindled against us* [2 Kings 22:13]. ⁸ And Deuteronomy ch. 11: *The Lord, being angry, shut up heaven, and the rains descend not* [Deut 11:17], ⁹ and the rest that follow — divine testimonies of Scripture. And Valerius Maximus, book 1: *For with slow step does the divine wrath proceed to its vengeance, and it compensates the slowness by the gravity of the punishment*. ¹⁰ And Ovid, in the *Art of Loving*:

An angry god is bent [appeased] by a beseeching voice.

And Augustine, book 18 *On the City of God*, ch. 12: For Delphic Apollo, musical games were instituted that his wrath might be appeased — the wrath by which they thought the regions of Greece were afflicted with barrenness, because they had not defended his temple, which king Danaus, when he had invaded those same lands, burned in war. And in book 1, as above, ch. 2, it is said of Juno, who was worshipped as a goddess among the Gentiles: For in Virgil, Juno is brought in as hostile to the Trojans, saying to Aeolus, king of the winds, to stir him up against them:

*A race hateful to me sails the Tyrrhenian sea,
carrying Ilium into Italy, and its vanquished household gods.*

thus he. And the same Virgil relates, at the beginning of the 1st book of the *Aeneid*, that on account of the wrath of Juno Aeneas was made a fugitive with the rest of the Trojans, saying: ¹¹

*Arms and the man I sing, who first from the shores of Troy,
an exile by fate, came to Italy and the Lavinian
shores; much was he tossed both on lands and on the deep,
by the force of the gods above, on account of the mindful wrath of savage Juno, etc.*

For the solution, then, of the objections, three things are first to be noted — according to Bonaventure on the 3rd [book] of the *Sentences*, dist. 33, and Richard [of Middleton] on the 4th, dist. 26, and Thomas [Aquinas], part 1, q. 20: that whenever anything is said of God which in us denotes a passion, it is said of God according to the effect, and not according to the defect of passion. ¹² Hatred therefore, love, wrath, and the like, which in us are passions, are said in God according to the effect as regards us: so that He is then said to hate, when He shows us the effect of hatred; then to be angry, when He displays to us the effect of wrath. But God Himself remains stable, without passion — and the rest that follow.

We say therefore that God, who is most merciful, without change of Himself, without passion, without sin, becomes angry when His own justice requires it, often trampling down sinners obstinate in [their] wrath when He shows them the effect of [His] wrath. Hence come wars, pestilences, tempests, hailstorms, barrenness of the earth, famines, earthquakes, terrors from heaven, and great signs. O presumptuous sinners, you have now heard that your opinion is false: for you were saying that God is not angry; and behold, so many proclamations of the Scriptures cry out that the wrath of God is to be feared by all — and not only to be feared, but that it is also most grievous and most near. O, if I could ascend into such a watchtower, from which I might behold all Italy, and all could hear my voice — truly I would cry out: O Italy, weep! O Italy,

fear! O Italy, beware, lest on account of thy obstinacy the wrath of God rage against thee! He Himself has called thee for many years; He has endowed thee with ampler benefits; He has sent to thee His preachers; He has terrified thee with signs and prodigies; thou hast felt earthquakes, pestilences, and the barren state of the seasons; God has threatened thee. Thus surely He did this, that He might lead thee to repentance — and thou art made harder day by day in [thy] sins; and, persevering in malice, now everywhere public usury is practiced, all things are defiled with the filthiest vices of the flesh and with shameful Sodomy; the pride of pomps has now seized all cities and lands; blasphemy, perjuries against God, lies, injustices, violences, oppressions of the poor, and the like superabound. O comely Italy, O region full of riches! Do not despise God, do not exasperate His majesty. I exhort therefore all peoples that they cease from their evil way, lest perchance, if they persevere in it, the wrath and indignation of God suddenly come upon them — from which may He Himself free us, who is blessed and praiseworthy through the infinite ages of ages. Amen.

On Scholastic Meditation

Of scholastic Meditation there are two kinds: the **Lowly** [Plain] and the **Sublime**.¹³ The **Lowly**, which for simple and humble read[ers] [→ p202: -ers...]

