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PETER MARTYR AND THE RABBINIC BIBLE  
IN THE INTERPRETATION  
OF LAMENTATIONS

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Faculty of Religious Studies  
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November 1995

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of  
Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy.

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PETER MARTYR AND THE RABBINIC BIBLE ON LAMENTATIONS

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a contribution to the study of the biblical interpretation of the Italian Reformer Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562). Specifically researched is Martyr's use of the Jewish resources of the 1525 Bomberg Bible in his interpretation of Lamentations, Martyr's earliest surviving commentary. The form of this investigation is as follows: first, an introduction to the use of Jewish resources by Christian students of scripture; secondly, an annotated translation of Martyr's Lamentations commentary; thirdly, conclusions concerning Martyr's use of Jewish commentary. After a select bibliography, there are appendices which include a synopsis of sixteenth century Latin translations of Lamentations and an annotated translation of the Jewish commentators on Lamentations in the 1525 Bomberg Bible. An argument will be made that Martyr drew much useful philology from the Jewish commentators but also unwittingly absorbed considerable non-philological exegesis in order to embellish his commentary and on occasion to evade the results of philological exegesis.

## RESUME

Cette thèse est une contribution à l'étude de l'interprétation biblique du réformateur italien Pierre Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562), spécifiquement comment Martyr s'est servi des ressources juives dans la Bible Bomberg de 1525 pour son interprétation de Lamentations (ceci est son commentaire le plus ancien encore existant). La forme de cette investigation sera la suivante: premièrement, une introduction à l'utilisation des ressources juives par les commentateurs chrétiens; deuxièmement, une traduction annotée du commentaire de Martyr sur Lamentations; troisièmement, des conclusions sur l'utilisation des commentateurs juifs par Martyr. Après avoir présenté une bibliographie, nous ajoutons des appendices parmi lesquelles sont un tableau synoptique des traductions en latin de Lamentations faites dans le seizième siècle et les traductions des commentaires sur Lamentations de la Bible Bomberg. Selon nous, Martyr épuisa toute philologie de ces commentateurs et absorba aussi inconsciemment beaucoup d'exégèse non-littérale pour donner plus de détails intéressants au commentaire et parfois pour échapper au sens littéral.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Résumé.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
Key to Short-Form Bibliographic Citations.....	vi
Introduction.....	viii
1. Christian Use of Jewish Resources in Biblical Study	
1.1 Bibliography.....	1
1.2 Jewish Biblical Study before Bomberg.....	8
1.3 Bomberg Bible.....	36
1.4 Pre-Sixteenth Century Christian Use of Jewish Resources for Biblical Studies.....	44
1.5 Reformed Hebraism.....	70
1.6 Martyr's Hebraism.....	116
2. Martyr's Lamentations Commentary	
2.0 Introduction.....	141
2.1.1 Chapter One, Verses 1-11.....	153
2.1.2 Chapter One, Verses 12-22.....	202
2.2.1 Chapter Two, Verses 1-10.....	251
2.2.2 Chapter Two, Verses 11-22.....	284
2.3.1 Chapter Three, Verses 1-36 .....	314
2.3.2 Chapter Three, Verses 37-66.....	361
2.4.1 Chapter Four, Verses 1-11.....	385
2.4.2 Chapter Four, Verses 12-22.....	412
2.5 Chapter Five.....	446
3. Conclusions	
3.1 Martyr's Hebraism in Lamentations.....	480
3.2 Martyr's Use of the Bomberg Commentators...	512
3.3 Contributions and Concerns.....	533
Bibliography.....	536
Appendices	
1. Synopsis of Latin Lamentations Translations	
2. Latin Text of Martyr's Lamentations Commentary	
3. Bomberg Bible Text of Lamentations	
4. Translation of Bomberg Bible Commentaries.....	I
Rashi's Commentary on Lamentations	
Chapter One.....	III
Chapter Two.....	XXI
Chapter Three.....	XXXVII
Chapter Four.....	LIX
Chapter Five.....	LXXI
Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Lamentations	
Chapter One.....	LXXVI
Chapter Two.....	XCIII
Chapter Three.....	CI
Chapter Four.....	CXXI
Perush's Commentary on Lamentations	
Chapter One.....	CXXX
Chapter Two.....	CXLI
Chapter Three.....	CXLIX
Chapter Four.....	CLXIII
Chapter Five.....	CLXXII
5. Texts of Lyra, Oecolampadius, Pellican, Münster	

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# KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT-FORM BIBLIOGRAPHIC CITATIONS

A&G: Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar for Schools and College, 1983.

Albrektson: Bertil Albrektson, Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations, Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1963.

BDB: the Brown, Driver and Briggs's edition of William Gesenius' Hebrew dictionary (A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament), 1968.

BHS: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, 1977.

Bomberg: the Rabbinic Bible published by Daniel Bomberg in Venice, 1524-25.

Buber: Salomon Buber, Midrasch Echa Rabbati 1899.

CR: Corpus Reformatorum, 1959 reprint.

ET: English translation.

Even-Shoshan m: Abraham Even-Shoshan, המלון החדש, Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1992.

Even-Shoshan k: Abraham Even-Shoshan, A New Concordance of the Bible, Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1981.

G-D: the proper name of God in the Old Testament.

GKC: Gesenius, Kautzsch, Cowley. Hebrew Grammar. (cited by section).

Greimas: A.-J. Greimas, Dictionnaire de l'ancien français jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle, Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1968.

Greenberg: Joseph Greenberg, Foreign Words in the Bible Commentary of Rashi, s.d.

Hillers: Lamentations (Anchor Bible), 2nd edition, 1992.

Holladay: William L. Holladay, A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971.

Ibn Ezra: the first section of Ibn Ezra's commentary on Lamentations as found in the 1525 Bomberg Bible.

Ibn Janah: Jonah Ibn Janah, ספר השרשים, tr. Jehudah Ibn Tibbon, Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1969.

Ibn Saruq: Menahem Ben Jacob Ibn Saruq, מחברת מנחם, Jerusalem, 1967 (1854).

Jastrow: Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Talmud.

Jerome: the Vulgate text as found in Pellican's Commentaria Bibliorum.

Katan: Moshe Katan, אוצר הלעזים, 1990.

KBL: Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament, 3rd ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967.

Krinksi: Isaac Krinski, חמשה חומשי תורה.

Lam.R. (Lev.R., S.of S.R.etc.): the Soncino English Midrash Rabbah Lamentations (Leviticus, Song of Solomon, etc), 1983.



**L&S:** Charlton Lewis and Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, 1969.

**LC:** Peter Martyr's Loci Communes; LC/CP is Anthony Marten's English translation (cited by chapter and section).

**Levine:** Étan Levine, The Aramaic Version of Lamentations, New York: Hermon Press, 1967.

**LXX:** the Septuagint.

**Münster 1534 Bible:** Sebastian Münster's Latin-Hebrew Old Testament, Basel, 1534-35.

**MT:** Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible.

**OT:** Old Testament

**Perush:** the second part of the commentary of "Ibn Ezra" in the 1525 Bomberg Bible.

**PL:** J.-P. Migne's Latin patrology (first, not the Grenier edition).

**Rashi:** Rashi's commentary on Lamentations as found in the 1525 Bomberg Bible (unless context indicates otherwise).

**Targum:** the Targum of Lamentations, the English translation of Levine, 1975.

**TB:** Talmud Bavli, the Babylonian Talmud, quotations from the Soncino Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, new edition, 1990.

**Waltke-O'Connor:** Bruce K. Waltke, Michael Patrick O'Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Syntax, 1990.

**Zohori:** Menaḥem Zohori, מקורות רש"י: חמש מגילות, Jerusalem: Dani Sefarim, Kanah, 1993.

### Introduction: Aim, Method, Form and Style

The Italian reformer Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562) has not been the object of scholarly research until recently, even though his colleagues in the Reformed churches held him in highest esteem as a biblical scholar and theologian. There has yet to be written a monograph-length study on his biblical interpretation. This aim of this dissertation is to help fill that gap by investigating the area of his biblical scholarship that has been least explored: his work as an Old Testament commentator, and more specifically, his use of the Jewish commentators in Bomberg's 1525 Rabbinic Bible.

The method of investigation is a case study approach; that is, I have studied Martyr's use of the Bomberg Bible's Lamentations commentary in Martyr's own commentary on Lamentations.

The form of my research is this. First I present the historical background to the Bomberg Bible's commentary and Martyr's Reformed exegesis. Upon this basis I provide a translation of Martyr's commentary and include in my annotations on it the passages from the Bomberg commentary to which Martyr refers or alludes. After Martyr's commentary I offer my conclu-

sions on Martyr's Hebraism in general and his use of the Jewish commentators in particular. As appendices to this dissertation I have included some of my working papers and copies of printed texts only available in the largest research libraries: 1. a synopsis of sixteenth century Latin translations of Lamentations, 2. the Latin text of Martyr's Lamentations lectures, 3. the Lamentations pages from the Bomberg Bible, 4. an annotated translation of the Bomberg Bible commentaries on Lamentations, 5. Lyra and Oecolampadius' commentary on Lamentations 1, the introductions and Lamentations 1 commentary to Pellican's Commentarii bibliorum, and the introductions and Lamentations commentary from Münster's 1534 Latin-Hebrew Bible.

Now a brief word on matters of style. I have made reference to works cited in two ways. The abbreviated form, the key to which is just above, is for works frequently cited. Other bibliographical references use standard form, except that I have refrained from using *ibid* or *op. cit.*, preferring simply to use a shortened form of an author-title entry. As to long quotations, they are all indented, whether these occur in the text itself or in the footnotes. All direct quotations of scripture are in capitals. Indenting and using magiscules avoids a cumbersome system of quotation marks within quotation marks. The citations from the Bomberg commentators present particular problems. Often they are too obscure to be readily comprehensible to any but

experts. Where this is the case, after a literal translation of the commentary, I add a paraphrase and/or explanation of it.

As for bibliography relevant to my research, I have saved discussion of it for the first chapter of my first section which follows.

1. Christian Use of Jewish Resources in Biblical Study

1.1 Bibliography

Important research has been done on the influence of Jewish exegetical writings on Christian biblical studies before the eighteenth century. Previous to the rise of Jewish philological commentary in the Middle Ages, Christians in the Roman Empire made use of the traditional Jewish exegesis, which was later compiled into collections known as "midrashim." Jay Braverman gives a bibliographically based summary of research in this area in an introduction to his work Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>1</sup>

During the Middle Ages Christian scholars made significant use of the philologically oriented Jewish commentators. Beryl Smalley shows this in her investigations into the Medieval "School of St. Victor," especially in her classic work, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> The most detailed work on Christian use of a Rabbinic commentator is Herman Hailperin's

<sup>1</sup> Jay Braverman, Jerome's COMMENTARY ON DANIEL: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series; v. 7, (Washington, DC, The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1978), Preface, pp. xi-xiii; Introduction, pp. 1-14.

<sup>2</sup> Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, edition no. 2, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952).

study of Nicholas de Lyre's appropriation of Rashi in Rashi and the Christian Scholars; Hailperin's study remains a model for the investigation of the Christian use of a Jewish commentator.<sup>3</sup> Another significant study is Secundum Salomonem: a Thirteenth Century Latin Commentary on the Song of Solomon; this is a critical edition of a Christian medieval adaptation of Rashi's commentary on the Song of Solomon.<sup>4</sup>

Research has also been done on the use of Jewish exegesis in Christian commentaries of the Renaissance-Reformation era. Although he focuses more on Cabalistic works than the Jewish commentators, Jerome Friedman's The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia is an excellent introduction to Christian Hebraism.<sup>5</sup> Louis Israel Newman's close analysis of Servetus' use of Rabbinic materials in his Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements is notable in that he attempts a doctrinal comparison of Servetus and

<sup>3</sup> Herman Hailperin, Rashi and the Christian Scholars, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1963), a monograph presentation of his thesis Intellectual Relations Between Christians and Jews, Described Mainly According to the Evidences of Biblical Exegesis, with Special Reference to Rashi (1040-1105) and Nicolaus de Lyra (1270-1349), dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1933.

<sup>4</sup> Secundum Salomonem: a Thirteenth Century Latin Commentary on the Song of Solomon, edited with an introduction by Sarah Kamin, Avrom Saltman, (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan Univ.Pr., 1989).

<sup>5</sup> Jerome Friedman, The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983).

his Jewish sources.<sup>6</sup> Christoph Zürcher evaluated Conrad Pellican's use of the Jewish commentators in his Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich, 1526-1556.<sup>7</sup>

Beginning with his doctoral dissertation, An Introduction to the Psalms Commentary of Martin Bucer,<sup>8</sup> R.

Gerald Hobbs has done the most to investigate the Hebraism of the circle of Reformation exegetes among whom Martyr moved.<sup>9</sup> G. Lloyd Jones has scattered references to the Christian use of the Jewish commentaries in his The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a Third Language.<sup>10</sup> Some of the essays in L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance are also helpful, especially Max Engammare's article, "Olivetan et les

<sup>6</sup> Louis Israel Newman, Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements, Columbia University Oriental Studies <vol. XXIII>, (New York: AMS Press, 1966 <Columbia University Press, 1925>), pp. 538-609.

<sup>7</sup> Christoph Zürcher, Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich, 1526-1556, (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), pp. 153-159.

<sup>8</sup> Strassbourg, 1971, especially "Bucer and Jewish exegetical traditions." pp. 241-259.

<sup>9</sup> Because of the key role of Bucer in the formation of Martyr's scripture exposition, most often cited is Hobbs' thesis; also cited are "Strasbourg et l'école rhénane d'exégèse (1525-1540): 2. l'hébreu, le Judaïsme et la théologie," in Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, v. 135, no. 1, 1989, pp. 42-53; "Monito amica: Pellican à Capiton sur le danger des lectures rabbiniques," in Horizons européens de la Réforme en Alsace: mélanges offerts à Jean Rott pour son 65e anniversaire, Marijn de Kroon, Marc Lienhard, <eds>, (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1980), pp. 81-93; "Martin Bucer on Psalm 22: a Study in the Application of Rabbinic Exegesis by a Christian Hebraist," Histoire de l'exégèse au XVIIe siècle: textes du Colloque international tenu à Genève en 1976, Oliver Fatio, Pierre Fraenkel <eds>, (Genève: Droz, 1978), pp.144-163.

<sup>10</sup> G. Lloyd Jones, The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a Third Language, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

commentaires rabbiniques."<sup>11</sup>

Christian use of the Rabbinic Bible continued beyond the Reformation era. Aaron Katchen and Peter van Rooden's studies in Dutch Christian Hebraism of the seventeenth century have other foci than the Rabbinic Bible.<sup>12</sup> More helpful is Stephen G. Burnett's soon to be published thesis, The Christian Hebraism of Johann Buxtorf (1564-1629).<sup>13</sup> Mention should particularly be made of the careful work of Harris Francis Fletcher on John Milton's use of the Jewish commentary contained in the Rabbinic Bibles; beginning with Milton's Semitic Studies Fletcher carefully identified what Jewish commentary it was to which Milton alluded and how he made use of it.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Engammare demonstrated that the French Bible translator Olivetan, though he cited the classical Jewish Bible commentators quite often, was incapable of reading them to any great extent and got most of his references from secondary sources: Max Engammare, "Olivetan et les commentaires rabbiniques: Historiographie et recherche d'une utilisation de la littérature rabbinique par un hébraïsant chrétien du premier tiers du XVIème siècle," in L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance, Ilana Zinguer <ed>, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Aaron L. Katchen, Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' MISHNEH TORAH, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 181-2, mentions Dionysius Vossius' use of the Rabbinic Bible; Peter T. van Rooden, Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591-1648), Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), pp. 115-6, mentions Sixtinus Amama's counsel to use a Rabbinic Bible.

<sup>13</sup> 1990, especially pp. 221-225 on censorship of the Jewish commentaries.

<sup>14</sup> In Milton's Semitic Studies and Some Manifestations of Them in His Poetry (New York: Gordian Press, 1966, reprint of the 1926 ed.), Fletcher introduces his Milton's Semitic studies; of



As far as I have been able to determine, however, there is yet to be a detailed analysis of the use of the Rabbinic Bible's commentators in the exegesis of sixteenth century Christian scholars. Much work remains to be done on the Reformation use of the philology of Rabbinic Bibles. It therefore comes as no surprise that, as was stated above, no detailed research has been done on Martyr's use of Jewish biblical study. In fact, compared to the better known figures of the Reformation, relatively little research has been done on Martyr.<sup>15</sup> Since we lack a comprehensive study of Martyr's biblical interpretation, I will most often be obliged to cite Martyr's works rather than secondary literature. As a case study, most of my references to Martyr will be from his Lamentations com-

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particular interest is how widespread Hebrew learning was in England at the time of the Puritan revolution. Milton's Rabbinical Readings (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930) contains detailed analysis of Milton's use of the Jewish commentators of the Buxtorf Rabbinic Bible; in this latter work Fletcher (pp. 54-67) has as good an introduction to the Rabbinic Bible for non-Jewish readers as I have been able to find.

<sup>15</sup> The terminus a quo for modern Martyr studies is J.C. McLelland, The Visible Words of God: an Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli A.D. 1500-1562, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957). As far as secondary literature devoted to the man and his work, see John Patrick Donnelly, in a bibliography entitled, "Modern Works about Vermigli," in A Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli with a Register of Vermigli's Correspondence, John Patrick Donnelly <comp>, Robert M. Kingdon, <collaborator>; Marvin W. Anderson <compiler of Register>, (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1990), lists fewer than forty authors--the bibliography itself occupying fewer than five pages.

mentary,<sup>16</sup> though I shall also refer to his Judges commentary,<sup>17</sup> his acceptance speech to the worthies of Zurich,<sup>18</sup> and his 1 Corinthians commentary.<sup>19</sup> As for secondary works on Martyr's biblical interpretation, the most detailed analysis of the theory and practice of Martyr's biblical interpretation is in Klaus Sturm's monograph on Martyr's teaching during his first stay in Strasbourg, Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermigli während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Straßburg 1542-1547.<sup>20</sup> The first modern study of Martyr's biblical interpretation is in J.C. McLelland's Visible Words.<sup>21</sup> Marvin Anderson published a book length study, Peter Martyr: a Reformer in Exile: a Chronology of Biblical

<sup>16</sup> Peter Martyr Vermigli, In Lamentationes Sanctissimi Jeremiae prophetae ... commentarium ... cum notis et indice, Johann Rudolph Stucki, <ed>, (Zurich: Joh. Iacobus Bodmerus, 1629).

<sup>17</sup> Peter Martyr Vermigli, Commentarie vpon the Booke of Iudges, (London: John Day, 1564).

<sup>18</sup> Peter Martyr Vermigli, "An Oration Which He Made at Zurich the First Time He Succeeded in the Place of Conradus Pellicanus", as found in later editions of Loci Communes (these latter were compilations of Martyr's systematic treatment of various subjects and consisted mainly of scholia from biblical commentaries); happily it was included in the only English translation of the Loci: The Common Places, (London: Anthony Marten, 1579).

<sup>19</sup> An important scholium on scripture from Martyr's 1 Corinthians commentary can be found translated into Elizabethan English in The Common Places, 1579, 1.6.15ff.

<sup>20</sup> Klaus Sturm, Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermigli während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Straßburg 1542-1547: ein Reform-katholik unter den Vätern der reformierten Kirche, (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971).

<sup>21</sup> Chapter 2, "Christ and the Old Testament 'Signs,'" and chapter 3, "Christ and the New Testament 'Signs.'"

## 1.1 Christian Use: Bibliography

7

Writings in England and Europe, and three essays on  
Martyr's Biblical writings.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Marvin W. Anderson, Peter Martyr: a Reformer in Exile: a Chronology of Biblical Writings in England and Europe, (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1975); "Peter Martyr on Romans," Scottish Journal of Theology, vol. 26 (1973), pp. 401-420; "Pietro Martire Vermigli on the Scope and Clarity of Scripture," Theologische Zeitschrift, vol. 30 (1974), pp. 86-94; "Word and Spirit in exile (1542-61): the Biblical writings of Peter Martyr Vermigli," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. 21 (1970), pp. 193-201.

1. Christian Use of Jewish Resources in Biblical Study

1.2 Jewish Biblical Study Before Bomberg

This chapter has two purposes: first, to trace the roots of scripture commentary in the Bomberg Bible; second, to introduce the commentators of the Rabbinic Bible which Martyr used. Jewish interpretation of the scripture before the Bomberg Bible is not all of one kind. Pre-modern Jewish exegesis is often divided into two kinds, **derash** and **peshat**, just as pre-modern Christian exegesis is often distinguished as being either allegorical or literal. **Derash** is the exegesis originating from the formative period of Judaism and is found in the Talmud and in midrashim, compilations in the form of running biblical commentaries. It did not die out with the closing of the Talmud but continued to be practiced through the middle ages right up to the present day. **Derash** is a rich tradition and is so variegated as to be difficult to describe: imaginative, often literalistic, tendentious, with frequent fanciful stories. In the course of this investigation, many examples of **derash** will be seen in connection with Rashi.

**Peshat**, on the other hand, is an invention of Jewish scholars of the middle ages such as Ibn Ezra, and it tends to be grammatico-historical. The term "peshat" was in use prior to the eleventh and twelfth

centuries, but it did not mean philology.<sup>1</sup> With the advent of scientific grammar in the middle ages, however, the definition of "peshat" underwent a change, and it came to signify the simple or grammatical meaning as opposed to derash.<sup>2</sup> However, it should be noted that the Talmud and midrashim contain isolated examples of grammatico-historical insight.<sup>3</sup> Equally true is the fact that the great student of peshat, Ibn Ezra, offers his readers much philosophical exegesis which is every bit as tendentious as derash. Thus the categories of peshat and derash, while useful, can be somewhat misleading. For my present purposes, it will be simpler to say that the exegesis of the 1525 Bomberg Bible commentaries on Lamentations is of three basic types: midrashic, philological and philosophical. By "midrashic" I mean non-philological derash. By "philological" I mean exegesis which tries to establish the correct text and interpret it as originally

<sup>1</sup> Just what "peshat" did mean before the "pashtanim" is uncertain; the latest hypothesis, and in my view the most likely, is contained in David Weiss Halivni, Peshat and Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis, (New York; Oxford, <Engl.>: Oxford University Press, 1991). He suggests (pp.52 ff) that it meant "contextual."

<sup>2</sup> Halivni, Peshat, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This has led some scholars to insist that some of the rabbis who produced the exegesis later compiled into Midrash could distinguish between what the text actually said and its applied meaning. See Rimon Kasher, The Interpretation of Scripture in Rabbinic Literature, in Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, Martin Jan Mulder, <ed>, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum <section 2, vol.1>, (Assen, <Netherlands>: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), pp. 553 ff.

understood.<sup>4</sup> By "philosophical" I mean exegesis influenced by Jewish philosophical theology which originated in the middle ages.

It was not midrashic interpretation which attracted the attention of Christian scholarship as it moved out of the middle ages but rather Jewish philology, whose roots are in the Middle East. Islam's conquest of the Near East produced a brilliant intellectual renaissance. Study of the Qur'an necessitated philology; wealth and sophistication encouraged a rediscovery of the works of Greek antiquity. The Jews living in this vibrant intellectual environment did not fail to contribute to and profit from the revival of philology.

The initial stimulus to Jewish philology came from the need to establish an authoritative scripture text. The establishers of this text are known to us as the Masoretes. Their labor helped found another tradition of Jewish biblical scholarship: scientific Hebrew grammar<sup>5</sup> and philological exegesis.<sup>6</sup> The recognized

<sup>4</sup> In the contemporary climate of the philosophy of interpretation, this description of types of interpretation would be more congenial to E.D. Hirsch's understanding of texts than to H.G. Gadamer's.

<sup>5</sup> For a concise summary of the origins of scientific Hebrew grammar, see Bruce K. Waltke and Michael Patrick O'Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax, (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), ch. 2, "History of the Study of Hebrew," pp. 31-43. For a more detailed account, see David Tene, "Linguistic literature, Hebrew," Encyclopaedia Judaica, vol. 16, col. 1352-1390.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed narrative describing the founding of philological exegesis, see Salo Wittmayer Baron, A Social and

founder of Hebrew grammar is Saadiah Gaon (822-942), a Babylonian scholar who also translated the Bible into Arabic. After the tenth century, the center of grammatical research shifted to Spain, where the greatest works of grammar were written. Two names are especially important here. Menahem ben Jacob ibn Saruq composed a dictionary of biblical Hebrew, which became known as his Maḥberet (i.e., "notebook"). Unlike the works of other Spanish grammarians, Ibn Saruq's dictionary was in Hebrew and thus could be read by European Jewish scholars outside the Iberian Peninsula, such as Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes), who knew no Arabic. Rashi used the new knowledge to good advantage in his biblical commentaries. One of Ibn Saruq's pupils was Isaac ibn Gikatilla, who in turn had as a pupil Jonah ibn Janah, the greatest Hebrew grammarian before the modern era. Writing in Arabic, Ibn Janah also produced a dictionary of biblical Hebrew, "The Book of Roots." Abraham Ibn Ezra used this dictionary as well as Ibn Janah's other grammatical works. Knowledge of Hebrew grammar increased significantly between Ibn Saruq and Ibn Janah. Ibn Saruq did not know the principle of triliteral roots, whereas Ibn Janah was perfecting it. This gap between Ibn Saruq and Ibn Janah proved a stone of stumbling to Christian readers of the Bomberg Bible commentators, as will be seen

later.

Spain proved to be no lasting home for Jewish scholars. From the south the fanatically Muslim Almohads conquered Muslim Spain and suppressed Judaism. From the north the Christians began the reconquest of Spain; when they consolidated power, they relaxed the previous protective legislation that favored the Jews. Eventually the Spanish crown encouraged the infamous Inquisition. David Tene comments:

The tribulations of 1148 [the Almohade conquest of Spain] caused a sudden cessation of original contributions in Hebrew linguistics. The Jewish intellectuals of Spain who were exiled to Italy and to southern France brought with them the works which had been written in Spain and began to spread their contents among intellectuals in their new lands.<sup>7</sup>

In this "period of dissemination," as Tene calls it, Jewish intellectuals in exile such as Ibn Ezra translated technical grammatical works in Arabic into Hebrew, editing them for easier access, and produced biblical commentaries. Kimḥi (Rabbi David Kimḥi, "Radak"), the son of a Spanish exile, also translated technical Arabic works and produced commentaries. Two generations later Gersonides ("Ralbag," Rabbi Levi ben Gershon) was still profiting from this grammatical revolution, as is evident from his voluminous commentaries. Thus it was this period of dissemination which gave birth to most of the grammars and com-



mentaries so influential at a later period of Christian history.

It ought to be underlined that commentators who remained within Rabbinic Judaism did not use philological exegesis to overturn halakic rulings of the Talmudic Rabbis. Here is the great difference between Jewish and later Protestant commentators: the latter used the results of their scripture exposition to challenge many of traditional beliefs and practices, while the former did not. Philological exegesis was not crucial to the religious life of Judaism. Jewish study of the scriptures remained vigorous even during the sixteenth century when the classical period of philological commentary was only a memory.<sup>8</sup>

As the eleventh and twelfth centuries were the period of time in which Jews disseminated among themselves the results of scientific grammar of Spanish scholars, so the sixteenth century proved to be the time in which this same knowledge was disseminated among Christian students of scripture. The invention of printing made this possible. One major printed source for Jewish philology was a four-volume edition of the scriptures featuring the four commentators mentioned above (Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimḥi and Gersonides).

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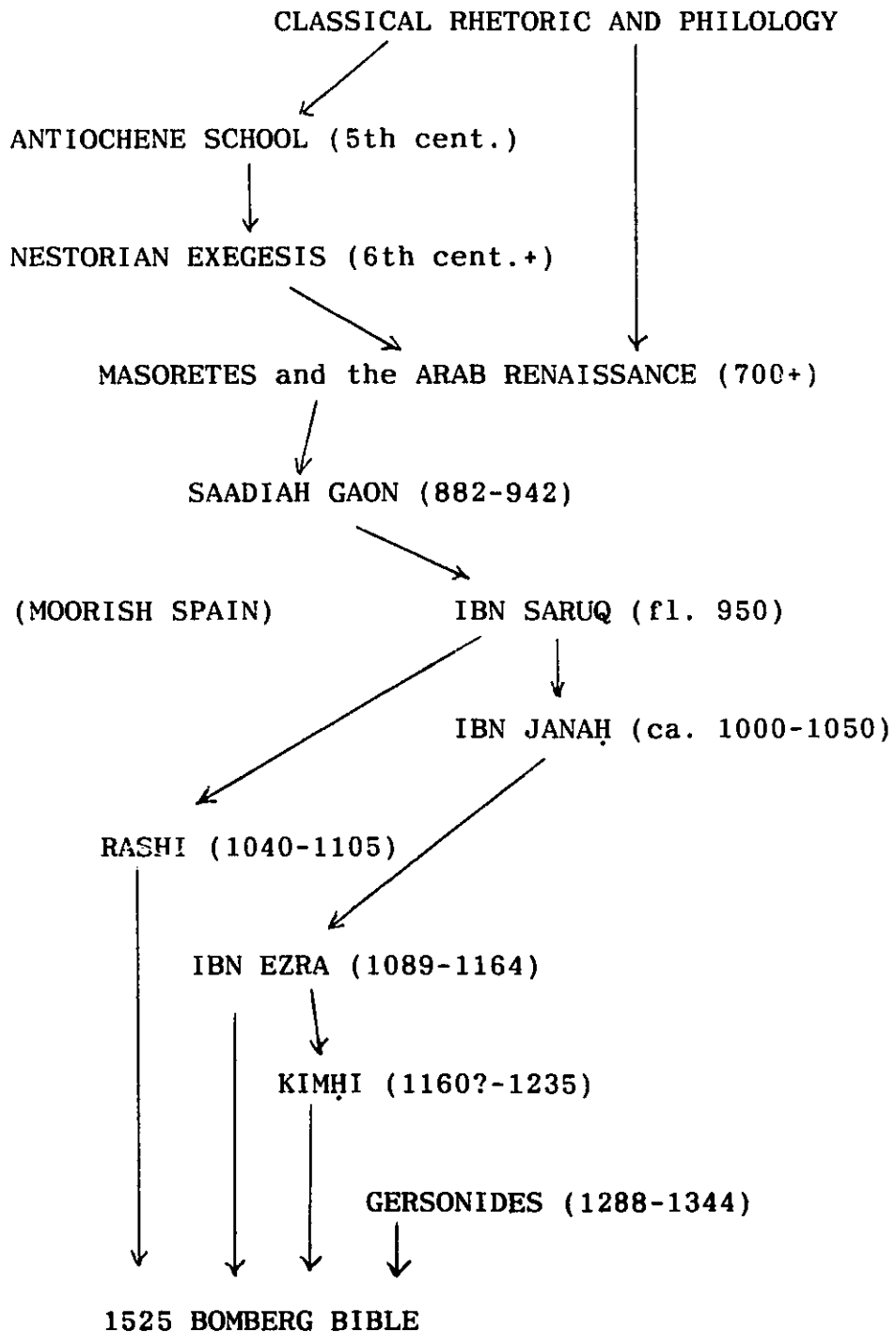
<sup>7</sup> Tene, "Linguistic Literature," col. 1358.

<sup>8</sup> Bland, "Issues in Sixteenth-Century Jewish Exegesis", in The Bible in the Sixteenth Century, David C. Steinmetz, ed. (Durham and London: Duke Univ.Pr, 1990). pp. 50-67.

My next chapter will focus exclusively on this Rabbinic Bible, so I shall say no more about it for the present.

The chart below summarizes the prehistory of the Bomberg Bible's commentary.

THE ROOTS OF JEWISH PHILOLOGY IN THE BOMBERG BIBLE



Now on to the commentators of the Bomberg Bible. Since the commentators for Lamentations are Rashi and Ibn Ezra, I shall spend more time on them and only make brief mention of Kimḥi and Gersonides. Kimḥi was well known to Christian Hebraists on account of his grammatical works, which they frequently studied, cited and translated up to the establishment of independent Christian Hebrew study. However, they also admired him as a commentator. In fact, he was Calvin's personal favorite among the Jewish commentators.<sup>9</sup> Kimḥi's regular commentaries were predominately philological, though blended in were midrashic and philosophical elements.<sup>10</sup>

Gersonides (Ralbag), better known to Christian scholars as an astronomer rather than an exegete, was a popular commentator in the Reformation era. With the exception of his commentary on Job, his work remains untranslated into English. As a thinker, he was a fascinating (not to say, alarming) mixture of Talmudist, scientist, Aristotelian philosopher, free thinker, and scripture commentator. His philosophical and scientific frames of reference are out of fashion and

<sup>9</sup> John Calvin, Commentary on the Book of Psalms, John King, <trans & ed>, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1948; <Calvin Translation Society, 1843-1855>), vol. 4, p. 326, "...David Kimchi, the most correct expositor among the rabbis...."

<sup>10</sup> "[Radak's] commentaries are a mélange of grammar and peshat, grammar and derash, grammar and textual criticism, grammar and homily, grammar and philosophy": Frank Talmage, David Kimhi: the Man and the Commentaries, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 84.

in some instances discredited. The form of his commentary is more complex than that of the other commentators, there being long postscripts at the end of each work. Furthermore he can be very verbose. His commentary on Job is immense, one of the largest, if not the largest, in the Rabbinic Bible.

As fascinating as they are, it is not Kimḥi and Gersonides who are the main concern here, but Rashi and Ibn Ezra. Unless otherwise stated, any references to their work are from their Lamentations commentaries, and biblical references are also to Lamentations. As previously stated, when Peter Martyr consulted the Jewish commentators of Lamentations, he did not find just philological interpretation. Rashi presented a number of problems to an uninitiated Christian reader such as Martyr. Here I choose two of these: the relationship between philological and midrashic explanations; the primitive state of Rashi's grammar.

In Rashi there is a mixture of the midrashic and the philological. Yet Rashi states his program very clearly at the beginning of his Lamentations commentary:

There are many midrashei aggadah, but I have come to interpret the language of this scripture according to its [actual] meaning.

Rashi seems to give the impression that the focus of his attention is philological. This does not mean that he uses the term "peshat" often. In fact Rashi uses it just once. In the middle of his commentary, when he is

expounding the meaning of the phrase, REMEMBERING SHE REMEMBERS (Lam. 3:20), he first gives what he feels to be the philological explanation of these words. Then he says:

Thus is its peshat according to the subject matter of the scripture's line of thought. And there is a midrash aggadah....

Nevertheless, called peshat or note, Rashi's theoretical program of interpretation is to explain the "actual meaning" of the text.

What then are we to make of his frequent inclusion of exegetical material from the midrashim? Grossman puts it this way:

When basing his comment on the midrashim Rashi chose from the available material those that were closest to the literal interpretation of the biblical text, or solved the difficulties presented by it.<sup>11</sup>

There have been attempts to break out of a generalization such as Grossman's and to express more clearly the relationship between the midrashic and the philological in Rashi's commentaries. To my knowledge, none of the proposed solutions has met with general acceptance.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Avraham Grossman, "Rashi: Biblical Exegesis," in Encyclopaedia Judaica.

<sup>12</sup> Gelles notes some of these in Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), ch. 3, "The Dual Character of the Bible Commentary." It seems to me his own solution fails for being overly subtle: "Peshat and Derash emerge not so much as conflicting forces but rather as the two ends of an exegetical spectrum, separated by intermediate shades of perception, including, no doubt, an area of methodological indeterminacy. This state of affairs is only possible because of the major influence which midrashic thinking still had upon Rashi hardly allowing for a clear division between the two opposing camps.... It follows that Rashi's programmatic declarations on

Perhaps that relationship is merely muddled. Certainly Rashi stands on the border between traditional midrashic exposition and the innovative exegesis stemming from the scientific grammar of the Spanish scholars. Alternatively there may be a pattern in Rashi's use of midrashic material. I would suggest that there is such a pattern in Rashi's commentary on Lamentations, and I cite passages in the paragraphs below to demonstrate this.

Usually when Rashi cites a midrashic explanation, he does not label it so; at other times he explicitly calls it a "midrash aggadah." I think that Rashi intends a distinction here. When Rashi's Lamentations' commentary and Lamentations Rabbah are read together a certain pattern emerges. Rashi's interpretations, I would argue, fall into three basic categories:<sup>13</sup> allu-

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behalf of Peshat have to be appraised with caution." More recently, Sarah Kamin in her dissertation Rashi's Exegetical Categorization with Respect to the Distinction between Peshat and Derash according to his Commentary to the Book of Genesis and Selected Passages from his Commentaries to Other Books of the Bible, 1978 (I have taken advantage of the long English abstract), argued that Rashi did not distinguish "between the exegetical categories of פשט and דרש." Yet she also argues that "[h]e distinguished between ...the literary meaning of the text and non-literal meanings, and accompanied the literary meaning by the term 'פשוט'" (p. XVII). Note however that in his Lamentations commentary he only uses the term "peshat" once (3:20).

<sup>13</sup> This pattern is demonstrated in more detail in the annotations of my translation of Rashi's commentary on Lamentations in Appendix Four. The English translation of the "standard" midrashim on Lamentations is Midrash Rabbah Lamentations (volume 7 of Midrash Rabbah), J. Rabbinowitz, <trans>, H. Freedman and Maurice Simon, <gen. eds.>, 3rd ed., (London; New York: The Soncino Press, 1983). Very occasionally I supplemented the Soncino text with Midrasch Echa Rabbati Salomon Buber <ed>, (Vilna: Wit-twe & Gebrüder Romm., 1899).

sion to a midrashic explanation; an explicit citation of a midrashic explanation paired to a philological explanation; a free-standing philological explanation.

First, an allusion to a midrashic explanation. As Grossman says, a midrashic explanation which Rashi cites usually either does not contradict the philological or illuminates some aspect of it. Rashi begins his exegesis of 1:1 by citing an interpretation from Lamentations Rabba 3:1:

HOW SHE SAT ALONE: Jeremiah wrote a book of laments. This was the scroll which Jehoiakim burned upon the brazier which was on the fire, and there were on it three alphabetical acrostics: HOW SHE SAT, HOW HE BECLOUDED, HOW WAS BECLOUDED [1:1, 2:1, 4:1]. Again he added to it I AM THE MAN [3:1], which has three times as many acrostical verses; as it was said, AND AGAIN WAS ADDED TO THEM MANY WORDS LIKE THOSE [Jer. 36:32]; the three acrostics in ch. 3 make up for the three in ch. 1-2, 4.

This is hardly a philological interpretation. On the other hand, it does no violence to the grammar of Lamentations 1:1 and is very useful in explaining the structure of the poems which make up the lament.

Next, an explicit citation of a midrashic explanation paired to a philological explanation. Sometimes Rashi calls a midrashic interpretation a "midrash aggadah," and when he does, it clearly runs counter to philological exegesis. In such an instance, Rashi almost always prefaces the "midrash aggadah" with a philological explanation. In a comment on 1:3, Rashi explains the meaning of "straits" by presenting succes-

sively philological, Talmudic and midrashic explanations:

BETWEEN THE STRAITS: for there is a height from both sides and there is no place to rest; [but in the Mishnah--TB Bava Batra 105a, 106a] STRAITS means borders of field and vineyard. And the midrash aggadah is "between the seventeenth of Tammuz and the ninth of Av" [the three weeks between the breach of the city walls and the Temple's destruction].

This "midrash aggadah" is an example of exegetical technique of midrash. המצרים (straits) is taken as if it were from מצור, siege. This (probably deliberate) mistake in etymology allows the interpreter to take a general statement of distress and make it refer to a specific event recorded elsewhere in scripture.

Finally, a free-standing philological explanation. Most of Rashi's philological explanations are not connected with a midrash aggadah, but stand on their own and are usually philological alternatives to unstated midrashic explanations found in Lamentations Rabbah. Rashi's first peshat is the following:

ALONE (בדד): barren (גלמוד) of inhabitants.

The Midrash has several derash interpretations of "alone," and here is one:

R. Levi said: Israel did not go into exile until they had repudiated...the Decalogue. Whence have we this? From the numerical value of the letters constituting בדד [i.e., ב=2 and ד=4, for a total of ten].

Rashi does not repudiate midrashic interpretations directly, but he does want his students to be able to understand "the actual meaning." Understandably, a



Christian scholar such as Martyr could not appreciate the subtle interplay of philological exegesis and the midrashim.

Another matter which is confusing to Martyr is the state of Rashi's grammatical knowledge. Even when Rashi intends a philological interpretation, he is sometimes wrong. As mentioned above, Rashi has access only to the dictionary of Ibn Saruq, not the more advanced work of Ibn Janah which Ibn Ezra uses. It is harder to assess Rashi's debt to Ibn Saruq than that of Ibn Ezra's to Ibn Janah, since Rashi uses Ibn Saruq less consistently than Ibn Ezra does Ibn Janah. Rashi shows more independence from his mentor than does Ibn Ezra. In fact, it is not always clear whether Rashi is consulting Ibn Saruq or is relying on his own considerable knowledge of the scriptures. Nevertheless clear instances of Rashi's dependence on Ibn Saruq are frequent enough to show that Rashi makes mistakes based on his mentor's still primitive grammatical accomplishments. For example, the first unambiguous evidence that Rashi is consulting Ibn Saruq is in a comment on 2:14:

TO RESTORE YOUR CAPTIVITY (שְׁבִיתֶךָ): to make straight YOUR BACKSLIDINGS (מְשׁוּבוֹתֶיךָ) [Jer. 2:19]; language of BACKTURNING [PEOPLE] (שׁוֹבְבָה) [Jer. 8:5, 2nd word]; BACKTURNING [SONS] (שׁוֹבְבִים) [Jer. 3:22, 3rd word]; BACKTURNING [REBELLIOUS ISRAEL] (שׁוֹבֵב). [Is. 57:17, 3rd stich, 2nd word].

In his zeal to reduce as many verbs as possible to bilateral roots, Ibn Saruq collapses שָׁבָה and שׁוֹבֵב into

שב, and thus leads Rashi astray. At other times Rashi profits from Ibn Saruq's accurate comments. For example, Rashi has this comment on 2:18:

BENUMBING (פגת): a figure of speech,  
טריש"אלמניט [modern French, *tressaillement*],  
as, AND HIS HEART (ויפג) NUMBED/SKIPPED A  
BEAT.<sup>14</sup>

This is almost certainly from Ibn Saruq's definition of פג, section one; but note that Rashi's definition is his own, for Ibn Saruq says that it means "weakness."

In the Bomberg Bible what is printed as Ibn Ezra's commentary on each chapter is divided into two parts, one part following the other and interpreting the chapter all over again. For reasons to be made plain presently, I shall deal later with the second part called "The Interpretation of the Senses," פירוש הטעמים.<sup>15</sup> The first of these commentaries is classic Ibn Ezra, whose exegesis is characterized as being strictly "peshat." This characterization is correct, provided that it is remembered that "peshat" in Ibn Ezra's mind included more than the grammatico-historical meaning. As Uriel Simon points out, peshat for him meant both grammar *and* strict rationality.<sup>16</sup> Such commentary

<sup>14</sup> Gn. 45:26.

<sup>15</sup> "the interpretation of the context," according to Friedlaender, Essays IV, p. 183.

<sup>16</sup> Uriel Simon, "The Spanish School of Biblical Interpretation," in Moreshet Sepharad: The Sephardi legacy, Haim Beinart <ed>, (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1992), 115-136; p. 128: "In the opening verses of *Sefer ha-Yashar*, the standard commentary on the Pentateuch, R. Abraham ibn Ezra summed up his exegetical method in a typically concise manner:

would have presented Martyr with different problems than did Rashi's. Firstly Ibn Ezra's "strict rationality," what I will be calling "philosophical exegesis" is cleverly disguised; secondly his philological exegesis is often so elliptical and laconic as to be unintelligible to all but Ibn Ezra scholars; thirdly his philological exegesis can be wrong.

First, **philosophical exegesis**. Ibn Ezra was a devout Jew of a philosophical bent who was anxious to separate God from every taint of evil action. The Hebrew Bible is rather less careful in this regard. Therefore, if he could justify it by the grammar of the verse in question, Ibn Ezra would ignore the "grammar" of the context and shift the meaning of the verse to fit his doctrinal predilections. In short, though Ibn Ezra's exegesis was usually philological, it was sometimes philosophical. For example, in 1:14bb we read: [HE/IT] CAUSED MY STRENGTH TO STUMBLE. The MT does not specify a subject, and two possibilities are at hand: THE YOKE OF MY TRANSGRESSIONS in 14a or THE LORD in 14c. The context favors THE LORD, since God is the subject of 13a, 13b, 13c, 14c, 15a etc. However THE

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This is *Sefer ha-Yashar*,  
 By Abraham the poet,  
 It is bound with cords of grammar,  
 And tested by the eye of knowledge,  
 Whoever holds it tight will be made happy. R.

Abraham ibn Ezra uses the word "*yashar*" as a synonym for *peshat*, and this mode of interpretation is described as standing the dual test of vigorous philology ("the bonds of grammar"), and strict

YOKE *could* be the subject without this violating the grammar of the clause, and this is just what Ibn Ezra claims. Why? So that God would not be credited with directly inflicting a misfortune.

Besides having to cope with cleverly disguised philosophical exegesis, Martyr has another problem with Ibn Ezra: the latter's philology can be so obscure as to be unintelligible to the former. For example, Ibn Ezra makes this comment on 1:6:

After LIKE STAGS the relative pronoun "which" is lacking, as LIKE THE WATERS THEY COVER THE SEA [Isaiah 11:9].

That is, Isaiah does not say, "as the waters covering the sea" which would be כמים לים המכסים with the definite article before the participle indicating it modifies כמים, i.e., המים; so it must mean, "like the waters *which* cover the sea," which would be אשר מכסים, the "which" being supplied. 1:6b reads HER PRINCES WERE LIKE STAGS, THEY [THE PRINCES] FOUND NO PASTURAGE--which cannot be correct; hence it is another case of the "which" being supplied to make sense of the phrase. This is minute exegesis on Ibn Ezra's part, which indicates, as he intended, how carefully he read the text.

Very occasionally Ibn Ezra makes a mistake in Hebrew grammar. The following is an error he copied from a discussion of the root of הוילוח in Ibn Janah. In his exegesis of 1:8b, ALL THOSE WHO WERE HONORING HER <DESPISED> HER..., he focuses on the main verb. At

first he pretends to affirm that it means "despised," but he then gives what he believes to be the correct root:

<DESPISED> HER (הַזִּילוּהָ): the opposite of honour, as PRECIOUS RATHER THAN WORTHLESS (מְזִילָל) [Jer.15:19]; only it is from another root [i.e., it looks as if it comes from the root זלל, and even the context favors this; but actually it is from the following root:]; its [i.e. of הַזִּילוּהָ] meaning is either "they caused her to go down" or "they made her tears to flow."

That is, the root is זלל, and the only other example of a hif'il form in the Bible would be, as in Is. 48:21, HE CAUSED TO FLOW (הִזְלִיל) FOR THEM WATER FROM THE ROCK. Ibn Ezra (Ibn Janah, really) is trying to account for the dagesh in the ז. As great as was his philological competence, he had the limitations of the linguistic science of his age. GKC 72ee:

Verbs ע"ע...have ...in...Hiph'il the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with Dagesh forte ....

All of which means Ibn Janah was right the first time: the root is זלל and the meaning is "to despise."

We have seen that the first part of Ibn Ezra's Lamentations commentary would not always have been very easy for Martyr to interpret. The **second part**, "The Interpretation of the Senses," presents Martyr with another problem. It is far more straightforward than the first Ibn Ezra section but radically less philological. Martyr draws from it quite often and in this way gets derailed from the stated purpose of his interpretation: to explain clearly the meaning of the

prophet's words. It is so different from the first part that I shall be calling it "Perush" after the first word of its Hebrew title (פִּירֻשׁ). Below I discuss Perush's authenticity and its character.

As far as I can determine, ever since it was printed in the Bomberg Bible Perush's work has always been assumed to be Ibn Ezra's. Its authenticity has never been questioned. Indeed, the world's greatest living Ibn Ezra scholar, Uriel Simon, insists it is genuine.<sup>17</sup> Until such time as he or another expert on Ibn Ezra changes his/her opinion, the Perush part of the Lamentations commentary of Ibn Ezra will still be considered genuine. All the same, the Perush section is so removed from the commentary printed just above it that for practical purposes it can be treated as if it were from another author.

The Perush section looks something like the second part of other Ibn Ezra commentaries. Friedlaender says this:

In regard to the arrangement of the [Genesis] Commentary, he proposes at the conclusion of the Introduction to the Pentateuch to explain, first, each word of the section, and then the sense and context of the whole. Indeed it seems that most of the Commentaries were originally arranged according to this plan; it is preserved only in a fragment of the second recension of the Commentary on the Pentateuch, in the Commentaries on Job, on the Song of Solomon, on the book of Lamentations, and traces of it are also discernible in the printed Commentary on the Pentateuch.

Note, however, that Friedlaender judged the perush section of the fragment of the second recension of the Commentary on the Pentateuch not to be genuine.<sup>18</sup>

In actual fact Ibn Ezra wrote his Song of Solomon commentary<sup>19</sup> in three parts, not just two. Yet the form of the perush section of the Song of Solomon resembles enough that of Lamentations<sup>20</sup> to make it worthwhile to compare the two. Is the "perush ha-

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<sup>17</sup> Uriel Simon, personal communication (letter), Feb. 25, 1993.

<sup>18</sup> "The Commentary contained in this fragment is divided into פירוש and דקדוק. In the former the author appears as having written an original work; he does not seem to have consulted the earlier Commentary; the etymological and grammatical explanations are simple and clear; in some instances even too elementary, and similar to those which are given in the beginning of the larger Commentary on exodus. The פירוש, on the contrary, is more like a compilation of notes collected from his former writings. The arrangement is often unsystematical; and in many instances it is difficult to determine Ibn Ezra's own opinion; for he not only seems to contradict the views expressed in other books, but even the explanations given in that identical Commentary, in the part called דקדוק. The style and the diction of the פירוש are certainly the same as in his other works, but it is equally certain that this was not the form in which it could have emanated from him, and that a totally different person was the cause of some confusion by making additions and emendations. This Commentary, with the omission of the Grammar, was recast by Ibn Ezra himself, or by one of his pupils." Friedlaender, Essays IV, pp. 161-2.

<sup>19</sup> Fortunately it has been translated into English: Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Canticles after the First Recension, edited from two MSS. with a translation by H.J. Mathews, (London: Trübner and Co., 1874).

<sup>20</sup> Friedlaender explains (Essays IV, p. 221) why it doesn't look like the Lamentation's perush in the Rabbinic Bibles: "Br. Mus. Add. 24. 896, contains the French recension of the Commentary, agreeing with the printed edition, with the sole difference that in the MS. the whole of the first part (פירוש המלות) is given, before the second part (פ' or פ' השעמים) commences, and in the same manner the whole of the second part precedes the third (פ' שלישיה or פ' המשל); in the printed edition the Song of Solomon is divided into eighteen sections, and

ta'amim" of Ibn Ezra on the Song of Songs similar to that ascribed to him on Lamentations?<sup>21</sup> Even a cursory examination shows these two commentaries to be worlds apart. First of all, Ibn Ezra expressly says in his introduction that he will produce a tripartite commentary.<sup>22</sup> In his introduction to his Lamentations commentary he makes no such mention. Secondly, the Song of Solomon perush commentary is definitely philological, unlike the Lamentations Perush which is something of a caricature of the more dubious aspects of Rashi and Ibn Ezra.<sup>23</sup> Thirdly, where Song of Solomon Perush does go beyond the philological, it is

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each section is accompanied by the corresponding portions of the threefold Commentary."

<sup>21</sup> Friedlaender had evidently not studied the Perush section critically; he says, "The exposition of the book as given in the *Perush* is more like a paraphrase than a commentary." In actual fact, it is rarely a paraphrase but almost always a derash rewriting: the context is ignored and imaginative stories are told around the poetic images. See my analysis below.

<sup>22</sup> It is a poem, as is the introduction to his Lamentations commentary; here it is in Mathews' "King James" English:

Abraham the Spaniard saith: I will comment on this  
book with all my ability.  
As far as it extends, if God be with me.  
And, that I may be perfect in his ways, I have made  
three expositions:  
In the first I shall explain every obscure word;  
In the second I shall point out its natural meaning  
after the Peshat;  
In the third I shall comment on it after the Midrash.

<sup>23</sup> In his introduction to his perush section of his Song of Songs commentary, Ibn Ezra protests: "far be it that it should be understood as an erotic poem," but he proceeds to exposit its literal meaning as an erotic poem anyway. His paraphrase of 1:13 reads: "yet you have a far sweeter fragrance, for my beloved is a bundle of myrrh, and I long for him to lie all night between my breasts."



rationalistic and does not imitate midrash.<sup>24</sup> The conclusion I draw is that the "Perush" for the Song of Solomon commentary is of an entirely different character than the one for Lamentations.<sup>25</sup>

It should also be noted that the Perush section of Ibn Ezra's commentary showed a marked independence from the latter. Perush often ignores Ibn Ezra. For example, Ibn Ezra points out in a comment on 1:13 that the verb *וירדנה* is from the root *רוד* "to prevail" and not from *ירד* "to descend." However, because "descend" allowed Perush to construct a narrative from this verse, he read this verb as if it meant "descend." At other times Perush uses an Ibn Ezra comment for his own purposes. Ibn Ezra in his comment on 1:15 points out that the verb *ישתרגו* was "from the family of tendrils (*שריגים*).". Perush concludes:

<sup>24</sup> His paraphrase of 1:5 reads: "Do not think that this blackness is the color natural to me; it is only accidental and will go away; the sun has caused it, striking me in the open air...."

<sup>25</sup> I have not studied the perush section of Ibn Ezra's Job commentary, and so I cannot vouch for its authenticity. It appears to be of a different character than either the perush of Song of Solomon or Lamentations. It occurs at the very end of Ibn Ezra's entire commentary and is very short. It is introduced by the words: "Completed are the interpretations (*פירושי*) of the words of the Book of Job, and now permitted are the senses (*מגמלים*).". Thus it is not even called *perush ha-ta'amim*. For Friedlaender's remarks on the Job perush, see Essays IV, pp. 175, 177, 178; he sees it as something of an introduction.

She compared the iniquities to tendrils<sup>26</sup> of the grape vine whose nature is to cling to every tall tree to grow tall....

Ibn Ezra, of course, was trying to explain the meaning of the verb, not to expound the nature of sin. Finally Perush not infrequently sides with Rashi, not Ibn Ezra. In his comment on 1:15, Ibn Ezra pretends to make the same mistake as Rashi did: to derive the verb סָלַח ("flout") from סָלַח, which in post-Biblical Hebrew meant "to tread"; actually it is from סָלַח, as Ibn Ezra implies. But Perush interprets it as if it meant "to tread."

Leaving aside the thorny question of its authenticity, let me move on to the character of his exegesis. Perush's work stands on its own, and his exegesis, while not philological for the most part, is not midrashic either, at least in the sense that he never alludes to the exegesis of the midrashim. Some of his exegetical moves are peshat-like, some are midrash-like, and occasionally some are soundly philological.

First, his peshat-like exegesis. This is exegesis like that of Rashi or Ibn Ezra, but taken to unwarranted extremes: peshat "gone to seed," so to speak. Occasionally Rashi or Ibn Ezra will, in their

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ezra in his commentary on this verse pointed out that the verb יִשְׁתַּרְבֵּן ("interwoven") was "from the family of שְׂרִיגִים (tendrils)," but he did not, of course, suppose that the verb referred to climbing tendrils. This interpretation is from the Targum: "my transgressions...are twisted together like the tendrils of the vine."

zeal to explain the meaning of the poetry of Lamentations, "over-explain" it. In effect, they take the evocative images of the dirge and make them into banal prose.<sup>27</sup> Perush does this habitually, to the extent that it becomes tedious. Often he makes little stories out of a verse or a series of verses. 1:3 is a difficult verse because of the ambiguity in the interpretation of the preposition FROM; the verse reads:

JUDAH WENT INTO EXILE FROM AFFLICTION,  
FROM GREATNESS OF SERVITUDE.  
SHE SAT IN THE PEOPLES,  
SHE DID NOT FIND REST.  
ALL PURSUING HER OVERTOOK HER,  
BETWEEN THE STRAITS.

Perush paraphrases:

When she could no longer suffer the AFFLICTION of the kingdom and its harsh SERVITUDE which he makes her serve, SHE WENT INTO EXILE from her land. Also SHE ALSO DID NOT FIND REST in the place where she went, and she came [to the point of] returning, and they pursued HER and OVERTOOK HER in a narrow place.

Perush removes the ambiguity of the preposition "from," and indeed removes all the poetic ambiguity. The poetry becomes a little story.

Another way that Perush makes prose from poetry is to make images specific. 1:4 reads:

THE WAYS OF ZION MOURN,  
WITHOUT ARRIVALS FOR FESTIVAL.  
ALL HER GATES ARE DESOLATE,  
HER PRIESTS SIGH.  
HER VIRGINS ARE GRIEVED,  
SHE IS UTTERLY BITTER.

Perush paraphrases:

<sup>27</sup> See Rashi's exegesis of 5:4-5; Ibn Ezra on 3:4.

HER GATES were DESOLATE, for there the elders of Israel gathered together; and HER PRIESTS sighed because there were no first fruits and tithes for them, and the VIRGINS were troubled, for it was their custom to dance in dances at every feast.

Perush makes specific why the gates, priests and virgins were in mourning: they were robbed of their ceremonial functions. The poetry might allude to any number of reasons for the grief, but Perush reduces the reasons to one each.

Another exegetical move that Perush takes to fanciful lengths is artificially relating contiguous verses. Ibn Ezra "adheres to the idea that the juxtaposition of verses or pericopes is meaningful and exegetically significant."<sup>28</sup> Sometimes Ibn Ezra takes this sound exegetical principle to unwarranted extremes. Perush often does. He is particularly clever in relating the verses of ch. 3 together. 3:9-10 reads:

HE WALLED UP MY WAYS WITH STONE;  
MY PATHS HE TWISTED.  
A BEAR LYING IN WAIT HE IS TO ME;  
A LION IN HIDING.

Perush remarks:

And there HE FENCED him in so that he might be hopeless, and the path with which he used to be familiar HE TWISTED. And there was yet another misfortune: A BEAR would come to him, and it comes from the way that he did not know.

<sup>28</sup> Nahum M. Sarna, "Abraham Ibn Ezra as an Exegete," in Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra, ed. Isadore Twersky and Jay M. Harris, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 11.

In order to relate these two verses more closely, Perush makes the metaphor of the bear a literal event, and relates the twisting of paths to an animal ambushing the lamenter.

In the above exegesis Perush resembles in an exaggerated fashion (almost parodies) the more philologically grounded commentators. Less often Perush uses exegetical techniques borrowed from the midrashim. Perush will also take a poetic image and make it refer to something well beyond even an imaginative reading of the poem, something specific in the history of Israel. For example, in commenting on 2:3 Perush says:

HE HEWED OFF...EVERY HORN OF ISRAEL: the two kingdoms.

EVERY HORN means all Israel's power, not merely the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. This exegetical move is similar to one practiced in the midrashim. In Lamentations Rabbah in a comment on the first verse, we read:

Another interpretation of HOW IS SHE BECOME AS A WIDOW!: R. Akiba and the Rabbis offer explanations. R. Akiba says: She *is* a widow, and you state "as a widow." The meaning, however, is: she is a widow bereft of the ten tribes but not the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

The simile of Lamentations is reinterpreted to refer to the fact that ten of the twelve tribes were lost.

Another exegetical technique of the midrashim is interpreting poetic parallelism so that one or both of the members refer to something specific or something

quite out of context. Lamentations Rabbah in a comment on 1:4 begins:

SHE THAT WAS GREAT AMONG THE NATIONS. But has it not just been mentioned THAT WAS FULL OF PEOPLE? Why, then, is it stated SHE THAT WAS GREAT AMONG THE NATIONS? The meaning is that she was great in intellect.

Perush will occasionally use this same technique. In commenting on 2:22, THOSE WHOM I DANDLED AND BROUGHT UP MY ENEMY DESTROYED, Perush says:

WHOM I DANDLED are the little ones. AND WHOM I BROUGHT UP (רַבִּיתִי) are the nobles, as AND THE GREAT ONES (רַבִּי) OF THE KING [Jer. 41:1].

All this is not to say that the Perush does not contain flashes of real philological insight. Although examples of philological exegesis are few, to be fair to Perush they do exist. Perush has an excellent philological comment on 4:21, nor is it in the style of Ibn Ezra. The Hebrew text reads:

EXULT AND REJOICE, DAUGHTER OF EDOM,  
SITTING IN THE LAND OF UZ.  
TO YOU ALSO WILL PASS THE CUP,  
YOU WILL GET DRUNK AND STRIP NAKED.

Perush explains what the verse means with well chosen parallel scriptures:

EXULT: as the sense of REJOICE, YOUNG MAN, IN YOUR YOUTH, [Eccl.11:9 captures the irony of this Lamentations verse very well] since in the end judgment will come; and the sense is that Edom was under Judah, and in the day of their fall they rejoiced; and thus, REMEMBER, G-D, TO THE SONS OF EDOM[ 'S DISCREDIT] THE DAY OF JERUSALEM, [THEY WHO] WERE SAYING [TO THE BABYLONIANS], "STRIP IT BARE, STRIP IT BARE TO ITS FOUNDATION" [Ps.137:7].  
[YOU WILL GET DRUNK] AND YOU WILL MAKE YOURSELF NAKED: as the sense of, HE BECAME DRUNK AND HE UNCOVERED HIMSELF [Gn. 9:21, of Noah].

Even if this exegesis is from another source, Perush should get credit for choosing it.

(It should be noted here that the commentary on the fifth chapter has only one Ibn Ezra section, since it lacks the second part labeled "Perush." In fact, the surviving section is "Perush," even though it is not so marked. The exegesis typical of Ibn Ezra is missing.)

Such then are the commentators on Lamentations in the Bomberg Bible and some of the difficulties Martyr faced when he read them. Let us pass on to the Bomberg Bible itself.

סדנא סלם אלף בייח' **סדנא**

אִיבֶּה אִשְׁטֶגְבִּי, אִיבֶּה אוֹבֶר הַדְּחִיטִס. אִיבֶּה יֵעֲבֹד וְתִסֵּם. אִיבֶּה קֵר אֶת הַדְּבַר. אִיבֶּה יִרְדּוּ אֶת אֶרֶץ. אִיבֶּה יִרְעֶה לְיוֹנֹת. אִיבֶּה תִּאֲכֹל חֲבִים. אִיבֶּה נִחַתָּה וְדַעַת הַדְּחִלָּה. אִיבֶּה נִעֲשֶׂה. אִיבֶּה נִשְׁכַּר כֶּסֶף עוֹן. אִיבֶּה יִרְעֶה אֶל אִיבֶּה תִרְעֶה לְכֹב. אִיבֶּה יִסְבֶּה בְּדֶךְ אִיבֶּה יֵעֵם כֶּסֶף. אִיבֶּה יִתְעַם וְדָב. אִיבֶּה נִחַשְׁכֹּב לְכֹב. וְדָב אִיבֶּה דֹּהֵא.

מוֹסֵבִיָּה: רַעְיוֹ עַם.  
 יוֹדֵר יְתִירָה כְּמוֹ רַבֵּת.  
 עַם־סִיָּה עֲמֵה רַבֵּי יֵם.  
 אֲדַרְסִי אֲדַרְסֵהּ הָרֵבֶת.  
 מִזִּמְרֵהּ בִּחְתִּי לִמְרַם נֶמֶן.  
 אֲחִיקָרָא אֲחִיקָמֶשׁ:  
 אֲחִיתָה כֹּלֵמֶתָה. וְלֹא  
 אֲלִמְתָּה מִתָּמֶם אֲלֹא כִּי  
 כִּאֲמֵם מִהֲלֵךְ בְּעֵלֶה.  
 לַחֲרוּתֵת הֵימָּן וְרַעְיוֹ.  
 לַחֲזוֹר אֲזַלְהִי: בְּכֵה  
 תִּכְבֵּה: מִתִּי בְּכֵה  
 עַל מִסְתִּי חוֹרֵבְכִי:

בליה • מהמקדס •  
כסוף בליה דאמ' מה  
לעת ערב הציחו בו  
את האור • דבר אחר  
בליה לילה סל בביית  
מרג'ים תסעיה כאב  
הנה אלה

אחר בלילה מכל ה  
הטובה בלילה השומע  
קולו בוכה עמו:  
ורמשתה על לחיה.  
מתו? מהו בוכה תמיד  
: כל רעה. אוהביה :

בִּלְתֵּי יְהוּדָה. מֵאֲרָצָה  
וּמִשְׁנֵי. מִחֻמַּת עֲנִי  
וּמִרֹחַ עֲבוּרָה.  
סֶהֱבְדוּ עֲלֵיהֶם כְּסָדִים  
הָיוּ וְסֶהֱבָה בְּנֵי  
וּבְמִקְוֵי סִלְתָּהּ וְיִסְתָּה

סֵכֶנָה מִצִּיּוֹן מִתְּהוֹמוֹת  
בֵּין הַמִּצְדִּים. מִים  
נִבְּתָה מִכֶּחָץ וּמִכֶּחָץ  
וְחֵץ מִקֹּדֶם לְנוֹס.  
מִצְדִּים. גְּבוּלִים מִלִּ  
סֵדָה וְכֶרֶם וּמִרְרָם  
לְעֵדָה בֵּין מִצְדֵּי עֵמֶק

ביתחור לתמיכה באב  
באימוציה. טולינגרליס  
: טובות. למון יטון  
ואין מורס בתיבה לא  
הגיהמל לברה : מלו.  
יומכים במלוה : הונה

• הראייה והוא למון  
למון יתן כאלים לא  
מבוא מרעה • כאלים  
אמר לא מבוא מרעה  
סאין להם כח לברוח  
מהחלם כחם ברעב  
לחץ דמם • כל דמם

מבוקר חזר חזר וזה  
מלא סדרנו וריפה  
סלימה על כן יוסר  
הפנינו מלא דורפתי  
וחזר מלא גאולי סת  
גאולי סת חזר חזר

זכרה



1. Christian Use of Jewish Resources in Biblical Study

1.3 The 1525 Bomberg Bible

Now on to the Bomberg Bible itself.<sup>1</sup> Other Hebrew Bibles had been printed earlier. Jewish printers, the Soncinos, had by 1511 published four editions of the complete Hebrew Bible, but without rabbinic commentaries or Masorah. The extraordinarily deluxe Complutensian Polyglot under the sponsorship of Cardinal Ximenes included in the Old Testament the Hebrew text on one side of the Vulgate and the Septuagint on the other. The Greek type for the New Testament in this polyglot is unsurpassed for its beauty and clarity even today, but the Hebrew type was less successful--the cantillation accents were spurned and the vowel points were less than legible and not always accurate. Nor was there included either Masorah or rabbinic commentary. An ambiguous attitude toward Hebraica is evident. On the one hand the prologue addressed to Pope Leo X speaks respectfully of "the very fountain of the original language." On the other the prologue to the reader states:

We have placed the Latin translation of  
blessed Jerome as though between the

<sup>1</sup> See Norman Henry Snaith, "Bible: printed editions (Hebrew)," Encyclopaedia Judaica, col. 836-841; Abraham Meir Habermann, "Bomberg, Daniel," Encyclopaedia Judaica, col. 1195-1196; and, Moshe Goshen-Gottstein's "Introduction" to the reprint of the 1525 Bomberg Rabbinic Bible.

Synagogue and the Eastern Church, placing them like the two thieves one on each side, and Jesus, that is the Roman or Latin Church, between them.<sup>2</sup>

It is ironic that it was a Christian publisher, the Dutch Catholic humanist, Daniel Bomberg, who produced the first example of that sort of edition of the Hebrew Bible, which was to be known as a "Rabbinic Bible." Daniel Bomberg (d.ca.1549-1553), from a wealthy merchant family of Antwerp, moved to Venice and set up a printing house which came to specialize in Hebrew printing. Under the editorial direction of Felix Pratensis he published, 1517-1518, a four-volume Hebrew Bible with the Targum and with a running rabbinic commentary, one commentator for each book. (The commentator for the Five Festal Scrolls, and hence for Lamentations, is Rashi.) He then published, 1520-23, the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds with commentary. Since that time, Talmuds are cited using the Bomberg pagination. His second edition of the Hebrew Bible of 1524-25 was under the supervision of Jacob ben Hayyim ibn Adonijah, and it set the pattern for all subsequent "Rabbinic" Bibles in the sense that for the first time the Masorah<sup>3</sup> was included and there was (usually) more

<sup>2</sup> Basil Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries," in The Cambridge History of the Bible, the West from the Reformation to the Present Day, ed. S.L. Greenslade, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1963).

<sup>3</sup> The Masorah is the textual apparatus set up by the Masoretes to preserve the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible; the "Small Masorah" is the textual notes on the margins of a Hebrew Bible with the Masoretic apparatus.

than one rabbinic commentary on each book.<sup>4</sup> The commentaries and the Small Masorah were printed in the cursive or "Rashi" script to distinguish them from the sacred text.<sup>5</sup> Even though most of these rabbinic commentaries had been printed before, the entire work was in effect an *editio princeps*. Martyr somehow managed to acquire both the first and the second edition of the Bomberg Bibles.<sup>6</sup>

As an exegetical tool, the Bomberg Bible was exceedingly useful. A whole world of Jewish scholarship was at their finger tips in four folio volumes. Christian publishers had previously attempted multi-purpose Bibles. The aforementioned Complutensian Polyglot, put on the market a mere three years before the Bomberg Bible, featured parallel texts. A few years previously a Latin Bible had been published with the commentaries of Paul of Burgos, Matthew Döring and

<sup>4</sup> Chronicles had only one commentary printed with it. Note that the term "Rabbinic Bible" needs careful definition. See B. Barry Levy, "Rabbinic Bibles, *Miqra'ot Gedolot*, and Other Great Books," *Tradition*, vol. 25, no. 4 (summer 1991), pp. 65-81.

<sup>5</sup> For the full text of Lam., see Appendix Three; for the title page of Lam., see leaf opposite the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently Martyr owned only the second half of the 1517 edition. See Ganoczy, *La Bibliothèque*, pp. 21, 159; and Donnelly, p. 212 of "Appendix: Peter Martyr's Library," pp. [208]-217 in *Calvinism and Scholasticism*. Donnelly, p. 211, note 8, believes that Martyr acquired the 1517 edition "while at Oxford or later."

Nicholas de Lyre.<sup>7</sup> But no previous Christian publication included all three exegetical resources: parallel texts, running commentaries and a textual apparatus.

What did Martyr see when he opened up his Rabbinic Bible?<sup>8</sup> In the center of a typical page there were two columns of standard Hebrew script completely surrounded by Hebrew texts in the cursive (or "Rashi") script. Between the two columns there were periodic abbreviations in Rashi script, and just above and below the columns were two or more lines of unpointed regular Hebrew script. What did all this mean? The column closest to the spine was a remarkably legible MT, diligently established by comparing various authoritative manuscripts and complete with vowel points and cantillation accents. The column next to it was the Aramaic Targum, and it too had vowel points. Between them in Rashi script was the Small Masorah. Above and below the columns in unpointed regular script were the two or more lines of the Large Masorah. The texts in Rashi script surrounding the MT, Masorah and Targum were commentaries of two and sometimes three of the following: Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimhi and Gersonides.

<sup>7</sup> Biblia cum postillis de Lyra et expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos S. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Bergensis replicique Matthiae Doering, (Strasbourg: Johann Gruninger, 1492); microfilm at CRL (Chicago). This reference thanks to R. Gerald Hobbs.

<sup>8</sup> On the leaf before this chapter is a reduced photocopy of the Lamentations title page.

Martyr in his Lamentations commentary neither makes mention of nor gives any indication of using the Masorah, and hence I shall not mention it again.

As may be ascertained from reading Moshe Goshen-Gottstein's introduction to the reprint of the 1525 Rabbinic Bible, most of the scholarly attention given to this Bible has treated it as an authoritative text and as textual witness.<sup>9</sup> He gives but scant attention to the commentators:

Also with regard to commentaries no new approach [of the Second Rabbinic Bible as compared to the First] is apparent. The difference between [Ben Hayyim] and Felix Pratensis is the number of commentaries arranged on the page. To be sure, [Ben Hayyim] sometimes arranged two commentaries<sup>10</sup> around the text, when Felix Pratensis had printed only one. He added here and there from a manuscript and introduced some correction. But by and large, he showed a good sense of proportion when he allotted to his printing of commentaries just one sentence at the very end of his Introduction [note 25]: "As for the commentators, I put all my efforts into correcting whatever possible." We possess no study indicating the exact measure of [Ben Hayyim's] dependence on his predecessors. From some random samples I have checked, it would appear that he corrected certain mistakes and that he had at his disposal new manuscripts. The real difference between him and Felix Pratensis is in the number of commentaries arranged on the page.... The real merit of the 1525 edition

<sup>9</sup> Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, "Introduction" [his own English tr.], Biblia Rabbinica: a Reprint of the 1525 Venice Edition, Jacob ben Hayyim ben Isaac ibn Adonijah <ed>, (Jerusalem: Makor Publishing Ltd., 1972; <Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1524-1525>).

<sup>10</sup> Actually three for the second volume, comprising the so called Earlier Prophets, i.e., Jos. to 2 K. See chart below.

was and remained his study of the  
Masorah....<sup>11</sup>

For the Christian community's expositors, however, the most important resources of the Second Rabbinic Bible on the short term were these much-overlooked commentators.

Not all of the commentaries of the 1525 Bomberg Bible are authentic. The commentaries ascribed to Rashi on Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles are, in the form the Bomberg editors found them at any rate, not his. Saadiah did not write the commentary on Daniel ascribed to him.<sup>12</sup> The Ezra-Nehemiah commentary ascribed to Ibn Ezra is not genuine. The second part of Ibn Ezra's commentary on Lamentations is, as I mentioned above, still regarded by the scholarly community as authentic.

However taking the ascriptions at face value for a moment, here is a table of the commentators. The commentators are listed horizontally and in frequency of appearance. Abbreviations of the biblical books are listed vertically on the left, and their order is that of the Bomberg Bible; "12" are the twelve Minor Prophets, and "5" are the five festal scrolls of Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther:

<sup>11</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, p.11, esp. note 25.

<sup>12</sup> Friedlaender, Essays IV, p. 211.

	Rashi	IbnEz	Kimhi	Gersonides	"Saadia"
Gn-					
Dt	x		x		
Js-					
Ks	x			x	x
Is	x		x		
Jr-					
Ez	x			x	
12-					
Ps	x		x		
Pr-					
Job			x		x
5	x		x		
Dan			x		x
Ez-					
Neh	x		x		
Chr	x				
=====					

Noteworthy too are what commentaries were left out. The last part of the Rashi commentary on Job is not genuine; perhaps this was known and this commentary was not included for that reason. Rashi's commentaries on Job, Proverbs and Daniel were not incorporated. Available to the Bomberg editors in printed editions were Kimhi's commentaries on Joshua through Malachi and Psalms; Genesis might have been available in manuscript form. Of these the editors chose only Joshua through Kings, and Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Of the voluminous commentaries of Gersonides, only Joshua through Kings and Proverbs and Job were selected; left out were Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Esther, the Pentateuch, Daniel, Nehemiah and Chronicles.

I doubt that Bomberg's editors made these commentary selections randomly. Ibn Ezra seems to have been the favorite, since all his extant works were included. This to me would indicate a bias toward philological exegesis. Rashi's commentary on the

Psalms in this edition replaces Radak's in the first edition. In fact Radak seems to have been given short shrift, but this either reflects the composite nature of his work or, as Barry Levy suggests, the Christian editors' desire to avoid his anti-Christian statements.<sup>13</sup> Gersonides's inclusion may reflect the personal bias of an editor, though his work was still popular in the sixteenth century if the number of printed editions be any criterion. Saadiah's exegetical work survived only in fragments, but I would see a supposed sample of his work included to honor him as the founder of the scientific study of grammar, and by extension, of philological commentary.

This Bomberg Bible did not introduce Christian scholars to Jewish biblical interpretation. Though the advent of printing in general and the Bomberg Bibles in particular gave Christians access to Jewish scholarship on a wide scale, Christian use of Jewish resources in the study of scripture began with the Church Fathers. It is to the "pre-Bomberg" period of Christian use of Jewish scripture study that I now turn. As we shall see, the Reformed exegetes were only following a long-standing tradition of the Latin Church when they turned to Jewish commentary for help.

<sup>13</sup> B. Barry Levy, "Rabbinic Bibles," p. 16.



1.4 Pre-Sixteenth Century Christian Use of Jewish  
Resources in Biblical Studies

Four areas are under investigation here. First, Christian use of traditional Jewish exegesis in the early church. Secondly, the genesis of Christian Hebraism in the Western Church. Thirdly, the Christian use of supposedly Jewish exegesis of Lamentations in the middle ages. Fourthly, Christian use of Jewish philology beginning in the high middle ages.

Christians in the Roman Empire made use of the traditional Jewish exegesis, usually called "midrash." In my bibliographical introduction reference has already been made to Jay Braverman's summary of research in this area.<sup>1</sup> Nor was Jerome immune from such Jewish influences in his writings. Most research on Jerome and Jewish biblical interpretation has focused on his work of exegesis,<sup>2</sup> though a few studies exist on the vestiges of Jewish interpretation in his

<sup>1</sup> Jerome's COMMENTARY ON DANIEL, Preface, pp. xi-xiii; Introduction, pp. 1-14.

<sup>2</sup> Braverman, Jerome's Commentary on Daniel. Recently published also is Saint Jerome's HEBREW QUESTIONS ON GENESIS, translated with an introduction and commentary by C.T.R. Hayward, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). Also, Moritz Rahmer, Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus: Questiones in Genesim, (Breslau: Schletterschen Buchhandlung, 1861) and Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus: Die Commentarien zu den 12 kleinen Propheten, 2 v., (Berlin: M. Popelauer, 1902).

work of translation.<sup>3</sup> In his translation of Lam. 1 there are four clear instances in which Jerome incorporates non-philological interpretations from Jewish tradition. Three of these Jewish readings are preserved in Lamentations Rabbah.

In Lam. 1:5b we read כִּי יְהוָה הוֹגָהּ. Both the syntax and the context indicate that this is to be rendered: "for G-D afflicted her." הוֹגָהּ is the hif'il of הִגָּה. Isolate הוֹגָהּ from its context and read it הוֹגָהּ, then it could be from a present participle of הִגָּה, "to mutter." For the Jewish reader this is an attractive option, since it avoids the bald statement that God afflicted Judah. Jerome's Jewish sources gave him to understand that this phrase means "for the Lord spoke over her."

In Lam. 1:7c we read שָׁחֲקוּ עַל מְשַׁבְּתָהּ, "they laughed at her ceasings." According to Lam.R. 1:34, ET 108, "her ceasings" means "her sabbaths" (שַׁבָּתֶיהָ). Accordingly we have Jerome translating, "they laughed at her sabbaths."

Lam. 1:12b-c reads: "which was done (עוֹלָל) to me, which G-D inflicted (הוֹגָהּ)." Modern commentators such as Hillers speculate that the phrase "which was done

<sup>3</sup> Braverman (p. 6, note 28) knows of three essays: Albert Condamin, "L'influence de la tradition juive dans la version de S. Jérôme," in *Revue des sciences religieuses* 5 (1914), pp. 1-21; F. Stummer, "Beitrag zu dem Problem Hieronymus und die Targumim," in *Biblica* 29 (1954), pp. 174-197; and Cyrus H. Gordon, "Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 49 (1930), pp. 384-416.

(עוֹלֵל) to me" was originally "which he [i.e., G-D] did (עוֹלֵל) to me." This change from the active to the passive voice softens the statement. Lam.R. 1:40, ET 118, goes one step further. It reads עוֹלֵל in the same sense that it has in Dt. 24:21, where it means "to glean." Thus the interpretation: "For he has been strict with me and cut off my gleanings." Furthermore, as is the case in v. 5, it is possible to read "he afflicted," as "he mutters." Thus Jerome ends up with the following rendering: "because he gleaned me, as the Lord spoke."

1:14 begins with a *hapax legomenon* (נִשְׁקָד), which is variously explained. One traditional Jewish interpretation found in Lam.R. 1:42, ET 122, is to read נִשְׁקָד as the familiar נִשְׁקָד ("be vigilant"). Jerome translates "He kept watch...." This rendering by Jerome has led some textual critics to speculate that in Jerome's time נִשְׁקָד was the accepted reading. Equally likely is that Jerome was simply following a traditional Jewish interpretation.

These four examples of Jewish tradition in chapter one of Jerome's Lamentations translation represent yet another instance where students of the scripture in the early church, in spite of the intense hostility between Christians and Jews, still managed to incorporate Jewish biblical interpretation. Let it be emphasized that this Jewish biblical interpretation was usually of a non-philological nature, given the character of the midrashim. The nature of Jewish exegesis in the first

centuries of the present era insured that Hebrew learning was not a significant factor in philological exegesis in the early church. None of the Christian exegetes who consistently practiced philological exegesis and whose works have survived were Hebraists.<sup>4</sup>

This lack of Hebrew knowledge includes members of the so-called "Antiochene School." Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia knew no Hebrew; Theodoret apparently used second-hand Hebrew exegesis. The fact that the Antiochene School eventually did take on a Semitic cast was an historical accident. Theodore of Mopsuestia was posthumously anathematized as a Nestorian heretic. Previous to his condemnation his work had already become popular in the Syrian Church. Theodore's work and Antiochene philological commentating became bound up with Syrian nationalism and the Nestorian Syrian Church. Thus consistent philological commentating became the preserve of a small heterodox church on the margins of Christendom. Unfortunately the Syrian Church was all but wiped out by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Before its demise, nevertheless, the Antiochene School in a very indirect

<sup>4</sup> Jerome's own exegesis was an amalgam of allegorical interpretation and the newer "Antiochene" philology: see Dennis Brown, Vir Trilinguis: a Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome, (Kampen, The Netherlands: Pharos, 1992), esp. pp. 121-165.

<sup>5</sup> D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, Christian Antioch: a Study of Early Christian Thought in the East, (Cambridge, [Engl.]: Cambridge University Press, 1982), ch. 2, "The Interpretation of the Biblical Record," esp. pp. 45ff.

way succeeded in exerting an influence on the revival of philological exegesis in Latin Christendom. One of the dynamic centers of exegesis in the Antiochene tradition was the Nestorian school in Nisibis. Jews in this area were awakening to the philological problems inherent in establishing an official text of scripture. Baron's judgment is that "Christians and Jews mutually influenced one another" in their philological enterprises.<sup>6</sup> After the Arab conquest of Syria, intellectually alert Arab scholars turned to their Nestorian counterparts for help in translating the Greco-Roman classics. According to Baron,

...the Syrian Christian Hunayn ibn Ishaq al-'Ibadi (809-73)...together with his son Ishaq and his nephew Hubaysh was responsible for the translation of most extant Greek writings in science and philosophy [into Arabic].<sup>7</sup>

Arabic philological research in turn stimulated the Jews to deepen their work already in progress. Biblical philology was one of the major influences on the work of the founder of scientific Hebrew grammar, Saadiah Gaon (822-942). And Saadiah was the intellectual and spiritual father of the peshat commentators of Western Europe who were such a valuable source for Victorine hermeneutics. It was these peshat commentators who found their way several hundred years later into the Bomberg Bible and who thereby became a

<sup>6</sup> Baron, Social, ch. 29, "Restudy," p. 241.

<sup>7</sup> Baron, Social, ch. 29, "Restudy," p. 264.

valuable philological resource for early Protestant OT scholars such as Peter Martyr. Thus in a very indirect fashion, the eventual Semitic cast of Antiochene exegesis made an impact on Christian Hebraism in the western church.

The genesis of Christian Hebraism in the Western Church was also something of an historical accident. There was little in the history of the Early Church which would have predisposed Christian students of scripture to Hebraism. Presumably Paul read Hebrew; there is no evidence in the New Testament that Paul urged Timothy, or any of his other Gentile converts, to learn the language. Hebrew was lost as a sacred tongue when the Church became predominantly Gentile. Examples of Hebraism among the Fathers are few.<sup>8</sup> Origen, in spite of the fact that he copied or made to be copied every word in the Hebrew Bible in his Hexapla, knew very little Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> The Church Fathers lost Hebrew as a Christian Language. The Early Church's Bible was the

<sup>8</sup> An excellent though dated introduction is C.J. Elliott, "Hebrew Learning Among the Fathers," in A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines, 1880.

<sup>9</sup> See Origen's impossibly confused word study of the Hebrew word for Passover in his Treatise on the Passover, tr. and annotated by Robert J. Daly, Ancient Christian Writers 54, (N.Y., N.Y.: Paulist Press, 1992), p. 27. John A. McGuckin, "Origen on the Jews," in Christianity and Judaism: Papers Read at the 1991 Summer Meeting and the 1992 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Historical Society, Diana Wood <ed>, (Cambridge, Mass.: Ecclesiastical Historical Society, 1992), pp. 1-13, affirms that Origen's knowledge of Hebrew was minimal.

standard Greek translation, the Septuagint.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the Latin Bible before Jerome was a translation of the Septuagint.

The only competent, early church Hebraist of non-Jewish origin whose writings have survived in any quantity is Jerome. His project to translate the Old Testament from the Hebrew instead of the Greek was bold in the extreme. He set his shoulder against the inertia of three centuries of Christian tradition and single-handedly changed Latin Christians' authoritative Old Testament text. A competent philologist, he argued stridently for a return to "the Hebrew truth" when translating or interpreting the Old Testament. Thus the Latin Church, unlike the Greek Church of the East, inherited a natural tendency to Hebraism. Of course Jerome's new translation, based in large part on the Hebrew text of the Jews, met with stiff resistance. Augustine, the greatest and most influential Church Father of the Latin Church, was Jerome's contemporary. While he was at first cool toward Jerome's project, he later gives qualified acknowledgement of the priority of the Hebrew text.<sup>11</sup> In a process not dissimilar to

<sup>10</sup> William McKane, Selected Christian Hebraists, (Cambridge, [Engl.]: Cambridge University Press, c1989), p.1.

<sup>11</sup> Augustine is a study of contradictions in the matter of Hebraism. In his A.D. 396 work, On Christian Doctrine bk. 2., ch. 11 (ET Schaff, pp. 539-540), he speaks of the necessity of having recourse to the Greek and Hebrew when faced with variations in the so-called Old Latin translations; but in bk. 2., ch. 15 (ET Schaff p. 542) he argues that the Septuagint books which are not found in the Hebrew canon are of divine inspiration and should be included

the gradual acceptance of the King James Bible as the standard English translation, Jerome's version eventually became the common Bible of the Latin Church. Along with his translation went the tradition of "Hebrew truth" as the source of correct translation. In this way the Latin Church, unlike the Greek, broke with the Early Church and the authoritative Septuagint.

(Apart from Jerome, Hebraists in the patristic church are rare. We have two isolated reports of competent Hebraists, apart from Jerome. Eusebius in his church history mentions one such scholar, a priest named Dorotheus, who was martyred during Diocletian's persecution. He was a colleague of the scholarly Lucian, who produced a famous recension of the LXX. This Dorotheus "was a lover of the beautiful in divine things, and devoted himself to the Hebrew language, so that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with facility."<sup>12</sup> The church historian, Socrates, mentions an Arian priest of the early fifth century named Timothy, who had a considerable knowledge of Hebrew.<sup>13</sup>)

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in Latin Bibles. Jerome produced the Vulgate 391-406. In bk. 14, ch. 13 (ET Schaff pp. 294-5) of his On the City of God (completed 427), he acknowledges the priority of the Hebrew Text; yet in bk. 18, ch. 42-43 (ET Schaff pp. 385-6), he gives equal weight to Septuagint readings which differ from the Hebrew Bible, on the grounds that the Spirit of prophecy inspired the Seventy.

<sup>12</sup> Eusebius, Church History, vii.32, p. 317 in A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, in A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. 2, p. 156. Note that C.J. Elliott, "Hebrew Learning



Latin Church scholars, when they did original language exegesis, were more likely to work from the Hebrew Bible rather than the Greek Testament.<sup>14</sup> This was partly due to the inaccessibility of Greek. The Eastern Roman Empire maintained a presence only in Southern Italy and even that was lost in the 11th century. The Irish Celtic Church kept the knowledge of Greek alive until it was devastated by Norse invasions. In general however, Greek was little known and the Byzantines were feared and hated. Yet there were scattered Jewish communities in Europe, and Christian scholars could and did have recourse to them for knowledge of the Hebrew text.

In spite of this theoretical veneration of the Hebrew text, no pre-thirteenth century scholar of Gentile origin has yet been discovered who could read Hebrew fluently.<sup>15</sup> A few theologians had some knowledge of Hebrew, even if it was second hand: the Venerable Bede, Robert Grosseteste, Alcuin, Roger

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among the Father," p. 870, apparently has Arian priests George and Timothy confused.

<sup>14</sup> Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), pp. 360-362.

<sup>15</sup> Jerome Friedman, The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983, pp. 13-14. See also Andrew Charles Skinner, Veritas Hebraica: Christian Attitudes toward the Hebrew Language in the High Middle Ages, Ph.D. dissertation, 1986, esp. ch. 2, "The Early Church and 'God's Language,'" and ch. 3, "Veritas Hebraica: Jerome and Beyond."

Bacon, Andrew of St. Victor and possibly a dozen others.<sup>16</sup>

The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the appearance of a number of competent Gentile Hebraists.<sup>17</sup> As far as I have been able to determine, the next competent Christian Hebraist of Gentile origin after Jerome was the Dominican polemicist, Raymond Martini (d. 1286), the author of the famous Pugio Fidei (The Dagger of Faith), an anthology of Rabbinic literature designed to prove Christianity and discredit Judaism.<sup>18</sup> Nicholas de Lyre (d. 1340), often referred to as Lyra, drew extensively from Rashi in producing his Postilla litteralis super Biblia (completed 1331), a non-allegorical (and therefore, revolutionary) commentary on the Bible.<sup>19</sup> Often overlooked (he does not appear in Raphael Loewe's list of Christian Hebraists)<sup>20</sup> is the Spanish Augustinian monk, Jaime

<sup>16</sup> For Grosseteste's knowledge of Hebrew, see D.J. Wasserstein, "Grosseteste, the Jews and Medieval Christian Hebraism," in Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives on his Thought and Scholarship, vol. 1, J. McEvoy, <ed>, Instrumenta Patristica XXVII, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> Among these cannot be counted the Spanish bishop Paul de Santa Maria of Burgos (d. 1435), since he was born Solomon ha-Levi and was a converted rabbi.

<sup>18</sup> Skinner, Veritas Hebraica, pp. 211-218.

<sup>19</sup> He also produced a Postilla moralis (1339). Both constituted the Postillae perpetuae, sive brevia commentaria in universa biblica.

<sup>20</sup> Loewe, "Hebraists, Christian," in Encyclopaedia Judaica.

Pérez de Valencia (1408-1490).<sup>21</sup> An exceedingly learned orientalist at the threshold of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, he does not merit the title of originator of modern Christian Hebraism. As is mentioned in my next chapter, that honor goes to his near contemporary and fellow Catholic, Johannes Reuchlin.

Because of western Christian Hebraism, it is only to be expected that Latin Church scholars would make use of supposedly Jewish exegesis of Lamentations in the middle ages. Some time after the death of Jerome an unknown commentator took some of Jerome's notes and no doubt some of the material from other commentators and produced a commentary.<sup>22</sup> Either through his own deception or that of a copyist, his commentary was ascribed to Jerome. As far as I have been able to determine, no one questioned the authorship of this commentary until Erasmus in the sixteenth century. In fact, Erasmus himself in his first edition of Jerome's works included this commentary on Lamentations among Jerome's genuine works. On sober second thought

<sup>21</sup> For a short, though now dated, biography/bibliography, see "Pérez de Valencia (Jaime)," in Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. 43, p. 711. My thanks to R. Gerald Hobbs for pointing out to me his existence.

<sup>22</sup> Pseudo-Jerome, In Lamentationes Jeremiae, Domenico Valarsii, <ed>, PL 25, (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1845), col. 787-792. The following discussion on the Pseudo-Jerome commentary on Lamentations is the substance of a paper I delivered at the 1994 Sixteenth Century Society, "The Strange Case of the "Letterish" Interpretation and What Became of It: Using Jerome's Faulty Philology in the Pseudo-Jerome Commentary on Lamentations from Radbertus to Peter Martyr."

Erasmus realized that this could never have been the great translator's work. He suggested that it might be a patchwork creation of the Venerable Bede.<sup>23</sup>

However composed, this work (which I shall call the "Pseudo-Jerome") was the only supposedly patristic commentary on Lamentations available to the Latin west before the modern era.<sup>24</sup> In fact, very little patristic commentary on Lamentations survived the ruin of the ancient world, and none of that was in Latin: Origen's Scholia (in Greek), Ephrem Syrus' Explicatio (in Syriac), and Theodoret's Interpretatio (in Greek). The editio princeps of Theodoret's work came in 1642, and Origen's Greek works and Ephrem's Syriac later than that.<sup>25</sup> Therefore the Pseudo-Jerome work may lay fair claim as the starting-point for commentating on Lamentations in the Latin West before scholars such as Erasmus exposed its pseudonymity and discredited its interpretive methods. It is not lengthy; it occupies little more than five columns in Migne's patrology.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> PL 25, col. 787-788, Vallarsi cites Erasmus.

<sup>24</sup> For an enumeration of premodern commentaries on Lamentations, see "Lamentations, Book of" in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature (Harper, 1867-1887). As old as it is, this list is, to my knowledge, the most complete in any English language publication. Wiesmann, Klagelieder, covers the middle ages well.

<sup>25</sup> See "Theodoret," "Origen" and "Ephraem Syrus" in Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (2nd ed).

<sup>26</sup> There is no modern critical text of it. Migne (PL 25, col. 787-792) merely reprinted Domenico Vallarsi's of 1734-42. See Cross, Oxford Dict. of the Chr. Church, s.v. "Vallarsi."

interpretations seem extremely fanciful to those unfamiliar with patristic or medieval commentating.

Except for the last chapter, Lamentations consists of a series of alphabetical acrostics. The Septuagint and Jerome's Vulgate acknowledge this fact by beginning each verse in the four acrostics with the name of a Hebrew letter in the proper sequence. The Pseudo-Jerome says:

[A]t the beginning of each verse an alphabetical series punctuates its order; but the interpreter who translated them from Hebrew into Latin did not wish to join together impediments so he might observe this, but rather he put the letters of the alphabet at the beginning of each verse because its meaning hangs on the interpretation of the letter.<sup>27</sup>

The Pseudo-Jerome came by this odd idea honestly from the real Jerome. In a letter to one of his better-known disciples, Paula, Jerome follows up on a lesson he had given her on the alphabetical Psalm 119.<sup>28</sup> Jerome believed quite correctly that each Hebrew letter was also a Hebrew word which meant something. For example, the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *bet* originally meant "house," or *bayit* in biblical Hebrew. Jerome knows this and mentions it.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, as

<sup>27</sup> In Lamentationes Jeremiae, PL 25, col. 787.

<sup>28</sup> Vellarsi's careful editing of this letter is reprinted in Migne, but it has unfortunately thus far escaped a published English translation. PL 20, col. 441-5.

<sup>29</sup> Jerome, Ep.30, 2 (246, 4); references to Jerome's epistles are from the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 54 (ep.1-70) (1910), ed. I. Hilberg, as cited in Pascasii Radberti Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae Libri Quin-

has been frequently noted, Jerome's Hebrew etymologies are not always philologically accurate. He derives some of them from the none too reliable sources of Philo and Origen, or he makes them up using near homonyms,<sup>30</sup> or he obtains them from traditional Jewish sources. His etymologies of Hebrew letters are no exception to this confusion, and sometimes he does not define correctly the meaning of a given Hebrew letter. For example the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *alef* is to be associated with a bovine. Jerome, however, says that it means "doctrine,"<sup>31</sup> an idea perhaps connected with the Greek notion of "first principles." Jerome further attaches mystical significance to his letter etymologies:

*Alef* when translated means "doctrine." *Bet*, "house." *Gimel*, "fullness." *Dalet*, "of tablets." [The meaning of the first series of letters] ...is "doctrine," "house," "fullness," "of books," because of course the church's doctrine, which is God's house, is found in the fullness of the divine books.

Evidently Jerome had expounded Psalm 119, an alphabetical acrostic like Lamentations, according to these mystical meanings, for he says:

...the things which follow from each and every letter ought to be understood according to the interpretations of those letters.

que, ed. B. Paulus (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988).

<sup>30</sup> Dennis Brown, Vir trilinguis: a Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome (Kampen: Pharos, 1992), p. 74-78.

<sup>31</sup> Jerome, Ep. 30, 5 (246, 4).

Unfortunately for us an authentic commentary by Jerome on this Psalm has not survived, so we cannot verify how Jerome interpreted this Psalm based on the mystical meaning of the Hebrew letters. (I shall be calling this method of interpretation "letterish.")

Let me note in passing that Jerome was not the only church father to explore the meaning of the names for the Hebrew letters. Jerome's definitions seem to be taken directly from Eusebius' Gospel Preparation.<sup>32</sup> These supposed meanings for the Hebrew letter names are certainly not original with Eusebius, but I have been unable to trace them earlier. My guess would be that they derive from a lost work of an author whose first language was Greek, perhaps either Origen or Philo. The interpretation of the *dalet* as "tablet," is a *claque* of the Greek word δέλτος.<sup>33</sup>

It only remained for the Pseudo-Jerome to apply the interpretive principle stated by Jerome that the letter prefacing the verse of the acrostic determines its meaning:

Alef is interpreted "doctrine." True doctrine is the knowledge of the holy Trinity.... But because, even though the Jews had that knowledge, they did not keep it, [they are] a people alone.

Of course, it is only by accident that the contents of a particular verse of Lamentations at all correspond

<sup>32</sup> Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica, bk.10, ch.5, PG 21, col 787-790.

<sup>33</sup> Thanks to Vallarsi's annotation: PL 22, col. 443, note b.

with the meaning that Jerome assigns to the Hebrew letters. This false interpretive key gives the Pseudo-Jerome an entirely wrong-headed notion of a given verse's "literal" meaning. This distinctive "letterish" interpretation can be easily followed in subsequent commentaries, and it is an indicator of how seriously medieval exegetes were prepared to take (supposedly) Jewish exegesis in their exposition of the historical meaning of the text.

The next oldest Christian commentary on Lamentations after the Pseudo-Jerome's is that of ninth century Benedictine theologian **Paschasius Radbertus** (d. 865). The latter made a name for himself by laying a major foundation-stone for the medieval doctrine of transubstantiation. Less well known is his immense commentary on Lamentations, which fortunately has been edited by Beda Paulus in the Corpus Christianorum.<sup>34</sup> In true medieval style Radbertus tries not to depart too far from his authorities, and he alludes liberally to various classical and patristic sources. It is not surprising therefore that Radbertus uses extensively the Pseudo-Jerome. How then does he employ letterish interpretation? Radbertus affirms unequivocally that:

We did not suppose that it ought to be passed over in silence that the holy prophet, as Jerome the interpreter of the holy law

<sup>34</sup> Paschasius Radbertus, Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae Libri Quinque, Beda Paulus <ed>, in Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, LXXXV, (Tournhout: Brepols, 1988).



testifies, composed the dirges of his great lament in a poetic manner. For this reason even among the Latins all along at each start of every verse, each and every letter of the Hebrews is prefaced. Each verse is begun by these letters in sequence in their own language. Therefore it must not be believed that so many letters are empty of mystery, since not one point of the iota may be passed over in the law [Mt. 5:18]. Therefore whatever each letter explains, each verse must render that understanding.<sup>35</sup>

Having laid down the principle, Radbertus follows immediately with a letterish interpretation of *alef*:

Now the explanation of Alef is "doctrine."  
Truly that doctrine by which God is known is true....

Radbertus proceeds to use this letterish interpretation not only in chapter 1 using the Pseudo-Jerome as a model but also as he is able in the other three alphabetical acrostics.

Radbertus' exposition of Lamentations passed into the corpus of mostly patristic exegesis known as the *glossa ordinaria*.

Following Radbertus' work, the next commentary on Lamentations to have survived is that of the twelfth century Augustinian canon, Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1142).<sup>36</sup> Beryl Smalley in her seminal work, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, effectively styles him

<sup>35</sup> Radbertus, In Lamentationes, CCCM 85, 1.136-140 (p. 7).

<sup>36</sup> Hugh of St. Victor, Adnotationum elucidationum in Threnos Jeremiae secundum multiplicem sensum et primo secundum litteralem, PL 120, col. 255ff.

the founder of the so-called Victorine hermeneutics.<sup>37</sup> At first glance Hugh's exposition of Lamentations seems to be just another fanciful medieval commentary. However, one of the first indications that this is not so is the fact that the letterish interpretation disappears completely. Hugh was somewhat familiar with Jewish exegesis and even learned enough of the language to do elementary transliteration.<sup>38</sup> I know of no Rabbinic exegesis which interprets verses in a biblical acrostic on the basis of the supposed meaning of the Hebrew letter with which they begin. Hugh remained true to his Jewish sources and true to his own keen sense of philological exegesis: he prudently ignores rather than contradicts the Pseudo-Jerome's letterish interpretation. This is not to imply that he sticks to the literal interpretation. On the contrary, Hugh delights in elaborate allegory and draws freely from the legacy of the Pseudo-Jerome, either directly or through Radbertus.<sup>39</sup> Hugh's concern for clear method

<sup>37</sup> Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), pp. 85ff.

<sup>38</sup> Smalley, Study, p. 102-3.

<sup>39</sup> Hugh of St. Victor, Annotatiunculae elucidatoriae in Threnos Jeremiae secundum multiplicem sensum et primo secundum litteralem (PL 120, col. 257-8): "How therefore does she sit as a solitary city, if she were full of people? This question is answered in two ways: she was sitting thus alone, who had been full of people in the time of David and Solomon. Or, the city itself used to sit full of people, that is, that People, because the number of men (population) was very great there, but she was deserted by God's help. And by metonymy it ought to be understood that the people placed in captivity is understood by the city." Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, PL 25, col. 787, "HOW DOES SHE SIT ALONE, A CITY

in exegesis forbids letterish interpretation.

The immediate future, however, did not belong to the Victorines but to the Schoolmen. Following Hugh's, the next major commentary to have survived is that of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274).<sup>40</sup> In a fashion not dissimilar to Hugh, Thomas is a Janus interpreter, looking forward to the new learning which will emerge in the Renaissance and backward to the medieval and patristic heritage. Thomas first gives a literary explanation of an alphabetical acrostic:

It must be noted that in Hebrew every single one of the 'divisions' (as they are called) begins with one letter in an alphabetical order, as among us in the hymn *From the Pole of the Sun's Rising*.

(This latter Latin hymn was also an alphabetical acrostic.<sup>41</sup>) Having given the literary explanation Thomas goes on to state:

And according to the interpretation of letters of this kind, all the letters agree with the sense of the verses, with which they are expounded.<sup>42</sup>

—

FULL OF PEOPLE?--as if he might say: "be attentive how now the city has remained alone, which was formerly full of people during the time of David and of other good kings who pleased God. For how could it be otherwise, seeing they have offended God? Now he says that she is alone, i.e. desolate, since her people have been led away captive to Babylon."

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Aquinas, Opera Omnia ad Fidem Optimarum Editionum, (Parmae: Typis Petri Fiaccadori, 1863), vol. 14, In Threnos Jeremiae Expositio, p. 668ff.

<sup>41</sup> "An acrostic on the life of Christ which is sometimes called the *Abecedarius*," see "Sedulius, Caius Coelius," in McClintock and Strong, Cyclopedia.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Aquinas, In Threnos, p. 669.

So Thomas backs away from a purely literary explanation of the acrostic and faithfully tries to execute a letterish interpretation and weave it into his literal, allegorical and moral interpretations.<sup>43</sup>

For the history of interpretation of scripture the most revolutionary commentary in the middle ages was Nicholas de Lyre's Postilla litteralis.<sup>44</sup> As mentioned above, Nicholas (d. 1340) drew much of his exegesis from Rashi, and Rashi of course knew nothing of letterish interpretation. Nicholas thinks letterish interpretation to be nonsense, but instead of merely keeping silent about it as did Hugh of St. Victor, he gives a pointed refutation of it, as well as a detailed (and accurate) explanation of the phenomenon of alphabetical acrostics. This refutation and explanation is by far the most detailed of any I have found in the Middle Ages or the Renaissance-Reformation era.

The following is an excerpt:

Concerning this [book] it must be known that Hebrew letters are placed in alphabetical order before each verse. And some people say that they are placed to indicate the meaning of the verses before which they are placed. But this does not seem to have been claimed correctly. First, the Hebrews whose letters

<sup>43</sup> Letterish interpretation is also found in the Lamentations commentaries of the Pseudo-Saint-Bonaventure, Expositio Threnorum Ieremiae Prophetae, S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia <vol. 7>, Appendix, Duorum opusculorum saltem dubiorum, (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, s.d.), pp. 609ff.; and Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), In Threnos Ieremiae Commentarii, in B. Alberti Magni Opera Omnia <v. 18>, (Paris: Vives, 1890-1899), pp. 250ff.

<sup>44</sup> Nicholas de Lyre, Postilla super totam Bibliam, (Frankfurt/Main: Minerva, 1971) <repr. of Strasbourg 1492 ed.>.

these are (and consequently they ought to know their letters' value more) say no such thing. Secondly a letter taken in and of itself as a letter, has no significance, nor consequently any interpretation. Nevertheless a letter may, when it is a word, mean something. For example among Latins the letter *a*, when it is a preposition, means "without...." They also imagine that these letters are not integral parts of the verse but are placed in front of them as if they were titles. This is not true because in Hebrew the letters are an integral part of the verses. We have a similar case in the hymn, *A solis ortu* ["From the Rising of the Sun"]. The other Latin Letters *a* through *g* inclusive are integral parts of the verses, because the first verse begins with *a* (*A solis ortu*), the second verse begins with *b* (*Beatus author seculi* ["Blest be the ruler of the world"]), and so on until *g*. It is the same way with the Hebrew letters in the Hebrew text, but the translator was unable to keep the order of the Latin letters at the beginning of the verses. This is because the first word in Hebrew, which is translated *quomodo* ["how"], begins with alef, whereas *quomodo* begins with *q*. For this reason he places before each verse separately the Hebrew letters, not in order to indicate some meaning, but only because the verses in Hebrew begin with such letters. Indeed these Lamentations were written as poetry in Hebrew. In the time of Jeremiah one way of putting into poetry some sacred subject was to begin verses in alphabetical order. Now it ought to be understood that it is not a question of esthetic considerations, but rather a question of someone grieving and complaining. Such a person laments something which has happened, and repeats frequently the same thing using different words.... This part of the Book of Jeremiah is called *kinot*, i.e., "lamentations." It is divided into two parts: first Jeremiah's lament and second his prayer (ch.5). The first part is divided into four, since the poetry of these lamentations consists of four alphabetical sequences. The four parts constitute four chapters. And in this way the present chapter could be divided into twenty-two parts according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. However there is no sense in which, as was said, these letters are placed here to indicate the literal sense.

Thus Nicholas brings us to the threshold of the Renaissance-Reformation, when the genuineness and validity of much traditional Christian interpretation of scripture would be called into question and Christian scholars would hunt for more philologically sound methods of scripture study.

Mention of Nicholas' philology naturally brings us to the subject of the Christian use of Jewish philology which began in the high middle ages. Contrary to what was the case in the ancient world, in the high middle ages Hebraism and philological exegesis came to mutually support one another. The so-called "historical sense" of scripture was never lost in the middle ages, even though Antiochene exegesis was. However wrong-headed may have been their notion of what the literal meaning of the text was, medieval exegetes were usually careful to build their elaborate allegories on the historical sense. When the best of medieval scholars did this well, the result is intellectually stimulating. Hugh of St. Victor was such a scholar, as we may gather from his commentary on Lamentations:

THE RULER OF NATIONS; THE CHIEF OF THE DISTRICTS HAS COME UNDER TRIBUTE. Thus was she once, because the peoples of foreign nations were serving the Jews, and the provinces of nations had been subdued to them. Now however abandoned by God, they have become tributaries of the nations. Therefore there is a commemoration of past glory and an emphasis on present misery. According to the allegorical sense Jeremiah describes spiritual men in the church: when they see that the masses have flocked to the faith and the name of Christ has become great throughout almost the entire world, they find

no one or at least very few who follow Christ in truth and hold sincerely his truth: to everyone asking what is bothering them, grieving and groaning they say, HOW DOES SHE SIT ALONE, A CITY FULL OF PEOPLE?<sup>45</sup>

Hugh's search for the sure historical foundation on which to build his allegorical exegesis led him to Jewish exegesis. He did so in part because of a notion inherited from the early church that the Jews expounded the "letter" of scripture, while Christians alone perceived its true spiritual meaning. This supposition led to some curious results, as has been seen with regards to "letterish" interpretation. However, Hugh was not living in the ancient world, and Jewish exegesis was no longer exclusively midrashic. Hugh's fine philological sense attracted him to nascent Jewish grammatical exegesis. Hugh was a near contemporary of Rashi, whose commentaries made Spanish Jewish philology available to non-Arabic-speaking scholars. To be sure, the influence of Jewish exegesis in Hugh's exposition is not great. In the first two chapters of Lamentations, I found only one reference to Jewish interpretation, and that not as obvious as it might be. Hugh says this about Lam. 2:1:

HOW DID THE LORD COVER THE DAUGHTER OF ZION WITH DARKNESS IN HIS FURY? He begins this chapter in a sad way by wondering how this people was thrown down so suddenly, who seemed to be exalted right up to heaven.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> PL 120, col. 257.

<sup>46</sup> PL 120, col. 265.

At first glance this might seem to be an allusion to Radbertus' exegesis:

...from such a great adoption (being called daughters of God), from such immense glory, from the highest point of heaven, and from great happiness, to so very great misery....<sup>47</sup>

However, this is the comment Rashi culled from the midrashim:

FROM THE HEAVENS EARTH[WARD]: after he exalted them up to the heavens, he cast them down in a moment [בבת אחת] and not little by little.

I think it clear that Hugh has had Jewish help here in interpreting this passage. The reference to the "sudden" fall is either directly from the midrashim or is mediated via Rashi.

The above is but one small example of the revival of philological exegesis and the stirrings of Hebraism in the School of St. Victor which have been ably chronicled by Beryl Smalley in The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages.

Beryl Smalley does not document that the Victorines had great influence in the history of Christian exegesis. However, it is unquestionable that Nicholas de Lyre's Postilla litteralis were very influential, and his reliance on Rashi is well known. H. Hailperin, as I mentioned in my bibliographic introduction, made an exemplary study of how Nicholas used Rashi's

<sup>47</sup> In Lamentationes, ed. Paulus, p. 81.



exegesis.<sup>48</sup> I have already cited Nicholas' assessment of letterish interpretation. Nicholas has been criticized for being unable to distinguish Rashi's philological exegesis from his references to the midrashim. This certainly happened on occasion. On Lam. 1:10, Nicholas remarks:

UPON ALL HER DESIRABLE THINGS, i.e., upon the books of the law, concerning which it is said in Ps. 18, MORE DESIRABLE THAN GOLD, EVEN MUCH PRECIOUS STONE, for Rashi says that while the Chaldeans were running to the gold and silver in the destruction of Jerusalem, those people preferred to run to burn up the books of the Law, since it is written in Deut. 18, AMORITES AND MOABITES WILL NOT ENTER INTO THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LORD FOREVER.

Nicholas is almost citing Rashi word for word:

UPON ALL HER DESIRABLE PLACES: the books of the Torah, as it is said about them: THEY ARE MORE DESIRABLE THAN GOLD; everyone turned away to plunder silver and gold, but they are turning upon the books of law to burn them, since it is written in them, AN AMMONITE SHALL NOT GO etc.

What Nicholas did not know is that Rashi was alluding to a traditional Jewish interpretation,<sup>49</sup> whose intent is hardly philological. Thus in misunderstanding the nature of Rashi's commentary, Nicholas imported many readings which were counter to his specified aim of literal interpretation. As I noted in the previous chapter on Jewish interpretation of scripture, sorting out what is philological and what is not in Rashi's

<sup>48</sup> Herman Hailperin, Rashi and the Christian Scholars, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1963).

<sup>49</sup> TB Yebamot 16b, and Lam.R. 1:38, ET 114-115.

scripture commentaries is a task which scholars are still trying to accomplish. Nicholas' confusion is understandable. Even if he had possessed a Bomberg Bible and could have balanced Rashi with Ibn Ezra, he still would have failed to discern when Rashi is citing midrashim and when he is trying to produce a philological interpretation. As we shall see in the next chapter, the advent of printing a couple of centuries later and the availability of Jewish commentators other than Rashi scarcely lessened the confusion of Christian Hebraists as they faced Rashi.

1. Christian Use of Jewish Resources in Biblical Study

1.5 Reformed Hebraism in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century

In this chapter I investigate the Hebraism of some of Martyr's immediate predecessors and contemporaries. In spite of the veneration of Hebrew learning which remained in the Western Church after the time of Jerome and Augustine, and in spite of isolated examples of Christian Hebraism before 1500, Hebrew learning never became widespread among Latin Christians (or Christians anywhere, for that matter) until the sixteenth century. Peter Martyr learned Hebrew during that remarkable period from 1500 to 1550 when Christian Hebraism went from being a rarity to a norm.<sup>1</sup> One of the key figures in this birth of normative Christian Hebraism was the German humanist Johannes Reuchlin. He became a remarkably competent Hebraist and produced lexical and grammatical works which the next generation of Christian Hebraists used to great advantage.<sup>2</sup> Reuchlin, a loyal Catholic, was particularly interested in esoteric cabbala rather than biblical exegesis, but his scholarly labors helped equip others to read the

<sup>1</sup> Friedmann, The Most Ancient Testimony, pp. 12ff.

<sup>2</sup> De Rudimentis Hebraicis, 1506; De Accentibus et Orthographia Linguae Hebraicae, 1518. The Christian Cabbalist, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola is credited with inciting Reuchlin's interest in Cabbala, and hence in Hebrew studies.

Hebrew Bible and the biblical studies of Rashi, Ibn Ezra and their successors. He inadvertently supplied Protestant scholars with the means to appeal directly to the "Hebrew Truth" behind the Catholic Church's Vulgate. His studies created a ripple effect. For example, at a crucial point in Conrad Pellican's efforts to teach himself Hebrew, Reuchlin was able to show him the elements of the Hebrew root.<sup>3</sup> Pellican in turn taught Hebrew to Sebastian Münster, and Münster composed Hebrew language tools even more widely used than those of Reuchlin. In a remarkably short time a community of Protestant Hebrew scholars made its appearance.

This birth of Hebrew studies among Protestants made it possible that the circle in which Martyr moved after his defection from Catholicism included several competent interpreters of the Hebrew Bible. These Hebrew students were in constant contact; they supported and criticized one other in their exegetical labors.<sup>4</sup> Were they simply friends or were they also part of a larger movement in biblical interpretation? To my knowledge only R. Gerald Hobbs and Bernard Rousset have attempted to place the Protestant exegetes of the first half of the sixteenth century into informal

<sup>3</sup> Pellican, Chronicle, Ahrens, tr. and ed., p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Hobbs, Introduction, pp. 233-4, esp. note 29. As far as Peter Martyr is concerned, readers of English only are fortunate to have some of his correspondence translated in Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Parker Society <vol. 53-54>, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1847), esp. pp. 468ff: his letters to Bullinger and Gualter.

groupings for the purposes of analysis. In his doctoral dissertation, An Introduction to the Psalms Commentary of Martin Bucer Hobbs identified some of these biblical scholars as the "Basel-Strasbourg group of Reformed biblical exegetes."<sup>5</sup> Later Hobbs and his colleague Roussel extended this group to include other exegetes in Zürich: the "Rhenish School of Exegesis." This Rhenish group of exegetes is understood as being one of four "exegetical conjunctions": 1. Luther and the Wittenberg group, 1512-1546; 2. the Rhenish School of Exegesis, ca.1525-1546, which included such figures as Sebastian Münster, Oecolampadius, Capito, Bucer, Zwingli and Pellican; 3. the continuing Rhenish School, including J. Benz, H. Bullinger, John Calvin, Paul Fagius, J.E. Tremellius and Peter Martyr; 4. 1560-1570 the appearance of confessional exegetical traditions, viz., Reformed, Catholic and Lutheran.<sup>6</sup> Hebraism and a willingness to use the Jewish commentaries is presented as one of the unifying factors and primary distinctives of the Rhenish School.<sup>7</sup> Four exegetes identified as members of this Rhenish School commented on Lamentations: Oecolampadius (1528), Zwingli (1531), Pellican

<sup>5</sup> 1971, pp. 233ff.

<sup>6</sup> Roussel, "La Bible de 1530 à 1600," in Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible, p. 199-252.

<sup>7</sup> Roussel, "La Bible de 1530 à 1600," pp. 220-225.

(1533), and Münster (1534).<sup>8</sup> All of their commentaries would have been available to Martyr when he began lecturing on Lamentations in 1543. John Calvin prepared his lectures on Lamentations for publication in 1563, just a year before his death. If Bucer gave lectures on Lamentations, his work has not survived.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Bucer's Hebraism is important for the study of Martyr's exegesis. We have it on the authority of Martyr's first biographer, Josiah Simler, that the four books which, by Martyr's own account, influenced him to embrace the Reformed cause were Bucer's commentaries on the Gospels and on the Psalms, and Zwingli's De Vera et Falsa Religione and De Providentia Dei.<sup>10</sup> We would thus expect Bucer's exegetical methods in his Psalms commentary to have been a formative influence on Martyr's Old Testament exegesis.

My intent is to study the environment of Hebraism in which Martyr worked by examining the Hebrew studies of Oecolampadius, Bucer, Zwingli, Pellican, Münster and Calvin. In particular I shall be investigating the

<sup>8</sup> Roussel, "La Bible de 1530 à 1600," pp. 228-9. Oecolampadius' Jeremiah-Lamentations lectures were published posthumously in 1533.

<sup>9</sup> By 1532 Bucer had lectured on Jeremiah (Hobbs, Introduction, p. 72). Did he, as had Zwingli and Oecolampadius, lecture on Lamentations also?

<sup>10</sup> Josiah Simler on Peter Martyr, tr. by Anthony Marten, ed. G.E. Duffield, in The Life, Early Letters and Eucharistic Writings of Peter Martyr, intro. and ed. by J.C. McLelland and G.E. Duffield, ([Abingdon, England]: Sutton Courtney Press, 1989), p. 41.

first chapter of the Lamentations commentaries of Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Pellican and Calvin, as well as the entire commentary of Münster; and I shall also review Hobbs' work on Bucer's Psalms commentary. I shall be asking briefly the following questions: Under what circumstances did these Reformers lecture on Lamentations and what was the character of their commentary? What was their response to the "letterish interpretation" of Lamentations which they received from their medieval predecessors? What were their views of the Hebrew language, the Masoretic text and the Jewish commentators found in the Bomberg Bible? How did they translate the Hebrew Bible? What use did they make of Jewish commentators in their exegetical writings? Finally, did they use the Bomberg Bible as the source for Jewish commentary?

During the last three years of his ministry and as the acknowledged leader of reform in Basel, Oecolampadius lectured successively on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations and Job.<sup>11</sup> His Lamentations lectures were given in 1528, making Oecolampadius the first Reformer to lecture on this book. I found his florid Latin somewhat dense and his lectures more homiletical in tone than the more straightforward

<sup>11</sup> For the date of their delivery, see Gordon Rupp, Patterns of Reformation, (London: Epworth Pr., 1969), "Part I, Johannes Oecolampadius: the Reformer as Scholar," p. 32.

philological comments of Zwingli or Münster.<sup>12</sup> His comments are discursive rather than focused and concise. Homiletical insights are blended with philological exegesis.

The year following Oecolampadius' lectures on Lamentations, Bucer, the acknowledged leader of reform in Strasbourg, published his Psalms commentary. It was "a conscious literary creation"<sup>13</sup> but written in his rather obscure style. Today Bucer's prose is the despair of all students except Latinists and Bucer specialists. Bucer writes for the educated, book-buying public, for whom his constant references to Hebrew will not be incomprehensible or at least not offensive. By and large the exegesis is philological in character, but Bucer does make use of typological exegesis as well.<sup>14</sup>

Huldrych Zwingli's lectures were published a mere eight months before his death in 1531. Like Oecolampadius and Bucer, he expounded Lamentations as the acknowledged leader of reform in his city. Zwingli's Complanatio in Threnos Jeremiae Prophetae<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Evidently Oecolampadius's intent was to cast as wide a net as possible. For a description of the way in which he delivered his earlier Isaiah lectures see, Diane Marie Poythress, Johannes Oecolampadius' Exposition of Isaiah Chapters 36-37, dissertation, 1992, pp. 95ff.

<sup>13</sup> Hobbs, Introduction, p. 66.

<sup>14</sup> Hobbs, Introduction, pp. 290-1.

<sup>15</sup> Zürich, 1531; CR 101, pp 504ff, 667ff.



is a product of the exegetical style developed at the so-called *prophezei*: short, philological explanations designed to "smooth out" difficulties in the text to make comprehension easier.

Soon after Oecolampadius and Zwingli's commentaries, their contemporary Conrad Pellican composed his seven-volume Commentarii Bibliorum.<sup>16</sup> His intended audience was not the scholarly community but rather "theological candidates." His aim was practical, not philological.<sup>17</sup> If his commentary on Lamentations is typical of the whole, Pellican uses a simple form in his comments. Almost invariably, he begins with a short exposition of the historical or literal meaning of the verse, and then adds a usually somewhat longer homiletical comment, all in a limpid yet exact Latin.

Sebastian Münster's concise notes in his 1534-35 Hebrew Bible comprise, in effect, another commentary.<sup>18</sup> As did Bucer, Münster wrote for an educated audience, who either knew some Hebrew or who sought the results of Hebrew scholarship. If his notes on Lamentations are any indication, Münster was remarkably consistent in focusing on philological interpretation.

<sup>16</sup> Conrad Pellican, Commentarii Bibliorum cum vulgata editione, sed ad hebraicam lectionem accurate emendata, 7 v. (Zurich, 1531-36). Eight volumes, if one includes the index volume: see Christoph Zürcher, Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich, 1526-1556, (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), p. 86.

<sup>17</sup> Commentarii, Praefatio, v. 1, B verso.

<sup>18</sup> Sebastian Münster, Biblia Hebraica (Basil, 1534-35).

John Calvin's lectures on Lamentations come at the very end of his career in 1563. Calvin cut his exegetical teeth on his commentary on Seneca's De Clementia, published in 1532, and had by 1555 completed all his New Testament commentaries. Calvin published his Lamentations commentary as a seasoned Old Testament expositor in 1563, after having previously published commentaries on Isaiah, Psalms, the Minor Prophets and Jeremiah.<sup>19</sup> Thus he speaks in his Lamentations lectures as an evangelical doctor not just to Genevans but also to a widening audience in the Reformed Churches. He does not presume a knowledge of Hebrew, though there are references to Hebrew words. Although he studiously avoids non-philological interpretation, he provides much edificatory material based on a sort of biblical theology. And he can be rather long-winded.

As explained in the previous chapter, the acrostics in Lamentations were in the middle ages almost always interpreted in a "letterish" fashion. The response of Reformed exegetes to letterish interpretation is one indicator for determining how closely tied they were to medieval scripture interpretation and how attuned they were to the new Hebrew learning. Concerning letterish interpretation of Lamentations, Oecolampadius says (somewhat defensively it seems, for

<sup>19</sup> Walchenbach, John Calvin, p. 8, 15. Baumgartner (Calvin hébraïsant, p. 15) believed that Calvin had begun his Hebrew studies under François Vatable in Paris in 1534.

he swims against a current some one thousand years old):

Next it must be noted that each and every *threnos* is according to the order of the alphabet. Certain people work (but in vain) at what the letters signify among the Hebrews, but [such meanings] are not therefore assigned [to the letters or verses].

Having set aside letterish interpretation, he now feels compelled to explain why Lamentations was composed in this odd fashion:

it has been observed in certain poems that they are more easily learned.... And those who devote themselves to the art of memory, have not found an easier way than alphabetical. So the Holy Spirit also teaches us in this way.<sup>20</sup>

Bucer similarly distances himself from letterish interpretation. In his exposition of Psalm 119, itself an alphabetical acrostic, he says this:

This psalm is composed according to the order of the Hebrew alphabet, every eight verses beginning with the same letter. Many have tried to find the reason for this, but arrived at nothing certain. Nor has it been granted to me to offer any explanation. Let us therefore focus our attention on matters which are certain.<sup>21</sup>

Zwingli's lectures contain a most succinct dismissal of letterish interpretation:

[The Lamentations] are moreover written according to the number and order of the Hebrew letters. In this matter I have no regard for allegories and mysteries of numbers.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Oecolampadius, In Threnos Hieremiae, p. 299

<sup>21</sup> Bucer, S. Psalmorum, VVv verso.

<sup>22</sup> Ulrich Zwingli, CR v. 101, p. 667.

**Pellican** does not allude directly to letterish interpretation but indirectly refutes it by stating the probable reason for its existence. In so doing he alludes to the same Latin poem to which Thomas Aquinas and Nicholas de Lyre do in their introductions to Lamentations.

These Jewish songs are very nearly blank verse, not as in the custom of Latins tied to the number or quantity of syllables. The order of the alphabet serves a more elegant nature in a certain type of song, for poetic play and for helping memory: for no other reason than Sedulius did in his poem "From the Pole of the Sun's Rising."

Let it be noted in passing that Pellican is apparently unaware that the Pseudo-Jerome Lamentations commentary is not really of Jerome.<sup>23</sup>

In a fashion similar to Oecolampadius and Zwingli, **Münster** warns against seeing mysteries in the letters of an alphabetical acrostic. In fact he directly refutes (without naming him) Radbertus:

These laments of the prophet Jeremiah are written in Hebrew in such an order that the first verse begins with alef, the second with bet, the third gimel, and so on until through the letters of the alphabet in series: do not

<sup>23</sup> "By this verse too according to Jerome negligent leaders of God's church are censured, on account of whose lack of care every glory of the Christian people perishes, since they attempt to labor neither in meditating on the divine law nor in exercising true virtues, but they are led away in excess of desires through various crimes according to the suggestive comments of an importunate enemy:" Conrad Pellican, in his exposition of Lam. 1:6 in "Commentaria in Lamentationes Ieremiae, Hebraice dictas Chinoth" in Commentarii Bibliorum. Cf. the Pseudo-Jerome on Lam. 1:6: "In a similar fashion these things could be referred to the final captivity and to the Church, both historically and spiritually, whose leaders often seek the pasture of God's word but do not find it, because the Lord sent a famine on the earth."

suppose that any mystery is beneath the surface because the Latin authors added the name of the Hebrew letters to each and every verse. For it is observed that in certain poems that they are more easily learned and retained in the memory thereafter.

Among the Reformers I am discussing, Calvin pays least attention to the phenomenon of alphabetical acrostic. In fact, Calvin does not even bother to mention in his introduction to Lamentations that four of its five chapters are alphabetical acrostics. Finally in his exposition of 3:1, he remarks:

The letters of the alphabet are tripled in this chapter, a fact which I had omitted to mention. In the first two chapters each verse begins with the successive letters of the alphabet....<sup>24</sup>

Calvin is, of course, not particularly negligent when he fails to mention the alphabetical character of Lamentations. The Hebrew letters to some extent organize the thoughts of the Hebrew poet, but these same letters do not determine the content of his poems, as Jerome and many medieval interpreters supposed. Thus Calvin represents a complete break with the medieval interpretation of Lamentations. The earliest Reformers began by refuting letterish interpretation; Calvin has no more need to do so. This radical break with the history of Christian exegesis of scripture is a product both of the birth of Protestant Christian Hebraism and of the Reformed emphasis on philological interpretation.

<sup>24</sup> Calvin, Lam., p. 391.

Turning now from the pseudo-philology of letterish interpretation to the beginnings of linguistically sound Protestant Hebraism, let us inquire as to the Reformers' views on the Hebrew language, the MT and the Jewish commentators in the Bomberg Bible.

Oecolampadius is numbered among those who accepted the MT as authoritative.<sup>25</sup> For example, he begins his commentary on Lamentations by explaining that this lament in the Hebrew Bible is found as the third of the "five little books" (i.e., the Five Festal Scrolls).<sup>26</sup> His views on the Jewish commentators may be found in his commentary on Isaiah.<sup>27</sup> Here he affirms

For my part, I am compelled to confess that I have been unable to grasp the mind of the prophet in many passages from either the Greek or the Latin translation; and except I had had the ability to read the Hebrew, and consulted the commentaries of the Hebrews, I would not have dared even to undertake this.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> R. Gerald Hobbs, "*Monitio Amica*: Pellican à Capiton sur le danger des lecture rabbiniques," in *Horizons européens de la Réforme en Alsace*, Marijn de Kroon et Marc Leinhard <eds.>, (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1980), p. 82. Roussel, "La Bible de 1530 à 1600," pp. 222-225.

<sup>26</sup> Oecolampadius, *In Threnos Hieremiae*, (1533), page before sig. Pp iii.

<sup>27</sup> *In Iesaiam Prophetam Hypomnematōn*, (Basel, 1525); see Hobbs, "Strasbourg et l'école rhénane, 2: l'hébreu, le judaïsme et la théologie," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, v. 135, no. 1, 1989, p. 48, note 26; the citation from Oecolampadius Isaiah commentary is from Hobbs' same article, p. 50, note 34.

<sup>28</sup> *In Iesaim Prophetam Hypomnematōn*, (Basel, 1525), sig. a3 verso. Translation is from Hobbs, *Introduction*, p. 232.

Bucer's views on the Hebrew language are set forth clearly in his introduction to his Psalms commentary.

Jerome and Augustine demonstrated that

there is no other language, as I have been persuaded also, which speaks all things, both properly and subtly.... Besides those twenty-four books, which we rightly call sacred scripture, no suitable book written in this language is extant.<sup>29</sup>

The MT itself is clearly the authoritative text of Old Testament scripture, since the Jews by means of the Masorah "kept for us the unadulterated reading of the books of scripture."<sup>30</sup> The text of the Septuagint, on the other hand is corrupt:

For the same reason also I did not frequently cite the Greek version in the form in which we have it. For it varies from the Hebrew text very much, and I hold it beyond doubt that the text which was first published by a certain Aldus is by no means that of the seventy translators, but is perhaps conflated from the translations of them and others.<sup>31</sup>

As for the Jewish commentators, some are better than others. Bucer has no stomach for Rashi's unique combination of aggadah and philology. Bucer holds the Jews up for ridicule since they so admire Rashi

who spits on the sacred books of the Bible with silly talk which is not only wicked but just plain ridiculous....<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> S. Psalmorum libri quinque, (Strasbourg: G. Ulrichero Andlano chalcographo, 1529), sig. 4 verso.

<sup>30</sup> S. Psalmorum, sig. 7 verso.

<sup>31</sup> S. Psalmorum, sig. 6 verso. The "Aldus" here is Aldo Manuzio (1499-1515), or Aldus Manucius, the famous Italian printer.

<sup>32</sup> S. Psalmorum, sig. 7 recto.

On the other hand, the Jews

...have among them two men, Abraham ibn Ezra and David Kimhi, who with great zeal pursued the true nature of the words and the natural order of phrases--with the exception of those places where they are pushed by prophecies concerning the spiritual reign of Christ....<sup>33</sup>

Very different is Zwingli's perspective on Hebrew and the MT. Zwingli believed that Hebrew had been corrupted after the Babylonian exile; and therefore he would have as little as possible to do with medieval Hebrew grammarians and their commentaries.<sup>34</sup>

Anticipating certain modern tendencies, Zwingli believed that the Septuagint was translated from a Hebrew text more original than the Masoretic.<sup>35</sup> He further distrusted the Hebrew vowel points. For example, Zwingli says:

The vowel points of the Rabbis do much to stand in the way, for they either delete or abridge words which were formerly there....<sup>36</sup>

Rather than negative, Pellican's attitude towards Hebrew, the MT and the Jewish commentators is mixed, or

<sup>33</sup> S. Psalmorum, sig. 7 verso.

<sup>34</sup> R. Gerald Hobbs, "Zwingli and the Study of the Old Testament," in Huldrych Zwingli, 1484-1531: a Legacy of Radical Reform: Papers from the 1984 International Zwingli Symposium, McGill University, E.J. Furcha, <ed>, ARC supplement <no. 2>, (Montreal: Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, 1985), esp. pp. 158-160.

<sup>35</sup> Hobbs, "Zwingli," pp. 167-8.

<sup>36</sup> From his preface to his Complanatio in Threnos Ieremiae Prophetarum, CR v. 101, p. 667.



rather contradictory.<sup>37</sup> Pellican evinces a positive dislike for the Hebrew language, over which he gained mastery with so much toil: Hebrew is "a barbarous language," ill adapted for writing poetry,<sup>38</sup> while his own native German is "the noblest and richest" of all tongues.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, he earned his living teaching Hebrew, translating rabbinic texts, and expounding the Hebrew Bible. Pellican's seven-volume Commentaria Bibliorum is a study in that very contradiction. The long title of his commentary proclaims that he is expounding the familiar Vulgate but that he has corrected it "according to the Hebrew text." However, toward the end of this preface to his commentaries, he says candidly:

Left to myself, I would have stuck to the translation done in the name of St. Jerome. However, I was asked by the brothers and the printer (even though the commentary should have gone to press already) to emend the ancient text here and there. Certainly it cannot be denied that it is rather careless here, but rather free there. The author followed the clarity and elegance of speech and often used a sense translation rather than a literal one.... So I submitted not just to the advice but rather the prayers of devout friends. I polished up the translation which has been received in the Churches under the name of Jerome, rendering Hebrew expressions

<sup>37</sup> R. Gerald Hobbs spoke of "the Ambivalent Heritage of a Pioneer," in an unpublished paper presented at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, Toronto, Oct. 27-29, 1994.

<sup>38</sup> Ludvig Geiger, "Zur Geschichte des Studiums der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland während des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, Band IV, 1890, p. 123.

<sup>39</sup> Pellican, Chronicle, ed. Ahrens, p. 264.

by Latin words as much as that were possible, and not departing from Jerome's words unless the Hebrew text seemed to hint something else. But where the sense of the Hebrew is ambiguous, I preferred ancient authority to recent. I preferred to be in doubt with Jerome and the seventy translators of the Greeks rather than with upstart Jews to make a decision as if it were a sure thing.<sup>40</sup>

Thus unlike Zwingli, Pellican never really doubts the authenticity of the MT. The LXX, like the Vulgate, remains a translation of the Hebrew. However, since the meaning of the MT is at times unclear, the ancient translations remain authoritative.

Pellican seems to have reluctantly admitted the authority of the MT. He was under no such constraints to recognize the Jewish commentators. Pellican's words on the Jewish commentators are intemperate, as was his custom when dealing with things Jewish. In a 1541 letter to Boniface Amerbach, Pellican said frankly that, apart from the Hebrew Bible, Hebrew literature was filth and made him sick to his stomach.<sup>41</sup> (We know from his autobiography that he was acquainted not just with the Jewish commentators of the Bomberg Bible but with a wide variety of rabbinic literature, and that he translated vast quantities of it. My conclusion would be that Pellican must have suffered from nausea a great deal.) As does Bucer, Pellican heaps scorn on Rashi. To my knowledge the only Jewish exegetes of whom Pel-

<sup>40</sup> Commentaria Bibliorum, folio B2 verso-B3 recto.

<sup>41</sup> As cited in Geiger, "Zur Geschichte," p. 124.

lican has anything good to say are Ibn Ezra, the Kimḥis (the father Joseph, the two sons, Moses and David), and Gersonides.<sup>42</sup> (It is not a coincidence that three of these commentators feature prominently in the Bomberg Bible.) Pellican may not have been a great fan of Hebrew, he may have only used the MT by constraint, but he displays a sense of fair play in commending cautiously certain of the Jewish commentators. He does so, not because they write in Hebrew but because they are useful:

Even the books of manifest enemies such as heretics--both Gentiles and Jews--are not read uselessly, provided one has the time through the necessary efforts of study.<sup>43</sup>

Comparing Münster's Hebraism to that of the others whom I am discussing seems hardly fair. As was Paul Fagius, Münster was something of a linguistic genius, but more than that he was a professional scholar rather than a Protestant activist. He produced some forty works, many of which were Hebrew study tools. Particularly important for discovering Münster's attitude to Hebrew, the MT and the Jewish commentators is his 1534-35 Latin-Hebrew Bible. I studied his address "To the Christian and devout reader"<sup>44</sup> in that Bible, and I must admit to being impressed with the breadth of his knowledge of Hebrew, as well as his relatively

<sup>42</sup> Commentaria Biblicorum, Praefatio, v. 1, folio A4 recto.

<sup>43</sup> Commentaria Biblicorum, folio A4 recto.

<sup>44</sup> It begins on sig. α4 recto and continues for three pages.

sympathetic attitude toward the people who had guarded the MT for so many centuries. I cannot help but think that Münster was intimately involved in the printing of his Latin-Hebrew Bible. It gives evidence of someone who loved the Hebrew language and showed that love by providing fine type and an esthetically pleasing layout. But to return Münster's address. He rejects the Septuagint as an authoritative text. Why as early as Jerome's time, it was known to scholars that "not only did it translate faultily in many places, but it also was corrupted by scribes and sciolists." Münster also dares to criticize the translator of the Vulgate:

For anyone who has learned Hebrew even in a mediocre way will easily see that our interpreter, whoever he might have been, was not sufficiently sighted.

Having established the inadequacies of existing translations of the Old Testament, Münster declares his intention to provide a fresh rendering of "the Hebrew text, with the commentaries of the rabbis as witnesses." Now Münster knows that using the Jewish commentators can be controversial; but, he says, "I did not immediately take everything which I found in them as oracles, the way some people do." He used the rabbinic commentators discriminatingly. In his translation and exegesis of the Pentateuch he tapped the resources of "the Targum, Rashi, David Kimhi, Ibn Ezra, Menaḥem ibn Saruq, Abraham ben Jacob Saba who wrote "Bundle of Myrrh," Seder Olam, Moses ben Jacob of

Coucy, Nahmanides, Arba'ah Turim."<sup>45</sup> That is, Münster is not restricted to the Bomberg Bible commentators but is familiar with a wide variety of Jewish sources, including the two full commentaries on the Pentateuch of Abraham Saba and Nahmanides.

What Calvin has to say on the Hebrew language and the Masoretic Text is found in his Institutes.<sup>46</sup> He repeats the accusation that "after the Jews were brought back from exile... they departed from the true use of the mother tongue...." Yet at the same time he affirms that even after the horrific persecution of

<sup>45</sup> In Münster's address "To the pious Christian reader," in his 1534-5 Hebrew-Latin Bible. Lit., "the Chaldean interpreter, Rabbi Solomon, David Kimhi, Ibn Ezra, Abraham the Spaniard author of "A Bundle of Myrrh," Seder Olam, R. Moses of Cozi, Moses Gerundensis, Arba Tura." The Pentateuch commentary Tseror ha-Mor of Abraham Saba (d.c. 1508) was published in Venice in 1522. The "Seder Olam" is the name for two Jewish chronicles. Moses ben Jacob, of Coucy (13th cent.), wrote Sefer Mitsvot Gadol, a work on the Six Hundred Thirteen Commandments. Nahmanides (1194-1270), who wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch, is sometimes referred to as "Gerondi," his home town. The Arba'ah Turim, "The Four Rows," is a halakhic compendium, written by Jacob ben Asher (1273-1340).

<sup>46</sup> Bk. 1, sec. 9-10, Battles tr., pp. 88-90. As much as has been written on the Biblical interpretation of John Calvin, relatively little has been done on his Hebraism. Only one monograph exists on the subject, and this is in the first instance a defense that he could read the language at all. Richard Simon (1638-1712) both one of the founders of the critical-historical method and also a defender of Catholicism, threw down the gauntlet when he claimed that Calvin, far from being an accomplished Hebraist, could scarcely recognize the Hebrew letters: see Histoire critique du Vieux Testament, (Rotterdam, 1685), p. 435, as cited in A.J. Baumgartner, Calvin hébraïsant, p. 9. A.J. Baumgartner put this dubious claim to rest with a clear demonstration that, although he was not the Reformation's premier Hebraist, he was definitely doing his Old Testament exegesis from the Hebrew text. "...[H]is commentaries contain enough proofs...for us to affirm...he did not use a second-hand science...but he knew how to profit from his own studies...": Calvin hébraïsant et interprète de l'Ancien Testament, (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1889), p. 62.

Antiochus Epiphanes, the sacred "writings remained safe and intact." As far as I have been able to determine, Calvin did not, and probably could not, read the Jewish commentators. In any case, Calvin was not overly generous in citing even his Christian sources,<sup>47</sup> let alone sources he might have had from the Jews, about whom he had little good to say.<sup>48</sup> His allusions to their exegesis are derivative, and his remarks about them are products of stock anti-Judaism polemic. The rabbis, says Calvin, "weary and bewilder themselves in seeking to find out new and subtle interpretation."<sup>49</sup> If the indexes of the Calvin Translation Society be comprehensive in this regard, Calvin mentions a Jewish commentator by name only twice in all of his OT commentaries.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Calvin frequently borrowed from Luther without acknowledging it: see Alexandre Ganoczy, The young Calvin, 1st American ed., David Foxgrover and Wade Provo, <trans>, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), ch.2, sect.1.; see also Walchenbach, John Calvin, ch.5, "Calvin's use of sources in the biblical commentaries."

<sup>48</sup> The best presentation of Calvin's statements on the Jews is in Mary Sweetland Laver, Calvin, Jews and Intra-Christian Polemics, dissertation, photocopy, UMI 8812542, 1988.

<sup>49</sup> John Calvin, Commentary on the Book of the Psalms, tr. by James Anderson, Calvin Translation Society, 1949 Eerdmans reprint, p. 10.

<sup>50</sup> Calvin wrote commentaries on Genesis, Exodus-Deuteronomy, Joshua, Psalms and the Prophets. Calvin disagrees with "David Kimhi's" interpretation of the serpent's words in Genesis 3 (Commentaries on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis, tr. and ed. by John King, Calvin Translation Society, 1948 Eerdmans reprint, p. 146. Only once, to my knowledge, does Calvin make a favorable remark about a Jewish commentator. On Ps. 112:5, Calvin says: "The term דְּבָרִים, *debarim*, in the end of the verse, signifies "words"; but, along with David Kimchi, the most correct expositor

This short survey of the Hebraism of Peter Martyr's contemporaries and near-contemporaries amply demonstrates Hobbs' contention that a unified attitude toward the Hebrew language and the Masoretic text did not exist among them.<sup>51</sup> On the one hand is great trust in the MT, as exemplified in Bucer; on the other hand is Zwingli's rejection of it both in theory and in practice. A mediating position is (characteristically) taken by Calvin. It is a measure of the strength of their commitment to evangelical reform that these Reformed exegetes worked together in spite of their differences over things Hebrew. In the period of Protestant Orthodoxy which followed, such differences would not have been tolerated.

If their views on the OT text and its Jewish interpreters were diverse, so were their notions of the correct way to translate the Hebrew Bible. Among the Hebraists here being discussed, three belong to a certain stream of translators, as is demonstrated by the synoptic table of Latin translations of Lamentations during the second quarter of the sixteenth century (Appendix One). This synoptic table consists of five columns. The column furthest left is the Lamentations text for Pellican's Commentaria Bibliorum;

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among the rabbis, I take it to mean 'affairs'" (Commentary on the Book of Psalms, ed. and tr. by James Anderson, Calvin Translation Society, Eerdmans reprint, 1949, vol. 4, p. 326.

<sup>51</sup> "Strasbourg et l'école rhénane d'exégèse: 2. l'hébreu..." p. 42-53.

it is so close to the Vulgate that it constitutes a typical Vulgate text for the first half of the sixteenth century and so serves as a starting point. Where Pellican corrects the Vulgate from the MT, I have underlined these words and printed in the Vulgate text above or below. The next column is the text from Pagnini's new Latin translation of the scriptures. As will be evident, the Dominican Hebraist Santes Pagnini and the traditional Vulgate are the starting point for the Lamentations translations of Oecolampadius and Münster. (Martyr starts from the Vulgate, uses readings first from Münster and then from Pagnini; he also may be using another source now lost or at least undiscovered by me. The next chapter on Martyr's Hebraism contains a fuller analysis of Martyr's Latin Lamentations text.) Pagnini's readings are underlined with red ink, Oecolampadius' with blue, Münster's green, and Martyr's yellow. The interrelationships among these authors are almost as complex as the relationship of the synoptic gospels to each other--except that in this case "Q" (the Vulgate) is not merely conceptual.

Since Pagnini's Lamentations Latin translation exercised a demonstrable influence on the subsequent attempts of Oecolampadius, Münster and Martyr, I shall add parenthetically a few notes on it. I have not studied Pagnini's Old Testament translation in its entirety, and what I say may only be applicable to his



translation of Lamentations. First, it must be noted that Pagnini does not start *de novo*. In certain difficult verses such as Lam. 1:20, Pagnini reconstructs the Vulgate to such an extent that there is little left. In other cases such as Lam. 2:17, he keeps the Vulgate, apart from insignificant cosmetic changes. For Pagnini the scriptures are still the Vulgate. He is correcting the Vulgate in the light of the philological advances which were unavailable to Jerome. Second, it should be acknowledged that Pagnini is more literalistic than was Jerome. For example he often translates הָיָה as if it meant the verb "to be"--which in the Hebrew Bible it usually does not. Jerome is more correct to translate it as "become."

Oecolampadius is an advocate of literal translation, as are Jerome and Pagnini.<sup>52</sup> Following the lead of Pagnini, Oecolampadius did not begin with a *tabula rasa*. He felt quite free to keep the Vulgate's rendering where he believed it to represent the MT well. As does Pagnini, Oecolampadius tries to do Jerome's job in Jerome's way, but do it better on the basis of the larger amount of Hebrew learning available to him, but not to Jerome. In his Lamentations commentary there is also much verbal correspondence between his translation and that of Pagnini's. This is not surprising until we

<sup>52</sup> R. Gerald Hobbs, "Strasbourg et l'école rhénane d'exégèse (1525-1540): 2. l'hébreu...", p. 48, note 26, cites Oecolampadius, In Iesaiam Prophetam Hypomnematon, (Basel, 1525), sig. a3 verso-4 recto, b3 recto.

recall that Pagnini's translation did not appear until 1528, the year Oecolampadius lectured on Lamentations. It cannot be that Pagnini borrowed from Oecolampadius (had he even heard of him?), since Oecolampadius' lectures were not published until 1533; so Oecolampadius must have borrowed from the famous Semitist. However, the extent of that borrowing varies. Oecolampadius quite reconstructs the Vulgate of Lam. 2:6. At other times he will copy an error from Pagnini. For example in Lam. 4:6b where Pagnini for חָנוּ reads חָנוּ ("pitch camp")--(did Pagnini misread or did his Hebrew text have this?)--Oecolampadius does the same. Thus I have the impression that Oecolampadius needed Pagnini to help him through the more obscure passages of Lamentations. In one matter, nevertheless, Oecolampadius' work compares favorably with that of the more learned Catholic. He often avoids the wooden literalism into which Pagnini can fall. For example Pagnini will often translate (logically enough) a verb in the hif'il with the rare Latin construction *facere* plus an infinitive (see L&S *facio* 1A<sub>y</sub>). Thus הִשְׁלִיךְ in Lam. 2:1 become for Pagnini *proiicere fecit*; in this instance, as is usually the case, Oecolampadius does not keep Pagnini's literalistic rendering.

Bucer is a persuasive advocate of paraphrastic translation. Fully half the preface of his Psalms commentary is an apology for his practice of rendering the

sense rather than the letter.<sup>53</sup> Bucer, indulging in a little polemic, characterizes some exegetes as those who "illustrated with commentaries beautifully what they translated very obscurely."<sup>54</sup> Bucer promises a sense translation, and that is just what he delivers, if his rendering of Psalm 1 be at all characteristic of the whole Psalter. He seems largely to have broken free of the Vulgate. He even goes so far as to translate the sense of the Hebrew metaphors rather than the metaphors themselves. For Ps. 1:1b Jerome has *et in via peccatorum non stetit* ("and he has not stood in the way of sinners"), while Bucer renders *nec instituto flagitiosorum vixerit* ("nor will he have lived by the principles of the profligate"). Thus Bucer anticipated a practice of the Good News Bible, which has here "who do not follow the example of sinners."

Zwingli, like Bucer, is an advocate of sense translation rather than literal.<sup>55</sup> His translation of Lamentations can only be described as more adventuresome than accurate. His pessimism concerning the state of the Hebrew text, and his insistence on a sense translation rather than literal, allowed him considerable freedom. There are flashes of brilliance,

<sup>53</sup> Bucer, *S. Psalmorum*, Preface, sig. 4 verso-6 verso.

<sup>54</sup> *S. Psalmorum*, sig. 6 recto.

<sup>55</sup> R. Gerald Hobbs, "Zwingli and the study of the Old Testament," pp. 152ff, cites Zwingli's preface of *Complanationis Isaiae Prophetiae Foetura Prima*, in CR 101, pp. 85-103. For Zwingli's Latin translation, see CR 101, pp. 504ff.

such as are found in modern "dynamic equivalency" scripture translations. This is evident in his very first line: "How does the city now sit alone which was previously so very well populated." The phrase, "previously so well populated" seems to be in part inspired by the LXX, ἡ πεπληθυμμένη ἐν λαῶν. His translation also has obvious gaffes. The Hebrew text of 1:3c says that "they overtook her בֵּין הַמְצָרִים," i.e., as Jerome rightly translates, "between the narrows." Zwingli has, "and she lives among enemies." The LXX has "in the middle of oppressors." "Oppressors" in the sense of "those who restrict" is, to be sure, a possible equivalent of "narrows." Zwingli seems to have taken "oppressors" to be "enemies." He probably figured that the Hebrew text behind LXX read בֵּין הַמְצָרִים, i.e. "among the enemies." It is to his credit, however, that he tried, and in large part succeeded, in breaking free of the Vulgate and producing a fresh translation. (It should be noted in passing that, if Zwingli's translation of Lamentations be any indication, he does not generally follow Bucer's radically paraphrastic practice of translating the sense of metaphors instead of the metaphors themselves.)

Pellican, as noted above, kept to the Vulgate insofar as he could justify it as a literal translation of the MT. Not taking into account punctuation and stray *et*'s (difficult to trace back to Jerome in any case), Pellican in his Latin rendering of Lamentations

departs from the Vulgate only in thirty-eight instances. (Reference here may be made to the synopsis of Lamentations translations, Appendix One, where Pellican's renderings are in the far left column.) Twice (1:5, 1:9) he puts in brackets an alternative rendering of the Hebrew more literal than that of Jerome which he printed. Five times he brackets readings in the Vulgate (2:8, 2:18, 3:42, 4:15, and 5:6), implying that those words are interpolations or mistakes. For example, in 2:8 he brackets *suum, et*, a reading which is found in the LXX but not the MT. The remainder of the bracketed words represent readings found in neither the MT nor the LXX. More often than bracketing Vulgate words Pellican either changes or modifies them. In no case is an LXX reading alone made the basis for a change in the Vulgate. As he promised on the title page of his scripture commentary, he used the MT as his authoritative base.

Sometimes Pellican's changes to the Vulgate involve the minutiae of the MT. In 2:3a the Vulgate and the LXX read "in the anger of *his* fury," while the MT reads "in anger of fury." Pellican is careful to leave out the *his*, since it is not attested in the MT.

What Pellican leaves untouched of the Vulgate is equally remarkable. He copies without comment readings he must have known to have been faulty. A glaring example of this is Jerome's translation of 1:5b: *quia dominus locutus es super eam* for כי יהוה הוֹגֵהָ. The

context demands that הוּגָה be from the hif'il of הָגָה, meaning "to afflict." There evidently was a Jewish scruple for reading the verse to mean that God afflicted Judah. Therefore the verse was read as if הוּגָה were from הָגָה, to mutter. Jerome followed the Jewish reading rather than the philological one. Ironically Pellican, who is usually hostile to anything Jewish, copies Jerome's Jewish reading. One possible reason for Pellican's decision here is the very bizarre way in which he interprets sinful Judah as a figure for the struggling evangelical church. I am unaware that any of the medieval commentators were as bold as Pellican is here, twisting the image of God's sinful people being punished to God's faithful people suffering persecution.

Münster was a translator after the order of Oecolampadius: he translates the MT literally by using the Vulgate where it suits and by correcting the Vulgate using the best resources available. Münster's work on Lamentations shows a fair degree of verbal correspondence with that of Pagnini. More surprisingly it also shows some degree of verbal correspondence with that of Oecolampadius as well (see Appendix One). Some of this correspondence is no doubt purely coincidental. At other times such correspondence is simply too marked to be mere coincidence. For example, the Vulgate of Lam. 1:22 reads *Ingrediatur omne malum eorum coram te* (a reading which Pagnini adopts verbatim).

Oecolampadius has *Veniat omnis malitia in conspectum tuum*. Münster has *Veniat omne malum in conspectum tuum*. Theoretically this could be explained by Oecolampadius' using an unpublished manuscript of Münster, since the latter evidently arrived in Basel before the former died. This, however, is not the case since Oecolampadius shows none of the characteristic stamp of Münster's translation. For example, as will be noted below, Oecolampadius never copies a very attractive feature of Münster, that of supplying connectors such as *et*. Presumably from 1529 Münster would have had access to Oecolampadius' manuscript. In any case, Oecolampadius' lectures on Lamentations were printed in 1533, perhaps time enough for Münster to have made use of them in the second volume of his Latin-Hebrew Old Testament published in 1535. This conclusion is not without its problems. Why would a linguistic genius like Münster borrow from a merely competent Hebraist like Oecolampadius?<sup>56</sup> I do not think this reflects negatively on Münster. I do not see that Münster in any way relied on Oecolampadius for the meaning of the Hebrew, any more than he relied on Pagnini. Rather, both previous translators are a source of inspiration for Münster when he came to try to find Latin equivalents for Hebrew words and phrases.

<sup>56</sup> Since Oecolampadius is not a Luther or Calvin, we tend to forget how much influence Oecolampadius exerted on his contemporaries. Poythress, Johannes Oecolampadius' Exposition, pp. 122ff, makes a start at demonstrating that influence.

In any case the Reformers liberally borrowed from each other without embarrassment and often without attribution. Also in the Renaissance-Reformation era cribbing from others without acknowledgment did not carry the same stigma it does today.

One feature of Münster's translation on which I wish to focus is his habit of supplying connectors to the vivid lines and phrases of the poetry of Lamentations. Most often he supplies an *et* not found in the MT: he does this twice in Lam. 1:1, and continues right up to 5:19. With a certain amount of irritation I silently labelled Münster as "the *et* translator." Other connectors which make their appearance are *sed* (Lam. 1:3c, 2:9), *ob id* (2:8), *aut* (3:38) and *quoque* (3:62). This same zeal for clarity also induces Münster to supply in parentheses words not found in the MT (Lam. 1:6, etc.). By supplying connectors and words Münster achieves greater lucidity than do Pagnini and Oecolampadius, but he does so at the expense of making the often ambiguous poetry of Lamentations pedestrian.

Calvin's practice of translation is similar to that of Oecolampadius and Münster. I do not have Calvin's translation in my synopsis of Lamentations translations in Appendix One. Nonetheless, I compared Calvin's translation of Lam. 1 with the Vulgate and with the translations of Pagnini and Münster. In general Calvin shows an independent spirit, but as do Oecolampadius and Münster he borrows heavily from the



Vulgate. Calvin also borrows frequently from Münster, as is evident from Lam. 1:1 on. For 1:1a Münster reads, *Quomodo sedet civitas solitaria, et quae abundabat facta est...*; Calvin has, *Quomodo sedet solitaria civitas, quae abundavit populo! facta est....*

Contrary to the practice of Münster and Pagnini, Calvin will translate with good Latin idiom but then in parentheses give a literalistic translation.<sup>57</sup> For example, for Lam 1:4a Calvin writes:

THE WAYS OF ZION ARE MOURNING FROM THOSE NOT  
COMING (literally, "because there is not any  
who come").

At other times Calvin will translate in a literalistic way and in parentheses explain in idiomatic Latin. For example in Lam. 1:10c Calvin has:

SO THAT THEY MIGHT NOT ENTER INTO THE  
ASSEMBLY TO YOU (i.e., "which is sacred to  
you").

At still other times Calvin will insert a philological note in parentheses in his translation. For example in Lam. 1:15b he has,

HE CALLED A DAY OVER ME (i.e., "he decreed a  
fixed day," others translate, "assembly"; and  
מוֹעֵד means both "the gathering" itself as  
well as "the appointed time").

Calvin also can be inaccurate. In Lam. 1:5a, for *אֵיבֵיָהּ שָׁלוֹ* Calvin has two translations, one correct and an alternative in parentheses, which is incorrect:  
*hostes eius feliciter egerunt (fuerunt in pace, שָׁלוֹ).*

<sup>57</sup> Münster will sometimes put in parentheses interpolations: e.g., Lam. 1:14c, *in manus (hostis) unde*.

The alternative is incorrect, since שלו is not from the root ש.ל.ו., and so cannot mean "were at peace." Neither the Hebrew commentators (Rashi and Ibn Ezra) nor other translators (Jerome, Oecolampadius, Münster) make this error.<sup>58</sup> He also has the habit of translating היה as "to be" instead of what in fact it usually means, "become" (see his translations of Lam. 1:5, 1:6, 1:16).

Calvin does not follow Münster slavishly but is quite capable of taking issue with him (without naming him): in Lam. 1:7 Münster translates משבחה as *otium eius*, but, says Calvin, "they who render it 'leisure' or 'idleness,' either pervert or too much obscure the meaning of the Prophet."

Although I did not investigate which lexicons Calvin might have used, two of his renderings seem to me most probably the result of using either Münster or Pagnini's dictionary. Calvin's translation of Lam. 1:20a has:

...MY VISCERA HAVE BEEN IN TURMOIL (others [translate], "have contracted."

It is Rashi who supposes that חמרמרו means "contracted." Neither Pagnini nor Münster's translations have Rashi's interpretation. (Nor do Oecolampadius and Pellican.) In his exposition of Lam. 1:17, Calvin justified his translation of פרש in part by disagreeing with "some" who "have rendered the words, that she had

<sup>58</sup> R. Gerald Hobbs has found a source for this: Pagnini in his 1529 lexicon claimed Rashi as author of this meaning, which he is not.

broken with her hands...." This might be taken as an allusion to Pagnini's rendering (*Fregit Siion manus suas*), except that I do not find any other evidence in Lam. 1 that Calvin used Pagnini's Bible. I feel fairly confident that these two examples are evidence of Calvin's use of a lexicon rather than proof that he ventured into the dense undergrowth of the Bomberg commentators or that he made use of Pagnini's Bible.

Just as there is no uniformity among this group of Reformed exegetes in their views of the MT and the Jewish commentators and in their method of translation, so they do not all use the Jewish commentators in the same way. In order to monitor their use of these Jewish scholars, I studied the first chapter of the Lamentations commentary of Oecolampadius, the notes which Hobbs appends to his critical texts of Bucer's translations of Psalms 1 and 10, the first chapter of Zwingli and Pellican's Lamentations commentaries, the Lamentations annotations of Münster, and the first chapter of Calvin's Lamentations lectures.

Oecolampadius, by my count, alludes to the Jewish commentators nineteen times in the first chapter of his Lamentations commentary. These are almost all in the nature of allusions; only three times does he explicitly refer to Jewish exegesis. Once in Lam. 1:1:

The Hebrews hand down because the king would read the *Threnoi* of the prophet, and after four verses throw the book into the fire, and the prophet added these very discourses afterwards [*Rashi 1:1*].

And once in Lam. 1:11:

Thus the prodigal son wishes to be satisfied with bread, but he is not satisfied with husks: *שֶׁמֶץ* properly refers to the body, and here it is the desire to eat according to the Hebrews [*Perush 1:11, Targum 1:11*].

In these instances Oecolampadius does not refer to Rashi, the Targum or Ibn Ezra directly. Once Oecolampadius refers to Rashi by name:

While the yoke of the Lord is very light, they made things entangled *וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ*: to weave, to bind with many folds and knots [*Rashi 1:4?*]. "In his hand": because your iniquities, which he does not forget, are written in his hand. Thus expounds Rashi: what he does not cut from his hand cannot be loosed.

These three references are not atypical of the balance of Oecolampadius' allusions to his Jewish sources in this first chapter of his Lamentations commentary. Of these nineteen allusions and citations, at least twelve of them deal directly with philological problems. Particularly perspicacious is Oecolampadius's comment on *שֶׁמֶץ*, which is quoted just above. The Christian reader would expect it to mean "soul," so Oecolampadius must explain that in Hebrew it can have a very corporeal sense.

Less frequently Oecolampadius' Jewish references are more "window dressing." In the first reference above to "the Hebrews," Oecolampadius relates (as he understands it) the midrashic interpretation of the structure of the alphabetical acrostics in Lamentations. By using Ibn Ezra's philology, Oecolampadius goes on to refute that midrashic interpretation. In

Lam. 1:10, when interpreting the phrase, THE ENEMY EXTENDED HIS HAND AGAINST ALL HER DESIRABLE THINGS, he repeats a midrashic explanation from Rashi:

For while others are plundering gold and silver, these peoples plunder, destroy and burn the book of law [*Rashi 1:10*].

Oecolampadius apparently does not understand the non-philological character of this traditional Jewish interpretation.

In reviewing Oecolampadius' use of Jewish sources I was impressed with their number and variety. Rashi predominates with ten citations or allusions. There are two allusions to Ibn Ezra, five allusions to the Perush commentary ascribed to Ibn Ezra, and two allusions to the Targum. I would gather that Ibn Ezra's more arcane philological points escaped him. Or it may be that Oecolampadius only uses those points from the Bomberg commentators which are germane to his argument and can be appreciated by his audience.

From what source did Oecolampadius get his references to the Jewish commentators? We know he owned a 1517 Bomberg Bible.<sup>59</sup> We may infer that by the time of his Lamentations lectures Oecolampadius had access to the 1525 edition. It is certainly striking that he cites or alludes to all elements of that Bible (save the Masorah): Rashi, Ibn Ezra, the Ibn Ezra-Perush and the Targum.

<sup>59</sup> Hobbs, Introduction, p. 232.

Of the six Reformed exegetes discussed in this chapter Bucer makes the most use of the Bomberg commentators. R. Gerald Hobbs has demonstrated this in his dissertation's critical text of Bucer's exposition of Psalms 1, 10, 14, 15, 19, 22, 24, 51 and 53. For example, in Bucer's exposition of Ps. 1 there are as many as ten references to the interpretations of Kimhi and Ibn Ezra; two refer to Kimhi explicitly, three to "the Hebrews," and four are probable allusions without attribution. In an annotation of Ps. 10, Hobbs writes:

It is the mediaeval rabbis who furnish the basic sense of the text, as will be apparent from the following notes. David Kimhi is invoked on eleven problems, Ibn Ezra on ten, Rashi on eight, and Ibn Gikatilla twice: this is exclusive of uncredited contributions. Some idea of the significance of this may be gained from a comparison with Psalm 22, which is almost twice the length of 10: there Kimhi is cited on 8 texts, Ibn Ezra on 6, and Rashi on 3.<sup>60</sup>

Bucer read the Hebrew text along with and through the Jewish commentators. He used few secondary sources for rabbinic exegesis but went right back to the sources themselves. On the whole Bucer uses his Jewish sources for philological ends.<sup>61</sup> In a study of Bucer's use of Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Kimhi on Psalm 22, Hobbs shows that Bucer lets Jewish exegetes have their say. Oecolampadius, Pellican and Calvin use it for their own ends and blend it into their exposition. With com-

<sup>60</sup> Hobbs, Introduction, v. 2, p. x.28.

<sup>61</sup> For an analysis of Bucer's use of Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Kimhi, see Hobbs, Introduction, pp. 252-259.

mendable honesty Bucer will let Kimhi speak his piece before he either commends or qualifies Kimhi's interpretation.<sup>62</sup>

How did Bucer have access to the Jewish commentators? Hobbs demonstrates that Bucer used the 1525 Bomberg Bible for his references to Rashi and Ibn Ezra. He further shows that in all probability Bucer read Kimhi from the 1517 Bomberg Bible.<sup>63</sup>

In Zwingli's Lamentations introduction and commentary, as expected, we find no reference to Jewish commentators and not even so much as an allusion to their interpretations.

In spite of his theoretical objections, Pellican did make use of Targum and Jewish commentary, as Hobbs has demonstrated.<sup>64</sup> Since he judges the Jews to be incapable of reaching the spiritual import of the text, his citations of and allusions to the Jewish sources occur in the first short section of his exposition of scripture verses in his Commentaria Bibliorum. In this one chapter alone I count three clear allusions to the Targum (vv. 2, 4, 14), two possible allusions to the Targum (vv. 7, 13), one citation of the Targum (v. 12),

<sup>62</sup> R. Gerald Hobbs, "Martin Bucer on Psalm 22: a Study in the Application of Rabbinic Exegesis by a Christian Hebraist," Histoire de l'exégèse au XVIe siècle: textes du Colloque international tenu à Genève en 1976, Oliver Fatio; Pierre Fraenkel <eds>, (Genève: Droz, 1978), esp. pp. 158-9.

<sup>63</sup> Hobbs, Introduction, pp. 269-270, 277-278.

<sup>64</sup> Hobbs, Introduction, p. 238, notes 50.

two allusions to Rashi (v. 3), one citation of "the Jews"--i.e., Rashi (v. 10), one citation of "the Hebrews"--i.e., Rashi (v. 16), one citation of Ibn Ezra (v. 12). Given the very brief nature of Pellican's commentary, these few references and allusions are not insignificant.

Pellican uses his Jewish sources for both philological and homiletical purposes. In his exposition of the literal meaning of Lam. 1:12, Pellican makes more use of outside sources than anywhere else in chapter one. He writes:

The Hebrew *לֹא אֵלַיכֶם* is dubious. The Syriac interpreter renders it paraphrastically, "I adjure you all who go along the road, turn aside to me here and see." Others interpret it thus: "May it not be grave to you who go along to look on" [Pagnini]. Still others: "O would that you feel in the heart." Ibn Ezra says: "Let these things happen to you"--as if for an example. [Or] it can be said, as if it be a comparison: "Is it nothing to you that my misfortunes exceeded the misfortunes of all people; there is a very wide discrepancy between your affairs and mine" [Münster].

But Pellican also uses his Jewish sources as grist for his homiletical expositions. The Targum has this phrase of Lam. 1:14b:

Intertwined like vine tendrils, they mount on my neck.

Such an evocative image of sin is just too good for Pellican to pass by:

He imposed my iniquities rolled up together, woven, tangled on my neck, so that every ounce of strength left me, a cloud of sins went around my head, and, with regards to any good work, the power of achieving it fell away.



The above interpretation of the Targum is probably also embedded in his homiletical exposition of v. 7. The religion of the Targumist and that of Pellican resonate, in spite of Pellican's best intentions.

Let me also note in passing Pellican's valuation of his Jewish sources. Ibn Ezra is honored with an explicit citation. Rashi is hidden behind "the Jews" or "the Hebrews" or simply pilfered anonymously. As a paraphrase Pellican honors the Targum with an explicit citation, though at least three times his Targumic references are unacknowledged allusions. This squares well with statements Pellican makes concerning his estimations of his Jewish sources, to which reference has already been made above. We ought not to fault Pellican over much for making use of Jewish exegesis without admitting it. First of all, borrowing without acknowledgment is a common trait of pre-modern scholarship. Secondly, he alludes to Münster and Pagnini without explicitly saying so. Thirdly, there is every indication that Pellican read Hebrew and Aramaic "with the speed of summer lightning." He doubtless scanned his Jewish sources quickly and picked out a few bits here and there, almost at random, almost unconsciously. When his references to the Jewish sources is not polemical, such references are an integral part of his exposition.

Note also that in this same chapter there is one citation of Jerome (v. 6), one reference (v. 1) to an

alphabetical poem of Sedulius (probably culled Nicholas de Lyre or possibly from the prologue to Thomas Aquinas' commentary on Lamentations), one allusion to Pagnini's translation of the O.T. (v. 12), and one allusion to Münster's (also v. 12). There are doubtless more allusions to Christian authors and commentators than I found, but it would be interesting to determine whether or not there are as many allusions and references to Christian sources as Jewish. I would doubt it. Pellican may have despised Jewish sources, but, unless this chapter of Lamentations is an exception, he is capable of using his Jewish sources more than his Christian.

Is it possible to determine with great certainty from which sources were Pellican's references to the Jewish commentators, given the fact that he was quite capable of reading Hebrew manuscripts? Certainly not. Nevertheless, we know that he had acquired the 1525 Bomberg Bible in 1527.<sup>65</sup> It seems likely to me that this Bomberg Bible was his regular Hebrew text when he was preparing his Commentarii Bibliorum. This would explain his references to Rashi, Ibn Ezra and the Targum, without, as far as I can tell, any reference to any other Jewish authority. Pellican would hardly have been motivated to search for Jewish sources elsewhere. Nor were the Jewish commentators "dialogue partners,"

<sup>65</sup> Pellican, Chronicle, tr. Ahrens, p. 229.

as they were for Bucer. Rather the rabbinic commentary is a useful exegetical resource, to be scanned and used on occasion.

Calvin, as previously mentioned, does not appear to access the Jewish commentators directly. In his Lamentations lectures his source for Jewish exegesis is, as far as I have been able to determine, Münster's 1534-35 Bible. For example, with regards to the book's name in Hebrew Calvin in the penultimate sentence of his introduction says:

The Greek Translators call this Book Θρήνωνς, Lamentations, and very properly, as also the Hebrews call it קִינוֹת, *kinut* [i.e., *kinot*]; though the common name or title is אֵיכָה, *aikē* [i.e., *eikhah*], from the first word in it. But when they wish to express what the Book contains, they call it קִינוֹת, *kinut*, Lamentations.<sup>66</sup>

This is what Münster has to say:

Just so that book is among the Hebrews anonymous, for they only call it אֵיכָה *Echa* from the first word. However in the commentaries they call it קִינוֹת *Kinot*, i.e. Lamentations--the reason for which [is that]... those laments are one sad poem about the lamentable fall of the Judaeans and the city of Jerusalem.

The first line of Lamentations 1:3 is difficult to interpret because of the ambiguity of the preposition "from":

JUDAH WENT INTO EXILE *FROM* AFFLICTION  
AND *FROM* GREAT SERVITUDE.

After explaining what he thinks this phrase means, Calvin remarks:

<sup>66</sup> Calvin, Lamentations, p. 301.

Some take the words in a passive sense, even that Judah migrated, because they had inhumanly oppressed their servants. But I suspect what has led them astray....

This is an allusion to the Targum, which comes to Calvin from Münster:

JUDAH WENT INTO EXILE ON ACCOUNT OF AFFLICTIONS: the Chaldean interpreter, whoever he was, rendered this phrase: "Judah went away into captivity, for the reason that she afflicted the poor and the widows, and since they treated their Hebrew slaves with harshness, etc."

The first two lines of Lamentations 1:7 are difficult:

JERUSALEM REMEMBERED THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION AND HER WONDERING, ALL HER PLEASANT THINGS WHICH SHE HAD IN FORMER DAYS.

On this verse Calvin comments:

I wonder how all have given this version [i.e., translation], JERUSALEM REMEMBERED THE DAYS etc. Some rightly explain the passage, but all agree in giving a wrong version [translation]. But the meaning is sufficiently evident, JERUSALEM REMEMBERED HER DESIRABLE THINGS IN THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION....<sup>67</sup>

Calvin's source is almost certainly Münster again:

THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION: this seems to be the meaning: Jerusalem remembered in the days of her affliction and unsettledness their desirable things, viz. peace, priesthood, kingdom, blessing of harvest, prophecy, victory, etc.

Lamentations 1:9 begins: HER UNCLEANNESS IS IN HER SKIRTS.... Calvin begins his exposition in this way:

He continues here, as I think, the same subject; he had said at the end of the last verse that turpitude or baseness had been

<sup>67</sup> Calvin, Lam., p. 314.

seen at Jerusalem; and now he says that it was on the very fringes or skirts. The Prophet seems to allude to menstruous women who hide their uncleanness as much as they can; but such a thing is of no avail, as nature must have its course. This seems to be the prophet's meaning. Interpreters think that Jeremiah speaks of the sins of the people, but they are mistaken; for I doubt not but that the reference is to their punishment.<sup>68</sup>

Where is Calvin's source here? It appears to be an unambiguous allusion to Rashi:

The language of shame; it is the blood of her menstruation recognized in the skirts of her clothing: that is to say, her sins, many uncoverings, her deed in the open.

On the other hand, Rashi may be mediated through Münster:

HER UNCLEANNESS IS IN HER SKIRTS: the meaning is: she sinned without any shame; she has become similar to a shameless woman who does not fear that she carry around her menstrual blood publicly in her skirts.

Lam.1:12 begins so enigmatically (NOT TO YOU ALL PASSING ALONG A WAY) that modern interpreters emend it, but this was not a live option for the Jewish commentators or the Reformer. At one point in his exposition Calvin says:

...and others [read]: "Let not sorrow be upon you," that is, let not what I have, happen to you; so that it is a prayer expressive of benevolence.<sup>69</sup>

Rashi read the phrase this way:

"Not to you": may there not happen something like this disaster again.

<sup>68</sup> Calvin, Lam., p. 320.

<sup>69</sup> Calvin, Lam., p. 325.

Similarly Perush interprets:

She is praying that it will not come to you  
as it came to me.

And Ibn Ezra:

May it not happen to you what happened to me.  
Calvin seems to have in mind an interpretation derived  
from the Jewish commentators. Münster cannot be the  
source for Calvin, since Münster does not refer to this  
verse in his exegetical notes. Possibly Pagnini is Cal-  
vin's source, since he translated: "Let it not be grave  
to you."

In Lam. 1:13 begins:

From on high he sent fire into my bones and  
it prevailed on it.

Calvin remarks:

They who interpret *bones of fortified places*  
[italics mine], weaken the meaning of the  
Prophet.

This is an allusion to the Targum via Münster:

FROM ON HIGH HE SENT FIRE: the Chaldean  
translator rendered it thus: "From the  
heavens he sent fire into my stronger  
fortifications and subdued them."

Calvin's respect for Münster's philological notes  
is evident beyond Lam. 1. In Lam. 2:2 Münster mentions  
Rashi and the Targum's interpretations of the Hebrew  
קַרְנָא. Calvin notes these as well but without indicat-  
ing his source. In Lam 1:3 Münster explains the mean-  
ing of "horn" according to the Targum; Calvin does as  
well but without mentioning either Münster or the  
Targum. In Lam. 2:6 Münster says מַעֲדָן means "the ark  
and the mercy seat. Calvin mentions this interpreta-

tion but refutes it; again he does not refer to Münster. In Lam. 2:9 Münster notes the Targum's interpretation of "they are without the law." Calvin also mentions the interpretation of the "Chaldee Paraphraser," but he does not acknowledge Münster as his source.

As a general rule, then, Calvin's apparent references to Jewish exegesis are mediated through Münster's philological notes in his Hebrew-Latin Bible. There is a residue of allusions to Jewish exegesis which I cannot adequately explain as references to Münster. The matter needs much more study. On the whole I am inclined to think Calvin either did not, or could not, read the Bomberg commentators. This issue aside, the way Calvin uses Jewish exegesis, however derived, is striking. Calvin's humanist education and his native abilities equipped him well to track down the philological meaning of scripture. Jewish sources become a means of arriving at the philological meaning or function as a rhetorical foil to set it out in sharp relief.

Let me add one final note on Calvin's probable Hebrew text. Calvin did not write his name in the front of books, as did Martyr, so it is impossible to determine whether or not the 1524-25 Münster Bible listed by Ganoczy belonged to Calvin. It did not, at

any rate, belong to Martyr.<sup>70</sup> Given Calvin's constant use of Münster's philological notes and his Latin translation, I would say there was good circumstantial evidence for his Hebrew text to be that of Münster.<sup>71</sup>

As the above survey of Oecolampadius, Bucer, Zwingli, Pellican, Münster and Calvin indicates, when Peter Martyr began his exegetical labors in Protestant Europe, the path of Hebraism was well blazed. At the same time, it was not a uniform Hebraism. There was no unanimity in issues even so fundamental as the place of the MT in Christian exegesis. Martyr was to situate himself in Reformed Hebraism by a sustained effort of twenty years of scripture exposition. And it is the character of Martyr's Hebraism in his Lamentations commentary which is the subject of my next chapter.

<sup>70</sup> Ganoczy, La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin, pp. 18-19, 21.

<sup>71</sup> Calvin's Hebrew texts for his Genesis commentary were the Münster Bible and the Estienne edition, not the Bomberg Bibles. See, H.F. van Rooy, "Calvin's Genesis commentary--which Bible text did he use?," in Our Reformational tradition: a Rich Heritage and Lasting Vocation, (Potchefstroom, South Africa: Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, 1984), pp 203-216, esp. p. 215.



1. Christian Use of Jewish Resources in Biblical Study

1.6 Martyr's Hebraism

The previous chapter presented some characteristics of Reformed Hebraism in the first half of the sixteenth century. Now we move on to the Hebraism of Martyr himself. Here I wish to ask the following questions. When did Martyr learn Hebrew, from whom did he learn it, and finally, why did he take the trouble to learn it? What was Martyr's attitude toward the Hebrew language, the Masoretic Text, and the Hebrew commentators? Finally, how did it happen that Martyr found a position teaching Old Testament at the Strasbourg College, and what was the environment of Hebraism there when he delivered his Lamentations lectures? Answers to these questions will both allow a preliminary comparison of Martyr's Hebraism with that of his Reformed colleagues and will also function as an introduction to my translation of Martyr's Lamentations commentary itself. His commentary will constitute the ten chapters following this one. After presenting his commentary, I shall be in a better position to investigate further questions concerning Martyr's fluency in reading Hebrew, his use of Hebrew study resources, his practice of translation, and his possible role models for his practice of exposition. Upon this basis I shall be ready to inquire how Martyr made use of his silent exegetical partners in his Bomberg Bible.

When did Martyr learn Hebrew? Like Pellican and Luther, he did not learn it at university but acquired it later in life. This is how it happened. Peter Martyr Vermigli was born in Italy of devout parents in 1499 and in his youth became an Augustinian monk. According to Simler, Martyr's earliest biographer, the young monk was a model for both Christian virtue and scholarship. He showed a special desire to study scripture, and this desire found an outlet in his religious order:

For it was a laudable custom of this society that the young men which excelled in memory should accustom themselves to commit unto memory many things out of the holy scriptures; and therefore some recited by heart all the Epistles of Paul....

After his studies in Fiesole (1514-1518), Martyr went to Padua to study scholastic philosophy. During his eight year stay (1518-1526) at the University of Padua, Martyr's favorite philosopher became Aristotle and remained so for the rest of his life. In order to master better Aristotle's subtle thought, Martyr learned Greek thoroughly.<sup>1</sup> After his studies at Padua, Martyr, now both priest and doctor of theology, was elected as a public preacher of his order.<sup>2</sup> Early in

<sup>1</sup> Josiah Simler, Oratio de vita & obitu... Petri Martyris Vermiglii, (Zurich, 1563), tr. Anthony Marten, London, 1583, in The Common Places, Marten's tr. edited by G.E. Duffield in The Life, Early Letters & Eucharistic Writings of Peter Martyr, introd. and ed. by G.E. Duffield and J.C. McLelland, (Oxford: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1967), pp. 33-36.

<sup>2</sup> Philip McNair, Peter Martyr in Italy: an Anatomy of Apostacy, (Oxford Clarendon Pr., 1967), p. 116.

1530 Martyr settled in Bologna, for he was appointed Vicar to the Prior of S. Giovanni in Monte.<sup>3</sup> According to Simler<sup>4</sup> it was at this time that Martyr made his first acquaintance with Hebrew:

[A]t Bologna, in which city he was deputy to the Prior (for so presidents of colleges are called by them), he gave his endeavor thereunto, procuring one Isaac, an Hebrew physician, to be his master.

Thus a doctor of theology and a rising star in the cause of Catholic reform went back to school to learn at the feet of an otherwise unknown Jew. These Hebrew lessons could have lasted no more than three years, since in 1533 he was appointed Abbot of Spoleto. Nevertheless, the foundation for his Hebrew learning had been laid.

Thus we know, at least, when Martyr began to learn Hebrew. How then did he accomplish this feat? From whom did he learn the language? Simler, who lived at a time when Christian students had no more need of Jewish tutors in Hebrew, has only unkind words to say for Martyr's Hebrew teacher:

But with what labour for the most part this tongue of the Hebrews is learnt they know which have used those kinds of teachers. For the most of them lack faithfulness in teaching, but they be all without method and therefore they cannot proceed in right order; and they envy that our men should have the knowledge of their tongues; the holy language

<sup>3</sup> McNair, Peter Martyr, pp. 123-124. According to McNair, Martyr was appointed Vicar to the Prior of St. Giovanni in Monte between Sep. 1529 and July 1530.

<sup>4</sup> Simler, Life of Martyr, ed. Duffield, p. 38.

is not learned from them without great travail and charges; for whatsoever good thing they teach they do it upon hope of reward. But all these difficulties did Martyr with singular patience and invincible study overcome, so earnest a desire had he to learn the holy scriptures.<sup>5</sup>

Is Simler's bad report of Isaac a reminiscence of Martyr himself or is it only stock anti-Jewish polemic? I believe it to be the latter. McNair is also uncertain that Isaac was as incompetent a teacher as Simler states. At the same time, McNair lends credence to Newman's conjecture that Emmanuel Tremellius (b. 1510) was Martyr's major Hebrew teacher rather than Isaac.<sup>6</sup> I find this very unlikely. Tremellius, having been associated for a number of years with reform-minded Catholics, converted to Catholicism under the influence of Cardinal Reginal Pole in about 1540. Martyr became Prior of S. Frediano in Lucca in May of 1541. According to McNair, it was Martyr himself who had Tremellius appointed as Hebrew teacher at the college in Lucca.<sup>7</sup> As stated above, Martyr began his Hebrew learning while an abbot in Bologna, 1530-1533.

<sup>5</sup> Simler, Life of Martyr, ed. Duffield, pp. 38-39.

<sup>6</sup> Newman, Jewish Influence, p. 505. McNair, Peter Martyr, pp. 224: "Newman is doubtless right when he infers that Martyr perfected his Hebrew under Tremelli in Lucca (Aleander had referred to a partial knowledge the year before)"; p. 198: Cardinal Aleander: "et credo anche in qualche parte della hebraica." One hesitates to touch the Ark even to steady it, but I think McNair's usual skills in historical investigation have faltered here. The Cardinal says more about his knowledge of Hebrew than Martyr's.

<sup>7</sup> McNair, Peter Martyr, p. 223-4. Simler (p. 45) implies that Tremellius was already teaching there.

It is scarcely credible that he struggled unsuccessfully with Hebrew until 1541, when he became Prior of S. Frediano at Lucca and could obtain Tremellius as an instructor. Martyr's situation at Lucca was precarious,<sup>8</sup> and his heavy teaching and preaching schedule hardly afforded him leisure for the study of biblical Hebrew, rabbinic Hebrew and the Aramaic of the Targums. As Simler notes, Martyr was teaching Greek and preaching reform.<sup>9</sup> Tremellius himself was one of Martyr's converts: "Tremelli suffered two conversions in as many years--from Judaism to Catholicism in 1540, and from Catholicism to Protestantism in 1542."<sup>10</sup>

Rather than "perfecting" his Hebrew knowledge under Tremellius, it is far more likely that Isaac, whatever may have been his strengths or weaknesses as a teacher, taught Martyr to "read" Hebrew, i.e., to read it out aloud with no hesitation and with some comprehension. The rest Martyr could pick up from printed Hebrew study aids. Martyr was not without resources in Catholic Italy for his study of Hebrew. One of the foremost Christian Hebraists of the first half of the sixteenth century, his fellow Italian Santes Pagnini,

<sup>8</sup> He writes from his safety in Strasbourg to his former flock at Lucca: "What troubles I suffered at Naples and where you are, I know well enough. Let you yourselves judge what upheavals, and how many adversities, I endured all the last year" (Simler, Life, ed. Duffield, p. 107. For Latin text see LC (Zürich, 1580), "Universis ecclesiae Lucenis...", p. 565B.

<sup>9</sup> Simler, Life of Martyr, ed. Duffield, p. 45.

<sup>10</sup> McNair, Peter Martyr, p. 224.

had published his Hebrew-Latin Thesaurus in 1529 and his literal translation of the Hebrew Bible the previous year.<sup>11</sup> Thus Pagnini's publications appeared before Martyr began his Hebrew studies. (As will be seen below, Martyr displays familiarity with both Pagnini's dictionary and his translation.) And, of course, Martyr could also have used the Hebrew grammar and dictionary of the Catholic humanist Reuchlin.<sup>12</sup>

I reckon that Martyr was an accomplished Hebraist before arriving at Lucca in 1541. The next year Martyr, by this time an outspoken advocate of Reformed religion, fled for his life out of Catholic Italy north to Zurich and then to Strasbourg via Basel. Bucer, the Protestant leader of Strasbourg, had him appointed as successor to the famous Protestant Hebraist, Capito. It is hardly credible that during the chaotic years of 1541-1542 Martyr learned Hebrew so well he that caught Bucer's eye or that, a year later, he composed lectures on Lamentations saturated with the observations of the Bomberg commentators and the Targum.

If the above helps clarify how Martyr learned Hebrew, there still remains the question of **why he made the effort to learn the language in the first place**. Simler has this to say about Martyr's life as a

<sup>11</sup> Santes Pagnini, Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae, (Lyon: S. Gryphius, 1529); Santes Pagnini <ed & trans>, Biblia. Habes in hoc libro prudens lector..., 2 vols, (Lyons, 1528).

<sup>12</sup> Johannes Reuchlin, De Rudimentis Hebraicis, (Pforzheim, 1506).

preacher for the Augustinian order after he finished his studies at Padua:

And whatsoever leisure he got from preaching, all that he bestowed in his studies of the holy scriptures and philosophy. ...[H]e being stirred up through the regular exercise of preaching, who hitherto according to the custom of the schools had exercised himself chiefly in the school divines, especially Thomas [Aquinas] and [Gregory of] Rimini, and in the mean time was acquainted with the fathers' writings, he began more diligently than before to search out the very fountains of divinity, even the holy scriptures of both the Testaments. And because he had found by experience that the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue should be necessary thereunto, he applied his mind unto it, and at Bologna....<sup>13</sup>

Thus Simler relates Martyr's evangelical awakening to the necessity of preaching from scripture, and relates his learning Hebrew to the necessity of studying scripture to prepare for preaching. (The modern reader is reminded of Karl Barth's theological renewal when faced with the task of preaching at Safenwil.) McNair seems to agree with Simler, and specifically designates Martyr's stay in Bologna as the *terminus a quo* of his spiritual pilgrimage to Reformed Protestantism.<sup>14</sup>

Martyr himself, however, did not see his interest in scripture as a result of the task of preaching:

But to me cannot the exercise of handling the word of God in this age, be new, unaccustomed, and unlooked for. For euen from my youth, when I yet liued in Italie,

<sup>13</sup> Simler, Life of Martyr, p. 38.

<sup>14</sup> McNair, Peter Martyr, pp. 123-124. According to McNair, Martyr was appointed Vicar to the Prior of St. Giovanni in Monte between Sep. 1529 and July 1530.

this one thing I minded to follow aboue all artes and ordinances of men: euen chiefly to learne and teach the holy scriptures, neither had I other successe than I purposed. For euen I my selfe in verie deede (as the mist, darknesse, obscurenesse and night of Poperie deceiueth manie) erred for a time, but yet did I not cease in that blinde dungeon as the time would then suffer, both to learne and teach the holy scriptures. But afterwarde when the heauenly father by the benefite of Christ had compassion vppon me, I began to see through a cloude, and as trees walking,<sup>15</sup> the trueth of the Gospel: neither coule I keepe silent that which as yet I vnderstoode but after a grosse manner. I communicated it vnto others, and the light was increased, & the measure and meanes being increased, I taught more openly, and the matter was brought to such a passe as I might not nowe liue in Italie without extreme daunger.<sup>16</sup>

I cite Martyr's words in full because of their importance in understanding his motive for learning Hebrew as well as the character of his religious evolution. Martyr learned Hebrew before his full evangelical awakening. Martyr became a student of Hebrew during the years 1530-1533. He was not directly associated with the evangelical movement until his sojourn as abbot of the monastery of S. Pietro ad Aram in Naples (1537-1540). McNair remarks:

He arrived a reformer after the order of Ximenes, he left a reformer after the order of Zwingli.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Mk. 8:24.

<sup>16</sup> "An Oration which he made at Zurick the first time after he succeeded in the place of Conradus Pellicanus," in The Common Places... with a Large Addition of Manie Theological and Necessarie Discourses, (London: Anthony Marten, 1579).

<sup>17</sup> McNair, Peter Martyr, p. 142.



Thus Martyr's motives for learning Hebrew were not the result of his conversion to Protestant reform. A biblicism born of fervent Christian devotion led Martyr naturally to the study of the language of the Old Testament. Martyr claimed an avid interest in scripture while still very young and very Catholic. Martyr learned Hebrew to understand better the Old Testament, and his acquisition of Hebrew letters occurred only at the beginning of his shift in religious persuasion.

Martyr's education was that of an Augustinian monk and a scholastic theologian. At the same time he was not insulated from the currents of humanism and its siren call *ad fontes*. There is a lively debate among Martyr scholars as to whether Martyr is to be understood primarily as a Reformed humanist or a Reformed scholastic. What is certain is that Martyr will, on occasion, use the vocabulary dear to the heart of Christian humanists. After squarely rejecting the "darkness" of Aquinas, Duns Scotus and Occam, Martyr says,

Let us return I say to the first fountains of the scriptures.<sup>18</sup>

Let us take note that the ways in which Reformation Hebraists arrived at the study of Hebrew were not at all the same. Pellican appears to have been moved

<sup>18</sup> Martyr, Common Places part 5:33, as cited in Marvin W. Anderson, "Peter Martyr Vermigli: Protestant Humanist," in Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform, Joseph C. McLelland <ed>, (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), p. 66.

by a desire to best the Jews, and he began this arduous task while still a monk with no heretical thoughts.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, Luther began his study of Hebrew after formulating his Protestant views.<sup>20</sup> Martyr's study of Hebrew seems to have begun as he began his slow journey to an evangelical awakening.

I now move on to consider Martyr's attitude toward Hebrew and Jewish philology. As was noted in the previous chapter, the mere study of or proficiency in Hebrew did not necessarily mean a great love of the language or respect for Jewish philology. Zwingli and Pellican are cases in point. Their uneasiness with things Hebrew was shared by the church fathers Justin Martyr, Irenaeus and Chrysostom, who taught that the Jews corrupted the Hebrew Bible to fit their doctrine.<sup>21</sup> Latin Christianity, however, inherited from Jerome and Augustine a more positive view of Hebrew and the Hebrew Bible. In the middle ages Hebrew, Greek and Latin were revered as sacred in and of themselves, and Hebrew came to be considered the mother of all lan-

<sup>19</sup> Pellican, Chronicle, ed. and tr. Ahrens, pp. 34ff.

<sup>20</sup> Newman, Jewish Influence, p. 623. For a more up-to-date analysis of Luther's Hebraism, see Siegfried Raeder, Grammatica theologica: Studien zu Luthers Operationes in Psalmos, (Tubingen: Mohr, 1977). This latter reference thanks thanks to R. Gerald Hobbs.

<sup>21</sup> Andrew C. Skinner, Veritas Hebraica, pp. 41-75.

guages.<sup>22</sup> Martyr inherited these beliefs. He stated that the one language mentioned in Genesis 11:1 was Hebrew, a claim that was made well into the nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> In a comment on Lam. 3:53 Martyr casually calls Hebrew "the holy language." Some Gentile scholars who began the restudy of Hebrew during Renaissance and Reformation made extravagant claims for it. Reuchlin, an otherwise critical spirit, supposed that cabbalistic Hebraism opened the door to magical powers. The English Hebraist Robert Wakefield (fl. 1524-1532) in his oration On the Three Languages, manages to make the obvious shortcomings of Hebrew into supreme virtues.<sup>24</sup> In contrast to Reuchlin and Wakefield, I have yet to find in Martyr a superstitious reverence for Hebrew.

Martyr's apparently modest ideas about the "holy language," Hebrew, are also reflected in his estimation of the significance of the alphabetical acrostic in the Hebrew text of Lamentations. Like his Reformed colleagues from Zwingli to Calvin, Martyr sees no mystic meaning in the Hebrew letters. He has no interest in

<sup>22</sup> For a good summary of the place of Hebrew in the thought of the Church Fathers, see Francis J. Thomson, "SS. Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilingualism," in Analecta Bollandiana, v. 110, 1992, pp.79ff, esp. p. 86, note 132.

<sup>23</sup> Peter Martyr, In Primum Librum Moses ...Genesis ...Commentarii...Petri Martyris Vermilii, (Zurich: Christopher Froshover, 1569), 45B-46.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Wakefield, On the Three Languages, tr. and ed. by G. Lloyd Jones, (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989), esp. pp. 72-82.

letterish interpretation. Martyr has this to say about the phenomenon of the alphabetical acrostic:

You may notice in Lamentations a certain poetic device whereby the first Hebrew letter of each and every stanza follows the order of the Hebrew alphabet. Some people admire the elegance of alphabetical poems. I for my part would rather think alphabetical poems to have been written for easier memorization; or they were written because it had become a common habit to compose public hymns along this principle. We find examples of alphabetical poems in such Psalms as 118 (BLEST ARE THOSE BLAMELESS IN THEIR WAY). In the Proverbs of Solomon you may find the same thing in chapter 31:10-31 (WHO MAY FIND A STRONG WOMAN).<sup>25</sup>

Once again, we find a Reformed commentator explaining the alphabetical acrostic as a mnemonic device. He feels no need to make any reference to what I have termed "letterish" interpretation. It is already antique.

Along with Martyr's evident respect for Hebrew went a trust in the integrity of the Masoretic Text. A summary of Martyr's attitude towards the Jews and their scripture can be found in a scholium in his Judges commentary entitled, "Whether it be lawfull for Christiās to dwell with infidels":

There is also an other commoditie, whiche commeth unto us by theyr [i.e., the Jews'] dispersing, bycause our bookes are sauved by them, I meane the holy Byble, whiche they euery where carye aboute with them and reade: And althoughe, bycause they are blynded, they beleue not, yet they confesse that those writynges are moste true. They are in hearte

<sup>25</sup> Peter Martyr Vermigli, In Lamentationes Sanctissimi Jeremiae Prophetæ... Commentarium (Zürich: Joh. Jacob Bodmer, 1629), p. 2.

deadly enemyes agaynst us, but by these bookes which they haue and reuerence, they are a testimonye to our religion. Wherefore I can not inough meruaile at those, whiche doe so much hate the Jewes tongue, and Bibles in Hebrew, that they desire to haue them destroyed and burnt, when as *Augustine de doctrina Christiana*<sup>26</sup> thinketh that if we chaunce somtymes to doubt of the Greeke or Latin translation, we must fly vnto the truth of the Hebrue, And Ierome in many places writeth the same. But they say that the holy bookes were vitiated and corrupted, by the Hebrues. To thys *Ierome* vpon *Esaye* the. vi. Chapter towarde the ende aunswereth thus....<sup>27</sup>

Martyr's reference to Augustine is not entirely ingenuous. Although in book II of *De Doctrina Christiana* Augustine does state what Martyr claims, later in his book Augustine favors for the Christian canon the inclusion of the LXX deuterocanonical books.<sup>28</sup> Augustine's attitude to the Hebrew Bible was more nuanced than Martyr implies.

Thus Martyr is clearly in the Oecolampadius-Bucer-Münster stream of Reformed exegesis. The Reformed interpreter ought to base his exposition on the MT.

<sup>26</sup> *De Doct. Chr.* ii.11 (PL 34,42); see McKane, *Christian Hebraism*, p. 229.

<sup>27</sup> Martyr, *Judges*, 57B.

<sup>28</sup> "Wherefore, even if anything is found in the original Hebrew in a different form from that in which these men [the LXX] have expressed it, I think we must give way to the dispensation of Providence which used these men to bring it about, that books which the Jewish race were unwilling, either from religious scruple or from jealousy, to make known to other nations, were, with the assistance of the power of King Ptolemy, made known so long beforehand to the nations which in the future were to believe in the Lord." Ch. 15, as cited in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, (Eerdmans 1979 reprint), p. 542.

Martyr trusts that Jewish philology had kept the MT inviolate through the centuries. It was only natural, then, that he would follow those Reformation exegetes such as Bucer who used extensively the philologically-oriented commentators of the Bomberg Bible. The only theoretical statement which I have been able to find in Martyr's extant writings and which justifies such use is in his oration, when he succeeded Pellican in Zürich:

And moreouer I am not ignorant that by comparing together of places alike, those things which first seemed obscure, may bee made plainer, and that the monumentes of the Hebrew Commentaries bring otherwhiles no small light, and much more the most learned writings of the auncient fathers: and that also the counsels of men alieue, being exercised in the holy Scriptures doe greatly profite, whereof as I have already saide, there be meanie in this companie.

More impressive than this isolated justification for using the Jewish commentators is Martyr's actual practice in his Old Testament expositions. It is no exaggeration to say that his Lamentations commentary is saturated with references and allusions to Rashi and Ibn Ezra. Martyr criticizes the former more than the latter. In a comment on Rashi's aggadah on Lam. 2:2, Martyr says:

Here Rashi turns aside to tell tales, and says that in Israel there used to be men given over to conjurers' tricks and incantations.

By contrast, when Martyr disagrees with Ibn Ezra, he treats him as an erring scholar:

By these arguments the rabbi, in other respects a very sharp thinker, rebuts Rashi's

opinion related above. Ibn Ezra's arguments are, however, of no great moment, for they may easily be refuted.<sup>29</sup>

A more detailed analysis of Martyr's use of the Bomberg commentators is in the "Conclusion" section of this dissertation. We should note before moving on that Martyr's negative attitude to Rashi, but his frequent use of the same, is similar to what we have seen in the exegesis of both Bucer and Pellican. It ought further to be noted that, among the Reformed exegetes I have studied, only Bucer used the Bomberg commentators as frequently as Martyr.

My concluding paragraphs concern how Martyr obtained a teaching job at the Strasbourg College and what environment of Hebraism he found there when he delivered his Lamentations lectures. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Martyr's first Protestant teaching position was at Strasbourg, and it was here that Martyr lectured on Lamentations. Here are Martyr's own words from a letter<sup>30</sup> sent to his former flock in Lucca on December 25, 1542:

I tarried at Basel until the 16 Calends of November [Oct. 17]. Although I was welcomed

<sup>29</sup> From Martyr's introduction to his Lamentations commentary, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Originally in Italian, the text of which has been lost, and here given in Duffield's adaptation of "Anthony Marten's translation of Taddeo Duno da Locarno's Latin version." See The Life, Early Letters... of Peter Martyr, pp. 101-109. For Latin, see LC (Zurich, 1580), 564B-566. McLelland, Visible Words, p. 10-11 cites this letter at some length. The letter is dated *octavo calendas Ianuarias*, which Sturm, Die Theologie, p. 20, note 54, calculates as December 25, (i.e., eight days before Jan. 1).

and accepted by everyone, yet I found no suitable mode of life for my studies, because the city had no need of teachers. And so since I was not able to endure poverty and was without some honest work, and my mind gave me not to take any other trade in hand than my own, namely the expounding of the Word of God, I remained in doubt as to what the Lord would have to be done with me and my faithful companions. Sometimes we were sorry with ourselves, that when we were come to Zürich, we did not go forward to Geneva, whence Bernard Ochino travelled the day before we arrived. But considering the matter carefully, the outcome sufficiently shows that all things happened according to the providence of God, and he provided that our presence was fitter for Strasbourg than it was meet for Geneva.... Bucer obtained for me from the Senate an honest stipend by means of which I can quite adequately maintain my living. With it there was committed to me the charge of interpreting everyday some part of the Holy Scriptures. At the moment I am expounding the Minor Prophets, as they call them, being now ready to complete Amos. And because the majority in this school know Hebrew, I expound the Hebrew text in Latin. Capito, a man famous in learning and godliness, previously occupied the position given to me, but he died a year ago now, and none has yet been appointed in his place. Now has God the most merciful Father brought me hither that I might in some part ease Bucer of his infinite labors. Before I came he used to teach every day in the school. Since I took Capito's place, he can now leave the affairs of the college to attend to other no less important business.

This College is the subject of a scholarly monograph,<sup>31</sup> and I shall only mention several aspects of it here. Before Martyr's arrival at Strasbourg, Martin Bucer had become the head of the Reformation movement in Strasbourg. He also was instrumental in

<sup>31</sup> Anton Schindling, Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg 1538-1621, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977).



founding Strasbourg's College (*Haute École* or *Hochschule*) in 1538. This College was a product of both the Protestant Reformation and humanism. Proof of the College's humanism was the way in which the theology courses were organized. Rather than being set into some preconceived metaphysic along scholastic lines, the courses were thorough studies of books of scripture. The influence of Erasmus is easy to see here.<sup>32</sup> Now this method of theological education, expounding books of scripture from cover to cover, was exactly how Martyr believed theology ought to be taught.<sup>33</sup> Little wonder Martyr's teaching methods were welcomed at the College.

Capito, one of the founders of Protestant Hebraism and the author of two Hebrew grammars, taught theology with Bucer. He concentrated on lecturing on the Old Testament and had published expositions on Habakkuk, Hosea and the Hexameron.<sup>34</sup> (Martyr taught these same books before leaving for England in 1547.) Capito died of the plague on November 2, 1541. Paul Fagius, who had learned Hebrew much earlier at Capito's feet at Strasbourg and who had become an extraordinary Semitist, was called from his parish in Isnny to replace Capito. His parish however would not release him

<sup>32</sup> Schindling, Humanistische, pp. 341-2.

<sup>33</sup> See Martyr's statements above in his Zürich oration in the section on why Martyr learned Hebrew.

<sup>34</sup> Schindling, Humanistische, pp. 356-7.

immediately.<sup>35</sup> This left Bucer without a ready Protestant scholar to fill Capito's post. No mean Hebraist in his own right, Bucer stepped into the breach. Previously Bucer had lectured, among other books of scripture, on Zephaniah, Judges, and Jeremiah, and all before 1532.<sup>36</sup> Thus when Martyr during his two periods of teaching in Strasbourg lectured on the Minor Prophets, Lamentations, Genesis, and Judges, he was only following in the footsteps of his predecessor Capito and his colleague Bucer. Nor was Martyr using a method dissimilar to them. His method of interpretation was self-consciously philological, and he used the Jewish commentaries.

Bucer then took over Capito's lectures, but, with so many other pressing demands on his time, he was sorely overworked. In the meantime Martyr, having escaped the none too gentle hands of the Inquisition in Italy, was not having any luck in finding a teaching position. He arrived in Zürich in mid-September of 1542 and in the space of a few days made a very favorable and lasting impression on Bullinger and Pellican.<sup>37</sup> They could offer him no teaching position in their school, but they did give him enthusiastic let-

<sup>35</sup> Schmidt, Peter Martyr Vermigli, p. 57.

<sup>36</sup> Hobbs, Introduction, pp. 71-72.

<sup>37</sup> For a thoroughly documented summary of Martyr's first few months in Protestant lands, see Schmidt, Peter Martyr Vermigli, pp. 47ff. I have drawn from Schmidt's work in the paragraphs below.

ters of recommendation to the theology teacher Oswald Myconius and the jurist Boniface Amerbach of Basel, when Martyr traveled there in search of work. Once again, Martyr could not find in Basel the teaching position he sought, and he was by this time out of money. Myconius, however, wrote on his behalf to Bucer. Bucer in his turn quickly wrote back, suggesting there might be possibilities for teaching in the Strasbourg College. Sensing that his quest for employment was over, Martyr left Basel on October 17. As were Bullinger and Pellican, Bucer was much impressed with this previously unknown Italian refugee, as is evident in this extract of a letter from Bucer to Calvin dated October 28, 1542:

Our College is not going badly. A man has come from Italy, exceedingly learned in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. He is forty-four years old and of serious character and sharp judgment. His name is Peter Martyr. He presided over the regular canons at Lucca. He brings along three others: one very learned in Greek, and the other two are studious youths. Up to now we have been hard at work here to ensure that they do not go hungry in the midst of such great plenty as we have in our church.

Bucer invited Martyr in October of 1542 to stay at his house, apparently so that he could observe Martyr for himself. Martyr's period of probation must have been short indeed, since he writes on December 25, 1542, to his friends in Lucca that he has been appointed to replace Capito and has already in a daily lecture series on the Minor Prophets gotten to the end of Amos. This reference to Amos indicates that, as Sturm points

out,<sup>38</sup> Martyr began his teaching career as a Protestant with the Minor Prophets. In his introduction to his Lamentations lectures,<sup>39</sup> Martyr says:

Thus my interpretation of Lamentations will aim at making absolutely plain the words of the prophet. This is the way I carried out the exposition of the Minor Prophets.

Therefore his Lamentations lectures immediately followed his comments on the Minor Prophets.<sup>40</sup>

Because Martyr happened to take Capito's place at Strasbourg, and because later he took Pellican's place in Zürich, most of his Protestant teaching career was spent expounding the Hebrew Bible. It might not have happened this way. After less than six years of teaching the Old Testament in Strasbourg, he removed to England at the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer. There he lectured on 1 Corinthians and Romans. Had he gone to Calvin's Geneva, he might have lectured on both Testaments. Martyr the polymath responded to a need in Protestant Europe for teachers of the Hebrew Bible. Martyr concluded that "the outcome sufficiently shows

<sup>38</sup> Sturm, Die Theologie, p. 20, note 54.

<sup>39</sup> In Lamentationes... commentarium, p. 4, lines 21-22.

<sup>40</sup> And not as Simler, Life of Martyr, pp. 51-52, would have it, Lamentations first and the Minor Prophets second. Martyr could hardly have been appointed to lecture on the scriptures sometime in late October or early November, completed lecturing on Lamentations, and gotten to the end of Amos, all before December 25, 1542, the day on which Martyr wrote his friends in Lucca. (Schmidt, Peter Martyr Vermigli, p. 57, thought Martyr began with Genesis. Schmidt must have been thinking of Martyr's words to Bullinger *re* the publication of his lectures from his first Strasbourg period, which I cite below.)

that all things happened according to the providence of God, and he provided that our presence was fitter for Strasbourg than it was meet for Geneva...."<sup>41</sup>

Martyr never got around to publishing either his lectures on the Minor Prophets or Lamentations. He was not opposed to doing so, as is plain from a 1551 letter he writes Bullinger to thank the latter for helping publish his 1 Corinthians commentary.

As to those other commentaries of mine which you inquire after, I do not see how they can possibly be published in so short a time: for what I have written upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and the minor prophets, are brief and hasty annotations; so that there needs leisure for revising, and copying over again, what I at first wrote out for my own sole use, and not for that of others. But if it please God to spare my life, and I should obtain a little leisure, I shall not object to publish them....<sup>42</sup>

Note that Martyr forgets his manuscript on Lamentations; but without a doubt Martyr also would have characterized this work as "brief and hasty annotations" as well. In the early seventeenth century Martyr's lectures on the Minor Prophets and on Lamentations were still in existence in Zurich, carefully treasured by those who respected his memory. Johann Stucki had access to these manuscripts in the library of his

<sup>41</sup> The Life, Early Letters, ed. Duffield, p. 102.

<sup>42</sup> "Letter CCXXXIV. from Peter Martyr to Henry Bullinger, dated at Oxford, Oct. 26, 1551," in Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, edited for The Parker Society by Robinson Hastings, The Parker Society <vol. 53-54>, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1847), p. 499. I owe this reference to Sturm, Die Theologie, p. 31, note 88.

paternal uncle. He edited the shorter of the two, the lectures on Lamentations, for publication in 1529. He declared his intention to prepare the Minor Prophets, or at least selections from them, for future publication if the reception of his labor on the Lamentations manuscript proved sufficiently encouraging.<sup>43</sup> The original manuscripts, if indeed they are still in existence, have not yet been found by Martyr scholars.<sup>44</sup> Stucki's editing of the Lamentations lectures seems to me to be quite good and marred by only a few typographical errors.<sup>45</sup>

But to return to 1542. The excerpt from Martyr's Lucca letter contains the statement that most of his students knew Hebrew. On the one hand this would seem to be an astonishing claim. This is 1542, a mere thirty-six years after Reuchlin began Renaissance-Reformation Christian Hebraism by publishing his De Rudimentis Hebraicis. On the other hand it must be recalled that Hebrew was no stranger to Protestant instruction in Strasbourg.<sup>46</sup> Paul Fagius himself

<sup>43</sup> From his preface to the "good reader," signature \* \* 2, lines 1-6.

<sup>44</sup> Before 1870 in the Strasbourg Library there was available a postscript on Zechariah 11, dated 1543; see Schindling, Humanistische, p. 353, note 53.

<sup>45</sup> The most serious errors seem to be a case of dittography in the exposition of Lamentations chapter 4, verse 6.

<sup>46</sup> For the Strasbourg College's Hebrew program, see Schindling, Humanistische Hochschule, "8. Die philologischen Vorlesungen: Hebräisch...", pp. 263-265.

learned Hebrew from Capito at Strasbourg. Before Martyr arrived at the Strasbourg College, Capito was giving Hebrew-saturated lectures, and Michael Delius was teaching Hebrew. Delius continued to teach Hebrew, leaving Martyr free to lecture on the Old Testament on the basis of the Hebrew text and the medieval Jewish commentators.<sup>47</sup> It should also be noted that soon after Martyr arrived in Strasbourg, so did the Jewish apostate Immanuel Tremellius, who was engaged by the College to teach Hebrew also.<sup>48</sup> As previously mentioned, Martyr won him over to the cause of evangelical reform, and he fled Italy a short time after Martyr. Paul Fagius finally joined the teaching staff of the College in 1544. Thus in 1544 there were, in effect, five teachers involved in Hebrew studies: Bucer himself, Delius, Martyr, Tremellius and Fagius. This demonstrates the appetite that the students of the College had for Hebrew learning.

Thus we have followed Martyr north to Strasbourg and have him settled in as a theology teacher in its college. In the ten chapters which follow I have provided an annotated translation of his Lamentations lectures. Our expositor may not be a Calvin and a doctor of the universal Church, but Martyr is still well worth reading today. Therefore in my translation I have

<sup>47</sup> Schmidt, Peter Martyr Vermigli, p. 57.

<sup>48</sup> Schmidt, Peter Martyr Vermigli, p. 50.

aimed at readability. For the most part I have tried to break up Martyr's long Latin sentences into ones with only one subordinate clause. Also I have tried to find English equivalents for Latin expressions which, if translated literally, are awkward. I gladly used a literal translation, when that was sufficiently comprehensible. Fortunately the Latin text of Martyr's commentary is easily available in microfiche form in the Reformed Protestantism Switzerland collection of the Inter Documentation Company. Where exegesis of Martyr's comments is required, the scholar will want to refer to the Latin text.<sup>49</sup> Let the researcher be warned, however, that recourse to the Latin may not solve all problems. Martyr was a fine Latinist and very well read in the classics. Nevertheless, he never edited this commentary for publication. There are signs of hasty composition. Not everything is clear in spite of Stucki's best efforts. In any case, Martyr could be less than pellucid at times. Another matter important to contemporary translators is inclusive language. Martyr's commentary is not sacred scripture, and I did not feel obliged to strive for inclusivity in every instance. For example, when *homines* clearly refers to men or mostly men I so translated it.

Annotations to a work of Martyr present unique difficulties. Martyr was a very well read man with an

<sup>49</sup> It is also photocopied as Appendix Two.



extraordinarily retentive memory, as his contemporaries readily attested. Often his commentary was an anthology of the best material available. Martyr was far better at acknowledging his sources than was Calvin. Even so, he was not as scrupulous as a modern scholar should be. I was unable to find the source of all his explicit references, let alone track down all his allusions. Regarding Martyr's use of the Bomberg Bible, however, I made it a point to cite in full all of his references and allusions to Rashi, Ibn Ezra, "Perush" and the Targum. Where necessary, I have given a brief explanation of Martyr's Jewish source. Fuller explanations may be found in my annotated translations of the Bomberg commentaries in Appendix Four.

Also note that *all* biblical quotations are IN CAPITAL LETTERS. All scripture is from the Vulgate, unless otherwise noted. The individual verses of Lamentations which precede Martyr's expositions are also the Vulgate except those portions which are: UNDERLINED (Münster's translation), UNDERDOTTED (Pagnini through Münster), OVERLINED (Pagnini), and *ITALICS* (possibly Martyr himself).

And now, as Peter Martyr said, "Let us take up into our hands the text proper."

