

Crusades

Volume 13, 2014

Published by **ASHGATE** *for the*
Society for the Study of the Crusades
and the Latin East

Offprint from *Crusades* Vol. 13 (2014).
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Geoffrey, Prior of the *Templum Domini*, *On the Seven Books of Josephus*

Julian Yolles

Harvard University
jyolles@fas.harvard.edu

Abstract

This article presents an edition of a twelfth-century versification of Josephus' Jewish War composed by Geoffrey, prior and later abbot of the Templum Domini in Jerusalem. The versification is the third and final poem in a three-part collection, the first of which was composed by Achard of Arrouaise, Geoffrey's predecessor as prior of the Templum Domini, while the second poem comprises a versification made by Geoffrey of 1 and 2 Maccabees. The present edition is preceded by a brief discussion of the available prosopographical evidence surrounding Geoffrey, who played an important role in Jerusalemite politics in the mid-twelfth century. A more detailed overview of the manuscript evidence and affiliations of the manuscripts follows, concluding with a short discussion of the sources used by Geoffrey in his versification and a brief statement on the editorial principles underlying the edition.

Introduction

In 1941, Paul Lehmann edited the first of three long poems on the *Templum Domini* in Jerusalem, composed by Achard of Arrouaise, prior of the *Templum Domini*, and his successor Geoffrey, who would later be abbot of the *Templum*.¹ Despite Lehmann's valuable work in not only editing the first of these poems, but also in identifying the historical and literary significance of these works, the two remaining poems, composed by Geoffrey, received little to no scholarly attention in the subsequent decades, for it was not until 2010 that the second poem was edited by Eyal Poleg.² After more than seventy years since the appearance of the edition of the first poem, I am pleased to present here a critical edition of the third and final poem.

I am deeply appreciative of the helpful suggestions of the Textual Criticism Workshop of the Department of the Classics at Harvard University: Charles Bartlett, Coleman Connelly, Tom Keeline, David Ungvary, and especially Justin Stover, who offered invaluable comments and helped transcribe some of the more difficult glosses. Finally, I am very grateful to Prof. Richard Tarrant (Harvard University) for his guidance throughout.

¹ Paul Lehmann, "Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus," in *Corona Querneae, Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht*, MGH Schriften 6 (Leipzig, 1941), 296–330.

² Eyal Poleg, "On the Books of Maccabees: An Unpublished Poem by Geoffrey, Prior of the *Templum Domini*," *Crusades* 9 (2010): 13–56.

The first poem, composed by Achard of Arrouaise in fifteen-syllable lines with end rhyme, deals with the history of the *Templum Domini*, as presented in the Old Testament. The acrostic in the first 30 lines of the poem (*BALDVINO REGI PRIOR TEMPLI ACARDVS*) indicates that the poem was addressed to King Baldwin, which could refer to either Baldwin I of Boulogne or Baldwin II of Bourcq. The second poem, composed by Geoffrey in sixteen-syllable lines with internal or leonine rhyme, is a versification of 1 and 2 Maccabees. The third poem, also written by Geoffrey in sixteen-syllable leonine lines, presents a versification of a Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish War*. While not a widely diffused text, of the three poems the third poem is contained in the largest number of manuscripts, ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, indicating that there was interest in copying this text in particular across a span of several centuries.

One of the manuscripts (**L**, see below) wrongly attributes all three poems to Geoffrey, instead of only the last two poems, and presents the incipit of the collection as *Incipit opus Gaufridi prioris de templo super libros Machabeorum* ("The work of Prior Geoffrey of the Temple on the Books of Maccabees begins"), while giving the incipit of the third poem as *Incipit tertius de septem libris Iosephi* ("The third [book], on the seven books of Josephus, begins"), which I have adopted as the title for the third poem.

Selections of the poem were printed first by Dom Germain Morin in 1914, who knew the poem only through the version contained in a fifteenth-century manuscript in Cambridge (**D**, see below).³ Morin considered the poem to be a versification of Ps.-Hegesippus, and printed those portions that appear to be original contributions on the part of the poet: ll. 1–11, 411–36, 627–43, 726–45, 952–70. Based on the fact that the extended praise of the Gauls (ll. 726–45) does not appear in Ps.-Hegesippus, Morin suggested that it may be possible that the poet was of French origin.⁴ This section does, however, appear in Ps.-Rufinus' translation of Josephus,⁵ and contributes to the evidence that Geoffrey made use of Ps.-Rufinus in addition to Ps.-Hegesippus' paraphrase, as will be argued more extensively elsewhere.⁶

³ Germain Morin, "Hégésippe en rimes latines," *Revue Bénédictine* 31 (1914): 174–78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁵ *Bellum Iudaicum* 2.16, p. 684 in the early modern printed edition: *Flavii Iosephi, Patria Hierosolymitani, religione Iudaei, inter Graecos historiographos cum primis facundi, opera quaedam Ruffino presbytero interprete* (Basle, 1524), 593–852.

⁶ I am currently preparing for publication a companion piece to the present edition (with the provisional title "Prolegomena to a New Edition of Geoffrey, Prior of the *Templum Domini*, On the Seven Books of Josephus"), dealing more extensively with the sources used by Geoffrey and the intended audience and purpose of the poem; this is based on a paper I presented at the Eighth Quadrennial Conference of the SSLE (25–29 June 2012, Cáceres, Spain).

The Poets

Achard of Arrouaise was an Augustinian hermit at Saint-Nicolas d'Arrouaise, who, upon becoming archdeacon of Thérouanne, travelled to the Holy Land with Kuno, cardinal legate and bishop of Praeneste, in the year 1108.⁷ Achard is first mentioned in charters as the prior of the *Templum Domini* in 1112.⁸ He is mentioned for the last time in a charter dating between Christmas 1135 and September 1, 1136,⁹ and since his successor Geoffrey is mentioned in two charters dating between September 24 and December 24 of 1137, he must have died sometime in the period between late 1135 and the end of 1137.¹⁰

Little is known about our poet Geoffrey:¹¹ he is first mentioned in a charter of the *Templum Domini* dating to the period of September 24 to December 24 of the year 1137, where he is listed as *prior Templi Domini*.¹² From the same period dates a charter where Geoffrey is listed as *abbas Templi Domini*,¹³ indicating that the institutional change of priory to abbey must have occurred at some point in the fall of 1137. We are also fortunate to possess a letter by Geoffrey to Count Geoffrey of Anjou, where he refers to himself as *dominici ac sanctissimi Templi quod est in Ierusalem prior*.¹⁴ From this, combined with the fact that the incipit of one of the manuscripts (L) attributes all three books of the poem to "Prior Geoffrey," we may conclude that Geoffrey succeeded Achard as prior of the Temple before its status changed from a priory to an abbey, and that he probably wrote the poems in this period – that is, between late 1135 and December 24 of 1137. Geoffrey ceases to be mentioned in charters after 1160,¹⁵ and in April of 1166 we find his successor Hugh as a witness in charters.¹⁶ Geoffrey is mentioned twice by William of Tyre, both times as an envoy sent on an embassy to the Byzantine Emperors John II Komnenos and Manuel I Komnenos, in 1142 and in 1159, respectively, for which task he was

⁷ Lehmann, "Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen," 299–300.

⁸ *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. H. E. Mayer, MGH Diplomata regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum (Hanover, 2010), vol. 1, no. 52.

⁹ *RRH*, no. 167; edited in *Cart St Sép*, no. 61.

¹⁰ *RRH*, nos. 172 and 173.

¹¹ For what little information we have about the life of Geoffrey, see Rudolf Hiestand, "Gaufridus abbas Templi Domini: An Underestimated Figure in the Early History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *EC*, 2, pp. 48–59; Amnon Linder, "An Unpublished Charter of Geoffrey, Abbot of the Temple in Jerusalem," in *Outremer*, 119–29.

¹² *RRH*, no. 173; edited in *Cart Tem*, no. 141, where it is incorrectly dated to September 1, 1137 – April 2, 1138. On the dating, see H. E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, Schriften der MGH 40 (Hanover, 1996), 2:857. The significant fact that Geoffrey is listed here as *prior* rather than *abbas* appears to have gone unnoticed by scholars.

¹³ *RRH*, no. 172; edited in *Cart St Sép*, no. 23, where it is wrongly dated between January 1 and February 5 of 1138. For objections to this dating, see Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*, 2:856–57, where the charter is dated to September 24 – December 24 of 1137.

¹⁴ See Hiestand, "Gaufridus abbas," 52–53, 58.

¹⁵ *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, vol. 1, no. 260.

¹⁶ *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, vol. 2, no. 316.

well-suited because of his proficiency in Greek, on which William remarks with some admiration.¹⁷

The Manuscript Evidence

Lehmann noted the existence of five manuscripts containing Achard's poem, three of which contain all three poems while the remaining two contain portions of the first poem only. In his edition of the second poem, Poleg identified a twelfth-century manuscript that contains a short fragment of the end of the second poem. To these manuscripts a further four manuscripts need to be added, three of which contain the third poem only, while the fourth contains a short fragment of the end of the third poem. As these manuscripts have hitherto escaped the attention of scholars, I will first offer a more extensive description of them before giving a brief overview of those manuscripts already mentioned by Lehmann. For the sake of brevity, I will limit myself here to those manuscripts that contain the third poem, and refer those interested in the fragments of the first and second poems to Lehmann and Poleg, respectively.

Manuscripts Containing the Third Poem only¹⁸

A British Library, Royal 8 F. ix, fol. 1v. Vellum. Late twelfth-century fragment containing the last 19 lines of the poem as well as the final 10 dactylic hexameters. No explicit. The use of the tironian abbreviation for *et* points to a dating of at least the second half of the twelfth century, while a late-twelfth-century dating is probable due to the closed lobe of the letter *g* and the smaller size of the lower lobe of the *g* in l. 970 compared to the upper lobe – but contrast the larger lower lobe in l. 978, which would favor a late-twelfth-century dating over a thirteenth-century one. The fragment is used as a fly-leaf for a collection of three different gatherings in various hands dating to the fourteenth century, containing (1) a fragment of the anonymous *Interpretationes nominum Hebraicorum*, (2) three unidentified sermons, (3) the French metrical romance of Guy of Warwick. The poem is copied as poetry, with line breaks corresponding to verse endings. Catalog entry in G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), 267–68.

C Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale (Inguimbertine), MS 168, fols. 73v–82v. Parchment. Late twelfth century. No incipit or explicit. The poem is copied in

¹⁷ WT, 15.21, 18.24.

¹⁸ For background on the following palaeographic discussions, consult Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003).

two columns as poetry, with line breaks corresponding to the ends of verses. The presence of both open and closed lower lobes of the *g* indicates a hand of the second half of the twelfth century, while the occasional occurrence of the half-uncial, upright *d* makes a thirteenth-century dating unlikely. The abbreviation for *con-* in the shape of a figure 9 on the baseline, as well as the angular treatment of *h* with a lengthed limb in combination with the general round features of the script point to an early form of a Southern Textualis from southern France. The manuscript comprises a collection of various texts of various dates: canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (thirteenth century), unidentified sermons (twelfth century), unidentified sermons in various hands (thirteenth century), sermons on Easter attributed to Augustine (twelfth century); after Geoffrey's poem follows a brief extract of Isidore's *Chronicle* in the same hand, directly followed by an unidentified *sermo de tempore* in a later hand; the remainder of the manuscript contains a number of thirteenth-century sermons in various hands. Catalog entry in Léopold Duhamel, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1901), 34/1:98–100, where it is mistakenly listed as a “histoire de la Bible.”

D Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 1.3.3, James 56, fols. 128r–139v. Vellum. Fifteenth century. Title: *Continuacio novi et veteris testamenti*. No explicit. The ten lines of hexameters at the end are lacking. The use of initial figure 6-shaped round *s* identifies this cursive hand as a *Cursiva Recentior* of the *Anglicana* type, while the use of single-compartment *a* dates the hand to the fifteenth century. The manuscript contains three parts, all of which contain works of Jerome and Ps.-Jerome. Geoffrey's poem is written in the second part and is preceded (in the same hand) by Ps.-Jerome's *Commentary on Mark*.¹⁹ For a brief description, which focuses on the first part of the manuscript, see *Libri de nativitate Mariae*, ed. R. Beyers, *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* 10 (Turnhout, 1997), 65. Catalog entry in M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Emmanuel College* (Cambridge, 1904), 48–49. Discussed, with selections printed, in Germain Morin, “Hégésippe en rimes latines,” *Revue Bénédictine* 31 (1914): 174–78.

E Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 6121, fols. 18r–25r. Vellum. Late twelfth century. Title: *Continuatio veteris et novi testamenti*. No explicit. The ten lines of hexameters at the end are lacking. Note the general avoidance of fusion or biting, except in the case of double *p*, the lateral compression of *o*, forking of ascenders, the consistent use of the ampersand, and the inconsistent use of straight and round *s* in final position, all of which points to a *littera praegothica* of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Initials are executed in alternating red and blue decorative penwork. There are seventeenth-century marginalia throughout. Other

¹⁹ A critical edition is found in *Expositio Evangelii secundum Marcum*, ed. Michael Cahill, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 82 (Turnhout, 1997); an English translation can be found in *The First Commentary on Mark: An Annotated Translation*, trans. Michael Cahill (New York, 1998).

texts (all in the same hand): Ps.-Jerome's commentary on the Gospel of Mark, which immediately precedes Geoffrey's poem, as well as a number of sermons and treatises attributed to Augustine. Part of the Borthwick of Crookston Medieval Manuscripts Collection. Provenance: the Cistercian Buildwas Abbey in Shropshire, England. Brief description in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969–2002), 2:527. Catalog entry in *Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired since 1925* (Edinburgh, 1938–92), 4:103–04.

Manuscripts Containing All Three Poems²⁰

L Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laudianus misc. 406, fols. 1r–65r, bk. 3 fols. 43r–65r. Parchment. Late twelfth, early thirteenth century. Possibly from northern France. Provenance: from the last donation of Archbishop Laud of Canterbury. Incipit: *Incipit opus Gaufridi prioris de templo super libros Machabeorum*. Incipit of the third poem: *Incipit tertius de septem libris Iosephi*. Explicit: *Explicit liber tertius: Alius tractatus de eadem materia*. The poem is copied as poetry, with line breaks corresponding to the ends of verses. Other works (in the same hand): poems of Ps.-Damasus (*Psallere qui docuit*)²¹ and Eugenius of Toledo (*Nescit mens nostra*),²² as well as numerous works ascribed to Jerome. Between Ps.-Damasus and Eugenius are inserted four leaves (fols. 66–69) containing an unedited poem by Domenico Mancini (d. before 1514) on the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 174 rhythmic fourteen-syllable lines in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century hand (*Patet in hoc speculo gestorum res horrenda*).²³ Catalog entry in H. O. Coxe and R. W. Hunt, *Laudian Manuscripts*. Reprinted from the edition of 1858–85, with corrections and additions, and a historical introduction by R. W. Hunt, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, Quarto Catalogues 2 (Oxford, 1973), 298–99.

O Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 603 (Western MS 2394), fols. 72v–118v, bk. 3 fols. 103v–118v. Parchment. Circa 1200. French provenance. No title or incipit. The poem is copied as poetry, with line breaks corresponding to the ends of verses. Other works: the poems of Ps.-Damasus (*Psallere qui docuit*) and Eugenius of Toledo (*Nescit mens nostra*) are copied in the same hand immediately afterward,

²⁰ For detailed palaeographic descriptions of the following manuscripts, see Poleg, “On the Books of the Maccabees,” 15–17.

²¹ *Damasi Epigrammata*, ed. M. Ihm, *Anthologiae Latinae Supplementa I* (Leipzig, 1895), no. 63; H. Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen 1959), no. 14885; D. Schaller, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen, 1977), no. 12730.

²² Eugenius of Toledo, *Nescit mens nostra*, PL 87:360; Walther, *Initia*, no. 11749; Schaller, *Initia*, no. 10177.

²³ Other manuscripts containing this poem are: Munich Clm 12115, fols. 298–300; Bibl. nat. Paris lat. 692, fols. 108–110 (it was added later in this manuscript by a fifteenth-century hand, with the name *Willelmus Pateryk* occurring at the end).

where Ps.-Damasus is appended to the poem without any separation; a number of unedited rhythmical poems on various themes precede Achard and Geoffrey's poems. Detailed manuscript description in A. G. Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (III)," *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979): 468–505, at 488–96. Catalog entry in F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1895–1953), 2/1: 345–46. Only the 299 lines of bk. 1 lacking in **R** were edited by A. C. Clark, "Poème sur le temple de Salomon par Achard d'Arrouaise," *ROL* 12 (1911): 263–75.

V Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 187, fols. 109–130, bk. 3 fols. 123r–130r. Parchment. Second half of the twelfth century. Provenance: the Benedictine abbey of Saint-André de Ville Neuve (Avignon), as indicated in a fourteenth-century hand on fol. 1: *Iste liber est monasterii sancti andree, dyocesis avinionensis*. No title or incipit. The poem is copied as poetry, with line breaks corresponding to the ends of verses. Other works: immediately preceding the poems is copied, in the same hand, a treatise titled *De ecclesie ordinibus* (fols. 69r–76v, Inc. *Legitur in historia ecclesiastica*),²⁴ and an excerpt of Ps.-Jerome's commentary on the Gospel of Mark (fols. 77r–92v), as well as Ps.-Jerome's *Libellus de nativitate sanctae Mariae* (fols. 93r–95r),²⁵ and *sententiae* excerpted from various works of Augustine, while following the poems (fols. 130r–v) is an excerpt from Zacharias Chrysopolitanus' *In unum ex quatuor* (a commentary on Tatian's *Diatessaron*), dealing with the dedication of Solomon's Temple (this text is not listed in the catalog below).²⁶ The presence of this particular text may be of significance for the dating of this manuscript, in that its author died after 1157, which would make a dating early in the second half of the twelfth century very early and unlikely.²⁷ A brief description of the manuscript (which does not mention Achard and Geoffrey's poems) can be found in Daniel S. Taylor, "A New Inventory of Manuscripts of the 'Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus' of Bernold of Constance," *Scriptorium* 52:1 (1998): 162–91, at 173–74; see also the description in Beyers, *Libri de nativitate Mariae*, 47. Catalog entry in A. Castan, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Paris, 1897),

²⁴ This text is attributed in some manuscripts to Amalarius of Metz, and elsewhere has the incipit *Legitur in ecclesiastica historia Nabuchodonosor regem Babilonie Ierusalem bellando destruxisse*. See *Clavis scriptorum latinorum Medii Aevi: auctores galliae 735–987*, ed. M.-H. Jullien and F. Perelman, CCCM (Turnhout, 1994), vol. 1, Amalarius Metensis Ps. 4, p. 140. The text is edited in *Liber Quare*, ed. G. P. Götz, CCCM 60 (Turnhout, 1983), App. II, add. 63, p. 201.

²⁵ For a critical edition of this text, see *Libri de nativitate Mariae*, ed. R. Beyers, Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum 10 (Turnhout, 1997).

²⁶ Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, *In unum ex quatuor*, PL 136:11–620.

²⁷ For more on Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (also known as Zachary of Besançon), see G. R. Evans, "Zachary of Besançon and the Bible's Contradictions," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 58 (1982): 319–23, and more recently Lesley Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden, 2009), 199. Zachary's work *Unum ex quatuor* has been provisionally dated to ca. 1140–45 by Damien van den Eynde, "Les *Magistri* du commentaire *Unum ex quatuor* de Zacharias Chrysopolitanus," *Antonianum* 23 (1948): 3–32, 181–220.

32/1: 128–30. The first poem was edited by E. G. Ledos, “Un nouveau manuscrit du poème d’Achard d’Arrouaise sur le Templum Domini,” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 77 (1916): 58–73.

Manuscript Affiliations

Although **V** is the oldest manuscript, possibly copied within a few decades of the composition of the poem, the slightly later **L** clearly presents the best text with the fewest errors. **V** does not appear to be particularly closely related to the other manuscripts, although it clearly has closer affinity with **LO** (in its readings as well as by the notable fact that it contains all three poems) and sometimes **C** than with **DE**. Particularly illustrative in this regard is the clearly erroneous reading of *uxore* for *uxori* at l. 78 in **LOV**, as well as the additional reading of *qui quibus congerrimini* [sic] at l. 833 that has been supplied in the margin of **V**, closely resembling *qui quibus congregimini* in **CL** (the main text in **V** presents the majority reading *cum quibus congregimini*), which suggests that both variants were in the exemplar from which **V** was copied. On a rare occasion, **V** preserves a correct reading not found in any other manuscript, as in the reading *in luto seu in latere* at l. 843, where the other manuscripts omit the second *in*, thereby rendering the line unmetrical.

O must have been written at around the same time as **L**, and agrees with the reading of **L** in most cases. A. G. Rigg suggests that **O** was copied from **L**, which also contains the poems of Ps.-Damasus (*Psallere qui docuit*) and Eugenius of Toledo (*Nescit mens nostra*) in the same order immediately after the poem, and contains marginal paragraph marks corresponding to the decorated initials in **O**, but adds that the frequent variant readings and transpositions in **O** suggest that another manuscript was used in conjunction with **L** when **O** was copied.²⁸ The paragraph marks and initials in **LO**, in fact, correspond to the paragraph marks in **V**, as well as to most of the rubrics found in **DE**, indicating that this is likely a feature that goes back to the archetype. In this light, it may be that the relation between **L** and **O** is not vertical, as suggested by Rigg, but rather horizontal, where **LO** share the same exemplar.

C offers a markedly inferior text with frequent errors and confused orthography of names in particular (see especially the reading *Cato* for the Emperor Otho in l. 515). **E** is written in a careful hand with few errors, and presents a text that is clearly of a tradition separate from that of **CLOV**. **D**, a much later manuscript from the fifteenth century, agrees with **E** in all major divergences from the majority readings, so much so that it stands to reason that it was copied directly from **E**.

The most marked of these instances are: *discedere* for *descendere* in l. 121, *occurrerat* for *occurrerat* in l. 124, *inaccessibele* for *inexpugnabile* in l. 169,

²⁸ A. G. Rigg, “Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (III),” *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979): 468–505, at 489.

cespite for *lapide* in l. 173, *natus* for *natu* in l. 221, *inde* for *unde* at l. 342, *Brazas rane* for *Brazafrane* at l. 370, *quoddam* for *quidem* in l. 411, *natura* for *nature* in l. 438, *egrotasset* for *egrotaret* in l. 462, the omission of *ob* in 493 (but note that **O** also omitted it, then added it in superscript), *nil* for *hoc* in l. 586, *itidem* for *eadem* in l. 598, *fuert* for *dictum sit* in l. 622, *obiit* for *obit* in l. 648, *precepit* for *preceperit* in l. 711, *montis* for *maris* at l. 765, the unmetrical *quo nullus duxit exercitum* for *nec rupes celsas Alpium* at l. 765 (the scribe here looked ahead to l. 767), *quid* for *que* and *fieret* for *fierent* in l. 824, *rubrum* for *rubri* in l. 919, *quoque* for *namque* in l. 924, and *inestimabilis* for *ineffabilis* in l. 968. In several instances, **DE** also share a different word order from the other manuscripts, such as *ipsius duos* for *duos ipsius* in l. 218, *cum ingenti* for *ingenti cum* in l. 290, *perturbata re publica* for *re perturbata publica* at l. 349.

There are several other signs that point to a closely related transmission between **D** and **E**. Both manuscripts are the only ones to give the title of the poem as a *Continuatio* (**E** has *Continuatio veteris et novi testamenti*, whereas **D** has *Continuacio novi et veteris testamenti*). Both manuscripts, moreover, are unique in presenting the poem as prose rather than poetry, with line breaks that do not correspond to verse endings. Furthermore, both manuscripts are the only ones to omit the ten hexameters at the end of the poem. One final piece of evidence is the fact that in both manuscripts the poem is preceded immediately by Ps.-Jerome on the Gospel of Mark (both times copied in the same hand as the poem). Here it may also be worth remarking that **V**, too, contains this text, although it does not precede the poems directly. It is copied in the same hand, however, which may indicate that the hyparchetype contained Ps.-Jerome's commentary on the Gospel of Mark.²⁹

DE also share a number of readings with **C** over against the majority reading, most notably *inde* for *unde* in l. 135, *tamen* for *tantum* in l. 145, *dum* for *cum* in l. 156, *providus* for *optimus* in l. 230, *trecene* for *trecente* in l. 736. These agreements, however, are not numerous or significant enough to establish a close relation between **C** and **DE**. Interesting and somewhat puzzling is the shared reading of *perducti* for *adducti* at l. 222 in **CDV**.

In summary: **LOV** form a group (with **LO** clearly being a more closely related subgroup), whereas **C** is at least one copy further removed from the hyparchetype of these three manuscripts; **DE** form a group distinctly removed from the other manuscripts, where **E** was probably copied from a manuscript that introduced variants from the hyparchetype at an early stage, and where **D** was probably copied from **E**; **A** is too short a fragment to be placed securely into any one of these groups.

²⁹ **V** also shares Ps.-Jerome's *Libellus de nativitate sanctae Mariae* with **D** (see n. 25). This text, however, is written in a different, earlier hand in **D**, and is located in a different section of the manuscript.

Glosses

There are seventeenth-century marginal glosses in a different hand from that of the main text throughout **E**. These glosses paraphrase and summarize certain passages, often using the same phrases as those in the main text. In order to present the reader with the fullest information possible as to the use and reception of the poem, I have transcribed these glosses, along with the occasional gloss in **V** and **C**, and presented them in a separate apparatus. A superscript “1” has been added to the appropriate siglum to indicate a gloss in the same hand as that of the main text, while a superscript “2” indicates a different scribe.

Editorial Principles

Since the manuscript evidence of the third poem is both more extensive and complex than that of the other two poems, I have decided not to omit any variant readings from the apparatus, apart from purely orthographical variants.

Orthography is always a problematic issue when dealing with medieval texts, since scribes tended not to reproduce faithfully the spelling of words and especially proper names as they appeared in their exemplar – or at least not in any consistent manner. It is because of this that no single manuscript containing our poem is internally consistent in its orthography. For the purpose of readability, however, I have decided to present a consistent orthography, even when in some cases there is no manuscript evidence to support the spelling of a word in a particular instance. Like Poleg before me, I have generally adopted the orthography of **L**, which appears to preserve the largest number of correct readings and to represent the archetype most faithfully.

Due to the inconsistent approach to orthography generally found among medieval scribes, such orthographical variants are, most of the time, of little import and do not bear on manuscript affiliations. These variants, which do not alter meaning or meter, I have relegated to an *appendix orthographica* so as to render the *apparatus criticus* more perspicuous. However, a rare instance of a complex orthographical issue merits discussion here, which could not be dealt with extensively in the apparatus. At l. 515, the name of the Roman Emperor Otho is rendered in various ways, from *Otto* to *Octo* to *Cato*. It would appear that here **DL** preserve the archetype’s reading of *Otto*. At l. 958, however, there is a majority reading of *Octonis* in **ACDELV** against *Otonis* in **O**. In the latter instance, I have decided to reject both the majority reading of *Octonis* as well as the reading *Otonis* in **O**, and to print the here unattested spelling of *Ottonis*. One can easily see how an original spelling of *-tt-* could be corrupted into the hypercorrect spelling with *-ct-*.

As indicated above, we are fortunate to have corresponding paragraph marks in **LOV**, which in most cases correspond to the rubrics in **DE**. The fact that this structural division of the poem is so consistent across the various manuscript

traditions indicates that this division goes back to the archetype, which has been my rationale for dividing the poem into paragraphs. The punctuation in the following edition, however, does not necessarily follow the manuscripts, some of which are lacking in punctuation altogether. Instead, I have opted to punctuate so as to provide as much clarity as possible for a modern readership.

There are a few instances where Morin's transcription of selections from **D** differs from that of my own; where this occurs, I have indicated it in the *apparatus criticus*.

Sources

There were two Latin translations of Josephus' *Jewish War* that Geoffrey could have utilized. The first is an epitome in five books likely dating to the fourth century and attributed either to a certain Hegesippus (which may or may not be a bastardization of the name Josephus via Josippus) or to Ambrose in the Middle Ages (which is also where this epitome is to be found in the *Patrologia Latina*).³⁰ Although it follows the sequence of the original quite closely, the author has introduced some of his own, often Christianizing, interpolations, and refers to Josephus as a separate author. The second translation also dates to the fourth century, and comprises a more faithful translation of the Greek in seven books, which was traditionally attributed to Rufinus of Aquileia in the Middle Ages, although the attribution in this case, too, is probably spurious.³¹

Both Latin versions of Josephus could have been available to Geoffrey: they are both utilized by William of Tyre, writing in the 1180s,³² and the epitomizing nature of Ps.-Hegesippus might have made it a particularly logical choice for Geoffrey. However, Geoffrey indicates in the beginning of his poem (l. 3) that he is abbreviating the "seven books of Josephus on the destruction of the city," not five. In spite of this, however, there is evidence that Geoffrey made use of both translations: the opening is clearly reminiscent of the prologue in Ps.-Hegesippus,³³ and the description of the Parthians (ll. 286–91), made arrogant by their victory over Crassus, clearly looks toward Ps.-Hegesippus rather than Ps.-Rufinus (where this description is absent); moreover, the use of the name *Ionathen* in l. 409 is a sure sign that Geoffrey used Ps.-Hegesippus in this passage instead of Ps.-Rufinus, who only gives Jonathan's second name, Aristobulus. The episode describing Herod's rise to power (ll. 325–37), on the other hand, is clearly indebted to Ps.-Rufinus, as is the extended praise of the Gauls in ll. 726–45, which does not occur in Ps.-Hegesippus.

³⁰ Ps.-Hegesippus, *Hegesippi qui dicitur historiae libri quinque* I–II, ed. V. Ussani, CSEL 66 (Vienna, 1932–60); PL 15:1961–2206.