¹ Ephesians 5:6. ² Some sin, reckoning that God is not the avenger of their sins. ³ Isaiah 58:1. ⁴ For three causes the wrath of God is despised. ⁵ Whether there be wrath in God. ⁶ Exodus 15:7. ⁷ Exodus 32:12. ⁸ 2 Kings 22 [Vulgate 4 Kings 22:13]. ⁹ Deuteronomy 11:17. ¹⁰ God compensates the slowness of vengeance by the gravity of the punishment. ¹¹ Virgil, Aeneid, book 1. ¹² Of God it is said according to the effect, not according to the defect of passion — which in us denotes a passion. ¹³ Of scholastic meditation there are two kinds.

(Rich PDF p. 185 [printed folio 185]. **On Scholastic Meditation** (the Lowly and the Sublime kinds), with a worked **Lowly-meditation example** from Ludolph the Carthusian on the flight into Egypt; Sixtus then notes the ancient rhetorical expositors (esp. Philo). Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

[continuing *On Scholastic Meditation*, from p201]

...read[ers] it is the more accommodated: it is occupied chiefly about the historical contemplation of the matter, setting before the eyes the things said and done in the past as if they were present; and, that it may make a greater impression on the mind, it represents to the imagination of the reader not only those things which are written in the divine letters and which certainly happened, but also those things which, according to the variety of places, persons, and times, could have happened concerning the matters narrated in the Holy Scriptures. Yet those who use this form of meditating advise that their thoughts be not so taken as things undoubtedly asserted and firmly defined, but as the pious and devout contemplations of the meditating mind.

But the **Sublime** kind of meditation, which is also called **Mystical Theology**,¹ and is known only to those who have been worn [practiced] in Scholastic theology, is occupied almost always in the anagogical explanation of the Scriptures. It contains certain abstruse and sublime thoughts, drawn from the inmost recesses of Scholastic theology and expressed in scholastic language — by which those men are chiefly moved, and are excited to admiration and love of the divine goodness, who have been consumed in scholastic studies by long exercise. Of both kinds the examples are these.²

An Example of a Lowly Meditation

From the Meditations on the Life of Christ of Ludolph the Carthusian [Ludolphus/Landulphus Carthusianus], upon the words of Matthew, ch. 2.

He withdrew into Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod, etc. [Matt 2:14–15]

They went, therefore — Mary and Joseph, with the child — to a certain city of Egypt which is called Heliopolis; and there, renting some little house, they dwelt for seven years as strangers and pilgrims, poor and needy. But here there occurs a beautiful, pious, and very compassionate meditation. For whence, and

how, did they live for so long a time? Did they beg? But it is read of the Lady [Mary] that with distaff and needle she sought for herself the necessities by [her] thread. She sewed, then, and spun — the Lady of the world, the lover of poverty. In every way these greatly loved poverty, and kept faith with it perfectly unto death. But did she go about through the houses asking for cloth, and other things on which she might work? For this had to become known through the neighborhood; otherwise she would have sat idle from such works, because those women could not divine [guess her need]. But also, when Jesus began to be five years old, or thereabouts — did not He too carry His mother's errands, seeking for her those things on which she could work? For she had no other squire [attendant]. And did He not carry back the finished works, asking on His mother's behalf the payment and the price? Was not the boy Jesus, the Son of the most high God, made to blush at such things — and the mother too, in sending Him? But what if sometimes, when He had delivered the work and asked the price, some proud, quarrelsome, and talkative woman answered insultingly, took the finished work, drove Him out without payment, and so He returned home empty? O how many and how great are the injuries done to strangers — which the Lord came not to avoid, but to undergo! What also, if sometimes, returning home and suffering hunger, after the manner of children He asked for bread, and the mother had nothing whence to give it? Were not her inward parts shaken at these and similar such things? She consoled her son with words, and provided by work as she could, and perhaps sometimes withheld from her own food to reserve it for the son. And if it was necessary to seek food from the work of the hands, what shall we say of clothing? What of the utensils — namely beds, and other things needful within the house? Did she have double sets? did she have superfluous ones? did she have curious [fancy] ones? These are against poverty; and even if she could have had them, she, the lover of poverty, would not have wished them. But did the Lady, in sewing or doing other works, make curious [fancy] works after the manner of certain women? Far be it — for this is dangerous, and a very great fault. Behold, then, now the Lady, busy in her labors and works — spinning, cutting, sewing, weaving — how she does them faithfully and humbly, with diligence, and nonetheless keeps the governance over her son and her house, and, according to her power, always attends to vigils and prayers, and to have compassion on Him with all her affection. And consider that she, the Lady of the kingdom, did not have the kingdom of God altogether for free. But holy Joseph too, the carpenter [worker in wood], himself works something in the craft of wood.