The Commentary on the Lamentations of the Prophet

Jeremiah

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Introduction. It should hardly seem strange that these Lamentations of Jeremiah, which in Greek are said to be *Threnoi*, are among the Hebrews called איכה.<sup>1</sup> As with most books of sacred scripture, Lamentations gets its name by the word with which it begins. Thus Genesis is called בראשית; Exodus, ואלה שמות; Leviticus, ויקרא; and in this way the rest are called by their first words.<sup>2</sup>

We cannot see in what order Lamentations ought to be placed in the books of holy scripture unless we first divide them up into four groups, commonly known among the Hebrews as Torah, the Earlier Prophets, the

<sup>1</sup> *Threnoi* = θρῆνοι, dirges. "Hebrews" by time-honored Christian tradition usually had a positive or philological connotation, while "Jews" had a negative; (this was a convention dating back at least to the time of Origen: see N.R.M. Lange, Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 30.) איכה = "How," the first word in Hebrew of Lamentations.

<sup>2</sup> ואלה שמות = "And these are the names"--in Jewish literature usually abbreviated שמות or שמ'. בראשית = "In the beginning." ויקרא = "And [God] called." An inexact statement; actually Jewish custom only named the books of the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Chronicles by their first word[s]--as Martyr well knew.

Latter Prophets, and the Writings. The Hebrew for "Writings" is כתובים; but the Greeks call these books "Hagiographa."<sup>3</sup> The Torah encompasses the books of sacred law. The Earlier Prophets are Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Melakhim.<sup>4</sup> The Latter Prophets are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve.<sup>5</sup> The Writings comprise eleven books: Paralipomenon, Tehilim, Mistle, Job, Ruth, Koheleth, Eccha, Sirhasirim, Esther, Daniel and Ezra.<sup>6</sup> These latter books are so named because they concern holy things, yet their form of discourse is poetry.<sup>7</sup> The power of the Holy Spirit so stoops down

<sup>3</sup> Martyr explains that the Jewish way of ordering and grouping the books of the Hebrew Bible. Thus Lamentations is not among the Prophets after Jeremiah but in the Writings. While not word for word, Martyr's discussion of the Jewish canon is very similar to Münster's, which may be found in his 1534-35 Latin-Hebrew Bible, "Praefatio" sig. β5 verso-β6 recto (reprinted in the 1539 Froschaur edition of Münster's translation of the O.T., the Preface, "De Canonicis Libris"):

... And they view these twenty-four books in four orders, viz., in תורה (Law), נביאים ראשונים (Earlier Prophets), נביאים אחרונים (Later Prophets), and כתובים (Writings or Hagiographa, because they were produced as if about holy matters by holy men)....

<sup>4</sup> *Melakhim* = מלכים, Kings.

<sup>5</sup> "the Twelve" = the Twelve Minor Prophets.

<sup>6</sup> Paralipomenon (Greek, meaning "Things Left Out [of 1-2 Kings]" = Chronicles. Tehilim = תהלים, the Psalms. Mistle = משלי, Proverbs. Koheleth = קהלת, Ecclesiastes. Eccha = איכה, Lamentations (as above). Sirhasirim = שיר השירים, Song of Songs. Ezra = Ezra and Nehemiah.

<sup>7</sup> The Hagiographa (Ἱεράγραφα, ἅγιος, "holy") would by definition concern holy things. "Poetry:" lit. *carmen*, or sung poetry. Calling the Hagiographa "poetry" is inexact; as Martyr has just finished explaining, in the Hebrew canon the Writings include Chronicles, Ruth, Esther, Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah, which are not so poetic. Among the Writings only Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations and Song of Solomon are poetry.

and is so devoted to helping us that the Spirit's power uses any sort of human instrument (provided, of course, the instrument is honorable) to soften hard hearts. The Holy Spirit does not reject metaphors, tropes, comparisons, similes and other figures of speech. In fact, the Spirit employs various kinds of poetry to soothe his human subjects' fierce temperaments. Here in a mournful lament Jeremiah deplores the fall of Jerusalem. Greeks call poems of mourning *Epicedia*,<sup>8</sup> and we could use this name for these particular verses.

You may notice in Lamentations a certain poetic device whereby the first Hebrew letter of each and every stanza follows the order of the Hebrew alphabet.<sup>9</sup> Some people admire the elegance of alphabetical poems. I for my part would rather think alphabetical poems to have been written for easier memorization; or they were written because it had become a common habit to compose public hymns along this principle. We find examples of

<sup>8</sup> Ἐπικήδεια. Zwingli (CR 101, p. 667) makes much the same point in his introduction to his notes on Lamentations:

Of old they were called "Laments" [Threni], i.e. a dirge [planctus], because like an epicedium or monody they were sung about the sad fall of the Jews and the city Jerusalem. Moreover they were composed according to the number and order of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In which matter I have no intention of lingering over allegories and the mystical symbolism of numbers.

Otherwise Zwingli's concerns are quite other than Martyr's: e.g., the role of Baruch (he is mentioned in the LXX heading) and the unreliability of the Hebrew vowel points.

<sup>9</sup> Each chapter, save the last, is an alphabetical acrostic--save that in chapters 2, 3 and 4 the letters ו and ז are reversed.

alphabetical poems in such Psalms as 118 (BLEST ARE THOSE BLAMELESS IN THEIR WAY).<sup>10</sup> In the Proverbs of Solomon you may find the same thing in chapter 31:10-31 (WHO MAY FIND A STRONG WOMAN). (Circular poems too are not left out of the Psalter.<sup>11</sup>) The people of God had correctly concluded that if they wished to ease their minds, it could not be accomplished by lascivious rhythms, profane tunes and bawdy compositions but by those poems which make for true religion.<sup>12</sup>

The plan of the prophet is by these Lamentations to solicit compassion both from God and from his hearers. However no one can arouse compassion, except by showing that someone very outstanding suffers undeserved punishments.<sup>13</sup> There is no need to speak of the grandeur<sup>14</sup> of this people. God's gifts so exalted and enriched them that many passages in the sacred scriptures announce their nobility. But uncertainty arises as to how to show they suffered undeservedly. One can relieve this doubt as follows. True, they got

<sup>10</sup> Martyr usually cites Psalms either by chapter or by first line (in the Vulgate); here he does both.

<sup>11</sup> What Martyr has in mind by *circularia carmina* is by no means clear; perhaps he refers to "cyclic or epic poems," such as recitations of Salvation History in such Psalms as 78.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Martyr's more complete teaching on the subject see LC 3.12.25ff, a scholium from his 1561 Judges commentary.

<sup>13</sup> Martyr's Aristotelianism here comes to the fore; Martyr is thinking of Aristotle's definition of a tragic hero; see Aristotle, Poetics 13.

<sup>14</sup> *Dignitas* can either mean "worthiness" or "greatness"; in this context it means both.

what they deserved in God's justice. Nevertheless if you bear in mind the cause of their misfortunes (namely, their sins) such a great people would seem unworthy to be overwhelmed by these crimes.<sup>15</sup> So the prophet implores God in his compassion to make atonement for the people in whom he took so much delight and to forgive the sins by which they were undeservedly bound. Now the seriousness of a crime is made clear by the extent and harshness of its punishment. This being the case, compare this people with other nations who were entirely idolaters and who were not invoking, recognizing or even acknowledging God's name. In respect to those nations it would seem they suffered undeservedly. And so for these reasons the prophet calls on God to be compassionate.<sup>16</sup>

Similarly the Prophet tries to wring compassion out of the people listening to him so that they might feel sorry for themselves and say good-bye to their crimes and return to the Lord. After all, they feel that at one time they were richly blest; but now they see themselves tossed away and oppressed.

<sup>15</sup> That is, such base conduct is unworthy of such an exalted people.

<sup>16</sup> Martyr begins with the Aristotelian presupposition that he must demonstrate that Israel suffered undeservedly. He must gloss over the point made by Am. 3:2, ONLY YOU HAVE I KNOWN OF ALL THE FAMILIES OF THE EARTH; THEREFORE SHALL I VISIT UPON YOU YOUR INIQUITIES. However this line of reasoning does enable Martyr to emphasize the theme of tragedy in Lamentations; the poet complains to God that Israel's punishment is disproportionately harsh--even worse than Sodom's (see 4:6).

Terror is also incited in other peoples when they see where sins have led that people so favored by God. They should be fearing disaster for themselves, since they sense themselves ensnared by equally bad or even worse crimes. Paul used this sort of argument in his Letter to the Romans: IF HE DID NOT SPARE THE NATURAL BRANCHES, HE IS CERTAINLY NOT GOING TO SPARE YOU.<sup>17</sup> The Apostle Peter argued similarly, using other examples: IF HE DID NOT SPARE ANGELS WHO SIN, if did he not hold in check the waters of the flood from Noah's contemporaries, and if he consumed the Five Cities by fire, then God gave an indication of what the future may be for those who pursue a dissolute life.<sup>18</sup> These warnings are also very pertinent to our times, when we hear reports of so many disasters in the Christian world. The face of the Church is always the same right from the start. If you call to mind the sacred scriptures, you will find Adam, the first man, to have been very harshly treated. God threw him out of Paradise on account of the crime he committed.

So much for the book's title, style and order, and for the prophet's plan. It remains for me to explain to you exactly how I have decided to go about the interpretation of this book. I shal' do this briefly. Principally I shall carefully see to it that I make

<sup>17</sup> 11:21.

<sup>18</sup> 2 Pt. 2:4a and paraphrase of 5-9.

plain in as open a manner as possible the meaning of the prophet's words.<sup>19</sup> However, other<sup>20</sup> supplementary things, and whatever people are able to derive or discover on their own, such things I shall leave to you to search out on your own.<sup>21</sup> For as Ibn Ezra<sup>22</sup> rightly observed, to understand the verbal sense<sup>23</sup> in these divine matters is something solid, like the body. Once the body is yours, you may put easily over it a variety of clothes, which are of a greater or lesser value, finer or ruder, depending on the inspiration of the divine Spirit. It is indeed the Holy Spirit who leads

<sup>19</sup> Martyr's *interpretatio* consists principally of making *plana* the *sententia* of the prophet's *verba*.

<sup>20</sup> *alios* should be *alias*.

<sup>21</sup> This idea, even if not the very words, is from the preface of Bucer's Psalms commentary: "I have restrained myself from anagogical interpretations, because if done heedlessly, such interpretations are not presented without the danger of loosening the authority of the scriptures. Then again I restrained myself because, once the historical sense of scripture has been learned, anyone, when the Spirit raises him up, may easily form for himself." Bucer, *S. Psalmorum*, "Praefatio," folio 7b.

<sup>22</sup> See his poem which introduces his Lamentations commentary:

Wherefore will the verses' meanings be likened to bodies: the midrashim are as garments clinging to the body: some fine as silk and some as sack cloth coarse. Peshat's way is the body....

Later Ibn Ezra would expand on this theory of interpretation and say: "Know that the words are like the bodies, the meanings like the souls, and the body is to the soul like an instrument." (See his commentary Ex.20:1, etc., as cited in Michael Friedlaender, Essays on the writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra, vol. IV, (London, Published for The Society of Hebrew Literature by Truebner and Co., 1877), p. 125, note 1.

<sup>23</sup> *verborum sensum cognoscere*.



those engaged in "turning these matters over and over in their minds night and day."<sup>24</sup> Copy this emphasis on verbal meaning so you may grasp the sense of each and every verse. After you grasp the verse's meaning, it will then, believe me, be very easy to introduce new things that are apt for both time and place.<sup>25</sup>

Do not let yourselves be led astray from my good advice by what many people thrust at you so unfittingly: THE LETTER KILLS, BUT THE SPIRIT GIVES LIFE.<sup>26</sup> After all, everything offered to us without the Spirit of Christ kills, whether it be from human wisdom, from natural law or from Moses' decalogue. Even the Gospel, if you read it without having the Spirit of Christ, is letter and kills. For these external things on their own merely instruct, condemn, accuse and show us what sin is.<sup>27</sup> If, on the contrary, you have the Spirit of Christ and you handle these things, they do not kill but console. Therefore those people pass time on a

<sup>24</sup> Horace, Ars Poetica 268-269. Martyr's humanistic impulse of *ad fontes* is evident not just in his frequent citation of scripture but also in his citation of extra-biblical sources. Martyr scholars have demonstrated that he goes right back to primary sources without using convenient *florilegia*: Anderson, "Peter...humanist," pp. 70-71.

<sup>25</sup> This paragraph is Martyr's manifesto of the primacy of the literal meaning of the Bible; later in his career, Martyr would express himself in a more typically Protestant fashion and speak of "the true and natural sense of scripture," *verum genuinumque sensum Scripturae*, LC 6:5 (this latter from his preface to his Corinthians commentary).

<sup>26</sup> 2 Cor. 3:6.

<sup>27</sup> e.g., Gal. 3:24.

faulty work in the name of the letter that kills. Thus my interpretation of Lamentations will aim at making absolutely plain the words of the prophet. This is the way I carried out the exposition of the Minor Prophets.<sup>28</sup>

Until now, no one has established with any certainty when Jeremiah could have written this mournful poem. Not a few put forward the opinion that this happened when the King of Egypt killed Josiah at Megiddo. This opinion arises from the fact that in 2 Chronicles 35 all the men and women singers are said to have performed laments, and among them Jeremiah is mentioned by name. St. Jerome cites this opinion and does not refute it.<sup>29</sup> However, in the course of our interpretation we will see if anything in this book pertains to the killing of Josiah.

Others say that this book is the same one which, according to Jeremiah 36, King Jehoiakim destroyed. He tore it in pieces and threw it into the fire in his winter house where he was at that time residing. Jehoiakim would also have liked to have killed Jeremiah and his ever faithful scribe Baruch; and he would have too, had not they hid by the power of God. God did

<sup>28</sup> Simler said that Martyr began his expositions with Lamentations--but plainly it was with the Minor Prophets. Martyr's work on the Minor Prophets was still extant when Stucki edited Lamentations (see Stucki's "Greeting to the Good Reader," sig. \*\*2).

<sup>29</sup> Jerome, Questiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum et Paralipomemon, in PL 23, col. 1401.

not allow what he said to his prophet to perish. He ordered Jeremiah to record not only the prophecies just destroyed but many similar prophecies as well.<sup>30</sup>

Rashi,<sup>31</sup> who defends this opinion, interprets this passage in the following way. In the book that the king cut up and wished to be consumed by fire, there were but three alphabetical chapters: HOW LONELY SHE SITS, and HOW GOD HAS DARKENED, and finally HOW DARKENED IS THE GOLD.<sup>32</sup> Not only did Jeremiah restore all of these three alphabetical chapters, but he added a fourth. In this fourth chapter, there were three verses for each letter. In this way the added chapter might be equal in number of alphabetical verses to those three chapters which he had previously composed by the same

<sup>30</sup> Jer. 36:32.

<sup>31</sup> i.e., Rashi making reference to a midrashic interpretation, see Lam.R. 3:1, ET 188:

HOW SHE SAT ALONE: Jeremiah wrote a book of laments. This was the scroll which Jehoiakim burned upon the brazier which was on the fire, and there were on it three alphabets: HOW SHE SAT, HOW HE BECLOUDED, HOW WAS BECLOUDED [Lam. 1:1, 2:1, 4:1]. Again he added to it I AM THE MAN, which is three alphabets; as it was said, AND AGAIN WAS ADDED TO THEM MANY WORDS LIKE THOSE [Jer. 36:32]; three for three.

That is, In the Book of Jeremiah, ch. 36, it is said that King Jehoiakim burned a book of prophecy which Jeremiah spoke. The book was really chapters 1, 2, 4 of Lamentations, which consist of three alphabetical acrostics. When it says in Jer. 36:32 that Jeremiah redictated the prophecy AND ADDED TO THEM MANY WORDS LIKE THOSE, it means that Jeremiah gave again ch. 1, 2, and 4 of Lam. and added to them ch. 3, which is a triple alphabetical acrostic. In that sense ch. 3 is equal to ch. 1, 2, and 4. Hence it is LIKE THOSE.

<sup>32</sup> The opening words of ch. 1, 2, and 4 respectively.

method. And it so happens that the Hebrew phrase כהמה<sup>33</sup> occurs near the last part of chapter 36, as if to say, "Three added to three."<sup>34</sup>

Rabbi Ibn Ezra<sup>35</sup> does not go along with Rashi's opinion for two reasons. Firstly, in this Book of Lamentations "The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah for a second time" ought to be written--something you do not see. Secondly, in the story of the book the king burned, we read that the king was angry with Jeremiah because of his prophecy. Jeremiah had said that the King of Babylon would come and that he would decree various cruel things against the nation and the holy

<sup>33</sup> LIKE THEM: Jer. 36:32, the last word of the chapter.

<sup>34</sup> That is, ch. 1, 2 and 4 had a total of 22 x 3 alphabetical verses, and so did chapter 3. Martyr supposes Rashi to be presenting this midrashic interpretation as the philological meaning--which may or may not have been Rashi's intent. Martyr deserves full credit for understanding correctly a rather complex midrash. We are dealing with no mean Hebraist.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Ezra:

And it is not the scroll burned up by Jehoiakim, since we did not find two "words of G-D" which are inscribed in the book, for thus it is written: TAKE FOR YOURSELF A BOOK SCROLL AND YOU SHALL WRITE ON IT ALL THE WORDS WHICH I SPOKE TO YOU CONCERNING ISRAEL AND JUDAH AND ALL THE NATIONS [Jer. 36:2]; and it is further written: WHY DID YOU WRITE UPON IT, SAYING, "THE KING OF BABYLON WILL SURELY COME AND DESTROY THIS LAND" [Jer. 36:29]; but there is in the scroll of the book of Lamentations no recalling of either Babylon or her king.

That is, The Book of Lamentations is not the scroll of Jeremiah's prophecies mentioned in Jer. 36. We know this because the contents of this scroll are outlined in Jer. 36 and do not correspond to what is in the Book of Lamentations. For example, Jeremiah prophesied that THE KING OF BABYLON WILL SURELY COME AND DESTROY THIS LAND, but no such thing is in Lamentations.

place. Yet in Lamentations we find no mention of the King of Babylon. By these arguments the rabbi, in other respects a very sharp thinker, rebuts Rashi's opinion related above. Ibn Ezra's arguments are, however, of no great moment, for they may easily be refuted.<sup>36</sup>

Finally there have been others who were of the opinion that this poem was composed not before the fall of the city and its kingdom but after, as a monument of such a great disaster. However that may be, we ought not to despise this little book.<sup>37</sup> Nor ought we to disparage the profits and benefits, which, as I was saying previously, are to be found in the book. But now let us take up into our hands the text proper.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Ezra is, of course, quite correct; Martyr rejects Ibn Ezra's philological interpretation because he clearly sees that Ibn Ezra implies that Lamentations is not predictive prophecy but a dirge only.

<sup>37</sup> Martyr does not reject out of hand what the poem actually is, viz. a lament for a city that has already fallen; in practice however Martyr, influenced by such authoritative interpreters as Jerome, treats Lamentations as a prediction of the disaster to come; see Martyr's exposition of Lam.1:2 *et passim*.

Alphabet or Chapter One

Aleph, or Verse One HOW DOES SHE SIT ALONE, A CITY FULL OF PEOPLE?<sup>1</sup> SHE HAS BECOME LIKE A WIDOW, WHO WAS GREAT AMONG THE NATIONS.<sup>2</sup> THE MOST EMINENT AMONG THE STATES HAS BECOME A TRIBUTARY.

HOW...:<sup>3</sup> an adverb which begins a sentence has exclamatory force.<sup>4</sup>

The prophet first describes how empty of people and how isolated was the city which had previously been so flourishing and populous.<sup>5</sup> If she has been

<sup>1</sup> With a question as in the LXX; but the force is clearly a rhetorical exclamation, as in printed editions of the Vulgate, and as Martyr himself explains in his exposition. The only translation theoretically available to Martyr having a question here is Zwingli's, but as Martyr's translation betrays no other dependence on Zwingli's, it seems likely that both Zwingli and Martyr owe the interrogative construction to the LXX. Tremellius was in Strasbourg at the same time as his friend Martyr was expounding Lamentations. In his translation of 1575-79, he too has a question here (and in many other verses as well!); but there are no other correspondences between Martyr's version and that of Tremellius which was to appear a quarter of a century later.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome has *domina gentium*; Münster's rendering of רבתי בגוים is slightly more literal.

<sup>3</sup> Martyr almost always cites only the first word or words of the line he is expounding; for the sake of clarity, I shall from now on cite the entire line or lines to which Martyr refers.

<sup>4</sup> Martyr is fond of pointing out features of rhetoric; he also means the question has the force of an exclamation.

<sup>5</sup> A characteristic feature of Martyr's exposition is paraphrase; for him it was a tool of philological exegesis.

abandoned and is without inhabitants, she is not a city. This is because a city is a large group of united citizens, ruled by proper laws. So now she does not deserve to be called a "city." She is like a mother, bereft of children. Even though this disaster seems bad enough in and of itself, another even harsher is added to it.

SHE HAS BECOME LIKE A WIDOW: here the hope of having children and the expectation of offspring is abolished. A mother bereft of sons is accustomed sometimes to allow for such consolation as this: "I still have a husband who survived. I shall be able to bear other sons in place of those lost." Yet she is LIKE A WIDOW.<sup>6</sup> He did not say boldly and simply, "She was a widow,"<sup>7</sup> since these Jews were going to return to the

<sup>6</sup> Perush:

Not only does SHE SIT ALONE on account of her sons having died, she who was of MANY PEOPLE; she is also LIKE A WIDOW who does not have a husband and she despairs of having any sons at all.

Of course the simile LIKE A WIDOW refers to her status as a husbandless woman. Perush images she is also without children, thus connecting the first line HOW DOES SHE SIT ALONE with the image of LIKE A WIDOW. Martyr does not notice how Perush shifts meaning in Lamentations' poetic images.

<sup>7</sup> Martyr expands on a comment Rashi culls from a midrashic interpretation (Lam.R. 1:3, ET 71):

SHE HAS BECOME AS A WIDOW: but not a real widow, but rather as a woman whose husband went to a far-off country, and his intention was to return to her.

That is, Judah cannot be a real widow, since her husband is God who cannot die! This simile troubles Martyr (the Jews did return!), so he uses Rashi's midrashic interpretation to avoid the actual meaning of the simile.

dwelling of their fathers, as we observe in the Book of Ezra.<sup>8</sup> The temporal tribulations of God's children do not last forever. Although for certain periods of time they sense God's favor very little, nevertheless God does not really abandon them.

A CITY *FULL OF PEOPLE*... WHO WAS *GREAT* AMONG THE NATIONS, THE MOST EMINENT:<sup>9</sup> these words<sup>10</sup> have a *yod* added to them not as an indicator of person,<sup>11</sup> but rather it has been added πληρωματικῶς.<sup>12</sup> The Jews had this extent of greatness and nobility under David and in the time of Solomon. For at that time they held

<sup>8</sup> 1:1-2:67.

<sup>9</sup> By using Münster's literal translation of the Hebrew רבתי, Martyr is able to draw attention to it; his sources are both Rashi:

רבתי עם: a superfluous yod, like רבת [e.g., Ps. 65:10, Ef 9]: the people which were with her were many.

That is, רבתי is an adjective and is the same as רבת, the yod is unnecessary. In this context it means "many." And Ibn Ezra says:

GREAT (רבתי), PRINCESS-LIKE (שרתי): a penultimate [accent] to distinguish between an added yod and the yod signifying the speaker....

That is, it is possible by the accent to distinguish the yod indicating a 1st person sing. pronominal suffix from a superfluous yod indicating an adjectival form. In the adjectival form the accent is on the penultima, but the pronominal suffix draws the accent to the ultima.

<sup>10</sup> "these words": the adjectives which I have italicized, which in Hebrew are רבתי (twice) and שרתי.

<sup>11</sup> That is, as a pronominal suffix.

<sup>12</sup> i.e., pleonastically. (As an adverb, πληρωματικῶς is not in Liddel and Scott.) Martyr is saying (with the help of Rashi and Ibn Ezra, as noted above) that in Hebrew the yod is extra and indicates a poetic way of making an adjective, see GKC 90.1.



sway over the Moabites, Idumeans, and Philistines, and from these nations they exacted tribute.<sup>13</sup> At present she has, in contrast, not only become destitute but also has been subjected to tribute and very heavy taxes.<sup>14</sup> This refers to the time when under Gedaliah<sup>15</sup> the only inhabitants left were the poor.

Bet, or Verse Two IN.WEEPING.SHE.WILL.WEEP<sup>16</sup> IN THE NIGHT, AND HER TEARS WILL BE ON HER CHEEKS; NOR.IS THERE.FOR.HER.A.CONSOLER<sup>17</sup> FROM AMONG ALL.HER.LOVERS;<sup>18</sup> ALL HER FRIENDS SPURN HER AND HAVE BECOME HER ENEMIES.

<sup>13</sup> Münster 1535 Bible:

...the nations who used to pay tribute, such as the Ammonites, Moabites, Philistines and many others.

<sup>14</sup> Martyr notes this irony with help from the Targum:

She who was exalted among the nations and reigning over provinces that paid her tribute has been reduced to lowliness, and paying them head tax thereafter.

<sup>15</sup> Jer. 39-42.

<sup>16</sup> This is an awkward construction in Latin, but it represents by literal translation the common Hebrew construction of an infinitive absolute plus finite verb, both infinitive and verb being from the same root and conjugation; this Hebrew construction is used for emphasis, rather like a cognate accusative in Latin or English; Jerome has *plorans ploravit*, whereas Pagnini has *plorando plorabit*; neither of these constructions is good Latin. In copying Pagnini-Münster, Martyr marks the Hebrew construction. Less literalistic, but a better translation, is Tremellius' *plane flet*.

<sup>17</sup> Pagnini uses the dative of possession to represent a Hebrew way of indicating possession (with the preposition  $\gamma$ ); Jerome did not try to mirror the Hebrew construction.

<sup>18</sup> Jerome has *charis*--more polite, but the Hebrew is "lovers," and thus does Pagnini translate.

IN WEEPING SHE WILL WEEP IN THE NIGHT: the mournful sorrowing--and it is principally at night--shows clearly how severe for her would be all the things predicted.<sup>19</sup> At night there is time for miserable people to weep. The clamorous preoccupations of day cease at that hour, and one is left to himself, that is, to his thoughts and the preoccupations of his mind. While thinking over at his leisure his former happiness, he, alone as he is and without witnesses, gives himself up to tears. Another reason for weeping at night was the fact that there was no opportunity during the day for an enslaved and captive people to vent their grief. For although they were enduring the vilest of servitudes in captivity, at night at least they were able to give themselves up to their feelings.

AND HER TEARS WILL BE ON HER CHEEKS: this sorrow did not entail mere words. The matter was so serious that it wrung out of this miserable people continuous tears.<sup>20</sup>

NOR IS THERE A CONSOLER FOR HER AMONG ALL HER LOVERS: consoling words from a human source make carc

<sup>19</sup> The Hebrew imperfect tense, here rendered future by Münster, gives Martyr the occasion he needs to see these words as predictive prophecy.

<sup>20</sup> Rashi:

...from the fact that she is weeping continuously.

Rashi's point is that she was not just weeping at night.

more easily borne. She lacked these consolations as well. Above all she was deprived of those who were most loved by her and who seemed to hold her especially dear. These lovers, you may assure yourself, had been idols and the foreign nations in whose military forces she was trusting. Not only did all these foreign troops break their promises, but they changed character completely and were driven against her by their hostility and malice.<sup>21</sup> You see how this heap of disasters grows bigger and bigger, as a speech grows by each and every word.

Gimel, or Verse Three JUDAH MIGRATED ON ACCOUNT OF<sup>22</sup> AFFLICTION AND GREAT SERVITUDE; DWELLING<sup>23</sup> AMONG THE GENTILES, SHE<sup>24</sup> DID NOT FIND REST; ALL HER PERSECUTORS OVERTOOK HER BETWEEN THE NARROW PLACES.

<sup>21</sup> Perush:

...not only HAS SHE NO COMFORTER FROM AMONG ALL HER COMPANIONS, but also they turned TO BECOME HER ENEMIES.

Note that Perush's comment here is philological.

<sup>22</sup> ON ACCOUNT OF (*propter*) is for -ב: so Jerome-Pagnini-Münster, and Martyr follows them. But the Hebrew preposition can also, in this context, mean "after," and Martyr is certainly thinking of this sense as well, as will become apparent in his exposition.

<sup>23</sup> Jerome has here a main verb, as does the Hebrew. In copying Münster, Martyr is able to point out the relationship, implied in the Hebrew, between "dwelling among the Gentiles" and "finding no rest."

<sup>24</sup> SHE i.e., Judah, here in feminine gender.

JUDAH LEFT HOME ON ACCOUNT OF AFFLICTION: what pleasure give ancestral fields, houses and possessions, handed down from grandfather, to father, to son! Those whose fortune it is to have such possessions have come to know this pleasure especially well.<sup>25</sup> From this consideration one may well imagine what grief these exiles experienced when they went away from their own dwellings. Now these dwellings of theirs pleased them for more than one reason. Firstly, their ancestors had taken possession of them a long time ago. Secondly, the soil was fertile, pleasant and everywhere productive. Lastly, they received their dwelling from God. For we estimate the value of something not just from its own inherent worth but also from the name and worth of the one who gives it.

It is hard enough to live in exile, but the events preceding it make the exile even worse. They were led away into captivity after<sup>26</sup> they had previously been tormented by a siege. And even before the capture of the city, they had served their own cruel kings under a

<sup>25</sup> The poignancy of this statement is readily apparent when we remember that Martyr is also thinking of his own situation as an exile.

<sup>26</sup> See note above on Martyr's translation of this verse and the phrase ON ACCOUNT OF. Martyr is expounding the Hebrew preposition *מִן*, in the phrase *מִןּוּמַר עֲבָדָה*. Even though Rashi thought it meant "on account of," *מִןּוּמַר* Martyr copies his sources and translates it that way, nevertheless in his exposition he assumes that it means "after" (Hillers 66 agrees). Ibn Ezra did not give an opinion. Martyr feels quite free to disagree (usually tacitly) with his Jewish commentators.

harsh yoke.<sup>27</sup> It was during the last days of the kingdom that these kings reigned. So from severe troubles and intolerable servitude they were led away--not into refreshing change but into captivity. There in exile they received worse treatment than before.

DWELLING AMONG THE NATIONS: the nation of Hebrews which always had a horror of consorting with the Gentiles is now intermingled with them. They had their own laws and distinct ceremonies; circumcision distinguished them from other nations, as did their clothing.<sup>28</sup> Now the nations esteem them as the dregs of the bilge.<sup>29</sup>

She dwells and lives captive among the peoples.<sup>30</sup> The gender of the proper noun "Judah" can be either masculine or feminine.<sup>31</sup> As a feminine noun "Judah"

<sup>27</sup> Martyr is thinking of the social commentary in Jer. 22:13-17 et passim.

<sup>28</sup> Either an allusion to such laws as Lev. 19:19c, or more likely a reference to conditions in Christian Europe where both Rabbinic laws and repressive Christian legislation required Jews to dress distinctively.

<sup>29</sup> lit.: *sentinae faeces*; thus did Cicero style Cataline's followers.

<sup>30</sup> In Hebrew, unlike the Latin translation, it is plain the subject is "she", not "he."

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Ezra:

JUDAH: masculine or feminine, as Israel and Egypt: AND EGYPT ENCOURAGED (ותחזק מצרים).[Ex. 12:33].

That is, "Judah" as a proper corporate noun can be either masculine or feminine in gender, as can "Israel" or "Egypt." For example, "Egypt" is feminine in Ex. 12:33.

can by no means signify some individual man but rather the nation.

SHE DID NOT FIND REST: it was apparently not enough of a punishment that they had quit their country and had been carried off to live among foreigners. (These were the same foreigners that she previously had not considered worthy of either a civil greeting or a friendly meeting.) The prophet adds a further difficulty: among these foreign nations, she could not find rest. We know she found no rest, because if you run through the history of the Eastern kingdoms, you will easily see the following. The Babylonians subdued the Jews. These Babylonians were conquered by the Medes. The Persians took over the Empire of the Medes.<sup>32</sup> So the captive Jews were being forced to serve these various nations. In this way it happened that the Jews were unable to take their stand in one particular place. And if you refer this ruin deplored here in Lamentations to the devastation caused by the Romans, you will see that they have truly found no rest.

ALL HER PERSECUTORS OVERTOOK HER BETWEEN THE NARROW PLACES: since she was tossed through diverse regions, new misfortunes were always overtaking her, pressing her so hard that she could not escape. Her situation is like that of those who are attacked on

<sup>32</sup> 1 K. 24-25; Dan. 6:1 and 7:29; the Medes' Empire is supposed by most modern scholars to be a fiction of Daniel, but of course Martyr did not know this.

very narrow roads by enemies. Enclosures or walls on either side preclude her running away. מְצָרִים here means enclosures.<sup>33</sup>

Some interpret "on account of affliction and great servitude" as indicating the cause of exile.<sup>34</sup> That is, since they had acted cruelly toward the poor and toward their slaves, since they had been harsh, since they had persecuted and oppressed their own people by demanding too much slave labor, they deserved to be forced to leave their home and go into exile. Although

<sup>33</sup> Rashi's philological interpretation for מְצָרִים:

...for there is a height from both sides and there is no place to rest.

Perhaps for the Christian reader Martyr is anxious to avoid possible confusion with מִצְרַיִם (Egypt). Münster 1534 Bible:

..."enclosures" is the way Kimhi explains the word מְצָרִים.

<sup>34</sup> Targum:

...because they were oppressing orphans and widows and because of the excessive corvee which they levied upon the Children of Israel who had been sold to them....

Münster 1534 Bible:

The Chaldean interpreter, whoever he was, rendered this phrase: "Judah went away into captivity, for the reason that she afflicted the poor and the widows, and since they treated their Hebrew slaves with harshness, etc."

Martyr has already expounded this phrase, using the interpretation "after affliction..." Martyr employs the Targum's interpretation as a "pretext" to make a doctrinal comment.

I do not oppose this explanation of the Targum,<sup>35</sup> I am rather led, using this verse as a pretext, to draw attention to the retributive justice of God.<sup>36</sup> God's retributive justice seems to have dealt severely with these people by *lex talionis*. This happened not only because of what they did to their own unhappy people and their neighbors, but also on account of what they did against God (and they could do this) when they drew away from God's religion. When they defiled themselves by acts of adultery with idols, they deprived God of his children and left him a widower, that is, without his beloved spouse. They made God emigrate from his own country.<sup>37</sup>

Truly in these last days,<sup>38</sup> the Apostles said to the Jews: WE HAD TO PRESS THE GOSPEL ON YOU FIRST; BUT SINCE YOU SHOW YOURSELVES UNWORTHY, WE TURN TO THE

<sup>35</sup> lit., "this Targum *cuius Thargi*." "Targum" is, in the first instance of course, the Aramaic word for "translation," but it is very often a reference to "the Targum," the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible. Thus Martyr is correct to say "this" Targum, i.e., this Aramaic translation before me, but it is incorrect, as he well knew, to make a Latin case ending out of how an Aramaic word happens to end and decline it.

<sup>36</sup> cf. Aristotle on retributive justice: Nic.Eth. 5.4 1131b. 25ff.

<sup>37</sup> Martyr's language about God here is vividly anthropomorphic, reflecting the bold metaphors of the text. We should not see here some underdeveloped doctrine of God. Martyr's point is this: Israel "forced" God to emigrate, so God in turn did the same to them. Is Martyr thinking of Ezekiel's vision of the glory of God leaving the Temple (Ez. 11:23)?

<sup>38</sup> i.e., after the sending of God's Son: e.g., Heb. 1:1-2, IN THESE LAST DAYS.



GENTILES.<sup>39</sup> And in the letter to the Romans, Paul writes: BY MEANS OF THEIR UNBELIEF, THE GENTILES HAVE OBTAINED MERCY.<sup>40</sup> They not only poorly brought up their own little ones, who were sons of God through covenant relationship, but they sacrificed them to idols. They pursued God to kill him. And kill him they did, not in his own person--this cannot happen--but in his people. For they were inflicting with insults the prophets of the Lord, they were expelling them, and they were finally not even fearing to kill them. Christ the Lord boldly reproaches them in his parable of the slaves sent from the father to demand the harvest of the vineyard from the tenant farmers. These slaves were so badly treated that nothing could be worse.<sup>41</sup>

Dalet, or Verse Four THE WAYS OF ZION MOURN, BECAUSE NONE COME TO THE FEAST-DAY; ALL HER GATES ARE DESOLATE, PRIESTS GROAN, HER VIRGINS ARE AFFLICTED, SHE HERSELF IS ENTIRELY IN BITTERNESS.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Acts 13:46, paraphrase.

<sup>40</sup> Rm. 11:30b, paraphrase.

<sup>41</sup> Mt. 21:33-46. This is as close as Martyr gets to traditional Christian invective against Jews. Bad enough to be sure, but mild in comparison to a Luther or Calvin.

<sup>42</sup> None of Pagnini-Münster's departures from Jerome are of great exegetical import, though they are slightly more literal renderings. Martyr's *entirely* is an attempt to equal the force of the idiomatic Hebrew *וְהָיָה מִרָא לָהּ*.

What does the phrase mean, THE WAYS OF ZION MOURN? In times past the sons of Israel were accustomed to gather in large numbers at the Tabernacle, as they were required to do three times a year. The usual throng no longer treads the ways of Zion now that Israel's enemies conquered them and led them away captive. So Zion's ways seem, metaphorically speaking, to mourn. When the singing celebrators tread the ways of Zion with continuous comings and goings, then by the same metaphor the ways are said to be pleasant, happy, joyful and festive.<sup>43</sup>

BECAUSE NONE COME TO THE FEAST DAY: מועד signifies the holy Tabernacle of God,<sup>44</sup> since meetings were held there, and there the Israelites gathered. Others interpret it to mean "appointed times and accustomed

<sup>43</sup> The phrase דרכי ציון occurs only here in the Hebrew Bible (Even-Shoshan k 985). Possibly Martyr is alluding to Prov. 3:17 (דרכי נעם), though here the "ways" are metaphorical.

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Ezra:

THOSE ENTERING OF THE APPOINTED [TIME/PLACE] (באי מועד): [one interpretation is] "those who would come at the appointed times," but better in my eyes is that it [the מועד] is the Temple, and it was called מועד on account of there being all Israel assembling (נועדים) there, and thus IN THE MIDST OF YOUR ASSEMBLY-PLACE (מועד) [Ps.74:4], THEY BURNED ALL THE ASSEMBLY-PLACES (מועדי) [Ps. 74:8] of G-D with fire.

That is, some people interpret מועד here to mean "appointed time," i.e., holiday, but it is better to understand it as "the appointed place," i.e., the Temple, which is a meaning it has in Ps. 74:4 and 74:8.

holy days."<sup>45</sup> Note in passing that the people of Judah and Israel had also neglected the Temple previously.<sup>46</sup> For under Ahaz, Manasseh and other wicked kings of that ilk, the gates of the Temple were closed.<sup>47</sup> No one was going there for worship. Also the kings of Israel had forbidden their people to go there.<sup>48</sup> It is, therefore, no wonder that when they later wished to go, they would not be allowed to do so.

ALL THE GATES ARE DESOLATE: שוֹמְמִין : in this word you have the letter mem changed into a nun. As regards these two letters, one can stand for the other, so they can easily be interchanged.<sup>49</sup> What is meant by "the devastated city gates" may be easily grasped by those

<sup>45</sup> Rashi takes it to mean "the appointed season," i.e., holiday. Rashi interprets the whole phrase (בְּאֵי מִיָּדָה) to mean "pilgrims."

<sup>46</sup> "neglected the Temple previously," lit. "practiced this wrong previously."

<sup>47</sup> Ahaz of Judah, see 2 K. 16 and 2 Chr. 28; Manasseh, see 2 K. 21; the closed Temple, see 2 Chr. 28:24.

<sup>48</sup> 1 K. 12:25-31; this idea is from the Targum:

All the while Jerusalem was still built up, the Children of Israel refused to go up....

<sup>49</sup> "...one can stand for the other:" *inter se sunt symbolicae*. Ibn Ezra:

DESOLATE (שׁוֹמְמִין): nun in exchange for mem; and thus, TAKE FOR YOURSELF WHEAT (חֲטִין) [Ez. 4:9], TO THE END OF DAYS (הַיּוֹם) [Dan. 12:13]; for the nun and the mem serve at the end of the word as the sign of plural, both masculine and feminine.

That is, שׁוֹמְמִין is שׁוֹמְמִים. Occasionally in scripture the normal plural ending ים is ין. Two examples of this is the feminine noun for "wheat" in Ez. 4:9 and the masculine noun for "day" in Dan. 12:13.

who know that the Hebrews held judicial proceedings in the gates.<sup>50</sup> Of old justice was pronounced there.<sup>51</sup> All the splendor and magnificence of their law courts departed, so nothing could be visible at the gates save what remained from conflagration and pillage.

PRIESTS GROAN: it is only natural to mention in connection with the judges and civil authority the priests whose vocation was to sing God's praises.<sup>52</sup> Their means of appeasing God was to weep.<sup>53</sup> Before the city's capture, they had no occasion to lament or groan, because the Law allotted them the people's tithes as stipend, and the fat portions of the sacrifices sustained them.<sup>54</sup> No worry over possessions

<sup>50</sup> Perush:

HER GATES were DESOLATE, for there the elders of Israel gathered together.

That is, Perush takes GATES to parallel WAYS in the first line. If the WAYS mourn because of the lack of people, then the gates must similarly be DESOLATE, i.e., be in mourning because of the lack of meetings of elders. (The elders would meet at the city gates to conduct civic matters such as trials.) Martyr uses Perush's non-philological interpretation to give biblical color to his exposition.

<sup>51</sup> As in Ruth 4.

<sup>52</sup> Martyr is thinking of the Levites: see 1 Chr. 15, 2 Chr. 5.

<sup>53</sup> i.e., previously it had been the office of the priests to sing, but now they can only groan; previously the priests offered sacrifices in the Temple, but now tears are the only offering left to them.

<sup>54</sup> Perush:

...and HER PRIESTS sighed because there were no first fruits and tithes for them....

ever vexed them.<sup>55</sup> Now, however, they sigh and groan deeply within themselves.

HER VIRGINS ARE AFFLICTED: their vocation was to celebrate publicly Israel's victories in song, and to lead dances through the broad streets and crossroads.<sup>56</sup> Now all their devotion had a different object.

SHE HERSELF IS ENTIRELY IN BITTERNESS: no matter who they are, all of Zion's inhabitants mourn and suffer from a bitter attitude. No matter what their rank or station, they are not exempt from this grieving. Good and bad alike, they do not restrain themselves from tears. The reason for weeping is, however, different for each sort of person. Irreligious people are moved by the sense of present hardships, and they

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That is, Perush rids the line of its poetic ambiguity and "makes specific" why the priests were sighing. Martyr uses Perush's imaginative exegesis to add color to his exposition.

<sup>55</sup> See Numbers 18; again, Martyr is lumping priests and Levites together.

<sup>56</sup> Perush:

...and the VIRGINS were troubled, for it was their custom to dance in dances at every feast.

That is, Perush links the VIRGINS with the APPOINTED [FEASTS] in the first line of the verse. Perush is making specific why they were troubled and connecting poetic images in a narrative fashion. The Targum has inspired Perush (and perhaps Martyr as well):

Her maidens mourn, because they have ceased to go forth on the fifteenth of Ab, and on the Day of Atonement--which is the tenth day of Tishri--to dance the dance.

As far as "Israel's victories" are concerned, Martyr is thinking of 1 Sam. 18:6-7, etc. Once again, Martyr likes the way Perush reduces the poetry to narrative or prose statements.

lament nothing other than their loss of the good life. As for religious people, since they are human beings, "nothing human is alien to them."<sup>57</sup> Although they mourn their misfortunes which by God's will overwhelm them and the irreligious alike, they weep for different reasons.

First, what distresses them the most is that the people angered God. This fact alone causes them more grief than all the other evils which they are obliged to suffer along with everyone else. The religious understand God to be angry, and they hold before their eyes the people's crimes for which the people deserved such great punishment. The religious understand what it is to be abandoned by God. Hence their tears and the endless torments in their soul.

Second, since they are endowed by extraordinary love, and since they hear their brothers and see their race (meaning their fellow Jews) dashed about so harshly, it so happens that the punishment others receive furnishes ample cause for their own grief. Even while they are sad about others, they by no means displease God. For even though they know that the justice of God punishes the irreligious, nevertheless they do not turn against God in grieving for the destruction of their brothers. On the contrary they obey God, who wishes these things to be guarded and protected by his own

<sup>57</sup> Terence: *Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto*; Martyr's mother taught him Terence: see Simler, Life of Martyr, 32.

people through the duties of religion. God wishes religious people to grieve for others' sins, provided they do not go overboard<sup>58</sup>--lest we suppose God to be unjust or consider the irreligious to be unworthy of such punishments.

SO SHE HERSELF IS ENTIRELY IN BITTERNESS:<sup>59</sup> when we hear or read these things, we direct our attention to a people deprived of good things which God had so far granted them. In so doing, we direct our attention to their unworthiness, to the wickedness of their nature and the punishment of their crimes. On the contrary, in remembering that the people had once flourished and were adorned with ample gifts, we ought to be looking to the goodness of God. For the people did not originally own these things,<sup>60</sup> but truly God found them naked<sup>61</sup> in Egypt, i.e., slaves. They were the most shameful of all peoples. What the Jews as a people mourned can by transference be mourned by the Church as

<sup>58</sup> lit.: "keep themselves within decent limits and bounds." Martyr's religious man is rather too balanced--not exactly a Stoic practicing *ἀνέλιξις* but no Jeremiah or Paul anguishing over the fate of the Israelites.

<sup>59</sup> This line from Lamentations is repeated for further exposition.

<sup>60</sup> Martyr is alluding to passages like Dt. 7:8, ...RATHER BECAUSE G-D LOVES YOU AND KEEPS THE OATH WHICH HE SWORE TO YOUR FATHERS....

<sup>61</sup> An allusion to Ez. 16, e.g. 16:7b, ...AND YOU WERE NAKED....

well as the soul of every individual.<sup>62</sup> Even if we come across many matters which do not pertain to the attack by the Babylonians, we ought to refer such matters ahead into Roman times when under Titus and Vespasian the Jews were utterly destroyed.<sup>63</sup>

He, or Verse Five HER ENEMIES BECAME THE HEAD;  
HER FOES WERE IN GOOD FORTUNE, BECAUSE THE LORD SPOKE  
AGAINST HER ON ACCOUNT OF THE MULTITUDE OF HER INIQU-  
ITIES; HER LITTLE ONES WENT AWAY INTO CAPTIVITY BEFORE  
THE FACE OF THE ENEMY.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Martyr is doing more than what he promised in his introduction: having given us the "body" of the meaning, he is summarily suggesting a Christian application.

<sup>63</sup> Traditional Jewish commentary did this very thing; here Martyr almost certainly has reference to the Targum's interpretation of Lam. 1:19 (though he does not mention this interpretation in connection with his exposition of Lam. 1:19):

When she was delivered into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, Jerusalem said, "I called to my friends among the nations, those with whom I had established treaties, to support me. But they deceived me, and turned to destroy me." These are the Romans who came up with Titus and Vespasian the wicked, and erected siege works against Jerusalem.

This further demonstrates that Martyr reads Lamentations as prophecy.

<sup>64</sup> The departures of Pagnini and Münster from the Vulgate are all slightly closer renderings of the MT. It is curious that Martyr retains Jerome's SPOKE AGAINST HER. The MT that Martyr and his contemporaries shared with the Bomberg commentators all require "afflicted her" (from יגה, not הגה), and thus do Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Pagnini, and Münster translate.



HER ENEMIES BECAME THE HEAD: in Deuteronomy chapter 28 the Lord had promised that his people will put themselves at the head, not the tail. If they failed to keep the covenants, the Law's promise would not be retained but would be changed into its complete opposite--a punishment. So in the curses which are written in the same chapter the Lord says: If you turn from me, I shall elevate a stranger to the position of highest power among you. You will not be at the head but at the tail.<sup>65</sup> If they are here described to have run up against this, viz., that the King of Babylon placed enemies in authority over them, they ought not to wonder. God had threatened this very thing. When, therefore, they were led away into captivity, they were driven by these same commanders who stormed their commonwealth, set themselves over the city and destroyed by fire and sword everything belonging to these people.

Those who reject God as head, what else remains for them but to have the devil as head and chief.<sup>66</sup> And it is the devil who is the greatest enemy of humankind. Why does the devil exercise so much tyranny among miserable mortals today? Because they do not hold Christ as head, as God established him to be. As Paul

<sup>65</sup> Dt. 28:43-44.

<sup>66</sup> The following short digression is a foreshadowing of the scholia or *loci* which were sometimes pages long in Martyr's later commentaries.

says in Ephesians,<sup>67</sup> they place the Antichrist in authority over themselves. As a result they are dung and pestilence, merely members of the devil. They repudiate Christ the head and God; they are driven by the devil. If they held on to Christ, then the devil would have little or no power against them. If in fact Christ is the seed,<sup>68</sup> then he crushes the serpent's head.<sup>69</sup> However when he is not the seed, the head of the serpent is undamaged. With what ferocity, drive and purpose do you think that undamaged serpent's head attacks them?<sup>70</sup>

In Deuteronomy 17 the Lord instructs his people not to put in authority over them a king of a foreign nation.<sup>71</sup> Now when they cease to be his people, not only are they governed by a cruel tyrant but they are vexed in all other ways also. So it happens that, as the Prophet says, "Enemies have become her head." They were born to rule, and up to that time their fortune and worthiness were such that kingdoms were judged to belong to them. It therefore causes the greatest possible pain if, by a twist of fortune, they are forced

<sup>67</sup> 1:22; 4:15.

<sup>68</sup> Gn. 3:15; Gal. 3:16; but especially the enigmatic I Jn. 3:9.

<sup>69</sup> Gn. 3:15 read with Rm. 16:20.

<sup>70</sup> i.e., those who repudiate Christ.

<sup>71</sup> 17:16.

to serve not just worthless men, but even their own enemies.

HER FOES WERE IN GOOD FORTUNE:<sup>72</sup> This is yet another thing that incites pain. If others consider our troubles of no importance, and if others do not help us with them, we are accustomed to take it badly. However if bystanders rejoice in our misfortunes, it seems intolerable. The neighboring peoples who were hostile to the Jews were overjoyed at Israel's destruction.

Not just their vindictive neighbors were happy, but also (what I consider worse) their conquerors. The latter are said by the prophet to be truly enemies. The more the Jews' affairs went to ruin, the more joyful were the victory songs they were singing. Carefully consider, I tell you, how cruel the military commanders of this sort of people were. They are pictured as despoiled of all compassion. In fact those who are motivated by compassion ought not to be overcome by violent emotion, because a mind preoccupied with it is not easily touched by another's misery. Those leaders, on the contrary, are pictured here as enemies, foes, burning with extraordinary hatred against those they conquered. In addition, those who are captivated by compassion should be the sort of people who suppose

<sup>72</sup> The following exposition really belongs to Lam. 1:7, 21; 2:7 etc. Both the Hebrew and Martyr's Latin translation indicate the enemy, rather than rejoicing at Israel's fall, is at ease and living affluently.

they could suffer at some point the same sort of things which they see tossing others around. Their enemies, on the contrary, are presented as being happy, strong victors, who are strangers to any notion of their own potential misery. So these military commanders had no compassion for their miserable captives.

ON ACCOUNT OF THE MULTITUDE OF HER INIQUITIES: this distress is added: the legitimate cause of these troubles is made plain. Those who perish as innocent people have, as Socrates says according to Plato,<sup>73</sup> this anchor of consolation, namely, tranquillity of conscience. For they know themselves to be innocent of the crime for which they seem destined to be punished. These people, on the contrary, perish, and their sin testifies that they are justly punished.

HER LITTLE ONES WENT AWAY INTO CAPTIVITY: the great happiness of a people is to flourish with numerous offspring.<sup>74</sup> If any people had this blessing, it is the Israelites. For the promise of numerous offspring was first among their blessings. David speaks in this way about the happiness of many children: It is agreeable and pleasant when children are around the dinner table within the four corners of the father's house, where the wife is as a fruitful vine on

<sup>73</sup> Plato, Crito 54, the very end of the dialogue, as the Laws address Socrates.

<sup>74</sup> Martyr could, for the first time in his life, have a reasonable expectation of raising a family.

the sides of the house surrounding the table.<sup>75</sup>  
However if you should see your children dragged off in the worst possible ways, led away into captivity, it would be better if they had never been born. For it was established by nature that we should suffer the most when our dependents--wife, parents, children--committed to and relying on our faithfulness, suffer injury. Therefore it was no common vexation to see their little ones led away captive by soldiers.

Vav, or Verse Six DEPARTED<sup>76</sup> FROM THE DAUGHTER OF ZION IS ALL HER GLORY; HER PRINCES HAVE BECOME LIKE STAGS WHO DID NOT FIND PASTURE; GOING OUT WITHOUT STRENGTH BEFORE<sup>77</sup> THE PURSUER.

DEPARTED FROM THE DAUGHTER OF ZION IS ALL HER GLORY: the ancient people of God had many things that made for their outstanding glory, illustrious adornment and singular magnificence--but principally, the Law, the Word of God, numerous prophecies, the kingdom, priesthood, sacrifices, God's presence in the

<sup>75</sup> Ps. 128:3, selected words and phrases.

<sup>76</sup> Jerome, the LXX, Pagnini, and Münster all have "And departed": the "And" in Hebrew is for the sake of the alphabetical acrostic and represents the Hebrew letter ו; Martyr leaves it off, there being no reason for it in a Latin translation.

<sup>77</sup> Both the Vulgate and the LXX translate the Hebrew לפני in a literalistic fashion: "before the face of," but Pagnini drops this Hebraism.

Tabernacle of the covenant, miracles and rites. All these glorious things went away all at once. The loss of these things was without any doubt serious. However if it be compared with ours--if we were to lose the good things once granted to us in Christ--their loss would seem to be less serious, for we ourselves have been given more precious things. Through Christ we have received the forgiveness of sins, the proclamation of the gospel, the riches of the Holy Spirit, Christian liberty, and prompt and concrete help for needy brothers (something derived from Christian charity). Those who revolt from the faith once and for all received<sup>78</sup> are, in fact, deprived of these benefits.<sup>79</sup>

HER PRINCES HAVE BECOME LIKE STAGS: a more apt animal could not be found to compare to their kings and princes. For a stag is so prompt to panic that it always fears it is nowhere safe. As a result, it is apt to flee, as one who trusts particularly in its own agility. Since it lives in the desert wilderness, it is forced to search for pasture--meadows and drinking water are far away. In the siege of Jerusalem the kings of Judah<sup>80</sup> were like very frightened stags. They were surrounded in a besieged city, always thinking

<sup>78</sup> *a fide semel recepta*; cf. Jude 3, *semel traditae sanctis fidei*.

<sup>79</sup> The argument is modeled on Heb. 6:4-6.

<sup>80</sup> "kings" (in the plural): Three kings of Judah before Zedekiah were bottled up in Jerusalem by sieges: Rehoboam (1 K. 14:25), Hezekiah (2 K. 18:13ff), Jehoiachin (2 K. 24:10).

about fleeing, if the occasion presented itself. In fact, Zedekiah was apprehended in the very act of fleeing.<sup>81</sup>

They were so pressed by hunger and thirst that at the time of flight they had nothing in the city. They would have had to search for sustenance far away, if they had resisted the Babylonians any longer in the war. For this reason it is aptly added: WHO DO NOT FIND PASTURE. The princes were forgetful of their delicacies and were suffering from the lack of the bare necessities of life. Usually the bare necessities may be easily obtained. Nature is, after all, said to be content with the minimum. Such are the things the stags seek, viz., grass which usually grows everywhere. They do not even find that. Is there any reason to wonder? They rebelled against the Lord who was accustomed to feed them even in the desert.<sup>82</sup> And now, separated from him as they are, they cannot be fed in the city. The gospel depicts the good-for-nothing son, far away from his father, as suffering from hunger, feeding swine and so driven by hunger as to eat the husks provided for the animals he tended.<sup>83</sup> In our case too if we rebel against Christ, instead of his agreeable words and his body and blood that we have in

<sup>81</sup> 1 K. 25:5.

<sup>82</sup> The Israelites' forty years in the wilderness: manna and quail, Ex. 16, etc.

<sup>83</sup> Lk. 15:11-32.

abundance under his care, we are fed with the empty promises of the devil, the world and human reason. We always end up deceived by these promises. We are contaminated by the filth of every sort of vice. We waste away in great leanness.

GOING OUT WITHOUT STRENGTH BEFORE THE PURSUER: though they tried to escape, they were not able to evade the Chaldeans. Their swift feet did not serve them well. Jerusalem was obliged to rely on her own strength. Her nerves, having withdrawn from the Lord, were severed at the root. For "the race is not to the swift,"<sup>84</sup> but to God. It is he who gives speed to runners, and he supplies strength to make fast running possible.<sup>85</sup> David, who was well aware of this, said in Psalm 17: WHO MAKES MY FEET LIKE STAG'S FEET.<sup>86</sup> So it was not difficult for David to escape Saul when he was being hotly pursued. Apart from God's help, such a feat would have been impossible for him using human resources alone.

Judah was in such dire straits<sup>87</sup> that not only the common people, but also the kings and princes, were

<sup>84</sup> *Non enim est levium cursus*: cf. Eccl. 9:11, *nec velocium esse cursum*; I have cited the phrase from the AV, in which form it is (or was) proverbial.

<sup>85</sup> Even when his vocabulary does not match the Vulgate's, Martyr's language is Biblical. In this one sentence we have echoes of Jam. 1:5b (giving unstintingly), 1 K. 18:46 (swift feet), Is. 40:31 (sources of strength).

<sup>86</sup> Ps. 18:34, ET 33.

<sup>87</sup> *Magna itaque, dura, gravis fuit angustia.*



overwhelmed. But it was no injustice that this happened to them. For they themselves (they could do this!) made God tired. IS IT TOO SMALL A THING FOR YOU THAT YOU ARE BOTHERING HUMANS? WILL YOU BOTHER GOD TOO?<sup>88</sup> They were despoiling God of power by not believing him. However the Lord wished them to be forced to experience in their emptiness how great his power was. They exerted themselves--they were led away into slavery. Yet these men made God serve and exert, as it says in Isaiah 43: YOU MADE ME EXERT MYSELF FOR YOUR SINS AND DO SERVICE BY YOUR CRIMES.<sup>89</sup> These words are strange, yet nonetheless quite true.

Now we make God do service (as much as it lies in our power) when we abuse his name, title, public worship, ceremonies, gifts and benefits. We do this by turning these latter things to our own advantage, pleasure and utility by not referring them to his glory, honor and praise. We want God to serve us by means of his glorious gifts. He is forced to labor and to be deprived of strength by our unfaithfulness. We indeed suppose him to be incapable of doing what he promised us. Unbelief drives us to act this way. Unbelief, even if it does not doubt God's power, at any

<sup>88</sup> Is. 7:13. Here follows a long digression with bold anthropomorphisms (similar to those in verse 3); it is based on this unsettling metaphor of Isaiah and on the notion of *lex talionis* introduced in Martyr's exposition of *propter* in the preceding verse.

<sup>89</sup> 43:24, paraphrase, more MT than Vulgate.

rate doubts his good will. Our unbelief compels us to think of God as unwilling to fulfill his promises. Unbelief forces God to labor, treating him as one who does not stand by his promises. Whenever someone states strongly that God did not promise these things but that these things are mere lies of men, he makes God out to be a deceiver--God who bore testimony to the truth of his promises by great signs and wonders to Moses, Joshua, Isaiah and other prophets.

If the people of Judah have made God labor in this way, what wonder is it that they are now tired and cannot escape? I pass over how onerous to God were the sacrifices of those without faith. For he says, I AM WEARY OF BEARING THEM (Is.1).<sup>90</sup>

Zain, or Verse Seven<sup>91</sup> JERUSALEM REMEMBERED THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION AND *HER MIGRATION OF ALL HER*

<sup>90</sup> v. 14.

<sup>91</sup> This verse has four lines in the MT instead of three, and many modern commentators prefer to excise the second line (see Hillers 68-69), though it was in existence in some form for both the LXX and Jerome. As the MT stands: JERUSALEM REMEMBERS THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION AND WONDERING, ALL HER PLEASANT THINGS.... What is it Jerusalem remembers: "her affliction" or "her pleasant things," or somehow both? Jerome read the lines: "Jerusalem remembered the days of her affliction and the prevarication of all her pleasant things....," evidently reading מרודי instead of מרודיה. If the MT is to be retained, Ibn Ezra has an excellent suggested reading: JERUSALEM REMEMBERS [IN] THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION ALL HER PLEASANT THINGS; he uses the analogy of Ex. 20:11, where the preposition "in" is similarly left out: FOR [IN] SIX DAYS G-D MADE. Münster 1534 Bible understands Ibn Ezra's point, and, though he translates this verse in a literalistic way, makes a point of it in his exegetical notes. Martyr's translation

DESIRABLE THINGS,<sup>92</sup> WHICH SHE HAD HAD FROM ANCIENT DAYS, WHEN HER PEOPLE FELL INTO THE HAND OF THE ENEMY, AND THERE WAS NO HELPER; THE ENEMIES SAW HER, AND THEY LAUGHED AT HER CEASING.<sup>93</sup>

JERUSALEM REMEMBERED THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION AND HER MIGRATION OF ALL HER DESIRABLE THINGS WHICH SHE HAD HAD FROM ANCIENT DAYS: Some people wish that the greatest human pleasures were derived from remembering past good times. The Epicureans especially, who were searching for all means of acquiring pleasure, wished this were so.<sup>94</sup> Therefore it would not have produced

is a muddy blend of Jerome and Münster.

<sup>92</sup> Martyr changes Jerome's "remembered...the prevarication of all her desirable things" to "remembered...her migration of all her desirable things." This is awkward Latin and imposes Jerome's syntax on the MT. That this was the reading Martyr intended is clear in his exposition below:

However she does not recall these good things only. On the contrary she remembers that her good life was snatched away from her by force and that she despairs of getting it back.

<sup>93</sup> The MT has מְשַׁבְּתָהּ and, though it does mean "ceasing," it is from the same root as שַׁבַּת Sabbath: hence a traditional Jewish interpretation "Sabbaths," which Jerome adopts and Pagnini follows. Münster has *otium*, but Martyr even more literally has *cessionem*. Note however that in his Thesaurus entry cited below, Pagnini shows that he knows the real meaning of this word, and it is entirely possible that Martyr gets his literalistic rendering from this source:

They made fun of מְשַׁבְּתָהּ, i.e. her *cessiones* (*requies eius*). Jerome translates "her sabbaths."

<sup>94</sup> Even though Martyr repeats the historically inaccurate accusation against the Epicureans that they were primarily pleasure-seekers, he is correct about the importance that memory had for them (see Encyclopedia of Philosophy "Epicureans" v.3, p.5).

pain for her if she had in her trouble remembered her past good life, which she previously enjoyed. Yet it may be dealt with in this way. When she was oppressed by disaster if she would have only remembered the happy life she led before, it would doubtless have been a pleasure for her. However she does not recall these good things only. On the contrary she remembers that her good life was snatched away from her by force and that she despairs of getting it back. She wants it, but it is forbidden to her. Thus her remembering is painful.

Themistocles<sup>95</sup> is a splendid witness of how the human mind suppresses the memory of an unpleasant and sad event. He would hear someone touting the art of remembering. Although endowed with a tenacious memory in his own right, he would say that he preferred someone to teach him the faculty of forgetting. He would thus point out that to remember misfortunes is very bitter, and that it would be pleasant for us to be able by some faculty to forget them. You may object that even the memory of misfortunes may be pleasant, as the Poet says: "Perhaps it will even be pleasant one day to remember these things."<sup>96</sup> However experience teaches us that when we see men telling with such great

<sup>95</sup> Themistocles, ca. 528-462, Athenian democratic statesman, see Herodotus 7-8, Thucydides I.74, 135-8; Plutarch, Them.

<sup>96</sup> *The Poet* is Vergil, just as *the philosopher* was Aristotle; the reference is to the Aeneid 1:203.

pleasure what they endured or suffered up to that point, it comes to mind that the memory of misfortunes, bitter in and of itself, has become sweet only when combined with deliverance. Either they had eventually escaped or they had acted bravely in the middle of these misfortunes. Thus Paul in 2 Corinthians<sup>97</sup> mentions the dangers he has undergone: RATHER I SHALL GLORY IN MY WEAKNESSES.

HER ENEMIES SAW HER consumed by a great bitterness, because she remembers the halcyon days; AND THEY LAUGHED AT HER CEASING. That is, they are overjoyed that such rich blessings are far away from her and cease being supplied in abundance.<sup>98</sup> Or you may understand HER CEASING to be the Sabbath,<sup>99</sup> that rest of the seventh day. When these enemies saw their Jewish captives observing the Sabbath among themselves, they jeered. The Jews in exile were tenacious in

<sup>97</sup> 12:9b.

<sup>98</sup> Rashi's philological interpretation:

THEY JEERED AT HER CESSATION (משכחה): they jeered at the ceasing of her joy, of her festival, of her new moon.

<sup>99</sup> See Rashi's reference to a midrashic interpretation:

...and a midrash aggadah expounds it in another way: for they were ceasing labor in exile on Shabbats and holidays and were allowing their fields to lie fallow on the Seventh Year; and the nations were jeering at them and were saying, were ridiculing, "In your own land you were not allowing your fields to lie fallow, and now in exile you will do this?! In your own land you did not observe [these commandments], and now in exile you will observe [them]?!"

observing their external rituals but far less so in regard to faith and the inner worship of God.<sup>100</sup> Seneca, Juvenal and Cornelius Tacitus<sup>101</sup> laugh at those ceremonies, whose rationale they would not understand. The laughter greatly augmented the Jews' pain. In general it is intolerable if what we hold to be of great worth is depreciated. For example, if someone belittles or jeers at Platonic ideas, he ridicules those who are zealous for them. Let it not happen to us that our cities and districts captured by the Turks hear those conquerors depreciate the gospels, sacred assemblies, the Lord's Supper, baptism and our other Christian institutions. What religious man could bear that pain?

Het, or Verse Eight JERUSALEM SINNED A SIN ON  
THIS ACCOUNT *SHE WAS INTO A MOTION*<sup>102</sup>; THEY WHO HONORED

<sup>100</sup> This stock anti-Jewish polemic is balanced in the next sentences by a more sympathetic look at the Jews' plight in exile.

<sup>101</sup> Seneca, Epistles 108:22, and as cited in Augustine, City of God, 6:10; Juvenal, Satire 14:96-106; Tacitus, Histories 5:2-13, esp. 11-13.

<sup>102</sup> The MT על-כן לנידה היתה is difficult; נידה, a common word, means "uncleanness," specifically "menstruation," and many modern interpreters suppose this to have been the original reading; נידה is a hapax legomenon which either means "motion" or "a nodding," and some modern interpreters such as Hillers 70-71 accept the MT reading. Martyr, of course, also accepts the MT reading, and his translation, *in motionem*, may reflect the LXX εἰς σάλλον. Martyr's rendering is closer to Rashi's understanding, while Pagnini's *in derisionem* reflects Ibn Ezra's commentary. Jerome has *instabilis*--better Latin but does not retain the ambiguity of the supposed original. Note however that in his

HER DESPISED HER, BECAUSE THEY SAW HER NAKEDNESS,<sup>103</sup>  
SHE HERSELF GROANED, WAS TURNED BACKWARD.

JERUSALEM SINNED A SIN: here is put the cause of all her misfortunes. By such a form of speaking,<sup>104</sup> you may understand their sin to be serious and constant.

ON THIS ACCOUNT SHE WAS INTO A MOTION: this phrase can be understood in two ways. First it can be interpreted as the sort of motion of the head. When wretches are struck and beaten for their offenses, they are accustomed to have insults thrown at them by onlookers, who shake their heads at them.<sup>105</sup> This hap-

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Thesaurus entry cited below, Pagnini is closer to Rashi and Martyr may well derive his literalistic rendering from this source:

And נִידָה with a ה at the end, Lam. 1:8, "Therefore she was לְנִידָה, i.e., in *commotionem* (*demigrationem*). Jerome translates, "She became shiftless."

<sup>103</sup> Jerome has, more idiomatically, *ignominiam*, as does Münster; Pagnini's *turpitudinem* is similar. Martyr's "nakedness" is bluntly literal; Tremellius, incidently, translated "nakedness" as well.

<sup>104</sup> "sinned a sin," a cognate accusative, an emphatic construction, as Martyr rightly points out.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Ezra:

BECAME A NODDING (לְנִידָה): became a mockery, as A HEAD-NODDING (מְנוּדָה רֹאשׁ) [Ps. 44:15, ET 14], THE MOVEMENT (נִידָה) OF MY LIPS [Job 16:5]; and it is from the form FUGITIVE AND WANDERER (נֹבֵד וְנָדָה) [Gn. 4:12].

That is, נִידָה does not just mean a "motion" in general, though that is its root as may be seen in Gn. 4:12. Rather it means a motion of the head, a nodding in derision, and the proof of this is in Ps. 44:15, where an alternative noun form of the root means "a shaking of the head in derision."

pened to our saviour when he was crucified.<sup>106</sup> They were shaking their heads. Such a meaning of MOTION will evoke this sense: she ought to be held as an object of contempt on account of her sins.

MOTION can also signify exile, unsettled dwellings, constant emigrations and continuous devastations.<sup>107</sup> Nor is this absurd. God is the solidity and constancy of all things.<sup>108</sup> Therefore things which go away from God are subject more to change, the greater the distance they are from him. The angelic spirits are moved only in mind. They always understand something new even if God had not previously revealed it to them. On the other hand heaven is moved only in place, but it does not increase or decrease. It is not generated, nor is the being of it limited. By contrast non-celestial bodies which are remote from God's nature,

<sup>106</sup> Mt. 27:39.

<sup>107</sup> Rashi:

BECAME A WANDERING (הָיָה לְרוֹדֵף): an EXILE/WANDERER (גּוֹלָל) [e.g., 2 Sam. 15:19], language of נִגַּח וְנָסָה (A FUGITIVE AND A WANDERER) [Gn. 4:14].

That is, contrary to Ibn Ezra, Rashi sees a reference to "motion" not as a head nodding but as the movement of the entire person when wandering in exile. And the proof of this is that this is how the root in verb form is used in Gn. 4:14. Note Martyr's willingness to see two or more equally valid interpretations of the same passage. This is the medieval exegete in him, though such a stance seems oddly contemporary (some now talk of the "polyvalent" nature of texts).

<sup>108</sup> Here follows a fascinating doctrinal digression, which is partly Aristotle (God as the unmovable mover) and partly Ptolemaic cosmology (the sub-lunar world) and partly New Testament eschatology (see especially Rm. 8:20 and I Cor. 15:35-50) and partly traditional Christian angelology.



increase, decrease and change according to diverse feelings, and move their location. They are generated and are corrupted, and are always agitated. Thus human beings who by devout practice are close to God are little moved. They are consistently firm. On the other hand those who have gone away from God by breaking loose from the faith and by opposing legitimate religion, are often vexed and tossed about by disturbances of mind and by exiles. In holy scripture the angel<sup>109</sup> is represented as thrown out of heaven, and on account of his sin relegated to the infernal regions of empty blackness. The first man was ejected from Paradise.<sup>110</sup> Cain the murderer was a wanderer and fugitive.<sup>111</sup> The people of Israel were exiles and captives on account of their wickedness. All of these examples show us instability--the vexation of mind as well as body of those who go away from God.

THOSE WHO HONORED HER DESPISE HER: here you have a beautiful example of antithesis: honoring and despising.<sup>112</sup> You have no trifling cause for pain: someone sees himself despised by those who previously held him in honor and worth.

<sup>109</sup> Satan: 2 Pt. 2:4.

<sup>110</sup> Gn. 3:24.

<sup>111</sup> Gn. 4:14; as noted above, both Rashi and Ibn Ezra cite this phrase "wanderer and fugitive" *נִידָהּ* *re*.

<sup>112</sup> Because he aims at philological commentary, Martyr enjoys pointing out rhetorical figures.

BECAUSE THEY SAW HER NAKEDNESS: the pudenda, i.e., those parts of the body which a natural sense of shame wishes covered, are called by the Hebrews NAKEDNESS.<sup>113</sup> Before their exile this people seemed to be just, holy and innocent. However, because the Lord treated them so harshly, it has been publicly declared who they really were.

SHE HERSELF GROANED AND WAS TURNED BACKWARD: that is, she fell backward when confronted with pain. This happens not infrequently, when people are gripped by a sharp, sudden pain. The heart which happiness makes beat freely is constricted by a contrary feeling, namely sadness. The heart thus contracted does not have the strength to send out those vital and good spirits by which the body is moved, sustained and regulated. People overcome in this way usually fall down.

Or perhaps you can accept this explanation of SHE TURNED BACKWARD. It is as if she cannot bear up before the confusion and shame that her private parts are so disgracefully seen by others.<sup>114</sup> She turns her face away, so that her face may not be seen and she may not

<sup>113</sup> i.e., "nakedness" is metonymy for genitals; based in part on Rashi: "her shame/prostitution (קלון)."

<sup>114</sup> Perush:

When THEY SAW HER NAKEDNESS, SHE GROANED and turned her face away on account of insulting.

Once again, Martyr is willing to accept an equally valid alternative interpretation, in this case one based on a fanciful reading from Perush.

see others. For such is the nature of shame and modesty: no one wishes himself to be seen by others in an indecent state. We read this story about Antiphon<sup>115</sup> the poet. He was about to be tortured on the rack by the cruel tyrant Dionysius. He also had with him several people who shared that same punishment. About to cross the threshold of the torture chamber, they hooded themselves lest they see or be seen by the bystanders. Antiphon said: "Why do you fear being seen by one of them tomorrow!" They were avoiding being identified, for they were upset by the feeling of shame for being seen or seeing others while they were in that state. So now Jerusalem, since her filthiness has been declared openly to the onlookers, feels compelled to turn away from the gaze of bystanders.

Tet, or Verse Nine HER UNCLEANNESS IS IN HER GARMENTS' FRINGES, SHE DID NOT REMEMBER HER LATEST;<sup>116</sup> SHE GOES DOWN IN WONDERFUL WAYS<sup>117</sup>, NOT HAVING A CONSOLER:

<sup>115</sup> A tragic poet of the court of the Elder Dionysius of Syracuse, by whom he was put to death (Plut. Quomodo adul.27; Philostr.VS I.15.3).

<sup>116</sup> HER LATEST: Pagnini's literal translation of אחרייתה "her end/latest." Jerome has *finis sui*, i.e., he supposes the reference is to future time, as does Martyr's exposition below.

<sup>117</sup> SHE GOES DOWN IN WONDERFUL WAYS: MT ותרך פלאים: Jerome has *deposita est vehementer*, which is more idiomatic than Martyr's *descendit miris modis*, but Martyr keeps his translation literal to make an exegetical point.

SEE, O LORD, MY AFFLICTION, SINCE THE ENEMY MAKES HIM-SELF GREAT.

HER UNCLEANNESS IS IN HER GARMENTS' FRINGES: this uncleanness is menstrual blood. Metaphorically it denotes the foul crimes of the people.<sup>118</sup> Formerly their crimes were hidden, unknown to other nations. Now God's punishment has made their crimes plain. Thereafter by means of torture, exile, slaughter and harsh servitude, God burned on them a sign or mark by which their wickedness was rendered public to everyone. Now they display it on their garments' fringes. It is obvious far and wide in their punishments what kind of people they were. Sinners are unable to hide the fact that they are tainted, just as a woman is unable to hide her menstruation when it taints the outer fringes of her clothing.

SHE DID NOT REMEMBER HER LATEST: the word REMEMBER is used less accurately when by nature and subject matter it represents "memory" only, so that it only referred to time past. Rather if considered in and of themselves, conjecture, imagination and memory are

<sup>118</sup> Rashi:

HER UNCLEANNESS IS IN HER SKIRTS: the language of shame; it is the blood of her menstruation recognized in the skirts of her clothing: that is to say, her sins, many uncoverings, her deeds in the open.

That is, while "uncleanness in her skirts" literally refers to menstruation, in the context it is a figure of speech for Judah's sins.

three things you will find to be the same: they are differentiated only with reference to time.<sup>119</sup> For the same mental image, if it is taken as a reference to the future, can be said to be a product of divination, conjecture or prognostication. If to time past, memory. If to the present, it may be termed imagination or intelligence. In this verse, however, when it had to do with THE LATEST, that is, with future things, the prophet used the nomenclature of memory.<sup>120</sup>

Perhaps you would not want the verb REMEMBERED to have been used improperly: a term which ought only to mean "knowing the future" was made to be "remembering the past." If so, you may say through me that this knowing the future is called a remembering because prophecies had often warned the people of Judah up to that time what the outcome of their deeds would be.<sup>121</sup> Yet they neglected these very salubrious words of warn-

<sup>119</sup> This resembles very much Augustine's discussion of imagination in Trin. book 11, ch.10.

<sup>120</sup> This ends Martyr's philosophical defense of his interpretation; he now moves on to a religious explanation, more in keeping with the Hebrew scriptures.

<sup>121</sup> Rashi:

SHE DID NOT REMEMBER HER END: when they were sinning, they did not pay attention to what would be the end.

Targum:

She has not been cleansed of the uncleanness of her menstrual blood on her skirts: she did not repent of her sin, nor consider what would befall her in the end of days.

ing. They ought to have remembered these warnings well, and they forgot to fear the consequences.

If we are wise, we too should hold before our eyes, I beg you, the end result of sin, and we should think constantly about what sort of future we may have.

WHAT HARVEST DID YOU REAP WHEN YOU WERE DOING THINGS WHICH NOW MAKE YOU BLUSH? FOR THE END RESULT OF THOSE THINGS IS DEATH. ON THE OTHER HAND FREED FROM SIN AND MADE SLAVES TO GOD, WE REAP THE HARVEST TOWARD SANCTIFICATION, WITH THE END RESULT OF ETERNAL LIFE. FOR DEATH IS THE END RESULT OF SIN, BUT BY THE GRACE OF GOD ETERNAL LIFE IS IN CHRIST JESUS OUR LORD.<sup>122</sup>

We must never forget these things.

SHE GOES DOWN IN WONDERFUL WAYS: she was thrown down, but not in a commonplace manner and through ordinary means. Many cities have previously been annihilated. However, in human memory never was there such a destruction.<sup>123</sup> Just as God in his goodness at the beginning established their possessions by wonderful acts and prodigies, so too he wished these people to be thrown down and dispersed by new and wonderful falls and tumults.

As for the words תרד and פלאים, both may have two roots. For תרד, if derived from ירד, means "she went down, was thrown down"--as in my exposition. If

<sup>122</sup> Rm. 6:21-23.

<sup>123</sup> Rashi:

AND SHE FELL ASTONISHINGLY: her fall is astonishing in a very astonishing manner, for what happened in her did not happen to any other city.

however it is from רד,<sup>124</sup> it will mean "be lamented, be wept over, be moved to tears." And the meaning will be: "she is forced to weep, having previously forgotten her latest." Again פלאים not only can refer to "wonders," but also can be derived from נפל.<sup>125</sup> The נ would not be one of the radicals but would be an added letter. The meaning would be, "she went down by down-falls", that is, she tumbled down to the ground, not softly but with a severe fracture. However the former interpretation seems more apt.

<sup>124</sup> רוד means to wander. So why does Martyr proceed to expound it as if it meant "to weep"? He is probably reflecting the following entry in Pagnini's Thesaurus:

רוד is מושל, i.e., "to dominate or rule," [but it also means] נוד, "complain, lament, migrate."

Martyr may also be influenced by fanciful word play in a comment from Perush:

Another interpretation: SHE WENT DOWN ASTONISHINGLY, as "she mourned," from the matter, AND I SHALL GO DOWN <WANDER> ON THE MOUNTAINS [Jud. 11:37], WAIL OVER THE MULTITUDE OF EGYPT AND CAUSE THEM TO GO DOWN (הוריד), [Ez. 32:18] and thus I SHOW RESTLESSNESS (אריד) IN MY MURMURING; [Ps. 55:3, ET 2] all of them are two roots: ירד and ריד.

Perush shuttles between three unrelated verses and two different verbs, which happen to share two of the same radicals.

<sup>125</sup> As I see it, Martyr can only have gotten this midrashic derivation from the Targum:

And she has fallen down (ונפלה), dropped, and been set apart, [or, "and she became a wonder," see Jastrow 1228].

The Targumist may or may not have been exploring midrashically the Hebrew word פלאים; "fallen down, dropped" may be the equivalent of ותרד. Martyr, at any rate, saw the "fell" in the Targum as a suggested meaning for פלאים.

SEE, O LORD, MY AFFLICTION: so great a disaster wrenches from the prophet<sup>126</sup> words of a prayer-- something you will not easily see happen to those who have no religion or who have abandoned it. This latter sort of people, not being sharers in the faith, attribute their adversities to accident, chance, or happenstance,<sup>127</sup> not to the presence of anger of the divine will. When disaster strikes, instead of praying they irrupt in cursing and blasphemy.

SINCE THE ENEMY MAKES HIMSELF GREAT: it is as if the prophet says, "I request to be heard not on my own merits but rather to serve your grandeur. In this way victorious enemies will not be given the chance to flaunt their power and claim for themselves your strength. For they do not say you rejected us but claim their strength in war prostrated us." For this reason I would understand SINCE THE ENEMY MAKES HIMSELF GREAT to mean "since the enemy now extols and exalts himself."

Now it ought not to escape our notice that prayers such as these are supported by God's promises. For in Deuteronomy 32 God through Moses showed the people

<sup>126</sup> In Lam. these words are spoken by Jerusalem, but because for Martyr Lam. is a primarily a prophecy rather than poetry, he refers to the prophet Jeremiah as spokesperson for the city.

<sup>127</sup> lit.: *casui, fortunae et temeritati*: *temeritas* usually means "temerity" or the like, but can also be a synonym for *fortuna*, and it is thus Martyr uses this noun (see L&S 1848). The three synonyms are a rhetorical flourish and together mean "pure chance."



their crass insolence and said that he had thought about destroying them. He added afterwards that he would not do it--but not because they really deserved to escape destruction. "I would have destroyed you had I not feared the insolence of your foes. Your enemies might have claimed insanely, OUR HAND HAS TRIUMPHED; THE LORD HAS NOT DONE ANY OF THIS."<sup>128</sup> Those prayers which request something from God on a pattern taken from the divine scriptures receive strong approval, because God has previously shown us what is to be granted to religious individuals, i.e., his people, the Church.

Yod, or Verse Ten THE ENEMY EXTENDS HIS HAND OVER  
ALL HER PLEASANT THINGS; SHE SEES THAT THE GENTILES  
ENTERED INTO HER SANCTUARY, CONCERNING WHOM YOU COM-  
MANDED THAT THEY MAY NOT COME INTO YOUR ASSEMBLY.<sup>129</sup>

THE ENEMY EXTENDS HIS HAND OVER ALL HER PLEASANT THINGS: this not only means money, gems, gold, silver and clothing for secular use, but more especially it seems to refer to sacred vessels, all those decorative

<sup>128</sup> Dt. 32:27, not Jerome but closer to a literal translation of the MT.

<sup>129</sup> *congregationem*; Jerome has, quite accurately, *ecclesiam*; both are for קהל. Martyr seems to find Jerome's translation to be too much of the New Covenant and settles for Münster's more neutral equivalent.

things which they made for the ministry of the Temple and its Holy Place. For all these things were taken away to Babylon. As we read in the Book of Daniel,<sup>130</sup> by the command of Belshazzar the vessels were carried out into the feast. The vessels were goblets and other dishes of this sort which had been in the Lord's Temple. The dinner guests had the opportunity both to handle the sacred vessels and also to drink from them.

SHE SEES THE GENTILES ENTER HER SANCTUARY: this happened to the Jews not just once. The Babylonians were the first to enter the sanctuary; then the Greeks as we read in the history contained in the Books of Maccabees;<sup>131</sup> then Pompey the Great and Crassus; and finally the Romans again.<sup>132</sup>

CONCERNING WHOM YOU COMMANDED THAT THEY MAY NOT COME INTO YOUR ASSEMBLY: such were the Moabites, Ammonites and Egyptians.<sup>133</sup> In fact, in the Holy of Holies it was not permitted for any mortal to enter except the High Priest, and then only once a year. Why was it forbidden for these nations to enter the Assembly? Because, if infidels, idolaters and enemies

<sup>130</sup> 7:4.

<sup>131</sup> 2 Chr. 36:18; 1 Mac. 1:20-24.

<sup>132</sup> Josephus, Wars, 1:7:6; 1:8:8; 6:4-6.

<sup>133</sup> Dt. 23:3-7, where the קהל has a wider significance than just the assembly of worship; it rather refers to the "assembly of Israel" in general, i.e., Israel as a people. So Martyr has to search elsewhere than this passage to discover why these foreign people were excluded from worship. However, it is Lamentations itself, not Martyr, that reads the Law in this restricted sense.

of the Jewish people entered the Assembly, they might have made fun of it. When they mingled with the Jews in sacred rites, something of their foreign worship practice might easily have rubbed off on them.<sup>134</sup> It was in this sense that Christ commanded us not to give what is holy to dogs.<sup>135</sup>

If the Lord so emphatically wished to shut out infidels from his altars and sanctuaries, should we not all the more eagerly leave no place in our souls for the devil?<sup>136</sup> Once Christ has thrown out the strongly armed man<sup>137</sup> and the holy temples of our soul have been consecrated to him, let us see to it lest that unclean spirit return. For he not only takes up residence in us, but, the word of Christ being witness, he takes along seven other spirits more dangerous than himself. Since he has found the house empty, clean and furnished, he gladly brings himself there. And the state of that man is much worse than it was at first.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>134</sup> This is nowhere stated directly in the Old Testament, so Martyr is referring to such passages as Dt. 12-13.

<sup>135</sup> Mt. 7:6.

<sup>136</sup> Eph. 4:27.

<sup>137</sup> Mt. 12:29.

<sup>138</sup> Mt. 12:43-45.

Kaf, or Verse Eleven EVERY ONE OF HER PEOPLE  
 SIGHŞ;<sup>139</sup> THEY SEEK BREAD, THEY GAVE THEIR DEŞIRABLE  
 THINGŞ<sup>140</sup> FOR FOOD TO REVIVE THEIR SOUL: SEE, LORD, AND  
 CONSIDER HOW VILE I HAVE BECOME.

EVERY ONE OF HER PEOPLE SIGHS; THEY SEEK BREAD:  
 even if only a few of the people were forced to perish  
 from hunger, it would be a miserable state of affairs.  
 Here however, all are described as being swept away in  
 this way.<sup>141</sup> Those who obtained from God a fertile  
 land and who, previous to that gift of land, were fed  
 by Him in the wilderness--they are dying of hunger.

THEY GAVE THEIR DESIRABLE THINGS FOR FOOD TO  
 REVIVE THEIR SOUL: we have almost this kind of famine  
 in Genesis, when the Egyptians were forced to give  
 Joseph all their money for grain. When they ran out of  
 money they gave their flocks. When they were once  
 again without resources they gave Pharaoh both their  
 bodies and their fields.<sup>142</sup> In this book the prophet  
 complains that hunger had brought the people to such

<sup>139</sup> MT has כל-עמה and is followed by a plural verb נאנחִים, which is quite correct in Hebrew grammar; Jerome sensibly translates *omnis populus ejus gemens*; Münster tries, rather unsuccessfully I think, to imitate the Hebrew grammar: *Omnisque sunt in populo ejus suspirantes*.

<sup>140</sup> MT is מחמודיהם ; the Jerome's *pretiosa* is an equivalent term, and Pagnini's *desiderabilia* is more literal.

<sup>141</sup> Perush:

Those hungry were not few, rather ALL HER PEOPLE.

<sup>142</sup> Gn. 47:13-26.

straits that they gave all their desirable things to call their spirits back to life--not to satisfy their hunger fully but, on the contrary, to avoid death and to restore life.

HOW VILE I HAVE BECOME: if the word זולל signifies only VILE, little seems to be said. But a great deal of energy lies hidden in its range of meaning. For it signifies overeater or glutton.<sup>143</sup> In Deuteronomy 21 parents accuse their son before the Judge: THIS FELLOW DOES NOT LISTEN TO OUR VOICE, זולל וסבא, GLUTTON AND DRUNKARD.<sup>144</sup> "I have become," says the people, "a glutton in this famine. For gluttons are such slaves of their stomachs that they give whatever is demanded of them in the taverns and delicatessens for wine or delightful food. They spare nothing, they squander all. They do not make normal expenditures but throw money away recklessly, if only they might continue to pamper themselves. I too in the manner of gluttons am

<sup>143</sup> MT: כי הייתי זוללה. But it is by no means certain (see Holladay 89) that זולל signifies "glutton" here or in Dt. 21:20 (Martyr's other reference). Martyr's sources seem to be Perush:

And after she gave every desirable thing IN ORDER TO EAT, she was like A GLUTTON; for she gives everything which is demanded of her to fill her craving.

And the Targum: ארום הויתי גרגרניתא. Although Levine translates, "...how abject I have become," in his critical commentary he admits "glutton" to be the likely meaning. Martyr's cross reference (Dt. 21:20) is from Ibn Ezra's comment on this verse. If Martyr used dictionaries here, he would have sided with Münster's *Dictionary* ("The Hebrew expound *edax*" rather than Pagnini's *Thesaurus* ("And according to another sense, Jer. 15:19, Lam. 1:11...'vile'").

<sup>144</sup> 21:20.

forced to give all my desirable things for food. There is a difference between those doomed to perdition<sup>145</sup> and myself. They spend too much on food willingly, not to be fed but to indulge their appetite. As for me, I am forced to overspend for the necessities, that is, to keep alive for a very little while those who are just about to breathe their last."

If this is hard to hear (and it refers merely to the body) what do we think of the state of affairs in places where it is not permitted for religious people to obtain even one crumb of the word of God, the celestial bread.<sup>146</sup> Poisonous teaching and superstitious gatherings everywhere abound, but solid food is nowhere to be found. Believe me, we who live in abundance in our Father's house must help them with our prayers at least. Would that we may not abuse our privileges!

<sup>145</sup> i.e., actual gluttons.

<sup>146</sup> Traditional Christian metaphor for the Eucharist, originating in a metaphor for Manna, Ex. 16:4, etc., and Jn. 6:32.

Lamed, or Verse Twelve    *INDEED/NOT*<sup>1</sup> TO ALL YOU  
 GOING ALONG THE ROAD, GO SEE<sup>2</sup> ANYWHERE SUCH SORROW<sup>3</sup>  
 WHICH HAPPENS TO ME,<sup>4</sup> SINCE THE LORD INFLICTED<sup>5</sup> WITH  
 SORROW<sup>6</sup> IN THE DAY OF HIS ANGER'S FURY.

<sup>1</sup> The MT begins with  $\text{לֹא}$ , which is all but impossible to translate: see Nägelsbach 52-53 and Hillers 71 for possible alternatives and emendations. The MT has written the  $\text{לֹא}$  *plene*, i.e.,  $\text{לֹא}$ , and the Masorah notes the  $\text{ל}$  is writ small: all of which, to my mind at least, signals that the scribes were aware of this problem. The LXX seems to have read it  $\text{לֹא}$ ; Jerome has *O vos omnes*, which, I suppose, means he was reading  $\text{הִנֵּה}$  'Ah!' or the like. Pagnini translated, *Ne sit vobis grave* ("May it not be burdensome"); Münster, taking his cue from Ibn Ezra, has *Nihilne ad vos* ("Is it nothing to you...?"); and Martyr, *Ne ad vos*--which is by no means clear or very grammatical. *Ne* in Latin standing by itself can either be a negating adverb or conjunction, or it can be an interjection (= *nae* [ $\text{נָא}$ ]) meaning "truly." Possibly Martyr meant to keep the MT's ambiguity, and his translation can either be read as Jerome's or as Münster's. His exposition seems to assume the negating adverb.

<sup>2</sup> *agite vidistis*, which represents Martyr's idiomatic rendering of the MT's  $\text{הִבִּיטוּ וַרְאוּ}$ .

<sup>3</sup> ANY SUCH SORROW, *unquam talem dolorem*, Martyr's idiomatic rendering for MT  $\text{אִם־יֵשׁ מִכָּאֻב כַּמִּכָּאֻבִּי}$ .

<sup>4</sup> Pagnini's literal rendering of MT's  $\text{אֲשֶׁר עוֹלֵל לִי}$  is "happened"; Martyr has the present tense "happen." Martyr might be thinking of Judah's present plight. Or more likely, he makes a mistake in Hebrew grammar. He supposes that the  $\text{ו}$  in  $\text{עוֹלֵל}$  marks the participle; rather it is the passive form of the geminate conjugation, *pó'el* (GKC 671). This is yet another indication that Martyr's knowledge of Hebrew grammar was not exhaustive. Jerome has what appears at first glance to be an incomprehensible *quoniam vindemiavit me* ("gleaned me"), until it is recalled that this is a Latin translation of a traditional Jewish reading of  $\text{עוֹלֵל}$  (see Lam.R. 1:40, ET 117-8). Both Rashi and Ibn Ezra give the philological meaning ("to happen").

<sup>5</sup> i.e., us.

<sup>6</sup> Jerome has here *ut locutus est*, reading  $\text{הוֹגָה}$  as if from  $\text{הִגָּה}$ , not  $\text{יִגָּה}$ ; this is Ibn Ezra's reading as well. In both cases, the desire is to avoid saying that "the Lord afflicted." Pagnini followed the philological interpretation provided by Rashi, as did

INDEED/NOT TO ALL YOU GOING ALONG THE ROAD: this is a doleful apostrophe.<sup>7</sup> It aims to ask those bystanders and spectators of these misfortunes whether or not they have ever seen the like and to what they can compare her misfortunes.<sup>8</sup> And she speaks by greeting and accosting them in a human way: "Such things do not touch you? These things with which I am vexed do not take hold of you?" Among us, beggars and those with skin diseases<sup>9</sup> say such things when they beg.

GO SEE ANYWHERE SUCH SORROW: if, on the contrary, her sorrow were usual and common, it would seem to be less harsh, since, as it is said, "Misery loves company."<sup>10</sup> If the same pains we suffer afflict others also, we do not seem so odious to God. Granted, this popular proverb, "Misery loves company," has spread around by the carnal nature and the wisdom of human reason. So a religious individual might hold it to be unworthy of his attention. Those possessed of Christian love not only feel their own adversities but also bear the pains and torments of others. Thus it may be better for such people to suffer alone. For if

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Münster, though in different words.

<sup>7</sup> i.e., the rhetorical device of direct address.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lam. 2:13, which Martyr presumably has in mind as well.

<sup>9</sup> *ulcerosi*.

<sup>10</sup> *Solatum est miseris, socios habere poenarum*: the usual



they share the same misery as others, they are forced to suffer both their own pain as well as that of others. However in this passage the prophet does not treat this matter in any developed manner or define it, since all he wishes is to express the Jews' sorrow.

WHICH HAPPENS TO ME: עוֹלֵל. This pain of theirs increases. It is not, as medical doctors say, "chronic pain" but it increases sharply. The verb עוֹלֵל does not simply mean "become something" but "to be accomplished," as a fetus in the mother's womb habitually is completed, grows and increases in size until the moment of birth.<sup>11</sup>

IN THE DAY OF HIS ANGER'S FURY: it is a characteristic of religious people to attribute their troubles, adverse circumstances and misfortunes to divine providence, not to chance. The prophet laments that he is punished by God not in a father-like manner but in anger and fury, as God treats his enemies and hopeless reprobates. In this way divine justice may make room for its vengeance.

Latin translation of a proverb of Publius Syrus.

<sup>11</sup> A confused word study which does not come from any of Martyr's sources which I have been able to identify. As I reconstruct it, Martyr (or his source) is trying to relate the verb in this verse, עָלָל with a word for child עוֹלֵל, which is from עוֹלָל, "to nurse," not עָלָל, "to deal."

Mem, or Verse Thirteen FROM ON HIGH HE SENT FIRE INTO<sup>12</sup> MY BONES, AND IT PREVAILED<sup>13</sup> INTO THEM; HE SPREAD A NET AT MY FEET; AND HE TURNED ME BACK: AND HE PLACED ME DESOLATE, GROANING ALL DAY LONG.

FROM ON HIGH HE SENT FIRE INTO MY BONES: as if from heaven,<sup>14</sup> where God is said to work, because there he is known manifestly, and from there appear the most awesome examples of his work--lightning, storms etc. Therefore Paul said, THE WRATH OF GOD IS REVEALED FROM HEAVEN OVER ALL THE WICKEDNESS AND THE INJUSTICE OF THOSE WHO HOLD BACK THE TRUTH OF GOD IN INJUSTICE.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> MT is ב, so Jerome naturally translates *in* with the ablative; Münster has *in* with the accusative, because he has correctly interpreted ירדנה in the next line.

<sup>13</sup> וירדנה is slightly difficult, and Jerome has *erudivit* (hence English derivative "erudite"), as if from הורה (to teach), and perhaps Jerome's manuscript read וירנה. Rashi explains the MT's reading:

וירדנה (AND IT PREVAILED OVER IT): וירד אותה and it broke it by רדוי ("subjection") and sufferings.

Ibn Ezra interprets similarly. Pagnini and Münster reflect Rashi's explanation of the MT, as does Martyr.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Perush's comment:

She compared THE FURY OF HIS ANGER to FIRE [which] descended from heaven and arrived to the bone.

Perush is trying to establish that for which FIRE is a metaphor and chooses THE FURY OF HIS ANGER from the previous verse. Martyr ignores the problem of the reference of the metaphor and picks up on Perush's mention of "heaven."

<sup>15</sup> Rm. 1:18.

So she<sup>16</sup> says, "The Lord SENT FIRE INTO MY BONES."<sup>17</sup>

Fire is a very effective agent, for when it penetrates to the bones, everything is declared consumed.

AND IT PREVAILED INTO THEM: in Hebrew the pronoun THEM is singular and it refers to each one of his bones.<sup>18</sup> ירדנה might mean "to descend", as if fire made the bones descend, that is, as if it emptied out each one of the bones and took out the marrow. As a consequence of the fire's action a great debility would follow. Rashi<sup>19</sup> is the author of this interpretation.

<sup>16</sup> Or "he" (the prophet).

<sup>17</sup> See also Jer. 20:9, since for Martyr, Jeremiah is the author of Lamentations.

<sup>18</sup> Rashi:

...in singular language...: it broke each and every one of them.

That is, the MT has "it," but the antecedent "bones," so it should read "them." Since the MT read "it," it must mean "it" and "it" and "it," etc. Therefore, "each one."

<sup>19</sup> Rashi never says it can mean "descend"; Perush does, interpreting in a midrashic fashion:

She compared THE FURY OF HIS ANGER to FIRE [which] descended from heaven and arrived to the bone.

That is, Perush takes ירדנה as if it were from ירד, "to descend." Martyr has conflated Perush's midrashic interpretation with an alternate interpretation of Rashi based on another root (ירדה):

Another interpretation: וירדנה as HE SCRAPED IT OUT (וירדהו) INTO HIS HANDS [Jud. 14:9]; he emptied the brain, drawing it out and scraping it from within.

For Rashi's preferred interpretation, see my note in Martyr's translation of this verse just above.

HE SPREAD A NET AT MY FEET; HE TURNED ME BACK:  
these images show<sup>20</sup> God's punishments to be inevitable,  
for they are inflicted in anger and fury, imposed from  
heaven and reach the very bones. "I cannot flee,  
because I am caught by the net of the Lord, which is so  
effective that I am forced to fall backwards and to be  
consumed by this flame."<sup>21</sup>

HE PLACED ME DESOLATE, GROANING ALL DAY LONG:  
other people's griefs vary at some time; mine knows no  
limit or bound.<sup>22</sup>

Nun, or Verse Fourteen THE YOKE OF MY INIQUITIES  
HAS BEEN BOUND<sup>23</sup> IN HIS HAND; ENTWINED THEY ASCEND ON

<sup>20</sup> "These images show": *ponuntur his illa, quae indicant.*

<sup>21</sup> This artificial stringing together of the images in this  
verse is directly from Perush:

...and she cannot flee from the fire, since a net is  
spread and she turns backwards, and the fire burned  
until she sat DESOLATE.

As often, Perush takes poetic images and fits them together into a  
tidy little narrative. Martyr, in his thirst for clarity and  
rational discourse, likes this technique and borrows it.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Perush:

and some sick have relief at known times, but she is  
SICK ALL DAY.

<sup>23</sup> This entire line is difficult in Hebrew: "has been bound"  
is for וַשָּׁקַד; Jerome read וַשָּׁקַד, *Vigilavit*. For an up-to-date dis-  
cussion of this line, see Hillers 73. Martyr follows Pagnini and  
Münster.

MY NECK; HE MADE MY STRENGTH FALL TO THE GROUND<sup>24</sup>; THE LORD DELIVERED<sup>25</sup> ME INTO THE HANDS, BY WHOM I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO STAND.<sup>26</sup>

THE YOKE OF MY INIQUITIES IS BOUND IN HIS HAND: this unusually apt metaphor compares crimes to a harsh yoke, by which wicked people are pressed down in the manner of oxen. Even if they stay free of the yoke for a short time, they nonetheless are not exempt forever from a burden. Indeed the heavy punishment to be inflicted on them is reserved in the hands of God. A wicked deed brings with itself two effects. In the first instance there is a certain momentary carnal sweetness, a fleeting pleasure, which you might call sensual titillation.<sup>27</sup> Later, however, a serious

<sup>24</sup> lit.: *fecit corruere*, a literal rendering of הכשיל understood as transitive.

<sup>25</sup> Vulgate has *dedit* for נתתי, but Münster has caught better the sense with *tradidit*. Martyr would have been drawn to Münster's word choice on the basis of a comment of Perush:

and the word נתתי (HE GAVE ME [OVER]) is like "he abandoned me," and thus THEREFORE I DID NOT GIVE YOU [OVER] [Gn. 20:6]; and the meaning is "into the hand of transgressions," or possibly "into the hand of the enemy on account of transgressions."

Perush explains (correctly) the meaning of "give" in this context and tries to supply word missing in the Hebrew poetry: lit. INTO THE HANDS I AM NOT ABLE TO STAND. Echoes of Perush's interpretation can be heard in Martyr's exposition.

<sup>26</sup> INTO THE HANDS, BY WHOM I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO STAND is incomplete as it stands; the MT is even less complete: IN THE HANDS OF, I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO STAND. See Martyr's exposition below of how he completes it.

<sup>27</sup> An echo of Heb. 11:25.

punishment awaits the wicked deed. This punishment, when it is justly inflicted on those who do the wicked deeds, is said to occur by the hand of God, who is himself justice.

The Hebrew word they<sup>28</sup> translate "bound" is נשקד, a word which admits to several meanings. Firstly,<sup>29</sup> it can mean "to draw out", as if it were said: Now my yoke, which I promised myself did not exist (for it so happens that sinners promise themselves impunity), this same yoke was drawn out, thrust out, became evident."

<sup>28</sup> e.g., Pagnini and Münster. Also, there seem to be echoes of a midrashic interpretation which are not to be found in Rashi's Lam. commentary:

I was mistaken with regard to my iniquities. I thought that he would forgive me them all, when I heard that my indictment had been read on high [Lam.R. 1:42, ET 122].

Martyr's study of שקד seems to derive from the שקד entry in Pagnini's Thesaurus:

שקד is קשר, i.e., "to bind," חבר, i.e., "join" says Kimhi in his Book of Roots: Lam. 1:14 נשקד, i.e. is bound (is joined) by the yoke of my prevarications. Jerome: "He wakened" according to the meaning of the preceding verb [שקד], but he does not consider the orthography, for it is written with the point on the left horn, *sin*, which is like *samek*. Nor is there anything like it in sacred scripture, says Rashi, but it is found in Aramaic and in Leviticus Rabba. Ibn Ezra: "was drawn, was hastened." Look it up in my Aramaic handbook under טקד. Rashi explains it, "it was pointed with points by a pointer."

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Ezra:

And the word נשקד has no father and mother, and the meaning is either נמשך [be stretched out on], or נמחר [slough off].

That is, נשקד is the only time the root שקד occurs in scripture. Ibn Ezra's suggestions of its meaning seem to be guesses based on its context.

Secondly,<sup>30</sup> this term can denote "wakeful," and in that case what is said is the following: "Even though I was sinning continually, I was thinking that retribution was sleeping; now I find it to be awake." Thirdly, Rashi<sup>31</sup> says that verb refers to piercing, for he translates "to burn in marks," as sometimes happens on wooden writing tablets. We burn various points on them, to designate certain numbers.<sup>32</sup> Now it is as if someone should say, "I myself thought my iniquities were carried away into oblivion. However they were copied, imprinted and enumerated by the hand of God. And the yoke or weight of my iniquities accurately responds to what I deserve."

ENTWINED THEY ASCEND ON MY NECK: with respect to<sup>33</sup> the hand of God, my iniquities would "descend," not ASCEND. But if the position of the parts of a living

<sup>30</sup> See my note on Martyr's translation, just above.

<sup>31</sup> Rashi:

THE YOKE OF MY TRANSGRESSIONS HE [BOUND?] (נשקד) TO HIS HAND: there is no likeness to this construction in scripture; and in the Aramaic language of the Pesikta they call it a goading point (דרבן מסקדא), ox goad; but I say נשקד is פויינטר-ינט [an Old French word, "to make a point"] in the vernacular: dotted, spotted, marked were my transgressions, that is, for remembrance--their number and their payments were not forgotten

That is, Rashi suggests that because in Aramaic this root means "an ox goad," here it might mean "to make an impression with a pointed instrument."

<sup>32</sup> The Latin text adds superfluously: *quibus uti dixi numeri designantur*.

<sup>33</sup> "with respect to": lit. "if you refer to."

body is envisaged, the vices may be said to ASCEND, since the neck is high up in relation to the rest of the body. Now the word ENTWINED has a striking connotation. It seems to be a characteristic of ropes and grafts, whips and vines,<sup>34</sup> which are entwined together so that they may scarcely be disentangled.<sup>35</sup> Thus vices and crimes always intermix at the same time. Hardly ever do you find one crime only; rather, acting in concert they tightly bind, overcome and hold captive the unhappy person. In Proverbs 5 it is said: HIS OWN INIQUITIES CAPTURE THE WICKED MAN, AND HE IS HELD BY ROPES OF SIN.<sup>36</sup> With reference to the above metaphor you should consider carefully that sinners are compared to dumb beasts of burden in Psalm 47.<sup>37</sup> The wicked person is considered similar to beasts which perish. We owe this state of affairs entirely to our iniquities, for we were in all other respects born to

<sup>34</sup> "Vine" is *vites*; "Vice" *vitium* is an abstract derived from a an obsolete concrete "twist" (see L&S 2000); it is possible Martyr was aware of this and is making a pun. However that may be, the Targum would have led Martyr to think about vines:

The yoke of my rebellion is heavy in his hand; intertwined like vine tendrils they mount upon my neck.

Cf. Perush's comment:

She compared the iniquities to tendrils of the grape vine whose nature is to cling to every tall tree to grow tall.

<sup>35</sup> Rashi: "they were made weave upon weave."

<sup>36</sup> v. 22.

<sup>37</sup> Actually Ps. 49:12, 20.



attain the divine image and the happiness of God himself.

Servitude is indicated also by the noun YOKE. THE WISDOM OF THE FLESH IS HOSTILE TO GOD, IT IS NOT SUBJECT TO THE LAW OF GOD, NOR CAN IT BE.<sup>38</sup> Slavery to vices is tyrannical. The carnal nature commands: the slave is dominated. The carnal nature channels everything to its own advantage. It contributes nothing to the salvation of anyone anywhere. It is enough if only the senses are titillated and the precious skin is pampered. This is the characteristic mark of tyrannical rule: it commands that unworthy rulers be served, and all their commands turn out to be not for the public good but for private advantage of the one who commands.<sup>39</sup> So it follows that tyrannical government will become very harsh. So a yoke is an apt image here.<sup>40</sup> Even if its weight is not now felt, it shall press down at the inevitable day of retribution.

"But," you may object, "are not Christ's burden and yoke mentioned?"<sup>41</sup> But what kind? A pleasant yoke, a light burden! If it be permitted to make use of the form of a dialectical argument, an argument is firmly and forcefully put when opposites are thus con-

<sup>38</sup> Rm. 8:7.

<sup>39</sup> i.e., People are forced to serve an unworthy leader who runs the state for his own private ends.

<sup>40</sup> lit., So a yoke is here pictured.

<sup>41</sup> Mt. 11:29-30.

joined.<sup>42</sup> The yoke is easy--therefore it is no yoke at all! The burden is light--therefore it is no burden at all! In this same way we speak of "a painted man" or "a dead man"--therefore there is no man at all. This is exactly the case here--"easiness" is opposite in meaning to the nature of a yoke, "lightness" to a burden.

HE MADE MY STRENGTH FALL TO THE GROUND: nothing exhausts more than sin. In fact, we are so debilitated by it that we cannot bear it. Examine diligently the powers of the soul. The power of knowing is obfuscated in humans, since it has been utterly blinded to divine matters. The will has been entirely corrupted; it wishes nothing well, since the intellect has become depraved. The will has also been tortured by desires. Since the whole of the matter yields to desires and since desires are infinite, the powers of the body are insufficient to satisfy them. While the body is too much yielded to this state of affairs, it is subdued, dulled and unequal to so great a servitude as this. Finally, since they are inexhaustible, those desires have to be checked inwardly. Yet since they are less sated, they are more and more inflamed. Thus these unfulfilled desires sap the strength and vigor of an individual.

<sup>42</sup> An oxymoron or self-contradiction combining opposites; in this case, logical contraries.

If human beings had been able to bear their own sins, there would have been no need for the coming of Christ. He did come, and he brought help to us who were already weighed down with sins; he put his arm under the weight of sins he did not commit. By his death on the cross he released us from our crushing load.

THE LORD DELIVERED ME INTO THE HANDS, BY WHOM I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO STAND: the Lord punished these crimes of mine by the violence of the military forces of the cruel Chaldeans.<sup>43</sup> God delivered me to them, as if he handed me over to executioners to be crucified. You should not inadvisedly pass over this word DELIVERED,<sup>44</sup> so familiar in holy scripture. Know that whatever adversity is thrown at you by evil spirits, the Antichrist, the world, morally corrupt people and the carnal nature, it did not happen without God. For in this way God punishes those who are his enemies, while he tests and gives spiritual exercise to his own people.

<sup>43</sup> As often, the religion of Perush is not too far from Martyr's, and so Martyr is able to use this comment from Perush:

...and the word נָתַנִּי (HE GAVE ME [OVER]) is like "he abandoned me," and thus THEREFORE I DID NOT GIVE YOU [OVER] [Gn. 20:6]; and the meaning is "into the hand of transgressions," or possibly "into the hand of the enemy on account of transgressions."

<sup>44</sup> "Delivered" is one of the meanings of the Hebrew נָתַן, see Jud. 6:13, Dt. 2:31.

This line is incomplete.<sup>45</sup> To INTO THE HANDS add "of them."<sup>46</sup> Again add BY WHOM to I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO STAND.<sup>47</sup>

From the preceding words you have an argument against those who uphold free will. I demand from them: "What is more serious? Sin or the punishment inflicted by sin?" They will be forced to reply that their sin presses them either as badly as the punishment or even worse. Sin seems worse, because it is before the punishment and provokes it. Rather you may make sin to be as harsh as punishment, because it cannot be said to be lighter. Otherwise the punishment is rendered greater and heavier than the sin, and it would have the effect of accusing God of injustice. Since therefore sin and punishment are either equally serious, or sin is greater than its punishment, and since a man is not able to free himself from punishment, how could he free himself from sin? An argument holds negatively of an equal or a greater, if what seems either equal or greater does not fit, nor does its equal or minor counterpart. To this add the fact

<sup>45</sup> *Sermo hic est mancus*. Martyr means the MT, which reads: "in the hand of, I shall not be able to stand."

<sup>46</sup> i.e., "into the hands of those."

<sup>47</sup> Martyr has already done this in his translation. The whole line would then read: "The Lord delivered me into the hands of those by whom I shall not be able to stand." Martyr has had good help here from Ibn Ezra:

And "whom" is lacking after INTO THE HANDS; also "with him" or "before him" are lacking after STAND.

that, as Romans chapter 1 makes plain, sins are also punishments. People are said to have been DELIVERED<sup>48</sup> to those sins in the name of retribution. And so, as Jeremiah says here, "one cannot stand up." Therefore we are not self-sufficient, and so we are not free as these people imagine: there was need of Christ.

Samek, or Verse Fifteen HE HAS TRAMPLED DOWN<sup>49</sup>

ALL MY MAGNIFICENT ONES *IN MY INTERIOR*;<sup>50</sup> HE HAS CALLED AGAINST ME A TIME TO GRIND MY CHOSEN ONES; THE LORD HAS TRODDEN THE WINE PRESS OF THE VIRGIN OF THE DAUGHTER OF JUDAH.

HE HAS TRAMPLED DOWN ALL MY MAGNIFICENT ONES: when a house is to be torn down, we begin the demolition at the pillars. These strong, illustrious people are the prophets, priests, princes and leaders in war.<sup>51</sup> They were cast down. See the striking antithesis. סלק

<sup>48</sup> Rm. 1:24, 26, 28.

<sup>49</sup> Jerome had *abstulit* (*aufero*), "take away", which is correct, since סלק is from the root סלק (see Holladay 256). Münster has been misled by Rashi, who: reads the text as if the root were סלל and as if סלל in biblical literature meant "trample":

סלק: "tread" and "trample"; language of סלל המסלה (ET: CAST UP, CAST UP A HIGHWAY) [Is. 62:10].

<sup>50</sup> INTERIOR is a rather literalistic translation of קרב; Jerome-Pagnini-Münster's more idiomatic *medio* is to be preferred.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Jer. 2:26, 18:18.

means "to tread,"<sup>52</sup> as dust is trodden on the road; illustrious ones are the opposite of dust.

HE HAS CALLED AGAINST ME A *TIME* TO GRIND MY CHOSEN ONES: "*a time*,"<sup>53</sup> or an assembly. God sanctified a day for convocation. Many people used to be summoned to come to it and then offer numerous sacrifices there. In the same way the Lord wished my chosen young men<sup>54</sup> to be sacrificed. He called an assembly, battle lines of enemies,<sup>55</sup> to this slaughter. In Isaiah<sup>56</sup> the victim of the Lord is in Bozra.

THE LORD HAS TRODDEN THE WINE PRESS OF THE VIRGIN OF THE DAUGHTER OF JUDAH: the slaughter is pictured by a figure of speech drawn from those who tread grapes in the wine press. As the treaders have grapes under their feet, so the conquered Jews had been trampled and trodden. And as wine is squeezed out of grapes, so their blood was shed copiously in a great massacre.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> See note on Martyr's translation just above.

<sup>53</sup> מועד.

<sup>54</sup> Martyr introduces the meaning of the Hebrew בחורים, without directly saying so.

<sup>55</sup> Rashi:

HE CALLED AGAINST ME AN APPOINTED TIME/MEETING: an assignment of troops to come against me.

<sup>56</sup> 63:1ff.

<sup>57</sup> Rashi:

HE TREAD THE WINE PRESS: language of killing, as I TROD THE WINE PRESS ALONE [Is. 63:3]; as the treading of grapes to get their wine out, so he tramples men to get their blood out...

There is another matter with regards to the figure of the wine press. Grapes are not trodden, nor can wine be expressed from them, unless they are at the end of their maturity. In this same way God's severity waits for the measured amount of crimes to be reached.<sup>58</sup> Thereafter he inflicts harsh punishments. The savage cruelty of soldiers, which happens when cities are destroyed after falling to besiegers, is expressed<sup>59</sup> through the figure of the treading of grapes. Children are dashed to death, and pregnant women are ripped open.<sup>60</sup> However those grapes that the Lord crushes are not from good vines but from the degenerate ones from which sweet grapes are indeed expected--yet wild grapes are produced.<sup>61</sup> Elsewhere it is said, I TROD THE WINE PRESS ALONE (Is. 63)--the meaning is the same.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Gn. 15:16. Martyr will deal with this notion again in the final verse of this chapter.

<sup>59</sup> Note the pun with "expressing" wine from grapes.

<sup>60</sup> Targum:

"Because of the babes who were smashed and the pregnant women whose wombs were torn open, the Congregation of Israel says, "I weep...."

<sup>61</sup> Is. 5:2c.

<sup>62</sup> vv. 1-6: that is, the figure of speech has the same import, even though the oracle is against Israel's enemy.

Ain, or Verse Sixteen I WEEP OVER THESE; MY EYE,  
 MY EYE<sup>63</sup> TRICKLES TEARS,<sup>64</sup> BECAUSE A CONSOLER HAS  
 BECOME FAR FROM ME--A RESTORER<sup>65</sup> OF MY SOUL; MY SONS  
 HAVE BECOME DESOLATE BECAUSE THE FOE HAS PREVAILED.

I WEEP OVER THESE, MY EYE, MY EYE TRICKLES TEARS  
 because this figure of speech has seemed so very harsh:  
 the Jews are shown to be so miserably ruined by the  
 Lord that they are likened to grapes trodden in the  
 wine press. It was certainly not without good cause  
 that the prophet says he weeps over this disaster, and  
 for that reason his eye pours out water like a foun-  
 tain. His EYE, EYE means both eyes;<sup>66</sup> or maybe you  
 understand by the repetition his greater misery.<sup>67</sup> A

<sup>63</sup> Jerome and the LXX do not repeat "my eye," as does the MT, perhaps because their respective Hebrew texts did not contain the repetition.

<sup>64</sup> Jerome rather literally translates ירדה מים as *deducens aquas*. Münster and Pagnini are similarly literal. Martyr's TRICKLES TEARS is striking, because this is one of the very few instances in which Martyr waxes poetic in his Lamentations translation.

<sup>65</sup> משיב: Münster followed Jerome's has Christian *con-vertens*, while Martyr's *restituens* is more accurate; Martyr may have been influenced by Pagnini's *recreans*.

<sup>66</sup> Martyr gets this from the Targum text in Bomberg: "I weep and my two eyes (וּתְרֵי עֵינַי) flow tears." The Targum is making a midrash-like interpretation. Why is MY EYE repeated? Because we have two eyes! (Levine does not believe וּתְרֵי עֵינַי to be the correct reading, rather וְעַל עֵינַי.)

<sup>67</sup> Rashi:

MY EYE, MY EYE: that is to say, always my eye runs water down; the repetition of the language teaches that there were no pauses.



play on words is pleasant.<sup>68</sup> עֵיַן means both spring and eye. He declares that he weeps constantly, but in such a way that now his eye seems to have degenerated into a fountain.<sup>69</sup>

BECAUSE A CONSOLER, A RESTORER OF MY SOUL, HAS BECOME FAR FROM ME: *restorer*, i.e. "refresher." It is hardly an insignificant adversity that someone be destitute of friends; in fact, among other miseries this seems the worst. Even the Prophet was very much in need of consolation in his troubles. We who read or hear these things ought not to despise, neglect or toss away this kind of duty. Not only common humanity but also Christian charity prompt us. In this regard Paul also exhorts us: WEEP WITH THOSE WHO WEEP.<sup>70</sup> For this reason those who are buffeted by the winds of fortune<sup>71</sup> must never be sent away desolate. The previous way of life of these Jews explains well enough why, in fact, they lacked consolation. Contemptuous of God, they lived in luxury and in the carnal allurements and pleasures of this world. God has not promised consolation to this kind of individual. For he said, BLEST

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Ezra:

MY EYE (עֵיַן), MY EYE FLOWS (יֹורֵדָה) WATER: the human eye (הַמַּיִם עֵיַן) is like the spring of water (עֵיַן אֵינוֹשׁ), and the spring streams (יֹזְלוֹ) water....

<sup>69</sup> cf. Lam. 2:11.

<sup>70</sup> Rm. 12:15.

<sup>71</sup> lit., "tossed about by sharp accidents of fortune."

ARE THOSE WHO WEEP, FOR THEY SHALL OBTAIN CONSOLATION.<sup>72</sup> By the same criterion these people received the contrary. And in the Gospel, it was said to the luxury-loving rich man, YOU RECEIVED GOOD THINGS IN YOUR LIFE, BUT LAZARUS BAD.<sup>73</sup> Now the tables are turned.<sup>74</sup> These people do not receive consolation for yet another reason: they do not have the Spirit, and he alone is the consoler of our soul, whenever it falls into some adversity. For not in vain is he, whom the Greeks name "paraclete," called consoler and exhorter.<sup>75</sup> Finally God's Word is a living and inexhaustible fount of consolation,<sup>76</sup> for through it the Spirit steals into our soul. So it ought to be the duty of everyone during his free time to collect for himself in the storehouse of memory a copious supply of healthy sayings from sacred Scripture. These sayings could be for us later a consolation and pleasure while we are distracted here and there by adversities.

Pe, or Verse Seventeen ZION EXTENDED HER HANDS,  
AND THERE WAS NO CONSOLER FOR HER; THE LORD GAVE COM-

<sup>72</sup> Mt. 5:4, paraphrase.

<sup>73</sup> Lk. 16:25, paraphrase.

<sup>74</sup> lit.: "Now the interchange of things is immutable."

<sup>75</sup> Jn. 14:16.

<sup>76</sup> Jn. 4:14.

MAND AGAINST JACOB, AND ENEMIES<sup>77</sup> WERE AROUND HER PERIPHERY, JERUSALEM HAS BECOME AN ABOMINATION<sup>78</sup> AMONG THEM.

ZION EXTENDED HER HANDS, AND THERE WAS NO CONSOLER FOR HER: this expresses the gesture of the Jewish people, who are represented as a woman. It is the custom of young women in trouble to excite compassion by extending hands and crying out<sup>79</sup>--but in her case this did not bring her any success.

THE LORD GAVE COMMAND AGAINST JACOB, AND ENEMIES WERE ON HIS PERIPHERY: they obtained no compassion, because the matter was already decreed<sup>80</sup> by God that

<sup>77</sup> Jerome, Pagnini and Münster all read with the MT "his enemies," not "enemies"; also all follow the MT and add no "and" before "enemies." I do not understand why Martyr would translate "enemies" unless he were trying to avoid a midrashic interpretation from Rashi (see below in Martyr's exposition) which he did not like.

<sup>78</sup> AN ABOMINATION: Jerome has translated נִיֶּזֶק with harsh literalness: *polluta menstruis*. Note also that the MT makes a distinction between נִיֶּזֶק here and נִיֶּזֶק (motion or nodding) above.

<sup>79</sup> Targum:

Zion spreads out her hands in pain, as a woman spreads out over the birth-stool. She screams, but there is none to speak comforting things to her heart.

<sup>80</sup> "decreed": this interpretation of "commanded" is from Perush's explanatory paraphrase:

Even ZION, the Royal City, sought A COMFORTER and there WAS NONE, since G-D decreed against JACOB and COMMANDED HIS ENEMIES from all AROUND HIM and they defiled JERUSALEM and she became like AN IMPURITY.

This rather midrashic interpretation of Perush catches Martyr's attention, since Perush uses the verb "decree." What Reformed theologian could pass by a comment like that?

enemies would press upon Israel from all sides. First they had to suffer and come to their senses. It has never been a safe thing to delay for a long time coming to one's senses. I willingly dismiss Rashi's interpretation,<sup>81</sup> who says that the enemies are said to be around Jacob because in captivity Ammonites, Edomites, Philistines and other neighboring nations were located by the Babylonians and Assyrians around Israel in the same region. Israel was provoked by the reproaches and insults by these other nations, so that this new distress was added to their exile.<sup>82</sup> This is an empty notion, since the history of sacred scripture does not contain such things.

JERUSALEM HAS BECOME AN ABOMINATION AMONG THEM:  
*become an abomination* (לנדה): that word also sometimes means motion.<sup>83</sup> If you take it in this way here, the meaning is very suitable. The city of Jerusalem, in

<sup>81</sup> Rashi:

G-D GAVE COMMAND TO JACOB HIS ENEMIES AROUND HIM: He commanded concerning Jacob that his enemies would be around him; indeed when they were exiled to Babylon and to Assyria, Sennacherib exiled their enemies Amon and Moab and settled them among them, and they were bothering them, as they said in Tractate Kedushin [72A], "There is a town Humania in Babylon, which consists entirely of Ammonites."

This may be a midrashic interpretation, but it is not in Lam.R.

<sup>82</sup> The "new calamity" is that Israel's enemies followed them into exile.

<sup>83</sup> It cannot be so here, at least as pointed in the MT; see the discussion in v. 8 above.

former times firmly established among the nations, has become unstable, wandering and vagabond. But if you twist that word to mean uncleanness, it means a menstruating woman. And the antithesis is effective. The city of Jerusalem, in former times holy, is fetid and unclean, so it could be compared to a menstruating woman at whom all shudder. And her husband is far removed from her.<sup>84</sup> The fetid nature of vices cannot be expressed by any more suitable metaphor than the blood of menstruation. Just as it flows from the flesh of those bodily parts we revere,<sup>85</sup> so our crimes have their origin and flow from the flesh which we hold to have been derived by procreation from Adam.

Tsade, or Verse Eighteen JUST IS THE LORD,  
BECAUSE I MADE HIS MOUTH ANGRY; LISTEN *AT PRESENT*,<sup>86</sup>  
ALL PEOPLES, AND SEE MY PAIN; MY VIRGINS AND MY YOUNG  
MEN WENT AWAY INTO EXILE.

<sup>84</sup> Lev. 15:19-24, etc.

<sup>85</sup> Martyr alludes here to the "unseemly members" to which we give "more honor" in 1 Cor. 12:22-25.

<sup>86</sup> lit.: שמעו-נא. Jerome has *audite obsecro*, "Hear! I entreat." Jerome is trying to get across the exhortatory nature of נא. Martyr is unfortunately following Ibn Ezra, who made a dubious distinction between נא and אנא; Martyr translates *audite nunc*. Martyr ought to have used *iam*, see L&S 1011 *iam* I.A.4. See reference to Ibn Ezra in Martyr's discussion of נא below.

JUST IS THE LORD: the result of such great punishment is that at long last an admission of divine justice is extorted. For when we confess God, in punishing us, to be acting justly, *ipso facto* we proclaim ourselves to have acted unjustly.

BECAUSE I MADE HIS MOUTH ANGRY: I am deservedly punished, since I have been antagonistic, rebellious and insulting to his words. By my wickedness I have elicited such a horrible judgment as this from an otherwise clement Father.

LISTEN AT PRESENT, ALL PEOPLES, AND SEE MY PAIN: witnesses are called so that in acknowledging the severity of her punishment they might cease doing things similar to those which caused her to end up this way. People who are truly repentant wish very much that others might be influenced by their example and abstain from vices. Nor<sup>87</sup>, as I suppose, were those public confessions<sup>88</sup> of transgression taking place in the Church of old<sup>89</sup> by any other design than to implore

<sup>87</sup> "Nor, as I suppose ... afterwards" is a typical example of the complex sentences with which Martyr often expressed himself. Because it is just possible to render this one in comprehensible English, I have left it intact as an example of Martyr's style.

<sup>88</sup> Martyr's reference to "confession" may be a spontaneous comment from the verse, or, more likely, a rumination from the following comment by Perush on v. 20:

I began crying out to G-D and making my confession [JUST IS THE LORD, etc.], when I saw the enemy's SWORD bereaving outside and IN THE HOUSE hunger LIKE DEATH.

<sup>89</sup> lit.: *in Ecclesia ... antiquitus*: probably Martyr thinks of the Old Testament Church, and public confession of sin in Law

the prayers of those standing by, and to provoke others, if they had fallen into such practices, to come to their senses by the example of those who groan, or preferably to strengthen them to keep themselves from these practices, on account of the fact that they might see so clearly what must be suffered afterwards.

נָּ signifies time<sup>90</sup> nor does this adverb denote anything else. But if it should have the letter נ preceding,<sup>91</sup> they interpret it "I beseech"--a word very well suited for those praying.

MY VIRGINS AND MY YOUNG MEN WENT AWAY INTO EXILE: it is not difficult to see why there is so frequently a mention of virgins and young men. It is to show their misery more clearly. When that age group is shown to

(Num. 5:7) and in practice (Neh. 9:2ff).

<sup>90</sup> Martyr translates *nunc* ("at the present time"); but a better choice would have been *iam* ("now" in English in the sense of "prithce"). See Holladay 223. Martyr is influenced by the following (certainly debatable) comment by Ibn Ezra:

Every נָּ means "at the present time" (עַתָּה), and thus ALAS NOW FOR US, FOR WE HAVE SINNED [Lam. 5:16]; also GOD, NOW (נָּ), HEAL HER, NOW (נָּ) [Num. 12:13]-- therefore G-D answered, WILL SHE NOT BE IN DISGRACE SEVEN DAYS? [Num. 12:14]; LET BE KILLED, NOW [Jer. 38:4]; SPEAK, NOW [Ex. 11:2]; HEAR, NOW [Ex. 11:2] and with an added alef it is the language of request, but in Arabic, it is the opposite and it is as "at the present time" (עַתָּה).

The exegetical distinction Ibn Ezra makes is precious and too clever by half. Let us however give Martyr the credit for deciphering Ibn Ezra's comment and going against all his usual authorities (Pagnini, etc.).

<sup>91</sup> i.e., the adverb נָּ, see Ibn Ezra's comment just above.

be lost, from where would the hope of prosperity and new offspring come? In sum they show themselves by these words to have perished utterly.

Kof, or Verse Nineteen I CRIED OUT<sup>92</sup> TO MY FRIENDS, AND THEY THEMSELVES DECEIVED ME; MY PRIESTS AND MY ELDERS WERE COMPLETELY CONSUMED, SEEING THAT<sup>93</sup> THEY SOUGHT FOR THEMSELVES FOOD, IN ORDER TO REVIVE THEIR SPIRIT.

I CRIED OUT TO MY FRIENDS: לַמֵּאֲהָבִי: this does not signify true friends but those who used to act as if they were,<sup>94</sup> although as it turned out later, they were inwardly hostile to me. No other kind of person can be found whom we should avoid more. Such was the devil to the first humans; he attracted them with a friendly and

<sup>92</sup> Münster's *Clamavi* is more dramatic than Jerome-Pagnini's *Vocavi*, but the latter is closer to the Hebrew קראתי.

<sup>93</sup> "seeing that": *quoniam*; Jerome has *quia*; both represent the Hebrew כִּי, which has a wide range of meanings, including "that" (a relative pronoun) and "because"; apparently Pagnini-Münster translate *quoniam* to make sure that the reader understands that the meaning is "because" and not "that"--*quia* can mean both.

<sup>94</sup> Rashi:

I CALLED TO MY LOVERS, to those who made themselves appear as beloved;

Ibn Ezra:

TO MY LOVERS (לַמֵּאֲהָבִי): it is not as MY BELOVED (אוֹהָבִי) [Ps. 38:12, ET 13, etc.], and thus its meaning is "to those requesting me to love them."



gentle voice, as if seeking their own good. David complained in his Psalms<sup>95</sup> about such people more than once. We experience our own inner person to be such: our carnal nature, senses and reason, since they are corrupted and fraudulent, ought not to be trusted. As nothing is to be more coveted among human things than true, unfeigned and sincere friendship, so nothing is more damnable than false. It is the same with the best things in life: if they are taken away from their own legitimate constitution, they then become the worst. You show me what living thing is better than a good human being; but if he turns to evil, what is worse? Hence the proverb: man should be God to man, but he is wolf.<sup>96</sup> The faculty of arguing, which they call dialectic, if rightly taught, makes known an infinite number of true things, but if taught perversely, you then see everything crammed with deceptions and fallacious reasons. As it is said popularly, if nothing is the equal of a faithful friend, then nothing is more to be avoided than a false one. The argument is necessarily true, if the rule of contraries<sup>97</sup> is worth anything.

<sup>95</sup> For example, Ps. 5:9, quoted by Paul the Apostle in Rm. 3:13 as an uncompromising statement of human corruption. This passage, and others like it, is in the back of Martyr's mind when he gives his pessimistic assessment of human fidelity.

<sup>96</sup> *Homine homo Deus; homine homo lupus*. Plautus Asinania.

<sup>97</sup> Aristotle, De Int. 7, 17b.2ff.

AND THEY THEMSELVES DECEIVED ME: this notes how faithful they had been.<sup>98</sup> This is the definition of a friend: instead of doing what is comfortable for himself, he truly wants to do what he thinks to be good for his friend and pleasing to him. But false friends elude, when necessity presses; when they are sought, they disappoint; they follow fortune; they are, in fact, opportunists.<sup>99</sup> Now it is not human beings, but swallows and storks which always seek eagerly the warm places. The Jews were often relying on foreign military forces but were always cheated.

Rashi tells a story.<sup>100</sup> The Israelites were being led into captivity and were journeying through Ishmaelite territory. Wearied, tired out and hungry, they implored them as brothers for protection. The latter, pretending to be friendly but concealing with the words a bitter hatred, ran to them as if prepared to revive them with food and skin bottles. As might well happen, the sons of Israel began to eat; all the food was salty. The skins, which seemed to be filled with wine or water, were in fact inflated with air. So these miserable people, famished as they were, ate the food heartily, but when they desired to drink, they discov-

<sup>98</sup> Rhetorical irony.

<sup>99</sup> "opportunists": *tempori serviunt*, an expression from Cicero.

<sup>100</sup> Martyr calls Rashi's version of a miḏrashic interpretation a *fabella*, which is exactly what it is: Rashi knows that it is, but Martyr no doubt assumes that Rashi does not know.

ered no water or wine at all. So their thirst was increased not only by the heat and labor of the journey but also by consumption of salted food. So by that means they were being wretchedly destroyed.<sup>101</sup>

Those things which are easily said are easily repudiated.<sup>102</sup> For my part I suppose that the words AND THEY DECEIVED ME had to do with the foreign military forces, by whom from time to time they were expecting to be helped. Or you may refer these words to idols and lying prophets, for they are essentially no different. All such false friends disappointed them.

MY PRIESTS AND MY ELDERS WERE COMPLETELY CONSUMED: this seeks to obviate the following tacit objection. "Even if those who seemed to be friends abandoned you, this is no reason for your situation to be deplored, is it? Run to your priests, wise men, elders, so they may

<sup>101</sup> The original story as recounted by Rashi is more lurid:

THEY DECEIVED ME: as did the sons of Ishmael who were going out towards the exiles, as their captors were leading [the exiles] near by them, and [the Ishmaelites] are making themselves appear as if they have compassion on them; and they were bringing them salted foods and wineskins filled with what they thought was wine; and they are eating and are thirsty and they are wishing to drink; and when one opens the wineskin with his teeth, the wind was entering into his bowels and he died; and this is what Scripture said: IN THE DESERT THICKET YOU WILL LODGE etc. TO THE THIRSTY BRING WATER, O INHABITANTS OF THE LAND OF TEMA, WITH HIS BREAD MEET THE FUGITIVE [Is. 21:13-14].

<sup>102</sup> Martyr will not spend time in refuting the fanciful story found in Rashi's commentary.

help you with counsel."<sup>103</sup> She responds: "But my counselors have already expired! And my friends proved false. I thought that these friends whom I implicitly trusted could do so much and I supposed that they loved me strongly. And now my counselors who might have been useful to me have been annihilated." Often by the harsh judgment of God, good priests, upright statesmen and prudent counselors are taken away from a particular people, so it might perish utterly. And this verse corresponds to the one above,<sup>104</sup> where it was said, HE TRAMPLED ON ALL MY STRONG MEN.

SEEING THAT THEY SOUGHT FOOD FOR THEMSELVES IN ORDER TO REVIVE THEIR SPIRIT: There is no greater disaster than experiencing this kind of death. "These useful men, who could have been of service to me at the present moment, are now dying of hunger, which is the most monstrous kind of death to meet." And perhaps this verse hints at a neglect of righteous men. They so despised the God's word that they would heed false rather than holy prophets. Therefore by the judgment of God they see themselves deserted and abandoned by them.

<sup>103</sup> This artificial linking of the false friends with the counselors is from a comment by Perush:

I CALLED TO my foreign neighbors--perhaps they would give me counsel, AND THEY DECEIVED ME--for all my counselors had died of hunger, as had the priests praying for me and the elders, my counselors....

<sup>104</sup> v. 15.

The above description of the untrustworthy nature of human affection<sup>105</sup> offers us a double warning. First, we should preserve a wholesome and sincere love<sup>106</sup> towards the brothers,<sup>107</sup> lest we be shown to be false and hopelessly ruined. For what falls away is not love,<sup>108</sup> and he who is a friend loves for all time. So when we are eager to show Christian love to our neighbors, let us in the meantime look to God, who never fails in the love he gives us. Filled with this love, Paul said, WHO WILL SEPARATE US FROM THE LOVE OF GOD, etc.<sup>109</sup> Secondly, the gifts of God are ἀμεταμέλητα.<sup>110</sup> For this reason the promises to this people by Christ were not changed even when they sinned and deserted God. FOR WHAT IF CERTAIN OF THEM DID NOT BELIEVE, UNBELIEF DID NOT VOID THE FAITH OF THE OTHERS, DID IT?<sup>111</sup> Never! Christ was given to them, and while

<sup>105</sup> "human affection": *dilectionis*.

<sup>106</sup> *charitatem*.

<sup>107</sup> Allusion to Rm. 11:9-10.

<sup>108</sup> *Nam quae excidit non est charitas*: this is an allusion to 1 Cor. 13:8, in the Vulgate *Caritas numquam excedit*; but Martyr is apparently referring to the Greek text, which has ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει--*excidit* being a better equivalent of πίπτει than *excedit*.

<sup>109</sup> Rm. 8:35, quoted from memory, since the text reads "love of Christ", not "love of God."

<sup>110</sup> "unrepenting": Rm. 11:29.

<sup>111</sup> Rm. 3:3; but Martyr changes the main verb from future to past tense--meaning the Jews did not believe ever, so the apodosis is no longer conditional.

he went about on earth, he was a minister of the circumcision.<sup>112</sup>

Resh, or Verse Twenty SEE, LORD, BECAUSE ANGUISH  
IS MINE,<sup>113</sup> MY BOWELS<sup>114</sup> HAVE CONTRACTED,<sup>115</sup> OVERTURNED  
IS MY HEART WITHIN ME, FOR THE REASON THAT I HAVE BEEN  
REBELLIOUS; OUTSIDE THE SWORD BEREAVES,<sup>116</sup> INSIDE<sup>117</sup> AS  
IF DEATH.

<sup>112</sup> Rm. 15:8.

<sup>113</sup> The Pagnini/Münster reading, *quia est angustia mihi*, is closer to the Hebrew כִּי-צָר-לִי than Jerome's more idiomatic *quoniam tribulor*.

<sup>114</sup> Pagnini-Münster's MY BOWELS *viscera mea* represents more literally the Hebrew כִּמְיָ than does Jerome's *venter meus*.

<sup>115</sup> "contracted" *contracta*: Jerome-Münster's *conturbatus* is a translation of the Hebrew חֲמָרָיו. Pagnini's *intumuerunt* is what Reuchlin suggests in *Rudimenta*. Martyr went along with Rashi's (certainly debatable) exegesis:

חֲמָרָיו [ET: "were in ferment"]: "contracted," and there is in the language of the Mishnah, "if it fell into the fire and its internal organs were scorched."

ET from Hullin 56A; see Rashi's commentary on this passage: "scorched: contracted on account of the heat and their appearance was changed--the language of MY BOWELS WERE IN FERMENT (Lam. 1:20)."

<sup>116</sup> The Pagnini-Münster reading, "bereaves" *orbat*, is a more literal translation of the Hebrew שָׁכַח than Jerome's idiomatic *interficet*.

<sup>117</sup> "inside" *intus* for בְּבֵית is more idiomatic than Jerome-Pagnini-Münster's more literal *domi*. Oecolampadius also had this reading. Coincidence?

SEE, LORD, BECAUSE ANGUISH IS MINE: the groaning synagogue<sup>118</sup> always uses this form of speaking. Those who groan wish to direct attention to their troubles, because the more people know of their troubles, the more they will feel sorry for them. So sufferers are consoled somewhat by communicating their troubles to bystanders and onlookers. For those who speak about their troubles with well-wishers are not a little comforted by, as it were, disgorging them. For the burden is shared and somehow distributed among many. Add to these things<sup>119</sup> that the Lord becomes more placable, when he notices how serious are their troubles. For God's wrath is accustomed to be mitigated, when he sees that enough punishment has been suffered. So she implores here not simply God's acknowledgement but also his kindness and compassion.

MY BOWELS HAVE CONTRACTED: If the intestines are contracted and are not open wide, they are the cause of colics and pains. For crasser sediments, humors, exhalations and other things of this sort, if they do not find their due departure, recede or are arrested and make the worst pains living beings can have. Ibn

<sup>118</sup> i.e., the Old Testament Church, the people of God as a worshipping community, represented in Lamentations as a grieving woman (as Lam. 1:8c "she groaned"; see Martyr's exposition of Lam. 1:12 and of this verse's phrase "they heard"). Martyr is not alluding to the words of a prayer in the liturgy of synagogues in the Christian era.

<sup>119</sup> i.e., how a lament draws the sympathy of human beings.

Ezra seems<sup>120</sup> to interpret this to mean that tears draw from the body so much humor that all the intestines have contracted, just as a womb, once it is emptied, wrinkles and contracts. But the former interpretation seems more suitable.

OVERTURNED IS MY HEART WITHIN ME: great and serious is this evil, since indeed the heart is the origin, fount and beginning of sensation and movements. When it is injured, there is no hope that life can be prolonged.

FOR THE REASON THAT I HAVE BEEN REBELLIOUS: this is an apt cause of the misfortune spoken of above. The way I behaved to God's word was the way my heart behaved to the rest of my body. My soul turned away from God's word, opposed it and was rebellious to it. In the same way my heart was so troubled that it could not supply to my bodily members the necessary and requisite strength.

<sup>120</sup> Martyr rightly says "seems," for he has misunderstood Ibn Ezra's admittedly complex comment and has conflated it with Rashi's understanding of חמרמו (see note above on Martyr's translation):

WERE IN FERMENT (חמרמו): doubling of the ע and the ל, [it is a pe'al'al] and its meaning is like "fouled" (עכורים), and thus MY FACE WAS IN FERMENT (חמרמו) [Job 16:16]; and it is from the form חומר (cement, mire), since the weeping is like water, and thus WINE FOAMS (חמר) [Ps. 75:9, ET 8].

While Rashi thought this verb meant something like, "to contract when scorched," Ibn Ezra connected it with passages in scripture where this or an identical root means "to ferment."



OUTSIDE AND SWORD BEREAVES: if people have a difficult time in their house, they go outside. And if they do not have a pleasant time among those outside the home, they return to their own family. "But for me," she says, "it is equally intolerable inside or out. Outdoors slaughter rages and parents are bereaved of their children."

INSIDE AS IF DEATH: some interpret this to mean a funeral. I, on the other hand, think it means not just one thing, but many troubles: hunger, siege, rebellion, shouting, tears and din of battle. There is a continuous fear that the city is about to be taken, and people imagine what the future will be. All such things cause so much hurt that they are no worse than death.

Shin, or Verse Twenty-One THEY HEARD THAT I GROAN, AND THERE IS NO CONSOLER;<sup>121</sup> ALL MY FOES HEARD MY MISFORTUNE, AND THEY WERE HAPPY, BECAUSE YOU YOURSELF ACTED;<sup>122</sup> YOU HAVE BROUGHT THE DAY, WHICH YOU HAVE CALLED<sup>123</sup> AND THEY MAY BE AS I AM.

<sup>121</sup> This should read "consoler to me"--the "to me" has either dropped off in the editing or Martyr forgot it.

<sup>122</sup> The Hebrew verb here is עָשִׂיתָ, root עָשָׂה: in Latin it is nicely covered by *facio*, make, do, perform etc., and Martyr follows Jerome and Pagnini and translates *fecisti*. In English, there is no good equivalent.

<sup>123</sup> Pagnini-Münster's "which you called" is a literal translation of the Hebrew קָרָאתָ; Jerome interprets "the day you called"

THEY HEARD THAT I GROAN, AND THERE IS NO CONSOLER: the human being is born for glory. This stimulus is innate: if at any time people see themselves despised, they lament it vehemently. Being despised like that usually rouses people's ire and provokes revenge, if those who are looked down on have any strength. However when they are so weak that they can do nothing, they undergo an intolerable pain. It is this about which Jerusalem now complains: "These nations know me to be in mourning, but they have not deemed me worthy of any consolation. They cannot claim ignorance as a pretext. They heard clearly my groanings. Is it astonishing, then, if I suffer terribly? It is a common distress among all human beings that they become angry even at those who are otherwise friends and loved ones, when they notice that their friends are not at all moved by their troubles, or very little or else not as much as would be fitting.

ALL MY FOES HEARD OF MY MISFORTUNE, AND THEY WERE HAPPY: it especially offends those who mourn if they see others take pleasure in their misfortunes. This is so because the human being by nature has been constituted as a being who is very desirous of a community whose laws are that we should help each other by mutual

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as "the day of consolation." Martyr uses the literal translation in his exegesis.

obligations.<sup>124</sup> We are not accustomed to deny these social benefits to any except very troublesome people, whom we consider unworthy of human society or any fellowship. But if this ostracizing from society often happened to someone publicly, so that everyone disregarded his trouble or laughed at him and made fun of his difficulties, it necessarily follows that he would be deeply hurt.

BECAUSE YOU YOURSELF ACTED:<sup>125</sup> Rashi<sup>126</sup> judged that in a certain manner the prophet threw back at God the cause of that hatred. So virulent was this hatred that this wretched people became a laughing stock. For she says, "Lord, you acted,<sup>127</sup> you made me different from other nations by laws, rites, food and clothing, and they hate me for that reason. You also denied me their fellowship, marriage alliances and society. These things which you forbade me kindled their deadly

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Plato's description of pristine community, Laws, iii, 679-680.

<sup>125</sup> "acted," or "did this." As mentioned above in the notes on Martyr's translation of this verse, both the Hebrew verb and its Latin equivalent can mean either "make" or "perform." Since there is no equivalent English verb, it makes good translation of Martyr's exegetical point impossible.

<sup>126</sup> Rashi citing a midrashic interpretation found in Lam.R. 1:56, ET 146:

THAT YOU DID [IT]: You brought it about to me that they hated me, for you divided me from their food and from their drink and from marrying among them; if I had intermarried with them, they would have had compassion upon me and upon the sons of their daughters.

<sup>127</sup> "acted," i.e., "did this."

hatred against me. For if I had been joined to them by one of the aforementioned things, then perhaps they would have had pity on me." But it seems more suitable to me that she says: "They make light of my misfortunes which I suffer, because you did it, that is, it is you who acted against me."

When God punishes, then he is said to act, as we see in the prophet Hosea: IN THE DAY WHEN THE LORD WILL ACT.<sup>128</sup> And in the Psalms,<sup>129</sup> THE TIME OF ACTING OF THE LORD, that is, the time of his instituting punishment, since irreligious people neglected your law.

YOU HAVE BROUGHT ON THE DAY WHICH YOU CALLED: those enemies rejoice because the day has come, which you had often predicted through the prophets, viz. that some day I would fall because of my sins. They are glad that the day has now arrived, not because they have faith in the prophets; they just take pleasure in the fact that my last day, that is to say, my ruin, has come. Jerusalem herself mentions the calling, i.e., the prophecy of this day often set before her. Or you may say by the simple and absolute meaning,<sup>130</sup> "You

<sup>128</sup> Not from Hos., but Mal. 3:21 (ET 4:3): ביום אשר אני עשה.

<sup>129</sup> 119:126: נעת לעשות לי. If Martyr were able to pull from his head these two references (even though one was inexact) to עשה having the connotation "to judge," it is quite impressive.

<sup>130</sup> Martyr gives one more interpretation: perfect verb "you brought" is an actual perfect. Implicit in the phrase "simple and absolute meaning" is Martyr's recognition that the strictly grammatical meaning may not be the one actually intended by the sacred author. Indeed he goes on to recognize that, in all probability, "you brought" means "Oh bring."

brought near the day, to which you called these enemies of mine, who were far away, as if to a feast, a communal sacrifice or holiday"--as she had said above, when she called the brutal killing of the people a מועד.<sup>131</sup>

The above is the meaning in this place, if this verb is understood in the perfect tense. But if we propose that it is in the optative mood, as Ibn Ezra<sup>132</sup> here asserts, and Rashi,<sup>133</sup> then the form of the verbs will be a supplication against the enemies, those who were scoffing at the one in distress. "May you now bring the day which you often called for me and predicted through your prophets, I mean the ruin of those who have laughed at me. Often I have heard by the sacred foretellers that these people, who were going to overthrow me, must be destroyed too. Nahum, Obadiah and Isaiah in their prophesying chanted many

<sup>131</sup> i.e. an appointed time, as in Lam. 1:15: "You called against me a מועד to break my young men"; "the brutal killing of the people," lit., "the butchery and carnage of the people."

<sup>132</sup> Actually Ibn Ezra allows for two possibilities; (the perfect tense is to be understood as a "perfect of prophecy," YOU WILL BRING):

YOU BROUGHT THE DAY YOU CALLED: The expression "would that" (וְ) is lacking before YOU BROUGHT, as if it were wished. Alternatively it is to be interpreted as a simple perfect.

<sup>133</sup> Here Martyr calls him "Solomon", and not the more usual "Rabbi Solomon." Rashi paraphrases:

YOU BROUGHT THE DAY YOU CALLED: Oh would that you brought upon them the day of the appointed time which you called upon me.

burdens.<sup>134</sup> For these reasons may you now bring, I pray, that day. I have been afflicted enough. Let it be repaid to them as they deserve: they are no better than I. I led the way; let them now follow." This latter interpretation<sup>135</sup> fits the phrase which immediately follows: AND THEY WOULD BE AS I AM.

A sense of uneasiness,<sup>136</sup> however, may resist this meaning, because it does not seem fitting for holy men to incite God against their enemies by their persistent prayers. Christ wished us to pray for our persecutors.<sup>137</sup> Paul too inculcates this.<sup>138</sup> By example his Jesus Christ confirms what he has commanded. FATHER, FORGIVE THEM, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING.<sup>139</sup> Stephen imitates this same example, when he was meeting death.<sup>140</sup> It seems fitting for

<sup>134</sup> These prophets under inspiration intoned (sang as prophetic utterance) "burdens" (an Hebraism for "oracles") against the nations which oppressed Israel.

<sup>135</sup> *haec interpretatio*, i.e., that this phrase is actually a prayer or wish.

<sup>136</sup> The philological meaning of this passage raises a problem for Martyr and his hearers. Is not such an imprecation unworthy of the Holy Spirit who inspired Jeremiah? What follows is a fairly lengthy scholium.

<sup>137</sup> Mt. 5:44; Lk. 6:28.

<sup>138</sup> Martyr must be referring to Rm. 12:14, 17-20: in order to "bless" one's enemies, presumably one would have to pray for them.

<sup>139</sup> Lk. 23:34, paraphrase.

<sup>140</sup> Acts 7:60.

holy people to hate the sin but love the sinner,<sup>141</sup> especially since our troubles and persecutions are opportunities for us to be tested or to repent, even if our enemies are unwilling and unaware of it.

Concerning the omens and imprecations of the prophets against their enemies, well-nigh all our ancestors said that these were prophecies of future things, expressed by this particular form of speaking. The Holy Spirit used to inspire prophets with various forms of speech in order to disclose the future. The Spirit did this now by pleasant and agreeable song, and now by mournful poems and sad elegies; now by an open, visible statement, now by threatening and cursing.<sup>142</sup> And in the end the divine Spirit spurns nothing human which may lead to our correction. And so here the future is prophesied under the guise of a prayer--a future which really happened, since all the neighboring nations, which took pleasure in the destruction of Jerusalem, were themselves also annihilated.<sup>143</sup> Eventually even the Babylonians were subjugated by the Medes. They did not suffer any easier punishment than what they saw the Jews bear.

<sup>141</sup> *ut hominem diligent, vitia odio prosequantur.*

<sup>142</sup> Martyr has previously made this point near the beginning of his introduction, when he discusses the poetry of the Hagiographa.

<sup>143</sup> i.e., by the Babylonians.

It must not, however, be disregarded that we should consider these curses more than just oracles. It is a characteristic of holy people to show themselves eager for what they recognize as God's will, so that they may show themselves as close to God as possible. When therefore it has been shown to a prophet what God wishes or has disposed, he prays at once that it may happen in this way. It is not the carnal nature or human feeling which prays in the prophets but the Spirit of God who by effectual words and by ineffable groans<sup>144</sup> asks for these things which are of the divine will and plan.

We ought not to be led heedlessly by these examples and pray that bad things happen to our adversaries and oppressors, unless by the Spirit of God it is made plain to us that our enemies are incorrigible. Even then, though in adverse circumstances, we may hope them to be merely restrained,<sup>145</sup> that it might be better for the saints of the Lord, and that the blood of the innocent might cease to be shed. If they, on the other hand, are truly susceptible to correction, we also trust that they might be corrected by means of some punishment. We might hope this would happen both to see justice done and also to strike fear into the hearts of others. Nonetheless, we must do this moder-

<sup>144</sup> Rm. 8:26-27.

<sup>145</sup> i.e., even in persecution, we need not necessarily pray that the wicked be stuck down dead.



ately and rather restrictedly, lest perhaps by this beautiful and splendid pretext<sup>146</sup> we indulge a certain latent sickness of our carnal nature which is quite without health. However, we ought not to omit good resolutions of excommunication or brotherly correction because we are afraid or necessarily cautious. In this way we may not only suppress vices but also seek the salvation of a brother.

These things I judged it necessary to say concerning curses, which we come up against everywhere in the sacred scriptures. However a single doubt in this matter still remains. How does it happen that such things are rarely found in the New Record,<sup>147</sup> whereas in the Old (in the Prophets and the Psalms) they are so frequent? The status<sup>148</sup> should be discerned. The fathers were under a schoolmaster, as you have it in Galatians:<sup>149</sup> they were under the Law, they were children, and if their status were compared to ours, they could be said to be slaves, while we are truly sons. FOR WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED THE SPIRIT OF SERVITUDE AGAIN INTO FEAR, BUT THE SPIRIT OF ADOPTION AS SONS, BY WHOM

<sup>146</sup> "pretext" *colore*: its non-figurative meaning is color or hue. Thus, in a fine turn of phrase, Martyr manages both a play on words ("beautiful hue") and sarcasm (rhetorical irony).

<sup>147</sup> *instrumentum*, i.e., the New Testament.

<sup>148</sup> *Status* here is "mode of providence," or "dispensation" in the non-chiliastic sense of the word.

<sup>149</sup> 3:24.

WE CRY ABBA, FATHER.<sup>150</sup> Therefore the Spirit of God, although the same in us and in them, moves us and them to different things according to the difference in both time and space.<sup>151</sup> They were often incited to seek righteous vengeance at a time when quite correctly they had to struggle strongly for a sufficiently large temporal kingdom in order to have a place for the honest procreation of children.

Yet the endeavors of the Spirit of Christian people are different, not because the Spirit is not the same, but because the age has been altered and the status has been changed. We, for our part, are invited to mildness, clemency and kindness not only toward our own people but to everyone. For the Spirit's wealth given in Christ leads us--adults as it were--to this. The Lord showed to his disciples the different way in which the Spirit urges us. They wished to curse with fire the cities of Samaria who had refused to receive Christ. He responded to them: YOU DO NOT KNOW WHOSE SPIRIT YOU ARE.<sup>152</sup> It was very much the character of the slaves (those under the Law) to strive for retribution--righteous to be sure. For the Law itself threatens nothing if not retribution. Children get

<sup>150</sup> Rm. 8:15.

<sup>151</sup> "according to...space": *pro conditionis nihilominus et tempore*.

<sup>152</sup> Lk. 9:55: a reading kept in the AV but today abandoned as late.

angry easily, but once they are adults they bear scorn more easily and moderately; when they see that they are slighted, they bear up bravely.

Nevertheless, examples of retribution are not lacking in the gospel:<sup>153</sup> Paul's against the magus Elymas, Peter's against Ananias and Saphyra, and what Paul said about Alexander the copper-smith, HE EXPOSED ME TO MUCH EVIL: MAY GOD RENDER TO HIM ACCORDING TO HIS WORKS.<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless such examples of retribution are exceedingly rare, just as in the Old Record there are a few famous examples of clemency: Moses' extraordinary meekness<sup>155</sup> is commended, as is David's compassion.<sup>156</sup> Nevertheless, acts of vengeance and the attempts at vengeance are frequent, a fact which has its origin in the difference of status,<sup>157</sup> not because another spirit other than this Spirit might be directing them. After all, these holy men too were moved by the divine Spirit.

Whatever things have been spoken here, you may receive as pertaining to private duties, because Christ's Spirit did not change what concerns the

<sup>153</sup> i.e., in the New Testament, as the record of the new era under the Spirit, not under the Law.

<sup>154</sup> Acts 13:8; Acts 5:1ff; 2 Tm. 4:14, paraphrase.

<sup>155</sup> Num. 12:3.

<sup>156</sup> Martyr seems to have in mind such incidents as David's sparing Saul's life, 1 Sam. 24.

<sup>157</sup> i.e., Law, not Gospel.

magistrates: the state and the civil way of life. In this regard magistrates ought not to diminish the severity of justice by this pretext,<sup>158</sup> because they exercise the work of God, not men. They may follow the mildness of the Spirit and evangelical kindness by not pursuing but pardoning injuries done to them personally. Those who preside over the churches ought not to abstain in this name<sup>159</sup> from excommunication, which is not their own personal sword, but Christ's. By it wounds are not inflicted but healed. Because we are under the gospel, under the grace of God's Son, we, whose burden it is, should not on that account be less bold to hand obstinate sinners over to Satan, for the destruction of their carnal nature so that the spirit might be saved.<sup>160</sup>

What we discussed pertained to particular desires of private individuals. If that happiness commended by the Lord--BLEST WHO ARE HUNGRY AND THIRSTY FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS<sup>161</sup>--holds and delights them strongly, they may await patiently the day of the Lord. At that time he will give full satisfaction to them with the most severe justice of God. The prophet<sup>162</sup> in the per-

<sup>158</sup> i.e., of being under the new covenant.

<sup>159</sup> i.e., in the name of evangelical clemency.

<sup>160</sup> 1 Cor. 5:4.

<sup>161</sup> Mt. 5:6.

<sup>162</sup> i.e., Jeremiah: here Martyr abruptly returns to the line of the verse he is--lest the reader has forgotten--after all

son of the wretched people prays thus,<sup>163</sup> that those mocking her, who took pleasure in her troubles, may sometime become as she is at present.

Tau, or Verse Twenty-Two LET ALL THEIR MALICE  
COME BEFORE YOU AND DO<sup>164</sup> TO THEM AS YOU DID TO ME, ON  
ACCOUNT OF ALL MY INIQUITIES, SINCE MANY ARE MY SIGHS,  
AND MY HEART GROANS.

LET ALL THEIR MALICE COME BEFORE YOU, AND DO TO  
THEM AS YOU DID TO ME, ON ACCOUNT OF MY INIQUITIES:  
that is, "Since the measure of their iniquity is now  
completed,<sup>165</sup> may you endure it<sup>166</sup> no longer." For  
there is a certain level of criminality which God's  
justice will not tolerate any further. How great it  
may be is obscure to human beings; we, however, know it  
to exist from the sacred scriptures. "For three crimes  
and for four I will not turn away," that is, "I will

expounding.

<sup>163</sup> The Prophet prays, BRING THE DAY YOU CALLED, AND THEY  
WILL BE LIKE ME (Lam. 1:21c). Thus Martyr compares Judah awaiting  
the day of retribution for her enemies to the Christian awaiting  
Christ's return.

<sup>164</sup> DO: here Martyr follows Pagnini, even though Münster  
does not follow him. Apparently Martyr is attracted to Pagnini's  
more literal translation of the Hebrew.

<sup>165</sup> Gn. 15:16. Martyr dealt with this same idea in his  
exposition of v. 15 above.

<sup>166</sup> "It," i.e., the "all their malice" of the first line of  
this verse.

not forgive her" (in Amos).<sup>167</sup> This happens not because all their misdeeds may not be forgiven, but because they are punished to be an example to others or to see that the carnal nature may be restrained (lest it be impudent) or that divine justice may at some point be exercised. She asks that their crimes may now come to the notice of God both to be judged and to be punished. This punishment is either to correct their behavior or to make them an example to others and to rescue her, if those people prove recalcitrant.

SINCE MANY ARE MY SIGHS AND MY HEART GROANS: these words reveal not sins or faults but what misfortunes she will call down on them. "But because I myself am overwhelmed by sighs and groans, I ask him to make them undergo this same distress." It must not be omitted how serious this crime is shown to us to be: to jeer at miserable and wretched people, to scorn them and to take pleasure in their troubles. It is not only unchristian, it is also very inhuman.

It is no help to those people if they say that they are rejoicing since the Jews suffer such things because God wills it. For if they seek to satisfy the divine will, they should mourn their lot. For God openly shows that he requires it of us. And in Amos<sup>168</sup>

<sup>167</sup> 1:6. It should be recalled that the Minor Prophets were still fresh in Martyr's mind, as he had just finished expounding them.

<sup>168</sup> 1:6-12; Martyr has conflated this Amos passage with Obadiah 12.

he bears witness that he has become very angry with Gaza, Tyre and Edom, because they rejoiced at the destruction of the sons of Israel and because they added troubles to the troubled. Let us imitate Christ and the fathers. Christ wept over the destruction of Jerusalem,<sup>169</sup> as did Jeremiah.<sup>170</sup> Samuel wept over Saul,<sup>171</sup> and there are countless other examples. If this pretext were going to be used,<sup>172</sup> there would have been no place for compassion, so we might weep with those who weep, as Paul ordered.<sup>173</sup> Since nothing adverse is ever inflicted without God determining and willing it, we might use that excuse to let compassion pass away from our race. We know, however, that God wills compassion and, what is more, ardently desires it as the singular and clement bond of human society.

<sup>169</sup> Martyr's interpolation of Mt. 23:37.

<sup>170</sup> Jeremiah is represented several times as weeping over the destruction of Judah, but never specifically of Jerusalem: see Jer. 9:1, etc.

<sup>171</sup> 1 Sam. 15:35, 16:1.

<sup>172</sup> i.e., they are rejoicing because Judah's destruction was God's will.

<sup>173</sup> Rm. 12:15.

Alphabet or Chapter Two

Alef, or Verse One HOW HE<sup>1</sup> DARKENED IN HIS ANGER  
THE DAUGHTER OF ZION; HE THREW DOWN FROM HEAVEN TO  
EARTH THE GLORY<sup>2</sup> OF ISRAEL; AND HE DID NOT REMEMBER HIS  
FOOTSTOOL IN THE DAY OF HIS ANGER.

HOW HE HAS DARKENED IN HIS ANGER THE DAUGHTER OF  
ZION; HE THREW DOWN FROM HEAVEN TO EARTH: יַעֲבִיב is a  
verb derived from עָבַב, which means "cloud." Although  
many believe that the meaning is the act of darkening,<sup>3</sup>  
nonetheless as for me I am rather persuaded with Ibn  
Ezra and Rashi<sup>4</sup> that it indicates a lifting up high as

<sup>1</sup> Jerome-Pagnini-Münster have, following the MT, *Dominus* as the subject of this sentence. Martyr leaves it out for no apparent reason.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome here has *in terram inclytam Israel*; similarly Pagnini-Münster have *in terram decorum Israel*. But Martyr follows the cantillation of the MT, which makes more sense.

<sup>3</sup> Jerome: "covered over with fog/obscured with darkness" (*obtexit caligine*). Martyr himself followed Pagnini's rendering of "darkened" (Münster has "darkens"). Rashi:

HOW BECLOUDED (יַעֲבִיב): "made dark" (יָאֲפִיל), as what is said, AND THE HEAVENS GREW BLACK WITH CLOUDS (הִתְקַדְּרוּ עָבִים) [1 K. 18:45]. FROM THE HEAVENS EARTH[WARD]: after he exalted them up to the heavens, he cast them down in a moment...

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Ezra:

CLOUDED (יַעֲבִיב): There are those who say יַעֲבִיב is from עָבַב (cloud), as "make/is dark" [e.g., Ps. 139:12], but the correct interpretation is "He made high as a cloud."

Rashi talks of a lifting up, not in connection with the verb "bec-



the clouds. Thus this would be the meaning: In his anger the Lord had lifted up and made that nation magnificent, famous, so that it might be better thrown down.<sup>5</sup> For a fall from a high place is considered to be more serious than from one not so high. Of what use was it for those people to be, up to that point, glorious, illustrious, and famous among other nations? Just this, that when they come to extreme calamity they might become more miserable. You have such a phrase in the gospels<sup>6</sup> against Capernaum, concerning which the Lord said that, elevated up to heaven, it would have to be sunk into the depths.

THE GLORY OF ISRAEL: The things he here vaunts are to be sought not only in the splendor of many kings such as David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat,<sup>7</sup> and others, but also in the cradle and rising of that people. By prodigies and portents they were liberated from Egypt; they were led through the desert by God's great care, solicitude, zeal and providence; with signs from him<sup>8</sup>

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loud," but rather with reference to line 2 of this verse, FROM THE HEAVENS EARTH[WARD] (see previous note). Perhaps Martyr confused Rashi with Perush (see next note).

<sup>5</sup> Perush:

HOW BECLOUDED: G-D exalted Zion in his anger in order to cast her down from a high place.

<sup>6</sup> Mt. 11:23, Lk. 10:15.

<sup>7</sup> Jehoshaphat, son of Asa, King of Judah, said in 2 Chr. 17-18 to have been exceedingly wealthy and, in his early years, to have been a zealous follower of God and a persecutor of pagan religion.

they successfully captured the land of the Canaanites; lastly he always favored them and rescued them from great dangers in wonderfully unexpected ways.

AND HE DID NOT REMEMBER HIS FOOTSTOOL IN THE DAY OF HIS ANGER: a human figure<sup>9</sup> is attributed to God by the prophets. He is represented as having feet, seat, eyes, hands and other bodily members<sup>10</sup>--all of which things he does not really have. Yet they talk in this way to serve the human capacity. Nevertheless they were not impudently lying, since indeed God is endowed with the vigor of all our bodily members, though he does not have them in reality. By what means could he be their cause, if he could not have their force? He does not, therefore, have any need of footstool or seat. Yet to help us understand that his power is so suffused through all things that it occupies everything at once and nothing is empty of it, he is said to sit in heaven in such a way that he even touches the earth with his feet.<sup>11</sup> Christ does not draw back from using these images: DO NOT SWEAR BY HEAVEN, BECAUSE IT IS

<sup>8</sup> e.g., the parting of the River Jordan, Jos. 3:16.

<sup>9</sup> For Martyr's doctrine of the divine *accommodatio* see the scholium "De Visionibus," commentary *In Librum Iudicum* (1561) following 6:2. It is possible that Martyr understood Ibn Ezra to mean that "footstool" is a figure of speech; in his comment of this verse Ibn Ezra says:

FOOTSTOOL (הַדָּם): a likeness of a small seat for feet.

<sup>10</sup> Examples from Is.: feet, 60:13; seat, 6:2; eyes, 1:15; hands, 19:25. "Seat," of course, is not an example of "bodily members," but of the attribution of a "human figure" to God.

GOD'S SEAT, NOR BY THE EARTH BECAUSE IT IS THE FOOTSTOOL OF HIS FEET.<sup>12</sup> Indeed it seems that his worship thrives in all the regions of the globe where he had set his feet most firmly. At that time it was at Jerusalem, in that majestic Temple, where the Ark of the Covenant was located.<sup>13</sup> God did not spare the Temple; hence he is said to have forgotten it. For if the things which seem to make for the worship of God are practiced badly by us, or if we abuse them, if they become for us a fomentation and cover for vices, God burns with a severe anger. So let us not cast away things which make for our outward worship of God: the reading of scripture and meeting together to receive the sacraments and hear the gospel preached. Let us value, however, faith and approve the good life. God cannot despise these latter, spiritual matters; but the former things which make for the outward worship God will easily cast aside and let them be trampled by the Turks.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Is. 66:1.

<sup>12</sup> Mt. 5:35.

<sup>13</sup> Rashi's comment based on Lam.R. 2:3, ET 152:

FOOTSTOOL (הדס) OF HIS FEET (רגליו): footstool (שרפרף)  
[TB Hagigah 14A] of the place of his feet (מרגלותיו),  
and this is the Temple.

<sup>14</sup> Lit., "So let us not cast away our readings, our meeting together, the sacraments and the gospel, but let us value faith and approve the good life. God cannot despise these latter things; but the former things he will easily cast aside.... (In this exhortation there are echoes from Heb., e.g., 10:25, LET US NOT GIVE UP MEETING TOGETHER....) Martyr probably began his

Bet, or Verse Two THE LORD *DEVOURED*<sup>15</sup> AND HE DID NOT SPARE ALL THE HABITATIONS<sup>16</sup> OF JACOB; HE DESTROYED IN HIS ANGER THE FORTRESSES OF THE DAUGHTER OF JUDAH; *THROWING DOWN*<sup>17</sup> ON THE EARTH, HE PROFANED *HER* KINGDOM AND HER PRINCES.<sup>18</sup>

THE LORD DEVOURED AND HE DID NOT SPARE ALL THE HABITATIONS OF JACOB; HE DESTROYED IN HIS ANGER THE FORTRESSES OF THE DAUGHTER OF JUDAH: here the prophet enumerates in an elegant fashion everything of theirs which was devastated: private and public buildings, the people of Judah and Israel, the priesthood and entire

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Lamentations lectures in 1543. The greatest Ottoman sultan, Süleyman I (1520-66), besieged Vienna in 1529 and remained a very real threat to Europe. The Turks would act as agents of God's judgment for hollow worship in the same way that the Babylonians were for the Jews' empty rituals.

<sup>15</sup> Martyr's rather literal translation for בָּלַע, "swallowed." Jerome seems to fear the metaphor and translates *praecipitavit*, which is closer to the LXX's equally circumspect κατεπόνηστε; Pagnini-Münster similarly have *perdidit*.

<sup>16</sup> Jerome has *speciosa*, but it is a question of the Hebrew root. Martyr chose Münster's rendering, as it was in line with his Jewish mentors.

<sup>17</sup> The MT has here הָגִיעַ, a main verb without any definite object; Jerome-Pagnini-Münster follow the MT. Martyr removes the MT's ambiguity by using a participle and thus attaching it to the last line.

<sup>18</sup> The MT reads THE KINGDOM AND HER PRINCES, and Jerome-Pagnini-Münster translate literally. This is awkward, and Martyr translates as if the inseparable preposition "her" of "her princes" modified "the kingdom" as well. This is not a likely Hebrew construction, and modern commentators emend the line: see Hillers 97.

nobility. He names the private buildings נִאוֹת:<sup>19</sup> the letter א is added on<sup>20</sup> and is not a necessary element.<sup>21</sup> The word נִאוֹת is derived from נוֹה, which means "to live." He calls the people of Israel as a race a מַמְלָכָה because there had been a promise to that people in Exodus 12, YOU WILL BE TO ME A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS,<sup>22</sup> as if he might say, "All other nations are left under the tyranny of the devil; you will be to me a free and lawful kingdom." In this kingdom the priests had no

<sup>19</sup> Rashi defines the word and supplies the root:

THE DWELLINGS (נִאוֹת) OF JACOB: houses of Jacob, language of נוֹה.

Münster 1534 Bible:

Thus Rabbi Solomon expounds this place, that is to say, so that נִאוֹת may be the same as נוֹה. However the Targum translates עִירִית, ornaments. Moreover the sense is that he spared neither city nor whatever beautiful buildings there were: neither costly ornaments nor powers nor the beauty of ceremonies nor the strength of the knowledge of the word were not able to rescue.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Ezra:

The א of נִאוֹת is in place of ו, as נוֹת רוֹעִים [SHEPHERDS' MEADOWS, Zeph. 2:6], and so תִּקְאוּ לָכֶם [YOU SHALL MARK OUT, Num. 34:7].

That is, תִּקְאוּ is denominative and from תָּקַו. Thus Ibn Ezra's point is that נִאוֹת like תִּקְאוּ has an א which represents the ו of the root.

<sup>21</sup> "element": *elementum*, can be a synonym for "letter of the alphabet." That is, the א is not one of the letters of the root.

<sup>22</sup> The actual reference is Ex. 19:6, not somewhere in Ex. 12. Also, Martyr gets this reference from Rashi:

HE POLLUTED (חָלָל) THE KINGDOM AND ITS PRINCES: these are Israel, or they were called A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS [Ex. 19:6].

mean position, as I shall mention below.

AND HER PRINCES: the magnates and nobles of the kingdom. This seems to me to be the plain meaning of the prophet.<sup>23</sup> Here Rashi turns aside to tell tales,<sup>24</sup> and says that in Israel there used to be men given over to conjurers' tricks and incantations, who employed the sacred name in such incantations, when they were rightly holding his powers. Therefore they were able to invoke by conjuring the angels in authority over famine and pestilence, regions and armies of enemies, so that they might not be injured. However when the Lord decided to destroy that nation, lest those things help them somehow, he changed and moved the responsibilities of those spirits. Thus after their duties were switched, when they were called by their servants they were not able to respond favorably to the prayer, since now they had been removed from the oversight of what those men asked them.<sup>25</sup> These things are

<sup>23</sup> *plana Prophetarum sententia*, part of Martyr's vocabulary of literal interpretation.

<sup>24</sup> "to tell tales": lit. *ad fabulas*. Unwittingly or not, Martyr is banefully misrepresenting Rashi, who makes it abundantly clear what the philological meaning of the passage is (I cited this comment of Rashi above with reference to "a kingdom of priests") before he goes on to recount an aggadah from the midrash.

<sup>25</sup> Martyr did very well in correctly interpreting a difficult aggadah:

There is an midrash aggadah [Lam.R. 2:5, ET 167]: these were angelic powers that he switched: the one appointed over the light he appointed over the water, and he switched all those appointed, since there were among the wicked of Israel masters of the ineffable

simply jokes, and I would not want to waste time in telling them. Nevertheless I recount them so that we might be able to retain what is good in them but avoid the bad. Angels are not forced by conjurers' tricks, as they imagine. Unless they exceed their duties, they do not submit themselves to those who invoke them without God's approval. If they are good spirits and do not belong to the devil, they do not delight in being invoked. For they hold authority over things from God, as is said so aptly in Daniel and Revelation. Since they are ministering angels<sup>26</sup> for the salvation of the elect, any who break loose from God are stripped of their presiding power.

However these interpretations are extra ornaments, since "princes" here signifies nobles, aristocrats and prefects of the kingdom.

Gimel, or Verse Three HE CUT OFF IN THE ANGER OF HIS FURY EVERY HORN OF ISRAEL; HE DREW BACK HIS RIGHT

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name and they were sure that they could invoke the princes above to save them from fire and from water and from sword; and now when one was invoking the prince of fire by his name, he answers, "This is no such dominion in my hand": and thus all of them.

<sup>26</sup> *administratorii spiritus*, a technical Christian term from Jerome *Ad Jes.* 46,11; and from Jerome's translation of Heb. 1:14, as note L&S 39.

HAND IN THE PRESENCE OF<sup>27</sup> A FOE; AND [IT]<sup>28</sup> WAS  
 KINDLED<sup>29</sup> IN JACOB AS A FIRE, WHILE A FLAME<sup>30</sup> DEVOURS  
 ALL AROUND.

HE CUT OFF IN THE ANGER OF HIS FURY: his mighty anger is described by THE ANGER OF FURY. If God's anger is admitted to be great, it is necessary that a heavy punishment follow--since indeed anger and vengeance are related to each other. If we define anger, it will have to be said that it is the desire for vengeance. The seriousness of the punishment which God inflicts will be determined by the magnitude of his anger. Since God's anger is a product of the people's contempt for God, if that anger is great, it follows that much guilt on the people's part must have preceded it. All those who concede God to be both all powerful

<sup>27</sup> IN THE PRESENCE OF: *coram*, by which Martyr nicely represents the Hebrew idiom מִפְּנֵי; Jerome-Pagnini-Münster, on the other hand, translate literally "from face [of]."

<sup>28</sup> IT, i.e., God's anger: see Martyr's exposition just below.

<sup>29</sup> MT: וַיִּבְעַר, which Jerome assumes to be transitive, the subject being God; and so he translates *succendit*, [GOD] SET ON FIRE, almost certainly the MT's meaning. Martyr, as we will see, follows Ibn Ezra and translates with an intransitive verb: *exarsit* (*exardesco*). Martyr ought to have stuck with Jerome, since Ibn Ezra is motivated by the apologetic concern to avoid an anthropomorphism.

<sup>30</sup> The MT reads: AND HE [GOD] BURNED IN JACOB AS A FLAME OF FIRE; IT CONSUMED AROUND; Jerome kept the traditional mid-line division by translating AND HE KINDLED IN JACOB AS A FIRE OF FLAME DEVOURING IN A CIRCLE. Martyr follows Pagnini-Münster's translation insofar as they ignore the MT's mid-line division and separate FLAME from FIRE and make FLAME the subject of CONSUME/DEVOUR.



and all wise must admit these things. For if nothing stands in the way of his power, when seriously angered he inflicts harsh punishments. This is something not often given to weak human beings. Even though they are greatly inflamed by anger, they do not have the power at hand to unfold and to execute their desire for vengeance. Besides that, if he is most wise, he does not heedlessly and lightly get angry, but only for great and just causes. So it follows well: he is exceedingly angry, therefore these people have sinned profusely against him.

What, therefore, are the remedies here? Two, principally. The fount and principle cause should be taken away--the contempt and disdain of God. Let us repent and come to our senses. In this way anger is hindered from getting inflamed. On the other hand if it has already been kindled, let us ward off with earnest prayer the imminent punishments, and let us do it humbly, not with heart or mind lifted up but broken and downcast. This is the way in which angered people are placated.

EVERY HORN OF ISRAEL: To keep Israel from being able to resist an angry God, first, all his power is cut off, which is what is meant here by the term "horn". It is a metaphor, and this expression is often used in sacred scripture. David: "We will toss our

enemies with a horn."<sup>31</sup> Daniel chapter seven, which is about the monarchy and government of the world, brings forward various beasts, and he ascribes to them horns, by which they strike each other.<sup>32</sup> Zechariah the same.<sup>33</sup> And 3 Kings<sup>34</sup>: that false prophet Zedekiah, while he was promising victory to Ahab, put on himself iron horns; he lied that by them the King of Israel would throw down and prostrate his enemies. Whatever power, therefore, the Israelite people possessed has now been cut off. The figure of speech is drawn from animals, who have power in their horns either to repel or attack enemies.

HE DREW BACK HIS RIGHT HAND IN THE PRESENCE OF A FOE: although the reason for which bodily members can be ascribed to God has been discussed a little earlier, further discussion here should not be scorned. First, he says that Israel's power has been cut off. He then

<sup>31</sup> *Cornu ventilabimus inimicos nostros*: this phrase does not occur in the MT or our English Bible; but Prof. Levy suggests 1 K. 22:11b, *Haec dicit Dominus: His ventilabis Syriam*...., a text to which Martyr refers below. Thus the text ought to read not "David" but "Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah." All of Martyr's biblical allusions in this paragraph appear to be done in great haste and are either inexact or just plain wrong.

<sup>32</sup> In Dan., only three beasts have horns: the fourth of the four beasts of Dan. 7:7-8, the ram and the goat of Dan.8:3-10. And only two beasts in succession have horns, the ram and the goat, and only the goat strikes the ram.

<sup>33</sup> The horns in Zech. 1:18-21, though unconnected with any beast, also represent hostile political power.

<sup>34</sup> 3 Kings, i.e., 1 K. 22:11; in the LXX and consequently in the Vulgate, 1 and 2 Sam. were called 1 and 2 K.

adds that God is taking away his aid.<sup>35</sup> If, therefore, they are despoiled of human ways of resisting, and if God withdraws his favor, what hope is left for them? Alas miserable mortals! When they are thus stripped of God's strength, wretched servitude and the tyranny of enemies are all that remain for them. As for their soul, they are delivered up to "a reprobate mind"<sup>36</sup> to be savaged and lacerated by their deformed desires. HE DELIVERED THEM UP TO THE DESIRES OF THEIR HEART (Rom. ch.1).<sup>37</sup> They are given up to be ruled by their fatuous designs and stupid contrivances, which render them mad and demented; and they have become infatuated with their own ratiocinations (same reference).<sup>38</sup> As for external matters, they are oppressed harshly by enslavement to both the devil and also their enemies.

AND IT WAS KINDLED IN JACOB AS A FIRE, A FLAME DEVOURING ALL AROUND: anger and vexation described

<sup>35</sup> Rashi:

HE TURNED BACK HIS RIGHT HAND: he caused himself to return, as if it were said, "he turns BACK HIS RIGHT HAND from fighting on behalf of his sons."

<sup>36</sup> *traduntur in reprobum sensum*: Rm. 1:28, *tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum*. Martyr's argument is an adaptation of Rm. 1, starting at v. 28 and working backward to v. 21.

<sup>37</sup> v. 24.

<sup>38</sup> i.e., still Rm. 1, and here specifically 1:21-22, partly paraphrase and partly a translation of the Greek text different from that of the Vulgate: *infatuati sunt in ratiociniis suis* is obviously ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν and parallels Jerome's *evanuerant in cogitationibus suis*.

above.<sup>39</sup> Jacob received punishment. God's anger is not contained or perpetually shut up; it spreads, so that in this way it may be compared to fire and flame. An apt comparison if indeed as naturalists<sup>40</sup> teach the blood is kindled and inflamed in those who get angry. So if this fiery strength is imagined in the angry One, it seems to become very suitable and apposite if his attack on enemies is represented by a metaphor of fire.

**Dalet, or Verse Four** HE DREW HIS BOW LIKE AN ENEMY, HE STRENGTHENED HIS RIGHT HAND LIKE AN ENEMY; HE SLEW ALL THE THINGS WHICH ARE TO BE COVETED BY THE EYE;<sup>41</sup> IN THE TENT OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION HE POURED OUT HIS *ANGER* LIKE FIRE.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Ezra:

BURNED (וִיבַעַר): an intransitive verb, and "anger" is lacking [as its subject], and the correct interpretation is that [the subject of BURNED is ANGER] as in, IN BURNING OF ANGER.

That is, the subject of BURNED is BURNING OF ANGER of 2:3a. Ibn Ezra is anxious to avoid "God" being the subject of "burned"; in fact, the context favors just this, and is usually so translated (Hillers 93). Ibn Ezra's solution to his posed problem is clever rather than plausible. Martyr, who also seems anxious to avoid a too brazen anthropomorphism, goes along with Ibn Ezra's reading.

<sup>40</sup> *naturales*, i.e., biologists.

<sup>41</sup> WHICH ARE...EYE: כָּל מַחְמַדֵּי-עֵין. Jerome has less literally, *omne quod pulchrum erat visu*. Like Pagnini-Münster, Martyr tries a phrase using the word EYE.

HE DREW HIS BOW LIKE AN ENEMY, HE STRENGTHENED HIS RIGHT HAND LIKE AN ENEMY: not only has God withdrawn his favor and aid by punishing them, but he himself has attacked them,<sup>42</sup> and not unarmed but equipped with a bow and weapons. Who here would not be struck with fear? Who is stronger than God? Who would dare to try him, or dare stand in his presence once he is angry in this way? The Hebrew word means "to draw the bow vigorously" and is derived from the verb דרך, that is "to tread," because powerful and strong bows are not able to be drawn just by hand.<sup>43</sup> Archers employ their feet as well, placing the feet on the wood, pulling the string with the hands.<sup>44</sup> This is the way in which the Lord is pictured by the prophet. From the prophet's words you may derive the following truth. When our

<sup>42</sup> Perush:

Not only did he not fight with the enemy--for he turned back his right hand as if he had no power, he also returned AS AN ENEMY.

As is often the case, Martyr likes the way Perush tidies up the poetic images of Lamentations and connects them.

<sup>43</sup> Rashi:

HE DREW HIS BOW (דרך קשתו): since thus it is the way of a bow, for they are strong for the sake of one's foot on them when one bends them--thus it is written in the language of treading.

Apparently Rashi alludes to the practice of bowmen who sometimes in a supine position drew strong bows by using their feet in order to make the longest shot possible. Rashi means well, but דרך in this context does not have its usual meaning of "to tread" but is simply an idiom for "to draw" (see Holladay 74).

<sup>44</sup> *extrema parte pedibus calcant, et superiori manibus incurvant.*

eyes are drawn to our foreign enemies, we see famous commanders, brave soldiers, magnificent horses and weapons glowing redly, and we are terrified of them. Our strength is diminished and we experience their brave deeds. It is then that we ought to direct our attention to the divine not human strength in them. God is at work in them, and what happens is to be ascribed not to them but to God. For although the sons of Israel fought, who would dare to say they took possession of the land of the Canaanites by themselves? Actually it was forbidden them in the Law to say their hand or arm had accomplished it.<sup>45</sup> God took possession of it for them. Now it is the same when the Babylonians, and afterwards the Greeks and then Romans, drove the sons of Israel out: who would attribute the victory of Israel's enemies to the enemies themselves? Here God is pictured by the prophet as an enemy, and he is represented as an armed warrior fighting against them and extending his hand to destroy them by means of their enemies.

HE SLEW ALL THE THINGS WHICH ARE TO BE COVETED BY THE EYE: because the word for "slaying" is here interposed, some take "men" as its object,<sup>46</sup> i.e., the

<sup>45</sup> Dt. 8, esp. 8:17.

<sup>46</sup> Targum:

He bent his bow and shot arrows at me, like a foe. He stood to the right of Nebuchadnezzar and aided me, as though he himself were an enemy of the House of Israel. And he slew every youth....

splendid and noble men, who were partly killed, partly taken away to Babylon to be eunuchs in the King's palace.<sup>47</sup> Its object could, however, be treasures, wealth, Temple vessels and Tabernacle ornaments. As long as these treasures are lost, they are metaphorically said to be cut down and slain.<sup>48</sup>

IN THE TENT OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION, HE POURED OUT HIS ANGER LIKE FIRE: in order for fire to spread fiercely and quickly, it requires the flammable material of which tents, tabernacles and huts are made rather than the squared stones of which the walls of buildings are built. As a consequence, God is rightly said to spread the fire of his wrath in the tabernacle of the Daughter of Zion, because it might be consumed rapidly and easily.<sup>49</sup> Now there is much energy in that word שפך.<sup>50</sup> For God is not simply represented as being angered and as punishing, but as pouring out, in a

Martyr continues his exposition of the Targum just below.

<sup>47</sup> Isaiah's prophecy to Hezekiah: 2 K. 20:18.

<sup>48</sup> Targum:

And he slew every youth, and everything beautiful to see. In the Temple of the Congregation of Zion, he poured out his wrath like a burning fire.

<sup>49</sup> Perush:

And the meaning of IN THE TENT is, if the fire falls on it, everything is consumed immediately.

Of course the poetic image of TENT in Lamentations is not so explicitly connected with the threat of FIRE. As usual Martyr is attracted to the way Perush ties things neatly together.

<sup>50</sup> "poured out."

certain sense emptying, vomiting forth all his bile on the people. The word is used in a metaphorical sense, for "to be poured out" is properly said neither of anger nor of fire.<sup>51</sup>

He, or Verse Five THE LORD HAS ACTED LIKE AN ENEMY; HE *SWALLOWED DOWN*<sup>52</sup> ISRAEL, HE *SWALLOWED DOWN* ALL HER *PALACES*,<sup>53</sup> HE *OVERTHREW ALL*<sup>54</sup> HER FORTRESSES, HE *MULTIPLIED* IN THE DAUGHTER OF JUDAH *BREAST-BEATING* AND *LAMENT*.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Rashi:

HE POURED OUT LIKE FIRE HIS ANGER: thus is the linking of the words: "He poured out his wrath which was like a fire"; since we did not find in scripture a pouring out of fire; rather with reference to wrath, as it is written, *POUR OUT YOUR ANGER ON THE NATIONS* [Ps. 79:6]....

That is, Rashi is concerned that we do not mix metaphors. In scripture, one can *POUR OUT ANGER*, but not *FIRE*.

<sup>52</sup> "swallowed down," Martyr's literal translation of בָּלַע; Jerome translates the idea not the metaphor: *praecipitavit*; Pagnini similarly: *perdidit*. Münster is more bold: *devoravit*.

<sup>53</sup> אֶרְמוֹנוֹתֶיהָ; Jerome's *moenia* seems inadequate.

<sup>54</sup> This *ALL* is Martyr's interpolation; he apparently adds it to make *ALL HER FORTRESSES* parallel *ALL HER PALACES*.

<sup>55</sup> *BREAST-BEATING AND LAMENT*: Martyr seems to be trying to faithfully interpret to a perspicacious comment from Rashi:

LAMENTATION AND LAMENT (תַּאֲנוּיָה וְאֵנוּיָה): *sorrow* (צָאֵר) and *wailing* (יִלְלָה).

Rashi's point is that the former is abstract and the latter concrete; Martyr has the concrete first and the abstract last. For the entire line Jerome has *remplevit in filia Juda humiliatum et humiliatam*. I cannot explain this translation. In Isaiah 29:2, where the expression תַּאֲנוּיָה וְאֵנוּיָה occurs again, Jerome renders it



HE MULTIPLIED: יָרַב is here taken transitively. Rashi here has a rule not to be scorned.<sup>56</sup> Verbs which have a ה as the third radical, as does רָבָה here, can often be transitive and intransitive. If they have *hiriq* under the first radical, they are intransitive; but if *tsere*,<sup>57</sup> as is the case in the present verb, they are reckoned to be among the transitive verbs.

Vav, or Verse Six HE<sup>58</sup> SCATTERED HIS TENT AS A GARDEN; HE ABOLISHED HIS FESTIVALS;<sup>59</sup> THE LORD GAVE

quite credibly *tristis et moerens*.

<sup>56</sup> Rashi (and I will paraphrase Rashi's primitive grammatical terminology):

AND HE MULTIPLIED (וַיִּרְבֶּה): the pointing under the yod is segol, for it is hif'il and transitive. AND THE PEOPLE MULTIPLIED (וַיִּרְבֶּה) AND BECAME VERY STRONG [Ex. 1:20]: the pointing under the yod is hireq, for it is qal and intransitive. And it is the same for every root which has ה as the final radical, for example פָּנָה, זָכָה, בָּכָה. The vav consecutive forms lack the ה, and the pointing under the yod indicates whether the verb is qal and intransitive or hif'il and transitive. When it is intransitive, the pointing is hireq: for example AND PHARAOH TURNED (וַיִּפְּןָ) [Ex. 7:23], and when it is transitive, the pointing is segol: for example, AND HE TURNED TAIL TO TAIL (וַיִּפְּנוּ) [Jud. 15:4]....

<sup>57</sup> Martyr is not correct; not *tsere*, but *segol*.

<sup>58</sup> Jerome-Pagnini-Münster have "And he," since the acrostic here demands a ו, i.e., "and"; Martyr leaves the "and" out, since it contributes nothing to the meaning in Latin.

<sup>59</sup> *solennitates ejus* for מוֹעֲדָיו ("his appointed time or place"); Jerome understands "appointed place" and so translates *tabernaculum suum*--Rashi and Ibn Ezra's interpretation also. Münster has *testimonium suum*, by which he means "the ark and the propitiation"; Pagnini *congregationem suam*. (In the following

OVER TO OBLIVION IN ZION ESTABLISHED HOLIDAYS AND SABBATHS; HE CURSED<sup>60</sup> IN HIS FURY<sup>61</sup> KING AND PRIEST.

HE SCATTERED HIS TENT AS A GARDEN; HE ABOLISHED HIS FESTIVALS: here it has to do with the ruin and shaking of the Temple,<sup>62</sup> and is compared to a garden in which the plants have been uprooted, the crops torn up, and the vegetables lost. Such was the Temple after the enemies had burned it down and all its adornments were lost. But GARDEN may be an allusion to something else. Flame consumed the roof of this celebrated Temple; only a few ruins of the walls remained. It is like a garden.<sup>63</sup> Everything is open to the sky. It seems to be enclosed only by a few semi-ruined walls or a broken-down enclosure. Those who are the Temple of Christ and who take Christ's members and make them members of

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line, Martyr will translate מועד as "established holidays" *stata ferias*.)

<sup>60</sup> "He cursed": Münster's mediocre rendering of נִינָאץ--which really means "spurned" (see Holladay 224). (Also puzzling is the fact that Jerome in the very next line translates נִנָּא as "cursed.") Jerome has *et in opprobrium*, which is closer to the meaning of the Hebrew root but not, of course, a verb. Perhaps Jerome's text read וְנִנָּא, in parallel with IN THE INDIGNATION OF HIS FURY; or perhaps it was read in this way.

<sup>61</sup> "in his fury": *in furore suo* for בְּרוּחַ אַפִּי, which Jerome renders more literally, *in indignationem furoris sui*--comprehensible but not as idiomatic as Münster.

<sup>62</sup> Perush:

And afterwards he exiled HIS COVERT, which is the place of the Holy of Holies.

<sup>63</sup> This is probably what Martyr thought was the meaning of a laconic comment by Perush:

prostitutes<sup>64</sup> are reduced to this condition. They break loose from him, and they grieve the Holy Spirit of God, who inhabits them and by whom they have been sealed.<sup>65</sup> God destroys such temples, since the Temple of old was their archetype.<sup>66</sup>

HE CURSED IN HIS FURY KING AND PRIEST: these two had the highest status in that commonwealth. The task of the priests was to teach and reinforce continuously the Law and will of the Lord, while the task of royal power was to lead the people, by force if necessary, to be obedient to their words.<sup>67</sup> Power belonged to the latter, while the former had knowledge. But if the priests do not know the Law and do not inculcate the word of God, and if kings scorn it, what is their situation? Very bad. Kings and priests should have

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And the meaning of AS A GARDEN: upon which they fell.

<sup>64</sup> *qui tollunt membra Christi, et faciunt illa membra meretricium*: see 1 Cor. 2:16-17, 6:15-19; 6:15b, *tollens ergo membra Christi faciam membra meretricis*.

<sup>65</sup> Eph. 4:30.

<sup>66</sup> lit. "whose type and form were once that," i.e., the Christian is an antitype of the Temple archetype. This is a rare example of typological exegesis in Martyr's Lamentations commentary; or it might be more correct to say Martyr is pointing out a typology previously sanctioned by Paul the Apostle.

<sup>67</sup> Perush:

And the meaning of KING AND PRIEST: that the priest teaches the commandment and the king preserves the Law by his power, and to the two of them he gave the Law.

By specifying the legal functions of KING AND PRIEST, Perush manages to tie this phrase with ESTABLISHED HOLIDAYS AND SABBATHS which were fixed by the Law and to tie this verse with v. 9 which mentions the Law. Again Martyr likes this tidying up of the

used their high positions to seek not their own good but God's. When it had been necessary, they ought to have given up dignity and rank for his glory. As David said: "If he told me, 'You displease,' I am at his service."<sup>68</sup> It is the duty of priests and kings to desire to lower themselves for the glory of God, and to wish him to be exalted day by day. This was how John the Baptist acted. He did not trouble himself about his growing smaller, if only Christ might increase in importance.<sup>69</sup> Yet they wished to be domineering and to perform their offices even against the Lord's will. On that account they are rightly and deservedly represented as hated and detested by God.

Zain, or Verse Seven THE LORD ABANDONED<sup>70</sup> HIS ALTAR, HE SPURNED<sup>71</sup> HIS ŞAŇCTUARY AND HE DELIVERED INTO THE ENEMY'S HAND THE WALLS OF HER PAŁAÇEŞ; THEY GAVE A CRY IN THE HOUSE OF THE LORD JUST AS ON A DAY OF FESTIVITY.

poetry.

<sup>68</sup> I have not been able to locate this reference.

<sup>69</sup> Allusion to Jn. 3:30.

<sup>70</sup> *Dereliquit* (Münster), but Jerome's *Repulit* is much closer to the Hebrew זָנָה ("reject": see Holladay 90). Pagnini's *Elongavit* is little better than Münster's choice.

<sup>71</sup> *aspernatus*, a good equivalent of זָנָה, according to Holladay 224; less successful is Pagnini's *abominatus est*. Jerome

THE LORD ABANDONED HIS ALTAR, HE SPURNED HIS SANCTUARY: that nation used to flaunt round and about "Temple" and "altar,"<sup>72</sup> as if on account of these things they would have a kind of perpetual immunity from punishment for their crimes and would be allowed to be depraved in safety. They abused these gifts of God. So they deserved to be abandoned by the Lord. Altar and sacrifice were instituted so that the people might be held together by them in the legitimate and holy worship of the Lord. They were also instituted to be archetypes of that one and only sacrifice by which Christ offered himself to God as a sacrificial victim for our deliverance. They were also archetypes of the killing of our carnal nature. Since they were averse to their responsibilities, the altar was justly overthrown by God. For they had turned away to idols and were utterly lacking in faithfulness. Passions and confusion thrived within them in an astonishing manner.

To what purpose, therefore, were the altar and sacrifices? Christ, when he saw Temple matters managed badly, made a whip from ropes. While he was driving merchants and merchandise out of there, he said, YOU REDUCED MY HOUSE TO A ROBBERS' CAVE.<sup>73</sup> He accused the Scribes, Pharisees and Priests of the following grave crimes. They devoured widows' homes. While tithing

has *maledixit* (whence Münster's *execratus est*).

<sup>72</sup> e.g., the famous passage in Jer. 7:4, THIS IS G-D'S TEMPLE, G-D'S TEMPLE, G-D'S TEMPLE.

mint and cumin, they transgressed the Law's weightiest and most important precepts. They were whitewashed sepulchers but in the meantime they killed the prophets sent from God.<sup>74</sup> To take away their empty confidence in the Temple he said: YOUR HOUSE WILL BE LEFT FOR YOU DESERTED.<sup>75</sup> Although Jesus' saying was about the destruction wrought by Titus and Vespasian, it suits this place in Lamentations also. By the same token, what Jeremiah wrote here has reference to the second destruction no less than the first.

THEY GAVE A CRY IN THE HOUSE OF THE LORD JUST AS ON A DAY OF FESTIVITY: the Israelites were accustomed to gather together in the House of God at Passover, Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles. In that place all publicly sang praises to the Lord with loud voices. And now the enemies shouted with equally loud voices and applauded for joy that they saw this house leveled to the ground.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Mt. 21:13 and parallels.

<sup>74</sup> Mt. 23:13-31.

<sup>75</sup> Mt. 23:38, paraphrase.

<sup>76</sup> Perush:

And THE SOUND the enemies GAVE IN THE HOUSE OF G-D from their joy was like that which Israel used to make in their festivals.

Rashi:

AS A DAY OF ASSEMBLY: for they were rejoicing and singing in its midst in a loud voice--thus enemies

Het, or Verse Eight THE LORD PLANNED TO DEMOLISH THE WALL OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION; HE SENT A PLUMMET<sup>77</sup> AND HE DID NOT WITHHOLD HIS HAND THAT HE MIGHT NOT DESTROY;<sup>78</sup> SO THAT NOW<sup>79</sup> THE RAMPART LAMENTS AND THE WALL IS DESOLATE.

THE LORD PLANNED TO DEMOLISH THE WALL OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION: God planned this, so it cannot be attributed to fortune, accident or chance but to his uncommon and ample providence.<sup>80</sup> God always directs his people into something different, honorable and good. These people were at that time driven into

gave a voice of joy in our destruction.

<sup>77</sup> (Note that "*pendicularum*" is a typographical error for *perpendicularum*, a plummet.) He sent a plummet: נִשְׁטָה קוֹ. Jerome's *tetendit funiculum suum*, Münster's *extendit funiculum*, and Pagnini's *extendit regulam*, while faithful to the Hebrew, are too literal to convey the idea of plummet, except to those who would see an allusion to such passages as Zech. 1:16. Martyr gets the actual word "plummet" from the Targum (מִשְׁקוּלֵת, Jastrow 585), or possibly from Reuchlin's definition in the קו entry of *Rudimenta*.

<sup>78</sup> THAT HE MIGHT NOT DESTROY, *quo minus dirueret*: מִבְּלֵעַ, lit. "from swallowing"; Jerome has a *perditione*, Pagnini, a *perdendo*, and Münster, a *dissipatione*. Martyr uses the normal Latin construction after verbs of hindering (see L&S 1311); his rendering mirrors better the verbal force of the Hebrew infinitive. If there were any doubt in Martyr's mind as to the metaphorical force of "from swallowing," Rashi gave the answer: "FROM SWALLOWING: from destroying."

<sup>79</sup> "so that now...laments" *ut jam lugeat*: וְכַּעֲבֹל. Martyr, following Münster, sees the vav consecutive as a subordinate construction ("so", or "so that"--not just "and"; see Hilliers 94). Jerome, on the other hand, translates literally *luxitque*; and Pagnini, *desolavitque*.

<sup>80</sup> Providence of course is a great theme of Reformed theology, and Martyr would later compose a long scholium on the sub-

exile, so that they might be rehabilitated and reformed and afterwards return home. As we know, this happened under Ezra. The Lord planned and executed the final destruction of the Temple, so that the gospel, the word of Christ, might be published the world over. For example, Paul said in Romans that we ourselves were delivered by their unbelief.<sup>81</sup> So an opportunity was eagerly grasped. For since these people show themselves to be unworthy of the preaching of the Gospel, the Apostles turned to foreign nations to preach salvation.<sup>82</sup>

HE SENT A PLUMMET: everything is accomplished by God through his high providence and led into unavoidable and fitting destinies. If God destroys and demolishes, he does so justly and inflicts no more ruin and trouble than sins require. God acted as do architects when they measure out with their plummets parts of a wall to be destroyed or reinforced. God willed that their enemies destroy them only to the extent that their wicked deeds deserved.

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ject: De Providentia, in In Primum Librum Mosis, at Genesis 28:16.

<sup>81</sup> Rm. 11:1-11: "we," here, is "you Gentiles" of Rm. 11:13. That is, the new good thing that God wrought in the Roman destruction of Herod's Temple was the scattering of the primitive church and the spread of the gospel in Gentile territory.

<sup>82</sup> Acts 13:46, paraphrase.



Tet, or Verse Nine THROWN DOWN ONTO<sup>83</sup> THE GROUND  
ARE HER GATES; HE DESTROYED AND GROUND UP HER BARS, HER  
KING AND HER PRINCES AMONG THE GENTILES;<sup>84</sup> THEY ARE  
WITHOUT THE LAW;<sup>85</sup> AND HER PROPHETS DID NOT FIND A  
VISION FROM THE LORD.

THROWN DOWN ONTO THE GROUND ARE HER GATES; HE  
DESTROYED AND GROUND UP HER BARS, so that the access  
might be open to the enemies.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> THROWN DOWN ONTO: the MT reads טבעו ב, lit. "sank into"--which is how Pagnini-Münster render it. A midrashic interpretation read this literally: "The gates paid honor to the Ark of the Covenant, and for that reason the enemy had no power over them" (Lam.R. 2:13, ET 176), i.e., the sanctified gates could not be destroyed by any enemy so they simply sank into the ground. Jerome's translation ("Driven into the ground" *defixae...in terra*) either reflects this traditional Jewish interpretation or is simply a literal translation. Pagnini's translation, on the other hand, attempts to render into idiomatic Latin the thrust of a confusing metaphor.

<sup>84</sup> Martyr follows Jerome in translating "God destroyed...her bars [and] her king and princes [who were] among the nations." The MT has: "he destroyed...her bars; her king and princes are among the nations," since the *atnah* marks a break after "bars." The LXX and the Targum also read the text in this way, as do Münster and Pagnini. Why Martyr follows Jerome and not his other sources I cannot explain; his exposition does not even touch on this point.

<sup>85</sup> The second half of the second line is אין תורה; Jerome-Pagnini translate literally *non est lex*. Münster has *sunt absque lege*. Martyr implies in his exposition that the unspecified "they," the subject of *sunt*, are the Jews in general, not just the king and princes. Both Martyr and Münster may have been influenced by Perush's interpretation:

When HER GATES SANK, the king went into exile and he was left without a copy of LAW.

<sup>86</sup> Perush on 2:8:

The House was captured because THE WALL of the city fell and was broken open.

THEY ARE WITHOUT THE LAW: indeed, since they were previously scorning<sup>87</sup> it, it was taken away from them, lest they further hold it in derision. Understand this to mean partly that the sacred volume had been burned, and partly that the enemies would not permit them to live by their laws.

AND HER PROPHETS DID NOT FIND A VISION FROM THE LORD: this looks forward especially to the second destruction.<sup>88</sup> For in that first destruction ample prophetic oracles were not wanting, even while they returned.<sup>89</sup> Yet now they have been utterly forsaken by prophecies, since God does not allow these outstanding gifts of his to be maltreated for long, or to be affected by abuse, neglect, insults and derision. He is more possessive of such gifts than temporal goods, which he lavishes without distinction on the upright people and on wicked: HE MAKES HIS SUN RISE ON THE GOOD AND ON THE BAD, HE SENDS RAINS ON THE JUST AND THE UNJUST.<sup>90</sup> Meanwhile he orders that the holy not be given to dogs.<sup>91</sup> Here he is represented as snatching

<sup>87</sup> An allusion to Am. 2:4b: ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR REJECTING/DESPISING THE LAW.

<sup>88</sup> i.e., the destruction of the second Temple by the Romans.

<sup>89</sup> *etiam dum reverterentur*: meaning unclear, but perhaps a reference to Ezekiel and Jeremiah's prophetic ministry during the destruction of the nation, or to Zechariah and Malachi's after the return of the exiles.

<sup>90</sup> Mt. 5:45.

<sup>91</sup> Mt. 7:6.

away from his own people both the Law and the oracles of the prophets.

Yod, or Verse Ten THEY SAT ON THE GROUND, THEY WERE SILENT--THE ELDERS OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION; THEY PUT DUST<sup>92</sup> ON THEIR HEAD, AND THEY WERE GIRDED WITH SACKCLOTH;<sup>93</sup> THEY PUT THEIR HEAD UPON THE GROUND--THE VIRGIN DAUGHTERS<sup>94</sup> OF JERUSALEM.

THEY SAT ON THE GROUND: here how the people carry themselves shows their mental state and their material circumstances. You may see this by antithesis. For in favorable circumstances splendid chairs were prepared for the elders. Such chairs were placed together in the senate and in prominent places.<sup>95</sup> On the other

<sup>92</sup> Jerome has here: "they sprinkled *ashes* on their heads," evidently confusing עפר with אפר.

<sup>93</sup> Instead of literally translating "sackcloth," Jerome has *ciliciis*, "a covering, originally made of Cilician goats' hair, used by soldiers and seamen" (L&S 331); Jerome is struggling to find a good equivalent familiar to his Gentile readers.

<sup>94</sup> Jerome, following the Hebrew, has simply "virgins of Jerusalem." Pagnini has "daughters of Jerusalem." Does Pagnini do this by accident, copying carelessly 1:15? Or does Pagnini suppose that, in the context, "virgins" must mean "young women," or "daughters"? At any rate, Martyr compounds the confusion with his "virgin daughters."

<sup>95</sup> The Bible, of course, says nothing of splendid chairs; Martyr gets this notion from an aggadah of a midrashic interpretation which Rashi tells in his commentary on this verse. I shall cite only the first portion of this story:

THEY WILL SIT ON THE GROUND etc.: as its [philological] meaning; and there is an midrash

hand, in adverse times they rolled themselves on the ground, which you will find done more than once in sacred scripture. David acted this way, just before the killing of his baby boy. He prayed to avert that death sent on account of his acts of adultery and murder.<sup>96</sup> After tragic and distressing things were announced to him, Job threw himself abject on the ground.<sup>97</sup> You will find the same in the case of Mordecai, when the destruction planned by the evil Haman hung over the Jews.<sup>98</sup> (It seems fitting that those whose position is grand and outstanding be placed in a conspicuous place.)<sup>99</sup>

The reason for which these great men were led to do this was, I think, to declare by this external sign the dejection of their heart, and by this declaration to obtain human and divine compassion. Human beings, when they see these things, are easily moved. God, on the other hand, is content with the dejection and

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aggadah [Lam.R. 2:14, ET 176]: Nebucadnezer sat them on the ground when Zedekiah rebelled against him and went back on his oath; he came and dwelled in Daphne of Antioch, and he sent for the Sanhedrin and they came to him and he saw them to be men of stately mean and he seated them on chairs of gold, and he said to them, "Set out for me your Torah, passage by passage...."

<sup>96</sup> 2 Sam. 12:16.

<sup>97</sup> Job 1:20.

<sup>98</sup> Est. 4:1.

<sup>99</sup> This sentence, out of place in the progression of Martyr's argument, is to remind the listener/reader of the antithesis he is constructing.

brokenness of the heart and has no regard for this external show per se. Nevertheless what is on the inside is made more plain when someone cannot even contain himself from this outward gesture of prostration. The more a heart is truly downcast and abject, the more it is pleasing to God. We see that this was true in the case of Ahab. For not only was he sorry for having murdered Naboth, but his sorrow was so great that it even led him to express it in broad daylight.<sup>100</sup>

THEY WERE SILENT--THE ELDERS: it was the elders' place to speak; silence adorns youth.<sup>101</sup> Yet those men remained silent. Respect and age made them elders. On account of their singular wisdom and unimpeachable authority they ought to have had prompt advice to be cherished by one and all. Yet so great was the force of the trouble and pressing misfortunes that they did not allow themselves to give any consoling words of advice. On top of that, with God fighting against them, what wisdom, counsel or words would be able to help?

OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION: a weight is added to the disgrace. It seemed very senseless for elders to be silent, but it was something particularly to be mourned

<sup>100</sup> lit., "but the grief was so great in him that for him it even led to external tokens and signs plain for everyone." This happened after Elijah had announced a terrible punishment for his sin, see 1 K. 21:27.

<sup>101</sup> Martyr evidently quotes a popular proverb, but the sentiment is definitely biblical. See for example Job 29:7-11, 21-23.

that even the elders of the Daughter of Zion were silent. For from the beginning under Moses seventy elders were endowed with the Spirit of the Lord, so as to be guided not only by human wisdom but also by divine inspiration.<sup>102</sup> However, at this time they were thrown down, being deprived of both.

THEY PUT DUST ON THEIR HEADS, AND THEY WERE GIRDED WITH SACKCLOTH: for this was the custom of the ancients, when they were struck with misfortunes. Not only the Jews did this, but you would also see the Romans change clothes when the Republic was tossed about by some disaster. The friends of a defendant would do this too, if an accusation threatened him with some danger. Yes, even Cicero found it flattering that almost all the Roman people changed their clothes on his behalf, lest he be driven into exile. Conversely splendid dress and elegant attire indicate contentment of mind, and a favorable and prosperous situation. So in the gospel when the Lord censured the play-acting of the hypocrites who wish to appear sad by marring their appearance, he said this: BUT WHEN YOU FAST, ANOINT YOUR HEAD WITH OIL, DO NOT SPRINKLE IT WITH DUST (AS THESE ELDERS DID) BUT WASH YOUR FACE WITH SWEET-SMELLING OIL AND UNGUENTS.<sup>103</sup> And when Solomon in Ecclesiastes approves leading a tranquil life, he urges

<sup>102</sup> Ex. 18:13-26.

<sup>103</sup> Mt. 6:16-17, paraphrase.

that clothing be white and that there should be oil on the head.<sup>104</sup>

Now it must be asked why sitting on the ground in a time of mourning and sprinkling dust on the head have ceased among Christians and why clothing is not changed in great extremity. For even though there is a certain rather sad deportment and appearance to those who mourn the dead at this present time, they do not act in the same way as they did in past times when some disaster threatened and pressed. For my part I would say this change occurred by the teaching of the apostles. Since the hope of the Kingdom of Heaven has been put to us differently, this is not the way we grieve at the loss of temporal things. For in Thessalonians Paul instructs us not to be heartbroken over those who "sleep," as others are who have no hope.<sup>105</sup> (This advice must be understood to apply in a similar manner to other misfortunes as well.) Then too, our repentance is more mixed with joy than was theirs, since Christ has already made satisfaction for our sins. Although their sins were also forgiven them through Christ's faithfulness<sup>106</sup> as were ours, the

<sup>104</sup> Eccl. 9:8.

<sup>105</sup> 1 Thes. 4:13.

<sup>106</sup> "through Christ's faithfulness" *per Christi fidem*, which echoes Jerome's translation of the ambiguous *διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ* in Gal. 2:16. (Is "of Christ" an objective or subjective genitive?) We might translate "through faith in Christ," but, I think, this is out of context in Martyr's argument.

value of Christ's sacrifice was not yet at that time released.<sup>107</sup> Finally, the abundance of the Spirit is greater now than it was then. For although not a few of the ancients such as Abraham and David had the Spirit abundantly and richly, nonetheless the servant-status of that age<sup>108</sup> stood in the way. The consolation which lessened their sorrow was not so great and so evident as it is now.

THEY PUT THEIR HEAD ONTO THE GROUND--THE VIRGIN DAUGHTERS OF JERUSALEM: they were reproved by Isaiah for walking around WITH NECK STRETCHED FORTH,<sup>109</sup> and for wishing both to see and to be seen. Now they go along with head bowed down. It is characteristic of joy to be open and relaxed, but of grief and sorrow to be tense. When everything is going well, we are in high spirits and we walk erect, but if sadness vexes us, everything is restrained.

