

SAINT JEROME

COMMENTARY ON JOEL

Commentariorum in Joelem

SABBATISMUS

Saint Jerome (347–420)
Commentariorum in Joelem · Commentary on Joel

Latin text: public domain.
Translation, alignment and edition © 2026 Inversiones San Juan Diego (Sabbatismus). Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International license (CC BY-SA 4.0).

Facing-page bilingual edition: Latin on the left-hand pages, English on the right.
Sabbatismus is the imprint of the Inversiones San Juan Diego foundation, San Pedro Sula, Honduras.
Set in EB Garamond and Cinzel.
sabbatismus.com

CONTENTS

Non idem ordo est duodecim prophetarum apud septuaginta interpretes, qui in Hebraica veritate retinetur. Illi enim ponunt secundum Amos, tertium Michaeam, quartum Joel, quintum Abdiam, sextum Jonam, septimum Naum, octavum Abacuc, nonum Sophoniam, decimum Aggaeum, undecimum Zachariam, duodecimum Malachiam: Hebraei autem post Osee, qui apud utrosque primus est, secundum legunt Joel, tertium Amos, quartum Abdiam, quintum Jonam, sextum Michaeam, septimum Naum, octavum Abacuc, nonum Sophoniam, decimum Aggaeum, undecimum Zachariam, duodecimum, qui et ultimus est, Malachiam. Et quia semel omnes unius voluminis prophetas enumeravimus, utile nobis videtur ἐτυμολογίας singulorum et Graece et Latine breviter annotare. Osee interpretatur *ὥζων*, quem nos salvatorem possumus dicere. Joel *ἀρχόμενος*, id est, incipiens. Amos, *βαστάζων*, qui apud Latinos portans dicitur. Abdias *δοῦλος Κυρίου*, id est, servus Domini. Jonas, *περιστερὰ*, hoc est, columba. Michaeas, *τίς ὡς* [Al. *ὁστισοῦν*], ex duabus orationis partibus nomen compositum, quod apud nos sonat, quis quasi, aut quis velut? Naum, *παράκλησις*, id est, consolatio. Abacuc, *περιλαμβάνων*, id est, amplexus sive luctans [Al. *amplexans*]. Sophonia, *κεκρυμμένος Κυρίου*, hoc est, arcanus Domini. Aggaeus, *ἐορτάζον*, quem nos festivum, sive solemnem possumus dicere. Zacharias, *μνήμη Κυρίου*, id est, memoria Domini. Malachias, *ἄγγελός μου*, id est, nuntius meus. Quae omnia quo sensu accipienda sint, in suis voluminibus disseretur. Quatuor autem reliqui prophetae, ut sedecim compleamus, Isaias, Ezechiel, Jeremias, Daniel, hanc habent intelligentiam: Isaias *σωτηρία Κυρίου* dicitur, id est, salus Domini: Ezechiel *κράτος Κυρίου*, quod nos robur vel imperium Domini possumus appellare: Jeremias *ὑψηλός Κυρίου*, id est, excelsus Domini: Daniel, *ἔκρινε με Κύριος*, id est, judicavit me Dominus. Quae cum ita se habeant, obsecro, mi Pammachi, qui omni arte pugnandi adversum diabolum dimicas, ut nobis contra Amalec pugnantibus leves cum Moyse ad Dominum manus, et adversarios Israel orationibus superes. Nuper de Aegypto egressi sumus, et in Osee Pharaone submerso, Rubrum transivimus mare (Exod. XIV, XV): nunc post latam eremi vastitatem, multo nobis labore sudandum est, ut ad Septuaginta palmas et fontes apostolicos pervenire valeamus. Insurgat licet scorpio, et arcuato vulnere ferire conetur: tu comes itineris, et excantator venenatorum morsuum, spiritualem nobis *ψυλλέα* exhibe quodque sanctae ac venerabili Paulae parenti tuae polliciti sumus, pius haeres suscipe, et quidquid vel ingenio vel doctrina minus tua exspectatione possumus, amici favore sustenta, nec in nobis vires consideres, sed voluntatem.

The order of the twelve prophets is not the same among the seventy interpreters as that which is retained in the Hebrew truth. For they place Amos second, Micah third, Joel fourth, Obadiah fifth, Jonah sixth, Nahum seventh, Habakkuk eighth, Zephaniah ninth, Haggai tenth, Zechariah eleventh, Malachi twelfth; but the Hebrews, after Hosea, who is first for both, read Joel second, Amos third, Obadiah fourth, Jonah fifth, Micah sixth, Nahum seventh, Habakkuk eighth, Zephaniah ninth, Haggai tenth, Zechariah eleventh, and Malachi twelfth, who is also the last. And since we have now enumerated all the prophets of this one volume, it seems useful to us to briefly note the etymologies of each, both in Greek and in Latin. Hosea is interpreted as σῶζων (sōzōn), which we can call "savior." Joel, ἀρχόμενος (archomenos), that is, "beginning." Amos, βαστάζων (bastazōn), which in Latin is called "bearing" or "carrying." Obadiah, δούλος Κυρίου (doulos Kyriou), that is, "servant of the Lord." Jonah, περιστέρα (peristēra), that is, "dove." Micah, τίς ὡς (tis hōs), a name composed of two parts of speech, which in our language sounds like, "who is like?" or "who is as?" Nahum, παράκλησις (paraklēsis), that is, "consolation." Habakkuk, περιλαμβάνων (perilambanōn), that is, "embracing" or "wrestling." Zephaniah, κεκρυμμένος Κυρίου (kekrymmenos Kyriou), that is, "the hidden one of the Lord." Haggai, ἐορτάζων (heortazōn), which we can call "festive" or "solemn." Zechariah, μνήμη Κυρίου (mnēmē Kyriou), that is, "memory of the Lord." Malachi, ἄγγελός μου (angelos mou), that is, "my messenger." In what sense all these things are to be understood will be discussed in their respective volumes. Moreover, the four remaining prophets, that we may complete the sixteen—Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Daniel—have this meaning: Isaiah is called σωτηρία Κυρίου (sōtēria Kyriou), that is, "salvation of the Lord"; Ezekiel, κρατός Κυρίου (kratos Kyriou), which we can call "strength" or "power of the Lord"; Jeremiah, ὑψηλός Κυρίου (hypsēlos Kyriou), that is, "the exalted of the Lord"; Daniel, ἐκρινέ με Κύριος (ekrine me Kyrios), that is, "the Lord has judged me." Since these things are so, I beseech you, my Pammachius, you who fight against the devil with every art of combat, that you might lift up your hands to the Lord with Moses for us as we fight against Amalek, and that you might overcome the adversaries of Israel with your prayers. We have recently departed from Egypt, and with Pharaoh submerged in Hosea, we have crossed the Red Sea (Exod. 14, 15); now, after the wide desolation of the desert, we must toil with much labor, so that we may be able to reach the seventy palm trees and the apostolic fountains. Though the scorpion may rise up and try to strike with its curved sting, you, as a companion on the journey and an enchanter of venomous bites, offer us a spiritual charm (ψυλλέα / psylla); and what we promised to the holy and venerable Paula, your mother-in-law, receive as a pious heir; and whatever we may accomplish that falls short of your expectation in either talent or learning, support with a friend's favor; and consider not our strength, but our will.

Verbum Domini quod factum est ad Joel filium Phatuel. Septuaginta interpretes pro PHATUEL () verterunt Bathuel; quod apud Hebraeos omnino nil resonat. Phatuel autem in linguam nostram vertitur latitudo Dei, vel aperiens Deus, ut in Marco legimus Salvatorem ad surdum mutumque dicentem: EPHPHETA (), quod est, adaperire (Marc. VII). Quia enim cum Apostolo dicere poterat: Os nostrum patet ad vos, o Corinthii, cor nostrum dilatatum est (II Cor. VI, 11): et audiebat a Domino: Dilata os tuum, et implebo illud (Ps. LXXX, 11): ipsa quoque oris adapertio, non in hominis, sed in Dei potestate est, Paulo dicente: Ostium mihi apertum est magnum et evidens; sed adversarii multi (I Cor. XVI, 9); idcirco aperiens dicitur Deus. Cumque sanctus semper proficiat, ex parte cognoscens et ex parte prophetans, donec veniat quod perfectum est, de latitudine et adapertione generatus, appellatur Joel (), quod apud nos sonat incipiens, vel est Deus, dicente Apostolo: Fratres, ego me non arbitror comprehendisse (Phil. III, 13); qua humilitate succrescens cum Moyse meretur audire: Qui est, misit me (Exod. III). Ad distinctionem enim eorum qui non sunt, de quibus et in Esther legimus: Ne tradas sceptrum tuum his, qui non sunt (Esther XIV, 11), Deus et sancti ejus esse monstrantur. Haec de nomine Joel et patris ejus perstricta sint breviter, ut recte verbum Dei, quod erat in principio apud Deum, factum esse narretur, Baptista Joanne referente: Qui post me venturus est, ante me factus est, quia prior me erat (Joan. I, 30). Porro factum esse sermonem ad meritum ejus refertur, cui fit, non ad conditionem illius qui fieri dicitur, ut alibi legimus: Dominus mihi factus est in salutem (Ps. CXVII, 21). Quomodo autem in Osee propheta, quem in principio duodecim prophetarum ante hunc librum explanavimus, sub nomine Ephraim ad decem tribus confertur vaticinium, quae vel Samaria, vel Israel saepe memorantur: sic in Joel, qui juxta Hebraeos secundus est, omne quod dicitur ad tribum Juda, et ad Jerusalem pertinere credendum est, et nullam omnino Israelis, id est, decem tribuum in hoc fieri mentionem. Tempora quoque, in quibus prophetavit, eadem debemus accipere, quae et in Osee legimus: In diebus Oziae, Joathan et Achaz et Ezechiae, regum Juda, et in diebus Jeroboam, filii Joas, regis Israel.

(Vers. 2, 3.) Audite hoc, senes, et auribus percipite, omnes habitatores terrae, si factum est illud [Vulg. istud], in diebus vestris, aut in diebus patrum vestrorum: super hoc filiis vestris narrate, et filii vestri filiis suis, et filii eorum generationi alteri. LXX: Audite haec, senes, et auribus percipite, omnes habitatores terrae, si facta sunt talia in diebus vestris, aut in diebus patrum vestrorum: pro his, filiis vestris narrate, et filii vestri filiis suis, et filii eorum in generationem alteram.

The word of the Lord that came to Joel the son of Pethuel. The Seventy interpreters translated PHATUEL as Bathuel; which among the Hebrews has no resonance at all. Pethuel, however, is translated into our language as 'breadth of God,' or 'God who opens,' as we read in Mark that the Savior said to the deaf and mute man: EPHPHATHA, which is, 'be opened' (Mark 7). For since he was able to say with the Apostle: 'Our mouth is open to you, O Corinthians, our heart is wide' (2 Cor. 6:11), and he heard from the Lord: 'Open your mouth wide, and I will fill it' (Ps. 80:11), and since the very opening of the mouth is not in human power, but in God's, as Paul says: 'A great and effective door has been opened for me, but there are many adversaries' (1 Cor. 16:9); for this reason God is called 'the one who opens.' And since the holy one always makes progress, knowing in part and prophesying in part, until that which is perfect comes, being begotten of 'breadth' and 'opening,' he is called Joel, which in our language sounds like 'beginning' or 'he is God,' as the Apostle says: 'Brethren, I do not consider that I have apprehended it' (Phil. 3:13); growing through this humility, he deserves to hear with Moses: 'He who is, has sent me' (Exod. 3). For, in distinction from those who are not, about whom we also read in Esther: 'Do not give your scepter to those who are nothing' (Esther 14:11), God and his saints are shown 'to be.' Let these things concerning the name of Joel and his father be briefly touched upon, so that it may be rightly narrated that the word of God, which was in the beginning with God, was 'made,' as John the Baptist relates: 'He who is to come after me was made before me, because he was before me' (John 1:30). Furthermore, that the word was 'made' refers to the merit of him to whom it is made, not to the condition of him who is said to be made, as we read elsewhere: 'The Lord has become my salvation' (Ps. 117:21). Now, just as in the prophet Hosea, whom we explained before this book at the beginning of the twelve prophets, the prophecy under the name of Ephraim is directed to the ten tribes, which are often mentioned as either Samaria or Israel, so in Joel, who according to the Hebrews is the second, it must be believed that everything that is said pertains to the tribe of Judah and to Jerusalem, and that no mention at all is made in this book of Israel, that is, of the ten tribes. The times also, in which he prophesied, we must take to be the same as those we read in Hosea: 'In the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel.'

(Verses 2, 3) Hear this, you old men, and give ear, all you inhabitants of the land, if this has happened in your days, or in the days of your fathers: tell your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation. LXX: Hear these things, you old men, and give ear, all you inhabitants of the land, if such things have happened in your days, or in the days of your fathers: concerning these things, tell your children, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation.

Senes jubentur audire, habitatores terrae auribus percipere. Senibus non dicitur, Audite, omnes; habitatoribus terrae additur, Auribus percipite, omnes. Auditus enim in Scripturis sanctis non est iste qui in aure resonat: sed qui corde percipitur, juxta illud quod Dominus loquitur in Evangelio: Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat (Mat. XIII, 9). Quod autem nos interpretati sumus, auribus percipite, et apud Graecos et apud Hebraeos unum verbum est, apud Graecos ἐνωτίσασθε; apud Hebraeos EEZINU (), quod proprie non corde, sed aure percipitur. Et ut sciamus sacrationem esse auditum, quam id quod in auribus resonat, Isaia. loquente, discamus: Audi, coelum, et auribus percipe, terra (Isai. I, 2). Qui senes sunt et coelestes, audiunt spiritualiter; qui habitant in terra, appellanturque terreni, auribus percipiunt. Et hoc in omnibus Scripturis notandum, ubi haec duo verba juncta ponuntur.

Quod in Lamech quoque legimus peccatore, qui locutus est ad uxores suas Ada et Sella: Audite verba mea, uxores Lamech, auribus percipite verba mea, quia virum occidi in vulnus meum, et juvenem in livorem meum (Gen. IV, 23): sciebat obscura esse quae loquebatur, et idcirco uxores suas non ad simplicem tantum verborum sonum, sed ad reconditam quoque dictorum intelligentiam provocabat.

Si quis igitur senex est, et maturae 170 aetatis in Domino electus [Al. et laetus est] senex, ut in consequentibus juxta Septuaginta Interpretes legimus, ac parvulorum reliquit infantiam, audiat quae dicuntur. Qui autem adhuc habitat in terra, et non potest dicere: Advena sum et peregrinus sicut omnes patres mei (Ps. XXXVIII, 14), auribus percipiat. Si factum est, inquit, istud in diebus vestris, aut in diebus patrum vestrorum.

Arte rhetorica ex rerum magnitudine attentum auditorem facit: nulla haec, inquit, aetas meminit, quae dicturus sum, nec vestro, nec patrum vestrorum atque majorum facta sunt tempore. Patres autem avos atavosque cognosce et filios filiorum, omnem deinceps sobolem, juxta illud Virgilianum (Aeneid. lib. III): Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:

Et senes ergo et habitatores terrae, filiis vestris posterisque narrate; qui senex est, liberos suos doceat sacramenta: qui habitator est terrae, simplicem narret historiam. Unde usque hodie nos qui in Christo credimus, quorum cum Moyse ablatum est velamen ab oculis, et de quibus dicitur: Cani hominis sapientia ejus (Sapient. IV, 8), filiis nostris secreta et mira narramus. Judaei autem qui habitant in terra, loquuntur terrena, et humi cohaerentia, de quibus scriptum est: Qui de terra est, de terra loquitur: qui de coelo venit, super omnes est (Joan. III, 31).

The old men are commanded to hear, the inhabitants of the land to perceive with their ears. It is not said to the old men, "Hear, all of you"; to the inhabitants of the land is added, "Perceive with your ears, all of you." For hearing (*auditus*) in the Holy Scriptures is not that which resounds in the ear, but that which is perceived by the heart, according to what the Lord says in the Gospel: He who has ears to hear, let him hear (Matt. 13:9). But what we have translated as, "perceive with your ears," is a single word in both Greek and Hebrew; in Greek, *ἐνωτίσασθε*; in Hebrew, *EEZINU*, which is properly perceived not by the heart, but by the ear. And that we may know that hearing is more sacred than that which resounds in the ears, let us learn from Isaiah as he speaks: Hear, O heaven, and perceive with your ears, O earth (Isa. 1:2). Those who are old and heavenly, hear spiritually; those who dwell on the earth, and are called earthly, perceive with their ears. And this is to be noted in all the Scriptures, where these two joined words are placed.

This we also read in the case of the sinner Lamech, who spoke to his wives Adah and Zillah: Hear my words, wives of Lamech, perceive with your ears my speech, for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt (Gen. 4:23): he knew that what he was saying was obscure, and for that reason he was provoking his wives not merely to the simple sound of the words, but also to the hidden understanding of his sayings.

If, therefore, anyone is an old man, and an old man chosen in the Lord at a mature age [Alternatively: and is joyful], as we read in the following according to the Septuagint Interpreters, and has left behind the infancy of little children, let him hear what is said. But he who still dwells on the earth, and cannot say: I am a sojourner and a pilgrim, as all my fathers were (Ps. 38:14), let him perceive with his ears. If this has happened, he says, in your days, or in the days of your fathers.

By a rhetorical artifice, he makes the listener attentive from the magnitude of the events: "No age," he says, "remembers these things which I am about to say, nor have they happened in your time, nor in the time of your fathers and ancestors." But understand "fathers" as grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and "sons of sons" as all subsequent offspring, according to that line of Virgil (*Aeneid*, book III): And the children of their children, and those who will be born from them:

And therefore, both old men and inhabitants of the earth, tell your sons and posterity; let the one who is an old man teach his children the mysteries (sacramenta); let the one who is an inhabitant of the earth narrate the simple history. Whence even to this day we who believe in Christ, from whose eyes the veil has been taken away with Moses, and of whom it is said: The gray hair of a man is his wisdom (Wis. 4:8), narrate secret and wonderful things to our sons. But the Jews who dwell on the earth speak earthly things, and things that cling to the ground, of whom it is written: He who is of the earth, speaks of the earth; He who comes from heaven is above all (John 3:31).

(Vers. 4.) Residuum erucae comedit locusta, et residuum locustae comedit bruchus, et residuum bruchi comedit rubigo. LXX similiter. Exordium sequitur narratio: ibi ut attentum faceret auditorem, magna et incredibilia se dicturum esse promisit, quae nec vetus sciret historia, nec praesens aetas facta cognosceret. Hic erucam, et locustam, et bruchum, et rubiginem posuit, ut quae singula raro eveniunt, omnia simul facta memorentur, et ideo mirabilia sint.

Erucam quae Hebraice GEZEM (), Graece dicitur κάμμη, Hebraei Assyrios interpretantur, Babylonios atque Chaldaeos, qui de uno orbis climate procedentes, tam decem tribuum quam duarum, hoc est, Israelitici populi cuncta vastarunt. Locustam autem, Medos interpretantur et Persas, qui subverso imperio Chaldaeorum, Judaeos habuere captivos. Bruchum, Macedonas, et omnes Alexandri successores, maximeque regem Antiochum cognomento Epiphanem, qui instar bruchi sedit in Judaea, et omnes priorum regum reliquias devoravit, sub quo Machabaeorum bella narrantur. Rubiginem referunt ad imperium Romanorum, qui quarti et ultimi intantum oppressere Judaeos, ut de suis finibus eos pellerent. Scribit plenius Josephus septem voluminibus, Vespasiani et Titi narrans triumphos. Elii quoque Hadriani contra Judaeos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Jerusalem murosque subvertit, ut de urbis reliquiis ac favillis, sui nominis Eliam conderet civitatem.

Haec quatuor regna quae subvertere Judaeam, in quatuor cornibus Zacharias vidisse se scribit, dicente ad eum Angelo: Haec sunt cornua, quae ventilaverunt Judam et Israel et Jerusalem (Zach. I, 19). Et rursum: Levavi, inquit, oculos meos et vidi, et ecce quatuor quadrigae egredientes de medio duorum montium, et montes, montes aenei: in quadriga prima, equi rufi; et in quadriga secunda, equi nigri; et in quadriga tertia, equi albi; et in quadriga quarta, equi varii fortes (Zach. VI, 1). Cumque propheta dixisset ad angelum qui loquebatur in eo: Quid sunt haec, Domine mi? respondit angelus: Isti sunt quatuor venti coeli, qui egrediuntur ut stent coram Dominatore omnis terrae: et est sensus: isti sunt qui egrediuntur a facie Domini, ut ejus impleant voluntatem.

(Verse 4.) What the palmerworm has left, the locust has eaten; and what the locust has left, the cankerworm has eaten; and what the cankerworm has left, the blight has eaten. The Septuagint is similar. The narration follows the exordium: there, in order to make the listener attentive, he promised that he would say great and incredible things, which neither ancient history knew, nor the present age had known to have happened. Here he has placed the palmerworm, and the locust, and the cankerworm, and the blight, so that things which individually happen rarely might be recorded as having all happened at once, and for that reason be marvelous.

The palmerworm (*eruca*), which in Hebrew is GEZEM and in Greek is called *kámpē*, the Hebrews interpret as the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Chaldeans, who, proceeding from one region of the world, devastated all the lands of both the ten tribes and the two, that is, of the entire Israelite people. The locust, however, they interpret as the Medes and Persians, who, after overthrowing the empire of the Chaldeans, held the Jews captive. The cankerworm (*bruchus*), they interpret as the Macedonians and all the successors of Alexander, and especially King Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who, like a cankerworm, settled in Judea and devoured all the remnants left by the previous kings, and under whom the wars of the Maccabees are narrated. The blight (*rubigo*) they refer to the empire of the Romans, who, as the fourth and last, oppressed the Jews to such an extent that they drove them from their own lands. Josephus writes more fully in seven volumes, narrating the triumphs of Vespasian and Titus. We also read of the expedition of Aelius Hadrian against the Jews, who so completely overthrew Jerusalem and its walls that from the ruins and ashes of the city, he founded a city of his own name, Aelia.

Zechariah writes that he saw these four kingdoms that overthrew Judea as four horns, with the Angel saying to him: "These are the horns which have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem" (Zech. 1:19). And again: "I lifted up," he says, "my eyes and saw, and behold, four chariots coming out from between two mountains, and the mountains were mountains of bronze: in the first chariot were red horses; and in the second chariot, black horses; and in the third chariot, white horses; and in the fourth chariot, dappled, strong horses" (Zech. 6:1). And when the prophet had said to the angel who spoke in him: "What are these, my Lord?" the angel answered: "These are the four winds of heaven, which go forth to stand before the Lord of all the earth": and the meaning is: these are they who go forth from the face of the Lord to fulfill His will.

Cum habitatoribus terrae percepimus auribus quid eruca, locusta, bruchus, rubigo, significant: nunc cum senibus quod dictum est audiamus. Quatuor esse perturbationes, quibus animarum sanitas subvertatur, omnes philosophorum scholae conclamant. Duae praesentes sibi contrariae, duae futurae mutuo dissidentes. Praesentes, aegritudo et gaudium. Aegritudinem animi dicimus, alioquin corporis non aegritudo, sed aegrotatio nominatur. Aut igitur tristes sumus, et moerore conficimur, statusque nostrae mentis evertitur: unde et Apostolus monet, ne abundantiori tristitia absorbeatur frater (I Cor. II). Aut econtrario gaudemus, gestimusque laetitia, et bona nostra moderanter ferre non possumus; justique et fortis viri est, nec adversis frangi, nec prosperis sublevari, sed in utroque esse moderatum.

Diximus de perturbatione praesentium; dicamus et de futurorum, in quibus metus, aut spes est. Adversa timemus, prospera praestolamur; et quod aegritudo et gaudium operantur in praesenti, metus et spes faciunt de futuro, dum aut adversa plus quam decet timemus esse ventura, aut prospera quae speramus intantum nos faciunt exultare, ut non teneamus modum, maxime in his quae incerta sunt, quia futura sperantur potius quam tenentur.

Has perturbationes uno et nec pleno versiculo illustris poeta comprehendit (Aeneid. lib. VI): Hi metuunt cupiuntque (hoc de futuro), dolent gaudentque (hoc de praesenti) neque auras, inquit, Respiciunt, clausi tenebris et carcere caeco.

Qui enim perturbationum tenebris obvolvuntur, clarum sapientiae lumen non valent intueri. Cavendum est igitur ne aegritudo, quasi eruca, nos comedat; ne locusta vastet in gaudio, huc illucque volitans, et gestiente laetitia, per diversa se jactans; ne bruchus, id est, pavor et futurorum metus, radices sapientiae devoret, ne rubigo et desiderium futurorum res inutiles concupiscat, et nos perferat ad ruinam: sed ut in omnibus, quatuor quadrigas et quatuor cornua, et quatuor equos rufos, et varios, et albos, et nigras, id est, vel adversa, vel prospera, vel ex utroque sociata, frenis sapientiae gubernemus. Ego reor erucam esse incipientem in animo passionem, quae tarda est, et discurrere non potest, et mora ipsa ac pertinacia ebibit et exsugit omnem virorem: quam si non occiderimus, in nobis crescit et avolat, et nunc devorat quidquid attigerit, nunc semesa dimittens, pergat ad alia: revertensque ad pristinam sedem bruchus efficitur, ut non solum fruges, et folia et cortices, sed et ipsam medullam devoret tarditate.

With the inhabitants of the land, we have perceived with our ears what the palmerworm, the locust, the cankerworm, and the blight signify: now let us hear with the elders what has been said. All the schools of the philosophers proclaim that there are four perturbations (*perturbationes*) by which the health of the soul is subverted. Two are present and contrary to each other; two are future and mutually dissident. The present ones are distress and joy. We speak of distress (*aegritudo*) of the soul; otherwise, for the body, it is not called distress (*aegritudo*) but sickness (*aegrotatio*). Therefore, we are either sad and consumed by grief, and the state of our mind is overturned: whence the Apostle also warns, lest a brother be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow (I Cor. II). Or, on the contrary, we rejoice and are carried away with gladness, and cannot bear our good fortune moderately; and it is the mark of a just and strong man neither to be broken by adversity nor elated by prosperity, but to be moderate in both.

We have spoken of the perturbation of present things; let us also speak of future things, in which there is fear or hope. We fear adverse things, we await prosperous things; and what distress and joy effect in the present, fear and hope do concerning the future, when we either fear future adversities more than is fitting, or the prosperous things we hope for make us exult to such a degree that we do not maintain moderation, especially in those things which are uncertain, because future things are hoped for rather than held.

The illustrious poet comprehended these perturbations in a single, and not even complete, verse (Aeneid, Book VI): "They fear and desire (this concerns the future), they grieve and rejoice (this concerns the present); nor," he says, "do they look up to the light, shut up in darkness and a blind prison."

For those who are enveloped in the darkness of perturbations are not able to gaze upon the clear light of wisdom. Therefore, we must be careful lest sickness (*aegritudo*), like a caterpillar, consume us; lest the locust devastate us in joy, flying hither and thither, and with exultant gladness, flinging itself through various things; lest the cankerworm, that is, dread and fear of future things, devour the roots of wisdom; lest rust and the desire for future things covet useless things and carry us to ruin: but that in all things—the four chariots and four horns, and the four red, and dappled, and white, and black horses, that is, whether adverse things, or prosperous things, or things combined from both—we may govern them with the reins of wisdom. I think the caterpillar is a passion (*passio*) beginning in the soul, which is slow and cannot run about, and by its very delay and persistence drinks up and sucks out all vigor: if we do not kill it, it grows in us and flies away, and now it devours whatever it has touched, now leaving things half-eaten, it proceeds to others; and returning to its former seat, it becomes a cankerworm, so that by its slowness it devours not only the fruits, and leaves, and bark, but even the very marrow.

