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THE LUCIANIC VERSION OF THE  
OLD TESTAMENT AS ILLUSTRATED  
FROM JEREMIAH 1-3

BY  
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## THE LUCIANIC VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AS ILLUSTRATED FROM JEREMIAH 1-3\*

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The quest of the Lucianic text of the Greek Old Testament, which was undertaken with such vigor a generation ago under the able leadership of Field and Lagarde, has become little more than an avocation among scholars since the death of those two pioneers. The importance of this work consists in the fact that the Lucianic version was one of the three great Christian recensions of the Greek Old Testament in the third and fourth centuries.

\* CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. 1798 Holmes, *Praefatio in Pentateuchum*; 1864 Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones*; 1875 Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, Prolegomena, ch. IX; 1876 Nestle, Review of Field's "Hexapla," *ThLZ*, I, 7, pp. 179-183; 1882 Hort, *Introduction to the N. T. in Greek*, p. 86; 1882 Hollenberg, Review of Lagarde's "Ankündigung," *ThLZ*, VII, 7, pp. 145-147; 1883 Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniorum Pars Prior*; 1884 Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, I, pp. 122-124; 175-176; 1884 Smith, Review of Lagarde's "Septuagint," *O. T. Student*, Sep., pp. 37-39; 1886 Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, Prolegomena, pp. 65-66; 1886 Nestle, *Septuaginta Studien*; 1887 Reckendorf, "Über den Werth der altäthiopischen Pentateuchübersetzung für die Reconstruction der Septuaginta," *ZATW*, VII, pp. 61-90; 1890 Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*; 1892 Stockmayer, "Hat Lucian zu seiner Septuagintarevision die Peschito benützt?" *ZATW*, XII, pp. 218-223; 1893 Harnack, *Die altchristliche Literatur*, pp. 526-531; 1894 Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, Eng. Tr., IV, pp. 3-7; 1895 Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus*; 1896 Nestle, *Septuaginta Studien II*; 1896 Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 9; 1898 Wendland, "Zu Philos Schrift *De Posteritate Caini*," *Philologus*, LVII, 249-287; 1899 Nestle, "Zur Reconstruction der Septuaginta," *Philologus*, LVIII, 121-131; 1899 Smith, *Samuel*, pp. 402-407; 1900 Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, pp. 80-85; 1901 ?, "Lucian's Recension of the Septuagint," *Ch. Quar. Rev.*, pp. 379-398; 1902 Harnack, *Lucian der Märtyrer*, Hauck's *Real-Enc.*; 1902 Liebmann, *Der Text zu Jesaja 24-27*, *ZATW*, pp. 285-305; 1910 Harnack, *Lucian the Martyr*, *New Schaff-Herzog*, VII, 53-54; 1910 Procksch, *Septuaginta Studien*, pp. 76-87; 1913 Srawley, *Antiochene Theology*, *Hastings ERE*, I, pp. 584-585.

Jerome, writing less than a hundred years after the death of Lucian, remarked, *Alexandria et Aegyptus in LXX suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediae inter has provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilius vulgaverunt: totius orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.*<sup>1</sup> About the same time he wrote, *In quo illud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores κοινήν, id est communem, appellant, atque vulgatam, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανὸς dicitur.*<sup>2</sup>

With the early life of Lucian we are not concerned; at best the facts are so meager and so obscured that little can be said with certainty. He first appears at Antioch as a *vir disertissimus Antiochenae Ecclesiae presbyter.*<sup>3</sup> He may have been the leader of the theological school centered there; his was at least a dominating influence, and it was under him that the Antiochene school of theology first came into the clear light as actuated by distinctive principles.

Theologically this school was marked by the early use of Aristotelian philosophy. In biblical work it was characterized by principles of literal interpretation, as contrasted with the allegorical method of the school of Origen, while it made free use of textual criticism as far as possible. That Lucian was influenced by these suspect principles may be inferred from the fact that he lived for nearly thirty years apart from the Church.<sup>4</sup> He was finally restored to communion, and suffered martyrdom under Maximian in 311 or 312 at Nicomedia.<sup>5</sup>

While at Antioch Lucian was famed for his biblical learning.<sup>6</sup> In company with the Hebrew scholar Dorotheus he undertook the preparation of an edition of the Old Testament in Greek.

<sup>1</sup> Jerome, *Contra Rufinum* 2:26; *Praefatio ad Paraleipomena*.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome, *Epistola* 106 *Ad Sunniam et Fretelam*.

<sup>3</sup> Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 77.

<sup>4</sup> ἀποσυναγωγὸς ἔμεινε τριῶν ἐπισκόπων πολυετοῦς χρόνου. Theodoret, *H. E.*, 1:3.

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius, *H. E.*, 8:13; Sozomen, *H. E.*, 3:5; Georg. Ced., 517; Theophanus, *Chronographica*, 9; Nicetas, *Praef. Cyr. Alex. In Psalmos*; Jerome, *De viris illus.*, 77; Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, *H. E.*, 9:6.

Pseudo-Athanasius, in the *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*, describes his work as follows: ὅστις καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις ἐκδόσεσι καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραικοῖς ἐντυχῶν καὶ ἐποπτεύσας μετ' ἀκριβείας τὰ λείποντα ἢ καὶ περιττὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ῥήματα καὶ διορθωσάμενος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῶν γραφῶν τόποις ἐξέδοτο τοῖς χριστιάνοις ἀδελφοῖς. Simeon Metaphrastes, writing about 965, suggests that the Greek texts were quite corrupt at the time of Lucian. These corruptions had arisen partly by the accidents of translation and retranslation, and partly from deliberate efforts to pervert the meaning of the text. Lucian is said to have retranslated the whole of the Old Testament into Greek from the Hebrew, of which he is described as having had a very accurate knowledge. His work gained great prevalence in the region of which Antioch was the center, and was of such importance that Pseudo-Athanasius speaks of the translation as ἡ ἐβδόμη, while Jerome ranks it with that of Origen.

Since Lucian's version, and all copies which were possibly made from it, have long since been lost, it becomes necessary, before any estimate of his work can be given, to attempt to make a restoration of his recension by a study of existing manuscripts. It may then be possible to judge whether Jerome's description of his work was not too meager and whether Simeon Metaphrastes did not err on the other side by attributing too much to the work of the Antiochene scholar. It may also be possible to form some idea of the Greek translations with which he was familiar, and of the Hebrew text from which he made his corrections or his translation, as the case may be.

It has usually been assumed that all the manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament can be traced, or could be traced if the means were accessible, back to an original "Septuagint," or translation of the Old Testament into Greek; or that early translators, as, e. g., Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, Origen, Hesychius and Lucian, had some such uniform copy upon which to base their efforts. From this assumption much Septuagint work has proceeded.

Now it has long been noticed that no two manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament agree with each other, although some show greater kinship than others. A study of a single manuscript, however, e. g., the B text, reveals some interesting facts. There

are certain parts of the Old Testament which, in the Masoretic text, are duplicates of each other. If any one Greek manuscript were a consistent and uniform translation, or copy of such translation, it would be expected that these duplicates would be translated somewhat alike. As a matter of fact, an examination shows that even in these parts there are such variations as to lead to the conclusion that two entirely different hands were at work in the two places.

In the Appendix to this paper will be found a table of six columns of which the second and the fifth will occupy our attention at present. In these columns will be found readings from the B texts of 2 Kings 19:1-6 and Isaiah 37:1-6 in which the Hebrew texts are repeated practically verbatim. In these six verses there are thirty variants. Six are differences in grammar; three are differences in number; one is in the order of words; eleven are differences of vocabulary; there are six omissions in Isaiah as against Kings and four in Kings as against Isaiah.

This table is followed by a similar one comparing 2 Kings 24:18-25:8 with Jeremiah 52:1-12 which are alike in the Hebrew. The B texts of these two sections reveal the following differences: twelve in grammar, ten in vocabulary, two in the spelling of proper names, one in the order of words, one in number, four in the forms of verbs, two in the reading of the original Hebrew, four omissions in Kings against Jeremiah, while Jeremiah omits two whole verses and two minor words against Kings. A study of these readings and variations leads to two conclusions:

1. The Hebrew texts, while they are alike at present, were certainly not alike at the beginning.
2. The Greek translations were made not only from different Hebrew texts and by different hands, but probably by different schools and at different times.

The probability is that there was not in the early centuries any such thing as "The Septuagint," but that the Greek version of the Old Testament came into life very like the English Bible. It was probably preceded by various translations of single books, or groups of books, contributed by different hands who worked over the space of several centuries. The first part to be translated was undoubtedly the Torah, which may have been rendered

in an official, or semi-official manner, as the letter of Aristeeas suggests. This was followed by translations of other parts as need arose or as men had the inclination.<sup>7</sup>

Even in the first century of our era there was no uniform version of the Greek Old Testament, as is borne out by a comparison of the New Testament with any known version or manuscript of the Old Testament. Endeavors have been made<sup>8</sup> to ascertain what version or versions the New Testament writers used, but with little more than tentative hypotheses as results, and with no unanimity of opinion.

Philo,<sup>9</sup> to be sure, refers to an annual festival<sup>9</sup> on the island of Pharos commemorative of the completion of the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, but this would connote no more than the fact that all the books had been translated.

There is no evidence of an attempt to produce a uniform rendering of the Old Testament into Greek until the second century of our era and after that time there were two different influences at work. The first was the Jewish-Ebionitic influence which produced the versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus; the second was the Christian influence which animated Origen, Hesychius and Lucian of Antioch.

In tracing the lineage of the Greek texts of the Old Testament it must be remembered that there was probably no uniform Hebrew text from which the earliest translations were made. There may have been an official Hebrew text of the Torah at the time this part was translated into Greek. This was, in all probability, before the composition of many parts of the Nebiim and certainly before the completion of the Kethubim. As these later writings were produced, translations of them were made into Greek, possibly long before they were accorded the dignity of canonicity, and certainly long before the Hebrew text had become fixed. Swete<sup>10</sup> calls attention to the fact that "no official text held undisputed possession in the first century or was recognized by the writers of the New Testament." And inasmuch as the content of the Hebrew Canon was not fixed until the end of the

<sup>7</sup> Nestle, in *Philologus*, vol. LVIII, came to the same conclusion, but based his arguments upon entirely different grounds.

<sup>8</sup> Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Part III, ch. ii.

<sup>9</sup> Quotation in Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 439.

first century of our era, and the Hebrew text until much later, it would be surprising if there were any such thing as a uniform Greek translation. In fact, there is no evidence of any attempt at a uniform rendering of the whole Old Testament, or rather a uniform collection of the Graeco-Jewish literature until the version of Aquila. By this time both the Hebrew texts and the Greek translations of individual books had been copied so often that there was already a considerable disparity between them.

The translations of the third century Christian scholars are analogous, in a general way, to the King James, the Douay and the Revised versions of the Bible in English.<sup>11</sup> Attempts were made to render the entire Bible into the vernacular. These attempts were based upon whatever former translations were accessible to the scholars as well as upon the studies of these scholars in the original texts. Their results were never universally recognized and their use was locally or theologically confined to those who were in sympathy with the translators. Any attempt to restore an original Septuagint, therefore, becomes impossible. At Alexandria, at Antioch and at other metropolitan cities there were probably collections of rolls of translations made by entirely different hands and at different times.

Our present problem is the construction, with the aid of known manuscripts, of a hypothetical text which we may assume to resemble somewhat the translation of Lucian, and, from this hypothetical text, to estimate the character of the work of Lucian.

The efforts to recover the text of Lucian are largely the work of scholars of the last generation. Robert Holmes called attention<sup>12</sup> in 1798 to the similarity existing between the Complutensian Polyglot and codices 19.108.118. Vercellone<sup>13</sup> wrote in 1864 that *codices 19.82.93.108. unum idemque autigraphon ad singularem quandam recensionem spectans representare*. Neither of these writers, however, suggested a connection between the codices mentioned and the recension of Lucian.

The first stride toward an attempted recovery of the recension was made by Frederick Field in 1875 in his *Origenis Hexaplorum*

<sup>11</sup> Nestle, *op. cit.*, makes the same comparison with the various German translations of the Bible.

<sup>12</sup> *Praefatio in Pentateuchum*.

<sup>13</sup> *Variae Lectiones* 2: 436.



*quae supersunt.* A note prefixed to the Arabic translation of the Syro-Hexaplar read: *Lucian compared with greatest care these Hebrew copies, and if he found anything lacking or superfluous he restored it to its place, prefixing to the part amended the initial letter L.* This method of marking, absent from most manuscripts, was found in the Syro-Hexaplar. A single example will illustrate Field's method.

4 Kings 23:37 reads *αηηρ κατα την συντιμησιν αυτου εδωκαν;* the Syro-Hexaplar gives a marginal reading *κατα δυναμιν αυτου* and indicates that it is Lucianic. A reference to Holmes-Parsons *in loco* shows that this reading is supported by codices 19.18.93.108 and the Complutensian. Careful study led Field to the conclusion<sup>14</sup> *certissime concludi arctam propinquitatem, nedum identitatem, inter Luciani editionem et codices 19.82.93.108.*

Meanwhile Paul de Lagarde had been working upon an entirely independent line and his conclusions were published in his *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniorum Pars Prior* in 1883. Commencing with the suggestions of Holmes and Vercellone, he established the relationship between codices 19.82.93.108.118 and the Complutensian Polyglot. He collected Old Testament quotations of Chrysostom and found that his readings were supported by members of this group of codices. He then made use of the statements of Jerome concerning the three families of Greek recensions and assumed that, of these three families, the Lucianic would be the one most likely to be used by Chrysostom and Theodoret. He also found that, as far as he was able to compare, the Gothic variants were supported by the same group of codices. This led him to construct the text published by him as the Lucianic recension.

An examination of Lagarde's work shows that there is no exact agreement between the manuscripts upon which he based his text. The following examples from Ex. 1:1-10 will suffice to illustrate:

1	<i>εισηλθοσαν</i>	B	<i>εισηλθον</i>	19.	108.
4	<i>Νεφθαλι</i>	B	<i>Νεφθαλαιμ</i>	19.	108.
5	<i>ψυχαι</i>	B	<i>αι ψυχαι</i>	19. 82. 108. 118.	
9	<i>ειπε δε</i>	B	<i>και ειπε</i>	19.	108.
	<i>εθνει</i>	B	<i>γενει</i>		108.

<sup>14</sup> p. lxxxvii.

	γενος	B	εθνος	19.	108.	118.
	μεγα	B	μεγα πολυ			118. Com.
10	πληθυνη	B	πληθυνωσιω	19.	108.	118.
	ουτοι	B	αυτοι	19.	108.	Com.
	γης	B	γης ημων	19.	108.	118.

Thus it will be seen that there is no single manuscript which gives all the readings adopted by Lagarde. Codex 82 is closely related to B in the Pentateuch, while 93 does not contain the Pentateuch. Of the others it will be noted that, out of ten readings adopted by Lagarde, two are not given by 19, one is not given by 108, while five are not given by 118 and the Complutensian gives only two. At best, then, Lagarde's text is but a tentatively hypothetical restoration of what may have been the text approximating that of Lucian.

An examination of his comparisons with the readings of Chrysostom shows no closer agreement. Codices 19.93.108.118 in the main support the readings of Chrysostom, but every one of them is absent occasionally, while 82 very seldom agrees. The result, then, is but tentative and hypothetical, although as a tentative hypothesis it has not been displaced.

The important fact is that Lagarde and Field, working independently of each other and on entirely different lines, reached practically the same conclusions, excepting the fact that Field makes no mention of codex 118 which Lagarde found so important.

It had been the intention of Lagarde to publish a second part containing the remaining books of the Old Testament, but his death in 1891 left his work unfinished and no scholar has since undertaken the task. Field, however, laid the foundation for the study of the Lucianic version of the prophets. Upon the basis of the similarity between readings of Theodoret and the group of codices 22.36.48.51.62.90.147.231.233, he classified these codices in the same family. Comparison of marginal notes on codex 86 indicated by the symbol λ showed kinship with this group, to which he therefore assigned Lucianic influence.

Cornill, in the *Prolegomena* to his *Ezekiel*, published in 1886, discussed the subject at length and came to certain definite conclusions, as far as Ezekiel was concerned. He agreed with Field in attributing the group 22.36.48.51.231 to Lucianic influence.

To this group he added the fragment called Z<sup>c</sup> which contains but a small portion of Ezekiel. He rejected 62.90.147.233 because *sie theilen mit Lucian eine Anzahl von hexaplarischen Zusätzen, geben aber nicht die Recension Lucians.*

The most recent investigation of the subject has been pursued by Dr. Otto Procksch of Greifswald<sup>15</sup> who divides the manuscripts into three general groups which he styles the Hexaplaric, the Prehexaplaric and the Lucianic. In Jeremiah he assigns 33.87.91.228 (41.49.90) to the first group. To the second group he assigns 26.86.106.198.233.239. (41.49.90). To the Lucianic group he assigns 22.36.48.51.96.144.229.231.

The grouping by the several scholars of the manuscripts which are said by them to show more or less of Lucianic influence may be summarized as follows:

Field	22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 93.	144. 147.	231. 233. 308
Cornill	22. 36. 48. 51.		231
Klostermann	48. 62.	147.	231
Nestle	22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 93.	144. 147.	233. 308
Liebmann	22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 90. 93.	144. 147.	233
Procksch	22. 36. 48. 51.	96. 144.	229. 231
Burkitt	22. 36. 48. 51.	96.	229. 231

In determining those texts of the prophets which show traces of Lucianic influence and which would therefore be of assistance in restoring the Lucianic text, the work of Lagarde in the *Octateuch* is of real service. Lagarde's text is a hypothetical restoration of the Lucianic recension and the critical apparatus is given only in the book of Esther. For the purposes of the present study, however, it will be assumed that it approximates the text of Lucian.

Two passages in 4 Kings, to which reference has already been made, are reproduced practically verbatim in the Masoretic texts of the prophets. 4 Kings 19 : 1-6 = Isaiah 37 : 1-6 and 4 Kings 24 : 18-25 : 8 = Jeremiah 52 : 1-12.

In the first pair of passages there are twenty-eight instances in which the B text of Kings differs from that of Isaiah while the Masoretic texts are alike. In seventeen of these twenty-eight instances, the text of Lagarde agrees with the B text of Kings. Of the eleven variants between B and Lagarde's text, four of the readings of Lagarde agree with the

<sup>15</sup> *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta, 1910.*

B text of Isaiah. Three of Lagarde's readings are *sui generis*, while the remaining four are confirmed in Isaiah by four or more members of the group 22.36.48.51.62.90.144.147.228.233.308.

In Kings there are fourteen readings of Lagarde which vary from B. Four of these agree with all the texts of Isaiah; six are *sui generis* readings of Lagarde, while four are confirmed in Isaiah by members of the group Q.22.36.48.51.62.90.91.144.147.198.228.308. Comp.

In Isaiah there are seventeen readings in which two or more members of the group Q-Comp. give a reading different from that of B. Six of these agree with all the texts of Kings; two agree with the B text of Kings as against Lagarde; five are *sui generis* readings; four are confirmed in Kings by the text of Lagarde.

From this comparison it would seem that some of the manuscripts forming the group Q-Comp. give evidence of the same influence which is seen in the manuscripts of the Octateuch which Lagarde called Lucianic.

In the second pair of passages there are forty-seven instances in which the B text of Kings differs from that of Jeremiah. In twenty-four of these the text of Lagarde agrees with the B text of Kings. In the remaining twenty-three instances there are nine cases in which Lagarde's reading agrees with all the texts of Jeremiah, one in which it agrees with the B text alone, and six in which it is supported by members of the group Q.22.26.36.48.51.62.88.90.91.96.106.144.198.228.231.233.239. Comp.

In the same pair of passages there are thirty-three instances in which Lagarde's reading differs from the B text of Kings. Of these there are five instances in which the B text is supported by all the texts of Jeremiah, ten in which Lagarde's reading is supported by all the texts of Jeremiah, eleven in which Lagarde gives a *sui generis* reading and seven in which Lagarde is supported by members of the group Q-C.

At the same time there are twenty-four places in which members of the group Q-Com. give a different reading from that of the B text of Jeremiah. Four of these are in agreement with all the texts of Kings, eleven are *sui generis* readings and seven are supported by Lagarde. These seven readings are given by the following texts:

22.	36.48.51.62.	96.	198.	231.		52: 1
22.	36.48.51.62.88.90.91.96.		144.198.228.231.233.239.	Q.Com.A.		52: 1
22.	36.48.	96.				52: 1
	26.36.	51.62.88.90.	96.	144.198.228.	233.239.	Com.A. 52: 4
22.	36.48.51.62.	96.	198.	231.		52: 4
22.26.36.48.51.62.		90.91.96.106.144.198.228.		233.	Q.Com.A.	52: 12
	36.48.51.62.	91.96.106.	198.228.231.		A.	52: 12

The classification of the variant readings gives the first step toward the grouping of the manuscripts. For this I have examined the text of Jeremiah 1-3, noting the variant readings of Q. A. Comp. 22.26.36.48.51.62.88.90.91.96.106.144.198.228.229.231.233.239. and Theodoret. This study is based upon the collation of Parsons which scholars have all recognized as very faulty. I have compared his collation of A and Q with those of Swete and have found errors on every page. On the other hand, Swete's collation is far from faultless, so that final results can be obtained only by a study of the manuscripts themselves or of photographic plates. Parsons' collation of the readings of Theodoret I have compared carefully with Theodoret's Commentary upon Jeremiah, and the numerous errors of Parsons are only errors of omission.

There are, in the first three chapters of Jeremiah, four classes of variations which are here given in detail.

- I. Agreement with the Masoretic text against other Greek texts.
- II. General agreement of Greek texts against the Masoretic.
- III. Difference from both the Masoretic and other Greek texts.
- IV. Difference from other Greek texts in Greek.

I. Agreement with the Masoretic text.

1. Exact restoration of omissions.

a. Proper names.

1:11 Practically all the manuscripts collated by Parsons agree in this restoration.

b. Substantives and adjectives.

1:3; 2:6; 2:19; 3:11 22.36.48.51.96.231 are constant. 62 and 88 agree three times; 228 twice; 144.198.229.233.239 each once.

c. Pronouns.

1:16; 1:17; 1:18; 2:21; 2:28 Nearly all the manuscripts occur. 22.36.48.51.62 alone are

constant. 88 agrees in all but one and gives one in 2:2 where it is alone with Q.

d. Verbs.

1:4; 1:19 All the manuscripts appear. 22. 36.48.51.62.88.96.231 are constant. In 3:1 is a restoration given only by Q.88.233.

e. Conjunctions.

1:3 Restoration given by 22.26.36.48.51.62. 88.96.144.231.

f. Phrases, clauses and verses.

1:11; 1:13; 1:16; 2:1; 2:2; 2:9; 2:17; 3:7; 3:8; 3:10..; 3:16..; 3:17 The constants are 36.48.51.96.231. 22 and 62 each occur in every instance but one. 26.88.106.144. 228.229.233 agree occasionally. In 2:9 all the manuscripts agree.

g. Particles.

2:15; 2:16 The constants are 36.48.96.231; 22.51.229 each once.

2. Partial restoration of omissions.

1:13; 2:25 22.36.48.51.62.96.229.231 constant; unaccompanied by others.

3. Person and number.

1:4; 3:6; 3:11 The last two are supported by most of the manuscripts. In the first only 51.88. 90.91.106.198.233.Comp.

4. Correction of different reading or mistranslation by other texts.

2:6; 2:11; 3:2; 3:25 22.51.62.96.231 constant. 36 and 48 each agree three times. 88.90.91.106. 144.228.239.A once each. 198.229.233 twice.

II. Agreement of Greek texts against the Masoretic.

The evidential value of these instances is chiefly negative. They illustrate the fact that none of the Greek texts is in complete agreement with the Masoretic. The instances are of interest chiefly as showing exceptions to the preceding class.

1. Retention of omissions.

1:18; 2:7; 2:30; 2:34.

2. Retention of plus.  
1: 1, 9, 15, 18; 2: 1, 10, 13, 19, 23, 28, 29, 30, 31;  
3: 6, 7, 8, 12, 17, 18, 21.
  3. Person and number.  
1: 2; 2: 1, 11, 12, 18, 20, 25, 30; 3: 13, 18, 19.
  4. Spelling of proper names.  
1: 2; 2: 18.
  5. Different reading or mistranslation.  
1: 7, 14, 15, 17; 2: 2, 6, 13, 19, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 34;  
3: 1, 4, 7, 8, 15, 19, 20, 22.
- III. Difference from both Masoretic and other Greek texts.
1. Additions.  
1: 8, 2: 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 28, 31; 3: 2, 20, 22, 23,  
24, 26, 27, 29 No constant. 22.36.51.96 are  
omitted each once. 48 and 231 omitted twice. 62  
omitted three times. The others occur irregularly.
  2. Omissions.  
26.48.51.106 occur each once and alone. 22.48.51.  
96.231 agree in 3: 2. 48.51.62.96.106.144.231  
agree in 3: 24. 26.90.91.198.228 agree in 1: 8.  
The other omissions are chiefly in 229 which is so  
fragmentary that the omissions signify nothing.
  3. Miscellaneous.  
2: 3, 14, 31, 34; 3: 22, 24 The constants are 22.48.  
51.231. 36.96.229 are omitted once each. 26.  
88.90.106.144.233 occur twice; the others once  
each.
- IV. Differences from the other Greek texts in Greek.
1. Declension of proper names.  
1: 2, 3. . . ; 3: 22 But little agreement. 106 the only  
one absent. 88.144.Comp. agree in four instances.  
48.96.231 occur four times each and agree in three.
  2. Form of verb.  
1: 2, 7, 19; 2: 11. . . , 16, 22, 33; 3: 17, 24 96 is the  
only constant. 36 and 231 appear in every  
instance but one. 51 occurs in all but two. 22  
and 48 in all but three. 62.144.229 occur with  
a fair degree of regularity. 90 occurs twice,  
once with 88 and once with 91.

3. Second aorist ending.  
1: 6, 11, 13, 17; 2: 5, 6, 8, 17; 3: 2, 7, 19.. 22.36.48.51.96 constant. 231 appears in every instance but one. 62 agrees six times; 144 and 229 seven times each; 233 five times; 198 and 228 twice each. No others.
4. Different spelling.  
1: 18; 2: 3, 8, 13, 21; 3: 5 36.48.51.62.96.144.229.231 agree five times. 22 and 106 occur four times. All others appear once or twice.
5. Use of particles.  
1: 7..; 2: 6, 10; 3: 8, 12, 25 22.36.48.231 agree in all instances; 26.62.144 in six; 90.91.96 occur in four each; the others once or twice.
6. Vocabulary.  
1: 10; 2: 3 . . . , 7, 10, 15; 3: 5, 7, 13 22.51.96 agree in all; 48.229 in all but one; 231 in all but one; 36 in all but two; 144 in all but three. The others appear irregularly.
7. Omissions.  
2: 27 22.36.48.96.231.233 agree.
8. Order of words.  
1: 13, 15, 16, 19; 2: 5, 27, 35; 3: 9, 17 22.36.48.62.96 agree in all; 231 in all but one; 51.88.144.198.229.233 occur irregularly; 26 twice; 90.106.228 each once.
9. Miscellaneous.  
1: 2; 2: 8, 28, 32 . . . ; 3: 12 96.231 constant. 36.48 in all but one instance; 62 in all but one; 51.144.229 each in all but two; 22 three times; 106.233 each once; no others occur.

In the preceding analysis the agreement between 22.36.48.51.96.231 is so general as to warrant the grouping of these manuscripts together as descendants of a common parent. This same grouping is also found, on page 170, of the texts with which Lagarde agrees. For the purposes of abbreviation I shall call this group L.<sup>16</sup> Of the texts which constitute this group, the

<sup>16</sup> This study, and the conclusions drawn from it, were made before I had seen Procksch's *Septuaginta Studien*. It was at first somewhat sur-



first four have been classified by all scholars since Field as unquestionably Lucianic, and the evidence from the present study simply confirms this opinion. Nestle and Liebmann were the only ones who did not include 231 in the group.

Codex 96 is described by Parsons as follows:<sup>17</sup> *Codex Hexaplaris, ex Bibliotheca cl. Moldenhaweri Hafniensis. Continet 4 Prophetas Majores; quantivis, ut videtur, pretii.* Nevertheless it was collated only in Jeremiah and Lamentations, and accurate studies have not been made of it. In Jeremiah its readings practically coincide with those of 22.36.48.51.231; its absences are fewer than those of any of the others and it has fewer *sui generis* readings than any of the group. Burkitt<sup>18</sup> called it Lucianic but gave no evidence for the classification. Procksch gives but a few readings from it in Jeremiah alone; he includes it in the list of Lucianic manuscripts at the head of his collations of The Twelve but does not quote it once. The collations in Parsons indicate 96 not only as a Lucianic text, but as the best Lucianic manuscript for Jeremiah.

Codex 229 contains the text of Theodoret's Commentary on Jeremiah. It is very fragmentary and there are many lacunae in it, but as far as can be judged its readings agree in the main with those of L with which it should be grouped.

62 was classed as Lucianic by all the earlier scholars except Cornill. Procksch finds it with all three of his groups but mostly with the Lucianic; nevertheless he declines to class it with this group. As a matter of fact the codex is present with the group oftener than not and it occurs more frequently than 144 which Procksch classes as Lucianic. On the other hand it shares a number of *sui generis* readings<sup>19</sup> with 144 with which it should be classed.

Field, Liebmann, Nestle and Procksch all class 144 as Lucianic. Like 62 the codex occurs with L oftener than not but its numerous absences are worthy of note. In the 64 selections of Lucianic readings given by Procksch 144 occurs only eight times, while

prising, but not a little gratifying, to find that Procksch came to exactly the same conclusions, although his studies had been pursued upon a different line and by a different method.

<sup>17</sup> *Praefatio ad Jeremiam.*

<sup>18</sup> *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 9. Wrongly quoted by Swete as p. 91.

<sup>19</sup> In Jer. 1-3 these are 1: 5; 2: 9; 2: 14; 2: 15; 3: 1.

22.36.48.51.96.231 are almost constant. The variations given by 144 are largely Lucianic but the text is far from a reliable witness to Lucianic readings.

Comparing L with the Masoretic text on the one hand and with the family of texts represented by B on the other, these facts are important:

1. In the Masoretic text of Jer. 1-3 there are 33 instances of readings absent from the majority of Greek texts. In 29 instances L supplies this material; in four instances L agrees with the other Greek texts.

2. In every one of the 20 instances in which the Greek texts supply material absent from the Masoretic, L agrees with the Greek texts.

3. In 28 instances the Greek texts are either mistranslations or translations based upon a reading different from the Masoretic. In 23 of these L agrees with the Greek texts; in 5 it follows the Masoretic.

4. In 14 instances the Greek texts give a different person or number from that of the Masoretic. In 11 of these L follows the Greek texts while in three it follows the Masoretic.

5. In 11 instances L furnishes material found in neither the Greek texts nor the Masoretic, while in two instances L omits material found in both the Greek texts and the Masoretic.

The editor of the parent text of L appears to have used as the basis of his work a Greek text somewhat similar to the family represented by B although differing from it in many details. For purposes of correction he seems to have used a Hebrew manuscript, or manuscripts, approximating the present Masoretic text although differing slightly from it. His assumption was that, in process of copying, much material had been omitted from both the Greek and the Hebrew manuscripts, but that none had been added in either. Therefore, in his resultant text he retained all the Greek pluses and restored all the Hebrew pluses. This method naturally gave rise to conflate readings, and such will be found in the text, e. g., 2:2 and 2:25. The changes which he made in the Greek were all stylistic or rhetorical, designed to make more euphonious reading for those for whom he did his work. In Jer. 1-3 the following are to be noted:

(1) Form of verb 1:7; 2:16; 3:17 and the numerous restoration of classical second aorist endings to which attention has already been called.

(2) Spelling 2:13; 3:5.

(3) Vocabulary 2:3; 3:7, 13.

(4) Order of words 1:18, 19; 2:5; 3:9.

(5) Gender 2:7, 28.

(6) Classical use of genitive 2:32; 3:12.

These characteristics can all be explained by the assumption that the editor of the parent text of L was Lucian of Antioch.

What Lucian did was probably to take the group of manuscripts at his disposal, carefully compare them with other works to which he had access (including that of Origen), and at the same time compare, with the aid of Dorotheus, the Hebrew texts at hand. He then endeavored to give a more or less uniform translation of the Bible as he knew it. This text, together with the more or less accurate copies made from it, became a sort of Authorized Version for the region from Antioch to Constantinople, especially for the men of the Antiochene School and for the early Arians.

The Lucianic recension indicates that the Hebrew text was not yet fixed at the close of the third century, although it had assumed by that time a form closely resembling the present Masoretic. The majority of instances in which Lucian supplied Hebrew pluses to the Greek text are supported also by hexaplaric readings. These additions were therefore in existence by the year 250. In Jeremiah 1-3, however, there are four readings of Lucian supported by the Masoretic text but unnoticed by Origen. These readings are:

1:16 *κρῖσεως μου*. Masoretic = **מִשְׁפָּטִי**. Other Greek texts = *κρῖσεως*.

2:25 *ἀνδριονμαι ου βουλομαι*. Masoretic = **נֹאֵשׁ לוֹא**. Other Greek texts = *ανδριονμαι*. Here Lucian does not give an exact restoration but indicates a different reading.

3:7 *η αδελφη αυτης*. Masoretic = **אָחוּתָהּ**. Other Greek texts omit.

3:17 *τω ονοματι Κυριου εις Ιερουσαλημ*. Masoretic = **לְשֵׁם יְהוָה לִירוּשָׁלַם**. Other Greek texts omit.

It would seem that these additions came into the Hebrew text some time between the years 250 and 300, that is, between Origen and Lucian.

There are, in the same three chapters four Masoretic pluses which were not noticed by Lucian. These are as follows:

- 1: 18 **על כל הארץ** Omitted by Greek texts.  
 2: 7 **ארץ הכרמל**. Greek texts read *Καρμηλον*.  
 2: 30 **חרבכם**. Greek texts read *μαχαира*.  
 2: 34 **אביונים נקיים**. Greek texts read *αθωνων*.

This would indicate that these additions had not come into the Hebrew text by 300, or at least that their reading was not general.

There are also six instances in which Lucian gives a plus over both the other Greek texts and the Masoretic. These are:

- 2: 12 *η γη*.  
 2: 31 *ουκω*.  
 3: 2 *προσδοκωσα*.  
 3: 20 *και Ιουδα*.  
 3: 22 *εγω*.  
 3: 24 *και οντων*.

In 2: 34 Lucian reads a second person where both the other Greek texts and the Masoretic read a first person.

All these Lucianic peculiarities indicate a Hebrew text which was yet in process of formation, but which, in the two or three generations after the time of Origen, had approached more closely its final form as represented in the Masoretic text.

In addition to those manuscripts which have been classified as Lucianic there is another group of texts showing strong relationship with L but differing from it in many details. 26.88.90.91.106.198.228.233.239.Q.A. and the Complutensian Polyglot (abbreviated as Co.) often appear with L, are often regularly absent from L, and appear alone in the following thirteen places in Jer. 1-3:

1: 2	Q.	26.88.	106.	
1: 4	Q.A.Co.	88.90.91.106.		198.228.233.230.
1: 8	Q.	Co.26.	90.91.	198.228.

1:8	Q.	26.	90.91.	198.
2:10		88.90.91.106.	198.228.233.	
2:21		90.91.		
2:24		91.	144.	228.
2:31	Q.	26.88.90.91.	228.233.	
3:1	Q.	88.	233.	
3:6		26.	90.91.	144.
3:10		90.	106.	233.
3:12	Q.	26.88.90.91.106.144.198.228.233.		
3:12	Q.	26.88.90.91.106.144.198.228.233.		

88 has been generally regarded as hexaplaric. Cornill found it akin to the Syro-Hexaplar. It occurs quite often with L when no other manuscript is found, and upon the assumption of its hexaplaric ancestry its occurrences can be explained.

26 has been generally classed as of Hesyehian descent although no direct evidence has yet been found which gives definite aid in identifying the Hesyehian recension. The regular appearance of 26 in Jeremiah with Q.90.91.106.233, both with and without L, suggests that it should be grouped with these texts.

Cornill groups 49.68.87.90.91.228.238 as Hesyehian in Ezekiel and one cannot fail to note the similarity between this group and Q.26.90.91.106.198.228.233 which are kindred in Jeremiah. Ceriani considered 26.106.198.306 as Hesyehian. Procksch classes 26.86.106.198.233.239.306 as prehexaplaric and assigns 91 to the hexaplaric group<sup>20</sup> while 90 is assigned to both. Of the hexaplaric group he says, *Hier tritt nämlich als vornehmster und greifbarster Charakterzug eine enge Beziehung zum Typus A<sub>Q</sub> hervor.* For purposes of abbreviation I shall call the group Q.26.90.91.106.233 by the initial letters He because of the possible connection between them and the Hesyehian recension.

198 and 228 rightly belong with this group but give in a few places readings that are peculiar to L.<sup>21</sup> Cornill classed 228 with this group and in general this classification is supported by the readings in Jeremiah. Klostermann, however, noted<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Procksch has erred here; 90 and 91 should be classed together.

<sup>21</sup> e. g., second aorist endings 2: 8, 27; 3: 2, 7.

<sup>22</sup> *Analecta*, p. 13.

that in many instances 228 seemed to follow Lucianic readings and he suggested that the manuscript originally belonged to an Hesychian group but that it had been corrected later from a Lucianic text. From the readings in Jeremiah this is the most satisfactory explanation offered for this text.

The Complutensian Polyglot was classed by Lagarde with the Lucianic texts although the evidence for this is far from convincing. In Jeremiah whenever it agrees with L there are always present one or more members of He while it often agrees with He when no member of L is present.

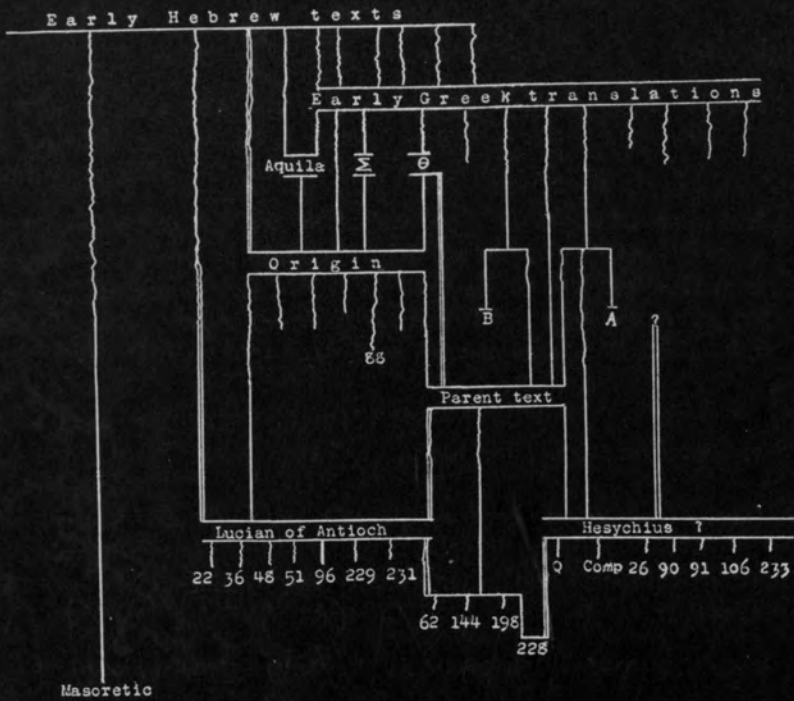
The accompanying diagram represents a suggested lineage of certain of the groups of texts with which we have been dealing, and an endeavor to show their relationship to the Masoretic, the Vatican and the Alexandrine texts.

At first there were a number of Hebrew texts the number and exact content of which will never be known. Probably no two of these texts agreed. Some were copied and transmitted in Hebrew; others were translated into Greek. With each recopying and translation there were omissions, additions and alterations. The first Greek texts that represent an endeavor at uniform translation were those of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, all of which, together with some Hebrew manuscripts, were used by Origen who represents the first effort to produce a critical text. At the same time uncritical texts were copied and recopied. The descendants of these can be found in B and A.

To explain the connection between L and He, as well as the hexaplaric influences in both, I have suggested a parent text, abbreviated as PT, which must have been the basic text with which Lucian worked and upon which he made his corrections, as well as the basic text from which was prepared the recension from which the group He is descended. This must have been an uncritical text. Traces of influences at work both in B and A are found in it. The anonymous writer in *The Church Quarterly Review*<sup>23</sup> pointed out the irregularity with which readings pronounced Lucianic in the Octateuch agree with B or with A or with neither of them. This fact is also noticeable in the prophets and is just as true of He, both with and without L; it can be explained only upon the basis of a common uncritical

<sup>23</sup> Jan., 1901, p. 388.

SUGGESTED LINEAGE OF SOME GROUPS OF GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.







parent text. After the appearance of the Hexapla of Origen, and before the work of Lucian, that is, between the years 250 and 300, copies of this text must have been made. This would be the only explanation of Origenic influence in both L and He. That this text was not the Hexapla itself is evidenced by the fact that both L and He give readings not supported by Origenic texts. Instances of these readings are as follows:

3:2	<i>ερημουμεινη</i>	B. <i>εν ερημω μονη</i>	L.He.A.Co.
3:6	<i>επορευθησαν</i>	B. <i>επορευθη</i>	L.He.Q.Co.
3:8	<i>οτι</i>	B. <i>διοτι</i>	L.He.
2:8	<i>νομου</i>	B. <i>νομου μου</i>	L.He.Q.A.

This is an interesting case of a simple dittographic mistake in an early text of the A family, copied in PT and recopied by both L and He but corrected by Origen.

PT served as the text of Lucian who, at the same time, had access to the text of Origen, as well as to some Hebrew text or texts. The same text served as the base of He, the author of which made other corrections suggested by some source as yet unknown. These texts have been transmitted in the following groups:

L = 22.36.48.51.96.229.231.

L2 = 62.144. Based upon Lucian, but not as faithful transmissions.

He = 26.90.91.106.233. Kinship not so close, but close enough for grouping.

198 and 228 may have been based upon a text belonging to He, but they were both corrected from a text of the L family.

The readings and variations in Jeremiah 1-3 may be classed thus:

1. Readings common to L, L2 and He. The source of these is to be found in PT and is often hexaplaric.
2. Readings common to L and L2, to be traced to Lucianic influence.
3. Readings peculiar to L, likewise Lucianic.
4. Readings common to L2 and He, due to PT readings corrected by L.
5. Readings peculiar to He. The source of these cannot be determined at present, but if Cornill is right in his deductions

from comparisons with Cyrill of Alexandria, Hesychian influence is strongly indicated.

Whether any of these readings is peculiar or due to hexaplaric influence must be determined in each individual instance by comparison with recognized hexaplaric authorities.

The chief value of the Greek versions of the Old Testament is the aid which they give in determining the quantity of the first Hebrew text, its vocabulary and the form and meaning of its words. For the first of these purposes the value of the Lucianic version is entirely negative. In 1886 Nestle wrote, *Die Recension des Lucianus, auf deren Herstellung nach einer mir unbegreiflichen Weise Lagarde zunächst seine Bemühungen gerichtet hat, ist gerade die unbrauchbarste für diejenigen Zwecke für welche wir die LXX am meisten brauchen und gebrauchen.*<sup>24</sup> This statement was repeated by him ten years later and was severely criticized by Wendland.<sup>25</sup> The study of the text, however, shows that Nestle was correct in his estimate. We find Aquila giving certain pluses over other Greek texts; Origen uses all of these and adds still others; Lucian includes all of the pluses of Origen and adds others; finally, the Masoretic text has more pluses than any of them. The fact that these are in chronological order leads to the supposition that the tendency of copyists was to add to, rather than to omit from previous versions. This means, then, that of all the Greek versions, that of Lucian is the least authentic witness to the quantity of the original Hebrew. We may go farther and say that if the only evidence for a given reading is the version of Lucian there is a strong probability that this reading is a later addition which may be discarded. Of course this principle cannot be adopted as fixed and unvarying; accidents are always to be looked for, and the evidence must be weighed in each individual case.

On the other hand, there are instances, e. g., 2:11, 31; 3:2, 25, in which Lucian evidently endeavored to render the Hebrew more literally than the texts with which he was familiar. While he took the suggestion in some instances from Origen, in others he apparently acted upon his own initiative. For questions of vocabulary and of the form and meaning of words the Lucianic

<sup>24</sup> *Septuaginta Studien*, I, p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> *Philologus*, vol. 57, p. 286.

version is a more reliable witness. The contention of Nestle, then, is too sweeping, for there are cases where the version of Lucian throws valuable light upon textual study. The service of Lucian, however, is not of enough importance to warrant the labor entailed by an endeavor to complete the work of Lagarde. A more useful work would be a catalogue of Lucianic readings, prepared upon more strict principles than the work of Lagarde, and accompanied by notes which would indicate the source of the readings.

COMPARISON OF TEXTS OF 2 KINGS 19 AND ISAIAH 37.

2 KINGS 19		ISAIAH 37	
Hebrew	B	L. ( <i>Lucifardé</i> )	B
ως ηκουσε	ως ηκουσε	ως ηκουσε	ως ηκουσε 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 144, 147, 233, 308.
βασιλευς	ο βασιλευς	ο βασιλευς	ο βασιλευς Εζεκιαις 22, 48, 51, 90, 144, 233, 308.
Εζεκιαις	Εζεκιαις	Εζεκιαις	Εζεκιαις ο βασιλευς 36, 62, 147, 233, 308.
και διερρηξεν	διερρηξεν	διερρηξεν	διερρηξε 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 144, 147, 198, 233, 308.
τα ματια	τα ματια	τα ματια	τα ματια αυτου 22, 48, 51, 62, 90, 144, 147, 228, 233, 308, C.
αυτου	αυτου	αυτου	αυτου 22, 48, 51, 62, 90, 144, 147, 228, 233, 308, C.
εισληθεν	εισληθεν	εισληθεν	εισληθεν 22, 48, 51, 62, 90, 144, 147, 228, 233, 308, C.
εις οικον	εις τον οικον	εις τον οικον	εις τον οικον 91, C.
ομ.	ομ.	Εζεκιαις	Εζεκιαις 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 144, 147, 233, 308.
ομ.	ομ.	και τον Σαιτην	ομ.
τον προφητην	κ. τ. λ.	κ. τ. λ.	ομ.
υιον Αμωσ	υιον Αμωσ	υιον Αμωσ	υιον Αμωσ τον προφητην
ειπεν	τον προφητην	τον προφητην	ειπεν 36, 62, 147, 233, 239.
ειπεν	ειπεν	ειπεν	ειπεν 239.





COMPARISON OF TEXTS OF 2 KINGS 24<sup>1,18-25<sup>8</sup></sup> AND JEREMIAH 52<sup>1,12</sup>,  
2 KINGS 24<sup>1,18-25<sup>8</sup></sup> JEREMIAH 52<sup>1-12</sup>

18	Hebrew	B	L (Lagarde)	1	Hebrew	B	Lucianic texts
		υιός εικοσι και ενος ενιαυτου	υιός εικοσι και ενος ετους ην			οντος εικοσι και ενος ετους	εικοσι και ενος 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 198, 231, ετους ην 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 198, 231.
		Μιγαθ	Αμιταλ			Αμιταλ	Αμιταλ 22, 26, 36, 48, 51, 88, 96, 198, 231, 233, 239, C,
		ομ.	εκ Λοβερνα			εκ Λοβερνα	εκ Λοβερνα 22, 36, 48, 96, εκ Λοβερρα 51.
19		ομ.	Σδεχως	2	ομ.	ομ.	ομ.
		κατα παντα οσα	κατα παντα οσα		ομ.	ομ.	ον τροπον 22, 36, 48, 96, A, κατα παντα οσα C,
		Ιωακειμ	Ιωακειν			ομ.	Ιωακειμ 22, 36, 48, 96, Ιωακειμ C,
20		ην επι Ιερ.	ην επι Ιερ.	3		ομ.	ευεμένο κατα 22, 36, 48, 96, A, ην εν C,
		τω Ιουδα εως	τω Ιουδα εως εποησε και			ομ.	Ιουδα 22, 36, 48, 96, A, C, εως ου 22, 36, 48, 96, C, A,
		απο προσωπου	απο προσωπου			ομ.	εκ 22, 36, 48, 96, A, απο C,
		ηθετησεν	ηθετησεν			ομ.	απεστη 22, 36, 48, 96, A, αφεστησε C,

2 KINGS 24 <sup>1,8-25</sup> <sub>8</sub>				JEREMIAH 52 <sup>1-12</sup>		
Hebrew	B	L (Lagaride)	Hebrew	B	Lucianic texts	
εν τῷ βασιλει	εν τῷ βασιλει	εν τῷ βασιλει		om.	του βασιλεως 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 231.	
εγενηθη	εγενετο	εγενετο	4	εγενετο	εγενετο	
εν τῷ	εν τῷ	εν τῷ		τῷ	εν τῷ 26, 36, 51, 62, 88, 90, 96, 144, 198, 228, 233, 239, C. A.	
ετει τῷ ενατῷ	τῷ ενατῷ ετει	τῷ ενατῷ ετει		ετει τῷ ενατῷ	ετει τῷ ενατῷ	
αυτου	Σεδεκιου	Σεδεκιου		αυτου	Σεδεκιου 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 198, 231.	
τῷ μηνι	τῷ μηνι	τῷ μηνι		μηνι	τῷ μηνι 26, 62, 233, A.	
τῷ δεκατῷ	τῷ δεκατῷ	τῷ δεκατῷ		τῷ ενατῷ	τῷ δεκατῷ Q. 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 88, 90, 91, 96, 144, 198, 228, 231, 233, 239, C.	
om.	om.	om.		δεκατῷ του μηνος	δεκατῷ του μηνος	
Ναβουχοδονοσορ	--- νοσορ	--- νοσορ		--- σορ	--- σορ	
παρνεβαλεν επ	περικεαθισεν επ αυτην	περικεαθισεν επ αυτην		περιχαρκαωσαν	περιχαρκαωσαν 36, 48, 51, 88, 90, 96, 106, 198, 228, 231.	
αυτην				παρνεβαλον C.	παρνεβαλον C.	
ψοδομησεν επ'	ψοδομησεν επ'	ψοδομησεν επ'		ψοδομησεν	ψοδομησεν 22, 36, 48, 51, 90, 91, 96, 198, 228, 231.	
περιτεχος	τειχος	τειχος		τετραπεδους λιθους	ψοδομησεν επ' C. περιτεχος C.	
העשירי	העשירי	העשירי		העשירי	העשירי	
כעשור לחדש	כעשור לחדש	כעשור לחדש		כעשור לחדש	כעשור לחדש	



2 KINGS 24 <sub>15-25</sub> <sup>s</sup>	JEREMIAH 52 <sub>1-12</sub>		
<p>Hebrew</p> <p>2 εν περιοχη του εδεκατου του βασιλεως Σεδεκιου</p> <p>ομ.</p> <p>3 ενιατη του μηνος και επισχυσεν ουκ ησαν αρτοι ερραγη οδον πυλγης της ομ.</p> <p>των τειχων ομ.</p> <p>4</p> <p>כחמתי</p> <p>ομ.</p> <p>אשר על גן</p> <p>αυτη η εσση του κηπου</p> <p>επι την πολιν και εפורεβθη</p>	<p>English</p> <p>5 εις συνοχη του εδεκατου τῷ βασιλει Σεδεκω</p> <p>ομ.</p> <p>6 ενιατη του μηνος και επισχυσεν ουκ ησαν αρτοι διεκοπη κατα την οδον της πυλγης ομ.</p> <p>των τειχων και του προτει- χισματος</p> <p>ομ.</p> <p>7</p> <p>אשר על גן</p> <p>η εσση του κηπου εκκυκλουν την πολιν και εפורεβθησαν</p>	<p>Hebrew</p> <p>5</p> <p>בחרש הרביעי</p> <p>6</p> <p>7</p> <p>כחמתי</p> <p>ομ.</p> <p>אשר על גן</p> <p>8</p> <p>9</p> <p>10</p> <p>11</p> <p>12</p>	<p>Lucianic texts</p> <p>εις συνοχη ενδεκατου του βασιλεως Σεδεκιου 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 96, 198, 231, εν μηνι τῷ τετρατῳ Q. 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 88*, 90, 91, 96, 228, 231, C.</p> <p>ενιατη του μηνος 36, 48, 51, 96, 231, C.</p> <p>και εσπερεωθη ουκ ησαν αρτοι διεκοπη κατα την οδον της πυλγης</p> <p>του τειχου και του προτειχισματος</p> <p>η ην 36, 96, 231.</p> <p>επι της πολεως κυκλουν και εפורεβθησαν</p>

2 KINGS 24 <sub>15</sub> -25 <sub>8</sub>	JEREMIAH 52 <sub>1-12</sub>
Hebrew	Hebrew
B	B
την αραβα	την εις αραβα
εδιωξεν	κατεδιωξεν
η δυναμις	η δυναμις
εν αραβωθ	εν τω περαν
πασα η δυναμις	παντες οι παιδες
διεσπαρη	διεσπαρησαν
επ' ανωθεν αυτου	απ' αυτου
ηγαγον	ηγαγον
βασιλευ	τον βασιλευ
Ιερδεβλαθαν	Δεβλαθα
μετ' αυτου κρισιν	βασιλευς Βαβυλωνος αυτω μετα
τω μηρι τω πεμπτω	κρισως 22, 36, 48, 51, 62,
τω	96, 198, 231.
εστωσ	τω μηρι τω πεμπτω Q. 22, 26,
	36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 91, 96,
	106, 144, 198, 228, 233,
	C. A.
	ο εστηκωσ 36, 48, 51, 62, 91,
	96, 106, 198, 228, 231, A.
	ο εστωσ Q. 26, 144, 233,
	239, C.

particularly the land of Judea (cf. vs. 15 with 5:17); and finally names Jerusalem as the city whose representatives have thus inquired of the prophet (cf. vss. 7b, 8 with 21 f.). The fact that Ezekiel dwells in the city, and is inquired of, cannot save its people unless they repent. Even Noah, Job, and Daniel could not deliver the land which is doomed. The case in chap. 20 is equally clear; see especially vss. 27, 30 f., 33 f., 39. It is in Judea, not in Babylonia, that the elders come to inquire of the prophet. Any other supposition reduces impressive warning to a futile tirade. The sin of idolatrous 'elders' at Tell Abib could not be rebuked by threatenings against Jerusalem.

The prophecies of chap. 21 are even more evidently spoken in Jerusalem than are those in chaps. 20 and 22. In 21:1 (20:45) the prophet takes his stand on the heights of Jerusalem, looks toward the Negeb, and utters a parable: Fire will be kindled in a great forest. Then he turns his face back to the city (vs. 6), and speaks to the land of Israel. Thus far, there is nothing to show that he is speaking to actual hearers. But in vss. 23-28 (18-23) there is a definite statement which makes it certain that he is conceived as addressing a veritable audience, and also that this audience is in Judea, not in Babylonia. The prophet predicts here, as often elsewhere, by means of a pantomime accompanied with verbal explanation. But the witnesses and hearers of the prediction are obdurate, as usual. Yahwè himself foretells the result (vs. 28): "It will be unto them as a false divination in their sight (these who bind themselves by oaths, to violate them!)."<sup>9</sup> This very evidently refers to Zedekiah and his fellows; see the last clause of the verse, and the direct address to the king in vs. 30. Compare 17:13-20 (and 16:59) and also Jer. 34:10 f., 15 f. Ezekiel's pantomime was performed "in the sight" of these men of Jerusalem, who scoffed at it. In no other place would the action have been significant or have aroused any interest. Thus Smend: "Gemeint sein kann nur, dass Ez.s Weissagung bei den Judäern keinen Glauben findet."

The editor permitted this to stand; it could be explained away, if

<sup>9</sup> I believe that we should read נשכעי in place of שכיעי, though the latter may possibly be correct (as a colloquialism). The original of להם was certainly להפיר; observe that in the ordinary Aramaic script (papyri, ostraca, etc.), in which this book undoubtedly was written and copied, the character מ is the exact equivalent of פ. In any closely written text only the context can show which is intended.

the location at Tell Abib were sufficiently assured elsewhere. Not so, however, in chap. 33, the central importance of which is evident. Here, in vss. 1-9, is characteristically repeated the prophet's formal commission, the same which had been given in 3:16 b-21. He is appointed as a *watchman to the house of Israel*. The words "When I bring the sword upon a land" (vs. 2) may of course be claimed to be merely figurative; and yet compare 14:17, and see the conclusion of this chapter, vss. 27-29, 33! In vs. 10 Ezekiel is commanded to speak to the house of Israel, to those who are saying, "We are to 'pine away in our iniquities'; how then should we live?" This is a direct (scoffing) allusion to the prophet's direful prediction in 4:17 *concerning the people of Jerusalem* who are to perish by famine and pestilence after the fall of the city. Farther on, in vss. 23 ff., he is entrusted with a special message to those who "inhabit the waste places in the land of Israel." Portions of the land had been abandoned, partly because of the devastation wrought by the raiding bands in the time of Jehoiakim (2 Kings 24:2) and by the Chaldean armies in 597; even more, doubtless, because of the great Dispersion (*Ezra Studies*, pp. 293-297). The final catastrophe is yet to come, both upon the city and upon the land (vss. 27-33), and the prophet, the 'watchman,' must warn these who are in danger, if he will deliver his own soul and not be held guilty of their blood. He is twice commanded to *speak to them* (vss. 25, 27). A prophet dwelling in Judea might easily bring the word of God to these doomed people; not so one dwelling in Babylonia! Throughout the discourses of the chapter the situation is perfectly clear: the prophet is in Judea, speaking to Judeans.

All this is so evident, the parallel with chapter 3 is so important, and the inference so obvious, that the "fremde Hand" (see above, p. 34) again undertakes a correction. In the former instance the prophet and his audience were summarily transported to Babylonia by the interpolated verse 3:15 and two words in 3:11; in the present case the same result is achieved by a surprising editorial performance. Plump into the middle of the chapter (for it is a literary unit) is thrust the curious episode of "the one who had escaped from Jerusalem," vss. 21 f. Aside from the barbarous interruption of the prophet's discourse, the details of the inserted passage are such as to arouse lively suspicion. The arrival of a single fugitive 1½ years after the fall of the city has

little verisimilitude, and the excessive brevity with which his message is reported is not at all in the manner of the prophet. The date in vs. 21 has been objected to since the earliest times, and some ancient versions and mss., as well as some modern commentators, have wished to change the reading (see Theodoret's remark quoted in Field's *Hexapla*). It is excellently attested, however, and in its true character as an editorial manufacture is about what might be expected. See also Chapter IV, on the original sequence of dates.

What effect has the message from Jerusalem upon the people who are in Ezekiel's neighborhood? The question is not unimportant. It does not appear that they hear the news at all; certainly they pay no attention to it. They continue to regard the prophet as a mildly entertaining creature, whose eloquence is worth hearing from time to time, as when one listens to an expert musician (vss. 30-32).<sup>10</sup> It is the same ineffective curiosity which their elders displayed in chaps. 8 and 20: "Come along, let's 'inquire' of the prophet and hear what he will say." If the captives at Tell Abib heard the report of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple and the devastation of Judea, they certainly did not take it seriously. But this is not all; the prophet himself does not believe it! For him, *the great catastrophe*, the one which he has been predicting from the first, *is still in the future*. Words could hardly state this more plainly than it is stated in vss. 28 f. and 33. "I will make the land a desolation and an astonishment, *and the pride of her power shall cease*" (cf. 7:24 and 24:21). "Then shall they know that I am the Lord, when I have made the land a desolation." "And when this comes to pass (behold, it is at hand!), then shall they know that a prophet has been among them" (cf. 7:1, 7; 21:12; 24:24). Is there in all literature a more striking example of an interpolation which is contradicted by its context?

The superficial *modus operandi* of this editor is even more clearly shown in his operation with the prophet's 'dumbness.' In 24:25-27 he had prepared the way for the present interpolation. It had been revealed to Ezekiel (so this appendix to the original prophecy declares) that after the destruction of the city and the temple a fugitive would come to Babylonia and bring him tidings of the event; thereupon 'his mouth would be opened, and he would be dumb no longer.' (In vs.

<sup>10</sup> This interesting passage will receive notice in a subsequent chapter.

22, in place of the first *wa-yiftach* read *liftoäch*.) Accordingly, when the arrival of 'the fugitive' is narrated in 33:21 f., we are told that the prophet was again able to speak, so that the Jews at Tell Abib were given their 'sign' (24:27). This is clever, but singularly heedless and clumsy. The notion of the prophet's dumbness is taken from 3:26; where however the closing of his mouth by divine command is only for the brief period during which he is shut up in his house, engaged in performing his first symbolic action; until 'the days of his siege' are fulfilled; see 3:24-27; 4:7 f.; 5:2. From that time on (in spite of the thoughtless notion of our redactor) he is a prophet engaged in the full and unrestricted exercise of his public office. No commentators' quibble can make him out to be otherwise. To declare him 'dumb' in any sense whatever, in such chapters as 5, 11, 13 f., 20 ff., 24, 33, is preposterous.

The origin of the two related passages, 24:25ff. and 33:21 f., is quite clear. They came from the same hand which inserted verses 2 f. in the first chapter, and made other additions to the original text, all with one and the same purpose. One reason why chap. 24 was given several embellishments of this kind lies in the nature of the principal occurrence described in it, which seems to require Jerusalem as its scene. In case of the ordinary discourses and depictions it is possible for the reader to persuade himself (if he feels obliged to) that the seer transfers himself in imagination from Babylonia to Palestine. The sticking point comes when the seer performs a symbolic action in the sight of his neighbors. Here the reader can hardly avoid recognizing a real occurrence and a real scene. In two of the chapters, 12 and 24, the scene is so evidently Jerusalem that the editor must make alterations of some sort, if the fiction of the 'exilic prophet' is to be maintained.

There was the same necessity, similarly met, in other places. In chaps. 8-11 the prophet is in Jerusalem and in the temple, unmistakably represented as seeing actual occurrences, whether natural or supernatural (10:2, last clause), not things merely imagined. How explain this? The original prophecy had represented the seer as carried by the spirit from one place to another (3:12-14; 8:3, 7, 14, 16; 11:1; 40:2 b, and numerous passages in chaps. 40 ff.), and the same mode of transportation is now adopted by the editor for the greater distance. The spirit lifts the seer by the hair of his head, and carries him back

## IV

### THE DATES, ORIGINAL AND SECONDARY

The two conflicting dates at the beginning of the book, already mentioned so often, require a more particular examination here. It is by no means strange, in view of the picture of the prophet Ezekiel which has been familiar for two millenniums, that some modern scholars should have hesitated between the two dates, as to which is the original and which the later insertion. To all appearance indeed, and according to every recognized principle of literary criticism, the verses 1:2 f. are secondary; but if they are excised, the book loses a label which would be very sorely missed, for it contains not only the names of the prophet and his father and the place of his abode but also the designation of the era from which he dates his oracles. Since the name of the prophet's father is found nowhere else,<sup>22</sup> while each of the other items of information given here appears also elsewhere in the book, may we not suppose that the two suspected verses did originally stand at the head of the prophecy?

The question is answered in the negative by the great majority of scholars. Kraetzschmar, p. 2, states the situation admirably: "The majority cancel vss. 2 f. (thus Hitzig, Klostermann, Winckler, Bertholet, Toy); and in fact the style of vs. 2, the interruption of the context, the change to the third person (nowhere else used, in the whole book, except in 24:24)<sup>23</sup> make the verses look spurious. Nevertheless it is very hard to give them up ("und doch, trotz allem, möchte man gerade sie als Buchanfang nur sehr ungern missen"), all the more because all the other prophetic writings have such superscriptions. Hence Merx, Cornill, and perhaps Kuenen, have wished to cancel 1:1. But this verse is too obviously genuine to be simply put aside' ("Allein vs. 1 trägt den Stempel der Echtheit zu deutlich an der Stirn, als dass man ihn einfach beiseite schieben dürfte"). Kraetzschmar then cuts the

<sup>22</sup> The name Būzī occurs also on a Hebrew seal of perhaps the sixth century B. C., published by me in the *Annual of the American School in Jerusalem*, Vol. III (1923), pages 103 ff. See p. 105.

<sup>23</sup> As will be shown in the sequel, the third person in 24:24 was introduced by the late redactor.

Gordian knot by supposing two recensions and preserving both dates, in parallel columns; a proceeding which he tries to carry out in other parts of the book—arbitrarily and unsuccessfully, as his critics are agreed.

The verdict of the most recent investigators of the book is generally in favor of verse 1 and against verses 2 f. Herrmann thinks that 1:2 and 1:3 are separate glosses which came into the text from the margin, and that it is thus due to the second glossator that we know the full name and the priestly office of the author of the book. Rothstein, in his translation of Ezekiel in the fourth edition of Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des A.T.*, pronounces vs. 2 f. an insertion by "a strange hand," as has already been observed. The *American Translation of the Old Testament* (1927) encloses these two verses in brackets. Hölcher, on the other hand, would regard them as belonging to the original text, and the date in vs. 1, "in the thirtieth year," as secondary. But how is it conceivable that a definite date should be glossed by an indefinite one? It is not easy to imagine how this could happen accidentally, and the supposition of design may be dismissed as out of the question. It is on the contrary the opposite proceeding that we are to recognize here, as is now generally agreed: the very familiar supplementing of an ambiguous statement by one professing to give exact information. Verses 2 and 3 are certainly spurious, an interpolation by a later hand. It costs a pang, as Kraetzschmar says, to abandon them as unauthentic; but we have already seen that there is abundant evidence of an editorial re-shaping of this prophecy, and ill-gotten gains are better relinquished than kept.

This, however, is but 'the beginning of woes.' As all commentators have seen and said, the dates which follow, throughout the book, are all conformed to the system inaugurated by the interpolator at the beginning of the first chapter. They form a homogeneous chain and are the work of a single hand. Superficially examined, they seem to provide the greatly desired chronology, the genuine record of successive happenings; nevertheless, whether taken collectively or individually they have not pleased the commentators, have not been received with simple gratitude. Hitzig condemned the whole series as "unecht und willkürlich ersonnen." At least one date, that in 33:21, has been very generally rejected as not genuine; see above, p. 38. Others seem ill



sued to the discourses at the head of which they stand; a glaring example is in 24:1. Smend, p. XXI, remarks: "Was unter die einzelnen Data gebracht wird, ist öfter von so allgemeiner Bedeutung, dass seine Verknüpfung mit einem bestimmten Tage nur als eine schriftstellerische Manipulation gelten kann." Later on, in his comment on 1:2 f., he finds himself confronted with a very serious dilemma, the same which has staggered so many others: "Nun sind aber alle dreizehn späteren Zeitangaben (8:1; 20:1, u. s. w.) nach der Vs. 2 befolgten Rechnung gemacht. Wenn Vs. 2, müssten somit auch sie sämtlich später eingesetzt sein, was unmöglich angeht." That, however, which Smend and many others have felt to be "unmöglich" is the actual fact; the dates are certainly all worthless interpolations in so far as they belong to the chronological scheme of 1:2.

It may nevertheless be going too far to conclude that they contain no genuine element. The author of the original prophecy began his book with a date, "In the thirtieth year, the fourth month, the fifth day of the month," and it may be supposed that in the long succession of discourses, necessarily covering a considerable period, he inserted other dates from time to time. It is also to be borne in mind that the interpolator demonstrably (and in accordance with the habit of others of his class) made no more alteration of the original text than seemed absolutely necessary. The hypothesis which should be given the preference is probably this, that he found himself compelled to revise a succession of dates already provided. The *years* contained in his own formulas of dating are of course one and all false; his purpose being what it was, he could make no possible use of a chronological series beginning in "the thirtieth year," but must alter every member of it after the first chapter. The *months and days*, on the contrary, may very possibly be those of the original work.

This conjecture is given strong support by the dates themselves, in which *the months and days exhibit a regular sequence of their own, quite irrespective of the years to which they are assigned in our present text.* This very striking fact, which can hardly be accidental, seems to give us the unexpected information that the First Book (chaps. 1-39) of the original prophecy covered only the years 30-32 of its era, as over against the years 5-12 (or 27!) of the interpolator's era. In view especially of the remarkably homogeneous and closely knit character of the

work—written “in einem Zuge” (Smend)—the period of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years seems much more natural than the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  (or  $22\frac{1}{2}$ !) of the present dating. All this can best be seen in the following table, in which the massoretic readings are set over against the conjectured original dates. The former are in need of slight emendation, as is now generally agreed. The text of Ezekiel has been badly preserved, and dates are notoriously subject to accidental corruption; nevertheless the changes to be suggested are few in number and well supported.

CHAP.	THE ALTERED DATES			THE ORIGINAL DATES		
	Year	Month	Day	Year	Month	Day
1:1 f.	5	4	5	30	4	5
8:1	6	6 5* (LXX)	5	30	5	5
20:1	7	5	10	30	5	10
24:1	9	10	10	30	10	10
26:1	11 9*	(11)	1	30	11	1
29:1	10	10 12* (LXX)	12	30	12	12
29:17	27 (11)	1	1	31	1	1
30:20	11	1	7	31	1	7
31:1	11	3	1	31	3	1
32:1	12 11* (LXX, al.)	12	1	31	12	1
32:17	12	1 (LXX)	15	32	1	15
33:21	12	10	5	32	10	5
40:1	25	1	10	35	1	10

In each case of deviation from MT in this table the reading adopted (marked with an asterisk) has other support than mere conjecture. In 8:1 the *fifth* month, instead of the sixth, is attested by the Greek version and adopted by the commentators; see Bertholet. In 26:1 the number of the month is missing, although that of the day is given. The number *eleven*, given in MT as that of the year, was certainly that of the month in the original text. The year must have been either the ninth or the tenth, as is shown by the sequence of the dates ("tenth year" in 29:1). The ninth is probably correct, since the discourses of the two preceding chapters, 24 and 25, were dated in this year, and the writer might therefore have omitted to repeat it. Very possibly it was the interpolator, hereafter to be designated as RB (i.e. the Redactor who gave the book its Babylonian setting), who transformed "eleventh month" into "eleventh year," since the latter would seem to him required by the actual history. The original author, on the contrary, is foretelling events of the more or less remote future, representing them in imagination as having already taken place.

The date in 29:1 has suffered corruption of a common type. The Greek reads "*twelfth* year and *tenth* month." This is manifestly wrong, for the twelfth year does not appear until chap. 32. MT therefore corrects to "tenth year." But the original reading must have been "*tenth* year and *twelfth* month"; since the accidental transposition is very easily made, and by this supposition the remarkable sequence in the right-hand table is preserved.

The date in 29:17 is especially interesting because of its manifest relation to that in 26:1. In the earlier chapter, dated (by RB) in the eleventh year, the utter destruction of Tyre by "Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon" was predicted. Here in chap. 29, on the contrary, it is recorded that this king besieged Tyre without success; and the date of this latter oracle, in the regular sequence, would have been likewise *the eleventh year*. The impossibility of this collocation was clear, and RB accordingly substituted a date ("the twenty-seventh year") slightly later than that in 40:1, the last of his series. But this is not all. In the original prophecy there was no disagreement between the two oracles concerning Tyre, for in 26:7 the words "Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon" are a manifest gloss, and the original prediction had in view quite a different conqueror. So I have argued more than

once in the past (*Marti Festschrift*, p. 284; *Second Isaiah*, p. 96) and shall maintain again in a subsequent chapter of this volume. The interpolation of the name may have been made by RB himself, but it seems at least equally probable that it had been made before his time.

In 32:1, where MT has "the twelfth year," the original reading was "the eleventh year," attested by the best Greek tradition and the Syriac version and adopted by modern commentators (see Bertholet). In 32:17 the number of the month has been lost from the Hebrew, which of course originally contained it. The Greek reads "in the first month," and this is accepted by most commentators as the original reading.

At the beginning (40:1) of the prophet's Second Book, the year of the original date must have been the *thirty-fifth*. As this would not suit the chronology of RB, he substituted the *twenty-fifth*, as in our Hebrew text. The original form of this passage, as well as of all the others in which the original dating has been altered, will be given in the closing chapter of this volume.

We may now turn to the first verse of the first chapter, and the date with which the original prophecy was introduced. When the interpolations of RB are removed, the opening verses read as follows:

"It came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, in the fifth day of the month, that the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God. And I looked, and behold, a stormy wind came out of the north," etc.

No plausible explanation of this "thirtieth year" was possible while the spurious date (vs. 2) stood beside it and was supposed to be authentic. The numerous futile attempts to find the era according to which it is reckoned are well known and need not be reviewed here. Kraetzschmar, p. 2, before proposing his own solution of two recensions, had asked: "Bleibt wirklich nichts weiter übrig, als mit Kuenen. . . resigniert auf eine endgültige Lösung des Rätsels zu verzichten?" Now, however, the "riddle" is no riddle at all; the meaning of the date is obvious and certain. The year is, as usual, that of the reigning monarch, who in this case can only be one of the last kings of Judah. The following list gives their names, from Hezekiah onward, with the number of years of each reign as recorded in 2 Kings.

As I view it, the third-century revisers of the book of Ezekiel were determined to establish the authenticity of the temple at Jerusalem as the true and only legitimate dwelling-place of Yahweh, particularly in opposition to the claims made for the Samaritan temple, a purpose which they held in common with P.<sup>3</sup> One way in which the revisers of the book of Ezekiel carried out this purpose, I think, was by describing the entrance of the glory of Yahweh again into the temple, from which it had departed in 586.

As the book of Ezekiel is now arranged, the vision in ch. 1 is simply a rhetorical feature of Ezekiel's call to his prophetic work. After the appearance of the vision, the call itself is recorded in ch. 2. This vision of ch. 1 is referred to several times later, but without any great significance. The vision appeared in 3<sup>12-15</sup>, as a concomitant of the transportation of Ezekiel by the spirit. It is found also in 3<sup>23</sup>, as an adornment of the scene in which the spirit gave him another message. It comes again in 8<sup>2-4</sup>, as an incident in connection with the miraculous transportation of the prophet to Jerusalem. It appears in 9<sup>3</sup>, when the glory went from the cherubim to the threshold of the temple. It is found several times in ch. 10, the glory of Yahweh, now back again with the cherubim, going from the cherubim to the threshold of the house, v. 4, and back again from the threshold to the cherubim, v. 18, after which the cherubim and the glory removed themselves to the east gate of the temple, v. 19. In 11<sup>22, 23</sup>, the cherubim and the glory moved from the city to the mountain on the east, this being their final appearance until ch. 43.

As the book now stands, these various appearances are simply ornamental features connected with the activity of Ezekiel: they have no great significance.

The vision now standing in ch. 1 has a different and very important significance, however, if it is put before 43<sup>4</sup>, as I suggested earlier. It then becomes a description of the return of the glory of Yahweh to the temple, coming from the land of Babylonia, where it had gone when the temple was destroyed,

<sup>3</sup> See my paper: "Was Ezekiel in the Exile," *JBL*, XLIX (1930), 83-93

and where it had since remained with the exiles. The incident becomes thus, to the minds of the editors, a strong proof of the authority of the temple in Jerusalem.

This manifestation came from the north, 1 4, a common expression for coming from the region of Babylonia. It is first described as a cloud with fire and additional brightness, 1 4, reminding us of the luminous glory of Yahweh in P and elsewhere. Later Yahweh is rather vaguely described, sitting on a throne, the throne having the appearance of a sapphire stone, 1 26. This is doubtless a reminiscence of Ex 24 10, where under the feet of Yahweh at Sinai was "as it were a paved work of sapphire stone." This appearance is further described in 1 28 as "the appearance of the likeness of the glory of Yahweh."

The connection of 43 4 with 1 28a is perfect, 43 4-9 being a fitting conclusion of the vision and showing its real significance. The glory of Yahweh enters the temple by the east gate and fills the temple. The throne, 1 26, is transferred from the cherubim to the temple, where it is to remain forever.

The references to the vision found in chs. 3, 8, 9, and 10 I consider to be additions later than the vision and based upon it.

GEORGE RICKER BERRY

this may be symbolic of the fact that the days were getting shorter and the god was entering the land of darkness.<sup>20</sup>

Two considerations show that Yahweh was identified with Tammuz = Marduk as the departing deity in this popular ritual. Yahweh complains that the Hebrews are forcing him to depart from his sanctuary, and this is significant in view of the fact that the purpose of the ritual was to symbolize the departure of the deity from his sanctuary.<sup>21</sup> Still more important are the words of the elders: "Yahweh cannot see us; Yahweh has forsaken the earth."<sup>22</sup> This is to be taken literally. The elders would not admit that they were doing evil, for they must have faith in their ritual. To the prophet these words would signify that the priests were acting wickedly and that they were unaware of the fact that evil could not be hidden from Yahweh, and thought that they could get away with it.<sup>23</sup> But the elders would have meant that they were performing their rites in commemoration of the fact that Yahweh had actually forsaken the earth: he could not see them, because he was not present. Indeed, the words of the elders may have been taken from their ritual, and we are reminded of the words of Psalm 22: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

There is a reasonable interpretation of the obscure זמורה, "branch," in verse 17, if we assume all the ritual as a part of the dramatic representation of the departure of the deity. Many interpretations have been given to this, but the suggestion that this passage should be associated with Isaiah 17 10, where the same word is used clearly in a cultic sense to refer to the vine-slips of the gardens of Adonis, planted and nourished so as to grow rapidly and then to die as quickly to symbolize the death of the god, is the most reasonable interpretation.<sup>24</sup> The ritual

<sup>20</sup> Compare the custom of sitting in darkened synagogues on the ninth of Ab.

<sup>21</sup> Ez 8 6, reading לרחקני, instead of לרחקה with most commentators. Cf. ירחוק פישועתי in Ps 22 2.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ho 5 6, and the interpretation by the present writer in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XLVIII (1932), 83.

<sup>23</sup> See Amos 5 12.

<sup>24</sup> See J. P. Peters, "The Worship of Tammuz," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXVI (1917), 110 f. In the Gezer Calendar the months July and

is, then, further evidence that the general theme of all the rites in chapter 8 is the departure of the deity.

In view of this fact, it is impossible to excise the vision of the departure of the Glory of Yahweh from the text of Ezekiel. Furthermore, if the description of the departure of the Glory of Yahweh is original with Ezekiel, it would seem difficult to deny that the vision of the return of the Glory of Yahweh is likewise his, coming, however, from a much later period in his life, after the destruction of Jerusalem, at a time when he had found that the new social situation demanded a new message.<sup>25</sup> Ezekiel's vision of the throne-chariot and of the departure of the Glory is part and parcel of his description of the rites of the fifth month in the eighth chapter.<sup>26</sup>

Even as the entrance of the Glory of Yahweh into the temple was represented at the equinoxes by the procession of the ark into the temple,<sup>27</sup> so the departure was symbolized by a ritual of the procession of the ark from the temple. The Glory of the deity was closely associated with the ark and with the solar aspects of the enthroned god. As Psalm 24 was chanted when

August are called זמר וזר, "two months, vintage." See R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, (London, 1912), II, 24 ff., and discussion by Morgenstern, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, III, 86 ff. The use of זמר here may help to explain why the Adonis gardens used in the ritual to symbolize the departed deity at this time of the year are called זמרה. See also Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies*, 25, for objection to translating זמר in the calendar as "pruning vines."

<sup>25</sup> Contrast G. R. Berry, "The Authorship of Ezekiel 40-48," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXIV (1915), 17 ff.

<sup>26</sup> See more especially G. Hölscher, *Hesekiel, Der Dichter und das Buch* (Giessen, 1924), 43 ff.; V. Hertrich, *Ezechielprobleme* (Giessen, 1932), 73 ff., and J. B. Harford, *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel* (Cambridge, 1935), 54 ff. These interpretations, which ascribe the throne-chariot visions to a later editor, are based on a too subjective literary critical method. Hertrich and Harford, in denying the prophet residence in Babylonia among the exiles, ignore the strong Babylonian influence in the book. The fact that the redactor has imitated the diction of Ezekiel with great cleverness makes it necessary to be cautious about identifying interpolations, and they have to be determined largely by their ideological content. In adapting his diction to that of Ezekiel's original prophecies, the redactor is following a common procedure. See Hos 2 16-25 as an example.

<sup>27</sup> See Pss 24, 68, 118, etc.



the ark entered the temple on the equinox festivals, so Psalm 22 was originally sung at the processions of the summer solstice season. Ezekiel's picture of the departure of the Glory of Yahweh in 10 1ff. is based upon this ritual.<sup>28</sup> These rites doubtless began with the actual day of the summer solstice, and lasted, like their Babylonian analogies, into the fifth and sixth months. There is in the Talmud a passage which shows that the sun shining through the east gate into the temple area on the solstices played a part in the temple ritual. Of course, on this day, it could not shine in directly. President Morgenstern has referred to this passage, and he thinks that the Talmudic tradition is confused, and that it is really to be taken as evidence of the importance of the eastern gate in the rites of the spring and autumn equinoxes, when the sun shone directly through the east gate.<sup>29</sup> The Talmud affirms that "the early prophets had difficulty in making the east gate so that the sun would shine through

<sup>28</sup> One may compare the Babylonian ritual symbolizing solar phenomena, in which the two goddesses, the daughters of Esagil, the temple of Marduk, went to Ezida, the temple of Nebo, in the month of Tammuz. Then, near the winter solstice, in the month of Tebet, the daughters of Ezida went to Esagil. See the text quoted in Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, 99.

Despite the lamentation rites of the seventh month, such as are mentioned in Zech 7 5 and more especially in Jer 41 1ff. (see Morgenstern, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, I, 24 ff.), which originally commemorated the descent of the sun below the celestial equator, the present writer sees no reason to accept the thesis that the rites of Ezekiel 8 are to be dated during the seventh month. See, however, J. Morgenstern, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, VI, 31 ff. In 2 Chr 29 6, 7 there is a reference to the rites of Ezekiel 8 16, perhaps to the verse itself, and mention is made of turning the back to the temple, and also to closing the doors of the porch and putting out the lamps. This last detail suggests the rite of the ninth of Ab. In the Mishna, *Sukkah*, V, 4, the sun worshippers of Ez 8 16 are mentioned, and here, in the fall festival which is being described, the worshippers, in contrast with the behavior in Ez 8 16, are turning their faces toward the west, toward the temple. This may not be merely a protest against the "paganism" of the rites in Ezekiel, but may be reminiscent of an ancient practice of looking towards the temple at the fall equinox, when the sun rose over the Mount of Olives, and the enthroned deity entered his temple on this autumnal New Year.

<sup>29</sup> J. Morgenstern, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, VI (1929), 16 ff. This is a most significant study of the importance of the east gate in the Jerusalem ritual.

on the solstice of Tebet and on the solstice of Tammuz."<sup>30</sup> Although the interpretation is beset with difficulties, in view of our preceding discussion it seems reasonable to assume that the text is reminiscent of special rites on both solstices. In the period of the summer solstice, the Glory of Yahweh left the temple through this east gate.

A few details of Ezekiel's picture of the departure of the Glory of Yahweh may be interpreted in the light of our discussion. The representation of the sun-god on his throne above the firmament finds an analogy in the figure of Shamash enthroned above the firmament in the relief on the Sippara Stone.<sup>31</sup> Also, it may be a coincidence that Ezekiel represents the city being burned by fire in a vision which came on the month that it was actually later destroyed by fire. This does not mean that it is a *post eventum* prophecy by another than Ezekiel,<sup>32</sup> for the fire was probably suggested to the prophet by the fire symbolism of the rites of the fifth month. Ezekiel's figure of the desolation of the city and temple in a vision of the fifth month is to be understood in the light of the fact that the lamentations of Ishtar were used to commemorate local calamities that had overtaken the city or the temple.<sup>33</sup> When the deity was away, the city and temple were lamented along with the god.<sup>34</sup> In adapting the wailing rites of the ninth of Ab to the fall of Jerusalem, the Hebrews were not acting without precedent. Indeed, Ezekiel himself actually anticipates this in his use of the ritual of this month to symbolize the coming destruction.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> כִּמָּה יִנְעוּ וְנִיֵּאִים הָרֵאשׁוֹנִים לַעֲשׂוֹת שַׁעַר הַמִּזְרָחִי שֶׁהָיוּ חֹסְפִים מִצְמַצְמֵט בּוֹ בְּאֶחָד בְּתִקּוּפַת חֶסֶן. Jerusalem Talmud, *Erubin*, V, 22 c. In the immediately following text the seven names of the east gate are given.

<sup>31</sup> See H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), Pl. CXXIX, 322.

<sup>32</sup> Contrast Hölscher, *op. cit.*, 78 ff.

<sup>33</sup> See S. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (Paris, 1909), 1 ff. and 291 ff. See also S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar* (London, 1914), 117.

<sup>34</sup> One text reads:

"Alas for her husband, alas for her husband,  
Alas for her temple, alas for her city." S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 90.

<sup>35</sup> Chs. 9 and 10 follow easily after ch. 8. There is some difficulty with 11 1-21, which interrupts the vision of the departing Glory. Verses 13-21

Divested from secondary enlargements, the book is said to contain the record of prophecies delivered by Ez both in Palestine and Babylonia. His initial call to office is the scroll-vision (2 9—3 3) which is assumed to belong to Jerusalem and is combined with the date in Ez 1 2 (592). In Jerusalem, also, all the siege and exile symbolism and the prophecies of impending doom are asserted to be alone comprehensible. Ez 12 3 where the seer is commanded to wander "to another place", and 12 19 where he addresses himself to "the people of the land" are construed as traces of his sojourn in one of the smaller towns of Judea. It was here, in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, that a fugitive came to Ezekiel in the very day when the city fell (24 25 f.). The date in 33 21 is editorial blunder. In that Judean town such utterances as 14 12—20, 15, 24 1—14, 33 23—29 are most likely to be placed, as well as probably all the speeches on foreign nations. For they all, save the postscript 29 17 ff., antedate the thirteenth year of the captivity (584), as Ez 1 1 is emended. The chariot-vision is the seer's consecration to an exilic career, and the vision of the resurrection (ch. 37), before it had been torn asunder by the redaction, probably formed a part of the oracle in the valley (3 22). Spoken in Babylonia are the following authentic fragments of Ezekiel: 1 1.4—2 2, 3 10—16a.22—24a, 11 14—21, 14 4b—6, 7b.11.21—23, 17 22—24, 20 33—44, 22 23—31 (?), 33 30—33 (?), 34 1—16.17—22.31.23 f., 35 1—6, 36 1—12.16—36, 37 (> 12ab.13), 39 23—29, 40—48 ("soweit echt").

The reader who might on the basis of the foregoing summary (necessarily brief) accuse the author of too courageous application of scissors to well-attested texts, must bear in mind the contemporary temper of German scholarship. In comparison with a drastic handling of the book which left to Ezekiel only about 143 verses out of 1272 (Hölscher)<sup>4</sup> or the summary dismissal of all exilic prophecies as editorial fraud (Hertrich), B<sup>2</sup> may even risk the reproach of being too conciliatory or conservative.

The chief value of the commentary, and its best commendation, is its lucidity and brevity which permit at a glance quick and competent orientation in a maze of philological and historical problems. The translation follows in the main the critical text of J. A. Bewer (1932) whose excellence B<sup>2</sup> justly praises. The treatment is on the whole up-to-date, only seldom was a paper either too recent or inaccessible to be here included (e. g. Torczyner's ingenious interpretation of *mispāhōt* and *pōrehōt* (Ez 13 18—21) in the light of Lev 13 6, 12, cf. *Journ. Jew. Pal. Expl. Soc.*, 1935, 257 ff., and *idem*, *Die Heilige Schrift*, Frankf. a.M., 1936, III, 303).

<sup>4</sup> See J. B. Harford, *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel*, Cambridge, 1935, 14.

The reviewer confesses agreement with those frequent passages in the commentary where B<sup>2</sup> is troubled by a philological conscience and admits that the so-called secondary or non-Ezekelian material "durchaus dem Gedankengut Hes entnommen sein kann" (pp. 44, 57, 67, 105, 123 etc.) Bertholet's hypothesis of several redactions of Ezekiel and numerous subsequent "Glossen und Wucherungen" is rendered most unlikely by the homogeneity of language in the book of Ezekiel, in both the employment and the avoidance of certain idioms. The rabbis, e. g., called early attention to the consistent absence of the term *JHWH šebā'ōt*: אין אלה מוצא צבאות בנפרד יהוהאל; cf. *Midr. Zūtā*, ed. Buber, Berlin, 1894, 30; *Ag. Shīr ha-Shīrīm*, ed. Schechter, Cambridge, 1896, 34. Another weakness of B<sup>2</sup> is that no attempt is made to account for the motives of the editors. The literary design of the whole of Ezekiel cannot be the result of mere "errors."

Some of Bertholet's new rethinking of the text of Ezekiel deserves attention. The scroll-vision (2 9 ff.) may have been his consecration to ministry in Palestine, and an early rabbinic tradition does indeed cite ch. 2 as the prophet's earliest utterance (cf. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXIV (1931), 281). There may be a grain of truth in the other tradition in the same rabbinic source which would see in Ez 17 the beginning of his prophecy. This chapter, too, may have been spoken in Palestine, naturally *before* the events that disproved it (contrast Ez 17 20 with II Kings 25 6). It may perhaps be placed with Jer 27-28 in the fourth year of Zedekiah (593) and may contain a warning against the war-propaganda and the hopes bound with the accession of Psammētichus II (Ez 17 15), the actual power behind the revolt of the principalities of Canaan (Jer 27 3). The book of Ezekiel may contain some other such Palestinian utterances which nothing but a false exegesis prevents being dated prior to 592 (cf. *JBL*, LIV (1935), 170). For the date Ez 1 2 f., the earliest on Babylonian soil, does not necessitate the deportation of Ezekiel in 597; he may have come to Babylonia with one of the later groups of captives, or even with delegations and voluntary exiles, of whom there must naturally have been more than are recorded in our scanty sources (Jer 29 1 ff., 51 59, 52 28 ff.). The last utterance of the book is dated in 567 (Ez 1 1), and being the preface to the entire book, was suitably placed at the very beginning. I see no reason why the prophet, collecting and rewriting his speeches in 567 or even thereafter, should be denied the benefit of hindsight (e. g. in ch. 12). The deity was believed to be prescient, but prophets, not unlike other mortals, could become aware of a revelation or gauge its full extent often only in the light of subsequent events (Hos 1 2, Is 6).

Between these two dates 592-567 a great bulk of *undated* oracles is found, where, without violence to the text, the question may be asked, whether some sermons did not have their *Sitz im Leben* in Jerusalem or Judea, in the last days of Joiakim or *even the early reign of Zedekiah* prior to 592, while Ezekiel was still in Palestine. But arbitrary alteration of dates and excision of texts, guilty of no offense but disagreement with a scholar's hypothesis, must continue to render present-day investigation of Ezekiel devoid of that discipline of mind and regard for facts which alone deserve the name of science.

SHALOM SPIEGEL

*Excavations and Protosinaitic Inscriptions at Serabit el Khadem*, by Richard F. S. Starr and Romain F. Butin (*Studies and Documents VI*, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Sylva Lake), London (Christophers), 1936, pp. xi+42, plates 16, plans V.

As explained in the preface by Professor Lake, the Serabit Expedition of 1935, which is the subject of this small volume, was attended with many difficulties. The most serious of these was the accident and subsequent illness of Professor Lake, necessitating the departure of him and Mrs. Lake after but one week at the site. Had they been able to remain for the entire month of the excavation doubtless the report would have been more complete and unified than it is.

Mr. Starr, who took charge after the departure of Professor Lake, has written in the first part a good description of the excavations, by which the earlier work of Petrie was revised and supplemented. Of particular interest is the account of the Cave of Hathor and the adjacent constructions. Plans, drawn by E. B. Müller, are happily arranged so that one can consult them while reading the corresponding text without the turning of pages. The photographs on the whole are well executed. It is unfortunate that Fig. 3, a stele showing at the bottom an Asiatic group of some importance, is abbreviated, though the description on p. 6 fully sets forth the significance of this scene.

In the second section there is a study of quarries which later were converted into shrines. This is more difficult to read because of a confusion in terms. For instance, is not Quarry-Shrine I (p. 17, 6th line from bottom) "Shrine" I of Plan II, and Quarry II (p. 18, 5th line from bottom) "Shrine" II? And evidently II on p. 17, l. 16, should be III.

The account of clearing Mine M, in the third section, gives a concise description of the objects found. What is described as a cross or *taw* (p. 23) in

the photograph (Fig. 23) looks like a narrow V. The fourth section is a tabulation of the objects found in the Temple Area, with drawings. The reviewer wishes there had been some classification and dating of these objects as well as some description beyond the brief titles for Figs. 26-29. In Fig. 21 the cut is upside down. In the titles under Figs. 30-33, as on p. viii, the valley where some Egyptian inscriptions were found is called "the Rodh el 'Air," with no explanation for the divergence from the spelling "Rôd el-'Air" (*Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXV, 110).

Except for the publication of some photographs the presentation of the Egyptian material has been wisely postponed until there is at least another visit to the site, after which it is hoped that Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Černý will issue a revised edition of Gardiner and Peet's *The Inscriptions of Sinai*.

Two new Protosinaïtic inscriptions are treated by Father Butin in the second part of the monograph. Five, or possibly six, inscriptions seemingly in this writing were found, but only two are sufficiently clear or complete to contribute anything noteworthy. Father Butin presents them with his customary seriousness and caution. After appraising the related contributions since his 1932 publication, particularly those of Leibovitch, Grimme, and Albright, he affirms his adherence to his previous conclusions. Indeed a new photograph of the inscription in Mine L (Fig. 34) supports his earlier reading of the signs (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* XXV, 183-4).

Of the two new inscriptions one apparently is to be read: *ltn z(or d)t l'n m'hb b'lt*, "this is to be reserved for 'N the beloved of Ba'alat." There are two additional letters, an uncertain sign and a *t*, of which no convincing explanation is at hand. The second inscription is longer and more interesting. It shows the *g* sign (though it may be a completely new sign) twice as the Egyptian forearm with clenched fist and the *š* or *t* sign (if it is this sign) is inverted on the basis of its previous occurrences. There are four columns with a break at the bottom of the second. According to Father Butin's system they may be read: (1) *'rht* (2) *mg'st*— (3) *llt lbtm* (4) *ms't gn*, "caravans from G'ST—a third for their habitation the rock cuttings of the ridge," or, as he translates freely, "For their habitation the members of the caravans (gangs) from *G'st* occupy the third part of the rock shelters of the ridge." A difficulty in translating an inscription like this, with several uncertain characters, is the number of possibilities. If the inscription is a reservation for sleeping quarters the above interpretation is plausible, though the word order is puzzling and why the *llt* "must be a verb" (p. 41) is not clear. In the Ugarit texts *'rht* means "cows." So, by using the same transliteration and dividing the last two

STUDIES  
IN THE BOOK OF  
EZEKIEL

BY THE REV.  
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of the Law. They claimed that they, and not the Judaeans, had retained unimpaired the genuine ancient tradition, whereas Jerusalem had been destroyed, its Temple burnt, its priests dispersed and the true tradition lost. The Jews found it hard to refute this theory, but at last they hit upon an ingenious plan. They invented the Babylonian Exile. A body of Jews with priests at their head, they said, had been deported to Babylonia. There the best of them had preserved the Law and the old traditions and had returned to the land of Judah, bringing their precious records with them. The land meantime had lain derelict and uninhabited for seventy years, keeping her Sabbaths, as foreshadowed in Lev. xxvi. 34, 35. The returned exiles restored everything as it had been before. In the third century B.C., 300 years after the destruction of Jerusalem, all this could be asserted and no one could prove the contrary. The Book of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah was written at this time, and built up its version of the history of Israel on this theory so successfully that, at least as regards the Persian period, for which it is the sole historical authority, it has been accepted both by Jews and Christians as genuine history. But as a matter of fact, Torrey says, the real course of events was quite different. According to Jer. lii. 28-30 only a small number of high-class Jews were taken to Babylonia with their king. The remainder fled to Edom, Moab, Ammon and neighbouring lands and returned again as soon as the coast was clear (Jer. xl. 11-12). The figures in 2 Kings xxiv. 14-16 and xxv. 11 are much exaggerated. The land was doubtless soon repopulated. The idea of its lying uninhabited for seventy years is quite incredible (in spite of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2; cf. Lev. xxvi. 34f.).

This digression has been necessary in order to put in clear light the framework into which Torrey seeks to place the Book of Ezekiel. His argument is as follows:



1. 'Everywhere with rare exceptions we see the handiwork of one man.' 'Certain strongly marked literary characteristics run through the whole work from the first chapter to the last.' 'The great prophecy belongs to the prophet, who speaks throughout in the first person. The same peculiar style and diction appears in every chapter, the flavour of the poetry is exactly that of the prose.'

2. At the same time the handiwork of an Editor is also to be discerned. For example, take chapter i. 1-4:

(a) The first and the fourth verses are written in the first person, but between them come two verses in the third person. The original author could not have so written.

(b) In verse 1 reference is made to 'the thirtieth year', but no indication is given as to the era of which it was the thirtieth year. Endless fruitless conjectures have been made, but it is 'sun-clear', as soon as the solution is pointed out. 'The thirtieth year' can only be the thirtieth year of the reign of a king. One later king of Judah did reign for thirty years and more—viz. Manasseh. Evidently the original author professed to have received his call in the reign of king Manasseh. The words 'which was the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity were added by a later hand with the express purpose of transferring the Book into the time of the Captivity and into Babylonia. The same hand altered the year-datings—thirteen in all—which are scattered through the Book and which end in xl. 1, and added a very few other passages—some sixteen in all—which describe the author as dwelling in the midst of the exiles in Babylonia, or as being transported by the Spirit to and from Jerusalem.

3. In chapter after chapter the prophecies are addressed not to exiles, among whom he is supposed to be living, but to the inhabitants of Judaea and Jerusalem. He is told not to write, but to 'speak' (iii. 4, 11, xxxiii. 2, etc.) Jehovah's words. His hearers are to be 'the children of Israel' (10 times), 'the

5 shekels' (cf. Jer. xxv. 3 'three and twenty', xxxii. 9 '7 shekels and 10' and lii. 30 'three and twentieth year'). The earlier usage is, however, also found in Ezek. xi. 1, xxix. 17, xl. 1, 13, 29 (and so Jer. lii. 1, 28ff.).

(vii) 'By the cubit' (כַּמֶּנְיָא), xl. 5, 21, xlvii. 3, is a phrase found also in 1 Kings vi. 6, 17, 25, vii. 23f., 27, 31, 38, Exod. xxvi. 2, xxxvi. 9, 15, xxxviii. 9, 14f., Num. xxxv. 5 (P seven times), Zech. v. 2, 1 Chron. xi. 23, 2 Chron. iv. 2f.

It is significant that the above exceptional uses in Ezekiel almost all fall in chapters xl-xlviii, but it must also be remembered that, except in regard to dates, numerals only rarely occur in chapters i-xxxix. Moreover, while the variations may indicate different hands or times of writing, they may also indicate that the time of writing was transitional and that the writer indifferently used the older and the newer methods.

3. If we study the datings separately from other enumerations, we see that they fall into two classes:

(i) In three passages the starting-point is stated: i. 2 In the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity. xxxiii. 21 In the twelfth year of our captivity. xl. 1 In the twenty and fifth year of our captivity.

(ii) In the other ten passages no starting-point is named. One of these dates, however, can be identified, for in chapter xxiv. 1 the Prophet is bidden to write down the day as being the day on which the king of Babylon invested Jerusalem (הָיָה used intransitively as in Psalm lxxxviii. 8 (7)). 2 Kings xxv. 1 tells us that this event occurred in the ninth year of king Zedekiah. The dating in Ezekiel and in 2 Kings exactly correspond, and it is clear that Ezekiel's ninth year is the ninth year of Zedekiah. Here we seem to have the clue to the other datings of the second group. They all take the accession of Zedekiah as their starting-point, and are earlier than the three datings which start from the captivity of Jehoiachin and

which reflect an exilic standpoint. It may be argued that the two sets of datings may really all be reckoned from the same starting-point, but it is very improbable that the exiles would reckon their years of exile from the enthronement of the Zedekiah who supplanted their own exiled king. If, as is argued in Chapter IV, p. 24f., the genuine prophecies of the Book, relating prophecies prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, were delivered by the prophet in person to the inhabitants of that city, then it is clear that the second class of datings would take as their starting-point the enthronement of Zedekiah and not the commencement of the Exile. xxiv. 1-14 corresponds to the situation in Jerusalem at the time. 'The selfsame day' is a characteristic phrase in P (Gen. vii. 13 and ten times), also found in Deut. xxxii. 48, Josh. v. 11 and x. 27 (in all three passages R<sup>P</sup> has been at work) and three times in Ezek. ii. 3, xxiv. 2, xl. 1. In all probability 'this selfsame day the king of Babylon invested the Jerusalem this selfsame day' (xxiv. 2) is an explanatory insertion by an Editorial hand, though possibly it may have been added by Ezekiel himself at a later date. The words explain the command to note down this particular day.

4. The date given in the present text of i. 1 has been the despair of commentators. Hölscher regards it as secondary and that in verse 2 as primary, because the former stands alone; it is abandoned in the next dated passage and never taken up again. This thirtieth year in Hölscher's opinion cannot be fitted in with the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity. It cannot be the age of the prophet nor the thirtieth year from the starting of the Josianic Reform. He agrees with Duhm that a Midrashic Editor has calculated it by deducting Ezekiel's 'forty years' (iv. 6) from Jeremiah's 'seventy years' (Jer. xxv. 11-12, xxix. 10). Herrmann follows Kraetzschmar, Jahn, Budde, etc. in regarding i. 1 as original and i. 2 as a gloss. The

chronology of i. 1 at a later date was not understood and i. 2 was added as explanation. i. 1 a is the beginning of the original call narrative, i. 1 b introduces the vision of i. 4-28, which was added to the chapter at a later date by an Editor. It is due to this editing that the Text is found in its present disordered state. 'The heavens were opened' has no parallel either in Ezekiel or in any part of the Old Testament. (The phrase occurs in later writings, 3 Maccabees vi. 18, Mark i. 10, Apocalypse of St John, etc.) Both this phrase and 'the visions of God' (again viii. 3, xl. 2) are of questionable genuineness. Herrmann frankly abandons any hope of a certain solution of the era involved.

Torrey (see p. 23) confidently affirms that the thirtieth year is the thirtieth year of king Manasseh. This is devoid of solid foundation. But we must give consideration here to his solution of the dislocation which has taken place in i. 1-4. The original Text, he says, was i. 1 a and c, 4 and possibly 'the hand of Jehovah was upon me'. The following are Editorial additions: 'and I was in the midst of the Exiles at the river Chebar', 'in the fifth to the month, i.e. the fifth year of the exile of king Jehoiachin, the word of Jehovah came to Ezekiel, son of Buzi the priest in the land of the Chaldeans at the river Chebar'.

The Editor thus transferred to Babylonia during the years of Jehoiachin's captivity the prophecies which were originally uttered in the days of king Manasseh. But could an Editor, as able as (according to Torrey) this man was, have been content to produce such a chaos as we have in the present Text? Can we imagine him breaking into the narrative of the prophet which was in the first person by a passage in the third person (verses 2 and 3)? Could he have deliberately left the dating 'in the thirtieth year' hanging in the air without any definition of the era? Could the same man, who executed the alteration of place by inserting in verse 1 'as I was...Chebar' have

thought it necessary to insert in verse 3, so close to the first, a second statement to the same effect in the third person?

Budde, who asks the above questions, provides a much more reasonable solution of the problem.\* The passage in verse 3 shews every sign of having been intruded into its present position by some wooden-headed copyist without any regard to sense or context. But, if so, how did the latter come by it? Note the remarkable fact that the Book of Ezekiel, as it stands, is unique among the Hebrew prophetic writings in that it has no superscription. Hebrew Editors have placed at the head of each collection of a prophet's speeches a statement in the third person as to the writer and his time. Four of these superscriptions begin: 'The word of Jehovah, which came unto. . .'. Five begin: 'The word of Jehovah came unto. . .', and in three of these cases the date (year, month and (once) day) is put in the forefront. 'The burden of the word of Jehovah to Israel' occurs four times and 'The vision (or 'the words') which. . . saw' five times. Now in Ezek. i. 3 we find a similar statement: 'The word of Jehovah came unto Ezekiel,' etc. Is not this part of a superscription which originally stood at the head of the collection?

We notice further that in Jeremiah the superscription in the third person is immediately followed by the prophet's own narrative of his call in the first person. The same phenomenon probably appeared also in Isaiah, if (with Prof. Budde) we take it that the narrative of the prophet's call in the first person, now found in chapter vi, originally stood immediately after the Editorial superscription. Very possibly in like manner Hosea iii once stood immediately after the superscription in i. 1. By analogy we should expect that the Book of Ezekiel would also be furnished with an Editorial superscription (now found

\* *Expository Times*, Oct. 1900, Aug. and Oct. 1901 and *J.B.L.* vol. I, part ii, 1931.

in verse 3) and that it might be followed by a narrative of Ezekiel's call in the first person (i. 1, 4, etc.).

But if this be accepted, there still remain three points which require elucidation:

(a) Verse 2 begins: 'In the fifth day of the month which was the fifth year. . . .' To what does the relative refer back? Grammatically, as it stands, it can only refer back to the preceding 'day' or 'month', but that makes nonsense. It must have referred back to a 'year' previously mentioned. What could that year be but the year in i. 1? If so, this note 'which is the fifth year' must now stand in the wrong place. Must it not have originally been a note in the margin, and must not the preceding words, 'in the fifth day of the month', have been repeated from verse 1 and have been placed before this marginal note to shew what it referred to? We to-day would put an asterisk and a footnote. Then later on it would seem that the compound marginal note was inserted as a whole into its present position by an unintelligent copyist.

(b) As soon as this marginal note became part of the Text, it would be seen that it manifestly required that a statement should follow, declaring what happened 'in the fifth day. . . .' For this purpose it would seem that the original superscription was transferred to its present position, for thus the requirement would be fully met.

(c) There still remains the crux of the whole passage: 'the thirtieth year'—of what? Torrey says that it originally ran: 'in the thirtieth year of king Manasseh' and that the later Editor omitted the last words. We cannot, however, suppose that this Editor would have left the passage as it now stands. If he inserted 'which was in the fifth year. . . .', the preceding words must have expressed some definite date, which was thus further identified with the fifth year of the better-known era of the Captivity. But no other era has been found, whose

thirtieth year synchronized with this 'fifth year'. There are, however, two possible solutions still to be considered. Seventeen hundred years ago Origen propounded the theory that the thirtieth year might be that of the prophet's own life. This is the solution which Prof. Budde adopts. In 1900 he suggested that the gap was originally filled by 'חַיִּי' ('of my life') on the lines of Gen. vii. 11. In 1931 he put forward a still simpler solution, viz. to read 'שָׁנָי' ('my years') instead of 'שָׁנָה' ('year'), which gives the sense 'the thirtieth of my years'.\* Two objections have been raised to this: (α) in Hebrew usage a man's age is generally expressed by saying that he was 'son of . . . years', and (β) that the addition of month and day suggests a regnal year rather than an individual's life year. These difficulties are real, but not insuperable (see Budde's answers in the *Expository Times*, 1901), and the solution as a whole has the advantage that it places the whole material of i. 1-4 in an intelligible order, analogous to the introductory verses of other prophetic Books, and explains in a reasonable manner all the difficulties which confront us in the existing Text.

The latest solution is propounded by Hertrich (*Ezechiel-probleme*, p. 63). He suggests that the original reading was 'שָׁנָה' (third), † which was corrupted into 'שָׁנָה' (thirty), and he supports this by an ingenious argument to shew that the third year of the Zedekiah era would be equivalent, in the Palestinian calendar, to the fifth year of the Captivity, calculated according to the Babylonian method of reckoning from the spring instead of from the autumn. One difficulty of this solution is that 'the third year' would normally in Hebrew be 'in the year the third' as in viii. 1, xx. 1, xxiv. 1, xxix. 1

\* Cf. Ps. xxxi. 11 (E.V. 10) 'my years with sighing', and Isa. xxxviii. 10 'the residue of my years', etc.

† But would this be possible Hebrew?

to Gog himself, we have only to read Gressmann and Herrmann on chapters xxxviii-xxxix to see that this Apocalyptic figure is probably modelled upon a Babylonian mythical hero and to realize the precariousness of an identification with any actual king of history.

(iv) The argument from the undoubted Aramaic colouring of the Book of Ezekiel is also precarious. On the one hand we have books of the second century B.C. which are written in much purer Hebrew, and on the other hand it is quite credible that residence in Babylonia in his later years gave the Aramaic colouring. It is noteworthy that while Torrey claims that these Aramaicisms pervade the whole Book, this is not the case. They congregate closely in certain chapters such as the thirteenth and these are just the passages which Hölischer for example assigns to his secondary hand. Here again Spiegel shews how widely Aramaic had currency in Babylonia. For example, weights and measures about 700 B.C. drop the Assyrian terminology and retain only the Aramaic. It was only due to the stubbornness of religious teachers among the Hebrews that Hebrew survived at all among the captives. The Aramaic element in the Book in fact seems to prove the Babylonian editing of the work. But even in Palestine the Hebrew of Ezekiel's earlier and later contemporaries shews similar tendencies.\* Babylonian loan words seem only to be explicable as derived from Babylonian environment.†

(v) The argument from literary dependence cannot be relied upon. The question whether Ezekiel or Leviticus and Second Isaiah and Job and Daniel came first cannot be proved

\* See Jer. xii. 5, xxii. 15, xxv. 34 and so II Isaiah.

† E.g. Ezek. xii. 14 + 6 times  $\text{ד'פגס}$ ; xl. 22  $\text{קתב}$  Kthiv + 12 times = 'porch'; xvi. 33  $\text{קתב}$ , xix. 9  $\text{קתב}$  and see Spiegel, p. 304f.; also, p. 307, 'Nar Kabari' (= Khebar) found on contract tablets and with a number of genuine Jewish names of customers.



by internal evidence alone. Torrey says that it is 'plain fact' that Ezekiel knew both our Book of 'Job' and the primitive Daniel, but Millar Burrows says there is no evidence that Ezekiel knew the poem of Job. He finds dependence on Ezekiel in the Hebrew part of Daniel, while its 'Aramaic portion may well be prior to Ezekiel'.

(vi) As regards the date of writing, the prophecies fit naturally into the period round about the end of the Kingdom and the beginning of the Exile, whereas there are other passages, which, if written (as Torrey would have us believe) about 230 B.C., are quite inexplicable. Torrey says that shortly before that date the Northern Kingdom of the Seleucids was crumbling. How then, says Spiegel (p. 318), could Ezekiel foretell that the Northern Kingdom would crush the powerful Egypt so as to leave it uninhabited and henceforth to be the basest of the Kingdoms? The silence as to Babylonia is natural in a prophecy spoken or edited on Babylonian soil, but very strange, if written under Egyptian rule, and if accompanied by denunciations of the dominant power in the Palestine of that day.

(vii) Finally, we must briefly deal with the value of that 'oldest Jewish tradition' to which Torrey appeals as shewing that it 'recognizes no Babylonian prophet Ezekiel', and that 'they knew that the Book was not written by the Ezekiel of the Babylonian Captivity'. The matter is fully dealt with from the point of view of Talmudic and Rabbinic learning by Shalom Spiegel in the article already quoted, in which he states that one defect in Torrey's argument is that 'it rests on nothing'.

The Jewish Doctors did not hide their real reasons for decision by 'good-humoured camouflage'. They were in deadly earnest. The Law was eternally valid. Not even the remote future could bring a new law. By sometimes desperate violence

greater wealth of detail in the original account which followed on iii. 22-23a, but that this was superseded by the vision of the later writer in chapter i, which is referred back to by the addition 'as the glory which I saw by the river Chebar' in ii. 23b. The actual call then is given in ii. 6-iii. 9. iii. 10-15 is a later addition. The prophet in the original narrative is sent to 'the house of Israel' (iii. 1, 4f., 7), but now (according to iii. 11) he is said to be sent to the Captivity, the Spirit has to lift him up and carry him to the river Chebar, the Vision of chapter i recurs and stands in contrast to the vision of the hand and of the roll (ii. 9ff.) which is part of the genuine narrative of the Call. This original narrative is quite in the line of the great prophets. On the other hand i. 4-28 is a literary composition, and the passages in ii-iii not included in iii. 22f. and ii. 6-iii. 9 have been added later.

The next passage, which we select for discussion, is chapters viii-xi. They now form a unity, but recent critics agree that some part is later addition. Herrmann says: 'We have a literary unity before us, which has been burst through by a foreign body.' And this is the opinion also of Hölscher and Hertrich. But there is difference of opinion on the question as to what part is original and what is the 'foreign body'. All agree that xi. 14-21 is not part of this Temple section and Herrmann also rejects xi. 1-13 on the ground that ix. 8 tells of the carrying out of the judgment on the men of distinction, leaving no room for the activities of the twenty-five leaders of the people, as given in xi. 1ff. Further, Herrmann rejects chapter x as not part of the original vision, as at the best being so glossed as to be in an incurable condition. The identification of the 'living creatures' of chapter i with the 'cherubim' in chapter x may be intended to distinguish them from the colossal door-guarding beasts of Assyria and to assimilate them to the cherubim in the Temple. The pollution of the Temple in

chapter viii on reflection seems to have convinced Ezekiel that Jehovah must leave his sanctuary (chapter ix), and in order to present this in an imposing manner he reintroduces the conception of the glory of Jehovah and of the throne-chariot and adds it to the original vision. xi. 22-25 also belongs to the conceptions of chapter x.

Hölscher agrees with Herrmann that 'the original stock' is contained in chapters viii-ix and he regards xi. 22-25 as its completion, but even these two chapters have been freely edited and worked over, especially the typographical notes. The original Ezekielian passages probably were viii. 1-3, 5-6, 7, 9, 17, ix. 1-7, 11, xi. 24-25.

Hertrich takes a different line. Chapter x, he says, cannot be struck out and chapter ix be retained. The two chapters are organically bound together. Moreover, chapters viii and xi. 1-13 are bound together by the passages viii. 7, 14, 16, xi. 1, which tell how Ezekiel is 'brought' from one part of the Temple to another. Chapters ix and x by their 'Phantasy Visions' break this connection. The original vision comes to a climax in xi. 13, which tells how Pelatiah, when he heard Ezekiel's prophecy, fell dead. This was not a vision, but a real event in Jerusalem. A Babylonian Editor subsequently placed a visionary framework round it. viii. 1-4 shews the hand of the same later Editor as do the Editorial additions in i. 1-3. The statement of place in Babylonia always appears in conjunction with fragments of the vision in i. 4-28. In viii. 1 'there' and probably 'as I sat in mine house and the elders of Judah sat before me' are added to the original opening words. 'Fell' (viii. 1) should probably be 'was' (so LXX and Vulg.) as in i. 3.\*

\* In verse 2 the word translated in E.V. 'colour' is lit. 'eye'. It is used in late Hebrew in the sense of appearance or gleam, as in i. 4, 7, 16, 22, 27, x. 9, Dan. x. 6, Lev. xiii. 5, 37, 55, Num. xi. 7, and the word for 'amber' has the Aramaic emphatic ending.

The opening words of viii. 3a seem to be an imitation of ii. 9a and 'the spirit' is in harmony with iii. 12, 14. 'The visions of God' links on to i. 1c. The rest of viii. 3 and 4 is a gloss. Verses 5-6 are the Divine Speech as given in the original and verse 7 speaks of the bringing of the prophet by natural means to the door of the court. Chapter ix breaks into the original narrative and narrates the judgment on Jerusalem in Babylonian myth-drapery. Chapter x falls into line with chapter ix. Its description of the cherubim cannot be fully harmonized with the description of the living creatures in i. 4-28. It seems clearly to be Editorial. Chapter xi. 1-13 is in the main Ezekielian, but in xi. 1 'the spirit lifted me up and brought me' has been substituted for 'he brought me', in xi. 5 'and the spirit of Jehovah fell upon me' has been added, and in xi. 8-10 and 11 b-12 we seem to have secondary elements. xi. 14-21 is clearly later insertion and is doubtfully from Ezekiel. xi. 22-25 are the handiwork of the later writer, who transferred the whole vision to Babylonia.

Space forbids the consideration of further passages on the same scale, but the following notes will serve to indicate how the application of the same clue restores the earlier prophecies to a natural situation, viz. as pre-exilic addresses to Jerusalem.

Chapter xii (see Torrey above, p. 24). The symbolic actions could only have been effective if carried out in Jerusalem before 586 B.C. 'I am your sign' (verse 11) and the second person in verse 20 have been left unaltered by the Editor, and they shew that originally the verbs in verse 19 were also in the second person in harmony with the initial words 'say unto the people of the land'. Verses 3-14 have been worked over after the event, especially verse 14.

Chapter xvi. The use of the second person suggests direct speech to Jerusalem.

Chapter xvii. The chapter shews first-hand knowledge of the time of Zedekiah and seems to belong to about 588 B.C.

Verses 9b, 10, 16-18 seem to be glosses. The way in which Babylon is referred to does not seem to fit with its composition in Babylonia.

Chapter xviii. The three examples seem to refer to Josiah (5-9), Jehoiakim (10-13) and Zedekiah (14-20). The situation is pre-exilic.

Chapter xx. The references to Topheth (31) and to Canaanitish worship ('wood and stone') (32) point to Jerusalem as the scene of the prophecy.

Chapter xxi. 1-5 (= LXX and E.V. xx. 45-49). The prophet can only look on Teman and the Negeb, if in Palestine. Verse 12 (7) 'the tidings' seems to mean the three terrible prophecies of evil which we find in verses 2-4 (= xx. 46-48), 7-10 (= xxi. 2-5), 13-21 (= xxi. 8-16), 'it cometh', rather 'it has come' (נִשְׁבַּח).

Chapter xxiv. The Syriac and Vulgate omit a great part of verse 2 and read: 'Write thee the name of this day and utter a parable.' As we saw on p. 41, 'this selfsame day' points to a later insertion, but the insertion may have been by Ezekiel himself, introduced to elucidate the Text. The situation of the 'parable' seems to be Jerusalem itself.

Chapter xxxiii. According to xxiv. 25-27 the fugitive comes on the day of the Fall of Jerusalem. Here (verses 21-22) he comes half a year (or a year and a half) after, implying the Exile. But the exiles must have known such an event long before. The story is impossible. The reference to dumbness points back to iii. 26-27. The Editor seems to have understood this 'dumbness' to have lasted until the Fall of the City, but that is contrary to the whole Book. The dating reminds us of the hand responsible for i. 1 and viii. 1, and see xxxii. 17; xxxiii. 21f. is therefore not genuine Ezekiel. xxiv. 25-27 seems closely linked with the preceding genuine passage (xxiv. 15-24), but the three times repeated בַּיּוֹם awakens doubts. The first is good sense. The second and third seem to be glosses (note

xliv. 1-8 commands the distribution of a part of the land as a 'holy oblation' between the Priests, the Levites, the City and the Prince. xlii. 20 says that the Temple wall (500 cubits square) is to be the boundary between the holy and the common, but xlv. 1-5 declares that a portion, 25,000 by 20,000 square cubits, is to be holy. The latter must be by another hand. xlv. 28 says that the Priests have no inheritance in the land, but xlv. 4 assigns to them a definite portion. xlv. 1-8 clearly bases itself on xlviii. 1-8, 23-29 with its measuring of the areas of the twelve tribes. xlv. 8b passes into direct speech of Jehovah ('my princes...my people'). Probably this is intended to connect the paragraph with that which follows. Herrmann concludes from the use of 'let it suffice you' that xlv. 9ff. comes from the same hand as xlv. 6, and he explains the fact that the verses following xlv. 9 do not continue the subject of the 'princes' by the suggestion that a piece of the original must have been removed and also that the wording has been changed! When at last the duties of the prince in regard to the worship are mentioned, instead of the address to 'ye princes' we find xlv. 16f., 22-25, xlv. 2-12. 'the prince' in the singular and in the third person. xlv. 10-12 seems (with Steuernagel and Hölscher) to be a marginal note to xlv. 13ff. xlv. 16 says that the tax of verses 13-15 is to be paid to the prince, from which he is to defray the cost of the sacrifices (xlv. 17). But it is generally agreed that the oblation was originally to be paid to the Priests (xlv. 30). 'You' in xlv. 13 is not now as in 9 'the princes', but the people, as xlv. 30a (though probably by a different hand). xlv. 17b is clearly a gloss and assumes xlv. 2-12. xlv. 21a-24 gives regulations for the Passover. There seem here to be corrections made in order to bring the Text into conformity with the late P legislation of Num. xxviii. 16ff. 'Upon that day' in verse 22 does not refer to the 'seven days' of 21b, but to the first day of the

Feast, implied in 21a. The Festival celebrations in every case are centralized as in Deuteronomy. xlv. 18-20 come from another hand, and deal with two atonements of the Sanctuary, on the first day of the first month and the first day of the seventh month. So the LXX, as in the margin of the Revised Version of verse 20. The MT has been corrected to make the verse conform to Lev. xvi, which deals with the great Atonement day on the tenth day of the seventh month. Both in xlv. 18 and 20 and in the similar passage xlvi. 13-15 the address is in the second person singular ('thou'). It seems to be taken from a P law-passage in which 'thou' is used (cf. Lev. ii. 4, etc., xxiv. 5, xxv. 8, etc.). In both passages 'the prince' is never mentioned. xlvi. 1-3, 8-10, 12 link on closely to xlv. 1-3 both by form and contents. xlvi. 16-18 and 19-24 do not seem to fit their present position. The later seems to be an addition which attaches itself to the original vision (? after xlii. 14).

2. If the reasoning in Chapter VIII (pp. 54 ff.) is accepted, the author of chapters xl-xlii can be identified with certainty. He is not the pre-exilic and early exilic prophet Ezekiel, but the subsequent Babylonian Editor, who added the vision of i. 4-28, etc. to the original call in chapters i-iii. By the dating in xl. 1 he shews himself to be the author of xxxiii. 21 (p. 59). 'In the visions of God' and 'appearance' (xl. 2-3) link on to i. 1-5. We find ourselves in these chapters in a world of thought in which the Temple worship is the absorbing topic. We note many links with the Levitical law of holiness. The old ideal of the future outlined in chapters xxxiv-xxxvii is forgotten or ignored. Volz and Mowinckel argue for a school of prophets as concerned in the elaboration of the cult-regulations. 'The man' of xl. 3, etc. is not Jehovah (as Jahn and Herrmann), who only takes Ezekiel (according to the author of xl. 1, 2) to Jerusalem (cf. viii. 3). Rather (with Hölscher and Hertrich) he is an angelic being, such as we frequently find in subsequent

on the first day of the Alexandrian calendar (August 29-30) was shown. Dionysius Exiguus and Bede, writing for a western public, preferred to describe this as the moon's age on March 22. Tables adapted to the Roman cycle of 84 years showed the moon's age on the first day of the Roman year, January 1. So also do the tables adapted to the Gregorian calendar. If the moon's age on the first day of the year is known, then by counting months of 30 days and 29 days alternately, the approximate age of the moon is known for every day of the year. The epacts in the Easter calendars vary in the same manner as the Golden Numbers. The English Prayer Book shows the epact, but makes no use of it.

*Movable Festivals.*—In the ecclesiastical calendar some holy days are observed on fixed days of the year. Others, known as movable festivals, are observed on fixed days of the week. Most of these are at fixed intervals before or after Easter Day. The following holy days dependent on the date of Easter are shown in the *Nautical Almanac*.

Days before Easter			Days after Easter		
Septuagesima Sunday	...	63	Low Sunday	...	7
Quinquagesima Sunday	...	49	Rogation Sunday	...	35
Ash Wednesday	...	46	Ascension Day	...	39
Quadragesima Sunday	...	42	Whit Sunday	...	49
Palm Sunday	...	7	Trinity Sunday	...	56
Good Friday	...	2	Corpus Christi	...	60

The First Sunday in Advent is the fourth Sunday before Christmas Day, and is therefore the nearest Sunday to November 30.

*Julian Period.*—The French Protestant scholar and chronologist Josephus Justus Scaliger invented the Julian Period as a practically continuous measure of time. It combines the Solar Cycle of 28 years, the Lunar Cycle of 19 years and the Cycle of the Indiction comprising 15 years, thus containing  $28 \times 19 \times 15 = 7980$  years altogether. All these cycles are supposed to begin on January 1 of the Julian calendar, and it is found that they began together in 4713 B.C., so that one Julian Period includes all dates both in the past and in the future to which reference is likely to be made, and to that extent has an advantage over an era whose epoch lies within the limits of historical time.

The years of the Julian period are seldom employed now, but the day of the Julian period is frequently used in astronomy and in calendrical tables. It is the only method of enumerating days that is free from their combination into months and years, and is therefore particularly useful where an exact interval in days is required. The Julian days are numbered consecutively from Greenwich mean noon on January 1 4713 B.C., at which date the Julian Day was 0.0.

*Mohammedan Calendar.*—The Mohammedans use the Era of the Hegira beginning with the year of Mohammed's flight or Hegira in A.D. 622. The peculiarity of the Mohammedan calendar is that each year consists of 12 lunar months without intercalation, so that each month goes the round of the seasons in 33 years. For religious purposes the beginning of each month is fixed by observation of the lunar crescent. For the purposes of civil life there has never been an exact rule, and different beginnings of the month have been used by different people living in the same town. It is, therefore, impossible to give an exact interpretation to a date expressed in this calendar unless the day of the week is given as well as the day of the month; this applies both to public and to private documents. For astronomical purposes a more exact rule is followed; the months have 30 days



and 29 days alternately, except the 12th month, which has 29 days nineteen times and 30 days eleven times in a cycle of 30 Mohammedan years. In consequence the calendar makes 360 lunations equal to 10631 days; their real duration is 10631.012 days. The error, therefore, amounts to no more than a day in 2500 years. There are two forms of this cycle; they give dates differing by one day in 348 of the 360 months of the cycle.

*Subdivisions of the Day.*—From a remote antiquity the Egyptians divided each day and each night into twelve equal hours. These necessarily varied in length with the season of the year and were in consequence termed ὥραι καιρικαί in Greek and *hora temporales* in Latin. The same method of dividing the day and night was used along with other methods in Babylonia and Assyria, where each day and each night was divided into three watches, each of four temporal hours.

In astronomical observations and predictions the Babylonians expressed time in *bēru*, *geš* and *GAR*. The whole interval of day and night combined was divided into twelve *bēru* of uniform length, each *bēru* into thirty *geš* and each *geš* into sixty *GAR*. The division of the day into *bēru* and *geš* was probably on the analogy of the division of the year into twelve months of thirty days each. From being measures of time these terms appear to have become measures of hour angle and finally measures of arc and of angles generally. The *geš*, which was the 360th part of the day, survives in our degree. The sexagesimal subdivision of the *geš* is in accordance with the Sumerian system of arithmetical notation, inherited by the Babylonians\*, which was similar to our own decimal system of expressing both integers and fractions except that it was sexagesimal throughout instead of decimal. These intervals of time were measured to or from sunrise or sunset.

In Kidinnu's tables the *bēru* is not used, but the interval from midnight to midnight is divided into six mean watches. The *geš* as the sixtieth part of the mean watch, and the *GAR* as the sixtieth part of the *geš* form the next subdivisions, and the *GAR* in its turn is divided into sixty parts, so that the whole subdivision of the mean watch is strictly sexagesimal. While for civil and religious purposes and for astronomical observations and predictions the day was reckoned from sunset, Kidinnu reckoned it from midnight, which is obviously a more convenient starting point for astronomical tables.

The division of day and night into temporal hours spread through the Græco-Roman world during the Hellenistic period. These were always numbered from sunrise and sunset, although the official beginning of the day varied from one country to another. Thus at Athens and in western Asia the day began officially at sunset, and at Rome at midnight, while in Egypt the night was generally regarded as lying between two days, and the numbers of both days are given to express the time at night. Sun-dials were devised to shew the temporal hours and Ptolemy introduced lines on the astrolabe for this purpose.

For astronomical purposes the equinoctial hour, i.e. the mean temporal hour or the temporal hour with the length that it had at the equinoxes, was introduced; it is found first in Hipparchus. According to Pliny, he, like the Babylonians, reckoned the day from midnight. Ptolemy in the tables in the *Almagest* reckoned the day from mean noon of Alexandria and divided the whole day into sixty equal parts, each of which was divided sexagesimally, as far as was necessary. But it appears that in his *Manual Tables*, he divided the whole day into equinoctial hours reckoned from mean noon of Alexandria, and subdivided these sexagesimally, thus having our system of 24 equal hours to the day, with a subdivision into minutes and

\* See F. Thureau-Dangin, *Esquisse d'une histoire du système sexagesimal* (1932), especially chapter V.

seconds. Apart from the selection of mean noon as the initial point this was probably the same system as that of Hipparchus. The 24-hour system reckoned from mean noon established itself in astronomical tables and ephemerides generally within the limits of Greek, Latin and Arabic civilisation, and, subject only to changes in the adopted meridian, remained in use till 1925.

The use of temporal hours for the ordinary purposes of life was not disturbed till the invention in the fourteenth century of mechanical clocks, striking the hours. It was well nigh impossible to make clocks strike hours of unequal length, and in consequence these clocks struck the equinoctial hours from the first. In Italy and Bohemia clocks were set to number and strike the hours from dusk or about half an hour after sunset and the hours were numbered up to twenty-four, though, so far as striking was concerned, the twenty-four hours were in some clocks divided into two series of twelve, the second series beginning twelve equinoctial hours after dusk. In most other countries the clocks both numbered and struck the hours in two series of twelve hours beginning at midnight and noon respectively. In England, where these hours were used extensively before the end of the fourteenth century, hours so reckoned were described as "of the clock" or "o'clock", to distinguish them from the older reckoning of hours of the day and night. The two series of twelve hours were from the first commonly distinguished as "before noon" (*ante meridiem*) and "after noon" (*post meridiem*). The introduction of the equinoctial hour into civil life was accompanied by the introduction of its astronomical subdivisions, the minute and the second. Sun-dials constructed to show equinoctial time measured from midnight and noon have been constructed since the fifteenth century.

The Italian method of reckoning time up to 24 hours from dusk was abandoned in the early part of the nineteenth century; except in Turkey where time was still reckoned in two series of equinoctial hours beginning at sunset and twelve hours after sunset respectively.

The time used for civil purposes from the introduction of clocks till the close of the eighteenth century was local solar time. The substitution of mean time took place in most countries late in the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century, at London in 1792.

The development of railways led to the adoption of a single meridian for each country or each railway administration, Greenwich time being made the legal time in Great Britain in 1848. Afterwards the time referred to local meridians gave place in most countries to zone time, differing from Greenwich time by a whole number of hours (or occasionally half-hours), adopted in Sweden in 1879, on most of the American railways in 1883, and in most European countries before the end of the nineteenth century.

Since 1916 various countries or places have for part of the year adopted for civil purposes a reckoning of time known as "summer time", one hour in advance of the time reckoned from the adopted mean noon or mean midnight. As this reckoning is governed only by practical convenience, there has been no uniformity in the action of the authorities that have adopted it.

From the beginning of 1925 the principal ephemerides have reckoned the day and numbered the hours from mean midnight to mean midnight instead of from mean noon to mean noon. The same system, adapted when necessary to zone time and summer time, has since the last years of the nineteenth century been used in various places for various non-astronomical purposes, mostly of an official or semi-official character.

## TIME

The astronomical clock, by means of which time is measured, is the Earth, whose axial rotation causes the heavenly bodies to appear to revolve round the Earth from east to west. For the hands of this clock the Sun, Moon or stars may be selected, and different times will result according to the choice made. The most convenient unit of measure for time is the day, which is defined as the interval between successive transits (over the same meridian) of the heavenly body by which the time is measured. If the heavenly bodies were absolutely fixed, all days would be of the same length, this length corresponding exactly to the Earth's period of rotation. But the movements of the various heavenly bodies or other reference points are different and non-uniform, and consequently days of different and varying length arise.

The **apparent solar day** was formerly considered to begin and end at **apparent noon**, the moment when the centre of the true Sun is on the upper meridian, but since 1925 January 1 it has been considered to begin and end at apparent midnight, the moment of lower meridian passage of the true Sun. It is divided into 24 hours, and the time resulting is called **apparent time**. Thus apparent time at any instant is the westward hour angle of the true Sun + 12<sup>h</sup>.

Owing to the non-uniform motion of the true Sun in right ascension, arising partly from the fact that it moves in the ecliptic and not in the equator, and partly from the eccentricity of the Earth's orbit, the apparent solar day is of variable length, and is therefore not suitable as a measure of time, because the clocks made by man to record time are, of necessity, designed to move uniformly. Hence a fictitious mean sun is conceived which moves *uniformly*\* in the equator with the same mean motion as that of the true Sun. The interval between successive transits of this mean sun constitutes the **mean solar day**, which is the common day of civil life, and gives rise to **mean solar time**, or more simply **mean time**.

As the mean sun crosses the meridians on the earth at different moments, there arise numerous **local mean times**, each defined by the passage of the mean sun across a particular meridian. To avoid the confusion that would ensue if these were all in use, it is convenient to regard the time of some one meridian as a standard. By common consent the meridian of Greenwich is universally accepted as the prime meridian, and **Greenwich Mean Time**, usually abbreviated G.M.T., is the standard to which all other mean times are referred. Since the Earth rotates uniformly on its axis, and since longitudes are measured uniformly round the Earth from the meridian of Greenwich, it follows that the difference between Greenwich mean time and the local mean time of any place is equal to the longitude of that place. Denoting by  $\lambda$  the longitude, considered positive to the west, we have, since the Earth rotates from west to east,

$$\text{Local mean time} = \text{G.M.T.} - \lambda$$

In actual practice it would be extremely inconvenient if local mean times were adopted by each community, so the time over a large area is reckoned from some one convenient meridian, and called the **Standard Time** for that area or country. Usually the standard time differs from Greenwich mean time by an integral number of hours. A list of the standard times adopted by the principal countries of the world is given on pages 704-713. In some countries the legal time during the summer months is in advance of the standard time, and is then usually designated **Summer**

\* See also page 785.

COMMENTATIONES  
SOCIETATI REGIAE SCIENTIARVM  
GOETTINGENSI

PER ANNOS 1758. 1759. 1760. 1761. ET 1762.

OBLATAE

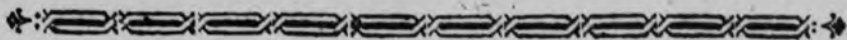
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IOANNE DAVIDE MICHAELIS,  
EIVS SOCIETATIS DIRECTORE.



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B R E M A E  
SVMTIBVS GEORGII LVDOVICI FÖRSTERI -



XI.  
DE  
MENSIBUS HEBRAEORUM  
COMMENTATIO  
RECITATA,

DIE 21. JUL. 1764.

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§. I.

*Leges Moſis non videntur aptae illis menſibus, quos nunc  
Judaei numerant, a Martio annum incipientes.*

**D**e menſibus Israelitarum ſuſpicionem vobis exploratam collegae, non exploratam veritatem, (\*) veſtra cupiens aliorumque eruditorum opera fieri certior. Primus Judaeorum, qui nunc ſunt, menſis, incidit fere in noſtrum Martium, niſi quod partem Aprilis plerumque, ob lunaris anni incerta, occupat. Lunaris enim cum annus ſit Hebraeorum, menſesque lunares, a novilunio incipientes, ab eo novilunio quod in Martium incidit, ſuum Judaei Niſanem ordiuntur, aliquot dies Aprilis, aut etiam pleroſque complexurum, ſi non in primos, ſed medios aut extremos Martii dies novilunium incidat.

Hinc

(\*) Sic mihi initio videbatur, jam ſuſpicio & conjectura eſſe videtur, ſed ſatis certa, ut in quaerſtione philologica aut hiſtorica, veritas. ſine commentationis adferam, non

Hinc fit, ut lexicographorum aliqui מַרְטִי Martium interpretentur, alii nostro partim Martio partim Aprili comparent. Nempe, si Calendis Martii, aut postridie, aut tertio a Calendis die, nova luna oriatur, totus usque ad finem Martii mensis Nisan erit, nisi intercaletur: sin ferius, totidem dies Aprilis nostri ad Nisanem referentur, quot Martio demuntur. Unde fit, ut, si in ultimos demum Martii dies novilunium incidat, Aprilis pene totus Nisani transcribatur.

Ab hoc mense reliquos Judaei numerant; ad Martium ergo si Nisanem, primum anni Judaici mensem, referamus, sequetur, ut secundus Aprili, tertius Majo, ac, ne omnes enumerem, septimus Septembri, quantum fieri in mensibus lunaribus potest, conveniat.

Ita suos menses nostri temporis Judaei computant: iidemque volunt, eandem fuisse mensium a Mose memoratorum rationem. Sequuntur hos Christiani, & interpretes sacrarum literarum, & lexicographi, nemine ex recentioribus, cujus equidem recorder, dissentiente.

Ita autem & Mosen suos menses numerasse, veri mihi dissimillimum videri coepit, postquam primas calendarii oeconomici Palaestinae lineas, quas Shawio maxime & Beerio (\*) debui, legibus Mosaicis, ex calendario Judaico intellectis, repugnare perspexi. Quae enim festa primo, & tertio ac septimo mense celebrari Moses iussit, ea Martio, Majo, Septembri, pro caelo Palaestinae, non conveniunt.

Nec equidem ignoro, caloris & frigoris temperationem ob vicinitatem Libani in Palaestina multo magis di-

ver-

(\*) Ferdinand Wilhelm Beer Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung der Zeitrechnung, Th. 2. S. 1-31.

versam esse, quam alias in tam exiguo duorum circiter graduum intervallo esse solet. Multo serius flavescunt agri Libano subjecti aut propinqui, meridionalibus; reliquisque omnibus praecocior Hierichuntinus esse fertur ob intensissimos illa in planitie aestus solis: quo & praetextu forte usus Jeroboamus, avellere decem suas tribus a communibus sacris Hierosolymitanis cupiens, uno mense serius festa celebrari iussit (\*), quod in sui regni ea parte, quae Libano subjacebat, seriores essent maturitates, messes, vindemiae. Sed de hac boreali Palaestina jam non disputo: in meridionali etiam, nec excepto tractu Hierichuntino, non puto, Martio, Aprili, Majo, Septembri, ea peragi potuisse, quae Moses primo, secundo, tertio, septimoque mensi assignavit.

Illis quidem annis, quibus serum est Martii novilunium, inque dies a vicesimo inde usque ad finem mensis incidit, non nego, leges Mosaicas in Palaestina observari potuisse. Verum enim vero non his solum annis leges tulerat Moses, sed omnibus. Quibus autem annis novilunium Martii in calendas, aut omnino in primos XV aut XX dies incidit, illis nego leges Mosaicas caelo ac maturitatibus Palaestinae aptas fuisse.

## §. II.

*Manipulus primitiarum Martio mense offerri non potuit.*

Die decimo sexto mensis primi, Nisanem vocant scriptores seriores, spicarum mensem Moses, manipulus spicarum maturarum Deo offerendus erat, quas agri primitias Moses lege sacraverat, illisque oblati demum licebat, aristis aut viridibus aut tostis vesci, agrisque falcem immittere, Levit. XXIII, 9-14. Qua  
ex

(\*) 1 Reg. XII, 33.

ex lege quis non colliget, decimo sexto die mensis Nisan maturefcere, in quibusdam certe Palaestinae partibus, segetes coepisse? At SHAWIUS, qui ipse Palaestinam adiit, de maturefcientium segetum tempore ita retulit (\*): *ineunte Aprili* (id vero est, quia Shawius Anglico seu veteri calendario utitur, circa illum diem Aprilis qui nobis duodecimus est) *per omnem Palaestinam hordeum spicas protruserat, medio illo mense* (ex nostro calendario, versus finem mensis) *in meridionalibus tractibus sensim flavescens. Nempe quale videram circa Hierichuntem praecipiti Martio, tale post dimidium fere mensem erat circa Acram. Tritici autem illo tempore spicae variores, ac circa Hierosolymam & Bethlehemum pedis circiter altitudine erat. Tali ergo anno, qualis fuit 1722, quo terram sanctam peragravi, vix videntur primitiae suo tempore ac die offerri potuisse, nisi intercalato mense Veadar, adeoque paschalibus feriis per integrum mensem dilatis.* Ac de intercalatione quidem, quam Maimonidi credidit, infra dispiciemus: id autem liquet, si vel in meridionalibus Palaestinae, circaque illam ipsam Hierichuntem, cujus praecocia suburbana laudantur, medio demum Aprilis spicae flavescere incipiebant, quo anno Shawius Palaestinam peragravit, fieri omnino non potuisse, ut aristarum maturarum manipulus die XVI Martii offerretur, atque ab eo die mensis initium esset. Fac etiam, novilunium in XVI Martii nostri diem incidere, mensisque ab eo numerati diem XVI in Martii ultimum: tamen vel eo die sacra a Mose prae-

(\*) *Travel and observations in severa part of the Levant*, p. 364. primae editionis, quae est pagina 335. secundae, anno 1757. Oxonii factae.



praescripta peragi, indeque messis initium censerī, non poterat. Tardiorē etiā solito demus illum annū fuisse, quo Shawius Palaestinam vidit, (quamquam reliqua ab eo narrata his fere concinunt, quae alii in Palaestinam profecti reculerunt) satis tamen erit, si mediocribus annis ea sit facies agrorum Palaestinae ineunte Aprili, quam ipse medio illo mense vidit. Omnes praeterea, qui in itinerariis messis tempus memorant, Aprili & Maio mensibus segetes maturescere, & demeti, tradunt. (\*) Initio Aprilis messem incipere scripsit *Rauwolfius*: verum ex calendario ille vetere intelligendus, idque dicere putandus; circa decimum circiter nostri Aprilis diem primam falcem agris Palaestinae praecocioribus immitti.

Quae cum ita sint, nec possit XVI Martii die, ac ne toto quidem mense Martio manipulus maturus in Palaestina offerri, tamen & Moses decimo sexto die primi mensis id sacrum fieri iussit, & qui stante adhuc templo secundo in Palaestina vixit, sacerdotioque functus est, *Josephus*, sacrum ejus diei, quale suo tempore solemne erat, descripsit. Nec eum ut interpretem legum Moisaicarum audiri volo, qua parte errare potuisset, sed ut restem eorum, quae quotannis viderat, atque ut sacerdotem de sacris sui temporis referentem. Τῇ δευτέρῃ, inquit libr. III. Antiqu. c. X. §. 5. τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρα, ἕκτη δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῆ καὶ δεκάτῃ, τῶν καρπῶν εὐς ἐθέρισαν, οὐ γὰρ ἦσαντο πρότερον αὐτῶν, μεταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἠγύμενοι τιμῶν δικαίων εἶναι πρῶτον, παρ' οὗ τῆς εὐπορίας τούτων εὐτυχον, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶ τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι τρίπον τούτων. Φρύζαντες τῶν σταχύων τὸ θράγμα, καὶ πτίσαντες, καὶ καθαρὰς πρὸς ὄλεσ- τῶν τὰς κριθὰς πησάντες, τῷ βωμῷ ἀσσάρονα προσάγουσι τοῦ θεοῦ,

(\*) Vide, quae mox prodibit, *Büschingii geographiam Asiae* p. 299.

θεοῦ, καὶ μίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δράσαι ἐπιβάλλοντες, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφίσσιν εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ τότε λοιπὸν δημοσίᾳ ἔξοσι πᾶσι καὶ ἰδίᾳ θε-  
 εῖξιν. i. e. *secundo azymorum die, qui mensis primi decimus sextus est, frugibus demessis vesci incipiunt, quos ante illum diem attingere non sustinent. Justum autem putantes, ubertatis datorem Deum honore antea adficere, primitias hordei hoc modo offerunt. Manipulum spicarum igne torrent, contundunt deinde, & grana hordei a glumis purificant, assaronemque (ἡρω) ad altare adferunt, cujus uno pugillo in ignem coniecto, reliquum usibus sacerdotum concedunt. Eo ex die licitum est, publice privatimque metere.*

Haec legens, quis suspicabitur, praecepto Moſis non plane cum caelo ac climate Palaestinae conveniſſe, inque eo sacro peragendo plerisque annis ob maturarum aristarum defectum fuisse laboratum, quod quoties accideret, ad intercalationem confugiſſe sacerdotes, ut legi imprudenter latae honor constaret & observantia? Quis non potius existimabit, ejus mensis, quem primum Josephus vocat, die decimo sexto aristarum maturarum copiam fuisse, messisque initium ab eo die factum esse? Quae si vera sunt, nec potest primus ille mensis noster Martius esse. nec omnino a novilunio, quod in primam Martii nostri partem a Calendis ad XVI aut XX usque diem incidit, procedere.

§. III.

*Nec ante festum pentecostes finiri messis poterat.*

Septem elapsis ab hoc XVI die mensis primi hebdomadibus, adeoque die quinto vel sexto mensis tertii, pentecostales instabant feriae. Peracta tum messe gratiae Deo

Deo agebantur, offerebanturque panis novi primitiae, unde & festo nomen fuit (\*). Nec aliter de re suo tempore fieri solita Josephus retulit. (\*\*). At vero hae peractae messis feriae mediam messem turbaturae erant, si ineunte Majo celebrarentur: idque fieri necesse erat, si annum Hebraeorum a nostro Martio auspiceris, quoties in primam Martii partem novilunium incidebat. Quod si enim ipsis Calendis Martii nova luna erat, quinto aut sexto Maji die pentecostale sacrum consequi necesse erat: pauloque tardius, prout secundo aut tertio, quarto reliquisque Martii diebus nova luna illuxisset. Fac eam decimo sexto demum die Martii adparere, vicesimo primo aut secundo Maji pentecostolia sacra futura erant.

Jam hoc quomodo messibus Palaestinae conveniat, videamus. Aprili & Majo mense eas maturescere, tradit KORTE; idemque vicesimo adhuc Maji die in monte Sione hordeum nondum demessum vidit. Schmidius in planitie magna, prope Carmelum 23 die ejusdem mensis triticum adhuc in agris vidit, messores exspectans: Schweiggerusque in Galilaea, haud procul a lacu Galilaeae, tricesimo ejusdem mensis die. Hasselquisti messis triticea in Galilaea per mensem Majum fuit.

Majo ergo si messis per plerasque Palaestinae partes fervebat, ne praecipiti quidem mense ubique ad finem perducta: cujus quaeso legislatoris foret, peractae messis sacrum eucharisticum ita instituere, ut in quintum reliquosve inde, pro mensium lunarium arbitrio, Maji diem incideret? Desipere videretur, si quis eo ipso tempore, quo

(\*) Exod. XXIII, 16. Levit. (\*\*) Ant. I. III. c. X. §. 6.  
XXIII, 16. 17. 18.

quo convehendi erant agrorum reditus, ab agris populum avocaret, unamque in urbem sacrorum per septiduum celebrandorum caussa cogeret.

#### §. IV.

##### *Nec festum tabernaculorum Septembri aptum.*

Festum tabernaculorum sub exitum anni, post finitam fructuum omnium collectionem, (haec ipsa legislatoris verba sunt (\*)) Moses indixit: cujus festi gratulationes vindemiam quoque complecti debuisse, in ea maxime terra, cujus praecipuae divitiae vindemia continentur, vix est dubitabile. At si mensis septimus, cujus decimo quinto die tabernaculorum sacrum incipiebat, Septembris fuit, a vindemia avocabat Israelitas, cogebatque, maturas in vitibus uvas relinquere; festum improvide institutum. Certe 15 Septembris die Poltschnitzius, & 19 Neidschitzius, circa Hierosolymam, id vero est in meridionali ac praecociore Palaestinae parte, uvas recentes comederunt (\*\*), ex ipsis allatas vineis, ut, si qua esset vindemia (quae hoc tempore in Palaestina Muhemmedanis subjecta vix ulla est) in illos ipsos dies incidere videatur, quos festo tabernaculorum Moses dedisse dicitur. Quae si ratio est vinearum circa Hierosolymam, in Galilaea initio Octobris nondum finiri potuisse vindemiam consequetur.

Minora, fateor, haec legis caelique dissidia erant, si post Calendas Septembris nova luna illucesceret: sed vel sic tamen Septembri mense, media vindemia, festum cele-

(\*) Exod. XXIII, 16. Levit. XXIII, 39.

(\*\*) Beer, *Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung der Zeitrechnung P. II. p. 27.*

celebrandum, nisi serius decimo sexto nostri Septembris die novilunium esset.

Jam qui potest major legislatoris cogitari stupor, non jam dicam divino legato, sed vel homine non profusus fatuo indignus, quam populum eo ipso tempore, quo vindemia per omnem Palaestinam aut incipiebat primum, aut fervebat, a vineis avocare, inque unam urbem per octo integros dies cogere ad gratias pro ea vindemia numini agendas, quam interea neglectam perire sibi necesse erat?

Parum quidem copiose de hoc festo Josephus retulit, ne causam quidem commemorans, ob quam institutum erat: id tamen testis *αὐτότης* habet (\*), celebratum esse *vergente jam ad hiemem tempore*, *τετταρτῷ ἐν τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν χειμῶνιν ὥραν* ideoque & Mosen jussisse per domos tuguria construi, *quod frigus metuendum illo anni tempore esset* (\*\*). Quod quomodo in Septembrem cadat urbis sub tricésimo primo gradu sitae, cum vel apud nos sub quinquagesimo primo fatis mitem illum mensem experiamur, nemo facile expediat: atque magis etiam a caeli consuetudine abhorrere videbitur, illis lectis quae Beerius de Septembri Palaestinae excerptis (\*\*). Laborat ergo *Relándus*, haec Josephi verba, explicaturus: cumque tota ad historiam pertineant naturae & climatis, non, ut fas erat, ex itinerariis, sed ex antiquitate Judaica Thalmudicisque tabulis illustrare suscipit, ne hoc quidem suspicatus,

eos

(\*) Antiqu. l. III. c. X. §. 4.

(\*\*\*) Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung der Zeitrechnung T. II. p.

(\*\*) σκηναὶς πήγνυθαι κελύει  
κατὰ ὁμίαν ἕκαστον, τὰ κρούς  
ὑφωρμένους ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἔτους.

25-29.

eos ipsos menses, de quibus traditio oralis Judaeorum habebatur literis in Thalmude consignata, alios esse posse, quam qui nunc ita vocantur (\*). At Octobri nostro ea aptissima, quae de frigore incipiente Josephus habet: illo enim mense & pluviae aliquando incipiunt (\*\*), & necesse est frigidiores jam aliquos dies fieri, maxime circa vesperam.

### §. V.

*Intercalationes Judaeorum non solvunt dubium.*

Scio equidem, quid comminiscantur Judaei, quo instituta Mosaica his ipsis servari mensibus potuerint. Nempe intercalant, quoties opus est, mensem *Veaddar*, post Adar, seu Februarium. Ego vero ut facile concesserim, menses lunares intercalationibus opus habere, ut ad annum so-  
larem

(\*) *At, inquit in notis ad Josephum, die 15 Tisri erat tempestas anni, (certe hic dies ultimus erat illius tempestatis) דין calor dicta Thalmudicit. Quo jure ergo Josephus scribit, annum id temporis vergere ad hiemem? (Rabbinice propositum dubium, non, ut fas erat, physice: sed videamus, quomodo solvat). Nempe omnino vergebat annus in hiemem, nam jam a die 15 mensis Ab calor solebat imminui, (verum de hoc ipso mense Ab, quis sit, disputamus, ut de reliquis omnibus) Et notant Judaei ideo his diebus celebrari voluisse Deum festum tabernaculorum,*

*quod tempus hoc frigidius commorationi in tentoriis minus aptum esset, Et ideo Pontifex M. qui die X Tisri (de hoc ipso vero mense anquiretur, Septembrem an Octobrem referat) se lavare frigida saepe debuit, non amabat intercalarem annum, quod ita in dies frigidiores incideret id festum. Hiene quidquam dictum, quod vincat Septembrem in Palaestina frigidum fuisse? De Ab & Tisri loquitur, sed hos menses Augustum & Septembrem esse posse, nego.*

(\*\*) Beer ibidem: *Eüsching* p. 299. Asiae.

larem quodammodo redigantur, illas tamen intercalationes ad siderum cursus astronomiaeque praecepta faciendas fuisse arbitror, non ut legibus ineptis, atque a caelo discordibus succurreretur. Sapiens quidem legislator, & vel modica anni mensiumque notitia, quam a Mose octogenario & philosopho nemo abjudicabit, imbutus, non eas leges tulerit, quarum ratio cum caelo ac climate ejus terrae, in quam populum deducit, constare nequeat, nisi perpetuis intercalationibus in subsidium vocatis.

### §. VI.

*Judaeorum calendarium nostri temporis, discors a Syriaco. Syris Nisan Aprilis est: ad quem modum leges quoque Mosaicae intelligendae.*

At inter caelum Palaestinae legesque Mosis concordia coibit, modo Hebraicis mensium nominibus eam concedamus significationem, quam apud Syros obtinent. His enim *Nisan* (ܢܝܣܢ) primus anni mensis, non ut calendario Judaico recentiori aut lexicographis Hebraicis, Martius, nec Martium inter & Aprilem medius, sed omnino Aprilis est. In lexicis quidem ipsum nomen frustra quaeras, quamquam adjectivum ܢܝܣܢܐܢܐ *Castellus* habet, ac recte, *tempus Aprilis, ver*, vertit: at libri Syrorum habent. In Edesseno quidem chronico bis, nisi fallor, occurrit, atque ab ASSEMANO Aprilis vertitur: T. I. bibliothecae Orientalis p. 393. (\*) *mandavit, ut opifices, qui porticum ripis annis impositam habitabant, a mense Octobri ad Aprilem (ܘܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ) appetente jam nocte in alias aedes secederent:*

(\*) In Chrestomathia nostra locum invenies p. 50.

rent: & p. 415. (\*) anno 838. (i. e. Christi 527.) *Kalendis Aprilis* (ܟܠܝܢܕܝܢܝܢܝܘܣܝܘܣ) *Mar Justinianus Caesar creatus fuit*: ubi sine dubio Aprilem intelligendum esse, ex Procopio, aliisque scriptoribus ab Assemano allegatis, liquet. Ab hoc autem Aprili reliquos anni menses ita numerant Syri, ut secundus illis Majus sit, tertius Junius, quartus Julius, quintus Augustus, sextus September, septimus October, & sic porro usque ad duodecimum, Martium.

Ne quid autem suspitionis relinquatur, in nomine *Nisan* reddendo erratum ab Assemano esse, (quamquam in die, quo Justinianus creatus Caesar est, vix ullus ejusmodi suspitioni locus relinquatur) reliquorum quoque mensium Syriaca nomina subjiciam, ita a calendario nostri temporis Judaico dissidentia, ut omnes menses uno tardius Syri habeant.

Est ergo Syris

- 1) ܢܝܫܢ *Nisan*, ut vidimus, Aprilis.
- 2) ܢܝܫܢ *Jjor* vel *Jjar*, Majus (\*\*). Hunc autem *Jjar* calendarium Judaicum, & lexica Chaldaica, Aprilem faciunt (\*\*).
- 3) ܟܝܘܢܝܢ *Chezirun*, Junius. (Chrestom. p. 54. & 63.) Nomen mensi ductum arbitror ab apro, qui Adoni-

(\*) Chrest. p. 70.




(\*\*) Eorum in usum, qui Syriacae linguae non nisi mediocriter periti sunt, nec tamen sine teste aut argumentis mihi credi fas putant, cuivis nomini subjiciam loca chronici Edesseni, ubi nomen occurrit, & ab Assemano ita vertitur. Citabo autem ex mea chrestomathia,

quod Assemani bibliotheca Orientali lectorum plerosque carere suspicor. De *Jior* ergo vide pag. 63. 70. 73. *Castellus* p. 103. heptaglotti non satis adcurate scripsit: *mensis nomen ut Chald.*



(\*\*\*) BUXTORFII *lex. Chald.*

p. 75.



Adonidem occidit:  enim apud Syros & porci & apri nomen est, sequentemque mensem Julium ab Adonide Syri nominarunt. Junio mense parere apri incipiunt, ideoque solito faeviores esse, ad Augustum usque. Etymologiarum alias parcus, hanc tamen negligere nolui, quia confirmat, Chezironem Junium esse, non; ut opinabatur Castellus (\*), Majum. Derivant alii a Chaldaico  *redii*, quo etymò iterum signant Junium, quod eo mense sol a tropico redit ad aequatorem. Quamquam si quis etymo diffidat, multo certiore argumento non destitutor. In chronico enim Edeffeno, pag. 52. nostrae chrestomathiae, atque, unde totum chronicon desumsi, pag. 397. tomi primi bibliothecae Assemanianae, haec leguntur: *anno sexcentesimo septuagesimo quarto (Christi 363.) mense Cheziron Julianus praelium cum Persis commisit, ibique mortuus est.* Junium Assemanus vertit, ut supra jam innui, simulque in nota adjecta ex Graecis scriptoribus diem, qui Juliano ultimus fuit, notavit, 26 Junii anni 363. Ergo nec Majus Cheziron esse potest, nec Majum inter & Junium anceps. Chezironem Judaei non nominant, sed habent ejus loco *Sivanem* (\*\*)  quem Majum Buxtorfius

(\*) p. 1189.

(\*\*) Memoria aut calamo lapsus Castellus p. 1189. cum scriberet,  nomen esse mensis Hebraici  *zif*, partem Maji partem Junii continentis. Atqui *Ziv* Apri-

lis est Judaeorum, *Sivan* Majus cum parte Junii. Hunc autem *Sivanem* ex antiquo Judaeorum calendario respondere Chezironi Syriaco, argumento est versio Syriaca libri Estherae c. VIII, 9. ubi Hebraica

fius interpretatur. Re ergo ipsa Chezironem mensē, ut reliquos, XXX diebus prius quam Syri habent.

- 4) *Thommu*z vel *Thammuz*, Julius (\*), nomen ab Adonide fortitus Syris ita dicto. Cum enim ab apro, ut Graeci Adonidem, ita Thammuzum Syri laceratum tradant, (\*\*) consentaneum

בחדש השלישי הוא סיון (*men-*  
*se tertio, qui est Sivan*) Syriace red-  
duntur: חנוּן חנוּן חנוּן חנוּן  
Debeo observatum patri meo, qui  
errorem Castelli in suo exemplo  
castigavit, licet de mensibus Mo-  
faicis fecus quam equidem facio  
sentiens.

(\*) Chrestom. pag. 55. 66. 71.  
quibus ex locis medius reliquis in-  
signior est: anno 829. (Chr. 518.)  
die nono Thammuzi obiit Anasta-  
sius imperator. Atqui is, ut ex  
Cyrillo docet Assemanus ad h. l.  
p. 408. nono Julii die anni 518.  
ex vivis decessit.

(\*\*) Historiam, ut Syri eam  
narrant excerptit Castellus p. 3911.  
*Tamuz, insignis venator, quem*  
*cum Venus inter venandum ada-*  
*maret, rapuit eam Tamuz a ma-*  
*rto suo. Hunc foras exeuntem ad*  
*quaerendam uxorem suam, in-*  
*terfecit Tamuz. Ipsi paulo post*

*Tamuzo e deserto occurrens aper-*  
*silvestris eum necidedit: hinc plau-*  
*ctum pro eo fecerunt parentes ejus*  
*luctumque ingentem mense Tamuz.*  
Quibus lectis quis est, qui Adonidem non agnoscat? Est vero Syris domestica ac propria de Adouide narratio, religioque annua: eorum enim & fluvius est Adonis, Syriace *ܐܕܢܝܢ* scribendus, quasi diceres, *delicatus, pulcher*, qui Porphyrio teste quotannis, rubebat, sanguineum colorem imitatus, quo tempore Adonis occisus lugebatur. Rubere aliquando flumen certum est, nec solus narrat Porphyrius, non valde credulus testis, sed & viderunt recentiores, ut *Maundrellus*. Eone autem mense, qui Thammuz Syris dictus est, eximie rubeat, id vero est, quod doceri cuperem, alio enim tempore, nisi memoria labor, *Maundrellus* eum vidit, de tempore nihil retulit Porphyrius.

um sane erat, eum mensem, quo apri saeviores sunt, viderique posset Thammuzus periisse, nomini ejus & luctui sacrare. Judaeis autem lexicographisque Chaldaicis, ut, *Buxtorfio* p. 2604. תמו *Junius* est, unde & solstitium aestivum תמו תקופת *conversionem Thammuzi mensis* appellant.

- 5) א' Ob, Augustus (\*). De hoc quidem mense tandem aliquando vere, qui in prioribus aut tacuerat aut erraverat, CASTELLUS, (vir, quem errantem veneror, ac prope majoris facio quam alios vera dicentes) columna secunda heptaglotti: א', *Augustus, & est ordine undecimus mensis annum ab Octobri exorsis.* Addit praeterea, ad Arabica vocabula, quae Syriaca excipiunt, deveniens, אב (Ab) *idem significare Arabibus, Syriae praesertim & Mesopotamiae incolis, Aët. XIII, 25. adscribens.* Nempe illi lectioni ecclesiasticae, quae Aët. XIII, 25. incipit, dieque Martyrii Joannis Baptistae, i. e. vicesimo nono Augusti, recitari solebat, in novo testamento Arabico inscriptum est: *lectio festi Joannis Baptistae vicesimo nono die Ab.*

Et hunc Judaei, lexicographique Judaizantes, mensem occupant, absolveruntque antequam Syris veniat. Calendario enim Judaico, & BUXTORFIO דא Julius est: *nomen, inquit pagina statim secunda, mensis quinti, qui a novilunio Julii nostri incipit, ipsique in ordine respondet.*

- 6) אב' Ilul, September. (\*\*)

Hoc

(\*) Chrest. p. 56. 58.

(\*\*) Chrest. p. 55. & 62.

Hoc vero nomen מְלוּל, Nehem. VI, 15. in sacris literis scriptum, calendaria Judaeorum, & lexicographi iterum praecedenti mensi, Augusto, assignant.

- 7) מְלוּל Thisri prior, October, (\*) qui & Arabibus eodem nomine تشرين الاول dicitur. Hinc & factum, ut cum Novembrem Thisri secundum dicant, totus autumnus, hos duo menses complexus מְלוּל, tempus Thisricum vocetur (\*\*).

Calendario Judaico, interpretibus bibliorum, & lexicographis Hebraicis, תשרי September est, quantumvis invitus. Hoc enim mense Thisri festum tabernaculorum celebrandum erat.

- 8) מְלוּל Thisri posterior, Arabice تشرين الاخر dicitur, November (\*\*).

Hoc nomen mensis Judaei non habent, sed Octobrem suum *Marcheschvanem* (מררחשון) nominant.

- 9) מְלוּל Conun prior, December. (\*\*\*\*) Dicitur & aliquando simpliciter מְלוּל, ut Zachar. VII, 1. Hoc nomen Syrus interpres pro Hebraico מְלוּל (*Cisleu*) ponere solet, quem *Conunem priorem* reddit 1 Macc. I, 57. IV, 52. & *Conunem* Zachar. VII, 1. Notandum id contra Castellum, qui (\*\*\*\*) *Conunem* a *Conune priore* distin-

(\*) Chrest. p. 57. 62. 73.

(\*\*\*\*) Chrest. p. 68. 71.

(\*\*) Chrest. p. 86.

(\*\*\*\*\*) Lex. p. 1750.

(\*\*\*) Chrest. p. 58. 67. 71.

stinguit, vultque Conunem esse Novembrem, Conunem priorem Decembrem, & Conunem posteriorem Januarium.

