

Marko Marulić

The Davidiad

edited & translated by

Edward Mulholland



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Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	7
<i>Introduction</i>	
1. An Overview of Marulić's Life and Work	9
2. The <i>Davidiad</i>	
a. Models	19
b. Structure	22
c. The <i>Davidiad</i> as Moral <i>Exemplum</i>	24
d. <i>Non Palladis arte</i> : Better Muses, Christian yet Classical	26
e. The Particular Challenges of the <i>Davidiad</i>	29
3. The <i>Tropological Commentary</i>	30
4. Text and Translation	
a. The Manuscript	34
b. Previous Editions	36
c. Editorial Principles	38
d. On the Translation	39
<i>Dedication Letter</i>	44
<i>Book One</i>	48
<i>Book Two</i>	80
<i>Book Three</i>	114
<i>Book Four</i>	148
<i>Book Five</i>	178
<i>Book Six</i>	208
<i>Book Seven</i>	240
<i>Book Eight</i>	272
<i>Book Nine</i>	304
<i>Book Ten</i>	334
<i>Book Eleven</i>	368
<i>Book Twelve</i>	396
<i>Book Thirteen</i>	426
<i>Book Fourteen</i>	452
<i>Tropological Commentary</i>	480
<i>Bibliography</i>	521
<i>Indices</i>	526

Acknowledgements

This edition presents Marko Marulić's *Davidiad* in a readable Latin edition with its first ever complete English translation. It promises to bring to a wider audience a masterpiece that was lost for centuries and then found, having survived a fire but, alas, not unscathed. Like his manuscript, Marko Marulić deserves to be rediscovered by many in this year, 2024, the fifth centenary of his death.

My interest in Marulić goes back two decades, to when I was teaching in New York and tutoring in Latin a young man named Anthony Valle, a fellow native New Yorker. Anthony's father was from near Pula, in Istria, and his mother, née Martinović, was from Olib. He asked me if I had ever heard of Marulić or of the *Davidiad*. I had not. Intrigued, I searched online and found a copy (in a Vienna bookstore) of Glavičić's 1974 edition. The origin of this present edition thus comes from the pride and knowledge that Croatian Americans have of their literary ancestors.

At some point in the next decade, I translated the first 150 hexameters and put them aside. After later relocating to Georgia and then Kansas, and teaching Spanish and Latin at Benedictine College, my department chair, Daphne McConnell, told me about encouragement and sponsorship for humanities projects at the Hall Center for the Humanities at the University of Kansas. The idea of translating the *Davidiad* in its entirety emerged. I knew if I could translate the first few books over a summer, I would be motivated to persevere. The Hall Center offered a quiet office at the University of Kansas for three weeks in the summer of 2018, and I was able to finish the first four books. The staff at the Center couldn't have been more gracious.

Thanks are due to friends and colleagues George Nicholas and Steve Mirarchi for reading and commenting on those initial books. Susan Traffas, with whom I was co-directing the program *Great Books: The True, and Good, and the Beautiful*, offered encouragement and wise advice. Over the next few years, I was able to finish a few books each summer, and then a book or two on each Christmas or Spring break.

In late 2019, with the end finally in sight, I reached out to Bratislav Lučin, who invited me to Split when the translation was finished. It was he who informed me that my translation was not only the first ever

complete English translation, but the first in any language other than Croatian. He shared his own work on the Latin text and his enthusiasm for the project was a light through the dark days ahead.

I finished the first version of the translation in the spring of 2020, just as the world ground to a halt. The Covid-19 pandemic gave me time to review my translation of the epic and finish the *Tropological Commentary*. I am grateful to Anna Sluder for proofreading the translation when it was completed. The next year, Samantha Lehman did valuable work on the *marginalia* and formatting for that first version of the translation.

I was not able to travel to Split until the *Colloquium Marulianum* began again in April, 2023. At the time, I was able to meet Bratislav Lučin and several other Marulić experts. It was through those contacts that I was put in contact with Jeroen De Keyser at LYSA publishing, who was gracious enough to accept the project for the LYNX series of Neo-Latin texts. His assistance has been absolutely essential in the preparation of this volume. He is an editor's editor. He has done much of the heavy lifting, especially regarding the modifications of the Latin text, the *apparatus criticus*, and the *apparatus fontium*. I believe our work on the latter is a valuable contribution to Marulić scholarship. Thanks are also due to him, together with Neven Jovanović and Keith Sidwell, for helpful suggestions that have improved key verses of the translation.

For more translation suggestions, encouragement, and scholarly example, a debt of gratitude is also owed to my colleague Lionel Yaceczko. A big thank you as well to the Sheridan Center for Classical Studies at Benedictine College and its director, Andrew Salzmann, for supporting this edition.

None of this would have been possible without the patience and encouragement of my family, above all that of my wife, Valerie.

Quicquid agam, minus est illo, quod debeo... (Dav. 8.357).

Edward Mulholland

Introduction

In his brief life of Marulić, his contemporary and fellow citizen of Split, Franjo Božičević (Franciscus Natalis, 1469-1542) wrote that he died “not with difficulty (as others are wont to do) or vexed with a long-lasting illness, but praising his Lord and Creator, ‘upright of life and undefiled by sin’ he gave up the ghost; he fought the good fight, he finished the race, he kept the faith.”¹

In describing the manner of his death, Božičević places Marulić’s life within the twin poles of Christian humanism. He assumes his reader would catch and concur with his allusions to the opening lines of Horace’s *Odes*, 1.22 (“Integer vitae scelerisque purus”) and to St. Paul’s words about his own impending death in 2 Timothy 4:7 (“Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi”). He writes to an audience well versed in both traditions. Horace and St. Paul represent the two poles of classical learning and Judaeo-Christian revelation. They are a fitting framework for the life and work of Marko Marulić, and particularly for his epic poem the *Davidiad*.

1. An Overview of Marulić’s Life and Work

Marko Marulić was born in Split, Croatia (then the Republic of Venice) on August 18, 1450.² His family name in Croatian was Pečenić,³ but the family Latinized the surname in the fifteenth century to Marulus or De Marulis. Both his father, Nikola Marulić and his mother, Dobrica Obirtić were of noble families. He was the oldest of eight children, six boys

¹ “Non difficulter (ut alii solent), aut diutina aegritudine consternatus, sed laudans Dominum Creatorem suum, ‘integer vitae scelerisque purus’ spiritum efflavit. Bonum certamen certavit, cursum consumavit, fidem servavit.” (*Vita Marci Maruli Spalatensis per Franciscum Natalem Concivem Suum Composita*, vi, in Marcovich 2006, 221). The manuscript of the *Vita* is in the Gradska knjiznica Marka Marulića, the City Library of Split, which is named after Marulić (ms. M-35, f. 104r-107r).

² The best source in English for Marulić’s life is Lučin 2007. I will follow this closely, also using the Spanish edition, Lučin & Gálvez 2000. For excellent overviews of Marulić’s life and works see, among others, Tomasović 1999, Borsetto 2004, and Lučin 2008, as well as the bibliographical synthesis in Posset & Lučin 2015.

³ Also written Pecinić or Picinić. See Lučin 2007, 277.

and two girls. His father was well read, and even hand-copied “for himself and his family” an edition of Cicero’s *On Duties*.⁴

As a young man he went to a school directed by the Italian humanist Tideo Acciarini (1427/30 – c. 1500). Born in the Italian region of Le Marche, Acciarini directed the school in Split and went on to lead schools in Zadar and Dubrovnik before returning to Italy.⁵ In Dubrovnik, Acciarini would have as his pupils two other Croatian humanist poets: Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cervinus, 1463–1520) and Jakov Bunić (Iacobus Bonus, 1469–1534).⁶

It was during these school years that Marulić, following a classical curriculum of *studia humanitatis* (Latin and Greek grammar, poetry, rhetoric, moral philosophy, history),⁷ would write his first Latin verses, in imitation of Ovid. He excelled in art as well as writing.⁸ Around 1465 he wrote a humanistic *epistula* in verse to the poet Juraj Šižgorić (Georgius Sisgoreus, 1445–1509).⁹

It is supposed that the next step for Marulić was the study of law, and probably in Padua, which would mean that his stay there (possibly 1468–74) overlapped for a time with that of Juraj Šižgorić. In the late 1470s and the 1480s, Marulić’s name appears on contracts and other notarized documents confirming his practice of law and his participation in the public life of his native city, as well as on commercial agreements for the transport of goods between Split and Venice.¹⁰ Marulić scholar Franz Posset notes:¹¹

⁴ “sibi et suis” (Lučin & Gálvez 2000, 8).

⁵ A poem written by Acciarini in 1471, presumably while he was *magister humanitatis* in Split, was discovered and first published in 2015 (see Lučin 2015).

⁶ Bunić was the first Croatian to publish an epic poem: *De raptu Cerberi* (Rome, c. 1490).

⁷ For how Marulić’s library well represented these studies, see Lučin 1997.

⁸ Krasić 2000, 39.

⁹ Šižgorić was from Šibenik, Croatia. He studied at the University of Padua, getting his degree in Canon Law in 1471 (see Bettarini 2008). His *Elegiarum et carminum libri tres* (first published in Venice in 1477) is considered the first published work of a Croatian poet. He was also a friend of Tideo Acciarini (Lučin 2015, 113).

¹⁰ Cf. Lučin & Gálvez 2000, 8.

¹¹ Posset 2021, xxix. The *Repertorium* itself is a marvel, with more than 1,400 pages of citations and passages, most ethical in character, from Scripture, the Fathers of the Church, classical authors and humanists. It is the ploughed field from which Marulić would harvest his later works. See Novaković 1998.

The Davidiad

1517

*Sanctissimo cardinali, episcopo Portuensi patriarchaeque Aquileiensi
Dominico Grimano Marcus Marulus in Domino salutem*

1. Quum te, sanctissime Grimane cardinalis, et omnibus ingenuis discipulis¹ egregie institutum audiam et officii dignitate generisque claritate imprimis eminere sciam, me tibi deditissimum esse tuique studiosissimum nulla alia re commodius aptiusque testari potui quam ut litterariorum operis aliquid ederem tuoque nomini dedicarem. Aggressus sum itaque rem plane viribus meis imparem, sed non a virtutibus tuis alienam: Davidis regis gesta versibus expressi, historiam secutus quam in sacris proditam codicibus veram esse non ambigo. Eam poëticis numeris Pierioque lepore exornare conatus sum, quo tibi tua gravitate dignius,
- 5 10 tuae sanctitudini delectabilius munuscum offerre possem. 2. Caeterum ad hoc perficiendum multa mihi impedimento erant: iampridem intermissa condendi carminis cura, Hebraicorum nominum Latinae linguae inusitata relatio, locorum quoque a nullo prorsus geographorum nostrorum satis explanata vocabula. Has tamen omnes difficultates
- 15 meus erga sanctitatem tuam amor pervicit. Ille quod intermiseram revocavit, ille etiam nomina, quae plerunque (ut nosti) absque ulla casuum declinatione in libris divinis proferuntur, declinare me compulit, ut sermonis nostri sensus apertior fieret, ille denique locorum situs, quos plene diserteque exponere non poteram, divinare me fecit.
- 20 3. Appendicem etiam operi adiunxi soluta utens oratione, singulorum voluminum argumenta. Deinde historiae veteris contextum ostendi novae esse figuram.
4. Quod opus si sanctitati tuae placuerit, facile criticorum ronchos invidorumque subsannationes contemnemus, vel potius in illas 25 incidere minime verebimur, quandoquidem tanta est tua unius apud omnes autoritas, ut quicquid abs te probatum noscitur, id ipsum vel arroganter improbare vel palam carpere audeat nemo. 5. Sed dicet aliquis: “Ut quid γλαῦκας Ἀθήνας, ut quid ligna in silvam portas? Quare

¹ Aquileensi Tpc *Lu* Aquileiensi Tac *Ma* 10 sanctitudini T *Lu* sanctitati *Ma*

28 cf. Aristoph. *An.* 301 (τί φῆς; τίς γλαῦκ' Ἀθήνας' ἥγαρε;), Cic. *Fam.* 6.3.4 (“Sed rursus γλαῦκας εἰς Ἀθήνας, qui haec ad te”); Eras. *Adag.* 111 (“Ululas Athenas”) | cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.34 (“in silvam non ligna feras”); Eras. *Adag.* 657 (“In silvam ligna ferre”)

To the Most Reverend Cardinal, Bishop of Porto and Patriarch of Aquileia Domenico Grimani, M. Marulić sends a Greeting in the Lord

1. Since I hear that you, most holy Cardinal Grimani, have been instructed most wonderfully in all noble disciplines¹ and I know that you are greatly exalted because of the dignity of your office and the glory of your family, I have been able to bear witness most duly and readily to the fact that I am most devoted to you and most fond of you by nothing more than by composing a literary work and dedicating it to your name. I have therefore undertaken a task clearly unequal to my strength, but not inconsistent with your virtues: I have expressed the exploits of King David in verse, following the story which has been put forth as true – I doubt it not – in the sacred pages. I have endeavoured to adorn it with poetic meter and the Muses' charm so that I might offer a token more worthy of your dignity and more pleasing to your holiness. 2. Many things were impediments to my finishing this task: the worry about a poem long ago interrupted, the uncommon relation of Hebrew names to the Latin language, words for places not sufficiently explained by any of our geographers. Nevertheless, my love for your holiness overcame all of these obstacles. It recalled for me that which I had interrupted; it compelled me to decline, so that their meaning might be more apparent in our language, even those many names which, as you know, are brought forth in the holy books without any declension of cases; finally, it made me guess the location of places which I had not been able to explain fully and eloquently. 3. I even added an Appendix to the work in prose, that is, the plot summaries of each book. Thereafter I have shown the context of an old story to be pre-figuring a new one.