Whence, since matter for compassion presents itself, at last, when you have spent some delay with them, ask leave to depart; and, having received a blessing — first from the boy Jesus, then from the mother, afterward from Joseph, with knees bent — with tears and great compassion bid them farewell: for like exiles from their fatherland without any cause, and banished men, they remain to sojourn there for seven years, destined to live in the sweat of their brow, etc.

These things Ludolph [takes] from St. Bonaventure, who in his book of *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, ch. 14, admonishing the reader not to despise the humility of meditations of this kind, thus writes: **These things, and things like these, in this place concerning the exile of the boy Jesus you can meditate; and become a little one with the little one Jesus, nor lightly esteem such humble things, and to meditate about Him in things which seem childish. For they seem to give devotion, to increase love, to kindle fervor, to induce compassion, to confer purity and simplicity, to nourish and preserve the vigor of humility and poverty, to make familiarity and conformity, and to lift up hope. For to ascend to sublime things we are not able; but that which is foolish of God is wiser than men, and that which is weak, is mightier [1 Cor 1:25]. The meditation of such things seems also to take away pride, to enervate cupidity, and to confound curiosity. You see how many good things come thence? Be therefore, as I said, a little one with the little one, that you may grow with Him as He grows, and follow Him whithersoever He goes, and gaze upon His face always.** Thus he.

The ancient expositors seem not to have shrunk from this form of explaining — especially those more eloquent ones, whose chief care was to bring in a clearer and more delightful elucidation of the divine

scripture, [feigning], according to the laws of the Rhetoricians, certain sayings or deeds which — according to the diversity of the characters described in the sacred letters — might seem able to have been said or done. Among these, Philo the Jew, wonderfully delighted with the composition of this kind of explanation, very often fashioned little speeches of various kinds, put forth in the person of those whose virtues or vices he especially strove to express. Of these we have decided to set down one here for the sake of example, that from the comparison of it it may appear what likeness, and what difference, there is between the artifice of the ancient Rhetoricians and of the recent scholastics.

[→ p203: EXEM(PLVM)...]

¹ What Mystical Theology is. ² Matthew 2:14, 15.

(Rich PDF p. 186 [printed folio 186]. A **Rhetorical meditation** from Philo (Jacob's lament, Gen 37) and a **Sublime meditation** from Denis the Carthusian on "I am who I am" (Exod 3:14); then opens the last method, **Method 24 — Pandesia**. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)

An Example of a Rhetorical Meditation

From the book of Philo the Jew, On the Life of the Civil Man, upon that [text] of Genesis 37: They took Joseph's tunic; which when the father had seen, he said: "It is my son's tunic; a most wicked beast hath devoured him"; and, rending his garments, he mourned for a long time. [Gen 37:31–33] ¹