Conunem nullum omnino habent Judaei, qui autem ita Syriace vertitur, Cislevum, & calendarium Judaicum, & bibliorum interpretes Novembrem faciunt.

10) *שֶׁבַט אֲדָר* *Conum posterior*, Januarius. Exemplum jam non suppetit, sed nec eo opus, cum in hujus nominis versione consentientem habeam Castellum, sitque res per se clara. *Chrest. p. 55. 77.*

Conunem omnino Judaeos non habere, jam dixi. Decimum suum mensem *טבת* vocant, voluntque Decembrem esse.

11) *שֶׁבַט* *Schebot*, vel *Schebat* Februarius (\*). De significatione nominis, aliter a Castello intellecti, non finit dubitare nos locus prior, chrestomathiae pag. 55. vel apud Assemanum T. I, 397. *anno sexcentesimo septuagesimo quinto, mense Schebat* (*שֶׁבַט אֲדָר*) *imperio potitur Valentinianus Magnus, cum Valente fratre: Valentinianum enim imperatorem renunciatum esse VI. Cal. Martii, ex Socrate ad hunc locum monet Assemanus.*

*שֶׁבַט* calendario Judaico est Januarius, atque ita Zach. I, 7. ab interpretibus & lexicographis redditur.

12) *אֲדָר* *Odor* vel *Adar*, Martius (\*\*). Consentit hic mecum CASTELLUS, ut disputatione opus non

(\*) Chrest. p. 55. 77.

(\*\*) Chrest. p. 55. 69.

non sit: firmatque quodammodo significationem etymologia. Hebraeum ארר, quod ex mera conjectura magnificum recentiores reddunt, proprie *fortem* (\*), atque inde *arietem* significasse videtur. Jeremiae certe c. XXV, 34. 35. ארירי הצאן, *Adiri ovium*, vix alii haberi, quam *arietes gregis* possunt: praeveruntque mihi ex antiquis, qui ita verterunt, LXX in utroque versu αριους, & Syrus v. 35. اربو. Jam ab ariete Martius unus mensium omnium dici potuit, quod tum in arietis signum sol ingreditur. Hinc &, ut id obiter dicam, religionem *Adrammelechi* & *Anammelechi* tot controversiis ac conjecturis obscuratam, (2 Reg. XVII, 31.) interpretor, ut verus autumnalisque sol hoc duplici nomine cultus sit. Soli quippe *regis* nomen apud Orientales consuetum ac pene proprium in ejus cultu fuisse, satis notum: jam si ארר aries est, malim certe ארמלך, quasi tu diceres *regem* vel *solem arietis*, solem intelligere in arietem ingressum, quam consvetas ac dissidentes inter se conjecturas sequi. Nec vero haec etymo-

(\*) Ita vertit Syrus Jerem. XXV, 34. *fortes ovium* (أربو) pro arietibus ponens. Insignis est pro hac significatione locus Jud. V, 13. invitis licet accentibus vertendus: *tunc proculcabat profugus FORTES, populus Jehovahae proculcabat heroas*. Sic qui in primo versus membro ארירי erant, in posteriore גבורים *he-*

roes vocantur. Eadem significatio non inepta loco 2 Chron. XXIII, 19. ubi ארירי aut *fortissimi* sunt, aut *duces*. Sed de hoc loco non disputans, id unum noto, LXX vertisse δουρατους, Vulgatam *fortissimos*, Chaldaeam גבורים (*heroas*) ut veteribus nominis significatio, quam apud recentiores omnino desideres, perquam nota fuisse videatur.

etymologiae amore, nec a re aliena disputavi, sed eo pertinent, ut antiquissimis hominibus, quique primi mensibus haec nomina dederunt, *Adar* fuerit, qui Syris est *Martius*, non qui Judaeis nostri temporis existimatur *Februarius*.

Verum ab his Judaeis tralatitius ad nos error manavit, ut bibliorum interpretes, & lexicographi,  $\text{כסליו}$  *Februarium* esse jubeant.

Hic quia de Syrorum mensibus ea scripsi, quae saepe *Castello*, magno viro, sunt contraria, quamquam parti meorum consentientem, reliqua quoque, ex serie mensium consequentia, dare eum necesse est; tamen ne vel argumentis *Assemanoque* teste confirmatum calendarium Syriacum suspectum videatur lectoribus, qui Syriacae linguae peregrinitate arcentur, quo minus in haec inquirere possint: unum adhuc laudabo, de chronologia Syriaca insigniter meritum *Theophilum Sigfridum Bayerum*. Huic non de mensibus quidem, sed de anno Syrorum, ejusque ab *Octobri* initio, disputanti, obiterque menses quoque indicanti, pagina 17 historiae *Osrhoenae*,

<i>Teschrin prior</i>				<i>Octobribus</i>
<i>Teschrin posterior</i>	—	—		<i>Novembr.</i>
<i>Conun prior</i>	—	—		<i>Decembribus</i>
<i>Conun posterior</i>	—	—		<i>Januariis</i>
<i>Schvot</i>	—	—	—	<i>Februariis</i>
<i>Odor</i>	—	—	—	<i>Martiis</i>
<i>Nison</i>	—	—	—	<i>Aprilibus</i>
<i>Jor</i>	—	—	—	<i>Majis</i>
<i>Chsiron</i>	—	—	—	<i>Juniis</i>
<i>Tomus</i>	—	—	—	<i>Juliis</i>
<i>Ov (Ab)</i>	—	—	—	<i>Augustis</i>
<i>Ilul</i>	—	—	—	<i>Septembribus.</i>

## §. VII.

*Syrorum ratio menses appellandi antiqua est & Mo-  
saica: Judaeorum recens & erronea.*

Jam cum dubitare nemo possit, quin Syris Chal-  
daeisque, qui uno nomine, nec lingua diversi, Aramaei  
sunt, Hebraeisque cognata dialecto utentibus, mensium  
communia nomina idem olim significarint: manifestum  
est, in alterutrum calendarium, sive Syriacum sive Ju-  
daicum, successu temporis errorem irrepsisse. Cujus  
autem eum populi credemus esse? illius, qui tot seculis  
alias inter gentes, alio utentes calendario, extorris pa-  
triamque nullam habens, degit? an Syrorum, suam ad-  
huc Syriam habitantium? Aut, si hoc ad sententiam fe-  
rendam non sufficit, in tanta legum Mosis cum calenda-  
rio Judaico pugna, tantaque cum Syriaco consensione,  
quis dissimulare potest, errorem Judaeorum esse, men-  
sesque a Mose & aliis antiquis scriptoribus Hebraeis com-  
memoratos, ex Syrorum fastis, non ex Judaicis, accipi-  
endos esse? maxime cum Adar mensis, ab ariete dictus,  
Syris Martius sit, quo sol in arietem, Judaeis Februarius  
quo in pisces ingreditur?

Quo autem primum tempore Judaei a mensium an-  
tiqua & vera ratione, intercalationis forte vitio, aut Ro-  
manos imitati, quibus Martius primus anni mensis erat,  
septimus September, defecerint, utrum ante an post  
Thalmudicas pandectas conscriptas, Tiberiensiumne  
schola errorem praeiverit, an alia, de eo nondum ali-  
quid certi mihi constat. Id quidem paulo deinde videbi-  
mus, Josepho antiquam adhuc anni descriptionem so-  
lam fuisse cognitam, Nisanem Aprilem, Thisrium  
Octobrem facienti. Quo tempore biblia Hebraica Syria-



ce translata sunt, eosdem adhuc cum Syris menses Judaei habebant: interpret enim Syrus, cui Judaica ignota esse non poterant, cum ex Hebraicis verteret, Judaeique Syriam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam frequentes habitarent, celeberrimasque ibi terrarum academias haberent, hic ergo Syrus interpret eadem pro Hebraicis mensium nomina reponit, plane non suspicatus, Hebraicos menses integris XXX diebus Syriacos antevertere. Exempla sunt, *Nisanis*, Nehem. II, 1. Esth. III, 7. *Eluli* Neh. VI, 15. *Schebati* Zachar. VII, 1. *Adari* Ezr. VI, 15. Esth. III, 7. 13. VIII, 12. &c.

### §. VIII.

*Josephus calendario Syriaco concinit, Judaicum ignorat.*

Credulitatem Rabbini addixerit, necesse est, si quis calendarium Judaeorum defendere, sive adeo dubitare in re tam manifesta pergat: & tamen vel tali eximere dubitationem, aut certe labefactare opinionem a Judaeis acceptam ausim, teste excitato locupletissimo, qui stante adhuc templo in Palaestina vixit, festa vidit, celebravit, sacrisque ipse sacerdos operatus est. Josephum dico, quem hac de re non auditum miror, sed & fateor, vix nunc demum, quum haec ante quatuor annos scripta ederem, a me esse interrogatum. Id certe ignorare non poterat, quo quodque festum mense suo adhuc tempore in Palaestina celebratum esset.

Mense primo, quem & spicarum Moses dicit, alii Nisanem, Israelitas ex Aegypto egressos, inque rei memoriam illo mense medio paschale sacrum institutum, Moses scriptum reliquit. Hunc Martium reliqui arbitran-

trantur, ego Aprilem esse docui: jam Josephum audiamus. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς, inquit (\*), ἐκέλευσε μωυσὴν παραγγῆλαι τῷ λαῷ, θυσίαν ἐτίμην ἔχειν, παρασκευασαμένους δεκάτην τοῦ ξανθοῦ μηνὸς εἰς τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην, ὅς παρὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις Φερμουθὶ καλεῖται, Νισάν δὲ παρ' Ἑβραίοις, μακεδόνες δ' αὐτὸν ξανθὸν προσαγορεύουσιν: i. e. *Deus autem jussit Moysen populo edicere, ut in promptu haberent sacrificium, praeeparantes illud a decima Xanthici mensis in decimam quartam: qui mensis apud Aegyptios quidem Phermuthi vocatur, atque apud Hebraeos Nisan, Macedones autem Xanthicum appellant.* Xanthico ergo mense, id est, Aprili, pascha celebrare Josephus consueverat, hunc mensem ab Hebraeis Nisan dici, hujus die decimo quarto Israelitas Aegyptum reliquisse, testatur. Idem libro III. c. X. §. 5. τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ ξανθοῦ, ὅς Νισάν παρ' ἡμῶν καλεῖται, καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη κατὰ σελήνην ἐν κριῷ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος, τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν τότε ἐξιώντας Αἰγύπτου θύσαι προἴπον ἡμᾶς, πάσχα λεγομένην, δι' ἔτους ἐκάστου θύειν ἐνόμισε. Καὶ δὴ τελοῦμεν αὐτὴν κατὰ Φεατριᾶς &c. *Xanthico autem mense, qui apud nos Nisan vocatur, estque anni initium, decimo quarto post novilunium die, sole in ariete constituto, sacrificium, quod tunc egredientes ex Aegypto fecisse supra dixi, Pascha nominatum, quotannis fieri jussit. Perficimus autem illud per contubernia &c.* His quid dici clarius distinctiusque poterat? Xanthicum mensem nominat; addit solem tum in ariete constitutum, quod XIV die Aprilis verum, at die XIV Martii falsum, quippe quo tempore constitutus in piscibus XXI demum Martii die arietem intrat. Et tamen ne doctis quidem interpretibus Josephus intellectus. Qui enim copiose ad hunc locum commentatus est, Bernardus, etymologica multa de nominibus mensium habet,

(\*) Ant. II, c. XIV. §. 6.

bet, Josephum autem communi nostri temporis errori contradicere non monuit. Nempe tantum valebat recepta opinio Judaicæ calendarii auctoritas, ut Josephum non de Macedonum, sed de Syro-Macedonum mensibus loqui comminiscerentur (\*). Id vero ut gratis dicitur, ita a nostro loco maxime abhorret, ubi signum quoque caeleste in quo sol decimo quarto die mensis primi constitutus sit, commemoratur.

Septimum mensem, in cujus Calendas solemnius novilunium, decimum in diem festum propitiationis, & in decimum quintum tabernaculorum feriae incidebant, idem non Septembrem habuit, sed Octobrem. Sic enim horum festorum descriptionem orditur, I. III. c. X. §. 2. τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ μηνί, ὃν μακεδόνες ὑπερβερεταῖον καλοῦσι. *septimo autem mense, quem Macedones Hyperberetaeum* (id vero est, Octobrem) *vocant.* Quae cum tam perspicue scriptisset, nec sit, qui ignoret Hyperberetaeum esse Octobrem (\*\*), praejudicatarum tamen opinionum ea vis fuit, ut & huic ipsi loco *Havercampius* subscriberet: *scilicet neomenia mensis Tisri, qui in Septembrem Romulidum, & Macedonum Hyperberetaeum incurrit.* Iterum in dedicatione templi, ejusdem mensis & festi mentionem faciens, ita descripsit: ἐβδόμῳ μηνί συνίασιν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων θυσίῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν μακεδόνων ὑπερβερεταῶ λεγομένων: *mense septimo convenerunt, ab idigenis quidem Thisri, a Macedonibus vero dicto Hyperberetaeo. Incidit autem in idem tempus & tabernaculorum solemnitas &c.* I. VIII. Ant. c. IV. §. I.

Reliquos idem menses, ubi eorum mentio facienda, eodem modo Macedonicis comparat, ut cum templi aedificatio-

(\*) Vid. *Havercampium* ad Ant. I. c. III. §. 3.

(\*\*) Svidas: ὑπερβερεταῖος. μὴν κατὰ μακεδόνας, ὃ Ὀκτώβριος.

ficationem coeptam narrat, *menſe ſecundo, quem Macedones Artemiſium vocant, Hebraei Far.* Artemiſius ſine dubio Majus: Joſephi ergo tempore Majum *Far* vocabant Hebraei, ſecundumque numerabant, non ut calendaria Judaica volunt, Aprilem.

Plura in hanc ſententiam adferri, ac forte omnium menſium Hebraicorum nomina Macedonica ex Joſepho colligi poſſent. Sed haec ſufficiant.

## §. IX.

*Conſectaria.*

Ergo corrigenda omnia in menſium nominibus vocabularia Hebraica, deferendique, quoties de menſibus loquitur codex Hebraicus, commentatores Judaei & chriſtiani qui poſt X ſaeculum vixerunt: totaque praeterea in menſibus mutanda chronologia Hebraica, atque ad hunc reformanda modum.

Antequam eum menſem, quo Iſraelitae ex Aegypto egreſſi ſunt, primum eſſe juberet Moſes, a menſe, ut notum omnibus eſt, ſeptimo anni initium faciebant. Tunc ergo iidem numeri erant menſium Iſraeliticorum ac Syriacorum, atque ut nunc Syris, ita ante Moſen Iſraelitis primus anni menſis erat October,

ſecundus	—	—	November
tertius	—	—	December
quartus	—	—	Januarius
quintus	—	—	Februarius
ſextus	—	—	Martius
ſeptimus	—	—	Aprilis
oſtavus	—	—	Majus
nonus	—	—	Junius

decimus	—	—	Julius
undecimus	—	—	Augustus
duodecimus	—	—	September:

deque his mensibus Moses loqui putandus est, ubi in diluvii historia (\*) mensis primi, secundi, septimi, ac decimi mentionem facit. Coepit diluvium Novembri, (non ut putant, Octobri) Aprili (non Martio) decresciente aqua adhaesit navigium montibus illisum, Julio (non Junio) capita montium eminuerunt, Octobri, (non Septembri) sicari terra coepit, Novembri prorsus siccata, navigioque egressus est Noachus.

Postquam autem Moses ei mensi, quo Aegyptum reliquerat, illum honorem habuit, ut primus anni esset, menses Hebraici ita ad nostros redigendi.

- 1) Primus, Mofi spicarum (\*\*) mensis, aliis Nisan dictus, initium capit a primo Aprilis novilunio, nostro Aprili, quantum in mense lunari fieri potest, comparandus, ita ut pars ejus nonnunquam in sequentem Majum incideret.
- 2) Secundus, Ziv (זִיב) Hebraeis (\*\*\*), Chaldaeis Jjar dictus, a primo novilunio Maji initium capiens, nostrum, ut lunaris facere mensis potest, Majum retulit.
- 3) Tertius, Sivan (סִיבָן) a primo Junii novilunio computabatur, nostro quodammodo Junio similis, nisi quod ob lunaris mensis aberrationes pars ejus in Julium incidere posset.

4) Quar-

(\*) Genes. VII, 11. VIII, 4. 5. Aprili per omnem Palaestinam hordeum spicas protrudit.

(\*\*) Hoc nomen unde habeat, (\*\*\*) I Reg. VI, 1: 37. lecto §. II. statim intelligitur. (\*\*\*\*) Esther. VIII, 9.

- 4) Quartus, cujus nomen in Hebraicis bibliis non legimus, Chaldaeis Thammuz dictus (\*), a Julii primo novilunio incipit, nostrumque Julium refert, ita tamen, ut ob lunae inaequalitates possit finis ejus in Augustum incidere.

De nominis Chaldaici etymo supra egi, ex cultu Adonidis orto. Arabes ab hoc mense totam aestatem تموز dixerunt.

- 5) Quintus, in codice Hebraico iterum anonymus, sed Chaldaeis אב dictus, incipit a primo Augusti novilunio, Augusto nostro quodammodo idem, sed si novilunium serius fuerit partem Septembris complexurus.

- 6) Sextus, Elul (\*\*), initium capit a primo Septembris novilunio, nostro Septembri comparandus, sed, si serius sit novilunium, partem Octobris comple-  
xurus.

- 7) Septimus, quo festum tabernaculorum celebrabatur, Hebraicis bibliis *mensis perennium rivorum* (ירח האיתנים) dictus (\*\*\*), Chaldaeis Thischri (תשרי) a primo Octobris novilunio procedit, nostro Octobri, & si serius novilunium fuerit parti Novembris, respondens.

De uno hic nomine Hebraico, etymologiae curiosis parum recte intellecto, aliquid addendum, quia appellativa significatio naturam mensis eximie signat. איתנים (Ethanim) in quo vocabulo saepius obvio  
ridicu-

(\*) Vide Thargum Jonathanis  
Genes. VIII, 5. & BUXTORFII  
lex. Thalm. col. 2604.

(\*\*) Nehem. VI, 15.  
(\*\*\*) I Reg. VIII, 2.

ridicule luserunt superiores, ad Arabicum **وقن** *perennis fuit aqua, vel rivus*, referendum esse, primus, nisi fallor, monuit pater meus in historia linguae Arabicae anno 1706. edita (\*), multoque post illum copiosius, qui de hoc solo **איתן** integram dissertationem scripsit, SCHULTENSIVS libro primo *originum Hebraicorum*, capite VIII, licet de nostri mensis nomine inde explicando neuter cogitaret. Mihi vero haec jam sumentis **ירח האיתנים** est *mensis perennium rivorum*, quo nomine unus ex omnibus October dignus est. Messis enim tempore, quod in Majum Juniumque incidit, cum nullae, (\*\*) Julio autem Augusto, Septembri, ac pleraque Octobris parte, rarae sint in Palaestina pluviae (\*\*\*), consequi necesse est, ut torrentes ultimo mensium non pluviorum, Octobri, exaruerint, quique illo mense supersunt rivi fluviique, perennes sint. Solum ergo perennes rivi cum Octobri fluant, *perennium mensem* ipsa prope natura, si menses vocabulis signet, dixerit. Statim enim succedente Novembri torrentium, qui antea exaruerant, aliquos iterum manare necesse est.

- 8) Octavus, **בול** (\*\*\*\*) Bul Hebraeis a primo Novembris novilunio initium capit, nostrum Novembrem, ac pro varietate noviluniorum aliquando partem Decembris, complexus.

Et

(\*) *Christ. Benedicti Michaelis dissertatio inauguralis de historia linguae Arabicae* §. 29. Verba non excerpto, quia malui omnes patris mei dissertationes, innumeris ab eo adnotationibus manuscriptis

auctas, junctim edere.

(\*\*) 1 Sam. XII, 16. 17.

(\*\*\*) Vide *Buschingii Asiam* p. 298. 299.

(\*\*\*\*) 1 Reg. VI, 38.

Et hunc mensem fatis signare etymon videtur, si a בָּרַא (בלל) *rigavit*, *madefecit* derives, unde & מַבּוּל *diluvium*, & שְׂבַלָּת *fluctus*, Hebraeis dicitur Novembri enim pluviae in Palaestina incipiunt, primae dictae (\*), suntque eo mense exundationes fluminum & eluviones magis quam caeteris timendae (\*\*).

9) Nonus כִּסְלוֹ, *Kisleu* (\*\*\*), incipit a primo nostri Decembris novilunio, Decembrem nostrum habiturus, aut, si serius incidat novilunium, partem sequentis Januarii.

10) Decimus, טֵבֶת, *Tebeth* (\*\*\*\*), a primo Januarii nostri novilunio computandus, illoque seriore in Februarium excurrens.

11) Undecimus, שֶׁבַט, *Schebat* (\*\*\*\*\*), a primo Februarii nostri novilunio, Februarium, & tardiore luna, partem Martii habiturus.

12) Duodecimus, אָדָר, *Adar* (\*\*\*\*\*) a Martii nostri primo novilunio, Martium nostrum referens, aut, si serius novilunium incidat, aliquot dies Aprili sequentis anni surrepturus.

### Quae

(\*) Vide Beers *Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung der alten Zeitrechnung*, T. II. p. 29. atque adde *Shawium* qui p. 335. (editionis a. 1757. factae) ita: *the first rains in these countries usually fall in the beginning of November, the latter sometimes in the middle, sometimes towards the End of April.*

(\*\*) Vide *Chronicon Edessenum*, ad annum 513. pag. 47. *chrestomathiae*. Edessa anno Christi 302. mense Novembri a Scirto flumine ingentem cladem accepit.

(\*\*\*) Zach. VII, 1. Nehem. I, 1.

(\*\*\*\*) Esther II, 16.

(\*\*\*\*\*) Zachar. I, 7.

(\*\*\*\*\*\*) Esther III, 7. 13. VIII,

12. IX, 1.



Quae supra pro mea fastorum Hebraicorum descriptione ex legibus Moſis, Syriacis mensium nominibus, ac Josepho, teste locupletissimo, disputavi, ea jam etymologia quoque nominum confirmari non aegre fero. Non is sum, qui nimium tribuam diligentiae etymologicae: arborum, plantarum, gemmarum, animalium, artificiorum nominibus explicandis plerumque non sufficere etymologiam, quippe quae & saepe obscura fit, nec definitiones descriptionesque contineat, monere auditores soleo. At si quis mensem spicarum, mensem rivorum perennium, mensem exundationum audiat, non dubitabit, quin ille mensis initio ita dictus fuerit, cui natura spicas, rivos perennes, eluſiones dedit. Sic, si quis aliquando nostra lingua emortua & obliterata, nomen vel unius mensis Weinmonath (*mensis vini*) legat, statim ex climate Germaniae inveniet, quis mensis sit, nec lexicis, commentatoribusque credet, quantacunque constantia Septembri aut Augusto hoc nomen vindicantibus.

### §. X.

#### *Corollarii occasio.*

Hunc qui praecedit paragraphum cum reliquis, ante aliquot annos scriptis, adderem, vellemque menses, quos numeris distinxeram, nominibus quoque Hebraicis signare, uno eorum non statim succurrente, evolvebam indicem vocabularii Hebraici latinum. In mirum autem vocabulariorum defectum incidebam, quem antea nunquam deprehenderam. Cum nihil magis necessarium sit linguam discenti, quam numerorum & mensium nomina statim in promptu habere, non solum lexica Hebraica & grammaticae nuspian junctim mensium nomina oculis afferunt, sed vel in indicibus Latinis latina mensium no-

mina omiſſa videbam, ut ſi ſcire cuperes quomodo Februarioſum vocent Hebraei, nullus id reperiendi modus ſit, niſi memoriae ſuccurrat. Miratus tantam lacunam aliud lexicon evolvebat, ſed hiabat; tertium, nec hoc lo- cupletius. Recordabar patrem meum in ſchedula, quam a me diſſentiens per aliquot dies mecum communicaverat, cum haec ipſa de menſibus Hebraeorum dubitare inciperem, nomina menſium Hebraica, Arabica, Aethiopica perſcripta habuiſſe. Ejusmodi autem menſium index cum neceſſaria pene pars vocabularii eſſe videatur, multosque annos lexico Cocceji emendando, obſervationibus augendo, & perficiendo pater meus, novam ejus editionem aut novum proſus lexicon parans, impendiſſet, quaerebam in ſchedis paternis, quas mihi teſtamento reliquit, maximeque in collectaneis ejus ad Coccejanum opus, hunc quem olim in manibus habueram menſium indicem. Inveni, nomini  $\psi\tau\eta$  adjectum, cumque plures fore arbitrer, quibus gratum ſit, nomina menſium uno in indice habere, ſequi labore aut reminiſcendi ſemper, aut ſingula quaerendi, levare, conſilium cepi, has ſchedas paternas tanquam aliquod corollarium huic commentationi adjiciendi; nec a tironibus ſolum me gratiam initurum puto, ſed & ab eruditis, cum contineant aliqua non omnibus nota. Cupio equidem totum lexicon publici juris facere, eſtque pene perfectum opus, ut deſcriptorem modo prudentem & linguarum Orientalium peritum, atque typographum exſpectet. Saepe equidem patrem hortatus jam a XXV & quod excurrit annis ſum, atque ad annum uſque 1756 hortari atque obſecrare non deſii, feſtinaret, initiumque faceret edendi: ſed partim obrepens ſenſim ſeneſtus, partim nimia in colligendo diligentia, impedimento fuit. Inſtan-

tius petenti reponere solebat, si vel ipse opus non perficeret, me posse aliquando ultimam collectaneis manum adhibere, eaque ordine digesta edere. Nempe laboris patientiorem, quam sum putabat, nec suspicabatur, quam parum sim ad lexicon scribendum a natura formatus. Accedebat, quod saepe eum monebam, multis me in rebus ab ipso dissentire, quare mallet, ipsum ea edere, quae tanta diligentia & doctrina collegerat. Disputationes enim & dissensiones de vocabulorum significatione nec lexicon decebant, & nimis aucturae molem libri erant: ea autem omnia si omittere vellem, quae mihi vera non videntur, verisimile est, non parum quoque me verum omisurum. Solet enim in medio dissentientium libera errare veritas, nulli addicta. Meis praeterea edendis ita distineor, ut tempus ne his quidem sufficiat. Quaero tamen, quomodo possim paterna illa collectanea, magni sane pretii, immensi laboris, insigni eruditionis philologiaeque Orientalis copia, publici usus facere, nec deerit, qui meo nomine, meque illis in rebus, in quibus opus fuerit, juvante, describendum, digerendum, edendumque opus suspiciat.

Sed nunc ad indicem mensium redit oratio, quem legentes scire velim, patrem meum de mensibus Hebraicis non mecum sensisse, sed cum his, qui ante eum vixerant. Noverat quidem ex meis literis, eorum mihi factos ob legum Mosaicarum cum climate Palaestinae pugnam suspectos videri, ideoque sua mihi mittebat, ut hanc mihi dubitationem eximeret in literis intercalationis me admonens. Ipsam autem de mensibus Hebraeorum commentationem non vidit ejus anni Julio mense praelectam, cujus initio ex vivis decesserat. Ergo cum legent eum menssem, qui mihi Aprilis est, patri esse Martium,

tium, non mirabuntur diffensum: nec enim paternas schedas adjicio, ut supra dicta confirmem, sed ut indicem mensium cupientibus gratum faciam. In Syriacis autem & Arabicis mensibus semper aut consentit mecum pater, aut filius: Nec enim hic facile est dissentire. Erit subinde, ubi infra paginam notam addere lubebit.



## III)

*Nomina mensum Aethiopica & Coptica, ex fastis sacris ecclesiae Aethiopiae, apud J. Ludolfum in Comment.*

*hist. Aeth. p. 389. seqq.*

Nota: Aethiopes & Copti annum autumno ordiuntur.

	<i>Aethiopice</i> (*)	<i>Coptice</i>
1) September	— مرکسم —	توت <i>Tot</i>
2) October	— طتمط <i>Tekemt</i> —	بابه <i>Baba</i>
3) November	— حدر <i>Hedar</i> —	هتور <i>Hatur</i>
4) December	— تخسس <i>Tachsas</i> —	کبهک <i>Chiahac</i>
5) Januarius	— طر <i>Ter</i> —	طوبه <i>Tuba</i>
6) Februarius	— یکتت <i>Jacatit</i> —	امشیر <i>Amschir</i> vel, <i>Mechir.</i>
7) Martius	— مجبت <i>Magabit</i> —	برمهات <i>Bermahat</i>
8) Aprilis	— میزی <i>Mijazia</i> —	برموده <i>Bermoda</i> (**)
9) Majus	— جنبت <i>Ginbot</i> —	باشنش <i>Bashansh</i>
10) Junius	— سن <i>Sene</i> —	بوونه <i>Baune</i>
11) Julius	— حمل <i>Hamle</i> —	ابیب <i>Abib</i>
12) Augustus	— نکرز <i>Nahazze</i> —	مسری <i>Maffari.</i>

## XII.

(\*) Literis me Arabicis uti oportet, ob Aethiopicorum defectum.

(\*\*) Meminisse velim lectores loci Josephi, §. VIII. citati, ubi Nisanem Hebraeorum comparabat

Xanthico Macedonum & Pharmuthi Aegyptiorum. (ὅς παρά μιν Αἰγυπτίοις Φαρμουθὶ καλεῖται.) Ergo & Aegyptium Aprilis nomen pro interpretatione adscripsit Judaeorum historicus.

XII.  
DE  
SYRIA SOBAEA,  
QVAM DAVIDES SUB JUGUM MISIT,  
NESIBI  
AC CIRCUMJECTO TRACTU,  
COMMENTATIO,  
RECITATA IN SOLENNI SOCIETATIS REGIÆ  
CONVENTU,

DIE 16. NOVEMBRIS 1765.

§. I.

*Soba quae sit, ignoratur. Nostra quid referat, aliquid  
hac de re certi habere?*

**D**e magno aliquando ac praepotente Syriae Sobaeae (\*)  
regno, cum quo ancipiti Marte gravia bella, Davi-  
de rege, Israelitae gesserunt, differere statutum habeo,  
ejusque situm demonstrare: in quo investigando si pa-  
rum laboravero, eaque attulero, quae neminem fugere  
potuisse videantur, non tamen hoc loco ac tempore, nec  
Vestra audientia indigna judico, quod non solum certa  
& indubitabilia sunt, sed & nova, nullique historicorum  
aut geographorum, Europaeorum certe, dicta.

Quid

(\*) ארם צובה vel צובה

H

# THE ASTRONOMY OF THE BIBLE

AN ELEMENTARY COMMENTARY ON THE  
ASTRONOMICAL REFERENCES  
OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

BY

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'THE ROYAL OBSERVATORY, GREENWICH: ITS HISTORY AND WORK,'  
AND 'ASTRONOMY WITHOUT A TELESCOPE'

*WITH THIRTY-FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS*

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all the gods. Orion—Merodach—must have been likewise a god, the great-great-grandson of Tiamat, whom he destroys.

The Hebrew conception was altogether different. Neither Merodach, nor Tiamat, nor the constellations of Orion and Cetus, nor the actual stars of which they are composed, are anything but creatures. Jehovah has made Orion, as well as the "Seven Stars," as "His hand hath formed the crooked serpent." By the mouth of Isaiah He says, "I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord, do all these things." The Babylonian view was of two divinities pitted against each other, and the evil divinity was the original and the originator of the good. In the Hebrew view, even the powers of evil are created things; they are not self-existent.

And the Hebrews took a different view from the Babylonians of the story told by these constellations. The Hebrews always coupled Orion with the Pleiades; the Babylonians coupled Orion with Cetus—that is, Merodach with Tiamat.

The view that has come down to us through the Greeks agrees much better with the association of the constellations as held amongst the Hebrews, rather than amongst the Babylonians. The Hunter Orion, according to the Greeks, chased the Pleiades—the little company of Seven Virgins, or Seven Doves—and he was confronted by the Bull. In their view, too, the Sea-monster was not warring against Orion, but against the chained woman, Andromeda.



## CHAPTER VIII

### MAZZAROTH

WE have no assistance from any cuneiform inscriptions as to the astronomical significance of 'Ayish, Kīmah, and Kēsil, but the case is different when we come to *Mazzaroth*. In the fifth tablet of the Babylonian Creation epic we read—

1. He (Marduk) made the stations for the great gods ;
2. The stars, their images, as the stars of the zodiac, he fixed.
3. He ordained the year, and into sections (*mizrāta*) he divided it ;
4. For the twelve months he fixed three stars.
5. After he had [ . . . ] the days of the year [ . . . ] images
6. He founded the station of Nibir to determine their bounds ;
7. That none might err or go astray.
8. He set the station of Bēl and Ea along with him."

In the third line *mizrāta*, cognate with the Hebrew *Mazzārōth*, means the sections or divisions of the year, corresponding to the signs of the zodiac mentioned in the second line. There can therefore be little doubt that the translators who gave us our English versions are practically correct in the rendering of Job xxxviii. 32 which they give in the margin, "Canst thou bring forth *Mazzaroth* (or the twelve signs) in his season?"

The foregoing extract from the fifth tablet of Creation

has no small astronomical interest. Merodach is represented as setting in order the heavenly bodies. First of all he allots their stations to the great gods, dividing to them the constellations of the zodiac, and the months of the year; so that the arrangement by which every month had its tutelary deity or deities, is here said to be his work. Next, he divides up the constellations of the zodiac; not merely arranging the actual stars, but appropriating to each constellation its special design or "image." Third, he divides up the year to correspond with the zodiac, making twelve months with three "stars" or constellations to each. In other words, he carries the division of the zodiac a step further, and divides each sign into three equal parts, the "decans" of the astrologers, each containing  $10^{\circ}$  (*deka*) of the ecliptic.

The statement made in line 4 refers to an important development of astronomy. The *constellations* of the zodiac, that is, the groups made up of the actual stars, are very unequal in size and irregular in shape. The numerous theories, ancient or modern, in which the constellations are supposed to owe their origin to the distinctive weather of the successive months, each constellation figure being a sort of hieroglyph for its particular month, are therefore all manifestly erroneous, for there never could have been any real fixed or steady correlation between the constellations and the months. Similarly, the theories which claim that the ancient names for the months were derived from the constellations are equally untenable. Some writers have even held both classes of

theory, overlooking the fact that they mutually contradict each other.

But there came a time when the inconvenience of the unequal division of the zodiac by the constellations was felt to be an evil, and it was remedied by dividing the ecliptic into twelve equal parts, each part being called after the constellation with which it corresponded most nearly at the time such division was made. These equal divisions have been called the *Signs* of the zodiac. It must be clearly understood that they have always and at all times been imaginary divisions of the heavens, that they were never associated with real stars. They were simply a picturesque mode of expressing celestial longitude; the distance of a star from the place of the sun at the spring equinox, as measured along the ecliptic,—the sun's apparent path during the year.

The Signs once arranged, the next step was an easy one. Each sign was equivalent to 30 degrees of longitude. A third of a sign, a "decan," was 10 degrees of longitude, corresponding to the "week" of ten days used in Egypt and in Greece.

This change from the constellations to the Signs cannot have taken place very early. The place of the spring equinox travels backwards amongst the stars at the rate of very little more than a degree in 72 years. When the change was made the spring equinox was somewhere in the constellation *Aries*, the Ram, and therefore *Aries* was then adopted as the first Sign, and must always remain such, since the Signs move amongst the stars with the equinox.

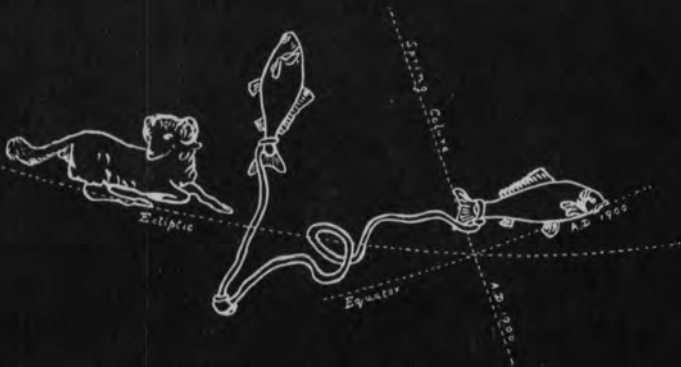
We cannot fix when this change was made within a few years, but it cannot have been *before* the time when the sun at the spring equinox was situated just below *Hamal*, the brightest star of the Ram. This was about 700 B.C. The equal division of the zodiac must



POSITION OF SPRING EQUINOX, B.C. 2700.

have taken place not earlier than this, and with it, the Bull must have been deposed from the position it had always held up to that time, of leader of the zodiac. It is probable that some direct method of determining the equinox itself was introduced much about the same time. This new system involved nothing short of a revolution in astronomy, but the Babylonian Creation story

implies that this revolution had already taken place when it was composed, and that the equal division of the zodiac was already in force. It is possible that the sixth and seventh lines of the poem indicate that the Babylonians had already noticed a peculiar fact, viz. that just as the moon passes through all the signs in a month, whilst the sun passes through only one sign in that time; so the sun passes through all the signs in a year, whilst



POSITION OF SPRING EQUINOX, A.D. 1900.

Jupiter passes through but one sign. *Nibir* was the special Babylonian name of the planet Jupiter when on the meridian; and Merodach, as the deity of that planet, is thus represented as pacing out the bounds of the zodiacal Signs by his movement in the course of the year. The planet also marks out the third part of a sign, *i.e.* ten degrees; for during one-third of each year it appears to retrograde, moving from east to west amongst the stars instead of from west to east. During

this retrogression it covers the breadth of one "decan" = ten degrees.

The Babylonian Creation epic is therefore quite late, for it introduces astronomical ideas not current earlier than 700 B.C. in Babylonia or anywhere else. This new development of astronomy enables us also to roughly date the origin of the different orders of systematic astrology.

Astrology, like astronomy, has passed through successive stages. It began at zero. An unexpected event in the heavens was accounted portentous, because it was unexpected, and it was interpreted in a good or bad sense according to the state of mind of the beholder. There can have been at first no system, no order, no linking up of one specific kind of prediction with one kind of astronomical event. It can have been originally nothing but a crude jumble of omens, just on a level with the superstitions of some of our peasantry as to seeing hares, or cats, or magpies; and the earliest astrological tablets from Mesopotamia are precisely of this character.

But the official fortune-tellers at the courts of the kings of Nineveh or Babylon must speedily have learned the necessity of arranging some systems of prediction for their own protection—systems definite enough to give the astrologer a groundwork for a prediction which he could claim was dependent simply upon the heavenly bodies, and hence for which the astrologer could not be held personally responsible, and at the same time elastic enough to enable him to shape his prediction to fit in with his patron's wishes. The astrology of to-day shows the same essential features.

This necessity explains the early Babylonian tablets with catalogues of eclipses on all days of the month, and in all quarters of the sky. The great majority of the eclipses could never happen, but they could be, none-the-less, made use of by a court magician. If an eclipse of the sun took place on the 29th day and in the south, he could always point out how exceedingly unpleasant things might have been for the king and the country if he, the magician, had not by his diligence, prevented its happening, say, on the 20th, and in the north. A Zulu witch-doctor is quite equal to analogous subterfuges to-day, and no doubt his Babylonian congeners were not less ingenious 3,000 years ago. Such subterfuges were not always successful when a Chaka or a Nebuchadnezzar had to be dealt with, but with kings of a more ordinary type either in Zululand or Mesopotamia they would answer well enough.

Coming down to times when astronomy had so far advanced that a catalogue of the stars had been drawn up, with their positions determined by actual measurement, it became possible for astrologers to draw up something like a definite system of prediction, based upon the constellations or parts of a constellation that happened to be rising at any given moment, and this was the system employed when Zeuchros of Babylon wrote in the first century of our era. His system must have been started later than 700 B.C., for in it Aries is considered as the leader of the zodiac; the constellations are already dis-established in favour of the Signs; and the Signs are each divided into three. A practical drawback to this particular

astrological system was that the aspect presented by the heavens on one evening was precisely the same as that presented on the next evening four minutes earlier. The field for prediction therefore was very limited and repeated itself too much for the purpose of fortune-tellers.

The introduction of the planets into astrology gave a greater diversity to the material used by the fortune-tellers. An early phase of planetary astrology consisted in the allotment of a planet to each hour of the day and also to each day of the week. It has been already shown in the chapter on "Saturn and Astrology," that this system arose from the Ptolemaic idea of the solar system grafted on the Egyptian division of the day into twenty-four hours, and applied to the week of seven days. It probably originated in Alexandria, and arose not earlier than the third century before our era. Mathematical astrology—the complex system now in vogue—involves a considerable knowledge of the apparent movements of the planets and a development of mathematics such as did not exist until the days of Hipparchus. It also employs the purely imaginary signs of the zodiac, not the constellations; and reckons the first point of Aries as at the spring equinox. So far as we can ascertain, the spring equinox marked the first point of the constellation Aries about B.C. 110.

All these varied forms of astrology are therefore comparatively recent. Before that it was of course reckoned ominous if an eclipse took place, or a comet was seen, or a bright planet came near the moon, just as spilling salt or crossing knives may be reckoned ominous to-day. The omens had as little to do with observation, or with



anything that could be called scientific, in the one case as in the other.

It is important to realize that astrology, as anything more than the crude observance of omens, is younger than astronomy by at least 2,000 years.

*Mazzārōth* occurs only once in the Bible, viz. in Job xxxviii. 32, already so often quoted, but a similar word *Mazzālōth* occurs in 2 Kings xxiii. 5, where it is said that Josiah put down the idolatrous priests, "them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets (*Mazzālōth*), and to all the host of heaven." The context itself, as well as the parallel passage in Deuteronomy—"When thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them,"—shows clearly that celestial luminaries of some kind are intended, probably certain groups of stars, distinguished from the general "host of heaven."

Comparing Job ix. 9, with Job xxxviii. 31, 32, we find 'Ash, or 'Ayish, *Kīmah* and *Kēsil* common to the two passages; if we take 'Ash and 'Ayish as identical, this leaves the "chambers of the south" as the equivalent of *Mazzaroth*. The same expression occurs in the singular in Job xxxvii. 9—"Out of the south (*marg.* chamber) cometh the whirlwind." There need be but little question as to the significance of these various passages. The correspondence of the word *Mazzārōth* with the Babylonian *mizrālā*, the "divisions" of the year, answering to the twelve signs of the zodiac, points in exactly the same direction as the correspondence in idea which is evident between the

"chambers of the south" and the Arabic *Al manāzil*, "the mansions" or "resting-places" of the moon in the lunar zodiac.

Mazzaroth are therefore the "divisions" of the zodiac, the "chambers" through which the sun successively passes in the course of the year, his "resting-place" for a month. They are "the chambers of the south," since that is their distinctive position. In Palestine, the sun, even at rising or setting at midsummer, passes but little to the north of east or west. Roughly speaking, the "south" is the sun's quarter, and therefore it is necessarily the quarter of the constellation in which the sun is placed.

It has been made an objection to this identification that the Israelites are said to have worshipped *Mazzālōth*, and we have no direct evidence that the signs or constellations of the zodiac were worshipped as such. But this is to make a distinction that is hardly warranted. The Creation tablets, as we have seen, distinctly record the allocation of the great gods to the various signs, Merodach himself being one of the three deities associated with the month Adar, just as in Egypt a god presided over each one of the thirty-six decades of the year.

Again, it is probable that the "golden calf," worshipped by the Israelites in the wilderness, and, after the disruption, at Bethel and at Dan, was none other than an attempt to worship Jehovah under the symbol of Taurus, the leader of the zodiac and cognizance of the tribe of Joseph; regarded as a type of Him Who had been the Leader of the people out of Egypt, and the Giver of the blessings associated with the return of the sun to Taurus, the revival of nature in

spring-time. It was intended as a worship of Jehovah ; it was in reality dire rebellion against Him, and a beginning of the worship of "*Mazzālōth* and the heavenly host ;" an idolatry that was bound to bring other idolatries in its train.

A three-fold symbol found continually on Babylonian monuments, "the triad of stars," undoubtedly at one time set forth Sin, the moon-god, Samas, the sun-god, and Ištar, in this connection possibly the planet Venus. It has therefore been suggested by Prof. Schiaparelli that *Mazzālōth* is the planet Venus ; and, since the word is plural in form, Venus in her double capacity ;—sometimes an evening, sometimes a morning star. The sun and the moon and *Mazzālōth* would then set forth the three brightest luminaries, whilst the general congress of stars would be represented by the "host of heaven." But though Venus is sometimes the brightest of the planets, she is essentially of the same order as Jupiter or Mars, and is not of the same order as the sun and moon, with whom, on this supposition, she is singled out to be ranked. Moreover, if Ištar or Ashtoreth were intended in this passage, it does not appear why she should not be expressly named as such ; especially as Baal, so often coupled with her, is named. The "triad of stars," too, had originally quite a different meaning, as will be seen later.

Moreover, the parallelism between Job ix. and Job xxxviii. is destroyed by this rendering, since the planet Venus could not be described as "the chambers of the south." These are therefore referred by Professor Schiaparelli to the glorious mass of stars in the far

south, shining in the constellations that set forth the Deluge story,—the Ship, and the Centaur, much the most brilliant region of the whole sky.

Another interpretation of *Mazzaroth* is given by Dr. Cheyne, on grounds that refute Professor Schiaparelli's suggestion, but it is itself open to objection from an astronomical point of view. He writes—

“*Mazzaroth* is probably not to be identified with *Mazzaloth* (2 Kings xxiii. 5) in spite of the authority of the Sept. and the Targum. . . . *Mazzaroth* = Ass. *Mazarati*; *Mazzaloth* (i.e. the zodiacal signs) seems to be the plural of *Mazzāla* = Ass. *Manzaltu*, station.”<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Cheyne therefore renders the passage thus—

“Dost thou bring forth the moon's watches at their season,  
And the Bear and her offspring—dost thou guide them?  
Knowest thou the laws of heaven?  
Dost thou determine its influence upon the earth?”

*Mazzaloth* are therefore “the zodiacal signs,” but *Mazzaroth* “the watches or stations of the moon, which marked the progress of the month;”<sup>2</sup> or, in other words, the lunar zodiac.

But the lunar and the solar zodiac are only different ways of dividing the same belt of stars. Consequently when, as in the passage before us, reference is made to the actual belt of stars as a whole, there is no difference between the two. So that we are obliged, as before, to consider *Mazzaroth* and *Mazzaloth* as identical, and both as setting forth the stars of the zodiac.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., *Job and Solomon*, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

So far as the two zodiacs differ, it is the solar and not the lunar zodiac that is intended. This is evident when we consider the different natures of the apparent motions of the sun and the moon. The sun passes through a twelfth part of the zodiac each month, and month by month the successive constellations of the zodiac are brought out, each in its own season; each having a period during which it rises at sunset, is visible the whole night, and sets at sunrise. The solar *Mazzaroth* are therefore emphatically brought out, each "in its season." Not so the lunar *Mazzaroth*.

The expression, "the watches or stations of the moon which marked the progress of the month," is unsuitable when astronomically considered. "Watches" refer strictly to divisions of the day and night; the "stations" of the moon refer to the twenty-seven or twenty-eight divisions of the lunar zodiac; the "progress of the month" refers to the complete sequence of the lunar phases. These are three entirely different matters, and Dr. Cheyne has confused them. The progress of the moon through its complete series of stations is accomplished in a sidereal month—that is, twenty-seven days eight hours, but from the nature of the case it cannot be said that these "stations" are brought out each in his season, in that time, as a month makes but a small change in the aspect of the sky. The moon passes through the complete succession of its phases in the course of a synodical month, which is in the mean twenty-nine days, thirteen hours—that is to say from new to new, or full to full—but no particular star, or constellation, or "station" has any

fixed relation to any one given phase of the moon. In the course of some four or five years the moon will have been both new and full in every one of the "lunar stations."

"Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven?  
Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?"

He, who has lived out under the stars, in contact with the actual workings of nature, knows what it is to watch "Mazzaroth" brought "out in his season;" the silent return to the skies of the constellations, month by month, simultaneous with the changes on the face of the earth. Overhead, the glorious procession, so regular and unflinching, of the silent, unapproachable stars: below, in unflinching answer, the succession of spring and summer, autumn and winter, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, rain and drought. If there be but eyes to see, this majestic Order, so smooth in working, so magnificent in scale, will impress the most stolid as the immediate acting of God; and the beholder will feel at the same a reverent awe, and an uplifting of the spirit as he sees the action of "the ordinances of heaven," and the evidence of "the dominion thereof in the earth."

Dr. Cheyne, however, only sees in these beautiful and appropriate lines the influence upon the sacred writer of "the physical theology of Babylonia";<sup>1</sup> in other words, its idolatrous astrology, "the influence of the sky upon the earth."

But what would Job understand by the question, "Canst thou bring forth Mazzārōth in his season?" Just

<sup>1</sup> Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., *Job and Solomon*, p. 52.

this: "Canst thou so move the great celestial sphere that the varied constellations of the zodiac shall come into view, each in their turn, and with them the earth pass through its proper successive seasons?" The question therefore embraced and was an extension of the two that preceded it. "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades? Canst thou prevent the revival of all the forces of nature in the springtime?" and "Canst thou loose the bands of Orion; canst thou free the ground from the numbing frosts of winter?"

The question to us would not greatly differ in its meaning, except that we should better understand the mechanism underlying the phenomena. The question would mean, "Canst thou move this vast globe of the earth, weighing six thousand million times a million million tons, continually in its orbit, more than 580 millions of miles in circuit, with a speed of nearly nineteen miles in every second of time, thus bringing into view different constellations at different times of the year, and presenting the various zones of the earth in different aspects to the sun's light and heat?" To us, as to Job, the question would come as:

"Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven?

Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?"

It is going beyond astronomy, yet it may be permitted to an astronomer, to refer for comparison to a parallel thought, not couched in the form of a question, but in the form of a prayer:

"Thy will be done,  
As in heaven, so in earth."

the night for the astronomers. The Babylonians, at least at a late date in their history, had also a twofold way of determining when the day began. Epping and Strassmaier have translated and elucidated a series of Babylonian lunar calendars of dates between the first and second centuries before our era. In one column of these was given the interval of time which elapsed between the true new moon and the first visible crescent.

“Curious to relate, at first all Father Epping’s calculations to establish this result were out by a mean interval of six hours. The solution was found in the fact that the Babylonian astronomers were not content with such a variable instant of time as sunset for their calculations, as indeed they ought not to have been, but used as the origin of the astronomical day at Babylon the midnight which followed the setting of the sun, marking the beginning of the civil day.”

It may be mentioned that the days as reckoned from sunset to sunset, sunrise to sunrise, and noon to noon, would give intervals of slightly different lengths. This would, however, be imperceptible so long as their lengths were not measured by some accurate mechanical time-measurer such as a clepsydra, sandglass, pendulum, or spring clock.

The first obvious and natural division of the whole day-interval is into the light part and the dark part. As we have seen in Genesis, the evening and the morning are the day. Since Palestine is a sub-tropical country, these would never differ very greatly in length, even at midsummer or midwinter.

The next subdivision, of the light part of the day, is



into morning, noon and evening. As David says in the fifty-fifth Psalm—

“Evening, and morning, and at noon, will I pray.”

None of these three subdivisions were marked out definitely in their beginning or their ending, but each contained a definite epoch. Morning contained the moment at which the sun rose; noon the moment at which he was at his greatest height, and was at the same time due south; evening contained the moment at which the sun set.

In the early Scriptures of the Old Testament, the further divisions of the morning and the evening are still natural ones.

For the progress of the morning we have, first, the twilight, as in Job—

“Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark;  
Let it look for light but have none;  
Neither let it see the eyelids of the morning.”

Then, daybreak, as in the Song of Solomon—

“Until the day break (literally, breathe) and the shadows flee away,”

where the reference is to the cool breezes of twilight. So too in Genesis, in Joshua, in the Judges and in Samuel, we find references to the “break of day” (literally, the rising of the morning, or when it became light to them) and “the dawning of the day” or “about the spring of the day.”

Titus, and perhaps from earlier times. The dispersion of the Jews had therefore presented them with an additional difficulty in fixing the beginning of their months. The problem is much more intricate to-day, seeing that the Jews are dispersed over the whole world, and the new moon, first visible on one evening at Jerusalem, might be seen the evening before, according to the reckoning of places west of Jerusalem, or might be invisible until the following evening, according to the reckoning of places east of it. We have the same problem to solve in finding the date of Easter Sunday. The Prayer Book rule for finding it runs thus:—

“Easter day is always the first Sunday after the full moon which happens upon, or next after, the 21st day of March; and if the full moon happens on a Sunday, Easter day is the Sunday after.”

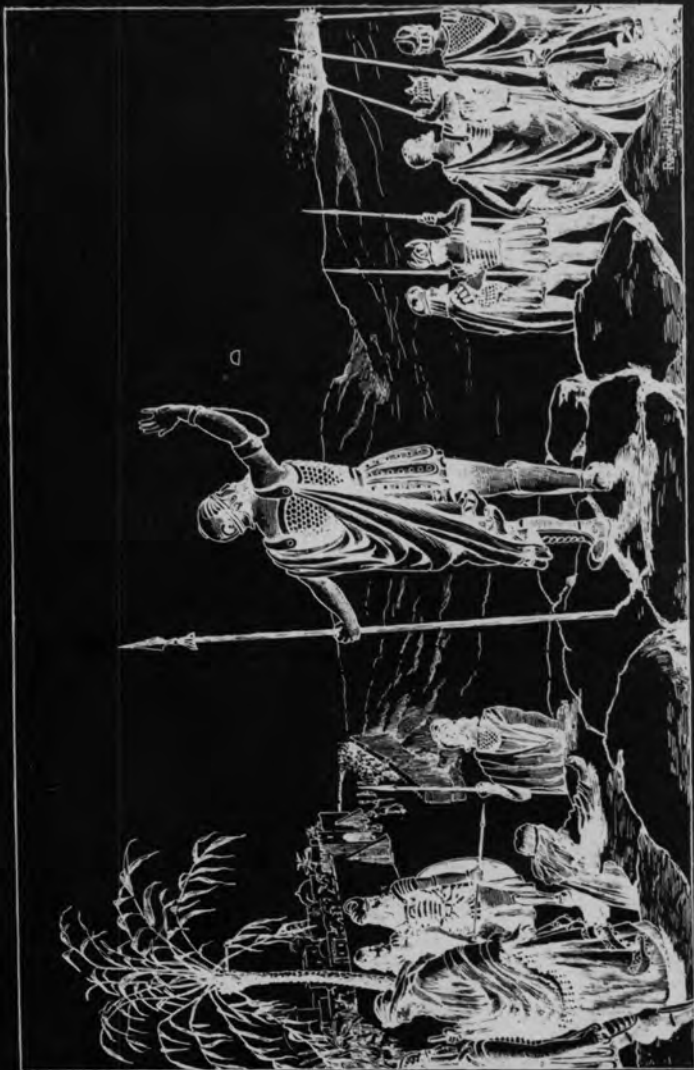
But the “moon” we choose for the ecclesiastical calendar is an imaginary body, which is so controlled by specially constructed tables as to be “full” on a day not differing by more than two or three days at most from the date on which the actual moon is full. This may seem, at first sight, a very clumsy arrangement, but it has the advantage of defining the date of Easter precisely, without introducing any question as to the special meridian where the moon might be supposed to be observed. Thus, in 1905, the moon was full at 4<sup>h</sup> 56<sup>m</sup> Greenwich mean time on the morning of March 21. But Easter Day was not fixed for March 26, the next Sunday following that full moon; but a month later, for April 23. For the calendar moon, the imaginary moon, was full on March 20; and it

may be added that the actual moon, though full on March 21 for European time, was full on March 20 for American time. There would have been an ambiguity, therefore, if the actual moon had been taken, according to the country in which it was observed, an ambiguity which is got rid of by adopting a technical or imaginary moon.

The names given to the different months in Scripture have an interest of their own. For the most part the months are simply numbered; the month of the Passover is the first month, and the others follow, as the second, third, fourth, etc., throughout the year; examples of each occurring right up to the twelfth month. There is no mention of a thirteenth month.

But occasionally we find names as well as numbers given to the months. The first of these is Abib, meaning the month of "green ears." This was the first month, the month of the Passover, and it received its name no doubt from the first green ears of barley offered before the Lord during the feast that followed the Passover.

The second month was called Zif, "splendour"; apparently referring to the splendour of the flowers in full spring time. It is mentioned together with two other names, Ethanim, the seventh month, and Bul, the eighth month, in the account of the building and dedication of Solomon's Temple. The last two are certainly Phœnician names, having been found on Phœnician inscriptions; the first is possibly Phœnician also. Their occurrence in this special connection was no doubt a result of the very large part taken in the building of the Temple and the construction of its furniture by



"SUN, STAND THOU STILL UPON GIBEON, AND THOU MOON IN THE VALLEY OF AJALON."

BOOK IV  
THREE ASTRONOMICAL MARVELS

CHAPTER I

JOSHUA'S "LONG DAY"<sup>1</sup>

1.—METHOD OF STUDYING THE RECORD

THERE are three incidents recorded in Holy Scripture which may fairly, if with no great exactness, be termed astronomical miracles;—the "long day" on the occasion of Joshua's victory at Beth-horon; the turning back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz, as a sign of king Hezekiah's recovery from sickness; and the star which guided the wise men from the east to the birthplace of the Holy Child at Bethlehem.

As astronomy has some bearing on each of these three remarkable events, it will be of some interest to examine each of them from the point of view of our present astronomical knowledge. It does not follow that this will throw any new light upon the narratives, for we must always bear in mind that the Scriptures were not intended to teach us the physical

<sup>1</sup> Revised and reprinted from the *Sunday at Home* for February and March, 1904.

to complete the twenty-four hours before payment and dismissal. It is the end of his day; though, like the men in the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, he has only worked twelve hours out of the twenty-four. In the same way the Feast of Tabernacles, though in the seventh month, was in "the end of the year," both from the point of view of the farmer and of the ordinances of the sacred festivals.

The method employed in very early times in Assyria and Babylonia for determining the first month of the year was a simple and effective one, the principle of which may be explained thus: If we watch for the appearance of the new moon in spring time, and, as we see it setting in the west, notice some bright star near it, then 12 months later we should see the two together again; but with this difference, that the moon and star would be seen together, not on the first, but on the second evening of the month. For since 12 lunar months fall short of a solar year by 11 days, the moon on the first evening would be about 11 degrees short of her former position. But as she moves about 13 degrees in 24 hours, the next evening she would practically be back in her old place. In the second year, therefore, moon and star would set together on the second evening of the first month; and in like manner they would set together on the third evening in the third year; and, roughly speaking, on the fourth evening of the fourth year. But this last conjunction would mean that they would also set together on the first evening of the next month, which would thus be indicated as the true first

month of the year. Thus when moon and star set together on the third evening of a month, thirteen months later they would set together on the first evening of a month. Thus the setting together of moon and star would not only mark which was to be first month of the year, but if they set together on the first evening it would show that the year then beginning was to be an ordinary one of 12 months; if on the third evening, that the year ought to be a full one of 13 months.

This was precisely the method followed by the Akkadians some 4000 years ago. For Prof. Sayce and Mr. Bosanquet translate an old tablet in Akkadian as follows:—

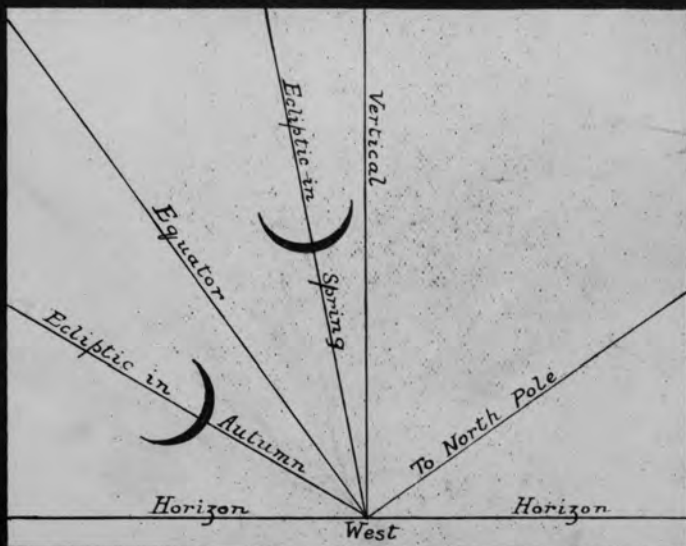
“When on the first day of the month *Nisan* the star of stars (or *Dilgan*) and the moon are parallel, that year is normal. When on the third day of the month *Nisan* the star of stars and the moon are parallel, that year is full.”<sup>1</sup>

The “star of stars” of this inscription is no doubt the bright star Capella, and the year thus determined by the setting together of the moon and Capella would begin on the average with the spring equinox about 2000 B.C.

When Capella thus marked the first month of the year, the “twin stars,” Castor and Pollux, marked the second month of the year in just the same way. A reminiscence of this circumstance is found in the signs for the first two months; that for the first month being a crescent moon “lying on its back;” that for the second month a pair of stars.

<sup>1</sup> *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, vol. xxxix. p. 455.

The significance of the crescent being shown as lying on its back is seen at once when it is remembered that the new moon is differently inclined to the horizon according to the time of the year when it is seen. It is most nearly upright at the time of the autumn equinox;



POSITION OF THE NEW MOON AT THE EQUINOXES.

it is most nearly horizontal, "lying on its back," at the spring equinox. It is clear from this symbol, therefore, that the Babylonians began their year in the spring.

This method, by which the new moon was used as a kind of pointer for determining the return of the sun to the neighbourhood of a particular star at the end of a solar year, is quite unlike anything that commentators







BOUNDARY-STONE IN THE LOUVRE ; APPROXIMATE DATE, B.C. 1200.

(From a photograph by Messrs. W. A. Mansell.)

on the astronomical methods of the ancients have supposed them to have used. But we know from the ancient inscription already quoted that it was actually used; it was eminently simple; it was bound to have suggested itself wherever a luni-solar year, starting from the observed new moon, was used. Further, it required no instruments or star-maps; it did not even require a knowledge of the constellations; only of one or two conspicuous stars. Though rough, it was perfectly efficient, and would give the mean length of the year with all the accuracy that was then required.

But it had one drawback, which the ancients could not have been expected to foresee. The effect of "precession," alluded to in the chapter on "The Origin of the Constellations," p. 158, would be to throw the beginning of the year, as thus determined, gradually later and later in the seasons,—roughly speaking, by a day in every seventy years,—and the time came, no doubt, when it was noticed that the terrestrial seasons no longer bore their traditional relation to the year. This probably happened at some time in the seventh or eighth centuries before our era, and was connected with the astronomical revolution that has been alluded to before; when the ecliptic was divided into twelve equal divisions, not associated with the actual stars, the Signs were substituted for the Constellations of the Zodiac, and the Ram was taken as the leader instead of the Bull. The equinox was then determined by direct measurement of the length of the day and night; for a tablet of about this period records—

"On the sixth day of the month Nisan the day and night were equal. The day was six double-hours (*kasbu*), and the night was six double-hours."

So long as Capella was used as the indicator star, so long the year must have begun with the sun in Taurus, the Bull; but when the re-adjustment was made, and the solar tropical year connected with the equinox was substituted for the sidereal year connected with the return of the sun to a particular star, it would be seen that the association of the beginning of the year with the sun's presence in any given constellation could no longer be kept up. The necessity for an artificial division of the zodiac would be felt, and that artificial division clearly was not made until the sun at the spring equinox was unmistakably in Aries, the Ram; or about 700 B.C.

The eclipse of 1063 B.C. incidentally proves that the old method of fixing Nisan by the conjunction of the moon and Capella was then still in use; for the eclipse took place on July 31, which is called in the record "the 26th of Sivan." Sivan being the third month, its 26th day could not have fallen so late, if the year had begun with the equinox; but it would have so fallen if the Capella method were still in vogue.

There is a set of symbols repeated over and over again on Babylonian monuments, and always given a position of eminence;—it is the so-called "Triad of Stars," a crescent lying on its back and two stars near it. They are seen very distinctly at the top of the photograph of the boundary-stone from the Louvre, given on p. 318, and also immediately above the head of the Sun-god in the





photograph of the tablet from Sippar, on p. 322. Their significance is now clear. Four thousand years before the Christian era, the two Twin stars, Castor and Pollux,<sup>1</sup> served as indicators of the first new moon of the year, just as Capella did two thousand years later. The "triad of stars," then, is simply a picture of what men saw, year after year, in the sunset sky at the beginning of the first month, six thousand years ago. It is the earliest record of an astronomical observation that has come down to us.

How simple and easy the observation was, and how distinctly the year was marked off by it! The month was marked off by the first sight of the new thin crescent in the evening sky. The day was marked off by the return of darkness, the evening hour in which, month by month, the new moon was first observed; so that "the evening and the morning were the first day." The year was marked off by the new moon being seen in the evening with a bright pair of stars, the stars we still know as the "Twins;" and the length of the year was shown by the evening of the month, when moon and stars came together. If on the first evening, it was a year of twelve months; if on the third, one of thirteen. There was a time when these three observations constituted the whole of primitive astronomy.

In later days the original meaning of the "Triad of

<sup>1</sup> The two Twin stars, Castor and Pollux, are indirectly alluded to once in the Acts of the Apostles; for St. Paul sailed from Malta to Syracuse in a ship "whose sign was Castor and Pollux;"—*lit.* "the Dioscuri." The names of no other stars occur in Scripture.

Stars" would seem to have been forgotten, and they were taken as representing Sin, Samas, and Istar;—the Moon, the Sun and the planet Venus. Yet now and again a hint of the part they once played in determining the length of the year is preserved. Thus, on the tablet now in the British Museum, and shown on p. 322, sculptured with a scene representing the worship of the Sun-god in the temple of Sippar, these three symbols are shown with the explanatory inscription:—

"The Moon-god, the Sun-god, and Istar, dwellers in the abyss,  
Announce to the years what they are to expect;"

possibly an astrological formula, but it may well mean—"announce whether the years should expect twelve or thirteen months."

As already pointed out, this method had one drawback: it gave a sidereal year, not a tropical year, and this inconvenience must have been discovered, and Capella substituted for the Twin stars, long before the giving of the Law to Israel. The method employed by the priests of watching the progress of the ripening of the barley overcame this difficulty, and gave a year to Israel which, on the average, was a correct tropical one.

There is a detail in the history of the flood in Gen. vii. and viii. which has been taken by some as meant to indicate the length of the tropical year.

"In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."

"And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first



year, . . . in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried."

The interval from the commencement of the deluge to its close was therefore twelve lunar months and ten days; i. e. 364 or 365 days. The beginning of the rain would, no doubt, be sharply marked; the end of the drying would be gradual, and hence the selection of a day exactly (so far as we can tell) a full tropical year from the beginning of the flood would seem to be intentional. A complete year had been consumed by the judgment.

Lions,  
p. 11

No such total interruption of the kindly succession of the seasons shall ever occur again:—

“While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.”

The rain is no longer for judgment, but for blessing:—

“Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it,  
Thou greatly enrichest it;  
The river of God is full of water:  
Thou providest them corn, when Thou hast so prepared the earth.  
Thou waterest her furrows abundantly;  
Thou settlest the ridges thereof:  
Thou makest it soft with showers;  
Thou blessest the springing thereof.  
Thou crownest the year with Thy goodness.”



*From the Painting by Sir Edward Burne-Jones in the Birmingham Art Gallery.*

**THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM.**

“We have seen His star in the east, and are come to worship Him.”

[Frontispiece

CAMPEGII VITRINGA  
OBSERVATIONUM

SACRARUM  
LIBRI SEPTEM,  
DUOBUS VOLUMINIBUS COMPREHENSI.

IN QUIBUS  
De Rebus varii argumenti, & utilissimæ in-  
vestigationis, *Critice ac Theologicæ*, differitur; *Sacro-*  
*tum* imprimis *Librorum* Loca multa obscuriora  
nova vel clariore luce perfunduntur.

TOMUS I.  
EDITIO ULTIMA



AMSTELODAMI,  
Apud FREDERICUM HORREUM,  
MDCCLXXVII. 1171

Verba eius de  
modo illius  
Agni assandi.

nunc proprie ad rem nostram faciunt: καὶ τὸ κελεύσθαι περιβάτον ἐκεί-  
νο ὅλον γίνεσθαι, ἔ πάθος ἔ σαυρᾶ, εἰ ἔ πάθειν ἐμελεν ὁ χριστός,  
σύμβολον ἦν. τὸ γὰρ ὀπτάμενον περιβάτον σχηματιζόμενον ὁμοίως τῷ σχή-  
ματι ἔ σαυρᾶ ὀπτάται. εἰς γὰρ ἔρδιθ' ὀβελι(χ)θ' δ' ἔπερονᾶται ὅπο τ'  
κατωτάτω μυχῶν μέχρι τ' κεφαλῆς, καὶ εἰς πάλιν κατὰ τὸ μετάφρενον,  
ᾧ περισαρτῶνται καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἔ περιβάτω. ET AGNUS ILLE, de quo ut  
assus totius fieret, praeceptum est, SUPPLICII CRUCIS, quod subitu-  
tus erat Christus, SYMBOLUM fuit. Agnus namque assus in figu-  
ram, cruci similem, conformatus ad ignem torretur: nam venter in-  
fernum ab infimis partibus adactum perfigitur, & aliud rursus secun-  
dum scapulas, ad quod suspenduntur manus igni. Vidimus itaque,  
Justinum Philosophum in hoc Dialogo docere, Agnum Paschalem  
non tantum fuisse typum Christi, sed & typum Christi crucifixi, &  
hanc suam sententiam illustrare riuu assandi agni, apud Judaeos usu-  
tato.

Paschalis ag-  
nus sustinuit  
figuram Cruci-  
fi.

XI. Quod Paschalis agnus signate Christum crucifixum respexerit,  
quæ Justinii hypothesis est, non obscure patet ex verbis Joannis Evan-  
gelistæ 2, sic scribentis: Ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα, ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῆ: Ὁ-  
σὴν ἔ συντρίβησεται αὐτῆ. Hec enim facta sunt, ut Scriptura implere-  
tur: Non confringetur ullum os ipsius. Non inepte quidem hoc à Gro-  
tio ad Pl. xxxi v. 20. refertur, neque enim auderem præfracte negare,  
illum locum huc pertinere. Rectius tamen & plenius, ut existi-  
mo, applicatur ad Divinam Legem de agno Paschali: Exod. xii. 46.

Locus Job.  
xix. 36. com-  
paratur cum  
Exod. xii. 46.

וְעַם לֹא תִשְׁבֹּר וְעַם לֹא תִשְׁבֹּר  
Os non frangetis in eo. LXX. καὶ ὁσὴν ἔ συν-  
τρίβετε ἀπ' αὐτῆ. Joannes, quod animadversione dignum est, eam  
directe in probatione sua transfert ad Christum, quasi illa Lex, quæ  
proprie ad Paschalem agnum atinuit, eum tantum in finem data esset,  
ut nobis præsignificaret, Christum eo mortis genere occubiturum, in  
quo ossa ipsius salva manerent. Videmus enim, Joannem præceptum  
convertisse in vaticinium. Tanta virtus est convenientiæ inter typum  
& antitypum, ut quod de typo præceptum est, directe ad antitypum  
referri possit. Significavit autem Joannes, quando hunc locum præ-  
sentem adduxit, Paschalem agnum, in eo, quod integer asari & co-  
medi debuerit absque fractis ossibus, adumbrasse Christum crucifigen-  
dum, in quo ossa integra manerent. Neque possumus non Divinam  
sapientiam hic summopere mirari. Cum enim ordinaria, quæ macta-  
bantur, sacrificia in partes scinderentur, licet scissæ partes, si Judæis  
fides,

Emphasis in  
dico Apo-  
stoli.

fides, in altari rursus ad integri animalis formam componerentur: Deus hoc voluit sacrificium extare animalis integri assandi & comedendi, ne in typis Crucis Christi inter ipsa sacrificia quicquam desideraremus.

XII. Videmus insuper, Justinum hanc suam hypothefin de *agno Paschali*, ut typo Christi crucifixi, illustrare ex ritu, qui apud Judæos in assando agno Paschali obtinebat. Hoc vero facti est. In assertionem autem facti testi probo quid asseveranti credendum est, usque quo contrarium liquet. *Quidni vero illi hac in parte credamus*, ait Bochartus, *viro non solum sancto, sed & rerum Judaicarum peritissimo, cum Sichemis natus fuerit ex Patre Samaritano?* Addo; quidni credamus ritum memoranti religionis Judaicæ ipsos apud Judæos, quibuscum disputabat? Fuisset enim summæ temeritatis & maximæ imprudentiæ, in disputatione factum allegare falsum, quod tuto absque præjudicio causæ omitti potuisset, eos apud homines, qui falsitatis ipsum potuissent convincere. Sed bene admodum res se habet, quod Maimonides ipse Justinum absolvat, qui *assandi agni Paschalis ritum* hoc modo describit <sup>a</sup>: כִּיצַד צוֹלֵן אוֹתוֹ וְהוֹתְבוּ מִתּוֹךְ פִּי עַד בֵּיתָהּ נִקְבוֹתוֹ בְּשֵׁפּוֹר שֶׁל עֵץ וְתוֹלְהוּ לְתוֹךְ הַתַּנּוּר וְהָאֵשׁ לְמַטָּה. *Quomodo assant eum? A medio ore usque ad pudenda transfigunt eum veru ligneo. & subjecto igne in medio furno SUSPENDUNT.*

In asseveratione autem moris Judaici in assando Paschate fides videtur habenda Justiniano.

Et confirmatur ex traditione Judaica.

XIII. Cæterum, sicuti agnus Paschalis à ligno suspensus, quando assabatur, Christum à ligno pendentem potuit præfigurare: ita assatio ipsa luculenter admodum potuit adumbrare crucifixionem Christi. In assatione enim *caro succosuo*, sive liquore naturali, per æstum ignis sensim privatur, neque tamen consumitur, sed integra manet. Sane Christus id genus mortis appetiit, quo quasi *costus* est, & cum *spiritibus*, qui dicuntur, *vitalibus*, tum etiam *sero & liquoribus*, qui spirituum vehiculum sunt, sensim exhaustus. Nullum aliud fuit genus mortis violentæ apud Judæos, in quo id locum potuit habere. Sive enim quis *strangularetur*, sive *ambureretur*, sive *decollaretur*, sive *lapidaretur*: confestim & è vestigio peribat. Nullum itaque genus mortis, quod apud Judæos in usu erat, per *assationem* potuit designatum esse. At in *crucifixione* sola locum potuit habere, quod in *assatione* observamus. Cum enim sanguis *crucifixi* tam ex sensu gravissimi doloris quam ex metu mortis instantis (in Christo plurimæ alia accedebant rationes) valde agitetur: fit equidem ut liquidæ san-

Rectius certiusque in ipsa assatione quæritur figura Crucis Christi.

Utriusque convenientiam

Crucifixorum liquorum fomentum vitæ, sensim absumpti sunt.

E e c

guinis

<sup>a</sup> Tract. de Paschate Cap. VII. §. I.

guinis partes sensim in crucifixo consumantur, & serum naturali vitæ sustinendæ necessarium, in corpore illius paulatim exhauriatur, ipso tamen corpore hætenus quod ad speciem suam externam integro permanente. Vere igitur & proprie dici potest, *crucifixum* exsiccatum, *rostum*, & *assatum* fuisse. Nullum quoque, quod sciam, sacrificium hoc genus mortis Christi tam distincte potuit figurare. Sacrificia enim, altari imposita, igni quidem admovebantur, sed mox *consumebantur*. Nequid igitur in typo deesset: Ecclesiam suam docere voluit Deus, Messiam, licet non absque sensu ignis periret, non tamen totum consumptum iri. quod fiebat in sacrificiis. *Ignis* vero rationem habuit in morte Christi hoc omne, quod animam Christi ita potuit afficere, ut sanguis per corpus vehementius agitatus motusque sit. Considera, si vis, sensum iræ Divinæ, quo Dominus à cruce pendens, pressus & fere oppressus fuit; amorem ingentem salutis Ecclesiæ electorum, quem in ipso excitavit Spiritus Sanctus; angores animi, & lucta, & metus, aliique affectus molestissimi, quos in ipso hoc tempore excitare permissum est Satanæ; desiderium exequendi iustitia Dei Patris & zelum gloriæ Divinæ, qui ab ipso nunquam abfuit; & denique dolorem externum, quem in corpore suo sensit, maximum & gravissimum; hæc, inquam, considera, & intelliges, quis ille fuerit ignis, ad quem *roustus*, *assus*, exsiccatus, & arefactus fuit Christus, licet totus non sit consumptus, ad instar Paschalis agni.

XIV. Nihil hic anticipavimus, quod non ex Scripturis facile nobis sit adstructum dare. Ex Historia passionis Christi constat, eum non tantum *guttas sanguineas sudasse*, sed etiam, cum in summa angustia in cruce versaretur, exclamasse: *ΔΙΨΩ ΣΙΤΙΟ*. Quod argumento est, illum per continuas & vehementiores sanguinis ac spirituum commotiones profus emaciatum & exsiccatum fuisse. Id quoque ante notatum erat in Vaticanis. ut in Psalmo xx i. 16. ubi Propheta est in describendo statu Christi crucifixi: *יבש כהרש כחי ולשוני מרבק מלקחי* AREFACTA est ut TESTA VIS MEA, & lingua mea est RES AGGLUTINATA palato meo. ita Coccejus admodum emphatice. *Ex hoc ardore*, ait ille, & *ariditate corporis ac oris illa sitis in cruce*. Putat etiam huc referendum ES LI II. 7. *Non aperiēbat os suum*. quasi hoc Christi silentium non tantum à voluntate & consilio, sed & ab infirmitate carnis profectum fuerit. Sed absque omni dubitatione huc pertinet, quo & *Joannis Evangelista* respicit, Pl. LXIX. 22.

ויתנו

a Joan. XIX. 28.

Ignis, ad quem allatus fuit Christus in cruce, mystice est ultimus Dei iustitia.

Confirmatur hypothesis ex historia passionis Domini.

Et maxime ex siti Christi in cruce.

Loca Prophetarum de hac siti adnotata.

המין 'שקני' ראש ולצמאי ויתני בכרות' *Et dederunt in REFECTI-  
TIONE MEA venenum, & ad SITIM MEAM potarunt me aceto.* Belgæ: *Si hebben my galle tot mijne spijsse gegeven.* Sed ברות non tam *cibum* notat, quam quidem omne cibi ac potus genus, quod ad *refectionem & recreationem animi* facit. Vellem itaque potius verte-  
re hanc pericopam: Ende si hebben my galle gegeven om my te ver-  
quicken. Quod & historici consentaneum est. Et quid sibi aliud vo-  
lunt hæc notabilia verba ex Psalmo ejusdem argumenti a: עלי עכרוך  
רוניך *Super me transierunt ÆSTUS TUI, quibus scilicet ego aresa-  
tus & exsiccatum sum.*

Locus PL  
LXIX. 22.  
expofitus.

CAPUT XI.

*Serpens Æneus in medium producitur, ut figura Cruci-  
fixionis Christi futurae. imprimis vero expenditur Cele-  
leberrimi cujusdam Theologi sententia de figurata per  
hunc Æneum Serpentem, in pertica erectum, pug-  
na Christi cum Diabolo in cruce, eaque varus argu-  
mentis confirmatur.*

**S**I qui sint, qui verentur, ne Christiani Interpretes ingenio suo  
nimium indulgeant, & luxurientur, quando Ecclesiæ præceden-  
tium temporum, sive cæremonias, sive gesta & calus, compara-  
re instituant cum gestis, casibus, atque eventibus OEconomia No-  
væ: iis equidem ratio hujus suæ solitudinis non constat, ubi Dog-  
mata Fidei & qualescunque Novæ OEconomia eventus ex ejusmodi  
typis illustrantur, quos ipse Christus & Apostoli produxerunt. Hujus  
generis sunt SERPENS ÆNEUS, in Deserto erectus, & *Suspensus Is-  
raëhta*, ante occasum solis humo mandandus. de quibus nunc secun-  
dum orationis nostræ filium & scopum distinctius agendam est.

Typus Cruci-  
fixionis indu-  
bitus ostendi-  
tur Serpens  
Æneus.

II. Dissertationi de *Serpente Æneo* fundamenti veluti loco sub-  
sternimus verba Christi, quæ apud Joannem leguntur b: Καὶ καθὼς  
Μωϋσῆς ὑψώθη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἕτως ὑψωθήναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀν-  
θρώπου ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόλη, ἀλλ' ἔσχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον.  
*Et sicut Moses EXALTAVIT SERPENTEM IN DESERTO, ITA EX-  
TOLLI OPORTET FILIUM HOMINIS; ut quisquis credit in eum non  
pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam.* Christus Dominus hic respicit hi-

Mystica Ser-  
pentis Æneus  
contemplati-  
fundata in  
loco Joh.  
111. 14, 15.

Historia Ser-  
pentis Æneus

E e e 2

sto.

a Pl. LXXXVIII. 17. b Cap. 111. 14, 15.



Vitam Frisii decus Lycaei  
 Expressam variae eruditionis,  
 Quos plenos pietate fabricavit,

Et magnum columen vides, videbis  
 Et sacrae effigiem libros per omnes,  
 Doctos, quis neget? et laboriosos.

P. W.



Abarbanelis  
**EXORDIUM**  
Commentariorum  
IN  
**LEVITICUM,**  
QUO

**Omnis omnium Sacrificiorum Ratio**

Breviter ac dilucidè disputatur.

Gg

## ספר ויקרא

## הקדמה

חרי אשר בספר הראשון סתורת האלהים ספר  
 הכתוב בריאת העולם והדושו והסתעפות הדורות  
 הראשונים ועניני אבותינו הקדושים עד דת יעקב וזרעו  
 למצרים ובספר השני ספרה התורה פה שהרעו שם  
 עמדם המצריים בגלות ושעבוד ויגאלם יהוה על  
 ידי משה ואהרן והנסים שנעשו להם במצרים ועל  
 הים ובדרך המדבר עד בואם אל הר סיני וששם  
 הוגעו כלם למעלת הנבואה וקבלו מפי הגבורה  
 התורה והמצוות ומה שחטאו שם בעגל ואיך נתכפר  
 להם העון ההוא ושעשו את המשכן כדי שתשרה ביניהם  
 השכינה האלהית וההשגחה העליונה כמו שראו בעיניהם  
 ביום שהוקם המשכן שענן יהוה כסה את האהל  
 וכבוד יהוה מלא את המשכן הוצרכה התורה לכתוב  
 אחריו הספר הזה השלישי לבאר בו עבודת המקדש ואיכה  
 יעברו הכהנים את אלהיהם וכפרו על בני ישראל מעונותיהם  
 ושהם ישתדלו תמיד לעיין ולדעת תורת השם חקיתיו מצוותיו  
 ומשפטיו להיטיב את העם וללמדם את הדרך ילכו  
 בה ואת המעשה אשר יעשו כמו שאמר כי שפתי  
 בהן ישמרו דעת ותורה יבקשו מפיהו וגומר :  
 ונאמר .

ABARBANELIS EXORDIUM  
COMMENTARIORUM IN LEVITICUM.

Q Uemadmodum mundus universus principio factus ac constitutus, genus hominum primavorum propagatum, & patrum nostrorum familia Deo dilecta atque dicata sit, primo divinæ Legis libro explicatum est; insuper etiam ut Jacobus & ejus posterius demigrarint in Ægyptum. Et secundo divinæ Legis libro exposita sunt istæ, nostris patrio solo extorribus injunctam ab Ægyptiis injustam & inclementem servitutem, & libertatem à præpotenti Deo per Moysen & Aaronem tandem aliquando restitutam. nam stupenda miracula facta nostris apud Ægyptum, per mare, per iter loci solitarii quoad venerint ad montem nomine Sinam. Hic verò Dei numen, quo nihil præstabilius hominum vitæ dari potest, inspirari omnibus ad unum. namque præsentem à præsentem Deo datam Legem recta imperantem, & prava prohibentem accepisse; nihilominus tamen eos è vestigio divinam hanc Legem prodentes simulacrum bruti animalis ut deum coluisse: inde teterrimum hoc scelus expiatum, & factum ac paratum magnificè tabernaculum, quod in medio ipsorum collocatum incoheret divina vis, quò propiùs ipsis adesset, consuleret, ac provideret. Etenim vidisse suis oculis tabernaculum, cum primum fixum est, ætherea obduci nube, & divino penitus splendore compleri. Sequebatur, ut hoc tertio divinæ Legis libro ostenderetur officium & munus in hoc augusto tabernaculo obeundum, qui Deo cultus & honor à sacerdotibus adhibendus, quæ procuratio maleficiorum ab Israelitis admissorum faciendâ. Et verò hic sacerdotes jubentur eniti, & efficere, ut divinæ Legis vim & sententiam assequantur, & perpetuò teneant: jus, bonum, & æquum sciant, quibus ipsi rebus instructi & ornati populum ad honestatem informant, viam ei & rationem vitæ laudabiliter agendæ tradant. Id ipsum recinit etiam vatum postremus, cap. 2. v. 7. *Nam debent scientiam custodire labra sacerdotis, cujus ex ore quaerenda Lex, & reliqua, cum ante jam retractatum esset semel, Deut. 17. 9.*

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

ונאמר ובאת אל הכהנים הלויים ונוסר והגידו לך את  
 דבר המשפט. ונאמר יורו משפטיך ליעקב ותורתך לישראל  
 ונוסר. וראה עם זה לתת לכהנים מאת העם מוונם  
 דהכרחי ודי ספוקם מבלי טורח עד שלא יטרודים וימנעום  
 משלמותם בקשת צרכיהם וצרכי אשר ובנים. ולמעלתם  
 רצה שיהיו מצויינים משאר העם בלבושיהם ומדותיהם  
 ומעלותיהם השכליות ושלא יטמאו למתים ושלא יקרחו קרחה  
 בראשם ופאת זקנם לא יגלחו מפני הדרת פניהם  
 ושלא ישאו איוו אשר שתודמן כי אם הראויה אליהם  
 בטהרה ונקיות ושינורו מין ושכר בכואם לעבוד עבודה  
 ושלג יקרב בעל מים ולא זקן לעבוד במובח ושיהיו  
 מקודשים בכל עניניהם כמו שאמר קדושים יהיו לאלדיהם  
 וצורה את העם שיכבדו את הכהן כמו שאמר וקדשתו  
 קדוש יהיה לך. ולהיות עקר הספר הזה בלמוד הכהנים  
 והיישרתם נקרא הספר הזה בדברי רבותינו וכוונם לברכה  
 תורת כהנים. האמנם היה הספר הזה מתחלק לשני  
 חלקים ראשונים. הא' הוא בקדושת הכהנים ודרכי עבודתם  
 והוא מתחלת סדר ויקרא עד כמעשה ארץ מצרים שהם  
 חמשה סדרים ומחצה. והחלק הב' הוא בקדושת העם  
 במה שיעשו ויזהרו ממנו וכמו שאמר והתקדשתם והייתם  
 קדושים ובורה באו שאר סדרי הספר הזה. וגם באותו  
 החלק הב' נתערבו מצוות ואזהרות מיוחדות לכהנים  
 כמו שיראה בסדר אמור אל הכהנים. לפי שהיתה  
 קדושת העם מתיחסת לקדושת הכהנים וקדושת  
 הכהנים מקדשת את העם. ומבחינה הו' שמו  
 חכמינו וכוונם לברכה הספר הזה מכלל  
 סדר.

*Sacerdotes Levitas adito ..... qui tibi jus explicent, & iterum, c. 33. v. 10. Aperient jura tua Jacobeis, & Legem tuam Israelitis, &c.* Conveniebat igitur sacerdotibus sine suo labore victum & cultum à populo copiosè suppeditari, ne suæ suorumque vitæ necessitatibus servientes avocarentur à sui tanti & tam præclari muneris excellentia. Jam pro summo dignitatis gradu sacerdotes à multitudine distingui velamentis, moribus & omnibus animi bonis debebant: cautum erat igitur, ne funere contaminarentur, neu in luctu capillum sibi evellerent, neu barbam raderent, ut quæ deformabant oris speciem, neu ducerent in matrimonium primam quamque mulierem; sed puram, castam, idoneam: ut vicem sacrorum obeuntes abstinerent temero & cervisia: ne temerati vitio, senioque confecti facerent ad aram: ad extremum ut in omni vita illorum sanctitas eluceret. id enim disertè scriptum est, *Lev. 21. 6. Deo illi suo sacri sunt.* Nempe id causæ fuit, cur vulgo, ut reverentiam adversus sacerdotes adhiberet, edictum sit *Lev. 21. 8. Ast tu illum (sacerdotem) sacratum habeto ..... sacratissimus ille tibi esto.* Atque liber iste, quoniam in eo potissimum præcipitur de sacerdotum vita & moribus, à scriptoribus nostris ferè *Lex sacerdotum* appellatur. Sed verò rectè distribuetur in duas præcipuas partes: quarum prima de vitæ sacerdotalis institutione fuerit, & religione sacrorum: pertractatur locus hic ab initio libri usque ad illam, quæ *Lev. 18. v. 3.* extat, sanctionem, *Ne vestra similia sunt facta factis Ægypti,* quod totum distinctionibus è nostris complectitur quinas & semissem. In altera parte præcipitur de vitæ popularis innocentia, quid quisque sequatur, & fugiat: atque hoc illud est, quod scriptum videmus *Lev. 20. 7. Sanctitate animos excolitote, sancti estote:* cujus loci quæstio omnis reliquis hujus libri distinctionibus illis nostris continetur. Quanquam & hæc altera pars præcepta, monitaque propria sacerdotum interjecta & dispersa habet, sicut videre licet in ea distinctione, cui titulus etiam est, *Dic ad sacerdotes,* à verbis ipsis quæ leguntur *Lev. c. 21. v. 1.* quia enim populi sanctitas à sanctitate pendet sacerdotum: sacerdotes sancti sanctitatem infundunt in populum. Quod igitur sapientes illi magistri nostri honoris causâ nominandi hujus divini libri explicationem concluderint in illam Talmu-

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

סדר קדשים לפי שהוא כלו בקדושת הכהנים וקדושת  
העבודה וקדושת העם גם כן. ויען וביען היתה ידיעת  
הקרבנות עם היותר מבוארת בפסקי התורה נעלמת  
מאתנו היום הודי מפני שאינה נהוגה ואברהם העבודה  
ההיא. בחיובן בית מקדשנו ותפארתנו וכמו שכתב הרב  
הגדול הרבי משה בן מיימון בהקדמת פירושו למשניות  
סדר קדשים. גם שעניני הקרבנות הם מפוזרים ומפורדים  
בשאר ספרי התורה כי מהם כבר באו בסדר ואתה.  
תצוה ומדם יבואו אחר כך בסדר נשיא בקרבן הסוטה  
והנוזר ובקרבן הנשיאים ומהם בסדר בהעלותך מקרבן הלויים  
ומהם הרבה בסדר שלח לך אנשים. ומהם בסדר קרח  
ממתנות הכהונה. ומהם בסדר חקת התורה מפרה אדומה.  
ומהם בסדר פנחס מקרבנות התמידין והמוספים כלם. לך  
ראיתי אני לזכיר במקום הודי עניני הקרבנות כלם לא  
שאחדש אני בענינם דבר מדעתי כי לא אוזו ממה שיורו  
כתיבי התורה ודברי הקבלה האמתית ואמשיך הדברים כפי  
מה שפירשם הרב הגדול המיימוני שכל יקר ראתה עינו  
אבל אסדר אני אותם ואקבצם מכל המקומות אשר  
נפוצו שם ואניחם באופן נכון ונאות ובדרך חלוקות  
מסודרות באופן שלא ימושו מפניו. ובעבוד שהיה  
הדבר גודע בשלמות בשיוודע בסבוכו והתחלתינו אבאר  
עניני

Talmudis partem, quæ *Ordo sacrorum* inscribitur, hæc causa fuit & ratio, quòd liber hic totus est in aperienda sanctitate sacerdotum, religione sacrorum, & pietate populi. Atque ratio sacrorum, de quibus in Lege divina tam multa dicuntur, tamen non est cognita satis & perspecta nostris nunc temporis, quòd, augusto illo templo nostro disturbato, omnino sacrificiorum usus sit nullus, id quod ingenii & doctrinæ princeps Moses Majemonides commemoravit proœmio commentariorum suorum in partem Misnæ illam, quæ *Ordo sacrorum* inscribitur. Præterea autem jura sacrorum fusa & dissipata sunt in cæteris divinæ Legis libris: partim eorum in libro superiori jam explicata fuerunt ea distinctione, cui titulus est, *Tu præcipito*, à verbis illis quæ scripta leguntur *Exod. 27. 20.* partim in libro proximo inferiori describuntur in ea distinctione, cujus inscriptio, *Subducito rationem*, ducitur ex *Num. 4. 22.* in qua de mulieris in suspicionem adulterii vocatæ, & Nazaræi sacrificiis agitur, atque de principum: partim in ea distinctione, quæ inscribitur, *Cum accendes*, ex ejusdem libri capite 8. v. 2. ubi præcipitur de sacrificio Levitarum: porro multa constituntur in ea distinctione, quæ ex ejusdem libri capite 13. v. 1. *Mitte viros qui explorent* inscribitur: porro autem præcipitur de tributis sacerdotum in ea distinctione, quæ nomen habet *Cora* ex ejusdem libri capite 18. sancitur de vacca rufa ea distinctione, cujus titulus, *Hoc divina Lege constitutum jus*, ex ejusdem libri capite 19. v. 2. Denique, præcepta traduntur de sacrificiis jugibus & certorum dierum præcipuis ea distinctione, quæ *Phineia* inscribitur ex ejusdem libri capite 28. Itaque sacrorum hinc universa jura simul exponere mihi visum est. etenim in his ego prodendis nihil quidquam inventorum meorum afferam; Sed id demum, quod divinæ Legis verbis significatur, & doctrina perenni traditum est. Atque in his concinnandis Majemonidæ sequar explicationem summa auctoritate viri. Omnino hujus ingenii acies nihil spectabile non penetravit: verum enim in his etiam aliquid ego præstabo: dispersa utique ac dissipata colligam, in partes distribuam, & hoc ordine describam ac disponam, ut facillimè possint animo comprehendi. Cùm verò nulla res planè perfectèque cognoscatur, incognitis ejus causis & principiis, explicaturus

jura





jura sacròrum causas eorum aperiam, atque disputationem hanc meam partiar in capita quatuor: in eorum primo ostendetur quo materiæ genere sacrificia fierent: in secundo exprimetur propria cujusque sacrificii forma & species, qua discernetur à cæteris: tertio exponetur causa efficiens sacrificia: erat autem is, unde ad rem divinam suppeditabatur: in quarto differetur de fine sacrificiorum communi. de singulorum enim sacrificiorum fine explicabitur suo cujusque sacrificii loco.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

*Quo materiæ genere sacrificia fierent?*

**V**erbum זבח, *Zebach*, quod est *immolatio*; & verbum קרבן, *Korban*, quo notatur *sacrificium*; non sunt nomina ita consonantia; ut semper unum & idem significant. Omnino immolatio omnis est eadem & sacrificium: contrà verò omne sacrificium non est idem etiam immolatio: immolari dicebatur ea demum quadrupes, quæ primùm jugulabatur, tum adolebatur in ara. nam immolatio jugulatio est: licet hoc ex eo cognosci, quod scriptum legimus *Deut. 12. 21. Immolato de bobus, & ovibus, ac capris ..... sic, ut ego tibi præcepi.* Ex quo existit, ut quævis immolatio sacrificium esset, quod in ara adoleretur, & genus sacrificiorum quoddam non esset immolatio: ut sacrificium illud, quod volucris fiebat, quoniam ea non jugulabatur, non erat immolatio: fertur quoque sacrificium appellatur: id autem erat inanimum, in quod immolatio non cadit: quod cùm ita sit, sacrificium patet latius, quàm immolatio: nimirum eo nomine vocabatur quæcunque quadrupes ritè mactata inferebatur in aram, quæque volucris, insuper etiam fertum, cùm huic vocabulum immolationis nutiquam conveniret. Omnino res divina vocabatur קרבן, *Korban*, quod est proxima conjunctio, duas ob causas, ipsamet altaribus conjungebatur, & hos, à quibus fiebat, quàm arctè Deo conjungebat: ex quo illud quod *Deut. 4. v. 7.*

H h

scriptum

## Abarbanelis Exordium

כי מי גוי גדול אשר לו אלהים קרובים אליו. וזכרה  
 התורה שהקרבן בכלל. ממנו שיהיה מהבעלי חיים הביתיים  
 וזה מג' מינים. מהבהמות שהם מן הבקר מן הנבשים מן  
 העוים. וממנו שיהיה מן המעופף וזה מן התורים וכן בני  
 היונה בלבד וממנו שיהיה מן הצומח היוצא מן הארץ והוא  
 המנחה וזה מג' מינים והם הלחם והשמן והיין. ונתוסף  
 עליהם הלבונה. ואין ספק שהקרבנות היותר נבחרים  
 ומשובחים לפניו יתברך הם שלשת המינים מן הבקר וכן  
 הנבשים וכן העוים בלבד ולזה לא היו בקרבנות הצבור  
 לא תורים ולא בני יונה ולא היה בהם מנחה בנדבה.  
 אבל היו כל זבחי הצבור מג' המינים הנבדלים בלבד.  
 וראוי לתת הסבה למה נתיחדו אלו שזכרתי לחומר הקרבנות  
 מולתם ומסוגם וכפי מה שהעיר עליו הרב המורה. הנה  
 ג' מינים בקר וכבשים ועוים נתיחדו לזבחים ולהתקרב על  
 מזבח השם לשתי סבות. הא' להיות ג' המינים דהם  
 במזגם ומהותם והזנתם יותר נבחרים ומשובחים מכל הבעלי  
 חיים בלתי מדברים. והב' להמצאם יותר בקלות כי לכן לא  
 היה קרבן ממיני החיה לפי שלא רצה יתברך להעמיס  
 עלינו להביא קרבן ממה שיקשה מציאותו ושלוה גם כן  
 צוה שיהיה קרבן העוף בלבד מן התורים וכן בני היונה  
 לאלו הסבות בעצמן וכן כתב הרבי לוי בן גרשום בפירושו  
 לתורה. ודבריהם בזה נכונים הם. אבל לדעתי יש לי  
 בזה עוד שתי דעות אחרות. והא' מהן היא שאלה הג'  
 מינים רומזים לאבותינו הקדושים כי הנה הבקר רומז  
 לאברהם אבינו כי כמו שהבקר הוא הגדול ממיני הבעלי  
 חיים הביתיים כן היה אברהם הגדול שנאבות גם  
 שנאמר בן ואל הבקר רץ אברהם ויקח בן בקר וד'  
 וטוב והנבשים רומזים ליצחק לפי שהנבש הוא במדרגת  
 המעלה

scriptum videmus, *Nam quæ tanta gens, cui tam conjunctus est Deus?* Jam divina Lege commemoratur universè, sacrificiorum aliqua bestiis cicuribus esse facienda, & ista quidem his tribus quadrupedum generibus, bobus, ovibus, & capris: aliqua volucris, & hæc turturibus modò, columbarumque pullis: nonnulla terræ frugibus atque fructibus: atque hæc ea sunt, quæ ferta dicuntur: in his tria inèrant rerum genera, panis, vinum & oleum, quæ etiam thure augebantur. Nec verò dubium est, quin sacrificiorum ea, quæ fiebant his tribus quadrupedum generibus, bubulo, oviarico, ac caprino, grata Deo imprimis & accepta fuerint: ex quo nec in publicis sacrificiis turtures, aut columbarum pullos reperias, nec ullum fertum voluntarium; sed trinis illa quadrupedum generibus paulò antè dictis demum fiebant. Commodum erit igitur jam nunc rerum causam subjicere, cur ista, quæ commemoravi, cunctis è rerum generibus ad sacrificiorum materiam delecta fuerint: quo loco tractando sequar quod singulari vir ingenio & doctrina Majemonides lumen mihi prætulit. Ac primum triplex illud animantium genus bubulum, oviaricum, & caprinum, præcipuè rei divinæ dicatum est, ac consecratum duabus de causis: unâ, quia naturâ, habitu, pabulo hæc tria genera sunt animantium ratione & oratione carentium præstantissima: altera est, quia hæc tria genera sunt inventu facilia. nam eam ob rem omnino feris sacrificium fiebat nullum, quia enim hoc oneris imponi nobis noluit Deus Optimus, ut in rem divinam ferremus id, cujus investigatio summam haberet difficultatem: & eam ipsam ob rem constitutum erat, ut quæ sacra oportebat volucrum genere fieri, fierent solis turturibus & columbarum pullis. R. Levi enim Gersomi filius commentariis suis in Legem ita differuit, & rectè differuit hac de re quidem: ego verò videre mihi videor duas alias etiam subesse causas: earum una est his tribus animantium generibus representari patres nostros eximia sanctitate viros; & Abrahami quidem symbolum esse bovem. nam hic cicurum animantium maximus; ille patrum: præterea autem de illo scriptum videmus *Gen. 18. 7. Atque ad armenta boum cucurrit Abrahamus, & cepit buculum tenerum & bene habitum.* Isaaci verò symbolum pecus oviaricum, quod à bubulo proximum est

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

חמלה אחר הביר . וגם מפני האיל שהעלה אביו עולה  
 תחתיו בשעת העקרה כמו שאמר ויקח את האיל ויעלהו  
 לעולה תחת בנו . והעוים היו רמו ליעקב כי הוא במדרגת  
 הבהמות למטה מהכבשים ומצינו שנאמר ליעקב לך נא אל  
 הצאן וקח לי משם שני גדיי עוים שהלביש על ידיו ועל  
 צוארו בעת ברכת אביו . ולהיות שלשת המינים האלו רומזים  
 אל שלשת האבות צור . יתברך קחה לי עגלה משולשת  
 ועז משולשת ואיל משולש לרמוז אליהם כמו שפירשתי  
 שם . ואמנם התור וגוול היו רומזים למשה ואהרן כמו  
 שהתבאר שמה ואולי לזה גם כן באו בקרבנות תורים ובני  
 יונה וזו היא הסבה הא' . והסבה השנית היא שנבחרו  
 המינים האלו מהחלק ההולך על ארבעה ומהמעופף לקרבנות  
 להיותם רומזים על האומה הישראלית . כי הנה הנביאים  
 פעמים כנו אותה . בשם בקר שנאמר כפרה סוררה סור  
 ישראל וקראום פרות הבשן ואפרים עגלה מלומדה ורבים כן .  
 ולכך היה קרבן שגנת הקהל פר בן בקר . ופעמים כנו אותה  
 בשם שה ובשם צאן שה פוורה ישראל ויחזקאל אמר  
 ושפטתי בין שה בריה ובין שה רוח . ולזה היו קרבנות  
 הצבור התמידין כבש אחד בבקר וכבש אחד בין הערבים וכן  
 בלשון צאן ואתן צאני צאן מרעיתי צאן אוברות היו עמי  
 ורבים ככה . ופעמים היו מכנים את האומה בשם עז  
 ושעיר . ולכן אמר ישעיהו על כן וכבודך עם עז . ואמר  
 ירמיהו על האומה איכה נשבר מטה עז . ויחזקאל  
 אמר והשבתי גאון עוים גאון עוכם עד שלכן היר השעיר  
 אשר

excellentiæ gradu : tum verò pro eo ad immolandum constricto substituit arietem pater ejus , uti scriptum est *Gen. 22. 13. Accepit arietem , quo ad solidum sacrificium usus est pro filio.* Erat autem Jacobi typus pecus caprinum , quod est ratione generis inferius oviarico : hinc videas *Gen. 27. 9. Jacobo edici , Adi , amabo , pecus , & hædos inde mihi auferto duos , & horum inde coriis ejusdem obduci manus , atque cervices ad faustam patris precationem excipiendam.* Quòd autem pecorum illa genera tria trium patrum essent symbola , Deus eximio cultori suo imperat id , quod *Gen. 15. 9. legitur , Sume mihi buculum trimum , capram trimam , & arietem trimum ;* id ipsum indicari volens , sicut eò loci jam exposui : turturi verò , columbinoque pullo significari Moysem & Aaronem , ut ibidem demonstravi : atque haud scio an eam ob rem etiam turtures & columbini pulli sacrificiis deligerentur : Habes causarum unam. Altera causa fuit cur ista genera quadrupedum atque volucrum sacrificiis potissimum destinarentur , quòd his assimilabatur Israelitica gens : videre licet eam apud vates aliàs cum bove conferri , *More juvenæ corumacis repugnant Israelitæ , Osæ c. 4. v. 16. aliàs appellari buculas Basanicas , Amos. 4. 1. Item dicitur Ephraimita vitula docta , Os. 10. 11. & sexcenta ejusmodi alia : nimirum eam ob rem cœtus universus per errorem cum peccarat , piaculum buculo faciebat : tum eandem habere vocabulum & agni , & ovis , Agni dispersi sunt Israelitæ , Jer. c. 50. v. 17. Egomet inter obesum & macilentum agnum judex sededo , Ezech. 34. 20. ex quo etiam publica quotidie bina binis agnis fiebant sacrificia , mane unum , & alterum vesperi. Similiter vocabulum ovis , Vos autem o meæ oves , oves pascui mei , Ezech. 34. 31. Oves perditæ populus meus sunt , Jer. 50. 6. & innumera hujus generis alia : tum eidem nomen esse capræ , & hirco. est enim apud Esaiam vatem , c. 25. v. 3. Hanc ob causam te venerabitur populus potens : sed hoc postremum verbum potens & vim capræ continet. Est & apud Jeremiam , c. 48. v. 17. de gente , Qui fractus est baculus potens ? ubi verbum ultimum similiter interpretari licet capram : eòdem valet & oraculum illud , quod est apud Ezechielem , 7. 24. Ac coercebo superbiam potentium ; & 24. 21. Decus vestræ potentiæ. Unde fiebat , ut pro universa gente nostra sacrificaretur hircorum*

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## Abarbanelis Exordium

אשר עלה עליו הגדול ליהוה כנגד האומה וחמנינו וזכונם  
 לברכה אמרו שלשה עוים הם ומנו את ישראל מכללם  
 ולהיות ג' המינים האלו רומזים אל האומה המשולם הנביא  
 אליה בצרת הגלות: באמרו נשה לטבח יוכל וכרחל לפני  
 נחזירה נאלמה. ולא יפתח פיו כי הצאן והרחלים כוללים  
 לכבשים ולעוים ולכך צוה יתנדך שיקריבו קרבנותיהם מן  
 המינים האלה הדומים אליהם שיהיה כאלו הקריבו את  
 רמם ואת בשרם ועל זה אמר אדם כי יקריב מכם קרבן  
 ליהוה שמהם ומדדומים להם שהם הבקר והצאן שהווא שה  
 כבשים ושה עוים יקריבו את קרבנם: האמנם אם דל הוא  
 ואין ידו משגת צוה שיקריב מן התורים ומן בני היונה לפי  
 שהאומה נמשלה אליהם גם כן כמו שאמרנו יונתי בחגוי הסלע  
 ונאמר בדרך השיר על תפלת האומה ער? הומיר הגיע וקול  
 התור נשמע בארצנו: והרבי משה בן נחמן כתב שנבחרו מן  
 העוף שני המינים לבד לפי שהתורים לא יודווגו אלא לבת  
 זוגם והיונים לא עובו זוגם וכן ישראל עם השם ודבריו נכונים:  
 ומצאתי אני סיוע לדעתו בספר דעות הפלוסופים פרק שמיני  
 שכתוב שם וזה לשונו והיונים לא יודווגו אלא למורגלת  
 להם מהנקבות וזלתי אם תמות שלעתים רחוקים יודווגו  
 לנקבה. אחרת ונקבות התורים לא יהיה לנקבה אחת אלא  
 זכר אחד ואינה נכנעת לזכר אחר עד כאן. ואפשר לומר  
 עוד שנבחרו התורים ובני יונה להיותם מחלקי הכוכבים  
 המורים על בתי עבודת השמן שהם צדק ונוגה. וכמו שכתוב  
 בספר ראשית חכמה. וזה לשונו: צדק מחלקו בתי  
 התפלות

ille, cui fors obtigerat ea, qua inscriptum erat DOMINO. Dicitur est à sapientibus nostris, quorum est semper colenda memoria, caprarum esse genera tria, quorum in numero posuerunt Israelitas unum. Cum igitur hæc tria genera bestiarum essent symbola nostræ gentis, gens nostra comparata fuit ad illas apud vatem *Esaiam*, cap. 53. cum de miseris & ærumnis hujus nostræ captivitatis ita cecinit, *Tanquam agnus ad lanienam agitur, & velut ovis ante tonsores suos obmutescens nec ullum verbum proloquitur.* nam verbum istud \*רעל, *zor*, item & hoc alterum \*רעל, *rechelim*, communiter oviaricum & caprinum pecus significat. Ergo præceperat eis Deus, ut sua sacrificia hiis facerent bestiis, quæ essent ipsorum symbola, ita; ut velut suo ipsorum sanguine & carne sacrificium facerent. ideoque dicitur, *Lev. 1. 2. Quisque sacrificium Domino cum faciet è vobis*, cujus vis, ut sacrificium eorum esset ex ipsis, hoc est, ipsorum è symbolis seu bobus, seu minoribus bestiis, ovibus & capris. Quod si cujus facultates non paterentur, is jussus erat immolare turturibus & pullis columbinis; quia enim gens nostra cum his etiam componitur. dictum est enim de nostrorum hominum genere *Cant. 2. 14. Columba mea in cavus petrae*: tum ibidem *v. 12.* de precibus gentis nostræ more poetico dicitur, *Cantandi tempus venit, vox turturis auditur in regione nostra.* R. Moyses autem Nachmonides vult è volucrum generibus hæc duo duntaxat sacrificiis eò delecta, quòd ut turtures non nisi cum suis se confortibus jungunt, & columbæ confortes suas deserunt nunquam, sic & Israelitarum genus uno solo Deo conjungitur in perpetuum: probé. Equidem hanc ego rationem confirmatam invenio capite octavo libri de sententiis Philosophorum, in quo totidem verbis scriptum est. Omnino columba cum una certa femina consuescit, nisi ea moriatur: ac rarò admodum evenit, ut etiam cum altera rem habeat. De turturibus autem, est suus cuique feminae mas: huic illa succumbit, & præterea nulli. Hactenus ibi. Fieri potest etiam, ut deligerentur turtures & pulli columbini propterea, quòd istæ volucres in ditioe ac potestate sint stellarum, quibus assignantur & ædes divino cultui dicatæ ac consecratæ: stellas dico Jovis & Veneris, de quibus eo libro, qui principium sapientiæ inscribitur, ita disputatur. **Stella Jovis tuetur ædes precibus religio-**

\* Est hoc verum quidem: at suspicor tamen hic subesse mendam, ac legendum רעל, *Seh*, non רעל, *Zon*, quia enim apud *Esaiam* in illo versu allegatio usurpatur non verbum רעל, *Zon*; sed רעל, *Seh*, quod similiter utriusque pecori convenit oviarico ac caprino.

התפלות ומקום עבודת השם והמקומות הטהורים ומהעופות היונים  
 ונוגה בחלקו אהבת הצדק ובתי עבודת השם ומן העופות התורים  
 עד כאן • ואמנם חומר המנחה הוא סולת ושמן ולבנה ויין  
 לנסך כי הנה לפי שהיתה בדרך מנחה ששולח אדם לאדונו  
 לעלות על שלחן המלך צוה שיהיה חמרה מהדברים היותר  
 צריכים ונבחרים במזון השלחן שהם הלחם והשמן והיין  
 וכמו שאמר המשורר ויין ישמח לבב אנוש להצדיל פנים משמן  
 ולחם לבב אנוש יסעד ומפני שדרך בני אדם להקריבם מנחה  
 לאדוניהם אם היה בזמן קציר יקריבו מפרי הארץ ואם הוא בזמן  
 שאין שם פירות לחות מקריבין מהסולת והשמן וסמים להטיב  
 ריח המנחה ויין לשתות עליה • לכן צוה יתברך שככה יעשו גם  
 הם לפני ארון כל הארץ שבראשית הפירות יביאו מנחת הבכורים  
 ובשאר הזמנים יביאו את מנחתם מאותם הדברים הטובים הצומחים  
 להם מן השרדה והם הלחם והשמן והיין להטיב ריחה יתנו עליה  
 לבונה • והנה היו מיני המנחות ד' כפי שהיה מנהגם בזמן ההוא  
 להקריבם לפני אדוניהם • ועוד אתן בזה הפרק הב הנמשך טעם  
 אחר כפי הצורות • הנה התבאר שהחומר היותר נכבד ונבחר  
 להקריב ממנו קרבן ליהוה הוא מג' המינים מחיי הבייתוי ההולך  
 על ארבע • ולמטה ממנו נבחר לאשר אין ידו משגת שני מינים  
 מחיי המעופף ולמטה ממנו היתה המנחה שחמרה: מג' מיני  
 הצמחים היותר נבחרים מפרי האדמה היוצאים להם מן השרדה:

הפרק



religiosis & reliquo divino cultui sacras, cunctas regiones puras, & è volucribus columbas: stellæ Veneris amor justitiæ, sacra & augusta loca subjecta sunt, & ex avibus turtures. Adhuc in eo libro. Jam materia ferti fuit cùm similia, tum oleum, & thus, insuper etiam vinum ad libandum: quomodo villicus fere mittit domino munus, item & hoc mittebatur in mensam summi rectoris: quamobrem edicto sancitum, ut concinnaretur ex ejusmodi rebus, quæ ad cultum & victum humanum necessariæ in primis, aptæque forent: talia sunt panis, vinum, & oleum, de quibus vates canit, *Psal. 104. 15. Et vinum quod hominum exhilaret animos, & oleum quod ora illustret, & panem qui corda hominum sustentet.* nam solet agricola domino tum, cùm terræ fruges, & reliqui fructus percipiuntur, ferre munus novorum fructuum: & hi cùm defecerunt, offerre simillam atque oleum, & idem hoc munus exquisitis odoribus ornare, cumulare vino: ad eundem igitur modum nostri jubebantur hæc ipsa offerre terrarum Domino: libamenta fructuum quo quæque genera tempore maturefcere inciperent: & reliquis anni temporibus rerum optimarum è terra nascentium ferta, ferta panis, olei, vini, & ea superaddito thure fragrantia: fuerunt autem genera fertorum quatuor pro eo, ac id temporis homines suo quisque domino munera dare soliti fuerant: sed verò hujus rei causam adhuc aliam afferam capite proximè sequenti in explicandis eorum formis. Demonstravimus igitur materiam maximè lautam & exquisitam ad sacrificium Deo rerum Domino faciendum esse tria illa quadrupedum mitium & domesticarum genera: secundam ab ea duo illa genera volucrum, destinatum quibus per facultates ad rem divinam faciendam uti superiori non licebat: infimam autem fertis accommodatam esse optima horum fructuum genera, quæ è terra gignuntur ad vitam & usum hominum.

## הפרק השני

## בצורות הקרבנות

וגי הקרבנות אם ובחים ואם מנחות שכלם נקריבים על  
 גבי המזבח והובחים כפי צורתיהם הראשונות הם  
 ד' מינים העולה והחטאת והאשם והשלמים ואין  
 בתורתנו קרבן בשום פנים לא מצבור ולא מיחיד אלא מאחד  
 מהר' מינים והנה העולה הוא קרבן נשרף כלו על גבי המזבח  
 בין שיהיה משל צבור בין משל יחיד ואין לבעלים ממנה  
 כלום ולא לכהנים גם כן חלק ממנה לאכלה כי כלה  
 נשרפת וילתי העיר שלה שהוא לכהן המקריב אותה ואין  
 העולה אלא מזכר הבקר או מזכרי הצאן והעוים ותהיה העולה  
 גם כן מן התורים ומן בני היונה ואין הפרש באלה שיהיו  
 זכר או נקבה ואין מקריבים מן הבקר והכשבים והעוים אלא  
 חמים לא בעל מוס ולא זקן כי לזקנותו אינו תמים בטבעו  
 והבקר יהיה זקן משיעברו עליו שלש שנים שלמים מיום ליום  
 והכשב או הכשב שהכל אחד משיעברו עליו שתי שנים כי מזה  
 הזמן והלאה יתחילו להחליש פעולותיהם הטבעיות והתורה  
 הקפידה שיהיו הדברים הנקריבים על גבי המזבח בשלמותם ובעת  
 שיהיו יותר נבחרים וטובים ולכך צותה שיהיו התורים גדולים  
 ובני היונה קטנים כי כן הם יותר טובים ומזה תדע שכל  
 מקום שכתוב בתורה כבש או כשב הוא שם נופל על שם או עז  
 מקטני הצאן והוא בתוך שנתו הראשונה וכשהוא אומד איל או  
 אילים הוא מזכרי הכשבים או העוים והוא בתוך שתי שנים  
 וכל

CAPUT SECUNDUM.

*De formis sacrificiorum.*

**O**Mnis ratio sacrificiorum bipertitò dividitur, in victimas, & ferta, quæ pariter adolebantur in altaribus. Erant victimarum pro formis primariis inter se differentibus genera quatuor: sacrificium solidum, sacrificium piaculare, sacrificium pro delicto, & sacrificium pacificum: ac præter hæc quatuor omnino nullum licet in nostra Lege reperire sacrificium neque publicum, neque privatum. Sacrificium igitur solidum igni consumebatur in ara totum, seu id publicum, sive privatum fuerat: nihil inde redibat ad dominum: nec ad sacerdotes quidem perveniebat de eo pars ulla, quæ comederetur: sed totum adolebatur præter corium, quod erat sacerdotis ejus, qui huic ipsi sacro operaretur. Nunquam sacrificium solidum fiebat nec pecore bubulo, neque oviarico, neque caprino nisi mari: rursus idem fiebat turturibus & pullis columbinis sine delectu maris & femina: boves, oves, capræ synceræ demum & integræ sacrificabantur: nunquam nec temerata vitio, nec senio affectæ; quia enim natura animantium minus perfecta sit in senectute: senectus autem aderat bovi quidem cum tres annos ad dierum numerum exactos natus erat: & bestia minori ei quæ כֶּבֶשׁ, *Kebes*, dicitur; & eadem literis inversis, כֶּשֶׁב, *Kešeb*, etiam appellatur, ubi duos annos compleverat. hoc enim tempore ætatis exacto, porro in his bestiis incipiunt naturæ vires inclinari. Curabat autem magnopere divina Lex, ut altaribus admoverentur res integræ interea, dum erant suavissimæ & in suo genere optimæ: hinc sancitum erat, turtures ut sacrificarentur majores, minores autem columbæ; quia enim sunt ejusmodi meliores. Erunt igitur in ea re tenenda ista, nomen illud כֶּבֶשׁ, *Kebes*, seu כֶּשֶׁב, *Kešeb*, cum in Lege divina commemoratur, tenero pecori tribui, agno vel hædo intra unum ætatis annum: nomine אֵיל, *ail*, item & in multitudinis numero אֵילִים, *elim*, dici in Lege divina mares ovium juxta, ac caprarum intra alterum ætatis annum: in eadem Lege di-

וכל מקום שנאמר פר או נדים הוא בתוך ג' שנים וכשהוא אומר  
 עגל הוא בן שנה ושעיר עזים נקרא אחר שנה וכמו שהתבאר  
 כל זה במסכת פרה ואמנם החטאת יש ממנו שני חלקים הא'  
 הוא שמקריבים ממנו האמורים על גבי המזבח והם בחטאת בן  
 הבקר ומן העזים החלב אשר על הקרב מבפנים והשתי חליות  
 עם חלבהן ואת היותרת אשר על הכנר הוא הקצה התחתון  
 היוצא מן הכנר שהוא נדמות הבהן באצבעות היד ואם היד  
 החטאת מן הנכשיום שורפים עוד מלבד האברים האלה  
 שזכרתי את האליה כלה עם חליות הסמוכות אליה ואלו  
 כלם נקראים אמורים וצרה לומר דברים שצורה השם שישרפו  
 אותם מהחטאת ויאכלו זכרי הכהונה את הנותר בעורה והמין  
 הב' מהחטאת היא הנשרפת כלה כדון העולה כמו שיתבאר  
 ואמנם האשם הוא קרבן היחיד שנסתפק לו אם חטא  
 בשגגה באחד מן המצוות שיש בהם מעשה וחייבים על זדונם  
 כרת או אם לא חטא כס שמפני הספק ההוא מביא קרבן  
 אשם האמנם אם נתאמת לו אחר כך שבדאי חטא בה  
 בשגגה או יביא קרבן חטאת כי הנה כל דבר שחייבין על וראי  
 שלו קרבן חטאת חייבין על לא הודע שלו קרבן אשם ואין בכל  
 קרבנית צביר קרבן אשם בשום פנים ומהאשם נשרפין על גבי  
 המזבח כל האמורים כמו שנשרפים מהחטאת והשאר נאכל לכהנים  
 כי שניהם שוים בזה כחטאת כאשם ואמנם השלמים יש מהם  
 חלק למזבח והם האמורים הנשרפים מהחטאת והאשם וחלק  
 לכהנים והוא החודר והשוק שהיו הם אוכלים מהשלמים  
 והשאר

vina pecori bubulo prius, quàm tres annos complevit, in utroque numero juvenci, seu buculi dari vocabulum, & intra primum ætatis annum vituli: & hircum caprarum appellari qui totum annum exegerit: quæ omnia sic, ut prodidi, demonstrantur in tractatu illo Talmudico, qui *Vacca* inscribitur. Jam erat sacrificium piaculare duplex: unum, cujus exta in altaribus adolebantur: ac sacrum piaculare buculo vel caprino pecore cum fieret, erant exta adeps, qui intestina operit, & duo renes cum sua pinguedine, & reticulum jecoris: atque hæc est ima illa fibra jecoris, quæ ita procedit ex ipso, ut accedat ad digiti pollicis similitudinem: sin autem piaculare sacrum fieret pecore oviarico præter partes ante dictas cauda tota cum proximis spinæ vertebrae adolebantur etiam. hæc adeo nostris dicuntur אֵימֹרִים ab אָמַר edicendo; quia enim hæc victimæ piacularis ut adolerentur, edixerat Deus, cætera sacerdotes mares ut comederent in atrio. Erat alterum sacrificium piacularæ, quod item, uti sacrificium solidum, cremabatur totum, de quo inferius explicabitur. Tertio loco positum est sacrificium pro delicto: id verò ab homine privato tum fiebat, cum ambigeret, utrùm per imprudentiam aliquid factum reddidisset contra præceptum ejusmodi, quod per audaciam cum prodere-tur, pœna foret exitium; an non. hoc enim dubium coge-bat hominem sacrificium pro delicto suspendendo facere: verùm idem si postmodum cognitum & exploratum haberet se per imprudentiam esse maleficio implicatum, & piaculare sacrum conficeret etiam. Sic enim comparatum erat, quod peccatum cunque imprudenter admissum dum certum ac cognitum erat sacro piaculari luebatur, id si cui minus compertum esset, sacrificium pro delicto suspendendo requirebat: omnino publicis in sacris sacrum pro delicto sustinendo nusquam videre licet: atque ut de sacrificio piaculari, sic & de sacrificio pro delicto exta prorsus omnia super aram cremabantur; cætera comedebantur à sacerdotibus. nam in ea re quidem certe piaculare sacrificium, & sacrificium pro delicto æqualia inter se erant & paria. De sacrificio pacifico pars cedebat altaribus: hic enim exta illius adolebantur eadem, atque sacrificii piacularis, & sacrificii pro delicto: pars sacerdotibus, qui singulis è victimis pacificis pro rata portione, qua vescerentur, pectus & armum auferebant:

## Abarbanelis Exordium

והשאר היו אוכלים הבעלים ולכך נקראו שלמים שנותנים שלום  
 למזבח לכהניכו ולבעלים וכבר זכרתי שאין בקרבנות הצבור  
 שלמים אלא שני כבשי עזרת בלבד והעולה מזה הוא  
 שיבדלו הקרבנות האלה בצורתיהם שהעולה היא נשרפת כלה  
 והחטאת והאשם מקצתה נשרפת והנותר יאכלו הכהנים בלבד  
 אמנם השלמים קצת מהם נשרפים שהם האמורים וקצת מהם  
 יאכלו הכהנים והנותר כלו יאכלו הבעלים הנר היא זאת  
 חלוקת הזבחים הנקרבים על המזבח כפי צורתיהם :

ואמנם המנחות שהנא סוג שני מהקרבנות מתחלק חלוק ראשון  
 לשני חלקים או מינים כי יש מנחה שהיא נשרפת עם הקרבן  
 ותבא עמו ואי אפשר שיהיה הקרבן ההוא מבלעדי אותה מנחה  
 והיא נקראת מנחת נסכים ויש מנחה שהיא בפני עצמה ואינה  
 מנחת נסכים והנה קרבן העוף אינו טעון מנחת נסכים בשום ענין  
 כמו שנאמר בספרי וכן אמרו כל הבא בנדר או נדבה טעון נסכים  
 יצאו חטאות ואשמות שאינם באים בנדר ונדבה שאינם טעונים  
 נסכים ומטעם זה לא היו חייבים נסכים הבכור והמעשר בהמה  
 ולא הפסח שאינם באים בנדר ונדבה ויעלה מזה שכל עולת  
 בהמה וכל קרבן שלמים טעונים נסכים בין שיהיו קרבנות הצבור  
 או היחיד אבל החטאת והאשם אינם טעונים נסכים זולתי חטאת  
 המצורע או אשמו בלבד ומנחת הנסכים היא סולת בלולה  
 בשמן וירח והנסכים הוא היין והכל טכסיסי קרבן הם והשעור  
 שחייב להביא על העולה או השלמים מהסולת ודשמן  
 והיין יתחלף כפי חלוקת הקרבן שבאים עמו זהם ג' שעורים  
 השעור

auferebant: reliqua pars ejus comedebatur ab eo, qui erat sacrificii dominus. hoc igitur nominabatur sacrificium pacificum ideo, quod pacem inter aram, sacerdotes, & dominum conciliaret. Inter sacra publica, id quod alio loco nobis jam dictum est, nullum erat sacrificium pacificum, præterquam quod duobus agnis ad Hebdomadalia fiebat. Ex quo patet hæc sacrificia formis differre sic, ut sacrificium solidum igni consumeretur totum: sacrificium piaculare partim igni cremaretur, partim comederetur ab unis sacerdotibus; & similis esset sacrificii pro delicto ratio: sacrificii verò pacifici adoleretur aliquid, interanea videlicet, aliquid à sacerdotibus gustaretur, & reliqua universa comederentur à domino. Habes ex formis partitionem ac divisionem adolendarum in altaribus victimarum.

Reliqua sunt ferta, quæ fuit in divisione bipertita pars altera. Hæc igitur primùm distribuuntur in partes seu species duas. erat enim fertum, quod unà cum victima offerretur, adoleretur, sine quo profus immolari victima non poterat: atque hoc illud est, quod fertum libaminum vulgò dicitur: & erat fertum, quod Deo separatim obmovebatur: quod aliud, atque fertum libaminum erat. Omnino quod sacrificium cunque volucris fiebat, ad hoc fertum libaminum non requirebatur, sicut dicitur in eo libro, qui *Siphri* inscribitur. Simul accipe dictum illud; sacrificium id quod fiebat ex voto promissoque requirebat fertum libaminum: at nec sacrificia piacularia, nec sacrificia pro delictis ex voto, vel promisso fiebant: igitur nec ferta libaminum requirebant: quam ob rem nec primitia, nec decuma pecus, neque porro victima paschalis libaminum fertis augebantur, quia enim non sacrificabantur nec ex voto, nec ex promisso. Unde sequitur, ut solidis sacrificiis iis, quæ fierent quadrupedibus, item & sacrificiis pacificis ferta libaminum adhiberentur, non adhiberentur nec sacrificiis piacularibus, nec sacrificiis pro delictis, si modò excipias sacrificium piaculare atque sacrificium pro delicto leprosi hominis. Erat libaminum fertum simila olivo subacta: libamina verò vinum erat: his scilicet sacrificia sic, tanquam corollariis exaugebantur. Constituebatur autem solidis sacrificiis ac pacificis modus simikæ, olei, vini que varius pro varietate victimarum, quibus adungebantur: triplex igitur definiebatur modus. Ac primò quidem  
sacrificium

השעור הא' הוא בהיות העולה או שלמים מן הכבשים או מן  
 העזים בהיותם קטנים בני שנה שמעון כל אחד מהם סלת עשרון  
 בלול ברביעית ההין שמן ורביעית ההין יין והשעור הב' הוא  
 בהיות העולה או השלמים מגדולי הצאן והוא הנקרא איל מנחתו  
 שני עשרונים סלת בלולות בשלישית ההין שמן ושלישית ההין  
 יין והשעור הג' בהיות העולה או השלמים ממין הבקר בין שיהיה  
 גדול או קטן שמנחתו ג' עשרונים סלת בלול בשמן חצי ההין  
 לפי האחד ונסכו חצי ההין יין והשעור הוה נכפל כפי מנין  
 הקרבנות ואין דבר יוצא מן הכלל הזה וולתי הכבש שמקריבין  
 ביום השני של חג המצות בהנפת העומר שהיא עולה וכתוב  
 בתורה שתהיה מנחתו שני עשרונים בלולים בשלישית ההין שמן  
 והנסכים שחייב עמו הוא רביעית ההין יין כמשפט כל כבשים  
 וגם כן נבדלה חטאת המצורע ואשמו שעם כל אחד מהם בא  
 עשרון לפי שקרבן המצורע הוא שני כבשים וכבשה אחת והם  
 חטאת העולה ואשם ונאמר במנחתם ושלושה עשרונים ונמר  
 הנה ביארתי וזרון מנחות הנסכים ששורפים עם הקרבן רוצה לומר  
 אם בהיותו כלו עולה ואם עם אמורי השלמים וזהו ביאור המין  
 האחד מהמנחות:

ואמנם המין השני מהם הוא המנחות שאינן תלויות בקרבן ידוע  
 והם שני חלקים מנחת היחיד ומנחת הצבור והנה מנחת  
 הצבור הם ג' הא' עומר התנופה הנקרב ביום ב' של חג  
 המצות ומקריבין ממנו קומץ על גבי המזבח ואוכלים הכהנים את  
 הנותר והמנחה הב' שתי הלחם שמביאין יום עצרת שנאמר  
 ממושבותיכם



sacrificium solidum, aut pacificum cum fieret tenero vel agno, vel hædo, hoc est, anniculo, adhibebatur similæ decuma quadrante hinnis olei subacta, & quartarius hinnis vini. Deinde sacrificium alterutrum cum fieret hujus generis animante majore, eo, qui nomine dicitur aries; similaginis adhibebantur decumæ duæ subactæ triente hinnis olei, & tertia pars hinnis vini. Denique solidum aut pacificum sacrificium cum fieret pecore bubulo, seu illo majori, seu minori, cuique pro fertore erant decumæ similaginis tres dimidio hinnis olei subactæ, & pro libamine dimidium hinnis vini: & horum modorum numerum oportebat cum victimis adæquari. Quæ modorum descriptio ita communis erat omnium victimarum, ut nihil aliud excipiendum sit, quam agnus ille, quo ad secundum azymorum diem festum, cum obmoveretur Deo novarum frugum manipulus, sacrificium fiebat solidum: huic ut pro fertore adhiberentur similaginis decumæ duæ triente hinnis olei subactæ, Lege sancitum erat: & hujus ipsius itidem, ut cunctorum agnorum libamen constabat è quartario hinnis vini tamen. Porro autem hominis leprosi hostia piacularis, & hostia pro delicto distinguebantur à cæteris in tantum, ut cum utraque conjungeretur decuma similaginis ferti nomine. nam qui factus erat è lepris sanus duos agnos, & agnam sacrificabat, atque ita sacrificabat, ut sacrificium solidum esset unum, & alterum sacrificium piacularis; ac sacrificium pro delicto tertium: nihilo tamen minus eidem edictum erat, ut simul horum ferta ferret decumæ similaginis tres. Exposui de ratione fertorum, quæ conjunctim cum victimis sacrificandis adolebantur: conjunctim, inquam, cum toto sacrificio solido, vel cum extis sacrificii pacifici. Atque hæc de prima specie fertorum dicta sint.

Altera fertorum species nullis è victimis pendebat, quæ bipertito dividebatur: nempe erant hujusmodi ferta & privata, & publica. Ac publica quidem ejusmodi ferta numero tria fuerant: unum erat manipulus ille frugum novarum, quod obmovebatur Deo postridie illius diei solemnibus azymorum, ex quo plenus pugillus in altaribus adolebatur, & reliquum comedebatur à sacerdotibus. Alterum autem erat duo panes illi, qui Deo offerebantur ad Hebdomadalia, de quo scriptum vide-

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

ממושבותיכם תביאו לחם תנופה. וקראו הכתוב מנחה שנאמר  
 בהקריבכם ננחה חדשה ליהוה בשבועותיכם והמנחה הג'  
 היא לחם הפנים שאוכלים אותו הכהנים בכל יום שבת והם  
 יב' חלות שני עשרונים החלה האחת ואלו הג' מנחות רוחין  
 את הטומאה אבל לא תאכל אם באת בטומאה כמו שהתבאר  
 בפסחים ומנחת העומר לבדה היא שרוחה את השבת ואמנם  
 מנחת היחיד נחלקת לה' חלקים החלק הא' היא המנחה  
 שיתחייב בה האדם על עון שעשה כגון מי ששגג בטומאת  
 מקדש וקדשו או שגג בשבועת בטוי או עבר על שבועת העדות  
 בין כמזיד בין בשוגג שהעובר על אחת מאלה ארבעת החטאים  
 חייב קרבן ואם אין ידו משגת לאותו קרבן מקריב עשירית האיפה  
 סלת לא יצוק עליה שמן ולא יתן עליה לבונה וזאת  
 נקראת מנחת חטא וכבר קראה הכתוב חטאת ודינה שמקריבין  
 ממנה קומץ על גבי המזבח ויאכלו הכהנים את הנותר והחלק  
 הב' היא המנחה שיתחייב בה על דבר שרצה לתקנו והיא  
 מנחת הסוטה ונבדלה משאר המנחות כלם בשואת מקטח  
 שעורים והיא גם כן בלי שמן ובלי לבונה ומקריבין ממנה  
 קומץ על המזבח ואוכלים הכהנים את הנותר וזאת נקראת  
 מנחת קנאות והחלק הג' היא המנחה שיתחייב בה עם קרבן ידוע  
 שכבר נתחייב בו ונקראת מנחה על דרך העברה כגון שחייב אדם  
 עצמו בקרבן תודה או ידור בניד ושלמו ימי הנזירות שיקריב עם  
 התודה חלות מצות ורקיק מצות וכן עם איל הנזיר והתורה  
 לא קראה זה מנחה ואינה מכלל המנחות בשום פנים  
 והראיה

mus, Lev. 23. 17. *Vestris è regionibus affertote panes duos, qui Deo obmoveantur.* his enim ferti vocabulum à Lege tribuitur, Num. 28. 26. *Cùm obmovebitis Deo fertum novum Hebdomadibus vestris.* Tertium erat hujusmodi fertum publicum panes propositionis: ii singulis sabbatis comedebantur à sacerdotibus: placentæ duodecim erant: quæque binas continebat similaginis decumas. Hæc tria ferta inquinamentum elevabant illa quidem: sed inquinata cùm offerrentur, neutiquam comedebantur, sicut in tractatu Talmudico de sacris paschalibus demonstratum est: & manipulus novarum frugum erat solum ex his fertum, quod elevaret etiam sabbatum. Ratio autem privatorum fertorum quinquepartitò distribuebatur. Primum enim quis astringebatur fertò ob admissum aliquod, si templum, sacræve per imprudentiam inquinamento temerasset, si jusjurandum vanum atque futile jurasset, si rei cujuscumque conficius testimonium appellatus negasset sciens aut imprudens, atque jusjurandum dedisset se nihil quidquam ejus scire; qui horum maleficiorum aliquod commiserat, is sacro piaculari astringebatur: cujus si sacri faciendi facultas non esset, idem offerebat similæ tantum, quantum Æphæ decuma continebatur: id verò nec oleo perfundebatur, nec decorabatur honore thuris: nimirum hoc vulgò fertum fontis dicitur, atque adeo in literis sacris sacrificium piaculare nominatur: ex hoc igitur in altaribus adoleri plenum pugillum oportebat, & reliquum à sacerdotibus comedi. Deinde fertò alligabatur qui domesticæ turpitudinis infamia liberari se volebat: hujus generis erat fertum mulieris de adulterio suspectæ, quod cunctis à fertis distinguebatur: erat hordeacea farina, sine oleo, sine thure, unde plenus pugillus in altaribus adolebatur, & comedebatur reliquum à sacerdotibus: atque hoc fertum zelotypiæ nominatur. Tertio loco ponetur fertum illud, quod suis quisque victimis certi cujusdam generis alioqui debitis adjungeret, necesse fuit, quod translato per similitudinem verbo fertum dicitur: ut si quis se sacro obligasset illo, quod à gratiarum actione nomen habet, si voto se Nazaræi obstrinxisset, & idem præstitutos Nazaræatui dies complevisset, cum victima illa eucharistica quæ vocatur, placentas azymas, & lagana azyma jungeret, item & cum ariete Nazaræi: id à Lege quidem non appellatur fertum: nec ve-

## Abarbanelis Exordium

והראיה על זה שאם הביא הכהן תודה או איל נזיר על עצמו  
 הוא יאכל החלות והרקיקים שמביא עמו כמו אלו היה של  
 ישראל ואלו היה זה מנחה היה חייב לשרוף אותה כלה  
 שנאמר וכל מנחת כהן כליל תהיה לא תאכל אבל רבותינו  
 זכרונם לברכה קראוה מנחה בדרך העברה והחלק הר' היא  
 המנחה שחייב בה הכהן גדול בלבד בכל יום או הכהן ההדיוט  
 פעם אחת בימיו כשהתחיל לעבוד במזבח ומנחת הכהן גדול  
 התמידית היא הנקראת חביתי כהן גדול והוא עשירית האיפה  
 ומקריבין מחציתו עם תמיד של שחר ומחציתו עם תמיד של בין  
 הערבים והיא נשרפת כלה שנאמר חק עולם ליהוה כליל תקטר  
 וזאת המנחה גם כן נקראת מנחת כהן משוח לפי שנאמר בה  
 אשר יקריבו ליהוה ביום המשח אותו ומה שחייב בה כל כהן  
 הדיוט פעם אחת בימיו הוא שחכהן כשיגדל ורוצה להכנס  
 בעבודה בתחלת מעשיו וביא שני עשרונים סלת ומקריב אותו  
 מנחה נשרף כלו להיותו מנחת כהן ונרמז זה ממה שאמר הכתוב  
 וזה קרבן אהרן ובניו אשר יקריבו ליהוה וגומר הרי שכלל בפסוק  
 הודה מנחת כהן גדול שמקריב בכל יום ומנחת כל כהן  
 הדיוט כשנכנס לעבודה והכהן משעה שהיה חייב במצוות  
 היה כשר לעבודה אבל אחיו הכהנים לא היו מנוזזין  
 אותו לעבוד עד היותו בן עשרים שנה והחלק הה' היא  
 המנחה הבאה בגר ונדבה ונקראת מנחת נדבה והיא  
 מה' אופנים הא' סולת כלולה בשמן בלבד ונקראת מנחת  
 הסלת והב' מנחת מאפה תנור אם חלות ואם רקיקים  
 והג'

rò potest ullo pacto in numero fertorum duci : efficitur hoc inde, quòd sacerdos si victimam eucharisticam immolasset, aut arietem Nazaræi sacrificasset, adjunctas ei placentas atque lagana ipsemet comederet perinde, ut si ab Israelita fuissent aliquo: at hoc si revera fertum esset, igni cremari totum oporteret ex hoc edicto, quod *Lev. 6. 16.* proponitur, *Omne fertum sacerdotis solidum esto, ne comeditor* : maneat igitur illud, genus hoc à sapientibus honoris causa nominandis translato per similitudinem verbo fertum appellari. Quartum erat fertum illud, quo pontifex maximus solus astringebatur in dies singulos, & semel in vita demum quilibet alius sacerdos, tum videlicet, cum divino ministerio iniciabatur, atque libamentum hoc quotidianum pontificis maximi illud est, quæ crustula summi pontificis passim appellantur: erat autem similaginis id, quod *Æphæ* decuma capiebat, cujus dimidium cum matutino, & dimidium cum vespertino sacrificio jugi libabatur: totum, quantum erat, igni consumebatur, sicut edictum est, *Lev. 6. 15.* *Ritu perpetuo Deo totum adoleatur.* Idem hoc libamentum appellatur etiam sacerdotis uncti fertum; quia enim hoc spectat id, quod ibidem *v. 13.* edicitur, *Quod offerent Deo quo die ungentur.* Et unusquisque sacerdotum semel in vita libamento astringebatur: nimirum sacerdos grandis jam adolescens cum primum ad rem divinam administrandam accedebat, ante omnia de suo fertum Deo offerebat, quod decumas similaginis contineret duas: id adeo, quòd fertum erat sacerdotis, adolebatur totum: indicat hoc idem ipse Legis versus, *Hoc autem erit libamentum & Aaronis, & ejus filiorum, quod offerent Deo, & reliqua.* hîc enim simul comprehenduntur quotidianum summi pontificis, & cujusque sacerdotis fertum illud, quod Deo tum offerebat, cum ad rem divinam administrandam aggrediebatur. Jam quivis sacerdotum ubi præceptis astringebatur, idem idoneus erat, qui rem divinam administraret; sed fratres ejus sacerdotes eum non sinebant usque, dum annos viginti natus erat. Quintum & extremum erat illud, quod ex voto, atque promisso offerebatur: id vulgò fertum voluntarium dicitur: id quintuplici varietate distinguebatur. Erat tum mera simila oleo subacta quod fertum similaginis appellatur: tum panificium quoddam in clibano coctum, & idem in placentas aut lagana

והג' מנחת על המחבת והר' מנחת על המרחשת ואיזה מין  
 מאלו שידור חייב להביאו וכן איזה שעור שנדר ובלבד שלא יהיה  
 פחות מעשרון סלת ואלו הר' מינים כלם צריכים שמן ולבונה  
 וכלם סלת ומקריבין ממנו על הכובח קומץ והגותר יאכלו הכהנים  
 ואותם המותרות נקראים שיורי מנחות שהיו נאכלים לכהנים  
 וולתי אם היתה מנחת כהן שהיא נשרפת כלה והתבאר  
 מזה שכל המנחות היו סלת קמח חטים חוץ ממנחת הסוטה  
 ומנחת העומר שהיו משעורים וכן התבאר שלא היו שורפים אחת  
 מהמנחות האלה בכללותה וולתי מנחת הסוטה ומנחת הכהן  
 ומנחת הנסכים הבאה עם העולות והשלמים שנשרפים עמהם  
 ואפשר לומר שאלו הר' מנחות היו כנגד הר' ליחות שיש באדם  
 דם אדומה שחורה לבנה כי בהתגבר או בהתעפש אחת מהן  
 יחלש האדם וכאשר יסעדנו השם על ערש דוי ויקום ממטתו  
 לחיים ירבנו לבו להקריב קרבן ומנחה ליהוה ויקריב המנחה  
 הדומה ומתיחסת לסבת חליו כי מנחת הסלת היא דומה  
 ומתיחסת עם הדם לפי שהדם הוא הסלת מהליחות והנבחר  
 שבהם ומנחת מאפה תנור היתה דומה ומתיחסת אל האדומה  
 שהיא חמה ויבשה כטבע האש ומנחת מחבת היא דומה  
 ומתיחסת לשחורה שהיא יבשה וכמו שכתב רבי שלמה ירחי מחבת  
 כלי הוא שהיה במקדש שאופין בו מנחה זו על האור בשמן  
 והכלי אינו עמוק אלא צף ומעשה המנחה שבתוכו קשה  
 שמתוך שהוא צף השמן מתפשט בתוכו והאור שורף את השמן  
 ומנחת זמרחשת היתה דומה ומתיחסת ללבנה שהיא לחה וכן  
 היתה מנחת מרחשת וכמו שאמרו כלי היה במקדש עמוק  
 ומתוך

gana divisum: aliàs in patella frictum: aliàs cacabo infervefactum. Quod igitur cunque horum quis voverat, id oportebat, ut ferret, & ferret ad eum modum, quem in sponfione voti definierat, siquidem non minus decuma similæ definierat. Jam ex his quatuor unumquodque requirebat oleum & thus: erat unumquodque ex similagine: ex unoquoque plenus pugillus adolebatur, & comedebatur reliquum à sacerdotibus: atque hoc illud est, quod passim dicitur reliquiæ fertorum à sacerdotibus absumendæ: verùm enim ejusmodi fertum sacerdos ipse cum ferret, id adolebatur totum. Unde cognoscitur esse è medulla farinæ triticæ ferta cuncta, præter unum à muliere de adulterio suspecta, & alterum à manipulo novarum frugum, quæ erant è farina hordeacea: porro autem multis & variis è fertis totum adoleri nullum, præter mulieris de adulterio suspectæ, sacerdotis, & fertum libaminum sive sacrificiis solidis, seu sacrificiis pacificis adhibendum, quod totum adolebatur utique. Quæ quatuor ferta sic inter se differentia rectè, opinor, dixerim respondere illis, qui in homine insunt quatuor humores, sanguineus, rutilus, ater, & albus: quorum unus si redundet, si vitietur, ad languorem dederit hominem: is igitur si cum in lecto jaceret ægrotans à sospite Deo respiceretur, & sanus è morbo fieret, pro reddita sibi salute clementi atque benigno Deo gratum animum præberet, sacrificium ac fertum offerret, & offerret ejusmodi fertum, quod repræsentaret causam atque rationem illam, quæ morbum ejus effecerat. Nempe fertum similaginis exprimebat similitudinem sanguinis. Sanguis enim est humorum exquisitissimus & quædam quasi similago: alterum autem fertum panificium illud in clibano coctum præsentabat similitudinem humoris rutili, qui fervidus & siccus naturam ignis habet: frictum in patella fertum referebat humoris atrii similitudinem. namque patella, sicut annotavit R. Salomo Jarchi, vas erat in templo, quo vase fertum igni subdito frigebatur: & erat hoc non depressum in altitudinem; sed in latitudinem productum adeo, ut infusum oleum dilataretur, inflammaretur, fertumque præduraret: infervefactum cacabo fertum respondebat humori albo, ea re; quia ut hic est natura perquam humidus, sic & fertum istuc erat valde humidum. etenim vas illud, ut dicitur, profundum erat: ergo & oleum

ומתוך שהוא עמוק שמנו צבוד בתוכו ואין האור שורף בתוכו לפיכך מעשה מנחה העשוי בתוכו יוחשין כל דבר רך על ידי משקה נראה כרוחש ומנענע עד ראן וזה היה הברל עצמי בין ארבעת המנחות האלה ואמנם המנחה הזו היא מנחת הבכורים הנה התבארו מיני המנחות כלם והבדליהם כפי צורותיהם והוא מה שרציתי לבאר פה:

### הפרק הנ'

#### בפועל הקרבנות

שאנו אומר במקום הזה פועל הקרבנות אין הכוונה בו על הכהנים המקריבים אותם ופועלים פועל ההקרבה על גבי המזבח אבל הכוונה היא על הבעלים הפועלים הקרבנות ומביאים אותם אם בנדר ונדבה שנדרו אותם ואם מפני העונות שעשו שחייבו הקרבנות ההם ולכן כפי זאת הבחינה נמצאים ארבעה סוגים מהקרבנות הא' הוא קרבן הצבור שישראל בכללותם מקריבים אותו והב' הוא קרבן היחיד שכל איש מישראל מקריב אותו והג' הוא קרבן הצבור הדומה לקרבן יחיד והד' הוא קרבן יחיד דומה לקרבן צבור וביאורם הוא כפי מה שאומר:

קרבנות הצבור שהיא המין הא' הם הנקריבים בכל יום ובכל שבת ובכל ראש חודש ובכל אחד ממועדי השם עליהם אין להוסיף ומדום אין לגרוע לדורי דורים והם כלם כמו שאזכור יא' מינים הא' הם התמידין הנקריבים בכל יום והם ב' כבשים עולות אחד נבקר ואחד בין הערבים והם הנקראים עולות התמיד בשם מוחלט והב' הוא מוסף



oleum infusum cogebatur, nec illud invadere flamma facillè poterat: quod igitur eo fertum parabatur, hoc commovebatur ita, ut ferè solent res liquoribus elixæ cieri & agitari. Id totum erat, quod inter hæc ferta quatuor differebat. Quintum erat fertum primitiæ fructuum. Ac de fertorum generibus, formis, & differentiis, quem locum in hoc capite tractare propositum erat, satis dictum est.

### CAPUT TERTIUM.

*Quænam essent causæ efficientes sacrificia?*

**C**Ausas efficientes sacrificia nunc dico non rei divinæ administratos sacerdotes, qui faciebant ad aram, sed homines rem divinam facientes, eos, qui victimas & cætera libamenta ad sacrificia facienda præbebant, seu illi voto promissioque tenerentur, seu propter admissas in se culpas sacrificiis eis astringerentur. Ad quem locum tractandum omnis sacrificiorum ratio distribuetur in genera quatuor: unum erit sacrificiorum publicorum illorum, quæ communiter fiebant ab universo Israelitarum cœtu: alterum sacrificiorum privatorum, quæ singula singulorum erant Israelitarum propria suaque: tertium erit sacrificiorum publicorum eorum, quæ reddebant speciem sacrificiorum privatorum: quartum contra sacrificiorum privatorum eorum, quæ immitabantur sacrificia publica: quorum explicatio deinceps à me subjicietur.

Primum igitur genus est sacrificiorum publicorum, quæ singulis diebus, & singulis sabbatis, & singulis calendis, & singulis diebus festis, iisque Deo sacris præfinitò fiebant: nihil eis quidquam nec addendum, nec detrahendum unquam: omnino huic generi species subjectæ sunt undecim, quas jam nunc ediferam. Ac prima quidem species est sacrificiorum jugium. namque binis agnis sacrificia solida quotidie fiebant duo, unum mane, & vesperi alterum: atque hæc illa sunt, quæ propriè dicuntur sacrificia solida jugia. Secunda species est sacrificiorum

L I

faciendorum

מוסף שבת שהיו מוסיפים על התמידין שני כבשים אחרים  
 עולות ממוסף השבת והיו מקריבין המוסף ההוא בין שני התמידין  
 רוצה לומר אחר תמיד של שחר וקודם תמיד של בין הערבים  
 והיו אם כן נקריבים ביום השבת מהתמידים ומהמוסף ארבעה  
 כבשים עולות והג' היה קרבן מוסף ראש חדש שהיו מוסיפים  
 על התמידין הנזכרים פרים שנים איל אחד וכבשים בני שנה  
 שבעה כלם עולות ושעיר עזים אחד לחטאת והיו אם כן ביום  
 ראש חודש מהתמידין ומוסף היום יב' עולות ושעיר חטאת ואבן  
 חל ראש חודש בשבת היו באותו יום יו' עולות ושעיר חטאת  
 והד' הוא קרבן חג המצות שבכל יום משבעת ימי החג היו  
 מקריבין מוסף על שני התמידין כמו מוסף ראש חודש רוצה לומר  
 פרים שנים ואיל אחד וכבשים שבעה ושעיר חטאת ואם חל  
 בשבת היו מקריבין גם כן מוסף השבת והיו אם כן כלם יד' עולות  
 ושעיר חטאת והה' הוא קרבן הנפת העומר שהיה עושה ביום  
 השני מחג המצות שהוא כבש אחד לעולה והו' הוא קרבן מוסף  
 יום עצרת חג השבועות והז' דומה בשוה למוסף ראש חודש  
 בפריים שנים ואיל אחד כבשים שבעה כלם עולות ושעיר חטאת  
 הו' הוא הקרבן שהיו מקריבים בוה יום חג העצרת עצמו עם שתי  
 הלחם שהוא פר אחד אלים שנים כבשים שבעה כלם עולות ושעיר  
 לחטאת ושני כבשים שלמים ואם חל עצרת ביום השבת היה בו  
 עוד מוסף שבת והיו אם כן כלם כו' עולות ושני שעירים לחטאת  
 והח' הוא קרבן מוסף ראש השנה שהוא מוסף על התמידין ועל  
 מוסף

faciendorum insuper ad sabbatum: sabbato videlicet extra sacrificia jugia fiebant etiam binis agnis solida sacrificia duo, quæ inter matutinum & vespertinum sacrificium jugo media peragebantur: ad sabbatum igitur fiebant agnis quaternis quatuor sacrificia solida, quorum erant partim jugia, partim ejus diei sacri præcipua. Tertia species erat sacrificiorum illorum, quæ jugibus ante dictis adjungebantur ad calendas. calendis enim ad illa jugia juveni duo, aries, & agni septem addebantur anniculi, quibus omnibus solida fiebant sacrificia: præterea autem & hircum, quo sacrum piaculare fiebat: ita calendis, si calendarum præcipua sacrificia sacrificiis jugibus conjungas, fiebant sacrificia solida duodecim, & unicum hirci piaculum. Quæ si calendæ in sabbatum incidere, privata sabbati sacra conficerentur etiam, ut simul unà fierent sacrificia solida sedecim, & hirci piaculum. Quarto loco ponamus id, quod sacrificabatur ad Azymalia. Septem erant illæ continuæ feriæ, quarum singulis itidem, ut calendis præter jugia sacrificia præcipua fiebant sacrificia solida juvenis duobus, & ariete, & agni septem, & hirci sacrum piaculare: tum ad harum eam, quæ incidebat in sabbatum, sabbati sacra præcipua quoque fiebant: proin illâ feriarum sacrificia fiebant solida quatuordecim, & hirci piaculare sacrificium. Quintum obtinebit locum solidum illud sacrificium, quod agno fiebat ad secundum diem azymaliorum, cum obmoveretur Deo manipulus novarum frugum. Sexta fuerit species ea præcipua sacra, quæ fiebant ad solemnitatem illam, quæ Hebdomadalia dicuntur: hæc erant prorsus eadem, atque præcipua sacrificia calendarum: ariete unico, binis juvenis, & septenis agni solida sacrificia, & hirci sacrificium piaculare fiebant. Septimum ad hæc ipsa Hebdomadalia simul cum duobus panibus novis Deo tunc offerendis sacrificabantur etiam juvenis, & arietes duo, & agni septem, quibus omnibus solida sacrificia fiebant, insuper & hircus, quo fiebat sacrum piaculare, præterea autem & alii duo agni, quibus sacrificia pacifica fiebant: jam eadem solemnitatis cum incidebat in sabbatum, sabbati præcipua sacrificia conjungebantur superioribus sic, ut ad eam fierent omnino solida sacrificia sex supra viginti, & binis hircis piacula duo. Octavum ad primum anni diem præter jugia & præcipua sa-

מוסף ראש חודש והיה מוסף היום פר אחד ואיל אחד כבשים  
 שבעה כלם עולות ושעיר זיוגם לחטאת ואם חל להיות ראש  
 השנה בשבת היו מקריבין עוד מוסף השבת והיו אם כן כלם  
 ביום הזה כג' עולות וב' שעירי עוים לחטאת והט' היא קרבן  
 יום הכפורים שמקריבין פר ואיל ושבעה כבשים כלם עולות  
 ושעיר חטאת כמו בראש השנה ומקריבין עוד שעיר חטאת  
 אחד חברו של שעיר המשתלה ואותו שעיר היה נשרף כמו  
 שמבואר בתורה ואיל אחד לעולה כאמור באחרי מות ואם  
 חל יום כפורים בשבת היו מקריבין התמידין ומוסף השבת  
 וקרבן יום הכפורים הם כלם טו' עולות ושעיר אחד לחטאת  
 והי' הוא קרבן היום הראשון מחג הסוכות שמוסיפים בו על  
 התמידין פרים יג' אלים שנים כבשים יד' ושעיר לחטאת ואם  
 חל להיות בשבת היו לג' עולות ושעיר לחטאת וכן היה קרבן  
 כל אחד משאר ימי החג שהאלים והכבשים והשעיר אבל  
 הפרים היו הולכים ומתמעטים אחד בכל יום עד שהיו ביום  
 ז' פרים שבעה אלים שנים כבשים יד' כלם עולות ושעיר  
 לחטאת הוא הוא קרבן מוסף שמיני חג עצרת שהיה פר  
 אחד ואיל אחד כבשים שבעה כלם עולות ושעיר לחטאת  
 זאם חל בשבת היו עוד מוסף השבת עם התמידין ואמנם  
 סדר קרבנות אלו המוספים כך היו בראשונה היו מקריבים  
 תמיד של שחר ואם היה שבת מקריבים אחריו מוסף שבת  
 ואם

erificia calendarum etiam ob diei solemnitate[m] præcipuam sacrificabantur juvenus, & aries, & agni septem, & hircus: hoc uno piaculare; cæteris solida fiebant sacrificia: si esset autem, ut primus anni dies incideret in sabbatum, sabbati præcipua sacrificia suprâ dictis adjungebantur: tum igitur ad hunc solemnem diem omnino fierent solida sacrificia viginti tria, & binis hircis piacularia duo. Nonùm sacrificabatur ad solemnem Expiationum diem juvenus, & aries, & agni septem, quibus universis solida fiebant sacrificia, & hircus, quo fiebat piaculum itidem, ut ad primum anni diem: porrò mactabatur & alius hircus hirci illius emissarii consors, quo item fiebat piaculum: & hircus iste posterior ex edicto Legis igni consumebatur totus: tum etiam fiebat ariete sacrificium solidum, de quo præcipitur ea Legis distinctione, quæ *Levitici* è capite 16. 1. *Post mortem* inscribitur. Jam si solemnem Expiationum dies incideret in sabbatum, simul fierent & sacrificia jugia, & præcipua sabbati sacrificia, & sacrificia in solemnem Expiationum diem constituta, omnino solida sacrificia quindecim, & hircus piaculum. Decimùm ad primam umbraculorum diem extra jugia fiebant etiam sacrificia solida juvenis tredecim, duobus arietibus, & agnis quatuordecim, insuper etiam hircus piaculum; & hæc eadem solemnitas cum incideret in sabbatum, tum eâ fiebant omnino sacrificia solida tria & triginta, atque hircus piaculum: porrò autem singulis deinceps umbraculorum diebus totidem sacrificabantur & arietes, & agni, simul & hircus: juvenorum autem gradatim fiebat decessio: diminuebatur ex eis in singulos dies unus: ut septimo umbraculorum die mactarentur omnino juveni septem, duo arietes, atque agni decem & quatuor, quibus totidem fierent solida sacrificia, insuper & hircus unus, quo sacrum piaculare fieret. Undecimùm ad octavam umbraculorum solemnitate[m] adeo præcipuam extra sacrificia jugia mactabantur juvenus & aries, & agni septem, cunctisque fiebant sacrificia solida, tum etiam hircus, quo fiebat sacrum piaculare: quæ solemnitas cum incideret in sabbatum, sabbati sacrificia præcipua quoque jugibus addebantur. Atque sacrificiis in illis hic servabatur ordo. Primum omnium sacrificiorum sacrificium jure matutinum excipiebant præcipua sabbati, cum adesset,

ואם הוזה עם זה ראש חודש או מועד או שניהם יחד מקריבים  
 אחריו מוסף ראש חודש אחר מוסף שבת ומוסף המועד אחר מוסף  
 החדש ואם חל ראש השנה בשבת מקריבין תמיד של שחר ומוסף  
 השבת אחריו ומוסף ראש חודש אחריו ומוסף ראש השנה אחריו  
 ובאחרונה תמיד של בין הערבים כמו שיתבאר במסכת זבחים  
 אלו הם קרבנות הצבור המוחלטים שהיו נקריבים תמיד מבלי  
 תוספת ולא חסרון וכלם רוחים את השבת וכבר זכרתי שאין  
 בקרבנות הצבור אשם כלל ולא שלמים אלא שני כבשים של  
 עצרת בלבד ויש בקרבנות הצבור שני מיני חטאת רוצה לומר  
 הנשרפת כלה והנאכלת ממנה לכהנים והוא שיעיר של יום  
 הכפורים לבדו הנה זהו הסוג הראשון שהוא מקרבנות הצבור :

קרבנות היחיד שהוא הסוג השני הנה הוא בחמשה מינים המין  
 הא' שיהיה היחיד חייב קרבן על דבר שעשה או שדבר והב' שיהיה  
 היחיד חייב קרבן על ענין מהענינים שיש בגופו והג' שיתחייב  
 קרבן על ענין שהיה בנכסיו והד' שיתחייב קרבן בהגיע זמן  
 ידוע והה' שהיחיד יתחייב עצמו בקרבן בנדבה או נדר שעשה  
 עליו וביאור הענינים הוא כמו שאומר המין הא' שיתחייב היחיד  
 קרבן על דבר שעשה או שדבר ענינו שכל העובר על כל  
 אחד מהכרות שנזכרו בתורה בשוגג חייב להקריב קרבן  
 אם נסתפק לו אם עבר עליו אם לא חייב אשם תלוי  
 ואין כל הכרות בדיון הוזה כי הנה מי שבטל לעשות  
 הפסח

adesset, sacrificia: quòd si sabbato haberentur etiam aut calendarum, aut feriarum quaedam, aut simul utraque; præcipuis sabbati sacrificiis proxima erant calendarum præcipua sacrificia, quæ proximè sequebantur præcipua sacrificia feriarum: ita si esset, ut primus anni dies in sabbatum incurreret, primum fieret sacrificium iuge matutinum, deinde sacrificia præcipua sabbati, tum sacrificia præcipua calendarum, post sacrificia præcipua diei solemnis, à quo annus inchoabatur, postremò sacrificium iuge vespertinum, quemadmodum tractatu Talmudico de sacris demonstratur. Atque hæc erant sacrificia publica certa, perennia, quibus nihil erat unquam nec addendum, nec adimendum, quorum singula sabbatum elevabant. Etenim in sacrificiis publicis, ut ante commemoravi, profus hostia pro delicto nulla fuit, neque porrò sacrificia pacifica præter ea, quæ fiebant binis agnis ad Hebdomadalia duntaxat. Erat autem in publicis sacrificiis sacrificium piaculare duplex: unum quod igni cremabatur totum: & alterum cujus maxima pars sacerdotibus comedenda: superioris erat generis piaculare sacrificium illud, quod ad solemnitatem Expiationum demum hirco fiebat. De primo genere, quod ad publica pertinebat sacrificia satis dictum est.