4. So if the work is pleasing to your holiness, we shall easily spurn the rattling of critics and the mockery of the envious, or rather we shall scarcely fear to happen upon them, when indeed your authority is so great that whatever is known to be approved by you, no one may dare arrogantly to disapprove or openly critique. 5. But one might object: "Why do you bring owls to Athens, why wood to the forest? Why indeed, to one who overflows and abounds in the trappings of all the

¹ Such "noble disciplines" were the Liberal Arts, considered essential to the education of a nobleman.

huic, qui scientiarum omnium ornamenti affluit atque abundat, litterarum munus mittis?" Cui ego ingenue respondebo: "Talem virum, tam eruditum, tam sanctum, tam in omni laudis genere celebrem nullo alio munere iustius convenientiusque colere poteram quam hoc uno, quo ipsum plurimum delectari arbitratus sum, eo videlicet, quod nostram religionem sapiat, quod Christum sonet, quod odorem illum, quo animae fideles reficiuntur, fragret." Ad haec non me fugiebat eam esse litteratorum naturam, ut quanvis ipsi in omni liberali doctrina politissimi exultissimique sint, minus etiam eruditorum opuscula interdum non inviti legant. 6. Nos itaque non ista mittimus, ut doctiorem instruamus, ne proverbio locus detur: "Sus Minervam," sed ut doctissimum honore, quo possumus, prosequamur. Abundabat et David noster, quem iam regnum accepisset, divitiarum copia, nec tamen dignatus est a Siba, servo modici, admodum pretii munuscula accipere.³⁶ Ita spero te quoque, sanctissime Cardinalis virque doctissime, pro tua in omnes humanitate in nostro opere suscipiendo facturum. Quod quem feceris, non accipies beneficium, sed dabis. Exiguum est enim quod tibi mittimus, multum autem quod abs te poscimus: ut tantum digneris quod mittitur accipere meque in clientolorum tuorum numero habere. Vale.

³⁶ cf. Cic. *Fam.* 13.1 ("est enim omni liberali doctrina politissimus") ³⁸ non inviti legant] Cic. *Fin.* 1.4 ³⁹ cf. Cic. *Ac.* 1.5 ("nam etsi non sus Minervam, ut aiunt, tamen inepte quisquis Minervam docet"), *Pis.* 37 ("hinc igitur natum adagium 'sus Minervam'"), *Fam.* 9.18.4 ("etsi sus Minervam"); Eras. *Adag.* 40 ("Sus Minervam") ⁴² II Sam. 16

sciences, do you send a literary gift?" To such a one I will frankly answer: "I have not been able more justly and suitably to honour such a man, so erudite, so holy, so renowned in all types of praise by any other gift than by this one, by which I thought he would be much delighted, for the very reason that it smacks of our religion, it resounds with Christ, and is redolent with that odour by which the souls of the faithful are restored." Furthermore, it did not escape me that the nature of literate men is such that even though they be most cultivated and polished in all learned doctrine, even so they not unwillingly read the works of less erudite men from time to time. 6. Therefore we do not send this that we may instruct a more learned man, lest occasion be given for the proverb: "A sow teaches Minerva," but rather that we may attend a most learned man with the honour we are able to bestow. Our David abounded likewise, since he had already received the kingship, with an abundance of riches, and yet he did not spurn to accept gifts of modest value from Ziba, a servant.² This I hope that you, a Cardinal most holy and man most learned, might do as well in receiving our work, for your gentility towards all. And once you have done so, you will not have received a benefit, but will have conferred one. A very small thing we send to you but a big thing we seek from you: that you deign to accept what is sent and to consider me among the number of your retainers. Farewell!

² The episode is from 2 Samuel 16 (see *Dav.* 9).

Liber I

ARGUMENTUM

Regum lib. I,³ cap. XIII. Samuel propheta arguit Saulem regem inobedientiae in Deum et regnum de familia eius transferendum praeditit. XV. Iterum denuntiat eum de regno eiiciendum, quia iussus interficere Amalechitas, regi eorum Agago pepercerit. Quem coram adductum Samuel ipse in frusta concidit. XVI. Samuel ungit Davidem regem futurum. Saul agitatus immundo spiritu Davide citharam pulsante refocillatur. David fit armiger Saulis. XVII. Goliam interimit. Palestini fugiunt.

Davidis memorare pii gesta inclyta regis
instituo. Quis nunc dignas in carmina vires
suppeditet? Non Cirrhaeae de vertice rupis
descendens lauroque caput praecinctus Apollo,

5 non Nysae numen, furiata mente Lyaeus
Pieridumque chorus. Nam non ego dicere Troiae
excidium Thebasve paro nec sparsa cruento
Thessala Romano bellis civilibus arva,⁴
sed caelo cognatum opus arcanisque sacratum
10 mysteriis. Quorum qui solus crederis autor,
solus, magne Deus, mihi iam cantanda ministres.

Gens quondam Iudaea potens opibusque virisque,
orbe sub Eoo residens, non inscia verae
religionis erat; ritus moremque sacrorum

15 edidicit monstrante Deo, referentibus ipsis
e caelo afflatis certissima quaeque prophetis.
Hinc unum celebrare Deum, virtute creata
cuius cuncta forent, coepit, terramque polumque
qui regat et sensus cunctis vitamque ministret.

12 *Iudaei*

2 eius] sua T^{ac}

3 de vertice rupis] Man. *Par.* 2.1.142 4 caput praecinctus] Ov. *Met.* 1.699 6 Troiae

excidium] Verg. *Aen.* 5.626 12 cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.426 (“opibusque virisque potentem”)

13 cf. Lucan. *Phars.* 1.252 (“orbe sub Eoo sedem”) 18 terramque polumque] Verg. *Aen.*

2.251

Book One

SUMMARY

First Book of Kings,³ chap. XIII. Samuel the prophet rebukes Saul the king for disobedience to God and predicts the kingdom will be transferred from his family. XV. He again announces that Saul will be ejected from the kingship, since when ordered to kill the Amalekites he spared their king, Agag, whom Samuel himself slays when brought bound before him. XVI. Samuel anoints David king-to-be. Saul, disturbed by an unclean spirit, is revived by David playing the harp. David becomes Saul's squire. XVII. He slays Goliath. The Philistines flee.

- Of David, loyal king, great deeds to tell
I do ordain. Who now unto my songs
Shall worthy strength supply? Not laurel-crowned
Apollo coming down Cyrrhean crags
5 Not Nysa's numen, mind-ensurged Bacchus,
No Muses' troupe. For I make ready not
To tell the fall of Troy or Thebes, nor blood
Of Rome in Thessaly shed through civil strife,⁴
But heaven's work, and blessed by mysteries
10 Arcane, whose author are you alone, Great God,
May You alone provide what I must sing.
An eastern race once strong in men and wealth,
The Jews were not unmindful of the true
Religion, they had learned the sacred rites
15 And holy practices with God as guide,
As prophets spoke inspired truths from heav'n.
Thence they began to worship one true God
Whose power made all things, the earth, the sky,
Who rules and grants both sense and life to all.

³ Marulić uses the older numbering of the Vulgate, wherein there are four books of Kings: the first two correspond to First and Second Samuel and the last two correspond to First and Second Kings in later editions.

⁴ Here Marulić refers to the great Latin epic poems: Troy recalls Vergil's *Aeneid* (already eluded to by calling King David *pius* like Vergil's hero Aeneas, whose epithet is *pius*), Thebes recalls Statius' *Thebaid* and Thessaly refers to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the epic of the Roman civil wars.

- 20 Quos vero gentes aliae populique colebant,
 hos non esse deos, sed prorsus daemonas ipsos,
 quorum homines capti iam pridem fraudibus errant,
 vix numeranda suis venerantes numina votis.
- Ergo Iudaicae primus moderamina gentis
- 25 Ciso natus Saul et regni sceptra tenebat,
 non recto officio nixus nec legibus aequis, Samuel
 quum Samuel vates dictis mordacibus illum propheta
 aggrediens et facta Deo non grata revolvens
 haec responsa dedit: “Quoniam tibi certa Tonantis
- 30 iussa sequi nulli fuerit post talia curae,
 isto te indignum, quo te dignatus honore est,
 censuit atque alium, regni cui tradat habenas,
 iam sibi prospexit successoremque regendo
 constituit populo, notum pietate fideque,
- 35 quanquam humili de plebe virum. Sed sanguinis omnes
 exsuperat tenebras cum laudum lumine virtus.”
 Haec effatus abit moestum tristemque relinquens
 iam Saulem et multa perculsum pectora cura.
- At quia continuo tali pro crimine poena
- 40 non inficta fuit, iussus rex perdere gentem
 Amalechitarum, rursum mandata reliquit,
 rursum iussa Dei temnens servavit Agagum,
 victor commisso captum certamine regem,
 illius armentis etiam pecoriisque pepercit.
- 45 Ergo Dei immemorem res effecere secundae.
 Sed frustra excusat facinus damnante propheta,
 “Ignovisse viro pietas me compulit,” inquit,
 “illaesas autem pecudes dimittere suasit
 religio, ut sacras stet plurima victima ad aras.” –
- 50 “Falleris,” exclamat Samuel, “vanoque favore
 facta iniusta tegis, quoniam non gratior ulla est
 caelicolum regi, sacris quae imponitur aris,
 hostia quam semper studio curaque fideli

25 *Saul rex* 27 *Samuel propheta* 47 *Saul* 50 *Samuel*

27 dictis mordacibus] Prud. *Psy.* 349 35 humili de plebe] Ov. *Met.* 3.583 | de plebe
 virum] Man. *Par.* 1.2.352 49 victima ad aras] Man. *Par.* 3.613 51 gratior ulla est] Verg.
Buc. 6.11

- 20 While other nations, peoples, honour paid
To those who were not gods, but demons sure,
Whose captive men did err long since, defrauded,
Avowing powers hardly to be numbered.
 The first to steer the Jewish race was Saul
- 25 Who, born the son of Cis, the sceptre held.
He stood not on right duty or just law.
Him prophet Samuel chides with biting words,
Revealing that his deeds displeased his God
With this remark: "Since you care not to heed
- 30 God's thundering commands, from now henceforth
Unworthy He declares you of the honour
He had deigned. Another He shall grant
The kingdom's reins. His watchful eye has picked
The next to rule the race, one loyal and true,
- 35 Although from humble stock. For virtue does
Surpass all blood obscure with light of praise."
He spoke and went, both sad and downcast leaving
Saul with smitten heart and worries sore.
 And since the penalty for such a crime
- 40 Came not right then, again the king, commanded
To destroy the tribe of Amalec,
Did disobey, again spurned God's decree.
Agag he kept alive, the captured king,
He spared his herds and flocks for victor's spoils.
- 45 Thus victory made him forget his God.
Reproached, he futilely excused his crime,
"Devotion made me pardon him," he said,
"Religion too, bids leave the sheep unharmed,
Thus many victims sacred shrines may have." –
- 50 "You're wrong," shouts Samuel, "shrouding unjust deeds
With empty praise; no victim is more dear
To Heaven's King, upon the altar placed,
Than with unfailing care and eagerness