Sin autem evenierit, quod tamen rarum est, ut etiam post bruchum vitalis quippiam in nobis spiritus resideat, cuncta rubigo populatur, ita ut stipulam et vile fenum vertat in nigredinem, ut non solum esui, sed et fimo inutilia sint. De his quatuor perturbationibus, in principio quoque Amos, si vita comes fuerit, 173 disseremus: ubi scriptum est: Super tribus sceleribus, et super quatuor Damasci, Gazae, Tyri, Idumaeae, filiorum Ammon, et Moab, et Juda, et Israel, non convertam eos, dicit Dominus (Amos I, 3 seqq.). Quas nos perturbationes interpretati sumus, Graeci *πάθη* appellant, quae si *κακοζήλως* in passiones vertamus, verbum magis quam sensum verbi expresserimus.

(Vers. 5.) Expergiscimini, ebrii, et flete, et ululate, omnes qui bibitis vinum in dulcedine: quoniam periit ab ore vestro. LXX: Evigilate, qui ebrii estis in vino vestro: et plorate et plangite, omnes qui bibitis vinum in ebrietate: quoniam ablatum est de ore vestro.

Quasi senes atque presbyteri audire debemus: nulla res ita inebriat ut animi perturbatio. Est tristitia quae ducit ad mortem: haec abominanda ebrietas est. Est ira quae iustitiam Dei non operatur, et furori proxima, mentis suae impotem facit: intantum ut labia tremant, dentes concrepent, vultus pallore mutetur. Recteque illud laudatur Archytae Tarentini, qui cum villico suo esset iratus: Jam te, inquit, occiderem, nisi iratus essem. Quid referam de gaudio et voluptate, et maxime amore, qui excaecat cordis oculos: et nihil aliud, amantem, nisi id quod amat, cogitare permittit. Annon est dicenda ebrietas, cum propter vile scortum, et ignominiosam corporis partem, animae libertas in serviles blanditias inclinatur? cum laborem suum alterius facit esse delicias? cum furto, scelere, atque perjuriis, opes futurae praeparet voluptatis? et cum videatur ab omnibus, se existimat non videri: dummodo potiatur eo quod desiderat. Sed et avaritia excaecat animum ejus, cui nihil satis est: et muliebris timor, et dulcium cupido vitiorum. Unde dicitur ad eos: Evigilate et expergiscimini, qui ebrii estis: nequaquam vino, ut in solis LXX continetur, sed omni perturbatione vitiorum: Flete, et plangite, et agite poenitentiam: et assumite tristitiam quae ducit ad vitam, et ululate, omnes qui bibitis vinum in dulcedine (Prov. III), sive, in ebrietate. Dulcia enim sunt vitia: quia mel distillat de labiis mulieris meretricis: et idcirco in Dei sacrificia non offertur: quoniam periit, sive ablatum est de ore vestro vinum, ebrietas atque dulcedo quae vos deceperat.

But if it should happen, which however is rare, that even after the cankerworm some vital spirit should remain in us, rust devastates everything, so that it turns the stalk and worthless hay to blackness, making them useless not only for food, but even for manure. Concerning these four perturbations, we will also discourse at the beginning of Amos, if life is our companion, where it is written: *For three transgressions, and for four, of Damascus, of Gaza, of Tyre, of Edom, of the children of Ammon, and of Moab, and of Judah, and of Israel, I will not turn them away, says the Lord* (Amos 1:3 ff.). What we have interpreted as perturbations (*perturbationes*), the Greeks call *pathē* (πάθη), which if we were to translate ineptly (*kakoželōs*) as "passions," we would have expressed the word rather than the sense of the word.

(Verse 5.) Awake, you drunkards, and weep, and howl, all you who drink wine in sweetness: for it has perished from your mouth. LXX: Wake up, you who are drunk with your wine: and weep and lament, all you who drink wine in drunkenness: for it has been taken away from your mouth.

As elders and presbyters, we ought to hear: nothing so inebriates as a disturbance of the soul (*animi perturbatio*). There is a sadness that leads to death: this is an abominable drunkenness. There is an anger that does not work the justice of God, and, being close to fury, it makes a person powerless over their own mind: to such an extent that the lips tremble, the teeth grind, and the face changes with pallor. And rightly is that saying of Archytas of Tarentum praised, who, when he was angry with his farm manager, said: "I would kill you now, if I were not angry." What shall I say of joy and pleasure, and especially of love, which blinds the eyes of the heart and permits the lover to think of nothing else but that which he loves? Should it not be called drunkenness, when on account of a vile prostitute and a shameful part of the body, the freedom of the soul is bent to servile flatteries? When it makes its own labor another's delight? When by theft, crime, and perjury, it prepares the means for future pleasure? And when it is seen by all, it thinks itself not to be seen, provided that it obtains what it desires. But avarice also blinds the soul of him for whom nothing is enough, as do womanish fear and the desire for sweet vices. Wherefore it is said to them: "Wake up and be roused, you who are drunk," not at all with wine, as is contained only in the Septuagint, but with every disturbance of the vices; "Weep, and lament, and do penance, and take up the sadness that leads to life, and howl, all you who drink wine in sweetness" (Prov. 3), or, "in drunkenness." For vices are sweet, because honey drips from the lips of a harlot woman, and for that reason it is not offered in the sacrifices of God; for the wine, the drunkenness, and the sweetness that had deceived you has perished, or been taken away from your mouth.

Saepe quippe Dei fit providentia, ut qui non cognoverunt Deum in prosperis, cognoscant in adversis: et qui divitiis male abusi sunt, ad virtutes penuria corrigantur. Juxta hunc sensum audiant senes: habitatores autem terrae percipiant auribus, de illo vino nunc praecipi, in quo est luxuria, et quo qui inebriati fuerint, regnum Dei possidere non possunt (Ephes. V). Qui vini ebrietate sopitus est, evigilet et ploret ebrium se fuisse, et ululet: ut postea ululatus ejus et fletus vertatur in risum, et gaudeat se ebrietatis materiam non habere, quae eum per abundantiam ebrium fecerat et vesanum.

(Vers. 6, 7.) Gens enim ascendet [Vulg. ascendit] super terram meam fortis et innumerabilis: dentes ejus, ut dentes leonis, et molares ejus, ut catuli leonis. Posuit vineam meam in desertum, et ficum meam decorticavit: nudans spoliavit eam, et projecit: albi facti sunt rami ejus.

LXX: Quia gens ascendit super terram fortis et innumerabilis: dentes ejus, leonis: et molares ejus, ut catuli leonis. Posuit vineam meam in dissipationem, et ficos meas in confractionem: scrutans scrutatus est eam, et projecit: dealbavit ramos ejus.

Judaei putant in diebus Joel tam innumerabilem locustarum super Judaeam venisse multitudinem, ut cuncta complerent: et non dicam fruges, sed vinearum quidem et arborum cortices ramosque dimitterent, ita ut, omni virore consumpto, arentes arborum rami, et sicca vinearum flagella remanerent. Hoc utrum factum nec ne sit, liquido affirmare non possumus: neque enim Regum et Paralipomenon narrat historia (III Reg. XVII). Quod utique si fuisset, quomodo famem sub Elia trium annorum et sex mensium legimus, numquam Scriptura tacuisset. Tantum dicimus, quod sub metaphora locustarum, hostium describatur adventus, sive Assyriorum et Babyloniorum, qui tunc imminebant: sive Medorum atque Persarum, qui post futuri erant: sive Macedonum, quos multo tempore post fuisse cognovimus: sive ultimo Romanorum, de quibus supra diximus.

Licet nunc nobis magis 175 de Babyloniis dici videatur atque Chaldaeis, quorum crudelitas in populum Dei feritasque describitur: et, ni fallor, videor mihi in hoc Propheta aliquid reperisse. Narratur impietas hostium sub figura locustarum: et rursum sic de ipsis locustis dicitur, quasi hostibus comparentur, ut cum locustas legeris, hostes cogites; cum hostes cogitaveris, redeas ad lucustas. Ascendit ergo gens locustarum de solitudine, sive exercilus Chaldaeorum super terram Dei, et fortis, et innumerabilis.

For it often happens by the providence of God that those who did not know God in prosperity may come to know Him in adversity, and that those who have misused their riches may be corrected toward virtue by want. According to this sense, let the elders hear, and let the inhabitants of the land perceive with their ears, that the command is now about that wine in which there is debauchery, and those who have been inebriated with it cannot possess the kingdom of God (Eph. 5). Let him who has been stupefied by the drunkenness of wine awaken and weep that he was drunk, and let him howl, so that afterward his howling and weeping may be turned into laughter, and he may rejoice that he does not have the material for drunkenness, which through its abundance had made him drunk and mad.

(Verses 6, 7) For a nation will come up [Vulgate: *has come up*] upon my land, strong and without number: its teeth are the teeth of a lion, and its molars are those of a lion's cub. It has laid my vineyard waste, and stripped my fig tree: baring it, it has despoiled it and cast it down; its branches have become white.

LXX: For a nation has come up upon the land, strong and without number: its teeth are a lion's, and its molars are a lion's cub's. It has laid my vineyard to ruin, and my fig trees to breaking; searching, it has searched it out and cast it down; it has whitened its branches.

The Jews think that in the days of Joel so innumerable a multitude of locusts came upon Judea that they filled everything; and I will not say the crops, but they would leave behind the bark and branches of the vineyards and trees, so that, with all the greenness consumed, the dry branches of the trees and the withered shoots of the vines remained. Whether this happened or not, we cannot clearly affirm, for the history of Kings and Chronicles does not narrate it (1 Kings 17). For if it had indeed happened, just as we read of the famine under Elijah for three years and six months, Scripture would never have been silent about it. We only say that under the metaphor of locusts, the coming of enemies is described, whether of the Assyrians and Babylonians, who were then threatening; or of the Medes and Persians, who were to come later; or of the Macedonians, whom we know to have been much later; or finally of the Romans, of whom we have spoken above.

Although for now it seems to us to be said more of the Babylonians and Chaldeans, whose cruelty and ferocity against the people of God is described; and, if I am not mistaken, I seem to have found something in this Prophet. The impiety of the enemies is narrated under the figure of locusts; and in turn, it is spoken of the locusts themselves as if they were compared to enemies, so that when you read of locusts, you think of enemies; and when you think of enemies, you return to the locusts. Therefore, the nation of locusts, or the army of the Chaldeans, came up from the wilderness upon the land of God, both strong and innumerable.

Quid enim locustis innumerabilius et fortius, quibus humana industria resistere non potest? Dentes ejus, gentis videlicet locustarum (omnia autem *τυπικῶς* intellige), quasi dentes leonis; et molares illius, ut catuli leonis, ut qui in fortitudine et multitudine locustis coaequantur, in ferocitate et crudelitate leonibus comparentur. Haec, inquit, gens posuit vineam meam in desertum, quam de Aegypto transtuli et plantavi, et ficum meam decorticavit, populum Judaeorum [Al. meum Judaicum], ad quem venit Salvator, ut comederet fructus, et non invenit: maledixitque ei, et aruit in aeternum (Matth. XI). Omnia autem sub metaphora locustarum, dicta noscamus: quae intantum cuncta populantur, ut derodant arborum cortices, exutasque projiciant, et omni virore consumpto, albos ramos et aridos derelinquant.

Diximus juxta historiam; transeamus ad intelligentiam spiritualem, ut cum senibus audire possimus: Ascendit gens super terram Dei, animam videlicet humanam. Omnes enim animae Dei sunt: sicut anima patris, sic et anima filii. Et ascendit gens principum mundi istius, et tenebrarum, et spiritualia nequitiae in coelestibus, adversum quos nobis est lucta atque certamen, de quibus dicitur: Si spiritus potestatem habentis ascenderit super te, locum tuum ne dimiseris (Eccl. X, 4): cujus gentis dentes sunt sicut dentes leonis, de quo Petrus apostolus loquitur: Adversarius noster diabolus, quasi leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret (I Pet. V, 8). Et molares illius quasi catuli leonis. Catulum leonis, vel eum intellige, qui elevatur contra omne quod dicitur, Deus et religio, vel certe omne dogma perversum. De cujus contritis molaribus, qui 176 intrinsecus latent et non videntur, ne facile vitentur, etiam Psalmista laetatur dicens: Molas leonum confringet Dominus (Ps. LVII, 7). Si ergo dederimus locum huic genti, ut ascendat in nobis, statim ponet vineam nostram in desertum, de qua vinum facere solebamus, quod laetificat cor hominis (Ps. CIII): et ficus nostras decorticat, sive confringit, ne habeamus in nobis Spiritus sancti dona dulcissima, ne sub nostra vinea et ficu vir sanctus requiescat; sub quibus cum fuerit, adversariorum impetus non timebit. Nec sufficit huic genti vineam disperdere, ficumque confringere, nisi scrutans scrutetur eas, et quidquid in illis vitale fuerit, interficiat: ut, omni virore consumpto, albi atque emortui ramusculi remaneant, et compleatur in nobis: Si in viridi ligno haec faciunt, in sicco quid facient (Luc. XXIII)?

For what is more innumerable and stronger than locusts, which human industry cannot resist? Its teeth, that is, of the nation of locusts (but understand all things figuratively, *typikōs*), are like the teeth of a lion; and its molars, like those of a lion's cub, so that those who are equal to locusts in strength and multitude may be compared to lions in ferocity and cruelty. This nation, he says, has laid my vineyard waste, which I brought out of Egypt and planted, and has stripped my fig tree, the people of the Jews [or: my Jewish people], to whom the Savior came to eat its fruit and found none; and he cursed it, and it withered forever (Matthew 11). But let us understand all things said under the metaphor of locusts, which devastate everything to such an extent that they gnaw off the bark of trees, cast them down when stripped, and, with all greenness consumed, leave behind white and arid branches.

We have spoken according to the history; let us pass on to the spiritual understanding, so that with the elders we may be able to hear: A nation has come up upon the land of God, that is, the human soul. For all souls are God's: as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son. And there has come up a nation of the rulers of this world, and of darkness, and of the spiritual forces of wickedness in the heavenly places, against whom we have our struggle and contest, of whom it is said: *If the spirit of him who has power rises against you, do not leave your place* (Eccl. 10:4); the teeth of this nation are like the teeth of a lion, of which the apostle Peter speaks: *Our adversary the devil, like a roaring lion, goes about seeking whom he may devour* (1 Pet. 5:8). And its molars are like those of a lion's cub. By the lion's cub, understand either him who is lifted up against everything that is called God and religion, or certainly every perverse doctrine. Concerning whose crushed molars, which lie hidden within and are not seen, lest they be easily avoided, the Psalmist also rejoices, saying: *The Lord will break the molars of the lions* (Ps. 57:7). If, therefore, we give place to this nation to rise up in us, it will immediately lay our vineyard waste, from which we used to make the wine that gladdens the heart of man (Ps. 103); and it strips, or breaks, our fig trees, so that we may not have in us the sweetest gifts of the Holy Spirit, nor may a holy man rest under our vine and fig tree; under which, when he is, he will not fear the attacks of adversaries. Nor is it enough for this nation to destroy the vineyard and break the fig tree, unless, by searching, it scrutinizes them and kills whatever was vital in them, so that, with all greenness consumed, white and dead little branches remain, and it may be fulfilled in us: *If they do these things in the green wood, what will they do in the dry* (Luke 23)?

(Vers. 8.) Plange quasi virgo accincta sacco, super virum pubertatis tuae [Vulg. suae]. LXX: Plange ad me super sponsam accinctam cilicio, super virum suum virgineum. Vir pubertatis, sive, ut Septuaginta transtulerunt, παρθενικός, quem vulgo virgineum vocant, eo quod primus florem virginitatis abstulerit, non alius intelligitur nisi Deus, qui in Abraham, Isaac et Jacob despondit sibi virginem sponsam nulla idololatriae sorde maculatam. Ad quam et per Jeremiam loquitur: Non ut dominum me vocasti, et patrem, et principem virginitatis tuae (Jerem. III, 4). Unde et Apostolus ad credentes loquitur: Despondi vos uni viro virginem castam exhibere Christo (I Cor. XI, 2). Quamdiu cum hac sponsa sponsus fuerit, non potest jejunare (Matth. IX), nec plangere, nec absentis sponsi desiderium lacrymis indicare. Cum autem ablatus fuerit sponsus ab ea, plangit et plorat, et accingit se sacco et cilicio, et pro zona reste circumdatur. Intelleximus quis sponsus sit virginalis: verum quia iste sponsus, sive maritus, non solum virginem accepit sponsam, sed et meretricem in Osee ducit uxorem, propterea scriptum est in Deuteronomio: Si egressus fueris contra inimicos tuos: et tradiderit eos Dominus Deus tuus in manu tua, captivosque duxeris, et videris in numero captivorum mulierem pulchram, et adamaveris eam, voluerisque habere uxorem: introduces in domum tuam: quae radet caesariem, et circumcidet ungues suos, et deponet vestem in qua capta est, sedensque in domo tua, flebit patrem et matrem suam uno mense, et postea intrabis ad eam, dormiesque cum illa, et erit uxor tua (Deut. XXI, 10 seqq.). Hujusmodi mulieris non est maritus, id est, dominus virginalis, sed meretricem de gentium sordibus duxit uxorem. Quod et de omni anima credentium possumus dicere. Si a parva aetate credidit Domino, habet sponsum Dominum virgineum. Sin autem ex Judaeis, sive gentilibus, et haereticorum spurcissimis faecibus, ad fidei venerit veritatem, et de tenebris ad lucem transierit, habebit quidem sponsum, sed non virgineum: et de hujusmodi hominibus dicitur: In Aegypto fractae sunt mammae tuae, et ibi devirginata es (Ezech. XXIII, 3).

(Vers. 9 seqq.) Periit sacrificium et libatio de domo Domini: et luxerunt sacerdotes ministri Domini: depopulata est regio, luxit humus, quoniam devastatum est triticum. Confusum est vinum, elanguit oleum, confusi sunt agricolae. Ululaverunt vinitores super frumento et hordeo, quia periit messis agri: vinea confusa est, et ficus elanguit; malogranatum, et palma et malum, et omnia ligna agri aruerunt: quia confusum est gaudium a filiis hominum.

(Verse 8) Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth, over the husband of your youth [Vulgate: her youth]. The Septuagint: Lament to me over the bride girded with a hairshirt, over her virginal husband. The husband of her youth, or, as the Septuagint translated, *παρθενικός* (*parthenikos*), which they commonly call "virginal," because he was the first to take the flower of her virginity, is understood to be none other than God, who in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob betrothed to Himself a virgin bride, unstained by any filth of idolatry. To her He also speaks through Jeremiah: "Did you not call me as Lord, and Father, and the guide of your virginity?" (Jer. 3:4). Whence also the Apostle speaks to the believers: "I have betrothed you to one husband, to present you as a chaste virgin to Christ" (II Cor. 11:2). As long as the bridegroom is with this bride, she cannot fast (Matt. 9), nor mourn, nor show her longing for the absent bridegroom with tears. But when the bridegroom is taken from her, she laments and weeps, and girds herself with sackcloth and a hairshirt, and is bound with a rope instead of a belt. We have understood who the virginal bridegroom is; but because this bridegroom, or husband, not only took a virgin as his bride, but also takes a harlot as his wife in Hosea, it is therefore written in Deuteronomy: "If you go out against your enemies, and the Lord your God delivers them into your hand, and you take them captive, and you see among the captives a beautiful woman, and you desire her, and wish to have her as your wife, you shall bring her into your house; and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails, and put off the garment in which she was captured, and sitting in your house, she shall mourn her father and her mother for one month, and afterward you shall go in to her, and sleep with her, and she shall be your wife" (Deut. 21:10 ff.). Of such a woman, the husband is not, that is, the virginal lord, but he has taken a harlot from the filth of the gentiles as his wife. This we can also say of every soul of the believers. If from a young age it has believed in the Lord, it has the Lord as a virginal bridegroom. But if, from among the Jews, or the gentiles, and the most filthy dregs of the heretics, it has come to the truth of the faith, and has passed from darkness to light, it will indeed have a bridegroom, but not a virginal one; and of such people it is said: "In Egypt your breasts were crushed, and there you were deflowered" (Ezek. 23:3).

(Verses 9 ff.) The sacrifice and libation have perished from the house of the Lord: and the priests, the ministers of the Lord, have mourned: the region is laid waste, the ground has mourned, because the wheat is devastated. The wine is confounded, the oil has languished, the farmers are confounded. The vinedressers have wailed over the wheat and the barley, because the harvest of the field has perished: the vineyard is confounded, and the fig tree has languished; the pomegranate, and the palm and the apple, and all the trees of the field have withered: because joy is confounded from the sons of men.

LXX: Ablatum est sacrificium et libatio de domo Domini: lugete, sacerdotes ministri Domini, quoniam desolati sunt campi: lugeat terra, quoniam afflictum [Al. conflictum] est triticum, aruit vinum, imminutum [Al. immutatum] est oleum: aruerunt agricolae [Al. ligna]: lugete, possessiones, pro frumento et hordeo, quia periit vindemia de agro, vinea aruit, et ficus imminutae sunt: malogranatum et palma et malum et omnia ligna agri arefacta sunt, quoniam confuderunt gaudium filii hominum.

Quantum ad historiam pertinet, ob locustarum, sive hostium multitudinem, qui sub earum specie describuntur, vastatis omnibus atque consumptis, periit sacrificium et libatio de domo Domini: quorum alterum de simila, alterum de vino offerre soliti erant. Idcirco luxerunt sacerdotes, qui sunt ministri Domini, nec sacrificiis, nec libamentis rite celebratis: maxime quia et decimae, quas accipere consueverant, nequaquam oblatae sunt. Regio enim universa 178 populata est. Luxit humus, μετωννικῶς, pro eo quod est, hi qui versantur in humo: triticum, vinum oleumque elanguit: ipsi quoque agricolae et vinitores confusi sunt, et ululaverunt: quia non solum frumentum, sed hordeum quoque, quod vilius fertiliusque est, aruit. Et legumina quae ego puto significari in eo quod ait, periit messis agri, id est, cuncta quae solet humus gignere. Quid loquar de frumento, vino, oleoque et hordeo, cum etiam arborum poma siccata sint, ficus elanguerit, et malogranatum, et palma, et malum, et omnia ligna, vel infructuosa, vel frugifera, locusta vastante, consumpta sint? quae facta sunt omnia, ut auferretur, sive confunderetur gaudium a filiis hominum.

Possumus haec eadem et post adventum dicere Salvatoris accidisse populo Iudaeorum, quando pari furore clamantes dixerunt: Crucifige, crucifige talem: non habemus regem nisi Caesarem (Joan. XIX, 9 et 15); quando circumdata est Jerusalem ab exercitu, et in tantam necessitatem venerunt famis ac pestilentiae, ut filiorum necdum maturis corporibus vrescerentur: et sacrificia universa sublata sunt, et confusum est gaudium a filiis hominum, quia gaudium recipere noluerunt, de quo angelus loquitur ad pastores: Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum (Luc. II, 10).

LXX: The sacrifice and libation have been taken away from the house of the Lord: mourn, O priests, ministers of the Lord, because the fields are desolate: let the earth mourn, because the wheat is afflicted [Alt. conflicted], the wine has dried up, the oil is diminished [Alt. changed]: the farmers [Alt. trees] have withered: mourn, O possessions, for the wheat and the barley, because the vintage has perished from the field, the vineyard has dried up, and the fig trees are diminished: the pomegranate and the palm and the apple and all the trees of the field are dried up, because the sons of men have confounded joy.

As far as the history is concerned, on account of the multitude of locusts, or of enemies, who are described under their appearance, with everything devastated and consumed, the sacrifice and libation have perished from the house of the Lord: of which they were accustomed to offer the one from fine flour, the other from wine. For this reason the priests, who are the ministers of the Lord, mourned, with neither sacrifices nor libations being duly celebrated: especially because the tithes, which they were accustomed to receive, were by no means offered. For the entire region was laid waste. The ground mourned, metonymically (*metonymikōs*), for that which is, those who dwell on the ground: the wheat, wine, and oil languished: the farmers and vinedressers themselves were also confounded, and they wailed: because not only the wheat, but also the barley, which is cheaper and more fertile, withered. And the legumes, which I think are signified in that which he says, "the harvest of the field has perished," that is, all things that the ground is accustomed to produce. What shall I say of the wheat, wine, oil, and barley, when even the fruits of the trees have dried up, the fig has languished, and the pomegranate, and the palm, and the apple, and all the trees, whether fruitless or fruit-bearing, have been consumed by the devastating locust? All of which things were done so that joy might be taken away, or confounded, from the sons of men.

We can say that these same things also happened to the Jewish people after the advent of the Savior, when, shouting with equal fury, they said: "Crucify, crucify such a man: we have no king but Caesar" (John 19:9 and 15); when Jerusalem was surrounded by an army, and they came into such necessity of famine and pestilence that they fed on the not-yet-mature bodies of their children: and all sacrifices were taken away, and joy was confounded from the sons of men, because they refused to receive the joy of which the angel speaks to the shepherds: "I announce to you a great joy" (Luke 2:10).

Juxta ἀναγωγήν iste nobis sensus videtur: Postquam sponsa, quae receperat doctrinam Dei, per peccata a sponso fuerit separata, et pro byssinis lineisque vestibus, cilicio circumdata, id est, habitum lugentis assumpserit, tunc peribit sacrificium, de quo scriptum est: Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus (Ps. L, 19), et vini libatio, quod laetificat cor hominis, de domo Dei, quae est Ecclesia, dicente Apostolo ad Timotheum: Ut scias quomodo in domo Dei converseris, quae est Ecclesia Dei viventis (I Tim. III, 15). Auferetur autem sacrificium et libatio de domo Domini, quando, multiplicata iniquitate, refrixerit charitas multorum (Matt. XXIV): et principes populi ac ministri altaris, viderint campos et plana credentium fructus non afferre virtutum; sed omnia vitiis inhorrescere: quando frumentum et hordeum, vineasque et oleum, eruca, locusta, bruchus, 179 rubigo consumpserint, et nequaquam habuerimus calicem, de quo scriptum est: Calix tuus inebrians quam praeclarus est (Ps. XXII, 5)! Et perierit oleum, de quo in Ecclesiaste legimus: Omni tempore sint candida vestimenta tua, et oleum de capite tuo non deficiat (Eccl. IX, 8): quo exhilaratur facies, et caput jejunantis ungitur.

Tunc confundentur agricolae, cum viderint in possessionibus suis non nasci triticum, quo aluntur homines, et hordeum quo jumenta irrationabilia sustentantur, et confusam esse vineam, de qua scriptum est: Vineam frondosa Israel, fructus abundans in ea (Isai. V, 2): exspectante Domino, ut faceret uvas, et fecit spinas. Ficus quoque elanguit sub qua fuit, antequam crederet, Nathanael (Joan. I), et malogranatum, cujus cortici genae sponsae in Cantico comparantur (Cant. VI), et palma quae, perditio virore, siccata est, de qua olim dicebatur: Justus autem ut palma florebit. (Ps. XCI, 13): et malum de quo in eodem Cantico legimus: Sicut malum in medio lignorum: ita fratruelis meus in medio filiorum (Cant. II, 31). Quid necesse est omnes arbores percurrere, cum universa aruerint, et pro gaudio atque laetitia, filios hominum moeror oppresserit et confusio?

(Vers. 13, 14.) Accingite vos et plangite, sacerdotes; ululate, ministri altaris; ingredimini, cubate in sacco, ministri Dei mei, quoniam interiit de domo Dei vestri sacrificium et libatio; sanctificate jejunium, vocate caetum, congregare senes, omnes habitatores terrae in domum Dei vestri, et clamate ad Dominum. LXX: Accingite vos et plangite, sacerdotes; lamentamini qui ministratis altari; ingredimini, dormite in saccis, ministri Dei, quoniam defecit de domo Dei vestri sacrificium et libatio; sanctificate jejunium, praedicate curationem [Al. praedicationem curate]; congregare senes, omnes habitatores terrae in domum Dei vestri, et clamate ad Dominum vehementer.