³¹ For a brief discussion, see H. Schreckenberg and K. Schubert, *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity* (Assen, 1992), 71–73.

³² They are both mentioned as sources in William's description of Jerusalem: WT, 8.2.18.

³³ This observation was first made by Morin, "Hégésippe," 174–75.

It is tempting to consider that, given Geoffrey's remarkable facility in Greek as noted by William of Tyre,³⁴ he may even have utilized the original Greek text of Josephus. However, I have not been able to find any evidence that he may have done so; in fact, the close verbal parallels to Ps.-Hegesippus and Ps.-Rufinus make this suggestion highly improbable.

I have indicated the corresponding sections in both Ps.-Hegesippus and Ps.-Rufinus (abbreviated in the apparatus as Heg. and Ruf., respectively); unfortunately, since there is currently no modern critical text available, I have had to make references to the following printed edition of Ps.-Rufinus: *Flavii Iosephi, patria Hierosolymitani, religione Iudaei, inter Graecos historiographos cum primis facundi, opera quaedam Ruffino presbytero interprete* (Basle, 1524), 593–852.

³⁴ WT, 15.21, 18.24.

On the Seven Books of Josephus

Continuare volumus	quedam que dicit Iosephus	
Cum his que iam superius	de Machabeis scripsimus,	
Nam libri septem Iosephi	civitatis excidii	
Consequenter incipiunt	ubi libri deficiunt	
Qui digerunt fortissima	Machabeorum prelia.	5
Iudeorum pontifices	et Romanorum principes,	
Quos describit prolixius	idem hystoriographus,	
Videtur satis utile	brevi stilo percurrere,	
Ut quisvis possit facile	legentium cognoscere	
Qui, quot, vel quales fuerint,	qui vel quibus successerint,	10
Donec per Tytum Cesarem	subversa est Ierusalem.	
Post mortem quidem Symonis	Iudeorum pontificis,	
Qui fuit unus optimis	de Matathie filiiis,	
Quem Ptolomeus occiderat	qui gener eius fuerat.	
Iohannes eius filius,	vir prudens et iustissimus,	15
Sacerdos summus factus est,	qui et Hyrcanus dictus est,	
Totius factus denique	princeps gentis Iudaice,	
Novit multa propheticæ	post ventura predicere.	
Antiochus rex Syriæ	non inmemor iniurie	
Quam passus est a Symone,	cum magna multitudine	20
Venit iratus nimium	ut impugnaret filium.	
At ille sepulchrum David	velociter aperuit,	
Et inventis interius	talentis tribus milibus,	
Trecenta regi tribuit	et rex ad sua rediit.	
Hic, post annos triginta tres	ex quo pontifex factus est,	25
Relictis quinque filiiis,	dierum plenus obiit.	
Defuncto primogenitus	succedens Aristobolus	
Matrem fratremque pariter	interfecit crudeliter:	
Mater post dira vincula	consumpta est inedia,	
Frater occisus gladio	in loco obscurissimo	30
Dicebatur Antigonus	adolescens egregius.	
Sed nec pepercit ceteris	quos tenebat in vinculis.	
At iustus iudex Dominus	non est passus diutius	
Tanto pollutum scelere	impunitum relinquere:	

25–71 Hyr: 33 Aristo: [1] Alexander: 37 Alexandra: 9 in lower marg. f. 18r: E²

1–11 Heg. prol. 1. 15–18 Ruf. 1.3, p. 599. 19–24 Ruf. 1.2, p. 598; Heg. 1.1.8.

25–26 Ruf. 1.3, p. 599; contrast *trigesimo et primo anno* in Heg. 1.1.10. 28–29 Ruf. 1.3, p. 599; Heg. 1.2.1. 30 Ruf. 1.3, p. 600. 30–31 Ruf. 1.3, p. 600; Heg. 1.6.3.

I] Continuatio novi et veteris testamenti add. D Continuatio veteris et novi testamenti E Incipit tertius de septem libris Iosephi L | Continuare] Contaminare O 2 his] hiis DO | iam] om. O 5 digerunt] degerunt D 6 et] ac O 8 Videtur] Videntur C 15 iustissimus] fortissimus O 18 propheticæ] propheticæ V 20 cum magna] venit cum O 24 Trecenta] Trescenta CO tribuit] tradidit C | rediit] re C 25 pontifex ... est] factus est pontifex C 28 fratremque] fratremque que D 29 post] †vero† D 34 relinquere] relinquare corr. V

Statim corrupto viscere	cruorem cepit vomere,	35
Donec lapsis visceribus	inveniretur mortuus.	
Unius anni spatio	regni eius explicito—	
Nam cum patri successerat,	se regem constituerat—	
Sic parricida mortuo	fratres eius continuo	
Soluti sunt a vinculis	et a squalore carceris,	40
Quorum rex unus factus est	qui Alexander dictus est.	
Sed potestate preditus	debachatur in fratribus:	
Nam alterum contendere	nitentem de regimine	
Statim iussit interfici,	vitam reservans alteri,	
Quem tractans inhumanitus	rebus privavit omnibus.	45
Tunc multis modis regia	abusus est potentia.	
Nam quinquaginta milia	crudelitate nimia	
Interfecit de populo	annorum senum spatio.	
Octingentos preterea	in civitate media	
Suspendit in patibulis,	coniugibus ac filiis	50
Que fierent cernentibus	ac graviter lugentibus.	
Dehinc matres et filios	interfecit innoxios,	
Cum concubinis recubans	et vino multo estuans.	
Delectabatur sedulo	tam crudeli spectaculo.	
Triginta septem exinde	annorum lapso tempore	55
Ex quo regnare ceperat	et tam crudelis fuerat,	
Vi quartanarum febrium	consequitur interitum,	
Relinquens regnum coniugi	sibi multum dissimili:	
Nam pietate predita	simul et sapientia,	
Divini cultrix numinis	cunctis fuit amabilis.	60
Hec Alexandro genitos	enixa duos filios,	
Hyrcano primogenito	donato regni solio,	
Nolebat Aristobolum	haberi regni socium.	
Hoc ex benivolentia	fiebat non malitia,	
Nam matri visum fuerat	(sed nec in hoc erraverat),	65
Si potestate preditus	fuisset Aristobolus,	
Quod regia clementia	maturius post habita	
Paterno more subditum	sibi vexaret populum.	
Sed rex erat modestior	et etate maturior,	
Nec eius ulla populo	mala fuit suspicio.	70

54 mortis dire et [di...] crudele spectaculum *in right marg. f. 73v C¹*

35–36 Ruf. 1.3, p. 600; Heg. 1.7.2–1.8.1. 37–45 Ruf. 1.3, p. 601. 39–45 Ruf. 1.3, p. 601; Heg. 1.9.1. 47–48 Ruf. 1.3, p. 601; Heg. 1.9.4. 49–54 Ruf. 1.3, p. 602; Heg. 1.10.3–1.11.1. 55–57 Ruf. 1.4, pp. 602–03; Heg. 1.12.1. 58–64 Ruf. 1.4, p. 603; Heg. 1.12.2.

35 viscere] vulnere C 39 parricida] parricidia D 41 rex unus] unus rex O | est¹] om. V
 43 regimine] regmine V 45 tractans] tactans C 46 multis modis] modis multis V
 49 media] mēdia D 50 ac] et O | filii] liberis C 56 Ex ... fuerat] *transposed to l. 63 O*
 57 Vi] In D 59 predita] predicta D 64 benivolentia] benevolentia *corr. C* 65 matri]
 mater *corr. E* 66 preditus] predictus D 67 post] primo D

Sic Alexandra mulier	annis novem feliciter	
Summa rerum disposita	mortis persolvit debita.	
Frater etate iunior	sed viribus prestantior,	
Mox ut mater occubuit,	Hyrcano bellum intulit.	
Conflictu ergo habito	in regione Iericho	75
Hyrcanus fugam iniit	Ierusalemque rediit,	
Fratrisque nactus coniugem	sue salutis obsidem	
Subivit pacis federa	uxore fratri reddita.	
Hyrcanus Aristobolo	non sponte regno tradito	
Fungebatur solummodo	pontificis officio.	80
Eodem vero tempore	vir Ydumeus genere	
Armis belloque strenuus	consilioque providus	
Dicebatur Antipater,	qui conabatur iugiter	
Hyrcanum restituere	fratremque regno pellere.	
Per manum regis Arethe,	qui rex erat Arabie,	85
Persuadebat itaque	Hyrcano clam recedere	
Ad Arethamque pergere,	qui ipsius iniurie,	
Cum potens esset, facile	posset ultor existere,	
Tum quoniam Arabia	Iudee est contigua,	
Tum quia rex exercitum	posset habere plurimum.	90
Et Arethe similiter	persuadebat Antipater	
Ut Hyrcanum reciperet	regnoque restitueret.	
Antipater hic coniugem	despondit sibi Cypridem	
Exortam in Arabia	de nobili prosapia.	
Idecirco erat maxime	familiaris Arethe,	95
Ac propter hoc quod voluit	mox impetrare potuit.	
Dehinc fiducialiter	Hyrcanus et Antipater	
Egressi Ierosolimam	venerunt in Arabiam.	
Tunc Arabs pugnatoribus	cum quinquaginta milibus	
Et conglobati pariter	Hyrcanus et Antipater	100
Adversus Aristobolum	conveniunt ad prelium.	
Cum suis Aristobolus	exivit eis obvius,	
Nec ausus est contendere	cum tanta multitudine,	
Sed spem in fuga posuit	Ierusalemque rediit.	
Et perfecisset Aretha	obsessa Ierosolima	105
Quod disponebat facere,	si Scaurus illo tempore	
Non advenisset ilico	directus a Pompeio,	
Qui cum Tygrane prelia	gerebat in Armenia.	
Uterque frater obvios	direxit Scauro nuntios	

71–80 Ruf. 1.4, p. 604. 81–87 Ruf. 1.5, p. 605; Heg. 1.14.1. 93–94 Ruf. 1.6, p. 608; Heg. 1.22.1. 99 Ruf. 1.5, p. 604; Heg. 1.14.1. 104–114 Ruf. 1.5, p. 604; Heg. 1.14.1–2.

71 Alexandra] Alexandri O 72 disposita] disposta V 75 Conflictu ergo] Conflictuque sic O
 78 uxore] uxori LOV corr. E 82 providus] previdus L 83 conabatur] conobatur D
 85 Per ... Arabie] om. C 89 Iudee] Iudea L 90 Tum] Tunc C | plurimum] populum C
 91 Arethe] Aretha C | persuadebat] suadebat L 93 despondit] dispondit V 94 nobili]
 nobili D 96 voluit] noluit D | mox] rex O 101 conveniunt] convenerunt L | ad] in V
 102 eis] ei O 104 fuga] fugua C 108 Qui ... Armenia] om. C

Ut alteri in alterum	conferret adiutorium.	110
At ille pro pecunia	postposita iusticia,	
Nam illum Aristobolus	corruperat muneribus,	
Romanorum potentiam	Pompeique gloriam	
Intentans regi Arethe	fecit eum recedere.	
Hyrcanus sic Arabico	privatus est auxilio.	115
Pompeius interea	subiugata Armenia	
Cum pertransisset Syriam,	tendebat Ierosolimam,	
Sed occurrit Pompeio	Hyrcanus cum Antipatro	
Et super his conquestus est	que tam iniuste passus est.	
Pompeius Aristobolo	iussit de regni solio	120
Quantocius descendere	fratrique suo reddere.	
Sed mandatum Pompeii	spernens pendebat nichil.	
Nam fidens adiutorio	Scauri, quem nuper precio	
Corruperat non modico,	occurrebat Pompeio	
Ornatus cultu regio	et stipatus obsequio,	125
Sed cum timore animi	reversus est ad Iospoli.	
Ascendit Alexandrium	in monte celso positum,	
Unde sine discrimine	fisus loci munimine,	
De omni suo commodo	tractaret cum Pompeio,	
Vel cum ipso conflagret,	si ita res exigeret.	130
Hiis auditis Pompeius	iratus vehementius,	
Cum haberet fortissimum	Romanorum exercitum	
Collecta tamen undique	Syrorum multitudine,	
Secutus Aristobolum	obsedit Alexandrium.	
Unde iussus descendere	nolebat acquiescere,	135
Sed qui cum ipso populus	claudebatur interius,	
Magna pressus formidine	sugerebat descendere	
Et prudenti consilio	obedire Pompeio.	
Quorum devictus precibus	descendebat inferius,	
Sed quamvis vultu placido	turgente tamen animo.	140
Tandem relicto oppido	Pompeioque tradito	
Regreditur Ierusalem	nullamque nactus requiem	
Aperto iam certamine	conabatur conflagrare.	
Veruntamen Pompeius	subsequitur celerius,	

115 Ruf. 1.5, pp. 604–05. **117** Cf. Ruf. 1.5, p. 605, and Heg. 1.15.1, where Damascus is mentioned instead. **126** *Diospoli* in Ruf. 1.5, p. 605, *Diopoli* in Heg. 1.15.1 (but note that *Diospoli* is listed as a variant reading). The city meant is Dium. **131–160** Ruf. 1.5, p. 605; Heg. 1.15.2–1.16.3.

110 conferret] conferrent C **113** Pompeique] Pompeique DL **115** Arabico] Arabio O
 auxilio] axilio C **116** Armenia] Armania D **119** his] hiis DO **121** descendere] discedere
 DE **124** modico] modica C | occurrebat] occurerat DE **126** timore] tumore L | est]
om. DV illegible C **128** loci] loqui C **129** De] *parchment damaged* C | commodo] quo
 modo DE **130** Vel] *parchment damaged* C | exigeret] ~ etc. D **131** Hiis] *parchment*
damaged C His EL **132** Cum] *parchment damaged* C **134** Secutus] sectus C
135 Unde] Inde CDE **138** obedire] obediere D **139** descendebat] decendebat C
144 Pompeius] Popeius V

Et noctis tantum spacio	dum moraretur Iericho,	145
Mox discurrere nuntio	fit notus Aristobolo	
Adventus eius subitus	et insperatus impetus,	
Unde nimis perterritus	processit illi obvius.	
Cui maximam pecuniam	et civitatem etiam	
Se redditurum pactus est,	sed nichil horum factum est.	150
Nam premissus Gabinius	Pompeianus nuntius	
Ut obsides acciperet	pecuniamque tolleret,	
Ab ingressu prohibitus	ad castra redit vacuus.	
Ut se delusum comperit,	Pompeius infremuit	
Et vinculis mox traditum	servabat Aristobolum.	155
Cum autem circumspiceret	qua parte castra poneret,	
In civitate subito	exorta est seditio.	
Nam quedam pars de populo	favebat Aristobolo,	
Sed Hyrcano pars maxima	conferebat auxilia.	
Pars victa Aristoboli	fugit in Templum Domini;	160
Pars autem que prevaluit,	statim portas aperuit,	
Pompeius ingressus est	votique compos factus est,	
Quod civitatem regiam	eamque munitissimam	
Sine suorum sanguine	obtinuisset facile.	
Vallis erat altissima	Templi circumdans munia;	165
Pons quoque tantum fuerat	per quem adiri poterat.	
Hunc in vallem deecerant	qui in Templum evaserant.	
Ipsum muris fortissimis	et turribus altissimis	
Circumvallatum undique	semper inexpugnabile	
Mansisset cunctis gentibus	ubicumque degentibus,	170
Sed Romanorum probitas	et glorie sublimitas	
Nil reputabat arduum,	sed adhibendo studium	
Ligno simul ac lapide	coadunato undique	
Cupiditate glorie	replebat vallem aggere.	
At hostes stantes desuper	repugnabant viriliter,	175
Et magna cum audacia	impediebant opera.	
Romani die Sabbati	magis instabant operi;	
Iudei die septimo	vacant iure perpetuo,	
Nam nec resistunt hostibus	nec insistent operibus.	
Binis elapsis mensibus	vix constructis aggeribus	180
Imponunt turres ligneas	et super turres machinas.	