But when it was brought to the father — not what was true (that the son had been sold), but that fabrication about his being consumed by beasts — the news struck his ears, and at the same time the spectacle struck his eyes; for the tunic had been brought torn, and foully bloodied. Troubled with grief, he was struck dumb for a long space of time, not even able to lift his head, overwhelmed by so great a calamity. At last, suddenly bursting into tears which poured out as from a fountain, he beat his breast and, tearing his face, rending his garments [cried]: Not so much do I grieve for thy death, my son, as for the loss of a tomb. For if a tomb had befallen thee in thine own land, and consolation were not lacking to me, I would dutifully have sat by thee, sick, before death; I would have bestowed the last kisses on thee, dying; I would have closed thine eyes; I would have bathed thee, dead, with tears; I would have borne thee out magnificently; I would have omitted nothing of the just funeral rites. And even if thou hadst died abroad, I would have said to myself: The debt of nature has been paid, grieve not. The living have their own fatherlands; of the dead, all the earth is a tomb; all men are of brief span — for he who was most long-lived, how little time did he live, if you compare it to eternity? Or, if thou wert altogether slain by violence and treachery, it would have been a lighter thing to be destroyed by the hands of men who at least, pitying the dead, would have covered him with earth and entombed the corpse — or, [even] had they been most cruel, what more could they have done than to cast him out unburied? Whom soon some passing traveler, mindful of the common nature and touched by mercy, would have buried. But now, as it is reported, thou hast fed the savage and carnivorous beasts, and hast glutted them with my [own] bowels. Hitherto I have drained many unlooked-for labors; in these miseries I am abundantly practiced — wandering, sojourning, serving for hire, bearing hard commands, harassed even to the peril of life by those from whom I least ought [to have suffered it]. Many things I have seen, many I have heard, many grievous things I have suffered, by which, schooled to patience, I have endured. But nothing is more intolerable than the present chance, which has overturned and cast down all the strength of my mind: for what mourning can be greater, or more miserable? The boy's garment has been brought to the father — of him[self] not a limb, not a fragment, not even the least remnant: the beasts have devoured the whole; nothing is left to be carried to the tomb; nor have I even received a garment, save that at the sight of it the memory of grief may break out afresh, that never can forgetfulness of so great a calamity creep in. Thus did he bewail his lot.

An Example of a Sublime Meditation

*On that saying of Exodus, ch. 3, "I am who I am," from the meditations of Denis the Carthusian [Dionysius Carthusianus].*²

O Being [Ens], in every genus of beings the first and the supreme — uncreated Being, uncaused, fountal Being, in the highest degree simple, most sincere [pure], formally infinite, and totally perfect: to Thee alone truly, fully, and properly does it belong to *be* in a perpetual and unfailing eternity. Whence, to Moses asking what Thy name was, Thou rightly didst answer, **I AM WHO I AM**. Truly, O superblessed, O infinite and uncircumscribed Being, Thy being — like an immense sea flowing into itself — comprehends in itself most eminently all the perfection and eminence of every being; and to all beings it grants to each its own being and existence. Thou, O most superglorious fountal Being, dost so subsist, pure in Thy purity and immense simplicity, that nothing of the imperfect is mingled to Thee: Thou art [Thy] being, and the same is [Thy] essence, nor is there any difference of the two in Thee. Thou who art ideal Being, subsisting through Thyself, first, one, and altogether simple. So great is the excellence of Thy most-praiseworthy being that created essence, compared with it, is as though it were utterly nothing and empty, and our subsistence is as a most vain shadow that passes away. Thou who art always the same Thyself, O final Being, into whom all beings are finally resolved — [beings] led by Thee from non-being to being — fulfill the imperfect [portion] of our entity, take from us the non-being of our defects, pour into us the true being of Thy grace: that after this mortal being shall have been laid aside by us, we may rest in the beatific object of Thine essence — to whom [be] praise and glory. Amen.

On Pandesia. Method 24.