According to the anagogical sense (*anagōgēn*), this seems to us the meaning: After the bride, who had received the doctrine of God, has been separated from the bridegroom through sins, and instead of fine linen garments, has been girded with sackcloth, that is, has assumed the habit of one who mourns, then the sacrifice will perish, of which it is written: "A sacrifice to God is a contrite spirit" (Ps 50:19), and the libation of wine, which gladdens the heart of man, from the house of God, which is the Church, as the Apostle says to Timothy: "That you may know how to conduct yourself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God" (1 Tim. 3:15). But the sacrifice and libation will be taken away from the house of the Lord when, with iniquity multiplied, the charity of many will grow cold (Matt. 24): and the princes of the people and ministers of the altar will see the fields and plains of the faithful not bearing the fruits of virtues, but everything bristling with vices: when the caterpillar, the locust, the beetle, and the rust have consumed the wheat and barley, the vines and the oil, and we will by no means have the cup of which it is written: "How wonderful is your intoxicating cup!" (Ps. 22:5)! And the oil will perish, of which we read in Ecclesiastes: "Let your garments be always white, and let not oil be lacking from your head" (Eccl. 9:8): by which the face is gladdened, and the head of one fasting is anointed.

Then the farmers will be confounded, when they see that in their possessions wheat is not born, by which men are nourished, nor barley, by which irrational beasts are sustained, and that the vineyard is confounded, of which it is written: "A leafy vine is Israel, with abundant fruit on it" (Isa. 5:2): with the Lord expecting it to produce grapes, and it produced thorns. The fig tree also has languished, under which Nathanael was before he believed (John 1), and the pomegranate, to whose rind the cheeks of the bride in the Canticle are compared (Cant. 6), and the palm which, having lost its greenness, has dried up, of which it was once said: "But the just man will flourish like a palm tree" (Ps. 91:13): and the apple tree of which we read in the same Canticle: "As the apple tree among the trees of the woods, so is my kinsman among the sons" (Cant. 2:3). What need is there to run through all the trees, when all have withered, and instead of joy and gladness, sorrow and confusion have oppressed the sons of men?

(Verses 13, 14.) Gird yourselves and lament, O priests; wail, O ministers of the altar; enter, lie in sackcloth, O ministers of my God, because the sacrifice and libation have perished from the house of your God; sanctify a fast, call an assembly, gather the elders, all the inhabitants of the land into the house of your God, and cry out to the Lord. LXX: Gird yourselves and lament, O priests; mourn, you who minister at the altar; enter, sleep in sackcloth, O ministers of God, because the sacrifice and libation have failed from the house of your God; sanctify a fast, proclaim a healing [Alt. care for the proclamation]; gather the elders, all the inhabitants of the land into the house of your God, and cry out vehemently to the Lord.

Qui sanctus sacerdos est, et comedit pascha Domini, accingatur balteo castitatis, et audiat cum apostolis: Sint lumbi vestri praecincti, et lucernae ardentes in manibus vestris (Luc. XII, 35). Qui autem peccator est, et quem remordet propria conscientia, cilicio accingatur et plangat, vel propria delicta, vel populi, et ingrediat¹⁸⁰ Ecclesiam, de qua propter peccata fuerat egressus, et cubet, vel dormiat in sacco, ut praeteritas delicias, per quas offenderat Deum, vitae austeritate compenset. Qui enim mollibus vestiuntur, in domibus regum sunt (Matth. XV). Accingantur autem sacerdotes et plangent et ululent, et dormiant in sacco, propheta eos ad poenitentiam cohortante, qui dicit: Ministri Dei mei, quomodo interiit de domo Dei vestri sacrificium et libatio (Joel. II), de quibus supra dictum est. Nec sufficit flere, vel plangere et habitum lugentis assumere, nisi sanctificent jejunium, et vocent coetum. Si omne jejunium placeret Deo, numquam diceret: Sanctificate jejunium. Et: Non tale jejunium elegi, dicit Dominus (Isai. LVIII). Et in Evangelio condemnantur qui exterminant facies suas, ut videantur hominibus jejunare (Matth. VI); et in diebus, inquit, jejuniorum vestrorum percutitis pugnibus, et opprimitis pauperem. Idcirco nunc dicit: Sanctificate jejunium. Jejunat Manichaeus, et multi haeretici, maximeque Encratitae, quorum princeps Tatianus est, sed hoc jejunium saturitate et ebrietate deterius est. Et vocare coelum, sive curationem, ut per poenitentiam nostra peccata curemus. Pro coetu in Hebraico legitur, ASARA (), quod Symmachus synodum, Aquila diem collectae interpretatus est. Congregate senes, quorum aetas vicina morti, maturaeque sententiae, magis timorem et cultum suscipit Dei. Omnes quoque habitatores terrae, de quibus supra dixerat: Audite hoc, senes, et auribus percipite, omnes habitatores terrae, ut et senes et habitatores terrae in domum Dei, quae est Ecclesia, congregentur. Cumque fuerint in Ecclesia, et de dispari grege sacerdotum et populi, senum et habitatorum terrae, unus grex fuerit effectus, clamate, inquit, ad Dominum in cordibus vestris et dicite:

(Vers. 15.) Ah, ah, ah diei, quia prope est dies Domini, et quasi vastitas [Al. tempestas] a potente veniet. LXX: Heu mihi, heu mihi, heu mihi in die! quoniam juxta est dies Domini, et quasi miseria de miseria veniet. Pro eo quod nos transtulimus, a potente, et Hebraice dicitur SADDAI (), quod unum 181 esse de decem Dei nominibus, aliquoties diximus, LXX interpretati sunt miseriam, SOD (), pro SADDAI legentes. Vox igitur sacerdotum et populi ad Dominum clamantis inducitur, ut tertio dicant, Heu mihi! credo, quia propter peccata quae fecerunt, sanctam offenderant Trinitatem.

He who is a holy priest and eats the Passover of the Lord, let him be girded with the belt of chastity, and let him hear with the apostles: "Let your loins be girded, and lamps burning in your hands" (Luke 12:35). But he who is a sinner, and whom his own conscience reproaches, let him be girded with sackcloth and lament, either for his own sins or those of the people, and let him enter the Church, from which he had gone out on account of sins, and let him lie or sleep in sackcloth, so that he may compensate for past delights, through which he had offended God, by the austerity of life. For "those who are clothed in soft garments are in the houses of kings" (Matt. 11). But let the priests be girded and lament and wail, and sleep in sackcloth, with the prophet exhorting them to repentance, who says: "O ministers of my God, how has the sacrifice and libation perished from the house of your God" (Joel 1:13), concerning which things was spoken above. Nor is it enough to weep, or lament and assume the habit of one mourning, unless they sanctify a fast and call an assembly. If every fast were pleasing to God, he would never say: "Sanctify a fast." And: "I have not chosen such a fast, says the Lord" (Isa. 58). And in the Gospel those are condemned who disfigure their faces so that they may appear to men to be fasting (Matt. 6); and "in the days," he says, "of your fasts you strike with fists, and you oppress the poor." For this reason he now says: "Sanctify a fast." The Manichaean fasts, and many heretics, and especially the Encratites, whose leader is Tatian, but this fast is worse than satiety and drunkenness. "And call an assembly," or a healing, so that through repentance we may heal our sins. For "assembly" in Hebrew is read as asarah, which Symmachus interpreted as "synod," Aquila as "a day of gathering." "Gather the elders," whose age is near death and of mature judgment, more readily receives the fear and worship of God. Also all the inhabitants of the land, of whom he had said above: "Hear this, O elders, and give ear, all inhabitants of the land," so that both the elders and the inhabitants of the land may be gathered into the house of God, which is the Church. And when they have been in the Church, and from the disparate flock of priests and people, of elders and inhabitants of the land, one flock has been made, "cry out," he says, "to the Lord in your hearts and say:"

(Verse 15.) Alas, alas, alas for the day, because the day of the Lord is near, and it will come as a devastation [Alt. tempest] from the Almighty. LXX: Woe is me, woe is me, woe is me on the day! because the day of the Lord is near, and it will come as misery from misery. For that which we have translated as "from the Almighty," and in Hebrew is said as Shaddai, which we have said several times is one 181 of the ten names of God, the LXX have interpreted as "misery," Sod, reading Sod for Shaddai. Therefore the voice of the priests and the people crying out to the Lord is introduced, so that they say a third time, "Woe is me!" I believe, because on account of the sins they committed, they had offended the holy Trinity.

Dies autem retributionis omnium delictorum illa est, de qua universi scribunt prophetae, et maxime Isaias clamitat: Ecce dies Domini insanabilis venit [Al. veniet], furoris et irae, ut ponat universum orbem desertum, et peccatores perdat ex eo (Isai. XIII, 9). Hic dies recte appellatur insanabilis; quia cum dies iudicii venerit, non erit locus poenitentiae, qui [Al. quia] aeternitati comparatus, prope est, et non longe. Quodque sequitur: Et quasi miseria de miseria veniet, sive, vastitas a potente veniet, hic sensus est, quod mala succedant malis, et omnis afflictio Deo iudice dispensetur, qui potens est et corpus et animam perdere in gehennam (Matth. X). Quod generaliter de die iudicii diximus, specialiter referamus ad tempus Judaicae captivitatis, quando Jerusalem capta, templumque destructum est; non multo enim post tempore venit et decem et duarum tribuum ab Assyriis Chaldaeisque captivitas: praediciturque ventura, ut cum venerit, non casu accidisse videatur, aut hostium fortitudine; sed ira et comminatione Dei, vel certe, agente populo poenitentiam, non veniat, quae ventura est, si permanserit in delictis.

(Vers. 16.) Numquid non coram oculis nostris alimenta perierunt; de domo Dei nostri, laetitia et exultatio? LXX: Ante oculos vestros alimenta perierunt: de domo Dei nostri laetitia et gaudium. Ante oculos pereunt alimenta peccantium, quando jam speratae fruges e manibus auferuntur, et praevenit locusta messorum, ut quod spe [Al. saepe] in horreis conditum est, bruchus et rubigo consumant. His quoque qui in Ecclesia commorantur, pro qualitate meritorum, frumentum spiritus, et hordeum litterae si peccaverint tollitur, ut patiantur famem sermonis Dei. Cumque fuerint alimenta sublata, consequenter gaudium et laetitia tollitur de domo Dei, ut qui audiebant ante Apostolum dicentem: Gaudete in Domino semper, iterum dico gaudete (Philip. IV, 4); postea Dominum audiant ad poenitentiam provocantem: 182 Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur (Matth. V, 5).

(Vers. 17, 18.) Computruerunt jumenta in stercore suo: demolita sunt horrea, dissipatae sunt apothecae, quoniam confusum est triticum; quid ingemuit animal, mugierunt greges armenti? quia non est pascua eis; sed et greges pecorum disperierunt. LXX: Subsaltaverunt vituli in praesepibus suis: dissipati sunt thesauri, suffossa sunt torcularia, quia arefactum est triticum: quid reponemus nobis? fleverunt armenta boum, quia non erant pascua eis, et greges ovium disperierunt.

But that day of retribution for all offenses is the one concerning which all the prophets write, and especially Isaiah cries out: "Behold, the incurable day of the Lord comes [Alt. will come], of fury and wrath, to lay the whole world desert, and to destroy sinners from it" (Isa. 13:9). This day is rightly called incurable; because when the day of judgment comes, there will be no place for repentance, which, compared to eternity, is near and not far off. And that which follows: "And as misery from misery it will come," or, "devastation from the Almighty will come," this is the meaning: that evils succeed evils, and all affliction is dispensed by God the judge, who is able to destroy both body and soul in Gehenna (Matt. 10). What we have said generally about the day of judgment, let us specifically refer to the time of the Judaic captivity, when Jerusalem was captured and the temple destroyed; for not much later came the captivity of the ten and the two tribes by the Assyrians and Chaldeans: and it is predicted as coming, so that when it comes, it may not seem to have happened by chance, or by the strength of the enemies, but by the wrath and threat of God; or certainly, if the people do penance, that which is about to come if they remain in their sins may not come.

(Verse 16.) Has not the food perished before our eyes; and joy and exultation from the house of our God? LXX: Before your eyes food has perished: from the house of our God joy and gladness. Before the eyes of sinners food perishes, when the already hoped-for crops are snatched from their hands, and the locust precedes the reaper, so that what was hoped for [Alt. often] stored in granaries, the beetle and the rust consume. Also to those who dwell in the Church, according to the quality of their merits, the wheat of the spirit and the barley of the letter are taken away if they sin, so that they suffer a hunger for the word of God. And when the food has been taken away, consequently joy and gladness are taken from the house of God, so that those who before heard the Apostle saying: "Rejoice in the Lord always, again I say rejoice" (Phil. 4:4); afterwards may hear the Lord provoking them to repentance: 182 "Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted" (Matt. 5:5).

(Verses 17, 18.) The beasts have rotted in their dung; the granaries are demolished, the storehouses are destroyed, because the wheat is confounded; why has the animal groaned, have the herds of the cattle lowed? because there is no pasture for them; but also the flocks of the sheep have perished. LXX: The calves have jumped in their stalls: the treasures are dissipated, the winepresses are undermined, because the wheat is dried up: what shall we store for ourselves? the herds of oxen have wept, because there were no pastures for them, and the flocks of sheep have perished.

Postquam alimenta perierunt, et de domo Dei gaudium laetitiaque sublata sunt, jumenta quoque computruerunt in stercore suo, sive, juxta intelligentiam spirituales, lascivierunt in praeseptis suis, et calcitraverunt contra Creatorem suum, ut impleatur quod scriptum est: Si saturati non fuerint, murmurabunt (Ps. LVIII, 16). Computrescit in stercore suo cujus Deus venter est, et qui dicit: Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur (Isai. XXII, 16): huic demolita sunt horrea futurae felicitatis, et apothecae aeternae abundantiae dissipatae sunt, vel subversa sunt torcularia, quia si frumenta et vina non fuerint, frustra horrea et torcularia praeparantur. Cumque omnia aruerint, tunc voce flebili querentur et dicent: Quid reponemus nobis? Quodque sequitur juxta LXX: Fleverunt armenta boum, quoniam non sunt eis pascua, compellit nos non de bobus et armentis accipere quae dicta sunt; sed de his, qui propter simplicitatem boves vocantur et oves. De quorum pascuis Salvator loquitur: Ingredietur et egredietur, et pascua inveniet (Joan. X, 3). Haec autem omnia intellige sub metaphora, erucae, locustae, bruchi et rubiginis, quod, sublati frugibus, atque vastatis, fames et pestilentia cuncta possederint.

(Vers. 19, 20.) Ad te, Domine, clamabo: quia ignis comedit speciosa deserti, et flamma succendit omnia ligna regionis; sed et bestiae agri, quasi area sitiens imbrem, suspexerunt ad te: quoniam exsiccati sunt fontes aquarum, et ignis devoravit speciosa deserti. LXX: Ad te, Domine, clamabo, quoniam ignis consumpsit speciosa deserti, et flamma succendit omnia ligna agri, et jumenta campi suspexerunt ad te, quoniam arefactae sunt emissiones aquarum, et ignis devoravit speciosa deserti.

Propheta clamante ad Dominum, vel populo 183 per prophetam: quia ignis comederit speciosa deserti, et flamma succenderit omnia ligna regionis, bestiae et jumenta agri, sive campi, suspexerunt ad Dominum, quasi areola sitiens imbrem. Hoc enim uno verbo significat Aquila dicens, ἐπρασίωνη; et suspexerunt ad eum, quoniam aruerunt fontes, vel emissiones aquarum, et ignis devoravit speciosa deserti, quod scilicet hoc eruca, et locusta, et bruchus fecerint et rubigo, quod ignis in stipula, flamma in vepribus. Speciosa autem deserti, quae Hebraice dicuntur NAOTH (), intelligamus aut plana camporum, aut pratorum florentia, aut virentia herbis loca, quae pascua praebuere jumentis. Clamare autem ad Dominum per prophetam, jumenta ad eum suspicere fecit ignis, qui devoravit speciosa deserti, et flamma quae succendit omnia ligna regionis, ut fruges et poma pariter interirent, et quia siccati sunt fontes aquarum, et quidquid in deserto poterat inveniri, vorax flamma consumpsit.

After the food perished, and joy and gladness were taken away from the house of God, the beasts also rotted in their dung, or, according to spiritual understanding, they became wanton in their stalls and kicked against their Creator, so that what was written might be fulfilled: "If they are not saturated, they will murmur" (Ps. 58:16). He rots in his dung whose god is his belly, and who says: "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die" (Isa. 22:16): for him the granaries of future happiness are demolished, and the storehouses of eternal abundance are dissipated, or the winepresses are overturned, because if there is no wheat and wine, the granaries and winepresses are prepared in vain. And when all things have withered, then with a mournful voice they will complain and say: "What shall we store for ourselves?" And that which follows according to the LXX: "The herds of oxen have wept, because there are no pastures for them," compels us not to take what was said as concerning oxen and herds, but concerning those who, on account of their simplicity, are called oxen and sheep. Concerning whose pastures the Savior speaks: "He shall enter and go out, and shall find pastures" (John 10:9). But understand all these things under the metaphor of the caterpillar, the locust, the beetle, and the rust, because, with the crops taken away and devastated, famine and pestilence have possessed all things.

(Verses 19, 20.) To you, O Lord, I will cry: because fire has eaten the beautiful things of the desert, and flame has burned all the trees of the region; but even the beasts of the field, as a garden bed thirsting for rain, have looked up to you: because the fountains of waters are dried up, and fire has devoured the beautiful things of the desert. LXX: To you, O Lord, I will cry, because fire has consumed the beautiful things of the desert, and flame has burned all the trees of the field, and the beasts of the plain have looked up to you, because the streams of waters are dried up, and fire has devoured the beautiful things of the desert.

With the prophet crying out to the Lord, or the people 183 through the prophet: because fire has eaten the beautiful things of the desert, and flame has burned all the trees of the region, the beasts and cattle of the field or plain have looked up to the Lord, as a little garden bed thirsting for rain. For Aquila signifies this with one word, saying *eprasiōthē*; and they looked up to him, because the fountains or streams of waters have withered, and fire has devoured the beautiful things of the desert, which namely the caterpillar, and the locust, and the beetle, and the rust have done, just as fire in stubble and flame in briars. But the "beautiful things of the desert," which in Hebrew are called *naoth*, let us understand either the level parts of the fields, or the flowering meadows, or places green with herbs, which provided pastures for the cattle. The fire that devoured the beautiful things of the desert and the flame that burned all the trees of the region made the cattle look up to the Lord when the prophet cried to him, so that the crops and fruits perished alike, and because the fountains of waters were dried up, the voracious flame consumed whatever could be found in the desert.

Simulque consideremus, quod nisi propter angustiam, et ablationem deliciarum, nec propheta, nec bestiae clamassent ad Dominum, aut ad Dominum suspexissent, quod quidem et ad justum quondam virum referri potest, qui cum declinaverit et fecerit malum, nequaquam ei virtutes pristinae proderunt; sed iudicabit eum Dominus in quibus invenerit. Speciosa deserti appellare possumus, de quibus scriptum est: Plures filii desertae magis quam ejus quae habet virum (Isa. LIV, 1). Flamma autem quae succendit omnia ligna regionis, illa esse credenda est, quae immittitur ardentibus diaboli sagittis, ut nihil in nobis bonarum frugum remaneat; sed cuncta incendio consumantur. Omnes enim adulterantes [Al. omne semen adulterantis], quasi clibanus corda eorum; et non solum propheta, vel populus per prophetam, qui rationale animal est (Ose. VII), sed jumenta quoque, de quibus dictum est: Homines et jumenta salvos facies, Domine (Ps. XXXV, VII). Et alibi: Quasi jumentum factus sum apud te (Psal. VII, 23). Et iterum: Seminabo eos semine hominum et jumentorum (Jer. XXXI, 27), suspexerunt ad Dominum, et rorem illius misericordiae flagitarunt; quia exsiccati sunt fontes aquarum, 184 quos cervus desiderat. Et de quibus Dominus loquitur per Jeremiam: Me dereliquerunt fontem aquae vivae (Jer. II, 13). Siccatis autem fontibus aquarum, qui arentia quaeque irrigant atque refrigerant, consequenter quidquid in nobis pulchrum fuit, ignis ardore consumptum est, de quo Dominus loquitur in Evangelio: Videbam Satanam quasi fulgur cadentem de coelo (Luc. X, 18).

(Cap. II.---Vers. 1 seqq.) Canite tuba in Sion: ululate in monte sancto meo: conturbentur omnes habitatores terrae, quia venit dies Domini, quia prope est dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nubis et turbinis; quasi mane expansum super montes, populus multus ac fortis, similis ei non fuit a principio, et post eum non erit usque in annos generationis et generationis. Ante faciem ejus ignis vorans, et post eum exurens flamma; quasi hortus voluptatis terra coram eo, et post eum solitudo deserti: neque est qui effugiat eum: quasi aspectus equorum, aspectus eorum, et quasi equites sic current, sicut sonitus quadrigarum super capita montium exsiliunt, sicut sonitus flammae ignis devorantis stipulam, velut populus fortis praeparatus ad praelium, a facie ejus cruciabantur populi: omnes vultus redigentur in ollam, sicut fortes current, quasi viri bellatores ascenderunt [Al. ascendent] murum: viri in viis suis gradientur [Vulg. vir... gradietur], et non declinabunt a semitis suis: unusquisque fratrem suum non coarctabit, singuli in calle suo ambulabunt.

At the same time, let us consider that except on account of anguish and the taking away of delights, neither the prophet nor the beasts would have cried out to the Lord or looked up to him, which indeed can also be referred to a once-just man, who when he has turned aside and done evil, his former virtues will by no means profit him; but the Lord will judge him in those things in which he shall find him. We can call the "beautiful things of the desert" those of which it is written: "Many more are the children of the desolate than of her who has a husband" (Isa. 54:1). But the flame that burned all the trees of the region is to be believed to be that which is sent by the burning arrows of the devil, so that nothing of good fruits remains in us, but all things are consumed by fire. For "all are adulterers [Alt. every seed of an adulterer], their hearts are like an oven"; and not only the prophet, or the people through the prophet, who is a rational animal (Hos. 7), but also the cattle, of whom it is said: "Men and beasts you will save, O Lord" (Ps. 35:7). And elsewhere: "I am become as a beast before you" (Ps. 72:23). And again: "I will sow them with the seed of men and of beasts" (Jer. 31:27), looked up to the Lord and begged for the dew of his mercy; because the fountains of waters ¹⁸⁴ which the stag desires are dried up. And concerning which the Lord speaks through Jeremiah: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water" (Jer. 2:13). For with the fountains of waters dried up, which irrigate and cool whatever is parched, consequently whatever was beautiful in us has been consumed by the heat of fire, of which the Lord speaks in the Gospel: "I saw Satan falling as lightning from heaven" (Luc. 10:18).

(Chapter II, Verses 1 ff.) Blow the trumpet in Zion: wail on my holy mountain: let all the inhabitants of the land be troubled, because the day of the Lord comes, because the day of darkness and gloom is near, the day of cloud and whirlwind; like the morning spread over the mountains, a people numerous and strong, the like of which has not been from the beginning, and after it there shall not be for the years of generation and generation. Before its face a devouring fire, and after it a burning flame; the land before it like a garden of pleasure, and after it a desert solitude: nor is there anyone who may escape it. Their appearance like the appearance of horses, and like horsemen so they shall run, as the sound of chariots over the tops of the mountains they shall leap, as the sound of a flame of fire devouring stubble, like a strong people prepared for battle. Before its face the peoples shall be tormented: all faces shall be turned into a pot. Like strong men they shall run, like men of war they have climbed [Alt. will climb] the wall: the men shall walk in their ways, and they shall not turn aside from their paths: each one shall not crowd his brother, each shall walk in his own path.

Sed et per fenestras cadent, et non demolientur, urbem ingredientur, in muro current, domos conscendent, per fenestras intrabunt quasi fur: a facie ejus contremuit terra, moti sunt coeli, sol et luna obtenebrati sunt, et stellae retraxerunt splendorem suum, et Dominus dedit vocem suam ante faciem exercitus sui, quia multa sunt nimis castra ejus, quia fortia et facientia verbum ejus. Magnus enim dies Domini et terribilis valde, et quis sustinebit eum?

LXX: Canite tuba in Sion, praedicate in monte sancto meo: conturbentur omnes habitatores terrae: quoniam adest dies Domini, quoniam juxta est dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nubis et pruinae; sicut mane fundetur super montes populus multus 185 et fortis, similis ei non fuit a principio, et post eum non erit usque ad annos generationis generationum. Ante eum consumens ignis, et post eum flamma succensa. Sicut paradisi voluptatis terra ante faciem ejus; et posteriora illius, sicut campus solitudinis, et qui salvetur non erit ei; sicut aspectus equorum, aspectus eorum, et sicut equites sic persequentur. Sicut vox quadrigarum super vertices montium exsiliunt, et sicut vox flammae ignis devorantis stipulam, et sicut populus multus et fortis praeparatus ad praelium, a facie ejus conterentur populi, omnis vultus sicut adustio ollae, sicut pugnatore current, et sicut viri bellatores ascendent super muros, et unusquisque in via sua ambulabit, et non declinabunt a semitis suis, singuli a proximo suo non recedent, aggravati armis suis ibunt, et in jaculis suis cadent, et non consumentur, urbem apprehendent, et super muros discurrent: super domos ascendent, et per fenestras intrabunt sicut fures, a facie ejus confundetur terra, et commovebitur coelum, sol et luna contenebrabuntur, et stellae auferent lumen suum, Et Dominus dabit vocem suam a facie fortitudinis suae, quoniam multa sunt nimis castra ejus, quoniam fortia opera sermonum illius, quia magna dies Domini, magna et illustris nimis, et quis erit sufficiens ad eam?

Rursum per metaphoram locustarum, describitur impetus Chaldaeorum, et jubetur propheta, immo per prophetam omnibus qui possunt Dei audire sermonem, ut quasi tuba exaltent vocem suam, et in Sion praedicent, et clangant in monte sancto ejus, ut ad strepitum clamoris et buccinae omnis Jerusalem populus contremiscat.

But even through the windows they shall fall, and they shall not be demolished, they shall enter the city, they shall run on the wall, they shall climb the houses, they shall enter through the windows like a thief. Before its face the earth has trembled, the heavens are moved, the sun and moon are darkened, and the stars have withdrawn their splendor, and the Lord has given his voice before the face of his army, because its camps are very many, because they are strong and doing his word. For the day of the Lord is great and very terrible, and who shall sustain it?

LXX: Blow the trumpet in Zion, proclaim on my holy mountain: let all the inhabitants of the land be troubled: because the day of the Lord is present, because the day of darkness and gloom is near, the day of cloud and frost; like the morning a people numerous and strong shall be poured over the mountains, the like of which has not been from the beginning, and after it there shall not be for the years of generation of generations. Before it a consuming fire, and after it a kindled flame. Like a paradise of pleasure the land before its face; and its posterior parts like a field of solitude, and there shall be no one who is saved from it; like the appearance of horses, their appearance, and like horsemen so they shall pursue. Like the voice of chariots over the summits of the mountains they shall leap, and like the voice of a flame of fire devouring stubble, and like a people numerous and strong prepared for battle. Before its face the peoples shall be crushed, every face like the burning of a pot. Like fighters they shall run, and like men of war they shall climb over the walls, and each one shall walk in his own way, and they shall not turn aside from their paths, each shall not recede from his neighbor, weighted with their arms they shall go, and on their javelins they shall fall and not be consumed. They shall seize the city and run over the walls: they shall climb over the houses and enter through the windows like thieves. Before its face the earth shall be confounded and the heaven shall be moved, the sun and moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall take away their light. And the Lord shall give his voice before the face of his strength, because its camps are very many, because the works of his words are strong, because the day of the Lord is great, great and very illustrious, and who shall be sufficient for it?