Liber V

ARGUMENTUM

- Regum lib. I,³⁷ cap. XXV. Abigail domum reversa Nabalem ebrium offendit. Quo mortuo David eam sibi copulat. Alteram etiam duxit Achinoen. Saul Micholam tradit Phalto. XXVI. Ziphaeis prodentibus Davidem obsidet in colle Achilae. David noctu ingressus eius tentorium, tulit cyphum et hastam. Quam ob rem*
- 5 *Saul placatus abiit. XXVII. David fugit in Palestinam ad Achim regem. Habitat in Sicelech. Praedatur gentiles et fingit se praedari Israhelitas. XXVIII. Palestini cogunt exercitum in Saulem. Saul proprius castrametatus timuit. Dimissis castris abiit consultum phitonissam de eventu belli. Samuel apparens praedixit adversa. Ille pre dolore vix exoratus ut cibum caperet, nocte reversus est in*
- 10 *castra.*

Scandebat medium caeli Sol aureus orbem
ferventemque magis spirabant naribus ignem
Pyrous rapidusque Phlegon et lucis Eous
fecundus plenusque suis ardoribus Aethon,³⁸

5 quando tecta domus Nabalis sedula coniux
succedens vidit dapibus convivia largis
fervore et impletis undantia vina lagenis
afferrari pariter positis longo ordine mensis.
Atria tota strepunt istis famulantibus, illis

10 nunc hoc, nunc illud poscentibus, omnis et ipsa
plebs recubans vario tempus sermone trahebat.
Risusque et cantus creberque per ora susurrus
fertur et elatae rumpunt laquearia voces.
Qualiter in magno pecudum grege saepe ruditus

15 mugitusque sonat balatu mixtus ovili
grunituque suum, tum vox confusa canore
diverso patulas hominum circumtonat aures,

1 Meridies 14 Comparatio

2 cf. Lucr. DRN 5.29 (“equi spirantes naribus ignem”); Verg. Georg. 2.140 (“tauri spirantes naribus ignem”), Aen. 7.281 (“semine ab aetherio spirantis naribus ignem”) 3 cf. Ov. Met. 2.153-54 (“interea volucres Pyrois et Eous et Aethon, / Solis equi, quartusque Phlegon hinnitibus auras”) 11 cf. Verg. Aen. 1.748 (“vario noctem sermone trahebat”)

Book Five

SUMMARY

First Book of Kings,³⁷ xxv. Abigail, returning home, encounters a drunken Nabal, at whose death David takes her for his wife. He takes a second wife, Achinoam. Saul hands Michal over to Palti. xxvi. With the Ziphites advancing, Saul searches for David on the hill of Hachilah. Entering his tent at night, David takes his water jug and spear. Wherefore Saul, placated, departs. xxvii. David flees to King Achish among the Philistines. He dwells in Ziklag. He raids the gentiles and pretends to raid the Israelites. xxviii. The Philistines gather an army against Saul, who, encamped nearby, is afraid. Leaving camp, he goes to consult a witch about the outcome of the war. Samuel, appearing to him, predicts adversity. He, because of distress, is barely persuaded to eat something and returns to camp by night.

- The golden sun had scaled up half earth's sky,
Pyroës snorted out impetuous fire,
As did swift Phlegon, Eous, lush with light,
And Aethon full of ardour all his own,³⁸
- 5 When to Nabal's house came his tireless wife
She saw a feast was raging, banquets broad,
And flowing wines brought forth in flagons full,
With tables set as well in lengthy ranks.
The halls all hummed, the staff now bringing this
- 10 Now that to those demanding; all the throng
Reclining, frittered time with sundry talk.
Guffaws and songs and mouths' repeated mutters
Stir; raised voices crack the raftered roof.
As in great barnyard herds oftentimes the brays
- 15 And moos resound entwined with bleats from sheep
And grunts from swine, then blurry noise with tunes
All muddled thunders round our human ears,

³⁷ See n. 3 above.

³⁸ Pyroës, Eoüs, Aethon and Phlegon, Greek names all related to fire, are the four horses of the chariot of the Sun God Helius in Greek mythology.

- talis ibi per tota ruens triclinia clamor
 murmure multiplici latas repleverat aedis.
- 20 Inter convivas Nabalem forte maritum
 cernit, qui manibus plenum cratera duabus
 sustulit amplexus labrisque admovit et ore
 exhaustum cupido totum consumpsit hiatum.
 Et tunc illa quidem deprendit tam magis ipsum
 25 incaluisse alii, quanto maiore bibendi
 libertate solet dominus quam servulus uti.
 Potus Nabal erat, perplexo verba palato
 dimidiata refert non blaesae crimine linguae,
 sed vini vitio venas inflante madentes.
- 30 Ipse idem nescitque loqui nescitque tacere.
 Murmurat ore, manu gestit, conivet ocellis.
 Et nisi quod mensis innixus pectore prono
 ebrius accumbat, pedibus consistere rectis
 non bene sufficeret. Talem quum provida coniux
 35 vidisset, siluit. Quid enim suadere loquendo
 capto mente potest aliquis vel dicere, quod non
 ventus et instabiles properent auferre procellae?
 Ast ubi iam noctis convivia laeta secutae
 alta quies crapulam digessit mensque nitere
 40 copta nitente die est, verbis aggressa maritum
 Abigail narrat quae gesserat. Ille periculo
 territus audito trepidos vix sustinet artus.
 Inde stupens nec adhuc meritas evadere poenas
 posse timet. Veluti mediis qui fluctibus olim
 45 iactatum fragili meminit se forte carina,
 quos vix effugit fluctus, exhorret eosdem
 nec potis est illos animo memorare quieto.
 Liber erat poena Davidis munere Nabal,
 sed multante Deo stultae commissa loquelae
 50 et benefactori mala probra relata, repenti
 post bis quinque dies rapitur sub Tartara leto.

20 *Nabal ebrius* 44 *Comparatio*23 *hiatum Ma* *hiacum T* *Hiacum Lu*21 cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.82 (“ingentem manibus tollit cratera duabus”) 38 *Ast ubi iam*] Juven.
Ev. 3.100; Phil. *Sphor.* 5.133 42 cf. Man. *Par.* 1.3.583 (“miseros vix sustinet artus”)

- So, too, such clamour ran through every couch,
And filled the room with motley murmurs wide.
- 20 Among the guests by chance she spies Nabal
Her husband, who with both hands clasps a bowl
And holds it to his lips, with willing mouth,
And guzzles down the wine until it's drained.
She then detects that he, more than the rest,
- 25 Is flushed, how much more liberal in his drink
Is wont to be the master than the slave.
Nabal was drunk, his tangled palate spoke
Divided words, not caused by stutt'ring tongue,
Wine's ill effects puffed up his sodden veins.
- 30 He knew not how to speak nor how to hold.
Mouth murmurs, gesture hands, and eyes connive.
Unless the drunkard leaned his stooping chest
Against the table, straightened legs were not
Enough to stand. His watchful wife thus saw
- 35 Him and was mum. For what can one in words
Persuade or say to minds ensnared, which winds
And storms unstable soon won't blow away?
But when night's deep repose which follows bliss
From feasts his drunkenness dissolved and mind
- 40 Began, with day, to clear, in words she addressed
And told her husband what she'd done. He, seized
By peril heard, can scarce sustain his limbs.
He, stunned, fears he no longer can evade
Due punishment. Like one recalls the time
- 45 He'd plunged from fragile keel amidst the waves
Which barely he escaped, and now he shuns,
Nor can he think of them with spirit calm.
Nabal, by David's gift, was torment free,
But since God charges penalties for faults
- 50 When foolish tongues repay good men with scorn,
Nabal's in ten days snatched to Tartarus.

Tropologica Davidiadis expositio

1. Sub Veteris instrumenti historiis Novi latere mysteria Apostolus¹³⁷ testatur dicens: “Omnia illis contingebant in figuram.”¹³⁸ Ostendere igitur aggrediar, Spiritu Sancto adiuvante, brevi verborum compendio Davidis res gestae, quas, ut potuimus, nostra poesi complexi sumus,
- 5 quo spectent quosve typos¹³⁹ in se habere mihi videantur novitatis. 2. In omnibus fere Davidem puto personam gerere Christi; Saulem autem Iudeos, qui Christum persequerentur,¹⁴⁰ significare; tum sub propheticis dictis factisque contineri utriusque Legis¹⁴¹ autoritatem.

I. 1. Igitur per Samuelem prophetam arguitur Saul inobedientiae in
10 Deum, et David succedit in regno, quia Iudeis, Evangelio non credentibus, quos utriusque Scripturae redarguit autoritas, Christus incipit regnare cum tribu Iuda, id est cum his, qui ipsum confitentur Dei Filium mundique Dominum ac Salvatorem.

2. *Samuel* autem, qui interpretatur “audiens Deum”,¹⁴² in frusta concidit Agag, regem Amalechitarum. Apostoli, Christo audientes, impugnant gentilium sacrificia simulachrorumque cultum gladio lacerant veritatis. Agag enim “festiva solennitas” dicitur,¹⁴³ *Amalech* “gens bruta ac fatua” interpretatur.¹⁴⁴ David “virum manu fortem” sonat et “vultu desiderabilem”. Hic est Christus, qui ligavit fortem ipse fortior, et idem desideratus cunctis gentibus a populo fideli suscipitur, atque a Iudeis regnum transfertur, dicente propheta: “Quum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra.”¹⁴⁵ Translatum est regnum de tribu Beniamin ad tribum Iuda, id est de filiis amaritudinis ad filios confitentes Christum regem et glorificantes. Utrumque enim significat *Iuda*.¹⁴⁶

1 *Semeus*

2 I Cor. 10.11

¹³⁷ St. Paul is frequently called “the Apostle” in Christian Latin literature.

¹³⁸ Bible citations in this section have been quoted from the Douay-Rheims translation. Hebrew etymologies are based on Strong’s *Concordance*, citing its reference numbers.

¹³⁹ Marulić uses the Latin word *typus* (“type”) which comes from the Greek word τύπος. In Romans 5:14, St. Paul says that Adam “is a figure [τύπος] of him who was to come.” This passage and 1 Corinthians 10:11 which he has already cited show the beginnings of “typology” or a reading of the Old Testament as pre-figuring the New.

¹⁴⁰ Here Marulić echoes the common view of his time, that the Jews were collectively responsible for Christ’s death.

Tropological Commentary on the Davidiad

1. The Apostle¹³⁷ bears witness that the mysteries of the New Testament lie hidden under the stories of the Old, saying: “All these things happened to them in figure.”¹³⁸ Therefore I shall endeavour to show, with the help of the Holy Spirit, in a brief verbal summary, where David’s deeds, which we have embraced in poetry as we have been able, are aiming, or what types¹³⁹ of the New they seem to me to contain within them. 2. In almost all things I consider David to represent the role of Christ, but Saul to signify the Jews who persecuted Christ,¹⁴⁰ and then the authority of both Laws¹⁴¹ to be contained under the sayings and deeds of the prophets.

I. 1. Therefore, through the prophet Samuel Saul is censured for disobedience to God, and David succeeds him in the kingdom. Since, with the Jews, whom the authority of both Testaments censures, not believing the Gospel, Christ began to reign with the tribe of Judah, i.e. with those who confess him to be Son of God and Lord and Saviour of the world.

2. *Samuel*, though, whose name means “one hearing God”,¹⁴² cuts to pieces Agag, King of the Amalekites. The apostles, hearing Christ, assail the sacrifices and idols of the gentiles and slash their cult with the sword of truth. For Agag is said to be “a festive solemnity”¹⁴³, and *Amalek* means “an ugly and fatuous people”.¹⁴⁴ David expresses a man strong in arm and desirable in aspect. This is Christ, who, being stronger, bound the strong man, and Himself desired by all nations, is received by a faithful people and his kingship is transferred from the Jews. As the prophet says: “When the Holy of Holies has come, your anointment shall cease.”¹⁴⁵ The kingship has been transferred from the tribe of Benjamin to the tribe of Judah, i.e. from the sons of bitterness to the sons confessing Christ as king and glorifying Him. For *Judah* means both.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ That is, the Old and the New Law or Testaments.

¹⁴² According to Strong, Samuel (8050 שְׁמַעְיָה, *Shemuel*) means “name of God”.

¹⁴³ Not in Strong.

¹⁴⁴ Not in Strong.

¹⁴⁵ This statement corresponds to no exact Vulgate reference. The closest matches are Daniel 9:24 and Isaiah 66:1. Marulić may be following Augustine (*Contra Iudeos paganos et Arianos* 12, PL 42.1124) in citing it as scriptural. It is also quoted as scriptural in Medieval works such as *Piers Plowman* 18, 109.

¹⁴⁶ Strong says Judah (3063 יְהוּדָה, *Yehudah*) probably means “praised”.