<sup>107</sup> This notion of the retroactive nature of Christ's sacrifice is implicitly present in several places in the New Testament, as is the notion of the pre-existent Christ: see Heb. 9:26, ONCE FOR ALL; 1 Cor. 10:4, THAT ROCK WAS CHRIST.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Gal. 3:23-24.

<sup>109</sup> Is. 3:16.



Caf, or Verse Eleven MY EYES FAILED BY TEARS, MY INSIDES WERE *CONTRACTED*, MY LIVER WAS POURED OUT ON THE EARTH ON ACCOUNT OF THE GRINDING OF THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE, WHILE THE SMALL CHILD AND SUCKING FAILED IN THE OPEN PLACES OF THE CITY.

MY EYES FAILED BY TEARS: the words are the prophet's under the persona of the people who had said above that she trickled tears like a fountain.<sup>1</sup> And it must be believed that he and others like him had suffered more bitterly than others. For as one who was wise and illuminated by the divine Spirit, he mentally weighed all these misfortunes more than the crowd, because the judgment of God made a deep impression on him.<sup>2</sup> He wept not only for private misfortunes as did the people, but also for public. He wept not so much because torments inflicted his carnal nature but because he sensed God's anger, displeasure, and indignation against the people. These are things spiritual people see in these public disasters, so they suffer more.

<sup>1</sup> Lam. 1:16.

<sup>2</sup> lit., "sense was pressed down by judgment" (*quod sensus iudicio innitebatur*): enigmatic--possibly "for he used the judgment of his senses," or, "perception rests on judgment."

MY INSIDES ARE CONTRACTED: we explained this to you above.<sup>3</sup>

MY LIVER IS POURED OUT ON THE EARTH: it is no wonder that he mentioned especially the liver among the internal organs of the human body, since it is among those which have primary functions. Medical doctors propose and experience teaches that blood is attached to human life and its home is in the liver. Therefore, when in this verse his liver is said to have been poured out, the body of the prophet is declared in some sense bloodless and consequently lifeless, deprived of all joy and vigor.<sup>4</sup>

WHILE THE SMALL CHILD AND SUCKLING FAILED IN THE OPEN PLACES OF THE CITY: not only humans but also beasts are inexpressibly moved with compassion for the tender age of infants. This has occurred by God's wise decision, so that the weaker might easily gain the sympathy and help of the stronger. And since Jeremiah was endowed with the divine Spirit, he not only esteemed those little children because of their age (something all human beings have in common), he also loved them because they belonged to the Church of God. He knew them to be God's children, the seed of the saints. So when he saw them maltreated, beaten and

<sup>3</sup> The same phrase occurs in Lam. 1:20, where Martyr has already expounded it.

<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew poet, of course, is thinking of the liver as the seat of human emotion rather than as the cleanser of blood. All the same, Martyr's exposition is not too far off the mark.

dying of hunger, he could only be very upset. For that reason Christ was also annoyed at his disciples who stopped the little ones from being brought to him.<sup>5</sup> He allowed them to come, he embraced them, and said the kingdom of heaven was made up of ones like them. Certainly we ought to be no less upset if we see them being brought up negligently or badly.

Lamed, or Verse Twelve TO THEIR MOTHERS THEY SAID, "WHERE IS THE GRAIN AND THE WINE?" WHEN THEY FAILED *LIKE* THE WOUNDED IN THE OPEN PLACES OF THE CITY *IN POURING OUT* THEIR SPIRIT<sup>6</sup> IN THE BOSOM OF THEIR MOTHERS.

TO THEIR MOTHERS THEY SAID, "WHERE IS THE GRAIN AND WINE?": he mentions here the mothers rather than the fathers, because a little before he spoke of nursing babies.<sup>7</sup> Anyway mothers nurse children, not fathers.<sup>8</sup> And it is only natural that children should

<sup>5</sup> Mk. 10:13-16, paraphrase.

<sup>6</sup> "in pouring out their spirit": a more or less literal translation of בָּהֶשְׁתַּפֵּךְ נַפְשָׁם; Jerome has more idiomatically *cum exhalarent animas suas*; Pagnini-Münster also have a *cum* clause, but use the verb *effundere* which is more literal equivalent of שָׁפַךְ.

<sup>7</sup> In the previous verse, the young children are characterized as "sucklings."

<sup>8</sup> Perush:

The mother is the one who nurses; therefore he remem-

ask for nourishment from where they first received it. The mother is the provider of sustenance, which includes food. Therefore little children, until they grow up, approach their mothers for food. When they ask for grain and wine, the children understand them to be metonymy for food and drink.

WHEN THEY FAILED LIKE THE WOUNDED IN THE OPEN PLACES OF THE CITY: it is an apt comparison. Blood flows out of open wounds, and blood is the most immediate means of nourishment for the body and its limbs. When the blood is drained away, natural functions cease and the soul flies away. Even though it is not blood, the soul cannot<sup>9</sup> remain without it. Therefore the wounded perish as if by lack of food. The little ones are also described as killed by this kind of death.

IN POURING OUT THEIR SPIRIT IN THE BOSOM OF THEIR MOTHERS: an unhappy reminiscence! In their mother's womb they are given soul and life-giving spirit, and in their mother's bosom they breathe it out. And if contraries are to be compared in the same place, joy is brought together with sorrow: as the greatest joy of the mother is said to be when she brings a human being into the world (even if it has happened through great

bered THE MOTHERS and he did not remember the fathers.

<sup>9</sup> "cannot": *nequit*, the text reads *inquit*, a misprint. Martyr's argument concerns the three things necessary for bodily life: food, blood, soul.

and heavy pains), so her harshest sorrow is when they expire in her bosom.

Mem, or Verse Thirteen WHAT WITNESS SHALL I BEAR YOU?<sup>10</sup> WHAT LIKE EXAMPLE SHALL I GIVE FOR YOU, O DAUGHTER OF JERUSALEM? TO WHOM SHALL I COMPARE YOU, THAT I MAY CONSOLE YOU, VIRGIN DAUGHTER OF ZION? YOUR CRUSHING IS AS GREAT AS THE SEA, AND WHO WILL CURE YOU?

WHAT WITNESS SHALL I BEAR YOU? WHAT LIKE EXAMPLE SHALL I GIVE FOR YOU...: he seeks to show that no other pain has been found anywhere which can be compared to hers. He alludes to human behavior. Wishing to console someone, people say on the spot: "You are not alone in suffering these things," and then they show this is true by mentioning this, that or the other person, who has gone through the same thing, or nearly so, at some time or other.<sup>11</sup> Such testimonies, however, do

<sup>10</sup> Münster has translated literally the first verb of this line in the MT, אָפֵיִךְ. But it is difficult, and most modern commentators emend (see Hillers 100). Jerome translated it *Cui comparabo te*, which means he either had in his text, or read as if it were, אָפֵיִךְ.

<sup>11</sup> Rashi:

HOW SHALL I TESTIFY TO YOU, HOW SHALL I LIKEN YOU?: to say to you [i.e., "Normally one can say to someone who suffers"], "How are you surprised at your misfortune? Did not it happen to poor so and so as it did to you?" HOW SHALL I COMPARE YOU AND COMFORT YOU?: when a disaster has come on a man, one says to him, "Even so and so had this happen to him"--this is consolation to him.

not have a place here. For in history no similar destruction is recorded. Granted, torments, punishments, ruins, slaughters, burnings and defeats have sometimes happened. However no nation's fall could be as painful, since this was the only nation that God exalted in so many ways. The greater the height, the worse the fall.<sup>12</sup>

YOUR CRUSHING IS AS GREAT AS THE SEA: the wound received is so wide and deep that it can only be compared to the sea in depth and width. What good are anointings, poultices or fomentations, if it is as wide as the shore and as open as the sea?<sup>13</sup> However, in my opinion a proper exposition of this passage should include a reference to the breaking of the waves on the shoals, strands<sup>14</sup> and rocks of the sea.<sup>15</sup> Waves first

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Rashi's point is that consolations are out of order, for there has been no disaster like it.

<sup>12</sup> lit., "For a fall is judged by the measure of the height." This is a point Martyr has already made in his exposition of the first verse of this chapter.

<sup>13</sup> Perush:

And if the breaking was AS GREAT AS THE SEA, there will not be found a bandage wrapper [big enough] for it.

Perush rationalizes the seemingly conflicting images and Martyr approves.

<sup>14</sup> *littora*, not *littera* (from the editor's list of errata).

<sup>15</sup> Martyr has taken Perush's rather fanciful exegesis one step further, with a helpful hint from the Targum:

For your breach is as great as the breakers of the Great Sea's waves in a storm. And who is the healer....?

seem high, great, enormous like mountains. Soon they are broken, and they vanish so completely that nothing is left of them except bubbles and light foam. And on that spot the bubbles and foam disappear too. Thus the Daughter of Jerusalem who was puffed up with trust in her powers and who was boastful and insolent, struck against the shoals of divine retribution and perished, miserably broken.

AND WHO WILL CURE YOU?: a physician is sought,<sup>16</sup> but no human one is fit. Since, therefore, there is no hope in the powers of nature, this speech of the prophet stimulates us to consider that there must be recourse to God, whose hand is able to deliver from any sickness no matter how severe.

Nun, or Verse Fourteen YOUR PROPHETS SAW FOR YOU  
THE EMPTY AND THE TASTELESS;<sup>17</sup> NOR DID THEY REVEAL

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However, he is on firm ground in identifying the roaring breakers of the deep with human pride, or with that which tries to exalt itself at God's expense: see Job 38:11, and in the Psalms (e.g., Ps. 46) and in the prophets (e.g., Zech. 10:11).

<sup>16</sup> Targum:

And who is the healer to heal you of your anguish?

<sup>17</sup> THE EMPTY AND THE TASTELESS (*vanum et insulsum*), a literal translation for the proverbial phrase שוֹא וְתֵלֵס; Jerome translates more idiomatically *falsa et stulta*.

FOR<sup>18</sup> YOUR INIQUITIES<sup>19</sup> IN ORDER TO LEAD BACK YOUR CAP-  
TIVITY,<sup>20</sup> BUT THEY SAW FOR YOU EMPTY BURDENS<sup>21</sup> AND  
DEJECTIONS.<sup>22</sup>

YOUR PROPHETS SAW FOR YOU THE EMPTY AND THE TASTE-  
LESS:<sup>23</sup> it touches the fount of evils.<sup>24</sup> If the ruler  
is bent, how are things to be set in a straight line,  
now it is curved? If the helmsman of the ship is out  
of his mind, how is the ship kept from harm? It was

<sup>18</sup> REVEAL FOR: Münster has "reveal (the punishment) for your iniquities." Martyr drops Münster's interpolation ("the punishment"), which leaves him a literal but scarcely comprehensible translation of the MT's גלו על. Jerome-Pagnini has *aperiebant iniquitatem tuam*.

<sup>19</sup> The MT, Jerome, Pagnini, and even the LXX all have a singular here.

<sup>20</sup> LEAD BACK YOUR CAPTIVITY: Münster's literal translation of להשיב שביתך (a not infrequent phrase meaning "repatriate"). Jerome has a rather Christian-sounding rendering: *ut te ad paenitentiam provocarent*; Pagnini: *converterent aversionem tuam*.

<sup>21</sup> BURDENS (*onera*)--Martyr's literal translation for משאות. Presumably he knew that "burdens" were "prophecies"; Ibn Ezra says so expressly, and that is just how Pagnini and Münster translate. Jerome has *assumptiones*; presumably (see L&S 182) Jerome knew these "takings up" were prophecies.

<sup>22</sup> Münster, following Jerome's lead, understood too literally מידחים. True it is from נדח, "to impel" (hence their translations), but the nuance here is "enticement" (נדח in the sense of Pro. 7:21 and Dt. 13:14). Rashi and Ibn Ezra understood this, and Martyr would have done well to follow them here rather than Münster.

<sup>23</sup> Martyr's exposition of this line exhibits a bewildering barrage of Biblical quotations and allusions, which show clearly how he lived within the scriptures.

<sup>24</sup> Perush:

All this came to you on account of YOUR PROPHETS, and not the prophets of G-D.



their duty to help with advice, but they talked about empty things. Therefore they were not to be followed but avoided. THEY WILL COME TO YOU, says the Lord, IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING; INSIDE THEY ARE RAPACIOUS WOLVES.<sup>25</sup> They only seek their own advantage. They slaughter and destroy the sheep. As long as they are eager for their own rewards and not able to obtain them through their personal wealth, they plunder the sheep and they feed themselves.<sup>26</sup> The Lord warns us that they must be detected by their fruits.<sup>27</sup> You ought not understand this saying to be only about the external probity of life, since often they deceive us with their apparent sanctity. They pull the wool over people's eyes by performing showy deeds of no consequence.<sup>28</sup> Very often they do not even keep this up, especially when they have gotten what they were chasing after: power, riches and fame. However the Lord must be understood to be referring to the "fruit" of doctrine. We ought to wait for the fruit they produce, what doctrine of theirs takes root in God's people, what it bears and what it nourishes.<sup>29</sup> The true doctrine of God produces faith, grows what it has brought forth, makes strong what it

<sup>25</sup> Mt. 7:15, paraphrase.

<sup>26</sup> Ez. 34:1-10, esp. v.8.

<sup>27</sup> Mt. 7:20.

<sup>28</sup> "they pull...consequence": *perstringunt oculos speciosis opellis*.

<sup>29</sup> 1 Cor. 3:6-9.

has grown.<sup>30</sup> This is not just any sort of faith, but a faith which extends first toward believers themselves by the killing of their carnal nature and then toward their neighbors by their acts of Christian charity.<sup>31</sup>

A doctrine which does not have the above characteristics justly deserves the attributes EMPTY AND INSIPID which the prophet gives it. What does not attain its end is said to be empty. The oracles and the words of God are instituted to attain the results I mentioned. If they do not attain these results, they are empty and useless. Human contrivances are insipid. If they are investigated more closely, and they are tasteless.<sup>32</sup> They are not "seasoned"<sup>33</sup> by the Spirit of God. They are not redolent of the Spirit.<sup>34</sup> They are not heavenly, and so they do not savor of spiritual

<sup>30</sup> A positive image, based, I believe, on the negative one in Jam. 1:15.

<sup>31</sup> Martyr tries to bring in here James' criticism of empty faith: Jam. 2:14-26.

<sup>32</sup> Martyr had plenty of help here from both Ibn Ezra:

AND INSIPID (לחם) : like שוה, and so, IS WHAT IS TASTELESS EATEN...? [Job 6:6] [Its concrete meaning is that which] has no taste. [Its abstract meaning is that which diverges] from the upright way--HE DID NOT GIVE UNSAVORINESS (חמלה) [Job 1:22].

And Rashi:

WORTHLESS AND INSIPID: words which have no taste [pun: in Hebrew, taste also means sense/meaning] in them.

<sup>33</sup> An allusion to Col. 4:6, *Sermo vestro...sale sit conditus*.

<sup>34</sup> 2 Cor. 2:14-17.

things. As heavenly things are held in contempt and mockery by carnal people,<sup>35</sup> so on the contrary spiritual people shun human traditions. Human traditions which are gulped down by them hastily in place of God's word are best discerned by their palate. The Lord wishes his disciples to be the salt of the earth.<sup>36</sup> Therefore they should not say what is insipid or silly<sup>37</sup> but what expresses in all respects heaven, Jesus Christ and his Spirit, in sum all good things.

NOR DID THEY REVEAL ON BEHALF OF YOUR INIQUITIES: they are all adulators and flatterers, who contaminate the word of God, pursuing eagerly their own advantage. The sharp bite of salt is not felt by wholesome, living tissue but tissue that is cut, wounded, nearly putrid. Salt is heavenly doctrine. It holds reason in check, stings the carnal nature and stabs human wisdom. Because their doctrine did not have this salt, these prophets were not censuring the people's crimes as was deserved.

IN ORDER TO LEAD BACK YOUR CAPTIVITY: although salt bites, holds in check, stings, yet for this very reason it can preserve things from rotting. In the same way divine punishments which come through God's word can preserve people from many threatening dis-

<sup>35</sup> I Cor. 2:14.

<sup>36</sup> Mt. 5:13 and parallels.

<sup>37</sup> Eph. 5:4.

asters. So it is the prophets' fault that these people are now destroyed.

BUT THEY SAW FOR YOU...DEJECTIONS: it was not just empty, insipid, silly, useless things which did not ward off the anger of God, but also things which fling back, divide, separate and remove people from him. See what may happen. The prophets who ought to have linked people to the Lord separated them from him by their deceptions and their contrived orations.

Samekh, or Verse Fifteen THEY CLAPPED HANDS OVER HER, THOSE WHO PASSED ALONG THE ROAD; THEY WHISTLED<sup>38</sup> AND SHOOK THEIR HEAD OVER THE DAUGHTER OF JERUSALEM; SAYING,<sup>39</sup> "IS NOT THIS CITY THE PERFECTION OR CONSUMMA-

<sup>38</sup> WHISTLED: שָׁרָקוּ, can mean either "hiss" (a sound of contempt) or "whistle" (a sound of either contempt or astonishment); Rashi said:

THEY HISSED: blown from one's mouth; שִׁי"בִלִּיר [siffler] in the vernacular. And it is the way of a man to do thus seeing something important which is ruined and destroyed.

Martyr takes it to mean a whistle of astonishment and understands the passers-by to be sympathetic, as his exposition makes clear. (Certainly the Hebrew poet is thinking of gloating enemies hissing, not neighbors philosophizing about the uncertainty of fortune.)

<sup>39</sup> The MT has: IS NOT THIS THE CITY OF WHICH THEY WOULD SAY, "PERFECTION...." Jerome (representing a different text or reading) has: "IS THIS NOT THE CITY," THEY ARE SAYING, "OF PERFECT BEAUTY...." Münster tries to be faithful both to Jerome and to the MT as he received it by having two "say" verbs: (SAYING), "IS NOT THIS THE CITY OF WHOM THEY SAID, 'IS IT NOT THE CROWN OF BEAUTY....? Martyr, in a rather confusing fashion, deletes the second "say," and is thus even further from the MT than Jerome.

TION<sup>40</sup> OF BEAUTY AND THE DELIGHT OF THE ENTIRE EARTH?"

THEY CLAPPED HANDS OVER HER, THOSE WHO PASSED ALONG THE ROAD; THEY WHISTLED AND SHOOK THEIR HEAD OVER THE DAUGHTER OF JERUSALEM: those who stare at her distress are of two sorts.<sup>41</sup> Some grieve, since they are moved by the atrocity of the matter. They cannot help feeling compassion and astonishment, when they contemplate such a great ruin as that. They shake their head, since they are moved by the human spirit to think of the vicissitudes of life.

IS NOT THIS CITY THE PERFECTION OR CONSUMMATION OF BEAUTY?: nothing was ever better, more carefully and diligently constituted on earth than that state of the Jews. In fact, God said that all nations would wonder at the wisdom by which its laws, ceremonies and courts of justice were founded.<sup>42</sup> The Israelite state had

<sup>40</sup> PERFECTION OR CONSUMMATION: the "or" is not in the MT, but is merely a translation note. Martyr is saying that כְּלִילָה of יָפִי כְּלִילָה means something like perfection or consummation, *perfectio vel absolutio*.

<sup>41</sup> Martyr here is influenced by Perush:

Some sigh over you when you were desolate, but others shake the head and mock.

Perush's probable meaning: some sympathetically whistled, while others shook their head. Be that as it may, Martyr takes this verse to refer to sympathizers and the next verse to refer to the "other sort" of bystander, the enemy.

<sup>42</sup> Martyr is apparently thinking of such passages as the blessings of Dt. 8:1-14, especially verse 10.

what Paul in Corinthians<sup>43</sup> asked of the Church: nothing inordinate and indecent happened there. Anything outstanding or extraordinary which is spoken about it in the holy scriptures can and ought to be referred to the Church of Christ, because the synagogue and our people are in no way different.<sup>44</sup> If a distinction must be made, it ought to be made with reference to time. What they awaited as the future has happened for us. Of course some things more or less differ, but only here and there, by excess or by lack. These matters vary in such a way that the essential nature is kept the same in one time period as in the other. You have indeed in many places in scripture encomia of that holy city, but principally in David: GREAT IS THE LORD AND GREATLY TO BE PRAISED, and PRAISE THE LORD, O JERUSALEM, and I WAS HAPPY WHEN THEY SAID UNTO ME.<sup>45</sup>

AND THE DELIGHT OF THE ENTIRE EARTH: delight is drawn from God's word. In Psalm Nineteen, THE STATUTES OF THE LORD ARE RIGHT, REJOICING THE HEART: ... SWEETER ALSO THAN HONEY AND THE HONEYCOMB.<sup>46</sup> Besides this, joy

<sup>43</sup> 1 Cor. 14:40, paraphrase.

<sup>44</sup> That is, scripture is addressed to the people of God, whether the Synagogue (the Jews) before the advent of Christ or the Christians are after. Martyr is thinking in "supercessionist" terms. The Church has replaced the Jews as the Synagogue.

<sup>45</sup> *Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis, Laude Hierusalem Dominum, Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi*: Martyr, the former monk, knows his Psalms by their Latin titles (i.e., first lines). These Psalms (48, 147, 122) celebrate Jerusalem. (I have quoted them in the KJV, to give the flavor of his citations.)

<sup>46</sup> Ps. 19:8,10. I have quoted KJV.

is drawn from the Holy Spirit. Therefore he is deservedly called "the paraclete,"<sup>47</sup> and "the comforter of orphans."<sup>48</sup> The mind of religious people has more joy in the Spirit than in anything else. Now these two are available only through the church: namely, the Word and the Spirit. Therefore in that place there is joy.

Furthermore, enjoyment or pleasure is of two kinds.<sup>49</sup> There is one which follows sensation, when of course one is affected by a matter suited and agreeable to oneself. The palate is stimulated by something sweet, or the ear excited by a harmonious melody. This kind of enjoyment, however, we have in common with cattle: it should hardly be held in high esteem. The other kind of enjoyment is characteristic of the mind or soul, i.e. of the better part of the person. This enjoyment follows the apprehension of truth. Since acquired truths are more sublime than sensual enjoyment, they more exhilarating. Once they are recognized, they are more agreeable to heed. Since the wisdom revealed by God to the church concerns extraordinary, grand and outstanding truths, it necessarily produces abundant and copious pleasure in their souls. Justly, therefore, is it said: the mind of a

<sup>47</sup> Jn. 14:16.

<sup>48</sup> Jn. 14:18.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Aristotle, Nic.Eth., X.5.1175a.23ff. Martyr's steady stream of biblical quotations and allusions now dwindle as he takes on his other rôle as Christian philosopher.

wise man is a continual feast. So how can it happen that the faithful, who bring faith to the truths revealed in Christ, are not always of a pleasant frame of mind? Since this faith has now been published throughout the whole world, it plainly follows that whatever solid or wholesome delight there is in the entire world springs forth from that source.

Delight and joy can be said to be not only on earth but also in heaven, and this will seem much more astonishing.<sup>50</sup> Yet Christ said that the greatest delight in heaven is over one sinner who repents.<sup>51</sup> This may also be deduced in another way. In Ephesians 3 the celestial spirits are led to be perfected in their knowledge somewhat by what they see done by God in the church.<sup>52</sup> And since those truths, which they thereafter take in, embrace the arcane sublimities of divine wisdom, what other result could there be but that the holy angels should be affected by a wonderful joy?

<sup>50</sup> i.e., it would seem to be incredible that there is joy in heaven, so Martyr must justify this statement with two scripture proofs: one from Christ and the other from Paul.

<sup>51</sup> Lk. 15:7.

<sup>52</sup> Eph. 3:10.



Ain, or Verse Sixteen<sup>53</sup> ALL YOUR ENEMIES OPENED  
THEIR MOUTH OVER YOU; THEY WHISTLED, AND GNASHING THEIR  
TEETH THEY SAID: WE INDEED<sup>54</sup> DEVoured; WE WAITED FOR  
THIS DAY; WE FOUND, WE SAW.

ALL YOUR ENEMIES OPENED THEIR MOUTH OVER YOU: by  
this part<sup>55</sup> are indicated the enemies of God's people,  
delighting astonishingly in that ruin. The Church<sup>56</sup>  
never lacks such people. They use a few chosen, apt  
words to express their hatred of Jerusalem: "We indeed  
devoured, we waited for this day, we found, we saw."  
By these words they desire passionately to express  
their tumultuous delight.

<sup>53</sup> This is verse sixteen but the letter is pe, since the  
letters ain and pe are switched--as is the case in the two follow-  
ing chapters. Martyr ignores this puzzling displacement and  
called the verse "ain," whereas it is actually "pe." In the third  
chapter, however, he notes the switch; in the fourth, he simply  
expounds the order of the text without comment.

<sup>54</sup> Pagnini translates נא as "indeed" (*quoniam*), but, with  
the MT, Jerome and Münster, he associates it with "We devoured."  
Martyr has attached it to "This is the day."

<sup>55</sup> i.e., in the previous verse Martyr said that there were  
two kinds of spectators: the sympathetic and the gloating. He saw  
the previous verse as describing the sympathetic, so now this  
verse portrays the gloating enemies. Note that these enemies are  
affected by a perverse joy, unlike the holy angels of the previous  
exposition.

<sup>56</sup> i.e., first of all the Old Testament Church, but then too  
the Christian Church--what is true of one is also true of the  
other, as Martyr explained in his exposition of the previous  
verse.

Pe<sup>57</sup>, or Verse Seventeen THE LORD DID AS HE  
 PLANNED; HE FULFILLED HIS DISCOURSE<sup>58</sup> WHICH HE COM-  
 MANDED<sup>59</sup> FROM ANCIENT DAYS; HE DESTROYED AND HE DID NOT  
 SPARE; HE EXHILARATED<sup>60</sup> THE ENEMY OVER YOU, AND HE  
 ELEVATED THE HORN OF YOUR ENEMIES.

THE LORD DID...: insults of that kind<sup>61</sup> are most  
 appropriately and prudently answered: "It is true that  
 our day has come, that we are severely punished.  
 However it did not happen thanks to you. The Lord in  
 his providence did what, in fact, he had often  
 threatened he would do through Moses<sup>62</sup> and the other

<sup>57</sup> Actually, ain: see note on previous verse heading.

<sup>58</sup> "discourse": *sermo*, for the *hapax legomenon* אָמַרָה, an  
 alternative form for the more common אָמַרָה.

<sup>59</sup> "commanded": Martyr's literal translation for צִוָּה;  
 Jerome-Pagnini-Münster have the colorless, less daring  
*praeceperat*. Jerome's motivation seems to be theological  
 scruples. As noted previously, Martyr is not above using star-  
 tling anthropomorphisms.

<sup>60</sup> *exhilaravit* for שָׂמַח; Jerome uses a less strong verb  
*laetificavit*. Perhaps the English word "exhilarate" is too strong  
 to render its Latin derivative. At any rate Martyr intentionally  
 uses a vivid word.

<sup>61</sup> i.e., the insults of the previous verse.

<sup>62</sup> Rashi:

WHICH HE COMMANDED FROM DAYS OF YORE: what was written  
 in the Torah: I WILL PUNISH SEVEN-FOLD [Lev.  
 26:18]....

Targum:

He has carried out the word of his mouth, which he  
 ordained to Moses the prophet in antiquity: that were  
 the Children of Israel not to keep the commandments of  
 G-D, he would exact vengeance upon them in the future.

prophets." This is the way to silence mouths weary of being open in derisive laughter. They deride the people of God and the Church, when they are in distress. So the prophet responds to her anxieties:<sup>63</sup> "It is the Lord who tormented you and took no pity on you. He elevated the horn of your enemies and fulfilled the threats which had many times been addressed to you. You will concede nothing to the scoffers. This work is entirely God's."

Tsade, or Verse Eighteen THEIR HEART SHOUTED TO THE LORD: [O] WALL<sup>64</sup> OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION, *GIVE TEARS AS A TORRENT DAY AND NIGHT, MAY YOU NEITHER ALLOW YOURSELF REST NOR MAY YOU REPOSE THE PUPIL OF YOUR EYE.*

THEIR HEART SHOUTED TO THE LORD: by this indication it is shown that it was the work not of enemies

<sup>63</sup> "to her anxieties": *pro ea*. The address is now directed not at the enemies but at God's dejected people.

<sup>64</sup> The punctuation of the MT implies WALL is vocative, and the LXX and Pagnini so translate it. (Nearly all modern commentators agree that this makes no sense. Could the Judeans' heart cry to God by directly addressing the city wall, or the remains of it?) Jerome added *super* before "wall," probably meaning their heart-shout was "about" the (broken) wall. Of the three Hebrew commentators, only Perush speaks to the issue:

The heart of YOUR ENEMIES cries out. And the meaning is that they gave cries for the Name, and they spoke to THE WALL OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION that she may weep.

(Notice that Perush fancifully puts vv. 18-20 into the mouth of Zion's enemies.)

but of the Lord. Things might have ended in people's destruction, if the enemies had their way.<sup>65</sup> As it is, however, useful and advantageous things are drawn out even from such adversities. This happens because they cry out to the Lord from the heart. Is this not enough that they flee to God from whom they had turned away before?

WALL OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION: although they shout from the heart, the prophet (as if their previous efforts were insufficient) urges them on as if he were applying spurs to a running horse:<sup>66</sup> "May you so weep and groan that even stones, walls, and bulwarks will seem to be unable to check their tears over you."<sup>67</sup>

Kof, or Verse Nineteen ARISE, CRY ALOUD<sup>68</sup> DURING  
THE NIGHT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WATCHES; POUR OUT AS  
WATER YOUR HEART IN THE PRESENCE OF THE FACE OF GOD;

<sup>65</sup> lit., "if everything were permitted to be performed by the nod and will of enemies."

<sup>66</sup> "as spurs..[horse]": *calcaria currenti* (a proverb, see L&S 267, Plin. Ep. 1,8,1); i.e., the people of Judah are already shouting wildly, but the prophet urges them to even greater fervor. Martyr goes on to note the apostrophe to the personified wall of Zion.

<sup>67</sup> Thus, for Martyr, the sense of the first line is as follows: The people gave a heart-felt cry to God. The Prophet responds by encouraging the people to greater fervor: "Cry so as to make the very stones weep." He expresses this thought by addressing the wall and asking it to weep!

<sup>68</sup> Münster's CRY ALOUD (*vociferare*) for צַח is correct, not Jerome's *lauda* (see Holladay 341). Münster could have gotten help from Ibn Ezra, as will be seen just below.

LIFT TO HIM YOUR HANDS ON ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES OF YOUR LITTLE ONES, WHO HAVE EXPIRED FROM HUNGER AT THE CROSSWAYS OF ALL THE OPEN PLACES.

ARISE, CRY OUT (or, SING MOURNFUL AND SAD LAMENTS)<sup>69</sup> AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WATCHES: it must be done at night. Perhaps this was because this time is quieter and we can more easily act when on-lookers are far away. Or it was because the people were oppressed during the day by servitude, labor or fixed drills, and they did not have time to apply themselves attentively to mourning until then. So he urges it to happen at night.<sup>70</sup>

Among the Hebrews the night had four watches. For among them the night was divided into these parts.<sup>71</sup>

POUR OUT AS WATER YOUR HEART IN THE PRESENCE OF THE FACE OF GOD: that is, you ought to be bold to complain to God about whatever hurts, stings or bites. He willingly hears the complaints of those who repent, and he alone is able to give help while he listens.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn Ezra:

MAKE A RINGING CRY (רני) : raising the voice in song or in mourning; and thus, AND THE RINGING CRY WENT ACROSS (ויגבר הרנה) [1 K. 22:36].

<sup>70</sup> lit., "he incites" (*provocat*). Martyr has already given this exposition on night lamentation in connection with Lam. 1:2.

<sup>71</sup> Rashi says expressly, on authority of the majority rabbinical opinion, that there are three watches, cf. Jud. 7:19. However Martyr followed the Roman division as reflected in Jewish custom in New Testament times: see Mk. 6:48.

ON ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES OF YOUR LITTLE ONES WHO HAVE EXPIRED...: understand that he wishes to remind God of the pain received by the death of so many little ones while their fathers looked on.<sup>72</sup> He does this so that God's anger might now cease, as if a sufficient number of prayers could be employed to lead God to reestablish some hope of posterity by restoring the damage done by means of more children.

Resh, or Verse Twenty TURN YOUR ATTENTION, LORD, AND CONSIDER<sup>73</sup> TO WHOM YOU DEALT THUS:<sup>74</sup> WILL<sup>75</sup> WOMEN

<sup>72</sup> There is only one reference to "fathers" in Lamentations (5:7) and it means "ancestors who have sinned," and not necessarily male. Martyr was perhaps inspired by the pathetic incident of Nebuchadnezzar's ordering the slaughter of Zedekiah's sons while the unhappy king looked on (Jer. 52:10).

<sup>73</sup> TURN YOU ATTENTION *Respice...* CONSIDER *intuere*: a literary way of rendering the more prosaic Hebrew ראה...הביטה. Jerome, Pagnini and Münster are all closer to the Hebrew here.

<sup>74</sup> TO WHOM YOU DEALT THUS *cuinam sic feceris*: a very literal translation of למי עוללה כה. Pagnini, in order to capture the ambiguity of the Hebrew למי (does it mean "to whom?" or "to whom?"), translates למי as *cuinam* (to whom?). This is clever but artificial Latin. (Jerome, as I explained in connection with 1:12, translates עולל "to glean," because of a traditional midrashic reading.)

<sup>75</sup> This question, and the one immediately following, Pagnini and Münster begin with *num*, which is an adverb introducing a question expecting a negative answer. In the MT these questions are introduced by אם, which, as well as meaning "if," can also be an interrogative particle, whose equivalent, according to BDB 50, is the Latin *Num*. Martyr gives an interpretation of the verse based on a literalistic understanding of *num*: women eating their children is only a threat, an ultimate evil, but not a reality during the Babylonians' siege of Jerusalem. Instead of *num*, Jerome has first *ergone* and then *si*, neither of which is as accurate as *num*.

EAT THEIR FRUIT, CHILDREN OF A SPAN?<sup>76</sup> WILL THERE BE  
KILLED IN THE LORD'S SANCTUARY PRIEST AND PROPHET?

TURN YOUR ATTENTION, LORD, AND CONSIDER: not only does the prophet incite the afflicted people to pray, but he also suggests words.<sup>77</sup> First he prays to the Lord that he may pay attention to them and restore them by his compassionate glance. For those who are tormented are very happy when their wounds and injuries are seen, particularly if they are seen by those who can heal them. "See," he says, "have I not given enough satisfaction,<sup>78</sup> for to whom have you ever done such things?" You may easily find in the histories and writings of the Gentiles that enraged or frenzied<sup>79</sup> mothers have slain their children, but you will not easily find that they went so far as to satisfy hunger by eating them.

WILL WOMEN EAT THEIR FRUIT, THE CHILDREN OF A SPAN?: this is an immense crime, which is extremely

<sup>76</sup> CHILDREN OF A SPAN: *infantes palmares*, which represents עללי גפחים. Martyr understands the Hebrew as does Jerome (*parvulos ad mensuram palmae*) and Münster, (*parvulos infantiles*). Pagnini by contrast has *parvulos qui educantur*.

<sup>77</sup> In Perush, it is the enemies who force the people to pray. In Martyr, it is the prophet who instigates this. In either case, Lamentations is taken for more than a lament. If Martyr saw Lamentations more as poetry than as prophecy, he would accept more readily the flow from persona to persona.

<sup>78</sup> i.e., "done enough time" in the penitentiary of suffering.

<sup>79</sup> Reading *furiosas* for *furias*, which would be "avenging spirits" or the like, see L&S 796.

abhorrent to human nature. With no light emphasis is it said FRUIT, because offspring were always very dear to Israelite women.<sup>80</sup> For when they were able to conceive, they were seen to be accepted by God and to obtain no little legal advantage. She who could flaunt or show off more children was considered to be better off.<sup>81</sup> To this legal advantage add the fact that they knew that from their sons would be born the Messiah. So they were affected by a love toward their children, which was stronger than anything. However when even this love did not stand in their way and they were driven by starvation, they consumed their children. We read that this was done twice: in Kings 6 under Jehoram King of Israel, when Samaria was besieged by Benhadad King of Syria;<sup>82</sup> and also in the siege of the Romans, as Josephus reports when recounting the Jewish war.<sup>83</sup> These complaints of Jeremiah also look forward to the Roman siege. If someone wishes, meanwhile, to accept these things as applicable to the destruction wrought by Nebuchadnezzar, he would have to say that here too

<sup>80</sup> FRUIT (*fructus*, פֶּרִי) may mean "enjoyment" as well as "fruit" or "produce," but it cannot mean "human offspring" in non-ecclesiastical Latin; "offspring" (*proles*) can mean "produce" as well as "human offspring." Martyr is trying, in a compact fashion, to explain a Hebrew idiom, as well as to illuminate the macabre pun in the Hebrew text (edible fruit/fruit of the womb).

<sup>81</sup> Martyr alludes to stories such as Gn. 16:1-4, in which Hagar despises Sarah.

<sup>82</sup> 2 K. 6:28-29.

<sup>83</sup> Josephus, Wars, 5:3:4



such a thing happened--even though the holy scriptures do not make any mention of it.<sup>84</sup>

טפחים has to do with those infants who are still only very tiny.<sup>85</sup>

MAY THERE BE KILLED IN THE LORD'S SANCTUARY PRIEST AND PROPHET?: see how grave a crime it is to injure the ministers of God, see how it leads to public disaster. It is mentioned immediately after that barbaric act in which mothers ate their children. There are some who refer this phrase to what is recorded in 2 Chronicles

<sup>84</sup> An oblique reference to a Rabbinic tradition, mentioned by Rashi, of an incident of cannibalism during the Babylonian siege:

CHILDREN OF DANDLING (טפחים): children of tender age who are still being raised by the dandling of their mothers. And our Rabbis explained it in a midrashic way concerning Doeg ben Yosef['s son]: his mother was measuring him in spans (טפחים) each and every day to give gold to the Temple according to what he grew. And in the end, she ate him!

Martyr later in his exposition of Lam. changes his mind and, in fact, positively asserts that cannibalism did take place: see Lam. 4:10.

<sup>85</sup> Both Ibn Ezra and Rashi expressly say that the meaning is "children of spanning, i.e., dandling," but evidently Martyr simply did not understand what they wrote, or he preferred to follow Jerome, whose translation indicates he thought the "span" referred to the baby's size. Or possibly he inferred this from a comment of Münster 1534 Bible 2:20,

LITTLE CHILDREN: טפח is properly the measure of a palm: and in this place its meaning is transferred, according to David Kimhi, to infants, שמתפחין אותם, because when they are wrapped up, they measure them and straighten out their limbs.

24.<sup>86</sup> When the son of Jehoiada the high priest, who was named Zechariah reproved King Joash, he ordered him to be killed BETWEEN THE TEMPLE AND THE ALTAR-- something which the Lord mentioned in passing in Matthew's Gospel.<sup>87</sup> This Zechariah was indeed a high priest. Because he really was remembered to be among the prophets, it is said in the same place in scripture that the Spirit of God clothed him. Inspired and aroused by the Spirit, he loudly chided the king. However since this place concerns the destruction of Jerusalem, it seems more likely that this ought to be interpreted as a reference to the murder of priests and prophets.<sup>88</sup> Many indeed were killed by accident, without any weighing out as to station or worthiness. However they<sup>89</sup> who favor the interpretation just now mentioned think it was said here by way of a dialogue.

<sup>86</sup> vv. 15-22.

<sup>87</sup> 23:35; Chr. only says "in the court."

<sup>88</sup> Perush:

...and [that] the prophets and the priests will be killed in the Temple.

<sup>89</sup> Thus the Targum. Also Rashi (whose source is a traditional Jewish interpretation found in the Targum and midrashic collections):

SHOULD THERE BE KILLED IN THE TEMPLE OF G-D PRIEST AND PROPHET?: the Holy Spirit answered them, "And how is it fitting to you that you killed Zechariah ben Jehoidah?" as it is written in Chronicles [2 Chr. 24:20] that he reproved them when they came to do obeisance to Joash and they made him an idolater; and the Spirit clothed Zechariah ben Jehoidah and he was priest and prophet and they killed him in the Temple court.

There is an answer from the Lord, as if he should respond to those questioning whether or not he should have brought this misfortune on anyone--that mothers dared to feed on the flesh of their children? "Tell me this: Should it happen anywhere that a people butchers its priests and prophets without any reverence in temples?" You yourselves did this under King Joash. Since you did not spare my sons,<sup>90</sup> how does it seem absurd to you if you are brought to the point that your wives did not even abstain from their own children?" They may say what they wish, that prior exposition is beyond any doubt plainer.<sup>91</sup>

Shin, or Verse Twenty-One ON THE GROUND THEY LIE  
IN THE OPEN SPACES, YOUNG BOY AND OLD MAN; MY VIRGINS  
AND YOUNG MEN FELL BY THE SWORD; WHOM<sup>92</sup> YOU KILLED IN  
THE DAY OF YOUR FURY; YOU SLAUGHTERED AND YOU DID NOT  
SPARE.

YOUNG BOY AND OLD MAN...VIRGINS AND YOUNG MEN:  
that is, it was so fierce that all my people lie dead--  
unburied, food for wild animals, torn apart by birds of

<sup>90</sup> i.e., God's priests and prophets.

<sup>91</sup> Or, "more intelligible": the "prior exposition" being that it refers to the killing of priests and prophets in general.

<sup>92</sup> WHOM: Münster's interpolation, and not in MT or in Jerome-Pagnini's translation or in the Targum. The poetry is better without it.

prey. By the act of sadly enumerating victims he collects all those who were the strength, support,<sup>93</sup> hope and joy of the city and kingdom.<sup>94</sup>

Tau, or Verse Twenty-Two YOU CALLED AS IF TO A FEAST DAY MY TERRORS<sup>95</sup> WHICH ARE ROUND ABOUT ME; THERE WAS NOT ONE WHO ESCAPED, OR BECAME LEFTOVER ON THE DAY OF THE FURY OF THE LORD;<sup>96</sup> THOSE WHOM I BROUGHT UP AND RAISED MY ENEMY CONSUMED.<sup>97</sup>

YOU CALLED AS IF TO A FEAST DAY: the pitiable spectacle of the slain was bringing me enough sadness and pain. Now you call my enemies to be present as if to a feast of sacrificial victims, which you wished to be offered so numerously.

<sup>93</sup> *fulcrum*.

<sup>94</sup> Martyr recognizes a merismus: "young boy and old man; my virgins and young men" means "all my people"; also, young boys, old men, virgins, young men were in particular the strength, support, hope, joy (respectively?), of Israel.

<sup>95</sup> MY TERRORS: Münster's literal translation of מְפַחֵי; Jerome has "they who terrified me," thus reading something like מְפַחֵי. Jerome's reading has found favor with some moderns: see Hillers 102. Perhaps Jerome's consonantal text had the extra ה; or perhaps the text was merely "read" that way. At any rate, Martyr with his high view of the pointed MT never emends in any conscious way.

<sup>96</sup> To make better Latin Martyr has switched the elements of this line, but Jerome-Pagnini-Münster retain the Hebrew order: THERE WAS NOT ONE ON THE DAY...WHO....

<sup>97</sup> Jerome has: "whom...my enemy consumed them," a literalistic rendering of the MT: good Hebrew, but redundant Latin (or English). Pagnini-Münster-Martyr drop the redundant "them."

MY TERRORS: מגורי, its root<sup>98</sup> may mean either "to live" or "to dread." If you embrace the first meaning,<sup>99</sup> you may say that those called by the Lord as if to the appointed feast were the neighboring peoples. They were hated by the Israelites, and so they in turn treated the Israelites worse than all others. The alternate meaning shows how terrible were these enemies of the Jews, since by antonomasia<sup>100</sup> she calls them her "tremblings,"<sup>101</sup> i.e., on account of her enemies she was afraid for herself.

THERE WAS NOT ONE WHO ESCAPED, OR BECAME LEFTOVER ON THE DAY OF THE FURY OF THE LORD: not because all were slaughtered, for indeed many were led away into exile. All are said to perish equally, since they who went away captive were not seen to enjoy a better fate than those who were slain. Wretched ruin overtook all

<sup>98</sup> Martyr would not have realized that we are dealing with two different roots with the same radicals (גור). In the גור entry in his Dictionary, Münster lists four separate meanings for גור; in his Thesaurus, Pagnini four as well.

<sup>99</sup> An example of which would be, as Krinsky says, Ps. 119:54, בבית מגורי (in the house of my sojourning).

<sup>100</sup> *antonomasia* = ἀντωνομασία, "a rhetorical figure, by which, instead of the name, an epithet of a person is employed." (L&S 134)

<sup>101</sup> "tremblings," (*pavores*). Almost certainly a reference to Pagnini's גור entry in his Thesaurus, "my *pavores* from all sides." Martyr also may be influenced by comment of Ibn Ezra, who first gives the root of מגורי and then gives a tentative explanation of the meaning of the poetic image:

MY FEARS (מגורי): from the form BE AFRAID (גורי) OF THE SWORD [Job 19:29]; and there are those who say that the sense is "men of my fears" (אנשי מגורי).

alike, so that even the living who survived might say, "O three and four times blest, whose lot it was to encounter death."<sup>102</sup> And so, even if some escaped death, no one escaped the full measure of sorrow. Even Daniel and his friends were able to become trustworthy witnesses of this fact. Unless the Lord had rescued them, they would have perished more miserably in captivity than in the holy city. They would have been consumed by flames or torn apart by lions.

<sup>102</sup> Vergil, Aeneid 1:94.

Alphabet or Chapter Three

Alef 1. I AM THAT MAN WHO SAW AFFLICTION<sup>1</sup> IN<sup>2</sup> THE  
ROD OF HIS FURY.

2. HE LED<sup>3</sup> ME INTO SHADOWS AND NOT INTO LIGHT.

3. INDEED AGAINST ME HE HAS TURNED AROUND AND HE  
WILL TURN HIS HAND ALL DAY.<sup>4</sup>

I AM THAT MAN WHO SAW AFFLICTION: Jeremiah begins the third alphabet, which is somewhat different from the first two in that each and every letter embraces three verses.<sup>5</sup> I am unable, nor do I care to impart any particular reason for this fact. To me it is

<sup>1</sup> Pagnini-Münster's AFFLICTION (עֲנִי) is better than Jerome's "poverty," although the Hebrew word can mean that specifically also.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome (and Pagnini-Münster-Martyr follow him) uses "in" here to imitate the Hebrew instrumental כִּי.

<sup>3</sup> Hebrew: "He drove and made walk," a rhetorical repetition which works better in Hebrew than Latin; so Martyr simply uses one verb. Jerome-Pagnini-Münster try to reproduce the Hebrew by using two verbs.

<sup>4</sup> The lack of clarity in both Martyr's and Jerome's translation reflects the difficulty of the Hebrew sentence; the second verb (יָהַךְ) is imperfect, and Martyr reflects this in an awkward future. Jerome has: "Only against me has he turned, and he has turned around his hand all day."

<sup>5</sup> i.e., in chapters one and two, there are three lines in every verse, so that every third line begins with a letter in an alphabetical sequence; but in chapter three, there is one line in each verse and three consecutive lines or verses begin with the same letter in alphabetical sequence. For example, the first three verses of chapter one begin with alef, the next three with bet, etc.

enough to have understood that, as I suggested before,<sup>6</sup> no discourse, method or way for our salvation is neglected by the Holy Spirit. Thus, at that time, they commonly used poems. And the Holy Spirit ordered that these laments be written in such a way that they might bring the captive people to recognize more and more their wrongdoings, so that they might take the medicines of prayer and repentance to drive their wrongdoings away. The prophet drives them to such measures by everything he writes.

Does the prophet here speak in his own person or does he speak for others? Both possibilities could be accommodated. For if we look to the prophet himself, he not only predicted, foreknew and prophesied this downfall, as did other prophets; he was on hand for it. And so rightly does he say, "I am the man who has seen affliction." Now these words do not stop us from understanding that other people are the speakers.<sup>7</sup> For an entire group can be described as one man, as if it were said: "I confess that other people suffered many things, but if I am compared to others, I am the one who saw affliction. Things by which others were tossed

<sup>6</sup> In his introduction to this commentary.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ibn Ezra:

I AM THE MAN: our forebears of blest memory said that this was the scroll Jeremiah wrote. If so, he would be the one saying, I AM THE MAN. Or, each and every Israelite might say [it].



about were light compared to those things I myself have seen. Truly it was I who saw affliction."<sup>8</sup>

IN THE ROD OF HIS ANGER: the rod is the symbol of dominion and power. However, the rod is not employed by magistrates unless they are irate or enraged at enemies or malefactors. For its powers of either justice or severity are rarely put forth, unless the prince is quite angry. For that reason the rod is also the sign of avenging power. That is why Paul says in his Letter to the Corinthians, DO YOU WISH ME TO COME TO YOU WITH A ROD OR IN A SPIRIT OF GENTLENESS?<sup>9</sup> And here it is said: IN THE ROD OF *HIS* FURY, of the one avenging himself. And in my judgment the pronoun *his* refers more to God than to enemies.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rashi:

I AM THE MAN, HE SAW AFFLICTION: Jeremiah was complaining, saying "I AM THE MAN, HE SAW AFFLICTION--the one who saw more affliction than the prophets who prophesied about the destruction of the House; for in their days the House was not destroyed, rather in my days."

Martyr does not seem to be influenced by Münster 1534 Bible here:

And these words can be referred either to the person of Jeremiah, who was sustaining so many injuries or to the Jews led into exile.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Cor. 4:21, paraphrase.

<sup>10</sup> Martyr's Jewish sources were not of one mind on this. Targum:

I am the man who has seen affliction by the rod of he who punishes by his wrath.

Rashi agrees:

IN THE ROD OF HIS WRATH: of the one ruling and strik-

HE LED ME INTO SHADOWS AND NOT INTO LIGHT: it is within his ability to grant either happiness or sadness.<sup>11</sup> He who has often blessed me in his goodness, now hurls me into blackest disaster in order to show his justice.

INDEED AGAINST ME HE HAS TURNED AROUND AND HE WILL TURN HIS HAND ALL DAY: here he explains the uninterrupted continuation of his misfortunes, and he calls it "the hand of God." And these words mean that once it has begun to punish, God's hand does not stop. In as many words, or nearly so, Job complains likewise that once the hand (i.e., the Lord's) began to destroy him, it never drew back from him.<sup>12</sup>

Bet 4. HE MAKES MY FLESH AND MY SKIN GROW OLD, HE GRINDS MY BONES.

ing, who is the Holy One Blest Be He.

But Ibn Ezra, seeking to avoid unseemly references to God, said:

OF HIS WRATH: refers back to MY ENEMY CONSUMED THEM [Lam. 2:22]. And there are those [e.g., Rashi] who say that it refers back to the anger of the Name [Lam. 2:21], but this is not correct in my eyes. And the one complaining said that the foe was afflicting him with the rod of his anger.

Perush follows Ibn Ezra:

I AM THE MAN: the lamenter tells that it is the enemy who is striking him with the rod of wrath.

<sup>11</sup> The text reads *tristitia*, an error for *tristia*.

<sup>12</sup> Job 13:21, Vulgate, MAKE YOUR HAND DISTANT FROM ME....

5. HE ERECTS A BUILDING AGAINST ME, HE SURROUNDS  
MY HEAD WITH WEARINESS.<sup>13</sup>

6. HE SET ME UP IN THE DARKNESS LIKE THE DEAD OF  
THE AGE<sup>14</sup>.

HE MAKES MY FLESH AND MY SKIN TO GROW OLD, HE  
GRINDS MY BONES: these are the body's softer parts  
which abound with nerves. Nerves are endowed with  
sensation, for they are the organs of sense. Whenever  
the bodily parts are tormented by the hand of God, that  
is, by an infection, they are said to grow old, to be  
dried up, to be set on fire, to be contracted, to  
become wrinkled. This is precisely the condition of  
older people, except that in them old age is the cause.  
A sharp and continuous pain, which in particular is  
numbered among these things which overthrow their natu-  
ral vitality, brings them into that state.

<sup>13</sup> MY HEAD WITH WEARINESS: the MT reads:

ראש וחלוא, which means, as Jerome correctly translated GALL  
AND WEARINESS. Sometimes "gall" is written ראש (see Holladay  
329). Because it is here written with an ח, it is identical to  
the word for head. In an exceedingly complex comment Ibn Ezra  
notes that this line might alternatively be read "He struck off my  
head and hung it up," but this alternative reading of his is too  
clever by half. Martyr abandons his usual authorities (Jerome,  
Pagnini and Münster), and in a sense takes the worst of both  
worlds: he has mixed Jerome's accurate reading with half of Ibn  
Ezra's alternate, less credible one.

<sup>14</sup> *uti mortuos saeculi* is a literalistic translation of כמותי  
עולם, which Jerome translated *quasi mortuos sempiternos*: Martyr,  
as he explains in his exposition, is aware that עולם can have  
another meaning besides "eternity," so he translates it literally  
here, in order to expound it more fully later. Pagnini (*in*  
*seculum*) and Münster (*a seculo*) try less hard to mirror the Hebrew  
syntax.

HE GRINDS MY BONES: surely these parts of the body, although they are deprived of sensation, are said nonetheless to be its strength and solidness. Hence they are presented as being broken.<sup>15</sup> After these are broken in the body, weakness necessarily follows. For what animal can attack after having been so disabled? The hand of God which previously worked to restore health here leaves nothing healthy.

HE ERECTS A BUILDING AGAINST ME: the speaker calls his exile a prison.<sup>16</sup> "He built," he says, "against me a towering prison."

HE SURROUNDS MY HEAD WITH WEARINESS: whenever I look and see by how high a fence I am restrained,<sup>17</sup> I become dizzy,<sup>18</sup> as happens whenever we think difficult things. It seems right to others that וְיָגֵד<sup>19</sup> here does

<sup>15</sup> i.e., and not as hurting, as was the flesh just above. Martyr is building on this comment of Ibn Ezra:

The flesh and the skin which have feeling wasted away;  
and the bones which have no feeling are broken.

<sup>16</sup> Rashi on v. 7:

HE FENCED ME IN: he made a wall against me so I might be imprisoned.

<sup>17</sup> cf. Perush:

And afterwards HE BUILT against him a building and he surrounded his head.

<sup>18</sup> lit., "experience that the faculties of my head and my spirit are weakened."

<sup>19</sup> See note above in Martyr's translation.

not mean "head" but "bitterness", "gall,"<sup>20</sup> or something of this sort.<sup>21</sup> So this would be the meaning of the words: "He surrounded me with bitterness and fatigue or tiredness". Either one is acceptable.

HE SET ME UP IN THE DARKNESS LIKE THE DEAD OF THE AGE: the speaker not only compares that exile of his to a prison but also to a tomb. "Now am I placed," he says, "and stationed in the darkness of the dead" (for dead bodies are hidden under ground). But why does he say the dead OF THE AGE? עולם either means "age" or "perpetuity." Here either one has a place.<sup>22</sup> If you understand "the age," meaning "his age," the sense will be: "He stationed me in the darkness by which dead bodies are surrounded in our age."<sup>23</sup> But if you allow for a meaning of "perpetuity," then the sense will be "the dead, because of the nature of death, will be in that state forever." For unless God's help assists, they are not allowed to return to their state by what deprived them of it.

<sup>20</sup> Jerome's translation: see note above on the phrase in Martyr's translation.

<sup>21</sup> Rashi:

GALL (רִאשׁ) AND WEARINESS (תִּלְמוּד): as in GALL AND WORMWOOD [Dt. 29:18].

<sup>22</sup> See note above in Martyr's translation. Actually neither is correct. The phrase means rather, as Hillers 109 has it, "like those long dead." However, give Martyr credit for recognizing an exegetical problem and trying to solve it outside the expectation of eternal life.

<sup>23</sup> i.e., but in the age to come, this will not be the case.

Gimel 7. HE FENCED ME IN,<sup>24</sup> AND<sup>25</sup> I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO LEAVE; HE MADE MY BONDS HEAVY.

8. THOUGH I SHOULD SHOUT AND CRY OUT, HE CLOSES UP TO MY PRAYER.

9. HE FENCES MY WAYS WITH SQUARED STONES; HE TWISTS MY WAYS.

HE FENCED ME IN, AND I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO LEAVE: these words pertain not just to captivity and exile; they also can be applied to that harsh siege.<sup>26</sup> They were not allowed by human means to extricate themselves from these two torments of exile and siege.

<sup>24</sup> גִּדֵּר בְּעָדַי: Jerome has less literally, *Circumaedificavit adversum me*; Martyr seems to have been inspired by Pagnini who has *circumsepivit*.

<sup>25</sup> Pagnini's literalistic rendering of the Hebrew. Jerome-Münster have less literally "so that." The "and" here in Hebrew is most likely purposive.

<sup>26</sup> Rashi:

HE FENCED ME IN: he made a wall against me so that I might be imprisoned; AND I DO NOT GO OUT: he caused to dwell around me encampments and regiments of those lying in wait.

Cf. Münster 1534 Bible:

HE FENCED IN MY WAYS: Here is mentioned the two-year siege, in which they were held like captives within the walls of the city by the army of the Chaldeans, so they could not go out except by twisting and covert ways.

HE MADE MY BONDS HEAVY: i.e., "bronze."<sup>27</sup> So that I may say it in a single word, one understands "fettters"--thus they interpret נחשתי.<sup>28</sup>

THOUGH I SHOULD SHOUT AND CRY OUT, HE CLOSES UP TO MY PRAYER: it especially torments the saints when they are not heard at once in their troubles. For their carnal nature taunts them: "Why doesn't that God of yours hear you now?" These insults must be blunted by great faith. Let us remember that Christ, when he prayed in the garden,<sup>29</sup> also was not heard<sup>30</sup> at once but rather after his resurrection. And when he prayed for those who attached him to the cross,<sup>31</sup> they were not saved at once, though many of them were later converted to God after Peter addressed them.<sup>32</sup> If therefore in Christ's case vows and prayers were delayed, and if God held back his gifts from him for a short time, why are we so frustrated that we are not heard on the spot?

<sup>27</sup> The Hebrew for MY BONDS is נחשתי, lit. "my bronze [bonds]."

<sup>28</sup> "fettters" *compedes*, i.e., bonds for the feet; cf. Rashi:

HE MADE HEAVY MY FETTERS: he made for my feet heavy fetters so that I cannot go, כבדתי [fers, i.e., "irons" in English] in the vernacular.

<sup>29</sup> Mt. 26:39 and parallels.

<sup>30</sup> Heb. 5:7, *et exauditus pro sua reverentia*.

<sup>31</sup> Lk. 23:34.

<sup>32</sup> Acts 2:14-36, esp. 36b: THIS JESUS WHOM YOU CRUCIFIED, evidently Martyr understands this phrase rather literally.

God does not delay cruelly but prudently. As he knows what is useful for us, in the same way he alone knows the right times, occasions and opportunities to give things to us. So let us not prescribe the hours for him rashly. If we do not dare to do this with a medical doctor, why with God? And because we are not heard sufficiently quickly, we ought not on that account to desist from prayer.<sup>33</sup> There is an instruction for us to pray without ceasing.<sup>34</sup> For praying may never be without fruitful results for us. And often fruits, late-ripe and long expected are better and more fit than those which are premature, sudden and unseasonable. What is more pleasant than grapes or figs which are nonetheless a year more tardy than all others? The Lord's incarnation was long requested by the fathers, and it was given late. We too wait avidly for the blest hope, i.e. the advent of the Christ and the great God.<sup>35</sup> But this is given last of all. If we can wait in the case of these serious matters for as long as it pleases God, why cannot we wait when it comes to our own longings, often so much less serious?

HE FENCES MY WAYS WITH SQUARED STONES: again the narrowness of the enclosure is placed before his eyes.

<sup>33</sup> cf. Lk. 18:1-8, esp. vv., 1 and 8, the preface and conclusion to the parable of the unjust judge.

<sup>34</sup> 1 Thes. 5:17.

<sup>35</sup> *expectamusque avidissime beatum spem, adventum inquam Christi et magni Dei*; cf. Tit. 2:13, *Expectantes beatam spem et adventum gloriae magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*.



HE TWISTS MY WAYS: so that the way out could not be found by any means.

Dalet 10. A BEAR LYING IN AMBUSH HE BECAME FOR ME, A LION IN HIDING-PLACES.

11. MY WAYS HE *COVERS OVER WITH THORNS*,<sup>36</sup> AND HE CUT ME DOWN;<sup>37</sup> HE PLACED ME DESOLATE.

12. HE DREW HIS BOW, AND HE PLACED ME AS A SIGN FOR THE ARROW.

A BEAR AND LION HE BECAME:<sup>38</sup> God who had been to me shepherd, father, husband, physician, tutor, and every good has turned into monstrous and blood-thirsty beasts for me.

MY WAYS HE TWISTED<sup>39</sup> AND SCATTERED; HE CUT ME DOWN: there are three verbs which are joined to "ways."

<sup>36</sup> COVERED OVER WITH THORNS: for דרכי סורר: this rendering is from Rashi:

MY WAYS HE סורר [usual ET "turned aside"]: from the language of brambles סידים (thorns קוצים); סורר is "he thorned (קוץ) them"--he was scattering thorns on my way.

Most probably this verb is a polel form of the familiar סור (see Holladay 254), which is how Jerome, Pagnini and Münster understand it.

<sup>37</sup> CUT ME DOWN (*succidit*): for the hapax legomenon ויפשמני, of uncertain meaning. Jerome has *congregit*, Pagnini *concidit*, and Münster *dissipavit*.

<sup>38</sup> It is this exact phrase Martyr cites and exegetes, not the verse in general.

<sup>39</sup> Martyr deliberately includes a phrase from v. 9, since

The first is *עוה*, "to twist," and it means the way is obliterated and destroyed so that it cannot be seen. The second is *סורר*,<sup>40</sup> and it means to cover up with thorns, so that, although you recognize the path, you cannot walk along it on account of the thorns. In the prophet Hosea:<sup>41</sup> I SHALL HEDGE YOUR WAYS WITH THORNS.<sup>42</sup> The third is *יפשתי*, "to cut down, to cut open," which is by some referred to the ways, because they were interrupted and sundered.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, when pits are cutting them into segments, no one can go along these ways unless by leaping. So it happens that the legs or feet of those going along are broken. And on that account he said: "He cut me down, or he amputated me," i.e., from the way by so interrupting it.<sup>44</sup>

the subject matter is similar (WAYS).

<sup>40</sup> See note above on this verb in Martyr's translation.

<sup>41</sup> 2:8, ET 2:6.

<sup>42</sup> Jerome has: "your way" (Martyr must be citing from memory).

<sup>43</sup> The usual ET, "tear in pieces [like a wild beast]" is far from certain, as Hillers 113 points out, and may, in fact, in some way refer to the road, as Rashi supposed:

*יפשתי*: from the language of the widening *קסוק* of the feet, that he who goes over the ways which are not open must make his steps wide; and there is an example in the language of the Talmud [TB Moed Qatan 10B]: "With regard to one who trims *גשם* his palm."

<sup>44</sup> Martyr has tried to reconcile Rashi's interpretation of "widening" with the Pagnini's rendering, "cut up in pieces."

HE DREW HIS BOW, AND HE PLACED ME AS A SIGN FOR THE ARROW which everyone hits, meaning he oppressed me with the army of not just one nation.<sup>45</sup>

He 13. HE DISCHARGED INTO MY KIDNEYS THE SHAFTS  
OF HIS QUIVER.<sup>46</sup>

14. I WAS IN MOCKERY<sup>47</sup> TO MY ENTIRE PEOPLE, AND THEIR SONG ALL DAY.

15. HE SATED ME WITH SORROWS; HE MADE ME DRUNK  
WITH WORMWOOD.

HE DISCHARGED INTO MY KIDNEYS THE SHAFTS OF HIS QUIVER: the sacred scriptures sometimes endue God with the appearance of a human body for the salvation of religious people. (The scriptures even say that he has

<sup>45</sup> This comment is apparently based on Ibn Ezra's interpretation of 14a:

TO ALL MY PEOPLE (לְכָל עַמִּי): "while my people were making fun of me"; or, "to all the people who had been under my hand."

Part of the exegetical debate here is the question of who is doing the shooting: God, according to Rashi; the enemy, according to the scruples of Ibn Ezra. Martyr steers a middle course.

<sup>46</sup> The Hebrew has: HE BROUGHT INTO MY KIDNEYS THE SONS OF HIS QUIVER; hence Jerome's literalistic: "He sent in my kidneys the daughters ['arrows' is feminine in Latin] of his quiver."

<sup>47</sup> The Hebrew for this is הִייתִי שִׂחָק. Jerome translates accurately *Factum sum in derisum* (see L&S 554 for the idiom). Pagnini, in trying to imitate הִייתִי, ended up with *Fui risui*, which is more successful than Münster's artificial *Fui in derisum*. But it is the latter which Martyr copies.

his eyes fixed on holy people,<sup>48</sup> he protects them by his hand<sup>49</sup> and by his shield he keeps away from them their enemies.)<sup>50</sup> In a similar way he is here represented by these same scriptures as a wild beast, as an angry enemy, schooled in every kind of weaponry to destroy the wicked. Our prophet now pictures him to be an archer. Job too laments this in as many words, or nearly so.<sup>51</sup> These words of Job coincide perfectly with the words of the prophets above.

The prophet said that he had been set up as a target at which dreadful arrows are aimed.<sup>52</sup> He now reveals that it had not happened without effect, since indeed God struck him, and not lightly. The arrows penetrated so deeply that they reached even to the kidneys. This part of the body seems to be more hidden than all other parts. This is not only because of the location of the kidneys but also because nature envelops them by so much fat that they are concealed

<sup>48</sup> e.g., Ps. 34:15.

<sup>49</sup> e.g., Ps. 139:10.

<sup>50</sup> e.g., Ps. 5:12.

<sup>51</sup> MT Job 16:13: HIS ARCHERS SURROUND ME; HE CLEAVES OPEN MY KIDNEYS AND HE DOES NOT TAKE PITY; HE POURS OUT MY GALL ON THE GROUND; but the Vulgate reads: HE SURROUNDS ME WITH HIS SPEARS; HE SEVERELY WOUNDS MY LOINS; HE DID NOT TAKE PITY, AND HE POURED OUT ON THE GROUND MY VISCERA. Martyr must be alluding to the MT and not the Vulgate, because Martyr emphasizes that the words of Job "coincide perfectly" with Jeremiah's.

<sup>52</sup> lit.: "as a sign at which dreadful arrows are born": see note on "sign" in Martyr's translation of v. 12.

and protected all the more.<sup>53</sup> When wounds have reached to the place where the kidneys are, it must be that the stabs have been very deep. Furthermore since the site of the kidneys is closely connected with the pleasures of Venus, it necessarily follows that it too be a receptacle of the contrary. Whenever an injury occurs there, it is immensely and intolerably painful. For things which are mutually opposed become by nature about the same. Those who receive a wound to these places seem to have their life on the line.

There is also an elegant metaphor here. The quiver is represented as being pregnant with arrows. The prophet calls the arrows SONS OF THE QUIVER<sup>54</sup> because the archers draw arrows from it as if from a womb.<sup>55</sup>

I WAS IN MOCKERY TO MY ENTIRE PEOPLE: these words were, I think, spoken with reference to the prophet himself, who had been treated badly by the king and by the people in those times, as both the Books of Kings<sup>56</sup> and his prophecies make abundantly plain.

<sup>53</sup> Perush:

And the arrows entered into his kidneys, with the result that they were disappearing into the fat.

<sup>54</sup> See note above on Martyr's translation of 3:13b.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn Ezra:

The quiver is likened to an impregnated womb.

<sup>56</sup> Actually Jeremiah, outside of the prophecies ascribed to him, is only mentioned--and that briefly--in later Biblical literature: 2 Chr., Ezra, and Dan.--never in 1 or 2 K.

And the letter yod in the word עמי will not be superfluous (added for decoration) because Jeremiah was not hauled around by aliens but by his own people. On the other hand Ibn Ezra believes that the yod is a pleonasm,<sup>57</sup> and so those things can pertain not just to Jeremiah but also to that entire nation.<sup>58</sup>

AND THEIR SONG ALL DAY: that is, "I was the theme of the vulgar poems which were tossed around publicly as songs, verses, taunts, jokes and all other things of that kind." Being the theme of poetry is an indication of very ill fortune, as we see happened among the Gentiles. The misfortunes of Thyestes, Atreus, the

<sup>57</sup> lit. "pleromatic diction." For this unusual word "pleromatic," see note on *πληρομακτικῶς* in Lam. 1:1.

<sup>58</sup> Martyr only understood part of Ibn Ezra's comment correctly--and no wonder: it is an exceedingly complex comment, the first part of which is the following:

TO ALL MY PEOPLE (לכל עמי): "while my people were making fun of me" [the speaker is Jeremiah]; or, "to all the people who had been under my hand" [the speaker is Judah] as, AMALEK AND HIS PEOPLE [Ex/17:13]; or, the ך [of עמי] is superfluous [and the meaning is, "to all the people," not "my people"]. [The other case of עמי not meaning "my people" is found in the Masorah:] AND YOU DELIVERED ME FROM STRIVINGS OF עמי [2 Sam. 22:44, and עמי means MY PEOPLE], not "peoples" [as the Masorah says it might] since it alludes to Saul [and David's own countrymen], for thus it says at the beginning of the song, AND FROM THE HAND OF SAUL [2 Sam.22:1].

Martyr evidently missed completely that Ibn Ezra does not favor the notion that the ך is superfluous, since he does not understand Martyr's quarrel with the Masorah. This is, incidently, another indirect indication that Martyr had not mastered the Masorah.

Trojans, Oedipus<sup>59</sup> and others like them seemed to have been the most wretched of all. There has been almost no poet, whether bad or good, who has not dragged around their miseries. I take as exceptions the comic poets<sup>60</sup> who refrained from such grand things. This always happens to God's people when they are tormented: in addition to pains and punishments, they are forced to bear the insolent words of mockers. This is something you do not see happen to others, and especially to rascals. While they are punished by beheading or hanging, or by whatever kind of death they are taken away, everyone seems to be moved by their unhappy fate. On the other hand, when God's people perish, scoffers are always present. And no wonder, since in the former case the world seems to destroy its own, and like does not from its soul hate like.<sup>61</sup> People are conscious that either they have done similar things at some time, or if they did not commit such things, at least they contrived them. However, when the saints are punished,

<sup>59</sup> "Thyestes, son of Pelops and brother of Atreus, who set before him for food the flesh of his own son ... Horace, AP 91" and other poets (L&S 1870); "the Trojans," lit. "Troy," a major theme in both Iliad and Aeneid; and Oedipus "who murdered his father and married his mother," the subject of many works including Sophocles' Oedipus Rex.

<sup>60</sup> e.g., Terence, through whom Martyr learned his Latin by the good offices of his mother (Simler 32). There is more than a touch of irony in Martyr's description of the classical tragedies.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Plato Symp. 195B, "like to like."

then the world truly exults,<sup>62</sup> because it seems that their enemies are swept away in a great victory. When this happens to us, we should be strong, because the same thing happened to Christ. No one insulted, no one laughed, hissed, or shook his head at the thieves, most damnable men, who were killed with him.<sup>63</sup> The Evangelists only touched on a few small bits of what was really said against Jesus Christ. Yet I am persuaded that many more things were tossed at him, since in that history it was enough for them to have run through the more significant points.

HE SATED ME WITH SORROWS; HE MADE ME DRUNK WITH WORMWOOD: here the plan of the prophet is to declare what sort of food it was with which the people were sustained in exile or in the siege. "Everything," he says, "had been sprinkled with sorrows and seasoned with wormwood," so that they were unable even to taste anything.

Vav<sup>64</sup> 16. HE CRUSHED WITH GRAVEL<sup>65</sup> MY TEETH; HE

<sup>62</sup> An allusion to John 16:20 ...YOU WILL WEEP AND LAMENT, BUT THE WORLD WILL REJOICE....

<sup>63</sup> Mt. 27:38-44 and parallels.

<sup>64</sup> Like Münster, Martyr does not begin vv. 16 and 17 with "and." These "and's" are stylistic devices to keep the poem alphabetical, but they do not affect the meaning.

<sup>65</sup> WITH GRAVEL (בַּחֲצֵץ), *lapido*, from Pagnini-Münster *lapidis*. But Jerome has *ad numerum*: either his text was different, or he learned that the root חָצַץ meant "to divide" and he thought the



TURNED<sup>66</sup> ME IN THE ASHES.

17. MY SOUL WENT BACK<sup>67</sup> FROM PEACE; I FORGOT THE GOOD.

18. AND I SAID, "MY STRENGTH<sup>68</sup> PERISHES, AND MY HOPE FROM THE LORD.

HE CRUSHED WITH GRAVEL MY TEETH: this refers to a kind of bread so dirty and crammed with sand and stones that, while eating it, I broke my teeth. It happens in extreme deprivation that anything from whatever happens to be at hand is added and mixed with dough in order to fill empty bellies.<sup>69</sup>

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meaning was to break up in a number of pieces.

<sup>66</sup> "turned" is for the hapax legomenon מִכְפִּישׁנִי (Holladay 164 suggests "trample down"); here Martyr follows Münster; Pagnini has, "covered." Jerome has "fed me with ashes"--incomprehensible until it is recalled that in midrashic tradition, this verse is associated with eating gravel and ashes: see Lam.R. 3:6, ET 195; also Buber 3:62.

<sup>67</sup> WENT BACK: for וָחֲזָנָה; Jerome read this verb as passive (it makes more sense that way, and only the pointing, not the consonants, need to be changed)--"my soul is repulsed." Pagnini (*elongavit se*) and Münster (*Discessit*) keep the more difficult active voice, and Martyr follows their example.

<sup>68</sup> Münster has *rubor meum* for the difficult נִצְחָה (נִצְחָה is "luster, lastingness" or the like according to Holladay 244). Martyr follows Münster, who in turn either could have gotten his definition from the Targum ("And I said, 'My strength is gone'") and from Pagnini who translates *fortitudo*. Jerome has *finis*, which can mean τέλος (see L&S 752) and thus somewhat close to "lastingness."

<sup>69</sup> "from whatever...": *undecunq̄ue*. Martyr has taken Rashi's version of an aggadah about eating gravel and ashes and applied it to the starvation during the siege. Rashi:

WITH GRAVEL: fine stones which are in the dust; thus, the exiles were kneading their dough in the holes which they were digging in the ground, and gravel went

HE TURNS ME IN THE ASHES: if you refer this phrase to the same matter as above, it is especially suitable. Such was the bread that, when I put it to my mouth, I seemed to be tossed and turned in the ashes. My mouth was completely filled with dust and dirt. Ezekiel had predicted not only by words but also by a visual demonstration (horrible to see) that the people would be sustained by food mixed with filth.<sup>70</sup> The Lord ordered him to cook on human dung impure bread,<sup>71</sup> mashed and confectioned from almost every kind of legume. And when he shuddered at the thought, cow manure was given to him in place of human excrement. And after he had prepared such bread for himself, he was obliged to feed himself for three hundred ninety days, and again for forty days, all the while so bound by bonds and ropes that he could not turn or toss his body from one side to the other. "By such food," the Lord says,

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into it. According as the Holy One Blest Be He told Ezekiel, MAKE FOR YOURSELF CONTAINERS OF EXILE [Ez. 12:3], a small pan by which to drink and in which to knead, [this he did] in order that they might learn and might do thus, according to the matter which was spoken to them, AND EZEKIEL WILL BECOME FOR THEM A MODEL/SIGN [Ez. 24:24]. But they were laughing at him and did not do thus. The end was that their teeth were broken.

<sup>70</sup> Ezekiel 4. Martyr's illustration is not entirely apropos. After all, the dung is not mixed in the bread. Evidently Martyr liked the aggadah Rashi recounted (cited above) and tried to think of an instance in the life of Ezekiel (as recorded in scripture) in which he was related to the baking of bread with impurities in it.

<sup>71</sup> "Impure" because it was to be baked using human dung as fuel.

"these people will be fed among the nations to whom I am expelling them."<sup>72</sup>

MY SOUL WENT BACK FROM PEACE: "peace" among the Hebrews referred to a situation in which people live peacefully, quietly, and safely. However it was also seen as a general term of prosperity: everything was going well. It describes, therefore, contented activity and a desired state of things. When greeting one another, Jews wish this kind of good for each other.<sup>73</sup> For this reason Christ used to say to his disciples, when he encountered or approached them: PEACE BE WITH YOU.<sup>74</sup> And Paul in his epistles always has these two things linked: χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη. Likewise the Greeks say Χαῖρε and the Latins *Salve*.

I FORGOT THE GOOD: I was so overwhelmed with evils that good things were utterly obliterated from my memory. I forgot what happened to me in the past by the goodness of God and what he promises me through his prophets that he will give me in the future after these harsh misfortunes.

<sup>72</sup> Ez. 4:13, paraphrase.

<sup>73</sup> Martyr noticed that Jews of his day greeted each other by saying "Shalom." This sort of observation, using contemporary Jewish customs to illuminate a Bible passage, is rare in Martyr.

<sup>74</sup> Martyr extrapolates from Lk. 24:36 and Jn. 20:21.

AND I SAID, "MY STRENGTH PERISHES, AND MY HOPE FROM THE LORD:"<sup>75</sup> the carnal nature is still very much alive in holy men, and they still experience the goad of temptation while they are in the world. However God grants them his Spirit so that they may reject utterly the advice, reasoning and blasphemy of their carnal nature, and so that they may sense unwillingly this carnal nature speaking in them. Paul in Romans<sup>76</sup> expressed this condition of the saints in an appropriate way when he said that he consented in spirit to the Law of God because it is good. However he said that he was seized by another law of bodily members and carnal nature, which leads him away captive and thwarts him. Nevertheless we are liberated by God's grace, because those things which we permit are not imputed to us but are covered over.

Something like the above is described here by Jeremiah. "MY STRENGTH PERISHES AND MY HOPE FROM THE LORD. I seem to have forgotten the gifts and the promises on account of the evils which press me. The carnal nature urges that I despair of God's promises. Human reason judges me to have been deceived." In a Psalm David said: I SAID IN MY HASTE, "EVERY HUMAN

<sup>75</sup> Martyr is plainly embarrassed that Jeremiah would write such a thing, and his discomfort induces him to write a fairly lengthy apology for unfaithful things said and done by God's saints.

<sup>76</sup> 7:7-25, esp. 22-25; Martyr paraphrases freely.

BEING IS A LIAR."<sup>77</sup> "While I was fleeing headlong as if I had been deceived by Samuel,<sup>78</sup> I seemed to myself to be utterly destroyed."<sup>79</sup> This is what Job seemed to say insolently.<sup>80</sup> However, everything like that must be interpreted sanely, for this is the way scripture would have it dispensed. The carnal nature can rouse up and haul out of the soul of saints what by its nature and strength is wickedly spoken and thought: blasphemies and serious sins. When they are protected by faith, whatever the carnal nature rouses up is not imputed to them. By God's Spirit they disapprove and detest what they are forced to hear or experience in themselves. Everything like that grieves them, and it pains them that so far these remains of sin have not yet been more completely vanquished and overcome by them.

<sup>77</sup> Ps. 116:11; this is the MT; for בְּחַיִּי, Jerome has *in excessu meo*, but Martyr (or his source) more accurately (Holladay 112) has *in festinatione mea*; note that the abstract noun *festinatio* is not in L&S 742, so Martyr may have made the word up to correspond to what he understood the Hebrew to mean.

<sup>78</sup> i.e., when Samuel anointed him, 1 Sam. 16:13.

<sup>79</sup> "While...destroyed" is Martyr's explanation of the Psalm quotation. Martyr has read so much midrash, his exegesis resembles it at times.

<sup>80</sup> Job 3:1, "Afterwards Job opened his mouth and cursed his day," and Job's speeches until God speaks.

Zain 19. IN REMEMBERING<sup>81</sup> MY AFFLICTION,  
TROUBLE,<sup>82</sup> WORMWOOD AND GALL;

20. IN REMEMBERING MY SPIRIT WILL REMEMBER AND IS  
CAST DOWN UPON ME.

21. THIS I BRING BACK TO MY HEART, AND THEREFORE I  
HOPE.<sup>83</sup>

IN REMEMBERING MY AFFLICTION, TROUBLE, WORMWOOD  
AND GALL: "This despair of soul," he says, "assails me,  
while I think over what I suffer, while I turn over in  
my mind how I am tossed by difficult and adverse cir-  
cumstances." Some wish this verb זכר to be in the  
imperative mood, so that a prayer is addressed to God  
in the usual way, as if he should seek to request that  
God would direct his goodness to him again. Ibn Ezra's  
interpretation, however, seems to me to be the one to  
follow: that it is a noun, that is, of the infinitive

<sup>81</sup> The MT begins זכר, which is either an imperative (a request to God) or an infinitive absolute ("the memory of"). Either alternative commentators find awkward. Jerome-Pagnini-Münster read it as an imperative. Martyr tries to take his cue from Ibn Ezra (cited by Martyr below) and reads it as an infinitive absolute, which he in turn translates as a gerund of an adverbial clause.

<sup>82</sup> TROUBLE (*aerumnae*): for the MT's קרודי (root רוד "wander") Jerome had "transgression," which he might have understood as a metaphorical understanding of the concrete "straying." Münster's rendering may be from Perush: "since always he remembers his distress."

<sup>83</sup> I HOPE: Martyr has this verb in the present tense while Jerome-Pagnini-Münster have it in the future.

mood, "While I remember."<sup>84</sup> And this is the worst of all trials, since it concerns despair. And since despair cannot be endured, the following is added:

IN REMEMBERING MY SPIRIT WILL REMEMBER AND IS CAST DOWN UPON ME: it is the task of the spirit to hold the body upright and to turn it toward heaven, for otherwise the body would by itself be inclined to earth. If the spirit is cast down under a weight, it follows that the body will be entirely prostrate.

THIS I BRING BACK TO MY HEART, AND THEREFORE I HOPE: nothing worse could have been said. An antidote to despair is brought. Never can faith give up. Now let us see how faith responds to the carnal nature and with what arguments it fortifies us.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Ezra actually allowed for both options:

THE REMEMBERING (זכור): an infinitive, AS THE REMEMBERING OF THEIR CHILDREN (כזכור בניהם) [Jer. 17:2] or, it means a request to G-D [and thus it is an imperative].

<sup>85</sup> That is, Martyr is tying verses 18-22 together. The supreme evil or temptation is despair ("my hope in God is lost"); this despair literally crushes until faith restores hope. Martyr has had help here from Rashi:

THIS I ANSWER MY HEART: after my heart said to me, MY HOPE FROM G-D IS LOST [v. 18b above], this I shall answer my heart and hope again. And what is it that I shall answer my heart? SURELY G-D'S MERCIES HAVE NOT FINISHED... and all the matter until HOW CAN HE COMPLAIN...? [vv. 22-29]

Het 22. [IT IS] THE MERCIES OF THE LORD THAT WE HAVE NOT BEEN CONSUMED, BECAUSE HIS COMPASSIONS HAVE NOT FAILED.

23. [THEY ARE] NEW EACH AND EVERY MORNING; MUCH IS YOUR FAITHFULNESSES!<sup>86</sup>

24. "MY PART IS THE LORD," SAID MY SOUL,  
"THEREFORE I SHALL HOPE IN HIM."

IT IS THE MERCIES OF THE LORD, THAT WE HAVE NOT BEEN CONSUMED: if deserts were weighed out, we would be doomed. If our strength were considered, all would be lost. If the monstrous size of enemy forces were considered, we would not be able to escape. However it is a work of the sheer compassion of God that good things await us and we have not been utterly destroyed. Therefore when we are so oppressed with the weight of our transgressions, the pain of sorrows and the bitterness of troubles, we ought to turn our mind to God, who

<sup>86</sup> Apparently Jerome read these two verses, "O the mercies of God! Because we have not been consumed, because his mercies have not failed, we are new at daybreak. Much is your faithfulness!" Jerome's translation is, as I see it, a brilliant way of addressing the problems of the Hebrew. However Rashi and Ibn Ezra did not understand these verses in this way. In particular, it is the "mercies" or "compassions" which are "new." Martyr's interpretation of these verses seems to be partly from Martyr and partly from the Jewish commentators. Münster, "[Mercies are shown] new early in the morning and at daybreak." Rashi:

NEW TO THE MORNINGS (לבקרים): renewed are your mercies from day to day;

and Ibn Ezra:

TO THE MORNINGS (לבקרים): "each day," as EACH MORNING [lit. TO THE MORNINGS] I DESTROY [Ps. 101:8]....



is our good and clement Father. This we must do because in ourselves we have merely the response of death, as the Apostle teaches in 2 Corinthians.<sup>87</sup>

BECAUSE HIS COMPASSIONS DID NOT FAIL: the infinite cannot by its very nature be consumed. As God is infinite, so all things attributed to him are limitless, such as his goodness and his compassion. His work is to vanquish all those things which are dangerous to us. Isaiah said, UNLESS THE LORD SABAOTH HAD NOT LEFT US A SEED, WE WOULD HAVE BEEN LIKE SODOM.<sup>88</sup> It is as if he should say, "Unless divine compassion had not placed itself between our miserable selves and the immense number of enemies, it would have been all over for us."

THEY ARE NEW EACH AND EVERY MORNING: that is, no day rises for us unless it brings with it some fresh proof of your compassion to us. Hence it must be concluded that we ought not to consider it hard, serious or difficult each and every day to give new thanks to God. New blessings from him are always arising for us not just each and every day but in every moment in time. The saints turn their attention to this, but the irreligious are not even able to dream of it.

<sup>87</sup> 1:9, paraphrase: the "response" is a legal one (L&S 1582), the *απόκριμα*, or as our ET puts it better, "sentence of death." However Martyr translates it "response" since it fits in with his exposition of this and the previous verse.

<sup>88</sup> Is. 1:9, paraphrase except Martyr leaves untranslated צבאות (AV, "of Hosts").

MUCH IS YOUR FAITHFULNESS!: what we deserve is not taken into account here. If God is merciful, he acts according to his constancy and dignity. He performs everything he has promised. These people were not going to be destroyed before Christ was brought forth for us from them. Their crimes could not rescind this promise, graciously delivered. Paul said:

WHAT IF SOME OF THEM DID NOT BELIEVE, THEIR UNBELIEF WOULD NOT MAKE VOID THE FAITHFULNESS OF GOD, WOULD IT? FAR BE IT. FOR LET GOD BE TRUE, AND EVERY HUMAN BEING A LIAR.<sup>89</sup>

And David:

THAT YOU MIGHT BE JUSTIFIED IN YOUR JUDGMENTS, AND BE VINDICATED WHEN YOU JUDGE.<sup>90</sup>

Would that our fidelity might respond to God's great faithfulness. We can never equal it, I know for certain. Let us take care, however, lest we fight against it by our infidelity.

"MY PART IS THE LORD," SAID MY SOUL, "THEREFORE I SHALL HOPE IN HIM": and so, when I see that he is so faithful, whom else ought I to seek? He always tells the truth. This verse means that they no longer wished to be devoted to idolatry.<sup>91</sup> Those who have the Lord as their part, they alone are eager to receive an outstanding heritage. Whoever they may be who sense this,

<sup>89</sup> Rm. 3:3-4a.

<sup>90</sup> Ps. 51:4b.

<sup>91</sup> Martyr is relating this verse to Ps. 16, on account of the word "part/portion." Ps. 16:4-6 contrasts the sorrows of idolatry with the "outstanding heritage" of the Psalmist.

they too are the particular portion of God.<sup>92</sup> As God is their part, he in turn may be their particular portion.

Tet 25. THE LORD IS GOOD TO THOSE HOPING IN HIM,  
AND TO THE SOUL SEEKING HIM.

26.<sup>93</sup> A GOOD PERSON WAITS AND IS SILENT FOR THE  
SALVATION OF THE LORD.

<sup>92</sup> Ps. 16 is written in the first person; Martyr emphasizes that it applies to all God's people. This notion of the "particular" is an allusion to the famous *segullah*, that particular, special treasure which Israel is to God: Ex. 19:5 and elsewhere.

<sup>93</sup> The first half line in the MT is notoriously difficult: טוב ויחיל ודומם. Modern commentators, of course, emend; Hillers modifies slightly and adds a כי and ends up with, "It is good that a man hope in quiet." Rashi had a less drastic solution:

טוב ויחיל ודומם: the ו of ויחיל is superfluous like the ו of ואיה וענה [Gn. 36:24]: IT IS GOOD that a man HOPE AND BE SILENT and look forward TO G-D'S SALVATION.

Ibn Ezra also advocates removing the "and." Apparently taking Rashi and Ibn Ezra's advice, Münster removes the "and"; but then Münster makes a very interesting move. He takes the "good" here as paralleling the "good" in the preceding verse instead of the "good" in the following verse. The result is a "good person," as, for example, Proverbs 13:22. I have been unable to find a source for Münster's suggested translation. Jerome has "It is good to..."; the LXX has for "good" "the soul that seeks the good"; the Targum has "It is good to...", as does, in effect Rashi and Perush ("It is good that he seeking G-D should endure, and be waiting, and sit 'silently דומם for the salvation of G-D'"). Münster's suggestion, if indeed it was his, was not forgotten, or at least it was current or reinvented when Nägelsbach 116-7 wrote. Perhaps this possibility needs another serious consideration. Let me note in passing that Pagnini manages to keep both "and's": "It is good that a man both hope and be silent in Jehovah's salvation."

27. IT IS GOOD FOR A MAN IF HE CARRIES THE YOKE  
FROM HIS *BOYHOOD*.

THE LORD IS GOOD: this predication or proposition is especially necessary. It sets forth a legitimate and proper signification concerning God. Goodness is attributed to God so exclusively that Christ refused his sign, title and mark when someone addressed him GOOD TEACHER.<sup>94</sup> This he did justly, because the fellow did not know him, nor did he confess him to be God, nor think carefully that God was the fount of all good. This fault of his was not pointed out by the words of the Gospel but from Christ's response. Since he holds hearts naked before his eyes, he does not unjustly censure or revile the judgments of anyone.

TO THOSE HOPING IN HIM, AND TO THE SOUL SEEKING HIM: Of what benefit to us would be his goodness, if we did not apprehend it? God's goodness is apprehended by faith, hope and diligent search. God is good, but only if we trust him or seek him. Frequently in the holy scriptures, hope is distinguished little, or not at, all from faith. If these two things are to be differentiated from one another, hope affirms, more than does trust, a certain perseverance and patient waiting

<sup>94</sup> Mk. 10:17-18 and parallel. Martyr certainly subscribed to the traditional doctrine of the Trinity, and goodness is a communicable property within the Persons. Therefore goodness can be legitimately predicated to Christ. Martyr's solution to the puzzle of Christ's refusal of that predication is clever, whether original with him or not.

for a good which lingers and delays. We know we are not going to be deceived. We know we will not have to blush with shame and be sorry that we had hoped. Paul is witness, who said in Romans, TRIBULATION WORKS PATIENCE, PATIENCE APPROVAL, AND APPROVAL HOPE, HOPE INDEED DOES NOT CONFOUND.<sup>95</sup> Truly God is sought principally in truth.<sup>96</sup> For by prayers and faith, by our abnegation, by a pure life, he is said to be sought. All of these things are a great help in finding him, provided they are pure, not simulated or feigned. NEAR IS THE LORD TO THOSE CALLING ON HIM BUT IN TRUTH.<sup>97</sup> And the prophet Hosea teaches, SOW FOR YOURSELVES IN TRUTH.<sup>98</sup> Christ said to the Samaritan woman that those worshipers are to be considered true who worship in spirit and in truth.<sup>99</sup>

A GOOD PERSON WAITS AND IS SILENT FOR THE SALVATION OF THE LORD: thus, whoever seeks the Lord and trusts him, God's goodness is propagated in him, and he himself may be said to be good. For this is the way God's goodness comes down to us. God is good in and of himself, while we are so only derivatively, if we hope and trust in him. "To be silent" has here been

<sup>95</sup> Rm. 5:4-5a.

<sup>96</sup> "Truly...in truth": *vero...in veritate*.

<sup>97</sup> Ps. 145:18, paraphrase.

<sup>98</sup> Hos. 10:12; the actual quotation is SOW FOR YOURSELVES IN JUSTICE. Martyr may be quoting from memory.

<sup>99</sup> Jn. 4:23, paraphrase.

employed for "to stay, to await silently, not to be moved by terrors, not to be estranged from God nor speak against him, if he does not seem to act for us in conformity with our plan or wish". It is plain that this verb has the above meaning from 1 Samuel 14, where Jonathan, wishing to guard against a reckless attack on the enemy, said, IF THEY SHOULD SAY, "BE STILL (OR, 'STAY'--*נחם*), UNTIL WE COME TO YOU."<sup>100</sup> The mind of a religious person is marked by this: he hopes in God in such a way that he does not move himself even a nail's breadth from<sup>101</sup> God's promises, however much the flesh clamors against him by the ways and means just made plain above.

IT IS GOOD FOR A MAN IF HE CARRIES THE YOKE FROM HIS BOYHOOD: someone is at liberty to object here, "But in the meantime, while being silent and waiting, God's unhappy servants are tormented. The griefs, pains, and tortures do not let up." "Rather," he responds, "they, right from the very start, begin to accustom themselves to those misfortunes which are of the Lord." The saints take upon themselves the cross of Christ when

<sup>100</sup> 1 Sam. 14:9, paraphrase, MT and Vulgate. This Biblical reference is from Perush (who in turn culled it from Rashi):

It is good that he seeking G-D should endure, and be waiting, and sit SILENTLY (*נחם*) FOR THE SALVATION OF G-D, as the sense of, BE STILL (*נחם*) BEFORE THE LORD AND WAIT PATIENTLY FOR HIM [Ps. 37:7], as, WAIT (*נחם*) UNTIL THEY COME TO US [1 Sam. 14:9].

<sup>101</sup> "nail's breadth from": *transversum unguem a--*from Cicero, *Att.*13,20,4, according to L&S 1931.

they are baptized, and the ancients did the same with circumcision. Therefore they became hardened to such an extent that, with the help of God's grace, they could bear these things more easily than is thought possible by human reason.

I do not say, however, that the saints are so made of iron that they suffer without difficulty. I do affirm tha' it is an amazing help to them if they start to bear the cross right from boyhood. The prophet was measuring others by himself. As a youth he began to have experience of his cross. For when prophecies were breathed on him at the beginning, he drew back in horror and said he was greatly terrified, because he was a boy.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, with the help of God's Spirit, he was ever after in an even and ready frame of mind towards all his difficulties.<sup>103</sup> You may also find Samuel in the holy scriptures to be one who bore the cross from boyhood.<sup>104</sup> Daniel and his friends were but youths when they underwent trials on account of God's word.<sup>105</sup> It cannot be described how good it is for those who quite readily set their necks under the Lord's yoke. Although they seem to bear the weight and

<sup>102</sup> Jer. 1:6, paraphrase.

<sup>103</sup> Martyr glosses over Jeremiah's complaints of the first twenty ch. of Jer.

<sup>104</sup> God first spoke to Samuel when he was a boy: 1 Sam. 3.

<sup>105</sup> Dan. 1: Daniel and his friends risk all not to eat unclean food.

heat of the day openly when they labor in the vineyard, many times the carnal nature complains. Nonetheless by the Spirit they exult in it.<sup>106</sup> Paul mentions in passing that he served the Lord with a pure conscience in conformity with his ancestors.<sup>107</sup> In another place he says that he had studied the Law at the feet of Gamaliel (Acts 22).<sup>108</sup>

Yod 28. HE WILL SIT APART AND BE QUIET, BECAUSE HE HAS BROUGHT [IT] ON HIM.<sup>109</sup>

29. HE WILL PUT HIS MOUTH IN THE DUST, IF PERCHANCE THERE BE HOPE.

30. HE WILL GIVE HIS JAW TO THE ONE STRIKING HIM, AND HE WILL BE SATED WITH SHAME.

HE WILL SIT APART AND BE QUIET: It is marvelous how, in order to tout their own institution, monks, hermits and sluggish people of this kind use this verse

<sup>106</sup> Martyr alludes to the parable of the laborers in the vineyard who were hired at different times (Mt. 20:1ff and parallels). The workers who were hired early ought to have been able by the Holy Spirit to rejoice in their sun-scorching labor, even though their "carnal nature" would naturally have been complaining.

<sup>107</sup> 2 Tim. 1:3.

<sup>108</sup> v. 3. These two references point out that Paul took on himself the yoke in boyhood, well before his conversion to Christ.

<sup>109</sup> or, BECAUSE HE HAS BROUGHT [IT] ON HIMSELF: Martyr allows for either interpretation, as his exposition will make clear.



in a figurative sense.<sup>110</sup> They say, "A solitary religious will sit in his cell and in his cloister. He will be silent in a corner of the house, bound by his fixed laws of silence; and he will lift himself up upon himself."<sup>111</sup> Then there is given to him grand and glorious visions, which they call by the Greek name "ecstasies." This verse is about something else entirely, namely about how religious people who are endowed by faith receive consolation and how they strenuously hope even in the middle of difficulties. It is good for such people if they bear the Lord's yoke even from boyhood. They do not do this by bringing troubles down on themselves or by beating themselves senseless--something for which there is no warrant in God's word.<sup>112</sup> Rather they bear God's yoke by proclaiming God's word, by censuring the people's crimes (when God has sent them to do this) and by undergoing all dangers courageously.<sup>113</sup> And when they experience trouble on account of these praiseworthy

<sup>110</sup> Martyr's only allusion to allegorical interpretation in Lamentations--and hardly favorable at that.

<sup>111</sup> "he will lift...himself": i.e., not the Lord's yoke but their own scheme of self-mortification.

<sup>112</sup> i.e., ascetic practices which are not commanded, or even recommended in the Bible.

<sup>113</sup> There is enough suffering inherent in the gospel ministry without practicing self-flagellation. Inadvertently or not, Martyr here makes an apology for his own activist career as an Augustinian monk: instead of crouching superstitiously in a cloister, he carried on an active preaching ministry, denouncing the crimes around him, e.g., his preaching ministry in Lucca (Simler 44-47).

efforts, only then do they sit apart. They separate themselves from vulgar judgment and opinion, and they separate their mind from carnal matters. They do not judge their difficulties to be as bitter or as hard as other people do, but rather they often boast and glory in them, as Paul does in 2 Corinthians<sup>114</sup> and in Romans (AND NOT ONLY SO, BUT WE EVEN GLORY IN TROUBLES).<sup>115</sup>

BECAUSE HE HAS BROUGHT IT ON HIM: why they may feel apart and different is now explained. The HE here is ambiguous, as it may refer either to God or to the man himself. If HE refers to God, then the meaning is "because God has brought it upon him." By "it" understand "this decree, this sentence."<sup>116</sup> And when

<sup>114</sup> 11:16-33.

<sup>115</sup> 5:3.

<sup>116</sup> This was Rashi's opinion:

SINCE HE PUT ON HIM: since the Master of decrees lifted up on him this decree.

So also Ibn Ezra (except that he understood the object to be the yoke of the previous verse):

SINCE HE PUT UPON HIM: the yoke.

Perush follows Ibn Ezra:

SINCE HE LIFT UP ON: refers to the YOKE spoken of above.

So also the Targum:

Let him sit alone and be silent, bearing the sufferings that come upon him for the sake of the unity of the name of G-D, that are sent to punish him for the minor sin that he commits in this world, until he have mercy upon him, and remove them from him, so that he may accept him perfected in the world-to-come.

they know themselves to be thankful to God, they console themselves that anything that has happened to them occurs by God's will and that it will WORK TOGETHER FOR GOOD for them.<sup>117</sup> Or you may take the HE to mean the afflicted man himself. He does not grieve very much, since he suffers these things of his own accord and willingly. Because he himself lifted upon himself this yoke of the Lord, he does not bear it unwillingly, as do the irreligious. Therefore he is tortured and tormented lightly.

HE WILL PUT HIS MOUTH IN THE DUST: whatever God has decreed concerning him, he accepts with a mind set apart and reverent. He worships, gives thanks and lies down on the ground, greatly praising God's decrees against himself.

IF PERCHANCE THERE BE HOPE: this is not a reference to some general hope in everything but IF PERCHANCE THERE BE HOPE in God.<sup>118</sup> PERCHANCE does not refer to God's providence, by which nothing happens by chance or accident, but the prophet looks to our deserts and intents. For faith is not given to us because we deserve it or seek it zealously. Rather it is often bestowed and thrust upon us, when we are busy with something else.

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This rather long and devout paraphrase from the Targum finds echoes in Martyr's very long exposition of Lam. 5:7.

<sup>117</sup> Rm. 8:28.

<sup>118</sup> lit., "this does not happen always or in all things, but

HE WILL GIVE HIS JAW TO THE ONE STRIKING HIM, AND HE WILL BE SATED WITH SHAME: these are the deeds of the faithful saints: not to spare themselves where it really concerns God's honor or glory. Christ taught this both by word and by deed. He commands this as the first precept of law. Only those who have been endowed with faith and hope do this. As long as God's glory may be advanced, they care nothing for their fame, wounds or beatings, but as Paul says in Corinthians, WE ARE NAKED, WE WANDER, WE ARE SHIFTLESS, WE ARE KNOCKED DOWN WITH BLOWS etc.<sup>119</sup>

Kaf 31. BECAUSE THE LORD DOES NOT ABANDON<sup>120</sup>  
FOREVER.<sup>121</sup>

32. BUT IF HE DOES AFFLICT, HE AGAIN<sup>122</sup> HAS MERCY  
ACCORDING TO THE GREAT QUANTITY OF HIS COMPASSION.

if perchance there be hope in him."

<sup>119</sup> 1 Cor. 4:11, paraphrase.

<sup>120</sup> ABANDON (*derelinquit*): Münster's less than satisfactory rendering of *רָשָׁה*, which means according to Holladay 90 "reject." Martyr would have done much better to copy Jerome's *repellet*, "reject, repulse."

<sup>121</sup> This line is incomplete; but since the MT is for Martyr and his mentors the definitive text, no mention is made of this fact.

<sup>122</sup> Jerome follows the Hebrew closely, and translates: "Because if he rejects, and he will have mercy...." The AGAIN is an interpolation of Münster, probably based on a comment of Ibn Ezra, who points out that the "and" is to be understood as indicating a relationship with the preceding clause (see Ibn Ezra's comment in the footnote in Martyr's exposition of this verse just below).

33. FOR HE DOES NOT AFFLICT FROM THE HEART, NOR  
DOES HE INFLICT WITH PAIN<sup>123</sup> THE SONS OF MEN.

BECAUSE THE LORD DOES NOT ABANDON FOREVER. BUT IF  
HE AFFLICTS, HE AGAIN HAS MERCY ACCORDING TO THE GREAT  
QUANTITY OF HIS COMPASSION: up to this point we have  
not been abandoned by him. It is not his wont and  
custom to do this. Why, therefore, should we despair?  
If he inflicted pain, he will have mercy.<sup>124</sup> It is his  
nature both to heal and to wound. It is unnecessary  
for us to have recourse to anyone other than him who  
struck us.

FOR HE DOES NOT AFFLICT FROM THE HEART, NOR DOES  
HE INFLICT WITH PAIN THE SONS OF MEN:<sup>125</sup> this must not

<sup>123</sup> INFLICT WITH PAIN: Pagnini and Münster assume this verb  
to be identical to the verb in the preceding verse, the hif'il of  
יָגַע. Jerome has *abjecit*, which represents another, but identical  
root attested according to Holladay 127 only in 2 Sam. 20:13.  
Martyr is not much interested in the exact meaning of either this  
verb or the preceding one; as his exposition will indicate, it is  
the phrase "from the heart" which concerns him.

<sup>124</sup> "will", according to Ibn Ezra:

AND HE PITIES (וַיְרַחֵם): like יָרַחַם, and thus the way of  
the language, AND G-D BECOMES TO ME GOD [Gn. 28:21]

That is, I COME AGAIN TO MY FATHER'S HOUSE, AND G-D WAS MY GOD is  
the equivalent of "If I come again to my father's house, G-D will  
be my God." Cf. MT which reads, BUT IF HE AFFLICTED, AND HE HAD  
MERCY, i.e., "If he afflicts, he will have mercy."

<sup>125</sup> The plain meaning of this verse troubled both Martyr and  
his Jewish sources--but for different reasons. The Jewish teachers  
did not want God to be seen as the direct cause of evil or even  
affliction. Martyr, on the other hand, as a Reformed theologian  
acknowledges God as the cause of affliction, yet in such a way  
that the affliction shows God's compassion.

be read to mean that God does something unwillingly.<sup>126</sup> For who will force him to depart from the purpose of his mind? Still, those who are tormented are either good or wicked.<sup>127</sup> If they are good, God's will is not directed to their troubles as if he willed these things for his own sake. Rather he has in mind a certain benefit for them which is not to be scorned. He wishes that they may be tested more and be restrained from a certain wantonness of the carnal nature. He wants their faith, fortitude and patience to be exercised. And so he does not afflict them from the heart in such a way that he intends to enjoy their adversities.

On the other hand those who are castigated may be wicked. Although in truth God punishes them, if you consider God's sign-will<sup>128</sup> only, he extends to them many things to point them to religion. He takes care

<sup>126</sup> Ibn Ezra said:

FROM HIS HEART: "from his will."

Rashi:

FOR HE DOES NOT AFFLICT... HE DOES NOT GRIEVE  
PEOPLE... FROM HIS HEART and from His will, since the  
iniquity is the cause.

Thus Martyr, not having the same doctrinal scruple as his Jewish sources, implicitly contradicts their exegesis.

<sup>127</sup> Martyr resolved his difficulties with this verse by dialectic. He analyzes the problem of God's afflicting people by distinguishing three types of people: 1. good, 2. bad and lost, and 3. bad but correctable; and also by distinguishing two types of divine will: "sign-will" and "effectual will." Cf. his exposition of Lam.5:7.

<sup>128</sup> "sign-will": *voluntas signi*: i.e., God wills to afflict in order to provide a warning, or sign.

that they are warned. He lavishes on them a protracted span of life so they may come to their senses. He surrounds them with riches and an abundance of possessions. He loads on them many temporal blessings, before he turns his attention on them. And at last he punishes in such a way that if you turn your attention to these things which point them to religion, you may say that he oppresses them unwillingly.

But you may say, "Let this sign-will be dismissed; let us consider that kind of will which is called efficacious."<sup>129</sup> It freely and deliberately afflicts the wicked." Although the former kind of will must not be scorned but rather has much weight and authority to extol God's goodness, I am speaking directly about this latter kind. That God DOES NOT AFFLICT FROM THE HEART is said even about his efficacious will. This is not because, as I said above just now, he acts unwillingly, but because his will may hardly persist or become quiet in their torment--it being hardly nourished or satisfied by human punishments.

<sup>129</sup> Martyr later in his career makes this distinction between God's sign-will and his efficacious will in a scholium inserted in his commentary on 1 Sam. 2. See LC/CP 1.17.38ff., and the Elizabethan translator rendered sign-will as "signifying will" and contrasted it with "effectual will." Here Martyr's discussion is frustratingly compact and parallels a similar one in his exposition of 5:7. As in the latter place, I have had to resort to paraphrase to make Martyr's argument comprehensible. Recourse to the Latin will hopefully corroborate my renderings.

God's will in its punishing function<sup>130</sup> is directed either to the lost or the saved. When it is directed to those who are to be damned and are beyond hope of salvation, its purpose is to demonstrate God's justice. Thus others may see it, and in commending and proclaiming it they warn themselves not to fall in the same evils. God's will in its punishing function is also directed to tractable people in order to correct them. The heart and will of God are manifested in the change, correction, and salvation of these people. God's heart and will find pleasure in this process of changing people in order that his goodness may be declared in them. The Apostle touched on this reasoning in Romans ch. 9, where because it is said with reference to the lost, God is willing ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ γνωρίσαι τὸ δυνατόν (IS WILLING TO MANIFEST HIS ANGER AND POWER), that is, the severity of his powerful justice; but concerning those who are being saved, he wished to show τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ (THE RICHES OF HIS GLORY).<sup>131</sup> Hence he will be said not to afflict from the heart.

The Targum,<sup>132</sup> however, turns this to human souls, and says that God inflicts punishments on the sons of

<sup>130</sup> lit, "the will of God as it presses."

<sup>131</sup> Rm. 9:22, Greek text with Martyr's own translations.

<sup>132</sup> "But since no man afflicted himself or removed arrogance from his heart, he therefore caused destruction to come among mankind."



men, because not one of them willingly casts himself down, humbles or afflicts himself by grieving that he has sinned, as happens with those who come to their senses. As if the sense were, "God vexes the sons of men, because not one of them grieves or afflicts himself from the heart, that is, does not seriously repent."

Each of these interpretations we have mentioned will be apt for the context of the words.

Lamed<sup>133</sup> 34. TO GRIND UNDER HIS FEET ALL THE BOUND OF THE EARTH.

35. TO SET ASIDE THE JUDGMENT OF A MAN FROM THE FACE OF THE MOST HIGH;<sup>134</sup>

36. OR TO OVERTURN SOMEONE IN HIS DISPUTE, THE LORD DID NOT SEE.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>133</sup> In his exposition of these verses Martyr mainly addresses two questions of interpretation: 1. What is their relation to the two preceding verses? 2. What does the phrase "The Lord did not see" mean? Note that unlike his mentors, Martyr uses gerundive clauses, not *ut* clauses, to render the infinitives which in Hebrew begin these three verses.

<sup>134</sup> Stucki has a full stop here, but, as Martyr exposition makes clear and as the OR of the next line indicates, a partial stop is required.

<sup>135</sup> Pagnini's literal translation of the Hebrew, "the Lord did not see," almost makes no sense. Jerome interpreted "see" as "ignored/had no knowledge of"; the LXX has "said", meaning, I suppose, that אָמַר was read for רָאָה. Hillers 116-7 finds no satisfactory solution.

TO GRIND UNDER HIS FEET. ALL THE BOUND OF THE EARTH:<sup>136</sup> here also the interpretation can be ambiguous.<sup>137</sup> First, if these words are closely connected with the prior verse in which it was asserted strongly that God did not afflict the sons of men from his soul, this verse is added lest God seem to be acting with scorn and contempt for humankind--as if residing in some way or other in heaven, he would enjoy

<sup>136</sup> Martyr's interpretation of these verses is a bit confusing. He connects verse 34 with the preceding two verses, and he connects verses 35-36a with 36b. Though this is not exactly Münster's interpretation, it seems to me Martyr developed his reading from Münster 1534 Bible:

SO THAT HE DOES NOT CRUSH UNDER HIS FEET THE CONQUERED OF THE EARTH. For these words are a continuation of the preceding verse. He calls the conquered of the earth those who bound by the chains of their sins are thrown down on the earth. God therefore does not crush a man, 3:35 nor cause him to fail in his cause, 3:36 or turn aside or pervert his cause, rather he scorns to see these things, he who loves just cause and justice.

Münster in turn seems to be dependent on a comment from Rashi:

TO CRUSH UNDER HIS FEET (based on FOR HE DOES NOT AFFLICT FROM HIS HEART, to be the one crushing UNDER HIS FEET etc.) and, TO PERVERT THE JUSTICE OF A MAN etc., and not TO SUBVERT A MAN IN HIS CAUSE: all these things G-D DID NOT SEE, it did not appear to him, and it did not occur to him to do this. THE LORD DID NOT SEE: it was not fitting in his eyes that the Court of Law Above should subvert someone in his cause, as "What did you see, that you did etc." [Gn. 20:10].

Or perhaps Münster merely drew Martyr's attention to Rashi's comment.

<sup>137</sup> The last *duplex* interpretation Martyr underlined was verse 28, but here Martyr is referring to the ambiguity of the words in the previous verse: "He does not afflict from his heart."

treading with his feet miserable people BOUND OF THE EARTH.<sup>138</sup> (They are said to be THE BOUND EARTH, since they have been on all sides bound. Either their souls are bound by vices or their bodies by necessities, labors and interminable difficulties.)

Alternatively, we are able to read this sentence not by denying it but as if confirming it, so it may be said: "God does not punish from the heart, as if it were the last thing he would wish. Rather he punishes in order to crush by his feet "the bound of the earth," i.e., those bound by crimes. He humbles them and throws them down prostrate. God does this either for their salvation, if their conduct may be corrected, or for the manifestation of his justice, if they prove recalcitrant and insult him insolently with contemptuous comments, curses and blasphemies.

TO SET ASIDE THE JUDGMENT OF A MAN FROM THE FACE OF THE MOST HIGH, OR TO OVERTURN SOMEONE IN HIS DISPUTE, THE LORD DID NOT SEE:<sup>139</sup> two reasons for divine severity are set aside when he indicates, THE LORD DID NOT SEE, that is, "it is not found with God." What he

<sup>138</sup> Perush:

G-D is like someone sitting in heaven, and the sons of men like those imprisoned on earth, shut up in the prison of wickedness.

<sup>139</sup> Martyr, having connected verse 34 with his exposition of verses 32 and 33, goes on to read verses 35 and 36 as a unit. That is, even if God does crush, God has never dreamt of setting aside judgment.

does not see, in no way is.<sup>140</sup> The Lord did not see, it did not occur to him, he did not wish it. First, to suggest that God acts capriciously or by accident<sup>141</sup> when he punishes, with no reference to crimes or demerits would be to SET ASIDE JUDGMENT... FROM THE FACE OF THE MOST HIGH. It would be as if he sees nothing, or neglects consideration of human affairs, or as if whatever he does in human affairs is only by a certain natural force, necessary fate or by blind chance. Secondly, the prophet takes away injustice from God. He is not moved by evil cupidity, as if he wishes someone to turn away or unjustly fail in his lawsuit. Rather God does not flee from judicial disputes with him; he wishes to act justly with him. It would not be in the character of the Lord but of a tyrannical mind.

Since, therefore, he is not moved by injustice, does not act by chance, and is not fed or sated with our misfortunes, does it not follow that those who are afflicted should not despair that they are going to be liberated by his goodness?

<sup>140</sup> Perush:

These three verses are joined together, and the sense of [THE LORD] DID NOT SEE is like the sense of "It did not happen since everything there is G-D sees."

<sup>141</sup> Perush:

TO PERVERT the cause by reason of his being high, and he did to those who dwell below what he wanted.

One opinion would be left in addition to the three blasphemies already mentioned: that those things which happen to them do not occur from God. First some people say: "God is so cruel as to delight in our misfortunes." Secondly, others say he acts capriciously. Thirdly, still others say even if he does not act capriciously, he acts unjustly, for he wishes people to fail at their just lawsuits. Finally some people seem to claim that apart from him or without him these things happen. These are the people the prophet opposes.

Mem 37. WHO IS IT WHO MAY SPEAK AND IT MAY DONE,<sup>1</sup>  
WITHOUT THE LORD *BIDDING IT*?

38. FROM THE LORD'S MOUTH WILL THERE NOT COME  
FORTH EVIL THINGS AND GOODNESS.

39. WHY MURMURS A LIVING HUMAN BEING? A MAN  
*AGAINST* HIS SINS.

WHO IS IT WHO MAY SPEAK AND IT IS DONE, WITH THE  
LORD NOT BIDDING IT?: if he does not order, nothing  
happens, because any matter that may be anything is  
thrown up from the fount of divine goodness.

FROM THE LORD'S MOUTH WILL NOT THERE COME FORTH  
EVIL THINGS AND GOODNESS?: some people read it in this  
way: that the first part affirms "from the mouth of the  
Lord evil will not come forth," as if he should say,  
"Not willingly does he give evil, but you yourselves  
brought it upon yourselves by your sins."<sup>2</sup> Yet "good-  
ness" they read affirmatively, as if he should say on  
the other hand, "Goodness he gives freely and will-  
ingly." However, I am more of the opinion that their

<sup>1</sup> Unlike his mentors, Martyr changes the MT's perfect and  
vav consecutive to conditional, in order to make his translation  
fit with his interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Targum:

From the mouth of almighty God there does not issue  
evil, but by signal of the Whisper [*bat kol*, heavenly  
voice], due to robbery filling the land. But when he  
wills to decree good in the world, it emanates from  
his holy mouth.

blasphemy should be examined. They wished that everything not be done by God. Indeed you have their words in Zephaniah chapter 1: PEOPLE WHO SAY IN THEIR HEART, "THE LORD DOES NOT DO EVIL, NOR DOES HE DO GOOD."<sup>3</sup>

WHY MURMURS A LIVING HUMAN BEING?: i.e., against God. Foolishly they act thus, in complaining about his goodness.

A MAN AGAINST HIS SINS: that is, he murmurs not against the Lord. Whatever adversity, whatever sorrow or whatever troubles they suffer, they owe it all to their crimes, not to divine goodness.<sup>4</sup>

Nun 40. LET US EXAMINE OUR WAYS AND SEARCH, LET US RETURN *RIGHT*<sup>5</sup> TO THE LORD.

<sup>3</sup> 1:12, MT, not Vulgate; Martyr had recently expounded Zephaniah.

<sup>4</sup> Rashi:

But what is there for the COMPLAINING of A LIVING HUMAN, A MAN OVER HIS SINS. Each and every man mourns over his sins, since they bring upon him the evil.

On the one hand, Martyr accuses the Targum of not attributing everything to God, but the next minute he is inspired by a very Jewish comment on the role of human sin in affliction.

<sup>5</sup> "right": *usque*, unnecessary to the sense of the Latin, but Martyr, as an expositor, adds it to emphasize that the Hebrew behind it is נָךְ and not ל or אל; Jerome, Pagnini and Münster, as translators, do not add it.

41. LET US LIFT OUR HEART<sup>6</sup> TO HANDS<sup>7</sup> TO GOD IN THE HEAVENS.

42. WE OURSELVES SINNED AND WERE REBELLIOUS, YOU DID NOT SPARE.<sup>8</sup>

LET US EXAMINE OUR WAYS AND SEARCH: let us search and weigh out our deeds so that slanders and blasphemies against God may be eliminated. Then we shall plainly see what is responsible for our adversities. Let us look, I pray, to the divine Law, for, as Paul advised, THROUGH THE LAW IS A KNOWLEDGE OF SIN (Romans 3).<sup>9</sup> This knowledge of sin comes not only through the Law but all scripture, for indeed in it there is everywhere explained what God's will is, what he requires of us. Paul in the same place said,

THERE IS NOT ANYONE JUST, THERE IS NO ONE UNDERSTANDING OR SEEKING GOD, ALL TURN ASIDE, THEY TOGETHER HAVE BECOME USELESS, THERE IS NOT ONE WHO DOES GOOD, THERE IS NOT EVEN ONE.

<sup>6</sup> The Hebrew has HEART collectively, and Münster retains the singular; Jerome translates "hearts."

<sup>7</sup> LIFT OUR HEARTS TO HANDS (*ad manus*): the MT literally (-לֵבָיִם כַּפַּיִם), which Martyr retains since it will expound the phrase using that wording. Jerome-Pagnini-Münster have *cum manibus*, a translation with which Hillers 117 agrees: לֵבָיִם = לֵב in the sense of "along with."

<sup>8</sup> Martyr borrows from Münster and Pagnini to render the MT quite literally here; Jerome is quite free: "We acted iniquitously and provoked to wrath; therefore you are inexorable"--better Latin, but a bit free, unless of course Jerome's text was slightly different here.

<sup>9</sup> v. 20; Martyr takes "Law" to be the Pentateuch.



He stitched together that testimony from many places in the sacred scriptures. And so let us in our turn rummage through the divine scriptures, everywhere considering what is required of us by the Lord,<sup>10</sup> and then let us understand how much we have turned away from what is just. With a similar diligence Zephaniah 3 urges us to this same endeavor.<sup>11</sup> Inquire for yourselves, because it is the beginning of coming to your senses to know accurately what is the distortion and depravity in our lives.

LET US RETURN RIGHT TO THE LORD: no one of us should simply grieve sorrows and evils which oppressed us, but our grief should extend itself right to God. It should bother us very much that we have offended him. Hosea has almost the same words.<sup>12</sup>

LET US LIFT OUR HEART TO HANDS TO GOD IN THE HEAVENS: not in a fake manner let us serve God, but candidly, from the soul. That is what it is to hold the heart joined to the hands. Nothing to God is more detestable than counterfeiting. And this too may be explained by the fact that our heart is brought to the heights in such a way that our abode may be in the

<sup>10</sup> Mic. 3:8, WHAT G-D REQUIRES FROM YOU.

<sup>11</sup> There is nothing in Zeph. 3 specific to Martyr's expressed concerns; the reference was probably to Zeph. 2:3, "Seek G-D...." It will be remembered that Martyr had just finished expounding the Minor Prophets, and he has just made a reference to Zeph. 1:12 in connection with Lam. 3:38.

<sup>12</sup> 6:1, LET US RETURN TO G-D....

heavens,<sup>13</sup> since we are members of God's household.<sup>14</sup> This interpretation is brought forward because the word כָּח sometimes means "cloud,"<sup>15</sup> as is the case in Exodus 33. When Moses asked that it be permitted to see the terrible face of the Lord, God answered, I SHALL SETTLE YOU IN THE CLEFT OF THE ROCK, AND WHEN I SHALL PASS BY, I SHALL COVER YOU WITH MY CLOUD.<sup>16</sup> And with the same meaning it is found in Job 36.<sup>17</sup>

Alternatively one may explain this passage thus: "Our heart must be offered to the Lord." LET US LIFT HEART TO HANDS, that is, "Let us hold our heart in our hands."<sup>18</sup> As in the ancient world they used to present oblations in their hands, so we for our part offer to the Lord not lambs, calves or mute beasts but our

<sup>13</sup> *ita nostra conversatio sit in caelis*, alluding to Phil. 3:20 *Nostra autem conversatio in caelis est; conversatio is κοίτην*, as Martyr well knew.

<sup>14</sup> *Dei domestici*: alluding to Eph. 2:19 *domestici Dei*.

<sup>15</sup> So Martyr read this verse: "Let us lift our heart to the clouds, to God in the heavens." כָּח really only means "palm." Martyr got a false definition from Rashi:

אֵל כָּסִים: to the clouds, to heaven, as it is said, AND BEHOLD A CLOUD SMALL LIKE A כָּח אֵשׁ [1 K. 18:44] and thus, HE COVERED אֵל כָּסִים LIGHT [Job 36:32]...

Rashi's two examples are tenuous at best, so Martyr comes up with another example, all on his own apparently. Does Martyr also hear in his mind the familiar *sursum corda* of the Christian liturgy?

<sup>16</sup> Ex. 33:22, MT not Vulgate.

<sup>17</sup> v. 32: from Rashi, as in the note above.

<sup>18</sup> Perush:

Let him give his heart as an offering in his hands;  
or, Let his heart will be offered in his hands.

heart. Because this gift and sacrifice will please him to the utmost, he will demand nothing else from us. Truly WHERE YOUR TREASURE IS, THERE IS YOUR HEART TOO.<sup>19</sup> And, FROM THE HEART GO OUT MURDERS, THEFTS, AND ADULTERIES.<sup>20</sup> And we are ordered to LOVE GOD WITH ALL OUR HEART.<sup>21</sup> Therefore since the Lord asks for our heart, let us give it to him. There is no better place for it to be stationed than in heaven.

WE OURSELVES SINNED AND WERE REBELLIOUS: a confession of sins and crimes is added, for it is truly a work of faith. The most accurate confession of crimes comes from those who believe. Therefore we read in the Acts of the Apostles that those who BELIEVED CAME, CONFESSING AND MAKING THEIR DEEDS KNOWN.<sup>22</sup>

YOU DID NOT SPARE: there is added to the confession of crimes another confession of praise, I mean praise of divine justice. For in confessing they had sinned, they attribute justice to God, who had punished them in this way. This is no light thing, to concede to the One punishing that we have been corrected justly. These are the two sacrifices<sup>23</sup> of the lips: to

<sup>19</sup> Mt. 6:21 (without verb to be).

<sup>20</sup> Mt. 15:19 and parallel: paraphrase.

<sup>21</sup> Dt. 6:5, paraphrase.

<sup>22</sup> 13:18, paraphrase.

<sup>23</sup> lit., "calves" (*vituli*): the allusion is to Ps. 50:9, where God will take no sacrificed calves; and to the great confessional Ps. 51, vv. 15-16 in particular, where God is asked to open the Psalmist's "lips," since God wants no sacrifice, i.e.,

ascribe the fault to ourselves and justice to God who punishes us.

**Samekh 43.** YOU COVERED<sup>24</sup> BY ANGER AND PURSUED<sup>25</sup> US, YOU KILLED AND YOU DID NOT SPARE.

**44.** YOU HID YOURSELF BY A CLOUD, LEST A PRAYER GO THROUGH.

**45.** COMMOTION AND DISGRACE<sup>26</sup> YOU PUT US<sup>27</sup> IN THE burnt offering.

<sup>24</sup> i.e., "us." This is not Pagnini and Münster's understanding of this verb, and the matter is ambiguous in the MT, Jerome's translation, and in the exegesis of Rashi and Ibn Ezra. The Targum has "us," though Martyr was probably taking his cue from Perush:

You put a covering of anger on us, and we could not see where we could flee, AND YOU PURSUED US.

<sup>25</sup> PURSUED, Pagnini's literal rendering for רדף; Jerome has "strike" in the sense of "visit with a calamity," which corresponds more or less with a less concrete meaning of רדף, i.e., "persecute." Perhaps Jerome found the metaphor of God's "pursuing" too jarring.

<sup>26</sup> "Commotion and disgrace": not good equivalents of the two hapax legomena, סחי ומאוס. Much more accurately Jerome has "rooting out and tossing away," Pagnini "scraping away and tossing away," Münster "dregs and abomination." However, both Rashi and Ibn Ezra associate סחי with movement. Rashi:

OFFSCOURING (סחי) AND REFUSE (מאוס): This is movement (ניע) in the language of the Mishnah....

Ibn Ezra:

OFFSCOURING (סחי): AND I WILL SCRAPE סחיתי ITS SOIL [Ez.26:4], as the sense of טלטול [a non-Biblical word meaning 'move, lift'].

Thus Martyr comes by honestly his *commotio* as an equivalent for סחי. "Disgrace" seems to be Martyr's softening of Münster's "abomination."

## MIDST OF THE PEOPLES.

YOU COVERED IN ANGER AND YOU PURSUED US: now his prayer goes on to enlarge upon this justice of God by showing how severely they acted against him. On account of our crimes God covered us with his anger. He made us blind, so we could not see anything or have any sane plan. Afterwards he began to pursue those who had been blinded. In this unyielding oppression of his, what remained but that we, mindless and directionless, were easily killed. So the following words about killing are appended to the prophet's message about covering:

YOU KILLED AND YOU DID NOT SPARE: in Isaiah chapter 6 it is recorded that this people is to be blinded and hardened so that in seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand, lest by any chance (God says) I am turned and heal them.<sup>28</sup> The prophet inquires how long this sorrow was going to be. To his question comes an answer: until all things are overturned. So here too it is written, YOU COVERED US BY YOUR ANGER, YOU PURSUED, KILLED AND DID NOT SPARE.

YOU HID YOURSELF BY A CLOUD LEST A PRAYER GO THROUGH: you hid your favour from us. As does the Sun,

<sup>27</sup> The MT reads "us," as does the LXX, the Targum and Pagnini; Jerome, whom Münster copies, has "me."

<sup>28</sup> vv. 9-10, a loose paraphrase best explained as a citing from the Vulgate from memory. The MT has LEST THEY TURN AND BE HEALED, but the LXX and Jerome have LEST THEY TURN AND I HEAL

when he covers over his splendor by clouds,<sup>29</sup> you did this deliberately, lest our prayer get through to you. For however much the unbelievers were shouting, they were not being heard, because they invoked God without faith. Those who were truly saints, such as Jeremiah and Daniel, were at that time begging the Lord for the people's salvation. However God delayed hearing them. He took care first that his justice was manifested. And although their prayers were not useless, they seemed, nonetheless, not to be heard.

COMMOTION AND DISGRACE YOU CONSIDERED US IN THE MIDST OF THE PEOPLES:<sup>30</sup> God reckoned that there are these two things, which seem to be the most disagreeable--that they are shiftless and vagabond, and that thereafter, wherever they go, they are ridiculous.

Pe 46. ALL OUR ENEMIES OPENED THEIR MOUTH OVER US.

THEM. Evidently Martyr spontaneously made "I" (God) the subject of "turn" as well as "heal."

<sup>29</sup> Perush signals to Martyr that these words are figurative language:

By way of parable: as if the CLOUD could separate the PRAYER from G-D.

Martyr goes on to explain this verse by a simile of his own. Martyr has at least one scriptural warrant for personifying the sun: Ps. 19:5-6, ET 4-5, the sun is compared to a bridegroom or runner.

<sup>30</sup> See the note on Martyr's translation of this verse above.

47. A TREMBLING AND A SNARE HE WAS FOR US, A MIS-  
LEADING<sup>31</sup> AND A BREAKING.

48. MY EYE WILL DRAW STREAMS OF WATER ON ACCOUNT  
OF THE GRINDING OF THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE.

ALL OUR ENEMIES OPENED THEIR MOUTH OVER US: you may refer this either to pretenses, curses, taunts and insults; or to the expression of the mouth which people are accustomed to make when they laugh and make fun of someone.<sup>32</sup>

A TREMBLING AND A SNARE HE WAS FOR US: there is here a marvelous play on words: פחד and פחח. And they must be referred to what we mentioned above concerning God's anger and his pursuing. "When you surrounded me with anger, I was blinded by it and so cast down and

<sup>31</sup> MISLEADING (*seductio*): incorrect translation for שאת. However, note that Ibn Ezra correctly identified the root and meaning of the this hapax legomenon:

THE DEVASTATION (השאת): like THE DESTRUCTION השואה [e.g., Zeph. 1:15]. The s ought to be shown [as it is part of the root].

Rashi gave Münster similar good advice. So where does Münster come up with a meaning like "misleading"? The path is, I think, easy to follow. Jerome translated it *vaticinatio*, "prophetic oracle," as if it were from the root נשא and related to the noun מנשא, oracle. Münster knew "oracle" was out of context, but right near נשא was the root נשא, "to deceive," and he settled on this, ignoring, unfortunately, Rashi and Ibn Ezra. This time Martyr should have listened to his Jewish guides, not to Münster. Curiously Münster's Dictionary has the correct root and a correct synonym, שמת.

<sup>32</sup> Perush's philological comment:

They opened THEIR MOUTHS, mocking.

prostrate that I saw nothing.<sup>33</sup> So when you pursued me, I was not wary enough and fell into a snare or pit."<sup>34</sup>

A MISLEADING AND A BREAKING: regarding these further two words which are mentioned, the former, שֹׁאָה, pertains to the soul, while the latter, שִׁבְרָה, to the body.<sup>35</sup> In my mind I am utterly deceived when I make decisions; in my body, on account of diseases I have contracted, I am totally worn out, so that nothing healthy remains.

MY EYE WILL DRAW STREAMS OF WATER ON ACCOUNT OF THE GRINDING OF THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE: On account of these just punishments inflicted by God, Jeremiah testifies that he has wept abundantly.

<sup>33</sup> Perush on v. 43:

You put a covering of anger on us, and we could not see where we could flee, AND YOU PURSUED US.

<sup>34</sup> Rashi's comment is rather "Perush-like," in that it makes a little narrative out of poetic images:

FEAR AND THE PIT: When we fled from the fear, we fell into a deep pit.

<sup>35</sup> Perush:

When the soul fears and a PIT is before the body, immediately it falls in, and behold the destruction of the soul comes and the boy is broken in the pit.



Ain 49. MY EYE *DRIPPED*<sup>36</sup>, AND IT DID NOT CEASE  
BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT THERE ARE NO<sup>37</sup> PAUSES.

50. UNTIL THE LORD FROM THE HEAVENS MAY LOOK AND  
SEE.

51. MY EYE AFFECTS<sup>38</sup> MY SPIRIT ON ACCOUNT OF<sup>39</sup> ALL  
THE DAUGHTERS OF MY PEOPLE.

MY EYES<sup>40</sup> DRIPPED AND DID NOT CEASE: here again<sup>41</sup>  
you have the Hebrew word תדמה from the verbal root דמם,

<sup>36</sup> Martyr's "dripped" is mediocre; better is Pagnini-Münster's "flowed." The Hebrew is נגרה (from the root נגר); Jerome has "was afflicted," apparently supposing that נגרה is the nif'al form of גרה. This cannot be, assuming the pointing of the MT--there is a dagesh in the ג. And, of course, the context favors "flow."

<sup>37</sup> BECAUSE...NO: this is an unnecessarily long paraphrase for בְּלִי. Yet in his exposition, Martyr gives the simpler and more correct alternative "without."

<sup>38</sup> Pagnini's AFFECTS is too neutral a rendering of עוֹלֵל; but Martyr himself knows this and in his exposition adds "i.e., badly." Jerome had "plunder" here, which is not a possible rendering of עוֹלֵל; which means either Jerome's text had שָׁלַל ("to plunder": after all שָׁלַל looks like שָׁ) or there was a Jewish tradition to read the text in this way. We may note in passing that the LXX has "glean," which is based on the traditional Jewish reading noted above in Lam. 1:22; Liddell and Scott 672 miss this point, and as does Brenton in his translation of the LXX Lam. 3:51.

<sup>39</sup> Pagnini's "on account of" is for the מִן of the MT's מִן; Jerome has *in*. Hillers 118 and most modern commentators see this verse as hopelessly corrupt and reconstruct it.

<sup>40</sup> In his translation, Martyr follows the Hebrew literally, as did Jerome. Here in his exposition, however, he gives the more natural Latin rendering of "eyes." As I noted in Martyr's translation above, he will presently give an alternative to his (really Jerome's) cumbersome "because of the fact that there are no."

<sup>41</sup> Martyr refers to יָדְמוּ in Lam. 2:10a.

which not only means "to be silent" but also "to rest," which he explains further by adding "without pauses."<sup>42</sup>

UNTIL THE LORD FROM THE HEAVENS MAY LOOK AND SEE: *יִשְׁקֶיף* is "to look in a certain manner through a window."<sup>43</sup> Since the Lord is said in the scriptures to reside in heaven, it is pictured that in some fashion or other there are windows up there, from where the Lord looks out on whatever is going on below. This word means "to look down through a window." FROM HEAVEN THE LORD LOOKED OUT...IN ORDER TO SEE IF THERE IS SOMEONE UNDERSTANDING AND SEEKING GOD.<sup>44</sup>

MY EYE AFFECTS MY SPIRIT (i.e. badly) ON ACCOUNT OF ALL THE DAUGHTERS OF MY PEOPLE: *מִכָּל* could also mean "compared to"<sup>45</sup> all the daughters of my people." If you read ON ACCOUNT OF,<sup>46</sup> then the interpretation is that the prophet had been strongly moved on account of the ravishing or the slaughter of the virgins; or he takes DAUGHTERS to be the hamlets, villages, and towns which

<sup>42</sup> Actually, according to Holladay 72, *דמה* is from *דמה* (II), not *דמה* (I) (Holladay 72), but the meanings of these two roots are so similar that the distinction is merely a matter of morphology.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Ezra:

HE LOOKS DOWN FROM (*יִשְׁקֶיף*): as if there were for the heavens a window from which he looks down.

<sup>44</sup> Ps. 14:2 Vulgate, the verb in the Hebrew for looked out is *הִשְׁקִיף*. Part of the verse is in the famous catena in Rm. 3:10-18, to which Martyr has already drawn our attention in connection with his exposition of Lam. 3:40.

<sup>45</sup> *prae*.

<sup>46</sup> *propter*.

are called by association "daughters of Jerusalem." On the other hand if we accept the meaning "compared with all," then he makes his mourning greater by comparison, and says, "I myself have wept more than all the young women,"<sup>47</sup> or "than all other families. Since my family was priestly, it was my vocation to weep over the sins and punishments of the people."<sup>48</sup>

Here it is not unworthy of observation that the order of the alphabet has been changed, for the sequence of letters requires that the "נ" verses come before those which have as their initial letter "פ." However, this is a dry fact, and interpreters give no reason for this matter or plan,<sup>49</sup> nor could I find or think up anything.

<sup>47</sup> Perush:

My eye wasted away, it made weeping FOR MY SOUL MORE THAN ALL THE DAUGHTERS OF MY CITY, since it was the custom of women to weep.

<sup>48</sup> Rashi:

MORE THAN ALL THE DAUGHTERS OF MY CITY: my family must weep more than all the families of the city, since it was chosen from all Israel for holiness and for the worship of the Holy One Blest Be He.

<sup>49</sup> There is a midrashic explanation, but Martyr's Jewish commentators do not repeat it.

Tsade 52. BY HUNTING MY ENEMIES HUNTED<sup>50</sup> ME AS A SPARROW GRATUITOUSLY.

53. THEY CLOSED UP<sup>51</sup> MY LIFE IN A CISTERN, AND THEY ROLLED<sup>52</sup> A STONE OVER ME.

54. THE WATERS FLOODED OVER MY HEAD; I SAID, "I HAVE BEEN CUT OFF."<sup>53</sup>

BY HUNTING MY ENEMIES HUNTED ME AS A SPARROW GRATUITOUSLY: those things which are now added to what was said before pertain to Jeremiah as a private individual.<sup>54</sup> He shows that at that time he had been oppressed in those times with great troubles and that God had not forgotten him when he called to him. So by this example he encourages them to come to their senses and return to God and invoke him, so they may be heard as he himself has been heard. In the metaphor of the hunt, their enemies' hatred, power, and craft are

<sup>50</sup> Pagnini, as previously (Lam. 1:2), makes up a Latin construction to translate literally the Hebrew infinitive absolute. Jerome, on the other hand, does not (as he did before, Lam. 1:2) try to mirror an alien syntax; he translates "By a hunt they captured...."

<sup>51</sup> Martyr goes with Münster's rendering of צָמַח. The LXX, the Targum, Jerome and Pagnini have different suggestions, and modern philologists are not of one mind either.

<sup>52</sup> ROLLED; Jerome has "put": MT has "threw," as do Pagnini and Münster. Evidently Martyr is influenced by the stone "rolled" before Jesus' tomb, although as usual he makes no typological allusions.

<sup>53</sup> Münster's "cut off" (*abscissus sum*) is a literal translation for נִגְזַר. Jerome has more idiomatically "perished."

<sup>54</sup> Martyr did not get this somewhat imaginative interpretation from his usual Jewish sources, not even the Targum.

shown. This sort of figure of speech, a simile involving a small bird, is not infrequent in the sacred scriptures. OUR SPIRIT, David said, AS A SPARROW HAS BEEN SET FREE FROM THE SNARE OF THE HUNTERS.<sup>55</sup> Here, however, is added GRATUITOUSLY, that is "undeservedly, without any legitimate cause of hatred."

THEY CLOSED MY LIFE UP IN A CISTERN: in the prophecies of Jeremiah, chapters 37 and 38,<sup>56</sup> we read this: Jeremiah was twice captured and thrown into a deep prison, which in the holy language is called a בּוֹר.<sup>57</sup> Scripture uses this same word for various purposes.<sup>58</sup> Not only (he says) did they throw him in, they also bound him.<sup>59</sup>

AND THEY (he says) ROLLED A STONE OVER ME: so that the prison might be secure and so that I would not be able to escape from there. These prisons were deep like wells or pits and used to be walled with a stone vault over the top.

<sup>55</sup> Ps. 124:7.

<sup>56</sup> Text reads "27 and 28".

<sup>57</sup> The first time, 37:14-16, Jeremiah was "put" into a prison and he "entered into the house of the בּוֹר." After having been rescued from this dungeon, he was imprisoned in a palace courtyard, until irate officials "cast" him into an empty cistern. (Jeremiah had been imprisoned previously, but only in a palace courtyard: Jeremiah 32:3.)

<sup>58</sup> Martyr underscores the wide range of meanings this word has (see Holladay 36): cistern, well, pit, dungeon, Sheol etc.

<sup>59</sup> The reference is to Jeremiah's second imprisonment in a בּוֹר; both the MT and the Vulgate imply the ropes were used not to bind Jeremiah but to lower him into the cistern.

THE WATERS FLOODED OVER MY HEAD; I SAID, "I HAVE BEEN CUT OFF": in the second pit into which the prophet had been thrown, there was putrid water or mud, and he miserably sank down into it. As it pertains to human help, he saw himself cut off from the living.<sup>60</sup>

Kof<sup>61</sup> 55. I INVOKED YOUR NAME, GOD, FROM THE DEEP PIT.

56.<sup>62</sup> YOU HEARD MY VOICE; DO NOT HIDE YOUR EAR FOR THE-SAKE-OF MY BREATHING<sup>63</sup> AND MY SHOUT.

57. YOU DREW NEAR ON THE DAY IN WHICH I CALLED YOU; AND YOU SAID: "DO NOT BE AFRAID."

I INVOKED YOUR NAME, GOD, FROM THE DEEP PIT: "in my extreme misfortune which has so oppressed me on account of the truth, I did not give myself up to assailing hopelessness, but supported by the anchor of

<sup>60</sup> lit., "the number of"; the allusion is to Is. 53:8, CUT OFF (נִגְזַר) FROM THE LAND OF THE LIVING.

<sup>61</sup> These verses, like the preceding three, Martyr understands to be about Jeremiah personally.

<sup>62</sup> This entire line is difficult, and has been a warren for emendations among modern scholars. As the MT stands, it would read something like this: YOU HEARD/HEAR MY VOICE. DO NOT HIDE YOUR EAR FOR MY RESPITE AND CRY FOR HELP.

<sup>63</sup> BREATHING: Pagnini takes רוּחַ to be from the well-known word רָחַב "breath, spirit" instead of the alternate root meaning "be wide." Jerome has "sobbing"--which I am at a loss to explain, unless he is thinking of a profusely weeping person gasping for breath.

hope, I prayed to the Lord."<sup>64</sup> He says emphatically "from the deep pit," as if he may say, "From a place so abysmal I poured forth my prayers."<sup>65</sup>

YOU HEARD MY VOICE: by this example the goodness of God is declared in order to challenge the people to be as eager as the prophet to invoke God. "Thus," he says, "was I praying: O God, DO NOT HIDE--or, withdraw--YOUR EAR from me FOR THE SAKE OF MY BREATHING AND MY SHOUT." You may understand these words in this way: "Let my anxiety and loud shout bring it about that I may be heard by you." Or, if this pleases you more: "Grant, I ask, that I may be able to breathe and shout to you." He says this because both his breathing and his shout seem to be impeded by the water.

YOU DREW NEAR ON THE DAY IN WHICH I CALLED YOU; AND YOU SAID: "DO NOT BE AFRAID": here he declares that he was heard by the Lord and had received consolation from him.

<sup>64</sup> Rashi:

WATERS OVERFLOWED etc.: as long as a man enters the water to his waist, there is hope; but if the water flows over his head, this one says, "My hope is lost." As for me, I am not doing thus, but rather I called etc.

As does Perush so frequently, Rashi makes a little story from the poetic images. As noted previously, Martyr likes this kind of exegesis, and he alludes to this comment again just below with reference to overwhelming water.

<sup>65</sup> Perush:

And if the PIT had been shallow, I would have comforted myself. However it was in DEEPEST DEPTHS.

Resh 58. YOU *DISPUTED*,<sup>66</sup> LORD, MY LIFE'S CAUSE;  
YOU REDEEMED MY LIFE.

59. YOU SAW, LORD, MY *SUBVERSION*;<sup>67</sup> JUDGE MY JUDG-  
MENT.

60. YOU SAW ALL THEIR *VENGEANCE*,<sup>68</sup> ALL THEIR  
*SCHEMING*<sup>69</sup> AGAINST ME.

YOU DISPUTED (OR JUDGED) MY CAUSE; YOU REDEEMED MY  
LIFE: the prophet does not credit his rescue either to  
the king<sup>70</sup> or to that Ethiopian eunuch, who had inter-  
ceded for him,<sup>71</sup> but only to the Lord. He offers us  
this example of faith and piety not to have us suppress

<sup>66</sup> Martyr's *ligasti* is a departure from Jerome-Pagnini-Münster *iudicasti*. However in their dictionaries both Pagnini and Münster have *ligare* as the primary meaning of גִּיב.

<sup>67</sup> Martyr's MY SUBVERSION is a literalistic (and misleading) rendering of נִוּחִי; but Martyr will explain all in his exposition. Similarly literalistic is Pagnini's "my perversity" and Münster's "my bending." Jerome translates the sense, not the letter: "their injustice against me."

<sup>68</sup> THEIR VENGEANCE: Martyr will explain Pagnini's literal translation in his exposition. Jerome translates "fury," which conveys the sense of נִקְמָתוֹ.

<sup>69</sup> All Martyr's sources (MT, Targum, LXX, Jerome, Pagnini, Münster) have "schemings." Martyr apparently changes the plural to singular for the sake of style (SCHEMING parallel to VENGEANCE).

<sup>70</sup> The king ordered Jeremiah first to be released from the dungeon (Jer. 37:21) and then later to be pulled from the muddy cistern (38:10).

<sup>71</sup> Ebedmelech, who instigated and effected Jeremiah's rescue from the muddy cistern (Jer. 38:7-13).



our gratitude for favors but to have us honor the work of God in our benefactors.

YOU SAW, LORD, MY SUBVERSION: <sup>72</sup>עֲוֹת means "to overthrow," but it<sup>73</sup> is here taken as meaning: to ruin a legitimate law suit, to subvert the just cause of some litigant. These adversaries of mine were zealous to subvert my right. And this, O God, you have seen, and so JUDGE MY JUDGMENT.

YOU SAW ALL THEIR VENGEANCE, ALL THEIR SCHEMING AGAINST ME: he calls their ferocity and cruelty, which they perpetrated against him, VENGEANCE; he calls their craft and fox-like deceits, which they concocted to capture him, SCHEMING.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> i.e., the root ע.ו.ה, from which comes the noun עֲוֹת, "subversion"; it really means "to make crooked."

<sup>73</sup> i.e., "my" subversion, in the sense of the subversion of which I am a victim: Martyr here has plenty of good direction from Rashi:

YOU SAW, G-D, MY SUBVERSION: in this trouble in which my enemies subverted me.

and Ibn Ezra:

MY SUBVERSION: the subversion which they did to me.

and Perush:

And several times YOU CONTENTED for me, when YOU SAW the perversion they were doing to take MY JUSTICE.

<sup>74</sup> Martyr's contrast of physical and mental activity is inspired by Ibn Ezra's comment:

Their vengeance in public [as opposed to their "scheming" behind closed doors].

Shin 61. YOU HEARD THEIR REPROACH, LORD, ALL  
THEIR THOUGHTS AGAINST ME;

62. THE LIPS OF THOSE WHO RISE AGAINST ME, THEIR  
MUSING AGAINST ME ALL DAY.

63. LOOK AT THEIR SITTING DOWN AND *STANDING UP*; I  
AM THEIR *SONG*.<sup>75</sup>

YOU SAW THEIR REPROACH, LORD, ALL THEIR THOUGHTS  
AGAINST ME: a little while before, he spoke of what the  
Lord saw; he now brings forward what he perceived by  
hearing. These two senses are often linked in the  
scriptures as those faculties which especially make for  
cognition. The faculty of sight in some way is placed  
in authority over knowledge which we must discover on  
our own, while that of hearing over the doctrine or  
instruction which is handed on to us by others. There-  
fore they are deservedly linked together in scripture,  
so that frequently one is substituted for the other, as  
when the people are said to have seen the voices of the  
Lord on the mountain.<sup>76</sup> And the effect is marvelous  
when it is said, YOU..., LORD, saw and HEARD... THEIR  
THOUGHTS AGAINST ME. Those wicked people act deceit-  
fully, shrewdly and craftily against me and wish all

<sup>75</sup> SONG (*cantio*), Martyr's equivalent of Jerome's *psalmus*  
and Pagnini-Münster's *canticum*. The latter can, unlike *cantio*,  
mean a derisive song. The context favors Pagnini's rendering. I  
cannot account for Martyr's word choice.

<sup>76</sup> Dt. 4:12 MT: GOD SPOKE TO YOU FROM THE MIDST OF THE FIRE;  
THE SOUND OF WORDS YOU WERE HEARING; BUT A FORM YOU WERE NOT  
SEEING, ONLY WORDS.

their plans which they devise against me remain hidden. Yet you both see and hear it all, as someone from whom nothing can be concealed.

Jeremiah described in the thirty-seventh chapter of his book the reproaches which were addressed to him. Jeremiah wished to go away into the territory of Benjamin during the time when the Chaldeans had abandoned the siege of Jerusalem. They had gone away to attack Pharaoh king of Egypt, who had come against them. Jeremiah was captured in the gate by the princes, and they accused him of treason, charging that he wished to join the Chaldeans as a deserter. And they threw him into prison.<sup>77</sup> Afterwards (ch. 39)<sup>78</sup> they complained to the king about him, claiming that he spoke his prophecies on purpose to dissolve the heart and vitality of the people, and that he was always trying by his words to do the city harm and not good. And finally (ch. 43) after he had warned the people in the name of God not to go away to Egypt,<sup>79</sup> he was called a liar.<sup>80</sup> And the diligent searcher will find many other things of the same kind in his books. So he said with perfect reason that God both saw and heard the reproaches against him.

<sup>77</sup> Jer. 37:11-16.

<sup>78</sup> Actually ch.38:4.

<sup>79</sup> 42:11-17.

<sup>80</sup> 43:2.

THE LIPS OF THOSE WHO RISE AGAINST ME, THEIR MUSING AGAINST ME ALL DAY: these words can have the same meaning: that neither their words nor their thoughts could be hidden from God. Thus LIPS mean words, which is not new in the sacred scriptures. Someone might wish the lips to refer to the contorting of the mouth and the distortion of the lips, which those who deride others usually exhibit when they wish to make a particularly contemptuous remark against someone.

LOOK AT THEIR SITTING DOWN AND STANDING UP: that is, all their actions. They organize everything for my harm. The act of sitting down here is a symbol of judgments and plans, while standing up denotes the power of executing opportunely and quickly what has been carefully considered.<sup>81</sup>

I AM THEIR SONG: common talk. That is what befalls people who are a laughing-stock.<sup>82</sup> In the meantime let us be mindful that the things here described as having happened to the prophet are common to all the servants of God and religious people. All those who wish to defend God's word against the world

<sup>81</sup> This is an interesting juxtaposition of interpretations. First Martyr interprets the Hebrew expression literally (and correctly): the two extremes include all between. Then he goes on to give a fanciful interpretation which is rather midrashic (though I did not find it in his usual Jewish sources). It may be an allusion to Ps. 139:2 ("You know my sitting down and my standing up"); unfortunately Rashi and Ibn Ezra's commentary on this verse do not correspond to Martyr's remarks.

<sup>82</sup> Lam. 3:14.

are obliged to undergo such things as these. Christ was the head of the band of people who for the sake of God's justice, will and promises suffered so much. Both by his example and the example of the prophets Christ encouraged us (Mt. 5):<sup>83</sup> FOR IN THIS WAY THEY PERSECUTED THE PROPHETS WHO WERE BEFORE YOU. And again, IF THEY CALL THE HOUSEHOLD HEAD BEELZEBUB, HOW MUCH MORE HIS SERVANTS?<sup>84</sup>

Tav 64. YOU WILL BRING ON THEM RETRIBUTION, LORD, ACCORDING TO THE WORK OF THEIR HANDS.

65. YOU WILL GIVE THEM *SHIELD* OF HEART, YOU WILL GIVE THEM YOUR CURSE!

66. YOU WILL PURSUE IN ANGER AND WILL *DESTROY* THEM, LEST THEY BE UNDER THE SKY, LORD.

(Nothing concerning these verses is extant in the manuscript.)<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> v. 12b.

<sup>84</sup> Mt. 10:25.

<sup>85</sup> Stucki adds a paragraph consisting mainly of Bullinger's exposition of "heart-shield." He does not say whether or not this is Martyr's translation. These verses are, however, Martyr's characteristic mix of Jerome, Pagnini, Münster, and Pagnini-Münster.

Alphabet or Chapter Four

Aleph, or Verse One HOW HAS THE GOLD BEEN  
DARKENED, THE BEST GOLD *CHANGED* ITSELF,<sup>1</sup> THE STONES OF  
THE SANCTUARY WERE *SCATTERED* AT THE HEAD OF ALL THE  
BROAD WAYS.

HOW HAS THE GOLD BEEN DARKENED, THE BEST GOLD  
CHANGED ITSELF: by this final alphabetical poem,<sup>2</sup> he  
mourns that all the things which belonged to the Jews--  
their splendor, finery, and distinguished appearance--  
had changed completely: a shameful death fouled it all.  
First of all he uses a figure of speech to express the  
matter. For, he says, the gold has darkened, even the  
good gold: to increase the effectiveness of the meta-  
phor, he described the gold as כֶּתֶם.<sup>3</sup> It is not the  
gleam of just any sort of gold that has darkened but of

<sup>1</sup> Pagnini seems to have been influenced by Rashi:

CHANGES: its appearance changes itself.

Perhaps Martyr found Pagnini's rendering attractive because of this.

<sup>2</sup> The last chapter of Lamentations is not an alphabetical acrostic but a prayer in the form of a poem of twenty-two lines, just half the length of this fourth chapter.

<sup>3</sup> *ketem*, a rare, poetic word for gold.

that which is held to be the best. DARKENED is from the root **כָּמַם**, but its conjugation is pu'al.<sup>4</sup>

THE STONES OF THE SANCTUARY WERE SCATTERED AT THE HEAD OF ALL THE BROAD WAYS: among their gems, those with which the sanctuary were decorated were held to be the most famous. Yet it must not be thought that these precious stones had been thrown away by the enemies. In their eagerness for pillage and plunder they would not have tossed aside treasures of this sort. Therefore Jeremiah wishes us to understand that these precious objects are a metaphor for famous people.<sup>5</sup>

Rashi thought that this alphabetical poem was composed by Jeremiah after the holy King Josiah was killed

<sup>4</sup> The verb is **כָּמַם**. Martyr has the root correct, and the voice (passive), but he has not identified the correct passive conjugation: it is hof'al, not pu'al. Martyr is almost certainly working from Pagnini's *Thesaurus*, in which under the entry for **כָּמַם** we find these words: "And in Pu'al or hof'al, as in Lam. 4:1." Apparently Pagnini means, "It can occur in the Pu'al, or in Lam. 4:1 we have an example of the Hof'al." At any rate Martyr thinks that Pagnini means that **כָּמַם** can be pu'al.

<sup>5</sup> Rashi:

STONES OF HOLINESS: the sons are shining like precious stones.

Possibly also Martyr has reference to Münster 1534 Bible:

THE GOLD DARKENED HAS BEEN DARKENED: the Chaldean interpreter explains this literally about the Jerusalem Temple, which was ornamented with gold and gems but which was destroyed by the Chaldeans and burned up.

by the Pharaoh.<sup>6</sup> This assertion is not, however, backed up by any firm and clear argument. It is clear that everything discussed here really refers to the first overthrow of Jerusalem,<sup>7</sup> or even to the second under the Romans.

Beth, or Verse Two THE NOBLE SONS OF ZION,  
DECORATED WITH REFINED GOLD, HOW THEY ARE RECKONED  
ARTISANS'<sup>8</sup> VESSELS, THE WORK OF A POTTER'S HANDS.

THE NOBLE SONS OF ZION, BEDECKED WITH REFINED  
GOLD: what he had said in metaphorical language he now

<sup>6</sup> Not Rashi really, but Rashi citing a midrashic interpretation:

HOW DARKENED IS THE GOLD: This lament was said about Josiah, as was said in Chronicles, IS IT NOT WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS [2 Chr. 35:25].

<sup>7</sup> Perush on verse 20:

There are those who say [e.g., Rashi] that Jeremiah laments over Josiah. And the proof for the matter? AND LOOK, these things ARE WRITTEN IN THE LAMENTS [2 Chr. 35:25]. And this is not correct, since, after the death of Josiah, disaster came, and here he said, COMPLETE IS YOUR PUNISHMENT [Lam. 4:22].

That is, if the punishment is complete, then there should have been no punishment of disaster after Josiah's death.

<sup>8</sup> Martyr has made an error here. The Hebrew is לִנְבִלֵי-חָרָשׁ, which Jerome-Münster-Pagnini quite correctly translated "earthenware vessels"; but Martyr read לִנְבִלֵי-חָרָשׁ, artisans' vessels. This is another indication that Martyr always worked from the Hebrew text--albeit occasionally to his detriment, as is the case here. Martyr may have been tempted to read "artisan" in order to set up a parallel with "potter" in the next clause.



presents in plain and simple words,<sup>9</sup> and indicates to us what gold in its most refined state signifies: men decorated with it. The term <sup>10</sup>פז signifies twenty-four karat gold.<sup>11</sup> And although some have dared to say that it is silver,<sup>12</sup> nonetheless they are refuted by that place in 1 Kings, where it is said of Solomon that he covered his throne in זהב, it then adds, מופז, that is, refined to absolute purity.<sup>13</sup>

You could understand HOW THEY ARE RECKONED ARTISANS' VESSELS to mean the sort of vessels which the artisans used in their production which were usually not held in any honor or value. However the prophet expressed specifically what sort of vessels these were: he says, THE WORK OF A POTTER'S HANDS, earthenware ves-

<sup>9</sup> Perush on v. 1:

And this [THE PURE GOLD] is a parable for the verse coming after it [which concerns THE NOBLE SONS].

<sup>10</sup> *paz*, usual ET, "pure gold."

<sup>11</sup> lit.: "the essence of perfected and purified gold."

<sup>12</sup> Perush:

WITH THE REFINED GOLD (בפז) precious stone and there are those who say that it is silver and REFINED GOLD (זהב מופז) [1 K. 10:10]--he would deceive them.

Martyr understood Perush's comment in this way: "there are those who say that it is silver, but it is gold, and the scripture proof is 1 K. 10:18." "He would deceive them" is a reference to an aggadah according to which Solomon overlaid his throne with gold in order to trick people into thinking it was solid gold.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Kings 10:18. זהב is the usual word for "gold" and מופז is a verbal form of פז.

sels, which are without distinction in many respects. They are not valued highly and are tossed away, since they are held in no account. If you consider material, they are clay. If you consider technique, their production requires little ingenuity and skill. Finally their value, in the estimation of all they are worth very little. Since they cannot be mended once they are broken, they are usually thrown away.

Gimel, or Verse Three EVEN DRAGONS DRAW FORTH  
BREASTS AND NURSE THEIR WHELPS; BUT<sup>14</sup> THE DAUGHTER OF  
MY PEOPLE INTO THE CRUEL,<sup>15</sup> AS OSTRICHES IN THE DESERT.

EVEN DRAGONS<sup>16</sup> DRAW FORTH BREASTS AND NURSE THEIR  
 WHELPS: he compares the Hebrew women to dragons, and

<sup>14</sup> The adversative BUT is implied in the Hebrew but not stated: Jerome leaves it unstated, Pagnini uses *vero*, Münster *autem*, and Martyr *at*.

<sup>15</sup> Unlike Jerome, whom Pagnini copies, Martyr tries to imitate the Hebrew construction. Jerome simply has THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE (IS) CRUEL; the Hebrew has THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE TO CRUEL, an idiom which means "become cruel"; Martyr has *in cruelem*--an artificial construction in Latin to which, as Martyr explains in his exposition, one must supply "turned." Münster tries imitating the Hebrew with: (*similis est*) *crudeli*.

<sup>16</sup> DRAGONS: evidently in the sense of a supposed species of very fierce serpent or lizard. Jerome translates *lamiae*: either in the usual sense of a vampire-witch, or in the sense of an unusual animal (see L&S 612, 1031). The Hebrew is תנין, the plural of תנ, which today is thought to be the jackal (not a lovely animal, in any case). However, with י instead of נ for a plural ending, תניין is identical to the word for the primordial sea monster, or dragon (see Holladay 392); of course the plural of תנ is meant since it is the subject of plural verbs. (Note however that the Masorah of Martyr's Bomberg Bible explained that

indicates that their status is inferior. For although that species of living creature seems to be ferocious, even the mothers among them are not lacking in duty toward their young, but nurse and bring them up with great love. According to Ibn Ezra, even the males when they see the young come running to them, put out the breast of the mothers so they do not draw back but come forward more willingly. However that may be, God joined in the same living being great cruelty and a charming love and affection toward their young ones.

the form תנין is the ketiv, while the kere is the more usual תנינ.) The Jewish tradition surrounding the תנין did not grow less strange with the passing years. The Midrash identifies it as a savage animal whose male species nevertheless nurses the young. Rashi gives his own version of this creature:

EVEN TANIN (תנין), although he is cruel, PRESENT THE BREAST--(when he sees his son coming from afar, he draws out his breasts from his sheath, for he has a covering over his nipples, and he takes it out from it so his son will not see him covered and turn around and go back)--AND NURSE THEIR YOUNG.

Perush first gives his somewhat confused and rationalistic version of the Midrash and then (thankfully) a philological interpretation:

The males would take the breast of the females and suckle whelps of the females, but the Daughter of my people did not do so; and there are those who say THE תנין ALSO PRESENT THE BREAST are the females of the pack, and they feed their whelps.

Martyr, being unfamiliar with the collections of midrashim or Jewish tradition concerning the תנין, obviously could not conceive of the male nursing the young. He conflates Rashi and Perush's account and ascribes it to Ibn Ezra. Note that this is the first time that Martyr cites Perush explicitly as Ibn Ezra. Martyr has freely borrowed from Perush up to this point but has not acknowledged his source by its supposed author.

BUT THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE, CRUEL: i.e. "turned cruel." For they abandon their children, or because of the lack of nourishment their milk failed.<sup>17</sup> Hence, not having the strength to sustain their children, they abandon them--something which does not happen among reptiles.<sup>18</sup> However I am favorably disposed to another interpretation, according to which hunger drove those mothers insane and made them so cruel that they did not restrain themselves from consuming their own children. Having forgotten motherly love, they wished to satisfy their hunger by the flesh of their own offspring. He mentions this heinous crime above<sup>19</sup> and will repeat his reference to it just below.<sup>20</sup>

AS OSTRICHES IN THE DESERT: Pliny recounts something about this animal in his Natural History, book 10, chapter 1. It is classified among the winged crea-

<sup>17</sup> Rashi:

THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE HAS BECOME CRUEL: they see their children crying out for bread, and NO ONE BREAKS [פֶּרֶשׁ] FOR THEM, since their life comes for them before the life of their children on account of the hunger.

<sup>18</sup> *quod a serpentibus non sit*. "Serpents" means not just snakes but crawling creatures in general. Here Martyr alludes to the fierce reptilian dragons above.

<sup>19</sup> Lam. 2:20. The unedited nature of Martyr's commentary is quite apparent here. In his exposition of this earlier verse he faulted those who supposed that cannibalism had occurred during the Babylonians' siege of Jerusalem, and did so on the grounds that the narrative portions of the Bible do not mention it. But as he approaches Lam. 4:10, he has evidently decided that this latter witness is sufficient to confirm the worst.

<sup>20</sup> Lam. 4:10.

tures but it can be considered to be among wild animals and beasts on account of its great size. In fact, in height it is equal to a rider on a horse. It uses its wings not to raise itself from the earth in flight but to accelerate its already considerable speed. It has hooked talons, cloven like those of deer, but curved in such a way that with them it is able to snatch up stones and to throw them at those pursuing it. It has such a strong and fiery stomach that it is able to digest iron which it gulps down--something I myself had a chance to witness in Ferrara. Nonetheless it is said to be so stupid that when it has hidden its neck, it supposes that it has concealed all the rest of its body adequately. In the sacred scriptures<sup>21</sup> it is described as being cruel towards its young. For the female abandons the eggs that she has laid in the dirt. Unless the eggs were warmed by the sun's heat, the young would never be hatched by the mothers' warming. The nature of Hebrew mothers is, therefore, compared to that of the cruel ostriches, because they abandon their children under pressure of hunger. Or they are even worse than ostriches in that they store their children up as food in the very bellies that gave them birth.

<sup>21</sup> Job 38:13-17.

Dalet, or Verse Four THE TONGUE OF THE NURSLING STUCK TO ITS PALATE FOR THIRST; THE LITTLE ONES ASKED FOR BREAD, AND THERE WAS NO ONE WHO MIGHT BREAK IT FOR THEM.

THE TONGUE OF THE NURSLING STUCK TO ITS PALATE FOR THIRST: very little children grow by liquid food--milk. So they by the same act of nursing both drink and eat. Since milk is by nature wet, here justly and deservedly mention is made of thirst.

THE LITTLE ONES ASKED FOR BREAD, AND THERE WAS NO ONE WHO MIGHT BREAK IT FOR THEM: these are the older children who do not need milk any more but eat the more solid food--bread.<sup>22</sup> They were asking, begging, yes demanding nourishment. Yet there was no one who would give them anything.

Let those who tremble so at this dire famine think how truly detestable are those who deny to the Church's sons the proper food of God's Word. They forbid it to them under a pretext which seems to them no less splendid than laudable.<sup>23</sup> For they say, WHAT IS HOLY

<sup>22</sup> Perush:

Milk is for a baby in place of bread and water, and children are larger than babies....

<sup>23</sup> What follows is a spiritual interpretation of this verse. It is like an allegory except that Martyr does not say this is the true meaning of the passage. His exegetical train of thought is more like this: "Famine.... That reminds me of Catholic teaching on withholding the scripture from the laity...." His justification of this interpretation would be from passages such as Amos 9:11 (on which he had lectured not many weeks previously): A FAM-

MUST NOT BE GIVEN TO DOGS, PEARLS MUST NOT BE THROWN TO SWINE.<sup>24</sup> This is what they must think of the commoners, the rabble of Christendom. So it follows that commoners must not be allowed to read the sacred books. "Experience," they add, "testifies that since they do not understand the scriptures, they end up fabricating for themselves many private and heretical opinions. For this reason the scriptures must then be shut up." Those who are moved by these arguments are gravely in error. Since the Church's sons are endowed with the Spirit (for the Apostle says that he who does not have the Spirit of Christ is not Christ's),<sup>25</sup> they are neither dogs nor swine. Because the laypeople are reckoned to be among the sons, they must be fed with the sons' bread.

God proved to us that the laity ought to have access to the scriptures. He brought the Law through Moses and the oracles through the prophets. These Scriptures were produced in no other language than the common and vernacular one: Hebrew.<sup>26</sup> This was so that

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INE NOT FOR BREAD...BUT FOR HEARING THE WORD OF G-D.

<sup>24</sup> Mt. 7:6.

<sup>25</sup> Rm. 8:9b, paraphrase.

<sup>26</sup> Martyr recognizes Hebrew to be the "vulgar tongue" of the ancient Hebrews; I have not found in Martyr either the superstitious awe accorded Hebrew by Robert Wakefield's oration On the Three Languages or the assessment of Hebrew as a "barbarous tongue" by Pellican.

all the people might understand them. Even today the Hebrews expound the sacred books of their Law to boys and girls, as they pursue zealously the tradition handed down to them by their fathers.<sup>27</sup> Even though the apostles were Hebrews, they wrote in a foreign language<sup>28</sup> so that all the Gentiles could easily follow their writings. And when Paul wrote his letters, he was writing not just to two or three priests but to the entire Church.<sup>29</sup> Christ taught in the Sermon on the Mount a fruitful and profound interpretation of the Law. Yet this sermon was addressed to the crowds--a vile mob who were up to that point unbelievers.<sup>30</sup> This, however, is that very doctrine which our men wish to be concealed from the people. Whatever matters were contained in the history of the Gospels about his doctrine were expounded to the Apostles. They were otherwise uncultivated, so crass in fact that Peter was once

<sup>27</sup> A rare comment about (even a back-handed complement to) contemporary Jews. But because this comment is relatively positive, the Jews are called "Hebrews." Note Martyr's rather modern sounding observation that both boys and girls are instructed. Martyr wants both sexes educated in Christian truths.

<sup>28</sup> i.e., Greek, not Hebrew or Aramaic.

<sup>29</sup> i.e., Paul did not write in Hebrew, which only Jewish religious leaders could read, but in the common Greek.

<sup>30</sup> The Sermon on the Mount: Mt. 5-7; the rabble as without the Law: Jn. 7:49. Bonhoeffer in The Cost of Discipleship (2nd SCM ed., part 2, Sermon on the Mount, pp.95ff) sees the Sermon as a "counsel of perfection" which was addressed primarily to the disciples, not the crowd. Whose interpretation is the most tendentious: Martyr's or Bonhoeffer's?



called Satan.<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, those who advocate concealing the scriptures are unable to present any proof as to why commoners (however weak and carnal they are up to now) are to be shut off from sacred reading. Paul calls the Corinthians "carnal";<sup>32</sup> but he wrote them two splendid letters. Yes, many lose their way in the scriptures but many more are edified. If their argument were valid, the scriptures ought to have been held back from the learned. It is, after all, from the more learned that heresies almost always originate. Besides if the sacred Scriptures are to be shunned for the fact that some drink venom from them, the unhappy people of Christ should be shut off from the Eucharist.<sup>33</sup>

This famine must be detested.<sup>34</sup> The little ones ask for bread, and there is no one who offers anything.

<sup>31</sup> Mt. 16:23 and Mk. 8:33.

<sup>32</sup> 1 Cor. 3:1.

<sup>33</sup> That is, following the reasoning of Paul in 1 Cor. 11: 17-34. esp. 29-30, HE EATING AND DRINKING EATS AND DRINKS JUDGMENT ON HIMSELF, NOT DISCERNING THE BODY, SO MANY OF YOU ARE WEAK AND SICK AND OTHERS HAVE DIED.

<sup>34</sup> Martyr returns to the starting point of his spiritual exegesis ("Let those who tremble so at this dire famine think how truly detestable are those who deny to the Church's sons the proper food of God's Word...").

He, or Verse Five THOSE WHO ATE DELICACIES HAVE BEEN DEVASTATED IN THE BROAD WAYS; THOSE WHO WERE BROUGHT UP "IN THE PURPLE"<sup>35</sup> EMBRACE THE EXCREMENTS.

THOSE WHO ATE...: this reversal of fortunes deserves sympathy. Their skin, once so gently cultivated but now ruined by hunger, has lain devastated along the broad ways. That is, it has been reduced to a thin and emaciated corpse. Those once wrapped in purple or scarlet now lie unburied, thrown out on the dung and manure. Thus they seem to be embracing excrements.<sup>36</sup>

Vav, or Verse Six GREATER WAS THE INIQUITY OF MY PEOPLE<sup>37</sup> THAN THE SIN OF SODOM, WHICH WAS OVERTURNED AS

<sup>35</sup> Jerome has "nourished in scarlet" (an alternative Martyr notes in his exposition); but Martyr wishes to allude to the Roman notion of being brought up "in the purple." Münster's choice of *educo* and not *nutrio* seems to be based on a comment of Rashi:

THOSE BROUGHT UP (האמונים) ON SCARLET: on brightly colored clothes: BROUGHT UP (האמונים) the language of AND HE WAS BRINGING UP (אמן) HADASSAH [i.e., "Esther," see Est. 2:7].

<sup>36</sup> Perush's philological comment:

THEY CLUNG TO THE DUNGHILLS: for they are tossed aside like dung, and there is no one burying them.

<sup>37</sup> Jerome-Pagnini-Münster follow the Hebrew: "the Daughter of my people." Does Martyr leave out "daughter" because he forgets it or because it is a Hebrew pleonasm?

IF IN A MOMENT, AND THEY DID NOT LAY HANDS ON HER.<sup>38</sup>

GREATER WAS THE INIQUITY OF MY PEOPLE THAN THE SIN OF SODOM: as Ibn Ezra says, עון and חטאת here do not mean "crime" but rather "punishment," "the penalty imposed for crimes."<sup>39</sup> Thus Paul says: AND FOR SIN HE CONDEMNED SIN.<sup>40</sup> Not only is sin said to be a crime but it is also what takes it away and conceals it. This happens either by sacrifice or by the penalty imposed by the judgment of a just God. Thus sin is said to be

<sup>38</sup> For the difficult Hebrew: וְלֹא חָלוּ בָּהּ יָדַיִם. Jerome has *et non ceperunt in ea manus*. Martyr's *et non adhibuerent ei manus* follows closely Münster. Pagnini's *et non castra metata sunt contra eam castra* assumes the verb חָנוּ ("pitch camp"), not חָלוּ. Did Pagnini misread or did his Hebrew text have this?

<sup>39</sup> Perush:

There is a SIN OFFERING (חטאת) and a GUILT OFFERING (אשם) in sacrifice, hence its sense is the reward of the iniquity (עוֹן) and the sin חטאת, and it is the evil reward, and it may be called evil fortune: and thus, FOR NOT YET COMPLETE IS THE GUILT (עוֹן) of THE AMORITE [Gn.15:16]; IF THERE WILL HAPPEN TO YOU GUILT (עוֹן) IN THIS MATTER [1 Sam.28:10]; GREATER IS MY PUNISHMENT (עוֹן) THAN I CAN BEAR [Gn.4:13] and the verse following after it is for a witness [Gn.4:14]. And the sense is that the misfortune coming on Israel is greater than the misfortune of Sodom, since she was overthrown AS IN A MOMENT....

Martyr has correctly deciphered this difficult comment, and he has correctly understood its implication--that Judah's sin is not greater but its punishment. Martyr accepts Perush's understanding of "sin" and "guilt," but refuses the inference Perush draws from it.

<sup>40</sup> Rm. 8:3b, not Vulgate but literal tr. of Greek: καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. Martyr reads this verse as do most modern interpreters: ...GOD, HAVING SENT HIS SON...FOR A SIN OFFERING CONDEMNED SIN....

both the penalty and the sacrifice. However I do not deny that they sinned more gravely than Sodom. For they not only used to turn the prophets out but also kill them.<sup>41</sup> And Christ said it would be more tolerable for Sodom than for that city which shut out the apostles and over which they had shaken the dust of their feet.<sup>42</sup> What Christ said about punishment at the last judgment is also true for punishment which divine justice metes out in this life.<sup>43</sup> Graver was the punishment imposed on them than it was on the people of Sodom; therefore the former sinned more gravely than the latter. Nonetheless I am of the opinion that here sin or iniquity is to be taken for punishment, for at once the prophet adds, WHICH WAS OVERTHROWN AS IF IN A MOMENT. Although Sodom's destruction was a very great disaster, nevertheless it was more tolerable and less severe than Jerusalem's, because it was not of long

<sup>41</sup> Allusion to the Parable of the Vineyard Tenants, Mt. 21:33-41, and parallels.

<sup>42</sup> The Latin text is here corrupted by dittography: for *At Christus dixit fore tolerabilius Sodomaë quam illi urbi, quae Apostolos exclusisset, super quam illi urbe, quae Apostolos exclusisset, super quam illi pulverem pedum excussissent* read *At Christus dixit fore tolerabilius Sodomaë quam illi urbi, quae Apostolos exclusisset, super quam illi pulverem pedum excussissent*; the allusion is to Mt. 10:14-15. Note that "that city" does not refer specifically to Jerusalem.

<sup>43</sup> lit., "What Christ said is also valid when it has to do with divine justice."

duration.<sup>44</sup>

AND THEY DID NOT HOLD HANDS ON HER: supply "human beings" as the subject. The region of Sodom burned up, and Jerusalem too was set on fire. However, the former disaster was the work of God himself,<sup>45</sup> for he rained down sulfur and fire on those cities.<sup>46</sup> Therefore they did not perish by human effort. Jerusalem was also set on fire by the will of God, but it happened through the agency of human acts of hatred. Sodom's destruction seems easier to bear insofar as it is instigated by the Lord. Thus David said to Gad the Seer, when he chose

<sup>44</sup> Rashi:

AND GREATER WAS THE INIQUITY OF...: their punishment proves concerning them that greater is their iniquity than that of Sodom: OVERTHROWN AS IN A MOMENT, because as regards Sodom, her calamity was not drawn out--she was overthrown as in one moment.

Cf. Münster 1534 Bible:

GREATER WAS THE INIQUITY: With reference to פורענות the punishment, he says, it is permitted to draw the conclusion that the sin of the Judeans was graver than the sin of Sodom. The Chaldean interpreter adds the reason for this: it is because there were no prophets in Sodom to draw them back from the wicked acts. Besides the punishment of the Sodomites was lighter because they were not tormented by a long siege, since no human hands were laid on it, but in an instant they were overthrown by the angelic hands.

<sup>45</sup> Rashi:

HANDS DID NOT WRITHE [? = חלו] ON HER, the hands of the enemy, since by means of [lit.: "on the hands of"] angels she was overthrown [Gn. 18-19].

<sup>46</sup> "The region of Sodom", "those cities": Gn. 19:25 THOSE CITIES [Sodom and Gomorrah] AND ALL ROUND ABOUT.

the plague rather than other things: "I would rather fall into the hands of God than of men. For I know him to be merciful, but my enemies are not so. If I were placed in their power, what would they not endeavor to do to destroy me?"<sup>47</sup>

Zain, or Verse Seven WHITER THAN SNOW WERE HER NAZIRITES, THEY SHONE MORE THAN MILK, THEY THEMSELVES<sup>48</sup> WERE RED<sup>49</sup> MORE THAN<sup>50</sup> GEMS,<sup>51</sup> THEIR CUTTING SAP-PHIRE.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> 2 Sam. 24:14, paraphrase.

<sup>48</sup> Martyr is trying to find a use for the עצם in this verse. In scripture עצם means "bone" or "substance." Münster tries to render it literally as "bones"; Pagnini, "body." In later Hebrew it often was used as a reflexive, "--self," and it is in this latter meaning Martyr takes it, and his exposition below reflects his translation here. (Jerome appears to ignore עצם, if it were in his manuscript at all. Most modern interpreters emend in some fashion.)

<sup>49</sup> SHONE and WERE RED: Münster uses verbs, as does the Hebrew; Jerome-Pagnini use adjectives, in order to parallel the adjective "whiter" in the first half of the first line.

<sup>50</sup> Martyr imitates the Hebrew construction of comparison with the preposition מִן by using the Latin preposition *prae* instead of Jerome's more normal Latin construction with the ablative of comparison. Pagnini uses *quam* and Münster *supra*.

<sup>51</sup> פנינים are corals. Martyr got no help here from Jerome, who thought they were "old ivory." Martyr's Jewish commentators knew what the word meant but did not define it. Pagnini gets the meaning "gems" from the Targum's rendering: יוהרין, sparkling gems (Jastrow 568).

<sup>52</sup> Jerome has "more beautiful than sapphire." The "than" is probably implied in the Hebrew, as Ibn Ezra points out (see his comment on this verse). Pagnini misses this implied comparative and translates "their cutting out was sapphire." Münster does no better with "(and as if) their cutting were from sapphire." Martyr would have done better to have gone with Jerome and Ibn

WHITER THAN SNOW WERE HER NAZIRITES, THEY SHONE MORE THAN MILK: here he called to mind the Nazirites, so he might not be silent on any class of the afflicted people. Above he made mention of priests, elders, prophets, kings, mothers, young men, virgins, and nobles bred to luxury. Last of all he added the Nazirites. You have their rite and religion in Leviticus chapter 6. It was a temporary vow. Wine was forbidden them and any other intoxicant. They were not to cut their hair, nor contaminate themselves with the dead. Everything is lucidly explained in the scripture passage just adduced, so this is not the time or place to give you information about them. Certain people such as Rashi wish to understand Nazirites to be kings and princes, for the reason that נָזִיר means crown.<sup>53</sup> To me, however, it seems that the plain understanding of

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Ezra. Münster's rendering is reflected in Martyr's exposition of this phrase below.

<sup>53</sup> Rashi mentions this interpretation, but only to contrast it with what he believes to be correct:

HER CONSECRATED ONES (נָזִירִים) SHONE: her princes, like a diadem (נָזִיר) and crown; but I, I say that they really were "Nazirites," who were letting their hair grow and it was very beautiful; and it refers back to the daughter of my people.

In Jerome's mind too the "consecrated ones" were literally Nazirites.

the text ought to be followed.<sup>54</sup> This complaint of the prophet is important since the class of Nazirites was highly respected in their commonwealth. Let it be remembered what sort of men they were, while prosperity lasted.<sup>55</sup> Their handsomeness, as reflected in their complexion, is described. By means of a double simile their whiteness and radiance is compared to milk and snow.

THEY THEMSELVES WERE REDDER: עַצְמָם here designates a reflexive pronoun. If their cheeks have a ruddiness suffusing their fair complexion, then they truly shine. They have charm and people find them attractive.

THAN GEMS: כִּנִּינִים is a collective noun and refers to precious stones.<sup>56</sup> Here, however, it must be taken to mean certain kinds of gems such as carbuncles and those stones which are popularly called rubies.

THEIR CUTTING WAS SAPPHIRE: that is, they had an imposing figure as if they had been cut from sapphire stone.<sup>57</sup> The interpreters vary among themselves as to

<sup>54</sup> *plana litterae intelligentia*: another important statement regarding Martyr's usual method of interpretation.

<sup>55</sup> Perush:

HER DEDICATED ONES WERE SHINING in the days of satisfaction.

<sup>56</sup> This is the Targum's translation; see note on Martyr's translation above.

<sup>57</sup> Possibly a reference to Münster 1534 Bible:

And גִּירָתָם Kimhi explains as glimmering fragments which are cut from Sapphire stone.



what sort of color sapphire might be. Rabbi Saadia<sup>58</sup> thinks it to be white like crystal. He supports his opinion by citing Exodus chapter 24, where the Lord appears upon a throne and under his feet there is stonework of לבנת הספיר, i.e., of the whiteness of sapphire. Ibn Ezra does not agree with this.<sup>59</sup> For he thinks that לבנת signifies tiles not color, for it is said LIKE THE WORK OF, as if the text might say, "the ground under his feet seemed to be paved somehow with sapphire stones." Thus this man thinks it to be a reddish color, with the result that the simile here is doubled. At first the prophet said that they were as white as snow or milk. Now he says that they are red like carbuncle or ruby, and like sapphire. However if

<sup>58</sup> Saadia ben Joseph (usually known as Saadia Gaon), 882-942, the founder of scientific Hebrew grammar. Martyr is citing Ibn Ezra's comment on Ex. 24:10 (see next footnote).

<sup>59</sup> Ex. 24:10, where Ibn Ezra disagrees with Saadiah:

The Gaon [i.e., Saadiah Gaon] said that Sapphire is white in its appearance (לבנת הספיר), and not just red. And the proof [that לבנת does not mean "whiteness"] is that it is the custom of language to double the meaning in different words [poetic parallelism, in this case as found in Lam. 4:7]. And see, it is written, HER NAZIRITES SHONE BRIGHTER THAN SNOW, THEY WERE MORE DAZZLING THEN MILK [Lam. 4:7]; and see, the meaning is double: THEY WERE MORE RED--FORM--THAN CORALS, SAPPHIRE THEIR SHAPE. And also if לבנת הספיר is whiteness, what does it mean to say AS THE WORK: it ought to say AS THE APPEARANCE [Ex. 1:26]. And the correct is that לבנת is from the form לבנה [Ex. 4:1, "tile"], as השכח מים [Ps.18:12, ET 11: DARKNESS OF WATERS] is from the form השכה [Gn. 15:12, DARKNESS]....

we look at that stone which nowadays is called "sapphire," it is of the color of the sky or the heavens.<sup>60</sup> And in those who have very fair-complected cheeks, one usually finds that a vivid and intense ruddiness suffuses the cheeks of those who have a very fair complexion. This ruddiness inclines to a bluish or violet color, which we see to be the color of sapphire.<sup>61</sup> And I do not object to this interpretation if it is applied to this passage.

Het, or Verse Eight DARKENED IS THEIR FORM MORE THAN BLACKNESS,<sup>62</sup> THEY WERE NOT RECOGNIZED IN THE BROAD WAYS; THEIR SKIN STUCK TO THEIR BONES, IT WAS DRIED UP AND BECAME LIKE WOOD.

DARKENED WAS THEIR FORM MORE THAN BLACKNESS: their faces have become blacked and darkened by the period of

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Rashi:

נצח: language of appearance, as AND AS THE FORM OF THE HEAVENS FOR CLARITY [Ex. 24:10]; קוֹלֵר ["color"] in the vernacular.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Targum:

...their appearance was ruddier than jewels, and the luster of their faces sapphires.

<sup>62</sup> Jerome has "coals", which is, as Martyr points out in his exposition, the explanation of Rashi.

hunger and want.<sup>63</sup> Rashi interprets שחור as coal.<sup>64</sup> As for me, I prefer that it be rendered BLACKNESS.<sup>65</sup> It is, in fact, a strong form of hyperbole when something is said to overcome its own characteristic quality, as "blacker than blackness", or "more just than justice."

THEY WERE NOT RECOGNIZED IN THE BROAD WAYS: those who had been more famous than all others now are not recognized. Thus they lie abandoned and thrown aside.

THEIR SKIN STUCK TO THEIR BONES: here their emaciated condition is described, an apt indication of starvation.

IT WAS DRIED UP AND BECAME LIKE WOOD: their bodies were without moisture.

Tet, or Verse Nine THOSE WHO FELL BY THE SWORD  
WERE BETTER OFF THAN THOSE WHO PERISHED BY HUNGER,

<sup>63</sup> Perush:

DARKENED: their form in hunger.

<sup>64</sup> Rashi:

THEIR FORM BECAME BLACKER THAN coal.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Ezra:

משחור: MORE THAN BLACKNESS (שחירות), and it is a noun.

BECAUSE THESE FLOWED AWAY, PIERCED THROUGH BY THE PRO-  
DUCE OF THE FIELD.<sup>66</sup>

THOSE WHO FELL BY THE SWORD WERE BETTER OF THAN  
THOSE WHO PERISHED BY HUNGER: for the pain of the for-  
mer was very brief, while that of the latter lasted a  
long time, and so for that reason was very severe.<sup>67</sup>  
Vergil's Aeneas said:

O thrice and four times blest  
To whom it befell to meet death  
Before the fathers' eyes, under the high  
walls of Troy.<sup>68</sup>

He preferred sudden death by the sword to his long  
lasting misfortunes and wanderings.

BECAUSE THESE FLOWED AWAY, PIERCED THROUGH BY THE  
PRODUCE OF THE FIELD: here there are two possible

<sup>66</sup> Modern interpreters suspect that this line is corrupt. Perhaps Jerome had a slightly different text than the MT. At any rate, Jerome translates: SINCE THEY DISAPPEARED, CONSUMED BY THE STERILITY OF THE EARTH. In Jerome's mind, this last line refers unambiguously to those who starved to death. Martyr's rendering is influenced by Pagnini and Münster, and by Rashi and possibly Ibn Ezra's interpretations (see the notes to his exposition below).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Münster 1534 Bible:

THEY WERE DRENCHED WITH BLOOD: this is the meaning: the situation of those who starved to death is the same as those who were pierced and gushed blood, except that by a slow wasting away and delayed death they breathed their last, since those slain by the sword at once laid down their life.

<sup>68</sup> Aeneid 1:94-6.

interpretations.<sup>69</sup> Thus the THESE of THESE FLOWED AWAY can refer either to those who perished by hunger, or to those who died by the sword. If the former, then they are said to flow away with reference to vital powers and spirits. "Having been PIERCED THROUGH BY THE PRODUCE OF THE FIELD, which was not produced for them"<sup>70</sup> means "they have been pierced through by the lack of the fruit of the earth, as if by a lance." But if you accept that the reference is to those cut down by the sword, then you have plainly the following meaning. "Pierced through they flow away by the produce of the field." That is, "from a full stomach" they have what may flow out of them, for they were full and overflowing with foods.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Rashi:

PERFORATED (מדוקרים)--split open: either swelling from famine or splitting open by sword is called a "perforation."

<sup>70</sup> "by the produce...was not produced": a play on words: *proventibus* is from the verb *provenerunt*.

<sup>71</sup> i.e., The stomach of an eviscerated person who has been well fed will pour forth the contents of his final meal. This certainly is the implication of Ibn Ezra's severely laconic comment:

THAT THEY GUSH, and they BEING RIDDLED [i.e., since they are riddled, they gush]....

But whether Martyr deciphered Ibn Ezra's comment, or arrived at this conclusion on his own, cannot be said, since he does not attribute this interpretation to any commentator.

Yod, or Verse Ten<sup>72</sup> THE HANDS OF COMPASSIONATE  
WOMEN COOKED THEIR CHILDREN, *SO THEY MIGHT BE*<sup>73</sup> FOOD FOR  
THEM IN THE BREAKING OF THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE.

In a previous verse<sup>74</sup> we heard about this horrible event. Mothers were made so fierce that they induced themselves to eat their children's flesh. Here, I beg you, imagine for me a horrible crime of pastors of the Church. They ought to have been mothers and nurses. Paul says of himself in Thessalonians that he had been like a nurse to them.<sup>75</sup> And to the Galatians he testified that he was in labor with them until Christ was formed in them.<sup>76</sup> Pastors, who ought to have been as Paul describes, measure everything in profit and to their own advantage. They flay their own sheep, tear them to pieces, slaughter and eat them. In the meantime, they think well of themselves and applaud themselves, as if they were ever so holy.

<sup>72</sup> From this verse onward, and for no apparent reason, the instances of what are apparently Martyr's own translations increase dramatically. Also when he does use another's translation, unlike his practice up to this point, he uses Pagnini much more often than Münster.

<sup>73</sup> Unlike Jerome-Pagnini-Münster, Martyr makes explicit the implied syntax of the Hebrew by making the second half of the verse a purposive clause.

<sup>74</sup> 4:3. As before, he does not dwell on the grisly details of this crime but gives the passage a spiritual application.

<sup>75</sup> I Thes. 2:7.

<sup>76</sup> Gal. 4:19.

Kaf, or Verse Eleven THE LORD COMPLETED HIS FURY,  
HE POURED OUT THE ANGER OF HIS INDIGNATION; HE *POURED*  
*OUT*<sup>77</sup> FIRE IN ZION WHICH DEVOURED ITS FOUNDATIONS.

THE LORD COMPLETED HIS FURY: God is shown to be otherwise merciful. He has been provoked by us for a long time.<sup>78</sup> He holds back for a long time the anger he has harbored. He is like a steady and patient judge, who does not rush to hand down his sentence.

HE POURED OUT THE ANGER OF HIS INDIGNATION: only when it was necessary that there be a place for his justice and severity, did he balance the long delay of judgment by severity of punishment.

HE POURED OUT FIRE IN ZION: again the anger of God is compared to fire.<sup>79</sup> For not only was the entire city set on fire, but also its inhabitants were

<sup>77</sup> The Hebrew is הִצִּית (hif'il of יָצַת, "burn"), a rather uncommon verb meaning "to kindle," which is exactly what Jerome-Pagnini has. Could Martyr have gotten יָצַק ("pour") mixed up with יָצַת? Or perhaps he was thinking of the time when God RAINED DOWN...FIRE FROM HEAVEN. (Gn. 19:24)? Or perhaps he carelessly repeated the previous verb.

<sup>78</sup> This theme of "a long time" is from Rashi:

G-D STOPPED BEING ANGRY which burned in him several years; he has stopped it now that he has avenged himself on them.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn Ezra:

The anger is like fire.

scorched, as it were, and dried out with hunger--even to the bones, which seem to be the bases and foundations of the entire body.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Perush:

The hunger of the body is compared to fire that burns and harms to the foundation of the bone.

This comment connects this verse to hunger in vv. 8-10 immediately preceding and to the reference to fire and bone in Lam. 1:13. Also Perush specifies that God's anger is expressed as the curse of starvation. This sort of fanciful exegesis Martyr finds very helpful.



Lamed, or Verse Twelve THE KINGS OF THE EARTH DID NOT BELIEVE, AND ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE WORLD, *THAT*<sup>1</sup> THE ENEMY AND THE FOE WOULD ENTER THROUGH THE GATES OF JERUSALEM.

THE KINGS OF THE EARTH DID NOT BELIEVE: the first prize for unbelief goes to the kings.<sup>2</sup> As long as the kingdom flourished, even though the prophets threatened the wicked princes that the kingdom was about to be overthrown, they did not believe. Men like this change their ways belatedly. Paul said, NOT MANY NOBLE, NOT MANY POWERFUL.<sup>3</sup> However in the next line THE INHABITANTS OF THE WORLD, i.e., the other, common people are mentioned along with the kings. These people could not persuade themselves that the enemies would enter Jerusalem and that they would overthrow this flourishing and holy state.

Today's foolish Christians also cannot persuade themselves of such realities. They promise themselves that they are not going to be destroyed by the Turks. They lean on the promise that the Church shall never be

<sup>1</sup> Martyr uses indirect discourse, but Jerome has *quoniam* clause, and Pagnini-Münster a *quod* clause, which mirrors the Hebrew וְ.

<sup>2</sup> lit., "The first place of unbelief is attributed to the kings."

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. 1:26.

destroyed, that the gates of hell will not prevail against it,<sup>4</sup> as if they themselves were coextensive with the Church. The definition of the Church according to all its causes is this: as to its material cause, it is a gathering of people; its efficient cause is the Spirit of Christ bringing them together; the final cause is eternal life; and the formal cause is right religion, sound faith, holy law and harmonious order.<sup>5</sup> Those who belong to this Church are not destroyed. Thus Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezra, and Zerubabel and all others who belonged to the true Church were in former times preserved.<sup>6</sup> In this way they renewed the Church so that it would not been extinguished.

Mem. or Verse Thirteen<sup>7</sup> ON ACCOUNT OF THE SINS OF  
HER PROPHETS,<sup>8</sup> *THE CRIMES* OF HER PRIESTS: THEY WERE

<sup>4</sup> Mt. 16:18.

<sup>5</sup> Here is an analysis using the fourfold cause structure of Aristotle, which Martyr was to use in other contexts as well (e.g., in his introduction of his Judges commentary, the discussion is outlined by the formal, material, efficient and final causes). Note that Martyr does not include in any part of this definition an expectation that the Christian Church is always in a Christian State.

<sup>6</sup> Martyr singles out those who maintained the true worship of God under foreign occupation.

<sup>7</sup> Martyr connects this verse with the previous one; Jerome's syntax implies this linking, as does Rashi's comment on this verse (see below).

<sup>8</sup> Jerome-Münster inset an "and" here; the MT does not have it, and Pagnini-Martyr leave it out.

SHEDDING<sup>9</sup> IN HER MIDST THE BLOOD OF THE JUST.

ON ACCOUNT OF THE SINS OF HER PROPHETS, THE CRIMES OF HER PRIESTS: at last is expressed the cause as to why the enemy in this way obtained the victory and why they entered the holy city--something which no one had been able to persuade himself would happen. The cause was the corruption of the orders of both the prophets and the priests. I refer this verse to the prophets of Baal and the priests of the high places, as do some other interpreters.<sup>10</sup> However I deem that it must be also understood without hesitation to concern those prophets who were otherwise accustomed to be inspired by the Lord. These latter prophets were overwhelmed by

<sup>9</sup> Jerome-Pagnini-Münster use the perfect tense ("shed"); the MT has a qal participle, and Martyr supposes the idea of continuing past action to be indicated by this participle--hence he translates by using the imperfect. However, the participle has a relative use here, and the "tense" of the participle must be deduced from the context (Waltke-O'Connor 37.5d). To translate perfect seems best.

<sup>10</sup> Rashi:

FROM THE SIN OF THE PROPHETS of falsehood she had this evil [of the foe entering Jerusalem's gates].

Perush:

On account of the sin of the prophets of Baal and the priests of the high places, the innocent were killed, according to the words of Asaph [Ps. 79:1, GOD, THE NATIONS ENTERED INTO YOUR INHERITANCE].

Thus Perush makes the false prophets and priests only indirectly responsible for the killing of innocent people; the priest and prophets did not do the killing themselves. Martyr will mention an interpretation similar to this at the end of his exposition of this verse.

lusts and adulterated the Word of God by proclaiming it less sincerely. Similarly this happened also to the priests, I mean legitimate priests descended from the Levitical line. They set aside their zeal and duty and got themselves scandalously involved in other affairs.

The two orders of priest and prophet are in the Old Testament the two fulcra on which was resting the entire administration of that ancient commonwealth as it relates to piety and religion. It was the priests' duty to preside over sacrifices and ceremonies, to preserve the Law, to have it in readiness, and to take care that the people lived according to its sacred precepts. The prophets, on the other hand, not only devoted their attention to doctrine and interpreted the Law in its breadth and width, they also proclaimed the Lord's will in public assemblies. They were not only supported by zeal but also inspired by the divine Spirit. They would not only encourage the people but also threaten them with punishment to deter them from sinning. They would also use promises, so that people, attracted at least by such statements, might return to the Lord and might move their souls to submit to his Law.

It is also not something at which to wonder that such holy duties were, by the will of God, entrusted to wicked men. Indeed, experience teaches us that we reckon Judas the traitor to be among the twelve Apostles. And Balaam is numbered among the prophets.

Inspired by the divine Spirit, he prophesied many things which are to be retained and which are very true.<sup>11</sup> The counsel of Ahithophel was regarded as a divine oracle.<sup>12</sup> And we know that even though Caiaphas was a wicked priest his office was held in high esteem. Since he was the High Priest that year, he prophesied unawares, as John testifies.<sup>13</sup> For there are certain gifts of the Spirit which do not necessarily make people pleasing to God and acceptable to him. Thus it is said by Christ in Matthew,

MANY WILL SAY TO ME IN THAT DAY, "LORD, DID WE NOT CAST OUT DEMONS IN YOUR NAME, DID WE NOT PROPHECY?" AND CHRIST SAYS THAT HE WILL ANSWER THEM, "TRULY I SAY TO YOU, I DO NOT KNOW YOU."<sup>14</sup>

Indeed the Antichrist is presented as one who will come with false signs and wonders.<sup>15</sup> Even the devil has the power to perform hideous miracles by his unhappy servants. Cannot God use temporal circumstances so that any sort of people may be instruments of his Spirit? God may do this even though such people may in no way be his friends but rather be those who are going to be damned to eternal tortures.

<sup>11</sup> Num. 22-24.

<sup>12</sup> i.e., even though he was traitor to David; 2 Sam. 16:23.

<sup>13</sup> Jn. 11:49-51.

<sup>14</sup> Mt. 7:22.

<sup>15</sup> Mt. 24:24 and Mk. 13:22; 2 Thes. 2:19.

Let us now see with what sort of crime these guilty priests and prophets were polluted: THEY WERE SHEDDING IN HER MIDST THE BLOOD OF THE JUST. Such was their attitude toward Christ our Savior. He had no greater enemies than the scribes and priests. They destroyed him to the extent that they were allowed to do so. Amos was harassed and then expelled by Amaziah the priest. By his accusation Amos' name was given to the king.<sup>16</sup> It must not be supposed that Manasseh and other wicked kings would have shed so much innocent blood had they not had rascals counselling evil, i.e. flattering priests and prophets. In our own calamitous times those who so viciously persecute good men (the saints of Christ) are also those popes, bishops, priests, monks who profess themselves to be holier than others. These men condemn Christ's saints, cast them into prison, they force them to serve in the galleys, and decree their exile. In the meantime they wish their authority to be so great that they would bring Christ himself to order, if he wished again to be on earth.

They even wish to put sacred scripture under their own power and authority, and by the old argument that the very authority of the Church has commended the

<sup>16</sup> Amaziah verbally expelled Amos, but there is no indication that Amos obeyed: Am. 7:10-17.

Scriptures to us.<sup>17</sup> And, they say, in the name of the Church we believe the scripture. It is the Church that judged concerning the scriptures: it approved some writings but rejected others. Therefore, they say, our edicts must be preferred to the scriptures. As for us, we deny here openly what they accept. We believe the scriptures because we have been inspired by God's Spirit, not because we accept Church authorities, because our faith is not from human beings but from God. And if the Church Fathers revealed something about the scriptures, it was done by the Spirit of God. We who are also endowed by the Spirit receive the scriptures which the Church Fathers received. By no means is human nature<sup>18</sup> which is rebellious to God and all things spiritual, moved by the Church Fathers' authority to believe the scriptures. We commend, however, the Fathers' diligence in conserving the scriptures, their solicitude in making them known, and other things of this sort.

We do not contentiously speak ill of Church authority. Nor do we check it in the sense that we would claim that the Church were unable to ratify constitutions and decrees. For we permit it. Let us not be excluded from the kingdom of God by neglecting mat-

<sup>17</sup> Martyr's short excursus here on the authority of Scripture shows how "Reformed", even Calvinian, were his doctrines even at this early stage of his Protestant career. Compare Martyr's argument here with that of Calvin's Institutes 1.7.1-2.

<sup>18</sup> *humana caro*.

ters which are not repugnant to the divine words and to which we are not driven by necessity. Let us remain free in matters the sacred scriptures do not force on us. We may not despise rulings which are constituted by Church authorities and which are not against the divine words. However, we do not attribute to such rulings the same assurance that we attribute to the sacred scriptures. Unassailable strength is ascribed to the scriptures.

If scripture stood by means of Church authority and leaned on this for support, the same Church which confirmed scripture could overturn it. But Paul spoke otherwise:

IF WE OR AN ANGEL FROM HEAVEN SHOULD PROCLAIM  
A GOSPEL OTHERWISE THAN THE GOSPEL WHICH HAS  
BEEN PROCLAIMED, LET HIM BE DAMNED.<sup>19</sup>

He said "we," not just "I"; thus he added all the apostles and princes of the Church. What would not they do to establish their tyranny? If they have adversaries of that unrestrained authority of theirs which they have usurped for themselves, they command that such people be killed. "They shed," said the prophet, "the blood of the just."

Some<sup>20</sup> interpret the "blood" in this verse in the sense of Ezekiel, chapter 3:

SON OF MAN, I APPOINTED YOU AN OBSERVER OVER  
THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL. SO IF I HAVE COMMANDED

<sup>19</sup> Gal. 1:8, paraphrase.

<sup>20</sup> Jerome, (according to Calvin, Lam. p. 471).



YOU TO DISCLOSE TO AN IRRELIGIOUS PERSON HIS  
CRIMES, BUT YOU KEEP SILENT, AND IF THAT PER-  
SON SHOULD PERISH IN HIS CRIME, I SHALL  
REQUIRE FROM YOUR HAND HIS BLOOD. HE MIGHT  
HAVE PERHAPS BEEN JUSTIFIED WHEN YOU WARNED  
HIM.<sup>21</sup>

Therefore these men would shed blood (say these inter-  
preters) by not warning or reproof. Thus all these  
slaughters and massacres are imputed to those who, by  
their cruel silence, neglect duties committed to them.  
But to tell the truth, I think the first meaning is the  
truer.<sup>22</sup>

Nun, or Verse Fourteen THE BLIND WANDERED THROUGH  
THE BROAD WAYS, THEY HAVE BEEN *CONTAMINATED* BY BLOOD;  
AND SINCE THEY WERE NOT ABLE, THEY WERE *TAKING HOLD OF*  
*THEIR CLOTHING*.

THEY WANDERED BLIND THROUGH THE BROAD WAYS, THEY  
HAVE BEEN CONTAMINATED BY BLOOD: the Hebrew com-  
mentators interpret this verse in one way,<sup>23</sup> but it

<sup>21</sup> vv. 17-18, paraphrase.

<sup>22</sup> i.e., that it was the prophets and priests themselves who  
killed the innocent.

<sup>23</sup> The interpretation to which Martyr alludes is Rashi's  
only. Rashi interprets in a rather philological manner a  
midrashic interpretation [Lam.R. 4:17-18, ET 227-8]:

THE BLIND TOTTER IN THE STREETS: when the blind were  
walking in the market they were tottering and their  
feet slipped in the blood of those killed whom the  
wicked were killing in her midst.

But Perush's interpretation is slightly different:

seems to me that it ought to be interpreted in another. They wish that this verse to be about much shed blood. For, they say, those whose sight has been taken away and who were deprived of light were not able to avoid the blood and the defiling of their clothing, when they entered the crowd. And since they were wandering in blindness and were not able to avoid other people, they would touch others' clothing and stain them also. This interpretation of theirs seems to me to be untrue. And so I more agree with Jerome, and with him I understand THE BLIND to be a miserable people deprived of good shepherds, who are the eyes of Christian people.<sup>24</sup>

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The living TOTTERED IN THE STREETS like the BLIND, and they made themselves defiled in the blood of the pierced, until those who touch WOULD NOT BE ABLE that THEY TOUCH THEIR CLOTHING.

But note that Perush follows Ibn Ezra in seeing "blind" to be an understood simile. Ibn Ezra:

BLIND [pl.]: as blind men, and thus, [GOD] IS A DEVOURING FIRE [Dt. 4:24, i.e., God is *not* a devouring fire literally].

Martyr finds Rashi's interpretation forced (which it is, deriving as it does from a midrashic interpretation). He therefore finds Jerome's figurative interpretation attractive. In collapsing the Perush-Ibn Ezra interpretation into Rashi's, it seems to me that Martyr is relying on Münster 1534 Bible:

THE BLIND MOVED: the Hebrews elicit this sense from those words: THE BLIND wandering IN THE STREETS WERE DEFILED by BLOOD, so that any happening to TOUCH THEIR CLOTHING were scorned, but they would say, "GO AWAY from us since you have been DEFILED WITH BLOOD," as it has been said, "THEY FLEW AND WENT AWAY from them."

<sup>24</sup> One of the few instances when Martyr resorts to a definitely figurative interpretation--significantly an interpretation he gets from a Church Father, his beloved Jerome. Note, however, that Martyr believes himself to be only interpreting a metaphor, intended by the prophet--thus even this figurative

Prophets were formerly called "seers."<sup>25</sup> And Paul in his First Letter to the Corinthians made out that there were many members in the body of the Church. Some can be said to be hands, some feet, some ears, and a few indeed are eyes.<sup>26</sup> The common people of the Jews were, therefore, blind. They are not, however, excused. For priest and people are interrelated. The state in which the former is caught is the one in which the latter is judged. The punishment of a people refusing to listen to true prophets and to obey good shepherds is that they then are ruled by those who are corrupt and wicked. Paul in 2 Thess., ch.2, speaks of the Antichrist. His coming is by the working of Satan with false signs and wonders for those who are perishing, because they did not receive the love of truth. In their case God will permit them to suffer the consequences of their errors.<sup>27</sup>

AND SINCE THEY WERE NOT ABLE--supply, "the blind...to walk around by themselves"--THEY WERE TAKING HOLD OF THEIR GARMENTS: they were following these wicked priests and evil prophets. So it happened as

interpretation is literal in a literary sense.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Sam. 9:9.

<sup>26</sup> 1 Cor. 12:12ff; calling the eyes "leaders" is, of course, a non-literal interpretation.

<sup>27</sup> 2 Thes. 2:9-12.

our Savior said: BOTH FALL INTO THE PIT, WHEN A BLIND PERSON OFFERED TO LEAD A BLIND PERSON.<sup>28</sup>

Samekh, or Verse Fifteen<sup>29</sup> "SHUN<sup>30</sup> THE ONE UNCLEAN," THEY WERE SHOUTING TO THEM, "TURN, TURN ASIDE,<sup>31</sup> LEST<sup>32</sup> YOU TOUCH." WHEN<sup>33</sup> THEY FLEW AWAY<sup>34</sup> AND

<sup>28</sup> Mt. 15:14, paraphrase.

<sup>29</sup> This is a difficult verse in part because it is not at all clear who is speaking to whom, and what this verse's relationship is to the previous one. The MT is unclear (TURN YE SIDE, UNCLEAN ONE, THEY CALLED TO THEM, TURN YE ASIDE, TURN YE ASIDE, TOUCH YE NOT) and needs interpretation. Jerome: "RETURN YE, YE POLLUTED ONES," THEY CALLED TO THEM, "RETURN YE, GO YE AWAY, TOUCH YE NOT." Pagnini: "RETURN YE, I AM UNCLEAN," EACH AND EVERYONE CALLED TO THEM, "RETURN YE, RETURN YE, LEST YE TOUCH." Münster: "DEPART YE, YE POLLUTED ONES," THEY CALLED TO THEM, "DEPART YE, DEPART YE, AND TOUCH YE NOT." Martyr differs from his mentors in that he makes UNCLEAN ONE the direct object of the first verb. He believes the speakers in this verse to be the Gentile in whose territory the metaphorically blind Jews wander. (It is interesting to note that even some modern interpreters, such as Hillers 143, try to read it with almost no emendations.)

<sup>30</sup> *Declinate*, a literal translation of Hebrew סור. Here Martyr uses *declinare* in the sense of "shun," a meaning which סור can also have (See Pro. 13:14). However, usually and particularly in this context in Lam., סור is intransitive and means "turn aside." Note that Münster in his *Dictionary* gives *declinavit* as the first meaning of סור.

<sup>31</sup> Hebrew: סורו סורו, for which Martyr has "turn thou aside, turn ye aside"; apparently he thought that the repetition of the verb signaled inclusivity (true, I think), and so he used both a singular and plural imperative, i.e., "Turn aside, one and all." Jerome, on the other hand, expresses the repetition by employing a synonym: "Go ye back, go ye away!" Pagnini, "Go ye back, go ye back!" Münster, "Return ye, return ye!"

<sup>32</sup> The Hebrew is a negative imperative, which is what Jerome has: *nolite tangere*. Strictly speaking, Hebrew does not have a negative imperative, as does Latin. The Hebrew speaker used the negating particle לא plus the 2nd person imperfect. Pagnini tried to mirror the Hebrew construction by using the Latin *ne* plus the subjunctive, with the result that he is left with something like a negative result clause.

WERE MOVED, THEY SAID AMONG THE NATIONS, "THEY WILL NOT ADD<sup>35</sup> TO INHABIT."

"TURN ASIDE UNCLEAN," THEY SHOUTED TO THEM, "TURN, TURN ASIDE, DO NOT TOUCH": this verse is also ambiguous,<sup>36</sup> and a difficulty arises from it. While it

<sup>33</sup> The Hebrew is כִּי, which Jerome takes to be emphatic and translates "indeed." Pagnini thinks that it introduces a clause and translates *quia*; Münster similarly *quoniam*. Whence Martyr's *cum* clause.

<sup>34</sup> FLEW AWAY: Hebrew, נָצוּ, a rare verb, whose meaning (if it really exists at all and is not to be emended) is dubious. Jerome translates "they were indeed chided/quarreled with, and repulsed." He believes it to be from an identical verb meaning "to quarrel" (see Holladay 243). Pagnini translates "because they were defiled, they warned themselves." He gets "defiled" from Rashi:

מוראתו כִּי נָצוּ: language of stench and filth, as מוראתו  
בְּנוֹצָה [Lev. 1:17]

Rashi's interpretation of Lev. 1:17 differs from the usual ET, which is, AND HE WILL TEAR IT BY ITS WINGS; perhaps Rashi is influenced by the Targum, which has בְּאוֹכְלֶיהָ, the digested food found in the entrails. I cannot account for Pagnini's "they warned themselves." Münster translates, "since they flew away and were removed." He follows comment of Ibn Ezra:

נָצוּ: they have plumage נוצה as a bird, and thus נוצה  
הוצא [Jer. 48:9].

<sup>35</sup> The Hebrew construction here is הוֹסִיף ("add") plus the infinitive, and is usually best translated by making the infinitive the main verb and rendering הוֹסִיף as the adverb "again." Here: "They will not inhabit again/any longer." Martyr follows Jerome-Pagnini-Münster in translating this idiom in a literalistic fashion by using the verb "to add." The result is less than successful Latin. Jerome: "It [the Jewish nation] will not add further that it may inhabit in them"; Münster, "they will not add that they may inhabit." Pagnini: "they will not add that they travel abroad."

<sup>36</sup> The previous verse was ambiguous because it was uncertain who "the blind" were. Martyr suggests three options: 1. The blood-defiled blind were warning the bystanders to avoid being defiled by touching them, in much the same way as lepers warn others; 2. The bystanders were warning each other to avoid the blind people defiled with blood; 3. The Gentiles were warning

is written THEY SHOUTED, it is not expressed who were these people who were shouting. The Jews<sup>37</sup> suppose that it must refer also to the blind, who had thus been polluted with blood in the broad ways. They were shouting to people to avoid them and not to touch them since they were unclean. Alternatively the THEY of THEY SHOUTED can be made to square with other people observing them. When they saw these blind unclean wretches, they shouted out to bystanders along the broad ways: "Beware, beware those unclean people, lest they touch you."<sup>38</sup> To me, however, it seems that the miserable fate of exile and captivity is described. The people were led away into captivity with their evil shepherds and priests as leaders of the journey. Just as the Jews execrated the Gentiles, so too afterwards

themselves to avoid the defiled Jews.

<sup>37</sup> Martyr here polemically calls "the Hebrews" (i.e., the Hebrew commentators) "the Jews," since he believes them to be trying to avoid the real meaning of this passage. Actually Martyr has only partially understood his Jewish sources, or (more likely, as I see it) he is simply relying on Münster 1534 Bible, the passage I cited in Martyr's rendering of the previous verse. As will be seen below, Rashi believes that people are calling to the blind to turn aside. Perush mentions the possibility that it is the blind who are calling out, but he rejects it:

Were they calling to themselves, "Turn aside," as one unclean [calls to those around]? And the former is correct [i.e., "Others were calling to them..."] and the antecedent of "those" who were called is not stated [and must be inferred].

<sup>38</sup> Rashi:

WERE DEFILED: they soiled themselves in blood to the point that those near them were unable to touch their garments and they were calling to them "TURN ASIDE from us, you unclean ones soiled IN BLOOD."

the nations pursued the Jews in turn with their curses. This happened when, as strangers and captives, they dwelled in their regions. These people (i.e., the enemies) are represented, therefore, as shouting: "Guard yourselves against this unclean people, indeed guard yourselves, lest you touch them."