162–164 Pompeius expugnat templum *in right marg. f. 19r. E*²

166–167 Ruf. 1.5, pp. 605–06; Heg. 1.16.3. 173–214 Ruf. 1.5, p. 606; Heg. 1.16.4–1.17.2.

145 tantum] tamen CDE | spacio] spācio C | moraretur] immoratur C 147 insperatus] inspiratus *corr.* L 150 Se] Sed C | redditurum] rediturum V | horum] orum CV
153 Ab] At C | ingressu] ingresso C | redit] reddit V 156 Cum] Dum CDE
158 pars] parars D 163 munitissimam] munitisimam C 164 obtinuisset] obtinuisse C
165 munia] menia DEV 166 Pons] Mons C | quem] quod C 167 Hunc] Hanc O
169 inexpugnabile] inaccessibile DE 170 Mansisset] Manserat O 173 lapide] cespide DE
175 At] Et O 179 Nam] *om.* O | resistunt] recistunt D

Admotis ergo machinis	et instrumentis ceteris	
Muros turresque quatiunt	et plures interficiunt.	
Mense necdum explicito	obsidionis tercio	
Deiecta una turrium	Templi irrumpunt atrium.	185
Primus Faustus Cornelius,	Lucii Sille filius,	
Ausus murum transcendere	cum suo intrat agmine,	
Quem Furius et Fabius	subsecuntur celerius.	
Hi cum suis agminibus	in fugam versis hostibus	
Effuso multo sanguine	Templum circumdant undique,	190
Dehinc intrat Pompeius	et reliquus exercitus.	
Sed erat novum cernere	spectaculum mirabile:	
Nam sacerdotes victimas	immolabant et hostias,	
Nec dimittebat populus	quicquam de sacris ritibus,	
Cum hostes nulli parcerent	sed omnes interficerent	195
Bis sena namque milia	inventa sunt cadavera,	
Que vel ignis incendio	consumpta sunt vel gladio.	
Patefactis aditibus	intrat Templum Pompeius	
Et gentibus incognita	cuncta videt misteria:	
Mensas sive candelabra,	vasa quoque quamplurima,	200
Et instrumenta cetera,	que cuncta erant aurea;	
Pecunie preteera	talenta duo milia	
Sunt in gazophilatio	inventa a Pompeio;	
Nec tamen quicquam rapuit	de omnibus que repperit.	
Iudeis vero gravior	cunctis calamitatibus	205
Videbatur quod hactenus	archanum illud gentibus	
Occultatum detectum est	extraneisque visum est.	
Soli namque pontifici	per annum semel ingredi	
Licebat sanctuarium	ibique sacrificium	
Pro se offerre Domino	ac deinde pro populo.	210
In die autem crastino	Templum simul cum atrio	
Edituos Pompeius	iussit mundare sordibus	
Et celebrare solita	permisit sacrificia.	
Hyrcano vero deinde	declarato pontifice	
Iudaicoque populo	effecto tributario	215
Regendam hanc et alias	linquens Scauro provincias,	
Captivum Aristobolum	victorie indicium	
Custodieque traditos	duos ipsius filios	
Eduxit ab Ierusalem	cum filiabus totidem.	
Qui dum Romam revertitur,	Alexander elabatur.	220
Natu minor Antigonus	cum patre vel sororibus	

186 I.e. Lucius Cornelius Sulla. **203** Cf. 2 Kings 12:9–10. **215–222** Ruf. 1.5, p. 607; Heg. 1.17.3.

183 quatiunt] catiunt V **188** subsecuntur] subsecuuntur L **189** Hi] Hii O **190** Effuso] Et fuso E **191** Dehinc] Dein O **197** vel ignis] ignis vel O **205** gravior] gravior C **208** Soli] Solum O **209** Licebat] Decebat O | sanctuarium] sancuarium L **215** Iudaicoque] Iudaico sed C **218** duos ipsius] ipsius ~ DE **219** ab] a CDE **221** Natu] Natus DE

Triumpho reservati sunt	et ad urbem adducti sunt.	
Elapso vero tempore	reversus ex itinere	
Alexander, ut diximus,	congregatis quam pluribus	
Patris sui fautoribus	suis quoque comitibus,	225
Adiunctis quoque plurimis	novarum rerum cupidis,	
Iudeam sperans facile	sibi posse subigere,	
Depredabatur omnia	Hyrcano pertinentia	
Ipsaque suum patrum	provocabat ad prelium.	
Interea vir optimus	supervenit Gabinus,	230
Missus Scauro succedere	provinciasque regere.	
Hunc Alexander metuens	trans Iordanemque fugiens,	
Muniebat Hyrcanium	simul et Alexandrium,	
Cinxit muro similiter	Macheronta velociter.	
Hec namque tria oppida	Arabie contigua	235
In montibus sunt posita	et ideo fortissima.	
Gabinus ut comperit	quo Alexander fugerit,	
Premisit mox Antonium	cum quadam parte militum,	
Et sibi post hec addito	Hyrcano et Antipatro	
Totum ducens exercitum	subsequitur Antonium.	240
At Alexander veritus	tanti robur exercitus,	
Dispositis presidiis	in supra dictis oppidis	
Ierusalem refugium	sperans fore tutissimum	
Anticipare satagit,	sed a spe tanta decidit.	
Nam in ipso itinere	coactus est configere:	245
Sex milibusque perditis	vix evasit cum ceteris.	
Tunc demum supplex nuntium	direxit ad Gabinium,	
Se deliquisse confitens	et sine dolo pollicens	
Munitiones reddere,	nec distulit hoc facere.	
Quas mandavit Gabinus	adequari solotenus,	250
Ne ibi esset hostibus	refugium ulterius.	
Deinde Aristobolus	ab urbe Roma profugus	
Cum ipso quoque filius	revertitur Antigonus.	
Hic statim multitudine	magna collecta undique	
Que a Romanis eruta	iam dudum erant oppida	255
Omni rursus conamine	temptabat muris cingere.	
Quo cognito Gabinus	sui duces exercitus	
Direxit tres: Antonium,	Sisennam, et Servilium.	
Qui committentes prelium	captivum Aristobolum	
Antigonumque filium	perducunt ad Gabinium,	260

228–246 Ruf. 1.6, p. 607; Heg. 1.19.1–2. 247–270 Ruf. 1.6, p. 608; Heg. 1.19.3, 1.21.1.

222 adducti] perducti CDV 226 Adiunctis ... plurimis] Adiunctisque quamplurimis O
 227 Iudeam ... subigere] *om.* C 229 suum] *om.* D 230 optimus] providus CDE
 Gabinus] Sabinus C 233 Hyrcanium] Hyrcanum D 238 Antonium] Antonium C Antinium
corr. E 242 in] ut D 245 est] *om.* O | configere] confugere D 246 milibusque]
 milibus DE 247 direxit] dixerit D 248 sine] sino C 252 Roma] Romanum D
 256 temptabat] tendebat C | temptabat ... cingere] cingere temptabat muris *with construe marks* O
 muris] muros C 257 Gabinus] Sabinus C

Quos misit Romam denuo	senatorum arbitrio.	
Retento Aristobolo	custodieque tradito	
Dimittitur Antigonus,	ut scripserat Gabinius.	
Pepigerat hoc coniugi	iam dudum Aristoboli,	
Qua suggerente oppida	tria fuere reddita.	265
Gabinius tunc aberat	et in Egyptum ierat	
Reprimere Ptolomeum	commotionis cupidum.	
Hyrcanus et Antipater	administrabant iugiter	
Romanis necessaria	militie stipendia	
Et in omni negotio	erant eis auxilio.	270
Pro discessu Gabinii	ad Alexandrum plurimi	
Mutationis cupidi,	ut sepe solet fieri,	
Conveniunt et iterum	renovantur ad prelium.	
Gabinius hoc audiens,	iam ex Egypto rediens,	
Occurrit illis subito	sub monte Hitabirio.	275
Ibique pugna habita	virorum decem milia	
De Alexandri sociis	interierunt gladiis.	
Dispersit fuga ceteros	fugientes et saucios.	
Ecce Crassus adveniens,	aurum plus iusto sitiens,	
Intravit Templum nimia	succensus avaritia	280
Et omnia diripuit,	que tangere non voluit	
Primo quidem Pompeius	neq. post eum Gabinius.	
Sed transito Eufrate	volens Parthos subigere	
Totum simul exercitum	demersit in interitum.	
Cum quo et ipse periit	dum fervens aurum ebibat.	285
Crasso succedens Cassius	Parthis processit obvius,	
Nam Crassi post interitum,	post contritum exercitum,	
Elati in superbiam	moliebantur etiam	
Totam vastare Syriam	plebem quoque Iudaicam.	
Quos Cassius a transitu	ingenti cum exercitu	290
Prohibuit Eufratis,	multum famosi fluminis.	
Romam Cesar interea	regrediens a Gallia	
Rebus potitur omnibus;	effugatur Pompeius.	
Sed quia hec hystoria	est per Lucanum edita,	
Discurrimus ad alia,	que multis sunt incognita.	295

279–285 Crassus Templum diripuit ipse a Parthis fervens auro coactus est ebibere *in lower marg. f.*
20r. E² **286–291** Cassius post mortem Crassi et in confusionem exercitus Romani cum ingenti
exercitu prohibuit Parthos a transitu Euphratis *in right marg. f. 20r. E²*

271–286 Ruf. 1.6, p. 609; Heg. 1.21.1–3. **275** Hitabirio] Mount Tabor. **287–291** Nam ...
fluminis] Heg. 1.21.3. **292–293** Ruf. 1.7, p. 609; Heg. 1.22.2.

265 Qua ... reddita] *transp. to l. 287 O* | reddita] tradita C redita D **269** Romanis] Romane C
271 discessu] descensu D dicessu L **273** renovantur] removantur D **279** adveniens] cupiens
C **280** Templum] Teplum V **285** fervens] ferves V **288** Elati] Erecti V **290** a] a C
transitu] transsitus D | ingenti cum] cum ~ DE **292** Gallia] Galilea O **295** ad] et L

Rome iubente Cesare	solutus est a carcere	
Captivus Aristobolus	et libertati redditus,	
Et missus est celerius	cum duabus cohortibus	
Ut ad Iudeam pergeret,	quam Cesari subigeret.	
Sed periit continuo	hausto veneni poculo,	300
Pompeii fautoribus	hoc illi propinantibus.	
Mox Alexander, filius	ipsius primogenitus,	
Cum esset Antiochie,	perit truncato capite,	
Quem interfecit Scipio	sic iubente Pompeio.	
Tunc nepos atque patruus	Hyrcanus et Antigonus	305
Continuo certamine	contendunt de regimine.	
Sed occiso Pompeio	in littore Egyptio,	
Cum Cesar solus omnium	obtineret dominium,	
Ydumeus Antipater	Hyrcanum iuvans iugiter	
In clientelam Cesaris	se contulit cum filiis.	310
Qui dum esset promptissimus	in exsequendis omnibus	
Pro voluntate Cesaris,	pater una cum filiis,	
Satis placebat Cesari	et eius exercitui.	
Nam semper in assiduis	opponens se periculis	
Pre ceteris militibus	vulnerabatur sepius,	315
Erantque multa vulnere	probitatis indicia.	
Tandem Cesar dispositis	in Egypto presidii	
Revertitur ad Syriam,	cui processit obviam	
Antigonus et plurimum	conquestus in Antipatrum	
Maioris amicitie	causam dedit et glorie.	320
Nam cum illi opponeret	quod Cesarem non coleret,	
Fideliter sed subdole	ille nudato corpore	
Ostensis cicatricibus	multis quoque vulneribus	
In argumentum fidei	acceptior fit Cesari.	
Mox procurator patrie	constitutus a Cesare	325
Phaselum primogenitum	magistrum fecit militum.	
Quem deputans presidio	Iudee territorio	
Herodem adhuc puerum	misit cum manu militum	
Ut Galileam regeret	et incolas defenderet.	
Nam regionem undique	cum Ezechia principe	330
Latrones devastaverant	multosque captivaverant.	

325 Antipater procurator Iudeae a Cesare constitutus. *in left marg. f. 20v. E²* 328–329 Herodes filius Antipatris a patre Galileae prepositus. *in left marg. f. 20v. E²*

296–304 Ruf. 1.7, p. 609; Heg. 1.22.2–3. 309–318 Ruf. 1.7, p. 610; Heg. 1.24.2–3.

319–324 Ruf. 1.8, pp. 610–11; Heg. 1.25.1–2. 325–342 Ruf. 1.8, p. 611; Heg. 1.25.4–1.26.1.

296 carcere] care V 300 veneni] veni D 301 Pompeii] Pompei E 302 ipsius] illius C
 303 perit] periit D 309 Ydumeus] Ydemeus *corr.* O | iuvans] vivans L
 315 Pre] Pro C 320 causam] causa V 321 opponeret] apponeret D | coleret] colleret D
 325 constitutus] constitus C 329 Galileam] Galeam C 330 cum] *om.* C
 331 multosque] et multos C

Quos persecutus ilico	peremit omnes gladio.	
Qui postquam victor rediit,	tam gratus Syris extitit,	
Ut per plateas canerent	Herodem, atque dicerent	
Quod liberata patria	eius esset industria.	335
Sed et a Sexto Cesare	procuratore Syrie,	
Propinquo magni Cesaris,	dilectus est plus ceteris.	
Erat tamen Antipater	cum Hyrcano fideliter	
Et adversus Antigonum	prebebat adiutorium,	
Quamvis tanta potentia	polleret atque gloria.	340
Cepit ergo cotidie	Herodis fama crescere,	
Hyrcanus unde tacita	mordebatur invidia.	
Anno transacto tertio	unaque mense septimo	
Post obitum Pompeii	Bruti dolis et Cassii	
Rome Cesar occiditur;	bellum civile geritur.	345
Similiter in Syria	magna fuit discordia	
Occiso Sexto Cesare	procuratore patrie,	
Quem Bassus interfecerat,	qui Pompeium dilexerat.	
Rome morte Cesarea	re perturbata publica	
Potentis quique propriis	insistebant negotiis:	350
Quod erat cuique commodum,	hoc estimabat optimum.	
Octavianus Iulio	successit in imperio,	
Qui una cum Antonio	persequeretur sedulo	
Interfectores Cesaris,	ultor propinqui sanguinis.	
Sed Cassius per Syriam	diffugiens Apamiam	355
Obsessam dudum liberat,	Bassumque sibi sociat.	
Herodem sibi maxime	tali coniunxit federe,	
Ut eum regem faceret,	si fidus ei fieret.	
Interfecit et Malicum,	virum nequam et subdolum,	
Qui per veneni poculum	extinxerat Antipatrum.	360
Dehinc utrimque cuneis	constipati fortissimis	
Hinc Cesar et Antonius,	illinc Brutus et Cassius,	
Circa Philippos prelium	commiserunt gravissimum.	
Cesar victor effectus est	et Cassius occisus est.	