25 3. Saul agitatur spiritu immundo, et Davide citharam pulsante refo-
 cillatur. Hoc est: Iudei in immunditia infidelitatis versantes desipiunt,
 quidam tamen Christum audiendo convertuntur. 4. Iam primum David
 fit armiger Saulis, quia Christus primum docuit Iudeos et crucem,
 quae eius arma sunt, inter illos portavit, ut Ioannes testatur. 5. Goliam,
 30 inter idolatras Palestinos fortissimum, intererit. Christus diabolum, qui
 gentibus dominabatur, Evangelii vulgatione contrivit. 6. Palestini Davi-
 dem fugiunt, ut in illum rursum armentur. Gentiles ecclesiae Christia-
 nae persecutionem parant, nolentes recipere Christum. *Palestini* quippe
 “oris confusiones” interpretantur.¹⁴⁷ Quid autem gentilium errore con-
 35 fusius deos innumeros colentium? Interpretantur etiam “ora malleato-
 torum”, quia martyres Christi persecutionum malleis tundere aggressi
 sunt.

II. 1. David cum Ionatha, Saulis filio, init amicitiam, et eius revelatio-
 nibus a Saulis invidia salvatur. *Ionathas* “columbae donum” interpreta-
 40 tur,¹⁴⁸ quod Spiritus Sancti donum est. Spiritus autem Sancti dono
 Iudeis Lex data est. Ideo Ionathas Saulis est filius, cuius Legis revela-
 tione patuerunt mysteria Christi, quae in illa continentur sub velamine
 figurarum.¹⁴⁹ Hinc nos ipsorum Iudeorum, propriae Scripturae non
 credentium, manifestam cernentes insaniam, pericula occidentis litterae
 45 vitamus et Spiritui qui vivificat adhaeremus. Ob hoc Ionathas, id est
 Spiritus Sancti donum, nostrae fidei favet et eorum reprobat perfidiam.

2. Saul tamen Davidem praeficit militibus. Et Iudei initio patiuntur
 ut plebem doceat Christus et magister eorum sit. 3. Quum autem Saul
 vidisset praeferriri sibi Davidem laude virtutis, odio eum habuit et vitae
 50 illius insidiari coepit. Sic Iudeorum principes, quum cernerent plebem
 abire post Christum et miracula eius praedicare, invidentes quaesierunt
 eum interficere.

4. Saepenumero cum Davide in gratiam se redire simulat Saul, et
 Iudei Christum tentantes blandius interrogant, non ut discant, sed ut
 55 accusent. 5. Saul despondit Davidi filiam Michol pro praeputiis Palesti-

46 Sancti] Sanctus T^{ac}

29 cf. Ioh. 19.17 44 cf. II Cor. 3.6 (“littera enim occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat”)

¹⁴⁷ Strong notes that the name for the Philistines comes from the land Philistia (6429), which derives from *palash* (6428 פָּלַשׁ) a verb meaning “roll” or “wallow” as an act of mourning and hence perhaps “migratory”.

3. Saul is stirred by an unclean spirit and is revived when David plays the lyre. This is the Jews who are foolish, turning toward the uncleanness of infidelity, who nevertheless are converted by hearing Christ. 4. David becomes Saul's armour-bearer first, since Christ first taught the Jews and among them carried the cross, which is his arms, as John bears witness. 5. He slays Goliath, the strongest of the Philistine idolaters. With the spread of the Gospel, Christ tramples the devil, who was lording over the nations. 6. The Philistines flee David to be once again armed against him. The gentiles, not wishing to receive Christ, prepare the persecution of the Christian Church. *Philistine* indeed means "shame of the mouth"¹⁴⁷ What is more shameful than the error of the gentiles who worship innumerable gods? It also means "the mouths of hammerers", since they endeavoured to strike the martyrs of Christ with the hammers of persecutions.

II. 1. David begins a friendship with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and by his revelations is saved from Saul's envy. *Jonathan*¹⁴⁸ means "gift of a dove", which is the gift of the Holy Spirit. And the Law was given to the Jews by a gift of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, Jonathan is Saul's son, by whose revelation of the Law the mysteries of Christ have been laid open, which are contained within it under a veil of figures.¹⁴⁹ Hence we, seeing the manifest madness of the very Jews who did not believe their own Scriptures, avoid the perils of the letter which kills and adhere to the Spirit which gives life. On account of this, Jonathan, that is, the gift of the Holy Spirit, fosters our faith and reprobates their perfidy.

2. Saul nevertheless put David in charge of his soldiers. And the Jews, at the outset, allow Christ to teach the people and be their teacher. 3. But once Saul saw that David was preferred to him in praise of virtue, he held him in hate and began to plot against his life. Thus, the Jewish leaders, when they saw the people follow after Christ and preach his miracles, sought to kill Him in envy.

4. Saul repeatedly pretends that he is again in favour of David, and the Jews, testing Christ, question Him more courteously, not that they might learn, but that they might accuse Him. 5. Saul gives his daughter

¹⁴⁸ Strong 3129 (יָוֹנָתָן, *Yonathan*), same name as Strong 3083 (יהוֹנָתָן, *Yehonathan*), meaning "The LORD has given".

¹⁴⁹ The word "figure" is in this sense a synonym of "type", as in the opening of the *Tropological Commentary*.

Indices

Index locorum

References are to books and verses of the *Davidiad*. Those preceded by *Ded.* and *Trop.* are to be understood to refer to the line numbers of the *Dedication letter* and the *Tropological Commentary* respectively.

- BIBLIA SACRA
II Sam. 16: *Ded.* 42
Iob 5.2: *Trop.* 481
Ps. 25(26).5: *Trop.* 231
Ps. 36(35).7: *Trop.* 425
Ps. 75(76).3: *Trop.* 272
Ps. 140(141).2: *Trop.* 552
Eccle. 4: *Trop.* 441
Is. 1.2: *Trop.* 396
Is. 63.2: *Trop.* 267
Matth. 5.9: *Trop.* 273
Matth. 5.17: *Trop.* 369
Matth. 11.25: *Trop.* 532
Matth. 12.50: *Trop.* 84
Luc. 4.30: *Trop.* 416
Luc. 10.21: *Trop.* 532
Luc. 16.16: *Trop.* 185
Luc. 19.14: *Trop.* 412
Ioh. 1.13: *Trop.* 217
Ioh. 5.39: *Trop.* 364
Ioh. 7.30: *Trop.* 416
Ioh. 7.46: *Trop.* 46
Ioh. 18.8: *Trop.* 397
Ioh. 19.7: *Trop.* 403
Ioh. 19.12: *Trop.* 412
Ioh. 19.17: *Trop.* 29
Act. 1.18: *Trop.* 429
Act. 10.34: *Trop.* 458
Rom. 5.20: *Trop.* 323
I Cor. 1.25: *Trop.* 82
I Cor. 4.10: *Trop.* 82
I Cor. 10.11: *Trop.* 2
II Cor. 3.6: *Trop.* 44, 70, 414
II Cor. 5.17: *Trop.* 572
Iac. 2.26: *Trop.* 520
I Petr. 2.22: *Trop.* 351
I Ioh. 5.4: *Trop.* 464
Apoc. 21.5: *Trop.* 552
- ANDRONICUS TRAGURINUS,
MATTHAEUS
Epithalamium
10: 5.215
99: 7.56, 8.477, 12.320
145: 7.56, 8.477, 12.320
178: 10.375
184: 11.33
384: 6.360
416: 14.2
451: 8.291
- ARATOR
De actibus apostolorum
2.47: 10.268
2.141: 4.436
2.618: 3.274
2.830: 1.101
- ARISTOPHANES COMICUS
Aves
301: *Ded.* 28
- AVITUS, ALCIMUS ECDICIUS
De Mosaicae historiae gestis
2.79: 13.186
3.1: 12.373
4.349: 5.393
4.427: 2.348
5.53: 6.60
5.334: 8.148
5.423: 8.448
5.505: 8.448
6.585: 3.480
- BONUS, IACOBUS
De raptu Cerberi
1.57: 3.361
1.131: 3.435, 6.164, 12.181
1.147: 13.146
1.172: 2.294
2.10: 14.75

- 2.117: 6.379, 8.212
 2.159: 6.262, 14.208
 2.332: 5.145
- CATULLUS, GAIUS VALERIUS
Carmina
 62.61: 6.60
 63.29: 2.254
 64.202: 4.345, 13.281
 64.281: 7.7, 10.484
 64.321: 14.279
 64.322: 3.522
 64.37: 11.222
 64.377: 11.160
 64.399: 7.173, 10.448
 64.6: 3.30
 88.7: 12.434
 92.2-4: 7.240
 109.6: 2.88
- CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS
Academica
 1.5: *Ded.* 39
Cato Maior de senectute
 73: 10.245
De finibus bonorum et malorum
 1.4: *Ded.* 38
Epistulae ad Atticum
 10.12.1: 13.301
Epistulae Familiares
 6.3.4: *Ded.* 28
 9.18.4: *Ded.* 39
 13.1: *Ded.* 36
Orationes in Catilinam
 1.1: 10.363
Oratio in Pisonem
 37: *Ded.* 39
Oratio pro lege Manilia
 65: 6.221
Tusculanae disputationes
 1.34: 10.245
- CLAUDIANUS, CLAUDIUS
Olybrio et Probino consulibus
 75: 12.86
- CYPRIANUS GALLUS
Genesis
 708: 8.63
- 961: 5.331
 1086: 8.63
 1470: 7.278
- Exodus*
 89: 1.101
 543: 1.153
 1155: 6.390
 1278: 6.283
- Deuteronomium*
 31: 8.63
- Iudices*
 562: 5.122
- Iesu Nave*
 478: 7.489
- DRACONTIUS, BLOSSIUS AEMILIUS
Laudes Dei
 1.369: 2.237
 1.419: 5.485
 2.82: 13.11
 2.429: 12.321
 3.141: 5.145
 3.378: 6.354
 3.425: 6.114
 3.571: 12.321
- ENNIUS, QUINTUS
Varia 17-18: 10.245
- ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS
Adagia
 40: *Ded.* 39
 111: *Ded.* 28
 324: 12.380
 449: 7.310
 657: *Ded.* 28
 816: 3.325
 878: 8.449
 970: 9.37, 11.276, 13.335
 1842: 10.99
 2917: 10.522
 4132: 11.73, 12.361, 13.341
- GREGORIUS IX P.M.
Decretales
 5.7.1: *Trop.* 521
- HIERONYMUS, EUSEBIUS
Epistulae
 66.6: *Trop.* 441

- HORATIUS FLACCUS, QUINTUS
Ars poetica
 110: 5.475, 14.389
Carmina
 1.7.27: 14.346
 1.16.9-10: 12.198
Epistulae
 2.1.42: 4.292
 2.1.190: 14.5
Epodi
 13.1: 3.29
Satyræ
 1.9.31: 7.334
 1.9.47-48: 7.240
 1.10.34: *Ded.* 28
 2.3.9: 8.197
 [ITALICUS]
Ilias Latina
 28-29: 13.324
 102: 9.113
 132: 2.404
 133: 9.113
 157: 6.153
 158: 2.371
 177: 8.283
 184: 6.208, 8.480
 242: 5.334
 296: 13.113
 297: 1.310
 328: 3.388, 9.87, 14.166
 336: 10.386
 462: 2.453
 498: 8.409
 541: 3.443, 13.186
 615: 2.417
 702: 9.113
 740: 2.367
 771: 9.137
 1027: 13.286

 IUVENALIS, DECIMUS IUNIUS
Satyræ
 2.13: 8.171
 2.38: 8.291
 3.64-65: 11.18
 3.290: 6.60
 6.621: 14.175

 IUVENCUS, GAIUS VETTIUS AQUILINUS
Evangeliorum libri
 1.89: 8.63
 1.389: 5.345
 1.521: 2.302
 1.650: 10.12
 1.782: 1.439
 2.25: 5.229
 2.104: 10.13
 2.302: 10.71
 2.308: 2.302
 2.398: 14.167
 3.100: 5.38, 5.303
 3.107: 3.523, 11.416
 3.365: 2.87, 5.418
 3.602: 10.12
 3.759: 6.323
 4.43: 8.300
 4.165: 8.279
 4.207: 7.447
 4.368: 3.480

 LUCANUS, MARCUS ANNAEUS
Pharsalia
 1.222: 7.7, 10.484
 1.229: 1.453, 12.197
 1.237: 2.246, 14.167
 1.246: 3.435, 6.164, 12.181
 1.252: 1.13
 1.360: 8.33
 1.375: 3.443, 13.189
 1.681: 5.182
 2.62: 7.158
 2.470: 1.149
 2.628: 2.405, 5.482, 6.8, 7.113, 12.4
 5.345: 6.208, 8.480
 6.6: 1.284
 6.494: 6.60
 6.550: 6.408
 7.467: 5.459
 8.86-87: 9.399
 8.433: 3.175
 8.467: 12.373
 9.56: 12.181
 9.255: 1.101
 9.714: 8.24
 9.815: 14.175
 10.538-39: 4.147