Alterum genus erat sacrificiorum privatorum; cui partes subjunctæ quinque fuerant: erat una, si privatus homo ideo, quòd fecerat quidpiam, aut dixerat, sacro astringeretur: altera, si privatus homo obstringeretur sacrificio propter causam, quæ in corpore hominis ipso inesset: tertia, si privatus homo alligaretur sacro ob causam aliquam, quæ in ejus re familiari extitisset: quarta, si privatus homo sacro alligaretur propterea, quòd certum quoddam venisset tempus: quinta, si privatus homo sacro se ipse alligasset voto promissoque faciendo: quarum vide nunc sodes explanationem. *Erat una, si privatus homo ideo, quòd fecerat quidpiam, aut dixerat, sacro astringeretur.* Si quis enim fecisset imprudens contra aliquod Legis edictum, quod pœnam intermineretur exitium; is sacro piaculari astringeretur: idemque cum ambigeret, fecisset contra; necne, sacrificium pro delicto dubio ac suspenso faceret, oportebat: neque tamen erat eorum, quæ cum pœna sanciantur exitio, omnium eadem ratio. Si quis victimæ paschalis immolationem

## Abarbanelis Exordium

הפסח בזמנו או שלא נימול חייב כרת ואם עבר עליו בשוגג  
 אינו חייב חטאת לפי שפסח ומילה הם מצות עשה והתורה  
 לא חייבה להקריב חטאת אלא למי שעבר על מצות לא  
 תעשה. בשוגג שנאמר ועשה אחת מכל מצוות יהוה אשר לא  
 תעשנה וכן המגדף את השם חייב כרת אבל אם גרף בשוגג  
 אינו חייב חטאת שנאמר לעושה בשגגה יצא מגדף שאינו עושה  
 מעשה וכן המטמא מקדש וקדשיו רוצה לומר שיכנס למקדש או  
 יאכל מן הקדשים בהיותו טמא אף על פי שהוא כרת וחייב  
 על שגגתו חטאת אינה חטאת קבועה כי התורה אמרה ואם דל  
 הוא ואין ידו משגת וגומר אבל שאר הכרתות מהלוי שהם  
 בתורה כלם כל העובר על אחת מהם בשוגג חייב חטאת  
 ואם נסתפק לו אם עבר אם לא עבר חייב קרבן אשם תלוי  
 אמנם מהו הקרבן שמקריבין על השגגה באלו הכרתות כתב  
 המיימוני שיש חלוק בדבר כי אם היתה השגגה בעבודת אלילים  
 מקריב השוגג עז בן שנתו לחטאת בין שיהיה היחיד הוה מלך או  
 הדיוט או כהן משוח ואם שגג בטומאת מקדש וקדשיו מקריב  
 כבשה או שעירת עזים ואם דל הוא מקריב שתי תורים או  
 שני בני יונה אחד לעולה ואחד לחטאת ואם אין ידו משגת  
 מקריב עשירית האיפה כמו שביארו הכתוב אבל אם היתה  
 השגגה בשאר העבירות או יהיה חלוק בין השוגגים כי אם  
 היתה



molationem tempore suo consultò prætermisisset, aut præputii circuncisionem; pœna erat exitium: idem hoc si neglexisset imprudens, sacrificio piaculari non astringeretur; quia enim immolatio victimæ paschalis, & præputii circuncisio jubendo fanciuntur: sacro autem piaculari, nisi qui contra vetitum aliquod per imprudentiam commiserat, divina Lex astringebat neminem. Nimirum in hanc rem dicitur, *Lev. 4. v. 13. Et fecerit unum ex omnibus illis, quæ ne fierent à Deo sancitum est.* Item si quis Dei numen maledictis violasset, pœna foret exitium: idem si fecisset imprudens, sacro piaculari non astringeretur. est enim *Num. 15. 29. Contra præceptionem aliquid facienti per errorem: hîc autem excluditur impium in divinam majestatem maledictum, quod factum quidem certè nullum est.* Quin etiam qui templum, sacræque polluerat, is, inquam, qui cùm esset inquinatus in templum augustum introierat, sacrûmve comederat per audaciam, exitio coerceretur, & lueretur imprudentia sacro piaculari quidem: verûm enim huic imprudentiæ generi Lege constituitur sacrum piaculare non illud statum, sed cum hac exceptione, *qui si tenuior est, & facultas ejus non suppetit, & quæ sequuntur.* De cæteris autem triginta sex Legis edictis exitium interminantibus, si quis contra unum aliquod fecisset imprudens, sacro piaculari astringeretur: sin addubitaret utrûm contra quoddam eorum fecisset, an non; opus esset, ut faceret sacrificium pro delicto dubio sustinendo. Quid verò? Quo tandem sacrificio expiatur imprudentia in his edictis cum exitio sancitis? Majemonides quidem talem in rebus ipsis ponit varietatem, ut si deo vano cultum & honorem imprudens adhibuisset aliquis, piaculum faceret hirco anniculo; nec quidquam referret utrûm hic aliquis rex, an unus de multis esset, aut sacerdos unctus: sin autem per imprudentiam templum sacræque polluisset, vel ove, vel caprâ piaculum faceret: qui si tenuior esset, immolaret binis aut turturibus aut pullis columbinis, quorum altero solidum, altero sacrificium piaculare fieret: si verò nec hoc quidem facultates sinerent, offerret decumam Æphæ similaginis, sicut explicatè declaratur in sacris literis. At verò de cæteris erroribus cùm agitur, in errantibus vult hominibus esse differentiam: ut si

היה היחיד איש אחד מן העם והוא שקראו הכתוב מעם הארץ  
 חייב שעירת עוים או נקבז מן הצאן לחטאת ואם היה נשיא או  
 מלך שנכלל בשם נשיא מקריב שעיר עוים ואם היה כהן משוח  
 ועם התנאים שהתקבצו בשני מהוריות מקריב פר בן בקר לחטאת  
 ויהיה נשרף והוא אשר יקרא פר הבא על כל המצוות והו  
 דעת הרב המיימוני אבל הרבי לוי בן גרשום בפירושו לתורה  
 כתב בחלוף זה שהענין בשגגת עבודת אלילים הוא כשגגת  
 שאר העבירות כלם ונראים דברי הרב הגדול מדבריו ומקרבנות  
 האדם היחיד שחייב בהם מפני שכבר עשה הוא קרבן אם בא  
 על שפחה חרופה בין בשוגג בין במזיד שחייב איל אשם והוא  
 הנקרא אשם ודאי ונקרא גם כן אשם שפחה חרופה וכן מי  
 שנהנה משהו פרוטה מן הקדש שמעל וחייב איל אשם והוא  
 הנקרא אשם מעילות אם היה בשוגג אבל במזיד אינו  
 חייב בקרבן הודי לפי שהקדש אינו מתחלל במזיד אלא עומד  
 בקדושתו כמו שיתבאר בשני מקדושים וכן שבועת העדות  
 ושבועת הפקדון חייב קרבן אם שקר בין שיהיה בשוגג או  
 במזיד והקרבן שיהיה חייב בו הוא כמו המטמא מקדש  
 וקדשו בשוה אך הקרבן שחייב בשבועת הפקדון מי שכופר  
 בו ונשבע עליו לשקר הוא איל אשם וכן מי שנול ונשבע  
 ומשקר או יש לו נכסים משום אדם בין שיהיו משותפות

imprudencia esset unius de multis, qui serè dicitur apud scriptores sacros, unus de populo terræ, sacrum piaculare fieret bestia feminâ de pecore caprino aut oviarico: Sin esset imprudentia principis aut regis, qui comprehenditur etiam nomine principis, fieret hirco piaculum: sin autem imprudentia foret sacerdotis uncti, ac concurrerent omnes illæ conditiones, de quibus disputatur capite secundo tractatus illius Talmudici, qui est de responsis & decretis senatus, sacrificium piaculare fieret juuenco, qui cremabatur, & iuuenus de cunctis officiis neglectis sacrificandus vulgò vocabatur: sic his de rebus sentit Majemonides. Contra R. Levi Gersomi filius commentarius suis in Pentateuchum pugnat in cultu vani numinis eandem, atque in cæteris noxiis esse imprudentiæ rationem: sed illius viri doctrinâ excellentis, quàm hujus sententia probabilior est. Et sacrificiorum ab homine privato propterea, quòd fecerat quidpiam, debitorum è numero erat sacrificium illud, quo astringebatur, qui cum ancilla desponsata rem habuisset imprudens aut sciens: jus erat hominem ariete facere sacrificium pro delicto: atque hoc illud est, quod sacrificium pro delicto certo dicitur: quod idem & sacrificium pro delicto ancillæ desponsatæ vulgò nominatur. Hoc numero ducendum & istuc: si quid Deo sacrum, quod esset oboli, suum ad usum transtulisset aliquis, sacrilegio obstrictus oportebat ariete faceret sacrificium pro delicto, quod adeo sacrificium pro delicto sacrilegiorum appellatur: sed hoc sacrificium is demum faceret, qui sacrum diminuisset imprudens: qui sciens & prudens, non item. Sacrum enim non fiebat audaciâ profanum; sed in sua permanebat sanctitate, quemadmodum differitur capite secundo tractatus illius Talmudici, qui est de dicatione mulierum. Pertinet eòdem & sacrificium, quo astrictus erat is, qui sciens aut imprudens de testimonio, de deposito jusjurandum falsum dederat. nam qui jusjurandum testimonii falsum dederat, eòdem planè sacro astringebatur, ac qui templum aut sacra contaminaisset: ad jusjurandum depositi quod attinet, si quis rem apud se depositam habuisset, atque repetitam abnegasset, & idem etiam abjurasset, ariete faceret sacrificium pro delicto. Accedebat eò qui latrocinium abjurasset: immo enim quàmquam rem alienam habuerat, seu illam ex societate

או אבדה שמצא או גול שגול או הונאה שהונה במשא ומתן  
 ונשבע על זה לשקר חייב איל אשם והוא הנקרא אשם  
 גולות בין שיהיה שונג או מזיד הואיל ונשבע וכן כשעובר אדם  
 על שבועת בטוי בשגגה חייב קרבן כמו המטמא מקדש וקדשיו  
 אלו הם כל הקרבנות שחייב בהם היחיד על דבר שעשה או  
 שדבר כשעובר עבירה בפועל או במבטא שפתיים שהם כלם  
 מזה המין הראשון והב' הוא הקרבן שיתחייב בו היחיד מפני ענין  
 מהענינים שהיה בנופו והם ששה חלקים הא' הוא הוב או  
 הזבה שבטהרתו מקריב שתי תורים או שני בני יונה אחד לעולה  
 ואחד לחטאת והב' הוא המצורע וקרבנו שני כבשים אחד לעולה  
 ואחד לאשם והוא הנקרא אשם מצורע וכבשה אחת לחטאת  
 ואם היר עני מקריב ב תורים או ב' בני יונה אחד לחטאת  
 ואחד לעולה וכבש לאשם והג' הוא קרבן הנדרה והוא כמו  
 קרבן הזבה בשורה ב' תורים או ב' בני יונה אחד לעולה ואחד  
 לחטאת והד' הוא קרבן היולדת כבש בן שנתו לעולה ובן  
 יונה או תור לחטאת ואם היתה עניה מקרבת שני בני  
 יונה אחד לעולה ואחד לחטאת והה' הוא קרבן הטמא למת  
 אם הוא נזיר בין שנטמא בשונג או במזיד וקרבנו נקרבן  
 המצורע ב' תורים וב' בני יונה אחד לעולה ואחד לחטאת  
 וכבש בן שנתו לאשם והו' הוא קרבן הגר שהגר אינו נכנס  
 לדת האלהים להיות כישראל לכל רבר אלא בשלשה רברים  
 מילה

retentam, seu inventam casu fortuito, seu per vim ereptam, seu in contrahendis negotiis dolo malo adeptam, eamque repetitam inficiatus inficiationem etiam perjurio confirmarat, cogere-  
retur ariete facere sacrificium pro delicto, id quod eam ob causam sacrificium pro delicto rapinarum appellatur: & ubi quid abjuratum erat, nihil differebat inter audaciam & imprudentiam. Item & qui aliud agens jurasset futile jusjurandum, & idem falsum, astringebatur sacrificio eodem, ac qui templum sacræve temerasset. Habes omnia sacrificia, quibus astringebatur homo privatus propterea, quod fecerat quidpiam, aut dixerat: planius dicam propterea, quod maleficium operâ aut voce commiserat, quæ universa ad primam partem pertinent. Pars altera fuit, si privatus homo obstringeretur sacrificio propterea, quod in ejus ipsius corpore obortum esset aliquid: cadebat hoc in homines sex: primum in virum profluvio genituræ, mulieremque profluvio sanguinis temeratum, qui cum lustrabantur, sacrificabant par turturum, aut pullorum columbinorum, quorum uno fiebat solidum, & altero piacularare sacrificium: deinde in affectum lepris, qui cum convaluisset, agnos præbebat duos, unum ad solidum, & alterum ad sacrificium pro delicto, id quod sacrificium pro delicto leprosi dicitur, item & agnam ad piacularare sacrificium: idem si præ rei familiaris angustiis non posset, turtures aut pullos columbinos præbebat duos, quorum uno piacularare fiebat, & altero sacrificium solidum, & præterea agnum ad sacrificium pro delicto: tum in mulierem menstrualem, quæ itidem, ut mulier profluvio sanguinis affecta, sacrificabat par turturum, aut pullorum columbinorum ita, ut eorum altero solidum fieret, & altero piacularare sacrificium: deinde puerpera faciebat agno anniculo sacrificium solidum, & turture, pullove columbino piacularare: quod si facultates non paterentur, ferret pullos columbinos duos, unum ad solidum, & alterum ad piacularare sacrificium. Post, si quis, Nazareus cum esset, sese sciens, aut imprudens funestasset, offerret æquè, ac ille, qui factus erat è lepris sanus, par turturum, aut pullorum columbinorum, quorum altero sacrificium solidum, & altero piacularare fieret, & agnum anniculum, quo fieret sacrificium pro delicto. Postremo, si cultum divinum susciperet extraneus homo, tribus omnino rebus similis & par.

מילה וטבילה וקרבת כי בשלשתם נכנסו ישראל לקבל התורה  
וקרבן הגר הוא שתי תורים או שני בני יונה שניהם עולות וכן  
אמרו בספרי פרשת שלח לך וכי יגור אתכם גר מה ישראל לא  
באו בכרית אלא בג' דברים מילה וטבילה והוצאת קרבן אף  
הגרים כיוצא בהם אי מה ישראל בדם מילה ונבחים אף  
הגרים כן תלמוד לומר ועשה אשר צא ולמד איהו מין דמים  
שכלו עולה לאישים ואין לך ממנו חרד אי אחר מוצא אלא  
בעולת העוף רוצה לומר שאינך מוצא נכסים שיקחו בהם קרבן  
ואין כהנים נאותין בשום דבר מדמיהם אבל שורפים הכל על  
גבי המזבח וזלתי עולת העוף בלבד לפי שעולת הבהמה זוכים  
בעורה הכהנים והמין הג' הוא מהקרבת שיתחייב האדם על  
איזה ענין שיהיה מנכסיו הוא כמו הבכור ומעשר בהמה  
ושניהם בקרבן דמים לשלמים אלא שמעשר בהמה אוכלין  
אותו הבעלים בירושלם כמו מעשר שני והבכור אם היה  
תמים מקדיבין אותו ואוכלין אותו הכהנים כמו שהתבאר  
במסכת בכורות וכן אם יביא בכורים יקריב שלמים כמו  
שהתבאר שם והמין הד' שיתחייב קרבן בהגע וסן ידוע אותו  
הזמן הוא שלש פעמים בשנה שבכל אחד מהם חייב כל איש  
מישראל להקריב בתל קרבן עולה והוא הנקרא עולת ראיה  
וקרבן

par cæteris Israelitis evadebat, præputii circuncisione, corporis lotionè, & sacrificio, uno & altero videlicet sacrificio solido, quod fiebat duobus aut turturibus, aut pullis columbinis; quippe quòd iisdem rebus ipsimet Israelitæ præparati sunt ad accipiendam Legem divinam. id enim in eo libro, qui *Siphri* est inscriptus ad distinctionem illam, cui titulus, *Mitte tibi viros, qui explorent*, his verbis differitur. Quod autem Num. 15. 14. dicitur, *Tum si perigrinetur apud vos alienigena*, hujus ea vis est, quemadmodum fœdus cum Israelitis factum erat his tribus rebus, circuncisione præputii, corporis lotionè, & religione sacrorum; eodem modo fieri cum alienigena debebat etiam. Dices, cur non igitur sicut cum Israelitis fœdus sancitum sanguine circuncisi præputii, & victimarum pacificarum; ita cum alienigena sanciebatur? Quia dedocebant hoc versus superioris insequentia verba, *Et facturus est sacrum igni absumendum*, quæ significabant, ut talis homo immolaret quod igni absumeretur totum sic, ut nihil prorsus inde percipere fas esset: nihil autem erat ejusmodi, nisi sacrificium solidum, quod volueri fiebat; iterum dico, Si excipias sacrificium solidum, quod volueri fiebat, non erat, ut quisquam unquam sumtum faceret in sacrificium, quod in ara totum adoleretur ita, ut nec ulla commoditas inde veniret sacerdotibus: sacerdotes enim si sacrificium solidum quadrupede fieret, corium ejus saltem auferebant. Tertia pars erat illud, si privatus homo alligaretur sacro ob causam aliquam, quæ in bonis ejus exoriretur: talis erat primogenita, decumæque bestia: quarum ambarum immolendarum erat ratio eadem, atque victimarum pacificarum, nisi quòd bestia decuma comederetur Hierosolymis à domino item, ut decumæ secundæ; & primogenita si sana & integra foret immolaretur ac comederetur à sacerdotibus, sicut demonstratur tractatu illo Talmudico, qui est de primitiis animantium: atque etiam, sicut ibidem traditur, fructuum primitiæ cum offerrentur, fiebat unà sacrum pacificum. Quarta pars erat sacrificiorum, quibus homo privatus astringebatur ad tempus constitutum: erant tria in anno stata tempora feriata, quibus singulis singuli Israelitæ ad diem maximè festum & Deo sacrum jussi fuerant primùm facere sacrificium solidum, id quod dicebatur sacrificium solidum ejus, qui sese Deo in conspectum daret:

וקרבת שלמים וחיות הנקראת חגיגה ועליו אמר הכתוב תחוג  
 ליהודה אלהיך וקרבת שלמים הבא מלבד החגיגה הוא הנקרא  
 שלמי שמחה ועליו הוא אומר ושמחת בחגך וכבר נזכרו דיני אלו  
 הג' קרבנות ברבוי ומעוט ומי החייב בהם ואיך יתחייב בהם וזמן  
 אותם הקרבנות בראשון ובשני ממסכת חגיגה ושלשתם חובה  
 רוצה לומר הראיה והחגיגה והשמחה אמנם חגיגת יום יד' והם  
 השלמים שמקריב אותם היחיד ביום יד' בניסן ערב הפסח שנאמר  
 בהם וזבחת פסח ליהודה אלהיך צאן ובקר הם רשות כמו שהתבאר  
 בששי מפסחים ואם הנמרא קראה לחגיגה קרבן צביר הוא לפי  
 שההמון כלם מקריבין אותו אבל אני שמתני אותו פה בחלקי קרבן  
 היחיד לפי שמקריב אותו כל אחד בפני עצמו ואינו דוחה לא את  
 השבת ולא את הטומאה והמין הה' הוא הקרבן שחייב אדם  
 עצמו בו בנדר ונדבה כמו שנדר נזירות לזמן ידוע שכאשר יכלה  
 הזמן יקריב קרבן והוא כבש בן שנתו לעולה וכבשה בת שנתה  
 לחטאת ואיל לשלמים ואמנם נדר הקרבן הפשוט הוא שיאמר  
 הרי עלי עולה או הרי עלי שלמים אבל הנדבה היא שיכוין בעל  
 הנדר לנדבת בעל חיים מיוחד ויניח ידו בו ויאמר הרי זו עולה  
 או הרי זו שלמים וכבר נודע שההפרש בין הנדר לנדבה  
 הוא שהנדרים חייב הנודר באחריותם ואין כן הנדבה וממנו  
 שאמרתי התבאר שאין אדם רשאי לידור ולא להתנדב חטאת  
 ולא אשם אבל מביא בנדר ובנדבה עולה או שלמים בלבד



daret : dein & sacrificia pacifica, quæ sacrificia solemnia vocabantur, quò spectat illud, quod præscriptum est *Deut. 16. 15. Septem dies solemnes Domino Deo tuo agito*: tum præter sacrificia pacifica illa solemnia, jussi fuerant & alia facere sacrificia pacifica, quæ vulgò dicebantur sacra pacifica hilaritatis, de quibus ibidem versu proximè superiori verba habentur ista, *Et hoc festo ac solemnè tempore lætator*: hæc autem ipsa sacra ut ab aliis plura fierent, & ab aliis pauciora, item à quibus, quomodo, quando ea confici jus esset, primo & secundo capite tractatus illius Talmudici de sacrificiis solemnibus copiosè disputatur. Atque hæc tria fieri necesse erat, solida, inquam, sacrificia eorum, qui Deo apparebant, sacrificia pacifica solemnia, & sacrificia pacifica hilaritatis: illud solutum erat & liberum, ut decima & quarta die mensis Nisan, pridie Paschæ quisque faceret sacrificium pacificum solemne id, de quo scriptum legitur, *Deut. 16. 2. Igitur Domino Deo tuo Pascha immolato oves, capras, & boves*, sicut demonstratur capite sexto tractatus Talmudici, qui est de sacris paschalibus. Quod sacrificium solemne si vocetur in Gemara sacrificium publicum, causa & ratio est, quia fiebat ab universa multitudine: ego verò illud hic adscripsi privatorum sacrificiorum numero, quippe quod & à singulis seorsim fiebat, nec sabbatum elevabat, aut inquinamentum. Quinta pars erat sacrificiorum illorum, quibus se ipse homo privatus alligabat voto promissòque faciendo: ut si quis nazaraatum vovisset in certum tempus, tempore exacto, faceret agno anniculo sacrificium solidum, & piaculare sacrificium ove annicula, & ariete sacrificium pacificum. Atque simplex & absolutum sacrificii votum concipiebat qui universè diceret, recipio in me sacrificium solidum, recipio in me sacrificium pacificum: promissum autem faciebat qui animantem propriam quandam deligeret, ei manum imponeret, simul ita diceret, hac ego sacrificium solidum, hac ego sacrificium pacificum fieri volo: fuit igitur, ut alio loco jam exposui, hoc discriminis inter votum, & promissum: qui teneretur illo, rei nuncupatæ damnum præstabat scilicet: qui hoc, non item: nec verò cuiquam, ut ante demonstravi, vel vovere licebat, vel promittere seu sacrificium piaculare, seu sacrificium pro delicto: sacrificium solidum, atque pacificum demum ex voto,

N n

promiss

## Abarbanelis Exordium

מן העוף ומן הבהמה האמנם התבאר שאין שלמים באים מן העוף  
 הנה ביארתי כל קרבנות היחיד שהוא הסוג הב' והענין הכולל את  
 בלם הוא שאין דוחים לא את השבת ולא את הטובארה:  
 והסוג הג' הוא קרבן צבור הדומה לקרבן יחיד והוא בששגנו בית  
 דין הגדול והתירו דבר שחייב על זדונו כרת ועל שגנתו חטאת  
 קבועה ושגנו העם על פיהם ועברו כמו שהתבאר בהירויות שאין  
 חייבין בית דין חטאת ואם היתה שגנת עבודת אלילים יתחייבו פר  
 בן בקר לעולה ושעיר עזים לחטאת וזה הפר והשעיר חייבין  
 בו כל שבט ושבט ואלו השעירים נשרפים לפי שהם חטאת  
 הצבור ורחמנא צוה לשרוף את פר העלם ואמר חטאת הקהל הוא  
 ואמרו בספרא בנין אב לרל חטאת הקהל שישרפו אותו ואלו  
 שעירי חטאות נקראו שעירי עבודת אלילים לפי שבית דין  
 מביאין אותם על שגנת עבודת אלילים ואם בית דין שגנו  
 בשאר המצוות יהיה הקרבן שחייבין בו פר בן בקר לחטאת  
 וזהו הנקרא פר העלם דבר של צבור לפי שבתחלת הפרשה  
 נאמר ונעלם ממנו וקורין אותו במקצת מקומות פר הבא על  
 כל המצוות והתורה צותה שישרף וחייב בו גם כן כל  
 שבט ושבט ולכן נמנה המין הזה גם כן בקרבנות הצבור  
 לפי שנאמר בו והקריבו הקהל ונאמר ועשו כל העדה וכפר הכהן  
 על כל עדת בני ישראל ונאמר ונסלח לכל עדת בני ישראל  
 האמנם נוסף בסוג הזה לפי שהוא דומה לקרבן יחיד  
 ואין

promissoque fiebant : & illud quidem volucri pariter & quadrupede : hoc autem volucri, quemadmodum supra posui, fiebat nunquam. Explicavi universa sacrificia privata, de quibus erat genus alterum, quorum omnium una ratio communis erat, ut nec sabbatum, nec inquinamentum elevarent.

Tertium genus complectebatur sacrificiorum privatorum ea, quæ publicis similia sacrificiis erant. nam senatus supremus, si per errorem facere licere respondisset id, quod admissum per audaciam exitio, & per imprudentiam sacrificio piaculari luebatur, idque maleficium populus illius responso & decreto in errorem inductus factitasset; non hic, quemadmodum traditur in tractatu illo Talmudico, qui *Responsa senatus* inscribitur; sed ille sacro piaculari astringeretur. Senatus igitur in dijudicando cultu vani numinis cum errasset; error requirebat, ut juvenco sacrificium solidum, & hirco sacrum piaculare fieret, atque hoc ut fieret ab una quaque tribu. Hirci isti vedelicet igni absumebantur omnes; quippe cum essent piaculum univerforum: namque juveneus ob errorem sacrificandus igni cremabatur jussu Dei immortalis, & idem Dei immortalis oraculo piaculum Ecclesiæ nominabatur: atqui, ut dicitur in Libro *Siphra* inscripto, piaculorum, quæ ab universo cœtu fiebant, omnium erat communis ista Lex, ea ut igni cremarentur. Atque hirci illi, quoniam iis piacularia fiebant propterea, quia senatus in decernendo de cultu vani numinis erraverat, hirci idololatriæ passim appellantur. Idem ille senatus si de cæteris officiis respondens errasset, error requirebat, ut juvenco sacrum piaculare fieret: atque hic est iste, qui juveneus ob errorem Ecclesiæ dicitur; quia enim in principio capitis, ubi sancitur, usurpatur hoc verbum, *per errorem*: & idem nonnunquam juveneus de cunctis officiis sacrificandus appellatur: hic ut igni cremaretur, Lege sancitum est, & ut ab una quaque tribu sacrificaretur, jus erat: id adeo causæ est, cur hoc genus sacrificiorum numeretur etiam in sacrificiis publicis. et enim hoc de genere verba habentur ista, *Lev. 4. 14. Ecclesia præbento. & Num. 15. v. 24, 25, & 26. Totus cœtus faciunt: sacerdos autem universam Israelitarum cœtum procurato: ut universo Israelitarum cœtui remittatur*: verum idem habetur in sacrificiorum privatorum numero, quia sacrificia privata

## Abarbanelis Exordium

ואינו דוחה את השבת ולא את הטומאה :

והסוג הד' הוא קרבן היחיד הדומה לקרבן צבור והוא קרבן הפסח ששוחט כל אחד ביום יד בניסן כמו שהתבאר בתחלת פסחים ומוה הסוג גם כן פר החטאת ואיל לעולה שמקריב כהן גדול ביום הכפורים שנאמר בואת יבא אהרן אל הקדש וגומר ושרפת הפר הורה הוא דומה לקרבן הצבור לפי שהוא דוחה את השבת ואת הטומאה וכל שאין לו זמן קבוע אינו דוחה לא את השבת ולא את הטומאה ואל יטעה איתך ענין החניגה שיש רשות להקריבה כל שבעת הימים וכן עצרת שלה תשלומין כל שבעה כמו שהתבאר במסכת חניגה על כן אינו דוחה את השבת ולא את הטומאה וכשאתה מינה כל הקרבנות הנוכרים תמצא שאין בכל קרבנות הצבור נקבה בשום פנים אפילו ממה שדומה מהם לקרבן יחיד ואין מכל חטאות הצבור נשרפת אלא שעיר יום הכפורים חבירו של שעיר המשתלח ושעירי עבודת אלילים ופר העלם ושאר החטאות נאכלים לזכרים שבכהונה וכן תמצא שכל חטאת יחיד הוא נקבה וזולת שלש חטאות שהם זכרים אף על פי שהם חטאת יחיד והמה השעיר שמקריב המלך אם שגג בדבר שחייבים על זדונו כרת ועל שגגתו חטאת קבועה ופר הבא על כל המצוות שמקריב אותו כהן משוח על שגגתו ופר יום הכפורים וכן יתבאר לך שאין שורפים מכל חטאות היחיד

אלא

imitabatur eatenus, ut nec sabbatum, nec inquinamentum elevaret.

Venio nunc ad quartum genus sacrificiorum, quod revocantur sacrificiorum privatorum illa, quæ publicorum referebant similitudinem: talis erat victima paschalis, quam quisque macabat ad decimam & quartam diem mensis Nisan, de quo fuisse disputatur in primo tractatu Talmudico, qui est de sacris Paschalibus: tale porro cum piaculum juvenco, tum ariete sacrificium solidum à summo sacerdote faciendum ad solemnem Expiationum diem, de quo scriptum legimus *Lev. 16. 3.* *Hoc autem muneris ferat Aaron cum introierit in sanctuarium,* & reliqua: hujus enim juveni exustio similitudinem sacrificii publici referebat, ut quæ sabbatum, & inquinamentum elevaret: sed cuicumque sacrificio non erat præstitutum tempus certum & ratum, id non elevabat neque sabbatum, neque inquinamentum. Ac ne quem forte decipiat ratio sacrificiorum solemnum, hæc obire per totam hebdomadam; immo enim sacrificia solemnia, quæ ad Pentecosten fieri jus erat, illa etiam ipsa per universam hebdomadam instaurare licebat sic, ut docetur tractatu Talmudico de sacris solemnibus: & eam ob causam nec sabbatum, nec inquinamentum elevabant. Ex hac igitur sacrificiorum commemoratione cognoscitur omnino sacrificium publicum bestia feminâ fieri nullum: nec ejusmodi quidem sacrificium publicum, quod esset privato simile sacrificio: de cunctis autem piacularibus publicis non exuri nisi hircum solemni Expiationum die sacrificandum, consortem illum hirci averrunci, qui publicitus deducebatur in solas terras, & hircos idololatriæ, & eum, qui ob errorem sacrificabatur, juvenicum: cætera verò à viris sacerdotibus comedi: cognoscitur etiam cætera singulorum hominum sacrificia piacularia bestiis feminis: tria singulorum hominum piacularia fieri bestiis maribus: nempe rex cum per errorem id admiserat, quod per audaciam exitio, & per imprudentiam factum statò luebatur sacro piaculari, piaculum hircò faciebat: præterea autem erat juvenicus de cunctis officiis sacrificandus, quo expiatur erratum sacerdotis oleo inuncti: & ejusdem juvenicus, quo ad solemnem Expiationum diem faciebat suum ac suorum piaculari sacrum. Porro cognoscitur nullum singulorum hominum piacularum.

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

אלא פד הבא על כל המצוות וכן אין בכל קרבנות היחיד חטאת  
 ממין הפר זולתי פר הבא על כל המצוות ופר יום הכפורים  
 ושניהם נשרפים כליל נמצא הדין העולה בידינו שכל חטאת  
 היחיד תאכל והיא נקבה ולא תחיה ממין הבקר זולתי שעיר  
 הנשיא שהוגז זכר ופר הבא על כל המצוות ופר יום הכפורים  
 שהם זכרים וממין הבקר ושניהם נשרפים והנה קראו אותו פר  
 הבא על כל המצוות לפי שאמר בו הכתוב נפש כי תחטא בשגגה  
 מכל מצות השם וגומר והו כלל כל הקרבנות שמקריבין על גבי  
 המזבח והדברים המשותפים בכלם הם שאין מקריבין אותן בעלי  
 טומים ושאין נקריבין אלא על ידי כהן שלם ותמים מכל טום  
 ושאין מקריבין שום קרבן מהם אלא ביום שנאמר ביום צוותו  
 את בני ישראל להקריב את קרבניהם וחכמינו זכרונם לברכה  
 אמרו ביום ולא בלילה ושאין מקריבים שום קרבן מהם אלא  
 במקדש יהוה הבנוי בירושלם במקום הרמוז אליו בהר המוריה  
 וזהו כלל מה שרציתי לבאר פה:

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 הפרק

culum exuri præter juvenicum illum de cunctis officiis sacrificandum: nec omnino singulorum hominum piacula fiebant unquam pecore bubulo, si excipias unum illum juvenicum de cunctis officiis sacrificandum, & alterum solemnem Expiationum die maclandum, qui ambo exurebantur toti. Ex quibus universis intelligitur cuncta singulorum hominum sacra piacularia comedi, tum ea fieri bestiis feminis, nec fieri pecore bubulo: excipi autem sacrificium piaculariæ principis, quod fiebat mæri caprim pecoris: & juvenicum de cunctis officiis sacrificandum, item & juvenicum die solemnem Expiationum maclandum, qui cum mares, tum bubuli pecoris erant, & exurebantur ambo. Jam nomen illud juvenicum de cunctis officiis sacrificandum duxerunt ex eo, quod in hanc rem edicitur *Lev. 4. 1. Si quis errore lapsus in eorum, quæ sunt erga Deum, officiorum aliquo, & cætera.* Hæc erant universa, quæ in altaribus adolebantur, sacrificia, quorum omnium erant communes istæ conditiones, ut nec ipsa vitiis temerata forent, nec administrarentur nisi à sacerdotibus castis, puris, sanis, sinceris, & integris, nec unquam nisi interdiu fierent, id adeo, quod est *Lev. 7. 38. Quo die præcepit Israelitis de sacrificiis eorum faciendis,* quod sapientes nostri, quos honoris causa nomino, ita sunt interpretati, de die sacrificia facienda scilicet, de noctu non item: neque porro fierent usquam, nisi in templo augusto, quod erat Hierosolymis exædificatum in loco constituto ad montem Moriam. Hæc edisserere hoc capite volui.

**CAPUT**

## הפרק הר'

## בתכלית הקרבנות

עת הרב חמורה בפרק לב' חלק נ' הוא שהקרבנות לא  
 צוה איתם יתברך על הכונה הראשונה אלא שכאשר  
 שלח משה רבינו עליו השלום לתתנו ממלכת כהנים וגוי קדוש  
 ושלמים בידיעתו כמו שביאר ואמר אתה הראית לדעת וגומר  
 וידעת היום והשבות אל לבבך וגומר ולהתן לעבודתו כמו  
 שאמר ולעבדו בכל לבבכם ועבדתם את יהוה אלהיכם וגומר  
 והיה המנהג המפורסם בעולם כלו שהיו אז כל העמים רגילין  
 בו והעבודה הכוללת לבני אדם לאלהיהם היא להקריב מיני  
 בעלי חיים להיכלות ההם שהיו שם הצלמים ולהשתחויות  
 להם ולקטר לפניהם והעובדים הפרושים שמה בהיכלות  
 ההם הנעשים לכוכבים היו כהניהם לא גזרה חכמתו לצוות  
 אותנו שנניח מיני העבודות ההם כלם ולבטלם כי אז לא  
 יעלה בלב לקבלו לפי שטבע האדם הוא תמיד נוטה למורגל  
 ויהיה דומה זה כאלו יבא נביא בזמננו זה שיקרא אנשים  
 לעבודת השם יתברך ויאמר השם צוה אתכם שלא תתפללו  
 אליו ולא תצומו ולא תבקשו תשועתו בעת צרה אבל תהיה  
 עבודתכם מחשבה מבלתי מעשה שאין ספק שלא יקבלו זה  
 ממנו מפני המורגל ובעבור זה השאיר השם מיני העבודות  
 ההם והעתיקם מהיותם לנכראים ולענינים דמיוניים שאין  
 אמתות



CAPUT QUARTUM.

De sacrificiorum fine.

EXposuit hanc sententiam maxima vir auctoritate Majemoides in eo libro, qui *Doctor Perplexorum* inscribitur, capite secundo & tricesimo tertiæ partis, divina sacrificiorum præcepta non esse consilii primùm intenti: sed cùm legaretur Moses, hominum homo beatissimus, qui sacerdotale regnum constitueret, & sanctitate vitæ, atque naturæ divinæ cognitione gentem excollet, quemadmodum disertè dicitur *Deut. c. 4. v. 35. Quæ tibi visa data sunt, uti cognosceres, & cætera; & v. 39. Noscito igitur hodie, & in animum inducito, & quæ sequuntur, atque illam propriam cultui divino dicaret, sicut apertè declaratur Deut. 11. 13. Et colatis illum (Deum) toto pectore, & animo; & antea quoque, Exod. 23. 25. Dominum Deum vestrum colitote, & cætera; tum per omnes omnium orarum gentes fufam istam esse consuetudinem, ut suis quæque diis cultum hunc & honorem communiter adhiberent, in fanis ac delubris ut simulacra maectandis animantibus & odoribus incendendis venerarentur, simul ut fanis atque delubris illis destinarerent, & addicerent certos homines falsorum numinum sacrificios: nec esse visum menti ac rationi divinæ præcipere nobis, ut istas cerimonias & sacrorum religiones protinus averfantes tolleremus. neque enim ut ejusmodi præceptum facefferent adduci potuisse homines, quorum ingenium à natura ita comparatum est, ut semper redeat ad id, quod olim consuevit: hoc perinde futurum esse, ut si vates his temporibus veniret, qui homines ad religionem erga Deum Optimum Maximum excitaturus ita prædicaret, Deus edicit vobis, ne preces illi fundatis, neu jejunium instituatis, neu afflicti calamitate opem ejus poscatis; atque ut vestra erga illum religio tota sit in animi cogitatione, nec ulla adhibita actione; à quo audiendo communis vitæ ratio profectò deterreret homines. Id scilicet esse causæ, cur sapientia divina cerimonias istas servarit, easque naturis creatis, ac simulacris fictis, atque adeo*

O o

vanis

אמתיות להם וצורה לעשותם לשמו יתברך ולכן צוה לבנות לו  
ד כל ועשו לי מקדש ומזבח לשמו מזבח אדמה תעשה לי ושיחור  
הקרבן לו יתברך אדם כי יקריב מכם קרבן ליהוה ושישתחו לו  
ויקטירו לו והזהיר שלא לעשות דבר מאלו הדברים לזולתו וזבח  
לאלהים יחרם לא תשתחוה לאל אחר והגיע בזאת התחבולה  
האלהית שנמחה זכר עבודת אלילים ונתקיימה הפנה הגדולה  
באומתנו ממציאות השם ואחדותו ולא ברחו הנפשות ולא השתמשו  
בבטול העבודות שהורגלו בהם זהו דעת הרב בדבריו והרבי  
משה בן נחמן כתב שאלה הדברים הם דברי הבאי יעשו שלחן  
השם מגואל שאיננו רק להוציא מלכן של רשעים ומפשי עולם  
שגעון העבודת אלילים והכתוב אומר כי הם לחם אשה יהוה והנה  
נח בצאתו מן התיבה הקריב קרבן וירח יהוה את ריח הניחח  
ולא היו או בעולם אנשים עובדי עבודת אלילים להתרחק מהם  
והבל הביא גם הוא מבכורות צאנו ומחלבהן וישע יהוה לחבל  
ולא היה עדיין עבודת אלילים בעולם כלל ובלעם אמר את שבעת  
המזבחות ערכתי ואעל פר ואיל כמזבח ולא היה דעתי לשלול  
אמונות רעות שלא נצטוה בכך ולשון הקרבנות את קרבני  
לחמי לאישי ריח ניחוחי וחלילה שלא יהיה כם שום תועלת  
ורצון רק שוללות העבודת אלילים מדעת השוטים אלה  
הם דברי הרבי משה בן נחמן כנגד דברי המורה וכמה  
התחכם חנרבוני להשיב על כל זר בפירושו לאותו פרק הנזכר  
כאמר

vanis ademptas hujus universi parenti offerri jussit: hinc ut Deo templum ædificaretur, datum esse præceptum, quod est *Exod. 25. 8. Et mihi faciant sanctuarium: ut illi statueretur altare, de quo dicitur Exod. 20. 21. Altare cæspitium mihi facito: ut ei fieret sacrificium, de quo Lev. 1. 2. Quisque sacrificium Domino cum faciet è vobis: ut ei se abjicerent, atque prosternerent, ei cremarent odores: tum Legem interminari, ne quisquam quidquam horum nisi præpotenti Deo faceret, his verbis, Exod. 22. 19. Qui sacrificat diis, morte plectitor: illis autem cap. 34. v. 14. Namque magnopere tibi cavendum, ne tete projicias ante deum alienum, & hac divinâ solertiâ nefastas simulacrorum ceremonias esse deletas omnes ex animis nostrorum, & iisdem insitam hanc religionis stirpem, existere Deum unum solum: nec usu venisse, ut ceremoniarum usitatarum everfione subita stupentes animi à casto & puro numinis æterni cultu refugerent. Hæc Majemonides disputans de sacrificiis. Clamat contra R. Moses Nachmanides istam esse profanam sententiam, quæ mensam Dei sordibus fœdatam velit, cum tueatur hunc demum ejus esse finem, ut evelleret ex animis hominum sceleratorum & amentium insanum illum simulacrorum cultum: ast in oraculis divinis sacrificia passim dici, *Dei dapes igni cremendas.* etenim à Noa, inquit, simul ac egressus erat ex arca factum est sacrificium, cujus odorem Deo gratissimum fuisse sacræ literæ testantur, cum tamen nulli tum essent homines numinis alieni cultores, qui à tam perversa & impia religione deterrentur: Abel etiam, addit, primitias sui pecoris opimas Deo obtulit, & respexit eum Deus: atqui cultus alieni numinis nondum in terris extiterat: pergite idem urgere: Balaamus dicit Deo se septem ei statuisse altaria, atque in eorum singulis singulos buculos & arietes sacrificasse: at huic quidem certè non erat propositum pravas extinguere religiones, nec id illi præceptum erat: denique Deus de sacrificiis passim ita loquitur, *Sacrificium meum, dapes meæ igni mihi sacro consumendæ, odor ille mihi quàm suavissimus: improbum est igitur existimare Deo sacrificiis præcipiendis nihil aliud esse quæsitum, nisi ut ex insipientium animis idololatria deleteretur.* Ita R. Moses Nachmanides refutat Majemonidem. R. Moses enim Narbonensis commentariis suis in allegatum caput hisce rationibus*

באמרו שלא אמר דרב הנוכר שצוה השם על הקרבנות על  
 הכונה השנית להרחיקם מהעבודה אלילים אבל אמר שהעבודה  
 המוגלת לנחשב באלוה היה הקרבן ושלא נורה החכמה האלהית  
 להניחו לגמרי מפני ההרגל שהיו מורגלים בו ואין דברי הנכונה  
 אמתיים ולא מספיקים בדתר הזה אבל אמתת הענין הוא שהרב  
 המורה סובר שהתפלה והתהנה והתלמוד תורה דברי הצומת  
 וצקתם ציצית ותפילין מוזה ודומיהם מהעבודות עם האמונות  
 האמתיות הם המצוות שצוה אותם הקדוש ברוך הוא על הכונה  
 הראשונה ולכן חיו בכל מקום ובכל זמן אמנם הקרבנות לא היו  
 בן כמו שאמר השמר לך פן תעלה עולותיך בכל מקום אשר  
 תראה ולא גם כן בכל זמן אבל צוה ליחד בירת אחד במקום אשר  
 יבחר השם ושלא יקריבו בזולתו וגם שלא יקרב איוה איש זיודמן  
 אלא מודע אהרן הכהן וכל זה מורה היות הכונה האלהית  
 למעט זה היות מן העבודות ושלא נצטוו אם כן הקרבנות על הכונה  
 הראשונה כתפלות ושאר המצוות עוד מצא הרב ראיה לרעתו מדברי  
 הנביאים שהיו מוכיחים לישראל על רוב השתדלותם בקרבנות  
 באמרם שאינם מכוונים בעצמם כמו שאמר שמואל הנביא החפץ  
 ליהודר בעולות וזבחים כשמוע בקול יהוה וישעיהו אמר למר  
 לי רוב זבחים יאמר יהוה וירמיה אמר כי לא דברתי את  
 אבותיכם כיום הוציא אתם מארץ מצרים על דברי עולה וזבח

rationibus & argumentis omnibus pro sua prudentia occurrit, & vult neququam hoc à Majemonide poni rationem sacrificiorum à Deo institutam esse propter aliud, eo videlicet consilio, ut avocarentur homines ab idololatria; illud autem statui, quòd moris esset, ut quidquid pro Deo habebatur, coleretur sacrificiis; idcirco prudentiæ divinæ non esse visum imperare nostris, ut omnino rationem usitatam mutarent, quippe cum vis diuturnæ consuetudinis esset sanè quàm magna: sed nec vera dicit Narbonensis, nec ea, quibus argumentationes contrariæ diluantur: hæc est igitur rei veritas: princeps doctrinæ Majemonides existimavit preces, obsecrationes, meditationem Legis, jejunia, supplicationes, fimbrias, phylacteria, schedas sacras ædium postibus infigendas, & alias harum similes cerimonias & religiones sanctas à Deo propter se esse constitutas; has adeo omnibus & locis & temporibus vigere: non autem esse hujusmodi jura sacrificiorum, de quibus scriptum legitur, *Deut. 12. 13. Tu verò caveto, ne quo tibi cunque loco visum fuerit solida sacrificia facias*, & eadem nihilo magis quovis tempore fiebant. immo enim jusserat Deus unicam ædem ad sacrificiorum solemnia obeunda destinari in eo loco, quem ipsemet electurus esset: idemque sanxit, ut omnino extra hanc ædem sacrificia nulla fierent: tum ut in illa ipsa æde quæ fierent administrarent non primi quique homines; sed Aaronis sacerdotis stirpe generati. Quæ omnia satis apertè declarant id à Deo agi, genus hoc cerimoniarum ut immineretur: quod cum ita sit, consequens est illud, jura sacrificiorum non item, ut venerationem Dei, cæteraque pietatis officia propter se sancta esse. Præterea autem Majemonides sacrarum literarum peritissimus invenit sententiæ suæ confirmationem in vatium libris, ubi sæpenumero reprehenditur Israelitarum nimium illud sacrificiorum faciendorum studium, quod verò est dicere sacrificia per se, sua vi, sua sponte, sua natura non esse recta & laudabilia. Videas enim apud Samuelem vatem, *1. I. c. 15. v. 22. Anne tam placent Jehovæ solida & pacifica sacrificia, quàm ei dicto audientem esse?* Et apud Esaiam, *c. 1. v. 11. Quò mibi tot sacrificia vestra dicit Dominus?* Item apud Jeremiam, *c. 7. v. 22, & 23. Neque enim edixi, præcepique majoribus vestris, cum eos ex Ægypto educerem, nec de solidis, nec de pacifi-*

כי אם את הדבר הזה צויתי אותם לאמר שמעו בקולי והייתי לכם  
 לאלהים ואסף המשורר אמר לא על זמריך אוכיחך ועולתך לנגד  
 תמיד לא אקח מבייתך פר וגומר ועוד אומר שמצא הרב סיוע לדבריו  
 בדברי חכמינו זכרונם לברכה אומרו בסוף מנחות כל העוסק בתורה  
 אינו צריך לא חטאת ולא עולה ולא אשם ולא מנחה ובפרק אלו  
 הם הגליון כי טוב יום בחצריך מאלף טוב יום שאתה יושב ועוסק  
 לפני מאלף עולות שעתיד שלמה בנך להקריב על גבי המזבח  
 ובאלה שמות רבה סדר ואתה תצוה פרשה וזה הדבר אשר תעשה  
 להם לקדש אותם לכהן לי קחו עמכם דברים ארזץ בנקיון כפי  
 לשמיע בקול תורה לפי שיאמרו ישראל הנשיאים היו חוטאים  
 ומביאים קרבן ומתכפרים הכהן המשיח חוטא ומביא קרבן  
 ומתכפר לו אנו מרה נעשה שאין לנו להביא קרבן אמר להם  
 הקדוש ברוך הוא דברים אני מבקש מכם ולא קרבן ואני מוחל  
 על כל עונותיכם שנאמר קחו עמכם דברים לכך אמר ארזץ  
 בנקיון כפי לא להקריב קרבן אלא לשמיע בקול תורה  
 שאני מידד לך על דבר תורה וכן באותו מאמר שהביא  
 הרבי משה בן נחמן מספרי ובסוף מנחות אמר רבי שמעון  
 בן עזאי בא וראה מה כתוב בפרשת קרבנות שלא  
 נאמר

*ficis sacrificiis : sed hoc eis præcepi, ut mihi morem gererent ita, ut Deus illis essem.* Ad eundem modum canit poeta divinus Alaphus, *Psal. 50. 8, & 9. Non ego te propter sacrificia tua pacifica, & solida jugiter facienda mihi reprehendam : Neque juvencos ex ædibus tuis accipiam, & reliqua.* Ego verò invenio etiam Majemonidæ sententiam istam comprobari decretis sapientum, quos honoris causa nomino. Est in tractatu Talmudico de fertis, in extremo, qui animum adjungit ad Legis studium, is non indiget nec sacrificio piaculari, nec solido, neque porrò hostia pro delicto, neque ferto : & in tractatu Talmudico de verberibus, capite secundo, cujus initium, *Isti verò exulabant*, in undecimum versum *Psalmi 84. Melior est enim dies unus in atriiis tuis, quàm mille*; scribitur hoc edixisse Davidi regi Deum, malo te vel unum diem in conspectu meo sedentem, atque numen meum studiosè contemplantem, quàm mille sacrificiorum solidorum, quæ Salomo ex te natus olim unà in altari novo facturus est. Et in eo libro, qui *Explicatio copiosa Exodi* inscribitur, in ea distinctione, cui titulus, *Tu verò præcipito*, commate illo, cujus initium ducitur ab primo versu cap. 29. *Exod. Hoc igitur tum facito, cum inauguraveris eos, qui sacerdotio meo fungentur*, post allegatum versum tertium ex capite quarto decimo *Osæ, Concipite verba vobiscum cogitantes*; tum etiam partem sexti & septimi versus ex *Psal. 26. Lavabo innocentiam manus meas..... ut laudes voce canam*, hæc edisseruntur : Israelitæ dicebant, principum peccata sacrificio faciendo expiantur : item & sacerdotis uncti culpa piaculari sacrificio luitur : quid autem nobis fiet si peccaverimus, qui non habemus quod faciamus sacrificium ? His Deus Optimus Maximus verba vestra volo, non sacrificia, & omnia peccata vobis condonabo : nimirum hoc illud est, quod scriptum videmus, *Concipite verba vobiscum cogitantes* : & eam ob rem scriptum legitur, *Lavabo innocentiam manus meas*, non ut sacrificium faciam ; sed, *Ut laudes voce canam*, quod est, ut ego te laudem ea re, quia feci contra Legem. Eòdem valet etiam (quanquam hoc ipsum urget R. Moses Nachmanides) quod & in eo libro, qui *Siphri* appellatur, & in extremo codice Talmudico de fertis commemoratur à R. Simeone Asai filio ita dictum. Annotandum, quod in copiosa sacrificiorum descriptione nusquam occur-

נאמר בדם לא אל ולא אלהים אלא להשם בן ד' אותיות  
 השם המיוחד שלא ליתן פתחון פה לבעל הדין לחלוק שמה  
 תאמר לאכילה הוא צריך תלמוד לומר האוכל בשר אבירים  
 לא אמרתי לכם ובחו כדי שתאמרו נעשה רצונו לא לרצוני  
 אתם זוכים אלא לרצונכם שנאמר לרצונכם תובחו והרבי  
 משה בן נחמן הביא התהלת המאמר הזה והשמיט סופו לפי  
 שהוא מסכים מאד עם דעת הרב המורה ומה שאמר רבי  
 שמעון בן עזאי שלא נאמר בקרבנות שם אל ולא אלהים  
 אלא בן ארבע אותיות מסכים גם כן לדברי הרב שבעבודת  
 שהיו הקרבנות להרחיק מעבודת אלילים להקריבים לעבודת  
 השם הנכבד לכן לא נאמר בדם לא אל ולא אלהים שהם  
 שמות כבר יאמרו על שרי מעלה אלא השם המיוחד אליו יתברך  
 לומר שאליו היו מקריבים ולא לעבודת אלילים וכן בפרק  
 כל האסור אמר טוביה בר מתניה אמר רבי יאשיהו מה הוא  
 תשמרו להקריב לי במועדו לי ולא לארון אחד ומי זה הוה  
 האדון שמקריבין לו הוה אמר זה עבודת אלילים הלא כל  
 המאמרים האלה מסכימים מאד לדעת הרב המורה בקרבנות  
 ויותר מהמה תראה במאמר אחד שאמרו בויקרא רבא  
 בסדר אחרי מות פרשה איש איש אשר ישחט וזה לשונו רבי  
 פנחס בשם רבי לוי אומר משל לכן מלך שלבו היה גם עליו  
 והוא



occurrit nec Dei nomen illud, quod fortitudinis vim continet, nec illud, quod dignitatis; sed ineffabile nomen *Τετραγεγραμματος*, quod est Dei proprium: id eò factum, ut calumniatorum controversiæ locus ne relinqueretur: tum si quis sic existimaret Deum indigere cibo, dedocet eum hoc versus decimus & tertius Psalmi quinquagesimi, *Egône taurina carne vescar?* Quæ rogatiuncula hanc vim & sententiam habet, non ego vobis pro imperio dixi, *sacrificate*: diceretis, nos Dei voluntatem exequimur: nunc verò sacrificatis non ad meam; sed ad voluntatem vestram: nimirum hoc illud est, quod scriptum legitur *Lev. 22. 29. Voluntate vestra sacrificatote.* R. Moses Nachmanides enim hujus disputationis initium protulit; sed finem silentio præterit: astutè; quia vidit cum Majemonidæ sententia congruere. Quin etiam quod principium dedit R. Simeon Afai filius, in prælonga sacrificiorum descriptione nunquam reperiri Dei nomen, quo fortitudo, quo dignitas notatur, illud quoque facit cum Majemonide. nam sacrificiorum jura cum essent præscripta eo consilio, uti fictorum à numinum cultu sacrilego homines abducti allicerentur ad puram & castam Dei immortalis religionem, non usurpantur in eorum præscriptione nomina Dei illa, quæ fortitudinem & dignitatem declarant, quippe quæ eadem tribuuntur etiam claris viris, qui honoribus utuntur: sed usurpatur vocabulum Dei præpotentis proprium, quo manifestum fieret rerum creatori, non numini commentitio sacrificari. Consimiliter in tractatu Talmudico de bestiarum consecratarum mutatione, capite quinto, cujus initium, *Quidquid interdictum est*, R. Tobias Matenæ filius hoc auditum à R. Josia prodit: quod est *Num. 28. 2. Curatote mihi offerendum stato tempore*, id hanc vim habet, offerendum mihi scilicet; alii domino non item. Quid? Estne dominus alius, cui sacrificetur? Verò: est Deus alienus. Ergo omnes hæc disputationes cum Majemonidæ sententia de sacrificiis maximè conveniunt: multò etiam magis illud, quod in eo libro, qui *Explicatio copiosa Levitici* appellatur, distinctione illa, quæ *Post mortem* inscribitur, commate eo, cujus initium ducitur à versu tertio capitis 17. *Lev. Quicumque de gente Israelitica maccharit*, his ipsis verbis scriptum legitur. R. Phineas auditum ex R. Levita simile posuit. Cujusdam regis filius animo obsequens

P p

vesci

והוא למוד לאכול נבלות וטרפות אמר המלך יאכלם על שולחן זה  
 תדיר ומעצמו הוא נזר כן לפי שהיו ישראל להוטים אחר עבודת  
 אלילים והיו מביאים קרבנותיהם לשעירים באסור ופוענות  
 באר. עליהם אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא יהיו מקריבים קרבנותיהם  
 לפני באהל מעד והם נפרשים מעבודת אלילים הדא הוא  
 דכתיב איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט וגומר והמאמר הזה  
 מורה בביאור שהיה דעתם זכרונם לברכה בענין הקרבנות כדעת  
 הרב המורה ואין לומר שהפרשה היא בלבד תדבר מהשלמים  
 כי היא בכלל הקרבנות תדבר כמו שאמר למען אשר יביאו בני  
 ישראל את זבחייהם אשר הם זבחים על פני השדה והביאים  
 ליהודה וגומר ולא יזבחו עוד את זבחייהם לשעירים אשר הם  
 זונים וגומר ואליהם תאמר איש איש מבני ישראל וכן הגר אשר  
 יגור בתוכם אשר יעלה עולה או זבח ואל פתח אהל מעד  
 לא יביאנו לעשות אותו ליהודה ונכרת האיש ההוא מעמיו ואחר  
 זה צוה על ענין הדם באמרו ואיש איש מבית ישראל אשר יאכל  
 כל דם הרי לך מבואר שהפרשה תכלול עולה וזבח וכל מיני  
 הקרבנות ושלא אמר הכתוב ולא יזבחו עוד את זבחייהם לשעירים  
 כבחירת הדם בלבד אלא כבחירת כל הקרבנות ותמהתי מהרב  
 הנחמני שהיה הנמריא לפניו כשלחן ערוך איד לא ראה המאמר  
 הזה כי הוא מסכים לדברי הרב המורה הגהה התבאר שמן  
 התורה ומן הנביאים ומן הכתובים ומדברי רבותינו וזכרונם  
 לברכה בהרבה מקומות יש סיוע גדול לדברי הרב המורה  
 ואינם בזה דברי הנביא אלא דברי קדושה והנה אדם ובניו  
 הקריבו קרבנות לחשבם שבהם היו עובדים אלהים כי בשרפם  
 על המזבח החלב והכליות מהקרבתן היו כאלו הקריבו קרבם  
 וכליותיהם עצמם שהם כלי המחשבה וכן הברעים כנגד  
 ידיהם ורגליהם של המקריבים והיו זורקים את דם הקרבנות  
 במקום

vesci morticinis & affectis animantibus consuevit : rex edicere, semper apponantur hæc in mensa mea, filius eis per se ipse abstinebit : haud absimiliter inflammatis ad cultum simulacrorum Israelitis, ne dæmonibus nefaria sacrificia facerent, & iustis inde pœnis multarentur, Deus Optimus Maximus edixit, ut in tabernaculo fœderis sui sibi sacrificia facerent, & sic ipsi per se simulacrorum à cultu discederent. huc enim spectat illud, *Quicumque de gente Israelitica mactarit, & quæ sequuntur.* enimverò locus hic dilucidè demonstrat sapientum honoris causa nominandorum sententiam de sacrificiis eandem esse, atque Majemonidæ. Nec verò putandum in eo Legis capite de solis sacrificiis pacificis agi : agitur de cunctis sacrificiis. namque dicitur v. 5. *Quam ob rem Israelitæ ducunt victimas, quas passim per agros antea mactarant, ducunt illas domino, &c.* & v. 7. *Neve deinceps dæmonibus sacra sua faciunt, quibuscum quasi scortabantur, &c.* atque v. 8, & 9. *Edicito illis, quisquis cum Israelis è familia, tum ex alienigenis apud ipsos degentibus solidum sacrificium fecerit, aut pacificum; Nec victimam adduxerit ad ostium tabernaculi fœderis, ut ibi mactaretur Domino, is è populi sui communitate exterminabitur.* tum in sequenti versu præterea de sanguine separatim sancitur in hunc modum. *Item quisquis Israelitarum genere natus ..... quidquam sanguinis gustarit.* Perspicuum est igitur caput hoc comprehendere solida, & pacifica sacrificia, & cuncta sacrorum genera, tum autem edictum illud, *Neve deinceps dæmonibus sacra sua faciunt* spectare non modò sanguinis, sed omnino omnium sacrificiorum rationem : quo magis ego miror R. Mosem Nachmanidem, qui Talmudem univèrsam in promptu habebat, non vidisse locum illum esse Majemonidæ sententiæ consonum. Demonstratum est hoc quidem & Lege divina, & vaticinis libris, & hagiographis, insuper etiam multis ac variis sapientum decretis probari Majemonidæ sententiam, proindèque tantum abesse, ut profana sit, ut potiùs sanctitate conjunctissima sit. Adamus autem, & ejus liberi sacrificia fecerunt putantes his faciendis Deo se cultum & honorem adhibere. nam adolebant in altaribus adipem, & renes hostiarum pro renibus & præcordiis suis consilii sedibus : item & illarum crura pro suis manibus & pedibus : itèmq; respergebant illarum sanguinem

במקום דמם ונפשם ומידים לפניו יתברך שכן ראוי שישפך דם  
 המקריב וישרף גופו על הטאתם לילי חסד השם שלקח ממנו  
 בתמורה וכופר הקרבן ההוא שהיה דמו תחת דמו ונפשו תחת  
 נפשו וכבר זכר וזה גם כן הרב הנחמני ואמנם נח הקריב קרבן  
 לזאת הסבה בעצמה שהקריבו אדם גם שראה דור חסבול פרוצים  
 בעבודת אלילים מימי אנוש שנאמר ותשחר: הארץ לפני האלהים  
 ולכך הקריב קרבנותיו לגבוה להתרחק מעבודת אלילים ואמנם  
 בלעם לא בנה שבעה מובחות להתרחק מעבודת אלילים אלא  
 למד: שאמרו במדבר סיני רבא וזה לשונם ולמד: בנה  
 שבעה מובחות כנגד שבעה מובחות שבנו שבעה צדיקי עולם  
 מאדם ועד משה ונתקבלו ואלו הם אדם הבל נח אברהם יצחק  
 יעקב ומשה ואמנם מה שאמר הרב הנחמני שיש בקרבנות אשה  
 ריח נחח ליהוד: ונקראו לחם אלהיהם אין ספק שישב עליהם  
 הרב המורה על פי דרכו ושרשיו שדברה תורה כלשון הרגיל  
 אצל המקריב קרבנות ויורה: עליו אמרו ולא יזבחו עוד את  
 זבחיהם לשעירים ואין להקשות ממה שאמר כי מעלו אבותינו  
 ועשו הרע בעיני יהוד: גם סגרו את האולם ויכבו את הנרות  
 וקטורת לא הקטירו ועולה לא העלו בקדש לאלהי ישראל  
 כי הנה לא היתה תלינתו ממה שלא העלו עולה להיותה  
 מכוונת מצד עצמה אלא לומר שבמרד ובמעל מלכי יהוד:  
 החטאים בנפשותם להמשכם אחר עבודת אלילים סגרו רלתות  
 האולם ובטלו העבודה כלה כאלו פרקו מעליהם עול התורה:  
 והמצות האלהיות ובמרד שיר השירים אמרו הנך יפה רעייתי  
 פרנסתי

loco sanguinis & vitæ suæ, confitentes coram justo rerum æstimatore Deo verum esse sacrificantium ipsorum sanguinem profundi, corpus adoleri pro peccatis suis: sed, quæ benignitas ejus est, piaculum fieri succedaneâ bestiâ, cujus bestię sanguis & vita vitam & sanguinem sacrificantis redimat: quod ipsum etiam à R. Mose Nachmanide commemoratum est. Et Noa quidem sacrificium fecit eandem ob causam, atque Adamus: præterea autem viderat ab Errossi tempore usque ad diluvium homines erupisse in sacrilegum cultum simulacrorum, id quod dicitur *Gen. 6. 11. Cæterum orbis terrarum erat consceleratus in Deum*: fecit igitur sacrificia supremo Deo ea mente, ut absterreret suos ab impia veneratione simulacrorum. Jam verò Balaamus statuit septem altaria non eam ob rem, ut simulacrorum tolleret superstitionem; sed causa fuit ea, quæ commemoratur in libro, qui *Explicatio copiosa Numerorum* inscribitur: in hoc igitur ita scriptum est. Cur excitavit iste septem altaria? Nempe ut æmuleretur altaria septem Deo grata & accepta, quæ septem insignes pietate viri excitant, Adamus, Abelis, Noa, Abrahamus, Isaacus, Jacobus, Moyfes. Quod autem urget R. Moses Nachmanides in literis sacris sacrificia passim dici *rem divinam igni sacro absumendam, odorem Deo jucundissimum, dapes Dei*, ad hæc haud dubiè Majemonides ex institutis ac principiis suis responderet literas sacras loqui ad consuetudinem eorum, qui sacrificia faciebant: id autem esse verum facile cognoscitur ex illo versu, *Neque deinceps demonibus sacra sua faciunt*. Nihil magis huic sententiæ repugnat id, quod dicitur *2 Paral. c. 29. v. 6, & 7. Nam patres nostri à præscriptione rationis averfi Dominum ultrò offenserunt ..... Occluserunt etiam vestibuli fores, lucernas extinxerunt, nullum in sacrario Israelitarum Deo nec suffimentum incenderunt, nec sacrificium solidum fecerunt*. neque enim rex sanctissimus Ezechias queritur non esse facta solida sacrificia, quæ forent suo nomine recta & laudabilia; sed Judææ reges superiores per extremam sceleratorum animorum contumaciam ad idololatriam deficientes obserasse fores sacrarii, & excusso Legis atque divini imperii jugo omnem religionem in Deum sustulisse. Dicitur in allegorica quadam expositione *Cantici canticorum*, ad versum *14. cap. 1. O formosa tu amica mea:*  
amica

פרנסתי כביכול אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא לישראל אתם מפרנסים  
 אותי שנאמר את קרבני לחמי יכול לפניו אכילה ושתייה תלמוד  
 לומר לאישי לאישי אתם נותנים אותו אם כן למה נאמר לחמי  
 לומר אף על פי שאתם נותנים לאישים מעלה אני עליכם כביכול  
 כבני אדם המפרנסין לאביהן והנה המאמר הזה מורה היראה  
 מוחלטת שהוא יתברך בלתי צריך להקרבת קרבן ושענין אמרו  
 לאישי הוא כמו שפירשו החבר למלך הכוזר שנאשר שאלו אך  
 אמר הכתוב בו יתברך את קרבני לחמי בדויותו משולל מכל  
 גשמיות ואינו כח בנשים השיבו החבר שאמרו לאישי מתיר כל ספק  
 רוצה לומר שלא היה הקרבן לגבוה אלא לשתאכלנו אש המובה  
 ועל האישים ההם שהיו עורכים לשרוף את העולות אמר  
 הכתוב לאישי כי הם לשון אש ממש ועליהם אמרו מאמר הזה  
 אף על פי שאתם נותנים לאישים מעלה אני עליכם כבני  
 אדם שמפרנסין לאביהם והנני מודיעך סברת הרב ודעתו  
 בדבר הזה באמרו שהיו הקרבנות על הכוונה השנית ולא אמר  
 שלא יהיו על הכוונה הראשונה כי זה הלשון מורה שיש שתי  
 כוונות בקרבנות כוונה ראשונה וכוונה שנית והנה הכוונה  
 היאשונה בה היא כדי להתקרב אדם לאלהיו ולהכנע לפניו  
 ויאמין במציאותו ואזדותו והשגחתו שהיא הכוונה אשר  
 בעבודה הקריבו אדם ונח קרבנותם והכוונה הזאת הראשונה  
 לא יכחיש הרב שתמצא במצות הקרבנות כי הנה בעצם  
 וראשונה על זה נתכונו האמנם להיות השלמות האנושי  
 רב

*amica mea*, immo *altrix mea*: nempe hoc Deus omnipotens Israelitis dicit, vos me alitis, atque hoc est illud, quod scriptum legitur Num. 28. 2. *Sacrificium meum, dapes meas*. Quid? Deus cibus & potionibus vescitur? Nihil minus: nam additur, *in ignem meum*, quod est, in ignem mihi sacrum porriciendas. Quorsum igitur spectavit Deus cum ait *dapes meas*? Nempe ut significaret illud, cum in ignem mihi sacrum libamenta porriciatis, nihilo minus tamen id gratiæ appono vobis, quam si mortales immortalem me patrem vestrum aleretis. Hic sane quam aperte declaratur nullatenus à Deo sacrificia requiri: verbis autem illis, *in ignem mihi sacrum porriciendas vim & sententiam* hanc esse subjectam, quam eruditus quidam Judæus olim exposuit regi Cosroi: cui percunctanti quemadmodum in literis sacris *sacrificia mea, dapes meas* diceret Deus, qui mens intelligitur soluta quædam & libera, segregata ab omni concretionem mortali, respondit eruditus ille Judæus, hoc quod additur proximè superioribus verbis, *in ignem mihi sacrum porriciendas* tollit omnem obscuritatem & dubitationem: namque vis ejus est, sacrificium non cedit Deo, sed igni in altaribus ardenti: sic est, ad ignem, qui ad adolenda sacrificia solida in altaribus exstruebatur, ad illum spectat quod in literis sacris pronunciat Deus, *in ignem mihi sacrum porriciendas*, proptereaque vocabulum ignis proprium usurpatur: hinc dictum illud, cum in ignem mihi sacrum libamenta porriciatis, nihilo minus tamen id gratiæ appono vobis, quam si mortales immortalem me patrem vestrum aleretis. Commodum igitur erit planissimè nunc explicare Majemonidæ hac de re summi viri mentem atque sententiam. is enim sacrificia consilii secundò intenti esse dicit; non negat autem eadem esse consilii primùm intenti, quæ enunciatio significat sacrificiorum esse finem duplicem, primum & secundum. Ac primus quidem erat eorum finis, ut ad Deum accederet homo, ut summiffus, inquam, homo crederet esse Deum unum rebus humanis consulentem ac providentem: & hoc sanè quidem causæ fuit, cur Adamus & Noa sacrificia facerent: nec verò Majemonides est is, qui negat ad hunc primum finem sacrificiorum constitutionem esse relatam; quia enim propter id sacrificia maximè primòque constituta sunt. Quoniam autem natura hominis absolute per-

ficitur

רבך בנפשו והוא כפי האמנות והדעות האמתיות ראה הרב  
 המ רה שהכוונה הראשונה הנזכרת יותר תמצא בתפלה ובהשכלה  
 והיריעה האמתית ובשאר המצות המכוונות לזה התכלית והכוונה  
 ממה שתמצא בהקרבת חלב ודם ושרפת גופי הבעלי חיים ועל כן  
 אמר הרב שצוה הקדוש ברוך הוא במצוות הקרבנות להשנת הרבוק  
 האלהי ויריעתו באמת מפני שהיו כל בני אדם מורגלים בעבודות  
 הקרבנות ותהיה קשה עויבת המירגל בהחלט אבל צוה שיעשו  
 אותם לגבוה כי בזה יגיעו אל הכוונה הראשונה מהשנת  
 האמנות האלהיות והרבוק בשם יתברך ויתרחקו מדרכי עבודת  
 אלילים הנה אם כן שתי כוונות נמצאו בקרבנות כפי הרב המירגל  
 הראשונה והיא אשר שער בלבד הרבי משה בן נחמן והשנית  
 ושתייהם כיון יתברך בזאת המצוה וכאשר תבין זה על אמתתו לא  
 ישאר מקום אל ספקות הרבי משה בן נחמן ולא צורך אל תרועי  
 הנרבוני וזהו מה שראיתי להליץ בדבר הזה ואמנם הרבי לוי בן  
 גרשום בפרשת צו השתדל לתת טעמים בקרבנות אבל ראיתי אני  
 בהם חולשה רבה ודוחקים גדולים ולכן נתרחקתי מהם וראיתי  
 אני ברברי אחד מן האחרונים דעת אחר בתכלית הקרבנות והוא  
 שתכליתם בלבד היה כדי שיתקרב האדם בלבד אל האלהי והנה  
 הקרוב או שיהיה כקרוב המלאכים וכנגד זה באה העולה  
 שהיא כלה כליל לגבוה ואם שיהיה כהתקרבות השמים אליו  
 יתברך וכנגד זה בא החטאת והאשם שהכהן המחטא יאכל אותה  
 ואם שתתקרב כקרוב השכל האנושי כולל השלמויות וכנגד זה היו  
 השלמים וככה יבואו קרבנות ההם לרמוז שאף על פי שאנחנו נהיה  
 חמריים ישגיח בנו השם ויקבל קרבנותינו וגם זה איננו עוה לי

ואמנם



ficitur animi bonis, hoc est, rectis persuasionibus, atque sententiis veris & honestis, vir doctrinâ præstans Majemonides sic existimavit, primum finem paulo supra commemoratum in ratione precum, investigatione, perspicentiâque veri multo magis elucere, quàm in animantium sanguine respergendo, adipe ac corpore adolendo. Quapropter hoc vult clarissimus Majemonides, nullam aliam ob causam jura sacrificiorum esse divinitus sancita, quibus pareretur conjunctio hominum cum natura divina rite cognita; nisi quia tum omnes homines erant assueti religione sacrificiorum, & arduum est in primis, ac difficile consuetudinem inveteratam penitus amittere: hinc esse sancitum de sacrificiis Deo supremo faciendis, ut hoc pacto homines ducerentur ad illud, quod divina mens primum intenderat, consilium, infinitæ naturæ suæ notitiis imbuere mortales, religione ceremoniisque sibi conjungere, ab impio simulacrorum cultu avertere. Quod cum ita sit, in constitutione sacrificiorum ex sententia doctissimi Majemonidæ finem reperire licet duplicem: primum, quem solum percepit R. Moses Nachmanides: & secundum; quorum ad utrumque præceptionem sacrificiorum retulit Deus Optimus Maximus. Quæ si rectè intelligantur, nec R. Mosis Nachmanidæ quæstionibus & dubiis locus relinquetur, nec R. Mosis Narbonensis solutionibus usus erit. Hæc mihi visum est in defensionem hujus sententiæ dicere. Porrò R. Levi Gersomi filius commentariis suis in Legem, ea distinctione, quæ *Præcipito* inscribitur, magno sanè conatu causas sacrificiorum affert; sed adeo debiles, adeo contortas, ut nihil supra: itaque ab his ego recessi. Vidi etiam apud recentiorem quendam scriptorem hanc sententiam de fine sacrificiorum: sacrificiis id agi demum, ut ad Deum homines accederent: & accederent ad Deum aut sic, ut angeli, quod efficeretur sacrificiis solidis, quæ Deo adolebantur tota; aut ut cæli templum, id quod efficeret cum sacrificium piaculare, tum sacrificium pro delicto, quod à sacerdote, qui maleficium admissum procurabat & expiabat, comedebatur; aut ut menti & rationi divinæ proxima accedit humana intelligentia, qua virtutes continentur, id quod efficeretur sacrificiis pacificis; & hoc pacto sacrificiis significari, nobis ut terrenis ac concretis, tamen consulere Deum, & sacra nostra respicere: nec id quidem mihi probatur.

Q9

Ego

ואמנם דעתי בזה שאין ראוי לחת תכלית אחד בכל מיני הקרבנות  
 כי דנה הצורות ימשכו אחריהם התכליות וכהיות צורות הקרבנות  
 מתחלפות יהיו בהכרח תכליותיהם גם כן מתחלפים ומי יתן ידעתי  
 השלמים למה היה חלק מהם נשרף על גבי המזבח וחלק מהם  
 נאכל לכהנים והשאר כלו נאכל לבעלים ואמנם בחטאת ובאשם  
 לא היה דבר מהם נאכל לבעלים אלא קצתם נשרף על המזבח  
 וקצתם נאכל לכהנים אבל העולה היתה כלה נשרפת ואין לבעלים  
 ולא לכהנים חלק נאכל ממנה כלל והחלופים האלה אי אפשר  
 שלא תהיה להם סבה הכרחית קיימת עוד תשוב תראה שהעולה  
 והשלמים כל אחת נקרכת עמו מנחה מסולת כלול כשמן ולבונה  
 ויין לנסך כי אי אפשר להעלות עולה ולא שלמים אם לא  
 יקריבו עמהם מנחת הנסכים ואמנם החטאת והאשם לא יקריבו  
 עמהם מנחת הנסכים לא סלת ולא לבונה ולא יין ולא שמן ומה  
 יהיה סבת כל זה על כן אמרתי שהם שלשת מיני הקרבנות הא  
 הוא קרבן עולה ומנחתו ונסכו והבי' הוא החטאת והאשם כי שניהם  
 באים כאחד על חטאת אם לא שהחטאת הוא על חטא ידוע שחטא  
 בשגגה והאשם הוא הבא על הספק אם חטא ואם לא חטא ואין  
 עמהם לא נסכים ולא מנחה כמו שאמרתי והשלישי הם שלמים  
 ומנחתם ולכך ראוי לשער בהם שלשה תכליות תכלית אחד למין  
 אחד והנה תכלית העולה הוא לדבק הנשמה השכלית עם בוראה  
 יתברך ובכחינת הנפש והשארותה היה העולה לרמוז שכמו שהבעל  
 חי ההוא במותו חיה נקרב על מזבח השם והיה נדבק אל  
 האש ומתאחד עמו ועולה ריח נחח ליהוה כן האיש המקריב או  
 הצבור אחרי מותם יעלו אל האלהים בהר יהוה ומקום קדושתו  
 וידבק

Ego verò sic in animum induxi meum, non convenire finem unum statuere communem omnibus sacrificiorum generibus. finis enim congruebat cum ratione sacrorum & forma: quæ cum esset multiplex & varia, consentaneum erat eorum finem etiam esse varium. Quòd utinam scirem quid esset, quòd ex sacrificio pacifico pars super altaribus adoleretur, pars à sacerdotibus comederetur, & reliquum à domino: ex hostia autem piaculari, tum ex hostia pro delicto nihil quidquam comesset dominus; sed in altaribus adoleretur earum aliquid, reliqua comederentur à sacerdotibus: solidum autem sacrificium nulla comederetur ex parte nec à domino, nec à sacerdotibus; sed totum adoleretur in altaribus. non potest enim, quin esset harum differentiarum necessaria, firma, stabilisque causa. Præterea autem videre est sacrificio tam solido, quàm pacifico conjungi fertum è simila oleo subacta, thus, & vinum ad libandum; nec omnino sine ferto libaminum unquam fieri sacri ficium solidum, aut pacificum: rursùmque tum sacrificium piaculare, tum sacrificium pro delicto fieri semper nec ullo adhibito ferto libaminum, planius dicam, semper sine simila, sine thure, sine vino, sine oleo. His ego causis & rationibus adductus sum, ut crederem genera sacrificiorum esse tria: quorum unum erat sacrificium solidum cum suo ferto atque libatione: alterum verò sacrificium piaculare, simul & sacrificium pro delicto. namque pariter ambo ob peccatum fiebant cum hoc uno discrimine, quòd piaculare sacrificium fiebat cum certò sciretur imprudenter esse peccatum; sacrificium autem pro delicto cum ambigaretur, peccatum esset, necne: tum autem neutri horum, ut ante dixi, nec libatio, nec fertum adhibebatur: & tertium genus erat sacrificium pacificum conjunctè cum ferto suo: quo posito, ponere triplicem finem, suum cuique generi, commodum erit. Finis igitur sacrificii solidi fuit illud, ut homo mentis oculos ad vim & naturam divinam sui procreatricem adjiceret, & intelligeret immortalem esse se cum ipsius animum. Nempe significabat sacrificium solidum ut animal secundum jugulationem altaribus divinis admittebatur, ubi admotum igni & adjunctum expiraret odorem Deo multo suavissimum; sic ejus, aut eorum, à quibus hoc sacrum conficiebatur, post mortem animos ad Deum pervolatueros in locum celsum & augustum, ibique di-

Q q 2

vinæ

## Abarbanelis Exordium

וידבק ויתאחד תחת כסא כבודו כי אש אוכלת הוּא והנפש תעלה  
 ריח נחח ליהודה ולכן נקראת עולה לפי שתורה על נפש האדם  
 העולה היא למעלה והיתה נשרפת כלה כליל לנבזה על מזבחו  
 לרמוז שהרוח השכלי ישוב אל האלהים אשר נתנו ומפני זה אמרו  
 רבותינו וזכונם לברכה אין העולה באה אלא על הרהורי הלב ואמר  
 רבי לוי מקרא מלא הוא שנאמר גבי איוב והעלה עולות מספר  
 כלם כי אמר איוב אולי חטאו בני וברכו אלהים בלבכם רצו בזה  
 שהמקריב עולה הנה הוּא מסיר מתוכו מוטה וכל אמונה רעה  
 והרהור רע כאלו יאמר שובי נפשי למנוחייני ובעבור זה היה  
 העולה תמיד זכר תמים כי הצורה נמשלה לזכר והחומר לנקבה  
 כמו שזכר הרב המורה וסמך ידו על ראש העולה לרמוז שתעלה  
 על מזבח העולה במקומו ויורקו עליו את דמו כמו שדמו ונפשו תדבק  
 שמה ולהיות קרבן העולה בבחינת הנשמה השכלית שהיא עצמות  
 האדם אמר הכתוב אדם כי יקריב מכם קרבן ליהוה רוצה לומר  
 שמהם ועצמותם יהיה הקרבן ההוא ואמר גם כן לרצונו לפני יהוה  
 רוצה לומר שיקריב האדם את עצמו ורצונו וחפצו לפני יהוה כאלו  
 המקריב מודה חיוב הקרבת עצמו בכל כחית נפשו לעבודת בוראו  
 ושכל מאויו וחפצו הם לדבקה בו ולעלות אל מזבח קדשו הרוחני  
 במי שיעלה אותו העולה על מזבח בית מקדשו בארץ כי בזה  
 יתרצה

vinæ majestatis, qui vorax est ignis, folio appositus, adjunctos odorem spiraturos Deo longè jucundissimum. Ergo sacrificium hoc notabatur vocabulo, cujus vis est sublime ferri; quia enim significabat hominis animum intelligentiæ compotem, qui corporis vinculis relaxatus suâ naturâ sublime fertur. Adolebatur autem Deo totum in altaribus ei dicatis, quod indicabat animum remeaturum ad Deum, à quo homini datus erat: dictum est igitur à sapientibus nostris honoris causâ nominandis, sacrificium solidum non nisi de cogitationibus animi fiebat: immò verò idem hoc, sicut R. Levi quidam annotavit, in literis sacris planè dicitur. est enim apud *Jobum*, 1. 5. *Et fecit sacrificia solida, quorum numerum æquavit cum liberis. Jobus enim secum cogitabat, forte liberi mei peccarunt, & animo maledixerunt Deo*: ex quo intelligitur, quòd qui sacrificium solidum faciebat, hærentem intus in animo labem elueret, persuasionem impiam, cogitationem pravam; & secum ita quasi loqueretur, redi anima mea ad quietem tuam: atque hac de causa animans, quò sacrificium solidum fiebat erat mas integer, quippe quòd forma maris est instar, feminæ materia, quemadmodum à principe doctrinæ Majemonide proditum est. Porrò homo manus imponebat capiti animantis, quo conficiebat sacrum solidum, ut fateretur victimam illam vicem obire suam, pro se mactari, & illius sanguinem inspergi altaribus, ubi sanguinem & vitam suam profundi jus erat. Quod autem sacrum solidum designabat mentem & rationem, in quo summa est hominis, idcirco de hoc scriptum legitur, *Lev. 1. v. 2. Quisque sacrificium Domino cum faciet è vobis*, cujus vis, ut sacrificium illud esset non modò ex ipsis, sed etiam ex eo, quod in ipsis infinita præstantia præcelleret. Eodem modo quod dicitur in sequenti versu, *Ad voluntatem suam ante Dominum*, significabat illud, ut homo corpus, voluntatem, & studium suum sacrificaret summo rerum Domino, id est, ut, qui faciebat sacrificium, fateretur jus esse bona corporis & omnes animi sui virtutes destinari ad colendum & venerandum Creatorem suum, ut hoc unum cuperet, hoc unum studeret se conjungere Deo, & in ejus aram ascendere, illam cœlestem sic, tanquam victima, quâ sacrificium solidum fiebat, tunc ipsum in terris ascendebat in aram ejus augusti Templi, quòd eo demum modo

servus

## Abarbanelis Exordium

יתרצה עבד אל ארונני ויעשה נחת רוח לפניו כמו שאמר ונרצה  
 לו לכפר עליו ויהיה התועלת גם כן בקרבן העולה המכני אל  
 הדבקות הרוחני להוריד על נפשו שפע ודבקות אלהי ומפני זה  
 הקריבו קין והבל קרבנות ואמרו רבותינו זכרונם לברכה שאדם  
 הראשון גם כן הקריב עולה ונח גם כן בצאתו מן התיבה העלה  
 עולה וכן אברהם יצחק ויעקב ומשה הקריבו עולה במובחנותיהם  
 כדי שיבואם השפע האלהי ונבואתו ובלעם מפני זה ערך מובחנותיו  
 והעלה פר ואיל במזבח ואמר לבלק התיצב על עולתך ואלכה  
 אולי יקרה יחיה לקראתי כי חשב שבסבת העולות ההן תבואה  
 הנבואה ואמנם המנחה והנסך הבא עם העולה היה לרמזי הדבקות  
 וההשארות יגיע לנפשו העולה היא למעלה מפני הסבות המביאות  
 אותו אליו האחד מצד היותו אדם כי הנשמה השכלית תוכה אל  
 ההשארות והדבוק העליון לא צורת שאר הבעלי חיים הבלתי  
 מדברים ולרמזי לזה היה הקמח סולת מן החטים מאכל החי המדבר  
 בלכר ושני עדים יש בדבר הזה הא' עומר השעורים הנקרב מסחרת  
 הפסח לרמזו שעדיין לא באו לשלמות דאנושי עד סוף הספירה  
 שמקריבים שתי הלחם מהחטים ויקבלו את התורה והב' מנחת  
 הסוטה הבאה מהשעורים וכמו שאמרו רבותינו זכרונם לברכה  
 היא עשתה מעשה בהמה וכולי הא למדת שהחטה והסלת שלהם  
 באים לסימן מאכל אדם כי על כן הקפידה התורה באמרה  
 סולת חטים תעשה אותם ולפי שהאדם לא יזכה אל ההשארות  
 והדבקות בהיותו אדם בלכר אלא בהיותו שלם במושכלות  
 ובמדות

fervus sceleratus summum Dominum placatum efficere poterat : nimirum hoc est illud, quod dicitur versu proximo inferiori, *Ut hoc ei gratum sit ad expiandum illum.* Quod sacrificium solidum cum fingeret hominem ad amorem & studium rerum cœlestium, tum præcipuè deducebat in animum ejus instincturam & inflatum divini Spiritus. Quamobrem à Caino & Abele hujus generis sacrificia facta sunt : item & princeps hominum auctoribus sapientibus nostris hujus generis sacrum fecit. Noa quidem egressus ex arca solidum fecit sacrificium : præterea autem Abrahamus, Isaacus, Jacobus, & Moses in iis, quæ Deo statuerant, altaribus solida sacrificia fecerant, ut divini numinis afflatum, & vim vaticinandi consequerentur : itaque Balaamus cum altaria multa construxisset, & in singulis eorum sacrum solidum juvenco & ariete confecisset, tum regi Balaco ita dixisse dicitur *Num. c. 23. v. 3. Tu tuis solidis assiste sacris, ego secedam, si forte mihi Deus occurrat* : scilicet sacrorum solidorum à se factorum gratiâ putarat visum sibi datum iri vaticinum. Quod autem addebatur hostiæ solidæ fertum & libamen, id admonebat hominem de fine bonorum, quem in altissimo divinæ naturæ domicilio adepturus esset ejus animus his rebus : primùm ob id ipsum, quòd esset humana forma rationis compos & particeps, quæ immortalis est, & societate Deo conjungitur scilicet, forma cæterorum animantium ratione carentium non item : indicabat hoc medulla farris triticeæ, quod est folium animantis ratione utentis pabulum. namque testimonio sunt duæ res : una manipulus hordei, qui postridie Paschæ libabatur ideo, ut significaretur Israelitis necdum absolutam existere naturæ humanæ perfectionem : quæ completo dierum numero, ubi Legem divinam acceperant, cum adesset, tum verò panes è tritico libabant duos. Altera res erat fertum à muliere adulterii suspecta item hordeaceum, de quo sapientes nostri honoris causa nominandi, hæc vixit more pecudis, nostri reiïqua : unde patet simillam è tritico libatam, quæ significaret id quod esset homini ad vescendum aptum ; adeoque tam expressè divinâ Lege caveri, *Exod. 29. 2. Ea (crustula) triticea è simila facito.* Quoniam verò nemo homo humanitatis solius ergo finem bonorum adepturus est, nisi idem veris divinæ naturæ notitiis excultus sit, & optimis moribus

ובמדות המשובחות כי הם שלם לעלות בהם אל ההצלחה האחרונה  
 לכן צורה שיהיה סולת כלול בשמן כי השמן מורה על  
 השכל והוא השמן וית זך כתירת למאור ושיהיה עליה לבונה  
 שריחה טוב רמו למדות המשובחות שריחם ושמן הטוב נודף  
 ומלבד המנחה הזאת הרומות לאדם השלם במושכליו ומדותיו  
 צורה שיקריבו גם כן יין לנסך והוא בא לרמוז אל השלמות  
 המיוחד האמתי המגיע לכל איש ישראל מצד התורה לפיכך  
 רמו הנביאים את האומה הזאת לכרם כמו שאמר כי כרם  
 יהודה צבאות בית ישראל וביחזקאל מה יהיה עץ הגפן מכל  
 עץ הזמורה וכרברי המשורר הבט משמים וראה ופקוד גפן זאת  
 ולהיות העולה והמנחה מורים על הרמו הנכבד הזה מהשארות  
 נפש כל איש ישראל ודבוקו באלהיו היה ראש הקרבנות והנכבד  
 שבהם התמידין שבכל יום ומנחתם ונסכיהם ועליהם נאמר  
 בסדר ואתה תצורה וזה אשר תעשה על המזבח כאלו לא  
 היה תכלית ענין המזבח וכונתו כי אם להקריב עולת התמידין  
 בלבד וצורה שיקריבו אותה שתי פעמים ביום בבקר ובערב  
 כדרך הסעודות הבאות ערב ובקר כי כן ראוי שיבא הלמוד למזון  
 הנפש באלו העזות גם שמראת הערב והבקר תישיר את הנפש  
 לדעת את יהוה באמצעות תנועת השמש בורחת הבקר וביאת  
 הערב כמו שיתבאר בסדר פנחס וכן המוספים היו כלם עולות  
 ומנחתם ונסכיהם להיותם מורים על הדבוק שיוכו אליו בני  
 ישראל במועדיהם על ידי אותם העולות וכמו שיתבאר שמה  
 ואמנם



moribus moratus, quarum veluti scalarum gradibus ad summum bonum ascenditur; idcirco præscriptum erat, ut simila subigeretur oleo, quod erat symbolum ingenii luce cœlesti collustrati, præsertim putum & purum illud oleum olivarium ad illucendum expressum: item ut superadderetur etiam thus odoratum, quod designabat mores probos clarissimi nominis odore fragrantis. Jam præter hoc fertum, quod significabat hominem intelligentiis divinis, & moribus integris ornatum, edictum erat, ut adjungeretur sacrificio solido vinum ad libandum: id indicabat quam Israelitarum quisque præcipuam habebat à Lege divinitus data præstantiam excellentem: ex quo gentem nostram cum vinea contulerunt vates, ut videre licet apud *Esaiam*, 5. 7. *Nam vinea Jehovæ exercituum est domus Israelitica: & apud Ezechielem*, 15. 2. *Quid est lignum vitis præ cunctis lignis? Palmes, &c. & apud Psalmistam, Psal. 80. 15. Vide de cælo, respice, tuere vineam istam.* Quoniam igitur sacrificium solidum & ejus fertum Israelitis reconditum illum amplissimumque significabat statum, æternitatem animorum, ac conjunctionem cum natura divina, apud eos in honore erat ante omnia sacrificium solidum illud jure ac quotidianum unà cum ferto atque libamine suo. nam in hoc sacrificium capite *Exodi* undetrigesimo, quod caput continetur ea Legis distinctione, *Quæ tu verò præcipito* inscribitur, in illud sacrificium v. 38. dicitur, *Et hoc est, quod facietis ad aram*, perinde quasi ara constituta fuerit eo consilio, ut illud jure sacrificium solidum demum in ea fieret: jam hoc jure sacrificium solidum ut bis in die fieret, sancitum erat, mane & vesperi. namque binæ fere sunt hominum in singulos dies epulæ, vespertinæ atque matutinæ: par erat igitur institui hanc consuetudinem, ut iisdem temporibus suo pabulo pascerentur animi: simul ipsa noctis & diei vicissitudo trahebat animos ad cognoscendam vim & naturam divinam, cum cernerent ratum solis cursum, ortum & occasum: sed his de rebus plura disputabuntur in ea Legis distinctione, quæ *Phineia* inscribitur. Porro autem omnibus diebus festis & solemnibus præcipua sacra solida constituta fuerant suis & fertis & libationibus aucta, quæ significarent Israelitas dies solemnes sacris solidis faciendis celebrantes merituos, ut conjuncti naturæ divinæ ævo sempiterno beati fruerentur, sicut idoneo loco ostendetur. Nonnunquam

R r

etiam

## Abarbanelis Exordium

ואמנם המקריב מנחת עולה מבלי נסך וזבח היה תכליתו בקרבנו  
תכלית העולה. עצמו כמו שזכרתי בבחינת נשמתו ומפני דלותו או  
לשאר הסבור; נסתפק עם המנחה הנה התיבאר מזה כלו תכלית.  
העולה הנקרכת להשם ומנחתה ונסכה ולכן לא היו הבעלים ולא  
הכהנים אוכלים ממנה דבר לפי שהיתה כנגד הנשמה השכלית  
המיוחדת לכוראה שאין ביצירתה ובריאתה חלק לבעלים ולא  
לכהנים אלא ליהודה לבדו ואמנם שאר הדברים שזכר הכתוב  
בעולת הבקר ובעולת הצאן ובעולת העוף ומנחתם יתבארו בפירוש  
הפרשה.

והחטאת והאשם שניהם היו באים על חטא כמו שביארתי  
כי החטאת הוא כשזדמן האדם שחטא בשגגה והאשם בהיותו  
מסופק אם עבר על איתור מצות לא תעשה. אם לא עבר  
ואתה תראה שאין בעולה ולא בשלמים ולא במנחה הבדל  
מהמקריבין כי שורה הוא הדין שיקריב אותם המלך או שיקריב  
אותם ההדיוט מעם הארץ אבל בחטאת יש הבדל גדול בין  
השונגים הבעלים המקריבים כי אם היה השונג כהן משוח  
והוא הכהן גדול היה מקריב פר בן בקר על שגגתו והיה  
בשרף כלו כמו העולה ולא היו גבדלים אלא כשהעולה היתה  
נשרפת כלה על גבי המזבח ואמנם פר כהן משוח היו האמורים  
שלו נשרפים על גבי המזבח ושאר הפר כלו היה נשרף מחוץ  
למחנה וגם היה הבדל אחר ביניהם והוא שדם העולה לא  
היה נכנס פנימה להוות על הפרוכת ועל מזבח הקטורת  
ואמנם דם פר הכהן המשוח היה נכנס פנימה בהואה שבע  
פעמים לפני יהודה ואל פני פרוכת הקדש ואם היה החוטא  
השונג כל עדת ישראל היו מקריבים פר בן בקר והיה דינו  
בכל

etiam sacri solidi fertum Deo quis obmovebat sine libamine, sine victima: omnino hoc munusculum offerenti constitutus erat finis idem, quem dixi fuisse sacrum solidum facientis; scilicet immortalitatem animi noscere: sed ob pauperiem, aut aliam quandam causam homini fertum solum offerre satis erat. Ex his omnibus sic expositis intelligitur, quam ob rem Deo sacrum solidum fieret, idemque fertum augetur atque libamine, tum cognoscitur & illud, nihil inde nec domino, nec sacerdotibus esse comedendum, quia enim spectabat ad animum unius effectoris sui Dei proprium, ut cujus origo atque molitio nullatenus ad dominum aut sacerdotes; sed ad Deum unum solum tota pertinebat. Porrò quæ divina Lege commemorantur de sacris solidis seu pecore bubulo, aut oviarico, seu volucri faciendis, deque fertis eorum, atque libaminibus, hæc in explicandis divinæ Legis verbis singulatim explicabuntur.

Jam verò cum piaculare sacrificium, tum sacrificium pro delicto, sicut demonstravi, fiebant ambo de peccatis. illud enim faciebat qui per imprudentiam à se peccatum, certò sciebat: hoc autem qui ambigebat adversum aliquod vetitum fecisset, an non: atque vides in sacris solidis & pacificis ac fertis nihil differre inter eos à quibus fiebant, prorsus in illis æquabile jus regis & unius de multis esse descriptum: de sacrificio piaculari non erat ita: multum intererat inter eos, quorum imprudentia sacro piaculari luebatur: sacerdos unctus, qui idem pontifex maximus nominatur, cum erraverat, errati piaculum fiebat juvenco, quod non fecus, ac sacrificium solidum, igni totum absumebatur: id discriminis erat inter hoc & illud: sacrificium solidum cremabatur totum in altari: ast de sacerdotis uncti juvenco adolebantur in altari exta sola: reliquus juvenco totus cremabatur extra castra: præterea autem inter se discrepabant hac alia re: non inferebatur in adyta templi victimæ solidæ sanguis, quo conspergeretur velum & altare suffimenti; sanguis autem juvenco illius, quo imprudentia sacerdotis uncti expiatur illatus in occulta ac remota templi spargebatur septies ad augustam Dei sedem versus, & septies ad velum versus, quod velum templum discriminabat. Item & universus Israelitarum cœtus cum peccarat per errorem, errati piaculum faciebat juvenco: omnino in hoc ratio tene-

## Abarbanelis Exordium

בכל הדברים כדון קרבן פר הכהן המשיח ואם נשיא יחטא  
 ויהוא כולל למלך ולשופטים יקריב שעיר עזים וזר אמנם לא  
 יובא את דמו להוות אל הפרוכת פנימה ולא היה נשרף  
 ממנו אלא האמורים בלבד והנותר ממנו היה נאכל ואם החוטא  
 השוגג היה הריוט מעם הארץ או ששמע קול אלה ולא הגיד או  
 איש אשר יגע בכל דבר טמא או בטומאת אדם או לבטא  
 בשפתים היה קרבן כל אחד מאלה נקבה מהכבשים או שעירה  
 מהעזים וראוי שיבוקש הסבה התכליתית בדברים האלה. רוצה  
 לומר מאיוו בחינה נדמה פר החטאת של הכהן המשיח עם  
 העולה תמימה ולמה נמצא יתרון בעולה שהיה נשרפת  
 כלה על גבי המזבח ואין כן פר החטאת שהיה נשרף מחוץ למחנה  
 ונמצא יתרון אחר בפר החטאת שהיה נכנס דמו אל הקדש פנימה  
 ואין כן דם העולה והב' למה היה קרבן שוגג הכהן גדול  
 וקרבן הקהל גם כן פר בן בקר אמנם קרבן שוגג הנשיא היה  
 שעיר עזים וזר לא פר בן בקר ובכלל שהנה יפלו בזה שאלות  
 ראוי שנתעסק בתשובתם והתירם והם אלו שאזכור פה בסדר :

שאלה הא' למה זר היה חטאת הכהן גדול וחטאת הקהל  
 גם כן פר בן בקר נשרף כלו כמו העולה שהיא כלה כליל לגבוה  
 ומה הדבר אשר ביניהם אשר בעבורו השתוו העולה והחטאת :

שאלה הב' אם היה החטאת הזה שורה במדרגה לעולה אין  
 היה נכנס דם החטאת הזה פנימה להוות על פרוכת הקדש ועל  
 מזבח הקטורת ולא היה כן דם העולה :

שאלה הג' אם היה החטאת הזה למעלתו נכנס דמו פנימה  
 למה לא היה פר החטאת כלו נשרף על המזבח כמו העולה  
 אבל היו אמוריו נשרפים על המזבח ובשר הפר כלו היה נשרף  
 מחוץ למחנה כמו שצותה התורה :

שאלה

batur eadem, atque in juvenco piaculari sacerdotis uncti. Cum peccaverat errore princeps, quod nomen & regi conveniebat, & \*judici, piaculare sacrificium faciebat hirco: hujus sanguis non inferebatur in adyta templi, adolebantur exta sola, reliqua comedebantur. si verò per imprudentiam aliquid in se admiserat unus de multis; si adactus jurejurando de re quapiam, cujus esset conscius, testimonium non dixerat, si quid immundum attigerat, aut sese funestarat, si futile jusjurandum jurarat, quidquid horum admiserat, sacrificium piaculare faciebat bestia feminâ de pecore oviarico vel caprino. Convenit igitur harum rerum investigare causam ultimam, & scire primum juvenco ille piacularis sacerdotis uncti cur aliquatenus æquaretur cum sacrificio solido; tum hanc rem præcipuam haberet sacrificium solidum, ut adoleretur in altari totum, cum juvenco ille piacularis ureretur extra castra? Rursumque cur præcipuè juvenco piacularis sanguis inferretur in templi penetralia, sanguis victimæ solidæ non inferretur? Deinde cur imprudentia summi pontificis & universi cætus cum luebatur, piaculum fieret juvenco; & principis imprudentia cum luebatur, piaculare sacrum fieret non juvenco, sed hirco? Cadunt in hanc rem bene multæ quæstiones ejusmodi, quas explicare quidem & adjudicare consentaneum est. Quapropter hinc eas ordine subjiciam.

\* *Judicem intelligit eum, quem vellet, optime, prestare, seu potius distorem latine dixerim, cuius unius dominata teneantur omnia.*

Prima quæstio est, cur juvenco ille piacularis cum pontificis maximi, tum universi cætus cremaretur totus sic, uti sacrificium solidum, quod omnino adolebatur Deo? Quid tandem esset eorum commune, propter quod inter se ratione quadam æquarentur?

Altera quæstio est, cur si hostia piacularis illa erat ejusdem gradus, atque victima solida, illius sanguis in templi penetralia illatus aspergeretur velo, quo discernebatur templi pars illa sancta quæ dicitur, & altari suffimenti, non idem hoc victimæ solidæ sanguine fieret?

Tertia quæstio est, juvenco iste piacularis, cujus ob præstantiam excellentem sanguis in adyta templi inferebatur, cur non adoleretur in altari totus itidem, ut sacrificium solidum; sed ejus exta duntaxat adolerentur, caro autem univèrsa cremaretur extra castra, quemadmodum à Lege edicitur?

Quarta:

## Abarbanelis Exordium

שאלה הרי מר. גרע חטאת הנשיא שלא היה פר בן בקד  
 כחטאת כהן גדול והסנהדרין ויהי בלבד שעיר עזים וזר בזיות  
 המלך מעלתו גדולה מהסנהדרין ומכהן. גדול:

שאלה הרי' למה בשעיר חטאת הנשיא לא היה דמו נכנס פנימה  
 להוות כמו שהיה בכהן גדול והסנהדרין האם מפני שהוא שעיר  
 הנדה בשעיר יום הנפודים נאמר והביא את דמו אל מבית  
 לפרוכת ועשה את דמו כאשר עשה לדם הפרי:

שאלה הרי' למה זה היה חטאת הכהן גדול והסנהדרין כלה  
 נשרפת וחטאת הנשיא לא היה כן כי היה בלבד שורפים ממנו  
 האמורים והנותר היה נאכל לכהנים:

שאלה הרי' למה בהיות השוגג החוטא הדיוט מעם הארץ היה  
 קרבנו שעירת עזים נקבה ולא זכר והנה חטאת הכהן גדול  
 והקהל והנשיא כלם היו זכרים אם פרים ואם שעירים:

שאלה הרי' למה לא היה נכנס דם החטאת ההדיוט פנימה  
 להוות על פני הפרוכת ולא היתה נשרפת חטאתו כחטאת  
 הכהן גדול והקהל:

שאלה הרי' למה זה בנפש כי תחטא ושמעה קול אלה ושאר  
 הדברים והטומאות אשר זכרה תורה נאמר והביא את אשמו  
 ליהודה על חטאתו נקבה מן הצאן וגומר והסחוב קורא זה אשם  
 וקרבן האשם הוא איל לא כבשה ולא שעירת עזים ואף שיהיה  
 חטאת למה לא היה שעיר זכר:

שאלה הרי' למה זה בכל מצוות החטאת שזכרה תורה לא נאמר  
 ואם לא תניע ידו די' שה' אלא כמחזונה הוואת שהביא קרבן הדיל

שיזית

Quarta quæstio, quid esset, quod principis diminueretur sacrum piaculare, quod non item, ut summi sacerdotis, & senatus supremi juvenco; sed hirco vili fiebat, cum alioqui regis esset dignitas dignitate supremi senatus, summique sacerdotis superior?

Quinta quæstio, cur illius, qua principis erratum luebatur, hostiæ piacularis sanguis in penetralia templi non inferretur? An quia hircus esset? At de hirco, qui sacrificabatur ad solemnem Expiationum diem, dicitur *Lev. 16. 15. Et inferat intra velum ejus sanguinem, quo sanguine faciat sic, ut fecit sanguine juvenci?*

Quæstio sexta, cur hostia piacularis & summi sacerdotis, & supremi senatus tota cremaretur, secus esset de principis hostia piaculari, cujus adolebantur exta, reliqua comedebantur à sacerdotibus?

Quæstio septima, cur unus de multis, cum peccarat imprudens, sacrum piaculare faceret caprâ, bestiâ feminâ, non autem mari; contraque summus sacerdos, univèrsus cœtus, & princeps pariter omnes piacularia facerent bestiis maribus, seu illis juvenis, seu hircis?

Quæstio octava, cur ejus, qua privati hominis imprudentia luebatur, hostiæ piacularis sanguis non inferretur in occulta & remota templi ad aspergendum velum, neque ipsa cremaretur ut summi sacerdotis, & cœtus univèrsi hostia piacularis?

Quæstio nona, cur cum sancitur, *Lev. 5. 1. Si quis esset, qui peccatum hoc commisset, ut adactus jurejurando, & quæ deinceps sequuntur de cæteris rebus & inquinamentis; atque versu post sexto edicitur, Adducito victimam Domino ob peccatum quod commisit, bestiam feminam, aut de pecore oviarico, &c. ibi victima אֵיִלָּא apelletur, quo fere nomine notatur hostia pro delicto, quæ nunquam nec ovis, nec capra; sed aries fuerit? Et si sit eò loci hostia piacularis, cur non hircus definiatur?*

Quæstio decima, quid sit, quod in omnibus, quæ Lege sanciantur, hostiis piacularibus nusquam afferatur hæc exceptio, *Extra quàm si facultates ejus non sinant eum agno sacrificium facere, nisi in hac una posteriori, ubi homo tenuior, jubetur*

## Abarbanelis Exordium

שידויה שתי תורים או שני בני יונה ואם לא תשיג ידו להם  
שיביא עשירית האיפה והיה ראוי להיות הדין הזה כולל ושוה  
בכל חטאת :

וחנראה לי כפי הסברה הישרה ושרשי התורה להשיב על זה  
הוא שהקדוש ברוך הוא רצה להזהיר את ישראל שלא יחטאו  
לפניו ולא יעברו על מצותיו לפי שפעמים ישנו בני אדם ויעשו  
מה שלא היתה כיוונתם לעשות רצה יתברך להענישם בדבר ממנו  
כדי שיתפעל רוחם ונפשם בו וישארו נזהרים ולא ישנו עוד ולזה  
חייב לחטא בשגגה שיביא קרבן חטאת שהוא עונש ממון כדי שיכין  
דרכיו ויזהר בכל כחו שלא יפול בשגגה עוד וגם קרבנות הטמאים  
לזה התכלית היו רוצה לומר להזהירם מהטומאות כי רובם יבואו  
לאדם בסבת עצמו ולא יאונה לצריק כל און ונגע לא יקרב באהלו  
והצדיק הוא הזהיר והזרין ולכן הנזיר היה מביא קרבן על טומאתו  
מאשר חטא על הנפש רוצה לומר שלא שמר נפשו כראוי ועל זה  
אמרו רבותינו זכרונם לברכה זריות מביא לידי זהירות וזהירות  
מביא לידי טהרה טהרה מביאה לידי קדושה והיה גם כן לזה  
התכלית קרבן הוב והמצורע וביעל הנדה וטמא מת ואוכלי  
בשר החזיר השקץ והעכבר וכל שכן שהיה ראוי להזהיר בשוגגות  
ממצות לא תעשה שזרונם כרת כדי שלא יבא האדם לעשותם  
ויאמר הלא שיגג אני ולפי חטא הוא קטון : גדול בערד  
החוטא היה הכהן גדול ששגג בהוראה והתיר לעם דבר האסור

אם



betur offerre binos aut turtures, aut pullos columbinos, & si nec id quidem præ rei familiaris angustiis possit, decumam Æphæ similaginis? Rectius enim videri omnino hostiis piacularibus omnibus commune jus & æquabile constitui.

Ad ea igitur omnia hoc, ut mihi quidem videtur, potest secundum rectam rationem, Legisque divinæ principia responderi. Quoniam suis Israelitis Deus Optimus Maximus interminatus erat, ne peccarent in eum adversum ejus edicta facientes, & noverat non ita rarò venire usu, ut à præscriptione homines aberrarent omnia alia cogitantes, voluit illos diminutione bonorum multari, qua multa animi atque mentes eorum commoverentur sic, ut deinceps studiosissimè curarent, ne quid per errorem delinquerent. Hinc cum, qui peccarat imprudens damnavit sacrificio piaculari, quo rei detrimento cogeretur vias suas observare diligenter omnes, & quantum poterat vigilare, ne quid maleficii posthac per imprudentiam admitteret. Et inquinatorum hominum sacrificia finem habuerunt eundem, uti scilicet caverent ab inquinamentis, quæ pleraque illis suâ culpâ obveniebant. nulla enim justo perniciēs intervenit, nec ulla labes in ejus accidit tabernaculo: justum autem hîc accipi volo cautum & strenuum hominem. nam qui Nazareatu fungebatur ob inquinamentum corporis sui sacrificium faciebat ideo, quod, sicut dicitur *Num. 6. 11. In corpore peccarat*: id autem hoc valet, quòd non pro eo, ac debebat suum ipsius corpus castum & purum servarat: ex quo dictum est à sapientibus nostris honoris causâ nòminandis, diligentia cautionem, cautio puritatem, puritas sanctitatem parit. Namque hunc eundem finem habuit sacrificium ejus, qui fluxione genituræ temeratus, qui lepris affectus erat, qui cum muliere menstruali rem habuerat, qui funestatus erat, qui suillam, animantem humi serpentem, murem gustarat. Atque cautio erat etiam multo major, ne quid per imprudentiam committeretur contra vetita illa, quibus consultò proditis pœna constituta fuerat exitium, summa erat, inquam, cuique adhibenda cautio, ne quid adversum hæc faceret, tum deinde diceret, incogitans ego feci. Cùm autem habita ratione errantis, erratum majus aut minus esset, si summus sacerdos errasset in jure respondendo, multitudini rem Lege interdictam

S f

facere

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

אם למעוט ידיעתו או לקוצר עיניו גדול עונו מנשוא יען וביען  
שפתי כהן ישמרו דעת ותורה יבקשו מפיהו כי מלאך יהיה צבאות:  
הוא והוא בהוראתו מלבר שחטא בעצמו החטיא את הרבים ולכך  
זכרה תורה ראשונה חטאתו כי הוא הגדול שבחטאות ומפני שכפי  
שורת הדין היה ראוי שיהיה ענשו במיתה והשרף גופו ואיבריו אשר  
חטאו ודרוח תשוב אל האלהים אשר נתנה כיון שלא הטאה  
במתכוין אלא בשגגה לכן חייבתהו התורה שיביא פר בן בקר  
תחת עצמו וסמך ידיו עליו לרמוז שהוא תמורתו ויורה מרמו על  
פני פרוכת הקדש ועל מובח הקטורת לבקש סליחה וכפרה לפני  
האלהים היו אימורי הפר נקרבים על המזבח לרמוז על נקיות דעתו  
וכוונתו בחטא ההוא ולכך נקרבו שמה קרביו להודית שהיתה נקיה  
כוונתו והירה גופו נשרף מהוץ למחנה כפגר מיבס כנגד גופו אשר  
חטא החטא ההוא הנה אם כן לא היר קרבן החטאת הורה  
שורה לקרבן העולה כי הוא היה רמו לשכר ולדבוק הרוחני ולכך  
היתה העולה כלה נשרפת על מזבח השם אמנם חטאת הכהן גדול  
הירה רמו לעונש שהוא ראוי לו כפי שגגתו כי שגגת תלמיד עולה  
ודון ולכך הירה המעט ממנו נשרף על המזבח ורובו נשרף מחוץ  
למחנה וזו היא תשובת השאלה הראשונה שלא היתה חטאת הכהן  
גדול במדרגת קדושה שיהיה אל העולה התמימה לפי שקדושתם  
נערכות כפי מקומות שרפתם ואחרי שהעולה היתה נשרפת  
במקום קדוש על מזבח השם מבואר הוא שהירה זה לזה  
מדרגה עליונה על חטאת הכהן גדול הנשרפת מחוץ למחנה  
ולשאלה

facere licere decrevisset, quòd illam non satis scisset, aut parum considerasset, sanè quàm magnum erat ejus erratum, & ad ignoscendum perdifficile, quippe quòd, ut est apud *Malachiam*, cap. 2. v. 7. *Debent scientiam custodire labra sacerdotis, cujus ex ore quærenda Lex, propterea quòd internuncius est Dei exercituum,* & ille perperam decernendo non modò ipsemet errasset; sed errore suo alios implicuisset innumeros: adeòque delictum ejus ut maximum omnium primum à Lege commemoratur. Summum igitur jus erat eum morte multari, tum corpus ejus igni consumi totum, animum ad Deum, a quo datus erat, remeare, quando sese maleficio obstrinxerat non consultò & cogitatò, sed per imprudentiam: verùm enim pro sua benignitate Deus Lege sanxit, ut sacrificaret vice sua juvenicum, & huic manus imponeret, quod commoneret eum juvenicum ei succedaneum esse subditum, tum ut hostiæ piacularis sanguine propitiatorium sanctum respergeret, & altare suffimenti, quod significaret veniam & pacem à Deo petendam: jam hujus hostiæ piacularis interanea in altari adolebatur, quod significaret mentem illius esse puram & vacuam ab isto peccato, hac de causa, inquam, ibi adolebantur hostiæ piacularis interanea, ut indicarent insontem esse pontificis mentem: corpus autem extra castra cremabatur sic, tanquam cadaver projectum, ut significaret pontificis corpus inquinatum esse maleficio. Quod cum ita sit, piacularis sacrificium istud non fuit par & æquale sacrificio solido. hoc enim significabat æternum illud præmium, animum hominis cum natura divina conjungendum, & eam ob rem adolebatur in altari Dei totum: illud autem pontificis sacrificium piacularis representabat pœnam ejus imprudentiæ debitam; quia enim imprudentia doctoris pro audacia ducitur, & ea de causa quàm parva pars ejus in altari, longè maxima cremabatur extra castra: hoc igitur ad quæstionem primam respondeo pontificis maximi piacularis sacrificium sacrificio solido neutiquam esse par gradu religionis: nempe sacrorum religio nequiquam esse par gradu conficerentur ac consumerentur igni: cum igitur sacrificium solidum adoleretur in altari Dei quàm augustissimo loco, perspicuum est multis partibus majorem habuisse religionem, quàm sacrificium piacularis pontificis maximi, quod extra castra combureretur.

## Abarbanelis Exordium

ולשאלה הב' אומר שלא הצרכה התורה להוור מרם החטאת  
 בקדש פנימה אלא לבקש כפרה וסליחה על החטא החמור שיחטא  
 הכהן גדול או הקהל ולכן בפרשת אחרי מית בעבודת יום  
 הכפורים צוה שמרם הפר ודם השעיר יזה על פני הכפורת  
 ונאמר וכפר על הקדש מטומאות בני ישראל ומפשעיהם לכל  
 חטאתם וכן אמר והקריב אהרן את פר החטאת אשר לו וכפר  
 בעדו ובעד ביתו הרי שלא היתה הוואת הדם פנימה אלא לרם  
 החטאת לבקש סליחה וכפרה אבל העולה שלא היתה בה חומרת  
 חטאת ולא היו צריכים בה לכפרה רבה לא היה צורך להכניס  
 ולהוור דמה פנימה וכן לשאלה הג' אומר שהיתה חטאת הכהן  
 גדול נשרפת מחוץ למחנה ולא על גבי המזבח לעונש על שגנתו  
 זאמנם חטאת הקהל היה ככה גם כן בהכנסת חדם לפנים ושרפת  
 החטאת לפי שחטא השגנה בדברים שזדונם כרת ועל שגנתם  
 מביאים חטאת הווא יותר נערך כמו שאמרתי בכהן גדול שיוורה  
 משפטיו לעיקב ותורתו לישראל וכן בסנהדרין שהם מורי התורה  
 ומלמדים גם שהיתה שגנתם יותר מוקת לפי שהעם חטא  
 על פי דבריהם והיו אם כן חטאים ומחטאים את הרבים  
 וכן היה דינם של הסנהדרין בענין החטאת שויה בשויה עם  
 חטאת הכהן גדול ולשאלה הד' אומר שלא היה חטאת הנשיא פר  
 בן בקר כי אם שעיר לפי שהוראת התורה ומשפטיה לא  
 היה מוטל על הנשיא או המלך כמו שהיה מוטל על הכהן גדול  
 והסנהדרין ולכן לא היה חטאו בשגנה כל כך נערך כחטאתם והיה  
 הנשיא חטא אבל לא מחטא את אחרים ככהן גדול וכסנהדרין  
 (מפני זה לא היה קרבן חטאתו פר כמו הם אבל היה  
 בלבד

bureretur. Ad secundam quæstionem dico nullam aliam ob causam Lege sancitum, ut hostiæ piacularis sanguis dispergeretur in occultis & remotis templi, nisi ad procurandum & expiandum grave pontificis maximi peccatum aut consilii publici. namque Legis distinctione, quæ *Post mortem* inscribitur, *Leviticæ*, inquam, capite 16. quod est de die Expiationum sancto habendo, postquam edictum est, ut juvenci hircique sanguine propitiatorium aspergatur, statim additur v. 16. *Ac sanctuarium expiato ab inquinamentis Israelitarum, & sceleribus, cunctisque peccatis; & undecimo ante versu dicitur in eandem sententiam, Tum juvencum suum piacularem sacrificet, eoque seipse domumque suam expiet.* Unde cognoscitur in templi penetralibus non esse respergendum, nisi sanguinem hostiæ piacularis ad veniam & impunitatem à Deo petendam: sacrificium autem solidum cum non fieret gravi de peccato aliquo; nec expiaretur eo multum, sanguinem ejus in adyta inferri, ibique dispergi non necesse erat. Idem ad quæstionem tertiam respondeo pontificis maximi piacularis sacrificium idcirco esse non super altari, sed extra castra crematum, ut ejus erratum hac ignominia coerceretur. Atque de hostia piaculari publici consilii eodem modo & sanguis inferebatur in adyta templi, corpusque comburebatur. Nimirum in quibus maleficiis audacia coercebatur exitio, in his, ut ante posui, multo minus serenda erat summi sacerdotis imprudentia, cujus erat jura sancta Jacobæis, & Israelitis Legem divinam explicare: quod idem dicendum de senatu illo maximo, qui Legem divinam tuebatur & exponebat: præterea autem erat talis illorum imprudentia hoc pejor, quòd ex ipsorum auctoritate rem nefastam faceret populus, ut sese pariter & innumeros alios implicarent maleficio: quapropter in hostia piaculari publici consilii tenebatur ratio eadem; atque in summi sacerdotis. Ad hoc autem, quod quarto loco quæsitum erat, cur piacularis hostia principis esset non juvencus, sed hircus, respondeo; quia Legem explicare, jus exponere non tam officium erat principis, quam summi sacerdotis, senatûsque: qua de causa hujus erratum errato illorum non exæquabatur: porrò non fundebatur in multitudinem principis error item, ut pontificis maximi & senatus: ideòque piaculum illius non itidem, ut horum juvenco; sed hircus.

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

בלבד שעיר עזים להורות על שגנתו מבלי חכמה ודעת ולהיות  
שגנתו קרובה לשגנת ההדיוט מעם הארץ היה הטאת שניהם קרובם  
זו לזו הנשיא היה מביא שעיר מפני כבודו והעם הארץ שעירה  
הנכנעת ונכבשת לשעיר וכן אומר בתשובת השאלה ה' של א  
היה דם שעיר הטאת הנשיא נכנס פנימה להוות בקדש כמו שהיה  
בטאת הכהן גדול והסנהדרין מפני קלות הטאו שהיה כשגנה  
היוצאת מלפני השליט לקוצר חכמתו וידעתו בדיני התורה והכנסת  
הדם פנימה היה מיוחס אל הכהן הגדול ולקהל לכפר על הקדש  
מטומאות בני ישראל ומפשעיהם לא לאדם אחר וכן אומר בשאלה  
ה' שהיתה הטאת הכהן גדול והסנהדרין כלה נשרפת מפני חומרת  
שגנתם המחטיאה את הרבים אבל שגנת הנשיא לקלותה לא  
היתה נערכת כל כך ולכן לא היתה הטאתו נשרפת כלה ולשאלה  
ה' אומר שהיתה הטאת השוגג מעם הארץ שעירת עזים נקבה  
לא זכר לרמוז שלהיותם חמריים הדיוטים וגסים בטבעם נפלו  
בזאת השגנה כי הנרה הנקבה רומז אל החומר כמו שזכר הרב  
המורה הנה הכהן גדול והסנהדרין והנשיא מפני כבודם לא רצה  
הכתוב לחייבם בקרבן נקבה כדי שלא לפרסם שהיו חמריים  
וגסים בטבעם ובוה גם כן אשיב לשאלה ה' של א היה נכנס  
דם חטאת ההדיוט פנימה מפני מעוט ענינו כי לא היה נכנס  
שמה אלא דם חטאת הכהן גדול והקהל מפני גדול ערכם  
ולזה בעצמו לא היתה נשרפת חטאת ההדיוט כלה לפי ששגנתו  
לא

hirco solummodò fiebat, id quod ostendebat inscientem atque imprudentem peccasse principem: ut igitur erratum principis non multum distabat ab errato unius de multis; sic etiam non multum differebat inter utriusque piaculare sacrificium: fiebat illius hirco propter imperii dignitatem; & hujus caprâ, quæ summittitur hirco, atque subigitur. Quod quinto loco quæsitum est similiter dissolvo, de principis hirco piaculari sanguinem in templi penetralia non inferri, ut ejus aspersione locus augustissimus expiaretur, id quod fiebat in hostia piaculari cum pontificis maximi, tum supremi senatus; propterea videlicet, quia levius erat ejus maleficio, profectum, ut dicitur, ab imprudentia dominatoris, qui fere Legis intelligentiam, & peritiam juris non assequeretur. nimirum id erat, quod ex summi sacerdotis, publicique consilii piacularibus hostiis præcipuè sanguis inferretur in occulta & remota templi ad expiandum sanctuarium ab inquinamentis Israelitarum & sceleribus; nec ex hostia piaculari cujusquam præterea. Consimilis est ad quæstionem sextam responsio, piaculum pontificis maximi, senatûsque cremari totum ob gravissimum illorum errorem, qui multitudinem abducebat ad nequitiam. erratum verò principis nomine levitatis non esse curæ ita magnæ, & eam ob rem non cremari totum ejus piaculum. Septimum quæsitum cur unus de multis cum peccarat imprudentiâ, piaculum ejus fieret caprâ, bestiam feminâ potius, quam mari, hoc responsum habet: significabat homines idiotas instar crassæ concretæque materiæ naturâ rudes & agrestes in errores ejusmodi plurimum incidere. nam femina, quod annotavit vir doctissimus Maje-monides, materiæ symbolum est: honoris igitur causâ pontifex maximus, senatus, & princeps à Lege non alligabantur piaculari hostiâ feminâ, ne palàm fieret tardum, hebes, obtusum eorum esse ingenium. Quod idem & octavæ quæstioni respondendum non illatum in occulta & remota templi sanguinem hostiæ piacularis ejus, qua luebatur erratum unius de multis; quia enim parum momenti & ponderis habebat. neque enim eò ferri, nisi sanguinem ex hostia piaculari pontificis maximi, publicique consilii, propter summam eorum auctoritatem: & ob eam ipsam rem hominis idiotæ piacularare sacrificium non exuri totum, quòd imprudentiâ commissum ab eo peccatum

## Abarbanelis Exordium

לא וערכה לחטא גדול כי ההדיוט לא היה מחטיא את אחרים וכן  
אומר אל השאלה הטי שמה שנאמר ונפש כי חטאת ושמעה קול  
אלה ונומר כלו הוא במה שחטא בדברים שזכר בשגגה ואין  
הפרשה הזאת מדיני האשם כי היא אחריה אבל נאמר כאן והיה  
טמא ואשם והוא ידע ואשם והיה כי יאשם והביא את אשמו ליהוה  
להגיד שאחרי ששנג הרגיש עצמו שנגע בטומאה ושהיה בזה אשם  
והאשים עצמו וכן פירשו הרבי משה בן נחמן וכתב שלדעתו שם  
אשם מורה על דבר גדול שהעניש אותו יתחייב להיות שמו נאבד  
והוא מלשון האשימם אלהים . . . . . תאשם שומחן כי מרתה  
באלהיה וחטאת מורה על דבר נטה בו מן הדרך והוא מלשון אל  
השערה ולא יחטיא והנה אשם גלות ואשם שפחה חרופה בעבור  
שהם באים אף על המויד יקרא קרבנם אשם וכן אשם הנזיר אבל  
אשם מעילות אף על פי שהוא בשוגג בעבור שהוא בקדשי השם  
יקרא הקרבן אשם ונראה לי שהחטאת הוא בערך המצווה  
שכל מי שעבר עליה בשגגה הוא חוטא בעבור שלא נשמר כראוי  
מהעבירה ההיא כי אם היה נזהר לא היה עובר בשוגג על  
העבירה ובערך השם יתברך יקרא אשם כלומר שאינו פטור מפני  
היותו שוגג כי על כל פנים יאשם ולכך אמר ונעלם ממנו והוא  
ידע ואשם ובמקום הזה האשם הוא במקום חטאת אבל  
אין זה אשם תלוי שזכור הכתוב אחר זה כי הוא נקרא אשם  
בכחינה אחרת כמו שאבאר ואמנם אמרו אחר זה ואם  
לא



peccatum non putabatur adeo magnum ; quippe qui cæteros non implicaret maleficio. Ad quæstionem nonam dico , quæ fanciuntur, *Lev. 5. 1. Si quis esset, qui peccatum hoc commisisset, ut adactus jurejurando, & reliqua prorsus omnia spectare peccatum in rebus commemoratis imprudenter commissum ; nec omnino de ratione sacrificii pro delicto agi hoc paragrafo, sed insequenti demum : & verbum **זשא** quod hîc habetur versu secundo, repetitur tertio, & deinceps usurpatur sæpius, ac variè flectitur, hoc sibi velle, hominem, qui insciens inquinamentum contigerit, factum rescisse, erratum agnosse, culpam in se admissam fateri.* R. Moses Nachmanides enim locum istum sic interpretatur : is igitur scribit verbum **זשא** suo quidem iudicio valere *pœnâ teneri de commissio quàm flagitioso, quod nec appellari ullo nomine liceat.* in hanc enim sententiam accipi *Psal. 5. 11. Suorum illos scelerum damna Deus* .....

... Et *Oseæ 14. 1. Detestabile scelus fecit Samaria, quæ defecit à Deo suo :* verbum autem **תאחא** ejus esse rei proprium, in qua facienda decedas de via, quam vim & sententiam haberet *Judicum c. 20. v. 16. Ut ne pilum quidem aberrarent.* Ergo de rapina, déque flagitio in ancilla desponsata commissio sacrificium, quoniam fiebat etiam tum, -cùm audaciâ peccatum erat, verbo **זשא** appellari : similiter & sacrificium de labe Nazaræatus inquinati faciendum : omnino piaculum unum esse, quod in imprudentia modò cùm haberet locum, tamen apellaretur nomine **זשא** : id scilicet, quod fiebat de diminutione rei Deo sacræ. Ego verò sic existimo, referri sacrificii piacularis nomen istud **תאחא** ad eum, qui edicto tenebatur aliquo : contra hoc per imprudentiam fecisse, id propriè peccasse fuit ; quia enim ne claudicaretur in officio, non satis magna cura adhibita fuerat : si fuisset, nihil adversum edictum imprudenter factum esset : & hoc ipsum ratione Dei dici **זשא** quod valet, si quis imprudens faceret adversum edictum Dei, tamen eum non impune esse, pœna tamen obligari : itaque *Lev. 5. 3. scriptum videmus, Et hoc imprudens, tum rem resciverit, in noxia esto :* atque hoc loco poni pro **תאחא** verbum **זשא** : neque verò esse sacrificium pro delicto dubio suspendendo, de quo paulo post in literis sacris fancitur, quod alia de causa vocatur **זשא**, sicut inferiùs explicabitur. Quod autem versu post septimo dicitur, *Extra*

In superiori editione hebraica allegatur hîc in eandem sententiam alius versiculus  
**זיאשמו  
 תאחא  
 מדבר**  
 Et reos se facient incolæ deserti : sed talem in literis sacris versum reperire nusquam licet : nollem Abarbanelis errorem propagatum, nec locum non notatum.

T t quàm

לא תשיג ידו אין ספק שלא יפול בחטאת הנהן גדול ולא בחטאת  
 הקהל ולא בחטאת הנשיא כי אי אפשר שלא תשיג ידיהם די  
 קרבנם אבל בחטאות ההדיוטים אומר אני שאינו בלבד על המין  
 הוזה מהחטאת אבל הוא כולל כל מיני החטאת אשר זכר מהם כי  
 אחרי שפירש מיני החטאת כלם נתן משפט כילל לכלם והוא שאם  
 יהיה המקריב דל ולא תשיג ידו להביא כבשה או שעירה שאו  
 יביא שתי תורים או שני בני יונה ואמר ליהוה להניד כי שניהם  
 יהיו נשרפים על המזבח ולא יהיה לכהן חלק בהם האמנם אמר  
 אחד לחטאת ואחד לעולה בהיות העולה דבר נבדל מהחטאת  
 ושאין לו צורך במקום הוזה הוא להניד שהיו בזה שתי בחינות  
 האחת מצד השוגג אשר שגג ולזה היה אחד לחטאת ובחינה אחרת  
 מצד כוונתו שהיתה רצויה ונקיה ולכך להורות על נקיין נפשו נעשה  
 האחד עולה כי הנה כשהיה מקריב כבשה או שעירת עזים היה  
 חלק ממנה נשרף על המזבח והם האמורים וחלק נאכל לכהנים  
 אבל בהיות קרבנו שתי תורים או שני בני יונה שהיו שוים  
 בעיניהם לא היה מקום לעשית חלק מהם קדוש מהאחר כיון  
 ששניהם היו שוים והיו נשרפים אלא שיהיה האחד חטאת והוא  
 היה הנעשה בראשונה והאחר עולה שאחרי כפרת חטאתו  
 דבקה נשמתו באלהים וזכר הכתוב שאם לא תשיג יד המקריב  
 גם לשתי תורים או לשני בני יונה יביא את קרבנו עשירית  
 האיפה וכדי לעשור הבדל בקרבנו צוה וקמץ הכהן ממנה  
 מלא קומצו את אוזרתה והקטיר המזבח באופן שיהיה חלק  
 נשרף ממנה על המזבח והנותר יאכלו הכהנים וממה שאמר  
 הכתוב אחר כל זה וכפר עליו הכהן על חטאתו אשר חטא  
 מאחר

quàm si facultates ejus non sinant eum agno sacrificium facere, haud dubiè non spectat nec piaculum pontificis maximi, nec consilii publici, nec principis, qui quidem certè nunquam eò redigi poterant, ut nec haberent quod ad sacrificium piaculare suum faciendum suppeteret: dicitur ergo in sacrum piaculare privati hominis, & dicitur non in hoc postremi piacularis sacri genus tantum, sed in omnia omnino privatorum piacularium genera superius jam exposita. nam expositis omnibus idem universè constituitur jus istud, si tenuior est expiandus homo, si non habeat rei satis ad faciendum ove capràque piaculum, is offerat duos aut turtures, aut pullos columbinos: additur autem verbum *Jehovæ*, quo declaratur adolendos esse super altari ambos, sacerdoti nihil inde quidquam impertendum. Et quod sequitur, *Unum ad piacularare, & alterum ad solidum sacrificium*, quamvis sacrificium solidum à piaculari differat, nec ullatenus hîc necessarium esse videatur, id indicat una & altera ratione hominem ejusmodi considerari, ut per errorem maleficium admiserat, quam ob causam volucrum unà sacrum piacularare faciebat, & ut mentem gerebat castam & puram, ad quam mentis integritatem testandam, altera volucris solidum faciebat sacrificium. sicut enim ovis aut capra cum sacrificaretur, hostia bipertitò dividebatur, exta super altari adolebantur, & comedebatur à sacerdotibus reliquum; ita cum fieret sacrificium duobus aut turturibus, aut pullis columbinis omnino omni ratione æqualibus inter se & paribus, non efficiebatur alter altero sanctior quidem, quando ex æquo adolebantur ambo: verùm enim distinguendi gratiâ altero sacrum piacularare conficiebatur, id quod primum fiebat: altero autem sacrum solidum, ut post expiationem peccati hominis animus Deo conjungeretur. Tum verò Legis edicto sanciebatur, ut si homini expiando nec id quidem rei foret, qua comparare par turturum vel pullorum columbinorum posset, piaculum faceret decumâ *Æphæ* similaginis: quod ut sacrificium etiam haberet varietatis aliquid ibidem v. 12. præcipiebatur istud, *Ex ea sacerdos plenum pugillum suum exemptum in monumentum adoleto super altari*, ut partim super altari adoleretur, partim à sacerdotibus comederetur. Quod autem subjicitur huic eidem prescriptioni v. 13. *Et sacerdos expiato peccatum ab eo commissum*

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

מאחז מאלה מודה הוראה אמתית שמה שאמר ואם לא תשיג  
 ידו חוזר על כל מיני החטאת כמו שזכרתי ולא על זה בלבד וזו  
 היא תשובת השאלה העשירית ואמנם בסדר שלח לך אנשים  
 באה פרשה אחרת וכי תשגו ולא תעשו ואמרו זכרונם לברכה  
 שבחטאת העבודת אלילים הכתיב מדבר שחייב לסנהדרין בפר בן  
 בקר אבל הכהן גדול והנשיא וההדיוט מעם הארץ כלם מקריבים  
 בשוה בחטא עבודת אלילים שיעיר עוים אחד לחטאת לפי  
 שבכל אחד מהעבירות יוכל כהן גדול או שאר העם להיות שונג  
 אבל בענין עבודת אלילים שאסורו מפורסם וכל ישראל שמעו בסיני  
 אנכי ולא יהיה לך היה ראוי שיהיה ענשם וקרבתם שיהיה כי לא  
 היה דבר זה ראוי להיות נעלם מאחד מהם הנה זה הוא מה  
 שראוי שיאמר בענין החטאת :

ואמנם האשם כבר יפלו כמה שכתבה התורה בענינו שאלות :

שאלה הא' למה חייבה בקרבנו איל תמים והנה בחטאת עם  
 הארץ לא חייבו אלא כבשה או שעירת עוים והאשם אין  
 הבדל בינו ובין החטאת כי הוא למי שידע שעבר בשגגה על  
 אחד מהכרתות והאשם הוא למי שאינו יודע בודאי אם עבר  
 אם לא עבר והוא מסיפק בדבר ויקרא אשם תלוי והרי הוא  
 אם כן מטבע החטאת ויותר נקל ולמה הצריכו איל תמים :

שאלה הב' למה צותה התורה באיל שיהיה נערך כמו שאמר  
 בערך בסף שקלים בשקל הקדש ולא תמצא כן בחטאת :

ואומר

*sum in horum aliquo*, id verò declarat apertè illam exceptionem, *Extra quàm si facultates ejus non sinant*, &c. non ad hoc solum, sicut ante demonstravi, sed omnino ad omnia genera piacularem pertinere. Atque hæc est explicatio ejus, quod decimo loco quæsitum est. Porro de noxia imprudenter admissa præcipitur *Num. 15. 22. Si quando per imprudentiam non feceritis officia*, &c. sapientes igitur honoris causâ nominandi voluerunt ibi de cultu vani numinis agi, propter ejus generis erratum senatum illum supremum cogi sacrificium piaculare juvenco facere; pontificem autem maximum, & principem, & unum de multis hominem æqualiter pecore caprino. nam in cæteris noxiis suis erat summi pontificis error, & cujusque de populo: erratum in aliena religione, cujus interdictio adeo nota, adeo manifesta fuerat omnibus, postquam omnis Israelitarum-gens audierat ad Sinam vocem illam Dei præpotentis, *Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus. Nullus alius tibi præter me Deus esto*, ab omnibus æquo & pari piaculo lui conveniebat, quia enim oportebat ejus rei imprudentem & ignarum esse neminem. Atque hæc de sacrificio piacularem dicta sint.

Et quod divina Lege sancitur de ratione sacrificii pro delicto suas habet quæstiones.

Quæritur primò quid esset, quòd sacrum hoc quisque lectissimo ariete, & sacrum piaculare ove, caprâque facere unus de multis juberetur? Nihil enim aliud intererat inter sacrificium pro delicto & sacrificium piaculare, nisi quòd hoc fieret ab homine, qui certum sciebat se per imprudentiam commisisse contra præceptum aliquod, cujus pœna erat exitium: illud autem fieret ab eo, qui non certò sciebat, sed ambigebat utrùm adversum ejusmodi edictum fecisset, necne fecisset; unde vocabatur etiam sacrificium pro delicto dubio & suspensio: erat igitur ejusdem generis, atque sacrum piaculare, & eo levius: quid igitur erat causæ, cur id ariete lecto fieri juberetur?

Quæritur deinde cur ejus, quo fiebat sacrificium pro delicto, arietis æstimationem haberi divina Lex voluerit, id quod dicitur *Lev. 5. 15. Æstimetur argenti siclis sacri ponderis*, & nihil simile fieri voluerit in bestia, qua conficiebatur piaculare sacrum?

Ad.

ואומר בתשובתם שהחטאת נקראת חטאת לפי שהחוטא יודע  
 שחטא ושגג בדרך הישרה בעברו על אחת ממצוות יהוה.  
 והאשם נקרא כן לפי שאינו יודע אם חטא אם לא ולכן הוא  
 מאשים את עצמו איך עבר רוח מאתו ולא ידע אם עבר על  
 המצוה הדין אם לא או שלא ידע מהו האסור והמותר  
 אם שגג בו וטוה הצד נקרא אשם תלוי לפי שהדין תלוי ועומר  
 אם עבר אם לא עבר ולא נקרא זה אשם תלוי מאותה בחינה  
 שזכרתי למעלה שנקרא האשם אשם כי שם נקרא בערך השם  
 יתברך וכאן נקרא אשם בערך עצמו שהיה מאשים עצמו בעבור  
 שלא ידע אם עבר אם לא והיתה מחכמת חכמינו וזכרונם  
 לברכה שקראו לאשם האמת וזה אשם תלוי כדי להבדילו  
 מהאשם קראו הכתוב על דרך העברה את האשם בשם אשם  
 והנה הביא הכתוב מהאשם התלוי מינים ראשונה נפש כי תמעול  
 מעל וחטאה בשגגה מקדשי השם רוצה לומר שנהנה מן הקדש  
 בשגגה שלא היה יודע שהיה קדש אבל לא נתברר אצלו אם  
 עבר בזה אם לא וחייבתו התורה שיביא את אשמו ליהוה איל  
 תמים מן הצאן והיה זה מפני שהיה היה סבור שאין עליו  
 עונש כלל כי לא נודע שחטא ואף שידע שחטא היה החטא  
 בשוגג ומפני זה ראוי שיפטר מן העונש בהחלט ולכך כדי להסיר  
 מחשבתו זו ממנו החמיר הכתוב עליו יותר מדאי בענשו  
 והצריכו איל תמים מן הצאן לא נכשה ולא שעירת עזים  
 ולפי שלא יבקש איל פחות להקריבו חייבו שיהיה בערך כסף  
 שקלים רוצה לומר שיביא אותו בכסף מלא ולפחות יהיו שני  
 סלעים כי שקלים מעוט רבים שנים הרי שיביא שני שקלים  
 כסף

Ad hæc ego sic respondeo. Sacrificium piaculare ita appellabatur, quia peccato qui alligatus erat, sciebat se incogitantem peccasse, de via recta decessisse prodendo aliquo Dei præcepto: rursum sacrificium pro delicto dicebatur quod ab eo fiebat, qui incertus erat peccasset, annon; adeoque sibi displicebat animo tam omisso fuisse, ut ne hoc quidem teneret adversum aliquod divinum fecisset, necne; nullòve pacto fas & nefas internosceret, in quo se errasse suspicabatur: ex quo nominabatur etiam sacrificium pro delicto suspenso; quia enim pendebat animi & addubitabat homo maleficium commisisset, an non commisisset. Nec verò id dicebatur sacrificium pro delicto suspenso ob eam rem, quam ante commemoravi causam esse nominis **זשא**: illud ratione Dei vocabulum istuc habebat: hoc autem ratione hominis, qui se ipse arguebat ideo, quòd nesciret culpam commiserit, necne: sapienter igitur doctores nostri honoris causâ nominandi, vocarunt sacrificium pro delicto suspenso, cujus esset vocabulum hoc proprium, ut ita distingueretur ab eo, quod in literis sacris translato per similitudinem verbo appellabatur sacrificium pro delicto. Jam hoc capite Legis varia ponuntur maleficiorum genera, quorum causâ sacrificium pro delicto suspenso faciendum erat. Primum illud v. 15. *Si quis hanc sibi labem intulerit, imprudens rem Deo sacram diminuerit*: id autem hanc habet sententiam, si quis temerè facrum legerit, id esse sacrum ignorans, nec de facto quidem quidquam comperti, sed suspicionem meram habeat: talem hominem Lex volebat Deo facere sacrificium pro delicto, & id lecto de grege ariete. Sic erat enim, is fere in animum inducebat se pœnâ teneri nullâ, cùm non constaret factum à se maleficium; & si constaret, per imprudentiam quidem certe factum esset: quapropter jus & bonum esse, dari sibi impunitatem: igitur ad evellendam ex animo ejus hanc opinionem Lex ei pœnæ plus solito constituèbat, ac volebat, ut sacrificaret lectum de grege arietem, non ovem, non capram: sed verò malignus homo ne deteriores sacrificio deligeret arietem, hunc æstimari argenti siclis Lex divina jubebat: nempe volebat hanc victimam pleni & integri esse pretii, siclorum minimè duorum, cùm hoc verbo *siclis* in multitudine posito non possent pauciores significari duobus: & erat penes ipsum aut dare argenti siclos duos

כסף בשקל הקדש או שיביא איל שיהיה ערטו שווי שני סלעים  
 כסף והיה זה לפי שהאלים במדבר היו ביוקר מאד וכן חיבו  
 שאת אשר חטא מן הקדש ישלם וכרי שלא יקל בערטו כדי  
 להמעיט השלומים צוה ואת חמישיתו יוסף עליו ונתן אותי לכהן  
 כי כיון שהוא אכל מקדשי יהודה המיוחדים לכהנים היה ראוי  
 שישלם לכהן מה שלקח קרן וחומש וכן אם נפש תחטא ועברה  
 על אחת מכל מצוות יהודה אשר לא תעשנה בשגגה כלומר  
 שבא ספק לידו ולא ידע אם עבר עליו אם לא כגון שיהיה  
 לפניו חלב ושומן ואכל אחד מהם ולא ידע אם אכל החלב  
 או השומן הנה הוא שלא נודר במאכלו לדעת אם אכל אסור  
 או מותר יביא גם כן איל תמים נערך כמו שזכר למעלה ואז  
 יכפר עליו הכהן על שגגתו אשר שגג אבל זה יהיה כשהוא  
 לא ידע אם עבר ושגג אם לאו כי אם היה יודע זה היה קרבנו  
 חטאת ולא אשם והנה אמר על זה אשם הוא אשום אשם  
 ליהודה להגיד שזהו אשם תלוי בעצמו לפי שהוא אינו יודע  
 אם חטא אם לא אבל בערך השם יתברך שהכל גלוי  
 וצפוי לפניו היה אשם ונאשם באמת על חטאתו ונסלה לו  
 וכן הביא בפרשה בפני עצמה נפש כי תחטא ומעלה מעל  
 וכחש בעמיתו בפקדון או בגזל ושאר הדברים שזכר ואין  
 דבר מהם בשגגה אלא במזיד ועליו אמר והיה כי יחטא  
 ואשם רוצה לומר כאשר ישיר אל לבו שחטא לאלהיו  
 ויאשם את עצמו כבעל תשובה נמורה שאז ראוי לו שישב  
 את הגולה או הפקדון או את האבדה וישלם הכל ראשונה  
 הקרן והחומש ולא יתן זה לכהן אלא לאשר הוא לו יתנהו  
 ביום



duos ponderis sacri, aut tantidem arietem adducere; erant enim in solitudine percarari arietes. Idem coactus Lege restituebat quod de sacro interceperat: quod ne vilius haberet, quò penderet minus, edictum est v. 16. *Insuper etiam quintam partem addito, & eam sacerdoti dato*: quando interverterat rem divinam, quæ propria fuit sacerdotum, sacerdotibus eam reddebat, & reddebat sortem & accessionem, id quod æquitatis erat. Deinde sequitur genus istuc v. 17. *Si quis in se delictum admisit, adversum edictum aliquod Dei nefastum quid fecerit insciens*, quod etiam sic accipiendum, si quis, data occasione ancipiti, incertus esset, utrùm admisisset in se delictum, an non admisisset: ut si apposita pinguedine & adipe, comedisset harum alteram, & nesciret utram: iste, quoniam non satis diligenter curarat, ut nosset qua tandem esca vesceretur, interdicitur, an concessa, is quoque lectum adduceret arietem habita æstimatione sic, ut ante dictum est, quo sacrificando sacerdos imprudentiam ejus expiaret: ita res erat, si de facto dubitaret: sin autem exploratè cognosceret se deliquisse per imprudentiam, sacrificium piaculare faceret, non sacrificium pro delicto. Talem igitur in hominem dictum est v. 19. *Hoc erit hominis sacrificium pro delicto dubio, reus, reus est Dei*: cuius vis est, ipsi quidem homini dubium & incertum esse delictum, quippe cum nesciret, utrùm commisisset, an non commisisset illud: Sedenim iudicio Dei, cui omnia manifesta sint & aperta, eum planè convictum esse maleficii, quod tamen illi remitteretur. Tum hoc eodem capite v. 21. separatur ac distinguitur genus istuc, *Si quis in se delictum admisit, & Deum temnens depositum aut creditum abnegarit, aut socio quid eripuerit*, & reliqua deinceps posita. nam hîc agitur non tam imprudentia, quàm audacia: sequitur autem v. 23. *Si erit, ut deliquerit, culpamque contraxerit*, quod vim continet istam, si erit, ut in animum induxerit suum à se læsum esse numen sanctè colendum, & semet ipse maleficii redarguerit sic, uti solet quisquis affectu pœnitentiæ syncero commovetur; tum oportere rem ereptam, depositam, casu fortuito inventam restitueret, & primùm exolveret totum caput, & addendam ei quintam partem; quod quidem non reddebat sacerdoti; quia enim nominatim edicitur v. 24. *Rei domino reddito quem ad*

Abarbanēlis *Exordium*

ביום אשמתו רוצה לומר ביום אשר האשים את עצמו ושג בתשובה  
ועל האשם אשר היה עליו מפני שבועת השקר אשר עשה יביא  
איל תמים אל הכהן כי להיותו חוטא במזיד הכביד את קרבנו  
כאיל תמים ובודה הותרו שתי השאלות אשר שאלתי באשם:

ואמנם תכלית זבח השלמים יתבאר אחר שתדע שהשלמים היו  
באים אם לזבח תודה ואם בנדר ונדבה כמו שיתבאר בפרשת  
צו וענין שני המינים האלה הוא שפעמים היו מקריבים שלמים  
לתת הודאה לשם יתברך על מה שגמלם ברחמיו וכרוב חסדיו  
ועל הטובה שהיטיב עמהם אם בירושת הארץ ונחלתה ואם בשאר  
הניסים ועל זה נאמר אם על תודה יקריבנו והוא המין האחד  
והמין השני שהוא בנדר ונדבה ענינו תפלה לשם שיחנם  
ויברכם בתבואותיהם ועניניהם בעתיד ויריק עליהם ברכה עד  
בלי די הגה אם כן היה המין הראשון הודאה על העבר והמין  
השני תפלה על העתיד ולכן בבואם אל המקדש להודות ליהוה  
חסדו ונפלאותיו יעשו זבח משפחה ויקריבו על גבי המזבח להודות  
ליהוה על כל הטובה שהיטיב עמהם אם היו אותם השלמים  
לקרבן תודה והיה חלק המזבח החלבים והכליות והיותרת אשר על  
הכבד ומן הכבשים עוד האליה לפי שהקריבים הם רמו למחשבות  
וכן הכליות כאלו יאמר המקריב אשפוך את נפשי לפני יהוה  
וגם כן להיות הדברים ההם היותר שמנים שכנוף שישדפם האש  
יותר בנקלה וגם לסברה אחרת והיא לפי שהחלב לא היה  
לבעלים ולא לכהנים לאוכלה ולא הכליות והכבד שהם מוון  
רע

*diem noxiam suam procurabit* : id est, cùm suam ipse noxiam confitebitur, & ad bonam frugem sese recipiet: idemque propter admissum in se delictum, quia inficiationem rei alienæ falso jurejurando obfirmarat, ad sacerdotem adduceret lectum de grege arietem. nam oportere eum, qui per audaciam deliquerit, sacrificium facere animante pretioso, lecto videlicet ariete.

Habes explicationem duarum quæstionum, quas de sacrificio pro delicto proposueram.

Qui verò finis esset sacrificiorum pacificorum mox ostendemus: sed pauca quædam ante dicenda sunt. Fiebant sacrificia pacifica vel pro gratiarum actione habenda, vel pro voto promissioque exolvendo, de quo pluribus agemus alio loco. Sacrificiorum igitur istorum genera fuerant duo: interdum ejusmodi sacrificia faciebant Deo Optimo Maximo gratias agentes pro singulari ejus in se benignitate ac clementia, tot & tantis ejus & tam eximiis in se beneficiis, possessione terræ promissæ, mirisque rebus suâ causâ factis: hoc videlicet est illud, quod dicitur *Lev. 7. 12. Si pro gratiarum actione sacrificium hoc fecerit*: & hoc erat eorum genus unum. Alterum genus instar voti erat atque promissi, quo utebantur ad obtestandum Deum, uti volens & propitius ipsis esset in posterum, eorum fruges atque fructus augetet, cuncta suscepta secundaret, vitam omnium bonorum copiâ & affluentia beatam redderet. Primum igitur genus erat grata prædicatio acceptorum antea bonorum: & alterum erat obsecratio supplex, qua uterentur ad impetrandas in posterum res optatas. Ergo convenientes in templum augustum, qui bonitatem Dei laudibus efferrent, gentilitium faciebant sacrificium: sacrum, inquam, pacificum illud eucharisticum faciebant ad aram Deo gratias referentes de universis beneficiis ab eo acceptis: ex quo sacrificio impertiebant altari victimæ præcordia, adipem, renes, reticulum jecoris, & de pecore oviarico præterea caudam: præcordia videlicet & renes cùm symbola consiliorum essent, perinde fuit quasi rem divinam faciens diceret, effundam animam meam ad Deum: præterea autem aræ potissimum admovebantur pinguiores istæ corporis partes, ut quæ properantiùs inflammarentur: atque etiam alia causa suberat, ut adeps, renes, & jecur ne comedendum esset nec sacrificii dominis, nec sacerdotibus; quia enim his uti

### Abarbanelis Exordium

דע ינשאר אם כן הבשר הטוב למאכל לכהנים וכבר יתבאר זה  
 יותר בפירוש הפרשה ואחרי תתם חלק המזבח יתנו חלק הכהנים  
 שיורו עמו ובעדו אל השם על הניסים ועל הפורקן שעשה להם  
 ושאר הקרבן יאכלו הבעלים וישמחו בכל הטוב ואם היו השלמים  
 בדרך נדר ותפלה על העתיד יתנו גם כן קצת מהם על גבי המזבח  
 וקצתם לכהנים כדי שישאו בעדם רנה ותפלה אל השם שיצליח  
 קנינם והשאר כלו יאכלו וישתחוו כל דשני ארץ ויתענגו על רוב  
 שלום ובעבור שהיו הצלחות הקנינים והתבואות בארץ ישראל  
 במרעה הצאן ובעבודת האדמה אשר עקרה הוא הלהם והיין  
 והשמן שבהם צוה השם את הברכה לכן היו השלמים ההם  
 מהבעלי חיים ההם מן הבקר מן הכשבים ומן העזים והמנחה  
 מסולת החטים ומהשמן ומן היין שהם המשקים היותר משובחים  
 הנרה התבארו תכליות השלמים כפי מיניהם ולמה היה מנחת  
 הנסכים עם השלמים תמיד ומפני זה אמר בהם אם זכר אם נקבה  
 תמים וקריבנו בי לא חששה התורה שיהיו השלמים מוכר כמו  
 שחששה שיהיו בעולה ולא שיהיו מנקבה כמו שצותה בחטאת לפי  
 שלא היו מורים השלמים על מה שתורה העולה ולא החטאת אבל  
 יורו על רוב השמחה והטוב ולכן נקראו שלמים לפי שהם בכחינת  
 השלום שבא על המקריב או שמתפלל אל השם שישפוט שלום  
 לו ותגרה הירח חלק הכהן החורה והשוק לפי שהם מהאיברים  
 היותר נבחרים שבגוף כי החוה הוא היותר ערב באכילה ואחרי  
 השוק והנה בפרשת צו אמר הכתוב בתורת זבח השלמים אם על  
 תודה יקריבנו שיביא על זבח התורה חלות מצות בלולות בשמן  
 ורקיקי מצות ונומר על חלות לחם חמץ ושיאכל בשר הזבח  
 ביום

pro esca minimè conducit : remaneret autem in sacerdotum escam optima caro : sed hac de re plura dicentur in explanatione Legis. Post datam altari justam partem, pars sua dabatur sacerdotibus, qui pro sacrificii dominis & conjunctè cum eis magnificarent Deum Optimum Maximum, propter inopinatam ac mirificam opem & salutem ab eo latam : reliquo sacrificio vescebantur domini de bonis sibi divinitus impertitis lætitiæ sanctam agitantes. Eodem modo sacrificium pacificum via & ratione voti promissive cum facerent in posterum, partem ejus altari tribuebant, partem sacerdotibus : & hi cum illis unam canebant, psallebant, Deum precabantur, uti patrimonium eorum fortunaret : reliquum enim omne comedebant ipsi divites terræ simul Deum augustè venerantes, & pace multa fruentes. etenim res & quæstus omnes Israelitarum, dum regionem suam tenebant, erant in pascendis gregibus, & cultu terræ panem, vinum, oleum potissimum tundentis, aspirante divinâ providentiâ : quocirca sacrificia pacifica sua suis faciebant pecoribus, bobus, ovibus, capris, & iisdem adjungebant fæta, far triticeum, & exquisitissima liquorum vinum & oleum. Demonstratum est igitur quem quodque sacrorum pacificorum genus finem haberet, & quam ob causam his iisdem fæta semper adjungerentur. Jam de hoc sacrificio dicitur *Lev. 3. 1. Seu mas sit, seu bestia femina, sana & integra mactetur.* non requirebat enim divina Lex, ut sacrificium pacificum sic, tanquam solidum; animante mari fieret : neque porro ut æquè, ac sacrificium piaculare fieret bestia femina : neque enim sacrificium pacificum idem, quod solidum, vel piaculare significabat : indicabat magnam animi lætitiæ, & rerum omnium abundantiam : & verò dicebatur pacificum, quia fiebat causa & ratione pacis, quam aut jam adeptus erat is, qui rem divinam faciebat; aut à Deo per immolationem exquirebat. Impertiebatur sacerdoti de victima pacifica pectus & armus, quæ partes corporis sunt optimæ : suavissimum est gustui pectus, & secundum hoc armus : atque *Lev. 7.* ubi Lex explicat de ratione sacrificii pacifici hoc edictum videmus, ut si quis ejusmodi sacrificium referendæ gratiæ causa faceret, ad victimam adjungeret placentas azymas oleo subactas, & lagana item infermentata, & aliud genus, præter solitos panes fermentatos ; tum ut victimam quo

Abarbanelis *Exordium*

ביום קרבנו לא יניח ממנו עד בקר האמנם במין האחר מהשלמים  
 והם הבאים בנדר ונדבה לא זכר חלות מצות ולא ריקים ושאר  
 מיני הלחם שזכר במין הראשון מהתורה ועוד עשרה הברל אחר  
 והוא שפירש שהשלמים הבאים לבד בנדר ונדבה יהיו נאכלים  
 לשני ימים ולילה אחת מה שאין כן שלמי התורה כי היה לבד  
 ליום ולילה אחת ואחרי שחכמינו זכרונם לברכה לא קבלו שתמיד  
 מקריבים מנחה עם השלמים ראוי לפרש שמיני הלחם שהיה  
 מביא על זבח תודה לא היו נקריבים על גבי המזבח כי הם היו  
 מלבד המנחה הבאה עם השלמים שהרים ממנה הכהן בקומצו  
 מסולת המנחה ומשמנה ואת כל הלבונה אשר על המנחה והקטיר  
 הטובה אבל מיני הלחם הבאים עם זבח תודה לא היו אלא  
 לאכול מהם הכהנים והבעלים ולכן נאמר בהם על חלות  
 להם חמץ כי הנה במנחה התודיית נאמר לא תעשה חמץ  
 והנה בשלמי התורה באו מיני הלחם ההם לפי שהיה על  
 העבר והיה ראוי להוסיף באכילה ובשמחה ואין כן בשלמי  
 הנדרים שהיו על העתיד הלא תראה שבחג הסוכות נאמר  
 ושמחת בכל הטוב לפי שהיה על העבר ולא נאמר כן בחג  
 הפסח לפי שהיה האדם לבו תלוי על מה שהיה בתבואתו  
 לעתיד והנה היה בשר השלמים אם על תודה יקריבו נאכל  
 ליום ולילה אחת ואם נדר או נדבה יקריבו היה נאכל לשני  
 ימים ולילה אחד לפי שהמתפלל על העתיד מאריך בתפלתו  
 יחד

quo die mactaret, eodem ipso comederet, nec inde quidquam in crastinum mane relinqueret: at verò in describendo altero genere sacrificii pacifici, in illo, inquam, sacrificio pacifico, quod rationem voti promissique obtinebat, non requirebantur nec infermentatæ illæ placentæ, neque lagana, neque reliqua panificii genera in superiori sacrificii genere requisita. Eadem hæc & alia re distinguebantur. Præscriptum erat nominatim, ut hoc posterius sacrificium pacificum, quod nomine voti promissique fiebat, comederetur intra binos dies & noctem unam: non erat autem eadem ratio sacrificii pacifici eucharistici, quod ut intra diem & noctem unam comederetur, præscriptum erat. Quod autem sapientes nostri honoris causâ nominandi tradiderunt, non omnino omnia genera libamentorum sacrificiis pacificis adhibendorum adoleri, id hanc idoneam habet explicationem: non adolebantur in altari certa panis genera, quæ conjungebantur cum sacrificio pacifico eucharistico. Sacrificium istud enim quædam panis genera præcipua habebat præter fermentum illud, cujus è farre & oleo sacerdos exemptum plenum pugillum, & thus universum ferto superpositum in altari simul adolebat: scilicet præcipua ista panificii genera non adhibebantur sacrificio eucharistico, nisi ut comederentur tum à sacerdotibus, tum à sacrificii domino: itaque in ea dictum est *Lev. 7. 13. Extra placentas panis fermentatus*: at verò de ferro eucharistico scriptum videmus *Lev. 2. 11. Sine fermento fiat*. Adhibebantur enim illa præcipua panificii genera sacris pacificis eucharisticis, quæ spectabant in præteritum, de quo largius lætiùsque celebrare convivium, consentaneum erat: non adhibebantur autem sacris pacificis rationem voti obtinentibus, quippe quæ futurum ad tempus referebantur. Sic de feriis umbraculorum post fructus omnes perceptos ac conditos agendis scriptum videas *Deut. 16. 11. Lætator de universis bonis*: nihil autem simile de feriis paschalibus, quo anni tempore sollicitus & suspensus erat hominis animus de futuro proventus sui statu. Consimiliter caro victimæ pacificæ eucharisticæ intra diem & noctem unam: & ejus, quæ voti, promissique rationem obtinebat, victimæ pacificæ caro absolvebatur intra binos dies & noctem unam; quia enim pluribus & longioribus ferè precibus optatum aliquod in posterum tempus bonum à Deo petebant, quam

יודי מהמזלל ומשבח על העבר •  
 הנה התבארו טעמי הקרבנות האלה כלם עולה ומנחה חטאת  
 ואשם ושלמים והיה הכלל בדם שהגה התחברו בתועלות  
 הקרבנות האלה אם מדת הנדיבות והחוצאה בנדרי האלהים מבלי  
 כילות ונבלה ואם שלמות האמונות רוצה לומר בעולה מהשארות  
 הנפש ודבוקה עם האל יתברך והנבואה האלהית ובחטאת  
 ובאשם והשלמים מההשנחה האלהית והשכר והעונש ליראי השם  
 ולעובדי שמו ולעוברים על מצותיו ומלבד כל זה היה בזה תועלת  
 רב שיחשוב החוטא וידע בנפשו שנתכפרו לו עונותיו כי בזולת  
 זה אם יחשוב שלא יאבה יהודה סלוח לו יתיאש מן הרחמים  
 ויוסיף על חטאתו פשע ואחרי אשר הודעתך הכללים האלה  
 בעניני הקרבן אבא אל פירוש הכתובים שבאו בתורה על  
 ענינם כי עם ההקדמה הזאת אשר הצנתי לפניך המעיין יקל  
 הביאור והפירוש האמתי באלה הפרשיות ועניני הקרבנות :



quàm beneficii antehac accepti nomine gratiarum actionibus & laudibus Deum prosequerentur.

Explicatum est de causis & rationibus omnibus omnium sacrificiorum istorum, solidi, ferti, piacularis, item ejus, quod fiebat pro delicto, & pacifici: quæ explicatio huc denique redit omnis. Istorum religio sacrorum volebat homines esse liberales & Deo rerum Domino promittere & facere prolixè, non aridè, miserè, malignè: volebat eos veritates illas ad summum bonum consequendum necessarias intelligere, atque ex solido quidem sacrificio immortalitatem animi, & ejusdem cum vi & natura divina conjunctionem, & admirabilem divinæ mentis inspirationem: ex sacrificio autem piaculari & sacrificio pro delicto Deum consulere & prospicere rebus humanis, verentibus Dei numen & sanctè colentibus præmium esse futurum, & supplicium adversum ejus edicta facientibus: & præter hæc volebat illud in primis utile miseris mortalibus, eos sic habere, & sic in animos inducere suos, maleficia expiari, pœnamque prætermitti. nam absque eo esset, nullam fontes à Deo veniam maleficiis dari putarent, nullum misericordiæ relinquere locum, & sceleribus scelera cumularent. Hactenus, erudite lector, exposui tibi summa rei divinæ capita: nunc ad explanandas clarè, distinctè & articulatim literas sacras quemcunque locum tractantes aggrediar: atqui perceptis ac cognitis iis, quæ in hoc præmio nobis disputata sunt, cætera deinceps, præsertim ea, quæ pertinebunt ad rationem sacrificiorum, facili negotio cognoveris.

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**X x****T R A C -**

R. Moſis Majemonidæ

Gilbert Wakefield. B. D.  
Warrington. 1782.

DE  
**SACRIFICIIS**  
LIBER.

Accesserunt

**ABARBANELIS EXORDIUM,**  
SEU

Proœmium commentariorum in *Leviticum* :

ET

**MAJEMONIDÆ TRACTATUS**

DE

**CONSECRATIONE CALENDARUM,**

ET

De Ratione Intercalandi.