WHEN THEY FLEW AWAY...THEY SAID AMONG THE NATIONS: the verbs used here strongly confirm my interpretation. This was said among the nations, when these people were flying away and being led away into exile: THEY WILL NOT ADD TO INHABIT. In fact these enemies were saying: "The Jews may hope for a return, but they will not turn back ever again. They deceive themselves; perpetual captivity awaits them."

Pe, or Verse Seventeen<sup>39</sup> THE FACE<sup>40</sup> OF THE LORD  
DIVIDED THEM; HE WILL NOT ADD THAT HE LOOK AT THEM;<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Martyr calls this verse "seventeen," and not "sixteen," since the letters *u* and *s* are switched, as noted in chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>40</sup> *Vultus*: Martyr follows Jerome (he has *facies*) in translating the Hebrew idiom in a literalistic way. Pagnini-Münster have more idiomatically "anger." Martyr alludes to Pagnini-Münster's translation in his commentary.

<sup>41</sup> Jerome-Pagnini-Münster's mirroring of the Hebrew idiom mentioned in the previous verse. The actual meaning of this idiom is: "he will no longer look at them."

THE FACE OF THE PRIESTS THEY DID NOT UPHOLD,<sup>42</sup> AND THEY DID NOT PITY THAT OF THE ELDERS.

THE FACE OF THE LORD DIVIDED THEM: they were not removed from their native soil by the work of human beings. The Lord's anger effected this. FACE here represents his anger, and not without cause. For an angered mind is very effectively shown in the face.<sup>43</sup>

HE WILL NOT ADD THAT HE LOOK AT THEM: i.e., their God repulsed them, he will not, believe me, restore them. This discourse was troubling in the extreme to the Israelites. So it is described with much diligence by Jeremiah.

THE FACE OF THE PRIESTS THEY DID NOT UPHOLD: Not undeservedly did their God punish them. For while their affairs were flourishing, and their fortune was favorable, they were disdainfully refusing to listen to the healthy counsels of the elders and priests who had integrity of soul and who faithfully reproved them.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> A more or less literal translation for נָחָם; Jerome has "respect" (*erubesco*)--better Latin and perhaps better translates the metaphor implied in "hold up." Münster also translates idiomatically: "were not venerated"; Pagnini, "they did not spare."

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Ezra:

THE FACE OF G-D: indignation, for in the face it will show, as, SHE NO LONGER HAD A[N UPSET] FACE [2 Sam. 1:18].

<sup>44</sup> Rashi:

THE FACE OF G-D DISTRIBUTES THEM: the face of indignation from the Holy One Blest Be He DISTRIBUTES THEM



AND THEY DID NOT PITY THAT OF THE ELDERS: in Philip. ch. 2 Paul has this sentence: IF THERE IS ANY HEART-FELT AFFECTION,<sup>45</sup> IF THERE IS ANY COMPASSION, COMPLETE MY JOY, SO YOU MAY HAVE THE SAME MIND.<sup>46</sup> For compassion for the elders captures the young, when they submit to them and follow their wise counsels.

The Chaldean<sup>47</sup> interprets these words far differently, in a way that the Jews' excessive confidence is expressed here. They were speaking about the

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and separates them among the nations because THEY DID NOT LIFT UP THE FACE OF THE PRIESTS when they were in their ease.

<sup>45</sup> lit., "viscera."

<sup>46</sup> lit., *ut idem sapiatis*; vv.1-2.

<sup>47</sup> i.e., the Aramaic Targum. Martyr is talking about the previous verse and this verse. Levine reads:

"Turn away from the polluted!" the peoples shouted. "Turn away, turn away. Do not approach them, for they are disgusting." So they wandered; the nations had resolved, "They shall not continue to dwell here," when they were settled comfortably. They were banished from before the face of YHWH; he would no longer consider them. Therefore the wicked nations did not respect the persons of the priests, nor did they have pity upon the elders.

But Martyr has interpreted the Targum this way:

"Turn away from the polluted!" the peoples shouted. "Turn away, turn away. Do not approach them, for they are disgusting; so they wandered," they said when they were settled comfortably. For the nations (דביני נעמוא) will not continue to dwell; before the face of YHWH they were banished; he would no longer consider them, because (בגין כן) the wicked nations did not respect the persons of the priests, or did they have pity upon the elders.

Levine's translation does not account for the ד in נעמוא. However, בגין כן can mean "therefore," (Jastrow 239). I think Martyr's reading of the Targum has more merit than Levine's. But

nations, when they were being besieged, even when they were warned in God's name about the punishments to come (the Targum interprets בגוים, not as "among the nations," but "about the nations"): "They will not inhabit this Land again."<sup>48</sup> God in his anger repulsed the nations often, as he makes clear concerning Sennacherib and others. God will no longer look at the nations,<sup>49</sup> because he does not expect anything except contempt for our religion. Always the nations did not care for our prophets and priests. For this reason God will not permit those whom he thrust away from our necks often in his anger to gain this victory over us." Thus the Jews were flattering themselves with a vain hope.

However, the prior interpretation is easier to defend.<sup>50</sup>

Ain, or Verse Sixteen ALL THE WHILE WE:<sup>51</sup> OUR EYES ARE CONSUMED TOWARD OUR EMPTY HELP--BECAUSE BY OUR

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this is a matter to be resolved among Aramaicists.

<sup>48</sup> lit., "they will not add again that they may inhabit this land."

<sup>49</sup> lit., "He will not add that he look at them."

<sup>50</sup> The interpretation up to the words, "The Chaldean...."

<sup>51</sup> This verse begins with the very difficult עוֹדִינוּ, whose qere is עוֹדִינוּ, meaning "we still". Jerome translates, "Since we thus far are standing still", and he seems to read the entire verse in this way: "Our eyes failed for our empty help, since we thus far were standing still, since we were looking attentively

*LOOKING*<sup>52</sup> WE LOOKED ABOUT FOR A NATION *IN WHICH THERE IS NO SALVATION.*<sup>53</sup>

THUS FAR WE: Here is added another cause for her extreme ruin. For not only were they ensnared by deceitful priests and prophets, but also since they cast aside trust in God, they were looking only to the help of foreign military forces. In the end they found these foreign troops to be all useless. He says, THUS FAR WE. After this incomplete phrase, you may append, "live in the following way"--for he explains at once:

OUR EYES ARE CONSUMED TOWARD OUR EMPTY HELP: This is the custom of those who strongly promise themselves help from somewhere. When they are the most desirous of it, they are accustomed to strain their eyes looking to that place from where they expect it will come. This is now set forth by the prophet. We were so

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for a nation which could not save." Pagnini has, "Our eyes failed us looking for our empty help." Münster: "Since we have been in our Lord, our eyes failed for our vane help." Martyr understands this first word to mean, "Thus far we exist as follows: our eyes..."--as he will explain in the first paragraph of his exposition.

<sup>52</sup> The Hebrew behind "by our looking" is בַּמַּחְסֵה, a hapax legomenon, meaning, according to Holladay 309, "a lookout." Our translators take different approaches: Jerome, "since we were looking about attentively"; Pagnini, "in our awaiting in which we awaited"; Münster: "and when we looked around, we looked for." All understood that this noun is from the same root as the verb and somehow strengthens it.

<sup>53</sup> NATION IN WHICH THERE IS NO SALVATION: the MT has, A NATION--IT DOES NOT SAVE. Jerome: "a nation which cannot save us." Pagnini: "a nation which cannot rescue us." Münster: "a nation which is not able to save." Martyr tries for good Latin without adding Jerome-Pagnini's "us."

anxiously looking to the useless foreign help that our tired eyes have actually failed.

BECAUSE BY OUR LOOKING WE LOOKED ABOUT FOR A NATION IN WHICH THERE FOR NO SALVATION: if God does not protect us, who can save us? Acts of salvation are his alone. No horse, no soldier, no king ever saves unless in fact God empowers them. The Jews (Rashi, at least) invent the story that the Egyptians had wanted to go out to relieve them. They were furnished with ships and set sail. God took care that they met in the sea many inflated skins which seemed to them to be dead bodies. So they reasoned among themselves: "These are the dead bodies of our fathers. They had previously been drowned in these waters, while they were pursuing the Israelites." So, after they had been warned by this portent, they desisted from their undertaking.<sup>54</sup> Plainly these are frivolous matters and I have only mentioned them so one can pay attention to the sub-

<sup>54</sup> Rashi:

We have found in the midrash on Lamentations that they were coming in boats; the Holy One Blest Be He hinted to the sea to cause to float before them wine skins blown up like human intestines, being shaken in the water; they said one to another, "These skins are our fathers, the men of Egypt who drowned in sea on account of these Jews--and are we ourselves going out to their aid!?" They came to a standstill and turned back.

Martyr criticizes Rashi's story because it was unhistorical (Martyr, of course, understood the scriptures to be historically accurate). At the same time, Martyr has gained real religious insight from it--which is, after all, the point of an aggadah in the first place.

stance of this story. The Jews were relying very much on these Egyptians. Doubtless it is understood that even if there had been no other reason for the Egyptians to frustrate the Jews who were asking for help, they could have easily been compelled to do so by just one thing. Frequently there surfaced in their memory the defeat which they had suffered both on the sea and in Egypt proper, where they had suffered so many different plagues. You see, it is human nature to loosen ourselves so easily from God by whom we have been enriched and strengthened with so many blessings. By contrast we then yield ourselves to those who had previously severely oppressed us, and who most probably retain an inveterate hatred against us.

Tsade, or Verse Eighteen THEY-HUNTED-OUR-STEPS,  
LEST WE WALK AROUND IN THE BROAD WAYS;<sup>55</sup> OUR END HAS  
APPROACHED, OUR DAYS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, SINCE OUR  
DEPARTURE IS NEAR.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Jerome has, "They made our footsteps slippery in the journeying of our broad ways." Even though making steps slippery is a common biblical metaphor (e.g., Psalm 73:2, 18), it is hard to avoid the conclusion that either Jerome had a somewhat different text or that he was influenced by a traditional Jewish reading not recorded in Lam.R. Note that no Hebrew verb for "slip, smooth" is even close to צִיד ("to hunt"), and that the LXX apparently had a somewhat different text.

<sup>56</sup> Jerome-Pagnini-Münster have more literally, "because our end is coming." Martyr is evidently trying to avoid repeating, as the Hebrew does, the word "end."

THEY HUNTED OUR STEPS: some judge that these words refer to those same Egyptians.<sup>57</sup> They did not, as is recorded in the Jews' story which we just now retold, draw back from helping the Hebrews on account of floating skins which they had encountered in the sea. They, in fact, came. For that reason the Babylonians, as is related in the same passage of the prophet Jeremiah, were forced to lift their siege on account of their arrival and to march to meet them. At that time Jeremiah planned to go to the territory of Benjamin, and when he was going out of the city he was captured by the guards, and he was thrown into prison.<sup>58</sup> Therefore the Jews, encouraged for a short time by the advance of the Egyptians, did not surrender to the Babylonians. If they had, perhaps the Jews might then have obtained from them tolerable conditions.<sup>59</sup> They did not. So, after the Egyptians were defeated, the Jews also were completely destroyed. This, then, will be the meaning: "these same Egyptians, on whom we relied so much, came, but only for our ruin; that is,

<sup>57</sup> This is apparently an allusion to Perush's comment on this and the preceding verse:

And still we shall hope that Egypt and Assyria will come TO OUR AID. And they did not come except to our enemies, who HUNTED US... IN OUR STREETS.

<sup>58</sup> Jer. 37:5.

<sup>59</sup> Jer. 38:17, IF GOING OUT YOU GO OUT TO THE PRINCES OF BABYLON'S KING, YOUR SOUL WILL LIVE....

they hunted our steps, because they implicated us in a worse disaster."

To me, however, the above interpretation seems forced. For that reason I think that these words are applied by the prophet to the Babylonians and the destruction they wrought. They hunted our steps so that not even one person could evade their hands. The prophet himself will reveal this more clearly a little later. There is also a not unpleasant play here on words: צדו צעדינו.<sup>60</sup>

LEST WE WALK AROUND IN THE BROAD WAYS: and here you have clearly an antithesis. The broad ways are spacious and wide, for that is how they got their name BROAD. Therefore great is the difficulty holding them back if they are hindered from walking along these ways. Such ample and open places provide space for walking around.

OUR END HAS APPROACHED, OUR DAYS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, SINCE OUR DEPARTURE IS PRESENT: now the end of all our happiness has arrived. Anything pleasant or delightful we had up to this point has now passed away totally.

<sup>60</sup> "They hunted our steps." Either Martyr is simply signaling the existence of a metaphor here, as Ibn Ezra pointed out:

[It was] as if THEY HUNTED OUR STEPS, and thus it would say, "They pursued us hotly," as, THAT YOU HOTLY PURSUED AFTER ME [Gn. 31:36].

Or Martyr might be drawing attention to the assonance in the Hebrew phrase: slur over the ן and the two words sound very similar.

Kof, or Verse Nineteen SWIFT WERE OUR PURSUERS  
 THAN<sup>61</sup> THE EAGLES OF HEAVEN; THROUGH<sup>62</sup> THE MOUNTAINS  
 THEY PURSUED US, AND<sup>63</sup> THEY LAY IN WAIT FOR US IN THE  
 DESERTS.

SWIFT WERE OUR PURSUERS THAN THE EAGLES OF HEAVEN:  
 therefore no one crawled out of this conflagration.  
 The eagle flies very swiftly. And because it lives in  
 the upper air, the region of heaven is assigned to it.  
 The ancients wished it to be the bird of Jupiter, since  
 it seems to inhabit heaven.<sup>64</sup>

THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS THEY PURSUED US, AND THEY  
 LAY IN WAIT FOR US IN THE DESERTS: there was no way we  
 could flee safely away.<sup>65</sup> For if we flew away to the  
 mountains, our persecutors would be present; if we were

<sup>61</sup> As previously Martyr has mirrored this Hebrew construction of the comparative מן by using a simple (not comparative) adjective (like the Hebrew) and by rendering the מן as *prae*. As before, the result is artificial Latin. Jerome-Pagnini-Münster have a proper idiomatic Latin construction.

<sup>62</sup> Jerome-Pagnini have "upon (*super*) the mountains," and Münster, "on (*in*)," which are rather literal renderings of the Hebrew על. Evidently Martyr felt that "through" (*per*) more nearly mirrors all the nuances of על (which, in fact, it does).

<sup>63</sup> For the sake of easier reading, Münster, as he so often does, adds an "and" not in the Hebrew text.

<sup>64</sup> *Jovis satelles*, the eagle, Cic. *Div.* 1, 47, 106 (see ref. L&S 1018).

<sup>65</sup> lit., by no reason was our flight safe.



concealed in the deserts and solitary places, we would be everywhere subject to their traps.

Resh, or Verse Twenty THE BREATH OF OUR  
NOSTRILS,<sup>66</sup> THE LORD'S CHRIST,<sup>67</sup> WAS CAPTURED BY THEIR  
PITS,<sup>68</sup> CONCERNING WHOM WE WERE SAYING, "IN THE  
SHADOW OF THAT ONE<sup>69</sup> WE SHALL BE<sup>70</sup> AMONG THE NATIONS."

THE BREATH OF OUR NOSTRILS, THE LORD'S CHRIST, WAS CAPTURED BY THEIR PITS: one relief remained for us. For while our king was unharmed, we hoped that we could still be ruled under his auspices, even living in exile

<sup>66</sup> Pagnini's literal translation of the Hebrew; Jerome has more idiomatically "mouth."

<sup>67</sup> "the Lord's Christ," Pagnini's literal rendering of the Hebrew. Jerome has "our Lord Christ," making this a clear allusion to Jesus.

<sup>68</sup> BY THEIR PITS, Pagnini's literal translation of the Hebrew. Jerome has "in our sins," again making this verse refer to Jesus. I have not been able to find out where Münster gets "in their nets."

<sup>69</sup> IN THE SHADOW OF THAT ONE. This translation follows the MT, as does Pagnini's ("in whose shadow") and Münster's ("in his shadow"). Jerome again has a christological interpretation built into his translation: TO WHOM WE SAID: 'IN YOUR SHADOW....'

<sup>70</sup> The Hebrew has "live," not "be"--and so Jerome-Pagnini-Münster translate it. It appears that Martyr mistakes a ה for the ל in "to live" (חיה) and ends up with "to be" (היה). Therefore, instead of "we shall live," he reads "we shall be." This faulty translation is reflected in his eccentric interpretation of the second half of this verse (see below). It is possible, of course, that Martyr's translation is a product of his interpretation, and not vice versa.

and on foreign soil.<sup>71</sup> For this reason he is here called breath of our nostrils, i.e. our life breath.<sup>72</sup> This one hope was relief for our afflicted heart. However, he has been captured by their--I mean, the enemies'--snares. For Zedekiah, when he resolved to flee, was captured and blinded before Nebuchadnezzar. He is called "the messiah," i.e., "the anointed one." Kings, prophets as well as priests were designated by this name. This was because all three classes of men were anointed when their public duties of ruling the people were mandated to them. For such offices there is need of the generous and abundant assistance of the divine Spirit.<sup>73</sup> The Spirit's work is to soften, to rouse and to illuminate heart and soul, so that such men might be gentle, prompt and wise in executing their affairs. The Spirit of the Lord inspires them for the above three offices. And oil is an apt symbol of this inspiration.

<sup>71</sup> Martyr interprets IN HIS SHADOW WE WILL BE AMONG THE NATIONS as a reference to a forlorn hope of exiles that they could still be ruled by their king. Martyr did not derive this eccentric interpretation from his Jewish commentators.

<sup>72</sup> lit., "breath, relief and respiration of our nostrils."

<sup>73</sup> "generous and abundant assistance": lit., "by a wide and copious gift." The word used for gift (*munus*) is the same one used for "office," as in "For such offices." The play on words emphasizes the need for the gift of the Holy Spirit when performing a public "gift," i.e., "office."

You may see from the examples of Saul<sup>74</sup> and of the prophet Elisha<sup>75</sup> how those so anointed were truly changed into other than what they were by the inspiration of the Deity. Christ too, to whom the Spirit was not given to measure<sup>76</sup> (but FROM HIS FULLNESS WE ALL HAVE RECEIVED,)<sup>77</sup> was superior to all who were ever anointed.<sup>78</sup> And for that reason He is called "Christ" by the Greeks, and "Messiah" in Hebrew.

There are, however, various interpretations about who this messiah or king might be who is mourned by the prophet. Some wish him to be Josiah, whom the King of Egypt killed. For in Chronicles Jeremiah is said to have written laments over him.<sup>79</sup> Others think him to

<sup>74</sup> 1 Sam. 10:1-6, v.6, AND YOU WILL CHANGE INTO ANOTHER MAN.

<sup>75</sup> 2 K. 2:15.

<sup>76</sup> i.e., "given without measure," an allusion to Jn. 3:34, WHOM GOD SENT, HE SPEAKS THE WORDS OF GOD, FOR GOD DOES NOT GIVE HIS SPIRIT TO MEASURE.

<sup>77</sup> Jn. 1:16a.

<sup>78</sup> An allusion to Heb. 1:9, a quotation from Ps. 45:8, ET 7: GOD, YOUR GOD ANOINTED YOU WITH THE OIL OF GLADNESS BEYOND ALL YOUR FELLOWS. Anointed in Latin is *unctus*; in Greek *χριστός*; in Hebrew משיח (ET, Messiah, of course); Martyr will call attention to this vocabulary in the next sentence.

<sup>79</sup> Rashi:

G-D'S ANOINTED: this is Josiah, as it is said in [2] Chronicles [35:25]: AND JEREMIAH LAMENTED OVER JOSIAH.

The Targum also sees a reference to Josiah here, as Münster 1534 Bible notes:

THE BREATH OF OUR NOSTRILS: the Chaldean interpreter and the other Rabbis understand this verse to be about Josiah the very devout king, under whom the Jews were hoping to have peace and quiet but who had been cap-

be Zedekiah. They attempt to show this from the fact that here the context manifestly concerns the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>80</sup> Our interpreters wish to refer this to Jesus our Savior, who was so badly treated by the Jews for our salvation.<sup>81</sup> In my judgment all these interpretations are easily reconciled. We may say that immediately after Josiah's death the prophet composed his lament in such a way that it might be a prophecy of the ruin of Jerusalem, the king and the Temple and also of the unhappy king's exile.<sup>82</sup> These latter evils seem beyond all doubt to have had their beginning when Josiah, that very upright king, was killed. However since they were kings of Judah, both Josiah and

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tured and killed by enemies, he disappointed them in their hope.

<sup>80</sup> Perush:

There are those who say that Jeremiah laments over Josiah. And the proof for the matter? AND LOOK, THESE THINGS ARE WRITTEN ABOUT THE LAMENTS [2 Chr. 35:25]. And this is not correct, since, after the death of Josiah, disaster came, and here he said, COMPLETE IS YOUR PUNISHMENT [Lam. 4:22]. And the correct in my eyes is that he is speaking concerning Zedekiah, whom the King of Babylon appointed king in Jerusalem, and he was the last of the exile.

<sup>81</sup> This is Jerome's interpretation, which he wrote into his translation of this verse: see the notes above on Martyr's translation here (for I have contrasted Martyr with Jerome).

<sup>82</sup> It will be recalled that in his introduction Martyr lists various possibilities as to when Jeremiah might have written Lamentations. At this point in his exposition Martyr has apparently decided that Jerome was correct: that he wrote it after the death of Josiah.

Zedekiah became types of Christ,<sup>83</sup> who underwent for our crimes the harsh pains of the cross.

CONCERNING WHOM WE SAID, "IN HIS SHADOW WE SHALL BE AMONG THE NATIONS": in the second half of this verse the reference seems to be to Zedekiah, because under Josiah the Jews did not fear exile for themselves, but it was under Zedekiah when captivity was threatening. These miserable people were supposing, therefore, that even as captives they were going to be ruled and protected by their kings.

Shin, or Verse Twenty-One REJOICE AND EXULT,  
DAUGHTER OF EDOM, DWELLER<sup>84</sup> IN THE LAND OF UZ; EVEN  
UPON YOU WILL PASS THE CUP,<sup>85</sup> YOU WILL BECOME DRUNK AND  
WILL STRIP YOURSELF<sup>86</sup> BARE.

<sup>83</sup> Martyr tips his hat to typological interpretation, but practices it very little. No doubt he considered the "types" of Christ to be the "clothes" for the "body" of the verbal sense, as he puts it in his introduction.

<sup>84</sup> *habitratrix*, an attempt to render literally the qere participle of the MT. Jerome's "you who dwell" may translate the form יֹשְׁבֵתִי, which stands behind the MT's ketiv (see GKC 90n). Pagnini and Münster copy Jerome.

<sup>85</sup> Jerome has "the cup will arrive to you too," but Pagnini tries to mirror the Hebrew constructions and ends up with a somewhat artificial Latin.

<sup>86</sup> The Latin verb does not need "yourself" to complete its meaning: Jerome-Münster have merely "You stripped bare". But Martyr is mirroring the Hebrew hitpa'el reflective construction. Pagnini on the other hand has "you will be vomiting"--which is how Rashi renders it:

וַתִּטְעַר: and she vomited, as AND SHE EMPTIED  
(וַתַּעַר) HER JAR [Gn. 24:20].

REJOICE AND EXULT, DAUGHTER OF EDOM: here he used irony; after he will set out threats of the punishment actually due them. The Edomites<sup>87</sup> took much pleasure from the Jews' downfall. For they had formerly been subjects of theirs and they unwillingly served them. For that reason it seemed to them that they had in some way or other cast off the yoke.<sup>88</sup> Besides, that ancient hatred of Esau against the holy patriarch Jacob was preserved in them.<sup>89</sup>

DWELLER IN THE LAND OF UZ: this was the homeland of Job. And it is, as is here said openly, the nation of Edom.<sup>90</sup> So it is clearly demonstrated that Job was an Edomite.

<sup>87</sup> lit., Idumaeans; toward New Testament times, the Edomites moved into what had been the territory of Judah and which became known as Idumaea (Mk. 3:8). Martyr's use here of the term "Idumaeans" is, strictly speaking, anachronistic; but he simply means "Edomites." I have consistently translated Martyr's "Idumaeen" as "Edomite."

<sup>88</sup> Perush's philological comment:

EXULT: as the sense of REJOICE, YOUNG MAN, IN YOUR YOUTH [Eccl.11:9], since in the end judgment will come; and the sense is that Edom was under Judah, and in the day of their fall they rejoiced; and thus, REMEMBER, G-D, TO THE SONS OF EDOM[ 'S DISCREDIT] THE DAY OF JERUSALEM, [THEY WHO] WERE SAYING [TO THE BABYLONIANS], "STRIP IT BARE, STRIP IT BARE TO ITS FOUNDATION [Ps. 137:7].

<sup>89</sup> An allusion to Esau's intention to kill Jacob after that "holy" man had stolen his birthright, Gn. 27:41.

<sup>90</sup> Martyr seems to be reacting against what Ibn Ezra points out:

UZ: they are two and are Aramean.

FOR UPON YOU WILL PASS THE CUP, YOU WILL BECOME DRUNK: here at last the irony is revealed. For the CUP by established custom denotes afflictions and sorrows. YOU WILL BECOME DRUNK: you will drink to your satisfaction. For your misfortunes will not be as mild as ours, but you will be rendered drunk by the drink of bitterness. For you will drink copiously AND WILL STRIP YOURSELF BARE. This is a consequence of the fact that you will become drunk. Those whom wine has deprived of reason sometimes strip themselves down to their private parts, for in their drunkenness they have lost all sense of shame.<sup>91</sup>

Tav, or Verse Twenty-Two YOUR PUNISHMENT<sup>92</sup> IS COMPLETED, Q DAUGHTER OF ZION; HE WILL NOT ADD THAT<sup>93</sup>

That is, there are two "Uz's" in scripture and both are in Aramean territory.

<sup>91</sup> This is a philological interpretation from Perush (cited more fully just above):

[YOU WILL GET DRUNK] AND YOU WILL MAKE YOURSELF NAKED: as the sense of, HE BECAME DRUNK AND HE UNCOVERED HIMSELF [Gn. 9:21].

<sup>92</sup> The Hebrew is עוֹן, which can mean either "iniquity" (the choice of Jerome-Pagnini-Münster) or "punishment" (Martyr's choice, as he follows Jewish sources). In fact, the context favors the latter.

<sup>93</sup> Again, Pagnini-Münster-Martyr follow Jerome in translating literally the Hebrew idiom יוֹסִיף plus infinitive, described in a note on verse fifteen above; and again, the result is artificial Latin.

HEREAFTER HE MAY DRIVE YOU AWAY INTO CAPTIVITY;<sup>94</sup> BUT HE WILL VISIT YOUR INIQUITY, DAUGHTER OF EDM, HE WILL UNCOVER<sup>95</sup> YOUR SINS.

YOUR PUNISHMENT IS COMPLETED, O DAUGHTER OF ZION: that is, consolation awaits you at last, O Israelites. You are going to return from exile, but those people will not return back. HE/IT (supply, "the Lord," or "your sin") WILL NOT ADD THAT HEREAFTER HE MAY DRIVE YOU AWAY INTO CAPTIVITY.<sup>96</sup> How can this be true, since they suffered these same, yes greater things by the hand of the Romans than by the Babylonians? Some say that this must be understood, not in the sense that after these things they would never again suffer but that they would suffer only after a long enough time had elapsed to allow them some peace and quiet. The

<sup>94</sup> Jerome-Münster have, "to remove you"; Pagnini, "make to migrate"; but Martyr catches the force of the Hebrew better.

<sup>95</sup> "will visit...will uncover": in Hebrew the verbs are in the perfect and hence would normally be translated as do Jerome-Münster: "visited... disclosed." Pagnini has: "visited... will disclose." Only Martyr has both verbs in the future. Most probably these verbs are "prophetic perfects," and are best translated in Latin (or English, for that matter) in the future tense.

<sup>96</sup> The Hebrew says only HE/SHE/IT WILL NOT ADD: so who or what is IT? Ibn Ezra does not want "God" to be the subject, because then God would be the cause of misfortune against Israel. Grammatically, "your iniquity" could be the subject, and that is what Ibn Ezra suggests (though he allows that "God" might be the subject of the verb VISITED in the next line, since the object of that line is clearly Edom). Here are Ibn Ezra's own words:

WILL NOT EXILE YOU AGAIN: refers back to YOUR PUNISHMENT, and VISITED may refer back to it, or it may refer back to the Name mentioned in THE BREATH OF OUR NOSTRILS.



Jews, on the other hand, refer these things to the last days of the Messiah,<sup>97</sup> when they persuade themselves that the Romans are to be completely destroyed (for by "Edomites" they understand "Romans").<sup>98</sup> We ourselves do not reject their comment out of hand, since we know that the Romans' monarchy is the last, and that it must

<sup>97</sup> Almost certainly a reference to Münster 1534 Bible:

REJOICE AND BE GLAD: i.e. for the time when you too will drink the cup of the Lord's fury. In this passage too the Hebrews understand by 'Edom' a reference to Italy's Rome: but how apt they may do this, they themselves could see. The prophet here makes mention of that Edom which was situated in the Land of Uz. The Chaldean interpreter also translates this passage in these words: *The Lord never added that he again lead you away into captivity: and in that time I shall visit your iniquities, O wicked Rome! you who were built up in Italy, full of gatherings of Edomites, and the Persians will come and will confine you and devastate you etc.* And even though the prophet here plainly speaks about the first destruction of Jerusalem, they themselves teach that it is to be understood as referring to the second under Titus, on account of this it is added: HE WILL NOT ADD THAT HE MOVES YOU: i.e., that they may not be daughters of Zion, as there are in actual fact, since they were thrown out by the Lord into the whole world, as it is to this day. Moreover by INIQUITY COMPLETED even the Jews understand the time of the Messiah, when the prophets predicted that the iniquities of the Daughter of Zion might be completely abolished.

This is the passage in the Targum to which Münster refers:

And afterward, O Congregation of Zion, your punishment shall be concluded. And you will be freed by the hands of the Messiah king, Elijah the High Priest. And YHWH will never again lead you captive. And at that time I will punish your sin, O wicked Rome built up in Italy and filled with populations of the peoples of Edom. And the Persians shall come and afflict you. And they will lay you waste, for your sins have become manifest before YHWH.

<sup>98</sup> In many places in scripture, when Edom and Edomites are mentioned, the Rabbis understood such references to be code for "Rome" and "Romans."

be abolished at the time when the full reign of Christ has come. The stone, struck off without hands, will turn into a mountain, occupying the breadth and width of the land.<sup>99</sup> However, we assert that the Jews who are actually going to be saved are those about whom Paul speaks in Romans, at the end of the second chapter. They are concealed and hidden, and deserve to be called the spiritual Israel.<sup>100</sup> Yet it is not proved plainly to me that the Edomites are really the Romans, because the latter had their origin long after the time of Esau. I think rather that the Antichrist and all the enemies of religion are called by name of "Esau" in the scriptures. This is because they blaze with such a hatred against the saints--the same sort of hatred as Esau always displayed when he persecuted Jacob. Esau's descendants never laid aside this hostility against the Israelites. At the time of Christ's full reign, without any doubt all tried and true Jews--I mean all the faithful of Christ--will enjoy eternal salvation and great tranquility.

<sup>99</sup> Dan. 2:34-35.

<sup>100</sup> Rm. 2:28-29.

Chapter Five, or the Prayer of Jeremiah

Verse One REMEMBER, LORD, WHAT *HAPPENED* TO US,  
LOOK AND *CONSIDER* OUR SHAME.

A poignant prayer follows the sorrowful complaints. The complaints of the saints always result in ardent prayers. These prayers, which are always pouring forth, arise from the pain of the miseries which they receive. After Christ perceived in his soul those harsh and dreadful punishments which he was going to endure, he said, MY SOUL IS SAD EVEN TO DEATH.<sup>1</sup> He then prayed so vehemently that his sweat poured down as pure blood.<sup>2</sup>

"Remember," said the prophet, "and see." Neither memory nor eyesight<sup>3</sup> can be properly predicated of God, who does not really have a body. However scripture speaks of God as it speaks of human beings, so it may be of continual benefit for us. Human characteristics are not attributed to God casually or by accident. Memory seems to differ from seeing in that the former

<sup>1</sup> Mt. 26:38, Mk. 14:34.

<sup>2</sup> Lk. 22:44, a verse which would have been in Martyr's New Testament (omitted in the RSV, put back in the NRSV).

<sup>3</sup> Perush:

The REMEMBERING by the heart and the look by the eye.

refers to past time, while the latter's subject matter is the present.<sup>4</sup> The prophet here reminds God of two things: first, what his people suffered to this point in the siege and fall of the city; and secondly, what they were forced to bear in time present when they were going into exile.<sup>5</sup> "Be mindful, O God, of our past difficulties and what now oppresses and disturbs us, pay attention by that favorable and kindly regard of yours." This recalling of misfortunes requires nothing other than swift, expeditious, firm help from God.

Verse Two OUR INHERITANCE WAS TURNED OVER TO  
ALIENS, OUR HOUSES TO FOREIGNERS.<sup>6</sup>

The INHERITANCE stands for houses, fields, vineyards,<sup>7</sup> and other possessions, which the Israelites

<sup>4</sup> Martyr has already discussed at some length in a comment on 1:9 the nature of memory.

<sup>5</sup> Perush (the first half of this comment has already been cited just above):

The REMEMBERING by the heart and the look by the eye; and the interpretation: every disaster which happened to us before the exile and the shame in which we are now.

Yet once again, Martyr finds irresistible Perush's rationalizing of Lamentations's poetic images.

<sup>6</sup> Word for word, Jerome.

<sup>7</sup> Perush:

OUR HERITAGE (fields, vineyards) is delivered up TO FOREIGNERS who are in our land.

justly held very dear for two reasons. Firstly their possessions were situated on the best and most fertile land. Secondly they were given by God, the highest master of all things, not in the usual way of providence but in signs and wonders, performed especially for them as a favor.<sup>8</sup> Let us not wonder that Jeremiah speaks of these matters. Mention of the Land seems to be as significant among the Old Testament fathers as is now the mention of the kingdom of heaven among ourselves. Beyond all doubt the land was a fitting shadow and form of the heavenly kingdom.<sup>9</sup> For just as the Israelites acquired the land by God's favor and not by their own industry, strength, effort or arms, in the same way the kingdom of heaven is delivered to us freely by God through Christ. The kingdom of heaven inherited by us is no less outstanding than was that particular heritage for the ancients, since it is declared by Paul that IF WE ARE SONS AND HEIRS, HEIRS IN FACT OF GOD, THEN WE ARE CO-HEIRS WITH CHRIST.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> i.e., Usually under God's general providence we get possession through hard work or by a human inheritance. Here Martyr emphasizes that, as Dt. 6:10-11 says, the Israelites got their possessions as a gift, not by working for them.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Heb. 8:5, A COPY AND A SHADOW OF HEAVENLY THINGS.

<sup>10</sup> Rm. 8:17.

Verse Three WE HAVE BEEN *MADE INTO* ORPHANS  
WITHOUT FATHER, AND<sup>11</sup> OUR MOTHERS ARE *LIKE* WIDOWS.

That status of children is considered to be the most calamitous. For the little ones are abandoned, exposed to rapine, crime and misfortune, since they have been bereft of a legitimate and natural defender. However this is the remedy given for these sorrows: those who as relatives or relations are close to a parent of the children, undertake the care of protecting and preserving them. Here, however, it is said that they are without this too.<sup>12</sup> "For," he says, "we are not only orphans but we are afflicted in such a way that we seem to have never had a father and to be utterly without relatives. Thus we are stripped of all protection everywhere."

Verse Four OUR WATER WE DRINK FOR SILVER,<sup>13</sup> AND  
OUR WOOD *IS SOLD*<sup>14</sup> FOR A PRICE.

<sup>11</sup> Münster adds an "and" not in the MT.

<sup>12</sup> Perush:

ORPHANS: and what is more we were with miserable strangers, as if we were orphans and had no father: it is known that it is the custom of the father's family to help the orphans.

<sup>13</sup> Jerome-Pagnini-Münster simply have "money," but the Hebrew is "silver" which can mean money in both Hebrew and Latin.

<sup>14</sup> The Hebrew has OUR WOOD COMES BY A PRICE, which is how Münster translates it. Pagnini has "our wood came...." Jerome

Two particular elements are especially necessary for human sustenance, namely fire and water. In fact our existence relies on moisture and heat.<sup>15</sup> Yet we<sup>16</sup> cannot use these basic principles of nature except with great difficulty. Syria<sup>17</sup> and especially the land of the Jews suffered from a lack of water. This happened, one must believe, especially when they were besieged by the Babylonians and they could not draw water from the springs which were in the fields.<sup>18</sup> Therefore if there were any water in the city, it would perhaps be preserved under public guard, and also each day it would be distributed to all and sundry at an established price. What is said concerning the wood--that they bought it with a price--at first glance does not seem so hard, since in many cities no one can acquire it except at a high price. However, what needs to be investigated is the fact that the wood is described as "ours." "That wood," he says, "which was once ours,

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has: "we bought our wood...." Martyr's IS SOLD is from the verb *veneo*. Does he use it because it resembles the verb *venio* (to come) and it thus reminds him of the Hebrew?

<sup>15</sup> Pre-modern science considered fire and water to be two of the four basic "elements" of the universe.

<sup>16</sup> The "we" of the laments: the prophet and his people.

<sup>17</sup> i.e., the Near East.

<sup>18</sup> Perush:

OUR WATER: even water and wood which are a human right--we buy them at a high price, since the city is under siege from the enemy.

which was felled on our own lands, we were forced to buy dearly. For after it was cut by some man or other, it could not be brought into the city except at great danger. Those who carried it valued highly the risk involved. And so the harsh conditions of the siege increased.

**Verse Five**<sup>19</sup> **ON OUR NECKS WE SUFFERED PERSECUTION,**<sup>20</sup> **WE WERE LABORING,**<sup>21</sup> **AND IT WAS NOT LEFT TO US.**<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> There is a ketiv/qere in this verse: "we were laboring, [and] no rest was provided for us." The [and] is the qere. Münster includes it; Jerome-Pagnini-Martyr do not.

<sup>20</sup> This line is mostly Pagnini's attempt at a literal translation of this difficult or corrupt line of the MT. Most modern commentators emend it. For example, Hillers 157 and other suspect that the preposition ON (עַל) was originally "yoke" (עוֹל). (Note also that Rashi reads in a midrashic fashion עַל as עוֹל.) Jerome tries readable Latin, and the result is: "We were being driven by our necks."

<sup>21</sup> WE WERE LABORING: for יָגַעְנוּ, which means "we grew weary," or "we labored." Pagnini: "we labored." Münster: "we became weary." Martyr changes Pagnini's "we labored" to "we were laboring," because it fits his exposition of this verse (see below).

<sup>22</sup> AND IT WAS NOT LEFT (הוּנָח) TO US. The Hebrew הוּנָח can mean either "give rest" or "lay aside" (Holladay 231). Martyr reads it in the latter sense, because he is influenced by Rashi's fanciful reading of this verse (see below). Pagnini reads: "We labored; rest was not being given to us." Münster: "We have been rendered weary, and rest has not happened for us." Jerome reads the יָגַעְנוּ as an adjective, and the result is: "We were being driven by our necks; [to these] weary [necks] rest was not given."



A double meaning is elicited here.<sup>23</sup> We wished to remedy these difficulties (the lack of wood and water, I mean). Since we were not able to pay for them and since we could not do without them utterly, we would go out furtively and bear them on our necks. Still it did not succeed. The enemies were right there and were hotly pursuing us. For this reason it is added, WE LABORED, AND IT WAS NOT LEFT TO US. We threw down the burden to save ourselves, for we had to get away quickly.<sup>24</sup>

Alternatively<sup>25</sup> these words ought not to refer to wood or water but instead to the miserable manner in which we were being made to serve. For we were not being led by words, by command, or by urging, nor were we being sent in a human way but we were dragged along as beasts of burden, as senseless brutes burdened with

<sup>23</sup> Martyr has given his version of a non-philological interpretation from Perush and a midrash from Rashi. As usual Martyr is drawn to fanciful interpretation if it seems to fit into the biblical account of the fall of Judah and it is not counter to what he understands to be the verbal meaning of the text. The result is not Martyr's best exegesis.

<sup>24</sup> Perush:

UPON... : and if we bring water or wood UPON OUR NECKS, the enemy PURSUED US and WE WEARIED OURSELVES for nothing, since they did not allow us what we were bringing.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Münster 1534 Bible:

ON OUR NECK That is, the harsh yoke of captivity and slavery has been imposed on us.

a yoke<sup>26</sup> for ploughing or carrying some heavy load. Thus we were "laboring" day and night in continuous bodily exertion. Yet no results "were left to us." For whatever small gain we could accomplish was expended in tribute, tolls, and poll taxes.<sup>27</sup> Beyond all doubt it is a very heavy burden to be deprived of liberty, but it would seem to be quite intolerable to be treated afterwards not as human beings but as beasts of burden.

Verse Six TO THE EGYPTIAN WE GAVE HANDS, TO THE ASSYRIAN<sup>28</sup> ALSO, SO WE COULD FILL OURSELVES<sup>29</sup> WITH

<sup>26</sup> Rashi reads this verse in a midrashic fashion, and exploits the resemblance between the word for "on" and the word for "yoke":

UPON OUR NECKS (על צווארנו) WE WERE PURSUED: by the yoke (בעול) of hard labour.

<sup>27</sup> Rashi exploits the similarity of the verb יגענו:

WE WERE WEARY (יגענו) [Martyr, "we were laboring"]: to gather food and chattels

and a noun derived from it (יגיענו, meaning "our labor"):

IT WAS NOT ALLOWED TO US: our labor (יגיענו) in our hands, for the enemy was haughty and snatched everything by custom duties, pole taxes and property taxes.

<sup>28</sup> TO THE EGYPTIAN... TO THE ASSYRIAN: Martyr's concern for parallel structure. MT: "[to] Egypt... [to] Assyria." Jerome: "to Egypt.. to the Assyrians." Pagnini: "to Egypt... to the Assyrian." Münster: "to Egypt... [to] Assyria [Münster uses Hebrew spelling, "Ashur"]". Evidently Martyr uses substantives instead of the names of the countries to emphasize his interpretation of "give the hand"--it is peace treaty, i.e., a personal contract.

<sup>29</sup> SO THAT WE COULD FILL OURSELVES: for MT's לשבע. Jerome-

BREAD.

Here "to give hands" is an image drawn from what happens when people fall. They automatically stretch out their hands, so they may be helped or so they may steady themselves lest they fall flat on the ground. They not only beg for assistance but they also grab on to clothing, legs, etc. of those who are close at hand. "So we too in our calamities looked to Egyptians and Assyrians, as if they would be about to help us in our dangerous circumstances."<sup>30</sup>

However I would rather take "to give the hand" to mean "to make a pact or peace treaty."<sup>31</sup> To those outside we were fleeing for refuge, supposing that we were going to be rescued by them. But, as I already mentioned in my exposition above,<sup>32</sup> those outside only made the Jews suffer more. For it is God's usual way to hand over those to be punished to that for which

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Pagnini-Münster have more literally, "so that we might be gluttons."

<sup>30</sup> Rashi:

WE GAVE A HAND TO EGYPT: it is the way of a man falling and wishing to stand to put out a hand to someone next to him to help him; and here we even put out our hand to Egypt that they might help us, and to Assyria that they might satisfy us with bread.

<sup>31</sup> Perush:

And the giving of the hand is a swearing: AND BEHOLD HE GAVE HIS HAND [Ez. 17:18] and the interpretation: like a thrusting of the palm, for they swore to Egypt and Assyria....

they abandoned him. People are led by lusts to fail in their obedience to God. Therefore God hands them over to their desires and confusions which tear them apart and which miserably enslave them. For as it is said in Romans, they are subdued by the passionate longings of their heart.<sup>32</sup> Joseph's brothers expelled him, innocent though he was, and he went to Egypt where he was to suffer. In Egypt their descendants were afterwards oppressed for a long time. After they abandoned God, the Jews put their trust in foreign armies, alien kings and barbarous nations. God gave the Jews over to these foreign powers so that they might be destroyed. The Greeks by the work of the Turks slaughtered themselves cruelly in internecine strife. These same Turks have oppressed the Greeks with an intolerable yoke.<sup>34</sup>

Verse Seven<sup>35</sup> OUR FATHERS SINNED, AND ARE NO

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<sup>32</sup> In his exposition of Lam. 4:17.

<sup>33</sup> 1:24, GOD GAVE THEM UP TO THE DESIRES OF THEIR HEART.

<sup>34</sup> An allusion to the disintegration of the Eastern Roman Empire under the Paleologi, due in part to the expansion of the Ottoman Turks, who eventually swallowed the remnants of the Greek Empire. See A.A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire 324-1453, (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), volume II, "Foreign Policy of the Palaeologi," pp. 580-656, and "Political and Social Conditions in the Empire [under the Palaeologi]," pp. 676-687.

<sup>35</sup> This verse presented a number of problems for Martyr. 1. It seemed to contradict Ez. 18:19-20. 2. It was used by Catholic apologists as a proof text for purgatory. 3. It seemed to deny immortality. Martyr subjects it to rigorous analysis in order to meet these challenges. His usual spate of biblical citations

MORE;<sup>36</sup> WE BEAR *THEIR OFFENSES*.<sup>37</sup>

This must be understood sanely. Indeed, as Ezekiel holds, sons would not bear the iniquity of the father.<sup>38</sup> Yet here the sons are said to bear it, because as imitators of their fathers' crimes<sup>39</sup> they have been severely punished. The fathers were forgiven to the third and fourth generation. Because God is tolerant, he does not destroy then and there one particular nation. He patiently waits for their repentance or conversion. In Exodus ch. 20, it says

dries up, since, after all, he is shedding more light on the problems of divine providence and eschatology than the scriptures themselves provide. However, there are numerous biblical echoes, and I will cite some of these as his exposition unfolds. This is ingenious exegesis, smoothing out in a logical manner the apparent contradictions of scripture, but it is not the philological exegesis Martyr promised, the "simple interpretation" Martyr champions in the exposition of the very next verse. It is little wonder, then, that Martyr, as he toils over this (actually very straightforward) verse, finds attractive a midrash-like interpretation of Perush, as will be seen presently.

<sup>36</sup> The MT has two *ketiv/qere* here, and both have to do with a missing "and" (cf. v. 5): OUR FATHERS SINNED [AND] ARE NO MORE, [AND] WE BEAR THEIR INIQUITIES. Jerome includes both "and's"; Pagnini, the first only; Münster, the second only. Martyr, like Pagnini, the first only. As I see it, Martyr's choice reflects his interpretation of this verse. He wishes to avoid any hint that we read the line, "Our fathers sinned and are no more, so we must bear the punishment for their sins."

<sup>37</sup> *THEIR OFFENSES*: for the MT's *בְּחַטֹּאתֵיהֶם*. Jerome has "iniquities" (*iniquitates*), and Münster follows him. Pagnini has "the penalties for their iniquities"--just the interpretation which Martyr wishes to avoid. Martyr has "offenses" *delicta*. What is at issue for Martyr is the proper translation of the Hebrew word. *חַטֹּאת* can mean either "iniquity" or "punishment" (cf. Ez. 20:19, which Martyr cites below). Martyr in using *delictum* wishes to signal that he will be arguing that the Judeans bear their ancestors "iniquity," not the "punishment" for their iniquities.

<sup>38</sup> 18:19-20, paraphrase.

that he visits the sins of the fathers on the sons to the third and forth generation but has compassion to thousands.<sup>40</sup> Divine compassion extends widely. On account of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, innumerable generations were bestowed with magnificent blessings. Indeed divine justice does not punish at once. God waits until the third and forth generation.<sup>41</sup> Even then he does not punish them undeservedly, for they are involved in the same crimes as their fathers.

We cannot, nevertheless, explain why some people happened to be in the generation which was punished while others were in another which God endured in his patience. Let it be enough for us to understand that this is only done by God in his exact and inscrutable planning. Although God's plan cannot be searched out by us,<sup>42</sup> it is necessary that we respect and heed it reverently and that we not ascribe injustice to divine actions.

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<sup>39</sup> In Ez. 20, it is implied that sons are punished for their fathers' crimes when they imitate their crimes.

<sup>40</sup> vv. 5-6 paraphrase, interpreted as if "compassion to thousands of subsequent generations."

<sup>41</sup> Martyr has taken a midrash-like interpretation of Perush (reading Exodus 20:5b in a literalistic fashion) and has given it a Christian twist! Perush:

OUR FATHERS: this is the evil which came upon us because of our iniquities which were bound up with the iniquities of our fathers--and they escaped and not we, as the interpretation, VISITING THE INIQUITY OF THE FATHERS ON THEIR SONS [Ex. 20:5, Num. 14:18].

<sup>42</sup> Rm. 11:33 Vulgate: O THE HEIGHT OF DIVINE WISDOM AND KNOWLEDGE OF GOD: HOW INCOMPREHENSIBLE ARE HIS JUDGMENTS AND

Some people have not been punished by God in this life but seem to go away with impunity, still clinging to their crimes. Harsh punishments await them in the world to come.<sup>43</sup> Other people have had a difficult time in this life and have been punished as they deserve. They did not abandon their vices; they too will be damned. However they are not going to be inflicted with eternal torments without taking into account what they suffered in this life. They will receive something milder and more lenient than those who departed this life in prosperity.<sup>44</sup>

There are those who wish to infer the existence of purgatory from a passage like this. For they say, if some have departed this life unpunished yet as believers, it is necessary that in the next life their offenses be expiated and they pay the penalty by undergoing their due punishments. If not, then the judgment imposed on those who have suffered might seem harder and their condition more difficult than those who did not suffer. We resist this weak argument of

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INSCRUTABLE HIS WAYS!

<sup>43</sup> Rm. 2:16 Vulgate, ON THE DAY WHEN GOD WILL JUDGE THE SECRETS OF MEN ACCORDING TO MY GOSPEL THROUGH JESUS CHRIST.

<sup>44</sup> This notion of degrees of punishment in the future life, though hardly a major theme, is present here and there in the New Testament. For example, in Heb. 10:26-31, the context of the MORE SEVERE PUNISHMENT is definitely eschatological. But note that Martyr can adduce no proof text for this and other of his ideas on future punishment.

theirs.<sup>45</sup> A comparison of those who suffer for sins in this life and those who do not may be constructed using the following distribution: 1. both groups are believers, 2. both are unbelievers, 3. one group consists of believers and the other of unbelievers. It cannot be conceived otherwise. Let us undertake to investigate each case.

1. Both groups are believers. If both groups died believers, one group was punished, and the other not. Those who previously seem to have gotten away without punishment repented and accepted such a penalty voluntarily and without duress. They did this to equal the punishment which the others suffered. Even if their punishments were not equal, both have a place in eternal happiness. Those who sustained the judgment of the Lord with greater constancy and fortitude will enjoy greater glory. I do not propose that eternal happiness must be reached by our labors or deeds rather than given freely, as I firmly believe. Rather I affirm that just as God gave a generous gift of the capacity to act righteously to one group, so also he will give them a more ample sense of that eternal happiness.

<sup>45</sup> This difficult section shows signs of hasty construction and contains lacunae. I have had to resort to paraphrase in places. I have added numbering to the text to show more clearly the "distribution." The phrases underlined are also my own, but are definitely implied by Martyr.



2. Both groups are unbelievers. If those who suffer for their sins and perish depart in an obstinate and unbelieving mind, as I said just now they will be punished more leniently than those who suffered nothing. Though I think that it cannot happen that in suffering past and continuing misfortunes with an unwilling and hostile mind they would not have augmented the total number of their sins. But let us assume that they have added nothing. Then they will suffer more lightly than if they had been punished in this life for no reason. However it is impossible that they have not sinned gravely if they refused to bear their punishment patiently.

3. One group consists of believers and the other unbelievers. If believers are compared with those above who died without religion, these believers are punished in this life lest they be damned with the world. However those condemned to perpetual torments will offer greater compensation for their sins, and their condition will not be more tolerable than was that of the believers.

And so we see that these words of Ezekiel do not oppose this verse from Lamentations nor do they force on us purgatory. (Purgatory cannot, in any case, be demonstrated by the sacred scriptures.) Besides, even if the existence of a purgatory were granted, how do they know that it is so constituted that one may be helped by prayers of the living, or by alms-givings, or

indulgences and will of the Pope, as those people imagine? Christ is our one and certain purgatory.

AND THEY ARE NO MORE: this must not be taken as if, after the body of righteous people has been destroyed, nothing remains of them. What perishes is only the composite which is made up of two parts, viz. body and soul. When a human dies, the body is dissolved into its constituent parts, but the spirit remains in existence. The composite of the two parts perishes, afterwards to be restored in the resurrection of the saints.<sup>46</sup> This is something which the Lord proved by this argument: GOD IS NOT THE GOD OF THE DEAD. HE IS GOD OF ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB.<sup>47</sup> Therefore these men did not actually die. Although this argument is somewhat obscure to human wisdom, still it is not difficult for faith to yield to it.

You might, however, say that in Job the hope of that restitution of human life seems to be denied in ch.14, where it is said,

IF A WOOD HAS BEEN CUT DOWN, THERE IS SOME HOPE THAT IT MAY GERMINATE AGAIN; AND THE ROOT SPROUTS AT THE SCENT OF WATER, ALTHOUGH BEFORE IT SEEMED TO BE DEAD. BUT AS FOR A HUMAN BEING, WHEN HE HAS DIED, ALL HOPE IS CUT OFF.

And a little later:

<sup>46</sup> The text says, THEY ARE NO MORE. Martyr's hermeneutic demands that he interpret this phrase literally and he manages to do just that by having it refer only to the body-soul unity ("the composite") which is a flesh and blood human being.

<sup>47</sup> Mt. 22:32 and parallels, paraphrase.

AS THE WATER OF A STREAM OR TORRENT DRIES UP,  
THUS IT HAPPENS TO THE LIFE OF HUMAN BEINGS,  
WHEN THEY HAVE PASSED AWAY FROM HERE.<sup>48</sup>

The answer to these and like passages is that these things are to be understood only with reference to the powers of nature. For if we look at the nature of death, it is something which snatches away but once, never allowing anything to get away from it. Therefore that final resurrection will occur by the grace of Christ, not because it will have been obtained naturally.<sup>49</sup>

A doubt still emerges here. How does it happen that in the Old Testament mention is made so rarely of the future life? It is easy to give an explanation to someone who understands the nature of that age, i.e., the nature of the fathers. They were instituted to point to, to adumbrate, to predict those things which afterward happened at Christ's advent, in this happy time of ours.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, just as our Church looks forward to the future life which it senses with more certitude as something already begun in itself,<sup>51</sup> so the fathers meditated on, thought about, spoke about

<sup>48</sup> Job 14:7-12, paraphrase of Vulgate, with one eye on the MT. The entire chapter is a lament on the finality of death.

<sup>49</sup> This is implied in 1 Cor. 15.

<sup>50</sup> e.g., Heb. 10:1 Vulgate, FOR THE LAW, HAVING A SHADOW OF THE GOOD THINGS OF THE FUTURE, IS NOT THE VERY IMAGE OF THE THINGS.

<sup>51</sup> e.g., Eph. 1:13-14, the Spirit as the EARNEST of final redemption.

what pertains to this present status of ours.<sup>52</sup> By the same token, it is not strange that there is frequent mention of eternal life in the New Testament, but not in the Old. However, note that in the Old Testament eternal life is also treated and that the fathers were not ignorant of it. In the final chapter of Isaiah there is reference to the final damnation of the wicked: THEIR WORM WILL NOT DIE AND THE FIRE WILL NOT BE EXTINGUISHED.<sup>53</sup> And in chapter 12 of Daniel: THOSE WHO SLEEP IN THE DUST WILL BE RESURRECTED--not all, however, to the same fate, but--SOME TO ETERNAL LIFE, WHILE OTHERS INTO SHAME.<sup>54</sup>

Therefore<sup>55</sup> Jeremiah says, THE FATHERS PERISHED, and it seems that it was well with them, since the punishment exacted on them is not evident to us. THEY ARE NOT means "they do not exist among us any more."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> e.g., 1 Pt. 1:10-11, the prophets puzzled about their predictions of the coming gospel age.

<sup>53</sup> v. 24. Note that both the Vulgate and the MT read THEIR FIRE, and not, as Martyr has it, THE FIRE [OF HELL].

<sup>54</sup> v. 2, paraphrase.

<sup>55</sup> Here Martyr summarizes his exposition of this verse by bringing together his teaching on retribution and his teaching on immortality.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. the Targum: "Our fathers sinned and are not in the world."

Verse Eight SLAVES RULED US,<sup>57</sup> NOR WAS THERE ANY WHO COULD SET US FREE<sup>58</sup> FROM THEIR HANDS.

Some of our interpreters refer this verse to the Edomites, for the Babylonians handed the Jews over to be ruled by them. It is not certain that this was the case, although these interpreters witness that it was done in this way so that the Babylonians could compensate the Edomites for their help in the expedition against the Jews.<sup>59</sup> Others associate SLAVES with the Babylonians themselves, who are seen justly to be the slaves of the Jews, since they were descended from Ham,

<sup>57</sup> Pagnini translates the MT literally. Jerome-Münster have "our slaves ruled." I doubt that Jerome's text was different. He was, I think, translating according to his interpretation, which was in turn influenced by a traditional Jewish interpretation (Perush's exegesis cited below is an example). Martyr alludes to Jerome's interpretation in his exegesis.

<sup>58</sup> *vindicaret*. Jerome has "redeem" *redimeret* here, a somewhat Christian interpretation of the Hebrew verb. Pagnini has "liberate." Münster translates more literally: "pluck out" (*eruat*), but his verb also can have the connotation of "rescue" (L&S 659). A rather philological word study from Perush may be behind the word choice of Pagnini-Münster-Martyr:

TEARING AWAY (פֹּרֵק): like save (מַצִּיל), as AND HE RESCUED (וַיִּפְרֹקֵנוּ) US FROM OUR ENEMIES [Ps. 136:24]; and both of them are from the form SPLITTING (מַפְרֵק) THE MOUNTAINS [1 K. 19:11].

<sup>59</sup> Perush:

SLAVES: and our slaves, who were givers of tribute, such as Edom, ruled over us.

The Babylonians' role in this is not mentioned in the Targum or in the Jewish commentators. Nor is this interpretation to be found in Radbertus, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, or Pellican. I am at a loss to find out who "some of our interpreters" are, unless Martyr were using the lost manuscript of Bucer's lectures.

the son of Noah.<sup>60</sup> Still other interpreters wish the SLAVES to be taken as "sinners," since all unrighteous people (e.g., the Babylonians) were subdued by sins. I like the simple interpretation. Those who were left after the fall of the city were handed over to be ruled and governed by slaves and men of low social standing. Cato, Brutus and Cassius<sup>61</sup> have testified how miserable a fate this may be. They along with many others committed suicide rather than lose their liberty and fall into the power of men whom they judged ought to submit to the Senate. A government is tyrannical and illegitimate when unworthy men (slaves, for example) are placed in charge of affairs.<sup>62</sup>

Verse Nine IN OUR LIVES<sup>63</sup> WE ARE BRINGING OUR BREAD, ON ACCOUNT OF THE SWORD OF THE DESERT.

<sup>60</sup> Targum:

The sons of Ham who were given as slaves to the sons of Shem rule over us.

According to Genesis 10, the Hamite Nimrod founded Babel (but Asshur was a Shemite).

<sup>61</sup> M. Porcius Cato the Younger, M. Junius Brutus, C. Cassius Longinus, all of whom committed suicide rather than fall into Caesar's power.

<sup>62</sup> Martyr has already given this definition of tyranny in 1:14.

<sup>63</sup> IN OUR LIVES (*In animabus nostris*): thus Jerome, and Martyr follows. This is a literal and not altogether successful rendering of the Hebrew בְּנַפְשֵׁינוּ. The "in" in Hebrew is instrumental, and the sense is "by our lives" ("at the risk of our lives"); the Latin *in* with the ablative does not have this meaning (A&G 221.12.2). Better is Pagnini: "With risk to our life"; and Münster: "In (danger) of our life." Behind the better transla-

Previously we had slaves, who supplied and prepared our food. Now it is in our lives, that is, we were bringing food for ourselves by our own labor.<sup>64</sup> Or, the prophet said IN OUR LIVES to indicate that they were feeding themselves at a great risk to their lives.<sup>65</sup>

tions of Pagnini and Münster are the Targum and Rashi, as I note below.

<sup>64</sup> Perush:

BY OUR LIVES (בְּנַפְשֵׁנוּ): formerly our slaves were bringing our bread, but now we are by ourselves [נַפֵּשׁ can mean '-self'].

Perush, however favors an alternative interpretation of Rashi and the Targum: see next note.

<sup>65</sup> Perush:

and the correct in my eyes is that its interpretation is "in danger of our lives," and thus BY THEIR LIVES THEY BROUGHT IT [1 Chr. 11:19].

This interpretation (correct according to Hillers 155) is both from the Targum:

At the peril of our lives we obtain bread to sustain us, because of the slaying by the sword of those who came from across the desert;

as well as from Rashi:

BY OUR LIVES WE BROUGHT BREAD: in danger of our lives: we were being endangered when we were bringing our food from the field on account of the sword of the wilderness.

Verse Ten OUR SKINŞ BLACKENED<sup>66</sup> AS AN OVEN, FROM  
THE FACE OF<sup>67</sup> THE STORM<sup>68</sup> OF FAMINE.

He says that the miserable ones grew pale and  
dwindled away with hunger. Now he uses a fine figure

<sup>66</sup> BLACKENED: נִכְמַר, a rare verb; according to Holladay 159  
in this context it may mean "be hot," or perhaps "shrivel up."  
This was evidently Jerome's understanding as well, for he trans-  
lates *exusta*, "burn up, dry up." This too was Rashi's understand-  
ing:

WE GREW HOT (נִכְמַר): we became hot (נִתְחַמַּם), and thus:  
FOR HIS COMPASSION GREW HOT (נִכְמַר) [Gn. 43:30]; and  
in the language of the Talmud there is much about the  
drying of grapes, the heating (לִמְכַר) of flesh [TB  
Pesahim 58a].

(Perush repeats Rashi's observation.) But the LXX and the Targum  
have: "Our skin has been blackened like an oven," and this is just  
how Münster translates it. Some moderns, including Hillers 158,  
prefer "blackened." Martyr straddles this divergence in his  
sources: in his translations, he has "blackened," but in his  
exposition he has "dry out, wither, grow pale," which is closer to  
Rashi. My Pagnini text has "migrated" (*demigratae*), which makes  
little sense unless this is a misprint for "blackened"  
(*denigratae*).

<sup>67</sup> FROM THE FACE OF: Jerome's literal translation of מִפְּנֵי,  
and Martyr follows him. This is artificial Latin, and Pagnini-  
Münster's *propter* is much better.

<sup>68</sup> STORM: *tempestatis*, from Jerome's *tempestatum*, which  
represents the Hebrew זֶלַעַפּוֹת, a rare word which, according to Hil-  
lers 155, means "scorch." In Psalm 11:6 רוּחַ זֶלַעַפּוֹת, it is a wind.  
I think the reference is to the so-called "hamseen" (חַמְסִין), the  
mountain wind in the Middle East, which, by the time it reaches  
the Land of Israel, is desiccating and hot. The LXX has wind-gust  
(καταιγίς). At any rate, Jerome's translation probably gets at  
half of the meaning of the Hebrew. Ironically enough, in his  
exposition of this metaphor of the "famine storm," Martyr implies  
"hail storm" is a synonym. Martyr has this virtue as an  
expositor: he is either hot or cold. Rather than copy Jerome's  
literalism, he would have been better to translate idiomatically,  
as does Pagnini ("scorching") and Münster ("horror").



of speech.<sup>69</sup> For as leaves waste away after a hail storm has hit, they become arid and dry out, nor does their same verdure remain which was there previously, so do the hungry, because they seem to suffer these same things with regard to their skin.

Verse Eleven THE WOMEN OF ZION HAVE BEEN  
HUMBLED,<sup>70</sup> AND THE VIRGINS IN THE CITIES OF ISRAEL.

This is an extraordinary affront which has often had such an effect that it has many times brought about great destructions of both cities and countries. Everyone knows about the oft-sung slaughters of the

<sup>69</sup> *translatio*: and the figure Martyr alludes to is not the simile AS AN OVEN, but the metaphor, STORM OF FAMINE. Martyr then proceeds to come up with an extended simile to explain this metaphor.

<sup>70</sup> Jerome, following the Hebrew, has: "They humbled the women...", as does Münster. Pagnini has "they afflicted the women." Martyr changes the sentence into the passive, perhaps because: (1) the Targum is passive in construction:

Women who had been married to husbands in Zion were raped by Romans, and maidens in the cities of Judah by Chaldeans.

(2) the Hebrew does not specifically say who "they" are, and Martyr does not care for the speculations of either the Targum or Perush, who says:

WOMEN: As if the calamity of hunger were not enough, the slaves violated our women.

Hopefully Martyr realized that the pi'el verb *נָחַם* could not be passive. Martyr follows Jerome in translating the verb as "to humble," although, as his exposition makes plain, he is well aware from both the Targum and Perush, and the examples he elicits from Genesis and 2 Samuel, that "humble" in this context means "rape."

Greeks and the Trojans on account of Helen who had been ravished. The books of Genesis and Samuel aptly testify what happened when Jacob's daughter, Dinah, and Tamar, the sister of Absalom, were violated.<sup>71</sup>

Verse Twelve THE PRINCES HAVE BEEN HANGED BY THEIR HANDS,<sup>72</sup> THE FACES OF THE ELDERS ARE NOT *HELD IN HONOR*.

THE PRINCES HAVE BEEN HANGED BY THEIR HANDS: that is, either they themselves decided to put the nooses on their neck by their own hands, or THEIR HAND refers to the hand of the slaves who are mentioned above. The slaves' hand dared to fasten nooses and ropes on the princes, so they may be hanged.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Dinah: Gn. 34; because of the rape of their sister, Simeon and Levi killed all the males of Shechem. Tamar: 2 Sam. 13:1-29; the rape of Tamar was a factor in Absalom's bloody rebellion against his father David.

<sup>72</sup> Martyr thinks that HANGED refers to death by hanging. The exegetical issue Martyr will explore is the THEIR of THEIR HANDS: does it refer to the princes themselves or to the slaves of verse eight just above? In Hebrew, "hands" is singular (and so Jerome-Pagnini-Münster translate), and Martyr alludes to this in his exposition.

<sup>73</sup> Perush:

PRINCES: there were no PRINCES who could save our women, for even THEY WERE HUNG by their arms; and there are those who say that BY THEIR HANDS refers back to the slaves mentioned above [v. 8].

Verse Thirteen YOUTHS CARRIED THE MILLSTONE,<sup>74</sup>  
AND ADOLESCENTS FELL DOWN ON THE WOOD.

In antiquity captives were condemned to grind at the mill. Terence mentions this in The Maid of Andros.<sup>75</sup> And in the Book of Judges, Samson is found to be one who has been punished in this way.<sup>76</sup> Because these youths of tender years were unequal to the task, they are said to have fallen under the wood. For those who mill lean on a wood, because in pushing continuously and forcefully they drive mill stones around and around.<sup>77</sup> However, since they did not have suffi-

<sup>74</sup> Jerome translated the first half of this verse, "They abused the adolescents lewdly," a reading which is based on a traditional Jewish interpretation of this verse, which can be found in Lam.R. 5:1, ET 241, where an allusion is made to a similar Talmudic interpretation of Jud. 16:21 (Samson grinding; TB Sotah 10a). Hillers 158-9 would find this interpretation possible, except for the fact that it would not relate at all to the second half of the verse. Since Martyr has no collection of midrashim and since his Jewish and Christian sources do not mention the midrashic interpretation above, Martyr may be merely mystified by Jerome's rendering. The MT (בְּחֻרִים בְּחֹן נִשְׁאוּ) admits to several interpretations: "Youths carried a mill"; "They carried youths to mill," etc.. Pagnini translates in a literalistic way: "They bore youths to mill" (or possibly, "Youths suffered to mill"); Münster has "Young men endured to mill" (or possibly, "They offered young men to mill"). Martyr however does not follow Jerome-Pagnini-Münster, but bases his translation on a comment of Rashi's (see below).

<sup>75</sup> Terence, Andria, 199-200.

<sup>76</sup> 16:21.

<sup>77</sup> Perush:

And the strength of the young men stumbled when they moved the wood of the mill.

cient stamina, they were thrown to the ground.<sup>78</sup> Or you may say "under the wood" refers to being burdened by bundles of wood.<sup>79</sup> Indeed a large army needs both these kinds of labor, both millers and carriers of wood.<sup>80</sup> The miserable Jewish captives were set apart for these tasks.

Verse Fourteen THE *ELDERS CEASED FROM THE GATES,*  
*AND*<sup>81</sup> YOUTHS *FROM THEIR SONGS.*<sup>82</sup>

He asserts by an elegant distribution that destiny had changed everything among them and that everything

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Münster 1534 Bible:

TO GRIND לטחון is written for לטחון, and the sense is that the stronger ones were sold for mills, to make them go. Or it is a proverb, because they were destined to carry the heaviest loads. Nay they even loaded mere boys with wood so much so that, since full-grown men were lacking, they crumpled under it.

<sup>79</sup> Rashi:

CARRIED MILL: when their enemies were leading them by iron collars, they were putting on their shoulders millstones and burdens to make them weary.

<sup>80</sup> Perush:

And there are those who say that it is according to its grammatical meaning, and the interpretation is that every camp must have a mill and wood.

<sup>81</sup> As happens so often, Münster adds an "and" not in the MT, and not added by Jerome or Pagnini.

<sup>82</sup> Jerome has a more religious translation here: "youths from the choir of Psalm-singers." However, Pagnini-Münster have "from their song."

was now dislocated.<sup>83</sup> He begins with the elders. After everything in that place had sunk to the bottom, the judiciary and the civil government disintegrated, and the elders no longer sat at the gates to pronounce judgment according to the established custom.<sup>84</sup>

AND YOUTHS FROM THEIR SONGS: when the city was in a state of peace, while the elders took care of the public good, the young men amused themselves with music.

Verse Fifteen<sup>85</sup> THE JOY OF OUR HEARTS HAS FALLEN,<sup>86</sup> AND OUR CHOIR<sup>87</sup> HAS TURNED INTO MOURNING.

<sup>83</sup> That is, Martyr notes the rhetorical device of mentioning the two extremes (in this case of youth and age, the one engaged in deciding judicial cases, the other in amusing themselves), and by doing so implicitly including everything in between.

<sup>84</sup> Martyr has already noted in his exposition of Lam. 1:4 that the city gates were the court rooms of ancient Israel.

<sup>85</sup> Only Perush comments on this verse; the Targum is severely literal, as is Jerome, from whom Pagnini-Münster differ little. Martyr has little material with which to work and produces his second shortest exposition of his Lamentations commentary.

<sup>86</sup> HAS FALLEN: Pagnini-Münster have "ceased," which is what the MT reads. Evidently Martyr has carelessly read the main verb from the next verse in this verse as well.

<sup>87</sup> Jerome-Pagnini-Münster use the word *chorus*, which can mean either "dance" or "choir," for *חמול* (dance). Here Martyr takes it to mean "choir," though previously (1:4) he has noted the public and religious significance of dance in ancient Israel. Perush also associates the dance with singers:

...and our dancers are the dancers and singers.

They used to sing God's praises and his prophetic signs in public choirs. However by that time all these things have been taken away.

Verse Sixteen THE CROWN OF OUR HEAD HAS FALLEN;  
ALAS FOR US, FOR WE HAVE SINNED.

THE CROWN OF OUR HEAD HAS FALLEN: these things must be understood to be about the Temple, the Ark of the Covenant and Tabernacle.<sup>88</sup> They are called the crown of that people--something about which they especially boasted.

ALAS FOR US, FOR WE HAVE SINNED: The reason for which God took that very famous house away from us was so that he might dwell among us so familiarly.<sup>89</sup>

Verse Seventeen ON ACCOUNT OF THIS OUR HEART  
MOURNS, AND OUR EYES HAVE BECOME DARKENED.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Perush:

FALLEN: the Temple, the place of the Presence.

<sup>89</sup> Apparently the sense is, "God took the Temple away only so he might bring the people to repentance and so live familiarly among them." Or, assume a "not" has dropped from the text and read: "so he might not dwell among those sinners so familiarly."

<sup>90</sup> The Hebrew begins the first half line with "on account of this," and the second half with "on account of these." The exact significance of the two or the distinction between them is disputed (see Hillers 159). Jerome-Pagnini-Münster try to include both in their translation, but Martyr follows Perush and sees the

The principal cause of our sorrow is that we have sinned and that the glory of our head has been taken away.

**Verse Eighteen**<sup>91</sup> ON ACCOUNT OF MOUNT ZION, FOR  
*THE REASON THAT IT HAS BEEN DEVASTATED AND THAT FOXES*  
*WALK EVERYWHERE THERE.*

second as superfluous and leaves it out and uses Münster's AND to replace it. Perush:

ON THAT ACCOUNT WAS OUR HEART SICK, and the eye became darkened from much weeping.

Perush apparently reads "On account of the fact that the crown of our head has fallen our heart was sick...." Rashi explicitly relates the "on account of this" to the disaster of the following verse. Cf. the Targum:

Because of this Temple which is desolate, our heart is sick. And because of these people of the House of Israel who go into exile from there, our eyes are dimmed.

In his exposition of this verse Martyr relates "on account of this" to the fallen crown; but in his exposition of the next verse he relates "on account of this" to devastated Mount Zion.

<sup>91</sup> The Hebrew reads: ON [ACCOUNT OF?] MOUNT ZION WHICH WAS DEVASTATED; FOXES WALK ON IT. Rashi, as mentioned above, reads this verse with the previous one:

ON ACCOUNT OF THIS (על זה) OUR HEART IS FAINT...: on account of (על) what is explained in the scripture passage which follows it: ON ACCOUNT OF (על) MOUNT ZION WHICH WAS DEVASTATED and FOXES WENT ABOUT ON IT.

Jerome reads like Rashi: [OUR EYES WERE DARKENED] ON ACCOUNT OF MOUNT ZION WHICH WENT INTO RUIN; FOXES WALKED ON IT. The Targum is as ambiguous as the Hebrew. Perush does not speak to this problem. Pagnini translates somewhat as Rashi suggests: "[Our eyes were darkened] on account of Mount Zion which was so desolated that foxes walk on it." Münster 1534 Bible avoids tying the verse to the previous one: "On Mount Zion, which was desolated,

This seems something not to be endured. Where a great concourse of people was accustomed to gather to pray, to sing praises to God, to offer sacrifices, now there could be such great devastation and solitude that in that place foxes and other wild animals wander at will.

Verse Nineteen YOU, GOD, ABIDE<sup>92</sup> TO ETERNITY, AND<sup>93</sup> YOUR THRONE IN GENERATION [AFTER] GENERATION.

This is the one and only remedy for our misfortunes: that we be mindful of God. Although what is ours has been hewn down, he remains untouched. This did not happen due to a disability of his, as if he could not protect or defend us. Therefore let us still hope in him during this time when our affairs are in ruin. He is able to restore them.

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foxes run." Martyr reads with Rashi, not Pagnini and Münster.

<sup>92</sup> Literal translation of the Hebrew; Jerome-Pagnini-Münster has "remain."

<sup>93</sup> As often, Münster adds an "and" for clarity, and Martyr copies.



Verse Twenty WHY<sup>94</sup> WILL YOU BE ANGRY<sup>95</sup> WITH US  
FOREVER, AND ABANDON US FOR THE LENGTH OF DAYS.

It is as if he might say: Although your throne is everlasting and your kingdom forever, it is not your habit or desire to govern this kingdom in anger but in compassion. Since you have promised this to our fathers, your faithfulness ought to be eternal. Although we have sinned, it is not right that your promises change. For your covenant and pact ought to be as immovable as your throne and kingdom.

Verse Twenty-One TURN<sup>96</sup> US, GOD,<sup>97</sup> TO YOURSELF  
AND WE SHALL BE TURNED; RENEW OUR DAYS AS FORMERLY.

<sup>94</sup> Jerome-Münster have *quare*, but Pagnini has *ut quid*, apparently an attempt on Pagnini's part to imitate the Hebrew לממה.

<sup>95</sup> The Hebrew, Jerome, the Targum, Pagnini and Münster all have "forget." Why does Martyr read "angry"? Martyr was still thinking of the end of this comment of Rashi:

And YOU, G-D: we knew that YOU SIT FOR EVER..., and this being so, and so it is, WHY WILL YOU FORGET US ETERNALLY? Did you not swear to us by yourself? Just as you exist so does the oath you swore. FOR IF YOU REALLY HAVE REJECTED US because we sinned, it was not for you to multiply fury when you were furious. RETURN US, G-D.

<sup>96</sup> TURN: Jerome's *Converte* for השוב has the nuance of "conversion" in the Christian sense.

<sup>97</sup> Here as in v. 19, where Jerome-Pagnini-Münster uses the traditional "Lord" for the proper name of God, Martyr uses "God." He evidently senses that the traditional way of rendering God's name, "the Lord," is a title more than a name.

TURN US, GOD, TO YOURSELF AND WE SHALL BE TURNED:  
this is a golden verse which we ought always to set  
against those other scripture passages, when they are  
thrown at us by the defenders of free will. An example  
of such a scripture passage is: BE TURNED TO ME, AND I  
SHALL BE TURNED TO YOU.<sup>98</sup> That is the law, and God  
requires it of us. Our part, however, is to respond to  
him in turn, TURN US...TO YOU, AND WE SHALL BE TURNED.  
The Hebrews give no thought to God's justifying grace  
and of faith, and no thought at all of Christ unless  
according to the flesh. They say here, "Turn or  
restore us to our former place, to our desolate cities,  
and we shall for our part be turned to that worship of  
yours, which you prescribed for us." Let us leave  
these ideas to those crass and blinded people.

RENEW OUR DAYS AS FORMERLY: restore our former  
happiness in temporal blessings and be friendly to us,  
so you may act to us as you did in ancient times toward  
Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the other fathers.<sup>99</sup> Our  
affairs would go admirably well, if we were to imitate  
them in faith, life, and morals, and let us hold you a  
friend now as you were then. Indeed it will not be

<sup>98</sup> Mal. 3:7. It should be recalled that Martyr had just  
finished expounding Malachi.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. the Targum:

Take us back, O YHWH to yourself, and let us return in  
complete repentance. May you renew our days for good,  
like the festivals of yore.

worse for us in regards to material blessings than it was for them.

Verse Twenty-Two<sup>100</sup> *SINCE IF IN REJECTING YOU HAVE REJECTED US, YOU HAVE BECOME GREATLY ANGRY AGAINST US.*

It is as if he might say: "Even though you have thrown us away from yourself because we merited no better, now your anger has continued for some time. We seem to pay penalties. Now the state of affairs requires that our lot be changed for the better, that you reconcile yourself to us." These are not the words of a prophet arguing about the justice of God, as if he

<sup>100</sup> The problem in this verse is the beginning words: lit. "for if" כִּי אִם. For a compact discussion of this key problem of the interpretation of Lamentations, see Hillers 160-161. Jerome, the Targum, Pagnini and Münster all have "But," and Hillers defends this grammatically. None of Martyr's sources speak directly to this problem. Martyr's solution is clever, and, as far as I know, unique to himself. First he reproduces the Hebrew: "Because if," *Quoniam si*, which he understands to be *etiam-si*, "even if." And Martyr understands "even if" to introduce both clauses in this verse. Thus he reads: "Renew our days as formerly, even if in rejecting you have rejected us, even if you have become greatly angry against us." In a sense, Martyr reads these two verses as they are read in the synagogue. V. 21 is read after v. 22, as Rashi explains:

Since it ends with words of chastisement, it was necessary to repeat the scripture passage [repeat v. 21 after v. 22 is read]; and so also Isaiah, and the Twelve, and Ecclesiastes.

In worship Isaiah is ended with 63:23, the Minor Prophets with Mal. 3:23 (ET, 4:4), and Eccl. with 12:13, in order to avoid finishing a book on the negative last verse of each of these books.

were too enraged. Rather these are the words of one commending his request to someone who is fair and just. "Now we deserved that fact that we were rejected by you; in casting off, you cast off justly. Now, however, your anger against us has been very great. It only remains for your compassion to be made plain in turn." If these people were daring to say this, we can dare to pray much more. Although we deserve ill fortune for our vices, nevertheless your justice, anger and severity have been already declared sufficient with respect to Christ Jesus our Savior. In him we were struck enough and more, since he is truly our head. Whatever he endured, we suffered in him.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Whatever Martyr's meanderings in logic, purgatorial speculation, and the fine points of Hebrew morphology, he always returns to the nub of the Reformation faith.

3. Conclusions

3.1 Martyr's Hebraism in His Lamentations Commentary

Although we deserve ill fortune for our vices, nevertheless your justice, anger and severity have been already declared sufficient with respect to Christ Jesus our Savior. In him we were struck enough and more, since he is truly our head. Whatever he endured, we suffered in him.

With these words Martyr ends his commentary on Lamentations. This devout attention to the Reformation gospel did not, as we have seen, make his commentary any less scholarly. In a previous chapter I inquired as to Martyr's learning Hebrew, his attitude to the Hebrew language and the Hebrew Bible, and the Hebrew learning at the Strasbourg College. Now, having presented the earliest surviving example of Martyr's exegetical labors, I go on to address questions concerning Martyr's fluency in reading Hebrew, his use of Hebrew study resources, his practice of translation, and his possible role models for his practice of exposition. My next chapter will deal exclusively with Martyr's use of the Bomberg commentators.

**How fluently could Martyr actually read Hebrew?**

One way to measure his fluency is to determine whether his citations of and allusions to the Jewish commentators and the Targum in the Bomberg Bible are derived from secondary sources or are culled from the

Bomberg Bible itself. The Targum of Lamentations is relatively straightforward (provided, of course, one can read Aramaic). The style of the Bomberg Bible commentators is, on the contrary, often terse to the extreme and presents problems even for Jewish scholars who have spent a lifetime reading Hebrew. Not all the Reformation Hebraists could read the Jewish commentators in the original. As previously noted, all of Calvin's exegesis in his Lamentations commentary which has its origin with the Bomberg commentators apparently came to him via Münster's Hebrew-Latin Bible. The scripture translator Olivétan liked to add references to the Jewish commentators in his annotations; but these were mostly culled from others' work.<sup>1</sup>

The only extant Lamentations commentary which was available to Martyr and which cited extensively the Bomberg commentators and the Targum is Münster's 1534-35 Hebrew-Latin Bible. By checking how much Martyr borrowed from Münster and how much he relied on his own scholarship should give us a better idea of his capabilities in Hebrew and Aramaic. This is not a flawless method, since Martyr could have been working with a source lost to us today. For example, if Bucer lectured on Lamentations, it is not impossible that Martyr used his manuscript. All I am able to demonstrate here is that, while Martyr used extensively

<sup>1</sup> Max Engammare, "Olivétan et les commentaires rabbiniques," pp. 49-50.

Münster's translation of the Hebrew text, he used his philological notes sparingly. In all likelihood Martyr would have made slight use of Bucer's commentary as well.

I was able to find only a few instances where Martyr seemed to be relying on Münster. One example is in Martyr's comment on Lam. 4:22. Münster, commenting on this same verse, says that "In this passage too the Hebrews understand by 'Edom' a reference to Italy's Rome." Martyr comments:

The Jews, on the other hand, refer these things to the last days of the Messiah, when they persuade themselves that the Romans are to be completely destroyed (for by "Edomites" they understand "Romans").

The Jewish commentators of the Bomberg Bible do not include this interpretation. Nor does Oecolampadius or Pellican mention it.<sup>2</sup> Thus Münster is most likely Martyr's source here. Other instances where Martyr might have used Münster's notes have mentioned in my annotations on Martyr's commentary.

I found it particularly striking that, while both Münster and Martyr refer with some frequency to the Targum, they rarely cite the same passage, or, if they do, they handle the Targum differently. Both Münster and Martyr refer to the Targum's interpretation of Lam. 1:3 in their comments on this verse. It is, however,

<sup>2</sup> Nor is it in Lam.R. This is another indication that Münster's Hebrew learning goes beyond the standard sources such as the Bomberg Bible.

impossible to say whether Martyr was borrowing from Münster or was simply citing the Targum's interpretation because it was interesting. In his comment on the very next verse of Lamentations, Martyr alludes again to the Targum, but Münster does not.

There is every indication that Martyr had a fair fluency in reading Hebrew and the Targum's Aramaic.<sup>3</sup> This is not to imply that Martyr is to be understood primarily as an Hebraist; nor is he to be classed among the top Gentile Hebraists of his time.<sup>4</sup> Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), Cabbalist, mystic and heretic, was the foremost non-Jewish Hebraist.<sup>5</sup> The second best was arguably Sebastian Münster (1489-1552),<sup>6</sup> whose works included grammars of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic; he surpassed his erstwhile teacher, Conrad Pellican, translator of numerous Rabbinical works. The greatest Roman Catholic Hebraist was either Santes Pagnini, author of the above mentioned Hebrew dictionary, or Agostino Giustiniani (1470?-1536), a translator of Hebrew and Arabic works. Finally mention should be

<sup>3</sup> I have found no evidence in his Lamentations commentary, however, that he made any use of, or understood, the Masorah.

<sup>4</sup> I mean to exclude Jewish converts such as Emmanuel Tremellius. For Christian Jews of the era see Richard H. Popkin, <ed>, Jewish Christians and Christian Jews: from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, Archives internationales d'histoire des idées <no. 138>, (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1994).

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Michael T. Walton, personal conversation.

<sup>6</sup> Friedman, The Most Ancient Testimony, p.44, calls him "the greatest Christian-Hebraist of the first half of the sixteenth century."



made of the short-lived prodigy Paul Fagius, responsible for publications in Hebrew and Aramaic. These Christian Hebraists' Hebrew learning outstripped Martyr's. On the other hand, as may be gathered from my previous chapter, Martyr was unquestionably more able an Hebraist than his fellow Reformers Calvin, Oecolampadius and Zwingli. All the same, as was the case with Bucer, the greatness of Martyr's contribution to Reformation exegesis does not lie in his Hebraism alone. Martyr was a fine Hebraist, as well as a patristic expert and classicist, as well as an able scholar of scholastic theology. It was the sheer range of Martyr's learning which astonished his contemporaries.

There are several reasons for which Martyr's considerable Hebrew scholarship has been overlooked. His posthumous reputation was based not on his scripture commentaries, but on his eucharistic writings and on the Loci. These latter are collections of his many scholia, culled from his commentaries. They show a fascinating blend of scholastic reasoning and Reformation gospel, but do not give a fair picture of his exegesis. Martyr's commentaries are only now being studied critically. Also, Martyr was insufficiently learned in Hebrew to compose a Hebrew dictionary or grammar, a feat which would have ensured him a prominent place among early Protestant Hebraists.

What Hebrew study aids did Martyr use to prepare his Lamentations commentary?<sup>7</sup> By "Hebrew study aids" I mean resources other than his Bomberg Bible: Hebrew grammars, dictionaries, and concordances. Did Martyr use a Hebrew lexicon when he was preparing his Lamentations lectures? The vast majority of Martyr's references to Hebrew philology and Jewish interpretations may be found in the 1525 Bomberg Bible. There remains, however, a certain residue which might be the result of Martyr's use of a lexicon. To test this hypothesis, I examined the three most complete Latin-Hebrew lexicons that Martyr could have had at his disposal:<sup>8</sup> the works of Reuchlin, Münster, and Pagnini.<sup>9</sup> These three works are of quite different character. Reuchlin's "Book of Roots" is an adaptation of David Kimḥi's and is the first Latin-Hebrew lexicon ever published. Based as it is on Kimhi's work, it has the latter's virtues: compact, practical yet remarkably comprehensive. No less a pioneering work is Münster's Dictionary of 1525. Though based on Kimḥi also, it has

<sup>7</sup> For tools available to Martyr and associates, see Hobbs, Introduction, pp. 277ff.

<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately Ganoczy, La Bibliothèque, pp. 337, 161-165, was unable to identify positively Martyr as the owner of any of the Hebrew lexicons in Calvin academy. (But note that Martyr owed Münster's Aramaic lexicon). For a list of lexicons see Roussel, "La Bible de 1530 à 1600," pp. 174-178; Hobbs, "Strasbourg et l'école rhénane d'exégèse: L'hébreu, le judaïsme," pp. 44-45.

<sup>9</sup> The "Book of Roots" section of Reuchlin's De rudimentis hebraicis (1509); Münster, Dictionarium hebraicum (I only had at my disposal the slightly augmented 1564 edition); and Pagnini, Thesaurus linguae Sanctae, (1529).

more of Münster's own labor in it. It too is very compact, some of the entries being even shorter than those of Reuchlin. Münster was plainly aiming for the burgeoning evangelical market. Reformation teachers and preachers needed an affordable, compact work to help them in their first steps in Hebrew studies. Pagnini's Thesaurus, on the other hand, is a work designed for scholars.<sup>10</sup> Massive and meticulously documented, it can double as a fairly complete concordance. Some of its entries, which run on for folio pages, can be profitably studied by the Latin-Hebrew reader even today. Compare the entries of Münster and Pagnini on שָׁקַד, the *hapax legomenon* found in Lam. 1:4. Münster gives a short entry on the relatively infrequent verb, שָׁקַד and then adds this note:

The same with the point on the left [i.e., שָׁקַד] denotes חָבַר or קָשַׁר, "bound": Lam. ch. 1.

By contrast Pagnini gives scholars a full discussion:

שָׁקַד is קָשַׁר, i.e., "to bind," חָבַר, i.e. "join" says Kimḥi in his Book of Roots: Lam. 1:14 וְשָׁקַד, i.e. is bound (is joined) by the yoke of my prevarications. Jerome: "He wakened" according to the meaning of the preceding verb [שָׁקַד], but he does not consider the orthography, for it is written with the point on the left horn, *sin*, which is like *samek*. Nor is there anything like it in sacred scripture, says Rashi, but it is found in Aramaic and in Leviticus Rabba. Ibn Ezra: "was drawn, was hastened." Look it up in my Aramaic handbook under סָקַד. Rashi explains it: "it was pointed with points by a pointer."

<sup>10</sup> It had the honor of being abridged (1548, 1572) and reissued with additions (1575, 1577, and 1614). See Roussel, "La Bible de 1530 à 1600," p. 175, note 54.

Coincidentally or not, Martyr's discussion of שקד is structured like Pagnini's:

The Hebrew word they translate "bound" is נשקד, a word which admits to several meanings. Firstly, it can mean "to draw out", as if it were said: "Now my yoke, which I promised myself did not exist (for it so happens that sinners promise themselves impunity), this same yoke was drawn out, thrust out, became evident." Secondly, this term can denote "wakeful," and in that case what is said is the following: "Even though I was sinning continually, I was thinking that retribution was sleeping; now I find it to be awake." Thirdly, Rashi says that verb refers to piercing, for he translates "to burn in marks," as sometimes happens on wooden writing tablets. We burn various points on them, to designate certain numbers. Now it is as if someone should say, "I myself thought my iniquities were carried away into oblivion. However they were copied, imprinted and enumerated by the hand of God. And the yoke or weight of my iniquities accurately responds to what I deserve."

The similarity between Martyr's discussion and Pagnini's may only be happenstance, since Martyr gives every indication that he is reading the same sources as Pagnini. There are, however, other indications that Martyr's Hebrew-Latin lexicon was usually Pagnini's. Let us consider these six examples:

1. Martyr translates שחקו על משבתה (1:7d), "they laughed at her ceasing [*cessationem*]." Pagnini notes: "They made fun of משבתה, i.e., her ceasings [*cessationes*]."

2. Martyr translates the difficult על כן לנידה of 1:8a in a literalistic manner: ON THIS ACCOUNT SHE WAS INTO A MOTION [*in motionem*]. Compare this with Pagnini's comment on this verse under the entry נוד:

And with a ה at the end, Lam. 1:8, "Therefore she was into a commotion [*in commotionem*], into a moving. Jerome has "She became shiftless."

3. In 1:9b Martyr comments on the verb in phrase וְהָרַד פְּלָאִים: "If it is from רָד, it will mean "be lamented...." Compare Pagnini:

רָד means either מָשַׁל, i.e. to dominate or rule, or it means נָוָה, to complain, lament, move.

4. In a note on the first word of Lam. 1:15, Martyr says "סָלַח means 'to tread' [*calcare*], as dust is trodden on the road." While Münster says that this verb here means "to trample" [*conculcavit*], Pagnini affirms that the correct translation is "tread" [*calcavit*].

5. In a comment on 2:22 (מִגֹּרֵי מַסְבִּיב), Martyr affirms, as does Münster and Pagnini, that among the meanings of the root גָּוַר are "to live" or "to dread." If the latter meaning is chosen, says Martyr, then מִגֹּרֵי

...shows how terrible were these enemies of the Jews, since by antonomasia she calls them her "tremblings" [*pavores*], i.e., on account of her enemies she was afraid for herself.

Pagnini says that the correct translation of the Hebrew phrase מִגֹּרֵי מַסְבִּיב is "my tremblings [*pavores*] from all sides."

Note, however, in a comment on the hapax legomenon וַיִּפְשְׁחוּנִי of 3:11a, Martyr says that it may mean "He cut me down, or he amputated me." Pagnini says that it means *et scidit me*, but Münster, *amputavit*, *scidit*, *rupit*.

6. In his comment on the second word of 4:1 (יָוֶשֶׁת "darkened"), Martyr remarks, "DARKENED is from the root עָשָׂה, but its conjugation is pu'al." None of Martyr's Jewish sources in the Bomberg Bible specify the root of יָוֶשֶׁת, so we may well expect a dictionary reference here. Yet Martyr gets the conjugation wrong: it is hof'al, not pu'al. This is almost certainly a reference to a sentence in Pagnini's עָשָׂה entry: "And in Pu'al or Hof'al, as Lam. 4:1." I presume that Pagnini meant that עָשָׂה could be in pu'al, or, as in Lam. 4:1, in hof'al. Martyr seems to have glanced quickly at Pagnini's note and misunderstood him.

Taken individually all these instances of supposed dictionary use could be dismissed as coincidence. Taken together, nevertheless, a fair case can be made for a claim that Martyr's usual dictionary was Pagnini's thesaurus. This would square well with what we know of Martyr. He learned Hebrew in Catholic Italy where Pagnini's thesaurus could have been obtained without suspicion. This consideration aside, Münster's or Reuchlin's much smaller dictionaries would not have added too much to Martyr's already extensive knowledge of Hebrew.

Not only dictionaries and Rabbinic Bibles were available as tools for the Christian Hebraist. There were also Hebrew grammars, such as the second section of Reuchlin's De Rudimentis Hebraicis and the Hebrew concordance of the fifteenth century Provence scholar,

Isaac Nathan ben Kalonymos (printed edition, Bomberg, 1533). However I found no point of grammar discussed by Martyr in his Lamentations lectures which does not come from the Bomberg Bible commentators. Also there is no word study in these same lectures which demonstrates clearly the use of a concordance.<sup>11</sup> For his Hebrew philology it would seem that Martyr relied most often on the Bomberg Bible, next on Münster's 1534-35 Hebrew-Latin Bible, occasionally on a dictionary, and rarely on other tools.

So much for Martyr's use of Hebrew philology tools. Now on to **Martyr's Hebraism as it is reflected in his Latin translations of the Hebrew text of Lamentations**. Let it be admitted from the onset that Peter Martyr did not make his mark as an original translator of the Hebrew Bible. In fact, he did not translate the Bible into a vulgar tongue at all. Nevertheless, he began exposition in his Old Testament commentaries with a Latin rendering of the Hebrew Text. He did not have to start from scratch. The Bible of Western Christianity in the Middle Ages was the Vul-

<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, as R. Gerald Hobbs points out, Martyr would probably have needed a concordance to ferret out the scripture citations embedded in the Bomberg commentators. The Jewish commentators quote scripture frequently but almost never state explicitly from which book of the Hebrew Bible the citations come. (Martyr did not have Isaac Krinski's editing of Rashi and Ibn Ezra's Lamentations commentaries to help him!) For example, Rashi in a comment on Lam. 1:15, cites a phrase from Isaiah 63:3. Martyr mentions this scripture in his exposition and states that Isaiah is its source; he may well have used the Kalonymos concordance to find it.

gate, and its language was buried deep in the Christian translator's psyche even before the Hebrew Bible was opened. Also before Martyr began his Protestant career of scripture exposition, two complete translations of the Bible into Latin had already been completed.<sup>12</sup> Santes Pagnini (d. 1536) is usually credited as being "the first modern scholar to render the whole Bible from the original languages."<sup>13</sup> His *nova translatio* of the Hebrew Bible was published in Lyon in 1528. As Guy Bedouelle has pointed out, his work served as a solid base for scripture translators of scripture into spoken languages.<sup>14</sup> In at least three instances his work also served as a major resource for scholars translating into Latin. The second new Latin Bible to appear was that of Sebastien Münster in 1534-35.<sup>15</sup> It was a bilingual edition, Hebrew-Latin. Münster revised his Latin Bible in 1543,<sup>16</sup> but without his Hebrew text and valuable philological notes. Among the other sixteenth

<sup>12</sup> For a summary of Latin translations of the scriptures in the sixteenth century, see Bernard Mann Peebles, "Bible IV, 13. Latin Versions, Later Versions," in New Catholic Encyclopedia.

<sup>13</sup> Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed., s.v. "Pagninus, Santes."

<sup>14</sup> Guy Bedouelle, "L'humanisme et la Bible," in Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible, p. 77-78.

<sup>15</sup> Actually Münster's Bible consisted of three volumes: 1534 Latin-Hebrew Pentateuch, 1535 Latin-Hebrew Judges-Malachi, 1536 a Greek-Hebrew NT.

<sup>16</sup> Bernard Roussel, "La Bible de 1530 à 1600," in Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible, p.146. I could not find, incidently, any difference between Münster's 1535 Lamentations and that of 1543.



century Latin translations of the Hebrew text which were produced after Martyr wrote his Lamentations lectures is that of John Emmanuel Tremellius, which appeared 1575-79.<sup>17</sup> Of course Martyr would have had access to translations of specific Old Testament books, examples of which are Zwingli's translation of and commentary on Lamentations published in 1531 and Oecolampadius's work on Lamentations published posthumously in 1533.<sup>18</sup>

Zwingli has no discernible influence on Martyr's translation, and the reason for this is obvious: Zwingli in his introduction to his short commentary on Lamentations expresses distrust of the MT and feels free to deviate from it, whereas Pagnini, Münster and Martyr were all committed to it. Tremellius' work, though completed after Martyr's death would have been a valuable resource for him: Tremellius really does start from the Hebrew text. As a Jew, his scripture is the MT, and he did not read it through Vulgate spectacles. There is a residue of rendering of the Hebrew text in Martyr which is neither Jerome nor Pagnini nor Münster. I have called this residue Martyr's work, although it

<sup>17</sup> The text I used was Sacra Biblia, Tremelius and Junius, O.T.; Beza, N.T., Zürich, 1703.

<sup>18</sup> Complanationis Jeremiae Prophetae, Threni Jeremiae Baruch. Oecolampadius, In Threnos Hieremiae, (Strasbourg: in officina Matthiae Apiarii, 1533).

is possible unpublished or lost sources lie behind some of these unique readings.<sup>19</sup>

When the Lamentations texts of the Vulgate, Pagnini, Oecolampadius, Münster and Martyr are compared synoptically, a number of observations present themselves. (Reference may be made here to Appendix Four, the synopsis of the Pellican's Vulgate, Pagnini, Oecolampadius, Münster and Martyr Latin texts of Lamentations.<sup>20</sup>) I found only widely scattered instances where Martyr has a reading which is in Oecolampadius and not in his usual sources.<sup>21</sup> Surely this is purely coincidental and not proof that Martyr made use of Oecolampadius's translation. On the other hand Martyr freely borrowed from Münster, even to the point of copying Münster's distinctive tendency to make prose out of the Lamentations poetry by supplying connectors between phrases, such as "and" or "but." At first it appears as if Martyr made no use of Pagnini at

<sup>19</sup> As I have previously queried: Is it possible that Bucer commented on Lamentations and that Martyr had access to his manuscript? I am thinking in particular of Martyr's renderings of Lam. 1:16a (MY EYE TRICKLES TEARS) and 3:49a (MY EYE DRIPPED), which are, for Martyr, uncharacteristically non-literal and florid. If Martyr is using "another" source, it ought to appear more after Lam. 4:10, where unique readings suddenly appear more numerous (see below).

<sup>20</sup> I introduced this synopsis in ch. 1.5. It will be recalled that Pellican changed the Vulgate minimally, that Pagnini kept much of the Vulgate, that Oecolampadius borrowed from Pagnini, and that Münster borrowed from the Vulgate, Pagnini and Oecolampadius.

<sup>21</sup> See Appendix One, Lam. 1:20, 1:22, 3:22, 3:26, 4:9, 4:14, 5:13. The Lam. 1:20 distinctive reading, *intus*, which only Martyr and Oecolampadius share, does raise a question.

all, and that correspondences between Martyr and Pagnini are happenstance. However, after ch. 4, v. 10 onwards, Martyr's use of Münster drops off dramatically, and he has more unique readings as well as readings which correspond exactly to Pagnini. This cannot be accidental. The simplest explanation of this is that Martyr's Münster Bible somehow became unavailable or less available and that Martyr was left to his own resources and those of the Roman Catholic Pagnini. It is, of course, possible that Martyr did not have access to Pagnini's Bible at all and that his unique readings are not his own. Martyr could be cribbing from another translation which is lost or I have not found. That "other" source could have been using Pagnini's translation, and Martyr could have been picking up Pagnini second hand. Martyr on Lam. 4:20 makes reference to "our interpreters." This may be an allusion to Jerome only, though he may also be referring to another exegete as well (whose identity I have not been able to establish). On Lam. 5:8, Martyr says, "some of our interpreters." Again I have not been able to trace who these "some" might be. These two inexact references may indicate a source other than Münster, Oecolampadius, Zwingli or Pellican. I have previously suggested that Bucer may have lectured on Lamentations. Perhaps Martyr obtained some of Bucer's notes.

On the assumption that Martyr made use of Pagnini directly, I would also like to suggest that it is not

by chance that Martyr often uses Münster when that latter agrees with Pagnini. This would suggest that Martyr respected both Münster and Pagnini, but as a Reformer preferred Münster, yet felt more comfortable if he were using Münster when the latter was using Pagnini.

I have not been able to determine any overall plan in Martyr's use of his sources: sometimes he chooses Münster because the latter is more literalistic. For example in Lam. 1:1b, for רבתי בגוים Martyr uses Münster's *quae magna fuit inter gentes*, which is more literal than Jerome's *domina gentium* or Pagnini's *copiosa in gentibus*. At other times Martyr will ignore Pagnini and Münster and stick with Jerome even when Jerome's rendering is manifestly inferior to Pagnini or Münster's. For example in Lam. 1:5b, for כי י" הוֹגָה Martyr follows Jerome's faulty *quia dominus locutus est super eam* rather than choosing either Pagnini or Münster who know that הוֹגָה is from יָגַה, not הָגַה.

Occasionally Martyr will ignore all Christian models and translate as one of the Bomberg commentators suggests. In Lam. 1:18 Martyr translates שִׁמְעוּ נָא as *audite nunc*, because that is what Ibn Ezra said it meant. In Lam. 1:20a, for מַעֵי חֲמָרְמָרוּ Martyr has *viscera mea contracta sunt*, a reading which is straight from Rashi.<sup>22</sup> Also from Rashi is Martyr's translation

<sup>22</sup> Oecolampadius has *constricta*, probably also derived from Rashi.

in Lam. 3:11 of סורר as *spinis obruit*. These examples are exceptions. Usually Martyr either copies a Christian translator or (apparently) comes up with a reading on his own.

In general Martyr's translations are exegetical exercises for his expositions, but even here Martyr will occasionally translate one way and expound the text using an alternative translation. For example in Lam. 1:3a, for מַעַי Martyr follows Jerome and Münster and translates *propter afflictionem*; however the Hebrew מֵאָח can also mean "after," and this is how Martyr understands it in his exposition. This may be said in Martyr's defence: in his lack of consistency in translation, he has models in the persons of Jerome, Pagnini, and Münster.

Thus in his task of translation Martyr makes use of Münster's Bible more than any other resource. Perhaps it would not be too far off the mark to say that Münster was Martyr's mentor as in matters of translation. Did Martyr have a mentor in his practice of exposition? Before asking this question, it would be advantageous to recall the sort of commentary Martyr's Lamentations lectures represent.<sup>23</sup> I shall briefly touch on the following: his underlying philosophy of

<sup>23</sup> Martyr's Lamentations lectures do not differ in kind from his Judges' commentary, which was the last of his exegetical works which he himself edited for publication. Thus statements on his Lamentations commentary hold true for his Old Testament interpretation in general.

interpretation, his use of scholia and scholasticism, and his allusions to Classical authors, Church Fathers, and the Bomberg commentators.

First, his underlying philosophy of interpretation. Let us let Martyr speak for himself from his introduction to his Lamentations lectures.

It remains for me to explain to you exactly how I have decided to go about the interpretation of this book. I shall do this briefly. Principally I shall carefully see to it that I make plain in as open a manner as possible the meaning of the prophet's words. However, other supplementary things, and whatever people are able to derive or discover on their own, such things I shall leave to you to search out for yourself. For as Ibn Ezra rightly observed, to understand the verbal sense in these divine matters is something solid, like the body. Once the body is yours, you may easily put over it a variety of clothes, which are of a greater or lesser value, finer or ruder, depending on the inspiration of the divine Spirit. It is, indeed, the Holy Spirit who leads those engaged in "turning these matters over and over in their minds night and day." Copy this emphasis on verbal meaning so you may grasp the sense of each and every verse. After you grasp the verse's meaning, it will then, believe me, be very easy to introduce new things that are apt for both time and place.<sup>24</sup>

Later in his career Martyr would designate "verbal meaning" as "the true and natural sense of the scriptures."<sup>25</sup> (It should be noted in passing that the passage cited above contains an allusion to the introduc-

<sup>24</sup> Martyr, Lam. introduction (pp.3-4). References to Martyr's Lamentations commentary will normally be by biblical chapter and verse.

<sup>25</sup> LC 6.5, *verum, genuinumque sensum Scripturae*, from his Preface to 1 Cor.

tion of Bucer's Psalm's commentary: "...once the historical sense of scripture has been learned, anyone, when the Spirit raises him up, may easily form for himself [anagogical interpretations]." <sup>26</sup>)

On the basis of the above passage, Klaus Sturm has asserted that Martyr has a "spiritualistic hermeneutic" which "provides that someone, urged on by the Holy Spirit, goes beyond the literal meaning of a scripture passage and opens new meaning, as at times it suits time and place." <sup>27</sup> This point of Sturm's analysis of Martyr's doctrine of Scripture ought, however, to be challenged. In his exposition of Martyr's doctrine of the Holy Spirit as it relates to his biblical interpretation, <sup>28</sup> Sturm states:

While Martyr values the strictly literal meaning highly, yet it is naturally only the starting point for what is itself a religiously meaningful, spiritual understanding. ...Now Martyr understands the interpretation of the biblical passages from the particular life, the particular standpoint, the particular time, not as a deduction from the general to the specific.

Taken in isolation, these statements by Sturm might make Martyr out to be a Quaker: no passage of the Bible is of spiritual benefit until it has been "opened" to those who wait on God. Sturm goes on to give welcome

<sup>26</sup> Bucer, S. Psalmorum, "Praefatio," folio 7b.

<sup>27</sup> Sturm, Die Theologie, p. 108.

<sup>28</sup> Sturm, Die Theologie, pp. 260-2.

qualifications to his notion of Martyr's

"spiritualistic hermeneutic":

All the different insights so gained do not relativize mutually themselves and the literal meaning of the passage from which it derives, but rather they build a real unity. They are the "outer clothes" of the original passage and they were likewise called forth by the Holy Spirit.<sup>29</sup>

Sturm bases his idea of the importance of the "clothes" on statements Martyr makes in his introduction to his Lamentations commentary, but the context in which Martyr makes these statements militates against Sturm's interpretation of them.

The passage from which Sturm takes excerpts is Martyr's references to the poem which Ibn Ezra wrote to be a prologue to his Lamentations commentary. In this poem Ibn Ezra carries out his usual invective against midrashic interpretation which was still popular with his Jewish contemporaries. Even though Martyr shows no appreciation for the nature of midrash, he does see a difference between the exegesis of Rashi who incorporates large blocks of midrashic interpretation, and 'bn Ezra who brings in almost no material from the midrashim. It is easy for him to relate traditional Christian commentary with its devout but fancifully figurative interpretations to the midrash material which he found in Rashi. Thus the point of Martyr's allusion to Ibn Ezra's poem is that non-philological

<sup>29</sup> Sturm, Die Theologie, p. 261.



interpretations are secondary. They are admissible but only if they build on the solid rock of the verbal sense. Martyr's "hermeneutic" in the sense of his theory of biblical interpretation gives primacy to the verbal over the applied meaning. As Martyr says in his introduction to Lamentations:

Thus my interpretation of Lamentations will aim at making absolutely plain the words of the prophet.

Martyr carries out his program of "making plain the words of the prophet" fairly consistently. However he does at times make long digressions or "scholia." Something in a particular verse of scripture will remind him of an issue, which he will proceed to treat as if he were writing systematic theology. Martyr's Lamentations commentary has long scholia on curses (1:21) and on punishment in the future life (5:7). In later commentaries, he lengthens these scholia into essays, sometimes folio pages long. Martyr is not the first Reformation commentator to include extended discussions in his scripture exposition. Martyr's contemporary, Melancthon has them in his commentaries too.<sup>30</sup> Also, Ibn Ezra's commentaries (not, as it hap-

<sup>30</sup> e.g., "Excursus on the Authority of Scripture and the Fallibility of the Church Fathers," after ch.14 of his Commentary on Romans, tr. Fred Kramer, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992).

pens, his work on Lamentations) have similar extended discussions.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore the scholium as a method of exegesis goes back to the Church Fathers.<sup>32</sup> These extended discussions of Martyr's commentaries are also related to the *loci* or τόποι of classical rhetoricians.<sup>33</sup> This is why, when Martyr's friends compiled his scholia after his death, the resulting compilation was called *loci communes*.

Yet another characteristic feature of Martyr's commentaries is his scholasticism. Martyr does not simply forget his eight years in Padua and reject out of hand all his training in scholasticism. He makes use of logic (then known as "dialectic"), and in his exposition of Lamentations 1:19 he speaks of it as if it were a neutral tool, capable of great good or evil. At times he merely alludes to logic:

If it be permitted to make use of the form of a dialectical argument, an argument is firmly and forcefully put when opposites are thus conjoined. The yoke is easy--therefore it is no yoke at all!<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Though he criticizes the Gaonic interpreters for too many tangents, see Michael Friedlaender, Essays on the writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra, vol. IV, (London, Published for The Society of Hebrew Literature by Trübner and Co., 1877), pp. 118-9.

<sup>32</sup> C.F.G. Heinrici, "Scholia," in The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (Baker Book House, reprint 1977).

<sup>33</sup> See Cesar Vasoli, "*Loci communes* and the Rhetorical and Dialectical Traditions" in Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform; also Johannes Kunze, "*Loci theologici*" in The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (Baker Book House, reprinted 1977).

<sup>34</sup> Martyr, Lam. 1:14.

At other times he sets up a very convoluted argument using logic in the manner of Medieval Schoolmen. Lam. 5:7 had been used to buttress the doctrine of purgatory. Martyr says curtly: "We resist this weak argument of theirs." And he proceeds to demolish it by logically analyzing the problem of punishment for sins in this life. At still other times he uses Aristotle's fourfold system of causation. Regarding the true Church Martyr says this:

The definition of the Church according to all its causes is this: as to its material cause, it is a gathering of people; its efficient cause is the Spirit of Christ bringing them together; the final cause is eternal life; and the formal cause is right religion, sound faith, holy law and harmonious order.<sup>35</sup>

Martyr's scholia and his occasional use of "dialectic" to organize his thoughts gives his commentaries an academic air. This academic quality is further strengthened by his rather careful handling of his sources. Since I have already discussed his use of Jewish commentators, I shall here speak only of his references to the Graeco-Roman classics and the Church Fathers. Classical allusions abound in Martyr's commentaries. I have not explored the extent to which Martyr might have been indebted to *florilegia* for his classical allusions. There are, however, good reasons for supposing that Martyr usually drew from the classical sources themselves. Ganoczy, in describing what

<sup>35</sup> Lam. 4:12.

can be reconstructed of Martyr's large and valuable personal library, divides Martyr's books into three categories: patristics, classics and biblical studies (especially Old Testament). Martyr's patristic collection predominates, followed by the classics; biblical studies are least numerous.<sup>36</sup> Certain passages in his commentaries display the breadth of Martyr's classical knowledge. Marvin Anderson has studied the scholium "Of Exile or Banishment" connected with 1 Kings 2.<sup>37</sup>

These are two of Anderson's conclusions:

It seems that Martyr kept up a lively interest in classical scholarship long after his Homeric lectures in Italy..... Martyr uses terms from the classical world, legal tradition and rabbinic sources not as independent quotations taken out of a source book but rather as terms to be described from their literary use in the classical, legal, medical or rabbinic corpus at hand.<sup>38</sup>

The above mention of Martyr's Homeric lectures is an indication of the depth of his classical learning.

McNair remarks:

It was in Vercelli, and almost certainly in the monastery of S. Andrea... that he lectured on Homer at the request of Benedetto Cusano. In his later writings Martyr, who never mentions Dante or any other Christian or Italian poet, liberally quotes Aeschylus, Euripides, Hesiod, Horace, Lucan, and Ovid; but pride of place in his affections was held

<sup>36</sup> Alexandre Ganoczy, La bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1969), pp. 22-23.

<sup>37</sup> Marvin W. Anderson, "Peter Martyr Vermigli: Protestant Humanist," in Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform, Joseph C. McLelland <ed>, (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Pr., 1980), p. 80; the scholium is also in LC 4.15.

<sup>38</sup> Anderson, "Peter Martyr... Humanist," pp. 81-2.

by "those two most famous poets (I meane *Homer* and *Virgil*)" whose epics he knew intimately and would cite with the minimum of provocation. Like Calvin himself, Martyr was a humanist before he became a Calvinist.

To be sure, Martyr's classical allusions are not as well developed in his Lamentations lectures as they were in his later commentaries. Even so, such allusions are quite numerous. Sometimes he merely borrows an expression from Cicero:

By this is the mind of a religious man marked: he hopes in God in such a way that he does not move himself even a "nail's breadth" from the God's promises, however much the flesh clamors against him....<sup>39</sup>

The religious content of this sentence is hardly borrowed from Cicero, but its punch comes from a vivid expression of the great Roman pagan. At other times Martyr cites a classical author at length. For example Lamentations 4:3 speaks of the ostrich, and Martyr had no better authority on ostriches than Pliny the Elder:

Pliny recounts something about this animal in his Natural History, book 10, chapter 1. It is reckoned among the winged creatures, but on account of its great size, it can be considered to be among wild animals and beasts. In fact, in height it is equal to a rider on a horse. It has wings, with which it does not raise itself from the earth, but with which its speed is aided--being in other respects swift by his own nature. He has hooked talons, cloven like those of deer, but curved in such a way that with them he is able to snatch stones up and throw them at those pursuing him.

Martyr goes on to cite more of Pliny's "facts," each more preposterous than the last. Since we today are

<sup>39</sup> Martyr, Lam. 3:26; "nail's breadth": Cicero, Att.13,20,4.

better schooled in zoology than Martyr, we may be tempted to smile at Martyr's naïveté. However Martyr was hardly alone during the Renaissance-Reformation era in his veneration of classical sources.

More important in Martyr's mind than his references to the Graeco-Roman classics was his extensive use of the Church Fathers. Here it would be in order to cite again his words on the problem of interpretation in his acceptance speech before the worthies of Zurich:

And moreouer I am not ignorant that by comparing together of places alike, those things which first seemed obscure, may bee made plainer, and that the monumentes of the Hebrew Commentaries bring otherwhiles no small light, and much more the most learned writings of the auncient fathers: and that also the counsels of men alie....<sup>40</sup>

In theory, then, the Church Fathers took precedence over the Jewish commentators. However when trying to untie linguistic knots, Martyr gives more weight to his Jewish sources, since the Fathers (Jerome excepted)

<sup>40</sup> Martyr, "An Oration," pp. 55-56. Martyr does not minimize the role of the illumination of God's Spirit, since he prefaces this remark by saying: "...and I also knowe that the wisdom of the flesh is nothing else but grievous enmities against God. But on the other side I am not ignoraunt, that God as he hath promised, doeth clearely open, as to those that loue him his secretes, unto them which haue begunne to be spirituall, young and enemies of the flesh. I knowe moreouer that to them that aske, shall be giuen: they that seeke, shall finde: and to them that knocke, it shall be opened. Wherefore being assisted by prayers, both of mine owne and yours, I hope that the heauenly light will be present, whereby we shall walke freely through the plaine, safely and without all errour through the obscure and doubtfull places, and with great reuerence of the diuine Maiestie, through y secret and as yet altogether hiddē mysteries, by humble receiuing and reuerencing those things which as yet cannot be understoode."

were ignorant of Hebrew philology. As was stated previously, no patristic commentary on Lamentations was available to Martyr. Mention has already been made of the Pseudo-Jerome commentary on Lam. 1, which Erasmus first classified as genuine and later realized to be spurious.<sup>41</sup> Martyr owned Erasmus' edition of Jerome's works, and thus had access to this opusculum.<sup>42</sup> Martyr may also have believed it to be unauthentic, since, while he may draw from it, he never cites it explicitly. For example, Martyr makes this remark on Lam. 1:1:

The Jews had this extent of greatness and nobility under David and in the time of Solomon.

The Pseudo-Jerome on the same verse remarks:

she was sitting thus alone, who had been full of people in the time of David and Solomon.

On the same verse Martyr remarks:

He did not say boldly and simply, "She was a widow," since these Jews were going to return to the dwellings of their fathers, as we observe in the Book of Ezra.

The Pseudo-Jerome is similar:

But she was not a widow totally, but she was like a widow: because he was her husband, and after seventy years he joined her to himself as the chief of the nations

On Lam. 1:2, Martyr comments:

Another reason for weeping at night was the fact that there was no opportunity during the

<sup>41</sup> Domenico Vallarsi, the great editor of Jerome, cites Erasmus. His remarks were reprinted by Migne: see PL 25, 787.

<sup>42</sup> Alexandre Ganoczy, La Bibliothèque, pp. 21, 179.

day for an enslaved and captive people to vent their grief. For although they were enduring the vilest of servitudes in captivity, at night at least they were able to give themselves up to their feelings.

The Pseudo-Jerome writes:

As concerns what pertains to the literal meaning, she was weeping for the reason that she did not dare to do so during the day on account of her masters but at night she consoled herself by weeping.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether Martyr had the Pseudo-Jerome at hand or he is citing from memory the *glossa ordinaria*. Radbertus, as was noted previously, was the first of the medievals to comment on Lamentations. Radbertus incorporated the Pseudo-Jerome (genuine to him, of course), and Radbertus' commentary passed directly into the *glossa ordinaria*. At any rate, in his Lamentations lectures Martyr never cites the Pseudo-Jerome or the *glossa ordinaria* explicitly and certainly not as the work of Jerome.

Martyr does, however, have at least one reference to Jerome which is unquestionably genuine. In the introduction to his commentary, he comments neutrally on a theory concerning Lamentations' origin which was mentioned, but not refuted or endorsed, by "Saint Jerome."<sup>43</sup> Martyr also has a reference to a figurative interpretation by Jerome of "the blind" in Lam. 4:14. Nevertheless Jerome's most pervasive influence on

<sup>43</sup> lit., *divus Hieronymus*.



Martyr's interpretation of Lamentations remains, as has been seen, his Latin translation of scripture, the so-called Vulgate.

To sum up then characteristic marks of Martyr's scripture exposition are a hermeneutic of the primacy of the "verbal meaning," use of scholia, recourse to scholasticism, and frequent allusions to the classics, the Church Fathers, and the Jewish commentators. Keeping these characteristics in mind, as well as the more general investigation into Martyr's Hebraism which I previously carried out,<sup>44</sup> we may now inquire as to **Peter Martyr's model for Old Testament exegesis**. Here is a brief summary of the characteristic features of Martyr's commentary as compared with those of his fellow Reformers. The features for comparison are: attitude toward the Hebrew language (positive, negative), use or non-use of the MT as authoritative, use or non-use of scholia, use of rabbinic commentary (none, some but usually unacknowledged, frequent but usually unacknowledged, frequent and usually acknowledged), nature of translation (Vulgate retained, a new literal translation provided, a new paraphrastic translation provided), the style of commentary (short philological notes on select verses, concise comments on each verse, discursive comments on each verse), use of references to Graeco-Roman literature (rare, frequent), method of

<sup>44</sup> Chapter 1.6.

### 3.1 Conclusions: Martyr's Hebraism in Lamentations

509

interpretation (predominantly philologically based, primarily evangelical [i.e., non-literal interpretation which consistently refers of the Reformation understanding of the gospel]):

Hebrew attitude: positive *or* negative

Oecomlam.	x	
Zwingli		x
Pellican		x
Münster	x	
Calvin	x	
Bucer	x	
Martyr	x	

Masoretic text use: yes *or* not

Oecomlam.	x	
Zwingli		x
Pellican	x	
Münster	x	
Calvin	x	
Bucer	x	
Martyr	x	

Rabbinics: none *or* rare *or* frequent *or* explicit

Oecomlam.			x
Zwingli	x		
Pellican		x	
Münster			x
Calvin		x	
Bucer			x
Martyr			x

Scholia used: yes *or* no

Oecomlam.		x
Zwingli		x
Pellican		x
Münster		x
Calvin		x
Bucer	x	
Martyr	x	

Translation: Vulgate *or* literal *or* paraphrastic

Oecomlam.		x	
Zwingli			x
Pellican	x		
Münster		x	
Calvin		x	
Bucer			x
Martyr		x	

Style:	short notes <i>or</i> concise <i>or</i> discursive		
Oecomlam.			x
Zwingli	x		
Pellican		x	
Münster	x		
Calvin			x
Bucer			x
Martyr			x

Classical allusions: rare *or* frequent

Oecomlam.	x	
Zwingli	x	
Pellican	x	
Münster	x	
Calvin	x	
Bucer		x
Martyr		x

Method of interpretation: philological *or* evangelical

Oecomlam.		x
Zwingli	x	
Pellican		x
Münster	x	
Calvin	x	
Bucer	x	
Martyr	x	

As could have been predicted on the basis of the influence which Simler claimed Bucer's commentary had on Martyr, Martyr and Bucer stand shoulder to shoulder in almost every category. In fact, Bucer and Martyr share more in common than any other two commentators in this survey. At the same time, the similarity between the two commentators ought not to be over emphasized. Even in his very large Judges commentary, Martyr is not as scattered and as long winded as Bucer can be in his Psalms commentary. Also Martyr refuses to follow Bucer in his preference for paraphrastic translation. This to me would indicate that, rather than being a disciple of Bucer, Martyr found in him a kindred spirit whose example he could follow in good conscience.

Upon examination of Martyr's Lamentations commentary in the Reformed context in which he worked, we can discover little in his method of scripture exposition that is unique. To be sure, none of the other commentators here compared to Martyr used with any regularity the logical reasoning of scholasticism. Melancthon did. And the Reformed orthodoxy which followed Martyr would. Rather what makes Martyr's scripture exposition unique is his expertise in four areas: scholasticism, patristics, classics and Hebraism. This omnicompetence ought to be kept in mind. My focus has been on Martyr's Hebraism, specifically on his use of the Bomberg commentators. We have found Martyr wanting from time to time in his Hebraism. Since Martyr was a better patristics scholar and classicist than Hebraist, it is only natural that Martyr research has been in the latter two areas. This does not, however, do justice to the man. Few of his Reformed contemporaries were as at home in the Bomberg commentators as was he. Let us then turn our attention to Martyr's use of these remarkable exegetes.

3. Conclusions

3.2 Martyrs Use of the Jewish Resources of the Bomberg Bible in His Lamentations Commentary

Here I shall be reviewing how in a general sense Martyr's use of the Bomberg commentaries compares with that of his reformed colleagues whom I have been studying; then I shall present a statistical analysis of that use; finally I shall present examples of that use in detail.

As we have seen, Martyr's Reformed colleagues also used the Bomberg commentaries. Bucer and Martyr's commentary is saturated with Jewish commentary, often cited explicitly. Münster quite frequently cites Jewish sources, usually explicitly. Oecolampadius and (in spite of himself) Pellican often allude to a Jewish commentator but usually avoid explicit citation. All (including Pellican but excluding Zwingli) admit the potential usefulness of Jewish commentators. In their Lamentations lectures Martyr and Oecolampadius use only the Bomberg Bible for their source of Jewish commentary. This separates them from the top Hebraists such as Münster who can draw from a wide variety of sources for Jewish commentary and historiography. Bucer and Martyr are unique in this: they not only cite a given Jewish commentary explicitly but they cite it

at length. The students who do not read the Jewish commentaries well in Hebrew have an opportunity, when reading the scripture expositions of Martyr and Bucer, to make up their own minds about the validity of a given scripture interpretation of a Jewish commentator.

Thus, it would be inaccurate to say that Martyr's use of Jewish commentary is without precedent. Bucer is clearly a precedent and in all probability Martyr's model. Even apart from Bucer, Martyr would have been able to claim allies in his Hebraism in the persons of Oecolampadius and Münster.

My statistical analysis of Martyr's use of Jewish resources cannot claim mathematical exactitude. The figures here are approximate and indicate only tendencies. Sometimes I was not sure whether a given interpretation of Martyr alluded to a Jewish interpretation or merely resembled it by accident. When Martyr alludes to an interpretation on which Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Perush agree, I had no way of knowing whether Martyr used all three sources or just one. I indicated these uncertainties in my annotations to Martyr's commentary.

Here is a chart showing the frequency with which Martyr uses his Jewish sources. "Total" is the total number of explicit citations and unattributed references. "Negative" is the number of times Martyr rejects the interpretation to which he refers. "Explicit" is the number of times the source is cited

by name (Rashi, Ibn Ezra or Targum). "Philol." is the number of times the reference is philological in nature; "philos.", philosophical. "Other" means references which are neither philological or philosophical; these are usually imaginative interpretations of Perush, though included in this are doctrinal interpretations (i.e., tendentious exegesis to conform to Jewish doctrine) as well as exegesis from the midrashim.

	Rashi	Ibn Ezra	Perush	Targum
total	88	43	75	24
negative	13	4	2	4
explicit	13	7	[ ]	2
philol.	51	35	16	5
philos.		5	2	
other	37	3	57	19

Thus Martyr has about two hundred thirty references to the Jewish sources in the Bomberg Bible. Of this number only twenty-two are explicit citations. One hundred fourteen of his references are philological, and the balance (one hundred sixteen) are non-philological. Of the non-philological references, fifty-five of those are Perush. Twenty-three times Martyr cites or alludes to a Jewish interpretation in order to call it into question; two hundred seven times in a positive manner. Of the twenty-three times Martyr questions a Jewish interpretation, thirteen times the exegete criticized is Rashi. Not shown on this chart is the fact that Martyr cites or alludes to midrashic interpretations (usually from Rashi) seventeen times, and of these, nine times approvingly; we must keep in

mind that Martyr does not understand the exegetical category of midrashim.

A number of conclusions present themselves. First of all we must acknowledge the sheer number of references to Jewish sources. Surely only Bucer comes close to using the Bomberg commentators as much. Secondly, Martyr uses the Jewish commentators casually and only names his Jewish sources ten percent of the time. Thirdly, Martyr falls far short of his aim of philological commentary; I note in Calvin and Münster far more skill in "making plain the words of the prophet." Fourthly, Martyr is quite respectful of his Jewish sources; most of the time he makes positive use of them. Fifthly, by adding Ibn Ezra and Perush together we can see that Martyr intended to use the great grammarian and peshat exegete more than any other source. Nevertheless Martyr mines much philology from Rashi, whom he does not hesitate to castigate for his aggadot.

With the above statistical analysis in mind let us now go on to explore exegetically specific instances of the uses to which Martyr puts these exegetical comments of first Rashi, then Ibn Ezra and finally Perush.

As explained above, Rashi's exegesis is a complex interplay between traditional midrash and the newer grammatical exegesis. I shall look at Martyr's use of Rashi using the following categories: Martyr condemns a Rashi aggadah as silly; he mistakes a Rashi midrashic



interpretation for a philological one and quotes it approvingly; he makes the same error and quotes it disapprovingly; he understands correctly a philological comment and uses it well. Let us take these one at a time.

First an example of Martyr condemning an aggadah. Rashi has an exegetical comment on Lamentations 2:2 which contains what he intends as a philological comment and what he consciously presents as an aggadah from the midrashim:

HE POLLUTED (ללן) THE KINGDOM AND ITS PRINCES: these are Israel, for they were called A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS [Exodus 19:6] There is a midrash aggadah [Lam.R. 2:5, ET 167]: these were princes above [i.e., angelic powers] that He switched: the one appointed over the light He appointed over the water, and He switched all those appointed, since among the wicked of Israel there were masters of the ineffable name and they were sure that they could invoke the princes above to save them from fire and from water and from sword; and now when one was invoking the prince of fire by his name, he answers, "This is no such dominion in my hand"; and thus all of them.

Note that Rashi knows this to be a religious story which contradicts the actual meaning of the verse, but he finds it has religious value, or is entertaining, or more likely both. Martyr is annoyed that Rashi should recount such a story. Martyr retells Rashi's retelling (does Martyr in spite of himself find the story fascinating?) and rebuts it point by point:

AND HER PRINCES: the magnates and nobles of the kingdom. This seems to me to be the plain meaning of the prophet. Here Rashi turns aside to tell tales, and says that in Israel there used to be men given over to

conjurers' tricks and incantations, who used the sacred name in such incantations, when they were rightly holding His powers. Therefore they were able to conjure the angels in authority over famine and pestilence, regions and armies of enemies, lest they be injured. When, however, the Lord decided to destroy that nation, lest those things help them somehow, he changed and moved the responsibilities of those spirits. Thus, after their duties were switched, when they were called by those servants of theirs, they were not able to respond favorably to the prayer, since now they had been removed from the administration of that matter which those men required of them. These things are simply jokes, and I would not want to waste time in telling them. Nevertheless I recount them, so that we might be able to retain what is good there but avoid the bad. Angels are not forced by conjurers' tricks, as they imagine, and, unless they exceed their duties, they do not submit themselves to those who invoke them without God's approval. Nor do they delight in being invoked, if they are good spirits and do not belong to the devil. For they hold from God authority over things, as is held so aptly in Daniel and Revelation, and since they are ministering angels for the salvation of the elect, however many break loose from God are stripped of their presiding power.

Martyr deserves credit for having deciphered a not too easy aggadah. Also, he shows his respect for Rashi by taking the time to refute him. Martyr does not want his students to stop reading Rashi but to "retain what is good." (We may note in passing that Martyr himself is not above a little angelological speculation of his own, as may be seen in his exposition of Lam. 1:8.)

Sometimes Martyr mistakes a midrashic interpretation for a philological one and quotes it approvingly. Rashi's comment on Lamentations 1:7 takes the form of philological comment followed by one from the midrashim:

THEY JEERED AT HER CESSATION (משבתה): they jeered at the ceasing of her joy, of her festival, of her new moon; and a midrash aggadah interprets it in another way: for they were ceasing labour in exile on Shabbat and on holidays and were allowing their fields to lie fallow on the Seventh Year; and the nations were jeering at them and were ridiculing thus: "In your own land you were not letting your fields lie fallow, and now in exile you will do so!"

Martyr takes Rashi's midrashic interpretation at face value. (Indeed had not the great Jerome rendered "ceasings" as "sabbaths"?):

Or you may understand "her ceasing" to be the Sabbath, that rest of the seventh day. When these enemies saw their Jewish captives observing the Sabbath among themselves, they jeered. The Jews in exile were tenacious in observing their external rituals but far less so in regard to faith and inner worship of God. Seneca, Juvenal and Cornelius Tacitus laugh at those ceremonies, whose rationale they would not understand. The laughter greatly augmented the pain.

Here Martyr and Rashi shake hands in spite of Martyr's stock anti-Jewish comment about Jews' external rituals: both Martyr and Rashi find religious value in a midrash which has little relation to the verse it interprets. Ironically Rashi understands the midrashic nature of this interpretation better than Martyr.

At other times Martyr mistakes a midrashic interpretation for a philological one and cites it disapprovingly. There is a subtle interpretation in the midrashim which Rashi cites in connection with Lam. 2:21. This midrash does not contradict the philological meaning, so Rashi does not call it a "midrash aggadah." This is not an aggadah in the sense of a story, since its form is that of exegesis:

SHOULD THERE BE KILLED IN THE TEMPLE OF G-D PRIEST AND PROPHET?: the Holy Spirit answered them "And how is it fitting to you that you killed Zechariah ben Jehoidah the priest?", for it is written in [2] Chronicles [24:20] that Zechariah reprov'd the [nobles] when they came to do obeisance to King Joash, for they made him into an idolater. The Spirit clothed Zechariah ben Jehoidah [with prophetic power], so that he was priest and prophet. And the [nobles] killed him in the Temple court.

That is, in Lam. 2:21 the prophet cries out to God in the form of a rhetorical question: SHOULD THERE BE KILLED....? A midrashic interpretation imagines a rhetorical question from God in response. God is just in allowing both PROPHET AND PRIEST to be killed in the holy Temple, since Zechariah ben Jehoidah was both a PROPHET AND PRIEST and he was killed by the Judeans in the Temple. Martyr does not accuse Rashi of "telling tales," since this midrashic interpretation is more obviously related to the verse it interprets. Martyr takes this midrashic interpretation as sober exegesis and supposes that it makes Lam. 2:21, SHOULD HERE BE KILLED..., refer to the murder of the priest Zechariah in 2 Chronicles, not to the murder of prophets and priests at the fall of Jerusalem. On the basis of this misapprehension, he proceeds to criticize the midrash:

This Zechariah was indeed a high priest. Because he is truly remembered among the prophets, it is said in the same place that the Spirit of God clothed him. Endowed, incited and roused by the Spirit, he loudly chided the king. Since, however, in this place it concerns the destruction of Jerusalem, it seems more likely that this ought to be interpreted as a reference to the murder of priests and prophets....

At other times Martyr understands an accurate philological comment made by Rashi and makes good use of it. Martyr translates Lamentations 1:3c as ALL HER PERSECUTORS OVERTOOK HER BETWEEN THE STRAITS. For this word STRAITS (מַצְרִים) Rashi gives this definition:

For there is a height on both sides and there is no place to rest.

Taking his cue from Rashi, Martyr remarks:

Her situation is like that of those who are attacked on very narrow roads by enemies. Enclosures or walls on either side preclude her running away. מַצְרִים here means enclosures.

The above examples of Martyr's use of Rashi may give the impression that Rashi is of less help in his philological commentary than the other commentators. The opposite is true, as has been seen in my statistical analysis above. Martyr was better able to discern non-philological commentary in Rashi than in Ibn Ezra or Perush, and he found Rashi's philological commentary both easier to understand than Ibn Ezra's and more practical.

Next I shall look at examples of Ibn Ezra's exegesis and see how Martyr uses or does not use it, or does not understand it. I shall set up the following categories: difficult grammatical point of which Martyr is able to make some use; grammatical point which Martyr understands and uses; grammatical point which Martyr misunderstands; a philological observation which Martyr ignores either because he does not understand it or because he disagrees with it; philosophical exegesis

which Martyr uses; philosophical exegesis which Martyr challenges.

First, here is a difficult grammatical point, of which Martyr is able to make some use. Ibn Ezra's philological comments often are very difficult because much is left out and much implied. Here is a typical example taken from his comments on Lamentations 1:1:

GREAT (רַבָּתִי), PRINCESS-LIKE (שֶׁרֵתִי):  
penultimate to distinguish between an added  
yod and the yod signifying the speaker, as  
LOVING (אוֹהֲבָתִי) TO PLOW; but the word STOLEN  
(גְּנוּבָתִי) BY DAY remains ultimate on account  
of the change of the בּ.

That is, GREAT (רַבָּתִי) and PRINCESS-LIKE (שֶׁרֵתִי) are examples of adjectives which occur very infrequently in scripture and which are formed by adding a yod to them (see GKC 901). Adjectives with a yod ending are accented on the penultimate. Another example of such an adjective is found in Hos. 10:11 LOVING (אוֹהֲבָתִי) TO PLOW, and it too is accented on the penultimate. However STOLEN (גְּנוּבָתִי) BY DAY in Gn. 31:39 is an exception to the rule. The accent is on the ultimate instead of the expected penultimate. This happens because in the word גְּנוּבָתִי, the בּ changes from being a part of a closed syllable in the masculine form of the participle to being a very short and unaccented in [גְּנוּבָתִי] in the feminine form. The accent cannot be on בּ.

It is no insult to Martyr that he would be lost as to the meaning of much of this comment above. Only to those who "live" in Hebrew is such a comment com-

prehensible. However Martyr is able to comprehend the basic grammatical concept:

These words have a yod added to them not as an indicator of person, but rather it has been added πληρωματικῶς [i.e. pleonastically]

It could be argued that Martyr did not cite the rest of Ibn Ezra's comment because it would only have confused his hearers. Possibly, but as I mentioned in the previous chapter there are other indications that Martyr read Hebrew fluently but with some grammatical inexactitude.

At other times Martyr finds an easier grammatical point in Ibn Ezra which he understands and uses well.

In a comment on Lamentations 1:3, Ibn Ezra remarks:

JUDAH: masculine or feminine, as Israel and Egypt: AND EGYPT ENCOURAGED (ותחזק מצרים).

That is, "Judah" as a corporate person can be either masculine or feminine. "Egypt" which as a corporate entity can also be masculine or feminine is feminine in Ex. 12:33. Martyr understands this relatively straightforward grammatical point of Ibn Ezra and expands on it slightly:

The gender of the proper noun "Judah" can be either masculine or feminine. As a feminine noun "Judah" can by no means signify some individual man, but rather it signifies the nation.

Occasionally Martyr misunderstands a grammatical point in Ibn Ezra. Lam. 1:20 contains a relatively rare verb: MY INTESTINES WERE IN FERMENT (המרמרו).

Rashi understands it to mean "have contracted," and this is the meaning Martyr accepts. Martyr is there-

fore confused by a philological comment which Ibn Ezra makes:

WERE IN FERMENT (חמרמרו): doubling of the *ein* and the *lamed* and its meaning is like "being stirred up (עכורה)", and thus MY FACE WAS STIRRED UP (חמרמרו); and it is from the form חומר ("cement, mire"), since the weeping is like water, and thus AND WINE FOAMS (חמר).

That is, the verb חמרמרו is *pe'al'al*, i.e., its root is חמר, but the last two radicals are repeated, which intensifies its meaning. Here it means "being stirred up," just as it does in Job 16:16, MY FACE WAS STIRRED UP (חמרמרו) FROM WEEPING. The basic meaning of this verb is חומר, "mire, cement." Thus in the Job passage tears are said to ferment the face in the same way as water ferments cement. Wine is similarly said to ferment, as in Ps. 75:9 (ET 8), AND WINE FOAMS (חמר). Given Martyr's prior commitment to Rashi's less exact meaning, Martyr tries to interpret Ibn Ezra in the light of Rashi:

Ibn Ezra seems to interpret this to mean that tears draw from the body so much humor that all the intestines have contracted, just as a womb, once it is emptied, wrinkles and contracts.

On other occasions Martyr ignores Ezra's philological comments either because he does not understand them or because he disagrees with them or because he does not find them useful. Lam. 1:7 is a difficult verse in the Hebrew, because it has four lines instead of three and the second or third line seems to be supplementary. As it stands, the MT reads: "Jerusalem remembers the days of her affliction and her



wandering, all her pleasant things...." Ibn Ezra solves the problem by commenting:

THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION, as FOR SIX DAYS G-D MADE.

That is, we should interpret this first two lines thus: "Jerusalem remembered *in* the days of her affliction and her wandering all her pleasant things...." In the same way, even though Ex. 20:11 reads FOR SIX DAYS G-D MADE, it really means FOR *IN* SIX DAYS G-D MADE. In both cases we are to infer an "in." It may be that Martyr understood Ibn Ezra's comment and rejected it; or maybe he did not understand it and so made no mention of it. At any rate, Martyr follows Jerome and translates as if Jerusalem remembers: 1. THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION AND HER MIGRATION, and 2. ALL HER DESIRABLE THINGS. He has a long discussion on the possible virtues of remembering past difficulties.

Martyr not only makes use of Ibn Ezra's philological exegesis. He will, albeit less frequently, make use of his philosophical interpretations as well. For example Lamentations 2:3c in the MT reads, AND HE BURNED IN JACOB AS A FLAME OF FIRE; IT CONSUMED AROUND. Ibn Ezra, however, did not want God to be the subject of this line, and he shows how the line *can* be read as if God is not the subject of "burned" (though the context is certainly against such a forced interpretation):

BURNED (וִיבַעַר): a standing verb, and "anger" is lacking, and the correct is that it refers back to IN THE BURNING OF ANGER.

That is, BURNED is a stative or intransitive. Its subject is really ANGER from the first line of this verse. Thus the startling anthropomorphism of "God burned" is avoided, and the line is read, "And God's anger [already described as burning in line one] burned in Jacob as a flame of fire, the [flame] consumed all around." Martyr is also sensitive to the problem of anthropomorphisms and has a long apology for them in a comment on Lam. 2:1c, AND HE DID NOT REMEMBER HIS FOOTSTOOL IN THE DAY OF HIS ANGER. Martyr therefore took over Ibn Ezra's interpretation and makes this comment on the verse:

AND IT WAS KINDLED IN JACOB AS A FIRE, A FLAME DEVOURING ALL AROUND: anger and vexation described above.

Martyr does not blindly follow all Ibn Ezra's philosophical interpretation; some he explicitly rejects. One of the more memorable verses of Lamentations is 3:1:

I AM THE MAN, [HE] WHO SAW AFFLICTION BY THE ROD OF HIS WRATH.

As Rashi points out HIS ANGER means "God's anger." This troubles Ibn Ezra since he wishes to avoid the idea that God is the cause of evil or even the direct cause of retribution. Therefore Ibn Ezra says:

OF HIS WRATH: return to MY ENEMY CONSUMED THEM. And there are those who say that it returns to the anger of the Name, but this is not correct in my eyes. And the one complaining said that the foe was afflicting him with the rod of his anger.

That is, the HIS in the phrase OF HIS WRATH does not refer to God but to MY ENEMY of Lam. 2:22c, MY ENEMY

DESTROYED THEM. The alternative, which Ibn Ezra rejects, is to refer HIS ANGER to Lam.2:21, YOU [GOD] KILLED ON THE DAY OF YOUR ANGER. As a Reformed theologian, Martyr has no difficulty with portraying God as the cause of retribution. For this reason he sides with Rashi instead of Ibn Ezra:

And here it is said: "in the rod of *his* fury," of the one avenging himself. And in my judgment the pronoun *his* refers to God rather than to enemies.

The above examples of Martyr's use of Ibn Ezra should indicate clearly the problems Martyr had with him. Ibn Ezra was as a rule simply too technical for him to use. Or Ibn Ezra's philosophical exegesis clashed with Martyr's Reformed doctrine.

The degree to which Martyr missed the mark in his efforts to write a philologically based commentary are most evident in the way in which Martyr uses the **Perush commentary**. As I tabulated earlier, Martyr uses Perush in his exposition of Lamentations more than any other single non-biblical source with the exception of Rashi. For the purposes of analysis, I shall categorize Martyr's use of Perush's exegesis by giving examples of how he employs it to provide the following: biblical color to his exposition; an alternative explanation; a story to replace poetic imagery; a doctrinal interpretation; a philological explanation.

Most often Martyr uses Perush to provide **biblical color** in his exposition. In preparation for his exposition of Lam. 1:4b, ALL HER GATES ARE DESOLATE,

### 3.2 Conclusions: Martyr's Use of Jewish Resources

527

Martyr reads this "making specific" comment from Perush:

Her gates were desolate, for there the elders of Israel gathered together.

Martyr expands on this short comment, and in the process makes it more a part of his commentary:

What is meant by "the devastated city gates" may be easily grasped by those who know that the Hebrews held judicial proceedings in the gates. Of old, justice was pronounced there. All the splendour and magnificence of their law courts departed, so nothing could be visible at the gates save the remains left over from conflagration and pillage.

It is to Martyr's credit as an expositor that he takes Perush's non-philological exegesis and weaves it into his general rule of interpretation that scripture interprets scripture. We may notice in passing that the traditional Jewish interpretation and the Reformed commentators had this in common: they believed scripture to be a whole and loved parallel passages or topical allusions.

At other times Martyr uses Perush to provide an alternative interpretation. Martyr translates Lamentations 1:8c, SHE HERSELF GROANED, WAS TURNED BACKWARD. Martyr suggests two ways in which this phrase may be understood. One would be that, on account of a sharp pain, her heart skipped a beat and she fell over backwards. The other interpretation he gets from Perush, who comments:

When they saw her nakedness, she groaned and turned her face away from the face of reproach.

Martyr expands on this comment and in the process manages to bring in a classical allusion:

Or perhaps you can accept this explanation. It is as if she cannot bear up before the confusion and shame that her private parts are so disgracefully seen by others. She turns her face away, so that her face may not be seen and she may not see others. For such is the nature of shame and modesty: no one wishes himself to be seen by others in an indecent state. We read this story about Antiphon the poet....

Martyr is willing to see that a verse or phrase in scripture might have a number of meanings. Ostensibly Martyr is weighing out several options in philological exegesis, but in practice he gives the verse or phrase a number of meanings, just as in traditional Christian or Jewish exegesis.

Martyr finds attractive Perush's way of making little stories out of the poetic imagery of Lamentations. Martyr translates Lamentations 1:13 thus:

FROM ON HIGH HE SENT FIRE INTO MY BONES, AND IT PREVAILED INTO THEM; HE SPREAD A NET AT MY FEET; HE TURNED ME BACK: HE PLACED ME DESOLATE, GROANING ALL DAY LONG.

This is a typical example of a series of forceful images from Lamentations. Perush tidies up these images by making a story out of them:

[S]he cannot flee from the fire, since a net is spread and she turns backwards, and the fire burned until she sat desolate.

Martyr finds this an attractive interpretation and he paraphrases it this way:

I cannot flee, because I am caught by the net of the Lord, which is so effective that I am forced to fall backwards and to be consumed by this flame.

Martyr has a doctrinal reason for adopting this fanciful interpretation, since it underlines the fact that God's punishments are, as he explains, "inevitable." This interpretation also is compatible with his Reformed scripturology. Scripture makes sense; scripture teaches truths. It was only natural that Perush's tamed poetry would appeal to him.

Martyr also makes use of some of Perush's doctrinal interpretations. The doctrinal convergence of Martyr and Perush is apparent in Martyr's exposition of Lam. 1:14c, which he renders:

THE LORD DELIVERED ME (נָתַנִּי) INTO THE HAND  
[OF THOSE] BY WHOM I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO  
STAND.

He goes on to appropriate the following Perush comment, which hovers between philology and doctrine:

The word נָתַנִּי ("he gave me [over]") is like "he abandoned me," and thus THEREFORE I DID NOT GIVE YOU [OVER] [Gn. 20:6]; and the meaning is "into the hand of transgressions," or possibly "into the hand of the enemy on account of transgressions."

Martyr remarks:

The Lord punished these crimes of mine by the violence of the military forces of the cruel Chaldeans. God delivered me to them, as if he handed me over to executioners to be crucified. You should not inadvisedly pass over this word DELIVERED, so familiar in holy scripture. Know that whatever adversity is thrown at you by evil spirits, by the Antichrist, by the world, by morally corrupt men, by the flesh, it did not happen without God. For in this way God punishes those who are his enemies, while he tests and gives spiritual exercise to his own people.

Martyr takes a Jewish comment about judgment and gives it a twist more in the direction of Reformed doctrine.

Occasionally Martyr uses one of the rare philological comments from Perush. On Lam. 4:21 Martyr remarks:

REJOICE AND EXULT, DAUGHTER OF EDOM: here he used irony; after he will set out threats of the punishment actually due them. The Edomites took much pleasure from the Jews' downfall. For they had formerly been subjects of theirs and they unwillingly served them. For that reason it seemed to them that they had in some way or other cast off the yoke.

This comment Martyr derives from Perush, who says:

EXULT: as the sense of REJOICE, YOUNG MAN, IN YOUR YOUTH [Eccl. 11:9], since in the end judgment will come; and the sense is that Edom was under Judah, and in the day of their fall they rejoiced.

It would be tempting to claim that Martyr himself initially had doubts that the Perush portion of Ibn Ezra's commentary were genuine. Martyr does not explicitly cite Perush as Ibn Ezra until his exposition of Lamentations 4:3, even though he has alluded to Perush some fifty times previously. This argument from silence is, however, too speculative. Though not as consistently, Martyr often alludes to his other Jewish sources without citing them explicitly. In all likelihood Martyr never noticed Perush's exegesis was predominately non-philological. Rashi used aggadot and Ibn Ezra and Perush did not: to Martyr this probably was the great difference. In all likelihood Martyr assumed Ibn Ezra wrote Perush, and for that reason he uses Perush much more frequently than the more demanding section unquestionably authored by Ibn Ezra. This

is indeed ironic, since Martyr was a commentator who aspired to philological exegesis.

It was Martyr's intent to use the Jewish commentators for philology only. This he does frequently and often well. The Bomberg commentary was an immense help to him in unraveling obscure Hebrew words and phrases. This philological use of Jewish resources was possible for him because the Jewish scholars at the turn of the millennium were led to search for the philological meaning of scripture when confronted with Arabic scholarship just as Protestants were when they broke from the magisterium of the Roman Catholic Church. Unwittingly, however, Martyr incorporates a good deal of non-philological Jewish commentary into his expositions. Why did this happen? First we must consider the nature of the documents themselves. Rashi juxtaposes midrashic and philological interpretations; Martyr has no appreciation of the exegesis of the midrashim and often mistakes it for philological commentary. No Jewish commentator in the Bomberg Bible is purely philological. Even in Ibn Ezra's indubitably genuine commentary on Lamentations, which is so oriented to obscure grammatical questions, there is, as was seen, not an insignificant number of instances in which Ibn Ezra ignores the context of a verse and interprets it according to his philosophical scruples. The Perush section of the Ibn Ezra commentary would have been particularly tempting to Martyr. At first glance it looks like sober philology.



There were also religious reasons for which Martyr could appropriate non-philological Jewish commentary. Even though separated by centuries and by mutually hostile religious systems, both the philological Jewish commentators and the Reformed commentators had in common fundamental ideas about scripture and religion. They shared a belief in the authority of the Masoretic Text and the unity of scripture. They both felt the need to move beyond the philological meaning of the text to embellish their commentary and to evade the results of their exegesis when it clashed with their religious convictions. They also shared basic religious ideas about God the Creator, sin and judgment, and the future life. Both were eager to explain anthropomorphisms in scripture. We may, then, speak of Reformed doctrine and Jewish scholarship as converging parallel lines.

#### 3.3 Contributions and Concerns

Let me review what contributions I trust this study has made in the areas of translation, method and the history of interpretation. First, **translations**. I have provided the first rendering of the earliest surviving example of Peter Martyr's exegesis, his lectures on Lamentations. With the exception of a one hundred year old German translation of Ibn Ezra's Lamentations commentary,<sup>1</sup> I also provided the first translations of Rashi and Ibn Ezra's commentaries on Lamentations.

Second, **method**. I have produced a synopsis of early Latin translations of Lamentations, which shows in detail how these Reformation era translators borrowed from each other. Also I investigated Martyr's use of the Bomberg commentators in much the same way that Hailperin did in his study of Nicholas de Lyre's use of Rashi. I translated both Martyr and the Jewish commentators' exegesis and made a careful comparison of the two in order to discover the exegetical principles inherent in one Reformer's use of a Jewish source.

Third, **the history of interpretation**. In studying the background to the Jewish commentators whom Martyr cited, I noted that not only Rashi but also Ibn Ezra's

<sup>1</sup> Joseph M. Schonfelder, Die Klagelieder des Jeremias nach rabbinischer Auslegung mit Vorwort und Erläuterungen, (München: Ernst Stahl, 1887).

commentary on Lamentations contained a good deal of non-philological interpretation. I called into question Ibn Ezra's authorship of a Lamentations commentary attributed to him, and I pointed out that in his exegesis of Lamentations he would on occasion give a verse of scripture a meaning alien to its context but compatible with his doctrinal convictions. I have suggested that in his exegesis of Lamentations, far from confusing peshat and derash, Rashi understood the distinction clearly and used the midrashim in a very systematic manner. Furthermore, I checked in detail the observation that Rashi used Ibn Saruq's dictionary in his commentary, as Ibn Ezra did Ibn Janaḥ's. I noted that the latter used Ibn Janah more than the former did Ibn Saruq.

When I investigated the Reformer's use of Jewish sources, I demonstrated that, while Martyr was not unique in his use of Jewish resources in exegesis, he was unusual with reference to the extent of that use. I further suggested that, of all the Reformation commentators, Martyr's work most closely resembles Martin Bucer's. Concerning the character of Martyr's use of the Bomberg Bible commentators, I noted that Martyr partly fulfilled his stated intention to use the Jewish commentators as sources of philological exegesis, but that in practice a good deal of non-philological Jewish exegesis finds its way into his commentary in order to embellish it or to obviate troubling passages. To my

knowledge this is the first time that a Reformation scholar's use of the Jewish commentators has been investigated in this way and in this detail.

Finally, I would like to second a suggestion made by Prof. Barry Levy that we need a Soncino Bomberg Bible, in the same way that we have a Soncino Midrash and Talmud. These latter translations have proved to be of immeasurable worth to Christian and Jewish scholars alike. As things stand now, the Midrash Rabbah and Babylonian Talmud are better to the non-Jewish student of pre-modern exegesis than are the classical Jewish commentators, even though the latter were far more influential.

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<p>1:1 ALEPH</p>  <p>VOMODO sedet sola ciuitas plena populo: facta est quasi uidua domina gentium: Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.</p>	<p>1</p>  <p>Vomodo scdit sola ciuitas copiosa populo, facta est quasi uidua domina gentium: Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributaria.</p>	<p>CAPIT. 1.</p> <p>Vomodo sedet solitaria ciuitas quae frequenter populo, facta est quasi uidua magna in gentibus, princeps provinciarum facta est ad tributum.</p>	<p>VOMODO sedet solitaria ciuitas plena populo: facta est quasi uidua: quae magna fuit inter gentes, &amp; principatus habuit in prouincijs, facta est sub tributo.</p> 	<p>VOMODO sedet sola ciuitas plena populo: Facta est quasi uidua, quae magna fuit inter gentes, princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.</p> 
<p>1:2 BETH.</p> <p>Plorans plorauit in nocte, &amp; lachrymae eius in maxillis eius. Non est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus: charis eius. Omnes amici eius spreuerunt eam, facti sunt ei inimici.</p>	<p>2</p>  <p>Plorando plorabit in nocte, &amp; lachrymae eius in maxillis eius, non est ei consolator ex omnibus amatoribus eius. Omnes amici eius spreuerunt eam, facti sunt ei inimici.</p>	<p>Plorando plorauit in nocte, &amp; lachrymae eius in maxillis eius, non habet consolator ex omnibus amatoribus eius. Omnes amici eius spreuerunt eam, facti sunt ei inimici.</p>	<p>Plorando plorabit in nocte, &amp; lachryma eius in maxillis eius: nec est ei consolator, ex omnibus amatoribus eius: sed omnes amici eius spreuerunt eam, &amp; facti sunt inimici eius.</p>	<p>Plorando plorabit in nocte, &amp; lachrymae eius in maxillis eius. Nec est ei consolator ex omnibus amatoribus eius. Omnes amici eius spreuerunt eam, &amp; facti sunt ei inimici.</p> 
<p>1:3 GIMEL.</p> <p>Migravit Iudas propter afflictionem &amp; multitudinem seruitutis. Haeruit inter gentes, nec inuenit requiem. Omnes persecutores eius apprehenderunt eam inter angustias.</p>	<p>3</p> <p>Transmigravit Iehudah, propter afflictionem, &amp; propter multitudinem seruitutis. Ipsa habitauit inter gentes, nec inuenit requiem. Omnes persecutores eius apprehenderunt eam inter angustias macterias.</p>	<p>Migravit Iuda propter afflictionem, &amp; propter multitudinem seruitutis. Ipsa habitauit in gentibus, non inueniens requiem. Omnes persecutores eius apprehenderunt eam inter macterias.</p>	<p>Exulauit Iehuda propter afflictionem &amp; propter multitudinem seruitutis: &amp; ipsa sedens inter gentes non inuenit requiem: sed omnes persecutores eius apprehenderunt eam quasi inter macterias.</p>	<p>Igrauit Iuda propter afflictionem &amp; multitudinem seruitutis. Sedens inter gentes non inuenit requiem. Omnes persecutores eius apprehenderunt eam inter angustias.</p> 
<p>1:4 DALETH.</p> <p>Vix Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solennitatem. Omnes portae eius destructae, sacerdotes eius gementes. Virgines eius squalidae, &amp; ipsa oppressa amaritudine.</p>	<p>Vix Sion lugent, eo quod non sint uenientes ad solennitatem. Omnes portae eius destructae, sacerdotes eius suspirantes, uirgines eius afflictae, &amp; ipsa amaritudo.</p>	<p>Vix Sion lugentes obseruent eam, ad solennitatem. Omnes portae eius destructae, sacerdotes eius suspirantes, uirgines eius afflictae, &amp; ipsa amaritudo in ea.</p>	<p>Vix Zion lugent, eo quod nulli ueniant ad solennitatem: omnes portae eius sunt desolatae: sacerdotes eius ingemiscunt, &amp; uirgines eius sunt afflictae, &amp; ipsa est in amaritudine.</p>	<p>Vix Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solennitatem: omnes portae illius sunt desolatae, sacerdotes suspirant, uirgines illius sunt afflictae: tota ipsa est in amaritudine.</p> 
<p>1:5 HE.</p> <p>Facti sunt hostes eius in capite, inimici eius locupletati (prosperati) sunt: quia dominus locutus est super eam propter multitudinem iniquitatum eius: Paruuli eius ducti sunt in captiuitatem ante faciem tributorum.</p>	<p>Facti sunt hostes eius in capite: inimici eius prosperati sunt, quia dominus dolorem affecit eam propter multitudinem iniquitatum eius. Paruuli eius abierunt in captiuitatem ante hostem.</p>	<p>Facti sunt hostes eius in capite: inimici eius felicitati egerunt, quia Dominus afflicxit eam propter multitudinem iniquitatum eius. Paruuli eius abierunt in captiuitatem coram hoste.</p>	<p>Facti sunt hostes eius in capite, &amp; inimici eius prospere egerunt, quia dominus afflictionem intulit propter multitudinem iniquitatum eius: paruuli eius abierunt in captiuitatem ante faciem hostis.</p>	<p>Acti sunt hostes eius in capite, inimici eius prospere egerunt, quia Dominus locutus est super eam, propter multitudinem iniquitatum eius: paruuli eius abierunt in captiuitatem ante faciem hostis.</p> 
<p>1:6 VAV.</p> <p>Et egressus est a filia Sion omnis decoreus. Facti sunt principes eius uelutantes non inuenientes pascua: &amp; abierunt absque fortitudine ante faciem subsequens.</p> <p>Pellican</p> <p>[ Vulgate</p>	<p>Et egressa est a filia Sion omnis decoreus. Facti sunt principes eius sicut cerui qui non inueniunt pascua, &amp; abierunt absque fortitudine ante persecutorem.</p> <p>Pagnini</p>	<p>Et egressus est a filia Sion decoreus, facti sunt principes eius sicut cerui qui non inueniunt pascua, &amp; abierunt absque fortitudine ante persecutorem.</p> <p>Oecolampadius</p>	<p>Et egressa est a filia Zion omnis gloria eius, &amp; facti sunt principes eius sicut cerui, qui non inueniunt pascua, abierunt absque uiribus ante (hostem) insequentem.</p> <p>Monster</p>	<p>Egressa est a filia Zion omnis gloria eius: facti sunt principes eius sicut cerui, qui non inueniunt pascua, abierunt absque uiribus ante insequentem.</p> 

<p>1:7 ZACH.</p> <p>Recordata est Ierusalem dierum afflictionis suae, &amp; praevaricationis: omnium desiderabilium suorum quae habuerat a diebus antiquis cum caderet populus eius in manu hostili, &amp; non esset ei auxiliator. Viderunt eam hostes, deriserunt sabbatum eius.</p>	<p>Recordata est Ierusalem dierum paupertatis suae, &amp; digressionis suae: omnium desiderabilium suorum quae fuerunt a diebus antiquis cum caderet populus eius in manu hostili, &amp; non esset ei auxiliator. Viderunt eam hostes, deriserunt sabbatum eius.</p>	<p>Recordata est Hierusalem dierum humiliationis suae, &amp; rebellionis suae: omnium desiderabilium suorum quae fuerunt a diebus antiquis cum caderet populus eius in manu inimici, &amp; non esset ei adiutor. Viderunt eam hostes, deriserunt sabbatum eius.</p>	<p>Recordata est Ierusalem dierum afflictionis suae &amp; transmigrationis suae: omnium desiderabilium suorum quae fuerunt a diebus antiquis cum caderet populus eius in manu hostili, &amp; non esset ei adiutor. Viderunt eam hostes, &amp; deriserunt sabbatum eius.</p>	<p>Recordata est Hierusalem dierum afflictionis suae &amp; transmigrationis suae: omnium desiderabilium suorum quae habuerat a diebus antiquis, cum caderet populus eius in manu hostili, &amp; non esset ei auxiliator. Viderunt eam hostes, &amp; deriserunt sabbatum eius.</p>
<p>1:8 HEB.</p> <p>Peccatum peccavit Ierusalem, propterea infabilis facta est. Omnes qui glorificabant eam, speraverunt illam, quia viderunt ignominiam eius. Ipsa autem genens, &amp; conuersa est retrorsum.</p>	<p>Peccatum peccavit Ierusalem, propterea abacta est in transmigrationem. Omnes qui glorificabant eam, speraverunt eam, quia viderunt ignominiam eius. Ipsa autem ingemuit, &amp; conuersa est retrorsum.</p>	<p>Peccatum peccavit Hierusalem, propterea infabilis facta est. Omnes qui glorificabant eam, speraverunt eam, quia viderunt ignominiam eius. Ipsa autem ingemuit, &amp; conuersa est retrorsum.</p>	<p>Peccatum peccavit Ierusalem, propterea abacta est in transmigrationem: omnes qui honorauerunt eam, vilipendunt eam, quia viderunt ignominiam eius: unde &amp; ipsa ingemuit et conuersa est retrorsum.</p>	<p>Peccatum peccavit Ierusalem, propterea fuit in transmigrationem: qui honoraverunt eam vilipendunt illam, quia viderunt nuditatem illius: ipsa ingemuit, versa est retrorsum.</p>
<p>1:9 TETH.</p> <p>Sordes eius in simbrijs eius, nec recordata est finis sui. Deposita est uchementer (in Ierusalem) non habens consolatorem. Vide Domine afflictionem meam, quoniam rectus es inimicus.</p>	<p>Sordes eius in simbrijs eius. Non est recordata nouissimi sui, &amp; descendit mirabiliter. Non est consolator eius. Vide Domine afflictionem meam, quoniam magnificus es inimicus.</p>	<p>Immundicia eius in simbrijs eius, non est memor nouissimi, &amp; descendit mirabiliter, non est ei consolator. Vide Domine afflictionem meam, quia rectus es inimicus.</p>	<p>Immundicia eius in simbrijs eius, non est recordata nouissimi sui: sed descendit cum miraculis, &amp; non est ei consolator. Vide Domine afflictionem meam, quoniam magnificauit se hostis.</p>	<p>Immundicia eius est in simbrijs eius, non est recordata nouissimi sui, descendit miris modis, non habens consolatorem: vide Domine afflictionem meam, quoniam magnificauit se hostis.</p>
<p>1:10 IOD.</p> <p>Manum suam misit hostis ad omnia desiderabilia eius: quia uidit gentes ingressas sanctuarium suum, de quibus praeceperas ne intrarent in ecclesiam tuam.</p>	<p>Manum suam extendit hostis ad omnia desiderabilia eius, quia uidit gentes, ingressas sanctuarium suum, de quo praecepisti, ne intrarent in ecclesiam tuam.</p>	<p>Manum suam extendit hostis ad omnia desiderabilia eius, quia uidit gentes, intraverunt sanctuarium suum, de quo praecepisti, ne intrarent in ecclesiam tuam.</p>	<p>Manum suam extendit inimicus super omnia desiderabilia eius: quoniam ipsa uidit quod gentes intrauerunt in sanctuarium suum, de quibus praecepisti, ut non ueniant in congregationem tuam.</p>	<p>Manum suam extendit inimicus super omnia desiderabilia eius, uidit quod gentes intraverunt in sanctuarium suum, de quibus praecepisti, ut non ueniant in congregationem tuam.</p>
<p>1:11 CAPH.</p> <p>Omnis populus eius gementes, &amp; querentes panem. Dederunt desiderabilia sua pro cibo, ut refocillarent animam. Vide Domine &amp; considera, quoniam facta sum uilis.</p>	<p>Omnis populus eius suspirantes, querentes panem. Dederunt desiderabilia sua propter cibum, ut refocillarent animam. Vide Domine, &amp; aspice, quia sum uilis.</p>	<p>Omnis populus eius suspirantes querentes panem, dederunt desiderabilia sua pro cibo, ut refocillarent animam. Vide Domine, &amp; aspice, quia sum uilis.</p>	<p>Omnis qui sunt in populo eius suspirantes querunt panem, dederunt desiderabilia sua pro cibo, ut reuocarent animam (desicientem): uide Domine &amp; aspice quoniam uilis facta sum.</p>	<p>Omnis qui sunt in populo eius suspirantes, querunt panem, dederunt desiderabilia sua pro cibo, ad refocillandam animam: uide Domine &amp; considera, quoniam facta sum uilis.</p>
<p>1:12 LAMED.</p> <p>Quos omnes qui transiis per uiam, attendite, et uidete si est dolor sicut dolor meus. Quoniam uindicta uenit me, ut locutus est Dominus in die furoris sui.</p>	<p>Non sit uobis gratia. Omnes qui transiis per uiam, aspice, &amp; uidete an sit dolor sicut dolor meus, qui factus est mihi, quoniam dolor affecit dominum in die furoris sui.</p>	<p>Non est uobis inleuitum o uos omnes qui transiis per uiam, respice &amp; uidete, si est dolor sicut dolor meus, qui factus est mihi, quoniam dolor affecit dominum in die furoris sui.</p>	<p>Nihil ne ad uos, omnes qui transiis per uiam, aspice &amp; uidete, si est dolor similis dolori meo, quem intulit mihi, &amp; quo afflexit me Dominus in die furoris irae suae.</p>	<p>Ead uos omnes transcentes per uiam: respice uidistis unquam talem dolorem, qui sit mihi: quoniam dolor affecit Dominus, in die furoris irae suae.</p>

— Pellican

— Pagnini

— Cecolampadius

— Hieronimus

[ Vulgate

<p>113 <b>HEB.</b></p> <p>13 De excelso misit ignem in ossibus meis, &amp; erudit me. Expedit rete pedibus meis, &amp; convertit me retrorsum. Posuit me desolatam, tota die dolore confectam.</p>	<p>De excelso misit ignem in ossibus meis, &amp; dñatus est ipse ignis. Expandit rete pedibus meis, redire fecit me retrorsum. Posuit me desolatam, tota die merens <u>rem.</u></p>	<p>De excelso misit ignem in ossa mea, et in deicetam, &amp; expendit rete pedibus meis, redire me fecit retrorsum, &amp; posuit me desolatam tota die <u>conuictam</u></p>	<p>De excelso misit ignem in ossa mea &amp; seuij in ea: extendit rete pedibus meis, &amp; conuertit me retrorsum, posuitq me desolatam tota die dolentē.</p>	<p>De excelso misit ignem in ossa mea, &amp; praualluit in ea, extendit rete pedibus meis, &amp; conuertit me retrorsum, posuitq me desolatam, gementem tota die.</p>
<p>114 <b>NVN.</b></p> <p>14 Vigilauit iugum iniquitatum mearum in manu eius: conuoluta sunt, &amp; impoluit collo meo. Infirma est uirtus mea: dedit me dominus in manu de qua non potero surgere.</p>	<p>Ligatum est iugum iniquitatu meorum, manu eius perplexa sunt, ascenderunt super collu meū, infirmari fecit uires meas, dedit me dominus in manibus eorum a quibus non potero surgere.</p>	<p>Ligatum est iugum iniquitatis super manu eius, implicata sunt, ascenderunt super collum meum, impotuit uirtus mea, dedit me Dominus in manus eorum, non potero surgere.</p>	<p>Ligatum est iugum iniquitatum mearum super manu eius, &amp; implicata ascenderunt super collum meum, fecit corrui robur meū, tradiditq me dominus in manus (hostis) unde non potero surgere.</p>	<p>Ligatum est iugum iniquitatum meorum in manu eius, implicata ascenderunt super collum meum, fecit corrui robur meum, tradidit me Dominus in manus, a quibus non potero surgere.</p>
<p>115 <b>SA. ECH.</b></p> <p>15 Abstulit omnes magnificos meos dominus de medio mei: uocauit aduersum me tempus, ut conterer electos meos. Torcular calcauit dominus uirgini filiz iuda.</p>	<p>Calcavit omnes magnificos meos dominus in medio mei, uocauit aduersum me congregationem ad contereñdum electos meos. Torcular calcavit dominus uirgini filiz iehudāh.</p>	<p>Calcavit omnes fortes eius Dominus in medio mei, uocauit aduersum me litigium tempus ad frangēdos iuuenes meos, torcular calcavit Dominus uirginem hā iudā.</p>	<p>Conculcauit omnes magnificos meos dominus in medio mei, uocauit aduersum me tempus ut conterat iuuenes meos: torcular calcavit dominus in uirgine filia lehudā.</p>	<p>Conculcauit omnes magnificos meos in interiori meo, uocauit contra me tempus, ut conterer electos meos, torcular calcavit Dominus uirgini filiz iuda.</p>
<p>116 <b>AIN.</b></p> <p>16 Idcirco ego plorans, &amp; oculus meus, oculus meus deducens aquas: quia longe factus est a me consolator conuertens animā meā: facti sunt filij mei perditū, quoniam inualuit inimicus.</p>	<p>Propter hanc desitio, ex oculo meo, ex oculo meo, deducit aqua, quia elongatus est a me consolator, qui contere faciens animā meam, fuerunt filij mei desolati, quia praualluit inimicus.</p>	<p>Super hanc, ego ploro, oculus meus deducit aquas, quia elongatus est a me consolator, redire faciens animā meam, filij mei sunt desolati, quia inualuit inimicus.</p>	<p>Super hanc ego ploro, oculus meus, oculus inquit meus deducit aquas, quia elongatus est a me consolator, conuertens animā meam: facti sunt filij mei desolati, quoniam praualluit inimicus.</p>	<p>Super hanc ego ploro, oculus meus, oculus meus distillat lachrymas, quia elongatus est a me consolator, restituens animā meam, facti sunt filij mei desolati, quia praualluit inimicus.</p>
<p>117 <b>PHE.</b></p> <p>17 Expandit Sion manus suas, non est qui consoletur eam. Mandauit dominus aduersum iacob, in circuitu eius hostes eius. Facta est iherusalem quasi pollua mensuris inter eos.</p>	<p>Frangit Sion manus suas. Non est consolator ei, precepit dominus contra iacob, ut esset in circuitu eius hostes eius, fuit iherusalem in abominatione inter eos.</p>	<p>Confrēgit Sion manus suas, non est ei consolator, &amp; precepit Dominus contra iacob per circuitum eius hostibus eius, &amp; fuit Hierusalem in excommunicatione inter eos.</p>	<p>Cū expandit Zion manus suas, non erat ei consolator: mandauit dominus aduersum iacob hostibus eius per circuitum eius, &amp; facta est iherusalem in abominationem inter eos.</p>	<p>Expandit Sion manus suas, &amp; non erat ei consolator, mandauit Dominus aduersus iacobum, &amp; hostes in circuitu eius: Hierusalem facta est in abominationem inter eos.</p>
<p>118 <b>SADE.</b></p> <p>18 Iustus est dominus, quia os eius ad iracundiam prouocauit. Audite obsecro uniuersi populi, &amp; uidete dolorem meum. Virgines meae &amp; iuuenes mei abierunt in captiuitatem.</p> <p>Pellican</p> <p>[ Vulgate</p>	<p>Iustus est dominus, quia ori eius rebellauit. Audite quare omnes populi, &amp; uidete dolorem meū. Virgines meae, &amp; iuuenes mei abierunt in captiuitatem.</p> <p>Pagnini</p>	<p>Iustus est Dominus, quia ori eius rebellauit, audite ergo omnes populi, &amp; uidete dolorem meum, uirgines meae, &amp; iuuenes mei abierunt in captiuitatem.</p> <p>Oecolampadius</p>	<p>Iustus est dominus, quia os eius exacerbauit: audite ergo omnes populi, &amp; uidete dolorem meū: uirgines meae &amp; iuuenes mei abierunt in captiuitatem</p> <p>Mosses</p>	<p>Iustus est Dominus, quia os eius exacerbauit: audite nunc omnes populi &amp; uidete dolorem meum: uirgines meae &amp; iuuenes mei abierunt in captiuitatem.</p>

<p>1:19 CYPH.</p> <p>19 Vocavi amicos meos, ipsi deceperunt me. Sacerdotes mei, &amp; senes mei in urbe consumpti sunt, quoniam quaesierunt tibi cibum, ut refocillarent animam suam.</p>	<p>Vocavi amicos meos, ipsi deceperunt me. Sacerdotes mei, &amp; senes mei in urbe consumpti sunt, quoniam quaesierunt tibi cibum, ut refocillarent animam suam.</p>	<p>Vocavi amicos meos, ipsi deceperunt me. Sacerdotes mei, &amp; senes mei in urbe consumpti sunt, quoniam quaesierunt tibi cibum, ut refocillarent animam suam.</p>	<p>Clamaui ad amicos meos, &amp; ipsi deceperunt me: sacerdotes mei &amp; senes mei in urbe consumpti sunt, quoniam quaesierunt tibi cibum, ut refocillarent animam suam.</p>	<p>Clamaui ad amicos meos, &amp; ipsi deceperunt me, sacerdotes mei &amp; senes mei in urbe consumpti sunt, quoniam quaesierunt tibi cibum, ut refocillarent animam suam.</p>
<p>1:20 RES.</p> <p>20 Vide domine, quoniam tribulor, conturbatus est venter meus. Subversum est cor meum in membris meis, quoniam amaritudine plena sum. Foris interficit gladius, &amp; domus mea sicut mors.</p>	<p>Vide domine, quia angustia est mihi. Viscera mea in membris meis, sicut cor meum in membris meis, quia rebellando rebellavi. Foris orbat gladius, domus mea sicut mors.</p>	<p>Vide domine, quia angustia est mihi. Viscera mea in membris meis, sicut cor meum in membris meis, quia rebellando rebellavi. Foris orbat gladius, domus mea sicut mors.</p>	<p>Vide domine, quia angustia est mihi, &amp; viscera mea conturbata sunt, sicut subversum est cor meum intra me, eo quod rebellans rebellavi: foris gladius orbat, &amp; domus mea sicut mors ipsa.</p>	<p>Vide domine, quia angustia est mihi, viscera mea contracta sunt, sicut subversum est cor meum intra me, eo quod rebellans fuerim, foris gladius orbat, intus quasi mors.</p>
<p>1:21 SIN.</p> <p>21 Audierunt quia ingemisco ego, non est qui consolatur me. Omnes inimici mei audierunt malum meum, &amp; latati sunt quoniam tu fecisti. Adduxisti diem quem vocasti, &amp; sicut inimicus mei.</p>	<p>Audierunt quia ingemisco ego, non est qui consolatur me. Omnes inimici mei audierunt malum meum, &amp; latati sunt quoniam tu fecisti. Adduxisti diem quem vocasti, &amp; sicut inimicus mei.</p>	<p>Audierunt quia ingemisco ego, non est qui consolatur me. Omnes inimici mei audierunt malum meum, &amp; latati sunt quoniam tu fecisti. Adduxisti diem quem vocasti, &amp; sicut inimicus mei.</p>	<p>Audierunt quia ingemisco ego, &amp; non est qui consolatur me: omnes inimici mei audierunt malum meum, &amp; latati sunt quod tu feceris, &amp; induxeris diem quem vocasti: sed eris sicut ego.</p>	<p>Audierunt quia ingemisco ego, &amp; non est qui consolatur me: omnes inimici mei audierunt malum meum, &amp; latati sunt, quoniam tu fecisti, adduxisti diem quem vocasti, &amp; sicut inimicus ego.</p>
<p>1:22 THAV.</p> <p>22 Ingredietur omne malum eorum coram te: &amp; vindemia eos sicut vindemiaisti me propter omnes iniquitates meas. Multi enim gemunt super me, &amp; cor meum moriens.</p>	<p>Ingredietur omne malum eorum coram te, &amp; facies eis sicut fecisti mihi propter omnes iniquitates meas. Multi enim sunt suspiria mea, &amp; cor meum moriens.</p>	<p>Veniat omne malum eorum coram te, &amp; facies eis sicut fecisti mihi propter omnes iniquitates meas. Multi enim sunt suspiria mea, &amp; cor meum moriens.</p>	<p>Veniat omne malum eorum in conspectum tuum, &amp; facies eis sicut fecisti mihi propter omnes iniquitates meas: quia multa sunt suspiria mea, &amp; cor meum moriens est.</p>	<p>Veniat omnis malitia eorum coram te, &amp; facies illis sicut fecisti mihi, propter omnes iniquitates meas, quoniam multa suspiria, &amp; cor meum gemens.</p>
<p>2:1 ALPHABETVM II. ALEPH. K</p> <p>1 Vomodo obsecrat caligine in furore suo dominus filiam Sion: proiecit de caelo in terram in ciuitatem Israel, &amp; non est recordatus scabelli pedum suorum in die furoris sui.</p>	<p>Capitulum 2.</p> <p>1 Vomodo tenebre fecit in furore suo dominus filiam Sion, proiecit de caelo in terram in ciuitatem Israel, &amp; non est recordatus scabelli pedum suorum in die furoris sui.</p>	<p>Capitulum 2.</p> <p>1 Vomodo tenebre fecit in furore suo dominus filiam Sion, proiecit de caelo in terram in ciuitatem Israel, &amp; non est recordatus scabelli pedum suorum in die furoris sui.</p>	<p>Vomodo obsecrat in ira sua dominus filiam Zion, proiecit de caelo in terram in ciuitatem Israel, &amp; non est recordatus scabelli pedum suorum in die furoris sui.</p>	<p>Vomodo obsecrat in ira sua dominus filiam Zion, deiecit de caelo in terram in ciuitatem Israel, &amp; non est recordatus scabelli pedum suorum in die furoris sui.</p>
<p>2:2 BETH. =</p> <p>2 Proiecit dominus nec pepercit, omnia speciosa Iacob: destruxit in furore suo munitiones filiae Iuda, &amp; deiecit in terram pedum suorum, &amp; principes eius.</p> <p>virginis Pellican</p> <p>[ ] Vulgate</p>	<p>2 Perdidit dominus, &amp; non pepercit omnia tabernacula Iacob, destruxit in furore suo munitiones filiae Iuda, &amp; deiecit in terram pedum suorum, &amp; principes eius.</p> <p>Pagani</p>	<p>2 Perdidit dominus, &amp; non pepercit omnia tabernacula Iacob, destruxit in furore suo munitiones filiae Iuda, &amp; deiecit in terram pedum suorum, &amp; principes eius.</p> <p>Oecolampadius</p>	<p>Perdidit dominus absque misericordia omnia tabernacula Iacob, subuersit in ira sua munitiones filiae Iuda, &amp; humiliavit usque ad terram: profanauit regnum eius &amp; principes eius.</p> <p>14316707</p>	<p>Consumpsit dominus, &amp; non pepercit, omnia tabernacula Iacob, destruxit in ira sua munitiones filiae Iuda, &amp; deiecit in terram, profanauit regnum eius &amp; principes eius.</p>

<p>2:3 GIMEL. SUI</p> <p>3 Confregit in ira furoris omne cornu Israel: avertit retrorsum dexteram suam à facie inimici, &amp; succendit in Iacob, quasi ignem famine devorantis in gyro.</p>	<p>3 Concidit in ira furoris omne cornu Israel, rediit fecit retrorsum dexteram suam à facie inimici, &amp; accensus est in Iacob ueluti ignis, flamma consumpsit per circuitum.</p>	<p>Abiecit in ira furoris omne cornu Israel, rediit retrorsum dexteram suam à facie inimici, &amp; accensus est in Iacob sicut ignis flamma, quæ devoravit per circuitum.</p>	<p>Amputavit in ira furoris omne cornu Israel: retraxit retrorsum dexteram suam à facie hostis, &amp; exarsit in Iacob quasi ignis, flamma devoravit per circuitum.</p>	<p>3 Vedit in ira furoris sui omne cornu Israelis, retraxit retrorsum dexteram suam coram inimico, &amp; exarsit in Iacob sicut ignis, flamma circunquaque devoravit.</p>
<p>2:4 DALETH.</p> <p>4 Tendet arcum suum quasi inimicus, firmavit dexteram suam quasi hostis: &amp; occidit omne quod pulchrum erat in tabernaculo filie Sion, effudit quasi ignem in indignationem suam.</p>	<p>4 Tendet arcum suum, ueluti inimicus, fecit dexteram eius tanquam hostis, &amp; occidit omnia quæ desiderabilia oculi in tabernaculo filie Sion, effudit (tanquam ignem) indignationem suam.</p>	<p>4 Tendet arcum suum sicut inimicus, constituta est dexteram eius tanquam hostis, &amp; occidit omnia quæ desiderabilia sunt ab oculo, in tabernaculo filie Zion, effudit sicut ignem in indignationem suam.</p>	<p>Tendet arcum suum sicut inimicus, constituta est dexteram eius quasi hostis, &amp; occidit omnia quæ desiderabilia sunt ab oculo, in tabernaculo filie Zion effudit quasi ignem furoris suum.</p>	<p>4 Extendit arcum suum, quasi inimicus, firmavit dexteram suam, quasi hostis, interfecit omnia, quæ expetenda sunt ab oculo, in tabernaculo filie Zion, effudit quasi ignem iram suam.</p>
<p>2:5 HE.</p> <p>5 Factus est dominus velut inimicus: precipitavit Israel, precipitavit omnes munitiones eius, dissipavit munitiones eius, &amp; humiliauit in filia Iuda afflictam &amp; humiliatam.</p> <p>replevit humiliatum</p>	<p>5 Fuit dominus ueluti inimicus, perdidit Israel, perdidit omnia palatia eius, dissipavit munitiones eius, &amp; multiplicavit in filia Iechudam luctum, &amp; luctum.</p>	<p>5 Fuit Dominus sicut inimicus, dissipavit Israel, &amp; perdidit omnia palatia eius, contudit munitiones eius, &amp; multiplicavit in filia Iuda luctum &amp; luctum.</p>	<p>Factus est dominus quasi inimicus, &amp; devoravit Ierusalem, absorpsit omnia palatia eius &amp; dissipavit munitiones eius, atque multiplicavit in filia Iechudam luctum &amp; lamentum.</p>	<p>5 Actus est Dominus velut inimicus, absorpsit Ierusalem, absorpsit omnia palatia eius, diruit omnes munitiones ejus, multiplicavit in filia Iuda planctum &amp; lamentum.</p>
<p>2:6 VAV.</p> <p>6 Et dissipavit quasi horum tentorium suum, demolitus est tabernaculum suum. Oblivioni tradidit dominus in Sion festivitatem &amp; sabbatum: &amp; in opprobrium &amp; in indignationem furoris sui regem &amp; sacerdotem.</p>	<p>6 Et transfudit ueluti horum tentorium suum, subvertit congregationem suam. Obliviscit fecit dominus in Sion sollemnitatem, &amp; sabbatum &amp; sprexit in ira furoris sui regem, &amp; sacerdotem.</p>	<p>6 Et demolitus est sicut horum tentorium suum, &amp; perdidit convicinium eius. In oblivione adduxit Dominus in Sion statum festum, &amp; sabbatum, &amp; perperatus est in commemoratione regis sui regem &amp; sacerdotem.</p>	<p>Et dissipavit sicut (tuguriū) horum tuguriū suum, &amp; perdidit testimonium suum: tradidit oblivioni dominus in Zion sollemnitatem &amp; sabbatum, &amp; execratus est in furore ire suæ regem &amp; sacerdotem.</p>	<p>6 Dissipavit quasi horum tentorium, sollemnitates ejus abolevit, oblivioni dedit Dominus in Zion statas ferias &amp; sabbata, execratus est in furore suo Regem &amp; sacerdotem.</p>
<p>2:7 ZAIN. manu</p> <p>7 Repulit dominus altare suum, maledixit sanctificationi sue. Tradidit in manus inimici muros palatiorum eius, vocem dederunt in domo domini, sicut in die sollemni.</p>	<p>7 Elongavit dominus altare suum, projecit à corde sanctuarium suum. Tradidit in manus inimici muros palatiorum eius, vocem dederunt in domo domini, sicut in die sollemnitatis.</p>	<p>7 Dereliquit Dominus altare suum, exaravit à corde sanctuarium suum, tradidit in manus inimici muros palatiorum eius, vocem dederunt in domo domini, sicut in die sollemnitatis.</p>	<p>Dereliquit dominus altare suum, execratus est sanctuarium suum, &amp; tradidit in manus hostis muros palatiorum eius: dederunt vocem in domo domini sicut in die sollemnitatis.</p>	<p>7 Dereliquit Dominus altare suum, aspernatus est sanctuarium suum, &amp; tradidit in manus hostis muros palatiorum ejus, dederunt vocem in domo Domini, tanquam in die sollemnitatis.</p>
<p>2:8 HETH. (in Vulgate)</p> <p>8 Cogitavit dominus dissipare murum filie Sion: tendit funiculum, &amp; non avertit manum suam à perditione. Luxitque antemurale, &amp; murus pariter dissipatus est.</p>	<p>8 Cogitavit dominus dissipare murum filie Sion: extendit regulam, &amp; non direxit manum suam à perditione, &amp; desolavit antemurale, &amp; muri pariter desolati sunt.</p>	<p>8 Cogitavit Dominus perdere muros filie Sion, extendit regulam, non reverteretur manus eius à dissipando, &amp; desolatum fuit pomerium &amp; murus, sicut desolati sunt.</p>	<p>Cogitavit dominus dissipare murum filie Zion, extendit funiculum, &amp; non reduxit manum suam à dissipatione: ob id luxit antemurale &amp; murus, pariterque subversi sunt.</p>	<p>8 Cogitavit Dominus dissipare murum filie Zion, misit perpendiculum, &amp; non reduxit manum suam, quod minus dirueret, ut jam luceat propugnaculum, &amp; murus desolatus.</p>

— Pellican  
[ ] Vulgate

— Pagnini

— Oecolampadius

— Münster

- 2:9 TETA. TERRA

9 Defixæ sunt in terram portæ eius: perdidit & contrivit uclēs eius, regem eius & principes eius in gentibus. Non est lex: & propheta eius non inueniunt uisionem a domino.

9 **De** merse sunt in terra portæ eius, perdidit, & contrivit uclēs eius, regē eius, & principes eius in gentibus. Non est lex, etiā propheta eius non inueniunt uisionem a domino.

9 Submersæ sunt in terram portæ eius, perdidit & contrivit uclēs eius, regem eius & principem eius in gentibus. Non est lex, etiam propheta eius non inueniunt uisionem a Domino.

Demersæ sunt in terrā portæ eius, perdidit & contrivit uclēs eius: rex eius & principes eius (miserabiles) ad gentes, & sunt absque lege, sed & propheta eius non inueniunt uisionem a domino.

**D**efixæ sunt in terram portæ eius, perdidit & contrivit uclēs eius, Regem eius & principes eius in gentibus, sunt absque lege, & Propheta eius uisionem a Domino non inueniunt.

2:10 IOD.

10 Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiz Sion: consperserunt cinere capita sua, accendunt sunt cilicis. Abiecerunt in terra capita sua uirgines Ierusalem.

10 **Sedes** runt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiz Sion, ascendere fecerunt puluerē super caput suū. Accinxerunt se faccis, deposuerunt in terrā caput suū filiz Ierusalem.

Sederunt super terrā, siliuerunt senes filiz Sion, alleluia. uarunt puluerē super caput suū, cinxerunt se faccis, deposuerunt in terram caput suū filiz Ierusalem.

Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiz Zion: imposuerunt puluerem super caput suū, & accendunt sunt faccis: deposuerunt in terrā caput suū uirgines Ierusalem.

**S**ederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiz Zion, imposuerunt puluerem super caput suum, & accendunt sunt faccis, deposuerunt in terram caput suum uirgines filiz Ierusalem.

2:11 CAPH.

11 Defecerunt præ lachrymis oculi mei, contrita sunt uiscera mea. Effusum est in terram iecur meum super contritionem filiz populi mei, cum deficeret paruulus & lactens in pectus oppidi.

11 **Defecerunt** præ lachrymas oculi mei, contrita sunt uiscera mea, effusum est in terra iecur meū propter contritionem filiz populi mei, cum deficeret paruulus, et lactens in plateis ciuitatis.

Corrupti sunt propter lachrymas oculi mei, contrita sunt uiscera mea, effusum est in terrā iecur meū, propter contritionem populi mei, quā exanimaretur paruulus, & infans in plateis urbis.

Defecerunt ob lachrymas oculi mei, contrita sunt uiscera mea, effusum est in terram iecur meū propter contritionem filiz populi mei, dum deficeret paruulus & sugens in plateis ciuitatis.

**D**efecerunt lachrymis oculi mei, contrita sunt uiscera mea, effusum est in terra iecur meum, propter contritionem filiz populi mei, dum deficeret paruulus & sugens in plateis ciuitatis.

2:12 LAMED.

12 Matribus suis dixerunt, ubi est frumentum & uinum? cum deficerent quasi uulnera in plateis ciuitatis: cum exhalarent animas suas in sinu matrum suarum.

12 **Ma**atribus suis dixerunt, ubi est frumentū, & uinū cū deficerent tanquā uulnera in plateis ciuitatis, cū effunderet animas eorum in sinu matrum suarum.

Matribus suis dixerunt, ubi est frumentū & uinum? cū deficerent sicut uulnera in plateis ciuitatis, & cū effunderet animas eorum in sinu matrum suarum.

**M**atribus suis dixerunt, ubi frumentum & uinum? cum deficerent ut uulnera in plateis ciuitatis, effundendo animam suam in sinu matrum suarum.

2:13 EXAEG.

13 Cui comparabo te, cui assimilabo te filia Ierusalem? Cui aequabo te, & consolabor te uirgo filia Sion? Magna est enim uelut matris contritio tua: quis medebitur tui?

13 **Q**uid te significari faciat tibi, et quid assimilabo tibi filia Ierusalem? Quid aequabo tibi, et cōsolabor tibi uirgo filia Sion? Magna est enim uelut matris contritio tua, quis medebitur tibi?

Quale testimonium feram tibi, & cui assimilabo te filia Ierusalem? quā proponā tibi ut consolet te o uirgo filia Zion: magna enim est uelut mare contritio tua: & quis sanabit te?

**V**ale testimonium feram tibi, quod simile exemplum dabo tibi, o filia Ierusalem? cui te comparem, ut consolet te, uirgo filia Zion? magna est uelut mare contritio tua, & quis sanabit te?

2:14 NVN.

14 Prophetæ tui uiderunt tibi falsā & stultā: nec asperiebant iniquitatem tuam, ut te ad penitentiam perducerent. Viderunt uero non oblationes tuas, sed abiectiones.

14 **P**rophetae tui uiderunt tibi uanā, & insulsā, & nō speruerunt iniquitatem tuā, ut conuerteret auertitionem tuā. **E**xiderunt tibi prophetias uanas, et quæ te exasperabant a me.

Prophetæ tui uiderunt ubi uanā & insipidā, & nō reuerterentur super iniquitatem tuā, ut auerteret auertitionem tuā, uiderunt tibi prophetias uanas & abiectiones.

Prophetæ tui uiderunt tibi uanum & insulsum, nec reuelauerunt uisionem pro iniquitatibus tuis, ut reducerent captiuitatem tuam: sed uiderunt tibi prophetias uanas & abiectiones.

**P**rophetae tui uiderunt tibi uanum & insulsum, nec reuelauerunt pro iniquitatibus tuis, ut reducerent captiuitatem tuam, sed uiderunt tibi onera uana & abiectiones.

— = Pellican

— = Pagnini

— = Oecolampadius

— = Münster

[ ] Vulgate

2:15 SANECH.	15	Paulserunt super te manus omnes transiens per viam: sibilauerunt & mauerunt caput sua super filiam Ierusalem dicentes: nonne haec est ciuitas, perfectio & fortitudo, dicentes: perfectio decora, quodum uniuersae terrae.	15	Complouerunt super te manus omnes transiens per viam: sibilauerunt & mauerunt caput sua super filiam Ierusalem dicentes: nonne haec est ciuitas, perfectio & fortitudo, dicentes: perfectio decora, quodum uniuersae terrae.	15	Complouerunt super te manus omnes transiens per viam: sibilauerunt & mauerunt caput sua super filiam Ierusalem dicentes: nonne haec est ciuitas, perfectio & fortitudo, dicentes: perfectio decora, quodum uniuersae terrae.	15	Complouerunt super te manus omnes transiens per viam: sibilauerunt & mauerunt caput sua super filiam Ierusalem dicentes: nonne haec est ciuitas, perfectio & fortitudo, dicentes: perfectio decora, quodum uniuersae terrae.
2:16 PHE.	16	Aperuerunt super te os suum omnes inimici tui: sibilauerunt & fremuerunt dentes decora: dixerunt: in ista est dies quam expectabamus, inuenimus, & dimis.	16	Aperuerunt super te os suum omnes inimici tui: sibilauerunt & fremuerunt dentes decora: dixerunt: in ista est dies quam expectabamus, inuenimus, & dimis.	16	Aperuerunt super te os suum omnes inimici tui: sibilauerunt & fremuerunt dentes decora: dixerunt: in ista est dies quam expectabamus, inuenimus, & dimis.	16	Aperuerunt super te os suum omnes inimici tui: sibilauerunt & fremuerunt dentes decora: dixerunt: in ista est dies quam expectabamus, inuenimus, & dimis.
2:17 AIN.	17	Fecit dominus quae cogitauit: completum sermonem suum, quem praeparauit a diebus antiquis. Destituit & non peperit: cecidit super te inimicum & exaltauit cornu hostium tuorum.	17	Fecit dominus quae cogitauit: completum sermonem suum, quem praeparauit a diebus antiquis. Destituit & non peperit: cecidit super te inimicum & exaltauit cornu hostium tuorum.	17	Fecit dominus quae cogitauit: completum sermonem suum, quem praeparauit a diebus antiquis. Destituit & non peperit: cecidit super te inimicum & exaltauit cornu hostium tuorum.	17	Fecit dominus quae cogitauit: completum sermonem suum, quem praeparauit a diebus antiquis. Destituit & non peperit: cecidit super te inimicum & exaltauit cornu hostium tuorum.
2:18 SAD.	18	Clamauit cor eorum ad dominum (Sper) muros filiae Sion. Deduc quasi torrentis chrymas per diem & noctem: non des requiem tibi, neque taceat pupilla oculi tui.	18	Clamauit cor eorum ad dominum (Sper) muros filiae Sion. Deduc quasi torrentis chrymas per diem & noctem: non des requiem tibi, neque taceat pupilla oculi tui.	18	Clamauit cor eorum ad dominum (Sper) muros filiae Sion. Deduc quasi torrentis chrymas per diem & noctem: non des requiem tibi, neque taceat pupilla oculi tui.	18	Clamauit cor eorum ad dominum (Sper) muros filiae Sion. Deduc quasi torrentis chrymas per diem & noctem: non des requiem tibi, neque taceat pupilla oculi tui.
2:19 CVPH.	19	Consurge, lauda in nocte in principio uigiliarum: effunde quasi aqua cor tuum ante conspectum domini. Leua ad eum manus tuas pro anima paruulorum: tuos parauulorum tuorum, quia defecerunt in fame in capite omnium completum.	19	Consurge, lauda in nocte in principio uigiliarum: effunde quasi aqua cor tuum ante conspectum domini. Leua ad eum manus tuas pro anima paruulorum: tuos parauulorum tuorum, quia defecerunt in fame in capite omnium completum.	19	Consurge, lauda in nocte in principio uigiliarum: effunde quasi aqua cor tuum ante conspectum domini. Leua ad eum manus tuas pro anima paruulorum: tuos parauulorum tuorum, quia defecerunt in fame in capite omnium completum.	19	Consurge, lauda in nocte in principio uigiliarum: effunde quasi aqua cor tuum ante conspectum domini. Leua ad eum manus tuas pro anima paruulorum: tuos parauulorum tuorum, quia defecerunt in fame in capite omnium completum.
2:20 RES.	20	Vide domine & considera quem uindicta iustitiae. Ergone concident mulieres fructum suum paruulos ad mensuram pliniae? si occiditur in sanctuario domini sacerdos & propheta?	20	Vide domine & considera quem uindicta iustitiae. Ergone concident mulieres fructum suum paruulos ad mensuram pliniae? si occiditur in sanctuario domini sacerdos & propheta?	20	Vide domine & considera quem uindicta iustitiae. Ergone concident mulieres fructum suum paruulos ad mensuram pliniae? si occiditur in sanctuario domini sacerdos & propheta?	20	Vide domine & considera quem uindicta iustitiae. Ergone concident mulieres fructum suum paruulos ad mensuram pliniae? si occiditur in sanctuario domini sacerdos & propheta?

— Münster

— Oecolampadius

— Pagnini

— Pellican

[ ] Vulgate



<p>-2:21- SIN.</p> <p>21. Iacuerunt in terra foris puer &amp; senex, uirgines meae &amp; iuuenes mei ceciderunt in gladio. Interfecisti in die furoris tui: percussisti, nec misertus es.</p>	<p>21. <b>I</b>acuerunt in terra, in plateis puer, &amp; senex, uirgines meae, &amp; iuuenes mei ceciderunt in gladio. Interfecisti in die furoris tui, iugulasti, ne pepercasti.</p>	<p>Iacuerunt humi in plateis puer &amp; senex, uirgines meae &amp; iuuenes mei ceciderunt in gladio, occidisti in die irae tuae, iugulasti &amp; non pepercasti.</p>	<p>Iacuerunt humi in plateis puer &amp; senex, uirgines meae, &amp; adolescentes mei ceciderunt in gladio quos occidisti in die irae tuae, machasti &amp; non pepercasti.</p>	<p><b>I</b>mi jacent in plateis puer &amp; senex, uirgines &amp; iuuenes mei gladio ceciderunt, quos interfecisti in die furoris tui, machasti &amp; non pepercasti.</p>
<p>-2:22- THAV.</p> <p>22. Vocasti quasi ad diem solennem, qui terrent me de circumitu: &amp; non fuit in die furoris domini qui effugeret &amp; relinqueretur. Quos educaui &amp; enutruui, inimicus meus consumpsit eos.</p>	<p>timoros meos</p> <p>22. <b>V</b>ocasti tanquam ad diem solennem terrores meos de circumitu, &amp; non fuit in die furoris domini, &amp; superstes quos educaui &amp; enutruui, inimicus meus consumpsit.</p> <p>EVEXI</p>	<p>Vocasti sicut ad diem festum terrentes me, circum uidi, neque fuit in die furoris Domini exalter &amp; reliquus, quos educaui &amp; enutruui, inimicus meus eos consumpsit.</p>	<p>Vocasti quasi ad diem solennem terrores meos undique, &amp; non fuit in die furoris domini qui euaderet aut residuus maneret: quos educaui &amp; enutruui, hos hostis meus consumpsit.</p>	<p><b>V</b>ocasti tanquam ad diem solennem, terrores meos, qui circum me sunt, &amp; non fuit qui euaderet, aut reliquus foret, in die furoris Domini: quos educaui, &amp; enutruui, hostis meus consumpsit.</p>
<p>3:1-3 ALPHABETVM III. ALEPH.</p> <p><b>G</b>o uir uidens paupertatem meam in uirga indignationis eius. Memorauit, &amp; adduxit in tenebras, &amp; non in lucem.</p> <p>3. Tantum in me uerit, &amp; conuerit manum suam tota die.</p>	<p>Capitulum 3.</p> <p><b>G</b>o uir uidi afflictionem in uirga indignationis eius. Me dixit, &amp; non fecit in tenebras, &amp; non in lucem.</p> <p><b>P</b>rofecto contra me conuersus est, &amp; uertit manum suam tota die. VERTIT MANUM</p>	<p>Capitulum III.</p> <p><b>G</b>o uir uidi afflictionem in uirga furoris eius. Me abegit &amp; adduxit in tenebras, &amp; non in lucem.</p> <p><b>P</b>rofecto contra me conuersus fuit, &amp; uertit manum suam contra me.</p>	<p><b>G</b>o uir ille qui uidit afflictionem, in uirga furoris eius. Deduxit me &amp; adduxit in tenebras &amp; non in lucem. Et uerit contra me conuerteretur, &amp; uerteret manum suam (contra me) tota die.</p>	<p><b>G</b>o uir ille, qui uidit afflictionem, in uirga furoris eius. Deduxit me in tenebras &amp; non in lucem.</p> <p>3. <b>V</b>ertit contra me conuersus &amp; uertit manum suam, toto die.</p>
<p>3:4-6 BETH.</p> <p>4. Verusum fecit carnem meam, &amp; pellem meam, contriuit ossa mea.</p> <p>5. Aedificauit in gyro meo, &amp; circumdedit me ille &amp; labore.</p> <p>6. In tenebris collocauit me, quasi mortuos sempiternos.</p>	<p><b>C</b>onsumpsit carnem meam, &amp; pellem meam, contriuit ossa mea.</p> <p><b>A</b>edificauit aduersum me, &amp; circumdedit me ille &amp; labore.</p> <p><b>I</b>n tenebris locis manere fecit me adu mortuos in seculo.</p>	<p>4. Veterascere fecit carnem &amp; cutem meam contriuit ossa mea.</p> <p>5. Aedificauit contra me, &amp; circumdedit me ille &amp; labore.</p> <p>6. Inter tenebras collocauit me, sicut mortuos in perenne.</p>	<p>Veterascere fecit carnem meam &amp; pellem meam, contriuit ossa mea. Aedificauit contra me, &amp; circumdedit me ille &amp; labore. In tenebris collocauit me, sicut mortuos a seculo.</p>	<p>4. <b>V</b>eterascere tecit carnem meam, &amp; pellem meam, contriuit ossa mea.</p> <p>5. Aedificauit contra me, circumdedit caput meum lassitudine.</p> <p>6. In tenebris collocauit me, uti mortuos.</p>
<p>3:7-9 GIMEL.</p> <p>7. Circumadificauit aduersum me, ut non egrediar: aggrauauit compedem meam.</p> <p>8. Sed &amp; cum clamaui &amp; rogauero, excludit orationem meam.</p> <p>9. Cōcludit uias meas lapidibus quadris, &amp; semitas meas peruertit.</p>	<p><b>M</b>erum fecit me, &amp; non egrediar. Aggrauauit compedem meam.</p> <p><b>E</b>tiam quando clamaui, &amp; uociferabam, excludit orationem meam.</p> <p><b>C</b>ircumspexit uias meas ex ciso lapide, &amp; semitas meas peruertit.</p>	<p>Prescepit me, &amp; non egrediar, aggrauauit compedem meam.</p> <p><b>E</b>tiam quando clamaui, &amp; uociferabar, excludit orationem meam.</p> <p>Prescepit uias meas lapidibus ex ciso, &amp; semitas meas peruertit.</p>	<p><b>S</b>epe circumdedit me, ut non egrediar &amp; aggrauauit uincula mea. Sed &amp; cum clamaui &amp; uociferatus fuero, occludit (aures) ad orationem meam.</p> <p><b>S</b>epit uias meas lapidibus sectis, &amp; semitas meas interuertit.</p>	<p>7. <b>E</b>pist me, &amp; non egrediar, aggrauauit uincula mea.</p> <p>8. Cum clamaui &amp; uociferatus fuero, occludit ad orationem meam.</p> <p>9. Sepit uias meas lapidibus quadris, uias meas peruertit.</p>
<p>3:10-12 DALETH.</p> <p>10. Versus insidians factus est mihi leo in absconditis.</p> <p>11. Semitas meas subuertit, &amp; contriuit me, posuit me desolatam.</p> <p>12. Terrendit arcum suum, &amp; posuit me quasi signum ad sagittam.</p>	<p><b>V</b>ersus insidians factus est mihi leo in absconditis.</p> <p><b>S</b>emitas meas subuertit, &amp; contriuit me in frustra, posuit me desolatam.</p> <p><b>T</b>errendit arcum suum, &amp; posuit me quasi signum ad sagittam.</p>	<p>Versus insidians factus est mihi leo in absconditis.</p> <p>Vias meas subuertit, &amp; contriuit me in frustra.</p> <p>Calauit arcum suum, &amp; posuit me quasi signum ad sagittam.</p>	<p>Factus est mihi ursus insidians, &amp; leo in latibulis. Vias meas peruertit &amp; dissipauit me, posuit me desolatam. Terrendit arcum suum, &amp; posuit me quasi signum ad sagittam.</p>	<p>10. <b>R</b>ursus insidians factus est mihi, leo in latibulis.</p> <p>11. Vias meas spinis obruit, &amp; succidit me, posuit me desolatam.</p> <p>12. Arcum suum terrendit, &amp; posuit me veluti signum ad sagittam.</p>

— Pellican

[ I Vulgate

— Fagnini

— Cecolampadius

— Vatablus

3:13-15

13 Multitudo in rebus meis filius pharae suae.  
14 Ego sum in derisum omni populo meo,  
15 & canitio coram tota die. Sicut autem me amantibus,  
16 inebriavit me amaritudinibus, inebriavit me amaritudinibus.

3:16-18

16 Et fecit lapillis dentes meos, ut facerem me  
17 in cinere. Dilexit enim pace anima mea, obli-  
18 tus sum boni. Et dixi: Peristi robur meum, &  
19 spes mea a domino.

3:19-21

19 Recordare pauperem meum, & transgre-  
20 sionis meae, absinthij & fellis.  
21 Memoria muneris tui, & tabesce in me  
anima mea.

3:22-24

22 Misericordia domini quia non sumus  
23 consumpti: quia non defecerunt misera-  
24 tiones eius.  
25 Non diluculo (qualiter nunc) multa est fi-  
26 des tua.  
27 Pars mea dominus, dixit anima mea: pro-  
28 pterea expectabo eum.

3:25-27

25 Bonus est dominus sperantibus in eum,  
26 animae quarentium illum.  
27 Bonum est praefolium cum silentio saluta-  
28 redi.  
29 Bonum est viro cum portaverit iugum ab  
30 adolescentia sua.

3:28-30

28 Sedebit foliarum & arborum, quia transiit  
29 super se.  
30 Ponit in pulvere os suum, si forte sit spes.  
31 Dabit percussu sem. xillam, saurabitur  
32 opprobrij.

— Pellican

[ Vulgate

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— Pagnini

[ Vulgate

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— Decolampadius

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— Monester

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31 Dabit percussu sem. xillam, saurabitur  
32 opprobrij.

— Pellican

[ Vulgate

3:31-33



CAPH.

- 31 Quia nō repellat in sempiternū dominus.  
 32 Quia si abiicit, & miserebitur secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum.  
 33 Nō enim humiliavit ex corde suo, & abiicit filios hominum.

- 31 Quia nō elongabit in seculum dominus.  
 32 Quia si dolore affecerit, miserebitur secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum.  
 33 Non enim affligit ex corde suo, nec dolore affecit filios auri.

- 31 Quia non propulsabit in æternum Dominus.  
 Quod si multitudine amiserit, cum miserebitur secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum.  
 Non enim affligit ex corde suo, nec molestus fuit filijs hominis.

enim derelinquit dominus in æternū. Quia si dolorem infixit, miserebitur rursus secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum. Nō enim affligit ex corde suo, & morte affecit filios hominum.

31.  Via non derelinquit Dominus in æternum.  
 32.  Quia si affligit, rursus miserebitur, secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum.  
 33. Non enim affligit ex corde suo, nec dolore affecit filios hominum.

3:34-36



LAMED.

- 34 Vt contereret sub pedibus suis omnes inimicos terræ.  
 35 Vt declinaret iudicium viri, in conspectu faciei altissimi.  
 36 Vt perceret hominem in iudicio suo, dominus ignoravit.

- 34 Vt cōteret sub pedibus suis omnes inimicos terræ. Vt declinaret iudiciū viri coram facie altissimi. Vt perceret hominem in iudicio suo, dominus non vidit.

- Vt contereret sub pedibus suis omnes inimicos terræ.  
 Vt declinaret iudicium viri apud faciem altissimi.  
 Vt perceret hominem per litem suam, Dominus non videt.

Vt cōterat sub pedibus suis, omnes inimicos terræ. Vt declinet iudiciū viri corā facie altissimi, Vt fallat hominē in causā suā, dominus nō videt.

34.  Vt conterendum sub pedibus suis omnes inimicos terræ.  
 35.  Vt declinandum iudicium viri, a facie altissimi.  
 36. Vt ad pervertendum hominem in lite sua, Dominus non vidit.

3:37-39


MEM.

- 37 Quis est iste qui dixit ut fieret, domino nō jubente?  
 38 Ex ore altissimi non egrediuntur nec mala nec bona.  
 39 Quid murmurat homo vivens, vir pro peccatis suis?

- 37 Quis est qui dixit, fuit hoc, et do minus non precepit? Qui dixit, De ore altissimi non egrediuntur mala & bona? Cui dicit homo vivens, ut super peccato suo?

37. Quis est qui dicit, & factum est (aliquid) Dominus non precepit.  
 Ex ore altissimi non egrediuntur mala & bona? Cui queritur homo vivens, ut super peccato suo?

Quis est iste, qui dixit & factū est, & dominus nō precepit? Ergo ex ore altissimi nō egrediuntur mala aut bona. Quid mentis homo vivens & vir in peccatis suis?

37.  Vis est qui dicit, & fiat, non iud precipiente Domino.  
 38. Ex ore Domini non egrediuntur mala & bona.  
 39. Quid murmurat homo vivens. Vir contra peccata sua.

3:40-42


NYN.

- 40 Scrutemur vias nostras, & inquiremus, & revertamur ad dominum.  
 41 Levemus cor ad deum nostrum, cum manibus ad dominum in celos.  
 42 Nos inique egimus, & ad iracundiā provocavimus, & tu inexorabilis es.  
 (in Vulgate)

- 40 Scrutemur vias nostras, & inquiremus, & revertamur ad dominum. Levemus cor nostrum, super manus ad Deum qui in celis.  
 42 Nos iniqui egimus, & rebelles fuimus, tu non pepercisti.

- Persequemur vias nostras, & exploremus, & revertamur ad Dominum.  
 Levemus cor nostrum, super manus ad Deum qui in celis.  
 Nos iniqui egimus, & rebelles fuimus, tu non fecisti propitius.

Scrutemur vias nostras et inuestigemus, atque revertamur ad dominum. Levemus cor nostrū ad deū in celos. Nos peccavimus & rebelles fuimus, & tu nō fuisti propitius.

40.  Scrutemur vias nostras & inuestigemus. revertamur usque ad Dominum.  
 41. Levemus cor nostrum ad manus ad Deum in celis.  
 42. Nos peccavimus & rebelles fuimus, tu non pepercisti.

3:43-45



SAMECH. in

- 43 Operuisti furore, & percussisti nos occidisti, nec pepercasti.  
 44 Operuisti nubem ob, ne transiret oratio.  
 45 Eradicationem & abiectionem posuisti nos in medio populorum.

- 43 Opposuisti furorem, et persequutus es nos, occidisti, & non pepercisti.  
 44 Opposuisti nubem tibi, ne transiret oratio.  
 45 Abiectionem, & abiectionem posuisti nos in medio populorum.

43. Vmbraclum posuisti in ira, & persequutus es nos, & occidisti, & non pepercisti.  
 Vmbraclum posuisti in nubem tibi, ne transiret oratio.  
 Eradicationem & execrabiles posuisti nos in medio populorum.

Vmbraclū posuisti in ira, & persequutus es nos, occidisti & nō pepercisti. Posuisti nobis umbraculū per nubē, ne transiret oratio. Coluicem & abominationē posuisti me in medio populorū.