- LUCRETIUS CARUS, TITUS
De rerum natura
 3.456: 1.489, 5.371
 5.1: 7.289
 5.29: 5.2
- MANTOVANUS, BAPTISTA
Adulescentia
 1.50: 10.20
 1.129: 10.77
 2.13: 7.165
 2.58: 10.489
 2.168: 9.416
 3.166: 2.509
 4.33: 3.492
 4.176: 6.107
 4.237: 8.49
 5.2: 2.253
 6.206: 7.51
 8.24: 2.224
 8.160: 7.92
 9.44: 1.439
 9.93: 8.291
 9.107: 1.340
 10.3: 4.381, 9.324
 10.29: 3.12
 10.47: 13.351
Parthenice
 1.1.38: 4.472
 1.1.262: 12.53
 1.1.309: 8.217
 1.1.603: 2.79
 1.1.662: 14.331
 1.1.726: 8.31
 1.1.776: 13.432
 1.1.826: 1.171, 2.440
 1.1.847: 7.56, 8.477, 12.320
 1.2.60-61: 5.191
 1.2.223: 13.311
 1.2.352: 1.35
 1.2.363: 1.186
 1.2.429: 10.379
 1.2.435: 10.172
 1.2.463: 8.216, 10.492
 1.2.467: 8.303
 1.2.556: 5.381
 1.2.734: 9.133
 1.2.815: 4.482
 1.2.960: 3.341
 1.3.178: 1.489
 1.3.583: 5.42
- 1.3.737: 13.345
 2.1.108: 1.335
 2.1.142: 1.3
 2.1.176: 7.469
 2.1.411: 6.323
 2.2.171: 12.129
 2.2.193: 10.99
 2.2.214: 13.164
 2.2.404: 3.35
 2.2.495: 9.285
 2.3.166: 14.402
 2.3.256: 6.406
 2.3.452: 3.45
 2.3.510: 4.287
 2.3.545: 6.408
 2.3.664: 8.474
 2.3.776: 1.190, 2.362, 4.126, 8.465
 2.3.818: 14.394
 3.110: 7.469
 3.224: 5.258
 3.396: 1.436
 3.457: 3.74
 3.552: 8.16
 3.613: 1.49
 4.111: 8.283
 4.125: 5.399
 4.231: 13.311
 5.49: 12.76
 5.69: 5.127
 5.145: 7.326
 6.67: 4.395
 6.348: 12.57
 6.470: 10.229
 6.475: 1.149
 7.154: 12.76
 7.201: 11.378
 7.328: 9.360
 7.424: 4.436
 7.617: 3.467
 7.633-34: 8.441
 7.669: 13.151
 7.775: 3.329
De morte Ioannis Soreti
 37-38: 6.324
- MARTIALIS, MARCUS VALERIUS
Epigrammata
 1.39.1: 2.402
 8.6.2: 11.227
 12.9.3: 1.190, 2.362, 4.126, 8.465

MUTIUS, MACARIUS	2.610: 6.407, 9.359
<i>De triumpho Christi</i>	2.766: 9.244
33: 4.358	3.40: 5.459, 12.111
48: 10.24	3.60: 2.453
55: 13.31	3.202: 14.75
212: 3.257	3.289: 12.134
236: 3.45	3.583: 1.35
279: 2.212	3.422: 1.94
OVIDIUS NASO, PUBLIUS	3.727: 1.471
<i>Amores</i>	4.297-98: 12.338
1.3.13: 3.437	4.484: 7.343
3.6.100: 10.362	5.82: 5.21
<i>Ars amatoria</i>	5.85: 8.348
1.692: 8.147	5.118: 6.221
2.113: 1.127	5.256: 3.388, 9.87, 14.166
2.130: 2.78	5.343: 13.84
2.449: 3.388, 9.87, 14.166	5.430: 4.469
3.375: 9.137	6.39: 10.230
<i>Fasti</i>	6.395: 4.170, 5.282
3.661: 3.388, 9.87, 14.166	6.426: 1.12, 7.11
5.497: 12.373	6.594: 2.209, 6.302
6.354: 8.298	7.130: 14.244
6.629: 14.19	7.163: 13.417
<i>Heroides</i>	7.309: 1.405
1.41: 6.398	7.694: 9.87, 14.166
3.57: 2.368	7.816: 4.487
6.29: 10.98	8.616: 1.403
7.113: 1.461	8.737: 9.189
14.78: 5.152	9.8: 9.87, 14.166
18.79: 6.222	9.27: 3.165, 5.434, 11.63
20.225: 3.437	9.77-78: 14.249
<i>Ibis</i>	9.716: 12.331
275: 7.451	9.795: 6.153
<i>Metamorphoses</i>	10.70-71: 1.364
1.68: 14.223	10.113: 7.23
1.178: 14.108	11.194: 8.46
1.243: 13.298	11.268: 7.173, 10.448
1.445: 14.410	11.596: 6.70
1.484: 1.143, 10.113	11.654: 5.461
1.591: 4.140	11.793: 1.340
1.699: 1.4	12.80: 7.347
2.97: 12.134	12.265: 9.360
2.101: 12.288	12.379: 7.147
2.144: 7.180	12.565: 6.432
2.153-54: 5.3	13.1: 7.36
2.154: 1.311	13.66: 13.417
2.336: 6.409	13.559: 3.181
	13.704: 6.381
	14.263: 8.150

14.518: 6.138, 8.202	PETRARCA, FRANCISCUS
14.608: 8.476	<i>Africa</i>
14.807: 7.326	1.131: 4.22
15.42: 8.492	1.196: 3.175
15.207: 1.285	2.153: 13.186
15.317: 14.244	2.481: 13.34
15.707: 10.352	2.502: 4.182
15.831: 11.87	3.381: 1.403
15.872: 14.410	3.414: 8.147
<i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i>	3.430: 8.140
1.2.13: 9.77	3.642: 2.510
2.5.33: 3.388	4.32: 2.277
2.9.3: 3.388	4.359: 2.405, 5.482, 7.113, 12.4
4.9.112: 1.95	5.432: 9.285
<i>Remedia amoris</i>	5.443: 14.336
282: 2.417	5.444: 10.50
<i>Tristia</i>	5.514: 9.218, 10.488
1.1.115: 10.230	5.654: 7.56, 8.477, 12.320
1.3.98: 9.24	6.19: 4.39
1.6.28: 2.473	7.157: 6.10
1.8.16: 13.184	7.217: 4.487
3.6.1: 2.88	7.507: 8.304
4.8.38: 4.105	7.610: 4.436
5.7.40: 7.310	7.804-05: 4.377
5.8.4: 5.58	7.1096: 9.77
PAULINUS NOLANUS	8.96: 12.235
<i>Carmina</i>	8.324: 2.509
6.81: 1.90, 2.362, 4.126, 8.465	8.339: 7.475
6.237: 8.300	8.430: 8.91
6.297: 6.472	8.438: 9.324
14.11: 12.74	8.592: 1.407, 13.117
15.256: 5.381	8.834: 2.49
18.244: 2.431, 14.137	8.857: 5.249, 7.472, 9.442
19.193: 1.370	8.904: 14.65
21.455: 13.198	9.146: 3.53
21.520: 9.342	9.203: 5.284
21.606: 1.438	9.481: 14.93
23.250: 6.379	PHILELFUS, FRANCISCUS
26.272: 2.431, 14.137	<i>Sphortias</i>
26.381: 1.370	1.50: 6.18
27.62: 13.345	1.87: 5.475, 14.389
31.97: 13.220	1.153: 14.67
PERSIUS FLACCUS, AULES	1.196: 10.103
<i>Saturae</i>	1.387: 6.4
2.71: 2.474	1.407: 9.417
	1.541: 8.474
	1.589: 5.195
	1.634: 9.101
	1.641: 9.416

- 1.655: 3.443, 13.189
 1.689: 4.22, 7.263
 1.729: 3.509
 1.768: 13.189
 2.225: 7.120, 2.212
 2.276: 4.436
 2.299: 7.294
 2.724: 2.274
 2.757: 5.127
 3.88: 9.300
 3.125: 12.235
 3.362: 9.139
 3.418: 14.91
 3.467: 1.403
 3.675: 10.408
 3.797: 4.112
 4.68-69: 2.419, 9.125
 4.70: 8.474
 4.384: 10.519
 4.449: 7.148
 4.591: 14.247
 4.631: 4.359
 4.633: 7.51
 4.674: 2.274
 4.695: 3.209
 4.711: 5.266
 4.753: 10.291
 5.27: 14.247
 5.129: 6.27
 5.133: 5.38, 5.303
 5.291: 8.303
 5.300: 7.180
 5.676: 7.69
 6.45: 2.274
 6.104: 14.91
 6.266: 4.52
 6.319: 14.348
 6.363: 4.455
 6.427: 2.405, 5.482, 7.113, 12.4
 6.470: 7.148
 6.476: 9.137
 6.543: 5.433, 12.220
 6.696: 14.273
 6.748: 14.44
 7.79: 4.125, 9.28
 7.99: 13.189
 7.693: 3.425
 8.56: 2.277
 8.88: 10.519
 8.142: 2.98
 8.187: 2.87, 5.418
 8.213: 2.87, 5.418
 8.440: 5.356
 8.546: 9.139
 8.665: 9.300
 9.27: 9.77
 9.127-28: 9.276
 9.188-89: 14.167
 9.189: 9.137
 11.16: 1.92
 PROBA, FALTONIA BETITIA
Cento Vergilianus
 1.34: 4.248
 1.64: 14.65
 1.118: 9.32
 1.122: 1.149
 1.147b: 7.420
 1.172: 8.189
 1.182: 1.141
 1.223: 11.378
 1.271: 5.370, 9.218
 1.303: 5.104
 2.395: 14.84
 2.456: 11.164
 2.470: 7.283
 2.513: 4.152
 2.546: 14.65
 2.602: 11.373
 2.665: 11.416
 PROPERTIUS, SEXTUS AURELIUS
Elegiae
 1.16.37: 4.375
 2.8.14: 4.320
 2.28b.1: 5.388
 3.20.7: 8.147
 PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS, AURELIUS
Apotheosis
 531: 14.261
Dittochaeon
 1: 7.33
Hamartigenia
 20: 14.65
 252: 8.427
 534: 13.200
 936: 9.367

- Peristephanon*
3.26: 4.359
10.952-54: 14.241
- Psychomachia*
36: 2.198
349: 1.27
445: 1.292
824: 14.351
- Contra Symmachum*
2.262: 1.122
2.736: 11.416
- SEDULIUS, CAELIUS
Paschale carmen
4.202: 4.436
4.284: 5.458
- SENECA, LUCIUS ANNAEUS
Oedipus
627: 7.155
- SERVIUS HONORATUS, MARCUS
Ad Aen. 8.128: 8.449
- SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS
Carmina
2.84: 8.337
7.500: 8.337
16.43-44: 14.241
22.14: 8.24
- SILIUS ITALICUS, TIBERIUS
Punica
2.174: 1.307
13.189: 2.87, 2.145, 5.418
13.244: 14.179
15.767: 3.489
17.155: 3.30
- STATIUS, PUBLIUS PAPINIUS
Achilleis
1.305: 2.79
1.728: 3.388, 9.87, 14.166
Silvae
2.1.232: 6.469
3.4.66: 7.294
3.5.12: 12.114
- Thebais*
1.312: 10.268, 10.370
1.532: 14.85
2.113: 7.173, 10.448
3.291: 8.136
3.491: 12.349
4.767: 7.294
6.784: 11.373
7.389: 6.20
10.32: 7.265
10.189: 1.101
10.857: 1.453, 12.197
11.80: 12.337
- TERENTIUS AFER, PUBLIUS
Andria
868: 3.201
- TIBULLUS, ALBIUS
Elegiae
1.7.15: 3.349
1.10.27: 8.480, 14.9
1.10.29: 6.208, 8.480
2.1.13: 14.9
3.1.1: 3.106
3.4.23: 2.210, 6.285
3.5.12: 14.29
3.7.8: 7.271
3.7.91: 10.139
- VALERIUS FLACCUS, GAIUS
Argonautica
4.34-35: 3.232
5.16: 14.135
5.408: 13.30
7.71: 3.445
7.634: 6.100
- VEGIUS, MAPHAEUS
Supplementum Aeneidos
4: 1.403
84: 7.223
192: 8.445, 11.257
196: 8.448
316-17: 3.362
342: 8.140
581: 13.298
594: 10.229
603: 8.299