NEW JERSEY  
COLLEGE LIBRARY

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Quæ ex Hebræo convertit in sermonem Latinum,

& Notis illustravit

*Ludovicus de Compiègne de Veil, A. M.*

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LONDINI,

Typis *Milonis Flesher*, sumtibus Auctoris : proſtat apud  
*Mofem Pitt*, ad inſigne Angeli in cœmiterio Divi *Pauli*, &  
apud *Brabazonum Aylmer*, ad inſigne trium Columbarum,  
viâ vulgo **Coꝛnhill** dictâ, MDCLXXXIII.

9. *Ut è victima paschali quidquam edat Judæus apostata , ne sinunto.*
10. *Ut è victima paschali quidquam comedat aut profelytus inquilinus , aut homo mercenarius , ne permittunto.*
11. *Ut è victima paschali quidquam edat is , qui circumcisis non sit , ne permittunto.*
12. *Os in victima paschali nullum frangunto.*
13. *Nullum os nec in victima paschali secunda frangunto.*
14. *Nihil quidquam è victima paschali in mane crastinum relinquento.*
15. *Nihil item è victima paschali secunda in mane posterum relinquento.*
16. *Nihil è sacro illo solemnè , quod fere fiebat ad decimam & quartam diem mensis Nisan in diem perendinum relinquento.*

Habes universa præcepta , quæ capitibus deinceps sequentibus edifferuntur.

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## TRACTATUS PRIMUS

DE

## Sacrificio Paschali.

## CAPUT PRIMUM.

*Altaria privata ad victimam paschalem immolandam concessa esse nunquam. Hujus victimæ paschalis de more spargendum esse sanguinem, & adolenda exta. Per tres deinceps catervas immolari victimas paschales recitandis hymnis & edendis buccinæ clangoribus. Ad immolationem victimarum in ordines dispositos esse sacerdotes, qui pateras aureas & argenteas manibus tenerent sic, ut species ac pompa foret.*

§. I. **P**ræceptum erat jubens, \* ut victima paschalis cederetur ad decimam & quartam diem mensis Nisan tempore pomeridiano: nec sacrificium illud fieri licebat nisi mari annuo ex ovium vel caprarum genere. Jam hoc præcepto viri æquè & mulieres tenebantur.

§. II. Si quis contra præceptum id ad statum hunc decimum & quartum diem sciens volensque sacrificium hoc paschale prætermisisset, cum illi nec esset inquinamenti causa, nec itineris longinqui; \* pœna foret exitium: sin autem præceptum neglexisset imprudens, impune haberet.

§. I. *Ut victima paschalis cederetur. R. Bechai* quidem commentariis suis in Leviticum, ad versum xj. cap. 2. docet sacrificium paschale piaculum esse Israelitarum, quo lueretur hæc eorum idololatria, quam apud Ægyptum susceperant.

§. II. *Pœna foret exitium.* Nimirum hæc est illa quæ כַּרְרַי Hebræis dicitur. Ac nos jam superiore libro de cultu divino Rabinorum multorum multas hac de pœna opiniones exposuimus: in his & scriptoris nostri sententiam, animum ejus, qui pœ-

§. III. Victima paschalis sic, ut hostiæ reliquæ, nusquam, nisi in atrio templi cædebatur. Et tunc ipsum, cum singulis singulas aras excitari licebat, tamen interdictum erat, victima paschalis in ara privata ne mactaretur: quisquis igitur agnum paschalem in ara privata mactasset, \* verberibus coereretur; quia enim in Lege scriptum videmus, *Non poteris mactare pascha in unoquoque tuorum oppidorum*: hæc enim doctrina tradita nobis est, hoc loco cautum esse, ne quis agnum paschalem immolaret in ara privata etiam tum, cum aræ privatae concederentur.

§. IV. Victima paschalis post meridiem cædenda fuit; quæ si cæderetur ante meridiem, temeraretur. Etenim post factum jure sacrificium vespertinum, post vespertinam suffitionem, & post accensas & concinnatas candelabri lucernas demum incipiebat agnorum paschalium jugulatio, & continenter fiebat per totum reliqui diei spatium. Attamen si post meridiem agnus paschalis cæderetur ante factum sacrificium jure vespertinum, bene fuisset: tum verò sacerdotum aliquis exceptum è victima paschali sanguinem motabat interea, dum aspersus altari fuerat jugis sacrificii sanguis: post ex agni paschalis sanguine fiebat demum aspersio: quanquam altare si prius respergeretur

nâ tenebatur istâ, in nihilum occidere: addam hic & istuc scitu dignum. Scriptorem hunc nostrum ob hanc ejus sententiam sacris interdixerunt omnes Galliarum synagoga, quippe qui adversaretur & repugnaret auctoritati Talmudis, in quo omnino impios omnes igni Gehennæ coereri menses duodecim traditur. At verò R. *Nachmonides* scriptoris nostri popularis bene longam deinde scripsit epistolam ad universos synagogarum ante dictarum præfectos, in qua epistola sanè quàm eleganti postea, quàm multa de seipso admodum summissè ac subjectè dixit, & pietatis atque doctrinæ laudes uberrimas Rabbini Gallicis tribuit, hunc nostrum ab hæresi vehementissimè vindicat, & hanc ejus sententiam sic interpretatur, ut velit eum sentire, cujus poena erat *exitium*, eum duodecim menses totos igni Gehennæ excarnificatum demum in nihilum interire. Hæc epistola R. *Nachmonide* extat in libro *Miscellaneorum*, quem librum in quarto ex-

cludendum curavit R. *Josephus del Medico*: ibidem etiam invenias libellos duos, quorum unus *נבילות חכמה* inscribitur *Decidua Sapientiæ*, & alter *תעלומות חכמה*, *Abscondita Sapientiæ*. Hæc hæcenus. Ceterùm cum id quod ab Hebræis *כרת* appellatur ex literis sacris constet, atque adeo inter omnes conveniat poenam fuisse non humanam, sed divinam; nulla mihi vox latina ad hanc reddendam aprior quàm *exitium* visa est, siquidem apud *M. Tullium*, lib. 2. de *Legibus*, sub finem primæ legis scriptum videmus, *Perjurii poena divina exitium: humana dedecus*.

§. III. *Verberibus coereretur*. Qui verberibus erat damnatus, hic, sicut à Talmudistis traditur & trac. *מכות* fol. 22. pag. 1. & 2. & trac. *יובל* fol. 15. pag. 1. & trac. *ובתים* fol. 38. pag. 2. ad palum alligatus denudabatur, atque à lictore cædebatur loro sic, ut prima plaga scapulis, & reliquæ deinceps alia post aliam infligerentur donec ad lumbos perventum esset.

aspergeretur agni paschalis sanguine, quàm jugis sacrificii, bene esset.

§. V. Si quis victimam paschalem suo tempore cæderet, & idem ad se fermentati quid ad olivæ magnitudinem asservaret, verberibus multaretur. Est enim in Lege, *Victimam meam super fermentato ne cædito*, cui quidem præcepto hæc est sub-Exod. 23. 18.jecta vis, ne cædatur victima paschalis dum fermentati asservatur aliquid. Jam victimam jugulantis, & altari sanguinem ejus inspergentis, atque exta adolentis una & eadem erat ratio. Si veniret igitur usus, ut aliquis aut istorum, aut eorum, qui simul eadem victimâ paschali vescerentur, inter immolationem haberet apud se fermentati tantundem, quanta est oliva, verberibus coerceretur: victima verò paschalis satis idonea foret.

§. VI. Victimæ paschalis sanguinem oportebat contra basim altaris effundi: post sanguinem effusum, victimæ pellis detrahebatur, patefiebat alvus, eximebantur exta, & adolebantur: ac sua cujusque victimæ paschalis exta separatim adolebantur: tum deinde is, cujus erat victima paschalis, eam cum pelle simul auferebat, & in ædes suas Hierosolymitanas deportabat, assabat, & sub vesperum comedebat.

§. VII. Si quis hæc exta adolere neglexisset sic, ut noctem perpetem remota ab altari jacerent, atque adeo temerarentur; iste quidem contra vetitum commisisset: scriptum est enim, *Neu solemniter immolatae mihi victimæ adeps pernoctato ad us-*Exod. 23. 18.  
*que mane posterum.* Qui licet contra præceptum vetans fecerit, tamen non verberaretur; quippe cum \* nihil effectum dedisset.

§. VIII. Adolebantur adipēs agnorum paschalium nocte tota usque ad orientem auroram: ita res erat, si decimus & quartus dies Nisan incidisset in sabbatum: etenim sabbatini adipēs in-

cen-

§. VII. *Nihil effectum dedisset.* Erant multæ requisitæ conditiones, ut verberibus addiceretur aliquis. Primum omnium oportebat, ut ritè officii monitus; tamen inspectantibus testibus consultò commisisset contra vetitum: tum ut commissum nec capitalis pœna, nec aris solutio sequeretur: deinde, ut flagitio committendo aliquid effectum redderetur, non linguæ nuncupatione tantum peccaretur velut obtrectando, detestandoque: quan-

quam id, quod tertio loco ponitur, exceptiones habet aliquas, de quibus alio loco: inde requisitum erat ut, si quod vetitum in jussum solveretur, contra utrumque fieret: ut ne vetitum esset ejusmodi, quod è jussu duceretur: ut ne vetitum univèrsè, sed propriè à Lege ediceretur: ut vetitum simplex esset. Hæc noster commentariis suis in Misnam, trac. תרומה ad c. 3. §. 1. edisserit, ac multis & variis appositis exemplis illustrat.

cendebantur etiam die solemnī: sin autem dies ille quartus decimus Nisan incidit in diem aliquem profestum, adipēs hujus profesti diei die solemnī neutiquam adolerentur.

§. IX. Omnino agni paschales per tres deinceps catervas mactabantur ea re; quia in Lege sit, *Et cædet eum (agnum Exod. 12. 6. seu hœdum) universa Ecclesia, cœtus Israel: hîc videlicet habes divisionem tripartitam, Ecclesiam, cœtum, Israel. Non erant homines in ulla caterva pauciores, quàm triginta.*

§. X. Ergo si homines omninò quinquaginta adessent, in atrium primò introirent triginta, qui cæderent victimam paschalem: deinde decem ex illis exirent, & intrarent alii decem: tum rursus excederent decem, & reliqui decem ingrederentur.

§. XI. Si verò numerus hominum esset infra quinquaginta, victimas paschales cùm in integro res erat, non mactabant quidem: verùm si mactassent omnes unà, bene esset. Erat autem ista mactandi ratio. Caterva prima veniebat in atrium, quod ubi plenum erat, ejus fores occludebantur: continuò suas illi victimas paschales cædere: qui dum victimas cædebant, atque illarum partem idoneam Deo offerebant, Levitæ recitabant carmen illud, quod \* hymnus inscribitur. Qui, si finitus esset hymnus, sacrificiis necdum perpetratis, repeteretur: sin iterum fuisset priùs absolutus, quàm sacra perfecta fuerint, recitaretur tertio: verùm enimvero nunquam usus venit, ut ter recitaretur.

§. XII. Ad unamquamque recitationem buccina clangores edebantur terni, rectus, fragosus, rectus: nulla videlicet adhibebantur isti sacrificio libamina: ut igitur in reliquis sacris inter libandum, sic inter jugulationem in isto clangebatur.

§. XIII. Hîc sacerdotes erant descripti ac dispositi in ordines bene multos, qui manibus pateras tenebant, quarum partim ex argento, partim essent ex auro. Non hæ promiscuè distribuebantur;

§. XI. *Hymnus inscribitur.* Hic est hymnus; quem & nunc ipsum Judæi ad calendas omnes, omnes ferias, dies festos & solemnēs cantitant: is componitur è Psalmis 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, & 118, quibus additur hæc clausula. Te Domine Deus noster omninò laudent omnia opera tua; sed iusti atque homines sancti tuæ voluntati obsecrantes, populûsque tuus

Israel universus cantent, prædicent, efferrant, magnificent, & ornent usquequaque nomen tuum adeo gloriosum. Etenim te laudare convenit, & decantare nomen tuum expedit, qui ante secula omnia fuisti Deus, idemque perpetuûm eris. Gloria tibi Domine rerum, & rex omni laude cumulatus.

tur; sed ita, ut ordinum alius argento, alius auro totus splenderet, id adeo, ut major inde species & dignitas existeret. Non definebant autem in latitudinem pateræ, ne forte deponerentur, & concreſceret in illis exceptus hoſtiarum ſanguis.

§. XIV. Cædebat ſuam quiſque victimam, cujus ſanguinem paterâ ſacerdos excipiebat: dabat ei, qui ſibi proximus erat: hic ſequenti, eam ob cauſam, ut rei divinæ operarentur quàm plurimi, donec ſanguis veniret in manus ejus ſacerdotis, qui ſtabat altari propior: is ſimul & ſemel ſanguinem illum effundebat contra baſim altaris: accipiebat pateram ſanguine plenam, reddebátque vacuum: deinde victimæ ſuſpendebantur, ſuſpenſis corium detrahebatur totum: tum aperiebantur, proluvies & excrementa depellebantur ex inteſtinis, extrahebantur exta, quæ in lance depoſita ſale conſpergebantur, adolebantúrque ſuper altari per ſacerdotem. Quod attinet ad rationem ſuſpendarum harum victimarum, uti pellibus ſpoliarentur, hærebant atrii muris ac columnis infixi clavi ferrei: de his iſtæ victimæ ſuſpendebantur, ſuſpenſis pellis detrahebatur: quibus autem ejuſmodi locus ad ſuſpendendam victimam non ſuppetebat, aderant baculi minuti, lævésque, qui ponebantur in unius & alterius hominis humeris, tum de his ſuſpenſæ victimæ corio exuebantur.

§. XV. Peractis ſacrificiis referabantur atrii fores, exhibit caterva prima, & introibat altera: excedebat & altera, & intrabat tertia. Prima, ſecunda, tertia rationem agendi tenebant eandem: cùm verò tertia caterva poſt abſolutam rem divinam exierat, atrium abluebatur.

§. XVI. Quæ ſi decima quarta dies menſis Niſan incideret in ſabbatum, ſabbato omnia itidem, ut die profeſto fierent: ablueretur igitur & atrium. Nam quæcunque \*ſapientes edicto

to

§. XVI. Sapientes edicto ſanxerunt ne ſabbato fierent. Nomine שבת appellatur id quod ſabbato ne fieret cautum erat non divina Lege, ſed edicto ſapientum: adeo, ut quod ne ſabbato fieret divina Lege interdictum eſt, huic eidem ipſi nomini שבת ex adverſo opponatur apud Talmudem trac. פסחים de ſacris paſchalibus fol. 65. & 66. pag. 2. Fugit hoc virum alioqui magnum, & in his literis

ſanè quam verſatum, qui hoc verbo שבת intelligi voluit ea, quæ ne ſabbato fierent Lege ſancitum erat: tum idem huc adduxit eſſatum illud Domini Jeſu Chriſti, ſabbatis in ſanctuario ſacerdotes ſabbatum profanant, & tamen inſontes ſunt: id verò ad ſententiam huic voci ſubjectam minime quadrat: nollem magnum virum errore lapſum.



to sanxerunt, ne sabbato fierent, his in templo nullus erat locus, ut eorum aliqua ad rem divinam faciendam non essent ita necessaria: nimirum quidquid ne sabbato fieret, auctoritate sapientum erat interdictum, in templo usquequaque permissum erat.

§. XVII. Jam sabbato victimam suam paschalem domum referebat nemo: sed enim cæterva prima ex atrio egressa cum victimis suis paschalibus in monte ædis residebat; & altera cum deportaret ex atrio suas victimas paschales, resistebat in spatio illo \* antemurali: tertia verò cæterva perstabat in loco suo, in atrio videlicet ipso: quibus illæ locis commorabantur ad exactum sabbatum, tum suam quisque domum cum agno paschali suo redibat.

Num. 9. 2. §. XVIII. Ergo ut victima paschalis cæderetur, & altari sanguis ejus inspergeretur, & ex intestinis cibi reliquæ depellerentur, & adolerentur exta, sabbatum elevabatur: etenim ante sabbatum ista fieri non poterant, siquidem sacrificio paschali præfinitum est tempus, & in idem hoc Lex edicit, *Stato tempore suo*: rursus eam ob rem, ut hominis portaretur humeris in atrium, ut adduceretur ex aliquo loco extra \* legitimum terminum posito, ut eidem \* verruca scalpello refecaretur, nihil utique sabbato derogabatur; quippe quæ poterant ante sabbatum fieri: si quis autem potis erat eidem verrucam manu demere, id sabbato facere licebat: immo verò & excisatam verrucam scalpello præcidere: namque rebus auctoritate sapientum interdictis, omnino locus in templo erat nullus: porro autem non erat jus sabbatum eò negligi, ut victima paschalis affaretur, aut ejus intestina rite lavarentur, quandoquidem

§. XVII. *Antemurali.* Idem hoc & intermurale dicebatur. erat enim mons templi rotus muro cancellisque circumdatus, & post cancellos insuper etiam muro interiori: ita spatium inter hos duos muros interjectum aut ratione utriusque muri dicebatur intermurale, aut ratione muri posterioris antemurale. Vide principium capitis quinti tractatus primi libri superioris de cultu divino.

§. XVIII. *Legitimum terminum.* Hic legitimus sabbati terminus commemoratur primo Actuum capite, v. 12. ac vulgato

interpreti iter sabbati dicitur. Atqui hoc spatium apud Misnam, Talmud Hierosolymitanum, scriptorem hunc nostrum, R. *Isaacum Alphassem*, R. *Mosem Nachmondem*, & hujus auditorem R. *Simsonem*; *Abraha* filium, aliisque bene multos definitur duobus cubitorum millibus.

*Verruca scalpello refecaretur.* Erat enim, quemadmodum superiori libro de cultu divino demonstratum est trac. 3. & 4. unum è vitis illis, quæ obstabant, quominus animantes sacrificarentur.

quod quidem ista post exactum sabbatum poterant commodè fieri.

§. XIX. Omnino cultrum illum ad jugulandam victimam aptum in atrium sabbato non \* inferebat ipse, cui prius inferre excidisset animo: verum eundem vel inter agni paschalis cornua, vel in ejusdem vellus inferebat, operiebátque, donec in atrium invexisset, & ibidem consecrabat. At enim iste quidem sabbato jumentum oneratum ageret: verò: sed \* præter consuetudinem, quod exequendi præcepti causâ facere licet. Ita res ageretur, si tamen suam ille victimam necdum consecrasset dicendo, hæc victima paschalis esto: sin autem jam sacrasset, eam onerare cultro illo prohiberetur; quia enim bestias altari consecratas ad laborem adhibere nefas. Jam victima paschalis \* ut sabbato consecraretur, concessum erat, quòd huic sacrificio

§. XIX. *Inferrebat ipse.* Habemus enim apud *Jeremiam*, cap. 17. v. 21, & 22. *Caute, si vos amatis ipsi, ne die sabbati tollatis onus ullum, ne inferatis in urbem Hierosolyma, ne ex adibus vestris efferatis, aut quidquam operis faciatis, & quæ sequuntur: sed hic & reliquo deinceps capite hoc vult, hoc spectat Dei sanctissimus interpres, à rebus exportandis & importandis, cæterisque moliminibus operosis, quæ ad vitæ necessitates, commodaque referuntur, Israelitas avocatos sabbato sese applicare ad Deum rerum omnium effectorem ac datorem religiosè colendum. Hinc servator hominum apud *Joannem*, cap. 5. ei, quem sabbato curarat divinitus, pro imperio edicit, ut grabato oneret humeros & ambulet: nempe mirifica ista grabati translatio ad præsentem Dei præparentis opem manifestandam, excitandamque religionem & pietatem hominum erga Deum valuit, adeo; ut nihil supra. Ecce autem Judæi recordes divinatorum oraculorum verba aucupantur, nihil morantur sententiam: denunciant homini divina ope sanato nihil oneris sabbato sustinere licere: resciscunt fieri imperatum ejus, à quo homini duodequadragesima annos laboranti subito restituta fuit sanitas: tantum absunt ut advertant animum ad eventum tantum & tam mirandum, atque ex eo tandem Christum de caelo sibi de-*

missum intelligant, ut etiam divinæ majestatis vindicem, & restauratorem salutis humanæ, velut exilegem, ad necem investigent.

*Præter consuetudinem.* Est in textu, מחמר כל אחר יד הויה, & hæc eadem verba apud tractatum Talmudicum, qui פסחים inferibitur fol. 66. pag. 2. R. Salomo Jarchi sic interpretatur, neque enim fert consuetudo, ut agno imponatur onus. Etenim hæc eadem verba passim in eam sententiam proferuntur.

*Ut sabbato consecraretur, concessum erat.* Atque hæc origo sabbati magni, de quo hæc in ejus libri, qui ארבע טורים inferibitur, Quatuor ordines, parte prima, cui titulus est אורח חיים Via vitæ trac. de sacris paschalibus §. 2. scripta legimus. Quod sabbatum Pascha proximè præcedit, hoc sabbatum magnum nominatur: id adeo, quia magnum eo miraculum factum est. Fuit apud Ægyptum, ab usque decima die mensis Nisan sumta sua cuique victima paschalis, id quod scriptum videmus *Exod. 12. 3.* Decima die mensis hujus pro sua quisque patrumfamilias domo sumant agnum: narratur autem eo libro, qui סדר עולם inferibitur, Ordo mundi, in quintam hebdomadæ diem incidisse Pascha quo Israelitæ ex Ægypto exierunt; ita mensis ejus decima dies inciderat in sabbatum. Hoc igitur sabbato suam quis-

C que

sacrificio dies status esset: similiter nihil erat, cur suum quicumque solemne sacrum ipso die festo consecrare religioni haberet.

§. XX. Si quis victimam paschalem à se cæsam comperisset vitio, morboque lethali laborasse, aliam cæderet sive die profesto, sive sabbato: immo verò cæderet centum deinceps, donec aut unam aliquam altari reperiret idoneam, aut advesperasceret; ac tum quidem, utpote coactus agni sui paschalis immolationem in Pascha secundum differret.

## CAPUT SECUNDUM.

*Victimæ paschali ante jugulationem suam cuique hominum numerum assignandum, qui numerus vulgo sodalitiū diceretur. Certis è generibus hominum non constitui sodalitiū. Quis tandem in numero hominum assignando modus?*

Exod. 12. 4. §. I. **V**ictima paschalis suo quæque numero hominum duntaxat jugulabatur. Nam ex isto Legis edicto, *Pro sua quemque ratione comedendi, subducto numero, ad istam pecudem admittetis, fatis intelligitur, viventi pecudi certum quendam hominum \* numerum assignandum: hic, scilicet, assignatus*

que pecudem in sacrum paschale comparatam ad lecti pedes deligarant. Ægyptii scificitari, quò vobis istuc? Ad sacrificandum nomine Paschæ: id nos voluit Deus: isti fremere dentibus, audientes jugulatum iri quod in numero Deorum venerabatur, nihil audere tamen ne mutire quidem. Hoc ab eventu mirifico sabbatum magnum appellatur. Hactenus in libro supra commemorato. Idem hoc eo libro, qui בן כול inscribitur, in hoc insunt omnia, edisseritur, & quidem titulo separato **De ratione sabbati magni**. Hic verò historię adjuncta nonnihil differunt. Idem refertur etiam in additionibus illis Talmudicis

quæ **למנוח** dicuntur trac. de sabbato, fol. 87. pag. 2. & ibi similiter adjuncta historię paulum discrepant.

§. I. *Numerum assignandum.* De victima paschali, quoniam sancitum erat, ne quid in diem posterum relinqueretur, porro necesse fuit, ut ei, priusquam immolaretur, certus constitueretur epulonum numerus: alioqui hi illi familiares necessarii ad cœnam paschalem negligenter expectarentur, sæpe non venirent, & fere fieret, ut paschale sacrum negligentia temeratum igni cremaretur; Ita ratiocinatur scriptor noster libro cui titulus **Doctor Perplexorum**, par. 3. cap. 46.

*Sodali-*

*Tractatus primus de Sacrificio Paschali.*

signatus victimæ paschali numerus hominum est ille, qui pas-  
sim \* sodalitium appellatur.

§. II. Unus aliquis homo si victimam paschalem sibi soli ju-  
gulasset, bene haberet; modo ut edendæ victimæ toti par  
esset: attamen si res esset in integro, cum eo, \* ne sibi soli  
victimam jugularet, ageretur; quia enim de sacrificio pascha-  
li scriptum legimus in numero multitudinis, *Faciunt illud.*

Exod. 12. 47.

§. III. Victima paschalis his solum cædebatur, qui essent ei-  
dem edendæ habiles. Cum igitur aliquis ex illo sodalitio \* im-  
pubes esset, aut senio confectus, aut morbo conflictatus, si  
posset ad olivæ magnitudinem de victima comesse, hæc ejus  
nomine cæderetur: sin minus, non cæderetur ejus nomine.  
Nam Legis illud, *Pro sua quemque ratione comedendi*, declarat  
neesse esse, ut singuli sint habiles edendæ victimæ paschali.  
Fuerit igitur sodalitium centum hominum, quorum nullus pos-  
set de victima paschali comedere tantum, quanta est olivæ  
magnitudo, omnino victima paschalis ei cæderetur nulla.

Ibid. v. 4.

§. IV. Non constituebatur sodalitium è mulieribus & servis,  
nec è servis & pueris impuberibus, ne quid incontinenter in-  
ter se facerent: constituebatur autem sodalitium è mulieribus  
solis etiam pro sacrificio paschali secundo: item & solis è  
servis: & si quo sodalitio permisti fuerint aliquot impuberes  
pueri, omnino victima paschalis & eorum nomine maçtabatur:  
verùm enim nullum constituebatur sodalitium è pueris impu-  
beribus solis; quippe qui ratione fere non utuntur. Nullum  
porro constituebatur sodalitium ex solis hominibus ægrotis,  
nullum

*Sodalitium appellatur. Et illud etiam, quod Exod. 12. v. 46. præscriptum vide-  
mus בבית אחד יאכל Una in domo co-  
medetur, illud ab interprete Chaldaeo verum  
est בחבורה חדי In una sodali-  
tate.*

§. II. Ne sibi soli victimam jugularet, ageretur. Josephus quidem, lib. 7. de bello Judaico, cum id agit, ut expositum captivorum & peremtorum in obsidione Hierosolymæ Judæorum numerum immanem reddat probabilem, recensum Judæorum sub Cestio per victimas paschales à pontificibus actum describens, ita dicit; Illi (pon-

tifices) autem, cum dies festus adesset, qui Pascha vocatur, quando à nona quidem hora usque ad undecimam hostias cædunt; per singulas verò (hostias) contubernia non pauciorum decem virorum fiunt: solum enim epulari non licet, multi etiam vicini conveniunt.

§. III. Impubes esset. Liberi ab ore ad pubertatem usque קטנים Hebræis dicuntur: quod verbum cum aliàs parvus sonet, hoc loco rectè, ni fallor, latinè red- datur *pueri*, ut qua voce ad consuetudinem latinam intelliguntur minores annis.

## CAPUT OCTAVUM.

*Qua ratione coquendus agnus paschalis, quando comedendus, & quod tandem ad tempus?*

§. I. **P**ræceptum erat jubens, ut agni paschalis caro comederetur ad noctem quintam decimam mensis Nisan: Exod. 12. 8. videmus enim in Lege scriptum, *Carnem (victimæ paschalis) edunto hac ipsa nocte igni tostam: cum panibus azymis & oleribus amaris eam comedunto.*

§. II. Nec verò panis azymus & olus amarum obstabant, si nulla reperirentur: comedenda sola carne victimæ paschalis religioni istius officii satisfiebat: olus autem amarum sine victima paschali si comedisset aliquis, ex ratione præscripti neutiquam egisset. Est enim in Lege, *Cum panibus azymis & oleribus amaris eam edunto.* Num. 9. 11.

§. III. Ac præclara quidem erat hujus officii faciendi ratio, vesci carne victimæ paschalis ad saturitatem, & eam ob rem qui quarta decima mensis Nisan sacra pacifica solemnia fecerat, is vesperi primùm ex illis comedebat aliquid, tum deinde de carne victimæ paschalis edebat tantum, ut satiaretur: verùm enim si quis de carne victimæ paschalis non plus olivæ magnitudine comedisset, tamen officio fecisset satis. Item præceptum erat jubens, ut ad decimam & quintam noctem \* mensis Iar victimæ paschalis secundæ caro comederetur. Nam & hac de victima scriptum legitimus, *Cum panibus azymis, & oleribus amaris eam edunto.* Num. 9. 11.

§. IV. Ambæ verò victimæ paschales illæ non comedebantur nisi luculenter tostæ: si quis ex illis tantum, quanta est olivæ magnitudo, vel semiassum, vel elixum comedisset ad noctes primi secundique Paschæ, verberibus multaretur: est enim in Lege,

§. III. *Mensis Iar.* Sic enim secundum à se secundo, quem Macedones Artemisium Nisan mensẽ vocarunt, & vocant Hebræi: vocant, Hebræi autem Iar. Idem hic mensis, 1 Reg. 6. 1. Ziv appellatur, & fere verba habet. Cœpit autem Salomon ædificare templum anno quarto regni sui, mensis, respondet Aprili.

ge, *Ne quid ex ea \* subcrudum, vel cum aqua infervesactum comeditote.* Si quis ex ea victima simul & aliquid semiaffum, & aliquid elixum edisset, omnino semel verberaretur, quippe quod istæ res duæ uno & eodem vetito sancitæ sint. Jam si quis ex ea victima nonnihil aut subcrudum, aut elixum interdium comedisset, non verberaretur. Nam quod Lex addit, *Sed tostam igne*, hujus ea vis est, si quis tempore illo nocturno, quo jubebatur hujus victimæ carnem luculenter affam comedere, comedisset subcrudam vel elixam, eum poenâ teneri: sin idem hoc de die fecerit, impune habere.

§. V. Si quis ex ea victima tantum, quanta est olivæ bacca, tostum igne comedisset interdium, contra jussum commississet; quia enim scriptum in Lege videmus, *Carnem (victimæ paschalis) edunto hac ipsa nocte*, noctu scilicet, at non interdium: quod existit è jussu vetitum, pro jussu ducitur.

§. VI. Subcrudum illud Lege interdictum caro est ignis ardore primo leviter torrefacta, necdum hominibus ad vescendum apta. Jam hac è victima carnis aliquantum omnino crudum si quis edisset, non verberaretur ille quidem: at contra jussum fecisset: nam ex eo, quod Lex dicit, *Sed tostam igni*, non tostam vetitam esse colligitur. Cæterum hujus victimæ carne torrendo ustulata vescentem nulla poena sequebatur.

§. VII. Porro cum vetat Lex istam victimam infervesacere cum aqua, simul & cum omni liquore, fructusque succo vetat: nimirum Legis illud, *Infervesactum* iterato verbo dictum, quemvis liquorem complectitur.

§. VIII. Si quis victimam paschalem primò torrefecisset, tum etiam elixasset; contravè, primùm elixasset, & deinde torrefecisset insuper: si quis eam in olla prorsus obthurata suo jure solo coxisset, ac comedisset, poena teneretur. Rursus ut ea tum, cum torreretur, vino, vel oleo, cunctisque, præter aquam, liquoribus,

§. IV. *Subcrudum.* Hebraicè מן: quæ si vox in codicibus sacris sæpius occurrat, at hæc ei vis nisi hoc loco subijcitur nulloquam. Nam plerique omnes interpretes volunt eam hic esse *subrudum*, & magis propriè *semiaffum*. Jam R. Salomo Jarchi, item & Aben Ezra hanc ejus vim confirmant linguâ Arabicâ, in qua videlicet

מן semicoctum esse significat. Est autem hoc solemne linguis orientalibus, ut literula jod cum in medio themate vel radice, seu mavis primaria voce fiseat (sic enim grammatici loquuntur) crebrò inde tollatur. Porro legitur tractatu Talmudico משנה de sacris paschalibus, fol. 41. p. 1. מן est idem quod Persæ آبرنی dicunt.

§. X.

quoribus, & fructuum succis perfunderetur, licebat: sicutum erat etiam & illud, carnem ejus probè tostam deinceps in liquores intingere, succosque fructuum.

§. IX. Non torrebatur victima paschalis in eo posita vase, quod esset è saxo, metalloque: Lex enim cum edicit, *Sed tostam igne*, quidvis aliud excludit. Quod si vas ita perforatum esset, ut ignis penetrare per foramina possit ad victimam, eam in hoc impositam vase torreri, fas erat. Eadem non torrebatur infixam veru metallo; id enim calefieret totum, & victimam ubi tangeret, \* torrefaceret.

§. X. Si quis in furno calefacto, post detractum indidem ignem, suspensam victimam paschalem torrefecisset, ea fanè interdicta foret, ut quæ non fuisset igni tosta: si quis eam passim incisam subjectis prunis torrefecisset, ista quidem esset igni tosta: si quis eam torreret propter calcem ferventem, propter ardentem testam, si propter calidas Tiberiadis \* aquas coqueret, utique fuisset interdicta, quippe quæ igni tosta non esset. Hæc igitur erat ejus torrendæ ratio: adigebatur per os & podicem ejus veru ligneum: inde \* suspendebatur in furno, atque igni subjecto torrebatur: & crura, visceraque extra victimam suspendebantur in furno, non ponebantur autem intus in alvo: sic enim elixi quid conficeretur. Jam ad hanc victimam torrendam punica malo pro veribus utebantur: aliud enim ligni generis inter torrendum aliquid aquæ funderet, & nonnihil elixum in victima redderet.

§. XI. Si victima paschalis, dum in furno torrebatur, testam ejus attigisset; quæ tetigerat ex ea summa caro fuit deputanda propterea, quòd id loci quidem certe ardore testæ tostum esset.

§. XII. Si quid humoris in furni testam è victima paschali destillasset, eidemque rursus se junxisset, ex ea tollendus erat locus,

§. IX. *Torrefaceret.* Ita torreretur non igni, sed ardore metalli.

§. X. *Aquas coqueret.* Propius à Tiberiade, quemadmodum apud *Josephum*, l. 18. cap. 3. scriptum videmus, fons erat aquæ calidæ ad vicum, qui ducto inde nomine *Ἐμμαὺς*. Emmaus appellabatur, quod caldas sonat.

*Suspendebatur in furno.* Hinc inter cau-

fas, cur annus constitueretur intercalaris, enumeratur furnorum everfio: id quod videre licet cum in scriptoris nostri illo, quem ex hebræo latinum factum multos abhinc annos in vulgus edidimus, tractatu de consecratione Calendarum & de ratione intercalandi, ar. 5. cap. 4. tum etiam illo, qui Synedria inscribitur tractatu Tal-mudico, fol. 11. pag. 1.

§. XIII.

locus, quò jus illud reverterat : sic enim res se habebat , è victima paschali quidquid juris & succi inter assandum effluxerat, interdictum erat, ut pote quod non tostum igni fuerat.

§. XIII. Si quid juris à victima paschali defluxisset in subjectam similaginem, hinc id, quod jus imbuerat, \* pugillo exemptum abjiciebatur.

§. XIV. Victima paschalis perfusa oleo libamenti comedebatur, si pertineret ad sodalitiu[m] sacerdotum : sin Israelitarum esset, cruda prorsus abluebatur, exsiccabaturque : tostæ verò summa caro præsecabatur. Si oleo decumarum secundarum fuisset perfusa, omnino sodalitiu[m] oleum hoc pretio non emebatur ; quia enim decumæ secundæ non redimebantur Hierosolymæ, sic, ut idoneo loco disputavimus. Non torrebantur unà duæ victimæ paschales propter confusionem, non si forent agnus & hœdus. Ac victima paschalis, id quod jam sæpe dictum est, ad mediam duntaxat noctem comedebatur, quò magis à peccato deterrentur hominēs : nam ex præscripto Legis ad auroram nascentem usque sacrum istuc comedi fas erat. Illud quoque nos disputatione de pane fermentato \* & azymo jam exposuimus, agno paschali comedendo recitandum esse carmen illud, cui nomen est \* hymno ; nec licuisse, ut, si sodales ad mensam somno confopiti fuissent, ex agno paschali quidquam deinceps ederent vel prima nocte.

§. XIII. *Pugillo exemptum oportebat.* Ne quis hinc offendat, notandum id quod etiam in commentariis nomine כֶּסֶף מִשְׁנֵה נֶסֶף, in textu editum esse mendosè נֶסֶף, quod est deglubere, decorticare, summam partem deputare, nec potest de similagine nisi inconditè dici, pro יְקָמֵץ, quod est pugillo demere, quemadmodum legitur in Misna tract. Talmudico פֶּסַח, de sacris paschalibus, fol. 75. pag. 2. ex quo fonte quod jam nunc tradit noster hausit.

§. XIV. *Et azymo.* Is à nobis tractatus ex hebræo latinus factus, &, quoniam in

eo non de pane azymo & fermentato tantum, sed & de cunctis ritibus cœnæ paschalis copiosè disputatur, tractatus de solemnitate Paschatis inscriptus est.

*Cui nomen est hymno.* Quod etiam comprobavit Christus Dominus, de quo Matt. c. 26. v. 30. scriptum videmus, *Et hymno dicto profecti sunt ad montem olivarum.* Hymno in isto, quem nunc quoque quotannis canunt Judæi, statim ab initio videre licet istuc. *Hic est panis afflictationis, quam in Ægypto comederunt patres nostri :* sed nos alio libro jam hymnum istum totum edidimus.





R. *Mosis Majemonidæ* see

*Moses, ben Maimon*

*Sacrific*

DE

# SACRIFICIIS LIBER.

*Isaac, ben Judah Abravanel* Accefferunt

**ABARBANELIS EXORDIUM,  
SEU**

*Procemium commentariorum in Leviticum :*

ET

**MAJEMONIDÆ TRACTATUS**

DE

**CONSECRATIONE CALENDARUM,**

ET

**De Ratione Intercalandi.**

---

Quæ ex Hebræo convertit in sermonem Latinum,

& Notis illustravit

**Ludovicus de Compiègne de Veil, A. M.**

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LONDINI,

Typis *Milonis Flesher*, sumtibus Auctoris : prostat apud  
*Mosem Pitt*, ad insigne Angeli in cœmiterio Divi Pauli, &  
apud *Brabazonum Aylmer*, ad insigne trium Columbarum,  
viâ vulgo **Cothill** dictâ, MDCLXXXIII.

TRACTATUS  
DE  
CONSECRATIONE  
CALENDARUM,  
ET DE  
RATIONE  
INTERCALANDI.

---

*Præceptum est jubens, ut ineunda atque subducenda ratione cognoscatur atque definiatur à quo oporteat die quemque anni mensem inchoare. Hoc consequentibus capitibus explicatur.*



**T R A C T A T U S**  
 DE  
**CONSECRATIONE**  
**CALENDARUM,**  
 ET DE  
**R A T I O N E**  
**INTERCALANDI.**

---

CAPUT PRIMUM.

*Menses ad lunæ spatia menstrua, annos autem ad solis conversionem annuam dirigi: hinc annum intercalarem uno mense longiorem. Menses alios constare diebus è viginti novem, eos civos nominari: alios è diebus triginta, hos appellari cum plenos, tum etiam intercalares. Jam menses è noviluniis desiniri à Judicum confessu, & ab eo in novilunia ratione astrologiæ inquireri: id verò nisi in Judæa fieri nusquam.*

§. I. **M**ENSES nihil aliud esse, quàm lunæ \* novitates, vel ex eo cognosci licet, quod in Lege est, *Hoc erit suum cujusque novitatis holocaustum*, &c. & alio loco, *No-*  
Num. 28.14.  
Exod. 12.2.  
vitas

4. I. *Novitates.* Lunæ cursus latine, ut | menses nominantur, quia mensa confici-  
 est apud Tullium, lib. 2. de Nat. Deorum, | unt spatia: at hoc non est ita lunæ pro-  
primum,



*vitas ista vobis (esto) principium mensum, &c.* Quod sapientes quidem sic interpretati sunt, ut vellent per visum à Deo lunæ novæ \* speciem objectam esse *Mosi*, atque eidem præscriptum, ut cum similem visurus esset, eam illico consecraret. At anni diriguntur à nobis ad conversionem solis annuam, quod scriptum in Lege sit, *Observato mensem novarum frugum, &c.*

Deut. 16. 1.

§. II. Annus enim solis ferè major est anno lunæ diebus undecim: ex quo cum sint dies collecti triginta, plus, minusve, annum uno mense facimus longiorem, qui annus vocatur intercalaris: neque enim fieri potest, ut annus è duodecim mensibus constituatur, & diebus aliquot. Nam quod in Lege dicitur, *Primus anni mensum esto*, indicat menses quidem integros anno annumerandos esse, non ita dies.

Exod. 12. 2.

§. III. Singulis mensibus occultitur luna, & duos circiter dies non aperitur, paulo plus, minusve; alterum scilicet diem antequam ad extremum mensem soli jungatur; alterum postquam fuit cum sole conjuncta. Tum vesperi rursus in occidentis partibus aperitur. Qua verò nocte luna primum postquam delituit, aperitur, ab ea mensis initium ducitur, diésque numerantur novem & viginti. nam si tricesima nocte mensis luna nova jam videatur, dies ille tricesimus ipse mensis ineuntis est princeps: sin minus, mensi exeunti ascribitur; alter ab uno & tricesimo die mensis incipit. Porrò tricesimo primo die nihil curandum est, luna nova videaturne, an non? Id enim omnino fieri nunquam potest; ut mensis lunaris sint plures, quàm dies triginta.

§. IV. Ita-

prium, quin idem & de sole, syderumque reliquorum longè plurimis rectè dici possit. Melius igitur Hebræi, qui lunæ cursus *חדשי*, id est, *novitates*, à novata luna dicunt. omnino omnes interpretes *חדשי*, mensem convertunt: rectè illi quidem: Quod enim Hebræi *novitatem*, id ipsum Latini *mensem* nuncupant: verum, quoniam in ipso nomine vis argumenti fita est omnis, verbum pro verbo reddere necesse mihi fuit. Nèc verò intelligas quod de viso *Mosis* subsequitur, nisi vocabulum hoc *חדשי* simpliciter interpretaris.

*Speciem objectam esse Mosi.* Est in tractatu Talmudico *מנחת כהן* de fertis fol. 29. pag. 1. tria *Mosis* fuisse ad intelligendum difficilia usque dum exemplar eorum illi Deus Optimus Maximus ob oculos posuisset, fabricationem candelabri sacri, novilunium, & animantium serpentium genera, de quibus Lege sancitum est. Ac tabernaculi quidem & omnis apparatus sacri exemplar positum esse *Mosis* ante oculos apertè declaratur *Exod. 25. v. 9.* idemque confirmatur ab Apostolo epistola ad *Hebræos*, cap. 8. cæterorum autem fides sit penes auctores.

§. V. Sep-

§. IV. Itaque luna cùm se aperuerit tricesima nocte, mensis confiterit omnino diebus è viginti novem, qui mensis cavus nominatur: sin autem ea nocte occultetur adhuc, mensis exiens dies habet triginta, qui cùm intercalaris, tum etiam plenus appellatur. Ac quæ luna videatur nocte tricesima, suo se tempore aperire dicitur: sin verò posteriori demum nocte cernatur, nimirum ea luna est, quæ nocte intercalationis suæ conspicui dicitur.

§. V. Sed hæc observatio lunæ non est cuique hominum commissa ac credita sic, uti \* septimus à mundo constituto dies, quem diem licet quisque, numeratis diebus sex, ipsemet instituat atque in otio degat: calendas autem definire ac consecrare consilii proprium est: Quod enim in Lege dicitur, *Novitas ista vobis, &c.* significat hujus rationis descriptio pendet è vobis. Exod. 12. 2.

§. VI. Consilium igitur ratione astrologorum, qui syderum norunt statum atque motum, sedulò perscrutabatur & exquisibat, fierine posset, ut suo tempore luna aperiretur, id est nocte tricesima mensis, an se res haberet secus? Si esset, ut posset, die trigesimo toto expectabantur de luna nova nuncii: qui si venerint, interrogati ritè fuerint, testimonia illorum constiterint, idem ille dies dedicabatur: sin minus, intercalabatur: id est, dies ille tricesimus exeunti mensi apponebatur: sin verò foret rationibus liquidum fieri nullatenus posse, luna ut id temporis aperiretur, nulli expectabantur nuncii: tum si qui venissent perspicuum erat aut eos ementiri prudentes, aut illis certè non veram lunam, sed quandam lunæ similitudinem è nubibus apparuisse.

§. VII. At-

§. V. *Septimus à mundo constituto dies.* Hunc cùm Scriptor noster שבת בראשית dicit, genere ille quidem sermonis utitur usitato: sed eodem adeo præciso, adeo tecto, ut nihil supra. hæc est enim verbis istis שבת בראשית subjecta sententia, sabbatum institutum continuò post mundi universi creationem, de qua creatione narratur Legis eo capite, cujus initium est בראשית. Atque hoc nomine appellantur sabbata universè om-

nia, & propriè sabbatum illud, quod subsequitur postremam umbraculorum solemnitatem. Nempe prælegendi in synagogis Pentateuchi rationem Judæi hanc instituerunt, ut eum absolverent quotannis ad extremum umbraculorum diem solemnem, & proximo sequente sabbato usque legendi ejus initium facerent sic, ut prælectio ejus sabbati inciperet ab prima divinæ Legis voce בראשית ex quo vocabulum habet sabbatum illud.

¶ Con-



§. VII. Atque ut consilium ratiocinando quæreret, an aperire se luna posset, necne: item ut eos, qui ad se accederent, lunæ novæ nuncios percontaretur ante, quàm calendas consecraret jubente præcepto sancitum est: itémque ut idem mitteret, qui reliquum populum de calendis indictis certiores facerent, unde cognoscere posset, quando deberet dies agere festos: huc enim spectat Legis hoc, *Hæ sunt feriæ Domini, quibus conventus sacros celebrabitis; & alio loco, Jus hoc suo tempore servato.*

Levit. 23.37.

Exod. 13.10.

Isaia 2. 3.

§. VIII. Ac quia in vaticinationibus est, *Lex enim Sione prodit, & Hierosolymis Domini oraculum*, idcirco in nulla, præter Judæam, regione aut definiiebantur menses, aut intercalabatur ineundis & subducendis illis mathematicorum rationibus: nisi fortè vir sapientiâ præstans, & idem magister in regione Israelitica creatus, ex ea migrasset, nec ullum sibi doctrinâ parem reliquisset. Omnino vir ille ut ratiocinando menses definiret, & intercalaret etiam extra regionem Israelitarum, licentiam habebat: verùm eidem illi, ubi compertum fuerat exortum esse in Judæa, qui doctrinâ eum æquipararet (neque enim dici opus est, qui superaret) tollebatur intercalandi potestas extra regionem Israeliticam. Qui si quid deinde præter auctoritatem intercalaret, irritum esset ¶.

## CAPUT

¶ Consentaneum mihi visum est hinc eam, quam hodie Judæi Deo de renovatione lunæ fundunt, subjicere preceam.

ברוך אתה יהוה אלהינו מלך  
הטולם אשר במאמרו ברת  
שחקים וברוח פיו כל צנאם  
חוק וזמן נתן להם שלא ישנו  
את תפקידם ששים ושמחים  
לעשות רצון קונם פועל אמת  
שפעלתו אמת וללבנה אמר  
שתחדש עטרת תפארת לעמו  
בטן שהם עתידים להתחדש  
כמותה ולפאר ליוצרים על  
שם נבד מלכותו ברוך אתה  
יהוה מחדש חדשים (ואומר ג'  
פעמים)

Gratia tibi, Domine Deus noster, Rec-  
tor universi mundi, qui dicendo fecisti  
coelestes orbis, & omnem hunc eorum  
ornatum mittendo oris spiritu: tu illis cer-  
ta definitaque præstituisti spatia, nihil ut  
mentirentur unquam ratos ordines servan-  
tes, & à te datum eis istuc, ut mirifica  
cum alacritate lætitiâque effectoris sui vo-  
luntati obsequi viderentur: tu Summus o-  
pifex, cujus verum, syncerum, constans  
& immutabile opus: tu iussisti lunam re-  
novari, utique splendidum ac nobile fig-  
num fore, ut gravidum modò ventre susti-  
nentes onus aliquando consimiliter reno-  
ventur, qui creatorem suum laudibus or-  
nent iis, quæ supremum dominum & rec-  
torem deceant. Gratia tibi Domine re-  
rum de mensuris hinc novitatibus. (hinc ter  
dicitur.)

CAPUT SECUNDUM.

Primum quibuscunque lunam novam nunciantibus nullo certo vitio infamibus creditum: postea vero, quoniam hæretici falsos subornabant lunæ novæ testes, nisi hominibus cognitis & probatis non habitam esse fidem, nec his quidem, nisi ad fastidium excussis. nam singulis mensibus consilium ratione astrologorum exquisisse, num luna se apertura, ubi futura, quàm latam, quàm angustam se præbitura, quorsum cornua conversura esset, tum his ipsis rebus examinasse lunæ novæ testes. A consilio lantæ epulas esse datas lunæ novæ nunciis, quò frequentiores venirent. Par nunciorum primum rite examinari: ex cæteris capita rerum è requiri, ut ne mæsti abirent: confirmato nuncio diem à consilio clara voce consecrari, & à populo consecrationis verba bis repeti. Consecrationem verò non tam à lunæ visione, quàm ab enunciatione consilii pendisse; adeò, ut & consilii errantis decreto standum esset.

§. I. **N**UNCII lunæ novæ idonei erant demum viri integri ac casti, qui iidem adhibebantur & aliarum rerum testes. Nam mulieres & fervi perinde, ac cæteri, qui ad

פעמים) סימן טוב הוא לנו ולכל  
 ישראל (ואומר ג"פ) ברוך ויצוד  
 ברוך עושיך ברוך קוניך ברוך  
 בוראיך (ורוקד ג"פ ואומר) כשם  
 שאני רוקד כנגדך ואיני יכור  
 ליוגע בך כך לא יוכלו כל אויבי  
 ליוגע בי לרעה (ואומר ג' פעמים)  
 תפול עליהם אימתה ופחד בגדול  
 ורועך ידמו כאבן (והופכו ואומר)  
 כאבן ידמו ורועך בגדול ופחד  
 אימתה עליהם תפול (ואומר ג"פ)  
 דוד מלך ישראל חי וקיים (ואומר)  
 שיר למעלות אשא עיני ה' הללויה  
 הללו אל בקדשו ונותנים שלום  
 ויהי לזה:

dicitur.) Signum faustum nobis fuerit, & cunctis Israelitis. (tum ter dicitur.) Laus molitori, laus effectori, laus auctori, laus creatori tui. (hic quisque ter subsiluit & dicit.) Ut ego ad te subsulto, nec te possum attingere tamen, item nec adversarii mei me possint attingere, quò mihi noceant: (tum additur etiam ter,) incidat eis terror atque formido, vi roboris tui instar lapidis obmutescant: (deinde contrario ordine) obmutescant lapidis instar tui roboris vi, formido atque terror eis incidat. (inde ter dicitur.) \* David, rex Israelitarum, salvus est & incolumis. (Adduntur psalmus 121. cujus titulus, Carmen gradatim modulandum, & prima verba sunt, Oculos in montes tollo, unde veniat mihi auxilium, & psalmus omnium ultimus cujus initium, Laudate Deum, laudate Deum prae potentem: qui bus absolutis omnes salutant inter se.)

\* Namque hoc spectat ad illud quod de Davide scriptum legitur Psal. 89. v. 37. & 38. Semen eius eternum solum, & solium eius sic, ut solem coram me: Uique lunam fixam & stabile permansurum.

Y y §. I. Te-

ad res alias \* testimonio esse nequibant, repudiabantur. Si cum patre filius unà vidisset nascentem lunam, consilio renunciarent ambo, non quòd propinquorum de luna nova testimonium valeret ad calendas definiendas: sed ut si illorum alter, aut quia latro erat, aut quid simile, ad testimonium dicendum non esset idoneus, alter cum alio tertio ad testandum conjungeretur. Ac quibus testimonii dictio ex sapientum auctoritate non erat, etsi erat ex Lege, tamen nihilominus de nascente luna testimonium eorum rejiciebatur.

§. II. Qui de luna nova renunciabant, eos ex Lege quidem tam fastidiosè probare, non erat necessè. nam si per nuncios, quorum id de luna nova testimonium inveniebatur falsum, calendæ fuissent institutæ, rectè tamen institutæ essent. Principiò igitur omnibus omnino Judæis nascentem lunam nunciantibus faciliè credebatur: etenim Judæorum quisque, quoad certò scias hominem esse vitiosum, putandus est fide dignus. Ex quo autem religionem adeo labefactarunt \* homines de natura divina pravè sentientes, & ab iisdem frequentes sunt pretio conducti, qui falsò nunciarent lunam nascentem à se conspectam esse, quam non viderant, constitutum est; ut ii demum ad testandum adhiberentur, quorum innocentia consilio esset cognita & perspecta: nec his quidem fides tribueretur, nisi diu, multùmque interrogatis.

§. III.

§. I. *Testimonio esse nequibant.* Non erat enim testimonii dictio nec aleatoribus, neque foeneratoribus, neque tendentibus revere columbis, neque facientibus commercium earum, quas anno sabbatico terra inculta fuderat, frugum, neque servis hominibus, id quod demonstratur tractatu Talmudico de principio anni, fol. 22. pag. 1. neque porro multis aliis, de quibus disputatur à scriptore nostro, libro de Judicibus, tractatu de testimoniis, capp. 11. & 12.

§. II. *Homines de natura divina pravè sentientes.* In editione anni 1574. legitur hic אפיקורוסין Epicurei: in editione anni 1524. מינין Hæretici, qua de voce fusè disputavit Buxtorfius in suo lexico Rabbimico: in tractatu autem Talmudico de principio anni, fol. 22. pag. 1. in ipsa Misna, unde locus hic derivatur ביהוסים Bajerusai, qui iidem etiam Karai nominantur. Nam fuerant Amigoni Sochai cujus-

dam eximii doctoris auditores duo, quorum unum nomen Bajerus, & alteri Saduceus. Hi cum audissent è doctore suo, cum diceret, Deo serviendum nullà propositâ mercede, putantes cum hoc dictum voluisse, nullum neque præmium, neque poenam expectandam, abnegantes traditionem omnem à communione Judæorum desciverunt, & iidem suas sibi disciplinas constituerunt, quæ ex ipsis vocabula habebant, nam eos qui sectabantur Saducei vocabantur, & Bajerusai, qui in his regionibus, Ægyptum dico, vulgò Karai dicuntur. Hoc ego ex scriptoris nostri commentariis in Capita Patrum verbum de verbo expressam extuli. Ad rem ut redeam, nomina ista sunt illa quidem propria certarum disciplinarum à recto & vero alienarum: sed enim interdum vis eorum latius patet, ut quibus significantur omnino omnes de vi & natura divina malè sentientes.

§. V. *Fis*

§. III. Cùm igitur consilio non essent noti per se ipsi qui nascentem lunam viderant, tum urbis ejus incolæ, ex qua conspecta erat luna nascentis, unà cum his, qui consilio novilunium ibant nunciatum, mittebant & alios, qui apud hoc ipsum consilium illis innocentiae atque integritatis testimonium tribuerent: Ac tum demum eorum erat nuncio locus.

§. IV. Quovis mense consilium ratione & via astrologorum exquirebat, num esset futurum, ut, si luna se aperiret, ad septentrionem vergeret, an ad meridiem? quàm latam aut angustam præbitura se esset? & quorsum summa cornua conversura? Tum si qui venirent lunæ novæ nuncii, his eos interrogationibus excutiebat: qua in parte mundi lunam conspexistis, aquilonari, an australi? quorsum ejus tendere cornua, quàm altam à terris ferri, quàm latam vobis eam videre visi estis? si responderent ea, quæ cum astrologiæ rationibus congruerent, eorum nuncio fides habebatur: sin minus, respuebatur.

§. V. Si nuncii afferebant se Lunæ nascentis similitudinem in aqua, aut etiam ipsam in cœlo vidisse per nubes, aut illius umbram in laterna: aut se lunam novam vidisse partim in cœlo, partim vel in nube, vel in aqua, vel in laterna; scilicet ea visio nulla fuit, nec ejus causâ calendæ consecrabantur. Quod si nunciorum alter aiebat, visa mihi fuit luna nova supra terram ferri duorum quasi staturam \* hominum, & trium alter, conjungebantur unâ. Contra, si lunam unus extulerit in altitudinem staturam trium hominum, alter quinque. Sed enim eorum unus cum alio tertio conjungebatur, qui aut idem, quod ipse diceret, aut unius duntaxat hominis staturâ ab eo discreparet.

§. VI. Quod si nuncii dicerent lunam novam à se conspectam esse tum, cùm minimè attenderent, sed ubi applicassent animum testimonii dicendi causâ, porrò non apparuisse, hujus item testimonii nulla prorsus habebatur ratio ad consecrandas calendæ. Nam fieri potuit, ut coactæ nubes in unum speciem

§. V. *Hominum, & trium alter.* Docet | litate luna feratur, terrarum pene contin-  
enim ratio mathematicorum quanta humi- | gens. *Tullius*, lib. 2. de divinatione.  
X y 2 §. VIII.

speciem exhiberent lunæ, quæ deinde sunt dissolutæ: Sin autem ferrent nuncii vigesima nona mensis die mane ante solis ortum lunam à se inspectam esse in oriente, ad vesperum autem tricesimæ noctis in occidente, his omnino credebatur, atque ex hac eorum visione calendæ consecrabant, quippe qui lunam novam suo tempore viderant. Quod autem dicerent mane sibi lunam apparuisse, consilium omnino nihil movebat. nam visionis matutinæ cautio nulla fuit, ac persuasum habebant, quod nubes simul collectæ speciem lunæ præbuerint. Atque his etiam credebatur, qui sibi suo tempore lunam nascentem apparuisse, ferebant, tametsi luna non conspiciebatur ea nocte, quæ intercalaris fere dicitur. Solius enim visionis, quæ in tricesimam mensis noctem incurrebat, nostra cautio fuit.

§. VII. Ita fere excipiebantur ii, qui consilio lunam novam nunciabant. Veniebat ad consilium quisquis alioquin ad testimonium dicendum idoneus nascentem lunam viderat, quos omnes consilium introducendos in locum unum, atque illis convivia opiparè apparanda curabat: quò magis ad annunciandam lunam novam allicerentur. Nuncii autem suo quisque ordine interrogabantur de his, quæ sunt supra dicta. Primò videlicet nunciorum par illud, quod primum venerat; sed & horum major prior introducebatur ad consilium, ut interrogaretur. Qui si conveniebat cum ratione astrologiæ, ejus arcefebatur socius: Si congruebat cum priore, satis eorum erat testimonium confirmatum. Itaque ex reliquis nunciorum paribus duntaxat rerum capita consilium requirebat: non quòd ita opus esset, sed ne abirent animo abjecto atque fracto, atque ægrè nunciatum venirent.

§. VIII. Confirmato jam testimonio, consilii princeps ita dicebat, **CONSECRATUS EST**, cui populus omnis respondebat, **CONSECRATUS, CONSECRATUS**. Nec calendæ consecrabant pauciores, \* quàm homines tres, neque pauciores adhibebantur ad putandas rationes illas geometricas, nec calendæ consecrabantur, nisi cùm luna nova suo tempore

§. VIII. *Quàm homines tres*: neque enim paucioribus convenire nomen seu senarius, | five consilii, five confectus judicum passim in Talmude traditur.

tempore visa fuit : nec tum quidem consecrabantur, nisi inter-  
 diu. Quæ si noctu consecratæ fuissent, hæc consecratio nul-  
 la foret. Imo si consilium ipsum cum omnibus unâ Israeliticis  
 nascentem lunam conspexisset, nec ei licuisset pronunciare  
**CONSECRATUS EST**, quin oppressisset nox una  
 & tricesima mensis, aut si pronunciare per otium quidem li-  
 cuisset posteaquam visa luna nova fuit ; sed consilium produxif-  
 fet nunciorum examen ad ipsum vesperum unius & tricesimæ  
 noctis, videlicet iste dies non consecraretur ; verùm mensis  
 esset plenus, id est, calendæ rejicerentur in unum & trigesi-  
 mum diem, tametsi luna nova conspecta esset nocte tricesima.  
 Neque enim lunæ visio, sed consilium, cùm pronunciabat  
**CONSECRATUS EST**, calendæ definiebat.

§. IX. Quod si Consilium ipsum lunam novam vidisset ex-  
 tremo die vigesimo nono ante, quàm sydus ullum oriretur, idem  
 hoc Consilium pronunciaret illicò, **CONSECRATUS**  
**EST**, quippe cùm adhuc luceret. At si lunam novam con-  
 silium cerneret tricesima nocte post orta jam sydera duo, po-  
 stridie demum eorum uni duo alii iudices assiderent, atque re-  
 liqui duo testimonium de luna nova dicerent coram his tribus,  
 qui deinde diem consecrarent.

§. X. Consilium autem etsi calendæ per imprudentiam, per  
 errorem, per vim consecrarit, nihilominus ratum erat. Atque  
 ad hunc diem à consilio consecratum dies festos quisque dirige-  
 ret, oportebat. Quin etiam is, qui errasse consilium probè sci-  
 ret, idem ipse ejus decreto stare necesse erat, quippe consilio  
 commissa res erat, ac credita : & cui præceptum erat, ut die-  
 es festos celebraret, eidem etiam præscriptum, ut consilio mo-  
 rem gereret, quod hæc Legis verba, \* *Hæ sunt feriæ Domini* \* Lev. 23.37.  
*quibus conventus sacros celebrabitis, &c.* satis indicant.

CAPUT

§. X. *Hæ sunt feriæ, &c.* Hujus vide-  
 licet oraculi divini verbis אלה מוטדי אשר תקראי אתם  
 sententiæ duæ: unam à nobis in textu ex-  
 pressam, & hanc alteram, *Hæ sunt feriæ*  
 Domini, quas vosmet indicetis. neque e-  
 nim ad hanc alteram sententiæ subji-  
 ci-

endam quidquam aliud requiritur, nisi ut  
 puncta vocalia ( sic enim à grammaticis  
 appellantur) postremæ vocis immutentur,  
 adeoque legatur non אתם; sed אתם  
 quod esse faciendum sæpius traditur in  
 tractatu Talmudico de principio anni.

## CAPUT TERTIUM

Omnes, qui lunam novam conspexerant, cum aut unius diei & noctis iter à consilio distarent, aut minus eo, renunciatum irent, oportuisse, vel ipso sabbato. Principiò tricesimà mensis die totà nuncium lunæ novæ acceptum: hac adeo re aliquando descriptionem sacrorum & ordinem fere sublatum: inde sanctum, ne lunæ novæ nuncio locus esset ultra vesperam: rursus disturbato templo, ut etiam proximè ante solis occasum nuncius lunæ novæ valeret ad calendæ definiendas, edictum esse. Definito mense pleno seu intercalari, calendis subsequen- tibus quosdam constitutum in locum coisse, ut sacrum epulare celebrarent. Primum facibus tollendis longè latèque significari calendæ esse constitutas: post Samaritanis hoc signo abuten- tibus, ut plebem in errorem inducerent, constitutum esse, ut mitterentur qui multitudini consecrationem calendarum nunciarent. Quò loci cunque isti perveniebant, ibi dies solemnes simplices: quò non aspirabant, geminos agi. Hos mense Nisan venisse, quò non poterant mense Tisri: nihilo minus ibi ut omnes ex æquo dies solemnes geminarentur, à sapientibus scitum esse. Certis de causis lunæ novæ nuncios terrendos, odiosè interpellandos, rogitando obtundendos.

§. I. QUI nascentem lunam conspexerant, hi cum distarent à consilio unius diei & noctis iter, aut eo minus, renunciatum ibant. Sin longiùs abessent à consilio, nihil erat, quod renunciarent. Quid enim eorum poterat nuncius prodesse post exactam trigesimam diem mensis, cum is esset jam intercalaris constitutus?

§. II. Qui lunam novam viderant, hi ejus nuncium consilio necesse erat vel ipso etiam Sabbato afferrent, quoniam in Lege est, *Hæ sunt ergo feriæ Domini ad convocationem populi, quas indicetis temporibus suis.* Nam propter omnem, de quo edicitur, ut observetur tempore statò, religiosi muneris functionem Sabbatum elevabatur. Ex quo solas ob Nisan & Tisri calendæ

Lev. 23. 4.

calendas fiebat, contra id quod \* de sabbato sancitum est, quippe quæ solæ ad solemnitates celebrandas pertinerent. Cùm verò stabat templum, etiam propter singulas calendas contra præceptionem de sabbato fiebat. Singulis enim calendis, præter quotidiana, fiebant etiam alia sacrificia, quorum gratiâ quidem sabbatum semper pro die profano habebatur.

§. III. Atque ut illi, qui nascentem lunam viderant, nulla habita ratione sabbati, consilio nuncium ejus portabant, sic etiam sabbatum profanantes ad consilium proficiscebantur, qui lunam novam nunciantibus innocentix dabant testimonium, si per se ipsi consilio essent ignoti. Quin etiam cùm unus tantum inveniretur homo, per quem consilio nota fieret eorum, qui de luna nova renunciabant, integritas, tamen unà cum ipsis contra Legem, quæ est de sabbato, pergebat ad consilium eam ob causam, quòd fieri poterat, ut etiam inveniretur alter, quicum jūngeretur.

§. IV. Si qui viderat lunam novam ad noctem sabbaticam morbo teneretur, is in asinum imponebatur etiam cum grabato. Si periculosum erat iter, portabant arma nuncii. Si longinquum erat, viatico se muniebant. Nec verò qui lunam novam sabbato viderant ita magnam, ut cerni facilè possent ab omnibus, dicerent, uti nos; sic & alii sine dubio lunam novam conspexere: quare nihil est, quod contra præceptum de sabbato quidquam committamus. Nam cuique alioquin ad testimonium dicendum idoneo præscriptum erat, cum sabbato lunam novam viderat, atque inter illum & consilii sedem unus duntaxat intercedebat diei & noctis iter, aut eo minus, ut sabbato profanando nuncium lunæ novæ consilio deferret.

§. V. Principiò tricesima mensis die tota novæ lunæ testimonium accipiebatur: sed enim aliquando stante templo evenit, ut lunæ novæ nuncii \* ad vesperam necdum accessissent. Itaque altaris ministri valdè erant dubii ac solliciti facerentne jure sacrificium, an differrent etiam, si qui porrò venirent lunæ novæ nuncii. Nam factò sacrificio jugi vespertino, quæ solet  
calendarum

§. II. De sabbato sancitum est. Exod. 16. v. 29. Sua quisque sede maneat: ne suo se quisquam è loco moveat.

§. V. Ad vesperam. Vespera apud Hæ-

bræos nomen à duplici ratione sua ducit. Sed hac de re diligenter disputavimus libro de cultu divino initio tractatûs sexti.

§. VI. Da-



calendarum nomine sacrificiis addi hostia, porrò immolari non poterat. Tum igitur à consilio sancitum est, ut ne de luna nova nuncii ultra vesperam allati haberetur ratio, hanc videlicet ob causam, ut per diei tempus liceret & ea, quæ calendarum nomine addebantur, sacra, & sacrificium juge vespertinum, atque eorum libationes fieri.

§. VI. Itaque ad vesperam si nulli etiam advenissent lunæ novæ nuncii, fiebat sacrificium juge vespertinum, quo factò, si nuncii venissent, reliquum diei spatium quidem exigebatur sanctè, sed & posterus dies instituebatur festus, quo demum fiebat sacrum id, quod præter quotidianum postulabat calendarum ratio. namque dies à vesperis non consecrabatur. Verùm post excidium templi princeps consilii doctissimus, *Joannes Zaccari* filius, unà cum reliquo judicum consensu, constituit, ut tricesima mensis die tota testimonio de luna nova \* daretur locus. Itaque & extremo die mensis trigesimo proximè ad solis obitum excipiebantur etiam nuncii lunæ novæ, si venissent, & idem ille mensis tricesimus dies consecrabatur solus.

§. VII. Consilium mensem intercalarem, sive plenum cum definivisset, quia nulli venerant tricesima mensis die tota lunæ novæ nuncii, quidam una & tricesima mensis die, qua habebantur calendæ, constitutum in locum coibant, in quo epularentur. Huc nec conveniebant de nocte, sed luce dubia ante solis ortum: neque epulas istas pauciores, quàm epulones decem celebrabant, neque in his epulis quidquam apponebatur aliud, quàm panis ex fecali, & minuto quodam frugum genere. Nimirum hoc est illud, quod passim commemoratur intercalationis menstruæ sacrum epulare.

§. VIII. Principiò consilium ubi calendas consecraverat, faces curabat extollendas in montium jugis, quo signo hominibus longè distitis calendarum consecratio protinus indicaretur. Postquam autem \* Cutæorum perversitas eò venit, ut facibus similiter

§. VI. *Daretur locus.* Nullus enim jam metus erat, ne perturbatio rerum inde exoriretur.

*Tricesimus dies consecrabatur solus.* Nimirum hoc illud est, quod sæpe traditur in tractatu Talmudico de principiò anni: unus ex anno dies pro anno expleto, & pars diei pro toto habetur.

§. VIII. *Cutæorum perversitas, &c.* Cutæi sunt iidem, qui Samaritani, de quibus ira Josephus, lib. 9. cap. ultimo. Aliasque gentes nomine Cutæos, qui de flumine Persico nomen id habebant, in Samariam & omnem Israeliticam regionem deducendas curavit. Et inferius, Igitur, inquit, cum

similiter elatis plebem deducerent in errorem, à consilio constitutum est, ut mitterentur, qui multitudini calendarum consecrationem nunciarent. His autem nunciis non concedebatur, ut aut quenquam diem festum, aut solemnitatem Expiationum itinere faciendo profanam haberent, multo etiam minus, ut sabbatum ipsum: neque enim ut calendarum consecrandarum causâ, sic & ubique celebrandarum gratiâ, sabbatum fieri profanum, permissum est.

§. IX. Omnino mensibus sex mittebantur, qui definitas à consilio calendas nunciarent. Primum mense Nisan, propter solemnitatem paschæ: mense \* Ab, propter jejunium, quod ejus mensis die nono celebratur. Mense Elul, propter anni principium, scilicet ut mensis ejus die trigesimo nuncios expectarent à consilio. Qui si afferrent calendas jam esse institutas, tricesimum mensis diem solum festum agebant: sin minus, & posterum diem celebrabant, usque dum venirent, qui mense Tisri mittebantur nuncii. Mittebantur autem mense Tisri, propter multas ac varias, quæ in eo celebrantur rato tempore, solemnitates. Mense Casleu, propter solemnitatem dedicati templi. Denique, mense Adar, propter solemnitatem fortium: sed enim stante templo mittebantur etiam mense Jar, propter pascha minus, seu secundum.

§. X. Mense Nisan, itémque Tisri, qui emittebantur à consilio, ut reliquo populo finitas indicarent calendas, non proficiscebantur, nisi calendis ipsis, sole jam orto, postea, quam è consilio audierant, cum pronunciaret, CONSECRATUS EST: nisi forte iidem ipsi à consilio calendas usque ab extremo die nono & vicesimo sic, ut supra diximus, consecrari audierint: Tum enim ut ad vesperum illicò se committerent itineri licebat: sed sex horum mensium quatuor reliquis vesperi post visam lunam novam, etsi à consilio calendæ necdum erant consecratæ, permissum fuerat, ut definitarum calendarum

cùm fuissent in Samariam transportati Cutæi (hoc enim nomine vocabantur hætenus, quòd à quodam Persidis flumine, cui nomen erat Cutæ, migrassent.) Et paulo post etiam: hi secundum eloquium Hebræorum Hebræi, secundum genus Cutæi, græcè autem Samaritani vocantur.

§. IX. *Ab, propter jejunium.* Mensis hic quintus est à mense Nisan, & respondet tere Julio. Jam de causa & ratione jejunii, quod ejus mensis nono die celebratur scriptor noster copiosè disputat tractatu de Jejunio, §. 2. cap. 5.

calendarum nuncii iter instituerent; quia enim postridie calendarum à consilio consecratum iri, constabat.

§. XI. Itaque quò loci cunque definitarum nuncii calendarum perveniebant, in eo dies solemnes, ut in Lege est, instituebant simplices: longinquis autem in locis, ad quæ calendarum nuncii aspirare nequibant, dies solemnes geminabant, quippe qui nescirent quo die essent à consilio definitæ calendæ.

§. XII. Erant loca quædam, quò calendarum nuncii perveniebant quidem mense Nisan, mense Tisri non item. Hic æquum foret, ut ad solemnitatem Paschæ, quoniam à nunciis acceperant quando calendæ mensis Nisan constitutæ à confessu judicum essent, agitent diem solemnem duntaxat unicum: duos autem ad solemnitatem umbraculorum, siquidem de calendis Tisrinis nihil dum ipsis nunciatum erat. Sed ne discreparent inter se solemnitates, à sapientibus sancitum est, ut quò loci cunque mense Tisri calendarum nuncii perveniebant nulli, ibi singulæ solemnitates biduo celebrarentur, vel ipsa etiam \* Pentecoste.

§. XIII. Quid autem erat, quò iidem ipsi calendarum nuncii quò loci perveniebant mense Nisan, eòdem pervenire non possent mense Tisri? Nimirum quia dies festi mense Tisri insunt duo, quibus ambulare calendarum nunciis non licebat, neque calendis ipsis, quod erat anni principium, neque ejusdem mensis die decimo, quo celebrabatur Expiationum solemnitas.

§. XIV. De calendarum consecratione nuncio vel uni fides tribuebatur. Nec publico tantum nuncio, sed etiam alicui mercatorum, qui itinere faciendo dicebat se è consilio audisse, cum calendarum isto vel illo die consecraret. Cujus è testimonio instituebantur dies festi atque solemnes: calendarum enim consecratio cum esset ejusmodi res, quam proferri palàm necesse fuit, vel unico ad testimonium dicendum idoneo viro, fides habebatur.

§. XV. Si, consilium cum trigesimo die mensis perpetuo nuncium de luna nova sedens expectasset, nec quidquam accepisset,

§. XII. *Pentecoste.* Quæ, ut nomen ipsum declarat, ad quinquagesimum ab postero Paschæ die diem celebrabatur, nec à calendis pendebat ullatenus. Atque de

hoc nomine פֶּנְתֵּקֹסֶטֶה, quo fere Pentecoste appellatur, diligenter ego discevi lib. de cultu divinito, tract. 2. ad §. 6. cap. 3.

piisset, postridie summo mane mensē plenū definitivisset, sicut ante differuimus, tum quatuor, aut quinque post diebus longinqui venerint nuncii, qui pro testimonio dicerent, lunam novam suo sibi tempore, hoc est, nocte tricesima mensis, apparuisse: vel etiam si venerint eodem mense exeunte, consilium illos vehementer perterrebat, interpellabat odiosè, rogitando obtundebat, atque ex eorum responsis singulis verbis sic aucupabatur, uti denique efficeret, ne mensis, qui jam diu definitus esset plenus, aliter observaretur.

§. XVI. Sin nihilominus in testimonio nuncii perstarent, ipsorum testimonium conveniret, ipsi viri essent noti atque intelligentes, cum illorum esset testimonium ritè perpensum, tum consilium de integro mensē finiebat, cujus dies dinumerabantur ab eo, qui mensis antecedentis alioqui fuisset tricesimus, siquidem nocte illum antevertente luna nova jam apparuerat.

§. XVII. Quod si consilium mensē illum sic, ut ante testimonium erat adventum, necesse habebat intercalarem relinqui, relinquebat. Nimirum hoc est illud quod dicebatur mensē intercalarem finiri necessitatis ergo. Fuerunt tamen clari sapientiā viri quidam hac de re dissentientes, qui dicerent, non esse jus, ut necessitatis causā mensis intercalaris finiretur; ubi venissent lunæ novæ nuncii eos, non esse terrendos; sed ex eorum esse testificatione consecrandas calendas.

§. XVIII. Ego verò sic arbitror, aut hanc doctorum hominum in hac re dissensionem, duobus mensibus exceptis, Nisan & Tifri, reliquos duntaxat spectare quatuor; aut ad eos summum attinere lunæ novæ nuncios, qui mense Nisan atque Tifri venerant post exactos dies festos atque solemnes, qui his mensibus duobus agebantur, quoniam actum erat, jam præterierat tempus sacrificiorum, item & tempus dierum solemnum: sin autem his mensibus duobus lunæ novæ nuncii venissent ante mensē medium, ab iis nullatenus territis accipi quod afferebant. Neque enim ii, qui de luna nova, quæ tempore suo conspecta fuit, nuncium afferebant, ideo terrendi erant, uti mensis plenus definireretur, seu, quod idem est, intercalaris.

§. XIX. At si habebant nunciorum verba suspicionem falsitatis, ut probro & dedecori illis esset, si illorum repudiato testimonio, mensis constitueretur plenus, tum magno cum ter-

rore excutiebantur, ut, testimonio tandem confirmato, calendæ suo tempore defigerentur. Similiter si tum, cùm aliqui lunam novam à se suo tempore visam esse nunciarant, antequam consilium sacrarit calendas, venirent, qui illos accusarent vanitatis, accusatores consilium ita territabat, ut eorum denique accusatione infirmata calendæ suo tempore consecrarentur.

## CAPUT QUARTUM.

*Quot & quibus de rebus annus intercalaris definiretur? Quid tandem annus intercalaris communibus amplius haberet, & quod ad tempus anni hæc accessio fieret? Quinam annum intercalarem definirent, & ubi loci hoc fieri conveniret? Quando renunciaretur annus intercalaris? Nunquam intercalatum nec in fame & inopia, nec anno sabbatico. Cùm erat intercalatum, de intercalatione literas esse datas provincias in omnes, quarum literarum exemplar subjicitur.*

Deut. 16. 1.

§. I. **Q**UI annus fiebat uno mense longior, is intercalaris appellabatur: sed nullus addebatur unquam anno alius, quàm mensis Adar: itaque anno intercalari menses Adar bini continuabantur, atque iidem Adar primus, & Adar secundus dicebantur. Quid ita verò? Nimirum ut haberetur unà cum messe Pascha, quippe cùm in Lege sit, *Observato mensem novarum frugum*, &c. Hujus enim verbi vis ea fuit, ut temporis observandi rationem teneres eam, quæ mensem hunc ad messem adduceret: atqui nisi alterum anno mensem Adar adderes, tum Pascha hybernis, tum æstivis accideret temporibus.

§. II. Tribus de causis annus intercalaris instituebatur: Primò, propter æquinoctium: deinde, propter terræ fruges: tertio, propter arborum baccas. Ut si ex tabularum ratione consilium intelligeret æquinoctium aut decimo & sexto die Nisan futurum esse, aut etiam posteriùs, alterum anno mensem Adar adderet; ut cum Pascha adesset frugum maturitas. Quæ causa quidem

quidem cum esset, annus constituebatur intercalaris, nec ulla causa quærebatur alia.

§. III. Jam si seges esset tardior, quàm ut posset ad Pascha meti, nec dum baccas, quæ solebant tempore paschali, profuderant arbores; hac duplici de causa consilium itidem annum faciebat uno mense longiorem, licet decimum & sextum diem mensis æquinoctium antecederet. Etenim ad Pascha necesse erat, tum ut fruges invenirentur maturæ, unde manipulus offerretur Deo primitiarum munus ad decimum & sextum mensis Nisan; tum etiam ut arbores sic, ut solitæ erant, cum essent maturæ fruges, ex se fructus extulissent.

§. IV. Frugum verò maturitas in provinciis omnino tribus observabatur, in Judæa, trans Jordanem, atque in Galilæa. Si in harum duabus maturæ fruges essent, nihil intercalabatur, etsi in provincia tertia nondum maturitatem habebant. Contra verò, si maturitatem in una tantum ex his tribus seges esset affecuta, intercalabatur, si necdum ex se baccas fuderant arbores. Atque hæc quidem præcipuæ erant causæ, cur anni constituerentur intercalares, ut scilicet ad solis conversionem dirigerentur.

§. V. Præterea autem ob quasdam res alias necessario consilium annum decernebat intercalarium. Nam si viæ essent deteriores, quàm ut posset Hierosolymam ascendere populus, intercalabatur; ut deficiente pluvia viæ repararentur: si pontes interrupti, ut intercedentia flumina non modò plebem tardarent; sed etiam in vitæ periculum vocarent, item intercalabatur, uti pontes reficerentur. Si furnos, ubi coquerentur agni paschales, evertisset perpetuus imber, nec haberetur aliunde, ubi possent agni paschales assari, annus itidem constituebatur intercalaris, uti furnos per otium restitui liceret, atque ante Pascha ficcari: \* si Judæi procul exulantes viæ se commisissent, nec ad Pascha possent Hierosolymam aspirare, intercalabatur, ut daretur veniendi facultas.

§. VI. Neo

§. V. Si Judæi procul exulantes. Nam interea temporis, dum stabat templum Hierosolymitanum secundum, Judæi per omnes omnium gentium terras dispersi ac dispersi fuerant, qui demum Judæi à scriptore nostro גְּלוּתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Judæi procul exulantes appellantur, id quod cum iudicio observatur in commentariis textui nostri scriptoris adjectis.

§. VII.

§. VI. Nec verò propter nivis multitudinem, vim frigoris, exules Judæos, qui non erant domo profecti, neque porrò quòd aut sacerdotum, aut cœtûs pars major esset contaminata, idcirco intercalabatur; ut per dierum numerum, & aspersio-nem aquæ sublata labe, mundi paschalem agnum immolarent. Sed eum immolabant, ut immundi essent. Attamen publicæ labis causa si fuerat intercalatum, ratum & fixum permaneret.

§. VII. Res verò quædam erant ejusmodi, ut ob illas quidem nullatenus intercalaretur: sed si tum concurrerent, cùm ut an-nus constitueretur intercalaris vel æquinoctium, vel fruges at-que reliqui fructus postulabant, his intercalandi necessitas con-firmabatur. Ut si \* hædi & agni nondum nati, aut rariores essent: si columbarum pulli nondum evolassent, nequiquam in-tercalabatur ideo, ut illos quisque ad agnum paschalem, hos frequentes reperirent apparentes Domino, vel sacrificium vo-lucris debentes: sed cùm erat intercalandi necessitas, his rebus confirmabatur.

§. VIII. Ut igitur his confirmabatur intercalandi necessitas? Nempe proferentes annum esse intercalarem propter moratum æquinoctium, vel immaturas fruges, & fructus nondum exi-stentes, addebant etiam quòd hædi & columbarum pulli para-ti adhuc non essent.

§. IX. Non intercalabatur, nisi per eos, qui fuerant ad id officii electi. Itaque consilii magni princeps deligebat nonnul-los ex supremo illo synedrio quod vocabatur, quibus ita dice-bat: curate parati sitis in hoc illo loco, uti deliberemus ac consulemus, utrùm oporteat intercalarem constitui annum, necne: atque ab his solis, qui erant ad id invitati intercalaba-tur. Cùm igitur iniretur intercalandi consilium, principiò tres ex illo supremo synedrio quod vocant, judices, qui essent ii-dem ad dignitatem magisterii promoti considebant: quorum si duo sentirent nihil esse, quòd deliberaretur; an oporteret in-tercalari: unus verò deliberandum putaret, partem minorem vincebat major. Sin consultandum ac deliberandum existi-marent duo: unus autem nulla deliberatione opus esse cen-seret,

§. VII. Hædi & agni nondum nati. Ut que pecorum ..... diligenter habenda ra-  
sacrificiorum libamenta servantur, foetus- | tio intercalandi est. *Tullius*, l. 2. de legibus.

feret, præterea duo ex invitatis arcescebantur ad rem agitan-  
dam.

§. X. Tum si duo intercalandum judicabant, tres contra non opus esse intercalatu, jacebant, ii qui numero pauciores erant: sin tribus opus esse intercalato sentientibus refragarentur duo, tunc etiam duo ex invitatis adhibebantur, qui septem rem vehementer agitatam penitus conficiebant. Nam si communiter aut intercalandum, aut non intercalandum constituerant, illorum decreto communi standum erat. Sin inter se dis- siderent, in utramque partem majoris numeri valebat auctori-  
tas. Atque ex his septem, omnino necesse erat, ut unus esset consilii magni princeps. Is erat, qui in illo consessu unius & septuaginta judicum primum locum obtinebat. Atqui si prio- res inter judices tres conveniret, ut intercalaretur, ratum e- rat; modò princeps ille aut ipse rei interesset, aut certè con- sentiret. Jam utrùm annus constituendus esset intercalaris, cùm deliberaretur, incipiebant sententiæ rogari à consessu la-  
tere: cùm autem id consultaretur, utrùm mensis intercalaris feu plenus esset definiendus, sententiam prior dicebat, qui dig- nitate præstabat.

§. XI. Ad deliberationem utrùm intercalaris esset constitu- endus annus, neque rex admittabatur unquam, nec summus sacerdos. Ille ne forte propter delectum habendum, aut belli administrationem, ad alterutram partem vel intercalandi, vel non intercalandi convocatos impelleret: hic ut ne ab interca- landi sententia deduceret ideo, quòd si intercalaretur, mensis Tifri in dies jam frigidus, magno ipsius incommodo incurre- ret; quippe qui ad \*solemnitatem Expiationum jugi se aquâ quinquies ablueret.

§. XII. Summi consilii maximus, qui idem purè prin- ceptus appellatur, cùm procul aberat, intercalabatur ea condi- tione, si principi placitum fuerit. Qui si reversus, quod egis- sent, actum habebat, ratum erat: sin minùs, irritum erat. Neque verò constituebatur annus intercalaris ubicunque loci: sed in una duntaxat Judæa, quam Deus præcipuè colebat, id quod in Lege dicitur, *Sed locum \*\*\*\*\* in quo inhabitet, petitote, &c.* Deut. 12. §.

Quan-

§. XI. Solemnitatem Expiationum. Quæ decimo mensis ejus die celebratur.

§. XVI



Quamquam in Galilæa si constitutus esset annus intercalaris, raturum haberetur. Porro annus non definiebatur intercalaris, nisi de die: ac si noctu fuisset intercalatum, irritum esset.

§. XIII. Quovis tempore consilio licebat rationes secum deputare, tum apud se statuere quis annorum futurus esset intercalaris, & id quidem permultos in annos: nullus autem annus renunciandus erat intercalaris, nisi post exactam illam, quæ principium anni dicitur, solemnitatem. Nec tum quidem renunciabatur annus intercalaris, nisi permagna ad indicandum impelleret necessitas: alioqui mense Adar demum renunciabatur, consequentem mensẽ Nisan; sed alterum fore Adar, quod annus esset intercalaris. Quod si consilium ante principium anni edixisset venientem annum fore intercalarem, ista quidem denunciatio nequaquam ad intercalandum valeret.

§. XIV. Mensis Adar dies cum venerat tricesimus, necdum esset intercalatum, omnino intercalandum non erat: quippe cum possent illo die calendæ Nisan haberi. Mensis verò Nisan cum venerat necdum intercalatum fuit, intercalari porro non erat integrum. Veruntamen hoc ipso die tricesimo mensis Adar si esset intercalatum, raturum habebatur. Ergo si, postquam erat intercalatum, lunæ novæ nuncius afferretur, calendæ celebrabantur non Nisan; sed denuò mensis Adar: Sin autem calendæ consecratæ fuerant ante, quàm intercalatum esset, deinceps non intercalabatur, quoniam mense Nisan non erat intercalandi potestas.

§. XV. Non constituebatur annus intercalaris in fame: etenim cum vitæ tuendæ causâ etiam in cellas frumentarias omnes irrumperent, id sanè fieri non possêt; ut à \* segete mensẽ ipsum, quo fiebat annus longior, prohiberentur: neque anno sabbatico. cum enim illæ, quæ è terris incultis sponte sua nascerentur fruges publici juris essent, si annus augeretur solido mense, non liceret reperire, unde Deo libaretur ille,

§. XV. *Segete mensẽ ipsum, &c.* Nam eâ ne quis uteretur ante, quàm altero Paschæ die festo manipulus esset ex ea Deo libatus, à Lege sancitum est, *Lev. 23. 14.*

*Ne panem, neu fruges tostas, neu potentam gustatote ad hunc usque diem, quo libamentum Deo vestro feratis.*

ille, qui præscribitur à Lege, manipulus, atque \* panes illi duo. Ex quo intercalaris constitui solitus erat annus is, qui sabbaticum antecedebat.

§. XVI. Ac mihi quidem hoc ita visum est, omnino à sapientibus interdictum esse, ne vel in annonæ difficultate, vel in anno sabbatico intercalaretur; nimirum vel ob \* vias & pontes interruptos, aut quid simile: verum ut annus constitueretur intercalaris, si postularet vel æquinoctii mora, vel frugum & fructuum tarditas, nunquam fieri, ut non intercalaretur.

§. XVII. Cùm erat intercalatum, à consilio literæ mittebantur provincias in omnes, ex quibus longinqui cognoscerent & factum esse annum intercalarem, & qua de causa factum esset. Atque literæ verbis erant scriptæ principis consilii in hunc modum. Notum vobis facio decrevisse me unà cum meis sociis, ut hic annus augetur triginta, vel novem & viginti diebus. Nam hoc quidem erat in potestate consilii, mensem intercalarem vel plenum vel cavum denunciare longinquis hominibus, quos hac de re certiores faceret. Consilium autem ipsum mensem eundem ex ratione lunæ vel cavum vel plenum observabat.

CAPUT

*Panes illi duo.* De quibus *Lev. 23. 16, & 17.* dicitur, *Novum Deo fertum obmovetote: De vestris regionibus fertote panes duos, qui agententur: duas siliginis decumas continente: fermentati coquantur: primitiæ Deo feruntur.*  
§. XVI. *Vias & pontes.* Variant hic e-

ditiones: in ea quæ prodiit anno 1524 in folio magno legitur *מפני הצורך*: & in ea quæ prodiit anno 1574 in folio parvo legitur *מפני צורך הדרכים והגשרים* quam lectionem posteriorem ut magis synceram secutus sum.

## CAPUT QUINTUM.

Quando cæptæ sint calendæ finire, & intercalares anni constitui ex hac tabularum ratione, qua nunc utuntur Hebræi? Calendæ cum ex tabularum ratione hodie finiuntur ubique, nihilominus dies solemnes de sapientum auctoritate geminari ubi quondam geminabantur, ut ritus patrum perpetuo serventur. Etiam hodie eorum esse duntaxat, qui regionem Judæam incolunt, tempora calculo ponendo moderari ac describere; sed passim rationem iniri ac subduci, ut quid illi hac eadem ratione constituerint, notum & manifestum fiat ubique.

§. I. **A**TQUE finire calendæ ita, ut diximus, ex visione lunæ novæ, & propter anni tempus, aut aliam quandam necessitatem annum uno mense facere longiorem, solus erat consilii in terra Israelitica constituti, quod fere synedrium appellatur, & ejus consilii, quod totum erat ex hominibus in eadem terra Israelitica ad dignitatem magisterii promotis; siquidem huic eidem consilio præterea summum illud consilium intercalandi potestatem dederat. Nam quod in Lege dicitur Mose, atque Aaroni, *Novitas ista vobis (esto) principium mensium*, ejus hanc esse sententiam usque à Mose auditione accepimus alius ab alio, hujus rei sit arbitrium penes vos, item & penes illos, qui muneri vestro vicarii successuri sunt. Ubi verò in terra Judæa nullus inerat ejusmodi senatus, & menses finiebantur, uti nunc, per tabularum rationes, atque per eadem anni constituebantur intercalares.

§. II. Enimvero id Moyse mandatum in monte Sina fuit, ut dum esset summum illud consilium, calendæ finirentur ex visione lunæ novæ: easdem nullatenus de visione lunæ novæ laborantes dirigeremus ad rationem tabularum, qua nunc utimur, cum ille supremus senatus interisset. Etenim ratione tabularum fit, ut calendæ finiuntur interdum eodem, quo luna nascens appareat die, interdum pridie ejus diei, nonnunquam etiam postridie. Quod extremum quidem & perrarò accidit, & in iis solum locis, quæ sunt è regione Judææ ad occidentem.

§. III.

§. III. Ac tum demum omnes omnino Judæi instituerunt tempora itidem, uti nunc, tabularum ratione describere, cum sub ultimis Talmudis scriptoribus penitus vastata Judæa nullum stabile consilium retinisset: illorum enim ætate scriptorum, qui \* Misnam composuerunt, atque adeo dum ipsum Talmud componeretur usque ad ætatem \* Abai & Rabbæ, semper id sequebantur, quod in Judæa constitutum erat.

§. IV. Cùm esset ille, qui ex visione lunæ novæ calendas finiret, senatus; tam in ipsa Judæa, quàm regionibus in aliis, ad quas pervenire poterant ii, qui definitas Tisri calendas nunciatum mitterentur, singulas uno die solemnitates celebrabant. Cæteræ, quæ longiùs erant diffitæ provinciæ, quàm ut eò possent mense Tisri nuncii finitarum calendarum aspirare, dies solemnes duplicabant ex eo, quòd ambigerent quonam die calendas constituissent, qui Palestinam incolebant.

§. V. Hoc autem tempore, quoniam summum consilium in Judæa nullum, & quod est in ea consilium, id quoque ex tabularum ratione calendas finit, scilicet æquitatis sit, ut in locis omnibus quamvis à Judæa longè diversis singulæ solemnitates unicum omnino diem habeantur itidem, ut apud Judææ incolas; quippe cùm ad unam & eandem tabularum rationem sese dirigant omnes. At sapientes voluerunt ritus patrum perpetuò servari.

§. VI.

§. III. *Misnam composuerunt.* Namque hanc esse absolutam & perfectam anno post conditum mundum 3949, post alterum templum disturbatum 120. qui est annus æræ Christianæ 189. narratur libro מִשְׁנָה de familiarum seu generibus, seu stirpibus, fol. 160. p. 1.

*Abai & Rabbe.* Hi duo, ut scribitur, ætate ac societate inter se conjuncti fuerunt. Jam priorem eorum mortuum esse anno à mundo constituto 4113, hoc est, anno æræ Christianæ 353, demonstratur eodem illo libro de familiarum stirpibus, atque eodem folio pag. 2. Unde cognoscere licet Talmud hic commemorari non Babylonium; sed Hierosolymitanum. hoc enim, ut est in hoc eodem libro, circiter 300 annos

à disturbance templi secundi perfectum est, quod est circa annum æræ Christianæ 369. At illud alterum, ut apud eundem auctorem proditum est, inchoatur à R. Asa, qui huic operi immoritur anno mundi 4184: hic est æræ Christianæ annus 424. idemque absolvitur & undique expletur anno æræ Christianæ 505. Jam quod hoc articulo toto, idem traditur etiam in eodem libro de familiarum stirpibus, fol. 164. pag. 1. Porro ibi hoc additur, ab Hillele R. Judæ cognomine Sancti pronepote, & eodem consilii principe, cum omnibus Israelitarum primoribus, ex doctrina sibi tradita institutam & literis proditam hanc hodiernam tabularum rationem ad calendas, dies festos & solemnes finiendos.

§. VI. Quamobrem uti quondam, dum Judæam habitantes calendas ex visione lunæ novæ constituebant, in omnibus locis, quò non poterant de calendis finitis nuncii perferri ab iis, qui mense Tisri nunciatum mitterentur; sic etiamnum prorsus omnes dies solemnes biduo celebrant. Et qui Palestinam incolunt, hoc tempore, ut olim, dies solemnes simplices habent; quippe qui nunquam sunt aliter soliti. Ex quo cognoscere licet, secundum quemque diem solemnem, quem nos extorres his temporibus celebramus, edicto sancitum esse sapientum.

§. VII. Atque illum quidem, à quo ducitur civilis anni principium, diem festum, vel eorum plerique, qui Palestinam habitabant, geminabant etiam tum, cum ad visionem lunæ novæ calendas dirigerent: neque enim certò scire poterant, quoniam die consilium finiisset calendas Tisrinæ, siquidem die festo nunciatum proficiscebatur nemo.

§. VIII. Quin etiam Hierosolymæ, quæ erat supremi senatûs illius sedes, tamen hunc diem solemnem, unde annus incipit, sæpenumero geminabant. Etenim tricesimus ille mensis dies, quo nuncii lunæ novæ expectabantur, totus habebatur sanctus, itémque posterus, quando die mensis trigesimo lunæ novæ nuncii venerant nulli. Itaque sciverunt, ut & Judæam habitantes, quoniam, dum ad visionem lunæ mensis dirigerent, duos ad principium anni dies agebant solemnes, nunc computatione tempora finientes duos itidem celebrarent. Hinc igitur patet, etiam alterum diem festum ad anni principium celebrari nunc ex decreto sapientum.

§. IX. Quòd autem quis locus ab illius supremi senatûs sede prope situs sit, non idcirco dies festi simplices in eo agentur, ut si distet ab Hierosolymis quinque dierum iter, aut eo minus; quò nullum est dubium, quin mense Tisri possent emissi abs senatu calendarum nuncii pervenire; hujus nihilominus incolis ut simplices dies solemnes celebrent, permissum non est. Ecquis enim auctor est locum hunc jam tum, cum ab illo supremo senatu calendarum nuncii mitterentur, esse habitatum à Judæis? Judæi forsan habitatum eò non venerunt, nisi postquam cœpta sunt tempora calculorum ratione finiri, qui quidem ut quemque diem solemnem biduo celebrent, omnino necesse est. Deinde cum mittebantur calendarum nuncii via  
forte

forte fuit interclusa : Hoc enim in via, quæ ducebat in Judæam à Galilæa, evenit illorum ætate, qui Misnam illam, ut dicitur, conscripserunt : tum fieri potest etiam, \* ut per fines suos Samaritani, sive Cutæi prohiberent calendarum nuncios transire.

§. X. Etenim si loci sit propinquitas spectanda, quid est, cur hi, qui Ægyptum habitant Judæi, non habeant dies solemnes simplices ? perveniebant ad eos, qui calendas Tifrinas nunciatum mittebantur à senatu Hierosolymitano. nam Hierosolymis per Ascalonem diebus octo, aut etiam eo citius itur ad Ægyptum. Similis est ratio Syriæ ex maxima parte. Ex quo id efficitur, propinquitate loci dirigi nihil.

§. XI. Sic igitur res se habet : quæ urbs plus est Hierosolymis distita, quam decem dierum solidorum iter, in ea dies solemnes veteri consuetudine & majorum instituto semper habentur gemini : neque enim hi, qui calendas nunciatum abs senatu Hierosolymitano mittebantur, nuncium mense Tisri aferebant nisi ad eos, qui aut distabant Hierosolymis iter dierum omnino decem, aut eo minus : quod autem oppidum aut ipsum iter dierum denum, aut eo minus abest Hierosolymis, cum eò licuerit mense Tisri calendas nunciatum venire, videntum est, utrum id in ea sit Imperii Judaici parte situm, quam habitarent Judæi cum receptâ patriâ menses exigent ad visionem lunæ novæ, sicut Usia, Siporium, Lusa, Jabna, Noba, Tiberias, & urbes similes, in quibus dies solemnes sunt simplices : an sit in Syria positum, velut Tyrus, Damascus, Ascalon, & similes : an verò sit etiam extra fines Judæorum, ut Ægyptus, regio Ammonitarum, item & Moabitarum, & ejusmodi aliæ terræ, in quibus mos & institutum majorum oportet teneatur in utramque partem, sive ad dies solemnes duplices, sive ad simplices celebrandos.

§. XII. Si quæ urbs Hierosolymis disjuncta aut dierum iter denum, aut eo minus, in Syria sita sit, vel extra Israelitarum fines, & eidem consuetudo existat nullâ : si intra fines Israelitarum nova condatur urbs in loco quondam deserto atque inculto :

§. IX. Ut per fines suos Samaritani sive Cutæi. Hic variant editiones : in recentiori legitur כּוּתַיִם Cutæi : in superioribus כּוּתַיִם Ethnici : vide nostram ea de re notam, quam pag. 91. ad §. 4. apposuimus.

to: aut si quod oppidum positum intra fines Israelitarum Judæi jam nunc habitare cœperint; uti maximæ Judæorum parti, sic & harum urbium incolis solemnitates sunt biduum habendæ. Omnium igitur solemnium dierum alter ex auctoritate est sapientum hominum. Et ille alter dies sollemnis, qui ad principium anni apud omnes celebratur, ille etiam ipse è decreto sapientum est.

§. XIII. Quòd autem his temporibus singulis in oppidis calculus ponatur atque renunciatur quando calendæ, quando futuri sint dies festi, putandum non est nostro nos fidentes calculo tempora moderari: menses enim finire & annos extra regionem Israelitarum, integrum non est. Ad eorum igitur, qui regionem incolunt Israelitarum, nos dirigimus rationes ac constitutiones: sed enim & nosmet rationem putamus, ut, quoniam scimus ad eam dirigi Judææ incolas, innotescant atque agitentur dies festi ii, non quos ipsi subducenda ratione comperimus, sed quos constituerunt incolæ Judææ.

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CAPUT

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CAPUT SEXTUM.

Solis & lunæ conjunctionem <sup>27</sup> mearam quandam novilunium, seu lunam nascentem dici: nimirum hanc ubi desitæ sunt calendæ ex visione lunæ finiri exquisitam, & exquiri computatione, seu tabularum ratione. Et diem & noctem ex horis 12 constare semper, horam in scrupulos 1080 distribui. Quod temporis spatium mensem & annum lunarem planè compleat? Anus solaris lunari quanto sit longior? Quæ sint epactæ & mensis & anni lunaris tam communis, quàm intercalaris? Ut novilunium certò exquiratur? Sumendam ad hoc epocham annum prolepticum. Periodum decemnovennalem continere septem annos intercalares & duodecim communes: cyclum appellari: cur temperetur hoc intervallo tempus? Quo ordine septem anni intercalares in cyclo dispensentur? Quales cycli sint epactæ?

§. I. **C**alendas igitur cùm exigerent ad visionem lunæ novæ, quàm poterant accuratissimè tempus ipsum, quo cum sole congregaretur luna, exquirebant eadem via ac ratione, qua solent astrologi; id adeo, ut cognoscerent, an futurum esset, ut luna appareret, necne. Ac tum quidem manca putabatur & inchoata ratio proximè accessisse, ac solis & lunæ reperisse non perfectam illam conjunctionem; verùm aliquam quandam mediam, ut vocant, quæ conjunctio media luna nascens seu novilunium dicitur. Sedenim hæc eadem ratio & absoluta est habita olim, cùm in Judæa nullum omnino consilium remansisset, à quo finirentur ex visione lunæ novæ calendæ: & nunc ipsum nostra est metiendi temporis regula: nimirum hæc est ea, quæ computatio, seu tabularum ratio dicitur.

§. II. Quovis tempore quatuor & viginti horis dies & nocte efficiuntur; quarum \* duodecim pertinent ad diem, & ad noctem

§. II. Duodecim pertinent, &c. Etenim genus est horarum unum æqualium inter se ac parium, cujusmodi horæ tum plures, tum pauciores die, nocteque continentur pro anni tempore, atque regionum latitudine: & alterum inæqualium, quales in quocunque die, item & in quocunque nocte semper numerantur duodecim.

§. VIII.



noctem totidem : Hora autem distribuitur in scrupulos mille & octoginta. Quid ita veró? quia numero in isto licet dimidiam, quartam, & octavam partem reperire, tertiam, sextam, nonam; itémque quintam & decimam, atque alias benè multas, quarum suum quæque nomen habet.

§. III. Ex hac igitur nostra hodierna descriptione temporum, ab una ad alteram solis & lunæ conjunctionem illam mediam viginti novem intercedunt dies pleni, horæ duodecim, & ex tertia decima hora scrupuli septingenti & nonaginta tres. Hoc igitur temporis spatium inter unam & alteram lunam novam interest, atque adeo mensem lunarem complet.

§. IV. Unde lunaris annus, si est ex ejusmodi mensibus duodecim, quatuor diebus & quinquaginta, & trecentis conficitur, horis octo, octingentis & septuaginta sex scrupulis. Sin autem intercalando fiat uno mense longior, dies continèbit trecentos octoginta tres, unam & viginti horas, quingentos & novem supra octoginta scrupulos: Sed qui solis conversione efficitur annus, is dies habet trecentos sexaginta quinque, horas sex. Ex quo patet solarem annum lunari esse longiorem diebus decem, viginti una horis, & scrupulis ducentis & quatuor.

§. V. Cùm è mense lunari singulas detrahas hebdomadas omnino reliquum erit id, dies una, horæ duodecim, atque scrupuli septingenti, tres & nonaginta: character est 1. 12. 793. Hæ sunt mensis epactæ lunaris. Idem si facias in anno lunari, eoque communi superant dies quatuor, horæ octo, scrupuli octingenti septuaginta sex: character est 4. 8. 876. Atque hæ sunt lunaris anni communis epactæ: Verùm embolimæi seu intercalaris epactæ sunt dies quinque, una & viginti horæ, scrupuli quingenti novem & octoginta: character est 5. 21. 589.

§. VI. Cùm igitur mensis alicujus novilunium exploratum atque perspectum habeas, huic si addas diem unum, horas duodecim, septingentos nonaginta tres scrupulos, mensis consequentis lunam novam comperias ita, ut & quo hebdomadæ die, qua diei hora, quo denique scrupulo fit futura, certò scias. Atque hoc exempli causâ ponatur, mensis Nisan lunam novam extitisse ad primum hebdomadæ diem post horam lucis quintam,

ram, & ex hora sexta centesimum & septimum scrupulum : character est 1. 5. 107.

§. VII. Si his addideris epactas mensis lunaris, diem unum, horas duodecim, scrupulos septingentos, nonaginta tres, comperies lunam novam mensis sequentis, qui dicitur Jar, feri tertiâ hebdomadæ nocte, post quintam noctis horam, & scrupulum horæ sextæ nongentesimum; cujus character est 3. 5. 900. Sicque licet consequentium reperire mensium lunam novam vel ad infinitum tempus.

§. VIII. Eodem modo si primam alicujus anni lunam novam cognitam habeas, adjungendis epactis anni, prout erit, vel communis, vel intercalaris, consequentis anni comperies primam lunam nascentem, & ita profus sequentium annorum, etiam ad infinitum tempus. Jam exordium putandi ducendum est ab prima post constitutum mundum luna nova. Ea fuit ad \* secundam hebdomadæ noctem post horam quintam, & consequentis horæ scrupulum quartum & ducentesimum : character est 2. 5. 204. Ab hac oportet luna nova putandi initium reperi.

§. IX. Cùm ex ratiociniis quærantur lunæ novæ, tum ex epactis mensuris in unum redactis ubi collecti fuerint scrupuli mille & octoginta, ex his constitutam horam oportet in numerum reponi horarum. Cùm ex horis collectæ fuerint quatuor

§. VIII. *Secundam hebdomadæ diem.* Hic loco occurritur. Qui fieri potest, ut primum à constituto mundo novilunium incurrerit in secundum à mundi creatione diem, cùm in Lege habeamus quarto demum die luminaria, & hominem die sexto factum esse : quo eodem die sexto ponitur novilunium primum accidisse? Quod ut enodaretur, ipsos in hunc locum commentarios Hebraicos textui nostrî scriptoris adjunctos hic expressi : sic igitur illi. Omnino scire necesse est primum hominem horâ tertiâ sexti à constituto mundo diei demum à Deo perfectum fuisse. Nam esse congestam à Deo terram eam, unde hominem finxit primâ ejus diei horâ, & subactam secundâ, traditum à sapientibus est. Cùm igitur ab initio mundi ad effectum hominem effluxissent dies solidi quinque,

atque horæ decem & quatuor è die sexta, oportuit à nobis cognosci tum mensum eum, cujus erant dies & horæ istæ, tum etiam primam ejus anni lunam novam, ad quem mensis ille pertineret. Ex hoc igitur novilunio, quod accidit exeunte horâ secundâ diei sexti, subductis diebus quatuor, horis octo, & scrupulis octingentis septuaginta sex, quæ lunaris anni communis sunt epactæ, invenimus ejus anni, qui fabricationem hominis antecessit, primam lunam novam accidere ad secundam hebdomadæ noctem post quintam ejus noctis horam, & scrupulos horæ sextæ ducentos & quatuor : character est 2. 5. 204. Et verò dinumerandis iis, qui à constituto mundo effluerunt, annis annus hic prolepticus etiam ascribitur. Atque his quidem satis mihi videtur locus hic explanari.

B b b

§. I.

tuor & viginti, eas item oportet in numerum dierum referri. De diebus autem si plures septem collegeris hebdomadâ rejectâ, reliquos retinueris: neque enim rationibus ineundis exquiritur dierum numerus; sed luna nova quo hebdomadæ die, quâ horâ, quo momento futura sit.

§. X. Quod spatium cyclus seu periodus appellatur, id annis conficitur undeviginti; quorum sunt communes duodecim, septem embolimæ. Nec verò sine causa hoc voluimus intervallo tempora circumscribi. Nam si quoties occurrerint scrupuli mille & octoginta, eos rediges in numerum horarum, quoties similiter viginti quatuor occurrerint horæ, eas in dierum ordinem adducas, duodecim annorum communium, & septem intercalarium reperies non pauciores esse dies, quàm quos totidem anni cursus solis habent; si modò sic in animum inducas, solem annuam conversionem quinque diebus & sexaginta & trecentis, quarta diei parte ipsa addita, conficere. Etenim in his undeviginti cursibus annuis definiendis sol consumit amplius, quàm luna, horam omnino unam, & quadringentos octoginta quinque scrupulos: character est 1, 485.

§. XI. Ergo hujus cycli menses singuli cum lunæ ratione congruunt, & cum ratione solis anni. Porrò anni septem intercalares, qui in hujusmodi cyclo insunt, ex hac nostra tabularum ratione eo dispensantur ordine; ut intercalaris sit annus ejus tertius, sextus, octavus, undecimus, quartus decimus, decimus & septimus, atque undevigesimus: character est 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, 19.

§. XII. Si quis singulas duodecim annorum communium epactas, quæ sunt dies quatuor, horæ octo, & scrupuli octingenti septuaginta sex, & singulas item septem annorum intercalarium colligat epactas, quæ sunt dies quinque, una & viginti horæ, novem & octoginta & quingenti scrupuli, tum ex his in unum redactis singulas subducat hebdomadas, dies supererunt duo, horæ sedecim, & scrupuli quingenti & nonaginta quinque: character est 2, 16, 595: hæ nimirum cycli sunt epactæ.

§. XIII. Unde si primam cycli lunam novam teneas, eique dies addideris duos, horas sedecim, quinque scrupulos, & nonaginta, & quingentos, primam sequentis cycli lunam no-

vam

vam consequeris, & ita prorsus sequentium cyclorum ad tempus infinitum: atque primi cycli novilunium primum evenisse hebdomadæ nocte secunda, post horam quintam, & scrupulum horæ sextæ ducentessimum & quartum ante demonstravimus. Quæ eadem cum fuerit luna nova mensis Tifri, à quo prolepticus annus est orfus, certè & ineuntis anni proleptici luna nova fuit.

§. XIV. Hac igitur ratione scire faciliè poteris lunam novam cujusvis anni vel mensis sive præteriti, sive futuri. Nam primum annos omnes, qui à constituto mundo ad septembrem ejus anni, quo de quæritur, omnino præterierint, rediges in cyclos decemnovennales; ut noveris quot omnino cycli, quot etiam anni ex eo, qui completus nondum est, cyclo sint exacti. His cognitis & pro singulis cyclorum epactis sumes dies duos, horas decem & sex, quinque scrupulos, & nonaginta, & quingentos: & pro singulis illorum, qui ex non completo cyclo abierunt, annorum epactis, communium quidem dies accipies quatuor, horas octo, & scrupulos 876. intercalarium verò dies quinque, unam & viginti horas, & scrupulos 589. Cùmque scrupulos reduceris in horas, horas autem in dies, atque ex diebus denique sustuleris omnes hebdomadas, tum & dies, & horæ, & scrupuli reliqui, id quod quæris, demonstrabunt ineuntis anni futuri lunam novam.

§. XV. Quæ autem hac ratione prodibit ineuntis anni luna nova, ea est mensis Tifri: huic igitur adde diem unum, duodecim horas, & scrupulos septingentos & nonaginta tres, prodibit luna nova mensis consequentis, qui Maresvon nominatur. Adde & huic tantundem, prodibit luna nova mensis sequentis, qui Casleu appellatur: atque eodem modo consequentium mensium omnium omnes lunas novas poteris ad infinitum tempus cognitas habere.

## CAPUT SEPTIMUM.

*Principium anni tum postridie, quàm accidat novilunium, defigi, tum die perendino. Qua de causa?*

§. I. **E**X \* hac nostra tabularum ratione calendæ Tifrinæ nunquam habentur neque hebdomadæ die primo, nec quarto, nec sexto: quorum character est 1, 4, 6. Ac si luna nova mensis Tisri incidat in unum ex tribus hisce diebus, calendæ in posterum diem proferuntur. Ergo si in primum hebdomadæ diem incurrit luna nascens, calendæ die altero hebdomadis: si in diem quartum, calendæ quinto: & si in sextum, calendæ die septimo celebrantur.

§. II. Item si luna nova extiterit ad meridiem, aut etiam post meridiem, calendæ in diem posterum differuntur: ut si die hebdomadæ altero luna nova fuerit hora sexta ipsa, vel etiam posterius, hebdomadæ die tertio calendæ instituuntur: sin autem luna nova existat ante meridiem momento vel uno, calendæ celebrantur eodem ipso die; nisi is sit unus ex illis tribus, quorum significatio est 1, 4, 6.

## §. III.

§. I. *Hac nostra tabularum ratione.* Hac autem tabularum ratione cœpisse Judæos uti sub ultimis Talmudis Hierosolymitani scriptoribus, cum in Judæa penitus vastata nullum stabile consilium remansisset, planissimè noster auctor supra docuit ad articulum tertium capitis quinti: quod idem in ætatem Abæi & Rabbæ rejicit, id est, in annum circiter ter centesimum & quinquagesimum æræ Christianæ. Unde sequitur, ut idem sentiat, annos abhinc mille trecentos, & octoginta duo constitutum esse, ut calendæ Tifrinæ non celebrarentur primo, quarto, & sexto hebdomadæ die: huic autem loco adversatur & repugnat id quod scriptum legitur in illa preceatione quæ à Judæis adhibetur Sabbato Pascha proximè præcedente, quod sabbatum magnum nominant. Hæc enim preceatione in illa stricto sermone & eodem rhythmico scripta leguntur. Magistri illi nostri cla-

rissimi mundi viri, ex quibus erat supremus ille senatus Hierosolymitanus, sic olim statuere statim atque ædificium templi secundi fuerat effectum: Igneum tunc apparuerat eis solium: in quo sedebat mundi rector, qui in ipso vestibulo templi medio suspensus hæsit, à quo illi sunt corona redimiti, & sigillo signati. Tum igitur constituerunt ac communiter decretum fecerunt perpetuum, quod Magistro Elieser omnium principi permiserunt. Is ergo tunc edixit, ut solemnitas sortium nunquam haberetur neque secundo, neque quarto, neque septimo hebdomadæ die: solemnitas Paschæ neque secundo, neque quarto, neque sexto: neque die hebdomadæ tertio, neque quinto, neque septimo Pentecoste: neque principium anni primo, aut quarto, aut sexto. Hæc continentur eo, quem חזון vocant, libro precum edito Bononæ.

§. III. Atqui ut differuntur in diem posterum calendæ Tifrinæ cùm aut ad meridiem, aut post meridiem accidat luna nova, sic si posterus ille dies sit unus ex his tribus, quorum significatio est 1, 4, 6. in diem perendinum rejiciuntur, tum, inquam, calendæ illæ constituuntur tertio post die, quàm acciderit luna nova: ut si luna nova sabbato accidat ad meridiem, cujus character est 7, 18. calendæ quidem, cùm sit ineuntis anni novilunium ejusmodi, rejiciantur in secundum hebdomadæ diem. Itémque si tertio hebdomadæ die luna nova existat vel ad meridiem ipsam, vel post meridiem, in quintum ejus hebdomadæ diem calendæ Tifrinæ differantur.

§. IV. Eadem ratione si mensis Tifri luna nova existat nocte hebdomadæ illa, quam consequitur dies tertius, post horam ejus noctis nonam, & ducentessimam quartum scrupulum, cujus character est 3, 9, 204. aut etiam eo tardiùs, si alioquin annus sit communis, calendæ differuntur etiam in quintum hebdomadæ diem.

§. V. Item si luna nova mensis Tifri, qui consequitur annum intercalarem, extiterit die secundo, post horam diei tertiam, & quingentos octoginta novem scrupulos, cujus character est 2, 15, 589. aut plures etiam, instituuntur calendæ non die secundo hebdomadæ, sed tertio.

§. VI. Sedenim primæ illæ communis anni calendæ, quas paulo ante diximus in quintum hebdomadæ diem rejici, eadem si luna nova Tifri existat vel unico scrupulo prius, quàm posuimus; ut si character ejus sit 3, 9, 203. aut eo minor, die tertio celebrantur. Similiter instituentur secundo hebdomadæ die calendæ primæ ejus anni, qui sequitur intercalarem, si prima illius luna nova scrupulo etiam uno citius, quàm statuimus, existat, ut si character ejus sit 2, 15, 588. magis etiam si brevior. Itaque ex hac nostra tabularum ratione hodierna hæc est via & ratio instituendi calendas Tifrinæ.

Datur opera, ut cognoscatur luna nova quo die, quâ horâ, quo scrupulo futura sit. Nam quo die existit luna nova, eodem ipso calendæ habentur: nisi si dies ille hebdomadæ primus, aut quartus, aut sextus sit: vel si ad meridiem demum luna nova accidat, vel post meridiem: vel si prima communis anni luna nova accidat ea hebdomadæ nocte, quam dies tertius subsequitur,

tur, post ducentos & quatuor, plurésve horæ decimæ scrupulos: vel si prima ejus anni, qui sequitur intercalarem, luna nova accidat ad quingentesimum octogefimum nonum scrupulum horæ quartæ alterius ex hebdomada diei. Nam ex his quatuor si evenit aliquid, calendæ non celebrantur eodem illo, in quem incidat luna nova, die: sed differuntur, ut exposuimus, aut in diem posterum, aut in perendinum.

§. VII. Quid autem est, quòd ex hac computandi ratione calendæ Tifrinæ nunquam instituamus neque hebdomadæ primo, neque die quarto, neque sexto? Nimirum quia computatio ista dirigitur, ut supra commemoravimus, non ad solis & lunæ perfectam; sed ad conjunctionem mediam. Unde fit, ut alternis lunæ nascentis diebus calendæ Tifrinæ celebrentur, & differantur, ut aliquando in ipsam solis & lunæ conjunctionem perfectam incurrant. Etenim illarum ea ratio est & modus, ut simul cum luna nascente celebrentur die hebdomadæ tertio, rejiciantur quarto, celebrentur quinto, sexto rejiciantur, sabato, seu die septimo, celebrentur, primo rejiciantur, secundo celebrentur.

§. VIII. Sed quòd præterea modis etiam quatuor fiat, ut calendæ Tifrinæ differantur, omnino causa est hæc eadem, quia hodierna illa computandi ratio refertur ad mediam illam solis & lunæ conjunctionem. Quod verum esse perspicitur quando, luna nova accidente ad tertiam hebdomadæ noctem, calendæ Tifrinæ rejiciuntur in diem quintum: sæpe enim fit, ut luna illa nova etiam quinta hebdomadæ nocte nondum aperiatur: immò ne sexta quidem. Ex quo facillè cognoscitur conjunctionem solis & lunæ perfectam non esse factam, nisi quinto demum hebdomadæ die.

CAPUT OCTAVUM.

*Menstruum lunæ cursum alio temporis spatio confici, alio circumscribi: hinc menses alios civos, alios plenos esse. hinc etiam calendas ex hac computandi ratione modo uno die, modo biduo celebrari. Qui menses pleni, qui cavi?*

§. I. **M**ensis lunaris conficitur, ut ante dictum est, novem & viginti diebus, & diei semisse, additis tribus scrupulis & nonaginta & septingentis: sed id quidem fieri non convenit, ut ad medium diem calendæ instituantur, sic; ut unus & idem dies partim ad mensem præteritum pertineat, partim ad consequentem. Nam Legis illud, *Usque ad mensem plenum dierum*, huc traditum est spectare, dies quidem in menses referri, non item horas. Num. 11. 20.

§. II. Quamobrem qui menses ad lunæ rationem exiguntur, eorum constituuntur alii cavi, alii pleni, quorum primi diebus novem & viginti conficiuntur, etsi menstrua lunæ lustratio longior est horis aliquot: alteros circumscriptio triginta dierum metitur, tametsi cursus lunæ menstruus nonnullis horis sit brevior: eam videlicet ob causam, ut mensi præter dies solidos horæ nullæ annumerentur.

§. III. Ac luna quidem si cursum menstruum conficeret diebus viginti novem, addita duntaxat dimidia diei parte, omnino per omnes annos perpetua foret vicissitudo mensum plenum & cavorum: Cum enim quatuor diebus & quinquaginta & trecentis annuam conversionem conficeret, pleni menses essent sex, & totidem cavi. Verùm ad hunc dimidium diem accedunt etiam minuta horæ quædam, ex quibus tandem horæ colliguntur, & ex his denique dies. Unde fit, ut tum in anno sint menses cavi plures, quàm pleni, tum cavi, quàm pleni, pauciores.

§. IV. Atque ex præsentis tabularum ratione calendæ semper instituuntur die mensis tricesimo: ut si mensis exiens fuerit cavius, hic calendarum dies ad ineuntem mensem pertineat: finis plenorum obtineat numerum, calendæ nihilominus habentur die



die triceſimo, qui menſem exeuntem determinet, quoniam ex eo ſaltem aliquid ad menſem pertinet conſequentem: ſed habentur etiam calendæ & die poſtero, à quo menſis ineuntis numerandi dies ſunt, quippe in eum propriè diem calendæ conſtituuntur. Itaque ex hac tabularum ratione non idem omnibus impertitur calendis ſpatium: ſed aliis dies unus, biduum aliis.

§. V. Porrò ex hac tabularum ratione menſes pleni & cavi ſic diſponuntur, ut perpetuo plenus ſit Tiſri, & Tebet uſque cavi: Hunc autem qui conſequentur ordinatim alternant. Eſt cavi Tebet, plenus Sebat, Adar cavi, Niſan plenus, Jar cavi, plenus Sivon, Tamos cavi, Ab plenus, cavi Elul. Anno autem intercalari, quoniam Adar numerantur duo, primus eorum ſit plenus, cavi alter.

§. VI. Reſtant igitur menſes duo, Mareſvon & Caſleu, qui aliàs ambo pleni, aliàs ambo cavi, nonnunquam cavi ille, hic plenus eſt. Primùm cùm evenit, tum omnes anni menſes integri dicuntur eſſe; mutilati verò cùm id accidit, quod ſecundo loco poſitum eſt: iidem dicuntur eſſe menſes ordinati, ſi cavi eſt Mareſvon, plenus Caſleu.

§. VII. Atque ex hac tabularum ratione utrùm ſint anni menſes integri, utrùm mutilati, utrùm ordinati, eà poteſt viâ cognoſci. Primùm danda eſt opera, ut principium ſcias ejus anni, cujus de menſibus quæris, ſic, ut ſuperiori capite diſſeruiſimus. Tum etiam conſequentis anni principium cognitum eſſe oportet: poſt inter utrumque anni principium quot ſint interjecti medii dies videndum eſt. Nam ſi dies medii numerentur duo duntaxat, menſes erunt mutili: ſi tres, menſes exiſtent ordinati: ſi intercedant quatuor, erunt menſes integri.

§. VIII. Sic eſt ſi de communis anni menſibus quæras: eſt autem alia ratio anni intercalaris. nam ſi inter hujus & ſequentis anni principium intermedii ſint dies interjecti quatuor, menſes ejus ſunt mutili: ſi quinque, ordinati: & tum demum integri, cùm interſint dies medii ſex.

§. IX. Ponamus igitur exempli cauſâ eſſe principium ejus anni communis, cujus menſes quærentur quales ſint, hebdomadæ die quinto, & conſequentis anni principium ſecundo, intelli-

intelligemus ejus anni menses , quoniam utrique anni principio medii dies interjecti sunt tres , ordinatos esse : si annus consequens exordietur ab hebdomadæ die tertio , menses esse integros : si autem annus hic cum incipiat à die sabbatico , alter ordietur ab hebdomadæ die tertio , menses ejus sunt mutilati : similiter in excutiendis intercalaris anni mensibus ea , quam ante diximus , tenenda ratio est.

§. X. Atque in consideranda mensium ratione , quominus peccetur , signa sunt observanda quædam. Ea habentur tum ex hac nostra tabularum ratione ipsa , tum ex anni principiis suo tempore habendis , vel rejiciendis , de quibus ante disputavimus. Sunt autem signa ista ejusmodi ; ut cujuscunque anni principium incidit in tertium hebdomadæ diem , ejus menses ex hac quidem tabularum ratione constet esse semper ordinatos : nec refert , utrum annus sit simplex , an intercalaris. Contra si vel intercalaris , vel simplicis anni principium fuerit aut sabbato , aut hebdomadæ die secundo , menses ejus ordinatos esse nunquam. Si anni principium in hebdomadæ diem quintum incurrat , siquidem annus communis est , fieri non possit ex hac tabularum ratione , menses ejus ut sint mutilati : si autem intercalaris sit annus , usu nunquam venit , ut menses ejus sint ordinati.

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Ccc

CAPUT

## CAPUT NONUM.

*Quo temporis intervallo sol annuam conversionem desinat? quo articulo committantur anni cardines?*

§. I. **S**UNT aliqui de peritis astrologiæ Judæis, qui censeant solem quinque diebus & sexaginta, & trecentis, quarta diei parte addita, quæ sunt horæ sex, conversionem annuam conficere. Sunt autem alii, qui ex ista quarta diei parte eximant aliquid. Itémque Græcorum hominum & Persarum in astrologia excellentium variæ sunt hac de re, & dissidentes inter se sententiæ.

§. II. Si defendatur sententia prima, intelligitur, exacto cyclo decemnovennali, lunæ cursus à sole superari omnino hora una, ac quinque scrupulis, & octoginta, & quadringentis sic, ut à nobis ante dictum est. Inter singulos anni cardines unum & nonaginta dies intercedere, horas septem atque dimidiam. Itaque ubi noveris à quo die & hora ordiatur unus anni cardo, nullo negotio perveneris ad sequentem, & proximè sequentis notitia ad tertii cognitionem ducet, & sic porrò vel ad infinitum tempus.

§. III. Cœpat anni cardo vernus momento illo ipso, quo sol attingit Arietis principium. Æstivus autem cardo, sol cum pervenit ad Cancrum: idem cum ingreditur in Libram, cardinis autumnalis cœpit exordium. Et brumalis, cum sol intrat Caprum. Hac igitur ratione vernus anni cardo, quo anno mundus est à Deo constitutus, novilunium Nisan antecessit diebus septem, novem horis, sexcentis & quadraginta duobus scrupulis: character est 7, 9, 642.

Ratio prima  
quærendi  
tempus ip-  
sum, quo  
quibis anni  
cardo com-  
mittatur.

§. IV. Jam hæc est ratio & via cujusque cardinis inveniendi. Primum hoc exploratum esse debet, quot omnino à principio rerum ad quem volueris cunque cyclum integri cycli intercesserint, pro quorum singulis horas singulas, & quinque scrupulos, & octoginta, & quadringentos accipias necesse est: Deinde ut in horas redigas scrupulos, & horas in dies, atque ex tota summa detrahas septem dies, horas novem, sexcentos & quadraginta.

draginta duos scrupulos: tum id quod reliquum fuerit adde novilunio Nisan, qui sit ejus, de quo agitur, cycli primus, & habebis primum illius cycli cardinem vernali quo die mensis, quaque sit hora incepturus. Postea ab illo unum & nonaginta dies, horas septem & dimidiam numerando quem libuerit anni cardinem assequeris. Quod si hujus, aut illius est labente cyclo anni, qui agitur, cardinem vernali cupis scire, pro singulis cyclis totis, qui cesserunt à mundo constituto, accipe unam horam, quinque scrupulos & octoginta & quadringentos, & pro singulis, qui est postremo cyclo præterierunt, annis dies decem, unam & viginti horas & quatuor scrupulos & ducentos: ex quibus unà collectis exime dies septenos, horas novem, scrupulos sexcentos & quadraginta duos: deinde reliquum tempus cum distribueris in tot, quot potest, menstruos lunæ cursus, qui efficiuntur novem & viginti diebus, horis duodecim, & septingentis, & nonaginta tribus scrupulis, hoc tantum ex eo retinebis, quod supererit lunari mense minus: quod novilunio Nisan ejus, qui agitur, anni addes, & comperies cardinem anni vernali quo die mensis, quaque hora futurus sit. Porro ex hac tabularum ratione nunquam neque anni cardo vernalis incipit, nisi vel à prima, aut media nocte, vel à principio, aut medio diei: nec cardo æstivus, nisi aut ab hora septima & dimidia, aut ab una & dimidia diei vel noctis: nec autumnalis, nisi à diei noctisve hora nona, vel tertia: neque brumalis, nisi aut ab hora decima & dimidia, aut à quarta & dimidia vel noctis, vel diei. Quod si quæris quoto hebdomadæ die, quotaque futurus sit anni cardo hora, accipias oportet omnino annos omnes elapsos à constituto mundo usque ad eum annum, de quo scire cupis, & illos, quoad possis, redigas in circumscriptiones annorum duodetriginta: Deinde pro singulis annorum, qui superabunt numerum hunc duodetrigesimum, accipies diem unum & diei quadrantem, quibus unà collectis addes etiam tres dies: Tum subductis de summa singulis hebdomadis numerabis reliquos dies, & horas à prima nocte hebdomadæ. nam ubi desierint, ibi initium erit verni cardinis. Quod autem addantur dies illi tres, id propterea fit, quia primus ejus, quo fecit omnia Deus, anni cardo cœpit ineunte nocte quarta hebdomadæ.

§. V. Exempli causâ ponamus vernum quæri cardinem anni post constitutum mundum quater millesimi nongentesimi tricesimi. Ex hoc numero singulæ duodetriginta annorum circumscriptiones cum fuerint subductæ, unus omnino supererit annus, pro quo fumetur unus dies, & horæ sex, quibus addentur & dies tres. Ita reperietur vernus ejus anni cardo cœpisse ab hebdomadæ quinta nocte media: Tum huic anni cardini si addantur horæ septem & dimidia, reperietur æstivus ejus anni cardo ab una & dimidiata hora diei quinti cœpisse. Huic igitur addantur item horæ septem & dimidia, comperietur cardinem autumnalem proximè sequentem ab hora nona cœpisse diei quinti. Itémque addantur & huic septem horæ & dimidia, comperietur consequentem cardinem brumalem à sextæ noctis oriri hora quarta & dimidia. Rursus huic etiam addantur horæ septem & dimidia, cardo vernus sequens reperietur nasci ab ineunte diè sexto: sic est de reliquis ad infinitum tempus cardinibus anni.

§. VI. Si quis autem alicujus anni cardinem vernum scire velit in quotum mensis diem incidat, primum id quærat, in quem cadat hebdomadæ diem: deinde quem in diem sint constitutæ ejus anni calendæ Nisan: tum ex cyclo quot jam abierint anni toti: postea pro singulis annis elapsis fumat dies undecim, & hoc quidem tempore septem illis addat etiam dies, atque ex summa tandiu subducat dies triginta, dum pauciores triginta remanserint, qui dinumerentur à calendis Nisan: si est, ut assèquantur diem cardinis, benè erit: sin minus, addat unum, aut alterum, tertiumve diem, usque dum pervenerit ad eum ipsum diem, à quo vernus anni cardo cœpit. Jam annus cum est intercalaris, dinumerandi dies illi sunt à calendis Adaris secundi. Atque in quem diem mensis desierit numerus, is ipse est unde cardo ducit initium.

§. VII. Quærat igitur à quoto mensis die cœperit cardo vernus anni nongentesimi tricesimi, qui ducentissimi sexagesimi cycli nonus est. Novimus ejus anni defixas esse calendæ Nisan in die quinto hebdomadæ, & in hebdomadæ diem quintum item incidere cardinem vernum. Cùm igitur annus ille ponatur cycli esse nonus, ex eo cyclo liquet annos omnino præteruisse octo, pro quorum singulis fumantur dies undecim, ita inve-

Alia ratio  
quærendi  
tempus ip-  
sum, quo  
singuli anni  
cardines  
committan-  
tur.

invenientur dies octo, & octoginta: quibus addentur etiam septem, & conficiuntur omnino nonaginta quinque dies: Ex quibus cum subducti fuerint triginta quinque dies, reliqui sint quinque, qui numerentur à calendarum Nisaniarum die, quem hebdomadæ quintum esse posuimus. Sic fiet, ut eorum extremus incurrat in secundum hebdomadæ diem. At quoniam vernum cardinem scimus incidere non in secundum, sed in quintum hebdomadæ diem, annumeretur dies unus & item alter & tertius, usque dum perveniatur ad quintum hebdomadæ diem, quo cardo committitur. Ergo ejus anni cardo vernus à die mensis octavo exorditur. Similis est cæterorum annorum ratio.

§. VIII. Cum autem tamdiu dies dixerim addendos esse, dum illum assequare diem, quo cardo committatur: tamen nunquam fere fit, ut plus duobus aut tribus opus sit: ac mirabile videtur, si addi quatuor oporteat. Nam plures si desiderantur, intelliges in subducta ratione errorem inesse: itaque denuò benè subducendam.

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CAPUT

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## CAPUT DECIMUM.

*Quod superiori capite ex sententia Samuelis, idem hoc capite ex sententia R. Addæ explicatur. Item quemque scrupulum in momenta sex & septuaginta dividi. Utramque explanationem dirigi non ad verum, sed ad medium solis cursum: ad illum si temporis descriptio dirigeretur futurum, ut anni cardo vernus nunc temporis biduo prius, quam accideret, accideret.*

§. I. **A**ltera fuit eorum sententia, qui de quarta illa diei parte detrahunt aliquid. Quorum è numero quidam versati in astrologia Judæi sic existimant, solem quinque diebus & sexaginta, & trecentis, horis quinque, & scrupulis nongentis & nonaginta septem, & momentis etiam octo & quadraginta conversionem annuam conficere. Namque singuli scrupuli dividuntur etiam in momenta sex & septuaginta. Qua ratione cognoscitur annum solis cursum lunari esse longiorem diebus decem, una & viginti horis, centum & viginti uno scrupulis, momentis octo & quadraginta, quorum significatio est 10. 21. 121. 48. Atque cyclus decemnovennalis, qui lunaribus efficitur annis partim communibus, partim embolimæis, totidem cursus solis annuos peræquat ita, ut ex his omnino nihil residui relinquatur.

§. II. Hac ratione inter duos anni cardines unus & nonaginta dies intersunt, horæ septem, scrupuli quingenti & undeviginti, unum & triginta momenta: character est 91. 7. 519. 31. Cùm igitur unum anni cardinem noveris quando cœperit, tum si ab eo temporis puncto numeres ea, quæ dixi, spatia, consequentem anni cardinem cognoris, quando committatur: sic, ut ante diximus in eorum sententia, qui præter dies solidos quartam diei partem integram solis annuæ conversioni tribuunt.

§. III. Porrò hac eadem ratione cardo vernus ejus anni, quo sunt omnia à Deo facta & constituta, antecessit lunam nascentem mensis Nisan novem horis, & scrupulis sexcentis & qua-

quadraginta duobus : character est 9. 642. Et primo quoque cycli anno tantundem præcedit lunam nascentem mensis Nisan.

§. IV. Cognito itaque cardine verno anni ejus, qui cycli primus est, ab eo unus & nonaginta dies numerentur, horæ septem, quingenti atque decem & novem scrupuli, momentaque unum & triginta ad proximum sequentem cardinem : itémque à reliquis cardinibus usque ad extremum cyclum.

§. V. Si quis igitur scire cupiat ex hac ratione quando certi ejusdem anni cardo vernus accidet, is prius, quot è cyclo jam effluxerint anni toti, sciat necesse est : quorum pro singulis sumendum est id temporis, quo lunæ cursus annuus à solis annua conversione superatur, dies scilicet decem, una & viginti horæ, centum & viginti unus scrupuli, & momenta octo & quadraginta, quæ rediguntur in scrupulos, scrupuli in horas, & hæ in dies itidem, ut luna nascens cùm quæritur : Deinde de summa subducendæ sunt horæ novem, & scrupuli sexcenti & quadraginta duo, & reliquo spatio lunares in menses distributo, quod remanserit spatium lunari mense minus, id ad nascentem lunam Nisan addendum est, atque illud ubi deserit, inde cœperit ejus anni cardo vernus.

§. VI. Ac mea quidem sententia cùm esset senatus ille maximus, qui aut propter anni tempus, aut propter quamcunque necessitatem, annum constitueret intercalarem, hac utebatur ad intercalandum ratione. nam & est ea vera magis, & ad sententias astrologorum accedit longè propiùs, quàm prima illorum ratio, qui volunt, ut sol quinque diebus, & sexaginta & trecentis, quarta diei parte addita, conversionem annuam conficiat.

§. VII. Atqui utraque illa, quam explicavimus, investigandi cardinis ratio, tantummodò proximè ad rem accedit : etenim utraque dirigitur non ad verum, sed ad medium solis cursum. Quod si temporis observatio dirigeretur ad veram solis rationem, anni cardo vernus hisce temporibus ferè biduo prius, quàm accidat, accideret : idque tum ex illorum opinione, qui conversioni solis annuæ quartam diei partem totam affigunt, tum etiam ex illorum, qui de quarta illa parte eximunt aliquid.



## CAPUT UNDECIMUM.

*Ingressio viæ tradendæ atque rationis, qua cognosci possit luna se certa nocte aperiat, necne. Prima elementa astrologiæ. Qui sint planetarum cursus medii, qui cursus veri & Epocha seu stirps, unde ratiocinii principium petatur. Has omnes dirigi rationes ad situm Hierosolymæ & vicinorum ejus urbis oppidorum sex, septem dierum iter ab ipsa distantium.*

§. I. **Q**uoniam disputationibus in istis fenatum maximum illum Hierosolymitanum diximus, quàm accuratissimè ratiocinando quæsisse, fieri possit, ut luna se aperiret, necne; sine dubio animus à natura benè informatus, studiosus doctrinarum, & occultarum rerum percipiendarum cupidus scire aveat, qua ratione tandem id fieri convenit, ut quis cognoscat, an certa nocte luna videri, aut non videri possit.

§. II. Sed de hac ratione plurimum inter se dissident veteres vili sapientes alienigenæ, qui ad numerandi & metiendi scientiam animum applicarunt. In ea enim viri cæteroqui doctrinâ clari sic errarunt, ut rationis hujus aut nullam omnino, aut valde dubiam adepti sint cognitionem. Fuerunt etiam qui magna cum animi contentione quærerent, nec tamen rationem lunæ sunt ad liquidum assècuti: sed tanquam in altissimas aquas demersi, nihil aliud quàm luti plenam manum extulerunt.

§. III. Verùm longo temporis usu, & nimia investigatione tandem explorata est illa ratio: præterea autem hac de re multa nos habemus à sapientibus audita, multas etiam rationes, quæ non sunt in ejusmodi scriptæ libris, quos noverint omnes. His de causis visum nobis est rationem illam hîc explanare; ut si quis ad hunc laborem suscipiendum compararit animum, habeat, unde sibi faciat satis.

§. IV. Nec verò quisquam, quod nobis eâ nunc nihil opus sit, doctrinam hanc contemnendam putet. Nam recondita ea quidem & penitus abstrusa est, & hæc eadem est occulta factorum illa ratio, quam soli sapientium principes quondam nove-  
rant

rant, & nisi viris intelligentibus & ad magisterium promotis, tradebant nemini. At istam latorum rationem, quæ nunc in usu est, cum nullus sit, qui ad siderum motus tempora dirigat, senatus, etiam è ludo pueri triduo perdiscunt vel quadriduo.

§. V. Fortassis autem eveniet, ut homines docti, tam Judæi, quàm alieni, qui ea, quæ Græci tradiderunt de astrologia, præcepta didicerunt, cum intellexerint de meis cognoscendæ lunæ rationibus aliquas esse minus accuratas, id fugisse nos existiment. Verùm non est ita: sed idcirco certæ quædam rationes à nobis minus accuratè describuntur, quod ex principiis arithmetiæ, atque aliis ex causis evidentibus comperitur habeamus, nihil id impedire, quo minus perfectè cognoscatur lunæ ratio. Itaque duximus nihil esse, cur in ejusmodi rebus tantopere elaboraremus.

§. VI. Item si quas tradimus cognoscendæ lunæ vias, in earum nonnulla videantur non esse initæ, & subductæ rationes quædam idoneæ, consultò fecimus. Nam ex multis & variis illis cognoscendæ lunæ viis sic aliam illustrat alia, ut facilè possit inveniri veritas, licet non sint initæ & subductæ multiplices illæ rationes, quæ & homines in arte numerandi non exercitatos adeò deterrent, nec ad visionem lunæ quidquam conducunt.

§. VII. Ante omnes igitur astrologiæ rationes, quæ aut ad perfectam lunæ cognitionem pertinent, aut ad rerum aliarum usum, hæc cognita & percepta esse debent. Primùm distribui totum orbem signorum in gradus trecentos & sexaginta: triginta gradus obtineri ab uno quoque signo: primum esse signum, qui Aries dicitur: singulos gradus in partes sexaginta dividi: partes singulas in totidem secundas: harum singulas item dividi tertias in sexaginta, & isto modo ad infinitum fieri, si divisione etiam opus fuerit.

§. VIII. Si quis igitur ratiocinando invenit, sidus aliquod in orbe signifero situm esse post gradus septuaginta, triginta partes, & quadraginta secundas, intelliget id collocatum esse in signo Geminorum, in medio fere gradu undecimo. Nam Aries gradus occupat triginta, & totidem Taurus: restant de Geminis decem ac semissis, atque ex altero etiam semisse secundæ quadraginta.

§. IX. Sic si sidus inveneris aliquod in trecentesimo & vigesimo orbis signiferi gradu, cognosces id inesse in signo, quod Aquarium nuncupant, in gradu vigesimo: similis est reliquorum numerorum ratio. Sed jam signa nominatim & ordine persequamur. Sunt igitur Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Caper, Aquarius, Pisces.

§. X. Jam in ratiocinando cum sit necesse colligi reliquias, & multos ac varios unà conjungi numeros, paria cum paribus jungantur opus est, secundæ cum secundis, cum partibus partes, & gradus cum gradibus. Ubi secundæ fuerint collectæ sexaginta, ex quibus constat una pars, in partium sunt numerum referendæ. Item ubi sexaginta partes collectæ fuerint, ex quibus conflatur gradus, in numero ponentur graduum. De gradibus autem colligendi sunt trecenti & sexaginta, quibus subductis, si qui superent, ii demum numerandi sunt.

§. XI. Sed si sit detrahendus numerus alius ex alio, & ille quam hic sit major vel unica parte, huic, ex quo alius subducendus est, numero gradus addentur trecenti & sexaginta, ut ejus deductio fieri possit.

§. XII. Ut si gradus ducenti, quinquaginta partes, & secundæ quadraginta; character est 200. 50. 40. detrahendæ sint de gradibus centum, viginti partibus, & triginta secundis, character est 100. 20. 30. primum his gradibus centum addentur trecenti & sexaginta, & fiet summa quadringentorum & sexaginta graduum: deinde ut detrahantur de secundis secundæ, quoniam de triginta certe non possunt subduci quadragenæ, una è viginti partibus dividetur in secundas sexaginta, eruntque nonaginta secundæ, ex quibus cum fuerint quadraginta detractæ, quinquaginta supererunt. Tum è partibus undeviginti reliquis (nam fuit una partita in secundas) cum non possint deduci quinquaginta, oportet eximatur è gradibus unus, qui partiatur in partes sexagenas; quæ si jungantur una cum illis undeviginti partibus invenientur undecoginta: detractis inde quinquagenis supererunt viginti novem. Postremò de quadringentis & undesexaginta reliquis gradibus (nam & eorum unus est distributus in partes) subducentur ducenti, sic erunt gradus ducenti & undesexaginta reliqui. Cunctarum igitur reliquiarum character est 259. 29. 50. similiter fiet cujusque

jusque numeri detractio tum in solis, tum in lunæ ratione.

§. XIII. Item & in reliquorum planetarum ratione. Nam ex illis in suo quisque orbe motus habet constantes & ratos: neque enim eorum cursus tum incitantur, tum retardantur: sed illorum est quotidiana conveniens constansque conversio. Verùm etsi cujusque circulus globum terrenum complectitur totum, terra tamen in eo media non est.

§. XIV. Unde fit, ut si cujusque planetæ metiare cursum ex iis spatiis, quæ conficit in orbe signifero, qui globum terrenum sic arcet ac continet, ut terra media sit, eum esse varium reperias. Neque enim dies ullus est, quo quisque planeta non plus, minúsve spatii conficiat in orbe signifero, quam aut hesternò confecerit, aut crastino die confecturus sit.

§. XV. Equabiles igitur illi & certi cursus solis & lunæ, & cæterorum in orbe suo planetarum vocantur cursus medii: at quos tum celerius, tum tardiùs definiunt cursus in orbe signorum, hi sunt perfecti atque ex iis demum ubi sol, ubi luna versetur exploratè percipitur, ac cognoscitur.

§. XVI. Sed quas his disputationibus explicamus rationes & vias, eas ante commemoravimus tantum ad lunæ rationem cognoscendam pertinere. Necessè autem erat stirpem esse aliquam, ex qua semper hujusce ratiocinii principium peteretur. Hanc voluimus esse ineuntem noctem hebdomadæ quintam, & eandem tertiam mensis Nisan, præsentis anni, qui numeratur decimus & septimus ex ducentesimo & sexagesimo cyclo. \* Is est annus à constituto mundo quater millesimus, & nongentesimus & tricesimus octavus. Idem est perscriptionum seu tabularum millesimus quadringentesimus octogesima nonus. Idemque millesimus centesimus & nonus est annus à disturbato templo secundo. Hunc nos annum vocamus hujusce ratiocinii stirpem.

§. XVII.

§. XVI. *Is est annus à constituto mundo, &c.* Si quis velit recentiorum Judæorum ratiocinium à mundo constituto deductum ad æram Christianam redigere, deducat annorum è numero prima quatuor millia, tum iis, qui superabunt, annis addat ducentos & quadraginta, atque summa reliquæ fiet, quæ ad æram Christianam qua-

drabit. Quæ cum ita sint, hæc à scriptore nostro literis consignabantur anno æræ Christianæ millesimo centesimo septuagesimo octavo. Etenim libro פ'ק"י de familiarum stirpibus scriptum videmus, fol. 163, pag. 1. opus hoc à scriptore nostro totum esse absolutum anno æræ Christianæ 1188. Jam in hanc epocham R. O-

§. XVII. Et quoniam in Judæa ſolùm luna obſervaretur ſic, ut ante diſſerimus, hæ rationes diriguntur à nobis ad ſitum urbis Hieroſolymæ, & aliorum, quibus Hieroſolyma circumdatur, oppidorum ſex ſeptem dierum iter ab ipſa diſtantium, quippe cùm ex illis oppidis lunam aſſiduè contemplantes irent de illa Senatui Hieroſolymitano renunciatum. Hæc ora ab æquinoctiali circulo, qui medium mundum amplectitur, declinat ſeptentriones verſus duos & triginta circiter gradus, certè neque pauciores viginti novem, neque plures, quàm triginta quinque, & à media illa parte terræ, in qua habitatur, ad occidentem eſt inflexa gradus circiter quatuor & viginti, non plures quidem viginti ſeptem, nec pauciores, quàm viginti & unum.

## CAPUT

hadias, cujus commentarii tẽxtui ſcriptoris noſtri ſunt adjuncti, ita diſſerit. Quoniam clariffimi viri Majemonidæ epocha temporibus à noſtris longiùs eſt remota, viſum eſt nobis ſubſtituere aliam, unde principium duceremus, ineuntem noctem hebdomadæ tertiam, quam conſequebatur dies primus menſis Niſan, anni noni ex cyclo ducentefimo ſexageſimo nono. Is annus numerabatur quinquies milleſimus centefimus unus à conſtituto mundo, perſcriptionum ſeu tabularum milleſimus ſexcentefimus quinquageſimus ſecundus. In-

venimus autem ab epocha una ad alteram intercedere undeſexaginta millia dierum inſuper etiam dies tres & triginta, & quingentos. Quæ cùm addita fuerint epochæ clariffimi Majemonidæ, medius ſolis curſus invenietur ad epocham noſtram conſeſſiſſe gradus quinque, partes triginta quinque, & ſecundas quadraginta ex Ariete. character eſt 5. 35. 40. Et eodem tempore illa altitudo ſolis quæ dicitur, deſcripſiſſe gradus undetriginta, partes quatuordecim ex Geminis. character eſt 29. 14.

CAPUT DUODECIMUM.

*Cursus solis medius quid spatii perlustrat die uno, diebus decem, diebus undetriginta, diebus centum, diebus trecentis & quatuor supra quinquaginta, qui annus lunaris ordinatus dicitur, quid porrò diebus mille, quid decem millibus dierum? Punctum in orbe solis, id quod altitudo solis nuncupatur, quid loci describat his iisdem temporis spatiis? Quid conversionis confecerit cursus medius solis prima nocte illa, unde principium hujus ratiocinii ducitur? Item quid tum conversionis confecerit illa solis altitudo quæ vocatur? Ex his enim quando libuerit cunque facillè cognosci cursus medius solis ubi feratur: & eadem valere ad cognoscendum medium cursum lune & cæterorum siderum, & ejus, quæ dicitur altitudo solis, puncti.*

§. I. **C**ursus solis æquabilis, qui idem medius appellatur, uno die, hoc est, viginti quatuor horis, conficit undetriginta partes, & secundas octo: character est 59. 8. Idem igitur diebus decem conficit novem gradus, unam & quinquaginta partes, & secundas tres supra viginti: character est 9. 51. 23. Itaque centum lustrat diebus gradus nonaginta octo, partes tres supra triginta, & tres & quinquaginta secundas: character est 98. 33. 53. Unde cognoscitur futurum esse, ut si, quoad fieri possit, de spatio quod idem motus conficit mille diebus, subducas ita, ut à nobis explicatum est, gradus trecentos & sexaginta, reliqui fiant quinque gradus, & sexaginta, & ducenti, partes autem octo & triginta, & quinquaginta secundæ: character est 265. 38. 50. Jam ex eo spatio, quod motus hic perlustrat decem millibus dierum, si detrahas quoad fieri possit, trecenos & sexagenos gradus, reliqui fiant sex gradus & triginta & centum, duodetriginta partes, & viginti secundæ: character est 136. 28. 20. Atque isto modo cognosces rationem motus hujus ad quem volueris cunque dierum numerum. Jam si cursum medium bidui, tridui, quatri-  
dui ad decimum usque diem characteribus ita mandari velis,  
id

L. C. De Vil, a convert from Judaism first to the Roman Catholic Church  
then to the Church of England.

His brother Caius Maria De Vil first through the same changes &  
later years of his life became a Baptist minister in London. He published  
Commentaries, one in the Act of the 17th after becoming a Baptist. In  
the French Catholic Church he had the high esteem of Robaut & was  
connected with the English Separable Church much respected by some of its  
members.

See Wilson's History of the Dissenting Churches near London.

Comes in Bibliotheca Biblica.

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This copy was it appears from the first fly leaf a presentation copy  
of De Vil to Dr Seth Ward Bp of Salisbury, whose autograph  
Bp Ward was an active & bitter persecutor of the Nonconformists.

Samuel Poznański  
Ben Meir and the Origin  
of the Jewish Calendar

(Jewish Quarterly Review

10 (1897) 152-161



## BEN MEIR AND THE ORIGIN OF THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

AMONG the "Egyptian Fragments" which Dr. Neubauer published in the October number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW (IX, pp. 24-38), the most interesting is undoubtedly the portion of a letter directed against Ben Meir (pp. 36-38)<sup>1</sup>. Its writer<sup>2</sup> reports that he had heard at Aleppo that Ben Meir wished to declare the months Marcheshvan and Kislev defective (חסרים); whereupon he sent letters to Ben Meir and warned him not to do so, as these months were plenary (שלמים). After he had returned to Bagdad, he learnt that Ben Meir had, in spite of the warning, proclaimed, two months previously, both Marcheshvan and Kislev defective, in accordance with his own calculations. To counteract the effect of this step, Ben Meir's opponent sent epistles to all congregations, including those of the Exilarch and of the heads of the schools (probably Sura and Pumbeditha), informing them that the two months in question must, according to all authorities, be accepted as plenary, and that the coming Passover would therefore commence on a Tuesday. Once more he urgently appeals to the community to take the necessary measures to save the Jews from being misled by Ben Meir's calculation - which made Passover fall on a Sunday - into the desecration of that feast by eating leaven on it, and eating, drinking, and working on the day of Atonement.

Concerning the personality of this Ben Meir, his activity and the period in which he flourished, some information can be obtained from another fragment, published by Dr. Harkavy<sup>3</sup>. From this source, as well as indications in Saadiah's ספר הנלוי, it appears

<sup>1</sup> This fragment calls for much textual criticism. On p. 37, l. 2, *יש לא נזכר בנ* is not quite clear: for *יש וכן* read *יש וכן* l. 5, for *ונתק* read *ושלוחי סוף שני חרשים* (cp. the second line from the bottom of the page ושלוחי סוף שני חרשים 878); instead of *אמנם* read *אמנם* l. 7, after *אשר* add *לזאת*, as in l. 13; l. 8, for *ולחודשי* read *ולחודשי*: last line, for *וקראם* read *וקראם*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Neubauer suggests that the writer was Saadiah. See below, p. 153, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Studien und Mittheilungen*, V, 212-221.

that Ben Meir was a scion of the Hillelites, that he was head of a school in Palestine, lived at the beginning of the tenth century, and strove to re-assert the authority of Palestine in the appointment of the New Moons and Festivals. He sought to win converts for his views among the communities outside Palestine; and, with this object, sent his son on missions to various places, where he indeed seems to have found considerable support. The heads of the schools in Babylon feared a schism in Judaism, and commissioned Saadiah, who was at that time in Egypt, to issue an Epistle to the congregations denouncing Ben Meir's ideas and aims. Saadiah composed a charge of this character in the month of Tebeth, 1233 aec. contr. (end of 921). Ben Meir replied, in detail, in a letter he sent to the congregations in Babylon, and endeavoured afresh to establish the authority of Palestine. Saadiah replied to this with his *ספר המועדים*<sup>1</sup>.

We may assume with some degree of certainty that the incident narrated in Dr. Neubauer's fragment really took place also in 921, and it is more than probable that only after Ben Meir had attempted to give an emphatic practical expression to his theory by attempting to dislocate the Festivals on two days, that the official representatives of the Judaism of those times took alarm, and felt it necessary to utter a note of warning. This account of the event receives weighty confirmation from the testimony of a Syrian historian. Elias of Nisibis (obit post 1046) tells us that the year of the Hégira 309 began on Saturday, the 22nd of Ijar, in the year 1232 of the Greek era; and that, in this year, a schism broke out between the Eastern and Western Jews in reference to the dates of the Feasts. The Western Hebrews began their year on a Tuesday, the Eastern on a Thursday<sup>2</sup>. Here we have clear evidence that the Eastern Jews, i. e. those of Babylon, celebrated the New Year's day in 1233 on a Thursday, and consequently the preceding Passover must have begun on a Tuesday, which corresponds with the marginative in the letter against Ben Meir. We see also that the Western Jews, i. e. those in Palestine, followed the head of their school and kept Passover—and consequently all the other feasts—two days

<sup>1</sup> My exposition is entirely based on Dr. Harkavy's views, in which, however, there is much that is uncertain. If Saadiah had really been invited to Babylon in the year 921 for the purpose of refuting Ben Meir, he might also have visited Aleppo; and the fragment edited by Dr. Neubauer may in fact be by him. Cp. also *Zeitschr. f. hebr. Bibliogr.*, II, 79, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker*, edited by Prof. Baethgen, text, p. 84, translation, p. 141 (cp. also the *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, II, p. 107). Elias of Nisibis always gives his authority, with unfortunately this exception (and a few others).

earlier than their Eastern co-religionists. Ben Meir's injunctions had, accordingly, been obeyed; and this it was which threatened a serious danger to the religious leaders of the Babylonian communities.

The events here related we have also rediscovered in a Hebrew source, viz. in Sahl b. Mazliach's polemic against Jacob b. Samuel, Saadiah's pupil. The former, a Karaite zealot, says that in the time of the Fajjūmite (Saadiah) a dispute broke out concerning the Feasts which the Palestinians kept on different days to the Babylonians. The two parties indulged in mutual recriminations and excommunications, and even went so far as to charge one another with fraud and deception. Several Babylonians, however, sided with the Palestinians, and vice versa<sup>1</sup>. Frankl, who subjected Sahl's story to a severe critical examination<sup>2</sup>, tried to demonstrate that the New Year is here meant, and that the point about which the controversy turned was whether the Palestinian Jews were to keep New Year two days or only one day a question which engaged the attention of such late authorities as Alfāsi and his literary antagonist, Zerachiah Hallevi Gerundi. Before Saadiah, according to Frankl, the Jews of Palestine only kept Rosh hash-shanah on one day; but the Gaon prevailed on many penetrating minds in the Holy Land to adopt the Babylonian rule and celebrate the beginning of the year on two days. Saadiah believed that this would restore uniformity of religious practice, and effectively parry the attack of the Karaites who made capital out of the differences between Palestinian and Babylonian usages. After Saadiah's death, the result of his labours was undone. The Babylonian party in Palestine reverted to the prevalent customs, and hence the well-known inquiry which Nissim b. Jacob addressed to Haj Gaon as to Saadiah's Response to the inhabitants of Kafsa (קאפסא)<sup>3</sup>. Sahl, according to Frankl, wrote with a distinct bias and was guilty of exaggeration, partiality, and perversion of the truth.

Frankl's arguments will, however, not stand the test of examination. Even if Saadiah had succeeded in persuading the Jews of Palestine to keep the New Year two days, complete religious unity would by no means have been secured, as the same difference with regard

<sup>1</sup> Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmonim*, p. 36: ולשני יום ביום השמיני אשר פתח אנשים ויהלוקו במועדים וישבו אנשי ארץ ישראל עם והבבליים וההוסיים אחרים עשאוהו עם אחר ואמרו (הבבליים) *seil*. כי אנשי ארץ ישראל המאו ואנשי ארץ ישראל אמרו כי הם המאו וקלו אלו לאלו ועו אלו לאלו ברוב שנות וישבו אנשי ארץ ישראל המועד ביום הזה ואנשי בבל עשאוהו ביום ספר (אחר. ו.) יהיו מוכנים אלה לאלה ויש אנשים מוכנים ארץ ישראל שהלכו אחר הבבליים עם השומנים בארץ שנגזר להם אנשי ארץ ישראל.

<sup>2</sup> *Monatsschrift*, XX. (1871), pp. 355-360.

<sup>3</sup> *Responses of the Geonim*, ed. Lyck, no. I.

to the other Feasts would continue to divide Palestine from the rest of the world. Saadiah, moreover, does not condemn the difference of practice, as fostering disunion; for he asserts that God had, from the beginning, commanded Moses that the Feasts should, in Palestine, be kept one day, and outside it two days<sup>1</sup>—a view which he maintains against the Karaites. Finally, Sahl would not have said that the Palestinians celebrated the Festival—precisely the Festivals—on one day, and the Babylonians on another, or on the morrow<sup>2</sup>, but that the former keep the Feast on a certain day and the Babylonians kept it on the morrow *also*. Again, what is the meaning of the statement that some of the Babylonians followed the practice of Palestine? The former in any case kept two days. I, therefore, do not doubt that Sahl had in mind the affair with Ben Meir, and we learn that a portion of the Palestinians, at least, refused to follow the lead of the head of their school, while, on the other hand, he counted many Babylonians among his adherents. The last circumstance appears from several passages in Ben Meir's epistle to the Babylonian communities which Dr. Harkavy has published<sup>3</sup>.

Frankl has cast suspicion upon Sahl's account as tainted with a pronounced bias. His reason is that, if accepted, it would involve the assumption that the Rabbanites were still disputing about the dates of the Festivals as late as the tenth century, and that, even in the time of Saadiah, the rules of the Calendar had not yet been unalterably fixed. This, says Frankl, is impossible. But what appeared to him, in 1871, an impossibility, has been proved by Dr. Harkavy's and Dr. Neubauer's publications to have been a plain fact. As late as the tenth century there were differences of opinion as to the institution of a fixed and constant Calendar. And this presents an opportunity for a word concerning the time and place in which the present fixed Calendar originated. Though this theme has had the benefit of frequent and varied treatment, yet it will be generally admitted that several complicated questions still await solution, and that much of what has hitherto been advanced is hypothetical<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibidem: "כי בני רבנו סמריה ד' אסר בעירושן מי און ספן מיקרא אלא הק'ב'ה ביה את משה עבדו וקרא אסר דהם לישראל כי בארץ יהיה דהם יום אחר ובח' ל' שני ימים וכן היה משום כל ישראל משך וכו'".

<sup>2</sup> Sahl says of the Babylonians in the first passage אחר יום אחר, and the second time ביום אחר. Frankl would read in the first passage יום אחר. According to my opinion, it is more correct to read in both cases אחר.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Dr. Harkavy, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Herr Epstein (מקדמונית התורה), p. 17, for example, counts six periods in the evolution of the Jewish Calendar. His demonstrations, particularly in regard to the earliest period, are mostly hypothetical.

A well-known Response of Hai Gaon, preserved for us by Abraham b. Chija, is extant, which states that our present Calendar was fixed by the patriarch Hillel II in Palestine, in the year 670 (=368 or 369 C. E.)<sup>1</sup>. This is accepted by most authorities, e.g. Zerachiah Gerondi<sup>2</sup>, Nachmanides<sup>3</sup>, &c.; Isaac Israeli<sup>4</sup> alone asserts that his Hillel belonged to the last Talmudic period, and lived about 500 C. E.; an obvious error, for nothing is known of a patriarch of that name in that era; his statement, moreover, is uncorroborated by any other authority. Hai's account bristles, however, with difficulties. On the question of *date*, Slonimski<sup>5</sup> has rightly pointed out that several passages in the Talmud show that even in the days of the last Amoraim, the new moon was fixed by observation, though since Gamliel II, astronomical rules were also brought into requisition—a view which is accepted by no less an authority than Dr. Steinschneider, who differs from Graetz and Pines. As to the *place of origin*, M. Theodore Reinach<sup>6</sup> has drawn attention to a fact which makes it improbable that our Calendar was fixed in Palestine. In that country, he points out, the Greek eight-year cycle (Oktaeteris) at first in vogue, was succeeded by the solar cycle under the Roman rule. Sextus Julius Africanus (beginning of the third century) also notes that the Greeks as well as the Jews observe the Oktaeteris, i. e. in every eight years they have three leap years<sup>7</sup>. The *Book of Enoch*, § 74, vv. 13-16, likewise refers to an eight-year cycle<sup>8</sup>. The Metonic nineteen years' cycle was used in Babylon. Reinach accordingly assumes that Babylon is the original home of our Calendar. He ascribes the authorship, on the ground of his astronomical knowledge, to the Amora Samuel. Though this is a mistake, Samuel's era being far too early a date, yet Reinach's hypothesis as regards the *place of origin* must command assent. It may be added that Mahler, in a series of investigations, has shown that the ancient Babylonians already had the nineteen years' cycle; and he also therefore believes that our Calendar is of Babylonian

<sup>1</sup> ספר העבור, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> ספר עומר on Rosh hash-shanah, I.