Again, by the metaphor of locusts, the onset of the Chaldeans is described, and the prophet is commanded—or rather, through the prophet, all who can hear the word of God—to lift up their voice like a trumpet and proclaim in Zion, and sound the trumpet on his holy mountain, so that at the noise of the cry and the trumpet all the people of Jerusalem may tremble.

Cumque, ait, cecineritis, hoc dicite: Nequaquam dies Domini ultra differetur, id est, dies ultionis atque vindictae; adest vicina captivitas, jam de suo loco Babyloniorum est egressus exercitus, prope est dies tenebrarum, et angustiae, dies caliginis et nubis et turbinis, in qua auferetur lumen omne laetitiae [Al. justitiae], et cuncta tenebris opprimuntur. Sicut, inquit, mane et diluculum subito tenebras fugat, et cunctos montes aurora collustrat: ita Babyloniorum super omnem terram vestram fundetur exercitus. Nec putetis turbam esse invalidam, populus 186 multus et fortis est, cujus similis nec in praeterito, nec in futuro, ulla gens alia poterit inveniri: quidquid attigerit, quasi vorax flamma consumet, nihilque post se integrum derelinquet; quasi hortus et paradus voluptatis omnis terra est, quam non tetigerit: quasi solitudo et desertum, quidquid fuerit depraedatus, neque ullus poterit inveniri qui illius effugiat manus.

Aspectus eorum quasi ferocium equorum, et quasi equites huc illucque discurrent. Non quo Babylonii equitibus comparentur; sed quo locustae per translationem hostium quasi equites dicantur huc illucque discurrere: Sicut sonitus, inquit, quadrigarum et curruum, sic erit sonitus locustarum. Super capita montium exsiliunt, ut omnia excelsa conscendant; et sicut stipulam cito flamma consumit, ita sonitus et terror vocis eorum cuncta populabitur. Quodque infert: Velut populus fortis praeparatus ad praelium, rursum ad locustas refert, ut non quasi de hostibus, sed quasi de locustis referre videatur; et tamen dum locustas legimus, Babylonios cogitemus. Tantus terror erit, ut omnes per circuitum nationes, et animo et corpore perhorrescant, immo crucientur: et pavoris magnitudine, vultus omnium in ollae similitudinem convertantur, quae igne combusta, nigredinem et fuliginem foedi monstret aspectus.

Discurrent, inquit, quasi viri fortes, haud dubium quin locustae: et quasi viri bellatores ascendent murum, ut murorum sublimitas impetum fortium prohibere non valeat, et nequaquam per portas, sed per muros ingrediantur: Singulis in viis suis gradientur, et non declinabunt a semitis suis. Hoc nuper in hac provincia vidimus.

And when, he says, you have sounded, say this: The day of the Lord shall by no means be delayed further, that is, the day of vengeance and retribution; the captivity is near, already from its own place the army of the Babylonians has gone forth; the day of darkness and anguish is near, the day of gloom and cloud and whirlwind, in which every light of joy [Alt. justice] shall be taken away, and all things shall be oppressed by darkness. Just as, he says, the morning and the dawn suddenly put to flight the darkness, and the aurora illuminates all the mountains: so the army of the Babylonians shall be poured over all your land. Nor should you think the crowd to be weak; the people is 186 numerous and strong, the like of which neither in the past nor in the future can any other nation be found: whatever it touches, it will consume like a devouring flame, and it will leave nothing whole behind it; like a garden and paradise of pleasure is all the land which it has not touched; like a solitude and desert whatever has been plundered, nor can anyone be found who may escape its hands.

Their appearance like that of fierce horses, and like horsemen they shall run hither and thither. Not that the Babylonians are compared to horsemen, but that the locusts, by a metaphor for the enemies, are said to run hither and thither like horsemen. "As the sound," he says, "of chariots and cars, so shall be the sound of the locusts." They shall leap over the tops of the mountains, so that they may climb all high places; and as a flame quickly consumes stubble, so the sound and terror of their voice shall lay all things waste. And that which he adds: "Like a strong people prepared for battle," again he refers to the locusts, so that he may seem to refer not as if to enemies, but as if to locusts; and yet while we read of locusts, let us think of the Babylonians. Such will be the terror that all the nations round about will shudder in both mind and body, or rather be tormented: and by the magnitude of the fear, the faces of all shall be turned into the likeness of a pot, which, burned by fire, shows the blackness and soot of a foul appearance.

"They shall run," he says, "like strong men," no doubt the locusts: "and like men of war they shall climb the wall," so that the height of the walls may not be able to prohibit the onset of the strong, and they may enter by no means through the gates, but through the walls. "They shall walk each in their own ways, and they shall not turn aside from their paths." This we have recently seen in this province.

Cum enim locustarum agmina venirent, et aerem qui inter coelum et terram est occuparent, tanto ordine ex dispositione iubentis Dei volitant, ut instar tesserularum quae in pavementis artificis figuntur manu, suum locum teneant, et ne puncto quidem, et, ut ita dicam, ungue transverso declinent ad alteram. Et ut apertam faceret metaphoram, et per fenestras, ait, cadent, et non demolientur. Nihil enim locustis invium est, cum et agros, et sata, et arbores, et urbes, et domos, et 187 cubiculorum secreta penetrent. Hoc autem de locustis dicitur, ut de hostibus intelligatur. Quodque nos interpretati sumus per fenestras cadent, et non demolientur, LXX transtulerunt, aggravati in armis suis ibunt, et in jaculis suis cadent et non consumuntur: quod nequaquam mihi videtur expositionis ordini convenire, sed in eo errorem esse generatum, quia SALA () verbum Hebraicum, illi jacula, nos fenestras intelleximus. Servatque coeptam narrationem, ut eos dicat urbem ingredi, in muris discurrere, domosque conscendere, et per fenestras intrare quasi fures, non quod furum timorem habeant qui victores sunt; sed ut fures solent ingredi per fenestras, et occulte rapere, sic illi, clausis januis, ne ulla sit mora, per fenestras tota irrumpent audacia. A facie istiusmodi locustarum terra contremuit, et coeli moti sunt, quae dicta hyperbolice sentiamus, non quod locustarum aut hostium tanta vis sit, ut possit movere coelos, et terram concutere; sed quod adversa patientibus prae terroris magnitudine, et coelum ruere et terra fluctuare videatur. Denique prae multitudine locustarum obtexentium coelum, sol et luna convertentur in tenebras, et stellae retrahent splendorem suum: dum lumen in medio nubes posita locustarum, ad terram non sinit pervenire. Dominus quoque dabit vocem suam ante faciem tam potentis exercitus, quia multa sunt castra ejus, et magnitudo virtutis illius in parvis quoque animantibus demonstratur. Haec autem multa castra, et innumerabilia fortia sunt nimis, et facientia verbum illius. Quo dicto ostenditur Babylonios Dei voluntate venturos, et illius imperio parituros. Magnus est, inquit, dies Domini, quo capienda est Jerusalem, et valde terribilis, et nullus eum poterit sustinere, et de necessitate captivitatis aut mortis evadere. Junctam et cohaerentem sibi pericopen dividere nolui, ne quod sensu unum erat, diversis capitulis carperetur.

For when the swarms of locusts came and occupied the air which is between heaven and earth, they flew with such order from the disposition of God commanding, that like the little tiles (*tesserularum*) which are fixed in pavements by the hand of an artisan, they held their place, and did not turn aside even by a point, and, so to speak, the breadth of a fingernail. And so that he might make the metaphor open, "and through the windows," he says, "they shall fall, and they shall not be demolished." For nothing is impassable to locusts, since they penetrate both fields, and crops, and trees, and cities, and houses, and 187 the secrets of bedchambers. But this is said concerning the locusts so that it may be understood concerning the enemies. That which we have translated as "through the windows they shall fall, and they shall not be demolished," the LXX translated as "weighted with their arms they shall go, and on their javelins they shall fall and not be consumed"; which by no means seems to me to agree with the order of the exposition, but an error has been generated in it because we understood the Hebrew word *shala* as "windows," but they as "javelins." And he keeps the narrative he has begun, so that he says they enter the city, run on the walls, and climb the houses, and enter through the windows like thieves; not that those who are victors have the fear of thieves, but as thieves are accustomed to enter through windows and secretly snatch, so they, with the doors closed, so that there is no delay, will burst in through the windows with all boldness. "Before the face of such locusts the earth has trembled, and the heavens are moved," which we should perceive as spoken hyperbolically; not that there is such power in locusts or enemies that they can move the heavens and shake the earth; but that to those suffering adversities, on account of the magnitude of the terror, both the heaven seems to fall and the earth to fluctuate. Finally, on account of the multitude of locusts covering the heaven, the sun and moon shall be turned into darkness, and the stars shall withdraw their splendor: while a cloud of locusts placed in the middle does not allow the light to reach the earth. The Lord also shall give his voice before the face of so powerful an army, because its camps are many, and the magnitude of its strength is demonstrated even in small creatures. But these many and innumerable camps are very strong, and doing his word. By which saying it is shown that the Babylonians will come by the will of God and will obey his command. "Great," he says, "is the day of the Lord, on which Jerusalem is to be captured, and very terrible, and no one will be able to sustain it," and to escape from the necessity of captivity or death. I did not want to divide the joined and coherent passage (*pericopen*) from itself, lest that which was one in sense should be plucked by different chapters.

Transeamus ad intelligentiam spiritualem, singula quaeque repetentes. Tubarum buccinarumque clangorem non solum in Levitico et Numerorum libro legimus (Num. X), in quibus jubetur, ut duas argenteas tubas faciat Moyses, quibus et in kalendis, et in septimo mense, prima die mensis, et in jubileo, et in 188 caeteris festivitibus, et quando ad bella procedunt, canant hi qui huic officio mancipati sunt; sed etiam muros Jericho ad tubarum clangorem scriptum est corruisse (Josue VI). Et Dominus angelum missurum se dicit esse cum clangore tubae (Matth. XXIV), et Apostolus resurrectionem mortuorum, ad tubae sonitum fieri praedicat (I Cor. XV). Et in Apocalypsi quoque Joannis legimus, septem angelos accepisse tubas singulas, quibus per ordinem canentibus, facta sunt quae Scriptura describit (Apocal. VIII). Praecipitur ergo nunc sacerdotibus et magistris, ut exaltent quasi tuba vocem suam, et impleant illud quod scriptum est: In montem excelsum ascende qui evangelizas Sion: exalta vocem tuam qui annuntias Jerusalem (Isai. XLVIII, 9), ut canat tuba in Sion, id est, in Ecclesia, quae interpretatur specula atque sublimitas. Et in sancto Dei monte qui Christus est, ut conturbentur, sive confundantur omnes habitatores terrae, et confusio eos pertrahat ad salutem. Diem autem Domini, diem intellige judicii, sive diem exitus uniuscujusque de corpore. Quod enim in die judicii futurum est omnibus, hoc in singulis die mortis impletur. Dies tenebrarum est et angustiae, dies nubis et turbinis; quia cuncta poenarum plena sunt atque cruciatuum.

Veniet angelorum populus multus et fortis, ut reddat unicuique secundum opera sua; et sicut mane et aurora consurgens primum occupat montes, sic judicium ab excelsis et potentibus incipiet, ut potentes potenter tormenta patiantur. Similis ei non fuit a principio, et post eum non erit usque ad annos generationis et generationis (Sapient. VI). Omnia enim mala, quae veteribus historiis continentur, et aut inundatione maris, aut illuvione fluminum, aut pestilentia, morbis, fame, bestiis, hostium vastitate, hominibus acciderunt, his suppliciis, quae in die sunt reddenda judicii, non poterunt comparari. Ante faciem hujus populi qui fortis et multus est, erit ignis vorans, sive consumens, ut omne in nobis fenum, ligna, stipulamque consumat. Unde et de Deo dicitur: Deus ignis consumens est, et post eum urens flamma (Deut. IV, 24); ut nihil absque suppliciis derelinquat.

Let us pass to the spiritual understanding, repeating each individual thing. We read of the clangor of trumpets and horns not only in Leviticus and the book of Numbers (Num. 10), in which it is commanded that Moses make two silver trumpets, with which those who are assigned to this office may sound both on the new moons, and in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, and in the jubilee, and in 188 the other festivities, and when they proceed to wars; but even the walls of Jericho are written to have collapsed at the clangor of trumpets (Josh. 6). And the Lord says that he will send his angel with the clangor of a trumpet (Matt. 24), and the Apostle proclaims that the resurrection of the dead will happen at the sound of a trumpet (1 Cor. 15). And in the Apocalypse of John also we read that seven angels received each a trumpet, and as they sounded in order, the things which the Scripture describes were done (Rev. 8). Therefore, the priests and masters are now commanded to lift up their voice like a trumpet and fulfill that which is written: "Go up into a high mountain, you who evangelize Zion: lift up your voice, you who announce Jerusalem" (Isa. 48:9), so that the trumpet may sound in Zion, that is, in the Church, which is interpreted as a watchtower and sublimity. And on the holy mountain of God which is Christ, so that all the inhabitants of the earth may be troubled or confounded, and confusion may lead them to salvation. But by the day of the Lord, understand the day of judgment, or the day of the departure of each one from the body. For what will be in the day of judgment for all, this is fulfilled in each on the day of death. It is a day of darkness and anguish, a day of cloud and whirlwind; because all things are full of punishments and torments.

A numerous and strong people of angels will come to render to each one according to his works; and as the morning and the dawn rising first occupies the mountains, so the judgment will begin from the high and powerful, so that the powerful may suffer torments powerfully. The like of which has not been from the beginning, and after it there shall not be for the years of generation and generation (Wisd. 6). For all the evils which are contained in ancient histories—whether they happened to men by the inundation of the sea, or the flooding of rivers, or pestilence, diseases, famine, beasts, or the devastation of enemies—cannot be compared to these punishments which are to be rendered in the day of judgment. Before the face of this people which is strong and numerous, there will be a devouring or consuming fire, so that it may consume in us all hay, wood, and stubble. Whence also it is said of God: "God is a consuming fire, and after him a burning flame" (Deut. 4:24); so that he leaves nothing without punishments.

Quemcumque hic populus non attigerit, nec in venerit in eo combustionis materiam, horto Dei et paradiso assimilabitur voluptatis, qui 189 Hebraice dicitur EDEN (). Si quem autem exusserit, quasi solitudinem in cinerem rediget ac favillas, nec est qui furorem ejus possit evadere, cujus crudelis aspectus frementium equorum habebit similitudinem, et sic discurrent ad cruciandos quos in potestatem acceperint, quasi equites huc illucque volitantes: terribilis erit sonitus eorum, quasi quadrigarum per prona currentium; et super capita montium exsiliunt, excelsos quosque et in Ecclesiae culmine constitutos cruciare cupientes. Et quia ante faciem eorum ignis est vorax, atque consumens, sic cuncta vastabunt, quomodo stipulam flamma consumit: ita venient ad puniendum: ita expediti erunt et parati, ut populus fortis ad praelium. Tantus erit timor omnium, tanta conscientia peccatorum, ut nullus luceat, nec splendorem habeat gaudii, sed instar adustae ollae facies ejus vertatur in tenebras. Ascendent murum et omnem munitionem; injunctumque sibi explentes opus, non declinabunt in partem alteram; sed inhiabunt miserorum suppliciis, nec tormentis eorum satiabuntur; sed unusquisque credita sibi in peccatores supplicia prosequetur. Sed et per fenestras intrabunt, sive cadent; vel aggravati armis suis ambulabunt, et in jaculis eorum [Al. suis] cadent hi, quos acceperint consumendos. Hae sunt fenestrae, de quibus et Jeremias dicit: Mors intrabit per fenestras nostras (Jer. VI, 21): omnes enim sensus nostros ingredi hostes desiderant, et capere urbem bonae conscientiae, et per nostra munimenta discurrere, domosque quas nobis bonis operibus aedificavimus, destruere. Omnia autem faciunt introeuntes per fenestras, quasi fur: libere enim non ingrediuntur, ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde (Psal. X). A facie istius populi, qui est multus et fortis, terra contremuit, et coeli commoti sunt. Coelum enim et terra transibunt, verbum autem Domini permanet in aeternum (Matth. 24). Sed et sol et luna tanta miserorum supplicia videre non poterunt, et moerebunt, non habentia officii sui justitiam, et pro claro lumine, tenebris operientur horrendis; stellae quoque retrahent fulgorem suum, 190 dum etiam qui sancti sunt praesentiam Domini absque formidine non videbunt. In his omnibus dabit Dominus vocem suam, ante faciem exercitus sui.

Whomever this people does not touch, nor finds in him the matter of combustion, he will be likened to the garden of God and the paradise of pleasure, which 189 in Hebrew is called Eden. But if it burns anyone, it will reduce him to ashes and embers like a solitude, nor is there anyone who can escape its fury, whose cruel aspect will have the likeness of raging horses, and thus they shall run hither and thither to torment those whom they have received into their power, like horsemen flying hither and thither: their sound will be terrible, like that of chariots running down a slope; and they shall leap over the tops of the mountains, desiring to torment all the high ones and those placed at the summit of the Church. And because before their face is a devouring and consuming fire, they shall so lay all things waste as a flame consumes stubble: thus they shall come to punish: thus they shall be unencumbered and prepared, like a people strong for battle. Such will be the fear of all, such the consciousness of sins, that no one may shine, nor have the splendor of joy, but his face shall be turned into darkness like a scorched pot. They shall climb the wall and every fortification; and fulfilling the work enjoined on them, they shall not turn aside to the other part; but they shall pant for the torments of the miserable, nor shall they be satisfied by their torments; but each one shall pursue the punishments entrusted to him against sinners. But even through the windows they shall enter, or fall; or weighted with their arms they shall walk, and in their javelins shall fall those whom they have received to be consumed. These are the windows concerning which Jeremiah also says: "Death shall enter through our windows" (Jer. 9:21): for the enemies desire to enter all our senses and capture the city of a good conscience, and to run through our fortifications, and destroy the houses which we have built for ourselves by good works. But they do all things entering through the windows like a thief: for they do not enter freely, so that they may shoot in the dark at those right of heart (Ps. 10). Before the face of such a people, which is numerous and strong, the earth has trembled and the heavens are moved. "For heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of the Lord remains forever" (Matt. 24). But also the sun and the moon will not be able to see such torments of the miserable, and they will mourn, not having the justice of their office, and instead of clear light, they shall be covered by horrendous darkness; the stars also shall withdraw their splendor, 190 while even those who are holy will not see the presence of the Lord without fear. In all these things the Lord will give his voice before the face of his army.

Quomodo enim Babylonii punientes Jerusalem, Dei vocantur exercitus: sic angeli pessimi (de quibus scriptum est: Furorem et iram et angustiam, immissionem per angelos pessimos (Psal. LXXXVII, 49) Dei exercitus dicuntur, et castra illius nominantur, dum Domini faciunt voluntatem. Magnus est dies Domini atque terribilis, de quo alibi scriptum est: Ut quid desideratis diem Domini (Amos V)? et hic est tenebrae, et non lux; et terribilis valde; rarusque aut nullus eum poterit sustinere, quin in se praebeat materiam saeviendi.

(Vers. 12 seqq.) Nunc ergo dicit Dominus: Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in jejunio, et fletu et planctu; et scindite corda vestra, et non vestimenta vestra, et convertimini ad Dominum Deum vestrum: quia benignus et misericors est, patiens et multae misericordiae, et praestabilis super malitia: quis scit si convertatur et ignoscat, et relinquat post se benedictionem, sacrificium et libamen Domino Deo nostro [Vulg. vestro]? LXX: Et nunc dicit Dominus Deus noster: Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in jejunio, in cilicio, in fletu, et in planctu; et scindite corda vestra, et non vestimenta vestra, et convertimini ad Dominum Deum vestrum: quia misericors et miserator est, patiens et multae misericordiae, et poenitens super malitiis: quis novit si revertatur et poeniteat eum, et dimittat post se benedictionem, sacrificium et libamen Domino Deo nostro?

Superius capitulum ab eo loco ubi scriptum est: Canite tuba in Sion, ululate in monte sancto meo: conturbentur omnes habitatores terrae, usque ad eum locum, ubi legimus: Magnus est dies Domini et terribilis valde, quis sustinebit eum? per translationem locustarum, adventum nuntiat Chaldaeorum, et quae mala ventura sint populo. Nunc eos ad poenitentiam provocat, et converti ad Dominum cohortatur, ut tota mente correcti, non patiantur quae Dominus comminatur, et est sensus: Omnia quae sermone praeterito continentur, propterea sum locutus, ut vos 191 comminatione mea terrerem. Unde convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, et animi poenitentiam jejunio et fletu et planctibus indicate; ut nunc jejunantes postea saturemini, nunc flentes postea rideatis, nunc plangentes postea consolemini. Et quia consuetudinis est, ut in tristibus atque adversis scindatis vestes, quod et pontifex ad Domini Salvatoris crimen augendum in Evangelio fecisse memoratur (Matth. XXVI), et Paulum et Barnabam audientes verba blasphemiae, legimus perpetrasse (Act. XIV): idcirco ego praecipio vobis, ut nequaquam scindatis vestimenta, sed corda quae plena sunt peccatis, quae instar utrius, nisi scissa fuerint, sponte rumpentur.

Cumque hoc feceritis, redite ad Dominum Deum vestrum, quem vobis priora peccata alienum fecerant: nec desperetis veniam scelerum magnitudine; quia magna peccata magna delebit misericordia.

For just as the Babylonians punishing Jerusalem are called the army of God: so the worst angels (concerning whom it is written: "Fury and wrath and anguish, a sending through the worst angels" (Ps. 77:49)) are called the army of God and are named his camps, as they do the will of the Lord. Great is the day of the Lord and terrible, concerning which it is written elsewhere: "Why do you desire the day of the Lord?" (Amos 5:18); and this is darkness and not light; and very terrible; and few or none will be able to sustain it, without providing in themselves the matter for raging.

(Verses 12 ff.) "Therefore now," says the Lord, "be converted to me with all your heart, in fasting, and in weeping, and in mourning; and rend your hearts, and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, patient and of great mercy, and ready to relent (*praestabilis*) over evil: who knows if he will turn and forgive, and leave a blessing behind him, a sacrifice and a libation to the Lord our God?" [Vulgate: your God]? LXX: "And now," says the Lord our God, "be converted to me with all your heart, in fasting, in sackcloth, in weeping, and in mourning; and rend your hearts, and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God: for he is merciful and compassionate, patient and of great mercy, and repenting over evils: who knows if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him, a sacrifice and a libation to the Lord our God?"

The previous chapter, from that place where it is written: "Blow the trumpet in Zion, howl on my holy mountain: let all the inhabitants of the land be troubled," up to that place where we read: "Great is the day of the Lord and very terrible, who will sustain it?" through the figure (*translationem*) of locusts, announces the coming of the Chaldeans and what evils are to come upon the people. Now he calls them to repentance and exhorts them to be converted to the Lord, so that, corrected in their whole mind, they may not suffer what the Lord threatens; and the sense is: All those things which are contained in the previous discourse, I have spoken for this reason, that I might terrify you 191 by my threat. Therefore, be converted to me with all your heart, and show the repentance of your soul by fasting and weeping and mourning; so that you who are now fasting may afterwards be filled, you who are now weeping may afterwards laugh, you who are now mourning may afterwards be comforted. And because it is a custom that in sad and adverse times you should rend your garments—which even the high priest is recorded in the Gospel to have done to increase the charge against the Lord Savior (Matt. 26), and we read that Paul and Barnabas did upon hearing words of blasphemy (Acts 14)—therefore I command you that you by no means rend your garments, but your hearts which are full of sins, which like wineskins, unless they are rent, will burst of their own accord.

And when you have done this, return to the Lord your God, whom your prior sins had made a stranger to you; nor should you despair of pardon because of the magnitude of your crimes, for great mercy will blot out great sins.

Est enim benignus et misericors, malens poenitentiam peccatorum, quam mortem (Ezech. XXXIII), patiens et multus in misericordia, qui non humanam imitatur impatientiam; sed longo tempore nostram praestolatur poenitentiam: et praestabilis, sive poenitens super malitiis, ut si nos egerimus super peccatis poenitentiam, et ipsum poeniteat comminationis suae, et mala quae comminatus est nobis non inferat, nostraeque mutatione sententiae, et ipse mutetur.

Malitiam autem in hoc loco non contrariam virtuti debemus accipere, sed afflictionem, juxta illud quod alibi legimus: Sufficit diei malitia sua (Matt. VI, 34). Et: Si est in civitate malitia, quam Dominus non fecerit (Amos III, 6).

Similiterque quia supra dixerat, benignus et misericors, patiens et multus in misericordia, et praestabilis, sive poenitens super malitiis, ne forsitan magnitudo clementiae nos faceret negligentes, ex persona Prophetiae jungit et dicit: Quis scit si convertatur et ignoscat, et relinquat post se benedictionem? Ego, inquit, hortor, quod meum est, ad poenitentiam, et Deum ineffabiliter novi esse clementem, dicente David: Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam (Psal. L, 1, 2). Sed quia profundum divitiarum et sapientiae et scientiae Dei nosse non possumus, sententiam tempero, et opto potius quam praesumo, dicens: quis scit si convertatur 192 et ignoscat? Quod ait quis, aut impossibile, aut difficile sentiendum est: Sacrificium et libamen Domino Deo nostro; ut postquam dederit benedictionem, et nostra nobis peccata donaverit, Deo hostias offerre valeamus.

(Vers. 15 seqq.) Canite tuba in Sion: sanctificate jejunium, vocate coetum, congregare populum: sanctificate Ecclesiam, coadunate senes, congregare parvulos et sugentes ubera. Egrediatur sponsus de cubili suo, et sponsa de thalamo suo: inter vestibulum et altare plorabunt sacerdotes ministri Domini, et dicent: Parce, Domine [Vulg. add. parce], populo tuo, et ne des haereditatem tuam in opprobrium, ut dominantur eis nationes. Quare dicunt in populis: Ubi est Deus eorum? LXX: Clangite tuba in Sion, sanctificate jejunium, praedicate curationem, congregare populum, sanctificate Ecclesiam, eligit senes: congregare parvulos et sugentes ubera, egrediatur sponsus de cubili suo, et sponsa de thalamo suo. Inter crepidinem et altare plorabunt sacerdotes ministri Domini, et dicent: Parce, Domine, populo tuo, et ne dederis haereditatem tuam in opprobrium, ut dominantur eorum gentes, ne dicant in nationibus: Ubi est Deus eorum?

For he is gracious and merciful, preferring the repentance of sinners rather than death (Ezek. 33), patient and of much mercy, who does not imitate human impatience, but waits for our repentance for a long time; and he is ready to relent (*praestabilis*), or repenting over evils, so that if we perform repentance over our sins, he himself may repent of his threat, and not bring upon us the evils which he threatened against us, and by the change of our decision, he himself may be changed.

But "evil" (*malitiam*) in this place we ought not to take as the opposite of virtue, but as affliction, according to that which we read elsewhere: "Sufficient for the day is its own evil" (Matt. 6:34). And: "If there is evil in a city, which the Lord has not done" (Amos 3:6).

And similarly, because he had said above that he is gracious and merciful, patient and of much mercy, and ready to relent, or repenting over evils, lest perhaps the magnitude of his clemency should make us negligent, he joins and says from the person of the Prophet: "Who knows if he will turn and forgive, and leave a blessing behind him?" I, he says, exhort to repentance as is my part, and I know God to be unspeakably clement, as David says: "Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great mercy, and according to the multitude of your compassions blot out my iniquity" (Ps. 50:1, 2). But because we cannot know the depth of the riches and of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God, I temper my judgment and I wish rather than presume, saying: "Who knows if he will turn and forgive?" What he says as "who," is to be understood as either impossible or difficult. "A sacrifice and a libation for the Lord our God"; so that after he has given the blessing and forgiven us our sins, we may be able to offer sacrifices to God.