VERGILIUS MARO, PUBLIUS	2.255: 5.381
<i>Aeneis</i>	2.265: 9.267
1.1: 7.400	2.268: 12.373
1.12: 3.241	2.280: 8.33
1.25-26: 10.322	2.299: 8.219
1.57: 1.270, 7.3, 11.397	2.313: 2.246
1.81: 1.356	2.316: 5.107
1.93: 13.286	2.333: 13.113
1.95: 9.211	2.364: 13.332
1.102: 3.411	2.370: 8.184, 11.2
1.123: 6.476, 7.41, 9.441	2.409: 5.370, 9.237
1.127: 2.371	2.488: 1.472
1.194: 7.70	2.532: 9.359
1.216: 14.137	2.536: 10.230
1.221-22: 6.414	2.556: 7.11
1.253: 8.351	2.561: 11.337
1.371: 5.80	2.679: 1.334
1.374: 5.455	2.692: 3.343, 10.205
1.378: 8.37, 11.276, 13.335	2.734: 2.190
1.387-88: 7.298	2.751: 2.299
1.401: 2.94	2.770: 11.362
1.414: 9.405	2.775-77: 11.378
1.428: 8.13	2.790: 14.84
1.430: 3.528, 8.189	3.144: 13.413
1.439: 3.21	3.287: 6.187
1.452: 3.538	3.317: 13.388
1.505: 6.185	3.322: 9.211
1.520: 14.86	3.388: 14.295
1.537: 6.130	3.4: 10.264
1.586: 3.343, 10.205	3.57: <i>Trop.</i> 501
1.614: 10.229	3.81: 2.210, 6.285
1.666: 4.152	3.95: 12.411
1.687: 6.464	3.515: 3.298
1.705: 5.253	3.524: 11.401
1.723: 14.137	3.551: 3.298
1.724: 6.267	3.590-91: 6.241
1.748: 5.11	3.655: 3.343, 10.205
2.1: 2.253	3.664: 1.166
2.15: 8.147	3.677: 3.165, 5.434, 11.63
2.17: 10.406	3.708: 13.359
2.28: 6.462	4.6: 13.263
2.40: 8.184, 11.2	4.6-7: 12.193
2.52: 1.99	4.12: 8.413
2.62: 6.259	4.50: 3.430
2.86: 6.466	4.105: 10.519
2.147: 5.266	4.115: 10.50
2.174: 3.21	4.130: 4.314
2.222: 6.476, 7.41	4.135: 1.313
2.242: 8.257	4.173: 11.164
2.251: 1.18	4.182: 3.21

4.191: 8.348	6.569: 4.192, 10.187
4.201: 6.334	6.628: 14.84
4.226: 10.370	6.645: 14.9
4.243: 4.191	6.689: 5.370
4.295: 3.462	6.725: 2.462
4.359: 2.50	6.728: 6.279
4.372: 9.410	6.767: 12.436
4.475: 5.477	6.848: 8.31
4.526: 11.279	6.863: 7.343
4.599: 14.2	6.881: 11.287
4.624: 4.278	7.14: 1.234
4.665-66: 2.222	7.26: 12.194
4.667: 6.218	7.64: 3.21
5.45: 1.92	7.73-74: 13.59
5.108: 4.381	7.147: 6.267
5.150: 6.81, 14.145	7.246: 6.380
5.158: 3.30	7.281: 5.2
5.200: 6.82	7.292: 7.37
5.208: 4.196	7.323: 14.84
5.230: 1.92	7.374: 2.180
5.246: 2.210, 6.285	7.393: 1.409, 2.186
5.306: 13.222	7.445: 2.452
5.370: 9.416	7.446: 5.459, 12.111
5.378: 1.149	7.471: 14.84
5.383: 12.422	7.475: 6.13, 9.134
5.441: 2.306	7.518: 9.450
5.490: 11.399	7.599: 13.357
5.499: 1.55	7.614: 8.448
5.501: 7.283	8.148: 3.342
5.502: 3.218	8.215: 8.201
5.533: 7.210	8.225: 1.166
5.539: 2.210	8.233: 14.18
5.626: 1.6	8.252: 3.21
5.693: 4.161	8.305: 6.277
5.706: 4.265	8.406: 5.120
5.740: 1.497	8.50: 10.50
5.839: 6.157	8.520: 3.343, 10.205
6.190: 3.343, 10.205	8.541: 14.84
6.202: 8.46	8.575: 3.139
6.282: 7.420	8.611: 1.141
6.332: 10.247	9.16-17: 4.149
6.384: 12.237	9.123: 10.230
6.387: 11.378	9.127: 11.378
6.404: 14.326	9.145: 8.104, 8.309
6.405: 9.32	9.93: 8.279
6.435: 9.288	9.317: 3.489
6.500: 1.92	9.319: 7.223
6.522: 5.127	9.326: 5.200
6.535: 3.150	9.402: 13.132
6.556: 12.380	9.404: 1.213, 10.43

9.441: 6.86	12.255: 10.87
9.453: 6.425	12.266: 2.184
9.489: 10.238	12.330: 7.115
9.496: 3.128	12.377: 6.85
9.531: 2.444, 7.53, 7.293, 9.127, 9.155	12.436: 5.315, 7.123
9.566: 4.312	12.439: 3.233
9.663: 1.407, 13.117	12.441: 14.84
9.690: 1.328	12.552: 7.283
9.723: 9.210	12.608: 9.315
9.724: 2.56	12.650: 3.343, 10.205
9.739: 2.178	12.714: 4.49
9.760: 10.24	12.81: 14.84
9.763: 7.115	12.855: 1.458
9.798: 3.181	12.880: 12.385, 13.364
10.19: 12.117	12.923: 12.324
10.226: 2.212, 7.120	12.932: 5.135
10.263: 10.241	12.934: 13.2
10.278: 11.378	12.938: 6.84
10.469: 9.211	12.946: 2.50
10.633: 14.84	<i>Bucolica</i>
10.644: 1.358	4.37: 10.482
10.651: 1.334	5.2: 2.253
10.707: 1.166	6.11: 1.51
10.756-57: 7.102	6.24: 4.248
10.757: 11.425	7.54: 2.196, 6.432
10.770: 3.405	9.34: 12.92
11.14: 3.523, 11.416	<i>Georgica</i>
11.89: 8.236	1.109: 12.412
11.146: 9.244	1.272: 3.494
11.192: 2.246, 14.150	1.309: 1.453, 12.197
11.248: 14.86	1.326: 7.165
11.337: 1.161	1.496: 9.44
11.360: 1.407, 13.117	2.30: 3.21
11.378: 14.86	2.140: 5.2
11.424: 5.459, 12.111	2.515: 5.281
11.444: 13.10	3.109: 5.345
11.450: 1.298	3.192: 1.312
11.461: 13.357	3.275: 3.21
11.561: 13.132	3.520: 4.140
11.617: 9.144, 12.465	4.176: 2.473
11.753: 1.312, 2.45	4.337: 10.387
11.754: 3.301	4.42: 1.317, 5.365
11.812: 14.22	4.52: 2.371
12.169: 14.9	4.58: 10.482
12.29: 7.155	4.427: 7.165
12.49: 5.312	4.487: 2.212, 7.120
12.51: 6.406	4.499-500: 1.497, 5.371
12.81: 14.84	4.514: 6.221
12.201: 14.89	
12.239: 10.25, 10.225, 11.373	

Index nominum

This index of proper names contains all persons and places that are in the dedication letter (*Ded.*) the *Davidiad* (book and verse), excluding the *Argumenta*, and the *Tropological Commentary* (*Trop.*). David himself and the various names used to indicate God (Deus, Dominus, Pater, Salvator), which are ubiquitous, have not been indexed.

- Abel(1)a 12.242, 262, 283; *Trop.* 476
- Abiathar(us) (Achimeleci filius) 3.508, 517, 526; 4.29, 34, 77; 10.490, 527; 11.176, 415; 12.318; 14.9, 56, 73, 154; *Trop.* 95
- Abiatharus (Achimeleci pater) 8.486
- Abiezerus 13.153
- Abigail 4.391, 414, 470, 495; 5.41, 73; 6.225; 7.203; *Trop.* 120-21, 126
- Abisa(s) 5.121, 133, 140; 7.138, 173; 9.110, 121; 11.58, 239; 12.30, 200, 238, 429; 13.131; *Trop.* 475, 503-04, 507
- Abisac(ha) 13.424; 14.40; *Trop.* 541-43
- Abitha 7.206
- Abner(us) 5.131, 159, 162; 7.79, 89, 95, 119, 138, 141, 154, 160, 163, 172, 212, 217, 220, 245, 252, 267, 268, 279, 289, 305, 309, 315, 335, 337, 346, 359, 423; 12.223; *Trop.* 195-97, 204, 207, 210, 217-18, 222
- Abr(ah)am 2.426; 7.12; 10.409
- Absalon 3.185; 7.204; 10.16, 45, 97, 101, 114, 162, 180, 200, 219, 277, 291, 294, 311, 317, 320, 325, 356, 361, 363, 383, 392, 418, 422, 434, 443, 447, 467, 513, 521, 523, 527; 11.2, 30, 81, 85, 95, 101, 102, 115, 123, 132, 134, 169, 187, 213, 262, 272, 278, 286, 302, 315, 319, 325, 338, 347, 358, 361, 404, 405; 12.173, 188, 404; 14.347; *Trop.* 386, 389, 393, 397, 402, 407, 409, 411, 413, 416, 420, 422, 431, 444, 468, 470-71
- Acharon 1.476; 2.177
- Achila 4.120; 5.114, 117; *Trop.* 137
- Achiludus 8.482
- Achimas 10.530; 11.184, 332, 335, 341, 348, 351
- Achimeleucus (Achimelech, filius Abiathari) 8.485
- Achimeleucus (Achimelech, sacerdos) 3.242, 277, 415, 426; *Trop.* 74, 95
- Achinoe 5.103; 6.226; 7.202; 10.49; *Trop.* 129
- Achis 3.302, 328; 5.250, 266, 328; 6.7, 23, 74, 189, 426; *Trop.* 82, 151
- Achitobus 8.485
- Achitophel 10.421, 512, 515, 525; 11.4, 91, 110, 121, 135, 137, 146, 172, 173, 205; *Trop.* 424, 428
- Actaeon (Aristeides) 9.190
- Adadezer(us) 8.407, 446, 453, 456; 9.128, 156; *Trop.* 286, 295, 304, 327, 336, 338
- Adam 7.12; 10.409
- Adeodatus (Deodatus) 12.449; *Trop.* 516-17
- Adonias 7.205; 14.1, 19, 31, 37, 52, 68, 76, 148, 156, 160, 187, 201, 212; *Trop.* 551-52, 554, 560, 565
- Adrastus 1.317
- Aduranus 12.314
- Aegyptus 6.247; 13.304
- Aethon 5.4
- Aetna 3.294
- Agag(us) 1.42, 72; 2.449; *Trop.* 15, 17
- Agatharchus 8.53
- Agga 13.99
- Agith (Agita) 7.205; 14.1, 219; *Trop.* 551, 553, 555
- Ahabus 13.91
- Ahamus 13.88
- Ahiudus 12.315
- Ahoius 13.155
- Aioth (Naioth) 2.443; 3.10, 51, 64
- Albiadon 13.161
- Albonius 13.162
- Alexander Magnus 1.314