<sup>3</sup> הלכות קד"ה, V, 2. According to Maimonides (הלכות קד"ה, V, 2) it was an הליכה למשה משהו that, as soon as the Synhedrion ceases to exist, the new moons and festivals were to be fixed according to the present Calendar. This view is impugned already by Nachmanides and others.

<sup>4</sup> יבור עולם, IV, 9.

<sup>5</sup> הדינה, p. 4, &c.; יסודי העבור, § 29, &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Revue des Études Juives*, XVIII, 90, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Africanus' remarks are found in Georgius Syncellus' *Chronography*, p. 611 (cited by Reinach, l.c.), and read as follows: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι τρεῖς μῆνας ἑμβολίμους ἔτεσιν ἀκτῶ παρεμβάλλουσιν.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Rev. R. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, pp. 201-202.

origin<sup>1</sup>. It does not necessarily follow that it was first adopted by the Jews resident in Babylon; they might have learnt it and brought the knowledge with them to Palestine, as indeed was the case with the names of the months. The Babylonian cycle does not follow quite the same order as ours. Its mnemonic would be not ג'וה א'דו"ט but ג'וה א'דו"ט. Instead of the seventeenth, the sixteenth year of the cycle is embolismic. Such a variation might easily, however, have developed in the course of centuries, nay millenniums<sup>2</sup>. It is curious that Albêrûni, who wrote about the year 1000, and who is the earliest authority for the systematic exposition of our Calendar, reports a difference between the Palestinian and Babylonian Jews in regard to the sequence of leap years<sup>3</sup>. He says that there are three series of intercalation (*ordines intercalationis*), viz. :—

(1) ג'וה א'דו"ט, i. e. the second, fifth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth years.

(2) א'דו"ט ב'ה, i. e. the first, fourth, sixth, ninth, twelfth, fifteenth, and seventeenth years.

(3) ג'וה א'דו"ט (properly ג'וה א'דו"ט), i. e. the third, fifth ( $3 + 2 = 5$ ), eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth years.

The first two series, Albêrûni tells us, were adopted by the Syrian Jews; the last, by their co-religionists generally, who preferred it to the others, because it was invented by the Babylonians. The first two series are identical with ג'וה א'דו"ט. The first need only be increased by the numeral one, the second series by two, and the identity will become apparent. The third, however, ג'וה א'דו"ט, differs from the ancient Babylonian series as well as from our system; and yet Albêrûni testifies that it was the most widely disseminated among the Jews, by which last term he refers, of course, to the

<sup>1</sup> See *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VI, 457-464; IX, 42-61; XI, 41-46; *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie, Mathem.-naturw. Classe*, 1892; *Transactions of the IX Congr. of Oriental.*, II, 209-217. Strassmaier and Oppert, however, refuted the opinion of Mahler, see *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, VIII, 173-178; X, 64-69; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, I, 138-165.

<sup>2</sup> Another difference was that the Babylonians had, besides the intercalary Adar, an intercalary Ellul. Mahler has, however, shown that the latter was only introduced after Babylon had come under Syrian domination, when the year began, as in the Græco-Syrian calendar, with autumn instead of spring. According to 'Anan, the embolismic month must be intercalated after Shebat, for which, in my opinion, there is no analogy. See Qirgisani's *Kitâb al-Anwâr*, I, 13 (ed. Harkavy, p. 313, line 7); Albêrûni's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, edited by Sachau, text, p. 59, translation, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, text, p. 56, translation, pp. 64-65.



The consciousness, however, that the Calendar was of comparatively late origin induced not only the Karaites, but also the other sects, to reject and denounce it. Characteristic is the following narrative of al-Qirḳisānī, one of Saadiah's contemporaries<sup>1</sup>: "I once said to the Palestinian, Jacob b. Ephraim<sup>2</sup>, 'You have intercourse with the Isawites (i. e. followers of Isa or Obadiah al Isfahānī), you even intermarry with them. But they acknowledge as prophets those whom you do not recognize.'<sup>3</sup> The reply was 'They have not seceded from us (the Rabbanites) in regard to the Feasts.' This shows that the Rabbanites tolerated open unbelief rather than a schism in the dates of the Feasts which they themselves permanently fixed." The Sectarics, especially the Karaites, by their attacks on the Calendar, misled so illustrious a genius as Saadiah into anachronisms, logical fallacies, and egregious blunders. The Gaon claims that the Calendar is of Sinaitic origin, and that its rules existed in the days of Moses. It was easy for his opponent to demonstrate the utter absurdity of this contention. And Hai Gaon had to admit that Saadiah did not really intend the assertion to be taken seriously. His object was to snatch a momentary triumph in the verbal combat<sup>4</sup>.

Thus we observe seething among the Jews in the tenth century an agitation that was far from superficial, but, on the contrary, stirred men's minds to their depths. The Karaites sought their profit in this ferment, and won many waverers over to their camp. Possibly to this dispute about the Calendar we may trace the fact recorded by Sahl, that some Rabbanites in Palestine kept two days of the Festival—one, according to the observation of the moon; and one according to the fixed Calendar, and that many of them renounced the latter (and thus were converted to Karaism)<sup>5</sup>. The last statement may be merely an unwarranted, idle rumour.

These suggestions I have here offered are, of course, purely hypothetical. It would be a subject for congratulation if this publica-

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., I, 11 (ed. Harkavy, p. 312).

<sup>2</sup> Concerning this Jacob b. Ephraim, who is undoubtedly identical with the one cited by Salmon b. Jerucham (Pinsker, p. 14), see my Essay in the *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, pp. 201-202.

<sup>3</sup> This sectary had asserted that Jesus and Muhammed were prophets sent by God, not to the Jews but to the Gentiles.

<sup>4</sup> *Responses of the Geonim*, I, c. : כך ראינו כי זה שאמרתם שכתב ר"ם ו"ל קנה הוא . . . שרחה את האשוקורז אלו הם דבריו (של ר' סעיר) ו"ל והם לפי תשובת המינים ולרחות נהג פנהו התשיבה שאדם רשאי להשיב להם בכל ההשגה שיראה לו שהוא שינוי את דבריהם וכו'.

<sup>5</sup> Pinsker, loc. cit., p. 33.



tion stimulated experts and specialists to contribute, out of their rich stores, to the discussion and elucidation of the vexed question in this little known but absorbing branch of science.

SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI.

BERLIN, November, 1896.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

My learned friend, Herr H. Bornstein of Warsaw, has pointed out to me that the report quoted by Elias of Nisibis needs correction. First, the year of the Hegira 300 began on the 12th, and not on the 22nd of Ijar, 1233. Secondly, Ben Meir's contradiction related to Marcheshvan and Kislev, 1233, not 1232, so that the difference of two days affected the Passover of 1233, and, consequently, the New Year of 1234 (not 1233). This may also be deduced from the following passage in the fragment in Harkavy (p. 218, l. 13 sqq.):

... מפני שנוֹלָד תשרי ביטנת תתנ"ג לחשבון הבית לילי ד' יא' ישעות  
התקל"ב חלק' וראש השנה ביום ה' והחדשים חסיר' . . . והשנה הבאה  
שהיא שנת תתנ"ד לחשבון הבית פשוטה הוא נוֹלָד בליל ז' בט' ישעות תמ"א  
חלק' והוא נבבול ז' והחד' בסדרן וכי'.

Ben Meir further maintains that in the year 853, after the destruction of the second Temple (= 1233 of the era of contracts), the New Year should have fallen on a Thursday, and the months Marcheshvan and Kislev should have been defective (חסרים), and that New Year's day of the following year, 854 = 1234 era of contracts, ought to be a Tuesday. Consequently, the Passover of 1233 fell, according to Ben Meir on a Sunday, but according to the common reckoning on a Tuesday, and the New Year of 1234 on a Thursday. In fact, the Molad of the year 1233 was ד' יא' תתקל"ב, and the formula (תבי"ג) was according to Ben Meir, תת"א. The letter published by Neubauer shows the conflict to have arisen in the summer, i. e. in 1232. The informant of Elias of Nisibis knew that in 1232 there had been a conflict between the eastern and western Jews about the fixing of the New Year's day, and related it erroneously to the New Year of 1233, instead of to that of 1234.

The same friend further points out that the third formula of intercalation of Albetmū (אלבטמו) can also be reduced to our formula

<sup>1</sup> So correctly in the Oxford MS. The St. Petersburg MS. has wrongly תת"א.

(נָה' אֲרָז' ט'), if we begin to reckon the intercalary years from the third year of the cycle, for then we arrive at the series גבגגגגגג. Hai Gaon also mentions, in Responsum cited by Abraham b. Chijā (pp. 97, 98; cf. יסוד עולם iv, 14), the same three formulæ of intercalation as Albēriṅī, namely נָה' בְּהוּ' אֲדוּטְבֵהוּ, and גבגגגגגג, and his words show that all three are identical. Vide also Steinschneider, l. c., pp. 34, 35.

Finally, the discrepancy between the Babylonian and the Jewish series of the intercalary years by no means proves the impossibility of the latter having originated from the former, for our nineteen years' cycle is supposed to have been borrowed from the Metonic, but even in the latter, the sequence of the intercalary years has not been satisfactorily established. The sequence was, according to Dodwell, Ideler, Boeckh, in the Metonic system, 3, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19; and in that of Kallipos, 1, 4, 7, 10, 12, 15, 18. On the other hand, according to Scaliger, Em. Müller, and Aug. Mommsen, in both systems, 2, 5, 8, 10, 13, 16, 18. Cf. Unger, *Die Chronologie d. Griechen u. Römer*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch d. klass. Alterthums-Wissenschaften*, I.

WARSAW, January, 1897.

S. P.

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A  
JEWISH CALENDAR

FOR  
FIFTY YEARS.

CONTAINING DETAILED TABLES OF THE SABBATHS, NEW MOONS,  
FESTIVALS AND FASTS, THE PORTIONS OF THE LAW PROPER TO  
THEM, AND THE CORRESPONDING CHRISTIAN DATES,

FROM A. M. 5614 TILL A. M. 5664.

TOGETHER WITH  
AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY  
ON THE  
JEWISH CALENDAR SYSTEM.

AND  
TABLES FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE CALENDAR TILL THE YEAR  
5776, A. M. BEING FOR A PERIOD OF SIX LUNAR CYCLES  
CONTAINING 114 YEARS.

WITH  
TABLES OF THE PARASHIOT AND HAPHTAROT AS READ BY BOTH  
PORTUGUESE AND GERMAN ISRAELITES, &c., &c., &c.

BY  
JACQUES J. LYONS,  
Minister K. K. "Shearith Israel," New York, &c.

AND  
ABRAHAM DE SOLA,  
Minister K. K. "Shearith Israel," Professor of Hebrew and Oriental  
Literature in the University McGill College, Montreal, &c.

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בשנת ל'מ"ט י"ט \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
ל'פ"ק: \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
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if the conjunction was after 12 o'clock, when it is called מולד וקץ *Senile Moled*. This removal is expressed by the term י"ח (eighteen) referring to the 18 hours which affect it, and is remembered by the further phrase or *Siman*, מולד קודם הצות כשר אחר הצות סכול וחצות כאחר הצות, *Exigent Removal* has been instituted to avoid the inconvenience and impropriety of two festivals being celebrated, the one immediately after the other. And yet this is not always avoidable. Thus, if Passover fall on Sunday, it immediately follows on the weekly Sabbath; and if it fall on Saturday, then Pentecost will fall on Sunday and immediately succeed the weekly Sabbath. Occasionally, there obtains a removal produced by a combination of the above two, which we may call *Combined Removal*, and further distinguished as first *single* and second *double*. *Single Combined Removal* means that the festival is deferred one day only, whereas *Double Combined Removal* means that the festival has been removed for a longer period. Abudaram in his lucid treatise gives examples\* which illustrate the above distinctions. For the first kind, let us suppose the Moled of Tishree had not taken place before Sunday noon; then, while Planetary Removal would require Rosh Hashanah to be deferred, because it was after י"ח or eighteen hours, *Exigent Removal* would also require that it should be deferred a day, since it cannot be celebrated on a Sunday, לא אדר ר"ה, as it would immediately succeed the weekly Sabbath. Thus, the *Siman* בש"ק תקס"ט conveys that in the year following a Bissextile, if the conjunction had not been concluded on the second ב day of the week before the 15th ש hour and 589th תקס"ט *helek*, the feast is deferred till the following day, Tuesday. *Double Combined Removal* is thus exemplified. If the conjunction should not have taken place until Saturday afternoon, then Planetary Removal defers the celebration of Rosh Hashanah till the following day, it having taken place after י"ח eighteen hours. But as this day, Sunday, would immediately follow the weekly Sabbath, the festival is deferred one day longer,—thus the *Siman* נט"ד. This denotes, that if in a common year, the *Moled* be on the third day or Tuesday ג, not before the 9th hour ט, and 204 דר *helakim*, the celebration is deferred till Thursday the 5th day—This, however, is not of frequent occurrence. We now proceed to add some rules more or less dependent upon the above, which it is useful to know, and are, as usual, conveyed by *Simanim*.

### אט ביה גל דל הג וט

This remarkably ingenious *Siman* (see Shulchan Aruch, ch. 428, 93) is merely a combination of the first and last six letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, the first, א, being joined with the last, ת; the second, ב, with the last but one ש, &c. As the letters are also numerical, they are enabled to show, in the present *Siman*, the days of the week on which the festivals of the year occur, in connection

\* The reader is especially referred, however, to Maimonides' *Kidoosh Hahodesh*.

with the days of Passover; the first letter of each syllable denoting the day of Passover, while the inverted letter exhibits the festival, &c. Thus, on the same day of the week as is א, first day of Passover, will be ה, i.e. ראש השנה באב, or רמזו the fast of Ab or Tamooz. Same day as ב, second day, will be ש, i.e. שבועות, Pentecost; same day as ג, third, will be ר, i.e. ראש השנה; same day as ד, fourth, will be ק, i.e. קריאת התורה, Simchat Torah, on which the reading of the law is recommenced; same day as ה, fifth, will be צ, i.e. צום כפור, Kipoor same day as ו, sixth, will be פ, i.e. the פורים, Purim.

### פלב חי לעולם

The first letter of these words (which may be rendered "Peleg lives for ever,") is the initial of פורים, Purim; the next two, לב (33) stand for the 33rd day of Homer, which is always on ה (18) the eighteenth day of Iyar. The *Siman* conveys that on the same day as is Purim, will be לעולם, always the 33rd of Homer, or 18th of Iyar. Shul. Aruch. ch 428, S. 1.

### כח נערה שירה

Here כ is the initial of כסדרה Ordinary (years) and ח of חסרה Imperfect (years), נ of נר the Lamp (of Hanukah) ע of ערב eve, רה of ראש השנה New Year, ש of שלימה Perfect (years), י of יום, day רה of ראש השנה, new year. The *Siman* may be translated "The power of the maid is song," and denotes that in Ordinary and Imperfect years כ"ח, the first day of Hanukah נ, occurs on the same week-day as the preceding Rosh Hashanah Eve ע'ר"ה, and in Perfect years, ש, the first day of Hanukah falls on the same day י as the first day of the preceding Rosh Hashanah ר'ה.

### בג המלך פת וילך

Denotes that when ב Monday and נ Tuesday are המלך "the king"—a term applied to Rosh Hashanah; God on that day being specially regarded as המלך המושטט the King of Judgment,—and there being, in consequence, two Sabbaths between Rosh Hashanah and Succot, then is כ"ה severed or separated (from P. Nitsabim) the portion וילך (P. 51.) which is read between R. H. and Kipoor. כ"ה has here the sense of *breaking or parting* as in Lev. ii. 6.

Having now at some length described the kinds and changes of the Jewish years, it remains for us to add a few words as to the Jewish computation from eras. These were various. Thus we find that one era or epoch used was from the lives of the Patriarchs, Gen. vii. 11, viii. 13; next, they reckoned from the Exodus and institution of the national polity (Ex. xix. 1, xl. 17; Numb. i. 1, ix. 1; 1st. Kings vi. 1); again, from the building of the Temple; 1st. Kings, ix. 10; 2nd. Chron. viii. 1); again, from the reigns of the kings; next, from the Babylonian Captivity, Ezek. i. 1, &c. They also computed from the Seleucidæan era, called the era of the Greeks, in the books of Maccabees. It commenced with the accession of Seleucus Nicanor to power, about 312 years before the Christian era. About this time it is supposed the Hebrews first commenced to

Simanim, or Memorials Technica.	Names of Holy-days, New Moons, &c.	May not fall on	But may on
III.	לא נאו יום הכפורים	Kipoor	T S F M W Th S
IV.	לא נזו צום גדליה	Fast Gedalyah	T F Sa S M W Th
V.	לא נהו עצרת	Feast Eighth	T Th Sa S M W F
VI.	לא נהו הושענא רבה	Hoshanah Rabah	T Th Sa S M W F
VII.	לא נ חנוכה	Dedication	Tuesday - All others
VIII.	לא אנו צום אסתר	Fast Esther	S T F Sa M W Th
IX.	לא זכר פורים	Purim	Sa M W S T Th Fr
X.	לא ברו צום תמוז ואב	Fts. Tamooz & Ab	M W F Sa S T Th
XI.	לא אדו השרי	Tishri	S W F M T Th Sa
XII.	לא בהו השון	Heshvan	M Th S T W F S
XIII.	לא וכליו	Kislev	Saturday All others
XIV.	לא הן טבת	Tebet*	Th Sa S M T W F
XV.	לא או שבט	Shebat	S F M T W Th Sa
XVI.	לא אנה אדר	Adar	S T Th M W F Sa
XVII.	לא ברו ניסן	Nissan & Passover.	M W F S T Th Sa
XVIII.	לא אדו אייר	Iyar	S W F M T Th Sa
XIX.	לא בהן סיון	Sivan	M Th Sa S T W F
XX.	לא ברו תמוז	Tamooz	M W Sa S T Th F
XXI.	לא אנה אב	Ab	S T Th M W F Sa
XXII.	לא נהן אלול	Elool	T Th Sa S M W F
And in Bissextiles			
XXIII.	לא אנו אדר א	First Adar	S T F M W Th Sa
XXIV.	לא אנה אדר ב	Second Adar	S T Th M W F Sa

The above list is rectified according to three of the most correct editions of the "Shulchan Aruch," with which it has been collated. There are discrepancies between it and some Hebrew writers on the Calendar, (e.g. Abudaram,) which have arisen, no doubt, from mistakes of the copyists, or from printer's errors. They will be discovered and rectified by an examination which our limits do not allow us to make here; but we continue with the *Simanim*:—We have already seen, that to secure an approximation of time between the Hebrew and synodical month, different numbers of days have been given to certain months at certain periods, affecting thereby the length of the year. It will be readily concluded from the above table, that, in consequence of the there required alteration in the commencement of the year and months, as well for the removals of the festivals, that various other modifications in the lengths and forms of the months and years must take place. Thus, there are not less than fourteen variations in the form of the year, which, as in the table above, are

\* We have also, לאן עשרה בטבת, i.e. the tenth day of Tebet, which is the fast, cannot be kept on Sabbath. One particular reason assigned is, that the observance of the fast may not be deferred, because it is said, concerning it, "in the self-same day" as the day of Atonement. The "Beth Yoseph" rejects this exposition as groundless.

expressed by *Simanim* for convenience and to aid the memory. By explaining the construction of three such *Simanim*, the others will be easily understood. It is to be remembered, that the first and last letters in *all* are numerical, e. g. I. בשׁה, in which ב is 2, and ה, 5. The first number shows on what day of the week Rosh Hashanah (the commencement of the civil year) occurs, in the kind of year which the *Siman* represents. In our example it is ב the second, or Monday. The last number shows the day of the week on which Rosh Hodesh Nissan, the commencement of the ecclesiastical year, and also the Passover, falls; in the example it is ה, or Thursday. The middle letter indicates the *nature* of the year and is either ש, as in the example, the initial letter of שלימה Perfect, in which Heshvan and Kislev will be both full, as before explained; or ה, the initial of חסרה Imperfect, in which Heshvan and Kislev are deficient; or it will be כ, the initial of כסדרה Ordinary, in which Heshvan is deficient, and Kislev full. Our second example is בהג ב shows that new year's day is on Monday; ה, that the year is Imperfect, and ג that Rosh Hodesh Nissan falls on Tuesday. Our third example is גכה ג to show that new year's day is on Tuesday, כ to show that the year is Ordinary, and ה to show that Rosh Hodesh Nissan falls on Thursday. This explained, we detail the *Simanim* as follows:—

COMMON YEARS.			BISSEXTILE YEARS.		
	Siman.	Contains Days.		Siman.	Contains Days.
I.	בשה	355	I.	בשו	383
II.	בהג	353	II.	בחה	385
III.	גכה	354	III.	גכו	384
IV.	השא	355	IV.	השג	385
V.	הכו	354	V.	החא	383
VI.	זשב	355	VI.	זשה	385
VII.	זחא	353	VII.	זחג	383

These changes in the appointment of the festivals are fully treated of by writers on the Jewish Calendar under the head קביעות ודחיות *i.e.*, fixing and removing of days. They are of two kinds: the first we may style *Planetary*, and the second, *Exigent*. *Planetary Removal* we have already explained in our remarks upon months, since the term merely conveys that rules were laid down to defer the consecration of the new moon until *after* the completion of its conjunction, which is styled מולד. It may be added here, however, that if this took place before noon, that is, during any of the eighteen hours contained between this time and the preceding evening at six o'clock, which commenced the day, then the new moon is celebrated on this day;—As Abudaram writes, “were the *Moled* of Tishree even but one *helek* or scruple before noon, it is to be consecrated and called מולד בחור Junior Moled,” but not till the following day

tise of celebrating these two days, obtained, even in the days of Saul, say 2770 years ago. The following are those months\* in which one day Rosh Hodesh, is observed: Nissan, Sivan, Ab, Tishri and Shebat, the *Siman* of which is חשנשא; and those on which two days are observed, Iyar, Tamooz, Elool, Marchesvan, Adar, Adar Sheni, the *Siman* of which is מאארא. Kislev and Tebet have sometimes two days, sometimes one; thus, when Heshvan and Kislev are both full, then Kislev and Tebet will have two days R. H. and when these are both deficient, only one. When the one is deficient and the other full, then Kislev will have one, and Tebet two days. These months have been divided into four portions called תקופות *TEKUPHOT*,† or revolutions, of three months each, containing, according to Rab Ada, 94 days 519 *helakim* or portions, (for facility of computation, the Rabbies have divided the hour into 1080 such parts; these are divisible by any of the units but 7,) and 31 seconds. These Tekuphot receive their names from the months with which they commence. We have thus תקופת ניסן *Tekupha* of Nissan, at the vernal equinox, when the sun enters Aries, including Nissan, Iyar and Sivan. This period was styled תקופת עיר החרדע *seed time*, In this, day and night are equal. II. תקופת תשרי *The Tekupha* of Tishri, at the autumnal equinox, when the sun enters Libra, including Tishri, Heshvan and Kislev, called עיר הבציר *harvesting or vintage time*, when the day and night are equal. In the latter month of this Tekupha, viz. Kislev, there commences the reading of the prayer called ברכת הכנס *the proper time for which*, according to Rab Shemuel, is 60 days after the sun enters Libra, which, during the 19th century, will be on the 6th October; but thereafter, in consequence of 1900 not being Bissextile, it is to be reckoned from the 7th. Now if the date of the Hebrew month be sought which corresponds with 6th October, which is generally in Tishri, the same date in Kislev is the day on which *Barech Alenu*, is to be commenced; except in a perfect year, Bissextile, or ordinary, when it is to be read a day earlier. In a year preceding a Bissextile, it is one day later. The summer prayer commencing ברכת אביב *is commonly read* the first night of the Middle Days of Passover. III. תקופת טבת *The Tekupha* of Tebet, at the period of the winter solstice, when the sun enters Capricornus, including Tebet, Shebat and Adar, called עיר החרף *the stripping, or late autumn season*, when the nights are double the length of the days. IV. תקופת תמוז *The Tekupha* of Tamooz, at the summer solstice, when the sun enters Cancer, including Tamooz, Ab and Elool, called עיר הקציר *harvest time*, when the days are double the length of the nights.‡ The general

\* Distinguished by R. Menasseh ben Israel, in his "*Thesoro dos Dinim*" as "*reyes*" and "*ministros*."

† For the "*Tekuphat Hachamah*" see the "*Boker Yisrach*" of the late revered Rabbi David Meldola.

‡ The year was also divided into six *season divisions* of two months each viz: *Zevang, Katsir, Kor, Chom, Kayits, Choreph*.—(Gen. viii. 22.) The first commenced in the latter half Tishri, &c.



rule laid down for the appointed time of the Tekuphot is that the Tekupha of Tebet commences eight days before January; of Nissan, seven days before April; of Tamooz, six days before July; of Tishri, seven days before October. To assist the memory, a סִימָן or *memoria technica* has been formed in the word זחזח, each letter of which, being a numeral, indicates the number of days before each month when the Tekupha commences. There are various other *memoriae technicae* and rules which it becomes proper now to notice; and first, those having reference to the days on which the various festivals may, or may not, be observed. Here they follow:—

I. **לֹא בְדֵי פֶסַח** i.e., the first day of the Passover may not be celebrated on ב, the 2nd day of the week, Monday; nor ד, the fourth, Wednesday; nor ו, the sixth, Friday. Among the various reasons assigned for this rule are, that if the Passover occurred on the first mentioned day, ב Monday; Rosh Hashanah (new years day) would fall on Wednesday, and Kipoor, the Day of Atonement, on Friday; and thus two sabbaths or sacred days would become blended together, which must not be. Purim would also fall on Saturday, when the opposite characters of the feast and sacred day would render a proper and consistent observance of both together, at one time, impossible. If Passover occurred on the second mentioned day ד Wednesday, then Kipoor would fall on Sunday; but it has been seen that Kipoor and Sabbath may not immediately follow each other. If Passover occurred on the third mentioned day, ו Friday, Rosh Hashanah would be on Sunday, and Hoshanganah Rabah on Saturday, on which latter day the ceremony of taking the willow, &c., could not, in conformity with traditional interpretation, be performed. II. **לֹא אֲדָר רֵאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה** i.e., Rosh Hashannah may not be celebrated on א, Sunday, ד Wednesday, or ו Friday. The rule is that this important festival should be observed at the time of the monthly conjunction, unless this occur after noon, when the next day is kept, unless it and the conjunction in the first instance also, be on אֲדָר Sunday, Wednesday or Friday, when it is to be observed on Monday; Thursday or Saturday. If the conjunction, in an ordinary year, take place at a quarter past nine, A. M., (more correctly 9 h. 11 m. 20 s.,) on Tuesday, then New Year's day will be deferred two days later, viz. until Thursday (e.g. in 5616; see the Calendar,) by which provision, the proper number of days is allowed to the preceding month, Elood. When the conjunction occurs on, or after, half-past 3, P.M., (say 3 h. 30 m. 52 s.) on Wednesday, in a year immediately following a Bisextile, Rosh Hashanah is then observed on Tuesday, (e.g. in 5617; see the Calendar). The following table contains a continuation of the *memoriae technicae* and rules for the removal of the Festivals:—

each month 29 d. 12 h. 44' 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ "', in the whole cycle 6930d. 16h. 23' 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ "', the number of the days according to Rab Ada, stated above. Of these 19 years, there are 12 of twelve months,\* called Common, and 7 of thirteen months called Bissextile or Embolismic. The received embolismic or intercalated years, are the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th and 19th, in which it differed from the Metonic Cycle, every third year of which was Bissextile, and the 18th and 19th. The names of the months with their corresponding English months and Zodiacal signs are contained in the subjoined table:—

Names of the months.	Order in Civil year.	Order in Ecclesiastical year.	Sun enters the Zodiacal Sign	Syro-Macedonian names according to Josephus.	Corresponding English months.
תשרי Tishril	1	7	♎ Libra	Hyperberetæus	Sept Oct.
חשוון Heshvan	2	8	♋ Cancer	Dius	Oct. Nov.
כסליו Kislev	3	9	♐ Sagittarius	Appellæus	Nov. Dec.
טבת Tebet	4	10	♑ Capricornus	Audinæus	Dec. Jan.
שבט Shebat	5	11	♒ Aquarius	Peritius	Jan. Feb.
אדר Adar	6	12	♓ Pisces	Dystrus	Feb. Mar.
ניסן Nissan	7	1	♈ Aries	Xanthicus	Mar. Apr.
אייר Iyar	8	2	♉ Taurus	Artemisius	Apr. May
סיון Sivan	9	3	♊ Gemini	Dæsius	May June
תמוז Tamooz	10	4	♏ Scorpio	Panemus	June July
אב Ab	11	5	♌ Leo	Lous	July Aug.
אלול Eloom	12	6	♍ Virgo	Gorpicius	Aug. Sept

\* A difference of opinion exists with reference to the *order* of the embolismic series. According to the Rabbies they are the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 16th and 19th. R. Gamliel says they are the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 19th; and R. Eleazar, 3rd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 16th, 19th.

1 Called also Ethanim, 1st Kings, viii. 2. 2 Called also Bul, 1st Kings vi. 38. 3 Meaning perhaps, chilled. 4 Miry. 5 Sceptre. 6 Perhaps, Beautiful. 7 Flight:—Called also Abib, Ex. xiii. 4, an ear of corn. In this month barley began to be eared. Thus, April, among the Romans, was called "ab *aperiendo terram*," from opening the earth. The Author of the "Ceremonies and Religious Customs of all Nations," observes, (Vol. 3, p. 103) that the year among the Hurons and several other nations of Canada, is composed of twelve synodical lunar months, each of which has a suitable name given to it. Thus, March is called the worm month, because these then commence

The following will show the lengths of the months in various kinds of years:—

	HAS DAYS IN COMMON YEARS.			HAS DAYS IN BISSEXTILE YEARS		
	Imperfect.	Ordinary.	Perfect.	Imperfect.	Ordinary.	Perfect
Tishri	30	30	30	30	30	30
Heshvan	29	29	30	29	29	30
Kislev	29	30	30	29	30	30
Tebet	29	29	29	29	29	29
Shebat	30	30	30	30	30	30
Adar	29	29	29	30	30	30
Adar Sheni				29	29	29
Nissan	30	30	30	30	30	30
Iyar	29	29	29	29	29	29
Sivan	30	30	30	30	30	30
Tamooz	29	29	29	29	29	29
Ab	30	30	30	30	30	30
Elool	29	29	29	29	29	29
Total...	353	354	355	388	384	385

From the above it appears that the following months are always Full, or having 30 days, viz. Nissan, Sivan, Ab, Tishree, Shebat; while the following are חסרים deficient, having 29 days, Iyar, Tamooz, Elool, Tebet, Adar; the latter, however, having 30 days in Bissex-tiles, and Adar Sheni, 29. With respect to Heshvan and Kislev; these are sometimes both full, in other words, Heshvan has sometimes 30 days when Kislev will also have the same, and then the year will be שלימה Perfect; sometimes both are deficient, when the year will be חסרה Imperfect; sometimes Heshvan is deficient and Kislev full, when the year is כסדרה Ordinary. As intimated elsewhere, the variations in these months have the effect of securing an observance of the Passover in its due season, and also an agreement with the synodical lunar month—thus, to avoid a deficiency of some 44½ minutes every month, amounting to nearly nine hours in twelve months, an additional day is periodically given to Heshvan, which then contains 30 days. When Heshvan and other months contain 30 days, the thirtieth day, as well as the first of the succeeding month, is observed as ראש חודש the feast of New Moon; for since the synodic month contains only 29d. 12 h. 44' 2" 8283, it is evident that one half the thirtieth day is in the old month, and the other half in the new, in which manner they could not be observed according to Jewish custom, full distinct days being required, and these "from evening to evening,"—hence, the whole day is observed, and of necessity, the morrow, being, as it is, the first day of the new month. From 1st Samuel, xx, 5, compared with verse 27 of the same chapter, it would appear that the prac-

to show themselves; April, Moon of Plants; May, Moon of Swallows, &c., &c. So the Flemings.—8 Called also Ziv, (1st Kings, vi. 37.) beauty; some say, because the trees then were beautified with buds and blossoms; others because Solomon's beautiful Temple was laid on it. 9 Bramble, 10 Mourning.

the Jubilee is ordered in the seventh month; from Joel ii. 23, and from Josephus. We have already said that the months of which the Jewish year consisted, are lunar. But since 12 lunar months contain only 354 days, 8 hours, 49 minutes and some seconds, thus falling some 11 days short of a solar year, about 33 years would carry back the beginning of the year, through all the four seasons, to the same point again; and thus a complete year would be gained from the solar computation. Now, while the Israelites continued in the land of Canaan, the agreement of the lunar and solar years was thus secured:—On the second day of the Passover, which was the 16th of the first month, (Abib or Nissan) an omer of the first fruits of the ripe grain was required to be offered to the Lord, (Lev. xxiii, 10, 11.) When the last month of the ecclesiastical year, i. e., Adar, had arrived, therefore, and it was discovered from the backwardness of the season, dependent upon the révolution of time, that the grain was not sufficiently ripened for the offering, an extra month called Adar Sheni or Veadar, i. e., the second Adar, was introduced, and the Passover thus observed "in its proper season." This intercalary month would be required to be employed sometimes every second, and sometimes every third year. There were other causes besides the one already stated for the intercalation at the Passover period:—thus, the lambs must have grown sufficiently for the Passover sacrifices; and it became necessary to allow time for the ripening of the wheat, so that the two loaves offered as the first fruits of their wheat-harvest could be brought on the feast of Weeks; again, that the produce of the field might be gathered in, as required, before the arrival of the feast of Tabernacles. The 15th of Nissan, then, could not be observed as the first day of the Passover, if it occurred before the vernal equinox, but an intercalation was made by which its observance, and, consequently, that of the other festivals, would be deferred. Such was the system observed during the Israelites stay in Canaan. There, they could readily learn the decisions of the Sanhedrin. But when holy city and Temple were taken from them, as a just return for their multiplied transgressions, and they, themselves, dispersed in every quarter of the world, it became necessary, in order to secure the uniform observance of their sacred days, at their proper season, that a determinate system, founded upon correct scientific principles, should be generally adopted by Israelites wheresoever they were; and this was done. We are told that to attain this end, and, at the same time, for the purpose of equalising the lunar and solar periods, they first made use of a cycle of 84 years, which was adopted from them by the primitive Christians for the appointment of their Easter for several centuries, but which was found faulty; whereupon, both Jews and Christians, at the same time, adopted Meton's celebrated cycle of 19 years, at the period of the Council of Nice (A.C. 325). But, in fact, it would appear that this cycle was borrowed by Meton and Euctemon, who "published their calculations to the Greeks assembled at the Olympic Games" from the

ancient *Jewish tables*, some 480 years before the Christian era, and 755 years before the Council of Nice.\* The Mishna, compiled about the year 140 of the Christian era, refers, in numerous passages, to the intercalary year; and there further appears in its pages numerous indications of the existence of general principles of a calendar system, though there be no direct statement or exposition thereof, prior to the public teachings of those great and learned men to whom the introduction of the present Jewish Calendar system has been referred. The first of these we notice is Rab Shemuel, who became Rosh in Nahardœa, in A. M. 3997, according to the "Yuchasin" and "Tsemach David" of Ganz. Among other titles he received the name of the "Astronomer", being always known as ר' שמואל ירחינא because of his especial celebrity in that science. Of him it is said וזכרין ליה שבילי רשמיא כשבילי דנהרדעי that the paths of the heavens were as familiar to him as the roads of Nahardœa. But in still higher terms is his contemporary, Rab Ada, spoken of. Although most branches of knowledge were familiar to him, yet he excelled in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. The great Maimonides in his elaborate treatise קדוש החדש (Consecration of the months,) speaks in approval and admiration of his calculations—to which he accords the praise of perfect contrivance, and astronomical exactitude, as indeed do all scholars, Jews as well as Christians, and of these even the most inveterate opponents and detractors of the Rabbies. Dean Prideaux says, † "His work may be truly reckoned the greatest piece of art and ingenuity that is to be found among the Jews." In short, he laid the foundations for the Jewish Calendar, which the eminent Hillel Hanasi, great grandson of R. Yehudah Hakadosh, the compiler of the Mishna, completed:—"It is the same system which we now follow, and which we shall ever follow throughout the dispersions of Israel, until the coming of our redeemer." ‡ The peculiarity of Rab Ada's system was the introduction of fractions ( $\frac{57}{ths}$ ) which Rab Shemuel had not publicly taught. According to Rab Ada, the solar year contained 365 days, 5 hours, 55 minutes,  $25\frac{2}{3}$  seconds. The lunar month from one conjunction to the other 29 d., 12 h., 44'  $31\frac{1}{3}$ "', and the lunar cycle of 19 years 6939 d. 16 h. 33'  $31\frac{1}{3}$ ". This calculation upon which the Jewish Calendar is based, so agrees with the Gregorian, or New Style, in use among Christians, (introduced, be it remembered, by Pope Gregory XIII, as late as 1582 of the Christian era, some fourteen centuries after the publication and adoption of Rab Ada's calculations,) that there arise only a difference of about two days in five centuries. The scheme generally adopted, upon authority of Hillel Hanasi, in further detail, is this:—The Cycle consists of 19 lunar years, and contains 235 months,

\* Even Mr. Allan joins the learned Dr. Hale in this opinion, which has been ably maintained by the celebrated Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea, A.C. 279.

† Connections, Preface to vol 1.

‡ Ganz in "Tsemach David."

From the Mishna it appears, then, that during the existence of the Sanhedric court, the number of days of the month was decided by them;\* that this number was made to be dependent by them on the period of the moon's phasis; that if it was seen on the 30th day, the 29th was declared the last day of the month; but if it was not seen until the 31st day, this was appointed the first day of another month. Independently of availing themselves of actual observation, the Sanhedrin, as we learn historically, were possessed of great astronomical knowledge, being obliged by their office to apply themselves to the study; and having occasion also to refer, in consecrating the months, to astronomical calculations of a complicated character.† When the practice of sending messengers to communicate

מבריא ויחזיאן עינא ובעיניכוון בבנינא דמקדשא ובשכלוליה  
דהכלא ובמלכות משיח בר דוד ובנחמתא דקרתא דירושלם  
השתא בעגלא חברים כל ישראל ואמרו-אמן :

\* Attend and listen, ye priests and Levites! The rabbies have instituted and fixed the new moon of the month N. N. (the next following), on the first day of the next week, which day shall be the first day of the month. This shall be a good omen for us and all Israel, now and speedily. May those who rest in the dust rise speedily from their dust; may the dispersed (of Israel) be gathered; may our eyes and your eyes behold the rebuilding of the sanctuary, the re-establishment of the temple, and the kingdom of Messiah, Son of David, and the consolation of the city of Jerusalem. Now and speedily may all Israel be gathered. Amen.' Then follows a form for the days of the week, in Syriac; then the names of the months (the same as among other Jews), beginning with Adar, the last month of the Jewish year, then, next, the second Adar, (in an interlunary year), and closing with Shebat, the eleventh month of the year."

The above, which is extracted from the "Jewish Intelligence," for January, 1853, may with confidence be referred to, as proof of the antiquity of the present system of Hebrew intercalation, &c.

\* Parkhurst, under the head *chodesh*, shows "from scripture, that the Jewish months are not synodical months; and secondly, that in the passage where *chodesh* is supposed to denote the visible *new moon*, it hath another meaning."

† These facts are sufficient reply to the author of "Modern Judaism," who with his usual blind prejudice, attacks this account of the consecration and appointment of the months among the Hebrews, by an argument with which any assertion in sacred and profane history might be overruled. It does not appear to him satisfactory, and hence, cannot be true. The case of cloudy weather he puts in support of his objections, is weak enough, and sufficiently exposes his prejudice or ignorance. It has been answered by our quotations from the Mishna above, and by the Abbé Fleury, in his (*Mœurs des Israélites*, IV, 3.) who justly remarks, "The air is so serene in Judea, that it seldom happened that the clouds hid the moon; but when it did so happen, the error it occasioned was immediately rectified, and not suffered to pass into the next month." And indeed, Mr. Allan seems to be himself quite aware of the weakness of his plea; at least he stands self-condemned when he says, (*Modern Judaism*, p. 365. Lon. Ed., 1816.) "All irregularities indeed might be adjusted by an earlier or later intercalation of a 13th month. But this is a ludicrous tradition of the Rabbies." (Ib. p. 366.) It must become amusing, however, even to those who are not followers or admirers of the Rabbinical Institutions, to perceive how this writer, in horror of one ludicrous tradition of the Rabbies, actually recommends

the appearance of the new moon was adopted, it became obligatory upon those living distant from Jerusalem, who could not receive the news sufficiently early, to observe an extra day as a festival, since they could not be aware whether the month had been pronounced a full one, or not. And these duplicate festivals are yet observed by the body of Israelites living out of the Holy land, notwithstanding the certainty of present calculations, on *plans* and for reasons which cannot be stated here. The names, and other matters connected with the months we shall consider in our remarks upon YEARS to which we now proceed.

In the Mishna (Treat. Rosh Hashanah ch. I, § 1.) we learn that "there are four periods of commencement of years, viz. on 1st Nissan is a new year for computing the reign of kings\* and for festivals, (i. e. it commences the ecclesiastical year.) The first of Elool is a new year's day, whence to compute the titheing of cattle. The 1st of Tishri is new year's day for the ordinary or civil year; for the computation of the sabbatical years (Lev. xxv.1) and of the Jubilees; for the planting of trees, (Lev. xix. 23,) and for herbs. On the 1st of Shebat, according to Beth Shammai, on the 15th according to Beth Hillel, is the new year for the titheing of trees." It has been shown by Hebrew writers that Israel, during their sojourn in Egypt, reckoned their years from the 1st Tishri, whereon, it is most generally asserted, creation commenced.† But that, as we learn from Ex. xii. 2, from their departure out of Egypt, Abib or Nissan was to be henceforth the first month of their ecclesiastical year, while for all civil purposes, the commencement of the year was still to be observed from the first of Tishri. In proof of this, we have, besides the just cited passage, Ex. xxiii. 16, where it is said the feast of Tabernacles is to be observed near the going out or close of the year, *בצאת השנה*, when the produce of the fields was gathered in. Secondly, from Ex. xxxiv. 22 where its time is said to be at, or, near the year's revolution or end *תקופת השנה*.‡ Further, we have Lev. xxv. 9, where

another, unknown to himself, doubtless, when he says, "The more correct presumption is, that Moses constructed Lunar and Solar Tables for the direction of his successors, in the regular solemnization of their Passovers and feasts." One does not even become the advocate of Rabbinical dicta, when he requires in the name of common justice and common fairness, something more than a reference to biased Latin translations, upon which these would be critics of the ancient writings of the Jewish people, found chiefly their groundless and unworthy attacks. For a longer notice of Mr. Allan's remarks here, see "Hebrew Authors and their Opponents," by Abraham de Sola.

\* If a king's reign commenced but a week before Nissan, this week would be accounted the first of his reign.

† In the Talmud (Treat. Rosh Hashana) we find R. Eleazar refers the creation to the month Tishri, at the period of the autumnal equinox; but R. Joshua, to Nissan, the vernal equinox. R. Joshua's dictum is generally adopted. The question is fully discussed by Abarbanel, and R. Menasseh beu Israel in his "Conciliator," (vol. 1, p. 127, Lindo's edition.)

‡ The fact of these texts, referring rather to the season than to the month, is sufficient refutation of Mr. Allan's objection to Abendana's remarks in the same connexion, in which he has been followed literally, by David Levy.

val, referred to in the text, can only be understood therefore, of the first *phasis*, or appearance of the moon, which God ordered as a season, that they were fully able to determine themselves and by their own observation. But they were not left to do even this, for as it was of infinite importance that the matter should be well known by Israel generally, not only that they might observe uniformly and at the proper time, the feasts of new moon, but all the other festivals also, it became a matter proper for *authority* to decide. Hence, the Talmud affords us much interesting and valuable information on this important subject, preserving a traditional account of great weight and of almost universal acceptance among scholars both Jewish and Christian, as to the manner and rules for determining and consecrating the new moons, some of the most important of which we shall here append. The reader will please remember that the beginning of the Jewish months was not reckoned from the moon's conjunction with the sun, but from the time the former emerges from the latter, and is first visible in the west after sunset; and hence the appropriateness of applying the term *חודש*, literally, "moon," and *חודש* "renewal," to express "months" in Hebrew, since they actually commenced with the renewal of the appearance of the moon.\* This premised, we proceed now to condense from the Mishna, (Treatise Rosh Hashanah) the information above referred to, interpolating some necessary explanations, and referring the English reader to Revs. De Sola and Raphall's Translation, (p. 157,) for further details.

Ch. I § 3. Messengers were sent out from Jerusalem (to announce elsewhere the day on which the Sanhedrin had fixed the last new moon) for the following six months, for Nissan on account of the Passover; Ab, for the fast; Elul, for the feast of New Year; Tishri, for the regulation of the festivals, Kislev for Hadnuka. Adar for Purim, and Iyar during the existence of the 2nd Temple for the second Passover. § 4. For the new moons of two months, the witnesses might profane the Sabbath by travelling to Jerusalem, viz: for those of Nissan and Tishri, because on these months only the messengers went to Syria, and the festivals are regulated by them. During the existence of the 2nd Temple, the Sabbath might be profaned for any, because of the regulation of the offerings on the feast of new moon on their proper day. § 5. Even had the new moon been seen high on the horizon, (and there was reason to believe therefore it had been seen in Jerusalem,) the Sabbath might be profaned by the witnesses, nor were they, as is seen in § 6, for any reason to be detained in their progress. With respect to the witnesses, § 7, Father and son and relatives in every degree may be allowed as competent, but (§ 8) immoral characters, such as gamblers, &c., are not admitted to give evidence, but denounced as incompetent witnesses. Even in cases of inconvenience or exigency, witnesses were obliged to give their evidence, (§ 9) and in the event of their being unknown, (Ch. II. § 1) others were sent with them to testify.

\* It is also to be remembered that there are three kinds of months dependent upon and correspondent with the three following revolutions of the Moon, 1st. the Tropical being of 27d. 7h. 43' 4". 6795. 2nd. the Sidereal of 27d. 7h. 43' 11" 5259. 3rd. the Synodic of 29d. 12h. 44' 2" 8283. The tropical revolution which signifies the complete revolution of 12 signs performed round the earth, is distinguished as a periodical month. The sidereal which means a return to the same point or star, is, as will be perceived, a few seconds longer than the tropical, because of the precession of the equinoxes. The synodic is the time from one conjunction with the sun to another. In 29d. 12h. 44' 2" 8283, the moon will be found to be again in conjunction with the sun, the earth being at the distance of 29° 6' 20" 2 from the point of the former conjunction.



concerning their character. Formerly, evidence as to the appearance of the new moon was received from any one; but when the heretics corrupted the witnesses, it was ordained that evidence should be received only of those whose good character was well known. § 2. Formerly, fires were lighted on the tops of the mountains, to announce the appearance of the new moon; but when the Samaritans led the nation into error, (by lighting these mountain beacons at wrong times, to mock and mislead the Jews,) it was ordained that messengers should be sent out. § 3. In what manner were these mountain fires lighted? They brought long staves of cedar wood, canes, and branches of the olive tree, also the coarse threads or refuse of flax, which were tied on the top of them with twine; with these, they went to the top of the mountain, lighted them, and kept them moving to and fro, upward and downward, until they could perceive the same repeated by another person on the next mountain, &c. The names and orders of the mountain stations are, § 4, Mount of Olives, Sartaba, Grophinah, Hoveran, and Beth Baltin; they did not cease to wave the flaming brands at Beth Baltin to and fro, until the whole country of the captivity (Babylon) was as a blazing fire. § 5. There was a large court in Jerusalem, called Beth Yangzek, where all the witnesses \* met, and where they were examined by the Beth Din. § 6. Their examination was conducted by inquiring of the oldest of the first pair (they were examined according to their priority) as to the form of the moon, whether her horns were turned towards the sun, or away from it? to the north, or south of it? what was her elevation in the horizon? towards which side was her declination? the width of her disk, &c. The second witness (of the pair) was then examined, and if his testimony agreed with that of the former, it was declared valid. The remaining witnesses were then superficially examined, not because of the necessity of the case, but to encourage them to report on future occasions. § 7. The chief of the Tribunal then said, 'The feast of the New Moon is Mekoodash,' (consecrated) and all the people proclaimed after him, 'Mekoodash, Mekoodash.' † Whether the New Moon had been seen at the proper time (at latest 31st) or not, it was consecrated. § 8. Raban Gamliel, prince of the captivity, and chief of the Sanhedrin, had on a tablet, and on the walls of his room, various delineations of the figure and aspects of the moon, which he showed to ignorant witnesses, asking them whether it was of this or of that form." A very interesting and important case is mentioned in § 8 and § 9, bearing on the question of relative weight of opinion and authority, to which we can but refer the reader; for here we must conclude our extracts from the Mishna, with the following;—Ch. III, l. "If the Beth Din and all Israel saw the New Moon, (on the night of the 30th day) or if the examination of the witnesses had already taken place, but it had become dusk before the word 'Mekoodash' had been pronounced, the month will be intercalary."

\* Abendana says, "It seems to have been the peculiar office and employment of the tribe of Issachar, to watch the lunar changes, and they are said to be 'men that had understanding of the times.' 1 Chron. xii. 32." See his "Discourses of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity of the Jews, &c. Lon. 1706.

† By some, David is said to allude to the proclamation of the New Moon, when he says, Ps. lxxxi. 3. "Sound the trumpet on the New Moon, &c." The present form of proclaiming the day on which the feast of the New Moon is to be observed, is well known from its insertion in the Jewish Liturgy. Not so well known, perhaps, is the very ancient formula, still used by the Jews in China, where they are supposed to have settled soon after, if not before, the destruction of the first Temple. (See Basnage, Jost, and "The Jews in China," by James Finn, Lon., 1843.) Here it follows:—

אציתו שמאעו כהניא וליואי תקאעו קבאעו רבנן ראש ירחא  
דפלן חדא בשבא דהוא חד בירח יהי סימן טוב עלאנא על כל  
ישראל השתא בעגאלא ויקומון שכנה עפרא מז עפרהון ויכנש

days of Noah and by him observed. See Genesis vii. 4. 10. viii. 10. 12.\* In ch. xxix, 27, Laban requires Jacob to fulfill Leah's week, שבוע (*shabooang* a week) which can only be understood of the seven days of the marriage feast, in contradistinction to the שבוע שנים seven years of service specified in the context. The ancient marriage-feasts, as we find it expressly stated of Samson's (Judges xiv. 12) lasted 7 days. The division of weeks obtained among the Israelites previous to the delivery of the law (Ex. xvi. 26,) and from the number of days assigned to the seven weeks intervening Passover and Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 15) the identity of the weeks of the Mosaic law is sufficiently established. With respect to the names of the days of the week, we find that while the Egyptians gave to them the same designation which they assigned to the planets, the Israelites, on the contrary, were directed to follow such a nomenclature as would always remind them of institutions they were called upon specially to uphold. The names of their days therefore, all had reference to the Sabbath, † and were written אחד בשבת *one day on, or after the Sabbath, &c. &c.* or, יום ראשון *the first day, &c. &c.* certainly more worthy of general adoption, than the English or other Saxon terms, which suggest so many abominations of paganism. The whole seven days were also included in the term שבת which may therefore be rendered "week" and אחד בשבת *one day in the week, &c.* There have also been distinguished as extraordinary or prophetic weeks, the following periods: 1, *The week of weeks*, consisting of seven weeks or 49 days, succeeded by the 50th, the Pentecost, or Feast of weeks, πεντηκοστή Deut. xvii. 9. 10. 2nd, *The week of years*:—This consisted of seven years, during the last of which the land was to lie fallow, while the Israelites were to observe it as a period of rest from agricultural labors. See also Dan. ix. 24. 3rd, *The week of seven sabbatical years*, consisting of 49 years, which were succeeded by the year of Jubilee. Leviticus, xxv. 1, 22, 26, 34.

It would seem most probable that MONTHS should first have been measured by lunar changes, since these were most easy of observation to the unassisted eye and mind; but it has been maintained by many eminent Jewish writers, ‡ that the months observed by the Israelites until the exit from Egypt, were solar. We cannot, nor is it necessary to, enter at length into the controversy which has arisen in consequence of this position; but we will briefly state the reasons and computations by which it has been thought to be established. The waters of the flood are stated in Scripture to have pre-

\* The Nigri in Africa, are said to have received this division of weeks from the sons of Noah. See Oldendorp's *Gesch. der Mission*, I. 308.

† And although the Hellenist Jews have a name for Friday, yet this also had reference to the Sabbath, for it was Paraskeue, i. e. *Preparation for the Sabbath*. This was also the method of counting among the Arabians, Syrians, and other Eastern nations, as may be seen from the Syriac Calendar, cited by Horne.

‡ Among Christians, Kepler, Usher, Lydiat; the latter two, says Priedaux, the most eminent chronologists the world has ever produced.

vailed upon the earth from the seventeenth day of the 2nd month\* (Gen. vii. 11,) until the 17th day of the 7th month (ib. viii. 4) which would make five full months. We also find from Gen. vii. 24, that the waters prevailed upon the earth one hundred and fifteen days. Now  $150 \div 5$ , leaves 30 for the number of days contained in each of the 5 months. It has been objected with force on the other side, however, that this would not be proof sufficient, † since in these 5 months there would be about 2 days deficient of the right time;—thus,  $12 \times 30 = 360$ , and not 365; as required for the solar reckoning. Our limits, however, suffer us not to dwell longer upon this question; ‡ but be it as it may, it is clearly established, and generally admitted, that from the period of the command to elect Nisan as the beginning of months (Ex. xii. 2) the Jewish months have ever been lunar, being either מלאים full, containing thirty days, or חסרים deficient, containing 29 days. This distinction became necessary, because of the synodical lunar month being about  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days; what one month would be deficient of this time, was made up by the periodic use of the other. For further testimony the reader is referred to the book of Ecclesiasticus xliiii. 6, the books of Maccabees, Josephus Ant. lib. iii. 10. and Philo. Vit. Mos. lib. iii. By the command Lev. xxiii. 10, 11, to bring an omer of first fruits to the priest on the morrow of the Passover, a system of intercalation arose affecting the number of months, to which we have to refer hereafter. The next important instituton having reference to months we find in Numbers x. 10, where the beginnings of the months **ראשי חודשים** are directed to be observed with due solemnity. Now the beginning of the month, strictly speaking, is when the moon comes into conjunction with the sun, the moment of which conjunction can only be known through an amount of astronomical knowledge and calculation which there is no evidence to show the Israelites possessed so soon after their departure from Egypt. The commencement of the festi-

Flood  
Maccabees  
p. 32

\* According to R. Eliezer Marcheshvan; according to R. Jehudah Iyar.

† The reader is referred particularly to the Commentary of Aben Ezra, on Gen. viii., 3, where this objection is stated.

‡ Sufficient has been advanced, however, to show from the one fact that the months consisted of thirty days, the utter groundlessness of the assertions made by those who, although generally from pious motives, attempt to explain away the long lives of the antediluvians, by making their years consist of months, &c., &c. Apart from the stigma they attach to the Bible narrative as one not to be depended upon, since when it states one thing another is meant, the incorrectness and absurdity of their thesis is evident by taking first the case of Adam. He begat Seth when he was 130 years old, which, the years taken as months, would make him some ten years old when Seth was born. Seth being younger than Cain and Abel, he would according to this computation be about six years old when Eve was brought to him, a gross contradiction of Scripture, which speaks of the woman being taken from the man. Peleg and Serug according to this system must have had children when about three years old! others at five!—*Sed Jam satis est. Nonnulli sibi magna proponunt.*

§ The Vulgate has *calendæ*, "*siquando habebitis epulum et dies festos et calendæ*, &c.



1265

Göttingische Anzeigen

von  
gelehrten Sachen

unter der Aufsicht  
der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften

135. Stück.

Den 11. November 1758.

Leipzig.

**S**unter die wichtigern Bücher, welche in diesem Jahre herausgelommen sind, gehört des Herrn Baccalaurei und Diaconi zu Taucha, Joh. Fridr. Feisch vollständige biblische Abhandlung vom Osterlamm, und dem letzten Osterlammstage Christi, als dessen Todes-Tage insbesondere. Nach so vielen Streitigkeiten der Gottesgelehrten, auf eine entscheidende Art abgefaßt. (In Breitkopfs Verlage: 3 Alph. und 4 Bogen, nebst noch 4. Bogen Vorrede. Octav.) Wir glauben, die Lob werde nicht darunter leiden, sondern vielmehr in den Augen nicht allzu folgsamer Leser an Zuverlässigkeit gewinnen, wenn wir bey dem Guten auch die merklichen und häufigen Fehler des Buches anzeigen: wiewohl wir nicht zu hoffen wagen, daß der Herr B. nach dem Lobe, so er, selbst auf dem Titelblatte, seinem Buche ertheilet, und bey der Gemüths-Art und Ausdrücken gegen andere Gelehrte, welche wir in dieser und andern Schriften von ihm wahrnehmen, unsern Tadel gütig deuten möchte. Wer Proben davon haben will, mit wie vieler Rücksicht er von sich selbst schreibe, darf etwan S. 302. 445. 502. 508. nachschlagen, und von den vermeinten oder auch wirklichen Fehlern anderer Gelehrten, die hier gleich Verdrehungen heißen, und sonst auf das ungütigste benannt werden, S. 302. 304. 428. 445. 502. 508. 903. 910. Das Buch ist wirklich die Frucht vieles Fleißes, und einer sorgfältigen von dem Vorurtheil

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des

## Paris.

Der lebendte Theil des Journal periodique de M. Vandermonde ist mit dem December 1757. geendigt. Wir wollen einige merkwürdige Wahrnehmungen aus demselben anführen. Im Julio und August findet man Geschichte von Menschen, die aus innern Ursachen ohne einige Wahrscheinlichkeit eines Bisses in die Waferscheu und die Wuth verfallen sind. H. B. hält sich dabey ziemlich freymüthig über die Münche zu St. Hubert auf, die um ihres Gewinnes willen die Leute glauben lassen, ihr Schlüssel sey wieder den rasenden Hundesbiß eine zuverlässige Hülfe. H. Mahon hat das Blut ganz aufgelöset durch die Lunge schwisgen gesehen, und H. Marceau ein langes Leiden, und eine mit einem Geschwüre begleitete Verhärtung des dicken Darms aus den Folgen der heruntergeschluckten Plausmensteine folgen gesehn. H. Blatigny beschreibt ein sehr hoch in die Brust hinaufgetriebenes Zwerchfell und H. Navaton eine glückliche Cur eines durch eine Kugel zerschmetterten Arms, wobey man keine große Einschnitte gebraucht hat, an deren Stelle H. R. die erweichenden Mittel anrühmt. Hr. Durand hat bey einem Wasserbruche den Saft drey ganzer Finger dick gefunden und H. Tardieu angemerkt, daß das Anwachsen der Därme um den Ring eine Gutthat der Natur, und eine Zubereitung zu glücklichen Curen ist. H. Darluc beschreibt im Julius, und im Augusten Hr. Marchand, die herrschenden Brust-Krankheiten, die mit Würmern begleitet gewesen sind. Der letztere ziehet in diesen Fällen das Brechen allen andern Mitteln vor. H. Martignes hat gesehn, daß auf den äußerlichen Gebrauch des überschlagenen Tabaks beständiges Brechen erfolgt ist, und Hr. des Mars hat bey einem vermuthlichen Geschwüre in den Schleimhölen der Stirne mit Nuzen die kleingeriebene Haselwurze einschnupfen lassen.

des Ansehens freyen Untersuchung; in manchen Stücken, wo unserer geringen Meinung nach die meisten Gelehrten den Irrweg gewählt haben möchten, ist er auf dem rechten Wege, z. E. wenn er behauptet, 2 B. Mos. XII, 11. werde bey dem Essen des Osterlammes keinesweges das Sizen verboten, und Luc. XXII, 14. streite gar nicht mit jener Stelle, (S. 107<sup>a</sup> 109. 592.) ferner die Befehle, 2 B. Mos. XII, gehen nicht bloß auf das erste, sondern auf alle folgende Osterfeiern, und S. 118. nicht einem gedichteten Würge-Engel sondern Gotte selbst die Erschlagung der Erstgeburt zuschreibt: wiewohl er einen Schritt weiter gehet, als wir wagen möchten, wenn er sie dem Sohne Gottes insbesondere zueignen will. In den Hebräischen Alterthümern hat er nicht den besten Glauben an die freilich allzu jungen und unzuverlässigen Talmudischen und Rabbinischen Zeugnisse, der die meisten Lehrer derselben in den geradesten Widerspruch mit den Regeln setzt, die sonst die Logick der Wahrscheinlichkeiten vorzuschreiben, und vorsichtige Historici zu befolgen pflegen: wiewohl er diesen an und vor sich lobenswerthen Unglauben bis zum Fehler zu treiben scheint, und sich doch nicht scheuet, den Talmud als einen Zeugen aufzustellen, wenn er ihm günstig ist, z. E. wenn er behauptet, daß Jesus vor dem Feste gecreuziget sey. Der Hauptsatz des Buchs, den wir S. 1272. anzeigen, ist wirklich neu, und hat dabey vieles vor sich: ob er aber nach so vielen Streitigkeiten der Gottesgelehrten auf eine entscheidende Art ausgesprochen, und also gleichsam ein letztes Urtheil sey, von welchem man wegen der großen Deutlichkeit der Wahrheit, und offenkundigen Uebereinstimmung mit der heil. Schrift nicht weiter appelliren dürfe, müßte wol erst den langsam einlaufenden gemeinschaftlichen Stimmen der gelehrten Welt überlassen werden. Bey dieser Hauptsache zeigt sich auch eine rühmliche Sorgfalt, die Schriften derer, die vorhin von dem Tode des Osterlammes geschrieben hatten, anzusehen; und Herr F. giebt selbst hin und wieder einen Wink, daß er gesucht habe nichts ungelesen und ungeprüft zu lassen, ob er gleich

gleich nicht immer rathsam gefunden, die Schriften zu nennen, von denen er abgeht. Die Ursachen dieser Behutsamkeit sind S. 10 und 43 der Vorrede gemeldet: wobey der Herr V. nicht unterlassen, die bestigen Ausdrücke, Verfolgung, Lasterworte, Schmähungen zu gebrauchen. Hingegen finden wir bey andern Materien, die doch zum Pasa gehören, seine Belesenheit etwas eingeschränkt, und zum Theil die besten unter den Neuern von seiner Bekanntschaft ausgeschloßen, statt deren ihrer Rahmen wir ehe Goußets seinen finden. Bey 2 B. Mos. XII, 13. scheint ihm unbekannt zu seyn, daß die Bedeutung des Hauptwortes, **פסח** (Pasa) nicht so ausgemacht ist, als sie von ihm und andern angenommen wird, und daß Schultens einiges davon hat, so wenigstens eine Untersuchung erfordert hätte. Schultens nennen wir hier allein: die bloßen Vermuthungen des Vitringa über dis Wort anzuführen oder zu bestreiten, wollen wir freilich nicht von ihm verlangen. Dis ist Ein Beispiel: allein solcher unangenehmen Lücken der Belesenheit, die man in einem starcken Buche von einer so speciellen Materie kaum vermuthen sollte, finden wir mehrere. Bey Aegyptischen Sachen, sie mögen in Götzendienst oder Geographie einschlagen, ist kein Jablonski gebraucht: nicht einmahl die kurzen Noten der Hallischen Hebr. Bibel, sind da angesehen, wo aus ihnen etwas mangelndes hätte ersetzt werden können. Wir glaubten sonst, der einzigen Bibel, welche in einiger Menge verschiedene Lese-Arten hat, könnte wol kein Schriftforscher entbehren; doch um die verschiedenen Lese-Arten ist Herr Fr. unbekümmert, und auch da, wo sie in allen Bibeln stehen, nehmlich im Kri und Ethib, wählt er ohne an die andere zu gedenken, oder dem Leser nur einige Vermuthung zu geben, daß im Text noch eine Lese-Art stehe, auf ein Gerathewohl die leichtere vom Rande. 2 Chron. XXXV, 3. kann dis erläutern. Von Spencern, der unter vielem ungegründeten doch auch sehr viel wahres hat, ist er ein Widersacher: die ganze Art, die heiligen Gebräuche der Israeliten von andern ältern Sitten der Völker, unter denen sie gewohnt



wohnt haben, es sey als von Gott befohlne Nachahmungen oder als Gegensätze, herzuweisen, ist ihm zuwider. Das Englische Bibelwerk, mit Tellers und Dietelmayers Anmerkungen ist am häufigsten angeführt: und die darin befindliche Uebersetzung des Hebr. Textes scharf critisirt, woben Herr Fr. in Kleinigkeiten genau ist, wenn der Uebersetzer sich einige Freiheit des Ausdrucks, die den Sinn nicht ändert, genommen, und etwan für, sie sollen das Fleisch essen, 2 B. Mos. XII, 8. gesetzt hat; sie sollen das Fleisch desselben essen. Bisweilen versteht ein Deutscher seine verbesserte Uebersetzung nicht: als S. 144. an diesem wesentlichen Tage, (wie es im Hebräischen lauter) ging Israel aus Aegypten. Was ist ein wesentlicher Tag? Heißt **וַיְיָ** auch gewiß Wesen? müßte man so buchstäblich übersetzen, so wird vielleicht ein anderer mit eben dem Rechte schreiben: am Knochen dieses Tages. Eine gewisse Art von Schriftforschern trifft überall Emphases an: und von der Art ist Herr Frisch. (Siehe S. 558. 577.) Sonderlich vergift er nie, die Englische Uebersetzung zu tabeln, wenn sie von den Hebräischen Accenten abweicht: aus welchen er jedoch manches folgert, so wegfallen wird, wenn man die gewöhnlichen Regeln von dem eigenthümlichen und besondern der Hebr. Distinctions-Art annimmt (S. 29. 105. 2c.) In dem Hebräischen finden wir den Mann, der alles allein aus der Bibel nehmen will, nicht so bewandert, als wir es ihm zu diesem Vorhaben wünschten. An die unentbehrliche Bekanntheit mit den übrigen morgenländischen Sprachen ist gar nicht zu gedenken. Sie würde ihn zum wenigsten in ein und anderm zweifelhaft gemacht haben, daß er jetzt ohne Furcht behauptet: 3. E. ob **וַיְיָ** überhaupt bittrere Kräuter bedeute, und Gott daher (S. 88.) gar keine Kräuter namentlich zum Osterlamm verordnet habe? da doch im Arabischen und Talmudischen dieses der Rahme einer besondern Gattung von Kräutern ist: ob **קֶרֶב** 2 B. Mos. XII, 9. die Eingeweide, darunter er so gar die von ihm zuerst den Juden erlaubten Fettstücken begreiffet, oder viel.

vielmehr: eben das bedeute, was auch die Lateiner viscera nennen, und Virgil in der bekannten Stelle, *viscera tosta ferunt taurorum*, verstehet? obin *WN 77* (am Feuer gebraten) der Nachdruck liege, den er S. 94 darin sucht, nemlich daß es nicht im Brat-Ofen gebraten werden dürfe? 2c. 2c. Doch in diese Mangel würde sich der Leser ehe schicken, wenn sie nur nicht Hauptsachen angingen: welches bey zwey Wörtern Sabbath, und Rüst-Tag geschieht. Herr Fr. will nemlich gegen die bisherige allgemeine, und, wie wir noch zu dencken wagen, wohlgegründete Meinung behaupten, daß alle sieben Tage des Oster-Festes als Sabbathe gefeyret worden und die Arbeit an denselben verboten gewesen ist: welchem willkührlichen Sage zu Liebe er 2 B. Mos. XII, 16. die Worte, Keine Arbeit soll an ihnen geschehen nicht auf die beiden in dem Verse erwähnten Tage, den ersten und letzten, sondern auf alle 7 ziehen will. Eben diesen Satz aber zu bestätigen beruft er sich häufig darauf, daß die Evangelisten den Tag des Oster-Festes, daran Christus auferstanden ist, *πρωτη σαββατων*, den ersten der Sabbathe nennen; weil die ganze Woche lauter Sabbathe waren (S. 546. 547.) Er weiß also nicht, oder verschweiget doch, daß Sabbath überhaupt eine Woche heißen könne: und *πρωτη σαββατων* der erste Tag der Woche sey. Jede Erklärung des N. T. konnte es ihn lehren, wenn er nicht aus übertriebener Zweifelsucht, es für Irrthum gehalten hätte: diß wäre aber gewiß von seiner Seite ein wenig Unwissenheit, da bey den Juden und Syrern nichts gewöhnlicher ist, als der erste, der zweite, der dritte u. s. f. des Sabbaths, für Sonntag, Montag, Dienstag. Etliche hundert Beyspiele zu finden, sollte uns nicht schwer fallen; wer sie nicht weiß, muß wol kein Syrisch Buch gelesen haben, darin Wochen-Tage genannt sind: und wenn er sich auf den pluralem *σαββατων* beziehet, so ist ihm unbekannt, daß Sabbata in und außer dem N. T. öfters als ein plurale tantum gebraucht wird. Doch nach ihm soll so gar Apost. Gesch. XX, 7. und I Cor. XVI, 2. der Sonntag diesen Nahmen tragen, nicht weil

weil er der erste Tag in der Woche ist, sondern weil er zum Andenken des ersten Werkel-Tages unter den Pasa-Sabbathen gefeyret ward. Was den Rüst-Tag (*παρασκευή*) anlanget, so will er aus diesem von den Evangelisten gebrauchten Nahmen beweisen, Jesus sey nicht am ersten Oster Tage oder 1sten Nisan's gecreuziget, sondern am Oftertamms Tage oder 14ten, der der Zubereitungs-Tag des Festes gewesen sey. Wir dachten Anfangs: hätte der Mann, der seine Sorgfalt im Nachlesen anderer rühmt, doch etwa nur Wertheinen gelesen, so würde er wissen, daß *παρασκευή*, oder Syrisch und Chaldäisch *רַבֵּיבַרְבַּי* (Vorabend) der ordentliche Nahme jedes Freytags ist: da er nun selbst sagt, Jesus sey am Freytage gecreuziget, so kann er aus diesem Nahmen, sonderlich wenn nicht dabey steht *τῷ πάσχα*, weiter nichts schliessen, ja auch diese völligere Redens-Art kann wenigstens den Freytag in der Pasa-Woche bedeuten, ist also zum Beweise seines Satzes untüchtig. Hätte er aber Wertheinen nicht glauben wollen, so hätte er nur Syrische Bücher außer dem N. T. lesen sollen: er würde mit Beispielen dieser Bedeutung überhäufft seyn. So dachten wir bis S. 905. 906. da wir sahen, die bekannte Erklärung sey ihm nicht unbekannt, und dem Worte *παρασκευή* werde auch die Bedeutung nicht abgestritten, sondern sie sey nur vorhin verschwiegen: so wie wir sonst oft bemerckt, daß er die Meinung, die er widerlegen will, nicht in ihrem vortheilhaften Lichte vorzustellen pflegt. Er beruft sich daselbst bloß darauf, daß auch der Abend vor Ostern *παρασκευή* heiße: alsdann aber ist dieser Nahme neutral, und konnte so wenig von ihm zum Beweise gebraucht werden, als er gegen ihn beweiset. Doch nicht einmahl die gemeine Kenntniß des Hebräischen, wie man es von den übrigen Dialecten abgerissen zu treiben pflegt, findet sich bey diesem in manchen Stücken dem ohngeachtet glücklichen, Neuerer. 2 Mos. XI, 4. soll nicht von der nächst bevorstehenden Mitternacht, sondern von einer entfernten und unbestimmten reden, weil Moses nicht sage, in dieser Mitternacht, (so scheint er uns zwar zu sagen, da *הַלַּיְלָה* das

das  $\aleph$  des Artikels hat) sondern im Plurali, um die Mitternachtszeiten: gerade als wenn  $\aleph$  nicht auch der Infinitivus, wie man es gewöhnlich erklärt, seyn könnte, sondern nothwendig ein Nomen im Plurali seyn müßte. S. 89 schließt er aus  $\aleph$ , 2 Mos. XII, 8: daß man das Osterlamm über Kräutern habe anlegen und zurichten müssen. Waren ihm die übrigen Bedeutungen der Präposition so unbekannt? Was ist an der gewöhnlichen Uebersetzung, mit bitteren Kräutern, auszusetzen? Auf solche Sprachfehler gründen sich oft seine neuen Erklärungen, davon man noch 2 Mos. XII, 46. nachsehen kann. Daher entstehen denn sehr willkürliche Neuerungen. Von Jüdischen Festen giebt er einen Begriff, der den Vorschriften einiger Prediger von den Festen der Christen gemäßer ist, als den alten Sitten. (S. 138. 139.) An dem Sabbath durften, wie er meint, die Juden gar wohl Küchen-Feuer machen, und Speise bereiten, ungeachtet der Stellen 2 Mos. XVI, 23. 29. XXXV, 23. wo bloß Back-Schmiede- und Wasch-Feuer verboten seyn soll. Morgen ist 2 B. Mos. XII, 22. zum Dienst einer Hypothese, als sey ganz und gar nichts auf die erste Osterfeier allein geordnet, die Zeit gleich nach Mitternacht, und das in einem Nothath, in welchem die Sonne erst früh um 6 Uhr aufging. Die goldenen und silbernen Geräthe haben die Israeliten von den Aegyptern nicht geborget, sondern gebettelt: und wegen dieses Wachtspruchs muß auch XII, 36.  $\aleph$  nicht heißen, einem leyhen, (das es sonst gewiß ordentlich in den morgenländischen Sprachen, namentlich im Syrischen heißet) sondern ohne angeführtes Beyspiel, bloß ex edicto praetoris, sich erbitten lassen. Die Israeliten durften zum Paska kein Ziegen-Lamm nehmen, und 2 Mos. XII, 6. heißt bloß, man soll das Schaaf-Lamm aus einer von Schaafen und Ziegen gemischten Heerde heraus nehmen, oder (nach seiner Sprache) haschen: welchen Satz er fast durch und durch mit den Worten vorträgt, zum Paska habe kein Böcklein genommen werden dürfen. Dis war uns lange undeutlich, da in unserer Heimath Böcklein auch vom Schaaf-Vieh gebraucht

gebraucht wird. Doch sein Deutsches ist so sonderbar, als das übrige im Buch. Was sinnlich bey ihm heiße, so wol 10 bis 20 mahl in einer uns ganz fremden Bedeutung, beynabe für verständig, bald für klar und erwiesen, stehet, suchen wir noch. Einmahl ist er so gut es selbst zu erklären, und zu sagen, sinnliche Gewißheit sey so viel als, arithmetische. S. 606. Das Osterlamm steckt 4 Tage, (für, es wird aufbewahret) schliffige Aschentuchen 203, Liebes elendes Gut 320, einen grämischer machen 521, Jesus läßt dem Wirth einen schönen guten Abend sagen 522, Keinen andern Tag nicht wählen, sind doch wol gemeine, zu Laucha ganz schickliche, aber nicht in ein Buch gehörige Ausdrücke. Wir würden es wirklich vor unbillig halten, Sprachfehler zu berühren, wenn Herr Fr. nicht andern Gelehrten vermeinte Fehler im Deutschen vorwürfe, und zugleich seine gar zu merckliche Hochachtung gegen sich selbst und berechnigte, ihm seine Fehler zu sagen: unter denen aber wol eine partbeyische Vorstellung der vor- und gegenseitigen Gründe, und gewisse Fechter-Strelche der Disputirkunst, die größten sind. Von diesen wird man im folgenden genug Beispiele finden.

Wir kommen zu Herrn Frischens Haupt-Sache. Jesus, behauptet er, hat das Osterlamm an dem von Gott verordneten Tage, und mit den Juden zugleich, genossen: (welche beiden Sätze er S. 505. 517. 555 und im 5ten Capitel, mit Gründen bestärket, die uns unwidersprechlich vorkommen:) dem obgeachtet aber genoß er es an dem Tage vor dem Osterfest, und brachte den ersten Ostertag im Grabe zu. Diesen Satz, der unsern Lesern zu Anfang widersinnisch vorkommen wird, macht er auf folgende Art sehr wahrscheinlich. Der erste Oster-Tag fiel auf den 15ten Nisan; das Osterlamm aber ward in der Nacht des 14ten gegeben: (beides sagt Moses ausdrücklich und mehrmahls) da die Juden den Tag mit Sonnen-Untergang anfangen, so kann dis nicht die Nacht zwischen dem 14ten und 15ten seyn, wie man gemeinlich meint, denn dis heißt schon der 15te Nisan, sondern es muß die Anfangs-Nacht des 14ten seyn.

Den Tag, welcher auf sie folget, zu feyren,  
 hat Moses nirgends befohlen, er war also ein Werk-  
 tag. Gegen diese gleichfalls beynabe un wider-  
 sprechliche Rechnung stelleten sich uns 2 Schwierig-  
 keiten vor, die Herr Fr. nicht unberührt gelassen hat.  
 Die eine war: daß Moses auch die Schlachtung des  
 Osterlammes auf den 14ten zwischen die beiden Abende  
 gesetzt hat, das ist nach der gewöhnlichen Erklärung,  
 zwischen den Anfang des in Palästina regelmäßigen  
 kalten Windes, der sich Nachmittages nach 4 erhebt,  
 und Sonnen-Untergang: welche Zeit ohne Wider-  
 rede zu dem vorhergehenden Tage geböret. Herr Fr.  
 hilft ihm dadurch ab, daß er auf eine, freilich sehr  
 natürliche Weise, die beiden Abende von Sonnen-  
 Untergang, und der völligen Finsterniß nimt, da  
 denn das Osterlamm in der Nacht geschlachtet ward,  
 die zum folgenden Tage gehörte. Er ist hiedurch ge-  
 nöthiget, das tägliche Abend-Opfer, so gleichfalls  
 zwischen den beiden Abenden verordnet war, in den  
 Anfang der Nacht zu versetzen: welches, wie uns  
 dünckt, auch dadurch wahrscheinlich wird, weil als-  
 denn Morgen- und Abend-Opfer gerade 12 Stunden  
 von einander entfernt sind. Die Juden sind zwar in  
 beiden Stücken zuwider: allein von dem Sinne der  
 um so viel Jahrhunderte älteren Gesetze Moiss, de-  
 ren Uebung durch die Babylonische Gefangenschaft  
 und sonst öfters unterbrochen ist, wollten wir sie nicht  
 gern zu Zeugen aufstellen, wiewohl wir ihnen mehr  
 Gehör geben, wenn von den Sitten zu Ehriski Zeit  
 die Rede ist. Der andere, nicht eben so völlig gelöste  
 Zweifel ist, daß Matth. XXVI, 17. und Marc. XIV,  
 12. die Jünger, die an dem Nachmittage vor dem  
 Osterlamm-Abend nach Jerusalem gehen, um das  
 Osterlamm zu bereiten, den Befehl hiezu am ersten  
 Tage der ungesäuerten Brodte erhalten: folglich  
 der vorhergehende Nachmittag zu der folgenden Nacht  
 gerechnet, und mit ihr als Ein Tag angesehen wird:  
 welches eben die gewöhnlichen Erklärung wollen.  
 Herr Fr. hilft sich hier etwas heroisch: τῆ πρώτῃ  
 τῶν ἀζύμων soll heißen, gegen den ersten Tag, vor  
 dem ersten Tage. Es hat ihm nicht beliebt uns  
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den Beyfall mit Exempeln eben der Redens-Art zu erleichtern: sondern statt dessen verweist er uns zum Beweise auf die Parallel-Stelle, Luc. XXII, 7. denn er meint, es sey klar, daß ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων nicht heißen könne, der Tag der ungesäuerten Brodte war gekommen, sondern, er war im Anzuge, er sollte eben kommen. So weit von den beiden Schwierigkeiten: wir kommen wider zu der Hauptsache. Man muß, nach ihm, den Osterlamms-Tag, der auf den 14ten fiel, von dem Oster-Fest unterscheiden, welches die 7 folgenden Tage vom 15 bis 21sten währte, und mit ihm 8 völlige Tage ausmachte. Der Osterlamms-Tag war nur die Vorbereitung dazu: darum heißt auch der Sterbetag Christi bey den Evangelisten der Kruztag, und der Vorfabbath, (παράσχειν und προαββατοί) und sie nennen den ersten Ostertag, an dem Jesus im Grabe gelegen, einen Sabbath. (Die Erklärung kann richtig seyn; allein einen Beweis geben diese Stellen nicht ab, weil Jesus gewiß am Freytag, der ordentlich παράσχειν heißt, gecreuziget ist, und am Wochen-Sabbath im Grabe gelegen hat.) Nunmehr ist auch Joh. XIII, 1. klar. Vor dem Pasha-Fest ist eine Umschreibung des Osterlamms-Tages: Johannes beschreibt die Ostermahlzeit Christi, dessen Reden auch vom 13ten Capitel bis zu seiner Gefangennahme so ununterbrochen fortgehen, daß man keinen andern Tag dazwischen denken kann. (Hält diese Entwicklung eines bisher so unauslöschlichen Knotens die Untersuchung der Gelehrten aus, so ist sie das größte Verdienst des Buchs. Wir wissen sonst keine zu geben, die uns selbst völliges Gnügen thäte: und wir wünschen, daß dieses die richtige sey. Bey einer einzigen Durchlesung aber haben wir diese ganz neue Meinung noch nicht so sorgfältig prüfen können, daß wir es wagen dürften, für sie, und wider alle bisherige Erklärer, zu urtheilen, sonderlich da uns die eine oben erwähnte Schwierigkeit noch nicht philologisch genug gehoben ist.) Der Tag der Creuzigung Christi kann nicht der erste Ostertag gewesen seyn, denn dieser war ein Sabbath: wie konnten die

Juden am Sabbath creuzigen? Selbst Herodes, der Halb-Jude, machte sich Ap. Gesch. XII, 4. ein Gewissen, Petrum auch nur am Ostersfeste zu tödten. S. 650. 657. (Dis überführt uns nicht. Daß sich Herodes ein Gewissen daraus gemacht habe, steht am angeführten Orte nicht. Man schlage ihn nach. Auch war dieser Herodes, nach Josephi Beschreibung, ein sehr eifriger Jude; zum wenigsten stellte er sich so, um sich bey dem Volck beliebt zu machen. Christum creuzigten Römer, denen das Ostersfest nie geboten war; hingegen hätte Herodes seine eigenen Soldaten zur Hinrichtung Petri gebrauchen müssen.) Es war unrecht, einen Gebenckten am Sabbath hängen zu lassen, Job. XIX, 31: vielweniger durfte er daran gebencket werden. S. 913. (Dis ist wol eine Ueber-eilung. Nach 5 B. Mos. XXII, 23. durfte kein Gebenckter über Nacht am Holze bleiben; hätte man nun Jesum nicht vor Sonnen-Untergang abgenommen, so hätte er wegen des angehenden Wochen-Sabbaths über Nacht hängen bleiben müssen. Die Nacht, und nicht die Heiligkeit des Sabbaths, war dem längeren Hängen am Holz zuwider.) Joseph von Arimathia hätte auch Jesum am ersten Fevertage weder einbalsamiren, noch jemand für ihn Spetereyen einkaufen können. (Dieser Zweifel ist wichtig, und bishey noch nicht völlig von den anders denkenden Auslegern gehoben.) Es würde ferner Gotte unanständig gewesen seyn, seinen hohen Fest-Tag durch die Creuzigung Christi schänden zu lassen. Nach der Vorrede S. 12. scheint es, als habe dieser Beweis bey Herr Fr. viel gegolten: bey uns gilt er weniger, weil wir nicht im Stande sind, zu urtheilen, was vor Zulassungen der Sünden Gotte anständig sind, oder nicht. Herr Fr. erkennet S. 924. selbst, daß Gott viel Böses zulasse: er antwortet aber: alsdenn habe Gott seine bekannten oder unbekanntten Ursachen, welches aber hier nicht statt finde, weil man keine Ursachen anzuführen wiße. Eben so glaubt er auch, der Oster-Sabbath schicke sich so gut zur Ruhe Christi im Grabe, daß dis zum Beweise für seine Meinung dienen könne: ferner, daß Osterlamm sey am



14ten geschlachtet, folglich habe auch das Gegenbild des Osterlammis am 14ten, und nicht am 15ten sterben müssen. Diese von uns in die Kürze gezogenen neuen Meinungen sind von Herrn Fr. mit ungemein häufigen Widerhohlungen vorgetragen, und wir wissen es nicht zu zählen, wie oft wir bey Meldung des 14ten Tages einerley Beweis gelesen haben. Wir tadeln diß nicht: denn bey vielen Lesern richten Widerhohlungen mehr aus, als Beweis. Unfern Auslegerin geschieht wol S. 57. 58 unrecht, wenn gesagt wird, sie setzten das Schlachten des Osterlammis auf den 15ten: das thun sie nicht; sondern sie setzen es auf den Nachmittag des 14ten, obaleich nach ihnen das Essen desselben, wider Mossis Worte, auf den 15ten fällt. Seine Schrift verdient jedoch die aufrichtigste Untersuchung: dabey fast der ganze Streit sich auf die Frage zusammen ziehen wird; ob Moses beständig und also auch in den Vassa-Verordnungen, die Nacht nach Jüdischer Art zu dem folgenden Tage rechne, oder ob er davon eine Ausnahme mache? Bey dem täglichen Opfer setzet doch Moses wider die Jüdische Art das Morgen-Opfer demjenigen vor, so nach Herrn Fr. das Nacht-Opfer seyn würde: 4 B. Mos. 28, 4. scheint also den Tag mit der folgenden Nacht zusammen zu nehmen: ein möglicher Einwurf, der Herrn Fr. Beleuchtung verdient.

Beu der Eintheilung des Buchs werden wir noch verschiedene besondere Meinungen anzuführen Gelegenheit haben. Das erste und zweite Capitel giebt eine Erklärung aller der Stellen im A. und N. Testament, wo von dem Oster-Lamm die Rede ist. Es ist bey weiten das wichtigste, und enthält fast alle hernach besonders ausgeführten Materien. Das Besprengen der Thüren ist, nach S. 76. und 781. nicht bloß in Aegypten, sondern auf immer von Gott befohlen. Doch ging es nur auf hölzerne Thüren, zum Vorbilde, daß ein Holz mit Christi Blut würde gefärbet werden: steinerne Thüren hatten die Israeliten in Aegypten nicht, darum brauchte Moses die Einschränkung  
nicht

nicht hinzu zu thun. (Woher hat sie denn doch Herr Frisch?) Die Götter der Aegypter, die Gott mit unter den Erstgebohrnen erschlagen hat, sind nach S. 113, 115. nicht heilige Thiere, weil Herr Fr. zweifelt, ob der Thierdienst so alt sey, sondern es sind die Vornehmen. (Seinen bloßen Zweifel möchten wir zwar nicht als Beweis gelten lassen. Doch hätte er bey seiner Meinung die Stelle Diodori Siculi B. 1. C. 90. wohl, und fast besser als die aus der Bibel angeführten, gebrauchen können.) S. 210. leugnet er gegen die gewöhnliche Meinung, daß die Leibeigenen der Juden zur Beschneidung gezwungen wären; ohne auf die Stelle 1 B. Mos. XVII, 13. zu antworten. Er ist sehr wider die Meinung, die das Osterlamm zum Opfer macht: 2 B. Mos. XXIII, 18. soll daher nicht von dem Osterlamm die Rede seyn, sondern überhaupt verboten werden, zu den blutigen Opfern ein gesäuertes Speise-Opfer zu thun; 2 B. Mos. XXXIV, 25. 4 B. Mos. IX, 7. 2 Chron. XXX, 16. erklärt er von den freywilligen Dank-Opfern, die man am Osterfest brachte. Er behauptet S. 270, wider die meisten, daß das Osterfest auch in der Wüsten alle Jahre gefeyret sey. 5 B. Mos. XVI, 7. braucht er zum Beweise, daß der Osterlammstag ein Werkeltag gewesen. 2 Chron. XXX, 28. soll  $\text{לַלְבַּב}$  heißen, diesemahl: und v. 22.  $\text{לַלְבַּב}$  eine Unterredung nach der Willens-Meinung der Leviten anstellen: beides ist wider den Gebrauch, und von ihm nicht durch Exempel bestätigt. Ebr. VI, 20. soll von freywilligen Opfern am Osterfest handeln. Der sechste Tag vor Ostern ist Job. XII, 2. ein Sonntag, und der 9te Nisans. Das erste scheint uns gewiß; das zweite berubet auf der Richtigkeit oder Unrichtigkeit der Haupt-Hypothese des Herrn Fr. Bey Job. XVIII, 28. sucht er zu beweisen, daß der Eingang in das heidnische Nichthaus auf 7 Tage verunreiniget, solalich die Pharisäer, die schon das Osterlamm genossen hatten, von dem Essen aller künftigen Festopfer die gangen 7 Tage hindurch ausgeschlossen haben würde. Das dritte Capitel behauptet, daß

Ostere

Osterlamm sey kein Opfer gewesen, als welches mit dem Begriff eines Sacraments streite. Daß es ein Sacrament gewesen, beweiset er daraus, weil Gotte keine Gabe davon gebracht ward, folglich es kein Opfer war. (Also wird die Definition eines Sacraments seyn: eine heilige Handlung dabey Gotte keine Gabe gebracht wird.) Aus dem Begriff eines Sacraments folgert er S. 697. daß es von Gott eingefetzt sey. Da er auch glaubt, ein Sacrament könne kein Vorbild seyn, so meint er S. 738. daß Osterlamm sey ein Sacrament, doch nicht in so fern es ein Vorbild ist, und ein Vorbild, in so fern es nicht ein Sacrament ist: welche Distinction zu fassen uns ein wenig schwer geworden. Die einzige Haupt-Einwendung wider den Satz, daß das N. T. eigentlich so genannte Sacramente gehabt habe, ist nicht berührt, und, wie es scheint, Herrn Fr. unbekannt. Das vierte Capitel erläutert das vorbildliche des Osterlammes. Herr Fr. hat dem Witz den Zügel nicht so sehr gelassen, als einige in der Typologie thun: allein uns kommt doch noch hier so vieles willkürlich und spielend vor, daß wir uns lieber der typischen Theologie ganz enthalten würden, wenn es nicht möglich wäre, sie an Sätzen zwar ärmer, aber überzeugender abzuhandeln. Die 77 Oster-Opfer bilden Christi 7 Wunden ab. Das Osterlamm mußte gebraten werden, denn ein Gecreuzigter soll so braun aussehen, als gebraten Fleisch. (Unsere Bilder des gecreuzigten Jesu sehen wenigstens nicht so aus, die doch Nachahmungen des Bildes seyn sollen, das Giotto nach dem Leben gemahlt hat.) Um die Zeit, da das Osterlamm zwischen den zweien Abenden geschlachtet ward, würdete Gott das wahre Osterlamm, Jesum, im Garten bey seinem Seelen-Leiden: S. 767. und doch gingen die beiden Abende vor der Ostermahlzeit her, das Seelenleiden Jesu aber folgte darauf! Herr Fr. setzt es selbst nach Mitternacht und behauptet anderwärts, wenn es ihm bequem ist, diese Zeit heiße in den Vasa Gesetzen, der Morgen. So gar von der Verurtheilung Jesu vor dem Hohen-Priester, die noch weiter hin gegen Morgen geschah, soll der Zeit-Umstand

in dem Vorbilde durch das Schlachten zwischen den beiden Abenden abgebildet seyn. Bey Gelegenheit giebt er S. 763. eine sonderbahre Uebersetzung von Ps. 118, 27. bindet ihn (den Jehova v. 26.) gleich als ein Fest:Opfer mit Stricken; ja, bis an die Altars:Lecken. Das fünfte Capitel, von dem letzten Osterlamm's: Tage Christi, als seinem Sterbe: Tage, haben wir oben mit excerpirt, als wir die Hauptsätze des Buchs gesammelt vortrugen. Doch bestärket er auch den richtigen gewöhnlichen Satz, daß Jesus an einem Freytage gestorben sey. Es ist sonderbahr, daß er sich S. 943. darauf berufet, Jesus habe am Sabbath im Grabe gelegen. Jetzt soll also Sabbath an eben der Stelle den 7ten Tag der Woche bedeuten, wo er es vorhin, als es ihm zum Beweise eines andern Sages bequem war, für Opfer: Sabbath nahm. Ein anderer Beweis gründet sich wieder auf die Vorbilder:Lehre: er nimt nehmlich, wiewohl ohne Erweiß, an, daß Gott eben den Wochen:Tag zum ersten Osterlamm in Aegypten erwählt habe, welcher der Todestag Christi seyn sollte, und bringet sodann nicht ohne Gewalt aus dem Seder Nam, das wol von so weit entlegenen Zeiten nicht einmahl glaubwürdig zeugen konnte, heraus, daß der 14 Nisan's am ersten Osterfeste Moiss auf den Freytag gefallen sey. Das sechste Capitel handelt von den Opferfern. Er leugnet, daß sie am ersten oder siebenten Tage des Festes hätten gebracht werden dürfen, denn, sagt er, diese Tage waren Sabbathe, der Sabbath aber ward durch das Opfern gebrochen, Matth. XII, 5. wozu die Juden keinen Befehl hatten; auch hätte das viele Opfern die Priester im Predigen gehindert: (denn er meint, es sey von je her von den Priestern an Sabbathen geprediget.) Es bleiben also die mittleren 5 Tage vom 2ten zum 6ten für diese freywilige Danckopfer. Das siebente Capitel gehet die Stellen Josephi durch. Er tadelt ihn, daß er den auf die Passa: Nacht folgenden Morgen, den folgenden Tag (*τῆς ἐπιούσας*) und das Passa ein Opfer nennet, will aber doch aus dem einmahl vorkommenden Ausdruck, καὶ τὴν πάσχα προσαναγορευομένην ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτελέ-

22746, sie schlachteten das Opfer, das Pasha ge-  
 nannt wird, (Ant. XI. c. 4. §. 8.) schließen, daß  
 Josephus es für kein eigentlich Opfer gehalten habe.  
 Man wird fragen: wie ist der Schluß möglich? Antw.  
 er setzt die Worte halb hin: τὴν προσαγορευμένην ἑ-  
 σίαν. Die vornehmste Anmerkung betrifft die Stelle  
 de Bello Jud. l. VI. c. 9. §. 3. wo das Volk nach der  
 Anzahl der zwischen 9 und 11, das ist nach unserer  
 Uhr, Nachmittages zwischen 3 und 5 geschlachteten  
 256500 Pasha-Opfer nur 10 Personen zu einem Pasha-  
 Mahl gerechnet auf 2700.000 geschätzt ward. Jeder-  
 man hat sie von den Pasha-Kammern verstanden, wel-  
 ches wegen der Zeit der Schlachtung wider Herrn Fr.  
 Hypothese ist, und die Hauptsache angehet. Er will,  
 es würden hier Dankopfer des 2ten bis 6ten Tages  
 verstanden, deren also auf jeden Tag 51000 kämen.  
 Wie man aus 51000 vermittelst einer Multiplication  
 mit 10, 2700,000 herausbringen könne? oder ob je-  
 der Israelite in den fünf Tagen nur einmahl geessen  
 habe? wissen wir zwar nicht: die Beweise des Herrn  
 Fr. gründen sich auch meistens bloß auf seine vorher-  
 gehenden Erklärungen der Stellen Moses, darüber  
 eben der Streit geführet wird, ja die man zugeben,  
 und dennoch glauben kann, zu Josephi Zeit seyn diese  
 Stellen bereits so verstanden worden, als jetzt ge-  
 schiebet, folglich sey Josephus aus ihnen nicht zu er-  
 klären, sondern er habe mit den Juden seiner Zeit  
 gefehlet: allein wir sind so thöricht nicht, eine Mei-  
 nung als die unsrige zu äußern, nachdem Herr Fr.  
 S. 1056. 1057. den Ausspruch gethan hat: man  
 müsse Josephum gar nicht kennen, oder seine  
 Schreib-Art nicht verstehen, wenn man hier das  
 Osterlamm suche, ja man müsse ihm mit Fleiß  
 und aus ganzer Gewalt etwas andichten: und  
 wer das nicht annehmen wolle, mit dem dürfe  
 man über Josephi Stelle nicht disputiren. Wir  
 bescheiden uns gern des Stillschweigens, und wissen  
 unsere Schuldigkeit. Das letzte Capitel ist den Schrif-  
 ten des seel. Iken, Schöttgen, Schäffer, Bengel,  
 Harenberg, und Clemm, entgegen gesetzt: aus dem  
 wir keine Auszüge geben können.



# Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen

unter der Aufsicht

der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften

136. Stück.

Den 13. November 1758.

Venedig.

**I**n dem 18ten Theil des Ugolinischen Thesauri, der 1755 herauskam, ist auf 1326 Columnnen enthalten: die Zusätze oder Tosaphtha zu den Tractaten, Schekalim, Joma, Succa, Roschhaschana, Taanioth, Megilla, Ebagiga, Beza, und Moed Katan: und die Hierosolymitanische Gemara zu denselben: beide wiederum mit Ugolini eigener Uebersetzung, die über einen so schweren und wenig erläuterten Theil der alten Jüdischen Denkmähler mit vielem Danck anzunehmen ist. Die etwanigen Fehler entschuldiget U. in der Vorrede mit der vorzüglichen Dunkelheit der Hierosolymitanischen Gemara, und dem Mangel der Hülfsmittel sie zu erklären, wie auch der sehr oft verderbten Leses-Art. Von Schriften der Christen finden wir nichts darin, außer Gabr. Groddeck's Dissert. de cerimonia palmarum apud Judaeos in festo tabernaculorum solemnium.

Der 19te Theil (1756) von 1604 Columnnen hat wiederum die Tosaphtha zu den Tractaten, Korbanoth, Menachoth, Eholim, Becoroth, Themura, Meila, Keritut, und Erachin: die Babylonische Gemara über Zebachim, und Menachoth: insgesammt mit Ugolini eigener Uebersetzung: ferner auf gleiche

xxx xxx

Weise

"consequently the antitype of the easter lamb  
had to die on the 14<sup>th</sup> and not on the 15<sup>th</sup>. It is  
not fair to our interpreters (pp. 57, 58 in Finch)  
where it is said they eat the slaying of the easter  
lamb on the 15<sup>th</sup>. They do not do that, but rather  
they eat it on the afternoon of the 14<sup>th</sup>, although  
according to them, the eating of it, contrary to the  
words of Moses, comes on the 15<sup>th</sup>." - Göttingische  
Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen, 135 Stück.  
D. 1276. November, 1758. Seifzig.

COMMENTARIES  
ON THE  
LAWS OF MOSES.

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BY THE LATE  
SIR JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS, K.P.S. F.R.S.  
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

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Translated from the German,  
BY ALEXANDER SMITH, D.D.  
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## ART. CXCIX.

*The Important Influence of the Festivals on the Calendar, and the Correction of its Errors.*

§ 3. THAT the Hebrews reckoned by lunar years, is incontrovertibly proved from this circumstance, that they were not acquainted with solar months, but began their moons with the new moon, and that one of them, the *Ear-moon*, (Abib) was the *first* in the year, Exod. xii. 2. ; for had they reckoned by solar years, every one of the twelve moons must necessarily have, at one period, fallen in the beginning, and at another, in the end of the year.

Now, as the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar, had there been no intercalary moons, they must have deviated totally from the solar year ; and have been in the same predicament as the Turks now are ; among whom every moon runs through all the seasons of the year, and falls sometimes in summer, sometimes in winter, and so on. Many inconveniences inseparably attend this mode of reckoning ; and if unceasing acts of injustice are not to be tolerated, and the man, for instance, who has rented a field for three years, and paid for that period, is not to run the risk of losing his third crop, because the corn happens not to be ripe at the end of that year, which takes place 33 days earlier, calculating by moons, so that the harvest nows falls within the *fourth* year ; a multitude of ordinances, founded upon the solar year, become indispensibly necessary, and must be made :

although the people, not being acquainted with solar years in common life, will always have great difficulty in understanding them. Nor can the many useful provisions of agricultural police, that relate to seed-time, harvest, vintage, extirpation of vermin, &c. &c. be otherwise so contrived, as that every one shall be easily able to comprehend and observe them. I need hardly add, that the history of a people, who reckon upon this principle, becomes, by reason of its perplexed chronology, peculiarly difficult; especially when it is to be compared with the history of other nations, who measure time by solar years.

The question then is, How is the legislator to remedy those serious evils that arise from the use of the lunar year? In answer to this question, it will immediately occur to many people to say, *He ought instantly to abolish it, and introduce the solar year*; and they will perhaps be quite indignant at Moses for not having adopted this very plan. And, no doubt, it would have been quite unexceptionable, had the true length of the solar year been but then known. This, however, was not the case: for astronomy was, at this period, altogether in its infancy. The common year among ancient nations, consisting of 360 days, is manifestly much more inconvenient than the solar year, because regulated neither by the sun, nor by the moon. But allowing that the Egyptians had, in the time of Moses, been acquainted with the solar year of 365 days, and had reckoned in it, as *Diodorus Siculus*\* describes to have been the case in Upper Egypt,

\* See lib. i. cap. 49, 50.

12 months, of 30 days each, with five intercalary days at the end of the year ; still a solar year like this was by far too erroneous, for a legislator to have been justified in introducing it, instead of the old lunar year, if he was only so far acquainted with the heavens or the course of nature, as to discover its great defects.

For, in the course of a century it falls about 24 days short of the truth ; in four centuries nearly 97 days ; and in 1506 years, every month and every day thereof, will have made the circuit of all the seasons and days in the year ; and one whole year have been made out, beyond the number of true solar years, that have elapsed.—Strabo \* says still more, in praise of the astronomy of the Egyptians, viz. that their priests reckoned the year at 365 days and something more, and that from them, the Greeks first learned the true length of the year. This was at most the *Julian year* ; but whether the Egyptian priests had, in the time of Moses, been so far advanced in the science of the heavens, is extremely doubtful. For would they not, in the course of fifteen hundred years *observation of the heavens, have learnt*—would they not, even from *experience, have perceived the defects of such a year, which are always becoming more and more visible?*—But, though we should allow, that they had at that time been acquainted with what we denominate the *Julian year*, still that year could not have answered permanently, by reason of its length, because it is eleven minutes too long ; a defect, which, in process of time,

\* Lib. xvi. p. 1160, al. 806.

became very manifest, and was very sensibly felt by the nations of Europe.

It is true, that God, who sent Moses as a legislator to the Israelites, and honoured him with immediate revelations, then knew the length of the solar year much more accurately than any mortal will ever calculate it, and even to the smallest fraction of a second; and might, therefore, have instructed Moses in this point, to a degree of perfection which we shall never attain. This, however, is not God's usual plan of procedure: for he leaves to men's own industry the discovery of physical and mathematical truths; nor would he be acting kindly, or as a father, desirous to educate his children, and to habituate them to reflection, if he were by a prophet to inform them of the exact length of the solar year, and other truths of a similar nature, which they might discover themselves, and which are, at the same time, not indispensibly necessary to their well-being. In fact, the world was at that time so deficient in the mensuration of time, that they did not so much as divide the day even into hours, and still less hours into minutes, and these again into seconds; for they wanted our chronometer, the clock. In the Old Testament we do not once find a word which can signify *hours*, earlier than in the writings of Daniel, and even there, only in the Chaldee part of them. The different periods of the day are always paraphrastically described in a different manner; as for example, in the Mosaic laws, the time between the sunset and total darkness, was termed בין הערבים, that is, *between the two evenings*. The greatest wisdom, therefore, that a legislator could

then manifest, consisted in his remarking, that the solar year, as then known, was defective—in fact, extremely defective; and, of course, in not, on any account, introducing it into use, but rather leaving his people to abide by the lunar year, which was at any rate familiar, and in so far pointed out by celestial phænomena; correcting, however, its defects as far as possible, and approximating it on all occasions to the solar year.

Now this is precisely what Moses did. He had it not in his power to adopt a strictly astronomical solar year, and thereby to correct the irregularities of the lunar year; but he availed himself of the aid of an œconomical solar year, which never admitted an error of a whole month, without correcting it, and which every husbandman could easily comprehend\*.

The festivals appointed for a certain day of the moon, had all a reference to the beginning and end of harvest, and to the vintage, and could not by any means have been celebrated in an appropriate manner, nor even with the shadow of an allusion to these seasons, if the lunar year had been allowed to fall behind (as it really does) about 33 days in the course of 36 moons. The first moon, which nearly corresponds to our April, Moses does not denominate *Nisan*, the name which it bears among other Oriental nations, and even in Hebrew, but he gives it a name

\* We find from Oldendorp's *History of the Mission*, &c. part i. p. 308. that a similar œconomical year, consisting of mere moons, but regulated and corrected by the harvests, is in use among the Negroes of Western Africa, between the 16th degree of north and of south latitude.

which includes a definition, calling it *Abib* (אֲבִיב), or the *Ear-moon*, declaring it to be the first month of the year, and commanding, that on the sixteenth day of it, which is the second day of the feast of the pass-over, the first-fruits of the ripe ears of corn should be presented unto God. Now if, after the lapse of the twelve moons of the preceding year, there were to be found at the new moon, or could be expected by the middle thereof, as many single ears of corn as were sufficient to make a sheaf; then this became the *Ear-moon*, and the first of the new year: but if, by the discordance of the moons with the solar year, the end of the twelve moons fell back so far within March, as that, by the middle of the next moon, ripe ears were not to be expected, and of course the feast of the pass-over could not be celebrated; then they were obliged to reckon this as a thirteenth moon of the preceding year, that is, in other words, to intercalate a moon, which the Jews, in their calendar, now term *Veaddar*, or the second *Adar*. To ascertain when this intercalation was to take place, did not require astronomical observations of the heavenly bodies: it was a point which every husbandman could decide by merely looking at the corn-fields in the most southern part of Palestine. The priests had only to announce, that it was now the thirteenth moon, the intercalary moon, or by whatever name they chose to call it; and any such artifice, as *Verres*, to suit his own purposes, had recourse to in Sicily, by the arbitrary intercalation of a whole month, was here hardly practicable; because the ripe ears, which were the signs of this moon, and the offering of its sixteenth day, would have too pal-

pably refuted the cheat. And so it was, precisely, with the other festivals. A harvest-festival falling in the midst of harvest, and interrupting it, or even before its commencement; and a feast of tabernacles in the midst of the vintage, or before it, or still more, in the rainy season of November and December—would have been such crying absurdities, that they must have immediately shewn and corrected themselves.

In this way it happened, that although the Israelitish lunar year was, with respect to the true solar year, always fluctuating—and, indeed, could never be otherwise, because even if the new moon fell upon the very first of April, still would the lunar year end eleven days sooner than the solar—it could not, in any case, deviate a whole moon from the solar year, but was, by the insertion of the intercalary moon, always re-approximated to it. No single year, taken by itself, was a solar year, but either from ten to eleven days shorter, or if a moon was intercalated, from eighteen to nineteen days longer; but 365 such years were certainly equal to as many true solar years, to a mere trifle; and if the calculation extended to millions of years, a million of lunar years regulated by the harvests, and on their account approximated, by intercalation, to solar ones, would, in like manner, amount to the very same number of the latter.

The adoption of an astronomical year not perfectly correct, occasions an error, which at first, indeed, is trifling and imperceptible, but, in process of time, becomes so materially increased, that, if it amount to but one minute, it will, in the space of little more than 500,000 years, carry every month through all the dif-

ferent seasons of the year. An œconomical year, again, may, in every single instance, involve great errors, and, indeed, if regulated by the course of the moon, must do so; but then one error is always removing and rectifying another; and in the lapse of ever so many millions of years, none of its months can be dislocated so much as 29 days, before it be replaced in its true situation and season. Had the Babylonians, as was pretended, had astronomical observations of 470,000 years, they might, without any help from astronomy, but merely by means of the œconomical year, have educed the true length of the solar year, without the risk of being so much as one minute wrong in their calculations. They would have had nothing more to do, than divide the whole number of days of those 470,000 years, by the number of harvests that had taken place in the course of them, in order to ascertain the true solar year correctly to a minute; for 470,000 minutes make more than three-fourths of a year; and yet the harvest of one year cannot fall above a month earlier or later than that of another. Even by dividing the days, in which there have been a thousand harvests, the solar year must come out without the error of an hour: and the more numerous the harvests are, the less will the error always become.

I do not here stop to consider, how the Hebrew moons in other respects coincide with our months, but refer the reader to my Dissertation *De Mensibus Hebræorum*.



## ART. CC.

*Of the other Festival Days among the Israelites.*

§ 4. BESIDES the three high festivals already considered, Moses appointed 13 or 14 other festal or holy days.

In the *first* place, the new moons were regarded as holy days, but still in such a manner, as that, with the exception of that of the seventh month, any kind of work might be done on all of them. This made *twelve*, and in a year that required the intercalary month, *thirteen* additional holy days within the year. Whether in the time of Moses, by the term *new moon* was understood the new moon properly so called, that is, the time when the moon is in conjunction with the sun, or only the day on which, in clear weather, the moon became first *visible*, that is, the *new light*, was the subject of a controversy even among the ancient Jews. To us, indeed, it may be considered as a matter of pretty much indifference: but as Moses regulated the year, not by astronomical calculations, but on oeconomical principles, and according to the phenomena of the seasons, which are obvious to every common man; the opinion of those who think that by the term new moon, he meant her first light, seems the more probable.—And hence, by the way, we are enabled to remove a seeming contradiction between *Jer. lii. 31.* and *2 Kings xxv. 27.*; for the 27th day of the moon, reckoned from the true astronomical new moon, may very often be but the 25th from her first appearance.

The former is the Babylonian, the latter the Jewish, mode of reckoning.

The celebration of the new moon seems to have merely consisted of certain ceremonies and offerings at the place where the sanctuary stood, (Numb. xxxix. 11,—15.) and to have been designed to supplant the superstitious solemnization of that day, or of the full moon. Little sports and dances, may, perhaps, have likewise been established throughout the whole land; but of this we find nothing either mentioned or enjoined by Moses. That Saul gave a great entertainment on occasion of the new moon, we find from 1 Sam. xx. 5, 6. 24,—29.

One particular new moon only was remarkably distinguished from the rest, and ordered to be kept as a sabbath, by the intermission of all manner of work\*. This was the new moon of the seventh month, which would fall pretty generally in our month of October. Moses calls it the *feast of trumpets*; and it was the festival of the new year, which had always been observed from the earliest ages. The ancient year of the Hebrews ended with the first new moon, that falls in October; which was, by no means, an improper limit to the year, because by that time, in southern countries, the harvest, fruitage, and vintage, are generally finished. This conclusion of the old, and commencement of the new year, which is thus so natural, Moses did not alter. He did, indeed, in commemoration of the *Exodus* from Egypt,

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\* See Lev. xxiii. 23, 24. Numb. xxix. 1,—6.

declare the *Ear-moon* (April) the first moon of the year, without, however, enjoining the keeping of its new moon in any peculiar manner, or making it a remarkable day: but, at the same time, he let the year commence as formerly with the month of October, that being the most convenient season for settling various bargains, and for renting of land, &c. &c., and least liable to exceptions. Even here in Germany, which is a much more northern country than Palestine, and where the commencement of the new year is not regulated by œconomical considerations, it is usual, in taking leases of lands or gardens for a term of years, to stipulate that the year shall be reckoned from Michaelmas (September 29th) to Michaelmas, or from Martinmas (November 10th) to Martinmas. In Palestine, therefore, the month of October could not be an inconvenient season for the commencement of the new year; particularly considering that in the colder districts, where the grapes were later in ripening, the vintage was thus secured to the farmers, by the thanksgiving for its commencement only beginning on the 15th day of the seventh moon, and ending on the 22nd—a term which, in such districts, they would naturally take care to stipulate, in renting vineyards, or purchasing them for a certain number of years.

Besides the new moons, there was, on the seventh day of the seventh month, a holy day, or rather a fast-day, known by the name of the *day of atonement*. It was, perhaps, the most sacred of all their solemn days, and it was the only day of fasting enjoined them. No

work was allowed to be done, nor durst food be tasted on it, Lev. xxiii. 26,—32.

The sacrificial ceremonies performed on the day of atonement, it is not the province of this work to detail or explain. The consideration of them belongs to the subject of Hebrew antiquities, or to the doctrine of the types of the Old Testament.

## ART. CCL.

*Calculation of the whole number of Sabbaths, and other Holy days ordered to be kept by the Israelites.*

§ 5. AT a time, when rational Catholics admit, that their church has more holy days than is consistent with the interest of the state, or can be approved by legislative policy, and when even Protestants are beginning to abolish such of them as they deem superfluous, it may, perhaps, be desirable to many of my readers to have a statement exhibited of the whole number of sabbaths and other holy days, which Moses prescribed to the Israelites, that they may survey them at one glance, and compare them with what is at present accounted sufficient, or more than sufficient, in this respect. For this purpose I shall adopt a year consisting of 52 weeks; because, although the lunar year of the Hebrews regularly included only 50 weeks and four days, yet the intercalary year of 56 or 57 weeks, reduced every thing to an equality with our solar year.

## ART. CLXXXIX.

*Of the Influence of Sacrifices on Civil Society.*

§ 3. BESIDES their primary and proper object, which regarded religion, the sacrifices of the Israelites had many political uses, or secondary objects. These will hereafter be considered separately, and at full length, when we come to treat of the celebration of the festivals; and also when, under Criminal Law, we speak of oaths, particularly of the oath of purgation. In the meantime, however, I think it will be useful previously to point them out in such a manner, as that they may be, as it were, surveyed at one view.

Among the Hebrews, long before the days of Moses, indeed from the earliest times, the most solemn oaths were wont to be sworn amidst sacrifices. They divided the victim in two, and passed between the pieces, and either in express words, or by that symbolic action, wished, if they were perjured, that they might perish in like manner. I shall not here repeat what I have observed on this head at greater length, in my 209th Remark on the Epistle to the Hebrews, but only thus far, that the oath of purgation, in the case of a wife suspected of adultery, was necessarily sworn over an *imprecation-offering*; and that the oath of allegiance seems likewise to have been taken amidst sacrifices, because we find that on the occasions when David's sons wished to have themselves proclaimed kings, sacrifice-feasts were prepared, as was noticed in the preceding Article.

By means of sin and trespass-offerings, after a pre-

vious confession of a crime, what may be called an *abolitio criminis*, took place, that is, the crime was no farther punished, the offering being regarded as a sort of atonement, or *mulet*; which was a matter of peculiar moment on this account, that it facilitated the retractation of a perjury, and, at the same time, discomposed the conscience of a perjured person, or of one who had acquired any thing unjustly, until he thus rid himself of his guilt.

Feast-offerings were by far the most common kind; and the celebration of the high festivals in a great measure consisted of sacrifice-feasts. Only the fat pieces of these offerings were burnt upon the altar, and a special portion given to the priest. The offerer, with his guests, consumed the rest of the victim\*. Among many nations where sacrifices were used, we find that *all* the more considerable entertainments were sacrifice-feasts; and such might likewise be the case among the Israelites, as yet poor, and seldom able to afford a beast for slaughter, when Moses gave the law, (illustrated in Art. CLXIX.) prohibiting the killing of an ox, sheep, or goat, that was not to be brought as an offering. As soon, however, as the Israelites came into their land, that prohibition ceased, on account of the *unity* of the place at which alone offerings durst be made, and the distance of most of the people from it; and those banquets which they gave at home, in their own cities, were not sacrifice-feasts. But still, at the high festivals, every opulent

\* Κατ' εὐχάριαν θράται τῶν τιθύκοτων, says Josephus, who lived at the time, when they yet had sacrifices. *Antiq.* iii. 9. 1.

an entertainment as he had a mind. In Palestine, the sun, in the shortest days of winter, never sets before five o'clock in the afternoon; almost the very time when, at some courts, they now sit down to a dinner, which an ancient, without speaking very figuratively, would have called a *Cana*, or supper, and would have eaten with as much appetite as we do: and it was an easy matter to keep the victuals warm for an hour, when sunset happened too early. In their longest days, again, this takes place before seven, at latest; the precise hour of supper among our *Bourgeois*.— Those who wished for a hot dinner likewise, must have managed as our modern Jews do with their ovens; although, indeed, I suspect, considering the scarcity of wood in many parts of Palestine, that such instances were not so frequent as at present, and that they were then contented with cold victuals. To save fuel, indeed, they might, like the Jews in our great towns, have heated public ovens, in which meat could be dressed and kept warm till next day at noon. This, however, would, according to the Mosaic statute, though unaltered by any Rabbinical artifices, have had its difficulties; because they durst not have employed their servants, for whom, as well as themselves, the Sabbath was instituted, to bring home the meat from those ovens; the carrying of any thing on the streets being expressly prohibited on the Sabbath.

Whether the prohibition of kindling fire extended to fire necessary for warmth, or only to fire for cooking, I cannot with certainty say, and I almost doubt it; but allowing that they understood it in its strictest sense, they might easily hold out even in winter in so

mild a climate, if, immediately before sunset, they made such a fire as to keep heat until next day; more especially as in southern countries, they usually fortify themselves against frost more by the aid of warm clothing, than by the heat of fires. Even in France, which is but little farther south than Germany, they do this; and in Palestine, more furs are said to be worn at this day, than with us\*. In fact, however, I believe the prohibition only affected kitchen-fires; for had fire for warmth been forbidden, I should have supposed, considering that in some parts of Palestine, such as those about Mount Lebanon, the cold in winter is pretty severe, that necessity would have taught the Israelites the discovery of some contrivance resembling the oven. Yet in their buildings, before the Babylonish captivity, we find no mention of either ovens or chimneys; for even their kings in winter, instead of having fire on a hearth, had only a portable stove, or pipkin, in their apartments, filled with hot coals. That this is the true meaning of the word כִּבְשָׁה, in Jer. xxxvi. 22. the reader will be convinced by Dr. Sebald. Rau's Dissertation, *De Ædibus Hebræorum*. I only add, that in Arabic, it actually signifies a pot, when the *Cheth* is written with a point over it, *Cha*.

There is still another respect wherein the Mosaic statutes relative to the Sabbath, though perfectly suited to the climate of Palestine, are by no means adapted to ours, and that is, in their permitting no work

\* See Busching's Geography of Asia, p. 326. 2d edit.



on that day, in seed-time, or even in harvest. For us, this would be a great hardship, because in harvest we have often rainy weather, and in wet years many a man would lose his crop, if he durst not avail himself of a favourable day for ingathering it, because it happened to be a Sunday. Hence our strictest regulations respecting the Sabbath, even those in the framing of which, clergymen, who believed in the divine authority of the day as still in force, have had a hand, are wont to regard this as a work of necessity, and to make an exception in favour of the harvest. In Palestine, however, this was not necessary; for the weather in harvest is in general so steadily favourable, that we find it, in 1 Sam. xii. 17. represented as a circumstance altogether extraordinary, that a thunder-storm should take place during wheat-harvest. In the warmest parts of that country, harvest begins about the middle of April \*; and it is finished every where in seven weeks, that is, it lasts till the beginning of June; but the rainy season usually ends in April, though occasionally there may be some rain in the latter part of April, old style †, that is, in the very be-

\* See my *Commentatio de Mensibus Hebræorum*, § 2, 3.

† See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 335. Eng. edit.—This steadiness of the weather during the seven weeks of harvest, which ran between the second day of the Jewish passover and the feast of Pentecost, appears to be mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. v. 24. who counts it a blessing from God, that they should enjoy such a fortunate land.—His words are, This people thinketh not; Let us fear our God, who giveth us rain in spring and autumn, and so sacredly observeth the weeks destined for harvest. In fact, good weather in harvest is a precious gift of nature to a country; and the great complaint of many northern regions is, that it absolutely rains most during that season.

ginning of May: but after that time, there falls no rain, or but very rarely, and it does no injury to the crop, because it does not last.

Bodily labour requisite for divine service, was not prohibited on the Sabbath; so that this formed an exception from the statute. Without severe labour, beasts could not be slaughtered, and offered on the altar; and yet the daily morning and evening sacrifice was to be made, and even doubled, on the Sabbath; and wood was to be procured every day for the fire of the altar, Lev. vi. 8,—13. Numb. xxviii. 3,—10.—According to a just analogy of this law, the Jews likewise offered sacrifices of all other kinds on the Sabbath; and Christ remarks, in regard to this point, that the priests in the temple broke the Sabbath without incurring guilt, and that *then* also, a child was circumcised, if it happened to be eight days old, Mat. xii. 5. John vii. 23.

The consequence of this was, that at the sanctuary, where alone offerings durst be made, sacrifice-feasts were held on the Sabbath; for any thing that related to the preparation of the offering-meats, was a duty of religion, instead of being a profanation of the sanctity of the day.

On the wilful breach of the Sabbath by any kind of work, the punishment of death was inflicted, (Exod. xxxi. 14, 15. Numb. xv. 32,—36.) as we shall notice under the head of *Penal Law*. I only here remark, that the reason of the severity of the law was, that as the Sabbath was meant to be a sign of their acknowledging the Creator of heaven and earth for their God, so the man who broke the Sabbath was considered as

## CHAPTER III.

## PART V.—OF THE FESTIVALS.

## ART. CXCVII.

*Of the Celebration of the Three High Festivals.*

§ 1. MOSES instituted other festivals besides the sabbath; and *three* of them, which we usually denominate *High Festivals*, were distinguished from the sabbath and all other holy days, by this remarkable difference, that they lasted for *seven*, one of them, indeed, for *eight*, successive days; and that all the males in Israel were then obliged to assemble at the place where the sanctuary stood, Exod. xxiii. 14,—17. Their attendance, however, was not so rigidly exacted, on the other two festivals, as on the first, which was,

1. *The feast of the Passover*, kept in remembrance of their departure from Egypt. This festival was to commence on the evening subsequent to the 14th day of the first moon of the year, with eating what was called the Paschal Lamb\*, and it was to continue seven whole days, that is, until the 21st. Moons which begin with the new moon, cannot, indeed, with perfect accuracy, be accommodated to our months; but thus much we may with certainty affirm, that the

\* Exod. xii. xxiii. 15. Lev. xxiii. 4,—8. Numb. xxviii. 16,—27. Those who entertain any doubt whether it was to commence with the evening preceding, or following the 14th day, may consult the Gotting. Gelehrt. Anzeig. for 1758, No. 135, and particularly p. 1276.

first moon of the Israelitish year, must always have fallen within our April. It was that moon, in the course of which, in Palestine, ripe ears of corn could always be had, and hence it had the name of the *Ear-Moon*, (Abib). On the 16th day of it, which was the second day of the festival of the passover, the first fruits of the ripe ears of corn were to be presented to God; (Lev. xxiii. 9,—14.) and from that day they were permitted to begin harvest, which commonly was not completely finished till seven weeks after, because in the colder parts of Palestine, it was not commenced nearly so soon as in the warmest. For example, ripe ears may always be had about Jericho after the middle of our April\* ; and consequently, the ear-moon must always have fallen within that month.

At this festival, every Israelite who possibly could, was bound to come to the sanctuary, to eat the paschal-lamb, which, being a sacrifice, could be slaughtered nowhere but at the sanctuary; and whoever omitted this, without absolute necessity, subjected himself to extirpation from among the people; (Numb. ix. 13.) which we shall treat of in the sequel. (Art. CCXXXVII.) As soon, however, as this feast was over, every one was at liberty the very next morning, of course, while the festival still lasted, to return to his home, if he pleased, Deut. xvi. 17.—This liberty it was, perhaps, necessary to grant for the following reason; that if the *Ear-moon* happened to fall later in the year, and new moon, for example, on the 17th of April, then the first day of the passover came to be

\* See my *Commentatio de Mensibus Hebræorum*, § 2.

the first of May; and, by that time, in the southern parts of Palestine the harvest was always ready to commence; nor could the legislator mean to throw any obstacle in the way of reaping the crop.

2. After the conclusion of the seven harvest-weeks now mentioned, or, in other words, on the 50th day, reckoning from the 16th of the first moon, the festival of *Pentecost* was to be celebrated, and it continued in like manner for seven whole days. This was properly the *harvest* festival, in which they were to offer thanksgivings to God for the bounties of harvest, and to present unto him the first fruits thereof, in bread baked of the new corn, Exod. xxiii. 16. Levit. xxiii. 14,—21. Numb. xxviii. 26,—31.

3. The *Feast of Tabernacles*, which was the festival of gratitude for the *fruitage and vintage*, commenced on the evening of the 14th day of the 7th moon (about the month of October\*) continued seven whole days until the 21st†, and then received the addition of the eighth day, which, if I am not mistaken, had, in the most ancient times, and also after the institution of this festival by Moses, been the *Wine-press-feast* of the Israelites. During these eight days the Israelites dwelt in booths, formed of green branches interwoven together, which, in the warm region of Palestine, answered extremely well, because in October the weather is dry.

We must here guard against entertaining the strange notion, which has been sometimes transferred from our three-day high festivals to the seven-day festivals of

\* See my *Commentatio de Mensibus Hebræorum*, § 4.

† See Exod. xxiii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 33,—44. Numb. xxix. 1,—39.

the Israelites, that, during all that period, labour had been interdicted. Even during *our* festivals, we perceive how burdensome and repugnant to human nature a cessation from labour becomes, when it is made a duty, and continues more than one day. For to how many people do our three days of idleness prove so tedious, that they absolutely long for a working day again? The preachers sometimes mention this from the pulpit, and censure it; but with all their scolding, they will never be able to change human nature; and it is only their own doctrine which prohibits labour for three days in succession, that has the occasion of our three-day festivals proving a burden on their followers. Now, were people obliged to abstain from all manner of work for seven or eight days successively, how intolerable would the hardship become, and how severe a penance, a festival of such a long duration? A tyrant studying refinements in cruelty, and reflecting upon the insupportable burden of idleness, knows very well, that he cannot torture his victims more exquisitely, than by immuring them, not in a workhouse, but in a prison, where no work is permitted. A seven-day festival of perfect idleness, would just have been a shorter punishment of the same nature.

Festivals of this description, and so repugnant to human nature, may have been devised, and conceived to be moral duties, by illiterate priests, unacquainted with mankind, from a misunderstanding of the Mosaic statutes, and which, by a fresh misconception, they would, besides, have transferred to the New Testament: but Moses is quite blameless on this score;

highly esteemed, in those parts of Egypt, where the people accounted them sacred, or representative of the Deity, that the man who should have attempted to offer them, would have been stoned to death. Moses himself makes this remark, in Exod. viii. 26. ; and it perfectly accords with the accounts, which the Greek authors give us of the Egyptian festivities often ending in bloody frays, on account of the victims slaughtered for offerings.

Bloody sacrifices were subdivided into three sorts.

1. *Burnt-offerings*, which were to be wholly consumed by fire, upon the altar.

2. *Sin-offerings* and *trespass-offerings*.—Of these, which were made on account of any sin committed, only a *part* was laid upon the altar; the rest either belonged to the priest, or was burnt without the camp. With regard to the distinction between them, which is here of no importance, my remarks on Deut. v. 1,—4. and vi. 2, 3., may be consulted. I am of opinion, that sin-offerings were made for sins of commission, and trespass-offerings for sins of omission; but in this, the reader, who only wishes to take a political view of the Mosaic law, will be little interested.

3. *Feast-offerings*, (שֶׁלָמִים) *schelamim*. Of these, only, the fat-pieces, such as the kidney-fat, and the fat-tail of a particular kind of sheep, were burnt on the altar: a small portion was allotted to the priest, and all the rest was appropriated to an offering-feast, and consumed by the offerer and his guests.

II. *Unbloody-offerings*, or those taken only from the vegetable kingdom, and in *Luther's* translation

termed *Speiseopfer*, (meat-offerings). Their Hebrew name is (מִנְחָה) *Mincha*, or gift; and a Roman would have called them *Farrea dona*. They are fully described in the ii. chapter of Leviticus, and consisted of meal, bread, cakes, ears of corn, and parched grain. They could not regularly be presented as sin-offerings, except in the single case of the person who had sinned being so poor, that the offering of two young pigeons, or two turtle-doves, exceeded his means. To many meal-oblations, *oil* was necessarily added, or the cakes were baked with oil; but this was not the case, when they were the sin-offerings of poor people. To all meal-oblations, it was likewise necessary to add *salt*, and indeed, pure salt, that is, *salt-petre*, Lev. ii. 13.— See my Dissertation, *De Nitro Hebræorum*, § 7.

III. *Drink-offerings*, a sort of accompaniment to the two preceding kinds, and consisting of wine, which appears to have been partly poured upon the brow of the victim, in order to consecrate it; and partly allotted to the priests, who drank it along with their portions of both the bloody and unbloody offerings. See Exod. xxix. 40. Numb. xv. 5, 7.

### ART. CLXXXVIII.

*Offerings not allowed to be made in every place, but only at the place which God should afterwards appoint, and till that time, wherever the Tabernacle, or the Ark of the Covenant might be.*

§ 2. THESE different offerings were not to be made any where, at the pleasure of the offerer, but only at





JEWISH DOCUMENTS OF  
THE TIME OF EZRA

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARAMAIC

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evidence, but they are as a rule short, formal, and concerned only with the greater events of history. Papyri not only tell us of public events, but also give us an insight into the private life and circumstances of the past.

The present texts, which are nearly all dated, cover practically the whole of the fifth century B.C. (494 to *circ.* 400), during which time Egypt was under Persian rule. They are dated by the regnal years of Darius I, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, Darius II, and the Egyptian king Amyrtæus, and have been arranged here chronologically, so as to give something of an historical picture. They emanate from a hitherto unknown colony of Jews settled in the south of Egypt at Elephantine and Syene. Thus they are the earliest Jewish documents in existence (except one or two inscriptions) outside the Bible, and are a valuable contemporary illustration of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The language in which they are written is Aramaic, a language distinct from, though closely allied to, Hebrew: not, as used to be thought, a debased form of Hebrew, but related to it somewhat as Italian is related to Spanish. And this Aramaic is, with some reservations, the same as that in which parts of the Book of Ezra are composed. We need not here discuss the reasons why that book is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic, but it may be pointed out that if Ezra wrote Aramaic, this is the sort of Aramaic he would write. It was, in fact, like modern French, the diplomatic<sup>1</sup> or international language of that time in the East, and was used by the Persian Government in the administration of the provinces, as we see from the version of the Behistun inscription (p. 96) sent to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Kings 18<sup>26</sup>, where the "Jews' language" is Hebrew, and "Syrian" is Aramaic, which an official messenger might be expected to use.

the colony in Egypt for their information. Even long before this time it was used in Babylonia by the royal scribes, as well as in everyday business,<sup>1</sup> and Ezra, as a "skilled scribe," must have been familiar with it. It was not because they were Jews that Ezra or the people of Elephantine employed it. The kind of writing used in the papyri is also that in which Ezra must have written his copy of the Law, and from which the modern square Hebrew character is lineally descended. Arguments as to the form of the text from his time onwards must therefore be based on this sort of writing and not on the old Hebrew.

As to the origin of the colony whose existence is here revealed to us, we have no evidence in the texts themselves. That it was Jewish, and conscious of being so, seems to be certain.<sup>2</sup> Individual members of it are described as *Yehudi*, "Jew," the community is called "the Jewish force," and the names of the people are good Jewish names of the post-exilic type, mostly ending in *-iah*.<sup>3</sup> They were, however, not the only inhabitants of Elephantine, for we find names of various other nationalities, Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, Arab, etc. The Jews lived apparently on equal terms with the people of other races, doing business with them, and even intermarrying without compunction.

Probably the connexion between Judæa and Egypt was always close, and Jewish settlers in Egypt must have become more numerous as trade increased; cf. e. g. Deut. 17<sup>16</sup>, Jer. 44. But this colony seems to have had a more definite origin. It was essentially military, since it is called the "Jewish force" (army

<sup>1</sup> This is shown by the Aramaic "dockets" or endorsements written in ink on cuneiform contract-tablets.

<sup>2</sup> Though Dr. Hoonacker has argued (*Schweich Lectures*, 1914 (London, 1915)) that it was Samaritan.

<sup>3</sup> No names in -el.

or garrison), was divided into *degalin* (companies or detachments), and received pay and rations from the Government. It consisted, therefore, *originally* of mercenaries in the employment of the Government. Now, the writer of the letter of Aristeas<sup>1</sup> incidentally mentions (§ 13) that Psammetichus, King of Egypt, used Jewish mercenaries in his campaign against Ethiopia. This must be Psammetichus II (see Herodotus ii, 159), who reigned from 595 to 590 B.C., and the statement agrees very well with what we gather from these papyri. After the war the soldiers were settled in the two fortresses of Syene and Elephantine as a protection to the southern boundary of the kingdom. Possibly other Jewish settlers joined them there afterwards. At any rate they had their wives and families, who were also reckoned as members of a "company," like the men, and they held property and engaged in various civil pursuits. The members of other races were no doubt mercenaries by origin, enrolled in companies according to race, as was the case in Ptolemaic times. We sometimes find a man who is called a Jew of Elephantine elsewhere described as an Aramaean of Syene (but never a Jew of Syene), which seems to show that the Jews, as such, were stationed at Elephantine, while various western Asiatics, called vaguely Aramaeans, were at Syene. The latter, as the more important place, would give its name to the whole district, including Elephantine, just as Aramaean (= western Semite) might be taken to include Jews.

These colonists, then, were already settled in the south of Egypt at the time when their brethren were returning to Jerusalem, and they were developing inde-

<sup>1</sup> An account of the origin of the "Septuagint" translation of the Old Testament (and of Jewish religion, etc.), written perhaps in the first century B.C. See Charles's *Apocrypha*, II, p. 83, and Thackeray's *The Letter of Aristeas* in this series.

pendently as a religious community during all the constructive, or re-constructive, activity of Ezra and Nehemiah. What was the relation of this outlying branch to the main body of the Jewish people? To pre-exilic or post-exilic Judaism? How far was Jeremiah (chap. 44) justified in his denunciation of the Jews in Egypt? Did they remain true to the faith of their pre-exilic fathers, or were they influenced by the new gospel of Ezra? Some of these questions will perhaps never be conclusively answered. A few only of the facts can be stated here, and the reader may be left to form his own conclusions.

The religious and internal affairs of the community were directed by priests, as we see from No. 30<sup>1</sup> and frequently, but these priests (*kahanin*) are never called sons of Aaron. They acknowledged the God of the Jews, who is called Yahu,<sup>1</sup> the older (not an abbreviated) form of the name which we used to pronounce Jehovah, now generally written Yahweh. They had no scruple, as the later Jews had, about writing or uttering the name. But we also find mention of Ishumbethel and 'Anathbethel (No. 22<sup>124-125</sup>), apparently as gods associated with Yahu, though their relation to him is obscure. Elsewhere Herembethel and 'Anathyahu seem to be gods, and we find personal names compounded with Bethel and Herem, just as others are formed with -yah(u). Whatever may be the origin of the other names, it is probable that Bethel is the old Canaanite god (cf. Gen. 31<sup>13</sup> in the Hebrew), whom the colonists had brought with them. Not only so, but in No. 14<sup>5</sup> a Jewess of good position (therefore presumably not from ignorance), in a transaction with an Egyptian,

<sup>1</sup> This spelling is used here provisionally, because it has been adopted by most writers on these papyri. It probably does not represent the true pronunciation of the name.

called sons of Aaron, and there is no mention of Levites, nor of the tribe of Levi, nor indeed of any other tribe. Nor is there any reference to any of the festivals—except only the Passover and Unleavened Bread (on which see below). All this may be accidental: it may be merely that the texts are not of a kind to involve such allusions, and it is always dangerous to argue from silence. Still, we should expect a hint of some of these special characteristics of Judaism in so considerable an amount of literature. The fact that there is none suggests a doubt whether these isolated colonists in the fifth century B.C. really knew anything of their early history and institutions—and this doubt again suggests a question whether they had forgotten it all, or, supposing their mental attitude to be that of their ancestors in 600 B.C., whether the ordinary Jew of that date, in Judæa, was equally uninstructed.

Even the mention of the Passover does not make the case better, for a special order seems to have been necessary for its celebration, and the regulations for the feast of Unleavened Bread, which is connected with it, have to be explained to the people. Such, at least, seems to be the meaning of No. 21. The papyrus is, unfortunately, very imperfect, but there is enough to show that it is an order from the Persian king (Darius II) relating to a festival of the Jews. The gaps can be filled with a certain amount of probability, since we know the approximate length of the lines, and some of the sentences can only be completed in one way. In any case it is an announcement by a certain Hananiah (a man of importance, as appears elsewhere) that an order has been sent by the king to Arsames (satrap of Egypt), and if our conjecture is right, it was an order to celebrate a feast. Then Hananiah proceeds to give instructions, first to reckon *fourteen days* (the next

clause being lost), and then from the 15th to the 21st day of *Nisan* to abstain from leaven, etc. There can therefore be no doubt that it is the Passover which is meant to be kept on the 14th day of *Nisan*, and that the seven days following it are the days of Unleavened Bread. The gap in which the celebration of the Passover is presumably ordained is too short to allow of any instructions as to the manner of celebrating it, while the instructions for the feast of Unleavened Bread are relatively full. Thus it would seem that the colony knew about the Passover,<sup>1</sup> although they had not kept it regularly, but that the feast of Unleavened Bread was either unknown to them or had been entirely neglected.

The important point, about which there can be no question, is that the order was sent by the Persian king. It was a curt command, and the details were added by the messenger, who was a Jew. If, then, Darius could be induced, for whatever reasons, to issue a special edict concerning a single religious observance in an obscure colony of Jews, we need not question the authenticity of the letter of Artaxerxes in *Ezra* 7<sup>12</sup>, dealing with the much more important matter of *Ezra*'s mission. In neither case need we suppose that the details are due to the king himself. In the papyrus they certainly are not, and in *Ezra* 7<sup>12</sup> one can imagine the king, when once his consent had been obtained, saying, "Very well, then, give the man an order for what he wants." The order would then be drawn up by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, probably advised by *Ezra* himself, and sealed by the king's seal-bearer. Granted the initial good-will of the king, there is nothing improbable about the rest.

Prof. E. Meyer begins his book on these papyri with

There is also a reference to it on an ostrakon (inscribed potsherd) of this date, not included in the present volume.





# ARAMAIC PAPYRI

No. I. *Dog 25*

**Agreement, dated 494 B.C.** (Sachau, p. 113.)

- 1 On the 2nd day of the month Epiphi of the 27th
- 2 year of King Darius, said Sallua daughter of
- 3 Koniah and Yethoma her sister to Yeha'or daughter
- 4 of Shelomim, We have given to you half
- 5 the share which was granted to us by the king's
- 6 judges and Ravaka the commander, in exchange
- 7 for half the share which
- 8 accrued to you with Ne'ehebeth. Hereafter, on a
- 9 future day, we shall not be able to sue you in the
- 10 matter of this your share,
- 11 and say, We did not give it to you; nor shall a
- 12 brother or sister (of ours), son or daughter, relative
- 13 or alien be able to sue you; and whoever shall sue
- 14 you in the matter of this your share which we
- 15 have given you, shall pay to you
- 16 the sum of 5 karash and the share remain yours.
- 17 Witnesses:
- 18 Hosea b. Hodaviah.
- 19 Shelomim b. Azariah.
- 20 Zephaniah b. Maki.

1. 1. Darius I, since Darius II did not reign so long. Year 27  
is more probable than 17.

- 15 which does not belong to . . . . .  
 16 treasury . . . . .  
 17 the god, silver . . . . .  
 18 and the brick-house (?) and . . . . .  
 19 mine (?) *and you have a right to seize* . . . . .  
 20 as aforesaid, and . . . . .  
 21 Written by Hosea at the hands (?) of *Ahiab*.  
 22 Witnesses: *Shuri b. Kadu* . . . . .  
 23 *Nushku-idri b. Nabnitu* . . . . .  
 24 *Bagadata b. ISMSHD* . . . . .

Only the beginnings of the lines remain. They are not restored, in order to show better the connexion with No. 2.

## No. 4.

**A small Fragment, apparently connected with  
 Nos. 2 and 3.** (Sachau, p. 136.)

- 1 . . . . . they made for me . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . s, and also for . . . . .  
 3 . . . . . he prepared, also . . . . .  
 4 . . . . . what you wish with it . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . we have found barley . . . . .  
 6 . . . . . here. Now . . . . .  
 7 . . . . . *Espemet* . . . . .  
 8 . . . . . since we . . . . .

## No. 5.

**Grant of Building Rights. 471 B.C.**  
 (Sayce and Cowley, A.)

- 1 On the 18th of Elul, that is the 28th day of Paḥons,  
 year 15 of King Xerxes, said  
 2 *Koniah b. Zadok*, an Aramæan of Syene, of the  
 detachment of *Warizath*, to *Mahseiah b. Yedoniah*,  
 an Aramæan of Syene,

- 3 of the detachment of Warizath, saying : I came to you and you have given to me the gateway of your house to build
- 4 I portico (?) there. This portico is yours. It adjoins my house at its upper corner.
- 5 This portico shall adjoin the side of my house from the ground upwards, from the corner of my house at the upper end to the house of Zechariah.
- 6 To-morrow or on any later day I have no power to restrain you from building above (*or upon*) this portico of yours.
- 7 If I restrain you, I will pay you the sum of 5 karash, royal weight, pure silver, and the portico is yours
- 8 assuredly. If Koniah dies to-morrow or on a later day no son or daughter, brother or sister,
- 9 relative or stranger, soldier or citizen, shall have power to restrain Maḥseh or his son from building above
- 10 this portico of his. Whoever restrains one of them shall pay him the sum aforesaid, and the portico
- 11 is yours assuredly, and you have the right to build above it upwards, and I Koniah have no power
- 12 to speak to Maḥseh saying : This gateway is not yours, and you shall not go out (by it) into the street which
- 13 is between us and the house of Peṭ'onith, the boatman. If I restrain you, I will pay you the sum aforesaid.
- 14 And you have the right to open this gate and go out into the street which is between us.
- 15 Pelatiah b. Ahio wrote this document at the dictation of Koniah. Witnesses thereto :
- 16 Witness Maḥseh b. Isaiah. Witness Satibarzanes b. Mithrili.
17. Witness Shemaiah b. Hosea. Witness Phrathaphernes b. Artaphernes.

18. Witness Bagadata b. Nabukudurri. Nabu-ili b. Darga.
19. Witness Bentirash b. Raḥamrea' (?). Witness Shalum b. Hoshaiah.
20. (Endorsement.) Deed (relating to) the portico which he built, which Koniah wrote for Maḥseh.

l. 4. "portico": the meaning is uncertain. A covered way? The upper corner is on the south. So perhaps in l. 11?

l. 16. "Mithrili," or perhaps Atharili.

## No. 6.

**Conveyance. 465 B.C.** (Sayce and Cowley, B.)

- 1 On the 18th of Chisleu, that is the 7th day of Thoth, in year 21, the beginning of the reign when
- 2 King Artaxerxes sat on his throne, said Dargman b. Harshin the Khorasmian, whose station
- 3 is fixed in Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Artabanu, to Maḥseiah b. Yedoniah, a Jew who (lives) in the fortress of Yeb,
- 4 of the detachment of Warizath, saying: You have *sworn* to me by the God Yahu in Yeb the fortress, you and your wife
- 5 and your son, three in all, about my land in regard to which I lodged a complaint against you before
- 6 Damidata and his colleagues the judges, and they imposed upon you an oath to me, to swear by Yahu in regard to this land,
- 7 that it was no longer the land of Dargman, mine, that is (belonging to) me. Now these are the boundaries of this land
- 8 in regard to which you swore to me: My house, of me Dargman, is to the East of *it*, and the house of Koniah b. Zadok,

- 9 Jew, of the detachment of Athroparan, to the West of it, and the house of *Jezaniah* b. *Uriah*,
- 10 Jew, of the detachment of *Warizath*, at the lower end of it, and the house of *Espemet* b. *Peft'onith*,
- 11 boatman of the cataract, at the upper end of it. You have sworn to me by *Yahu*, and have satisfied
- 12 my mind about this land. I shall have no power to institute suit or process against you, I and my son and my daughter,
- 12a brother and sister of mine, relative and stranger,
- 13 concerning this land, (against) you and your son and your daughter, brother and sister of yours, relative and stranger.
- 14 Whoever sues you in my name concerning this land, shall pay you the sum of 20 (twenty) *karash* royal standard,
- 15 at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and the land is assuredly yours, and you are quit of
- 16 all claim that they may bring against you in regard to this land. *Ethan* b. *Aba* wrote this deed
- 17 in *Syene* the fortress, at the dictation of *Dargman*. Witness, *Hosea* b. *Peṭekhnum*. Witness,
- 18 *Gadol* b. *Yigdal*. Witness, *Gemariah* b. *Ahio*. *Meshullam* b. *Hosea*.
- 19 *Sinkasid* b. *Nabusumiskun*. Witness, *Hadadnuri* the *Babylonian*.
- 20 Witness, *Gedaliah* b. *Ananiah*.
- 21 Witness, *Aryisha* b. *Arusathmar*.
- 22 (Endorsement.) Deed of                   renunciation written by *Dargman* b. *Harshin* for *Mahseiah*.

1. 12a is written between the lines.

l. 22. The space is where the deed was tied and sealed.

No. 7.

**A Case of Burglary. 461 B.C.** (Sachau, p. 103.)

- 1 On the 18th of Paophi, in the 4th year of Artaxerxes the king, in Yeb
- 2 the fortress, said Malchiah b. Joshibiah, Aramæan, holding property in Yeb
- 3 the fortress, of the detachment of Nabukudurri, to Phrataphernes b. Artaphernes of the detachment
- 4 of Nabukudurri, saying: You declared to me (or concerning me) in Nepha that you entered my house
- 5 by force, and struck my wife, and removed goods from my house by force,
- 6 and took them for yourself. I have made a petition and the appeal to the gods
- 7 has been laid upon me by the court, on me Malchiah, that I should challenge you by Herembethel
- 8 the god, before 4 judges (?), thus: "I did not enter your house by force,
- 9 and did not strike your wife, and did not take goods from your house by force."
- 10 And if I challenge you before these judges (?) I am entitled also to challenge . . . (the rest is lost).

1. 1. Probably Artaxerxes I. If it is Artaxerxes II the date will be 400 B.C.

1. 4. "Nepha" seems to be a place-name. Cf. 20<sup>4</sup>.

No. 8.

**Conveyance. 459 B.C.** (Sayce and Cowley, D.) (460)

- 1 On the 21st of Chisleu, that is the 1st day of Mesore,
- 2 the 6th year of Artaxerxes, the king, said Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, a Jew holding property in Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Haumadata, to Mibṭahiah, spinster (?),

Fotheringham and Shurer both insist on "21st Mesore"

- 3 his daughter, as follows : I give to you for my life-time and after my death a house and land of mine.
- 4 Its measurement is : its length from the lower to the upper end 13 cubits and 1 handbreadth; width from East
- 5 to West 11 cubits by the measuring-rod; its boundaries, at the upper end of it the house of Dargman b. Harshin
- 6 adjoins it; at the lower end of it the house of Koniah b. Zadok; East of it the house of Yezan b. Uriah, your husband, and the house of Zechariah b. Nathan; West of it the house of Espemet b. Peft'onith
- 8 boatman of the cataract. This house and land I give to you for my life-time and after my death;
- 9 you have full rights over it from this day for ever, and your children after you. To whom
- 10 you wish you may give it. There is no other son or daughter of mine, brother or sister, or other
- 11 woman or man who has rights over this land, except you and your children for ever. Whoever
- 12 shall institute against you suit or process, against you or son or daughter of yours or anyone belonging to you on account of this land
- 13 which I give to you, and shall appeal against you to governour or judge, shall pay to you or to your children
- 14 the sum of 10 (that is, ten) kerashin, royal weight, at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit or process (shall lie),
- 15 and the house is your house assuredly and your children's after you; and they shall have no power to produce against you
- 16 any deed new or old in my name concerning this land to give it to anyone else. Any deed



- 17 which they produce against you will be forged. I shall not have written it and it shall not be accepted by the court
- 18 while this deed is in your hand. And further, I, Mahseiah will not to-morrow or on any other day take it away
- 19 from you to give it to others. This land is yours. Build (on it) or give it to whom you will.
- 20 If to-morrow or on any other day I institute against you suit or process, and say I did not give it to you,
- 21 I will pay you the sum of 10 kerashin, royal weight, at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit
- 22 or process (shall lie), but the house is your house assuredly, and (if) I go into court I shall not win my case while this deed is in your hand.
- 23 There is also a deed of renunciation which Dargman b. Harshin the Khorazmian wrote for me concerning
- 24 this land, when he laid claim to it before the judges and I took an oath to him and swore to him
- 25 that it was mine, and he wrote and gave me a deed of renunciation. This deed I give to you.
- 26 You are to take charge of it. If to-morrow or another day Dargman or his son should lay claim
- 27 to this house, produce this deed and in accordance with it contest the case with him. 'Atharshuri
- 28 b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote this deed in Syene the fortress at the dictation of Mahseiah. Witnesses hereto :
- 29 witness, Gemariah b. Mahseiah. Witness, Zechariah b. Nathan.
- 30 Witness, Hosea b. Pelaliah. Witness, Zechariah b. Meshullam. Witness, Ma'uziah b.
- 31 Malchiah. Witness, Shemaiah b. Yedoniah. Witness, Yedoniah b. Mahseiah.
- 32 Witness, Nathan b. Ananiah. Zaccur b. Zephaniah.

- 33 Witness, Hosea b. Re'uah. Witness, Maḥseh b. Isaiah.
- 34 Witness, Hosea b. Yigdal.  
(Endorsement :)
- 35 Deed of a house *which* Maḥseh b. Yedoniah gave  
36 to Mibṭaḥ daughter of Maḥseh.

l. 23. The deed is No. 6.

ll. 33, 35, 36. Maḥseh is a shortened form of Mahseiah (as Mibṭaḥ is of Mibṭaḥiah) with the divine name *-iah* omitted.

## No. 9.

**Deed relating to the Reversion of the Property in  
No. 8. 459 B.C.** (Sayce and Cowley, C.)

- 1 On the *21st* of Chisleu, that is the *1st* of Mesore, the  
2 6th year of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah  
3 b. Yedoniah Jew, of Yeb, of the detachment of  
4 Haumadata, to Jezaniah b. Uriah, of the same  
5 detachment
- 6 as follows: There is the land of 1 house belonging  
7 to me, west of your house, which I have given to  
8 Mibṭaḥiah
- 9 my daughter, your wife, and I have written for her  
10 a deed concerning it. The measurement of this  
11 house is 13 cubits and a hand-breadth
- 12 by 11, by the measuring-rod. Now I, Mahseiah, say  
13 to you, lay out this land and rear cattle on it (?),  
14 and dwell on it with your wife, but you have no  
15 power to sell this house, or to give it
- 16 as a present to others; but your children by  
17 Mibṭaḥiah my daughter have power over it  
18 after you. If to-morrow or another day you lay  
19 out this land and then my daughter divorces you  
20 and goes away from you, she has no power to take  
21 it or give it to others, but your children by

- 10 Mibṭaḥiah have power over it in return for the work which you have done. If you put her away
- 11 from you, half the house *shall be* hers to take, and as to the other half you have power over it in return for
- 12 the development which you have made in this house. And again as to that half, your children by Mibṭaḥiah
- 13 have power over it after you. If to-morrow or another day I should institute suit or process against you
- 14 and say I did not give you this land to develop, and did not draw up this deed for you, I
- 15 will pay you the sum of 10 kerashin by royal weight, at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit or process (shall lie).
- 16 'Atharshuri b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote this deed in Syene the fortress at the dictation of Mahseiah. Witnesses
- 17 hereto :
- Witness, Hosea b. Pelaliah. Witness, Zechariah b. Nathan.
- 18 Witness, Gemariah b. Mahseiah. Witness, Zechariah b. Meshullam.
- 19 Witness, Ma'uziah b. Malchiah. Witness, Shemaiah b. Yedoniah.
- 20 Witness, Yedoniah b. Mahseiah. Witness, Nathan b. Ananiah. Witness, Zaccur b. Zephaniah.
- 21 Witness, Hosea b. Re'uiah. Witness, Maḥseh b. Isaiah.
- 22 Witness, Hosea b. Yigdal.

The deed was evidently drawn up at the same time as No. 8, since the scribe and witnesses are the same in both.

l. 5. "rear cattle" is uncertain. The land is distinguished from the house.

## No. 10.

**Contract for a Loan. 456 B.C.** (Sachau, p. 108.)

- 1 On the 7th of Chisleu, that is the 4th day of the  
month Thoth, the 9th year of Artaxerxes  
2 the king, said Yehoḥan daughter of Meshullak,  
spinster (?), of Yeb the fortress, to Meshullam b.  
3 Zaccur, Jew, of Yeb the fortress, as follows: You  
have given to me as a loan the sum of 4  
shekels,  
4 that is four, by royal weight, at interest, which shall  
be due from me  
5 at the rate of 2 ḥallurin per shekel per month, being  
at the rate of 8 ḥallurin  
6 for each month. If the interest is added to the  
capital, it shall pay interest like the capital,  
7 both alike, and if there come a second year and I  
have not paid you your money  
8 and interest on it as written in this deed, you,  
Meshullam, and your children have the right  
9 to take for yourself any security which you may  
find of mine in the brick-house, whether silver or  
gold,  
10 bronze or iron, male or female slave, barley, spelt  
or any food that you may find of mine,  
11 till you have full payment of your money and  
interest thereon, and I shall have no power to  
say to you that I have paid you  
12 your money and the interest on it while this deed  
is in your hand, nor shall I have power to lodge  
a complaint  
13 against you before governour or judge on the ground  
that you have taken from me any security while  
this deed

## No. 12.

**List of names, undated.** (Sachau, p. 71.)

- 1 Haggai b. Nathan.
- 2 Harman b. Oshea'.
- 3 Oshea' b. Yathom.
- 4 Oshea' b. Hodav.
- 5 Shamua' b. Haggai.
- 6 Nathan b. Neraiah.
- 7 Menahem b. Posai.
- 8 Yeosh b. Azaniah.
- 9 Bethel'aqab b. Achar.
10. Total 9 men.
- 11 Nabu'aqab (?) b.

A similar list is No. 19. The purpose of these lists is not evident. The names suggest a date about 450 B.C.

1. 11 is written upside down. The name occurs in No. 26<sup>23, 28</sup>.

## No. 13.

**Conveyance of a House. 447 B.C.**

(Sayce and Cowley, E.)

- 1 On the 3rd of Chisleu, that is the 10th day of the month Mesore, year 19 of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah b.
- 2 Yedoniah, Aramæan of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath, to Miphtaḥiah his daughter as follows :  
I give you the house
- 3 which Meshullam b. Zaccur b. Atar, Aramæan of Syene, gave me for its price, and wrote a document for me about it,
- 4 and I give it to Miphtaḥiah my daughter in return for the goods which she gave me when I was inspector (?) in the fortress. I borrowed (?)

- 5 them and did not find money and goods to pay you.  
Consequently I give you this house
- 6 in return for those your goods of the value of 5  
kerashin, and I give you the original document  
which
- 7 the said Meshullam *wrote* for me about it. This  
house I give to you and I resign all claim to it.  
It belongs to you and to your children
- 8 after you and to *whomsoever* you please you may  
give it. I have no power, I or my children or  
my descendants or any
- 9 other man, to bring against you suit or process  
in the matter of this house which I give you, and  
have written the document for you
- 10 about it. Whoever raises against you suit or process,  
(whether it be) I or a brother or sister, relative  
or stranger, soldier or citizen,
- 11 shall pay you the sum of 10 kerashin, and the house  
is assuredly yours. Moreover no other man shall  
produce against you a document
- 12 new or old, other than this document which I  
have written and given to you: *whoever* pro-  
duces against you such document, I have not  
*written it.*
- 13 Moreover note, these are the boundaries of this  
house: At the upper end of it is the house of  
Yeosh b. Penuliah, at the lower end of it is
- 14 the temple of the God Yahu, at the east of it is the  
house of Gadol b. Oshea' and the street between  
them,
- 15 on the west of it is the *land* of . . . . b. Palto,  
priest of the gods Khnum and Sati (?). This  
house
- 16 I give you and resign all claim to it. It is yours  
for ever. To *whomsoever* you wish, give it.

- 17 Nathan b. Ananiah wrote this document at the direction of Mahseiah and the witnesses hereto. Mahseiah signed for
- 18 himself (?).  
Mithrasari (?) b. Mithrasari (?), and *Satibarzanes* b. Atharili, silversmith.
- 19 Witness, Barbari b. Dargi, silversmith of the place (?).  
*Witness*, . . . b. Shemaiah.
- 20 Zaccur b. Shallum.  
(Endorsement :)
- 21 Document concerning Mahseiah b. Yedoniah and *Miphṭahiah* his daughter.

l. 4. "inspector" is uncertain. "I borrowed": others take this as a name.

l. 14. This is the first mention of the temple. See further No. 30.

l. 18. "for himself," etc.: the writing is hasty and not very legible. Atharili, or perhaps Mithrili: cf. No. 5<sup>10</sup>.

l. 19. "of the place" is strange. It may be a name "of Athra."

No. 14.

**Settlement of Claim. 441 B.C.**

(Sayce and Cowley, F.)

- 1 On the 14th of Ab, that is the 19th day of Paḥons, year 25 of Artaxerxes the king, said—
- 2 b. Paḥi, builder, of Syene the fortress, to Mibṭahiah daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah
- 3 Aramæan of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath (as follows): In accordance with the action which we took at Syene, let us make a division concerning the money
- 4 and corn and garments and bronze and iron, all goods and possessions, and the marriage-document. Then an oath

- 5 was imposed on you and you swore to me concerning  
 them by the goddess Sati and my heart was content  
 6 with that oath which you took to me concerning those  
 your goods and I renounce all claim on you from  
 7 this day for ever. I have no power to institute  
 against you suit or process, you or son  
 8 or daughter of yours in the matter of those your  
 goods concerning which you have sworn to me.  
 If I institute against you  
 9 suit or process, or my son or daughter sue you in  
 the matter of that your oath, I, Pi, or my son  
 10 will pay to Mibṭaḥiah the sum of 5 kerashin, royal  
 weight, without suit or process,  
 11 and I renounce all suit and process.  
 12 Peṭisi b. Nabunathan wrote this document  
 in Syene the fortress, at the direction of Pi b. Paḥi.  
 Witnesses hereto : Nabure'i b. Nabunathan.  
 13 Luḥi b. Mannuki. 'Odnahar b. Duma. Nabure'i b.  
 Vashtan.

(Endorsement :)

- 14 Deed of quittance which Pi wrote for Mibṭaḥiah.

Probably a settlement on the dissolution of Mibṭaḥiah's marriage with Pi, who would have been her second husband. This seems to be indicated by his giving up the marriage-deed in l. 4.

l. 5. She swore by the Egyptian goddess, because Pi was an Egyptian. None of the witnesses have Jewish names. Perhaps she was not recognised by the community as long as she was married to an Egyptian.

l. 14. "quittance" may be a term for divorce.

#### No. 15.

#### Marriage Contract. About 441 B.C. (439) (Sayce and Cowley, G.)

- I On the 25th (?) of Tishri *that is the 6th day of the month Epiphi year . . . of Artaxerxes the king,*



- 2 said Ashor b. *Zeho*, builder to the king, to *Mahseiah*,  
Aramæan of Syene, of the detachment of
- 3 Warizath, as follows: I came to your house that  
you might give me your daughter Miphṭaḥiah in  
marriage.
- 4 She is my wife and I her husband from this day  
for ever. I have given you as the price
- 5 of your daughter Miphṭaḥiah *the sum* of 5 shekels,  
royal weight. It has been received by you and  
your heart is content
- 6 therewith. You have delivered to your daughter  
Miphṭaḥiah into her hand for the *cost* of furniture  
1 karash 2 shekels royal
- 7 weight, of the standard of 2 R to 10. You have  
delivered to her into her hand 1 woollen robe,  
new, striped,
- 8 dyed on both sides, (whose) length was 8 cubits by 5,  
worth the sum of 2 kerashin 8 shekels,
- 9 royal weight; 1 closely-woven (shawl) new, (whose)  
length was 8 cubits by 5, worth
- 10 the sum of 8 shekels royal weight; another woollen  
robe, finely woven, (whose) length was
- 11 6 cubits by 4, worth the sum of 7 shekels; 1 mirror  
of bronze, worth
- 12 the sum of 1 shekel 2 R; 1 tray of bronze, worth  
the sum of 1 shekel 2 R; 2 cups of bronze,
- 13 worth the sum of 2 shekels; 1 bowl of bronze, worth  
the sum of 2 R; total money
- 14 and value of goods being the sum of 6 kerashin  
5 shekels 20 ḥallurin, of the standard of 2 R to 10,  
royal weight.
- 15 I have received, and my heart is *content* therewith,  
1 couch of reeds with 4 supports (?)
- 16 of stone; 1 PK of SLK; 2 ladles, holding (?) 8 H;  
1 MŠ'N knife (?); 1 cosmetic box of ivory new.

- 17 To-morrow or *another* day (if) Ashor should die and there is no child male or female
- 18 belonging to him by Miphṭaḥiah his wife, Miphṭaḥiah has a right to the house
- 19 of Ashor, *his* goods and his chattels and all that he has on the face of the earth,
- 20 all of it. To-morrow or (another) day (if) Miphṭaḥiah should die and there is no child male or female
- 21 belonging to her by Ashor her husband, Ashor shall inherit her goods
- 22 and her chattels. To-morrow *or* another day (if) Miphṭaḥiah should stand up in the congregation
- 23 and say, I divorce Ashor my husband, the price of divorce (shall be) on her head; she shall return to
- 24 the scales and weigh out to Ashor the sum of 7 shekels 2 R and all that she has taken
- 25 into her hand she shall give up, both shred (?) and thread, and she shall go away whither she will, without
- 25 suit or process. To-morrow or another day (if) Ashor should stand up in the congregation
- 27 and say, I divorce my *wife* Miphṭaḥiah, her price shall be forfeited, but all that she received
- 28 into her hand, she shall give up, both shred (?) and thread, on one day at one time, and she shall go
- 29 away whither she will, without suit or process. But if he should rise up against Miphṭaḥiah
- 30 to drive her out from his, Ashor's, house and his goods and chattels, he shall give her
- 31 the sum of 20 kerashin, and the provisions of this deed shall be *annulled*, as far as she is concerned. And I shall have no right to say
- 32 I have another wife besides Miphṭaḥiah and other children than the children whom

- 33 Miphṭaḥiah shall bear to me. If I say I have children and wife other than  
 34 Miphṭaḥiah and her children, I will pay to Miphṭaḥiah the sum of 20 kerashin, royal weight,  
 35 and I shall have no right to *take* away my goods and chattels from Miphṭaḥiah; and if I remove them  
 36 from her [erasure] I will pay to Miphṭaḥiah the sum of 20 kerashin, royal weight.  
 37 Nathan b. Ananiah wrote *this deed at the direction of Ashor* and the witnesses hereto:  
 38 Penuliah b. Jezaniah: . . . iah b. Uriah: Menahem b. Zaccur:  
 39 Witness, Re'ibel (?) b. . . .

The number of the year is lost, but since the two sons by this marriage were old enough to be parties to a case in 421, they must have been born somewhere about 440 B.C., and the date of the contract must be as given above.

This was Mibṭaḥiah's third marriage, if we are right about the meaning of No. 14.

ll. 6, 7. "You have delivered" is probably the meaning, but the first person ("I have") would have the same form.

ll. 15, 16. The meaning of some of the words in this list is unknown.

l. 16. "8 H," probably a measure here, not ḥallurin.

l. 23. "on her head," etc.: the translation is uncertain, though the general meaning is clear.