(Verses 15 ff.) "Blow the trumpet in Zion: sanctify a fast, call an assembly (*coetum*), gather the people: sanctify the Church, assemble the elders, gather the little ones and those sucking the breasts. Let the bridegroom go forth from his chamber, and the bride from her bridal-room: between the porch (*vestibulum*) and the altar the priests, the ministers of the Lord, shall weep and shall say: 'Spare, O Lord [Vulgate adds: spare], your people, and give not your inheritance to reproach, that the nations should rule over them. Why do they say among the peoples: Where is their God?'" LXX: "Sound the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, proclaim a healing (*curationem*), gather the people, sanctify the Church, choose the elders: gather the little ones and those sucking the breasts, let the bridegroom go forth from his chamber, and the bride from her bridal-room. Between the threshold (*crepidinem*) and the altar the priests, the ministers of the Lord, shall weep and shall say: 'Spare, O Lord, your people, and give not your inheritance to reproach, that the nations should rule over them, lest they should say among the nations: Where is their God?'"

Adhuc eos ad poenitentiam cohortatur, antequam veniat hostilis exercitus. Supra, inquit, dixeram: Canite tuba in Sion, ululate in monte sancto meo, et reliqua, quia venit dies Domini, quia prope est dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nubis et turbis, annuntians vobis populum multum et fortem esse venturum, qui vestras possessiones urbesque subverteret. Nunc quia benignus sum et misericors, patiens, et multus misericordia, rursum praecipio et dico: Clangite tuba in Sion, et poenitentiam in populis praedicate; sanctificate jejunium, praedicate curationem, sive coetum, de quibus jam ante diximus: congregare populum, ut qui dispersus peccaverat, congregatus peccare desistat. Sanctificate Ecclesiam, ut nullus in Ecclesia non sanctus sit, ne forsitan impediatur orationes vestrae, et modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpat (I Cor. V). Coadunate, sive eligit senes, ut non aetas in eis, sed sanctitas deligatur. Congregate quoque parvulos et sugentes ubera, ne ulla sit aetas quae non convertatur ad Dominum. Parvulos atque lactentes, de quibus in Psalmis et in Evangelio legimus: Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem (Psal. VIII, 3; Matth. XXI, 16). 193 Quos Petrus rationali et absque dolo dicit lacte nutritos (I Petr. II): quibus [Al. de quibus] Paulus loquitur: Lac vobis potum dedi, non escam (I Cor. III, 2): quorum et Salvator meminit: Ne contempseritis unum de minimis istis (Mat. XVIII, 10).

Egrediatur quoque sponsus de cubili suo, et sponsa de thalamo suo: ut in tempore jejunii, vocationis et coetus, sanctificationis Ecclesiae, electionis senum, congregationis parvulorum et sugentium ubera, non serviat sponsus et sponsa operi nuptiali, quibus et Lege permissum est, ut ad bella non procedant. Unde et Apostolus recedendum parumper a coitu praecepit, ut vacare possimus orationi (I Cor. VII). Ergo qui in castigatione victus, et jejunio atque eleemosynis dicit se agere poenitentiam, frustra hoc sermone promittit, nisi egrediatur de cubili suo, et sanctum purumque jejunium pudica expleat poenitentia.

Quodque sequitur: Inter vestibulum et altare plorabunt Sacerdotes, pro vestibulo LXX crepidinem interpretati sunt: Symmachus ἱερεῖς ἑλθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κυρίου: Aquila ἱερεῖς ἑλθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κυρίου: Theodotio ipsum verbum Hebraicum posuit ULAM (): quam nos ante fores templi porticumque possumus dicere. Et nota quae [Al. quod] sacerdotibus praecipiat qui sunt ministri Domini, ut plorent inter templum et altare, et dicant cum Apostolo: Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror (II Cor. XI, 29)?

Still he exhorts them to repentance, before the hostile army comes. Above, he says, I had said: "Blow the trumpet in Zion, howl on my holy mountain," and the rest, because the day of the Lord comes, because the day of darkness and gloom is near, a day of cloud and whirlwind, announcing to you that a numerous and strong people was about to come, which would subvert your possessions and cities. Now, because I am gracious and merciful, patient, and of much mercy, I command again and say: "Sound the trumpet in Zion," and preach repentance among the peoples; "sanctify a fast, proclaim a healing," or an "assembly," concerning which we have already spoken before: "gather the people," so that he who had sinned while dispersed, being gathered, may cease to sin. "Sanctify the Church," so that no one in the Church may be not holy, lest perhaps your prayers be hindered, and "a little leaven corrupt the whole lump" (1 Cor. 5). "Assemble," or "choose the elders," so that not age in them, but holiness may be selected. "Gather" also "the little ones and those sucking the breasts," so that there may be no age which is not converted to the Lord. The little ones and the sucklings, concerning whom we read in the Psalms and in the Gospel: "Out of the mouth of infants and sucklings you have perfected praise" (Ps. 8:3; Matt. 21:16). 193 Whom Peter says are nourished with "rational and guileless milk" (1 Pet. 2); to whom [Al. concerning whom] Paul speaks: "I gave you milk for drink, not meat" (1 Cor. 3:2); whom the Savior also remembers: "Do not despise one of these little ones" (Matt. 18:10).

Let also "the bridegroom go forth from his chamber, and the bride from her bridal-room": so that in the time of fasting, of calling and assembly, of the sanctification of the Church, of the selection of the elders, of the gathering of the little ones and of those sucking the breasts, the bridegroom and bride may not serve the nuptial work, for whom it is permitted even by the Law that they should not go forth to wars. Whence also the Apostle commanded to withdraw for a little while from intercourse, so that we may be able to give ourselves to prayer (1 Cor. 7). Therefore he who says that he performs repentance in the chastisement of food, and in fasting and alms, promises this in discourse in vain, unless he goes forth from his chamber, and fulfills a holy and pure fast with modest repentance.

And that which follows: "Between the porch (*vestibulum*) and the altar the priests shall weep," for "porch" the LXX interpreted "threshold" (*crepidinem*); Symmachus, *propylaion*; Aquila, *prodomon*; Theodotion put the Hebrew word itself, *ULAM*: which we can call the "porch before the doors of the temple." And note what he commands the priests, who are the ministers of the Lord, that they should weep between the temple and the altar, and say with the Apostle: "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is scandalized, and I am not burned?" (2 Cor. 11:29).

Et: Flere cum flentibus. Locusque aptus poenitentiae et confessioni, templum est et altare: docetque quid dicere debeant sacerdotes, immo quomodo Dominum deprecari: Parce, Domine, populo tuo; qui quando peccabat, vocabatur non populus tuus: nunc postquam recessit a vitiis, appellatur populus tuus.

Et ne des haereditatem tuam in opprobrium, ut dominantur eis nationes. Apertum est aenigma quod latebat. Populus enim ille multus et fortis, qui supra sub erucae, et locustae, et bruchi, et rubiginis descriptus est nomine, nunc manifestius qui sit ostenditur: Ut dominantur, inquit, eis nationes. Datur autem in opprobrium haereditas Domini, quando servierint hostibus, et dixerint nationes: Ubi est Deus eorum, quem sibi praesulem, quem defensorem esse jactabant? Possumus nationes interpretari et adversarias potestates, quae quamdiu non 194 agimus poenitentiam, dominantur nostri, et exprobrant et dicunt: Ubi est Deus eorum? Judaei istum locum ad Gog et Magog referunt, saevissimas nationes, quas in ultimo tempore contra Israel dicunt esse venturas, de quibus plenius scribitur in Ezechiel.

(Vers. 18 seqq.) Zelatus est Dominus terram suam, et pepercit populo suo: et respondit Dominus et dixit populo suo: Ecce ego mittam vobis frumentum et vinum et oleum, et replebimini eo, et non dabo vos ultra opprobrium in gentibus: et eum qui ab Aquilone est, procul faciam a vobis, et expellam eum in terram inviam et desertam: facies [Vulg. faciem] ejus contra mare orientale, et extremum ejus ad mare novissimum: et ascendet fetor ejus, et ascendet putredo illius, qui [Vulg. quia] superbe egit. LXX: Et zelatus est Dominus terram suam, et pepercit populo suo, et respondit Dominus, et dixit populo suo: Ecce ego mittam vobis frumentum et vinum et oleum, et implebimini ex eis, et non dabo vos ultra opprobrium in gentibus, et eum qui ab Aquilone est repellam a vobis, et educam eum in terram quae est sine aqua, et disperdam faciem ejus in mare primum, et posteriora ejus in mare novissimum: et ascendet fetor ejus, et ascendet putredo illius, quoniam magnificata sunt opera ejus.

Postquam sacerdotes pro populo deprecati sunt, et dixerunt: Parce, Domine, populo tuo, et ne des haereditatem tuam in opprobrium, fecitque populus quod praeceptum est, ut sanctificaret jejunium, praedicaret curationem, congregaret [Al. cogeret] multitudinem, sanctificaret Ecclesiam, eligeret senes, parvulos et sugentes ubera congregaret, et egrederetur sponsus de cubili suo, et sponsa de thalamo suo, et nequaquam carni et voluptati, sed animae et fletibus inservirent.

And: "To weep with those who weep." And the temple and the altar is a place fit for repentance and confession; and he teaches what the priests ought to say, or rather how to pray to the Lord: "Spare, O Lord, your people"; who, when they were sinning, were called "not your people"; now, after they have withdrawn from vices, they are called "your people."

"And give not your inheritance to reproach, that the nations should rule over them." The enigma which was hidden is opened. For that numerous and strong people, which above was described under the name of the palmerworm, and the locust, and the cankerworm, and the mildew, is now shown more clearly who it is: "That the nations should rule," he says, "over them." For the inheritance of the Lord is given to reproach when they serve enemies, and the nations say: "Where is their God, whom they boasted to be their leader, their defender?" We can also interpret "nations" as the "adversary powers," which as long as we do not ¹⁹⁴ perform repentance, rule over us, and reproach and say: "Where is their God?" The Jews refer this place to Gog and Magog, most savage nations, which they say are to come against Israel in the last time, concerning whom it is written more fully in Ezekiel.

(Verses 18 ff.) "The Lord was jealous for his land, and spared his people; and the Lord answered and said to his people: 'Behold, I will send you corn, and wine, and oil, and you shall be filled with it, and I will no longer give you for a reproach among the nations. And him who is from the North, I will make far from you, and I will drive him into a land impassable and desert: his face [Vulgate: face] against the East sea, and his furthest part to the West sea; and his stench shall ascend, and his rottenness shall ascend, because he has acted proudly.'" LXX: "And the Lord was jealous for his land, and spared his people; and the Lord answered and said to his people: 'Behold, I will send you corn, and wine, and oil, and you shall be filled from them, and I will no longer give you for a reproach among the nations; and him who is from the North I will drive away from you, and I will lead him into a land which is without water, and I will destroy his face in the First sea, and his posterior parts in the Last sea; and his stench shall ascend, and his rottenness shall ascend, since his works were magnified.'"

After the priests prayed for the people and said: "Spare, O Lord, your people, and give not your inheritance to reproach," and the people did what was commanded—that they should sanctify a fast, proclaim a healing, gather the multitude, sanctify the Church, choose the elders, gather the little ones and those sucking the breasts, and that the bridegroom should go forth from his chamber and the bride from her bridal-room, and by no means serve the flesh and pleasure, but the soul and weeping—

Zelatus est Dominus terram suam, quam prius quasi alienam contempserat, et passus fuerat locusta vastante populari, et intantum pepercit poenitentibus, ut eos dignos sua responsione faceret, diceretque, quoniam omnes fruges vestras, locusta, bruchus, rubigoque vastavit: ideo dabo vobis frumentum, et caetera quae propheta describit, et ultra vos non tradam captivitati. Et Assyrium atque Chaldaeam qui ab aquilone [Al. a Babylone] est, procul faciam a vobis, de quo supra scriptum est: Populus multus et fortis, 195 ante faciem ejus ignis vorans, et post eum exurens flamma, quasi aspectus equorum aspectus eorum. Et expellam, inquit, eum in terram solitudinis, et primae partes illius cadent in mare Orientale, et posteriores in mare novissimum, et ascendet fetor ejus, id est, qui ab Aquilone est, et putredo, quia superbe egit.

Saepe commonui sub translatione locustarum describi impetum Chaldaeorum, quo Judaea vastata est. Itaque servat metaphoram in reliquis, et juxta situm provinciae sic loquitur, quasi non de hostibus, sed de locustis referre videatur. Etiam nostris temporibus vidimus agmina locustarum terram texisse Judaeam, quae postea misericordia Domini inter vestibulum et altare, hoc est, inter crucis et resurrectionis locum, sacerdotibus et populis Dominum deprecantibus atque dicentibus: Parce populo tuo, vento surgente, in mare primum et novissimum praecipitatae sunt. Mare primum quod juxta solitudinem est, et vergit ad Orientem, illud intellige, in quo fuit quondam Sodoma et Gomorrha, Adama et Seboim, quod nunc Mortuum nominatur, eo quod nulla ibi vivant animantia. Mare autem novissimum, hoc quod ad Occidentem est, et quod ducit in Aegyptum, in cujus littore Gaza, et Ascalon, Azotusque et Joppe, et Caesarea, et caeterae urbes maritimae sitae sunt. Cumque littora utriusque maris acervis mortuarum locustarum, quas aquae evomuerant, implerentur, putredo earum et fetor intantum noxius fuit, ut aerem quoque corrumperet, et pestilentia tam jumentorum quam hominum gigneretur. Quaerat eruditus lector ubi hoc juxta litteram factum sit de Chaldaeis? Non multo post tempore quam haec prophetata sunt, siquidem in Isaia legimus, centum octoginta quinque millia Chaldaeorum sub rege Ezechia in una nocte angelo saeviente percussa (Isai. XXXVII). Hoc juxta historiam dixerimus.

"the Lord was jealous for his land," which he had previously despised as if it were a stranger's, and had allowed to be ravaged by the wasting locust; and he spared the penitent to such an extent that he made them worthy of his response, and said that, because the locust, the cankerworm, and the mildew had ravaged all your fruits: "Therefore I will give you corn," and the rest which the prophet describes, and I will no longer deliver you to captivity. "And the Assyrian and Chaldean who is from the North" [Al. from Babylon], "I will make far from you," concerning whom it was written above: "A people numerous and strong, 195 before its face a devouring fire, and after it a burning flame, their appearance like the appearance of horses." "And I will drive him," he says, "into a land of solitude, and his first parts shall fall into the Eastern sea, and the posterior into the West sea, and his stench shall ascend"—that is, of him who is from the North—"and his rottenness, because he has acted proudly."

I have often reminded that under the figure (*translation*) of locusts the attack of the Chaldeans is described, by which Judea was ravaged. Therefore he preserves the metaphor in the remaining parts, and according to the location of the province he speaks in such a way as if he seemed to report not concerning enemies, but concerning locusts. Even in our times we have seen swarms of locusts cover the land of Judea, which afterwards, by the mercy of the Lord, while the priests and peoples were praying to the Lord between the porch and the altar—that is, between the place of the cross and of the resurrection—and saying: "Spare your people," were cast down by a rising wind into the First and Last sea. By the First sea, which is next to the solitude and turns toward the East, understand that in which Sodom and Gomorrah, Adama and Seboim once were, which is now called the Dead Sea, because no living creatures live there. But the Last sea is this which is toward the West, and which leads into Egypt, on whose shore Gaza, and Ascalon, and Azotus, and Joppa, and Caesarea, and the other maritime cities are situated. And when the shores of both seas were filled with heaps of dead locusts, which the waters had vomited out, their rottenness and stench was so harmful that it even corrupted the air, and a pestilence of both beasts and men was produced. Let the learned reader ask where this was done according to the letter concerning the Chaldeans? Not much time after these things were prophesied, for indeed we read in Isaiah that one hundred and eighty-five thousand Chaldeans under King Hezekiah were struck in one night by a raging angel (Isa. 37). This we have said according to history.

Caeterum juxta tropologiam, omnis anima terra est Domini, in qua seminat pater familias sementem suam, quae cum pro tritico zizania fecerit, id est, avenas et lolium, et offenderit Dominum suum, et postea egerit poenitentiam, 196 plangensque dixerit: Parce, Domine, populo tuo, zelatur Dominus terram suam, et parcat ei quam dudum contempserat, suoque eam dignatur alloquio et dicit: Mittam tibi frumentum, de quo scriptum est: Amen amen, dico vobis, nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet: si autem mortuum fuerit, multos fructus facit (Joan. XII): et vinum quod laetificat cor hominis, et oleum quod exhilarat faciem, ut vetus tristitia peccatorum, frumenti et vini et olei, id est, virtutum laetitia temperetur, tantamque habebunt bonorum omnium abundantiam, ut repleantur eis atque saturantur.

Cumque hoc fuerint consecuti, nequaquam tradentur in opprobrium gentibus, de quibus Apostolus loquitur: Non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus principes et potestates: adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiae in coelestibus (Ephes. VI, 12). Eum quoque qui ab Aquilone est (de quo Jeremias loquitur: Ab Aquilone exardescunt mala super omnes habitatores terrae (Jerem. I, 14): de quo et Salomon scribit: Aquilo ventus durissimus) procul, inquit, a vobis faciam, et expellam eum in terram inviam et desertam, quae non habet notitiam Dei, in qua non habitat Spiritus sanctus. Faciesque ejus erit in mari primo et in mari novissimo, in his qui aperuerint ei januam peccatorum, et apud quos usque ad extremum vitae tempus permanserint, et fetor illius et putredo ascendit etiam in eos qui sibi magna promittunt, et cadunt per superbiam: quia numquam tuta est humana fragilitas, et quanto virtutibus crescimus, tanto magis timere debemus ne de sublimibus corruamus.

Juxta litteram, greges locustarum magis Auster quam Aquilo consuevit adducere, id est, non ex frigore veniunt, sed ex calore: verum quoniam de Assyriis loquebatur, locustarum ponens similitudinem, ideo Aquilonem interposuit, ut non veram locustam, quae ab Austro venire consuevit, sed sub locusta intelligamus Assyrios atque Chaldaeos.

But according to tropology, every soul is the land of the Lord, in which the father of the family sows his seed; which, when it has produced tares instead of wheat—that is, oats and cockle—and has offended its Lord, and afterwards has performed repentance, 196 and mourning has said: "Spare, O Lord, your people," the Lord is jealous for his land, and will spare her whom he had lately despised, and deigns to address her with his own speech and says: "I will send you corn," concerning which it is written: "Amen, amen, I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it brings forth much fruit" (John 12); and wine which "gladdens the heart of man," and oil which "makes the face cheerful," so that the old sadness of sins may be tempered by the joy of corn and wine and oil—that is, of virtues—and they shall have such abundance of all good things that they shall be replenished with them and satiated.

And when they have obtained this, they shall by no means be delivered for a reproach to the nations, concerning whom the Apostle speaks: "Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against princes and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spiritual things of wickedness in the high places" (Eph. 6:12). Him also who is from the North (concerning whom Jeremiah speaks: "From the North evils shall flare up over all the inhabitants of the land" (Jer. 1:14); concerning whom Solomon also writes: "The North is a very hard wind"), I will make far from you, he says, and I will drive him into a land impassable and desert, which has no knowledge of God, in which the Holy Spirit does not dwell. And his face shall be in the First sea and in the Last sea, in those who have opened to him the door of sins, and with whom they have remained until the last time of life; and his stench and rottenness ascends even into those who promise great things to themselves and fall through pride: because human fragility is never safe, and the more we grow in virtues, the more we ought to fear lest we fall from the heights.

According to the letter, the South wind rather than the North wind is accustomed to bring swarms of locusts—that is, they come not from the cold, but from the heat; but since he was speaking of the Assyrians, employing the likeness of locusts, he therefore interposed "the North," so that we might understand not the true locust, which is accustomed to come from the South, but the Assyrians and Chaldeans under the figure of the locust.

(Vers. 22 seqq.) Noli timere, terra: exsulta et laetare quoniam magnificavit Dominus ut faceret: nolite timere, animalia regionis; quia germinaverunt 197 speciosa deserti, quoniam [Vulg. quia] lignum attulit fructum suum, ficus et vinea dederunt virtutem suam: et filii Sion, exsultate et laetamini in Domino Deo vestro, quia dedit vobis doctorem justitiae, et descendere faciet ad vos imbrem matutinum, et serotinum [Vulg. addit sicut] in principio, et implebuntur areae frumento, et redundabunt torcularia vino et oleo, et reddam vobis annos, quos comedit locusta, bruchus, et rubigo, et eruca. Fortitudo mea magna quam misi in vos: et comedetis vescentes, et saturabimini, et laudabitis nomen [Vulg. addit Domini] Dei vestri, qui fecit nobiscum [Vulg. vobiscum] mirabilia, et non confundetur populus meus in sempiternum: et scietis quia in medio Israel ego sum, et ego Dominus Deus vester, et non est amplius, et non confundetur populus meus in sempiternum. LXX: Confide, terra, gaude atque laetare, quia magnificavit Dominus ut faceret: confidite, jumenta campi, quoniam germinaverunt campi solitudinis, quia lignum attulit fructum suum, ficus et vinea dederunt fortitudinem suam: et filii Sion, gaudete atque laetamini in Domino Deo vestro, quoniam dedit vobis escas justitiae, et pluit vobis imbrem temporaneum et serotinum, sicut a principio, et replebuntur areae tritico, et redundabunt torcularia vino et oleo. Et reddam vobis pro annis in quibus comedit locusta, et bruchus et rubigo, et eruca. Fortitudo mea magna quam misi in vos, et vescemini comedentes, et saturabimini: et laudabitis nomen Domini Dei vestri, qui fecit vobiscum mirabilia et non confundetur populus meus in aeternum, et scietis quia in medio Israel ego sum, et ego Dominus Deus vester, et non est amplius praeter me, et non confundetur populus meus in aeternum.

Omnibus quae [Al. quibus] supra fuerat comminatus, nunc contraria pollicetur. Supra dixerat: ignis comedit speciosa deserti, et flamma succendit omnia ligna regionis, et bestiae agri quasi area sitiens imbrem suspexerunt ad te: quoniam exsiccati sunt fontes aquarum, et ignis devoravit speciosa deserti. Nunc laetis tristitiam mitigat, et lacrymas vertit in risum. Nolite, inquit, timere, animalia regionis: quia germinaverunt speciosa deserti: quia lignum attulit fructum suum, ficus et vinea dederunt virtutem suam: et tanta erit rerum omnium abundantia, ut nequaquam desit [Al. dem] vobis frumentum, vinum 198 et oleum quo saturemini; sed adimpleantur areae frumento, et redundant torcularia vino et oleo, ut non solum ipsi comedere, sed etiam aliis praebere valeatis.

(Verses 22 ff.) "Fear not, O land: exult and rejoice, for the Lord has magnified his doing. Fear not, animals of the region; for the beautiful things of the desert 197 have germinated, because the tree has brought forth its fruit, the fig-tree and the vine have given their yield (*virtutem*). And you, children of Zion, exult and rejoice in the Lord your God, because he has given you a teacher of justice, and he will make the morning rain and the evening rain [Vulgate adds: as] in the beginning descend to you. And the floors shall be filled with corn, and the presses shall overflow with wine and oil. And I will restore to you the years which the locust, the cankerworm, the mildew, and the palmerworm have eaten. My great strength which I sent among you. And you shall eat, being fed, and you shall be filled, and you shall praise the name [Vulgate adds: of the Lord] your God, who has done wonders with us [Vulgate: with you], and my people shall not be confounded forever. And you shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, and I am the Lord your God, and there is no other, and my people shall not be confounded forever." LXX: "Trust, O land, rejoice and be glad, because the Lord has magnified his doing. Trust, beasts of the field, since the fields of solitude have germinated, because the tree has brought forth its fruit, the fig-tree and the vine have given their strength (*fortitudinem*). And you, children of Zion, rejoice and be glad in the Lord your God, since he has given you the foods of justice, and has rained upon you the timely rain and the evening rain, as in the beginning. And the floors shall be filled with wheat, and the presses shall overflow with wine and oil. And I will restore to you for the years in which the locust, and the cankerworm, and the mildew, and the palmerworm ate. My great strength which I sent among you; and you shall feed, eating, and you shall be filled. And you shall praise the name of the Lord your God, who has done wonders with you, and my people shall not be confounded forever. And you shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, and I am the Lord your God, and there is no other besides me, and my people shall not be confounded forever."

To all those things which he had threatened above, he now promises the opposite. Above he had said: "Fire has eaten the beautiful things of the desert, and a flame has kindled all the trees of the region, and the beasts of the field have looked up to you like a parched floor thirsting for rain: because the fountains of waters are dried up, and fire has devoured the beautiful things of the desert." Now he mitigates sadness with joyful things, and turns tears into laughter. "Fear not," he says, "animals of the region: for the beautiful things of the desert have germinated; because the tree has brought forth its fruit, the fig-tree and the vine have given their yield"; and there shall be such an abundance of all things that by no means shall there be lacking [Al. I will give] to you corn, wine 198 and oil by which you may be filled; but the floors shall be replenished with corn, and the presses shall overflow with wine and oil, so that you may be able not only to eat yourselves, but also to provide to others.

Ad filios quoque Sion specialiter loquitur, ut exsultent et gaudeant, non in quacumque re levi; sed in Domino Deo suo, qui dedit eis alimenta justitiae: et ut Septuaginta transtulerunt, et imbrem temporaneum et serotinum, ut comedant atque laetentur, et laudent nomen Domini Dei sui, qui fecit cum eis mirabilia, et nequaquam confundantur: et sciant quia Dominus Deus Israel habitet in medio eorum, et praeter illum nullus sit alius, quia Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre: et non confundetur populus illius [Al. meus] in aeternum. Haec juxta litteram, quia a Domino repromissa sunt, credimus accidisse, et sterilitatem praeteritam novis frugibus compensatam: ut quidquid locusta, bruchus, et rubigo, et eruca consumpserat, annis sequentibus impleretur.

Quaerimus cur eruca fortitudo, vel virtus Domini appellata sit, et non solum virtus, sed virtus magna? Quomodo potentia Dei in Aegyptiis plagis ostensa est per parva animalia, et praecipue ciniphes, qui tam parvi sunt culices, ut vix cernantur oculis. Sic et nunc in parvo tardoque vermiculo, qui vix moveri potest, et levi tactu conteritur, Dei potentia et humana fragilitas demonstratur. Non quo Deus ad nutum suum and potentiae majestatem nequeat terras subvertere, et operire cuncta diluvio, vel fulmine concremare; sed per parva, et, ut ita dicam, puncta corporum, ostendit humanam fragilitatem.

Unde et illud solemus Marcioni et caeteris respondere haereticis qui vetus laniant Testamentum, quod et pulices et culices et cimices, et hujusmodi animantia idcirco fecerit Deus, ut fragilitatem et imbecillitatem nostrae carnis ostenderet, quae intantum nihil est, ut ab his quae parva sunt vulneretur. Si autem eruca tardus parvusque vermiculus fortior homine est, quid gloriatur terra et cinis; et elata per superbiam (cum ex humo sit, a quo homo appellatur) humana contemnit?

Quidam locum istum sic interpretantur: A dextris et a sinistris virtutes et fortitudines Dei 199 legimus, quas Graeci Ἰῆ...Ἰῆ½ἄ½±Ἰῆ¼ἸμἸῆ, vocant. A dextris Seraphim et Cherubim, cunctasque angelicas potestates, a sinistris contrarias fortitudines, de quibus scriptum est: Misit in eos iram indignationis suae, furorem et iram, et tribulationem, immissionem per angelos malos (Ps. LXXVII, 49); de quibus et Michaeas in Regnorum [Al. Regum] volumine loquitur: Vidi Dominum Deum Israel sedentem super thronum suum, et omnis exercitus coeli stabat juxta eum a dextris, et sinistris ejus (III Reg. XXIII).