336–337 Eroses charus Sexto Cesari *in left marg. f. 20v. E²* **343** Transactis annis tribus 7 mensibus post obitum Pompeii Cesar occiditur *in left marg. f. 20v. E²* **347–348** Sextus Caesar procurator Syriae a € Basso interfectus *in left marg. f. 20v. E²* **359–360** Antipater Malaci [sic] veneni popi poculo extinctus. *in upper marg. f. 20v. E²*

343–345 Ruf. 1.9, p. 612; Heg. 1.27. **346–348** Ruf. 1.8, p. 612; Heg. 1.27. **349–351** Ruf. 1.9, p. 612. **355–360** Ruf. 1.9, p. 613. **359–360** Ruf. 1.9, p. 613; Heg. 1.28.2–3. **362–368** Ruf. 1.10, p. 615; Heg. 1.28.6–7.

336 et] *om.* V | Sexto] septimo C quinto D | Syrie] ysirie C **337** magni] magno *corr.* D
340 Quamvis] Quatenus D | tanta] tali O | atque] atque atque C **342** unde] inde DE
344 dolis] doli *corr.* DE doli O **349** re... publica] perturbata re publica DE **352** Octavianus] Octovianus CDELO **354** Cesaris] Cesaras C **355** Apamiam] Apariam V Appaniam O
357 coniunxit] coniungit DEV **361** utrimque] utrumque *corr.* D | fortissimis] fortissimi *corr.* D

Sed Cesar post victoriam Antonius per Syriam Cuius fretus non modica Tetrarcha constituitur Eodem vero tempore Qui fuerat rex Parthie Pertransitoque Eufrate Hos promissis muneribus Ut Hyrcanum deponerent Advenientes itaque Utramque partem fallere Colloquebantur itaque Sed Hyrcanum dispositis Frater Herodis etiam Simul cum illo captus est A Parthis autem tradita Aures Hyrcani dentibus Ne fungi posset amodo Si forsitan a barbaris Nam non nisi per integrum Phaselus hec prospiciens Statim eliso capite Excussit sibi cerebrum, Herodes vero fugiens In Masada dispositis In Egyptum profectus est, Ibique ab Antonio Octaviano Cesari Rex Iudeorum protinus Inde reversus pignora Recepit, que Antigonus	repetiit Italiam, tendebat Ierosolimam. Herodes amicitia, et Iudee proficetur. quidam Prochorus nomine, cum satrapa Brazafrane, dominabatur Syrie. conduxerat Antigonus eique regnum redderent. cum magna multitudine, nitebantur et perdere. quasi de pacis federe, mox capiunt insidiis. Phaselus per fallaciam compeditibusque vinctus est. verberandi licentia: detruncavit Antigonus, pontificis officio, absolveretur vinculis, hoc fiebat officium. et ultro mortem appetens, in adiacenti lapide adeptus sic interitum. ad Ydumeam veniens coniugibus et filiis unde Romam delatus est. receptus amicissimo, fit notus et senatui; declaratur ab omnibus. que liquerat in Masada obsederat diutius.	365 370 375 380 385 390 395
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365–390 Sed ... est²] Post victoriam circa Philippos Octavianus Italiam repetiit Antonius per Syriam ad Hierosolimam tendebat a quo tetrarcha constituitur Herodes et Judeae proficetur eodem tempore Parthi transgresso Eufrate dominabantur Syriae. Antigonus sollicitat Parthos contra Hyrcanum qui fallaciter advenientes Hyrcanum et Phaselum dispositis capiunt insidiis elapsus Herodes se Romam contulit in *lower marg. f. 20v. E*² **393–397** Ubi rex Iudeorum ab omnibus [*sic*] declaratur reversus in Iudeam liberat Massadam ab obsidione Antigoni qui raptus ab Sosio Antonii iussu perimitur. in *upper marg. f. 21r. E*²

369–373 Ruf. 1.11, p. 615; Heg. 1.29.1–2 (the name is *Pacorus* in both). **374–379** Ruf. 1.11, p. 616; Heg. 1.29.4–5. **380–389** Ruf. 1.11, p. 617; Heg. 1.29.6–8. **390–393** Ruf. 1.11, pp. 618–19; Heg. 1.29.10–1.30.1. **394–395** Ruf. 1.12, p. 620; Heg. 1.30.3.

368 Tetrarcha] Tetracha L | Tetrarcia C **369** vero] *trans. after* nomine V **370** Parthie] Parthie C | Brazafrane] Bazafrane V Brazas rane DE Buhasrane C **371** Pertransitoque] Pertransito CEV **378** fallaciam] audaciam C **379** illo] eo *corr.* E ipso O **382** fungi] ffungi C **387** cerebrum] celebrium D **391** ab] cum DE **392** Octaviano] Octoviano DEO Octaviano *corr. to* Octoviano L **394** Masada] Madasa V

Tandem captus a Sosio Puniendus deducitur Hyrcanus dum per Syriam Ereptus a Iudaico Ad patriam revertitur, Habebat enim maximam Qui iam dudum Mariamnem Que ex ipsius filia Sed hic alienigena, Privaretur aliquando, Hunc solum cernens vivere Qui secum de regimine Cogitabat occidere, Interfecit et Ionathen, Nam solus hic residuus Tunc quidem adimpletum est Tunc sceptrum Iude desiit, Tunc expectatus gentibus Herodis enim tempore Verbum patris altissimi Virgo mater in Bethleem Enixa est in stabulo Creaturarum omnium Mox ceteris syderibus Nativitatis nuntia, Ferentes dona mistica Cum autem urbem regiam Percunctantur: “rex ubi est Nos enim stellam ipsius Ad adorandum venimus Herodes rex hoc audiens, Clam magos ad se convocat, Que eis apparuerat, Quem adorare simulat	Antigonus Antonio et securi perimitur. deducitur in Parthiam, illic degente populo sed vana spe seducitur. 400 in Herode fiduciam, acceperat in coniugem, extiterat progenita. ne regia potentia si qua foret mutatio, 405 de Iudeorum semine iuste posset contendere, quod et complevit opere, dudum factum pontificem, erat Hyrcano filius. 410 quod per Iacob predictum est: tunc in Iuda dux defuit, advenit dei filius. natum Maria virgine dignatur homo fieri. 415 Dominum verum et hominem reclinans in presepio, creatorem et dominum. refulsit stella clarius que magos ad cunabula 420 perduxit cum leticia. intrarent Ierosolimam, Iudeorum qui natus est? in oriente vidimus. cum mysticis muneribus.” 425 sibimetipsi metuens stelle tempus interrogat sed iam de nece cogitat se velle, si reperiat.
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398–410 Hyrcanus a Parthis Iudaico populo ereptus ad patriam revertitur vana Herodis amicitiae ductus fiducia qui et ipsum et Ionathen filium eius qui solus relictus erat occidit ne aliquando secum post regimen contenderent. *in lower marg. f. 21r. E² illegible gloss in right marg. f. 21r. E²*

396–397 Ruf. 1.13, pp. 625–26; Heg. 1.31.3. **398–403** Ruf. 1.17, p. 633; Heg. 1.36.2.

409–410 Ibid. Ruf. only has Jonathan’s second name, Aristobulus, whereas Heg. reads *Ionathan*.

411–413 Tunc¹ ... filius] Gen. 49:10. **419–432** Matth. 2:1–11.

396 Sosio] Socio D **397** securi] securus *corr.* C **398** deducitur] deducatur D
399 Ereptus] Ereotus C | degente] de gente L **400** seducitur] deducitur DE
402 Mariamnem] Mariamna D **403** extiterat] fuerat C | progenita] proenita V
404 regia] regga *corr.* C **409** Ionathen] Ionathan DO **411** quidem] quoddam DE
412 Iude desiit] Iudesiit V **420** nuntia] nēcia C **424** enim] autem D **425** adorandum]
orandum D **426** hoc] hec *corr.* E | sibimetipsi] semetipsi D **429** se velle] sed evelle C

Sed magi de Ierusalem	perducuntur in Bethleem.	430
Illic invento puero	magno replentur gaudio.	
Adorant eum mistica	donantes ei munera:	
Aurum quidem, quo regia	signatur excellentia;	
Thus, quod in sacrificio	offerri solet Domino,	
Figurat ei debitam	sacerdotalem gloriam;	435
Myrram quoque, qua mortua	deliniuntur corpora,	
Ne valeat putrescere	lita caro hoc unguine,	
Corpus designat hominis	nature corruptibilis,	
In quo tamen nullo modo	inventa est corruptio,	
Nam solvens mortis vincula	surrexit die tertia.	440
Sic adorato Domino	magno repleti gaudio	
Magi per viam aliam	regressi sunt ad patriam.	
Ob hoc Bethleemiticis	Herodes furens pueros	
Abstractos matrum gremio	occidit omnes gladio	
Ut cum illis infantibus	occideretur et Iesus.	445
Sed occidi non poterat	qui vitam dare venerat;	
Delatus enim fuerat	in Egyptum nec aderat.	
Herodes his et aliis	interemptis extraneis	
Exercuit tyrannidem	in propriam progeniem.	
Sororis enim Salome	virum Iosippum nomine	450
Cum Mariamne coniuge	nullo convictos crimine	
Sed sine audientia	cesos misit ad Tartara;	
Erat ei suspicio	falsa de adulterio.	
Sed memor pulchritudinis	sic interfecte coniugis,	
Dilapsus in amentiam	alloquebatur mortuam	455
Et putabat superstitem	redactam iam in pulverem.	
Multoque post vix potuit	advertere quid egerit.	
Sic quoque duos filios	adolescentes strenuos,	
Quos Mariamne genuit,	iniuste neci tradidit.	
Postremo primogenitum	interfecit Antipatrum,	460

451–453 Herodes Mariamne conjugem suam cum Josippo sororis suae viro occidit suspitione adulteri falsa instigatus in *lower marg. f. 21v. E²* 458–464 duos etiam filios matris Mariamne occisos et primogenitum suum Antipatrem 37 anno sui regiminis perit Jericho in *left marg. f. 21v. E²*

433–440 Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundam Lucam* 2.619, *De viduis* 5.29.6, and Jerome, *In evangelii Matthaei commentarium* 1.5. 441–442 Matth. 2:11–12. 443–449 Matth. 2:14–16.

450–457 Ruf. 1.17, pp. 633–34; Heg. 1.37.5–7. 458–459 Ruf. 1.17, p. 643; Heg. 1.42.1–2.

460–473 Ruf. 1.21, p. 654; Heg. 1.45.9–12.

434 Thus] Thus quoque C Thus quoque quod DEV 435 debitam ... gloriam] gloriam sacerdotalem debitam C 436 Myrram] Myrra O | qua] quo CLV | deliniuntur] deliniantur C deliniuntur D 437 valeat] valeant D 438 nature] natura DE | corruptibilis] corruptibile D 439 In ... corruptio] *om.* D 442 aliam] alteram O 443 Herodes] Herodens C Herodens D 448 his] hiis DO | interemptis] interemis *corr.* V 449 progeniem] proeniem C 450 nomine] *om.* D 451 Mariamne] Marianne CO | nullo] nullo modo C | convictos] convinctos D 452 misit] miserat *corr.* O 453 de] a *corr.* L 455 amentiam] amentia C 456 iam] *om.* D 457 egerit] aegerit V

Quem habebat ex Doside	priore sua coniuge.	
Tandem confectus senio	cum egrotaret Iericho,	
Correptus morbo pessimo	tricesimo et septimo	
Anno sui regiminis	perit admixtus mortuis.	
Sed antequam occumberet,	nequid illius deforet	465
Consuete malitie,	nolebat sine sanguine	
Ex hac vita discedere,	sed advocato coniuge	
Sororis sue Salome	precepit interficere	
Ipsa mortis articulo	reclusos in ypodromo	
Primos gentis Iudaice,	ut in ipsorum funere	470
Cum interemptis plurimis	lugeretur ab aliis.	
Sed soror fratre mortuo	reclusos in ypodromo	
Dissolvit a custodia	et remisit ad propria.	
Post hunc regnavit filius	annis novem Archelaus	
Veruntamen ob nimiam	ipsius insolentiam	475
Directus est a Cesare	apud Viennam Gallie	
Et periit, perpetuo	condempnatus exilio.	
Per tetrarchias postea	divisa est provincia.	
Pilato namque Pontio	Iudee procuratio	
A Cesare commissa est,	sed Galilea data est	480
Herodis regis filio	virorum impiissimo,	
Qui patri fuit opere	consimilis et nomine,	
Nam et Herodes patrio	dicebatur vocabulo.	
Hic tulit Herodiadem	Philippi fratris coniugem.	
Hic precursorem Domini,	virum tanti preconii	485
Ut mereretur fieri	baptista dei filii,	
Dum vox patris intonuit	et spiritus apparuit,	
Quem in columbe specie	promeruit conspiceri,	
Hunc positum in carcere	truncari fecit capite.	
Herodes idem ipse est	ad quem Christus directus est	490

462–471 Jussit paululum ante eius mortem seniores Judeorum in Hyppo [?] *in left marg. f. 21v. E²*

474–477 Post hunc filium Archelaus regnavit annis 7 ob nimiam insolentiam a Caesare ad Viennam Galliae perpetuo auxilio [*sic*] condempnatus est. *in left marg. f. 21v. E²* 478–498 Per tetrarchias provincia divisa est. Pontio Pilato Iudea datur Herodi Herodis filio Galilia. Traco et Iturea Philippo fratri eius ~~Ab~~ Abilina Lysania *in left marg. f. 21v. E²*

474–477 Ruf. 2.6, p. 663; Heg. 1.46.1–2, 2.2.3–4. 478–483 Ruf. 2.8, p. 668; Heg. 2.5.1.

484 Hic ... coniugem] Matth. 14:3; Mark 6:17; Luke 3:19. 484–494 Hic¹ ... Herodias] Heg. 2.5.2–4. 485–488 Matth. 3:16–17; Mark 1:9–11; John 1:32–33. 489 Matth. 14:1–12; Mark 6:14–29; Luke 3:19–20, 9:7–9. 490–492 Luke 23:6–16.