- Am(m)onitae 2.448; 9.57, 96, 171, 457;
Trop. 325, 330, 341
 Amalech(us) 5.279; *Trop.* 17
 Amalechitae 1.41; 2.449; 5.448; 6.208,
 248, 353, 394; *Trop.* 15, 167
 Amasa(s) 11.217, 420; 12.183, 185,
 195, 204, 208, 221, 232; *Trop.* 475-
 76
 Aminadab (Davidis frater) 1.258
 Aminadab(us) (Saulis filius) 6.93, 165
 Aminadabus (sacerdos) 8.182, 191
 Aminaeus 3.63
 Amivirus 10.222
 Ammon 7.202; 10.17, 33, 39, 69, 82,
 128, 131, 145, 171, 175, 185, 199;
 Trop. 386-87
 Amonus 13.169
 Anathotites 13.153
 Annon (Hannon) 9.60, 66, 85, 95, 106,
 118; *Trop.* 325, 329
 Anticyra 3.332
 Apelles 8.54
 Apollo 1.4; 10.11; 14.417
 Ar(r)euna 13.382, 384, 397; 14.357;
 Trop. 537
 Arabes 8.405; 14.128
 Arachites 11.339
 Arari fines 13.150
 Ararites 13.99
 Arbachites 13.160
 Arbites 13.167
 Archadicus 4.408
 Area Nachor 8.200
 Areth 3.386
 Argivi 1.317
 Argolicus 3.196
 Arion 1.316
 Aristeides (Actaeon) 9.190
 Armenii 8.401
 Arnon 6.339
 Arodius 13.151
 Aroer 6.339; 13.255
 Aron 8.157
 Arothites 13.163
 Arrius *Trop.* 172
 Asa 6.343
 Asahel 7.120, 122, 126, 130, 171;
 13.148; *Trop.* 207-08
- Asamonetus 13.161
 Asbaus 13.165
 Ascalon 6.451
 Assyrii 8.444; 9.127; 14.129
 Astharot(h) 6.186
 Athac 6.344
 Athenae Ded. 5
 Azetha 1.318
 Azothus (Asothius) 8.166, 171
 Baalpharasim 8.112
 Babylon 14.128
 Bacchus 1.185; 3.154; 4.402; 7.281;
 9.45; 10.287; 11.10
 Balamus (Balan) 10.279
 Balasoris ager 10.164
 Balearis 1.453; 12.197
 Ban(n)aas 7.375
 Ban(n)aias 8.490; 12.312; 13.134;
 14.13, 25, 78, 98
 Banais 13.159
 Baurim 11.45, 46, 188; 12.11; *Trop.* 440
 Beniamin(us) 1.56; 7.84, 256; 12.12,
 405; 13.272; *Trop.* 23
 Berecynthius 14.144
 Beronites 13.161
 Beroth 8.455
 Bersaba (Bersabe) 9.196, 200, 317, 425;
 14.27, 30, 41, 60, 85, 89, 96, 126;
 Trop. 346, 348, 352, 362, 370, 561
 Bersaba (urbs) 11.152, 13.238, 260
 Berzelaus 12.97, 100, 106, 132; 14.343;
 Trop. 457, 459, 568, 572-73
 Beseelel 8.147
 Besora fluenta 6.238, 296
 Bethe 8.455
 Bethel 6.337
 Bethlehem(us) (Bethleem) 1.93, 114, 279;
 2.111; 3.109, 161, 353; 7.176, 435;
 8.83; 12.449; 13.111; *Trop.* 211
 Bethmacus 12.241
 Bethoron ager 7.167
 Bethsama 8.181
 Bethsana 6.183; 7.28; 12.401
 Bistobus 9.100
 Bochrus 12.281
 Bonnius 13.169
 Bucephalas 1.315

- Caesar 13.191; *Trop.* 411
 Calephus 4.355
 Campus robustorum 7.110
 Cananaei 13.259
 Cana Galilaea 10.283
 Canopus 6.148
 Capadoces 8.402
 Capitolium 13.190
 Carmelus mons 4.300, 495; 13.166
 Cassius 6.110
 Castor 3.197
 Castra (urbs) 11.203, 219, 246; 12.4,
 98; 14.330
 Cedron 10.484
 Ceil(l)a 4.1, 6, 31, 41, 55, 69, 81, 87;
 Trop. 99
 Celeth(æ)i 10.453; 12.311; 14.15, 115
 Ceni 6.342
 Ceres 1.185; 4.401; 7.282; 9.46, 165
 Chaias 13.163
 Chalybes 3.293; 12.199
 Chamaas (Chamaam) 12.118, 125, 128;
 Trop. 458-59, 462
 Charites 7.6
 Charybdis 7.74
 Chelebus 7.203
 Cherub(im/in) 8.161, 212, 385
 Chiatriitis terra 13.171
 Chusus 10.517; 11.1, 82, 84, 85, 87, 95,
 134, 137, 168, 177, 206, 339, 340,
 352; *Trop.* 422, 424
 Cirrhaeus 1.3
 Cisides (Saul) 1.177; 2.137, 149, 227,
 318, 332; 3.56, 72, 295, 515; 4.88,
 166, 257, 284; 5.144, 191, 219, 234,
 273, 274, 374, 382, 389, 402, 419;
 6.134, 161, 389
 Cisus 1.25; 12.406
 Cleonaeus 9.163
 Cyclopes 3.294
 Cyniphius 11.11
 Cypros 10.351
 Cythereius 10.351
- Dagon 8.166
 Damascus 8.444, 449
 Danis 11.151; Danus 13.237
 Delbora 2.443
 Deodatus (Adeodatus) 12.449;
 Trop. 516-17
 Diana 9.189
 Dircaeus 1.240
 Dis 2.195
 Doech(us), Dohech 3.295, 411, 414,
 482, 484, 513
- Egla 7.207
 Eleanan 13.149
 Eleazar(us) 13.90
 Elephus 13.157
 Elichas 13.150
 Elipheleth 13.164
 Ellen 13.151
 Emath(us) 8.456; *Trop.* 303-04, 307
 Endora 5.363, 376
 Engadi 4.195, 202, 282; *Trop.* 110
 Eous 1.13, 95; 2.371; 5.3, 244, 489;
 7.181; 8.343; 9.269; 14.237
 Ephraima 11.266
 Erebus 9.286; 14.326
 Erinys 1.230; 5.111
 Essatus 13.166
 Esthama 6.341
 Etholus 12.198
 Euphrates 8.400; 9.129
 Ezel 3.147
- Farrais 13.167
- Gaa 13.160
 Gabao 5.113, 221; 7.90, 91; 8.134,
 144, 181; 12.206, 371; *Trop.* 489
 Gabaoitae 12.341, 344; *Trop.* 486-87,
 494
- Gad(dus) 3.383; 13.288, 302, 380;
 Trop. 88
- Gadda 13.168, 254
 Gal(l)adites 12.96; 14.344; *Trop.* 457
 Galaadae 7.83
 Galad (Galaadus) 6.191; 7.34; 11.214,
 223; 12.397; 13.256
 Galgala 1.78

- Galilaeus 12.138
 Gareb 13.171
 Gargaphius 9.189
 Garizis 1.80
 Gazareus 8.135
 Gebalus 1.79
 Gebella 8.469
 Gedeon 2.444
 Gelboa (Gelboe) 5.348; 6.3, 77, 152,
 158, 355, 419, 428; 7.401; 12.400;
 Trop. 176, 178
 Gelonites 13.165
 Gemininus 12.160; 14.327
 Geriades 11.47
 Gerras 12.40
 Gessurii 7.83
 Gessur(us) 5.278; 10.221, 319, 339,
 371, 406; *Trop.* 397, 400
 Getha 1.367, 401, 477; 3.303, 305, 328;
 4.50; 5.249, 260, 290, 426; 6.62,
 449; 8.213; 10.454, 464; 11.240;
 12.454; *Trop.* 75, 84
 Gethaim 7.375
 Gether 6.338
 Gethulus 1.376
 Gezra 5.278
 Gilon (Gelon, Gylon) 10.421; 11.171,
 208
 Gnosius 2.23
 Gobius 12.438
 Golias (Gethaeus) 1.326, 332, 360, 401,
 426, 443, 456, 486; 2.37, 97, 387;
 3.282, 419; 7.60; 12.448, 451;
 Trop. 29, 75, 77, 516, 518
 Gracchus 6.108
 Grimanus, Dominicus *Ded.* 1
 Gygas 1.325, 392; 3.285; 12.426, 444
 Gyon 14.102, 122, 163
 Hadri(h)el 2.127; 12.368
 Haio 8.190
 Hannon (Annon) 9.60, 66, 85, 95, 106,
 118; *Trop.* 325, 329
 Hebraei *Ded.* 2; 3.147; 4.340; 6.21;
 7.13; 8.118, 143, 164; 9.141; 12.38;
 13.79, 416; 14.231; *Trop.* 388, 517
 Hebron(a) 4.301; 6.344; 7.11, 86, 184,
 208, 269, 382, 419, 425, 463; 8.75;
 10.408, 413, 419, 434; 14.397;
 Trop. 89, 190, 201, 203, 213, 215,
 226-27, 234
 Helcanius 4.285
 Heldas 8.79
 Heldaus 13.160
 Helerni campi 9.133
 Heliac Albonius 13.162
 Heliac(us) 1.121, 256
 Helias 13.165
 Helicon 7.5; 14.418
 Heliphelech 8.80
 Helisamas 8.79
 Helisua 8.78
 Helius 10.149, 154
 Hesperius 5.97
 Hetthaeus 10.457, 459, 470, 477, 483;
 11.239
 Hierameli 6.342
 Hiericus 2.250, 429; 9.89
 Hierosolyma, (H)ierusalem *see* Solyma
 Hietramus 7.207
 Hiram(us) (sacerdos) 12.319
 Hiramus (Hyram) (*Tyri rex*) 8.1;
 Trop. 243-44
 Hiramus (Thecuites) 13.152
 Hiras 13.171
 Iaba *Trop.* 182
 Iabina 12.396
 Iabir 8.78
 Iabis 2.447; 6.191, 192, 200; 7.28, 31,
 35
 Iabitae 6.190; 7.27, 39, 55; 12.402;
 Trop. 182, 189
 Iacob(us) 7.429; 10.409
 Iahel 2.443
 Iberus 9.269
 Idumaeus 3.296, 412, 497; 8.468;
 Trop. 308, 311
 Iebus 7.476
 Iebusaei 7.464, 473; 13.382; *Trop.* 236,
 239
 Iesbanus 13.87, 92
 Iesbenodob (Iesbenidobus) 12.425,
 430; *Trop.* 503, 506

- Iesimuthaei fines 4.139
 Iethra 11.218
 Iezrahel *Trop.* 163-64
 Iezrahelitea 5.102; 6.4, 75; 7.84
 Iezrela 11.218
 Igais 13.167
 Indi 1.315
 Ioab(us) 7.90, 119, 125, 138, 143-44,
 153, 174, 178, 303, 313, 317, 319,
 329, 359, 363; 8.479; 9.103, 116,
 168, 176, 197, 206, 208, 241, 272,
 289, 299, 305, 306, 316, 438;
 10.227, 290, 293, 303, 308-09, 311,
 341, 353, 356, 364, 379; 11.238,
 291, 292, 297, 304, 307, 312, 315,
 335, 366, 374, 422; 12.201, 208,
 218, 231, 237, 266, 268, 277, 283,
 286-87, 292, 296, 302, 310; 13.126,
 147, 170, 236, 242, 251, 267, 275;
 14.8, 55, 74, 150, 318; *Trop.* 205-07,
 213, 325, 332, 341, 375, 402, 406-
 07, 416-17, 475, 484, 567, 571
 Ioannes (apostolus) *Trop.* 29, 461
 Ioannes Baptista *Trop.* 60, 184
 Ioiada(s) 8.491; 12.313; 13.134; 14.13,
 78
 Ionadab(us) 10.31, 40, 46, 60, 197, 208
 Ionathas (Sameae filius) 12.460;
 Trop. 519, 521, 523
 Ionathas (Saulis filius) 2.2, 11, 332, 341,
 361, 366, 374, 398, 403, 408; 3.77,
 86, 99, 121, 135, 160, 166, 189, 198,
 222, 226, 231, 237; 4.97, 101, 114;
 6.85, 161, 358, 388, 414, 436, 437,
 459, 463; 9.6, 9, 21; 11.23; 12.352,
 399; *Trop.* 38-39, 42, 45, 185, 313,
 318
 Ionathas (Ionathan(us), Abiathari filius)
 10.530; 11.184; 14.154, 156
 Iophias 8.78
 Ioramus 8.458
 Iordanis 3.11; 6.137, 193; 7.7, 165;
 9.133; 11.201, 214; 12.7, 102;
 13.254; 14.331
 Iosaphat(us) 8.482; 12.315
 Iosua 2.432, 442; 8.419; 12.342;
 Trop. 486
 Iraithes 12.319
 Isachus (Isaac) 10.409
 Isatheus 13.154
 Isboseth(us) 7.77, 168, 215, 224, 243,
 366, 374, 378, 384, 422; *Trop.* 194,
 199, 204, 217, 219, 225-27
 Isra(h)el 7.85; 9.351; 12.151; *Trop.* 186,
 217; 12.5
 Isra(h)elitea 1.151, 357, 473; 2.39, 438;
 4.101, 201; 5.292, 341, 401; 6.129,
 390; 7.258, 261, 372, 434; 7.258;
 8.63, 82, 279, 310, 322, 419, 458;
 10.280, 416, 465; 11.87, 402;
 12.35, 140, 164, 436, 440; 13.268,
 368; 14.66, 109, 320; *Trop.* 162, 176
 Ithais 13.158
 Ityraeus 1.304; 12.197
 Iuda 1.24, 56, 57; 3.384; 4.5; 7.10, 17,
 49, 50, 85, 257, 427; 8.113, 340;
 9.351; 11.424; 12.6, 141, 144, 168,
 189, 191, 195; 13.51, 271; 14.21;
 Trop. 13, 23-24, 88, 91; 446, 448,
 463-64
 Iudea 1.12, 300, 322, 331, 365, 475;
 2.194, 432, 437; 5.241, 296, 301;
 6.2, 142, 159, 417; 8.90, 221, 326,
 394; 9.102, 123, 131; 11.131;
 Trop. 159
 Iudei 6.30; 12.422, 445; *Trop.* 7, 10, 21,
 26, 28, 41, 43, 47, 50, 54, 60-61, 63,
 66, 72, 75, 78, 80, 95, 98, 106, 108,
 115, 129, 133, 139, 143, 145, 148,
 159-60, 165, 179, 195, 200, 279,
 281, 366-67, 370-71, 389, 392, 399,
 402, 408-09, 412, 414, 419-20, 437,
 442, 445, 451, 454, 464, 470, 554
 Iudas 1.92; 2.442; 8.29; *Trop.* 107, 495,
 428
 Lacenus 3.311
 Levitae 2.249, 439; 3.241; 4.288; 7.443;
 8.154, 225; 10.491, 13.273; 14.134,
 369
 Licius 12.196
 Lodobarus 9.11; 11.221
 Lothus 2.428
 Lyaeus 1.5; 5.481
 Lysias 8.52