#### No. 16.

#### An Appeal to a Higher Court. About 435 B.C.

(Sachau, p. 41.)

- 1 . . . . . to Arsames (?) and to Megaphernes  
 b. WŠḤI . . . . .  
 2 *this field* our detachment owned from the 24th year  
 to the 31st year of Artaxerxes . . . . .  
 3 *also* I was examined before TRWH and the court,  
 and I stated before the court . . . . .

- 4 the *field* I ploughed but the *produce* I did *not* receive from them. These judges . . . .
- 5 . . . and a wrong was done to me, and I stated before TRWH and the court . . . .
- 6 . . . from the year 24 to the year 31, and Megaphernes and Nephayan and Mannuki, the 3 judges, went up to Syene and *took with them* (?) . . . .
- 7 . . . the assessors (?) of Nephayan, commander of the garrison of Syene, and the judges of the province, how . . . .
- 8 I (?) before my lord have sent saying "A wrong was done to me," and *now* . . . .
- 9 ask TRWH and the court *about* this, (and) let wrong not be done to me, and . . . .

1. 3. "TRWH," probably a name.

1. 7. Nephayan was commander in No. 30 (408 B.C.). If the date here is right, he must be a different person.

#### No. 17.

#### Relating to Supplies for the Garrison (?).

428 B.C. (Sachau, p. 34.)

- 1 *To our lord Arsames*, your servants Achæmenes (?) and his colleagues, Bigdan (?) and his colleagues, and the notaries of the province; the welfare of our lord may the gods *seek*
- 2 *abundantly* at all times. And now you have paid us for all the contribution assuredly which we gave in the province at (?) the place which is . . . .
- 3 . . . plainly set forth, each item month by month they were sending to me. Also a written document was given to us. Now . . . .
- 4 . . . . . and we will . . . .

D

- 5 . . . . . our lord Arsames . . . . . your *servants* Achæmenes (?) and his colleagues the recorders in . . . . .
- 6 . . . . . which we pay. Haruz and his colleagues the notaries of *the* province, all 3 vilains (?),
- 7 . . . the servant (?) of SYN'BS the recorder, their colleague, in the 19th of Marḥeshwan in the 37th year of Artaxerxes, to them.

1. 6. "all 3 vilains" is added below the line. The word occurs in No. 30<sup>?</sup>, etc., but its meaning is uncertain.

### No. 18.

#### End of a Marriage Contract. About 425 B.C.

(Sachau, p. 126.)

- 1 . . . . . Meshullak b. Uri a deed of divorce. And Yehoḥan daughter of Meshullak shall have no *right to say to him*
- 2 and to Sallua her daughter, As I gave these goods and the money which are set forth in this deed, as a free gift to you, now I desire
- 3 to take them away. If she says so, she is liable, no heed shall be paid to her. Ma'uziah b. Nathan b. Ananiah wrote
- 4 this deed at the direction of Hoshaiiah *and* Yehoḥan and the witnesses hereto. Witness, Ḥeremnathan b. Bethelnathan b. Zeḥo;
- 5 Witness, Haggai b. Penuliah; witness, Yeosh b. Azaniah; witness, Bethelnathan b. Jonathan.

1. 4. Note the names Ḥeremnathan and Bethelnathan formed with Ḥerem and Bethel, as Jonathan is formed with Yahu. Zeḥo is an Egyptian name, as in No. 15.

## No. 19.

**List of Names. About 420 B.C.** (Sachau, p. 92.)

- 1 . . . . .
- 2 Ba'adiah b. A . . . . .
- 3 Oshea' b. *Uriah* (?).
- 4 WKYN b. Shallum b. . . . .
- 5 Meshullam b. Shemaiah.
- 6 Shemaiah b. Shallum.
- 7 Menahem b. Meshullam.
- 8 Haggai b. Jezaniah.
- 9 Agiri b. Ash . . . . .
- 10 Nathan b. Hodaviah.

## No. 20.

**Settlement of a Claim. 420 B.C.**

(Sayce and Cowley, H.)

- 1 In the month of Elul, that is *Payni*, 4th year of Darius the king at that time in Yeb the fortress, said
- 2 Menahem and Ananiah *both sons of* Meshullam b. Shelomem, Jews of Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Iddinnabu,
- 3 to Yedoniah and Mahseiah, both sons of Ashor b. Zeho by Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah, Jews
- 4 of the same detachment, as follows: *We* sued you in the court of NPA before Damandin the governour (and) Widrang
- 5 the commander of the garrison, saying: There *are* goods, garments of wool and cotton, vessels of bronze and iron, vessels of wood
- 6 and ivory, corn, etc., and we pleaded saying: Ashor your father received (these) from Shelomem b. Azariah, and also

7 said "They are on *deposit*." They were deposited, but he kept possession and did not return (them) to him, and therefore we sue you.

8 Then you were examined, and you Yedoniah and Mahseiah, sons of Ashor, satisfied us concerning these goods,

9 and we were satisfied therewith. From this *day* for ever I Menahem and Ananiah, we renounce all claim on you.

10 From this day for ever we shall have no power, and our sons and our daughters and our brothers and any man related to us or a freeman of

11 the city shall have no power to bring *against* you, Yedoniah and Mahseiah, suit or process, nor shall they have the power to sue your sons

12 or your brothers or any one of yours *on account* of goods and money, corn, etc., belonging to Shelomem b. Azariah. If we

13 or our sons or our daughters or anyone of *ours*, or the sons of Shelomem b. Azariah, sue you or sue your sons or your daughters

14 or any one of yours, or whomsoever they shall sue about it, he shall pay you or your sons, or whomsoever they sue, a fine

15 of the sum of ten kerashin, royal *weight*, at the rate of 2 R to 1 karash, and he assuredly has no claim on these goods

16 about which we sued, and no suit or *process* (can lie). Ma'uziah b. Nathan wrote this deed at the direction of Menahem and Ananiah both

17 sons of Meshullam b. Shelomem. Witness, Menahem b. Gadol.

Gadol b. Berechiah.

Menahem b. Azariah.

18 Witness, Hodaviah b. Zaccur b. Oshaiah.

(Endorsement :)

19 Deed which Menahem and Ananiah both sons of Menahem b. Shelomem wrote for Yedoniah and Mahseiah both sons of Ashor b. Zeho.

1. 4. "NPA": as in 7<sup>4</sup>? The precise sense of the following words is uncertain.

1. 19. Menahem is a mistake for Meshullam.

No. 21.

**Order to keep the (Passover and) Feast of Unleavened Bread. 419 B.C. (Sachau, p. 36.)**

- 1 *To my brethren,*
- 2 *Yedoniah and his colleagues the Jewish garrison, your brother Hananiah. The welfare of my brethren may the gods seek.*
- 3 *Now this year, the 5th year of King Darius, word was sent from the king to Arsames, saying :*
- 4 *In the month of Tybi (?) let there be a Passover for the Jewish garrison. Now you accordingly count fourteen*
- 5 *Days of the month Nisan and keep the Passover, and from the 15th day to the 21st day of Nisan*
- 6 *(Are) seven days of Unleavened bread. Be clean and take heed. Do no work*
- 7 *On the 15th day and on the 21st day. Also drink no beer, and anything at all in which there is leaven*
- 8 *Do not eat, from the 15th day from sunset till the 21st day of Nisan, seven.*
- 9 *Days, let it not be seen among you ; do not bring (it) into your dwellings, but seal (it) up during those days.*



10 *Let this be done as Darius the king commanded.*

(Address :)

11 To my brethren Yedoniah and his colleagues  
the Jewish garrison, your brother Hananiah.

1. 2. The envoy Hananiah was a person of high position.
1. 7. "beer," because it was fermented, therefore of the nature of leaven. Wine was required for the Passover.
1. 9. "seal it up": *i. e.* put it away under lock and key.

No. 22.

**Names of Contributors to Temple Funds, in  
Seven Columns. 419 B.C. (Sachau, p. 73.)**

- 1 On the 3rd of Phamenoth, 5th year. This is (a list of) the names of the Jewish garrison who gave money for Yahu the God, man by man the sum of 2 *shekels* :
- 2—Meshullemeth daughter of Gemariah b. Mahseiah, the sum of 2 sh.
- 3—Zaccur b. Hodaviah b. Zaccur, the sum of 2 sh.
- 4—Seraiah daughter of Hoshea b. Harman, the sum of 2 sh.
- 5—All 3 . . . .
- 6—Hoshea b. Bethelnuri, he (gave (?)) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
- 7—Hoshaiah b. Nathan b. Hoshaiah b. Hananiah the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
- 8—Nabu . . . . b. . . . ah, the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
- 9 . . . . . nani b. KTL, the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
- 10 . . . . . b. Yeho . . . . the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
- 11 . . . . . b. Nehebeth daughter of Mahseh, the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).

- 12 Nathan b. Anani b. . . . .  
 13 . . . . . i daughter of Zebadiah . . . . .  
 14 . . . . .  
 15 . . . . . daughter of Peluliah . . . . .  
 16 . . . . . daughter of . . . . .  
 17 . . . . . i b. . . . .  
 18 . . . . . daughter of . . . . .  
 19 *All of the company of Siniddin.*  
 20 The company of Nabu'aqab :—Shallum b. Menahem . . . . .

## Col. ii.

- 21—Meshullam b. Samuah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 22—Palti b. Michah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 23—Malchiah b. Yathom b. Hadadnuri, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 24, 20—Shelemiah b. Jashub, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 25—Gadol b. Meshullam b. Mibtaḥiah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 26—Menahem b. Hazul, that (is) the son of Shemaiah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 27—Simak b. Meshullam, he (gave) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 28—Gadol b. Samuah, he (gave) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 29—Meshullam b. Haggai b. Hazul, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 30—Hazul b. Haggai b. Hazul, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).  
 31 *All of the company of . . . . . u.*  
 32 . . . . . 2 sh.  
 33 . . . . . sum of 2 sh.  
 34 . . . . .  
 35 . . . . .  
 36 . . . . .

- 35 20th of *Meḥir* in the 5th year. What was delivered  
as food . . . which
- 36 . . . . . brought from the district of Thebes by the  
hand of Onophris,
- 37 . . . . . b. BR'vH, and 'Edri b. A . . . .
- 38 Barley *ardabs* 1446, G 2, H 4.
- 39 And of corn (?) of TŠTRS, the ration which was  
given out to the garrison
- 40 from (?) 1019.
- 41 . . . . . 1252, G I, H . . . .
- 42 And what . . . . . was given as a ration to the  
garrison . . . . . from
- 43 TŠTRS, *ardabs* 1690.
- 44 . . . . . *Meḥir*, year . . . . .
- 45 . . . . . and from . . . . .
- 46 . . . . . xx76 . . . . .

Col. 3 seems to be a summary of supplies for the year.

1. 34. "the 4th year," probably of Darius II, judging from the writing.

1. 39. "TŠTRS," the southern province, as in No. 27<sup>9</sup>.

#### No. 25.

#### Renunciation of Claim. 416 B.C.

(Sayce and Cowley, J.)

- 1 On the 3rd of Chisleu, year 8, that is the 12th day  
of Thoṯh, year 9 of Darius the king, at that date  
in Yeb
- 2 the fortress said Yedoniah b. Hoshaiiah b. Uriah,  
Aramæan of Yeb the fortress, before Widrang  
commander of the garrison

- 3 of Syene, to Yedoniah b. Nathan and Mahseiah b. Nathan, his brother, their mother being Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, before
- 4 Widrang commander of the garrison of Syene, as follows: I withdraw (my claim) against you on the house of Jezaniah b. Uriaḥ. These are its boundaries:
- 5 at the upper end, the house of Hosea b. Uriaḥ adjoins it; at the lower end of it, the house of Haḏul b. Zechariah adjoins it;
- 6 at the lower end and above, there are open windows; on the east of it, is the temple of the God Yahu, and the highway
- 7 of the king between them; on the west of it, the house of Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah, which Mahseiah her father gave her,
- 8 adjoins it. This house, whose boundaries are described above, is yours, Yedoniah and Mahseiah both
- 9 sons of Nathan, for ever, and your children's after you. To whom you will, you may give it. I shall have no power, I Yedoniah, or my sons
- 10 or female or male dependant of mine, I shall have no power to set in motion suit or process against you, nor shall we have power to sue son or daughter of yours,
- 11 brother or sister, female or male dependant of yours, or any man to whom you may sell this house, or to whom you may give it as a gift,
- 12 on behalf of me, Yedoniah, or on behalf of my sons or dependants female or male. If I, Yedoniah, sue you, or you are sued by
- 13 a son of mine or daughter or female or male dependant, on my behalf or on behalf of my sons, (or

- anyone) except a son or daughter of Jezaniah b. Uriah,
- 14 or (if) they sue son or daughter, or female or male dependant of yours, or a man to whom you may sell or to whom you may give as a gift
- 15 this house, or whoever shall bring a claim against you, shall pay you a fine of the sum of ten kerashin, that is 10 kerashin at the rate of
- 16 2 R to 1 karash by royal weight, and the house is assured to you for ever and to your sons after you, failing
- 17 any sons of Jeza b. Uriah, without question.  
Ma'uziah b. Nathan wrote (this deed) at the direction of Yedoniah b. Hosea and the witnesses
- 18 hereto  
Menahem b. Shallum :  
Mahseiah b. Yedoniah :  
Menahem b. Gadol b. Ba'adiah :  
Yedoniah b. Meshullam :
- 19 Yislah b. Gadol :  
Gadol b. Berechiah :  
Jezaniah b. Penuliah :  
Ahio b. Nathan.  
(Endorsement :)
- 20 Deed of renunciation, which Yedoniah b. Hosea wrote concerning the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah,
- 21 for Yedoniah b. Nathan and Mahseiah his brother, both of them.

1. 1. Year 8 in the Jewish reckoning, which began the year in the spring (Nisan), = year 9 in the Egyptian reckoning, which began the year in the previous December (Thoth).

1. 3. Nathan = Ashor. See No. 20<sup>3</sup>.

1. 4. "before Widrang," etc. : repeated from l. 2 by an error.

1. 13. "except" : the meaning is not quite certain.

1. 17. The same scribe who wrote Nos. 18 and 20. His father wrote Nos. 10, 13.

No. 26.

**Order to Repair a Boat. 412 B.C.** (Sachau, p. 44.)

- 1 From Arsames to Wahiprimahi: Now *the boat of Pesmesnith and his colleagues the boatmen of the fortifications is worn out as reported*
- 2 to us by Mithradates the boatman as follows: Thus says Pesmesnith . . . . . *the boatmen of*
- 3 the fortifications say thus: The boat of which we have charge, it is time to do its repairs. *Thereupon I sent word as follows: Let the specification*
- 4 be drawn up accurately and sent to the accountants of the treasury. They with *the commanders Shemsillek and his colleagues are to inspect this boat*
- 5 and make a report on it (?), and let the arsenic (?) which is required (?) by the specification, paint (?) and the rest be sent, *and let the accountants give all the materials*
- 6 and let its repairs be done immediately, and the rest about which word was sent to them from me. Thereupon they sent and *thus said their messengers: On*
- 7 the beach which is in front of the fortress, *between its fortifications* Mithradates the boatman showed us the boat. We report that by Pesmesnith and . . . . .,
- 8 both boatmen of the fortifications, it is described accurately, and we have reported to Shemsil'ek and his colleagues the commanders, (and) Shemu b.
- 9 Kanufi, head of the carpenters, of SPYT, and they said thus: It is time to *make its repairs*. This is the specification (of) what is required (?) to do its repairs:

E

- 5 of the king's stores which is in the fortress of Yeb,  
 (this) they wrecked, and *they* built a wall *in* the  
 midst of the fortress of Yeb . . . . .
- 6 Now this wall is built in the midst of the fortress.  
 There is a well which is built
- 7 *within* the *fortress*, and it never lacks water to  
 supply the garrison, so that (?) if it is super-  
 vised (?) they would be
- 8 (able to get) water to drink in *this* well. Those  
 priests of Khnub stopped up this well. If  
 enquiry
- 9 be made of the magistrates, officers (and) police who  
 are set over the province of TŠTRS
- 10 it will be made *known* to your lordship in accordance  
 with what we say. Moreover we are innocent
- 11 *of this damage* to the stores which *were* in the fortress  
 of Yeb
- 12 . . . . . thus we are free from blame, and *anything*
- 13 *harmful of this kind* has not been found in us, but  
 the *priests will not allow*
- 14 us to bring meal-offering and incense
- 15 and sacrifice to offer there to Yahu the God of  
 heaven
- 16 . . . . .
- 17 . . . . . but *they made there* a fire (?)
- 18 and the rest of the fittings they took for *themselves*,  
 all of it.
- 19 Now if it please your lordship, *let the injury be very*  
*much remembered*
- 20 *which was done to us*, us of the *Jewish* garrison.
- 21 If it please your lordship let an *order* be given  
*according to*
- 22 *what we state*. If it please your lordship, let word be  
 sent

- 23 *that they shall not injure anything which is ours*  
 24 *and to build the altar (?) of ours which they destroyed.*

Very imperfect, especially at the end, on the reverse.

The petition is evidently an earlier appeal relating to the events described in No. 30.

l. 7. "supervised"; the word occurs in 13<sup>4</sup>, but its meaning is very doubtful.

No. 28.

**Assignment of Slaves. 410 B.C.**

(Sayce and Cowley, K.)

- 1 On the 24th of Shebat, year 13, that is the 9th day  
 of Athyr, year 14 of Darius the king in the fortress  
 of Yeb,  
 2 said Mahseiah b. Nathan (and) Yedoniah b. Nathan,  
 in all 2, Aramæans of Syene, of the detachment  
 of Warizath, as follows: We have agreed  
 3 together and have divided between us the slaves of  
 Mibṭahiah our mother, and note, this is the share  
 which comes to you as a share—you, Yedoniah—,  
 4 Peṭosiri by name, whose mother is Tebo, a slave.  
 A yod is marked on his arm at the right of a  
 marking in the Aramaic language, thus,  
 5 "Mibṭahiah's." Note also, this is the share which  
 comes to me as a share—me, Mahseiah—, Belo  
 by name, whose mother is Tebo, a slave. A  
 yod  
 6 is marked on his arm at the right of a marking in  
 the Aramaic language thus, "Mibṭahiah's." You,  
 Yedoniah, are master of Peṭosiri,  
 7 this slave, who has come to you as a share, from  
 this day for ever, and your children after you, and  
 to whom you will you may give (him). I shall  
 have no power,



- 8 I Mahseiah, son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or any dependant of mine, to move the court against you or against your children in the matter of Peṭosiri
- 9 by name, the slave who has come to you as a share. If we move the court against you in the matter, we Mahseiah or my children, or (if) we sue son
- 10 or daughter of yours or dependant of yours in the matter of Peṭosiri this slave who has come to you as a share, then we will pay to you a fine of standard
- 11 money ten kerashin, royal weight, and we renounce all claim against you and your children as regards this Peṭosiri
- 12 who has come to you as a share. He belongs to you and your children after you, and to whom you will you may give (him) without question. Also as to Tebo
- 13 by name, the mother of these lads, and Lilu her daughter, whom we do not yet divide between us, when it is *time* we will divide them
- 14 between us, and we will each take possession of his share, and we will write a deed of our partition between us, and (there shall be) no dispute. Nabutukulti b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote
- 15 this deed in the fortress of Yeb at the direction of Mahseiah and Yedoniah his brother. Witnesses thereto : Menahem b. Gadol;
- 16 Witness Hanan b. Haggai; Witness Nathan b. Yeho'or; Witness Shallum b. Nathan.  
(Endorsement :)
- 17 Deed of assignment of a slave, Peṭosiri. Written by Mahseiah b. Nathan for Yedoniah b. Nathan his brother.

1. 4. Yod, *i. e.* the Aramaic letter Y. The meaning of the mark is obscure. The slaves all have Egyptian names.

No. 29.

**Contract for a Loan. About 409 B.C.**

(Sachau, p. 61.)

- 1 In the month of Mesore, year 16 (?) of Darius the king, in Yeb the fortress *said Nathan (?) b. Hosea*, Aramæan of
- 2 Syene, of the detachment of Nabukudurri, to *Yislah b. Gadol*, Aramæan of Syene, of the detachment of . . . . . *as follows*: There is to your credit against me
- 3 the sum of *one karash, four shekels the balance (?) of 5 (?) minæ which were* due from me as part of the amount
- 4 of the value of the house (?) of M . . . . .  
I *Nathan* declare that I will pay you this sum,
- 5 one karash, four, by . . . . . the month of Paḥons, year 17 of *Darius* the king
- 6 . . . . . and if I *do not* pay (and) give you this sum of one karash four shekels
- 7 . . . . .

The end is lost. It probably contained provisions similar to those in No. 11.

No. 30.

**Petition to the Governour of Judæa. 408 B.C.**

(Sachau, p. 3.)

- 1 To our lord Bigvai, governour of Judæa, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, the priests who are in Yeb the fortress. The health
- 2 of your lordship may the God of Heaven seek after exceedingly at all times, and give you favour before Darius the king

- 3 and the princes of the palace more than now a thousand times, and may he grant you long life, and may you be happy and prosperous at all times.
- 4 Now your servant Yedoniah and his colleagues depose as follows: In the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king, when Arsames
- 5 departed and went to the king, the priests of the god Khnub, who is in the fortress of Yeb, (were) in league with Waidrang who was governour here,
- 6 saying: The temple of Yahu the God, which is in the fortress of Yeb let them remove from there. Then that Waidrang,
- 7 the reprobate, sent a letter to his son Nephayan who was commander of the garrison in the fortress of Syene saying: The temple which is in Yeb
- 8 the fortress let them destroy. Then Nephayan led out the Egyptians with the other forces. They came to the fortress of Yeb with their weapons,
- 9 they entered that temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there they broke. Also it happened, 5 gate-ways
- 10 of stone, built with hewn blocks of stone, which were in that temple, they destroyed, and their doors they set up (?), and the hinges
- 11 of those doors were bronze, and the roof of cedar wood, all of it, with the rest of the furniture and other things which were there,
- 12 all of it they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and silver and everything that was in that temple, all of it, they took
- 13 and made their own. Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came into Egypt

- 14 he found that temple built, and the temples of the gods of Egypt all *of them* they overthrew, but no one did any harm to that temple.
- 15 When this was done, we with our wives and our children put on sack-cloth and fasted and prayed to Yahu the Lord of Heaven,
- 16 who let us see (our desire) upon that Waidrang, the abominable. They tore off the anklets from his legs, and all the riches he had gained were destroyed, and all the men
- 17 who had sought to do evil to that temple, all *of them*, were killed and we saw (our desire) upon them. Also before this, at the time when this evil
- 18 was done to us, we sent a letter *to* your lordship and to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes the brother
- 19 of 'Anani, and the nobles of the Jews. They have not sent any letter to us. Also since the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king <sup>403</sup>
- 20 till this day we wear sack-cloth and fast. Our wives are made widow-like, we do not anoint ourselves with oil
- 21 and we drink no wine. Also from that (time) till (the present) day in the 17th year of Darius the king, neither meal-offering, incense, nor sacrifice
- 22 do they offer in that temple. Now your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues and the Jews, all *of them* inhabitants of Yeb, say as follows :
- 23 If it seem good to your lordship, take thought for that temple to build *it*, since they do not allow us to build it. Look upon your

- 24 well-wishers and friends who are here in Egypt,  
(and) let a letter be sent from you to them concerning the temple of the God Yahu
- 25 to build it in the fortress of Yeb as it was built before, and they shall offer the meal-offering and incense and sacrifice
- 26 on the altar of the God Yahu on your behalf, and we will pray for you at all times, we, our wives, our children, and the Jews,
- 27 all who are here, if they do so that this temple be re-built, and it shall be a merit to you before Yahu the God of
- 28 Heaven more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth as much as the sum of a thousand talents. As to gold, about this
- 29 we have sent (and) given instructions. Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat governour of Samaria.
- 30 Also of all this which was done to us Arsames knew nothing. On the 20th of Marḥeshwan the 17th year of Darius the king.

This must be a copy or draft of the letter actually sent.

- l. 1. Bigvai = Bagoas in Josephus, *Ant.* 10<sup>7</sup>, where Ioannes (= Johanan in l. 18) is also mentioned as High-Priest.
- l. 2. "seek after"; the regular formula in human greetings.
- l. 7. "reprobate" does not seem very suitable, but no better meaning has been suggested. The word occurs several times.
- l. 10. "set up" is difficult. Possibly "lifted them off their hinges" (?) or "stood them against the wall" to burn them.
- l. 13. "when Cambyses came into Egypt" in 525 B.C.
- l. 16. "the abominable," lit. "dog-like." It may be "the dogs tore off," after he was killed. But the sentence is obscure.
- l. 19. "They have not sent," because they disapproved of the temple?
- l. 24. "to them," *i. e.* to the Egyptians.
- l. 26. "on your behalf," though he was a non-Jewish official.
- l. 28. "As to gold," as bakhshish.
- l. 30. "Arsames knew nothing," and so was not to blame. He was away at the time. Cf. ll. 4, 5.

No. 31.

**A Duplicate of No. 30. Same date.**

(Sachau, p. 23.)

- 1 To our lord *Bigvai*, governour of *Judæa*, your servants  
*Yedoniah* and his colleagues the priests . . .
- 2 God of *Heaven* seek after at all times. May he give  
you favour before *Darius* . . .
- 3 May he grant you long *life*, and may you be happy  
and prosperous at all times. Now your servant  
*Yedoniah* . . .
- 4 Year 14 of *Darius* the king, when *Arsames* departed  
and went to the king . . .
- 5 The fortress. They gave money and valuables to  
*Waidrang* the governour who was here, saying . . .
- 6 let them remove from there. Then that *Waidrang*,  
the reprobate, sent a letter to his son *Nephayan*,  
who . . .
- 7 of *Yahu* the God, which is in the fortress of *Yeb*,  
let them destroy. Then that *Nephayan* led out  
the *Egyptians* . . .
- 8 their weapons. They went into that temple. They  
destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of  
stone . . .
- 9 5 great gate-ways, built of hewn stone, which were  
in that temple . . .
- 10 those, of bronze, and the roof of that temple, all of  
it of cedar wood, with the rest . . .
- 11 they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and of  
silver and every thing . . .
- 12 they made. Already in the day of the kings of *Egypt*  
our fathers had built that temple in *Yeb* . . .
- 13 He found that built, and the temples of the gods  
of the *Egyptians* all of them they overthrew, but  
no one did any . . .

- 6 Syenians who *hold property* in the fortress of Yeb,  
 7 say as follows : If your lordship is *favourable*  
 8 and the temple of Yahu the God which *we had* (?)  
     *be rebuilt* (?)  
 9 in the fortress of Yeb as it was *formerly built*,  
 10 and sheep, oxen (and) goats are *not* offered as burnt-  
     sacrifice there,  
 11 but incense, meal-offering *and drink-offering only*;  
 12 and (if) your lordship gives orders *to that effect*, then  
 13 we will pay to your lordship's house the *sum of*  
     *. . . . and also*  
 14 a *thousand* ardabs of barley.

This may have been sent to Bigvai after receipt of his answer,  
 No. 32. Or it may be addressed to Arsames.

1. 10. They seem to agree not to offer animal sacrifice.

## 34

**A Letter. Probably about 407 B.C.**

(Sachau, p. 63.)

- 1, 2 . . . . . khnum, now these are  
     the names of the women who were *found*  
 3 *at the gate in Thebes* (?) and were taken *prisoners* :  
     Rami, wife of Hodar, Asirshuth, wife of Hosea,  
     Pelul, wife of Yislah, Re'ia . . . . .  
 4 Zebia, daughter of Meshullam, Yekhola her sister.  
     These are the names of the men who were found  
     at the gate in Thebes (?) and were taken *prisoners* :  
 5 Yedonia b. Gemariah, Hosea b. Yathom, Hosea b.  
     Nathum, Haggai his brother, Ahio b. *Mahseiah* (?).  
     *They have left* (?)  
 6 the houses which they had entered in Yeb, and the  
     property which they had taken they have restored  
     indeed to the owners of it, but they remembered (?)  
     . . . . . *the sum of*

- 7 120 kerashin. Moreover they will have no further authority here. Peace be to your house and your children till the Gods let *us* see (our desire) *upon them*.

This seems to refer to violence done at the time of the destruction of the temple.

l. 5. Cf. the names in No. 33. "They," *i. e.* the Egyptian rioters.

## No. 35.

**Contract for a Loan. About 400 B.C.**

(Sachau, p. 128.)

- 1 On the 21st (?) of *Phamenoth*, year 5 of *Amyrtæus* the king at that time  
 2 said *Menahem* b. *Shalom*, *Aramæan* of *Yeb* the fortress, of the detachment of *Nabukudurri*,  
 3 to *Sallua* daughter of *Samuah*, as follows: You have a claim on me for the sum of 2 shekels,  
 4 that is the sum of 1 stater, being part of the money and goods which are (prescribed) in the deed  
 5 of your marriage. I, *Menahem*, will give it and pay you in full by  
 6 the 30th of *Pharmuthi*, year 5 of King *Amyrtæus*.  
*If I have not*  
 7 *paid off* and given to you this sum of 2 shekels, that is 1 stater,  
 8 *by the said day* which is written above, *and it come to the 1st (?) of Pahons*,  
 9 *this your money*, the sum of 2 shekels that is the sum of 1 stater, *shall be doubled (?)*,  
 10 *and I will give you*, *Sallua*, your money and . . . . .  
*your money*  
 11 . . . . . *if I sue you or sue your son . . . . .*

l. 1. *Amyrtæus* is the Egyptian who rebelled against Persia shortly before 400 B.C.

l. 9. The end is too fragmentary to be restored. Cf. No. 11.





# הליכות עולם

חבור

## בחכמת התכונה החדשה

בו ירעו המעיינים בדרך קצרה ובצמצום הוצאת המולדות והנגודים האמתיים עד עולמי עד, ושעות חצי היום ליריעת המולד הנראה, ולרעת הארך הראשון המורה שעור קבלת האור בנוף הירה בליל המולד הנראה, ומרחב הירח מקו המילות לצפון ולדרום, והוצאת לקות הלבנה ושעורו ועתותיו, וארבע תקופות השנה, וימי המועדים והצומות שלנו הקראים ושל הרבנים, וימי החגים של הרוססים, ומערכת צבא השמים כפי שטות החדשות הנודעות היום אצל התוכנים האחרונים, וסדר עבור השנים שלנו הקראים בלשון רוסיא, הפרש אורכי המדינות מגוולוא ומרחבם מקו השוה, וכל אלו ההשבונות מתוקנים על יסודי התכונה החדשה ומיוסדים על אופק נזולוא בקירים שבמלכות רוסיא.

מאתי

יהודה בלאו"ר דוד נ"ע כוכיזוב

חלק ראשון

---

אודססא

בשנת התר"מ לפ"ג.

Тип. П. Ульриха, Красный переулокъ, домъ № 3.

1880.



הלוח הכבי מודה ימי המועדים והצומות שלנו הקדאים עפ"י מולדות אמרי"ד אשר יחיי"ל באיזה יום להחש הנצרים הפולנה משנת ה'תרמ"א עד שנת ה'תר"ם להבריאה,

עשרה באב	ימי שבוע	הג שבועי	עצרת	ימי שבוע	פסח	ימי שבוע	פורים	ימי שבוע	עצרת	שמיני	ימי שבוע	סכות	ימי שבוע	כפור	ימי שבוע	השנה ראש	ימי שבוע	שנת הנוצרים	שנת הבריאה פ"ט
24 אייל	24 מאי	24 אפר	8 אפר	2 אפר	1 פבר	15 סנשב	8 סנשב	3 סנשב	15 סנשב	8 סנשב	15 סנשב	8 סנשב	3 סנשב	25 אבני	ד	1880	הרמב		
13 אייל	16 מאי	29 מרט	29 מרט	23 מרט	20 פבר	4 אוכט	20 פבר	27 א	4 אוכט	27 א	4 אוכט	27 א	22 סנשב	13 סנשב	ג	1881	הרמב		
1 אבני	5 איין	17 אפר	17 אפר	11 אפר	10 פבר	23 סנשב	10 פבר	16 סנשב	23 סנשב	16 סנשב	23 סנשב	16 סנשב	11 סנשב	2 סנשב	ז	1882	הרמב		
21 אייל	20 מאי	5 אפר	5 אפר	30 מרט	29 פבר	12 אוכט	29 פבר	5 אוכט	12 אוכט	5 אוכט	12 אוכט	5 אוכט	30 סנשב	21 סנשב	ז	1883	הרמב		
10 אייל	12 מאי	26 מרט	26 מרט	20 מרט	17 פבר	30 סנשב	17 פבר	23 א	30 סנשב	23 א	30 סנשב	23 א	18 סנשב	9 סנשב	ג	1884	הרמב		
29 אייל	29 איין	14 אפר	14 אפר	8 אפר	6 פבר	19 סנשב	6 פבר	12 סנשב	19 סנשב	12 סנשב	19 סנשב	12 סנשב	7 סנשב	29 אבני	ז	1885	הרמב		
19 אייל	17 מאי	3 אפר	3 אפר	28 מרט	25 פבר	8 אוכט	25 פבר	1 אוכט	8 אוכט	1 אוכט	8 אוכט	1 אוכט	26 סנשב	17 סנשב	ז	1886	הרמב		
7 אייל	8 מאי	22 מרט	22 מרט	16 מרט	14 פבר	28 סנשב	14 פבר	21 סנשב	28 סנשב	21 סנשב	28 סנשב	21 סנשב	16 סנשב	7 סנשב	ז	1887	הרמב		
26 אייל	28 מאי	10 אפר	10 אפר	4 אפר	3 פבר	16 סנשב	3 פבר	9 סנשב	16 סנשב	9 סנשב	16 סנשב	9 סנשב	4 סנשב	26 אבני	ז	1888	הרמב		
15 אייל	13 מאי	30 מרט	30 מרט	24 מרט	22 פבר	5 אוכט	22 פבר	28 סנשב	5 אוכט	28 סנשב	5 אוכט	28 סנשב	23 סנשב	14 סנשב	ז	1889	הרמב		
3 אבני	2 איין	18 אפר	18 אפר	12 אפר	11 פבר	25 סנשב	11 פבר	18 סנשב	25 סנשב	18 סנשב	25 סנשב	18 סנשב	13 סנשב	4 סנשב	ז	1890	הרמב		
22 אייל	24 מאי	7 אפר	7 אפר	1 אפר	1 מרט	13 אוכט	1 מרט	6 א	13 אוכט	6 א	13 אוכט	6 א	1 אוכט	22 סנשב	ז	1891	הרמב		
12 אייל	9 מאי	27 מרט	27 מרט	21 מרט	19 פבר	1 אוכט	19 פבר	20 סנשב	1 אוכט	20 סנשב	1 אוכט	20 סנשב	19 סנשב	10 סנשב	ז	1892	הרמב		
31 אייל	31 מאי	15 אפר	15 אפר	9 אפר	8 פבר	20 סנשב	8 פבר	13 סנשב	20 סנשב	13 סנשב	20 סנשב	13 סנשב	8 סנשב	30 אבני	ז	1893	הרמב		
20 אייל	21 מאי	5 אפר	5 אפר	30 מרט	27 פבר	9 אוכט	27 פבר	2 אוכט	9 אוכט	2 אוכט	9 אוכט	2 אוכט	27 סנשב	18 סנשב	ז	1894	הרמב		
9 אייל	12 מאי	24 מרט	24 מרט	18 מרט	16 פבר	29 סנשב	16 פבר	22 סנשב	29 סנשב	22 סנשב	29 סנשב	22 סנשב	17 סנשב	8 סנשב	ז	1895	הרמב		
28 אייל	25 מאי	11 אפר	11 אפר	5 אפר	4 פבר	19 סנשב	4 פבר	11 סנשב	19 סנשב	11 סנשב	19 סנשב	11 סנשב	6 סנשב	28 אבני	ז	1896	הרמב		
17 אייל	17 מאי	1 אפר	1 אפר	26 מרט	23 פבר	7 אוכט	23 פבר	30 סנשב	7 אוכט	30 סנשב	7 אוכט	30 סנשב	25 סנשב	16 סנשב	ז	1897	הרמב		
6 אייל	9 מאי	21 מרט	21 מרט	15 מרט	13 פבר	26 סנשב	13 פבר	19 סנשב	26 סנשב	19 סנשב	26 סנשב	19 סנשב	14 סנשב	5 סנשב	ז	1898	הרמב		
24 אייל	21 מאי	8 אפר	8 אפר	2 אפר	2 פבר	15 סנשב	2 פבר	8 סנשב	15 סנשב	8 סנשב	15 סנשב	8 סנשב	3 סנשב	25 אבני	ז	1899	הרמב		

במקום כוכב נרשמו שנים המעבורה, ימי הג שבועות לעולם ביום א' לשבוע, ולדעת ימי החדש למספר החדש גריגוריאנסקי לחוסוף. 12 ימים.

26 הלוח הכנ'. מורה ימי המועדים והצומות של הרבנים באוה יום לשבוע ובאיה יום לחדש הנוצרים תפולנה, משנת התר"כ עד שנת התרע"א להבריאה,

עשרה במכת	אזמ' יט'	שמיני עצרת	אזמ' יט'	א' דסוכות	אזמ' יט'	כפור	אזמ' יט'	א' דראש השנה	אזמ' יט'	טובא סגולא	טובא טולא	טובא טולא
13 דיכבר	ה	27 סנטב'	ה	20 סנטב'	ה	15 סנטב'	ז	6 סנטב'	ה	1879	ה	תרמ'
30 נוייבר	א	15 סנטב'	ב	8 סנטב'	ב	3 סנטב'	ד	25 אבנו'	ב	1880	ב	תרמא*
20 דיכבר	א	3 אוכט'	ז	26 סנטב'	ז	21 סנטב'	ב	12 סנטב'	ז	1881	ז	תרמב
8 דיכבר	ד	23 סנטב'	ה	16 סנטב'	ה	11 סנטב'	ז	2 סנטב'	ה	1882	ה	תרמג*
27 דיכבר	ג	11 אוכט'	ג	4 אוכט'	ג	29 סנטב'	ה	20 סנטב'	ג	1883	ג	תרמד
16 דיכבר	א	29 סנטב'	ז	22 סנטב'	ז	17 סנטב'	ב	8 סנטב'	ז	1884	ז	תרמה
6 דיכבר	ו	19 סנטב'	ה	12 סנטב'	ה	7 סנטב'	ז	29 אבנו'	ה	1885	ה	תרמו*
25 דיכבר	ה	9 אוכט'	ה	2 אוכט'	ה	27 סנטב'	ז	18 סנטב'	ה	1886	ה	תרמז
13 דיכבר	א	28 סנטב'	ב	21 סנטב'	ב	16 סנטב'	ד	7 סנטב'	ב	1887	ב	תרמח
2 דיכבר	ו	15 סנטב'	ה	8 סנטב'	ה	3 סנטב'	ז	25 אבנו'	ה	1888	ה	תרמט*
21 דיכבר	ה	5 אוכט'	ה	28 סנטב'	ה	23 סנטב'	ז	14 סנטב'	ה	1889	ה	תרנ
9 דיכבר	א	24 סנטב'	ב	17 סנטב'	ב	12 סנטב'	ד	3 סנטב'	ב	1890	ב	תרנא*
29 דיכבר	א	12 אוכט'	ז	5 אוכט'	ז	30 סנטב'	ב	21 סנטב'	ז	1891	ז	תרנב
17 דיכבר	ה	1 אוכט'	ה	24 סנטב'	ה	19 סנטב'	ז	10 סנטב'	ה	1892	ה	תרנג
7 דיכבר	ג	20 סנטב'	ב	13 סנטב'	ב	8 סנטב'	ד	30 אבנו'	ב	1893	ב	תרנד*
25 דיכבר	א	10 אוכט'	ב	3 אוכט'	ב	28 סנטב'	ד	19 סנטב'	ב	1894	ב	תרנה
15 דיכבר	ו	28 סנטב'	ה	21 סנטב'	ה	16 סנטב'	ז	7 סנטב'	ה	1895	ה	תרנו
3 דיכבר	ג	17 סנטב'	ג	10 סנטב'	ג	5 סנטב'	ה	27 אבנו'	ג	1896	ג	תרנז*
23 דיכבר	ג	6 אוכט'	ב	29 סנטב'	ב	24 סנטב'	ד	15 סנטב'	ב	1897	ב	תרנח
11 דיכבר	ו	26 סנטב'	ז	19 סנטב'	ז	14 סנטב'	ב	5 סנטב'	ז	1898	ז	תרנט
30 נוייבר	ג	14 סנטב'	ג	7 סנטב'	ג	2 סנטב'	ה	24 אבנו'	ג	1899	ג	תרס*
19 דיכבר	ג	2 אוכט'	ב	25 סנטב'	ב	20 סנטב'	ה	11 סנטב'	ב	1900	ב	תרסא
7 דיכבר	ו	22 סנטב'	ז	15 סנטב'	ז	10 סנטב'	ב	1 סנטב'	ז	1901	ז	תרסב*
27 דיכבר	ו	10 אוכט'	ה	3 אוכט'	ה	28 סנטב'	ז	19 סנטב'	ז	1902	ז	תרסג
16 דיכבר	ג	30 סנטב'	ג	23 סנטב'	ג	18 סנטב'	ה	9 סנטב'	ג	1903	ג	תרסד
5 דיכבר	א	18 סנטב'	ז	11 סנטב'	ז	6 סנטב'	ב	28 אבנו'	ז	1904	ז	תרסה*
25 דיכבר	א	8 אוכט'	ז	1 אוכט'	ז	26 סנטב'	ב	17 סנטב'	ז	1905	ז	תרסו
14 דיכבר	ה	28 סנטב'	ה	21 סנטב'	ה	16 סנטב'	ז	7 סנטב'	ה	1906	ה	תרסז
2 דיכבר	א	17 סנטב'	ב	10 סנטב'	ב	5 סנטב'	ד	27 אבנו'	ב	1907	ב	תרסה*
21 דיכבר	א	4 אוכט'	ז	27 סנטב'	ז	22 סנטב'	ב	13 סנטב'	ז	1908	ז	תרסט
9 דיכבר	ד	24 סנטב'	ה	17 סנטב'	ה	12 סנטב'	ז	3 סנטב'	ה	1909	ה	תרע*
28 דיכבר	ג	12 אוכט'	ג	5 אוכט'	ג	30 סנטב'	ה	21 סנטב'	ג	1910	ג	תרעא

האותיות הראשונות יורו על ימי השבוע שחל בו ראש השנה, והאותיות השניות יורו על קביעת השנה אם שלימה כסדרה או חסירה, ושנים המעוברות נרשמו בסימן כוכב,

שנת "פ"ק לבריאות שומ הנצחיים	מאז ימי	פורים	מאז ימי	א' דפסח	מאז ימי	שביעי של פסח	מאז ימי	ל' טולדות	מאז ימי	י' בתמו	מאז ימי	תשעה כאב	
תרמ	1880	ה	14 פבר'	ו	15 מרט'	ו	21 מרט'	א	4 מאי'	א	15 אייון'	א	6 אייול'
תרמא*	1881	ג	3 מרט'	ה	2 אפר'	ד	8 אפר'	ו	22 מאי'	ה	2 אייול'	ה	23 אייול'
תרמב	1882	א	21 פבר'	ג	23 מרט'	ב	29 מרט'	ד	12 מאי'	ג	22 אייון'	ג	13 אייול'
תרמג*	1883	ו	11 מרט'	א	10 אפר'	ז	16 אפר'	ב	30 מאי'	א	10 אייול'	א	31 אייול'
תרמד	1884	ג	28 פבר'	ה	29 מרט'	ד	4 אפר'	ו	18 מאי'	ה	28 אייון'	ה	19 אייול'
תרמה	1885	א	17 פבר'	ג	19 מרט'	ב	25 מרט'	ד	8 מאי'	ג	18 אייון'	ג	9 אייול'
תרמו*	1886	א	9 מרט'	ג	8 אפר'	ב	14 אפר'	ד	28 מאי'	ג	8 אייול'	ג	29 אייול'
תרמז	1887	ה	26 פבר'	ז	28 מרט'	ו	3 אפר'	א	17 מאי'	א	28 אייון'	א	19 אייול'
תרמח	1888	א	14 פבר'	ג	15 מרט'	ב	21 מרט'	ד	4 מאי'	ג	14 אייון'	ג	5 אייול'
תרמט*	1889	א	5 מרט'	ג	4 אפר'	ב	10 אפר'	ד	24 מאי'	ג	4 אייול'	ג	25 אייול'
תרנ	1890	ה	22 פבר'	ז	24 מרט'	ו	30 מרט'	א	13 מאי'	א	24 אייון'	א	15 אייול'
תרנא*	1891	ג	12 מרט'	ה	11 אפר'	ד	17 אפר'	ו	31 מאי'	ה	11 אייול'	ה	1 אבני'
תרנב	1892	א	1 מרט'	ג	31 מרט'	ב	6 אפר'	ד	20 מאי'	ג	30 אייון'	ג	21 אייול'
תרנג	1893	ה	18 כבר'	ז	20 מרט'	ו	26 מרט'	א	9 מאי'	א	20 אייון'	א	11 אייול'
תרנד*	1894	א	10 מרט'	ז	9 אפר'	ו	15 אפר'	א	29 מאי'	א	10 אייול'	א	31 אייול'
תרנה	1895	ה	26 פבר'	ג	28 מרט'	ב	3 אפר'	ד	17 מאי'	ג	27 אייון'	ג	18 אייול'
תרנו	1896	ו	16 פבר'	א	17 מרט'	ז	23 מרט'	ב	6 מאי'	א	16 אייון'	א	7 אייול'
תרנז*	1897	ה	6 מרט'	ז	5 אפר'	ו	11 אפר'	א	25 מאי'	א	6 אייול'	א	27 אייול'
תרנח	1898	ג	24 פבר'	ה	26 מרט'	ד	1 אפר'	ו	15 מאי'	ה	25 אייון'	ה	16 אייול'
תרנט	1899	ו	12 פבר'	א	14 מרט'	ז	20 מרט'	ב	3 מאי'	א	13 אייון'	א	4 אייול'
תרס*	1900	ה	2 מרט'	ז	1 אפר'	ו	7 אפר'	א	21 מאי'	א	2 אייול'	א	23 אייול'
תרסא	1901	ג	20 פבר'	ה	22 מרט'	ד	28 מרט'	ו	11 מאי'	ה	21 אייון'	ה	12 אייול'
תרסב	1902	א	10 מרט'	ג	9 אפר'	ב	15 אפר'	ד	29 מאי'	ג	9 אייול'	ג	30 אייול'
תרסג	1903	ו	28 פבר'	א	30 מרט'	ז	5 אפר'	ב	19 מאי'	א	29 אייון'	א	20 אייול'
תרסד	1904	ג	17 פבר'	ה	18 מרט'	ד	24 מרט'	ו	7 מאי'	ה	17 אייון'	ה	8 אייול'
תרסה*	1905	ג	8 מרט'	ה	7 אפר'	ד	13 אפר'	ו	27 מאי'	ה	7 אייול'	ה	28 אייול'
תרסו	1906	א	26 פבר'	ג	28 מרט'	ב	3 אפר'	ד	17 מאי'	ג	27 אייון'	ג	18 אייול'
תרסז	1907	ה	15 פבר'	ז	17 מרט'	ו	23 מרט'	א	6 מאי'	א	17 אייון'	א	8 אייול'
תרסה*	1908	ג	4 מרט'	ה	3 אפר'	ד	9 אפר'	ו	23 מאי'	ה	3 אייול'	ה	24 אייול'
תרסט	1909	א	22 פבר'	ג	24 מרט'	ב	30 מרט'	ד	13 מאי'	ג	23 אייון'	ג	14 אייול'
תרע*	1910	ו	12 מרט'	א	11 אפר'	ז	17 אפר'	ב	31 מאי'	א	11 אייול'	א	1 אבני'
תרעא	1911	ג	1 מרט'	ה	31 מרט'	ד	6 אפר'	ו	20 מאי'	ה	30 אייון'	ה	21 אייול'

ולרעת ימי החדש למספר החדש ג'ריגוראנסכיי להוסף. 12 ימים, ומשנת 1900.

מן 29 פבראל להוסף. 13 ימים,

изъ таблицъ сколько градусовъ будетъ разстояніе луны отъ солнца къ востоку въ моментъ захожденія солнца въ первый вечеръ; а во вторыхъ еще нужно узнать, сколько градусовъ будетъ имѣть луна высоту надъ горизонтомъ въ моментъ захожденія солнца, послѣ того ежели сумма разстоянія луны отъ солнца и высота луны надъ горизонтомъ вмѣстѣ выйдетъ 13-ть градусовъ, тогда 1-е число считается въ первый вечеръ отъ новолунія, а если сумма ихъ меньше 13-ти градусовъ, тогда 1-е число откладывается на слѣдующій вечеръ.

3) По опредѣленію истиннаго новолунія и часъ захожденія солнца для дня новолунія, если возрастъ луны отъ новолунія до часа захожденія солнца выйдетъ больше 22-хъ часовъ, тогда 1-е число считается всегда въ первый вечеръ, на томъ основаніи, что при возрастѣ луны больше 22-хъ часовъ отъ новолунія луна получаетъ большую часть своего свѣта отъ солнца, такъ, что можетъ показаться даже въ одно время съ солнцемъ на горизонтѣ при захожденіи его въ первый вечеръ.

Переданное нами есть главная основа караимскаго календаря какъ видно по этому опредѣленію мѣсяцевъ караимскаго календаря составляетъ колоссальный трудъ, и при томъ еще то неудобство, что луна, которая покажется въ первый вечеръ отъ новолунія въ Крыму, тоже не можетъ она показаться въ этотъ вечеръ вездѣ, поэтому не всѣ караимскіе ученые раздѣляютъ мнѣніе опредѣленія мѣсяца въ календарѣ такимъ образомъ, какъ можно полагать въ недалекомъ будущемъ, можно ожидать упрощеніе караимскаго календаря въ такомъ родѣ, что изъ 3-хъ правилъ сдѣлается только одно, т. е., 1-е число будетъ считаться всегда въ первый вечеръ, который послѣдуетъ за истиннымъ новолуніемъ; такъ какъ объ этомъ много уже писалось въ прошломъ и нынѣшнемъ столѣтіяхъ, а по 1780 году (христіанск. исчисленій) у караимовъ употреблялся еще другой порядокъ для опредѣленія мѣсяцевъ караимскаго календаря.

Юфуда Кокизовъ.

Пасха, поэтому выходитъ для соглашенія луннаго года съ солнечнымъ къ каждымъ 19 луннымъ годамъ прибавляется по 7 мѣсяцевъ; такъ какъ разность между 19, солнечными и лунными годами состоитъ почти ровно изъ 7 мѣсяцевъ, весь-же 19-ти-лѣтній караимскій періодъ короче 19-ти юліанскихъ лѣтъ только на  $1\frac{1}{2}$  часа. Начало періодовъ считается отъ 1-го года сотворенія міра. Чтобы узнать какому году луннаго періода соотвѣтствуетъ данный годъ, тогда нужно раздѣлить данный караимскій годъ на 19 и остатокъ покажетъ въ какомъ году періодъ находится данный годъ, напр. если раздѣлить караимскій 5640 годъ на 19, то частное число покажетъ, что отъ начала эры протекло полныхъ 296 періодовъ, а остатокъ 16 будетъ означать, что данный годъ есть 16-тый въ текущемъ лунномъ періодѣ.

Караимы считаютъ 1-е число каждаго мѣсяца отъ новолунія, которое покажется первый разъ простымъ глазомъ на западѣ, для этого имѣются астрономическія таблицы, прибрѣтенныя отъ восточныхъ астрономовъ и часть исправлены самими караимскими астрономами, которые составлены на меридіанѣ полуострова Крыма и на  $45^{\circ}$  сѣверной широты его; по этимъ таблицамъ опредѣляется 1-е число мѣсяцевъ караимскаго календаря по слѣдующимъ правиламъ:

1) Для каждаго мѣсяца календаря вычисляется астрономическое истинное новолуніе и часъ заходженія солнца для дня новолунія, потомъ уже опредѣляется: если возрастъ луны отъ истиннаго новолунія до часа заходженія солнца выйдетъ меньше 8-ми часовъ, тогда 1-е число всегда откладывается на слѣдующій вечеръ, на томъ основаніи, что по малости часовъ возрасты луны между новолуніемъ и заходженіемъ солнца, луна даже при самыхъ благопріятныхъ условіяхъ не можетъ показаться въ первый вечеръ; (благопріятными условіями считаются: а) когда луна во время новолунія имѣетъ самую большую сѣверную широту, б) когда луна находится близко къ своему перегею, т. е. самый близкій къ землѣ, в) и когда луна во время новолунія находится въ сѣверныхъ зодіакахъ, а неблагопріятными условіями считается противоположный).

2) По опредѣленію истиннаго новолунія и часъ заходженія солнца для дня новолунія, ежели возрастъ луны отъ новолунія до часа заходженія солнца выйдетъ отъ 8-ми до 22-хъ часовъ, тогда 1-е число количествомъ часовъ возраста луны не можетъ быть опредѣлено, потому что при такихъ часовъ возраста луны отъ новолунія, луна можетъ показаться и не показаться въ 1-й вечеръ, поэтому, тогда приходится прибѣгнуть еще къ другому роду счисленію, а именно: во первыхъ нужно вычислять



(עבור השנים לבני מרא)

Караимы ведутъ свое лѣтосчисленіе отъ сотворенія міра, случившагося въ 3760 году до Р. Хр., слѣдовательно, отъ сотворенія міра до 1880 г. протекло 5640 лѣтъ, и притомъ еще ведутся лунными годами, напр. начало года, новолуніе, начало мѣсяца новолуніе. Годы состоятъ изъ 12 или 13 мѣсяцевъ: первые называются простыми, а вторые — высокосными. Вотъ имена ихъ: 1, Тишри\*), 2, Хешванъ, 3, Кислевъ, 4, Теветъ, 5, Шеватъ, 6, Адаръ, 7, Нисанъ, 8, Іяръ, 9, Сиванъ, 10, Тамузъ, 11, Авъ, 12, Элуль, а въ высокосномъ году прибавляется еще одинъ полный мѣсяць передъ Нисаномъ и называется Адаръ II. Начало года приходится обыкновенно въ Сентябръ и очень рѣдко въ концѣ Августа. Величина простаго луннаго года изъ 12 мѣсяцевъ составляетъ 354 дня, 8 часовъ, 48 минутъ и 34 секундъ, а высокосный годъ изъ 13 мѣсяцевъ заключаетъ 383 дней 21 часовъ 32 минуты и 36 секундъ; такимъ образомъ караимскій простой лунный годъ короче солнечнаго юліанскаго (въ 365 дней и 6 часовъ) — 10-ю днями, 21 часами, 11 минутами и 26 секундами. Мѣсяцы состоятъ изъ 29 или 30 дней, первые называются недостаточными мѣсяцами, а вторыя — полными. Смотря по обстоятельствамъ, иногда два или три мѣсяца въ 29 или 30 дней слѣдуетъ одинъ за другимъ, а иный разъ попеременно. Каждое 1-е число считается новомѣсяцемъ. День начинается съ вечера отъ захожденія солнца, когда звѣзды становятся видными.

По закону Моисееву празднованіе Пасхи должно быть совершаемо непремѣнно въ половинѣ мѣсяца Нисана, и въ началѣ весны, поэтому караимы вынуждены согласовать лунный годъ съ солнечнымъ; такъ какъ, обыкновенно, простой лунный годъ, короче солнечнаго 10-ю днями, 21-мъ часомъ, 11 минутами и 26 секундами, то очевидно по прошествіи 3-хъ лунныхъ лѣтъ, солнечный годъ будетъ отставать отъ луннаго слишкомъ на цѣлый мѣсяць, поэтому принято распредѣлять время на періоды въ 19 лѣтъ и чтобы въ каждомъ 19-ти-лѣтнемъ періодѣ были 12 простыхъ и 7 высокосныхъ лѣтъ; такимъ образомъ высокосными въ каждомъ періодѣ бываютъ: 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17 и 19 годы, а простыми 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16 и 18 годы, высокосные-же мѣсяцы, обыкновенно, прибавляются передъ мѣсяцемъ Нисанъ, когда приходится праздникъ

\*) Собственно у караимовъ есть два начала года: 1-й, считаютъ отъ мѣсяца Нисанъ, который считается началомъ духовныхъ мѣсяцевъ, но действительнымъ новымъ годомъ, считается гражданскій отъ 1-го дня мѣсяца Тишри.



DOMINION OBSERVATORY, WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND.

BULLETIN No. 78.

Notes on the History of the Date or  
Calendar Line.



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## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE DATE OR CALENDAR LINE.

[This paper has been received through the Government Astronomer and Seismologist, Dr. C. E. Adams, from the Hydrographer to the Admiralty, London, with whose permission it is herewith republished.—ED.]

THE date or calendar line is defined in the Admiralty List of Lights as follows: "The date or calendar line is a modification of the line of the 180th meridian, and is drawn so as to include islands of any one group, &c., on the same side of the line. When crossing this line on a westerly (true) course the date must be advanced one day; and when crossing it on an easterly (true) course the date must be put back one day."

The reason for this procedure, and for the existence of the line in question, is that without some such compromise as it embodies it would be impossible to obtain any definite comparison between the local dates of two places separated by 180 degrees of longitude.

The civil day at any place is measured from midnight to midnight, local time, and it therefore follows that since London and Calcutta, for example, are 90 degrees of longitude apart, Monday, say, will begin and end at Calcutta six hours earlier than it will at London. Similarly, since Scott Island is 90 degrees east of Calcutta, Monday will begin and end six hours earlier at Scott Island than at Calcutta—or, in other words, 6 a.m. Monday at London and 6 p.m. Monday at Scott Island are contemporaneous.

But it may equally well be argued, by taking another intermediate station, such as New Orleans, six hours west of London and six hours east of Scott Island, that Monday begins and ends at Scott Island twelve hours later than at London—*i.e.*, that 6 a.m. Monday at London really corresponds with 6 p.m. Sunday at Scott Island. Hence it would appear that at Scott Island 6 p.m. Sunday and 6 p.m. Monday occur at the same instant.

In fact, all reasoning on the lines of the above will always lead to two utterly irreconcilable results, both, *a priori*, equally probable. This duplication of dates can only be avoided by the adoption of some general convention giving the date of one locality a preference over that of another, or by the use of some universal standard day. The former is the method at present adopted by all nations.

The standard meridian taken is that of Greenwich, since that is the one which is adopted in practice. Theoretically, any meridian would be suitable, but it so happens that the march of events has made Greenwich the world's standard meridian, and that the date-line, where the change of date is made, is accordingly located in 180° east or west of Greenwich. It may be remarked that this location is an extremely fortunate one, since the 180th meridian traverses no continental land whatever except that of Antarctica and the extreme eastern point of Asia. The necessary change of date in the vicinity of this meridian, accordingly, causes a minimum of inconvenience.

But the adoption of the 180th meridian, pure and simple, as the date-line is undesirable, since it would cause differences of date to exist between contiguous islands forming part of one group, and closely united either politically or commercially, or both. Accordingly, the position of the line

the western extremity of the Aleutian Islands. This line is indicated by dot and dash.

On the 4th July, 1892, Samoa, which had previously used the eastern date, adopted the western for the whole of the group. This necessitated a further amendment in the position of the date-line. A pilot chart published by the United States Hydrographic Department in September, 1899, showed the position of the line in accordance with the latest information, and a practically identical line was published in the third edition of "Pacific Islands Pilot," Vol. 2, issued by this Department in 1900. This line is shown by dashes. In 1910 the position of the line was slightly amended, the indentation in the neighbourhood of Morrell and Byers Islands (no longer shown on the charts) being removed. At the same time the portion between Samoa and Chatham Islands was moved slightly eastward, so as to follow the meridian of  $172^{\circ} 30' W$ . These amendments were notified in the 1911 supplement to "Pacific Islands," Vol. 2, and have been generally accepted. The final position of the date-line, at the time of writing, is accordingly as shown by a thick continuous line on the chart. As has been stated, it is defined in the "Admiralty List of Lights," and in "Pacific Islands Pilot," Vol. 2, and is shown on Admiralty Chart 5006, "Time Zone Chart of the World."

Hydrographic Department, Admiralty,  
November, 1921.

[300/3/30—18697

has always been governed by these considerations, and has varied with the numerous changes of territorial ownership which have taken place in the Pacific: although, as will be seen, such changes as have been made in its position have, until now, always brought it more closely into conformity with the meridian of 180°.

It should be noted that the term "date-line" does not imply that such a line has ever been definitely laid down, either by any one Power or by international agreement. It is merely a method of expressing graphically and in a convenient form the differences of date which exist amongst some of the island groups of the Pacific. The line given in the publications of the Hydrographic Department is therefore only one among many possible lines, but it has obtained general acceptance, and approximates as closely as the conditions will allow to the meridian of 180°. It consists of a line drawn through the following positions:—

Lat.	Long.	Lat.	Long.
60° 00' S.	180° 00'	to 51° 30' S.	180° 00'
51 30	180 00	to 45 30	172 30 W.
45 30	172 30 W.	to 15 30	172 30 W.
15 30	172 30 W.	to 5 00	180 00
5 00	180 00	to 48 00 N.	180 00
48 00 N.	180 00	to 52 30	170 00 E.
52 30	170 00 E.	to 65 00	169 00 W.

and through the centre of Bering Strait, joining the 180th meridian in 70° N.

This line, and those preceding it, are shown on the chart opposite. The historical facts leading up to its adoption are as follows:—

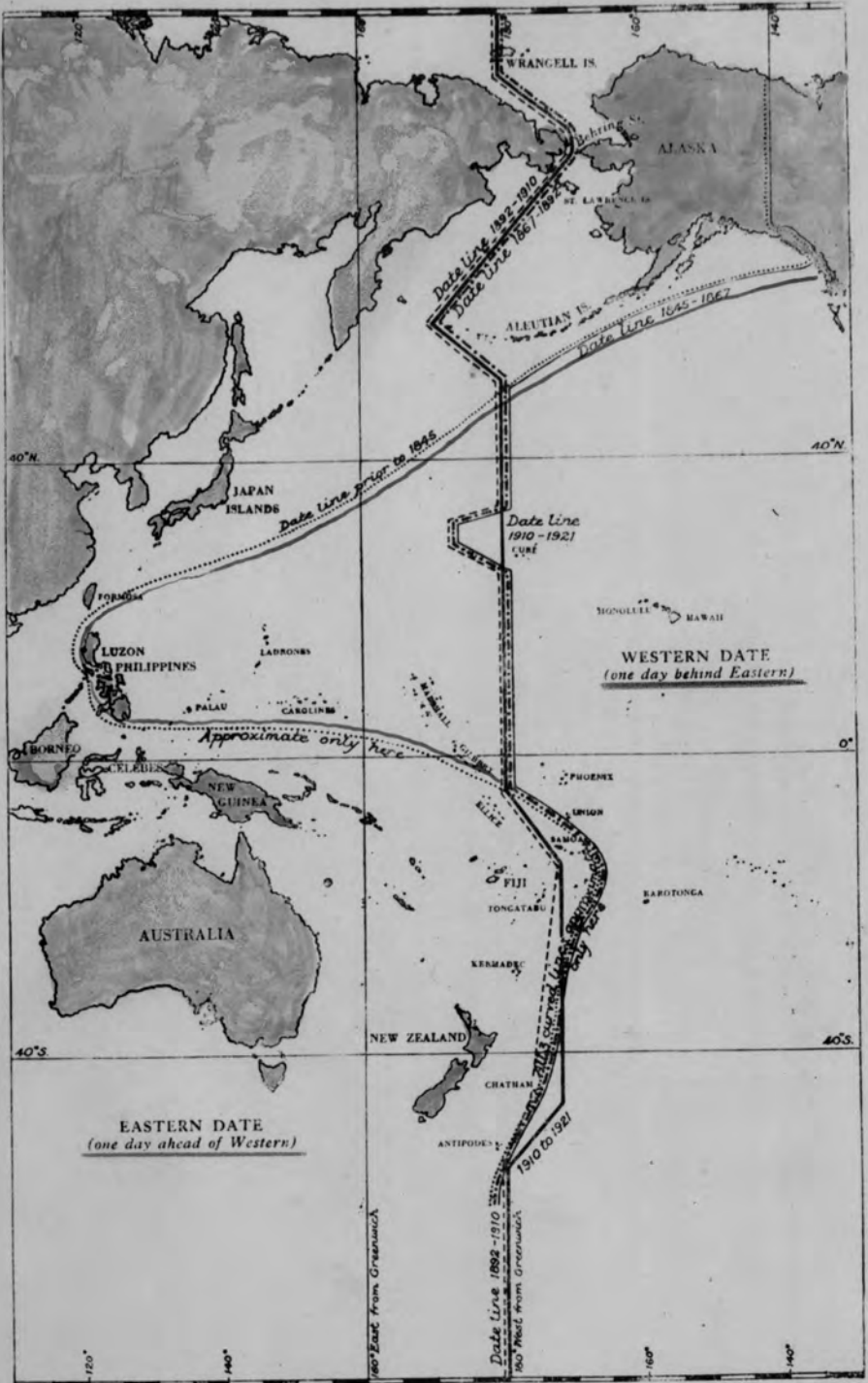
The question of a date-line first began to arise when the early navigators—English, French, Spanish, and Dutch—having sailed with, and preserved, the same local date, began to reach the Pacific by different routes, the Spaniards sailing westward and the remainder eastward. The colonies which they founded preserved the dates given by their prospective reckonings, and so it came about that in, for example, the Spanish colony of Luzon, and the Dutch colony of Celebes, in practically the same longitude, the same name was applied to a day beginning respectively twelve hours later, and twelve hours earlier, than the day of that name in Europe. In other words, the local date of Celebes was one day ahead of that of Luzon.

These dates are often distinguished by the names of "Asiatic date" and "American date," but the terms "eastern date" and "western date" appear preferable. The eastern date is one day ahead of the western date.

The Philippines continued to use the western date until 1844, and at that time the approximate position of the date-line was as shown by the dotted line on the chart. The eastern date was in use in Alaska, which then belonged to Russia, the western in the Carolines and Ladrões, and the eastern in Samoa and New Zealand.

On the 30th December, 1844, the Philippines adopted the eastern date, making the following day the 1st January, and the position of the date-line became approximately that shown by the thin continuous line. The indentation in about 25° N. was thoughtfully drawn around two islands, Morrell and Byers Islands, now known to be non-existent, but then believed to form part of the Hawaiian Group.

In October, 1867, Alaska was sold by Russia to America, and adopted the western date (and, in addition, the Gregorian calendar). The date-line had then to be amended so as to pass through Bering Strait and clear



# DIE BÜCHER DER KÖNIGE.

ÜBERSETZT UND ERKLÄRT

VON

DR. A. ŠANDA,

PROFESSOR DER THEOLOGIE AM PRIESTERSEMINAR  
ZU LEITMERITZ IN BÖHMEN.

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ZWEITER HALBBAND

DAS ZWEITE BUCH DER KÖNIGE.

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MÜNSTER i. WESTF. 1912.

ASCHENDORFFSCHE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG.



Nebukadnezars 25, 8 nicht vordatiert.) Die vier Verse entstammen demnach einer andern Quelle als die früheren Partien von Kap. 25. Das ideelle und zeitliche Intervall, das sie vom Vorhergehenden scheidet, erweist sie zugleich als späten Zusatz.

R hat höchstwahrscheinlich knapp nach 587 geschrieben. Er hat nicht nur den Fall der Stadt, sondern auch die Wegführung Jehojakins mit eigenen Augen geschaut. Wir können ihm deshalb überhaupt als den ersten und unmittelbaren Verfasser von 24, 10—25, 21 ansehen. Darum zitiert er auch die Königsannalen bei Jehojakin nicht mehr. Daß 24, 10 ff. ein kontinuierliches, von einem Autor stammendes Stück ist, beweist die Wiederkehr von 24, 10b in 25, 2a, sowie die konsequente judäische Vordatierung der Jahre Nebukadnezars in 24, 12 und 25, 8. Es entspricht auch ganz dem Charakter des R, daß er den Tempelgeräten 24, 13 und 25, 13 ff. besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet. In 24, 13b paßt der Rückblick auf Salomon sehr gut zum Gesichtskreis des R, und 13a bildet eine Analogie zu I 14, 26; 15, 18; II 12, 19; 18, 15, die sämtlich von R stilisiert sind. Es wäre ganz überflüssig, wenn R das Jahr 598 mit erlebt hat, ihm noch eine eigene Quelle unterzuschieben. Der jähe Abschluß in 25, 21b ist vielleicht beabsichtigt. Gerade durch seine Kürze gibt er dem Leser zu denken. Die beiden Schlußstücke hinter 25, 21 hat wahrscheinlich Rj hinzugefügt. Fürs erstere Stück kompilierte er Jer 40, 7 ff., für die Notiz über Jehojakin stand ihm eine nicht näher bekannte Quelle zur Verfügung. Die Verse 27—30 gerieten nachträglich auch noch hinter Jer 52, 30.

Gegen die Zuweisung von 24, 10—25, 21 an den Augenzeugen R wendet Kuenen (Historisch-kritische Einleitung I, 2, 89) ein, ein Zeitgenosse und einigermaßen urteilsfähiger Augenzeuge hätte sein Urteil über Sedekia nicht in die allgemeine (aber dem R so geläufige!) Phrase 24, 19 zusammenfassen können und würde den Entsetzungsversuch des Pharao Hofra' und den zeitweiligen Abzug der Chaldäer erwähnt haben. Allein dies heißt die ganze Tendenz des R mißkennen, der bei der Auswahl des historischen Stoffes durchweg sehr eklektisch verfährt und keine eigentliche Geschichte schreiben will.



Nicht mit derselben Leichtigkeit ist die Frage zu lösen, ob die israelitischen Monate während der Königszeit Sonnenmonate waren, d. i. ohne Rücksicht auf die Mondphasen zu 30 Tagen gezählt wurden (mit 5 Epagomenen am Schluß des Jahres), oder ob wir sie uns als reine Mondmonate vorzustellen haben, die von Neumond zu Neumond teils zu 29, teils zu 30 Tagen gerechnet wurden. Wenn letzteres der Fall war, so ergab sich jährlich gegenüber dem Sonnenjahre je eine Differenz von ca. 10—11 Tagen, welche ausgeglichen werden mußte. Dies konnte auf doppelte Weise geschehen. Entweder durch jährliche Einfügung von 10—11 Epagomenen oder nach dem Vorgange der späteren Juden (welche seit dem Exil nach reinen Mondmonaten rechneten) durch Hinzufügung eines ganzen Schaltmonats nach gewissen Zeitabständen. Bei den Griechen wurde der Schaltmonat je siebenmal in einer Periode von je 19 Jahren eingeschoben, d. i. im 3. 6. 8. 11. 14. 17. 19. Jahre der *ἑννεακαιδεκαετηρίς* des Meton von Athen (welche die jetzigen Juden adoptiert haben). Ob der Schaltmonat bereits in der Königszeit üblich war, läßt sich schwer entscheiden. Salomon nahm bei seiner Einteilung des Landes in zwölf Steuerbezirke auf den Schaltmonat keine Rücksicht, mag ihn also kaum gekannt haben. Vielleicht waren die Monate vor dem Exil reine Sonnenmonate, oder der Unterschied der zwölf Mondmonate gegenüber dem Sonnenjahre wurde durch Einschaltung einer entsprechenden Zahl von Epagomenen jährlich behoben. Wenigstens würde eine solche Annahme besser der Bedeutung der auf feste Jahreszeiten hinweisenden altisraelitischen Monatsnamen entsprechen. Wäre der Schaltmonat in Übung gewesen, so hätten sich die einzelnen Monate (z. B. Abib, Blütenmonat) gegenüber der durch den Namen ausgedrückten Naturerscheinung immer wieder um 30 Tage verschoben.

Für unsere Zwecke ist diese zweite Frage nach der Art der Monate in der Königszeit belanglos. Es genügt, das eine festzuhalten, daß in Israel und Juda nach Sonnenjahren gerechnet wurde. Auf diese Voraussetzung hin läßt sich die Chronologie der Königszeit (ähnlich wie die alte Geschichte überhaupt) unter Zugrundelegung des julianischen Jahres in die Vergangenheit zurückprojizieren. Ein etwaiger (geringer) jährlicher Unterschied zwischen dem julianischen Jahre und dem altisraelitischen Sonnenjahre, den wir nicht kennen, muß dabei außer acht gelassen werden.

**Jahresanfang.** Das bürgerliche Jahr, nach welchem die Könige ihre Regierung zählten, begann in Israel und Juda bis zum Falle



Daher blicken Gesetze wie Ex 23, 16 (34, 22) auf ihn zurück. An letzterer Stelle bedeutet תקיפה die eigentliche Jahreswende im Herbst. Dies war in Israel die ältere Übung. Der 1. Nisan mußte als kirchlicher Jahresanfang durch ein eigenes Gesetz (Ex 12, 2) künstlich normiert werden. — Die Frage, ob und für welche Zeit wegen Lv 25, 9 (coll. 23, 24, Lärmblasen) eine zeitweilige Verschiebung der Neujahrsfeier vom 1. auf den 10. Tisri angenommen werden müsse, ist für unsere Zwecke völlig belanglos.

Mit der Einrichtung der babylonischen Regierung in Mispa im Jahre 587 wurde auch der babylonische Kalender dem Lande aufgezwungen. Von da an begann in Juda das bürgerliche Jahr im Nisan. Dies war der erste Monat. Von ihm aus wurden die weiteren Monate mit Ziffern bezeichnet. R schrieb in jener Zeit. Daher erscheint bei ihm diese Monatszählung I 6, 1. 38; 8, 2; II 25, 1. 8. 27. Ähnliches gilt vom Redaktor des Jeremiasbuches. Sonderbar ist, warum nicht gleich die babylonische Benennung der Monate in diesen Büchern angewendet wurde, wie sie sich Ezr 6, 15; Neh, Esther und Zach findet. Allein auch Ezechiel, der in Babylonien schreibt, gebraucht statt der Monatsnamen nur Ziffern. Vielleicht liegt darin eine gewisse Prüderie und Scheu vor Annahme babylonischer Termini ausgedrückt, oder es war reiner Privatgeschmack jener Schriftsteller, daß sie die Monate nicht benannten, sondern zählten.

**Zählung der Königsjahre.** Als Regierungsdauer der einzelnen Könige finden sich in den Königsbüchern die untenstehenden Angaben verzeichnet. Bei vier Königen ist die von der biblischen Zahl abweichende richtige Regierungsdauer in eckigen Klammern beigesetzt. Die griechischen Varianten sind wertlos und können im Kommentar nachgesehen werden. Cf. I 14, 21; 15, 2; II 8, 17; 13, 10 (S); 15, 23.

Jerobeam I (I 14, 20)	22 Jahre	Rehabeam (I 14, 21)	17 Jahre
Nadab (15, 25)	2 "	Abia (15, 2)	3 "
Baasa (15, 33)	24 "	Asa (15, 10)	41 "
Ela (16, 8)	2 "	Josafat (22, 42)	25 "
Zimri (16, 15)	7 Tage	Jehoram (II 8, 17)	8 "
Omri (16, 23)	12 Jahre	Ahazjahu (8, 26)	1 Jahr
Ahab (16, 29)	22 "	Atalja (11, 4)	7 Jahre
Ahazja (22, 52)	2 "	Jehoas (12, 2)	40 "
Joram (II 3, 1)	12 "	Amasja (14, 2)	29 "
Jehu (10, 36)	28 "	Azarja (15, 2)	52 [33] Jahre

Joahaz	(13, 1)	17 Jahre	Jotam	(15, 33)	16 Jahre
Joas	(13, 10)	16 "	Ahaz	(16, 2)	16 "
Jerobeam II	(14, 23)	41 "	Hizkia	(18, 2)	29 "
Zekarja	(15, 8)	6 Monate	Manasse	(21, 1)	55 "
Šallum	(15, 13)	1 Monat	Amon	(21, 19)	2 "
Menahem	(15, 17)	10 [7] Jahre	Josia	(22, 1)	31 "
Pekahja	(15, 23)	2 Jahre	Joahaz	(23, 31)	3 Monate
Pekah	(15, 27)	20 [6] Jahre	Jehojakim	(23, 36)	11 Jahre
Hosea	(17, 1)	9 [ev. 11 od. 12] J.	Jehojakin	(24, 8)	3 Monate
			Sedekia	(24, 18)	11 Jahre.

Die assyrisch-babylonische nachdatierende Methode bestand darin, daß das Todesjahr nur dem eben verstorbenen Herrscher als Regierungsjahr angerechnet wurde. Der antretende König nannte es reš šarruti, Anfang der Königsherrschaft, und begann sein erstes Regierungsjahr mit dem darauffolgenden Neujahrstage (1. Nisan). Dem entgegen war in Israel und Juda von der Reichsteilung bis zum Exil die vordatierende (oder besser gesagt die vor- und nachdatierende) Methode in Übung (wie lange Zeit in Ägypten). Es wurde einem jeden König nicht nur sein Sterbe-, sondern auch sein Antrittsjahr voll angerechnet. Ein König, der zwei Jahre bekommt, braucht also faktisch nur einige Monate regiert zu haben, jedoch so, daß in seine Zeit ein Neujahr fiel. Bloß ein Jahr erhält nach der vordatierenden Methode nur derjenige Herrscher, welcher genau am Neujahrstage seine Regierung begann. Die richtige Anzahl der chronologischen Jahre gewinnt man unter dieser Voraussetzung nur dann, wenn man bei der Summierung der Regierungsjahre nacheinander folgender Herrscher jedem ein Jahr abzieht. Nur wenn ein König genau am Neujahrstage den Thron bestieg, darf ihm nichts abgezogen werden. — Die Beweise für die Existenz dieser Rechenmethode in Israel und Juda sind folgende:

a) Beim Regierungsantritt Jehus starben gleichzeitig die Könige von Israel und Juda. Wenn wir bis zur Teilung des Reiches hinaufrechnen, müssen die Summen der beiderseitigen Regierungsjahre gleich sein, wofern wir entsprechend der vordatierenden Methode jedem Herrscher ein Jahr abstreichen. Dies ist in der Tat der Fall. Nur bei Ahazjahu von Juda lassen wir das eine Jahr stehen, da er mit Neujahr 843 antrat (cf. II 8, 25 S. 75). So ergibt sich:

König von Israel:  $21 + 1 + 23 + 1 + 11 + 21 + 1 + 11 = 90$

König von Juda:  $16 + 2 + 40 + 24 + 7 + 1 = 90$ .

Damit ist die Übung der vordatierenden Methode bis Jehu erwiesen.

b) Von Ahaz bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems war sie in Juda gleichfalls in Brauch. Wenn wir die überlieferten Königszahlen ohne Abstrich summieren, so ergibt sich  $587 + 16 + 29 + 55 + 2 + 31 + 11 + 11 = 742$  als erstes Jahr Ahaz', ein unmögliches Datum. Denn nach II 15, 37 begann schon vor Ahaz unter Jotam, also nach diesem Resultat etwa 743, der Krieg mit Pekah von Israel und Raßon von Damaskus. Nun hat nach den Keilinschriften Menahem 738 an Assyrien Tribut gezahlt. Pekah konnte also 742 oder 743 noch nicht König sein. Nach der vordatierenden Methode fällt jede Schwierigkeit weg. Streichen wir bei jedem Könige ein Jahr, und wir erhalten unter Berücksichtigung des zu II 24, 8, 12 Ausgeführten (unter Jehojakin fiel ein Neujahr, er bekommt also trotz seiner drei Monate ein Jahr)  $587 + 15 + 28 + 54 + 1 + 30 + 10 + 1 + 10 = 736$  als Antrittsjahr Ahaz', was zur politischen Lage und zu Pekahs Regierung sehr gut stimmt. Demnach lassen sich die Königszahlen von Ahaz an nur mit Hilfe der vordatierenden Methode festhalten. ♣

c) Endlich finden sich reichliche Spuren der vordatierenden Zählung innerhalb der überlieferten Synchronismen (vgl. unten). Da seit dem Exil die nachdatierende, babylonische Methode üblich war, sind jene Spuren der Vordatierung der Rest eines vorexilischen Brauches. — Nachdem wir letzteren sowohl vor 843 in Israel und Juda als auch zwischen 736 und 587 in Juda konstatiert haben, sind wir berechtigt, die Existenz der vordatierenden Methode auch auf die Zwischenzeit auszudehnen.

**Königsreihe.** Unter Zugrundelegung des Jahresanfanges im Herbst und der vordatierenden Zählung versuchen wir nun eine chronologische Einreihung der einzelnen Könige in folgender Weise:

a) Der erste Angelpunkt ist der keilinschriftlich gesicherte Tribut Jehus an Salmanassar im Jahre 842 (Sommer). Demnach war Jehu 842 vor Herbstneujahr bereits König. Die Tötung Jorams und Ahazjahus fällt infolgedessen vor Herbst 842 und nach Herbst 843, keineswegs bereits vor Herbst 843. Denn zwischen Ahabs Tod und Jehus Regierungsantritt muß noch Ahazja mit 2 (eigentlich 1) und Joram mit 12 (eigentlich 11) Jahren Platz finden. Dies ist nur dann möglich, wenn wir Ahab vor Herbst 854 und Joram nach Herbst 843 sterben lassen. Cf. zu II 8, 28 (S. 76).

Der Tod Ahab's fällt nach der Schlacht bei Karḫar 854 und zwar noch vor Herbstneujahr (cf. zu I 22, 1; S. 490). Die Zeit ist knapp bemessen, allein die Regierungszahlen bis 842 erheben den Anspruch auf volle Glaubwürdigkeit, und aus ihnen ergibt sich dieser Ansatz als notwendige Folge. Wir kennen die geschichtlichen Verhältnisse jener Zeit viel zu wenig, um ihn kurzerhand ablehnen zu dürfen. Der Zug gegen Ramot war weder für Haddad'ezer noch für Ahab ein schwieriges oder langwieriges Unternehmen. Ramot liegt nur je zwei Tagereisen von Damaskus und Samaria entfernt. — Von 842 an läßt sich auf dieser Grundlage nach rückwärts die Chronologie bis vor Herbst 932 mit aller Sicherheit rekonstruieren. Die Teilung des Reiches fällt zwischen Herbst 933 und Herbst 932. Dabei gelangte Ahazjahu von Juda genau am Herbstneujahrstage 843 zur Regierung. — Sodann können wir auf Grund der überlieferten Regierungszahlen von 842 an einerseits bis zum Regierungsantritt 'Azarjas vor Herbst 769, andererseits bis zur Thronbesteigung Jerobeams II vor Herbst 784 ohne Bedenken vorwärtsgehen. Eine Bestätigung für diese Zählung könnte man in II 14, 17 sehen: Amasja lebte nach dem Tode des Joas von Israel noch 15 Jahre. Das heißt: Die Summen der Regierungsjahre müssen von 842 an bis zum Tode des Joas beiderseits gleich sein. Die israelitischen Ziffern ergeben mit Abstrich von je einem Jahre  $27 + 16 + 15 = 58$ . Wenn wir bei Amasja ähnlich wie bei 'Atalja und Jehoas je ein Jahr abziehen (also Amasja 28) und von dieser Regierungszahl 15 subtrahieren, erhalten wir ebenfalls  $6 + 39 + 13 = 58$ . Demnach scheint II 14, 17 die Chronologie bis auf 'Azarja festzulegen. Allerdings ist vielleicht die dortige Ziffer 15 nur zufällig richtig (cf. Kommentar). Doch können wir auch ohne sie an unserer chronologischen Ordnung bis 'Azarja festhalten.

b) Ein zweiter Angelpunkt ist die Zerstörung Jerusalems. Sie ist mit aller Sicherheit in den Sommer (nach Nisan) 587, d. i. ins 18. Jahr Nebukadnezars zu setzen, keineswegs ins Jahr 586, wie des Näheren im Kommentar zu II 24, 12 (S. 370) dargelegt ist. Von 587 an läßt sich die Königsreihe bis zum Regierungsantritt Ahaz' vor Herbst 736 zurück herstellen. Dabei ist zu bedenken, daß in Jehojakins dreimonatliche Regierung nach 2 Chr 36, 10 ein Herbstneujahr fällt (cf. zu II 24, 8, 12). Demnach reicht das 11. Jahr Jehojakins offiziell bis zum Herbstneujahr 598 (faktisch 1—2 Monate weniger) und das 1. Jahr Sedekias beginnt offiziell an demselben Herbstneujahrstage 598 (faktisch 1—2 Monate später).



c) Es bleibt die Zwischenzeit von Jerobeam II an (784) resp. von 'Azarja (769) bis zum Falle Samarias resp. auf Ahaz zu bestimmen. Der Zeitraum ist kurz, die überlieferten Regierungszahlen lassen sich darin nicht unterbringen. Wir sind gezwungen, Reduzierungen vorzunehmen. Hier kommen uns die assyrischen Angaben zu Hilfe. Zunächst liegt kein Grund vor, Jerobeams 41 Jahre zu kürzen. Wir lassen ihn darum vor Herbst 744 sterben. Nach der kurzen Zwischenregierung Zekarjas und Sallums kommt noch vor Herbst 744 Menahem zur Herrschaft und lebt bis vor Herbst 738, in welchem Jahre er an Tiglat Pileser noch Tribut zahlt. Vor Herbst 738 wird Pekahja König, dessen zwei Jahre (II 15, 23) wir beibehalten. Ihm folgte vor Herbst 737 Pekah. Der Grund für diesen Ansatz ist folgender: In Juda wird nach den Synchronismen II 15, 32 und 15, 27 coll. 2 unter Pekah Jotam Alleinherrscher. Er ist aber bereits 736 vor Herbst durch Ahaz abgelöst (cf. Punkt b). Deshalb ist es das beste, die Thronbesteigung Pekahs vor Herbst 737 anzunehmen (cf. Näheres zu II 15, 17; S. 184). Hoseas Regierungsantritt erfolgte gemäß den Annalen Tiglat Pilezers nach dem Falle von Damaskus (cf. zu II 15, 30; S. 190f.). Dabei bleibt es zweifelhaft, ob er vor oder nach Herbst 732 König wurde. — Demnach erhält Menahem 7 offizielle Jahre statt der überlieferten 10, Pekahja seine traditionellen 2, Pekah 6 oder 7 statt 20. Samaria ward nach den Keilinschriften nach Nisan 721 erobert. Cf. zu II 17, 1 (S. 211). Damit war Hoseas Herrschaft zu Ende. Er erhält infolgedessen seit 732 11 oder 12 Regierungsjahre. — In Juda währt 'Azarjas Herrschaft vor Herbst 769 bis vor Herbst 737. Jotam regiert selbständig überhaupt nur zwei unvollständige Jahre. Von Ahaz an setzen die gut überlieferten Königszahlen wieder ein. 'Azarja erhält statt der traditionellen 52 nur 33, und von den 16 Jahren Jotams entfallen 14 auf die Regentschaft unter seinem Vater.

d) Auf diese Weise ergibt sich folgende Übersicht („Vor Herbst“ trat der betreffende König im betreffenden Jahre die Regierung an resp. starb er):

	Vor Herbst		Vor Herbst
Rehabeam	932—916	Jerobeam I	932—911
Abia	916—914	Nadab	911—910
Asa	914—874	Baasa	910—887
Josafat	874—850	Ela	887—886
Jehoram	850—Herbstneujahr 843	Zimri	vor Herbst 886

	Vor Herbst		Vor Herbst
Ahazjahu	ab Herbstneuj. 843-842	Omri	886—875
Atalja	842—836	Ahab	875—854
Jehoas	836—797	Ahazja	854—853
Amasja	797—769	Joram	853—842
Azarja	769—737	Jehu	842—815
Jotam	737—736	Joahaz	815—799
Ahaz	736—721	Joas	799—784
Hizkia	721—693	Jerobeam II	784—744
Manasse	693—639	Zekarja	vor Herbst 744
Amon	639—638	Sallum	
Josia	638—608	Menahem	744—738
Joahaz	vor Herbst 608	Pekahja	738—737
Jehojakim	608—598	Pekah	737—732 (731)
Jehojakin	vor u. nach Herbst 598	Hosea	732(731)—721.
Sedekia	597—587		

Falls etwa Hosea vor der dreijährigen Belagerung Samarias abgesetzt wurde, reicht seine Regierung vor Herbst 731 bis vor Herbst 723, und die 9 Regierungsjahre (II 17, 1) wären richtig, unrichtig hingegen die Datierung II 17, 6 (cf. zu diesem Verse S. 218).

e) Abgesehen von Hosea (17, 1) finden sich die drei unrichtigen Regierungszahlen (bei Azarja, Menahem, Pekah) alle in einem Kapitel (II 15). Das legt den Gedanken an eine zufällige Textbeschädigung an jenen Stellen nahe. Im Original mögen die richtigen Ziffern gestanden haben. Ein späterer Rezensent setzte für die ausgefallenen oder verderbten Zahlen mit bewußter Absicht die höheren ein. Er wollte die Summe aller Regierungszahlen dermaßen erhöhen, daß eine künstliche runde Ziffer herauskomme. Dies ist ihm auch gelungen. Allerdings hat er dabei außer acht gelassen, daß vor dem Exil die Vordatierung üblich war und man infolgedessen jedem Herrscher ein Jahr abziehen muß, um den richtigen chronologischen Zeitraum zu eruieren. Wenn wir die jetzigen vollen Zahlen ohne Abstrich summieren, erhalten wir bei den jüdischen Königen inklusive 36 Jahren Salomons (seit dem Tempelbau im 4. Jahre) und 50 Jahren Exils (587—537) 480 Jahre, d. i. 12 Generationen zu 40 Jahren, bei den israelitischen Herrschern hingegen die Hälfte davon, nämlich 241 Jahre. Der Überschuß von einem Jahre verdankt dabei vielleicht dem Umstande sein Dasein, daß der Rezensent die Regierungszahlen Menahems und Pekahs zu sehr abrundete (10 und 20). Cf. zu I 6, 1

(S. 120). Wellhausen (Komposition des Hexateuchs<sup>3</sup> S. 300) verdächtigt die jetzigen Regierungszahlen noch in weit höherem Maße und sieht in ihnen ein künstliches Falsifikat, indem er beispielsweise auf das häufige Vorkommen bestimmter Ziffern hinweist, so 22 bei Jerobeam I, Baasa (aus 24 „umkorrigiert“), Ahab, 12 bei Omri, Joram, 2 bei Nadab, Ela, Ahazja. Allein gerade dieses Beispiel, das der israelitischen Periode 932—842 entnommen ist, beweist schlagend, daß es sich um rein zufällige Analogien handelt. Denn die Richtigkeit der Überlieferung ist bei dieser Zahlen-Gruppe dank dem Vergleich mit den entsprechenden jüdischen Angaben (cf. oben S. 404) über allen Zweifel erhaben.

**Die biblischen Synchronismen.** Im Folgenden gibt die Ziffer in eckiger Klammer jedesmal den nach den obigen Ausführungen als richtig anzusehenden Synchronismus an. A = Anfang, Regierungsantritt. Die griechischen Varianten sind meist ohne Belang und finden sich im Kommentar verzeichnet. Cf. I 15, 9; 16, 29 (und B L 16, 28 a); 22, 52 (L); II 8, 25; 15, 8.

- 18 [17] Jerobeam = A Abia (I 15, 1)
- 20 [19] Jerobeam = A Asa (15, 9)
- 2 [4] Asa = A Nadab (15, 25)
- 3 [5] Asa = † Nadab (15, 28)
- 3 [5] Asa = A Baasa (15, 33)
- 26 [28] Asa = A Ela (16, 8)
- 27 [29] Asa = † Ela (16, 10)
- 27 [29] Asa = A Zimri (16, 15)
- 31 [33] Asa = Omri Alleinherrscher (16, 23)
- 38 [40] Asa = A Ahab (16, 29)
- 4 [2] Ahab = A Josafat (22, 41)
- 17 [21] Josafat = Ahazja v. Israel (22, 52)
- 18 [22] Josafat = A Joram v. Israel (II 3, 1)
- 5 [4] Joram v. Israel = A Jehoram v. Juda (8, 16)
- 12 [richtig] Joram v. Israel = A Ahazjahu v. Juda (8, 25)
- 7 [richtig] Jehu = A Jehoas v. Juda (12, 2)
- 2 [1] Atalja = A Jehu (Lucian 10, 36)
- 23 [22] Jehoas v. Juda = A Joahaz (13, 1)
- 37 [38] Jehoas (GMss: 39) = A Joas v. Israel (13, 10)
- 2 [3] Joas v. Israel = A Amasja (14, 1)
- 15 [14] Amasja = A Jerobeam II (14, 23)
- 27 [16] Jerobeam = A Azarja (15, 1)
- 38 [26] Azarja = A Zekarja (15, 8)



*datierend* eingeschätzt; daher in 15, 27: 52 Azarja = A Pekah. Als zehnter Fehler erscheint dann das ganz inkonsequente A Jotam = 2 Pekah in 15, 32. Von da wird unter falscher Zugrundelegung von 20 Regierungsjahren Pekahs (15, 27) *vordatierend* zu 16, 1, d. i. 17 Pekah = A Ahaz fortgezählt. Sodann ist der Ansatz 17, 1: 12 Ahaz = A Hosea *vordatierend* aus 15, 23 unter Voraussetzung von AL 15, 23 und Hebr 15, 27 (10 Jahre Pekahjas und 20 Jahre Pekahs) berechnet. Als elfter Fehler kommt dann 18, 1: 3 Hosea = A Hizkia hinzu (stimmt nicht zu 17, 1). Von diesem Ansatz aus wird dann *nachdatierend* 18, 9, 10 gewonnen.

Diese Übersicht lehrt deutlich: Die biblischen Synchronismen sind in einem heillosen Zustande und können bei der Rekonstruktion der Chronologie nicht in Betracht kommen. Dagegen haben sich uns die Regierungszahlen mit wenigen Ausnahmen als durchaus zuverlässig erwiesen. Die Synchronismen lassen wir deshalb bei Vergleich der Regierungszahlen einfach beiseite. An ihnen haben verschiedene Rezensenten herunkorrigiert. So sind die vielen Fehler erklärlich. Besonders das Schwanken zwischen der *vordatierenden* und *nachdatierenden* Methode verlangt die Annahme verschiedener Bearbeiter. Trotzdem kann es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß das ganze synchronistische System ursprünglich von einem einzigen Schriftsteller ganz konsequent nach einer Methode unter Zugrundelegung der Regierungszahlen richtig durchgeführt war. Eine solche Aufgabe zu lösen war ja nichts weniger als schwierig. — Merkwürdig ist allerdings, daß gerade die Synchronismen durch Abschreiber, Rezensenten, unglückliche Zufälle usw. so schwer gelitten haben, während die Regierungszahlen fast ausnahmslos richtig auf uns gekommen sind. Dies mag ein uns sehr willkommener glücklicher Zufall sein. Auch ist zu bedenken, daß gerade die Synchronismen, nicht so sehr die trockenen Regierungszahlen, auf die mathematischen Neigungen der verschiedenen Textkritiker und Kopisten verlockend wirken mußten und daß dabei ein einziger synchronistischer Fehler, auch unter Wahrung der richtigen Regierungszahlen, eine reichliche Quelle von Verwirrungen werden konnte.

Hier möge noch die Frage erörtert werden: Wen haben wir als den ersten, ursprünglichen Autor der Synchronismen anzusehen? Mit Wellhausen (Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie 1875, S. 607 ff.; Komposition des Hexateuchs<sup>3</sup> S. 299) antwortet man

darauf gerne, sie seien erst das Werk des späten, nachexilischen zweiten Redaktors (R<sub>2</sub>). Allein diese Ansicht ist wegen der schweren Bedenken, die ihr entgegenstehen, so gut wie unannehmbar. Erstens bricht sogar aus der jetzigen verderbten Form der Synchronismen an zahlreichen Stellen die vordatierende Methode durch; ja sie herrscht im ganzen System vor und wird bisweilen mit großer Zähigkeit festgehalten (cf. I 15, 28 ff.; II 13, 1 ff.). Ein nachexilischer Autor hätte die Rechnung unbedingt nachdatierend durchgeführt. Denn nach dem Exil war die vordatierende Methode nirgends mehr gebräuchlich. Sogar in Ägypten zählten die persischen Achämeniden ihre Jahre nachdatierend (vgl. z. B. den Papyrus B nach Sayce-Cowley). Die Vordatierung können wir also R<sub>2</sub> oder einem noch Späteren nicht zumuten. Sie muß älter sein. Nun schrieb R am Anfang des Exils um 587, da eben noch das 11. Jahr Sedekias nach der vordatierenden Zählung beendet hatte. R ist demnach als Urheber der Synchronismen zu betrachten. Zweitens gehören die Synchronismen zum Schema des Königsbuches. Es ist sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß R<sub>2</sub> so tief in den Text eingegriffen hat, um einen großen Teil des Schemas selbst zu erfinden. Seine sonstigen, ziemlich spärlichen und leicht erkennbaren Einschaltungen schließen eine solche Annahme geradezu aus. Drittens ist es durchaus nicht so sicher, wie gewöhnlich angenommen wird, daß die judäischen resp. die israelitischen Königsannalen die Thronbesteigung oder den Tod des betreffenden Nachbarkönigs nicht verzeichneten, so daß R keine Veranlassung hätte haben können, aus der ihm vorliegenden Regestenkompilation der einzelnen israelitischen resp. judäischen Herrscher dergleichen Datierungen herüberzunehmen. Im Gegenteil, solche Synchronismen lagen sowohl in den beiden von R benützten Sammelwerken als auch in allen einzelnen Originalakten der Könige vor. Das lehrt ganz einfach das Beispiel der babylonischen Chronik B, die ebenfalls eine Kompilation aus ausführlicheren Chroniken, Königsinschriften usw. darstellt. Dort wird die Thronbesteigung (und der Tod) nicht nur der assyrischen, sondern auch der elamitischen Herrscher jedesmal nach dem entsprechenden Regierungsjahr des Königs von Babylon angegeben. So bei Tiglat Pileser 1, 2, Sargon 1, 31, Asarhaddon 3, 38, Assurbanipal 4, 33, aber auch bei Ummanigaš von Elam 1, 9, Hallušu 2, 35, Kudur 3, 9, Menanu 3, 15, Humanhaldāš I 3, 27, Humanhaldāš II 3, 33, Urtagu 4, 13. — R hatte also die Synchronismen in den beiden

aus den einzelnen Königsregistern kompilierten Annalenwerken vor sich und brauchte sie nur abzuschreiben. Wo etwas fehlte oder verderbt war, konnte er auf Grund der Regierungszahlen und der damals noch lebendigen vordatierenden Methode das Richtige berechnen. Erst durch spätere Kalamitäten ist das jetzige Chaos unter den Synchronismen entstanden.

Über das 14. Jahr Hizkias in II 18, 13 cf. besonders zu 20, 1 (S. 301). Über den Abschnitt II 18, 9—12 und die dortigen Synchronismen cf. dort im Kommentar (S. 244).

## II. Außerbiblische einschlägige Zeitangaben.

**Zur tyrischen Königsliste.** Sie geht auf Menander zurück und ist in dreifacher Überlieferung erhalten, bei Josephus, Contra Apionem 1, 18, bei Eusebius, Chronicon (ed. Schoene), und bei Theophilus (ad Autolyceum 3, 22). Wir geben im Folgenden nur die Regierungszahlen der einzelnen Könige, nicht auch das jedesmal mitverzeichnete Alter.

	Josephus	Eusebius	Theophilus
Hiram	34 Jahre	34 Jahre	—
Balbazeros (Ba'al'azar I)	7 "	17 "	17 Jahre
Abdastartos	9 "	9 "	— "
Usurpator	12 "	—	— "
Methuastartos oder Astartos	12 "	12 "	12 "
Astharymos	9 "	9 "	9 "
Phelles	8 Monate	8 Monate	8 Monate
Ithobalos (Etba'al)	32 Jahre	32 Jahre	12 Jahre
Balezoros (Ba'al'azar II)	6 "	8 "	7 "
Mettenos	9 "	29 "	29 "
Pygmalion	47 "	47 "	47 "

In manchen Josephusausgaben (Niese) ist der Usurpator hinter Abdastartos getilgt, aber mit Unrecht. Er ist mit seinen 12 Jahren unbedingt beizubehalten, wie die folgende Darlegung lehrt. Hinter den auf Abdastartos bezüglichen Worten lautete der ursprüngliche Text C. Ap. 1, 18 ohne Zweifel im allgemeinen so, wie ihn z. B. Naber liest: *Τούτων οἱ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ νιοὶ τέσσαρες ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπώλεσαν, ὧν ὁ προεσβύτερος ἐβασίλευσεν ἕτη δώδεκα; μεθ' οὗς Ἄσταρτος* (daher Methuastartos, d. i. Niese: *Μεθονοσάσταρτος*) *ὁ Δελαιαστάρτου* (Niese: *ὁ Λεαστάρτου*), *ὃς βιώσας ἕτη γδ' ἐβασίλευσεν ἕτη ιβ'.*

Etba'al regierte nach Josephus und Eusebius 32 Jahre, nach Theophilus nur 12 Jahre. Durch genaue Prüfung der biblischen Angaben sind wir imstande, seine Regierung chronologisch zu fixieren. Cf. Näheres zu I 16, 31 (S. 408f.). Aus dem dort Dargelegten ergibt sich, daß nur die Zahl 32 richtig sein kann. Für seine Regierung bleiben die Möglichkeiten 886—854 oder 887—855. Wenn wir mit den von Josephus überlieferten Regierungszahlen hinaufzählen (nur bei Ba'al'azar I nehmen wir mit Eusebius und Theophilus 17 Jahre an), so erhalten wir folgende Tabelle:

Hiram	980—946	oder	979—945
Ba'al'azar I	946—929	"	945—928
Abdastartos	929—920	"	928—919
Usurpator	920—908	"	919—907
Astartos	908—896	"	907—895
Astharymos	896—887	"	895—886
Phelles	887	"	886
Etba'al	887—855	"	886—854

An den Regierungszahlen der einzelnen tyrischen Könige ist nicht je ein Jahr zu streichen wie an denen der israelitischen und judäischen Herrscher. Sonst ergäbe sich nicht die Übereinstimmung, welche die eben aufgestellte tyrische Königsreihe mit der judäischen und israelitischen Chronologie aufweist. Demnach geben die menanderschen Ziffern nur je die Anzahl der dem betreffenden Könige ausschließlich zugerechneten Regierungsjahre an, und de facto kam ein jeder Herrscher je in dem vorübergehenden Jahre zur Regierung, also z. B. Hiram nicht nach Herbst 980 resp. 979, sondern sein faktisches erstes Regierungsjahr ist zwischen Herbst 981 und 980 resp. zwischen Herbst 980 und 979 anzusetzen.

Nun ist nach Jos. A. 8, 3, 1 11 Hiram = 4 Salomon, also 8 Hiram = 1 Salomon. Nach Jos. C. Ap. 1, 18 ist hingegen 12 Hiram = 4 Salomon, also 9 Hiram = 1 Salomon. Der scheinbare Widerspruch löst sich durch die Annahme, daß die Phönizier wie die Israeliten vordatierten. Es handelt sich beiderseits um dasselbe Jahr, d. i. das 8. Jahr Hiram's nachdatierend ist zugleich das 9. Jahr vordatierend. Nun ist 1 Hiram (vordatierend) zwischen Herbst 981—980 resp. zwischen Herbst 980—979 anzusetzen. Also ist 9 Hiram (1 Salomon) zwischen Herbst 973—972 resp. zwischen Herbst 972—971 anzusetzen. Die Teilung des Reiches fällt (cf. oben S. 405) zwischen Herbst 933—932. Also regierte Salomon (vordatierend gerechnet) 41 Jahre resp. 40 Jahre, d. i.



volle 40 resp. volle 39 Jahre, was gut mit I 11, 42 stimmt. Wenn wir die dortigen „40 Jahre“ nicht als abgerundete, sondern als genaue Angabe fassen und gleich den übrigen Regierungsjahren der Königsbücher vordatierend verstehen, so hätte Salomon volle 39 Jahre regiert, d. i. unser zweiter Ansatz der tyrischen Königsliste wäre vorzuziehen. Eine sichere Entscheidung ist nicht möglich.

Manche suchten die tyrische Königsliste von der Gründung Karthagos zurückzubestimmen. Doch variieren die Angaben der Alten über dieses Ereignis bedeutend, und man hat kaum das Recht, a priori eines von den überlieferten Daten ohne weitere Gründe als das Richtige anzusehen. Wir schlagen den umgekehrten Weg ein. Nachdem wir mit Hilfe der Bibel die tyrische Königsliste bis Etba'al festgelegt, suchen wir von da aus für die Gründung Karthagos ein Datum zu gewinnen, welches einerseits verbürgte Angaben der Alten für sich hat und andererseits der tyrischen Königsliste sowie der Notiz bei Josephus C. Ap. 1, 18 entspricht, daß Karthago im 7. Jahre Pygmalions gegründet wurde.

Gewichtige Autoritäten unter den Klassikern lassen Karthago 814 oder 813 vor Chr. gegründet werden. Nach Timaios (bei Dionysius Halic. Antiqu. Rom. I 74) wurde Karthago 38 Jahre vor der ersten Olympiade erbaut, d. i.  $776 + 38 = 814$ . — Nach Aristoteles (De mirab. auscult., cap. 146) entstand Utica 287 Jahre vor Karthago, und Plinius (hist. nat. 16, 79), der 77 oder 78 nach Chr. schrieb, gibt an, daß damals Utica bereits 1178 Jahre existierte, somit entweder 1101 (1178—77) oder 1102 (1178—76) erbaut war. Daraus ergibt sich als Gründungsdatum Karthagos 814 (1101—287), eventuell 815 (1102—287). Nach Servius (Ad Aeneam 1, 12) wurde Karthago 60 Jahre vor Rom erbaut, also  $753 + 60 = 813$ . Nach Velleius Patereulus (Hist. Rom. 1, 125) hat Karthago im ganzen 667 Jahre vor seiner Zerstörung durch die Römer existiert, war also  $146 + 667 = 813$  gegründet.

Das Datum 814 oder 813 stimmt sehr gut zu der oben versuchten chronologischen Fixierung der tyrischen Königsreihe und zum 7. Jahre Pygmalions, sobald wir Mettenos nach Eusebius und Theophilus 29 Jahre statt 9 (Josephus) geben. Um das 7. Jahr Pygmalions zu erhalten, rechnen wir von Pygmalion 6 Jahre und addieren dazu die für Ba'al'azar II und Mettenos überlieferten Zahlen, also:

Nach Josephus (mit obiger Korrektur)	$6 + 29 + 6 = 41$
Nach Eusebius	$8 + 29 + 6 = 43$
Nach Theophilus	$7 + 29 + 6 = 42$

Die so gewonnenen Zahlen subtrahieren wir vom Sterbejahr Etba'als (855 oder 854) und erhalten als Gründungsjahr Karthagos:

Nach Josephus	$855 - 41 = 814$ oder $854 - 41 = 813$
Nach Eusebius	$855 - 43 = 812$ oder $854 - 43 = 811$
Nach Theophilus	$855 - 42 = 813$ oder $854 - 42 = 812$

Demnach sind die 8 Jahre für Balezoros (Ba'al'azar II) bei Eusebius unwahrscheinlich, da wir mit ihrer Hilfe als Gründungsdatum Karthagos nur 812 oder 811 erhalten. Wir operieren darum nur mit den Angaben des Josephus und Theophilus und fixieren dementsprechend die Chronologie der letzten drei Könige, indem wir wieder von 855 oder 854 ausgehen.

Nach Josephus: Balezoros (Ba'al'azar II)	$855-849$ oder $854-848$
Mettenos	$849-820$ „ $848-819$
Pygmalion	$820-773$ „ $819-772$
Nach Theophilus: Balezoros	$855-848$ „ $854-847$
Mettenos	$848-819$ „ $847-818$
Pygmalion	$819-772$ „ $818-771$

Der zweite Ansatz nach Theophilus scheidet aus, da nach ihm das 7. Jahr Pygmalions 812 wäre. Der erste nach Theophilus sowie der zweite nach Josephus ergeben 813, der erste nach Josephus 814 als Gründungsjahr Karthagos. Da die klassischen Angaben um ein Jahr differieren, läßt sich von diesem Datum aus die schwankende Differenz des einen Jahres, die wir von Etba'als Regierung aus in die tyrische Königsliste herübergewonnen haben, nicht beheben. Nur wenn wir in I 11, 42 die 40 Jahre Salomons (in obiger Weise) als genaue Angabe auffassen, läßt sich diese Unsicherheit beseitigen. Salomon wäre dann vor Herbst 971 zur Regierung gelangt, Hiram vor Herbst 979, Etba'al vor Herbst 886, Pygmalion vor Herbst 819, und das Gründungsjahr Karthagos (7 Pygmalion) wäre nach der vordatierenden Methode vor Herbst 813, d. i. Herbst 814--Herbst 813.

**Zur damaszenischen Königsliste.** Der langjährige Streit, welcher damaszenische König bei Salmanassar II zwischen 854 und 846 mit (il) IM id-ri gemeint sei, ist durch die Zakirinschrift (Pognon, Inscriptions sémitiques, Paris 1907-8, planche XXXV) entschieden. Ein König זכר von Hamât und לעש erzählt von der Belagerung seiner Stadt הורר, des biblischen הורר (Zach 9, 1), des

keilinschriftlichen Hatarika in Nordsyrien. Pognon gibt leider den Fundort seiner Inschrift absichtlich nicht an. Die in Frage kommende Stadt ist dort sicherlich in der Nähe zu lokalisieren. Zakir (die Vokalisation ist unsicher) erzählt, wie der König von Aram, Barhadad, der Sohn des Hazael, ferner der Fürst ברנש, d. i. mar Gusi von Arpad (cf. I S. 474 und 406), sodann die Fürsten von Kue, Amk, Gurgum, Sam'al, Meliz (Melid, Malatia) nebst anderen die Stadt Hazrak arg bedrängten. Zakir habe seine Zuflucht zum Ba'al des Himmels genommen, und dieser habe ihm Rettung verschafft — auf welche Weise wird aus dem gerade an jener Stelle fragmentarischen Texte nicht klar. Für uns kommen Zeile 4 und 5 in Betracht. Sie lauten:

... והוחד עלי ברחדר בר חואל מלך ארם ש  
 ... עשר מלכן ברחדר ומחנתה וברנש ומחנתה ו...

„Es vereinigte gegen mich Barhadad, Sohn Hazael's, der König von Aram, [sieben]zehn Könige; Barhadad und seinen Heerbann, und den Sohn des Gusi und seinen Heerbann und ...“

Paläographisch kann die Lesung Barhadad nicht angefochten werden. In der Inschrift unterscheiden sich (wie in andern Denkmälern, z. B. in der Kalammuinschrift BZ 1912 S. 117) altsemitisches  $\gamma$  und  $\delta$  durch den längeren Vertikalschaft des  $\gamma$ . In Zeile 4 kommt dreimal  $\gamma$  und dreimal  $\delta$  vor. Jedesmal tritt der längere Schaft des  $\gamma$  gegenüber dem kürzeren des  $\delta$  deutlich hervor. Eine Lesung Barhadar ist unmöglich. Dann müßte zwischen dem vorletzten und letzten Buchstaben des Namens bezüglich der Länge des Schaftes ein merklicher Unterschied obwalten. Dies ist jedoch auf der allein maßgeblichen Abschrift Pognons absolut nicht der Fall.

Es ist der in II 13, 3 genannte Benhadad, Sohn Hazael's, gemeint. In der Bibel wurde das aramäische בר durch das entsprechende hebräische בן ersetzt („Sohn des Hadad“). Das assyrische (il) IM id-ri kann nicht Bir id-ri gelesen werden (wobei il IM statt Adad hier ad hoc Bir gleichgesetzt wird), was dann mit Hilfe des verderbten  $\nu\delta\sigma$  Adéq (G) auf ein angebliches ברחדר resp. ברחדר reduziert wird, aus dem sich durch weitere Verderbnis des Schluß-r in d das masoretische Benhadad ergäbe. Die richtige Lesung von (il) IM id-ri ist demnach Adad-idri (IM = Adad), d. i. hebr. אֲדָד־עֵזֶר (2 Sam 8, 3 ff.). Hebräisch עֵזֶר (Hilfe, helfen) lautet aramäisch ערר, also „Hadad ist eine Hilfe“.

Hadad'ezer erscheint bei Salmanassar II zuerst 854 in der Schlacht bei Karḡar. Sodann steht er noch im Jahre 850 (so nach der Stierinschrift, dort vielleicht nur versehentlich genannt; cf. darüber KT<sup>3</sup> S. 21), 849 und 846 an der Spitze einer Fürstenkoalition, während 842 bereits Hazael als Gegner der Assyrer erscheint. Er hat also mindestens 854—846 zu Damaskus regiert. Gegen ihn kämpfend fiel 854 Ahab bei Ramot in Gilead (I 22, 29ff.). — Der Aramäerkönig, der drei Jahre zuvor mit Ahab Krieg führte (I 20, 1. 26), heißt Benhadad. Die beiden Feldzüge sind 858 und 857 anzusetzen (cf. zu I 17, 1 S. 415). Damals war also ein Barhadad in Damaskus König. Er mag etwa bis 855 regiert haben. Sein Vorgänger war Barhadad I (cf. zu I 16, 27 S. 405). Er hat bereits um 897 mit Asa ein Bündnis geschlossen (I 15, 19; cf. zu I 16, 1 S. 398) und darauf mit 'Omri siegreich gekämpft (I 20, 34). Wir müssen ihn also etwa 900—875 ansetzen, worauf sein Sohn Barhadad II 875—855 folgte. Wer es für unmöglich hält, daß Vater und Sohn als Könige denselben Namen trugen, muß zwischen Barhadad I, der dann ca. bis 880 regierte, und Barhadad II noch einen Anonymus einschieben, den Vater des letzteren, und von diesem ungenannten Herrscher gälte dann I 20, 34. — Unmittelbar vor Hazael, der 843 König wurde, herrschte wieder ein Barhadad (III) also nur sehr kurze Zeit, etwa 845—843. So verlangt es die Notiz II 8, 7.

Hazael selbst hat bis ca. 797 regiert (cf. zu II 12, 18 S. 146). Darauf folgte sein Sohn, der aus der Zakirinschrift bekannte Barhadad (IV), gleichzeitig mit Joas von Israel (799—784) und teilweise auch noch mit Jerobeam II (784—744). Der bei Adadnirari IV erwähnte König Mari' (d. i. Mar'i, mein Herr) von Damaskus (cf. II S. 152) ist ohne Zweifel Hazael. Denn für einen Zug Adadniraris gegen Damaskus kommen nach dem Eponymenkanon die Jahre 806, 805, 804, 803 und höchstens noch 797 in Betracht (cf. II S. 147). Unter Salmanassar III wird 773 wiederum ein Zug gegen Damaskus verzeichnet. Ob Barhadad damals noch an Leben war, wissen wir nicht, da sich die Zakirinschrift chronologisch nicht sicher fixieren läßt. Wenn der Retter Zakirs vor den vereinten Königen mit Barhadad an der Spitze ein assyrisches Heer war, so könnte man an einen der im Eponymenkanon verzeichneten Züge nach Hatarika denken, nämlich 772, 765 oder sogar erst 755. Die Regierung Barhadads wäre dementsprechend bis zu jenem Zeitpunkt zu verlängern. — Doch dürfte die in der

Zakirinschrift erwähnte Belagerung Hazraks früher fallen. Denn während derselben erfreute sich Barhadad als Führer der Fürstenkoalition einer bedeutenden Macht. Dem entgegen sind seine späteren Mißerfolge gegen Israel unter Joas und Jerobeam nur dann erklärlich, wenn jene Allianz der nordsyrischen Könige nicht mehr existierte und Damaskus' Einfluß im Rückgang begriffen war. Demnach wäre die Belagerung Hazraks an den Anfang von Barhadads Regierung zu rücken, wohl noch vor 790, und wir gewinnen aus der Zakirinschrift keinen Anhaltspunkt, um die Länge der Regierung Barhadads zu bestimmen. Allzu lange dürfte er nicht geherrscht haben. Er kam, wohl als Erstgeborener Hazael's, bereits in fortgeschrittenem Alter zur Regierung. Denn Hazael war um 855, für welche Zeit er zuerst erwähnt wird (I 19, 15), sicherlich 30 Jahre alt, zählte also bei seinem Tode um 797 mehr als 80 Jahre und demnach Barhadad um jene Zeit schon gegen 60. Das Ende seiner Herrschaft dürfte infolgedessen spätestens auf 770—765 zu setzen sein. Raşon († 732) war nicht sein unmittelbarer Vorgänger, obwohl dieser Annahme eine innerlich nicht unwahrscheinliche Länge der Regierungszeit (770—732) entsprechen würde. Denn Barhadad starb, falls er wirklich bis ca. 770 regierte, gleich seinem Vater als hochbetagter Greis. Sein eventueller Sohn kam demnach wiederum in vorgerücktem Alter zur Herrschaft und wird nicht viel mehr über 750 regiert haben. Raşon stammte aus Ḥadara in der Damascena (Tiglat Pileser, Ann. 205). Dort wird sein bit abişu, das Haus seines Vaters, erwähnt, aber der Vater nicht mit Namen genannt. Raşon war also allem Anschein nach ein Emporkömmling wie einstens Hazael. Möglicherweise bemächtigte er sich nach 750, d. i. nach dem Tode des eventuellen Sohnes Barhadads, des Thrones. — Aus all dem ergibt sich folgende Liste der damaszenischen Herrscher:

Rezon um 990. Cf. zu I 11, 23 S. 314

.....

Ḥezjon } cf. I 15, 18

Ṭabrimmon }

Barhadad I ca. 900—875. Cf. I 15, 18

Event. Anonymus (cf. I 20, 34)

Barhadad II ca. 875—855. Cf. I 20, 1. 26

Hadad'ezer ca. 855—845. (IM id-ri bei Salmanassar)

Barhadad III ca. 845—843. Cf. II 8, 7

Hazael 843—ca. 797. Cf. I 19, 15; II 8, 15; 12, 18

Barhadad IV ca. 797—770 (?). Cf. II 13, 3, 24 u. Zakirinschrift

Raṣon —732. Cf. II 15, 37; 16, 9 u. Tiglat Pileser IV.

Die so rekonstruierte Liste scheint in Frage gestellt durch eine neue Inschrift Salmanassars II, die in Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, 1. Heft, Leipzig 1911 S. 42, veröffentlicht ist (Transkription und Übersetzung der hier wichtigen Stelle bereits bei Winckler KT<sup>3</sup> S. 25). Dort heißt es: Z. 25 (in KT<sup>3</sup> Z. 24) (il) IM id-ri šadā-šu e-mid 26 Ḥa-za-<sup>2</sup>-il mar la ma-ma-na 27 (iṣ) kussā iṣ-bat, d. i.: „IM id-ri setzte sein Ende, Hazael, der Sohn eines Niemand, bemächtigte sich des Thrones.“

Dadurch wird zwar in willkommener Weise bestätigt, daß Hazael ein Emporkömmling war und den Thron durch irgendwelche Machinationen gewann (nicht notwendig durch Mord und Gewalt; denn iṣbat „er nahm“ nötigt nicht zu einer solchen Auffassung). Zugleich macht aber der Text den Eindruck, als ob IM id-ri der unmittelbare Vorgänger Hazael's gewesen wäre. Nun herrschte unmittelbar vor Hazael nach II 8, 7 ff. ein Benhadad. Die neue Inschrift scheint uns also die Alternative aufzunötigen: Entweder ist IM id-ri = בן-הדר (II 8, 7) und dann nach Winckler Bir id-ri zu lesen, nicht Hadad'ezer, wie die Zakirinschrift verlangt, oder in II 8, 7 ist בן-הדר unrichtig und durch Hadad'ezer zu ersetzen. Im ersteren Falle hätten wir in obiger Liste Hadad'ezer 855—845 zu streichen und Benhadad (Birdri) II und III in einen zusammenzuziehen. Im letzteren Falle wäre Barhadad III zu streichen und Hadad'ezer's Herrschaft gegen II 8, 7 bis 843 auszudehnen.

Allein die Inschrift schafft weder die Notwendigkeit der Gleichung IM id-ri = בן-הדר, noch stellt sie die Richtigkeit des Königsnamens in II 8, 7 in Frage. Wir sind wohl berechtigt anzunehmen, daß zwischen Zeile 25 (Tod des IM id-ri) und Z. 26 (Antritt Hazael's) eine Erzählungslücke klafft, indem zwischen IM id-ri (Hadad'ezer) und Hazael der kurz regierende Barhadad III, weil für die syrischen Kämpfe Salmanassars belanglos, einfach ausgelassen ist (zwischen 846 und 842 kämpfte Salmanassar nicht gegen Damaskus). Die ganze Inschrift ist nämlich sehr summarisch gehalten, und ganze Zeitepochen werden übersprungen. Beispielsweise sind die drei Feldzüge gegen Aluni von Adini nur kurz gestreift (Z. 10—13). Ebenso werden die Kämpfe mit IM id-ri und seinen Verbündeten ohne alle Detaillierung der einzelnen Expeditionen (Z. 14—24) erwähnt, ja eigentlich ist nur der Zug von

854 gemeint (cf. Z. 20), während die Kriege von 850, 849, 846 übergangen sind. Es braucht sich demnach der Inhalt von Z. 26 keineswegs unmittelbar an den von Z. 25 zu schließen. — Die obige Liste wird sowohl den außerbiblischen als auch den biblischen Angaben, besonders auch der Zakirinschrift gerecht und darf bis auf weiteres, solange neue Funde nicht vorliegen, als maßgeblich gelten.

**Zur Mesainschrift.** Die Echtheit setzen wir hier voraus. Vgl. darüber besonders ZDMG 59 und 60 am betreffenden Orte, Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für semit. Epigraphik II 150 ff. Die hierher gehörige Stelle lautet (nach Smend-Socin):

עמר	Z. 4
י מלך ישראל ויענו את מאב ומן רבן כי יאנה כמש באר	5
צה ויחלפה בנה ויאמר גם הא אענו את מאב בימי אמר [וכדבר]	6
וארא בה ובכתה וישראל אבד אבד עלם וירש עמרו את וכל ארו	7
ן מהרבא וישב בה ימה וחצי ומי בנה ארבען שת ויש	8
בה כמש בימי	9

„Omri, der König von Israel, bedrückte Moab viele Tage; denn es zürnte Kemoš auf sein Land. Es folgte ihm sein Sohn. Auch er sprach: Ich will Moab bedrücken. In meinen Tagen sprach er solches. Doch ich sah meine Lust an ihm und an seinem Hause, und Israel ging zugrunde, einen ewigen Untergang. Omri eroberte das ganze Land Medeba, und er wohnte darin seine Tage und die Hälfte der Tage seines Sohnes, vierzig Jahre — und Kemoš brachte es zurück in meinen Tagen.“

Mesa behauptet, daß die Tage der Herrschaft Omris über Medeba samt der Hälfte der Tage seines Sohnes 40 Jahre betragen. Nun regierte Omri 12 (eigentlich 11) und Ahab 22 (eigentlich 21) Jahre. Das ergäbe  $12 + \frac{22}{2} = 23$ , resp.  $11 + \frac{21}{2} = \text{ca. } 22$ , also noch lange keine 40 Jahre. Daher sieht man vielfach בנה in Z. 8 als Plural für hebr. בני an, ebenso wie das unmittelbar vorhergehende ימה dem hebr. ימי entspricht. Dann ist die Hälfte der Zeit der Söhne Omris, nämlich Ahabs, Ahazjas und Jorams, gemeint. Die Summe beträgt  $22 + 2 + 12$  resp.  $21 + 1 + 11$ , d. i. 36 resp. 33 Jahre. So ergäben sich samt der Zeit Omris  $12 + \frac{36}{2} = 30$  resp.  $11 + \frac{33}{2} = \text{ca. } 28$ , also wiederum keine 40 Jahre. Man gewinnt mit dieser Konjektur nichts. Sie ist auch sonst nicht wahrscheinlich. „Die Hälfte der Tage seiner Söhne“ ist eine zu verschrobene Ausdrucksweise. Da hätte Mesa eher gleich das betreffende Jahr Ahabs genannt. Er will offenbar sagen, daß er um die Mitte der Regierung Ahabs seinen Aufstand gegen

Israel ins Werk setzte. Außerdem ist  $\text{בנה}$  vorher in Z. 6 Singular. Im ganzen Kontext der Inschrift ist nur von 'Omri und seinem Sohne (Ahab) die Rede. Auf letzteren bezieht sich Z. 7  $\text{בנה וזבנתה}$ . Demnach ist es das einzig Natürliche, auch in v. 8  $\text{בנה}$  als Singular zu fassen. — Auch die Annahme Wincklers  $\text{הצט}$  = Summe (cf.  $\text{חמשי}$  Zahl, im 4. Stamm zählen) führt nicht zum Ziele. Nimmt man  $\text{בנה}$  in Z. 8 nur für Ahab, so ergibt sich  $12 + 22 = 34$  oder besser  $11 + 21 = 32$ , also absolut nicht 40. Fafst man hingegen  $\text{בנה}$  als Ausdruck für die drei Nachkommen 'Omris, so stimmen allerdings die 40 Jahre sehr gut, nämlich  $21 + 1 + 11$  und dazu etwa 7 Jahre 'Omris (vorausgesetzt, daß er nicht gleich im ersten Jahre seiner Regierung Medeba eroberte), also im ganzen 40 Jahre. Allein dann hätten die Israeliten das Land Medeba bis 843 besetzt gehalten. Dem widerspricht aber II 1, 1 und 3, 4 ff. Nach Ahabs Tode war der Norden Moabs, also vor allem das Land Medeba, für Israel verloren, so daß die vereinten Könige (Joram, Josafat und die Edomiter) sich gezwungen sahen, von Süden her durch die Wüste den Einfall in Moab zu versuchen. Auch verlief der ganze Zug resultatlos, und es scheint überhaupt, daß Joram nicht imstande war, etwas von dem Verlorenen wiederzugewinnen. Damit hängt auch der Abfall Edoms nach Josafats Tode zusammen (II 8, 20).

Es bleibt nur eine Möglichkeit übrig, der Angabe Mesas einen Sinn abzugewinnen: 'Omri war vor seiner Thronbesteigung Oberfeldherr nicht nur unter Ela (I 16, 16), sondern wohl auch unter Baasa und hat in dieser Eigenschaft das Land Medeba erobert. Dort saß er dann als Statthalter und bedrückte Moab. Erst um die Hälfte der Regierung Ahabs, um 865, wagte Mesa einen Aufstand gegen Israel. Die Eroberung Medebas durch 'Omri fällt 40 Jahre früher, d. i. etwa 905 (ca. ins 6. Jahr Baasas). Unter dieser Voraussetzung ist es möglich, aus der Mesainschrift ein plausibles Geschichtsbild zu gewinnen.

Das „Land Medeba“, welches 'Omri eroberte und Ahab besetzt hielt, fällt ungefähr mit der Gegend nördlich vom Seil heidän (= Wadi el wāle) zusammen; denn als südlichster Punkt erscheinen Z. 11 'Aṭarōt und Z. 19 Jahaṣ. Ersteres ist das heutige 'Aṭṭarūs; letzteres lag nach Nu 21, 23 am Rande der östlichen Wüste und in der Nähe von Dibon, da es nach der Wiedereinnahme durch Mesa zu Dibon geschlagen wurde (Z. 21). Der Vater Mesas hatte als Stammbesitz das Gebiet von Dibon inne, d. i. das Land zwischen dem Seil heidän und dem Wadi el modschib



(Arnon). Er war der unmittelbare Nachbar des feindlichen Israel und bekleidete darum bezeichnenderweise unter den Häuptlingen Moabs die Königswürde.

Sein Sohn Mesa benützte wahrscheinlich die Verwicklungen zwischen Israel und den Aramäern um 865 zu einem Aufstande, in welchem es ihm gelang, das Land Medeba an sich zu reißen. Zwar wurde er von Ahab in einem darauffolgenden Kriege besiegt und mußte auf das eroberte Gebiet vorderhand wieder verzichten, aber er rechnet in seiner Inschrift die neuerliche Zugehörigkeit des Landes Medeba zu Moab rechtlich von jenem Aufstande um die Mitte der Regierung Ahabs und verdeckt dadurch die ihm durch Ahab zugefügte Schlappe. Erst nach Ahabs Tode wurde der Bezirk von Medeba endgültig Moab wieder einverleibt.

Daß Mesa mit Ahab einen eigentlichen Krieg führte, folgt aus Z. 18. 19: „Der König von Israel befestigte Jahaş und saß darin, als er gegen mich kämpfte.“ Weder Ahazja noch Joram können gemeint sein. Jahaş lag Dibon nahe. Wer es besaß, besaß das ganze nördlicher gelegene Land Medeba. Letzteres war aber nach II 3, 4 ff. unter Ahazja und Joram ohne Zweifel unwiederbringlich verloren. Joram hätte nicht den gefährlichen, an Strapazen und Entbehrungen reichen Zug von Süden her gegen Moab unternommen, wenn er den Norden bis Dibon besessen hätte. Es kann sich an jener Stelle auch nicht um ‘Omri handeln. Denn von ihm ist nach Z. 5 nicht mehr die Rede, während es Z. 6 heißt, daß Ahab sprach: „Ich will Moab bedrücken. In meinen Tagen sprach er solches.“ Damit ist Ahab als Gegner Mesas hinlänglich gekennzeichnet.

Mesa mag also den Bezirk von Medeba unter Ahab für kurze Zeit erobert haben. Doch war sein Erfolg nicht dauernd. Ahab zwang ihn durch einen siegreichen Feldzug, das Eroberte wieder preiszugeben. Z. 19 vertreibt nicht Mesa, sondern Kemoş den „König von Israel“ aus Jahaş. Mesa rühmt sich nirgends eines eigentlichen Sieges über den „König von Israel“, sondern begnügt sich bezüglich des Sohnes ‘Omris in Z. 7 mit der Phrase: „Ich sah meine Lust an ihm (Ahabs Tod bei ƘarƘar 854) und an seinem Hause (Jehus Aufstand 843), und Israel ging ewig zugrunde (Bedrückung seitens Hazaels? Wahrscheinlich nur leere Phrase).“ Nachdem andererseits in II 1, 1 der definitive Abfall Moabs von Israel in die Zeit nach Ahabs Tode versetzt wird, müssen wir schließen: Ahab warf den Aufstand Mesas um die

Mitte seiner Regierung nieder, drängte letzteren wieder in sein Stammgebiet Dibon zurück und legte ihm den II 3, 4 genannten jährlichen Tribut auf, den Mesa sicher nicht bis zum Tode Ahabs entrichtet hätte, wenn sein früherer Aufstand von dauerndem Erfolg begleitet gewesen wäre.

Erst nach Ahabs Tode 854 fallen die Erfolge, deren sich Mesa Z. 11 ff. rühmt. Er eroberte die Grenzfestung Jahaš (Z. 20), nahm ʿAṭarôt (Z. 11) und hieb die dort seit jeher ansässigen Gaditen nieder. Die Israeliten räumten das Land Medeba und zogen sich nach Norden bis in die Stadt Nebo am gleichnamigen Berge zurück. Doch Mesa überraschte nach einem nächtlichen Marsche die Stadt (Z. 15 ff.), nahm sie ein und tötete alle Insassen, im ganzen 7000 Menschen. In ʿAṭarôt wurden fremde Leute angesiedelt, aus ʿAṭarôt und Nebo schleppte Mesa Siegestrophäen fort. Die israelitischen Gefangenen (Z. 25) wurden zu Zwangsarbeiten bei den Bauten zu Dibon verwendet. Der Zug Jorams und Josafats verlief resultatlos, und Mesa konnte (Z. 4) Kemoš danken, daß er ihn „von all den Königen errettete“.

Kemošmelek, der Vater Mesas, regierte 30 Jahre (Z. 2). Falls er beim Regierungsantritt nur 20 Jahre zählte, war Mesa bei seiner Thronbesteigung, die wir spätestens um die Mitte der Zeit Ahabs (865) ansetzen müssen, 30 Jahre alt und mochte infolgedessen ca. 30 Jahre, bis 835, regiert haben. Allein wahrscheinlich war Kemošmelek, der mitten während der Bedrängnis Moabs durch Israel als Häuptling des Grenzbezirkes Dibon die Königswürde erlangte, bei der Thronbesteigung älter als 20 Jahre und infolgedessen Mesa bei seinem Antritt älter als 30 Jahre (cf. oben S. 24). Wenn wir außerdem, wie es wohl gestattet ist, Mesas Anfang früher als 865, etwa um 870 ansetzen und somit auch Kemošmeleks Regierung weiter zurückschieben, erhalten wir 835 als äußerste Grenze der Regierung Mesas. Seine Inschrift mag dann etwas früher, etwa um 840, gesetzt worden sein, und die Worte „Israel ging auf ewig zugrunde“ (Z. 7) können sich nicht auf die Bedrückung seitens Hazael beziehen, die damals noch nicht angenommen werden kann. Cf. oben II S. 119 und 120.

Zur biblischen Chronologie (quot capita, tot sententiae) vgl. die Literaturübersicht in Herzog, Die Chronologie der beiden Königsbücher, Münster 1909 (Nikel, Alttest. Abh. 15). Beachtenswert sind die betreffenden §§ in Guthe, Geschichte des Volkes Israel<sup>2</sup>; KAT<sup>3</sup> 316 ff.; Winckler AU; Trutz in „Katholik“ 1906, Heft 1—3.

### III. Synchronistische Tabelle der Königszeit.

Herbstneujahr			Herbstneujahr						
933—932	1	Rehabeam	1	Jerobeam I	898—897	18	Asa	14	Baasa
932—931	2		2		897—896	19		15	
931—930	3		3		896—895	20		16	
930—929	4		4		895—894	21		17	
929—928	5		5		894—893	22		18	
928—927	6		6		893—892	23		19	
927—926	7		7		892—891	24		20	
926—925	8		8		891—890	25		21	
925—924	9		9		890—889	26		22	
924—923	10		10		889—888	27		23	
923—922	11		11		888—887	28		{ 24	Baasa
922—921	12		12					{ 1	Ela
921—920	13		13		887—886	29		{ 2	Ela-Zimri
920—919	14		14					{ 1	'Omri
919—918	15		15		886—885	30		2	
918—917	16		16		885—884	31		3	
917—916	{ 17	Rehabeam	17		884—883	32		4	
	{ 1	Abia			883—882	33		5	
916—915	2		18		882—881	34		6	
915—914	{ 3	Abia	19		881—880	35		7	
	{ 1	Asa			880—879	36		8	
914—913	2		20		879—878	37		9	
913—912	3		21		878—877	38		10	
912—911	4		{ 22	Jerobeam I	877—876	39		11	
			{ 1	Nadab				{ 12	'Omri
			{ 2	Nadab	876—875	40		{ 1	Ahab
911—910	5		{ 1	Baasa					
910—909	6		2		875—874	{ 41	Asa	2	
909—908	7		3			{ 1	Josafat		
908—907	8		4		874—873	2		3	
907—906	9		5		873—872	3		4	
906—905	10		6		872—871	4		5	
905—904	11		7		871—870	5		6	
904—903	12		8		870—869	6		7	
903—902	13		9		869—868	7		8	
902—901	14		10		868—867	8		9	
901—900	15		11		867—866	9		10	
900—899	16		12		866—865	10		11	
899—898	17		13		865—864	11		12	
					864—863	12		13	



Herbstneujahr			Herbstneujahr							
780—779	19	Amasja	6	Jerobeam II	746—745	25	ʿAzarja	40	Jerobeam II	
779—778	20		7					41	Jerobeam II	
778—777	21		8		745—744	26			Zekarja	
777—776	22		9						Sallum	
776—775	23		10						1	Menahem
775—774	24		11		744—743	27			2	
774—773	25		12		743—742	28			3	
773—772	26		13		742—741	29			4	
772—771	27		14		741—740	30			5	
771—770	28		15		740—739	31			6	
770—769	29	Amasja	16		739—738	32			7	Menahem
		ʿAzarja								1
769—768	2		17		738—737	33	ʿAzarja		2	Pekahja
768—767	3		18				1	Jotam		1
767—766	4		19		737—736	2	Jotam			
766—765	5		20				1	Ahaz		2
765—764	6		21		736—735	2			3	
764—763	7		22		735—734	3			4	
763—762	8		23		734—733	4			5	
762—761	9		24		733—732	5			6	Pekah
761—760	10		25						1	Hosea [6 Pek.]
760—759	11		26		732—731	6			2	[7 Pekah]
759—758	12		27							[1 Hosea]
758—757	13		28		731—730	7			3	[2]
757—756	14		29		730—729	8			4	[3]
756—755	15		30		729—728	9			5	[4]
755—754	16		31		728—727	10			6	[5]
754—753	17		32		727—726	11			7	[6]
753—752	18		33		726—725	12			8	[7]
752—751	19		34		725—724	13			9	[8]
751—750	20		35		724—723	14			10	[9]
750—749	21		36		723—722	15			11	[10]
749—748	22		37		722—721	16	Ahaz		12	[11]
748—747	23		38				1	Hizkia		
747—746	24		39							

Herbstneujahr		
721—720	2	Hizkia
720—719	3	
719—718	4	
718—717	5	
717—716	6	
716—715	7	
715—714	8	
714—713	9	
713—712	10	

Herbstneujahr		
712—711	11	Hizkia
711—710	12	
710—709	13	
709—708	14	
708—707	15	
707—706	16	
706—705	17	
705—704	18	
704—703	19	

Herbstneujahr		
703—702	20	Hizkia
702—701	21	
701—700	22	
700—699	23	
699—698	24	
698—697	25	
697—696	26	
696—695	27	
695—694	28	



#### IV. Synchronistische Tabelle der Jahre Nebukadnezars.

Neujahr im Nisan

605—604	—	reš šarruti		
604—603	1	Nebukadnezar		
603—602	2			
602—601	3			
601—600	4			
600—599	5			
599—598	6			
598—597	7		1	Wegführung unter Jehojakin
597—596	8		2	
596—595	9		3	
595—594	10		4	
594—593	11		5	Ez 1, 2
593—592	12		6	Ez 8, 1
592—591	13		7	Ez 20, 1
591—590	14		8	
590—589	15		9	Ez 24, 1
589—588	16		10	Ez 29, 1
588—587	17		11	Ez 26, 1; 30, 20; 31, 1
587—586	18		12	Ez 32, 1. 17
			1	Zerstörung Jeru- salems (Ez 33, 21)
586—585	19		13	2
585—584	20		14	3
584—583	21		15	4
583—582	22		16	5
582—581	23		17	6
581—580	24		18	7
580—579	25		19	8
579—578	26		20	9
578—577	27		21	10
577—576	28		22	11
576—575	29		23	12
575—574	30		24	13





## V. Geschichts-

Juda und Israel	Damaskus-	Sidon-Tyrus
<p><i>David</i> (ca. 1013—973). Er schlägt um 995—993 die Ammoniter samt den mit ihnen verbündeten Aramäern, bezwingt um 992 Soba (mit Damaskus) und erobert um 991 Edom (cf. I 310). Um 981 überwindet er den Aufstand Absaloms (cf. I 7).</p>	<p><i>Rezon</i> (um 990) ist zunächst Vasall Davids; nach Davids Tode löst er dieses Verhältnis und ist völlig unabhängig.</p>	<p><i>Abiba' al</i> (bis 980).</p>
<p><i>Salomon</i> (ca. 972—932). Er heiratet um 970 die ägyptische Prinzessin. Beginn des Tempelbaues 969, Ende 963. Ende des Palastbaues 957 (nach 13 Jahren; cf. I 251). Daneben andere Bauten (Stadtmauer, Millo, Festungen). — Um 955—946 Handelsexpeditionen nach Ofir und Tarsis. Um 950 Besuch der Königin von Saba. Dazwischen ein Krieg mit Soba. — Teilung des Reiches vor Herbst 932.</p>	<p><i>Hezjon</i>.</p> <p><i>Tabrimmon</i>.</p>	<p><i>Hiram I</i> (980-946) hält Freundschaft mit David und liefert ihm Holz zum Palastbau. Verträge mit Salomon betreffs der Holzlieferung und einer Geldanleihe. Erhält in Galiläa 20 Orte zum Besitz od. als Pfand, nimmt zwischen 955 und 946 mit an der Seefahrt nach Ofir teil und gestattet Salomon den Anschluß bei Handelsfahrten nach Tarsis. — Große Bauten in Tyrus.</p>
<p><i>Rehabeam</i> (932—916). Beständige Grenzkämpfe mit Israel. Anlage von Festungen. 928 Šošenq vor Jerusalem.</p>	<p>Soba gehört nach Salomons Tode zu Damaskus.</p>	<p><i>Ba' al' azar I</i> (946-929).</p>
<p><i>Abia</i> (916-914). Kämpfe mit Jerobeam I. Eroberung von Ješana, Efron und Betel (I 383).</p>	<p><i>Jerobeam I</i> (932-911). Einrichtung des Kults von Betel u. Dan. Neben Šereda ist Siehem Residenz. Kämpfe im Ostjordanland. Befestigung Penuels.</p>	<p><i>Abdastart</i> (929-920).</p> <p><i>Usurpator</i> (920-908).</p>
<p><i>Asa</i> (914—874). Zunächst Ruhezustand. 900 Einfall des Kušiten Zerah. Dann um 897 Krieg mit Baasa, der Rama befestigt. Bündnis mit Benhadad I. Abzug Baasas. Sieg Asas über Edom (Abschaffung der dortigen Dynastie? Cf. I 392). Städtebau (Mišpa und Gibeä).</p>	<p><i>Nadab</i> (911—910) kämpft vor Gibbeton gegen die Philister.</p> <p><i>Baasa</i> (910—887) macht Tirša zur Residenz. Ist zunächst mit Benhadad I verbündet, verliert dann an ihn Städte in Nordgaliläa. Sein General Omri erobert um 905 das Land Medeba.</p>	<p><i>Metuastart</i> (908-896).</p>
<p><i>Ela</i> (887—886) kämpft mit den Philistern bei Gibbeton.</p> <p><i>Zimri</i> (886) ermordet Ela und wird nach 7 Tagen in Tirša von Omri gestürzt.</p>	<p><i>Benhadad I</i> (900-875) ist zunächst mit Baasa, dann seit 897 mit Asa im Bunde und erobert Nordgaliläa.</p>	<p><i>Astharymos</i> (896-887)</p> <p><i>Phelles</i> (887).</p>

tabelle.