He speaks especially to the children of Zion, that they should exult and rejoice, not in any light thing, but in the Lord their God, who has given them the foods of justice; and as the Seventy translated, "both the timely rain and the evening rain," so that they may eat and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord their God, who has done wonders with them, and by no means be confounded; and that they may know that the Lord God of Israel dwells in their midst, and besides him there is no other, because the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; and his people [Al. my people] shall not be confounded forever. These things according to the letter, because they were promised by the Lord, we believe happened, and that the past sterility was compensated by new fruits: so that whatever the locust, the cankerworm, and the mildew, and the palmerworm had consumed, was replenished in the following years.

We ask why the palmerworm was called the strength or the virtue of the Lord, and not only virtue, but "great virtue"? In the same way the power of God was shown in the Egyptian plagues through small animals, and especially the gnats (*ciniphes*), which are such small mosquitoes that they can hardly be seen by the eyes. So also now in a small and slow worm, which can hardly be moved and is crushed by a light touch, the power of God and human fragility are demonstrated. Not that God cannot subvert lands at his nod and by the majesty of his power, and cover everything with a flood, or burn it with a lightning bolt; but through small and, so to speak, points of bodies, he shows human fragility.

Whence we are also accustomed to answer Marcion and the other heretics who tear apart the Old Testament, that God made both fleas and mosquitoes and bedbugs and animals of this sort for this reason, that he might show the fragility and weakness of our flesh, which is so much of nothing that it is wounded by these things which are small. If then the palmerworm, a slow and small worm, is stronger than man, why do earth and ash boast; and why, lifted up through pride (since he is from the ground (*humo*), from which he is called "man" (*homo*)), does he despise human things?

Some interpret this place in this way: We read of virtues and strengths of God 199 on the right and on the left, which the Greeks call *dynameis*. On the right the Seraphim and Cherubim, and all the angelic powers; on the left the contrary strengths, concerning which it is written: "He sent among them the wrath of his indignation, fury and wrath and tribulation, a sending through bad angels" (Ps. 77:49); concerning whom Micah also speaks in the volume of Kings: "I saw the Lord God of Israel sitting upon his throne, and all the army of heaven was standing near him on his right and on his left" (3 Kings 22).

Ego puto sinistrum fuisse spiritum, qui egressus est, et stetit coram Domino, et ait: Ego decipiam Achab, et egrediar, et ero spiritus mendax in ore omnium Prophetarum ejus. Ad quam sinistram et contrariam potestatem, quae apta erat ad decipiendum, et exercitata ad ruinas, et multos ante deceperat, loquitur Deus: Decipies et praevaleris: egredere et fac sic. Spiritus quoque ille qui suffocabat Saul, de quo dixerunt ad eum pueri sui: Ecce spiritus Dei malus obstupescere te facit (I Reg. XVI, 15), de sinistris partibus erat, qui ministrant Domino ad puniendos eos qui cruciari propter peccata meruerunt. Non solum enim homines ministri sunt, et ultores irae ejus, in his qui malum operantur, et non sine causa portant gladium; sed etiam contrariae fortitudines, quae appellantur furor et ira Dei, quos propheta declinans ait: Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripas me (Ps. VI, 1). Istiusmodi (ut ita dicam) quaestionariis atque tortoribus tradidit Apostolus peccatorem in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fieret (I Cor. V), de quibus et Satanus est, cui tradidit alios ut discerent non blasphemare (I Tim. I). Haec de eruca cur Dei appellata sit virtus.

Transeamus ad ordinem intelligentiae spiritualis: Ne timeas, terra, immo confide atque laetare, quae prius sementem dominicam tua ariditate perdideras: quia magnificavit Dominus, ut faceret tecum misericordiam, intantum, ut etiam jumenta regionis et desertae solitudinis laetis novalibus complerentur, et lignum crucis afferret fructum suum, et Spiritus sancti dona dulcissima suam cunctis tribuerent largitatem. Vossoque quos juste post poenitentiam voco filios Sion et Ecclesiae, laetamini atque gaudete, quia dedit vobis Deus pater doctorem justitiae, sive tribuit vobis alimenta justitiae, et descendere fecit ad vos pluvias temporaneas atque serotinas (Isai. XXX). Pluvia 200 tempestiva est quando primum doctrinam suscipimus pluvia; serotina quando laboris nostri fructus recipimus, et ad perfectam sanctarum Scripturarum scientiam pervenimus. Potest pluvia temporanea et serotina, vetus et novum accipi Testamentum. Et non solum, inquit, hoc dedit; sed fecit vos novis virtutum frugibus abundare, et saturari atque inebriari frumento, vino et oleo, de quo saepe diximus. Et annos quos perturbationibus ante regnantibus perdideratis in vobis, quando opera vestra locusta, bruchus, rubigo, erucaque consumpserant, Deus vobis perire non passus est. Tunc comedetis fructus justitiae, et saturabimini, et laudabitis nomen Domini Dei vestri, qui fecit vobiscum mirabilia.

I think that it was a left-hand spirit who went forth and stood before the Lord and said: "I will deceive Ahab, and I will go forth and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets." To which left-hand and contrary power, which was apt for deceiving and practiced in destructions and had deceived many before, God speaks: "You shall deceive and you shall prevail; go forth and do so." That spirit also who was suffocating Saul, concerning whom his servants said to him: "Behold, a bad spirit of God makes you amazed" (1 Sam. 16:15), was from the left-hand parts, who minister to the Lord for punishing those who have deserved to be tormented because of sins. For not only are men ministers and avengers of his wrath in those who work evil, and they do not bear the sword without cause; but also the contrary strengths, which are called the fury and wrath of God, which the prophet avoiding says: "O Lord, rebuke me not in your fury, nor chastise me in your wrath" (Ps. 6:1). To inquisitors and torturers of this sort (so to speak) the Apostle delivered the sinner for the destruction of the flesh, so that the spirit might be saved (1 Cor. 5), of whom Satan also is, to whom he delivered others so that they might learn not to blaspheme (1 Tim. 1). This is concerning the palmerworm, why it was called the virtue of God.

Let us pass to the order of spiritual understanding: Fear not, O land, rather trust and rejoice, you who before had lost the Lord's seed by your aridity: because the Lord has magnified his mercy to do with you, so much so that even the beasts of the region and of the desert solitude were filled with joyful fallow-lands, and the wood of the cross brought forth its fruit, and the most sweet gifts of the Holy Spirit bestowed their bounty upon all. You also, whom I justly call children of Zion and of the Church after repentance, rejoice and be glad, because God the Father gave you a teacher of justice, or bestowed upon you the foods of justice, and made the timely and evening rains descend to you (Isa. 30). The timely rain 200 is when we first receive doctrine as rain; the evening rain is when we receive the fruits of our labor and arrive at the perfect knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The timely and evening rain can be taken as the Old and New Testaments. And not only, he says, has he given this; but he made you overflow with new fruits of virtues, and be filled and inebriated with corn, wine, and oil, concerning which we have often spoken. And the years which you had lost in yourselves while perturbations were previously reigning, when the locust, the cankerworm, the mildew, and the palmerworm had consumed your works, God did not allow them to perish for you. Then you shall eat the fruits of justice, and you shall be filled, and you shall praise the name of the Lord your God, who has done wonders with you.

Si autem post poenitentiam tantam ubertatem Deus rerum omnium pollicetur, quid respondebit Novatus negans poenitentiam, et reformari posse peccatores in pristinum statum, si digna fecerint opera poenitentiae? Intantum enim Deus recipit poenitentes, ut vocet eos populum suum, et nequaquam asserat confundendos; et habitaturum se in eorum medio repromittat, nec amplius eos alium habituros Deum; sed in eum toto animo confisuros, qui in illis maneat in aeternum.

(Vers. 28 seqq.) Et erit post haec, effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri, et filiae vestrae, senes vestri somnia somniabunt, et juvenes vestri visiones videbunt; sed et super servos meos et [Vulg. addit super] ancillas meas [Vulg. tacet meas] in diebus illis effundam spiritum meum, et dabo prodigia in coelo et in terra, sanguinem, et ignem, et vapores fumi. Sol convertetur [Vulg. vertetur] in tenebras, et luna in sanguinem, antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et horribilis. Et erit, omnis qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit.

LXX: Et erit post haec, effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri, et filiae vestrae, et senes vestri somnia somniabunt, et juvenes vestri visiones videbunt: et super servos meos et super ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam de spiritu meo, et dabo prodigia in coelo, et super terram sanguinem, ignem, et vaporem fumi. Sol convertetur in tenebras, et luna in sanguinem, antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et illustris. Et erit, omnis qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit.

Hunc locum beatus apostolus Petrus 201 impletum tempore Dominicae passionis exposuit, quando descendit die Pentecostes Spiritus sanctus super credentes, et omnes loquebantur sicut Spiritus sanctus dabat eis: ita ut mirarentur qui aderant, et dicerent: Nonne omnes isti qui loquuntur Galilaei sunt; et quomodo nos audivimus linguam nostram in qua nati sumus? Parthi, et Medi, et Elamitae (Act. II), et reliqui; alii vero dicebant, quid vult hoc esse? Irridentibusque aliis atque dicentibus: musto pleni sunt, stans Petrus cum undecim elevavit vocem suam, et ait: Viri Judaei, et qui habitatis Jerusalem universi, hoc notum sit vobis, et auribus percipite verba mea: Neque enim ut vos aestimatis, isti ebrii sunt, cum sit hora tertia diei; sed hoc est quod dictum est per prophetam Joel. Et erit post haec, dicit Dominus: Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt, et reliqua usque ad eum locum, quem in capitulo proposuimus.

But if after repentance God promises such a richness of all things, what will Novatus answer, who denies repentance and that sinners can be reformed to their former state, if they have done worthy works of repentance? For God receives the penitent to such an extent that he calls them his people, and by no means asserts that they are to be confounded; and he promises again that he will dwell in their midst, nor that they shall have another God besides him, but they shall trust in him with their whole soul, who remains in them forever.

(Vers. 28 seqq.) And it shall come to pass after these things, I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions; but also upon my servants and [Vulg. adds *upon*] my handmaids [Vulg. omits *my*] in those days I will pour out my spirit, and I will show wonders in heaven and in earth, blood, and fire, and vapors of smoke. The sun shall be turned [Vulg. *converted*] into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

LXX: And it shall come to pass after these things, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions: and upon my servants and upon my handmaids in those days I will pour out of my spirit, and I will show wonders in heaven, and upon the earth blood, fire, and vapor of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and illustrious day of the Lord comes. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

The blessed apostle Peter 201 explained that this passage was fulfilled at the time of the Lord's passion, when the Holy Spirit descended upon the believers on the day of Pentecost, and they all spoke as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance: so that those who were present wondered and said: "Are not all these who speak Galileans? And how have we heard our own language in which we were born?" Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites (Acts 2), and the rest; but others were saying, "What does this mean?" And while others were mocking and saying, "They are full of new wine," Peter, standing with the eleven, lifted up his voice and said: "Men of Judea, and all you who dwell in Jerusalem, let this be known to you, and perceive my words with your ears: For these are not drunk, as you suppose, since it is the third hour of the day; but this is what was spoken through the prophet Joel. And it shall come to pass after these things, says the Lord: I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and they shall prophesy," and the rest up to that place which we proposed in the chapter.

Cum igitur Petrus illo tempore quo passus est Dominus, prophetiam Joel impletam esse memoret, hoc tantum quaerimus, quomodo et superiora et media, et quae sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis sibi valeant cohaerere, ne sub uno textu consequentiaque sermonis, diversa et dissonans inter se explanatio scaterere videatur? A principio ergo usque ad eum locum ubi scriptum est: Magnus dies Domini et terribilis valde, et quis sustinebit eum? comminatio est atque descriptio, quae peccatori populo Dominus illaturus sit. Ab eo autem loco ubi legimus: Convertimini ad me in toto corde, et in jejuniis, et in fletu, et in planctu, usque ad eum locum, ubi ait: Quare dicunt in populis, ubi est Deus eorum? cohortatio Domini est post poenas atque supplicia ad poenitentiam provocantis. Rursum ab eo loco qui sequitur: Zelatus est Dominus terram suam et pepercit populo suo, et respondens Dominus dixit, usque ad eum locum, ubi scriptum est: Et non confundetur populus meus in aeternum, repromissio futurorum est, quae bona postquam egerint poenitentiam, debeant praestolari. Et post multa quae nunc longum est retexere, haec quoque in promissione dicuntur, quae in praesentiarum conamur exponere: Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri, 202 et filiae vestrae, et reliqua. Videor mihi a principio usque ad hunc locum, textum servasse sermonis. Laboris est maximi, quomodo quae sequuntur, his quae nunc disserimus, coaptanda sint.

Alius dicit quae generaliter in ultimo tempore repromissa sunt, nunc ex parte completa. Et quia praemium futurorum in primo adventu Domini apostoli sentiebant, libamenta quaedam et primitias mirabilium expletas memorare, ut donec veniat quod perfectum est, id quod ex parte praecesserat, sentiremus. Alius vero apostolicae esse asserit consuetudinis, juxta illud quod de sancto viro scriptum est: Dispensabit sermones suos in iudicio (Ps. CXI, 5): ut quidquid utile audientibus esse cernebant, et non repugnare praesentibus, de alterius temporis testimoniis roborarent, non quod abuterentur audientium simplicitate et imperitia, ut impius calumniatur Porphyrius, sed juxta apostolum Paulum, praedicarent opportune, importune (II Tim. IV). Et sequentes regulam prophetarum, quidquid Judaei in ultimo tempore sibi carnaliter repromittunt, spiritualiter in primo adventu Domini Salvatoris dicerent esse completum: maxime cum et illi, et nos quae promissa sunt, in Christo dicamus esse complenda: in hoc tantummodo discrepantes, quod illi futura contendunt, nos jam facta convincimus: de quo in his quae sequuntur, plenius disserendum est.

Since therefore Peter records that the prophecy of Joel was fulfilled at that time when the Lord suffered, we seek only this: how both the earlier, the middle, and the following parts up to the end of the volume may be able to cohere with one another, lest under one text and sequence of speech, a diverse and discordant explanation should seem to abound. From the beginning, therefore, up to that place where it is written: "Great is the day of the Lord and very terrible, and who shall sustain it?" there is a threat and a description of what the Lord will bring upon a sinful people. But from that place where we read: "Be converted to me with all your heart, and in fasting, and in weeping, and in mourning," up to that place where he says: "Why do they say among the peoples, Where is their God?" there is an exhortation of the Lord provoking them to repentance after punishments and tortures. Again, from that place which follows: "The Lord was zealous for his land and spared his people, and the Lord answering said," up to that place where it is written: "And my people shall not be confounded forever," there is a promise of future things, which good things they ought to expect after they have done penance. And after many things which it is long now to recount, these things also are said in the promise, which we are attempting to explain at present: "I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons shall prophesy," 202 "and your daughters," and the rest. I seem to myself to have preserved the sequence of the speech from the beginning up to this place. It is a work of greatest labor how those things which follow are to be fitted to these things which we are now discussing.

Another says that those things which were promised generally in the last time are now completed in part. And because the apostles felt the reward of future things in the first coming of the Lord, he records that certain libations and firstfruits of wonders were fulfilled, so that until that which is perfect comes, we might feel that which had preceded in part. But another asserts that it is the apostolic custom, according to that which is written of a holy man: "He will dispense his words in judgment" (Ps. 111:5): so that whatever they saw to be useful to the hearers, and not to be repugnant to the present things, they would strengthen with testimonies of another time, not because they would abuse the simplicity and ignorance of the hearers, as the impious Porphyry calumniates, but according to the apostle Paul, they would preach "in season, out of season" (2 Tim. 4). And following the rule of the prophets, whatever the Jews promise to themselves carnally in the last time, they would say was fulfilled spiritually in the first coming of the Lord the Savior: especially since both they and we say that the things promised are to be fulfilled in Christ: differing only in this, that they contend they are future, we prove they are already done: concerning which we must discuss more fully in those things which follow.

Omnis autem caro super quam effusurum se de spiritu suo Dominus pollicetur, illa est de qua Isaïas loquitur: Et videbit omnis caro salutare Dei (Isai. XL, 5). Ergo salutare Dei videri non potest, nisi Spiritus sanctus effundatur. Et quicumque credere se dicit in Christum, non credens in Spiritum sanctum, perfectae fidei oculos non habebit. Unde et in Actibus apostolorum, qui baptizati erant baptismo Joannis in eum qui venturus erat, hoc est, in nomine Domini Jesu: quia responderunt Paulo interroganti: Sed ne si sit quidem Spiritus sanctus, novimus (Act. XIX), iterum baptizantur: immo verum baptisma accipiunt, quia sine Spiritu sancto et mysterio Trinitatis, quidquid in unam et alteram personam accipitur, imperfectum est. Neque vero omnis qui acceperit Spiritum sanctum, statim habebit et gratiam spiritualem; sed per effusionem Spiritus sancti diversas gratias consequetur (I Cor. XII). Alii prophetiam, ut filii et filiae qui majoris sunt meriti; alii somnia, ut senes jam provectioris aetatis: alii visiones, ut juvenes qui vicerunt malignum. Servi vero et ancillae qui adhuc spiritum timoris habent, et non dilectionis, quia perfecta dilectio foras mittit timorem, non habebunt prophetiam, non somnia, non visiones; sed, Spiritus sancti effusione contenti, fidei tantum et salutis gratiam possidebunt.

Tunc dabit prodigia Dominus in coelo et in terra: in coelo, quia sol est versus in tenebras, et luna in sanguinem: in terra, quia tam vehementi et insolito motu terra contremuit, ut monumenta aperta, et saxa disrupta sint. Quod autem dicit, sanguinem et vapores, sive vaporem fumi, sanguis ille est, de quo in Psalmis legimus: Ut intingatur pes tuus in sanguine (Psal. XLVII, 24). Et in Isaïa: Quam rubicunda sunt vestimenta tua (Isai. XCIII, 2)! et quem, percusso latere Salvatoris, mixtis aquis Romanus miles effudit (Joan. XIX).

Et ignis Spiritus sancti, qui descendit de coelo, ut in Actibus apostolorum legimus: Apparuerunt illis dispertitae linguae tamquam ignis, seditque supra singulos eorum, et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto, et coeperunt eloqui variis linguis, prout Spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illis (Act. II, 3 seqq.). Hic est ignis quem venit Dominus mittere super terram, et antequam pateretur, in discipulis suis optabat ardere (Luc. XII). Ignis naturae est duplicis: habet lumen credentibus; habet tenebras suppliciaque incredulis, qui appellantur vapores fumi.

Moreover, all flesh upon which the Lord promises he will pour out of his spirit is that of which Isaiah speaks: "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Isa. 40:5). Therefore, the salvation of God cannot be seen unless the Holy Spirit is poured out. And whoever says he believes in Christ, not believing in the Holy Spirit, will not have the eyes of perfect faith. Whence also in the Acts of the Apostles, those who had been baptized with the baptism of John into him who was to come, that is, in the name of the Lord Jesus: because they answered Paul when he questioned them: "We have not even heard whether there is a Holy Spirit" (Acts 19), they are baptized again: or rather they receive the true baptism, because without the Holy Spirit and the mystery of the Trinity, whatever is received into one or another person is imperfect. Nor indeed will everyone who receives the Holy Spirit immediately have spiritual grace; but through the pouring out of the Holy Spirit he will obtain diverse graces (1 Cor. 12). Some prophecy, as sons and daughters who are of greater merit; others dreams, as old men now of more advanced age; others visions, as young men who have overcome the evil one. But servants and handmaids who still have the spirit of fear, and not of love, because "perfect love casts out fear," will not have prophecy, nor dreams, nor visions; but, content with the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, they will possess only the grace of faith and salvation.

Then the Lord will give wonders in heaven and in earth: in heaven, because the sun was turned into darkness, and the moon into blood: in earth, because by such a violent and unusual motion the earth trembled, so that the monuments were opened and the rocks were rent. But as to what he says, "blood and vapors," or "vapor of smoke," that is the blood of which we read in the Psalms: "That thy foot may be dipped in blood" (Ps. 67:24). And in Isaiah: "How red are thy garments" (Isa. 63:2)! and which the Roman soldier poured out, after the side of the Savior was pierced, with water mixed (John 19).

And the fire is of the Holy Spirit, which descended from heaven, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles: "There appeared to them cloven tongues as of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak in various tongues, as the Holy Spirit gave them to speak" (Acts 2:3 seqq.). This is the fire which the Lord came to cast upon the earth, and before he suffered, he desired to burn in his disciples (Luke 12). Fire is of a double nature: it has light for the believers; it has darkness and punishments for the unbelievers, which are called vapors of smoke.

Iste fumus est amarissimus, qui excaecavit oculos Judaeorum, de quo in proverbiiis legimus: Sicut fumus noxius est oculis, et immatura uva dentibus, sic iniquitas utentibus ea (Prov. X, 26). De hoc fumo et Isaïas in visione magna loquitur, in qua praedicebatur caecitas Judaeorum: Et superliminare motum est, et domus impleta est fumo. Unde postea sequitur: Vade, et dic populo huic: Auditū audietis, et non intelligetis; et videntes aspicietis, et non videbitis: incrassatum est enim cor populi hujus, et auribus suis graviter audierunt (Isai. VI, 9, 10).

Sol quoque est versus in tenebras, quando pendentem Dominum suum videre non ausus est, et luna in sanguinem, quod aut juxta historiam factum esse credamus et ab evangelistis 204 silentio praetermissum, neque enim omnia quae fecit Jesus, scripta referuntur, quae si scriberentur per singula, ne ipsum quidem arbitror mundum capere eos, qui scribendi sunt, libros (Joan. XXI). Aut certe quomodo sol versus in tenebras est, non quod ipse sit mutatus in tenebras, sed quod tenebras mundo induxerit: sic et luna non est versa in sanguinem, sed Judaeos blasphemiarum et negationis in Christum horrore coopertos, aeterno testimonii sui sanguine condemnavit, dicentes: Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros (Matth. XXVII, 25). Haec omnia priusquam dies Domini veniat magnus et horribilis, futura describit. Dies autem Domini magnus et horribilis aut resurrectionis esse credendus est, aut certe, multa post tempora, dies judicii, qui vere magnus est et horribilis.

Sed quia sequitur: Et erit, omnis qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit, et hoc apostolus Paulus refert ad tempus Dominicae passionis, magis de resurrectionis die intelligendum est. Ait enim scribens ad Romanos: Non est distinctio Judaei et Graeci. Idem enim ipse Dominus omnium: dives in omnes qui invocant illum. Omnis enim quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit. Quomodo ergo invocabunt, in quem non crediderunt? aut quomodo credent ei, quem non audierunt? quomodo autem audient sine praedicante? quomodo autem praedicabunt nisi mittantur (Rom. XVIII, 12 seqq.). Quodque ait: Omnis qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit, non leve esse credamus, licet enim idem apostolus scribat: Nemo dicit Dominum Jesum nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3); tamen hoc ipsum dicere, non sermone, sed affectu cordis est ponderandum. Omnis enim qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit.

This smoke is most bitter, which blinded the eyes of the Jews, concerning which we read in the Proverbs: "As smoke is harmful to the eyes, and the unripe grape to the teeth, so is iniquity to those who use it" (Prov. 10:26). Of this smoke Isaiah also speaks in a great vision, in which the blindness of the Jews was foretold: "And the lintel was moved, and the house was filled with smoke." Whence it follows afterwards: "Go, and say to this people: Hear with hearing, and understand not; and seeing see, and perceive not: for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and they have heard heavily with their ears" (Isa. 6:9, 10).

The sun also was turned into darkness, when it did not dare to see its Lord hanging, and the moon into blood, which we believe either was done according to history and passed over in silence by the evangelists 204—for not all things which Jesus did are reported written, which if they were written one by one, "I suppose that not even the world itself could contain the books that are to be written" (John 21). Or certainly just as the sun was turned into darkness, not that it was itself changed into darkness, but that it brought darkness upon the world: so also the moon was not turned into blood, but it condemned the Jews, covered with the horror of blasphemies and denial against Christ, with the eternal blood of its testimony, as they said: "His blood be upon us, and upon our children" (Matt. 27:25). All these things he describes as future before the day of the Lord comes, great and terrible. But the day of the Lord, great and terrible, is either to be believed as that of the resurrection, or certainly, after many times, the day of judgment, which is truly great and terrible.

But because it follows: "And it shall be, whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved," and the apostle Paul refers this to the time of the Lord's passion, it is rather to be understood concerning the day of resurrection. For he says, writing to the Romans: "There is no distinction between Jew and Greek. For the same Lord of all is rich unto all who call upon him. For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? or how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? but how shall they hear without a preacher? but how shall they preach unless they be sent" (Rom. 10:12 seqq.). And what he says: "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved," let us not believe to be a light thing, for though the same apostle writes: "No one says the Lord Jesus except in the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:3); yet this very saying is to be weighed not by speech, but by the affection of the heart. "For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."

Unde et Paulus et Sostenes scribunt Ecclesiae Dei quae est Corinthi: Sanctificatis in Christo Jesu, vocatis sanctis cum universis qui invocant nomen Domini Jesu Christi (I Cor. I): secundum illud quod in Psalmis legimus: Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus ejus, et Samuel inter eos qui invocant nomen ejus. Invocabant Dominum, et ipse exaudiebat eos: in columna nubis loquebatur ad eos (Ps. XCVIII, 9). Si igitur de credentibus Corinthiis, et de Moyse et Aaron ac Samuele scribitur, quod invocaverint nomen Domini, non incipientium, sed perfectorum, hanc gratiam esse credamus.

Verbum quoque effusionis, quod Hebraice 205 dicitur ESPHOCH (), et omnes similiter transtulerunt, ostendit muneris largitatem, quod nequaquam in paucos Prophetas (ut olim fiebat in veteri Testamento), sed in omnes credentes in nomine Salvatoris, Spiritus sancti dona descenderint [Al. descenderent]: nequaquam in hunc et illum, sed in omnem carnem. Neque enim est distinctio Judaei et Graeci, servi et liberi, viri et feminae: quia omnes in Christo unum sumus (Rom. X). Unde et Agabus Caesareae prophetavit (Act. XXI), et in Antiochia erant prophetae plurimi: et Apostolus praecipit, ut si, altero prophetante, alteri fuerit revelatum, prior taceat (I Cor. XIV). Et quatuor filias Philippi evangelistae legimus prophetasse (Act. XXI). Senes quoque viderunt somnia, quando Paulus jam senex audivit virum Macedonem, dicentem sibi: Transiens in Macedoniam adjuva nos (Act. XVI, 9). Et omnes juvenes qui in Christo exstiterunt fortissimi, et Domini bella bellarunt, viderunt visiones, Domino sua promissa complente: Ego visiones multiplico [Al. multiplicabo], et in manibus prophetarum assimilatus sum (Osee X, 12).

(Vers. 32.) Quia in monte Sion et in Jerusalem erit salvatio: sicut dixit Dominus: et in residuis quos Dominus vocaverit. LXX: Quia in monte Sion et in Jerusalem erit qui salvatus fuerit: sicut dixit Dominus: et annuntians quos Dominus vocavit. In eo loco, in quo nos posuimus, salvatio, sive salvatus, et in Hebraico scriptum est PHALETA (), Symmachus transtulit, qui fugerit. Et rursum ubi nos diximus, in residuis, et LXX transtulerunt, annuntians, in Hebraico legitur SARIDIM [Al. SARADIM] (), quod Judaei loci nomen existimant. Postquam igitur venit dies Domini magnus et horribilis: et salvus effectus est, quicumque post Domini resurrectionem nomen illius invocavit, omnis qui fuit in monte Sion, et in Jerusalem salvatus est: de Sion enim egressa est lex: et verbum Domini, de Jerusalem (Isai. II), de qua scriptum est: Non capit prophetam perire extra Jerusalem (Luc. XIII, 33). Principium ergo eorum qui salvati sunt fuit in Sion et Jerusalem, in specula, et in visione pacis, et in his qui residui fuerunt, quos vocavit Dominus.