Pandesia, or the Pandesian Method,³ is the broadest and most copious elucidation of the divine scripture — gathering, either from all or from the principal Methods of exposition, the more powerful and the best of each into one most-enriched body of explanation, not without keen judgment: in which nothing is omitted that could contribute to a whole, perspicuous, and most-rich knowledge, examination, proof, and adornment of the matter to be explained — [resources] summoned from everywhere, out of every variety of tongues, disciplines, and arts, with their riches and ornaments, to illustrate, adorn, and amplify the dignity of the matter to be explained. Now we have chosen to call an exposition of this kind **Pandesia**, because it is like a common banquet, prepared with the parts of each publicly contributed, and furnished with so great an abundance and variety of foods of every kind that nothing in it could be desired to fill up the pleasure of all the senses: for such a banquet is called by the Greeks Πανδεσία. There seem in a certain way to have approached the amplitude of this [kind of] explanation those things which St. Augustine, explaining the first three chapters of Genesis, gathered together in ten homilies and in twenty books — overflowing with the most affluent abundance of all divine things. An example of the present Method the ingenious reader will be able to prepare for himself out of all the Methods already described, drawn together into one.

[→ p204: PER...]

¹ Genesis 37:31, 33. ² Exodus 3:14. ³ What Pandesia is.

*(Rich PDF p. 187 [printed folio 187]. The close of Book III: the **Peroration**, then **Sixtus's Judgment on which expositors to prefer** (modeled on Alciato's verse-ranking of the jurists, and answered by Sixtus's own verses). Set full-width. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)*

Peroration

These things concerning the Methods of explaining the sacred letters — written out by no one before us — we have, after our fashion, comprehended in this third book of the Holy Library. In which, if you should

perhaps find any formulas of explanation set forth superfluously, or explained with superfluous words, or at greater length than you would have wished, in demonstrations and examples — know, friendly reader, that we have expended this kind of labor not only for the learned and practiced, but also for the unlearned, and especially for beginners [tyros], to whom very many things in this kind would be unknown and utterly unheard of, which to you, perhaps, and to others like you, have long since been clearer than the noonday light. Therefore take in good part whatever has been sweated out by us in this matter; and embrace with willing mind at least this our attempt, if not the thing itself, receiving with a cheerful brow the following judgment, which — as the final colophon [coronis] of this book — we append for you concerning the catholic expositors of the divine volumes.

Which Expositors of Divine Scripture the Students of Sacred Letters Ought to Choose Above the Rest, and to Provide for Themselves

The Judgment of Friar Sixtus of Siena

When once I was reading the *Parerga Iuris* [Legal Byways], written by Andrea Alciato, the prince of the jurisconsults of our age, among other things I found his Judgment concerning the greatest interpreters of the civil laws — that is, concerning the usefulness which each one could obtain from the principal expositors of the laws. This he had pronounced in these verses, approved by the assent of all the learned:

*In law, compared with the rest, the first
place Bartolus will hold.
For his frequent [use in] cases, the forensic [practitioner]
upholds Baldus.
By no means to be neglected, most of all by beginners,
is the exposition of Castrensis [Paulus de Castro].
The Clashing-Rocks [Symplegades] of opinions the more safely
wilt thou overcome, with Alexander [Tartagni] for [thy] guide.
For [good] order, and by the name of light [clarity],
Jason [de Mayno] is to be consulted by those in haste.
But if anyone add other interpreters to these,
he more truly burdens than honors [them].*

Let it be permitted me too — whatever sort I myself may be — by the example of this most illustrious man to pass judgment on the chief interpreters of the divine laws and of the Holy Scriptures: not upon their doctrine (for this I, a manikin of the lowest class, ought not to dare), but upon the fruit which each one can gather, the greater, from their writings. All these things having been weighed with what diligence we could, we think it can rightly be done in this manner:

*History, drawn from the Hebrew and Greek fountains,
thou shalt learn, with Jerome for [thy] guide.
Allegories, and the Anagogical [sense], will unlock
Origen [and] Ambrose.
Senses fit for the forming of morals will expound
Chrysostom [and] Gregory.
In doubtful matters, and in places sunk in deep darkness,*

Aurelius [Augustine] will bring light.

But the brief and easy exposition of the Lyran [Nicholas of Lyra]

is not to be scorned by the beginner.

[→ p205: Tituli...]