Die übrigen Nachbarstaaten	Assyrien	Babylonien	Ägypten
<p>Moab und die Philister um 1000 David tributpflichtig, um 995—993 die Ammoniter.</p>	<p><i>Tiglat Pileser I</i> (um 1100) kommt bis Arwad, wo er die Geschenke des Königs von Ägypten empfängt. Die Aramäer breiten sich in Mesopotamien u. Syrien aus.</p>	<p>Politisch unbedeutende Herrscher der 8. Dynastie, nur teilweise bekannt: Nabumukinaplu (998—963).</p>	<p><i>21. tanitische Dynastie.</i> <i>Amenemopet</i> (um 1000). Inschriftlich 49 Jahre bezeugt.</p>
<p>Gat ist unter Salomon selbständiges Fürstentum (König Akiš).</p>	<p>Darauf Niedergang der assyrischen Macht. Nach T. P. I herrschen:</p>		<p><i>Siamon</i> (vor 962 oder 983). Inschriftlich 17 Jahre bezeugt.</p>
<p>Edom ist unter Hadads Regierung zu Salomons Zeit unabhängig, aber Elat samt Zugang in Salomons Besitz.</p>	<p>Aššurbelkala mit</p>		<p><i>Pesibhenno II</i> (ca. 983 oder 962—948?). Inschriftlich sind 12 Jahre bezeugt, Africanus 14, Eusebius 35.</p>
<p>Soba von Salomon behauptet, später an Damaskus verloren.</p>	<p>Šamši Adad IV. Darauf:</p>		<p><i>22. Libysche Dynastie</i> (Sitz: Bubastis).</p>
<p>Gat ist im Besitze Rehabeams, das dortige Königtum ist für immer kassiert.</p>	<p>Adadnirari II.</p>		<p><i>Šosenk I</i> (frühestens ab 948 bis 927, jedenfalls nicht viel später). Zug nach Palästina 928.</p>
<p>Edom von Asa um 897 besiegt (die Hadad-dynastie kassiert?).</p>	<p>Tiglat Pileser II.</p>		<p>Darauf 8 Herrscher:</p>
<p>In Moab <i>Kemošmēlek</i> (um 895—865) König. Das Land Medeba ist in Baasas Besitz.</p>	<p>Aššur irbi (rabi).</p>		<p><i>Osorkon I</i> (ca. 924—895).</p>
	<p>Aššur reš išši.</p>		
	<p>Tiglat Pileser III.</p>		
	<p>Aššur dān II.</p>		
	<p>Adadnirari III (um 900).</p>		
	<p><i>Tukulti Ninib II</i> (890—885) unternimmt Züge an den oberen Tigris und mittleren Euftrat gegen die Aramäer.</p>		

Juda	Israel	Damaskus	Sidon-Tyros
<p><i>Josafat</i> (874—850) ist mit Israel liiert. Um 865 heiratet Jehoram <i>Atalja</i>. Er (oder bereits <i>Asa</i>) schafft die Dynastie in Edom ab (I 503) und zwar etwa am Anfang seiner Regierung (um 870). Administrative Tätigkeit. Mißglückter Schiffsbau in <i>Esjon Gheber</i> unter <i>Ahab</i> (I 504). Zug mit <i>Ahab</i> gegen <i>Ramot</i> 854, mit <i>Joram</i> 853 od. 852 gegen <i>Moab</i>. Kämpfe mit den <i>Philistern</i>. Einfall der <i>Edomiter</i> und <i>Moabiter</i> in <i>Juda</i> 852 od. 851 (I 503).</p> <p><i>Jehoram</i> (850—843) mordet seine Brüder (2 Chr 21, 4). Bünd mit <i>Israel</i>. Abfall <i>Edoms</i>. Niederlage <i>Jehorams</i> bei <i>Ša'ir</i>. Abfall <i>Libnas</i>. Einfall der <i>Philister</i> und <i>Araber</i> (2 Chr 21, 16 ff.).</p> <p><i>Ahazjahu</i> (ab Neujahr 843) steht unter dem Einflusse seiner Mutter <i>Atalja</i>, zieht mit <i>Joram</i> nach <i>Ramot</i>, besucht ihn in <i>Jizre'el</i> (Spätherbst 843).</p>	<p><i>Omri</i> (886-875) schließt sofort ein Bündnis mit <i>Tyros</i>. Er herrscht 4 Jahre über die nördlichen Stämme (<i>Tibni</i> über <i>Efraim</i> und <i>Manasse</i>), dann <i>Alleinherrscher</i> (seit 883). Bis 881 residiert er in <i>Tirsa</i>, dann in <i>Samaria</i>. Gute Beziehungen zu <i>Juda</i>. Besitzt das Land <i>Medeba</i>. Kämpft um 880 unglücklich mit <i>Benhadad I</i> und verliert Städte in <i>Nordgaliläa</i> (und <i>Gilead</i>?). <i>Aramäische Basare</i> in <i>Samaria</i>.</p> <p><i>Ahab</i> (875—854). Verheiratet um 865 seine Tochter <i>Atalja</i> an <i>Jehoram</i> von <i>Juda</i> (I 408). Der tyrische <i>Ba'alkult</i> wird Staatsreligion. Um 865 unterdrückt er einen Aufstand in <i>Moab</i>. 858 und 857 Kämpfe mit <i>Benhadad II</i> (Sieg bei <i>Afeḳ</i> 857). — Große <i>Dürre</i> 857—856. Kämpft 854 bei <i>Ḳarḳar</i> mit, entzweit sich dann mit <i>Hadad-ezer</i> und fällt bei <i>Ramot</i>.</p> <p><i>Ahazja</i> (854—853). Krankheit des Königs. Definitiver Abfall <i>Mesas</i> von <i>Moab</i> 854.</p> <p><i>Joram</i> (853-843). Resultatloser Zug gegen <i>Moab</i> Frühjahr 853 oder 852. Friede mit <i>Hadad-ezer</i>, von dem er friedlich <i>Ramot</i> wiedererhält; er muß aber 850, 849, 846 gegen <i>Salmanassar</i> Heerfolge leisten. Darauf entzweit er sich mit <i>Hazaël</i> 843 und kämpft gegen ihn vor <i>Ramot</i>. Freundliche Beziehungen zu <i>Juda</i>.</p>	<p><i>Benhadad I</i> (oder ein Anonymus?) gewinnt von <i>Omri</i> Städte und Handelsvorteile.</p> <p><i>Benhadad II</i> (875-855) bedrängt <i>Ahab</i>, kämpft mit ihm 858 und 857, wird bei <i>Afeḳ</i> 857 besiegt, muß die von seinem Vater gewonnenen Städte herausgeben und <i>israelitische Basare</i> in <i>Damaskus</i> gestatten.</p> <p><i>Hadad-ezer</i> (855-845) steht an der Spitze einer Liga gegen <i>Salmanassar</i> (854, 850, 849, 846), behauptet 854 <i>Ramot</i>, tritt es aber dann wohl freiwillig an <i>Joram</i> ab, wofür dieser Heerfolge gegen <i>Assyrien</i> leistet.</p> <p><i>Benhadad III</i> (845—843). Kurze unbedeutende Regierung. Er stirbt wohl ohne fähige Nachkommen, so daß die Herrschaft auf <i>Hazaël</i> übergeht.</p>	<p><i>Etha'al I</i> (887—855). Als Herr von <i>Sidon</i> trägt er den Titel „Priester der <i>Astarte</i>“. Schließt 885 durch Verheiratung seiner Tochter <i>Izebel</i> mit <i>Ahab</i> Allianz mit dem Usurpator <i>Omri</i>. Er zahlt 876 oder 868 Tribut an <i>Assurnasirpal</i> (dort <i>Sidon</i> und <i>Tyros</i> zwar getrennt genannt, aber unter einem Herrscher stehend). Unter ihm 857—856 eine große <i>Dürre</i> in <i>Phönizien</i>. Er herrscht über <i>Beirut</i> hinaus; denn nach <i>Jos. A. 8, 13, 2</i> gründet er <i>Botrys</i> (= <i>Baṭrûn</i>); demnach war ihm auch <i>Gebal</i> irgendwie untertan. Auch <i>Auza</i> in <i>Libyen</i> soll er erbaut haben.</p> <p><i>Ba'al-azar II</i> (855—849) ist am Kampfe gegen <i>Salmanassar</i> unbetieilt.</p> <p><i>Metten I</i> (849—820) leistet 842 und 839 an <i>Salmanassar</i> Tribut (<i>Tyros</i> und <i>Sidon</i> wieder getrennt genannt, obwohl unter einem Herrscher stehend).</p>



Juda	Israel	Damaskus	Sidon-Tyrus
<p><i>Atalja</i> (842—836) fällt dem Staatsstreich Jojadas zum Opfer.</p>	<p><i>Jehu</i> (842—815) mordet die beiden Könige und erringt mit Hilfe der Jahvepartei die Herrschaft. Das Bündnis mit Juda und Tyrus hört auf. Er unterwirft sich 842 Salmanassar. Unglückliche Kämpfe mit Hazael etwa nach 830 oder 825.</p>	<p><i>Hazael</i> (843-797) sucht 843 vergeblich Ramot von Joram wiederzugewinnen. Wird 842 von Salmanassar in Damaskus belagert (äbnl. 839). Benützt ab 830 oder 825 die Schwäche des assyr. Reiches zu einem Vorstoß gegen Jehu, erobert das Ostjordanland und Teile des Westjordanlandes; sein Heer rückt 799 oder 798 bis vor Gat. Unterdessen mußer zwischen 806 und 797 an Adadnirari IV Tribut zahlen (Mari').</p>	<p><i>Pygmalion</i> (820—773). In seinem 7. Jahre (814) wird Karthago gegründet. Er unterwirft sich zwischen 806 und 797 Adadnirari IV (der Tyrus und Sidon trotz des einen Herrschers getrennt nennt). Er ist (Amos 1, 9) mit Aram (nicht Edom), d. i. mit Hazael gegen Israel verbündet.</p>
<p><i>Amasja</i> (797—769) drängt Edom aus der Araba zurück und behauptet die Straße nach Elat. Eroberung von Sela (Petra?). Um 784 unglücklicher Krieg mit Joas von Israel. Kontribution an Joas. Militärrevolte in Jerusalem. Amasja flieht nach Lakiš und wird dort ermordet.</p>	<p><i>Jouhaz</i> (815—799). Tiefste Demütigung Israels unter Hazael. Das Ostjordanland und der nördliche Teil des Westjordanlandes von den Aramäern besetzt.</p>	<p><i>Benhadad IV</i> (ab 797) bedrängt Joas in Samaria, weicht aber nach 790 vor ihm zurück, verliert dann an Jerobeam II das ursprünglich israelitische Gebiet wieder. Steht (wohl vor 790) an der Spitze einer Fürstenkoalition (Arpad, Kue, Sam'al, Gurgum, Amk, Meliz u. a. m.) und belagert erfolglos König Zakir in Hadrak.</p>	
<p><i>Azarja</i> (769—737) behauptet Elat gegen Edom und befestigt es. Glückliche Regierung. Friede mit Israel. Organisation des Heeres, erfolgreiche Kämpfe gegen die Philister, Araber und Maoniter (Edomiter). Bau der zweiten Nordmauer Jerusalems. Krankheit Azarjas. Regentschaft Jotams (seit 752).</p>	<p><i>Joas</i> (799—784). Die Herrschaft der Aramäer dauert zunächst fort. Belagerung Samarias nach 797 durch Benhadad IV. Nach 790 erringt Joas Erfolge im Westjordanland. Um 784 siegreicher Kampf mit Juda bei Betsemeš, Einnahme Jerusalems.</p>	<p>773 erscheinen die Assyrer (Salmanassar III) vor Damaskus.</p>	
	<p><i>Jerobeam II</i> (784-744). Völlige Vertreibung der Aramäer. Wiederherstellung des israelit. Gebietes von N bis an die Grenze Moabs.</p>		
	<p><i>Zekarja</i> (744) wird nach 6 Monaten von der manassit. damaskusfreundl. Partei unter</p>		
	<p><i>Sallum</i> (744) aus Gilead (Manasse) gestürzt.</p>		
	<p><i>Menahem</i> (744—738) entthront als Vertreter der efraimit. antiaram. Partei Sallum und stützt sich auf Assyrien. 738 Tribut an Tiglat Pileser.</p>	<p><i>Rason</i> leistet 740 und 738 an Tiglat Pileser Tribut, verbindet sich dann mit Pekah von Israel, Edom und den Philistern zu einer anti-assyrischen Allianz, die 737-736 Jotam bedrängt.</p>	<p><i>Hiram II</i> zahlt 740 und 738 an Tiglat Pileser Tribut. Besitzt auch Cypern. Denn dort hatte (laut Inschrift) in Kart-hadašt (Karthago) ein Hiram (wohl II, wenn nicht gar I) seinen Statthalter.</p>
	<p><i>Pekahja</i> (738—737), Sohn Menahems, wird von der manassitischen Partei gestürzt.</p>		



Juda	Israel	Damaskus	Die übrigen Nachbarstaaten
<p><i>Jotam</i> (737-736) hat Feindseligkeiten seitens Pekahs u. Rašons zu dulden, da er sich zum Bündnis gegen Assyrien nicht herbeiläßt. Krieg mit den Ammonitern (2 Chr 27, 5).</p>	<p><i>Pekah</i> (737-732) stürzt Pekahja u. lehnt sich ganz an Damaskus an. Mit Rašon kämpft er gegen Jotam und dann 735 gegen Ahaz, um ihn zum Bündnis gegen Assyrien zu bewegen. Die Philister und Edomiter schließen sich der Allianz an. Tiglat Pileser nimmt 734 Nordgaliläa, 733 das Ostjordanland. Pekah schwenkt zu Assyrien hinüber und wird dafür von seiner Partei (der antiassyrischen, manassit.) getötet und Hosea auf den Thron erhoben.</p>	<p><i>Rašon</i> vertreibt die Judäer unter Ahaz aus Elat und kämpft 735 mit Pekah gegen Ahaz (efraimitischer Krieg). Dies ist der Anlaß zu Tiglat Pilesers Zügen 734-732. Damaskus wird 734 umgangen, 733 belagert, 732 eingenommen und Rašon hingegriffen. Ende des damaszenischen Staates, Damaskus wird assyrische Provinz.</p>	<p>Im Jahre 738 (u. 734) huldigen Tiglat Pileser: Sanipu v. Ammon, Kaušmalaka v. Edom, Salaman von Moab, Mitinti v. Askalon u. Hanno von Gaza.</p>
<p><i>Ahaz</i> (736-721) befolgt d. assyrerfreundliche Politik seines Vaters. Daher Kampf mit Rašon und Pekah, den Philistern u. Edomitern (735). Verlust Elats. Hilfe durch Tiglat Pileser (734-732), dem er bei dieser Gelegenheit huldigt.</p>	<p><i>Hosea</i> (732-721) unterwirft sich zunächst Tiglat Pileser, schließt aber später mit Eluläus von Tyrus ein Bündnis gegen Assyrien. Beide unterwerfen sich um 725 Salmanassar IV, verbinden sich aber darauf mit Sib'e von Mušri und schlagen bald wieder los. Daher wird seit 723 Samaria belagert und fällt im Frühling (nach Nisan-April) 721 unter Sargon. Deportation der Nordstämme, Ansiedlung fremder Kolonisten.</p>	<p>Sidon-Tyrus</p>	<p>Die Liga (Philister, Edom, Araber) verbindet sich mit Israel (Pekah) und Damaskus (Rašon) gegen Juda (Ahaz). Besonders Mitinti von Askalon u. Hanno von Gaza sind dabei stark beteiligt. Hinter letzterem steht Mušri und die Araberkönigin Zabibi. Edom gewinnt dabei ca. 736 Elat endgültig wieder und tritt in der Folge in den Hintergrund. Tiglat Pileser züchtigt Gaza 734, Israel 734, 733, Damaskus u. die Araber 732. In Askalon wird Rukiptu König.</p>
<p>An den späteren Bündnissen gegen Salmanassar IV nahm er nicht teil. Doch wurde Juda 721 beim Fall Samarias auch irgendwie hart mitgenommen (cf. II 240).</p>		<p><i>Metten II</i> (um 730) unterwirft sich einem nach Tyrus abgesandten assyrischen General.</p>	<p>Die Liga besteht weiter und nimmt ab 725 auf Hosea und Eluläus, nach 721 auf Samaria, Hamät, Arpad, Simirra und Damaskus Einfluß. Sib'e von Mušri spielt dabei neben Hanno von Gaza die Hauptrolle. Beide werden 720 von Sargon bei Raphia geschlagen. Nun sucht Sargon die Liga durch Einsetzung assyrer-treuer Fürsten in Philistia zu sprengen. Wohl 717 wird Azuri von Ašdod entthront (cf. Jes 20) und durch Ahimeti ersetzt, den der mit Mušri verbundene Jamani stürzt. 713 oder 711 entflieht letzterer vor den Assyrern nach Mušri u. wird vom König von Meluhha ausgeliefert. Sargon erobert Ašdod, Gintu (Gat?) und Asdudimmu, und Mitinti wird (gleich oder bald darauf) in Ašdod König.</p>
<p>Ahaz stand unter dem Einfluß der antihierarchischen Partei. Daher sein religiöser Synkretismus, der teilweise wohl auch aus seinem engen Anschluß an Assyrien zu erklären sein dürfte. Zuletzt kassierte er nach 2 Chr 29, 7 den jahvistischen Tempelkult.</p>		<p><i>Eluläus (Ladi)</i>, von Jos. A. 9, 14, 2 König von Tyrus, von Sanherib König von Sidon genannt (ca. 727-701). Verbindet sich mit Hosea gegen Salmanassar, unterwirft sich um 725, erhebt sich 723 von neuem und wird darauf von den Assyrern vergeblich in Tyrus belagert. Auch Sargon kann ihm nicht beikommen, kassiert aber zeitweilig seine Herrschaft über Cypern, indem er sieben cyprische Fürsten zur Huldigung zwingt. Vor 701 verbindet sich Eluläus mit Hizkia und den Philistern gegen Sanherib. Dieser erobert 701 Sidon und Ušü (Festlandtyrus) nebst einigen Küstenstädten, kann jedoch Inseltyrus nicht einnehmen u. setzt über Sidon allein Itobaal (Etb'al) als König ein.</p>	

Assyrien	Babylonien	Urartu	Ägypten
<p><i>Tiglat Pileser IV</i> (früh. III, 745—727) unternimmt Züge gegen Medien 737, Urartu 735, nach Babylon 729 und 728. Dort regiert er seit 729 unter dem Namen Pulu. Er sucht Syrien völlig unter seine Botmäßigkeit zu bringen. Dort suchte Sarduris von Urartu durch Bündnisse mit den Fürsten (Mati'el v. Arpad) den Zugang zum Mittelmeer in seine Gewalt zu bekommen. 743 wird Sarduris aus Syrien verdrängt, 742-740 fällt Arpad und wird Provinz, 738 werden Tutammu von Unki und Azrijau von Ja'udi besiegt und die Provinzen Unki (Kullani) und Šimirra eingerichtet. Gegen die palästinensische Liga (Damaskus, Israel, Philister, Araber) unternimmt Tiglat Pileser die Züge 734—732. Dabei wird 734 Nordgaliläa eingezogen und Hanno von Gaza gezüchtigt, 733 Gilead besetzt und Damaskus belagert. Es fällt 732. Züchtigung der antiassyrischen Partei in Israel, Verwüstung der Ebene Asochis, Bestätigung Hoseas, Feldzug gegen die mit Damaskus verbundene Königin Zabibi der Araber.</p> <p><i>Salmanassar IV</i> (726—722) war vorher Statthalterin Šimirra. Nach Menander (Jos. A. 9, 14, 2) zog er gegen Eluläus und Hosea (725), die sich unterwarfen, aber bald (unterstützt von Sib'e von Mušri) wieder erhoben. Daher 723 zweiter Zug Salmanassars, der erst unter Sargon durch die Eroberung Samarias u. Abbruch der Belagerung von Tyrus seinen Abschluß fand.</p> <p><i>Sargon</i> (721—705) erleidet 721 bei Durilu in Babylonien eine Schlappe durch Ummanigaš von Elam. Merodach Baladan bleibt König von Babylon. Sargon vertreibt ihn erst 710. Samaria wird 721 Provinz. 720 erhebt sich Ilubidi (Jaubidi) von Hamät mit Arpad, Šimirra, Damaskus, Samaria,</p>	<p><i>Nabunašir</i> (747—734). Beginn des ptolem. Kanons und der babylonischen Chronik B.</p> <p><i>Nabunadinzer</i> (733—732) fällt im Aufstand. Ein Nabušumukin II behauptet sich kurz, darauf</p> <p><i>Ukinzer</i> (731-729), den Tiglat Pileser entthront.</p> <p><i>Pulu</i> (728—727), d. i. Tiglat Pileser IV, der als König von Babylon diesen Namen annimmt.</p> <p><i>Ululai</i> (726—722), d. i. Salmanassar IV, bei dessen Tode Assyrien die Oberhoheit über Babylon an den Chaldäer Merodach Baladan verliert.</p> <p><i>Merodach Baladan</i> (721—710) behauptet sich mit Elams Hilfe gegen Sargon und wird erst 710 vertrieben, 709 in seinem Stammgebiet Bit Jakin heimgesucht (am Persischen Golf).</p>	<p><i>Sarduris II</i> wird 743 von Tiglat Pileser an der Eufratbrücke besiegt, 735 in seiner Hauptstadt Tušpa am Wanse belagert.</p>	<p>23. <i>Dynastie</i> (aus Tanis) ca. 745—720: Pedibast.</p> <p>Osorkon III zusammen mit Takelot III. Einflüsse auf Israel (Hos 7, 11. 16; 12, 2).</p> <p>24. <i>Dynastie</i>, bestehend aus dem Saiten</p> <p>Bekneranef (Bocchoris) bis ca. 715. Um 720 Einfall des Äthiopen Pianhi, dann</p>
	<p><i>Rusus I</i> (ca. 725—714) von Sargon 714 besiegt und endet durch Selbstmord.</p>		



Juda	Sidon-Tyrus		Die übrigen Nachbarstaaten
<p><i>Hizkia</i> (721 – 693) hält zunächst mit Assyrien Frieden und schlägt sich nur vorübergehend auf Seite Jamanis von Ašdod (713 oder 711), um gleich wieder zum Vasallenverhältnis gegenüber Assur zurückzukehren. 703 empfängt er die Gesandtschaft Merodach Baladans von Babylon. Damit hängt die palästinensische Liga gegen Sanherib zusammen, an der Hizkia mit Eluläus von Tyrus und den Philisterstaaten teilnahm. Durch seinen Feldzug sprengt Sanherib 701 die Liga, kann jedoch Jerusalem nach der Schlacht bei Elteke nicht einnehmen, da ihn eine Pestilenz zur Umkehr nötigt. Hizkia erobert darauf die 46 jüdischen Städte, die Sanherib unter Gaza, Ašdod und 'Ekron verteilt hatte, wieder zurück. Anlage des Siloakanals und des oberen Siloateiches.</p>	<p>Von nun an sind bis in die späteste Zeit Sidon und Tyrus unter zwei Fürsten politisch getrennt. Eluläus flieht nach Cypern (wo er also seit Sargon seinen Einfluß wiederhergestellt hatte) und stirbt dort 701.</p>		<p>Nach der Gesandtschaft Merodach Baladans (703) treten Eluläus u. Hizkia der Liga bei, ebenso Ägypten. Ca. 702 wird in Askalon der assyretreue Šarruludari durch Šidka ersetzt. Padi von 'Ekron wird von Hizkia in Jerusalem gefangen gehalten. Sanherib siegt 701 bei Elteke über die Philisterfürsten, Hizkia und den König von Mušri, der sich zurückzieht. Šidka wird von Sanherib exiliert, Šarruludari und Padi rehabilitiert, Hizkia verliert 46 Städte an die assyretreuen Fürsten von Gaza (Šil Bel), Ašdod und 'Ekron.</p> <p>Trotz des unvollendeten Zuges Sanheribs ist die Liga für immer gesprengt. Denn Hizkia verfeindet sich mit den Philistern, indem er nach 701 die 46 Städte zurückerobert.</p>
<p><i>Manasse</i> (693 – 639) regiert mit Hilfe der antijahvistischen Partei. Anschluß an Assyrien. Um 647 hält er es mit Šamašumukin und wird nach 2 Chr 33, 11 vor Assurbanipal in Ketten nach Babel gebracht, darauf aber wieder begnadigt. — Bauten in Jerusalem.</p> <p><i>Ammon</i> (639 – 638) fällt einer Militärrevolte zum Opfer. Die hierarchische Partei benützt dies, um den Thronerben Josia unter ihren Einfluß zu bekommen.</p> <p><i>Josia</i> (638 – 608) greift politisch auch ins Gebiet des früheren Nordreiches hinüber. Die zentralistische Kulturreform wird 622–621 gemäß dem aufgefundenen Gesetzbuche durchgeführt. Frühjahr 608 trifft er mit Necho bei Megiddo zusammen, um gegen ihn die Herrschaft über das ehemalige Nordreich zu behaupten, und fällt in der Schlacht. — Um 620 Einfall der Skythen in Palästina.</p>	<p><b>Tyrus</b></p> <p><i>Ba'al</i>, wohl Nachfolger des Eluläus ab 701, schließt sich Tirhaka gegen Assyrien an u. wird 671 von Asarhaddon, um 664 von Assurbanipal belagert u. huldigt letzterem. Ušû (Festlandtyrus) wird noch um 640 von den Assyern gezüchtigt, ebenso 'Akko (damals wohl zu Tyrus gehörig).</p>	<p><b>Sidon</b></p> <p><i>Etba'al II</i> (Itobaal) ab 701, Vassal Sanheribs.</p> <p><i>Abdimilkot</i> (zur Zeit Asarhaddons) verbündet sich mit einem kilitischen Fürsten gegen Assyrien; 677 wird Sidon zerstört, 676 Abdimilkot gefangen genommen und hingerichtet.</p> <p>Doch bekommt die Stadt noch im Laufe des 7. Jahrhunderts einen eigenen König. Cf. Jer 25, 22; 27, 3; Ez 28, 20 ff.</p>	<p>701 huldigen Sanherib: Kammusunadbi v. Moab, Malikramu von Edom, Buduil von Ammon.</p> <p>Die Philister sind fortan ruhig und huldigen Asarhaddon und Assurbanipal bei ihren Zügen nach Ägypten. Genannt werden dabei: Mitinti von Askalon, Šil Bel von Gaza (wohl derselbe wie 701), Ikausu (Akiš) von Ekron u. Ahimilki von Ašdod. In Moab wird damals (vor und nach 670) König Mušuri, in Edom Kaušgabri, in Ammon unter Asarhaddon Buduil (wohl derselbe wie 701), unter Assurbanipal Amminadbi unter den huldigenden Fürsten erwähnt.</p>

Assyrien	Babylonien	Urartu	Ägypten
<p>Hanno von Gaza und Sib'e von Muşri. Sargon besiegt Iubidi bei Karḫar, Hanno und Sib'e bei Raphia. Hamât wird Provinz, ebenso 717 Karkemiš, 712 Malatia (Milid), 711 Gurgum, 708 Kummuh (Commagene). Züchtigung Jamanis von Ašdod 711. Zug nach Arabien 715, wobei Pir'u von Muşri u. Samsi, Königin der Aribi, Tribut leisten. Ansiedelung arabischer Stämme in Samaria. Außerdem 719, 717, 716, 715, 713 Züge gegen Medien, 714 gegen Rusas von Urartu, 710 und 709 gegen Merodach Baladan.</p>	<p><i>Sargon</i> (709—705).  <i>Sanherib</i> offiziell König 705—704.  <i>Mardukzakiršum</i> (Ende 704) einen Monat König, darauf  <i>Merodach Baladan</i> 703 neun Monate. Sanherib vertreibt ihn und setzt zum König  <i>Belibni</i> (702-700) ein. Belibni intrigiert gegen Sanherib und wird 700 abgesetzt.</p>	<p><i>Argistis II</i> (714 bis ca. 680), anfangs mit Kummuh gegen Assyrien verbündet. Die Indogermanen bedrohen allmählich das Reich.</p>	<p>25. <i>Dynastie</i> (Äthiopien):  <i>Sabaka</i> (ca. 715—703), wahrscheinlich unter ihm kommt der junge Tirhaka nach Unterägypten.  <i>Sabataka</i> (703-691) schickt Tirhaka mit einem Heere gegen Sanherib.  <i>Tirhaka</i> (691-665) kämpft 675 und 674 mit den Assyriern, die in Ägypten einfallen, wird 671 von Asarhaddon besiegt, flieht nach Äthiopien, kommt dann wieder zurück, wird 669-668 wieder besiegt und nach Äthiopien gedrängt, bleibt aber mit den Gaufürsten, deren Einzelherrschaft Assurbanipal anerkennt, in geheimer Verbindung und stirbt ca. 665.</p>
<p><i>Sanherib</i> (704-681) vertreibt 703 Merodach Baladan aus Babylon (Schlacht bei Kiš) und ordnet 703-702 die dortigen Verhältnisse. 701 Zug nach Palästina und vorzeitiger Abbruch desselben vor dem Kampfe mit Tirhaka. Außerdem unternimmt Sanherib (zwischen 699—695) Züge nach Kilikien und den Taurusgegenden, 700 und 694 gegen die Chaldäer an den Persischen Golf, 693—692 ins claudit. Gebirge gegen König Kudurnanhandu, den Verbündeten der Chaldäer. 691 erleidet Sanherib eine Niederlage bei Halule durch Mušeziḫ Marduk von Babylon und Menanu von Elam. 690 zieht er nach Arabien. 689 zerstört er Babylon und schafft dort das Königtum ab.</p>	<p><i>Aššurnadinšum</i> (699—694) ist ein Sohn Sanheribs. Die antiassyrische Partei ruft die Elamiter herbei, die Aššurnadinšum gefangen nach Elam führen. Statt seiner setzt König Ḫallušu von Elam  <i>Nergalūšeziḫ</i> (693) zum König ein, den die Assyrer absetzen.  <i>Mušeziḫ Marduk</i> (692—689) weiß sich bei Halule 691 mit Elams Hilfe gegen Sanherib zu halten. 689 wird Babylon zerstört u. bleibt acht Jahre ohne König.</p>		<p><i>Tanutamou</i> (ca. 665—664) herrscht ein Jahr in Memphis und wird dann von den Assyriern nach Süden gedrängt, wo er nominell weiterregiert.</p>
<p><i>Asarhaddon</i> (680—669) ist ein Freund Babylons u. der dortigen Hierarchie, stellt die Stadt wieder her, vertreibt 680 Nabuzerkittilišir, den Sohn Merodach Baladans, aus dem Meerlande am Persergolf. 677 wird Sidon genommen u. zerstört, zugleich müssen die Kimmerier vom assyrischen Gebiet ferngehalten werden. 676 Zug nach Arabien (Land Baz) u. Hinrichtung des Königs Abdimilkuti von Sidon und seines Verbündeten, eines kilikischen Fürsten. 675 und 674 Züge nach Ägypten, aber erst 671</p>	<p><i>Asarhaddon</i> (680-669) zugleich König von Babylon.</p>	<p><i>Rusas II</i> (um 670), Angriffe der Kimmerier.   <i>Erimeuas</i> (um 660).</p>	<p>26. <i>Dynastie</i> (aus Sais). Im Norden gelangt als Verbündeter der Assyrer:  <i>Psammetich I</i> (664—610), Sohn des von Assurbanipal begnadigten Gaufürsten Necho von Sais, zur Herrschaft. Später ist er (mit Gyges von Lydien) Assyriens Gegner.</p>

Juda	Die Nachbarstaaten	Medien	Persien
<p><i>Johaz</i> (Šallum, 608 vor Herbst) steht unter dem Einflusse der anti-ägyptischen Partei, die den Kampf mit Necho wünscht. Sein älterer Bruder Eljakim intrigiert gegen ihn bei Necho in Ribla. Dorthin zitiert ihn Pharao, setzt ihn ab und übergibt die Herrschaft Eljakim.</p>	<p>Seit dem Aufstand Šamašumukins sind die (von ihm aufgereizten) Aribi, Nabajati und Kēdarener unruhig. Sie streifen von Damaskus südwärts u. in der östl. Steppe herum u. werden von Assurbanipal gezüchtigt.</p>	<p><i>Deiokes</i> (um 700) soll die früher zerstreuten Mederstämme geeinigt und Ekbatana (Hama-dān) zur Hauptstadt erhoben haben.</p>	<p>Die bei Persepolis und Pasargadā (vom Nirissee nach W, Farsistān) ansässigen Stämme Parsuaš (Perser) u. Anšan (Anzan) kämpfen 691 bei Halule gegen Sanherib. Ihre Könige, die Achämeniden, nennen sich „von Anšan“. Seit ca. 600 herrschen Teispes II, Kyros II u. Kambyses II. Sohn des letzteren ist:</p>
<p><i>Jehojakim</i> (Eljakim, 608—598) hält es zunächst mit Necho. Nach der Schlacht bei Karkemiš 605 unterwirft er sich Nebukadnezar. Unter Nechos Einfluß fällt er 602 ab und unterstützt einen in Syrien ausgebrochenen Aufstand. Daher brechen Streifscharen der Chaldäer, Aramäer, Moabiter und Ammoniter in Juda ein.</p>	<p>602 stehen die Moabiter u. Ammoniter auf Seite Babylons, dagegen 597 neben Edom, Tyrus u. Sidon auf Seite Judas (Jer 27, 3).</p>	<p><i>Phraortes</i> (Astyages 647—625) dehnte seine Herrschaft v. Ekbatana nach allen Seiten aus, bedrohte das assyr. Reich und verband sich mit Nabopolassar. 625 zog er gegen Nineve u. fiel im Kampfe.</p>	<p><i>Kyros</i> der Große (III, 559—529). Einigung der Nachbarstämme im N u. O. 553—550 Krieg mit Astyages, dessen Gefangennahme und Besetzung Ekbatanas. 547—546 siegreicher Kampf mit Kroisos von Lydien. Darauf Eroberung von ganz Irān. 539 Krieg mit Nabunaid von Babylon. Letzterer wird bei Opis besiegt. Gobryas zieht 16. Tišri (Okt.) 539 ohne Schwertstreich in Babylon ein. Nur ein Stadtviertel mit dem Königspalast hält sich unter dem Königssohne Belšarušur noch</p>
<p><i>Jehojakim</i> (vor u. nach Herbst 598), wird von Nebukadnezar nach Babylon gebracht, wohl weil er sich unter Ägyptens Beistand zu einer Empörung rüstete.</p>	<p>587 stiftet Baʿalis von Ammon die Ermordung des Statthalters Gedalja durch Ismael an (Jer 40, 14).</p>	<p><i>Kyaxares</i> (624—585) organisiert das Heer u. muß (um 620) die Belagerung Nineves wegen des Skytheneinfalles in Medien aufgeben. Nabopolassars Sohn Nebukadnezar heiratet K.'s Tochter Amyitis. K. verwüstet 608 Mesopotamien (Harrān) und zerstört Nineve (606). Er erhält das Land nördl. vom Tigris (Mesopotamien ist babylonisch), erobert Armenien (Urartu) und Kappadozien bis zum Halys, wo der Kampf mit dem Könige von Lydien wegen einer Sonnenfinsternis (28. Mai 585) abgebrochen und Friede geschlossen wird.</p>	<p>einen Monat lang und fällt erst nach Kyros' offiziellem Einzuge in Babylon im Marešvan (November). Kambyses trägt ein Jahr lang den Titel „König v. Babel“. Kyros herrscht über ganz Vorderasien als „König von Babel, König der Länder“.</p>
<p><i>Sedekia</i> (Mattanja, 597—587) sendet zwei Abordnungen nach Babylon, sagt sich aber später mit Moab und Ammon unter dem Einflusse Psammetichs II von Nebukadnezar los. Daher wird Januar 589 Jerusalem von den Chaldäern eingeschlossen. Hofraʿ leistet keine ausgiebige Hilfe. Fall der Stadt und Ende des jüdischen Reiches Sommer 587. März 561 Begnadigung Jehojakins († wohl 560).</p>	<p><i>Etbaʿal III</i> v. Tyrus (Ittobaal) hält die 13jährige Belagerung durch Nebukadnezar aus, 585—572 (Jos. C. Ap. 1, 21; Ez 29, 17). Nach ihm:</p>	<p><i>Astyages</i> (584—550) hält mit Nebukadnezar Frieden. Nach dessen Tode macht er Einfälle in Mesopotamien und Angriffe auf Babylon. 553-550 Krieg mit Kyros (irgendwo in Medien an der Grenze geg. Persien). A. wird von Kyros gefangen genommen (durch Verrat des Harpagos).</p>	
	<p><i>Baʿal</i>.</p>		

Assyrien	Babylonien	Urartu	Ägypten
<p>wird Tirhaka besiegt und aus Memphis verjagt. 669 stirbt Assurhaddon auf dem Wege nach Ägypten (November).</p>	<p><i>Šamaššumukin</i> (668—648), Bruder Assurbanipals, bringt eine Allianz gegen ihn zustande, um seine Oberhoheit abzuschütteln, u. wird besiegt.</p>	<p><i>Rusas III</i> (um 650).</p>	<p><i>Necho</i> (610—595) entreißt 608 den von den Medern bedrängten Assyriern Syrien bis zum Eufrat. Nach dem Falle Nineves will er noch weiter nach Osten dringen und wird von Nebukadnezar bei Karkemiš 605 geschlagen. Er gibt Syrien preis und zieht sich nach Ägypten zurück, während er im geheimen weiter intrigiert und die palästinensischen Fürsten gegen Nebukadnezar aufstachelt.</p>
<p><i>Assurbanipal</i> (668—626). Züge nach Ägypten, 669-668 gegen Tirhaka, ca. 665 gegen Tanutamon. Um 664 wird Ba'al von Tyrus belagert. Um 660 ersucht Gyges von Lydien um Hilfe gegen die Kimmerier. Zwischen 660 u. 640 Kriege mit Elam. 648—647 Krieg mit Šamaššumukin. Assurbanipal nimmt als Kandalanu den babylon. Königstitel an. Nach 647 Vernichtungszug gegen Elam. Züge gegen die Araber, Qedar, Nabajati, Kämpfe bei Damaskus und südlich davon. Auch Ušū (Palaityrus) und Akko werden gezüchtigt. — Anlage einer großen Bibliothek in Nineve.</p>	<p><i>Kandalanu</i> (647-626) d. i. Assurbanipal, der nun unter diesem Namen in Babylon unmittelbar regiert.</p>	<p><i>Sarduris III</i> (um 640) sucht Schutz bei Assurbanipal gegen die einbrechenden Nomaden, besonders die Skythen, denen um 625 das Reich erliegt. Sein Gebiet nehmen die Meder in Besitz.</p>	<p><i>Psammetich II</i> (595—589) verfolgt die palästinensische Politik Nechos, unternimmt in seinem 4. Jahre (592) einen Zug nach Palästina zur Stärkung des dortigen ägyptischen Einflusses, dann einen Zug nach Nubien u. empfängt 590 eine Gesandtschaft Sedekias. Stirbt ca. Februar 589.</p>
<p><i>Aššuretililaniku</i> nach 626. Angriffe der Meder unter Phraortes (Astyages) und Kyaxares, die jedoch mit Hilfe der Skythen (assyrisch Aškuza) vereitelt werden.</p>	<p><i>Nabopolassar</i> (625—605), ein Chaldäer, ist mit den Medern verbündet, die er gegen Assyrien gebraucht. Nach Nineves Falle teilt er sich mit ihnen in die Beute. Sie erhalten die nördlicheren Gebiete, Nabopolassar hingegen das von den Medern früher verwüstete Mesopotamien, auf welches auch Necho von Ägypten Ansprüche erhebt.</p>		<p><i>Hofra'</i> (589—570) leistet 589 und 588 den Judäern unzureichende Hilfe gegen die Babylonier.</p>
<p><i>Šinšariskun</i> (Sarakos ca. seit 614), Bruder des Vorigen, wird von den Medern wiederholt angegriffen (sie sind von Babylon gegen Assyrien aufgestachelt). Fall Nineves 607 oder 606 und Ende des assyrischen Staatswesens.</p>			<p><i>Amasis</i> (570-526). Krieg mit Nebukadnezar 568.</p>
<p><i>Nebukadnezar</i> (604—561) schlägt im Frühjahr (noch zu Lebzeiten Nabopolassars) 605 bei Karkemiš Necho und treibt ihn bis Ägypten zurück. Er kommt bis vor Jerusalem und eilt auf die Nachricht vom Tode des Vaters nach Babylon zurück. 602 Aufstand in Syrien. 598 (Spätherbst) Gefangennahme Jehojakins, seit Januar 589 (mit Unterbrechungen) bis Juli 587 Belagerung Jerusalems und Kämpfe mit Hofra'. In dieser Zeit weilt Nebukadnezar in Ribla, daher Inschriften im Wadi Brisa. 585—572 Belagerung von Tyrus (Ez 29, 17). 568 Krieg mit Amasis von Ägypten. — Großartige Bauten in Babylon.</p>			<p><i>Psammetich III</i> (526—525, sechs Monate). Seit Ende Mai 525 ist</p>
<p>Amel Marduk (561—560), Nergalšarušur (Neriglissar, 559—556), Labaši Marduk (556), Nabunaid (555—539), Ende des chaldäischen Reiches.</p>			<p><i>Kambyses</i> Herr v. Ägypten.</p>

## VI. Anmerkungen.

Zu I S. 46. Andere identifizieren Maresa mit dem in der Nähe von Hirbet meraš gelegenen Tell sandaḥanne, weil sich der Name Maresa in den Gräbern der dortigen phönizischen Kolonie gefunden hat (cf. MNDPV 1902, 40 ff.). Zu unserer Textkorrektur in 2 Chr 14, 9 paßt auch diese Identifikation vortrefflich, sobald Eleutheropolis Gat ist. Auf die verworrenen Angaben des Onomastikon über Gat ist nicht viel zu geben. Wer Gat von Eleutheropolis (Bet dschibrin) wegwersetzt, kann die Frage nach dem vorgriechischen Namen dieses wegen seiner Lage wichtigen und zweifelsohne seit jeher besiedelten Punktes nicht lösen.

Zum Namen Kerub I S. 132 ist jetzt die Steintafelinschrift Asarhaddons, Vorderseite Z. 24 (bei Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, 1. Heft Seite 70) zu vergleichen, wo am Tore des Assurtempels Götterstatuen aufgestellt werden: (Ilu) Laḥ-me (ilu) Ku-ri-bi ša ša-ri-ri ru-uš-šu-u i-di ana i-di ul-ziz. Das läßt sich übersetzen: „Eine Laḥmugottheit und eine Kuribigottheit aus rotglänzendem Aurichalcum habe ich an beiden Seiten aufgestellt.“ Darnach wäre also Kuribi eine Gottheit, die als Torwächter fungiert, und der Vergleich mit dem Worte כַּרִּיב läge nahe. Allein vielleicht ist ilu kuribi nicht als Eigennamen, sondern appellativisch als Apposition zu (ilu) Laḥme zu fassen. Dann wäre zu übersetzen: „Je einen Laḥmu, eine mächtige (erhabene) Gottheit, stellte ich zu beiden Seiten auf.“ Kuribu wäre Adjektiv und dem sonst belegten karubu gleichzusetzen. Die Möglichkeit dieser zweiten Auffassung ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Denn bei demselben Asarhaddon (Prisma AC 5, 41 ff.; 6, 53 ff. Cf. KB 2, 136. 140 oder BA 3, 198. 202) erhalten die šédê und lamassê, also die an den Toren aufgestellten Schutzgottheiten, immer eine längere Apposition von schmückenden Adjektiven. Gleiches kann also auch in dem fraglichen neuen Texte der Fall sein, und ili kuribi heißt dann „die erhabene Gottheit“.

Zu I S. 257 unten. Statt *Māmys* (so Onomastikon ed. Klostermann im griech. Texte) wäre besser Mampsis zu schreiben (so ebendort im latein. Texte des Hieronymus). Der Name ist als מַמְסִית auf Krughenkeln konstatiert worden. Die Urform ist also Mamsis.

Zu I S. 294 und 253. In dem S. 294 drittletzte Zeile zitierten Kontrakt wird ein Goldsekel an Wert 12 Silbersekeln gleichgesetzt. Daraus leiten wir das Wertverhältnis 12 : 1 zwischen den beiden Metallen ab, allerdings nur unter der Annahme, daß damals (in der babylonischen und a fortiori in der altisraelitischen Zeit, über welche nähere diesbezügliche Nachrichten fehlen) der Gold- und der Silbersekel dasselbe Gewicht hatten (in der persischen Periode war dies nicht mehr der Fall). Doch eben diese Voraussetzung scheint aus jenem Kontrakt zu folgen. Denn nur so ergibt sich jenes Verhältnis 12 : 1, welches von dem später in der persischen Zeit geltenden ( $13\frac{1}{3} : 1$ ) nur uner-

heblich abweicht. Wollten wir in jenem Kontrakt dem Gold- und Silbersekel je ein verschiedenes Gewicht geben, so würde daraus eine andere, von vornherein sehr unwahrscheinliche Proportion folgen. Es ergäbe sich beispielsweise unter Zugrundelegung des späteren Gewichts (Goldsekel 8, 4 g, Silbersekel 5, 6 g) nur das Verhältnis 8 : 1. — Auf der Voraussetzung von der gleichen Schwere des Gold- und Silbersekels in der älteren Zeit (vor dem Exil) fußen die Berechnungen auf S. 253. Solange uns über das Geldsystem jener frühen Periode nichts Näheres bekannt ist, behalten jene Aufstellungen gegenüber abweichenden Ansichten ihre Berechtigung.

Zu I S. 305 oben. In gleicher Weise pflegten die Phönizier auch sonst auf fremdem Boden ihren Göttern Heiligtümer zu errichten. Vgl. z. B. die phönizische Kranzinschrift aus dem Piräus, wo von dem dortselbst befindlichen Tempel des Ba'al Sidon die Rede ist.

Zu I S. 310 Z. 11. Auf der Karte des syrisch-ägyptischen Grenzgebietes in ZDPV 33 (1910) hinter S. 236 wird die modern-arabische Bezeichnung Dschebel Fārān einem südlichen Ausläufer des Dschebel el maḡrāh (so vielleicht endgültig zu lesen) beigelegt. Musil hat den Namen nicht konstatieren können (BZ 1912, S. 125). Jedenfalls haftete er in alter Zeit auf dem ganzen dortigen Gebirgsmassiv, dessen hervorragendsten Teil der Dschebel el maḡrāh repräsentiert.

Zu Şereda S. 317 Mitte. Die Identifikation mit Surda in der Nähe (nw) von Betel paßt auch vom pragmatisch-geschichtlichen Standpunkte wenig. Denn der Aufstand Jerobeams wurde offenbar von Şereda aus betrieben. Letzteres mußte demnach in entsprechender Entfernung von Jerusalem liegen und durfte nicht so leicht erreichbar sein wie Surda. — Übrigens spricht manches gegen die Gleichsetzung von Şereda und Ḳarn şarṭabe. Die Mišna erwähnt sowohl ein צרדה (Pirḳe abot 1, 4) als auch das bekannte כרמבא (Roš hašana 2, 4), scheint also beide Orte zu unterscheiden. Ferner ist, selbst wenn jenes צרדה von dem biblischen verschieden wäre, die Identifikation dieses biblischen Ortes mit כרמבא wegen des ם (statt des zu erwartenden צ) schwierig. Allerdings fällt dieser Grund nicht so sehr ins Gewicht, da im Mišnischen ם u. צ zuweilen (besonders vor Dentalen) verwechselt werden (cf. Strack-Siegfried, Lehrbuch der neuhebr. Sprache S. 15). Dies könnte man hier um so mehr gelten lassen, als die moderne Aussprache şarṭabe unzweifelhaft feststeht.

Zu I S. 342 (Vers 28) Daß die beiden Kälber Jahve darstellten, wird bestätigt durch den Namen עֵילָי ' = „Ein Kalb ist Jahve“, welcher auf den Ostraka zu Samaria 1910 gefunden wurde (cf. unten S. 445).

Zu I S. 381 Mitte. Zum Namen אֲרָמִים ist Aḥiami = אֲרָמִים der Ta'anektafeln zu vergleichen.

Zu I S. 384 Mitte. Die Semiramisstele (Text bei Lehmann-Haupt, Die historische Semiramis und ihre Zeit, Tübingen 1910 S. 7) lautet, soweit hierhergehörig: Şa-lam Sa-am-mu-ra-mat aššat ekalli . . . ši Adad šar kiššati šar mat [Aššur] ummu Adadnirari šar kiššati šar [mat] Aššur . . . „Bild der Semiramis, der Palastfrau des Samsi Adad, des Königs der Welt, des Königs von Assur, der Mutter Adadniraris, des Königs der Welt, des Königs von Assur.“ Zur Bezeichnung beltu = gebira, cf. auch Ešmunazarinschr. Z. 15, wo der jugendliche (vielleicht mit 14 Jahren verstorbene) König seiner Mutter und Regentin ebenfalls den Titel רבתן „unsere Herrin“ beilegt.

Zu I S. 390 unten. Statt Tur'an (so z. B. Buhl, Geographie des alten Palästina) schreibt Guthe (Bibelatlas, Register) tur'an, auf den Karten allerdings teilweise wieder tur'an. Falls das  $\dagger$  sicher ist, wäre die Gleichsetzung von  $\text{טורען}$  mit tur'an in Frage gestellt, ebenso der eventuelle Vergleich mit Tirša.

Zu Mišpa I S. 391 u. II S. 392. Alt (Palästinajahrbuch 1910 S. 46 ff.) und Baumann (ZDPV 1911 S. 119 ff.) bemühen sich, Mišpa von En nebi Samwil nach Tell en našbe wegzusetzen. Letzteres liegt s. von El bire, nw von Er râm, auf halbem Wege zwischen beiden an der alten Römerstraße. Vgl. Guthe, Bibelatlas, Nr. 14 die Nebenkarte oder in ZDPV 19 die Karte der weiteren Umgebung Jerusalems (auch separat in 2. Aufl.). — Dabei werden u. a. teils politische Momente betont (z. B. sei es nicht gut denkbar, daß Samuel, der nach 1 Sam 7, 16 das Volk in Mišpa richtete und nach 1 Sam 10, 17 ff. dort das Königtum einsetzte, in einer von Efraim entfernten Stadt Recht gesprochen oder Saul zum Könige über Gesamtisrael proklamiert hätte), teils strategische Erwägungen zu Jud 20; 1 Sam 7, 5; 1 Kön 15, 22 und auch zu Jer 40 ff. vorgebracht. Allein die betreffenden biblischen Erzählungen sind im Grunde nur summarische Berichte mit fast völliger Übergang der konkreten Einzelheiten. Es ist darum höchst gefährlich, weitläufige aprioristische Spekulationen daranzuknüpfen, die nur allzuleicht dazu führen, daß man nähere Umstände erdichtet, die in Wirklichkeit gar nicht existiert haben. — Als Residenz Gedaljas eignete sich En nebi Samwil sehr gut. Wenn Baumann zu 1 Kön 15, 22 geltend macht, daß Asa die Nordgrenze des Reiches gegen Baasa schützen oder wenigstens nach dem Abzuge Baasas die Verteidigungslinie über Rama hinaus weiter nach N. (d. i. nach Tell en našbe-Mišpa und Dscheba'-Geba') verlegen wollte, so sind das Voraussetzungen, zu denen der biblische Text nicht berechtigt. Man müßte zuerst wissen, was Asa, der sich trotz Baasas Abzug im N. nicht sicher fühlte (daher seine Eile bei den Fortifikationsarbeiten), als Nordgrenze seines Reiches betrachten wollte. Ferner ist I S. 392 ausgeführt worden, daß Asa gleichzeitig auch gegen Edom zu kämpfen hatte. Er mag sich eben darum im Norden vorläufig auf die Defensive beschränkt haben. So wäre es erklärlich, warum er von Rama nach En nebi Samwil (Mišpa) und Tell el fül (Gibe'a, so wohl statt Geba' in 1 Kön 15, 22 zu lesen) zurückwich, um auf diese Weise gleichsam zwei Außenforts für das früher durch Baasa von Rama aus bedrohte Jerusalem zu schaffen. Natürlich sind noch andere Erklärungen möglich, da uns die näheren Umstände sowie die Art und Mittel der damaligen Kriegstechnik unbekannt sind. Durch Wortklauberei einer vorgefaßten Meinung zuliebe verliert man leicht den realen Boden unter den Füßen, wie Baumanns Beispiel zeigt, der in 1 Makk 3, 46 (*καὶ ἤλθοσαν εἰς Μασσηγὰ κατέναντι Ἰερουσαλήμ, οὗ τόπος προσερχῆς εἰς Μασσηγὰ τὸ πρότερον τῷ Ἰσραήλ*) den natürlichen Sinn preisgeben muß, indem er behauptet, κατέναντι Ἰ. sei nicht ortsbestimmende Apposition zu Μασσηγὰ. — Die althergebrachte Gleichung En nebi Samwil = Mišpa behält noch weiter ihre frühere große Wahrscheinlichkeit. Denn einerseits paßt die dominierende, aussichtsreiche Lage (895 m) des Samuelhügels sehr gut zur Bezeichnung Mišpa und zu dessen aus den zitierten biblischen Stellen erhellenden Wichtigkeit (er liegt auch, wie kein anderer Punkt, im vollsten Sinne „gegenüber Jerusalem“), andererseits bleibt man, falls man Mišpa von dort wegzusetzt, die

Antwort auf die Frage schuldig: Welche Stadt trug dann eigentlich der geographisch wichtige und darum seit jeher besiedelte Samuelsberg? Rama, die Heimat Samuels, kann trotz der Tradition nicht in Betracht kommen (abgesehen davon, daß sich in nächster Nähe schon ein anderes Rama findet). Denn 1 Sam 9, 17. 18 kennen sich Saul und Samuel bei ihrer ersten Begegnung in der Stadt des Propheten nicht, was bei der Gleichung En nebi Samwil = Rama undenkbar wäre, da Gibea Sauls in nächster Nähe östl. in (oder bei) Tell el fül zu lokalisieren ist. Wir finden tatsächlich in der biblischen Nomenklatur keinen Ort, der so auf En nebi Samwil passen würde, wie Mišpa. Tell en našbe (von Jerusalem unsichtbar, also nicht „gegenüber“ gelegen, auch sonst topographisch unbedeutend und nicht hervorragend) steht in dieser Beziehung hinter dem Samuelsberg ohne allen Zweifel weit zurück.

Zu I S. 406 Mitte. Ein anderes Beispiel für die Geschichtlichkeit eines Stammeseponyms liefert das chaldäische Fürstentum Bit Adini in Südbabylonien. Sanherib (5, 34; K B 2, 106) erwähnt im Jahre 691 bei der Schlacht von Halule den Stamm Bit Adini als mit den Babyloniern verbündet. Hingegen erscheint unter Salmanassar II 160 Jahre früher (i. J. 851) der Eponym desselben Adini mar Dakuri als Gegner des Assyrenkönigs (K B 1, 138). — Es entspricht also den historischen Verhältnissen, wenn im Sinuhe-roman (Erman, Altäg. Chrestom. S. 4) der Held spricht: ḥrdwi ḥpr m nḥt w s' nb m d'jr wḥjtf „meine Kinder wurden starke Männer, ein jeder der Bewinger (Beherrscher) seines Stammes“. Natürlich entsteht ein Stamm nie durch bloße Abstammung vom betreffenden Eponymos, sondern auch durch soziale Angliederung neuer Familien an die Sippe des Häuptlings.

Zu II S. 23 Mitte. Zum Namen Ḥareset cf. nabatäisch חַרֶּסֶת schützen in der Phrase מִתְּבַרֵּה הַרִּישָׁא „sein (Dusaras) geschützter Thron“ (Inscription von Petra Z. 3).

Zu II S. 45 oben. Auf den von den Amerikanern 1910 zu Samaria gefundenen Ostraka ist von einer „Hügel“ genannten Örtlichkeit in Samaria die Rede. Vielleicht ist es die 2 Kön 5, 24 als עֵפֶל erwähnte. Beachtenswert sind auch die auf den Scherben eingezeichneten Personennamen אֵלִישָׁע, אֵלָא (Elisäus), עִזָּא, אִזָּא (Uzza). Die in den Ruinen eines israelitischen Bauwerkes (in derselben Schicht wie die Ostraka) entdeckte Alabastervase Osorkons II (ca. 874—853) würde nahelegen, daß Ahab (875—854) auch zu Ägypten in freundlichen Beziehungen stand. Vielleicht stammen dann auch jene Scherben tatsächlich aus der Zeit Ahabs und sind die frühesten Proben althebräischer Schrift. Cf. MNDPV 1911 S. 22 ff.

Zu II S. 143 Z. 15. Zu diesem doppelten Gebrauch von עֵשָׂה cf. Gen 39, 22 b.

Zu II S. 163 Mitte. Die Quelle 'Ain meliḥi samt dem Wadi meliḥi findet sich auf älteren Karten verzeichnet, so z. B. Baedeker, Palästina und Syrien, 4. Aufl. S. 136. Das Tal setzt sich dort von der Quelle in südwestlicher Richtung fort, parallel mit dem unmittelbar nördlicher laufenden Wadi ed dscherāfi. Auf der Karte des syrisch-ägyptischen Grenzgebietes ZDPV 1910 fehlt sowohl die Quelle als das Tal. — Sultan Bibars (cf. Ritter, Erdkunde 14, 60) passierte ohne allen Zweifel 'Ain maliḥa auf seinem Wege von Westen (Kairo) nach Petra und zwar am Vortage seiner Ankunft in Petra, bevor er westlich von Petra im Wadi rubâ'i zum letzten Male übernachtete.



Ebenso erwähnt Robinson 'Ain meliḥi südlich vom Treffpunkte des Wadi ed dschëb (nach dem Schriftarabischen el dschëb) mit dem Wadi ed dscheräfi, also in derselben Gegend. Die Quelle meliḥi oder maliḥa muß sich demnach tatsächlich trotz des Schweigens neuerer Reisender in jener Gegend finden, und unsere Lokalisierung des „Salztales“ am westlichen Abhang der 'Araba in mäßiger Entfernung von Petra entbehrt nicht der geographischen Stütze.

Zu II S. 206 Mitte. Unwahrscheinlich ist die Ansicht Kittels (Geschichte des Volkes Israel II<sup>2</sup> S. 489) und Staerks (Das assyrische Weltreich im Urteil der Propheten S. 60), daß mit שַׂרְגֹן Jes 14, 29 Sargon (nach dem Mißerfolge gegen Merodach Baladan, den er durch die Schlacht bei Durilu 721 nicht aus Babylon zu vertreiben vermochte) und nicht Ahaz gemeint sei. Vielmehr dürfte zwischen der Datierung v. 28 (das Jahr, in welchem Ahaz starb, vor Herbst 721) und den folgenden Versen ein ideeller Zusammenhang bestehen (wie Kap. 20, 1 und 2 ff., wo auf Sargons Zug nach Arabien 715 angespielt ist). Ahaz beherrschte die Philister, aber nach dem bekannten Sprichwort (v. 29 b) kommt für die Philister nach Ahaz' Tode nichts Besseres nach (Hizkia besiegte die Philister nach 701; cf. 2 Kön 18, 8). V. 30 a spielt vielleicht auf die Verschonung der Stadt Jerusalem beim Zuge Sargons i. J. 720 gegen die aufständischen Provinzen (auch Samaria) und die Philister (Hanno von Gaza) an, während 30 b und 31 von der damaligen Züchtigung der Philister durch Sargon die Rede ist. V. 32 klingt wie eine Mahnung an Hizkia, sich mit den מַלְאכֵי נְיָ, den Gesandten der aufständischen Provinzen Arpad, Šimirra, Damaskus und eventuell auch Iubidis (Jaubidis) von Ḥamāt, die in Jerusalem erschienen waren und Hizkia zum Abfall bewegen wollten, nicht in Unterhandlungen einzulassen und mit Assyrien Frieden zu halten.

Zu Muṣṣri II S. 215. In Glaser 1302 Z. 2 (cf. den Text in M V A G 1901 S. 62): וַיִּזְמַן כְּבֹד שַׂרְגֹן מִן מַעְרַן רִגְלֵי יִשְׁלָם ist zu übersetzen: „Und als Sa'd zweimal als Kabir Ma'in Muṣṣrān verwaltete (oder: Die Minäer von Muṣṣrān beherrschte) und wohlbehalten blieb.“ Dabei ist רִגְלָא = hebr. פַּעַם „Mal“. Daher femin. רִגְלֵי.

Zur Wegführung der 10 Stämme II S. 218 f. In den von Sina Schiffer (Keilinschriftl. Spuren der in der 2. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts von den Assyriern nach Mesopotamien deportierten Samarier, Berlin 1907) zu einer Sensation aufgebauchten keilinschriftlichen Geschäftsurkunden aus Kannu (irgendwo im nördlichen Mesopotamien) ist auf keinen Fall von einer Gola aus Israel die Rede. Denn a) die Eigennamen, besonders die mit Au zusammengesetzten, sind ganz unhebräisch: Auahiddin, Aueballitani, Audaninani, Auzilli, Auḥutin, Aulua, Aumadi, Ausabi', Ausalim u. a. m. Vergleiche dagegen die echt hebräischen, auch aus der Bibel wohlbekannten Personennamen der babylonischen und ägyptischen Gola in den Kontrakten aus Nippur und den Papyri aus Elephantine. b) Auch abgesehen davon ist die Identifikation von Au (der in Kannu einen Tempel besaß) und Jau zweifelhaft. c) Selbst wenn die Gleichung Au = Jau feststände, müßte man eher an den Gott Jau des viel näher an Kannu gelegenen Ḥamāt denken. Dort wurde unter dem Namen Jau (Jahve) natürlich nicht der monotheistische Gott von Jerusalem, sondern irgend eine Gottheit des dortigen Pantheon verehrt.

Zu Sukkot-benot II S. 229 unten und S. 230 oben. Daß קְבוֹרַת in Am 5, 26 die Wiedergabe von (ilu) S A G . K U D sei, kann schon deshalb

nicht mit Sicherheit behauptet werden, weil der dortige Text kaum unversehrt ist. Doch darf man zugeben, daß S A G. K U D als rein sumerische Bezeichnung auch einfach phonetisch gelesen werden mochte, wie N I N. G A L („große Herrin“), das sich als 𒀭𒌆 (Nikkal) auf den Inschriften von Nerab findet. Allein auch trotz dieser Konzession bleibt die Identifikation von (ilu) S A G. K U D mit 𒀭𒌆 in 2 Kōn 17, 30 (ähnlich Am 5, 26) höchst zweifelhaft. Denn (ilu) S A G. K U D ist ein exotischer Name, der in den Keilinschriften nur selten und zwar in den liturgischen oder astronomischen Texten auftaucht, während man an obiger Stelle einen Hauptgott von Babel und darum einen häufig vorkommenden, bekannten Gottesnamen erwartet.

Zum Namen Asarhaddon II S. 289. Sanherib hatte verfügt, daß Asarhaddon den Namen Aššur-etillu-(ilāni)-mukin-apli annehmen sollte. Letzterer scheint also, obwohl seiner Geburt nach nicht berechtigter Thronerbe, von Sanherib zu Lebzeiten zum Nachfolger designiert worden zu sein (daher die Änderung des Namens). Dies war vielleicht der Anlaß zur Ermordung Sanheribs, indem ein älterer Sohn vor Asarhaddon Anspruch auf die Herrschaft erhob. Hierher gehört das „Testament“ Sanheribs 3 R 16, 3, wo Sanherib nach Aufzählung verschiedener kostbarer Gegenstände sagt: 7 a-na Aššur-aḫi-iddin maria ša arkā 8 Aššur-etillu-mukin-apli šum-šu 9 na-bu-u ki-i ru-'a 10 a-din, d. h. „(jene Kostbarkeiten) habe ich meinem Sohne (nicht aplu, Erbsohn) Asarhaddon, welcher nachher Aššur-etillu-mukin-apli heißen soll, gemäß freier Verfügung (?) übergeben“. — Diesen Namen hat sich Asarhaddon als König zuweilen auch beigelegt. Bei Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, 1. Heft S. 51, ist eine Lapislazulinschrift veröffentlicht, in der von Restaurierungsarbeiten Asarhaddons, u. a. auch in Babylon, die Rede ist: Ana-ku Aššur-e-til-ilāni-mukin-apli šar kiššati šar (mat) Aššur apil Sin-aḫē-riba šar kiššati šar (mat) Aššur apil Šarru-ukin šar (mat) Aššur ma banu-u bit (ilu) Aššur epeš E-sag-gil u Babili nu-ud-diš eš-ri-e-te ša ma-ḫa-zi usw., d. i.: „Ich Aššur-etil-ilāni-mukin-apli, König der Welt, König von Assyrien, Sohn Sanheribs, Königs der Welt, Königs von Assyrien, des Sohnes Sargons, des Königs von Assyrien, der gebaut hat den Tempel des Assur, der Esagila und Babylon gemacht, der die Heiligtümer der Städte erneuerte usw.“

Zum Zuge Psammetichs II nach Palästina II S. 377. Die dürftige Nachricht des Papyrus von El hibe macht nicht den Eindruck, daß es dabei zu ernstern kriegerischen Kollisionen gekommen sei. Merkwürdigerweise zogen Vertreter der Priestergilden von den ägyptischen Tempeln mit. So berichtet wenigstens in dem neuen Papyrus ein gewisser Peteese unter Darius I (um 512) nach der Erzählung seines Großvaters, der als Vertreter der Priesterschaft des Tempels von Teuzoi mitzog. Mit den Chaldäern hat sich Psammetich II schwerlich gemessen. Vielleicht hatten sich die Philister um jene Zeit auf die Seite Babylons geschlagen und sollten durch das Erscheinen des Phrao zum Bündnisse mit Ägypten gezwungen werden (wie Gaza von Necho i. J. 608). Man könnte das Orakel Jer 47, 1—7 hierherziehen. Dann wäre Gaza von Psammetich II 592 überwunden worden (ib. v. 1). Ganz Philistia hätte sich darauf dem Phrao angeschlossen, und dafür wäre dann „von Norden“ (ib. v. 2) der Feind, nämlich Nebukadnezar bei Gelegenheit der Belagerung Jerusalems i. J. 589, verwüstend über das Land gekommen.

Die Bezeichnung Tiglat Pileser IV statt III ergibt sich aus Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur. Nach N. 21 (S. 37) ist nach Tiglat Pileser I (hinter seine Söhne Aššurbelkala und Šamši Adad IV) ein Adadnirari II und sein Sohn Tiglat Pileser als der zweite dieses Namens einzuschließen. Daran schließen sich nach N. 20 (S. 36) Z. 2 ff. in genealogischer Folge Aššurirbi (dort undeutlich), Aššur-reš-išši II, Tiglat Pileser III und Aššurdân. Folglich ist Tiglat Pileser, der 745 den Thron usurpierte, der vierte dieses Namens.

In ähnlicher Weise ergibt sich die Notwendigkeit der Bezeichnung Adadnirari IV statt III (811—783). Der erste dieses Namens ist der Vater Salmanassars I (um 1300). Längere Inschriften dieser beiden Herrscher sind in Messerschmidts Keilschrifttexten publiziert. Aus ebendort N. 21 (cf. oben) ergibt sich Adadnirari II. Der dritte dieses Namens ist der Vater Tukulti Ninibs II, der bei Assurnaširpal als dessen Großvater erwähnt wird (cf. K B 1, 122).

### Berichtigungen.

I S. 55 Z. 20 lies Maudslay (statt Maudlay).

I S. 73 Z. 13 soll es heißen: (Im folgenden Verzeichnisse fügt L) außer in v. 10 usw.

I S. 104 Z. 13 und öfter lies Baruk (nicht k).

I S. 155 Z. 19 lies Tell el ħesi (nicht š).

I S. 294 Z. 15 von unten soll es heißen: (Außer Dt 17, 16 ist im Pentateuch) in Gesetzesbestimmungen (von Pferden nicht die Rede).

I S. 310 Z. 12 lies Dschebel el maḳrâh.

I S. 311 Z. 19 ist deutlicher t'-hnm(t)-iš(t) mit š zu lesen.

II S. 38 Z. 3 von unten lies: Elisäus hatte zu Samaria usw. (nicht Elias).

II S. 108 Z. 7 von unten lies Peutingeriana (nicht Peutingerina).

II S. 230 Z. 13 lies Σίμα (nicht Σίμα).

Zu II S. 273 oben ist zu bemerken, daß das Gebirge Bešri (Bisuru) nicht bei Tell Bašer, sondern besser weiter stromabwärts am Euftrat im Dschebel el bišri zu suchen ist.

Absolute Sicherheit in der Schreibung der modernen arabischen Namen ist trotz aller Sorgfalt nicht zu erreichen, besonders wo es gilt, s und š, t und ṭ zu unterscheiden. So schreiben z. B. manche Wadi es sarâr (statt eš šarâr), andere Merdsch 'ajûn (statt 'ajjûn), Nahr el auwali (statt 'auwali) usw.

## Register.

Die arabischen Ziffern bezeichnen die Seiten. II ist der zweite Halbband. Zuweilen gibt ein Stern hinter der Ziffer eine Hauptstelle an. Moderne (arabische) Namen sind nur mit Auswahl gegeben, ebenso Fernliegendes, das nur zufällig erwähnt wird. Autornamen sind ausgeschlossen.

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| <p>Abana II 41.<br/>Abda 69.<br/>Abdaširti 259.<br/>Abdimilkuti II 321.<br/>Abel Bet Ma'aka 388.<br/>Abel Mehola 78*, 453;<br/>II 157.<br/>Abendopfer 436; II 203.<br/>Abhira 265.<br/>Abi II 241.<br/>Abia, Sohn Jerobeams I<br/>363.<br/>Abia, König v. Juda 368,<br/>370, 381 f.*<br/>Abiate II 322.<br/>Abilakka II 189.<br/>Abimelech 46.<br/>Abinadab 76.<br/>Abiram 410.<br/>Abisag 5.<br/>Abitikna II 225.<br/>Abner 30, 76.<br/>Abram, Feld des 374.<br/>Absalom 6f.<br/>Adad, Prinz v. Edom 308,<br/>313.<br/>Adadnirari IV (III) 5, 259,<br/>406; II 50, 147*, 152*.<br/>Adaja II 327.<br/>Adam, Furt von 78, 195.<br/>Aden 265.<br/>Adija 275.<br/>Adini, cf. Bit Adini.<br/>Adma 373.<br/>Adonias 5f., 37.<br/>Adoniram 69, 339.<br/>Adonis 440; II 38.<br/>Adramelus II 287.</p> | <p>Adrammelek, Gott II 231.<br/>Adrammelek II 287.<br/>Adullam 341.<br/>Adumu 276; II 292.<br/>Adummatu 276.<br/>Afeš 481*; II 156 f.<br/>Afeša 241; II 38.<br/>Affen 265, 289.<br/>Afura 266.<br/>Ägypten, Bach von 242.<br/>Ägyptische Einflüsse auf<br/>Israel II 216.<br/>Agusi (Bit A.) 406*, 474.<br/>Ahab 406 f.*, Tod 490 f.,<br/>501*, 504; II 91, 104.<br/>Ahaz II 74, 177 f., 195 f.,<br/>292, 340, 348.<br/>Ahazja v. Israel 501, 506;<br/>II 2*, 104.<br/>Ahazja von Juda 408;<br/>II 75 f., 97 f., 99, 110.<br/>Ahia (Ahija), Beamter 66.<br/>Ahia, Prophet 318, 336,<br/>363.<br/>Ahiababa II 258.<br/>Ahiškar II 254.<br/>Ahikam II 333, 391.<br/>Ahilud 66.<br/>Ahimaas 66, 82.<br/>Ahimeti II 243.<br/>Ahinadab 82.<br/>Ahišar 69.<br/>Ain el burak 179.<br/>Ain mališa (meliši) II 163,<br/>445.<br/>Ain eš šālilī 179.<br/>Ajapir 268.<br/>Ajjalon 75 f. 340, 373;<br/>II 197.</p> | <p>Akaba 444; II 74, 180.<br/>Akbor II 334.<br/>Akiš 45.<br/>Akko II 213, 246, 322.<br/>Akzib II 246.<br/>Alarodier II 288.<br/>Aleppo II 43, 60.<br/>Ališār 267, 282.<br/>Allabra II 225.<br/>Almuggim 265 f., 280 f.*<br/>Altar, cf. Brandopferaltar.<br/>Altar, Räucheraltar 139.<br/>Altar zu Damaskus II 201.<br/>Alter Teich II 312.<br/>Amā II 225.<br/>Amana II 41.<br/>Amasa 30.<br/>Amasis II 269.<br/>Amasja II 148, 161 f., 253.<br/>Amenemopet 311.<br/>Amenhotep I 293.<br/>Amenhotep III 54, 301;<br/>II 4.<br/>Amenhotep IV 133, 160.<br/>Amittai II 172.<br/>Amk (Unki) 474; II 50.<br/>Ammananu II 41, 366.<br/>Ammia II 224.<br/>Ammoniter 310; II 153,<br/>157, 171, 191, 193, 367,<br/>376, 393.<br/>Amnon 6.<br/>Amon, Beamter 497.<br/>Amon, Gott 222.<br/>Amon, König II 323*, 343,<br/>348.<br/>Amoriter 259.<br/>Amoritergebiet 241.</p> |
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# EXEGETISCHES HANDBUCH ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT.

IN VERBINDUNG MIT FACHGELEHRTEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

**DR. JOHANNES NIKEL,**  
ORD. PROFESSOR DER THEOLOGIE IN Breslau.

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9. BAND.

**DIE BÜCHER DER KÖNIGE.**

ÜBERSETZT UND ERKLÄRT

VON

**DR. A. ŠANDA,**  
PROFESSOR DER THEOLOGIE AM PRIESTERSEMINAR  
ZU LEITMERITZ IN BÖHMEN.

2. HALBBAND. DAS ZWEITE BUCH DER KÖNIGE.

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MÜNSTER IN WESTF. 1912  
ASCHENDORFFSCHE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG

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one of the revolutions which took place seems to have been abetted, if not instigated, by them. On the other hand, Judah was remarkably free from revolutions or usurpations. This was, no doubt, due in part to the personal qualities of some of its early sovereigns; but in part also to the affection and reverence felt by the people towards the house of David. The character of the prevalent religion, too, was purer than that of Israel, a result to which the existence of Solomon's Temple, and the priesthood attached to it, must, as already remarked, have greatly contributed. In the 8th century, one of the two prophets who addressed themselves to Israel went thither from Judah; and though he found much to censure in his own country, it is manifest from his utterances that its moral and religious condition was, on the whole, superior to that of its neighbour (see p. 354).

After the reign of Ahab of Israel, the principal feature of the history of the next two centuries is the growing predominance in the politics of Palestine of the empire of Assyria. The hostile attitude of Israel and Syria towards one another continued, indeed, for a time; but the fortunes of the war were largely affected by Assyrian pressure upon one or other of the combatants; and eventually the two foes had to combine in a futile effort to defend themselves against their common enemy. Another actor on the political stage during the latter portion of this period was Egypt, who, foreseeing the contest for supremacy in the West with which Assyria threatened her, began to encourage the Palestinian states with hopes of support against the encroaching eastern power—hopes which only betrayed those who trusted to them. Northern Israel, under some of the kings of Jehu's dynasty, for a time enjoyed a considerable measure of prosperity; but when the last of this line fell beneath an assassin, the country became a prey to anarchy, and the end soon came. Judah, on the other hand, though imperilled and despoiled by Assyria, outlasted the sister kingdom by nearly 150 years; and even survived to witness the downfall of the Assyrian empire itself.

This final period of a century and a half which elapsed between the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom and the de-

struction of Jerusalem was marked by the rise of Babylon, before which Assyria eventually fell. Of Babylon, Egypt became the persistent opponent, as she had previously been of Assyria; and in consequence posed as the friend of Judah against her formidable foe. Internally the history of Judah becomes a record of alternate reformations and reactions, the deterioration in religion and morality ultimately advancing without check, till the prophets came to see that the severest of national chastisements was a necessary condition of their race's spiritual salvation.

A list is subjoined of the contemporary kings of Israel and Judah; and to the names of some of them are attached notices of certain events of known date that occurred during their reigns, from which a general idea of the chronology of the time may be gained. The dates are derived in the main from the Assyrian inscriptions, which in regard to chronology may with good reason be considered trustworthy, as the Assyrians paid great attention to the subject, and had a special officer appointed annually, who gave his name to the year (like the *Archon Eponymus* at Athens). If to the first of the figures thus obtained (854 B.C.), which falls within Ahab's reign, there is added the sixty-two years covered, according to the O.T., by the reigns of his predecessors, the accession of Jeroboam is fixed for 916 B.C.; whilst if the sixty-two years just mentioned be increased by the twenty-two years of Ahab's own rule (on the assumption that 854 was nearer the end than the beginning of his reign), the date of Jeroboam's usurpation becomes 938 B.C.; and between these two limits the Disruption may be approximately placed. Attempts to determine with greater precision both the date of this event and the year of the accession (with the consequent duration of the reigns) of the several kings of the Divided Monarchy do not command confidence. The numbers furnished by the Hebrew historians are in many instances inconsistent both with each other and with the information preserved in the inscriptions; and it has accordingly not been deemed worth while to construct a scheme resting upon such an insecure foundation.



ISRAEL.	JUDAH.	<i>Events of Known Date.</i>
Jeroboam I.	Rehoboam Abijah (Abijam) Asa	
Nadab		
Baasha		
Elah		
Zimri		
{ Tibni		
{ Omri		
Ahab		In 854 Ahab's troops were present at the battle of Karkar. <sup>1</sup>
	Jehoshaphat	
Ahaziah		
Jehoram	Jehoram Ahaziah	
Jehu	Athaliah	In 842 Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser II. <sup>2</sup>
	Joash	
Jehoahaz		
Joash		
	Amaziah	
Jeroboam II.	Uzziah (Azariah)	
Zechariah		
Shallum		
Menahem		In 738 Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser. <sup>3</sup>
Pekahiah		
Pekah		
	Jotham	
	Ahaz	
Hoshea		In 734 Pekah was dethroned, and Hoshea appointed in his place by Tiglath Pileser, to whom Ahaz paid tribute. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 335.<sup>2</sup> See p. 347.<sup>3</sup> See p. 358.<sup>4</sup> See p. 362.

ISRAEL.	JUDAH.	<i>Events of Known Date.</i>
	Hezekiah	In 722 Samaria was taken by Sargon. <sup>1</sup>
		In 701 Judah was invaded by Sennacherib. <sup>2</sup>
	Manasseh	Paid tribute to Esarhaddon (681-668) and to Assurbanipal (668-626). <sup>3</sup>
	Amon	
	Josiah	Defeated at Megiddo by Pharaoh Necho (610-594). <sup>4</sup>
	Jehoahaz	
	Jehoiakim	In 605 battle of Carchemish between Egypt and Babylon
	Jehoiachin	
	Zedekiah	In 586 Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadrezzar (604-561). <sup>5</sup>

The following table gives the duration of the reigns of the Israelite and Judæan monarchs, and the synchronism between them as stated in *Kings*. In general the last year of a reign is likewise reckoned as the first of the succeeding reign, but in some cases the principle seems to have been departed from; and in consequence of this, and of miscalculations, a number of errors have crept in. Some of the contradictory statements made by the Hebrew historian are indicated in the notes.

ISRAEL.			JUDAH.		
<i>Name.</i>	<i>Year of Reign.</i>	<i>Length of Reign.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Year of Reign.</i>	<i>Length of Reign.</i>
Jeroboam I.	1	...	Rehoboam	1	17
"	18	...	{ Abijah	1	3
"	20	...	{ Asa	1	2
Nadab	1	22 } ...	"	2	
"		2 } ...	"	3	
Baasha	1	24 } ...	"	26	
"					
Elah	1				

<sup>1</sup> See p. 363.<sup>2</sup> See p. 370.<sup>3</sup> See p. 374.<sup>4</sup> See p. 380.<sup>5</sup> See p. 386.

## ISRAEL.

## JUDAH.

Name.	Year of Reign.	Length of Reign.	Name.	Year of Reign.	Length of Reign.
Elah		2	Asa	27	
Zimri		7 days	"	27 <sup>1</sup>	
Omri	1	12	"	38	
"	4	22	{ " Jehoshaphat	1	41
Ahab	1	2	"	17	
"	4	2	"	18 <sup>2</sup>	
Ahaziah	1	2	{ " Jehoram	1	25
"	1	2	"		
Jehoram	1	12 <sup>3</sup>	{ " Ahaziah		8
"	5		"		1
Jehu	1		Athaliah	1	
"	7		{ " Jehoash	1	6 (7) <sup>4</sup>
"		28	"	23	
Jehoahaz	1	17	"	37	
Joash	1	16	{ " Amaziah	1	40
"	2		"	15	
Jeroboam II.	1		{ " Uzziyah (Azariah)	1	29
"	27		"	38	
"		41	"	39	
Zechariah		6 mo.	"	50	
Shallum		1 mo.	"	52	
Menahem	1	10	{ " Jotham	1	52
"	1	2	"	16	
Pekahiah	1		{ " Ahaz	1	
"	1		"	12	
Pekah	1	20	"		
"	2		{ " Hezekiah	1	16
"	17		"	6	
"		20			
Hoshea	1				
"	3				
"	(Samaria taken)	9			

<sup>1</sup> So implied in *1 Kg.* xvi. 15, 16, but in ver. 23 in the thirty and first year of Asa.

<sup>2</sup> So in *2 Kg.* iii. 1; but in i. 17 in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat.

<sup>3</sup> So in *2 Kg.* viii. 25, but in ix. 29 in the eleventh year of Joram (Jehoram).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *2 Kg.* xi. 3 with ver. 4.

Name.	JUDAH.	Length of Reign.
Hezekiah	.	29
Manasseh	.	55
Amon	.	2
Josiah	.	31
Jehoahaz	.	3 months
Jehoiakim	.	11
Jehoiachin	.	3 months
Zedekiah	.	11

Jerusalem taken 586 B. C.

As Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah were killed at the same time by Jehu, the sums of the reigns of the Israelite and Judæan kings up to this date ought to be equal; but in point of fact there is a difference of three years (Israel 98, Judah 95). Similarly the sum of the reigns in the same two lines of kings from the accession of Jehu and Athaliah to the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah should be equal; but between them there is a difference of more than twenty-one years (Israel, 143 years, 7 months; Judah, 165 years). Moreover, as has been said, the dates implied by these tables do not tally with those ascertained from the Assyrian inscriptions. Since Ahab fought in alliance with the Syrians at Karkar in 854, he cannot have met his death in conflict with them before 853. But in 842, only eleven years afterwards, Jehu was king; and this interval of eleven years has to include the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram. These two kings, therefore, cannot have ruled for the fourteen years represented. Again, since Menahem was king of Israel in 738, and Samaria was captured in 722, the interval of sixteen years must cover the reigns of Pekahiah, Pekah, and Hoshea, which are therefore likewise over-estimated (thirty-one years in all) by the writer of *2 Kings*. Again, some of the figures given in connection with the kings of Judah, Ahaz and Hezekiah, are inconsistent with the dates of events preceding or following them. On the one hand, the fall of Samaria in 722 is said to have happened in the sixth year of Hezekiah, according to *2 Kg.* xviii. 10, which makes 727 the year of his accession. But if Hezekiah was on the throne in 727, and Jotham his grandfather was contemporary with Pekah of Israel (*2 Kg.* xv. 32), who reigned *after* 738 (which fell, as shown above, in the reign of his predecessor, Menahem), Ahaz, who came between Jotham and Hezekiah, cannot have reigned the sixteen years ascribed to him. On the other hand, *2 Kg.* xviii. 13 places Sennacherib's invasion of 701 in Hezekiah's fourteenth year, and therefore his accession in 714. But this, whilst affording more space for the reigns of his immediate predecessors, conflicts with the figures given for those of his successors, for between 714 and 605, the date of the battle of Carchemish in Jehoiakim's fourth year (*Jer.* xlvi. 2), the interval is only 109 years, whereas the sum of the reigns of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah amounts to 117 years.

One of the first acts of JEROBOAM on ascending the throne was to increase the defences of his kingdom. Leaving his native Zeredah, he made Shechem, in the pass between Ebal and Gerizim, his capital, and fortified it, though subsequently he appears to have transferred his court to Tirzah<sup>1</sup> (see *1 Kg.* xiv. 17),

<sup>1</sup> Once the seat of a Canaanite kingdom, according to *Josh.* xii. 24. For its magnificence see *Cant.* vi. 4.

which, at a later date, displaced Shechem as the seat of government (*1 Kg.* xv. 33, xvi. 9). To protect the district E. of the Jordan he likewise fortified Penuel, not far from Succoth. If he maintained his friendly relations with Egypt, it may be assumed that he used his influence to the prejudice of his rival Rehoboam, and that his machinations had something to do with the invasion of Judah by Shishak (to be mentioned shortly). But in strengthening himself against the expected hostility of the Southern Kingdom, he did not rely upon material resources only. He knew the attraction which the Temple at Jerusalem would have for the religious spirits of the nation; and consequently he proceeded to establish rival seats of worship. The chief of these were Bethel and Dan, at the two extremities of his dominions. Both had been sanctuaries since the time of the Judges; and at Dan Jehovah had previously been worshipped through the medium of an image. In each of these Jeroboam now placed a calf of gold to represent the God of Israel, following the example set by Aaron in the Wilderness. The festival of Ingathering (Tabernacles) observed in Judah on the fifteenth day of the seventh month was in the Northern Kingdom directed to be kept a month later, on the fifteenth of the eighth month (presumably because the harvest was not so early as in S. Palestine). Jeroboam, however, did not adopt the practice, which was probably now beginning to obtain in Judah, of confining the priesthood to members of the tribe of Levi, but, instead, made priests from all the tribes without distinction. Both in this and in the maintenance of a plurality of sanctuaries he was only following precedent. As has been shown in a previous chapter, the prior history negatives the belief that worship had hitherto been restricted to a single shrine, or priestly duties to a single tribe.<sup>1</sup> And even the adoration of Jehovah under a material emblem, though contrary to the second "word" of the Decalogue, and probably to the teaching of Moses, was, as already indicated, not unexampled. The unqualified condemnation, therefore, which in the books of *Kings* is passed on Jeroboam, may perhaps be taken to represent the judgment of a later generation rather than that of contemporary thought generally.

<sup>1</sup> Contrast *2 Ch.* xi. 14-16.

In 1 *Kg.* xiii., indeed, Jeroboam's action is described as receiving immediate censure from a prophet. There it is related that when the king was burning incense on the altar at Bethel, he was confronted by a *man of God* from Judah, who declared that a descendant of David, Josiah by name, should eventually defile the altar by sacrificing upon it the priests of the "high places"; and as a warranty for the truth of his words, announced that the altar before them should be rent and its ashes poured out. His announcement was fulfilled; and the king in attempting to arrest him, found his arm dried up and helpless, and only recovered its use on the intercession of the prophet. The latter, when invited to share the king's hospitality, declined it on the ground that he had been divinely forbidden to eat or drink in the impious land; but after his departure, an old prophet, who resided in Bethel, overtook him, and by professing to have received a divine commission to entertain him, brought him back to eat bread. After the meal, the old prophet foretold his death as a punishment for his disobedience, and he was slain by a lion<sup>1</sup> on his homeward journey. The narrative presents many difficulties. Both the prophets are nameless; the precision with which the name of the king destined to accomplish the prediction respecting the altar at Bethel some 300 years afterwards is given, is hardly to be paralleled; and the mention of the "cities of Samaria" (ver. 32) is an anachronism (see 1 *Kg.* xvi. 24).<sup>2</sup> The fulfilment of the recorded prediction is recounted in 2 *Kg.* xxiii. 15-20 (see p. 376).

Jeroboam's institution of the calf-images is also related (c. xiv. 1-18) to have been denounced by the prophet Ahijah. On the occasion of the sickness of one of Jeroboam's sons, his queen was sent from Tirzah to Shiloh to consult the prophet as to the prospect of his recovery. The queen, taking a present with her,<sup>3</sup> went disguised; but Ahijah, though blind by reason of his age, recognised her; and declared that inasmuch as Jeroboam had provoked Jehovah by making for himself other gods and molten images, his whole family should be exterminated, and that the sick child, who should die as soon as the queen returned to the house, should alone receive burial. There is nothing intrinsically incredible in the incident described; but the narrative as it stands contains a phrase (ver. 9) inapplicable to Jeroboam, and the announcement of exile beyond the Euphrates (ver. 15), at a time when Israel had not yet come in contact with the great trans-Euphratene power Assyria, is anachronistic, whilst in the LXX. the story appears (as has been seen) in a different form and connection. The statement that Jeroboam worshipped other gods than Jehovah (ver. 9) is not confirmed by the rest of the history except 2 *Ch.* xi. 15; and it is noteworthy that the name of the son whom he had by the Egyptian princess (according to the LXX.) contains the element JAH (*Abta* = Abijah).

REHOBAM, who found his kingdom reduced to a single tribe, seems to have been quite a youth when he came to the throne (one version of the LXX., as already observed, giving his age as sixteen). Like his northern rival, he early devoted much time and attention to the work of defence. The support and protec-

<sup>1</sup> For lions in Palestine see *Jud.* xiv. 5, 1 *Sam.* xvii. 34, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 20, 1 *Kg.* xx. 36, 2 *Kg.* xvii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Divine communications through the medium of an angel are a feature of this narrative in common with some of the stories related of Elijah; cf. 1 *Kg.* xiii. 18 with xix. 5, 7, 2 *Kg.* i. 3, 15. <sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 *Sam.* ix. 7, 2 *Kg.* viii. 8.

(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the third to the fourth. 30. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete. 31. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tables. And there is no neglecting (this com-

(see below) and 4 intercalary days, 52 weeks, or 364 days. This our author takes to be the duration of a solar year. A solar year of 12 months is likewise presupposed in iv. 17 where the months are said to be of the same number as the signs of the zodiac; in v. 27 where five months are described as amounting to 150 days, hence each month consists of 30 days; in xii. 16 Abram makes observations on the 1st of the 7th month to learn the character of the ensuing six months (autumn and winter). They are solar months; for they are six in number, xii. 27; in xvi. 12-13 a year of twelve months is implied; and in xxv. 16 the tribes who are to spring from Jacob are to be of the same number as the months of the year. In the face of these facts Frankel was quite wrong, as Beer has shown, to assert that Jubilees reckoned each month at 28 days and added a thirteenth month of 28 days. On the other hand Eppstein (*Revue des Etudes juives*, xxii. 10-13) offers the attractive suggestion that in Jubilees two kinds of years are used: a civil year of 12 months with eight of 30 days each and four of 31 days each; and an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of 28 days each. Our author, writes Eppstein, fixed the dates of the festivals according to the ecclesiastical year, and by such a year managed to make each week, each month and each year to begin on Sunday and terminate on the Sabbath. By such an arrangement also all the festivals fell on Sunday save that of the Day of Atonement, and all the chronology took a regular and uniform character from the fact that everything had 7 for its point of departure. Thus the week had 7 days: the month  $4 \times 7 = 28$ ; the year  $52 \times 7 = 364$ ; the year-week 7 years and the jubilee  $7 \times 7$  years. Further, the date assigned by our author to the

feast of weeks, i.e. Sivan 15, certainly supports Eppstein's view. This date can only be arrived at by reckoning the 7 weeks from Nisan 22. Thus the paschal lamb was offered on Nisan 14: the feast of unleavened bread began on the 15th and ended on the 21st. On the 22nd the wave-sheaf was offered. Now if we count 7 weeks onward from this day, that is 1 week in the 1st month, 4 weeks in the 2nd and 2 in the 3rd (Sivan), the feast of weeks falls on the 15th of Sivan as in our author. Thus the date presupposes months of 28 days. And since the months consisted of 28 days each, there must have been 13 in this ecclesiastical year, as it consisted of 364 days. Finally, if Eppstein's view on the interpretation of vi. 22 is correct, it serves to confirm the above view; for if the year begins on Sunday, the passover on Nisan falls on the Sabbath: the offering of the wave-sheaf on Sunday the 22nd and the feast of weeks on Sunday, Sivan 15.

But on the other hand there is this objection to this theory: it is not true that all the festivals in Jubilees are fixed according to this so-called ecclesiastical year; for the four ordained by Noah in vi. 23-29 are determined according to the 12 solar months of the year. Apart from this objection this theory is the best solution of the problem yet offered. Elsewhere, where two years were in use, as amongst the Egyptians and later amongst the Abyssinian Jews, the civil year was a solar one and the ecclesiastical a lunar.

30. *The entire year complete.* So b, which alone gives an intelligible sense.

31. *Neglecting*, or "transgressing." Beer has suggested that תאדו here points back to עמרי = "intercalation." Linguistically, this is possible. If so, our author would be here protesting

Bible. O. T. Apocryphal books. Book of Jubilees  
English. 1902. Charles.

THE  
BOOK OF JUBILEES  
OR  
THE LITTLE GENESIS

TRANSLATED FROM  
THE EDITOR'S ETHIOPIC TEXT  
AND  
EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

BY  
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## PREFACE

I HAD hoped to issue this Commentary on the Book of Jubilees quite six years ago, as a sequel to my edition of the Ethiopic and other fragmentary versions of this work; but after writing a large portion of it, I was obliged to abandon the task, as I felt that somehow I had failed to give a satisfactory interpretation of the text, though at the time I could not understand wherein my disability lay. A year or two later when making a special study of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, I came to discover that the source of my failure lay in my acceptance of the traditional view that Jubilees was written in the first century of the Christian era. So long as I wrote from this standpoint, my notes became more and more a laboured apologetic for the composition of this work in the first century. The earliest approximation to the right date appeared in my article on the "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 241, 1899, where, after giving grounds for the view that the main bulk of that work was written before 100 B.C., I concluded that we should "regard both works (*i.e.* the Testaments and Jubilees) as almost contemporary, and as emanating from the same school of thought." This

view was advocated in the following year by Bohn and by Bousset on various grounds, and it is from this standpoint that the present Commentary is written. The difficulties that beset almost every page of Jubilees vanish for the most part when once we understand that it was written by a Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabean dynasty, who was also probably a priest.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of Jubilees. The fact that it is the oldest commentary in the world on Genesis, is in itself a distinction. But it is not on this ground that we value it, but rather for the insight it gives us into the religious beliefs of Judaism in the second century B.C. Its interests are many sided. It appeals to the textual critic, as it attests the form of the Hebrew text, which was current in that century. It appeals to the Old Testament scholar, as exhibiting further developments of ideas and tendencies which are only in their incipient stages in the Old Testament. It appeals to the New Testament scholar, as furnishing the first literary embodiment of beliefs which subsequently obtained an entrance into the New Testament, and as having in all probability formed part of the library of some of the apostolic writers. It appeals to the student of theological doctrine, as providing certain indispensable links in the process of development. Finally, to the Jewish scholar, a Pharisaic work of the second century B.C. cannot fail to be of transcendent interest, as it gives the earlier forms of certain legislative enactments that appear in the Mishna, and of legends which in later Judaism have undergone much transformation.

Although half a century has elapsed since the discovery

of Jubilees in its complete form in the Ethiopic Version, no scholar has hitherto attempted a commentary on the entire work. Some thirty years ago Rönsch edited a very learned and laborious work on the Latin Fragments, which constitute slightly more than one-fourth of the original writing, but since his time scholars have contented themselves with short studies on various views of our author.

I cannot conclude without thanking Mr. Cowley for his help in verifying references in the Talmud.

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*May, 1902.*

untrustworthy in some passages, and is now superseded by the very much improved edition of it which appears in the present volume.

LITTMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-119).

This admirable translation is based mainly on my Ethiopic text of Jubilees, but occasionally Dr. Littmann prefers to follow the readings of *cd* in Dillmann's text, and in some cases the grounds for this preference are so good that I have followed his lead. His translation is on the whole very accurate, though there are of course some passages where corrections will be introduced on the occasion of a second edition. To Dr. Littmann I owe many corrections of my English translation in the *Jewish Quarterly*.

#### § 6. CRITICAL INQUIRIES

FABRICIUS, J. A., *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 1713, i. 849-864. Fabricius here collects under the head of Parva Genesis, passages in Jerome and Greek writers which are expressly assigned to our book. At the close of this collection he adds: "Non dubito tum apud Hieronymum Quæst. et tradit. Hebraicis in Genesin, tum apud Georgium Syncellum et Cedrenum plura legi ex parva Genesi repetita: quoniam tamen diserte illa non indicant, hæc satis esse volui."

TREUENFELS, *Die kleine Genesis* בראשית זוטא (Fürst's *Literaturbl. des Orients*, 1846, Nr. 1-6; 1851, Nr. 15). Treuenfels ascribes our book to a Jewish author, who wrote most probably before the Christian era.

DILLMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1851, iii. 72-96). These pages consist of a series of learned and masterly notes which throw great

light on the text and its interpretation. Dillmann was of opinion that Jubilees was written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic in the first cent. A.D. before the fall of Jerusalem.

——— *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 1857, xi. 161-163.

——— "Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments" (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*<sup>(6)</sup> xii. 364-365). Here Dillmann sets the composition of Jubilees at the beginning of the Christian era and regards a still earlier date as possible.

——— "Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch Textes" (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1883, pp. 323-340). With this contribution to the criticism of the Ethiopic text and its value in determining the criticism of the Pentateuch I have already dealt (*Ethiopic Vers. of Heb. Bk. of Jubilees*, pp. xviii-xix).

JELLINEK, *Ueber das Buch der Jubiläen und das Noah-Buch*, Leipzig, 1855 (a reprint from the third volume of his *Bet ha-Midrash*). Although the main contention of this treatise, that Jubilees is of Essene origin, cannot be sustained, Jellinek's observations on its relations to Jewish Midrashim (*i.e.* Wajissau and Tadshe) and legends generally are most illuminating and helpful. Jellinek justly recognises that Jubilees was written when the essential character of the Jewish calendar was not definitely fixed.

BEER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1856; *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1857. The former work is the ablest contribution from the Jewish side that has yet been made towards the interpretation of Jubilees. On pp. 25-39 he deals with the points of similarity existing between Jubilees and Jewish tradition, and on pp. 39-56 the points of divergence. Beer ascribes our book to a Samaritan, who made use of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, and

show that the law had been rigorously observed, even by the patriarchs.

(b) Like the Chronicler our author found many statements in Genesis that did not square with his presuppositions, and accordingly we find that in many instances he alters the text before him,<sup>1</sup> and in others he simply omits. Thus he omits<sup>2</sup> the sending out of the raven (Gen. viii. 7) possibly on the ground of its being an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 15), and of the doves, Abraham's entertainment of the angels (Gen. xviii. 2-8), his intercession for Sodom (xviii. 22-33), the mention of Lot's wife and many details regarding the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 1-24), Abraham's deception of the Egyptians (xii. 11-14, 18), and of Abimelech in regard to Sarah (Gen. xx. 2-3), Isaac's prayer that Rebecca may have offspring, etc. (Gen. xxv. 21-26), his deception of Abimelech in regard to Rebecca (Gen. xxvi. 7-10), Jacob's meeting with Rachel and his welcome by Laban (Gen. xxix. 2-15), the story of the mandrakes (Gen. xxx. 14-16), Jacob's devices to increase his flocks at the expense of Laban (Gen. xxx. 37-42), the mutual recriminations of Jacob and Laban (Gen. xxxi. 26-32, 36-42), Jacob's meeting with the angels (Gen. xxxii. 1-2), his wrestling with the angel (xxxii. 24-32), his fear of Esau and efforts to propitiate him (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.), the circumcision of the Shechemites and their covenant with Jacob (Gen. xxxiv. 14-24). The omissions in the history of Joseph are numerous, but they can be explained almost wholly on the ground of the author's desire for brevity. But as regards Gen. xlix. the case is different. It is

<sup>1</sup> See pp. xlix, liv.

<sup>2</sup> The narrative about Melchizedek is lost in the course of transmission, but was not omitted by our author (see xiii. 25 note). Nor yet was the reference to fasting on the Day of Atonement (see xxxiv. 18 note).

purposely suppressed because of its severity on Levi and its giving the pre-eminence to Judah. Our author throughout reverses this relation, and everywhere sets Levi before Judah.

Again, like the Chronicler he takes offence at the frequent mention of men being tempted or slain by God in Genesis and Exodus, and after the example of the Chronicler he represents the temptation of Abraham to offer Isaac (Gen. xxii.) as due to Mastêmâ (Jub. xvii. 16), the attempt on Moses's life (Exod. iv. 24) as made by the same evil agent; likewise the hardening of the hearts of the Egyptians (xlvi. 17—Exod. xiv. 8), and the slaying of the first-born (xlix. 2—Exod. xii. 29), he ascribes to the activities of Mastêmâ and his angels.

Again, just as we must not suppose that the peculiar impress which the Chronicler gave to his historical materials was the result of his individual activity but rather the outcome of a process, which in the course of successive generations had in many respects been transforming history into legend, so we must be careful to recognise in our author's book only a more advanced stage of the process above referred to. Possibly this process would not, in the natural course of things, have thrust the completed law further back than the time of Moses, but the exigencies of our author's time and the corroding influences of Hellenism seemed to him to demand the recognition of the law as superior to time, though revealed in time, and valid not only unto eternity but from eternity. The materials which suggested such a view were already at hand. If the earthly tabernacle was only a copy of a heavenly original (Exod. xxv. 9-40, xxvi. 30), it was but natural to infer that the various elements of the law, which were established in the course of tradition, were likewise copies of divine originals engraven on the heavenly tables. Such a view seemed to

new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained as a testimony for ever. 24. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever, so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. 25. And on the new moon of the first month he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened (the ark) and saw the earth. 26. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths of the abysses beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. 27. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. 28. And on this account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained. 29. And they placed them on the heavenly tables, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another

*On the new moon of the first month.*

On this date Noah was bidden to make an ark, v. 21, vi. 25; the earth first became visible after the flood, v. 30, vi. 25; Noah offered a sacrifice, vii. 2, 3; Abraham erected an altar and sacrificed thereon, xiii. 8; God appeared to Isaac, xxiv., who forthwith offered sacrifice, 22, 23; Jacob went to Bethel, xxvii. 19; Levi was born, xxviii. 14.

*On the new moon of the fourth month.*

The following events are assigned to this date. On it Adam and Eve went forth from the Garden, iii. 32; the mouths of the abysses beneath and the flood-gates of heaven were closed, v. 29, vi. 26; angels appeared to Abraham, xvi. 1; Joseph was born, xxviii. 24; Jacob arrived in Egypt, xlv. 1.

*On the new moon of the seventh month.* On this date the mouths of the abysses were opened, v. 29, vi. 26;

Abraham observed the stars in order to learn the nature of the coming year, xii. 16.

*On the new moon of the tenth month.*  
See ver. 27.

26. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 2; Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7, 8.

27. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 5.

29. *Placed.* We have here the imperfect; hence literally = "they place" or "they were placing."

*On the heavenly tables.* Here the festivals ordained by Noah are entered on the heavenly tables. See note on iii. 10.

29-30. *Each had thirteen weeks, etc.* According to verses 23-30 the year consists of four seasons and each season of three months or thirteen weeks. The year has, therefore, on this computation 12 months of 30 days each



(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the third to the fourth. 30. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete. 31. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tables. And there is no neglecting (this com-

(see below) and 4 intercalary days, 52 weeks, or 364 days. This our author takes to be the duration of a solar year. A solar year of 12 months is likewise presupposed in iv. 17 where the months are said to be of the same number as the signs of the zodiac; in v. 27 where five months are described as amounting to 150 days, hence each month consists of 30 days; in xii. 16 Abram makes observations on the 1st of the 7th month to learn the character of the ensuing six months (autumn and winter). They are solar months; for they are six in number, xii. 27; in xvi. 12-13 a year of twelve months is implied; and in xxv. 16 the tribes who are to spring from Jacob are to be of the same number as the months of the year. In the face of these facts Frankel was quite wrong, as Beer has shown, to assert that Jubilees reckoned each month at 28 days and added a thirteenth month of 28 days. On the other hand Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 10-13) offers the attractive suggestion that in Jubilees two kinds of years are used: a civil year of 12 months with eight of 30 days each and four of 31 days each; and an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of 28 days each. Our author, writes Eppstein, fixed the dates of the festivals according to the ecclesiastical year, and by such a year managed to make each week, each month and each year to begin on Sunday and terminate on the Sabbath. By such an arrangement also all the festivals fell on Sunday save that of the Day of Atonement, and all the chronology took a regular and uniform character from the fact that everything had 7 for its point of departure. Thus the week had 7 days: the month  $4 \times 7 = 28$ : the year  $52 \times 7 = 364$ : the year-week 7 years and the jubilee  $7 \times 7$  years. Further, the date assigned by our author to the

feast of weeks, i.e. Sivan 15, certainly supports Eppstein's view. This date can only be arrived at by reckoning the 7 weeks from Nisan 22. Thus the paschal lamb was offered on Nisan 14: the feast of unleavened bread began on the 15th and ended on the 21st. On the 22nd the wave-sheaf was offered. Now if we count 7 weeks onward from this day, that is 1 week in the 1st month, 4 weeks in the 2nd and 2 in the 3rd (Sivan), the feast of weeks falls on the 15th of Sivan as in our author. Thus the date presupposes months of 28 days. And since the months consisted of 28 days each, there must have been 13 in this ecclesiastical year, as it consisted of 364 days. Finally, if Eppstein's view on the interpretation of vi. 22 is correct, it serves to confirm the above view; for if the year begins on Sunday, the passover on Nisan falls on the Sabbath: the offering of the wave-sheaf on Sunday the 22nd and the feast of weeks on Sunday, Sivan 15.

But on the other hand there is this objection to this theory: it is not true that all the festivals in Jubilees are fixed according to this so-called ecclesiastical year; for the four ordained by Noah in vi. 23-29 are determined according to the 12 solar months of the year. Apart from this objection this theory is the best solution of the problem yet offered. Elsewhere, where two years were in use, as amongst the Egyptians and later amongst the Abyssinian Jews, the civil year was a solar one and the ecclesiastical a lunar.

30. *The entire year complete.* So b, which alone gives an intelligible sense.

31. *Neglecting,* or "transgressing." Beer has suggested that תאדו here points back to עברה = "intercalation." Linguistically, this is possible. If so, our author would be here protesting

mandment) for a single year or from year to year. 32. And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—three hundred and

against such systems of intercalating days in the lunar year to make it synchronise with the solar, as we find in Eth. Enoch lxxiv.-lxxv., and the later systems of the Pharisees. But seeing that the same word which I render "neglecting" is found twice in ver. 33 and in xv. 25, and that it cannot in two of these instances bear the meaning Beer proposes, I have retained the ordinary meaning of the word. See also on xlix. 14.

32. *Three hundred and sixty-four days.* A solar year of the same length is also taught in Eth. Enoch lxxiv. 10, 12, lxxv. 2; Slav. Enoch lxxviii. 1. In Slav. Enoch xiv. 1 the ordinary reckoning of 365½ days is found. It is obvious that we have here to do with an old Jewish reckoning. I have shown in my edition of the Eth. Enoch pp. 189-191 that the advocates of this system were acquainted with the Greek octaeteris and the cycle of Calippus, and in my edition of the Slav. Enoch, that its author in xvi. 8 was familiar with the Metonic cycle. Why then did these writers, notwithstanding their knowledge of the Greek systems, advocate an impossible solar year of 364 days? I think their action in this matter must be attributed to dogmatic prejudice. If they regarded it as vital to the validity of their festivals that they should be celebrated not only on the same day of the month but also on the same day of the week from year to year, it seemed possible to attain this end by enforcing the acceptance of a year of 364 days. If the solar year were of this duration, it would always begin on the same day of the week; for it would consist of 52 weeks exactly. Furthermore if it began on Sunday, the first day of the week, the Sabbath would always constitute the 7th day of each of the 52 weeks, and the great festivals would always fall on the same day of the week and on the same day of the month from year to year. Thus the Passover would take place on Nisan 14, a Sabbath day, the wave-sheaf would be offered on Nisan

22, a Sunday (the morrow after the Sabbath), and the feast of weeks on Sivan 15, a Sunday—that is in case we reckon 13 months of 28 days each, the ecclesiastical year (see note on vi. 29-30). By the assumption, therefore, of an impossible solar year of 12 months of 364 days in all and of an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of the same number of days consisting of an arbitrary succession of hebdomads independent of the phases of the moon, they seemed to have succeeded in synchronising the civil and ecclesiastical years without resorting to intercalary days. *But this year of 364 days goes back in all probability to the Exile.* It will be observed that our text brings forward this disquisition on the true length of the year in connection with the account of the flood. Now it is just in the same connection in the narrative of P in Genesis that a year of 364 days is presupposed as Bacon (*Hebraica*, viii. 79-88, 124-139 [1891-1892]) points out. Thus, the epochs of the flood are:—

Beginning	2nd month	17th day
Climax	7th "	17th "
Mountain tops appear	10th "	1st "
Waters dried up	1st "	1st "
Earth dry	2nd "	27th "

He points out that the flood, which in the Babylonian account lasted one year, lasts here from the 17th of the 2nd month of one year to the 27th of the 2nd of the next. Now he argues that, if one reckoned according to Hebrew lunar months, ten days (cf. Jubilees vi. 36) had to be added at the close of the 12th month in order to reach the equivalent date in solar time; for the lunar year was 354 days (= 12 × 29½; cf. Eth. Enoch lxxviii. 15). Now if the solar year was reckoned at 364 days, we can understand why Noah's exit is assigned to the 27th and not to the 17th of the 2nd month; for ten days represent according to Jubilees (vi. 36) and the Eth. Enoch (lxxiv. 10,

sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. 33. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. 34. And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. 35. For I know and from henceforth shall I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. 36. For

11, 13) the difference between the lunar and solar years. Thus the flood would last one solar year from its beginning to its close.

We presume, therefore, writes Bacon, that the authors of Enoch or Jubilees found their peculiar year of 364 days (= 12 sidereal months of 30 days each + 4 intercalary days) in the Genesis account of the flood. Considering the advanced stage of astronomical science in the second cent. B.C. among the nations in touch with Judaism, it is not possible to explain their adoption of such a solar year unless it appealed to them on dogmatic grounds and had at its back an inspired authority. Genesis formed the inspired authority, and the dogmatic grounds are obvious (see above). That such a scheme is impracticable is really no objection, if we consider that the author of Jubilees is as thorough-going an idealist as the author of the priestly legislation, and is

still more sublimely defiant of that which is merely practicable. On the other hand, the authors in question, though acquainted with the systems current in Greece, were most probably ignorant of the astronomical data which necessarily determined them; and, as a civil year of 360 days was current both in Babylon and Egypt (in the former country corrected by intercalation), they may not have known any irrefutable grounds against the adoption of the solar year of 364 days, authenticated as it was by the priestly compilation of the Exile.

33, 34. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 4-6.

33. *And they will disturb, etc.* Bracketed as a dittography.

*Neglect.* This word may also be rendered "omit," "pass by," "transgress" (see note on ver. 31).

35. *Not of my own devising.* Text =  $\text{לֹא מִיָּדִי}$ , Num. xvi. 28. Cf. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.

"To thee and to thy seed will I give this land." 4. And he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to him. 5. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, and pitched his tent there. 6. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the mountains. 7. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and had brought him to this land. 8. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: "Thou, the eternal God, art my God." 9. And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. 10. And he removed from thence and went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine in the land.

11. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. 12. Now Tanais in Egypt was at

1954 A. M.

1956 A. M.

3-5. Cf. Gen. xii. 7-8.

5. *Unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west*, etc. After "mountain" there is probably a loss of the words: "to the east of Bethel with." This lacuna is not marked in the MSS. Zasemû after Bêtêl in *a* may be a corruption of *westa* = *év*. If so, it should be placed before Bêtêl. *bcd* read "unto the mountain of Bethel," etc.

*Ai*. Eth. 'Aggê, LXX 'Αγγαί.

6. *Date trees* = *bilanôs* (= *βάλανος*), an emendation of *a* *bibanôs*, *cd* read *libânôs*, which Dillmann takes to mean "pine trees."

8. *On the new moon of the first month*. So *cd*, which is to be preferred to the reading of *a* *b* as Praetorius and Littmann have pointed out.

*Thou, the eternal God, art (bcd)*. *a*, "And said, the eternal God is." See ver. 16.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xii. 8b-10.

10. *Hebron*. Eth. Kêbrôn. *Bealoth*, Latin Bahalot, LXX Βααλωθ (Mass. *νιγγυθ*). A town in the south of Judah, Jos. xv. 24, as Littmann has recognised. MSS corruptly Bôa Lôth.

12. *Tanais*, i.e. Zoan, *ꞓꞓ* (LXX

that time built—seven years after Hebron. 13. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife. 14. And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also, his brother's son, was wealthy. 15. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. 16. And it came to pass in the forty-first <sup>1963 A.M.</sup> jubilee, in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, and called on the name of the Lord, and said: "Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever and ever." 17. And in the fourth <sup>1964 A.M.</sup> year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. 18. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's son had parted from him; for he had no children. 19. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: "Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and eastward. 20. For all the land which thou seest I

Тав(ν). The statement in this verse is drawn from Num. xiii. 22.

13-15<sup>a</sup>. Cf. Gen. xii. 15-20. Our author conceals Abram's deception of Pharaoh relative to Sarai, and omits Gen. xii. 18. The Book of Jashar expands all the details of the Biblical account.

15. *Journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent*, etc. Cf. Gen. xiii. 3, 4.

*Ai on the east*, etc. See on ver. 5.

(L. of C.

16. *Thou, the most high God*, etc. Cf. ver. 8.

17. *Lot parted from him*. Cf. Gen. xiii. 11.

18. *It grieved him* = 'akajō. So *b*. Cf. Sir. xi. 22 for this transitive use. *a* has 'ak'ijō, *d* 'a'ekajū. *c* gives hazana, a conjecture right in sense.

19-21. Cf. Gen. xiii. 14-18.

19. *This week*. MSS add "and said" against Latin and Gen. xiii.

hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the midst of the sea as if it were dry land. 14. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. 15. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince of the Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them. 16. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. 17. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and cast them into the sea. 18. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the

the Egyptians." *cd* add these words after "between the Egyptians."

14. Another example of the *lex talionis* mentioned in iv. 31 (see note), and enunciated in Wisd. xi. 16: *δὲ ὧν τις ἀμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται*. See also Gen. ix. 6; Exod. xviii. 11; Wisd. xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5; Philo, *Adv. Flacc.* 20; Joseph. *Contra Ap.* ii. 13.

*One thousand . . . men.* Cf. Wisd. xviii. 5.

17. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8 for diction. Here again our author attributes to the immediate agency of Mastêmâ the action which Exod. xiv. 8 assigns to Yahweh. Cf. xvii. 16, xlvi. 2.

18. *The fourteenth.* So we should read with *b*. *ad* = "the seventeenth,"

but *sabî's* in *ad* is corrupt for *rabî's* in *b*. *c* gives "the fifteenth." Cedrenus (i. 87), who has cited our text but a few sentences before, confirms *b*: *τῇ ἰδ' τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐξῆλθον*. This would admit of the Israelites setting out on the 15th of Nisan as in Joseph. (*Ant.* ii. 14. 6; 15. 2), where it states Israel went forth from Egypt on the 15th of Nisan having already received gifts from the Egyptians (ii. 14. 6): so also in Shabb. 87 *b*. Our text then supposes that the Israelites marched from the 15th to the 18th, and that on the 19th Mastema and his powers were let loose. Beer points out that in the *Mechilta* on Exod. xiv. 3 it is stated that the Egyptians pursued after Israel from the 19th of the first month.

Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in which they had forced them to serve. 19. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

*The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration.* (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22-23, 30, 46, xv. 22.)

XLIX. Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun. 2. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. 3. And this is the sign which the Lord gave them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into (that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. 4. And the powers of the Lord did everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel, and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or man, or dog. 5. And

XLIX. 1. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

2. *When all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay, etc.* See note on x. 8. According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 29 it was the word (מִסְרֵמָה) of Yahweh which slew the

Egyptians. Here again (cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2, 17) our author interprets after his manner the statement in Exod. xii. 29 that "Yahweh smote all the first-born."

3. Cf. Exod. xii. 13, 22, 23.

the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. 6. And all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from the evil bondage. 7. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. 8. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven on the heavenly tables regarding all the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained for ever. 9. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand will be cut off: because he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he will take the guilt upon himself. 10. Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light,

5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.

6. *Drinking the wine.* This seems to be the earliest reference to the use of wine at the Passover feast. For later references, see Pesach. x. 2; Bababathra 97 b.

7-8. Compare the directions regarding the feast of weeks, vi. 20, 22.

7. *Do not adjourn (it) from day to day (b)* or "do not change a day from

(its) day" (a). The translation is doubtful, and the Latin "praeteribit et erit illud a diebus suis" is corrupt.

9. Cf. Num. ix. 13.

*To bring an acceptable offering.* According to Pesach. ix. 4 it was the duty of every man within a radius of 15 miles, if not ceremonially impure, to present an offering at this feast.

10. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.



and a third part to the evening. 11. This is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. 12. And it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn it with fire. 13. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the fire: they shall eat it with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be

12. *Slay it . . . during the period (or "time") bordering on the evening.* According to our text the Passover victim might be slain "during the period bordering on the evening." This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase "between the evenings" (בין הערבים). It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover "at even, at the going down of the sun." But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—"from the third part of the day to the third part of the night." The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase "between the evenings." The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, *i.e.*, from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, *i.e.*, 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (θβουσαν μὲν ἀπὸ ἑσπέρης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during "the third part of the day" before sunset; and this harmonises on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jewssupport the usage of the Sadducees in limiting

the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

*Eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night.* Night was divided into three parts 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. *And they shall not cook . . . roast on the fire.* Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

*They shall eat it = jēbl'ēwō,* emended with Lat. "comedetis illud" from the unmeaning *bestia*.

*They shall eat it with diligence.* Cf. Exod. xii. 11. "With diligence" = *σπουδαίως*, which in the LXX is a rendering of תְּחִלָּה. In ver. 23 this Hebrew phrase is rendered more literally.

*Its head with the inwards, etc.* Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

*Not break any bone thereof.* Cf. Exod. xii. 46.

†*Of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed.* The Latin differs and is to be followed: "Non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac." If we might suppose two distinct Greek versions of the Hebrew and that the original of "in die hac" was נַעַם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, we could explain the Eth. by supposing the loss of הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה and the change of נַעַם into צַעַם. But the cor-

crushed†. 14. For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded, and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its festival let it be observed. 15. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it will come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague will come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His command. 16. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season. 17. And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. 18. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of

ruption seems native to the Ethiopic. If the text referred here to the "breaking" of a bone, it would most probably have used *sabara* as in the clause before and in the verse after, where the Latin uses *frangere* and *confringere* respectively. In this clause, therefore, ḥjēt-qataqat (= "will not be crushed") is to be taken metaphorically = the Latin "non erit tribulatio." This idea, that no evil will befall on the day of the right celebration of the Passover, recurs in ver. 15 in an intensified degree.

15. *Every year, once a year.* Cf. verses 7-8.

*No plague will come upon them, etc.* Cf. Exod. xii. 13.

*In every respect according to His command.* Latin seems better: "secundum universa praecepta ejus."

16. *Before the sanctuary of the Lord.* Cf. ver. 17 and see note on ver. 20.

17. *Your God.* Latin has *Dei nostri*, but the phrase recurs in ver. 22.

*From twenty years old, etc.* Rabbinic tradition determines fourteen years and upwards as the qualifying age. The determination in our text may be based on such passages as Exod. xxx. 14; Num. i. 32 which prescribe that in numbering the people only the males from twenty years old and upwards should be taken account of. Man was not accountable for the first twenty

their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it before the Lord from year to year. 19. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at sunset, at the third part of the day. 20. And they will offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. 21. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they will not go astray from the Lord. 22. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and † the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of joy before the Lord on the altar of your God.

years according to some rabbis, and no punishment was to be exacted for them.

20. *Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house*, etc. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) "thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose." But the Mishna extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).

21. *May not*. Here Eth. and Latin (*poterunt*) = οὐ δύνησονται, which is a faulty rendering of לא יוכלו, where the phrase denotes moral inability. The text is based on Deut. xvi. 5, where the LXX (οὐ

δυνήσθη) and the Vulg. (*non poteris*) render in the same faulty manner לא תוכל.

*In any place*. Eth. prefixes "and," which I have omitted with the Latin.

*Will not go astray from the Lord*. Cf. Zeph. i. 6.

22. *Every year* = 'āmata (c) la'amatāt (*d*). So Latin "per singulos . . . annos." *ab* = "its year every year."

†*And the day of its days, and †*. Here the Latin "in tempore dierum suorum" is most probably right, and we should render "during its days and during."

(*And*) *that*. "And" supplied from the Latin.

*During those*. Latin omits "those." Hence it probably represents the Greek article.

THE MORRIS LOEB SERIES

SAADIA GAON  
HIS LIFE AND WORKS

BY

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Professor Morris Loeb, of New York, the distinguished chemist, scholar and public worker, who died on October 8, 1912, by his last Will and Testament, created a Fund under the following terms: "I give and bequeath to the Jewish Publication Society of America the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars as a permanent fund, the income of which alone shall, from time to time, be utilized for and applied to the preparation and publication of a scholarly work devoted to the interests of Judaism."

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With the beginning of the tenth century the situation was again changed. The once flourishing Babylonian academies of Sura and Pumbedita, especially the former, owing to general conditions and to the lack of strong leaders, began to show a marked decline, so that the Sura academy was on the point of closing its doors, and the sister-academy in Pumbedita was greatly reduced in strength by a bitter struggle between its leading scholars and a pugnacious exilarch.<sup>147</sup> At this juncture a man of marked ability arose in Palestine, who, recognizing the propitious moment, sought to take advantage of the situation in order to restore its former prerogatives to his country.<sup>148</sup> This man was [Aaron?] <sup>149</sup> Ben Meir, a Palestinian by birth and the head of a school in his native land. He claimed to be a descendant of the Patriarchs of the house of Hillel, mentioning particularly R. Gamliel and R. Judah Hanasi as his progenitors.<sup>150</sup> With genuine scholarly attainments and considerable facility in writing he combined strong will and determined character; all of which gained for him great influence even outside of Palestine.

<sup>147</sup> The reports of Sherira Gaon and of Nathan the Babylonian regarding the quarrel in Pumbedita differ very essentially in many points. Various attempts at reconciling the two sources have been made. This is not the place to discuss the matter. See below, chapter V, and in particular Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, 55.

<sup>148</sup> A. Epstein in *Ha-Goren*, V, 125 ff. (comp. *ZfhB.*, X, 67), presents the matter as if Ben Meir's motives in starting the conflict were purely scientific, that he tried to rectify what he considered erroneous in the established calendar. This view can be accepted only with great reservation. For whatever the merits of Ben Meir's calculation may have been, there is no doubt that his personal ambition and perhaps still more, his desire to reassert the authority of the Holy Land, played, consciously or unconsciously, a very important part in his contention. More than once in his letters he emphatically denies to the Babylonians the right to fix the calendar, which, he constantly reiterates, is the exclusive prerogative of his country; comp. below, note 158.

<sup>149</sup> The name Aaron in reference to Ben Meir occurs in a fragment of Saadia's *Sefer ha-Mō'adim*. The context, however, is rather unclear; comp. Bornstein, p. 58, n. 2; 111, bottom; Poznański, *RÉJ.*, LXVII (1914), 291, n. 1, and below, note 175.

<sup>150</sup> Bornstein, p. 58, n. 2; above, note 18.

In order to bring out Ben Meir's point of view it is necessary to explain some of the elementary rules of the Jewish calendar:

The Jewish lunar year consists of twelve alternating months, of 29 or 30 days, respectively. Such a year, counting 354 days, is called normal or *regular*. For certain reasons, to be explained presently, the year is sometimes made to count only 353 days, in which case it is designated as *deficient*; or a day is added, making 355, and then it is called *full*. To make a year full or deficient, the months of *Heshwān* and *Kislēw* (approximately November and December) were selected for the necessary addition or subtraction. In a regular year *Heshwān* always counts 29 and *Kislēw* 30 days (=59); in a full year a day is added to *Heshwān* (=60), and in a deficient year a day is subtracted from *Kislēw* (=58). Whether a year is to be declared regular, full, or deficient depends upon four rules, called "Postponements," (דחייות) or the "Four Gates,"<sup>151</sup> These must be observed in the appointment of every Jewish New

<sup>151</sup> The Four Rules, for which see Ginzler, II, 91 f., are found together in a writing called ארבעה שערים, the Four Gates, because it treats of the four days of the week (Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday), on which alone *Rosh ha-Shanah* is allowed to fall, the days forming thus, as it were, the gates through which we enter into the respective new year. The original work of which the Four Gates formed a part, is lost. Nor can it be ascertained when and where or by whom it was composed. From the Ben Meir controversy we can see that as early as the beginning of the tenth century its authority was generally recognized. A certain Jose Al-Nahrawāni, probably a contemporary of Saadia, versified that part of the work which dealt with the Four Rules, and his versification also bears the name ארבעה שערים. Steinschneider discovered the work of Jose in a MS. at the Bodleian library, written in 1203, and published it in the periodical *Kerem Chemed*, IX (1856), 41. A. Epstein re-edited the same with copious notes in the *REJ.*, XLII (1901), 204-210. At the same time a commentary on Genesis and Exodus by Menahem b. Solomon (12th century) under the title מדרש שביל טוב was published by S. Buber (Berlin, 1901), wherein a different recension, of Palestinian origin, is found in connection with the verse Exod., 12, 2 (vol. II, 90-92). This recension was

Year's day (first of *Tishri*, approximately September). We shall here mention only the two rules necessary for the understanding of Ben Meir's attempted reform.

The first of these rules is that New Year's day should never be appointed on either a Sunday, or Wednesday, or Friday. Sunday is considered unfit, because with *Rosh ha-Shanah* falling thereon, the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles (*Hosha'na Rabbah*), on which the ceremony of "beating the willow-twigs" is an important part of the service, would fall on the Sabbath, and the observance of the ceremony could not be permitted. Wednesday and Friday are likewise inadmissible, because the Day of Atonement would then, to the great inconvenience of the people, fall on either Friday or Sunday immediately before or after the Sabbath. If, therefore, the new moon of the month of *Tishri* was observed in the night preceding one of these three days (Sunday, Wednesday, Friday), New-Year was proclaimed on the day following; a custom still in force now that calculation has been substituted for observation, the calendar having been fixed in agreement with this rule of Talmudic origin.<sup>152</sup>

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republished and fully discussed by Bornstein, pp. 26, 103-107; comp. also Epstein, *RĒJ.*, XLIV, 230-236, and *Ha-Goren*, V, 131. The same recension in a more concise form was published by Marx in his *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram*, Berlin, 1908, pp. 18 f., from a MS. belonging to Sulzberger (originally Halberstam). In a fragment from the Genizah published by Schechter, *JQR.*, XIV, 408 (*Saadyana*, p. 128), which contains an ancient list of books, Saadia is credited with a book by the name of ארבעה שערים. This is not identical with the fragment published by Schechter (*ib.*, pp. 128-130), which, though likewise discussing the Four Gates, is of a polemical character and forms part of the *Sefer Zikkaron*; see below, p. 415, no. 9; comp. below, pp. 168 f., nos. 1-2, and *Bibliography*, IV, p. 352, no. 2. Saadia mentions the ארבעה שערים also in his Arabic Commentary on the *Sefer Yezirah* (ed. Lambert, p. 80); comp. Bornstein, p. 25, n. 2.

A short but clear exposition of the Four Rules was given also in Hebrew, by L. Steinitz, *Bikkūrē ha-Ittim*, 1822, pp. 236-240, and recently by Ch. Tschernowitz, קצור התלמוד, Lausanne, 1919, pp. 283-288.

<sup>152</sup> *Rosh ha-Shanah*, 20a; comp. Bornstein, pp. 119-21; Ginzel, II, 67.



The second rule is that in order to proclaim a New-Year's Day it is necessary, that the new moon be seen *before noon* of this day. If the new moon is not observed until exact noon, or later, no matter on what day of the week, the New Year has to be postponed to the following day. If that happens to be one of the three days declared inadmissible for *Rosh ha-Shanah*, the festival is of course postponed for two days. The supposed reason for this rule is that it takes fully six hours from the moment the new moon is caught sight of from some place of vantage until it becomes again visible. Now if the conjunction (*Mōlād*), that is, the meeting of the moon and the sun in the same degree of the zodiac, takes place at 12 (noon) sharp, or still later, there is no chance for the moon to become visible until sunset (six o'clock), when the Jewish astronomical day is considered over. In strictness, this rule (which is also Talmudic),<sup>159</sup> has pertinence only to a system depending on observation; but, as stated before, the rules of calendric calculation were made to agree with the original rules of practice, though the reasons given may have lost their value.

It will be readily understood from the above that whenever New Year is postponed, the year is made shorter, being reduced to 353 days and thus turned into a deficient year. The month of *Tishri*, however, is not made to suffer by this reduction. As stated before, the two days are taken off from the next following months, *Heshwōn* and *Kislēw*, which are made to count only twenty-nine days each. To use the technical term, they are both made *deficient*. It may be added to complete our survey that to bring the solar year and the lunar year into coincidence in a certain cycle (19 years), an intercalary month is inserted into the Jewish year at necessary periods, making a *leap* year of 383 to 385 days.

<sup>159</sup> *Rosh ha-Shanah*, 2eb: נוֹלָד קוֹדֵם חֲצוֹת בִּידוּעַ שֶׁנִּרְאָה מִמּוֹךְ לְשִׁקִּיעַת לְשִׁקִּיעַת הַחֲמָה לֹא נוֹלָד קוֹדֵם חֲצוֹת בִּידוּעַ שֶׁלֹּא נִרְאָה מִמּוֹךְ לְשִׁקִּיעַת הַחֲמָה. The meaning of this passage, however, is not clear, which gave rise to differing interpretations; see Epstein, *Ha-Goren*, V, 129 f.; below, note 164.

When observation was replaced by calculation, the calendar did not, indeed, have to be fixed by the authorities from year to year. Anybody familiar with the rules on which it was based could determine many years ahead on what day of the week New Year or any other festival would fall in a given year. In fact it was most essential to know, in order to arrange the calendar for any year, on what day *Rosh ha-Shanah* would fall two years later.

In the year 4681 of the Jewish era (=921 common era) it was anticipated that in the year 4684 (September, 923) the rule of two days' postponement, described above, would come into operation. Calculation showed that if observation had been still in practice, the new moon of *Tishri* could not be observed till about thirteen or fourteen minutes after meridian on the Sabbath. Consequently the accepted rules required, observation or no observation, that New Year be postponed to Monday. Now, it must be borne in mind that there is a difference of four, occasionally of five, or even of six days (leaving fractions out of consideration) between two successive years. That is to say, the festivals of a given year fall from four to six days *later in the week* than those of the preceding year. This is due to the fact that fifty weeks of the regular common year and fifty-four weeks of the regular leap year contain, the first only 350, and the second 378 days, while a complete year of twelve regular months counting alternately twenty-nine and thirty days, contains 354 days, and thirteen such months make a year of 384 days. If, therefore, in 923, the year under consideration, New Year was to fall on Monday, *Rosh ha-Shanah* of the previous year (922) must take place four days earlier, *i. e.*, on Thursday. Again, in 922 New Year had to be approximately six days later than in 921, because the year 921 happened to be a leap year. This would bring New Year of 921 on Friday; but as Friday had been declared unfit, Thursday had to be substituted. To sum up: the accepted order of the calendar in those three years was as follows: In 4682 (921/22) New Year on Thursday, the year *full* (385 days),\* that is, *Hesh-*

\* Because it was leap year,  $355 + 30$ .

*wān* and *Kislēw* containing each thirty days, and Passover (which is also to be mentioned for reasons that will become obvious later), falling on a Tuesday.\* In 4683 (922/23) New Year on Thursday, the year *regular* (354 days), *Heshwān* and *Kislēw* counting together 59 days (29+30), and Passover on Sabbath.\*\* In 4684 (923/24) New Year Monday (Postponement), the year *deficient* (353 days), *Heshwān* and *Kislēw* counting together fifty-eight days (29+29), and Passover on Tuesday.‡

We may now return to Ben Meir, but for a full understanding of his position it is necessary to mention one more point, namely that in the system of the Jewish calendar the hour is divided not into 3600 seconds but into 1080 *ḥalākīm* (parts).

As a learned man, the head of an academy, Ben Meir was naturally well informed on the question of the Jewish calendar. The four principal rules of calendation had been known for centuries,<sup>154</sup> and in the main he recognized them as binding. All that he apparently asked, when he began the controversy, was a modification of the rule which required that to proclaim any day as *Rosh Hodesh* the new moon must be discovered (or, in times of reckoning, be due to appear) *before noon*.<sup>155</sup> Following either another computation or a definite Palestinian tradition,<sup>156</sup> he added 642 "parts" (about thirty-five minutes) to the time limit, so that if, for instance, the new moon of *Tishri* was due to appear on the Sabbath *at noon* or within the 642 *ḥalākīm after noon*,

\* In Hebrew this order is marked by the letters ג"ש ה; ה, the fifth letter of the alphabet, denoting Thursday, the fifth day of the week; ש stands for ה"ש, full, and ג, the third letter, for Tuesday (Passover).

\*\* In Hebrew י"ב ה, ה = Thursday, כ is an abbreviation of כסדרה, which means regular, and ז, the seventh letter, = Sabbath.

‡ Hebrew letters ג"ב ה, ב = Monday, ה stands for ה"ה, meaning deficient, and ז for Tuesday.

<sup>154</sup> See Bornstein, p. 25, n. 2; Epstein, *Ha-Goren*, V, 132, and above, note 151.

<sup>155</sup> See Bornstein, p. 64, n. 4.

<sup>156</sup> See below, p. 80.

no postponement should take place. The Sabbath would thus be declared *Rosh ha-Shanah*, while according to the accepted calendar the festival had to be postponed until Monday (Sabbath being ineligible on account of the belated appearance of the new moon, and Sunday on account of rule 1).

This being precisely what was due to happen in *Tishri* of the year 4684 (September 923), Ben Meir, believing the time favorable for the long-sought overthrow of the Babylonian authority, came out in the summer<sup>187</sup> of 4681 (921) with the declaration that *Heshwān* and *Kislēw* of the ensuing year (4682=November and December 921) should both be made *deficient*. Now the year 4682 could be declared deficient only when the year 4684 was to be declared full; that is, if *Rosh ha-Shanah* of the last named year was not to be postponed on account of a belated new moon, but was to take place on the Sabbath of the new moon's appearance. In fact it was the anticipated postponement of the New Year of 4684 which Ben Meir attacked. He contended that inasmuch as in that year the new moon was due only 237 *ḥalākīm* (about fourteen minutes) after midday and thus much in advance of the allowed 642 parts, it was not to be considered as late, and hence no postponement could be admissible.\*

Such, and apparently so technical if not trivial, was the actual issue between Ben Meir and Babylon.

The question forces itself upon us: What was Ben Meir's reason for the addition of 642 parts to the given time limit? It is hardly credible that a learned and pious man, as Ben Meir undoubtedly was, should have undertaken to change essentially one of the most sacred religious institutions of the Jewish people, one upon which depended the celebration of the festivals in their proper season, unless there were

<sup>187</sup> Epstein, *Ha-Goren*, V, 138, end of note 1.

\* Ben Meir's order for the three years was accordingly: 682 א"תה, i. e., New Year Thursday (ה), deficient (ח), Passover Sunday (א); 683 ה"כג, New Year Tuesday (ב), regular (ב), Passover Thursday (ה); 684 ז"ש, New Year Saturday (ו), full (ש), Passover Tuesday (ב).

strong reasons to justify his action.<sup>158</sup> Moreover, it would have been the most injudicious step for a leader to take, as he could foresee that no conscientious Jew would follow him, unless the religious expediency of his procedure was proved. As a matter of fact, many Jewish communities in Palestine and outside<sup>159</sup> accepted Ben Meir's view, and soon after were ready to celebrate, or actually did celebrate, the Passover of the year 4682 on Sunday instead of Tuesday.

Various views have been advanced in explanation of the matter; among them that the accepted calendar being based on the time in the city of Babylon, where noon is approximately 56 minutes earlier than in Jerusalem, Ben Meir, claiming Jerusalem as the right basis, added 642 parts (35 minutes) *partly* to offset the difference.<sup>160</sup> Against this it has been properly pointed out<sup>161</sup> that the fixing of the calendar was originally the prerogative of Palestine, and it is therefore inconceivable that it should have been based on Babylonian time.<sup>162</sup> Nor is there any proof that later Babylonian authorities assumed to transfer the basis from Jerusalem to Babylon. Besides, if this was the reason for the addition, Ben Meir would certainly not have failed to mention it. Finally, the addition of precisely 642 parts (35 minutes instead of 56) would after all be an arbitrary and futile act.

<sup>158</sup> Ben Meir guards himself against the reproach that his desire to re-establish the authority of the Holy Land was the only reason for his reforms, by pointing out to his opponents the correctness of his calculation; comp. Bornstein, p. 51, n. 6, and above, note 148.

<sup>159</sup> As may be seen from a letter of Saadia to three Rabbis in Egypt, published by Hirschfeld, *JQR.*, XVI, 290-297, the Egyptian communities too, or at least some of them, during the time of the quarrel celebrated the festivals according to the computation of Ben Meir; comp. also Bornstein, p. 12.

<sup>160</sup> Bornstein, pp. 20, 28, 34 ff.

<sup>161</sup> Epstein, *Ha-Goren*, V, 119 ff.

<sup>162</sup> This view is maintained by D. Sidersky in his recent work, *Étude sur l'origine astronomique de la chronologie juive*, Paris, 1911; comp. his article in the periodical *הגורן מארץ הנהר*, III (Budapest, 1913), 33, 37, top.

Another, more acceptable explanation is that Ben Meir's real purpose was to reduce the number of postponements provided for in the accepted calendar.<sup>163</sup> These postponements were, in his opinion, frequently the cause of celebrating the festivals at a time other than that prescribed in the Torah. Most of them resulted from the rule concerning the belated new moon, and when this operated in connection with another rule, it might readily necessitate a postponement for two days. Finding that a slight extension of the time set for the appearance of the moon around mid-day would greatly reduce the number of such postponements, he considered it a religious duty to issue a proclamation to this effect. The claim that the rule opposed by him was based on the authority of the Talmud did not appeal to Ben Meir, as the passage in question is rather obscure and allows of differing interpretations.<sup>164</sup>

Plausible as this explanation seems to be, it is still difficult to see why he should have selected exactly the number of 642 for his addition, and the suggestion has therefore been made that in this respect Ben Meir relied on a definite Palestinian tradition.<sup>165</sup> Various passages in the controversial letters dealing with the subject seem to support this view. It is quite possible that others before Ben Meir had attempted to rectify the calendar by the same addition of 642 parts, but that the literary records, if there were such, have not been preserved.

At this point the subject of the calendar may be dismissed, and we may revert to the discussion of the course of events connected therewith, which led to the defeat of Ben Meir and ultimately to the rise of Saadia to the Gaonate.

Ben Meir's intention to make *Heshwān* and *Kislēw* of the year 4682 deficient and to have the Passover of the same year celebrated two days earlier than that fixed by the Babylonian authorities (Sunday instead of Tuesday) became

<sup>163</sup> Epstein, *Ha-Goren*, V, 125 ff.

<sup>164</sup> See above, note 153. A new interpretation of the passage is offered by Sidersky, *הצופה מארץ הנגב*, III, 41; comp. Ginzler, II, 514.

<sup>165</sup> See above, p. 77; Epstein, *Ha-Goren*, V, 133.

known in the summer of the year 4681 (921). In what way he had manifested this intention, cannot be ascertained from the available material. At that time it seems he had not yet issued an official proclamation.<sup>166</sup> The rumor reached Saadia in Aleppo. He at once addressed several letters to Ben Meir, demonstrating to him the correctness of the established calendar and warning him against the change advocated. This is reported by Saadia himself in the two letters which he addressed during the subsequent winter to his pupils in Egypt.<sup>167</sup> He further informs us, in the same letters, that in Bagdad, whither he had gone from Aleppo, he learned that his repeated warnings had had no effect on Ben Meir, who had meantime issued his official proclamation, much to the perturbation of the Babylonian Geonim. The date of Ben Meir's proclamation<sup>168</sup> is not given by Saadia. In all probability it was issued on *Hosha'na Rabbah* (the seventh day of the feast of Tabernacles) in the year 4682 (autumn, 921), on which day, as is known from other sources, it was customary among the Palestinian Jews of that period to assemble annually on the Mount of Olives (east of Jerusalem) for prayer and solemn processions around the mount (Haḳḳā-fōt). The occasion was used for the discussion of the

<sup>166</sup> Epstein, *ibidem*, p. 138, end of n. 1.

<sup>167</sup> Bornstein, pp. 68, 70.

<sup>168</sup> The sources do not explicitly mention Ben Meir's proclamation. In his first letter Ben Meir speaks of the proclamation of his son (Bornstein, p. 51, line 10: *הכריז חמודנו*), which, as we know from Saadia's *Sēfer ha-Mō'adim* (Bornstein, p. 60), took place about three months later, in *Tēbēt* (comp. Epstein, *Ha-Goren*, V, 138, n. 1, as against Bornstein). In his second letter, however, he speaks of a "proclamation of his pupils on the Mount of Olives" (*הכרזת תלמידינו בהר הזיתים*; Bornstein, p. 91, bottom; 92, top), which seems to refer to a previous proclamation on *Hosha'na Rabbah*; comp. the text recently published by A. Guillaume, *JQR.*, N. S., vol. V. (1914-1915), p. 555, l. 15. In the second letter of Saadia (Bornstein, p. 70) we also read twice *הכריז* with reference to Ben Meir. It is possible, however, that the writers had in mind the proclamation of Ben Meir's son; comp. below, *Appendix*, no. 9, pp. 415 ff.

by his controversy with Ben Meir. Great confusion exists with regard to the identification and chronology of the various documents relating to this controversy. I have therefore treated the subject separately under the title "Documents on the Ben Meir Controversy" which will be found below, pp. 409 ff., as an appendix to chapter IV (see *JQR.*, N. S., vol. III (1912-1913), p. 500). As most of the bibliographical details about Saadia's writings on the calendar are given there, I shall deal here only with the few additional works, while for the others reference is made to "Documents."

1. ספר זכרון, see *Documents*, no. 9.

2. ארבעה שערים, "Four Gates." In the Genizah lists published by Bacher, *REJ.*, XXXIX, 200, no. 28 (see also no. 41, where a work under the same title appears anonymously) and Schechter, *Saadyana*, no. xlvi, Saadia is explicitly mentioned as the author of a work under this title, as also in a work on the calendar by a later author; comp. Bornstein, *מחלקת רב סעדיה*, p. 25, n. 2; Poznański, *REJ.*, XL, 87 f. For further details regarding the "Four Gates" see above, p. 73, note 151.

Here should be added the סימנים, *i. e.*, mnemotechnical "Sigus" summarizing the rules for the four Postponements (דחיות) as laid down in the "Four Gates." They were published by Berliner in his Supplement to the *מחזור ויטרי* (see above, p. 351), pp. 815-816.

3. ספר המועדים, see *Documents*, no. 10. As to the real title of the work see Malter, *JQR.*, N. S., vol. III (1912-1913), pp. 490, n. 9.

4. Three Letters, see *Documents*, nos. 4, 5, 11; comp. also no. 1.

5. סדר (סוד) העבור, "Order (or, Mysteries) of the Calendar," counted among the works of Saadia by the Muhammadan author Muhammed Ibn Ishâk al-Nadim (987) in his *Fihrist al-'Ulûm*, ed. Flügel-Rödiger, I, 320, who calls it *Kitâb al-'Ibbur* and, as 'Ibbur is a Hebrew word, adds the explanation *wahuwa al-Ta'rih*, "and this means *Ta'rih*," *i. e.* calendar, or chronology. This explanation has led some recent authors to identify the work with the *Kitâb al-Ta'rih*



which is quoted by Judah Ibn Bal'am (see below under Chronology). Hebrew authors refer to a סדר העבוד or סוד of Saadia; see on the whole subject, Rapoport, *בבכה"ע*, ix, 29, n. 23; Steinschneider, *CB.*, 2170 f., and *AL.*, p. 63, no. 26; Poznański, *JOR.*, X, 260 f. An Arabic Genizah fragment of three leaves dealing with the calendar (Schechter, *Saadyana*, no. ix) was thought to be part of the work, but more probably it belongs to the *Kitâb al-Tamyîz*; see this *Bibliography*, p. 380, letter *a*. In the List edited by Bacher, *RÉJ.*, XXXIX, 200, no. 20, a book אֶלְעָבוֹר is mentioned, which, as Bacher, *ibidem*, p. 205, no. 3, thinks, refers to this work (*i. e.* the סדר העבוד) [comp. also below, p. 427].

#### B. CHRONOLOGY

1. *Kitâb al-Ta'rîh* (כתבאב אלתאריח), "Book of Chronology," published in Neubauer's *MJC.*, ii, 89-110. In the Introduction to the volume, p. xi, Neubauer calls attention to the fact that a passage quoted by the grammarian and exegete Judah Ibn Bal'am (11th century) in the name of Saadia is found literally in the work before us, and that the Arabic translation of geographical names in the Bible agrees mostly with Saadia's translation. Bacher in a thorough review of the work (*RÉJ.*, XXXII, 140-144) pointed out many more Saadianic elements and suggested Saadia's authorship, which was taken into consideration, but not positively affirmed, by Steinschneider, *AL.*, § 146. Subsequently the matter was again taken up by Bacher, *RÉJ.*, XLIX, 298 f., who tried to show that the *Kitâb al-Ta'rîh* had originally formed part (the second chapter) of the Arabic version of the *Sēfer ha-Galui*, but was later detached from the original work and circulated as a separate volume under the new title. In this form alone, Bacher thinks, it was known to Judah Ibn Bal'am. This view, however, is quite improbable, for, to judge from the existing fragments of both the Hebrew and Arabic *Sefer ha-Galui* (see this *Bibliography* below, p. 391, 393, letter *c*), the latter was written in a rhetorical style little in harmony with a dry Biblical chronology like the *Kitâb al-Ta'rîh*. Nor is it probable that an extensive work like this would have formed a chapter of the

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JAHN'S *Johann*

BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY,

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN, WITH

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS,

BY

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ASSISTANT TEACHER OF HEBREW AND GREEK IN THE THEOL.  
SEM., ANDOVER.



ANDOVER :

PUBLISHED BY FLAGG AND GOULD.

1823.

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## V. THE BROOK BESOR; it enters the sea at Gaza.

NOTE.—It may be remarked here, that נַחַל signifies a river, brook, or torrent, which flows in the winter, though it may be perfectly dry in the summer; while נָהָר signifies a large stream, and if it have the article prefixed, almost always means the Euphrates.

## § 21. ON THE CLIMATE OF PALESTINE.

The state of the atmosphere in this climate is different in different places, but it is not so changeable, as in some parts of Europe. We shall state its variations during the six divisions of the oriental year, mentioned Gen. 8: 22, which have been perpetuated to this day among the Arabians, see Golii Lex. Arab. p. 934.

During the first part of the year, which is called קַצִּיר or the *harvest*, and which extends from the middle of April to the middle of June, the sky is serene, the atmosphere in the latter part of April is warm, sometimes oppressively so, excepting in the vallies and on the shores of the sea, where it is temperate. The heat continues to increase, and to become more unpleasant towards the latter part of this division of the seasons.

During the second part of the year, which is called קַיִץ, the time of fruits or *summer*, extending from the middle of June to the middle of August, the heat is so severe, that the effect of it is felt through the night, and the inhabitants sleep under the open sky.

The third season, extending from the middle of August to the middle of October, is called חֹם or the *hot season*; because in the commencement of it the heat continues very severe, although it soon begins to abate.

From the time of harvest or the middle of April to the middle of September, there is neither rain nor thunder, Prov. 26: 1, 1 Sam. 12: 17, Jerome on Amos 4: 7. Sometimes in the beginning of the harvest or the latter half of April, a cloud is perceived in the morning, which, as the sun rises, gradually disappears, Hos. 6: 4. But in the months of May, June, July, and August, not a cloud is seen, and the earth is not wet, except by the dew, which is, therefore, every where used as a symbol of the divine benevolence, Gen. 27: 28. 49: 25. Deut. 32: 2. 33: 13. Job 29: 19. Mic.

5: 7. The dew, copious as it is, affords no support in the severe heat of summer, except to the stronger kind of herbs; the smaller and less vigorous, unless watered from some rivulet or by human art and labour, wither and die, Ps. 32: 4. If at this season of the year, a spark or brand fall among the dry herbs and grass, a wide conflagration commences, especially if brambles, shrubs, or a forest be near, Ps. 83: 14. Isa. 9: 18. Jer. 21: 14. comp. Exod. 22: 6. Joel 1: 19. Jer. 9: 12. The country generally presents a squalid appearance, for the fountains and brooks are dried, and the ground is so hard, that it splits open into fissures. These effects are accelerated, if the east wind happens to blow a few days, which is not only destructive to the vines and harvest fields on land, but to the vessels at sea on the Mediterranean, Hos. 13: 15. Job 14: 2. 15: 2. Isa. 40: 7. Gen. 41: 6, 23. Ezech. 17: 10. 19: 12. 27: 26. Ps. 48: 7. 103: 15. Acts 27: 14. Every wind is called by the orientals קָרָע, *an east wind*, which blows from any point of the compass between the east and north, and between the east and south, see Shaw's Travels, p. 285 and Prosper Alpinus de Medicina Egyptiaca, near the beginning. The breeze, which blows a few hours before the setting of the sun in that climate, is called among the Persians to this time, as in Gen. 3: 7, the breeze of the day, i. e. the cooling or refreshing breeze of the day, see Chardin Voy. T. IV. p. 8.

During the fourth part of the year, which is called זָרַע or *seed-time*, i. e. from the middle of October to the middle of December, the appearance of the sky is various, sometimes dark and cloudy, but calm, and sometimes rainy. In the latter part of October, begin the first or autumnal rains, so necessary for the sower. The atmosphere still continues warm and at times it is very hot, but the weather gradually grows colder, and towards the end of this division of the seasons, the snows fall on the mountains. The brooks are still dry, and the water in the rivers is shallow. In the second half of November, the leaves fall from the trees. Some, who are less robust find the need of a fire, which they continue almost till April, Jer. 36: 22; others do without one the whole winter.

The fifth part of the year, חֹרֶף, extending from the middle of December to the middle of February, constitutes the *winter*. The snows, which are then not unfrequent, scarcely continue through the day, except on the mountains; the ice is thin and

Hebrews two modes of reckoning the months of the year; the one *civil*, the other *sacred*. The beginning of the *civil* year was reckoned from the seventh month, or Tishri, i. e. the first new-moon in October. The commencement of the *sacred* year was reckoned from the month Nisan, or the first new-moon of April, because the Hebrews departed from Egypt on the fifteenth day of that month, Exod. 12: 2. The prophets use this reckoning. The *civil* year, which was the more ancient, was used only in civil and agricultural concerns. The Jewish Rabbins say, that March and September, instead of April and October, were the initial months, of these two years. That they were so at a late period is admitted, but the change was probably owing to the example of the Romans, who began their year with the month of March. The Jews, being pleased with their example in this respect, or overruled by their authority, adopted the same practice. That this is the most probable statement, is evident also from the fact, that the position of the Rabbins is opposed not only by Josephus, but by the usage of the Syriack and Arabick languages; from the fact also, that the prescribed observances of the three great festival days will not agree with the months of March and September, as has been shown by Michaelis, see Commentat. de Mensibus Hebraeorum in Soc. Reg. Goett. 1763—1768, p. 10 et seq.

*Months*, יָרֵחַים, sometimes also called תְּחָשִׁים, from the circumstance of their commencing with the new moon, anciently had no separate names, with the exception of the *first*, which was called Abib, i. e. “the month of the young ears of corn,” Exod. 13: 4. 23: 15. 34: 18. Deut. 16: 1. During the Captivity, the Hebrews adopted the Babylonian names for their months. They were as follows.

- |       |           |   |
|-------|-----------|---|
| I.    | נִיֶּסָן  | — NISAN, reckoned from new-moon of April, Neh. 2: 1.      |
| II.   | זִיֵּר    | — ZIF or ZIV, also called אֵיָרָה, — of May, 1 Kgs. 6: 1  |
| III.  | סִיָּוֶן  | — SIVAN, of June, Est. 8: 9.                              |
| IV.   | תַּמּוּז  | — TAMMUZ, of July.  |
| V.    | אָב       | — AB, of August.  |
| VI.   | אֱלּוּל   | — ELUL, of Sept. Neh. 6: 15.                              |
| VII.  | תִּשְׁרִי | — TISHRI, also קָרַח הַיָּאִתָּנִים, of Oct. 1 Kgs. 8: 2. |
| VIII. | כֶּסֶלֶב  | — KISLEV, also בְּנֵרֶה־שָׁוֶן, of Nov. 1 Kgs. 6: 38.     |
| IX.   | כֶּסֶלֶב  | — KISLEV, of Dec. Neh. 1: 1.                              |
| X.    | טֶבֶת     | — TERETH, of Jan. Est. 2: 16.                             |

XI. שֶׁבַט — SHEBAT, of February, Zech. 1: 7.

XII. אֲדָר — ADAR, of March, Est. 3: 7.

The first month here mentioned, NISAN, was originally called ABIB. The intercalary month is denominated in Hebrew, אֲדָר־שֵׁנִי.

NOTE. The division of the year into six parts has already been mentioned, § 19. and need not be repeated here; but we cannot avoid saying a few words on a subject, connected with the present one, viz. *the longevity of the antediluvians*. Certain criticks have put their skill into requisition to convert the *hundreds* of their years into *tens*, or into quarters of years, or into months, or into summers and winters. Certainly they forget, that the orientals of the earliest period, as well as the modern Arabs, not only had a knowledge of the proper solar year, but divided it both into months, and into six periods of two months each. Clearly then, if the author of the first part of Genesis had meant to say, that the antediluvians lived so many months or other less periods of time, instead of so many years, he would have said so, in the terms commonly used to express those minor divisions. Besides, the attempt, to reduce the years of the antediluvians to months *especially*, will make them, in some instances, the fathers of children at five years of age. What some of the ancients say, in regard to a year much shorter, than the solar one, is, as Diodorus Siculus expressly assures us, nothing more than a mere conjecture, originated, to account for the great number of years, which the Egyptians and other nations attributed to their ancestry.

#### § 104. SURVEYING, THE MECHANICK ARTS, AND GEOGRAPHY.

I. Measures of length are mentioned, Gen. 6: 15, 16. A knowledge of the method of measuring lands is implied in the account given, Gen. 47: 20—27. Mention is made, in the books of Job and Joshua, of a *line or rope* for the purpose of taking measurements, קַדְמָה, קֶבֶל. It was brought by the Hebrews out of Egypt, where, according to the unanimous testimony of antiquity, surveying first had its origin, and, in consequence of the inundations of the Nile, was carried to the greatest height. It was here, as we may well conclude, that the Hebrews acquired so much knowledge of the principles of that science, as to enable them, with the aid of the

## § 352. NEW MOONS AND FEAST OF THE NEW YEAR.

In order to exclude any opportunity for the exercise of the superstitions of the Gentiles, who sacrificed to the *Moon*, it is commanded in Num. 10: 10, and 23: 11—14, that, on the New-moons, (רָאשֵׁי חֳדָשִׁים,) in addition to the daily sacrifices, two bullocks should be offered to God, a ram, and seven sheep of a year old, together with a meal-offering, and a libation. These were to constitute the burnt offering, and a goat, the sin-offering.

The return of the New-moons was announced by the sounding of the silver trumpets חֲצֹצְרוֹת, Num. 10: 10. 23: 11—14.; and in this way provision was made for keeping up a knowledge of the end and commencement of each month. The kings, it appears, after the introduction of the monarchical form of government, were in the habit of offering up sacrifices at the return of the New-moons, 1 Sam. 20: 5, 24—27, and those persons, whose piety led them to seek for religious instruction, visited, on those occasions, the prophets, 2 Kgs. 4: 23. Labour was not interdicted on the day of the New-moon. As the New moon, however, of the seventh month or Tishri (*October*) was the commencement of the civil year, it was observed, as a festival, and was announced by the sound of trumpets. Hence it is called the day of "*trumpet blowing*," יוֹם הַרְנוּעָה, and also the "*the memorial of blowing of trumpets*," Lev. 23: 24. Num. 29: 1—6.

Beside the sacrifices, common to other *New-moons*, a bullock was then offered, a ram, seven lambs of a year old, a meal-offering of flower and oil, and a libation of wine for the burnt-offering, Num. 29: 2—9.

NOTE. The days of the New-moon were not ascertained by astronomical calculation, as the Rabbins assert, but were the days, on which the New-moon first made its appearance, as is maintained by the Caraites. This is evident from the fact, that Moses did not regulate his chronology on astronomical principles, but by the aspect of the earth, the return of the seasons, &c.

Further; the Talmudists speak of the *signs* of the appearance of the New-moon, and it is clear, that neither Philo nor Josephus knew any thing of the distinction between the astronomical and

the *apparent* new-moon. Still the author of the Book of Kings appears to have made use of the astronomical calculation, who speaks of the 27th day of the twelfth month in Babylon, while Jeremiah, who was in Palestine, calls the same day, the 25th, 2 Kgs. 25: 27. Jer. 52: 31. The modern Jews, in reference to what is stated in 1 Sam. 20: 27, observe the return of the New-moon for two days in succession.

### § 353. OF THE GREAT FESTIVALS IN GENERAL.

The Passover, the Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles, were festivals, instituted for the purpose of commemorating the wonderful kindness of God. The Pentecost continued only for one day, the Passover *seven*, and the feast of the Tabernacles *eight*, but the first and the last only, in both cases, were properly considered festival days, in which no employment, further than was necessary to prepare food, was permitted, Exod. 12: 16. Lev. 23: 7.

At the return of the three great festivals, all the adult Jews made their appearance, either at the Tabernacle or Temple, with presents, which were taken from the second tythes, the firstlings of the second product of the flocks, and the second first-fruits. They offered sacrifices, feasted; and with songs, musick, and dances, rejoiced in God, as a being, wonderful for his mercies.

The word itself, which is usually employed to designate festivals, viz. *אָרְט*, if its original signification be consulted, is an intimation, that dancing was practised on such occasions, Exod. 23: 17. Lev. 23: 38. Num. 29: 39. Deut. 12: 18. 14: 26. 16: 11—17. 26: 11.

### § 354. CONCERNING THE PASSOVER.

THE FESTIVAL OF THE PASSOVER was instituted, for the purpose of preserving among the Hebrews the memory of their liberation from Egyptian servitude, and of the safety of their first-born on that night, when the first born of the Egyptians perished, Exod. 12: It was celebrated for seven days, viz. from the 15th to the 21st of the month ABIB OR NISAN (*April*), Exod. 12: 1—28. 23: 15. Lev. 23: 4—8. Num. 28: 16—25. Deut. 16: 1—8.

During the whole of this period, the people ate unleavened



BREVIATIO CANONUM of FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS

FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS was deacon in the church of Carthage -- col. 878.

He lived at the same time as Dionysius Exiguus -- col. 886.

Uncertainty as to exact time of his death -- cols. 884, 885.

Facundus wrote to Justinian concerning his death -- col. 883.

Breviatio of Ferrandus more accurate and more worthy to read than that of Cresconius -- col. 885.

Report concerning this celebrity ("notitia") was written by Gallandius in the year 547 A.D.

Important Canons to be Noted --

NO 181 (col. 958): "That Christians must not Judaize, or lie idle on the Sabbath." (*Laodicea*)

NO 185 (col. 959): "That no one may accept Jewish holidays or those of heretics."

NO 186 (col. 959): "That no one may accept unleavened bread from the Jews."

NO 69 (col. 953): "That no bishop, presbyter, or deacon may celebrate the passover with the Jews."

(The "Breviatio" includes the original sources of each canon.)

*cabor vobis, quoniam iniqui sunt cœtus vestri (Isa. 1, 13, 15);* multaque similia quæ commemorare longum est. Sed opportunum iudicavimus etiam gloriosissimi martyris et episcopi Cypriani, vel unum aut duo contra eos pro simili causa scripta proferre testimonia; quia diligenter cordis oculis considerata atque perspecta animadvertet quisquis corde intelligens est, si ultra novorum hæreticorum sacrificia appetere debeat. Hic namque in epistola pro sancto Cornelio similiter martyre et episcopo urbis Romæ, quem Novatianus hæreticus expulerat, et se loco ejus, sicut et nunc a novellis hæreticis factum est, subrogaverat, ad Magnum scripta post alia dicit: <sup>a</sup> « Si autem grex unus est, quomodo potest gregi annumerari qui in numero gregis non est? Aut pastor haberi quomodo potest, qui manente vero pastore, et in Ecclesia Domini ordinate succedente <sup>b</sup> ac præsidente, nemini ipse <sup>b</sup> succedens et a seipso incipiens, alienus sit et profanus, dominicæ pacis ac divinæ unitatis inimicus, non habitans in domo Dei, id est in Ecclesia Dei, in qua non nisi concordēs atque unanimes habitant? Denique quam sit inseparabile unitatis sacramentum, et quam sine spe sint, et perditionem sibi maximam de indignatione Dei acquirant qui schisma faciunt, et relicto episcopo alium sibi <sup>c</sup> pseudoepiscopum constituunt <sup>d</sup>. . . . Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam catholica Ecclesia tenet, et eodem symbolo quò et nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum sanctum; sciat qui hoc opponendum putat, hoc adjuvare tales non posse. Nam et Core, et Dathan, et Abiron, cum sacerdote Aaron et Moysē eundem Deum noverant, pari legē et religione viventes, unum et verum Deum qui colendus atque invocandus fuerat, invocabant; tamen quia loci sui ministerium transgressi contra Aaron sacerdotem, qui sacerdotium legitimum dignatione Dei atque ordinatione perceptorat, sacrificandi sibi licentiam vindicaverunt, divinitus percussi, pœnas statim pro illicitis conatibus rependerunt, nec potuerunt rata esse et proficere sacrificia irreligiose et illicite contra jus divinæ dispositionis oblata. Quare qui Novatiano, sive cæteris hujusmodi patrocinatorum, frustra contendunt. Atque ut magis intelligi posset contra hujusmodi audaciam, quæ sit censura divina, invenimus in tali facinore non solum duces et auctores, sed et participes pœnis destinari, nisi se a communione malorum separaverint, præcipiente per Moysen Domino, et dicente: *Separamini a tabernaculis hominum istorum durissimorum, et nolite tangere ab omnibus quæ sunt eis, ne simul pereatis in peccato eorum (Num. xvi, 26).* Et quod comminatus per Moysen Dominus fuerat implevit: ut quisquis se a Core, et Dathan, et Abiron non separasset, pœnas statim pro impia communione persolveret. Quo exem-

plo ostenditur et probatur, obnoxios omnes et culpæ et pœnæ <sup>e</sup> qui se schismaticis contra præpositos et sacerdotes Dei irreligiosa temeritate miscuerint, sicut etiam per Oseam prophetam Spiritus sanctus contestatur, et dicit: *Sacrificia eorum tanquam panis luctus; omnes qui manducant ea contaminabuntur (Os. ix, 4);* docens scilicet et ostendens omnes omnino cum auctoribus supplicio conjungi, qui fuerint eorum peccato contaminati. <sup>f</sup> Quid hoc testimonio evidētius? Quid lucidius? Quid dici veracius potest? Ecce enim omnes omnino pari reatu parique pœna constrictos docet, quotquot fuerint malorum communionē polluti. Quid ergo est, quod quidam quasi se excusantes dicunt; ipse scit episcopus meus si damnavit quempiam talibus comminetur, dicens: *Tu autem odisti disciplinam, et abjecisti sermones meos retro. Si videbas furem, currebas ei, et cum adulteris portionem tuam ponebas (Psal. xlix, 17, 18).* Et infra manifestat et comprobat Paulus apostolus (*Rom. 1, 32*) morte dignos esse et ad pœnam venire, non tantum illos qui male faciunt, sed etiam eos qui talia agentibus consentiunt: qui cum malis et peccatoribus, et pœnitentiam non agentibus illicita communicatione miscentur, nocentium contactibus polluuntur, et dum junguntur in culpa, sic nec in pœna separantur. At isti: Sed non consentimus, inquit, damnationi mortuorum. O intolerabile malum! O inauditum opprobrium! non consentire quasi verbis, damnationi dicunt, et consentiunt operibus, quod deterius est, execrabili communioni; cum magis cumulator maneat pœna eis qui et non ignorant veritatem, et tamen communicant veritatis inimicis. Si enim hæresim fecerunt, sicut docuimus, hi quibus communicatis, damnando vivos et mortuos; si ad hæreticos exierunt, faciendo quod Acephali voluerunt, hæretici profecto utrisque admissis remanserunt. Quomodo ergo qui hæreticis communicant, hæresis crimine teneri negabuntur? aut qua fronte catholicæ communicare sibi videntur? An quia manufactas ecclesias palatino suffulti suffragio depulsis catholicis pervaserunt, ideo vos fidem catholicam pacemque Christianam in parietibus esse arbitramini? Si hoc opinamini, audite quod etiam sanctus Hilarius episcopus confessor et doctor egregius quibusdam episcopis tempore Constantii imperatoris, quo sic Ariani sub nomine pacis et regis pervaserunt universas pene totius orbis locales ecclesias, sicut nunc Eutylichiani sive Acephali, de hac rescribat, post alia dicens: « Oro vos, episcopi, qui hoc esse vos creditis, quibusnam suffragiis ad prædicandum Evangelium apostoli usi sunt? quibus adjuti potestatibus Christum prædicaverunt, gentesque fera omnes ex idolis ad Dominum transtulerunt? Anne aliquam sibi assumebant e palatio dignitatem? » Et infra: « Unum moneo, inquit, cavete Antichristum; male enim vos parietum amor cepit, male Ecclesiam

<sup>a</sup> In hoc Cypriani testimonio Facundus aliqua præmittit, verba etiam mutat.

<sup>b</sup> Cypr., ordinatione succidanea præsidente,

<sup>c</sup> Redundat ipse.

<sup>e</sup> Cypr., sibi foris.

<sup>d</sup> Quæ hic desunt, videsis apud Cypr. epist. 76.

<sup>f</sup> Ms., futuros.

Dei in tectis ædificisque veneramini, male sub his pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est in his Antichristum esse sessurum? Montes mihi et silvæ et lacus, et carceres, et voragines sunt tutiores. In his enim prophete erant manentes, et spiritu Dei prophetabant. Hæc interim pro brevitate prolata sufficiant testimonia, quoniam si amplius coacervare vel ratiocinari vellemus, legentium forsitan memoriam onerarem. Nunc jam illud quoque breviter commemorare debemus, quod ex beati Augustini opusculis contra Donatistas scriptis obijuncti, dicentes: Dixit sanctus Augustinus: Bona est pax, habete pacem; bona est unitas, diligite unitatem, non scindatur unitas. Sed hæc et talia egregii doctoris testimonia, quantum eos suppleant, nos vero stabiliant, nequam perspiciunt. Si enim isti qui hæc contra se potius opponunt, nolebant scindere unitatem; si nolebant bellum inferre catholicæ Ecclesiæ, per quod pax violaretur; quod in ea invenerunt, hoc utique servare et viriliter custodire, sicut supra ostensum est, debuerunt. Quod autem illa, aut ab illa non acceperunt, tanquam vere noxium et lethale fugere cavereque debuerunt. Nam habenda est pax, secundum apostolicam doctrinam, cum omnibus, si fieri potest, hominibus, non tamen cum omnibus tenenda. Siquidem longe aliud sit habere aliquid, aliud tenere. Non solum igitur cum schismaticis et hæreticis, sed etiam cum Judæis carnalibus atque paganis habenda est pax. Sed illa profecto pax, per quam eos exoptamus et cupimus Deo acquirere, et veritati unitatique sociare catholicæ; propter quod etiam ut convertantur, secundum mandatum Dei pro eis oramus: non

sic tenenda ut ad illos nos exeamus, et quod illi sunt, hoc nos quoque efficiamur. Denique quod beatus Augustinus dicebat et suadebat Donatistis, habere pacem, diligere unitatem, egregie satis et salubriter dicebat: ipsos enim cupiebat, quemadmodum et nos istos, damnato errore suo ad catholicam redire, sicut in multis opusculis contra eorum schisma scriptis luculentissime edocet. Non ut ipse, aut quisquam orthodoxorum relicta, quod absit, catholica, errori eorum communionem sacrilega misceretur. Hoc et nos istis cum magna pace dicimus: Damna errorem quem induxistis, auferte damnationis malum quod intulistis, per quod et hæretici facti, et hæreticorum fautores exististis; et nobiscum pacem habentes, et sicut pridem tenentes, universos hæreticos confudistis, et catholicæ vos unitati reddidistis. Quisquis itaque hæc legis, eloquium noli quærere, sed res pondusque veritatis diligenter intueere. Et si prævaricatorum communionem pollutus non es, ora Deum ut perseveres. Si vero aut ignorantem aut violentem lapsus es, reparare ad catholicam veritatem recurriendo festina, communionem ejus resumendo: omnibus siquidem pœnitentibus promissa est venia. Nemo desperatione frangatur. Nullus serpentinis deceptionibus ulterius irretiatur: quoniam, sicut transgressoribus et impœnitenti corde permanentibus sempiternum cum diabolo præparatum est supplicium, sic a Domino Deo pactum ejus conservantibus, et fidei catholicæ fundamenta custodientibus, novitatesque profanas devitantibus, æternum et sine fine reservatum est præmium gloriosum.

ANNO DOMINI DXLVII.

# FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS,

## CARTHAGINIENSIS ECCLESIE DIACONUS.

### NOTITIA.

[Ex Gallandio.]

I. Fulgentius Ferrandus, si Chiffletium audias (a), sancti Fulgentii Ruspensis episcopi aut affinem fuisse aut consanguineum, et prænomen et sancti præsulis modeste ab eo commemoratum genus illustre pene persuadet. Inter discipulos sancti Fulgentii eminuit, quem propterea suum magistrum appellat (b): dignus plane tanto institutore discipulus. De eo plura præclare, ut assolet, scriptor eminentissimus (c): Ferrandus, inquit, Africanos episcopos in Sardiniam

D Trasamundi regis jussu deportatos secutus, in cœnobio ab exsulante ibidem sancto Fulgentio constructo, monachum induit. Hilderico mitissimo rege anno 525 episcopos ab exilio revocante, una cum Fulgentio in Africam reversus, a Bonifacio archiepiscopo Carthaginiensis Ecclesiæ ob eximiam morum ac doctrinæ excellentiam diaconus inauguratus, omnium sermone ubique celebrabatur. Ille sancti Augustini præcæteris libros diurna nocturna manu versabat;

(a) Chiff. præfat. ad Opp. Ferrand.

(b) Ferrand. epist. 2, infra, pag. 889.

(c) Noris. Hist. controv. de uno ex Trinit. passo, c. 9, Opp. tom. III, pag. 855.

consulentibus, responderet quid observandum in commune omnibus videretur. » Eiusdem præterea epistolæ meminit incertus auctor libelli de XII Scrip- toribus ecclesiasticis, qui Isidoro Hispalensi et Ildefonso Toletano subijci solet (a): « Ferrandus, inquit, ad Pelagium et Anatolium, Romanos diaconos, consulentes eum utrum liceat quemquam damnare post mortem, edidit rescriptum, ubi inter alia sic locutus est, dicens: « Quid prodest dormientibus Ecclesiam perturbare? Si quis adhuc in corpore mortis huius accusatus et damnatus, antequam mereretur absolvi, de Ecclesia raptus est, absolvi non potest ulterius humano iudicio. Si quis accusatus et absolutus, ante diem sacri examinis repentina vocatione præventus est, intra sinum matris Ecclesiæ constitutus, divino intelligendus est iudicio reservari. De hoc nullus homo potest manifestam proferre sententiam: cui « Deus indulgentiam dedit, nihil nocet nostra severitas; sed si supplicium præparavit, nihil prodest nostra benignitas. » Exstant huiusmodi verba in hac Ferrandi epistola (b), ex quibus constat hunc locum ab isto auctore anonymo relatum, mutilum esse atque corruptum, sic propterea reformandum: Quid prodest cum dormientibus habere certamen, aut pro dormientibus Ecclesiam perturbare? Si quis... de sæculo raptus est... Si quis accusatus et absolutus, in pace Ecclesiæ transiit ad Dominum, condemnari non potest humano iudicio. Si quis accusatus, ante diem sacerdotalis examinis... divino intelligendus est iudicio reservatus, etc. Vidit hunc anonymi locum Baronius (c), quem Isidoro Hispalensi ascribit, et deperditam duxit Ferrandi epistolam, ex qua noverat eundem locum fuisse desumptum.

Verum hæc ipsam demum epistolam summe expectatam, ex duobus mss. codicibus sancti Augendi et Avernensis paulo ante memoratis in lucem edidit Chiffletius. Qui ad eandem hæc inter alia præmittit (d): « In hac epistola cum nihil inveneris de Theodoro Mopsuesteno aut Theodoro, sed tantum de epistola hæc; non tamen dubites velim quin omnium trium Capitulorum defensionem contineat. Etenim cum Ibas in ea epistola et Theodorum Mopsuestenum laudet magnopere, et ipsis Theodoretum aculeis Cyrillum Alexandriæ sanctum antistitem perstringat, apparet unam hanc epistolam trium de quibus agitur Capitulorum argumenta fuisse complexam. Porro de tota trium Capitulorum historia, præter Liberatum in Breviario, Facundum Hermianensem et Victorem Tunonensem in Chronico, igit copiose et accurate Baronius in Annalibus. Quam tragediam qui diligenter spectaverit, intelliget non alio fortasse una unquam malum demonem nequiori stratagemate, quo Ecclesiæ catholice turbaret quietem pacemque convelleret. Ac nescio an non in ista qua maxime in Africa desævilit tempestate, Ferrandus ipse aut exsul (ut alii quam plurimi), aut intra domesticos parietes mœnore confectus occubuerit. Certe Ferrandus per ea tempora ad Justinianum imperatorem scribens, dum lib. IV, cap. 3, de Ferrando « laudabilis in Christo memoria » mentionem facit, jam tum illum e vivis excessisse haud obscure significat. » Hæc ille.

Cæterum cetero digna omnino sunt, propterea que haud prætermittenda, quæ hæc in epistola de concil-

liorum et Romani pontificis auctoritate tradit Ferrandus his verbis (e): « Universalia concilia, inquit, præcipue illa quibus Ecclesiæ Romanæ consensus accessit, secundæ auctoritatis locum post canonicos libros tenent. » Et paulo post de statutis loquens a synodis universalibus ceditis (f): « Sufficere iudicatur, ait, ad plenam confirmationem, si perducta in notitiam totius Ecclesiæ, nullam offendiculum moveant vel scandalum fratribus, sed apostolicæ fidei convenire firmentur, apostolicæ sedis roborata consensu. » Præterea docet ibidem (g) quod si quispiam a iudicatis in synodo Chalcedonensi, tunc « ad maiora iudicia provocaret, appellationi forsitan secundum consuetudinem locus pateret; sed quo iret, aut ubi majores reperiret in Ecclesiæ iudices, ante se habens in legatis suis apostolicam sedem, qua consentiente, quidquid illa deficiit synodus, accepit robor invictum? » Quæ quidem verba doctissimus cardinalis expendens (h), ait docere primo Ferrandum « concilia universalia secundum auctoritatis locum post canonicos libros ex accedente apostolicæ Romanæ sedis consensu obtinere, ut suprema in definiendo auctoritas ex apostolica sede derivet, atque in ea sola resideat: deinde docere, inquit, eundem diaconum Carthaginensem, quod a synodo Chalcedonensi nullus poterat appellare, quia apostolica sedes ad quam solam a synodis potest provocari per suos legatos synodalibus decretis consenserat: quo plane consensu synodum invictum robor accepisse. » Hæc ex Ferrando Norisius: cujus observata, exscripta deinceps a viris doctis, Natali Alexandro (i) et Josepho Augustino Orsio (j), hic quoque rursus adnotasse libuit.

VII. Sex hæc recensitas Ferrandi epistolas excipit Paræneticus ad Reginum comitem de VII Regulis innocente. Occasionem huic operi elucubrando præbuit ipse Reginus. Hic enim antea duo petierat a sancto Fulgentio sibi explananda: primum, quid de quaestione illa famosa nuper Alexandriæ agitata sentiendum esset, num videlicet Christi caro corruptibilis an incorruptibilis esset; deinde, qualis esse debeat dux religiosus in acibus militaribus. At cum morte præoccupatus sanctus Ruspensis episcopus, vix partem responsionis ad Regini comitis quaesita priorem confecisset, inchoatum opus magistri, partem nimirum illius posteriorem, Ferrandus absolvit ejus discipulus, ipso flagitante Regino. Cui quidem Ferrandi operi, ut integra demum habeatur ad præfati comitis postulata responsio, partem priorem epistolæ sancti Fulgentii subiecimus. « Hæc vero Ferrandi opus, ait Chiffletius (k), hæcenus mire perturbatum ac deformatum mendis, nativo suo decori ex eodem de quo supra sancti Augendi codice restitutum. Scriptum est autem, subdit, haud multo post obitum sancti Fulgentii, quem die sabbati, calendis Januarii, anno æræ Dionysianæ 553 contigisse alibi ostendimus. » Hæc ille. At de anno sancti Fulgentii emortuali statuendo dispar est virorum eruditorum sententia. Et Baronius quidem ait (l), summum illud Ecclesiæ Africanæ decus anno 529 supremum diem obtisse ipsi calendis Januarii. Pagius vero (m) et Bollandus (n) Baronium pene asseclantur. Porro contra Norisius, Chiffletio adharens (o), sancti præsulis Ruspensis mortem consigat anno 554, non autem anno 554, ut mi-

(a) Auct. anonym. de XII Script. Eccl. cap. 11.

(b) Ferrand. epist. 6, ad Pelag. et Anat. cap. 7, infra, pag. 925.

(c) Baron. ad ann. 529, § 9.

(d) Chifflet. præfat. ad Ferrand. Opp. num. 9.

(e) Ferrand. epist. 6, cap. 7, infra, pag. 925.

(f) Id., ibid., cap. 9.

(g) Id., ibid., cap. 6.

(h) Noris. Hist. controv. de uno ex Trinit. passo, cap. 9, tom. III, pag. 857.

(i) Nat. Alex. Hist. Eccl., sec. VI, cap. 4, art. 5, tom. V, pag. 407.

(j) Orsi de Irreform. R. P. judic. lib. III, cap. 17, tom. II, pag. 124 seq.

(k) Chifflet. præfat. ad Opp. Ferrand. num. 6.

(l) Baron. ad ann. 529, § 1.

(m) Pagi, ad ann. 529, § 15.

(n) Bolland. Act. Sanct. tom. I Jan., pag. 52, not. margin.

(o) Noris. Hist. Pelag. lib. II, cap. 24, tom. I, pag. 552, 554.

mus recte produnt Cll. Ballerini fratres (a); qui hac item de re alia plura loc. cit. adversus Fontanini sententiam in medium adducunt, apud ipsos legenda.

VII. Ferrandi Operum collectionem claudit ejus Breviatio Canonum, quæ num eidem sit certo tribuenda, hæere abs re videtur Christianus Lupus (b). De hoc Ferrandi opere fuse agunt Gulielmus Voellus et Henricus Justellus (c), ex quibus pleraque descripsit Pagius (d). Et illud quidem in primis observant, Ferrandi collectione nullam esse apud Latinos antiquiorem: ejusque opus præcipuum et plane singulare habendum censent; in quo nimirum canonicam omnem disciplinam, triginta duobus supra ducenta capitibus, ad singula subnotatis canonibus et decretis, via et ratione digestis auctor complexus est. Monent præterea et his errasse illustrissimum Annalium conditorem: primum, quod Ferrando trecenta prorsus capitula tribuat (e); deinde, quod Cresconii Breviarium Canonicum cum Breviatione Canonum Ferrandi confundat (f); dum ait Cresconium suæ collectioni eam subjecisse, quam eodem ferme tempore Ferrandus elaboravit, sed alio plane ordine, non citando, sed recitando canones, quamque merito Breviarium appellaverit. Nam, inquit, præterquam quod Ferrando faciat Cresconium æqualem, qui vera ducentis fere annis posterior fuit, certissimum est ex omnibus libris editis et mss. opus Ferrandi esse duntaxat ducentorum et triginta duo capitulum, et a Cresconiana collectione plane diversum. Etenim licet in methodo et ratione tradendi convenient, ordo tamen Ferrandi multo spectabilior est et accuratior quam Cresconianus. Porro alia permulta edisserunt idem viri eruditi, in quibus nempe differant et consonent Ferrandus et Cresconius, ex laudata ipsorum præfatione repetenda.

Verum ea in primis jure attendenda videntur, quæ de hoc Ferrandi opere solide simul ac erudite disserit Cl. antecessor Franciscus Florens in dissertatione de origine, arte et auctoritate juris canonici (g). Illud unum hic addimus ex Chiffletio (h), in sua Breviatione id spectasse Ferrandum, non ut omnes ante sua tempora editos canones colligeret, sed eos duntaxat qui pro tempore ad cleri Africani disciplinam sufficerent. Chiffletio asipulatur Lupus (i), additque præterea, nostrum Diaconum Carthaginiensem suam forsitan Canonum Breviationem concinnasse ad abolendum et proscribendum præter Ecclesiæ Africanæ codicem, in quo litigiosa ac devia acta erant alpha et omega.

Neque vero prætermittenda existimamus quæ de hac Ferrandi Breviatione aliis viris doctis observata comperimus. Et primum quidem Franciscus Florens, quem modo laudavimus, in hujusmodi Ferrandi opere aliquos nævos deprehendisse sibi visus est, quos detegere ac emaculare sibi sumpserat in nova quam parabat Ferrandi editione (j). Quo judicio admonitus Paschasius Quesnellus, in uno et altero

A Ferrandiano capitulo periculum facere aggressus est, quo Florentis assertum astruere (k). Ulteriusque tamen viri facinus imbecillibus niti conjecturis comprobant eruditi fratres Ballerini (l): quorum studio præterea in eadem Ferrandi Canonum Breviatione plures obscuræ allegationes explicatæ, aliæ suppletæ vel emendatæ profertur, quas novæ editioni utiles fore iidem viri docti augurantur (m).

Cæterum quo anno Ferrandus suam contulerit Breviationem, plane incompertum habemus, cum operi suo nullam temporis notationem appinxerit. In eam tamen sententiam cum laudato Florente libens concesserim (n), quam paulo ante Voello quoque ac Justello probatam vidimus, auctorem nempe nostrum Latinorum Collectorum qui exstant, esse antiquissimum. Dionysius enim Exiguus, ut ipsi videtur, illius meminit in præfatione Interpretationis novæ Canonum, quam contexere jussus est a Laurentio, et confusione, ut ait, prisæ translationis offenso (o). Verum utcumque se res habeat, eodem sane tempore quo Dionysius, vixit Ferrandus, atque ante ipsum Dionysium e vivi excessit. Cæterum in Ferrandi Breviatione Canonum edenda, exemplar quidem Chiffletianum secuti sumus ex mss. codicibus integritati suæ restitutum; ad illud tamen eam rursus exegimus, quod postea vulgaverunt Voellus et Justellus (p) ex prima Pithœi editione vetusto e codice Trecensi descripta, ab iisdem viris Cll. diligentissime collata cum duobus posterioribus, Altaserrani scilicet et ipsius Chiffletii, quas ille Augustoriti Pictonum anno 1650, hic vero Divione anno 1649, typis consignari curarunt.