Whence both Paul and Sosthenes write to the Church of God which is at Corinth: "To those sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints with all who call upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 1): according to that which we read in the Psalms: "Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel among those who call upon his name. They called upon the Lord, and he answered them: in the pillar of a cloud he spoke to them" (Ps. 98:6). If therefore it is written of the believing Corinthians, and of Moses and Aaron and Samuel, that they called upon the name of the Lord, let us believe this grace to be not of beginners, but of the perfect.

The word also for pouring out, which in Hebrew 205 is called *esphoch* (), and all translated similarly, shows the largeness of the gift, that by no means upon a few prophets (as was formerly done in the Old Testament), but upon all who believe in the name of the Savior, the gifts of the Holy Spirit have descended: by no means upon this one or that one, but upon all flesh. For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, servant and free, male and female: because we are all one in Christ (Rom. 10). Whence also Agabus prophesied at Caesarea (Acts 21), and in Antioch there were very many prophets: and the Apostle commands that if, while one is prophesying, it be revealed to another, let the first be silent (1 Cor. 14). And we read that the four daughters of Philip the evangelist prophesied (Acts 21). The old men also saw dreams, when Paul, being now an old man, heard a Macedonian man saying to him: "Passing over into Macedonia, help us" (Acts 16:9). And all the young men who stood forth most strong in Christ, and fought the battles of the Lord, saw visions, the Lord fulfilling his promises: "I multiply visions, and in the hands of the prophets I have been likened" (Hosea 12:10).

(Vers. 32.) Because in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be salvation: as the Lord has said: and in the residues [remnant] whom the Lord shall call. LXX: Because in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be he who has been saved: as the Lord has said: and announcing those whom the Lord called. In that place in which we have placed *salvation*, or *saved*, and in Hebrew it is written *Phaleta* (), Symmachus translated, *he who shall have fled*. And again where we said, *in the residues*, and the LXX translated, *announcing*, in Hebrew is read *Saridim* [Al. *Saradim*] (), which the Jews think is the name of a place. After therefore the great and terrible day of the Lord came: and he was made safe, whosoever called upon his name after the resurrection of the Lord, everyone who was in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem was saved: for "out of Zion shall go forth the law: and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isa. 2), concerning which it is written: "It cannot be that a prophet should perish outside of Jerusalem" (Luke 13:33). The beginning, therefore, of those who were saved was in Zion and Jerusalem, in the watchtower and in the vision of peace, and in those who were the residues, whom the Lord called.

Residuos eos debemus intelligere, qui de Judaeorum populo crediderunt, de quibus Isaias loquitur: Nisi Dominus Sabaoth 206 reliquisset nobis semen, sicut Sodoma facti essemus, et sicut Gomorrha similes fuissetus (Isai. I, 9). Hos residuos Dominus vocavit, sive evangelizavit eos, quos vocavit: sic enim LXX interpretati sunt.

Locus hic difficillimus est, et multiplicem recipiens explanationem: ut sub tropologia omnia quae dicta sunt, ad illa tempora referamus, ad quae Petrus et Paulus apostoli retulerunt, hoc est, quando passus est Dominus et resurrexit. Neque enim fieri potest, ut superiora in tempore passionis, et quae sequuntur intelligamus in die iudicii, maxime cum sequatur: Quia ecce in diebus illis, et in tempore illo, et iste versiculus, praecedentibus inferiora connectens, uno dicat cuncta tempore perpetrata.

(Cap. III.--Vers. 1 seqq.) Quia ecce in diebus illis, et in tempore illo, cum convertero captivitatem Juda et Jerusalem, congregabo omnes gentes, et deducam eas in vallem Josaphat, et disceptabo cum eis ibi super populo meo, et haereditate mea Israel, quos disperserunt in nationibus: et terram meam diviserunt, et super populum meum miserunt sortem: et posuerunt puerum in prostibulo, et puellam vendiderunt pro vino, ut biberent.

LXX: Quia ecce ego in diebus illis, et in tempore illo quando convertero captivitatem Juda et Jerusalem, congregabo omnes gentes, et deducam eas in vallem Josaphat, et disceptabo cum eis ibi pro populo meo, et haereditate mea Israel, qui dispersi sunt in gentibus: et terram meam diviserunt, et super populum meum miserunt sortes: et posuerunt puerum in prostibulo, et puellas vendebant pro vino, et bibeabant.

Dicamus ut polliciti sumus, primum juxta anagogen prioribus posteriora jungentes, eadem si poterimus, ad diem iudicii referre tentabimus. Salvatis credentibus in monte Sion, et Jerusalem, et vocatis residuis de populo Judaeorum, qui cum apostolis et per apostolos crediderunt, in tempore illo postquam converterit Dominus captivitatem Juda et Jerusalem, qui venerat praedicare caesis visum, et captivis remissionem, et liberavit eos qui Dominum confitentur, et qui versantur in Ecclesia, in qua visio pacis est, congregabit omnes gentes quae credere noluerunt:

We ought to understand those residues as those who believed from the people of the Jews, of whom Isaiah speaks: "Unless the Lord of Sabaoth 206 had left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like Gomorrha" (Isa. 1:9). These residues the Lord called, or *evangelized* them, whom he called: for so the LXX interpreted.

This place is most difficult, and receiving a multiple explanation: so that under tropology we may refer all things which have been said to those times to which the apostles Peter and Paul referred them, that is, when the Lord suffered and rose again. Nor indeed can it be that we should understand the former things in the time of the passion, and those which follow in the day of judgment, especially since it follows: "Because behold in those days and in that time," and this little verse, connecting the later things to the preceding ones, says that all things were perpetrated at one time.

(Chap. III.--Vers. 1 seqq.) Because behold in those days and in that time, when I shall have turned the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather all nations, and I will lead them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will plead with them there over my people, and my inheritance Israel, whom they have dispersed among the nations: and they have divided my land, and they have cast lots upon my people: and they have placed a boy in a brothel, and they have sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.

LXX: Because behold I in those days and in that time when I shall have turned the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather all nations, and I will lead them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will plead with them there for my people, and my inheritance Israel, who are dispersed among the nations: and they have divided my land, and they have cast lots upon my people: and they have placed a boy in a brothel, and they were selling girls for wine, and they were drinking.

Let us say as we promised, first according to the anagoge joining the later things to the former ones, we will attempt to refer the same things, if we can, to the day of judgment. When the believers have been saved in Mount Zion and Jerusalem, and the residues from the people of the Jews have been called, who believed with the apostles and through the apostles, in that time after the Lord shall have turned the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem—he who had come to preach sight to the blind and remission to the captives, and delivered those who confess the Lord and who dwell in the Church, in which there is the vision of peace—he will gather all the nations which were unwilling to believe:

et 207 deducet eas in vallem Josaphat, quod significantius, juxta Hebraicam veritatem Graece dicitur *κατάξω*, id est, deorsum ducam, et de sublimibus ad inferiora detraham. Simulque considera, quando incredulos quosque, vel adversarias potestates Dominus ad iudicium provocat, et disceptat cum eis pro populo suo: deducam, inquit, eas in vallem Josaphat. Quando autem credentes ad praelium cohortatur, dicit: Suscite robustos: accedant, ascendant omnes viri bellatores: consurgant et ascendant gentes in vallem Josaphat, non descendere, sed ascendere cohortantur. Omnis enim qui iudicatur propter peccata sua, in valle positus est, quae appellatur Josaphat, id est, Domini iudicium. Qui enim credit in Domino, non iudicabitur.

Ibique disputabit cum eis, non potentia majestatis, sed rationis eos veritate convincens, qui partiti sunt populum Dei, et haereditatem illius disperserunt in nationibus, ut servos Dei sibi servire compellerent: et terram illius dividerunt, multis eam inter se erroribus separantes, ut alii colerent Jovem, alii Junonem, et Minervam, et febrem, et rubiginem, et Anubim et crocodilum, et ibin, noctuas, accipitres, et ciconias. Sub his nominibus quondam divisus est populus Dei: quae adversariae nationes, id est, principes mundi istius, et rectores tenebrarum, non solum dividerunt sibi populum Dei, sed posuerunt pueros in prostibulum, ut virilem cogerent mutare naturam, de quibus Apostolus loquitur: Propterea tradidit illos Deus in passionem ignominiae: siquidem feminae eorum mutaverunt naturalem usum [Al. naturam suam], in eum usum qui contra naturam est. Similiter et masculi, relicto naturali usu feminae, accensi sunt in desiderium sui in invicem, masculi in masculos turpitudinem operantes, et mercedem quam oportuit erroris sui in semetipsos recipientes. Nec hoc fecisse contenti, vendiderunt puellam pro vino, ut biberent, et libidini praeferrent gulam. Quae universa Judaei, Vespasiani, Titique temporibus, et maxime Hadriani, juxta litteram impleta esse commemorant. Si autem ad diem iudicii, quae scripta sunt, voluerimus referre, dicimus omnem qui salvatur, salvari in Ecclesia, sive in coelesti Jerusalem. Et postquam Judae fuerit et Jerusalem 208 conversa captivitas, tunc congregandos et deducendos omnes in vallem Josaphat: et ibi disceptaturum Dominum cum eis qui suum populum persecuti sunt, et dividerunt sibi haereditatem Domini, et disperserunt eos in nationibus, et super terram illius miserunt sortem: quae non solum super haereticis debemus accipere, qui sibi Dei populum dividerunt, et eos faciunt esse gentiles, sed ad omnem rigidum superbumque doctorem, qui sub nomine doctrinae et sacerdotii dominantur cleris, et opprimunt eos qui subjecti sunt.

and 207 lead them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, which more significantly, according to the Hebrew truth, is said in Greek *kataxo*, that is, *I will lead downwards*, and I will draw them down from the high things to the lower ones. And consider at the same time, when the Lord provokes any unbelievers or contrary powers to judgment, and pleads with them for his people: *I will lead them down*, he says, *into the valley of Jehoshaphat*. But when he exhorts the believers to battle, he says: "Rouse the strong; let them approach, let all the men of war ascend: let the nations rise up and ascend into the valley of Jehoshaphat"; they are exhorted not to descend, but to ascend. For everyone who is judged because of his sins is placed in the valley which is called Jehoshaphat, that is, *the Judgment of the Lord*. For he who believes in the Lord shall not be judged.

And there he will dispute with them, not by the power of majesty, but convincing them by the truth of reason, who have divided the people of God, and dispersed his inheritance among the nations, that they might compel the servants of God to serve them: and they have divided his land, separating it among themselves with many errors, so that some would worship Jupiter, others Juno, and Minerva, and Fever, and Mildew, and Anubis and the Crocodile, and the Ibis, owls, hawks, and storks. Under these names the people of God was once divided: which contrary nations, that is, the princes of this world and the rulers of darkness, not only divided the people of God for themselves, but they placed boys in a brothel, that they might compel the masculine nature to change, of whom the Apostle speaks: "For this cause God delivered them up into passions of ignominia: for their women changed the natural use [Al. *their nature*] into that use which is against nature. Likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their desire one toward another, men with men working that which is shameful, and receiving in themselves the recompense which was meet for their error." Nor content to have done this, they sold a girl for wine, that they might drink, and prefer gluttony to lust. All which the Jews record were fulfilled according to the letter in the times of Vespasian and Titus, and especially of Hadrian. But if we wish to refer those things which are written to the day of judgment, we say that everyone who is saved is saved in the Church, or in the celestial Jerusalem. And after the captivity of Judah and 208 Jerusalem shall have been turned, then all are to be gathered and led down into the valley of Jehoshaphat: and there the Lord will plead with those who persecuted his people, and divided for themselves the inheritance of the Lord, and dispersed them among the nations, and cast lots upon his land: which things we ought to take not only concerning heretics, who have divided the people of God for themselves and make them to be Gentiles, but toward every rigid and proud teacher, who under the name of doctrine and priesthood dominate the clergy, and oppress those who are subject.

Cumque fuerint negligentes, et scandalizaverint unum de minimis, etiam pueros ponunt in prostibulum, sive tradunt meretricibus: et causa voluptatis suae (quorum Deus venter est, et gloria in confusione eorum (Philip. III) vendunt puellas, ut bibant vinum. Tradit autem adolescentes meretricibus, et puellas vendit luxuriae, qui turpis lucri gratia non corripit delinquentes.

(Vers. 4-6.) Verum quid vobis et mihi, Tyrus et Sidon, et omnis terminus Palaestinatorum? Numquid ultionem vos reddetis [Al. redditis] mihi? Et si ulciscimini [Al. ulciscemini] vos contra me, cito velociter reddam vicissitudinem vobis super caput vestrum. Argentum enim meum et aurum meum [Vulg. tac. meum] tulistis: et desiderabilia mea, et pulcherrima intulistis in delubra vestra: et filios Juda, et filios Jerusalem vendidistis filiis Graecorum: ut longe faceretur eos de finibus suis.

LXX: Quid mihi et vobis, Tyrus et Sidon, et omnis Galilaea alienigenarum? Numquid retributionem vos redditis mihi: aut iram in corde retinetis adversum me (hoc enim Graece significat *μνησικακετε*)? velociter et cito reddam retributionem vestram in capitibus vestris: pro eo quod argentum meum et aurum meum tulistis: et electa mea et optima intulistis in templa vestra: et filios Juda, et filios Jerusalem vendidistis filiis Graecorum: ut ejiceretur eos de finibus suis.

Et haec Judaei adversum Tyrum et Sidonem et Palaestinorum terminos, sive Galilaeam alienigenarum dici arbitrantur: quod tempore captivitatis Judaicae, quando victi sunt a Romanis, Dei populum persecuti sunt: immo in populo Dei ipsum Deum qui praefuit populo, secundum illud quod scriptum est: Qui vos recipit, me recipit (Mat. X, 40). Ergo econtrario, qui persequitur populum Dei, ipsum Deum persequitur, cujus est 209 populus. Reddam, inquit, vobis quae fecistis populo meo: quia argentum meum et aurum, id est, vasa templi, et quidquid in eo pretiosissimum et speciosissimum fuit, candelabrum aureum et mensam propositionis auream, et duos Cherubim aureos, et propitiatorium, et phialas ac thuribula aurea tulistis, et consecratis idolis vestris (IV Reg. XXV).

And when they have been negligent, and have scandalized one of the little ones, they even place boys in a brothel, or deliver them to harlots: and for the sake of their pleasure (whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their confusion (Phil. 3)) they sell girls that they may drink wine. But he delivers youths to harlots and sells girls to luxury, who for the sake of base gain does not correct the delinquent.

(Vers. 4-6.) But what are you to me, Tyre and Sidon, and all the coast of the Philistines? Will you render me a revenge? And if you revenge yourselves against me, soon and quickly I will render a recompense to you upon your own head. For you have taken my silver and my gold [Vulg. omits *my*]: and my desirable and most beautiful things you have brought into your temples: and the children of Judah and the children of Jerusalem you have sold to the children of the Grecians: that you might make them far off from their own borders.

LXX: What are you to me, Tyre and Sidon, and all Galilee of the aliens? Do you render me a retribution: or do you retain anger in your heart against me (for this is what *mnesikakeite* means in Greek)? swiftly and soon I will render your retribution upon your heads: because you have taken my silver and my gold: and my chosen and best things you have brought into your temples: and the sons of Judah and the sons of Jerusalem you have sold to the sons of the Grecians: that you might cast them out from their own borders.

And the Jews think these things are said against Tyre and Sidon and the borders of the Philistines, or Galilee of the aliens: because in the time of the Jewish captivity, when they were conquered by the Romans, they persecuted the people of God: or rather in the people of God, God himself who presided over the people, according to that which is written: "He who receives you, receives me" (Matt. 10:40). Therefore, on the contrary, he who persecutes the people of God persecutes God himself, whose 209 people it is. I will render to you, he says, what you have done to my people: because you have taken my silver and my gold, that is, the vessels of the temple, and whatever was most precious and most beautiful in it, the golden candlestick and the golden table of proposition, and the two golden Cherubim, and the propitiatory, and the golden phials and censers, and you have consecrated them to your idols (2 Kings 25).

Haec autem narrat historia Chaldaeos magis fecisse, qui vasa templi Domini posuerunt in templo Bel: unde postea Balthasar potat in phialis, et statim regnum ejus in Medos et Persas transfertur (Daniel. V). Sed quia post diem Domini magnum et horribilem, haec futura dicuntur, quae apostoli in resurrectione Domini interpretantur, et Hebraei in futurum judicii tempus differunt, magis de Romanis est intelligendum: quod Vespasianus et Titus, Romae templo Pacis aedificato, vasa Templi et universa donaria in delubro illius consecrarunt: quae Graeca et Romana narrat historia. Eo tempore filii Juda et Jerusalem (nequaquam Israel, et decem tribuum, quae usque hodie in Medorum urbibus et montibus habitant) venditi sunt filiis Graecorum, ut exterminarentur de finibus suis, et omnis orbis Judaica captivitate completus est. Hoc illi referunt, ut ultionem sanguinis Christi et subversionem Jerusalem, quae Dei iudicio accidit, contra Tyrum et Sidonem per se accidisse confirmant.

Nos autem juxta coeptam tropologiam, Tyrum et Sidonem et Palaestinos eos interpretemur, qui Dei populum coangustant et tribulant et persequuntur (hoc enim Tyrus in lingua nostra resonat) et eum venantur [Al. ut venentur] in mortem, quod nomen Sidonis indicat, et bibentes sanguinem corruunt, sive volutantur in coeno, quod Philistiim Galilaeaeque significat. Velociter et cito restituet eis Dominus quod merentur, quia persecuti sunt eum. Et argentum illius et aurum, eloquia videlicet Scripturarum, et νοήματα, id est, sententias, et omne quod pulchrum in Ecclesia fuit, suis erroribus manciparunt. Haereticus quoscumque deceperit, et sua fecerit adorare simulacra, filios Juda et filios Jerusalem vendit Graecis, sive gentilibus, et eos de Christianis ethnicos facit: ut exterminet de finibus suis, in quibus in Christo fuerant procreati, et 210 nequaquam in Judaea, et veritatis confessione, sed in gentium errore versentur. Quae omnia et ad diem judicii referre possumus, non discrepante vindicta: licet in tempore a superioribus discrepare videantur. Pro Galilaea in Hebraeo scriptum est, GALILOTH (), quod Aquila Θῆνας, Symmachus Terminos transtulit: Θῆνας autem, id est, Tumulos Arenarum, referamus ad littora Palaestinae, non ad Galilaeam Philistiim, quae omnino nulla est.

But history records that the Chaldeans did this more, who placed the vessels of the temple of the Lord in the temple of Bel: whence afterwards Belshazzar drinks from the phials, and immediately his kingdom is transferred to the Medes and Persians (Dan. 5). But because after the great and terrible day of the Lord these things are said to be future, which the apostles interpret in the resurrection of the Lord, and the Hebrews defer to the future time of judgment, it is rather to be understood concerning the Romans: that Vespasian and Titus, after the temple of Peace was built at Rome, consecrated the vessels of the Temple and all the gifts in its sanctuary: which Greek and Roman history records. At that time the sons of Judah and Jerusalem (by no means Israel and the ten tribes, which dwell until today in the cities and mountains of the Medes) were sold to the sons of the Grecians, that they might be exterminated from their borders, and the whole world was filled with the Jewish captivity. They refer this so that they may confirm that the revenge for the blood of Christ and the subversion of Jerusalem, which happened by the judgment of God, happened of itself against Tyre and Sidon.

But we, according to the tropology we have begun, let us interpret Tyre and Sidon and the Philistines as those who co-straiten and trouble and persecute the people of God (for this is what Tyre sounds like in our language) and hunt it [Al. *to hunt it*] unto death, which the name of Sidon indicates, and falling they drink blood, or are wallowed in filth, which Philistines and Galilee signify. Swiftly and soon the Lord will restore to them what they deserve, because they have persecuted him. And his silver and gold, namely the eloquences of the Scriptures, and *noemata*, that is, *sentences*, and everything that was beautiful in the Church, they have enslaved to their errors. Whoever the heretic has deceived, and made to adore his own idols, he sells the sons of Judah and the sons of Jerusalem to the Greeks, or to the Gentiles, and makes them heathens from being Christians: that he may exterminate them from their borders, in which they had been procreated in Christ, and 210 by no means in Judea and the confession of truth, but they are conversant in the error of the nations. All which things we can also refer to the day of judgment, the vengeance not being discordant: although they seem to differ in time from the former things. For *Galilee*, in the Hebrew it is written *Galiloth* (), which Aquila translated *Theinas*, Symmachus *Borders*: but *Theinas*, that is, *Heaps of Sand*, let us refer to the shores of Palestine, not to the Galilee of the Philistines, which is entirely none at all.

(Vers. 7, 8.) Ecce ego suscitabo eos de loco, in quo vendidistis eos, et convertam retributionem vestram in caput vestrum, et vendam filios vestros, et filias vestras, in manibus filiorum Juda, et venundabunt eos Sabaeis, genti longinquae: quia Dominus locutus est. LXX: Ecce ego suscitabo eos de loco in quo vendidistis eos, et reddam retributionem vestram in capita vestra, et vendam filios vestros et filias vestras in manibus filiorum Juda, et venundabunt eos in captivitatem genti, quae procul abest, quoniam Dominus locutus est.

Verum Hebraicum SABAIM (), quod Aquila et Symmachus ita ut scriptum est transtulerunt, LXX captivitatem interpretati sunt, quod melius captivos significat. Sabaim autem gens trans Indiam dicitur, de qua fuit et regina Saba, quae venit sapientiam audire Salomonis (III Reg. X), de quibus et Isaias loquitur: Et Sabaim viri excelsi ad te transibunt (Isai. XLIII, 14). Unde et thus venire perhibetur, dicente Virgilio (Aeneid. lib. I): . . . Centumque Sabaeo Thure calent arae: licet quidam Sabaeos, Arabes suspicentur.

Promittunt ergo sibi Judaei, immo somniant, quod in ultimo tempore congregentur a Domino, et reducantur in Jerusalem. Nec hac felicitate contenti, ipsum Deum suis manibus Romanorum filios et filias asserunt traditurum, ut vendant eos Judaei, non Persis et Aethiopibus et caeteris nationibus quae vicinae sunt; sed Sabaeis, genti longissimae: quia Dominus locutus sit, et populi sui ulciscatur injuriam. Haec illi et nostri Judaizantes, qui mille annorum regnum in Judaeae sibi finibus pollicentur, et auream Jerusalem, et victimarum sanguinem, et filios ac nepotes et delicias incredibiles, et portas gemmarum 211 varietate distinctas.

Nos autem dicamus, quod et suscitavit Dominus post adventum suum, et quotidie suscitaturus est eos, quos varius error eduxerat de finibus suis. Pulchreque suscitabo, ait, quasi jacentes et corruentes, ut qui jacebant in haeresi, stent in Ecclesia, reddens haereticis quod fecerant: Ut filios eorum et filias, quos et in mysticis et in carnalibus erudierant, tradat in manibus filiorum Juda, in manibus eorum, qui Ecclesiarum principes exstiterunt; et instructi sunt armatura Apostoli, et habent scutum et lanceam veteris et novi Instrumenti. Ut cum ceperint, filios eorum et filias vendant Sabaeis, et faciant esse captivos, ut procul sint a finibus suis: et ad meliora conversi, Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus incipiant esse subjecti.

(Vers. 7, 8.) Behold I will raise them up out of the place in which you have sold them, and I will turn your recompense upon your own head, and I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hands of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a far off nation: because the Lord has spoken. LXX: Behold I will raise them up out of the place in which you have sold them, and I will render your retribution upon your own heads, and I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hands of the sons of Judah, and they shall sell them into captivity to a nation which is far off, because the Lord has spoken.

The Hebrew word *Sabaim* (), which Aquila and Symmachus translated just as it is written, the LXX interpreted as *captivity*, which more properly signifies *captives*. Moreover, the Sabeans are said to be a nation beyond India, from whom also was the Queen of Sheba, who came to hear the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kings 10), of whom Isaiah also speaks: "And the Sabeans, men of stature, shall pass over to thee" (Isa. 45:14). Whence also incense is reported to come, as Virgil says (*Aeneid*, Book 1): . . . and a hundred altars are warm with Sabaeian incense"; although some suspect the Sabeans to be Arabs.

The Jews therefore promise to themselves, or rather they dream, that in the last time they are to be gathered by the Lord and led back into Jerusalem. Nor content with this happiness, they assert that God himself will deliver the sons and daughters of the Romans into their hands, so that the Jews may sell them, not to the Persians and Ethiopians and other nations which are nearby, but to the Sabeans, a most distant nation: because the Lord has spoken, and he may avenge the injury of his people. These things they and our Judaizers [Millenarians] dream of, who promise to themselves a kingdom of a thousand years within the borders of Judea, and a golden Jerusalem, and the blood of victims, and sons and grandsons and incredible delights, and gates 211 distinguished by a variety of gems.

But let us say that the Lord both raised up after his coming, and daily raises up, and is about to raise up those whom various error had led out of their borders. And beautifully he says, *I will raise up*, as if they were lying down and falling, so that they who were lying in heresy may stand in the Church, rendering to the heretics what they had done: that their sons and daughters, whom they had instructed in both mystical and carnal things, he may deliver into the hands of the sons of Judah, into the hands of those who have stood forth as princes of the Churches; and they are instructed with the armor of the Apostle, and have the shield and spear of the old and new Instrument [Testament]. So that when they have taken them, they may sell their sons and daughters to the Sabeans, and make them be captives, so that they may be far from their borders: and being converted to better things, they may begin to be subject to ecclesiastical dogmas.

(Vers. 9 seqq.) Clamate haec [Al. hoc] in gentibus: sanctificate bellum: suscite robustos. Accedant, ascendant omnes viri bellatores. Concidite aratra vestra in gladios, et ligones vestros in lanceas. Infirmus dicat, quia fortis ego sum. Erumpite, et venite, omnes gentes de circuitu, et congregamini, ibi occumbere faciet Dominus robustos tuos [Al. suos].

LXX: Praedicate haec [Al. hoc] in gentibus: sanctificate bellum, suscite pugnatore, adducite et ascendite omnes viri bellatores. Concidite aratra vestra in gladios, et falces vestras in lanceas. Fortis dicat, quia praevaléo ego. Congregamini et introite, omnes gentes per circuitum: et congregamini illuc, mansuetus sit pugnator.

Locus iste dupliciter intelligitur: quidam enim arbitrantur haec sanctis gentibus praedicari, ut praeparentur ad bellum, et pro populo Dei dimicent, ut omnia instrumenta agriculturae in gladios lanceasque convertant, ut infirmus dicat se esse robustum, et veniant omnes de circuitu, et in certamen Domini congregentur, maxime quia juxta LXX sequitur: Mansuetus et mitis sit pugnator, juxta illud quod in Paralipomenis scriptum est (I Par. V, 8): Et trans Jordanem de Ruben et Gad et dimidia tribu Manasse, in omnibus vasis bellicis centum viginti millia: omnes isti viri bellatores parati ad pugnam mente pacifica: hos esse volunt imitatores veri David, de quo legimus: Memento, Domine, David, et omnis mansuetudinis ejus (Ps. CXXXI, 1). 212 Et ipse loquitur in Evangelio: Discite a me, quia humilis sum, et mitis (Matth. XI, 29), sive mansuetus. Viros quoque eos intelligi volunt, qui destruentes initia parvulorum, ad perfectae aetatis robur accesserint, et omne studium quo prius animarum suarum exercebant agros, ad necessitatem praelii contulerint.