- Ma(a)cha 7.203; 10.15; 11.175
 Maachi 9.99
 Macharaeus 13.156
 Machirus 9.12
 Manichaeus *Trop.* 172
 Maochides 5.298
 Maochus 5.267
 Maon 4.139, 144, 193, 303
 Maria (Virgo) 8.30; 13.51; 14.230;
Trop. 123, 543
 Mars 1.203, 310; 2.99, 108, 139, 191,
 194, 305, 388, 422; 3.50; 4.2, 45,
 160, 312; 5. 195, 427; 7.147; 8.120,
 393, 447; 9.279, 294, 361, 438;
 11.270, 301, 370; 12.203, 240;
 13.68, 89; 14.16
 Masphatta sedes 3.370
 Megarus 7.192
 Melampus 3.333
 Melchis 6.94, 168
 Memphis 8.309
 Merobe 2.90, 119; 12.367, 368
 Michas 9.47
 Michol(a) 2.131, 154, 221, 229, 235,
 482, 484, 528; 5.104; 7.248, 271;
 8.234, 258, 284; 12.369; *Trop.* 55-
 56, 61, 65, 131-32, 217, 221
 Minerva *Ded.* 6
 Miphiboseth(us) 9.9, 19, 36, 47, 53;
 11.7, 23, 35; 12.55, 58, 88, 351;
Trop. 317, 434, 437, 450-51
 Moabitae 3.371; 8.396; 13.135;
Trop. 289; Moabiticus 7.163
 Mobonas 13.154
 Molossus 1.166, 421
 Moses 14.383
 Musa 1.249; 8.198
 Naa 11.218
 Naas 9.57
 Nabal 4.298, 303, 317, 319, 342, 354,
 367, 374, 383, 423, 479; 5.5, 20, 27,
 48, 52; *Trop.* 120-21, 126
 Naioth (Aioth) 2.443; 3.10, 51, 64
 Narais 13.170
 Nathan (Davidis filius) 8.77
 Nathan(us) (propheta) 8.293, 307, 342;
 9.327, 344, 370, 428; 10.8, 438;
 14.14, 25, 29, 61, 84, 87, 98, 103,
 163; *Trop.* 283, 562
 Nepheg 8.78
 Neptunus 1.316; 7.451
 Nethophatites 13.156
 Nilus 11.155; 13.141; Niliacus 6.148
 Nireus 10.333
 Nob(a) 3.241, 414, 425, 502, 513;
Trop. 94
 Noricus 12.198
 Obededon 8.213, 225; *Trop.* 263-65
 Odola (Odolla) 3.350, 358, 382;
 13.107; *Trop.* 87-88
 Oebalius 1.269; 10.159
 Olivarum clivus (Oliveti Mons) 10.507;
Trop. 431, 529
 Olympus 1.125; 2.312; 5.455; 7.210;
 9.213, 418; 10.158
 Orcus 6.107
 Orestes 3.196
 Orodius 13.163
 Othoniel 2.443
 Oza 8.190, 204; *Trop.* 260, 262
 Palestina 2.176; 4.2; 5.249, 427; 6.73,
 265; 12.401; *Trop.* 151
 Palestini 1.299, 321, 333, 486; 2.96,
 160; 4.40, 45, 168, 198; 5.185, 268,
 331, 350, 449; 6.17, 141, 156, 251,
 451; 7.262; 8.81, 120, 165, 393;
 11.411; 12.421, 439, 442; 13.101,
 109; *Trop.* 30-31, 33, 55, 61, 99,
 152, 157, 159, 162, 177, 249-50,
 257, 259, 286, 288, 501-02
 Pallas 8.147; 11.230
 Pandarus 6.110
 Paris 9.191
 Parius 8.25
 Parnassus 7.5
 Parthenopaeus 10.333
 Paulus (apostolus) *Trop.* 1
 Pazeri campi 13.256
 Persae 1.314
 Petra disiungens (Petra dividens) 4.177
 Phaltes 13.151

- Phaltus (Phalti) 5.105; 7.271, 272;
Trop. 133
 Phara(n) 4.297; *Trop.* 118-19
 Pharao 8.361
 Pharatonites 13.158
 Phelthaei (Philethi) 10.453; 12.311;
 14.15
 Philocrates 6.108
 Phlegon 5.3
 Phocis 3.332
 Phoebus 5.96, 489; 8.303; 9.182; 12.1
 Phosphorus 5.244
 Photinus *Trop.* 171
 Phrygius 2.256; 8.25
 Pierides 1.6; 10.11
 Pilati uxoris *Trop.* 404-05
 Pluto 5.453
 Podalirius 3.333
 Pollux 3.197
 Praxiteles 8.52
 Pylades 3.196
 Pyrous 5.3
 Rabba 9.173, 211, 250, 273, 280, 290,
 293, 301, 313, 439, 440, 443, 446;
 11.220; *Trop.* 341, 343, 375, 377
 Rachal 6.341
 Rama 6.343
 Ramat(h)a 1.82, 156; 3.2, 390; 4.288
 Ramoth 6.338
 Raphaimus 8.95, 122
 Raphidim (Raphidin) *Trop.* 249-50
 Rechab(us) 7.375
 Respha 7.213; 12.365, 376, 393;
 Trop. 488-90, 492, 498
 Rhemmon (Renon) 7.374; *Trop.* 225,
 229
 Rhodopeius 1.242
 Ribades 13.158
 Rogela 11.185, 222; 12.96; 14.17
 Romanus 1.8; *Trop.* 159, 196
 Roobum solum 9.99
 Sabaeus 14.130
 Saboch(us) 12.440; *Trop.* 511
 Sadoch(us) 8.484; 10.490, 528; 11.176,
 415; 12.317; 14.13, 25, 79, 98, 102,
 125, 162
 Sadochides 11.333
 Saguntinus 11.227
 Salem 7.477
 Salinarum vallis 8.469
 Salmon 13.155
 Salmoneus 12.257
 Salomon 8.77; 9.426; 14.27, 28, 35, 50,
 56, 80, 92, 101, 106, 115, 119, 123,
 126, 133, 136, 161, 200, 206, 216,
 288, 290, 313; *Trop.* 270, 277, 279,
 374, 552-53, 558, 560, 563, 566-67
 Salthus 12.450
 Sama 12.460; *Trop.* 520
 Sammas 1.259
 Samua 8.76
 Samuel 1.27, 50, 73, 85, 99, 112, 125,
 138, 155; 3.3, 13, 22, 42; 4.285, 295;
 5.382, 392, 407, 417; *Trop.* 9, 14, 69,
 117
 Sanson 2.445
 Saphacias 7.206
 Saraias 8.489
 Saul 1.25, 38, 60, 78, 83, 86, 104, 161,
 189, 227, 252, 263, 301, 332, 333,
 348; 2.1, 34, 47, 50, 67, 107, 290,
 316, 408, 445, 451, 481, 483, 526;
 3.1, 15, 36, 47, 64, 129, 131, 212,
 248, 308, 356, 364, 373, 388, 390,
 465, 501; 4.10, 59, 84, 95, 118, 125,
 153, 161, 199, 228; 5.105, 111, 123,
 128, 136, 154, 157, 260, 300, 304,
 340, 348, 394, 418, 444, 458; 6.23,
 25, 43, 76, 83, 95, 131, 135, 161,
 173, 182, 188, 357, 378, 414, 432;
 7.8, 26, 48, 77, 187, 198, 214, 252,
 391, 399; 8.338; 9.1, 3, 6, 36, 56,
 349; 11.46, 51; 12.78, 81, 341, 343,
 344, 350, 354, 359, 364, 367; *Trop.*
 6, 9, 25, 28, 38-39, 41, 47-48, 53, 55,
 59, 63, 65, 94, 105, 113-14, 131,
 137, 141-42, 144, 148, 159, 162,
 176-77, 183, 185, 190, 194, 485,
 487-88, 490-91; *see also* Cisides
 Seba 3.186; 12.160, 167, 182, 185, 202,
 239, 243, 281, 284, 287, 296, 327;
 Trop. 6, 8, 9
 Sebastia 5.338

- Selech 13.169
 Semeus 11.47, 63, 75; 12.10, 32, 39;
 14.327; *Trop.* 442, 568, 572
 Semma(s) Ararites 13.99, 149
 Semmas Orodius 13.163
 Semyramius 2.13
 Sephamot 6.340
 Siba (Davidis scriba) 12.317
 Siba (Miphiboseti servus) *Ded.* 6; 9.1,
 35, 38, 43, 52; 11.6, 7, 16, 21, 44;
 12.43, 61, 68, 73, 92; *Trop.* 314,
 318-19, 433, 435, 449, 451
 Siclech(us) 5.275; 6.61, 205, 250, 319,
 376; 7.401; *Trop.* 151, 153, 167,
 169, 175
 Sidon 2.13.258
 Sintopolis 6.183
 Sion 7.471; 8.144; 14.390; *Trop.* 236,
 241, 569
 Sobab 8.76
 Sobabus (Sobachus) 9.130, 143;
 Trop. 327, 338
 Sobe (Soba) 8.408; 13.167; *Trop.* 287,
 292, 340
 Socoth 1.318
 Solyma (Solyme) 1.179, 485; 2.215,
 321, 419; 3.304; 4.284; 6.347;
 7.461, 464, 478; 8.5, 74, 482; 9.14,
 49, 93, 177, 440; 10.189, 460, 520;
 11.1, 196, 240, 427; 12.5, 62, 102,
 138, 170, 308; 13.265, 348, 368;
 14.138, 155, 392; *Trop.* 237, 288,
 384, 432, 444, 468
 Stygius 4.134; 5.452
 Suna 5.338; 6.8; 13.425
 Syri 8.405, 447; 9.98, 105, 109, 115,
 135, 139; 10.463; *Trop.* 286, 291,
 333
 Syria 5.278; 9.155; 10.220; *Trop.* 290,
 333
 Tartara 2.501; 3.128; 4.191; 5.51, 399;
 13.67; 14.278
 Taurus 8.404
 Terebinteus 1.319; 3.284
 Thamar(a) (Thamaris) 10.14, 41, 55,
 68; *Trop.* 386, 389-90
 Thebe 1.7; 10.333
 Thecuia (Thecuites) 10.226; 13.152;
 Trop. 403, 405
 Thessalus 1.8; 5.381
 Tholomaus 7.203; 10.221, 320
 Thou(s) 8.456; *Trop.* 304
 Troia 1.6; 10.334; Troius 9.190
 Tyrus 2.12, 8.1; 12.44; 13.258;
 Trop. 244
 Urias 9.196, 205, 207, 214, 224, 238,
 254, 261, 271, 275, 281, 285, 295,
 304; 13.172; *Trop.* 346, 358, 371
 Usathia regio 12.441
 Venus 2.125, 474; 3.257; 7.212; 8.424;
 9.199; 13.429
 Zaph(us) 12.440, 443; *Trop.* 511-12,
 515
 Zeletha 14.18
 Zeuxis 8.53
 Ziph 5.116; *Trop.* 102
 Ziphaei 4.96, 117, 126, 142; 5.113;
 Trop. 105, 107, 137-38