461 habebat] habeat *corr.* L | Doside] Dosile O 462 egrotaret] egrotasset DE 464 perit] original erased periit D | admixtus] permixtus O 465 nequid] nequis V 468 Salome] Salomo *corr.* V 471 aliis] alienis V 473 ad] a C 475 ipsius] suam D 476 est] *om.* C | Viennam] Vienna V 477 periit] petiit L 478 Per] Et per C | tetrarchias] tetrarcas C provincia] provinciam D 479 Iudee] Iude V 480 data] dada C 481 regis] *om.* DE 485 tanti] tati V 486 baptista] bapstista V 488 columbe] columbem V | conspiceri] prospicere C

Pilato eum preside	iudicante dimittere,	
Nam ipse Ierosolimis	morabatur tunc temporis.	
Sed Rome post ob nimiam	dampnatus avaritiam	
Confugit ad Hispanias	et post eum Herodias.	
At tetrarchiam terciam,	Traconem et Ituream,	495
Philippus frater habuit,	cuius uxorem abstulit,	
Et quarta pars provincie	concessa est Lisanie,	
Que Abilina dicitur	et Libano conecitur.	
Augusto Rome mortuo,	sub quo nascente Domino	
Edicta est descriptio,	sicut in evangelio	500
Secundum Lucam legimus,	imperio Tyberius	
Romano sublimatus est,	sub quo salvator passus est.	
Post hunc regnavit Gaius,	post Gaium vero Claudius;	
Nero successit Claudio,	sed potitus imperio	
Est supergressus omnia	crudelitatis genera:	505
Matrem fratrem cum coniuge	non veritus occidere	
Postremo cesis patribus	fere consumpsit ignibus	
Romam excellentissimam	totius orbis dominam;	
Petrum Paulum precipuos	interfecit apostolos:	
Petrum crucis patibulo,	Paulum consumens gladio.	510
Qui tandem ad permaximam	devenit ignominiam	
Ut luderet in theatro,	scurra factus et hystrio.	
Sic anno quartodecimo	plene necdum explicito	
Ex quo sumpsit imperium	consequitur interitum.	
Post cuius mortem protinus	Galba, Otto, Vitellius	515
Annorum trium spatio	succedunt in imperio.	
Vespasianus deinde	Romane dux militie	
Subrogatur imperio	a senatu vel populo.	
Veruntamen tunc temporis,	cum esset Ierosolimis	
Una cum Tyto filio	exercituque valido,	520
Iudeis renuentibus	tributa que Pompeius	
Statuerat persolvere,	devastabat assidue	
Agros, vicos cum urbibus,	viros cum mulieribus.	
In Galilea siquidem	devicit Tyberiadem,	

493–494 Herodes Romae post nimiam avaritiam damnatus confugit ad Hispanias et post illum Herodias *in left marg. f. 21v. E²*

493–494 Ruf. 2.8, p. 669; Heg. 2.5.4. **495–502** Luke 3:1. **504–508** Ruf. 2.11, p. 674; Heg. 2.6.1. **509–510** Petrum! ... gladio] Heg. 3.2. **511–512** Ruf. 2.11, p. 674.
513–518 Ruf. 5.6, pp. 761–62. **521–522** Ruf. 2.11 p. 674, 2.16, p. 687.

493 ob] ss. O om. DE **495** tetrarchiam] tetrarcham D tetarhiam C | Ituream] Itruream L Ituream O **498** Abilina] Alina V **500** sicut] sicut et C **502** passus est] *original erased*, passus est *in right marg.* V **504** potitus] potutus ss. c [?] C **508** orbis] uorbis L
510 Paulum] Paulo V **513** plene] pene C **514** quo] c ss. V **515** cuius mortem] mortem ~ V | Galba] Gaba V Galla C | Otto] Cato C Octo EV Oto O **516** in] om. C
517 militie] milice D **518** populo] a populo V **520** exercituque] exercitoque C exercituique D

Taracheam, Iotapatam	et Gliscalim et Gamalam,	525
Urbes excellentissimas	olimque munitissimas.	
Et subiugatis omnibus	Galileorum finibus	
Ad civitatem regiam	perrexit Alexandriam.	
A Roma missi nuntii	ei fuerunt obvii,	
Orantes ut celerrime	Romane reipublice	530
Redacte iam ad nichilum	conferret adiutorium:	
Predicti namque principes	elati sive desides	
Gula luxuque nimio	abusi sunt imperio.	
Relicto Tyto filio	Romam petit navigio.	
Receptus honorifice	fit rex et pater patrie,	535
Et rexit per decennium	feliciter imperium.	
At Tytus, cum exercitu	devastans in circuitu	
Iudaicam provinciam,	obsedit Ierosolimam.	
Tunc quidem adimpletum est	quod antea predictum est:	
Videlicet cum Dominus	civitatem intuitus,	540
Cunctarum rerum prescius,	ruinam fleret ipsius.	
Tunc Tytus eam undique	circumvallavit aggere,	
Ne foret clausis aliqua	fugiendi licentia;	
Exterius obsidio,	interius seditio,	
Et fames cum incendio	vastabat eos sedulo,	545
Et intestino prelio	se frucidabant mutuo.	
Frumenti namque copia	coadunata maxima,	
Que habundasset populo	totius anni circulo,	
Unius hore spatio	consumpta est incendio.	
Cepit ergo cotidie	horrenda fames crescere	550
Et periit inedia	pars populi non modica.	
Nec erat tabescentia	qui sepeliret corpora;	
Fetor intolerabilis	et aspectus horribilis,	
Et aeris corruptio	stravit multos de populo;	
Qui prevalebant viribus	decertabant cum hostibus,	555
Et cadebant cotidie	armorum omni genere.	
Sepe Tytus misertus est	eosque deprecatus est	
Ut sibimet consulērent	et ut in pace viverent,	
Nec paterentur destrui	urbem Templumque Domini.	
Sed expertes consilii	totum pendebant nichili,	560
Obliti iam que antea	previderant prodigia,	
In quibus apertissime	potuerunt perpendere	

525 The town of Gischala is meant. 529–533 Ruf. 5.10, p. 767; Heg. 4.26.1–2.

534–536 Ruf. 5.12, p. 768; Heg. 4.33.2. 539–541 Tunc ... ipsius] Luke 19:41–44.

542–543 Ruf. 6.13, pp. 799–800; Heg. 5.8.1. 544–556 Ruf. 6.14, pp. 800–801; Heg. 5.8.2.

557–559 Ruf. 6.11, pp. 791–92; Heg. 5.15. 561–621 Ruf. 7.12, pp. 820–21; Heg. 5.44.1–3.

525 Taracheam] Tetracheam CDE | Gliscalim] Gliscalum V 526 excellentissimas] exelentissimas C 528 Alexandriam] Ierosolimam O 531 conferret] conferet L
534 Tyto filio] filio Tito V 535 fit] fuit C | pater patrie] pacifice C 537 At Tytus] Atitus C
541 Cunctarum] Cuntarum corr. V 542 circumvallavit] circumvalleret D 545 sedulo] gladio O 549 hore] noctis O 552 sepeliret] sepelere C 560 expertes] expertis C

Esse tempus excidii	civitatis et populi:	
Nam dependentem gladium	super urbem et populum	
Conspererant in aere	unius anni tempore.	565
Et res valde mirabilis	apparuit tunc temporis,	
Que post nec ante contigit,	nam agnam vacca peperit,	
Conspiciente populo	admota sacrificio.	
In templo voces edite	sunt non audiri solite:	
“Cedamus istis sedibus	nec hic moremur amplius!”	570
Templique porte eree,	que sui magnitudine	
Vix a viginti fortibus	claudebantur hominibus,	
Diruptis seris ferreis	et fortibus repagulis	
In hora noctis medie	patuerunt spontanee.	
Exorta est hinc questio	magnaue dubitatio,	575
Utrum hoc omen pessimum	eis esset an optimum.	
Quidam divine gracie	conabantur ascribere,	
Portarum hec apertio	quod esset sine dubio	
Illorum liberatio	de Romanorum gladio;	
Quidam (quod erat verius)	patere Templum hostibus,	580
Urbem quoque cum populo	exterminandam subito.	
Quadam die prodigium	ante solis occubitus	
Apparuit horrificum:	nam urbis per circuitum,	
Per nubes et per aera,	cum armis discurrantia	
Sunt visa cunctis agmina,	futurorum presagia.	585
Prodigiisque omnibus	hoc fuit mirabilius	
Quod quidam vir plebeius,	cui nomen erat Iesus,	
Per totum quadriennium	ante belli principium	
Diebus atque noctibus	magnis clamabat vocibus,	
Dicens: “Ab oriente vox,	ab occidente quoque vox.	590
Et quattuor a ventis vox,	super sponso sponsoque vox.	
Vox super Ierosolimam,	vox super Templum etiam:	
Vox super omnem populum.”	Hoc dicebat ad ultimum.	
Correptus autem sepius	tam minis quam verberibus	
Et laceratis carnibus	pene nudatis ossibus	595
Deterreri non potuit	sed idem clamans perstitit.	
Et coram magistratibus	multo clamabat amplius,	
Dicens, “Ve ve Ierosalem,”	et repetebat eadem.	
Adhuc nulla calamitas	nondum obsessa civitas,	

563 excidii] excidii C 565 tempore] tepore L 566 tunc] in left marg. D 569 voces] voce corr. E 570 istis] ab ss. D | sedibus] cedibus D | nec] ne C 571 Templique porte] Templi porteque O | magnitudine] magni[/ne] D 572 claudebantur] clauderentur O 573 Diruptis] Diruptis CDEV Dişruptis L | seris] seris L | fortibus] fortis C 574 spontanee] spontane D 575 Exorta] Exhorta E | est hinc] hinc ~ C | dubitatio] dupbitacio D 576 omen] illegible D | an] at D aut CEL 580 patere] patere O 582 die] doe corr. C 586 Prodigiiisque] Et predigiisque D | hoc] nil DE 587 vir] om. O plebeius] plebius V | erat] fuerat DELV 588 totum] totam C 590 Dicens] Dicensę D vox¹] vox ss. D | vox²] vox ss. D 591 vox¹] vox ss. D | sponso] sponso corr. O sponsoque] sponsoque corr. O 592 Vox] Vox D 596 perstitit] restitit O 598 ve] om. V eadem] itidem DE 599 nulla] nullia D | nondum] necdum DE | obsessa] possessa D

Nondum pressura populi, Erat depopulatio Dum hec incessabiliter Sed postquam urbs obsessa est Hic dum per murum curreret Iacto de funda lapide Et fuso cadens cerebro Hoc vulnere procubuit Iam septimus transierat Annus cum quinque mensibus In quibus nulli restitit Nec cibum offerentibus Preterea presagio Ad bellum hinc cotidie Scriptum erat antiquitus Quod pro certo tunc temporis De Iudeorum finibus Et verum quidem fuerat: Romani namque Cesarem Vespasianum sumpserant Secundum hoc presagium Iudei vero dubio Cum dictum sit de patria, His signis et prodigiis Non est compunctus populus Deprecabatur Dominum A civitate pelleret Enumeratis hactenus Sicut supra promissimus, Nunc ad reges Iudaici Postquam cum Herodiade nondum famis aut gladii vel populi seditio, declamaret ac fortiter. et plebs intus turbata est, et “ve ve michi” diceret, percutitur in vertice, de muri propugnaculo, et tunc clamare desiit. ex quo clamare ceperat usque ad diem obitus, qui ei malum intulit, benedixit ullatenus. seducebantur dubio; incitabantur maxime. in ipsorum codicibus futurus esset aliquis totius orbis dominus. iam enim sic contigerat, de finibus Jerusalem eumque constituerant totius orbis dominum. decepti sunt oraculo, non autem de prosapia. et aliis innumeris nec lacrimis aut precibus ut tam fortem exercitum et obsitam protegeret. Romanorum principibus, ad Tytum usque venimus. vertamus stilum populi. Herodes ad Hispanie	600 605 610 615 620 625 630
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630–649 Post fugam Herodis in Hispaniam filius Herodes ei suus successit tres qui Herodes infantium p interfectores Herodes qui Johannem decollavit sub primo Christus natus est sub secundo passus. tertius Herodes sub ex Aristobulo natus est. primi Herodis filio erat autem binomius. nam et Agrippa vocabatur at enim Johannem Jacobum interfecit gladio. vinxitque Petrum. eius Herodis qui fugerat et Philippi qui obierat tetrarchiam concessit Gaius. Claudius secundum in omnem divisionem avi sui Herodis sublimavit super Abilinum [?] et in exilio tertius Caesareae consumptus est a vermibus in lower marg. f. 22v. E².

630–631 Cf. l. 494.

600 famis] fames C **601** Erat] Nec era C **602** Dum] Cum DE **603**] Sed plebs C
urbs] ss. E urs C | et] om. C | turbata] conturbata C **605** de funda] | defunda CDL
608 septimus] septimo C **610** malum] nullum C maium corr. V **612** Preterea] Pre cetero V
seducebantur] se ducebantur L **613** hinc] nam O **614** ipsorum codicibus] codicibus eorum
O **622** dictum sit] fuerit DE **623** His] Hiis DO **626** obsitam] obsessam C
627 Enumeratis] Numeratis V | hactenus] actenus corr. L **628** venimus] pervenimus O
629 reges] regem O

Partes perrexit profugus, Successit in regimine Uno eodem itaque Herodes, innocentium Primus Herodes extitit, Qui Iohannem in carcere Qui tulit Herodiam Sub primo Christus natus est Natus ex Aristobolo, Herodes fuit tertius; Nam quem Agrippam Iosephus, Herodem regem nominat, Ipsius quem de Actibus Hic interfecto Iacobo Vinxit Petrum in carcere, Sed eductus ab angelo Aperta porta ferrea Primus obit in Iericho, Cesareeque tertius Hunc clauserat aliquando Sed Gaius Tyberio Solutum eum nexibus Nam et regem constituit Philippi, qui obierat, Sed et occiso Gaio Multum enim senatui Iam dudum commendaverat; Quamobrem regno patrio Cui Abilinam addidit, Cunctisque ei traditis Que Herodes possederat, Magnificavit gloriam Ob hoc elatus nimium Cesaream profectus est	Herodes ei tertius Iudaice provincie. tres appellantur nomine: interfector infantium, qui et Herodem genuit, truncari fecit capite, Philippi fratris coniugem. et sub secundo passus est. Herodis primi filio, erat autem binomius: hunc Lucas noster medicus ut nobis liber indicat Apostolorum legimus. fratre Iohannis gladio volens eum occidere. de carceris ergastulo, reversus est ad solita secundus in exilio, consumptus est a vermibus. Tyberius ergastulo, succedens in imperio multis ditavit opibus. et tetrachias tradidit et Herodis, qui fugerat. dilectus est a Claudio. promotionem Claudii tunc enim Romam venerat. sublimatur a Claudio, quam Lisantias habuit. in regione Calcidis qui avus eius fuerat, ipsius et potentiam. post interfectum Iacobum ac taliter defunctus est:	635 640 645 650 655 660
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641 Herodes *in right marg. f. 127v. V*¹ 642 Agrippa *in right marg. f. 127v. V*¹

634–635 Cf. II. 443–45. 636–637 Qui¹ ... coniugem] Cf. II. 484–89. 641–643 Acts 25:13–26:32. 644–647 Acts 12:1–11. 649 Acts 12:19–23. 650–654 Ruf. 2.8, p. 669; Heg. 2.3.4. 655–664 Ruf. 2.10, p. 672; Heg. 2.5.6.