43.  Peruisti ira & persequutus es nos, occidisti & non pepercisti.  
 44.  Transitu tu nubem, ne transiret oratio.  
 45. Commotionem & opprobrium posuisti nos in medio populorum.

3:46-48



PHE.

- 46 Aperuerunt super nos os suum omnes inimici nostri.  
 47 Formide & laqueus facti est nobis, & laqueus & contritio.  
 48 Divisiones aquarū deduxit oculus meus super contritionem filij populi mei.

- 46 Aperuerunt super nos os suum omnes inimici nostri.  
 47 Formido, & laqueus facti sunt nobis, & laqueus & contritio.  
 48 Divisiones aquarum deduxit ex oculo meo super contritionem filij populi mei.

- Aperuerunt super nos os suum omnes inimici nostri.  
 Pavor & laqueus facti sunt nobis, & laqueus & contritio.  
 Divisiones aquarum deduxit oculus meus propter contritionem filij populi mei.

Aperuerunt sup nos os suū omnes inimici nostri. Pavor & laqueus sunt nobis, seductio & contritio. Rivos aquarū deduxit oculus meus, super contritionē filij populi mei.

46.  Aperuerunt super nos os suum omnes inimici nostri.  
 47.  Pavor & laqueus sunt nobis, seductio & contritio.  
 48. Rivos aquarum deduxit oculus meus, propter contritionem filij populi mei.

— Pellican  
 [ Vulgate

— Pagnini

— Oecolampadius

— Münster

19 Oculi mei exaltati sunt & non cessavit, eo quod non sunt inter-

20 misiones. Donec respiciat & videat dominus de celis.

21 Oculi mei deprecatus est animus meus in cunctis filiis hominis.

3:52-54. SADE.

22 Veniunt et erunt me quasi avari inimici mei.

23 Lapsa est lacrima mea, & poluerunt super me.

24 Inundaverunt aquae super caput meum: dei, perii.

3:55-57. CVP. H. (sing.)

25 Innotavi nomen tuum domine de loco non cunctis.

26 Vocem meam audisti: ne aueris aures tuas a lingua mea & clamoribus.

27 Appropinquasti in die quando innotavi tibi, Ne timeas.

3:58-60. RES.

28 Iudicasti dominus causam animae meae, & deporavit me.

29 Vidisti dominus iniquitatem illorum aduersum me iudicium iudicium meum.

30 Vidisti quoniam furor me, universas cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

3:61-63. SIN. (sing.)

31 Audisti opprobria eorum domine, omnes cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

32 Labia inferentium mihi, & meditationes eorum aduersum me tota die.

33 Sessionem eorum, & resurrectionem eorum uidero semper plium eorum.

3:64-66. THAV.

34 Reddes eis uicem domine iuxta opera mea iuxta suum.

35 Dabis eis forum cordis horem eorum.

36 Persequeris in furor, & conteres eos sub coram domini.

— Pellican

[ I Vulgate

40 Oculi mei defluxit, & non cessavit, eo quod non sunt inter-

41 misiones. Donec respiciat & videat dominus de celis.

42 Oculi mei deprecatus est animus meus in cunctis filiis hominis.

43 Veniunt et erunt me quasi avari inimici mei, ueluti avari inimici mei.

44 Lapsa est lacrima mea, & poluerunt super me.

45 Inundaverunt aquae super caput meum: dei, perii.

46 Innotavi nomen tuum domine de loco non cunctis.

47 Vocem meam audisti: ne aueris aures tuas a lingua mea & clamoribus.

48 Appropinquasti in die quando innotavi tibi, Ne timeas.

49 Iudicasti dominus causam animae meae, & deporavit me.

50 Vidisti dominus iniquitatem illorum aduersum me iudicium iudicium meum.

51 Vidisti quoniam furor me, universas cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

52 Audisti opprobria eorum domine, omnes cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

53 Labia inferentium mihi, & meditationes eorum aduersum me tota die.

54 Sessionem eorum, & resurrectionem eorum uidero semper plium eorum.

55 Reddes eis uicem domine iuxta opera mea iuxta suum.

56 Dabis eis forum cordis horem eorum.

57 Persequeris in furor, & conteres eos sub coram domini.

— Pagnini

49 Oculi mei defluxit, & non cessavit, eo quod non sunt inter-

50 misiones. Donec respiciat & videat dominus de celis.

51 Oculi mei deprecatus est animus meus in cunctis filiis hominis.

52 Veniunt et erunt me quasi avari inimici mei, ueluti avari inimici mei.

53 Lapsa est lacrima mea, & poluerunt super me.

54 Inundaverunt aquae super caput meum: dei, perii.

55 Innotavi nomen tuum domine de loco non cunctis.

56 Vocem meam audisti: ne aueris aures tuas a lingua mea & clamoribus.

57 Appropinquasti in die quando innotavi tibi, Ne timeas.

58 Iudicasti dominus causam animae meae, & deporavit me.

59 Vidisti dominus iniquitatem illorum aduersum me iudicium iudicium meum.

60 Vidisti quoniam furor me, universas cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

61 Audisti opprobria eorum domine, omnes cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

62 Labia inferentium mihi, & meditationes eorum aduersum me tota die.

63 Sessionem eorum, & resurrectionem eorum uidero semper plium eorum.

64 Reddes eis uicem domine iuxta opera mea iuxta suum.

65 Dabis eis forum cordis horem eorum.

66 Persequeris in furor, & conteres eos sub coram domini.

— Oecolampadius

49 Oculi mei defluxit, & non cessavit, eo quod non sunt inter-

50 misiones. Donec respiciat & videat dominus de celis.

51 Oculi mei deprecatus est animus meus in cunctis filiis hominis.

52 Veniunt et erunt me quasi avari inimici mei, ueluti avari inimici mei.

53 Lapsa est lacrima mea, & poluerunt super me.

54 Inundaverunt aquae super caput meum: dei, perii.

55 Innotavi nomen tuum domine de loco non cunctis.

56 Vocem meam audisti: ne aueris aures tuas a lingua mea & clamoribus.

57 Appropinquasti in die quando innotavi tibi, Ne timeas.

58 Iudicasti dominus causam animae meae, & deporavit me.

59 Vidisti dominus iniquitatem illorum aduersum me iudicium iudicium meum.

60 Vidisti quoniam furor me, universas cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

61 Audisti opprobria eorum domine, omnes cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

62 Labia inferentium mihi, & meditationes eorum aduersum me tota die.

63 Sessionem eorum, & resurrectionem eorum uidero semper plium eorum.

64 Reddes eis uicem domine iuxta opera mea iuxta suum.

65 Dabis eis forum cordis horem eorum.

66 Persequeris in furor, & conteres eos sub coram domini.

— Munster

49 Oculi mei defluxit, & non cessavit, eo quod non sunt inter-

50 misiones. Donec respiciat & videat dominus de celis.

51 Oculi mei deprecatus est animus meus in cunctis filiis hominis.

52 Veniunt et erunt me quasi avari inimici mei, ueluti avari inimici mei.

53 Lapsa est lacrima mea, & poluerunt super me.

54 Inundaverunt aquae super caput meum: dei, perii.

55 Innotavi nomen tuum domine de loco non cunctis.

56 Vocem meam audisti: ne aueris aures tuas a lingua mea & clamoribus.

57 Appropinquasti in die quando innotavi tibi, Ne timeas.

58 Iudicasti dominus causam animae meae, & deporavit me.

59 Vidisti dominus iniquitatem illorum aduersum me iudicium iudicium meum.

60 Vidisti quoniam furor me, universas cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

61 Audisti opprobria eorum domine, omnes cogitationes eorum aduersum me.

62 Labia inferentium mihi, & meditationes eorum aduersum me tota die.

63 Sessionem eorum, & resurrectionem eorum uidero semper plium eorum.

64 Reddes eis uicem domine iuxta opera mea iuxta suum.

65 Dabis eis forum cordis horem eorum.

66 Persequeris in furor, & conteres eos sub coram domini.

—

4:1

ALPHABETVM III.

ALEPH. א



Vomodo obsecratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus, dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarij in capite omnium platearum?

Capitulum. 4.



Vomodo obsecratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus, dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarij in capite omnium platearum.

CAPVT III.

Q Vomodo obsecratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus, dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarij in capite omnium platearum.



Vomodo obsecratum est aurum, mutatus est (auri) massa bona, & uersi sunt lapides sanctuarij in capite omnium platearum?



Vomodo obsecratum est aurum, immutatus est aurum illud optimum, dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarij, in capite omnium platearum?

4:2

BETH. ב

2 Filij Zion indyti, & amici auro prius: quo modo reputati sunt in uasa testis, opus manuum figuli?

¶ Filij

2 filij Zion preciosi, assumati auro paruo, quomodo reputati sunt ut lagenae testis, opus manuum figuli?

Filij Syon preciosi commendabiles pro auro obri-  
zo, quomodo comparati sunt cum uase testis accipere  
manum figuli.

¶ Filij Zion

nobiles, & adornati auro obri-  
zo, quomodo reputati sunt ueluti uasa testis, & opus  
manuum figuli?



2 filij Zion nobiles, ornati auro obri-  
zo, quomodo reputati sunt uasa arti-  
ficum, opus manuum figuli.

4:3

GIMEL. ג

3 Sed & lamiz nudauerunt mammam, lactauerunt carulos suos: filia populi mei crudelis, quasi struthio in deserto.

¶ Etiam serpentes edu-

3 xerunt mammas, lactauerunt carulos suos, filia po-  
puli mei crudelis uelut struthiones in de-  
serto.

Etiam dracones protulerunt ubera, lactauerunt pul-  
los suos, filia populi mei crudelis sicut struthiones in de-  
serto.

¶ Etiam dracones extraxe-

runt mammam, & lactauerunt carulos suos,  
filia autem populi mei (similis est) crudeli &  
struthionibus in deserto.



3 Etiam dracones extraxerunt mammas,  
& lactauerunt carulos suos, ac filia po-  
puli mei in crudelcm, ut struthiones in  
deserto.

4:4

DALETH. ד

4 Adhæsit lingua lactentis ad palatum eius in filiis: paruuli petierunt panem, & non erat qui frangeret eis.

4

¶ Adhæsit lingua lactentis palato eius  
propter suum. Paruuli petierunt panem, qui fran-  
geret non fuit eis.

Adhæsit lingua lactantis palato eius propter suum,  
infantes postularunt panem, qui frangeret non erat.

Nam adhæsit lin-  
gua sugentis ad palatum eius propter suum: paruuli  
petierunt panem, & non erat qui eis diuis-  
deret.



4 Adhæsit lingua lactentis, palato eius  
propter suum, paruuli panem petierunt, &  
non fuit, qui eis frangeret.

4:5

HE. ה

5 Qui uescebantur uoluptuose, interierunt in uis: qui nutriebantur in croceis (corbis) amplexati sunt stercorea.

5

¶ Qui uescebantur delicia-  
us obis, petierunt in plateis. Qui aliebantur sa-  
per coccineis, amplexati sunt stercorea.

Qui uescebantur deliciis, desiderauerunt in plateis, & non  
enutriti in cocconeis uelutibus amplexati sunt stercorea.

Qui comederunt delicatissima deua-  
stati sunt in plateis: & qui fuerunt educati in  
coccineis (uelutimeto), amplexati sunt stercorea.



5 Vi comederunt delicatissima, deua-  
stati sunt in plateis, & qui fuerunt edu-  
cati in purpura, amplexati sunt  
stercorea.

4:6

VAV. ו

6 Et maior effectus est iniquitas filiz populi mei peccato Sodomorum: quæ subuersa est, & non cepit in ea manus.

6

¶ Et maior  
ior fuit peccatum iniquitatis filiz populi mei peccato  
peccati Sodom, quæ subuersa est, & non  
castrametata sunt contra eam castra.

6 Et maior fuit supplicium pro iniquitate filiz populi  
mei, quam peccatum Sodom, quæ subuersa est, & non  
momentanee, nec sunt contra eam castrametata  
castra (hostium).

Et maior fuit iniquitas filiz populi mei,  
quam peccatum Sodom, quæ subuersa est  
quasi in momento, & non adhibuit sunt ei  
manus.



6 Aior fuit iniquitas populi mei, quam  
peccatum Sodom, quæ subuersa est,  
quasi in momento, & non adhibuit  
sunt ei manus.

— Pellican

— Pagnini

— Oecolampadius

— Montec

[ ] Vulgate





4:19

CVPB.

19 **V**elatores fuerunt persecutores nostri: quibus celi, super mores persecuti sunt nos, in deserto insidiati sunt nobis.

4:20 **RES.**

20 **S**piritus domini Christus dominus caput est in foveis eorum in cuius diximus, in umbra eius uiuimus in genibus.

4:21

SIN.

21 **G**aude & laetare filia Edom, quae habitas in terra Hus, quia super te transibit calix, inebriaberis atque nudaberis.

4:22

THAV.

22 **C**ompleta est iniquitas tua filia Sion, non addet ultra ut transigaret. Visitant iniquitatem tuam filia Edom, & discoperunt peccata tua.

5:1

ORATIO IEREMIAE PROPHETAE.

1 **R**ecordare domine quid acciderit nobis, respice & respice opprobrium nostrum.

5:2

2 **H**ereditas nostra uersa est ad alienos: domus nostra ad extraneos.

19 **L**euiiores fuerunt persecutores nostri, quibus celi, super mores persecuti sunt nos, in deserto insidiati sunt nobis.

20 **S**piritus noster Christus dominus caput est in foveis eorum in cuius diximus, in umbra eius uiuimus in genibus.

21 **G**aude & laetare filia Edom, quae habitas in terra Hus, quia super te transibit calix, inebriaberis atque nudaberis.

22 **C**ompleta est iniquitas tua filia Sion, non addet ultra ut transigaret. Visitant iniquitatem tuam filia Edom, & discoperunt peccata tua.

1 **R**ecordare domine quid acciderit nobis, respice & respice opprobrium nostrum.

2 **H**ereditas nostra uersa est ad alienos: domus nostra ad extraneos.

**L**euiiores fuerunt persecutores nostri, quibus celi, super mores persecuti sunt nos, in deserto insidiati sunt nobis.

**S**piritus noster Christus dominus caput est in foveis eorum in cuius diximus, in umbra eius uiuimus in genibus.

**G**aude & laetare filia Edom, quae habitas in terra Hus, quia super te transibit calix, inebriaberis atque nudaberis.

**C**ompleta est iniquitas tua filia Sion, non addet ultra ut transigaret. Visitant iniquitatem tuam filia Edom, & discoperunt peccata tua.

**R**ecordare domine quid acciderit nobis, respice & respice opprobrium nostrum.

**H**ereditas nostra uersa est ad alienos: domus nostra ad extraneos.

**L**euiiores fuerunt persecutores nostri, quibus celi, super mores persecuti sunt nos, in deserto insidiati sunt nobis.

**S**piritus noster Christus dominus caput est in foveis eorum in cuius diximus, in umbra eius uiuimus in genibus.

**G**aude & laetare filia Edom, quae habitas in terra Hus, quia super te transibit calix, inebriaberis atque nudaberis.

**C**ompleta est iniquitas tua filia Sion, non addet ultra ut transigaret. Visitant iniquitatem tuam filia Edom, & discoperunt peccata tua.

**R**ecordare domine quid acciderit nobis, respice & respice opprobrium nostrum.

**H**ereditas nostra uersa est ad alienos: domus nostra ad extraneos.

**E**leues fuerunt persecutores nostri, prae aquis celi, per mores sunt nos persecuti, & in deserto insidiati sunt nobis.

**S**piritus noster Christus dominus caput est in foveis eorum, de quo diximus, in umbra eius uiuimus inter gentes.

**G**aude & laetare filia Edom, quae habitas in terra Hus, quia super te transibit calix, inebriaberis, & nudaberis te ipsam.

**C**ompleta est iniquitas tua filia Sion, non addet, ut possit te abscindere in captiuitatem, sed uisitabit iniquitatem tuam filia Edom, & peccata tua reueget.

**R**ecordare domine, quid nobis contigerit, intueri & alpece opprobrium nostrum.

**H**ereditas nostra uersa est ad alienos: domus nostra ad extraneos.

— Münster

— Oecolampadius

— Pagnini

— Pellican



5:3

5:3 Pupilli facti sumus ab his qui propter nos  
sunt quasi uiduæ.

sumus ab his qui propter nos  
sunt quasi uiduæ.

Pupilli facti sumus ab his qui propter nos  
sunt quasi uiduæ.

pupilli facti sumus ab his qui propter nos  
sunt quasi uiduæ.

Pupilli facti sumus ab his qui propter nos  
sunt quasi uiduæ.

5:4

5:4 Aquam nostram precibus bibimus: ligna  
nostra precio comparauimus.

Aquam nostram precibus bibimus: ligna  
nostra precio comparauimus.

Aquam nostram precibus bibimus: ligna  
nostra precio comparauimus.

Aquam nostram precibus bibimus: ligna  
nostra precio comparauimus.

Aquam nostram precibus bibimus: ligna  
nostra precio comparauimus.

5:5

5:5 Ceruicibus nostris iniungimur: iussu non  
dabatur requies.

Ceruicibus nostris iniungimur: iussu non  
dabatur requies.

Ceruicibus nostris iniungimur: iussu non  
dabatur requies.

Ceruicibus nostris iniungimur: iussu non  
dabatur requies.

Ceruicibus nostris iniungimur: iussu non  
dabatur requies.

5:6

5:6 (in Vulgate)

pro dedimus manum, Assyrii, ut saturarentur  
panem.

pro dedimus manum, Assyrii, ut saturarentur  
panem.

pro dedimus manum, Assyrii, ut saturarentur  
panem.

pro dedimus manum, Assyrii, ut saturarentur  
panem.

5:7

5:7 Patres nostri peccauerunt, & non sunt  
nos iniquitates eorum persequentes.

Patres nostri peccauerunt, & non sunt  
nos iniquitates eorum persequentes.

Patres nostri peccauerunt, & non sunt  
nos iniquitates eorum persequentes.

Patres nostri peccauerunt, & non sunt  
nos iniquitates eorum persequentes.

Patres nostri peccauerunt, & non sunt  
nos iniquitates eorum persequentes.

5:8

5:8 Serui domini sunt nostri: non fuit qui  
redimeret de manu eorum.

Serui domini sunt nostri: non fuit qui  
redimeret de manu eorum.

Serui domini sunt nostri: non fuit qui  
redimeret de manu eorum.

Serui domini sunt nostri: non fuit qui  
redimeret de manu eorum.

Serui domini sunt nostri: non fuit qui  
redimeret de manu eorum.

5:9

5:9 In animalibus nostris offerimus panem  
nobis, & fructum gladii in deserto.

In animalibus nostris offerimus panem  
nobis, & fructum gladii in deserto.

In animalibus nostris offerimus panem  
nobis, & fructum gladii in deserto.

In animalibus nostris offerimus panem  
nobis, & fructum gladii in deserto.

In animalibus nostris offerimus panem  
nobis, & fructum gladii in deserto.

5:10

5:10 Pelle nostra quasi elibanus, & cuncta  
facit tempus laus.

Pelle nostra quasi elibanus, & cuncta  
facit tempus laus.

Pelle nostra quasi elibanus, & cuncta  
facit tempus laus.

Pelle nostra quasi elibanus, & cuncta  
facit tempus laus.

Pelle nostra quasi elibanus, & cuncta  
facit tempus laus.

5:11

5:11 Mulieres in Sion humiliatae sunt, & vir-  
gines in ciuitatibus Iuda.

Mulieres in Sion humiliatae sunt, & vir-  
gines in ciuitatibus Iuda.

Mulieres in Sion humiliatae sunt, & vir-  
gines in ciuitatibus Iuda.

Mulieres in Sion humiliatae sunt, & vir-  
gines in ciuitatibus Iuda.

Mulieres in Sion humiliatae sunt, & vir-  
gines in ciuitatibus Iuda.

5:12

5:12 Principes manu coarctati sunt: facies  
non erubuerunt.

Principes manu coarctati sunt: facies  
non erubuerunt.

Principes manu coarctati sunt: facies  
non erubuerunt.

Principes manu coarctati sunt: facies  
non erubuerunt.

Principes manu coarctati sunt: facies  
non erubuerunt.

5:13

5:13 Adolescentibus impudice abusi sunt  
Adolescentes neque redierunt: & pueri in  
ligno corruebant.

Adolescentibus impudice abusi sunt  
Adolescentes neque redierunt: & pueri in  
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Adolescentibus impudice abusi sunt  
Adolescentes neque redierunt: & pueri in  
ligno corruebant.

Adolescentibus impudice abusi sunt  
Adolescentes neque redierunt: & pueri in  
ligno corruebant.

— Pellican

— Pagine

— Oculampadius

[ Vulgate

5:14 14 Senes defecerunt de porta: iuvenes de choro <u>prophetae</u> iuniorum.	Senes de porta <u>cessauerunt</u> , iuvenes <u>à canuco suo</u> .	12 Senes de porta defecerunt, iuvenes de <u>cantico suo</u> .	Senes de porta defecerunt, & iuvenes de <u>cantico suo</u> .	Seniores à portis <u>cessauerunt</u> , & iuvenes à suis <u>canticis</u> .
5:15 15 Defecit gaudium cordis nostri: uersus est in luctum chorus noster.	<u>Cessauit</u> gaudium cordis nostri, uersus est in luctum chorus noster.	15 Interque uersum gaudium cordis nostri, uersus est in luctum chorus noster.	Cessauit gaudium cordis nostri, uersus est in luctum chorus noster.	Cecidit lætitia cordis nostri, & chorus noster in luctum uersus est.
5:16 16 Cecidit corona capitis nostri: uix nobis, quia peccauimus.	<u>Cecidit</u> corona capitis nostri. Vix uix nobis, quia peccauimus.	16 Cecidit corona capitis nostri, uix nobis <u>uixque</u> , quia peccauimus.	Cecidit corona capitis nostri: uix nunc nobis quia peccauimus.	Cecidit corona capitis nostri, heu nobis, quia peccauimus.
5:17 17 Propterea mortuum factum est cor nostrum, ideo continebrati sunt oculi nostri.	<u>Propter hoc</u> fuit mortuum cor nostrum, <u>propter ista</u> obreuebrati sunt oculi nostri.	17 Propterea est mortuum cor nostrum, super his rebus <u>tenebrosi</u> facti sunt oculi nostri.	Propterea factum est mortuum cor nostrum, & ob ista continebrati sunt oculi nostri.	Sed per hoc morietur cor nostrum, & caligauerunt oculi nostri.
5:18 18 Propter montem Sion quia disperit uulpes ambulauerunt in eo.	<u>Propter montem Sion</u> , quia <u>desolatus</u> est, uulpes ambulauerunt in eo.	18 Super montem Sion, qui <u>desolatus</u> est uulpes ambulauerunt.	Super montem Zion, qui <u>desolatus</u> est, ambulauerunt uulpes.	Sed per montem Sion, eo quod sit <u>deuastatus</u> , & uulpes ibi passim ambulant.
5:19 19 Tu autem domine in æternum permanebis, solium tuum in generatione & generatione.	<u>In dñe</u> in <u>seculum</u> permanebis, solium tuum in <u>generatione</u> , & <u>generatione</u> .	Tu Domine in æternum permanes, <u>thronus tuus</u> ad <u>generationem</u> & <u>generationem</u> .	Tu autem domine in æternum <u>manebis</u> , & solium tuum (durabit) in <u>generationem</u> & <u>generationem</u> .	Tu Deus in æternum <u>sedes</u> , & solium tuum in <u>generatione</u> & <u>generatione</u> .
5:20 20 Quare in perpetuum obliuiscens nostri, derelinques nos in longitudine dierum?	<u>Ut quid</u> in perpetuum obliuiscens nostri, derelinques nos in <u>longitudine dierum</u> ?	<u>Quare in æternum</u> obliuiscens nostri, ad <u>longitudinem dierum</u> .	<u>Quare</u> in perpetuum obliuiscens nostri, derelinques nos in <u>longitudine dierum</u> .	<u>Ut quid</u> in perpetuum irascens nobis, & nos relinques in <u>longitudinem dierum</u> .
5:21 21 Conuertere nos domine ad te, & conuertere munus in noua dies nostros, sicut à principio.	<u>Conuertere</u> nos dñe ad te, & conuertermur, in noua dies nostros sicut ab <u>initio</u> .	Conuertere nos Domine ad te, & conuertermur in noua dies nostros <u>sicut antea</u> .	Conuertere nos domine ad te & conuertermur, in noua dies nostros sicut ab <u>antiquo</u> .	Conuertere nos Deus ad te & conuertermur, in noua dies nostros ut <u>antiquitus</u> .
5:22 22 Sed proniciens repulisti nos, iratus es contra nos uelementer.	<u>Sed reprobandos</u> probasti nos, iratus es contra uos, <u>uelementer</u> .	<u>Sed uos</u> intendimus <u>adipiscimur</u> , & uos <u>adipiscimur</u> intendimus.	<u>Sed repudiasti</u> nos, iratus es contra nos <u>uelementer</u> .	<u>Quoniam</u> si repellendo repulisti nos, iratus contra nos es <u>plurimum</u> .
— Pellican	— Pagnini	— Oecclapadius	— L. ...	
[ ] Vulgate				

In Lamentationes

SANCTISSIMI  
IEREMIAE PROPHETAE,

D. PETRI MARTYRIS  
VERMILII, FLORENTINI,  
SACRARUM LITTERARUM  
quondam in Schola Tigurina  
Professoris,

COMMENTARIUM.

HOC DEMVM LAMENTABILI ET  
*lugubri tempore, ex autographo collectum, cor-  
rectum, & in lucem editum,*

CUM NOTIS ET INDICE.

*Matth. 24.*

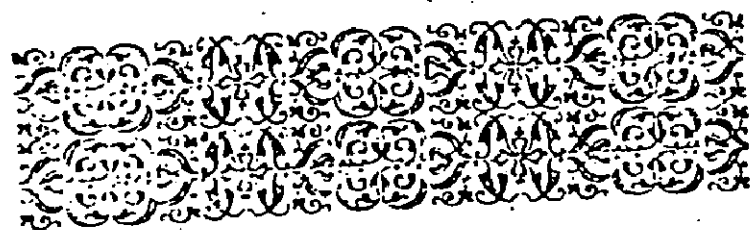
Videte ne turbemini; oportet enim omnia fieri.



TIGURI

Excudebat, IOH. IACOBUS BODMERUS.

M. DC. XXIX.



REVERENDO, NOBILI ET  
Clarissimo Viro,

D: IOHANNI PRIDEAVX,  
Sacrae Theologiae Doctori & Professori Regio,  
in antiquissima Universitate Oxoniensi,  
& mchty Collegij Exoniensis  
Rectori,

Domino summâ observantiâ colendo:



EVERENDE, Nobi-  
lis & Clarissime D. Do-  
ctor. Cum hoc lugu-  
bri Carmine sanctus  
Ieremias, Propheta il-  
le πολυπεσιςατο, non  
breviter simpliciterq;  
describat populi sui  
calamitatem, sed eam  
mirifico verborum apparatu, exaggeret & am-  
plificet, institutum sanè utile & necessarium  
tenere videtur. Nam brevis illa simplexq; rei  
ali-

## EPISTOLA

alicujus descriptio, segnius irritat animos nostros, quàm quæ rem amplificanti-  
bus & exaggerantibus argumentis, veluti oculis fidelibus subijcit, & in conspectu ponit. Est enim amplificatio seu exaggeratio, uti Rhetores docent, gravior quædam affirmatio, quæ motu animorum conciliat in dicendo fidem. Cuius instituti originem puto hanc esse. Cum enim homines vel ex infirmitate, vel ex malitiâ, tam præposterè de rebus judicent, ut res parvas magni, & magnas parvi faciant, amplificatio-  
nis Rhetoricæ inveniendæ authores extiterè, ut res omnes tãtæ omnino censerentur, quantæ reverà sunt. Hic enim amplificationis verus est usus, præposterum illud de rebus iudicium corrigere & emendare, & certum contra rectumque formare. Ex quâ iudicii conformatione, affectionum porrò humanæ mentis emendatio consequitur, ut bonum, quod antea nec intelleximus, nec dileximus, debito amore, & malum, cui addicti fuimus, iusto odio prosequamur. Constat equidem, multos hoc subsidio Rhetorico, non ad conformandum sano rectoque iudicio animum, sed ad illum potius corrumpendum, & in fraudem impellendum abuti, qui ex mulca elephantum faciunt, & af-

fectio-

## DEDICATORIA.

fectiones animi movent, rei, de quâ loquuntur, minime convenientes, securitatem docent, ubi ægritudo locum habet, & ægritudinem, ubi securitas, suisque adeò præstigijs, detrimenta plurima Rebusp. & Ecclesijs important. Hoc enim ferè rerum omnium præstantium & utilium, est fatum singulare, ut & turpissimè depraventur, & quia depravata pristinæ integritatis suæ speciem aliquam retinent, facillimè incautos in errorem inducant. His itaque amplificationum imposturis, homines periti rerum, vel qui divino spiritu reguntur, minime moventur. Nec abusus rerum bonarum, usum earum legitimum tollit. Cum ergo amplificationes, & ad corruptum hominis iudicium corrigendum, & ad studia cupiditatesque ejus coercendas, accommodæ & utiles esse videantur, rectè omnino atque ordine, & ex usu populi sui Ieremias Propheta fecit, qui plurimum illas hoc libro adhibuit. Nam cum hominibus ipsi res fuit scelere perditis, & immani quodam animi stupore præditis, qui neque ullo peccatorum, quamvis gravissimorum & frequentissimorum, sensu tangebantur, neque manum Dei vindicem agnoscebant, Quibus hi orationis aculei opus maxime fue-

## EPISTOLA

runt, ut excusâ stupiditate suâ, peccata tandem agnoscerent, & ob illa ægritudinem susciperent, Deo placentem. Quippe rectius multo sensit Propheta noster Stoicis, Philosophis illis ἀσέβεις, qui hanc animi commotionem in hominem cordatum & sapientem minimè cadere existimant. Eâdem ergo operâ, homines vani & insani, veram quoque poenitentiam, misericordiam, aliasq; virtutes, commendatas nobis divinitus, & quæ sine merore animiq; dolore consistere non possunt, ab homine sapiente alienas esse contendunt. Sed hos Stoicorum mores, hos furores, ætatis nostræ homines, feri illi quidem, ac verè ferrei, amplecti videntur, quos nec sui poenitet, nec aliorum miseret. Ac quamvis res orbis Christiani, iusto Dei iudicio, in maximum periculum, & in extremum discrimen adductæ sint, tamen illam ἀσέβειαν, illam animi duritiem minimè cœximus. Nobis ergo, nobis quoque admonendi sunt, Prophetarum amplificationum aculei, & admovendi stimuli, ut ex veterno illo inveterato peccatorum excitati, evigilemus tandem, semen caussamq; malorum omnium agnoscamus; & ad frugem bonam nos recipiamus. ~~Ad hæc hæc miserabilis & afflictæ nostræ~~

## DEDICATORIA.

rum temporum conditio, edendi carminis huius pathetici, unâ cum commentario doctissimo, Clarissimi & gravissimi illius Theologi, D. PETRI MARTYRIS VERMILII, piæ memoriæ, sacrarum literarum in vestra quondam & nostra, & in Argentinensi quoque Schola Professoris fidelissimi, occasio commoda & idonea mihi est visa. Cùm enim Autographum D. Martyris, quod Argentinæ, ante suam profecctionem in Angliam exararat, in bibliotheca Nobilis & Clarissimi Viri, D. IOH. GUILLIELMI STUCKII, piæ memoriæ, patru mei venerandi, inter alia manuscripta invenirem, his temporibus, vel hæc potius temporum intemperie, describendum illud, à tenebris vindicandum, & in lucem proferendum esse putavi, ut his Prophetæ Ieremiæ, & Doctoris Vermilij, cœu Baruchi ipsius fidelissimi, ~~virorum hæc hæc~~ patheticis & Propheticis vocibus, provocati homines nostri temporis, emeritis peccatorum stipendiis, in castra veræ poenitentiae transirent, ac tum ob sua, tum ob aliorum peccata, lachrymis tristitiæq; se traderent. Nam ita demum argumenta quoque consolatoria, per totum

## EPISTOLA

librum sparsa, animos aegritudine, veluti subactos & coactos, facilius movebunt, & suavius permulcebunt. Sicut enim cibi condimentum est fames, potionis sitis: ita tristitia consolationis condimentum haudquaquam mediocre censendum. Vnde Dominus noster IESUS CHRISTUS, in Evangelio, beatos prædicat lugentes, utpote visos ipsi idoneos & dignos, quos verbi ac spiritus sui consolatione sustentet. Hanc igitur beatitudinem à Christo prædicatam, illum, inquam, luctum non poenitendum, & fructum solatii haud contemnendum, ex hac threnorum editione novâ, ad multos, Domino adjuvante, redundaturum esse confido. Hoc certè unicum meum est votum.

In tuo autem nomine, *Reverende, Nobilis & Clarissime Domine*, hunc librum volui apparere, multis & idoneis, ut opinor, de causis. Primò namq; scio, te pro pietate tuâ & zelo, in omnes rationes & occasiones intentum esse, quibus Ecclesiam Christi laborantem erigas, subleves, ædifices, ac proinde conatus quoque aliorum similes, vehementer tibi probari. Deinde, cum illam ipsam

Pro-

## DEDICATORIA

Professionem Regiam sacrarum literarum, quam olim Martyr quoque, in Academia vestra, EDVARDI VI. Regis sanctissimi tempore, summâ cum laude obtinuit, non minori cum gratiâ, fructu & auctoritate nunc sustineas & ornes, hunc venerandæ memoriæ, prædecessoris tui scetum, è bibliothecâ privatâ erutum, ambabus, quod aiunt, olis, te amplexurum, in sinum benevolentiae tuæ recepturum, & ab hominum imperitorum injuria, qui nisi quod ipsi faciunt, nihil rectum putant, defensurum esse spero. Postremò animi gratiæ memoriæ, ob illa beneficia, quæ aliquot abhinc annis, cum in Collegio vestro Exoniensi, domoque tuâ versarer, in me contulisti, quamplurima, tuæq; adeò benevolentiae & amoris, erga nationem nostram singularis hoc testimonium volui publicum extare. Deum Opt. Max. veneror, ut inclytam vestram Academiam, ac te inprimis, cum omnibus Sociis & Convictoribus Collegij Exoniensis, Collegis amicis & fratribus meis suavissimis, omni corporis animique commoditate & prosperitate, plusplûsque indies beet, & in coelestes beatorum Scholas, suo tempore receptos, ad gradus

\* \* æteræ

**EPISTOLA DEDIC.**

æternæ, solidæ veræq. gloriæ provehat, &  
ineffabili gaudiorum cumulo perfundat, per  
**IESUM CHRISTUM Dominum nostrum.**

**Amen. Dabam Tiguri, Helve-**  
**tiorum Metropoli, 20. Fe-**  
**bruar, 1629.**

*Tue Reverendæ Dignitatæ*

*Observantissimus,*

**IOH. RODOLPHUS STUCKIUS**  
**Tigurinus.**

**Lectō-**

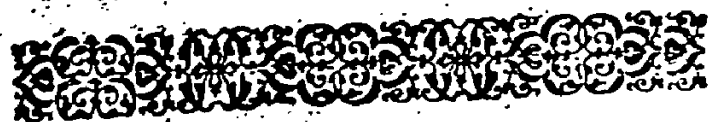
**Lectōri benevolo, S.**



*Decem illa Prophetarum expositio, cuius in-*  
*terpres noster in præmio suo meminit, in biblio-*  
*theca venerandi patris mei, etiam extat. Quam*  
*si video, hanc meam operam & studium, tibi non*  
*displicere, ab autographo itidem describam, & typographo*  
*eradam. Omnem enim mihi exscribendi molestiam, tua be-*  
*nevolentia minuet, utilitas tua delebit.* **D.** Ioh. Iacobus  
**Grynæus, p. m.** *Vir & Theologus optimus, cuius prudenti*  
*sinceroq. iudicio boni omnes multum tribuunt; Martyrem*  
*nostrum vocat Theologum, extra ingniorum aleam posi-*  
*tum. Hoc elogium nō nostri tantum, sed hostes etiam confir-*  
*mant. Martyrem omnes admirantur, imitantur, dono em-*  
*ulscunt, seu interpretatione scriptura. Martyrem excel-*  
*luisse fatentur. Ejus ergo commentarios in Prophetas, quos*  
*evocant, minores, vel integros, vel eorum saltem fragmenta,*  
*quos integros habere non possumus, luce digna existimo, hanc-*  
*que racemationem meam, post Virorum Clarissimorum, qui*  
*in edendis Martyris operibus, operam posuerunt, vinde-*  
*miā, suam quoque gratiam fructumq. habituram spero. Ex*  
*hoc quidem opusculo, quod nunc proferimus, perspicue vi-*  
*dent Christi fideles, suam calamitatem, at hostes fidelium,*  
*amentiam & crudelitatem suam, exemplo non carere. Vale,*  
*Lectōr benevole, & errores, qui, ut sit, operis festinantibus*  
*obrepere, a quo animo corrige.*

**De**





I.

De Posthumo

PETRI MARTYRIS

scripto,

EPIGRAMMA

ad

IOH. RODOLPHVM STVCKIVM.

**I**lle PETRUS MARTYR Threnorum ille Libellum  
 Explicuit Threnis non revelatus ovat.  
 Threnorum ille Libellus nobis bene convenit isto  
 Tempore, quo puppa vassa procella ferit.  
 Fides tua Martyr DOMINI dum viveret. Omen  
 Nominis tunc obitus desit esset ratum.  
 Namque manet DOMINI MARY post funera MARTYR.  
 Id quod restat Posthumus ille Liber.  
 Ingenium Gentium in cetera Scripta tenet.  
 Testis eras Cunctis post funera MARTYRIS Uxor,  
 Busto cuius erant ossa reposita iuvor.  
 Cum Cardinalis, Mariano tempore, Polus  
 Impeteret Civis, ense furante, Poli.  
 Sic a cadaveribus seipsum gaudet Hyazna resolis:  
 Sic laceras Poli membrare ossa furor.

At

At Polus prohibere Polo qui MARYUS alto  
 Posset, queis CHRISTUS cœlica Regna dedit:  
 Persequitur fidos CHRISTI qui MARYUS, alto  
 Ille Polo exclusus Tartara nigra perit.  
 Imponant quamvis Centauri Pelion Ossæ:  
 Attamen hi facient irrita bella Polo.  
 Est in iuxta Petra MARYUS Ecclesia Christo,  
 Semper & illius firma favore manet.  
 Tu, pars magna mei es qui pectoris, optime STUCKI,  
 Tantorum pergas promere frusta Virum.  
 Nam Magni doctus cum sis Gener HOSPINIANI,  
 Illius foruli Scripta polita dabunt  
 Bibliotheca tui Patris affatim & optima Scripta  
 Sugeret, æternâ posthuma digna cedro.  
 Tu Patris ac Socii Scriptis adiunge leporem  
 Ingenij ingenitum, Scripta quoque Nectar erunt.

IOH. IAC. IRMINGERYS,  
 Ecclesie Tigurinae Minister.

40

II.

AD LIBRVM.

FOETUS ingenij absumi Maro iusserat igni,  
Duro pulsabat mors pede quando fores.  
Non tulit hoc Laui Augustus diadematis haeres,  
Pulcrum opus hoc flammis eripuitq; feris.  
Tantum igitur debent divina Poemata lauro,  
Quantum vel vari Mantua clara tuo.  
Hic tribuit vitam, dedit immortalibus esse  
Illa, magis est Caesar Virgilioq; parens.  
Te pater hanc voluit MARTYR crepero igne cremari,  
Vir solis complens gloria utramque domum:  
Coepisti tinea sed pridem pascere inerteis,  
Iam latitans inter serena clausa diu.  
S. r. u. c. r. u. s. at doctus lucis miseratus egenum,  
Te tinea ultra noluit esse cibum;  
Acte capsa rumi tacturnis eruit oris,  
Iussitq; auratum lucis habere iubar.  
Vade Liber, lucemq; diu templare negatam,  
Vade, non grates dic meritasq; patri.  
Vade Liber, Solymas tristemp; videre ruinam  
Interitu rursus ne patiare tuo.  
Vade Liber, satis his es tempestatibus aptus:  
Nunc quoque iusta Dei vindicta ira tonat.  
Nunc etiam Christi domus exercetur acerbis  
Fatis, & lacrimis oblita tota iacet.  
Vade Liber, causamq; mali hoc supprime tanti:  
Atque ulcus, pus hoc pullulat unde, move

Sar

Sat scio, ringetur scelerum demersus amurca  
Mundus, & in te fors dente procace ruet.  
Tu frontem obfirma: metus haut est martyris: haut scis  
Te magni testem iustitiae esse Dei.  
Nil timuit genitor, donec vitae adfuit usus:  
MARTYRIS est *μαρτυρ* multa cathedra tul.  
Oxonium pelagus reliquo qua separat orbe;  
Qua Argentinæ litora Rhenus habet;  
Qua Neapoleos, Saturnia terra superbit  
Muris; quoque sita est Luca vetusta loco:  
Et qua Gallorum ficto moderamine Regis  
Dissona doctorum turba coacta fuit:  
Inprimis Limagus cultam qua perlit urbem,  
Qua meta exilij MARTYR amena fuit.  
Quare animum clari magnum tibi sume parentis:  
Labes degeneris quam tibi foeda foret.  
Vade Liber, renovaq; pia vestigia vitae,  
Avia peccati relinquere dira sube.  
Dic: nisi poeniteat maculosa trinitis, ira  
Vos prorsus comedet conficietq; Dei.  
Discite iustitiam, & Iovæ non temnere verbum:  
Sat monita æterni spreta verenda Patris.

IOH. VVIRTZ,  
Collegi Parthen.  
1691.

IN



IN LAMENTATIONES  
IEREMIAE PROPHETAE,  
D. PETRI MARTYRIS VERMILII,  
Florentini, Sacrarum Literarum in  
Scholâ Tigurinâ Professoris,  
Commentarius.

PROOEMIUM.

**H**AVD novum debet videri has lamen- <sup>Nomen huius</sup>  
tationes Hieremie, quæ Græcè Threni <sup>libri</sup>  
dicuntur, apud Hebraeos אֲנָחָה appella-  
ri, cum instar plurimorum librorum sa-  
cræ scripturæ nomen sortitæ sint à voce,  
unde habuerunt exordium. Ita Genesis  
בְּרֵאשִׁית, Exodus שְׁמוֹת, Levi-  
cus וַיִּקְרָא, atque similiter reliqui dicti sunt à suis primis di-  
visionibus. At quo ordine sint collocandæ in sacris literis, <sup>Partitio libri:</sup>  
non potest videri, nisi prius eos omnes pariter fuerimus, <sup>nam scripturæ.</sup> illæ  
pervulgatâ distributione in Thora, in Prophetas priores,  
posteriores, & scripta, quæ Hebraei כְּתוּבִים, Græci appel-  
lant hagiographa. Thora complectitur S. Legis libros.  
Priores Prophetæ sunt Iosue, Iudices, Samuel & Mela-  
chim. Prophetæ posteriores Iesaja, Hieremia, Ezechiel,

## 2 In Lamentationes Jeremiæ,

Hagiographa  
quæ sunt, &  
carminis sacri  
ratio.

Observatio  
Alphabeti.

Carminum cir-  
cularia.  
Carminum sa-  
crorum utili-  
tate.

Consilium  
Propheta ad  
audientiam  
provocare, ip-  
sam Deum.

Duodecim Scripta habent undecim libros, Paralipome-  
non, Tobiam, Misle, Iob, Ruth, Koheleth, Ecclia, Sirha-  
sim, Esther, Daniel, Ezra. Ita dicuntur bi libri quod res  
sanctas versent, sed loquutionis forma in illis est carmē. Ita  
se demittit Spiritus S. vñ, & nostris utilitatibus est addita,  
ut quibusvis humanis utatur instrumentis, dum honesta sint,  
ad danda corda emollienda. Vñ enim metaphoras, et translatos  
sermōnes, comparationes, similitudines & sermonum figuras  
non respuit, ita & diversa persequitur genera carminum, ut  
suorum demulceat effratos animos. Ita hic moerente luctu  
deplorat Hieremias Hierosolymorum excidium. Epicedia  
Græci appellant funereos illos versus, ita istæ nuncupari  
possent. Artificium quoddam rursus hic videas, ut pro cle-  
mentum ordine sua exordia habeant singuli versus. Vbi  
nonnulli elegantiam mirantur, ego potius arbitror factum,  
velut memorie consulas, aut quod tunc is mos inolevisset,  
ut publica cantica frequenter pangerentur hac observatione,  
quod videmus in Psalterio factum, Psalmo 115. Beati im-  
maculati in via. In Salomonis quoque Paraboli idem repe-  
rias. Mulierem fortem quis inveniet. Circularia quoque  
carmina in Psalterio non sunt præterita. Bene fuerat con-  
suetum illi populo, ut si cuperent animum relaxare, id non fie-  
ret modulatione lasciva, prophane cantilenæ, versibus im-  
pudicis, sed his carminibus, quæ ad pietatem faciunt. Consi-  
lium Propheta est, his suis lamentationibus misericordiam  
captare cū a Dei persona, tum ab audientibus. At misericor-  
dia non elicitur, nisi ostendendo aliquem præstantissimum in-  
digna pati. Dehinc populi dignitate non accinet dicere,  
cum Dei beneficiis adeo fuerit cumulatus, & auctus, ut in sa-  
cris literis ejus nobilitas abunde prædicetur. Sed ambiguum  
est, quomodo ostendatur indigna pati. Cui dabo ira occurrere  
possit. Esi quod ad Dei justitiam sic passus que merebatur,  
tamen

## D.P. Martyris Commentarius. 3

tamen si causam spectes ærurnarum, scilicet peccata, vide-  
batur tantus populus indignus, qui illis obrueretur sceleri-  
bus. Imploratur ergo Dei misericordia, ut illum populum,  
quem tantopere dilexit, expiet, & remittat peccata, quibus  
illum detineri indignum est. Et scelerum gravitas declara-  
tur ex pœnarum magnitudine & crudelitate. Postea is po-  
pulus, si conferatur cum aliis nationibus, quæ omnino erant  
idololatæ, nec nomen Dei invocabant, cognoscebant, aut  
anquam facebantur, videbatur respectu illarum indigna pa-  
ri. Atque his rationibus ad misericordiam Deum provocat.  
Quam similiter ab audiente populo conatur exprimere, ut  
vel sui misereantur. Et qui sentiunt se aliàs tam beatos fuis-  
se, & nunc vident tam abjectos, oppressos, sceleribus valedi-  
cant, atque ad Dominum redeant. Incurritur & terror aliis  
populis, quando vident peccata eò adduxisse illum populum,  
cui tantopere Deus favit, quid illi sibi non timeant, se se pari-  
bus aut gravioribus sentientes sceleribus irretitos. Quo ge-  
nere argumenti & Paulus est usus ad Romanos. Quod si na-  
turalibus tamis non pepercit, ne forte & tibi non parcat. Et  
Petrus, Si Angelis peccantibus non pepercit, nec diluvij  
aquas compescuit à Noë coarctatis, item ignibus absumpsit  
Pentapolin, his, inquit Apostolus indicium posuit, quid il-  
lis futurum sit, qui impiam consectabantur vitam. Faciunt  
itaque hæc multum ad nostra tempora, quando Christiani  
orbis tot undique nuntiuntur calamitates. Semper est eadem  
Ecclesia facies usque ab initio. Si reperas sacra volumina,  
pessimè invenies multarum primum Adamum, & ob admis-  
sum scelus à paradiso ejectum. Hæc de relicto, phrasi, ordine  
& consilio Propheta. Superest ut vobis prædicam, quo stilo  
maximè hanc interpretationem statuerim exequi. Hic non  
multis agam. Inprimis id curabo, ut verborum Propheta  
sententiam quàm apertissimè vobis planam faciam. Alios

Et audientem  
populum.

Et aliis popu-  
lis incutere  
terrorem.

His quoque  
postremis tem-  
poribus liber  
hic servit.

Consilium in-  
terpreti, ab  
que de gradus  
nibus proli-  
xis, planam fa-  
cere Propheta  
sententiam.

# 4 In Lamentationes Jeremiae,

verò appendices, quæq; homines hic per sese aut ex cogitare, aut invenire possunt, vobis relinquam per vosmetipsos inquirenda: Nam ut rectè hic sentit Abenezra, verborum sensum cognoscere in his divinis est quid solidum & instar corporis, quod ubi quis vendicavit sibi, facile poterit induere de super vestes diversas, quæ postea sunt aut pretij majoris, aut minoris, seniores, vel crassiores, pro divini Spiritus afflatu, quo isti ducuntur, qui hæc versant manu nocturna & diurna. Hoc imitamini, ut versis cujusque sententiam teneatis. Deinde vobis, mihi credite, erit facillimum nova inducere, & quæ fuerint, loco & tempori congrua. Nec vos ab hoc meo salubri consilio abducatur, quod mulci importunissime obtrudunt, littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat, quia omne id occidit, quod nobis offertur sine Christi spiritu, sive id sit ab humana prudentia, à lege natura, sive à Mosis decalogo. Etiam Evangelium si non prædicit Christi spiritu legas, littera est & occidit. Nam hæc externa docent solum, damnant, accusant, peccatum ostendunt. At contrà, si hæc tractes spiritum Christi prædicat, non occidunt sed consolantur. Perperam igitur illi hanc operam litteræ occidendi nomine traducunt. Quare talis erit nostra interpretatio, ut maxime Prophetæ dicta explanet, quo pacto nos gessimus in duodecim Prophetarum expositione. Ambigitur adhuc, quonam tempore Hieremias hoc lugubre Carmen descripserit. Afferunt nonnulli id contigisse, quando cæsus est Josias à Rege Aegypti in Megiddo. Nam cap. 35. Paralipomenon dicuntur omnes cantores & cantatrices lamentationes edidisse, & inter cæteros nominatim Hieremias connumeratur. Et hæc sententiam refert Divus Hieronymus, nec aspernatur. Verum in nostra interpretatione cursu videbimus, si quid hic habeatur ad illum eadem pertinens. Alij dicunt, hunc librum illum esse, de quo scribitur Hieremia cap. 36. quod rex

Conflam interpretis cor-  
firmat Abenezra  
sententia.

Nec infirmat  
Dominum fa-  
ncti, omni ca-  
lumnia.  
Scriptura tra-  
ditio spiritum  
vivificatorem  
non occidit.

Duodecim  
Prophetarum  
expositio.  
De tempore  
edicti carmina.  
An tempore  
exilii Josiam

Vel fortassis  
Josiam.

## D. P. Martyris Commentarius.

chim illum discerpisse, projecit in ignem, ante se in domo hyemali positum, in qua tunc degebat. Voluissetq; Hieremiam & Baruch illius scribam fidelissimum interficere, nisi Dei ope latuissent. Non tamen Deus passus est perire, quæ Prophetæ locutus fuerat, verum præcepit iterum, ut exscriberetur, nec illa solum, sed addita sunt, ut ibi dicitur, alia plura, sicut illa. Quem locum Rabbi Salomo, qui hanc tuetur opinionem, ita interpretatur. In eo libello, quem Rex lacrarit, & igne absumptum voluit, tantum habebantur tria alphabeta, quomodo sedet, quomodo obscuravit Deus, quomodo obscuratum est aurum. Hæc omnia non solum instauravit Hieremias, sed addidit quæcum alphabetum, in quo habetur pro singulo quoque elemento tres versus, ita ut illud unum adjectum numero versuum par sit illis, quæ ante ab ipso fuerant edita. Atque id est quod ibi habetur in cap. 36. Hieremia circa extremam partem nana, quasi dicas tria sribus adjecta. Sed Rabbi Abenezra hanc sententiam non probat, primum quia in hoc lamentationum libro scribi debuerat, verbum Domini secundo factum ad Hieremiam, quod ibi non videas. Præterea in illa historia libri adusti habetur Regem idè succensuisse Hieremiam, quod dixerit Regem Babylonis venturum, & hæc atque illa crudelitas exempla edictum in gentem & locum sanctum, sed in lamentationibus nulla habetur mentio Regis Babeli. Istis refellit acutus alioquin Rabbi expositam sententiam, sed non sunt illius argumenta magni momenti, facile enim possent alius. Fuerunt præterea alij, qui opinarentur hoc Carmen non ante excidium urbis & regni editum, sed postea, quasi monimentum tantæ calamitatis. Vt res se habeat, non contemnendus est libellus, neque ex eo detrahuntur commoda & utilitates, quas paulo ante dicebamus in eo reperiri. Sed jam verba sumamus in manus.

Secundum  
Rabbi Salomonem.

Quem refutat  
Abenezra.

Vel et tempore  
exilii Josiam  
vixit hoc car-  
men editum sit.  
an etiam in  
futura, vel bi-  
sita præsentis  
us aliam  
conferat, au-  
thor hoc loco  
in medio reli-  
quit, & in pro-  
gressu hoc al-  
hil pugnetur  
finitur.

# In Lamentationes Ieremiæ, Alphabetum seu Caput primum.

*Aleph, seu versus primus.*

Urbis illa  
populosissima  
solitudo, & li-  
bertissima feru-  
tu.



**Q**UOMODO sedet sola civitas plena  
populo: Facta est quasi vidua, quæ  
magna fuit inter gentes, princeps  
provinciarum facta est sub tributo.

**Q**UOMODO Magnam vim excitandi habet adver-  
bium, à quo suum initium habet oratio. Describi-  
tur primo populi vacuitas & solitudo urbis, quæ  
alias fuerat florentissima & populosissima. Sede-  
serta est & absque populo, non est civitas. Quia civitas est  
multitudo civium adunatorum, qui iustis legibus reguntur.  
Iam ergo civitas non meretur appellari. Esi uti mater orba-  
ta liberis. Sed huic ærumnæ licet per se videatur gravissima,  
additur adhuc alia durior. Facta est) Hic præcitur li-  
berorum spes & posteritatis expectatio. Orbata mater filiis  
soles nonnunquam talem admittere consolationem. Adhuc  
habeo virum superstitem. Poterò bis amissis alios procreare  
filios. Sed ista est quasi vidua. Non libere dixi & simplici-  
ter viduam, quia bi Iudæi reversuri erant ad sedes patrias,  
ut in Extra factum perspicitur, semperq; filiorum Dei tribu-  
lationes temporales non perpetuæ sunt. Et quamvis cer-  
is intervallis divinum favorem erga se minime sentiunt, ta-  
men Deus ab illis revera non abest. Quæ magna) Habent  
iste ditiones Iod litteram additam, quæ personæ non est in-  
dex,

dex, sed prorsus ὡς νεκρὰ κηρὸς est adjecta. Hanc felicita-  
tis amplitudinem Iudæi habuerunt sub Davide, & Salomo-  
nis tempestate. Tunc enim Moabitæ, Idumæi, Palesti-  
næ præerant, acque ab his gentibus pendebantur illis tributa.  
Nunc vicissim illa non solum civibus est destituta, sed facta  
est sub tributis & vestigalibus gravissimis. Quod contigit  
eo tempore, quando pauperes tantummodo relictæ sunt ibi ha-  
bitatores, sub Godolia.

*Beth, seu versus secundus.*

**P**Lorando plorabit in nocte, & lachry-  
mæ ejus in maxillis ejus. Nec est ei con-  
solator ex omnibus amatoribus ejus.  
Omnes amici ejus spreverunt eam, & facti  
sunt ei inimici.

Describitur  
luctus populi  
Dcl.

**P**Lorando) Quàm illi fuerint gravia omnia prædicta.  
declarat luctus mœrens, idq; præsertim nocturnus. Tunc  
miseris magis vacat flere. Aliæ fortes moriones diurnæ tunc  
cessant, & homo sibi relinquitur, suæ inquam cogitationibus  
& internis animi morionibus, quibus dum reperit per ocium  
præteritam felicitatem, indulget, remotis omnibus arboris,  
lachrymis. Hic addæ quod huic serro & capivo populo non  
erat facultas vacandi luctui interdiu. Nam vilissima cum  
haberentur in captivitate servitia, illos operuit interdiu  
operari, nocte dumtaxat privatis potuerunt indulgere affe-  
ctionibus. Lachrymæ) Luctus hic non levis habuit solum-  
modo verba, sed res fuit admodum seria, ita ut lachrymas  
exprimeret assiduas miserorum. Nec est ei consolator)  
Levant humane consolationes curas. Hic quoque caruit.  
Ec

Luctus no-  
cturnus.

## 8 In Lamentationes Ieremiæ,

Et ab his potissimum fuit destituta, quorum fuerat amantissima, & à quibus præcipue videbasur haberi chara. Istos tibi persuadeas fuisse idola & exterarum nationum, quantum auxiliis fidebat. Omnia hæc illos non solum sefallerunt, sed immutati hostili animo & inimico studio in illam ferebantur. Vides ut hic semper ætumnarum cumulus augeatur. Singulis verbis crescit oratio.

Gimel, seu versus tertius.

Iude commi-  
gratio ad ex-  
teros, & inter  
eos conditio  
eius.

**M**igravit Iuda propter afflictionem & multitudinem servitutis. Sedens inter gentes non invenit requiem. Omnes persecutores ejus apprehenderunt eam inter angustias.

Dulcedo soli  
mortalis.

**M**igravit) Quanta voluptas capiatur ex agris, domibus, possessionibus paternis & avicis, cum perpetuo retinentur, illi optime norunt, quibus id fortunarum conceditur. Ex qualiter perpendere, quæne dolore isti ex suis illis sedibus abirent, quæ illis non uno tantum nomine grata erant. Primò à suis majoribus longo tempore possesse fuerant. Solum fertile erat, ætænum & undique fructuosum. Demum à Deo illas acceperant. Non enim res solum æstimatur à sua bonitate, sed ex nomine & dignitate donantis. Durum est exulare, sed ex antecedentibus ampliatur exilium. Abducti sunt in captivitatem, cum obsidione prius essent afflicti. Et ante expugnationem durissimo iugo suis crudelissimis Regibus inservierant, qui eis postremis temporibus imperitabant. E gravissimâ ergo afflictione & servitute insolerabili non in refrigerium sunt educti, sed in captivitatem,

## D.P. Martyris Commentarium, 9

ratem, in qua pejus accepti sunt, quàm prius haberent. Sedens) Hebræorum natis semper gentilium horruit consortia, nunc miscetur inter illas. Leges habuerunt proprias, separatas ceremonias, discernebantur circumcissione, vestibus quoque dissimiles erant cæteris nationibus, nunc inter illas ut septrina fœces habentur. Sedet & jacet inter gentes captiva: Iuda & masculino & femineo genere capitur. Et femineo haud certum hominem, sed gentem significat. Non invenit requiem. Parum videbatur migrasse & ad alienos esse translatam, quos aliàs nec alloquutione aut congressu dignata esset, addit ibi illam nec invenisse requiem. Quod, si Nionarchiarum historias percurras, facile videbis. Chaldaei Iudæos expugnârunt. Hi vincti sunt à Mediis. Ab illis ad Persas Imperium est translatum. Et his variis nationibus servire cogebantur Iudæi captivi, ita ut ne loco quidem possent consistere. Quod si hoc excidium ita deploratum, etiam referas ad Romanam vastitatem, videbis tunc eos verè nunquam invenisse requiem. Omnes persecutores) Ibi iactata per diversas regiones, semper à novis excipiebatur infortunis, à quibus tam arte premebatur, ut illinc ei non liceret effugere, quemadmodum huius usu venit, qui ab inimicis in angustissimis viis invaduntur, cum materia vel paries hinc & inde fugam intercludit, & amariçias significat. Quidam interpretantur propter afflictionem & maximam servitutem, quod hic reddatur causa exilij, cum ipsi crudeles fuerint in pauperes & suos, i. vos, merebantur ita ipsi migrare, cum acerbis fuerint, afflixerint, & nimia servitute suos oppresserint. Cujus Thargi expositio nisi non repugno, adducor tamen, ut illius occasione oculos dirigam in Dei iustissimam ultionem, quæ videtur lege talionis cum his egisse, non solum propter illa, quæ in miseram plebem & suos proximos admiserant, sed etiam quæ merito, quæ con-

Lex talionis.

B. ita

trā Deum fecerant, quod in eis fuit, quando se ab illius religionē subduxerunt. Illum orbā runt liberis, viduum & sine dilecta conjugē reliquerunt, quando se adulteriis idolorum commasculā runt. Fecerunt migrare ē sua terra. Nam sub extremis temporibus, dixerunt eis Apostoli: Vobis oportuit maximē Evangelium inculcari, sed quando vos indignos exhibetis, convertimur ad gentes. Et ad Romanos. Illorum incredulitate gentes consequutae sunt misericordiam. Parvos suos, qui filij Dei erant ob initum fœdus, non solum male educā runt, sed idolis sacrificā runt. Deum persecuti sunt, ut occiderent. Et interfecerunt, non sub illius persona, quod nullo modo fieri potest, sed in illius membris. Prophetas enim Domini contumeliis afficiebant, expellebant, demumque non verebantur occidere, quod Christus illis Dominus audacter exprobrabat, de servis à Patre missis, ut fructum ab agricolis vineae requirerent, qui tam male fuerunt mulctati, ut nihil suprà.

*Daleth, seu versus quartus.*

Expletur  
in quo Sionis.



**I**ae Sion lugent, eò quod non sint qui veniant ad solennitatem: omnes portae illius sunt desolatae, sacerdotes suspirant, virgines illius sunt afflictæ: tota ipsa est in amaritudine.

Lacus via-  
rum metapho-  
rica.

**E**T quod subditur, Viae Sion lugent.) Conseruerunt frequentes antiquitus convenire filij Israel, ad tabernaculum, uti agere solebantur singulo quoque anno ter. Nunc expugnati ab hostibus & abducti in captivitatem, via non amplius teruntur solita frequentia, unde metaphoricè lugere

lugere videntur. Tunc enim eadem metaphorā jucunda, hilares, laetae, festivae dicuntur viae, quando teruntur perpetuis canentium itineribus. Eò quod) **וַיָּבֵא** significat sanctum Dei tabernaculum, eò quod ibi haberentur cæcus, & illuc convenirent Israelitæ. Alij interpretantur ad tempora statuta & solennitates consuetas. Sed hoc quoque prius ipsi commiserant. Nam sub Achaz, Manasse, & ejusmodi impiis Regibus occlusæ erant fores templi. Nemo eò se conferebat adoratum. Et Reges Israel prohibuerant, ne illuc homines irent. Quare non mirum est, si postea cum fortè rel-  
lent, id eis non licebat. Omnes portae) **וְשַׁעַר**. Hic habes permixtum elementum mem in nun, sed hæc literæ inter se sunt symbolicae, ut facile permulentur. Quid verò intelligat per portas devastatas, facile est videre his, qui non ignorant, Hebræos habuisse in portis sua judicia. Antiquitus ibi jus dicebatur. Abiit omnis judiciorum splendor & apparatus, ita ut in portis non videatur aliud, quàm flammarum & depopulationis vestigia. Sacerdotes) Iudicibus & profano Magistratui apertissime adiunguntur sacerdotes, quorum munus erat Deo laudes canere. Flere illis erat piaculum. Nec luctus aut gemitus prius ullam habebant materiam, ut qui semper pro sua alimonia paratas habuerunt decimas, & optimis sacrificiorum partibus nutriebantur. Nulla possessionum cura illos angebat. Nunc suspirant & profundissime in seipsis gemunt. Virgines) Et istarum munus erat, victorias Israelis publice carminibus celebrare, per plateas & compita choreas ducere. Nunc illarum omnia studia secus ceciderunt. Tota ipsa) Promiscuè omnes luctuantur, & amarissimo sunt animo. Nullus est inter eos status immunis ab hac lamentatione, si ve iusti, si ve iniusti sint, à lachrymis non temperant. Sed alia est ueritatis hominum generi lachrymandi ratio. Impij sensum veniunt presentium

Hebræorum in  
portis iudicia

Sacerdotum  
alimonia

Discrimen la-  
teri iudicij pio-  
rum & impi-  
orum

B. 2. p. 11



pœnarum, neque aliud quàm sua commoda amissa deplorant. Ac pij cum sint homines, & nil humani à se alienum expectantur, etsi dolent sua infortunia, quibus Deo volente, unâ cum impiis involvuntur, sicut nihilominus aliis de causis. Primò Dei offensam populum incurrisse, id illos longè plus angit cæteris omnibus malis, quæ pari unâ cum cæteris contingunt. Illi Deum iratum intelligunt, ob oculos habent populi illius scelera, quibus tales tantasq; pœnas sunt demeriti, cognoscunt, quid sit à Deo defecisse. Hic illorum lachrymæ, & infinitæ animi molestiæ. Deinde præditi cum sint eximia charitate, & audiant suos fratres, videant suam gentem, suos inquam Iudæos durissimè affligi, sit, ut aliorum pœne illis doloris materiam suppeditent amplissimam. Neque debis dum sunt ita cristes, minus Deo placeat. Nam etsi sciunt, illos Dei iustitiâ ita puniri, tamen sic dolendo fratrum interitum, Deo non ad versantur, imò illi obediunt, qui hæc à suis vultu custodiri & servari pietatis officia, dummodò limitibus & terminis decensibus se contineant, ut Deum non putemus injustum, aut estimemus illos talibus indignos. Tota itaque ipsa est in amaritudine. Nos qui hæc caudimus aut legimus, dum populum attendimus bonis sibi à se tenus concessis expositum, hic, illius indignitatem, naturæ vitium & scelerum merita attendimus. Viciissimq; dum recordamur illum fuisse florentem, & amplissimis ornatum donis, ibi, Dei bonitatem & misericordiam spectemus, quia illa ex se populus non habuit, verum à Deo in Aegypto nudus, servus, turpissimus omnium inventus fuit. Quæ verò hic in universo hoc populo deflentur, non modò nobis eraduenda ad Ecclesiam, sed ad uniuscujusq; animum lugeri possunt. Et si qua hic offendamus in Babyloniorum illa impressione minus patrata, debemus talia rejicere in Romanorum tempora, quando sub Tito atque Vespasiano funditus deleti sunt.

He,

He, seu versus quintus.



Facti sunt hostes ejus in capite, inimici ejus prosperè egerunt, quia Dominus locutus est super eam, propter multitudinem iniquitatum ejus: parvuli ejus abierunt in captivitatem ante faciem hostis.

Hostium Zicri-  
mædianarum, &  
parvulorum e-  
jus summa af-  
flictio.

Facti sunt Deut. cap. 28. pollicitus erat Dominus, se illum populum positurum in caput, & non in caudam. Quæ fuit legis promissio, non servanda, si illi pactis non steterissent, sed potius invertenda in id supplicium, quod cum ea rectè pugnat. Unde in maledictionibus, quæ in eodem subseribuntur capite, dicit Dominus. Si à me fueris adversus, peregrinus in medio tui erubetur, in summam potestatem, tuq; non in capite eris, sed in cauda. Hic si describuntur id incurrisse, ut hostes sint eis à Rege Babylonio præfecti, non mirentur. Deus id fuerat comminatus. Quando ergo ducebantur in captivitatem, illis eisdem agebantur ducibus, qui suam expugnant civitatem, & ipsos in urbe obsederant, omniaq; illorum ferro & flammis vastarant. Qui Deum caput recusant, quid aliud eos manet, nisi ut caput & Principem habeant diabolum, qui summus est humani generis hostis. Cur hodie inter miseros mortales diabolus tantam exercet tyrannidem? Quia non Christum caput habent, ut Deus statuerat, & Paulus inquit ad Ephesios, sed Antichristum sibi præficiunt, & hujusmodi feces & pestes, mera diaboli membra, caput Christum & Deum repudiant, diabolo aguntur. Si Christum haberent, jam diabolus parum aut nihil posset adversus illos. Si quidem Christus est id semen, quod caput serpentis confringit. In quo verò tale semen non est, illi

Promissio ca-  
pitis, seu do-  
minii, & com-  
minatio cau-  
dæ, seu servi-  
tutis, in Deut.

Defectio 2  
Christo con-  
firmat tyran-  
nidem Diabo-  
licam.

B 3

ser-

# In Lamentationes Jeremie;

14. Serpentis caput integrum est. Quanta ergo ferocia, impetu, animo, putas, illos invadit, caput illud non confractum? Deuter. 17. praecipiat Dominus; ne Regem sibi praeficerent nationis exterae. Nunc quando jam suus populus esse desierunt, a tyranno crudelissimo non gubernantur, sed modis omnibus vexantur, ita ut dicat Propheta, hostes fulti sunt in capite ejus. Maximum excitas dolorem, si, qui nati erant ad imperandum, quorumque haec et fortuna et dignitas salis fuit, ut regna ad illos pertinere judicarentur, deinde mutata rerum vicissitudine cogantur servire, atque id nedum indignis, verum hostibus suis. Inimici. Hoc aliud est incentivum doloris. Si contemnuntur hostes calamitates, neque in illis juvamus, consuevimus id agere ferre. At si gaudeamus astantes nostris malis, id videtur intolerabile. Ob Israelis incertum bilares erant et letabundi vicini populi, qui Judaei erant infensi. Nec illi solum, sed quod magis puro, victores, qui vere dicuntur hostes a Propheta, quo magis horum res erant perditio, illi letiora canebant epinicia. Tunc vero hic expende, quanta crudelitate oportuit esse praedictos hujusmodi populi praefectos. Pinguntur expoliati omni misericordia. Qui enim misericordia moveantur, non oportet vehementi alia fervere afflictione, quia ea occupatus animus non facit tangitur aliena miseria. At isti principes hic pinguntur hostes, inimici, flagrant maximo odio erga illos. Adhuc qui misericordia capiuntur, debent esse tales, ut sentiant aliquando talia posse pati, quibus vident alios jactari. At isti felices inducuntur, fortes, victores, qui alieni sint a suspicionis suae miserie. Sine misericordia erant itaque hi praefecti miserabilibus his captivis. Propter multitudinem. Additur et hic dolor, quo legitima exponitur causa istarum calamitatum. Qui innocentes percutit, ut inquit. Sed etiam apud Deum hanc habent consolationis anchoram,

## D.P. Martyris Commentarium. 15

conscientiae tranquillitatem. Sciunt enim se culpa ea careere, ob quam videntur illi supplicio deputati. At isti percuti, et eorum attestatur peccatum, eos iuste puniri. Parvuli. Est magna gentis felicitas numerosa prole florere. Quod si cui populo contigit, Israelitis videtur datum. Erat enim id praecipuum inter eorum benedictiones. Sed tunc suave et jucundum id est, quando sunt circa mensam, in angulis paterne domus, ubi ita uxor habetur, ut vitis abundans in lateribus domus, in circuitu mensae, ita enim David loquitur de hac felicitate. At si illos videas pessimis modis ab hostibus tractari, in captivitatem abduci, satius fuerat illos non procreasse. Natura enim id comparatum est, ut tum maxime doleamus, quando illi injuriam patiuntur, quibus nos debeamus esse subsidio, qui nostra commissi et mandati fidei erant, quo numero uxor, parentes et liberi habentur. Erat ergo haec non vulgaris molestia, parvos suos videre ita abduci a militibus captivos.

Benedictio numerosae proles convertit in maledictionem.

### Vau, seu versus sextus.



Gressa est a filia Zion omnis gloria ejus: facti sunt principes ejus sicut cervi, qui non inveniunt pascua, abeuntes absque viribus ante insequentem.

Letitia populi Dei, Principes ejus duces de afflictione condito.

E Gressa) Multa habuit ille antiquus Dei populus, quae ad ejus praeclaram gloriam, illustrem ornatum, singularem magnificentiam faciebant, imprimis legem, verba Dei, plurima vaticinia, regnum, sacerdotium, victimas, Dei praesentiam in tabernaculo foederis, prodigia, ceremonias, quae omnia statim abiit. Fuit procul dubio gratia eorum,

Virtus populi magnificencia.

*Horat.* Sed si conferatur cum nostra, si amitteremus bona per Christum nobis semel concessa, illa videbitur ed levior, quòd nos præstantioribus donati sumus. Per Christum data est peccatorum remissio, in vulgatio Evangelij, spiritus sancti copia, libertas Christiana, exequutio erga fratres promptissima, quæ derivatur à Christiana charitate, quibus omnibus illi deserviuntur, qui à fide semel receptâ desciunt. Facti Non potuit apertius eligi animal, cui istorum Reges & Principes con, errantur. Est siquidem Cervus ita perturbationi timoris additus, ut semper paveat, nihil ei unquam sit tutum. Deinde est fugax, ut qui maxime pernicipati sue confidat. Cumq; per desertâ loca degat, cogitur pascua querere, id est præa à longinquis, nec non & potum. Tales in illa obsidione fuerunt Reges Iuda, timidissimi, qui se continebant in urbe obse, fugam semper excogitantes, si data esset occasio. Imo Sedechias fugiens comprehensus fuit. Fame & siti adeo urgebantur, ut iam in civitate nihil haberent. Et annona eis à longinquis fuisse querenda, si diutius fuisset resistendum in bello. Et ideo apte subditur, qui non inveniunt pascua. Jam delictarum suarum principes etiam oblii, & laborabant penuria, necessarii annone, quæ dum ad necessitatem tantum queritur, facile parari consuevit, cum naturaliter & paucis & minimis contenta. Quæ illa sunt illa quæ cervi inquirunt, herba scilicet passim & vulgò nascentes. Nec illa reperiantur. Quid hoc mirum? A Domino defecerunt, qui eos consueverat pascere, vel in deserto. Et sed tunc in urbe ab eis sejuncti non possunt. Et illi ille nequam in Evangelio pingitur procul jam à patre fame laborare, pauperum percos, & famæ adigunt filios illi paratas comedat. Et de Christo deficientes, propter suarum verborum, & sanctorum quibus ab ipso se habent, curâ, resce-

quibus tandem semper falsi, & omnium vitiorum sordibus contaminati, grandi conficiemur macie. Abcuntes) Fuga se commiserunt, at non potuerunt evadere manus Chaldeorum, quia pernicipitas pedum non servat. Oportet ne illa suas habeat vires, cujus nervi tunc succiduntur, quando recedunt à Domino. Non enim est levium cursus, sed Dei. Is enim & pernicipitatem pedum largitur, & velocitatis vires, quibus se possit explicare, sufficit. Quod minime ignorans David dicebat Psal. 17. Qui perfecit pedes meos tanquam cervorum. Et ideo illi non fuit difficile evadere durissimas persequutiones Saulis, quas alioquin humanis artibus illi fuisset impossibile evitare. Magna itaque, dura, gravis fuit hæc angustia, quâ non tantum plebs, sed Reges & Principes sunt oppressi. Sed illis id iure contigit. Nam & ipsi, quod in eis fuit, Deum fatigabant. Num quid parum vobis est molestos hominibus esse, quia molesti estis & Deo meo? Deum expoliabant viribus, illi non credendo. At Dominus voluit, ut vel earum vacuitate nunc illas cogantur sentire, quales fuerint. Laborarunt, abducti sunt in servitutem. Sed illi Deum servire fecerunt & laborare, ut habetur Esaia 43. Me laborare fecisti in tuis peccatis, & servire in tuis sceleribus. Mira sunt verba, verissima tamen. Tunc Deum servire cogimus, quantum in nobis est, quando illius nomine, titulo, cultu, ceremoniis, donis & muneribus abucimur, ista ad nostrum commodum, voluptatem & utile convertentes, non ad illius gloriam, honorem, laudem ea referendo, volumus ut Deus nobis serviat, his suis præclarissimis rebus. Laborare cogitur, & infirmari nostrâ infidelitate. Siquidem putamus eum non posse præstare, quæ nobis est pollicitus. Id agit infidelitas. Quæ si non dubitet de potestate, verum de voluntate, ut quæ impellat nos ad æstimandum, Deum promissa nolle complere, jam Deum perfidia laborare cogit, ut qui stare nolit promissis.

Page feliciter  
à Domino.

Panathenæa.

Deo quomodo  
homines  
molesti 22.

## In Lamentationes Ieremiae,

fr. Cumq[ue] forte dices, Deum illa non promississe, sed contem-  
det ea esse mera hominum mendacia, jam Deum faciet dece-  
ptorem, qui illis hominibus loquentibus, ut Moysi, Iosua,  
Esuae, & ceteris Prophetis tantis prodigiis & portentis re-  
simonium attulit. Si Deum illi ita laborare fecerunt, quid  
mirum, si nunc ipsi fatigantur, ut aufugere non possint. Mir-  
ro quam onerosa Deo fuerint illorum sine fide sacrificia.  
Nam dicis, Laborari sustineas. Isa. i.

Zaim, seu uersus septimus.

Lusus Hie-  
rusalem, & ho-  
rum talis.

**R**ecordata est Hierusalem dierum affli-  
ctionis, & migrationis sue omnium de-  
siderabilium suorum, quæ habuerat à  
diebus antiquis, cum caderet populus ejus in  
manu hostili, & non esset auxiliator: viderunt  
eam hostes, & riserunt super cessationem ejus.

Memoria pre-  
teritorum bo-  
norum.

**R**ecordata) In memoria præteritorum bonorum collo-  
catam volunt nonnulli voluptatem maximam, & po-  
tissimum Epicurei, qui omnes artes requirebant voluptatis  
adipiscendæ. Igitur non hoc illi dolorem pariebat, si in affli-  
ctione recordabatur præteritorum bonorum, quibus antea  
fruebatur. Sed ita occurritur. Si tantum ipsa nunc oppressa  
calamitate recordaretur felicitatis vitæ antea, id proculdu-  
bio voluptati esset. At repetit memoria illa bona non per sese,  
sed quæ illi erepta sunt, quæ desperat illorum recuperati-  
onem quæ illorum cupida est, ac prohibentur ab ea. Ita bet me-  
moriam dolorem extimulat. Quam verò memoria in iu-  
cunda tristitia rei ab humano refuerit animo, Themistocles est  
dicentissimus testis, qui dum tenacissima esset memoria

Quæ ratione  
dolorem exti-  
mulat.

## D.P. Martyris Commentarium. 19

præditus, & quendam audiret sibi oberudentem reminiscendi  
artem, inquit, se malle illum invenire, qui se doceret obli-  
scendi rationem, alludens amarissimam esse malorum memo-  
riam, idque nobis fore jucundum, si quæpiam ratione illa pos-  
semus oblivisci. Quod si hic objicias, & malorum memoriam  
interim esse jucundam, ut ille ait; forsitan hæc olim memi-  
nisse iurabit; ipsaq[ue] experientia admonet, quando videmus  
tantâ voluptate narrare homines, quæ hactenus sustine-  
runt, aut passi sunt, occurritur, memoriam malorum suâ na-  
turâ amarâ esse, sed dulcem fieri, quâ illi conjungitur libe-  
ratio, quæ de vaserint inde, vel quod ibi in mediis illis malis  
fortiter se gesserint. Ita Paulus sui. iactat ad Corinth. 2. pe-  
ricula, Libenter gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis. Vider-  
unt eam hostes tantâ confectam amaritudine, ex memo-  
riâ suorum præteritorum temporum, & riserunt super ces-  
sationem ejus. Id est, gavisii sunt, quod ab ea sint remota,  
& cessarint suppeditari illi tam ampla beneficia. Si ve hic  
ejus cessationem tu intelligas, sabbatum, ocium illud septimi  
diei. Quod illi hostes cum viderent Iudeos capti vos inter se  
observantes, irriserunt. Tenaces fuerunt Iudei in exilio  
suorum externorum rituum, sed fidei longè minus & interni  
cultus. Ridet Seneca, Iuvenalis, Cornelius Tacitus istas  
ceremonias, quarum non intelligebant rationes. Idque ma-  
ximè illis augebat dolorem. Si enim illa vilipendantur, quæ  
nos maximi facimus, videtur id insolerabile, ut si quis inter  
Platonicos ideas contemnat aut irrideat, is pessime illos ho-  
mines accipit, qui sunt earum studiosi. Veinam nobis id non  
accidat, ut nostræ urbes regionesq[ue] expugnatæ à Turcis au-  
diant illos Evangelium, sacras conciones, cœnam Domini-  
cam, & primum. & alia nostra vilipendentes. Quis illorum tam  
pius vir dolorem ferat?

Quæ ratione  
de cessationem  
habeat.

Risus sacro-  
rum iracunda-  
bilis.

C. 2. Hæc,

In Lamentationes Ieremiae,  
Heth, seu versus octavus.

Peccata gravi-  
tas & frequen-  
tia, quam mal-  
ta corporis po-  
narum acridi-  
tas, morio, co-  
miseria, gemit-  
us conditio-  
nis, calia.

**E**ccatum peccavit Ierusalem, propter-  
ea fuit in motionem: qui honorave-  
runt eam vilipendunt illam, quia vide-  
runt nuditatem illius: ipsa ingemuit, versa est  
retrosum,

Causa vera  
exponitur o-  
mnis mutatio-  
nis dicitur.

**P**eccatum) Hic subditur omnium infortuniorum caus-  
sa, & talis formula loquendi, ut gravissimum frequentis-  
simumque intelligas illud peccatum eorum. Propterea) Hoc  
bisariam potest intelligi. Primo ut notetur capitis morio,  
qua consueverunt insultare inspectantes miseri, quando ple-  
buntur & pro suis affliguntur meritis, uti nostro servatori  
cruci affixo contigit. Movebant capita sua. Sententia vero  
tali hinc elicitur. Eam ob peccata & scelera despectui ha-  
bendam. Deinde altera est sententia, ut morio hic significet  
exilium, vagas sedes, assiduas migrationes, continuas va-  
stationes. Nec abire. Deus omnium rerum firmitas est &  
constancia, qua ab eo recedunt, eo magis sunt mutationi-  
bus subdita, quod sunt ab illo magis longinqua. Angelorum  
spiritus mente duntaxat moventur. Semper enim aliquid  
novi intelligunt, quod illis antea Deus non manifestabat.  
Caelum loco solum moventur, non tamen augetur aut minui-  
tur, non generatur, neque esse desinit. Huc vero inferna cor-  
pora, qua a Dei natura sunt remotissima augentur, minuun-  
tur, transmutantur diversis affectionibus, loco moventur, ge-  
nerantur, & corrumpuntur, semper agitata sunt. Sic homini-  
bus contingit, qui iustitiae sunt. Deo propinquissimi, illi pa-  
rum moventur, firmi sunt & constantes, qui ab ea recessio-  
nibus, deficiendo a fide, & legitima pietati obstando, semper  
sunt

D.P. Martyris Commentarium.

sunt inquieti, turbulenti, perurbationibus animi, exiliis  
etiam saepe vexati & jactati. Inducitur in sacris literis An-  
gelus & caelo abiectus, & ob peccatum ad tartarea loca & ca-  
liginosum aërem relegatus. Primus homo ejectus è paradiso.  
Cainus parricida vagus & profugus. Populus Israel exul &  
captivus propter sua vitia. Quae omnia nobis indicant in-  
stabilitatem, vexationem cum animi cum corporum illorum  
hominum, qui à Deo recedunt. Qui honoraverunt) Hic  
habet pulchram vocum antithesin honoris & vilipendiij. Et  
causam doloris non leviem, ubi se quis videat ab his conse-  
mni, quibus antea in honore & pretio fuerat. Nuditatem  
illius. Id est, pudibunda, ea inquam membra, quae celata vult  
naturalis pudor. Hebraei appellantur nuditatis nomine.  
Antea videbatur justus, sanctus, innocens is populus. At  
quando eos tam dure afflixit Dominus, declaratum publice  
est, qui nam hi essent. Ipsa ingemuit, versa est retrosum.  
Id est, pra dolore cecidit retro, quod non raro fit, quando ho-  
mines repentino & gravi dolore corripiuntur. Cor quod lati-  
tia relaxatur, tunc contrario impetu, tristitia inquam, con-  
stringitur, & ita arctatum non valet emittere vitales & bo-  
nos spiritus, quibus moveatur, sustentatur, regitur corpus, un-  
de ita consternati consueverunt cadere. Si ve potes hoc acci-  
pere, quasi pra confusione & pudore non potens ferre, ut sua  
verenda tam turpiter ab aliis videantur, averterit retro  
vultum suum, ne videatur & ne videat. Hoc enim pudoris  
& verecundiae est ingenium, ut nullus velit se ab aliis conspi-  
ci in statu indecenti. Legitur de Antiphonte Poëta, cum effec-  
tormentis extendendus à crudelissimo tyranno Dionysio, at-  
que illius ejusdem pœne haberet nonnullos consortes, qui se  
obvoluterant transitori per portas, ne viderent aut videren-  
tur ab astantibus, is dixit. Quid vos veremini, ne cras ab ul-  
lo istorum videamini. Illi refugiebant instigati illa pertrun-  
batio.

Afflictiones  
delegant sca-  
lara.

Pudoris con-  
sternationis.

Pudoris & ve-  
recundiae inge-  
nium.

batione pudoris videri aut videre aliquos, dum essent in hoc statu. Ita nunc ista inducitur, sua declarata spectatoribus faustate, & ceteris & declinare astantium conspectum.

*Teth, seu versus nonus.*

Humanitas  
te opprobrium  
populi, Deus  
hominis pro-  
cellis exalta-  
vit, & ad pre-  
ces hominum  
fugam reco-  
cavit.

**I**mmunditia ejus est in fimbriis ejus, non est recordata novissimi sui, descendit miris modis, non habens consolatorem: vide Domine afflictionem meam, quoniam magnificavit se hostis.

Nota & in-  
igne in puer-  
tis.

**I**mmunditia) Immunditia est hic menstruus sanguis. Metaphorice sceleris nota foetissima populi. Alias fuerunt occulta, non cognita aliis nationibus, antequam de illis a Deo sumeretur supplicium. At postea his pœnis, exiliis, cadibus, durissima servitute, iniuste eis notam & insigne, quibus omnibus vulgò traducta est illius iniquitas. Iam illam gestant in fimbriis. Vulgò & passim legitur in eorum suppliciis, quales revera fuerint. Non possunt se inficiari peccatores, uti mulier suam menstrua non potest occultare, quando infecerunt jam sue vestis externas fimbrias. Non est recordata novissimi sui. Sumitur recordandi vox minus proprie, cum id sit in natura & ratione memorie, ut semper ad præteritum referatur tempus. Imò conjectura, imaginatio & memoria tria sunt, in quibus si rem ipsam consideremus tantum, idem reperias, in eis discrimen temporum duntaxat differentiam inserponit. Nam idem spectrum, si referatur ad futura, divinationis, conjectura, prognosticon dici potest. Si ad præterita, memoria. Si ad præsentia imaginatio si ve intelligentia nuncupatur. Hic vero cum de novissimo, id est futuro ageretur, memo-

Recordatio  
futuri impro-  
prie dicitur.

Discrimen in-  
ter conjectu-  
ram, imaginati-  
onem & memo-  
riam.

memorie nomenclatura usus est. Quod si in voce abusus esse nolueris, ut usurpata sit futurorum cognitio memoria vocabulo, dicas per me, hoc ita idè appellari, quod sape à Prophetis fuerint hactenus admoniti, quem exitum sua illa facinora essent habitura, quæ dicta saluberrima illi neglexerunt. Debuerant memoriter tenere, & temere oblii sunt. Nos verò si sapimus, habeamus quæso semper ob oculos finem peccatorum, & diligenter cogitemus, qualis futurus sit. Quem fructum habuisti in illis, in quibus nunc erudescitis? Finis enim illorum est mors. A peccato autem liberati, & servi facti Deo, fructum habebis in sanctificationem, finem verò vitam æternam. Finis enim peccati mors, gratia verò Dei vita æterna in Christo Iesu Domino nostro. Horum nunquam oportuit nos oblivisi. Descendi miris modis) Dejecta est, ac non more erito & per vulgato. Plurima urbes alias delectæ sunt. Sed memoriâ hominum fuit nunquam tale excidium. Vti Deus sua bonitate, admirandis affectionibus & prodigiis istorum fortunæ à principio stabilivit: sic novis, inusitatis, admirandis casibus & procellis istos & jactari & dissipari voluit. Quod ad dictiones, utraque vox duplicem radicem sibi potest vindicare. Nam *dejecta*, si à *de* deducatur, significabit descendit, dejecta est, uti exposuimus. At à *de*, significabit lamentari, lachrymari, moeri cum flatu. Et erit sententia, nunc miris modis flere cogit, prius oblita suorum novissimorum. Rursus *de* non solum mirabilia referre potest, sed à *de*, potest deduci, ita ut & non sic radice, sed adjectum elementum, & erit sententia, descendit casibus, id est, valde concidit, non molliiter, sed confractioe durissima. Sed prior interpretatio videtur aprior. Vide) Tanta calamitas à Propheta extorquet precum vocem, quod impiis non facile videas contingere & desertoribus. Illi siquidem si expertes casui, fortuna & smertitati sua adversa erunt.

Assidue cogi-  
tatio de hoc  
peccatorum  
nobis com-  
mendatur.

Excidium ur-  
bis incomple-  
tabile.

Propter affli-  
ctionem, sic em-  
pium, quod  
in excidio  
desertorum, he-  
rebat, non  
parit.

faciendo se in-  
solentia hostium  
suo oraculo.

Supplicationes  
probatas  
divinis fultis  
promissis.

buunt, non presentia a numinis, idè potius in execrationes  
& diras blasphemias erumpunt. Quoniam.) Ac si dicat,  
non meis meritis audiri postulo, sed pro sua dignitate servan-  
dâ, ne hostes ita victores jactent suam potentiam, & tuum  
sibi vindicent robur. Nam aiunt non te nos dejecisse, sed  
suam asserunt virtutem bellicam nos prostravisse. Idè lege-  
rim, quoniam hostis jam se extollit & exultat. Atque nobis  
non excidas has supplicationes fultas esse divinis promissis.  
Nam Deuter. cap. 32. cum exposuisset Deus populo per Mo-  
sem illius durissimam insolentiam, & diceret, se cogitâsse ut  
illum perderet, subdebat postea, se tunc id non facturum, non  
quod illi probè non essent commeriti; nisi insolentiam inimi-  
corum videret, ne forte alienent se hostes, & ne forte dicant,  
manus nostra excelsa, & Dominus totum hoc non operatus  
est. Valde probantur illa vota, quæ aliquid à Deo postulant,  
& divinis oraculis, quod jam nobis ostendit antea, pijs homi-  
nibus, suo populo, Ecclesie dandum.

Ioth, seu versus decimus.

De hostium  
suum iuda-  
ica ad omnia  
sacra prophe-  
ticia, cum Deo  
consequitur.



Anum suam extendit inimicus super  
omnia desiderabilia ejus, vidit quod  
gentes intraverunt in sanctuarium  
suum, de quibus præcepisti, ut non  
veniant in congregationem tuam.

**D**esiderabilia ejus) Hoc non solum designat pecunias,  
gemmas, aurum, argentum, vestes prophani usus, sed  
magis videtur referre vasa sacra, ornamenta illa omnia, quæ  
ad templi & sanctuarij ministerium faciebant. Nam illa  
omnia in Babylonem sunt asportata, ut legitur in Danielis  
libro,

libro, quando iussu Balthassar elata sunt in convivium  
vasa, pocula, aliaq; huiusmodi, quæ fuerant in templo Do-  
mini, & concubini facta est copia & contrectandi & bibendi  
in illis. Vidit) Non semel hoc Iudæi contigit. Babylonij  
primi id egerunt. Græci deinde, ut habetur ex Maccabeo-  
rum historia. Pompeius Magnus, Crassus, denique Roma-  
ni. De quibus) Quales erant Moabita, Ammonite, Aeg-  
yptij, & demum, quia in sancta sanctorum non licuit ulli  
mortalium ingredi, nisi summo sacerdoti, atque id semel in  
anno. Quod si queratur ratio, quare fuerit interdictum illis  
nationibus, ne cætum intrarent? Quia infideles, idololatra,  
inimici Iudaici populi, intrantes cætum derisissent, & ver-  
santes cum Iudæis in sacris affricare facile potuissent ali-  
quem alienum cultum, quo consilio & Christus nostris iussit,  
ne sanctum darent canibus. Quod si tam severe arceri infi-  
deles voluit Dominus, à suis aris & adytis, quanto majori  
studio nos debuissimus nullum reliquisse locum diabolo, in  
nostris animis? Semele ejectus est in fortis armatus à Chri-  
sto, nostriq; animi templa illi consecrata sunt sanctissima, vi-  
deamus ne redeat impurissimus ille spiritus, quia non solus  
se in nos recipiet, sed verbo Christi teste, assumet septem  
alios spiritus, se nocentiores, cumque domum intraverit, va-  
cuam, mundam & ornata, libenter eo se recipiet. Et homi-  
nis illius no vissima erunt longe prioribus deteriora.

Cur interd-  
ctum fuerit ge-  
tibus, ne cæ-  
tum sacrum in-  
trarent.

Caph, seu versus undecimus.



Mnesq; sunt in populo ejus suspiran-  
tes, quærunt panem, dederunt deside-  
rabilia sua pro cibo, ad refocillandam  
animam: vide Domine & considera, quoniam  
facta sum vilis.

Panes populi  
Dei, qui in  
miseria.



Fames Aegyptiorum.

Populi famem et hellem compellat.

Fames et hellem.

**O**mnisque) Etiam si aliquot in eo populo fame cogerentur perire, esset misera rerum facies. Sed hic omnes describuntur ita esse confecti, terram qui à Deo nati sunt fertilissimam, & alias in deserto ab eo pascabantur. Et tamen hi omnes fame pereunt. Dederunt) Talem penè famis formam habemus in Genesi, quando Aegyptij coacti sunt dare Ioseph omnem pecuniam pro frumento, qua destituti dederunt pecora. Illi quoque rursum deficientibus, & sua corpora & agros dederunt Pharaoni. Hic conqueritur famem eo jam populum adegisse, ut dederint omnia sua desiderabilia, ut revocarent animam, non ad saturitatem, sed tantum, ut vel abeuntes spiritus retinerent, & jam collapsi spiritus rescicerentur. Vilis) Si solum vox ista significet vilem, parum videtur dici. Sed laet in vocabulo maxima energia. 77 enim significat comessatorem, helluonem. Deut. 21. accusant parentes filium coram iudice, non ipse audit vocem nostram, 77 comessator & potator. Factus sum inquit populus in hac fame helluo. Illi enim tam capiuntur gula & venustate vitio, ut quicquid postuletur ab eis in tabernis & popinis pro vino, aut dulci & suavi cibo, dent, nil parcant, omnia profundant, ut non expensas, sed proluvium faciant, dummodo curata bene sit eorum cucicula. Ita ego cogor helluonum more omnia mea desiderabilia, dare pro cibo. Hoc inter me & illos perditos interest. Illi sponte id agunt, & in superflua, non ut alantur, sed ut genio indulgeant. Ego cogor pro necessariis, ut vel spiritus mox mox efflandos aliquantisper retineam. Si durum hoc est audire, & tamen ad corpus attingit, quam faciem rerum esse patiamus in illis regionibus, quod ad pios homines, ubi nec micam quidem verbi Dei, panis celestis, licet impetrare. Venena & superstitiosa conciones audique secantes, ac panis firmas nullibi est. Sunt illi, mihi credite, vel orationibus à nobis adjuvandi, qui hic in domo Patrum jam abundantes, utinam non abutantur. La-

Lamed, seu versus duodecimus.

**N**E ad vos omnes transeuntes per viam: agite vidistis unquam talem dolorem, qui fit mihi: quoniam dolore affecit Dominus, in die furoris irae suae.

Hac Apostrophe populus Dei lucis suam etiam Dei agnoscat.

**N**E ad vos) Est haec flebilis Apostrophe. Vult rogare astantes & spectatores horum malorum, num talia usquam viderint, & quae suis his casibus conferri possint. Et inquit salutando & compellendo humaniter, talia non vobis contingant, ista vos non comprehendant, quibus ego rexor. His vocibus apud nos utuntur mendici & ulcerosi, dum petunt elemosynam. Agite) Si esset usitatus atque communis pluribus, videretur sublevari, quia dicitur, solacium est miseris, socios habere pauperum, quia non ita videmur Deo exosi, si his eadem penis alij quoque afficiantur. Licet hoc vulgatum proverbium, solacium esse miseris socios habere dolorum, à carne & humani sensus prudentia dimanaret, atque ideo indignum habeatur homine pio. Qui enim charitate prediti sunt, non modò sua sentiunt adversa, sed aliorum quoque dolores & cruciatus agere ferunt, ita ut illis patius sit: suis pati. Nam si consociantur illis eadem ratione alij miseri, & suum cogentur ferre dolorem, & illorum. Sed hic Propheta non hanc rem serio tractat aut diffinit, cum totus sit in exprimendo istorum luctum. Qui fit mihi. 77. Augeatur hic dolor, ut qui non fit ut aiunt mendici, in statu, sed assidue augeatur. Id verbum non simpliciter aliquid fieri significat, sed perfici, ut factus in materno utero semper absolvitur, crescit, augeatur usque ad parvum. Inde metaphora est deducta. In die) Hoc est piarum, suar

Contra diabolum.

Doloris commotio cum facta in matre.

D 2 cala.



Infirmitas de  
vina providet  
de & infirmitas  
substantia

calamitates, adverses casus, infortunia, divina providen-  
tia, non temeritati tribuere. Conqueritur se à Deo punicum,  
& quodammodo jam non paterne, sed in ira & furore, uti  
inimici & desperati improbi trahantur, ut divina justitia  
sua ultionem vicam habeat.

Mem, seu versus decimus tertius.

Terrifica ira  
Desolata

**D**E excelso misit ignem in ossa mea, &  
prævaluit in ea, extendit rete pedibus  
meis, & convertit me retrorsum, po-  
suitque me desolatam, gementem tota die.

Dominus in  
celo operari  
dicitur.

**D**E excelso) Quasi de celo, ubi Dominus operari dici-  
tur, quia ibi manifestè cognoscitur, & apparent ma-  
xima & ingenia illius opera, fulgura, inquam, tempestates  
&c. Unde dicitur Paulus, revelatur ira Dei de celo super  
omnes impietatem & injustitiam hominum eorum, qui ve-  
ritatem Dei in injustitia detinere. Inde inquit Dominus  
misit ignem in ossa mea: Ignis efficacissimus ad agendum,  
enimque ad ossa qui penetrare, omnia declarantur absum-  
pta. Et prævaluit in ea) Pronomen hi Hebræo est singula-  
ris numeri, & refertur ad unumquodq; ossum. Posset tri-  
descondere significare, quasi ignis descendere fecerit, id est  
evacuare unumquodq; illorum ossum, & medullas exhau-  
serit, unde postea magna consequatur debilitas. Et Rabbi  
Salomo in hac interpretationis est auctor. Extendit) Po-  
nuntur hic illa, quæ indicant hanc Dei supplicia esse in vita-  
bilis, non in ira & furore sunt inflicta, de excelso interrogata,  
ad osse peruenire, non possumus fugere, quæ rete Domini  
capitur, quod usque ad id validum, ut cogat retro cadere, & hac  
flamma

Supplicia Dei  
pinguiter in-  
veniebantur.

flamma consumi. Posuitq; ) Aliorum hominum luctus quana-  
doque interpolantur, mens nullum modum aut finem habet.

Nun, versus decimus quartus.

**L**igatum est jūgum iniquitatum mea-  
rum in manu ejus, implicatae ascende-  
runt super collum meum, fecit corrues-  
cere robur meum, tradidit me Dominus in ma-  
nus, à quibus non potero surgere.

Ligum suis in-  
quiritibus co-  
statum, manu  
Dei vindice fi-  
bi aut impos-  
tum, quod &  
suis cervicibus  
non possit am-  
plius deprecari.

**L**igatum) Apertissima inducitur metaphora, quæ scelera  
durissimo jugo comparat, quo scelerari homines boum  
more premuntur. A quo si manent aliquandiu liberi, haud ta-  
men semper immunes erant, siquidem in manu Dei servatur  
ponderosum infligendum illis supplicium. Actio scelestæ duo  
secum affert, præsentem quandam carnis dulcedinem, brevissi-  
simam voluptatulam, quam sensuum titillationem dixeris,  
deinde illam manet grave supplicium, quod cum justissime de  
illis sumatur, in manu Dei, qui est ipsa justitia, esse dicitur.  
Quod alligatum isti vertunt, Hebraice dicitur *W* quod  
verbum multa significat. Primo extrahere, ac si dicatur.  
Iam meum jugum, quod ego mihi pollicebar nullum esse, id  
enim fit, ut sibi impenitentem polliceantur peccantes, extra-  
ham est, exercam, comparuit. Secundo potest ea vox vibrare,  
vigilans, & tunc dicitur. Equidem assidue peccans ultionem  
dormite patibam, verum nunc ex perior illam vigilare.  
Rabbi Salomò de manu ait, verbum illud referre pungere,  
quod ille traducit ad notas inveniendas, sicut signis nonnun-  
quam fit, ut certos designemus numeros alii in arithmetica varia  
puncta, quibus uti dixi numeri designantur. Nunc inquit

Scelerum cum  
durissimo Dei  
jugo apertissima  
comparatio.

Actio scelestæ  
brevissimam  
dulcedinem, &  
gravissimum  
supplicium se-  
cum affert.

ego meas iniquitates arbitrabar oblivioni traditas, sed omnes descriptae, appensae & enumeratae sunt in manu Dei. Et illarum jugum sive pondus ad amissum respondet meis meritis. Implicatae) Si referas ad Dei manum descendunt. Si vero situs partium corporis animantis spectetur, cum sit collum in sublimi positum, dicentur ascendere. At vox implicatae est significantiae vehementis. Funium, surculorum & flagellorum visum, id videtur esse proprium, quae implicantur simul, ut vix explicari soleant. Ita vitia & scelera simul semper plura sunt commixta, & nunquam ferè crimen aliquod unum reperias, sed quae ita simul colligata stringunt, vincunt, capivum tenent infelicem hominem. In Parabolis cap. 5. dicitur: Suae ipsius iniquitates capiunt impium, & funibus peccati tenetur. In hac metaphora deinde consideres peccatores jumentis insipientibus conferri. Psal. 47. Assimilatus est jumentis quae intereunt, quod iniquitatibus totum debemus, nati alioquin ad divinum similitudinem, atque ad Deum capessendam felicitatē. Servitus indicatur hic praesentis nominis jugi. Prudentia carni inimica est Deo, igitur enim Dei non est subdita, nec enim potest. Tyrannica in visis est servitus. Caro imperat, servus dominatur, atque omnia refert ad sua commoda, nihil ad universi hominis salutem, dummodo sensus bene habeant, & curetur diligenter cuticula, factus est. Idque ponitur tyrannici dominij proprium, si indignos servare jubeat, cumque imperata omnia non in publicum, sed privatum imperantis commodum vergunt. Unde sequitur illud regimen eandem fore durissimum. Unde hic pingitur jugum. Quod si non sentiant, nunc ejus pondus, premet certissimo ultionis tempore. At dicit, Christi quoque dicitur onus & jugum. Rogum quales? Jugum suae & onus lene. Quod felices formulae argumenti Dialectici, valet & firmiter est argumentum, quando praeterposita conjunguntur, dicere.

Scelera semper plura concurrunt, quae carum deum hominem

Servitus hominis dicitur inimica sceleris dominum

Christi jugum quomodo suum dicitur

cere. Jugum suae, igitur non jugum. Onus lene, igitur non onus. Sicuti homo pictus vel mortuus, igitur non homo. Tantundem hic est. Suae vires repugnat jugi naturae, & lenitas oneri. Fecit) Nihil magis vires exhaurit, quam peccatum, atque illo ita debilitamur, ut non possimus ferre. Excute diligenter vires animae. Cognoscendi vires offuscatur in humanis, nam quod ad divina prorsus est excacata. Voluntas est omnino corrupta, nihil bene vult depravato intellectu, & vexata cupiditatibus, quibus cum cedat rei summa, ac illae sint infinitae, vires corporis non sufficiunt illis explendis. Cui rei dum nimis addicitur corpus, frangitur, hebetatur, neque par est tanta servituti. Demum ipsae coguntur intus recundi, cumque minus exaturati possint, magis ac magis inflammantur, atque ita omnis vis & robur hominis concidit. Si homines peccata sua ferre potuissent, non opus erat Christi adventu. Ille venit, nobisque jam obrutus opem tulit, peccatis quae non fecerat, humerum supposuit, nosque sua cruce & morte levavit onerosissima sarcina. Tradidit) Vetus est Dominus hac mea scelera viribus, violentia, crudelitate Chaldaeorum, quibus me tradidit quasi carnificibus cruciandum. Ne transeas inconsideratè vocem hanc, tradidit, familiarē sacris literis, & quicquid tibi à malis spiritibus, ab Antichristo, à mundo, ab improbis, à carne infligitur aduersi, scito non sine Deo fieri. Ipse enim punit ita sibi inimicos, probat verò & exercet suos. Sermo hic est mancus. In manus, subintellige eorum. Rursus non potero surgere, adde, ab eis. Argumentum deinde hinc habes aduersus istorum liberum arbitrium. Quero ab eis, quid sit gravius, peccatum an poena peccati inflicta. Cogentur respondere peccatum vel aequius vel magis premere quam poenam. Magis videtur, quia prius est poena & illam provocans. Sed fac esse aequè grave, quia non potest dici levius, alioquin poena daretur major & gravius

Peccatum omnes animi corporis vires exhaurit.

Mole peccatorum opprimit Christum opem tulit.

Vis in verbo tradendi

Libertatem arbitrium firmo argumentum refutatur.

vior peccato, id est, esset Deus in iusticia arcessere. Cum ergo sine vel ad gravia, vel peccatum gravius pondus: & homo suis viribus, suo arbitrio seipsum non possit a pena explicare, quomodo a peccato? Argumentum tenet ab aequali vel a maiori negat, si quod aequum videbatur inesse, vel magis, & non inesse, neque illud quod aequum aut minus. Cui addit peccata quoque esse penas, ut patet ad Romanos cap. 1. Peccatis illi dicitur homo traditus alicuius nominis. Et inde, ut inquit hic Hieremias, non potest surgi. Ergo non sumus nos satis, & ita liberi, ut illi fingunt. Christo opus fuit.

Samech, seu versus decimus quintus.

Scios laetari per  
veram promi-  
ssam, videlicet  
in illa morte sta-  
tutorum, & in  
victoriam con-  
ducere esse,  
deplorat.

**C**onculcavit omnes magnificos meos in interiori meo, vocavit contra me tempus, ut contereret electos meos, torcular calcavit Dominus virgini filiae Iuda.

Populicolas  
vocat.

**C**onculcavit) Cum domus est deijcienda, à columnis id conspicitur. Hi fortes, incliti, sunt Prophetae, Sacerdotes, Principes, Duces belli. Isti sunt dejecti. Vide præclaram antithesin. **Non** est calcare, uti pulvis in via teritur. Incliti opponuntur pulveri. **Tempus**) Vel cæcum. Sanctificavit diem celebrem, quo multi consueverunt invitari, tunc victimæ copiose immolantur. Ita Dominus mactari voluit iuvenes electos meos. **Vocavit cæcum acies hostium ad hanc eadem.** In Esaia, victima Domini est in Bozra. **Torcular**) Cædas pingitur deducta similitudine ab his, qui in torculari calcant uvas. Verum illi jam uvas habent sub pedibus, ita Iudei victimas contulerunt & contriti. Ac cæcum ex uris exprimitur, ita fundebatur sanguis in stra-

Colorem  
victoriam pl-  
dura.

ge cumulatifsimè. Est præterea alia similitudinis ratio. **Uva** non calcantur, neque inde exprimitur mustum, nisi sub fine suæ maturitatis: sic divina severitas expectat, ut completa sit scelerum mensura, postea dura hæc & horrenda supplicia sumis. Per uvæ calcationem exprimitur illa servitias & crudelitas militum, quæ fit in urbium excidiis. Alliduntur infantes, scinduntur pregnantæ. Verum tales uvæ, quæ ita à Domino calcantur, non sunt bonæ, sed illius vitii degeneris, à quâ expectabantur dulces quidem uvæ, sed fecit labrascas. Alibi dicitur torcular calcavi solus, hæc eadem sententia. Esa. 63.

Vitii degenera-  
tione.

Ain, seu versus decimus sextus.

**S**uper hæc ego ploro, oculus meus, oculus meus distillat lachrymas, quia elongatus est à me consolator, restituens animam meam, facti sunt filij mei desolati, quia prævaluit inimicus.

Lamentatur  
fortunam ad-  
versam, & cō-  
paratur suis  
prævaluisse  
hostem.

**S**uper hæc) Durissima visa est hæc similitudo, quæ inducuntur à Domino Iudæi tam misere perditæ, ut sint pares uris in torculari calcatis. Non itaque immerito dicit Propheta se hoc de flere, & id eam ratione, ut oculus, oculum ejus geminus, vel repetitione tu intelligas miserabilius, aquas stiller fontium more. Allusio in vocibus est suavis. **U** fontem & oculum significat. Se jugiter flere declarat, sed ita, ut jam in naturam fontis oculus videatur degenerasse. Quia elongatus est à me consolator, restituens animam, id est, refrigerans. Haud parum hoc est calamitatis, ut quis amicis sit destitutus, sed inter ceteras miserrima videtur

E hæc

## In Lamentationes Ieremiæ,

**34** *hæc miseria. Cum vero hic tantopere à Propheeta requiratur consolatio in afflictione, nos qui hæc aut legimus, aut audimus, non debemus contemnere, negligere, abicere, tale officij genus. Illud enim non modo humanitas, sed Christiana charitas persuadet. Ad id Paulus quoque nos adhortatur. Flete cum flentibus. Quare non illi desolati sane dimittendi, qui jactantur acerbis fortune casibus. Cur vero Iudæi ita mentibus desit consolatio, satis nobis expedit antea illorum visa, in luxu, Dei contemptu, carnis illecebris, mundi voluptatibus vixerant. Ac huc hominum generi non pollicetur est Deus consolationes. Dixit enim, beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolationem consequentur. Contraria semutuo consequuntur, circa idem subiectum. Et in Evangelio dictum est luxurioso illi diviti. Recepisti bona in vita tua, Lazarus mala. Nunc rerum vicissitudo est immutata. Hi non consequuntur consolationem rursum aliâ de causâ, quia spiritui Dei carent, & is unus, nostri animi est consolator. si quando in aliqua incideris adversa. Non enim vanè consolator dicitur & adhortator, quem Græci Paracletum appellant. Deinde divinum verbum est virtus & inexhaustus consolationis fons, nam per illud Spiritus sese nostris animis infundat. Esset cujuslibet igitur officium, dum vacat congerere sibi in memoria penuriam, maguam vim & copiam sanarum sententiarum, & sacræ literæ, quæ nobis postea consolationi & voluptati esse possint, dum adversis huc & illuc distrahimur.*

*Pe, seu versus decimus septimus.*

**E**xpandit Sion manus suas, & non erat ei consolator, mandavit Dominus adversus Iacobum, & hostes in circuitu ejus: Hierusalem facta est in abominationem inter eos.

**E**xpandit Sion manus suas, & non erat ei consolator. Exprimere gestum Iudaici populi, quem fingit mulierem. Mos est afflictarum muliercularum ita misericordiam excitare, cum manus extendunt & clamant, sed neque sic isti successit. Mandavit Dominus adversus Iacobum, & hostes in circuitu ejus. Nullum isti sunt misericordiam consequuti, quia à Deo res erat jam decreta, ut hostes premerent undiq; Israel. Prima oportuerat ita dolere & resipiscere. Non fuit unquam res tuta tamdiu protrahere resipiscendi moram. Libenter omitto Rabbi Salomonis interpretationem, qui dicit hostes circum Iacob ideò dici, quod in capiti virate à Babyloniis & Assyriis circa Israel, in eadem regione collocati quoque fuerint Ammonitæ, Idumæi, Palæstini, ceteraq; finitimæ nationes, à quibus assidue est Israel opprobriis & contumeliis laceßitus, unde exilio illorum nova hæc addebatur calamitas. Vanum hoc est, cum ex sacræ literæ historia hæc non habeatur. In abominationem) *De hac voce confer verbum hujus cap. 1.* *De hac voce confer verbum hujus cap. 1.* Illud verbum motione quoq; interdum significat. Quod si ita hic velis sumere, apta est sententia. Hierusalem civitas alioquin bene firma inter eos instabilis, vaga, incertarum sedium facta est. Si vero istam vocem detorqueas ad immunditatem, menstruatam mulierem significat. Et antirhebis est effica. Hierusalem civitas alioquin sancta, foetida est & immunda, ut menstruada conferti possit, à qua horrent omnes. Et vir ejus procul ab illa semotus est. Neque alia aptiori metaphora exprimi potest viciorum foetidas, quam menstrui sanguinis. Ceu enim is fluit à carne verendaram partium, ita nostra scelera ortum habent & fluxum à carne, quam generatione ab Adamo derivatam habemus.

E 2

Tzade,

*Ad huc addi-  
tum esse  
obstantem.*

*Cur Iudæi  
mentibus  
desit con-  
solatio.*

*Spiritus Dei  
consolator.*

*Verbum Dei  
virtus & inex-  
haustus con-  
solationis fons.*

*Aspiciunt &  
sola ut m. cas-  
sum impiorum  
ab hostibus  
undiq; obfusa  
& antirhebis  
est menstrua  
polluta, reman-  
ens ab omni  
hinc inde.*

*Viciorem sa-  
dare.*

Tzade, seu versus decimus octavus.

Iustitiam Dei  
agnoscit, & in  
consumptum sa-  
cra Dei vindit  
& ceteris pro-  
ponit.

**I**ustus est Dominus, quia os ejus exacerbavi: audite nunc omnes populi & videte dolorem meum: virgines meae & juvenes mei abierunt in captivitatem.

**I**ustus est Dominus) Hoc est fructus tantae castigationis, tandem confessio divinae justitiae extorquetur. Vbi vero Deum punientem, atemur juste agere, nos injuste fecisse hoc ipso predicamus. Quia os ejus) Merito punior, cum ita adversaria, rebellis, contumax ejus verbis fuerim. Mea ego nequitia hanc ab eo alioquin mirissimo Patre tam immanem expressi sententiam. Audite nunc omnes) Vocantur spectatores, ut peccatorum gravitatem agnoscere desinam horum similia committere, propter quae haec ita fuit confecta. Vere poenitentes hoc maxime cupiunt, ut alij eorum exemplo adducti a vitiis temperent. Nec de puto alio consilio in Ecclesia fiebant antiquitus publica illa delictorum confessiones, nisi ut astantium implorarentur supplicationes, utq; illorum exemplo gementium, alij provocarentur ad resipiscendum, si in talia incidissent, vel magis confirmarentur, ut abstinerent ab his, propter quae tantopere viderent postea dolendum esse. Vbi significat templum, neque aliud unquam hoc adverbium notatur. Ac si praecedens habuerit elementum R, quae so interpretantur. Vox precantibus aptissima. Virgines meae & juvenes mei) Cur tam frequens mentio sit virginum & juvenum, videre non est difficile. Vbi miseria gravior declaratur. Nam illa aetas ostenditur perditam, unde prosperitatis & novae sobolis spes habeatur. In summa se funditus huius verbi interitus demonstrant.

Vere poeniten-  
tiam indoles.  
Rursus consen-  
di primitiva  
Ecclesiae.

Koph,

Koph, seu versus decimus nonus.

Amicorum in-  
certum per-  
fida, & cetero-  
rum mors uti-  
lissima.

**C**lamavi ad amicos meos, & ipsi deciperunt me, sacerdotes mei & senes mei in urbe consumpti sunt, quoniam quaesierunt sibi cibum, ut refocillarent animam suam.

**C**lamavi) למה אלהי. Non verè amicos hic nobis significat, sed illos qui alias tales videri gestiebant, fingebant, cum tamen, ut res postea declaravit, mihi animo essent insens. Neque aliud hominum genus inveniri potest, à quo nobis magis cavendum sit. Talis primis hominibus fuit diabolus, amica & blanda voce alliciebat illos, quasi bona eis quereas. Tales conquerebatur in suis Psalmis non semel David. Tales nos intus domesticos experimur, carnem inquam nostram, sensus, atque rationem, quibus uti corruptis & fraudulentis non est credendum. Vbi nihil est magis expectandum inter humana, quàm vera, candida, sincera amicitia: ita nihil simulata est damnosius. Atque ista est rerum opprimarum conditio, ut si à sua legitima removeantur constitutione, tunc fiant pessima. Quam meliorem animantem homine mihi ostenderet, si bonus fuerit, quod si in malum deflexerit, quid eo pejus? Vnde Proverbum, Homini homo Deus. Homini homo lupus. Differendi facultas, quam Dialecticam appellant, si rectè iradatur, infinita vera enucleatè ostendit, si verò depravata, jam omnia referta videas imposturis & capiosis rationibus. Si, ut vulgò dicitur, nihil fideli amico potest equari, perfido nihil est magis evitandum. Argumentum necessarium, si contrariorum regula aliquid valet. Et ipsi) Hoc denotatur quàm fideles fuerint. Amici definitio

Amicitia simulata.

Rerum opti-  
marum perver-  
sio perniciosa.

Amici definitio.

E 3

est,

## De lamentatione Jeremie

Rabbi Salo-  
monis tabella

est, ut quæ putat bona esse amico suo, illa cupiat maximè & fa-  
ciat, neque id sui commodi, sed illius gratia. At isti cum ne-  
cessitas premis decipiunt, cum requiruntur fallunt, fortu-  
nam sequuntur, verè tempori serviunt. Iam non homines, sed  
ciconie & hirundines, quæ semper repida consellantur loca.  
Consisterant Iudei saepe externis auxiliis, sed semper falsi.  
Narrat Rabbi Salomo fabellam. Cum Israelitæ ducerentur  
in captivitatem, & iter haberent per Ismaelitarum fines, ses-  
si, lassæ, esurientes implorabant illorum veluti fratrum si-  
dem. Illi præseferentes benignum in eos animum, celantes  
vires odium acerbissimum, occurrerunt eis quasi parati ad eos  
refocillandos, cibos gestabant & utres. Filij Israel caperunt  
ut sic edere, obsonia cuncta erant salica, utres verò qui pleni  
vino aut aqua videbantur, inflati erant vento. Vnde miseri  
cum uti famelici copiose cibum sumpsissent, bibendi cupidi  
aquam, aut vinum minimè invenerunt. Vnde sitis non solum  
calore & itineris labore augebatur, verum sale assumpti cibi.  
Quare cæ miseri conficiebantur. Istasne facile dicuntur, ita  
lenissime repudiantur. Equidem existimo hic agi de exter-  
nis auxiliis, à quibus illi aliquando se iuvandos putabant.  
Vel ad idola referas & mendaces Prophetas, quod vero non  
est dissimile. Omnes isti eos sefellerunt. Sacerdotes) Hic ta-  
cita occurritur objectioni. Esi illi qui tibi videbantur esse  
amici, te deficiuerunt, num hac de causa res tuae deplorare  
sunt? Recurre ad tuos sacerdotes, prudentes, seniores, ut  
consilio te iuvant. Respondet, At illi jam expirant, quos  
ego putavi multum posse, quibus maximè fidebam, quos me  
valde amare existimabam, expertus sum perfidos, qui verò  
mibi usus esse potuissent extincti sunt. Sape ab aliquo populo  
durissimo Dei iudicio boni sacerdotes, probi concionatores,  
prudentes consultores auferuntur, ut illi funditus pereant.  
Respondit iste versus superiori, cum dicebat, concula-  
vis

## D. P. Martyris Commentarium.

39

vis omnes fortes meos. Quoniam) Maxime augetur cala-  
mitas, cum genus mortis exprimitur. Hi utiles viri, qui mi-  
bitant usui esse poterant, jam fame perierunt, quod imma-  
nissimum est oppetenda mortis genus. Et forte innuitur hic  
neglectus proborum hominum. Ad eo contemnebant Dei ver-  
bum, ut potius mendaces Prophetas parerint, quàm sanctos.  
Vnde Dei iudicio se ab his desertos & proditos videns. Cum  
igitur nobis hac humane dilectionis perfidia describitur, du-  
plex offertur corroboratio. Vna, ut integram & sinceram cha-  
ritatem erga fratres conservemus, ne ita fallaces & perdit  
arguamur. Nam quæ excidit non est charitas, & qui amicus  
est, omni tempore diligit. Cum igitur nos sales studemus pro-  
ximis exhibere, interim Deum respiciamus, qui nunquam  
ab ea charitate cadit, qua nos prosequitur. Quæ fretus Pau-  
lus dicebat, quis nos separabis à charitate Dei, & quæ se-  
quuntur. Rursus, ἀμαρτάνοντα sunt dona Dei. Vnde  
promissa illi populo de Christo, etiam illis peccantibus & à  
Deo deficientibus non sunt mutata. Quid enim si quidam il-  
lorum non crediderunt, numquid incredulitas illorum fidem  
evacuavit? Absit. Datus est illis Christus, & quamdiu in  
terris versatus est, fuit minister circumcisionis.

Neglectus pro-  
borum homi-  
num.

Corroboratio ad  
charitatem  
cetera erga fra-  
tres, & chari-  
tatis divine  
meditationem.

Resch, seu versus viceſimus.

Vide Domine, quia angustia est mihi,  
viscera mea contracta sunt, subversum  
est cor meum in trame, eo quod rebel-  
lis fuerim, foris gladius orbat, intus quasi  
mors.

Ab hominibus  
deſerta, Dei  
opē implorat,  
non in ſemel-  
ipſa, neque ex-  
tra ſe quicquid  
interum aſſequi-  
tur. Morre ſubver-  
ſum eſſe de-  
monſtrat.

Vide Domine) Hæc formâ loquendi ſemper utitur ge-  
mens ſynagoga. Quia nō mos eſt gemensum, vellemus  
attendit

Indicium Dei  
durissimum

mores, lachrymas, bellicos strepitus, terrores assidue in ce-  
piatur urbs, imaginationes fustorum, que omnia ita affli-  
gunt, ut nihil mihi sine morte.

*Schin, seu reversi vicesimus primus.*

**A** Vdierunt quia ingemisco ego, & non  
est consolator: omnes inimici mei au-  
dierunt malum meum, & latati sunt,  
quoniam tu fecisti, adduxisti diem quem voca-  
sti, & sint sicut ego.

De hodie  
scorum pax  
negia con-  
queritur.

**A** Vdierunt Homo natus ad gloriam. Ingenitus est il-  
lic stimulus, si quando videat se contemni, vebe-  
menter dolet, soletque contempnus iram inflammaré, provo-  
care ultionem, si despecti aliquid valeant. Vbi vero sunt in-  
firmi, ac nihil possint, dolorem sustinent incoletabilem. Id  
nunc Hierusalem conqueritur. Illi cognoverunt me in ma-  
lore esse, neque ullâ dignari sunt consolatione. Ignorantiam  
prætere nequeunt, gemitus exaudierunt. Quid mirum igi-  
tur, si valde doleo? Est hec omnium hominum communis  
perturbatio, ut vel amicus et charissimus aliquis irascatur,  
si illos animadversant nihil, parum, aut non quantum par-  
erat, suis moveri angustijs. Omnes Id maxime offendit  
maiores, si alios videant de suis malis voluptatem capere.  
Quod idem est, quia procreatus est homo naturâ societatis ap-  
petentissimus, cuius jura sunt, ut mutus nos in mutis offi-  
ciis, que nullis conservimus denegare, nisi pestiferum homini-  
bus, quos indignos humanâ societate, et illo commercio a-  
stimamus. Si vero id vulgo, pessimum publicè fiat ad per se ali-  
quem, ut omnes illum negligant afflictum, aut rideant, et  
ejus

Homo natus  
ad gloriam  
vult contemni,  
& pro ululo  
perit.

Nolentia  
nobis gratia  
alios letari &  
tristari.

ascendi suam calamitatem, quia magni cognosce magis miseri-  
cor diam elicens. Deinde levatur aliquentulum, illas cum  
astantibus et spectatoribus communicando. Qui enim cum  
benivolis de suis leguntur calamitatibus, illas quodammodo  
evacuando non nihil alleviatur. His addit, quod Domi-  
do pertinet et distribuitur in multos. His addit, quod Domi-  
nue cum illas attendat esse jam graves, placator redditur.  
Conservit enim ira mitigari, cum facti penarum sumptum  
viderit. Vbi hic Dei non simplicem sed benignam, et miseri-  
coram implorat Dei cognitionem. Viscera) Viscera inte-  
stina si contrahantur, et non late patent, sunt torminum et  
dolorum causa. Nam feces crassiores, humores, exhalatio-  
nes, et alia ejusmodi, si debitum exitum non reperiunt, retro-  
cedunt ac sistuntur maxime animantium tormenta. Aben-  
extra videtur interpretari, quia tantum lachryme et corpore  
hauriant humores, ut instat utrum jam vacui, qui corruga-  
ent et contrahitur, omnia intestina sine contrahit. Sed prior  
interpretatio magis videtur consentanea. Subversum  
Magnam et grave malum, siquidem cor origo, fons est, prin-  
cipium sensus, morionum, quo se non nihil speret, ut proitabi  
possit vita. Eò quod) Apertissima tribuitur causa dicto ma-  
lo. Quales ego fui divinis verbis, tale nunc meos membris es-  
sedum est cor. Mens animus Dei verbo est adversatus, re-  
pugnans, rebellis illi fuit. Et cor meum ita subversum est, ut  
ex membris mei corporis debitas et requisitas vires non sub-  
ministrat. Foris gladius orbat. Si qui sint, qui domi-  
li habeant, foras se transferunt. Et quibus parum incunda est  
mors, apud externos, ad suos redeunt. Ac mihi inquit utrin-  
que est fors intolerabilis. Foris sunt cedes innumere, quibus  
parentes filios orbantur. Intus quasi mors. Quidam su-  
perioris calamitates, famem, obestemem, seditiones, cla-  
mores,

Motis proci-  
piunt vultus &  
consideratio  
habet dolorem.

Vitium va-  
le in magno  
aliquo dolore.

Pena talionis.

Plurima mor-  
tis lango.



## In Lamentationes Ieremiae;

eius latensur incommodus, necesse est, ut is gravissime doleat. Quoniam tu fecisti. R. Salomo iudicavit, à Propheta quodammodo in Deū rejici causam istius odij tā acerbi, ut populus afflictus ita videretur. Nam inquit, Domine tu hoc fecisti, qui me à ceteris nationibus, quibus ad id sum insensa, separasti legibus, ceremoniis, ritu, vestitu, omneq̃ illarum commercium, affinitatem, societatem mihi prohibuisti. Quae ira abs te mihi interdicta, constānt aduersum me illarum capitale odium. Si enim fuisset illis aliqua praedictarum rationum conjuncta, forsau illas mei miseram esset. Sed mihi magis consentaneum videtur, ut dicat, illi lacantur malis meis, quae ego patior, quoniam tu fecisti, id est, tu es, qui contra me agis. Cum Deus ulciscitur, tunc facere dicitur, ut in Hosea Propheeta vidimus. In die quando faciet Dominus. Et in Psalmis, tempus faciendi Domino, id est parandi penas, quoniam impij legem tuam dissiparunt. Adduxisti Gaudens isti quia jam dies venit, de quo saepe praedixeras per Propheetas, me quandoque esse, ob mea pessima merita casuram. Gaudens illam jam advenisse horam, non quod illi Propheetae fidem habeant, tantum illi voluptatem capiunt, meum extremū diem, id est exitium advenisse. Ipsa Hierusalem addis de vocatione, id est vaticinio hujus diei sibi antea saepe exposito. Aut dicat, Implici & absoluta sententia, adduxisti diem, ad quem vocasti hos meos hostes, qui longē aberant, quasi ad convivium, ad vittimas, ad celebrem diem, sicuti supra dixerat, cum strages & cades populi appellavit. Quae hujus loci est sententia, si verbum hoc putetur esse praesertitum temporis. At si modi operari consueverimus, ut Aben Ezra hic asserit, & Salomo, tunc forma verborum erit suppletario contra hostes, ita se deridentes afflicta. Adducas jam diem, quem saepe mihi vocasti & praedixisti per meos Propheetas, istorum irriseris inquam ruinam. Saepe audiui à

san-

## D. P. Martyris Commentarium. 43

sanctis vaticibus, & hos quoque perdendos, qui me erant afflictiuri. Nachum, Abdia, Miccha, Esaias quoque multa in suis oraculis excinerunt onera. Quare adducas precor nunc illum diem, ego satis sum afflicta, illis quoque ut merentur rependatur, non sunt meliores quā ego, praecessi equidem, illi jam consequantur. Quadrat magis adjecta sententiae haec interpretatio, nam statim subjicitur. Et sicut ego. Verum huic sententiae adversatur scrupulus, quia non videtur decere sanctos homines, incitare Deum aduersus hostes suos, importunis precibus. Vult Christus ut oremus pro nostris persecutoribus. Hoc Paulus inculcat. Exemplo Iesus Christus firmavit, quod iusserat. Pater ignosce illis, quia nesciunt, quid faciant. Idem exemplum Stephanus expressit, dum mortem oppeteret. Sanctos videtur decere, ut hominem diligant, vitia odio prosequantur, praecipue cum ista calamitates & persecutiones etiam nolentibus & imprudentibus hostibus nostris, sint nobis occasiones, aut probationis, aut resipiscendae. Sed de hoc Propetarum dictis & imprecationibus in suos hostes, dixerunt ferē omnes nostri majores, illa esse futurorum vaticinia, eā loquutionis formā expressa, quia formis variis consuevit Spiritus Sanctus impellere vates ad divinandum, nunc hilari, jucundo & suavissimo cantu, nunc maestis versibus, funereis cantionibus, flebilibus quodammodo elegis, nunc aperta oraculi editione, modo comminando, modo imprecando. Et nihil tandem humani argumenti aspernatur divinus spiritus, quod ad nos emendandos conducatur. Vaticinatur itaque hic futura precum titula & nomine, quae revera contigerunt, quia omnes finissima nationes, quae de Hierusalem exilio voluptatem ceperunt, & ipsa deleta sunt, demum Chaldaei à Medis fuerunt subjugati. Nec sunt isti leviores passi, quā Iudeos ferre viderint. Non tamen est praeterendum, hanc imprecationum vim, quiddam

De dictis &amp; ceteris omnibus Propetarum quid sentiantur.

Variis formis divinandi.

F 2 aliud



Voluntati de  
vix agilio  
implicatione  
causa

Quid nobis  
breve licet.

Cum in N.T.  
rationes im-  
precationes  
occurrant, quib  
in Vetus

Spiritus Dei  
in vultu  
testamento, sed  
non in libro

aliud prater vaticinia secum affert. In utile est con-  
siderare. Sanctum bonum est, voluntati divina agnita  
se cupidos ostendere, ut Deo se in omnibus ostendant quam  
conjugatissimos. Cum ergo Propheta jam esset Deum ira vel-  
le & constituisse indicatum, statim precatur, ut ira fiat. Ne-  
que id in eis erat caro aut humana affectio, sed spiritus Dei,  
qui in suis sanctis illa efficacissime postulat, & gemitibus in-  
effabilibus, quae sunt a divina voluntate atque consilio. Non  
ergo temere debemus adduci his exemplis, ut nostris adver-  
sariis & oppressoribus mala contingant, nisi spiritum Dei no-  
biscum confiteri, illos esse incorrigibiles. Tunc ut ipsi contumaceantur  
operari possumus, etiam adversis casibus, quod sanctis Domini  
sit melius, & cesset innocentium sanguis effundi. Si vero sunt  
corrigibiles, & speramus eos emendari posse, aliquibus casti-  
gationibus, id operari posset, cum ut iustitia locum habeat,  
tum ad aliorum terrorem. Sed hic parca & restrictius est a-  
gendum, ne forte hoc decoro & splendido colore, indulgeamus  
alicui latenti morbo carnis nostrae, quae undique est infirma.  
Non tamen hoc timore & necessaria cautela, intermitteri de-  
bent bona consilia excommunicationum, aut fraternae corre-  
ptionis, ita ut hic vicia duntaxat prosequamur, & fratris sa-  
lutem maxime inquiratur. Haec de his imprecationibus dicen-  
da praedicavi, quas passim offendimus in sacris literis. Sed u-  
num de illis adhuc videtur remansisse dubium. Qui sit, ut ipse  
vero in nobis reperiantur instrumentis, aut in veteri, in Pro-  
pheta, in Psalmis sine adeo frequentes? Oportet hic statim  
secernere. Patres sub pedagogo fuerunt, ut habes ad Gala-  
tas, erant sub lege, erant parvuli, & si nostro conferantur  
fuerunt, servae dicebantur, nos vero filij. Non enim accepistis  
servitutem, sed spiritum adoptionis, in quo clamamus Abba, Pater. Unde spiritus  
Dei si idem est in nobis acque illis, pro conditionis nullo  
minus

minus & temporis diversitate, ad alia nos & illos impellit.  
Illi saepe incitabantur ad ultiones iustas, tum ad amplitudi-  
nem temporalis regni appetendam legitime, vehementissime  
ad procreationem liberorum honestam. At spiritus Christia-  
ni populi alia sunt studia, non quod spiritus non sit idem, sed  
variata est aetas, mutata est statum. Nos ad mansuetudi-  
nem, ad clementiam & benignitatem invitamur, nec solum  
quod ad nostros, sed quod ad omnes. Nam illa spiritus copia  
per Christum data ad hoc nos impellit, tanquam ad ultor.  
Hanc diversam spiritus incitationem, ostendit Dominus  
discipulis, volentibus ignem imprecari civitatibus Samaria,  
quae Christum recusant suscipere. Ille eis respondit, nesci-  
tis cuius spiritus estis. Servorum erat tantopere ultiones  
etiam iustas affectare, eorum qui erant sub lege, quia ipsa nil  
nisi ultiones minatur. Pueri facile irascuntur, qui jam sunt  
adulti facilius & moderatius ferunt suam contumeliam,  
ubi se negligi vident, fortiter ferunt. Non tamen desunt in  
Evangelio ultionis exempla. Vt Pauli in Elymam magum,  
Petri in Ananiam & Saphiram, & de Alexandro arario  
Paulus, multa mihi mala ostendit, reddat illi Deus secun-  
dum opera sua. Verum sunt admodum rara, sicut in antiquo  
instrumento sunt quaedam clementiae exempla illustrissima.  
Mosis mansuetudo eximia commendatur, Davidi miseri-  
cordia. Sed frequentes sunt vindictae & illarum appetitio-  
nes, quod oreum habet a status diversitate, non quod alius ibi  
atque hic spiritus regeret, nam & illi sancti divino quoque  
spiritu agebantur. Quaeque hic sunt dicta, de privatis tu ac-  
cipias studia, quia quod ad magistratus attinet, Christi spi-  
ritus res publicas & civilem vitam non immutavit. Ideo  
nec debent magistratus hoc praetextu iustitiae severitatem e-  
xercere, quia non hominum, sed Dei opus exercent. Sequan-  
tur spiritus mansuetudinem, & Evangelicam benignitatem.

Discrimen in-  
ter privata sta-  
tia, & Magi-  
stratus Eccle-  
siaeque Prae-  
dum officia.

in suis privatis non persequendis, sed condemnandis injuriis. Neque illi qui Ecclesiis praesunt hoc nomine debent ab excommunicatione temperare, quae non suus est gladius, sed Christi, quoniam non inferuntur, sed sanantur vulnera. Non quia sumus sub Evangelio, sub gratia filij Dei, ideo debemus, quibus incumbit, minus audacter obstinatos peccatores tradere Sathanae, in infernum carnis, ut spiritus saluus fiat. Quae enim differimus ad particularia desideria privatorum hominum pertinent. Quos si forte tenet & oblectat illa felicitas à Domino commendata, beati quiescunt & sitiunt justiciam, diem Domini patienter expectant. Tunc illis à se verissimè Dei justiciam plenè satisfiet. Oratioque Propheta sub persona afflicti populi, ut sui isti illusores, qui voluptatem capiunt ex omni calamitatibus, tales aliquando fiant, qualis illa in praesentia est.

Dilectus Domini

*Tau, seu versus vicesimus secundus.*

Hominibus spiritibus  
Prophetis  
et malis peccato-  
ribus.

**V**eniat omnis malitia eorum coram te, & fac illis sicut fecisti mihi, propter omnes iniquitates meas, quoniam multa suspiria, & cor meum gemens.

**V**eniat Id est, eorum jam completam iniquitatis mensuram, amplius abs te non perferatur. Est enim quoddam scelerum summum, quod Dei justitia ulterius non tolerat. Quale id sit, hominibus est obscurum, scimus tamen esse, è sacris literis. Super tribus sceleribus & super quatuor non convertam, id est non dimittam ei, in Amos, non quod quamvis plurima sine facinora, non dimittantur, sed puniuntur, vel ad alterum exemplum, vel ut satis coherceatur, ne sit ita per-

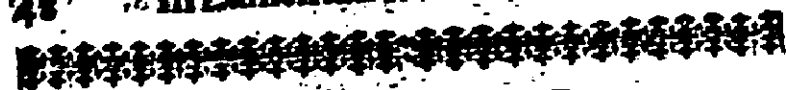
lans.

lans, vel ut exerceatur aliquando divina justitia. Rogatur istorum scelera jam ad Dei conspectum, & judicanda veniant, & punienda, vel ad illorum emendationem, vel ad aliorum exemplum, & suam sublevationem, si ipsi sint minus emendabiles. Quoniam His verbis aperitur, quae illis mala imprecetur, non peccata, non culpas, quia ego suspiris & gemitibus obruor, illi quae so talem experiantur calamitatem. Non tamen est omittendum, quam grave hic nobis demonstretur scelus esse, miseris & afflictis hominibus illudere, illos negligere, voluptatem capere ex illorum afflictionibus. Hoc nedum Christiani, sed inhumanissimi est. Nec adjuvat illos, si dicant, se ideo gaudere, quod Deo id volente illi talia patiuntur. Nam si divina voluntati querunt satisfacere, vicem istorum condoleant. Nam id aperte ostendit Deus à nobis se requirere. Et in Amos testatur, se vehementer iratum contra Gazam, Tyrum, Edom, quod gavisii sint interitu filiorum Israel, & afflictis afflictionem addiderint. Imitemur Christum & Patres. Flevit Christus super Hierosolymonum interitu, Hieremias item, Samuel super Saule, & sexcenta alia sunt exempla. Si hoc colore esset utendum, nullus esset locus misericordiae, ut fletemus cum flentibus, ut jussit Paulus. Si quidem nil adversi unquam inferatur, quin id fiat Deo consulente & ita volente. Jam hic periret à nostro genere misericordia, quam tamen scimus Deum velle & tanto opere expectare, quae unicuique & suavissimum vinculum est humanae societatis.

Afflictis afflictionem addere non licet.



Alpha



# Alphabetum seu Caput secundum.

*Aleph, seu versus primus.*

In altum sub-  
lata fuit Alia  
Zion, ut lapsu  
gravitate suc-  
ceret.



**V**omodo obscuravit in ira sua fi-  
liam Zion, deiecit e caelo in terram  
decus Israelis, & non est recorda-  
tus scabelli pedum suorum, in die  
irae suae.

**V**omodo obscuravit) *וַיִּסְכְּרֵם* deductum verbum  
est à *סִכְרָה*, quod nubem significat, & licet plurimi ob-  
scuratione significata arbitrentur, nihilominus po-  
tius una cum Abenezra & Rabbi Salomone ego mihi per sua-  
deo, indicari elevationem sublimem usque ad nubes, ut hac  
sit sententia, Dominum in ira sua extulisse, magnificam,  
praeclaram effecisse illam gentem, ut magis deiceretur. Nam  
solus gravior esse casus à sublimibus locis, quam à mediocri-  
ter elevatis. Quid profuit istis gloriosos, illustres, praecla-  
tos habuisse fuisse, inter ceteras nationes? hoc, ut ad ex-  
tremam devenientes calamitatem inferiores fierent. Ta-  
lem habes phrasin in Evangelio contra Capernaum, de qua  
dicebat Dominus, quod elevata usque ad caelos, in profun-  
dum esset demergenda. Decus Israelis.) Quae hic predicat,  
non solum petenda sunt à splendore plurimorum Regum, Da-  
vidis, Salomonis, Ezechie, Iosaphat, & aliorum, sed ab in-  
credibili & ore illius populi, quibus prodigia & portentis  
libera-

Decora & or-  
namenta Israe-  
lis.

liberati fuerint ex Aegypto, quantà Dei curâ, sollicitudine,  
studio, providentiâ per desertum sint educati, quàm felici-  
ter illius auspiciis occuparent Canaanorum terram, postre-  
mò quibus admirandis subsidis, insperatis, repentinis, eos  
semper foret, & è maximis eriperet periculis. Et non est  
Tribuitur Deo à Prophetis humana figura. Pedes, sedem,  
oculos, manus, & cetera membra habere inducitur, quibus  
tamen omnibus caret. Sed ita illi loquuntur, ut humano ca-  
pui inserviant. Non tamen impudenter mentiuntur, si qui-  
dem Deus praeitus est omnium nostrorum membrorum vi-  
gore, et si ea re ipsa non habeat. Quis enim posset illorum caus-  
sa esse, si illorum vim non haberet? Non eget igitur scabel-  
lo aut sede. Verùm ut intelligamus ejus virtutem adeò per  
omnes partes fusam, ut cuncta occupet, & nihil ea sit va-  
cuum, in caelo ita sedere dicitur, ut pedibus quoque terram  
atingat. Christus dicebat ab his non abhorrens. Ne juretis  
per caelum, quod Dei sedes, neque per terram, quoniam sca-  
bellum est pedum ejus. Verùm inter omnes orbis regiones ibi  
maximè videtur suos pedes firmasse, ubi potissimum viget il-  
lius cultus, quod Hierosolymis tum temporis fuit, in illo au-  
gustissimo templo, ubi arca fœderis fuit collocata, cui non pe-  
percit Dominus, idè hic dicitur ejus oblitus. Nam quae ad  
ejus cultum videntur facere, si à nobis malè tractentur, si il-  
lis abutamus, si nobis fiant vitiis fomenta atque opercu-  
la, gravissimâ irâ fœvit Dominus. Non ergo jactemus no-  
stras lectiones, non conciones, non sacramenta, non Evange-  
lium, sed fidem aestimemus, bonam vitam probemus.

Ista Deus non potest contemnere, illa fa-  
cile abjiciet, & à Turcis con-  
culcari permis-  
set.

Car Desia.  
scripturis tri-  
buitur huma-  
na figura.

Scabellum pe-  
dum Dei Hie-  
rosolyma.

G

Beth,

## In Lamentationes Ieremias;

Beth, seu versus secundus.

Amorissima  
& robustissi-  
ma quæque di-  
xit Dominus,  
de regnum sa-  
cerdotale tam-  
quam profa-  
nam abiecit.

**C**onsumpsit Dominus, & non peper-  
cit, omnia habitacula Iacob, destruxit  
in ira sua munitiones filiae Iuda, de-  
turbans in terram, profanavit regnum ejus &  
principes ejus.

Pulchra enu-  
meratio.

**C**onsumpsit) Pulchra enumeratione hic Propheta  
colligit istorum vastitatem. Destructa sunt privata  
aedificia, publica, necq; populus Iuda & Israel, sacerdotium,  
& omnis nobilitas. Privata aedificia nuncupat בית, liserq;  
Rest adjecta, non fuerat necessarium elementum, à בית deducitur  
vox, quod verbum habitare significat. Populum Israe-  
lem generatim appellat בני ישראל, quod illi genti Exodi duo-  
decimo fuerat promissum, eritis mihi regnum sacerdotum, ac  
si diceretur, cetera nationes relinquuntur sub tyrannide dia-  
boli, vos mihi eritis regnum liberum & legitimum, in quo  
regno sacerdotes habuerunt non contemnendum gradum, ut  
infra dicemus. Et principes ejus. Magnates & nobiles re-  
gni. Ita mihi videtur plana Prophetae sententia. Hic Rabbi  
Salomo ad fabulas defleat, & ait, in Israel fuisse homines  
prestigii & incantationibus deditos, qui in eis nomine san-  
ctiabantur, cum probe tenerent illius vires. Unde pote-  
rant adjuvare angelos praefectos sumi, pesti, regionibus &  
exercitiis hostium, ne se lederent. Verum cum Dominus  
decrevit, gentem illam demoliri, ne ista aliqui eos adjuva-  
rent, mutavit & amoris spiritus illos rebus praefectos, ita ut  
commutatis officiis, cum a suis illis sibi addictis vocati essent,  
non possent eis pro voto respondere, cum jam amoris essent ab  
illius rei administratione, quam illi ab eis requirebant. Sunt  
hæc

Opale regnum  
facit Israeli-  
cum.

Fabula Rabbi  
Salomonis.

## D.P. Martyris Commentarium.

51

hæc mera nuge; nec ego illis recensendis vellem tempus ob-  
teri. Interim tamen narro, ut quid ibi sit boni possimus reti-  
nere, quæ verò mala, valeamus evitare. Non coguntur præ-  
stigiis angeli, ut isti fingunt, & sine amoris a suis muneri-  
bus, non parent se invocantibus præter Dei nutum, neque se  
invocari gaudent, si boni spiritus sint, & ad diabolum non  
pertinentes. Nam à Deo rebus præficiuntur, ut in Daniele  
& Apocalypsi habetur apertissimè, cumque sint administra-  
toris spiritus, in salutem electorum, nudantur eorum præsti-  
dio, quotquot à Deo deficiunt: Sed hæc parerga, cum Prin-  
cipes hic nobiles, & optimates regni, praefectos significant.

Gimel, seu versus tertius.

**S**

Vccidit in ira furoris sui omne cornu  
Israelis, retraxit retrò dexteram suam  
coram inimico, & exarsit in Iacob ve-  
lut ignis, flamma circumquaq; devorante.

Copiosius ex-  
ponit, quomo-  
do convulsus  
sit regnum mi-  
seræq;

**S**Vccidit) Iræ furoris vehementissima describitur ira,  
Sua si magna admittatur, necesse est illam consequi gra-  
vissimum supplicium, siquidem inter se referuntur ira & ul-  
tio. Cum, si iram definiamus, dicendum erit, illam appetitum  
ulcionis esse, & pro ejus magnitudine aestimabitur pena su-  
menda gravitas. Rursus cum ira ex contempione produca-  
tur, si ipsa est magna, necesse gravissimam culpam præcessis-  
se. Hæc illos omnes admittere oportet, qui Deum & omni-  
potentem, & sapientissimum esse concesserunt. Nam si ejus  
viribus nihil obstat, graviter iratus duras sumet penas,  
quod infirmis hominibus sæpe non datur, qui etsi iram maxime  
inflammanur, vires non suppetunt, ut explicans & ex-  
quan-

Ira furoris.

Ira Dei pita-

# 51. In Eamēditione Jeremiae.

quantur suum ulciscendi appetitum. Præterea si is est sapien-  
tissimus, non temere aut leviter irascitur, sed magnis & ju-  
stis de causis. Unde optime sequitur. Est valde iratus. Igitur  
in eum isti largissime peccaverunt. Quæ igitur hic sunt re-  
media? Duo potissimum. Auferatur fons & capitalis causa,  
Dei contemptio & despectus, nos puniat, resipiscamus. Ita  
ira impeditur, ne inflammetur. Quod si jam est accensa, de-  
pretemur penas imminentes, id est supplices, corde aut animo  
non evadit, sed confracto & dejecto. Ita placantur irati.  
Omne cornu Israelis. Ne possit irato Deo resistere, pri-  
mo illius omnes succiduntur vires, quæ cornu nomine hic si-  
gnificantur. Metaphora est, & phrasis usitatissima in sacris  
litteris. David, cornu ventilabimus inimicos nostros. Da-  
niel septimo de monarchia & refectione mundi agens, inducit  
varias bestias, illisq; tribuit cornua, quibus se mutuo ferie-  
bant. Zacharias idem habet. Et 3. Regum Sedechias ille  
mendax Propheta, dum polliceretur Achab victoriam, im-  
posuit sibi ferrea cornua, quibus mensiebat Regem Israe-  
lis dejecturum, prostratum hostes suos. Quicquid igitur  
virium habuit Israeliticus populus, jam succisum est. Dedu-  
ctæ sunt similitudo ab animantibus, quæ in cornibus suis firam  
habent. Hinc, quæ vel propulsant vel invadunt hostes. Retra-  
xit. Quæ ratione Deo tribui possint humana membra, est di-  
cendum paulo antea. Hic vero non commendanda est amplifica-  
tio. Primum dicit vires Israelis succisas, hic vero addit, Deum  
suum auxilium subducere. Si igitur sui humani rationibus  
resistendi sunt expoliati, & Deum subtrahit favorem suum,  
quid illi sper superest. Væ misere mortalibus, quando ira  
expoliantur a Deo viribus, manet illos calaviosa servitus  
& tyrannus hostium. Quod ad exitum primo traduntur in  
repulum sensus, discerpenti & lacerandi sui pravis cupi-  
ditatibus. Tradidit illos in desideria cordis sui, ad Rom. c. 1.

Dei av-  
er-  
sio.

Cornu hominis  
vires signifi-  
cant.

Optimè mifera  
in hominum  
contilio, qui  
do Deum ipsi  
auxilium sub-  
ducit.

## D. P. Martyris Commentarius. 52.

Traduntur regendi sui facili confluxu & stultis in vitiis, quæ  
illos prorsus insanos & dementes reddunt, & insani sunt  
in ratiociniis suis, ibidem, Quod ad externa vero, premittitur  
durissime & diaboli & suorum hostium servitute. Et exarsit  
in Iacob ira & stomachus supra descriptus. Supplicium est  
exequutus. Non continetur perpetuo clausus, sese exierit, ita  
ut igni & flammæ conferatur. Aptissima similitudo, siqui-  
dem, ut naturales eradunt, sanguis irascens accenditur  
& inflammatur. Quod si hæc vis ignea in ipsomet irato senti-  
tur, si describitur ignis metaphorâ ejus impetui in hostes, vi-  
detur id commodissime & appositè fieri.

Iræ signi & es-  
sentia conferatur.

### Daleth, seu versus quartus.

**E**tendit arcum suum, quasi inimicus,  
firmavit dexteram suam, quasi hostis,  
interfecit omnia, quæ expetenda sunt  
ab oculo, in tabernaculo filia Zion, effudit  
quasi ignem iram suam.

Facit Deum si-  
milium se-  
rentem, & ira-  
tum habentis  
omnes effu-  
dentem.

**E**tendit. Non solum Deus retraxit favorem suum &  
auxilium, ab his puniendis, sed ipsemet invasit eos, id est  
non inermis, sed arcu & armis instructus. Cui hic timor non  
incutitur? quis Deo forcior est? quis eum tentare audeat,  
aut coram eo sic irato stare? Vox Hebraica significat con-  
tendere arcum, & deducta est à verbo יר, quod est calcare,  
quia validi & robusti arcus non possunt cendi salem operâ  
manuum, pedes quoque sagittarij adhibent, extremâ parte  
pedibus calcant, & superiori manibus incurvant. Ita hic  
Dominus à Propheta pingitur. Unde vos hanc ducite pro-  
posicionem. In nostris externis hostibus, si quando præclares

Vires in bellis  
confert Deus.

# 54 In Lamentationes Jeremie,

imperatores, fortes milites, insignes equos, arma rutilantia videmus, à quibus terremur, nostri perstringuntur oculi, vires succiduntur, & experimur fortia illorum facta, in illis tunc Dei vires oportet attendere, non humanas. Deus in eis agit, neque illis, sed Deo ascribenda sunt, quæ fiunt. Nam etsi filii Israel pugnarent, quis tamen dicere audeat, illos sibi acquisivisse terram Cananæorum? Imò illis fuit interdictum in lege, ne dicerent manum suam aut brachium id egisse. Deus illam eis acquisivit. Nunc item quando Chaldaei eos, postea Græci & Romani inde expulerunt, quis illis id tribuas? Deus hic à Propheta pingitur illorum hostis, armatus, quæ inducitur pugnare adversus illos, & manum suam extendere hostium more, ad eorum excidium. Interfecit) Quia vox interficiendi hic interseritur, quidam hoc dictum ad homines referunt præclaros & nobiles, qui partim sunt interfecisti, partim in Babylonem abducti, ut essent eunuchi in palatio Regis. Sed posset etiam hoc ad opes, divitias, vasa templi, tabernaculi ornamenta referri, quæ dum perduntur, metaphorice succidi dicuntur & interfici. In tabernaculo) Ignis ad hoc ut acriter & celeriter inflammetur, requirit aptam materiam, cujusmodi videntur magis esse tentoria, tabernacula, tuguria, quam ades è sepeis & quadratis lapidibus extructæ. Rectè itaque dicitur Deus ignem effudisse ira sua, in tabernaculum filie Zion, quod leviter & facile combustum sit. Et in voce illa magna est energia. Non enim simpliciter indicatur Deus iracundus aut puniens, sed effundens, & vacans quodammodo, evomens omnem suam bilem in populum, & metaphorica vox est, tam si ad iram, quam si ad ignem referas, neutram proprie effundi dicitur.

He, seu versus quintus.

Actus est Dominus velut inimicus, absorpsit Israel, absorpsit omnia palatia

## D.P. Martyris Commentarium.

55

tia ejus, diruit omnes munitiones ejus, multiplicavit in filiâ Iuda planctum & lamentum.

puli foli. Hinc tantum. & nova quædam savi monumenta doloris.

Multiplicavit) Hic accipitur transitivè. Hic Rabbi Salomo non contemnendum regulam. Verba quæ habent terriam, ut hic, sæpe transitiva esse possunt & intransitiva. Si hinc in prima habeant, sunt intransitiva, si verò zere, quemadmodum in presentia, computantur inter transitiva.

Regula Rabbi Salomonis.

Vau, seu versus sextus.

Dissipavit quasi hortum suum tentorium, solennitates ejus abolevit, oblivioni dedit Dominus in Zion statas ferias & sabbatha, execratus est in furore suo Regem & sacerdotem.

Ad religionem dissipatam redit deploranda.

Dissipavit) Hic agitur de ruina & labefactione templi, & horto comparatur, in quo eradicatæ plantæ, divulsæ herbe, perdita sint holera. Tale ab hostibus redditum est templum succensum, omnia ejus ornamenta perdita. Alia & hic esse potest allusio. Flamma absumpsit templi illius celeberrima cædem, parietum ruinæ aliquæ tantum superferunt. Id instar horti est. Sub di vo ibi sunt omnia. Quibusdam tantum seminis parietibus, aut debilimaceriâ videtur claudi. Ita illi rediguntur, qui Christi templa sunt, si ab illo deficient, & tristentur spiritum sanctum Dei, qui in illis habitat, quo signati sunt, qui tollunt membra Christi, & faciunt illa membra meretricum. Talia sua templa destruit Deus, quorum illa aliquando fuit typus & forma. Execra-

Propter hoc res templi, cum apte horti.

Christi templa

Alia ampliorum Dei

Reperit Dominus in furore suo

De officio Re-  
gis & sacer-  
dotum.

tus est in furore suo Regem & sacerdotem: Duo isti fuerant praclarissimi status in illa Repub. Sacerdotum erat legem & voluntatem Domini assidue docere & obtrudere. At regalis fuit potestas, inducere, vel vi, si opus esset, populum, ut dictis parerent. Alterius erat posse, alterius scire. At ubi sacerdotes legem nesciunt, verbum Dei non inculcant, Regesq; illud contemnunt, quo loco sunt illorum res? Pessimo. Debuerunt Reges & sacerdotes sui illis functionibus atque muneribus non quærere, quæ suæ essent, sed quæ Domini, & cum opus fuisset, dignitati & loco cedere, pro ejus gloria, uti David: Si dixerit mihi, non places, præstosum. Hoc est sacerdotum & Regum, cupere pro Dei gloria se minui, illum verò velle indies augeri. Ita egit Ioannes Baptista, non curavit sui diminutionem, dummodò Christus cresceret. At isti dominari volebant, & fungi sui muneribus, vel invito Domino. Ideò hic jure & merito inducitur illos abominari & detestari.

Zain, seu versus septimus.

In eodem versu  
satur argumē-  
to, & ait Deum  
templum & al-  
tare velut è  
corde profec-  
tisse, & in ho-  
dis effusa pe-  
ccatorum po-  
tenter tradi-  
diffe.

**D**ereliquit Dominus altare suum, aspernatus est sanctuarium suum, & tradidit in manum hostis muros palatiorum ejus, dederunt vocem in domo Domini, tanquam in die solennitatis.

**D**ereliquit) Iactabat illa gens ubique templum & altare, quasi ob illa perpetuam quandam habituri essent scelerum suorum impunitatem, ut quibus improbis esse tuto haberet. Abutebantur istis Dei donis. Merito igitur à Domino non deseruntur. Altare & sacrificia ad hoc erant instituta, ut illis

In quem locum  
altare & sacri-  
ficia à Domino  
in V. T. fuerant  
instituta.

ut illis populus contineretur, in legitimo & sancto Domini cultu. Deinde ut essent typi sacrificij illius eximij atque unici, quo Christus semetipsum hostiam Deo obtulit, quo nos eriperemur. Erant typi quoque mortificationis nostræ carnis. A quibus rebus cum illi plurimum abhorrent, altare est à Deo jure eversum. Nam ad idola deflexerant, nulla fide prædicerant, in illis miram in modum affectiones & perturbaciones vigeabant. Quorsum ergo altare & sacrificia? Christus cum res templi videret malè tractari, securicam è funibus confecit, & ait, ejiciens inde mercatores & mercimonia, vos domum meam redegeistis in latronum speluncam. Cumq; arguisset gravium criminum Scribas, Phariseos & Sacerdotes, quod domos viduarum devorarent, decimando mentum & cuminum, gravissima & maximi momenti præcepta transgredierentur, sepulchra essent dealbata, sed interrim Prophetas à Deo missos occiderent, ut auferret eis hanc vanam templi confidentiam, inquit, relinquetur vobis domus vestra deserta. Quod etsi de excidio Tiri & Vespasiani dictum fuit, huc quoque quadrat. Nam quæ hic scribit Hieremias, non minus secundum quàm primum exitum respiciunt. Dederunt) Consueverunt in Pascha, in Pentecoste, in festo tabernaculorum convenire Israelitæ, ad Dei domum. Illic omnes vulgò canebant Domino laudes, altissimis vocibus, quas nunc hostes æquarunt, & illi præ læticia plaudentes, quod talem domum prostratam viderant.

Scriptas ho-  
stias litan-  
tiam de victo-  
ria, in domo  
Domini.

Heth, seu versus octavus.

**E**gitavit Dominus dissipare murum filiae Zion, misit perpendiculum, & non reduxit manum suam, quò minus dirueret, ut jam luceat propugnaculum, & murus desolatus.

Deplorat, quod  
murus, & can-  
da propugna-  
cula, certo Dei  
consilio, solo  
hoc æquata.

H Co



Providentia  
divinae caco-  
niam.

**C**ogitavit) Sic cogitavit, igitur minimè id fortuna, casui, cemeritati tribuendum est, sed ejus eximia atque amplissima providentia: Semper in aliud egregium bonum sua dirigit Deus. Isti tunc acti sunt in exilium, ut correcti & emendati postea redirent, quod sub Esdra contigisse scimus. Exitium extremum idè cogitavit Dominus inducere, ut Evangelium, Christi verbum in vulgaretur, per universum orbem, ut Paulus dixit ad Romanos, illud in infidelitate nos servati sumus. Inde captata est occasio. Illis enim se exhibentibus indignis, predicatione Evangelij conversi sunt Apostoli ad exterarum nationes, predicationem salutem. Misit perpendiculum. Vt omnia à Deo summa aguntur providentia, & in extrema debita ac congruentia diriguntur: ita si quæ perdit & demolitur, id justissimè agitur, nec plus infligit ruina aut calamitatis, quam peccata exigant. Vt archieecti suo perpendiculo & diruendas & substructuras dimetiuntur muri parces: ita egit Dominus, tantum dirui voluit per istorum hostes, quantum eorum iniquitas commoveretur.

Elegans pida-  
rajuatuz Del.

Teth, seu versus nonus.

Dei ingentia  
mala, oppres-  
sionem iusti-  
tiorum, & fa-  
nas doctrinas  
in crucium la-  
mentatur.

**D**ejectæ sunt in terram portæ ejus, perdidit & contrivit vectes ejus, Regem ejus & principes ejus in gentibus, sunt absque lege, & Prophetæ ejus visionem à Domino non inveniunt.

**D**ejectæ sunt in terram portæ & vectes ejus, ut inimicis liberrimè paceret aditus. Sunt absque lege. Quandoquidem prius illum contemnebant, ablatæ est ei: illam

illam amplius ludibrio haberent. Hoc intellige, partim, quod volumen fueris sacrum incensum, partim, quod hostes. Illos non permitterent suis vivere legibus. Et prophetæ) Hoc maximè secundum spectat exitium. Nam in illo primo exilio non defuerunt amplissima vaticinia, etiam dum reverterentur. At nunc illis prorsus sunt destituti, siquidem Deus hæc sua præclarissima dona non finit diu malè tractari, abusu, neglectu, contumeliis, ludibrio affici, acrius & severius illa vindicat, quàm bona temporalia, quæ probis & iniquis largitur sine delectu, solem suum oriri facit super bonos & super malos, pluit super justos & injustos, sed interim jubet, ne sanctum detur canibus, & hic inducitur suis eripiens, & legem, & vaticinia Prophetarum.

Contemptum  
veritatis audeat  
accusare vin-  
dici.

Iod, seu versus decimus.

**S**ederunt in terra, conticuerunt fenestellæ filiarum Zion, imposuerunt pulverem super caput suum, & accincti sunt saccis, deposuerunt in terram caput suum virgines filiarum Ierusalem.

Interni animi  
dolores & ex-  
titudinis, si-  
gnæ & indicia  
externæ.

**S**ederunt) Hic corporis habitu & situ declaratur animi & fortunæ abjectio. Antithesi potes videre. Nam secundis rebus parabantur senioribus cathedra præclare, in senatu & sublimioribus locis collocabantur. Ast adverso tempore illi sese in terra volutabans, quod in sacris literis non semel factum invenies. Ita David se gessit, cum filiolo occidendo ob adulterium & homicidium admissum, mortem deprecaretur. Iob post illa tristissima & calamitosa nuntia, humi jacebat abjectus. Idem reperias in Mardochei, cum Indæ

Corporis ha-  
bitus & situ de-  
claratur animi  
& fortunæ ab-  
jectio.

H & immi-



imminet à pessimo Amen exitum. Quorum res magnifi-  
ce sunt & præclare, & illos quoque decet esse suos loco per-  
spicuo. Cur verò majores illi adducerentur ad hoc, ob id sa-  
lum existimo, tum ut signo hoc externo declarare sui cor-  
dis abiectiōem, ex qua declaratione & ab hominibus, & à  
Deo misericordiam consequerentur. Homines hæc videntes  
commoventur facilius, Deus etsi contentus est cordis abje-  
ctione & fractione, & per se hoc externum nihil moratur, ta-  
men intimum illud declarat magis, quando homo non po-  
test etiam ab hac externa prostratione se continere. Cor ve-  
rò humile & abiectum, quò magis tale fuerit, Deo est magis  
gratum. Quod in Achab etiam factum videmus. Non enim  
solum doluit de Naboth homicidio, sed canis in eo fuit is  
dolor, ut ad hunc quoque, externa symbola, & potentia  
omnibus signa induceret. Conticuerunt) Proprium erat  
senum loqui, iuvenes ornas silentium. At isti raserunt. Qui  
cum honore & aetate senes essent, semper habere debebant  
consilia promptissima, & ob prudentiam singularem & au-  
thoritatem non contemnendam, vulgò & ab omnibus ample-  
xanda. Verum tante fuit vis calamitatis, & prementium  
malorum, ut levamen consilij ullum non admisterent. Ad  
hæc pugnante Domino contra illos, quæ sapientia, quod con-  
siliū, quæ verba adjuvare poterant? Filia Zion. Pondus  
additur curpidum. Per absurdum visum est, senes tacere,  
at senes filia Zion tacere, maxime dolendum erat. Nam il-  
li ab initio sub Mose septuaginta seniores prædixi fuerunt  
spiritu Domini, ita ut non solum humanâ prudentiâ, sed di-  
vino quoque efflatus regerentur. Verum hoc tempore utroque  
bono jacebant expoliati. Imposuerunt) Fuit etiam hic  
mos veterum, cum infirmis ageretur. Nec solum Iudeos,  
sed Romanos quoque videmus misisse vestes, dum Respub. ja-  
beretur aliquæ calamitate, quod & amici cuspissimus sa-

ciebant, si illi ex iudicio grave aliquod periculum immineret. Imò Cicero id sibi laudat, ut, si ubique populum Romanum sui gratia vestem mutasse, ne ageretur in exilium. Contra vero cultus et ornatus corporis animi letitiam, omnia secunda et prospera indicat. Unde in Evangelio Dominus arguens hypocritarum simulationem, qui cupiunt apparere iustiles, corrumpunt vultus et facies, su vero cum jones, inquit, unge caput tuum, ne profundas palatibus, ut isti, sed odorato oleo et unguentis faciem tuam lava. Et Salomo in Ecclesiaste cum jubet agere tranquillam vitam, hortatur, ut candida essent vestimenta, neque de capite desset odor. Verum cur apud Christianos desitum sit sedere in terra, luctus tempore, aspergere caput pulvere, nec vestes tanta extremitate mutentur, inquirendum. Nam est mortuus nunc lugentibus, est aliquis habitus et forma tristior, non tamen illa sunt, quae tunc imminere et premere aliqua calamitas. Dicerem ego id fieri Apostolica instructione. Cumenim proposita nobis sint aliae spes regni caelorum, non ita dolemus in amissione horum temporalium. Nam ad Thessalonicenses jubebat Paulus, ut non ita contristarentur de dormientibus, sicut ceteri, qui spem non habent. Quod parvations intelligendum est, et de ceteris infortunis. Deinde nostro penitentiis plus letitiae admixtum habet, quam illorum, cum Christus jam satisfecerit, est illis ex aequo remittebantur peccata per Christi fidem, uti nobis, non tamen precium suae erat solutum. Denique major nunc est spiritus copiae, quam tunc fuerit. Nam est nonnulli veteres sancti habuerunt largum et copiosum spiritum, ut Abraham, David, nihilominus obstitabat illius aetatis stasus servilis, ut non tanta uti nunc etiam per spem consolationis mitigaret eorum tristitiam. Virgines) Arguebantur ab Esaias, quod ambularent ex seneca collo, et videri et videre concupiscunt. Nunc obsequio capite incendunt

*Proprium est leticia aperire, relaxare, & doloris & tristitie coarctari. Quando omnia sunt jucunda & felicia, exerunt sese spiritus, recti incedimus, at si tristitia vexet, omnia contrahuntur.*

*Caph, seu versus undecimus.*

**E**fecerunt lachrymis oculi mei, contracta sunt viscera mea, effusum est in terra jecur meum, propter contritionem filiarum populi mei, dum deficeret parvulus & sugens in plateis civitatis.



*V. vementissimus animi dolor hyperbolicus & puerilis, & hyperbolicus feribilibus, tum cruciatu fame expugnata.*

**D**efecerunt lachrymis oculi mei. Verba sunt Prophete, sub persona populi, qui supra dixerat, se lachrymas stillasse fontis instar. Et illum ejusq, similes credendum est inter ceteros amarior doluisse. Nam is uti prudentissimis & divino spiritu illustratus, magis illa omnia mala perpendebat, quam vulgus, quod sensus judicio innitebatur. Is enim non solum privata, ut populus, sed publica flebat mala, non tantum carnis illam vexationem, sed Dei iram, offensam, indignationem in illum populum. Hec spirituales vident in his publicis cladibus, quare magis dolent. Contracta sunt viscera mea. Supra id vobis exposuimus. Effusum est in terra jecur meum. Quod precipue jecinoris meminere inter humani corporis extra non est mirum. Nam inter ea est, que primas habent partes. Si enim tantum, ut Phisici volunt & experientia declarat, sanguis humane vice inservit, cum in jecore sit illius sedes, si hic effusum dicitur, corpus Propterea jam quodammodo exsangue, & per consequens exanime declaratur, leticia emittit & rigoris experti. Dum deficeret

*Commissio huiusmodi, putat se non posse sentire.*

ficeret parvulus & sugens in plateis civitatis. Non potest dici, quantam sibi misericordiam conciliet tenera illa infantium aetas, non modo in hominibus, sed in feris quoque. Idq, prudentissimo Dei iudicio factum est, ut qua precipue egent auxilio, aliorum usuram habeant adeo faventem, ut illa impellantur ad miserendum eorum, & illis pro viribus subveniendum. Cumq, esset Hieremias di vino spiritu praeditus, illos parvulos non solum manifestabat, quod ad aetate, quod omnibus hominibus est commune, sed alio nomine illos diligebat, quod ad Dei Ecclesiam pertinerent, filios Dei cognoscebat, sanctum semen, & ideo cum videret illos male tractari, alidi, fame perire, non poterat non dolere graviter. Quo nomine & Christus commotus est ad versus discipulos, qui ad se prohibebant parvulos adduci, illos admisit, est amplexatus, & talium dicebat esse regnum celorum. Et certe non levius est dolendum, si illos negligenter vel male educari videamus.

*Lamed, seu versus duodecimus.*

**M**atribus suis dixerunt, ubi frumentum & vinum? cum deficerent ut vulnerati in plateis civitatis, effundendo animam suam in sinum matrum suarum.

*Copiosus est pons & oculis contemplan- dum propositum hominum illam famem, & internum luctum.*

**M**atribus) Meminit hic potius matrum quam patrum, quod paulo ante lactentes dixerit. Arguit pueri matres non patres fugunt. Et decenter à natura id est inditum, ut unde ab alvo ceperunt nutrimentum baurire, inde etiam posse illud petant. Ministra est mater materiae, ad quam alimentum pertinet, ideo parvuli, donec magnae & grandia, matres pro cibo advenis. Vbi frumentum & vinum petunt,

petune; sub hi duobus ascriptis nominibus, cibum & potum intelligunt metonymicis. Cum deficerent) Est apertissima collatio. Per vulnera accepta sanguis effunditur, qui proxime admodum & propinquus est carnis & membrorum cibis, quo exhausto natura deficit, & volat animus, qui nisi non est sanguis, sine eo tamen manere inquit. Alimenti ergo defectu vulnerati inserunt. Quo mortis genere & parvuli confici describuntur. Effundendo) Misera commemoratio. In materno utero animo & vitali spiritu donati sunt. & in sinum maternum illam eundem efflant. Et si contraria sunt, unâ conferenda, ut maxima ea matris dicitur laceria, cum hominem in mundum edidit, licet per magnos & gravissimos dolores id factum sit, colligitur, ut durissimas illa tristitia, cum in ejus sinu expirant.

Parvuli exspirant in matris gremio premis premis.

Mem, seu versus decimus tertius.

Amplificatio alia calamitatis, & comparatione, qua vel la inveniri possit.

**V**ale testimonium feram tibi? quod simile exemplum dabo tibi, ô filia Ierusalem? cui te comparem, ut consolet te, virgo filia Zion? magna est veluti mare contritio tua, & quis sanabit te?

Malem carens exemplo.

**Q** Vale testimonium) Querit ostendere nullum ealem dolorem aliâs fuisse repertum, qui isti conferri possit. Alludit ad consuetum hominem morem. Volentes aliquem consolari, statim dicunt, Non solus hæc pateris, & varia super hoc testimonia allegant, hunc & illum & alium recensentes, à quo talia aut prope talia fuerint aliquando lara. At talia testimonia hic locum non habent. Nam in historiis simile non legitur ex cidiu, sed fac quod ad tormenta, penas, ruinas,

nas, cades, incendia, strages, talia nonnunquam fuisse; qui tamen casus aliorum dici poterit adeo dolendus, cum hæc unâ gente exceptâ, nulla alia tot nominibus à Deo fueris elevata? At præ mensura sublimitatis dijudicatur casus. Magna est) Vulner acceptum adeo latum est & profundum, ut vastitati atque profunditati maris conferri possit. Quæ ergo unguenta, quæ cataplasmata aut fomenta satii erunt, si plaga est tam lata & patens uti mare? Mihi tamen locus videtur quoque exponendus de undarum confectione ad scopulos, lietera, rupes maris. Videntur prius altæ, magnæ, ingentes instar montium, mox alliduntur, & ita evanescent ut earum nisi bullæ & spuma quædam levis nihil superfit, quæ & illico colluntur. Ita filia Ierusalem virium suarum fiducia inflata, jactabunda & insolens ad scopulos divine ultionis impigit, & misere confracta interiit. Et quis) Medicus est querendus. At humanus nullus est idoneus. Cum ergo vires natura sint desperata, ad quod expendendum excitat hæc Prophetæ oratio, ad Deum est recurrendum, cujus manus à quolibet morbo, ut volueris, gravissimo potest eripere.

Promissa sunt sublimitatis dijudicatur casus.

Nun, seu versus decimus quartus.

**P**rophetæ tui viderunt tibi vanum & insulsum, nec revelaverunt pro iniquitatibus tuis, ut reducerent captivitatem tuam, sed viderunt tibi onera vana & abiectiones.

Pseudo Prophetarum in-doles.

**P**rophetæ tui viderunt tibi vanum. Fontem malorum attingit. Si obliquatur regula, qui diriguntur curva? Si navis gubernator insanit, quomodo navis servabitur?

I. EUT.

cur? Istorum erat consilium iurare. At loquebantur vana. Igitur non sequendi, verum cavendi erant. Venient ad vos, inquit Dominus, in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus sunt lupi rapaces, qui tantum sua quarunt, mactant & perdunt oves, dum student sui commodis, & per suas fortunas illa consequi non possunt, expoliant oves, pascunt seipsos. Admonuit nos Dominus, illos à sui fructibus esse deprehendendos. Quod in minimè dictum accipias tantum de probitate exteriori vita, quia sæpenumero sua apparenti sanctimoniam nobis fucum faciunt, perstringunt oculos speciosis opellis, quamvis plerumque & in his non semper durant, præcipue cum adepti fuerint dominatum, opes, æstimationem, quam aucupabantur. Tamen intelligendus est Dominus de fructu doctrinae. Nos oportet attendere, quos illi fructus afferant, quæ plantet in plebe Dei illorum doctrina, quæ serat, quæ irriget. Vera Dei doctrina fidem parit, partem auget, ætatem roborat, & non quamvis fidem, sed illam, quæ sese exeras primò in ipso met credenset, per carnis mortificationem, deinde in fratres per charitatis beneficia. Quæ doctrina ista non habet, his nominibus est digna, quibus hic à Propheta insignitur, vana est & insipida. Vanum dicitur quod ad suum non pertingit finem. Vanitas & Dei verba ad hæc quæ commemorari sunt infirmata, quæ si non consequantur, vana sunt & inutilia. Insipida sunt hominum commenta, si propius excutiantur & frigida, ut quæ spiritu Dei non sint condita. Non redolent spiritum, non celestia, & ideo spiritualibus non sapiunt. Viti enim carnalibus sunt celestia contempni & ludibrio: ita contra spirituales aversantur humanas traditiones, si obtrudantur pro Dei verbo, optimè inter noscuntur ab illorum palato. Voluit Dominus suos discipulos esse sal terra, ita ut non insipida aut fatua loquerentur, sed quæ spirarent iudicium cælum, Iesum Christum, & spiritum ejus, & deum

omnia

omnia bona. Nec revelaverunt) Adulatores & assensores omnes illi sunt, qui propria consuetudines commodaverunt Dei inquinant. Salus est mordere suam acrimoniam, non integras & viventes carnes, verum incisas, vulneratas, subputridas. Ea est celestis doctrina, sensum stringit, mordet carnem, purgat humanam prudentiam. Quod sal quia istorum doctrina non habuit, ideo non arguebant pro meritis secularum. Ut reducerent) Sal quamvis mordet, stringit, purgit, nihilominus eadem ratione servat à corruptione. Ita divina castigationes, quæ fiunt per verbum Dei servant à multis imminencibus exitiis. Istorum ergo culpam, illi nunc ita perduntur. Viderunt ubi abiectiones. Non solum vana, non solum insipida & fatua, inutilia, quæ non propulsarent iram Dei, sed reijicientia, dividencia, separantia, removens ab eo. Vide quid sit factum. Hi qui Domino debebant homines copulare, illos sejungebant sui præstigiis & fidei concionibus.

Doctrina celestis comparatio cum dila-

Samech; seu versus decimus quintus.



Comploserunt super te manus prætereuntes viam, sibilârunt & caput suum moverunt super filiam Ierusalem dicentes: nonne hæc est civitas, perfectio vel absolutio pulchritudinis, & gaudium universæ terræ?

Ogomofo spectatores istius calamitatis affecti fuerint animis suis, externa symbolis patet.

Comploserunt) Spectatores istius calamitatis discrimine duplici secantur. Quidam dolent commoti rei atrocitate, hæc possunt non misereri & obstupescere, ealem & causam intuentes ruinam, moriens caput, humano agna-

I 2

cur

Forma Reip.  
Iudaeorum ab  
Iohanne.

Convenientia  
et discrimen  
Ecclesie & sy-  
nagoge.

Encomia ur-  
bis sanctae.

Eleganter  
scriptio solus  
verusque gau-  
dij.

Verum solidum  
gaudium  
sanctum est in  
Ecclesia.

cur spiritus, cogitantes vicissitudines terrarum. Nonne hæc est civitas, perfectio vel absolutio pulchritudinis. Nil fuit unquam melius, accuratius, diligentius consti-  
tum in terris, illâ Iudaeorum Repub. ita ut dixerit Deus mi-  
raculas esse omnes gentes sapientiam, quâ leges, ceremonie,  
judicia condita essent. Quod in Ecclesia requirebat Pau-  
lus ad Corinthios, ut nil ibi inordinate aut indecenter fieret,  
habet Israelitica Respub. De qua quicquid præclari aut exi-  
mij dicitur in sacris literis, totum referri potest & debet ad  
Ecclesiam Christi, quia Synagoga & noster populus nihil dif-  
ferunt. Si quod ibi ponendum sit discrimin, ad tempus tan-  
tum debet referri. Quod nos factum, illi futurum expecta-  
bant. Cetera vero solum hic & ibi distant excessu aut defe-  
ctu, magis aut minus. Quæ ita res variant, ut tamen utrinq;  
servetur eadem essentie & nature ratio. Encomia verò san-  
ctæ illius urbis, pleriq; habes in locis, potissimum apud Da-  
videm, Magnus Dominus & laudabilis nimis. Lauda Hie-  
rusalem Dominum. Latatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi.  
Et gaudium ducitur gaudium à Dei verbo. In Psalmo.  
decimo nono, constitutiones Domini rectæ, lætificantes cor-  
da, dulciores super mel & farum. Ducitur præterea læticia  
à spiritu sancto. Unde merito dicitur Paracletus, & qui sit  
orphanorum consolator, nec ulli magis exultat, piorum ani-  
mus, quam in spiritu. At duo hæc singulariter in Ecclesia  
administrantur, verbum scilicet & spiritus. Igitur ibi læti-  
cia. Ad hæc jocunditas: si ve voluptas est ædum generum.  
Unum quod sequitur sensuum motionem, quando scilicet af-  
ficiuntur a re sibi accommodatâ & congruâ. Ut cum à dulci mo-  
verur palatus, à consonantibus harmoniâ præcellitur auris. Sed  
hoc genus cum pecudibus nobis commune, hæc est habendum  
in pressio & estimatione. Aliud genus mentis, animi, patet  
inquam meliori est proprium, & sequitur veritatis appre-  
hensio.

hensionem. Quæ veritates adepti sunt sublimiores, magis  
exultant, & dulcius accenduntur jam cognite. Quare sa-  
pientia à Deo Ecclesia revelata cum sit de eximis, magnifi-  
cæ & præclarissimæ veritatibus, necesse est, ut largissimam  
& copiosissimam voluptatem in eorum animis pariat. Iustè  
ergo dicitur, sapientis mens iuge est convivium. Qui potest  
ergo fieri, ut fideles, qui revelati à Christo veritatibus fi-  
dem adhibent, non semper sint jucundi? Cumq; fides hæc sit  
divulgata jam per universum orbem, aperte sequitur, ut  
quicquid solidi vel integri gaudij in universa terra est, inde  
prodeat. Nec solum dici potest terræ gaudium & læticia, sed  
cæli, quod videbitur fortè magis admirandum. Tamen di-  
xit Christus gaudium esse maximum in cælis, super uno pec-  
catore penitentiam agente. Quod potest & alia ratione col-  
ligi. Ad Ephesios 3, inducuntur cælestes spiritus in suâ co-  
gnitione perfici nonnihil ex his, quæ à Deo fieri vident in Ec-  
clesia. Cumq; illæ veritates quas inde hauriunt, complectan-  
tur arcana sublimia divinæ sapientiæ, quid superest, nisi ut  
inde sancti quoque angeli mira afficiantur læticia?

Verò gaudium,  
ex prædicatione  
verbi Dei,  
non terræ solum  
modum, sed  
ipsum cælum  
etiam perfun-  
ditur & com-  
pletur.

Ain, seu versus decimus sextus.



Peruerunt super te os suum omnes  
inimici tui, sibilaverunt, & frenden-  
tes dentibus suis dixerunt, devora-  
vimus equidem, hunc diem expectavimus,  
invenimus, vidimus.

Sanna, sibilos  
& exultatio-  
nem hostium  
perulantem  
depingit.

A Peruerunt super te os suum omnes inimici tui.  
Inducuntur hæc parte hostes populi Dei, gaudentes mi-  
ram in modum, illius ruinâ. Tales Ecclesia nunquam de-  
sunt.

Semper repe-  
rant, quidolo-  
rem Ecclesie  
gaudent.

sunt. Electis quibusdam verbis, apertissimi ad suum exprimendum in Hierusalem modum nuncunt. Devoravimus equidem, hunc diem expectavimus, invenimus, vidimus. Gestiant hic effari suum cumulatisimum gaudium.

*Pe, seu versus decimus septimus.*

Cetera hostium perulantiam & illationem amantissimam in providentia digne mystico. consolatioem quaerit.

**E**cce Dominus, ut cogitavit, complet vit sermonem suum, quem mandaverat a diebus antiquis: destruxit & non pepercit, exhilaravit super te hostem, & elevavit cornu inimicorum tuorum.

Ad hostium insulationes & modum & prudentiam respondens.

**E**cce Dominus) Eius generis insultationibus ita commodissime & prudenter respondetur. Verum est nostrum venisse diem, nos graviter puniri. At non id fit in vestri gratiam. Dominus facit ex sua providentia, id inquam, quod saepe per Moysen & ceteros Prophetas minatus fuerat se futurum. Ita oppilantur ora tam late aperta & lassata cachinni, contra populum Dei & Ecclesiam, dum affligitur. Quare sic respondet Propheta pro ea, Dominus est qui te affligit, qui non parcat, qui elevat cornu inimicorum, qui complet minas tibi toties expositas. Nihil igitur derisoribus tribuas. Domini est eorum hoc opus.

*Tzade, seu versus decimus octavus.*

Poenitentis & preces regere series non debet, habiles non momentanea.

**C**lamavit cor eorum ad Dominum: mure filia Zion des lachrymas velut torrentem, die ac nocte, nec permitas tibi requiem, nec quiescat pupilla oculi tui.

Clamavit

**C**lamavit) Hoc indicio probatur, non esse opus hostium, sed Domini, nam ad populi perniciem finiretur, si nunc & voluntate inimicorum permitterentur tractari omnia. At hinc, è talibus inquam adversis eliciuntur utilia & proficua illis afflictis, quia ad Dominum è corde clamant. Numquid hoc parum est ad Deum confugere, à quo antea ita erant a versi? Mure) Quamquam corde clamant, quasi adhuc id minus diligenter fiat, suas Prophetas ad movere adhortationes, quasi calcaria currenti, ita fleas & ingemiscas, ut vel lapides, muri, aggeres in te videantur lachrymas non posse continere.

Frustrum calmarum.

*Koph, seu versus decimus nonus.*

**S**

Urge, vociferare de nocte, in principio vigiliarum, effunde quasi aquam cor tuum, coram facie Domini, leva ad eum manus tuas propter animas parvulorum tuorum, qui fame exanimati sunt in comitis omnium platearum.

Eiusdem argumenti est hic versus cum precedente.

**S**Urge, vociferare, vel cane lugubres & maestos gemitus in principio vigiliarum. Nocte agendum, vel quod hoc tempus magis est quietum, facilius, possumus agere remotis arbitris, aut quod is populus interdum servitute, operis, exercitiis statim opprimebatur, non ei vacabat adeo attentè in id incumbere. Ideo provocat, ut noctu id fiat. Habet nox apud Hebraeos quatuor vigiliis. Distribuebatur enim in illas partes apud illos. Effunde) Id est, quicquid dolet, quicquid punit, mordet, cum illo debes audacter coqueri. Is audit tibi enter penitentium querimonias, & is solus potest dum audit subvenire.

Preces nocturnae.

Pro-

Propter antinas) Quod intelligo, ut velis commemorari ante Deum susceptum dolorem, de cado tot parvulorum, ante ora suorum patrum, ut jam cesset ira, veluti sit sumptum satis suppliciorum & ita adducatur Deus ad restituendam aliquam spem posteritatis, resarciendo alios filios jacturam factam.

Resch, seu versus vicesimus.

**R**espice Domine, & intueri, cuinam sic feceris: num comedent mulieres fructum suum, infantes palmares: num occidetur in sanctuario Domini, Sacerdos & Propheta?

**R**espice Domine) Non solum instigavit Prophetas ad rorandum plebem afflictam, sed verba quoque suggerit. Primo orat Dominum, ut attendat, suoque misericordiae aspectui illos reficiat. Mirè enim gaudent afflicti, si spectentur vulnera & plage, potissimumque ab his, qui eas possunt amovere. Vide, inquit, utrum satis poenarum dederim, cui nam calli adhuc fecisti? Invenias facile in historiis & scriptis Ethnicorum iratas matres aut furias interemisse suos liberos, sed hoc sine, ut inde saturarentur aut famem explerent, non facile. Num comedent) Hoc immane est facinus, à quo abhorret maxime hominum natura. Nec leve emphasi dicitur fructus, quia charissima fuit semper mulieribus Israeliticis, proles. Cum enim secundae erant, videbantur Deo acceptae, & assequae non parvam legis felicitatem, & quae plures poterat jactare aut ostentare liberos, illa habebatur praeclior. Adde quod ex suis filiis sciebant Messiam esse

nasci-

nasciturum. Quare afficiebantur nescio quo atrociori amore erga suos liberos. Quo tamen haud obstante, eas absumpserunt à fæ fame, quod bis legimus factum. Reg. 6. sub Ioram Rege Israelis, cum Samaria obsideretur à Benadab Rege Syria, deinde in Romanorum obsidione, ut Iosephus de bello Iudaico refert, quae tempora & haec Hieremia querimonia respiciunt. Quod si velis quibus dantur accipere de excidio Nabucadnezar, oportet dicere, & hoc tale quid accidisse, quamvis sacra litera id non commemoret. Unde, ad infantes illos pertinet, qui adhuc brevissima sunt statura. Num occidetur) Vide quàm sit grave crimen Dei ministros laedere, quàm persineat ad publicam calamitatem. Sciam subijciatur illi immanitati, quàm matres suos filios comedunt. Sunt nonnulli qui hoc dictum referant ad id, quod habetur in 2. Paralip. 24. cum filius Iorab magni sacerdotis, qui dictus est Zacharias, cum Regem Iosias argueret, interfici iussus est, inter templum atque altare. Cujus forte meminit Dominus in Evangelio Matth. 23. enim Zacharias fuit magnus sacerdos. Quod verò inter Prophetas commemoratur, habetur ibidem, spiritum Domini tunc illum induisse, quo praedictus, instigatus, percussus Regem increpuit. Sed cum hic agatur de Hierosolymorum excidio, videtur magis verisimile, haec esse decorquenda ad cædem sacerdotum & prophetarum. Multi enim tunc temere sunt occisi, absque ulla aut loci aut dignitatis expensione. Sed qui favent jam dictae interpretationi, putant hic haberi per interlocutionem, Domini responsum, quasi respondeat interrogantibus, utrum alicui hoc malum inculerit, ut matres carnibus patrum suorum vesci ausae sint? Et vos mihi dicite, num ullibi sic factum, ut sacerdotes & Prophetas suos populos absque ulla reverentia in templis trucidarent? Vos hoc fecistis sub Rege Iosias, quid ergo vobis videtur per absurdum, si cum matris

Quam grave sit crimen Dei ministros laedere.

Zacharias interfecit inter templum atque altare.

Preces, quas debuerunt sumere afflicti ad Deum, ingemiscientes agnovit, gratiamque peccatorum.

Charissima fuit semper mulieribus Israeliticis proles.

K

liis

## In Lamentationes Ieremie,

lin non peperceris, adducamus, ne nec uxores vestra vel sui proprii liberi abstineant? Dicant tamen, ut volunt, prior illa expositio est procul omni dubio planior.

*Schin, seu versus vicefimus primus.*

Extendit ex-  
dem de fra-  
gem misera-  
lem per omnes  
plateas, & per  
omnem sexum,  
genem, & gra-  
dum.

**E**mi jacent in plateis puer & senex,  
virgines & juvenes mei gladio cecide-  
runt, quos interfecisti in die furoris  
tui, mactasti & non pepercisti.

Omnia verba  
calaverunt  
ad operta.

**P**er senex, virgines: Id est, adeo servitum est, ut mei  
omnes mortui jaceant inhumati, esca feris, dilacerati à  
volucribus. Miserabiliter per enumerationem colligit eos  
omnes qui robur, fulcrum, spes, leticia fuerant urbis & regni.

*Tau, seu versus vicefimus secundus.*

Pergo com-  
memorare in-  
terfectionem  
suam, & cap-  
tivitatem, hoc  
pathetico  
propterea epi-  
thetum concludit.

**V**ocasti tanquam ad diem solennem,  
terrores meos, qui circum me sunt,  
non fuit qui evaderet, aut reliquus fic-  
ret, in die furoris Domini: quos educavi, &  
exci, hostis meus consumpsit.

**V**ocasti quasi ad diem solennem. Satis tristitia &  
doloris inferebat miserandum casorum spectaculum,  
nisi adessent ab eis vocati hostes mei, veluti ad convivium  
hostiarum, quae numerosissime voluisti mactare. Terrores  
meos vocat, id est, ejus radix & habitare & pa-  
vere. Si primam amplectaris significationem, dices vocatos  
fuisse à Domino, quasi ad solenne convivium, finitimos popu-  
los,

los, qui ut in visi fuerunt ad unum Israelicum, eos postea o-  
mnium trucidarunt. Significatio verò altera ostendit, quam  
terribiles fuerint hi Iudeorum inimici, cum illos per antiocho-  
masiam appelles parvos suos, à quibus semper sibi timueris.  
Non fuit. Non quod omnes ad internecionem fuerint occisi,  
multi quidem abducti sunt in exilium, sed omnes dicuntur  
pariter interiisse, quoniam meliore sorte non videbantur  
frui, qui captivi abibant, atque occisi. Omnium fuit calami-  
tosa ruina, ut vivi & superstitis dicerent. O rerque quater-  
que beati, quibus contigit oppetere. Itaque etsi mortem non-  
nulli evaserunt, nullus tamen infelicitatis cumulum evira-  
vit. Cujus rei vel ipse Daniel & socij possunt fieri luculen-  
tissimi testes, qui nisi Dominus succurisset, à flammis ab-  
sumpti vel à leonibus dilacerati miserius in captivitate,  
quam in sancta urbe perijissent.

Antiochia.

Sors captivo-  
rum & occiso-  
rum aequatur.

Alphabetum seu Caput  
tertium.

*Aleph.*

VERSUS PRIMUS.



Go vir ille, qui vidit afflictio-  
nem, in virga furoris ejus.

2.

Deduxit me in tenebras &  
non in lucem.

3.

Certe contra me convertis & vertet ma-  
num suam, toto die,

K

2

Ego

Prophetam  
prophetam  
dentis latera  
pecoris, si  
credidit sed pe-  
nitentis, agn-  
Deus.



Discrimina-  
tio certum al-  
phabeticum &  
deopriora.

Vias carmi-  
natorum.

An in salu-  
tationem perso-  
nae Propheta  
loquitur.

Virga domini  
& potestatis  
symbolum.

**I**n Go vir ille) *Ordo* Hieronimus *tertium* Alpha-  
betum, quod a primis duobus id habet discrimini,  
ut hic quodlibet elementum tres complectatur ver-  
sus. Cujus rei nec possum reddere (nec id curo) certam ullam  
rationem. Mihi id satis est intellexisse, ut ante admonui,  
nullum argumentum, organum aut viam nostrae salutis suis-  
se rejectam a Spiritu sancto. Sic enim temporis vulgo uteban-  
tur carminibus. Et hos quoque lucas ita scribi curavit, ut  
vel capivum populum adgerent, ad sua magnae ac magis co-  
gnoscenda mala, ob quae depellenda & precum & penitentiae  
arripere medicamina, ad quae a Propheta impellitur his om-  
nibus quae scribit. Sed utrum hic Propheta loquitur sub  
sua, vel sub aliorum persona? Vtrumque potest accommoda-  
ri. Nam si respiciamus ad ipsummet Prophetam, non so-  
lum praedixit, praecognovit, & iudicatus est, ut ceteri Pro-  
phetae, hoc excidium, sed praesens adfuit. Et ideo recte dicit,  
ego sum vir, qui vidit afflictionem. At hoc non obstat, quin  
de aliis intelligi possit. Nam coram ceteris quasi vir unus sit,  
scribi potest, quasi diceretur. Fateor alios populos multa esse  
passos, sed ego ille unus sum, qui si cum ceteris conferor, vi-  
di afflictionem. Quibus alij iactati sunt, leviter fuisse, praeter  
his, quae ego vidi. Ego verè vidi afflictionem. In virga furoris  
eius. Virga dominatus & potestatis est symbolum. Verum  
quia non exerceatur a praefectis, nisi sint subitatis & infensi ho-  
stibus aut maleficis, non enim aut raro exeruntur iustitiae aut  
severitatis vires, nisi ira aliquantulum Principis succenda-  
tur, ideo virga insignis quoque est potestatis, iam sese ulciscen-  
tis. Unde ad Corinthios dixit Paulus, pulsus in virga  
veniam ad vos, an in spiritu lenitatis? Et hic dicitur, in  
virga furoris ejus se ulciscens. Et relatus me ejus meo ju-  
dicio magis Deum refert, quam hostes. Deduxit) In ejus  
facile est, aut lata aut tristitia porrigere, & qui saepe pro  
sua

sua bonitate me beavit, nunc ut sese iustum declaret, in ad-  
versa obscurissima coniecit. Certè contra me) Hic ex-  
ponit suorum malorum continuam durationem, & eam ap-  
pellat Domini manum, id est, semel capis, & non finis. Toti-  
dem ferè verbis idem conqueritur Iob, manum scilicet Do-  
mini cum caperis scire, ab ipso nunquam recedere.

Beth.

4. **V**eterascere fecit carnem meam, &  
pellem meam, contrivit ossa mea.
5. **A**edificavit contra me, circum-  
dedit caput meum lassitudine. (seculi.
6. In tenebris collocavit me, uti mortuos

Exitium cer-  
poris deple-  
rat, & exilium  
suum carceri  
confert & se-  
pulchre.

Meliores &  
exterioris cor-  
poris partes,  
quomodo affi-  
ciantur colla-  
musculis.

Quomodo fir-  
miores corp-  
is partes.

**V**eterascere) Haec sunt partes corporis molliores, quae  
cum nervis abundent, sensu praeditae sunt, siquidem  
nervi organa sunt sensus. Cumq; manu Dei, id est plagae, re-  
xentur haec partes, dicuntur veterascere, exficari, aduri,  
contrahi, rugosae fieri, ut senum jam sunt conditiones. Sed in  
illis aetas effecit, ad id istos adduxit vehemens & continuus  
dolor, qui inter illa praesertim annumeratur, a quibus natu-  
ra vis dejicitur. Contrivit ossa mea. Haec verò corporis  
partes, quamvis carent sensu, ipsius tamen robur dicuntur &  
firmamentum, unde frangi inducuntur, quibus effractis in  
corpore necesse est, ut sequatur debilitas. Quid enim potest  
animal ita mutilum aggredi? manus Domini quae sanabat,  
hic nihil sani relinquit. Aedificavit contra me. Suum exi-  
lium carcerem appellat. Aedificavit, inquit, adversum me  
altissimam carcerem. Circumdedit caput meum lassi-  
tudine. Si quando spectro, quàm alta clausura constringar,  
lassari capitis vires & spiritum experior, ut sit, si quando co-  
gitamus difficillima. Aliis placet Vbi non caput signifi-

care, sed amaritudinem, fel, aut quid ejusmodi, ut haec sit verborum sententia. Circumdedit me amaritudo & fatigatio, ne, si vel lassitudo. Verumq; potest probari. In tenebris illud suum exilium non modo carceri, verum sepulchri confert. Jam situs sum inquit & collocatus in mortuorum tenebris, reconduntur enim cadavera sub terram. Ceterum cur dicat mortuos seculi? **דו** vel aetatem significat, aut perpetuum. Et hic utramq; locum habet. Si intelligas aetatis scilicet hujus, erit sensus, collocavit in eis tenebris, quibus in nostro hoc seculo cadavera circumfunduntur. Quod si perpetui admittas significationem, morti quod ad naturam ipsius mortis, perpetuo in eo statuerunt. Nisi enim subveniat Dei auxilium, non licet redire ab ejusmodi privationibus ad habitum.

Gimel.

7. **S**epit me, & non egrediar, aggravavit vincula mea.

8. Cum clamavero & vociferatus fuero, occludit ad orationem meam.

9. Sepit vias meas lapidibus quadratis, vias meas pervertit.

**S**epit) Haec non solum ad captivitatem siue exilium spectant, verum ad obsidionem quoque illam durissimam torqueri possunt, à quibus duabus artissimis pressuris, non licet eis, humanis rationibus se explicare. Aggravavit vincula mea, scilicet aetate, ut uno verbo dicam, compedes intelligit, ita interpretantur **דו** Cum clamavero) Hoc maxime torquet sanctos, cum in pressuris statim non audiuntur. Caro enim illis improperat. Quomodo se Deus ille cum

nunc non audiet Quos insulsius magna fide oportet recundere. Memores simus Christum quoq; non statim exauditum, cum in hortu oravit, sed post illius resurrectionem, cumq; precaretur, pro his qui ipsum cruci affixerunt, illi non statim servati sunt, ac multi deinde concionante Petro, ad Deum sunt conversi. Si ergo in Christo dilata sunt vota & preces, & aliquandiu remoratus est illi Deus sua dona, cur nos ita aut tantopere moleste ferimus, si non illico audimur? Non hoc Deus agit crudeliter, sed prudentissime. Is ut novit quae nobis sunt utilia, ita etiam tempora, occasiones, opportunitates dandi, solus novit. Quare illi non praescribamus temere horas. Si id medico non audeamus, cur Deo? Neque quod non tam cito audimur, ideo statim debemus ab orandi incipio desistere. Praecipitur nobis, ut oremus sine intermissione. Nunquam enim id à nobis fit absque fructu. Et saepe meliores magniq; probandi sunt fructus serotini diuq; expectati, quam illi praecoces, subitarij & inempti. Quid suavius una aut sicubi? qui nihilominus sunt cardiores fructus anni tempestate ceteris omnibus. Diu fui à Patribus postulata Domini incarnatio, serò data, expectamusq; avidissime beatam spem, adventum inquam Christi & magni Dei, quod tamen postremo omnium datur. Si possumus expectare in his serijs, quoad Deo placuerit, cur non in nostris saepe adeò levioribus desiderijs? Sepit vias meas lapidibus quadratis. Rursus carceris angustiae ponuntur ob oculos. Pervertit vias, ut exitus ullà ratione non possit inveniri.

Daleth.

10. **R**ursus insidians factus est mihi, leo in latibulis.

11. **V**ias meas spinis obruit, & succidit me, posuit me desolatum.

12. Ar-

Cur Propheta  
mortuos seculi  
dicit.

Hominis  
durissimis cala-  
mitatibus tor-  
culis afflicti,  
mortis & cla-  
moris periculum.

Cur dicitur  
aetate.

Cur dicitur  
compedes in-  
telligit, ita  
interpretantur  
dicitur, ita  
intelligit, ita  
interpretantur

Nunquam o-  
rasus sine fru-  
ctu.

Carceris an-  
gustiae.

Deo tribuit,  
qui hostes Deo  
permittit se-  
cerum.

12. Arcum suum tetendit, & posuit me veluti signum ad sagittam.

**V**ersus & leo factus est. Qui pastor, pater, maritus, medicus, nutritus, & omne bonum mihi fuerat Deus, versus est mihi in feras immanissimas atque cruentissimas. Vias meas pervertit & dissipavit. Tria hic habentur verba, quæ viis adiunguntur. Primum **וַיִּפְּשֹׁט**, pervertit, & est quando oblitteratur & deletur via, ut non videatur. 2. **וַיִּפְּשֹׁט**, & significat spinis obstruere, ut etsi cognoscas semitam non possis tamen incedere ob spinas. In Osea Propheta. Sepiam vias tuas spinis. Tertium est **וַיִּפְּשֹׁט**, succidere & incidere, quod a nonnullis refertur ad vias, quod fuerint interruptæ & intercisæ, scilicet foris intercidensibus, per quas vias quis non possit nisi subsultim incedere, unde fit, ut crura quoque frangantur ante pedes incedentium. Et ideo dixit, succidis me, vel amputavisti me, scilicet a via, illam ita interruptendo. Posuit me veluti signum ad sagittam, quod omnes ferirent, quia non unius gentis exercitus me oppressit.

He.

13. **I**mmisit in renes meos tela pharetræ suæ.

14. Fui in derisum omni populo meo, & canticum eorum totâ die.

15. Saturavit me amaritudinibus, inebriavit me absinthio.

**I**mmisit in renes meos ) Quomodo sacre literæ nonnunquam Deum humani corporis habitum induunt, ad

piorum conservationem, dicens enim cum suis oculos in sanctos homines habere defixos, manu sua illos protegere, scuto propulsare ab illis hostes: ita secus inducitur ab illis eisdem in perniciem malorum, uti fera, hostis iratus, omniis armorum genere instructus. Illum nunc Propheta noster pharetram pingit. Quod & Iob ferè eodem verbis dolebat. Superioribus ista optime congruunt. Cum dixisset, se veluti signum esse constitutum, quod dirigerentur sagittæ, nunc aperit, id frustra non fuisse factum, siquidem ferit illum Deus, & non le vicer, ita ut sagittæ altissimè infingerentur, ut quæ perungerent jam ad renes usque. Ea corporis pars inter ceteras non modo sicut videtur secretissima, sed involvit eam natura, ut magis abderet & tueretur, adipe satius denso. Cumque vulnera sibi pervenerint, necesse est illius fuisse profundissimos. Adhæc cum is locus præcipuè ad venenis voluptates conducatur, oportet & contrarij esse receptaculum, si quando ibi læsio occurrerit, id est doloris ingentis atque intolerabilis. Nam circa idem naturâ sunt, quæ sibi invicem adversantur; & qui vultus accipiunt æquum & que in hæc loca, de eorum salute videtur æquum esse. Nec deest hic metaphora lepidissima, ubi pharetra inducitur, veluti gravis sagittis, quas appellat filios pharetræ, quod inde à sagittariis bauriantur, veluti è ventre. Fui in derisum omni populo meo. Hæc ego arbitror dicta sub persona ipsiusmet Prophete, qui ut maiori modis acceptus fuerit à Rege & à populo illis temporibus, & libri Regum, & ejus patris affatim declarant. Et tunc elementum Iod in dictione **וְיִדְּבָר** non erit superfluum, ornatus gratia additum, quia non ab aliis Hieremias ita fuit tractatus, sed à suo populo. Accusatur tamen Abenezra, Iod esse pleromasticam dictionem, & cum ista non solum ad Hieremiam, sed ad universam illam gentem pertinere poterunt. Et canticum eorum totâ die, id est argumentum vulgæ.

Propheta De  
pharetram  
pingit.

Propheta no-  
strum in dictione  
Iod tractatus à  
populo suo  
fuit.

Tria verba  
Hebraica viam  
depravatam si-  
gnificantia ex-  
plicantur.

Ad cumulum  
doloris inole-  
rabilis, contum-  
elie verbo-  
rum, & amarissi-  
ma quæque  
accefferunt.



Foris dicitur feliciter agere, & statum rerum expectandum. Nam hoc boni genus sibi putatio precantur Iudei, dum se saluantes. Quæ de causa Christus dicebat suis discipulis, cum obviaret illis, aut eos accederet, Pax vobis. Et Paulus in Epistolis semper habet iustitiam, & deus rex ipsius. Idem quod Græcis χαίρειν, Latinis salutem dicere. Oblitus sum boni. Adeo malis suis obrutus, ut profusus è memoria bona sint abolita, tum præteritis, tum ipsi bonorum memoria contigerunt, tum futura, que mihi ita, que mihi Dei bonitate contigerunt, tum futura, que mihi per suos nuncios Prophetas recepit se donaturum esse, post hæc durissima infirmitas. Et dixi) Non est in viris sanctis pro suis extincta vis carnis, & illi suos adhuc stimulos viros habent, dum sunt in mundo, hoc tamen illi donatur, ut spiritum, quo à Deo sunt donati, carnis consilia, ratiocinationes, blasphemias minime probent, imò decessentur, atque in virtutem sentiant, ita illum in se loquentem. Quam conditionem sanctorum expressit Paulus ad Romanos appositè, cum dixit, se spiritum consentire legi Dei, quod bona sit, sed interitum rapta membra & carnis lege, que ipsam captivum & transversum ablatas. Sed liberatur Dei gratia, quod illa qua ita peccatur, non imputetur nobis, sed operetur. Tale quid hic à Hieremia describitur. Perititrobar meum & spes mea à Domino. Oblitus videor donorum & promissionum præ malis, que argent. Saadet caro ut desperem illa, ratio humana iudicat me fuisse deceptum. In Psalmo dicebat David, ego dixi in festinatione mea, omnis homo mendax, dum fugerem precipitaver, quasi deceptus essem à Samuele, videbat mihi funditus delendæ. Hæc ille sanctus, que Iob videbatur petulantius dicere, omnia sanè ita interpretanda, ut illis volueris Scriptura effundi, quidnam in animo sanctorum caro agitur, quid tractas, que omnia sua natura & visum pestime dicit, pessime cognata, blasphemias, peccata gravissima, non tamen illis imputantur, cum fide sint muniti, & spi-

De ricantio  
Bentis boni  
subus  
Sanctorem  
pimis virtutis  
blasphemias  
obsequat

Zain.

19. **R**ecordando afflictionis meae, arumnae, absinthij & fellis.

20. Recordando recordabitur, & incurvabitur super me anima mea.

21. Hoc reduco ad cor meum, & idcirco spero.

Imago depe-  
rationis

**R**ecordando afflictionis meae) Hec inquit in vadis me animi desperatio, dum recogito que patior, dum mente revolvō, quam duris & adversis casibus jecer. Dilationem hanc, quidam esse volunt imperativum, ut oratio convertatur ad Dominum: more solito, quasi requiratur, ut ad se desisteret Deus benevolam suam animam. At mihi sequenda videtur Rabbi Aben Ezra sententia, ut sic nomen, id est infinitus modus, dum recorder. Et hæc est postrema omnia tentationum, quando agitur, de desperatione, & ideo ferri non potest, unde subditur. Recordando recordabitur) Anima est corpus erectum firmare, & decorare, alioquin per se prorum ad terram, versus calum. Quod si ipsa incurvetur sub pondere, nihil aliud superest, nisi ut omnino sic prostratum. Hoc reduco) Supremum suis malum, quod dictum est, adhibetur aniditum desperationi, nam, quam fides potest cedere. Sed videamus, quid illa vicissim sarni suggerat, quibus nos muniat argumentis.

Postrema om-  
nia tentatio-  
numLicit gradum  
ad consolatio-  
nemAniditum  
desperationis

L 3

Ceteb.

Ceteris bla-  
phemias con-  
dit non impu-  
tatur.

Miser cordia  
Domini con-  
menda- & in  
ea vera fide  
recumbit.

22. **M**iser cordia Domini, quod non  
sumus consumpti, quia non de-  
fecerunt miserationes ejus.

23. Novae singulo quoque mane, multa fi-  
des tua.

24. Pars mea Dominus, dixit anima mea,  
idcirco sperabo in eo.

Quomodo re-  
citare & cri-  
gere debeamus  
animum malo-  
rum male op-  
erisum.

**M**iser cordia Domini. Si expendantur merita, era-  
mus perdendi, si vires nostrae attendantur, pereundum  
fuit, si hostium immanitas, non posueramus evadere. Quod ta-  
men bona adhuc nos inveniunt, quod non fundens delicti sumus,  
hoc merita Dei misericordia est opus. Cum ergo ita premimur  
cum delictorum pondere, cum eruminatione dolore, calamita-  
tum amaritudine, debemus ad Deum bonum, clementem pa-  
trem nostrum convertere animum, quia in nobis duntaxat  
habemus responsum mortis, uti docuit Apostolus ad Corin-  
thios 2: Non defecerunt miserationes ejus. Contraria-  
tionem est infiniti, ut possit absumi. Sed uti Deus est infini-  
tus, ita immensa sunt omnia, quae illi tribuuntur, cujusmodi  
bonitas est atque misericordia, cujus est opus illa omnia vin-  
cere, quae faciunt ad nostram perniciem. Esaias dicebat, nisi  
Dominus Sabaoth nobis semen reliquisset, uti Sodoma fuisset  
semis. Ac si dicat, nisi inter hostium nostrorum immanita-  
tem, & nos miseros sese divina interposuisset misericordia,  
de nobis omnino actum fuerat. Novae singulo quoque  
mane. Id est, nullas nobis oritur dies, quin recens ali-  
quod effectum tuae misericordiae ad nos fecerit non afferat.

Hinc

Illis omnia vin-  
cere, quae fi-  
ciunt ad no-  
stram perniciem,  
misericordiae  
Dei est opus.

Hinc est colligendum, nobis durum, gratiae autem difficile non  
esse ducendum, ut singulo quoque die, novae agamus Deo gra-  
tias, cum semper nobis oriantur novae illius beneficia, singu-  
lo quoque nedum die sed temporis momento. Hos sancti ani-  
mae vertunt, impij nec somnare valent. Multa fides tua.  
Hic excluduntur merita. Si miseretur Deus, hoc agit pro sua  
constancia & gravitate, quae promissis omnia praestat. Non  
erat auferendus is populus, nisi prius inde Christus nobis ede-  
retur. Quam promissionem grati oblatam, rescindere non po-  
tuerunt illorum scelera. Dicebat Paulus. Quid enim si qui-  
dam illorum non crediderunt, numquid incredulitas illorum  
fidem Dei evacuavit? Absit. Est enim Deus verax, omnis  
autem homo mendax. Et David, ut justificeris in sermone  
tuis, & vincas cum judicaris. Quam est optandum, ut  
sanctae fidei Dei nostra respondeat fiducia. Nunquam certo  
scio a quibus, curemus tamen ne cum illa, nostram infideli-  
tate pigremus. Pars mea Dominus dixit anima mea.  
Cum itaque illam ita fidelem videam, quam alium debeo in-  
quirere? Mendacia sunt ab eo omnia alia. Hoc significa-  
tur illos amplius nolle idololatriae esse addictos. Qui Domi-  
num habent partem suam, illi soli student, uti nasci heredita-  
tem praeclaram. Quicumque hoc sentiunt, & ipsi sunt pecu-  
liaris Dei portio, ut cujus Deus est pars, & is vicissim sit il-  
lius peculiari portio.

Norma quoli-  
bet die agenda  
Deo gratias.

Fides Dei co-  
mendatur.  
Nostra exclu-  
duntur merita.

Fidem Deum  
indignum servare

Fidei Dei no-  
strae respondet  
fiducia.

Gratia  
Dominus.

Et nos vicis-  
sim peculiari  
ipsius portio.

Thetb.

25. **B**onus est Dominus sperantibus  
in eo, & animae quarenti illum.  
26. **B**onus sperat & silet ad salu-  
tem Domini.

27. Bonum est viro, si jugum portaverit a  
pueritia sua, Bo-

Veritas est, spe-  
rantes Dei  
benigne frui-  
tur, ac ipse  
eum, alius du-  
rissimum deli-  
ctum.

Bonitas quo-  
modo de Deo  
prædicatur.