Nobis autem Hebraeorum opinionem sequentibus videtur esse contrarium. Ideo enim gentes adversariae Israeli parantur ad pugnam, et aratra sua ligonesque, vel falces in gladios lanceasque commutant (Isa. II), et infirmus robustum se esse dicit, erumpuntque et veniunt de circuitu, et contra Domini exercitum congregantur, ut [Al. et] occumbere Dominus faciat robustos earum, et [Al. ut] intelligant, se Deo adversante, superatas.

Haec juxta litteram sibi Israel miserabilis repromittit. Nos juxta coeptam tropologiam, et gentes daemonum, et eos qui quotidie contra Ecclesiam dimicant, et in ultimo, qui sub Antichristo adversum sanctos Domini pugnaturos sunt, accipere possumus, qui idcirco congregantur, ut pereant.

(Vers. 12 seqq.) Consurgant, et ascendant gentes in vallem Josaphat, quia ibi sedebo ut judicem omnes gentes in circuitu: mittite falces, quoniam maturavit [Vulg. maturuit] messis. Venite et descendite, quia plenum est torcular: exuberant torcularia, quia multiplicata est malitia eorum.

(Verse 9 ff.) Proclaim this among the nations: sanctify war: stir up the strong. Let all the men of war draw near, let them go up. Beat your plows into swords, and your mattocks into spears. Let the weak say, because I am strong. Burst forth, and come, all nations from round about, and gather together; there the Lord will cause your strong ones [Al. his] to fall.

LXX: Preach this among the nations: sanctify war, stir up the fighters, bring near and go up all men of war. Beat your plows into swords, and your sickles into spears. Let the strong say, because I prevail. Gather together and enter, all nations round about: and gather together there; let the fighter be gentle.

This passage is understood in two ways: for some think that these things are preached to the holy nations, so that they may be prepared for war, and fight for the people of God, so that they may convert all instruments of agriculture into swords and spears, so that the weak may say he is strong, and all may come from round about, and be gathered into the contest of the Lord, especially because according to the LXX it follows: Let the fighter be gentle and mild, according to that which is written in Chronicles (1 Chron. 12:38): And from across the Jordan of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh, in all military vessels a hundred and twenty thousand: all these men of war ready for battle with a peaceful mind: they want these to be imitators of the true David, of whom we read: Remember, O Lord, David, and all his gentleness (Ps. 131:1). 212 And he himself speaks in the Gospel: Learn from me, because I am humble and mild (Matt. 11:29), or gentle. They also want those men to be understood, who, destroying the beginnings of children, have approached the strength of perfect age, and have brought all the zeal with which they previously cultivated the fields of their souls to the necessity of battle.

But to us, following the opinion of the Hebrews, the contrary seems to be the case. For therefore the nations hostile to Israel are prepared for battle, and change their plows and mattocks, or sickles, into swords and spears (Isa. 2), and the weak says he is strong, and they burst forth and come from round about, and gather against the army of the Lord, so that [Al. and] the Lord may cause their strong ones to fall, and [Al. that] they may understand that, with God opposing them, they are overcome.

Wretched Israel promises these things to itself according to the letter. We, according to the tropology begun, can understand both the nations of demons, and those who daily fight against the Church, and finally, those who under Antichrist are to fight against the saints of the Lord, who for this reason are gathered, so that they may perish.

(Verse 12 ff.) Let the nations rise up and go up to the valley of Jehoshaphat, because there I will sit to judge all nations round about: put in the sickles, because the harvest is ripe [Vulg. has matured]. Come and go down, because the winepress is full: the vats overflow, because their malice is multiplied.

LXX: Consurgant et ascendant omnes gentes in vallem Josaphat, quia ibi sedebo ut judicem omnes gentes in circuitu: emittite falces, quoniam adest vindemia. Introite et calcate, quia plenum est torcular, et redundant torcularia, quia repleta sunt mala eorum.

Et haec juxta superiorem sensum interpretantur bifariam. Alii enim gentes ascendere in vallem Josaphat, quae interpretatur Domini judicium, et sedere ibi Deum, ut dijudicet omnes gentes, quae de circuitu veniunt, in bonam partem intelligunt: quo scilicet et sancti contra Dei adversarios congregentur, et mittant falces suas, ut maturam hostium messem demetant, et veniant atque descendant, calcentque torcularia, quia adsit vindemia, et intantum musta exuberent, ut torcularia capere non possint. Et ut sciremus quae sit vindemia, plenumque torcular, 213 intulit [Al. intulisse]: multiplicata est malitia eorum, haud dubium quin eos significet, qui contra Dominum congregati sunt. Alii autem consurgere gentes, et convenire in vallem Josaphat, et sedere Dominum, ut omnes judicet nationes, ideo asserunt, ut parent se et assumant universa arma pugnantium, et in valle Josaphat Domini falcibus demetantur. Venisse enim contra eos tempus judicii, et intantum eorum crevisse mala, ut Dei vincerent patientiam. Nam et Amorrhaei tunc expulsi sunt, quando expleta sunt peccata eorum. Judaei istum locum ad Gog et Magog gentes saevissimas referunt, de quibus supra diximus, arbitantes ultimo tempore quando Jerusalem fuerit instaurata, sub mille annorum imperio contra Dei populum esse venturas, et in valle Josaphat quae ad Orientalem partem templi sita est, esse ruituras [Al. saevituras]: advenisse enim tempus occisionis earum, et effundendi sanguinis instare vindemiam.

(Vers. 14, 15.) Populi, populi in valle concisionis, quia juxta est dies Domini in valle concisionis. Sol et luna obtenebrati sunt, et stellae retraxerunt splendorem suum.

LXX: Sonitus exauditi sunt in valle judicii, quia juxta est dies Domini in valle judicii. Sol et luna obtenebrabuntur, et stellae occidere facient splendorem suum.

In eo loco ubi nos posuimus, populi, populi, et Septuaginta transtulerunt, sonitus exauditi sunt, in Hebraico scriptum est, AMONIM, AMONIM (המונים המונים), quod utique multitudinem, et turbas eorum qui judicandi sunt, et strepitum sonitumque significat.

LXX: Let all the nations rise up and go up to the valley of Jehoshaphat, because there I will sit to judge all nations round about: send forth the sickles, because the vintage is here. Enter and tread, because the winepress is full, and the vats overflow, because their evils are filled.

And these things are interpreted in two ways according to the previous sense. For some understand the nations going up into the valley of Jehoshaphat, which is interpreted as the judgment of the Lord, and God sitting there, so that he may judge all the nations that come from round about, in a good sense: namely, that the saints also may be gathered against the adversaries of God, and put in their sickles, so that they may reap the ripe harvest of the enemies, and come and go down, and tread the vats, because the vintage is present, and the new wine overflows so much that the vats cannot contain it. And so that we might know what the vintage is, and the full winepress, 213 he added [Al. to have added]: their malice is multiplied, no doubt meaning those who are gathered against the Lord. Others, however, assert that the nations rise up and meet in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Lord sits to judge all nations, for this reason: so that they may prepare themselves and take up all the weapons of those who fight, and in the valley of Jehoshaphat be reaped by the sickles of the Lord. For the time of judgment has come against them, and their evils have grown so much that they overcome the patience of God. For even the Amorites were expelled then, when their sins were filled up. The Jews refer this place to the most savage nations of Gog and Magog, of whom we have spoken above, thinking that in the last time, when Jerusalem shall have been restored, under a thousand-year reign, they will come against the people of God, and in the valley of Jehoshaphat, which is situated on the eastern side of the temple, they will fall [Al. rage]: for the time of their slaughter has come, and the vintage of the shedding of blood is pressing.

(Verses 14, 15.) Peoples, peoples in the valley of decision, because the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision. The sun and moon are darkened, and the stars have withdrawn their splendor.

LXX: Sounds were heard in the valley of judgment, because the day of the Lord is near in the valley of judgment. The sun and moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall cause their splendor to fall.

In that place where we have put, "peoples, peoples," and the Seventy translated, "sounds were heard," in Hebrew it is written, AMONIM, AMONIM (המונים המונים), which certainly signifies a multitude, and the crowds of those who are to be judged, and the noise and sound.

Rursum ubi nos diximus in valle concisionis, sequentes translationem Aquilae et Symmachi et quintae editionis, Septuaginta et Theodotio τῆς δίκης καὶ τῆς κρίσεως, id est, causae et iudicii transtulerunt: pro quo in Hebraico scriptum est HARUS (חרוס), quod Hebraei non solum concisionem; sed et aurum interpretari putant, quo scilicet in valle iudicii, quam suspicantur gehennam, excocis sordibus peccatorum, purum aurum remaneat. Idcirco autem gentium, de quibus supra diximus in valle iudicii, sive concisionis, populi congregantur, ut interficiantur et corruant, et a Domino judicentur. Cujus moerorem diei et tormenta pereuntium, ne sol quidem et luna astraque caetera poterunt intueri; sed retrahent fulgorem suum, et severitatem judicantis red-dentisque uniuscujusque opus in 214 caput suum, aspicere non adebunt. Non quod clementiora sint quam Dei iudicia; sed quod omnis creatura in tormentis aliorum de suo iudicio pertimescat.

Et Dominus de Sion rugiet, et de Jerusalem dabit vocem suam, et movebuntur coeli et terra, et Dominus spes populi sui, et fortitudo filiorum Israel, et scietis quia ego Dominus Deus vester, habitans in Sion [Vulg. addit. in] monte sancto meo, et erit Jerusalem sancta, et alieni non transibunt per eam amplius.

LXX: Dominus autem de Sion clamabit, et de Jerusalem dabit vocem suam, et movebitur coelum et terra, et Dominus parcat populo suo, et confortabit filios Israel, et scietis quia ego Dominus Deus vester habitans in Sion monte sancto meo, et erit Jerusalem sancta, et alienigena non transibit per eam amplius.

Cum solis et lunae cunctarumque stellarum splendor tenebris fuerit commutatus, Dominus de Sion instar leonis rugiet, sive clamabit, et tam excelsa vox ejus erit atque terribilis, ut coelorum cardines et terrarum fundamenta quatiantur. Cumque tam severus in eos fuerit qui puniendi sunt, erit clemens erga populum suum, et dabit eis fortitudinem qui appellantur filii Israel, mens scilicet cernens Deum; vel ἐνθύνατος Θεοῦ, quem nos rectissimum Dei dicere possumus: qui non ambulaverunt per pravās semitas, sed gradientes in via Christi, omnia recta fecerunt.

Again, where we said, "in the valley of decision," following the translation of Aquila and Symmachus and the fifth edition, the Seventy and Theodotion translated τῆς δίκης καὶ τῆς κρίσεως, that is, "of cause and of judgment": for which in Hebrew it is written HARUS (חָרֹס), which the Hebrews think is interpreted not only as "conci-sion"; but also as "gold," so that namely in the valley of judgment, which they suspect to be Gehenna, the dross of sins being cooked away, pure gold may remain. Therefore, the peoples of the nations of whom we spoke above are gathered in the valley of judgment, or decision, so that they may be killed and fall, and be judged by the Lord. Not even the sun and moon and the other stars will be able to look upon the sorrow of that day and the torments of those perishing; but they will withdraw their brightness, and will not dare to behold the severity of the judge and of him who renders the work of each one upon 214 his own head. Not because they are more merciful than the judgments of God; but because every creature fears for its own judgment in the torments of others.

And the Lord shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shall be moved, and the Lord is the hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel, and you shall know that I am the Lord your God, dwelling in Zion [Vulg. adds: in] my holy mountain, and Jerusalem shall be holy, and strangers shall not pass through her anymore.

LXX: But the Lord shall cry from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem, and heaven and earth shall be moved, and the Lord shall spare his people, and shall strengthen the children of Israel, and you shall know that I am the Lord your God dwelling in Zion my holy mountain, and Jerusalem shall be holy, and a stranger shall not pass through her anymore.

When the splendor of the sun and moon and of all the stars shall have been changed into darkness, the Lord shall roar like a lion from Zion, or shall cry out, and his voice shall be so lofty and terrible that the hinges of the heavens and the foundations of the earth are shaken. And while he will be so severe toward those who are to be punished, he will be merciful toward his people, and will give strength to those who are called the children of Israel, that is, a mind seeing God; or εὐθύτατος Θεοῦ, which we can call "the most righteous of God": who have not walked through crooked paths, but walking in the way of Christ, have done all things right.

Tunc scient et hi qui punientur, et illi qui assumentur in gloriam, quod Dominus habitet in specula sua Sion, et in Christo monte sancto suo, sive in eo qui se dignum Dei habitaculo praeeparavit. Tunc erit sancta Jerusalem visio pacis, a qua et Salomon nomen accepit, et alieni non pertransibunt per eam amplius. Alienos vel daemones intellige, qui externi a Deo sunt: vel omnes pessimas cogitationes atque peccata, de quibus propheta loquitur: Ab alienis parce servo tuo (Ps. XVIII, 24): quae nequaquam ultra in nobis viam reperirent, si habuerimus Dei pacem, et cor nostrum adversariis non patuerit. Haec Judaei et nostri, ut diximus, judaizantes, ad mille annorum fabulam referunt, quando putant Christum habitaturum in Sion, et in Jerusalem aurea atque gemmata sanctorum populos congregandos, ut qui in isto saeculo oppressi sunt ab universis gentibus, in hoc eodem cunctis imperent nationibus.

(Vers. 18.) 215 Et erit in die illa, stillabunt montes dulcedinem, et colles fluent lacte, et per omnes rivos Judae ibunt aquae.

LXX: Et erit in die illa, stillabunt montes dulcedinem, et colles fluent lacte, et omnes emissiones Judae fluent aquis.

Habitante Domino in Sion et in monte sancto suo, quando nullus per Jerusalem sanctam pertransire tentaverit, quicumque in ea mons fuerit, et ad virtutum excelsa pervenerit, dulcedine et melle sudabit, et stillabunt ex eo gratiae spirituales, de quibus propheta loquitur: Quam dulcia gutturi meo eloquia tua, super mel ori meo (Ps. CXVIII, 103)! Qui autem inferior montibus est, et necdum ad perfectionis culmen ascenderint, vocabitur collis, et fluent de eo rivi lactis, quibus rudis in Christo nutritur infantia, et aquarum flumina, quae de ventre suo Dominus manare testatus est (Joan. VII). Omnes enim rivi, sive emissiones Juda, implebuntur aquis, et nihil in eis siccum erit, redundantibus cunctis gratia spirituali.

Et fons de domo Domini egredietur, et irrigabit torrentem [Al. fontem] spinarum. Pro torrente spinarum, Septuaginta transtulerunt, torrentem funiculorum, id est, σχοίνων: quod aut funiculos significat, aut juxta Aegyptios mensuram certi itineris, Psalmista dicente: Semitam meam et funiculum meum tu investigasti (Psal. CXXXVIII, 2). In Nilo enim flumine, sive in rivis ejus, solent naves funibus trahere, certa habentes spatia, quae appellant funiculos, ut labori defessorum, recentia trahentium colla succedant.

Then both those who are punished and those who are taken up into glory will know that the Lord dwells in his watchtower Zion, and in Christ his holy mountain, or in him who has prepared himself as a worthy dwelling-place for God. Then holy Jerusalem will be the vision of peace, from which even Solomon received his name, and strangers shall not pass through her anymore. Understand as strangers either the demons, who are external to God: or all the worst thoughts and sins, of whom the prophet speaks: From strangers spare your servant (Ps. 18:14): which would by no means find a way in us further, if we have the peace of God, and our heart were not open to adversaries. The Jews and our Judaizers, as we have said, refer these things to the fable of a thousand years, when they think Christ will dwell in Zion, and the peoples of the saints are to be gathered in a golden and jeweled Jerusalem, so that those who in this age were oppressed by all nations, in this same age might rule over all nations.

(Verse 18.) 215 And it shall come to pass in that day, the mountains shall drop down sweetness, and the hills shall flow with milk, and through all the rivers of Judah shall waters go.

LXX: And it shall come to pass in that day, the mountains shall drop down sweetness, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the outlets of Judah shall flow with waters.

With the Lord dwelling in Zion and in his holy mountain, when no one shall attempt to pass through holy Jerusalem, whoever in it shall be a mountain, and shall have reached the heights of virtues, shall sweat with sweetness and honey, and from him shall drop spiritual graces, of which the prophet speaks: How sweet are your words to my throat, above honey to my mouth (Ps. 118:103)! But he who is lower than the mountains, and has not yet ascended to the summit of perfection, shall be called a hill, and from him shall flow rivers of milk, with which unrefined infancy in Christ is nourished, and rivers of waters, which the Lord testified would flow from his belly (John 7). For all the rivers, or outlets of Judah, shall be filled with waters, and nothing in them shall be dry, while all overflow with spiritual grace.

And a fountain shall come forth from the house of the Lord, and shall water the torrent [Al. fountain] of thorns. Instead of "torrent of thorns," the Seventy translated "torrent of cords," that is, *σχοίνων*: which either signifies cords, or according to the Egyptians a measure of a certain journey, as the Psalmist says: My path and my cord you have investigated (Ps. 138:3). For in the Nile river, or in its channels, they are accustomed to pull ships with ropes, having certain distances which they call "cords," so that the fresh necks of those pulling may succeed the labor of the weary.

Nec mirum si unaquaeque gens certa viarum spatia suis appellet nominibus, cum et Latini mille passus vocent, et Galli leucas, et Persae parasangas, et rastas universa Germania, atque in singulis nominibus diversa mensura sit. Haec propterea, quia verbum Hebraicum SATTIM (סַטִּים) Septuaginta funiculos transtulerunt. Caeterum nulli dubium est, omnia quae in tabernaculo Dei legimus, de lignis Settim fuisse perfecta: quae LXX interpretati sunt ligna imputribilia. Est autem genus arboris in eremo, spinæ albae simile, colore et foliis, non magnitudine. Alioquin tam grandes arbores sunt, ut latissima 216 ex illis tabulata caedantur, lignumque fortissimum est, et incredibilis levitatis ac pulchritudinis, ita ut ex his etiam vasa torcularium, quae ἄρσενας et θηλύας vocant, ditissimi quique et studiosissimi faciant, quae ligna in locis cultis, et in Romano solo, absque Arabiae solitudine non inveniuntur. Pro torrente funiculorum, sive spinarum, Symmachus interpretatus est, vallem spinarum. Est autem locus juxta Liviadem trans mare mortuum, sexto ab ea distans milliario, ubi quondam cum Madianitis fornicatus est Israel. Hujus loci ex persona Dei Michaeas propheta meminit, dicens: Populus meus, memento, quaeso, quid cogitaverit Balach, rex Moab, et quid responderit Balaam filius Beor de Settim usque ad Galgalam (Mich. VI, 5). Pro quo et ibi Septuaginta transtulerunt, ἀπὸ τῶν σχοίνων, hoc est, a funiculis usque ad Galgalam.

Ergo egredietur fons de domo Domini, quae interpretatur Ecclesia. De quo et Ezechiel et Zacharias ponunt in fine voluminum suorum (Ezech. XLVII, Zach. XIII), ut spinas nostras et vitia atque peccata, quae nullam frugem habuere justitiae, commutent in Domini novalia, et ariditatem nostram rigent aquis largissimis, et pro spinis ac vepribus, flores virtutum multiplices germinemus. Et in eo loco, ubi quondam fornicatus est Israel, et initiatus est Beelphegor, lilia castitatis et rosae pudoris ac virginitatis exuberent.

(Vers. 19.) Aegyptus in desolatione [Vulg. desolationem] erit, et Idumaea in desertum perditionis, pro eo quod inique egerunt [Vulg. egerint] in filios Juda, et effuderunt [Vulg. effuderint] sanguinem innocentem in terra sua.

LXX: Aegyptus in perdione erit, et Idumaea in campum desolationis, propter iniquitates filiorum Juda, pro eo quod effuderunt sanguinem justum in terra sua.

Nor is it a wonder if each nation calls certain distances of roads by its own names, since both the Latins call them "thousand paces," and the Gauls "leagues," and the Persians "parasangs," and all Germany "rastas," and in each of these names there is a different measure. This is because the Seventy translated the Hebrew word SHITTIM (שִׁטִּים) as "cords." Moreover, no one doubts that all things we read about in the tabernacle of God were made of Shittim wood: which the LXX interpreted as "incorruptible wood." It is, however, a kind of tree in the desert, similar to the white thorn in color and leaves, but not in size. Otherwise, they are such grand trees that very wide 216 planks are cut from them, and the wood is very strong, and of incredible lightness and beauty, so that from these even the vessels of winepresses, which they call ἄρσενας and θηλύας, the wealthiest and most diligent make, which wood is not found in cultivated places, nor on Roman soil, outside the desert of Arabia. For "torrent of cords," or "of thorns," Symmachus interpreted as "valley of thorns." It is, moreover, a place near Livias across the Dead Sea, distant six miles from it, where Israel once committed fornication with the Midianites. The prophet Micah mentions this place in the person of God, saying: My people, remember, I pray, what Balach king of Moab thought, and what Balaam son of Beor answered him from Shittim even to Gilgal (Micah 6:5). For which the Seventy also there translated ἀπὸ τῶν σχοίνων, that is, from the cords even to Gilgal.

Therefore, a fountain shall come forth from the house of the Lord, which is interpreted as the Church. Of which both Ezekiel and Zechariah write at the end of their volumes (Ezek. 47, Zech. 13), so that it may change our thorns and vices and sins, which have had no fruit of justice, into the fallow lands of the Lord, and water our dryness with most abundant waters, and instead of thorns and briars, we may sprout manifold flowers of virtues. And in that place where Israel once committed fornication and was initiated into Baal-Peor, let the lilies of chastity and the roses of modesty and virginity abound.

(Verse 19.) Egypt shall be in desolation, and Edom into a wilderness of perdition, because they have acted unjustly against the children of Judah, and have shed innocent blood in their land.

LXX: Egypt shall be in destruction, and Edom into a field of desolation, because of the iniquities of the children of Judah, because they have shed righteous blood in their land.

Et in hoc loco Judaei gravissimo somno dormiunt: in ultimo tempore, quando non Christum, sed Antichristum suscepturi sunt, vindictam sui, in Aegyptios qui vicini sunt, et in Romanos quos interpretantur Idumaeos, spe vanissima confingentes. Ut scilicet quomodo Pharaon et omnis ejus exercitus, qui per quadringentos et triginta annos populum Dei captivum tenuit, in mari Rubro submersus est: sic etiam Romani qui eodem annorum spatio Judaeos possessuri sunt, ultione Domini deleantur. Hoc illi spe sibi cassa promittant. Neque enim possunt exponere quare cum in orbe tantae sint nationes, duae solum gentes, Aegyptiorum et Idumaeorum expetantur ad poenam; aut cur pro Idumaeis intelligantur Romani, cum eadem licentia mentiendi et diverso possimus asserere, sub Idumaeorum vocabulo vel Persas, vel Elamitas, vel Francos, Alemannos, gentesque alias significari. Nos autem dicamus tempore Dominicae resurrectionis, vel die judicii (utrumque enim recipimus) et Aegyptum et Idumaeam, in eo quod Aegyptus et Idumaea sunt, destruendas. Aegyptus dicitur MESRAIM (), quod interpretatur ἐκθλίβουσα, id est, sanctos Dei persequens et tribulans: Idumaea, terrena, vel cruenta. Quicumque igitur Dei populum persecutus est, et terrenis vacaverit operibus, ac multitudine delictorum quotidie fuderit sanguinem innocentem, eorum scilicet, quos decipit (Al. deceperit), erit in perditionem, ut animas quoque martyrum sub altari clamare cognovimus: Usquequo, Domine sanctus et verus, non judicas et vindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui habitant in terra (Apoc. VI, 10)?

(Vers. 20 seqq.) Et Judaea in aeternum habitabitur, et Jerusalem in generatione et generationem: et mundabo sanguinem eorum, quos non mundaveram, et Dominus commorabitur in Sion.

LXX: Judaea autem in aeternum habitabitur, et Jerusalem in generatione et generationem, et requiram sanguinem eorum, inultumque esse non patiar, Et Dominus habitabit in Sion.

Non utique haec Judaea in aeternum habitabitur, quam videmus esse desertam: non ista Jerusalem, cujus ruinas cernimus: sed illa Judaea, cujus filiae exsultaverunt et laetatae sunt in omnibus judiciis Domini. Et de qua in fine quinquagesimi psalmi legimus: Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion, ut aedificentur muri Jerusalem (Ps. 50:18).

And in this place the Jews sleep a most heavy sleep: in the last time, when they are to receive not Christ, but Antichrist, they imagine their own vengeance upon the Egyptians who are near, and upon the Romans whom they interpret as Edomites, with a most vain hope. Namely, that just as Pharaoh and all his army, who held the people of God captive for four hundred and thirty years, were drowned in the 217 Red Sea: so also the Romans, who are to possess the Jews for the same number of years, may be destroyed by the vengeance of the Lord. Let them promise these things to themselves with empty hope. For they cannot explain why, since there are so many nations in the world, only two nations, the Egyptians and the Edomites, are sought out for punishment; or why the Romans should be understood for the Edomites, when with the same license for lying we could conversely assert that under the name of Edomites are signified either the Persians, or the Elamites, or the Franks, the Alemanni, and other nations. But let us say that at the time of the Lord's resurrection, or on the day of judgment (for we accept both), both Egypt and Edom are to be destroyed in that which they are Egypt and Edom. Egypt is called MITZRAIM (מצרים), which is interpreted as ἐκθλιβουσα, that is, "afflicting," meaning persecuting and troubling the saints of God: Edom, "earthly," or "bloody." Whoever therefore has persecuted the people of God, and has been occupied with earthly works, and through a multitude of crimes daily sheds innocent blood, namely of those whom he deceives, shall be in perdition, as we know the souls of the martyrs under the altar also cry out: How long, O Lord, holy and true, do you not judge and avenge our blood upon those who dwell on the earth (Rev. 6:10)?

(Verse 20 ff.) And Judah shall be inhabited forever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation: and I will cleanse their blood, which I had not 218 cleansed, and the Lord shall dwell in Zion.

LXX: But Judah shall be inhabited forever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation, and I will require their blood, and I will not suffer it to be unavenged, and the Lord shall dwell in Zion.

Certainly this Judah, which we see to be deserted, shall not be inhabited forever: not this Jerusalem, whose ruins we behold: but that Judah whose daughters exulted and rejoiced in all the judgments of the Lord. And of which we read at the end of the fiftieth psalm: Deal favorably, O Lord, in your good will with Zion, that the walls of Jerusalem may be built (Ps. 50:18).

In hac provincia confessionis et gloriae, et in hac urbe in qua pax Domini cernitur, erit aeterna habitatio, non in unam, vel in tres, aut plures generationes, sed in generatione et generationem, hoc est, in duabus generationibus eorum, qui de Judaeis et de gentibus crediderunt. Et mundabit Dominus sanguinem omnium peccatorum, quem prius non mundaverat, ut mundet in Evangelio, quos in Lege peccantes immundos reliquerat. Ideo enim conclusit omnia sub peccato, ut omnibus misereatur (Rom. 11:32); sive ulciscetur servorum suorum sanguinem, quem in martyrio pro nominis ejus confessione fuderunt. Et Dominus commorabitur in Sion, de qua scriptum est: Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis; diligit Dominus portas Sion, super omnia tabernacula Jacob (Ps. 86:1-2).

In this province of confession and glory, and in this city in which the peace of the Lord is seen, there shall be an eternal habitation, not for one, or for three, or more generations, but from generation to generation, that is, in the two generations of those who believed from the Jews and from the Gentiles. And the Lord will cleanse the blood of all sinners, which he had not cleansed before, so that he may cleanse in the Gospel those whom he had left unclean when they sinned under the Law. For for this reason he concluded all under sin, so that he might have mercy upon all (Rom. 11:32); or he will avenge the blood of his servants, which they shed in martyrdom for the confession of his name. And the Lord shall dwell in Zion, of which it is written: Her foundations are in the holy mountains; the Lord loves the gates of Zion above all the tabernacles of Jacob (Ps. 86:1-2).