633 itaque] tempore *Morin* 637 tulit] tuli *corr.* E | Herodiam] *corr.* O *original illegible*
638 Christus] Christi *Morin* Christo V | et] *om.* O 639 primi] primo C 640 Herodes]
Herodis *corr.* O 641 Nam quem] namque D | Agrippam] Agripa V 642 nobis] vobis C
644 fratre] fratrem DV fratris C 646 Sed eductus] Seductus C | ergastulo] ergastitilo C *corr.*
O *original illegible* 647 solita] propria O 648 obit] obiit DE 653 tradidit] reddidit O
654 Herodis] Erodus *corr.* V 659 habuit] *om.* C 660 Cunctisque] Cunctis C | regione]
regionem C 663 elatus] letatus O *relatus corr.* V

Tribunal sibi fieri	iussit in loco celebri,	665
Ut de sublimi solio	videretur a populo.	
Festus dies advenerat,	tribunal quod construxerat	
Ascendit et ad populum	contionatur plurimum	
Indutus veste regia,	auro gemmisque fulgida;	
Auri splendore nimio	fit solis repercussio.	670
Turbatur visus omnium	in eum intuentium,	
Et hebetato lumine	auri solisque iubare,	
Voces eius non hominis	concrepabant sed numinis.	
His applaudebat laudibus	sibi non pertinentibus,	
Languore sed multimodo	percussus mox ab angelo:	675
Dum deus esse voluit,	quod erat homo perdidit.	
Huius Agrippae filius	Agrippa fuit parvulus.	
Sed iam adultus fuerat	quando Tytus advenerat	
Cum patre suo populum	debellare Iudaicum.	
Tyto contemporaneus	et comes individuus,	680
Cum esset fortis viribus	et lingua disertissimus,	
Suggerebat frequentius	tam plebi quam principibus,	
Modo blandis sermonibus,	nunc etiam terroribus,	
Ut civitatem redderent	tributum quoque solverent.	
Sed et priusquam menia	civitatis circumdata	685
Essent a Tyto Cesare,	putans posse comprimere	
Commotionem populi,	his verbis cepit eloqui:	
“Quid facis o gens misera?”	In quo tibi fiducia?	
In quo tibi refugium?	Quis conferet auxilium?	
Diligenter recogita	contra quos geris prelia:	690
Romanorum potentie	quis valuit resistere?	
Iam totum orbem domuit,	fecit quodcumque voluit.	
Ad orientem respice,	et poteris perpendere	
Medos, Parthos, Armenios,	Chaldeos, et Assyrios	
Bellatores fortissimos	Romanis esse subditos;	695
Arabs figens tentoria	per desertum et in via	
Est a Pompeio domitus	et factus tributarius.	
Devicta tu aliquando	ab eodem Pompeio,	
Romanorum dominio	obedisti usque modo.	
Nunc nimis est difficile	collo iugum excutere,	700
Quod facere debueras	quando collum submiseras.	
Certe quingente Asiae	civitates fortissime	

676 perdidit] etc. *in right marg. f. 136v. D¹*

688–811 Ruf. 2.16, pp. 682–87; Heg. 2.9.1.

667 tribunal] tribunall D		construxerat] paraverat O	668 contionatur] concianatur C
671 Turbatur] Turbatus C	674 His] Hiis DO	681 lingua] linga V	687 his] hiis DO
eloqui] loqui <i>e erased</i> O	688 misera] misara <i>corr.</i> C	693 respice] prospice O	
694 Parthos] Partos <i>corr.</i> V	696 Arabs] Arabas D	701 debueras] debue ras L	

Romanis nunc rectoribus Xerses per terram navigans Cum primitus exercitum A Grecis fuit postmodum Ut fugeret per equora, Grecorum sapientia, Armis quoque vel viribus Sub Alexandro principe Velit, nolit, nunc perficit Numquid Atheniensibus Sive Lacedemoniis Hos rerum affluentia De Romanorum manibus Philippenses Achaici Et Galathe gens valida Dalmatia vel Dacia, Provinciaque Scithie, Riget estivo tempore Iugum ferre non renuit, Quid pontum et Pamphiliam, Commemorem, vel Bosforos? Ad occasum convertere, Cerne captam a Iulio, Si gens deberet aliqua Cum Romanis contendere, Contra hostes assurgere, Clauduntur tamen undique Nam Alpium sublimibus Simulque a meridie Pyreorum montium Ab occasu Oceano Ab Aquilone deinde Sic premunitos aliquo Nemo potest: sunt etenim	obediunt in omnibus. et super fretum ambulans, habuisset innumerum, sic redactus ad nichilum vectus una navicula. divitiis, et gloria, precellens cunctis gentibus, post quoque multo tempore quicquid Roma preceperit. aut certe Macedonibus te comparare poteris? vel pugnandi peritia eripuit nullatenus. Tracesque pugnacissimi Romanis servit subdita. gens etiam Meotida que glaciali frigore multoque magis hieme, sicut Romanis placuit. Ciliciam et Liciam Romanos habent dominos. et insulam Britannie quamvis clausam Oceano. pro libertate patria Gallos deceret maxime qui cum sint fortes robore, naturali munimine: ab oriente montibus, miranda celsitudine pene nubes tangentium, procelloso ac turbido, vallantur Reno flumine. hos computare numero gentes trecente quindecim.	705 710 715 720 725 730 735
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727–734 Gallia sublimibus ab oriente montibus simulque a meridie miranda celsitudine Pyreorum montium ab occasu Oceano ab Aquilone Reno flumine *in left marg. f. 23v. E²* 734 Teno flumine *in right marg. f. 128r. V¹* 736 Gentes Gallorum trecente quindecim *in left marg. f. 23v. E²*

703 nunc] non C 704 Xerses] Xirses *corr.* V | terram] mare O 705 innumerum] fortissimum O 707 fugeret] fugerte V 709 cunctis] cunctis C 711 nolit] nolie C preceperit] precepit DE 713 Lacedemoniis] Lacedemonis C | Lacedemonis *corr.* V 714 pugnandi] pugnanda C 717 Galathe] Galatee V 718 Dalmatia] Dalmatica DV 719 Provinciaque] Provinciaque C Provinciaque *corr.* O | glaciali] glaciali *corr.* O 721 ferre] fere C 722 Ciliciam] Sciliciam V 724 insulam] insulam C 725 quamvis] quavis E | clausam] clausis O 726 deberet] haberet D | libertate] libertanda O 728 assurgere] consurgere O 731 meridie] a meridie D 732 Pyreorum] Pireneorum C Pireneorum V 733 occasu] ocase V | ac] et C 735 premunitos] permunitos *Morin* 736 trecente] trecente CDE trescente O

Indicium victoriae	transmisit primis Africe.	
Roma tamen Cartaginem	subvertit et Hannibalem.	775
Egyptus, Ethiopia,	Pentapolis, et Libia	
Romanorum principibus	obediunt in omnibus.	
Urbs potens Alexandria,	habens triginta stadia	
Protense longitudinis	et decem latitudinis,	
Bis binis panem mensibus	Romanis donat omnibus,	780
Nec minus tamen annua	persolvit vectigalia,	
Que colligit per singula	habitorum capita.	
Sic quidem tota Africa,	cum sit orbis pars tertia,	
Nam a mari Atlantico	occidentali termino,	
Orientalem terminum	sortitur mare rubeum,	785
Servit tamen cum omnibus	suis habitatoribus,	
Annonam octo mensibus	prebens Romanis civibus.	
Numquid tante potentie	sola vales resistere?	
Si fugere volueris,	evadere non poteris.	
Orbem totum circumpice	plenum Romano milite.	790
Si plus mori desideras	quam ut Romanis servias,	
In te converte gladium,	occidat pater filium,	
Occidat patrem filius,	non parcatur coniugibus,	
Interimantur parvuli,	trucidentur et famuli,	
Urbem Templumque Domini	consumat vis incendii,	795
Nec erit eis postea	victorie materia.	
Sed forsitan ad ultimum	divinum adiutorium	
Vobis adesse creditis,	cum ipsi defeceritis.	
Illi quoque Dominico	proteguntur auxilio,	
Nam res Romana publica	sine divina gratia	800
Certe tam longo tempore	nequisset consistere.	
Sed dicite, quemadmodum	divinum adiutorium	
Impetrare poteritis,	si Deum offenderitis?	
Pugnantes die Sabbati	legem transgrediemini;	
Vacare si nitimini,	quam cito capiemini!	805
Hoc etenim experti sunt	qui a Pompeio capti sunt.”	
Hec ubi rex locutus est,	ubertim lacrimatus est.	
Sed indurata nimium	gens, habens cor lapideum,	
Corripientis monita	contempsit salutaria.	
Ipsam quoque, quamplurimis	verborum contumeliis	810
Affectum primo, postea	propellit extra menia.	
Iosippus quoque postea,	cum esset urbs circumdata,	

810–811. *Illegible gloss in upper marg. f. 24r: E²*

812–903 Ruf. 6.11, pp. 791–95; Heg. 5.16.1.

774 transmisit] trans ss. V 775 subvertit] vicit O 776 Egyptus] Egiptus V
 778 Alexandria] Alexandrie V 779 decem] ss. D 781 minus] in right marg. with signe de
 renvoi V 785 Orientalem] Orientale C 790 Orbem] Urbem O | totum] totam O
 plenum] plenam O 791 Romanis] Romani corr. L 792 occidat pater] pater ~ E
 793 Occidat ... coniugibus] om. DE 795 consumat] consumet O 804 legem] leges L
 805 si] ss. D 809 Corripientis] Corripientes C corr. L Corripientis E | salutaria] salutifera O
 811 propellit] propellunt O 812 urbs] ubrs V

Nec esset ambiguitas	quin caperetur civitas,	
Homo Iudeus genere	dixit eis Hebraice	
Ut civitati parcerent,	nec sese morti traderent.	815
Iam enim duo diruta	erant antemuralia,	
Murusque iam cum turribus	expugnabatur tercius,	
Iam obsessorum viscera	marcescebant inedia,	
Insepulta cadavera	loca replebant omnia:	
Plateas, vicos, domata,	cunctaque diversoria.	820
Si sepulture tradere	quemquam de suo genere	
Misertus vellet aliquis,	admixtus ipse mortuis	
Moriebatur omnibus	exhaustis fame viribus.	
Nec latebat exterius	que fierent interius.	
Hortante tamen Cesare	loquebatur Iudaice	825
Iosippus, ut Iudaicus	vel sic amaret populus	
Salutis sue monita,	materna lingua cognita.	
At illi vehementius	hunc telis et lapidibus	
Appetere non veriti,	totum pendebant nichili.	
Iosippus postquam plurima	verba deprecatoria	830
Nichil proficientia	profudit sed inania,	
Hystorias gentilium	proferebat in medium	
Et "O," inquit, "miserrimi,	cum quibus congregimini?	
Numquid vos invincibiles	subicietis principes?	
Patres nostri frequentius	pugnare cum hostibus,	835
Non tam armis aut viribus	quam fuis Deo precibus.	
Cum rex Egypti pharao	copulatam coniugio	
Saram tulisset Abrahe,	de cuius sumus semine,	
Non tam magnam iniuriam	est armis ultus Abraham,	
Sed in conspectu Domini	effusa prece supplici	840
Sara secunda vespera	est incorrupta reddita;	
Rex insuper non modica	donavit ei munera.	
In luto seu in latere	detenti longo tempore	
Patres nostri cum filiis	servierant Egyptiis.	
Cumque eis impositum	iugum foret gravissimum	845
In colligendis paleis	laboribusque plurimis,	
Invocaverunt Dominum	dominatorem omnium,	
Quorum clamorem Dominus	exaudivit propitius	
Et misit eis principem	dilectum sibi Moysen,	

841 Sara secunda vespera reddita Abraham *in lower marg. f. 24r: E*²

843–844 Ex. 1:14. 845–849 Ex. 5:1–23.

817 cum] ss. V 821 quemquam] quem C 824 que] quid DE | fierent] fiebant O fieret DE
827 materna] paterna L | cognita] edita O 829 veriti] verici C 833 cum] qui CL qui
quibus congerrimini *add. in right marg. V* 834 subicietis] subiectis *in right marg. V* subicientis C
835 Patres] Petres C | nostri] vestri C 836 Non tam] Natam C | precibus] preccibus C
838 Saram] Sarām O 841 incorrupta] incorrupta C | reddita] *signe de renvoi in right
marg., l. 842 written in lower marg. O* 842 non] non non C 843 in latere] in om. CDELO
845 foret] esset C 847 dominatorem] donatorem D

Qui regis in presentia	multa fecit prodigia,	850
Ut Dominum agnosceret	et populum dimitteret.	
Sed induratus pharao	crudeliorque solito,	
‘Non novi,’ dixit, ‘Dominum,	et non dimitto populum.’	
Inmisit ergo Dominus	decem plagas in omnibus	
Egyptiorum finibus,	in viris et pecudibus.	855
In domibusque singulis	occisis primogenitis	
Eduxit eos Dominus	Egyptiis cernentibus,	
Non arcu sive gladio,	sed in virtutis brachio.	
Sic quoque dum allophili	cepissent archam Domini:	
Est cum Dagon reposita,	sed mane die crastina	860
Dagon precisis manibus	inventus est pro foribus.	
Ingemuit Geth, Ascalon,	Gaza, Azotus, Accaron.	
Nam populus ac satrape	turpi percussi vulnere	
Digerebant extalia	cum cibo putrescentia.	
Festinaverunt itaque	archam cito remittere	865
Hoc faciente Domino,	non arcu neque gladio.	
Sennacherib et Rapsaces,	Assyriorum principes,	
Obsederant Ierusalem	secum innumerabilem	
Adducentes exercitum	tam militum quam peditum,	
Sed Ezechie precibus	a Deo missus angelus	870
Occidit una noctium	fere totum exercitum.	
Et persequente nemine	Sennacherib cum Rapsace	
Magna cum ignominia	reversus est ad propria.	
Quotiescumque regibus	nostris sive principibus	
Videbatur utilius	decertare cum hostibus,	875
Armis suisque viribus	quam fuis Deo precibus,	
Dampnabantur exilio	vel interibant gladio.	
Rex noster hoc expertus est	Sedechias, dum ductus est	
Captivus ab Assyriis,	exul cecatus oculis.	
Epiphanes Antiochus	urbe capta cum civibus,	880
Dum spem in armis ponerent	nec se Deo committerent,	
De Templo sancto rapuit	que preciosa reperit;	
Asportavit preterea	totius urbis spolia.	
Nunc saltim intelligite	quod vobis extat utile:	
Romanis urbem reddite	tributa quoque solvite,	885
Que iam ex longo tempore	consuevistis solvere.	
Romani certe principes	in fide semper stabiles,	

850–858 Ex. 7:1–13:22. 859–866 1 Sam. 5:1–6:22. 867–873 2 Kings 18:13–19:37.
878–883 2 Kings 25:1–17.