**B**onus est Dominus. Est hac prædicatio si repropo-  
sitis maximè necessaria, in qua de Deo legitima eius  
proprietas dicitur, quæ ita peculiariter Deo tribuitur, ut  
Christus ejus insigne, ciculum, notam recusarit, cum illi à  
quopiam diceretur, Magister bone. Quod jure fecit, cum is  
eum ignoraret, nec sciretur Deum esse, neque ac. entè cogi-  
taret, totius bonitatis fontem esse Deum. Quod ejus virtutem  
non ex verbis deprehenditur, sed ex Christi responsione. Is  
enim cum nuda habeat ob oculos corda, nullius sententias in-  
justè taxat aut carpit. Sperantibus in eum & animæ  
querenti illum. Quid nobis prodesset ejus bonitas, nihil il-  
lam apprehenderemus? Ast fide, spe & diligenti inquisitio-  
ne apprehenditur. Bonus est itaque Deus, sed si illi fidamus,  
aut queramus ipsum. Spes à fide in sacris literis parum aut  
nihil frequenter distinguitur. Quæ si quâdam notæ sint à se  
in vicem discernenda, dicit spes ultra fiduciam, durationem  
quandam ac patientem remorantem ac tardantem boni exspe-  
ctationem, qua scimus nos non esse fallendos, aut pudore ita  
suffundendos, ut nos sperasse pœniteat, teste Paulo, qui ad  
Romanos dicebat, tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia  
probationem, probatio spem, spes autem non confundit. Qua-  
ritur verò Deus potissimum in veritate. Nam precibus, fi-  
de, nostri abnegatione, integra vita dicitur queri. Et ista  
omnia tantisper ad illum in veniendum faciunt, dum integra  
sunt, non simulata neque ficta. Prope est Dominus in vocan-  
tibus illum, sed in veritate. Et Propheta Hoseas præcepit,  
ut sibi in veritate seminarent. Et Christus dixit Samaritanis,  
veros adoratores censendos esse, qui in spiritu & veritate  
adorent. Bonus sperat & gilet. Quicumque ita querit Do-  
minum & fidit, jam Dei bonitas in illo propagatur, ut & ipse  
bonus dici possit. Nam ille sunt viæ, quibus Dei bonitas ad  
nos descendit. Deus per se se bonus est, nos verò inde, si spe-

Fide, spe & di-  
ligenti inquisi-  
tione appre-  
henditur Dei  
bonitas.  
Distinguen-  
tur enim Ac  
ipsum.

Quomodo  
Deus queritur  
aut

Bonus quo-  
modo homo  
dicitur.

ramus & fitemus. Silere hic positum est, pro eo, quod est ma-  
nere, tacite expectare, non moveri terroribus, non alienari  
à Deo, nec ipsi obloqui, si non videatur agere nobiscum, ex  
nostro consilio aut voluntate. Idque verbum hoc significare  
quod diximus, patet ex 1. Sam. cap. 14. ubi Ionathas volens  
præca vere sibi à temeritate invadendi hostes ait, si dixerint,  
quiescite vel manete, &c., donec ad vos veniamus. Deno-  
tatur hic pij animus, qui ita sperat, ut se non commoveat vel  
transversum unguem à Dei promissis, quantumvis caro illi  
obstrepit, modis & rationibus jam supra demonstratis. Bo-  
num est viro; Licuisset cui vis hic objicere. Sed interim ta-  
cendo & expectando affliguntur miseri servi Dei, acerbisa-  
tes, dolores, cruciatus non leniuntur. Imò, inquit, hi subinde  
ab initio ceperunt, qui Domini sunt his malis assuescere.  
Crucem Christi cum baptismo sancti suscipiunt super se,  
& reteres eadem operâ cum circumcisione. Quare ita occal-  
luerunt, ut favente Domini gratia ferro possint levius, quàm  
putatur ab humano sensu. Quos tamen non dico ferreos, ita  
ut nihil molesti patiantur, sed aurum, illis mirum in mo-  
dum conducere, quod subinde à pueris ceperint jugum Domi-  
ni ferre. Propheta alios ex sese metiebatur. Juvenis caput  
suam experiri crucem. Unde cum afflarentur illi ab exordio  
vaticinia perhorruit, dicebatq; se extimescere vehementer,  
quod puer esset. Spiritu nihilominus Dei favente, fuit sem-  
per postea, ad omnes difficultates æquo & paratissimo animo.  
Talem quoque reperias Samuelem in sacris literis, Danie-  
lem & secios, qui adhuc juvenes subierunt vexationes pro-  
pter Dei verbum. Nec dici potest, quàm cum his feliciter a-  
gatur, qui citius colla subdunt Domini jugo. Nam et si vulgo  
pondus diei & æstus videntur ferre, in vinea laboribus, quod  
& caro sæpenumero deplorat, nihilominus spiritus ipsemet de  
hoc plurimum gessit. Iacob Paulus, se à progenitoribus

Quid sit flere  
ad istum Do-  
minum.

Asteriscus  
suscipere mul-  
tum est.

Propheta ju-  
venis caput  
experiri cru-  
cem suam.

M suis

suis Domino servisse in purâ conscientia, Et alibi ad Gamalielis pedem legem didicisse. Act. 22.

Iod.

con paucis

28. **S**Edebit seorsim & quiescet, quia tulit super se.

29. **P**onet in pulvere os suum, si fortè sit spes.

30. Dabit percutienti se maxillam, & saturabitur opprobrio.

Vindictio  
huius scilicet  
corruptelis  
monachorum

**S**Edebit) Mirum est quomodo ad suum efferendum institutum monachi, eremita, & huiusmodi segnes homines transferant hunc versum. Aiunt, sedebit solitarius in cella, in claustro, in angulo domus tacebit, astrictus suis certis legibus silentij, & levabis se super se. Tunc dantur ei amplissimæ & illustres visiones, quas Græci nomine ecstasies appellant. Cum hic longè aliud agatur, de consolatione piorum hominum, qui fide præditi sunt, & strenuè sperant vel in mediis tribulationibus. His bonum est, si vel à pueris iugum Domini ferant, non sibi accersendo mala, aut sine verbo temere se affligendo, sed pro verbo Dei annunciando, pro reprebendis populi sceleribus, cum illos ad hoc misit Deus, omnia subeundo pericula intrepide. Cumq̃ affliguntur illi hac laudabilia studia, tunc seorsim sedent, se à vulgi iudicio & sententiis, mentem à carnalibus separant. Hæc non iudicant adeò amara, adeò dura, ut reliqui homines, sed sæpe in his se jactant & gloriantur, ut Paulus ad Corinthios. Et ad Romanos, non solum autem sed & gloriamur in tribulationibus. Quia tulit super se. Hic redditur ratio quare seorsim &

Vera locustæ  
palma.

In periculis se  
jactant & glo-  
riantur scilicet.

differentes sentiant, quæ potest esse duplex, prout referre id licet, vel ad Deum, vel ad ipsum hominem. Si ad Deum, quia Deus super eum tulit, scilicet hoc decretum, hanc sententiam. Cumq̃, sciunt se Deo gratos, consolantur se hoc nomine, quod quicquid illis exenerit, Deo volente acciderit, & illis in bonum cooperabitur. Vel ad ipsum afflitum hominem torqueas, non multum dolet, quia sponte & volens hæc patitur, quia ipse levavit super se hoc iugum Domini, non in vitis illud sustinet, ut impij. Ideo leviter cruciatur atque torquetur. Ponet) Quicquid Deus de eo decreverit, demisso & reverenti animo excipit, adorat, gratias agit, ad terram proster-nitur, decreta Dei in se exosculans. Si fortè sit spes. Non semper aut in omnibus passim hoc fit, sed si fortè in eo sit spes. Forte non refertur ad Dei providentiam, à qua nil temere aut casu fit, sed nostra respicit merita & consilia. Non enim datur nobis fides, quod illam mereamur, aut studiosè inquiremus, imo sæpe nobis offertur & obtruditur aliud agentibus. Dabit percutienti se maxillam, & saturabitur opprobrio. Hæc sunt sanctorum & hælium facta, non sibi parceret, ubi de honore Dei aut ejus gloria agitur. Hoc Christus docuit & didit & exemplo. Hoc jubet primum legis præceptum. Hoc illi solum faciunt, qui fide & spe præditi sunt, Ut Dei gloria promoveatur, nil suam famam, nil vulnera, nil colaphos curant, sed ut Paulus dicit ad Corinthios, nudi sumus, vagamur, insignibiles sumus, colaphis caedimur, &c.

Panem  
huius  
scilicet  
monachorum

Quid sit pote-  
re in pulve-  
re.

Panem in eo  
locum habet,  
quod ex eo al-  
imentum.

Vnde de honore  
Dei agitur, si-  
ciliet ubi ma-  
xime parceret.

Capitulum.

31. **V**ia non derelinquit Dominus in æternum.

32. **Q**uin si affligit, rursus misere-  
tur, secundum multitudinem misericordiæ suæ.

Exaltatio  
de miseratione  
huius scilicet  
monachorum, a-  
nimus in a-  
nimam & pa-  
triam agnos-  
cit.

M 2

33. Non



33. Non enim affligit ex corde suo, nec dolore afficit filios hominum.

**N**on derelinquit. Hactenus ab eo non sumus destituti. Hic non est ejus mos, non ita consuevit. Cur ergo nos desperemus? Si dolorem inflixit, miserebitur. Ejusdem est & mederi & vulnerare. Necessse est nobis non ad alium, quam ad percutientem recurrere. Non enim affligit ex corde suo. Quod non ita est legendum, quasi Deus aliquid in vitium agat. Qui enim illum cogit discedere à sui animi sententia? Ceterum hi qui affliguntur, vel boni sunt aut improbi. Si boni sunt, non Dei fertur voluntas in eorum calamitates, quasi eas per sese valis, verum respicit illorum aliquam utilitatem non contemnendam, ut magis probati sint, ut refrenentur à quâpiam carnis petulantia, ut fides, fortitudo & patientia illorum exerceatur. Neque ita non ex corde suo illos affligit, ita ut in illorum adversis conquiescat illius consilium. Si vero qui castigantur, improbi sint, etsi revera Deus illos punit, tamen si voluntatem signi attendas, multa profere in eos pietatis indicia, curat ut admoneantur, productum illis largitur spatium vitæ ad resipiscendum, circumvallat divitiis, rerum copia, & beneficiis temporalibus plurimis onerat, antequam in eos animadvertat. Et demum ita punit, ut si hæc indicia animadvertas, dicas illum in vitium illos premere. At si dicas mittatur hæc signi voluntas, illam attendamus, quæ efficax nuncupatur, illa sponte volens & prudens affligit improbos. De hac rursus dico, quamvis illa prima non est contemnenda, imò habet multum ponderis ac authoritatis ad Dei bonitatem offerendam, etiam efficaci voluntate dicitur non de corde affligere, non quod uti jam prefatus sum in vitium agat, sed quod in eorum afflictione haud persistat vel quiescat ejus voluntas, quæ haud passitur

Percutit Deus, & sanatur eum.

Deus nihil a se in vitium.

De voluntate Dei, quomodo in puniendis hominibus bonus se habeat.

Quomodo in puniendis improbis. Voluntas signa.

Voluntas Dei obicit.

Voluntas Dei, in improborum quoque hominum supplicia non perstitit, vel quiescit, sed aliquid amplius proficit.

scitur vel exsaturatur hominum panis, sed fertur Dei voluntas dum premit, quod ad damnandos illos, inquam, qui sunt desperata salutis, in suæ justitiæ demonstrationem, ut ceteri illam videant, atque inde cum illam commedent & prædicent, tum sibi præcaveant, ne incidant in eadem mala. Quod ad illos vero qui sunt emendabiles, ut corrigantur, in quorum mutationem, emendationem, salutem cor Dei & voluntas fertur, et in eo conquiescit, ut in illis sua bonitas declaretur. Quam rationem Apostolus ad Romanos tergit, cap. 9. ubi quod ad perditos dicitur, volens Deus & δειξάντων ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἠγάπα τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς, volens manifestare iram & potentiam, id est se veritatem suæ potētissimæ justitiæ, de his vero qui servantur, τὸν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁδοῦν αὐτοῦ, divitias ostendere voluit gloriæ suæ. Quare ita dicitur non è corde affligere. Thargum verò hoc torquet ad hominum animos, ac inquit, idè Deus irascitur filiis hominum supplicia, quia nullus eorum se ex animo dejicit, humiliat aut affligit, dolendo se peccasse, uti fit à resipiscētibz, ac si sit sensus, Deus filios hominum vexat, quia nullus eorum dolet aut affligit semetipsum ex corde, id est, seriò eum pœnitet. Quicquid borum dixerimus, aptum erit ad verborum contextum.

Thargi expositio.

Lamed.

34. **A**d conterendum sub pedibus suis omnes victos terræ.

35. **A**d removendum judicium viri, à facie altissimi.

36. Vel ad pervertendum hominem in lite sua, Dominus non vidit.

**A**d conterendum) Hic item duplex potest haberi interpretatio. Primò si cohæreant hæc verba priori sententia

Ab omni crudeli assuetudine & iniquitate præcedente Deum remota.

teritiae, quae afferebatur Deum non ex animo affligere filios hominum, subditur, non videtur contumeliose agere & despectu humani generis, ut ipse quodammodo in caelo residens, gauderet suis pedibus conculcare miseros viros terra. Et terrae dicuntur, cum undique sint obstricti quod ad animum viris, quod verò ad corpus, necessitatibus, laboribus, difficultatibus inexhaustis. Deinde possumus non negando, sed id quasi confirmantes hanc sententiam legere, ut dicatur, Deus non ex animo punit, quasi id extremam per sese velit, sed ad conterendum sub pedibus suis viros terra, obnoxios culpis, ut sub illo penitentiā humiliensur & prosternantur, idq. vel ad eorum salutem, si emendantur, vel ad suae justitiae declarationem, si pertinaces fuerint, petulanter in eum insulcantes suis contumeliis, maledictis atque blasphemis. Ad removendum Duo removenitur fines & consilia divina severitatis, quod indicat, cum inquit, non vidit Dominus, id est non reperitur id apud Deum. Quod is non videt, nullo pacto est. Non vidit Dominus, non illi inser venit, non hoc sibi voluit. Primum, ut temere aut casu agat, dum punit, nullo respectu habito criminum aut malemeritorum, idque est removere iudicium à facie altissimi, quasi ille nil videat, aut negligat humanarum rerum considerationem, sed tantum naturali quâdam vi, facto necessario, temeritate fortuita agat, quicquid facit in humanis rebus. Secundo ab eo removeri injustitiam. Non movetur Deus mala cupiditate, ut hominem velit evertere, aut injuste cadere in sua causa, imò disceptationes cum eo non refugit, jure cum illo vult agere. Efficit id non legitimi Domini, sed mentis tyrannica. Cum ergo non moveatur injustitia, non temere agat, nec pascatur aut exsaturatur nostris malis, quid superest, nisi ut qui affliguntur, animum non despondeant, se esse ejus bonitatis liberandos? Una superesset opinio praeter res jam dictas blasphemias, ut ista fierent non à Deo, quae his accidunt. Primi dicebant, Deum crudelem nostris malis delectari. Alteri illum temere agere. Tertijs non temere sed injuste, ut quosdam velint sua bona causis cadere. Qui supersunt videntur autem non citra illum, vel sine eo hæc fieri. Quibus occurrit Propositum.

Mem.

37. **Q**uis est qui dicat, & fiat, non id precipiente Domino.
38. **E**x ore Domini non egredientur mala & bonum.
39. **Q**uid murmurat homo vivens. Vir contra peccata sua.

**Q**uis est? Si non subest, nihil fit, quia quicquid ratione aliquid sit, in illo unico fonte divina bonitatis recipit. Ex ore Domini non egredientur mala & bonum. Quidam ita legunt, ut prima pars affirmet, ex ore Domini non egredietur malum, quasi dicat, non sponit deus mala, sed vos ipsi vobis attrahitis vestris peccatis. Et bonum hoc legunt affirmative, ac si dicat, bonum liberaliter dat & sponit. Sed magis placet, ut recenseatur istorum blasphemias, qui non à Deo cuncta volebant agi, quorum verba erant habentis Zephonie cap. i. Homines qui loquuntur in corde suo, Dominus non benefacit, nec male facit. Quid murmurat homo vivens? Scilicet adversus Deum. Similes sunt sic conquerenda de illius bonitate. Vir contra peccata sua, id est murmurat, non contra Deum. Quisquis autem versis, quicquid eorum aut calamitatem patiuntur, tantum id suis debent sceleribus, non divina bonitate.

Divina providentia affertur, & homini adversus Deum marmoreandi omnia ante praesentia dant.

Deo omnia bene, acia fit.

Non de bonitate Dei agitur, sed de bonitate nostris, quos peccata sua, quae conquiritur, causam habent.

Nam

Vera penite-  
ntia consistit in  
sua peccato-  
rum ignitione,  
hinc ad Do-  
minum con-  
versione, co-  
rendemq; in-  
genit confes-  
sione.

40. **S**Crutemur vias nostras & inve-  
stigemus, revertamur usque ad  
Dominum.

41. Levemus cor nostrum ad manus ad  
Deum in caelis.

42. Nos peccavimus & rebelles fuimus, tu  
non pepercisti.

In agnitionem  
peccatorum,  
quomodo de-  
ducamur.

**S**Crutemur) Ut detractiones & blasphemia in Deum  
collantur, scrutemur & expendamus nostra facta. Hic  
plane videbimus, cui ascribenda sint nostra adversa, in tua-  
mur: quæso divinam legem, nam uti Paulus consiluit, per le-  
gem cognitio peccati, ad Rom. 2. nec solam legem, sed uni-  
versam scripturam, siquidem in ea ubique explanatur, quæ  
sit Dei voluntas, quid à nobis requiratur. Paulus ibidem cum  
dixit, non est justus quisquam, non est intelligens aut requi-  
rens Deum, omnes declina verum, simul inutiles facti sunt,  
non est qui facias bonum, non est usque ad unum, illud testi-  
monium confarcinavit ex multis sacra scriptura locis. Ri-  
memur itaque & nos per divinas literas ubique attendentes,  
à nobis quid à Domino requiratur, tuncq; intelligemus, quan-  
tum à justo deflexerimus. Ad hoc eodem studium pari diligen-  
tia nos hortabatur Zephania, cap. 3. Disquirite vosmet-  
ipsos, quid hoc respiciat exordium, cognoscere accurate,  
quæ nostra vitia sit, distortis ac depravatio. Revertamur  
usque ad Dominum. Nemo nostram solam doleat suas e-  
rumnas & mala, quibus premimur, sed extendas sese dolor us-  
que ad Deum, id nos habeat pessime, quod illam offenderim-  
us. Hosea forè habet eadem verba. Levemus cor no-  
strum

In perhibenda  
nostra dolor  
hic maximus  
esse debet,  
quod Deum  
offendimus.

## D.P. Martyris Commentarium. 97

strum ad manus. Non fiste operemur, candidè, ex animo.  
Id est manibus junctum cor habere. Nihil Deo magis est de-  
testabile quàm fistio. Potest & hoc explanari, ut cor nostrum  
feratur ad sublimia, ita ut nostra conversatio sit in caelis, cum  
simus Dei domestici. Quæ interpretatio idè affertur, quia  
vox ista נד, nonnunquam significat nubem, uti habetur E-  
xodi 33. ubi cum rogasset Moyses terribilem faciem Domini  
liceres videre, respondit Deus, constituam te in petra ca ver-  
na, cumq; transiero, nube mea operiam te. Et eadem signifi-  
catione in Job 36. invenitur. Licebit & istum eundem locum  
exponere, ut dicamus, Domino cor nostrum esse offerendum.  
Levemus cor ad manus, id est, manibus cor nostrum tenea-  
mus, uti oblationes antiquitus manu porrigebantur, ita nos  
Domino non agnos, non vitulos aut mulas pecudes, verum  
cor nostrum offeramus. Quod illi munus ac sacrificium erit  
gratissimum, cum nil aliud à nobis exposcat. Si quidem ubi  
thesaurus eius, ibi & cor tuum. De corde exeunt homicidia,  
furca & adulteria. Ac Deum jubemur diligere è toto corde.  
Ergo cum à Domino requiratur, illi à nobis detur. Non po-  
terit melius aut utilius collocari, quàm in caelo. Nos pec-  
cavimus & rebelles fuimus. Additur peccatorum & sce-  
lerum confessio. Quod re vera est opus fidei. Nunquam hæc  
criminum confessio accurate fit & utiliter, nisi ab his qui cre-  
dunt. Quare in Actis Apostolicis legimus, eos qui credide-  
rant venisse, confitentes atque annunciantes opera & facta  
sua. Tu non pepercisti. Adjungitur confessioni scelerum  
alia confessio laudis, divine inquam justitiæ. Vei enim fa-  
tentur se peccasse, ita Deo justitiam tribuunt, qui illos ita  
punierit. Non est hoc leve, concedere castiganti, jure nos ab  
eo fuisse correctos. Isti duo sunt viruli labiorum, nobis cul-  
pam, Deo punienti justitiam ascribere.

Nihil Deo magis  
est detestabile  
fistio quam fi-  
stio.

Si autem  
coram Deo  
gratissimum.

Confessio ve-  
ra opus est fi-  
dei.


Additur con-  
fessionis scelerum  
confessio laudis  
divine justitiæ.


N

Samech.

Samech.

Acta & severa Dei iudicia.

43.  Peruisti ira & persecutus es nos, occidisti & non pepercisti.

44.  Texisti renube, ne transeat oratio.

45. Commotionem & opprobrium posuisti nos in medio populorum.

Amplificatio iudiciorum Dei.

**O** Peruisti ira & persecutus es nos. Nunc progreditur ejus oratio, ad justitiam hanc Dei amplificandam, quam se verè illi in se egerint ostendendo. Ob nostra inquit scelera prius Deus nos ira sua operuit, excacavit, ita ut nil possemus videre, nil sani consilij haberemus, itaque excacatos postea cepit persequi. In quibus duris ejus oppressionibus, caprimente, orbati consilio, quid supererat, nisi ut facillimè occideremur. Quod in Propheta subditur, cum dicitur, occidisti & non pepercisti. In Esaia cap. 6. habetur, hunc populum esse excacandum, inducendum, ut videntes non viderent, & audientes non intelligant, ne forè inquit ego converterar & sanem eos. Requisivit Propheta, quoad futura esset hac arumna, cui responderetur, donec omnia subvertantur. Ita & hic scribitur, operuisti nos ira tua, persequutus es, occidisti & non pepercisti. Texisti renube ne transeat oratio. Favorem tuum à nobis abscondisti, ut Sol, quando suum splendorem nubibus obregis, idque agit quodammodo de industria, ne nostra oratio ad te penetraret. Nam quotquot impij clamabant, non audiebantur, quod sine fide invocarent. Qui verò sancti fuerant, quales Hieremias, Daniel, illi tunc ad Dominum pro salute populi fuerunt supplices. Verùm Deus distulit illos audire, prius curavit, ut sua pro palaretur justitia. Et quamvis illorum preces casse non fuerunt, tunc nihil.

comi-


Impios Deum aus omnino nunquam exaudiri.

Propter non fiam


ominus visi sunt non audiri. Commotionem & opprobrium posuisti nos in medio populorum. Duo hæc recenset, quæ maxima videntur esse incommoda. Instabiles esse, vagos, deinde quocunque pergant, ubique ridiculos.

Deo maxima incommoda.

Pe.

46.  Peruerunt super nos os suum omnes inimici nostri.

Pergit exponere, quæ & quæque perpetraverunt ab hostibus.

47.  Pavor & laqueus fuit nobis, seductio & confractio.

48. Rivos aquarum deducet oculus meus, propter contritionem filiarum populi mei.

**A** Peruerunt super nos os suum) Quod vel ad calumnias, maledicta, scommata, contumelias referat, vel ad oris distortionem, quæ solent illudentes quempiam irridere. Pavor & laqueus fuit nobis. Est hic mira vocum allusio, פחד & פח. Et illa sunt referenda quæ supra commemoravimus, de ira & persecutione Dei. Cum circumdedisti ira, illa sum excacatus, adeo percussus & prostratus metu, ut nihil viderim. Ideo cum persequeretur, parum cautus in laqueum vel in foream incidi. Seductio & confractio. Rursus in his duobus quæ commemorantur, alterum illorum ad animum pertinet, פחד, alterum verò ad corpus, פח. Et mente sum in consiliis ineundis prorsus falsus, corpore verò ob plagas acceptas, totus confectus, ut sani nihil supersit. Rivos aquarum deducet oculus meus. Ob has iustas à Deo inflictas penas, testatur Hieremias se fletisse uberrime.

In hoc commota.

Allusio vocum.

Corporis animique supplex.

Ain.

Lacus lachry-  
marum & quer-  
monis con-  
suet. Deum ad  
miseriam suam  
alligant et al-  
ter

49. **O**culus meus stillavit, & non ces-  
savit, eo quod non sunt inter-  
missiones.

50. Donec aspiciat & videat Dominus de  
caelis.

51. Oculus meus afficit animam meam, pro-  
pter omnes filias populi mei.

**O**culi stillarunt nec cessarunt. Hic rursus habes  
vocem Hebraeam *וַיִּשְׁרֹץ*, à verbo *רָצַץ*, quod non so-  
lum significat silere, sed quiescere, quod magis explicat, ad-  
dendo sine intermissionibus. Donec aspiciat & videat  
Dominus. *וַיִּשְׁרֹץ*, est respicere quodammodo à fenestra,  
cum Dominus dicatur inscripsurum in caelo residere, fingitur  
quodammodo illic haberi fenestras, unde prospiceret Dominus,  
quid hic agatur inferius. Ea vox significat per fenestram de-  
spicere. De caelo prospexit Dominus, ut videat, si est intelli-  
gens aut requirens Deum. Oculus meus afficit animam  
meam, sc. malè, propter omnes filias populi mei. *מִכָּל*  
posset etiam significare prae omnibus filiabus populi mei. Si  
legas propter, tunc eris sententia, valde fuisse commotum  
Prophetam, ob virginum constuprationem aut eadem, aut  
per filias sumis ricos, civitatus & oppida, quae Hierusalem  
filiae quodammodo appellantur. At si amplectamur signifi-  
cationem, prae omnibus, tunc amplificas à comparatione suum  
luctum, & inquit, prae omnibus mulierculis ego luxi, vel prae  
caeteris familiis, cum mea esset sacerdotalis, fui mei muneris  
& peccata & penas populi deffere. Hic anima d' versione non  
indignum est, permutatum fuisse alphabeti ordinem: siquidem

Propter om-  
nes filias po-  
puli fuit Pro-  
phetam com-  
mut. & prae-  
cibus.

Permutatus  
alphabeti or-  
do.

series elementorum requirebat, ut versus ad y. pertinentes,  
illos antecederent, qui sua habent initia à littera D, sed fa-  
ctum est secus, & res hujus aut consilij nulla ab interpretibus  
redditur ratio, neq. à me vel inveniri vel excogitari potuit.

Tzade.

52. **V**enando venati sunt me inimici  
mei, quasi passerem gratis.

53. **C**oncluserunt in lacu vitam  
meam, & lapidem super me revolverunt.

54. Inundaverunt aquae super caput meum,  
dixi, abscissus sum.

**V**enando venati sunt me inimici mei quasi passe-  
rem gratis. Ea quae jam dictis adscribuntur, ad pri-  
mam Hieremiae personam spectant. Ostendit se fuisse op-  
pressum illis temporibus, gravissimis casibus, Deumq. sui il-  
lum invocantis non fuisse oblitum. Quare hoc exemplo istos  
incitat, ut ad Deum resipiscences redeant, innocens, ac aequè  
ut ipse audientur. In venationis metaphora ostenditur mi-  
micorum suorum odium, vires & astucia. Phrasie ejusmodi  
similitudinis a vicule sacris literis non est infrequens. Ani-  
ma nostra dicebas David sicut passer erepta est de laqueo ve-  
nantium. Sed hic additur gratis, id est, immerito, absque ulla  
odij legitima causa. Concluserunt in lacu vitam meam.  
In vaticiniis Hieremiae cap. 27. & 28. hoc legitur, Hiere-  
miam bis fuisse captum & coniectum in carcerem profundis-  
simum, qui lingua sancta appellatur *וַיִּבְרַח*, quā eadem voce &  
hic & ibi utitur scriptura. Non solum inquit conjecerunt,  
sed alligarunt. Lapidem inquit super me revolverunt,

Iam Propheta  
casu tristitia-  
mos suam mi-  
seriam com-  
memorat.

Propheta pri-  
vatus. A  
se magis per-  
mittit adscri-  
bi.

Carcer pro-  
fundissimus, in  
quo dicitur prop-  
ter peccata  
alligatus fuit.

ut carcer esset firmus, nec ego inde possem evadere. Erant utique seu lacus profundi, bi carceres, muniebantur quoque lapide de super rotoluto. Inundaverunt aquæ) In lacu secundo in quem fuerat coniectus Propheta, erant aquæ putres, siue cænum, in quod miserè fuis demissus. Quod attinet ad humana auxilia sese videbat successum è viventium numero.

Coph.

Adhuc quomodo in gravi-  
tate calu-  
se erga Deum, &  
Deus erga op-  
sum se gesserit.

55. **I**n vocavi nomen tuum Deus de puteo inferiori.

56. **V**ocem meam audisti: ne occultes aurem tuam, propter respirationem meam, & clamorem meum.

57. Appropinquasti die quâ invocavi te, & dixisti, ne timeas.

Prophetæ ora-  
tio ad Deum.

**I**n vocavi) In hoc meo extremo infortunio, quod me re-  
tritus causâ ita oppresserat, desperationi invadenti non  
me dedidi, sed ancora fidei innixus, oravi ad Dominum.  
Emphasin habet, de inferiori puteo, quasi dicat, è loco tam  
profundo ad Deum usque meas preces effudi. Audisti vo-  
cem meam. Hoc exemplo declaratur Dei bonitas, ut illi  
provocentur ad paria invocandi studia. Ita orabam inquit,  
O Deus ne occultes aut removeas aurem tuam à me pro-  
pter respirationem & clamorem. Quod ita intelligas, ut  
abs te audiat, impetret mea anxietas & clamor vehemens,  
aut quod magis placeat, da quæ sicut respirare possim & clama-  
re ad te. Quod idè dicit, quia aquis & respiratio & clamor  
videbatur impediri. Appropinquasti) Hic se à Domino  
audire, & inde consolationem accepisse declarat.

Provocant ad  
paria invocandi  
studia.

Resch.

Resch.

58. **I**litigasti Domine causam animæ meæ, redemisti vitam meam.

Defensionem  
causæ suæ, ad-  
versus vim he-  
minum inuicem  
facientium, Deo  
tribuit.

59. **V**idisti Domine everisionem meam, iudica iudicium meum.

60. Vidisti omnem ultionem eorum, & omnem cogitationem eorum contra me.

**I**litigasti, vel iudicasti, causam meam. Suam salutem  
Propheta non Regi, non illi Aethiopi Eunuchò, qui pro  
eo intercesserat, sed tantummodo adscribit Domino. Quod  
nobis fidei & pietatis exemplum proponit, non ad tollendam  
beneficiorum gratitudinem, sed ut Dei opera suspiciamus in  
nostris benefactoribus. Vidisti Domine everisionem  
meam. **E** significat pervertere, sed hic accipitur pro eo,  
quod est reddere causam bonam deteriore, subvertere ali-  
cuius litigantis iudicium. Illi mei adversarii omni studio  
curarunt, ut meum ju. verterent. Et hoc è Deus tu vidisti,  
& idcirco iudica iudicium meum. Vidisti) Visionem  
vocat se vitam ac crudelitatem, quam adversus illum exer-  
cuerunt, cogitationem verò, astutiam vulpinosq; dolor, quos  
illi assidue neclebant, ut eum caperent.

Dei opera su-  
spicienda in  
nostris benefa-  
ctoribus.

Ex illis & a-  
liis hostium

Schin.

61. **V**idisti opprobrium eorum Domine, omnes cogitationes eorum contra me.

Hic quod ex-  
terius Deo  
cogitationem  
causæ suæ tri-  
buit.

62. Labia insurgentium contra me, & meditationem eorum adversus me totâ die.

63. Sessorem & surrectionem illorum aspice: ego sum eorum cantio.

Au-

Visus & audi-  
tus in scrip-  
tis frequen-  
tissime con-  
iunguntur.

**A**Vdisti) Quod paulo ante dixerat Dominum vidisse, nunc assertit auditu percepisse. Hi duo sensus in scrip-  
tis frequentissime coniunguntur, ut qui maxime ad co-  
gnitionem faciant. Visus quodammodo scientia inveniendae  
praeferitur, auditus vero ei, quae doctrina aut disciplina ab  
aliis nobis traditur. Merito ergo coniunguntur ambo, & ita  
ut frequentissime unus pro altero ponatur, siquidem populus  
dictus est voces Domini in monte vidisse. Estq; mira effica-  
cia quod dicitur, tu Domine vidisti & audisti cogitationes  
illorum contra me, nam etsi illi dolose, callide & astute sunt  
improbi contra me, ut celata velint omnia sua consilia, quae  
incunt contra me, tu tamen illa & vides & audis, ut quem  
nihil potest latere. Opprobria quae dicebantur adversus  
Hieremiam trigesimo septimo capite sui libri describit. Cum  
velles abire in terram Benjamin, eo tempore, quo Chaldaei re-  
lictâ obsidione Hierosolymorum iverunt adversus Pharaonem  
Regem Aegypti, qui venerat contra Chaldaeos, captus  
est in porta à Principibus, & illi prodicionis crimen impin-  
gebant, quod velles ad Chaldaeos uti transfugas se conferre,  
& coniecerunt in carcerem. Postea c. 39. conquesti sunt Regi  
de eo, quod sua ratiocinia de industria diceret ad dissolven-  
dum eum & vires populi, semperq; suis verbis aucuparetur,  
captaret malum non bonum illius urbis. Et demum 43. cap.  
cum Dei nomine populum monuisset, ne in Aegyptum disce-  
derent, appellatus est Propheta mendax. Et pleraque ejus-  
modi reperiet diligens scrutator in ejus libris. Unde merito  
dicit, Deum & vidisse & audisse sua opprobria. Labia)  
Possunt his verbis illa eadem significari, quasi Deum non la-  
tuerint, nec verba nec cogitationes illorum. Ita ut labia ver-  
ba significent, quod in sacris literis non est novum. Nisi quis  
velit labia hic referre oris distortionem, labiorum deprava-  
tionem significare, quae solent deridentes inducere & facere,  
cum

Opprobria  
quae diceban-  
tur adversus  
Hieremiam.

Labia verba  
significant.

Labiorum de-  
pravatio.

cum insigni quâdam contumeliâ voluit quempiam afficere.  
Seditionem &urrectionem illorum affice, id est, omnia  
illorum acta. Nam cuncta ad meam perniciem instituant.  
Sedendi actio hic symbolum est iudiciorum, consiliorum, ac  
surgendi, vim denotat exequendi maturè & celeriter delibe-  
rata. Ego sum eorum cantio, vulgus fabula. Id contingit  
radiculis hominibus. Memores interim sumus, quae hic descri-  
buntur contigisse huic Propheta, omnibus Dei servis & piis  
hominibus esse communia. Quotquot Dei verbum voluit ad-  
versus mundum tueri, talia coguntur sustinere, Christusq;  
primus fuit dux hominum huius ordinis, qui propter iusti-  
tiam, Dei voluntatem, illius promissum tot & tanta est passus.  
Itroq; exemplo & suo & Prophetarum nobis Christus adde-  
bat animos, Matth. 5. Sic enim Prophetas persecuti sunt,  
qui ante vos fuerunt. Et rursus, si patrem familias Belze-  
bub appellant, quanto magis domesticos ejus?

Contumelia  
verborum &  
factuum, o-  
mniumque Dei  
servorum adve-  
rsus mundum  
tueri solent.

Tuu.

64. **R**eddes eis retributionem Domi-  
ne, secundum opus manuum  
suarum.
65. Dabis eis clypeum cordis, maledictio-  
nem tuam eis.
66. Persequeris in ira, & perdes eos, ne sint  
sub caelis Domine.

Huiusmodi  
predicationes  
Prophetarum po-  
tissimum ex-  
ecutiones con-  
tinent.

**D**E his versibus in autographo nihil exeat. Nam de di-  
ris & execrationibus Prophetarum interpret noster  
abundè, sub finem capituli primi egit. Ac mutata quidem hic  
0 vi-

Propheta ne-  
que facit in-  
iam.

videntur esse persone, ut Propheta non tam externos, quam domesticos hostes execrari videatur. Sed nemini injuriam facit. Nam in tantum civibus male precatur, qui malicia & immanitate, hostibus externis facile pares, vel etiam superiores fuerunt. Quorum cantilena fuit & fabula, ut paulo antè conquerebatur, *נִצָּלָה*. Nunc sannionibus istis, lepidis hominibus, scilicet, pro neghinab precatur meghina, clypeum cordis. De quo R.D. Bullingerus noster, in expli-

Clypeus cor-  
dis.

catione hujus loci. Clypeus cordis, inquit, proprie est cor obstinatum aut induratum, quod non modo pertinax est, sed peremaciam illam suam etiam objicit eui clypeum, & reuerti causam cur moriorem ferre recuset. Renuit aliquis audire verbum Evangelij: alius adducit rationes, quod audiendum sit Evangelium: eas induratus ille non modo non recipit, sed peremaciam illam suam veluti causam allegat, cur nolit recipere. Satis causæ est inquit, quod omnino in animum induxi, me nolle audire. Hic sane clypeus est cordis. Deus ergo hostes suos cum punire vult, reddit obstinatos, ita ut sana consilia non recipiant ullo modo, neque aliam ob causam non recipiant, quam quod recipere nolant. In qua re gloriantur, & miris modis sibi placent. Sed vitium aut morbus est deheratus & incurabilis. Et cum Deus tale cor dat hominibus, iusto iudicio dat. Maledictiones in lege multiplices sunt. At his adobruit hostes suos Dominus. Quos in ira vel furere supersequitur, atque radicatus extirpat, ut nullus eis amplius sub celo locus suppetat. Nam ipsos destrudit ad inferos. Hæc R.D. Bullingerus. Porro omnia, quæ Propheta precatur inimicis suis, impleta esse constat. Nam illo septuaginta annorum tempore fatali, misere omnes perierant.



D.P. Martyris Commentarium. 107

Alphabetum seu Caput  
quartum.

*Aleph, seu Versus primus.*



Vomodo obscuratum est aurum,  
immutavit se aurum illud optimum,  
disiecti sunt lapides sanctuarij, in  
capite omnium platearum?

Deformatur  
illu, qui refo-  
rmatu erat.



Vomodo obscuratum est aurum. Hoc postre-  
mo alphabeto, deslet omnia quæ Iudzorum fuerunt,  
suum splendorem, ornamenta, eximiam formam  
permutasse, cum sordidus & morte ignominiosa. Ac primò  
rem proponit sub comparationis colore. Nam aurum inquit  
est obscuratum, & aurum bonum, ut addat efficaciam ad scri-  
psit, *עצ*. Fulgor non cuiusvis auri est obfuscatus, sed il-  
lius quod habetur optimum. Radix obscurationis est *עצ*,  
conjugatio verò Pual. Disiecti Inter gemmas illas, quibus  
ornatum fuit sanctuarium, habitæ sunt præclarissimæ. Neq;  
est putandum illas ab hostibus fuisse projectas. Avidi quippe  
præda ac rapina ejusmodi thesauros non abjecissent. Hiere-  
mias ergo per hæc preciosa vult à nobis intellectos homines  
præclaros. Putavit Rabbi Salomon hoc aij habere editum  
ab Hieremia, post casum à Pharaone Iosiam sanctissimum  
Regem. Ac nullo movetur firmo, evidenti, apparenti argu-  
mento. Et ex his quæ hic tractantur perspicuum est, omnia  
potius ad primam, vel secundam sub Romanis, Hierosoly-  
morum eversionem quadrare.

Deformi al.  
phaberi argu-  
mentum.

Per lapides  
sanctuarii ho-  
mines præclari  
intelliguntur.

Quo tempore  
hoc alphabe-  
tum sit editum.

O 2 Beth,

Explicitio  
versus præce-  
dentis.



Illy Zion nobiles, ornati auro obrizo,  
quomodo reputati sunt vasa artifi-  
cum, opus manuum figuli.

Extremus no-  
bitium con-  
tempus.

**E**llij) Quæ dixerat ac protulerat comparatione, nunc ea-  
dem effert planis & apertis verbis, nobisq̃, indicat, quid  
aurum. Quid pura illius massa significet, homines inquam istis  
ornatos. Vocabulum id significat perfecti auri ac depurati  
substantiam. Et quamvis nonnulli ausi sint dicere, id esse ar-  
gentum, nihilominus arguuntur ex loco primi Melachim,  
ubi de Salomone agitur, qui solium suum obtexis *זָהָב*, dein-  
de additur, *וְזָהָב*, id est, admodum depuratum. Reputati  
sunt vasa artificum. Posses intelligere quod vis genus va-  
serum, quibus utuntur in suis opificiis artifices, quæ nullis  
consueverunt haberi honore, aut pretio. Sed Propheta arti-  
fici genus expressit, opus inquit manuum figuli, testen-  
tasa, quæ multis nominibus ignobilia sunt, vilipenduntur,  
abjiciuntur, nullæ eorum habita ratione. Si attendas mate-  
riam sunt lutea, si artem, parum ingenij aut prudentiæ requi-  
rit illud artificium, demum pretium illorum apud omnes est  
vilissimum, cumque fracta reficui nequeant, consueverunt  
proijci.

Horrenda sa-  
mes & rabies  
reulorum He-  
braeorum.



Etiā Dracones extraxerunt mammas,  
& lactaverunt catulos suos, at filia po-  
pulimeī in crudelem, ut struthiones in  
deserto.

Etiā

**E**tiam Dracones) Mulieres Hebraas confert cum  
Draconibus, illarumq̃, indicat tamen fuisse deterio-  
rem sortem. Nam quamvis genus illud animantium videtur ef-  
feratum, non tamen deferunt ibi matres officium erga pul-  
los, sed lactant & educant summa charitate. Inio matres, ut  
narrat *Alenezia*, cum vident ad se accurrentes pullos, exe-  
runt matrum mammas, ut non egrediantur, sed libentius ac-  
cedant. Fecundus sit, Deus in animante eodem crudelitatem  
summam conjunxit, & amorem blandamq̃, affectionem in suos  
parvulos. Achilia populi mei in crudelem, scilicet ver-  
sa est. Nam suos filios destituunt, vel quod alimoniam caren-  
tes, illas lac deficiit, unde non valentes suos filios sustentare,  
illos destituunt, quod a serpentibus non fit. Mihi tamen ma-  
gis arridet alia interpretatio, ut fames scilicet, rabies illas  
matres effecerit, atque ita crudeles, ut suos ipsæmet liberos  
inaniarint, obliata materna affectionis, eorumq̃ carnibus sua  
valuerint fami satisfacere. Hujus verò immanitatis & su-  
pra meminisse, & paulo post repetet illam. Ut struthiones  
in deserto De hoc animali, quod inter volucres recensetur,  
libro naturalis hist. c. i. meminit *Plinius*, quod tanta facit  
magnitudinis, ut feris ac bestis accenseri possit, si quidem  
sua altitudine par est equi insidenti equo suo. Addita sunt  
illa, non quibus sese à terra sustollat, ac quibus ejus velo-  
citas, alioquin super ingenio pernix adjuvatur. Virgulas ha-  
bet aduncas, scissas ceruorum instar, verum adeo contrarias  
ut non facile possit lapides arripere, ac in sese persequentes  
trahere. Adeo validus est ac fervens ventriculi, ut ferrum  
trahens possit coquere, quod *Ferraria* mihi videre licuit.  
Tanta nihilominus pertinetur stultitiæ, ut cum suum ab-  
conderit collum, totum reliquum corpus satis se celasse arbi-  
tetur. In sacris licet et tribuitur crudelitas erga filios.  
Nam ova quæ peperit femella deserit in pulvere, & nisi ca-  
loris

Dracones ge-  
nus, quod ma-  
trium præbet  
charitatem.

Deus p. a.  
Deus a. a.

loris solari beneficio se verentur, matrum foris non excludentur unquam pulli. His ergo confertur ingenium matrum Hebræarum, quod suos propter famem deserunt filios, amicum uti dixi, sunt deteriores, quo in sua viscera illos condant de-  
nuo.

*Daleth, seu versus quartus.*



Dhæsit lingua lactentis, palato ejus prælitum, parvuli panem petierunt, & non fuit, qui eis frangeret.

**A**Dhæsit Infantuli crescunt liquido alimento, lacte. Inde quæ unâ ac eadem operâ & bibunt & comedunt, sed cum naturâ lactis humidum sit, hic jure & merito fit mentio si-  
us. Parvuli panem petierunt. Isti sunt majusculi pueri, qui adhuc lacte non indigent, sed firmiore cibo panis vescun-  
tur. Querebant, poscebant, efflagitabant, non fuit qui daret. Cogitent hic mihi, qui horrent hanc tam diram famem, quæ illis sine detestandi, qui verbi Dei debitum cibum filiis Eccle-  
siæ denegant, illis cum interdiciunt, splendido nihilominus & plausible colore, ut ipsis videatur. Nam aiunt, non est dirum sanctum canibus, margarita non sunt spargenda porcis. Sed plebs, vulgus Christianorum tales habendi sunt. Quare consequitur, illis sacros libros non esse permittendos, ut le-  
gant. Experiencia addunt boc testatur, illos inde cum non intelligant multas sibi pravas & hæresicas consingere opi-  
niones. Quamobrem inde sunt arcendi. Isti vehementer erant, qui his argumentis permoverentur. Nam Ecclesiæ filij cum prædici sint spiritu, nam dicit Apostolus, qui non habet spiritum Christi, hic non est ejus, non sunt canes neque porci, sed cum filiis accenseantur, panem filiorum sunt alendi. Quod  
nobis

nobis confirmavit Deus, qui legem tulit per Moysen, vaticinia per Prophetas, idque scripturus, non editis nisi communi & vulgarâ linguâ Hebræâ, ut omnes possent intelligere. A hoc quoque Hebræi suam legem, sacra biblia, pueris ac mulierculis proponunt, morem sectantes sibi à Patribus traditum per manus. Apostoli cum essent Hebræi, scripserunt alienâ linguâ, ut omnes gentiles possent facili scripta percurrere. Cumque Paulus Epistolas scriberet, non ducibus aut tribus sacerdotibus scribebat, sed toti Ecclesiæ. Quæ Christus docuit in sermone in monte, ubi uberrima & profundissima habetur legis interpretatio, turbas docuit, vilem popellum & ad hæc infideles. Hæc tamen est illa doctrina, quam nostri celatam voluit plebi. Quæcunque in historia Evangelistarum de illius doctrina continentur, fuerunt Apostolis expositæ, audibus aliquin hominibus, ac adeo crassis, ut Petrus semel Sæban sit appellatus. Quamvis ergo adhuc infirmi carnales sunt, cur arceantur à sacra lectione, rationem asserre non possunt. Paulus carnales appellat Corinthios, quibus tamen duas luculentissimas scribit epistolas. Multi inde errant, at inde multi & longè plures adificantur. Quod si hoc argumentum valeret, magis doctis erat abstinendum, nam à doctioribus sæpe semper manarunt hæreses. Præterea si idcirco vitanda sacra licere, quia inde nonnulli verenum bauriunt, arceatur & ab Eucharistia miser Christi populus. Detestanda est hæc famel. Petunt parvuli panem, & non est qui porrigat.

Cur Christi-  
deliciæ lectione  
sacra arceantur de-  
beant, ratio scilicet  
hæc asseri non  
potest.

*He, seu versus quintus.*



Vi comederunt delicatissima, devastati sunt in plateis, & qui fuerunt educati in purpura, amplexati sunt

Lexum in vi-  
ctu & cultu  
corporis, co-  
arctati Deo gra-  
visimus pa-  
nis

Recor-  
a.

Quo-

Infantuli  
lactem  
bibunt.

De illis  
verbi Dei  
debitum  
cibum  
filiis  
denegant,  
illis cum  
interdici-  
unt, splen-  
dido nihil-  
ominus &  
plausibili  
colore, ut  
ipsis vide-  
atur.

Sacros  
libros  
non esse  
permittendos,  
ut le-  
gant.  
Experiencia  
addunt hoc  
testatur,  
illos inde  
cum non  
intelligant  
multas sibi  
pravas &  
hæresicas  
consingere  
opiniones.

Recor-  
a.

Miseranda re-  
rum vicissitudo.

**Q**ui comederunt) Hæc est miseranda rerum vicissitudo. Cucicula molliter & bene curata, fame nunc exhausta, per plateas est devastata, hoc est in tenuem & exanimem cadaverem redacta. Et qui amissi fuerunt purpura aut cocco, hi inhumati projecti sunt ad finem ac lacum, ut videantur stercorea amplexari.

Vau, seu versus sextus.

Graviter peccavit populus Dei Sodomitæ, & graviores poenitent.

**M**ajor fuit iniquitas populi mei, quam peccatum Sodomæ, quæ subversa est, quasi in momento, & non adhibuerunt ei manus.

Peccati signum, & poenitentia.

**M**ajor fuit) Hic & & non significant, ut inquit Abenezra crimen, sed supplicium, poenam sumptam de sceleribus. Vnde Paulus, & de peccato damnabitur peccatum. Non solum crimen peccatum dicitur, sed quod illud tollit & delet, quod sit aut sacrificio, aut poenâ sumptâ, à justo Dei judicio. Vnde utrumque & poena & sacrificium peccatum dicitur. Et quamvis non inficior, istos gravius peccasse quam Sodomam. Nam Prophetas non solum expellebant sed occidebant. Ac Christus dixit fore tolerabilius Sodomam quam illi urbi, quæ Apostolos exclusisset super quam illi turbi, quæ Apostolos exclusisset, super quam illi pulverem pedum excussissent. Præterea valet, dum agitur de divina justitia. Gravius de his quam de illis sumptum est supplicium. Igitur illi gravius peccarunt. Places nihilominus, ut hic peccatum siue iniquitas sumatur pro poena. Nam statim subdit Prophetæ, quæ subversa est quasi in momento. Et si exitum, & verso illa fuit summa, tamen hæc tolerabilius & mi-

Exitum Sodomæ, & verso Hierosolymam confuerunt.

nus duri habuit, quod non fuit diuturna. Et non adhibuerunt eis manus, scilicet homines. Conflagravit illa regio, & Hierusalem quoque est incensa. Verum id Deus per sese fecit. Pluit enim super illas urbes à Domino sulphur & ignem Dominus. Non ergo opera hominum perierunt. Ac Hierusalem & Domini voluntate est succensa, humani odii intercedentibus. Levius videtur latu, quod à Domino duntaxat infligitur. Vnde David ad Gad videntem dixit, cum sibi potius elegit pestem. Facilius incidam in manus Dei, quam hominum. Nam illum scio misericordem, hostes vero meos non item. Si illis detur facultas me persequendi, quid contra meam salutem non molientur?

Levius videtur latu, quod à Domino duntaxat infligitur.

Zain, seu versus septimus.

**C**andidiores nive fuerunt Nazaraei, nituerunt præ lacte, rubuerunt ipsi præ gemis, saphirus sectio eorum.

Nazaraeorum forma & species liberalis.

**C**andidiores) Hic Nazaraeorum meminisse, quæ illam creticeras hominum genus afflicto. Supra sacerdotum, seniorum, Prophetarum, Regum, matrum, juvenum, virginum, nobilium, delicatarum mentionem fecerat, Nazaraeos postremo addidit. Quorum ritum & religionem habes Lev. 6. cap. Temporarium fuit votum, interdicebatur illis vinum & quicquid ad ebrietatem faciebat, non incidebant crines, non sese contaminabant super mortuos. Luculenter hæc omnia explicantur adducto loco, quorum rationem asserit non est presentis loci. Quidam volunt uti Rabbi Salomo pro Nazaraeos intelligere Reges & Principes, eo quod significet coronam. At mihi videtur sequenda plana litteræ intelligens, cum ista querela magnum habeat momentum, si-

Propheta nihil retinet peras hominum afflicto.

Ritus & religio Nazaraeorum.

R. Salomo pro Nazaraeos intelligit Reges.



Subitaneam illam cedis mortem, præferbas suis illis diuturnis casibus & erroribus. Quia isti) Hic duplex habetur interpretatio, prout, isti, potest vel ad eos referri, qui fame pereunt, vel ad illos qui gladio. Si hic sumantur famelici, dicuntur effluere quod ad vires & spiritus, confossi à proventibus agri, qui non pro venerunt, defectum terra fructuum sunt confossi, veluti lancea. Quod si accipias occisos gladio, tunc habebitur planè hæc sententia, confossi effluxerunt à proventibus agri, scilicet à saturitate, habent quod ab eis defluat, ut pote pleni & redundantes alimentis.

Iod, seu versus decimus.

Datum labem  
lancet.

**M**anus mulierum misericordium coxerunt natos suos, ut essent eis cibus, in contritione filiarum populi mei.

Materi terribili

**M**anus mulierum) Supra de hoc immani casu audivimus, ut matres adeò se vix sint effectæ, ut animum induxerint, carnes filiorum edere. Hic quasi omni. cogita immanitatem illorum Pastorum Ecclesiarum, qui matres ac nutrices esse debuerant, uti de se dicit Paulus ad Thessalonicenses, se quasi nutricem illis fuisse. Et ad Galatas testabatur, se illos parere, donec in eis Christus formaretur. Pastores qui tales esse debuerant, omnia mescentes lucro & suis commodis, oves suas deglubunt, lacerant, mactant, comedunt, sibi interim placens ac plaudant, quasi sint sanctissimi.

Pastores Ecclesiarum  
et nutrices esse  
debent.

Pastorum immanitas

Caph, seu versus undecimus.

Eccle vindi-  
ctam Dei per  
seuclum de  
accusatione

**C**omplevit Dominus furorem suum, effudit iram indignationis suæ, effudit ignem in Zion, qui devoravit fundamenta ejus.

Com-

**C**omplevit) Ostenditur alioquin Deus misericors, diu à nobis fuerat provocatus, diu conceptam iram cohibuit, uti foris, patiens, longanimis iudex, qui suam sententiam non precipitat. Effudit iram indignationis suæ. Tamen cum necesse esset, & iustitiæ ac severitati ejus locum esse, diuturnitatem gravitate compensavit. Effudit ignem in Zion) Rursus ira Domini igni comparatur. Nam urbem non solum inflammaverunt omnem, sed fame quoque homines quodammodo adusti sunt & exsiccati, usque ad ossa, quæ totius corporis bases & fundamenta esse videntur.

Patientia tanto  
sarcæ.

Tarditatem  
supplicis Deus  
gravitate com-  
pensat.  
Rursus ira Do-  
mini igni com-  
paratur.  
Fame adusti.

Lamed, seu versus duodecimus.

**N**on crediderunt Reges terre, & omnes habitatores orbis, ingressurum esse hostem & inimicum, per portas Ierusalem.

Amplificatio  
ab incipiente.

**N**on crediderunt Reges terre. Primus locus incredulitatis tribuitur Regibus. Dū floreret illud regnum & Prophete comminarentur improbi Principibus, vertendum esse illud regnum, non credebant. Hoc genus hominum serò convertitur. Paulus dicebat, non multi nobiles, non multipotentes. Quibus tamen postea adjunguntur habitatores orbis ceteri, omnes plebei. Hi sibi non poterant persuadere, hostes Hierusalem ingressuros, & illum statum florētissimarum ac sanctissimarum rerum subversuros. Nec sibi bodie stulti Christiani. Sibi pollicentur à Turcis se non esse perendos, fresti hoc promisso, Ecclesiam non esse unquam excindendam, nec pravalituras ad versus illam portas inferni, quasi ipsi statim ad Ecclesiam pertineant. Definitio Ecclesie ex omnibus causis hæc est. Quod ad materiam, cæcus hominum. Efficiens, spiritus Christi congregans. Finis, ad vitam æternam. Forma, pie-

Primus locus  
incredulitatis  
tribuitur Regi-  
bus & Principi-  
bus.

Secundum Chris-  
tianorum.

Definitio Ec-  
clesie ex omni-  
bus causis



Applicatio ne-  
culana ad hanc  
nostra tempo-  
ra.

An maior sit  
auctoritas Be-  
ati equis  
scripturae.

Unde creda-  
mus scripturae.

Patrum dili-  
gentia in scri-  
pturae confer-  
endis.  
De auctoritate  
Ecclesiastica,  
in sanciendo  
legibus.

hoc tempore calamitose, qui bonos viros, sanctos Christi, a-  
crias insultantur, atque illi, qui se Pontifices, Episcopos,  
Presbyteros, Monachos, ceteris hominibus sanctiores pro-  
fiscuntur. Hi damnant, conjiciunt in carceres, detrudunt ad  
extremes, exulare jubent. Tantaque interim volunt esse  
suam auctoritatem, ut Christum ipsum in ordinem sine reda-  
ant, si in terris vellet rursus agere. Nam sacram scriptu-  
ram suae potestati & auctoritati subditam volunt, hoc sane  
argumentum, quod ipsa Ecclesia auctoritas scripturas nobis  
commendatis. Et illius, a iure nomine nos illi credimus. Illa  
de eis iudicavit: Has approbavit, illas respuit. Ergo aiunt  
nostra edicta praefenda sunt scripturis. Hic nos negamus  
aperse id quod assumunt. Nos enim ideo credimus scripturis,  
quod afflatus sumus spiritu Dei, non ob illorum auctoritatem,  
quia fides nostra non est ex hominibus, sed ex Deo. Et si Pa-  
tres de scripturis iudicarent, hoc spiritu Dei factum est. Quo  
& nos praeiudici, illas recipimus, quae illi receperunt. Haud-  
quaquam humana caro Deo rebellis & spiritualibus cunctis  
rebus, eorum permoveretur auctoritate, ut illis credas. Com-  
mendamus tamen Patrum diligentiam, in scripturis confer-  
endis adhibeam, sollicitudinem in concionando, & alia e-  
iusmodi. Nec auctoritatem Ecclesiasticam infestamus con-  
vitiis, aut ea abolimus, ut dicamus, ab ea non posse sanciri  
constituta & decreta. Idem permittimus. At ea quae  
divini verbi non repugnant, & ad quae non adigamur ne-  
cessaria, ita aut illa praetermittentes, regno caelorum exclu-  
damur. Sinamus liberi in his, ad quae sacra littera nos baud  
coarctant, ita tamen, ut non contemnamus ea, quae ipsi sta-  
tuunt, divina non adversantia, quibus proinde non parem  
exhibemus firmitatem ac sacrae litterae, quibus unice in vio-  
latum rebus tribuitur. Si Ecclesia auctoritate scripturae fla-  
ret, & iustitiae, Ecclesia eadem quae confirmavit, posset  
cetera.

exvertere. At secus dicit Paulus. Si nos, aut Angelus de ca-  
lo secus Evangelizaverit, quam Evangelizatum sit, ana-  
thema esto. Dixit nos, non solum ego, sed omnes iunxit Apo-  
stolos & Ecclesia proceres. Quid isti non movent, ut suam  
constituant tyrannidem? Si quos habeant suae illius immo-  
dicae auctoritatis, quam sibi usurpant, adversarios, curant  
ut occidantur, effundunt, inquit, sanguinem iustum.  
Quidam sanguinem ita interpretantur, ut habetur Ezech.  
cap. 3. Fili hominis ego te collocaui speculatorem super do-  
mum Israel. Unde si tibi mandaro, ut enuncies impio scelera  
sua, tu vero tacueris, illeque perierit in suo scelere, illius san-  
guinem ego requiram de manu tua, qui alioquin forte te ad-  
monente fuisset justificatus. Effundebant igitur isti, in-  
quiunt, sanguinem non admonendo aut corripiendo. Quare  
omnes istae caedes ac strages illis imputantur, qui suo silentio  
crudelissimo, partes sibi commissas perdunt. Mihi, ut verum  
fatear, prima sententia est verisimilior.

Si enim cre-  
deretur.

Nun, seu versus decimus quartus.



Agati sunt caeci per plateas, contami-  
nati sunt sanguine, cumque non pos-  
sent, apprehendebant illorum vestes.

Erroris misere-  
cordia, bonis  
pastoribus or-  
bitur.

Agati sunt caeci per plateas. Aliter Hebraei hic  
sentiunt, aliter & mihi videtur. Volunt illi exprimi  
crucis effusi copiam. Nam inquit capri oculi, orbati lu-  
mine, cum publice incederent, non poterant sanguinem ca-  
re, quin fœdarentur eo illorum vestes. Cumque cecitate erra-  
rent, & alios non possent vitare homines, tangebant illorum  
vestes, & illos quoque commaculabant. Haec illorum inter-  
pretatio, parum mihi sit verisimilis. Et ideo magis Hierony-  
mianam.

Interpretatio  
Hieronymi  
replacet.



Beati Pastores  
populi Christi  
sunt oculi  
sui.

modosensio, ut cecos appellem miseram plebem, orbatam bonis Pastoribus, qui sunt populi Christiani oculi. Prophetæ antiquis dicti sunt Videntes. Et Paulus prima ad Corinthios, in corpore Ecclesie facit multa membra, ita ut quidam manus, quidam pedes, quidam aures, nonnulli verò oculi dici possint. Erant ergo cæci vulgus & plebs Iudaica. Non tamen excusantur. Nam sacerdos & populus referuntur. Et qualis unus deprehenditur, salvi quoque aliter censendus est. Supplicium est populi decessantis audire veros Prophetas, parere bonis pastoribus, ut deinde regatur ab his, qui corrupti sunt & improbi. Paulus ad Thess. 2. c. 2. de Antichristo dicit, cujus adventus est in operatione Sathane, in prodigiis & signis mendacibus, quod ad illos qui pereunt, eò quòd charitatem veritatis non receperunt. In illos ideo immittet Deus erroris efficaciam. Cumq; non possent, scilicet cæci per sese ambulare, apprehendebant illorum vestes, sacerdotes hos improbos & malos Prophetas sequebantur. Unde contingebat, ut Servator noster inquit, ambos in fornem cadere, cum cæcus ceco ducatur præstans.

Samech, seu versus decimus quintus.

Quæ probra  
& maleficia  
gentes in po-  
pulum Dei ob-  
tulissent.

**D**Ecline immundum, clamabant eis, declina, declinate, ne tangatis. Cum avolarent & commoverentur, dixerunt inter gentes, non addent ad habitandum.

**D**Ecline immundum. Hac quoque sententia est ambigua, difficultasque inde oritur, quod dum scribitur clamabant, non exprimitur, quinam isti clamantes fuerint. Iudei putant & ad cecos referendum, qui cum in plateis isa

sedati

sedati essent cruore, clamabant, ut homines se visarent uri immundos, & ne se tangerent. Et ad alios homines, videntes quadrare potest, qui visis his cæcis commaculatis, inclamabant assistantibus per plateas, cavete, cavete istos immundos, ne vos attingant. Mihi videtur describi miseranda fors exilij & captivitatis, in quam fuerunt abducti his malis Pastoribus & sacerdotibus, itineri ducibus. Quemadmodum Iudei Gentiles execrabantur, ita postea vicissim gentes infestabantur maledictis Iudeos, cum in suis regionibus versarentur peregrini & captivi. Inducuntur ergo clamantes illi populi, hostes inquam, cavete vobis ab hoc populo immundo, cavete inquam, ne illos attingatis. Cum avolarent. Hac verba valde confirmant meam interpretationem. Hac dicebantur inter gentes, cum isti avolarent & abducerentur in exilium. Non addent. Quanquam isti dicebant hostes, sperent reditum, non ulterius revertentur, se ipsos fallant, manet illos perpetua captivitas.

Miseranda  
fors exilij.

Pe, seu versus decimus septimus.

**V**ltus Domini illos divisit, non addet, ut illos respiciat, facies sacerdotum non susceperunt, & non sunt miseri seniorum.

Gentes ipse  
viderunt, Deum  
populo suo esse  
iratum.

**V**ltus. Non hominum operâ sunt remoti à suo nativo solo. Ira Domini hoc effecit. Vultus hic iracundiam nobis refert, nec injuriâ. Nam potissimum facie declaratur iratus animus. Non addet. Illos repulsi eorum Deus, non eos mihi credite restituet. Erat Israelitis hæc sermocinatio admodum molesta. Ideo tantâ diligentia à Hieremia describitur. Facies sacerdotum. Non immerito ita punivit istos illo-

illorum Deus. Nam dum illorum floride essent res, & fortuna secunda, aspernabantur audire sana consilia seniorum & sacerdotum integri animi, qui eos fideliter increpabant. Et non sunt miseri. Hanc phrasin habet Paulus ad Philippi. c. 2. Si qua visceres, si qua misericordie, implece meum gaudium, ut idem sapias. Nam juvenes caput senum misericordia, cum illi parent, & salubria sequuntur illorum consilia. Hæc verba longè aliter Chaldeus interpretatur, ita ut hic exprimitur nimia illorum confidentia. Dicebant de gentibus, cum obhiderentur, vel cum admonerentur Dei nomine, de flagellis imminuentibus. Quæ interpretatur, non in-  
Inter quo-  
m. in. m. d.  
rem. m. m.

ter gentes, sed de gentibus. Non rursus addens, ut inhabitent hanc terram. Deus illas in ira sua sæpe populit, ut patet de Senachrib & aliis. Non addes, ut illas respicias, quia inde non speratur nisi contemptus nostre religionis. Semper non curamus gentes nostros Prophetas & sacerdotes. Ideo Deus quos in ira sua sæpe à nostri cervicibus depulit, non permittet, ut poriantur hac victoria contra nos. Ita isti vana spe lætabant. Sed prior expositio mihi facilius probatur.

*Ain, seu versus decimus sextus.*

**V**cusque nos, defecerunt oculi nostri ad auxilium nostrum vanum, quia aspectu nostro respeximus ad gentem, in qua non est salus.

Fiducia in auxilio proprio.

**H**vcusque nos. Additur hic altera causa illius extremæ ruine, quia non solum à Sacerdotibus & Prophetis dolosis decepti sunt, sed objectâ Dei fiducia spectantes salutem externam auxilia, quæ tandem omnia vana esse exper-

83

ti sunt. Huc usque ait nos. Tu subijce, tales existimus, ut statim exponet. Defecerunt. Hic est mos illorum, qui vehementer sibi alacunde pollicentur auxilium, cumq; illius sine qua maxime cupidi, intensissimis oculis solent illò spectare, unde venturum esse exillimant. Quod nunc à Propheta ponitur. Tanta solitudine respiciebamur ad vana auxilia, ut oculi nostri hætenus sese defecerint. Quia aspectu nostro. Ni Deus saveat, qui servare nos possunt. Illius est

Dei propriis  
servandi actio.

propria servandi actio. Non equis, non miles, non Rex unquam servat, nisi foris illius auspiciis ad hoc dirigatur. Fin-  
Fin-  
ludæorum  
gunt Iudei, Rabbi Salomo, Aegyptios voluisse ad istos relevandos egredi. Sed cum navibus instructi, jam vela facerent, curavit Deus, ut per mare plurimos vires inflatos obvios haberent, qui illi visi sunt hominum cada vera. Quare inter sese ita ratiocinati sunt. Hæc sunt Patrum nostrorum cada vera, quæ prefocata quondam fuerunt in his aquis, dum Israelitas persequerentur. Unde hoc portento admoniti, defecerunt ab incepto. Frivola planè hæc sunt, quæ tamen ideo à me dicuntur, quia dum huius subelle argumentum attendimus, proculdubio intelligitur, istos Aegyptios, quibus Iudei tantopere fidebant, etsi nulla alia causa fuisset commovendi, ut tales eluderent supplices, vel ista una ad id commelli facile posuisse, quod frequenter eorum memoria sub-  
Remani inge-  
ni potest  
jiceretur clades illa antiquitus accepta, cum in mari tum antea in ipso Aegypto, tam multis & variis acceptis plagis. Vide quod hoc sit humanum ingenium, à Deo tam facile deficiere, à quo pluribus beneficiis ornati & ausi sumus, & contra illi nos addicere, qui nos aliâ graviter oppresserunt, & ardentius est probabile in veterem odium  
adversum nos retinere.

Q 3 Træde,

*Tzade, seu versus decimus octavus.*

Babylonij ca-  
pituli veniti-  
ci comparan-  
tur



Enati sunt gressus nostros, ne ambularemus in plateis nostris, accessit finis noster, completi sunt dies nostri, exitus enim noster adest.

Interpretatio  
alictum.

**V**Enati sunt gressus nostros. Quidam hæc referenda iudicant ad eosdem Aegyptios, qui non ut fabella Iudeorum enarrat, quam modo descripsimus, destiterunt ab incepto iuvandi Hebræos obnantes vires, quos habuerint per mare obvies, ac venerunt. Unde Chaldaei ut habetur in hoc eodem Propheta Hieremia, coacti sunt illorum adventu obsidionem solvere, eisq; obviam proficisci. Quo tempore Hieremias cogitavit in Benjamin terras sese transferre, cumq; exiret urbe captus fuit à custodibus, ac in carcerem coniectus. Hoc ergo Aegyptiorum adventu aliquantulum erecti Iudei, non fecerunt Chaldaei deditionem, à quibus tunc forsitan tolerabiles impetrassent conditiones. Quare de viis Aegyptii & hi quidem funditus sunt deleri. Hæc erit proinde sententia. Illi quidem Aegyptij, quibus tantopere fidebamus, venerunt, sed in nostram ruinam, hoc est venati sunt gressus nostros, quia maioribus nos involverunt calamitatibus. Sed mihi videtur hæc interpretatio durior, quam qua huic loco possit convenire. Idcirco puto Prophetam hæc torquere ad Babylonios in hoc exidio. Venati sunt gressus nostros, ut nec unus potuerit eorum manus evadere, quod ismet dilucidius paulò post proferet. Aliusio tamen hic est vocum non insuaris, *וַיֵּצֵאוּ*. Ne ambularemus. Et hic habes anritte sin apertè. Si plateæ sunt amplæ & latissimæ, unde illarum vox est deducta, magna est difficultas cobibens, si per eas non possit ambulare. Amplæ & patentia loca spatium deambulandi præ-

præbent. Accessit finis noster) Iam extremum adventavit omnis nostræ felicitatis. Quicquid secundi aut lati habuimus hætenus, totum præterit.

Venerunt  
dies nostri  
quæcunq; fu-  
erunt

*Koph, seu versus decimus nonus.*



Eleres fuerunt persecutores nostri, præ aquilis cœli, per montes sunt nos persecuti, & in desertis insidiat sunt nobis.

Persecutores  
aquilæ com-  
parantur.

**C**Eleres) Ideò nullus ereptus est ex hoc incendio. Celer-  
rimi volatus est aquila. Et quia semper in summo ver-  
satur aëre, idè cælorum illi tribuitur regio. Quâ de causâ  
voluerunt antiquiores Iovis esse volucrem, cum videatur  
cælum incolere. Per montes) Nulla ratione fuit nobis su-  
ra fuga nostra. Si enim confugeramus ad montes, aderant, si  
abderemur in desertis & solitariis locis, obnoxij ubique fui-  
mus illorum insidiis.

Aquilæ

*Resch, seu versus vicesimus.*



Piritus narium nostrarum, Christus Domini captus est foveis eorum, de quo dicebamus, in umbra illius erimus inter gentes.

Sublato Rege,  
spes omnis pro-  
pugna videba-  
tur.

**S**Piritus) Unum supererat nobis refrigerium. Dum enim  
salvus esset Rex noster, speravimus ejus auspiciis  
nos posse regi, vel in exilio & alieno solo degentes. Unde n-  
unus jam dicebatur spiritus, refrigerium & respiratio na-  
rarium

Interpretatio  
authoria

rium nostratum. Hæc unâ spe nostrum afflictum cor leniebat. Sed captus est eorum, hostium inquam, laqueis. Nam Sedechias cum fuga sibi consulere, fuit captus, & coram Nabucadnezar in Riblab excæcatus. Messias dicitur, un-  
 Aus, quo nomine & Reges & Propheta & Sacerdotes insigniebantur, eo quod omnia hæc etiam hominum genera ungerentur, cum illis mandata essent publicæ functiones populi regendi. Ad quæ munera largo & copioso munere opus est divini spiritus, cuius est opus cor & animum emollire, inflammare & illustrare, ut tales homines sint faciles, prompti ac prudentes in exequendis negotiis. Ad quæ etiam illos spiritus Domini incitat. Ac illorum est oleum aprissimum symbolum. Quam verò isti uncti afflatu numini immutarentur in alios, in Saule & Eliseo Propheta videre potes. Christus quoque, cui spiritus non fuit ad mensuram datus, verum de ejus plenitudine nos omnes accepimus, omnium unquam unctorum fuit præcipuus. Et ideo Christus est à Græcis dictus, & Messias Hebraicè. De hoc verò Messia vel Rege, qui nunc à Propheta defletur, variæ sunt interpretationes. Nonnulli eum Iosiam esse volunt, quem interfecit Rex Aegypti. Et in Paralipomenis dicitur Hieremias super illo lamentationes scripsisse. Alij putant Sedechiam esse, quod inde arguunt, quia manifestè hic de excidio Hierosolymorum agitur. Nostri de Iesu servatore nostro dictum volunt, qui à Iudeis tam malè vexatus est, pro nostra salute. Hæc omnia meo iudicio ita facile possent conciliari, ut sub Iosia dicamus hæc à Propheta fuisse deplorata, ita ut vaticinia sint exitij Hierosolymorum Regi & templi, ac illius miserandi exilij. Quæ mala proculdubio tunc suum videntur habuisse exordium, cum Iosias ille Rex integerrimus fuit occisus. Qui tamen omnes & Iosias & Sedechias, cum Reges Iudæ essent, typi Christi existunt, qui pro sceleribus nostris durissimas crucis penas subiit.

subiit. De quo) Hoc versus hemistichio, videtur sententia ad Sedechiam referenda, quia sub Iosia non sibi Iudæi timebant ab exilio, at sub Sedechia, cum captivitas immineret. Putabant igitur hi miseri, se etiam captivos à suis Regibus & regendos & protegendos esse.

Schin, seu versus vicesimus primus.

**L**ætare & exulta filia Edom, habitatrix terræ Huz, etiam super te transibit calix, inebriaberis, & nudabis te ipsam.

Consolatur se iudiciis, quod excidit. Domus in hoc, sed, exilium Iudæorum.

**L**ætare, Iosia hic utitur, cui postea subdet debitas minas Idumæi tantam voluptatem capiebant de istorum casu, quod prius fuerant ab illis subjugati. In viti serviebant. Ideo sibi quodammodo videbantur jugum excussisse. Servabatur in eis præterea antiquum illud odium Esau, contra Iacob sanctissimum Patriarcham. Habitatrix terræ Huz. Hæc patria fuit Iob. Et est ut hic aperte dicitur civitas pertineus ad Edom. Unde perspicue convincitur, Iobum fuisse Idumæum. Etiam super te transibit calix. Hic deprehenditur tandem ironia. Calix enim more solito afflictiones & eruminas denotat. Inebriaberis, assatim bibes. Non enim medicaria ut nostra erunt tua infortunia, sed tu ebria redderis amaritudinis portione, ita bibes copiose, & nudabis te ipsam. Hæc ebrietas est consequens. Qui enim vino sunt alienati mente, nunquam sese denudant usque ad verendam, ut in ea ebrietate omnis pudor, & sensum amiserint.

Idumæa

Iobus Iudæus fuit. Calix enim significat in sanguine

Tau, seu versus vicesimus secundus.

**V**um supplicium perfectum est, ô filia Zion, non addet, ut posthac te abi-

Miserebatur te propter ad improbandum rem castrorum deceptum

R

gar

Sedechias captus & excæcatus. Quinam uncti Iosias V. I.

Oleum donorum spiritus S. aprissimum symbolum. D. N. I. Christus unctorum præcipuus.

Variæ huius loci interpretationes.

Et tandem conciliant.

Reges Iudæ typi Christi.

gati in captivitate, sed visitabit iniquitatem  
tuam filia Edom, & peccata tua reget.

**T**um supplicium: Hoc est, vos tandem, ô Israelitæ,  
manet consolatio. Redituri estis ab hoc exilio, illi vero  
non reverentur. Non addet scilicet Dominus, aut pecca-  
tum tuum, ut posthac te abigat in captivitatem. Quam-  
do hoc approbatur, cum à Romanis fuerint eadem, imò gra-  
viora passi, quàm à Babylonis. Quidam dicunt, hoc intelli-  
gendum, non quòd nunquam posthac talia sine passuri, sed post  
longum tempus, satis est, ut tranquilli & quieti fuerint. Sed  
Iudei ista referant ad dies extremos Messie, quando sibi  
persuadent, Romanos funditus esse delendos, quos ubique per  
Idumæos intelligunt. Nec nos illorum commentum prorsus  
respuimus, cum Romanorum Monarchiam sciamus esse po-  
tremam, tuncq; abolendam, cum Regnum Christi plerum ad-  
venerit, lapsiq; ille abscissus absque manibus in montem e-  
vadet, omnem occupantem latissimè terram. Sed qui se van-  
di tunc prorsus sunt Iudei, illos asserimus esse, de quibus  
Paulus ad Romanos in fine secundi capitis loquitur, qui la-  
tentes sunt & occulti, ac Israel spiritualis merentur appella-  
ri. Verum id non mihi planè probatur, ut Romani proprie  
sint Idumæi, quod à posteritate Esau ortum habuerint, sed  
Antichristum omnesq; pietatis hostes hoc nomine appellari in-  
scriptum puto, quia tali flagrant odio in sanctos, quos Esau  
Iacob semper est prosequutus. Quas inimicitias neque illius  
posteritas adversus Israelitas anquam deposuerunt. Tunc abs-  
que dubio, quot veri ac probati Iudei reperientur, fideles  
inquam Christi omnes, perpetuâ salute, tran-  
quillitate summâ fruen-  
tur.

## Caput quintum, seu oratio Jeremiæ.

Versus primus.

**R**ecordare Domine, quid nobis contigerit, intuere & aspice opprobrium nostrum.

Præteritam  
præsentemque  
calamitatem  
Deo commemo-  
rat.

**L**amentabiles querimonias comitatur tandem acerrima supplicatio. Eumque, in quem semper habent sanctorum querelæ, imò ex dolore, quem capiunt infortuniorum, oriuntur illæ quas passim effundunt, ardentissimæ preces. Christus cum te animo cerneret suas illas durissimas atrocetque exantlandas preces, ita ut diceret. *Christus est anima mea usque ad mortem, ita deinde vehementer oravit, ut sudor ejus meritis sanguis efflueret.* Recordare inquit ac vide. Nec memoria, neque oculorum acies Deo conveniunt, ut qui corpore prorsus careat, verum de eo, ut de hominibus scriptura sermonem faciat, quo nobis etiam atque etiam proffit. Sed ita humana Deo tribuuntur, ut id non rectè aut casu fiat. Memoria ab aspectu hinc videtur deesse, quod illa ad præteritum refertur tempus, & de rebus huius præsentem subjektam habet. Duo itaque Propetia hic Deo commemorat, quæ hætenus passim sine in oblatione ac nobis exortio, deinde quæ tunc in præsentia dum exultarent, ferre cogerebantur. Memor itaque esto, ô Deus, præteritarum & irarum iniquitatum, & quæ nunc nos premunt atque infestant, ascende tuo illo favorabili ac benigno

Acerrima sup-  
plicatio  
Quem & em  
habent san-  
ctorum querelæ

Memoria &  
oculorum ac-  
cies, quomodo  
Deo conveni-  
unt.

R 2 aspe-

*aspice? Nil aliud requiritur, haec infirmiorum commemoratio, significans, expeditum, firmum Dei auxilium.*

Verwend.

**H**ereditas nostra versa est ad alienos, do-  
mus nostræ ad extraneos.

**Testes and Epididymia.**

**P**onitur hereditas pro domibus, agris, vineis, ceterisq; possessionibus, quas duplici causâ isti iure & merito gratissimas habuerunt, quod optimo ac sanctissimo solo sic essent, & Deo præterea summo omnium rerum arbitro donata, neque id confasio sue providentiæ more sed plurimi prodigii ac portenti, in eorum gratiam editum. Nec mirum Hieremiam ista commemorare, cum tanti apud Patres videatur fuisse mentio illius terre, quanti apud nos modò est regni calorum, cujus illa præcal dubio ambre fuit ac forma convenientissima. Nam quemadmodum Deus a vultu, non suâ industria, viribus, conatu, armis tam illi adepti sunt: ita regnum calorum nobis est gratis per Christum à Deo oblatum. Nec mirum atque illa veteribus fuit præclara quedam hereditas, nobis regnum calorum hereditarium est, cum à Paulo dicatur, quod filij & heredes, heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi.

**Tennant's  
Embossed  
and Colored**

**Verpflichtung.**

**P**Villi effecti sumus absque patre, & mater nostra sic ut vidua.

...the people ...

Consecris ille puerorum status admodum estimari cal-  
museos. Tunc enim potius relinquuntur rapinis, frau-  
dibus.

**Pythium**  
**blight**

133  
dibus, infortunis expositi, cum legitimo ac naturali defen-  
sore sint orbati. Tamen his erumnis hoc additur remedium.  
Qui propinquitate aut sanguinis affinitate puerorum paren-  
tem accingunt, hi curam habentes eos tuendi & conservandi.  
Sed hoc eo quoque vacare commodo hic dicitur. Nam in-  
qui factissimi non modo pupilli, sed ita et nunquam patrem  
habuisse videamur, prorsus absque propinquo, unde omnis  
protectione denudati passim affliguntur.

Verstärkung

**A** Quas nostras argento bibimus, & ligna  
nostra pretio videntur.

**Parabola &  
rithmics :-  
precious**

**D**Vo sunt præcipua ad humanum victum elementa summo-  
pere necessaria, ignis inquam & aqua, siquidem nostra  
vita in humido & calore consistitur. Quibus tamen natura  
vulgatissimis principis, non nisi summa difficultate possumus  
uti. Laborat Syria, præcipue vero Iudæorum regio, aqua-  
rum penuria. Quod cum maxime credendum est conigissi-  
cum a Chaldeis obsiderentur, quod tunc à fontibus, qui erant  
in agro non possent sublevari. Quare, si quid in urbe erat a-  
que, publicâ fortè custodia servabatur, & singulo quoque die,  
certo pretio confusus cuiq; distribuebatur. Quod vero de li-  
gnis dicitur, eos illa pressa emere, primo aspectu non videtur  
adeò durum, cum in plerisq; urbibus, quis non possit sibi illa  
parare, nisi multâ pecuniâ. Sed excutiendum est id, quod ad-  
scribitur, nostra. Ea inquit ligna, quæ aliòquin nostra erant,  
in nostrâ cesa possessionibus, cogebarur magnò emere. Nim  
cæsa à quo vis hominè, non poterant nisi summo periculo in  
urbem inferri. Quod suum deservimen quæ ad vixerunt, ma-  
gnò estimabant. Hi ergo amplificatur obsidionis durissima  
conditio.

**Elementary and  
Intermediate  
Algebra**

Lauren Sylvia  
Ziglarum, de  
Quint.

## Versus quintus.

Labora frustra suscepit.

In cervicibus nostris persecutionem passi sumus, laborabam⁹, nec relinquebatur nobis.

**D**Uplex hic elicitur sententia. Nos volentes mederi his incommodis, penurie inquam lignorum & aque, ut qui non essemus solvendo, & illis omnino carere non possemus, furem egrediebamur, in cervicibus nostris advehebamus. Ceterum non succedebat. Aderant illic hostes, qui nos acriter insectabantur. Unde subditur, laborabamus, nec relinquebatur nobis. Ut servaremus nosmetipsos, onus abjiciebatur, cum expeditissime esset nobis fuga consulendum. Aut, non sunt hac ad ligna aut aquas referenda, sed ad miserandum serviendi modum. Non enim verbis, jussu, adhortatione ducebamur, mittebamus hominum more. At veluti jumenta, ac rationis experta animantia, iugo oppressi contrahabamur velataturi, vel aliquid vasti ponderis advesturi. Laborabamus itaque diu noctu, corporis exercitatione continenti. Atque ex nostris laboribus nil fructus nobis relinquebatur. Quicquid enim lucelli à nobis confici posset, in tributis, vestigalibus, censu capiti erat impendendum. Gravissimum procul dubio est libertate expoliari, ac postea non ut homines, sed ut jumenta trahi, videtur esse prorsus intolerabile.

## Versus sextus.

Fœderacum inquit.

**A**Egyptio dedimus manus, Assyrio quoque, ut pane vesci possemus.

Manus dare.

**H**ic manus dare ab his qui cadunt, est deductum. Illi enim ut eis subveniatur, aut se confirment, ne in terram prosteruantur, consueverunt manus porrigere, non solum suppli-

ces;

ces, sed ut vestes, crura, aut quidpiam aliud apprehendant eorum, qui prope illos sunt. Ita nos in nostris calamitatibus Aegyptios & Assyrios spectabamus, quasi essent mox periclitantibus subventuri. Quamvis dare manus facilius hic acciperem loco passionis & fœderis inisi. Ad hos externos confugiebamus, indepuantes nos eripiendos. Sed ab illis, uti supra jam exposuimus, magis afflicti sunt. Is enim Deus est, ad quem homines à se deficiunt, illis tradere eos puniendos. Cupiditatibus adducuntur homines, ut debitam obedientiam Deo subtrahant. Traduntur deinde ab eo suis affectionibus ac perturbationibus, ut illis dilacerentur & misere serviant. Nam ut dicitur ad Romanos, sui cordis appetitionibus subduntur. Fratres Ioseph in Aegyptum eiecerunt affligendum Iosephum innocentem. Ibi postea illorum semper diuturno tempore fuit oppressum. Iudæi relicto Deo alienis exercitiis, exteris Regibus, barbaris nationibus fidebant. Illis traditi sunt exvertendi. Græci operâ Turcarum intestinis ac civilibus præliis sese crudeliter mutuò conficiebant. Ab illismet Turcis sunt iugo intolerabili oppressi.

## Versus septimus.

**P**atres nostri peccaverunt, & non sunt, nos illorum delicta portavimus.

Patrum delicta.

**H**oc sane est intelligendum. Siquidem uti habet Ezechiel, filij non portabunt iniquitatem patris. Hic vero culisse dicuntur, eo quod cum paternorum scelorum essent imitatores, illi sunt male multari. Patribus vero usque ad tertiam & quartam generationem ignoscebatur, quia tolerans est Deus, non illic unam aliquam gentem delet, illorum patienter expectat penitentiam ac conversionem. In Exodo id habetur c. 20. illum visitare peccata patrum in filijs, in tertiam & quartam.

An &amp; quomodo filij possint iniquitatem patrum.



Miser cordia  
Destinatio  
pnet.

Cargavit  
ali alius po  
nuntius in la  
vua.

Argumentum  
propagatio  
no.

Ejus resurictio

& quartam generationem, sed misericordiam facere in mil-  
libus. Misericordia latissime patet. Innumera generatio-  
nes propter Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, sunt praeclaris affecta be-  
neficiis. Verum iustitia non statim punit. Exspicit usque ad  
tertiam & quartam generationem. Nec illos punit imme-  
ritos, sed involutos eisdem criminibus Patrum. Non possu-  
mus tamen ullam asserere rationem, cur isti inciderint in ge-  
nerationem ita pleendam, illi vero in illam, quam Deus suae  
patientiae sustinuit. Sae nobis sit id intelligere, hoc à Deo non  
fieri nisi accurato & subtili consilio. Quod etsi à nobis non  
potest per vestigari, necesse est, ut illud maxima veneratione  
& colamus & observemus. Nec ob id ulla divinis factis in-  
iustitia est adscribenda. Nam qui in hac vita non sunt à Deo  
multati, sed impune visi sunt abire, adhuc suis haerentes sce-  
leribus, manent illos durissima poena in alio seculo. Qui vero  
hic sunt male tractati, & pro meritis puniti, nec posthabue-  
runt sua vitia, hi quoque damnabuntur, sed ita aeternis ve-  
xandi cruciatibus, ut pro ratione eorum, quae hic passi sunt,  
quid mitius & lenius sint habituri, quam illi, qui hinc secun-  
do cursu suarum rerum abierunt. Sunt qui volunt ex ejusmo-  
di loco purgatorii elicere. Nam aiunt, si qui decesserunt im-  
puniti, & tamen fideles erant, oportet in alia vita illa eorum  
delicta expiari, & poenis debitis plecti, ne hi posteris durius  
judicium irrogatum videatur, & eorum sit durior conditio,  
quam priorum. Cui eorum infirmo argumento ita resistimus.  
Isti priores inquam & posteris ita conferuntur, ut vel ambo  
sint fideles, aut utriusque infideles, vel sic, ut isti fideles, illi vero  
infideles sint, nec aliter fingi aliquid potest. Primum adoria-  
mur huius distributionis membrum. Si ambo fideles obierunt,  
hic tamen sunt puniti, alij vero impuniti, dico qui prius vi-  
dentur absque poena discessisse, eos poenituisse, talemque sponta-  
neum ac voluntarium susceperunt dolorem, ut aquarent il-  
las

las penas, quibus passi sunt. Quod si non aquarent, & utriusque  
sunt in aeterna felicitate collocandi, isti qui majori constan-  
tia & fortitudine iudicium Domini susceperunt, ampliori  
fruuntur gloria. Non quod asseramus, aeternam felicitatem  
nostris laboribus aut factis esse adipiscendam, quam gratis  
donari constansissime credimus. Sed asserimus, Deum prout  
illis amplius & copiosius recte agendi munus dedit, ita quo-  
que ampliorem esse daturum aeternae illius felicitatis sensum.  
Quod si isti qui pereunt, obstinato & infidelis animo decedunt,  
ut jam diximus, lenius puniuntur, quam si hic nil passi fue-  
rint. Licet ego putem, non posse fieri, ut ista patiendi in qui-  
bus fuerunt & versati sunt mali, in viro ac iniquo animo non  
auxerint peccatorum cumulum. Sed esto nihil addiderint,  
levius isti patientur, quam si nullâ ratione fuissent hic puniti.  
Sed impossibile est, quin graviter peccarint, dum ista patien-  
ter ferre prorsus nollent. Quod si cum his conferantur vete-  
ribus, qui impij obierunt, isti hic puniti sunt, ne cum mundo  
damnarentur, majores vero dabunt penas additis perpetuis  
suppliciis, neque illorum erit conditio tolerabilior, quam isto-  
rum fuerit. Videmus itaque haec Ezechielis non adversari,  
neque nobis obsrudere purgatorium, quod sacris literis osten-  
di non potest. Quod si etiam detur, quid isti sciunt, ejus esse  
conditionis, ut sublevari possit vi vorum precibus, aut elec-  
mosynis, aut indulgentiis & Papae munus, ut ipsi confugunt?  
Christus est nostrum unicum & certissimum purgatorium. Et  
non sunt. Hoc non ita sumendum est, quasi abolito justorum  
corpore, nihil amplius eorum super sit, quia tantum perit id,  
quod ex utrisque conflatum erat partibus, ex anima inquam  
& corpore. Cum homo obit mortem, corpus in sua dissolvitur  
principia, spiritus est superstes, perit ex utrisque conflatum,  
postea in sanctorum resurrectione restituendum. Quod pra-  
buit Dominus hoc argumento. Deus non est mortuorum.

Purgatorium  
factis lacris  
ostendi non  
potest.

Christus un-  
cum & certis-  
simum purga-  
torium.

Resurrectio  
mortuorum.

Obiectio con-  
tra resurrectio-  
nem mortuo-  
rum.

Responsio.

Cur rarius fu-  
turæ vitæ mē-  
tionem in V. T.

Potest in V. T.  
vitæ æternæ  
non igitur:

**D**ense est Abraham, Isaac & Iacob. Igitur illi non prorsus sunt mortui. Quod argumentum etsi humana prudentia est subobscurum, fidei tamen non est difficile ei cedere. Ac si dicas in Iob videatur prorsus negari spes illius resurrectionis humana vite, 14. cap. ubi dicitur, si lignum excisum fuerit, est aliqua spes, ut rursus germinet, radixq; odore aquæ pullulat, cum antea videbatur exincta. Verum homini cum obierit, omnis præciditur spes. Ac paulo post. Vti exsiccantur aquæ fluminum & torrentium, ita hominum vita contingit, cum hinc decesserint. His locis respondetur, & horum similibus, non esse hac accipiendam, nisi quoad naturæ vires. Nam si mori naturam spectemus, quæ semel arripuit, nunquam ab se permittit abire. Quare Christi beneficio continget illa extrema resurrectio, non quod ita fuerit naturaliter compara- tum. Emergit tamen hic dubium. Quis sit, ut tam raro futuræ vitæ mentio fiat in instrumento veteri? Facile est reddere causam ei qui videat illius ætatis, patrum inquam religionem. Alii ad hæc indicanda, adumbranda, prædicenda erant insi- tuti, quæ postea Christi adventu, nostrâ hæc felicitate con- tingerunt. Vti ergo nostra Ecclesia respicit futuram vi- tam, quam certius sentit, veluti jam in se inchoatam, ita illi meditabantur, cogitabant, loquebantur, quæ ad nostrum hunc præsentem statum pertinent. Non ergo est mirum, si in No- ro Testamento frequens æterna vite est mentio, in Veteri non item. Quanquam ibi quoque ea tractatur, neq; illius Pa- tres fuerunt ignari. In Esaia extremo capite dicitur de ex- tremâ illâ improborum damnatione. Vermis eorum non mo- rietur, & ignis non extinguitur. Et Danielis cap. 12. Qui in pulvere dormiunt, surrecturi sunt, nō tamen eādem sorte, sed alij ad vitam æternā, alij verò in opprobrium. Dicit ergo Hi- ysaias, Patres perierunt, & videtur feliciter ædum cum eis, quando nobis non patet eorū supplicium sumptum. Non sunt, non amplius inter nos exant.

Vere

Versus octavus.

**S**ervi dominati sunt nobis, nec erat, qui de manibus eorum nos vindicaret.

Servorum Jo-  
minario.

**N**ostri quidam id referunt ad Idumeos, quibus traditi sunt à Chaldeis regendi. Quod non constat ita fuisse, quamvis id ita factum restentur, quò illi referretur quædam gratia suæ operæ, quam impenderunt adjuvando Chaldeos, in illa expeditione. Alij tribuunt ipsis Chaldeis, qui jure vi- debantur servi Iudeorum, cum derivati sint à semine & stir- pe Cham filij Noë. Nec desunt, qui velint generatim servos accipi peccatores, cum omnes iniqui, cujusmodi Chaldei e- rant, peccatis sint subditi. Mihi places simplex interpreta- tio. Qui post civitatis excidium fuerunt superstites, trade- bantur regendi & gubernandi servis & hominibus infima conditionis. At quàm hac sit miserranda fors, restat est Ca- zo, Brutus, Cassius, & pleriq; alij, qui si manus attulerunt, ne inciderent, post eversam libertatem, in hominum eorum ditionem, quos æquum esse judicaverant, ut senatui in servi- rent & paterent. Tyrannica; non legitimæ dominatus, est illa præfectura, in qua indigni homines rebus præponuntur, cujusmodi sunt servi.

Densissima ser-  
vitus.

Versus nonus.

**I**n animabus nostris afferimus panem nõ- strum, propter gladium deserti.

Vitæ pericula  
visum, nunc is-  
de coaquiva-  
runt.

**Q**ui alijs habuimus servos, à quibus nobis suppedita- tur & parabatur alimonia, nunc in animabus nostris, hac est, nostram operâ cibos advehebamus nobis. Vel in a- nimabus nostris dixit, quia magnò & gravi discrimine vite sese alebant.

S. 2.

Versus

## Versus decimus.

Tempus est.

**P**elles nostræ uti cibanus denigrata sunt, à facie tempestatis famis.

**A**le illos miseros expalluisse & contabuisse fame. Atque utitur pulchrâ translatione. Nam veluti folia grandine percussa tabescunt, fiunt arida & exsiccantur, neque manet idem color viriditatis, qui prius: ita esurientes, quod ad censem hæc eadem videntur pati.

## Versus undecimus.

Vile affatam.

**M**ulieres in Sion humiliatæ sunt, & virgines in civitatibus Iuda.

**I**nsignis est hæc contumelia, quæ adeò valuit, ut magna scilicet & urbium & regionum excisa verit exicia. Omnes sciunt decantatas Græcorum & Trojanorum strages, ob Helenam raptam. Quid verò ob constupratam Dinam filiam Iacob, & Thamar sororem Absalonis contigerit, libri Geneseos & Samuëlis aperte testantur.

## Versus duodecimus.

Mala &amp; affatam fortuna Principum &amp; senum.

**P**rincipes eorum manibus suspensi sunt, facies senum non afficiuntur honore.

**P**rincipes eorum manibus suspensi sunt, id est, vel suismet manibus induxerunt animum, ut sibi collo aptarent laqueos, vel manus eorum, id est, servorum, uti supra meminimus, nectere illis laqueos & funes ausa est, ut suspenderebantur.

Versus,

## Versus decimus tertius.

**M**olam tulerunt juvenes, & adolescentes in ligno collapsi sunt.

Durissimus labor, vilitat opera.

Pistram.

**C**aptivi antiquitus ad molendum & pistrinum damnabantur. Terentius in Andria meminit. Et in libro Indicum Sampson ita multatus legitur. Et quia teneri juvenes imparatos fuerunt tanto labori, idè sub ligno dicuntur lapsi. Nam qui molunt ligno incumbunt, quod magna vi perpetuò impellentes, lapideas molas circumagunt. At cum id sustinere non possent prosternebantur. Vel sub ligno dicas, id est, onusti lignorum fasciis, siquidem exercitus copiosus his geminis operis maxime indiget, & molitoribus, ac lignorum vectoribus, quibus dicantur miseros Iudeos captivos.

## Versus decimus quartus.

**S**eniores à portis celsarunt, & juvenes à suis castris.

Senum ac senum ecce sortemam spolia.

**A**sferit commodâ distributione, omnia inter illos mutasse sortem, & à suis locis esse dimota. Auspicatur à senibus. Cum omnia essent ibi pessumdada, nec iudicia aut ulla civilitatis ratio habebatur, nec more consueto in portis sedebant seniores jus diiuri. Et juvenes. Pacatâ urbe, uti senes publice utilitati consulant, ita juvenes Musica se oblectant.

## Versus decimus quintus.

**C**ecidit lætitia cordis nostri, & chorus noster in luctum versus est.

Omni eorum dicitur senum fabrum est.

**P**ublicis chori laudes Dei, encomia ejus prodigiorum canebant. At isto tempore amota sunt hæc omnia.

S 3

Ver-

## Versus decimus sextus.

Omnia ornata  
merita concili-  
derunt.

**C**ecidit corona capitis nostri, heu nobis,  
quia peccavimus.

Serius pecca-  
vi.

**C**ecidit corona. De templo, arca fœderis & tabernacu-  
lo hæc audienda sunt, quæ appellantur corona illius popu-  
li, in quâ reseuicic ipsi jactabant. Heu nobis, quia pecca-  
vimus. Ideo Deus a nobis abstulit illud præclarissimum do-  
num, ut inter eos versaretur tam familiariter.

## Versus decimus septimus.

Dolor con-  
scientiæ.

**S**uper hoc mœret cor nostrum, & caligave-  
runt oculi nostri.

**C**ausa porissima doloris est, quod peccavimus, & ablata  
sit gloria capitis nostri.

## Versus decimus octavus.

Locos cultus  
Dei destituit  
ut de se tumen-  
datus.

**S**uper montem Sion, eò quòd sit devasta-  
tus, & vulpes ibi passim ambulent.

**N**on ferendum hoc videtur, ut ubi versari consueverat  
causa hominum frequentia, ut orantes, laudes Deo canen-  
tes, sacrificia offerrent, jam tanta sit vastitas & solitudo,  
ut pro sua libidine illic vulpes & cetera fera regentur.

## Versus decimus nonus.

Hæc offendit  
solum Deum  
esse qui possit  
juvare.

**T**u Deus in æternum sedes, & solium tuum  
in generatione & generatione.

**H**oc est unicum infortuniorum remedium, ut Deum memine-  
rimus. Esi nostra excisa sunt, is integer manet. Non id

con-

coniguit ejus debilitate, quasi nos eueri & defendere non pos-  
sit. Speremus ergo in eo etiam dum ita afflicta sunt nostre  
res. Is eas potest restituere.

## Versus vigesimus.

**V**t. quid in perpetuum irasceris nobis, &  
nos relinques in longitudinem dierum.

Esquivale  
jurare.

**A**c si dicat, etsi perpetuum est tuum solium & regnum æ-  
ternum, tu non consuevisti neque vis illud irā, sed miseri-  
cordiā administrare. Cumq; sic tu promiseris patribus nostris,  
par est, ut æterna sit tua fides. Esi nos peccavimus, nō decet,  
ut tuæ promissiones mutentur. Quemadmodum enim tuum  
illud solium ac regnum stabile est, ita tuum fœdus & pactum  
esse debet.

## Versus vigesimus primus.

**C**onverte nos Deus ad te & convertemur,  
in nova dies nostros ut antiquitus.

Renovatio-  
nem cordis &  
status pristini  
Deo petit.

**C**onverte. Hæc aurea est sententia, quam nos debemus  
semper opponere illis locis aliis, cum obijciuntur à defen-  
soribus liberi arbitrij, ut convertimini ad me, & ego conver-  
tar ad vos. Illa est lex, id Deus à nobis exigat, sed vicissim  
nostrum est respondere, convertenos ad te, & convertemur.  
Hebræi qui nil cogitant de gratia Dei justificante & fide,  
nihilq; de Christo nisi carnaliter, hic dicunt, cōverte vel re-  
stituere nos ad pristinum locum, ad nostras desolatas urbes, &  
convertemur nos vicissim, ad eum illum cultum, quem nobis  
præcipisti. Hæc illis relinquamus crassis & excacatis. In-  
nova. R. licet quod ad temporalia hæc bona pristinam fe-  
licitatem, & tibi concilia, ut talis sis in nos, qualis fuisti an-  
tiqui-

144 In Lamentationes Ieremiae,

si quis erga Abrahamum, Isaacum, Iacobum, & alios patres. Praclare & benigne nostra habebunt, si illos expresserimus fide, vita & moribus, res, ita ut illi amicum habeamus, siquidem quod ad hac externa non peius nobis erit, quam illis fuerit.

Versus vigesimus secundus.

Supplicatio ad  
Antipremio, ad  
benignitatem &  
misericordiam  
Deum revero-  
ram.

**Q**uoniam si repellendo repulisti nos, iratus contra nos es plurimum.

**A**ccidit, etiam si nostris malis meritis nos à se projecisti, jam ira tua multum est progressa. Videmus dedisse penas. Iam res postulas, ut mutetur fortuna, & tibi nos reconcilies. Non hac sunt verba Propheta arguentis Dei iusticiam, quasi nimis se viderit, sed commendantis ab aquo & iusto suam postulationem. Iam abs te ut repelleremur meriti sumus, iure abjiciendo abjecisti. Sed jam ira tua in nos fuit plurima, superest ut tua contra declaretur misericordia. Si hoc illi dicere audebant, multo magis nos possumus orare. Etsi nos nostris vitiis multa meremur mala, tamen jam tua iustitia, ira & severitas satis est declarata, in Christum Iesum servatorem nostrum. Nos in eo satis superque percussi sumus, cum verè in nostrum sic caput. Quicquid in percussis, nos in eo passi sumus.

F I N I S.



IN

INDEX RERUM PRAE-

cipuarum.

A.

Abetere, pag. 4.  
& p. 10.  
Abominatio. 3.  
Aegritudo. 59. 60. 61.  
Alphabeti ratio. 76. eius of-  
domutatus. 100.  
Alte ad quem finem institutum. 56.  
Amicitia vera & simulata. 37.  
32. 39.  
Antichristus. 13. 122. Eius sy-  
pus. 130.  
Antonomasia. 77.  
Auxilium Dei. 74.  
Auxilium peregrinum. 124.

B.

Benedictionum numero & proles. 15.  
Benefactores. 103.  
Blasphemiae sanctorum an-  
te obrepunt iustis. 154.  
Eis non imputantur. 104.  
Bonitas Dei. 11. quomodo

bonitas hominis. 114.  
C.  
Cades maxima. 32.  
Calix quid in scripturis. 110.  
Carni. 77. 79. 101.  
Carnum carnalia. 114.  
Carnum in coram iustis. 116.  
Censura. 116.  
Censura vulgaris. 117.  
Charitas sincera. 118.  
Christus iustus. 81. sancto-  
rum principum. 118. caput  
nostrum. 119.  
Clypeus coram. 119.  
Columnae populi. 120.  
Conscientia. 121. confitendi  
tibi in primaeva Ecclesia. 126.  
Consilium Prophetarum in his  
thronis. 127.  
Consilium interpretum. 128.  
Consolationum. 129.  
Consuetudo. 130.  
Contemptus. 131. Dei. 132.  
Conversio ad Deum. 133.

Christus ca-  
put nostrum.



ועוד ה'ל' וס' תתוס' אהה הית עמר. ובשל עודר ונפל קור. אל חרחק כמני כי צרה קבוצה" וזר הירושלם יכו עניה. ויטע אתה' אמרנו את עני' וס' את עני' את יגיע כפי. ראה' אח עני' כי הגדול אויב. אשר ראת' את עני' וידעת בצר' ו' וצמחת ז' מ'ל וס'ל לבשר בתלים סמך לק' ע'ס' בקר' ד'גישל וס'מ כל טוחן ארבי נסוך כצילי וסמך את מקחת וביאורם מ'.

57

## ה' תל

## ה

5

5

•

**1.1.1.**

10

3

5

4. 5m

2

11

1

77

112

•

ה'תש"ח

2.2

5.

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11

א' ב' ט'

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20

תת-

19

וַיִּזְכְּרוּהָ כְּמוֹ כִּי  
סַסְתִּימִים עָפָה וְהָ  
מַזְרוּרֶיהָ לְדֹת וְהֵמָּה  
סָרְסוּ לְנִדְרָה לְלֵבָב  
כְּמוֹ מַנְדָּה רָאָם וְגַד  
סַפְתִּי וְהוּא מַגְזִירָנִי  
וְגַד וְהִי לְחִינֹה הַדָּךְ  
הַכְּבֹד כְּמוֹ לְחֹבֹב  
קָרָה מִזֶּלֶק רַק הוּא  
מִסְרֹר אֶחָד אִלּוּ שְׂמֵחָ  
הַיּוֹדִיעָה וְאִשְׁשׁוֹסָה  
מִסְרֵחָ פְּלִאָה יִרְדָּה  
יִרְדָּה יִרְדָּה יִרְדָּה  
עַל יִרְמֹשֶׁל סָפָה  
זֹלְלָה כְּמוֹ זֹלְלָה  
וּסְבִיבָה לֹא יֵם  
אֲחֵרִים מִלְּמֹן אֵלֶּה  
וְלֹא מִצִּיבֹה בִּלְאֵל אֵלֶּה  
וְנִשְׁמָח וְעַל יִצְחָק  
מִתְּשִׁיבָה אֵלֶּי  
עֲלִי כִשְׁמֵה לְיִהוּא  
מִהַבֵּן הַכְּבֹד סָלָה  
נִקְרָה מִסְּפִינֹה בְּעִסֹר  
סָאִינִי בְּחֵקֶךָ הִקְטַן  
כְּמוֹ כֹּחַ אֲסִירִי  
הִזְבֵּה אֲמוֹ הוֹי  
וְיִרְדָּה עַם אֵלֵּהֶם  
כִּי יִמְצֹא לְפָנֶיךָ  
כְּמוֹ תִּקְלְנוּ אֶם לֹא  
נִפְסָה וְנִשְׁמָח כְּמוֹ לֹא  
יִרְדָּה בְּעִקְרֵךְ וְתִלָּךְ  
סִפְקָה אֵת אֵלֵּהֶם  
הַשֵּׁעַר כְּמוֹ מִסְפֵּךְ כֵּלָּה  
מִתְּמָר וְהִיא יִתְמָרָה  
מִבֵּן תִּפְעֵלָה  
מִמִּסְחָת הַמִּרְעָס  
הַסִּיל מִבְּאֵשֶׁל  
סִבְיָה וְחִסְרָה אֶחָד  
סִדְיָה אֶחָד קִסְמֵה  
אֲמוֹכֵינִי סָלָה  
מַגְזִירָה מִסְלָה וְכִנְזָה  
דִּרְךְ וְדִרְךְ מִדְרֵךְ  
רַק סָלָה סָרַם אֶחָד  
הִיזִי גַת הִיזִי  
סְתוֹלֶת מִסְתוֹבָה אֵל  
כִּי וְעַתִּי הַיּוֹרֵה כֹּל  
הַסֵּבֶל וְהַתְּנִיחָה  
רְוֹסֶלֶם בִּכּוּחָה

אשר לא עלה בקדל כי רבת בקדל אשר לא והקדשו אשר צוית לא יחאו בקדל וכן קטחי בקדל אשתו ובעבאבי וחס' בליס' וחס' רבים בבאבים לרסע. בעבאבי אשר עול' לוי. שבעו נא בלה יבש יראו כבאבי בתלותו ובעצבתי וחס' בליס' וחס' בעסר בסר דח' ע' דוח' ג' וחס' בעסר בעסר סכ' לובקדשים סלה ב בתר ליש ור' ח' א' ור' ר' ח' ור' ק' וס' חורד סלא. סלה ב' אביר קדם ג' ח' א'.

במקומות קטנים ועלול צואה למון מסנה ארץ מסרבה את המטות : סלה. רמורפם למון סולו סולו המסלה : קרא עלי מוסד. יעדת גייסות לבא עלי ורבותינו דרשו מה פדרם : תחא דהוא סקא מלוי מלאה סל כנה סבייה לבא תם ממזר : לכך ארעה חזרתן סל מרגלים ליל תסה בלב סעליה הוקבעה בכייתן לרורתי : נת דרך : למון הרבה כמו פורה דרכי : לכיכר דרך : שבסם להוציא יסס כך רמס אקסם להוציא דמס : עמי





אִיכָה יֵשֵׁב. וַיִּטְלֹךְ מִכַּתְּמֵי הָרִמָּה וְהַמִּים הִתְקַדְּרוּ מִצִּטְטֵי חֲסָמִים אֶרֶץ. לְאַחֵר  
 מִסְתַּבֵּיגִים עַד לַמִּים הַמְּלִיכִים לְאַרְץ בִּטָּח אֶחָת וְלֹא חֶמֶט מִחֶמֶט מִחֲזִירָא רִמָּה  
 לְבִרָא עֲתִיקָא. הָרוֹם רָגְלֵי. מִדְּרָף מִרְגְּלֹתָיו וְזֶה בֵּית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ. לְאוֹת עֵינָי.  
 סִי יִשָּׁב לְסוֹן כֹּה. הַנֶּעַם לְאַרְץ. הַמִּפְּלִים לְאַרְץ. חֲלָל מִתְלַכֵּה וְסִי. אֵל.

**חן בחרו אף יבחרו אף רצין וארס ובקורם ליהוה ויברכו**  
**ואינו חד כזוגין כן חדר חד נסכין כך בריש תיבות' חר**

אִיכָה יַעֲקֹב בְּאֶפְסוֹ אֲדֹנָי אֶת־  
בֵּית צִיּוֹן הַשְׁלִיךְ מִשְׁמִימִים אֶרֶץ  
תַּפְאֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא זָכַר הָרִם־  
רַגְלָיו בְּיוֹם אָפֹס׃ בָּלַע אֲדֹנָי לֹא  
הִמְלִיךְ אֶת כָּל־נְאֻמֹּת יַעֲקֹב הָרִם  
בְּעֶבְרָתוֹ מִבְּעֵר בֵּית יְהוּדָה הִנֵּי  
לֹא אֶרֶץ הָלַל מִמִּלְכַּהּ וְשָׁרֶיהָ׃ גִּדַּע  
בְּחֵרֶי־אֶף בִּלְקָרֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל הַשִּׁיב  
אֲחֹר מִיָּגוֹן מִפְּנֵי אֹיְבָיו בְּעֵר בֵּי יַעֲקֹב

וַיִּשְׁלַח ה' אֶת-מֹשֶׁה וְאֶת-אַהֲרֹן לְבָרֵךְ אֶת-עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 מִן-הַיַּרְדֵּי וְעָלוּ מִן-הַיַּרְדֵּי וַיִּבְרְכוּ אֶת-עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 כָּל-מַחְדֵּי עֵין בְּאֵהָל בֶּת-עֵין שֶׁפָּרָה  
 בְּבֹאשׁ חֲמַת׃ הִזֵּה אֲדֹנִי כְאוֹיֵב בִּלְעַ  
 שְׂרָאֵל בִּלְעַ כֹּל-אַרְמְנוֹתֶיהָ שָׂרֵת  
 מִבְּצֻרֵי וִירֵד כֶּבֶת-יְהוּדָה חֲאֲנִיָּה  
 אֲנִיָּה׃ וַיַּחֲמֹס בָּנָן שְׂכֹר שַׁחַת מִעֵד  
 שִׁבְחֵי יְהוָה בְּצִיּוֹן מִעֵד וּשְׁבַת וַיִּנְאֹץ  
 בְּזֶעַם אָפוֹ מִלֵּךְ וּבָקָן׃ וְנָח אֲדֹנִי  
 מִזִּמְחוֹ נֶאֱדָר מִקְדָּשׁוֹ הַסִּגִּיל בֵּיד-אוֹיֵב  
 אֲרָחוֹת אֲרָמְנוֹת יְהִקוֹל נִתְּנוּ בְּבִירַת־  
 הַהוּא בְּיוֹם מִעֵד׃ חֲשֵׁב יְהוָה  
 הַשְׁחִית חֲמוֹת בֶּת-עֵין וְנִטְהָקוּלָא-  
 הַשִּׁיב יָרוּ מִבִּלְעַ וַיֵּאכֹל חֵל וְחֹמֶת  
 חֲדָוָא מִלְּלו׃ פִּבְעוּ בְּאַרְץ שַׁעֲרֵיהָ  
 בְּכָד וּשְׂכָר בְּרִיחֶיהָ מִלְכָּה וּשְׂרִירָה  
 נְגִיּוֹם אֵין תּוֹלְהֵם נִבְיֵי אֵיהָ לֵא-  
 צָאוּ חֲזוֹן מִיְהוָה׃

טור-אור-י"ת-קאלודס-י"א-גב-הא  
עם-נבואת-מסן-כרם-י"י

ביתו של ואחזתו תרבות לבעלי. ורב בזהב עליו  
למלך דבר וילאמר תו בחל יורעאל. וישתחבט  
וים בסבד ברכה ריש סמן ונאמר סמן לרבי  
יבן יכמו פנחזין ויקנות הגבה סוכו מעתה סמן  
בחרון בית כך נרם בחרם קנות סחת משה  
היה נדב לבנו מאמר ונשתחל סס מלך וכהן.  
וילי יחרי בעל וכן נאמר בית עשר כלום  
רם סוכו סקולרס כתנו האויב בחרם סקולרס  
רם סוכו סקולרס כתנו האויב בחרם סקולרס

הוא מעל פניו כשהוא קו. מלמסכט ליפרע על פניו וכו'.

מדרם חגיה לפי מתלתו כסדר לארץ מנחמך  
האויסם : אף תורה. אף בהם מורה הזרחה :

[illegible][illegible]









מח' א' תש"ח



ה' רם צדיקים דם כל צדיק וצדיק וכן כלל חכמים. ו' שרים כשרו וכן חם  
אובלית הוא. כנאלו מלה מורכבת מבין כפעל ונכין מלא מקראם פועלו. ו'  
קורבני טמא. כבדים להם כזה כעוף וכן כבא תנא. פ' פניו זעף כי בבנים  
וראם כמו ופניה לא היו להשר. פ' כפיתיון לאו למסקל. צ' כאלו צדו צדיקו.

ק' וכן ויאלל דלוקו  
כמו בלדת אחרי.  
ל' כפחיתותם כמו  
בפחיתם כחכם.  
ש' שץ פנים הסוהם  
אדמים. ח' לא  
ויוסף פ' א' עזר ועלו  
יטוב פקד או יטוב אל  
המס הנזכר ברוח א'  
אכינו.

פירוש העצמים

איכה יוסף. איכה  
יסלה הזהב  
וירמה לאחרים פהם  
מסה הכתם הטוב ה'  
הזלי העטל וזה מכל  
לפסוק הבא אחרי.  
ב' כפז אבן יקרהוים  
אומרים כי הוא כסף  
וזהב מוכן וכחיסם.  
ג' הזכרים יתחו  
מר היתכונותיו גורי  
הנקבות וכן עמי לא  
עשתה כן וים אומרים  
גם תיזן חלבו מד כמו  
כאל ויתקין גוריהם.  
ד' החלכלו ויקח מקום  
לחם ויניס והשכלים  
גדולים מן היונקים כ'  
כרמות שלליות הגב'  
ה' כמנוחם סמחו  
במהם כול כל רואם  
יוסם. חסדן ואמפית  
כי הם מוסלכי כדומן  
ואין קובר. ו' ים  
חטאת ואחם בקרבן  
סעמו סדק השן ו'  
והחטאת וקוף העט  
הרע ויקרא מזל דע  
וכן כי לא מלשון ה'  
האמוראים יקרא שן  
בדבר הזה גדול פניו  
מקסו והכפית הבא  
אחריו לשן והטעם כי  
הרעה הכאה על יסר  
גדולה מרעית פרום  
סחיא נהפכת כמו  
רגב ולא היו הירוס  
בכל עת כחול בצער  
סוף להם כח אלו ט'  
טעמו סלא חלו ט'  
ידיס כטעם ויחולו על

ענת מירת הריו וכן אמרת לא הנות כל יא  
אלהו מחובת כבאותא דמנכן לה נביאות  
שקרא ומעויות כלהתא דאסיקו קטורת  
בוסמין למעויות ואינו צדמו לאתשר בגיה  
דם ופאין אורשלוטלו עורין כמחוזין  
אמנפו בדם קטולין בחרבא ועל דלא הוו  
יכלין למיחמי קריבו בלבשיחוזין  
זורו מסמאבא קרי עסמא זורו זורו  
לא תקרבון ברוז ארום ארקוטטו אף  
ארשלוטלו אסרו כמחוזין בשלוחתון  
דבני עסמא לא יספון למירו מן קדם  
אפי ואתפליגו לא יסוף לאסתכלא בחזן  
בנין בן אומיא שיעא אפי כהנא לאסברו  
ועליו סביא לא חסו. עוד כפאן עינא  
לאסתכלא לסויעא דתוינא מתין לרומא  
ואתהפיד לנא להכלו בסכות דאסתביא  
לרומא דאינון עסא ולא יפרוק. הינון  
צדין שכלנא מלמיתך לרומאן בפלטיחא  
אמריא קרב סופנא אמליוא חסנא ארום  
מטא סופנא. קלילין תוורדפנא יתיר  
משרי שמיא על טוריא אדליק ויתא  
במקרא כמנו לנא. מלכא ואשיו דתוה  
חביב לנא כגשמת רוח חיון דפאפנא תוור  
מחרבי בששח רבותא דיו ארמח כמיעד  
חיבוליון דסערא דתוינא אפריו. עלוהי  
במלל וכוותיה נתי ביני עסמא ודריא ודריא  
קושטטינא קרמא דארום רשע דסתכנא  
בארע ארמיא בסגיאן אובלוסין דסן עסא  
דארום אף עליך עתיד למיח פורענותא  
ויצדין יתיר פרכיא ויתעב עליך כס דליוס  
תרו וחו דקניו ונפד צ' יסלם עותך כנשתא דציו ותתפרקן על ידיו משיחא ואליחו כנא  
דבא י' חוב לאגלותך ובההיא וסנא אסער עותיך רומי רשיעא דסתכנא באשילא וסל'  
אובלוסין סכני ארום ויתו פרסא ויעיקון לך וקרוין יתך ארום אתפרסם קרין על חובותיך.  
הוי דכיר י' מה דאתגור לסתו ונא אסתכל מן שמיא ותוית כסופנא. אאסתנא אתהפכת  
להלואי ביתא לעסין נוכדאין. תוינא מתילת ליתמין דלית להון אבא אפתתא דארמלן דאולו  
גבריוהון בקיור ויסא ומספא להון אם אינון קייסין.

אוחם לנה אחר. שטבח ורעתי כי אני שבעתי. שטבח  
תכלית עינא. שר. וכו' טים טעם די כל עס'. דבט כן כתיב וקרי רבטו וראה את חרפתינו והוא חר כן בט כלין  
חסר' ה' בסוף חיבות וקרי וס' בסר בסר רבא בעקבות אות דהא בסר.  
ח' חסר תארס ברבט. ח'  
המורקרים סיפורם מתקנות כיוסם סכנים טובים היו מחללו רעב.  
הכמים הרחמניות כהפכו לאכזריות מרוב הרעב. ו' והרעב בטף  
דמה לאם מהדולקת ונוגעת שריווד העם. ו'  
צירוסלם. מ' מחטאת כבולו. בלכוכה הכמות כהרמל חסדים כדברי חסד.  
ל' בלכוכה ובה פועל אחר טעמו וכלו טעמו כן כדכדפה. ס'  
לא יוספו לטוב ל' ארנס לגור כחם היו. פ' כי אף המס חלקם בארצות. ו'  
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מיימו





#### Appendix Four

#### Introduction to the Annotated Translations of the Bomberg Commentaries on Lamentations

The Jewish commentators present problems for the translator. Unlike early Christian commentary, they are not discursive but cursive. They do not write in literary language but in a specialized exegetical one. Their comments are almost like codes, meant to be pondered again and again. Consequently I attempted as literal a translation as possible, since the only truly readable translation would be a paraphrase so inflated that it would lead too far from the original text to be in any sense accurate. As a result extensive annotations are necessary. In this task I was greatly helped by Isaac Krinski's justly famous edition of the commentaries of Rashi and Ibn Ezra on the Torah and the Five Scrolls.<sup>1</sup> Though not a critical scholar in the usual sense of the word, he tracked down even Ibn Ezra's most obscure biblical references, and he provided invaluable references to the midrashim which Rashi used. His annotations on the interpretation of the commentators' comments were often useful as well.

As a base text I used the 1525 Rabbinic Bible. It is by no means a critical text but is definitely better than the many reprints in subsequent Rabbinic Bibles.

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Krinski, *חמשה חומשי תורה עם חמש מגילות עם* [ed.] פירוש אבן עזרא ורש"י, 1960 reprint.

Krinski's text in particular has many misprints, "improvements" and additions. The text of Ibn Ezra's commentary is a particular challenge. If a word or phrase does not make sense, is it because the text is corrupt or because Ibn Ezra is being so clever as to be obscure? Another problem is Rashi's Old French words. It is evident that the Bomberg editors knew no French. Happily there are a number of works on Rashi's *la'az*, of which I cite two: Greenberg and Katan.<sup>2</sup>

As I am no Aramaicist, I was very fortunate to have Étan Levine's translation of and commentary on the Lamentations Targum.<sup>3</sup> However, let those who use the Bomberg text of the Lamentations Targum be warned: often Levine's Aramaic text does not correspond to that of Bomberg. Also Levine provides alternative translations in his notes. His annotations must be consulted when using his English translation.

What follows are working papers. In the future, I intend to produce from them readable translations in the form in which they often appear in footnotes in Martyr's Lamentations commentary: a literal translation followed by a lengthy paraphrase. What I have here, nevertheless, will be better for the non-Hebraist than the unpointed Rashi script of the Bomberg Bible.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Greenberg, Foreign Words in the Bible Commentary of Rashi, (Jerusalem, s.n., s.d.); Moshe Katan, אוצר הלעזים, (Jerusalem, s.n., 1990).

<sup>3</sup> Étan Levine, The Aramaic version of Lamentations, 1976.

## RASHI'S COMMENTARY ON LAMENTATIONS

## CHAPTER ONE

1:1 HOW SHE SAT ALONE:<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah wrote a book of laments. This was the scroll which Jehoiakim burned upon the brazier which was on the fire, and there were on it three alphabetical acrostics:<sup>2</sup> HOW SHE SAT, HOW HE BECLOUDED, HOW WAS BECLOUDED.<sup>3</sup> Again he added to it I AM THE MAN,<sup>4</sup> which consists of three alphabetical accrostics;<sup>5</sup> as it was said, AND MANY WORDS LIKE THOSE WERE ADDED TO THEM;<sup>6</sup> three for three.<sup>7</sup>

ALONE (בדד): barren (גלמוד) of inhabitants.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The midrashic interpretation (Lam.R. 3:1, ET 188) which follows illuminates the literary style of the poem; hence Rashi does not label it as a "midrash aggadah."

<sup>2</sup> lit., "three alphabets."

<sup>3</sup> The opening words of ch. 1, 2 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> i.e., added ch. 3, which begins "I am the man."

<sup>5</sup> lit., "is three alphabets." Chapters 1 and 2 consist of 22 verses of three lines each, and each verse begins with a word, the first letter of which follows the order of the alphabet. Chapter 4 is the same except that each verse only has two lines. However each verse of chapter 3 has three lines, each of which begin with the same letter of the alphabet.

<sup>6</sup> Jer. 36:32; the entire story is in Jeremiah 36--without mention, of course, of laments or alphabetical acrostics.

<sup>7</sup> i.e., the phrase in Jer. 36:32 "like those" is taken to mean that the triple alphabetical acrostic of ch. 3 is equal in content to the three acrostics of chs. 1, 2 and 4.

<sup>8</sup> A grammatical interpretation to supplement Lam.R. 1:1, ET 66ff. In Rabbinic literature גלמוד also came to mean alone, so

רבותי עם: a superfluous *yod*, like רבה:<sup>9</sup> the people which were with her were many;<sup>10</sup> there are many midrashei aggadah,<sup>11</sup> but I have come to interpret the language of this scripture according to its meaning.<sup>12</sup>

SHE HAS BECOME AS A WIDOW: but not a real widow, but rather as a woman whose husband went to a far-off country,<sup>13</sup> and his intention was to return to her.<sup>14</sup>

1:2 WEEPING SHE WEEPS:<sup>15</sup> two weepings over two destructions.<sup>16</sup>

Rashi has in mind this nuance as well, see Jastrow 250.

<sup>9</sup> e.g., Ps. 65:9, ET 10, which is רב with a superfluous ת.

<sup>10</sup> This grammatical point is made in Buber 1:28. That is, רב in the sense of "many," not in the sense of "great."

<sup>11</sup> As stated in my introduction to Rashi, "midrash aggadah" (pl., "midrashei aggadah") is Rashi's term for a midrashic interpretation which runs counter to the actual meaning of the words in the text.

<sup>12</sup> For Rashi the "meaning" (משמעות) is the grammatical meaning or the peshat. An important programmatic statement of Rashi's method.

<sup>13</sup> Lit., "sea-state," see Rashi to TB Gittin 2a.

<sup>14</sup> A midrashic interpretation (Lam.R. 1:3, ET 71) to support grammar. If Jerusalem were really a widow, then her husband (G-D) would have died--which is obviously absurd. Therefore the text states "like" a widow. In the actual poetry of Lamentations, of course, "like" introduces a simile.

<sup>15</sup> This midrashic interpretation underlines the common Hebrew construction of placing the infinitive absolute of the main verb beside the main verb in order to strengthen the meaning of that verb. Traditional rabbinic exegesis often used this grammatical phenomenon as a device on which to hang midrashic interpretations.

<sup>16</sup> "destructions": חורבנות; an oft repeated theme in Rabbinic literature is the destruction of the Temple (חורבן בית). A source for these midrashic interpretations is TB Sanhedrin 104b.

AT NIGHT: for the Temple was burned at night, since this is what was said, "Toward evening they set it on fire."<sup>17</sup> Another interpretation<sup>18</sup> of AT NIGHT: the night of the weeping over the spies on the Ninth of Av caused them.<sup>19</sup> Another interpretation of AT NIGHT: when anyone weeps at night, one hearing the sound of his voice weeps with him.<sup>20</sup>

AND HER TEAR IS ON HER CHEEK: from the fact that she is weeping continuously.<sup>21</sup>

ALL HER COMPANIONS: HER LOVERS.<sup>22</sup>

1:3<sup>23</sup> JUDAH WENT INTO EXILE from her land.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> BT Ta'anit 29a.

<sup>18</sup> lit., "another thing": stock phrase for "and here is an alternative interpretation."

<sup>19</sup> The report of timid spies caused the Israelites to weep (Num. 14:1). This weeping was said to have occurred on the Ninth of Av and to have caused the "two destructions" of Temple on that date.

<sup>20</sup> A grammatical point based on Lam.R. 1:24, ET 95.

<sup>21</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:22, ET 87ff. That is, she does not merely weep at night, but during the day as well, i.e., continuously.

<sup>22</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:27, ET 96. "All her companions" is a synonym of "all her lovers." Note Rashi's sensitivity to poetic parallelism.

<sup>23</sup> 1:3a is a problem, see Hillers 66-67. JUDAH WENT INTO EXILE FROM AFFLICTION AND FROM GREAT WORK does not make much sense: the preposition *in* being the major problem. Does Judah go into exile *because* of affliction or *after* affliction? As I see it, we are in the first instance dealing with poetic ambiguity, a point not always sufficiently emphasized by commentators in their philological discussions. Rashi's solution is clever, but runs counter to the cantillation of the MT.

<sup>24</sup> By the words "from her land" Rashi separates JUDAH WENT

FROM AFFLICTION: on account of affliction.<sup>25</sup>

FROM GREAT WORK: for the Chaldeans put heavy burdens on her.<sup>26</sup>

And in the place where SHE WAS EXILED and DWELT AMONG THE NATIONS, there SHE DID NOT FIND REST.<sup>27</sup>

BETWEEN THE STRAITS: for there is a height<sup>28</sup> on both sides, and there is no place to rest.

STRAITS: borders of field and vineyard;<sup>29</sup> and the midrash aggadah is "between the seventeenth of Tammuz and the ninth of Av."<sup>30</sup>

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INTO EXILE from FROM AFFLICTION, and he attaches FROM AFFLICTION to SHE DID NOT FIND REST.

<sup>25</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:29, ET 98. Thus Rashi affirms that the *מן* is causative. However this still leaves open the question of whose affliction it is. The midrashic interpretation affirms that it is the affliction that Judah unjustly caused, or it was unrighteousness that Judah committed.

<sup>26</sup> In keeping with its interpretation of FROM AFFLICTION in the previous line, Lam.R. 1:29, ET 98, interprets FROM GREAT WORK to mean "because they kept the Hebrew slave in servitude." Rashi counters this with what he considers the peshat.

<sup>27</sup> Why no rest? Because of the affliction and forced labor to which the Chaldeans put her. Thus Rashi has solved the problem of this verse by reading, in effect, the *zagep qaton* over the JUDAH instead of over WORK.

<sup>28</sup> Rashi's philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:29, ET 98-99: *המצרים* are heights of land forming something like a box canyon.

<sup>29</sup> This is found in Rashi's Talmud commentary on the term "straits" in the Mishnah (TB Bava Batra 105a, 106a). Rashi calls these boundaries straits *מצרים*. This Talmudic reference is also noted in Lam.R. 1:29, ET 98.

<sup>30</sup> Rashi calls this a midrash aggadah because it runs counter to his previous philological point. After Rashi gives his own philological explanation of STRAITS and then its meaning in the Talmud, he gives a midrashic interpretation. Lam.R. 1:29, ET 98, note 2: "The first breach in the walls of Jerusalem was made on the former date, while the Temple was destroyed on the latter

1:4 THOSE WHO ARRIVE FOR THE APPOINTED SEASON (באי מועד): pilgrims.<sup>31</sup>

ARE GRIEVED (נוגות): language of grief (יגון); and there is no root in the construction except the gimel alone.<sup>32</sup>

1:5 THEY WERE AT EASE (שלו): they were living in PROSPERITY (שלוה).<sup>33</sup>

AFFLICTED HER (הוגה) : caused her grief; and this is the language of grief (יגון).

1:6 LIKE STAGS which DID NOT FIND PASTURE: they did not have the strength to flee,<sup>34</sup> for their strength was weakened by hunger.<sup>35</sup>

date, exactly three weeks later."

<sup>31</sup> Philological point in part based on Lam.R. 1:30, ET 100. Hebrew: עולי רגלים. מועד admits to several meanings: festival, assembly, Temple. Rashi points out that, regardless of what מועד means in isolation, here it is part of a phrase clearly meaning "pilgrims," i.e., those going to Jerusalem to celebrate the pilgrim feasts.

<sup>32</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:31, ET 100. That is, all but one of the radicals of the root have disappeared. Correct, see Hillers 67.

<sup>33</sup> Ps. 122:7. This is its actual etymology, and not an alternative to a midrashic explanation I could find. This instance not in Ibn Saruq 174, של 3, nor does he connect this verb with the noun in Ps. 122:7.

<sup>34</sup> Krinski has לברות (to feed) instead of לברוח (to flee). This is a tempting alternative which nevertheless misunderstands Rashi's point.

<sup>35</sup> Rashi links causally the last two lines of verse 6: the result of their not finding pasture was that they did not have the

שנה גאלי<sup>36</sup> every רודף in scripture is *scriptio defectiva*<sup>37</sup> but this is *plena*, indicating that they were pursued with a full pursuing. So it is that the *payyat*<sup>38</sup> refers to a *scriptio plena*: רודפת<sup>39</sup>. The *scriptio defectiva*<sup>40</sup> of שנה גאלי would be שנה גאלי<sup>41</sup>.

1:7 JERUSALEM REMEMBERED in her exile THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION: the days of her destruction which brought her into the state of affliction.<sup>42</sup>

strength to flee the pursuer. Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:33, ET 106ff.

<sup>36</sup> This midrashic explanation (Lam.R. 1:33, ET 108) is grammatically useful because it highlights the somewhat unusual orthography.

<sup>37</sup> Lit., "lacking." As the masorah of the MT points out, this is the only occurrence of this form *plene*, all the rest are written רודף. Jos. 20:8 הרודף is no exception, since ה is part of the word and hence it does not represent the same form. This is extremely minute exegesis but not unusual.

<sup>38</sup> Also called a *paytan*, i.e., a writer of *piyyut*, medieval liturgical poetry fond of obscure Hebrew philology. Rashi refers to "the poet" in other places: e.g., "The poet refers to this in his Composition (for the First Day of the New Year) [הוא שייסד], *When the Ruddy One...*" (Silbermann 142). Unfortunately Zohori 97 does not indicate where this presumed liturgical poem is to be found.

<sup>39</sup> i.e., רודפת אותי (GKC 66h).

<sup>40</sup> שנה גאלי *defective* in Is. 63:4 would be גאלי; thus this unusual *plene* form is, Rashi says, for emphasis too--for it is usually גאלי.

<sup>41</sup> Is. 63:4.

<sup>42</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:34, ET 108. That is, she was in deep affliction in exile, so this remembering must refer to her destruction which brought about her present affliction.



AND OF HER RESTLESSNESS (וּמְרוּדֶיהָ):<sup>43</sup> this is the language of sorrow, as AND I SHALL GO DOWN ON THE MOUNTAINS;<sup>44</sup> I SHOW RESTLESSNESS IN MY COMPLAINT AND I AM DISTRACTED.<sup>45</sup>

ALL OF HER DESIRABLE THINGS: and she remembers all the goodness of her desirable things which were FROM DAYS OF YORE.<sup>46</sup>

THEY JEERED AT HER CESSATION (מִשְׁבֹּתָהּ): they jeered at the ceasing of her joy, of her festivals, and of her new moons.<sup>47</sup> And a midrash aggadah<sup>48</sup> expounds it in another way.<sup>49</sup> While in exile, they were not working on the Sabbaths and holidays and were allowing their fields to lie fallow on the Seventh Year. The nations

<sup>43</sup> An attempted philological alternative to derash etymology of Lam.R. 1:34, ET 108 (מִרְדָּ, "revolt"). Albrektson 60 and KBL 598 derive it from רוּד (wander). Rashi derives it from רוּד and supposes it to mean "sorrow." He goes on to relate it to verbs in two other verses, only one of which actually shares the root רוּד.

<sup>44</sup> Jud. 11:37. I SHALL GO DOWN וְיִרְדָּתִי; but read as if from יָרַד: cf. Ibn Saruq 162, יָרַד 2. If this verb really were from רוּד, it would have to be written יִרְדָּתִי; KBL 1114 suggests an emendation to that effect on the authority of the Vulgate's reading.

<sup>45</sup> Ps. 55:3, ET 55:4. SHOW RESTLESSNESS (רוּד מֵאֵרֶץ): see Holladay 334. Ibn Saruq 162 derives this verb from יָרַד 2, but he derives the noun in Lam. 3:19, which is identical to the one in Lam. 1:7, from יָרַד 1.

<sup>46</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:34 ET 108. That is, ALL HER DESIRABLE THINGS is also the object of SHE REMEMBERED.

<sup>47</sup> i.e., new moon festivals. Cf. Is. 1:13-14. Ibn Saruq 170 does not mention this noun under שָׁבַת 1 or 2.

<sup>48</sup> A "midrash" because it runs counter to the philological interpretation which Rashi has just given. For the midrash see Buber 71 (שם).

<sup>49</sup> lit., "in another language." It understands מִשְׁבֹּתָהּ as referring to the Shabbat (שָׁבַת, a ceasing), not a general ceasing.

were jeering at them and were saying in ridicule, "In your own land you were not letting your fields lie fallow and now in exile you do so?! In your own land you did not observe the Sabbath, but now in exile you do?!"

1:8 BECAME SOMETHING WHICH WANDERS (לְנִיחָה):<sup>50</sup> an EXILE/WANDERER (גּוֹלָה),<sup>51</sup> language of נִפְעֵל וְנָדָה<sup>52</sup> (A FUGITIVE AND A WANDERER): אִישׁ מוֹבֵינָא<sup>53</sup> in the vernacular.

HER NAKEDNESS: her shame (קְלוֹן).<sup>54</sup>

SHE SIGHED (נִאֲנָחָה):<sup>55</sup> this is the nif'al conjugation.<sup>56</sup> שׁוֹשְׁפִירִיר<sup>57</sup> in the vernacular. THEY HEARD THAT

<sup>50</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:35, ET 109.

<sup>51</sup> e.g., 2 Sam. 15:19. Cf. Lam.R. 1:36, ET 109.

<sup>52</sup> Gn. 4:14.

<sup>53</sup> Transliterated old French *esmovant*, like modern French, *émouvant*. Katan has אִישׁ מוֹבֵינָא, and Greenberg similarly, for the noun *esmovement*. Either makes sense in the context. See Greimas 256.

<sup>54</sup> Apparently Rashi alludes to Jer. 13:26, AND YOUR SHAME SHALL BE SEEN. According to Rashi, NAKEDNESS here is a technical expression for the exposure of the private parts, as in Ex. 20:26, LEST YOUR NAKEDNESS BE EXPOSED. This is a philological point with no midrashic counterpart in Lam.R.

<sup>55</sup> Philological point with no midrashic alternative in Lam.R.

<sup>56</sup> lit., "language of נִפְעֵלָה." This verb only occurs in the nif'al in scripture, and here it is 3rd f s: see KBL 68.

<sup>57</sup> i.e., *sospirer* (Greimas 611), modern French *soupirer*, "sigh." Katan has שׁוֹשְׁפִירִיר *sospira*, i.e., "she sighed," the same form of the verb as the MT.

I SIGH.<sup>58</sup> But here it is an adjective:<sup>59</sup> שִׁשׁוּפִירִירָא.<sup>60</sup>

1:9 HER UNCLEANNESS IS IN HER SKIRTS: the language of shame; it is the blood of her menstruation recognized in the skirts of her clothing: that is to say, her sins, many uncoverings, her deeds in the open.<sup>61</sup>

SHE DID NOT REMEMBER HER END: when they were sinning, they did not pay attention to what would be the end; for this reason, AND SHE FELL ASTONISHINGLY:<sup>62</sup> her fall is astonishing in a very astonishing manner, for what happened to her did not happen to any other city.<sup>63</sup>

1:10<sup>64</sup> AN ENEMY STRETCHES OUT HIS HAND: Moab and Amon.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Lam. 1:21.

<sup>59</sup> lit.: שֵׁם דְּבַר: Rashi's term for an adjective, see Katan 72; see also in Katan's same note a discussion of these two difficult transliterations; apparently Rashi means נִאֲמָה is a perfect verb here and a participle in verse 21.

<sup>60</sup> Katan and Greenberg have שִׁשׁוּפִירִירָא, which makes sense, i.e., *sospirose* (adj f s, see Greimas 611). The Bomberg spelling must be wrong.

<sup>61</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:36 ET 109ff

<sup>62</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:36 ET 111.

<sup>63</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:37, ET 112.

<sup>64</sup> The interpretations of WHOM YOU COMMANDED... in Lam.R. are philoligcal in nature.

<sup>65</sup> The misdrashic interpretation of AN ENEMY (TB Yebamot 16b, and Lam.R. 1:38, ET 114-115) reflects the status of Moab and

UPON ALL HER DESIRABLE PLACES: the books of the Torah, as it is said about them: THEY ARE MORE DESIRABLE THAN GOLD;<sup>66</sup> everyone turned away to plunder<sup>67</sup> silver and gold, but they are turning upon the books of law to burn them, since it is written in them, AN AMMONITE SHALL NOT GO etc.<sup>68</sup>

WHOM YOU COMMANDED, "THEY SHALL NOT ENTER INTO YOUR ASSEMBLY": these nations are Ammon and Moab.

1:12<sup>69</sup> NOT TO YOU: may there not happen something like this disaster again<sup>70</sup> "to all transgressing" religion.<sup>71</sup> Sages said,<sup>72</sup> "From this scripture there is

Amon as Israel's first and worst enemies in the Land.

<sup>66</sup> Ps. 19:11, ET 10.

<sup>67</sup> לָבוֹז (root בָּזַז), and not לְבוֹז (to despise).

<sup>68</sup> Dt. 23:4; Neh. 13:1.

<sup>69</sup> The following is a very complex exegesis, since it dovetails different sources in the following sequence: scripture, midrashim, scripture, Talmud, Rashi's comment, and scripture again.

<sup>70</sup> Philological point from Lam.R. 1:40, ET p.117 (also Buber 1:344).

<sup>71</sup> "to all those transgressing" is a non-philological interpretation (from TB Sanhedrin 104b) of TO ALL THOSE GOING BY THE WAY. GOING BY (עַבְרֵי) THE WAY is taken to mean "transgressing the way of the Lord."

<sup>72</sup> TB Sanhedrin 104B, 18 lines from bottom:

NOT TO YOU, ALL YOU THAT PASS BY. Rabbah said in R. Johanan's name: From this [passage of scripture there is something] from the law to [support the custom of saying] "kuvlana!"

something from the Torah to support the custom of saying *kuvlana*!<sup>73</sup>

SEE what he did TO ME. LOOK AND SEE...WHAT BEFELL. (עוולל) ME (i.e., what was done TO ME) TO WHOM G-D CAUSED GRIEF (הוגה) ON THE DAY OF THE FURY OF HIS ANGER.<sup>74</sup> This verb too is from the same root as grief (יגור).<sup>75</sup>

1:13<sup>76</sup> וַיִּקְדָּהּ (AND [THE FIRE] PREVAILED OVER IT [i.e., MY BONES]): וַיִּקְדָּהּ אֹתָהּ and [the fire] broke it [i.e., them] by קָדוּי ("subjection")<sup>77</sup> and sufferings. The ן has a dagesh point in it to show that there is a third feminine singular pronominal suffix,<sup>78</sup> as it does in יַעֲשֶׂנָהּ, יִכְרַסְמָנָהּ, יִרְעֶנָהּ.<sup>79</sup> [The suffix is feminine] because the gender of bone is feminine, as it is said,

<sup>73</sup> Jastrow 1323: "a formular to ward off danger," from קבלה, "charm."

<sup>74</sup> A philological comment as alternative to Lam.R. 1:40, ET 117-8 which in a non-philological fashion, relates עוולל ("befell") תעולל to ("glean") of Dt. 24:21.

<sup>75</sup> lit., "This too is the language of grief [as is the case for הוגה in Lam. 1:5]."

<sup>76</sup> Rashi present two interpretations of וַיִּקְדָּהּ, both of which can be found in Lam.R. 1:41, ET 121. Rashi seems to favor the first one, and he explains it philologically.

<sup>77</sup> Rashi means that וַיִּקְדָּהּ is from the same root as קָדוּי. This is correct according to Hillers 72. Rashi may have gotten this from Ibn Saruq 162, רד 2.

<sup>78</sup> lit., "For this reason the nun is dageshed to one interpreting it in singular language."

<sup>79</sup> Mal. 2:12, and two verbs from Ps. 80:14.

O DRY BONES (העצמות היבשות).<sup>80</sup> [And the suffix is singular to show that the fire] broke each and every one of them.<sup>81</sup>

Another interpretation:<sup>82</sup> וירדנה means the same as HE SCRAPED IT OUT (וירדהו) INTO HIS HANDS,<sup>83</sup> i.e., he emptied the brain,<sup>84</sup> drawing it out and scraping it from within.

1:14<sup>85</sup> THE YOKE OF MY TRANSGRESSIONS HE [BOUND?] (נשקד) TO HIS HAND: there is no likeness to this construction in scripture;<sup>86</sup> and in the Aramaic language of the Pesikta<sup>87</sup> they call it "a goad to drive [cattle]" (דרבן מסקדא), a cattle prod.<sup>88</sup> But I say

<sup>80</sup> Ez. 37:4.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Ezra makes the same point, less cryptically, on Lam. 1:5.

<sup>82</sup> lit., "Another matter."

<sup>83</sup> Jud. 14:9. Ibn Saruq 162, דר 3 does not associate Jud. 14:9 with Lam. 1:13. Holladay 333 sees two identical but different roots behind these two verbs in Lam. and Jud.

<sup>84</sup> "brain," or "marrow."

<sup>85</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:42, ET 122-3. Rashi does not follow Ibn Saruq 180, who gives synonyms of נאסר and נעצר.

<sup>86</sup> i.e., this is a hapax legomenon--which it is, see Albrektson 73.

<sup>87</sup> ET: Pesikta de Rav Kahana, ed. Dor Mandelbaum, (N.Y.: JTS, 1962), p. 153.

<sup>88</sup> "ox goad," only in Hebrew Bible in Jud. 3:31.

נשקד is פויינטער<sup>89</sup> in the vernacular. My transgressions were dotted, spotted, and marked by the Holy One Blest-Be-He for remembrance. Their number and their payments<sup>90</sup> were not forgotten.

WERE INTERTWINED (ישתרגו): they were interwoven<sup>91</sup> AND THEY WENT UP ON MY NECK. The word ישתרגו is also found<sup>92</sup> in the Mishnah, where it is said: "And they may twine the [cords of] bed-frames" (דמסגרין את המטות).<sup>93</sup>

1:15 סלה: "tread" and "trample"; language of סלו  
סלו (ET: CAST UP, CAST UP A HIGHWAY).<sup>94</sup>

<sup>89</sup> This is most probably some form of *point/pointeer* (Greimas 499; though Greenberg has פייטוריק, i.e., *pèturez*, marked). Katan has פעינתוריק, *pointured*. Thus Rashi relates נשקד to the Aramaic סקד (to goad) as in the Pesikta, except that Rashi emphasizes the mark left by a goad.

<sup>90</sup> i.e., sins are also debts which we owe.

<sup>91</sup> lit. "made weave upon weave." explains the reflexive hitpa'el.

<sup>92</sup> lit., "And in the language of the Mishnah...."

<sup>93</sup> Mo'ed Katan 1:8 (TB M.Kat. 8b). Rashi correctly explains the meaning of the unusual word ישתרגו.

<sup>94</sup> Is. 62:10, a cognate accusative construction. סלו here from סלל (see KBL 715). In Isaiah it means "to make high the highway"; in later Hebrew it took on the added connotations of "pave" or "tread" (see Even-Shoshan m922). Ibn Saruq 126 has סלו in Is. 62:10 and סלה in Lam. 1:15 from סל 3. Actually the root of סלה in Lam. 1:15 cannot be סלל but can only be סלה. See KBL 714. סלה to be from סלל would have to be סלה. Zohori 101 points out a possible midrashic source for this interpretation of סלו: Lam.R. 1:23, ET 90, which is a comment on v. 2, not v. 15:

Jeremiah said, THE LORD HATH TRAMPLED DOWN [ET, "set at nought"] ALL MY MIGHTY MEN IN THE MIDST OF ME (Lam. 1:16); Isaiah said, CAST UP, CAST UP THE HIGHWAY, GATHER OUT THE STONES (Is. 62:10).

HE CALLED AGAINST ME AN APPOINTED TIME/MEETING: an assignment of troops to come against me;<sup>95</sup> and our Rabbis search out<sup>96</sup> its midrashic interpretation, "the Tammuz of that year<sup>97</sup> was indeed made full,"<sup>98</sup> of the second year of their going out from Egypt; so the return of the spies happened on the night of the Ninth of Av, for their weeping was fixed for the generations.<sup>99</sup>

HE TREAD THE WINEPRESS: language of killing,<sup>100</sup> as I TROD THE WINEPRESS ALONE;<sup>101</sup> as the treading of grapes to get their wine out, so he tramples men to get their blood out.

<sup>95</sup> This for Rashi was the peshat; midrash follows.

<sup>96</sup> "searched out" or "interpreted": here, as often, lit. דרש (*darash*, hence midrash), the searchingly interpretative reading of the Rabbis. Rashi mentions this specifically since their *derash* interpretation runs counter to the grammatical explanation which he has just given.

<sup>97</sup> The year of the mission of the spies Moses sent, see Num. 13.

<sup>98</sup> TB Pesahim 77A., ET note 10: "i.e., it consisted of 30 days. When it consists of 29 days it is called defective. Now, as they set out on the 29th of Sivan, the third month (BT Ta'anit 29A), the 40 days of their mission ended on the Ninth of Av, the fifth month. Thus their weeping on that night became the forerunner of subsequent lamentation on that date for many generations, for it is the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple."

<sup>99</sup> TB Ta'anit 29A etc. For further Talmudic references to this midrashic interpretation see Krinski.

<sup>100</sup> i.e., treading the winepress is a metaphor for a great slaughter; also, Rashi is giving a philological explanation of the winepress, since in the midrash, the winepress is the Temple, see Lam.R. 1:44, ET 124, note 6.

<sup>101</sup> Is. 63:3.



1:16 MY EYE, MY EYE: that is to say, always my eye runs water down; the repetition of the language teaches that there were no pauses.<sup>102</sup>

1:17 G-D GAVE COMMAND TO JACOB HIS ENEMIES AROUND HIM: He commanded concerning Jacob that his enemies would be around him; indeed when they were exiled to Babylon and to Assyria, Sennacherib exiled their enemies Amon and Moab and settled them among them, and they were bothering them, as they said in Tractate Kedushin, "There is a town Humania in Babylon, which consists entirely of Ammonites."<sup>103</sup>

BECAME AN UNCLEANNES: "become a rejection, a mockery."<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Rashi explains the repetition as a rhetorical device. (If it is not mere ditography, Rashi is, of course, quite correct.) Rashi is, in effect, suggesting a philological alternative to the Midrash, which identifies one of the eyes as God's and the other as Israel's: see Lam.R. 1:16, ET 135.

<sup>103</sup> TB Kiddushin 72A. Rashi applies this passage in the Talmud with Lam.R. 1:52, ET p. 142 and parallels in Lev.R. 23:4, ET p. 295 and SoS.R. 2:2:5, ET p. 98. (There are Gentile towns in the Land of Israel, and Jacob is thus surrounded by his enemies even in his own land.) Rashi's reasoning is this: if the midrash interprets this verse with reference to Gentile towns within the Land of Israel, and if the Talmud witnesses to the existence of Babylonian towns consisting of traditional Jewish enemies, then this verse would equally apply to Israel in exile in Babylon and Assyria. Rashi attempts a philological alternative to the midrash by using a geographical note from the Talmud.

<sup>104</sup> Philological point from (as Zohori 101 points out) Lam.R. 1:52, ET 142. Rashi indicates two things by this comment: 1. he distinguishes the נִידָה of verse 8 from the נִידָה here; 2. he indicates the metaphorical nature of "an uncleanness" here, i.e., Jerusalem has not really become an abomination (as Lam.R. 1:53, ET 142) but is treated like one.

1:19 I CALLED TO MY LOVERS, to those who made themselves appear as beloved.<sup>105</sup>

THEY DECEIVED ME:<sup>106</sup> as did the sons of Ishmael who were going out towards the exiles, as their captors were leading them near by them,<sup>107</sup> and they<sup>108</sup> are making themselves appear as if they have compassion on them; and they were bringing to them salted foods and wineskins filled with what they thought was wine; and they are eating and are thirsty and they are wishing to drink; and when one opens the wineskin with his teeth, the wind was entering into his bowels and he died; and this is what Scripture said: IN THE DESERT THICKET YOU WILL LODGE etc. TO THE THIRSTY BRING WATER, O INHABITANTS OF THE LAND OF TEMA, WITH HIS BREAD MEET THE FUGITIVE.<sup>109</sup>

AND THEY WOULD RESTORE THEIR SPIRITS: in order that they might restore their spirits.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>105</sup> The so-called *מַעֲבֵד* was only a false *אֶהָב*. The midrash identifies the lovers as false prophets, Lam.R. 1:54, ET 143--hence Rashi's philological interpretation.

<sup>106</sup> A version of this story is found in Lam.R. 2:4, ET 165. Zohori 102 points out another version in the Tanḥuma (יִתְרוֹ 5) from which Rashi also drew.

<sup>107</sup> "near by them"(?) = דֶּרֶךְ עֲלֵיהֶם; i.e., leading the captive Israelites by the Ishmaelites.

<sup>108</sup> i.e., the Ishmaelites.

<sup>109</sup> Is. 21:13-14.

<sup>110</sup> Here is Rashi at his philological best. He is pointing out, quite correctly that AND of the clause AND THEY WOULD RESTORE... is expressing purpose, so that the correct translation is "in order to" or the like. This also shows that Rashi is somewhat aware that it is possible to "translate" Biblical Hebrew into

1:20 חמררו [ET: "were in ferment"]: <sup>111</sup> "contracted," and there is in the language of the Mishnah, "if it fell into the fire and its internal organs were scorched." <sup>112</sup>

IN THE HOUSE AS DEATH: inside the house there was the terror of devils, demons and angels of death, and outside the bereaving sword of the enemy. <sup>113</sup>

1:21 THAT YOU DID [IT]: You brought it about to me that they hated me, for you divided me from their food and from their drink and from marrying among them; if I had intermarried with them, they would have had compassion upon me and upon the sons of their daughters. <sup>114</sup>

Mediaeval.

<sup>111</sup> Attempted philological alternative to Lam.R. 1:55, ET 144. Holladay 109 and Even-Shoshan m406-7 etc. take this verb to be from the root as represented in Ps. 46:4 LET ITS WATERS ROAR AND FOAM (יחמרו); Rashi, on the other, hand assumed it was from an identical root meaning "to burn" (see Holladay 109); hence his comment below.

<sup>112</sup> ET of TB Hullin 56A; Rashi's commentary on this passage: "scorched: contracted on account of the heat and their appearance was changed--the language of MY BOWELS ARE IN FERMENT [Lam. 1:20]."

<sup>113</sup> Lam.R. 1:55, ET 145: "That is what Moses said, WITHOUT SHALL THE SWORD BEREAVE, AND IN THE CHAMBERS TERROR [Dt. 32:25]." Thus Rashi alludes to the midrash, and suggests a midrashic interpretation for TERROR; but he does not try to give a philological explanation of the puzzling phrase, IN THE HOUSE AS DEATH.

<sup>114</sup> Zohori 103 points out this is Lam.R. 1:56, ET 146: the application of the parable. (See also Buber 1:498.) This is midrash, of course, but it illuminates a philological explanation. (If not true for the Babylonian exile, true in Israel's later his-

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations ch.1

XX

YOU BROUGHT THE DAY YOU CALLED: Oh would that you brought upon them the day of the appointed time which you called upon me.<sup>115</sup>

AND THEY WOULD BE LIKE ME: in misfortune.<sup>116</sup>

1:22 LET ALL THEIR WICKEDNESS COME BEFORE YOU:  
Let their iniquity be visited and be remembered before you.<sup>117</sup>

AND DEAL [SEVERELY] WITH THEM:<sup>118</sup> and do to them as also, IN HIS DEEDS ONE IS KNOWN and ACCORDING TO THE FRUIT OF THEIR DEEDS.<sup>119</sup>

tory.)

<sup>115</sup> Hillers 78 argues on linguistic grounds that the perfect YOU BROUGHT does, as Rashi asserts, indicate a wish. Thus Rashi's comment here is philological.

<sup>116</sup> Lam.R. 1:56, ET 146, reads: "LIKE UNTO ME in trouble, but not LIKE UNTO ME in relief." Why does Rashi leave out the midrash's more vengeful comment? Did a Christian censor expurgate the phrase? Possibly, but more likely Rashi is indicating that a philological explanation of the text only supports "in misfortune" and not "not in relief."

<sup>117</sup> Philological comment. First Rashi explains the meaning of רָעָה in the verse immediately preceding and in Rashi's comment on that verse, it means "misfortune," while here it means "iniquity." Secondly, he expounds the meaning of "come before."

<sup>118</sup> Lam.R. 1:57, ET 146 interprets "gleaning" again (as it did in verse 12 above), so again Rashi reiterates the philological alternative.

<sup>119</sup> Pro. 20:11 and Jer. 17:10, 32:19 also help explain the etymology of the verb (from the same root as "deeds": KBL 580-1).

Rashi's Commentary on Lamentation

Chapter 2

2:1 HOW BECLOUDED (יַעֲיֵב): "made dark" (יַאֲפִיל), as what is said, AND THE HEAVENS GREW BLACK WITH CLOUDS (הִתְקַדְּרוּ עָבִים).<sup>1</sup>

FROM THE HEAVENS EARTH[WARD]: after he exalted them up to the heavens, he cast them down in a moment (בְּבֹחַ אֶחָת) and not little by little:<sup>2</sup> "From the high roof to the deep well."<sup>3</sup>

FOOTSTOOL (הַדָּם)<sup>4</sup> OF HIS FEET (רַגְלָיו): footstool (שֵׁרָפָה)<sup>5</sup> of the place of his feet (מַרְגְּלוֹתָיו),<sup>6</sup> and this is the Temple.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 K. 18:45. Rashi provides a philological alternative to midrashic meanings of "cloud" found in Lam.R. 2:1-2, ET 149-151.

<sup>2</sup> Lam.R. 2:2, ET 151, a midrash consistent with a philological explanation of "cast down."

<sup>3</sup> TB Hagigah 5b, but also a proverb. Ibn Ezra (commentary on Lam. 2:1) tries, in a surprisingly midrashic fashion, to connect the idea of "beclothing" (which he takes to mean "enclothing--raising to the clouds") and "casting." Thus in this instance, it is Rashi who more soundly philological than Ibn Ezra.

<sup>4</sup> An infrequent word in the Bible, for which Rashi provides an alternative from the Talmud.

<sup>5</sup> TB Hagigah 14a (see Jastrow 1633).

<sup>6</sup> Rashi adds מַרְגְּלוֹתָיו as a guard against anthropomorphism. Did Rashi know that this same word in Ruth 3:4,<sup>7</sup> was perhaps a euphemism?

<sup>7</sup> Lam.R. 2:3, ET 152. But this is also a probable lexical meaning of footstool, see Hillers 97.

2:2 THE DWELLINGS (נִאוֹת) OF JACOB: houses of Jacob, language of נִנוּחַ.<sup>8</sup>

HE CAUSED TO TOUCH (הִגִּיעַ) TO THE EARTH: he lowered them to earth.<sup>9</sup>

HE POLLUTED (חָלַל) THE KINGDOM AND ITS PRINCES: these are Israel, or they were called A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS.<sup>10</sup>

There is an midrash aggadah:<sup>11</sup> these were princes above<sup>12</sup> that he switched: the one appointed over the light he appointed over the water, and he switched all those appointed, since there were among the wicked of

<sup>8</sup> i.e., נ is not part of the roots: correct, see KBL 641. Hillers 97 also believes human dwellings are the reference. Rashi is giving a philological alternative to the interpretations of Lam.R. 2:4, ET 156-7.

<sup>9</sup> A philological explanation but not an alternative to any midrash I could find. Rashi explains to his readers this use of הִגִּיעַ (which has reference to its qal (הִגַּעַ) root meaning "to touch"), because it meant otherwise in later Hebrew ("to arrive"). Rashi also supplies the understood subject. See KBL 631-2 and Jastrow 874-875.

<sup>10</sup> Ex. 19:6. Lam.R. 2:5, ET 167 states (and note the difference): "i.e., Israel, as it is stated, AND YE SHALL BE UNTO ME A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS, AND A HOLY NATION; And the princes thereof, i.e., the celestial princes...." Thus Rashi changes the Midrash's comment into one that is basically philological. Note also that "pollute" (חָלַל) usually refers to defiling something holy--hence the reference to "holy nation," which Rashi's readers did not need repeated. Both Lam.R. and Rashi are reacting to the odd phrase, THE KINGDOM AND ITS PRIESTS. Modern commentators such as Hillers 97 amend to "her king and princes."

<sup>11</sup> Lam.R. 2:5, ET 167; Rashi so specifies to underline that it runs counter to the philological explanation he has given.

<sup>12</sup> "princes above": the angelic powers.

Israel masters of the ineffable name<sup>13</sup> and they were sure that they could invoke the princes above to save them from fire and from water and from sword; and now when one was invoking the prince of fire by his name, he answers, "This is no such dominion in my hand"; and thus all of them.

2:3 HE TURNED BACK HIS RIGHT HAND: he caused himself to return, as<sup>14</sup> "he turns BACK HIS RIGHT HAND from fighting on behalf of his sons."<sup>15</sup>

2:4 HE DREW HIS BOW (דָּרַךְ קֶשֶׁתוֹ):<sup>16</sup> since thus it is the way of a bow, for they<sup>17</sup> are strong for the sake of one's foot on them<sup>18</sup> when one bends them--thus it is written in the language of treading.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> "the ineffable name": שֵׁם הַמְּפֹרָשׁ. Those conjurers manipulated the name of G-D and his angelic powers.

<sup>14</sup> "as," i.e., "as if it were said."

<sup>15</sup> Sound philological comment. An alternative to Lam.R. 2:6, ET 169-170.

<sup>16</sup> An idiom (Holladay 74), but literalistically (and incorrectly): "He tread his bow." This comment by Rashi is difficult. However Krinski and Peter Martyr believe (correctly, I think) that Rashi is trying to explain how "to tread a bow" came to mean "to draw a bow." Either the text is slightly corrupt (Krinski's text has "thus it is the way of drawers of the bow") or I have mistranslated. The Midrash does not speculate on "tread."

<sup>17</sup> Not "bows" (bow is feminine, and the "they are strong" is masculine) but things in general.

<sup>18</sup> i.e., they are so strong one has to use a foot.

<sup>19</sup> Cross-bows in the Middle Ages and strong bows of any age were sometimes drawn with the aid of the feet (the archer being supine).

HE POURED OUT LIKE FIRE HIS ANGER: thus is the linking of the words: "He poured out his wrath which was like a fire";<sup>20</sup> since we did not find<sup>21</sup> a pouring out of fire; rather with reference to wrath, as it is written, POUR OUT YOUR ANGER ON THE NATIONS....<sup>22</sup>

2:5 AND HE MULTIPLIED (וַיִּרְבֵּ) IN THE DAUGHTER OF JUDAH: he multiplied (הִרְבָּה)<sup>23</sup> in the assembly<sup>24</sup> of Judah.

LAMENTATIONS AND LAMENT (תַּאֲנִיָּה וְאֲנִיָּה): sorrow (צַר) and wailing (יִלְלָה).<sup>25</sup>

AND HE MUTILPIED (וַיִּרְבֵּ):<sup>26</sup> the pointing of<sup>27</sup> the

<sup>20</sup> i.e., not "He poured out his anger as he poured out the fire," or "he poured out like the fire of his anger." The latter is impossible since in order for "fire" to be in construct with "his wrath" it could not have, as it does, a definite article. Rashi explains why the former is impossible as well. This close reading of the text by Rashi shows a fine philological instinct more often associated with Ibn Ezra.

<sup>21</sup> in scripture.

<sup>22</sup> Ps. 79:6. This word study seems to be inspired in part of a similar one in Lam.R. 2:6, ET 169-170.

<sup>23</sup> הִרְבָּה in the waw consecutive is וַיִּרְבֵּ, see Holladay 331 and Ibn Ezra's comment on this in his commentary on this same verse.

<sup>24</sup> According to Rashi, "daughter" here means "assembly."

<sup>25</sup> i.e., תַּאֲנִיָּה is abstract and אֲנִיָּה is concrete. This supplements the philological comment in Lam.R. 2:9, ET 173. See Ibn Saruq 27, אן 2.

<sup>26</sup> Rashi returns to his previous discussion of the waw consecutive.

<sup>27</sup> i.e., under.



yod is a small gamets,<sup>28</sup> for it is the language of "he multiplied other things."<sup>29</sup> AND THE PEOPLE MULTIPLIED (וַיִּרְבּוּ) AND BECAME VERY STRONG:<sup>30</sup> the pointing is hireq, for it is the language of "he multiplied himself";<sup>31</sup> and thus is every form<sup>32</sup> whose root<sup>33</sup> is in ה,<sup>34</sup> for example פָּנָה, זָכָה, בָּכָה; thus is its<sup>35</sup> way to function when it<sup>36</sup> lacks ה. When it speaks about itself, the pointing is hireq: for example AND PHARAOH TURNED (וַיִּפְּרוּ),<sup>37</sup> and when it speaks about others, the pointing is gamets;<sup>38</sup> for example, AND HE TURNED TAIL TO TAIL.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Rashi's term for a segol; the masorites probably pronounced a segol like the American "a" in "cat"; at any rate, for Rashi the segol and the gamets sounded more similar than the "e" in "bet" and the "a" in "father" (the usual pronunciation among English speakers).

<sup>29</sup> i.e., it is a hif'il, causative, transitive, the subject acts on other things.

<sup>30</sup> Ex. 1:20.

<sup>31</sup> The qal form is intransitive and reflexive and in the waw consecutive has a hireq under the yod.

<sup>32</sup> "form" תִּיבָה: or basic unit like "word"; also Noah's "ark."

<sup>33</sup> lit.: whose pa'al, i.e., not the conjugation qal but the basic triliteral root.

<sup>34</sup> i.e., which are ה"ל verbs.

<sup>35</sup> i.e., the form's.

<sup>36</sup> i.e., a verb.

<sup>37</sup> Ex. 7:23.

<sup>38</sup> i.e., the "small gamets," the segol.

<sup>39</sup> Jud. 15:4.

AND JUDAH WENT INTO EXILE (וַיֵּלֶךְ) FROM HIS OWN LAND;<sup>40</sup>  
AND THE KING OF BABYLON EXILED ISRAEL TO ASSYRIA.<sup>41</sup>

2:6 וַיַּחַמְסוּ<sup>42</sup> the language of cutting (כריתה),  
and thus IT WILL AS THE VINE [וַיַּחַמְסוּ]<sup>43</sup> ITS UNRIPE  
GRAPES;<sup>44</sup> THEIR HINDERPARTS WERE VIOLENTLY TREATED  
נַחֲמָסוּ.<sup>45</sup>

AS A GARDEN, for example, as they cut (גוזזין)  
garden vegetables.<sup>46</sup>

HIS COVERT (שוכו) : it is written שוכו<sup>47</sup> because  
he appeased (שיכך) his anger upon his sons in the

<sup>40</sup> 2 K. 25:21. This is an example of the qal intransitive form of גלה.

<sup>41</sup> 2 K. 18:11 (Rashi read in a Rabbinic fashion "King of Babylon" and not "King of Assyria"). This is an example of the hif'il transitive form of גלה.

<sup>42</sup> וַיַּחַמְסוּ is a relatively rare verb and means "do violence to" (see KBL 316). Lam.R. 2:10, ET 173 understands the reference to be cutting off a water-supply for a garden; in some fashion Rashi is interacting with this interpretation. Rashi's examples are found in Ibn Saruq 90, חמס 2, but Rashi's definition is his own.

<sup>43</sup> "shake off"?

<sup>44</sup> Job 15:33, and see Rashi's commentary on this passage.

<sup>45</sup> Jer. 13:22.

<sup>46</sup> Rashi takes גוזז to be a synonym of חמס and כתב. I do not find Rashi's exegesis satisfactory here. Perhaps the text is corrupt or I have misconstrued his intent. As I see it, as the text stands Rashi believes the philological sense to be "He cut down his Temple as one lops off produce." Rashi was a vintner, and this shows in his fascination with grapes, vines, skin bottles etc. There may be an allusion here to a harvest hut: cut its ropes and it collapses; or an allusion to stripping the Sukkot tabernacle.

<sup>47</sup> and not סוכו.

destruction of his House: thus is it expounded  
midrashically in Midrash Lamentations.<sup>48</sup>

HE DESTROYED HIS APOINTED PLACE/TIME (שָׁחַת מוֹעֵדוֹ):  
the House of the Holy of Holies, because there He made  
appointment with His sons, for it is said, AND I SHALL  
MAKE APPOINTMENT (נוֹמְדָתִי) WITH YOU THERE.<sup>49</sup>

KING AND PRIEST: Zedekiah the king and Seraiah the  
high priest.<sup>50</sup>

2:7<sup>51</sup> SPURNED (נָאַר): despise (בָּטַל),<sup>52</sup> and thus YOU  
HAVE SPURNED (נִאֲרַתָּה) THE COVENANT OF YOUR SERVANT.<sup>53</sup>

AS A DAY OF ASSEMBLY: for they were rejoicing and  
singing in its midst in a loud voice--thus enemies gave  
a voice of joy in our destruction.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Lam.R. 2:10, ET 173.

<sup>49</sup> Ex. 25:22: see Ibn Saruq 131, ע"ר 9. Rashi is justifying  
his identification of the APPOINTED TIME/PLACE with the Temple's  
most holy place. Rashi provides an alternative to Lam.R. 2:10, ET  
173 (*mo'ed* is a festival), though in this case the midrash is more  
philological in its interpretation than is Rashi.

<sup>50</sup> A midrash which does not contradict the philological  
meaning: Lam.R. 2:10, ET 173-4, p. 174, note 1. The midrash  
apparently confused the quartermaster of Jer. 51:59 and the high  
priest of Jer. 52:24.

<sup>51</sup> Rashi gives two concise, accurate philological comments  
on this verse.

<sup>52</sup> In the Bible, only in Eccl. 12:3, *qal*, meaning "cease,"  
but in later Hebrew it can mean in the *pi'el* "to despise," see  
Even-Shoshan m108.

<sup>53</sup> Ps. 89:40, ET 89:39.

<sup>54</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 2:11, ET 174-5.

2:8<sup>55</sup> G-D THOUGHT TO DESTROY: a long time ago it arose in his mind to do this, for it was said, THIS CITY ROUSED MY ANGER AND WRATH...TO REMOVE IT FROM BEFORE MY FACE.<sup>56</sup>

HE STRETCHED A LINE: of judgment to punish our iniquity.<sup>57</sup>

FROM SWALLOWING: from destroying.<sup>58</sup>

RAMPART AND WALL: שוּרָא<sup>59</sup> and בֵּר שוּרָה<sup>60</sup>, a short wall over against the high wall.

2:9 HER GATES SANK INTO THE GROUND: a midrash aggadah:<sup>61</sup> Because they venerated<sup>62</sup> the Ark, or it is

<sup>55</sup> Three of these four comments ("swallowing" is the exception) are the entire content of Lam.R. 2:12, ET 175-6, and the first is basically philological, and the last two purely so. In citing all three, Rashi shows his predilection for philological explanations.

<sup>56</sup> Jer. 32:31a,c: Rashi leaves out 31b FROM THE DAY THEY BUILT IT UNTIL THIS DAY, and yet this is the hook on which this midrashic interpretation hangs, for if Jerusalem roused God's anger on the day it was built, then for a long time God had planned to destroy it. In effect, Rashi's omission of the most important part of the verse serves to underline it.

<sup>57</sup> i.e., the line to mark out destruction, as in 2 K. 21:13 "the line of Samaria." See also Ibn Saruq 97 on נִמְה under נ 2.

<sup>58</sup> Pi'el of בלע often has this meaning: see Even-Shoshan 180-1 and Holladay 41. See also Ibn Saruq 45-6, בלע 2.

<sup>59</sup> Aramaic, "wall" (Jastrow 1541).

<sup>60</sup> Aramaic, "wall" and "outside wall" (Jastrow 1541, 188). Note that Ibn Saruq 88, חל 1, supposes that what חל means a defensive ditch before the wall. Is he thinking of a moat?

<sup>61</sup> Rashi names this a midrash to signal it contradicts the contextual meaning, which he has, in effect, explained in the previous verse.

<sup>62</sup> "venerated," the idiom חלק כבוד ל.

said, LIFT UP, O GATES, YOUR HEADS;<sup>63</sup> therefore no human creature ruled over them and they sank into the ground.<sup>64</sup> And our Rabbis said they were the work of David's hands, therefore the enemies did not rule over them.<sup>65</sup>

THERE IS NO TORAH: there is no one among them teaching instruction.<sup>66</sup>

2:10 THEY WILL SIT ON THE GROUND etc.: as its meaning;<sup>67</sup> and there is an midrash aggadah:<sup>68</sup> Nebucadnezer sat them on the ground when Zedekiah rebelled against him and went back on his oath; he came and dwelled in Daphne of Antioch, and he sent for the Sanhedrin and they came to him and he saw them to be men of stately mean and he seated them on chairs of gold,

<sup>63</sup> Ps. 24:7,9.

<sup>64</sup> Lam.R. 2:13, ET 176. That is, the enemy destroyed the wall, but not the gates which were indestructible.

<sup>65</sup> TB Sotah 9a.

<sup>66</sup> Philological alternative to Lam.R. 2:13, ET 176. "Teaching instruction": מורה הוראה. A deceptively simple comment. Surely there were copies of the Law תורה. How, then, could there be "no Torah"? But "Torah" can also mean "instruction" (in fact, that was its original meaning). Therefore, the meaning must be that, although there were Torah scrolls, no one was teaching Torah. In order to highlight the connection between Torah and instruction, Rashi gives a sort of word study on the root: "teacher" or "one teaching" מורה is from the same root as תורה, as is the post-Biblical word for "instruction," הוראה.

<sup>67</sup> במשמעו, one of Rashi's technical terms for the literal or philological meaning.

<sup>68</sup> Rashi signals a midrash (Lam.R.2:14, ET 176-7) which runs counter to the philological meaning.

and he said to them, "Set out for me your Torah, passage by passage, and translate it for me."<sup>69</sup> When they arrived at the passage "vows,"<sup>70</sup> he said to them, "If one wishes to revert,<sup>71</sup> may he revert?" They said to him, "Let him go to a sage, and he will release."<sup>72</sup> He said to them, "If so, you have released Zedekiah from his vow."<sup>73</sup> He ordered and they flung them,<sup>74</sup> and he sat them on the ground and tied the hair of their heads to the tails of horses and they dragged them.<sup>75</sup>

2:11 WERE IN FERMENT: רגזזילירט<sup>76</sup> in the vernacular: the way of internal organs<sup>77</sup> when man casts them into the light, they shrink and ferment.

IN THE FAINTING (בְּעָטָה): פֶּשְׁמִייר.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>69</sup> i.e., into Aramaic--thus a "Targum."

<sup>70</sup> Num. 30.

<sup>71</sup> i.e., break his vow.

<sup>72</sup> i.e., release him from his vow.

<sup>73</sup> The midrash, of course, reads latter Jewish religion back into biblical history. Zedekiah, being an observant Jew, could only renege on his vow to Nebucadnezer if he had Rabbinic permission.

<sup>74</sup> i.e., the king's men flung the sages off their chairs.

<sup>75</sup> i.e., and the king's men caused the horses to drag them to death.

<sup>76</sup> Katan and Greenberg suggest רגזזילירט, i.e., *regrezilerent* "they shrank"; modern French, *grésillèrent*. Greimas 321 lists *gresillier*.

<sup>77</sup> "internal organs": בְּנֵי מַעִים.

<sup>78</sup> i.e., in the vernacular *pasmer* "to faint" (Greimas 478); modern French *pâmer*.

2:12 HOW SHALL I TESTIFY TO YOU, HOW SHALL I  
LIKEN YOU?: to say to you,<sup>79</sup> "How are you surprised at  
your misfortune? Did not it happen to poor so and so  
as it did to you?"<sup>80</sup> HOW SHALL I COMPARE YOU AND COM-  
FORT YOU?: when a disaster has come on a man, one says  
to him, "Even so and so had this happen to him"--this  
is consolation to him.<sup>81</sup>

2:14<sup>82</sup> WORTHLESS AND INSIPID: words which have no  
taste in them;<sup>83</sup> in vernacular language אַפּלשטער "ימנע".<sup>84</sup>

AND THEY DID NOT REVEAL CONCERNING YOUR INIQUITY:  
to reprove your way before your face.

<sup>79</sup> "to say to you," i.e., "Normally one can say to another  
sufferer...."

<sup>80</sup> An intended philological alternative to the midrash. The  
problem is the first verb אעידך "shall I testify [to] you." Lam.R.  
2:17, ET 179-80 has a long midrash on אעידך, but Rashi tries to  
make sense out of the verse without recourse to it. Jerome had,  
or read, אעידך, since he translated *comparabo te*; modern com-  
mentators emend similarly (see Hillers 100).

<sup>81</sup> i.e., but Judah is robbed of even that consolation, since  
her disaster is incomparable.

<sup>82</sup> Rashi's philological interpretations for this verse are  
counterpoints to the midrash (Lam.R. 2:18, ET 181-2).

<sup>83</sup> "taste": טעם, which also signifies "meaning." Thus a  
pun: "without taste" is also "meaningless."

<sup>84</sup> Katan and Greenberg construe as if like modern French  
*aplatissement*, *plat*, "flat, in surface or taste"; Katan mentions  
an alternative which I prefer: *aflestriment* from *flaistre/flestre*  
(Greimas 288), like the modern French *flétir*, "to wilt."

TO RESTORE YOUR CAPTIVITY (שביתך):<sup>85</sup> to make  
straight YOUR BACKSLIDINGS (משובותייך);<sup>86</sup> language of  
BACKTURNING [PEOPLE] (שובבה),<sup>87</sup> BACKTURNING [SONS]  
(שובבים),<sup>88</sup> BACKTURNING [REBELLIOUS ISRAEL] (שובב).<sup>89</sup>  
AND ENTICING: they enticed you from me.<sup>90</sup>

2:15 THEY HISSED: blown from one's mouth;  
שי"בליר<sup>91</sup> in the vernacular. And it is the way of a  
man to do thus seeing something important which is  
ruined and destroyed.

PERFECT OF BEAUTY: every beauty is hers.<sup>92</sup>

2:16<sup>93</sup> OPENED THEIR MOUTH (פצו עליך פיהם): Why  
does פ come before ע? Because what they were saying

<sup>85</sup> Rashi has almost certainly taken this word study from Ibn Saruq 169 שב 3. Ibn Saruq has collapsed into שב the roots of שבית (from שבה "to take captive") and משובה, שובב (probably from po'lel of שוב, "to return").

<sup>86</sup> Jer. 2:19.

<sup>87</sup> Jer. 8:5, 2nd word.

<sup>88</sup> Jer. 3:22, 3rd word.

<sup>89</sup> Is. 57:17, 3rd stich, 2nd word.

<sup>90</sup> FROM ME: by this Rashi reveals God to be the speaker, i.e., vv. 14-15 are an oracle.

<sup>91</sup> *Sifler* (Greimas 596); modern French *siffler*, "to whistle."

<sup>92</sup> i.e., an epexegetical genitive, see Waltke-O'Connor 151, and not "a perfect beauty". Well done, Rashi!

<sup>93</sup> For some reason, vv. 16 and 17 are out of alphabetical order: 17 which starts with ע should be before 16 which starts with פ. Rashi repeats the Midrash's explanation of the switch.



with their mouths פיהם they did not see with their eyes  
עיניהם.<sup>94</sup>

2:17 HE FINISHED HIS WORD: accomplished his  
decree, as LET HIM LOOSE HIS HAND AND FINISH ME.<sup>95</sup>

WHICH HE COMMANDED FROM DAYS OF YORE: what was  
written in the Torah: I WILL PUNISH SEVEN-FOLD...."<sup>96</sup>

2:18 BENUMBING (פגה): figure of speech,<sup>97</sup>  
as, AND HIS HEART (ויפג) NUMBED/SKIPPED  
A BEAT.<sup>99</sup>

THE DAUGHTER OF YOUR EYE: the black of the eye  
which is called פרוני"ל.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Lam.R. 2:20, ET 183: according to the ET 183, note 2, this means they were telling lies. As I see it, the comment refers to the previous verse: they spoke about a perfection of beauty, but they saw a ruin.

<sup>95</sup> Job 6:9--one of the examples of Ibn Saruq 47 for בצע 1. The primary meaning of בצע is "to cut off," hence by extension "to finish off," or "finish" ("complete"). Rashi is providing a philological alternative to the rather fanciful interpretations in Lam.R. 2:21, ET 183.

<sup>96</sup> Lev. 26:18. Lam.R. uses this same Leviticus passage to exegete this Lamentations verse. According to the midrash, however, God did *not* punish seven fold. This is proved by a fanciful derivation for בצע. Since Rashi has already explained the lexical meaning of בצע, and since he still uses the Leviticus passage, Rashi's implication is that God *did* punish seven fold.

<sup>97</sup> (העברה), since there is no literal "jump" here. The following exposition very likely from Ibn Saruq 140 פג 1.

<sup>98</sup> Greimas 643, *tressaillir*, "to jump,"; modern French *tressaillement*, "a jolt due to being startled."

<sup>99</sup> Gn. 45:26.

<sup>100</sup> Katan suggests פרוני"ל, *prunele* (not in Greimas); modern French *prunelle*: literally prune, but figuratively the

2:19 WATCHES: there are two parts of the night, and the night is divided into three parts, as our Rabbis said in Tractate Berakhot.<sup>101</sup>

FAINTED: *אשפזי* in the veracular.<sup>102</sup>

2:20 CHILDREN OF DANDLING (*טפוחים*): children of tender age who are still being raised by the dandling of their mothers.<sup>103</sup> And our Rabbis explained it midrashically concerning Doeg ben Yosef:<sup>104</sup> his mother was measuring him in spans (*טפוחים*)<sup>105</sup> each and every day to give gold to the Temple according to what he grew. And in the end, she ate him!

pupil.

<sup>101</sup> There is a long Rabbinic debate on the number of watches in the night both in Lam.R. 2:22, ET 183-186 and in Berakhot 3a-b, and here Rashi gives his summary of the matter. He is, in effect, saying: If you want to know more, see what I said in my comments in Berakhot.

<sup>102</sup> i.e., *פאשפזי* *pasmez*, since Rashi has already defined the infinitive of *עטר* as *pasmer*. This evidently has manuscript support.

<sup>103</sup> Rashi's philological exposition, which he follows with a macabre midrash which runs counter to it, so he calls it a "midrash aggadah."

<sup>104</sup> i.e., concerning his son, see Lam.R. 2:23, ET 186: "It is related that Doeg ben Yosef died and left a young son to his mother..."; Talmud reference is Yoma 38b

<sup>105</sup> The "hook" for this midrash is the root *טפח* ("to extend", see BDB 381): "dandling" is a denominative verb created from "palm (*תפח*)" (juggling the babe in the palms); and, of course, a palm is a unit of measure, "a span."

SHOULD THERE BE KILLED IN THE TEMPLE OF G-D PRIEST AND PROPHET?: the Holy Spirit answered them,<sup>106</sup> "And how is it fitting to you that you killed Zechariah ben Jehoidah?," as it is written in Chronicles<sup>107</sup> that he reproved them when they came to do obeisance to Joash and they made him an idolater; and the Spirit clothed<sup>108</sup> Zechariah ben Jehoidah and he was priest and prophet<sup>109</sup> and they killed him in the Temple court.<sup>110</sup>

2:22 YOU CALL (תקרא) AS A DAY OF CONVOCATION: as "you called" (קראת), but it is the language of present.<sup>111</sup>

MY FEARS (מגורי):<sup>112</sup> my wicked neighbours to be gathered against me to destroy.

<sup>106</sup> i.e., answered those who complained "Should women eat...?" with the above rhetorical question, "Should there be killed...?"

<sup>107</sup> 2 Chr. 24:20.

<sup>108</sup> i.e., came upon.

<sup>109</sup> PRIEST AND PROPHET: thus the midrash takes the general phrase in Lamentations and makes it refer to a specific person: this is the "hook" on which the interpretation hangs. The midrash also took note of the fact that BE KILLED is singular, yet "prophet and priest" are its subject.

<sup>110</sup> See Lam.R. 2:23, ET 186 for this midrash, which helps illuminate the peshat.

<sup>111</sup> i.e., תקרא is not imperative, ("Call!") but is indicative, and though the form is imperfect, the tense is not future but present. This avoids any hint of imprecation against Judah.

<sup>112</sup> As pointed in the MT, "my fears," from the root גור, meaning "to dread"; which is awkward in the context; Hillers 102 discusses suggested emendations. Rashi explains MY FEARS by suggesting what these FEARS are.

WHAT I DANDLED AND BROUGHT UP THE ENEMY DESTROYED:  
the children whom I dandled and brought up the enemy  
came<sup>113</sup> and consumed them.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>113</sup> i.e., at God's call.

<sup>114</sup> The midrash contrasts these living children with the "refugee and remnant" of the previous line which are taken to be children as yet unborn: see Lam.R. 2:25, ET 187. Rashi, however, does not mention the midrash's fanciful exegesis of the previous line.

Rashi's commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 3

x

3:1 I AM THE MAN, HE SAW AFFLICTION: Jeremiah was complaining, saying "I AM THE MAN, HE SAW AFFLICTION-- the one<sup>1</sup> who saw more affliction than the prophets who prophesied about the destruction of the House; for in their days the House was not destroyed, rather in my days."<sup>2</sup>

IN THE ROD OF HIS WRATH: of the one ruling and striking,<sup>3</sup> who is the Holy One Blest Be He.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> i.e., the subject of "saw," even though it is 3rd m. s., is not God (as the Midrash has it [Lam.R. 1:1, ET 190]) but Jeremiah. And Jeremiah will be the "I" of this chapter, according to Rashi. The reader can thus expect allusions to details from Jeremiah's life.

<sup>2</sup> The midrash gives several opinions as to the meaning of I AM THE MAN, HE SAW AFFLICTION. Rashi chooses none of these options but tries to explain the grammatical meaning. Rashi, unlike Ibn Ezra (see his commentary on this verse), does not question that the "I" of Lam. 3 is Jeremiah.

<sup>3</sup> i.e., the rod has two functions: 1. a symbol of power to rule, 2. an instrument with which to strike offenders.

<sup>4</sup> Here Rashi agrees with this example one of the midrash's occasional philological interpretations (see Lam.R. 3:1, ET 190). Evidently Ibn Ezra follows another Jewish tradition, which, out of respect for God, identified the "striker" as "the enemy" (grammatically singular) of the previous verse. Rashi can accept this philological interpretation more readily than Ibn Ezra, since the former is less burdened with philosophical scruples than the latter.

3:3 SURELY ON ME HE RETURNS: I alone<sup>5</sup> am always darkened, since all the returnings of His strikes are on me.<sup>6</sup>

ב

3:5 GALL (גַּל) <sup>7</sup> AND WEARINESS (תִּלְאָה): as in GALL AND WORMWOOD<sup>8</sup> (and according to a midrash aggadah,<sup>9</sup> this HEAD [גַּל] is Nebuchadnezzar for the exile of Jehoiachin<sup>10</sup> and the HARDSHIP is Nebuzaradan,<sup>11</sup> who finished the striking in the days of Zedekiah) and HE MADE ME WEARY (תִּלְאָה).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Rashi notes that אֶחָד (often "surely") could be understood here in its restrictive sense (KBL 43-44, אֶחָד 2); Hillers 109 has "above all."

<sup>6</sup> Unlike the midrash (Lam.R. 1:1, ET 190: God returns in mercy in the world to come), Rashi relentlessly pursues philological interpretation and, quite correctly, sees this comment as negative, and he relates it to the previous verse. The "hand of God" here is His punishing hand, leaving the sufferer in perpetual gloom.

<sup>7</sup> Also spelt גִּל, but using this spelling here it is identical to the word for "head"--hence the midrash just below.

<sup>8</sup> Dt. 29:18 explains GALL: Ibn Saruq 161 גַּל 3.

<sup>9</sup> Rashi parenthetically inserts a counter, midrashic explanation (Lam.R. 1:2, ET 191) for GALL AND WEARINESS. Note that Rashi ignores the more predictive midrash that sees the "head" and "hardship" as Vespasian and Trajan. It is not clear from Rashi's compact retelling of the midrash, but it is clear from the midrash itself, that "gall" was read "head."

<sup>10</sup> 2 K. 24:11-17.

<sup>11</sup> 2 K. 25:8-21.

<sup>12</sup> Job 16:7 explains WEARINESS. The midrash aggadah has been parenthetical pause, and now Rashi returns to philology. He has previously defined "gall" and now he explains the meaning, root and form of this rare word "hardship"--and does so with elegant concision in the citing of one verb from the Bible. The

א

3:7 HE FENCED ME IN: he made a wall against me to be imprisoned; AND I DO NOT GO OUT: he caused to dwell around me and encampment and regiments of those lying in wait; HE MADE HEAVY MY FETTERS: he made for my feet heavy fetters so that I cannot go,<sup>13</sup> פִּירִי יִשׁ in the vernacular.<sup>14</sup>

3:8 HE CLOSED OFF<sup>15</sup> MY PRAYER: HE CLOSED OFF the windows of the firmament against it.<sup>16</sup>

3:9 MY PATHS HE MADE CROOKED (עוּוָה): if I want to go out, I am not going out on the highways, on a

root is לָאָה. It has a prefix ה and derives--so he thought--from the hif'il, "to make weary." It is an abstract noun, meaning "weariness."

<sup>13</sup> The language of a seige, e.g., 2 K. 25:1-7, where Nebuchadnezzar built a siege wall around Jerusalem, stationed his army round about, and when he captured Zedekiah, he put him in fetters. Note that Rashi does not say that this line describes the siege of Jerusalem, but rather he implies either that Jeremiah suffers in a besieged city or that his suffering is like a city under siege.

<sup>14</sup> Modern French *fers*, "irons".

<sup>15</sup> Rashi has שָׁמַם, while the MT שָׁמַם. While it is possible Rashi's text read ש and not ש, more likely Rashi is merely explaining that the hapax legomenon שָׁמַם is really the familiar שָׁמַם (a possible solution, see Albrektson 132; Ibn Saruq 129 שָׁמַם has this too). The following comments by Rashi gives a peshat alternative to the midrashic explanation (see Lam.R. 1:3, ET 192).

<sup>16</sup> This comment of Rashi does not necessarily mean he held to a strictly Biblical cosmology. However, as a philological comment, this is perspicuous. How else would God, enthroned above the heavens, shut out the prayers rising up to him? I think Rashi is unpacking the metaphor implied in "close off."

straight way, on account of the enemies; but I will go out on a crooked way.<sup>17</sup>

ד

3:10 A BEAR LYING IN WAIT HE IS TO ME: the Holy One Blest Be He turned for me into a bear lying in wait.<sup>18</sup>

3:11 MY WAYS HE סורר [usual ET "turned aside"]: from the language of brambles סירים (thorns קוצים);<sup>19</sup> סורר is "he thorned (קוץ)<sup>20</sup> them--he was scattering thorns on my way."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Rashi returns to the language of siege. In 2 K. 25:4, Zedekiah and his fighting men somehow manage to sneak out the back door and elude temporarily the Babylonian army surrounding the city. Rashi also provides a philological alternative to the fanciful derivation of "made crooked" in the midrash (see Lam.R. 3:3, ET 193) which has עוה is from ענה, "ruin," whereas the opposite is the case (KBL 752-3).

<sup>18</sup> Lam.R. 3:4 identifies the "bear" as either Nebuchadnezzar or Vespasian; (Gen.R. 87: 3, ET 807 compares Potiphar's wife to a bear). "Bear" does not occur frequently in the Bible, and only in one other instance is the reference to God, and that is a simile (not a metaphor as here) in Hosea 13:8. Rashi emphasizes the metaphor by explaining "is to me" as "turn into for me."

<sup>19</sup> As Ibn Ezra (who will have nothing to do with this attempt at a philological explanation) points out, Rashi alludes to Hosea 2:8 [ET 2:6]: THEREFORE SEE I HEDGE UP HER WAY WITH THORNS.

<sup>20</sup> Even-Shoshan ml181 only cites Rashi on this verse as authority for the existence of this verb--which means (I suppose) that Rashi made the verb up for the purpose of defining סורר.

<sup>21</sup> This is almost certainly from Ibn Saruq 128 סר 3: after citing סורר in Lam. 3:11 as being from the verb סור, he remarks, "Maybe סורר is from entangled thorns (סירים)...." Modern lexicographers usually see סורר as simply the po'lel form of סור, though Rashi's idea has not been without its modern defenders (KBL 707; Albrektson 135).



וַיִּפְשְׁחוּ<sup>22</sup> from the language of the widening  
 קָסוֹק<sup>23</sup> of the feet, that he who goes over the ways  
 which are not open must make his steps wide; and there  
 is an example in the language of the Talmud:<sup>24</sup> "With  
 regard to one who trims פֶּשֶׁחַ his palm."<sup>25</sup>

3:12 AND HE SET ME UP AS THE TARGET FOR THE  
 ARROW: he set me up before his arrows to shoot at me as  
 the target;<sup>26</sup> אֶשְׁנֵי לֵא<sup>27</sup> in the vernacular.

<sup>22</sup> A hapax legomenon of uncertain meaning (see Alberktson 135-6), and the usual ET is: "He tore me in pieces [as a wild beast]." Now this is more or less the conclusion to which the midrash comes: "[The verb signifies] split in pieces, as in the statement, 'If a tree is split it may be tied up in the sabbatical year' [Shebi'it.IV,6]" (Lam.R. 3:4, ET 193). Ironically enough, Rashi takes issue with this interpretation based on the mishnah, apparently because it makes no sense to him in the context: since סוֹרֵר refers to MY WAYS, it would follow that וַיִּפְשְׁחוּ ought to as well. So as the mishnah afforded him no meaning but "split, tear off strip" (see Jastrow 1245), he turns to the Gemara, a riskier move because of the language shift from Hebrew to Aramaic. (Remember that he cannot turn to the Bible, since this is the only place in the Bible this root occurs.)

<sup>23</sup> The verb פָּסַק was rare in Biblical Hebrew and was spelt פֶּשֶׁק, yet it was very common in post-Biblical Hebrew. Also, פֶּשֶׁק somewhat resembles פֶּשֶׁחַ.

<sup>24</sup> TB Moed Qatan 10b.

<sup>25</sup> Apparently Rashi's reasoning is that if the palm is stripped/trimmed, gaps are left in its foliage. Rashi has demonstrated his minute knowledge of Talmud and has shown his exegetical imagination--even if he has come to the wrong conclusion! This is not explanation of Ibn Saruq 146 פֶּשֶׁחַ.

<sup>26</sup> The midrash interprets this entire line in a positive sense for Israel (Lam.R. 3:4, ET 193: e.g., "Like the post for arrows at which all shoot but it remains standing"). But for Rashi, this verse refers to the trials of Jeremiah, who was like Job, at whom the divine Archer shot (Job 6:4).

<sup>27</sup> Both Greenberg and Katan have אֶשְׁנֵי לֵא, or *aseneil*, which evidently is related to the Old French *assener* ("indicate, fix, point" etc.: see Greimas 44).

ה

3:13 SONS OF HIS QUIVER: arrows which they put into a quiver,<sup>28</sup> which they call a קוֹי"כְּרָא.<sup>29</sup>

ו 3:16 AND HE CRUSHED (וַיִּגְרֹס):<sup>30</sup> "And he broke"; and its example, MY SOUL IS CRUSHED;<sup>31</sup> and thus GROATS (גְּרֹאֵס), FRESH FRUIT.<sup>32</sup>

WITH GRAVEL:<sup>33</sup> fine stones which are in the dust; thus, the exiles were kneading their dough in the holes which they were digging in the ground, and gravel went into it. According as the Holy One Blest Be He told Ezekiel, MAKE FOR YOURSELF CONTAINERS OF EXILE,<sup>34</sup> a

<sup>28</sup> The Midrash has two fanciful, even somewhat bizzare, interpretations of this phrase (see Lam.R. 3:5, ET 194). Rashi explains the philological meaning of the text: SONS is a metaphorical reference to arrows, not human children.

<sup>29</sup> It should read קוֹיִבְרָא, *quivre*, and from this same Old French word comes our English word "quiver."

<sup>30</sup> This is a rare root both in Rabbinic literature (Jastrow 270) and in the Bible (three occurrences). The midrash's interpretations do not contradict its real meaning. Therefore Rashi is only being a faithful philologist in elucidating a rare verb. He does this by giving: 1. a synonym; 2. the other occurrence of the root as a verb (in qal, not hif'il as here); 3. the occurrence of it as a noun.

<sup>31</sup> Ps. 119:20.

<sup>32</sup> Lev. 20:14; "groats" are, of course, "crushed" grain.

<sup>33</sup> "gravel" is a rare word both in Rabbinic literature (where it does not even mean "gravel" [see Jastrow 496]) and in the Bible (two times [see Ibn Saruq 92 מִן 2--probably Rashi's source, and Even-Shoshan k392]); Rashi will explain it by: 1. defining it, 2. citing a midrash on it which does not contradict its actual meaning.

<sup>34</sup> Ez. 12:3.

small pan by which to drink and in which to kneed,  
[this he did] in order that they might learn and might  
do thus, according to the matter which was spoken to  
them, AND EZEKIEL WILL BECOME FOR THEM A MODEL/SIGN.<sup>35</sup>  
But they were laughing at him and did not do thus. The  
end was that their teeth were broken.<sup>36</sup>

HE MADE ME COWER (הכפשוני):<sup>37</sup> he bent me into the  
dust, like a vessel of bending, אֶרֶץ אֲדַנְתִּי in the  
vernacular,<sup>38</sup> and there is one similar in the mishnah:  
"Pishon the camel driver measured with the  
bent/reversible (הכפוי־שָׁה) measure."<sup>39</sup>

3:18 AND I SAID, "MY EVERLASTINGNESS IS LOST":<sup>40</sup>  
I said in my heart, "On account of the number of my  
troubles, my eternity and my hope are lost."

<sup>35</sup> Ez. 24:24.

<sup>36</sup> For this aggadah see Buber 3:62.

<sup>37</sup> Hapax legomenon, "cower" according to Alberkston 138; Hillers 110 favors "He trampled me," as does KBL 471. Rashi will explain what he believes to be its concrete meaning. Ibn Saruq 109 כָּפַשׁ is of little help here and merely guesses at the meaning from the context.

<sup>38</sup> Both Greenberg and Katan read אֶרֶץ אֲדַנְתִּי, or *adenter* ("knock down, overturn": Greimas 10).

<sup>39</sup> TB Yevamot 107b. Rashi is so concise here as to be opaque. Both Jastrow 662 and the Soncino Talmud Yevamot 107b, c, note 1, understand this passage (from the Gemara) to refer to a measuring vessel with some sort of false bottom.

<sup>40</sup> "Everlastingness" can also mean "enduring." To make sense of Rashi's comment, the reader must complete the line, i.e. "and my hope from G-D," so that the whole line would read: And I said, "My everlastingness is lost, as is my hope from G-D." Now the Midrash "rereads" the line in two ways: 1. It reads "My [enduring] is lost" without reference to "and my hope from God,"

7

3:19 קומפלו<sup>42</sup> יינט<sup>41</sup> מרודי in the vernacular.

3:20 REMEMBERING SHE REMEMBERS: MY SOUL

[remembers] MY AFFLICTION AND MY RESTLESSNESS<sup>43</sup> AND [MY SOUL] SINKS UPON ME:<sup>44</sup> thus is its peshat<sup>45</sup> according to the subject matter of the scripture's line of

and it clearly understands "enduring" to refer to material prosperity. 2. It interprets the entire line like this: Even though my enduring is lost in this world, in the world to come my hope is in G-D" (see Lam.R. 3:6, ET 196-8, esp. 198, note 7). Rashi will give the philological explanation, independent of Ibn Saruq 124 נצח 2.

<sup>41</sup> As pointed in the MT, the very rare word means "straying, restlessness" (Hillers 110), or "homelessness" (KBL 598). The Midrash reads it as "rebelliousness," as if it were from מרד and not רוד (see Lam.R. 3:7, ET 198). Rashi may well have followed Ibn Saruq 162 רד 1, who more or less correctly places מרוד with the רוד group.

<sup>42</sup> Both Greenberg and Katan read קומפליינט or קומפליינט, *complaint* (Greimas 127; whence the English word; modern French *plainte*): if so, then Rashi may not understand רד to mean "restlessness," or he may understand מרוד in this context to be "restless complaining."

<sup>43</sup> Another elegantly concise philological comment. The Midrash which interprets SHE [i.e., MY SOUL] to mean "You, [God], remember"--which would be written the same way; and it believes that the understood object to be Israel (see Lam.R. 3:7, ET 198-199). Rashi affirms the philological meaning: the subject is MY SOUL, the understood object is the same as in the previous verse.

<sup>44</sup> i.e., "My soul remembers these things in shame and is depressed."

<sup>45</sup> Rashi uses the word "peshat" for the first time here in this commentary.

thought.<sup>46</sup> And there is a midrash aggadah,<sup>47</sup> "Remembering you remember": I knew that your *telos* is to remember what happened to me,<sup>48</sup> but MY SOUL SINKS DOWN UPON ME until the time of remembrance; and so the *payyat*<sup>49</sup> refers to this: "I knew that you would<sup>50</sup> remember, but MY SOUL SINKS DOWN UPON ME until you remember."

3:21 THIS I ANSWER MY HEART: after my heart said to me, MY HOPE FROM G-D IS LOST,<sup>51</sup> this I shall answer my heart and hope again. And what is it that I shall answer my heart? SURELY G-D'S MERCIES HAVE NOT FINISHED... and all the matter until HOW CAN HE COMPLAIN...? etc.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> לפי עניין שיטת המקרא, a sort of definition of peshat; "the scripture" here is not "The Scripture," but scriptural passage in question.

<sup>47</sup> Lam.R. 3:7, ET 199. Rashi signals that this is not peshat, since the midrashic interpretation depends on a non-philological reading of the text, i.e., "you remember," not "my soul remembers."

<sup>48</sup> Actually, the Midrash reads "the nations of the world"; perhaps this was censored. At any rate, the point of the midrash is that Israel is depressed until God remembers on Judgment Day the wrongs done by the nations to Israel.

<sup>49</sup> See note on 1:6 above; again Zohori 111 is not help in identifying the composition to which Rashi alludes.

<sup>50</sup> "you would," lit., "there is to you"; or, "it is part of your character to."

<sup>51</sup> Lam. 3:18b.

<sup>52</sup> i.e., vv. 22-29. While Rashi meant this as a philological interpretation, it is mildly fanciful since "This I answer my heart" (a literalistic understanding) probably means something like "Yet this one thing I will keep in mind" (Hillers 110). The

3:22 כִּי לֹא תָמוּ<sup>53</sup> as if כִּי לֹא תָמוּ; but there are those who interpret לֹא תָמוּ כִּי like, HAVE WE PERISHED COMPLETELY?<sup>54</sup>: the mercies of G-D are those which we did not finish and we were not destroyed in our iniquities.

ן

3:23 NEW TO THE MORNINGS:<sup>55</sup> renewed are your mercies from day to day.

GREAT IS YOUR FAITHFULNESS: great is your promise, and it is a great matter to believe in you, that you will fulfil and keep what you promised us.<sup>56</sup>

midrash understands THIS I ANSWER more like "this I keep in mind"--ironically a better interpretation than Rashi's; however, in good midrashic fashion the THIS of THIS I WILL... refers to the Torah. Rashi is trying to "make sense" of the poetry and is tying the images together a bit too tightly. This is something Perush does continuously, but Rashi only occasionally. In general, Rashi seems to have a fine literary, even poetic, sense.

<sup>53</sup> The first three words of this verse, if translated as they stand in the MT, would normally be rendered "surely we are not consumed"--quite a difficult phrase to justify in the context. The midrash (Lam.R. 3:8, ET 201) as well as the Targum (Hillers 115) read תָּמוּ, i.e., "God's mercies are not consumed."

<sup>54</sup> Num. 17:28 (ET 13). Albrektson 145 is a must here. If the meaning is "we consumed," the תָּמוּ is transitive and God's mercies is the object.

<sup>55</sup> This line does not state "what" are new, (though from the context, it is obvious, as Rashi will point out). This allowed the midrash to do some edificatory speculation (Lam.R. 3:8, ET 201-2). Rashi reasserts the philological meaning and explains 1. what NEW means; 2. what the NEW compliments; 3. what TO THE MORNINGS means.

<sup>56</sup> For the midrash, God's faithfulness refers to his faithfulness to redeem his people in the future, particularly at the resurrection of the dead (Lam.R. 3:8, ET 201). While Rashi does not deny this interpretation, he points out that the context demands a wider understanding of FAITHFULNESS. He ties God's

3:24 "G-D IS MY PORTION," SAID MY SOUL: G-D is the share of my portion,<sup>57</sup> and it is only right<sup>58</sup> that I shall hope in Him.<sup>59</sup>

ט

3:25 טוב ויחיל ודומם:<sup>60</sup> the ו of ויחיל is superfluous like the ו of ואיה וענה:<sup>61</sup> IT IS GOOD that a man HOPE AND BE SILENT and look forward TO G-D'S SALVATION.

faithfulness to his promises in a manner not dissimilar to a much later Christian understanding of *heilsgeschichte*.

<sup>57</sup> This circumlocution softens the bald statement, G-D IS MY PORTION. Also, MY PORTION in liturgical Hebrew can mean "eternal life." Did it so mean in Rashi's time?

<sup>58</sup> The THEREFORE of the text is to be understood as "it is only right."

<sup>59</sup> The resulting interpretation is a paraphrase, similar to those for which Radak was famous.

<sup>60</sup> This is a notoriously difficult line, and modern commentators like Hillers 115 emend. As it stands, it would read GOOD AND HE HOPES AND SILENTLY. Rashi makes, if effect, three changes: 1. he says the first AND is superfluous (and gives another example in the Bible where a superfluous "and" occurs; 2. he inserts a "that" (ש in post-Biblical Hebrew, כי in Biblical) after GOOD, effectively rendering the GOOD an adjectival clause, as it is in the following verse; 3. he says the SILENTLY (דומם) is to be understood as "he be silent" (יידום: see verse 28 below). Rashi further notes that the existence of FOR THE SALVATION OF G-D at the end of the line implies that included in WAIT AND BE SILENT is the idea of "look forward to."

<sup>61</sup> Gn. 36:24, [THESE ARE THE SONS OF ZIBEAN:] AND AIAH AND ANAH. The first AND is clearly superfluous. What follows is Rashi's paraphrase of the entire line.

3:28<sup>62</sup> [THAT] HE SIT ALONE: he to whom befalls sorrow and misfortune should sit solitary<sup>63</sup> and look forward to the good.

AND BE STILL: the language of waiting, as, IF THEY SHOULD SAY TO US, "WAIT" (it's Jonathan).<sup>64</sup>

SINCE HE PUT ON HIM: since the Master of decrees lifted up on him this decree.<sup>65</sup>

7

3:31 FOR G-D DOES NOT REJECT FOREVER: therefore it is good to wait patiently.<sup>66</sup>

3:32 FOR IF HE CAUSED GRIEF TO:<sup>67</sup> if a human being brings upon himself grief on account of his iniq-

<sup>62</sup> In boldly anthropomorphic language not atypical of this genre, the midrash relates this entire verse to God (Lam.R. 3:9, ET 203-4). One of Rashi's objectives in his comments will be to provide a philological alternative and show how this verse relates to the verses immediately preceding, which concern a human sufferer.

<sup>63</sup> SOLITARY (גלמוד): see Rashi's comments on Lam. 1:1.

<sup>64</sup> i.e., it's Jonathan speaking in 1 Sam. 14:9. This interpretation is almost certainly from Ibn Saruq 64 דם 2.

<sup>65</sup> The verb in this phrase lacks an object, which allowed the Midrash to read: "because he laid it on himself." Rashi here understands the object to be not just the yoke of the previous verse but the divine decree which wrought the sufferer's woe in the first place. Also the verb נָטַל is rare in scripture, and this occurrence is not in Ibn Saruq 98 נל 2.

<sup>66</sup> i.e., one should read this verse with verses 27 on: IT IS GOOD FOR A MAN...TO WAIT...FOR G-D DOES NOT REJECT FOREVER.

<sup>67</sup> To understand Rashi's comment, the entire line must be understood here: "For if *he* [a human sufferer] causes grief, *He* [God] will have compassion...." This is similar to the Targum's interpretation of the next verse.



uity, afterwards he [God] had compassion according to the great number of his mercies.<sup>68</sup>

3:32-33 חַוִּיגָה, וַיִּגָּה they are language of grief חַוִּיגָה.<sup>69</sup>

3:33 FOR HE DOES NOT AFFLICT... HE DOES NOT GRIEVE PEOPLE... FROM HIS HEART and from His will, since the iniquity is the cause.<sup>70</sup>

ל

3:34-6<sup>71</sup> TO CRUSH UNDER HIS FEET (based on FOR HE DOES NOT AFFLICT FROM HIS HEART, to be the one crushing UNDER HIS FEET etc.) and, TO PERVERT THE JUSTICE OF A MAN etc., and not TO SUBVERT A MAN IN HIS CAUSE: all these things G-D DID NOT SEE, it did not appear to him, and it did not occur to him to do this.

<sup>68</sup> Rashi wishes to avoid the philological meaning here, for theological reasons. Since there is no named subject here, Rashi insists the subject is the sinner. But since a sinner cannot have compassion on himself, he switches subjects in mid-line. Ibn Ezra exhibits these same scruples, an attitude which causes him, even more than Rashi, to deny references to God where the grammar of the passage would call for them. Ironically enough, the midrash on this passage (Lam.R. 3:9, ET 205) is more philologically accurate than Rashi.

<sup>69</sup> A vocabulary note: both are from the common root חַוִּיגָה as represented in the abstract noun חַוִּיגָה. The real problem here is חַוִּיגָה, which according to GKC 69u, is pi'el and represents חַוִּיגָה.

<sup>70</sup> This is part paraphrase, part an unscrambling of poetic diction, part theological commentary. The actual line reads: FOR HE DOES NOT AFFLICT FROM HIS HEART AND GRIEVE PEOPLE [lit. SONS OF SOMEONE]. Bomberg has "grieve" spelt חַוִּיגָה instead of חַוִּיגָה, a variant noted in Norzi's, critical masoretic commentary, מִנְחַח שִׁי.

<sup>71</sup> These verses are a series of infinitival phrases, which, as Rashi explains, are on the one hand objects of FOR HE DOES NOT AFFLICT FROM HIS HEART in verse 33, and, on the other hand, objects of THE LORD DOES NOT SEE at the end of v. 36. In either case, Rashi's emphasis that these infinitival phrases are what God is wont *not* to do.

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations, ch.3

L

3:36 THE LORD DID NOT SEE: it was not fitting in his eyes that the Court of Law Above should subvert someone in his cause, as "What did you see, that you did etc."<sup>72</sup>

□

3:37-39<sup>73</sup> WHO IS IT WHO SPOKE AND IT HAPPENED etc., FROM THE MOUTH OF THE MOST HIGH etc.: and if I came to say, "Not from his hand this evil came to me, it was chance that it happened to me, there is no difference between good things and bad,"<sup>74</sup> WHO IS IT WHO SPOKE, AND IT HAPPENED, if G-D DID NOT COMMAND and FROM HIS MOUTH DID NOT GO FORTH whether the bad or THE GOOD. But what is there for the COMPLAINING of A LIVING

<sup>72</sup> Gn. 20:10, an angry King Abimelech to Abraham. Rashi, in effect, offers three equivalents of GOD DID NOT SEE: 1. "it did not appear to him," 2. "it did not occur to him." 3. "it was not fitting in his eyes." Rashi, then, understands Abimelech's question to Abraham along the lines of: "What made it seem fitting in your mind to...?"

<sup>73</sup> Rashi seeks to address a number of difficulties in these verses: 1. Who is ONE WHO SPOKE? The midrash identifies him as Haman, who commanded but it did not happen because God did not command it. Rashi will uphold the philological interpretation, viz., that it is God. 2. Why does it say, THE LORD DID NOT COMMAND and FROM THE MOUTH OF THE MOST HIGH DOES NOT GO FORTH..., when plainly these things are both true, if God be God? Rashi understands these verses as an answer to one who claimed all was chance, and he introduces the two negative statements above with an "if," making them, in effect, into rhetorical questions. 3. Why is the man complaining? He should recognize that, as Rashi has already pointed out in his commentary on v. 33, that his sins are the cause of his misfortunes. Like Rashi's commentary on v. 33 and vv. 34-36, this is part paraphrase and part theological reflection.

<sup>74</sup> אין זאת כי אם בין רעות בין טובות i.e., it is all chance.

HUMAN, A MAN OVER HIS SINS. Each and every man mourns over his sins, since they bring upon him the evil.<sup>75</sup>

1

3:41 אֶל כְּפִיִּים<sup>76</sup> to the clouds, to heaven,<sup>77</sup> as it is said, AND BEHOLD A CLOUD SMALL LIKE A כֶּה אִישׁ<sup>78</sup> and thus, HE COVERED אֶל כְּפִיִּים LIGHT.<sup>79</sup> And a midrash<sup>80</sup> of our Rabbis: Let us lift our hearts in truth to the Holy One Blest Be He as a man washing in cleanliness his hands who casts away from his hands every abomination; when he confesses and leaves, he is forgiven; and the one who confesses but does not leave is like one bathing in a bath for ritual purity and there is an unclean reptile in his hand.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> In effect this is the teaching of Lam.R. 3:9, ET 206.