*(Rich PDF p. 188 [printed folio 188]. A full-page **synoptic bracket-diagram** of the whole art of exposition (its three parts — Definitive, Inventive, Dispositive — and their subdivisions), rendered here as nested lists. Running head: BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTAE.)*

The Titles of the Whole Art of Expounding the Sacred Volumes, Explained in the Holy [Third] Book

The art of expounding the sacred volumes has three parts — the Definitive, the Inventive, and the Dispositive. Of which:

- **The Definitive** is that which describes the senses and expositions of divine Scripture. Now, of divine scripture there are:
 - **Two senses**, namely:
 - **Literal**, which is twofold:
 - Proper
 - Metaphorical
 - **Mystical**, which is threefold:
 - Moral
 - Allegorical
 - Anagogical
 - **Two kinds of exposition**, namely:
 - **Universal**, which is fourfold:
 - Historical
 - Moral
 - Allegorical
 - Anagogical
 - **Particular**, which is threefold:
 - Elemental
 - Physical
 - Prophetic
- **The Inventive** is that which teaches to inquire into and to find the senses of divine scripture already described; whose species are:
 - Tropical
 - Topical
 - Chronological
 - Physical
 - Mathematical
 - Ethical

- **The Dispositive**, or Methodical, is that which reduces the found expositions of the senses into various Methods — of which the principal are these —

Which you see noted on the immediately following page.

[→ p206: Transla(tio) — the list of the 24 Methods]

(Rich PDF p. 189 [printed folio 189]. The synoptic diagram concluded: the Dispositive part's full list of the 24 Methods with their sub-species, as a nested list. This is the last page of Book III. Running head: LIBER TERTIVS.)

The Twenty-Four Methods of Exposition

1. **Translation** (Translatio): Tetrapla; Hexapla; Octapla.
2. **Stigmatic** (Stigmatica).
3. **Syllabic** (Syllabica).
4. **Partition** (Partitio): Dividing; Collecting.
5. **Epitome** (Epitome).
6. **Eclogue / Excerpt** (Egloge):

- Mirror (Speculum) / Commonplaces (Loci communes) — [these being] without exposition, [or] with exposition

- Harmony (Harmonia): Literal; Numeral

7. **Notariac** (Notariaca).
8. **Paraphrase** (Paraphrasis): Tighter [more compressed]; Broader [fuller].
9. **Lexical** (Lexice).
10. **Annotation** (Annotatio): Marginal; Interlinear.
11. **Commentary** (Commentatio).
12. **Sciographic** (Sciographica).
13. **Tabular** (Tabellaria).
14. **Narration** (Enarratio): Homily; Declamation.
15. **Collation** (Collatio): Continuous; Interrupted.
16. **Meditation** (Meditatio).
17. **Poetic** (Poëma): Verse (Carmineum); Prose-Verse (Prosocarmineum).
18. **Epistle** (Epistola).
19. **Inquiry** (Inquisitio): Problem; Question; Disputation.
20. **Accumulation** (Coacervatio): of senses; of commonplaces.
21. **Thematic** (Thematica).
22. **Collection** (Collectanea):

- **Rhapsody** (Rapsodia):
- Hagiographic
- Ecclesiastical: Anonymous; Named (Proonyma)
- Ethnic: Catena; Cento
- **Syllegma**
- **Abbreviation**

23. **Scholastic** (Scholastica):

- **Old** (Vetus)
- **New** (Nova):
- Concordances (Concordantia)
- Dictionaries (Dictionaria)
- Histories (Historica)
- Postils (Postillaris)
- Question-books (Quaestionaria)
- Lectures (Lecturalis)
- Compendia (Compendiaria):
- Prose (Prosaica): Universal; Particular — [Particular:] Columnar; Tree (Arborea)
- Metrical (Metrica)
- Metrical (Metrica):

- Verse (Carminea):
- Rhythmic (Rythmica)
- Leonine (Leonina): Monorhythmic; Dirhythmic; Isogrammatic [Equal-letter] — [Isogrammatic:] Simple; Pictured (Picturata)
- Prose-Verse (Prosocarminea)
- Sermon-books (Sermonaria)
- Meditations (Meditativa): Lowly; Sublime

24. **Pandesian** (Pandesiaca).