851 agnosceret] cognosceret O 856 domibusque] ~ nam O 859 Domini] domina corr. C
860 reposita ... crastina] in left marg. D 861 Dagon] om. D | pro] pre C 862 Azotus]
Atotus L 867 principes] principes D 868 Obsederant] Obsiderant C 870 Sed Ezechie]
Sedechie O 874 principibus] princi[]pibus D 878 Rex ... 883 spolia] in right marg. O
880 Epiphanes] Epiphates D Epiphantes E | urbe] in ~ C | capta] hac C | civibus] ostibus C
884 saltim] saltem DEO 885 reddite] redite L 886 solvere] reddere O 887 in ...
semper] semper ~ O

Ad ignoscendum prompti sunt	cum hostes se subiciunt.	
Nec me loqui dixeritis	pro coniuge, pro filiis,	
Aut mea pro familia,	que est in urbe plurima:	890
Me ipsum interficite	cum filiis et coniuge,	
Urbi Temploque parcite,	vobis ipsis consulite.	
Si aliter feceritis,	salvari non poteritis.	
Nam cuncta vestra opera	Deo sunt odibilia:	
Urbem igne succenditis,	innocentes occiditis,	895
Templi fecistis ambitum	latronum receptaculum.	
In vestro Deum opere	irritatis cotidie;	
Ad celos usque pessima	vestra creverunt opera.”	
Dum hec et his similia	Iosippus voce publica	
Clamaret audientibus	cunctis in muro stantibus	900
Corde simul et auribus	duriores lapidibus	
Verborum contumeliis,	lapidibus et iaculis	
Ut inimicum impetunt,	ut proditorem arguunt.	
Tytus ut vidit nimiam	ipsorum insolentiam,	
Precepit exercitui	munimen muri tertii	905
Armorum omni genere	viriliter appetere.	
Constructis ergo machinis	et prope murum positis	
Murum turresque pariter	concutiebant fortiter	
Arietum impulsibus,	saxorum crebris ictibus;	
Septembris die septima	sunt menia pessundata,	910
In die autem crastina	intran per loca plurima.	
Aprilis mensis fuerat,	quando Tytus obsederat	
Tam turbam que convenerat,	quam incolas quos oderat.	
Hoc mense dies azimos	Iudei celeberrimos	
Observant annis singulis	memoriale temporis,	915
Quando per ducem Moysen	eduxit de terra Gesen	
Patres eorum Dominus,	quos nimis dira servitus	
Pharaonis oppresserat,	ex quo Ioseph obierat.	
Quibus et dedit transitum	per rubri maris alveum.	
Hinc inde stante latice	muri similitudine	920
Qui eos persecuti sunt	in fluctibus demersi sunt.	
Hoc festum pascha dicitur,	quod et nunc usque colitur.	

912–925 Mense Aprili Tytus obsedit Jerusalem quo dies azymos Iudei celebrant in memoriam temporis in quo eos Dominus ex Egipto eduxit per Moysen ducem Tytus Iudeorum qui ad Templum undique confluerant obsedit in Jerusalem centena milia ter decies recensita in *lower marg. f. 25r. E*²

904–911 Ruf. 7.16, p. 826; Heg. 5.1.49.

889 pro²] vel OV 891 ipsum] autem O 892 ipsis] om. L 894 Nam ... 901 lapidibus] in *right marg.* O 897 irritatis] irritastis O 899 his] hiis DO 902 Verborum ... 903 arguunt] in *lower marg.* O 903 arguunt] argunt C 905 muri] muro L magno V | tertii] fieri V 907 Constructis] Constrictis D | positus] potens C 908 concutiebant] concuciebat D 909 impulsibus] impulsibus D 910 septima] tertia V 912 mensis] mensis L 914 dies] die DV 916 Gesen] Gersen DEV Iessen O 919 rubri] rubrum DE 921 persecuti] persecuti D | in fluctibus] in fluctibus V | demersi] dimersi OV

Inermes plures aderant, Centena namque milia In civitatis menibus At illi muro perditio, Huc et illuc diffugiunt, Tres miro turres opere Que preminebant ceteris Et dicebantur Phaselon, Prima de fratris nomine, Et ab amico tercia He quamvis fortitudine Essent inexpugnabiles, Una cum defensoribus Mixtique fugientibus Delitescebant clanculo, Has turres nec peritia Tytus tamen has destrui Possent animadvertere Quod ipsius potentie Victores victos lanceis Plures cremabant ignibus In Templo multi fugerant, Quamvis frustra, vel ultimum Nam ipsum cum porticibus Quidam, qui vivi capti sunt, Mulieres et parvuli At bestiis sunt plurimi In ludis quoque scenicis Multitudo non minima Adeptam post victoriam Tytus Romam revertitur, Occurrit pater filio Domitianus etiam Que post Neronis obitum Cum re Romana publica Ottonis et Vitellii Contra duces et populum	qui adorare venerant. ter decies recensita obsessa sunt ab hostibus. nullo freti consilio, nichil tutum repperiunt. ab Herode composita, et Romanorum machinis, Mariamnes, et Ippicon: secundaque de coniuge, hec habuere nomina. simul et altitudine his deputati vigiles relictis tantis turribus, in cloacarum sordibus, omni pudore perditio. nec vi ceperunt aliqua. non est passus, ut posteri post eum multo tempore nichil posset obsistere. persecuntur et gladiis; resistentes in domibus; nam illic se speraverant, habituros refugium: consumptum est ab ignibus. triumpho reservati sunt; sunt alienis venditi; ad devorandum traditi. et aliis spectaculis ludibrio est habita. et civitatem dirutam cum gaudio recipitur. cum universo populo. subegerat Germaniam, considerans imperium pro principum desidia per omnia pessumdari, levaverat calcaneum.	925 930 935 940 945 950 955
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928–932 Ruf. 6.6, pp. 779–80; Heg. 5.1.49.

955–962 Ruf. 7.23, pp. 833–34.

942–951 Ruf. 7.10–11, pp. 818–19; Heg. 5.49.4.

923 O aderant] fuerant O 924 namque] quoque DE 930 Mariamnes] Marianne C
933 He] Hee CO 934 his] hiis DO 935 turribus] viribus O 936 cloacarum]
cloacarum ss. D 941 potentie] potetie C | obsistere] recistere D 943 Plures ... 944
speraverant] parchment damaged O 946 cum] ss. V 947 triumpho ... 948 sunt] in left marg.
D 952 Adeptam] Adepta D | victoriam] victoria Morin | civitatem] civitate D | dirutam]
diruta Morin 957 Cum ... desidia] transp. to l. 958 O | pro] per D | principum] principium
corr. D | desidia] dissidia Morin 958 Ottonis] Octonis ACDELV Otionis O | Vitellii] Vitelli
D 959 levaverat] leverat (va. ss.) V | calcaneum] calcanenum V

Post adeptum imperium, Domitianum mittere Idoneum reprimere Tytus Iudea subruta, Senatui vel populo Nam videbatur omnibus Cum post diram tyrannidem Bellorum peritissimum Triumphus ineffabilis Qualis nec visus antea, Iam finis erit operi,	Vespasianus filium acceleravit concite, superbiam Germanie. frater eius Germania, complacebant omnimodo: quod esset orta nova lux hunc habuissent principem, et pacis amantissimum. tam patri fit quam filii, nec est auditus postea. legenti ne sit oneri.	960 965 970
Annus erat millesimus et centesimus atque Sexagesimus exactus septem quoque menses Terquinique dies ex quo Templum Salomon Rex In Moria monte cepit prius edificare, Cum Tytus totam cum Templo subruit urbem. Nec tamen hoc Templum factum fuit a Salomone: Illud enim Nabugodonosor subverterat ante, Hocque sub Aggeo constructum tempore Cyri Persarum regis fuerat cum de Babilone Princeps Zorobabel Hesdras quoque scriba redirent.		975 980

963–969 Ruf. 7.24, pp. 734–37. 971–980 Ruf. 7.10, p. 819. 976–980 Cf. Ezra 5:12, 6:14, 2:1–2.

963 subruta] subrupta A 964 vel] cum *Morin* | complacebant] complacebat *Morin*
 965 Nam] Iam AD Tam E 966 hunc] nunc ACDE 967 peritissimum ... pacis] *om.* D
 968 ineffabilis] inestimabilis DE | fit] sit D 969 est auditus] auditus ~ *with construe marks* O
 970 erit] est O | operi] huic ~ O 971 Annus ... 980 redirent] *om.* DE
 973 Terquinique] Terquini V 974 Moria monte] monte ~ *with construe marks* O
 975 Cum ... 976 Salomone] *parchment damaged* O 980] Explicit liber tercius Alius tractatus
 de eadem materia *add.* L

Appendix orthographica

For the sake of clarity, I have opted to ignore orthographical variants as the result of palatizations (i.e. *c* for *t* after *i*).

Abrah-: Habrah- C	Egypt-: Egipt- CDLV
abundantes: habundantes EO	Epiphanes: Epifanes CL
Accaron: Accharon E Acharon CD	Ethiopia: Etyopia C
admixtus: ammixtus DE	exhorruit: exorruit CV
adquiescere: acquiescere CD	exsequendis: exequendis L
Afric-: Affric- DELO	Gabinus: Guabinus C
Agripp-: Agrip- V	gazophilatio: gazofilacio CDO
Antiochus: Antioeus V	Geth: Get V Ghet C
apostolorum: apostolorum D	habuere: abuere V
applauderat: aplauderat V	habundasset: abundasset EO
aquilone: achilone V	hactenus: actenus LV
archam: arcam CDEOV	Hannibalem: Annibalem V
archanum: arcanum C	hausto: austo V
Aristobul-: Aristobol- CDEOV Aristobil- CV	hebetato: ebetato V
Ascalon: Aschalon O	Hebraice: Ebraice V
Asie: Asye DEOV	Herode-: Erode- C
Assyri-: Assiri- CDLV Asiri- V	Hesdras: Esdras AO
Atheniensibus: Ateniensibus L	hieme: hyeme DE hieime O
Babilone: Babylone CDEO	Hispani-: Ispani- CV Hispani- D
Britannie: Britanie C Britannie L	Hitabirio: Hycabinio C Hytabirio DEO
Chaldeos: Caldeos CDEOV	Hitaberio L Hytabirio DEO
cib-: cyb- L	hore: ore E
circundata: circumdata O	horrenda: horenda L
cohortibus: coorthibus C choortibus V	horribilis: orribilis V <i>corr.</i> L
columnas: columnas C colupnas DV	horrificum: horificum CD orrificum V
commendaverat: comendaverat L	host-: ost- C
commiserunt: comiserunt CV	hostibus: ostibus C
commisit: comisit V	Hyberis: Yberis DE
committentes: comittentes C	Hyrchan-: Hircan- CDEV Yrcan- C Ircan- V
commodo: comodo C	Hyrchan- V
commodum: comodum C	hystoria: historia DV
commotionem: comotionem CL	hystoriographus: istoriografus C
commotionis: comotionis C	istoriographus V
condempnatus: condemnatus C	hystrio: histrio CE
condepnatus V	idcirco: iccirco EO
conectitur: connectitur CDO	idoneum: ydoneum D
consumpsit: consumsit C	Iericho: Ierico CV Iherico DEV Ericho L
consumptum: consuptum D	Ierosolim-: Iherosolum- D Iherosolim- DO
contempsit: contemsit L contepsit D	Ierosolim- V Iherosolim- V
contemptrix: contemptrix CL conteptrix D	Ierusalem: Ierosalem CELO Iherosalem DV
Cypridem: Cypridem D	Iherusalem DV
dampnatus: dapnatus D	Iesus: Ihesus CDEOV
dimitteret: dimiteret L	ignominiam: ignomimiam C

impiissimo: impiisimo V	Philippenses: Philipenses CLV
ineffabilis: inefabilis C	Philippus: Philipus C Phylippus L
inpulsibus: impulsibus E	Pilato: Pylato D
interemptis: interemtis C	Pompeio: Popeio CV Pompeyo D
Iohannem: Ihoannem D	Prochorus: Procorus LV
Ionathen: Ionaten C	prompti: promti V
Iosippu-: Ioseppu- C Iosipphu- C Iosyppu- L	promptissimus: promtissimus V
Iosipu- V	Ptolomeus: Ptholomeus DEO Tolomeus V
Iotapatam: Iotapatram CV Iothopatam DE	publica: publica C publica C
Ippicon: Ypichon E Ypocon C Yppicon O	pulchritudinis: pulcritudinis CDEV
Ypychon D	Pyrene-: Pirene- CDLV
Italia: Ytalia D	quadriennium: quadrennium D
Italiam: Ytaliam D	quattuor: quatuor CDLOV
languore: langore DV	Rapsaces: Rapsaces C
Libia: Lybia E	regimine: rigimine C
Lisanie: Lysanie DEO	Reno: Hreno O
littore: litore DV	repperi-: reperi- CDEOV
Mariamne-: Marianne- CLOV	Sabbati: Sabati C
Masada: Massada DE	Scithie: Sithie V
Matathie: Mathathie DE Mathatie O	secutus: sequutus L
Meotida: Meatida C Meodita D Meothida O	sed: set D
Mirram: Myrram CDEO	Sennacherib: Senacherib LV
misteri-: mysteri- CO	sepulchrum: sepulcrum CDV
mistic-: mystic- EO	squalore: scalore CV
Nabugodonosor: Nabogodonosor L	sublim-: sullim- E
necessaria: necessaria D	succedens: sucedens L
nichili: nihili C	successit: succesit C
numquid:nunquid EO	sumpsit: sumsit V
obsedit: osedit D	supplex: suplex LOV
obtineret: optineret C	supplici: suplici COV
oceano: oceano C	syderibus: sideribus V
occultatum: oculatum C	Symon-: Simon- CV
officium: ofcium D	Syri-: Siri- CV Siry- C Syry- D
oneri: honeri AC	Taracheam: Taratheam L
oppid-: opid- CDLV	theatro: teatro C
oppon-: obpon- OV	Tyberi-: Tiberi- C
oppresserat: obpresserat O	Tyberiadem: Tiberiadem C
optimu-: obtimu- V	Tygrane: Tigrane E
Parthie: Partie V	tyrannidem: tirannidem CEOV
Parthos: Partos C	Tyto: Tito V
parvul-: parvull- D	uberrimas: uberimas D
pascha: pasca V	vacca: vaca CV
persecutus: persequutus L	veruntamen: verumtamen CDLV
persecuntur: persequuntur L	verumptamen O verumtamen CDLV
pessunda-: pessumda- CDELV pesumda- V	Ydume-: Idumi- C Idume- E Ideme- V
Philipp-: Philip- CV Phylipp- DELO	ypodromo: ipodromio C ipodromo V