<sup>76</sup> TO THE HANDS in the phrase, LET US LIFT OUR HEART TO THE HANDS, which a modern commentator like Hillers explains as "Let us lift our heart along with our hands." Rashi's attempted philological explanations are sometimes, as noted before, too clever by half, and such is the case here.

<sup>77</sup> The word for "hands" in this case means "clouds," and Rashi will adduce scriptures to prove it.

<sup>78</sup> 1 K. 18:44, the actual meaning of which is, of course, simply "as small as a man's hand." But Rashi renders, "a cloud small like a hand-cloud."

<sup>79</sup> Job 36:32, a difficult phrase, but the best guess seems to be that LIGHT here means "lightning," and thus the general idea in this verse is that God strikes with lightning. But Rashi translates, "He covered light with clouds." (The King James Version follows Rashi!) Ibn Saruq 108 כֶּה does not have this meaning.

<sup>80</sup> BT Ta'anit 16a; another version in Lam.R. 3:9, ET 207. Since this midrash runs counter to the philological meaning of the verse as Rashi understands it, he introduces it with a formula.

<sup>81</sup> TB Ta'anit 16a. The point being that Lam. 3:41 is meant

3:42<sup>82</sup> WE TRANSGRESSED AND REBELLED: these are our ways<sup>83</sup> by means of the evil inclination.<sup>84</sup>

YOU DID NOT FORGIVE: and to you forgiveness was pleasant, for thus is your way!<sup>85</sup>

□

3:43 YOU COVERED WITH ANGER:<sup>86</sup> you partitioned your anger so that there be a partition between you and us, and you pursue us with it.

3:45 OFFSCOURING (סחי) AND REFUSE (מאוס):<sup>87</sup> This is movement נייע in the language of the Mishnah:

to teach the need to abandon sin, not just confess it.

<sup>82</sup> Rashi's comment on this verse can only be understood with reference to what the midrash says: "...have rebelled", which is in accord with our nature; 'You did not pardon', is that in accord with your nature?" (Lam.R. 3:9, ET 208).

<sup>83</sup> v. 40: LET US SEARCH OUR WAYS.

<sup>84</sup> the famous "evil yetser," יצר הרע.

<sup>85</sup> Thus, we could be expected to rebel. But you do not forgive?!

<sup>86</sup> The question Rashi tries to answer here is how do you interpret the phrase: YOU COVERED WITH ANGER AND PURSUED US. Hillers 117 reads it "You covered us with anger and pursued us," as does Rashi. Rashi's conclusion is that God has his anger do two tasks.

<sup>87</sup> Both words are hapax legomena, but the former סחי also is from a rare root, so it will be this noun Rashi will explain.

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations, ch.3

LIII

סִיחוּ וְנִיצוּ,<sup>88</sup> because it is uprooted from within the lung and goes out through the throat.

YOU PUT US:<sup>89</sup> it is the language of present.

פ

3:47 FEAR AND THE PIT: When we fled from the fear, we fell into a deep pit.<sup>90</sup>

הַשָּׂחָה:<sup>91</sup> language of שְׂאִיָּה<sup>92</sup> is as [that of] הַשָּׂחָה.

צ

3:49 WITHOUT PAUSES:<sup>93</sup> without change or transfer.

<sup>88</sup> i.e., phlegm, Krinski suggests TB Bava Kama 3b; our texts read, however, כִּיחוּ (coughing) and not סִיחוּ. Zohori 113 identifies as the source TB Niddah 55:b, which has the same problem.

<sup>89</sup> This verb is in the so-called "imperfect tense," meaning it might be understood either as future, present or conditional. Since the reference is "you put us among the nations," since the exile was still a reality in Rashi's time, and was a reality for most Israelites even in Jeremiah's time, it is easy to understand Rashi's conclusion.

<sup>90</sup> As with the comment on verse 43, this too is odd and more than a little midrashic. As is so characteristic of Perush, two poetic images are taken and read literalistically as a "mini-narrative." Definitely not a philological interpretation.

<sup>91</sup> A hapax legomenon, from the root שָׂחָה ("make a loud crash into ruins"), whence the word *shoah*, the Holocaust.

<sup>92</sup> RUIN, Is. 24:12; Ibn Saruq 168 שָׂחָה 2 mentions this example, but fails to list הַשָּׂחָה.

<sup>93</sup> מֵאֵין הַפּוּגוֹת: מֵאֵין הַפּוּגוֹת is a hapax legomenon, which Rashi proceeds to define by synonyms. Probably from Ibn Saruq 140 בִּג 1.

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations, ch.3

LIV

3:51 MY EYE DEALS SEVERELY (עוֹלֵלָה)<sup>94</sup> WITH MY SOUL  
MORE THAN ALL THE DAUGHTERS OF MY CITY: Jeremiah<sup>95</sup> was  
from a family of priests<sup>96</sup> and he was saying MY EYE  
DEALS SEVERELY by tears and disfigures my face on my  
soul MORE THAN ALL THE DAUGHTERS OF MY CITY.<sup>97</sup>

DEALS SEVERELY: language of "disfigure," as AND I  
HAVE THRUST (עוֹלֵלָתִי)<sup>98</sup> MY HORN INTO THE DUST.<sup>99</sup>

MORE THAN ALL THE DAUGHTERS OF MY CITY: my family  
must weep more than all the families of the city, since  
it was chosen from all Israel for holiness and for the  
worship of the Holy One Blest Be He.

ז

3:53 THEY SHUT UP (צִמְמוּ)<sup>100</sup> MY LIFE IN THE PIT: in  
the prison.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Alberkston, "grieves"; Hillers 118 and Hollday 274 more  
neutrally, "deal with." Rashi's understanding is with the former.

<sup>95</sup> Rashi has not mentioned Jeremiah directly since the first  
verse of this chapter, but we are to be reminded that evidently  
Rashi believed that in principle all the "I" passages of this  
chapter referred to the prophet himself.

<sup>96</sup> Jer. 1:1.

<sup>97</sup> Jeremiah weeps frequently: Jer. 13:17, 14:17 etc.

<sup>98</sup> According to KBL 789 a different root from the one here  
in Lamentations.

<sup>99</sup> Job 16:15.

<sup>100</sup> According to Hillers 112, "to shut tight," and KBL 970  
"to silence" from the root צִמַּם; Rashi goes with the former.

<sup>101</sup> As he did in verse 47, Rashi takes a poetic image and  
makes it specific. In this case he seems to allude to "the pit,"  
i.e., dungeon, in which Jeremiah was confined (Jer. 37:16).

עבר לצמתך<sup>102</sup>; צומת הגידין<sup>103</sup>: צמתו  
 in the vernacular.<sup>104</sup> אישריי"טור

AND THEY THREW A STONE ON ME: upon the mouth of  
 the well--thus they did to Daniel,<sup>105</sup> and Jeremiah saw  
 it by the Holy Spirit. They threw my life into the  
 pit, and although they bound my life in the pit so that  
 it cannot get out, they did not pay any heed to even  
 this, until they threw a stone on me.<sup>106</sup>

3:54 WATERS OVERFLOWED etc.: as long as a man  
 enters the water to his waist, there is hope; but if  
 the water flows over his head, this one says, "My hope

<sup>102</sup> TB Hullin 76a, "the bunch of converging sinews in the  
 thigh" (Jastrow 1268, who derives it from צמת).

<sup>103</sup> S. of Sol. 4:1, usual ET, BEHIND YOUR VEIL, see Rashi's  
 long philological note there; see also KBL 967-8 צמה. Here Rashi  
 does not follow Ibn Saruq 150 צמה who understands puts צמה of S.  
 of Sol. in a different "division" than the צמה of Lam. 3:53.

<sup>104</sup> Katan says there is manuscript support for either  
 אישטריינטורא or אישטריינדיין"ט, from *estraindre* "to tighten, to  
 press" (Greimas 271; modern French *étreindre*, "to hug") and would  
 mean either "they tightened" or "a tightening."

<sup>105</sup> Dan. 6:18. The midrash (Lam.R. 3:9, ET 210) relates  
 that Joseph, Jeremiah and Daniel were put in a pit with a stone on  
 it. But how could Jeremiah know of Daniel? Rashi explains: he  
 "saw it by the Holy Spirit."

<sup>106</sup> i.e., "even this did not satisfy them, so they  
 threw...." According to the midrash, this verse refers to those  
 thrown into prison [unjustly]: Joseph, Jeremiah and Daniel (Lam.R.  
 3:9, ET 210). However, only in Daniel's case did his enemies stop  
 the pit he was in with a stone. So Rashi sees this as a reference  
 to Daniel. But as the Babylonian Empire was as yet unconquered  
 and the Medes and Persians, Jeremiah must have seen Daniel's  
 plight in a prophetic vision. Obviously such exegesis is not by  
 our lights philological, but we have to remember Rashi was not a  
 modern.

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations, ch.3

LVI

is lost." As for me, I am not doing thus, but rather I called etc.<sup>107</sup>

7

3:57 YOU DREW NEAR ON THE DAY I CALL YOU: thus was I accustomed in former days [for God] to draw near to me on the day of my calling.<sup>108</sup>

7

3:58 YOU CONTENDED, G-D, THE CONTENTIONS OF MY SOUL: in the days which have past.<sup>109</sup>

3:59 YOU SAW, G-D, MY SUBVERSION: in this trouble in which my enemies subverted me.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup> In the manner of Perush, Rashi literalizes the image of overflowing waters and artificially ties it to the next three verses, which begin, "I called...." This type of exegesis contains midrashic elements, but it is not derived from midrashim. The interpretation of this verse is intended as a peshat alternative to the midrash in Lam.R. 3:9, ET 210.

<sup>108</sup> The problem in this verse, as in the previous verse, is the perfect tense: YOU HEARD...YOU DREW NEAR...YOU SAID. Are these "prophetic perfects," statements of faith of things which are not yet but will be on the basis of God's promise? Or does this refer to past events? Rashi, as a member of the Jewish community apparently stuck in permanent exile, affirms the latter. For the ancient poet, the former was his aim, for, of course, the exiles would return. In a grammatical observation, Rashi notes the imperfect (ON THE DAY I CALL) is the equivalent of a verbal noun ("on the day of my calling"). In this case Rashi's interpretation is very close to the midrash in Lam.R. 3:9, ET 210.

<sup>109</sup> See note on the previous verse.

<sup>110</sup> i.e., MY SUBVERSION does not mean I committed subversion against God, but rather my enemies subverted me.



JUDGE MY CAUSE: as you have already done.<sup>111</sup>

ש-ה

3:65 מַגִּנֶת-לֵב<sup>112</sup> heart-break, as it says, SHALL I  
DELIVER YOU UP (אֶמְגִּיד), ISRAEL?<sup>113</sup> WHO DELIVERED UP  
(מִגִּד) YOUR ENEMIES INTO YOUR HAND.<sup>114</sup> Another  
thing,<sup>115</sup> מַגִּנֶת-לֵב, the stoppage of the heart, sorrow  
and sighing which are like a shield against their  
heart. And he who interprets it in language of תוּגָה  
and יָגוֹן errs, for there is no נ dropping out in it;<sup>116</sup>  
for the נ in יָגוֹן is not root, rather it is like the נ  
of הַמֶּוֹן from the form גוֹיִם,<sup>117</sup> and it is like the נ

<sup>111</sup> i.e., in former days.

<sup>112</sup> The difficulty here is מַגִּנֶת: Rashi suggests the two possibilities of the midrash in Lam.R. 3:9, ET 212: either it is from the verb מִגֵּן ("deliver up") or the noun מִגֵּן ("shield," root גִּן). First, מִגֵּן; Rashi cites two of the three occurrences of this verb (Even-Shoshan k619) in scripture; these are the same two occurrences that Ibn Saruq 115 מִגֵּן cites, one of which is cited in the midrash. (According to KBL 518, it means "impudence" and is from a root מִגֵּן, "to mock." Albrektson and others believe the meaning of the phrase מַגִּנֶת-לֵב is "heart-covering," and comes from גִּן meaning "to cover"--the midrash's alternative.)

<sup>113</sup> Hos. 11:8. See the ET of the midrash to understand how "deliver up" is related to "heart-break."

<sup>114</sup> Gn. 14:20.

<sup>115</sup> i.e., interpretation; this one is based on the noun מִגֵּן, "shield," which, as Rashi knew from Ibn Saruq 57 גִּן 2, comes from the root גִּן, "to defend."

<sup>116</sup> i.e., the נ is an integral part of the root of מַגִּנֶת.

<sup>117</sup> Ps. 46:7, ET 6. That is, the נ of יָגוֹן is not part of its root (which is יָגָה) any more than the נ of הַמֶּוֹן is (the root of the latter is הָמָה).

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations, ch.3

LVIII

of קלון from the form נקלה,<sup>118</sup> and is like the נ of ציון from the form צייה,<sup>119</sup> and thus the נ of שברון from the form שבר;<sup>120</sup> שממן;<sup>121</sup> שגנען.<sup>122</sup>

YOUR CURSE (תאלתך): language of THE PRINCES OF ZOAN BECAME FOOLISH (נואלו).<sup>123</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Nif'al of a קלה root, see KBL 1029.

<sup>119</sup> Hos. 2:5. Actually the etymology of "Zion" is uncertain, see ABD "Zion."

<sup>120</sup> KBL 1307.

<sup>121</sup> i.e., its root is without a נ and is שמם, see KBL 1449.

<sup>122</sup> Its root has no נ either; it is שגנע, see KBL 1315. Let it not be said that Rashi has failed to make his point.

<sup>123</sup> Is. 19:13. Does Rashi translate "the princes of Zoan are cursed"? The root of נואלו is יאל; the root of תאלתך is אלה (KBL 1544). Rashi does not follow Ibn Saruq 24-25, for whom יאל and אלה are divisions 9 and 6 of אל and mean different things. In this case the interpretation of the midrash in Lam.R. 3:9, ET 212, is more philological sound than Rashi.

Rashi's Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 4

4:1 HOW DARKENED IS THE GOLD:<sup>1</sup> This lament was said about Josiah, as was said in Chronicles, IS IT NOT WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS,<sup>2</sup> and with him he composed in the middle of the lamentation the remnant of the sons of Israel.<sup>3</sup>

BECLOUDED (יועם): grows dark יכה, as one translates עמיא as כה.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One interpretation of the midrash is HOW THE GOLD BECAME DIM references to Josiah's death. In a parallel interpretation, this first verse refers to the death of Zion's sons, the proof being the mention of Zion's sons in the next verse. See Lam R. 4:1, ET 215-6.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chr. 35:25: AND THERE LAMENTED JEREMIAH OVER JOSIAH, AND ALL THE MALE AND FEMALE SINGERS UTTERED IT IN THEIR LAMENTS OVER JOSIAH UNTIL THIS VERY DAY, AND THEY MADE IT FOR A REGULATION TO ISRAEL, AND BEHOLD IS IT NOT WRITTEN IN THE LAMENTS? So Rashi has the verse in Chronicles refer specifically to the "Book of Lamentations."

<sup>3</sup> Either "with Josiah, he composed within this lament The Remnant of Israel," or, "With Josiah he added within the lament the matter of the remnant of the sons of Israel." So instead of choosing whether this lament refers to Josiah or to the sons of Israel in general, Rashi claims it refers to both. Presumably Rashi means, vv. 1 and 20-22, whose subject is gold and the Lord's Anointed respectively, refer to Josiah; but the remainder of the chapter refers to the people in general. It is again worth noting that this type of fanciful interpretation is peshat as Rashi understands it.

<sup>4</sup> i.e., the equivalent of יועם is יכה (Is. 42:4), and the proof of this is that the Targum translates in Lev. 13:28 the verb כה (an apparent leprous spot has darkened) by the Aramaic word עמיא, which is cognate with יועם. Ibn Saruq 134 עמ 2 would have alerted Rashi to this verb's meaning.

GOLD (זָהָב): facial appearance is glittering like gold.<sup>5</sup>

CHANGES: its appearance changes itself.

GOLD (הַכֶּתֶם): a collection of gold ornaments, which are jewelry, called כֶּתֶם.<sup>6</sup>

STONES OF HOLINESS: the sons are shining like precious stones;<sup>7</sup> and there is a midrash aggada: Every fourth part of the blood which went from Josiah by every arrow which pierced him Jeremiah was burying, in [different] places, and over each [fourth part] he is calling POURED OUT ARE THE STONES OF HOLINESS.<sup>8</sup>

4:2 WEIGHED AGAINST FINE GOLD (הַמִּסּוּלָאִים בַּפֶּז):<sup>9</sup> praised and valued as fine gold: he seeing them says, "See! their form is as the appearance of fine gold"; and thus, AGAINST THE GOLD OF OPHIR IT MAY NOT BE WEIGHED (תִּסָּלָה) ...AGAINST PURE GOLD IT MAY NOT BE

<sup>5</sup> This verse is, therefore, metaphorical: no literal gold is even considered.

<sup>6</sup> In Pro. 25:12, in the phrase חֲלֵי כֶתֶם, it is a collective noun (see Rashi's comment on Hos. 2:15, ET 13). Rashi seems to want to read כֶּתֶם to parallel "stones of holiness."

<sup>7</sup> Rashi recognizes that the correct grammatical meaning is the metaphorical, not the literalistic.

<sup>8</sup> This is a very complex aggadah, and it is no less difficult for Rashi's retelling. Originally, part of its function was to explain how Josiah could have been buried in the sepulchres (plural) of his fathers (2 Chr. 35:24). Reference should be made to the aggadah's ET and its notes in Lam.R. 4:1, ET 215-6.

<sup>9</sup> From the root סָלָא, "be weighed," the only occurrence of this root in the Bible. And the whole phrase means, "worth their weight in" (KBL 714; Hillers 135).

WEIGHED;<sup>10</sup> LIFT UP (סלל) [A SONG] TO THE ONE WHO RIDES  
IN THE DESERTS;<sup>11</sup> the language of "praising and  
value."<sup>12</sup>

JARS OF EARTHENWARE: pitchers of earthenware in  
which they put wine, for example, wine jars, AND THEIR  
WINE JARS WILL BE SMASHED.<sup>13</sup>

4:3-4 EVEN TANIN (תנין)<sup>14</sup>, although he is cruel,

<sup>10</sup> Job 28:16,19. Rashi, in effect, notes that the once-  
occurrence root סלא has a sibling in the סלה, which occurs only  
these two times in Job in the same context (true, see KBL 714).  
This is affirmed by Ibn Saruq 126 סל 4, who notes "these mean  
value."

<sup>11</sup> Ps. 68:5, ET 4, whose verb in question is actually,  
according to KBL 715, from סלל. Ibn Saruq 126 relates the verb in  
Ps. 68:5 to סל 5, while he places the verb in Lam. 4:2 in סל 4,  
which he says means "elevation." Rashi's error is not Ibn  
Saruq's.

<sup>12</sup> Rashi ends his comment as he began it, by presenting the  
two synonyms of סלא. The Midrash, for all its fanciful meander-  
ings, explains very well this notion of "value" (see Lam.R. 1:4,  
ET 218-9).

<sup>13</sup> Jer. 48:12. Ibn Saruq 121 distinguishes between נבל 1  
meaning wineskin and נבל 2 meaning earthenware vessels. (In post-  
Biblical Hebrew it meant exclusively "leather bottle": see Jastrow  
869.) Rashi gives a synonym כר (which I called a "pitcher" here),  
which did not have the connotation of a skin (see Jastrow 612).  
The midrash, by an aggadah, also explains the fragile, ceramic  
quality of the "jar": Lam.R. 1:5, ET 219.

<sup>14</sup> The תנין today are usually considered to be JACKALS (see  
Hillers 138-9). However the way it is spelt here with a י for the  
masculine plural ending, and not the more usual ם, makes it look  
exactly like the word for "sea monster"--hence the AV's "dragon"  
here. Rashi recounts a midrash about this *tanin*, but his version  
of it seems either to be a conflation of the version in Lam.R. and  
the Tanhuma, or another version no longer extant, or he retold the  
midrash to reflect his own "zoological" understanding. Lam.R.  
4:6, ET 220: "The *tanin* spreads a kind of veil over its face when  
it suckles its young so as not to see them, since it might have  
its ferocity aroused and devour them." Zohori 115 quotes the  
Tanhuma (בחקתי 3) version which Krinski suggests: "When this *tanin*  
comes to nurse at his mother, she sees him from afar draws forth

PRESENT<sup>15</sup> THE BREAST--(when he sees his son coming from afar, he draws out his breasts from his sheath, for he has a covering over his nipples, and he takes it out from it so his son will not see him covered and turn around and go back)--AND NURSE THEIR YOUNG.<sup>16</sup>

THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE HAS BECOME CRUEL: they see their children crying out for bread, and NO ONE BREAKS [פרש]<sup>17</sup> FOR THEM, since their life comes for them before the life of their children on account of the hunger.

4:5 THOSE BROUGHT UP (האמונים) ON SCARLET: on brightly colored clothes: BROUGHT UP (האמונים) the language of AND HE WAS BRINGING UP (אמן) HADASSAH [ESTHER].<sup>18</sup>

her breasts so that he might nurse and not see her breasts covered so that he might not nurse."

<sup>15</sup> The verb is plural in scripture, since the lamenter was not thinking (apparently) of a monster but of the jackals; but Rashi has "he" (the monster) as the subject of this plural verb.

<sup>16</sup> Rashi's points are: 1. he is cruel; 2. yet he can suckle the young; 3. he is more responsible than the Jerusalemites who ignore their children's cries of hunger.

<sup>17</sup> As did the midrash (Lam.R. 4:7, ET 220) Rashi probably understands this verb to be פרש, in the sense of "breaking bread" (Is. 58:7, see KBL 912, a meaning which was very common in post-Biblical Hebrew, see Jastrow 1232). However, the midrash nowhere implies what Rashi underlines as the philological interpretation: the parents denied their children bread.

<sup>18</sup> Est. 2:7--correct, see KBL 62. Almost certainly from Ibn Saruq 27 אמן 3. Zohori points out that Gen.R. 1:1 ET 1 cites Est. 2:7 right after Lam. 4:5. However the midrash gives אמן in Est. 2:7 a different meaning from the philological one given by Rashi.

DUMPS (אשפות): "waste heap (אשפות) of dung,"  
they lie on the dung heap outside.<sup>19</sup>

4:6 AND GREATER WAS THE INIQUITY OF...: their  
punishment proves concerning them that greater is their  
iniquity than that of Sodom:<sup>20</sup> OVERTHROWN AS IN A  
MOMENT, because as regards Sodom, her calamity was not  
drawn out--she was overthrown as in one moment; HANDS  
DID NOT WRITHE [? = חלו] ON HER, the hands of the  
enemy, since by means of [lit.: "on the hands of"]  
angels she was overthrown.<sup>21</sup> And there are midrash  
aggaddah, but it is not settled on the order of the  
scriptures.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The midrash in a philological fashion explains: "they lie on dunghills" (Lam.R. 4:8, ET 220). Almost certainly from Ibn Saruq 35 אשר 1.

<sup>20</sup> Rashi's interpretation is a response both to Gn.R. 28:5, ET 226-7, and to Lam.R. 4:9, ET 220-1, which is a slightly different version of the former, and the two have to be read together in order to appreciate Rashi's objectives. The point of the midrash is that even though the sin of the ten Northern Tribes was greater than that of the generation of the flood, yet God spared Israel a remnant. And even though Judah and Benjamin's sin was greater than Sodom's, yet here too God spared a remnant. In the case of the Northern tribes, it was because of righteous descendants to come. In the case of Judah, the enigmatic phrase HANDS DID NOT WRITHE [? = חלו] ON HER is interpreted to refer to Judah's good deeds. The midrash relates Judah's good deeds to that horrible Lam. 4:10, which is interpreted to mean that, because there was no food left for the mourners' meals, the women, who felt sorry for their bereaved neighbors, felt obliged to serve up their own children. It is Rashi's unenviable task to reassert the philological meaning.

<sup>21</sup> Gn. 18-19.

<sup>22</sup> It is not clear how the midrash runs counter to the "order" of the scriptures. Perhaps this expression is similar to the one Rashi used in his comment on Lam. 3:20: "according to the subject matter of the scripture's line of thought," and means that

4:7 HER CONSECRATED ONES (נזירים) SHONE: her princes, like a diadem (נזר) and crown;<sup>23</sup> but I, I say that they really were "Nazirites," who were letting their hair grow and it was very beautiful;<sup>24</sup> and it refers back to THE DAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE.<sup>25</sup>

4:7-8 THEIR [עצם]<sup>26</sup> WAS REDDER THAN CORALS: those whose appearance was redder THAN CORALS and WHOSE FORM was like SAPPHIRE... THEIR FORM BECAME BLACKER THAN coal.

עצם: language of appearance, as AND AS THE FORM OF THE HEAVENS FOR CLARITY;<sup>27</sup> קולר<sup>28</sup> in the vernacular.

the midrash runs counter to the context of Lamentations.

<sup>23</sup> נזר, diadem/crown, *nezer*, can also mean "Naziriteship"; and נזיר, *nazir* can mean "prince" as well as "Nazirite" in the technical sense of Num. 6 (see KBL 645). So those anonymous interpreters whom Rashi cites who claimed the "nazirites" were princes were on solid ground (see Albrektson 180). Rashi, however, preferred to see this as a reference to actual "Nazirites," as do some modern interpreters such as Hillers 140.

<sup>24</sup> Since their hair was beautiful, they could be said to have "shone."

<sup>25</sup> i.e., the phrase, "her consecrated ones" means "the consecrated ones of the daughter of people."

<sup>26</sup> The MT here has "Their bone (singular) were"; there have been various attempts at emendation and translation, all of which are more or less unsuccessful: see Hillers 140, and note in BHS. Rashi, as we will see, understood "bone" here to mean "appearance" (as did the Targum, Albrektson 181). For the range of meaning of עצם (bone), see KBL 822-3.

<sup>27</sup> Ex. 24:10. עצם as "appearance" and this reference are from Ibn Saruq 136 עצם 2.

<sup>28</sup> Related to *colorer* (whence the English; Greimas 123; *couleur* in modern French).



[THEIR SKIN] CONTRACTED (צָפַד): wrinkled and bound up; and it has no likeness.<sup>29</sup>

4:9 THAT THEY DRIP BEING PERFORATED: those pierced of hunger were being swelled by the smell of the produce of the field, for the enemies were roasting meat upon herbs/grasses outside the wall, and the smell entered into those swollen with hunger and their bellies split open and their offal dripped; and so this is an uglier death than being killed by the sword.<sup>30</sup>

PERFORATED (מְדוֹקְרִים)--split open: either swelling from famine or splitting open by sword is called a "perforation."<sup>31</sup>

4:10 FOR DEVOURING (לִבְרוֹת) : for food, as HE DID NOT EAT BREAD WITH THEM: TO MAKE DAVID EAT.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> i.e., this verb is a hapax legomenon. Rashi is right, see Even-Shoshan k991. According to KBL 977 Rashi's definition is correct and that of Ibn Saruq 151 צָפַד is not.

<sup>30</sup> Rashi has luridly retold the midrash, see Lam.R. 4:12, ET 222-223; the second line of Lam. 9:3 is difficult and scholars suppose it to be corrupt; Rashi reads: FOR THEY, HAVING BEEN PIERCED [with hunger] DRIPPED [their intestines] FROM [smelling] THE PRODUCE OF THE FIELDS.

<sup>31</sup> Either this is a justification for the reading of the midrash just recounted (if victims may be PIERCED OF SWORD (Lam.4:9a) as well as PIERCED OF FAMINE (Lam. 4:9b), it follows that they may be PERFORATED (Lam. 4:9c) either by FAMINE or by SWORD), or Rashi is suggesting a philological alternative to the midrash: "for those perforated by the sword at least dripped produce from the field."

<sup>32</sup> 2 Sam. 12:17 and 3:35. Meaning and examples from Ibn Saruq בר 6. This contradicts the midrash Lam.R. 4:13, which twists the meaning of the verse to make it read that the women shared bread with their bereaved neighbours

4:11 G-D STOPPED BEING ANGRY<sup>33</sup> which burned in him several years; he has stopped it now that he has avenged himself on them.<sup>34</sup>

4:12-13 FROM THE SIN OF THE PROPHETS of falsehood she had this evil.<sup>35</sup>

4:14-15 THE BLIND TOTTER IN THE STREETS: when the blind were walking in the market they were tottering and their feet slipped in the blood of those killed whom the wicked were killing in her midst.<sup>36</sup>

WERE DEFILED: they soiled themselves in blood to the point that those near them were unable to touch their garments and they were calling to them "TURN ASIDE from us, you unclean ones soiled IN BLOOD."

מוראתו<sup>37</sup> כי נצו language of stench and filth, as מוראתו<sup>38</sup>--the Targum has באוכליה, the digested food

<sup>33</sup> lit., G-D COMPLETED HIS ANGER.

<sup>34</sup> The idea behind this comment is contained in Rashi's comments on TB Kiddushin 31b מילתא בלתי מילתא and the Hebrew title of Psalm 79:1; G-D completed his fury in destroying Zion and thus spared a remnant of Israel.

<sup>35</sup> i.e., Rashi ties verses 11 and 12 together--quite correctly--and for religious reasons specifies "false" prophets.

<sup>36</sup> Compare Lam.R. 4:17-18, ET 227-8; with the midrash Rashi literalizes the metaphorical reference to blindness, though the blood is not specifically from the righteous Zehariah as in the Midrash.

<sup>37</sup> Usual ET, FOR THEY FLEW.

<sup>38</sup> Lev.1:17, usual ET, AND HE WILL TEAR IT BY ITS WINGS, see

found in the entrails.<sup>39</sup> Menachem connected it in this way.<sup>40</sup>

4:15 THEY ALSO TOTTERED: they slipped in blood.<sup>41</sup>

4:16 THE FACE OF G-D DISTRIBUTES THEM: the face of indignation from the Holy One Blest Be He DISTRIBUTES THEM and separates them among the nations because THEY DID NOT LIFT UP THE FACE OF THE PRIESTS when they were in their ease.<sup>42</sup>

4:17 OUR EYES ARE STILL GOING TO OUR HELP VAINLY (הבל): when the evil came upon us, our eyes were still looking out for the army of Pharaoh, for it is said concerning them: AND EGYPT IS VANITY (הבל) AND THEY HELP EMPTILY;<sup>43</sup> for they were promising us help and they did not come, as it was said concerning them:

Rashi's interpretation of this verse, paraphrased here.

<sup>39</sup> See Jastrow 25. To give the Targumist and Rashi credit, the נצו of this passage is of uncertain meaning: see Albrektson 188-9 and Hillers 143. On the other hand, different verbs constructed of the same radicals (נצח) are relatively common both in biblical and post biblical Hebrew: see Even-Shoshan m872.

<sup>40</sup> Menahem Ibn Saruq. Not in Ibn Saruq 124 under נצו.

<sup>41</sup> Just above Rashi said נצו meant to slip, but he repeats they "slip in blood" to reinforce his interpretation of נצו.

<sup>42</sup> i.e., at ease in the land of Israel; Rashi gives a synonym for חלק, namely הפריד; this is to counter the fanciful interpretations of נצח in the midrash (see Lam.R. 4:18, ET p. 230); Rashi is trying to give a philologically-grounded cause and effect relationship between the two lines of verse 16 as an alternative to the midrash's fanciful one.

BEHOLD THE ARMY OF PHARAOH THAT CAME OUT TO YOU TO HELP RETURNED TO HIS OWN LAND TO EGYPT.<sup>44</sup> We have found in the midrash on Lamentations that they were coming in boats; the Holy One Blest Be He hinted to the sea to cause to float before them wine skins blown up like human intestines, being shaken in the water; they said one to another, "These skins are our fathers, the men of Egypt who drowned in sea on account of these Jews-- and are we ourselves going out to their aid!? They came to a standstill and turned back.<sup>45</sup>

WE LOOKED OUT: we waited.<sup>46</sup>

4:18 THEY HUNTED (צדו) OUR STEPS: our enemies lay in wait for (ארב) OUR STEPS to keep us from going in our streets, as AND WHO DID NOT LIE IN WAIT (צדה);<sup>47</sup> AND YOU ARE LYING IN WAIT FOR MY LIFE.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Is. 30:7.

<sup>44</sup> Jer. 37:7.

<sup>45</sup> For this version see Buber 4:17 (p. 152).

<sup>46</sup> The verb צפה also has the connotation of watchful waiting, see KBL 978. Also in the example Ibn Saruq 151 צף 1 gives: Jer. 48:19.

<sup>47</sup> Ex. 21:13.

<sup>48</sup> Ex. 21:13. 1 Sam. 24:12 (BH). Even-Shoshan k975 agrees with Rashi; Hillers 144 assumes the more common root צוד, "hunt"; Albrektson 192 thinks the roots צוד and צדה may be indistinguishable. Among the examples Ibn Saruq 148 צד 5 gives are Ex. 21:13 and Lam. 3:52.

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations, ch.4

LXIX

4:20 G-D'S ANOINTED: this is Josiah, as it is said in Chronicles: AND JEREMIAH LAMENTED OVER JOSIAH.<sup>49</sup>

IN THEIR PITS (שחיתותם): in holes which they dug.<sup>50</sup>

4:21 REJOICE AND BE GLAD: for the time being.

DAUGHTER OF EDOM: Jeremiah prophesied about the destruction of the Second Temple that the Romans<sup>51</sup> were going to destroy; but your end will be that ALSO TO YOU WILL PASS THE CUP of retribution and YOU WILL BE DRUNK from it.<sup>52</sup>

וְהִתְעַרְיָ:<sup>53</sup> and she vomited, as AND SHE EMPTIED (וְהִתְעַרְיָ) HER JAR.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> 2 Chr. 35:25. As Zohori 117-8 points out, a midrash in TB Taanit 22b cites Lam. 2:20 with reference to the dying Josiah.

<sup>50</sup> שחית is a rare word, see Even-Shoshan kl131; hence Rashi defines it.

<sup>51</sup> Edom is Rome in Jewish tradition; hence the verse must refer to the Romans' exile of Jews from their homeland, which was of course still a fact in Rashi's day.

<sup>52</sup> Either the fall of the Roman Empire or an oblique reference to the anticipated end of Christendom which was centred in Catholic Rome.

<sup>53</sup> Usually: SHE STRIPPED HERSELF NAKED.

<sup>54</sup> Gn. 24:20; piel of עָרָה. This is a possible meaning, see Albrektson 195. I would suggest that Rashi, being a vintner, had a fascination with wine bottles and the results of drinking too much, see Lam. 4:17 etc. Millers 137 goes with the more usual understanding of "strip naked." Ibn Saruq 137 עַר 2 cites Gn. 24:20 but not Lam. 4:21.

4:22 YOUR PUNISHMENT IS COMPLETE, DAUGHTER OF  
ZION: you have been stricken for all your sins.

HE WILL NOT CONTINUE TO EXILE YOU: from the exile  
of Edom and still thereafter.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> It is now evident why Rashi insists these last verses are prophetic; otherwise the statement "He will not continue to exile you" would be false, since the Romans expelled the Jews from the Land of Israel after the return of the exiles from Babylon. Zohari calls attention to a midrash in the Buber Tanhuma (וארצא 22): "The nations of the world continue in their sin, but as for Israel, YOUR INIQUITY IS COMPLETE, DAUGHTER OF ZION. When will this happen? When he will visit the iniquity of the House of Edom, as it is said, HE VISITED YOUR INIQUITY, DAUGHTER OF EDM. Hence Israel does not go into exile rather the Holy One Blest-Be-He gathers them to Jerusalem, for it is said, "May those redeemed by the Lord say ["his loyalty is forever"], whom he redeemed from the eney's hand and gathered them from the lands: from east and wast, from north and south [Ps. 107:3-4]."

Rashi's Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 5

5:4<sup>1</sup> WE DRANK OUR WATER BY PURCHASING IT:<sup>2</sup> for we were fearing to drink water from the river on account of the enemies, and so we were acquiring from them by money.<sup>3</sup>

5:5 UPON OUR NECKS (עַל צוֹאֲרֵנוּ) WE WERE PURSUED: by the yoke (בַּעוֹל) of hard labour.

WE WERE WEARY (יִגְעֵנוּ): to gather food and chattels;

IT WAS NOT ALLOWED TO US: our labor (יִגְעֵנוּ) in our hands, for the enemy was haughty and snatched everything by custom duties, pole taxes and property taxes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rashi, unlike Ibn Ezra, comments on chapter 5, but his comments are brief, and for the most part not philological; rather like Perush, he creates little narratives.

<sup>2</sup> BY PURCHASING IT: lit., BY SILVER.

<sup>3</sup> i.e., acquiring water; of course Jerusalemites did not get their water "from the river"; Rashi's narrative is an exegetical exercise. Zohari believes that Rashi got this idea from Lam.R. 5:1, ET 237-8.

<sup>4</sup> Rashi apparently reads the whole verse: "We were pursued, wearing upon our necks the yoke of the hard labor of gathering food and chattles, but we were not allowed to keep the results of our labor since our enemies took it all away by taxing us." Rashi has constructed a "mini-narrative" in the fashion of Perush. There also may be word plays with עַל and עוֹל, and יִגְעֵנוּ and יִגְעֵנוּ.

5:6 WE GAVE A HAND TO EGYPT: it is the way of a man falling and wishing to stand to put out a hand to someone next to him to help him; and here we even put out our hand to Egypt that they might help us, and to Assyria that they might satisfy us with bread.<sup>5</sup>

נתנו: like נתנו, the putting of the dagesh point in the ן serves in place of the second ן and thus SINCE FROM YOU IS EVERYTHING, AND FROM YOUR HAND DO WE GIVE (נתנו) TO YOU;<sup>6</sup> and thus AND WE WILL GIVE (ונתנו) OUR DAUGHTERS TO YOU.<sup>7</sup>

5:9 BY OUR LIVES WE BROUGHT BREAD: in danger of our lives: we were being endangered when we were bringing our food from the field on account of the sword of the wilderness.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> i.e., We were weary with heavy labor, so we began to stumble; and so we naturally put out our hand to regain our balance: to Egypt for military aid and to Assyria for food. Needless to say, this is a clever but entirely artificial interpretation.

<sup>6</sup> I Chr. 29:14; i.e., there is a dagesh point in the ן to show the ן is doubled: a ן for the root and a ן for the 1st person plural pronominal suffix.

<sup>7</sup> Gn. 34:16a. Philological comment.

<sup>8</sup> Rashi paraphrases a somewhat cryptic line. Modern commentators find no meaning in THE SWORD OF THE WILDERNESS and emend either SWORD (חרב) to "heat" (חורב) or WILDERNESS to "enemies"; see Hillers 157-8.



5:10 WE GREW HOT (נִכְמְרוּ): we became hot (נִחְמָמוּ)<sup>9</sup>, and thus: FOR HIS COMPASSION GREW HOT (נִכְמְרוּ);<sup>10</sup> and in the language of the Talmud there is much about the drying of grapes,<sup>11</sup> the heating (לִמְכֹּר) of flesh.<sup>12</sup>

THE RAGING HEAT (זִלְעָפוֹת) OF HUNGER: as AND A WIND OF RAGING HEAT (זִלְעָפוֹת);<sup>13</sup> the language of burning.<sup>14</sup>

5:13 CARRIED MILL:<sup>15</sup> when their enemies were leading them by iron collars, they were putting on their shoulders millstones and burdens to make them weary.

And thus THEY STUMBLED BY WOOD: their strength stumbled, and it is the language of the stumbling of one falling in weakness, as it is said in Ezra:<sup>16</sup> AND

<sup>9</sup> Nitpa'el, rare in Biblical Hebrew, see GKC 55:9.

<sup>10</sup> Gn. 43:30. Ibn Saruq 106 כָּמַר 2 has נִכְמְרוּ of Lam. 5:10 mean "blacken," while in כָּמַר 4 it means "turn over and over." In this case Rashi's philology is better than Ibn Saruq's.

<sup>11</sup> Or heating, (כְּמוֹרֵר) TB Yevamot 97a. Zohori points out that Rashi is drawn to speak of grapes from Lam.R. 5:1. ET 240.

<sup>12</sup> Or "shrinking," TB Pesahim 58a, end.

<sup>13</sup> Ps. 11:6.

<sup>14</sup> Accurate philological comments almost certainly based on Ibn Saruq 79 זִלְעָף.

<sup>15</sup> מִחֲמַן נִשָּׂא; By parallel structure enemies surely is the subject of the first half of verses 11, 12, 13; "mill" is probably an infinitive, as Perush and Hillers 158-9 suggest: Hillers translates, "They have taken young men to grind." The line might possibly be read, "Young men bear a mill"--evidently Rashi's understanding. Zohori believes that Rashi got the interpretation "bear a mill" from Lam.R. 5:1, ET 240.

<sup>16</sup> Neh. 4:4 BH, 4:10 ET; here, as usual, Nehemiah is considered part of Ezra.

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations, ch.5

LXXIV

JUDAH SAID, "THE STRENGTH OF THE BURDEN-BEARER STUMBLES (i.e., FAILS)"; and thus, HE CAUSES MY STRENGTH TO FAIL.<sup>17</sup>

5:17-18 ON ACCOUNT OF THIS (על זה)<sup>18</sup> OUR HEART IS FAINT...: on account of (על) what is explained in the scripture passage which follows it: ON ACCOUNT OF (על) MOUNT ZION WHICH WAS DEVASTATED and FOXES WENT ABOUT ON IT.

5:19-22 And YOU, G-D: we knew that YOU SIT FOR EVER..., and this being so, and so it is, WHY WILL YOU FORGET US ETERNALLY? Did you not swear to us by yourself? Just as you exist so does the oath you swore. FOR IF YOU REALLY HAVE REJECTED US because we sinned, it was not for you to multiply fury when you were furious. RETURN US, G-D.

Since it ends with words of chastisement, it was necessary to repeat the scripture passage;<sup>19</sup> and so also Isaiah, and the Twelve, and Ecclesiastes.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Lam. 1:14.

<sup>18</sup> על can mean either "on account of" or "upon"; Rashi links verses 17 and 18 by taking על זה to refer to על הר ציון of verse 18; Hillers (p. 159) admits this as a possible interpretation, though he prefers to see על הר ציון refer forward to בו; Rashi adds an "and" to verse 18 and thus reads: "On account of the following is my heart faint...on account of Zion which was devastated--and foxes go about in it."

<sup>19</sup> i.e., in Jewish worship after v. 22 is read, v. 21 is repeated, so that the book ends on a positive note.

<sup>20</sup> Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, and Ecclesiastes all end with a warning; thus, in worship Isaiah is ended with 63:23, the Minor

APPENDIX 4, Rashi on Lamentations, ch.5

LXXV

Prophets with Mal. 3:23 (ET, 4:4), and Eccl. with 12:13.

Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Lamentations

Introduction

Men of truth<sup>1</sup> understand the midrash of our righteous  
forebears

To be founded on verity and cast in cast of knowledge:  
All their words are as gold and silver sevenfold  
burnished.

Thus are their midrashim divided into many paths:  
Some enigmas, secrets, parables lofty to the heavens:  
Some to refresh minds tired in deep discourse:  
Some to give heart to stumbling and to fill the empty.<sup>2</sup>  
Wherefore will the verses' meanings be likened to  
bodies:<sup>3</sup>

The midrashim are as garments clinging to the body.  
Some fine as silk and some as sackcloth coarse.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ezra begins his commentary with a monorhymed poem of 16 lines, the ending ם - being the rhyme; for the poetic genres Ibn Ezra knew, see T. Carmi, <ed>, The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse, (Harmondsworth, England, Penguin Books, 1982 <1981>), pp. 24ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Empty" is ambiguous: either spiritually empty people, or empty-headed people, or gaps in the text which allow for midrashic meanings. I would see Ibn Ezra's tone as one of respectful irony.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ezra also called the verbal meaning the "body" and the contextual meaning "the soul."

<sup>4</sup> The mention of sackcloth brings Ibn Ezra to his real point: the superiority of peshat.

Peshat's way is the body in chosen things and laws.<sup>5</sup>

Thus said they: "the Scripture is as its peshat"<sup>6</sup>--  
ancient words.

I am Abraham son of Meir from land of far away:

Expelled from Spanish lands, oppressors were the cause;

My books, mine, in my exile were in strong hands,

They taught me to make books clear in meanings sweet as  
honey.

Thus shall I interpret this the scroll according to its  
grammar.

And it is not the scroll burned up by Jehoikim,  
since we did not find two "words of G-D" which are  
inscribed in the book, for thus it is written: TAKE FOR  
YOURSELF A BOOK SCROLL AND YOU SHALL WRITE ON IT ALL  
THE WORDS WHICH I SPOKE TO YOU CONCERNING ISRAEL AND  
JUDAH AND ALL THE NATIONS;<sup>7</sup> and it is further written:  
WHY DID YOU WRITE UPON IT, SAYING, "THE KING OF BABYLON

<sup>5</sup> This is a problem, since, as Krinski points out, it ought to read "except for chosen things and laws." Ibn Ezra felt free to challenge all traditional Jewish interpretation, except with regards the observance of Jewish law. There he allowed that the authoritative meaning was the midrashic one. Perhaps we ought to read, "Peshat is the substance of correct interpretation along with halakhic legislation." The ambiguity of "in chosen things and laws" is no doubt deliberate.

<sup>6</sup> Krinski thinks this to be an allusion to אין מקרא יוצא מידי פשוטו: "No scripture goes out from its peshat" (TB Shabbat 63A), i.e., "a text cannot be distorted from the meaning of its peshat" (Loewe, "The 'Plain meaning' of Scripture in Early Jewish Exegesis," p. 160).

<sup>7</sup> Jer. 36:2.

WILL SURELY COME AND DESTROY THIS LAND";<sup>8</sup> but there is in the scroll of the book of Lamentations no recalling of either Babylon or her king.

Chapter 1

1:1 ALONE (בִּדְד):<sup>9</sup> the word occurs with both the masculine and feminine with a lamed or without it;<sup>10</sup> and so too the word SURE.<sup>11</sup>

GREAT (רַבְתִּי), PRINCESS-LIKE (שֶׁרִתִּי): penultimate<sup>12</sup> to distinguish between an added yod<sup>13</sup> and the yod signifying the speaker,<sup>14</sup> as LOVING (אוֹמֶתֶתִי) TO PLOW;<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Jer. 36:29.

<sup>9</sup> בִּדְד. The problem Ibn Ezra addresses is this: Why is בִּדְד masculine, since the verb has a feminine ending (הַיְשִׁבָה). He explains that בִּדְד is actually an adverb, and does not change form, whether the verb has a feminine or masculine ending.

<sup>10</sup> As Krinski notes, Num. 23:9: LO! A PEOPLE DWELLING ALONE (לְבִדְד).

<sup>11</sup> It too is an adverb whose form does not change, no matter what gender is the verb's termination. Krinski: Lev. 25:18: AND YOU WILL DWELL IN THE LAND SAFELY (לְבִטָּח).

<sup>12</sup> i.e., the accent falls on the penultimate in both adjectives.

<sup>13</sup> On rare occasions in the Bible, Lam. 1:1 being an example, a superfluous yod may indicate an adjective-like form, see GKC 90.1.

<sup>14</sup> i.e., a pronominal suffix, 1st p. sing.; but this suffix draws the accent to the ultima, unlike the superfluous yod indicating an adjective. GKC 29.e explains the matter slightly differently and speaks of a "rhythmical retraction of the tone."

<sup>15</sup> Hos. 10:11, אוֹמֶתֶתִי is accented penultimately.

but the word STOLEN (גְּנוּבָהּ) BY DAY<sup>16</sup> remains ultimate<sup>17</sup> on account of the change of the bet.<sup>18</sup>

GREAT (רַבָּהּ) AMONG THE NATIONS: this is not like the first,<sup>19</sup> only in the language of "greatness", as וְרַבִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ,<sup>20</sup> TO ALL THE GREAT (רַבָּהּ) OF HIS HOUSE.<sup>21</sup>

The lamed of לָמַס<sup>22</sup> has a pataḥ on account of the definite article having disappeared, and the mem has not been dageshed in order to lighten the language.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Gn. 31:39.

<sup>17</sup> i.e. the accent on the word גְּנוּבָהּ is on the ultimate instead of penultimate.

<sup>18</sup> i.e., גְּנוּבָהּ is no exception to the rule that the accent ought to be on the penult, because in the word גְּנוּבָהּ, the penult is בָּ; but no syllable with a mere shewa can be accented, so the accent moves to the ultima. The ב changes from being a part of a closed syllable in the masculine form of the participle to being a very short unaccented syllable in גְּנוּבָהּ.

<sup>19</sup> i.e. the first רַבָּהּ; because the first one is in a construct state and bound to עַם, "great of people," i.e. she had a great number of people. The second רַבָּהּ also has to do with greatness, but it is the greatness of status and not number. This point, and the reference following, is from Ibn Janah 465; Ibn Ezra mentions the double meaning of רַב again in 3:23.

<sup>20</sup> If translated, it means perhaps, as Ibn Ezra suggests, "and [from] the great ones of the king." This enigmatic phrase is from Jer. 41:1; since it is lacking in the parallel passage in 2 K. 25:25, BHS suggests it to be dittography (the preceding phrase is מִזֶּרַע הַמֶּלֶךְ). If translated at all, Ibn Ezra's suggestion is a good one: a רַב is a royal official, as suggested by a phrase from Esther 1:8, which he proceeds to cite. N.b. Ibn Ezra does *not* mean that the י of רַבִּי was like the י of רַבָּהּ.

<sup>21</sup> Est. 1:8.

<sup>22</sup> BECAME TRIBUTARY (לָמַס).

<sup>23</sup> i.e., we would expect לָמַס which is the normal contracted form for לֵמַס, since the definite article (לֵמַס, "the ה of knowledge") is contracted and replaced by a doubling of the ה, which is indicated by the dagesh point. Ibn Ezra's text, unlike our MT, had a pataḥ under the ל instead of a qamets (see Norzi here). In our MT texts an open syllable with a qamets replaces a

1:2 The waw of בכּו<sup>24</sup> is in place of the he (ה), since letters אהיו interchange, as, YOU ACTED FOOLISHLY TO DO (עשו).<sup>25</sup>

1:3 JUDAH: masculine or feminine, as Israel and Egypt: AND EGYPT ENCOURAGED (ותחזק מצרים).<sup>26</sup>

And there are those who interpret המצרים<sup>27</sup> from the words of the sages of religion of blest memory, "the law of neighborly pre-emption (דינא דבר מצויה)";<sup>28</sup> but the correct in my eyes, FROM THE STRAITS (מן המצרים),<sup>29</sup> and if it is a little different, the resh ought to be dageshed.<sup>30</sup>

closed syllable with a patah. Ibn Ezra's comment is merely philological and he does not speculate as to why "the language is lightened."

<sup>24</sup> WEeping (בכו).

<sup>25</sup> Gn. 31:28. That is, we would have expected to read נעשה but instead we have עשו.

<sup>26</sup> Ex. 12:33; ie, the proper noun "Judah," if referring to the Judean people and not the original patriarch, can be either masculine or feminine gendre; the same is true of "Israel" or "Egypt"; an example of Egypt in the feminine gender is the above verse in Exodus. Krinski adduces other examples, but the principle is clear.

<sup>27</sup> i.e., THE STRAITS (המצרים) in the third line of this verse.

<sup>28</sup> TB Bava Metsi'a 108, line 2 etc.: it is from מָצָר an Aramaic word meaning boundary, and from the same root as the Biblical word here in Lam. 1:3, see Even Shoshan m762. Ibn Janah 272-3 is among the "those" who believe the root to be מ.צ.ר, and he cites instances of מָצָר from TB Bava Batra 26 and 69.

<sup>29</sup> Ps. 118:5; correct according to KBL 590.

<sup>30</sup> The ר of המצרים ought to have a dagesh point in it



1:4 WAY (דֶּרֶךְ) is found masculine or feminine,<sup>31</sup>  
as HOUSE (בֵּית) and PLACE (מָקוֹם).<sup>32</sup>

THOSE ENTERING OF THE APPOINTED (בְּאֵי מוֹעֵד):<sup>33</sup>  
those who would come at the appointed times,<sup>34</sup> but bet-  
ter<sup>35</sup> in my eyes is that it<sup>36</sup> is the Temple, and it was  
called מוֹעֵד on account of there being all Israel assem-  
bling (נוֹעֲדִים) there, and thus IN THE MIDST OF YOUR  
ASSEMBLY-PLACE (מוֹעֵד),<sup>37</sup> THEY BURNED ALL THE ASSEMBLY-  
PLACES (מוֹעֲדֵי)<sup>38</sup> of G-D with fire.<sup>39</sup>

because its root is צִרַר. (Of course the guttural ר cannot take a dagesh point.) Ibn Ezra is correct according to KBL 590.

<sup>31</sup> cf. JUDAH above; but Ibn Ezra repeats the observation because the case of דֶּרֶךְ is different, since it is not a proper noun and is predominantly masculine, see Holladay 74.

<sup>32</sup> מָקוֹם as one of the "appellative nouns, which denote a circumscribed space" can in a few instances be considered feminine (see GKC 122.1). As for בֵּית as a feminine noun Prof. Levy has drawn my attention to Ibn Ezra's philological note on S. of S. 1:3, where Ibn Ezra makes the same claim--but here too without references; Prof. Levy suggests Prov. 9:1 as a possible instance where the MT could be read as if בֵּית were feminine ("her seven pillars"--meaning the house's pillars).

<sup>33</sup> בְּאֵי: untranslatable into English as one word, perhaps French *les arrivés*; מוֹעֵד (lit.: APPOINTED TIME/ASSEMBLY) is the subject of Ibn Ezra's remarks.

<sup>34</sup> i.e., pilgrims at the holiday seasons: Rashi's explanation (see his commentary). Ibn Ezra takes this as a valid philological meaning and he does not discount it.

<sup>35</sup> "but better": lit. וְהָטוֹב בְּעֵינַי.

<sup>36</sup> i.e., the מוֹעֵד.

<sup>37</sup> Ps. 74:4.

<sup>38</sup> Ps. 74:6.

<sup>39</sup> The actual quotation from Ps. 74:8 ends: אֵל בְּאֶרֶץ (THE ASSEMBLY-PLACES) OF DEITY IN THE LAND. Ibn Ezra is exegeting

DESOLATE (שוממין): nun in exchange for mem; and thus, TAKE FOR YOURSELF WHEAT (חטין),<sup>40</sup> TO THE END OF DAYS (הימין);<sup>41</sup> for the nun and the mem serve at the end of the word as the sign of plural, both masculine and feminine.

ARE GRIEVED (נוגות): from conjugation nif'al, and thus נוּגֵי ממועד,<sup>42</sup> for they are of the language תּוֹגָה<sup>43</sup> and יִגוֹן,<sup>44</sup> and the tav and the nun are added.<sup>45</sup>

1:5 HER ENEMIES BECAME (היו צריה)--every one of them--THE HEAD,<sup>46</sup> and thus WHOSE BRANCHES CLIMB OVER THE WALL<sup>47</sup>--thus, every one of them.

Psalm 74:8b: אל בארץ means the God of Israel, not the various high places of fertility dieties; "burn with fire" is the usual Hebrew idiom. Krinski (or his printed edition) "corrects" Ibn Ezra's citation from Psalm 74:8b to read exactly as the text reads, but this is quite unnecessary. Ibn Janah 198 uses these two examples from Ps. 74 to show that מועד can also mean place of meeting, and it seems Ibn Ezra has consulted him here.

<sup>40</sup> Ez. 4:9.

<sup>41</sup> Dan. 12:13.

<sup>42</sup> Zeph. 3:18. Ibn Ezra's obvious point is that this very obscure passage contains another example of the nif'al of יגה. Ibn Ezra may also indicate how he understands that it ought to be translated, perhaps on the analogy of באי מועד in the first line of this verse and לא אואל קום below in 1:14. Ibn Janah 188 uses the Zeph. reference to explain Lam. 1:12 and 3:33; thus Ibn Ezra seems dependent on his analysis.

<sup>43</sup> GRIEF, Ps. 119:28 etc.

<sup>44</sup> also GRIEF, Ps. 13:3 etc.

<sup>45</sup> i.e., תּוֹגָה shows the ת of the root (the ת being added to make a noun), and יִגוֹן shows the י of the root (the י being added). Thus Ibn Ezra reveals, albeit elliptically, the true root of נוגות.

<sup>46</sup> The question Ibn Ezra is answering is: How could enemies

APPENDIX 4, Ibn Ezra on Lamentations, ch. 1

LXXXIII

PROSPERED (שלו): from the form "ease" (שלוח).<sup>48</sup>

HE AFFLICTED HER (הוּגָה): hif'il.<sup>49</sup> from AFFLICTION (יָגוּר), and thus WILL YOU AFFLICT (תִּגְיֹר) MY SOUL.<sup>50</sup>

WENT [into] CAPTIVITY: lacking ב (into), as FOUND [in] THE HOUSE OF G-D.<sup>51</sup>

1:6 After LIKE STAGS a "which" is lacking, as LIKE WATERS THEY COVER THE SEA.<sup>52</sup>

1:7 THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION, as FOR SIX DAYS G-D MADE.<sup>53</sup>

(in the plural) become a head (in the singular)?

<sup>47</sup> Usual ET of Gn. 49:22: WHOSE BRANCHES, MT reads בָּנוֹת; the verb is singular.

<sup>48</sup> e.g., Ps. 122:7; i.e., שלוח explains the meaning of שלו and retains all the radicals (ו.ל.ש) of the root of שלו.

<sup>49</sup> lit. "from the added heavy conjugation," Ibn Ezra's term for the hif'il.

<sup>50</sup> Job 19:2. See GKC 75gg. This verb here in Job is one of only two examples of a hif'il יָגָה outside Lamentations, the second being a participle in Is. 51:23.

<sup>51</sup> 2 K. 18:15: in both cases the preposition ב is understood.

<sup>52</sup> Is. 11:9. That is, Isaiah does not say, "as the waters cover the sea" which would be כַּמִּים לִים הַמַּכְסִים with the definite article before the participle indicating it modifies מַיִם, i.e., הַמַּיִם; so it must mean, "like the waters which cover the sea", which would be מַכְסִים...אֲשֶׁר, the "which" being supplied. Lam. 1:6b reads "her princes were like stags, they [the princes] found no pasturage"--which cannot be correct; hence it is another case of the "which" being supplied to make sense of the phrase. This is minute exegesis on Ibn Ezra's part, which indicates, as he intended, how carefully he read the text.

<sup>53</sup> Ex. 20:11, i.e., FOR IN SIX DAYS G-D MADE, the IN being understood. Lam. 1:7 reads: JERUSALEM REMEMBERED THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION AND HER STRAYING ALL HER DESIRABLE THINGS WHICH WERE

וּמְרוּדִיהָ<sup>54</sup> poverty and the mem is root.<sup>55</sup>

1:8 BECAME A NODDING (לְנִידָה): became a mockery, as A HEAD-NODDING (מְנוּד ראש),<sup>56</sup> THE MOVEMENT (נִיד) OF MY LIPS;<sup>57</sup> and it is from the form FUGITIVE AND WANDERER (נָע וְנוֹד).<sup>58</sup>

MADE FUN OF HER (הִזְלִיחָה): the opposite of honor, as PRECIOUS RATHER THAN WORTHLESS (מְזִוָּלָל);<sup>59</sup> only it is from another root;<sup>60</sup> its<sup>61</sup> meaning is either "they

FROM DAYS OF YORE which parallels IN THE FALL OF HER PEOPLE BY ENEMY'S HAND, THERE WAS NONE TO HELP HER. Thus we have another case of the lack of a ב, and Lam. 1:7a-b should read, JERUSALEM REMEMBERED IN THE DAYS OF HER AFFLICTION...ALL HER DESIRABLE THINGS.... This is not mere fancy on Ibn Ezra's part, and Hillers 68-9 makes the same point--if Lam. 1:7b is to be retained at all. There should be only 3 lines in Lam. 1:7, whereas the MT and ancient versions have 4. Modern commentators such as Hillers leave out either 7b or 7c.

<sup>54</sup> Usual ET "and her restlessness," as if from root רוּד, "to roam." It occurs but three times in the Bible, twice in Lam. (here and 3:19) and in Is. 58:7.

<sup>55</sup> דלות "poverty" (a post-Biblical word) and so a synonym of עֲנִיָּה. This comment is directly from Ibn Janah 273: for the root מ.ר.ד, he cites verbs and nouns which mean "rebellion", and then he continues, "another meaning [he cites Is. 58:7, Lam. 1:7 and 3:19] ... from the morphological form יָמוּ מְרוּקִיָּהם [Est. 2:12], 'poverty and humiliation' (דלות ושפלות)." Unfortunately, Ibn Janah does not explain how מרד could mean both "humiliation" and "rebellion."

<sup>56</sup> Ps. 44:15, ET 14: YOU MADE US ... A HEAD-NODDING, i.e., something at which people shook their heads in derision.

<sup>57</sup> Job 16:5, this phrase parallels וְאֶנִּידָה ... ראשי of the previous verse--i.e., also the vocabulary of head nodding.

<sup>58</sup> Gn. 4:12. As was the case with Rashi (see his commentary on this same verse), Ibn Ezra sees two words: this rare word, נִידָה, and the common Biblical and Talmudic word נִדָּה (menstruation).

<sup>59</sup> Jer. 15:19.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Ezra condenses a long discussion of Ibn Janah 132-3

caused her to go down" or "they made her tears to flow."<sup>62</sup>

1:9 ASTONISHINGLY (פלאים): the downfall of all down falls.<sup>63</sup>

1:10 FOR SHE SAW THE NATIONS: refers back to Jerusalem.<sup>64</sup>

1:11 זוללה (GLUTTON?): as A GLUTTON AND A DRUNKARD.<sup>65</sup>

1:12 לוא: there are those who say it is from the language of אלה,<sup>66</sup> but we have not found it without

so much that his comment is nearly incomprehensible. What he means is that הזילוח looks as if it comes from the root זלל, but the dagesh in the ז proves that it must come from נזל.

<sup>61</sup> i.e., of הזילוח.

<sup>62</sup> It is the hif'il of נזל; the only other example of its hif'il form in the Bible is in Is. 48:21, HE CAUSED TO FLOW (הזיל) FOR THEM WATER FROM THE ROCK. Ibn Janah wrongly accounted for the dagesh forte in the ז. As great as was his philological competence, he had the limitations of the linguistic science of his age. GKC 72ee: "verbs ע"נ ... have ... in ... Hiph'il the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with Dagesh forte...." All of which means that Ibn Janah was right the first time: the root is זלל and the meaning is "to depose."

<sup>63</sup> lit.: ירידה ירידה. The plural of פלא is used adverbally and has the effect of strengthening the verb to the utmost. This is the substance of the comment of Ibn Janah 402.

<sup>64</sup> i.e., The subject of "saw" is Jerusalem. Even though in 1:9c it is the author who was speaking, the very next line, 1:10a, returns to the 3rd person, HER DESIRABLES.

<sup>65</sup> Dt. 21:20, the reference with which Ibn Janah 132 defines

alef;<sup>67</sup> and its meaning is "May it not happen to you what happened to me."<sup>68</sup>

HAPPENED [ADVERSELY] (עוֹלֵל): happened (נִעְשָׂה) to me, and it is from the Pu'al conjugation,<sup>69</sup> on account of the fact that the second vowel point is not a sere,<sup>70</sup> as HE PREPARED (כִּוְּן) MY STEPS.<sup>71</sup>

הוֹיָה: as הוֹיָה.<sup>72</sup>

1:13 AND PREVAILED HER (וַיִּדְרֶנָּה): refers back to the fire,<sup>73</sup> since the language of masculine may be

זולל in the first instance.

<sup>66</sup> i.e., the root "to curse."

<sup>67</sup> i.e., because Lam.R. understood the words ALL THOSE GOING ALONG THE ROAD (כָּל עֹבְרֵי דֶרֶךְ) to mean "all those transgressing the way [of G-D], i.e., the Torah" (Lam.R. 1:40, ET 117), it was tempting to try to read לֹא as אֵלֹי "cursed" or אֵלָה "a curse." Ibn Ezra disagreed.

<sup>68</sup> Rashi's conclusion as well: see his commentary on this verse.

<sup>69</sup> "from the pu'al conjugation," lit., "from the heavy conjugation whose infinitive does not happen." In Ibn Ezra's terminology, the "heavy conjugation" is pi'el; the "heavy-conjugation-whose-infinitive-does-not-happen" is the pu'al, since there is no infinitive for pu'al.

<sup>70</sup> "the second vowel point is not a sere," lit., "it is not with a small qamets." In Ibn Ezra's terminology, a "small qamets" is a sere. עוֹלֵל is a ע"ע verb, whose "pi'el" (really po'lel) is עוֹלֵל and whose "pu'al" (really po'lal) is עוֹלָל, see GKC 55d.

<sup>71</sup> Ps. 40:3, ET 2: כִּוְּן is a "pi'el" and has a direct object (MY STEPS).

<sup>72</sup> Ex. 9:3, a qal feminine participle. Ibn Janah 188 allowed for two possibilities: הוֹיָה is the hif'il of יָגַה, or it is the qal participle of הָגַה (grown, utter). By citing the participle in Ex. 9:3, Ibn Ezra opts for the latter for a theological reason: he avoids having "God" as the subject of "afflict."

found, as A FIRE NOT BLOWN WILL CONSUME (תֹּאכְלֶהוּ) HIM;<sup>74</sup>  
and its meaning is as AND HE WILL NOT PREVAIL OVER HIM  
(יִרְדְּנוּ) IN HARSHNESS.<sup>75</sup>

1:14 And the word נִשְׁקַד<sup>76</sup> has no father and  
mother,<sup>77</sup> and the meaning is as נִמְשָׁךְ,<sup>78</sup> as נִמְהָר.<sup>79</sup>

And יִשְׁתַּרְגֵּן was from the conjugation hitpa'el, from  
the family<sup>80</sup> of שְׂרִיגִים (tendrils).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Job 20:26. According to GKC.122.o, "fire" is, in fact, sometimes masculine, although it is predominately feminine.

<sup>75</sup> Lev. 25:53. Ibn Janah 470 gives this Lev. example before citing this instance (Lam. 1:13).

<sup>76</sup> The opening word of v. 14 occurs only here in the Hebrew Bible; for a compact discussion of modern options, see Hillers 73.

<sup>77</sup> An orphan! i.e., it is a hapax legomenon whose root does not even occur again in the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>78</sup> The nif'al of מָשַׁךְ (rare in the Bible, and meaning "to be extended" [KBL 610]); according to Jastrow 853 it means "to be stretched" etc. Apparently this verb can be connected with yoking or slavery: see Even-Shoshan m795 who cites the Hebrew tr. of Saadiah Gaon's Siddur.

<sup>79</sup> According to Holladay 185, the rare nif'al of מָהַר (usually pi'el, almost always so outside the Bible [Jastrow 737; Even-Shoshan m640]) occurs in the Bible in Job 5:13, AND THE ADVICE OF THE CUNNING IS [QUICKLY THROWN DOWN?]; apparently Ibn Ezra means that even though the yoke of transgressions is sloughed off, it is quickly lifted back up on. Thus rather the opposite in meaning from נִמְשָׁךְ. The force of the AS... AS seems, then, to be, "either... or." Thus Ibn Ezra suggests two meanings based on the context in the verse.

<sup>80</sup> i.e., a rare word, but no orphan like נִשְׁקַד.

<sup>81</sup> Gn. 40:10. שְׂרִיגִים shows the root in its proper order, without metathesis of the hitpa'el conjugation which appears here in Lam. 1:14. Ibn Janah cites this verse first to define the root ש.ר.ג.

CAUSED TO STUMBLE: refers back to THE YOKE OF MY TRANSGRESSIONS.<sup>82</sup>

And "whom" is lacking after INTO THE HANDS; also "with him" or "before him" are lacking after STAND.<sup>83</sup>

1:15 סָלָה: from the form קָסַלָה;<sup>84</sup> and thus גַּת דֶּרֶךְ (G-D TREADED THE WINEPRESS), דָּרַךְ (he trod) is from דֶּרֶךְ (road)--only<sup>85</sup> סָלָה was a different root.<sup>86</sup>

WINEPRESS (גַּת): יָקַב.<sup>87</sup>

VIRGIN OF: in construct with<sup>88</sup> DAUGHTER.

THE DAUGHTER OF JUDAH is the entire tribe, and THE VIRGIN is Jerusalem.

<sup>82</sup> The subject of CAUSED TO STUMBLE is THE YOKE--a theological reading on Ibn Ezra's part which avoids any suggestion that the subject is God. However the context of the verse suggests that the subject may, in fact, God (see Hillers 62, 73-4).

<sup>83</sup> In other words, the line should read, "The Lord gave me into the hands of the one with/before whom I am not able to stand."

<sup>84</sup> HIGHWAY, Is. 11:16 (a cognate accusative construction). This was Rashi's opinion. Ibn Ezra seems to hold to this and goes on to cite another cognate accusative construction having to do with roads in the third line of this same verse (Lam. 1:15).

<sup>85</sup> As in v.8, Ibn Ezra first cites a derivation with which he does not agree, and then cites the one with which he does.

<sup>86</sup> סָלָה and not סָלַל: see Ibn Janah 340, KBL 714, and my note with reference to Rashi's commentary on the same verse.

<sup>87</sup> winevat or winepress, a more common word in the Bible than גַּת.

<sup>88</sup> lit., "leaning" (הִסְמוּכָה). Later grammarians would describe the construct state as סְמוּכָה.



1:16 WEAPING (בוכיה): as פוריה.<sup>89</sup>

MY EYE (עיני), MY EYE FLOWS (יורדה) WATER: the human eye (עין אנוש) is like the spring of water (עין), and the spring streams (יזל) water, and the two of them<sup>90</sup> are transitive<sup>91</sup> verbs.<sup>92</sup>

1:17 STRETCHES: the IN (ב) IN HER HAND (בידיה) is superfluous,<sup>93</sup> as YOU MADE THEM DRINK TEARS (lit.: בדמעון).<sup>94</sup>

1:18 Every נא<sup>95</sup> means "now" (עתה), and thus ALAS NOW FOR US, FOR WE HAVE SINNED;<sup>96</sup> also GOD, NOW (נא), HEAL HER, NOW (נא)<sup>97</sup>--therefore G-D answered, WILL SHE

<sup>89</sup> FRUIT-BEARING, Ps. 128:3. That is, בָּקָה instead of the expected בָּקָה for the gal active feminine participle.

<sup>90</sup> נזל and ירד.

<sup>91</sup> lit., "standing."

<sup>92</sup> i.e., usually they are intransitive verbs, e.g., "Water flows," but both can on occasion appear transitive. See GKC 117.z: ירד (e.g., Jer. 13:17, MY EYE FLOWS DOWN TEAR, i.e., "my eyes flow with tears"); and נזל (e.g., Job 36:28, clouds flow rain).

<sup>93</sup> lit. "added".

<sup>94</sup> Ps. 80:6, ET 5. The modern explanation of this ב is that it is instrumental, i.e., SHE REACHES OUT WITH HER HAND, see Hillers 75.

<sup>95</sup> Approximately "prithoe," but Ibn Ezra will argue that it has the nuance of importunity.

<sup>96</sup> Lam. 5:16.

<sup>97</sup> Num. 12:13.

APPENDIX 4, Ibn Ezra on Lamentations, ch. 1

XC

NOT BE IN DISGRACE SEVEN DAYS?;<sup>98</sup> LET BE KILLED, NOW;<sup>99</sup>  
SPEAK, NOW;<sup>100</sup> HEAR, NOW;<sup>101</sup> and with an added alef it  
is the language of request, but in Arabic,<sup>102</sup> it is the  
opposite and it is as עתה.<sup>103</sup>

1:19 TO MY LOVERS (למאהבי): it is not as MY  
BELOVED (אוהבי),<sup>104</sup> and thus its meaning is "to those  
requesting me to love them."<sup>105</sup>

1:20 WERE IN FERMENT (חמרמרו): doubling of the ו  
and the ל,<sup>106</sup> and its meaning is like "fouled"  
(עכורים), and thus "MY FACE WAS IN FERMENT (חמרמרו);"<sup>107</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Num. 12:14. That is, not "now" but in seven days.

<sup>99</sup> Jer. 38:4.

<sup>100</sup> Ex. 11:2.

<sup>101</sup> Ex. 11:2.

<sup>102</sup> lit., "in the language of Ishmael."

<sup>103</sup> Ibn Ezra's distinction is a bit precious. See GKC 105 and Holladay 223, 22. Also, Ibn Ezra is implicitly taking issue with Ibn Janah 279 who recognizes that נא can mean "request" as well as "now."

<sup>104</sup> Ps. 38:12 (ET, 13), etc.

<sup>105</sup> According to KBL אוהב means friend, while מאהב usually means "lover" in an adulterous sense (see also Evān-Shoshan k20). So there is some evidence for the distinction that both Ibn Ezra and Rashi (see his commentary on this same verse) make. I have tried to express the difference by calling the qal form "beloved" and the pi'el form "lovers."

<sup>106</sup> i.e., it is a pe'al'al.

<sup>107</sup> Job 16:16, FROM WEAPING.

and it is from the form חומר (cement, mire), since the weeping is like water,<sup>108</sup> and thus WINE FOAMS (חמר).<sup>109</sup>

1:21 YOU BROUGHT THE DAY YOU CALLED: The word לו<sup>110</sup> is lacking before YOU BROUGHT, as if it were wished. And perhaps<sup>111</sup> to be in its sense.<sup>112</sup>

1:22 AND HE DEALT, "he acted," from the form HIS [i.e. God's] DEEDS (עלילותיו);<sup>113</sup> and the correct is that its meaning is like טבה,<sup>114</sup> and thus<sup>115</sup> AND TO HIM ARE DEEDS (עלילות) WEIGHED OUT.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>108</sup> i.e., tears ferment the visage in the same way as water heats up dry cement or mortar.

<sup>109</sup> Ps. 75:9, ET 8. Where Ibn Ezra sees one root for cement and wine, KBL 316-7 sees two. The root of חמרמו is similarly ambiguous. Cf. Ibn Janah 160, who also tries to tie these two word groups together in a somewhat similar way.

<sup>110</sup> לו means "Oh that!," "Would to God that!"

<sup>111</sup> i.e., "Alternatively": lit. ויתכן.

<sup>112</sup> i.e., it is to be interpreted in its "literal meaning (משמע)," YCJ BROUGHT...."

<sup>113</sup> 1 Chr. 16:8 HIS DEEDS. Ibn Janah 367 relates it to Dt. 22:14, where the "deeds" are clearly misdeeds. By citing instead 1 Chr. 16:8, a passage where the "deeds" are clearly not misdeeds. Ibn Ezra seems to be trying to avoid the impression that God causes misfortune directly.

<sup>114</sup> From טבב and is a "turn of affairs" in the Bible and in later Hebrew it can also mean "cause, reason."

<sup>115</sup> 1 Sam. 2:3; evidently Ibn Ezra's text read לו and not לא, a common variant, see note in BHS.

<sup>116</sup> Thus 1:21-22 would read: "You brought the day you called, and they will be like me. All their evil will come before you, and he did to them as you did to me...." Either Ibn Ezra understands these perfects to be "perfects of prophecy" (GKC 106m-o), or he hints that the poem might have been written after the

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fall of Babylon but before the restoration.

Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 2

2:1 CLOUDED (יעִיב): There are those who say יעִיב is from עב (cloud), as "make/is dark";<sup>1</sup> and the correct is "He made high as a cloud."<sup>2</sup>

FOOTSTOOL (הדָּם): a likeness of a small seat for feet.<sup>3</sup>

2:2 The א of נֹאֵת is in place of ו,<sup>4</sup> as נֹת

<sup>1</sup> e.g., Ps. 139:12, EVEN THE DARKNESS IS NOT DARK TO YOU. Ibn Ezra in effect disagrees with Ibn Janah 365 who associates this verb with "cloud" in its obscuring function, as in Job 22:14.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., "encloud (raise up into the clouds)," not "becloud (make dark with clouds)." According to KBG 750 the verb, which occurs only here in the Bible, is denominative (from עב, cloud); its etimological roots emphasize "darkness" not "altitude" (KBL 730). Certainly later Hebrew readers assumed it meant "to darken" (Even-Shoshan m960). Correct or not (serious or not), Ibn Ezra's meaning is plain: God exalts the Daughter of Zion only to cast her from heaven ("Perush" follows Ibn Ezra here: see his comment on this verse). The poem itself may well be presenting a play on words: to darken by clouds is in part a reference to the heavens from where God casts down Zion.

<sup>3</sup> This comment does two things: 1. defines the somewhat unusual noun; 2. emphasizes that this is a figure of speech and only such.

<sup>4</sup> Correct according to KBL 641.

תקאו לכם<sup>5</sup> and so רועים<sup>6</sup>

2:3 BURNED (ויבער) : a intransitive<sup>7</sup> verb, and "anger" is lacking [as its subject], and the correct is that it refers back to IN THE BURNING OF ANGER.<sup>8</sup>

2:4<sup>9</sup> HIS RIGHT HAND IS STATIONED (נצב ימיו): nif'al conjugation, and there is another masculine "hand" (ימיו): נאדרי בכח.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> SHEPHERDS' MEADOWS, Zeph. 2:6--a point which Ibn Janah 291 makes. That is, here is an instance where the ך is not added; MT has נות כלב רועים, which is difficult; BHS notes that the Vulgate lacks the puzzling כלב; in leaving out the difficult word, Ibn Ezra is making a point. Either Ibn Ezra's text lacked it (highly unlikely), or he was indicating that it was out of place in the context (and hence almost emending the text).

<sup>6</sup> YOU SHALL MARK OUT, Num. 34:7: according to KBL תתאו is denominative and from תו. Thus Ibn Ezra's point is that תתאו like תאו has an ך which represents the ך of the root.

<sup>7</sup> lit., "standing"; it can be transitive too, see KBL 139-140.

<sup>8</sup> i.e., it refers back to 2:3a for a subject. Ibn Ezra is anxious to avoid "God" being the subject of "burned"; in fact, the context favors just this, and is usually so translated (Hillers 93). Ibn Ezra's solution to his posed problem is clever rather than plausible.

<sup>9</sup> The problem in this verse is that "right hand" (ימיו) is invariably feminine, but that here it is the subject of a masculine verb.

<sup>10</sup> Ex. 15:6: נאדרי בכח, but it should read נאדרת בכח since ימיו is always feminine (see KBL 396); KBG 16 takes נאדרי as construct state, but GKC 301 sees it as vocative. Perhaps Ibn Ezra understands it as an adjective with an ך ending. At any rate, Ibn Ezra has juxtaposed two impossible verses and proposed a solution which keeps the MT intact; but modern philologists prefer to emend both.

2:5 AND HE MULTIPLIED (וַיַּרְבֶּה) : with a segol<sup>11</sup>  
under the י, from the hif'il.<sup>12</sup>

2:6 HE STRIPPED (וַיַּחַמֵּס): YOUR HEALS STRIPPED  
(נַחֲמָסוּ עֲקֵבֶיךָ).<sup>13</sup>

סִכּוֹ<sup>14</sup> and סִכְתּוֹ<sup>15</sup> are like חִקּוֹ<sup>16</sup> and חִקְתּוֹ.<sup>17</sup>

HIS APPOINTED [THING] (מוֹעֵדוֹ) : like בָּאֵי מוֹעֵד.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> lit. "three points."

<sup>12</sup> lit., "added heavy conjugation," Ibn Ezra's term for hif'il; and, for those who know, he is also explaining that the root is רִבֵּה, as the segol indicates. He is quite correct, of course; see Holladay 331.

<sup>13</sup> Jer. 13:22. The meaning Ibn Janah 159-60 suggests for חַמַּס in Lam. 2:6, Job 15:33 and Jer. 13:22 is "reveal and break down." For Lam. 2:6, KBL 316 suggests "treat violently," and for Jer. 13:22 "stripped," since it parallels "your skirts are lifted up." It is this latter sense Ibn Ezra seems to have in mind. It is tempting to think that Ibn Ezra imagines stripping the booth after the Feast of Booths.

<sup>14</sup> Either Ibn Ezra's text חִקּוֹ and not חִקְתּוֹ as in BHS; or more likely he is explaining this hapax legomenon by writing it in its more usual spelling (see Ibn Janah 337), and then explaining its meaning by referring to the more common alternate feminine form. He goes on to explain its form by referring to a morphological parallel. Without saying so, therefore, Ibn Ezra has revealed both חִקְתּוֹ meaning, as well as its form.

<sup>15</sup> Ps. 18:12, ET 11; Job 36:29. According to KBL 711, these are two different words: סִכּ and סִכָּה; and they have very similar meanings.

<sup>16</sup> Pro. 8:29.

<sup>17</sup> A hypothetical form of חִקָּה which does not occur in scripture. For חִק and חִקָּה see KBL 332-3. The form of these two words parallel חִק and its feminine variant.

<sup>18</sup> i.e., the מוֹעֵד of line one is like the מוֹעֵד of 1:4a, i.e., it means the Temple. מוֹעֵד here has two possible meanings: 1. It parallels COVERT of this line in which it occurs and therefore means the Temple, or, 2. It parallels FEAST AND SABBATH of the next line and therefore means "his feast." Ibn Ezra opts for the former. (As usual, Ibn Ezra tries to communicate the most with the least.)

2:7<sup>19</sup> SPURNED (נָאַר) : נ is root;<sup>20</sup> YOU SPURNED  
(נֶאֱרָתָה) THE COVENANT OF YOUR SERVANT,<sup>21</sup> like עִזָּב or  
שָׁנָא.<sup>22</sup>

2:8 HE STRETCHED OUT A LINE: תָּהוּ.<sup>23</sup>

RAMPART (חָל): as, AND IT STOOD ON THE RAMPART  
(חָל),<sup>24</sup> and it is the area surrounding a wall.<sup>25</sup>

2:9 HE DESTROYED AND HE BROKE: it refers back to  
the Name written in the previous verse.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The problem Ibn Ezra focuses on in this verse is a very rare verb, whose form is non-standard as well.

<sup>20</sup> i.e., the נ is part of the triliteral root; we would expect נָאַר because נֶאֱרָ is a middle guttural verb--but an ע"א verb is an exception to the rule (see GKC 64e, 170); if we did not know this, we might suppose this to be some sort of nif'al form, or maybe even a 1st common plural form. Now that Ibn Ezra has explained the form, he will give its meaning.

<sup>21</sup> Ps. 89:40, ET 39: BHS has נֶאֱרָתָה. The identification of its root and its definition from Ps. 89:40 are found in Ibn Janah 280.

<sup>22</sup> i.e., similar in meaning to "abandon" or "hate": correct, see Holladay 224.

<sup>23</sup> Is. 34:11b, HE STRETCHED OUT OVER HER THE LINE OF FORMLESSNESS (תָּהוּ) AND THE PLUMMET OF VOID (בְּהוּ), as the famous תָּהוּ וּבְהוּ of Gn. 1:2, THE EARTH WAS FORMLESS AND VOID. Stretching out the line over constructions in scripture can be for building (Zech. 1:16), but is more usually for destruction. By simply saying תָּהוּ, Ibn Ezra has forcefully said the horrible truth.

<sup>24</sup> 2 Sam. 20:15.

<sup>25</sup> i.e., an outer wall or defence work: correct, see Holladay 103; (a relatively rare word needing explanation).

<sup>26</sup> The second word of 2:a is subject of 2:8a and b; 8c and the first half of 9a, the subject is rampart, wall and gates, but in the second half of 9b the subject changes and returns to G-D, only to change again in 9b; G-D is not the subject again until 17a.



2:10 THEIR HEAD: hair of their head, or as its meaning.<sup>27</sup>

2:11 IN TURMOIL: as before.<sup>28</sup>

WHEN FAINTED (בְּעָטָה) : lacking the ה;<sup>29</sup> from the nif'al conjugation, as בְּהָרַג הָרַג.<sup>30</sup>

2:12 The ש in בְּהִשְׁתַּפֵּר is before the ה;<sup>31</sup> hitpa'el, as הִשְׁתַּפֵּר.<sup>32</sup>

2:13 SHALL I WITNESS (אֶעֱיֵד) : from the form of "witness" (עֵדוּת).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Either "their heads" is metonymy for their hair, or "heads" is to be taken in its literal sense. If the former, then Ibn Ezra supposes the women as a sign of mourning let down their previously braided hair. If the latter, then the women's heads were literally dragging on the ground.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Ezra refers us to his comment in 1:20 above, where the same expression occurs.

<sup>29</sup> We would expect בְּהִעָטָה.

<sup>30</sup> WHEN A SLAUGHTER IS SLAUGHTERED, Ez. 25:15, which features another nif'al infinitive with the ה which disappears after an inseparable preposition.

<sup>31</sup> i.e., metathesis.

<sup>32</sup> AND IS OBSERVED, in Mic. 6:16: an obscure verse because of the difficulty of exactly this verb. Ibn Ezra chooses it because it happens to exhibit the same metathesis and to have exactly the same sequence of vowel points as does the verb in Lamentations he is explaining.

<sup>33</sup> This is an almost impossible condensation of a long discussion by Ibn Janah 358 of the root ע.ו.ד, in which (among many other observations) he notes that its meaning in Deut. 4:26, ("I call heaven and earth to testify against you") is as in the noun form of the root in Ps. 119:2 ("Happy are those who keep your

2:14 AND INSIPID (ותפל) : like טוֹא,<sup>34</sup> and so, IS WHAT IS TASTELESS EATEN...?<sup>35</sup>--that it has no taste;<sup>36</sup> from the upright way--HE DID NOT GIVE UNSAVORINESS (תפלה).<sup>37</sup>

משאית:<sup>38</sup> prophecies; and thus, THE ORACLE CONCERN-  
ING DAMASCUS (משא דמשק).<sup>39</sup>

2:15 THE PERFECTION OF BEAUTY (כלילת יפי) : from the form כל.<sup>40</sup>

testimonies" [עדותיו]). He further notes that its meaning in Lam. 2:12 is similar to Deut. 4:26.

<sup>34</sup> i.e., the metaphorical meaning can be deduced by the word it parallels. Ibn Ezra will now cite almost word for word Ibn Janah 547: "IS WHAT IS TASTELESS EATEN [Job 6:6]--food which has no taste, and it is something revolting. Long ago there was derived from it WORTHLESS AND INSIPID [Lam. 2:14]; HE DID NOT GIVE UNSAVORINESS [Job 1:22]...."

<sup>35</sup> Job 6:6.

<sup>36</sup> This is its concrete meaning.

<sup>37</sup> UNSAVOURINESS [TO GOD], Job 1:22--a metaphorical meaning and hence its meaning in this passage in Lamentations.

<sup>38</sup> This is the only place in the HB that the plural of משא (burden or oracle) occurs (Even-Shoshan k713-4): Ibn Ezra will explain that 1. It means oracle and not burden; 2. It is in the construct state.

<sup>39</sup> Is. 17:1. There are many examples of משא in the singular in the construct state, but the oracle *re* Damascus is particularly apt: it announce the imminent end of Damascus as a city--just what had happened to Jerusalem.

<sup>40</sup> i.e., from the word group of which כל (all) is the most common member.

2:16 OPENED (פצו) : OPENS (יפצה) HIS MOUTH.<sup>41</sup>

2:17 FULFILL (בצע) : complete (כלה), and thus,  
AND HIS HANDS WILL COMPLETE (וידיו תבצענה)....<sup>42</sup>

2:18 PAUSE (פוגה): in the construct state,<sup>43</sup> and  
its meaning "a pause of an eye (פוגה עין)," from the  
form, AND HIS HEART SKIPPED A BEAT (ויפג לבו)....<sup>44</sup>

2:19 MAKE A RINGING CRY (רני) : raising the voice  
in song or in mourning; and thus, AND THE RINGING CRY  
WENT ACROSS (ויעבר הרנה).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Job 35:16. As Ibn Janah 406 points out, פצה can mean two things: Job 35:16 etc. represents one meaning, and Ps. 147:7 and 10 another. Ibn Ezra should have mentioned Ps. 22:14, ET 13, as a more exact parallel, but Ibn Janah does not mention this example, nor this instance in Lam. I take this to be an indication of the extent to which Ibn Ezra was at times indebted to Ibn Janah.

<sup>42</sup> Zech. 4:9. בצע has a number of meanings (see Holladay 45); Ibn Janah 72 points out that its meaning in Lam. here is similar to that in Zech. 4:9.

<sup>43</sup> "construct state," lit., "cleaving": the noun occurs only here and it looks exactly like the construct state of a noun פוגה and Hillers 101 agrees it might be, and Holladay 19 says that it is; usually, however, modern philology has seen this as an unusual feminine ending, see GKC 80f.

<sup>44</sup> Gn. 45:26. This verse contains the verb from which the noun is derived, as note both Rashi and Ibn Janah 396.

<sup>45</sup> 1 K. 22:36 is an example of the noun form of the root and an example when, as in Lam. 2:19, it means mourning: so Ibn Janah 482.

2:20 DANDLING (טפוחים): from the form טפח span,<sup>46</sup>  
as the custom of women with their<sup>47</sup> small children,  
that they may sleep.

2:21 LAY DOWN (שכבו) : from the sense, AND I LIE  
DOWN WITH MY FATHERS....<sup>48</sup>

2:22 MY FEARS (מגורי): from the form BE AFRAID  
(גורו) OF THE SWORD;<sup>49</sup> and there are those who say that  
the sense is "men of my fears (אנשי מגורי)".<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Thus the abstract noun (which only occurs here) would mean "spanningness," the act of handling with the palms, or the like.

<sup>47</sup> Both Bomberg and Krinski have ילדיהם, apparently meaning "their [husbands'] children." As moderns we would prefer ילדיהן ("their children").

<sup>48</sup> Gn. 47:30. That is, one of the meanings of the common verb "lie down" is to "lie down in the sleep of death," as Ibn Janah 511 mentions.

<sup>49</sup> Job 19:29. As the MT stands, Ibn Ezra is right; see Albrectson 124-5.

<sup>50</sup> i.e., those of whom I am afraid; i.e., an abstract subjective genitive (Waltke-O'Connor 9.5e, 144), but the "men" is understood. Ibn Ezra has correctly identified the morphology of the word in question, but he merely notes an opinion as to its meaning--which is a tacit admission that the line is difficult.

Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 3

⌘ 3:1 I AM THE MAN: our forebears of blest memory said that this was the scroll Jeremiah wrote. If so, he would be the one saying, I AM THE MAN.<sup>1</sup> Or, each and every Israelite might say [it].<sup>2</sup>

"affliction": it is in the construct state<sup>3</sup> and it would lack the word<sup>4</sup> "captivity" or "exile."

And HE SAW in place of "I saw,"<sup>5</sup> as "...AND ONE WAS LEFT ALONE--I...."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The scroll Jeremiah wrote in Jer. 31: see Lam.R. 3:1, ET 188; Proem 28, ET 53-54--an interpretation which Ibn Ezra has already discounted in his introduction to Lamentations above.

<sup>2</sup> Either this corporate interpretation of the I AM THE MAN alludes to a midrashic interpretation like that of R. Samuel b. Nahman in Lam.R. 3:1, ET 190, or it is Ibn Ezra's alternative to the rabbinic interpretation of Jer. 36.

<sup>3</sup> lit. "leaned," Ibn Ezra's term for the construct state. Why does Ibn Ezra think this? Because there is a zaqef qatan over it. The zeqef qatan accompanies a pausal form: e.g., 3:37 we have וְהָיָה, whereas the non-pausal form would be וְהָיָה as in Genesis 10:10. The pausal form of וְהָיָה is וְהָיָה as in Deuteronomy 16:3. I rather think there must be another explanation for the oddity to which Ibn Ezra has drawn our attention. But fair is fair. He has pointed out something that even the most attentive readers would miss.

<sup>4</sup> lit., "place of," i.e., the nomen rectum, see GKC 128.1.a.

<sup>5</sup> i.e., it should read "I am the man who saw affliction," but instead it reads, I AM THE MAN, HE SAW AFFLICTION.

<sup>6</sup> Ez. 9:8. Surely Ibn Ezra could have picked an easier example! BHS reads וְהָיָה אֲנִי, but the note on it observes that this is a "mixed form" and further observes that many manuscripts read וְהָיָה, which is how Ibn Ezra reads it. At any rate, since

OF HIS WRATH: refers back to MY ENEMY CONSUMED THEM.<sup>7</sup> And there are those<sup>8</sup> who say that it refers back to the anger of the Name,<sup>9</sup> but this is not correct in my eyes. And the one complaining said that the foe was afflicting him with the rod of his anger.<sup>10</sup>

3:2 ME HE DROVE: from my place into a place of darkness.<sup>11</sup>

3:3 Anyone who interprets the HIS (וְ) in OF HIS ANGER (עֲבַרְתִּי) with reference to God interprets HIS HAND IS TURNING [as] "his strike," as BEHOLD THE HAND OF G-D IS ON YOUR LIVESTOCK,<sup>12</sup> and the strike is by the Hand.<sup>13</sup>

Ezekiel is speaking, it ought to read וְשִׁמְרִי.

<sup>7</sup> i.e., 2:22. Ibn Ezra shies away from the contextual meaning of this verse on account of his doctrinal scruples, for he wishes avoid the impression that God causes suffering or evil.

<sup>8</sup> Rashi, for example.

<sup>9</sup> Lam. 2:21, YOU KILLED ON THE DAY OF YOUR ANGER....

<sup>10</sup> This last sentence is Ibn Ezra's (interpretive) paraphrase of this verse.

<sup>11</sup> The MT reads: ME HE DROVE AND MADE TO GO DARKNESS AND NOT LIGHT; Ibn Ezra has straightened out the syntax by paraphrase.

<sup>12</sup> Ex. 9:3.

<sup>13</sup> i.e., here in Lam. "hand" is metonymy for "a hand which strikes," just as it is in Ex. 9:3.

ב 3:4 The flesh and the skin which have feeling wasted away; and the bones which have no feeling are broken.<sup>14</sup>

3:5 AND HE SURROUNDED--GALL: with trouble and hardships;<sup>15</sup> or it may be as, "And my people is hung,"<sup>16</sup> and let the HEAD be a female noun, and the ה disappear,<sup>17</sup> AND THE HAIR HAS NOT TURNED WHITE.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Each verb is suited to its subject, and the whole means that everything is damaged irreparably.

<sup>15</sup> The MT reads, HE BUILT UPON ME AND SURROUNDED--GALL AND HARDSHIP: thus Ibn Ezra reads the last half of the line, "...he surrounded me with gall and hardships." The preposition must be supplied to make sense of the line. But since that is not entirely satisfactory, Ibn Ezra goes on to suggest an alternative reading.

<sup>16</sup> Hos. 9:7, וְעָמִי תִלְאִים, וְעָמִי תִלְאִים is a rare alternate form of the much more common תִּלְאָה; modern philologists try to emend this verse in Hosea. See KBL 1599.

<sup>17</sup> i.e., Suppose "head" had an unattested alternate feminine form, as "hair" does (שַׁעֲרָה and שַׁעֲרָה).

<sup>18</sup> Lev. 13:4, the MT reads שַׁעֲרָה which is half way between שַׁעֲרָה (the relatively rare feminine word for "hair"), and what the text ought to read שַׁעֲרָה, which is the more common masculine word for hair plus and 3rd f sing pronominal suffix. Ibn Ezra reads the text in the former, more unlikely manner. But if it is "hair" (feminine), then the verb ought to be feminine too. It is not; the ה feminine ending for the verb has "disappeared." In an analogous fashion, the ה of the hypothetical רָאָה disappeared. At any rate, if in this verse of Lamentations תִּלְאָה is the verb תִּלְאָה with a 3rd f sing pronominal suffix whose antecedent is a feminine form of head (תִּלְאָה), how do we read the verse? The verb יִכָּה would not be from (KBL 681-2) II. יָכָה ("surround") but rather from I. יָכָה ("strike off"). And thus the entire line would read something like: "he built siege works against me and struck off my head and hung it up." I do not know whether to take Ibn Ezra seriously here. In order to make the line read in the alternative fashion, his grammatical reconstruction is so improbable that it seems hardly credible. Perhaps Ibn Ezra is saying that you *might* read the verse this way, but look how you would have to twist the grammar if you did! My own view of the matter is that the Hebrew poet deliberately constructed the line so as to invite this play on

3:6 IN THE DARKNESSES: a dark place within a dark place.<sup>19</sup>

ג 3:7 MY BONDS (נחשתי):<sup>20</sup> my fetters כבלי.

3:8 HE CLOSED OFF (שהם): with ש as ס,<sup>21</sup> and thus השירו ולא ממני.<sup>22</sup>

3:9 MY PATHS: the paths known to me.<sup>23</sup>

words.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Ezra explains the use of the plural here, a plural of emphasis, see GKC 124.

<sup>20</sup> In Biblical Hebrew, this word meant "copper" or (usually plural) "fetters" (Albrektson 132); but in post-Biblical Hebrew, it did not have this meaning (Jastrow 893-4). So Ibn Janah 300 explains its meaning by using the word כבל, which, while rare in Biblical Hebrew (KBL 437), was more common thereafter (Jastrow 608).

<sup>21</sup> i.e., שם is a (rare) alternate form of the common סם (correct according to KBL 1270; probably not correct according to Albrektson 132). Ibn Ezra's next comment is meant more to clarify the verse he cites as much as this verse of Lamentations.

<sup>22</sup> Hos. 8:4, except that Ibn Ezra reverses the order of the words, for the MT reads ולא ממני השירו; it is, at any rate, a difficult verse, but see his comment on that verse, which he reads as AND THEY PUT [THESE IDOLS] AWAY (הסירו) FROM ME (see Gn. 35:2, Jos. 24:14, 23, KBL 707). That is, he substituted the ש in השירו for ס, making הסירו. All this is very clever, but the context of Hos. 8:4 does not seem to favor Ibn Ezra's reading.

<sup>23</sup> i.e., I do not own the paths; they have only become "mine" through constant use. An example of an "adverbial genitive suffix," see WOC 16.4d.



ד 3:10<sup>24</sup> There are those who say it is the custom of a bear to herald the lion--this is far [from the case].<sup>25</sup>

3:11 There are those who say סורר is from the form סיריס, and thus BEHOLD I HEDGE HER WAY WITH THORNS (בסוריס).<sup>26</sup> But the right in my eyes is that it is a past tense verb from the form, AS A HEIFER TURNS ASIDE (סורר).<sup>27</sup>

3:12 LIKE A TARGET (מטרא): א in place of the ה of the feminine,<sup>28</sup> and it is from the form נוטר.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Bomberg has this comment under ג, but it should be ד.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Ezra exposes the naïveté of his exegetical rivals.

<sup>26</sup> Hos. 2:8, ET 6; Rashi expounds this view in his comment on this verse; as does Ibn Janah 335. Holladay 254 admits this as a possibility.

<sup>27</sup> Hos. 4:16, Ibn Ezra's translation of this verse--see his commentary on it; like Ibn Janah 335 (and Albrektson 135), Ibn Ezra see it as a polel of סור. (More modern philology sees a root other than סור and translates IS STUBBORN--see Holladay 260.)

<sup>28</sup> i.e., מטרא is an alternate from the מטרה, in which א replaces ה; Ibn Janah cites this word in this verse with ה instead of א.

<sup>29</sup> Nah. 1:2. Why does Ibn Ezra cite this participle form? Simply because the form נוטר does not occur as such, and the simplest form that occurs in the entire Bible, i.e., the one closest to the trilateral root, is this participle in Nahum. Ibn Ezra is not so much trying to establish the meaning of מטרא as to specify its root.

APPENDIX 4, Ibn Ezra on Lamentations, ch. 3

CVI

3:13 The quiver is likened to an impregnated womb.<sup>30</sup>

3:14 TO ALL MY PEOPLE (לְכָל עַמִּי): "while my people were making fun of me";<sup>31</sup> or, "to all the people who had been under my hand,"<sup>32</sup> as, AMALEK AND HIS PEOPLE;<sup>33</sup> or, the ו is superfluous.<sup>34</sup> And it is not, AND YOU DELIVERED ME FROM STRIVINGS OF <MY PEOPLE>, like "peoples,"<sup>35</sup> since it alludes to Saul, and thus it says at the beginning of the song, AND FROM THE HAND OF SAUL.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Ezra explains the metaphor implied in SONS OF HIS QUIVER.

<sup>31</sup> In this case, the speaker is someone like Jeremiah, who is being tortured (the previous verse) while his fellow citizens mock him.

<sup>32</sup> In this case, the speaker is Judah, and the reference is to the peoples who, though subjected by David, now destroy and mock Judah.

<sup>33</sup> Ex. 17:13.

<sup>34</sup> lit., "is added". In this case, it would mean "to every people."

<sup>35</sup> 2 Sam. 22:44: the MT reads MY PEOPLE (עַמִּי), but the small masora notes that here in 2 Sam. and in Lam. 3:14, a "supposed" (סביר) reading of עַמִּי is עַמִּים: the "my people" is really "people(s)."

<sup>36</sup> 2 Sam. 22:1. That is, it says at the introduction to the psalm, IN THE DAY THAT GOD DELIVERED HIM FROM THE HAND OF ALL HIS ENEMIES AND FROM THE HAND OF SAUL. V. 44 also talks of deliverance, and it must refer back to the delivering of David from the hand of Saul (and not enemies, since verse 44 does not mention them). Thus the small masora סביר reading errs: it should read either "my people" or "the people," since the reference is to Saul and his men.

3:15 The IN (ב) of IN BITTERNESS (במרורים) is superfluous,<sup>37</sup> and thus, IN TEARS BY MEASURE (בדמעות שלישי).<sup>38</sup>

3:16 AND HE CRUSHED (וַיִּגְרֹס): like, AND HE SHATTERED (וַיִּשְׁבֵּר),<sup>39</sup> and thus, MY SOUL IS CRUSHED (גִּרְסָה).<sup>40</sup>

HE MADE ME COWER (הַכְפִּישָׁנִי): it is a hapax legomenon,<sup>41</sup> and the sense is "he defiled me (גִּאֵלָנִי)".<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> i.e., the verb "be satisfied with" usually takes the accusative directly without the intervening preposition, as in Lam. 5:6 (see KBL 1215); and if the preposition were not there, the result would be a double accusative (see WOC 10.2.3).

<sup>38</sup> Ps. 80:6, ET 5: [AND YOU MADE THEM DRINK] IN TEARS BY MEASURE: here again, there is no grammatical reason for the IN.

<sup>39</sup> pi'el of שָׁבַר, e.g., Ex. 32:19, of Moses shattering the tables of law.

<sup>40</sup> Ps. 119:20, qal and intransitive. Ibn Janah 100 cites this occurrence in Ps. to define גִּרְסָה, and he says the root means שָׁבַר.

<sup>41</sup> lit. "It has no brother."

<sup>42</sup> גָּאֵל usually means "redeem" but an identical root means "defile" (see KBL 162). Ibn Ezra is reading verses 16-18 together. He reads (see below) 18a as I LOST MY LIFE BLOOD, on the basis of Isaiah 63:3, which has the verb גָּאֵל in the sense of "to defile [by being splattered with lifeblood]." If Ibn Ezra knows that this verb means to bend, then he intends to indicate "to bend into the ashes": what is dirtied is defiled. He is anxious to establish the context of defilement (גָּאֵל) to prepare for his interpretation of verse 18.

3:17 AND YOU REJECTED (וְתָזַנְחָה): like AND YOU  
REFUSED (וְתִמָּאֵס).<sup>43</sup>

3:18 נִצַּחִי:<sup>44</sup> my standing in lifeblood (נִצַּח) which  
I have, as, AND SPLATTERED IS THEIR LIFEblood (נִצַּחֵם)  
UPON MY CLOTHES, AND ALL MY GARMENTS I DEFILED  
(אֶגְאֵלֶהּ)<sup>45</sup> on account of the blood by which a living  
person establishes his strength (נִצַּח).<sup>46</sup>

3:19 THE REMEMBERING (זְכוּר): an infinitive,  
AS THE REMEMBERING OF THEIR CHILDREN (כְּזִכּוּר בְּנֵיהֶם);<sup>47</sup>  
or, it means a request to G-D.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Ps. 89:39, ET 38, וְאַתָּה זָנַחְתָּ וְתִמָּאֵס. The next verse ends,  
YOU DEFILED (חָלַל) HIS CROWN ON THE GROUND. Ibn Ezra's emphasis on  
rejection and defilement by putting on the ground continues.

<sup>44</sup> According to Albrectson 139, this word probably means  
"endurance, permanence." It also happens to be identical with a  
rare word for "juice (of grapes)," which in Is. 63:3 is used meta-  
phorically for "lifeblood" (KBL 676).

<sup>45</sup> Is. 63:3.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Janah 314 thought that the abstract notion נִצַּח  
("strength," etc.) was a metaphor for the concret "blood" in Is.  
63: 3 and 6 and here in Lam.: "their blood, because in it is the  
strength and the life...."

<sup>47</sup> Jer. 17:2. Therefore Ibn Ezra reads this verse in  
Lamentations in this way: THE REMEMBERING OF MY AFFLICTION AND  
WANDERING IS WORMWOOD AND GALL. The context of the verse in  
Jeremiah is apt here. Judah is remembering things for which it  
ought to be ashamed: if THEIR CHILDREN is not emended, then the  
reference would be to children sacrificed to idols, as Ibn Janah  
132 says in his discussion of Jer. 17:2 under the root זָכַר.

<sup>48</sup> i.e., alternatively, it could be an imperative, in which  
case it would read, REMEMBER MY AFFLICTION AND MY WANDERING--  
WORMWOOD AND GALL.

3:20 "When my soul remembers such an evil, it  
sinks down upon me."<sup>49</sup>

3:21 THIS is MY HOPE.<sup>50</sup>

ח 3:22 תִּמְנוּ: as its literal meaning;<sup>51</sup> or, the  
י instead of the doubling.<sup>52</sup>

3:23 THEY ARE NEW: these are the MERCIES.<sup>53</sup>

TO THE MORNINGS (לְבֹקֵרִים): "each day," as EACH  
MORNING [lit. TO THE MORNINGS] I DESTROY....<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Ezra straightens out the syntax, for the MT reads,  
REMEMBERING SHE/YOU REMEMBER, AND SHE/YOU SINK UPON ME--MY SOUL  
[feminine gender].

<sup>50</sup> In verse 18, the speaker says, MY HOPE FROM GOD IS LOST.  
But what exactly is "this hope"? According to this verse before  
us, *THIS* I ANSWER MY HEART; THEREFORE I HOPE. The *This* is what  
follows in the next verses: GOD'S MERCIES.... Ibn Ezra is reading  
this chapter as a unified composition--which it is as compared to  
the contrasting images of the other chapters.

<sup>51</sup> כְּמִשְׁמָעוֹ: as mentioned before, מִשְׁמָע signifies "literal  
meaning," and here it also harks back to its root שָׁמַע, "to hear."  
תִּמְנוּ means just the way we hear it, i.e., WE ARE CONSUMED, from  
the root מ.נ.ת.

<sup>52</sup> lit., "instead of the lack of the double," i.e., for some  
reason תִּמְנוּ is written instead of תִּמְנו, the י replaces the extra ם  
implied in the dagesh (for the root is תִּמְנָם). The line, therefore,  
would read: GOD'S MERCIES SURELY HAVE NOT BEEN CONSUMED.

<sup>53</sup> i.e., MERCIES and not the immediately preceding COMPAS-  
SIONS. So Ibn Ezra either reads these first two lines: THE MER-  
CIES OF GOD--FOR WE ARE NOT CONSUMED, FOR HIS COMPASSIONS HAVE NOT  
BEEN FINISHED--ARE NEW EVERY MORNING...; or, THE MERCIES OF GOD,  
SINCE THEY ARE NOT CONSUMED (SINCE HIS COMPASSIONS HAVE NOT BEEN  
FINISHED), ARE NEW EVERY MORNING....

<sup>54</sup> Ps. 101:8.

רָבָה: "great", or, as its literal meaning.<sup>55</sup>

3:24 SAID: to me.<sup>56</sup>

ו 3:25 WHO SEEKS HIM: in truth.<sup>57</sup>

3:26 The AND of AND WAITS is like the פה רפה in Arabic.<sup>58</sup>

3:27 YOKE: discipline.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Usually in the Bible the adjective רב means "numerous" (see KBL 1092-3), e.g., מכה רבה, "many blows" (Dt. 25:3); it can also mean less often and by extension "great," as it does in Ps. 48:3, ET 2, THE GREAT KING (i.e. God). (Ibn Janah 465 notes the two meanings of רב; see Ibn Ezra on Lam. 1:1.) Ezra's first option is the second meaning of רב: GREAT IS YOUR FAITHFULNESS, though YOUR FAITHFULNESSES ARE MANY is also possible.

<sup>56</sup> i.e., MY SOUL SAID [TO ME], i.e., the entire half line is read, "'My portion is God,' said my soul to myself." Therefore this is not a prayer, as if it read, "'God, you are my portion,' said my soul." Hillers 110 also interprets it thus.

<sup>57</sup> i.e., GOD IS GOOD TO THOSE WHO HOPE FOR HIM, TO THE SOUL WHO SEEKS HIM sincerely. However, verse 26-30 show just how difficult this "waiting and seeking" is. Therefore Ibn Ezra, out of respect for God, adds a rider to the apparently simple expression "seek God."

<sup>58</sup> lit. "the language of Ishmael." Arabic's explanatory particle و is undageshed (רפה) and is not to be translated "and": cf. the clitic γέ. Prof Levy points out an article in Hebrew on this in the festschrift for Edward Yechezkel Kutscher, by Gad B. Sarfatti et al., Bar-Ilan Univ., 1980. But if the "and" disappears, what are we left with? We avoid the awkward literalistic rendering of the MT: GOOD AND HE WAITS. Thus Ibn Ezra translates: "It is good: he waits and is silent."

<sup>59</sup> i.e., the harsh discipline outlined the next three verses. This is a "connecting" comment.

3:28 SINCE HE PUT UPON HIM: the yoke.<sup>60</sup>

3:29 "That he bow in homage to his maker till  
dust enter his mouth."<sup>61</sup>

3:30 The ב of בחרפה is superfluous, as is the ב  
of השביענו במרורים.<sup>62</sup>

3:31 REJECTS (יזנח): refuses (ימאס).<sup>63</sup>

3:32 AND HE PITIES (יִרְחֵם): like יִרְחֵם, and thus  
the way of the language, AND G-D BECOMES TO ME GOD.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> The MT reads: [THAT] HE SIT AND BE SILENT, THAT HE PUT UPON HIM--the last clause has no object. The obvious object is YOKE from the previous line. This is again a "connecting" comment. N.b., Hillers 116 and others dispute this traditional reading; Hillers, "when it is heavy on him."

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Ezra's paraphrase of the first half of this verse. That is, God's yoke does not crush a man to the dust. This is a voluntary act of homage.

<sup>62</sup> Lam. 3:15. A comment on the last half of this verse. What was true of the verb שבע in the hif'il in v. 15 (see Ibn Ezra's comment above) is true of this same verb in the gal in this verse. In Hebrew, unlike English, שבע means "be sated with," and no extra "with" is necessary.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Ezra repeats the content of an explanatory note from verse 17.

<sup>64</sup> Gn. 28:21: [IF] I COME AGAIN TO MY FATHER'S HOUSE, G-D WILL BE MY GOD [lit. AND G-D WAS]. That is, the ו of ורחם is a vav consecutive with perfect, in effect an imperfect, just as it is in Gn. 28:21; and in both cases, the ו is not translated at all as AND, because it serves to introduce the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

3:33 FROM HIS HEART:<sup>65</sup> "from his will."

וַיֵּצֵא:<sup>66</sup> א instead of ה, and it is hif'il,<sup>67</sup> as  
BRING OUT (הֵצֵא)<sup>68</sup> WITH YOU.

ל 3:34 TO CRUSH (לדכא): the א of לדכא is  
root.<sup>69</sup>

3:35-36 The word "to incline" (הטת) with "judg-  
ment" (משפט) is like צוֹת.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Does God really have a "heart"? Of course not. So Ibn Ezra's paraphrase avoids an anthropomorphism. A further implication would be that God is not swayed by emotions, as humans are.

<sup>66</sup> HE...AFFLICTS. Ibn Ezra is arguing that it ought to be וַיֵּצֵא and not וַיִּגֵּא. Just why will be evident soon.

<sup>67</sup> lit. "from the added heavy conjugation." According to GKC 69u, it is pi'el, a contraction of וַיֵּצֵא. But if it were hif'il, as a doubly weak verb it would be וַיִּגֵּא, as if וַיִּיר in 2 K. 13:17 (see GKC 76f). If the ה functions like an א, then this explains why it was not apocapated.

<sup>68</sup> Gn. 8:17; the qere, i.e., הֵצֵא (it is an irregular hif'il imperative) and not the ketiv, which, if it were vocalized, would be הוֹצֵא (see GKC 69v). Thus Ibn Ezra argues that while we would have expected וַיִּגֵּא, there is a precedent in Scripture for וַיֵּצֵא.

<sup>69</sup> An alternative form of דכא is the דכה of the Psalms (see KBL 212).

<sup>70</sup> i.e., the verb with which verse 35 begins (להטות, i.e., הטת), usually means "to turn/incline," but when used with "judgment" it has an idiomatic meaning of "to turn justice away from its course," and thus it parallels "to subvert a man in his judicial cause" of the next verse.



3:36-38 DID NOT SEE by wisdom to be thus.<sup>71</sup>

■ 3:39 יִתְאוּנוּ:<sup>72</sup> from the form אוֹן.<sup>73</sup>

י 3:40 נִחַפְשָׁה: from the qal conjugation.<sup>74</sup>

3:41 LET US LIFT (נִשָּׂא) OUR HEARTS: as the sense,  
AND ONE CARRIED (וְנִשָּׂא) PORTIONS....<sup>75</sup>

<sup>71</sup> "THE LORD DID NOT SEE [v.36b] by wisdom [GOD *IN WISDOM* FOUNDED EARTH--Pro. 3:19] to be thus." But "to be what"? Ibn Ezra implies that THE LORD DID NOT SEE is not to be connected with TO CRUSH...TO PERVERT...TO SUBVERT, for then he would have read, THE LORD DID NOT SEE FIT *to do* thus. Besides, the infinitive clauses of verses 31-33 have already been, in effect, connected with HE DID NOT AFFLICT FROM HIS WILL. Therefore, THE LORD DID NOT SEE in wisdom to be THE ONE WHO SPOKE AND IT HAPPENED--THE LORD DID NOT COMMAND--FROM THE MOUTH OF THE MOST HIGH DO NOT GO FORTH THE EVILS AND THE GOOD. This is a clever reading--not philological (Rashi's is closer to that)--but doctrinally scrupulous. Again and again Ibn Ezra is zealous to avoid the implication that God is responsible for evil.

<sup>72</sup> According to KBL 70, the root is אוֹן, the conjugation is hitpolel, the meaning is "to complain," and it occurs only here and Num. 11:1. But Ibn Ezra has a different idea.

<sup>73</sup> According to Ibn Janah 17, the root of this verb is י.ו.א., as is אוֹן, "iniquity" (e.g., Job 11:14) and אוֹן, "wealth" (e.g., Hosea 12:9, ET 8). Modern lexicographers see יתאונו as from the root אוֹן (Holladay 23).

<sup>74</sup> If qal, then it can only be 1st pl cohortative (י can only be 1st pl imperfect, the ה can only indicate the cohortative). Thus Ibn Ezra announces that this and the subsequent three verbs are cohortative.

<sup>75</sup> Gn. 43:34a: AND ONE CARRIED PORTIONS FROM HIS PRESENCE TO THEM, which nicely parallels LET US LIFT OUR HEARTS WITH OUR HANDS TO GOD. Apparently Ibn Ezra is identifying the form of the verb נִשָּׂא: it is qal imp. with a direct object.

3:42 The ך of אָנַחְנוּ is supplementary.<sup>76</sup>

ס 3:43 YOU COVERED סָכַתָּה: from the verbs of the doubling.<sup>77</sup>

3:45 OFFSCOURING (סָחִי):<sup>78</sup> AND I WILL SCRAPE סָחִיתִי ITS SOIL,<sup>79</sup> as the sense of טָלַטֵּל.<sup>80</sup>

פ 3:46 THEY GAPED (פָּצְרוּ): they opened.<sup>81</sup>

3:47 THE DEVASTATION (הַשָּׂמָה): like THE DESTRUCTION הַשְׁמָה.<sup>82</sup> The ך ought to be shown.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>76</sup> This verse begins with "we" abbreviated נַחְנוּ, instead of the more usual אָנַחְנוּ. Thus Ibn Ezra apparently thought the latter was an expansion of the former: correct according to KBL 69, 651.

<sup>77</sup> i.e., this is a ע"ע verb, and the root is the double ע verb סָכַכּ.

<sup>78</sup> The first word of this verse, a hapax legomenon, meaning, according to KBL 707, SWEEPINGS.

<sup>79</sup> Ez. 26:4. This explanation is Ibn Janah 336.

<sup>80</sup> A common non-Biblical word meaning, "to move, lift" (see Jastrow 536).

<sup>81</sup> The problem to which Ibn Ezra alludes is two meanings for פָּצַח, see Ibn Janah 406. It can be open the mouth (as here), or it can mean "to save" in Ps. 144:7 and 10.

<sup>82</sup> e.g., Zeph. 1:15 יוֹם שְׂמָה, DAY OF DESTRUCTION. Thus Ibn Ezra shows that the root of this hapax legomenon is ש.מ.ה: see KBL 1285. שָׂמָה is not only from the same root as the more common שְׂמָה but also means the same.

<sup>83</sup> Even though the ך is not pronounced, it must be written since it is part of the root.

3:48 They are channeling rivers.<sup>84</sup>

ע 3:49 תדמה: as the sense, "His eye is not like any other." It is far [from the case]!<sup>85</sup>

And the ה of הפוגות is like the ת of תרונות.<sup>86</sup>

3:50 HE LOOKS DOWN FROM (ישקיה): as if there were for the heavens a window from which he looks looks down.<sup>87</sup>

3:51 There are those who say,<sup>88</sup> "My eye GLEANS (עוללה) the Ark/the last," and they would interpret

<sup>84</sup> The basic meaning of פ.ל.ג is to divide: see Ibn Janah 402. פלג is a division, and פלג water put in channels.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn Ezra leads us on with a false etymology only to expose it as mistaken. He is acting like the sharp pedagogue who sometimes teaches by deliberately making a mistake. Ibn Janah 111 identifies for meaning four פ.ל.ג, the last of which is "be still." Modern philology posits three different roots: see Hollday 72.

<sup>86</sup> הפוגות is a hapax legomenon from the rare root פוג. KBL 243 suggests an emendation, but Ibn Ezra points out here that the vowel pattern of this noun is not unusual, and is the same as the very common word תרונה, whose root is the equally common רום; the ה of הפוגות is a prefix (and not part of the root) as is the ת of תרונה.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Ezra's comment: 1. points out the specialized meaning this verb can have: "to look down from a window" (implied in Ibn Janah 533-4, though this specific verse is not mentioned; KBL 1518); 2. underlines the metaphorical use of this verb (he thereby avoids an anthropomorphism).

<sup>88</sup> See Lam.R. 1:40, ET 117-8; 1:57, ET 146, where this verb is so interpreted, with reference to Dt. 24:21.

עוללה as GLEANINGS (עוללות) OF HARVEST;<sup>89</sup> but the right in my eyes is that it is from the form, AND DEALS (עולל) WITH THEM.<sup>90</sup>

3:52 WITHOUT CAUSE (חנם): refers back to my enemies.<sup>91</sup>

3:54 OVERFLOWED (צפו):<sup>92</sup> like שחו,<sup>93</sup> from the form IT OVERFLOWED (הציף).<sup>94</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Mic. 7:1. Thus the verb in this case would not mean "to deal (severely) with" but rather "to glean" (e.g., Dt. 24:21, see KBL 789); hence "My eye glean." The next word in Bomberg is obscure: "the Ark [of the Covenant] הארון (!); Krinski reads "the last האחרון", which seems somehow to relate to Dt. 24:21, DO NOT GLEAN AFTER YOU (אחריך). At any rate, no great issue of interpretation is involved here, since Ibn Ezra cites this reading only to refute it.

<sup>90</sup> Lam. 1:22, and reference should be made to Ibn Ezra's comment there. Thus the meaning here would be, "My eye deals with my soul."

<sup>91</sup> i.e., *not* "My enemies did not hunt me without cause", but rather, THOSE WHO WERE WITHOUT CAUSE MY ENEMIES HUNTED ME--a discerning philological comment and modern interpreters like Millers 112 so interpret.

<sup>92</sup> Except for the accent, this rare verb in qal 3rd c s looks exactly like the more common verb צפה. So it needs explanation.

<sup>93</sup> Ez. 47:5, מַי שְׁחוּ, WATERS OF SWIMMING, i.e., waters so deep that they cannot be forded but must be swum. שחו not a verb but an unusual noun (and a hapax legomenon, see KBL 1225). Ibn Ezra is only referring to the meaning of צפו, not its grammatical form. This latter he explains in his next comment. However, he is probably testing our knowledge and playing with our credulity. Do we understand the obscure passage in Ezekiel? Can we see that the word is not a verb?

<sup>94</sup> Dt. 11:4, [CHARIOTS] WHICH THE SEA OVERFLOWED (הציף). Here Ibn Ezra further fixes the meaning of the verb by citing its hif'il form; he also thereby establishes the root. Given the pointing of the MT, this verb in Deuteronomy can only have the root צוּף. (The only other occurrence of this verb is a hif'il vav

ק 3:55 LOWEST (תחתיות):<sup>95</sup> from the lowest of the lowest.<sup>96</sup>

3:56 TO MY RELIEF (לרווחתי):<sup>97</sup> "that you make relief for me,"<sup>98</sup> or "the time of my relief and my call for help."<sup>99</sup>

3:57 I found you close.<sup>100</sup>

ר 3:58 What I was contending, You, G-D, contended.<sup>101</sup>

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consecutive in 2 K. 6:6. See KBL 950.) Cf. Ibn Janah 424, but he does not have the Ez. 47:5 reference.

<sup>95</sup> lit., "loweries."

<sup>96</sup> Ibn Ezra explains that this is an intensive plural (cf. GKC 124g).

<sup>97</sup> The full verse is, YOU HEARD MY CALL, DO NOT HIDE YOUR EAR TO MY RELIEF AND MY CRY FOR HELP.

<sup>98</sup> "You heard my call--don't stop your ears--to relieve me."

<sup>99</sup> "You heard my call--don't stop your ears--which was the suitable time for my relief and my call for help."

<sup>100</sup> The text reads: YOU DREW NEAR ON THE DAY I CALLED--as if God could somehow be far away, which contradicts God's nature. So the meaning must be that I discovered your presence which was, of course, there all the time. Ibn Ezra again shows his doctrinal scruples.

<sup>101</sup> The MT reads: YOU CONTENDED, LORD, THE CONTENTIONS OF MY SOUL, an idiomatic expression for, "You pled my case," as in 1 Sam. 24:15 (see KBL 1142, ריב qal II.2.a). Apparently Ibn Ezra wants to emphasize this idiomatic use of ריב with a cognate accusative; in the process he explains that MY SOUL means "me."

3:59 MY SUBVERSION: the subversion which they did  
to me.<sup>102</sup>

3:60 Their vengeance in public.<sup>103</sup>

ו 3:61 And their shame in the open.<sup>104</sup>

3:62 ON ME (עלי): to my injury.<sup>105</sup>

3:63 THEIR SONGS (מנגינות): like THEIR SONGS  
(נגינות), and the ׀ is added.<sup>106</sup>

ח 3:64 RECOMPENSE (גמול) is the same in the  
construct as in the absolute.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>102</sup> i.e., this is a objective, not subjective, use of the  
pronominal suffix.

<sup>103</sup> YOU SAW ALL THEIR VENGEANCE, ALL THEIR THOUGHTS AGAINST  
ME. Sometimes in Hebrew poetry, the parallelism is of the "com-  
pare and contrast" variety. Ibn Ezra thinks that this is the case  
here. He contrasts public acts of vengeance of the enemies with  
their secret thoughts of vengeance, known only to God.

<sup>104</sup> A parallel comment to the one above. The "their" is  
subjective: the shameful things they did--actual deeds out in the  
open, as opposed to (once again) their vengeful thoughts against  
me.

<sup>105</sup> THE LIPS OF MY ENEMIES AND THEIR PLOTTING *ON ME* ALL DAY  
LONG.

<sup>106</sup> This is a hapax legomenon and resembles a known noun  
(which occurs in Lam. 3:14) plus a preformative ׀ (see KBL 567,  
631). I doubt Ibn Ezra had reference to Ibn Janah 283.

<sup>107</sup> lit., "the leaned and in the separated; i.e., since גמול  
has a shewa in the first syllable, it cannot be shortened in the  
construct state. While it might look as if this verse reads, "You  
render to them the recompense of G-D", in fact, G-D is vocative  
and not bound to "recompense." So the meaning is, RENDER THEM

3:65 מְגִנָּה:<sup>108</sup> there are those<sup>109</sup> who say the dagesh point in the ך is added and it is from the form מִגֵּן<sup>110</sup> according to the pattern (מִשְׁכֵּל) of וְאֶכֶּלָה<sup>111</sup> and the correct in my eyes is that it is from גִּנוּן<sup>112</sup> וְהִצִּיל

YOUR CURSE (תִּאלְתָּךְ): from the form SWEARS (אֵלֶּה);<sup>113</sup> and the ה is added, like HER LUST (תַּאֲנֻתָּהּ), WHO CAN RESTRAIN.<sup>114</sup>

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RECOMPENSE, O G-D. In the Bible, "the recompense of God" is a positive thing: see Is. 35:4 and Ps. 103:2. In this verse in Lamentations, no positive connotation is intended!

<sup>108</sup> "Impudence" according to KBL 517-8, from מִגֵּן II: מִגֵּן in Pr 6:11, 24:34; but Albrektson 170 disagrees and follows the usual explanation: it means "covering" and is from גִּנוּן. Ibn Ezra agrees with the latter.

<sup>109</sup> "Those" do not include Ibn Janah 253.

<sup>110</sup> Gn. 14:20, HAS DELIVERED YOUR ENEMIES [INTO YOUR HAND]. The dagesh point would be "added" in the sense that there would be no reason for it to be there if the root were ג.נ.ג.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Ezra must have been aware that אֶכֶּלָה is a mishnaic not biblical word, and that its morphological pattern is typical of mishnaic not biblical Hebrew.

<sup>112</sup> Is. 31:5, WILL PROTECT AND DELIVER(?). This verb גִּנָּן only occurs seven times in the Bible, and this is the only form in which all three radicals appear. The dagesh replaces the second ך of its true root: it is hardly "added" for no reason! Ibn Ezra has sided with Ibn Janah 96 (the example of Is. 31:5) and Ibn Janah 97 (this noun).

<sup>113</sup> 1 K. 8:31, the only occurrence of this verb in the 3rd m s; in the phrase COMES [AND] SWEARS.

<sup>114</sup> Jer. 2:24, תַּאֲנֻתָּהּ is from אָנָה, has a ה for a preformative, is a ה"ל verb with a pronominal suffix--all must like תִּאלְתָּךְ. Subject matter aside, an excellent choice to explain everything.

APPENDIX 4, Ibn Ezra on Lamentations, ch. 3

CXX

3:66 THE HEAVENS OF G-D: as "your heavens";<sup>115</sup>  
as, AND HE SAID, "COME UP TO G-D."<sup>116</sup>

<sup>115</sup> The subject of this verse is God, so it seems strange to say, GOD, PURSUE...UNDER G-D'S HEAVEN, when it ought to read, "God, pursue...under Your heavens."

<sup>116</sup> The same odd phraseology occurs in Ex. 24:1, when God says, COME UP TO GOD.



Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 4

4:1 IS OVERSHADOWED (יועם): There are those who say יועם is like darkness (חשך). The Targum of (AND BEHOLD!) THE WOUND IS DARK (כהה הנגע)<sup>1</sup> עמיא מכתשא;<sup>2</sup> but the right in my eyes is that it is like DID NOT OVERSHADOW IT (עממוהו),<sup>3</sup> and its pattern (משקל) is, BREAD IS CRUSHED (יודק).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lev. 13:5.

<sup>2</sup> The Targum's עמיא translates the MT כהה. The Aramaic of the Targum is used to explain its meaning. יועם and עמיא have the same basic root and meaning (Jastrow 1087, 1089 and KBL 800-1; Albertson 172-3).

<sup>3</sup> Ez. 31:8, CEDERS IN GOD'S GARDEN DID NOT OVERSHADOW (עממוהו); see Ibn Ezra's philologically accurate explanation of the meaning of this word here: "They did not dim its form (לא כהו), that is to say, there was not one among them more beautiful than it"; this means that Ibn Ezra was aware that עמם is to be connected with the idea of כהה and the Aramaic adjective עמי. Therefore his comment here in Lam. 4:1 refers to its immediate root. Ibn Ezra's discussion is reflected in Ibn Janah 374, who notes that Ez. 31:8 and 28:3 are the only other occurrences of the root עמם in the Bible (see KBL 800--or possibly they are an identical but different root, see Holladay 276).

<sup>4</sup> Is. 28:28. Ibn Ezra is correct: יודק is from דקק, just as יועם is from עמם (KBL 220, 800). "Overshadowed" or "eclipsed" is not that far in meaning from "be dimmed." Perhaps Ibn Ezra was motivated by considerations of elementary metalurgy (gold does not tarnish); Hillers 137 made this objection, but he (of course) emended--an option of which Ibn Ezra rarely availed himself.

CHANGED (ישנא): from the form שנים.<sup>5</sup>

4:2 The א of המסולאים<sup>6</sup> is in place of the ה of the root, for the disappearing ה is not found in the middle of the word.<sup>7</sup>

4:3 DRAW OUT (חלצו): as DRAW OFF HIS SANDAL (וחלצה נעלו).<sup>8</sup>

4:4 The word TONGUE can be masculine and feminine gender.<sup>9</sup>

IS BREAKING (פורש): as BREAKING TO THE HUNGRY (פרוש לרעב),<sup>10</sup> and it is a fragment of bread frag-

<sup>5</sup> Obscur comment, but see Krinski. Instead of שנים, it ought to read שונים, and be a reference to Pr. 24:21, WITH THOSE WHO CHANGE [שונים] DO NOT ASSOCIATE. This demonstrates: 1. That its root is really שנה, not שנא; 2. That its meaning is "to degenerate." Ibn Janah 524 had the root as ש.נ.א, but his first example of this root was Pro. 3:7, not 24:21.

<sup>6</sup> WEIGHED IN PURE GOLD.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Ezra assumes that סלא here is a variant of the סלה of Job 28:16, 19 (correct according to KBL 714). So, a ה in the middle of a word (e.g., אהב) cannot simply disappear, but a ה of a ה"ה verb can, (e.g., נשים). In fact, it cannot appear in the m pl pu'al participle in question. If the syllable on the end is to be retained, it will have to be replaced by an א. This comment is from Ibn Janah 340.

<sup>8</sup> Dt. 25:9--this is the only idiomatic usage of this verb which is at all similar to the one in this Lamentations verse (see KBL 308-9). Ibn Ezra gets this from Ibn Janah 156 who also lists side by side Lam. 4:3 and Dt. 25:9.

<sup>9</sup> "Tongue" (לשון) is either feminine, or, as it is here (דבק) and not (דבקה לשון), masculine (see KBL 509).

<sup>10</sup> Is. 58:7 ("breaking [bread] to the hungry"), the MT has פרס. According to Ibn Janah 413 פרש in Lam. 4:4 is really פרס in the sense of Is. 58:7 (correct according to KBL 912, 918).

mented.<sup>11</sup>

4:5 THOSE EATING [DAINTIES (למעדנים)]: THOSE WHO  
LIVED IN LUXURY (שיתעדנו).<sup>12</sup>

SCARLET CLOTH (תולע): like SCARLET (שני).<sup>13</sup>

4:6 חלו:<sup>14</sup> from the language of חיל; others have  
said said, as UPON THE HEAD OF THE WICKED [GOD'S STORM]  
WHIRLS.<sup>15</sup>

4:7 THAN SNOW...THAN MILK: double;<sup>16</sup> and thus  
SAPPHIRE is like CORAL, and thus is its meaning--the  
THAN (ח) of THAN CORAL (מפנינים) draws itself and

<sup>11</sup> In Is. 58:7, it is BREAD broken, and "bread" is understood here too in Lam. 4:4.

<sup>12</sup> In the Bible the only occurrence of a verb in the עָדָן "luxury, dainty" root is Neh.9:25 ויתעדנו (but the verb is common enough in later Hebrew [see Even-Shoshan m959]), so that is how Ibn Janah 356 begins to define the root ע.ד.ן.

<sup>13</sup> Ex. 28:5 etc. As the word for scarlet cloth, תולע occurs only here and in Is. 1:18, as Ibn Janah 543 notes and goes on to define by referring to Ex. 28:5. See also KBL 1567-8. Much more common in the Bible is the expression תולעת שני, "scarlet [cloth]," an expression which comes from the worm (תולעה) which makes scarlet (שני).

<sup>14</sup> NO HANDS [חלו = WRITHE?] ON HER.

<sup>15</sup> Jer. 23:19. According to Holladay 97 and 102, חיל as a verb means "give birth" and hence "writhe"; חול is a separate root meaning "whirl" etc. Ibn Janah 146 puts verbs under roots ח.ל.ח and ח.ל.ל under ח.ל.ל alone, but he makes a distinction between the former as typified by Is. 23:4 ("I neither travailed nor gave birth") and Jer. 23:19; and it is in this latter group that he places חלו in Lam. 4:6. Thus Ibn Ezra means that the verb here either means "to writhe" or "to whirl."

<sup>16</sup> i.e., this is a double simile.

another with it,<sup>17</sup> like the מ of FROM GOD YOUR FATHER (מֵאל אֲבִיר),<sup>18</sup> as if they were cut better than sapphire. And TILE OF [SAPPHIRE] (לִבְנָה) is like TILE (לִבְנָה), and the proof is כַּמַּעֲשֶׂה, and it is in another place STONE.<sup>19</sup>

4:8 מִשְׁחֹר: MORE THAN BLACKNESS (שְׁחֹרֹת), and it is a noun.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> i.e., even though "sapphire" does not have the מ of comparison prefixed to it, the מ is understood to be there.

<sup>18</sup> Gn. 49:25a, see Ibn Ezra's comment on 24b-25a:

*From* the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,  
*from* there [where is] the Shepherd  
 the Rock of Israel;

*from* God your father--and he helps you,  
 [from] Shaddai--and he blesses you.

There are two מ's in line 24b, which could lead us to expect two more in the next line (25a); however, just as was the case in Lam. 4:7, so here the second מ must be supplied. Thus Ibn Ezra shows that וְאֵת שְׂרִי means וּמֵאֵת שְׂרִי. The implication also is that the sapphire is red like the coral.

<sup>19</sup> See Ibn Ezra's comment on Ex. 24:10, where he disagrees with Saadiah: "The Gaon [i.e., Saadiah Gaon] said that Sapphire is white in its appearance: לִבְנָה הַסְפִיר, and not just red. And the proof [that לִבְנָה does not mean "white"] is that it is the custom of language to double the meaning in different words [poetic parallelism]; and see, it is written, HER NAZARITES SHONE BRIGHTER THAN SNOW, THEY WERE MORE DAZZLING THEN MILK; and see, the meaning is double: THEY WERE MORE RED--FORM--THAN CORALS, SAPPHIRE THEIR SHAPE. And also if לִבְנָה הַסְפִיר is whiteness, what does it mean to say AS THE WORK: it ought to say AS THE APPEARANCE [Ez. 1:26]. And the correct is that לִבְנָה is from the form לִבְנָה [Ez. 4:1, "tile"], as הַשְׁכָּה מִיָּם [Ps.18:12, ET 11: DARKNESS OF WATERS] is from the form הַשְׁכָּה [Gn. 15:12, DARKNESS]. And see, לִבְנָה הַסְפִיר is LIKE THE STONE OF SAPPHIRE [Ez. 1:26] which Ezekiel saw in prophetic visions, which was A LIKENESS OF A THRONE...."

<sup>20</sup> So said Ibn Janah 507. שְׁחֹר looks like the adjective שְׁחֹר, but it is a noun, a hapax legomenon meaning "blackness," as is comparable to another noun from the same root, also a hapax legomenon, שְׁחֹרֹת (Eccl. 11:10), also meaning "blackness." The מ before שְׁחֹר has a comparative function; hence "darker than black."

SHRIVEL (צַפַּד): like cling (דָּבַק), and it is a word by itself.<sup>21</sup>

4:9 THAT THEY GUSH, and they BEING RIDDLED.<sup>22</sup>

4:10 FOR DEVOURING (לִבְרוֹת): from the form TO FEED (לִהְבִּירוֹת) DAVID,<sup>23</sup> and they are two conjugations.<sup>24</sup>

4:11 The anger is like fire.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> So said Ibn Janah 435. "A word by itself," i.e., the root occurs only here in the Bible.

<sup>22</sup> the MT reads:

Better those who were being pierced of the sword  
than those who were being pierced of hunger;  
that they gushed being riddled  
from the produce of the field.

If the word order in the second line is changed, then with what are we left? Just this: "that they, riddled [by the sword], gushed [some] produce of the field." The line is thus understood to be bitterly ironic. The preposition מִן is partitive.

<sup>23</sup> 2 Sm. 3:35, AND ALL THE PEOPLE CAME TO FEED DAVID BREAD. Ibn Janah 77-8 has this 2 Sm. reference for the root בִּירָה but not Lam. 4:10.

<sup>24</sup> That is, even though they are different conjugations, both are infinitives. In the Samuel passage, the meaning is clear from the context: "to cause to eat," conjugation hif'il. In Lam. 4:10, the conjugation is pi'el, because the pointing is לִבְרוֹת, and the meaning would be "to eat," not "cause to eat"; but there are suggested emendations, see KBL 148. This a rare root in the Bible, and if not emended the meaning in this context is FOR DEVOURING.

<sup>25</sup> AND HE [G-D] SET ZION ON FIRE. God did not literally set fire to Zion; this is a metaphor, just as is the previous half line: HE POURED OUT THE FURY OF HIS WRATH.

4:12 WORLD (תבל): the place of habitation.<sup>26</sup>

4:13 BLOOD [sing.] OF RIGHTEOUS [pl.]: the blood of each and every righteous man;<sup>27</sup> and thus in, HEART OF WISE [pl.].<sup>28</sup>

4:14 BLIND [pl.]: as blind men, and thus, [GOD] IS A DEVOURING FIRE.<sup>29</sup>

THEY WERE DEFILED (תגללו): a composite word,<sup>30</sup> from the nif'al conjugation<sup>31</sup> and the pu'al conjugation.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The full line: KINGS OF EARTH AND ALL INHABITANTS OF THE WORLD DID NOT BELIEVE. תבל is used here in the sense of the οἰκουμένη, the world of human habitation, cf. Is. 14:17, the King of Babylon WHO MADE THE WORLD LIKE A DESERT.

<sup>27</sup> This is not as midrashic a comment as might first appear to the English-speaker. In fact, the normal idiom in Hebrew for the blood of more than one person is "bloods," as in 2 K. 9:26, THE BLOODS OF NABOTH AND THE BLOODS OF HIS SONS, though one does occasionally find examples like Ps. 79:10, THE BLOOD [sing.] OF YOUR SERVANTS. Ibn Ezra has pointed out to us a subtlety of Hebrew idiom, even if we find his interpretation a bit forced.

<sup>28</sup> Eccl. 7:4, HEART [sing.] OF WISE [pl.] IN HOUSE OF MOURNING. In this specific example, Ibn Ezra's point is well taken. But unlike the case with BLOOD, the HEART of HEART OF... is almost always singular no matter how many people are involved.

<sup>29</sup> Dt. 4:24. God is *not* a devouring fire, but as a "jealous God" he is *like* a fire. Lam. 4:14a reads, THEY WANDERED--BLIND [adj. m. pl.]--OUTSIDE. They were not literally blind, merely stumbling as if they were.

<sup>30</sup> Correct according to GKC 51h, "the punctuators intended to combine two optional forms."

<sup>31</sup> תגללו.

<sup>32</sup> lit., "the conjugation whose infinitive is not read," since the passive conjugations pu'al and hof'al in Hebrew do not have infinitives: תגללו.

4:15 TURN ASIDE, UNCLEAN nation (סורו גוי טמא).<sup>33</sup>  
נצו:<sup>34</sup> they have plumage (נוצה) as a bird,<sup>35</sup> and  
thus FLYING SHE WILL GO OUT (נצא תצא).<sup>36</sup>

4:16 THE FACE OF G-D: indignation, for in the  
face it will show, as, SHE NO LONGER HAD A FACE.<sup>37</sup>

4:17 IN OUR OUTLOOK-POST (בצפיתנו): we have no  
pattern (משקל).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Hillers 142-3 says that verses 14 and 15 are among the hardest in all of Lamentations, and he presents a welter of emendations and conjectures. This makes Ibn Ezra's terse and cryptic comment all the more difficult. The MT reads: "TURN ASIDE, UNCLEAN," THEY CALL TO THEM, meaning (probably), the nations call out to the unclean Judeans to turn aside. Ibn Ezra seems to me to read: "TURN ASIDE," AN UNCLEAN (nation) CALLS TO THEM. Now גוי in post-Biblical Hebrew always refers to one of "the nations," though in Biblical Hebrew can refer to Israel as a nation (e.g. Jud. 2:20). Also גוי can take a plural verb (again, Jud. 2:20), though it usually takes a singular verb. Ibn Ezra may mean that Judah, now defiled, is called an unclean גוי by the very nations Judah used to consider untouchable. This may be Krinski's point when he suggests that by this comment Ibn Ezra indicates that טמא is a corporate plural.

<sup>34</sup> FOR THEY נצו, FOR THEY WANDERED. נצו is of uncertain meaning: Hillers 143 and KBL 645 "they went away." But Ibn Ezra follows Ibn Janah 314.

<sup>35</sup> According to Ibn Ezra the verb נצו is root for the noun נוצה; hence it would mean "they flew," a possible solution according to BDB 663.

<sup>36</sup> Jer. 48:9, a phrase which modern commentators variously emend: see for example KBL 675.

<sup>37</sup> 2 Sam. 1:18, i.e., "she was no longer downcast," (but many moderns emend).

<sup>38</sup> i.e., the noun form *qitiyah* occurs only here in the Bible. In fact, this pattern is not mentioned in either GKC 83-85 or Waltke-O'Connor 5, but it can be found in Jacob Barth's Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen (1894), p. 139; this

4:18-19 As if THEY HUNTED OUR STEPS, and thus it would say, "They pursued us hotly," as, THAT YOU HOTLY PURSUED AFTER ME.<sup>39</sup>

4:20 IN THEIR PITS (בַּשְּׁחִיתוֹת): as, HE WAS CAUGHT IN THEIR PIT (בַּשְּׁחִיתָם).<sup>40</sup>

4:21 UZ: they are two and are Aramean.<sup>41</sup>

4:22 WILL NOT EXILE YOU AGAIN: refers back to YOUR PUNISHMENT,<sup>42</sup> and VISITED may refer back to it, or it may refer back to the Name mentioned in THE BREATH

latter reference thanks to Prof. B. Levy. Though the verb צָפַח occurs frequently, this noun appears only here (see KBL 981).

<sup>39</sup> Gn. 31:36 (Jacob to Laben). That is, THEY HUNTED OUR STEPS is metaphorical language; and this phrase is a synonym for the relatively rare verb דָּלַק (to pursue hotly). Ibn Ezra is also signaling a change in personae: from verse 17 on, the people speak.

<sup>40</sup> Ez. 19:4. From Ibn Janah 508, who assumes a common root ש.ח.ח. According to KBL 1355, שָׁחִית would be from שָׁחַח, but it might be amended to בַּשְּׁחִיתָם.

<sup>41</sup> "A country in NW Arabia (Jer.25:20, Job 1:1, Lam.4:21) which various geographical lists in the OT connect with either Aram (Gen.10:23; Gen. 22:21; 1 Chr.1:17) or Edom (Gen.36:28; 1 Chr.1:42)--ABD, "Uz." Ibn Ezra notes the ambiguity *re* the site of ancient "Uz," and he may assume two separate countries.

<sup>42</sup> i.e., the subject of WILL NOT EXILE YOU AGAIN is YOUR PUNISHMENT. Ibn Ezra's doctrine gets the better of his philology. The subject is of course "God," which is evident both from the context and from the parallel phrase in the last half of the first line of verse 16. However Ibn Ezra wants to avoid the notion that God punishes in this direct a fashion; he also wishes to account for the fact that Israel experienced exile again at the hands of the Romans.



OF OUR NOSTRILS.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The subject of VISITED in the second line may be the YOUR PUNISHMENT/INIQUITY of the second line (YOUR INIQUITY VISITED [YOU], DAUGHTER OF EDM; IT REVEALED YOUR SINS), or the subject may be G-D, last mentioned in verse 20 (GOD VISITED YOUR INIQUITY, DAUGHTER OF EDM; HE REVEALED YOUR SINS). Ibn Ezra shows a certain bias here: God does not exile Israel, but God may visit Edom's iniquity.

"Perush" Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 1

1:1<sup>1</sup> Not only does SHE SIT ALONE on account of her sons having died, she who was of MANY PEOPLE; she is also LIKE A WIDOW who does not have a husband and she despairs of having any sons at all.<sup>2</sup>

1:2 Every mourner sleeps at night, but she is always WEEPING; not only HAS SHE NO COMFORTER FROM AMONG ALL HER COMPANIONS, but also they turned TO BECOME HER ENEMIES.<sup>3</sup>

1:3 When she could no longer suffer the AFFLICTION of the kingdom and its harsh SERVITUDE which he makes her serve, SHE WENT INTO EXILE from her land. Also SHE ALSO DID NOT FIND REST in the place where she

<sup>1</sup> In this first chapter Perush's exegesis consists of imaginative paraphrases.

<sup>2</sup> Perush is an eager "connector": he connects diverse images in Lamentations to make discourse from poetry; he connects the first and second lines of this verse by bringing in the notion of "sons." In this case his connecting is in the form of creating climaxes from related images, using the rather awkward Hebrew construction לא די ש- ... עדי ש-. Recurrent awkward construction might give a clue as to the vernacular language of Perush.

<sup>3</sup> Perush uses the same technique as in the first verse; but in this case, the poetry might admit to his interpretation.

went, and she came [to the point of] returning, and they pursued HER and OVERTOOK HER in a narrow place.<sup>4</sup>

1:4 HER GATES were DESOLATE, for there the elders of Israel gathered together; and HER PRIESTS sighed because there were no first fruits and tithes for them, and the VIRGINS were troubled, for it was their custom to dance in dances at every feast.<sup>5</sup>

1:5 HER ENEMIES are at ease,<sup>6</sup> and she is all alone in grief,<sup>7</sup> and HER CHILDREN who had no iniquity were led into exile on account of THE MULTITUDE OF HER TRANSGRESSIONS.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This verse is made difficult because of the ambiguity of the preposition מן (from) and of the nature of the "affliction." Perush removes the ambiguity by indicating מן means "after," and the "affliction" is the harsh conditions towards the end of the Kingdom of Judah. (There is, of course, no indication in the poem that Judah was overtaken when trying to return!)

<sup>5</sup> Perush makes specific the reasons for the gates, priests and virgins mourning: they were robbed of their ceremonial functions.

<sup>6</sup> "at ease": בשלום. See Rashi and Ibn Ezra's commentary on this verse.

<sup>7</sup> "in grief": בחוגה. This incidently explains the form חוגה; see Rashi and Ibn Ezra's comments on this verse.

<sup>8</sup> Perush constructs connections which the Lamentations author either never thought of or did not specify: needless to say, ON ACCOUNT OF THE MULTITUDE OF HER TRANSGRESSIONS does not modify WENT INTO EXILE.

1:6<sup>9</sup> [This verse] alludes to the verse above that her enemies are the heads;<sup>10</sup> and ALL HER GLORY departed FROM ZION, which is the kingdom.<sup>11</sup>

1:7<sup>12</sup> Whenever<sup>13</sup> she came [to the point of] remembering<sup>14</sup> in her exile WHEN HER PEOPLE FELL BY THE HAND OF THE ENEMY, THE ENEMIES LAUGHED at her former delights, for she ceased from her deeds<sup>15</sup>--there was nothing for her to do.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Sometimes, as here, Perush gives explanatory notes instead of the usual imaginative paraphrases.

<sup>10</sup> "heads": see Ibn Ezras comment on "head" in v. 5. Only occasionally does Perush show that he might have had Ibn Ezra's commentary with which to work.

<sup>11</sup> The Midrash (Lam.R. 1:33) gives several interpretations of ALL HER GLORY, not one of which is "the kingdom." Perush uses midrash-like techniques of interpretation but rarely borrows from Lam.R. directly.

<sup>12</sup> This is a confusing verse (it probably has an added line), and Perush's exposition is no clearer. I have translated as Krinski suggests.

<sup>13</sup> lit. "If" (אם).

<sup>14</sup> Supply HER DELIGHTFUL THINGS.

<sup>15</sup> i.e., the things in which she took delight--see Rashi's exegesis here.

<sup>16</sup> Perush's main point is to connect her remembering, her enemies' laughter, and her ceasing. That is, even when she tried to forget her troubles by remembering the delightful things she did, even then her enemies mocked her because she was unable to do any of those delightful things in exile.

1:8 When THEY SAW HER NAKEDNESS, SHE GROANED and turned her face away on account of insulting.<sup>17</sup>

1:9 When at first the blood of her menstruation<sup>18</sup> was appearing IN HER SKIRTS,<sup>19</sup> she was not afraid of remembering that<sup>20</sup> at last HER NAKEDNESS would appear; and she, being revealed, she went downwards; she will not be seen. SEE, G-D, THAT THE ENEMY WAS EXALTED to do or to speak.<sup>21</sup>

Another interpretation: SHE WENT DOWN ASTONISHINGLY, as "she mourned," from the matter, AND I SHALL GO DOWN <WANDER> ON THE MOUNTAINS,<sup>22</sup> WAIL OVER THE MULTITUDE OF EGYPT AND CAUSE THEM TO GO DOWN

<sup>17</sup> Perush is explaining the enigmatic AND SHE TURNED BACKWARD; he also makes a cause and effect relation between the second and the third line of this verse: they saw her nakedness--that was why she groaned and turned away. In the poem, of course, it is not so clear as that. Perush does not comment on the first line, since he is going to tie that line in with the next verse.

<sup>18</sup> Unlike Rashi, Ibn Ezra and the Midrash, Perush reads נידה as menstruation and not as nodding or wandering.

<sup>19</sup> Thus Perush reads the first line of this verse with the first line of the previous verse.

<sup>20</sup> "that": Bomberg has שמה (to there), and Krinski has שמה (lest)--neither of which makes excellent sense.

<sup>21</sup> This run-on sentence is a bit confusing, but the general thrust is clear: Once her shame appeared, she ducked. To our minds, this may be a tortuous interpretation, but it falls within the levels of tolerance for midrashic exegesis. Naturally, in the biblical text, it is not clear what "her end" is that she remembers, nor does she duck down to avoid being seen.

<sup>22</sup> Jud. 11:37, Rashi cites this passage for verse 7 in connection the word RESTLESSNESS (מרויד), and this may have given Perush the idea to use it in this context--where of course it has no place philologically. For a discussion of this verse, see Rashi on verse 7.

(הוֹרִיד),<sup>23</sup> and thus I SHOW RESTLESSNESS (אֲרִיד) IN MY MURMURING;<sup>24</sup> all of them are two roots:<sup>25</sup> יֵרֶד and יֵרֵד.<sup>26</sup>

1:10 When SHE SAW that Ammon and Moab ENTER HER TEMPLE (for they did not approach them with bread and water when they went out from Egypt<sup>27</sup> on account of the great cruelty of their hearts), she was forced to give to them ALL HER DESIRABLE THINGS.<sup>28</sup>

1:11 Those hungry were not few, rather ALL HER PEOPLE.

And after she gave every desirable thing IN ORDER TO EAT, she was like A GLUTTON; for she gives everything which is demanded of her to fill her craving.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Ez. 32:18. Of course, נָהָה (wail) has to do with mourning, not "cause to go down."

<sup>24</sup> Ps. 55:3, ET 2. This is a difficult text which modern commentators emend. In any case, it has nothing to do with mourning.

<sup>25</sup> "roots": Perush uses the word עֵיקָר instead of שׁוֹרֵשׁ.

<sup>26</sup> i.e., yet their subject matter is the same--Krinski. Perush shuttles between three unrelated verses and two different verbs, which happen to share two of the same radicals.

<sup>27</sup> FOR...EGYPT: paraphrase of Dt. 23:5.

<sup>28</sup> The Moabites and Ammonites refused bread and water to Israel, but now Israel must cede all her desirable things. This is a good philological observation on the part of Perush: he brings out irony latent in the text.

<sup>29</sup> Perush connects the first two lines of this verse with the last, by interpreting זוֹלֵלָה (Hillers 62, "worthless/vile") as "glutton" (a meaning it evidently has in Pr. 23:20, see KBL 261). Perush may well be correct in pointing out a play on words: she is

1:12 She is praying that it will not come TO YOU like what he brought to me.<sup>30</sup> Tell me<sup>31</sup> IF THERE IS PAIN LIKE MY PAIN, and I shall be comforted.

1:13 She compared THE FURY OF HIS ANGER to FIRE<sup>32</sup> [which] descended<sup>33</sup> from heaven and arrived<sup>34</sup> to the bone, and she cannot flee from the fire, since a net is spread and she turns backwards, and the fire burned until she sat DESOLATE; and some sick have relief at known times, but she is SICK ALL DAY.<sup>35</sup>

vile and ironically like a glutton. A glutton gives all for food, as does the starving Jerusalem.

<sup>30</sup> Paraphrase of Ibn Ezra's commentary on this verse.

<sup>31</sup> "Tell me," not just the LOOK AND SEE of the text. This change allows Perush to turn the text's rhetorical question into a request. The result is not altogether satisfactory, since on the one hand Judah is represented as piously wishing no one else suffer her pain, but on the other hand Judah hopes to find someone who suffers as she does. "Misery loves company."

<sup>32</sup> Perush identifies the fire of this verse with the FURY OF HIS ANGER of the previous verse, thus enabling him to tie the two verses together.

<sup>33</sup> Unlike Rashi and Ibn Ezra, Perush either does not see וירדנה (IT PREVAILED) is from ירד and not ירד (descend) or he chooses to read it as if it were from ירד.

<sup>34</sup> The word FIRE, as Ibn Ezra pointed out in his commentary on this verse, is usually feminine, but in this verse, as in a few other places, it is masculine. FIRE in Perush's commentary on this verse is the subject of two verbs, DESCENDED and ARRIVED: the former is 3rd f s, and the latter is 3rd m s. Perush evidently changes the gender of the second verb both to recognize the dual gender of "fire" and also to allude to Lam. 2:2 הגיע לארץ.

<sup>35</sup> This verse has at least three separate images: fire, a net, sickness, but Perush ties them all together.

1:14<sup>36</sup> She compared the iniquities to tendrils<sup>37</sup> of the grape vine whose nature is to cling to every tall tree to grow tall;<sup>38</sup> and the word נתנני (HE GAVE ME [OVER]) is like "he abandoned me," and thus THEREFORE I DID NOT GIVE YOU [OVER];<sup>39</sup> and the meaning is "into the hand of transgressions," or possibly "into the hand of the enemy on account of transgressions."

1:15 FLOUT (הִפְזֹּץ): HE GAVE her INTO an ENEMY'S HAND,<sup>40</sup> since her MIGHTY ONES, men of war, the God TRAMPLED<sup>41</sup> them on the route, and they were IN her MIDST, and as if he consecrated those he called<sup>42</sup> to come TO BREAK THE YOUNG MEN, mighty men, and they

<sup>36</sup> This difficult verse has been the subject of various emendations, see Hillers 73-4. Perush tries to draw its diverse parts together by focusing on one word ("interwoven") and giving the whole a novel interpretation. Cf. the Targum: "...intertwined like vine tendrils they mount upon my neck."

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Ezra in his commentary on this verse pointed out that the verb ישתרגו ("interwoven") was "from the family of שריגים (tendrils)," but he did not, of course, suppose that the verb referred to climbing tendrils. This interpretation is from the Targum: "my transgressions...are twisted together like the tendrils of the vine."

<sup>38</sup> "to grow tall": lit.: ויגבהו.

<sup>39</sup> Gn. 20:6. This is a philological interpretation on Perush's part--one of several isolated examples.

<sup>40</sup> Perush thus ties the last line of the previous verse with the first line of this verse.

<sup>41</sup> Perush makes the same mistake as Rashi made as to the derivation of סלה, and the same mistake Ibn Ezra pretended to make (see their commentaries on this verse).

<sup>42</sup> "as if...called": a good peshat interpretation of קרא עלי (He called against me a convocation).



poured out<sup>43</sup> their blood like grape blood in the WINEPRESS.

1:16 Jerusalem, who is THE VIRGIN OF THE DAUGHTER JUDAH,<sup>44</sup> said on account of the misfortunes<sup>45</sup> she recalled I AM WEAPING; and another time,<sup>46</sup> my eyes let fall tears, and I have no COMFORTER, and MY SONS who went into exile are DESOLATE, FOR AN ENEMY--the foe<sup>47</sup>--HAS PREVAILED over them.<sup>48</sup>

1:17 Even ZION, the Royal City, sought A COMFORTER and there WAS NONE, since G-D decreed against JACOB and COMMANDED HIS ENEMIES from all AROUND HIM and

<sup>43</sup> In Lamentations it is God who treads the winepress, but for religious reasons Perush ascribes the actual treading to the enemies.

<sup>44</sup> WHO IS...JUDAH: an observation Ibn Ezra makes on verse 15. Perush mentions it here to tie the last line of the previous verse to the first line of this verse.

<sup>45</sup> "misfortunes": Perush makes specific the על אלה (OVER THESE THINGS) of the poem.

<sup>46</sup> "I am weeping" is a synonym of "my eye flows down water," but in good midrashic fashion Perush interprets the poetic parallelism to refer to to separate instances.

<sup>47</sup> the foe: הַצֵּר--i.e., the foe mentioned above in the last line of verse 5, HER CHILDREN WENT INTO EXILE BEFORE AN ENEMY. By saying the sons were desolate because the enemy exiled them, Perush is able to tie this verse into verse five.

<sup>48</sup> OVER THEM: Bomberg has (note the abbreviation mark) עליהם, but Krinski is clearly correct to read עליהם.

they defiled JERUSALEM and she became like<sup>49</sup> AN  
IMPURITY.<sup>50</sup>

1:18 Just was the judgment,<sup>51</sup> and she says,  
"LISTEN NOW ALL PEOPLES, you who saw MY VIRGINS AND  
YOUNG MEN IN EXILE, for by my iniquity<sup>52</sup> they were  
exiled."<sup>53</sup>

1:19 I CALLED TO my foreign neighbours<sup>54</sup>--perhaps  
they would give me counsel,<sup>55</sup> AND THEY DECEIVED ME--for  
all my counsellors had died of hunger, as had the  
priests praying for me and the elders, my counsellors;  
there only remained some of my young men and some of my

<sup>49</sup> Perush's "like" softens the text's harsh "she became an  
impurity."

<sup>50</sup> This verse is quite unified as it stands, and all that  
Perush does is to explain how Jerusalem became an impurity:  
enemies defiled her. His exposition is almost a paraphrase.

<sup>51</sup> God is, by nature, just, so "just" must refer to his just  
decree.

<sup>52</sup> "by my iniquity": a paraphrase of the second half of the  
first line: "for I rebelled against his mouth."

<sup>53</sup> Even though Jerusalem sinned, she is still a light to the  
nations, for she is witnessing to God's righteous judgments.

<sup>54</sup> "foreign neighbors," i.e., "my lovers" of line 1, called  
foreigners by Perush so as to tie line 1 of this verse with line 2  
of the previous verse (ALL PEOPLES).

<sup>55</sup> Perush inserts the idea of "counsel" in his interpreta-  
tion in order to tie lines 1 and 2 of this verse together.

virgins,<sup>56</sup> who have strength to endure, and even they went into exile.

1:20 I began crying out<sup>57</sup> to G-D and making my confession,<sup>58</sup> when I saw the enemy's SWORD bereaving outside and IN THE HOUSE hunger LIKE DEATH.

1:21 My beloved (recalled above)<sup>59</sup> heard and THERE WAS NO COMFORTER among them, and the enemies HEARD<sup>60</sup> my cries, and they rejoiced, since you made them rejoice<sup>61</sup> and you brought near the DAY,<sup>62</sup> on which you called them, and they came by your command, to the point that they were being likened to me;<sup>63</sup> (or per-

<sup>56</sup> Perush imports the young men and virgins from line 3 of the previous verse, and in this way he maintains a continuous narrative.

<sup>57</sup> Perush infers "crying out" from MY BOWELS WERE IN FERMENT, MY HEART IS UPTURNED...; and the "crying out" hooks this verse to the previous one, in which Judah CALLS to her lovers, only to be deceived.

<sup>58</sup> i.e., FOR I HAVE SURELY BEEN REBELLIOUS (2nd half of line 2); and verse 18, THE LORD IS JUST.

<sup>59</sup> i.e., in verse 19: so, Judah was crying out to her lovers, LISTEN! (v. 21).

<sup>60</sup> In good midrashic fashion, since "heard" is repeated twice, Perush understands there must be two different subjects--the poetic parallelism is thus nullified.

<sup>61</sup> The text's FOR YOU DID [IT] is made specific and now means exclusively, "you made them rejoice."

<sup>62</sup> Perush reads "You brought the day" literalistically, instead of a perfect of prophecy, it is a description of the day of the destruction of Judah.

<sup>63</sup> Thus, instead of AND THEY SHALL BECOME LIKE ME, Perush reads, "they are being compared to me: I obey God's commands, so

haps<sup>64</sup> its interpretation is to be for the future):  
Would that you would bring the DAY that YOU CALLED by  
the hand of the prophets, and it will happen to them  
what happened to me.

1:22 Do to them according to THEIR EVIL as you  
did to me on account of MY TRANSGRESSION, for MY HEART  
IS SICK until they become like me, since they too  
transgressed against you.<sup>65</sup>

do you."

<sup>64</sup> This double interpretation of "He brought" is from Ibn Ezra (see his commentary on this verse), except that Ibn Ezra mentions the future sense first and seems to prefer it, nor does Ibn Ezra explain what the implications would be if the literal past sense of "he brought" is retained.

<sup>65</sup> This final verse is a unified whole, and for that reason Perush's interpretation of it amounts to a rather good paraphrase.

"Perush" Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 2<sup>1</sup>

2:1<sup>2</sup> HOW BECLOUDED: G-D exalted Zion in his anger  
in order to cast her down from a high place.<sup>3</sup>

2:2 And He lowered<sup>4</sup> the fortresses and DEFILED  
her king,<sup>5</sup> for they<sup>6</sup> were dwelling<sup>7</sup> in tower and  
palace.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this second chapter Perush uses less paraphrase and more explicatory notes in the style of Rashi and Ibn Ezra. Even so, the notes are hardly soundly philological in nature, as will be evident.

<sup>2</sup> In this first verse Perush begins interpreting the poetic images in a narrative fashion and manages to construct a single story up through v. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Both Rashi but more explicitly Ibn Ezra read this verb "becloud" as "encloud"; this interpretation fits Perush's method exactly, since he can thereby tie together lines 1 and 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Perush reads HE DESTROYED in the sense of "he tore down, lowered"--Hillers 93 does this too.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of "her kingdom," Perush reads "her king"--a change such contemporary scholars as Hillers 93 make.

<sup>6</sup> i.e., the king and HER PRINCES.

<sup>7</sup> dwelling: דררים; in Ez. 24:5 an identical verb means "heap up" (Holladay 69); I think this did not escape the notice of Perush, since it continues his theme of exalted and cast down.

<sup>8</sup> How were they lowered? They dwelt in lofty towers, and when the towers came down, so did the king and princes. Perush is literalizing.

2:3 HE HEWED OFF...EVERY HORN OF ISRAEL: the two kingdoms.<sup>9</sup>

2:4 Not only did he not fight with the enemy--for he turned back his right hand as if he had no power,<sup>10</sup> he also<sup>11</sup> returned AS AN ENEMY.<sup>12</sup>

And the meaning of IN THE TENT is, if the fire falls on it, everything is consumed immediately.<sup>13</sup>

2:5 HE SWALLOWED ISRAEL: concerning the exile of Samaria;<sup>14</sup> and JUDAH was in mourning after the exile of the tribes.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah, referred to by Perush in his comment on v. 5. Perush is "specifizing" the metaphor of HORNS.

<sup>10</sup> If as it says in the previous verse, God turned back his right hand, then he is, in effect, fighting for the enemy. Incidentally, relating TURNING HIS RIGHT HAND BACK with "having no power" is lexical comment.

<sup>11</sup> "Not only...also": Perush expresses this correlative by לא די ש...אלא ש; the normal Hebrew construction is לא די ש...ועד ש (Even-Shoshan m215). Perhaps this unusual construction has a specific *la'az* behind it.

<sup>12</sup> Thus Perush links 2:3a with 2:4a-b.

<sup>13</sup> On the face of it, Perush is literalizing a metaphor, "tent" here being the Temple or the community of Israel. On the other hand, the non-metaphorical meaning of "tent"--an impermanent dwelling--makes the image of "fire" all the more threatening. In a sense Perush is uncovering the power of the metaphors.

<sup>14</sup> Perush literalizes the reference to "Israel" and makes it mean the northern kingdom of Israel; cf. his similar move in 2:3.

<sup>15</sup> i.e., the ten tribes of the northern kingdom. Thus Perush connects in a narrative fashion the first and third lines of this verse.

2:6 And afterwards he exiled HIS COVERT, which is the place of the Holy of Holies.<sup>16</sup>

And the meaning of AS A GARDEN: upon which they fell.<sup>17</sup>

And the meaning of KING AND PRIEST: that the priest teaches the commandment and the king preserves the Law by his power, and to the two of them he gave the Law.<sup>18</sup>

2:7 THE WALLS OF HER PALACES: refers back to the TEMPLE.<sup>19</sup>

And THE SOUND the enemies GAVE IN THE HOUSE OF G-D from their joy was like that which Israel used to make in their festivals.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Perush's narrative continues: after Israel fell and Judah mourned, then Judah and its Temple also fell.

<sup>17</sup> This looks on the surface as if it means "something on which they fell," i.e., the enemy plundered the Temple as if they were stripping a garden. However, I think Peter Martyr Vermigli in his commentary on Lamentations has correctly understood Perush's intent: "something upon which things fell," i.e., the ruined Temple was open to the elements just as a garden is.

<sup>18</sup> Perush thinks of this chapter as an indivisible whole and thus links 6c KING AND PRIEST with 9b HER KING AND PRINCES ARE AMONG THE NATIONS: THERE IS NO LAW. Perush is also able to explain the cause of God's anger: lack of obedience to the Law.

<sup>19</sup> i.e., PALACES means the TEMPLE. In this way Perush can link up all three lines of this verse, and in turn link this verse with the first line of the previous verse: the Temple is the common thread.

<sup>20</sup> This last interpretation is philological. Since the Temple is the topic, Perush has no need to reinterpret the line.

2:8 The House was captured because THE WALL of the city fell and was broken open.<sup>21</sup>

2:9 When HER GATES SANK, the king went into exile and he was left without a copy of LAW;<sup>22</sup> and the prophets also went: their prophecy was cut off from them in a foreign land.<sup>23</sup>

2:10 Because the height of Zion fell, the elders in exile would sit in the dust and the YOUNG WOMEN would not rejoice in their wedding canopies.<sup>24</sup>

2:11 Each one<sup>25</sup> of the elders<sup>26</sup> says, MY EYES ARE

<sup>21</sup> Perush reads this verse in a narrative fashion with the previous two verses. Therefore in his mind the real subject of verse 8 is the Temple, even though there is no mention of it.

<sup>22</sup> "copy of the Law": the best translation in this context of משנה תורה, though the expression can also mean "Deuteronomy"; it is also, incidently, the title of Maimonides' famous compilation of Jewish law. The king was to keep a copy of the law according to Dt. 17:18.

<sup>23</sup> Perush fits the tragedies listed in verse 9 (broken gates, royalty in exile, no law, no prophetic vision) into a narrative: the gates fell, so off went kings and prophets into exile.

<sup>24</sup> Perush tries to account for the verbs being in the imperfect in the first line of this verse. Also, the grieving Israelites are in exile, since this is the story Perush has constructed. Also, instead of being elevated in an enclosed Hupah with an elaborate head covering, their heads lie in the dust. The theme of exaltation and casting down makes possible an interpolated reference to marriage.

<sup>25</sup> "Each one," since the personal pronouns in this verse are first person singular.

<sup>26</sup> "elders," not the prophets, because Perush wants to connect this verse with the preceding one, in order to continue the narrative.



CONSUMED IN TEARS when he<sup>27</sup> remembers<sup>28</sup> the days of  
hunger<sup>29</sup> in Zion.

2:12 The mother is the one who nurses; therefore  
he remembered THE MOTHERS and he did not remember the  
fathers.<sup>30</sup>

2:13<sup>31</sup> Who are the witnesses to whom it happened  
thus?<sup>32</sup> And if the breaking was AS GREAT AS THE SEA,  
there will not be found a bandage wrapper<sup>33</sup> for it.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>27</sup> i.e., each one of them.

<sup>28</sup> This can only be a memory, since in Perush's narrative,  
all are now in exile.

<sup>29</sup> That the children are dying of starvation is implicit in  
the last line of this verse and explicit in the first line of the  
next verse.

<sup>30</sup> Probably to be read: Each elder remembered the mothers  
being asked by children for food, and each elder did not remember  
the fathers being asked, since, after all, the children naturally  
went to the mothers, not the fathers. Thus Perush can continue  
the theme of the elders reminiscing.

<sup>31</sup> At this point Perush loses the thread of his narrative  
which he began in verse 1 and makes more loosely-connected com-  
ments until verse 17.

<sup>32</sup> This does not yield satisfactory sense to my mind. The  
MT begins this verse: What/how shall I testify to you? Possibly  
we should read: Who are the witnesses that it happened to them?  
i.e., Who is saying "What shall I testify...?" In which case,  
Perush's question is not rhetorical: he cannot identify the  
speaker of this verse.

<sup>33</sup> "bandage wrapper": חובש החול: to answer the question in  
the verse, "Who will heal you?" מי ירפא לך. The language is from  
Is. 30:26b: ביום חבש י' את שבר עמי ומחץ מכתו ירפא: IN THE DAY GOD  
BINDS THE BREAKING OF HIS PEOPLE AND HEALS THE BRUISE OF HIS  
STRIKING.

<sup>34</sup> i.e., big enough to wrap a wound as great as the sea.  
Perush reads the third line in a literalistic way.

2:14 All this came to you on account of YOUR  
PROPHETS, and not the prophets of G-D.<sup>35</sup>

2:15 Some sigh over you when you were desolate,  
but others shake the head and mock.<sup>36</sup>

2:16 All the enemies widen<sup>37</sup> the mouth.

2:17<sup>38</sup> For G-D fulfilled what he spoke<sup>39</sup> by the  
hand of his servants the former prophets.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Not the prophets of God, but maybe the prophets of Baal, as in 1 K. 18:25. "All this came to you": Perush reads the second line of this verse literally: Had the prophets revealed their sins, then the exile would never have come. Therefore the prophets caused the exile.

<sup>36</sup> This may be simply a banal observation, but more likely Perush is trying to set up a contrast either within this verse (some sympathetically whistled; while others shook their head) or between this verse and the following ("whistled" is repeated: those whistling in this verse are sympathetic, while those in the next verse are enemies and are clearly gloating).

<sup>37</sup> Perush paraphrases the fairly rare verb פָּתַח THEY OPENED...); he also can be interpreting literalistically the WE SWALLOWED of line 2. How could they swallow Israel unless their mouth were open very wide?

<sup>38</sup> In this verse Perush begins a new narrative which he continues until the end of the chapter.

<sup>39</sup> The enemies (of the previous verse) may have thought they opened their mouth by their own power, but it was actually God who caused Israel's downfall when God himself opened his mouth to speak.

<sup>40</sup> Perush's exposition explains: G-D DID WHAT HE PURPOSED = "G-D fulfilled"; HE ACCOMPLISHED HIS WORD = "what He spoke by his servants the prophets"; WHAT HE COMMANDED FROM DAYS OF YORE (יְמֵי קֶדֶם) = "the former [prophets] (הַקְדְּמוֹנִים)." Perush "specifies" the poetic allusions.

2:18 The heart of YOUR ENEMIES<sup>41</sup> cries out. And the meaning is that they gave cries for<sup>42</sup> the Name, and they spoke to<sup>43</sup> THE WALL OF THE DAUGHTER OF ZION that she may weep,

2:19 and that<sup>44</sup> she may complain about her children and those who died<sup>45</sup> of hunger and that she may say thus:<sup>46</sup>

2:20 that the women eat their sons, and the prophets and the priests will be killed in the Temple.

<sup>41</sup> According to Perush, the THEIR of THEIR HEART refers (as Krinski points out) to YOUR ENEMIES, at the end of the previous verse.

<sup>42</sup> "for": כנגד; not TO (אל) as in the text.

<sup>43</sup> Thus Perush understands this verse: The heart of the enemies cries out for God to Zion's wall, MAKE TO GO DOWN TEARS.... This intense reinterpretation of the verse accomplishes two things: 1. it ties together verses 17 and 18 and allows them to be read as a unit; 2. it allows the enemy to say harsh things against Zion, rather than the poet.

<sup>44</sup> The enemies' speech to Zion continues: it is the enemies who say RISE, SHOUT AT NIGHT....

<sup>45</sup> The MT reads: CONCERNING YOUR CHILDREN FEEBLE (? : העטופים) WITH HUNGER. Perush evidently understood FEEBLE to mean "expiring from starvation," and he softened the impact of this shocking statement by reading YOUR CHILDREN [AND] PEOPLE EXPIRING.

<sup>46</sup> As Krinski points out, verse 20 will be a speech that the enemies oblige Zion to make to God.

(And the interpreter:<sup>47</sup> that it speaks about Zechariah by way of derash.<sup>48</sup>)

2:21 Youths and old men, virgins and young men died.<sup>49</sup>

2:22 As if you called all the fears which I had and brought them close around me.<sup>50</sup>

And WHOM I DANDLED are the little ones. AND WHOM I BROUGHT UP (רַבִּיתִּי) are the nobles,<sup>51</sup> as AND THE GREAT ONES OF THE KING.<sup>52</sup>

AN ENEMY<sup>53</sup> CONSUMED THEM: one can consume them all.

<sup>47</sup> i.e., according to Rashi. For the midrashic allusion to Zechariah see his commentary on this verse.

<sup>48</sup> i.e., by an interpretation from the Midrash, or using the midrashic method.

<sup>49</sup> Perush, taking his clue from Ibn Ezra, explains the meaning of "lie down" in the first line: i.e., "down in death."

<sup>50</sup> The first line of this verse is difficult and modern commentators emend מַגֹּרִי (my fears). However Perush has tried to read the MT as it is; he reads: You called as the day of the appointment of my fears around.

<sup>51</sup> To interpret parallel phrases as referring to different or contrasting things is a move very typical of the Midrash.

<sup>52</sup> רַבִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ, Jer. 41:1. See Ibn Ezra's commentary on Lam. 1:1, which is where Perush must have gotten this obscure reference. Perush has given a fanciful application to a comment of Ibn Ezra which was philological in nature: the phrase WHOM I RAISED (אֲשֶׁר רַבִּיתִּי) is, of course, a parallel to WHOM I DANDLED and refers also to children. But the letters רַבִּי חַיָּיָה gave Perush a hook on which to hang a midrash-like interpretation.

<sup>53</sup> The Hebrew lacks a definite article, allowing Perush to interpret it literalistically "just one, single enemy."

"Perush" Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 3

3:1 I AM THE MAN: the lamenter tells that it is the enemy who is striking him with the rod of wrath.<sup>1</sup>

3:2<sup>2</sup> And he was leading him<sup>3</sup> into captivity at night, and he was not [even] waiting for daylight.<sup>4</sup>

3:3 And every hour he turns HIS HAND<sup>5</sup> and is striking him.

<sup>1</sup> Perush sides with Ibn Ezra and not Rashi as to the identity of the one wielding the rod of wrath: see their respective comments on this verse. Perush does not see the "lamenter" as Jeremiah, since, of course, Jeremiah was not lead away into captivity (Jer. 40:4-5). But neither does Perush seem to see the lamenter as "every Israelite," as did Ibn Ezra.

<sup>2</sup> Perush now begins a narrative. The poetic images are made to refer to actual events in the life of a Judean being exiled.

<sup>3</sup> The enemy was leading the "lamenter."

<sup>4</sup> "and he was not... daylight": Perush's fanciful explanation for the text's enigmatic, DARKNESS AND NOT LIGHT.

<sup>5</sup> This could also conceivably mean "change" (see Jeremiah 13:23), as, "Every hour he gets tired of beating him with the one hand so he changes to the other hand." Perush is also giving a concrete meaning to יָשַׁב.

APPENDIX 4, "Perush" on Lamentations, ch. 3

CL

3:4 On account of the number of strikes his flesh and his skin WASTED AWAY and his bones were broken.<sup>6</sup>

3:5 And afterwards HE BUILT against him a building and he surrounded his head.<sup>7</sup>

3:6 And he sits in darkness.<sup>8</sup>

3:7 And there HE FENCED me in, and my legs are in fetters.<sup>9</sup>

3:8 And if he should cry out, his cry is not being heard.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> From Ibn Ezra on this verse, except that Perush refers the sufferer's disintegration to the beating of the previous line.

<sup>7</sup> This interpretation is not philological ("head" is, of course, "poison herb"), nor the clever reading Ibn Ezra suggests ("strike off the head"), but rather follows the image and building siege works of the first verb of this verse. At any rate, Perush is tying this verse to the next verse.

<sup>8</sup> If the enemy surrounded his head with a building, naturally he sits in darkness.

<sup>9</sup> Here Perush seems to depend on Rashi's exposition of this verse: "He made for my feet heavy fetters."

<sup>10</sup> Perush does not mention the "prayer," since it is the enemy, not God, who is enclosing.

3:9 And there HE FENCED him in so that he might be hopeless, and the path with which he used to be familiar HE TWISTED.<sup>11</sup>

7 3:10 And there was yet another misfortune: A BEAR would come to him, and he comes from the way that he did not know.<sup>12</sup>

3:11 AND HE RENT ME IN PIECES (וַיִּפְשַׁחֵנִי): the Targum of AND SAMUEL HEWED is "he cut in pieces."<sup>13</sup>

And HE IS DESOLATE: because everyone who sees him will be appalled,<sup>14</sup> and so [THE] ABOMINATION THAT CAUSES APPALLING,<sup>15</sup> and in another place, APPALLS.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> cf. Ibn Ezra: "the paths known to me."

<sup>12</sup> A real bear, and not, as noted by Rashi, a metaphor for God. If the bear ambushes him, then obviously the bear comes from a way the lamenter does not know. This latter comment ties in with the "twisted path" of the previous verse.

<sup>13</sup> Perush explains the meaning of this rare verb by citing the Targum of 1 Sam. 15:33, where it translates פָּשַׁח as קָשַׁח (correct according to Jastrow 1245).

<sup>14</sup> The verb פָּשַׁח can either mean "be desolate" or "be appalled"; thus in the examples that Perush cites, the latter meaning is evident, while in Lam.4:11, it is the former. In a midrashic fashion, then, Perush implies that the mourner is desolate, so all are appalled at him.

<sup>15</sup> Dan. 11:31.

<sup>16</sup> Dn. 2:11, THE ABOMINATION THAT APPALLS.

3:12<sup>17</sup> And from far away the enemy shoots arrows  
at him.<sup>18</sup>

ה 3:13 And the arrows entered into his kidneys, with the result that they were disappearing into the fat.<sup>19</sup>

3:14 And he was turned into A DERISION.<sup>20</sup>

3:15<sup>21</sup> Both UNDER MY FEET (תחת רגלי)<sup>22</sup> and  
instead of bread and water (תחת לחם ומים) GALL and  
WORMWOOD.

<sup>17</sup> Bomberg does not have a break here, but I have made one, since it seems to me Perush abandons the story of the bear, and moves to a story of being shot at with arrows.

<sup>18</sup> The bear attacks (of course) by catching up to the lamenter; the enemy shoots "from far away," because, if one sets up a target, one naturally places it at some distance.

<sup>19</sup> "disappearing": נסתרים. Why this? First, the arrows "entered," and if they really entered, then they could not be seen. Also, the lion in verse 10 was in hiding (במסתרים), and Perush did not expound this phrase. Of course, there *is* a lot of fat surrounding the kidneys.

<sup>20</sup> "turned into": שב ל, see Is. 29:17.

<sup>21</sup> Perush points out that the verse means: HE SATISFIED ME WITH GALL instead of bread AND SLAKED MY THIRST WITH WORMWOOD instead of water. This leads him to point out that the Hebrew preposition for "instead of" can also mean "underneath."

<sup>22</sup> UNDER MY FEET, Ps. 19:39, ET 18:38--that is one way that UNDER (תחת) can be used. But there it can also mean "in place of."



APPENDIX 4, "Perush" on Lamentations, ch. 3

CLIII

3:16 His teeth were broken with stones, and he was unable to eat, and the enemy filled his mouth WITH DUST; or, according to the sense, ASHES LIKE BREAD.<sup>23</sup>

3:17 As if he were not being able to feel sensations, and he forgot the GOOD.<sup>24</sup>

3:18 He does not have any hope that he will see GOOD ever again.<sup>25</sup>

3:19 Since always he remembers his distress: that the enemy tortures him.

The WORMWOOD AND THE POISONOUS HERB; and they are bitter herbs<sup>26</sup> in place of bread.

3:20 There are those who say, "Because [my soul] WILL SURELY REMEMBER...."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Ps. 102:9-10, ET 8-9: ALL DAY LONG MY ENEMIES TAUNT ME; THOSE WHO DERIDE ME USE MY NAME AS A CURSE. FOR I EAT ASHES LIKE BREAD.

<sup>24</sup> How could the lamenter forget the good? He must have lost sensation, for AND YOU REJECT MY SOUL FROM WHOLENESS.

<sup>25</sup> Softens, MY HOPE FROM G-D IS LOST.

<sup>26</sup> Perush apparently reads on purpose מרורי in stead of מרורי, with this result: THE MEMORY OF MY DISTRESS AND MY bitter herb--WORMWOOD AND POISONOUS HERB.

<sup>27</sup> Obscure comment: probably, "Some people interpret, 'Because my soul remembers it sinks down on me.'"

3:21 This consolation I WILL ANSWER MY HEART<sup>28</sup>  
when MY SOUL WILL SINK:<sup>29</sup>

□ 3:22<sup>30</sup> that here is no end to THE MERCIES OF  
THE NAME.<sup>31</sup>

3:23 Probably NEW concerns HIS COMPASSIONS,<sup>32</sup>  
since YOUR FAITHFULNESS IS GRAND (רבה) ("great"), as TO  
EACH GREAT ONE (רב) OF HIS HOUSE,<sup>33</sup> or it is the lan-  
guage of plural.

3:24 And he was MY PORTION from days of old,  
entirely God.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> And not: "he will answer his heart." Previously in this chapter Perush uses "he" not "I" in his exposition. Here Perush changes to "I," to indicate that (in his view) the poem shifts from the punishing enemy (Lam. 3:1-20) to the faithful God (Lam. 3:21 ff.).

<sup>29</sup> An (uncommon) philological explanation in Perush.

<sup>30</sup> This is the mourner's answer to his heart.

<sup>31</sup> Perush reads תמוני for תמוני, see the comments of Rashi and Ibn Ezra on this verse.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Ezra (see his commentary on this verse) meant that NEW modifies MERCIES and not COMPASSIONS. According to Perush it modifies MERCIES and not FAITHFULNESS, which is singular grammatically.

<sup>33</sup> Est. 1:8, where רב means "great" and not its more usual meaning of "many." This comment comes from Ibn Ezra. In his comment on this verse, he speaks of the two meanings of רבה ("many" or "great"). He explains רב as "great" by reference to Est. 1:8 in his comment on Lam. 1:1.

<sup>34</sup> "from days of old": Perush seems to contrast this with the mercies which are "new."

APPENDIX 4, "Perush" on Lamentations, ch. 3

CLV

ו 3:25 And I will know that he will do good to those hoping for him.<sup>35</sup>

3:26 It is good that he seeking G-D should endure, and be waiting, and sit SILENTLY (דומם) FOR THE SALVATION OF G-D, as the sense of, BE STILL (דום) BEFORE THE LORD AND WAIT PATIENTLY FOR HIM,<sup>36</sup> as, WAIT (דמו) UNTIL THEY COME TO US.<sup>37</sup>

3:27<sup>38</sup> IN HIS YOUTH: perhaps the lamenter was a youth when he was exiled, or he would strengthen the heart of the young men.

3:28 SINCE HE LIFT UP ON: refers to the YOKE spoken of above.<sup>39</sup>

3:29 That he be humbled to the dust.

3:30 "Let him give" willingly.

<sup>35</sup> Evidently Perush intends to explain what the phrase means, GOD IS GOOD TO....

<sup>36</sup> Ps. 37:7.

<sup>37</sup> 1 Sam. 14:9. The word study of דום is from Rashi's comment on this verse. Rashi's point is that דום has the connotation of "wait patiently for."

<sup>38</sup> Perush stops his paraphrastic exposition and reverts to exegesis.

<sup>39</sup> The object of "lifts up on" is the "yoke" of the previous verse. This was Ibn Ezra's opinion; see his terser comment on this verse.

7 3:31 There are those who say that HE WILL REJECT (יִזְנוּחַ) is like "he will forget," and this is correct, and the proof is AND YOU EXCLUDED (וְחִזְנוּחַ) MY SOUL FROM PEACE.<sup>40</sup>

3:32 HE only AFFLICTED, AND HE HAD MERCY.<sup>41</sup>

3:33 FROM HIS HEART: it did not occur to him.<sup>42</sup>

7 3:34 G-D is like someone sitting in heaven,<sup>43</sup> and the sons of men like those imprisoned on earth, shut up in the prison of wickedness.

3:35 TO PERVERT the cause by reason of his being high, and he did to those who dwell below what he wanted.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Lam. 3:17. However unsuccessfully, Perush seems to be trying to soften the force of HE WILL REJECT.

<sup>41</sup> i.e., He only afflicted in order to have mercy.

<sup>42</sup> This is Rashi's exposition of the 2nd half of verse 36.

<sup>43</sup> cf. Ibn Ezra's comment on verse 50.

<sup>44</sup> God is called "the Most High" in this verse, and humans were called prisoners of earth in the previous verse. The contrast is actually made in the poem, though perhaps Perush robs the two images of some of their power by making the connection between the two too explicit.

3:36 These three verses are joined together,<sup>45</sup> and the sense of [THE LORD] DID NOT SEE is like the sense of "It did not happen since everything there is G-D sees."

■ 3:37 If so,<sup>46</sup> "Who decreed the decree on the sons of men, and behold, G-D did not command?" And the sense<sup>47</sup> is "He did not decree," and thus FOR HE COMMANDED AND THEY WERE CREATED.<sup>48</sup>

3:38 God will not decree good or evil from the deeds, they<sup>49</sup> are only in the will of man.<sup>50</sup>

3:39 If so,<sup>51</sup> why will he complain in speech,<sup>52</sup> and thus LIKE THOSE COMPLAINING,<sup>53</sup> and the proof is,

<sup>45</sup> i.e., joined by the phrase, THE LORD DID NOT SEE.

<sup>46</sup> If the previous three verses are true....

<sup>47</sup> i.e., of "command."

<sup>48</sup> Ps. 148:5. Perush interprets this verse in Lamentations to mean: "If God does not crush... (vv. 34-36), who decreed such things?"

<sup>49</sup> "good and evil."

<sup>50</sup> Perush read this verse as if it were a true statement rather than what it is in fact, a rhetorical question. Perush emphasizes, as does Rashi, that people are responsible for their misfortunes.

<sup>51</sup> i.e., If good and evil fortune are in the will of man....

<sup>52</sup> i.e., not just to grumble to himself, but complain out loud.

<sup>53</sup> Num. 11:1, AND THE PEOPLE BECAME AS THOSE COMPLAINING: IT WAS EVIL IN THE EARS OF G-D, AND G-D HEARD IT AND HIS ANGER WAS

AND GOD HEARD.

1 3:40 Only let a man search his ways.<sup>54</sup>

3:41 Let him give his heart as an offering in his hands; or, Let his heart will be offered in his hands.<sup>55</sup>

3:42 Let Israel confess that they did not turn back to God in repentance; therefore He did not forgive.<sup>56</sup>

3:43 You put a covering of anger on us, and we could not see where we could flee, AND YOU PURSUED US.<sup>57</sup>

3:44 By way of parable:<sup>58</sup> as if the CLOUD could separate the PRAYER from G-D.

KINDLED.

<sup>54</sup> Or possibly, "A man will only search his ways": I shall follow Krinski's lead and remain silent on what this comment might mean.

<sup>55</sup> Perush emphasizes that the LET US OFFER of this verse is the language of sacrifice.

<sup>56</sup> Doctrinal interpretation: If God did not forgive Israel, the only reason for this could be that they had not repented.

<sup>57</sup> Perush translates: YOU COVERED US WITH ANGER AND PURSUED US. Building on past allusions to Israel being blinded or led in dark places, Perush imports this notion here as well. Note that there is not a word on "slaying" or "not pitying."

<sup>58</sup> i.e., metaphorical language.

3:45 Motion<sup>59</sup> with refuse.<sup>60</sup>

ב 3:46 They opened THEIR MOUTHS, mocking.<sup>61</sup>

3:47 When the soul fears and a PIT is before the body, immediately it falls in, and behold the destruction of the soul comes and the boy is broken in the pit.<sup>62</sup>

3:48 The words of the lamenter.<sup>63</sup>

ג 3:49 He is always weeping.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Perush appears to be explaining the meaning of the two rare words which begin this verse, סחי and מאוס, "offscouring and refuse". "Motion" is an allusion to Ibn Ezra's exposition of "offscouring"--though it is impossible to say from this one word comment whether or not Perush understood Ibn Ezra's point.

<sup>60</sup> The word Perush uses for refuse, קאוס, also means abomination and is the post-Biblical equivalent of מאוס, the word in this verse.

<sup>61</sup> The text does not say why the enemies opened their mouths, whether to swallow Israel or to laugh at them. Perush makes specific the reason for the open mouths and connects this verse with taunting songs of verses 14 and 63. He also explains the relatively rare word, פצה (to open).

<sup>62</sup> This is a narrative based on the poetic image of DREAD AND THE PIT WERE OUR LOT, THE DESTRUCTION AND THE BREAKING. Someone stands before a pit, swoons from the dread of the gaping hole, and falls in. The BREAKING refers to the body, and the DESTRUCTION to the soul.

<sup>63</sup> Perush notes that the "we" persona of verses 40-47 is now dropped in favour of the "I" with which this chapter began.

<sup>64</sup> Perush explains the relatively rare verb תרמה and the hapax legomenon הפוגות.

3:50 Until G-D sees CHANNELS OF WATER that descended from MY EYE.<sup>65</sup>

3:51<sup>66</sup> My eye wasted away, it made weeping<sup>67</sup> FOR MY SOUL MORE THAN ALL THE DAUGHTERS OF MY CITY, since it was the custom of women to weep.

γ 3:52<sup>68</sup> And all this weeping was on account of the fact that I am caught LIKE A BIRD.<sup>69</sup>

3:53 And I was put<sup>70</sup> IN A PIT, and they put a large STONE on the mouth of the pit, or, They were throwing A STONE on me to know if I were [still] alive.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Perush ties this verse to verse 48 (CHANNELS OF WATER) by answering the question, What does God see? What attracts God's attention in heaven?

<sup>66</sup> The first part of this line may be slightly corrupt; Krinski has a different reading: עוללה for the somewhat awkward עששה עששה of Bomberg.

<sup>67</sup> As the Bomberg text stands, "wasted away, made weeping" is a gloss on the verb עוללה, "deals severely."

<sup>68</sup> Bomberg has forgotten a verse division here.

<sup>69</sup> A "connecting" comment: Perush ties this verse to the "eye" verses immediately preceding.

<sup>70</sup> Perush seems to be reading שמו for נמתי.

<sup>71</sup> Perush seems to be directly dependent on Rashi's somewhat meandering exposition of this verse.



APPENDIX 4, "Perush" on Lamentations, ch. 3

CLXI

3:54 And the pit was not empty but was full of  
WATER.<sup>72</sup>

7 3:55 And if the PIT had been shallow, I  
would have comforted myself. However it was in DEEPEST  
DEPTHS.<sup>73</sup>

3:56 And I will know that you, G-D, HEARD MY  
VOICE.<sup>74</sup>

3:57 And in the past I found you close when I  
called you.

7 3:58 And several times YOU CONTENDED for  
me.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> This is a "specifizing" and "linking" comment: the biblical poet does not, of course, necessarily conceive of the drowning and the pit as connected.

<sup>73</sup> Thus far, this pit is characterized as being 1. stopped with a great stone, 2. full of water, 3. very deep. This exposition is dependent of Rashi's comments on the previous verse.

<sup>74</sup> i.e., when you rescue me. Therefore this verse is, in the mind of Perush, a statement of faith, based on past experience (see his comment on the next verse).

<sup>75</sup> Perush is reading this line as he did the previous two: these are memories of God's help in the past. God contended "several times"--inferred from the plural, YOU CONTENDED THE CONTENTIONS....

3:59 when YOU SAW the perversion they were doing  
to take MY JUSTICE.<sup>76</sup>

3:60-62 What there is in their hearts, you will  
also hear their words.<sup>77</sup>

ש 3:63 In their sitting down and in their get-  
ting up: always they play music about me.<sup>78</sup>

נ 3:64 ACCORDING TO their deeds: because they  
put me in a pit, do this to them.

3:65 HEART-COVERING: a covering on the heart, so  
they may not see what you will bring to them.<sup>79</sup>

3:66 You will pursue them in your anger so that  
You may overtake them and DESTROY THEM.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Vv. 58 and 59 are essentially parallel, and Perush has continued his narrative by making the latter a consequence of the former.

<sup>77</sup> i.e., You will "hear" what they think as well as what they say. This seems to be dependent on Ibn Ezra's terse comments on these two verses.

<sup>78</sup> For the sake of his narrative, Perush has collapsed these two verses into a single thought. Now they tie in nicely with his previous comment. How will you hear their thoughts? For one thing, they will be singing abusive songs about me.

<sup>79</sup> A connecting comment: they will not see that you will put them in a pit. Also, Perush explains the meaning of "covering" מגנה with a suitable synonym, סתר.

<sup>80</sup> The two verbs of this verse are connected by "overtake," thus creating another narrative.

"Perush" Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 4

4:1<sup>1</sup> HOW DARKENED: how may the gold be debased and be like the others which are six?<sup>2</sup>

THE PURE GOLD (הכתר הטוב): the round necklace.<sup>3</sup>

And this is a parable for the verse coming after it.<sup>4</sup>

4:2 WITH THE REFINED GOLD (בפז): precious stone and there are those who say that it is silver and REFINED GOLD (זהב מופז)<sup>5</sup>--he would deceive them.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perush's comments for this verse and the five which follow, while not really midrashic, are an creative exploration of words and images, sometimes using the work of philologists, sometimes drawing on popular legends, but most often using the resources of his own vivid imagination.

<sup>2</sup> Alchemic theory: there are 6 to 7 metals in ascending value, gold being the most valuable (see Krinski's note here).

<sup>3</sup> or, round ornament החצי העגול: possibly an allusion to Proverbs 25:12, where the חלי כתר (necklace?) parallels זהב (gold ring).

<sup>4</sup> i.e., this verse is to be interpreted metaphorically, and the key to understanding these metaphors is the next verse.

<sup>5</sup> 1 K. 10:18.

<sup>6</sup> A brief allusion (one word in Hebrew) to the aggadah in which Solomon was said to have covered his ivory throne with gold to make people think his throne was solid gold. One of the rare allusions to a traditional aggadah in Perush, and this is merely in passing. But what does this comment mean? Here is one possible solution, inspired in part by Peter Martyr's reading: "Precious stone? And there are those who say that it is silver, but it is REFINED GOLD such as that with which Solomon (1 K. 10:18)

4:3 The males would take the breast of the females and suckle whelps of the females, but the Daughter of my people did not do so;<sup>7</sup> and there are those who say THE תנין ALSO PRESENT THE BREAST are the females of the flock, and they feed their whelps.<sup>8</sup>

4:4 Milk is for a baby in place of bread and water, and children are larger than babies,<sup>9</sup> according to the image of gleanings of the grapevine.<sup>10</sup>

4:5 ARE DESOLATE:<sup>11</sup> they are desolate in public;<sup>12</sup> everyone who sees them will be appalled.

covered his throne to trick people."

<sup>7</sup> This comment must be read alongside of Rashi's exposition of this verse (he speaks of both the strange habits of the תנין [modern ET "jackals"] and of the cruelty of the Daughters of Zion). Perhaps there is even an allusion to stories of men in sieges breast-feeding children after their mothers are incapable of doing so.

<sup>8</sup> Here Perush alludes to the lexical meaning of תנין. (Krinski has נשי צאן (not נשי ציון) and relates this to a midrash, but I think this is far from Perush's intent.)

<sup>9</sup> Milk is to babies as bread and water is to children: the philological interpretation of this verse.

<sup>10</sup> The word used here for children עוֹלָלִים is similar to the word for gleanings עוֹלָלוֹת (though the two are, in fact, not etymologically connected). Possibly Perush alludes to Ps. 128:3, YOUR WIFE LIKE A FRUITFUL GRAPEVINE.

<sup>11</sup> In his exposition of Lam. 3:10-11, Perush has already exploited the ambiguity of the verb שָׁמָּה, i.e., it can mean either "be desolate" or "be appalled."

<sup>12</sup> "in public," Perush's interpretation of "outside."

THEY CLUNG TO THE DUNGHILLS: for they are tossed aside like dung, and there is no one burying them.

4:6<sup>13</sup> There is a SIN OFFERING (חטאת) and a GUILT OFFERING (עוון) in sacrifice, hence its sense is the reward of the iniquity (עוון) and the sin חטאת,<sup>14</sup> and it is the evil reward, and it may be called evil fortune: and thus, FOR NOT YET COMPLETE IS THE GUILT (עוון) of THE AMORITE;<sup>15</sup> IF THERE WILL HAPPEN TO YOU GUILT (עוון) IN THIS MATTER;<sup>16</sup> GREATER IS MY PUNISHMENT (עוון) THAN I CAN BEAR and the verse following after it is for a witness.<sup>17</sup> And the sense is that the misfortune coming on Israel is greater than the misfortune of Sodom, since she was overthrown AS IN A MOMENT, and there were no HANDS at any time in strength on account of the fact that they have no power,<sup>18</sup> or its sense is that hands

<sup>13</sup> This is one of Perush's longest-sustained expositions. There is little grammatical exactitude here; rather a series of allusions and citations more or less relating to each other are pressed on the reader for edification and to make a central point: this verse does not mean Israel was a greater sinner than Sodom.

<sup>14</sup> Krinski directs us to Ibn Ezra's comment on Gn. 4:13 re the two types of offering. Perush's point is that the meaning of this verse is not that Israel's iniquity was greater than Sodom's sin, but that Israel received greater punishment for their iniquity than did Sodom for its sin.

<sup>15</sup> Gn. 15:16.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Sam. 28:10, Saul to the witch.

<sup>17</sup> i.e., the verse following Gn. 4:13 (i.e., v. 14) demonstrates the truth of this interpretation.

<sup>18</sup> חלל as if it were from חיל meaning strength.

did not whirl on her, as the meaning of MAY IT [THE BLOOD OF ABNER] WHIRL ON THE HEAD OF JOAB.<sup>19</sup>

4:7 HER DEDICATED ONES WERE SHINING in the days of satisfaction.<sup>20</sup>

4:8 DARKENED: their form in hunger.

4:9 The RIDDLED who DRIP blood FROM THE PRODUCE OF THE FIELD who were satisfied are BETTER than are those PIERCED OF HUNGER.<sup>21</sup>

4:10 The COMPASSIONATE WOMEN became cruel on account of the greatness of their hunger.<sup>22</sup>

4:11 The hunger of the body is compared to fire that burns and harms to the foundation of the bone.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> 2 Sam. 3:29. These two possible meaning of מלו are from Ibn Ezra's comment on this verse.

<sup>20</sup> This comment is the counterpart of the next one. It is a connecting of this verse with verses 8 and especially 9 where hunger is mentioned explicitly.

<sup>21</sup> This represents Perush's attempt to understand Ibn Ezra's elliptical comment on this verse.

<sup>22</sup> A "connecting" comment, tying this verse with verse 3 by the word "cruel."

<sup>23</sup> This comment connects and "specifies": God's anger is narrowed to the curse of starvation; in this way, this verse can be tied to the references to hunger in vv. 8-10 immediately preceding and to the reference to fire and bone in Lam. 1:13.

4:12 And on account of the hunger an ENEMY entered INTO JERUSALEM.<sup>24</sup>

4:13 On account of the sin of the prophets of Baal<sup>25</sup> and the priests of the high places, the innocent were killed,<sup>26</sup> according to the words of Asaph.<sup>27</sup>

4:14 The living<sup>28</sup> TOTTERED IN THE STREETS like the BLIND,<sup>29</sup> and they made themselves defiled<sup>30</sup> in the blood of the pierced,<sup>31</sup> until those who touch WOULD NOT BE ABLE that THEY TOUCH THEIR CLOTHING. And one verb follows the other;<sup>32</sup> and the sense is THEY WOULD NOT

<sup>24</sup> This "specifizes" the cause of the fall of the city and connects this verse with the artificial allusion to hunger in the preceding verse. Possibly it is also an allusion to the state of famine that existed in the city just before its fall: 2 K. 25:3.

<sup>25</sup> Rashi's interpretation: the prophets mentioned in this verse were false prophets.

<sup>26</sup> The enemy killed the righteous, not, as in the text, the sinful prophets and priests.

<sup>27</sup> Ps. 79:1, GOD, THE NATIONS ENTERED INTO YOUR INHERITANCE.... The entire Psalm echoes themes and phrases of Lamentations.

<sup>28</sup> This connects to v. 9 which dealt with the dead.

<sup>29</sup> "like": Ibn Ezra's interpretation.

<sup>30</sup> Perush replaces the compound nif'al-pu'al נִפְּלָא with its hitpa'el form.

<sup>31</sup> "pierced" connects to v. 9 also.

<sup>32</sup> In the MT, the second line reads, WITHOUT THAT THEY ARE ABLE, THEY MAY TOUCH THEIR CLOTHING: there are two main verbs, and "able" (modal) should precede an infinitive.

APPENDIX 4, "Perush" on Lamentations, ch. 4

CLXVIII

ABLE that THEY TOUCH;<sup>33</sup> and thus, LET US KNOW, LET US PURSUE.<sup>34</sup>

4:15 Were they calling concerning themselves, "Turn aside," as one unclean?<sup>35</sup> And the former is correct;<sup>36</sup> and the antecedent of "those" who were calling is not stated.<sup>37</sup>

And THEY SAID AMONG THE NATIONS that NO longer WILL THEY CONTINUE TO return to their land TO DWELL as they were.<sup>38</sup>

4:16 For the anger<sup>39</sup> OF GOD DISPERSED THEM among the lands,<sup>40</sup> and HE WILL NOT CONTINUE TO LOOK at THEM;

<sup>33</sup> i.e., "they were not able to touch."

<sup>34</sup> Hos. 6:3. In Hosea, of course, this is rhetoric, and the two verbs do not stand in a dependent relation to one another as they do in this verse in Lamentations.

<sup>35</sup> Reading "TURN ASIDE UNCLEAR," THEY CALL TO THEM, as THE UNCLEAR CALL, "TURN ASIDE."

<sup>36</sup> i.e., the original is correct, what is written in the text, which, following the accents, would be, "TURN ASIDE, O UNCLEAR," THEY SAID TO THEM.

<sup>37</sup> "and the antecedent..." lit. "and the place of those who were called is lacking," i.e., THEY CALLED TO THEM, the text does not specify who the THEM is, and thus we have to infer that the THEM is not the THEY who call.

<sup>38</sup> The MT reads: THEY SAID IN THE NATIONS, "THEY DO NOT CONTINUE TO DWELL." This plainly needs some explanation, and the above is Perush's paraphrase of it.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Ezra's interpretation of "face."

<sup>40</sup> Perush takes DISPERSED/SCATTERED THEM to refer specifically to the dispersion of the exile.



as, AND THEY CALL [TO] HIM.<sup>41</sup> Therefore they did not fear to take vengeance<sup>42</sup> on the ELDERS and PRIESTS.

4:17 And still we shall hope that Egypt and Assyria will come TO OUR AID.<sup>43</sup>

4:18 And they did not come except to our enemies,<sup>44</sup> who HUNTED US... IN OUR STREETS.

And OUR END DREW NEAR for COMPLETED WERE OUR DAYS which were in our salvation, and THE END OF our exile CAME.<sup>45</sup>

4:19 And we could not flee.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Neh. 9:28, on which see Ibn Ezra's comment. Both in Nehemiah and in this Lamentations phrase, the usual preposition after the verb is dropped and a pronominal suffix is added directly.

<sup>42</sup> i.e., as those responsible for their plight, see verse 13 and Perush's interpretation.

<sup>43</sup> Rashi specifically mentions Egypt as a vain source of help. Assyria is not mentioned in Lamentations, but Perush only has to recall passages like Jer. 2:36 (PUT TO SHAME BY EGYPT...ASSYRIA) to include it as well. It is possible that this comment should be read as an exclamatory rhetorical question: "And shall we still hope...?!" Perush also notes the change of persona: a "we" section begins here, and Perush similarly begins to use "we."

<sup>44</sup> i.e., "The Egyptians and Assyrians only helped their enemies, who were then enabled to hunt...": a comment to connect this verse with the previous one.

<sup>45</sup> The second half of this verse grimly announces the end of the nation. In good midrashic fashion, Perush has reinterpreted this half verse to make it have a positive meaning: "the end of the exile draws near."

<sup>46</sup> In the sense of, "They could run but not hide." This continues Perush's emphasis on being trapped, blinded, walled in.

4:20, 22 There are those who say<sup>47</sup> that Jeremiah laments over Josiah.<sup>48</sup> And the proof for the matter? AND LOOK, THESE THINGS ARE WRITTEN IN THE LAMENTS.<sup>49</sup> And this is not correct, since, after the death of Josiah, disaster came, and here he said, COMPLETE IS YOUR PUNISHMENT.<sup>50</sup> And the correct in my eyes is that he is speaking concerning Zedekiah, whom the King of Babylon appointed king in Jerusalem, and he was the last of the exile.<sup>51</sup>

4:21<sup>52</sup> EXULT: as the sense of REJOICE, YOUNG MAN, IN YOUR YOUTH,<sup>53</sup> since in the end judgment will come; and the sense is that Edom was under Judah, and in the day of their fall they rejoiced; and thus, REMEMBER, G-D, TO THE SONS OF EDM[O]M[']S DISCREDIT] THE DAY OF

<sup>47</sup> Rashi, for one. See his comment on this verse.

<sup>48</sup> i.e., Jeremiah says in this verse, THE BREATH OF OUR NOSTRILS IS G-D'S ANNOINTED....

<sup>49</sup> 2 Chr. 35:25.

<sup>50</sup> Lam. 4:22, two verses away.

<sup>51</sup> i.e., Zedekiah was deported to Babylon with the last group of Judeans to be exiled (2 K. 25:7).

<sup>52</sup> This is easily one of the most philological interpretations that Perush has in all five chapters of Lamentations.

<sup>53</sup> Eccl. 11:9, meaning, Edom should rejoice while it can, since time is not on its side.

JERUSALEM, [THEY WHO] WERE SAYING [TO THE BABYLONIANS,  
"STRIP IT BARE, STRIP IT BARE TO ITS FOUNDATION."<sup>54</sup>

[YOU WILL GET DRUNK] AND YOU WILL MAKE YOURSELF  
NAKED: as the sense of, HE BECAME DRUNK AND HE  
UNCOVERED HIMSELF.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Ps. 137:7.

<sup>55</sup> Gn. 9:21 (of Noah).

"Perush" Commentary on Lamentations

Chapter 5

5:1<sup>1</sup> The REMEMBERING by the heart and the look by the eye; and the interpretation: every disaster which happened to us before the exile and the shame in which we are now.<sup>2</sup>

5:2 OUR HERITAGE (fields, vineyards) is delivered up TO FOREIGNERS who are in our land.<sup>3</sup>

5:3 ORPHANS: and what is more we were with miserable strangers, as if we were orphans and had no father: it is known that it is the custom of father's family to help the orphans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Bomberg this commentary is styled Ibn Ezra, but is definitely Perush, with liberal borrowings from Rashi's philological interpretations. Did Ibn Ezra ever write a commentary on Lam. 5?

<sup>2</sup> i.e., "Remember" refers to what happened before the exile, and thus what is merely remembered cannot be seen at present; "look" refers to Israel's present exile and thus what can be viewed by the eyes.

<sup>3</sup> Since "our houses" are mentioned specifically, "our heritage" must refer to everything else.

<sup>4</sup> If our mothers were LIKE WIDOWS, then we were [LIKE] ORPHANS, even though the text does not explicitly say "like" orphans. Also, it says OUR MOTHERS, but merely NO FATHER. So who is the FATHER? It must mean the father's family who ought to look after the orphans of the deceased father.

5:4 OUR WATER: even water and wood which are a human right<sup>5</sup>--we buy them at a high price, since the city is under siege from the enemy.<sup>6</sup>

5:5 UPON... : and if we bring water or wood UPON OUR NECKS, the enemy PURSUED US and WE WEARIED OURSELVES for nothing, since they did not allow us what we were bringing.<sup>7</sup>

5:6 WE GAVE (נתנו) EGYPT A HAND: the putting of the dagesh in the ן in the word נתנו is in place of the ן of the root, since that ן is the sign of those speaking.<sup>8</sup> And the giving of the hand is a swearing: "And behold he gave his hand";<sup>9</sup> and the interpretation: like a thrusting of the palm, for they swore to Egypt and Assyria; and maybe he swore.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "which are a human right," lit., "which are not by human authority."

<sup>6</sup> Perush now signals that the next series of verses will not be from the perspective of the exile but will be about the siege of the city.

<sup>7</sup> Thus Perush ties together vv. 3 and 4 into a narrative.

<sup>8</sup> A grammatical point taken directly from Rashi; see Rashi for this point.

<sup>9</sup> Ez. 17:18.

<sup>10</sup> Ez. 17:18 is proof that "giving the hand" is swearing; see also the Targum on this verse; "like a thrusting of the palm," i.e., not "give" in the sense "donate," but give in the active, Hebrew sense of the word, "put"; "and maybe he swore": the problem here addressed is that in the mind of Perush, Lam. 5:6 and Ez. 17:18 refer to the same event, but unfortunately the subject of Ez. 17:18 is singular, Zedekiah--hence the Perush feels constrained to say both "they swore" and "he swore."

5:7 OUR FATHERS: this is the evil which came upon us because of our iniquities which were bound up with the iniquities of our fathers--and they escaped and not we, as the interpretation, VISITING THE INIQUITY OF THE FATHERS ON THEIR SONS.<sup>11</sup>

5:8 SLAVES: and our slaves, who were givers of tribute, such as Edom, ruled over us.<sup>12</sup>

TEARING AWAY (פֹּרֵק): like save (מַצִּיל), as AND HE RESCUED (וַיִּפְרֶקנוּ) US FROM OUR ENEMIES;<sup>13</sup> and both of them are from the form SPLITTING (מִפְרֵק) THE MOUNTAINS.<sup>14</sup>

5:9 BY OUR LIVES (בְּנַפְשֵׁנוּ): formerly our slaves were bringing our bread, but now we are by ourselves;<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ex. 20:5, Num. 14:18. WE SUFFERED: suffered what? This evil, the siege. So of course the fathers "escaped"--they had already died, mostly of natural causes. By interpreting literalistically Perush can continue his narrative about the siege.

<sup>12</sup> Perush interprets literalistically: slaves--what slaves? The neighboring peoples conquered by David and put to forced labor; thus, the largely metaphorical comment of rule by slaves is transmuted into the triumph of Edom after the invasion of the Babylonians. Edom's conduct was remembered bitterly: see, for example, Ez. 25:12-14.

<sup>13</sup> Ps. 136:24.

<sup>14</sup> 1 K. 19:11. The meaning of פֹּרֵק in Lam. 5:8 and Ps. 137:24 is metaphorical, but both derive from a concrete sense as found not in 1 K. 19:11 (pi'el, not qal as here in Lam.) but Gn. 27:40, TEAR OFF HIS YOKE: see KBL 915-6.

<sup>15</sup> נַפֵּשׁ can mean "--self," see Holladay 243; thus Perush interprets literalistically: "we bring bread by ourselves."

and the correct in my eyes<sup>16</sup> is that its interpretation is "in danger of our lives," and thus BY THEIR LIVES THEY BROUGHT IT.<sup>17</sup>

5:10 OUR SKIN: if we shall not risk ourselves to bring bread, we shall die of hunger.<sup>18</sup>

GREW HOT/WARM (נכמרו): like WILL MAKE FIRE (יכרו),<sup>19</sup> and "will kindle" (יקרו),<sup>20</sup> and GREW HOT/WARM as HIS COMPASSION GREW WARM (נכמרו).<sup>21</sup>

RAGING HEAT (זלעפה): as, AND A SCORCHING WIND (זרוח זלעפות);<sup>22</sup> almost a whirlwind.

5:11 WOMEN: The calamity of hunger was not enough; until the slaves violated our women;<sup>23</sup> and

<sup>16</sup> "and the correct in my eyes," one of Ibn Ezra's favourite phrases for introducing an interpretation which he favors over another he has just mentioned; Perush uses this expression to expand on his interpretation by introducing material cribbed from Rashi--see his commentary on this.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Chr. 11:19.

<sup>18</sup> Narrativizing: both verses are, of course, about the difficulty of getting food.

<sup>19</sup> Ez. 39:10.

<sup>20</sup> Root ק.ד.י, a relatively rare verb in the Bible, and it does not occur there in this precise form.

<sup>21</sup> Gn. 43:30. This philological interpretation is from Rashi.

<sup>22</sup> Ps. 11:5, ET 6, philological comment from Rashi.

<sup>23</sup> i.e., "As if hunger were not bad enough, things continued to get even worse to the point that the slaves (mentioned in v. 8)...."

APPENDIX 4, "Perush" on Lamentations, ch. 5

CLXXVI

every act of lying was by rape, and this by its nature is called "violation."<sup>24</sup>

5:12 PRINCES: there were no PRINCES who could save our women, for even THEY WERE HUNG by their arms;<sup>25</sup> and there are those who say that BY THEIR HANDS refers back to the slaves mentioned above.<sup>26</sup>

5:13<sup>27</sup> THEY CARRIED... THE YOUNG MEN to MILL,<sup>28</sup> and "mill" is an infinitive, as I AM TIRED OF CARRYING (נִלְאִיתִי נִשּׂוּא).<sup>29</sup>

And the strength of the young men stumbled when they moved the wood of the mill.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> i.e., the virgins were in the cities, and so this is clearly a case of "violating," as affirmed in Dt. 22:29.

<sup>25</sup> If they were hung by their arms, they would have no hand free to rescue Zion's women mentioned in the previous verse.

<sup>26</sup> Mentioned in v. 8 (and artificially carried forward by reading them into vv. 9-11); thus the verse would read: "The princes were hung by the slaves' hands...."

<sup>27</sup> This verse in Hebrew is difficult, if not impossible; and while Perush's suggested translation is fanciful, at least it makes sense.

<sup>28</sup> i.e., "The slaves carried..."; "to grind": לְטָחֹן. The MT can be read: "The young men carried the mill (מִחֹן)," or as Perush suggests, see Hillers 158. Perush wants to have "young men" as the object so the slaves can be the subject and continue the narrative.

<sup>29</sup> Is. 1:14; i.e., it is an infinitive without the preposition "to" (לְ).

<sup>30</sup> Perush is thinking of a great mill stone turned with a wooden bar by a chained slave: cf. the blinded Sampson in Jud. 16:21. (No doubt the two parts of this verse are unrelated in the way Perush suggests, but what THE YOUTHS STUMBLER IN/BY THE WOOD MEANS is uncertain--Hillers emends.)



And there are those who say that it is according to its grammatical meaning,<sup>31</sup> and the interpretation is that every camp must have a mill and wood.

5:14 ELDERS: it was their custom to sit at the gates of Jerusalem.<sup>32</sup>

5:15 CEASED: this concerns the sacrifices which were sacrificed;<sup>33</sup> and our dancers are the dancers and singers.<sup>34</sup>

5:16 FALLEN: the Temple, the place of the Presence;<sup>35</sup>

5:17 ON THAT ACCOUNT WAS OUR HEART SICK, and the eye became darkened from much weeping.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> "According to its grammatical meaning": כמשמעותו. In this case, Perush means that we translate: THE YOUNG MEN CARRIED A MILL, AND THE STRENGTH OF THE YOUTHS STUMBLER ON [i.e., "under"] THE WOOD.

<sup>32</sup> A philological note: as mentioned above, there are more of these in ch. 5 of Perush than in the other four.

<sup>33</sup> i.e., the true joy of our hearts is the Temple sacrifices.

<sup>34</sup> i.e., "our dance" (מחולנו) means "our dancers" (מחולליו) and refers to the dancers and singers of the Temple.

<sup>35</sup> Our true crown was the Temple.

<sup>36</sup> Perush connects vv. 16 and 17: i.e., because the Temple was destroyed, we were sick at heart and wept.

5:18 UPON MOUNT ZION WHICH WAS DEVASTATED (שָׁמָּה):  
past tense verb,<sup>37</sup> as AS HE LOVED.<sup>38</sup>

WALK AROUND ON IT: it is pi'el conjugation,<sup>39</sup> [and  
it is transative] like AND THEY EMBALMED HIM.<sup>40</sup>

Alternatively<sup>41</sup> THEY WALKED AROUND [can be inter-  
preted] intransitively.<sup>42</sup> Piel can be stative,<sup>43</sup> since  
I found THEY NAKED GO ABOUT.<sup>44</sup>

I felt obliged to accept the pi'el as transive,  
even though it is the custom of foxes to be in ruins.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>37</sup> שָׁמָּה is a past tense verb, even though it is a slightly  
different form since it is stative.

<sup>38</sup> Gn. 27:14, also stative.

<sup>39</sup> Perush expresses this by writing the verb in the pi'el  
participle form in which the initial נ clearly signals pi'el.

<sup>40</sup> Gn. 50:26, i.e., the subject is unexpressed but as Ibn  
Ezra says in his commentary on this verse, the understood subject  
is "the physicians"; and, says Perush, the understood subject of  
"walked around" is not the foxes but those causing the walking,  
i.e., the enemies who were formerly slaves; thus the interpreta-  
tion is: "they caused foxes to walk around on it." Perush so  
interprets in order to make the "slaves" the subject of as many  
negative-meaning verbs as possible. In biblical Hebrew only the  
hif'il, not the pi'el, of הָלַךְ can mean "cause to walk" (see Hol-  
laday 80); but in post-biblical Hebrew, it can have this meaning  
(Even-Shoshan m270).

<sup>41</sup> "Alternatively," lit., "And it might be."

<sup>42</sup> "intransitively," lit., "according to the interpretation  
of 'walking.'"

<sup>43</sup> "Pi'el can be stative," lit., "from the heavy conjugation  
and the verb is stative."

<sup>44</sup> Job 24:10 (עֲרִיטֵם הָלְכוּ): THEY GO ABOUT NAKED. The gram-  
matical point here is that NAKED is not the direct object.

<sup>45</sup> "I was obliged...": lit., "I was forced to the first  
grammar, and the foxes, it is their custom to be in ruins."

APPENDIX 4, "Perush" on Lamentations, ch. 5

CLXXIX

5:19 YOU, G-D: we knew that your kingdom will not be removed and that from generation to generation you sit on the throne of your kingdom.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> In contrast to the fate of your earthly Temple, your Kingdom is forever. Perush follows Rashi (who in turn follows liturgical custom) and ends on a positive note with v. 19, not with the somber v. 20.

Nicolaus de Lyra

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## II

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# Libe

uenerunt chaldeis. c Ante facie tribulantis. i. ducentis  
eos ad tribulationem. illi enim qui ducit captiuos facit eos  
d Et egredi est a fili. spon. i. a birlm. (ite an se et non poss.  
que dicit fili spon. eo quod ciuitas pregebat a templo et regia do  
mo que erant in monte spon. sicut nlla pregebat a matre.

e Vis decore ei. s. s. s.  
regni et sacerdotum.

ideo sequitur.

f Faci sunt prin. ei.  
velut arie. insensati.

g Non inuidentes  
pascua. fame afflicti.

h Erabuerunt ab eis  
fortitudine. non potui  
tes in aliis resistere.

i Ante facies subse  
quentis. in captiuita  
tem ducentis.

k Recordata est hie  
rusale die afflic. sue. et  
pua. phiderans quod illa  
afflictio merito sibi ve  
nerat ppter peccata sua p  
terita.

l Sim desiderabili  
um suum. in nimis co  
desolationibus sibi factis  
m Que (ad totu.  
habuerat a diebus anti  
qis. i. a tpe moysi quo  
de. pauit psm illum  
cibo celesti. et. am. et  
multa alia beneficia co  
u. Cu. ca. (tulit ei.  
deter pps ei. in manu  
hesit. eade est enim scia  
ptanor. et. io. rna. op.  
positor. aliud ad me.  
mona. reducit. et. et. et.  
magis apparere facit  
quia opposita iuxta se  
posita magis elucefcunt  
o Viderunt eam bo  
stes. apta. et. et. et. et.  
id est cultu dei israel.  
reputantes quod saluare  
non poterat psm illu.

sed si remouet ppha dices quod peccauit birlm.

id est peccatis peccata accumulauit. et propterea iusta

bilis facta est. non potes resistere aduersariis. ppter dei sui

offensas. non ppter ei. impotentia. s. Omnes qui glori. eni

t Sp.auerunt illa. tpe aduersitatis. (tpe sue pperitatis.

v Quia vide. ignominia ei. i. destructione et captiuita

tem. i. Ipa aut gemes. sub onere importabili.

y Et pueria est. terrosum. s. in p fustione a statu honora

bili. 3 Sordes ei. in pe. ei. in hebreo b. In om. ei.

loquitur de ea sicut de muliere patiente menstrua. cui. in un

dica descendit ad inferiora. ita quod sedant ore restituerit in

terrore pedes tangentes. et p b designat inmundicia ido

latricie abundans in birlm. ppter qua fuit destructa.

a Nec est recordata fuitis sui. i. exccata rectis non cogi

tabar punitione sup se finaliter ventura. adeo subdit.

b Deposita est rebemeter ab oi honore et solitudine. io

in psona ei. orat ppha dices. Vide dñe et. c Danu

lud. i. hostis. i. pps ammonitap et moabitar. et dicit

iniquitatem ei. d. Partuli ei.

d. ducti sunt in captiuitatem. an

facie tribulati. Elau. Et es

gressus ea filia sydo. ois de

corei. Faci sunt principes ei.

velut arietes. non iuuenies

pascua. rabiet ab eis forti

tudie an facie subsequetis.

Aai. Recordata est birlm di

eu afflictois sue. et puarica

tiōis oim desiderabiliu su

oz. q habuerat a diebus an

tiqis. cu caderet pps eius i

manu hostili. et non erat auxilia

tor. Vide et ei hostes. et de

risert sabba e. Aeth. Dec

caru peccauit birlm. ppter

rea instabil facta est. Des q

glificabat ea. spreuerunt illa

qz viderunt ignominia eius

ipa aut gemes. et quersa est

retrosum. Aeth. Sordes

ei. in pedibus ei. nec recoz

data est finis sui. Deposita

est e vehemens. non hns pso

latoz. Vide dñe afflictoez

mea qm erect est inimicus

Jorb. Manu sua misit bo

lis. ad oia desiderabilia ei.

qz vidit gentes. ingressas

sanctuariu suum de quibo

Ka. sa. d Ad oia desiderabilia eius. i. ad libros legi  
de quibo dicit ps. xxiij. Desiderabilia sup aurum et lapides p  
ciosum multum. dicit enim Ka. sa. quod chaldeis currebat ad  
aurum et argentum in destructione birlm. illi magia voluerit  
currere ad coburendu libros legis. eo quod scribit Deuter.

xij. ammonites et moa

bites non intrabunt in

ecclesiam dñi in eternu.

ideo subditur.

e Quia et. g. amos

nitas et moabitas.

f Ingressus scila.

tuu. ubi lex fundat et

potissime deuterono.

inuis in latere arce.

Deutero. xxi.

g Vis pps etas ge

mens p angustate su

mis q pualuit in hie

rasale oblecta a chal

deis. et. h. s. xxiij.

h Dederunt piosa

queq. p abo. illi qui

erant diuites.

i Ad refocillandas

aiam. i. ad mirigandu

fame. et non ad latere

re. io in psona ei. orat

pphetadiens.

k Vide dñe. afflicti

onem meoru.

l Et pphera. reuelat

m O vos. (do eu.

hic inducit ppha ali

os ad compassionem di

centis. O vos omnes qui

transitis p rias. prope

pecceras ne intarferin ec

clesiam tuam. Capb. Omis

pplo eius gemes et querēs

punc. Dederunt piosa qz

p cibo ad refocillandu ani

ma. Vide dñe et cōsidera.

qm facia su vilis. Lamech

O vos omes qui transitis p

via attendite et videte. si e

dolor sic dolor me. Qm

vindemiauit me vt locus

est dñs. i. die tre furoris sui

Dem. De excello misit

ignem in ossibus meis. et ru

diuit me. Expandit rhere

pedibus meis. couertit me

retrosum. Posuit me de

solatiz. tota die merore co

sectam. Nun. Vigilaui in

gum iniquitatu meatu in

manu eius. uoluit sunt et

imposite collo meo. Infir

mati est virtus mea. Dedit

me dñs i manu. de q non po

tero surgere. Samech. Ab

stulit oes magnificos meos

domin. de medio mei. vo

cavit aduersum me temp.

vt contereret electos meos

Torcular calcavit domi

nus virgini filie iuda. Syn

p De excello misit igne in ossibus meis. i. in templo et reg

foralicio. et in ceteris de qz fortitudine pphidebat pps. sic

essa sunt robur corporis. et oia ista fuerunt cobusta a chaldeis

is. rñ dictum fuit s. l. q. Et erudit me. qz vexato

bat intellectū. In hebreo b. Et separauit me. i. membras

tim lacerauit. Et pph. abete pe. me. i. pph. expadi.

et vocat hic bete deceptio falsor. pphar. q fuit ppho caus

sa ruine. vt frequenter dictu est s. s. Couert. me. retroz.

id est de statu honorabili ad pphibit. Et Vigilaui in

gu. i. iniquit. me. i. ma. ei. s. dñi. qz vigilat et solite in dñe

pena. p iniquitatibus meis. ppter h in psona ei. d. in pma

prio libri de destructione pph. loquēs. Vigilaui ego sup. et

v. i. uoluit fuit. i. iniquitates mee (bo meo. i. facia illud)

Et impozol. meo. sicut fardellus imponit larem de

phelo. y Infirmitas est vt mea. deo me degerente.

3 Dedit me dñs in manu. i. chaldeor. et p. q. et

perero surgere. vtute pph. sed tñ diuina b. Abulit

oes magnificos meos. rñ et pph. pphas et sacerdotes.

Antedite et videte

p compassionem.

o Qui vindemiauit

me et. loquitur de hie

rusale p modis rñce

cul. clausum est disti

puta. et fruct. collect.

qz muri birlm erant

dissipati. et oia bona

asportata.



IN THRENOS HIEREMIAE,  
IO. OECOLAMPADIUS.

**O**mnem scripturam, quam Prophetæ, Apostolice, spiritus sancto inspirati nobis tradidere, rudibus & inuidis, tam spiritualibus quam carnalibus lectoribus, modo aures audiendi habuerint admodum uilem esse, uel breuis illi libellus testatur, quem nunc gratia Dei luuante explanandum suscepimus. Breuis inquam libellus est, unde apud Hebræos inter quatuor breues libellos, & non mox post prophetiam eius, sed separatim ponitur, & ordinetur est inter illos. Sir Hasmim, Ruth, Aecho, Kohelah, & Megilath Esther. Inscribitur autem Aecho à prima dictione, id est, quomodo. Proderit autem primū rudibus & carnalibus, proponens iustum Dei iudicium ob oculos, quo terreni aut humiliant, ac prosternunt impij, ut humiliant, & per Euangelium Dei misericordiam agnoscunt in tempore per penitentiam emargit. Absorpti sunt cum curis huius mundi & trepidi extrema ignorantia, terribilibus conuulsis, & fulguribus iudiciorum Dei excandescunt. Quod autem grauius iudicium, quam id quod à domo Dei indiget edictis, & uentilatus in domo Dei uix saluatur, imò se uere flagellatur, Quid sibi uenire promittunt impij, & abiecti non poenitent. Elegerat Dominus ex omni terrā Iudæam, ex omni Iudæa Hierusalem, & in Hierusalem templum, propter populum suum, cuius se fore Deum & protectorem ipsi Abraham iurauerat, cui populo legem dederat, cui soli notus erat illis temporibus. Et ecce non parcat illi, sed grauissime flagellat, qui ergo cuncti sunt, ut effugere iram Dei queant.

Proinde ut Sod. vii. dicitur, Medius est ire in domum Iustus, quam domum conuulsus, quia ibi finis admonemur omnium gentium. Si tante utilitatis est unius mortui, fortasse hominis inuulsus lamentatio, & sepe sola mortui effigies, quid non faciat regnorum potentissimorum desolatio, & ciuitatum darissimorum destructio. Multum hodie predicat caradysmus, qui paucis superstitionibus, generationem prauam perdidit, predicat Aegyptus decem plagis suis incendio consumpta, predicat Aegyptus decem plagis adfecta & non erudit. Predicant omnia eorum, quibus in cunctis monendum.

monendum, ne ingrederentur in terram sanctam. Predicant Assyrii cum Sennacherib. una nocte cuncti. Predicant Babylon, Tyrus, Damascus, Edom, & quicquid sublime habuit mundus. Multo autem uocalissime clamat Hierusalem, & tanto magis, quanto illustrior religione, opibus, populo, & edificijs. Recte qui illam uiderit, & non imprudens fuerit, dicet, Quid facis insana ruens, quæ momentaneis huius seculi teneris illecebris, nonne uides omnia caduca, fluxa, peritura, uana. Et ut sapiens inquit, Vanitas uanitatum, & omnia uanitas. Cur non ad æterna ac summa illa bona aspiras? En illa præmia, hic finis, hoc iudicium. Ceterum qui exercitatos oculos mentis habet, & perspicacius uidet iacturam animarum, admonetur alterius Hierusalem, & ciuitatis Dei desolationem, magno cum affectu ac mira commiseratione, adiungens se Hieremiam & Christo, & patet oculis suis fontem lacrymarum. Eni, ut poeta ait *ἐν δ' ἔκρυπτο* sunt uiri pii & boni. Vnde Paulus, Quis scandalizatur, & ego non uror, quis infirmatur, & ego non infirmor. Et ad Rom. ix. Est ei dolor magnus, et assiduus crucians cordi eius, adeo ut optet anathema fieri pro fratribus, cognatis secundum carnem: Moses autem expungi semel de libro uiuentium cupit. Quantum item Paulus deplorat unum peccatorem Corinthium: Et quomodo non dolebit membrum uiuana, si aliud ut aridum defecari uiderit. Atqui etiam hoc loco sobrie sapiendum est, ne in Origenis nugis incidamus, qui etiam ecclesiam Hierusalem deplorat, & cadentes angelos misericordia dignatur, sperans ex demonibus angelos, & angelis demones futuros, modo uere sine eius dogmata, quæ tribuuntur. Vrgitur ueniamus ad mysteria arciora. Ecce etiam quidem sciamus esse Hierusalem nostram, & ciuitatem sanctam, matrem quoque nostram ac patriam, illa augetur nunc, & imminuitur, & fere diruitur. Sed etiam hoc sane intelligendum, Est ecclesia iuxta prædestinationem Dei, certus seruandorum numerus in libro uitæ conscriptus, nunquam expungendus, quorum dux, pastor, rex, sponsus & caput est Christus, ad hoc à Deo præordinatus, ipsius autem populus, gratæ sponsa ac membra sunt data illi, & nemo aliquid tollet de membris eius. Ex hac est Hierusalem, quæ in æternum non commouebitur, nulli ad illam hosti patet accessus. Dominus enim in circuitu eius, sicut murus igneus,

& hoc solvere a pure sancta domus Dei, in qua nihil inquinatum, nihil non aureum, condonante solitorum Deo peccata & miserentem. Sancta enim est & irreprehensibilis, utpote lota sanguine Christi, & gloriosa absque ruga & macula. Tanta enim dignitas Christi, quod pater, qui in illo complacuit, in habuit, ut in ipso conciliaret omnia quae in coelis & quae in terris. Hanc non deploramus, Nos uirginem Dant, qui sine eis, & quos predestinauit, hos & uocauit, & quos uocauit, eos & iustificauit, sed oramus illis associari, & condimus per fidei associatio. Haec est, de qua in symbolo, quod catholicam credimus ecclesiam, irratione igitur digni sunt, nos irritantes, ut ostendamus illis ecclesiam hanc. Lubeant sibi aperiri librum, ut uideant nomina conscripta in coelis. Adierit olim dies, utpe quando congregatio sibi obuiam sponso. Nunc abscondimus, quia Deus uidit miserem, quia & fides abscondita est, per quam uicilius ciuitatis conscribimus. Fallit enim omnia externa opera, Iudas uidebatur pius, & reprobatus est, Iatro malus & assumptus est. Singuli in opere debemus nos esse ciues, et uerbo Dei inuenientes, credere nos membra Christi, & coherere cum omnibus sanctis, per uirtutem fidei. Quae magna dignitas est, sic recenseri in scriptis angelorum, prophetarum & apostolorum. Ad Hebr. xij. Testes angelorum, prophetarum & apostolorum Dei uiuentis Hierusalem, ad montem Sion, & ad ciuitatem Dei uiuentis Hierusalem, & ad innumerabilem angelorum coetum, & ad communitatem primogenitorum, qui conscripti sunt in coelis, & ad iudicem uniuersorum Deum, ad spiritus iustorum perfectorum. Adde quod cum his spe iam triumphare debemus, & sedem occupare in coelestibus. Tantum abest, ut eam deploramus. Abest enim lux eius, meus & genuis ab ea, portae inferi aduersus illam non praecurrunt, neque meae apprehendent eam, lux enim & Christus, qui illuminat eam, & agnus lucerna est eius, Apoc. xxi. Scimus quid & errores, quibus per ignorantiam uersamur, ubi uenerit, quod perfectum, abolendo. Et sicut propter Christum, quia est signa nostra, obliuiscimur nostra peccata, ita propter eundem, quia est sapientia nostra, si nobis displicet quicquid erramus, nihil nos debuit & ignorantiae, neque imputabuntur. Quid enim nocet peccata, si non illustrantur in cerebri uel cor, ut sic dixerim, modo seruatis & uirgatur

& uegetetur eodem spiritu. Diuersa enim dona data sunt. Nam licet omnes theodidacti sint, ubi uocati fuerint, nondum tamen omnibus concessum est, mysteria quauis cognoscere, sufficit interim in capite esse thesaurum sapientiae & scientiae Dei reconditum, ad cuius communionem membra indies participandam conformamur. Nam caeci non manebimus. Iam quod quidam peccent grauius & errent, & conscripti sunt, non plus offendant, quam si non essent nati. Minus bonum habet non duntaxat hoc seculum, ubi auri non regenerabuntur per uerbum spiritus, Christo incorporabuntur, & ad lucernam uerbi eius diriguntur, ne errent. Neque sane dubium, quin ecclesiam ignorantes & ignoranter multi nunc persequuntur, qui sunt ex Saulis Pauli, & ex hostibus domestici futuri. Hierusalem igitur, qualem Deus ab aeterno praecognouit, non deploramus, sed qualis uersatur ante oculos nostros impura, bonos, malosque continens, sicut ulcera in corpore, ut comparare faceret, in qua triticum & zizania, & sageneae contudenti pisces bonos & malos, & nuptias, in quibus fatuae & sapientes uirgines, in quibus uestit nuptiali ueste & non nuptiali. Turbae in qua multi dicunt, Domine Domine, & Dominus uocauit eos. Regnum coelorum, in quo minimus qui sic docuerit & non fecerit, ad uera ecclesiam non pertinet. In hac ecclesia sunt, & exiunt ex nobis Antichristi, qui non sunt ex nobis. Nam ut nos iuxta externa iudicamus, ubi uerbum Dei pure docetur, & coit populus communicans sacramentis, baptismo & coenae atque poenitentiae, ubi ecclesiam Dei agnoscimus. Sed quot interim nos fallunt, qui sacramenta conspurcant, & solo nomine Christiani sunt, hypocritae & contemptores gloriae Dei. Et sicut olim illi, qui ex carne israelitae & circumcisi dicebantur populus Dei, tamen multi in eis reprobis, tamen quum iudicare non uerbatur, spes erat quod uiui saluari queant, & redire in uiam, uel in ultimo momento, nisi palam sacramenta & foras Dei abiurassent. Ita hodie qui fidem in charitate, quam uis & fides resanant sacramentorum communionem, licet ceciderint, spes est redire per poenitentiam. Non enim sine sensu diuini spiritus est, quisquis Christum uenisse in carnem quomodo cunque fatetur. Et ex hoc externe symbolis participans, quantum nobis iudicare licet. Quid aliud





et illudum carnis, quæ super, & fiduciam habet in creaturis, quæ  
solum solum & habet se sub sole. Inexpectata hæc fuerunt in  
propheta. Vnde bene admiratur. Occidebat enim prophetas, Vir-  
ginem & alios, qui contra ciuitatem sanctam prophetabant, ipsam  
aliquando destruendam. Et hodie occidantur: Nunquid ecclesia  
potest errare, nonne sine macula est & ruga, nonne usque ad cœli  
regionem seculi duratura est? Ita etiam olim Deus promiserat se-  
mansurum in Hierusalem, & promiserat Abraham semen multipli-  
candum, nihilominus Deus verax est. Adhuc manet veritas in con-  
fibus doctorum, etiam si totum ministerium collabatur, etsi multi mali  
inuenti sint, & cum Sodomis & Gomorrhis uere conferrentur, &  
paruum semen esse relictum, Deus tamen seruauit promissum, quod  
solum ad credulos quæ latent spectabar. Elegerat dominus fideles  
non filios secundum carnem Abraham, quid mirum si quidam ex  
oderunt suo malo, Deus atque fidei & uerax. Illi enim non sumus  
in ecclesia, qui non sunt participes Christi spiritus, & solum fa-  
cramenta carnis habent.

(Seder.) Id est, humiliter. Vides Hierusalem in specie mulieris he-  
rentis et tristic. Erat autem Hierosolymis maxima hominum mul-  
tudo, sub Salomone, & confluebant illuc ad festiuitatem ex tota  
super omnes mares ter in anno. Certe sub destructione secunda ad  
indeces centum milia hominum reputata fuerunt, facta computa-  
tione ex agnis paschalibus qui immolabantur. Iosephus de bello Iu-  
daico dicit Cestum Nonni significasse, florem & uiros uisitare  
ad pascha hostiarum 246,500. q. numerus decuplicatus facit 2,465,000.  
Ab antiquis & uirginosis. Vide autem magnam inopiam, ut  
ne uirum quidem uirum haberet, & proinde uidere comparatur,  
sicut sola sedes, & quæ ante in celum caput erexerat, iam humiliata  
in sedem. Pascha antiquitas.

(Frequens.) Peperit & potens domino; quia Ammonites  
Moabites, Philistini, Sidonii, Tyrii, Damasceni pendebant tribu-  
turi, & cum regerac gentes manora mirabant, iam est obnoxi-  
a sola alii dominis, imò plane nulli.

(Principes.) Administrabat etiam vicinas provincias, id est, non  
solum de populo domina, sed facta est miserima & seruilis. Pau-  
peres pauperes relictis in Iudæa granis post destructionem Hierusalem  
agricolæ

agricolæ matores, &c. Hic cõferat spiritualis status primitiuæ ex  
edice ad nostra secula, quod multa credendum tempore apostolo-  
rum susceperunt spiritum sanctum, & docebat alios: quantaq; mun-  
dus caritas eorum, qui aliquid puro corde ex spiritu agant. Esi regnã  
Christi etiam hodie est ab ortu solis usque ad occasum. Sed ad spira-  
tus qui uere Christum spirent, hoc plicet estimare ex ipsa fide &  
charitate. Vnde Dominus dicit, Putas quum denerit filius homi-  
nis, inuenturus sis fidem super terrã, quandoquidem charitas re-  
frigit, & iniquitas abundauit. Et sicut tum summa libertas erat  
spiritus, adeo ut & angelos iudicaret, ipsi uero à nemine iudi-  
centur, hodie tributum pendunt etiam uilissimis phariseis, seru-  
ientes peccatis, & humanis consuetudinationibus, imò etiã Sathanis tri-  
buta dant.

Plorando plorauit in nocte, & lacrymæ esus super  
maxillis eius, non habet consolatorẽ ex omnibus ami-  
cis suis, Omnes socij eius prauis reati sunt contra eam,  
& facti sunt ei inimici.

Vario modo ostendit nobis calamitatem & ruinam Hierusalẽ.  
Neq; erit necessarium, ut ita connectamus uersum uersum. Natura  
gentes quæ uis ordinem interrumpunt, & confusæ loquuntur, ut  
subiti sumus dolentium affectus. Quomodo seder? Vis uidere: plo-  
rando plorauit, id est, perpetuo fleui afficitur.

In nocte.) Nox enim quieti tribuit, & somno tristitia lenit, sed  
Hierusalem non paucas lacrymas stiliat, neque adeo noctu cessat.  
Alij afflicti habet suos cõsolatores; qui blanditijs illos alloquant,  
sed ex omnibus amicis non est qui cõsoletur Hierusalem. Atqui  
hæcploratio non est ueræ poenitentia indicium, sed magnæ mis-  
erie, non plorat quod peccauit, sed quod afflicta est. Alioqui nihil  
quereretur propheta, cui uolupte fuisset uidere contristatos ad po-  
nitentiam. Tribuitur autem urbi, quod est populi, quæ ubique ha-  
bitu mulieris fingitur. Iam enim uocauerat uiduã factam. Au-  
get autem hoc malum, quod non solum consolatorẽ non habet,  
sed & amici eius asistant ei, digni dantes quæ tanta passio suo  
merito, etiã ipsi hostiles ei gentes impugnant. An nõ & Ismael &  
Iob. Caret infidelium egredi cõ reliquis plebis occiso Goliath, &  
Q. q. h. p. d. d.



crine caluisti, pro fascia pectorali cilicium. Et in summa, tota ipsa Sion amaro animo est. Unde uidet quod offendat, nihil autem quod exultaret. Ita pro peccatis olim carnalis populus seuerè traheatur est. Iam in ecclesia non minus ploramus, in qua oportebat esse perpetuum sabbatissimum à peccatis, & exultationē in Domino, qui in spiritu & ueritate adorandus. Non adeo lugubre est, quod peregrinationum finem uidemus, qua ad diuina templa, quasi ad idola maleficus populus currebat, ipse ignarus quid faceret, sed hoc plorandum, quod dum in congregationibus sunt, cor longe à Deo est, psallit, & uagatur mens in temporalis commodo. Ad hanc festiuitatem, ducunt nos uix fide per uerbum Dei, si dicto audiamus, & immensa beneficia per Christum recogitemus. Ipse uia est & porta, qui non ingrediuntur, qui Christum ignorant, eunt quidem in speciem pñj, sed ad Sion & ad festiuitatē utram non perungunt, quia uel ad dexteram uel sinistram respiciunt, qui desident, & non extendunt se ad ulteriora, hi omnes nō ueniunt ad Sion. Quando autē uerbū Dei rarum est ac contemptum, quando scripturæ cœcunt, quando sacramenta conculcantur, quando exempla sanctæ uitæ uilescunt, certum est uiam uix Sion lugent. Illis enim inducimur, & admonemur, ut eamus ad ecclesiam sanctorū in Sion. Hæc magna causa quærimoniæ, nullos ambulare in ueritate, & sectari plerosq; hypocritas.

Portæ desolantur. Per illas nō est tam frequens ingressus. Suscepiones sacramentorū, per quas catechumeni ingrediuntur, ignorantur: ut nunc appareat in multis terris, in quibus Barbari regnāt, & predicationes uerbi non permittuntur. Quid igitur faciet uerū sacerdotes, uidentes non ceremoniosum, sed uerum Dei cultum deficere, gement & suspirabunt. Præterea & illa quæuis, uel ex delictis quæ prius in ornati, ut placerent Deo, iam abiecti cultu, uerent, ita plane de diuinis actum est. In summa, non soli sacerdotes & incorruptiores, sed & quicquid ad ecclesiam quomodocūq; agunt, amaro animo est, quia uidet uerā Dei gloriam, quæ est in fide erga Deum, charitate erga proximum, innocentia uitæ, & crucis tolerantia sua, prorsus obliuiscuntur.

Fuerūt hostes eius in capite inimici eius feliciter egerunt, quia Dominus afflixit eam propter multitudinē prauaricationum eius, Paruuli eius abierunt in captiuitatem coram hoste.

Auger felicitas aduersariorum calamitatē nostrā, quantum descendit in miserā Hierusalem, tantum ascendit in felicitatē hostis. Beati sunt, qui affligunt eam & diuites cōtra legis maledictiones. In capite esse est præcipuum esse ac posteriores partes obducere. Hostis, qui aperte impugnat ac molestat. Inimicus, qui male uult, & nonnunq; dām persequitur, utrique bene habent, quia Dominus iratus est propter multitudinē transgressionum. Hæc est causa omnium malorū, quia populus iam antea Deū reliquit, unde hostes facti sunt in caput. Filij huius seculi, hæretici & persecutores prophetarum, quando multos impune abducunt, non potest illos odisse mundus. Datum est Assyrijs & alijs, ut populū Dei persequantur, si forte malis exercitijs, poenitentiam agere ceperint.

Afflixit eam. Cauter scriptura, hæc potestas dē aduersarijs, sed Deus est, qui excidit hostes, & illorum opera sic afflixit, idē iuste, nō enim unum & alterum peccatē erat, sed multa ualde. Tor annis prædicatū erat per Hieremiā, sed nō poenitentia educebant.

Paruuli abierunt. De paruulis habenda erat spes aliqua renæscens populi, uerum & illi pessime habet, & b hoste cū licet grecouium abducuntur. Hostes nō parū paruulis & fraudi obnoxij insidiantur. Occidit enim & Pharao paruulos. Item Herodes, qui cupit in flore adhuc herbascere Christum perdere. Sunt hi paruuli sensu, non paruuli innocentia, & qui facile scandalizantur.

Etegressus est à filia Sion decor eius, facti sunt principes eius sicut cerui (qui) non inuenerunt pascua, & iuerunt absq; uirtute ante persecutorem.

A congregatione, egressus est omnis decor, oīs uirtus, honestas, uaria dona spiritus s. sapientia, intellectus, fortitudo, consilium, scientia, industria, religio, pietas, timor, castitas, charitas, sobrietas, quicquid aurē & uasorum in templo directum est.

Sicut arietes. Abigebant & occidebantur arietes et ductores & consiliarij eius. Et nostri episcopi & doctores arietes et ductores gregis esse debebāt, sed illi primi abducunt, sicut paruuli infanctia ipsi, & ignorantes scripturas, nō inuenientes illa pabula uitæ, ad quæ Christus oues suas ducit, Esa. v. Propterea caput dūctus est populus meus, quia non habuit scientiam, & nobiles eius intrerunt fame, & multitudo eius siti exaruit. Osee iij. Erit sicut populus & sacerdos. Ingredere nunc quæso ecclesiam collegatam, &

unde quorundam rauenas, fiscales ne & officiales. His cura est extorquendi pecuniam per fas & nefas. Canonid hi prorsus nihil curant literarum. Et quales sunt, tales sibi prophetas deligunt. Deinde secum rapiunt omnem simplicium turbam, magnam sibi auctoritatem iudicantes. Christus ait, quæ tales docent facite. Facite. At sedent ipsi super sedem Moysi, & iure audiuntur, posthabitis eorum exemplis. Ducant ad pascua uitæ, non in uastas solitudines. Seluz pastoribus illis, qui non pascunt gregem, sed scipfos. Ance persecutorē.) Sicut Ianus quod uult abigit pecus, ita hostes principes. Pauissimi etiam ex principibus Christianos segrunt, peditibus, latrocinis, tyrannide, stupro, & iis malis plebs perdit, nullam denique iustitiam administrant. Hæc prædixit Dauid. xvi. Aduersa qui tecum uersatur, adscendet super te, & erit sublimior, & erit in caput, tu in caudam.

Recordata est Hierusalem dierum humiliationis suæ, & rebellionis suæ, omnium desiderabilium suorum, quæ fuerunt a diebus prioribus, in cadendo populo eius, in inanum inimici, & non erat ei adiutor, uiderunt eam hostes, riserunt super sabbatis eius.

Eccæ quæ tempore prosperitatis non cognouit, quanta bona accepisset a Deo, tunc tandem postquam amisit, aperire coepit oculos in poenis. Ita Adam & Eux aperti sunt oculi. Postquam præuariati sunt, & cognouerunt in se turpitudinem, quam antea nescierant.

Desiderabilium.) Erant preciosa templi, quæ in libris Regum leguntur, benedictiones agri & fructuum, pax, regnum, sacerdotium, prophetia, uictoria, quibus omnibus donis Iudei affecti erant. Ezech. xvi. Symbolice recensentur unguenta, hyacinthum, calcei, byssinx zone, uestimenta subtilia, armille, torques, in aures, corona, iadæ & oleum, aurum & argentum, & alia huiusmodi. Paulus ad Rom. ix. Dum extollit Iudeos tribuit eis cultum & promissiones, etiam quod ex eis ortus sit Christus. Deut. v. Dicent omnes populi, En populus sapiens & intelligens, gens magna. Nec est alia ratio tam grandis, quæ habeat Deos appropinquantes sibi, sicut Deus noster adstruit his obsecrationibus nostris. Quædam alia gens, sic indyca uel habet ceremonias, iustas iudicia, & uniuersam

uniuersam legem quam ego proponam hodie ante oculos uestros. Deut. xvi. En Dominus elegit te hodie ut sis ei populus peculiaris, ut faciat te excelsiorem cunctis gentibus, quas creauit in laudem & gloriam, & nomen suum, ut sis populus sanctus Domini Dei tui, sicut loquutus est. Harum igitur benedictionum recordata, hoc grauius doluit, quod è sublimiore loco cecidit. Rebellio, id est, poena rebellionis, exilium, calamitas, sicut apud Zachar. per metonymiam peccatum, poena peccati dicitur.

Dum caderet populus meus in manus.) Id est potestatem hostis, & non esset auxiliator uel homo uel Deus, promissum si seruariant, tum unus fugaret decem milia, sed iam cadunt in manus hostis imbelles, unde considerantes eam hostes, riserunt sabbata, hoc est, omnem cultum diuinum. Quod sabbatizant, quod ieiunant, quod sacrificant, frustra est, quum non sentiant promissas benedictiones, sed potius maledictiones, quod quidem uergit in obprobrium Dei. Dum gentes dicunt, Vbi est Deus eorum. Ex, Cantate nobis canticum de canticis Sion. Quæ mediocriter pio animo molestissima crux fuerit. Neque alia tentatio periculosior, quam dum hostis ad desperationem inducere nititur. Hoc enim modo Christus quoque in cruce tentatus, confidit in Deum, libera eum nunc, si uult.

Nunc quoque in afflictionibus sub Antichristo recogitant ac dolent conscientie de contumeliis in Christum & ecclesiam, quas hæc deseruit, dum recogitat immensa beneficia Christi, spirituales diuitias & benedictiones, quibus modo caret, certe habet rarissimas. Nam ubi prophetie, ubi gubernationes, ubi opulationes, ubi sermo sapientie, ubi efficacie potentiarum, ubi discretio spiritus, ubi genera linguarum. Sed illa fortasse quis dicit hodie minus necessariis. Vbi paupertatis & crucis amor, ubi humilitas & caritas, ubi fiducia in Deum. Hodie ne sibi lum quidem ferre possunt, olim ad sanguinem resistebatur, absque tentatione discenditur, olim erant arma militie, non carnalia, sed potentia Deo ad demolitionem munitionum, quibus consilia demoliebantur, & omnem celsitudinem quæ extollitur aduersus cognitionem Dei, & captiuam ducebant omnes cogitationes in obsequium Dei, & in gloriam Dei. R. uindictam

in THRENOS ALIENORUM  
nindictam & uersus omnem inobedientiam. Unde & religio no-  
stra male audit apud Iudeos & Ethnicos, qui ridere baptismum  
& Eucharistiam, & ridiculus est illis crucifixus noster. His Iudibrijs  
maxime exponuntur, qui deficiunt à fide, & certe supra modum  
discessum est à fide. Ridicula sunt & hoc sabbata, ubi non cessant  
à peccatis, non solum in festis, sed & Deo ipsi, ut est Esa. i. lviij. &  
ulim, & quod de sabbatis dicitur, id & de omnibus, imò abomi-  
nationes sunt omnes ceremonie. Sed propterea audiendi non  
sunt, qui colligunt ex nostra imperfectione prorsus nullam apud  
nos esse ecclesiam, apud quos uerbum pure predicatur. Quibus  
Christus Iesus iustificatio & iustitia, per fidem accipienda cum legi/  
timo usu baptismi & eucharistie. Gratiā enim à capite Christo, cea-  
tebra, celestisq; donū à celesti Dño ac patre luminum, à quo  
omne donū perfectum trahit, expectamus et inde plebem quę te-  
docemus, ut inaccessa gloria referatur in Deū. Quod de dogmatis  
pariter ac nos imperij, tumultuantur: Benedictiones em̄ ad iunipi-  
rituales, & si non perspicue satis, neque dum etiam & nos perfecte  
credimus. Neque deest nocet maledictorum adiunctio, quorum  
admirari oneramus, sed nō opprimimur. Sagma euangelica mul-  
tū cœni trahit, sed interim aliqui boni pisces cū limo, cū putribus  
istis, cum uilgine maris unā conducunt. In consummatione seculi  
talis purgatio fiet, qualem nunc p̄sane homines imprudenter  
ambunt. Quid dulcius quā in Sion celestis Hierusalem bona  
uidere, & expressa dona in me & Christianis dictis planissime ag-  
noscere. Verum pars crucis est, hæc nostra imbecillitas, & mo-  
lestum onus hypocritarum, imò & nobis ipsi crux sumus, quod  
quod die sarcinam uetustatis excutere molimur. Amemus igitur  
& hanc afflictam & molestatam, in qua patienter nos habeamus.  
Tandem omnia angustiora erunt, nobis fideliter pergenibus,  
adeoq; cauamus, ne nos redium frangat huius imperfectioni-  
nis, super alio seculi stidire coeperimus ædificationem hanc corpo-  
ris Christi. Nam in desperationem coniecti obmitteremus publi-  
cum uerbi usum, per quem miserę conscientie solatium quod die  
accipimus, & regnum Satanę impugnamus. Et tamen æmulari de-  
bemus interim clarissima mediocra, & agnoscamus nos in culpa  
esse, quod sic irridetur uerbum, quia uerisimiliter multa, quod  
dolendum

Notandum est in nos dicuntur, quare ab omni specie mala abstinendum.

Peccatum peccauit Hierusalem, propterea ludibrio n  
habetur, omnes qui honorabāt eam, uilipendunt eam,  
quia uiderunt oblectaculus, etiam ipsa in suspirijs est,  
& conuersa est retrorsum.

Peccatum peccauit. ) In tantam miseriam peruenit propter peccata sua, continue inquit peccat, & non audiuit increpationes Prophetarum, facta est adultera, & fidem sponso Deo non seruauit, sed omnibus bonis & desiderabilibus eius abusa sunt, ut seruiret idolis, cōfissa externis auxilijs, filios & filias consecrauit idolis, misericordiam nesciuit erga proximum, neq; super his poenitentiam egerit.

Ideo es גרר) Hoc est in commotione tua, aut quia oculus inter  
 incredulos, aut quod ludibrium istis es, qui contempnis gratia la-  
 bia in te distorquent, & concutitur caput fastidienter, alioqui & ex  
 communicare eadem vox Iudeis significat, quod extra societate  
 electorum habeantur tales. Verum hic loquitur de gentium studiis  
 contra electos ferentes crucem. Peccatum peccauit, dum non ha-  
 buit dilectionem ueritatis, propterea nunc misera est, cecisa, ex-  
 communicata, & ludibrium hominum. Qui olim inter fratres &  
 membra Christi, & templa Dei recensiti, hinc nunc hominum no-  
 mine digni habentur, sed genimina serpentum, canulosque leonum  
 esse dedarant. Quia uero qui extranei adhuc habentur, uidentur igno-  
 rantiam eius & imaginem Dei in ea deurpatam, & postquam abluta  
 est & inuncta, et ornata, iterum se coinquinant in idololatria, risu &  
 sannis dignam putant.

Proinde ita singulatim præ dolore, & conuertitur retrorsum, quod indicium est maximi doloris, sicut de Hia legimus i. Reg. ix. Cadunt & ij, qui capti erant Christum retrorsum, & propterea accipi solent in scripturis in maiu, Paschalius, q in Thren. scriptis, exponit de conuersione poenitentia, Sed qui retro conuertuntur, non conuertuntur in uitam, sed magis auertuntur. Suspirat igitur, & tamen adhuc auertuntur. Poena eis non prodest, ut in melius emendantur, sed inter flagella auertuntur.

 $Rr \ddot{r}$ 

## Immundicias

Immundicias eius in fimbrijs eius, non est memor. nouissimi sui, & descendit mirabiliter, nō est ei consolator, uide Domine afflictionem meam, quia iactauit se inimicus.

Pollutio eius usq; ad fimbriam: Per pollutionem menstruum sanguinē intelligit. Peccatum eius publicū est, & impudenter egit, ut ignominia eius manifesta fiat. Tanta incredulitas in ecclesia, dū idola coluntur, & ad quosdam patronos recurritur, dum sacerdotes in loco Dei sedent, & Christum se ē cœlo deducere sperant, sicut Magi solent. Est enim Dominus cœlestis Christus noster, in ordinem creaturarum corruptibilem non reuertitur, qui iam se ipso coram alijs credendum animas. Increduli autem panem Domini, sed non panem Dominū edunt, hoc est, non uitam, sed mortem accipiunt. Similiter cum usurpant potestatem in cœlo, in terra, in inferno, dum sancti Dei trucidantur. Satis manifestaria crimina sunt, & pollutio in fimbrijs, hoc est, in manifesto cernitur. Nihil horum abscondunt. Vnde hæc impudentia peccandi: quia non cogitauit quid futurum. Vnde propheta dicit, Vinam sapientie & intelligerent nouissima, hoc est, non reuocant in mentem iudicium Dei, & quod Deus peccata non relinquat inulta. Hæc natura peccati est, ut sola præsentia & non futura spectet, Diabolo præstingente oculos, Prouer. xviij. Impius cum in profundū uenerit peccatorum, contemnit. Eccles. viij. In omnibus operibus tuis cogita nouissima tua, & in æternum nō peccabis. Verum hæc mirabiliter discant, quia ut antea se exaltauerat, ita nunc deprimitur, multum dissimilis ecclesie primitiuæ.

Vide Domine humilitatē. Exclamat Propheta, & totā derelictā dicit a Deo, ita ut ne respiciat quidē, quia insolenter agit inimicus ille oīa pro sua libidine exercet. Eō & res ecclesie perueniunt, nolunt prælati corrigi, & in ordinem redigi, sed gloriantur in impietatibus suis, nec habet, nec admittit consolatorem, qui uerbo Dei instruat, non est enim uera consolatio, nisi per uerbū Dei, neq; considerant quid futurum, quod tandem temporalia cum spiritualibus, quibus iactant priuari sunt, amittent.

Manum suam extendit hostis aduersus omnia desiderabilia.

derabilia eius, quia uidit gentes, introierunt sanctuarium eius, de quo præcepisti, ne ingrederentur in ecclesiam tuam.

Docet qualiter inimicus superbe agat, rapit enim preciosissima quæq; & irrumpit in sanctuarium, in quod solus summus sacerdos intrabat. Ammonitas autē & Moabitas le: uerunt Deut. xxiij, in æternum ne ingrediantur in ecclesiam. Hi superbie & arrogantie taxantur apud Esa. & Hier. Nam ceteris rapientib; aurū & argentum, hi librum legis rapiunt, destruxerūt ac incenderunt. Tenebantur nativo odio in Iudæos, quia non solum nō occurrerunt in uia populo de Aegypto egresso, sed penitus etiam per Bileam extinguere eos conati sunt. Quo prohiberi cōstitui dux uel magister eius, qui naturali odio inquit perditionem. Hæc est uera Dei ratio, cum tamen alij contractus, cum Ethnicis non prohibeant. Dauid pacem habuit cum rege Ammonitarum, Nam hoc in bonum publicum.

Locus sanctuarij. Id est, Scriptura & sacerdotium illud ab ir dignis & gentibus inuatum est.

Omnis populus eius suspirantes querentes panem, dederunt desiderabilia sua propter cibum, ad retinendam animā, uide Domine & inspicere, quia sum uilis.

Omnis populus eius suspirantes. Hebr. loquitur, populus suspirantes, sicut apud nos, turba ruunt. Confert miseriam populi cum felicitate aduersariorum. Nam dum his licet rapere ea quæ in sanctuario, ille ægre panem impetrat cōmutacione omnium desiderabilium auri, argenti, gemmarum, & seipsum miserans ad Deū. Vide inquit, quam delicata epularum facta sim, sicut dicit, Vide q; sem speciosus, etiam si deformissimus sis. Sic etiam in persecutione ecclesie, dum impij sancta diripiunt, & impune blasphemant, & in ludum aciecum trahunt omnia sacra, dumq; irrident sabbata. Pjs non permittitur de uerbo Dei loqui, & putant se beatos, si unum hoc eligeret, & annuntiaretur libere uerbum Dei, & gloria Christi, quod est panis uerus qui de cœlo descendit, hinc sunt suspiria.

Rr in spiria,



## IN THRENOS HIEREMIAE,

**CAP.** Spiritus pro hoc orant patrem, huc tendunt omnia studia, ambiam, bonifaciant inimicis, femur iniurias, & preciosa alia dant, pariter carnes sessorum solent, libere quae diuino iure debebatur. Sic filius prodigus cupit saturari panem, sed non saturatur filiquis, & proprie ad corpus pertinet, & hic est appetitus edendi iuxta Hebraeos. Doctus ergo maximam fuisse famem, quam describit Amos. Immittam eis famem non panis, sed audiendi uerbi, id est, prauitatem uerbi. Doctrinae humanae nequaquam pascunt, sed solus Christus pro nobis crucifixus, alioqui semper manet conscientia peccatorum. Quis enim nescit, quantum debeat opifici suo et altori, de cuius manu omnia accepit, & quis inter sexcenta unum, quod quidem uere Dei est, & iure requiritur, praestare.

Non est uobis molestum o uos omnes qui transitis hac uia, respicite & uidere, si est dolor similis dolori meo qui euenit mihi, quae adaptauit mihi Dominus in die ira indignationis suae.

Non est uobis.) Per admirationem attonita stupet non esse qui commiseratione tangantur. Destructam enim Hierusalem loquentem fuit, quae suo malo merito tam dira perdidit: Valde coactum est, quod nullum modum ad supplicium Christi detorqueret, qui pro nobis uitro factus est hostia peccati, nisi spectaueris contemptum, quem non minorem nunc ostendunt maledicti in Christum tam innocenter, tam benignum nobis, quam olim Ethnici aduersus deastructam Hierusalem. Vanam uel uos homines consideraretis, qui forte praeteritis, & commiserarentur mihi utpote miserrimae & afflictissimae. Genes emulatur & negliguntur, sed Lazarus & populus Dei hic uirgis crudeliter & flagellis examinatur. Non est enim similis correptioni & castigationi filiorum, sed est uindicta, nihil sani in mercede queritur, nihilque integrum a planta pedis usque ad uerticem capitis. Corripit enim Dominus non in misericordia, sed in furore, quae tanta est ut nemo consistere queat. Recte autem admonet omnes qui in hac uita sunt, ut considerent iusta iudicia & sic, conuertantur. Nam si Hierusalem non est parca domui Dei, cuius peccatum remanet, impunitum.

De excello

De excello misit ignem in ossa mea, et is deiecit eam, & expendit rete pedibus meis, redire me fecit retrorsum, & posuit me de uastatam tota die conuertatam.

De excello misit ignem.) Gravitatem irae diuinae uarijs similitudinibus confert, circulationi igni, illa quae rationi deuastationi, & sequenti uersu impositioni iugi, & calcinationi torcularis, quibus omnibus ira & ultio diuina exprimitur. Sicut ignis praeter omnibus alijs magis adurit & affligit, quia ualde actiuum elementum est. Sic nihil magis horredum quam incidere in iram Dei. Dixit autem quod non pilos & externam tantum autem edat, sed ipsa ossa solidiora, hoc est fortissima quaeque, neque proreper paulatim in ossa, sed a summo ab excello, id est magno impetu: Quemadmodum fulmen de caelo deiecit, ut profunde ingrederetur in ossa. Destructa autem sunt templa domus regis, muri, & cetera fortia. Ita diues defunctus cruciatur in igne perpetuo, neque enim opus ut materialis ignem intellegas, sicut neque uermes. i. Corinth. ij. Ignis enim persecutionis & feruor probat, quid unusquisque superfundam eum extruxerit. Qui in ecclesia tanquam ossa, grauiori percutiuntur flagello, & grauioribus peccatis implicati sunt, dum traduntur in sensum reprobum, & omnibus uitijs suis inuolunt. Nisi non dederis maximum esse errorem mentum accusantem conscientiam, cogitationibus animi causam Dei utrinque agibus, illo disceptante licent suam, quoniam in uita per prauitatem animi offenderimus.

Extendit rete.) Solent uenatores noctu in uia retia tendere, & dein magno amore agitare feras, quae dum praecipiti cursu feruntur, in rete incurrunt. Vita nostra cursus est, quae agitur usque ad rete & periculum mortis, sed ira Dei implicat. Perplexitas autem illa mentis, recte dicitur illa quae ratio. Comparatur igitur Deus uenatori, qui absque misericordia feram agitat in rete ut sic perdat, quanto autem uehementius reductantur, tanto magis implicantur. Ita Esa. xxvij. Ut illaqueantur & cadant. Permiserit falsos Prophetas retia Sophistica extendere, & ita irretierunt in dolosis sermonibus, in quibus imprudenter concupiscentis homines a di praecipites iuerunt. Vbi autem bestia fuit capta patitur imperium, sed et mortis & solitaria, omni libertate caret.

Ligatum.



12. **Y**garm: est iugum iniquitatis super manu eius, im-  
plicata sunt, ascenderunt super collum meum, impegit  
virtus mea, dedit me Dominus in manus eorum, non po-  
tero surgere.

**Ligatum est.** Imponitur iugum collo & grauis se uisus, infire  
manus, & omnes ne possint effugere. Non est alia grauior seruitus  
quam peccati. Qui enim peccat, seruus est peccati. Consuetudo enim  
tanta est ut nequeat subleuare collum, auferat omnes vires. Leges  
quoque humane tali iugo comparantur, sic Esaias, Auferet iu-  
gum a collo tuo. Nec satis est etiam impressum, ut laudet carnem  
& animo ad terram deiciat grauitate ponderis, unde neque diuina,  
neque celestia considerare ualeat. Vocari iugum iniquitatum, eo quod  
iniquitates causa fuerint tantae seruitutis. Haec sunt seruilla opera  
quae prohibentur in die festo, hoc est iugum, quod trahitur cum  
genibus & cum impijs. Deut. xxvii. Seruus inimico tuo quem mit-  
teret tibi Dominus in fame & siti & uastitate & omni penuria, & po-  
neret iugum ferreum super ceruicem tuam donec te conterat. Ariu-  
gum Domini perquam leue est, perplexa fecerunt. **U**mpli-  
ca re, multis plicis ac nodis alligare. In manu eius, quia iniquitates ue-  
stra in manu eius scriptae, quas non obliuiscitur. Ita exponit Rab-  
Sal. quod non excidit de manu eius, non possit resolui.

**Calcauit omnes fortes eius Dominus in medio mei,**  
uocauit aduersum me statutum tempus ad frangēdos  
iuuenes meos; torcular calcauit Dominus uirginem si-  
liam Iuda.

**Calcauit.** Terna comparatio qua comparatur illa torculari,  
id est, sicut Esai. Lxi. ait, Torcular calcaui solus, & est haec simili-  
do. Vix colliguntur, deinde concalcantur uel torquentur, tertio  
dant multum, ita auferuntur populi magnificorum ac bellice iuuen-  
tis concalcantur sicut uia concalcantur & plantae. Fortes i. magni-  
ficos, reges, sacerdotes, nobiles, alijque adhuc ad uirgam, & tem-  
pus desolationis uocatur tempus festiuitatis, in omnes hostes concal-  
cantur. Sed quid inquit, hostes? Dominus calcauit torcular, id est,  
exuere & laborum impatientem uirginē Iuda, ut ex te sanguis oc-

alorum,

alorum, quemadmodum ex calcanti uisus uisus exprimitur. Ha. Ixix.  
Quis est iste qui uenit de Edom tinctis uestibus de Bozra. Iste fortis  
molinus stolus suus, gradiens in multitudine fortitudinis suae, quare  
rubrum est indumentum tuum & uestimenta tua, sicut calcantium.  
in torculari, torcular calcaui solus, & de genibus non est uir mecum.  
**Calcaui eos in furore meo,** & concalcavi eos in ira mea. Et aspersus  
est sanguis eorum super uestimenta mea, & omnia indumenta mea  
inquinant, dies ultionis in cordi meo.

Non possum surgere, nihil ergo ualet nostri arbitrij libertas:

Super haec, ego ploro, oculus meus demittit aquas,  
quia elongauit a me consolator, redire faciens animam  
meam, filij mei sunt deuastati, quia inualuit inimicus.

Super haec ego ploro. Quia Deus setam durum exhibet, & tan-  
quam iniicientem ignem in ossa, tanquam illaqueantem & proster-  
nentem, tanquam obtudentem grauem molem, tanquam calcantem tor-  
cular, in tantis poenis fleo, & perpetuas deduco lacrymas, nam  
quod repetit, oculus meus, conuinitatem significat, imò emphaz-  
sim dicit, hoc est, ego pro alijs fleo, & mei oculi pro alijs deducunt  
flumines aquarum, quia deest consolator, deest refoclator, deest  
spes in filijs, urget autem aduersario rum felicitas ac robur. Anima  
uelut elapsa est moerenti, per consolatorem quasi rorocatur, ac re-  
stinuitur in gradum. Inde **וְהָיָה** pro refoclare animum &  
reddere usurpatur. Itaque summa calamitatis inquit meae est, quam  
per partes exposui, tum quod nemo solatur, tum quia instat uali-  
dus hostis, qui filios meos depopulatur.

Confregit Sion manus suas, non est ei consolator,  
praecipit Dominus contra Iacob per circuitum eius ho-  
stibus eius, & fuit Hierusalem in excommunicationem  
inter eos.

Confregit Sion. Vt quia deest illi consolatio, ut si uel maxime  
perat, et extendit complodendo manus frangar, collidatque inter  
implorandum auxilium, nemo opitulabitur, sed & nemo consolatur  
bitur, uel auxilium promittere dices, Ecce statim adero ut reiuuem,  
proinde frustra profligat manus, frustra implorat, sed pro pe-  
troneis & adiutoribus inuenit in circuitu quoquo se uerit hostes

& per-

& persequentes, ita precipiente Domino; cuius mandatum non  
impedire potest, qui dicit, Ego Deus faciens bonum, & creans ma-  
lum. Unde tam citro adducere dicuntur hostes, & illis utitur ut uir-  
ga furoris, quia furorem suum declarat. Vnde Assur uirga furoris.  
Non dicit simpliciter hostes, sed hostes eius, eos qui capitaliter per-  
sequuntur ex parte Dñs, & quia ipse mittit, ideo & prosperantur.  
Nec solum persequuntur, sed uicini mundam & excommunicatam  
abominantur, in quam omnes conspuant, & quam misere tractent.  
In hunc modum & ecclesia uerbo Dei desinitur, consolatore ca-  
ret spiritu. & omni hosti libidini prosequitur sunt uere imunde.

2. Iustus est Dominus, quia ori eius rebellauit, audite ob-  
secro omnes populi; & uidete dolorem meum, uirgines  
meas, & iuuenes mei uerunt in captiuitatem.

(Iustus est Dominus.) Quid sibi uult hæc tragœdia, nunquid la-  
tum contradicit sigulo. An indigne hæc fers, an iniustus est Domi-  
nus, qui ita punit te? Suntne hæc per obmurmurationem dicta  
Ministe. Iustus est Dominus, & rectum eius iudicium, quia pu-  
nit multo grauiora merita, sed nunc dolorem meum expono.  
Nam si de iustitia mea loquar, inuenio me iuste affligi, eo quod  
prophetas eius persecutus sum; & amari caui, quos qui spernit,  
Deus ipsi spernit, Gethis mul. schlagas / quæ est magna con-  
fidentia. Prophetas os Domini dicuntur, quia nihil proprium loqui  
debent, sed solum ea que Dominus iusserit, neque addere ad legem uel  
diminuisse. Ioseph. Susceperunt de cæbarijs eius, & os Domini non  
interrogant. Esa. iij. Ambulant ut de cædatis in Aegyptum, &  
os eorum non interrogastis. Manu. Rex eos qui seruos con-  
tinent, & eos occiderunt, perdidit fecit. Signanter dicit os, ut cogno-  
scant iniuria in Deum profusa, dum uocantur demoniaci, quod  
peccatum est in spiritum sanctum, & non merentur ueniam. Unde  
iustus Dominus qui punit.

Audite obsecro populi.) Non quaror de iustitia Dei, sed dolo-  
rem indico; quem omnibus populis non uultum, ut meo exemplo  
corrigantur, mihi condoleat. Et quis doloret iuuenes & uirgines  
abierunt in captiuitatem Babylonis. Sic ut traxerit non relinquit inde  
parauit filios, ita etiam Hierusalem quæ tot perdidit. Vox pueri pe-  
nitentis.

nitendum, nomine deorum in Hierusalem. Nam lamentando  
eandem penitentia subornit, quam sequitur consolatio.

Vocaui amatores meos, ipsi sefellert me. Sacerdo-  
tes mei & senes mei in urbe mortui sunt, quia quæ sue-  
runt cibum sibi, ut refocillarent animam suam.

Vocaui amatores meos.) Delusam me quoror ab amicis, Mo-  
bis & Aegyptijs, qui munera acceperunt, & promiserunt se adiu-  
tores fore, nunc illi inimici facti sunt, & supplantant me, producit  
hostibus. Accedit ad hæc, quod sacerdotes, qui apud Deum inter-  
cedere, & senes qui consilium regebant, perierint fame. In ecclesia  
quoque hæc maxima mala, dum fortissimi capiuntur, amici fallunt,  
& consilij infantantur, non habentes uerbum consolationis.

Vide Domine, quia afflictio mihi est, intestina me  
astricta sunt, uersum est cor meum in medio mei, quia  
rebellando rebellauit, foris orbam reddidit gladius, &  
intus sicut mors.

Concludit nunc orationem, & à misericordia Dei pendet, ut ipse  
uideat omnem eius culpam, & nulla opera sua, sed ob peccata  
meritam miseriam & angustiam proponit, nam dum iustus & foris  
premitur gladio & peste, in his deficit cor & subuertitur, quæ me-  
rito meo, parior, quia peruaciter rebellauit Domino. Causa igitur  
impetrandi, quod agnosco peccatum meum. Nihil ergo deest, quod  
calamitatem agnoscere possit. Ecclesia quoque propter falsos fratres  
& apertos hostes, quæ die est angustari dicitur, unde & ipsa à fa-  
cie draconis in desertum fugit. Orat igitur, ut benignis oculis quos  
amodo aut iterum respiciat, culpamque adimat.

Audiuerunt quod ego suspiro, non est mihi consola-  
tor, omnes amici mei audierunt malum meum, & ga-  
uisi sunt quod iussederis. Adduceres (super eos) diem  
quem uocasti, ut fiant sicut ego sum.

Secundo præcedit insultationem hostium, qui gaudent populum  
Dei extinctum iri, & de oibus malis meis audierunt, & quod diu in an-  
gustia. Et que consolatore sum. Imò gaudent insultando & blas-  
phemando. Et quia initium salutis nostræ est humiliatio inimici.

num. Huius gratia orat, morantur ut illis eueniat sicut nobis, quæ & ipsi humiliemur ad penitentiam. Potest legi, Adduxisti uidelicet ex super me tempus calamitatis, id quod inimicos exultat. Eadē tamen sententia, in istis uerbis habetur, Quod tu feceris, delibuumur eius gaudio, nos experiri grauem ac irarum iudicem, cuius gratiam exfoedere, & lepenilo precio crucis nobis arrogamus.

**V**eniat omnis malitia eorum in conspectum tuum, & reddes eis, sicut reddidisti mihi super omnibus sceleribus meis, quia multa mihi suspiria, & cor meum moestum.

*Veniat omnis malitia eorum.* Quod me humiliarunt, non fecerunt propter amorem iustitiae, ut tibi obedirent, sed propter malitiam suam, malitia est quod agitur. Causam habes aduersus illos, quemadmodum contra me pridem habuisti, igitur ut meritis tuis facias. hoc significat *125* *125* *125* quasi dicat, causam agere diuinitas tua eos sicut in me habes. Præstat enim ut eadē & tui melleantur, qui nihil consolationis admittunt, quam laus malis, quæ mea deprecacione tua e regione gloria eminet. Hæc oratio fidei & spiritus Christi est contra peccatores, qui nos grauius offendunt.

## CAPVT. II.

**Q**uomodo obnubilauit in furore suo Dominus filiam suam proiecit de celo in terram decorem Israel, & non recordatus est scabelli pedum suorum in die iræ suæ.

Magnas memorant dignas res spiritus sanctus in scripturis, ut argumentis inculcare solet. Multas sane uisiones de destructione Hierusalem cognouit & prædixit propheta. Multis etiam de destructione ciuitatis deplorat querimonis hic nosse Prophetam. Unde non querenda in uno uersu & uerbo sententiæ uarietas, ut quibusdam mos est, sed potius ex multis figuris una ueritas, non peccat rei consideratur, quæ est quod Hierusalem, propter peccata sua sit destructa, siue de terrena, siue de coelesti loquere. Sufficit igitur ea quæ superius præfati sumus. Iterum ergo incipit ab admiratione diuinorum iudiciorum, & quicquid conuicti Hierusalem, totum Deo tribuit, tollens statim e medio, impiam fortunam ascriptionem. Solent enim qui obsequium in reparationis & raris m

tionibus

rationibus eo deficere, ut omnia temere agi, suscipi deique putari, quando quidem illi qui Deo magis grati magis perditentur, & qui impie ut gentes uiuunt, felicitate fruuntur. Bene igitur Deo omne opus adscribitur, qui operatur omnia in omnibus, id quod & ad patientiam firmandam multum facit. Quisquis enim cognorit opus esse Domini, facile cum Iob dicat, Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Depingit autem Sion, quasi mulierem nubila & tristis frons, ex ira Domini, & quæ more ore quasi nube & panno facie obtegatur. Sicut dicimus Deum per misericordiam illuminare faciem suam super nos, & ira nostram faciem illustrare, ut iucundi appareamus & festiui, sicut est in Psal. Deus misereatur nostri, & illuminet uultum suum super nos. Et in alio. Signatum est super nos lumen uultus tui Domine, ira & obnubilare dicitur per iram suam. Ut cessent interitum peccata & flagella, quæ letitia potest esse cordi, si cognoscamus iram Dei, qui fecit coelum & terram, & sine quo nullum est gaudium, nulla felicitas, nulla uita. Scriptura per tenebras non raro intelligit miseriam & aduersitatem, sicut per lucem felicitatem, ut possit tenebras spero lucem. Sane anime non accidit alia grauior aduersitas, quam si occidat in illa lux, hoc est, agnitio ueritatis, quam in ecclesia quoque occubuisse iure deploramus ex magna ira Dei, quæ les tenebræ & palpabiles super Aegyptum ortu designat. Et Apocalypsis. Et aperuit puteum abyssi, & ascendit fumus putei, sicut fumus fornacis magnæ, & obscuratus est sol & aer à fumo puri, & de fumo exierunt locustæ in terram. Vide Mart. contra Caifarim, quæ sint locustæ deganter. Item cap. xvi. Effusa est phiala iræ Dei super sedem bestiarum, & factum est regnum eius tenebrosus. Porro in his externis tenebris ludri sunt. Maxime igitur deploratur miseria, quæ ex inopia lucis & cognitionis accidit in Israel.

Proiecit de celo magnificentiæ Israel. Hoc est, tanta erat felicitas eius, ut usque ad coelum exaltata fuerit, fertilitate, pace, securitate, religione, fama, & nullum regnum ei fuerit comparabile. Ira de Capernaum, quod in de detrahitur Matth. x. Et de Edom apud Abdiam. Proiecit, inquit, non paulatim cadere permisit. Christus in seculum non est ad reuelationem gentium, & gloriam plebis Israel, cuius agnitione ubi ablata, & gloria desolat. Ita & Hier. liij. In die illa erigetur

Se. liij.

nam Domini

CHRISTOPHORVS FROSCHOVERVS  
PIO LECTORI S. D.

EN DAMVS TIBI CHRISTIANISSIME LECTOR,  
**COMMENTARIA BI**

BLIORVM ET ILLA BREVIA QUIDEM AC CATHO-  
lica, eruditissimi simul & piissimi uiri CHVONRADI PELLICANI

Rubeaquentis, qui & Vulgatam commentarijs inscruit

æditionem, sed ad Hebraicam lectionem accurate

emendatam. Habes aut in hoc opere quicquid

synceræ theologiæ est. Ideo si sapias ex

ipso potius Sacrorum fonte, quam ri-

uulis Religionem ueram im-

bibe. Viue &

Vale.



**TOMVS PRIMVS**

IN QVO CONTINENTVR V.  
LIBRI MOSIS.



# IN EXPLANATIO

NEM SACRORVM LIBRORVM VE

TERIS INSTRUMENTI PRAEFATIO,

authore Chhuonrado Peltiano.



Omniaque rerum vniuersitas continet, Religionem esse principem Religio, communis est mortalium confessio, non tantum literatorum & sapientum, aut rem hanc praestantissimum colendum sed & eorum qui vel ignorantia boni & mali, veri & falsi, vel ingenij malitia paruo seruandae religionis studio tenentur. Sed in constituenda religione grauius à plerisque aberratum est, & in plurimas sectas hominum iudicia diducta sunt, dum rem supra ingenij humani caput proprijs viribus inuestigare, ac ad rationis suae normam cogere conati sunt, quod est solius Dei traditione accipi potest, ut sit diuinae menti consentaneum. Etenim ille dum plures opinari esse deos, plures illi tribuit religiones: & ut quicquid putat excellentissimum; ita sanctissimam & augustissimam habeat religionem ei destinatam. Alius primatam fingens aliquem deum, cui subditi sint auxiliaries Dei, certumque dei reguli, ministri principesque ad gubernacula mundi, vitam duntaxat religionem summo numini peculiariter decernit, etiam tamen subditos illos didos pertingentem. Illi denique, qui vnum verum deum simul constituentur, & proinde vnam genuinam & solidam religionem, non eandem rationem, modum, & ritum colendi numinis conceperunt. Nam Deum considerantes spiritum esse summe iustum, summe sapientem, benignum, omnipotentem, arbitrati sunt rebus duntaxat cognatis colendum esse, in corporeis uidelicet, iustitia, fide, beneficentia, contemptu vanitatum in hoc mundo, & similibus recti animi affectibus. Alij naturam & voluntatem Dei mercentes humanarum cupiditatum modulo, suspicati sunt eum demereri rebus, quae nostris gratia sensibus, animum quoque humanum vana quadam beatitudinis opinione noiant. Li posuerunt religionem in magnificis templis, in sacrorum pompis, in largis ceremoniarum sumptibus, in numerofo ministrorum famulatio, inque similibus rebus sub nostros sensus magni splendore ueniuntibus. Nonnulli mediam sectantes viam, existimant Deum praecipue quidem delectari puris & sinceris cogitationibus, animique bene constitutis actionibus, requirere tamen speciosa quoque rerum exterarum obsequia. Sed & in causa & fine colendi Deum hallucinatum est, & in tenebris veluti palpatum pugnantissime sententiae vel potius opiniones existunt. Quidam enim sui commodi gratia honorem Dei immortalibus habendum esse duxerunt, ut prodesse, vel certe insens non obessent, quasi commercio inspecto cum cadibus, permittendi nostram mendicitatem cum deorum diuitijs. Quidam se gratos praebere voluerunt erga illos, à quibus tot beneficia subinde susceperent. Quidam flagitiosiores, ex pietatis qualicumque specie, gloriam & bonorum virorum estimationem aucupati sunt. Paucissimi scopum attingentes, intellexerunt aut docuerunt, Dei duntaxat respectu, Deum esse colendum summum bonum, rerum omnium creatorem & moderatorem: ut ad illius nam tum nos accommodemus, qui proculdubio optimus, sapientissimus, iustissimus, benignissimus, omnia sciens & potens existit, credentes certo nos ab illo conditos: ut creatorem cognoscamus, cogniti reuerentur & amemus, eique proxime iungamur, à quo produimus: ut ipso cultu sacro sanctum nomen suum celebremus, officijs nostris declarantes voluntatem creatoris & domini nostri, qui nimirum exoptat coli rebus suae naturae conuenientibus: ut iustus vniuersae delectetur iustitia, benignus benignitate, veracissimus veritate constantiaque dictorum & factorum, ceterisque virtutibus Dei mentem referentibus: ut in perfecto summae maiestatis cultore, natura ipsa cui in viuo simulacro reducat.

Ceterum tam diuersae sententiae prolatae esse à viris praestantissimis de re, in qua nostra beatitudo & finis, ad quem sumus conditi, versatur, non tam mirandum & miserandum videtur, quam ex eorum periculo distendum, iuxta Comici consilium, nobis quid ex usu sit. Admonemur enim horrendo illorum casu humanae imbecillitatis, ne quid conemur statueri ex nostro arbitrio de rebus diuinis, & ad veram pietatem pertinentibus: siquidem videmus homines ingenij acerrimi, exactissimi iudicii, praestantia eruditionis, spectatissime tum sapientiae, tum sanctimoniae, in tam profundum erroris barathrum esse demersos, dum praesumunt industria viribusque suis diuinam maiestatis arcana penetrare, ac ritum colendi Deum de capite suo inferre. Vnde cogimur omni fiducia nostri sensus abdicare, insubstanti & vagatorio

Deorum  
in uoluntate

Ratio colendi  
namque

Castus &  
aliis colendi  
Deum.

Ratio  
colendi  
Deum

Ratio  
colendi  
Deum



[illegible]

Pariterumque de sacris literis longiore tempore intervalle inter ludres quoque fit. Nam post tempus, viris & genis nominatim vaticinatum, ceteros & Thalmudicos fabulose pigmentos & fabulis maiorum traditioibus adduxerunt, neglexit omnino volumina sacris, deinde R. Salomon Gallus cognomento larcha, Thalmudicos fabulis infectos & extra systema habens Canonicos libros virginis quare hoc enim non oportet fabulose temperare nonnullos declaravit & conamavit. Eius laborem deinde sumit amicum, virum Rabi Abramam Ezra, astrologus philosophus & Peripateticus studiosus Hebraice Grammaticae in indicis non exactioris prudens ludres fabulis vel contentis vel diffinis, bene tractare verberum multa non aspernandi, vi ludres tamen in sacros libros commemoratis est. Cuius crederent, vi memore produrum est, Hispani doctissimi, Ioseph Kimchi, eiusque duo filii David & Moses, qui accepta supremorum Grammaticorum precepta reddiderunt phrasim. Viam alioque scripturas interpretandi planam & simplicem ingressi, & non ad ludres, cum, qui non sine pie dicta & animo firmam, per eos querunt proficere. Hos secutus Rabi Levi ben Gerson in sacros codices Commentarios addidit morali philosophia repletos. Atque isti scriptores Hebraici, & quae dicta suorum populum sparsim adferunt, non sine



Case  
no  
separat  
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1971.

Sunt omnino, ut supra cōfessi sumus, & nemo prudens negabit, magnę difficultates in in-  
terpretatione scripturę leas, sed nonquam obfcuritas infuperabilis, quoniam religioſis caput agitur: modo  
adit pius animus, ventans, glorię diuinę, falutis: humanę cupidus: adit ardens vo-  
luntas, effuſa preces vigiles ſenſus, induſina ſacra, diligentiſſa ſimplex labor improbus, & con-  
ſtans propoſitum. At nonnullę ſcripturę ſenſum penetrant. Sic ad ſacrę ſcripturę verſam nonnulli  
accedens, vel non impingens, vel certe non capiti in eare capiunt, donec appetat ſententię. Quid  
dominus omnia reſtare dignabitur. Nam & illi veteres quantumvis religioſi, erudi-  
ti, diligentes, aliquoties aberrarunt, quoniam dicta ſua retinebant, quoniam uerum ſtylum, quoniam  
duos reperias, qui eundem librum per omnia ſimilitur ſit; conſeño cūque inter pretati ſint.  
Non eſt ergo diuina ſcriptura propter quęſuones quaſdam intricatiores deponenda: quan-  
doquidem & ipſe & alibi ſunt in ſem̃ piorum, non ad fraudem. Nec per mendę celeſtis diui-  
næ ſcripturę

Page: 100  
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$\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \rho = -\rho \nabla \cdot \mathbf{u}$   
 $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \mathbf{u} = -\frac{1}{\rho} \nabla p$   
 $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \mathbf{u} = -\frac{1}{\rho} \nabla p$

1000000



# PELLICANI PRAEFATIO

sed congregiens cum deterrimis potentibus, vel hanc viam sublaturus, ut olim temporibus apostolicis, vel totius mundi clade expiatus, si homines sint immediabiles. Praemissit igitur Typographicam artem, cuius commoditate bonorum librorum facultas & sufficientia nobis cōgit, pñcis negata saeculis: per quam & diffudit vberim sanctarum linguarum cognitionem. Existat passim viros egregios, qui spiritu sancto adhaerens, varijsq; doctibus adomati, ut rebus armis verbis diuini, certamen incant: qui haereticos vel nuper ortos vel iam repullulantes opprimant: qui viam exierint, virtutes inserant, & omnino Ecclesiae habitum reformant. Quod negotium adeo prospere succedit, auspice Deo, per vocem viuis hominibus non paucis ad veritatis lucem reuocatis, proflantibus quoque indies nouis libris ad scripturarum explanationem, ut non nihil spei sit vniuersum Instrumentum vniuersis ab alijs atq; alijs viuis iuxta pñs & eruditis propediem illustratum iri.

Verum enimvero dum hanc per Dei providentiam praestantissima tela texitur, & libri varij edulcerendi Veteris Instrumenti gratia prodeunt, authoribus diuersis, locis & temporibus, protrahor & ego praeter animi mei sententiam, ad sacras literas transgredias: non quod pigeret omnem operam ad aedificium spirituale Ecclesiae conferre: sed quod huic oneri ferendo me viribus omnino impari sentiens, nullam homines idoneos iam dudum obmissis irridigesceribus studijs voluisse totis nervis in hoc opere desudare. At ne quis putet me temere in hoc gymnasio profuisse, aut cōmodi cōparandi gratia, multo minus gloriæ vanæ cupidine, quam, quia curio suppellechis mei & genuinæ balbutiæ confusus, nulli unquā sperare potui, vāz mure cogitavi, quin & ab ex ditione opusculorum meorum semper omnium maxime abhorui. Tandem studio dumtaxat rectū & pictū, manibus autem providentiae diuinæ profusus, & fratrum precibus & improbis horationibus adactus, alius mihi repetenda sunt iniū & progressus studiorum meorum vsq; ad hunc laborem. Quæ dum commune moro benignis animis attendite candidi lectores. Non enim superuacantiam auditis vel Miletiam fabulam aliquam, ni fallar, sed necessariam sermonem, quo meam æstimationem tuear & prauæ suspitionis occasionem, notamq; temeritatis & praesumptionis praedictam atq; eandem simulq; perspicitur anuntio gratitudo erga meos preceptores colendissimos. Ad hanc studiosi exercituum linguarum, veluti in exemplo videbunt, quorū ea studia sint aptanda, ne semper loqui aui, linguis & intelligere discant, sed quod perceperint, tandem etiam docere incipiant, & ad colendam religionem, excitandam fidem, formandos mores, ad profectum electorum Dei, & nominis diuini & providentiae suæ sacrosanctæ celebrationem. Ante annos trigintatres apud in gymnasio Tubingensi, quum viderem elegantiores literas capite erigere, atq; auctores non solum Latinos, sed & Graecos passim in Germania praelegi, sermonisq; politum & potuati fabularum suauitatem amittere Germanis iuuenibus, ut ad potuati & elegantiam Latine linguae plurimum aspirarent: corpi, licet admodum adollescens, vehementer muerere, ne sacrae littere ob styli humilitatem forsderent, ac neglectui haberentur, ex quo praeuidebā ingenis oclium Ecclesiae imminere. Acque doctam linguam Hebraicam ab omnibus negligi Christianis, ut à temporibus apostolorum nemo natus Christianis parentibus hac literatura insigniter praeditus exaret in hominum memoria, exceptis diuo Hieronymo, & Nicolao Lyrano. Terebā enim eo tempore & audiebam lectione quotidiana libros Lyran, opūmi, nisi me fallat animi iudiciū, ex omnibus scriptoribus theologicis Patristicis. Vnde discibam, Hebraica lingua, & originali & prophetica, Veteris Instrumenti libros Canonicos diuino consilio scriptos esse, & quibus pñderet suam apostolica & euāgelica domini nostri Iesu Christi doctrina. Quamobrem ingens ardor Hebraicas literas cognoscendi me incensit, & cura indefessa, si quo pacto res operatissima posset obtingere.

Fuerunt eodē tempore in Academia Tubingensi duo viri, pietate et eruditione praestantes, iudicijq; exactissima censura pollescentes, per quos me dominus prouocauit, iuxta providentiae suae consilium aeternum, ad gloriam suam. Cur enim non gloriaretur in Deo auctore omnium bonorum? Siquidem illius gratia in me haud fuit otiosa, sine quo non cadit passerulus in terram, nec ex arbore folium. Vnus Paulus Scriptoris cognomito, vir fuit magno ingenio, ex doctis duobus, insigni eruditione, penita celestium rerum haud vulgaris: quibus rebus iuxerat partem innocentiam vitæ. Quo sine viro nihil vnquam habuit praestantius ordo Minorum. Ante liberales & mathematicas omnes atq; praceptoris opera didicerat. Scholasticam theologia, ut vocat, iuxta placita Scoti & Ockham, multis docuit annis, summa cum approbatione & miraculo eruditorum. Videns quoque doctrinam Christianam, maxime autem Scholasticam theologia deperatam opinoribus, nō potuit vir syncretus & pñs dissimulare sententia suam, curā

# IN VETVS INSTRUMENTVM

quin studio veritatis peritorum, quæstiones quasdam theologicas disputandi gratia non raro prouidit, priuatim etiam amiculis communicans, quæ hodie Lutheranae dicentur. Sic cum illi veritas, ut fit, odium peperisset, in exilium propulsus est. Quo perlato triennio, reuocatus diem suum clausit in domino. Is praceptor meus colendissimus, quum intellexisset me flagrare incredibili desiderio Hebraicarum literarum, annos tunc natum ferè viginū, vltro curam magis incitauit, ac quibus rationibus potuit in dufriam meam adiuuit. Grandæp volumem prophetiarum Hebraice manu scriptum proprijs humeris, pedes Moguntio Tubingam vsq; ad me pertulit, cui nullum huius generis elementum adhuc erat notum. Deinde in dicentiam suam me penitus recipiens, contra calumnias, quæ multæ iam tunc mihi ab otiosis inferebantur ob illa studia, sedulo prout licuit me defendit. Nemine per Germaniam illis literis, quæ ego scirem, tunc vacante, præter incomparabilem illum virum Ioannem Reuchlin, apud Vangiones Imperialibus negotijs detentum. Alter non inferior fuit praelaris donbus, Chuonradus Sumnerhart, Theologorum decus, & scholæ Tubingensis tunc columen. Is mihi ob hæc studia familiarior factus, omnibus modis adiuuit conatus meos. Nam volumem Hebraicum Moisaice legis ex publica bibliotheca mihi viuendum tradidit: & cuiusdam Petri Nigri contra Iudeos disputationem, ex qua prima didici elementa, & legendi facultatem. Sequenti vero anno, qui fuit à Christo nato, M. D. vniuersa Hebraica Biblia consecutus sum in Italia impressa. Idq; beneficio Auunculi mei Iodoci Galli Ruberquenensis theologi, tunc Spiritus Ecclesiae cathedralis concionatoris. Quo simul tempore passim in Italia, Hispania, & Germania multis diuinæ providentiae simile desiderium incessit Hebraicarum literarum.

Is autem theologus Sumnerhart saluberrimis me consilijs & hortatibus ad res voluissimas & sacras semper impulit, perq; timorem Dei & omnia sacra obsecratus est vltimis verbis suis, anno quo & mortuus est, ne vnquam à corpore sacrosancto studio Hebraicarum literarum desisterem, cui me natum putaret, in vsu Ecclesiae Christianæ, & ad solidioris theologiae incrementa: siquidē non ignoraret theologiae veræ fundamenta non aliunde petenda, quam ex archiuis Hebraicis Veteris Instrumenti, adiunctis etiam Euangelicis literis. Itaq; in iunctu quodam numinis ad sanctam linguam excitatus, & tantorum virorum calcantibus instigatus, tem aggressus sum, vix ab illo antea tentatum, ut Hebraeorum literas citra praceptoris operā didicerim. Cui conatui, ut pio, sic perdifficili, propius Dei spiritus adspirans, feliosissimum exitum praebuit. Nam eodem anno & elementa prima didici, & Lexicon Hebraicum, praepuenesq; de nominum & verborum inclinationibus in nium vsu cōscripsi. Qui labores hic non displicebant eruditiss, quorum pars viuit, pars diem obit extremum, ut officiosissimis cohortationibus expugnare tentant pusillitatem animi mei, obnoctantes à me exornari sibi re cens noui generis literarum. Quibus & acquieui, non alia cōditione, q̄ ut nemini copiam facerent transcribendi. Erant enim istæ grammaticæ institutiones rudēs & imperfectæ: ut nulla ars simul copta est & consummata. Multa me adhuc torquebant in te grammatica, de quibus sciscitans ex Germaniæ Iudeis, semper indeciores itupere experiebar.

Interim in lucem prodeunt rudimenta Capnionis eruditissima, qui & promittebat absque tora, ex quibus suspensum animi super his, quæ dudū me terferat. Pestis vero natus Sebastianum Munsterium iuuenem, ingenij praelan ad bonas artes, siudij indefessum, & in prius flagrantem Hebraice literaturæ amore, benigne in illum contuli, quicquid etiam in exhaustis laboribus hac tenus consecutus. Ex illius profectu summo opere gaudebam: pñcipijam ad illa studia reppererit in opibz, pñans me iam defunctū meo munere, ut ille ceu acceptam pade in cursu perficeret, quod ego inceperā, et in vsu Germanicè iuuentutis praefereat. Rapnus interm ad officia, parū his studijs apta, idq; non paucis annis discursibus sagarus, & distactus obsequio fratru. Tandē Christus seruauerit nō passus est me diutius tali in otio torpescere, mensisq; vacare otiosiorū: quin me ex latebris in opus suū protrahit, cōstita mihi pñmū inuidia: iuniorū fratrū querundā & theologastorū, ut Basilica me turpiter encere cenarentur, ob gliscatē tunc Euāgelicæ doctrinæ syncretiorē prædicationē, quā non verbis, sed stylo promoueri curabz, quem prius semper charissimū atq; venerandū habuerunt. Succurrit tum mihi iustitia & æquitas prudentissimi Senatus Basilicēsi, ut non modo non ignominiose inculparis, immeritisq; expelleret: verum etiam in eius urbis Academia Ioanni Occolampadio sanctæ memorie, collega frerem in munere theologicō. Ita consilio quodā dulno ad publicā professionē sacre scripturæ vocatus, isto clarissimo viro Esaiā enarrantē, iuxta Genesim explicandum suscepi. Deinde Parabellæ Salemonis, & Ecclesiastem, omnia ferè triennio percurans. Annotationes quoque in hos libros moliebar. Quas et cōditione auditoribz diuicibz, ne typis

Volunt ad  
facilius  
per dūcā  
dū.

Propter  
Christi  
muni.

Ab  
m.



# PELICANY PRÆFATIO

Ingenium vero ad præca, quæ tyronibus theologie aut ad mediocritatem progressus possent, prodesse, typographico incudi permisi magis quam tradi. Ipse vero commentariolus in la-  
com proditus, tanto est priorum favore exceptus, ut confestim ex remotioribus locis epistolæ  
maiorum aduolans, quæ me sollicitabat ad cetera ardua. Hi autem cum quibus uiuo, me  
hortati ad hoc opus non desistunt, donec sollicitationem eius rei expresserunt. Quo pacto  
sic fidem meam obstrinxit, ut postea, quantumuis caput scaberet, liberum non fuerit hæc mea  
lubricationes in Vetus Instrumentum suppressere. Ista via inductus commentarios ad om-  
nes sacrosanctos Canonicos libros viginti quatuor Vetus Instrumenti. Vnde proculq;  
hio malevoli capient canillandi & taxandi materiam Imperitiores & syncretæ animo præditi,  
admirandum in sanctis scripturis versandi, amplioraq; ex occultis vj literæ protrahendi ad po-  
puli coocredendi edificationem. Eruditiores autem & simul candidi, quibus labor noster non  
est vñs, benigne tamen interpretabuntur, ut quem publicæ vj literæ causa susceptum intelli-  
gent, quantumuis rudis, simplex, & humilis sit huius libri ingenium. Quoniam successum forma  
na sequitur, ut ait Varro, expeririā vero late. Imò: nihil facere, sed ne cogitare quidē possu-  
mus, nisi ex mera gratia Dei, ut omnis nostra gloria sit in Domino, qui dat voluntatem ad  
res prædicas, & agendi facultatem, distribuens vnicuique mensuram spiritus ad vtilitatem.

Hæc verbosius commemoravi charissimi Lectores & fratres, ut liquidiſſis apparet, me non  
tante tantum onus subiisse, nec aliqua de causa parum honesta: sed animo candido, & solo  
studio promouendæ pietatis commotum ad hoc munus scribendi. Cum enim biennio an-  
te functam Tigurinorum eadem tentatam opus nostrum, & proximo mense eandem præ-  
cedente, viuentē adhuc & permixtē incomparabili viro sanctæ memoriæ Huldrycho Zwin-  
glio, libellus Ruth editus esset, iamq; accingeretur Christophorus nobis ad imprimendum  
opus rediuius nostræ Ecclesiæ felicitas per Dei bonitatem illuxit, & consolatio ingens successit  
posteriorum angustias, in vñs doctissimi Zuinglij locum & officium mittentem duos, ex-  
imæ eruditionis & pietatis viros, Henrichum Bullingerum pro publica cōtione, Ecclesiæ  
doctorem Christiañissimæ & cum fructu amplissimo. Qui & iudicio valet & stylo, cuius pia  
eruditio opuscula cæcitus virum produunt, ut commendatione nostra non eget. Alterum  
pro clero infinuando & explanandis scripturis sacris Theodorum Bibliandrum, cuius adole-  
scens tot ornamentis naturæ & gratiæ Dominus nobis admirabilem fecit, ut plurima &  
quidē magna per eum Ecclesiæ nostræ Dei dona nobis polliceri, & grauiſſimam nostrā me-  
ritū de amisso præceptore colēdissimo, tanto æquanimius ferre possimus. Qui certe duo vi-  
ri insignes, si aliquanto maturius contigissent Ecclesiæ nostræ, nihil unquā in mentē venisset  
nobis tentandū in libros sanctos. Qui pro pia eruditione & iudicio, proq; expedita differe-  
ntiæ styli & gratiæ, suo tempore magnifice supplebunt annuente Deo & absolute, quæ nos pro  
ingenio, spiritus, fidei, & affectuum imbecillitate ad plenum consequi nequaquam valuimus.

Nunc ratio quæ in rerum tractatu securus sum, paucis ostendenda videtur. Quoniam  
non scripserim hæc commentaria adendi propositio, adhibui tamen in hoc negotio summatim  
fidem & diligentiam, quo verū natuūq; scripturæ sacre sensum eruerem, nihil ferē dignū  
adnotatione intantum relinquens. In primis rationem habui gloriæ diuinæ, cognitionis  
Christi, salutis animarum, cuncta referens ad catholicæ fidei firmamenta, & ad doctrinā hæ-  
reticos contagione non infectam, ad formationem vite, exipationemq; viciōrum, & virtutis  
calumniam, ut ecclesiæ hæc diuinorum oraculorum pabula, commodè iuxta institutū Dei apre-  
tur, ad erudendum, hortandum & promouendum ad res omnes diuinas. Volui enim con-  
sulare theologie candidis, præcipue illis quibus Ecclesiarum gubernacula credita sunt, non  
tamen insigni ac præcipua perititæ ecclesiæ philosophiæ præditi, nec bona librorum copia in  
struatis, nec opportunitate habebatibus alios audienti aut consulendi, super diuinæ legis diffi-  
cultatibus, ut hoc quolibetq; nostro opere leuētur saltem solentur penuriam istam grauiſ-  
simam, quoad meliora in vñs Ecclesiā prodeat. Spero enim viros aliquos egregios idem  
enac quoq; alibi agere mecum summis conatibus, ut verus scripturæ capui simpliciterum  
plana fiat. Quæ admodum olim, quam patet in ynum me inter Christianos Hebræos lre  
ras amplecti & dicere, fuerunt in Italia & Hispania, imò in hac quoq; nostra Germania, qui  
longe felicius currerent in hoc studio, ut est postea cognitum ex editis eorum libris. O si mo-  
nuc etiam erumpente clarorum hominum lubricationes, quæ Moſen & prophetas omnes  
perspicuos reddunt, ea fide, ingenio, eruditione varia, eloquentiæ cultu elaborare, ut nostri la-  
bore penitus obſcuretur, & in tenebras perpetuas reſcindatur.

Ceterum ad erudendum natuū scripturæ sanctæ, nonnullum inuicem meo ingenio

# IN VETVS INSTRUMENTVM

& industria, nec arcana reudationibus me tradidi, ut per somnium aut afflatus numinis spe-  
calem, motus mente, scripturarum spiritum ceu in nubibus volentem apprehenderem. Sed  
sciens animam ipsam scripturæ, intra corpus literæ concludi, ac medullam in ossibus istis late-  
re, inde extrahere studiū primum ad opem diuinam conuersus, mox omnes nervos animi &  
corporis intendens, omnes circumſtantijs inter se pro vñli conferens, adhibens normas fidei  
& charitatis, cōfirmata quoq; & omnibus confessa dogmata Ecclesiæ catholicæ. Ad hæc con-  
sului commentaria interpretum Orthodoxorum tam veterū quam recentiorum, & diligenti  
iudicio interpositū, piā & Ecclesiasticam verbisq; maxime consonam interpretationē, sum-  
ma animi gratitudine suscepi, & quā paucissimis verbis fieri potuit, in meū opus trāsferens.  
Atq; vñamlicuisset per fidem & religionem vbiq; aliorum sententijs trāsferre potius, pro  
opere breuius cōtinuando, q̄ contra illorum sententijs non nunq; sensum statuere ac repone-  
re qui ex ipsa verborum & textus proprietate rerumq; natura & consequentia verius expri-  
miunt, & ex alijs scripturæ locis decerpitur, similibusq; vñs, quibus supra diximus, perueniri  
ad verum ac genuinum sensum.

Non piguit Iudaicos etiam tractatores euoluere, quicunq; sunt excusi. Nec puduit ab eis ac-  
cipere quod pium, veritate fulsum, consonū dogmatibus sacrosanctis, & congruere eloquijs  
diuinis videretur, per omnia malens alienas q̄ meas interpretationes adducere.

Allegorias & anagogas haud necessarias negleximus, quæ ingenio differentiū effingun-  
tur, non ex vñs sermonis diuini extrahuntur. Si quidem accidit multis in locis, ut plu-  
res allegorice interpretationes à diuersis theologis apponantur, æque piæ, æque doctæ, æque  
concinne & varijs affectibus orationis accommodatæ. Non negamus eas posse in loco adhi-  
beri, docendi, orandi, amplificandi, delectandi & perspicendi gratia: sed eorum tractatio vñ-  
uersa postea est in arbitrio & ingenio differens, quales adponat allegorias, q̄ suse aut angustie,  
quo sermonis habitu explicet, pro capiti personarum, pro conditione loci & temporis, proq;  
sine orationis institutæ, magna simul cura adhibita, ne quid contrariū dogmatibus sacrosan-  
ctis Ecclesiæ contineant vel inferant, ne dissonet à diuinis scripturis, ut sint aptæ ad edificandi  
non destructioni. Valeret autem scriptura per allegoriam exposita solum apud sequaces audito-  
res, non apud repugnantes, qui vinibus sunt expugnandi, ad quod requiruntur solidæ & im-  
motæ sententiæ Canoniconū librorū, non fluxæ & inter ingenia dicentium nutantes. Nec  
non exempla sanctorū hominū probabili & euidenti ratione ſulta, rebus probatis aut impro-  
bandis idonea sunt. Quibus orator Ecclesiasticus instrui potest, ut firmis & irrefragabilibus  
authoritatibus ad omnes affectus orationis, ad docendum obsequentes, ad delectandū delicia-  
tiores, ad mouendū cessantes & ignauos, ad confutandū veritatis & religionis perducas.

Breuitati quoq; studiū, quæ non officeret cognitioni & perspicuitati rerum. Vnde à proli-  
xis & operosis disputationibus stylum abſtinere placuit, quibus nostra sententiā curiosus ro-  
boraretur, vel contra sentientes impugnarentur maiori contentione. Neq; praua hæreticorū  
placita, quibus retro sæculis Ecclesiæ Dei tentate sunt & perturbate, omnibus in locis rediti,  
nec quorum authoritate subuerti atq; damnari possent. Quinetiā temperam à nominibus co-  
rum quos secutus sum, non minus, q̄ quos fugi omnino vel honoris præfatione citans, vel  
consumetiose perstringens. Placuit enim absq; titulis personarum nudas res prosequi, & sim-  
pliciter ipsam diuinū spiritum mentem digito ponus indicare, q̄ longo verborū agmine produ-  
cere. Nec vero in cōmentationibus istis propositum fuit locos cōmunes copiose tractare,  
quod vñ multifaria eruditione & eloquentiæ vinibus instructi fecerūt sufficiens, si quis eos  
requirit: sed ipsas tantum scripturas reddere planas, voluntate scriptoris ex vi verborū ac po-  
testate monstrare reliquū permitti. Lætionis vel cōuersionis sacri arbitrio, ut scripturas pro-  
bat & certo intellectus producat in vñam, & accommodat ad docendū, mouendū, delectandū,  
consilio prudēt & bona fide capto ex auditori ingenio, ex ratione temporis & loci, rebusq;  
cæteris, quæ debet Ecclesiastes prudenter ac sedulo moderari, haud secus atq; orator prophæ-  
tus, ut recte fecit sermonem Domini. Quare conuenit tanto muneri destinatum, diuinit  
verborum & rerum suppellectilem præparare, copulata scripturarum diuinarum cognitione  
multis & varijs dissolpitijs, prudentia iuris ciuiliſ, rerum gestarum memoria, præceptis philo-  
sophiæ, inspectione rerū naturalis, artibusq; dicendi, ut ad omnem extimum vñs ex prom-  
ptuario, materiam benedicendi sumat. Quæ omnia ego nec assequi discendo vñquam potui,  
nec si scirem, hoc opere tradendi locum inueniſſem vel docendi. Verum in docendo sacras  
scripturas, & Ecclesiæ cōfirmendo, meminerit theologie deobus, religionis veræ pernam,  
esse reginam, reliquas artes pedissequas, ad ministeria deſectorum Dei illam sacra eruditione.



PÉLLIC. PRAEFAT. IN VETVS INSTRVMENTVM.

In cæteris ubi facundia locus & vsus fuisset, vires ingenij me destituerunt, quia teneris annis cum eiusmodi authoribus confectus sum, quibus cum eloquentia non multum rei est. At tamen res in animo conceptas fideliter & ex animo molitus sum balbutie mea proferre, germanis vsus, ubi non succurrebat Latinitas: speroque mentem nostram expostum quantum intellectu satis sit. Siquidem & mutos videmus gressibus atque nuibus animi sensa tandem prodere. Qui elegantiarum Latinarum heluones sunt, & magis cupiunt linguam in struere, quam pedus solida & simpliciter veritate imbueri, conserant se ad Tullium, Linium, Salustium, Tacitum, aliosque Romanæ eloquentiæ proceres. Nos, quemadmodum Luquius dicebat se tantum Consentius & Tarentinus suis scribere, parauimus hæc philosophicæ cædentiæ avidis, præsertim his, qui ad Ecclesiarum gubernacula sunt admissi, non tamen aliis diuina literatura imbui, ut nostra sunt tempora. Nemo autem mihi crimen læsæ maiestatis diuinæ impingeret, quod oracula cædentiæ sermone impolito versem. Quandoquidem Hieronymus, Augustinus, Ambrosius & similes theologiæ antistites non prorsum abstinenti barbarismus ac solocismis. Et multi sancti homines imperiti fuerunt sermone, non item diuinarum rerum scientia, quam & magno cum fructu ad alios promulerunt. De Deo etiam eloquium sacrum testatur & Christus, quod ex ore infantium & lactentium perfectent laudem suam.

*In d. Br. in  
A. d. Br. in  
d. Br. in*

*Occasione  
peruenit ad  
hoc.*

Offendit nonnullos etiam quædam parcius tacta, quædam esse præterita. Fatcor sane dicta opera me quædam leuiter attingisse, aut etiam silentio præteruisse, industria lectorum inuulgandum relinquens, licet inuulgandi vberem non nunquam occasionem dedere. Multa tamen haud dubie subterfugerunt oculos meos. Quis enim fuit vnquam tam beati amplique ingenij, qui hunc Oceanum diuinæ sapientiæ immensum comprehendere? Etenim sacrosancta scriptura vniuerso generi hominum destinata, ut iter monstraret perueniendi ad Deum, omnia omnium sæculorum ingenia exerceuit & semper exercebit. Domino mensuram spiritus dante, ad cognoscendas & ad apertendas literas diuinas, prout necesse est & conducit.

Postremo licet vsus sum maxima diligentia & fide, ne vsipiam errarem: non puto me tamen extra sortis humanæ alicui sic constitutum, ut per omnia scopum attingerem, quandoquidem Dei permissione & occultio consilio præstantissimi viri sunt lapsi in arcanarum scripturarum tractatione. Proinde quum fuerint fortassis errores mei deprehensi, vel in translatione, vel in explicatione sententiarum, veniam rogo, qui nolens erravi, & cupio errata mea detegi, ne qui sum author falsæ opinionis. Circa tamen cõpundiosam insecutionem nominis peto mea discutari, & paratione mecum fieri, quæ & ego res ipsas regi, nullius æstimatione lædenda, nullius nomen perstringens: non raro habens eam occasionem, quæ alij videntur nimis licenter, id quod nunquam probare posui. Quin isti nobiles viri, quos ætas nostra plurimos habet, etiam principalium linguarum eximie peritos, & in artibus liberalibus absoluisse doctos, aliquando vilitatis publicæ gratia conuocantur, & quod ego in rem piorum conatus sum, ipsi præstent, talem Veteris Instrumeti explanationem adomantes, ut nostra commentaria eorum superuacua manibus studiosorum excutiantur, quibus duntaxat viam indicamus, ut longe præstantiora succedant. Illos autem homines nihili, qui nec volunt prodesse nec possunt, omnium tamen labores contemnunt, reprehendunt, irident, traducunt, lætant, quasi non sint ad honestos conatus reprimendos, non vnus assis æstimamus. A vobis sacrarum literarum alumnis, quibus Commentaria nostra possunt vsui esse, nihil aliud reposcimus, quam ut beneficium Dei agnoscat, qui suam gratiam per me infimum ministrum dignatus est aliquantisper impartiri, donec per alios meliores ad familia destinandos consummatoria largiatur, cuius nunc quoque speciei indicia eximia præstat. Cui me quoque vicissim prius precibus commendamus. Deinde peto, ut disciplina cædenti formata, omnes animi corporisque membra ingendat; ut veritas vbiq; gentium percrebrescat, nomen Dei optimi maximi amplietur, & homines qui plurimi ad salutem æternæ consortium adducantur. Tiguri Augusti

XII. Anno Domini  
A. D. XXXII.





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fusa et uel auri, sicut liquet ex scriptis, et sicut ex  
ecclesiae, continuo sicut dicitur, pro uerbum infirmitatem  
uenerunt et ex eorum auri et ex eorum infirmitatem  
conspici, contra Amichis infirmitatem, qui ex quo ab  
episcoporum infirmitatem, et dicitur uel, et cum  
tempore ad hoc uerbum donec sicut infirmitatem et uerbum  
infirmitatem sicut uerbum et uerbum.

Manum suam misit huius ad omnia de-  
siderabilia eius: quia uidit gentes ingre-  
ssum suum, de quibus praeciperat  
ne intrarent in ecclesiam.

Propter peccata regum et populi Babyloniarum  
erunt iussus templum domus, et omnes creaturas  
eius erunt, conuersionem, conuersionem, et conuersionem  
ingredi, nec uelisse conuersionem. In hoc tempore  
nisi de Amichis et Nabuchodonosor qui legem  
fuerunt in templo, et conuersionem, et conuersionem  
m, quia conuersionem et conuersionem, et conuersionem  
uicium propter gentes suas. Sic in ecclesia domus  
magnum conuersionem et conuersionem, et conuersionem  
dignitatem, et ecclesiae et conuersionem, et conuersionem  
ta uerba dei, inuentionem et sicut, donec sicut uerbum  
habeat aduersionem, et sicut, et sicut, et sicut, et sicut,  
et sicut, et sicut, et sicut, et sicut, et sicut, et sicut,  
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(mirabile) non habens consolatorum. Vi-  
rectus ethnicus.

Sicut superius, nuncum produr lapidum iudice  
gentis ex magnitudine portae, quandoquidem et po-  
biter superius omni ueritatis aduersione est cum iudice,  
possibilibus in laqueis domus dei pro optimo et ma-  
ximo, quasi perpetuo sic libenter cogitasset, et na-  
lunt eadem subiectionem aduersionis erideret, con-  
currens propitium promissiones ostendit. Nemo  
to ergo que plurimum praesentia est, etiam debet  
plurimum confundi, ab homine suo et gloria praecipio  
ari in summum misericordiam et confessionem, sicut aliqua  
consolationem quae uerbum domini imper audire et co-  
sacit. Tunc maximum dolore uentis extenuare co-  
gunt. Vide saltem in domine nunc assensionem me-  
et humilitationem. Et si non ob me a meritis, sicut ob  
sperantiam hostis in populo. Et in laqueis uentis sicut con-  
tra se, uindictam dignum sicut de eo. Et misericordiam  
misericordiae. Ecclesiae quoque confusio uigens apparet in  
eis presentibus, quae decessit debitoribus suis, in episco-  
pis et doctores, qui non sicut ceteris, et episco-  
patus. Eadem olim ecclesiae infirmitatem, sicut me-  
uerunt, quantum praeter dei uerbum infirmitatem uel do-  
cetur pro quibus infirmitatem infirmitatem et uerbum con-  
fugit uerbum infirmitatem ecclesiae lapsus, quem uerbum  
sicut, ut uerbum infirmitatem et uerbum infirmitatem  
sicut. Quod enim profertur ecclesiae generatim con-  
fusa et uel auri, sicut liquet ex scriptis, et sicut ex  
ecclesiae, continuo sicut dicitur, pro uerbum infirmitatem  
uenerunt et ex eorum auri et ex eorum infirmitatem  
conspici, contra Amichis infirmitatem, qui ex quo ab  
episcoporum infirmitatem, et dicitur uel, et cum  
tempore ad hoc uerbum donec sicut infirmitatem et uerbum  
infirmitatem sicut uerbum et uerbum.









# עֲשָׂרִים וְאַרְבַּע סְפָרֵי חֲמִיבָב קָדוֹשׁ ע

עם עתיקה כלשון רומיים ועם פירוש קצר על פסוקים חמורים וקשים:

גרסא פה בעיר באול על ידי מ' בכינתא רשכויא :

EN TIBI LECTOR

## HEBRAICA BIBLIA

LATINA PLANEQUE NOVA SEBAST. MUNSTERI  
 tralatione, post omneis omnium hactenus ubiuis gentium æditiones euulgata,  
 & quoad fieri potuit, hebraicæ ueritati conformata: adiectis insuper  
 è Rabinorum cōmentarijs annotationibûs haud pœnia  
 tendis, pulchre & uoces ambiguâs, & obscu-  
 riora quæq; elucidantibus.

PRIOR HIC TOMVS HABET

Mosaicos libros quinque  
 Ichosua  
 Iudicum  
 Samuelis lib. duos  
 Regum lib. duos.

BASILEAE

1554

YI.

2.



**M**iam si mortalis nostra natura, candide lector, uarijs obnoxia  
 facta sit malis, ex primi hominis peccato, multasq; contraxerit  
 labes & corruptelas, primas tamen uidetur tenere illa mentis  
 nostrae instabilitas, atq; animus sibi nunquam satis cōstans: quo  
 malo etiam pleroseq; qui columnae uidebantur, in praecipitium  
 ruisse experti sumus. Siquidem postquam primus noster parens  
 animum ab immutabili auertit deo, & *אין תסע יתר במקום נאמן* ut Hebraeorū  
 habet prouerbiū, protinus illum peccantem & totam eius posteritatē hēc con-  
 sequuta est poena, ut in nulla re quantumlibet bona, pulchra & delectabili, ani-  
 mus uarijs aestuans cupiditatibus, & desideriorū flagrans illecebris, fluctuāsque  
 inter tentationum illectamenta, diu herere uelit aut possit, quin ea aliquantisper  
 perfruitus, atq; ad fastidiū satiatus, mox ad aliam & aliam aestuet, qua se ad ho-  
 ram quoque oblectet. Exemplo tibi esse potest panis ille coelestis, quo Israelitae  
 in deserto ad tempus pasti & saginati, rursus desiderauerunt pepones & cepas  
 aegyptias. Facit hoc pessimum malum & *יירא* illud execrandum, ut adulter sua  
 attēdiatus, in proximi hinniāt uxorem: & diues rebus suis non contentus, per  
 fas & nefas aliorum inhiet bonis. Incitat alius Satanico hoc seffore, ut muneribus  
 & quibus potest technis, suam transcendere conetur sortem, ut in altū sub-  
 uectus gradū, ceteros ueluti ē sublimi despiciat loco. Et ut semel dicā, facit hēc  
 teterrima innata pestis, ut curiosus animus semp uarius sit, & gratia dei destitu-  
 tus in uērita nitens, aegerrime in unum, certum & solidū cogi possit studiū: usque  
 adeo uersipellis ille domesticus hostis semper cupit inolescere, & nullis coērcē-  
 ri legibus. Cum noua superueniunt, displicent uetera: & cum noua ipsa inuetera  
 uerint, rursus uetera abolita repetuntur. iam placet illud, & paulo post aliud, ut  
 planē nihil sit hēc mortalis uita, quā uanitas quaedā uanitatū. Atq; cum hēc  
 ita sese habeant in rebus illis externis, quae carni blandiuntur, id quod nemo in-  
 ficiari potest, mirum est, ut rursus multorum animus tam pertinax & immobi-  
 lis inueniatur in rebus diuinis, quibus semel est initiatus, ut etiam omniū rerum  
 dispendiū, imō mortem ipsam subire eligat, quā sacram hanc dimittere an-cho-  
 ram, & recedere à coelestibus semel susceptis disciplinis: id quod sanctorū mar-  
 tyrum probat exilium, carcer & sanguis. Quin et ludæus, sed & Turca mauult  
 Vulsanō deū ueri, aut iugulum sicario prebere, quā sacrum suum immutare.  
 Vsque adeo pertinaces reddit homines, semel ex corde suscepta deorum reli-  
 gio. Nec est tam effœminatus animus in his quae carni blandiuntur, quin perti-  
 nacior sit in his, quae dei sunt. Et laudanda quidem summopere est in hominē is  
 zelus atq; hēc cōstantia, magnisq; extollenda praconijs: sed quādo est secun-  
 dum scientiam, & quādo est pro domino exercitiū: alioquin si saniori noluerit  
 acquiescere doctrinae, & primā illā perpetuō retinere uoluerit saluā, nil prode-  
 rit zelus ille, imō non est zelus, sed peruiacia. Et ludæi quidem uehementer ui-  
 debantur zelare pro domino exercitiū, et pro domo dei, cum Christum eius fa-  
 stidirent, & ad mortem usque persequerent: sed peruersus fuit zelus ille, cum nō  
 fuerit secundū scientiam, sed prōcedebat ex odio rationem excæcante: unde fu-  
 rore magis in illum debacchati sunt, quā dei zelo. Et in hac peruiacia in hūc  
 usque diē, misera illa gens usque adeo obstinata manet, ut nullis prophetarū ora-

alis quantūlibet claris et apertis, nullis rationibus, sed neq; minis et terroribus  
 precipitio & ab errore reduci possit: id quod Isaias antē futurū prædixit: Im-  
 gua, inquiens, siue obstina cor populi huius, & aures eius aggraua, atq; o-  
 culi eius obline, ne fortē uideat oculis &c. Apud Ieremiā quoq; magno in speciē  
 zelo dicebāt: templum domini, templū domini, templū domini. et tamē deus di-  
 cebat illis per eundē prophetā: Nō habeatis fiduciā in uerbis istis mēdacibus.  
 His similimi sunt, qui humanas cōstitutiones, ueterū decreta, et inolitas cōsue-  
 tudines pluris faciunt, quā ipsa mādāta dei, excolantes scilicet culicē, et game-  
 lum glutientes. O peruersum iudiciū, & à Christiano pectore summopere ar-  
 cendū. Et tamen qui eiusmodi sunt, audent dicere, se zelo dei moueri, etiā quan-  
 do grassant et tyrānice sæuiunt in proximi necē, ob uiolatā humanā cōstitutio-  
 nem, cuius quidē obseruantia, nec tantillum meliorē reddit animum, aut eius  
 promouet salutem. Tali quoq; zelo, aut potius inuidia laborabant plurimi, diui  
 Hieronymi temporibus, nullibi non insidias struentes uiro sancto, non ob aliā  
 causam, quā quod opus pium et sanctum moliretur, nempe ueteris instrumē-  
 ti synceriores uersionem. Videbat nanq; uir pius et doctus, Latinos uera et ge-  
 nuina legis atq; prophetarum destitutos lectione: nam Septuaginta interpretū  
 æditio; quę tunc ubiq; locorum receptissima erat, apud Græcos et Latinos, ne-  
 dum perperam in plerisq; locis uersa fuit, uerū & per scriptores atq; sciolos plu-  
 rimū corrupta, id quod et hodie facile patet cōferēti æditionē illā iuxta Heb. ue-  
 ritatē: ut interim taceā illos nō admodū peritos fuisse Heb. linguā, id quod uel  
 inuit cōgimur fatēri, alioquin in plurimis locis nō tam secede lapsi fuissent. Vide-  
 bat inquā id Hiero. sicut et Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotio, atq; multi alij stu-  
 diosi uiri, et huiusmodi erroribus corrigēdis animū adiecerūt, quisq; pro uirili  
 suā indignū rati, quod cū in om̄ibus rebus abesse debeat deprauatio, sacri codi-  
 ces impuritātē admixtā haberēt, qui tamē in primis illustrādi et extergēdi erāt,  
 atq; in nitorē suū uindicādi. Nec tamē sic omnia ad uiuū resecauerūt, quin posteri  
 semp aliquid adhuc emendandū deprehēderint. Nam qui Heb. linguā uel me-  
 diocriter est doctus, facile uidebit, interpretē nostrū, quicūq; tandē is fuerit, in-  
 terdū nō satis oculatū fuisse. Sensit id Nicolaus Lyranus, Paulus Burgenis, Io-  
 annes Reuchlinus, Santes Pagninus, Martinus Lutherus, & Augustinus Steu-  
 chus, etiā si is plerūq; se uidisse dissimulet. Sed & Iudæi nostrā in nōnullis locis  
 irridēt æditionē, dicētes eam Heb. ueritati nō per omnia et ad amissim respon-  
 dere. Aduertimus et nos iam à uiginti annis, à tēpore quo sub Conrado Pelica-  
 no fidelissimo præceptore nostro hebraicari cœpimus, labes quasdā intolerabi-  
 les irrepsisse, non tam interpretis culpa quā scriptorum uitio. Et certe non est  
 perpetuū ad hæc cōniendum. Quanquā uerear, ne si quis diligentius illa co-  
 netur emendare, sicuti omnes pro domini uerbo zelare tenemur, totus cōtra il-  
 lum cōmoueat orbis, excitētur tragœdiæ, clament omnes, uociferent, ingem-  
 scant, & nemo moribus & uita tam alienus sit à Christo, qui hic non ostendet se  
 zelū gerere pro uerbo domini, etiā si nunquā opere et ueritate illud implere stu-  
 duit. Quā in re si cum talibus expostulare cœperimus, quærentes quānam ra-  
 tione sic insaniant, nihil habent quod respondeant, nisi quod per ueteres com-  
 munis illa æditio sit probata. Tanta est enim uetustatis consuetudo, ut diui Hie-  
 ronymi utar uerbis, ut etiā cōfessa plerisq; uicia placeāt. Nemo nō nouit, quātus  
 tumultus

tumultus superioribus annis excitatus fuerit cōtra Erasmi, quod corrigere ausus fuerit, sic enim illi loquunt, sanctū euangeliū, & uiolare rem tam sanctā. Idē mihi euenturū scio, multorū calumnias haud obscure praeuidēs, qui in hoc theatrum ingiedi praeumpserim, & ueteris testamēti nouā tētarim uersionē: etiā si sciam me huius uiri cōparatione nihil esse. Sed solat me id interim, quod sciā uiros bonos & pios nihil agere absq; iudicio. Sycophantarū est, nedū quā nō legerunt damnare, uerū & quā bene dicunt reprehendere. Solat etiā me cōscientia mea, quod nō in gloriā meā & ueterū reprehensionē, quibus etiā maximā debemus gratiā, postquā id egerūt, quod praeſtare potuerūt, praeſertim in tāta librorū penuria, hunc subierim laborē, & quod aliud nō deprompserim, quā quod Heb. textū habere deprehendi, testibus Rabinorū cōmentarijs. Quod si interdū in una sententia etiā apud Heb. diuersam inueni lectionē, siquidē & inter illos nōnunquā dissidia inueniunt, alijs alia existimātibus, indicauī id in annotationibus. Nec protinus omnia, quā apud illos inueni, more aliquorū pro oraculis habui, sed cum iudicio, ut par erat, legi. Non enim ignoro, quibus Cabalisticis, delyramētis sint addicti, et quā extortas nonnunquā adferant expositiones, praeſcipue ubi Meschiā incidit mysteriū. Illic enim deprehendimus eos esse pertinacissimos, nec cessant usq; in hunc diem torquere ad sua placita diuinās literas, quo suos tueant errores: id quod peculiare esse non ignoramus omnibus errātibus, qui sanā doctrinā auscultare nolunt. Hi enim ne errasse uideantur, usque adeo impudentes fiunt, ut etiā audeant erigere cristas cōtra aper tam dei ueritatē, conscientia propria testimoniū ferente contra eos. Porro hoc unū praeſcipue spectauimus in hac nostra editione, ut dimissa latinītatē elegantiā, quē etiā in plerisq; locis haud obseruari potuit, simpliciter Heb. ueritatē pro uirili nostra produceremus, & quantū fieri potuit, interpretatio ipsa hebraismo ē regione posito, iuxta Hebr̄eorū mentē responderet, Heb. studiosis potissimū hoc nostro labore inseruire cupiētes: etiā si alijs aequē usui esse possit, qui linguā hanc negligendā ducunt. Existimo autē neminem, nisi sycophantas, oblatratūrum, cum omnino nobis in animo fuerit, tālem parare editionē, quā etiam Hebr̄aīs displicere non posset: nisi fortasse in his locis, ubi cōtentio est inter nos et ipsos de Christi mysterio. Consulimus ob id in Pentateucho ex Heb. scriptoribus Chal. interpretē, Rabi Salomonē, David Kimhi, Aben Ezra, Rabi Menahem, Abrahā Hispanū autorē Fasciculi myrrhē, Sæder Olam, Rabi Mosē de Cozi, Mosē Gerundēsem, Arba Tura, et quosdam alios: & cuius expositio in obscurioribus locis nobis commodior uisa fuit, hunc sequuti sumus. Recitamus etiam non raro quid ipsi sentiant, suspendentes iudiciū nostrū, & lectori suū liberū permittētes. Vbi uero uerba adeo obscura sunt, ut ad uaria torqueri possint, ibi Hebraica tantū producimus, ut liceat cuilibet pro arbitrio, quē uelit ex eis elicere sensum, praeſertim si ex Heb. scriptoribus certi nihil aut solidū aliqd haberi possit. Studuimus quoq; agere iuxta hāc appositissimā Heb. sententiam. מי שאינו יודע מה למעלה ומה למטה בספרים חופר רברי אלהים חיים Hoc est, qui nō aduertit quod suprā & infrā in libris scribit, is peruertit uerba dei uiuentis. Iuxta quam regulam Mosēs Gerundensis, Kimhi & Aben Ezra, cautissime scripturā exponūt. Quare meo iudicio inepte illi agūt, qui cōtemptis Hebr̄aīs

Scriptoribus, pergunt interpretari libros ueteris instrumēti. Certe ego id ex eis didici, ut saepe monitores sint ueritatis, etiam si ipsi interim in tenebris et erroribus uersentur. Sicut et Bileam filius Israhel benedixit, et prospera ex spiritu dei prophetauit, errorem aut suum & futuram interfectionē praeuidere nō potuit. Verum suo loco ostendam, quā hallucinati sint quidam, qui citra Hebraeorū suppetias, Hebraicum textum nostro aëo interpretari conati sunt: id quod diuus Hieronymus tentare noluit, qui semper conductitium apud se habuit ludæum, qui illi in difficilioribus locis, Rabinorum suggereret expositionē. Nec est quod causeris periculum esse consulere glossas talium infidelium hominum in libris sacris, modo cognitionem Christi adiungas peritiæ lingue. Possem innumera ostendere loca, quæ perperam a recentioribus sunt reddita interpretibus, qui citra sufficientem linguæ peritiā & Rabinorū lectionem præsumpserunt uertere libros sacros, perinde quasi satis sit cognito Christo, interpretem agere Hebraismi. Vale lector, & laborem nostrum boni consule.

## P R A E F A T I O S E B A S T. M V N.

STERI IN VETVS TESTAMENTVM.



Steuchus:

Vum hodie apud multos in controuersia sit, quis uulgatæ æditionis fuerit autor, quem interdum non satis oculatum fuisse ueritas Heb. clamat, uoluimus & nos adijcere calculum nostrum. Et quidem non ignoramus, apud eos qui Hebraice nesciunt nihil esse certius, quin diuus Hieronymus illam fecerit æditionem, quæ hodie omnium latinorum teritur manibus. Et Augustinus Steuchus Italus id probare nititur ex nostræ æditionis uenustate, decore, maiestate, lepore, luce & perspicuitate: Quis, inquit, nō miretur ipsius interpretis prudentiam, iudicium, utriusque linguæ in eo absolutissimam peritiā, explicandi maiestatem & ingenij diuinitatem? qui quæ sunt in lingua Heb. manca, mutila, cōpendiosissima, horrida, dura, & illorum hominum loquendi more perplexa, fecit apertissima, illustrissima, & linguæ nostræ maxime accommodata. Et quis non stomachetur Mosē a quodam summo uiro latinitati donatū, in qua nulla sermonis Heb. exponitur proprietas? Alius, qui Hebraica nostræ linguæ accommodare aut nesciebat, aut non poterat, tanta obscuritate repleuit æditionem, ut nemo ferē sit, qui eum librum legere possit. (Santem notat.) Quamobrem non possum non eorū damnare audaciam, qui alias hac nostra tempestate æditiones attentare uoluerunt, quasi hæc malē sit reddita. Et præterea cum interpretes nostri, & sapientissimus & doctissimus fuerit, quid opus erat omnem eius æditionem euoluere, & ad uiuū rescare? præsertim cū uideamus esse tum paucissima, tum leuissima ea, in quibus nostra ab Heb. ueritate discrepat æditio, & nulla ferē sit inter codices Hebræos & latinos differētia: tam prudentissime interpretes nostri, græce et Heb. doctus, hanc absoluit æditionē, inuitis etiā illis, qui duas tenentes uoculas Heb. miseras et infelices, illico tantū autorē erecto et fastuoso supcilio damnare aggrediunt. Ego certe cū diligētissime ueritatem Heb. cū nostra cōtulissem æditione,

additione, præter leuissima nihil aliud dissonū in ea reperi. Hactenus Steuchus, Videtis Heb. linguæ studiosi, qualem censore nobis pepererit Italia, qualemq̃ uulgata æditio obtinuerit patronū. Quis iam amplius dicet, æditionē nostram in nonnullis locis ab Hebræa discrepare ueritate; cum Steuchus illam iuxta Hebraismum contulerit, & nihil dissonum inuenerit? Ego nomine omnium uestrum homini, citra tamen immodestiam, & ut Christianum decet, respondebo, idq̃ in hunc modum. Principio, quando insinuat linguam Hebræam tanquam horridam, duram & perplexam, bene dicit, quod scilicet sibi fuerit dura & perplexa, in qua uix duas uel tres tenuit uoculas miseras et infelices, id quod uel ex hoc aduertere licet, quod ignorarit הררש Hebræis esse uinum nouum. Vide, quæ solector, quid de hac dictione sentiat super Genesim capite uicesimoseptimo, & tamen audet sibi hanc usurpare prouinciā, ut censorem se constituerit omnium æditionum. Numeri uicesimotertio, hūc locum וַיִּבֶט אֶת בְּרִיעֵקֶב hoc est, Non uidebit (deus) idolum uanum in Jacob: ipse sic uertit: Non declinabit uanitas ad Jacob: interpretans חבִּיט pro חטה & tamē audet illic inceslere interpretem nostrū, quod non uerterit locum, ut in Hebræo habetur. Exodi tertio citans Chaldaicam æditionem, וְלֹא בִּין קָרַם רְחִילָה הָקִית id est: Et non à præsentia dei fortissimi: quem Chaldæa lingua sæpe terrorem uocat: ipse sic uertit: Priusquam robur meum cōprehendat eum. ubi nec uerba nec sensum reddidit. Vides censorem? Exodi decimosexto citans Rabi Salomonē loquentē de manna מַגְלָה teuelato seu denudato, postquā auferebatur pruina, quæ in aurora tegebat manna, Steuchus exponit מַגְלָה pro collectum & inuolutum. Sed & ille locus, qui scribitur Numeri uicesimotertio in Chaldaica æditione, aperte testatur, quā curta Steucho in Hebraicis fuerit supellex, nempe בִּינִיהָ מַלְכוּת בְּיָמֶיהָ id est: Diuinitas regis eorum est inter eos. Vocant enim Hebræi & Chaldæi diuinitatem שִׁבְיָה quod ea ubiq̃ habitat locorū. Quem locum Steuchus sic reddidit: Habitatio regum inter ipsos. nesciens חַן Chaldæis esse affixum plurale. Omitto alia loca quamplurima, in quibus inscitiam suam, quantum attinet ad Hebræam linguam tam aperte prodidit, ut mirer quomodo in ea re ausus fuerit sibi tantam arrogare autoritatē, cui tam arcta in hac lingua fuit cognitio. Deinde quādo dicit, inter æditionem nostram & Hebraicam ueritatē fere nullam esse differentiam, imō æditionem nostram absolutissimam: rursus miror hominem, quod sibi ipsi tam parum constet, qui super pentateuchū in pluribus quā sexcentis locis cepit Hieronymum, quem uulgatæ æditionis asserit autorem. Qua igitur fronte iubet audacter contemnere eos, qui ex Hebræorum fonte ostendunt uulgatam æditionem in plerisq̃ locis esse mancā, cum ipse idem fecerit? Parū pendamus inquit, quorūdam Christianorū argutias, qui cum duas tenuerint uoces Hebraicas, in ostentationem suæ imperitiæ, dicunt nostram æditionem esse deprauatam. Est & is eorum mos, qui græce paucis antè diebus didicerunt. Hi enim omnes, etiam doctissimorum hominum carpunt æditiones, si quid ab illis in latinum uersum sit. Gens nimirum ingrata & parum pia, qui & alienæ inuidet laudi, & cum suo detrimento utilitatis suæ sunt studiosi, & alios suis impijs maledictis ad beneficia præstanda reddunt tardiores. Hucusq̃ ille. Quantum ad Græcam attinet linguam, Erasmus Roterodamus iamdudum homini respondit.



Quam dextre uero Hebraica tractarit, nos quoque iam uno et altero indicauimus loco. Nunc audi quam ciuilitate tractet diuum Hieronymum, quem tantopere ab eruditione, prudentia, & linguarum peritia commendauit. Super Genesim capite septimo dicit Hieronymum hunc locum: In articulo dici illius: obscure transulisse, cum Hebraismus sit clarus. Capite uicesimoprimum eiusdem, dicit Hieronymum hunc locum: Quis auditurus crederet, non bene uertisse. Sic capite uicesimoquarto dicit Hieronymum dissentire ab Hebraico. Et capite tricesimotertio dicit sic: Illud mirum est, quod Hieronymus non sibi constet in dictione נֶחֱשֶׁת. Capite quoque tricesimosexto ait Hieronymum non sentire cum hebraica ueritate. Exodi primo dicit Hieronymum de suo addidisse, flumen: cum tamen textus expresse habeat נָחַל. Eiusdem capite duodecimo dicit Hieronymum sequutum erratum Septuaginta in uocabulo נֶחֱשֶׁת. Et capite tricesimoquarto miratur, quod Hieronymus non considerauit Hebraicam ueritatem. Sed & Exodi ultimo dicit Hebraica esse clariora nostra additione. Omitto hic quid scribat Levitici secundo, & septimo, atque uicesimoprimum. Item Numeri undecimo, & decimoseptimo atque tricesimoprimum: Deuteronomij quarto, & decimo octauo, atque tricesimotertio, ubi dicit Hieronymum uel errasse, uel dissentire ab Hebraica ueritate, uel obscure interpretari, uel sibi non constare, uel aliquid omittere, uel non recte uertere. Hæc inquam & similia multa errata deprehendit Steuchus in pentateucho. Et quot putas alius obseruare poterit, qui non duas tantum, ut ille, tenet uoculas Hebraicas? Quot denique putas inuenientur in Prophetis, qui Moyses obscuriores sunt? Quot ego in pentateucho inuenerim, quæ Steuchus non uidit, non est ut hic recensere, cum ex collatione utriusque additionis hæc facile innotescant. Producemus tamen tria aut quatuor loca exempli gratia. Genesim uicesimo, pro וַיֵּרָא & uidit: habet communis additio, & perterriti. Genesim tricesimoseptimo habet uulgata additio: Nitebatur liberare eum: pro, liberauit eum. Eiusdem tricesimo octauo scribitur: Hira opilio gregis: pro, Hira socius uel amicus eius. Et ibidem: Certe mendacij nos arguere non potest: pro, ne simus in contemptum. Genesim tricesimonono omittitur in nostra translatione: Commotus est furor eius. Et ibidem: Tria canistra farina: pro, tria canistra alba. Genesim quadragessimoprimum omissus est unus uersus, sed quod fortasse contigit uitio scriptorum. Genesim quadragesimo octauo in fine, benedicatur, pro benedictio scriptorum. Et capite quadragessimonono ubi translator noster uertit: Pulchriores sunt oculi eius uino, & dentes eius lacte candidiores, Hebraica ueritas longe alium habet sensum. de quo in suo loco. Ibidem: Dissoluta sunt uincula: pro, roborata sunt brachia manuum eius. Nolumus reliqua hic persequi, cum ex additionum collatione sese offerant. Voluimus solum hic obiter indicare, quam inique Steuchus Germanorum maledicendi taxet petulantiam, atque illis improperet, quod non uereantur tam absolutam additionem, qua hætenus ecclesia est usæ, incescere, & interpretem eius laceßere, æstu comparandæ gloriæ: cum nemo hætenus, quod ego sciam, magis interpretem nostrum incesserit, quam Steuchus.



An Hieronymus uulgate editionis fuerit autor.



Nondum soluimus nodū hunc, quis cōmunis æditionis tandē fuerit  
 autor. Apud Steuchū quidem dubium nō est, quin sit Hieronymia  
 quia est absolutissima & elegantissima, in nullo ferē differens à con-  
 textu Hebraico. Si nō est, inquit, Hieronymi, cuius erit? alicuius cer-  
 te erit. Post Hieronymum autem nullus inuenitur, qui biblia sacra transtulerit.  
 Facile quidem duceret in opinionem eius, si Hieronymus ipse me ancipitem nō  
 redderet. Nam Genesis sexto, ubi cōmunis æditio habet: Nō permanebit spiri-  
tus meus in homine: Hieronymus in hebraicis quæstionibus dicit in Hebræo  
 sic haberi: Non iudicabit spiritus meus in homine. Ecclesiastæ quoque primo,  
 ubi recepta æditio habet: Stultorū infinitus est numerus: Hieronymus dicit sic  
 haberi in Hebræo, & uerum dicit: Imminutio non poterit numerari. Et cap. se-  
 cundo, ubi uulgata æditio habet: Cogitau in corde meo abstrahere à uino car-  
nem meam: Hieronymus in cōmentarijs iuxta Hebraicā ueritatem cōtrarium  
 uertit, nempe sic: Cōsideraui in corde meo, ut traherem in uino carnem meam:  
 hoc est, ut ipse exponit: Volui pitam meam tradere delicijs. Vides quā longe  
 uulgata æditio dissideat ab Hebraica ueritate, & ab ipsius Hieronymi interpre-  
 tatione? Proinde Eccle. sexto, ubi recepta æditio habet: Melius est uidere quod  
cupias, quā desiderare quod nescias: Hieronymus iuxta Heb. ueritatē sic uer-  
 tit: Melior est aspectus oculorum super ambulātem in anima. Vides iterum,  
 quā diuersa sit Hieronymi lectio à communi æditione? Exponit autem Hiero-  
 nymus illum locum, ut ab ipso est uersus, in hunc modum: Melius est iuxta sen-  
sum cuncta agere, qui animæ oculus est, quā uoluntatem sequi cordis: hoc est  
 enim ambulare in anima. Hæc ille. Eodē libro capite nono, ubi in nostris codici-  
 bus legimus: Nescit homo utrum amore an odio dignus, sed omnia in futurum  
seruantur incerta: Hieronymus sic uertit, Hebraica seruata forma: Et quidē cha-  
ritatem, & quidē odiū, nō est cognoscēs homo, omnia in facie eorū. Cuius sen-  
 tentiæ alteram partem, nempe, omnia in facie eorum, sic explicat: In uultu eorū  
sunt omnia, id est, antecedit eos, cum de uita hac decesserint, noticia istius rei. Et  
 capite decimo, ubi uulgata trāslatio habet, Preciosior est auro sapiētia, paruaq;  
gloria ad tempus stultitia: Heb. ueritas & Hieronymi genuina translatio sic ha-  
 bent: Preciosa est super sapientiam & gloriam stultitia parua. Vides iterum le-  
 ctōr, quā diuersa hic sit hæc lectio? Exponit autē Hieronymus, quomodo stulti-  
 tia parua sit super sapientiam & gloriam. Iubemur, inquit, hic quærere sapientiā  
 simplicem, & non eam quæ calliditati mixta est, et per patientiam deo ultionem  
 reseruare, ut malimus stulti uideri, quā statim sub uelamento prudentiæ nos  
 uindicare. Proinde tota æditio Hieronymiana in Ecclesiastæ, iuxta memoratam  
 formam dissidet à recepta æditione. Extat & genuina Hieronymi uersio, quā  
 fecit in Psalterium, quæ sola satis ostendere posset, receptam æditionem nō esse  
 Hieronymi. Et quam quæso illa habet latinitatis elegantiam, si ex elegantia pu-  
 tes cognoscendum interpretem, præsertim in sacris, ubi conscientia formidolo-  
 sa ne unum quidem uerbū secus audet uertere, quā à spiritu dei sit traditum?  
 Nec poterit Steuchus hunc nodum soluere illa ratione, quā gloriā se Pauli Fo-  
 rosempronienſis episcopi omnes soluisse rationes, nempe quod Hieronymus

æditionem Septuaginta emendauerit, collatis æditionibus aliorum interpretū:  
 & deinde in interpretanda Hebraica ueritate aliud sit sequutus. Quoniam ædi-  
 tio illa Ecclesiastæ, quam iam citauimus, est Hebraicæ ueritati per omnia cōfor-  
 mis, & illam Hieronymus in commentarijs suis explanat: nec est admodum ele-  
 gans, si latinitatem spectes, cum Hebraismi non sint immutati. Vulgata autem  
æditio est elegans, sed dissidet in plerisque locis ab hebraico textu, ut indicauimus.  
 Nec est uerisimile, quod Hieronymus correxerit æditionem Septuaginta ad  
 amissim iuxta hebraicam ueritatem, illamq; commentarijs illustrauerit, suā ue-  
 ro stilo ornauerit, aliterq; uerterit, quā hebraicus habeat textus: præsertim cū  
 idem Hieronymus in prologo galeato gloriatur, sic à se uersos sacros libros, ut  
 si quemlibet Hebræorum interrogaueris, nullus aliter respondere possit, quā  
 quod ipse uertit. In prologo deniq; super libros Paralipomenon, dicit sibi cu-  
 ræ fuisse, ut cum eruditissimis Hebræorū, hunc subierit laborem. Et subdit ibi-  
 dem: Si quis in hac interpretatione uoluerit aliquid reprehendere, interroget  
 Hebræos, & tūc nostro labori, si potuerit, detrahat. Scribit & in prologo sup  
 Iob in hæc uerba: Memini me ob intelligentiā huius uoluminis, Lyddeū quen-  
 dam præceptorem, qui apud Hebræos primus habebat, non paruis redemisse  
 nummis. Ecclesiastæ quoq; tertio sic scribit: Mihi ab Hebræo, qui me in scriptu-  
 ris erudiuit, ita expositum est. Eiusdem præceptoris meminit Ecclesiastæ quar-  
 to & nono. Ex his Hieronymi uerbis eliciamus, æditionem suam per omnia He-  
 bræorum interpretationi esse consentaneam, nec illum uereri, ut à Iudæis exa-  
 minetur. Et cum Steuchus querat, æditionem nostram à Iudeis ueluti depraua-  
 tam criminari, constat illam Hieronymi non esse, cum Hieronymus Hebræorū  
 fretus auxilio, talem fecerit æditionem, quam nullus Iudæus calumniari possit,  
 imò rogauerit æmulos suos, ut priusquam lacerent æditionem, interrogent Iu-  
 dæos, & si tunc illorum iudicio reprehensione dignam inuenerint, obtrectet &  
 mordeant. Proinde quale testimoniū Iudæi ipsi Hieronymo ferant de eius trās-  
 latione, nolo te latere. In libello enim quodā, quem in bibliotheca Reuchlini in-  
 ueni, qui sic incipit בשפתי גבור ita scriptum inueni: רחנה ארמונו הגלח ירע

*Hieron. ab ipso Iuda  
 is laudatus.*

": כל הורהו וכל ההלמוד ואם היה בו דבר לא מניח ער בה. Hoc est, Ecce Hie-  
 ronymus sacerdos sciuit totam legem nostrā, & uniuersum Thalmud: & si fuis-  
 set in ea (æditione) aliquod mendum, non dimisisset illud hucusq;. Autor quoq;  
 libri Nizahon super Psalmum Coeli enarrant, sic scribit de Hieronymo:

ירמונוש קרא עליה הגר ברומי ואמר אני טרחתי וכתבתי לשון העברי לשון הלטיני  
 : Haud perperam in-  
 quit, legit Hieronymus hunc locum Romæ, cum dixerit: Ego cum magna fati-  
 gatione transcripsi linguam hebraicam in linguam latinam, nec immutauī quic-  
 quam. Sed surrexerunt post illum, qui scribendo peruerterūt omnia. Probat  
 proinde ex Psalterio & Ecclesiastæ, quod Hieronymus in æditione suā, illam sa-  
 tinitatis elegantiam non tenuerit, qua alioquin in scriptis suis usus est, sed tempe-  
 rauit stilum iuxta Hebraismi humilem et simplicem dicendi formam. Pro exem-  
 plo sint tibi sequentes sententiæ. Ecclesiastæ primo, ubi uulgata æditio habet:  
 Lustrans uniuersa in circuitu pergit spiritus, & in circulos suos reuertit: Hie-  
 ronymus iuxta Hebraismū sic uertit: gyrans gyriendo uadit spiritus, et in circula-  
 los suos

los suos reuertitur spiritus. Eodem capite ubi recepta æditio habet: Cūctæ res difficiles, nō potest eas homo explicare sermone: Hieronymus eandem sententiam sic uertit: Omnes sermones graues, non poterit uir loqui. Et capite secūdo ubi nos cōmuniter legimus: Vadam & affluam delicijs & fruam bonis: Hieronymus ab Hebraismo non dissidens, sic uertit: Veni nunc, tentabo te in lætitia, et uide in bono. Verū nō est opus multis exemplis, cū utraq; extet æditio. Nec poteris illam, quam ego esse Hieronymi assero, negare, quod non sit Hieronymi, cum illa ad unguem Hebraismum exprimat, & Hieronymus cōmentarios in illam scribat.

Hebræorum commentarij non contemnendi.



Ocemur quoq; ex diui Hieronymi dictis suprà citatis, Hebræorū scripta non omnino cōtemnenda ab eo, qui sacros hebraicos codices conatur latinos facere: cum uir ille, talis & tantus, nō dedignatus fuerit Hebræos habere præceptores, imò fateatur se biblia sacra neutiquā potuisse interpretari citra illorū suppetias. Exposuit etiā ob eam rem nūmos plurimos, ut illi essent à subsidijs. Nec dubito, si Hieronymo fuisset uel Aben Ezra, aut Mosi Gerundensis, aut Ben Gersom, aut David Kimhi cōmentarius, uiuo præceptore opus non habuisset. Nunc autem in tanta librorum penuria, caruit etiam sacro codice, qui notulis et punctis esset distinctus. Quæ res non parum interpretibus imposuit, ut sapiuscule unam dictionem pro alia legerint: sicut & Racanati ait, ירושׁה הוּא בִי הַאֲחִירָה בְּשֵׁאִינָן נִקְרָא יֵשׁ לְהֵן פִּנִּים

הַרְבֵּה. אֲבֻנָם בְּשֵׁחַם נִקְרָא אֵין לֵהֶם רֶק בְּשִׁמְעוּתָא אַחֵר בְּפִי הַנִּקְרָא :

Hoc est: Certum est, quando literæ non punctantur, possunt uario legimodo: quando uero habent puncta adiecta, unum duntaxat præ se ferunt sensum, iuxta punctationis formam. Et addit: בְּפִי הַקְּרִיאָה קִרְיָן בְּכַפֵּר הִרְרָה בְּפִי הַקְּבֵלָה. Quando uero legunt, inquit, in libro legis, legunt secundum acceptionem illam, qua dominus loquutus est in monte Sinai ad Moysen. Non sunt igitur puncta uocalia, nouum quoddam Iudæorū inuentum, ut & illud hic obiter cōmemorem, sicut Steuchus & quidam alij sibi similes stulte existimant: cum secundū Rabinorum sententiam per Ezram scribam nedum puncta uocalia, uerum & accentuum figuræ sacris codicibus sint adiectæ. Etiam si sint alij, qui asserant puncta à Iudæis Tiberiadjs cōmorantibus adinuenta, qui semper in lingua sancta cultiores et politiores fuerunt. Quare uero olim tempore Hieronymi Biblicus textus punctis nō fuerit distinctus, reddit Rabi Menahem hanc rationem, כִּסְרֵי חִרְרָה שִׁישׁ בִּרְ חִרְבָּה בְּנִים אֵינִי נִקְרָא. Sicut & alio loco, רַבִּירֵי חִרְרָה יֵשׁ לֵהֶם פְּנִימִי וְהִצְוֹן גְּלוּי וְגִסְתָּר. nēpe Exodi uigesimoprimo dicit: Imò Aben Ezra dicit, quod lex præter הפֶּשֶׁט id est, literalem sensum, habeat. Imò Aben Ezra dicit, quod lex præter הפֶּשֶׁט septē modos intelligendi: quod hic nolumus discutere. Olim igitur omnes ferè sacri codices punctis destituebant, sicut & hodiè uolumen legis, quo Iudæi in synagogis utunt, punctis caret, nec nisi qui ipsigniter docti erant, poterant illos recte legere & intelligere: eratq; acceptio quædam Cabalistica, quā sacerdotes scire tenebant, & plebeis hominibus explanare. Cum uero temporū successu, demerentibus eorū peccatis, multæ irruerent tribulationes, & passim per orbem dispergerent, doctiq; imminuerent, coacti sunt multa

plamo excipere, quæ prius solum traditione sciebantur. De qua re uidere pote-  
 ri Rabi Mosen de Cozi, in præfatione super librum Mirzuoth maiorem: cui  
 libri summariū, superioribus diebus in studioforum commodum euulga-  
 mus. Et hinc est, quod propria nomina, quæ passim in biblijs latinis inue-  
 niunt, sæpenumero alia habent quàm hebraici cōdices uocalia: ut Rebecca pro  
 Ribka, Eua pro Haua, Maria pro Miriam, Salomon pro Schelomo, Ierusalem  
 pro Ierusalaijm, Isaac pro Iizhac, Noë pro Noah; Neptalim pro Naphthali,  
 &c. Sed & in dictionibus appellatiuis, quæ eisdem scribuntur literis sed diuer-  
 sis punctis, ut חלב si legas חלב halab, est lac, sin legas חלב helab, est adeps,  
 similis imò maior nonnunquā cōtingit error, cum una dictio pro alia fuerit usur-  
 pata, id quod Genesis trigesimo sexto factum cōstat, ubi translator noster ימים  
 legit pro ימים iammin, uel ימים maijm, uertitq; aquas calidas: cū Heb. ibi le-  
 gant ימים iemim, quod mulos significat. De qua re in annotationibus dicam,  
 ubi negocium postulauerit. Nunc uero ad Hieronymum redeo. Is cum exem-  
 plar haberet punctis destitutū, nullaq; illi essent Hebræorum cōmentaria, sed  
 nec Chaldaica æditio, Onkelōs uel Ionathā, duplici nomine illi cōducendi erāt  
 Iudæi, à quibus erudiret. Nam sunt multa loca in scriptura adeò obscura & per-  
 plexa, ut citra Hebræorum traditionem non facile intelligi possint, quicquid na-  
 fuit hic ganniant. Nec dedignatus est uir tantus & tam celebris per orbem, rur-  
 sus fieri discipulus, etiam illorum qui inimici erant crucis Christi & nominis  
 Christiani. Vbi & hoc monendum duximus, eos non audiendos, qui putant  
 Hebræos scriptores contemnendos, quod nihil boni habeant, & si quippiam  
 habent, præsertim in obscuris locis, id à Christianis habeant. Potissimū autem  
 Steuchus toties inculcat Rabi Salomonem, quod ille interpretationē suam pro  
 maiori parte suffuratus sit ex Hieronymi translatione. Id si uerum est, & Iudæi  
 non poterant interpretari sacra biblia tempore Rabi Salomonis, atq; ante æui  
 eius, à quo quæso didicit Hieronymus legis & prophetarum interpretationē?  
 Nonne à Iudæis? Quomodo igitur hic dicit, Hebræos minus habere cognitū  
 in scriptura quàm omnes gentes? Vel saltem linguam nouerunt, tenent linguæ  
 idiotissimos, interpretationem à maioribus ueluti per manus traditam nō omni-  
 no ignorant, etiamsi præcipuū scopum scripturæ ignorent, quem nobis Chri-  
 stus & apostoli ostenderunt. Nec tamen usque adeò infelices sunt, quin non ra-  
 rō olfaciant mysterium Christi, sed sub crasso ænigmate, ut nos suis quibusque  
 ostendemus locis, largiēte domino, præsertim in prophetis, quorum aliqui etiā  
 ore rotundo de Christo nostro oracula sancta cecinerunt. Hoc unum scio, mul-  
 ta esse apud diuum Hieronymum in commentarijs, quæ asserit se didicisse à Iu-  
 dæis, quæ & ego in Rabi Sal. inueni. Et putas Hieronymum, hominem Chri-  
 stianum, ab Hebræis didicisse, quod posterī Hebræorum à maioribus suis non  
 didicerunt? Si Hebræorum scriptores, & præsertim Rabi Salomon, qui inter  
 recentiores antiquior est, nam fuit ante quadringētos annos, id quod ex Iudæis  
 Vuormaciensibus habeo, ubi aliquandiu commoratus est, cum aliqui natione  
 Gallus fuerit: si inquam Iudæi nihil sciunt, quàm quod à Christianis habent, er-  
 go nec biblia Hebræa habent nisi à Christianis. Aut si custodire potuerūt ora-  
 cula illa diuina, atque totum bibliorum corpus, ut nihil corruptionis illis accede-  
 ret,

ret, idq; in cōmodum nostrum: & magistrorum interpretationem, siue seniorū traditionē, quam Hieronymi temporibus habuerunt, & qua Hieronymus ipse usus est, conseruare non potuerunt. Vnde quæso ad nos peruenit utraq; Chaldaica æditio, quam Hieronymus non uidit, cum nunquam illius mentionem faciat, & tamen longe ante illum facta fuit. Nonne per Iudæos? Quomodo igitur Iudæi conseruare potuerunt biblia sacra & Chal. translationem, imò & Thalmud ipsum, nō autem patrum expositiones, sed rursus coacti sunt illas à Christianis emēdicare? Quod si dixeris à tēporibus Hieronymi usq; ad tempestatē Rabi Salomonis, Iudæis non fuisse uiros doctos, sed fuerunt interim solū custodes sacrorū codicum, ueluti canes ad præsepe, destituti legis & prophetarū explicatione. respondeo: ex capite tuo id somnias. Lege, si potes, librum Seder Olam, quem ædidi Rabi Abraham Leuites, filius David, quem de illustribus scripsit Iudæis, & de quibusdam Iudæorū gestis, incipiens ab anno mundi ter millesimo quadringētesimo quinquagesimo, quo tēpore mortui sunt Ezra scriba, Haggæus, Zacharias et Malachias, qui ultimi fuerūt prophetæ, extenditq; librum illum usq; ad annū mundi quater millesimū nongentesimū nonū, & inuenies in eo multos insignes Rabinos, quos Iudæi habuerunt in Hispania, Aethiopia, Aegypto & alijs regionibus, qui libros scripserunt, & non opus habuerunt rursus à Christianis repetere: quod Hieronymus nummis non paruis se fatetur mercatum ab illis. Dico insignes Rabinos, secundum huius scriptoris estimationem, ne hic quisquam malignandi occasionem contra me accipiat. Nichil itaq; Christiane Lector, tibi oberit Rabinorum lectio atque interpretatio, si Christum pure didicisti: imò proderit, siue illi nobiscum consentiant siue dissentiant. Vide quæso Iesaiæ septimo & nono, quid mihi obseruit lectio inimicorum crucis Christi: quorum expositio in his locis ex diametro pugnat cum Christianorum interpretatione. Sed de hoc satis. Quid uero tandem de uulgatæ æditionis autore sentiam, iam dicam. Videtur mihi ea esse uel Theodotionis, uel Aquilæ, uel Symmachi, aut omnium istorum, sed quam latinus aliquis, hebraicè indoctus, cultiori adornauit stilo. Coniecturam præbet locus iste, qui Ecclesiastæ primo scribitur, quem Symmachus, ut Hieronymus refert, sic uertit: Pertransui uniuersa sensu meo, scire & discere & inuestigare sapientiā. Et hunc locum factitius ille interpres, siue Rufinus fuerit, siue quicunq; alius, latinorem in hunc modum fecit: Lustraui uniuersa animo meo, ut scirem & considerarem & quærerem sapientiā. Idem sentiendū censo de toto ueteri testamento. Fieri etiam potuit, ut æmulus aliquis Hieronymi, in angulis Hieronymianā legens æditionem, illam pro uoto suo emendauerit, aut magis corruperit, & prætextu præfationum Hieronymi, nomine Hieronymi illam uenditarit. Haud enim fieri potuit, ut scriptorum uisio omnia illa errata irreperiret, quæ hodie in uulgatæ æditione inueniuntur. Sed de hac re, aliorum quoque cupio sanum audire iudicium. Nec dubito, quin hoc argumento multorum ingeniosorum hominū excitaturus sim indaginem, ut profundius de hac re sint cogitaturi. Quin & Steuchum ipsum, qui in hac re nō satis oculatus fuit, arbitrōr aliud cogitaturū, & forte si sapit, poenitebit illum, quod tam præcipitem sententiā ausus fuit ferre in re

*M. 128  
uulgata  
Aure.*

am incerta. Certū est, Hiero. temporibus, anteq̃ ille suā parasset additionē,  
 esse uetus testamentū in omnibus ecclesijs Latinis, per Italiā, Aphricā, Hispa  
 niā & Galliā cōstitutis, & facile fieri nō potuit, ut reiecto priori exēplari, siue  
 septuaginta illud fuerit, siue Symmachi aut Theodotionis, nouū illico accepta  
 rint, & cum magnis expensis describi curauerint, praesertim cum Hieronymi  
 uersio tot tunc habuerit obrectatores, & unum exemplar tunc non tam facile  
 in multa milia potuerit multiplicari, sicuti nostro aeuo, quando admirabile illud  
 excudendorum uoluminum artificium superiorum beneficio est adinuentum in  
 patria mea, ut & id obiter commemorem, nempe in Moguntia, urbe Rhenensi  
 uetustissima: & in qua usque in hunc diem tot uisuntur Romanorum mirifica  
 quitates. Voco autem eam urbem parentem meam, non quod illa me genuerit,  
 sed qd̃ haud procul hinc in Ingelhemia, ubi olim Caroli magni habitatio fuit,  
 & eius palatii ruinae adhuc extant, patre dulcissimo Andrea Munstero pia me  
 moriae natus sim. Sed redeo ad Hieronymum. Non tibi mirum uideri debet le  
 ctor, si dixerō Hieronymi translationem in uniuersum interisse, praeter unum Ec  
 clesiasten & Psalterium, qui suo aeuo tot habuit aemulos, & extincto uno exem  
 plari, facile tunc fieri potuit, ut uniuersus eius perierit labor: id quod multis eius  
 commentarijs quoque accidisse nemo non nouit, qui Hieronymum legit, qui ta  
 men tot aemulos non leguntur habuisse. Sed de hac re aliorum quoque cupio  
 audire iudicium. Fieri enim non potest, quin collatis multorum iudicijs, unum  
 caeteris praestantius inueniatur.

Qua ratione consilio ue hanc facta sit additio.



Tandem rationē aliquam habeas Christiane lector, huius suscepti  
 nostri laboris, uisum fuit tibi compendio tradere, quo uili fuerimus  
 consilio, & quem sequuti simus ordinem, cum hunc moliremur labo  
 rem, posteaquā in omni re tractanda ordo praecipue spectetur, qui  
 rebus per se alioqui obscuris, lucem soleat & claritatem afferre. In primis noue  
 ris hebraica in hoc libro haud secus posita, quam in Iudaeorum inueniuntur co  
 dicibus scripta, nisi quod ea amputanda censuimus, quae Iudaicis inseruiunt ce  
 rimonijs & superstitionibus, utpote distinctiones magnas, quas ipsi ברשי  
וואמר יהוה. Istae sunt generationes Noah: אלה האבות. Et  
 dixit dominus ad Abram &c. quas ipsi legunt in synagogis suis per singula sab  
 bata, donec in anni spacio totum compleuerint pentateuchum. Simili ferē or  
 dine distinxerunt prophetas maiores & minores, uocantque sectiones illas  
הספרות quas legunt sabdato in templis sicut Parsioth. Deniq; literas Samech  
 & Pe, quas intra Mosaicū contextum quidam libri habent scriptas, ueluti Iu  
 daeorum figmentum reseuimus, quicquid ipsi dicant de traditione Mosis & E  
 zrae. Aiunt autem Samech significare סודות spaciū clausum, & Pe פתוח  
 spaciū apertum & liberum. Accentus praecipuos, hoc est, qui sententiā in  
 membra & subdistinctiones diuidunt, non omisimus: reliquos uero ueluti pa  
 rergos negleximus, praesertim cum & Iudaei ipsi fateantur propter peccata sua  
 ignorare uires particulares accentuum. De quo uide, si libet, Rabi Calony  
 mum,

mum, in libro quem de accentibus inscripsit, & adiectus est grammaticæ Abra-  
 ham de Palmis. Cæterum quod magistri Hamaforeth difficultatem quandā  
 mouerunt, de dictionibus plenis & defectiuis in uau & iod, nos quoque ueluti  
 rem inanē magistris illis labyrinthū illū cum crassis illis mysterijs dimittimus,  
 habentes in hoc Aben Ezrā, uirū apud Hebræos magnæ autoritatis, patronū,  
 qui nihil putat subesse mysterij, sed הברת פעם יכתוב המלה בלאה ופעם יחסר  
 : איה געלם לאהו דרר קצרה scriptor pro arbitrio aliquando dictionem scribit  
 plenam, aliquando causa breuitatis unam resecat literam: quod tamen de literis  
 uau & iod intelligi debet, quarū prima nō raro in holem, & altera in hirec quie-  
 scere solet. בגלות ראשונה נשחבצו חנ Vnde quando Dauid Kimhi dicit tertio Regum decimosextimo, &  
 in præfatione, quam præmisit prophetis prioribus, הנסחאת והיו מוציאין בנסחא אחת כן ובנסחא אחרת כן ולא עמרו על בירורם ו  
 רבחו האחת מבפנים והאחרת מבחוץ וגם אברו חספרים ונטלטלו והחבמים יורעי  
 חמוקרא בזה ואנשי בנסת הגדולה שהחזירו ההירה לישנה מוצאו מהלוקות בספרים  
 וחלבו בהם אחר הרוב לפי דעתם ובמקום שלא השיגה דעתם על הבירור כהבו הא  
 : Hoc est: In captiuitate pri-  
 ma corrupta sunt exemplaria, elicueruntq; ex uno exemplari sic, & ex alio ali-  
 ter: & ubi clarum non potuerunt habere sensum, scripserunt unam dictionem  
 intra contextum, & aliam ad marginem. Perierunt quoque exemplaria & dis-  
 tracta sunt: & morientibus sapientibus, qui tenebant scripturæ sensum, cona-  
 ti sunt hi, qui erant de synagoga magna, restituere legem ad uetustatem suam,  
 inuenientesq; dissensiones in exemplaribus, adhibuerunt fidem pluribus exem-  
 plaribus consentientibus. Vbi uero claram cognitionem habere non potue-  
 runt, scripserunt unam dictionem absque punctis, aut scripserunt in margine  
 & nō intra contextum. Hanc Kimhianam & aliorum Rabinorum opinionem  
 impugnat Rabi Iacob, filius Haijm, de regno Thuneljm, quod in Aphrica si-  
 tum, confine est prouinciæ Carthaginis, scribitq; contra eos in hunc modum:  
 עצהם רחוק מני כי איך אוכל בגפשי להאמין ואיך אעלה על שפתי שמוצא עזרא  
 חסופר ספר הדרת האלהים וכפרי נביאיו מכופקים בהפסד ובלבול. ודעתי היא  
 כי עזרא וסיעתו מוצאו ספרי ההירה בשלומתם והמותם ועזרא הבין ברעהו איזה  
 ספרים נכתבו בחכמה יהירה ולבנה נכתבו האמתות החסרות והיתרות והלשוניות  
 חורים והגיהם לכתב מבפנים כמו שנכתבו והשיים מבחוץ פירוש הכתוב חזר כפי  
 : Hoc est: Sententia illorū longe est à me. Nec enim adduci pos-  
 sum ut credam, & labijs confitear, Ezram scribam librum legis diuinæ, atque  
 libros prophetarū dubios, corruptos & confusos inuenisse: quin magis senten-  
 tia mea est, quod Ezras & college eius inuenerint biblia sacra integra & illæsa,  
 quodq; Ezras iudicio suo cognouerit, qui libri scripti essent per sapientiam il-  
 lam excellentem, & quare quædam literæ scriberentur, quædam uero nō: qua-  
 re etiam dictiones quædam extraneæ scriptæ essent: dimisitq; eas in ipso textu  
 ut scriptæ erant, adijciens in margine ueluti glossam, quæ naturam explicaret  
 uocabuli extranei. Tantū de hebraicis: reliqua in annotationibus indicabimus.  
 Porro in latina uersione hoc unum spectauimus, ut quoad fieri potuit, latina he-  
 braicis responderent, nisi quod aliquando quasi per parenthesis adiecimus unā

הברת פעם יכתוב המלה בלאה ופעם יחסר

R. Iacob



ut alteram dictionem, quæ ad explicationem obscurioris faceret sententiæ, id  
 iuxta summe necessarium uidebatur in prophetis. Sententiarum distinctiones  
 edimus, ut apud Hebræos habentur, etiamsi sciremus id apud Latinos in qui-  
 busdam locis dure sonare. Phrasim quoque hebraicam & idiotismos ipsos non  
 semper immutauimus, præsertim qui Christianis auribus hodie non sunt hor-  
 rori, nisi interdum nostri obliti, Hebraismum crassius irrepere permisimus, si-  
 cut Genesis secundo cōtigit, ubi scripsimus: Huic uocabitur uirago: pro, huic di-  
ctetur uirago: uel, hæc uocabitur uirago. Porro Hebraismi, quibus Christiani  
 sunt assueti, sunt isti, & plures eis similes:

Placuit uerbum in oculis meis.

Abrahā plenus dierum mortuus est.

Venit in dies, pro ad senectutem peruenit.

Ecce ego, pro adsum, uel audio.

Percutere animam, pro occidere hominem.

Aqua pedum, pro lotio siue urina.

Contegere pedes, pro purgare aluum.

Inuenire gratiam in oculis, pro placere.

Factum est post uerba ista, pro his gestis factum est.

Filius triginta annorum, pro uir triginta annorum.

Filius mortis, pro dignus morte.

Os sacci: percussus est in ore gladij.

Pater noster est in pace, pro sanus est.

Multiplicans multiplicabo ærumnas tuas.

Contestando contestatus sum uobis.

Magnus nimis, pro maximus.

Loquutus est deus per manum prophete.

Loquutus est in auribus eorum, pro audientibus eis.

Constituerunt eum in regem.

Duxit eam in uxorem.

Ire ad dextram uel sinistram.

Populus fornicarum, pro turma.

Filius armenti: mater auiculæ.

Declinare iudicium, pro peruertere iudicium.

Ascendere in cor, pro cogitare.

Vniuersa terra dolebit, pro cuncti habitatores terræ &c.

Onus Babylonis, pro prophetia dura contra Babylonem.

Posui animā meam in manibus meis, hoc est periculo uitæ me exposui.

Accinge lumbos tuos, pro strenue exequere negocium.

Comedere panem & bibere aquam, pro laute uiuere.

Grauis manus domini, pro grauis plaga &c.

Hos & multos alios similes idiotismos, nec uulgatæ æditionis autor ubique &  
 semper uitauit: quemadmodum & collectiua, specierum que nomina nōnun-  
 quam more Hebraici sermonis copulauit uerbis pluralibus. Alioquin parum  
 phrasten



phraſten in plerisque locis uerius egit quàm interpretem: id quod nobis non  
 agendum uisum fuit, quando Hebraice studiosos semel iuuare instituerimus.  
 Quicquid tamen obscuritatis propter Hebraismos ipsos inuectum est, id anno-  
 tationum beneficio dilucidauius. Quare nolumus, ut hæc æditio absque an-  
 notationibus usquam locorum excudatur. Non igitur quidem maiore uim  
 orationis sitam in loquutionibus & loquendi proprietatibus, quàm in ipsis uo-  
 cibus. Scimus & interpretis esse officium, non tantum uerborum transferre si-  
 gnificationes, uerum & loquutiones atq; phraſes immutare, ne quod in una lin-  
 gua uenustum & clarum est, in altera fiat obscurum, sicut & Aben Ezra monet,  
 עבריים ישבורו השערים ולא הכולות Sed cogitamus etiã interim, quod nō pos-  
 sumus scire sensum, nisi illum per uerba discamus, ut Hieronymus dicit Ecclesia-  
 stæ primo. Cogitamus deniq; in scriptura sacra non pro arbitrio ludendum. ut  
 in alijs prophanis libris. cogitamus nec iota unum aut apicem unum frustra in  
 ea positum: ut piaculum sit, illi uel minimum quid superaddere aut adimere, ut  
 interim taceamus quosdam, qui ante nos conati sunt biblicos uertere libros, nō  
 satis dextre nonnullos reddidisse idiotismos, ut satius fuerit illos non uertisse, q̃  
 sic perperam reddidisse. Nomina illorū hic occultanda censuimus, ne ab æmu-  
 listemerarius proclamer censor. Nec admodum moueor illorum uerbis, qui  
 aiunt, horrorem heb. aici sermonis omnino tollendū, & apposite latino sermo-  
 ni accommodare, cum plerunq; id non possis facere citra magnam periphra-  
 sim, aut sententiæ uiolationem. Idem iudicium est de quibusdam hebraicis uoci-  
 bus, quibus in alijs linguis nullum respondet uocabulū, ut sunt Iubileus, Mam-  
 zer, Ephod, יבם שבוטה Vrim, Thummim, Ephra, Minha, & aliæ multæ his  
 similes. Fateor nihilominus, quasdā esse in Hebræo loquēdi proprietates, quæ  
 adeo peculiare sunt Hebraismo, ut citra magnam absurditatem in aliam lin-  
 guam transferri non possint: ut exempli gratia, Ezechielis primo scriptum est,  
 וישאל אתה אל אחתי mulier ad sororē suam. Et Exodi uigesimosexto, וישאל  
 ad fratrem suum. qui loquendi modus usurpatur pro, una ad alteram, & unus  
 ad alterum. Est & id peculiare Hebraismo, ut sæpenumero uerbum substanti-  
 uum subintelligere oporteat: ut Genesis decimoquinto: Viri fratres nos: sub-  
 audi, sumus. Vtitur & sæpiuscule figura appositionis, nulla interposita copu-  
 la. Denominationes quoq; non raro ponuntur in ea lingua, pro rebus denomi-  
 natis. Est autem denominatio, quæ rem totam simpliciter complectitur. & de-  
 nominatum, quod partem complectitur denominationis, quod Scholastici do-  
 ctiores uocāt abstractum & cōcretum: ut, mons sanctitatis, pro mons sanctus:  
 uir mortis, pro uir morte dignus: propheta falsitatis, pro propheta falsus. Est  
 deniq; & hoc peculiare Hebraismo, ut uel per metabolen, uel per emphasim,  
 unam & eandem sententiam plerunque bis explicet, sed alijs & alijs uerbis, id  
 quod creberrimum est apud prophetas, & non parum lucis obscurioribus præ-  
 bet sententijs. Pro exemplo sit tibi caput Iesaiæ sexagesimosecundo, quod sic  
 incipit: Propter Sion non tacebo, & propter Ierusalem non silebo, donec egre-  
 diatur quemadmodum splendor iustitia eius, et salus eius ut lampas fulgeat. In-  
 simulat propterea Steuchus sermonem Hebraicū, et dicit illum in hoc peccare,  
 quod tam sæpe utat̃ tautologia, frequentiusq; eadem inculcet abiq; ulla necessi-

Heb. obseru-  
non dicem

Steuchi

ate: & propterea interpres noster prudenter egerit, ut quæ semel inculcata fue-  
ant, illa non repetiuerit, ut Hebraismus facit. Potissimū autem Genesis xxxv.  
mira uerborū copia & repetitio, quam interpres noster paucissimis absoluit  
uerbis. Nos tamen, qui uersionem nostram e regione Hebraismi posuimus, no-  
luimus ab Hebraismo recedere, etiamsi Steuchus centies de nobis dicturus sit,  
quod de Sante scripsit, quod ille cōspurcarit uniuersam ueteris testamēti scriptu-  
ram, fœdissima illam barbarie & barbara refertiens fœditate. Coëgit autē nos  
interdum Hebraismus ipse, ut quo fidelius scripturam redderemus, compositio-  
nem latinā faceremus, latinis auribus inconsuetam, ut est, herbificare, pro her-  
bam producere: reptificare, pro reptile multiplicare, & similia. Abstinuimus  
tamen ab ijs, quæ citra apertam cacophoniam latinis auribus obtrudi nō possunt,  
ut est אוריסא aurisauit, זרמס uermisauit, Exodi decimosexto, & similia. Proinde  
quomodo Hebraismus futura usurpet pro præteritis aut præsentibus, & parti-  
cipia atq; infinitiuos pro futuro, neutra pro passiuis, atq; actiua pro neutris, nō  
est ut hic explicem, cum in grāmaticis Hebraicis hæc doceātur. Quos uero po-  
tissimum sequuti fuerimus in hac nostra æditione, suprà in epistola præliminari  
obiter indicauimus, nēpe quod solos Hebræos cōsuluerimus scriptores, post-  
quam nobis in animo fuit, talem parare æditionem, quæ per omnia Hebraismo  
esset conformis. Contulimus tamen obiter Santis in pentateucho duntaxat ædi-  
tionem, Lutheri recognitionē, Steuchi annotationes iuxta hebraicā ueritatem,  
& Occolampadij particulares uersiones, & quid in quolibet desideretur, facile  
aduertimus. Santes opus habet maiore luce, præsertim cum æditionē suā abs-  
que annotationibus emiserit. Sunt in eo plurimi omissi uersus, sicut & in Luthe-  
ri recognitione: quod nō ob aliam causam hic refero, quàm quod cupiā quosdā  
typographos esse diligentiores, præsertim in libris sacris. Fortasse non deerūt,  
qui etiam in nostra æditione inuenient, quod ipsi uidere non potuimus, etiamsi  
nihil eorum omiserimus, quæ ad summam requiri possunt & debent diligen-  
tiam. Et si quis carpere uoluerit, is prius cōsulat Chal. æditionem & Rabinos,  
quos suprà citauimus, & si deprehenderit me secus uertisse quàm ipsi interpre-  
tati sunt, incessat pro uoto, modò Christiano id faciat animo. Clamitet me teme-  
rarium, audaculum et arrogantem, si talem inuenerit. Facimus autem sæpiuscu-  
le Chal. æditionis mentionē, quod illa sit ueluti asylum Hebræis, ad quam con-  
fugiant, quando aliquid obscurum & senticosum occurrit. Nam illa luculenter  
explicat, quod in diuinis libris minus clarum positum inuenitur, ut sæpe in no-  
stris monstrabimus annotationibus.

De canonicis libris veteris testamenti, & eorum ordine.



**C**anonica scriptura est, quæ citra controuersiam afflatu sancti spiritus prodita est, irrefutabilis existens auctoritatis, et de cuius fide ne-  
phas est dubitare. Atq; hæc diuidit in uetus testamētū et nouū. Ve-  
tus Heb. uocāt à numero librorū עשרים וארבע id est, xxiiij. Et hos  
xxiiij. libros secernunt in quatuor ordines, uidelicet in תורה legem, נביאים  
prophetas priores, נביאים אחרים prophetas posteriores, et כתובים  
scripta siue hagiographa, qđ ueluti de sanctis rebus à sanctis uiris prodita sint.

**Lex,**

Lex, quæ & חוקים id est, quinarij à numero librorum uocatur, sicut & à Græcis eadem ratione *πεντάτευχος* appellatur, complectitur Genesim, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numeros & Deuteronomium. Inter prophetas priores continentur Iehosua, quem nostri Iosue uocant, Liber Iudicum, Samuel, qui primus & secundus est Regum: Melachim, qui tertius & quartus est Regum. Per prophetas posteriores intelligunt prophetas maiores & minores. Maiores hi numerant: Iesaias, Iirmeia, Ichezekel. Minores, qui à numero עשר id est, duo decim, uocantur, hi sunt: Hosca, Ioel, Amos, Obadia, Iona, Micha, Nahum, Habacuk, Zephania, Haggi, Zecharia, Malachi. Hagiographa complectunt sequentes undecim libros: Primus est Paralipomenon, id est, prætermissorum, qui ab Hebræis דברי הימים id est, uerba dierum dicitur. Et hunc Latini in duos distinxerunt libros, qui apud Hebræos est unus. Secundus est חלים id est, hymnorum seu psalmorum. Tertius משה Prouerbia. Quartus, Iob. Quintus, Ruth. Sextus, חלים Ecclesiastes. Septimus, איכה Threni. Octauus, שיר Canticum canticorum. Nonus, Ester. Decimus, Daniel. Undecimus, Ezra. Intra hunc numerum cõcluserunt et Hebræi & prisci Christiani uolumina ueteris testamēti, & nēphas erat de eorum fide dubitare. Nunc uero receptus est in usum ecclesiasticum, Sapientiæ liber, quem quidam suspicantur esse Philonis Iudæi: & alius qui dicitur Ecclesiasticus, quem putant esse Iesu filij Sirach. Receptus est & liber Tobia, Iehudith & Machabæorum libri duo. Receptæ sunt & duæ historiæ, quæ Danieli annexæ sunt, una de Susanna, & altera de Belo et draconē. Accesserunt & duo alij libri ad librum Ezræ, tertius scilicet & quartus. Et hos omnes Hebræi ignorāt, licet de Machabæis, quos ipsi חשמונאי uocant, non nihil in historijs habeant, sicut superioribus annis ædito libello ex loco sippo ostendi. Tenebimus itaq; in hac æditione hunc librorum ordinem, ut imitatione Hebræorum primo loco ponamus pentateuchum: & huic mox subiiciamus prophetas priores: & post istos, prophetas posteriores, atq; ultimo loco hagiographa: etiamsi non ignoremus, librum Ruth historiæ ordine tenere locum ante librum Samuelis, et Paralipomenon post librum Regum.

Quo studio sint legendi libri ueteris testamenti.



Verunt hæctenus multi insignes uiri, qui de usu ueteris testamenti præclarissima scripserunt, illorum retundentes ora, qui dicunt libros illos solum Iudæis scriptos, et nihil præter historias quasdam ueterum continere, atq; nihil in eis præter allegorias querendū. Hi toto errant cœlo: cum Christus et apostoli toties monuerint reuoluendos libros Mosaicos et prophetarum. De me enim, dicit Christus Ioannis quinto, Moses scripsit. Et Paulus ad Romanos primo, docet euangelium in scripturis à deo promissum. Non igitur est contemnenda lectio ueteris testamenti, sed summo studio prosequenda, unde apostoli, imò et Christus ipse testimonia doctrinæ suæ adduxerunt, illiusq; auctoritate euangelium ipsum confirmauerunt. Quid enim est aliud euangelium, quàm aperta quædam prædicatio sententiarum et promissionum ueteris testamenti, quæ per Christum sunt completæ? Sic enim et Iudei doctiores sentiunt, prophetas potissimum loquutos ad tempora Messchiæ.

Magni igitur æstimandi sunt libri ueteris testamenti, quod sint ceu fundamen-  
 tum quoddam, quo nouum nititur testamentum, unde certa argumenta noui testa-  
 menti peti possint. Siquidem nihil traditum est in nouo testamento, quod non antea  
 Mosaiscæ legis typis fuerit adumbratum, ac prophetarum oraculis prædictum, qui  
 eiusdem etiam euidenter expressis. quod genus sunt ista, non esse plures deos:  
 ab uno conditum hunc mundum: gentes passim uocandas per uerbum domini:  
 Isaia secundo: Deos gentium abolendos: Christum per miraculum ex uirgine na-  
 sciturum: pro carnis circumcisione cordis requirendam munditiam: Christum  
 omnium nostrum ablaturum peccata: fide hominem iustificandum &c. Fuerunt  
 rursum alia tam obscure adumbrata, ut nisi à Christo, uel à uiris sanctis reuerata  
 fuissent, nemo intellexisset. Quis enim intellecturus erat serpentem æneum in  
 stipite suspensum, præfigurasse Christum crucifixum, nisi dominus ipse digna-  
 tus fuisset exponere? Quis porro suspicaturus erat Ionam deuoratum à ceto, ac  
 tertio die uiuum redditum, adumbrasse Christi sepulturam ac resurrectionem?  
 Sed & quis non uidet, quam obscure in ueteri testamento mysterium trinitatis  
 fuerit insinuatum, ut à nemine, nisi qui spiritu dei plenus fuit, cognosci potue-  
 rit? Ecce mysterijs illis & gratijs plenum est uetus testamentum, quantumuis à no-  
 bis in eo multa simplicia & stulta esse uideantur, quæ tamen sunt diuinæ maie-  
 statis, potentiæ et sapientiæ uerba, opera, iudicia et facta. Hæ sunt literæ, quæ  
 ex sapientibus & prudentibus stultos faciunt, & quas non nisi paruuli & stulti  
 assequuntur. In his cum uersaris, non tuum iudicium aut rationem sequearis, sed quid  
 spiritus uelit aduerte, & puta te tractare res preciosissimas, ingressumque in pos-  
 sessionem amplissimi cuiusdam thesauri. Qui enim me inuenerint, dicit sapientia di-  
 uina, inuenient uitam, & haurient salutem à domino. Et propheta ait: Haurietis  
 aquas in gaudio, de fontibus salutis. Isa. xij. Huius thesauri precium nemo satis  
 æstimare ualet, unde sapientia hauritur diuina. Voluit autem deus simpliciter no-  
 bis suam sapientiam in his proponere libris, ut superbiâ & arrogantiam nostram  
 penitus retunderet, & doceret in simplicitate cordis illam quærendam. Porro  
 scopus ueteris testamenti est, ut proponat leges, peccata ostendat et arguat, exi-  
 gatque à nobis bona opera: legibus adiiciens quasdam magnificas promissiones  
 & sententias de Christo, quibus seruati sunt sancti patres, qui sub lege ante re-  
 uelatum Christum uixerunt: sicut è diuerso nouum testamentum hoc præcipue agit,  
 ut gratiam & pacem per remissionem peccatorum in Christo nobis annunciet.  
 Verum hæc copiosius apud alios inuenies, à quibus ista mutuauimus. In histo-  
 rijs uero simplicibus, quæ semper maioris sunt faciendæ allegorijs, docetur semper  
 per seruatas minas dei atque promissiones, unde non tam fides quam timor dei  
 aliter in cordibus. Exempla præterea sunt, quod nullus uel potentia, uel sapientia uel  
 opibus uel gloria abuti debet ad suam libidinem, si non uelit submer-  
 gi cum Pharaone, aut concubari cum rege Babylonis, aut in  
 cineres redigi cum Sanherib, aut ad infanti-  
 uenire cum Salomone, &c.



Scendens aut Boaz ad portam se-  
dit ibi: & ecce pertransiit propin-  
quus ille, de quo dixerat Boaz, &  
ait: Accede, & sede hic tu talis  
talit, qui diuertens sedit. Et accipiens decem  
uiros de seniorib, ciuitatis, dixit: Sedere hic:  
& sederunt. Dixitq; ad propinquum: Prædiū  
agri quod habuit frater noster Elimælech,  
uendidit Naomi, quæ redijt de regione Mo-  
ab. Et ego dixi: Reuelabo aurem tuā, dicēs:  
Acquire in præsentia habitatorū atq; in præ-  
sentia seniorum populū mei, si redimere uo-  
lueris redime: & si nemo redimere uoluerit  
indica mihi ut sciam, non enim est præter te  
qui redimat: ego autē sum post te: & respon-  
dit ille: ego redimam. Dixit Boaz: in die qua  
posideris agrum de manu Naomi, de Ruth  
quoque Moabitide uxore defuncti posside-  
bis, (illa autē rennuet nisi) fuscites nomen de-  
functi in hereditate sua. Respondit propin-  
quus: Non possum redimere pro me, ne for-  
te perdā hereditatem meā: redime tu ius pro-  
pinqutatis meæ, ego enim nō possum redi-  
mere. Hæc autē (cōsuetudo) olim erat in Israël  
in cōmutatōe propinqutatis, cū roborare  
quis uellet negotiū, extraheret calciamentū  
suum, & dabat proximo suo, eratq; hoc fir-  
mum testimoniū in Israël. Dixit igitur pro-  
pinquus ad Boaz: Posside tu: extraxitq; cal-  
ciamentū suum. Et ait Boaz ad seniores et ad  
cunctū populū: testes uos estis hodie, quod  
possederim omnia quæ fuerunt Elimælech,  
& omnia quæ fuerūt Chilion & Mahlon (fi-  
liorū eius) de manu Naomi. Sed et Ruth Mo-  
abitidem uxorem Mahlon acquisiui mihi in  
uxorem, ut fuscitem nomen defuncti in hæ-  
reditate sua, & nō exterminet nomen defun-  
cti de fratribus eius, & de porta loci eius: tes-  
tes in quā uos estis hodie. Et dixerūt omnes  
qui ex populo erant in porta unā cum senio-  
ribus: testes (sumus): ponat dominus hæc mu-  
lierem, quæ ingreditur in domū tuam, sicut  
Rahel & sicut Leam, quæ dux ædificauerunt  
domū Israël: & tu age strennue in Ephraim,  
& sis magni nominis in Bethlehē. Fiat do-  
mus tua sicut domus Pharez, quem peperit  
Thamar ipsi Iehudæ, de semine quod dede-  
rit tibi dominus ex hac puella. Accepit itaq;  
Boaz Ruth, & facta est uxor eius: & cū in-  
gressus esset ad eam, dedit ei dominus conce-  
ptum, peperitq; filiū. Et dixerūt mulieres ad  
Naomi: Benedictus dominus, qui nō sustu-

lit à re hodie propinquum, ut uocaretur no-  
men eius in Israël. Qui factus est tibi in red-  
torem animæ, & qui sustentat senectutem  
tuā: quoniam nurus tua quæ te dilexit, genuit  
ei, & hæc ipsa melior est tibi q̃ septem filiis. Ac-  
cipiens aut Naomi filiū, posuit eum in sinum  
suū, fuitq; nutritrix eius. Et imponebant ei uiel  
næ (mulieres) nomen, dicēs: Natus est Na-  
omii filius, uocaueruntq; nomen eius Obed:  
ipse est pater Iisai patris Dauid. Sunt aut istæ  
generationes Pharez: Pharez genuit Hez-  
ron. Hezron autē genuit Ram, & Ram ge-  
nuit Amminadab. Amminadab uero ge-  
nuit Nahshon, & Nahshon genuit Salma. Sal-  
ma genuit Boaz, & Boaz genuit Obed. Por-  
rō Obed genuit Iisai, & Iisai genuit Dauid.

LIBRI RUTH FINIS.

והנה לך למשיב נפש ולכלכל אר-  
ציתך כי בלתי אשר אהבה ולברתי  
אשר היא טובה לך משיבה בנים  
והקח נעמי את הולד והשתחה בהקח  
והחילו לאמנת: והקראנה לו השכנות  
שם לאמר ולד בן לנעמי והקראנה שמו  
עובר הוא אבי ישי וישי אבי בור  
ואלח הולדה פרץ הולד את הערן  
והערן הולד את רם ורם הולד את  
עמיננדב: ועמיננדב הולד את נחשון  
ונחשון הולד את שלמה: ושלמה  
הולד את בועי ובעי הולד את עובר  
ועובר הולד את ישי וישי הולד את דוד

lit à re hodie propinquum, ut uocaretur no-  
men eius in Israël. Qui factus est tibi in red-  
torem animæ, & qui sustentat senectutem  
tuā: quoniam nurus tua quæ te dilexit, genuit  
ei, & hæc ipsa melior est tibi q̃ septem filiis. Ac-  
cipiens aut Naomi filiū, posuit eum in sinum  
suū, fuitq; nutritrix eius. Et imponebant ei uiel  
næ (mulieres) nomen, dicēs: Natus est Na-  
omii filius, uocaueruntq; nomen eius Obed:  
ipse est pater Iisai patris Dauid. Sunt aut istæ  
generationes Pharez: Pharez genuit Hez-  
ron. Hezron autē genuit Ram, & Ram ge-  
nuit Amminadab. Amminadab uero ge-  
nuit Nahshon, & Nahshon genuit Salma. Sal-  
ma genuit Boaz, & Boaz genuit Obed. Por-  
rō Obed genuit Iisai, & Iisai genuit Dauid.



THRENI IIRMEIAE  
PROPHETAE.



VO MODO sedet ci-  
uitas solitaria, & quæ abū  
dabat populo facta est q̃  
si uidua: quæ magna fuit  
inter gentes, & principa-  
tū habuit in puincijs, facta  
est sub tributo. Plorā-  
do plorabit in nocte, & lacryma eius in ma-  
xillis eius: nec est ei cōsolator, ex omnib, ama-  
toribus eius: sed omnes amici eius pruaris-  
cantur in eā, & facti sunt inimici eius. Exu-  
lauit Iehuda propter afflictionē & præ multi-  
tudine seruitutis: & ipsa sedens inter gentes  
non inuenit requiem, sed omnes persecuto-  
res eius apprehenderūt eam quasi inter ma-  
cerias. Vix Zion lugent, cō quod nulli ue-  
niant ad solennitatē: omnes portæ eius sun-  
t desolatæ: sacerdotes eius ingemiscunt, & ui-  
gines eius sunt afflictæ, quia ipsa est in amari-  
tudine. Facti sunt hostes eius in capite, & in-  
mici eius prospere egerūt, quia dominus a-  
fflictionem intulit propter multitudinem in-  
quitarum eius: paruuli eius abierunt in cap-  
uitatem ante faciem hostis. Et egressa est a f-

אֵיבָה  
נִשְׁבָּה בְּרַח  
חָשׂוּ בְּרַח  
עַם הַנֶּחֱלָה  
בְּאֶמְנַת רַחֲמֵי שָׁרֵי שָׁרֵי בְּמִדְבָּר  
בֵּיתָ לֵמֶס:  
וְרַמְסֵה עַל-לֵחֶה אֵין לָהּ מְנַחֵם מְבִלָּה  
אֶהְיֶה בְּלִרְשִׁים בְּרַח בַּח חַיִּי לֵחַ לְאֶהְיֶה  
עֲלֵה וְהִירָה מַעֲשֵׂי וּמַדָּב עֲבָרָה  
הִיא נִשְׁבָּה בְּרַח לֵא מִצְרָה  
מִיָּתִים בְּלִרְשִׁים וְרַחֲמֵי שָׁרֵי  
בֵּין הַמִּצְרִים: בְּרַחֲמֵי  
אֵין אֶחָיִל  
מְבִלָּה  
בְּאֵי מִדְבָּר  
בְּלִי שְׂעִירִים שׁוֹמְרִין  
בְּהֵמָה נֶאֱמָרִים בְּהִלְכֵּם נִגְזָרִים  
וְהִיא בְּרַח:  
הִיא צִירִים לְרֹאשׁ  
אֶהְיֶה שְׁלֹו בִּי הִנֵּה הִנֵּה עַל-רֹב מִשְׁעִית  
שִׁלְכִים תִּקְרָה שְׁמִי לְמַעַר: וְנִצָּא מִן-בֵּית



ignis, flamma deuorauit per circuitū. Teten-  
dit arcū suum sicut inimicus, cōstituta est de-  
xtera eius quasi hostis, & occidit omnia quæ  
cōcupiscibilia sunt ab oculo, in tabernaculo  
siliæ Zion effudit quasi ignem furorem suū.  
Factus est dominus quasi inimicus, & deuor-  
auit Iherusalem, absumpsit omnia palatia eius  
& dissipauit munitiones eius, atq; multiplic-  
auit in filia Iehuda<sup>1</sup> luctū & lamentū. Et dissi-  
pauit sicut (tuguriū) horti tuguriū suū, & per-  
didit<sup>1</sup> testimoniu suum: tradiditq; obliuioni  
dominus in Zion solennitatē & sabbatū, &  
exceratus est in furore iræ suæ regem & sacer-  
dotes. Dereliquit dominus altare suū, ex-  
ceratus est sanctuariū suum, & tradidit in ma-  
num hostis muros palatiōrū eius: dederūtq;  
uocem in domo domini sicut in die solennit-  
atis. Cogitauit dominus dissipare murū siliæ  
Zion, extendit funiculū, & non reduxit ma-  
num suā à dissipatione: ob id luxit antemura  
le & murus, parietesq; subuersi sunt. Demer-  
se sunt in terā portæ eius, perdidit & cōfre-  
git uerēs eius: rex eius & principes eius (mi-  
grauerunt) ad gentes, &<sup>1</sup> sunt absq; lege, sed  
& prophetæ eius non inueniunt uisionem à  
domino. Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt se-  
nes siliæ Zion: impofuerūt puluerem super  
caput suū, & accincti sunt faccis: depofuerūt  
in terrā caput suū uirgines Iherusalem. Defe-  
cerunt ob lachrymas oculi mei, conturbata  
sunt uiscera mea, effusum est in terram secur  
meū propter contritionē siliæ populi mei, dū  
defeceret paruulus & sugens in plateis ciuita-  
tis. Matribus suis dixerunt, ubi est frumentū  
& uinum: eū fecit deficere sicut uulnera  
eorū in plateis ciuitatis, & eū effunderet anima  
eorū in sinū matris suauis. <sup>1</sup> Quale testimoniu  
feram tibi, & cui assimilabo te filia Iherusalem:  
quem proponā tibi ut cōsoler te o uirgo si-  
lia Zion: magna enim est uelut mare contri-  
tio tua: & quis finalit te? Prophetæ tui uide-  
runt tibi uanum & insulsum, nec reuelau-  
runt (uisionem) pro iniquitatibus tuis, ut re-  
ducerent captiuitatem tuam: sed uiderunt ti-  
bi prophetiæ uanas &<sup>1</sup> abiectiones. Cōplo  
serūt super te manus omnes prætereūtes uisā,  
sibilauerūt & mouerūt caput suū super filia  
Iherusalem (dicētes): Nūquid hæc est ciuitas, de  
qua dixerunt: ceterona pulchritudinis est, &  
gaudiū uniuerse terræ: Aperuerunt super te  
os suum omnes inimici tui, sibilauerunt &  
siemuerunt dentib. dicētes: Deuorauimus:

**איכות**

באט לתבה אכלה כרים : צור קשה  
 בארוב נצח ימיו צור נהרג כל מהמדי-  
 עין באהל בה ציון שפר באט במה :  
 הית ארני בארוב בלע  
 וטראל בלע כל ארמונות שמה מקצני  
 נרם בבה יהודה המנה בצמח :  
 ונהמס בנו שמו שהר  
 משרו שבה יהנה בציון משר ושברו  
 נלאצ בעם אפר בלה נבחו :  
 ונת ארני מוקחו נאר מ  
 מקדשו הסגור כר ארוב הומרו /  
 ארמונות קול נהנו בבית יהנה כיום מ  
 משר : משב יהור  
 לתשהית הומה בה ציון נטה קול / ה  
 השיב נר מבלע נאכל כל והומה יהור  
 אהל : טבעו בארץ שערית אבר  
 ושר בריחם מלח ושנים בארם צין ה  
 הונה גם נביאית לא מצאו פון ביהנה :  
 נשמה לארץ ירמו וקני מה  
 ציון העלו עפר על ראשם הגור שקום  
 הורירו לארץ ראשן בהנה נרושלם :  
 בלו ברמורד עני  
 המרמור משי נשפה לארץ כברי על ש  
 שבר בה עני בעטה עילל וירצקרהבות  
 קרנ : לאמנם ואמה  
 אה נמו ונוו בההעספם כהלל ברהבות ע  
 ער בהשפד נפשמ אל חיק אלהים :  
 מה אעידה מה אכמרה  
 אלה בבת ירושלם מה אשנה לה נאמה  
 ביהלה בה ציון כי צול בנ שברה מי  
 נרם אלה :  
 נביאה נור לה שר נהל ולא גל עלי  
 ענה לנשים שבתה נהיה לה משיאה  
 שר וברותים :  
 ספדי עלה ברים בל עשרי רה  
 שרדי ננעה ראש על ברו ירושלם  
 הוא העיר שיהנה בלילת ימי  
 משיט לכל תאר :  
 פני עליה  
 פיהם  
 כל איבה  
 שרדי נהקדשין אומר בלעה

**אֵיבָה**

אלה הם שְׁקִירֵיהָ מִצִּיּוֹן מִצִּיּוֹן  
 עֲשֵׂה יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר נָמַס בְּעַם אֲמֹרֵהוּ אֲשֶׁר־  
 צִוָּה מִיּוֹמֵי קֶדֶם הָרַס וְלֹא הִסְגִּיל בְּיִשְׁמֵחַ  
 עֲלֵיהָ אוֹיֵב הָרִים קָרוֹ צִוָּה : צֶעַק לָבֶס  
 אֶל־צִוָּה הַיּוֹבֵה בַת־צִיּוֹן הוֹרִירוּ בְּחֹלָד  
 הַמַּעֲרָה וַיִּמָּס וַיִּלָּחֶם אֶל־תְּהֵינָה מַעֲרָזָה לָהּ  
 אֶל־הָרֹם בַּת עֵינָה : קִדְּמִי וְיִי בְּלִילָה  
 לְרֹאשׁ אֲשִׁמְרוֹת שְׂפָתַי בְּמִוֹם לָמָּה נִבְחַ  
 כִּי אֲרִינָה שֶׁאֵין אֵלָיו בְּפִינִי עַל־נֶפֶשׁ עוֹלָלָהּ  
 הַמַּעֲרָה בְּרַעַם בְּרֹאשׁ כָּל־הָעִיר :  
 וְיֵהָא יְהוָה וְהַיְשָׁה לָמוֹ עוֹלָלָהּ בַּת־אִם־  
 הַבְּלִיָּדָה נָשִׁים מַרְגִּים עוֹלָלִי טַפָּהִים אִם־  
 יִתְּרָה הַקִּיָּקֵשׁ אֲרִינָה בְּתוֹן וְהִבִּיא :  
 שְׂכָמִי לְאֶרֶץ הָרָצוֹת צַעַר וְנֹקֶן כְּהִלָּה  
 וּבְחֹרֵרִי כְּפֹלֵה כְּתֹבֵה הַרְגָּה כִּיּוֹם אֲפָנָ ט  
 טַפָּהִים וְלֹא הִסְגִּיל : הַקְדֵּמִי בָּרוּם  
 מִיָּדִי מִגִּדְרֵי מַכְרֵב וְלֹא הֵיחַ כִּיּוֹם אֶת־  
 יְהוָה פִּלְטִי וְשִׁוְרוֹ אֲשֶׁר־טַפָּהֵי וְהִבִּיא  
 אֲרִינָה בָּלֵס :

[illegible][illegible]

utiq; sic est dies quē expectauimus, inueni-  
mus & uidimus. Iecit dominus sicut cogita-  
uit, cōpleuit sermonem suū quē praeceperat  
a diebus antiquis, subuertit, & nō pepercit:  
laxauit uicū super re hostem, & exaltauit cor  
nō inimicorū tuorum. Clam. uit cor eorū ad  
dominū: murus siliæ Zion de Juc quasi tor-  
sionē lachrymā die ac nocte, nō desinermis-  
sionē tibi, neq; quiescat pupilla oculi tui. Sur-  
ge uociferare in nocte, in principio uigilia-  
rum, effunde quasi aqua cor tuū coram facie  
domini: leua ad eū manus tuas propter ani-  
mas paruulorū tuorum, qui sane exanimati  
sunt in capite omnīū platearū. Vide domine  
& aspice cui scieceris: nunquid deuorabūt  
mulieres fructū suū, paruulos infantiles: nū  
occidet in sanctuāio dñi sacerdos & prophē-  
ta: lacuerunt humi in plateis puer & senex,  
uirgines mex, & adolēcentes mei ceciderūt  
in gladiū, quos occidisti in die ira tua, macta  
suer nō pepercisti. Vocasti quasi ad diē solen-  
tē terrores meos undiq; & nō fuit in die su-  
eris dñi q̄ euaderet aut relidū maneret: q̄s  
erit alui & cuxei, hos hostis meus cōsumpsit.

**D** Go<sup>3</sup> uir ille qui uidit afflictionē,  
in uirga furoris eius. Deduxit me  
& adduxit in tenebras & non in  
lucem. Et utiq; contra me conuer  
tetur, & uertet manū suā (contra me) tota  
die. Veneratq; fecit eas nem meā & pellem  
meā, cōtūit ossa meā. Aedificauit cōtra me,  
& circūdedit felle & labore. In tenebris collo  
cauit me, sicut mortuū a seculo. Sepe cūcū  
dedit me, ut non egrediar & aggrauauit uin  
cula mea. Sed & cū clamauiro et uociferarus  
fui, ocludit aures & adorationē meā. Se  
pius uias meas lapidibus fecisti, & semitas  
meas interieceris. Factus es mihi ursus in sinu







uitates regni Iebuda. m. Iecerunt lapides. Sunt qui hanc sequuntia uerba intelligunt de propheta diffusi: alij uero in telligenda putant de Iuda in captiuitate multas iniurias sustinentibus. n. Corolusunatam. Hebraeus proprie habet: elyptam cordis, hoc est, uelamentum exacerant.

III



Vomodo <sup>a</sup>obscuratum est aurum, mutata est (auri) massa bona, & uersi sunt lapides sanctuarij in capita omnium placentiarum Filij Zion nobiles, & adornati auro obruto, quomodo reputati sunt ueluti uasa testacea, & opus manuum figularum. Etiam dracones <sup>b</sup>extraxerunt mammam, & lactauerunt catulos suos, filia autem populi mei (similis est) crudeli & struthionibus in deserto. Nam adhaesit lingua fugientis ad palatum eius prae siti: paruuli perierunt panem, & non erat qui eis diuideret. Qui comederunt delicatissima de uas: statim sunt in plateis; & qui fuerunt educati in coccineo (uel limbo), amplexati sunt stercore. Et maior fuit iniquitas filiae populi mei, quam peccatum Sedomae, quae subuersa est quasi in momento, & non adhibuit sunt ei manus. Candidiores fuerunt Nazarzi eius niue, nituerunt prae lacte, rubuerunt ossa (eorum) supra gemmas, (& quasi) sectio eorum esset ex saphiro. Caligauit supra nigredinem forma fororum, & non sunt agniti in plateis: adhuc est cutis eorum ossi eorum, exaruit & facta est quasi lignum. Meliores (exlimari) fuerunt qui gladio corruerunt, quam qui fame interierunt: quia illi <sup>c</sup>perfusi sunt (sanguine) per fossi ob (defectum) fructuum campi. Manus mulierum misericordium coxerunt infantulos suos, fueruntque in refectionem eorum in contritione filiae populi mei. Compleuit dominus furorē suum, effudit iram indignationis suae, & incendit ignē in Zion, qui deuorauit fundamenta eius. Non crediderunt reges terrae & omnes habitatores orbis, quod ingrederetur aduersarius & hostis per portas Ierusalem. Propter peccata prophetarum eius, & ob iniquitates sacerdotum eius, qui effuderunt in medio eius sanguinem iustorum. Non sunt caeci in plateis, polluti sunt a sanguine, nec potuerunt ut contingerent uestes eorum. Discedite polluti clamauerunt ad eos, discedite discedite, & nolite tangere, quoniam uoluerunt & amoti sunt: dixerunt in gentibus, non addent ut inhabitent. Ira domini diuisit eos, & non adiecit ut aspiceret eos: facies sacerdotum non sunt uenerati, nec miseri sunt senium. Cum adhuc essemus (in dominio nostro) defecerunt oculi nostri <sup>a</sup>ad

ידיהם וזה ישנא הקהר הטוב  
השפכנו אבני קרש בראש  
כל היצור: בני ציון היקרים ה  
המקלאים כפן איכה נקשרו לנקלי קרש  
מעשה ירי יוצר:  
גם תינו תלצי שר היקיר ארית  
בה עמי לאכור בוענים במורכר:  
דבק לשון יונק אל הבו  
בנמא עוללים שאלו להם קרש ציון להם  
האקלים לבוענים נשמו בהר צור:  
האמנים עלי הולע הקסא אשמהיה:  
ניגל עון בה עמי מחטאת סרם  
ההפוכה כמו רצע ולא תלה בה ימים:  
ובי נורית משלג צהר מהלב  
ארמו עצם במוננים ספיר וזרחם:  
תשר משחור הארם לא  
נקרו בחי צור צפר עורבם על עצמם י  
יבש היר בעץ: טובים  
תוי חללי הרב מתללי רעב שהם יורב מ  
מקרים מהנובה שרי:  
ידי נשים רחמניות בשלל גליתו  
תוי לברה למר בשקר בה עמי:  
כלת יהנה את המרו ש  
שמה פרו אפי נוצה אש בציון והכל  
יכרתה:  
מלכי ארץ וכל יסבי הכל כי נכלא צור  
ואינה בשערי ירושלם:  
מהטאה נבואית עונות בהנית  
השכנים בקרבה במ צדקים:  
נעו עורבים בהר צור:  
נצאלו בצם בלא יוכלו יגוע כלבשיהם:  
סור סמא קראו למר סור  
סור אל הצעו כי נעו  
גם נעו  
אמרו בגוים לא  
יוסיפה לגור: פני יהנה  
הלקם לא יוסית להביטם פני ב  
בהנים לא נשאו וקנים לא תנו:  
עורית הכל צור ענינו אל עורבתו הכל

בצפונה צפונה אל צור לא יושיע:  
צור צערינו מלכת ברהמנה  
צרב קצנו מלא נבונה מר בא קצנו:  
קלים היו ורמינו מנשרי שמים  
על הקרים הלכנו במורכר ארבה לנו:  
רוח צפונה משיח יהור נלכו  
בשהותם אשר צמרנו בשלל נהור ב  
בגוים: שישו וטמיה בת צורם  
ישקה בארץ עיז גם עליו העבר  
בוס השקרי וההשרי: הם ע  
עורב בה ציון לא יוסית  
להגלותה פסר עונה  
בת צורם גלה  
על הטאה:  
זכר יהנה מה הנה לנו בשיט ורצח מה  
הרפנה: צלהנו הקפה לורים בתינה  
לנכרים: והמים הינה ואין אב אבותינו  
באלמנות: מבימנו בקבת שהינו עצנו  
בקהור נכלא: על צנאנו נרפנה  
יגענו לא תנה לנו: מצרים נהנה  
יר אשור לשבע להם: אבותינו הטאה  
ואינם נאננה עונותיהם ככלנו:  
עברים משלל בני פרק ציון מרים:  
בנפשו נביא להמנו מפני הרב המורכר:  
עורנו כהנור נבמר מ  
מפני נלפנות רעב: נשים בציון  
ענה כהלה בערי יהודה: שרים כנעם  
נהלו פני וקנים לא נהרה:  
בהורים טהור נשאו וצפרים בעץ בשלל:  
וקנים משער שבהו בהורים מנאננהם:  
שבה מושלל לבנה נהנה לאכל  
מהלנו: נכלה עטרת ראשינו  
אורנא לנו כי הטאה:  
על זה היה ברור ל  
לבנו על אלה  
השכר שנינו:  
על הר  
ציון ששמים  
שועלים הלבנו: אפה יהנה  
לעולם השם כבדו לרור רור: למר  
לנח השכנה בעובדי לארץ נמים:  
השיבונו יהנה אלה נשוכה תרש

<sup>a</sup> ad auxilium nostrum ueniam: & cum cir- cumspiceremus, speculauimus ad gentē quae saluare non poterat. Insidiatī sunt gressibus nostris, ne ambularemus in plateis nostris: accessit finis noster, impleti sunt dies nostri quoniam uenit finis noster. Leuiorē fuerūt persecutores nostri aquilis caeli: in mōtibz ipsis persecuti sunt nos, & in solitudine posuerunt insidias nobis. Spiritus narium nostrorum Christus domini captus est in reibz, eorum: de quo diximus, in umbra eius uiuimus inter gentes. <sup>b</sup> Gaude & lxtare filia Aedom, quae habitas in terra Vz: etiam per te transibit calix, inebriaberis & denudaberis. Completa est iniquitas tua o filia Zion, non adhaeret ut te transimigret: uisitauit iniquitatem tuam filia Aedom, & discooperuit peccata tua. <sup>c</sup> RECORDARE domine quid acciderit nobis, aspice & uide opprobrium nostrū. Haereditas nostra uersa est ad extraneos, & domus nostrae ad alienigenas. Pupilli facti sumus absqz patre, & matres nostrae sunt quasi uiduae. Aquas nostras pro pecunia bibimus, & ligna nostra pro precio ueniunt. In ceruice nostra persecutionem passī sumus, lassati sumus, & non est nobis facta requies. Aegypto dedimus manū & Assur ut saturaremur panibz. Patres nostri qui peccauerunt nō sunt, & nos iniquitates eorum sustinemus. Serui dominati sunt nostri, & non est qui eorum de manu eorum. In periculo animae nostrae asserimus panem nostrū, propter gladium deserti. Pelles nostrae quasi clibanus denigratae sunt propter horrorem famis. Mulieres ipsas humiliauerūt in Ido, atque uirgines in ciuitatibus Iehuda. Principes per manum eorū suspensi sunt, & facies senum nō sunt honoratae. Adolescentes <sup>a</sup> ad molendum suffulerūt, & pueri in ligno corruerunt. Senes de porta defecerunt, & iuuenes de cantico suo. Celsauit gaudium cordis nostri, uersus est in luctū chorus noster. Cecidit corona capitis nostri: uix nunc nobis quia peccauimus. Propterea factum est mœsum cor nostrum, & ob ista cōtenebrati sunt oculi nostri. Super montem Zion, qui desolatus est, ambulauerunt uulpes. Tu autem domine in aeternum manebis, & solum tuum (du rabit) in generationem & generationē. Quare in perpetuum obliuisceris nostri, declina quis nos in longiudinem dierum. Conuertere nos domine ad te & conuertemur, in noua

Oratio Iirmiae.

dies nostros sicut ab antiquo. Sed repudiando repudiasti nos, iratus es contra nos uelut menter.

a Obscuratum est aurum.] Chaldeus interpretis ad litteram exponit de templo Ierosolymitano, auro et gemmis ornato, sed quod per Chaldeos fuit destructum et exustum. Exponit aurum Kimbi uocabulum **כִּמְבִּי** per **כִּמְבִּי** et per filios auro ornatos et compositos Hebraei communiter intelligunt filios Iosij. Nam ut ex Paralipomenon libro perit, Iosia specialis carmine deplorant interitum regis Iosij. b Extraxerunt mammam.] Dicitur draco extrahere mammam, quia habet **מָמָה** ibecam quandam, uel operimentum quo mamma includit. c Maior fuit iniquitas.] Ex **יִרְמְיָהוּ** ulior, inquit, licet aduerrere, peccatum Iehudeorum grauius fuisse peccato Sedomae. Huius ratio adest, du Chaldeus interpretis, quod uidelicet non habuissent prophetas in Sedomis, qui eos retraxerint ab impijs conatibus. Fuit preterea Sedomitarum supplicium leuius, quod non longi obsidione fuerint excarnificati, quandoquidem manus humane non fuerint adhibite, sed in momento fuerint per manus angelicas subuersi. d Candidiores fuerunt.] Sensus est: Nazareni habitus uerbis, qui prius bonae uoluntatis erant, candidi et rubicundi, iam in depopulatione uerbis uidentur exanguis, deformes et nigri, qui si eamini purgandi operam impendissent. Porro ubi nos **נָרְוָה** pro offe uertimus, Chaldeus interpretis uertit **אֶשְׁרָא** asperum. Et **כִּמְבִּי** Kimbi exponit pronitidis fragmentis, quae a supposito secantur. e Perfisi sunt sanguine.] Sensus est: qui sunt maritum, perinde est ac perforati essent et fluere sanguine, nisi quod lenta tace et diuina morte animam essent, cum percussio gladio simul ponant animam. Porro ubi **בְּרִיבְרִיבָה** idem est quod **בְּרִיבְרִיבָה** si cui uertimus. f Propheciarum eius.] Quando in malo meminit prophetarum, semper accipiendum est de malis prophetis, sicut hoc loco: ubi ponit casus destructionis Ierusalem. Fuit, inquit, Ierusalem tam amicus praesidij, ut impossibilis uideretur gentibus expugnatio eius, praesertim cum iam per orbem divulgatum esset, potentes reges ante illam periclitatos fuisse, id quod Saabribus regi Assur accidit. g Moti sunt caeci.] Hebraei ex his uerbis hunc eliciunt sensum: Caeci oberrantes in plateis polluti sunt in sanguine occisorum, ut dedignarentur accedentes contingere uelut illorum, sed dicent, discedite a nobis quoniam polluti estis sanguine, quo dicto, uoluerunt et amoti sunt ab eis. Chaldeus interpretis exponit uerbum **בְּרִיבְרִיבָה** abominati sunt, etc. b Ad auxilium nostrorum uertimus.] Ad Aegyptios scilicet auxilium humanum, dimittentes auxilium diuinum. i Spiritus marium nostrorum.] Chaldeus interpretis et alij Rabini hunc uersum intelligunt de Iosij rege pijsimo, sub quo Iudaei pacem et quietem habere sperabant, sed capius et occisus ab hostibus, frustra uis eius fuit. k Gaude et letare.] Scilicet ad horam, quoniam et **יִי** libes calicem fauoris domini. Ex hoc quoque loco colligunt Hebraei Romam Italiae per Aedom significari: sed quoniam apte id faciunt, ipsi uiderunt. Prophecia meminit hic illius Aedom, quae situm habet in terra Vz. Veritatem Chaldeus interpretis hunc locum in hac uerba: Non edijcet dominus ut iterum te in captiuitatem abducat: et in ipso tempore uisitabo iniquitates tuas o impia Roma, quae extrusta es in Italia, plenas collectionibus Aedomorum, uenientibus Persae et coangustabunt te atque deuorabunt te, etc. Et cum propheta hic aperte loquatur de prima Ierosolymitana destructione, ipsi intelligendum docent de secunda, sub Tito facta, propter id quod additur: Non edijcet ut te transmigret: ne scilicet non sint filii Zion, sicut uere non sunt, cum iam uniuersum sint abiecti a domino, ut est dictum haec. Porro per completam iniquitatem, etiam Iehudaei intelligunt tempus Meschie, quando perficte abolerentur iniquitates filie Zion prophetae uelut iustitiae. l In ceruice nostra.] Hoc est, durum capiti uelut et scruiutis iugum impossibile est nobis. Et quod sequitur, Aegypto dedimus manum: sensus est, hostibus nostris supplices facti sumus, ut saluaretur populus, quoniam ex agris nostris non licuit sine mortis discrimine offerre ea quibus ueniret expleremus. m Ad molendinum.] Scribitur **כִּיבְרִיבְרִיבָה** pro **כִּיבְרִיבְרִיבָה** et est sensus, quod fortiores uentum dat sunt in molas, ut illas agerent: Vel est prouerbium, quod ad grauissima destituti sunt onera frenda. Quin et pueri ipsos usque ad oza grauauerunt lignis, ut deficiunt uiribus, sub illis corruerent.

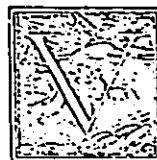
LIBRI THRENORVM FINIS.

ECCLE.



קהלת

ECCLESIASTES



ERBA Ecclesiastae filij Dauid regis Ierusalē. Vanitas uanitatum dixit Ecclesiastes, uanitas uanitas, omni a uanitas. Quid residui habet homo in omni labore suo, quo labo-

rat sub sole? Generatio transit & generatio aduenit, terra autem stat in eternum. Oritur sol & occidit sol, & ad locum suum petit, ubi ipse oritur. Transiit ad meridiem, & defleuit ad aquilonem: gyrat, circuit, et pergit spiritus, & per circuitus suos reuertitur spiritus. Omnia flumina uadunt in mare, & mare ipsum non impletur, ad locum inquam (maris) pergunt flumina, ut iterum redeant & fluant. Cunctae res difficiles sunt (cognitae), nec poterit quisquam edisserere eas: non saturatur oculus uidendo, nec auris impletur audiendo. Id quod fuit, illud futurum est: & id quod factum est, illud fiet, & nihil est nouum sub sole. Et si est res de qua (quis) dicit, uide hoc est nouum: iam fuit ante secula quae nos praecedunt. Non est memoria priorum, sicut nec posteriorum quae futura sunt: illorum inquam non erit memoria apud eos qui futuri sunt in nouissimo. Ego Ecclesiastes fui rex super Israel in Ierusalem. Et dedi cor meum ut inquirerem & inuestigarem sapientiam de omni eo quod factum est sub caelis: & hanc occupationem malam dedit deus filiis hominum, ut affligerentur in ea. Vidi omnia opera quae facta sunt sub sole, & ecce omnia sunt uanitas & irritamentum spiritus. Quod in cursum est non potest rectificari, & quod defectum habet, non potest numerari (inter perfectum). Ego locutus sum cum corde meo, dicens: Ecce ego magnifici & adieci sapientiam ultra quicunque fuit ante me in Ierusalem: & cor meum uidit multam sapientiam atque scientiam. Et dedi cor meum ut cognoscerem sapientiam & scientiam, infamiam & stultitiam: & cognoui quod & hoc esset irritamentum spiritus. Quia in multitudine