IX. Reliquum est ut verba faciamus de Vita sancti Fulgentii Ruspensis episcopi, quam indubii Ferrandi epistolis et opusculis subjiciendam existimavimus. Sed in primis audiendus Chiffletius, qui hac de re sic præloquitur (q): « Hanc Vitam quæ hæctenus anonyma prodiit, a Ferrando conscriptam esse, mea jam olim conjectura fuit, quam et postea deprehendi placuisse viro doctissimo Petro Pithœo in præfatione Breviariorum Ferrandi et Cresconii (r). Sed et Albertus Miræus in Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica (s). « Sunt, inquit, qui putant, ab eodem Ferrando diacono conscriptam esse Vitam sancti Fulgentii Ruspensis episcopi, quæ in omnium est manibus. » Quin etiam in codice Carthusiæ Portarum recensetur Vita sancti Fulgentii, proxime ante leucubrations alias Ferrandi, ad Reginum, ad Severum, ad Anatolium, ad Pelagium: præclaro indicio quod ex eadem officina Vita quoque illa prodierit. In eam vero sententiam insuper his inclinet rationibus. Primum, in epistola de quinque Quæstionibus Ferrandus Fulgentium et absentem magistrum se compellere profitetur (t): quod veluti explicat in prologo Vitæ Fulgentii, cum se in ejus disciplina vixisse refert in monasterio Sardinia Caralitano (u). Deinde libros a sancto Fulgentio elaboratos pluribus locis enumerans (v), nusquam meminit datarum ad se epistolarum de duobus aut de quinque quæstionibus, nusquam

(a) Baller. Observ. ad Noris. Opp. lib. II, cap. 14, tom. IV, pag. 955.

(b) Lup. de Appellat. dissert. 2, cap. 53, pag. 741, edit. Mogunt. 1681.

(c) Voell. et Justell. præfat. ad Biblioth. Juris canon. vet. pag. 6 seqq.

(d) Pagi, ad ann. 527, §§ 14 et 15.

(e) Baron. ad ann. 449, § 90.

(f) Id., ad ann. 527, § 76.

(g) Fr. Flor. Opp. Juridic. part. 1, pag. 27, edit. Paris. 1679.

(h) Chifflet. præfat. ad Opp. Ferrand. num. 1.

(i) Lup. loc. cit.

(j) Flor. loc. cit., pag. 28.

(k) Quesn. dissert. 45 ad Opp. sancti Leon. cap. 2, tom. II, pag. 389 seqq. edit. Lugd. 1700.

(l) Baller. ad Opp. sancti Leon. t. III, p. 998 seqq.

(m) Isid. Tract. de antiq. canon. collect. part. IV, cap. 1. Isid., ibid., pag. 246 seqq.

(n) Flor. loc. cit.

(o) Apud Voell. et Justell. Bibl. Jur. can. vet. tom. I, pag. 101.

(p) Id., ibid., pag. 448 seqq.

(q) Chifflet. præfat. ad Opp. Ferrand. num. 8.

(r) Pith. præfat. ad Ferrand. Breviat. Can. pag. 505, edit. Paris. 1687 fol.

(s) Mir. Schol. ad incert. auctor. libell. de XII Scrip. Eccl. cap. 41.

(t) Ferrand. epist. 2, num. 1, infra, pag. 889.

(u) Vit. sancti Fulgentii, prolog., num. 5. Vid. infra, pag. 961.

(v) Ibid., capp. 22, 24, 28, 29.

bus sanandis remedium voluit prævidere <sup>a</sup> qui dixit : *Noli esse multum justus*. Inter alia quippe, detractio- nis abscondito jaculo neminem vulnerabimus, nec in moribus bene viventium sollicitius inquiremus unde culpentur, si loquatur unicusque nostrum per Spiritum sanctum fidelis Scriptura : *Noli esse multum justus*. Quia utique multum justus esse culpabiliter nititur, qui per omnem justitiam proximi examinat vitam, fragilitatis humanæ consideratione postposita ; tanquam sine peccato valeat vivere quisquis incipit peccata vitare ; præsertim Jacobo apostolo confirmante : *In multis enim offendimus omnes* (Jac. III, 2) ; unde non immerito revocatur superbus detractor ab elatione judicandi, cum dicitur ei : *Noli esse multum justus* ; ut libenter impleat quod Vas electionis et doctor gentium loquitur Paulus : *Si præoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui spiritales estis, instruite hujusmodi in spiritu mansuetudinis ; considerans te ipsum, ne et tu tenteris* (Gal. VI, 1). Hoc est itaque : *Noli esse multum justus*, quod est : *Considera te ipsum, ne et tu tenteris*. Cæterum qui sic delinquentibus irascitur, quasi ipse delictorum penitus expers habeatur, continuo in barathrum crudelitatis miserabiliter cadit. Et clamante memorato apostolo : *Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi* ; nullius onus portans per patientiam, sit importabilis omnibus, paulatimque odio crescente multorum, januam primitus seditionibus, deinde publicis aperit præliis ; cupiendo esse multum justus, vere factus injustus, et nomine aut officio ducis indignus. Necessarium proinde sermonem, dux optime, sæpius repeto, et hanc tibi sextam regulam innocentiae militaribus actibus occupato vehementer inculco : *Noli esse multum justus*. Pietas ad omnia utilis est (I Tim. IV, 8) ; non ego, sed idem sanctissimus Paulus narrat. Licet justitia faciat ducem terribilem, pietas facit amabilem. Gubernationi autem reipublicæ, securitati salutis, bono concordie plus prospicitur, quando dux optimus amari eligit, non timeri. Dux amabilis murus est patriæ. Qui vero in omni tempore, continuato vigore metuendus apparet, omnes subditos efficit infideles ; facile timet prodicionem, facilis patitur extraneus vivit inter suos ; tantum postremo timet, quantum timetur ; et hoc infelicitatis flagello nullatenus caret, nisi, cunctis mansuetus et comis effectus, didicerit sibi quando alterum judicat dicere : *Noli esse justus multum*.

**SEPTIMA REGULA.** *Memento te esse Christianum.*

19. Memento te esse Christianum, quo facilius possis præcepta Christi servare. Christus enim mansuetudinem docens, legis quoque justitiam temperavit ; hac distinctione legem Evangeliumque discernens. Et quia in lege non licebat occidere, non licebit in Evangelio vel irasci. In lege namque adulterium vetabatur ; in Evangelio, etiam videre ad concupiscendum mulierem pars esse perpetrati adulteri judicatur. In lege libellus repudii sufficiebat ad conjuges separandos ; in Evangelio, sine fornicatio-

nis crimine nulla matrimonii dividendi causa per- mittitur. Prohibuit lex falsum jurare ; jussit Evan- gelium penitus non jurare. Vindictæ modum lex statuens, dixit antiquis : *Oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente* (Lev. XXI, 20) ; discipulos vero Evangelii nullam voluit Christus expectare vindictam, sed percussum semel percipienti monuit alteram præ- bere maxillam. Mille passus angariatum duo millia ambulare præcepit, interdicens omnimodis talionem. Lex inimicis odium retribuere permisit, dilectionem vero amicis indulsit ; Evangelii vero sacra præceptio : *Diligite, inquit, inimicos vestros ; benefacite his qui oderunt vos ; et orate pro persecuentibus et calumniantibus vos* (Matth. V, 44). Cumque his amplioribus virtutibus excellere legi Evangelium demonstrasset, **B**a vana gloria Christianum revocavit, et ad misericordiam cui solus Deus testis est provocavit. Oratio- nis quoque regulam simul et verba credentibus tradens, hac conditione constrinxit orantes, ut quicum- que postulat sibi propria debita relaxari, profiteatur se aliena donare : nihil accepturus a Domino, si nihil voluerit præstare conservo. Quia et jejuni Christi- ani simplicitas justum judicem placat ; et ibi con- gregare divitias, ubi eor habere jubetur, in cælo scilicet ubi habitare festinat, non in terra unde per singulos dies migrat : remansurus in tenebris totus, nisi mentis ejus intentio, tanquam oculus corporis, ad illuminanda bonorum operum membra simpliciter luceat. Jam vero quod non servare duobus dominis admonetur, quod de crastino non cogitare, quod non

**C** judicare, ne judicetur ; quod in oculo fratris stipulam videre, in suo trabem non videre culpatur ; et imperatur ei ne sanctum canibus det, ne margaritas mittere audeat ante porcos ; petiturus ut accipiat, quasiturus ut inveniat, pulsaturus ut aperiat ei : multis modis et rationibus demonstratur quantum debeat laudabilis propositi curam gerere Christianus, ne in eo tanti vocabuli dignitas videatur errare.

20. Propterea ut per singula quæ superius ex Evangelio inseruimus recurrat intentio, quando te potestas ducis ejicere gladium de vagina compellit, memento te esse Christianum, cui sine causa fratri suo irasci non licet ; et diutius cogita, ne vindicta quam videris inferre justum transeat modum. Quoniam si irasci nefas est Christiano, multo magis occidere. Sic ergo puni reum, dux Christiane, ut misericorditer feriens, non hominem, sed vitium perdere cupias ; et publicam disciplinam, ne pereat, reo per- eunte, conservare festines. Ubique fidei tuæ memor, sicut in facinoribus evitandis, ita in flagitiis corri- gendis. Solet quippe maxima potestas ad pœnas se laxare peccati, quoties falsa felicitas ipsa sit major infelicitas ; ut quia prohibere nemo audet scelera committentem, aut libeat quod licet, aut licere pute- tor omne quod libet. Talibus itaque tentationibus pulsantibus mentem, quamvis suppetat honoris di- gnitas, clientumque numerosa familia ; quamvis forte laudetur peccator in desideriis animæ suæ, et qui

<sup>a</sup> An providere ? Sed nihil muto.

Iniqua gerit benedicatur, ascendens super speculam continentiae, memento te esse Christianum. Vide quia videre ad concupiscendum pars est adulterii Christiano. Dicit tibi beatus Apostolus: *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Deus (Hebr. xiii, 4)*. Dicit Job, probatus et non reprobatus: *Ira enim magna, et ignis undique ardens est (Job. xxxi, 12)*, alterius uxorem concupiscere. Dicit iterum sanctissimus Paulus: *Nescitis quia corpora vestra membra Christi sunt? Tollens ergo membra Christi, faciam membra meretricis (I Cor. vi, 15)*? His enim vocibus admonitus, redire poteris facile a praecipitio voluptatis. Jam quoties per omnipotentem Deum iuras, cogente ad hoc for-

sitan reipublicae magna necessitate, memor eris saltem cavere perjurium, si minime poteris effugere juramentum. Memento itaque, memento te esse Christianum: militiam ducis laudabiliter gerens, ut frequentibus beneficiis multos tibi facias amicos, cui diligere praecipitur inimicos. Plus esto bonus quam severus: quia haec est ducis optimi sola perfecta laus, oblivisci semper iniurias, ut vere per hanc septimae virtutis industriam, dum semper tibi ipse dixeris: Memento te esse Christianum, merearis et in saeculo et in futuro vivere feliciter, ubi dabitur ducibus Christianis perpetuus principatus.

## FULGENTII FERRANDI BREVIATIO CANONUM.

1. Ut neophyti non ordinentur (*Conc. Nicæn., B tit. 2; conc. Sardic., tit. 14, conc. Laodic., tit. 5*).

2. Ut quicumque laicus ad episcopatum eligitur, prius annum in ministerio ecclesiastico per omnes gradus transeat (*Conc. Suffetul.*).

3. Ut qui post baptismum saeculari militiae nomen dederit, ab ordinatione arceatur (*Conc. Zellens.*).

4. Ut episcopus a tribus ordinetur, consentientibus aliis per scripta, cum confirmatione metropolitani vel primatis (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 4, item tit. 6; conc. Antioch., tit. 19; conc. Laodic., tit. 12; conc. Carthag. sub antistite Genethlio, tit. 10; conc. universali Carthag., tit. 49; conc. Zellens., ex epistola papae Sirici*).

5. Ut in ordinando episcopo alii quoque episcopi super tres addantur, si ab aliquo fuerit contradicendum (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 50*).

6. Ut unus episcopus episcopum non ordinet, excepta Ecclesia Romana (*Conc. Zellens., ex epistola papae Sirici*).

7. Ut episcopus qui suscepta manus impositione ministerium recusaverit, excommunicatus maneat donec consentiat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 17*). Si autem volens a plebe non suscipitur, ad plenariam synodum salvo suo honore sustinere debebit (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 18*).

8. Ut episcopus qui ordinatus non suscipitur, aliam Ecclesiam non occupet; sed in Ecclesia ubi presbyter fuerat tanquam presbyter sedeat (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 18*).

9. Ut episcopo ordinato statuta conciliorum primitus inculcentur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 10*).

10. Ut episcopus ordinatus ab ordinatore suo literas subscriptas accipiat, ordinationis ejus diem simul et consulem continentes (*Conc. Milevitan., tit. 4*).

11. Ut ad eligendum episcopum sufficiat matricis arbitrium (*Conc. Septimunic., conc. Macrian.*).

12. Ut episcopus in villa vel vico non ordinetur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 55*).

13. Ut episcopus non ordinetur in diocesim quam episcopum nunquam habuit, nisi cum voluntate episcopi ad quem ipsa diocesis pertinet; ex concilio tamen plenario et primatis auctoritate (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 52, item 54; conc. Carthag. in basilica, tit. 5*).

14. Ut episcopus in diocesim ordinatus ipsam solam teneat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 54*).

15. Ut episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi non ordinentur, nisi omnes suos Christianos fecerint (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 5*).

16. Ut episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi ab uxoribus abstineant (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 1; conc. Zellens.*).

17. Ut nullus episcopus, dimissa matrice, in diocesi se constituat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 6*).

18. Ut episcopi vel clerici de civitate ad civitatem non transeant, neque de provincia ad provinciam (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 11; conc. Sardic., tit. 2, item 3; conc. Antioch., tit. 5, item tit. 21; conc. Constantiноп., tit. 2, item tit. 3*).

19. Ut episcopi in aliena civitate tres tantummodo faciant septimanas (*Conc. Sardic., tit. 15*).

20. Ut qui metu persecutionis in aliena civitate demorari voluerint, non prohibeantur (*Conc. Sardic., tit. 22*).

21. Ut nullus episcopus, etiamsi a plebe eligatur, vacantem Ecclesiam obtineat, nisi ex auctoritate plenarii concilii (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 45*).

22. Ut nullus episcopus cathedram cui datus fuerit interveator, plusquam annum teneat; sed ipse eis episcopum petat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 9*).

23. Ut interventores episcopi convenient plebes quae episcopum non habent, ut episcopum accipiant. Quod si accipere neglexerint, remoto inter-

ventore sic remaneant, quoad sibi episcopum quæ- rant (*Conc. Maerian.*).

24. Ut nullus episcopus plebem alienam usurpet (*Conc. Carthag. sub sancto Grato, tit. 9; conc. Carthag. sub antistite Genethlio, tit. 9; item conc. Carthag., tit. 5*).

25. Ut episcopus qui sine episcoporum judicio plebem aliquam quam ad suam cathedram existimat pertinere, tenuerit, causam amittat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 12*).

26. Ut in plebe aliena nullus sibi episcopus audeat vindicare (*Conc. Juncens.*).

27. Ut episcopus alienum clericum non suscipiat, neque ordinet (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 12; conc. Sardin., tit. 19, item 20; conc. Antioch., tit. 22; B Conc. Carthag. sub sancto Grato, tit. 2; item conc. Carthag., tit. 28*).

28. Ut nullus episcopus alienum monachum vel in ecclesia ordinet, vel in monasterio suo præpositum faciat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 14*).

29. Ut episcopus præsentibus catechumenis ordinationem non faciat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 4*).

30. Ut episcopus qui necessitate compellente ante viginti quinque annos virginem velaverit, nihil ei ob sit concilium quod isto numero annorum constitutum est (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 18*).

31. Ut res episcopi non sint obnoxie rebus ecclesiasticis, sed de his ipse quod voluerit ordinet (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 24*).

32. Ut nullus episcopus hæredes extraneos, vel hæreticos etiam consanguineos faciat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 15*).

33. Ut episcopi vel clerici his qui catholici non sunt, nihil per donationes conferant (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 23*).

34. Ut episcopi sive presbyteri ea quæ sunt in locis ubi ordinantur ad alia loca non transferant, nisi causas ante reddiderint (*Conc. Hipponireg., tit. 5*).

35. Ut episcopi quidquid nomine suo comparaverint, cogantur Ecclesie refundere; quidquid autem eis donator, cui voluerint conferant (*Conc. Hipponireg., tit. 8*).

36. Ut rebus ecclesiasticis dispensandis episcopus potestatem habeat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 25*).

37. Ut præter conscientiam episcopi oblationes fructuum ecclesie debitas nullus vel dare vel accipere audeat (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 7, 8*).

38. Ut episcopus matricis non usurpet quidquid fuerit donatum ecclesiis quæ in diocesi constitutæ sunt (*Conc. Hipponireg., tit. 9*).

39. Ut filii episcoporum gentilibus, vel hæreticis, aut schismaticis matrimonio non conjungantur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 21*).

40. Ut filii episcoporum aut clericorum spectacula non exhibeant nec spectent (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 20*).

41. Ut episcopi filios suos non emancipent nisi jam probatos (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 22*).

42. Ut episcopi non passim ad comitatum pergant (*Conc. Sardin., tit. 9, item tit. 10, item tit. 11; conc. Antioch., tit. 11*).

43. Ut quicumque episcopus ab imperatore publicum judicium postulaverit, honore proprio privetur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 9*).

44. Ut liceat unicuique episcopo preces constituere, quando de judiciis publicis contra hæreticos aliquid est petendum (*Conc. Marazan.*).

45. Ut episcopus sine metropolitani consilio nihil agat, nisi ea tantum quæ ad gubernationem Ecclesie suæ pertinent (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 9*).

46. Ut episcopi sine formata primatis non navigent (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 36*).

47. Ut episcopi rem Ecclesie sine primatis consilio non vendant (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 5; conc. Hipponireg., tit. 9*).

48. Ut episcopi providentia virginibus quæ pupillæ fuerint, ubi habitent eligatur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 40<sup>a</sup>*).

49. Ut episcoporum judicio pœnitentiæ tempora pœnitentibus decernantur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 59*).

50. Ut episcopi judicio Donatistæ qui apud suos acta pœnitentiæ convertitur, tempus pœnitentiæ vel reconciliationis decernatur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 2*).

51. Ut episcopus accusatos presbyteros convocatis quinque episcopis audiat; diaconorum cum tribus, reliquorum vero causas ipse solus discutiat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 17*).

52. Ut autem unus episcopus cognitionem sibi non vindicet, hoc in alio concilio Carthaginensi actum est.

53. Ut nullus episcopus, vel presbyter, vel diaconus excommunicatus communicet (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 5; conc. Sardin., tit. 17; conc. Carthag., tit. 8<sup>b</sup>; conc. Antioch., tit. 2*).

54. Ut si quis episcopus a synodo fuerit excommunicatus, communicare non audeat; et si fecerit, spera restitutionis non habeat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 4; conc. Hipponireg., tit. 5*).

55. Ut episcopus, si causam habuerit, a duodecim episcopis audiatur (*Conc. Carthag. sub sancto Genethlio, tit. 8*).

56. Ut episcopi qui in causa iudices dantur definito temporis die cognoscant (*Conc. Septimunic.*).

57. Ut si duo episcopi in una provincia contentionem habuerint, ex alia provincia non advocent episcopos ad iudicium (*Conc. Sardin., tit. 4*).

58. Ut si de accusato episcopo multæ sententiæ fuerint episcoporum, metropolitanus alterius provincie convocetur (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 14*). Quid in accusationibus episcoporum observari debeat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 15*).

59. Ut adjudicatus episcopus ad apostolicam sedem, si voluerit, appellet (*Conc. Sardin., tit. 5*).

<sup>a</sup> Male Trec. tit. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Corb., tit. 9.



60. Ut si appellaverit <sup>a</sup> in cathedra ipsius non ordinetur (*Conc. Sardic., tit. 6*).

61. Ut si a iudicibus quos primas dederit appellaverit, alii iudices amplioris numeri decernantur. Ut si [*Forse*, At si] et ab ipsis appellaverit, ad sententiam concilii differatur (*Conc. Themit.*).

62. Ut episcopis iudicantibus condemnatus episcopus, si fuerit apud potiores episcopos absolutus, nihil eis noceat si bono animo iudicaverint (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 11*).

63. Ut episcopus qui ab omnibus episcopis provinciae fuerit condemnatus, facultatem iudicii repetendi non habeat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 15*).

64. Ut episcopus ab eis episcopis quos elegerit iudices condemnatus, appellare alibi non audeat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 5, item tit. 15*).

65. Ut episcopi qui in aliqua causa iudices dantur, ipsi locum audientiae deligant (*Conc. Zellens.*).

66. Ut depositus episcopus, ad imperatorem causam suam non deferat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 12*).

67. Ut accusatus episcopus vel quicumque ex clero fuerit apud Ecclesiam accusatus, ad iudicia publica non transeat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 18*).

68. Ut episcopus qui secunda vel tertia auctoritate conventus fuerit, et venire contempserit, ab episcoporum consorcio suspendatur (*Conc. Zellens.*).

69. Ut nullus episcopus, vel presbyter, vel diaconus cum Judæis pascha celebret (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 1*).

70. Ut episcopi, presbyteri, vel diaconi non sint conductores, aut procuratores (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 24*).

71. Ut episcopi, sive clerici in ecclesia non convivunt, nisi transeunt (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 58*).

72. Ut episcopi et presbyteri in domo sua oblationes non faciant (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 56*).

73. Ut episcopus a communione non suspendat eum quem asserit de peccato aliquo sibi soli fuisse confessum (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 2*).

74. Ut episcopus sibi successorem non eligat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 25<sup>b</sup>*).

75. Ut episcopi ad concilium occurrant; aut non occurrentes, in tractoria, vel apud primum excusationes suas allegent (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 58; conc. Carthag., tit. 11*).

76. Ut exceptis senibus qui loco moveri non possunt et infirmis episcopis, qui admoniti ad concilium non occurrerit, communione privetur (*Conc. Marazan.; conc. Thudrit.; item conc. Themit.; conc. Sepimunic.*).

77. Ut episcopus qui, non suscepta legatione, universali concilio interesse præsumpserit, ab eis episcopis qui legationem suscipiant, ad ipsum concilium non admittatur (*Conc. Thudrit.*).

78. Ut nullus episcopus prioribus suis se audeat antepone (*Conc. Milevit., tit. 2*).

79. Ut chorepiscopi, id est vicarii episcoporum, nec presbyteros nec diaconos ordinent, nisi tantum subdiaconos (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 15; conc. Antioch., tit. 10*).

80. Ut vicariis episcoporum liceat formatas facere (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 8*).

81. Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, vel summus sacerdos (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 54*).

82. Ut primum proprium Mauritania Sitifensis habeat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 6*).

83. Ut primæ sedis episcopi ex concilio Carthaginiensi episcopi constituentur, quando fuerit oborta contentio (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 7*).

**B** 84. Ut primates diversarum provinciarum nomina episcoporum ad Ecclesiam Carthaginiensem mittant (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 3*).

85. Ut presbyter ante triginta annorum ætatem, quamvis sit dignus, non ordinetur (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 10*).

86. Ut qui in ægritudine fuerit baptizatus non ordinetur presbyter; nisi forte propter vitam bonam, aut hominum raritatem (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 11*).

87. Ut presbyter ordinatus si de aliquo crimine confessus [*An convictus*] fuerit, aut de his qui lapsi sunt, non suscipiatur (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 8; conc. Novacæsar., tit. 11*).

88. Ut presbyter in convivio secundarum nuptiarum non intersit (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 7*).

**C** 89. Ut de oblatione presbyteri conjugati nullus audeat non communicare (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 4*).

90. Ut presbyter inconsulto episcopo, in quolibet loco agenda non audeat celebrare (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 7*).

91. Ut presbyter inconsulto episcopo virgines non consecret; chrisma vero nunquam conficiat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 43*).

92. Ut presbyteri civitatis sine jussu episcopi nihil jubeant, nec in unaquaque parœcia aliquid agant (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 14*).

93. Ut presbyteri abstinentes a carnibus, tangant eas; ita ut etiam olera quæ cum carnibus coquantur comedant (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 14*).

94. Ut presbyteris formatas dare non liceat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 8*).

95. Ut presbyteri rem Ecclesie sine conscientia episcopi non vendant (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 15; conc. Hipponireg., tit. 11*).

96. Ut presbyter qui reatum incurrerit, a sex vel septem episcopis audiatur (*Conc. Carthag. sub antistite Genathlio, tit. 8<sup>c</sup>*).

97. Ut presbyter qui immolavit idolis, et postea pro fide conflit, honore quidem non privetur; tamen nec sacrificet, nec sermonem faciat <sup>d</sup>.

98. Ut presbyter, si uxorem duxerit, deponatur; si

<sup>a</sup> Videtur hic deesse *alius*.

<sup>b</sup> Leg. tit. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Trec., tit. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Sumptus est canon ex concilio Anquiritano tit. 1.

autem fornicatus fuerit, etiam poenitentiam agere A compellatur (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 4*).

99. Ut presbyter vel diaconus, qui deserta Ecclesia sua ad aliam transierit, si post evocationem episcopi sui reversus non fuerit, deponatur (*Con. Antioch., tit. 3*).

100. Ut presbyter vel diaconus, si a proprio episcopo exauctoratus sancti ministerii quidpiam præsumpserit, spem restitutionis non habeat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 4*).

101. Ut presbyter vel diaconus, qui se ab Ecclesia sequestraverit, et in domo sua altare erexerit, deponatur (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 5, conc. Carthag., tit. 7*).

102. Ut liceat sive presbyteris sive diaconibus, si injuste excommunicati fuerint, finitimos episcopos B interpellare (*Cons. Sardic., tit. 13*).

103. Ut presbyteri alterius regionis presentibus presbyteris non sacrificent (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 12*).

104. Ut diaconi septem esse debeant (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 15*).

105. Ut diaconi iudicio populi non eligantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 15*).

106. Ut diaconi ante presbyterum non communicent (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 14*).

107. Ut diaconus presente presbytero non sedeat nisi iussus (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 19*).

108. Ut subdiaconus panem non eroget, nec calicem benedicat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 25*).

109. Ut diaconus, vel quilibet clericus ad agapem vocatus, partem non tollat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 21*).

110. Ut diaconus aut clericus, magus et incantator non sit, neque phylacteria faciat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 34*).

111. Ut diaconus vel etiam laicus sine formata alicubi non proficiantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 39*).

112. Ut diaconi vel quilibet clerici, præter iussu episcopi ad peregrina non proficiantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 40<sup>a</sup>*).

113. Ut diaconi vel clerici spectaculis quæ in nuptiis exhibentur, non intersint (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 52*).

114. Ut diaconi, vel quilibet clerici aut etiam laici Christiani, ex symbolis convivium non celebrent (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 53*).

115. Ut diaconi, vel quicumque in sacerdotali ministerio constituti, usuras et lucra, id est seseupla, non exigant (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 5*).

116. Ut diaconi qui immolaverunt, et postea reluctati sunt, in honore quidem suo permaneant, sed ab omni altaris ministerio repellantur <sup>b</sup>.

117. Ut diaconus qui in corporale peccatum incidit, ab ordine ministerii absteineatur (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 9*).

118. Ut diaconi vel presbyteri si a ministerio remoti fuerint, non eis manus vel tanquam poenitentibus, vel tanquam fidelibus laicis imponantur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 12*).

119. Ut diaconi non ordinentur qui procuratores, et actores, et tutores, et curatores pupillorum fuerunt, nisi post deposita universa et reddita ratiocinia (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 7*).

120. Ut diaconis solis liceat ad altare ingredi, et communicare (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 18*).

121. Ut ante viginti quinque annos nec clerici ordinentur, nec virgines consecrentur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 9*).

122. Ut clerici cum mulieribus extraneis non habitent (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 5; conc. Carthag., sub sancto Grato, tit. 5; Conc. universali Carthag.*).

123. Ut nullus clericus feneret (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 14; conc. Carthag., sub sancto Grato, tit. 12<sup>c</sup>*).

124. Ut lectores oratio non utantur, sive legant, sive psallant (*Conc. Laodicensi, tit. 22*).

125. Ut clericis non liceat administrationem aut procuracionem domorum suscipere (*Conc. Carthag., sub sancto Grato, tit. 5*).

126. Ut clericus vel laicus non communicet in alia plebe (*Conc. Carthag., sub sancto Grato, tit. 6*).

127. Ut clerici sine formata et conscientia episcopi per alienas plebes non vagentur (*Conc. Marazan.*).

128. Ut superbi clerici coerceantur (*Conc. Carthag., sub sancto Grato, tit. 10*).

129. Ut lectores, dum ad annos pubertatis venerint, cogantur aut uxores ducere, aut continentiam profiteri (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 27*).

130. Ut mulierem clericus non ducat uxorem. Et ut is qui laicum viduam duxerit, non admittatur ad clerum (*Conc. Zellens., ex epistola papæ Sirici*).

131. Ut non liceat, præter canonicos psaltas qui pulpitu ascendunt et de codice legunt, alium quilibet in ecclesia psallere <sup>d</sup>.

132. Ut clerici vel continentes, ad viduas vel virgines sine jussu vel permissu episcopi vel presbyteri non accedant (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 35*).

133. Ut clerici apothecarii vel ratiocinatores non ordinentur (*Conc. Carthag., sub sancto Grato, tit. 8*).

134. Ut clerici edendi vel bibendi causa tabernas non ingrediantur, nisi peregrinationis necessitas coegerit (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 7, item 24, item 25; conc. Carthag., tit. 35*).

135. Ut clerici in aliena civitate non immorentur, nisi causas eorum justas episcopus loci vel presbyteri locorum perviderint (*Conc. Carthag. tit. 44*).

136. Ut accusatus clericus intra annum causam suam agere debeat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 15*).

137. Ut clericus non fiat, ejus uxor cum adhuc esset laicus, adulterata est. Et ut clericus uxorem adulteram deserat (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 44*).

<sup>a</sup> Trec. 11; Corb. 20; emendandus uterque.

<sup>b</sup> Sumptus est canon ex concilio Anquiritano, tit. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Legendum, tit. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Est ex concilio Laodicensi, tit. 15.

138. Ut abjectum clericum alia Ecclesia non admittat (*Conc. Zellen., ex epistola papæ Sirici*).
139. Ut non liceat clericum a populo excommunicari, sive præsentem siye absentem episcopo (*Conc. Septimunic.*).
140. Ut ministri non habeant licentiam in secretario ingredi (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 21*).
141. Ut ministri oratio non utantur, nec relinquant ostia (*Conc. Laodic. tit. 21 ; item 41*).
142. Ut non exorcizent illi qui necdum ab episcopo sunt protracti (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 25*).
143. Ut bis in anno per singulas provincias concilia fiant (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 5 ; conc. Antioch., tit. 20 ; conc. Carthag., tit. 3*).
144. Ut concilium universale non fiat, nisi causa communis, id est, totius Africae coegerit; ut synodus plenaria tunc dicatur, cum episcopus metropolitanus adfuerit (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 16*).
145. Ut hi qui se abscederunt, de clero eximantur (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 1*).
146. Quæ sint pœnitentiæ tempora iis qui prævaricaverunt decernenda (*Conc. Nicæn., tit. 16 ; conc. Anquirit., tit. 3 ; item 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9*).
147. Ut sponsatæ puellæ, si ab aliis raptæ fuerint, sponso priori reddantur (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 41*).
148. Quemadmodum hi qui irrationabiliter vixerint, suscipi debeant (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 16*).
149. Ut hi qui sicut muta animalia vixerunt, inter energumenos orent (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 17*).
150. Ut quicumque virginitatem profitentes propositum violant, digamorum constitutum impleant gradum (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 19*).
151. Ut qui adulterium commiserit, septem annos pœnitentiam agat (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 20*).
152. Ut mulieres fornicantes quæ parvulos suos necant, aut abortu<sup>a</sup>, decem annis pœnitentiam agant (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 21*).
153. Ut qui voluntarie homicidium fecerint, in novissimo vitæ reconcilientur (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 22*).
154. Ut qui casu homicidium fecerit, quinque annis pœnitentiam agat (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 25*).
155. Ut qui ariolantur, vel in domo sua hujus artis alios introducunt, quinque annis pœnitentiam agant (*Conc. Anquirit., tit. 24*).
156. Ut mulier quæ duobus fratribus nupserit, in extremis suis reconcilietur (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 2*).
157. Ut quicumque concupiscentiam non consummat, per divinam judicetur gratiam liberatus (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 4*).
158. Ut catechumeni peccantes, nisi se correxerint, abjiciantur (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 5*).
159. Ut qui manducantem carnes, ex fide condemnandum crediderit, anathema sit (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 2*).
160. Ut qui domum Dei contemptibilem duxerit, anathema sit (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 5*).
161. Ut qui nuptias condemnat, anathema sit (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 9, 10*).
162. Ut si qua mulier virilem habitum assumpserit, anathema sit (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 13*).
163. Ut hi qui uxores aut viros dimittunt, alteri non nubant; sed aut continentia maneat, aut sibi reconcilientur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 7*).
164. Ut si qua mulier quasi religionis causa, virum dimiserit, anathema sit (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 14*).
165. Ut quicumque continentia causa die dominico jejunaverit, anathema sit (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 18*).
166. Ut quicumque sanus corpore jejunia communia dissolverit, anathema sit (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 20 b*).
167. Ut quicumque martyrum memorias contempserit, anathema sit (*Conc. Gangr., tit. 21*).
168. Ut quicumque non communicantes, nec orationem facientes, Scripturas tantum divinas in ecclesia audire voluerint, abjiciantur (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 2*).
169. Ut quicumque post diversa peccata pœnitentiam fideliter gesserit ad communionem revocetur (*Conc. Laodic. tit. 2*).
170. Ut scenicis atque histrionibus reconciliatio non negetur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 42*).
171. Ut ad falsas memorias martyrum nullus accedat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 17*).
172. Ut hi qui nominantur Cathari, accedentes ad Ecclesiam, si ordinati sunt, sic maneat in clero (*Conc. Nicæno, tit. 7*).
173. Ut Pauliani baptizentur<sup>c</sup> (*Conc. Nicæno, tit. 13*).
174. Ut venientes a Novatianis vel Montensibus per manus impositionem suscipiantur (*Conc. Zellen., ex epistola papæ Sirici*).
175. Ut non liceat hæreticum rebaptizari, baptizatum in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti (*Conc. Carthag., sub sancto Grato, tit. 1, item Carthag., tit. 48*).
176. Ut hæretici in hæresi permanentes domum Dei non ingredientur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 6*).
177. Ut Novatiani vel etiam Quartadecimani non recipiantur, nisi prius hæresim suam condemnaverint; ita ut symbolum fidei doceantur, et chrismate ungantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 7*).
178. Ut quicumque convertuntur ab hæresi, qui dicuntur secundum Phrygas, baptizentur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 8*).
179. Ut non liceat in hæreticorum cœmeteria ad orationem faciendam catholicis introire (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 9*).
180. Ut nullus ad Ecclesiam pertinens filios suos hæreticorum nuptiis societ (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 30*).
181. Ut Christiani non judaizent, nec in sabbato vacent (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 28*).

<sup>a</sup> Deest *excipiunt*, aut aliud vocabulum ejusdem potestatis.

<sup>b</sup> Videtur legendum *tit. 19*.

<sup>c</sup> *Rebaptizentur*.

182. Ut nullus cum hæreticis connubia misceat **A** (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 30*).
183. Ut nullus cum hæreticis aut schismaticis oret, aut ad falsos martyres eat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 32; conc. Carthag., tit. 2*).
184. Ut nullus ad angelos congregationem faciat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 33*).
185. Ut nullus a Judæis vel hæreticis feriatica accipiat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 35*).
186. Ut nullus a Judæis azyma accipiat (*Concil. Laodic., tit. 36*).
187. Ut nullus cum paganis festa celebret (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 37*).
188. Ut nullus Christianus ballare vel cantare in nuptiis audeat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 41*).
189. Ut Donatistarum clerici in suis honoribus **B** suscipiantur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 2*).
190. Ut quæcunque Ecclesiæ Donatistarum catholice factæ sunt ad eam cathedram pertineant ad quam catholica quæ jam ibi fuerat pertinebat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 40*).
191. Ut quicumque episcopus ex Donatistis conversus fuerit, plebes quæ utrasque Ecclesias habent cum episcopo catholico æqualiter dividant (*Concil. Carthag., tit. 41*).
192. Ut hæreticorum benedictiones nullus accipiat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 31*).
193. Ut qui parvuli apud Donatistas baptizantur ab ordinatione non prohibeantur, si conversi fuerint (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 4*).
194. Ut qui aliquibus sceleribus irretitus est **C** vocem accusandi non habeat (*Conc. Carthag., sub sancto Genethlio, tit. 6<sup>a</sup>*).
- Hoc et in concilio Theinitano statutum est.*
195. Ut excommunicatis, sive clericis, sive laicis, accusare non liceat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 2*).
196. Ut omnes servi, vel proprii liberti, vel omnes quos ad accusanda publica crimina leges publicæ non admittunt, histriones etiam, hæretici, pagani et Judæi ad accusationem non admittantur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 3*).
197. Ut qui unum crimen non probaverit, ad aliud non admittatur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 4*).
198. Ut accusator, si in loco ubi est ille qui accusatur, violentiam timuerit, locum sibi proximum eligat (*Conc. Hipponireg., tit. 5*).
199. Ut baptizandi symbolum fidei discant (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 44*).
200. Ut qui in ægritudine baptizantur, sani facti symbolum doceantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 45*).
201. Ut baptizati post baptismum chrismate ungantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 46*).
202. Ut ægrotantibus, quando ipsi loqui non possunt, si pro eis alii testimonium dixerint, baptismum non negetur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 41*).
203. Ut quando de infantibus ignoratur utrum baptizati sint, sine ulla dubitatione baptizentur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 7*).
204. Ut prægnantes mulieres baptizentur quando voluerint (*Conc. Novacæsar., tit. 6*).
205. Ut Christiani cum mulieribus lavacra non habeant (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 29*).
206. Ut post duas hebdomadas Quadragesimæ ad baptismum nullus suscipiatur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 42*).
207. Ut in Quadragesima sabbato tantum et dominico offeratur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 47*).
208. Ut in Quadragesima, quinta feria ultimæ hebdomadæ, jejunium non dissolvatur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 48*).
209. Ut in Quadragesima natalitia martyrum non celebrentur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 49*).
210. Ut in Quadragesima nuptiæ non celebrentur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 50*).
211. Ut nullus peregrinus sine formata episcopi accipiat (*Conc. Antioch., tit. 7*).
212. Ut die quintæ feriæ septimanæ sanctæ Paschæ secundo offeratur (*Conc. Septimunic.*)
213. Ut in sacrificio absque pane et vino nullus offerat (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 32*).
214. Ut diebus Quinquagesimæ genua non flectantur (*Conc. Sardic., tit. 1*).
215. Ut ante Pentecosten nullus audeat jejunare (*Conc. Septimunic.*)
216. Ut non liceat in dominicis agapem facere, vel in ecclésiis, aut intus accubitus sternere (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 27*).
217. Ut custodiatur fides Patrum trecentorum decem et octo (*Conc. Constantinop., tit. 2<sup>b</sup>*).
218. Ut conciliorum statuta priscorum ab omnibus observentur (*Conc. Zellens.*)
219. Ut nullus in precibus, nisi ad Patrem dirigat orationem, et ut prius eas cum instructoribus tractet (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 31; item, tit. 7*).
220. Ut una sit in sacramentis per omne Byzacium disciplina (*Conc. Maradian.*)
221. Ut mulieres quæ apud Græcos presbyteræ appellantur (apud nos autem viduæ seniores, univiræ et matriculæ) in ecclesia tanquam ordinatas constitui non liceat (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 41*).
222. Ut mulieres ad altare non ingrediantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 43*).
223. Ut sanctæ oblationes ad vices eulogiæ non dirigantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 14*).
224. Ut sabbatis Evangelia legantur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 16*).
225. Ut de diversis versibus et sensibus libri unum canticum non connectatur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 47*).
226. Ut etiam per solemnissimos paschales dies sacramentum catechumenis non detur, nisi solitum salis (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 11*).
227. Ut corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 42*).
228. Ut præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur (*Conc. Laodic., tit. 57; conc. Carthag., tit. 45*).

<sup>a</sup> Trec., tit. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Leg. tit. 1.

229. Ut liceat passiones martyrum legere in natalibus eorum (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 46*).  
 230. Ut soli Ecclesie Carthaginis liceat alienum clericum ordinare (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 54*).  
 231. Ut omnes Ecclesie ab Ecclesia Carthaginis
- A diem Paschæ audiant tempore concilii (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 5*).  
 252. Ut nullus ordinetur nisi probatus vel episcoporum examinae, vel populi testimonio (*Conc. Carthag., tit. 29*).

## VITA SANCTI FULGENTII, RUSPENSIS EPISCOPI

(*Quam videsis Patrologiæ tom. LXV, col. 117*).

ANNO DOMINI DXL.

# SANCTUS JUSTUS EPISCOPUS URGELLENSIS.

NOTITIA (ex Fabricio).

S. Justus Urgellensis sive Urgelitanus in Hispania episcopus, qui subscripsit concilio Toletano II, anno 527 [*al. 531*], atque Ilerdensi an. 542 [*al. 546*], et cujus mysticam Expositionem in Cantica canticorum ad Sergium papam (non Romanum, sed Tarracoensem episcopum) metropolitanum suum, memoratam Isidoro Hisp. cap. 21, Honorio III, 25, Trithemio c. 210, edidit Menradus Maltherus, Haganoæ 1529, recusam in Micropresbyterico Basil. 1550, in Orthodoxographis utrisque edit. an. 1555 et 1569, et in Bibliothecis Patrum universis, Paris., Colon. et novissima Lugdunensi t. IX, p. 751; et separatim Georgio Rostio curante, Halle Sax. 1617. Præmissa epistola ad Sergium edita etiam in Dacherii Spicilegio, tom. III, pag. 312 (edit. novæ tom. III, pag. 119), et in Conciliis Hispaniæ cum notis cardinalis de Aguirre, t. II, pag. 273; et altera epistola ad Justum diaconum, quo hortante laborem hunc in se suscepisse profitetur. Confer Nic. Antonium IV, 1; Bibl. Hispaniæ veteris tom. I, pag. 268 seq.; Acta Sanctor. tom. VI, Maii 28, p. 773.

### EPISTOLA S. JUSTI URGELLENSIS.

AD SERGIUM PAPAM.

Domino meo vere piissimo; et præcipue Dei gratia copioso, semperque in Christo beato, domino Sergio papæ, Justus episcopus.

Sciens te tam solerti studio pro refrigeriis pauperum laborasse, ut illis temporariam consolationem, tibi que acquisieris æternam mercedem, et jam satis de iudicatis totum ad Dei eloquia, ex quibus nunquam fuisti vacuus, pro animæ cultura converteris; quoddam tibi in corporali specie spirituale exenium dirigere procuravi; quod si tibi Christus non ex nostro merito, sed ex suo munere fecerit esse gratissi-

imum, forsitan proveniet, et in diebus jejunii quodammodo refectus ad mensam venies, et antequam cibum accipias quiddam prægustasse persenties. Nec hoc dicens transmissionis hujus meritum, priusquam approbes, arroganter insinuare studeo; sed intercedente charitate, in qua te totum possideo, ita de tuo tanquam de meo animo præsumens, tibi acceptum fore absque ulla ambiguitate confido. Igitur in Christo Jesu germanum cordis mei esse non nesciens libellum de tractatu libri canonici qui *Cantici Canticorum* præscribitur, quem nuper Christo illuminante edidimus, tibi primum censui offerendum. In quo non nostra potius, sed ea quæ tua sunt, quia sic diligitis, te suscepisse cognoscas: quem precor ut cum ea sollicitudine qua in Christo viges, sæpe recenseas: ut si quid illic corrigendum persenseris, integra libertate commoneas. Et sic cæteris in Christo fratribus relegendum, vel si fortasse placuerit offeras transcribendum. Itaque quia sic accidit ut membranis desistentibus, minutioribus litteris eandem scripturam, in paribus quaternionibus susciperent, nec studiose fabrefactis lateralibus ambiretur; si memoratam rem alicujus meriti esse censueris, quia hoc ipsum, ut præfatus sum, donante Domino, tuum est, ut diligentiori studio transcriptum utilius coaptetur quantocius studebis. Quod opus si laude dignum processerit, te auctorem referam Christo; si vero reprehensioni patuerit, quia utriusque est, statim assumam socium temetipsum, quia decori sic te concedet hæc quæ Deus contulit coaptari, ut non de negligentia vituperium, sed de industria charitatis suscipias fructum: ut fratres nostri qui præcessorum Patrum tractatibus epulantur, etiam his neotericis quæ eis ex charitate offerimus, non pro nostro merito, sed pro Dei dono et sua benevolentia vesci quodammodo delectentur. Ave nunc in Christo, piissime, nostramque pusillitatem sanctis orationibus in Domino fove.

DISQUISITIONS OF THE BALLERINI

1. The month Hyperberetaeus. Col. 13.
2. William Beveridge. Cols. 13, 14.
3. Time of Laodicaean synod. Col. 31.
4. Canons of Chalcedon include those of Laodicaea and Constantinople. Col. 50.
5. Authority of Chalcedon canons. Col. 35.
6. Primacy of seat of Constantinople. Cols. 87, 88.
7. Canon 1 of Chalcedon. Col. 536.
8. Law of Valentinian and Marcian concerning the Chalcedon synod. Cols. 547, 548.
9. Council of Laodicaea. Cols. 714-722.
10. Prisca Latin Canons. Cols. 747-750.
11. Canon I of Chalcedon in Prisca version: "The canons which have reached from the holy fathers even to this synod -- we have issued a law that they be observed." Col. 836.
12. "That before the Chalcedon synod the Romans thought they were bound by no canons except the Nicaean." Col. 917.
13. Definition of the Nicaean symbol: "First is, exposition of the faith of Nicaea." Col. 1043.

38

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SANCTI

# LEONIS MAGNI

ROMANI PONTIFICIS

## OPERA OMNIA,

POST PASCHASII QUESNELLI RECENSIONEM

AD COMPLURES ET PRÆSTANTISSIMOS MSS. CODICES AB ILLO NON CONSULTOS EXACTA,  
EMENDATA, ET INEDITIS AUCTA :  
PRÆFATIONIBUS, ADMONITIONIBUS ET ANNOTATIONIBUS ILLUSTRATA.

ACCEDUNT

QUÆCUMQUE IN QUESNELLIANA EDITIONE INVENIUNTUR EAQUE AD CRISIN REVOCANTUR :

CURANTIBUS

PETRO ET HIERONYMO FRATRIBUS BALLERINIIS,

PRESBYTERIS VERONENSIBUS ;

MANUM AUTEM ULTIMAM ADHIBENTE

**J. - P. MIGNE,**

QUI SUPERADDIDIT

EXERCITATIONES IN UNIVERSA OPERA S. LEONIS MAGNI

AUCTORE PETRO THOMA CACCIARI.



### TOMUS TERTIUS

ANTIQUISSIMA JURIS CANONICI MONUMENTA NECNON SERMONES INEDITOS, IN  
APPENDICIS VICEM AD S. LEONIS OPERA,

CONTINENS.



BR 60.114  
Tome LVI

EXCUDERATUR ET VENIT APUD J.-P. MIGNE EDITOREM,  
IN VIA DICTA D'AMBOISE, PROPE PORTAM LUTETIÆ PARISIORUM VULGO D'ENFER NOMINATAM.  
SEU PETIT-MONTROUGE.

1855

his produxit Quesnellus : quam nobis hoc tanto integriorem et emendatiorem recudentibus , quantum præsidii attulerint aliarum antiquarum collectionum quas reperimus manuscripta exemplaria , ex notati-  
onibus in eandem collectionem partem fiet. Posteriorum etiam collectionum , quarum auctores aliqua ex  
Dionysio sumpserunt , alia vero aliunde derivarunt , cogitatio non inutilis erit. Immo earum quoque collectio-  
num , quæ antiquiorum abbreviationes contineat , vel decreta Romanorum pontificum et conciliorum canonum  
in libros ac titulos distributos representant , rationem describere , et originem , si fieri possit , detegere ,  
quantum utilitatis afferat , peritus quisque perspiciet. Ex horum enim omnium complexu cognoscere licet  
quæ exordia et quos progressus habuerit studium juris canonici ; quid ex una collectione tractatum fuerit in  
alias ; quæ fuerint apocryphorum initia ; quid interpolatum obrepserit , quid corruptum , quid mutilum ; et  
quandam documenta in antiquis collectionibus integra in partes discindi ac per materias distribui cœpe-  
rint : quod usui magis commodum jamdiu receptum obtinuit.

Hinc etsi multum debemus iis qui de vulgaribus collectionibus disseruere , plurimum tamen illis obstringimur  
qui , antiqua tabularia excutientes , veterum manuscriptarum collectionum notitiam aliquam nobis dederunt.  
Quamplurimum ejusmodi codicum , qui in Cæsarea Vindebonensi bibliotheca abundant , descriptionem præferre  
meditabatur Petrus Lambecius , ut ipse testatur libro primo Commentariorum in eandem bibliothecam ,  
cap. 8 , pag. 952. Indicato enim pervestituto ejusdem bibliothecæ codice collectionis Hispanicæ , addit : *Multo  
autem prolixius et accuratius de eodem alias volente Deo , acturus sum in peculiari dissertatione de plus quam  
ducentis augustissimæ bibliothecæ Cæsareæ antiquis et bonæ notæ codicibus mss. partim Græcis , partim  
Latinis , quorum ope et beneficio historia conciliorum tam generalium quam provincialium non mediocriter potest  
locupletari.* Idipsum quoad Romana exemplaria in mentem venerat Emanuelli Sebelestratio Vaticanæ bibli-  
othecæ custodi , qui tertio Antiquitatum tomò edere volebat *Opus synodicon de canonibus conciliorum , de  
collectionibus canonum , et de pontificum decretis* , in ejus appendice varias collectiones , ex mss. majori ex  
parte erutas , sese profaturum in scheda post ejus mortem relicta et præfationi tomò secundi earundem An-  
tiquitatum inserta receperat. Omnium vero maxime hac in re laboravit Benedictini ordinis decus P. Petros  
Constantius , ejus præfatio in tomum primum Epistolarum Romanorum pontificum locupletissimam prisca-  
rum manuscriptarum collectionum , quas reperire potuit , descriptionem exhibet.

Dum vero nos hoc eodem consilio ejusmodi collectionum exempla in bibliothecis delitescencia sollicitius  
inquiremus , vetustissimos codices nacti sumus , in quibus partim ignote collectiones fuerunt detectæ ,  
partim vero peculiare notitiæ quantum ad collectiones jam vulgatas patuerunt. Hinc uberiorem de colle-  
ctionibus canonum tum editis , tum ineditis , tractatum lucubrari posse perspeximus , qui huic tomò tertio  
præstantissimam collectionem aliaque veteris juris canonici documenta continenti non incongrue præfigere-  
tar. Totus hęc tractatus dividetur in partes quatuor. Prima aget de Græco canonum codice , et de quibusdam  
particulis , seu canonibus , qui in eo aliquam difficultatem facessunt. Secunda versabitur circa antiquiores  
collectiones Latinas , quæ vel Dionysio vetustiores sunt , vel a Dionysio non prodeunt : ubi inter cætera cano-  
num Africanorum , qui pluribus difficultatibus involvuntur , exacta discussio atque distinctio exhibebitur.  
Tertia explicabit collectionem Dionysianam , et cæteras quæ ex Dionysio aliqua documenta recepere , ut  
sunt Hadriana , Hispanica , et Isidoriana. Quarta disseret de antiquis abbreviationibus canonum , aliisque  
collectionibus Latinis , quæ jus canonicum in libros ac titulos digesserunt.

Hac autem de re dum altere nobis Romæ tecum aliqua diceret , cardinalis eminentissime , totumque con-  
siliū nostrum , quod tunc vix concepitum fuerat , tibi aperiret , a vires addidisti stimulos ut perficeretur ,  
eodemque reverso in patriam ipsi operi auxilium tuum , quod ubi opus esset pollicitus fueras , humanissime  
præstitisti. Hunc igitur qualemcunque tractatum tibi non ingratus futurum confidentes , ad te dirigendum  
credidimus , ut præcellentis hac in re studii et favoris tui , nostrique erga te grati animi atque observantiæ  
perenne testimonium præbeat.

## BALLERINIORUM DISQUISITIONES.

DE ANTIQUIS

### COLLECTIONIBUS ET COLLECTORIBUS CANONUM.

PARS PRIMA.

DE GRÆCIS CANONUM COLLECTIONIBUS.

[v] CAPUT PRIMUM.

*De Græca canonum apostolorum collectione omnium  
antiquissima. Quenam fuerit collectio Sabini Mace-  
doniani episcopi Heracleensis. Prima Græci codicis  
canonum expressa mentio in Concilio Chalcedonensi.*

A *Codex canonum universæ Ecclesiæ a Christophoro  
Justello editus non fuit vetus Græcorum codex , nec  
universæ Ecclesiæ. De Græca collectione St. phæ-  
Ephesiorum episcopo tributa.*

1. Etsi instituti nostri sit de Latinis p t'ssimum



"The name of the month Hyperberetaeus, which is mentioned in Canon 38, shows that these canons had been collected and written, not from the Greek Europeans, nor from the Egyptians who had given other names to the months, but from the eastern parts which were employing the names of the Syro-Macedonian months." Col. 13.

antiquis canonum collectionibus agere, cum tamen Græcarum synodorum vetustissimi canones Latinitate donati in collectiones Latinas traditi fuerint, de Græca eorundem collectione, ex qua illos Latini interpretæ deduxerunt, antea disserendum est. Cum vero præter canones conciliorum Græcorum ad Latinos pervenerint etiam illi canones qui apostolorum nomine circumferuntur, de horum et collectione omnium antiquissima, de qua plures late disseruerunt, nun quæcumque dici possent, sed que omitti non debent, ne quid huic tractatui deesse videatur, brevius perstruenda sunt. Certum est nullum corpus sine statim legibus regi atque consistere unquam posse. Hinc apostolus regenda Ecclesia certas regulas seu canones præfixisse dubitari nequit. Has autem regulas, quas illi verbo tradiderunt Ecclesiis, subinde scripto fuisse collectas, et canonum apostolorum titulo prænotatas satis credibile est. Neque propterea credimus omnia que in ipsis canonibus continentur apostolis referenda. Solent quippe ejusmodi opera, ut scite animadvertit P. Constantius (*In præfatione ad tom. I. epist. Rom. pontif., num. 51*), licet variis incrementis augeantur, ejus nomen in epigraphæ retinere quo primum auctore cœpta vel constituta fuerunt. Cum vero quidam canones iisdem inserti errores præferant manifestos, qui traditis apostolorum regulis ascribi nequeunt, plurimi ipsis faciem non præbere consensum Dionysio teste (*In epist. ad Stephanum*), ac in celebri decreto de libris recipiendis, vel non recipiendis inter apocrypha jure censiti fuisse: unde in præfatione collectio Hispanicæ scriptum fuit: *Canones unum, qui dicuntur apostolorum, seu quibus eisdem nec sedes apostolica recipit, nec sancti Patres illis consensum præbuerunt, pro eo quod ab hæreticis sub nomine apostolorum compositi dignoscuntur, quamvis in eis quædam inveniuntur utilia, auctoritate tamen apostolica eorum gesta constat esse remota, et inter apocrypha deputata. Quæ utilia sunt, apostolis convenire queunt.*

2. Mensis Hyperbætaei nomen, quod legitur canone 58, hos canones non a Græcis Europæis, nec ab Ægyptiis, qui mensibus alia nomina indiderant, sed ab Orientalibus, qui Syromacedonicis mensium nominibus utebantur, fuisse collectos et scriptos ostendit. Ante Nicenam vero synodum hanc collectionem in iis Orientis regionibus compactam, in quibus rehatizationis error obtinebat, nec improbabiler statuit Petrus de Marca, libro tertio Concordiæ, cap. 2. [vi] Pleraque sane que in iisdem canonibus decernuntur cum disciplina ecclesiastica secundi ac tertii sæculi congruunt, et nonnullas regulas quæ ab Orientalibus quarti sæculi allegantur in illis canonibus tantum invenire licet.

3. De antiquo usu horum canonum, seu hujus vetustissimæ collectionis apud Græcos nemo ambigit. Vide Petrum de Marca, loco paulo ante memorato, et Gulielmum Beveregium in codice canonum Ecclesiæ primitivæ illustrato. De usu autem apud Latinos ante Dionysium Exiguum quæstio vertitur. Sunt enim qui existimant a Patribus Latinis et a Romanis etiam pontificibus Dionysio antiquioribus canones apostolicos passim allegari regularum ecclesiasticarum nomine, quo etiam ornantur ab eodem Dionysio. Id Quesnellus palam asseruit dissert. 16, § 6. At Latinis usui non fuerunt nisi post versionem Dionysianam, quæ prima, immo unica, interpretatio fuit (*Vid. part. II, cap. 10, § 2, n. 12; et nostras observ. in dissert. 16 Quesnellii*). Anterioris certe versionis, qua illi canones a Latinis adhiberi potuerint, nullam usquam indicium est. Quod si quædam regulæ ab antiquis Latinis scriptoribus indicantur cum apostolicis canonibus concordant, nihil refert. Non paucæ enim ejusmodi regulæ, antequam canonum apostolorum titulo inscriptæ Græca lingua ederentur, ab ipsis apostolis verbo tradite fuerant, ac uti verbo tradite ab antiquioribus scriptoribus Latinis laudari poterunt citius quam Græci illi canones iisdem ante Dio-

nysium ignoti. Præclare autem in hanc rem monuit Quesnellus, nota 8 in epist. 10 (*Tom. II, col. 152b*): *Quemadmodum, in vii, ipsi apostolici canones ex consuetudinibus regulisque ab apostolis virisque apostolicis velut per manum traditi et acceptis constati fuerunt ab Orientalibus, ita certum est complures regulas ecclesiasticas in Romana Ecclesia viguisse primis temporibus, non aliunde acceptas quam ex consuetudine antiqua et ex traditione sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Has porro cum aliquibus canonibus apostolicis convessere quis miretur, cum una esset omnium apostolorum fides, una plerumque disciplina ex unius magistri schola descendens: Hinc factum est ut quædam constituta pontificum ex ipsis canonibus assumpta esse videantur, ut loquitur Dionysius Exiguus in præfatione canonum, cum potius ex communis traditionis fonte tam constituta fluerent quam canones apostolici. Quod porro subdit, se non gravæ fateri S. Leonem in eadem epistola 10 unum canonem apostolicum respexisse, noluisse tamen apostolicos canones nuncupare, ne dubiis et nondum receptis canonibus auctoritas inde accederet, conjectura est omnino infirma, immo incredibilis, nisi probetur versionem aliquam existisse ante Dionysium, qua iisdem canones noti essent Latinis: quod tamen nondum probatum est, nec, ut credimus, probari unquam poterit. Neque obtrudat Gelasii decretum de libris recipiendis, vel non recipiendis, quod tametsi editum ante interpretationem Dionysii, canones tamen apostolorum inter apocrypha referens, eos ipsi aliqua ratione cognitos astruit. Nam primo Gelasius hos canones, etsi inter Latinos nondum vulgatos, ita accensere potuit apocryphis, uti in eundem catalogum retulit alia quædam Græcorum opuscula, quæ nondum Latine reddita fuerant. Deinde satis probabile nobis est hanc ejus decreti particulam de canonibus apostolorum in plerisque atque potioribus Gelasiani decreti exemplaribus omissam, ad eam additamentum pertinere quæ Hormisdam habent auctoritatem, uti conjiçiemus part. II, c. 11, § 5. Ipsa quidem verba Dionysii in epist. ad Stephanum episcopum Salonitanum, quibus (canonibus) quia plurimum consensum non præbere faciem, hoc ipsum vestram nolimus ignorare sanctorum, rem Latinis ignotam indicant: ac propterea quæ sequuntur, quoniam post a quædam constituta pontificum ex ipsis canonibus sumpta esse videntur, non de Romanis pontificibus aut Latinis episcopis, sed de Græcis intelligenda sunt, quorum constituta quædam in pontificalibus, ut ibidem ait, *conventibus edita, cum apostolicis canonibus conveniunt.**

4. Hæc Græca eorundem canonum collectio distincta fuisse videtur a codice canonum synodali, qui postea lucubratus fuit: unde hi Græcarum synodorum canones in quibusdam mss. exemplaribus ea continua numerorum serie notabantur quæ a Nicænâ ordiebatur, eo quod apostolorum canones, qui Nicænis præmittendi erant, ab iisdem exemplaribus abessent. Hinc etiam Dionysius Exiguus, qui Græco hujus generis codice usus est, apostolicos canones [vi] ex alio codice sumpsit, cum eos Latine redditos suæ versionis præfixit. Quinquaginta tantum apostolicos canones is in suo codice reperit, ac Latinitate donavit. Verum in aliis Græcis exemplaribus, quæ adhibuerunt Joannes Schoasticus, et alii posteriores Græcarum collectionum auctores, octoginta quinque censebantur. Hunc autem antiquiorem numerum perantiquum fuisse cognoscimus ex concilio CP. anni 594, ubi decernitur non licere in posterum, nec a tribus quidem, nedum a duobus, eum qui reus examinatur deponi, sed majoris synodi et provinciæ episcoporum sententia, sicut apostolici definire canones: quæ definitio et nimirum in canone apostolorum 74 (*Tom. II Concil. Venet. edit., col. 1580*). Sed de hæc primæ Græca collectione satis de qua si quis plura desideret, conferat Beveregium loco laudato, ubi tribus libris de iisdem canonibus luculentissime disserit.

antiquitatem excludendam confert, quam superius A demonstrasse nobis videmur, quamque aliae similes difficultates non adimunt aliis catalogis, vel subscriptionibus Sardicensis aut pseudo-Sardicensis synodi, quae apud S. Hilariam leguntur.

12. Quoniam verò Orientalium provinciarum d'positio nem quae notatur in Nicæorum Patrum catalogo hoc paragrapho vindicavimus, liceat ex constitutis quasi corollarium adicere, quo Laodicensis synod. tempus magna apud eruditos controversia quaesitum certiori quam antea argumento constituatur. Haec synodus apud Laodiciam Phrygiae Pacatiana habita, tum in Graeco, tum in omnibus antiquis interpretationibus traditur. Cum vero in dispositione civili quae Sardicensis synodi tempore vigeat unica tantum Phrygia nominetur, ut antea probavimus, Phrygiae Pacatiana nomen quod post eisdem Phrygiae divisionem in duas, id est in Salutarem et Pacatianam, inductum fuit, post Sardicense concilium astruendum est. Perperam igitur quidam Laodicenam synodum Sardicensi anteriorem putarunt. B Cum parvo in Graecis exemplaribus, ac in versionibus Isidoriana et Dionysiana, Laodicensi canones ante Constantinopolitanos describantur, synodum Laodiceam inter Sardicense et Constantinopolitanam concilia, id est inter an. 347 et 381, cui tempor. maxime convenit, celebratam dubitare non licet.

[xxii] § 2. *Catalogi Patrum Ancyranorum ac Neocæsariensium, qui, cum civitatum ac provinciarum nominibus in vulgatis conciliis exhibentur, a Graeco canonum codice alieni et suppositi demonstrantur.*

15. Episcoporum Nicæorum catalogum cum civitatum ac provinciarum nominibus digestum ideò vindicavimus, quia et in Graeco textu a primo codice auctore insertus fuit ex antiquiori aliquo exemplo sub tempore ejusdem synodi exarato, et cum dispositione provinciarum ejusdem temporis concinit. Alia vero est ratio de episcoporum catalogis, qui cum urbium ac provinciarum nominibus post canones Anycranos et Neocæsarienses in vulgatis conciliarum profertur (*Tom. I Ven. edit., col. 1505 et 1518*). Hos enim in libris faciendis credimus, tum quia nec in originali Graeco codice inveniuntur, nec in versionibus antiquis, tum quia dispositionem civilem provinciarum quae ejusdem synodi tempore obtinebat nequaquam referat. Ex tribus antiquis interpretationibus Latinis duae tantum, Isidoriana et prisca, in canonibus Ancyranis sola episcoporum et civitatum nomina ad nos transmisere, in Neocæsariensibus vero mera episcoporum nomina. Dionysius in utraque haec ipsa nomina episcoporum ignorat, ut ex duobus mss., Vaticano 5845 et Vat. Palat. 577, purum Dionysium continentibus didicimus. Haec autem collectionis exemplaria, quae Dionysianam versionem eorumdem canonum receperunt, huc versionem episcoporum et civitatum nomina in Ancyranis, sola vero nomina episcoporum in Neocæsariensibus addidere ex alia interpretatione, quae nec cum Isidoriana, nec cum priscae ordine concordat, ut videre est tom. I Conciliarum Venetae edit., col. 1499, not. 1, et 1515, not. 1, ubi haec duae episcoporum series Dionysio perperam tribuntur. Igitur provinciarum de ignatio, quae in vulgatis horum synodorum catalogis legitur col. 1505 d, et 1518 e, nulla autem versione antiqua aut originali Graeco fuerit, posteriori additamentum referenda est.

14. Multo autem evidentius postea forem suppositionem demonstrant ipsa provinciarum nomina. Haec non eam dispositionem expriment quae eorum synodorum tempor. congruebat, sed aliam quae postea in acta fuit. Non solum enim nominatur Phrygia Pacatiana, quam post Sardicensem synodum insitutum probavimus; sed praefertur etiam Cilicia 1 et n, Galatia 1, Cappadocia 1, quae multo post divisae fuerunt. Nilil luculentius ad posterius commentum astruendum desiderari potest.

## CAPUT IV.

*De notationibus chroniceis, quibus Ancyranis et Neocæsariensibus canonibus dicuntur anteriores synodo Nicæna, Gangrensis vero posteriores; et de vera epocha canonum Antiocheorum, ac de synodo in qua conditi fuerunt.*

§ 1. *Notationes chronicae in collectionibus praefixae canonibus Ancyranis, Neocæsariensibus atque Gangrensisibus, a primo Graeco codice dimanant. Ex antiquior sententia qua Gangrensis synodus Nicæna anterior traditur, ejusque tempus constituitur. Num anteriorum synodorum canones lecti et confirmati fuerint in Nicæna.*

1. Chronicae notationes quae canonibus Ancyranis, Neocæsariensibus atque Gangrensisibus praefiguntur, apud nonnullos in suspensionem venerunt Gangrensis concilii causa. Etsi enim Gangrensis regula post Nicænam synodum exposita in notatione tradantur (*Praefat. t. I Epist. Rom. pontif., n. 61*), hanc tamen notationem P. Constantius posthabendam credidit eisdem praefatione seu interlocutioni Osii descriptae in vetustissimo ms. Corbeicensi circa Viglii tempore exarato, in qua [xxiii] iidem canones non minus quam Ancyranis et Neocæsariensibus in Nicæna synodo lecti et confirmati, ac proinde Nicænis anteriores dicuntur. Ibi enim post titulum, *Incipiunt constitutiones canonum Anquiritanorum*, haec Osii interlocutio describitur: *Osius episcopus dixit: Quoniam multa praetermissa (forte praemissa) sunt, quae ad robur ecclesiasticum pertinent, quae jam priori synodo Anquiritana, Caesariensi, Graniensi (hoc est Gangrensi) constituta sunt, et nunc praemanibus habentur, praecipiat beatitudo vestra, ut lectione pandantur, quo omnes acta modo immolescant (seu noscant), quae a prioribus nostris acta sunt recitentur. Et recitata sunt.* Subjiciuntur autem canones Anquiritani, Caesarienses, atque Gangrenses ac tandem Nicæni: quod indicare putat idem P. Constantius praemissam interlocutionem Osii, licet titulo canonum Anquiritanorum subjectam, ad Nicænam synodum pertinere, cujus Patres memorata anteriorum synodorum decreta relegi et confirmari voluerint, antequam suos ipsi canones conderent. Haec ergo sententia, quae Gangrensem synodum Nicæna anteriorem asruit, huic uni interlocutioni Osii nititur, quam ille ex unico codice Corbeicensi excerptis.

2. At haec interlocutio nonnulla praefert manifestae suppositionis indicia. Habemus aliquot diversas antiquissimas versiones canonum Nicænorum, quas in mss. Vat. Romanae 1997 et capituli Veronensis 55 invenimus. Habemus praeterea tres alias versiones omnium Graecorum canonum, Isidorianam, priscaem et Dionysianam, quae ex Graecis vetustis exemplaribus traductae fuerunt. Habemus etiam eorumdem canonum Graecos codices partim editos, partim ineditos. Nullibi autem ea interlocutio exhibetur. Adde quod Corbeicensis codex Nicænos canones praefert ex interpretatione Dionysii Exigui, uti explore nos docuit versio canonis octavi, Nicæni ab eodem Constantio descripta in admonitione ad epist. 17 Innocentii, pag. 826. Anquiritanos autem, Caesarienses et Gangrenses canones ex antiqua Isidoriana versione producti. Porro et Osii interlocutio nec in Dionysiana interpretatione legitur, nec in Isidoriana, nec in ulla ex iis collectionibus quae ex alterutra versione eosdem canones derivarunt: immo in iisdem contraria prorsus a notatione continetur, de qua mox dicemus. Hinc ergo ea interlocutio ab iisdem versionibus aliena Corbeicensi exemplo intrusa perspicitur. Accedit eam inseri post titulum, *Incipiunt constitutiones canonum Anquiritanorum*; perinde ac si non ad Nicænam, sed ad Anquiritanam synodum spectet, ubi pro Anquirit. corrigendum esse Nicæna. P. Constantius suspicatur, ex hypothese quod haec interlocutio ad Nicænam concilium pertinere debeat, in quo Osius interfuit, non vero ad Anquiritanam, in quo

"But seeing that we have laid claim in this paragraph to the disposition of the eastern provinces, which is noted in the catalog of the Nicæan Fathers, it is permissible to add from the constitutions a corollary as it were, by which the time of the synod of Laodicea, sought with great controversy by the learned, is established by an argument more certain than before. This synod, held at Laodicea Pacatiana, is reported in the Greek, and in all other translations. But since, in the civil arrangement which flourished in the time of the synod of Sardis, Phrygia alone is named only, as before we have proved, the name of Phrygia Pacatiana, which after the division of this same Phrygia was introduced in two parts, that is, Salutaris and Pacatiana, must be added after the council of Sardis. Therefore certain of the Sardians falsely reckon the Laodicean synod as the earlier one. Since indeed in the Greek copies, and in the Isidore and Dionysian versions, the Laodicean canons are described before the version of Constantinople, there is no doubt at all but that the synod of Laodicea was celebrated between the councils of Sardis and Constantinople, that is, between the year 347 and 381, to which time it most nearly agrees." Col. 31.

non interfuit. At h'c ipse inscriptionis error eam interlocutionem multo magis suspectam reddit, ipsa n'que hypothese[m] imbecillam admodum fundamentum innoxiam ostendit. Stephanus Baluzius ante P. Constantium hanc interlocutionem in eodem ms. Corbeiensis nactus, nihil de Nicæno concilio suspicatus est. Eam ad Eliberitanam synodum pertinere censuit, in qua Osius adfuit; sed nulla pariter probabilitate hanc suam conjecturam constituit. Neque vero Constantii sententiam vindicant verba Andreae Rhodii in concilio Florentino descripta, act. 2, Ferrarie habita, sed potius impugnant. *Ante primam synodum (generalem), inquit, multæ aliæ synodi celebratæ sunt, Antiochiæ adversus Paulum Samosatenum, Ancyrae contra eos qui non suscipiebant accedentes ad idem, quod Christum abnegassent per tormenta, et Neocæsariæ tertiâ; quas omnes synodos recepit synodus Nicæna.* Etsi enim hic valde recentior episcopus, qui in re antiqua non est idoneus testis, crediderit synodos Nicæna anteriores a Nicænis Patribus fuisse receptas, non tamen anteriorem tradidit Gangrensem, sed tres alias quæ vere præcesserant.

5. Hæc igitur Osii interlocutione seposita, major fides habenda est notationi chronologicæ, qua Gangrensis synodus Nicæna posterior agnoscitur. Neque hæc annotatio posterioris alicujus Latini Librarii additamento tribuenda est. Cum enim hæc, non minus quam alie duæ canonibus Ancyranis atque Neocæsariensis præfixæ, eodem sensu, licet aliis atque aliis verbis, Latine reddita inveniantur in tribus antiquis diversæ originis interretationibus, Isidoriana, prisca et Dionysiana, eam a primigenio Græco canonum codice proficisci, ac in ipso a tribus illis interpretibus fuisse inventam dubitari nequit. In Græcis [xxv] quidem qui supersunt codicibus canonum ea annotatio adhuc legitur, quæ sane non e Latinis exemplaribus in Græcum translata, sed ex antiquioribus Græcis mss. sumpta cognoscitur. Quis his omnibus et Latinis et Græcis exemplis præferendum existimet unum Corbeiensis Latini codicem, et in interlocutione Osii in eo descriptam, quæ aliquot suppositionis indicia mutat? Neque vero collectionis Corbeiensis antiquitatem cum P. Constantio obtrudenda. Cum enim in ea, ut paulo ante monuimus, Nicæni canon. es ex Dionysiana versione producantur, hæc Corbeiensis collectio posterior est utique ipsa versione Dionysii, nedum Isidoriana et Prisca, ac multo magis originali codice Græco, ex quo ea annotatio in easdem versiones manavit; nec ulla ratio esse potest ob quam his omnibus anterioribus testibus eam notationem probantibus Corbeiensis posterior collectio anteferenda sit. Immo vero interlocutio Osii, quæ hæc sola collectione fulcitur, ex tot anterioribus testibus qui Gangrensem synodum Nicæna posteriori prodiderunt, suppositiva evidentiùs cognoscitur, siquidem Gangrenses canones in Nicæna lectos et anteriores indigitat, ut P. Constantius interpretatus est.

4. Quid quod eandem notationem chronologicam confirmant duo Græci scriptores, Socrates et Sozomenus, Gangrensi quæ synodi tempus non tam Nicæno quam Sardoniensi concilio posterioris esse satis declarant? Tota hæc questio ex ea pendet, quisnam fuerit Eustathius, qui in synodica Gangrensis canonibus præfixa et ad Armeniæ episcopos scripta memoratur. Omnes antiqui scriptores cum Socrate (*Lib. II, c. 45*) et Sozomene (*Lib. III, c. 14*) conveniunt in statuendo Eustathio episcopo Sebasteno, qui quidem in Armenia sub medium quartum sæculum vixit. Porro Sozomenus Eustathium excusare videtur, quasi non ipse, sed discipuli ejus, qui in partes abierant, fuerint earum heresum assertores, quæ in ea synodo condemnate sunt; synodiceque contextus huic interpretationi favet, quatenus Eustathianos potissimum perstringit. Hic inter S. Epiphanium, hæres. 75, nominat Aërium, ipsique sane plures ex his erroribus qui in ea synodica feruntur attribuit.

A. Quod si alios errores addit, de quibus in eadem synodica ne verbum quidem, hi ab ipso Aërio posteriori additi credi possunt. Vide in hanc rem plura in Vita S. Basilii, quam PP. Bened. etini præfixerunt tomo tertio Operum ejusdem, cap. 5, n. 4, 5 et 6. Illa vero oppositio quæ ingeritur ex eo quod Eustathius in synodica memoratus non appellatur episcopus, minima est: cui profecto pravelet concordia errorum qui in ea notantur cum illis qui Eustathii Sebasteni discipulis ab Epiphanio ascribuntur.

5. Non levis autem hujus sententiæ confirmatio ex inscriptione seu nominibus episcoporum synodice præfixis colligi potest. Hæc inscriptio non solum in Græco, verum etiam in diversarum collectionum atque versionum exemplaribus Latinis, quæ synodiciam præferunt, primum locum tribuit Eusebio. In libello synodico, ubi de Gangrensi concilio agitur, hæc legitur: *δὲν, Διὸν πρᾶξιδην ἠὸβητ.* Cum vero nullus hujus nominis episcopus in laudata inscriptione uspiam noletur, quidam suspicati sunt legendum esse *Osium*, quem tunc inter Gangrenses Patres in eadem inscriptione recensitos vulgati conciliorum ex aliquo codice præferunt, sic: *Osius Cordubensis* (*Tom. II edit. Ven., col. 425*). At hujus synodice Græcem textum habemus, ac duas præterea versiones Isidorianam et prisca[m]. Dionysius enim synodicam omisit; in Hadriana vero collectione, quæ canones ex Dionysio recepit, synodice ex interpretatione Isidoriana addita fuit. Porro Osii nomen non solum abest ab originali Græco, verum etiam ab antiquissimis et præstantioribus codicibus utriusque versionis Isidorianæ et prisca, immo etiam ab Hadriana quos conferre licuit; ex quibus episcoporum nomina describuntur tom. II, Conc., col. 428, a. Confer not. 9 in cap. 4 Codicis canonum, quem hoc tomo edemus col. 421. Etsi igitur in alio posteriori codice collectionis Isidorianæ, vel Hadriana, cujus mentio in vulgatis conciliorum facta non fuit, Osii nomen legatur, nihil tamen dubitandum est quin præter Græci textus et aliorum codicum Latino[rum] fidem cujuspiam librarii arbitrium insertum fuerit. Hujus quidem additamenti illud etiam indicium esse potest, quod cum alii episcopi sine civitatis nomine in inscriptione proferantur, in solo *Osio Cordubensis* patronimicum nomen noletur. Cum ergo Osius inter Patres Gangrenses referendus non sit, in libello Synodico non *δὲν, sed* *δὲν* inutile [xxv] scriptum credimus pro *Εὐσθίου, Eusebium*; cujus sane nomen cum et Græci et Latini omnes catalogi, seu inscriptiones omnes primum re escant, hunc Gangrensis synodi præsidem jure arbitramur. Ille autem non alius fuisse videtur nisi Eusebius Cæsariensis Cappadociæ episcopus, qui cum ex suæ sedis prerogativa in tota diocesi Pontica, ac prout in Paphlagonia et Armenia primatum gereret, Gangrensi concilio ejusdem diocesis præfuit. Hujus autem ætas concinit cum Eustathii Sebasteni ac discipulorum ejus tempore: cumque idem Eusebius S. Basilii Magni celeberrimi prædecessor Cæsariensem sedem tenuerit ab an. 562 ad an. 570, intra hoc spatium Gangrensem synodum habitam fuisse non immerito colligimus. Ita quidem Socratis ac Sozomeni testimonia, Eustathii et Eusebii tempus, libelli Synodici et inscriptio nis seu catalogi episcoporum ordo probe concordant, verissimaque evincitur ea chronica annotatio qua Gangrenses canones post Nicænos conditi traduntur.

6. Hæc sententiâ qua synodum Gangrensem locavimus inter annum 562 et 570, recepta fuisset a pluribus, nisi obstitisset ordo canonum Græci codicis, in quo Gangrenses Antiocheis præmittuntur. Hinc enim Antiocheo concilio anteriores dicendi videntur, quod cum Eusebio Cæsariensis in Cappadocia, et Eustathii Sebasteni ævo nequaquam concinit. Hæc autem obiectio, quæ Tillemontium (*Not. 27 et 28. in S. Basil., tom. IX*) aliosque magni nominis viros maxime movit, facile dissolvitur ex

constitu is, cap. 2, n. 5, ubi primigeniam Græcam collectionem in canonibus Gangrensis desisse, Antiochenos vero cum cæteris, intacto primævo codicis ordinis, posteriori additamento Gangrensis fuisse subiectos coniecimus.

§ 2. *Canonum Antiochenorum celebritas. Variæ sententiæ de eorum auctoribus ac tempore. Ostenditur eos non pertinere, ut hæcenus invaluit, ad synodum Antiochenam ab Eusebianis hæreticis conctam in encyclicis anno 341, sed ad aliam anteriorem ex Nicænis fere Patribus celebratam anno 352. Catalogus Patrum ejusdem synodi in conciliis vulgatus post synodicam suppositus probatur. Le numero Patrum qui eosdem canones edidit.*

7. Antiochenorum canonum fons est Græca collectio, ex qua idem Latinitate donati triplici versione Isidoriana, prisca et Dionysiana, in Latinis collectiones transierunt. Cum Chalcedonenses Patres aliquot ex his canonibus allegarunt, Græco canonum codice usi sunt, qui continuam numerorum seriem præferbat, uti capite primo observavimus. Magnam porro ipsis canonibus celebritatem auctoritatemque conciliavit hæc generalis synodus, quæ eosdem canones veluti *Patrum regulas* habuit. Nam actione quarta, recitato Antiocheno canone quinto, *Omnes reverendissimi episcopi clamaverunt: Hæc justa regula Patrum.* Joannes II, inter canones ad Casarium Arelatensem directos quartum et decimum quintum Antiochenos descripsit. Zacharias papa eosdem canones *beato ut Patrum sanctiones* vocat in e. 1. 7, ad Pippinum. Nicolaus I, epist. 9, ad Michaelen imperatorem, *venrabiles Antiochenos et sacros canones* appellat. Leo IV, in Romano concilio, eorundem canonum honorificentissime meminit his verbis: *Quid aliud arbitrari aut proferre valemus, nisi ut sancti Patres, qui in Antiocheno concilio residentes, tertio capitulo promulgarunt, et inviolabiliter statuerunt (Tom. IX Concil. Ven. e. 1, col. 1157)?*

8. Magni vero interest horum canonum auctores cognoscere: mole enim apud nonnullos audierunt. Quatuor hæc in re sententias invenimus. Prima est cardinalis Bellarmini, lib. 1 de Conciliis, c. 6, ubi, recensitis quatuor Antiochenis conciliis, ait: *Quintum est catholicum provinciale episcoporum triginta, cujus canones 25 habentur tomo I Conciliorum. Videtur fuisse tempore Joviniani et Liberii. Vide Sozomenum, lib. vi, c. 4.* At Sozomenus hoc loco memorat concilium Antiochiæ eodem anno 365, sub Meletio, cui solum tribuit synodicam ad Jovinianum circa fidem, nec ullius canonis ab eo editi meminit. Cum porro episcopi eidem synodice subscripti ab episcopis qui canonibus Antiochenis subjiciuntur diversi sint, qui non videat eosdem canones ad aliam Antiochenam synodum pertinere?

[xxvi] 9. Secunda sententia est eminentissimi Baronii et aliorum quamplurimum, qui eosdem canones conditos putant in concilio Antiocheno ab Eusebianis adversus S. Athanasium habito anno 341, occasione dedicationis celeberrime ecclesie Antiochenæ, quam Constantinus Magnus edificare cepit, et Constantinus ejus filius absolverat. Ille jus sententiæ duo fundamenta sunt. Primum est inscriptio *In encyclicis, seu In dedicatione* eisdem canonibus præfixa in antiquis versionibus Dionysio-Hadriana et prisca, quæ iudicio sunt eandem inscriptionem in Græco quoque ab interpretibus olim inventam fuisse. Secundum est testimonium Palladii et aliorum defensorum S. Joannis Chrysostomi, cui cum objectis fuisse Antiochenus canon quatuor, illi hunc canonem a quadraginta Arianis adversus S. Athanasium editum fuisse reposerunt, et tamen autem, qui S. Athanasium Antiochiæ condemnandum curarunt, pertinent ad Antiochenam synodum in encyclicis celebratam anno 341.

10. Hæc vero Baronii sententia Schelest alio improbabili visa est, quippe quod incredibile existi-

met canones ab Arianis conditos ab Ecclesia tum Græca tum Latina fuisse receptos. Igitur in opere de Antiocheno concilio, Antwerpæ impresso anno 1681, probe re studet viginti quinque canones esse quidem Antiocheni concilii in encyclicis coacti anno 341, at eos perperam Arianis tribui. Licet enim ibidem convenissent Arianis quadraginta, plures tamen catholicos adversus eosdem canones auctoritatem dedisse contendit. Illum vero canonem, qui Joanni Chrysostomo objectus, quadraginta Arianis a Palladio tribuitur, diversum esse censet a canone quarto, qui non a quadraginta, sed a nonaginta quinque circiter episcopis, ac plerisque ex his catholicis, in laudata synodo una cum cæteris canonibus sanctus fuit. Illic ipsa canonis Chrysostomo objecti verba, quæ Palladius recitat, a canone quarto Antiocheno discrepare contendit; ac idcirco eam canonem a Palladio descriptum, post synodum in encyclicis a solis Eusebianis conditum putat adversus S. Athanasium, quem post eam synodum ab eisdem damnatum ostendere nititur. Qui vero rerum gestarum historiam diligentius scrutati sunt, sicut in pleniori illa synodo occasione eorumdem coacti a Eusebianis licet pauciores prevalerit se, et ibidem synodi in Athanasii condemnationem alios etiam episcopos pertraxisse certis testimoniis demonstrarunt; ita canonem S. Joanni Chrysostomo objectum, et contra S. Athanasium, uti traditur, editum, initio ejusdem synodi a cæteris Patribus conditum, ac ipsum esse Antiochenum canonem quartum, nihilam dubitat. Quod si verba hujus quarti canonis et ejus quem Palladius producit non omnino conveniunt, quod re fert, cum sensus utrobique idem sit? Neque enim Palladius adducit circumstantiæ ferebant. Totæ varietas est quia apud Palladium leguntur verba *juste vel injuste*, quæ canon quartus non exhibet. At Chrysostomi hostes impacta eidem crimina probari non posse videntur, non de alio crimine, sed hoc solum in iudicium adduci oportere dicebant, nimirum quod post abdicatum in absque concilii sententiâ se ipse in episcopali sede collocaverat (Soerat., lib. vi, c. 16). In id autem Antiochenum canonem quartum obrudentes, qui id verbatim, perinde erat ac si dicerent hunc canonem æque valere, sive quis *juste*, sive quis *injuste* depositus fuerit: huncque sensum rei suæ congruentem Palladius exposuit, ut objecti canonis vim ac perversam interpretationem elideret. Certe hunc canonem Palladius non aliunde quam ex collectis in Græca cognovit, ac ob inscriptionem *in encyclicis*, quam suis Græcis ejusdem collectionis codex præferbat, eundem Arianis attribuit, quos quidem in encyclicis condemnasse S. Athanasium ex historia didicerat. Quare Soerates, qui ex Palladio ac ex aliis S. Joannis Chrysostomi defensoribus sumpsit quæ ad ejusdem Joannis causam pertinent, non solum canonem quartum, sed omnes Antiochenos canones eidem concilio in encyclicis habito ascripsit.

11. Tillemontius vero, etsi de hoc quarto canone nihil dubitet, quin ab Eusebianis conditus fuerit in synodo anni 341, non pauca tamen, quæ in editione horum canonum leguntur, ei concilio et eidem Eusebianis non convenire animadvertit. Præmissa canonibus epistola, tempus pacificum indicans, magnæ rerum perturbationi ab Arianis hoc tempore et hoc præsertim in synodo [xxvii] excitatæ nequaquam congruit. Quidam etiam canones Eusebianis auctoribus tribui non posse videntur. Gregorii enim Alexandrini ordinato in eodem concilio peracta reprobatur canone 19, et Eusebii Ncomediensis translationes rejiciuntur canone 21; nec verosimile est ab Arianis sub Constantio prevalentibus Nicænam synodum solemnem honore laudatam fuisse canone primo, in quo etiam de Constantino adhuc vivente potius quam mortui sermo est. Numerus quoque tam exiguus episcoporum triginta præfixus vel subjectus canonibus

"The source of the canons of Antioch is the Greek collection from which the same, presented in a triple Latin version--Isidorian, prisca, and Dionysian, passed over into the Latin collections. When the Chalcedon fathers adduced any from these canons, they employed the Greek codex of the canons, which displayed a continuous series of numbers as we have observed in the first chapter. Indeed, this general synod [Chalcedon], which considered these same canons as the rules of the fathers, provided renown and authority to these canons. For, by the fourth act, when the fifth canon of Antioch was read, all the <sup>very</sup> reverend bishops exclaimed, "These rules of the fathers are valid!" Col. 35.

bas non convenit cum illo nullo majore synodi anni 541, cum præsertim inter illos non inveniantur ea præcipua Eusebianorum capita, quæ in hac synodo omnia gesserunt, desique inter ipsos Flacillus, qui eo anno Antiochenam Ecclesiam regens abesse non debuit. Præterea episcopi qui canonum auctores fuerunt coacti dicuntur ex provinciis diocesis Orientis Antiochæno episcopo subditis, cum synodus habita in encaeniis ex alii etiam Ponti ac Thraciæ diocesisibus coaluerit. Hinc laudatus Tillemontius suspicatus est (Not. 26 in *Arian. Hbt.*) duo concilia Antiochæna a collectore Græco in unum fuisse confusa, nimirum illud frequentissimum in encaeniis habitum anno 541, cui attribuitur canonem quartum in Athanasium Eusebianorum opera constitutum, et fortassis etiam duodecimum, quem adversus eundem editum existimat; ac alterum ex provinciis Antiochæno episcopo subiectis coactum ante annum 535, cui epistolam, subscriptiones et reliquos canones ascribendos opinatur.

12. Nobis hæc Tillemontii opinio, etsi probatior cæteris videatur, non tamen plane satisfacit. Hanc enim Græci antiqui collectoris confusionem improbabilem credimus. Duos nimirum canones quartum et duodecimum, qui ab Eusebianis in encaeniis constituti creduntur, collector non intermiscisset canonibus alterius synodi, si a diversis synodis editi ac distinctos tactus fuisset; sed in fine addidisset. Cum in unum juncti fuerint Noani et Sardicensis canones, prius Nicæni, dein Sardicensis descripti fuere. Ita etiam cum in Græco codice canones concilii Constantiopolitani anni 381 et alii duo alii synodi copula fuerint, isti duo post illos subiecti inveniuntur. Vel igitur omnes Antiochæni canones synodo anni 541 ascribendi sunt, si canon quartus, vel eam duodecimus, Eusebianos habuit auctores; vel omnes in anteriori synodo sancti fuerunt, nec nisi per allucinationem et errorem quartus canon concilio anni 541 Chrysos omni tempore ascriptus fuit. Quid porro? Nos observationes Tillemontii gravissimas judicantes, ac sollicitius hæc in re inquirentes, nam antèrius Antiochenum concilium inveniri posset, cui omnes canones convenirent, feliciter tandem deteximus hos prorsus convenire Antiochæna synodo anni 552.

13. Cum nomina episcoporum quibus Antiocheni canones tribuuntur hujus rei nobis indicio fuerint, de his nonnulla exactius præmittenda sunt. Græca collectio cum ad nos pervenerit ex Græcis codicibus circa Photi tempora exaratis, qui nonnulla antiquorum codicum prætermissis, episcoporum nominibus caret, sed provincias tantum commemorat ex quibus episcopi convenerunt, his verbis: *Sancta et pacifica synodus a Deo congregata in Antiochia ex provinciis Syria Cæles, Phœnicie, Palæstinae, Arabie, Mesopotamiae, Cilicie, Isaurie, usque per provincias sunt unanimibus sanctis sacerdotibus in Domino salutem.* Nomina vero episcoporum conservata nobis fuerunt in vetustissimis Latinis versionibus, quæ olim ex Græcis vetustioribus exemplis his canones receperunt. In versione Isidoriana triginta episcopi recensentur; in versione autem prisca duo tantum et viginti episcoporum nomina designantur, quæ tamen cum Isidoriana versione nominibus conveniunt. Dionysii interpretatio nomina episcoporum omittit, uti colligitur ex duobus mss. purum Dionysium continentibus, Vat. 5845 et Palat. 577. In mss. vero collectionis Hadrianae, quæ Dionysianam versionem recepit, episcoporum nomina ex alio fonte adjecta fuere. In his autem Hadrianis codicibus septem primis episcopis sua cuique provincia assignatur. Hæc vero provincie septem cum illis e Græco codice paulo ante memoratis concordant. Sic enim ibidem legitur: *Eusebius Palæstnensis, Theodotus Mesopotamensis, Theodorus Isauriensis, Antiochus Phœnicensis, Agapius Arabieasis, Alphius Ciliciensis* (ita legendum ex codice Pithæano, quem Harduinus laudat; alias, mea-

dose, *Viliciensis, [xxviii] vel Syriensis*). *Narcissus Cæles Syriæ.* Reliqui porro episcopi sine provinciarum nomine subiciuntur. In vulgatis autem conciliorum post epistolam synodicam canonibus Antiochenis præmissam episcoporum catalogus sic describitur, ut quævis provincia cum suis episcopis, et quivis episcopus cum suæ urbis nomine esseretur: *Provincie Palæstinae, Eusebius Gadarensis; Provincie Phœnicie, Anatolius Emisenus; Aeneas Pithædis, etc.* (Tom. II Conc. Ven. ed., col. 385). Hanc catalogi methodum nulli, ut notavit Harduinus, codices exhibent. Hic itaque catalogus ab aliquo studioso posterius compactus fuit, qui Antiochænae synodi Patres ad septem Orientales provincias in Isidoriana versione codicibus nominatas pertinere intelligens (Vid. hunc tomum, col. 424), conferebatque cum catalogo Patrum Nicænorum (plerique enim utrobique convenerunt), ex hoc catalogo urbes et provincias singulorum excerpit atque descripsit: cumque duorum episcoporum Patricii et Alexandri, nomina inter episcopos septem provinciarum in Nicæno catalogo non invenerit, hos sine ulla urbis ac provincie designatione in finem rejecti, addito his Eustathio, quippe quem ab Eustathio Antiochæno jam deposito diversum esse persenserat. Hic porro studiosus vir dum Eusebium, qui in Palæstina fuit episcopus Casariensis, e catalogo Nicænorum Patrum, qui exhibetur in codicibus Hadrianis, errorem ebibat. Duæ versiones, Isidoriana et prisca, inter episcopos Palæstinae duos Sebastenos efferunt, sic: *Marinus Sebastenus, Gaius Sebastus*, ac dein sequuntur: *Eusebius Casariensis, Sabius Gadarensis, Longinus Ascalone, etc.* (Vid. infra col. 52). In mss. vero Hadrianis ne duo eisdem Sebastis episcopi referrentur, post Marinum Sebastenum urbium nomina a subsequenti episcopo traducta fuerunt ad præcedentem, sic: *Gaius Casariensis, Eusebius Gadarensis, Sabius Ascalone, etc.* Hoc vero errore studiosi illius viri excepto, designatio urbium et provinciarum in cæteris episcopis ex Nicæno catalogo deducta non improbabili videri potest, cum plerique Antiocheni Patres fuerint etiam Nicæni. Hinc porro agnoscimus errorem potius esse cum catalogum in Hadrianis exemplis descriptum, quo septem primis episcopis sua cuique provincia assignatur. Primi enim tantum episcopi *Eusebius Palæstnensis* provincie a cum Nicæno catalogo congruit, cæterorum non ita: ac propterea palam fit septem provinciarum nomina quæ in Græco textu et in versione Isidoriana separatim proferuntur, ita ut singula aliquos tantum episcopos indeterminate respiciant, in mss. Hadrianis librarii alienius arbitrio assuta et accommodata fuisse septem primis episcopis, nullo præmisso examine num ipsi conveniret provincie quæ cuique affixa fuit. In Græca origine, quam ex antiquis versionibus agnoscimus, sola nomina episcoporum sine ulla provincie notatione expressa fuerunt; nec sicubi aliqui episcoporum nominibus additur, solius provincie, sed civitatis præsertim nomen designari solet.

14. His notitiis præmissis, anno 552, Antiochæna sede vacante ante electionem Euphronii, synodus Antiochiæ coacta fuit, ut novum antistitem crearet. In hanc rem soli episcopi Antiochænae diocesis convenire debent. Cum epistola Constantini ad Antiochenam synodum hæc de eadem congregata inscribatur *Theodoto, Theodoro, Narcisso, Actio, Alpheo, et reliquis episcopis qui sunt Antiochiæ* (*Ev. eb. de Vita Constantini, lib. III, c. 62*), hos præcipuos eundem synodi episcopos ex provinciis eius diocesis fuisse, nihil est dubitandum. Alii porro peculiaris ejusdem imperatoris epistola eandem in rem scripta fuit ad Eusebium Casariensem, qui cum ex provincia Palæstinae Antiochæno subjecta eodem accurrisset, deficiente episcopo Antiochæno, primas in eodem concilio partes pro sua celebrate gessisse cognoscitur. Separatim vero is a cæteris episcopis ad Constantium scripserat, eo quod omnium vo a in ejus ele-



Symbolum et catalogus [xxxvi] Patrum Hadriane collectioni inserta fuerunt. Græca igitur exemplaria, ex quibus hæc versiones sumptæ sunt, et Symbolum et Patrum Nicæorum catalogum præferelat. Terte cum Africani anno 419 petissent ab Attico episcopo Constantinopolitano notitiam canonum Nicæorum, is non tam canones quam Symbolum et suis Græcis exemplaribus Latine reddidit. Vide part. II, cap. 2, n. 5. Eadem ratione Græca exemplaria quibus auctores versionum prisce et Isidorice usi sunt, in Gangrensibus canonibus atque Antiochenis præter canones synodice etiam continebant, quarum quidem Græcus textus inventus et editus est. Hæc autem omnia cum desiderantur in pura versione Dionysii, uti ex duobus puris ejus mss., Vat. 5845 et Vat. Palat. 577, colligere licuit, Græcum profecto Dionysii exemplum, quod a capite ad calcem accurate reddidit, isdem carebat. Græci igitur codices canonum ab aliis memoratis antiquis inter, rebus adhibiti a Dionysiano erant diversi, et ita diversi, ut eam numerorum seriem, qua præditus erat codex Dionysii, haudquaquam ferrent. Additiones enim saltem Symboli in canonibus Nicænis, et synodicarum in Gangrensibus atque Antiochenis, cum auxissent numeros, aliam auctiorem numerorum computationem induxissent, quæ ad abjudicandam ab his codicibus numerorum seriem codicis Dionysiani, et ad sententiam publici codicis hæc statuta numerorum serie notata referendam sufficeret. Cum vero in hisdem versionibus hujus continuatæ numerorum notationis nullum indicium sit, probabilis credimus Græcos codices unde illæ profectæ sunt numeris ejusmodi continua successione notatis carui se.

6. Neque idcirco negamus extitisse codices aliquos canonum qui hæc numerorum serie notarentur. Immo probabile nobis est eum qui in Græcum codicem hanc continuam numerorum seriem induxit, ut solos canones computaret, cætera quæ non sunt canones, nimirum Symbolum, subscriptiones, seu catalogum Patrum, et synodicas præterisse, uti in Græco Dionysii codice evenit. Id autem in rem nostram solum contentibus, non omnes Græcos canonum codices huiusmodi generis, neque hanc numerorum seriem, quibus in codicibus iterat, publica auctoritate fuisse inductam, aut eos tantum canones ab Ecclesia Græca fuisse receptos, qui in ejusmodi codicibus numerorum serie distinctis continerentur. Canon quartus Antiochenus S. Joanni Chrysostomo objectus, quod Palladium nullo numero distinguitur, et non sine ullo numero oppositus quoque fuit S. Cyrillo in epistola legatorum pseudosynodi Ephesinæ ad Rufinum, Socrates ex antiqua versione Euphrasii Scholastici, in Historia Tripartita, lib. XI, c. 8, citat regulam 18 Antiochenam numero canonum ipsius synodi proprio (qui numerus 18 in vulgato Græco textu Socratis excidit), cum ex codice in quo inesset continua numerorum serie canon seu regula 97 alleganda foretset.

7. Textus qui codicem cum numerorum serie indigent paucissimi sunt. In Chalcedonensi actione de Caroso et Dorotheo duo canones Antiocheni recitantur ex codice cum numeris continuatæ successionis, et similiter duo ac ipse 11. Episcopi etiam Pisdie, in epistola ad Leonem augustum inserta codici encephalo, eadem ratione Antiochenum canonem afferunt ex regula 85. Præter hæc autem duo vel tria testimonia anter ora Dionysio, nullum aliud invenire habemus licuit, quod similem numerorum seriem indicet. In eodem concilio Chalcedonensi, act. 4, canon Antiochenus quintus sine ulla synodi vel numeri indicatione ab Aetio Constantinopolitano ex codice lectus fuit: *Aetius archidiaconus Constantinopolis sanctæ et universalis Ecclesie dixit: Regula est hæc cum aliis posita a sanctis Patribus, quam custodientes sanctissimi Patres episcopi, docent et clericos et monachos et omnes Christum colentes. Si autem inventiant aut resultantes,*

*A aut aequali scere non volentes, hæc utantur regula. Et ex codice relegit hæc: De clericis et monachis, qui semetipsos a communione suspendunt. Si presbyter aut diaconus suum contemnens episcopum etc. (Tom. IV Conc. col. 1418, d). Titulus peculiaris De clericis et monachis, etc., in Aetii codice descriptus, qui in nulla antiqua, nec in Dionysiani versione, nec in Græco vulgato invenitur, diversum codicem manifestat, in quo nullus, ne peculiaris quidem, numerus canonibus appositus erat, et diversum etiam a Dionysiano, cui numerorum continua series inerat. In actione de Photio Tyri Atticus Nicopolitanus [xxxvii] episcopus canonem quartum Nicæum ex codice recitavit hoc titulo: *Trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum Patrum, qui Nicææ convenerant, canon quartus (Ibid., col. 1438). Idem vero canon iterum recitatur, act. 15, sine ullo titulo ex alio codice, quem Eunoimus episcopus Nicomediensis exhibuit: Gloriosissimi iudices dixerunt: Canonem legantur. Veronicianus vir devotus magister et secretarius divini consistorii ex codice dicit ab Eunoio reverendissimo episcopo legit capitulum sextum: Episcopum oportet quidem præcipue ab omnibus episcopis provincialibus ordinari, etc. (Ibid., col. 1634, d). Notabile est discrimen allegandi hujus canonis: in actione de Photio nomine canonis,  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$   $\delta$ , canon quartus, in actione autem 15 voce capituli,  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$   $\epsilon$ , ubi corrigendum  $\delta$ , capitulum quartum. Observamus præterea in illis testimoniis, quæ ex continuata numerorum serie canones allegantur, constanter præferri vocem  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ , uti videre est in laudatis actione de Caroso et Dorotheo, et actione 11. Codex ergo ab Eunoio productus cum voce  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$  diversus videtur ab his qui numerorum continuam seriem continebant. Quod si lectio  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$   $\epsilon$ , capitulum sextum, quæ tum in mss. Græcis, tum in antiqua versione concilii Chalcedonensis, et in codicibus Rustici uniformiter exhibetur actione 15 errorum antiqui amantensis deputanda non est, ut Baluzius indicavit, sed potius divisioni diversæ canonum Nicæorum, quæ ita in aliquo Græco codice, ut in mss. collectionis hoc tomo edendæ cum canonem sextum efficeret (in codice Vat. Regiæ 4997 alia divisione septimus evadit), nova hinc ratio suppeteret, ex qua diversitas ejus codicis Eunoiani luculentius comprobaretur.**

8. Aliud apertius testimonium Græci exempli ab eo diversi, ex quo canones cum numerorum serie allegati fuere, suppetit ex actione 16. Id antequam probetur, detegenda sunt duo vitia quæ vulgatum textum inficiunt. In eadem actione, post recitatum a Paschasio Nicæum canonem sextum in eam formam quam Italici codices exhibebant, editiones conciliorum Constantinum secretarium inducunt, qui eundem sextum canonem Nicæum et alium synodi Constantinopolitanæ legit ex Græco Aetii archidiaconi codice. Vehemens primum suspitio exoritur hanc iteratam Nicæni sexti canonis recitationem intrusam esse, non solum quia hic canon Nicæus veluti ab Aetio Constantinopolitano productus in questione de qua tunc agebatur pro Constantinopolitana sede nihil conferret, quin potius eidem adversaretur, solusque canon Constantinopolitanæ synodi in eandem rem a Constantinopolitanis ingereret; sed multo magis quia in antiqua versione, quæ pura conservatur in codice olim Joliano, nunc autem capituli Parisiensis, hic repetitus canon sextus, ut notavit Baluzius, omittitur: unde a primo illi interprete in suo Græco codice inventu, non fuit. Forte vero cum lectio ejusdem canonis a Paschasio producti prioribus verbis differret aliquantulum a Græcorum codicum lectione, quidam Græcus studiosus horum codicum lectionem olim decripsit in margine, ac ex margine deinceps irrepsit in textum. Quæ insitio cum legatur in mss. editionis Rustici, antiqua cognoscitur. Ipsa porro Rustici editio, licet hoc additamentum receperit, aliam tamen Græci vulgati textus posteriorum corruptionem detegit. In hoc sibi illic

"Now, that we may return to the canons of Sardis, whether these were wanting in the codex which was gotten together in a continuous series in the synod of Chalcedon, just as they were wanting in the Greek codex of Dionysius, it is impossible to be made known. For the numbers which were adduced in that council do not go beyond the canons of Antioch. But who can affirm that in that codex the canons of Sardis, which were put together after the synod of Antioch, had not been described after the canons of Antioch? Indeed, since the whole Greek codex of canons was not constructed at the same time in the beginning, but increased little by little, it is not preserved in the order of the times, as we have marked in cap. 2, but no can affirm that these same canons had not been added after the canons of Laodicea and Constantino-ple in the accepted codex of Chalcedon." Col. 50.

præter insertum Nicænum canonem aliis atque aliis A  
 verbis introducitur canon Constantinopolitanus sic :  
 Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀρχαιότερος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βιβλίου  
 συνοδικῶν τῆς δευτέρας συνοδοῦ. Τάδε ὄρισαν οἱ ἐν  
 Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἡγῆται Θεοῦ συνελθόντες ἕκαστος  
 πεντήκοντα ἐπίσκοποι ἐκ διαφόρων ἑπαρχιών, etc.  
*Idem secretarius vel qd ex eodem codice : synodicum  
 secundæ synodi. Hæc constituerunt cæ. episcopi  
 qui in Constantinopolim Dei gratia convenerunt ex  
 diversis provinciis, etc. (Tom. IV Conc., col. 1749, a).*  
 Prima illa verba, *Idem secretarius legit ex eodem  
 codice*, quæ expuncto Nicæno canone superflua sunt,  
 et in antiqua sane versione eundem canonem ignorante  
 omittuntur, desunt etiam apud Rusticum; æproinde is  
 hæc in suis quoque Græcis codicibus nequaquam re-  
 perit. Præterea idem Rusticus in sequentibus antiquæ  
 versionis lectionem retinens, non habet : *Synodicum  
 secundæ synodi*. Synodi quidem secundæ appellatio  
 Constantinopolitanæ tributa ad posteriora tempora per-  
 tinet, cum in Græcis canonum codicibus generalia  
 concilia a topicis separari, et post Nicænam synodum  
 Constantinopolitana collocari cœpit.

[XXXVIII] 9. Sed age jam in rem nostram sincerum  
 textum, qui exclusa Nicæni canonis repetitione veram  
 lectionem præfert, ex antiqua versione producamus.  
*Constantinus vir devotus secretarius divini consistorii ex  
 doto codice ab Aetio Constantinopolitanorum sanctissima  
 Ecclesiæ recitavit ; synodicum primi concilii sub Nectario  
 epis. opo Constantinopolitano episcoporum 150. Hæc  
 constituerunt episcopi qui in Constantinopolim De  
 gratia convenerunt ex diversis provinciis, secundum  
 evocationem religiosissimi principis Theodosii, sub  
 Nectario Constantinopolitano episcopo. Non recensari  
 fidem, neque regulos trecentorum decem et octo Patrum  
 qui in Nicæa Bithyniæ convenerunt, sed maneat illa  
 propria, et aatheumatizetur omnis hæresis, etc. (Tom.  
 IV Co c. col. 1747, d).* Ubi uno contextu recitantur  
 Constantinopolitanæ synodi canones duo, sive tres  
 sine distinctione ulla canonum aut numerorum. Duo  
 solum hic animadvertenda sunt. Primo notandus  
 titulus canonibus Constantinopolitanis prælixus in  
 ipso Græco Aetii codice : *Synodicum primi concilii  
 sub Nectario episcopo*, cum reliquis; quæ cum nec in  
 textu Græco codicis canonum, nec in illis versionibus  
 legantur, e Allectionem diversam canonum indi-  
 cant : idque eo magis, quia voces *primi concilii* alterum  
 saltem sub eodem Nectario in eodem canonum  
 codice subiectum significant, nimirum vel illud anni  
 582, ad quod pertinere videntur duo canones primo  
 illi concilio adj. eti, vel aliud anni 591, cujus Acta in  
 aliquot mss. Græcorum collectionibus leguntur (*Vid.  
 sup. c. 1, n. 10*). Secundo cum solus tertius canon,  
 aut, ut alii dividunt, secus duo de privilegio sedis  
 Constantinopolitanæ ad rem pertineret, hic solus  
 recitandus fuerit, si in Aetii codice a primo vel etiam  
 secundo canone fuisset distinctus. Simul autem omnes  
 hi canones uno contextu recitati fuerunt, quia Aetii  
 codex ea canonum de numerorum distinctione carebat,  
 quæ non solum in ms. Græco Dionysii, sed in  
 aliis etiam adhibitis ab auctoribus versionum Isidorianæ  
 et Priscæ inventa fuit. Hic ergo Aetii codex  
 Græcus diversus erat ab omnibus quorum indicia ad  
 nos pervenere. Quod si in ipsa Chalcedonensi synodo  
 lecti fuerint diversi generis codices, alii cum conti-  
 nuata numerorum serie, alii sine ejusmodi numeris,  
 et alii etiam aliis auctores; inanis proculdubio per-  
 spicitur Justelli hypothesis, qua solum codicem cano-  
 num continuam numerorum seriem exhibentem ab  
 Ecclesiæ Patribus receptum, et in Chalcedonensi  
 lectum atque approbatum præsumit. Adde quod ex-  
 pressa canonum approbatio, quæ ab eadem synodo  
 edita est canone primo, non ad hunc vel illum qui  
 lectus fuit canonum codicem restringitur, sed ad cano-  
 nes Patrum omnium et singularum antecedentium  
 synodorum extenditur. *Regulas, inquit, sanctorum  
 Patrum per singula nunc usque concilia constitutas pro-  
 prium robur obtinere debent.*

10. Nunc ut ad Sardicensis canones revertamur,  
 num hi reipsa defuerint in eo codice qui continuata  
 numerorum serie in Chalcedonensi synodo lectus  
 fuit, sicuti defuere in Græco codice Dionysii, certe  
 pronuntiari nequit. Numeri enim qui in eo concilio  
 allegati fuerunt Antiochenis canones non prætergre-  
 diuntur. Quis autem affirmare queat in eo codice post  
 Antiochenos non fuisse descriptos canones Sardicen-  
 ses, qui post Antiochenam synodum conditi fuerat.  
 Immo cum Græcus codex e nonum non totus simul  
 initio conditus fuerit, sed sensim auctus, non servabatur  
 temporum ordine, uti cap. 2 notavimus, eosdem cano-  
 nes saltem post Laodiceos aut Constantinopolita-  
 nos in laudato Chalcedonensi codice non fuisse ad-  
 jectos nemo affirmare poterit. Similitudo Græci codicis  
 Dionysiani, qui numerorum serie distinctus Sardi-  
 censes canones ignorabat, non convincit. Cum enim  
 codex Græcus Dionysii uno numero in Antiochenis  
 canonibus discrepat a numero codicis qui lectus fuit  
 in synodo Chalcedonensi, idem codex ab hoc aliquan-  
 tum diversus agnoscitur. Sicut autem codex ex quo  
 ille Latine transtulit canones apostolorum quinquaginta  
 imperfectus erat (iidem enim canones jamdudum  
 ante Dionysium recepti erant multo plures, uti statuimus  
 cap. 1, n. 4), ita minus perfecto canonum  
 synodali exemplo uti potuit, ut ne omnes codices  
 similem numerorum seriem præferentes canonibus  
 Sardicensibus caruisse dicendi sint.

11. Quod si etiam in ejusmodi codicibus hi canones  
 prætermissi fuissent, num decessit etiam in omnibus  
 aliis exemplaribus quæ ea numerorum continua serie  
 carerent? Certe in quibusdam saltem codicibus eorum  
 frequentissimum [xxxix] Patrum Græcorum,  
 qui ad Chalcedonense concilium convenerant, ex  
 Ecclesiis præsertim Illyrici, pro quibus aliqui Sardi-  
 censes canones constituti fuerant, eos fuisse descri-  
 ptos negari non potest. Quid quod Sardicensis syno-  
 dus in illis comprehenditur quarum regule canone  
 primo Chalcedonensi confirmatæ fuerunt? Patrum  
 quidem Sardicensium fides laudatur in Allectione  
 concilii Chalcedonensis ad Marcianum augustum. *Illi  
 quidem, ait, qui apud Sardicam contra vel quos Arii  
 convenerunt, Orientalibus diviserunt sui constituta a  
 iudicii (Tom. IV Conc., col. 1766); quæ constituta paulo  
 ante vocantur decretum de fide*. Immutat autem de-  
 cretum fidei quod legitur in fine synodice Sardic-  
 ensis apud Theodoretum, lib. II Hist. Eccles., cap. 6.  
 Hoc quidem decretum, seu hanc expositionem fidei  
 additam esse, et laudatæ synodice assutam, fani  
 omnes fatentur. At hæc additio ante Chalcedonem  
 et obinebat, et codicibus erat inserta ex quibus jam  
 antea, præter Theodoretum, Socrates, libro II, cap.  
 20, et Sozomenus, lib. III, cap. 12, eandem fidei  
 expositionem a Sardicensi concilio editam allegarunt.  
 Certe hoc additamentum synodice, quo expositio  
 Nicæna fidei a Sardicensibus Patribus condita præ-  
 fertur, jam scriptum erat anno 562, et Sardicæ  
 etiam propositum fuisse a nonnullis Patribus, sed ab  
 aliis pluribus et a synodo rejectum, colligere licet ex  
 concilio Alexandrino anni ejusdem, ubi illa expositio  
 fidei addita in vulgata interpretatione ejusdem syno-  
 di tabellæ nomine significatur. *Tabellam igitur,  
 inquit Alexandrini concilii Patres, quam, nonnulli  
 inquant, quasi ex Sardicensi synodo de fide descri-  
 ptam, ne legi quidem semel aut proferri sinatis. Nil  
 enim tale synodus definiit. Quamvis enim certi homines  
 nonnulli, quasi que deessent Nicæno concilio,  
 ascribere vellent, idque veriter contenderent, sanc-  
 tum tamen synodus, que Sardicæ convenit, indigne, id  
 indit, decretoque sancivit ne quid ulterius de fide scriberetur,  
 et sese contentos esse Nicæna fide declaraverunt, ut  
 nihil deesset, et quæ plena pietatis esset, neque eden-  
 dum esse aliam professionem fidei, ne illa que Nicæna  
 scripta est imperfecta crederetur; neve illis occasio ha-  
 jusmodi suppeditaretur, qui sæpe numero volunt de  
 fide definire et scribere (Tom. II Conc., col. 374 a).*  
 Similiter a S. Eusebio Verulensi in subscriptionibus

vero putare possit me totam hanc historiam gratis comminaci, et nullum illius vestigium exstare, primum acire omnes volo, me huic omni concertationi et examini intefuisse, penes me habere præfatiunculam supra descriptam, et Marcam istius rei mentionem fecisse in litteris, quas tum per aliam occasionem dedit ad Alexandrum papam vii et ad Lucam Holstenium. Describam autem ejus verba ex ea quæ est ad Alexandrum. « Justellus pater, Calvinianæ quoque hæreseos sectator, codicem canonum Ecclesiæ universæ olim publicaverat, omissis de industria Sardicenses concilii canonibus Romani pontificis potestatem derte asserentibus, ac si judicio Ecclesiæ universæ a corpore canonum rescissis essent. Eadem fraude filius canonum collectionem Latine nam et codicem vetustissimo hinc nougentis annis non scripto (*Leg.*, conscripto) ante meum in hanc Parisiensem civitatem adventum prelo submiserat. Statim comperto ab ea abesse Sardicenses canones, quos sciebam a Justello patre ex ipso codice resectos quidem, sed ad ejusdem voluminis calcem folia rejecta, non destiti quoad tam regie potestatis comminationibus, quam humanissimis precibus post canones Nicænos juxta fidem ms. codicis Sardicenses in editione locus suus restitueretur, ne hac dignentur præmissa triumpharent heretici spretem non solum a Græcis, sed etiam a Latinis, et [LXXIII] Græci, ut ab Ecclesiâ Gallicana canonum illorum auctoritatem. » Hactenus ex Baluzio.

17. Continebat olim Justellianus codex, si editoribus credendum sit, canones conciliorum Ancyran, Neocæsariensis, Nicæni, Sardicenis, Gangrensibus, Antioceni, Laodiceni, Constantinopolitani I et Chalcedonensis. Sed synodi Laodicenæ integros canones et maximam partem Sardicensium cum postrema parte subscriptionum concilii Nicæni injuria temporum perisse affirmant in præfata uncula ad lectorem (*Tom. I, B. bl. jur. can. pag. 276*). Quæ de causa vere intercederit maxima pars Sardicensium cum postrema parte subscriptionum Nicænarum, ex Baluzio intelleximus, Laodicenos vero canones in codice Græco Priscæ versionis auctori doli se, nec eos Priscæ interpretatione Latinitate donatos, nobis exploratum est. Cum enim omnium cæterarum synodorum Græcarum canones ex Priscæ versione in aliquot Latinis collectionibus reperimus, solos Laodicenos ejusdem versionis in nulla collectione potuimus invenire, sed vel ex Isidoriana insertos, vel præsertim omissos deprehendimus. Hoc postremum peccatum animadvertens, dignum est in ms. codice Vat. Regiæ 1997, qui etsi præter Nicænos canones solum ac totam in cæteris editionem Priscam receperit, Laodicenis nihilominus caret. In Justelliano autem codice quinque tantum folia, quæ Nicænarum subscriptionem partem et Sardicenses canones tantummodo continebant, reserata notavit Baluzius. Laodicenos eodem codici olim insertos eo solo præjudicio affirmavit editores, quia illos in Græco codice canonum ac in omnibus ejusdem codicis exemplaribus semper existisse crediderunt continuata illa numerorum serie comprehensos, quæ in culque ejusmodi codici communem potuerunt. Nos autem cum part. 1, c. 2, n. 5, hoc præjudicium sustulimus, tum vero Laodicenis canonibus Græcum codicem aliquando caruisse ostendimus. Nullus quidem Justelliani codicis defectus notatur post canones Antiocenos, quibus Laodiceni subjecti fuissent, si eos Priscæ auctor Latine reddidisset.

18. Canones Constantinopolitani in eodem codice post Chalcedonenses describuntur, iisdemque canonum antecedit de primatu sedis Constantinopolitanæ, qui ad Chalcedonensem synodum pertinet. *Id potius hallucinationi vel incogitanti et amanuensis, qui codicem exscripsit, quam auctoris erroris vel imperitiæ tribuendum editores tradidere.* Sed nec amanuensis nec auctoris versionis id adjudicandum est. Veram causam eam credimus, quod in eo Græco codice, quem interpres adhibuit, canones Constantinopoli-

tani post Chalcedonenses additi fuerant, iisdemque propterea canon Chalcedonensis pro Constantinopolitana sede constitutus accesserat. Confer quæ in hanc rem observavimus part. 1, c. 2, n. 5, et notam in canones Constantinopolitane ejusdem versionis, quæ hoc tomo integra edetur.

19. Hæc versio Priscæ post Chalcedonense concilium lucubrata dicenda est, siquidem omnes Græci canones etiam Chalcedonenses ab eodem auctore Latine redditi sunt ex Græco codice, qui Chalcedonensem et Constantinopolitanorum additamentum receperat. Certe vero priorum synodorum canones traducti fuerant eo tempore quo institutis jam aliquot ecclesiasticis metropolitibus in Italia sub finem sæculi IV peccariis veluti provincia Romani antistitis uti metropolitana intra suburbicaria loca coneludebatur. Id enim probat versio canonis sexti Nicæni, quam paulo ante ex Sirmondo recitavimus. Hinc etiam hæc versio ab aliquo Italo aut Italicæ disciplinæ perito condita fuit. Id ipsum confirmant Italica collectiones, in quibus passim recepta legitur, ut sunt quæ exstant in codicibus mss. Vat. Regiæ 1997, Vat. 1542, Lucano 88, et Colbertino 784. In Gallias vero aliquem hujus versionis codicem delatum suadet collectio Quesnelliana, quam Gallicanam probavimus; Chalcedonenses enim canones ex interpretatione Priscæ descripti fuero.

20. Hanc versionem, quæ satis obscura et involuta est, indicare videtur Dionysius Exiguus, cum in epistola ad Stephanum episcopum Salonitanum scripsit, Laurentium Romanum, ut videtur, presbyterum confusionem Priscæ translationis offensum, sibi ad novam versionem adornandam stimulos addidisse. Enimvero Italus presbyter de ea interpretatione conquestus est quæ in Italia vigeat. Priscam autem ibidem viguisse multo magis quam Isidorianam, [LXXIV] ex laudatis Italicis collectionibus discimus. Neque moveat nomen Priscæ, quod Dionysii tempore competere non potuisse videtur interpretationi, quæ post Chalcedonense concilium lucubrata fuerat. Notum est enim veteres Priscam identidem vocasse, quod annos circiter quinquaginta excederet, et nunquam etiam hanc vocem usurpasse de re quæ non multo ante evenisset; quemadmodum apud Festum Priscæ Latine quoque appellatæ sunt anteriores colonæ, ut distinguerentur a novis; ita Priscam Dionysius potuit vocare anteriorem versionem, ut a sua ipsam distingueret.

### CAPUT III.

*De canonibus Ecclesiæ Africanæ, qui in omnes fere collectiones Latinas antiquas fuerunt inserti, et de vetustis eorum codicibus.*

§ 1. *Necessitas disserendi de canonibus Africanis. Recensentur codices et collectiones in quibus Africani canones continentur. De antiquitate collectionis synodorum Africae, quæ in collectionibus Hispanica et Isidoriana recepta est. Duo codices canonum Africanorum producti in synodo Carthaginiensi anni 525. De canonibus synodorum Carthaginiensium sub Grato et Gennethio, qui in uno ex iisdem codicibus continentur.*

1. Præter Græcarum synodorum canones e Græco codice Latine redditos et in Latinas collectiones traductos, in easdem fere inserti continentur canones Ecclesiæ Africanæ; itaque adeo celebres fuere, ut e Latinis codicibus Græce translatis, in Græcas etiam collectiones transierint. Cum vero apud Africanos anteriorum synodorum canones in synodis posterioribus repeterentur ac insererentur gestis, frequenter etiam sine præcedentium synodorum mentione idem canones repeterentur, qui antea fuerant constituti: idem in diversis conciliis reperiantur, et nunc uni, nunc alii synodo adjudicantur; adeo ut sæpius non facile discerni possit qua in synodo hic vel ille canon conditus fuerit. Accedit diversa syno-

"The canons of Constantinople are described in the same codex after Chalcedon, and to these same is the canon tied concerning the primacy of the seat of Constantinople, which pertains to the Chalcedon synod. The editors reported that this must rather be attributed to the hallucination and carelessness of the amanuensis, than to the author--to error and lack of skill. But neither to the amanuensis nor to the author of the version is this to be assigned. We believe the true cause to be that because in the Greek codex which the interpreter employed, the canons of Constantinople had been added after the Chalcedon, and, on that account, the canon of Chalcedon, established before the seat of Constantinople, had approached to the same in resemblance."

Cols. 87, 88.

dorum divisio, seu inscriptio in collectionibus diversis notata, canonumque numerus ejusdem synodi aieubi minor, alibi major. Nunc certii canones omissi, nunc alii certe additii. Hinc vero magna in Africanis conciliis canonum commixtio, perturbatio et incertitudo exoritur, pluresque difficultates et controversiæ exinde excitatae sunt, quæ eruditus in varias sententias deduxere. Exemplo esse possunt i ter alia multa, quæ circa Breviarium Hipponense disputarunt ex una parte Schelestratus, ut ipsum suppositionis accusaret, ex alia Quesnellus ut defenderet. Non solum enim ille, qui falsam sententiam tutatus est, sed hic etiam qui veram propugnavit, in plures errores incurrit, canonumque Hipponensium, Breviarium ac synodi Carthaginensis in notam dum evolere studuit, maxime involvit. Ut autem in tanta caligine aliquid lucis afferretur, nos post P. Harduinnum, qui de Africanis canonibus hunc meritum est, aliquid tentavimus in Histor. a Donatistarum part. II, c. 19. Nunc vero post consulta plura Latinarum collectionum exemplaria, et post diligentius examen ac studium circa eadem collectiones aliquid novi afferre posse credimus, unde exactior et plenior Africanorum canonum et conciliorum notitia proferatur.

2. Postquam Christophorus Justellus Africanorum canonum collectionem Græce et Latine edidit cum titulo *Codex canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ*, opinio apud multos invaluit eam continere omnes omnino canones qui ab Africanis Patribus conditi, veteri Africanæ Ecclesiæ usui fuerunt. Sed ea nullo modo canones vere complectitur, nisi quos Dionysius Exiguus exerpserit ex synodo Carthaginensi anni 419, ejus usus gesta præ oculis habuit. Etsi vero in ipsa gesta de cripti essent canones, qui tum in ipsa synodo conditi, tum in anterioribus Aurelii conciliis fuerant constituti, Dionysius tamen non tota hæc gesta, nec omnes singulorum conciliorum canones dedit eo ordine ac numero quo in memorati gesti fuerant inserti, sed cum iidem canones in plerisque [LXXV] synodis essent repetiti, eum modum qui repetitioni viandæ aptior ipsi visus est instituit; adeo ut ipsius la ubratio earum synodorum quæ ante annum 419 sub Aurelio fuerunt celebrata, integram omnino descriptionem non præbeat; quod plenus patebit ex dicendis § 8, cum de synodo Carthaginensi anni 419 ex proposito disseremus.

3. Alia Africanarum synodorum collectio præter Dionsianam exstat in mss. codicibus collectionum Hispanicæ et Isidorianæ. Octo in ea synodi describuntur: Carthaginensis I, est synodus sub Grato; Carthaginensis II, est synodus sub Genethlio; Carthaginensis III, est synodus anni 597, sub Aurelio, ad cujus tempora sequentes quoque synodi referuntur, nimirum Carthaginensis IV anni 598, Carthaginensis V anni 401, Carthaginensis VI anni 419, septimo kalendas Junias, Carthaginensis VII ejusdem anni tertio kal. Junias, et Milevitana anni 402. In his vero nonnulla quæ erant distinguenda, præperam conjuncta et confusa, quedam omissa et aliqua etiam aliunde inserta, atque Africanis afflicta deinceps videbimus. Neque id auctori collectionis Hispanicæ, et multo minus Isidoro tribuendum est. Vetustior enim collectio ne Hispanica fuit hæc Africanarum synodorum collectio. Id exploratum sit ex concilio Turonensi II anni 567, quod eo lecti nem Hispanicam antecessit. In hoc siquidem can. 20 legitur: *Cum etiam id in antiquis Milevitanis canonibus fuerit statutum. Item placuit ut quicumque episcoporum necessitate periclitans pudicitiam virginalem, eum vel petitor potens, vel raptor aliquis formidat, etc.* Sunt verba canonis 26, qui in laudata collectione synodorum Africanæ Milevitanæ concilio perieram tribuitur, cum vere sit canon concilii Carthaginensis anni 418, ut patebit ex dicendis § 7. Jamdum ergo ante collectionem Hispanicam compacta fuerat ea Africanarum synodorum collectio, quæ canones concilii Carthaginensis anni 418 Milevitanæ synodo affixit; ac pro-

A inde auctor collectionis Hispanicæ eam non digessit, sed antea digestam et pervulgatam in suum corpus traduxit.

4. Aliæ porro collectiones Hispanica et Dionysiana antiquiores nonnulla Africana documenta receperunt. Collectio contenta in mss. Vat. 1542 et Barberino 2888 præstat concilium Carthaginense sub Genethlio, Breviarium Hipponense refertur in iisdem codicibus, ac præterea in ms. 55 capituli Veronensis, in eod. Corbeiensi et in exemplis collectionis Quesnellianæ, Collectiones Vat. Regiæ 1997, Vat. 1542, Barb. 2888, et Lucano-Colbertina exhibent synodum Carthaginensem anni 419, distinctam in canones quadraginta, quam inter documenta juris canonici veteris hoc tomo edidit sumus. Duæ collectiones Corbeiensis et Quesnelliana dant synodum Carthaginensem anni 418 adversus Pelagianos.

5. Neque prætermittendus est Ferrandus Carthaginensis Ecclesiæ dæconus, qui in Breviatione Africanæ præsertim canones compendioso exhibuit, Africanisque antiquissimis exemplaribus usus est. Cum vero is concilia Carthaginensia sine ulla distinctione alleget, non ita facile erit discernere cuiam concilio ex pluribus ejusdem loci hic vel ille canon tribuendus sit. His tamen omnibus sollicitiori studio collatis atque perpensis speramus fore ut distinctiorem Africanorum conciliorum canonumque notitiam proferre possimus.

6. Hinc vero operi facem præferent duo Africanæ codices canonum, qui in concilio Carthaginensi anni 525 sub Bonifacio ex ipso Carthaginensis Ecclesiæ serinio producti (*T. V Concil. col. 778, c.*), integram veterum Africanorum canonum collectionem in duos tomos distributam continebant. Unus ille est ex quo lecti fuerunt aliquot canones Nicæni et unus synodi Carthaginensis sub Grato; alter, qui appellatur *Liber canonum temporibus Aurelii*. Præsum præter Nicænos comprehendisse videtur canones synodorum Africanarum anteriorum Aurelio; alter vero canones synodorum quæ sub eodem Aurelio coactæ in laudato Bonifacii concilio usque ad vigesimam recensentur. Ut a primo antiquiorum canonum codice exordiamur, Nicænum concilium ex ea vetustissima interpretatione, quam Cæcilianus in Africanum attulerat, apud Africanos receptum ac relatum in codice animal-verimus capite precedenti, § 1. Ibi etiam solus Nicæni symboli et sexti canonis versionem ex eadem interpretatione superesse indicavimus, erroremque detextimus, cum in synodo Bonifacii vrsioni ab Attico [LXXVI] Constantinopolitano transmissa tributa fuit ea symboli Nicæni translatio, quæ ad antiquam Africanam interpretationem pertinet.

7. Ex conciliis Africanis anterioribus Aurelio solos canones sub Grato et Genethlio Carthaginensibus episcopis conditos et in Latinas collectiones tractos receperimus. Synodus Carthaginensis Grati cum canibus 14 primum edita fuit ex collectione Isidori, qui ex Hispaniâ illam transcripsit. Utrique inscribitur: *Concilium Carthaginense I*. Dein vero emendatius recusa est a P. Labbeo ex codice Palcano, cujus exemplar Holtenii manu scriptum a P. Possino accepit. Ferrandus in Breviatione hos canones fere ad eam expresso Grati nomine sic: *Concil. Carthog. sub S. Grato*. At d ubus in locis Grati nomen omittit, id est num. 119 *Concil. Carthog. tit. 8*, et num. 185, *Concil. Carthog. tit. 2*, qui canones his numeris designati, cum numeris canonum solus synodi sub Grato concurrunt; nisi quibus forte malit credere his locis indicari aliam synodum Carthaginensem ex iis quæ desiderantur, in qua iidem canones repetiti sub iisdem numeris recensentur. Ex hac Grati synodo canon 11 integer recitatur in concilio Bonifacii anni 525. Cum S. Augustinus in eundem anno 402, epistola 65 ad Xanthippum scribat num. 2: *Sæpè episcopis causam presbyteri terminari concilio statutum est, voci concilio hæc notationem Benedictini editores in margine affixerunt: Carthaginiensis sub Grato an. 348, seu 319,*

Intellectum discipulis confirmare præcepit: *Pacem meam de vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis* (Joan. xiv, 27), ut ne ulla dissensio <sup>a</sup> inter nos ex religio- sitate venerabili oriatur, sed ex æquo veritatis ostendatur præconium. <sup>b</sup> Et quoniam non desinit per sordiculas quasdam malignis insidiari <sup>c</sup> pietatis seminibus, sed semper novi quiddam adversus veritatem indagat; ob hoc Dominus nos <sup>e</sup> habens providentiam humani generis, hunc elementissimum et fidelem adversus æmulum nobis concessit principem, qui unlique ad se sacerdotes convocavit, ut gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cooperante <sup>d</sup> totam falsitatis noxam a grege suo abjiecit, et veritas eam germinibus corroboraret, quod et fecimus communi decreto vel judicio errores persequentes et sectas. Sed et perfectissimorum Patrum innovavimus <sup>e</sup> fidem, trecentorum decem et octo symbolum omnibus prædicantes; <sup>e</sup> et quod sincera agnitione animo concepisse cognoscimus sacerdotes, attitulantes notavimus. Et post hæc convenerunt in urbe Constantinopolitana numero centum quinquaginta, etiam hi hæc confirmantes fidei. Nos vero nunc ordinem et omnes fidei formulas custodientes, decernimus secundum Ephesianorum concilium, cujus auctores venerabiles fuerunt Cælestinus urbis Romæ et Cyrillus Alexandrinæ urbis episcopi, <sup>f</sup> unanimiter sentientes juste præcellere inculpabilis fidei expositionem cccxviii venerabilium ac beatissimorum Patrum qui in Nicæa temporibus divæ memoriæ Constantini imperatoris 219 convenerunt, <sup>g</sup> etiam obtinere vero cl venerabilium episcoporum apud

Constantinopolim quæ decreta sunt adversus inter- reptionem sectarum pullulantium et crescentium, manifestatione hujus catholicæ et apostolicæ nostræ fidei.

✓ <sup>h</sup> Symbolum cccxviii et cl.

Credimus in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, factorem cæli et terræ, visibillum omnium et invisibillum, et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unicum, de Patre <sup>i</sup> natum ante omnia sæcula; Deum verum de Deo vero; natum, non factum; ejusdemque substantiæ <sup>j</sup> qua Pater est; per quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit, <sup>k</sup> incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto, in Maria virgine homo factus, crucifixus pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, sepultus, resurrexit tertia die, ascendit ad cælos, sedet ad dexteram Patris; inde venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos ac mortuos, cujus regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum sanctum, Dominum ac vivificantem a Patre procedentem, qui cum Patre et Filio adoratur et glorificatur, qui locutus est per Prophetas; in unam catholicam atque apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confitemur unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum; speramus 220 resurrectionem mortuorum, <sup>l</sup> vitam futuri sæculi. Amen.

<sup>m</sup> Suffecerat quidem ad plenariam pietatis agnitionem et confirmationem sanctum hoc et salutare divinæ gratiæ <sup>n</sup> secretum; de Patre enim et Filio et Spiritu sancto docet nos <sup>o</sup> plenaria et perfecta Domini nostri incarnatio, quibus fidei <sup>p</sup> er credulitas adest. Sed quoniam hi qui veritatis destrucere conantur

Vind., Lucen. et Vat. Dein ut nulla quidam codd. exhibent.

<sup>a</sup> Vind. et Luc., inter vos. Vat., inter suos, forte melius; et dein, ex ea quonque veritas.

<sup>b</sup> Baluz., Sed quoniam. Lucens., quoniam, deleta particula et.

<sup>c</sup> Oxon., pietatis similes. Vind., pietatis similibus.

<sup>d</sup> Sic Baluz. codd., concinentibus Thuan. et Vind. Cod. Vat., tota falsitatis noxa abjiecit, et veritatis, etc. Quesn., veritas totam falsi atis noxam aggressa abjiecit, et suis eam germinibus. Lucen., ut gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi totam falsitatis noxam aggressa abjiecit.

<sup>e</sup> Solus Quesn. cum Oxon., et ques.

<sup>f</sup> Ita Vat., Lucen. et Baluzii codd. Vinl. solum præmittit qui adverbio unanimiter. Oxon. delet qui; sed habet in expositione culpabilis, etc. Quesn. cum Thuan., qui unanimiter sentientes juste protulerunt inculpabilis, etc.

<sup>g</sup> Sic Vind. cum Vat. et Baluz. codd. Concinnit mss. Lucen. ac Thuan., quorum primum solum post nonnulla delet et apostolicæ; alterum pro vero habet vigorem censuerunt. Quesn. cum Oxon., Decernimus etiam obtinere firmitatem quæ decreta sunt a cl. venerabilibus episcopis apud Constantinopolim adversus interreptionem sectarum pullulantium et crescentium. Est autem ad manifestationem hujus catholicæ nostræ fidei symbolum trecentorum decem et octo, et centum quinquaginta. Hæc elariora quidem sunt, sed præter antiquo. un. codicum fidem.

<sup>h</sup> Sic omnes nostri codd. Quesnellus, Symbolum fidei cl. Patrum. At cum in concilio Chalcedonensi utrumque symbolum Nicænum et Constantinopolitana lectum fuerit, primus interpres, cujus versio

exhibetur in Vat. ms. 1522, utrumque symbolum in unum copulavit, adjecto in fine anathematismo adversus Arii errores, quod Nicæni concilii proprium est. Hinc titulus, quo symbolum Nicænum et Constantinopolitanum simul innuitur, in sincerioribus hujus collectionis mss. jure præfertur, sicut etiam in Vat. ex qua primæva collectione, ut monuimus, noster collector hæc derivavit.

<sup>i</sup> Quesn. omisit natum, non vero nostri codices. Dein notavit post vocem sæcula in editis addi lumen de lumine. Sed hæc verba hujus versionis codices ignorant. Postea præterivit vero, quæ vox deest etiam in Lucen. ms.

<sup>j</sup> Quesn., cujus Patris.

<sup>k</sup> Vat. ms., natus est de Spiritu sancto, et ex Maria Virgine homo, etc. Idipsum fere in cod. Luc.

<sup>l</sup> Quesn. addit et; delent nostri codd.

<sup>m</sup> Hæc primæva versio existat in collectione Vat. 1522, ex qua nostræ collectionis auctor ipsam recepit. Quesnellus eam primus edidit, sed in multis diversam a nostris et Baluzii codd., ad quorum fidem eam exegimus; neque enim quid melius sit, sed quid antiqua ac primæva versio ac vetera exemplaria, minus licet exacte, præferant, exhibendum est. Mox Vat., Lucens. et Baluzii codd. delent et confirmationem, non vero noster Vindel.

<sup>n</sup> Quesn. in marg., lege dum forte symbolum, ut in aliis versionibus. Sed hujus versionis codd. secretum præferunt, pro quo Lucen. mendosus, decretum.

<sup>o</sup> Quesnellus, plenaria perfecte, et in postilla; Vox plenaria deest in Oxon. Forte legendum plenarie. mss. Vat., Lucens. et Baluzii secuti sumus. Mox cum Vat., Thuan. et Vind. præconia scripsimus. Al. præconium.

præconiâ, quasdam innovationes procreaverunt, et secretalem Domini nostri incarnationem corrumpere nisi sunt, et divinæ a vocis Virginem creatricem ausi sunt denegare, et confusionem unius naturæ humani corporis et Divinitatis componere ausi sunt, et separabilem ac corruptibilem unici Filii divinam naturam dicere tentaverunt: ob hoc omnem ipsis b opponendam adversus veritatem machinationem volens hoc venerabile atque mundanum concilium, antiquo illo præconio et firmo exemplo decrevit; edicens præcipue trecentorum decem et octo episcoporum venerabilium fidem incontaminatam manere; et adversus illos qui Spiritui sancto adversantur, c quam fidem etiam posteriore tempore in urbe Constantinopolitana convenientes et venerabiles episcopi d et doctrinam nobis Spiritus sancti substantiæ confirmaverunt: non quod aliquid deesset præcæ fidei superadjicientes, sed adversus eos qui nitentur e divini Spiritus conceptioni adversari, 221 et Domini nostri

a Solus Quesn., *carnis*.

b Ita codd. Thuan., Vindeb. et Lucens. Quesnellus, *machinationis aditum adversus veritatem opponere*; et in margine: forte *occludere*.

c Quesn. inseruit *corroboravit eam fidem, et mox delevit fitem*. Nostros et Baluzii codices prætulimus.

d Ita Lucen. cum Baluz. cod. l. Quesnellus, *doctrina Spiritus sancti hac substantia*.

e Quesn., *per divinum Spiritum*. Codices nostros et Baluzii sequimur.

f Quesn., *Hos ergo divinarum Scripturarum attestatione evidentius manifestaverunt errare. Propterea illos vero qui secretum, etc.* Thuan., *Nos ergo Scripturarum attestationem audentius manifestantes, propter hos qui secretum*. Vind., *Hos ergo Scripturas divinis attestatione evidentius manifestantes, propter hos, etc.* Codices Baluzii sequi maluimus. Similiter Lucen., qui solum pro *ad detestabilem* habet attestantibus. Mox pro *creatum* Baluz. effectum.

g Ita codd. Vind., Vat. et Thuan. Baluzii et Lucen. mss. solum omittunt *contra*. Quesn., *acceptas habet venerabilis*; et dein congrua scripta adversus.

h Quesn., *nosse desiderantibus, nec non et epistolam archiepiscopi Leonis primæ sedis, quæ destinata et directa videtur .... Epistolam quippe illa visa est S. Petri confessioni concordare, et una atque similis pagina adversus obtractantium audaciam evidentiter edocere confessionem integræ fidei credentium*. Mellus quidem, sed non ita antiqui hujus collectionis codices, nec antiqua illa obscurior versio, quam noster collector excepit. Vat. et Luc. exemplaria, nec non et illa Baluzii in textu exhibuimus. Thuan. et Vindeb. modicum discrepant: nam Thuan., *confessione nobis concordante, et una atque similis pagina visa est*; dein pro *edere* habet *edocere*, ac pro *integræ* exhibet *integraltem*. Vind., *confessionem concordantem, et una atque similis pagina visa est, ac edocere*.

i Sic Vind. cod. Quesnellus, *impugnat*. Thuan. *oppugnamus*. Luc., *oppugnant*.

j Quesnellus hoc locum duplicem versionem exhibuit duplici columna. In columna strictiori protulit versionem ex Thuanico codice, quam hujus collectionis propriam in textu reinvimus et ad nostros atque Baluzii codices exegimus. In laxiori autem columna exhibuit aliam versionem a Crabbo vulgatam, quæ licet in Oxon. ms. inserta fuerit, eo quod explicatior sit, aliena tamen est ab hac collectione, eamque propterea, uti a Quesnello edita est, hoc loco appendimus: *Hos etiam qui passibilem audent dicere Divinitatem Filii Dei unici, et eos qui in duabus naturis*

A potestatem corrumpere. f Hos ergo in Scripturis divinis ad detestationem evidentius manifestantes, propter hos qui secretum substantiæ evertere inspectabantur, dicentes hominem sine Divinitate fuisse creatum ex venerabili virgine Maria impudenter et vulgariter, g contra venerabilis quondam episcopi Cyrilli Alexandriæ Ecclesiæ litteras, et totius Orientis congruas adversus Nestorii amentiam, in quibus manifesta est expressio certi atque salutaris symboli, h desiderantibus epistolam archiepiscopi Leonis primæ sedis, quæ destinata et directa videbatur ad venerabilem sanctæ memoriæ Flavianum ad interceptiendam 222 Eutychis malignitatem, quamvis sancti Petri confessioni concordantem; et unam atque similem paginam visa est adversus obtractantium audaciam evidentiter edere convenit integræ fidei credentibus. Nam et eos qui quasi bifariam Dei vivi substantiam secretalem nituntur dividere i oppugnat.

i Hos etiam qui passibilem audent dicere Divini-

Christi permixtionem aut confusionem dici æstimant, vel eos qui dicunt esse caelestem aut alterius substantiæ carnem quæ est assumpta, illi pro nobis formam servi negantes, abiecit; et qui duas quidem ante unionem naturas Domini fabulantur, unam vero post unionem confingunt, anathematizat. Sequentes ergo sanctos Patres, unum eundemque confiteri Filium Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum consoni voce omnes edocemus: eundem perfectum in Deitate, eundem perfectum in humanitate; eundem Deum verum, eundem hominem verum ex anima rationali et corpore; eundem coessentialem Patri secundum Deitatem, eundem coessentialem nobis secundum humanitatem; per omnia nobis similem absque peccato; ante sæcula quidem genitum de Patre secundum Deitatem, in novissimis autem diebus eundem propter salutem nostram ex Maria Virgine Theotocou secundum humanitatem, unum eundemque Christum Filium Dei unigenitum in duabus naturis inconfuse, immutabiliter, indivise, inseparabiliter agnosendum; nusquam ablata substantia naturarum propter unionem, magisque salva proprietate utriusque naturæ et in unam personam atque existentiam concurrente; non in duas personas partitum atque divisum, neque disjunctum, sed unum eundem Filium unigenitum, Deum Verbum Jesum Christum, sicut ante prophetæ de eo dixerunt; et ipse nos Jesus Christus erudit, et Patrum nobis symbolum tradidit.

His igitur cum omni undique veritate, diligentia, et sollicitudine a nobis definitis, statuit sancta et universalis synodus alteram fidem nulli licere proferre, vel conscribere, aut componere, aut sentire, aut docere aliter; eos autem qui ausi fuerint componere fidem alteram, aut proferre, aut docere, aut tradere alterum symbolum volentibus vel ex gentilibus ad cognitionem veritatis venire, vel ex hæresi quacunque; hos, si episcopi fuerint, vel clerici, alienos esse episcopos ab episcopatu, et clericos a clero; si vero monachi aut laici fuerint, anathematizari.

Et subscriperunt: Paschasinus episcopus vicarius Domini mei beatissimi atque apostolici viri universalis Ecclesiæ papæ Leonis urbis Romæ synodo præsidens, statui, consensi, atque subscripsi. Lucensis episcopus Ecclesiæ Tusculanæ [leg. Asculanæ] vicarius domini mei beatissimi et apostolici viri universalis Ecclesiæ papæ urbis Romæ Leonis, in synodo gesta lecta subscripsi. Bonifacius presbyter sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ statui et subscripsi. Subscriperunt et cæteri episcopi qui eidem concilio interfuerunt numero sexcenti et triginta.



tatem unici Filii, hos repellendos de omni synodo oportet; necnon et hos qui duplicis naturæ commixtionem<sup>a</sup> et confusionem Domini nostri argumentantur, impugnare; et qui cœlestem, vel etiam consubstantialiam substantiam, quam ex nobis<sup>b</sup> credimus concretam. Ipsos ergo figuram **223** delirantes, vel insanientes dicimus; et hos qui duas ante natiuitatem<sup>c</sup> naturas Domini, unam post unitarum insulse flingentes, excommunicare oportet. Sequamur igitur Patrum nostrorum sententiam, unum et eundem confitentem Dominum Jesum Christum, convenienter edocentes perfectum eundem in Divinitate, et perfectum eundem<sup>d</sup> carnalem hominem, Deum certum, eundem hominem certum, eundem ex anima rationali et corporis substantia: Patri in Divinitate similem, item et nobis per omnia in humana substantia similem præter peccatum; ante sæcula ex Patre<sup>e</sup> natum secundum Divinitatem, sed in ultimis diebus eundem propter nos et propter nostram salutem ex Maria Virgine divini nominis creatricæ secundum hominem, unum eundemque Christum<sup>f</sup> Filium Dominum unicum in duplici natura inconfuse, et immu-

<sup>a</sup> Male apud Quesn., et confessionem. Emendavimus ex Luc. et Baluz. codd. Mox idem Quesn. perperam, argumentatur.

<sup>b</sup> Vind. Luc. et Baluz. mss. omittunt *credimus*. Dein, *concreatum* pro *concretum* in ms. Luc. Mox, *figuram* ex Vind. Luc. et Baluzio recepit, pro qua voce Quesnellus habet *fugimus*.

<sup>c</sup> Quesn., in *unitate naturas Domini dicunt, post unicum insulse*. Nostros et Baluzii codd. sequimur, in quibus *post unionem* legendum videtur, ut in aliis versionibus.

<sup>d</sup> Ita codd. Baluzii, cum quibus concinunt Vind. et Lucens. Quesn., in *carne Dominum, hominem certum, eundem ex anima, etc.*

<sup>e</sup> Luc. et Baluz., *progenitum*. Post pauca pro *nominis*, alias *nominis*. Sic rudis interpret *Theocon* Latine reddidit.

<sup>f</sup> Quesn. cum ms. Vind., *firmum*. Melius Baluzii cod. et Lucensis, quos secuti sumus.

<sup>g</sup> Sic Baluzii codd. cum Græco et aliis versionibus. Quesn., Vind. et Luc., *immutabilem*. Mox, pro *substantia* mss. Vind., Lucen. cum Baluz., *distantia, male*.

<sup>h</sup> Sic Vind. Quesnellus, et *substantia*. Mss. Baluz. et Luc., *non sub una substantia convenientes*. Mox, *divisa atque partita* apud Quesn. Codices Vind., Luc. et Baluz., *divisam atque partitam*. Correximus, sententia contextus exigente. Dein Lucen. cod., *Filium unicum Deum verum Jesum Christum*.

<sup>i</sup> Vind. et Lucen., *Horum itaque; Baluzius, Horum itaque communi veritate*: utrobique minus recte. Neque vero Quesnelli lectio *Hæc itaque* omnino placet. Magis placeret cum cæteris versionibus scribere *His itaque ... ordinatis*, si qui codices hujus interpretationis suffragarentur.

<sup>j</sup> Sic Vind., Lucen. et Baluzii codices. Hic autem per saltum aliqua de unt: cumque nulli codices adjuvent, defectus antiquissimus est. Supplendum autem videtur ex alia versione, quam annot. 49 subiecit, *aliter*. *Eos autem qui ausi sunt componere fidem alteram, aut proferre, aut docere, aut tradere alterum symbolum, corripere se volentibus ad scientiam veritatis ex paganistarum aut Judaicæ aut hereticæ cujuslibet secta, sive sint episcopi, etc.*

<sup>k</sup> Hi canones licet in vulgatis Conciliorum habeantur

tabiliter, indivise cognoscendum, in nullo duplicis naturæ substantia interempta propter unitatem, salva proprietate utriusque naturæ sub una persona<sup>h</sup> substantia conveniente; **224** neque in duas figuras divisum atque partitum, sed unum eundem Filium, unicum Dominum Verbum Deum Jesum Christum; sicut antiquitus propheta pro eo, et jam ipse nos Jesus Christus erudit, et Patrum nobis tradidit symbolum.

<sup>l</sup> Hæc itaque cum omni veritate atque suavitate a nobis ordinata; statuit venerabilis et mundana Ecclesia nullam aliam fidem licere cuiquam proferre, aut edere, vel docere, vel tradere *l* ... alterum symbolum corripere volentibus ad scientiam veritatis ex paganitarum, aut judaicæ, aut hereticæ cujuslibet sectæ. Hos vero, sive sint episcopi aut clerici, alienos esse ab episcopatu et clero, sed, et si monachi sint aut laici, hos excommunicari jubemus.

<sup>m</sup> *Canones expositi a sanctis Patribus qui Chalcedonam convenerunt* <sup>n</sup> *in quingentesimo anno sub imperatore nostro piissimo Marciano.*

## 225<sup>m</sup> CANON I. Canones qui per singulas syno-

lur actione 13, conditi tamen fuerunt actione 7, uti probavimus in Observationibus ad dissert. 1 Quesnelli ad an. 451, not. 18 tom. II, col. 501. Versio autem horum canonum illa est quæ, ex vetustissimo codice a Justello edita, et hoc tomo per nos recuenda, Prisca interpretatio vocatur. Præter Justelli vero codicem, et præter exemplaria hujus collectionis, exstat in tribus aliis mss. collectionibus, nimirum in Vat. Regiæ 1997, in Colbert. 784, et simili Lucensi 88 (ex quo postremo codice hos canones novissime edidit P. Dominicus Mansius tom. I Supplementi Conciliorum, col. 529), ac tandem in Barb. 2888 et Vat. 1542, quæ omnes collectiones æque ac nostra canones Chalcedonienses ex Prisca versione derivarunt.

<sup>o</sup> Sic in præstantissimo cod. Vindob. 59, in quo secunda manu pro *in* substitutum fuit *indictione* v. Alius cod. Cæsareus Vindebonensis 42 paulo dissimiliter habet, *convenerunt temporibus in quingentesimo anno*, etc.; et Hubertinum exemplar apud Constantium t. I Epist. Rom. pontif. pag. LXXXIII, *convenerunt temporibus In. v quingentesimo sub imperatore*, etc. Quesnellus, omissis hoc loco vocibus in *quingentesimo anno*, has post nomen *Marciano* translulit sic: *Anno quingentesimo Incarnationis Domini indictione* v; quæ formula abest ab omnibus antiquis mss. tum hujus, tum cæterarum collectionum quas annot. 1 laudavimus, et a veteri stylo aliena est. Codex

<sup>p</sup> Codices Justelli, Vat. Regiæ, et Vat. Barb. tabulam titularum præmittunt, et suo cuique canoni titulum repetitum etiam præfigunt. Hujus vero collectionis mss. exemplaria tabula præmissa carent. Solum in utroque codice Vindeb. 59 et 42 tituli affiguntur in canonum margine, iique aliis verbis expressi sunt ac in codicibus aliarum collectionum, quæ Justellianos titulos similiter exhibent. Hinc peculiaries hujus collectionis titulos in annotationibus recitabimus, uti in iisdem mss. Cæsareis Vindebonensibus invenimus, in quibus aliorum canonum tituli desiderantur. Primi canonis titulus sic profertur: *De canonibus uniuscujusque venerabilis concilii*. Cæteri codices cum Justello hunc primum canonem prælationis instar præmittunt, vel inscriptioni annectunt; et primum canonem referunt, qui in hac collectione secundus est.

nos a sanctis Patribus constituti sunt haecenus, ha-  
bere firmitatem censuimus.

\* II. Si quis episcopus ordinationem per pecuniam fecerit, et vindiderit rem quæ nisi <sup>b</sup> gratia non acquiritur, et sub pecunia ordinaverit episcopum, aut provincialem episcopum, sive presbyterum, vel diaconum, aut eorum quemquam qui in numero clericorum continentur, aut <sup>c</sup> accepta pecunia fecerit æconomum, aut defensorem, vel ostiarium, vel quemcumque hujuscemodi pro lucri turpitudine; qui ergo **226** hoc fecisse probatur, sui gradus periculum sustinebit. Sed et is qui ordinatur, nihil ex ordinatione quæ per negotiationem processit utilitatis acquirat; sed <sup>d</sup> fiat dignitatis vel rei quæ ipsi pro pecunia commissa est, alienus. Si quis autem <sup>e</sup> his tam turpibus et nefariis lucris medius interfuisse videtur, et is, siquidem clericus fuerit, degradetur; si vero laicus aut monachus, anathematizetur

Codex Justelli, qui Priscam Græcorum canonum versionem continet, hunc titulum profert: *Incipit concilium Chalcedonense. Quingentesimo anno sub imperatore piissimo Marciano.* Similiter in collectione Barb. 2888 et Vat. 1542, et in alia Lucensi Colbertina: *Incipiunt statuta. Quingentesimo anno sub imperatore piissimo Marciano.* In collectione ms. Vat. Regiæ 1997: *Incipiunt canones Chalcedonensium a sanctis Patribus constituti, id est, quingentesimo anno sub imperatore piissimo Marciano.* P. Constantius loco allegato peculiarem inscriptionem affert codicis Colbertini, olim Thuanei, qui ad nostram collectionem pertinet, his verbis expressam: *Canones expositi a SS. Patribus qui Chalcedona convenerunt temporibus Valentini [lege Valentiani] et Marciani Augustorum indicti. quinta, sub imperatore nostro piissimo Marciano.* Hanc autem cæteris præferendam putat, ac expungendum annum quingentesimum, cum Chalcedonensis synodus habita sit non anno quingentesimo, sed quadragesimo quinquagesimo primo, cui sane mense Octobri indicto congruit: At manuscripta quæque diversarum antiquissimarumque collectionum anni quingentesimi notationem concorditer probant; nec unicus codex Thuaneis cæteris ejusdem collectionis præferendus est. Nec excessus quingentesimi anni difficultatem novare debet, cum sub hoc idem tempus S. Petrus Chrysologus serm. 145 circa quingentos annos post natiuitatem Christi similiter computaverit. Confer alia exempla quæ in hanc rem collegimus in editione operum S. Zenonis Veronensis episcopi, disserti. 1, c. 2, § 4. pag. xxxvi et xxxvii.

<sup>a</sup> Titulus mss. Vindeb., *Si episcopus pro pecunia ordinationem fecerit.* In canone codex Oxon., *Si quis episcopi ordinationem, etc.* Mox in Justelliano ms., in Luc. et Vat. hujus versionis, *per pecuniam.*

<sup>b</sup> Codd. Justelli, Lucen. et Vat. 1542, *per gratiam Dei.* Dein verba aut provincialem episcopum desunt in iisdem mss. et in Oxon. Coniicit Quesnellus his verbis Græcam vocem ἡ ζωστῆριον reddere voluisse rudem interpretem. Codd. Vat. et Lucen., *ordinaverit episcopos, aut presbyteros, vel diaconos.*

<sup>c</sup> Solutus Quesn. addit etiam. Mox Just. et Lucen., *pro turpitudine lucri.* Melius Vat. Regiæ, *pro turpitudine lucri.* Dein codd. Vind., Just. et Vat. Reg. delent ergo.

<sup>d</sup> Codd. Just., Vat. 1542 et Lucen., *fiat dignitatis reus;* in Vat. autem additur posteriori manu *et ob id quæ, etc.*

<sup>e</sup> Addidimus in ex ms. Vind. Codices Just., Lucen. et Vat., *in his tam turpibus, et mox videatur, et is qui domi sit clericus.*

<sup>f</sup> Hæc verba *Item alio loco* leguntur non solum in mss. hujus collectionis, verum etiam in codice vetu-

*Item alio loco: clericos vel laicos volentes episcopos vel clericos & accusare non debite, nequaquam ad accusandum suscipi debere, nisi prius eorum <sup>b</sup> optio fuerit discussa.*

**227** <sup>i</sup> III. Pervenit ad sanctam synodum, quoniam quidam clericorum propter lucri turpitudinem alienarum possessionum conductores <sup>l</sup> efficiuntur, et pro causis sæcularibus tractandis ministeria Dei negligunt, <sup>k</sup> sæcularium domos discurrunt, et patri-  
moniorum curas propter avaritiam suscipientes. Igitur magna et sancta synodus constituit, nullum deinceps <sup>l</sup> neque episcopum, neque clericum, neque monachum conducti titulo possessiones conducere, nec causarum sæcularium posse ordinationibus commisceri: nisi forte vocetur aliquis secundum leges ad minoris ætatis tutelam, <sup>m</sup> quæ excusanda non est; aut episcopus civitatis ecclesiasticarum rerum <sup>n</sup> curam velit committere, aut orphanorum, aut viduarum,

sûssimæ omnium collectionis Vat. Regiæ 1997, ex qua noster collector eadem verba deorsus videtur, cum in aliis plerisque lectionibus etiam conveniant. Desunt autem in cod. Justelli, et in mss. Vat. 1542 ac Colbertino 784. In Lucensi vero exemplo, licet hæc Colbertinam collectionem contineat, totus hæc canon omittitur, ut ex editione P. Mansi colligere licet; et rectius, quippe hic idem canon proprio loco inferiori reperitur c. 21. Probabilis autem videri potest Quesnelli conjectura his verbis expressa: *Qua occasione vel ratione huic loco inserta sint verba ista; divinare non possum. Hæc certa sunt: primo, nec ad præcedentem canonem, nec ad subsequentem pertinent. 2. Esse ipsum canonem 21 hujus Chalcedonensis synodi. 3. Hujus versionem diversam esse tam ab aliis omnibus editis, quam a versione decreti ejusdem vigesimo primo loco positi in hoc codice. 4. Eundem canonem legi hoc loco ad calcem secundi in utroque codice hujus ms. exemplari et in Justelliano. Studiosi alicujus procul dubio opus est hæc additio, qui nempe cum legeret penam depositionis superioris canonis decretam adversus clericos turpis et simoniaci lucri reos, statim ex canonis 21 lectione monere voluit quam cautè ac circumspectè recipienda esset accusatio hujusmodi adversus episcopos, quos talis pœna damnatos maneret. Mox Vind., clericus, vel laicus volente. Colb., Just. et Vat. 1542, clerici, vel laici.*

<sup>g</sup> Ms. Colb. apud P. Constantium, *accusare indebite.* Vind., *accusare non indebite, ne quocunque [lege quomodocunque] ad accusandum.* Just. et Vat. Regiæ, *accusare, non indebite, ne quodcumque accusandum.* Vat. 1542 cum Colbertino P. Constantii similiter; solum melius pro ne habent nec.

<sup>h</sup> Solutus ms. cod. Oxon., *oppositio.*

<sup>i</sup> Titulus in margine codicem Vindeb., *Neque episcopos, neque clericos, aut monachos conductores fiant.*

<sup>j</sup> Just., Vat. 1542, et Lucen., *efficiuntur... negligunt.* Mox codd. Vind., Luc., Just. et Vat., *et causis sæcularibus tractantibus.* Thuan., *et causas sæculares tractantes, melius.*

<sup>k</sup> Quesn. addit per, pro qua præpositione Just., Luc. et Vat. habent et. Utrumque delent Vind. et Vat. Regiæ.

<sup>l</sup> Voces *neque episcopum*, a Quesnello omissas, supplevimus ex omnibus nostris et Justelli codd. Mox; apud Just., *conductitii pro conducti.* Dein, pro *conducere* Just., Luc. et Vat., *habere liceat.*

<sup>m</sup> Tres iidem codd. Just., Luc. et Vat., *quæ excusari non licet.*

<sup>n</sup> Quesnellus inseruit ei; delent Vind. et Vat. Reg. Cæteri tres codd. pro ei supplent *clerico* sic: *curam clerico voluerit committere.*

his tantum dari convenit qui bonæ opinionis esse videntur.

\* XII. Pervenit ad nos quoniam quidam contra ecclesiastica statuta se potestatibus conferentes, per pragmaticum unam 233 provinciam dividerunt in duas, ac per hoc<sup>b</sup> duos in una provincia esse metropolitanos episcopos. Igitur constituit sancta synodus nihil tale deinceps tentari ab episcopis; <sup>c</sup> ne qui hujusmodi aliquid arripuerint proprium amittant gradum. Quæcunque vero civitates jam per sacras litteras nomine metropolitano funguntur, <sup>d</sup> ipsæ solæ honorem consequantur, et is qui huic Ecclesiæ præest episcopus, salvo utique proprio jure, quod revera metropolitane civitati convenit.

\* XIII. Peregrinos clericos et lectores in alia civitate sine synodicalis litteris sui episcopi penitus nunquam ministrare posse.

† XIV. Quoniam in quibusdam provinciis lectores et psaltes nubere permittuntur, constituit sancta synodus non licere quemquam <sup>e</sup> alterius hæreseos mulierem accipere. Eos vero qui jam ex tali matrimonio filios procreaverunt, siquidem filios suos apud hæ-

etiam Bernardinum Ferrerium in libro quem scripsit de antiquo ecclesiasticarum Epistolarum genere; Annibalem Fabrotum in Balsamoni collect. Eccles. Const. tit. lib. III, tit. 1; Christophorum Justellum in hunc codicis Ecclesiæ universæ canonem; notas etiam Gabrielis Albaspinei episc. Aurelianensis in hunc canonem; ubi accurate fuisseque disserit de gemina interpretatione et sensu Græcæ vocis ὑποθήκη, quæ canonem fere claudit. Nimirum hæc τοῖς οὐσι μόνους ἐν ὑποθήκῃ περιστάσει προσώποις alii alter interpretati sunt. Versio quæ Græcæ textui adjacet, tam in Justelliano Ecclesiæ universæ codice, quam in vulgatis, et Græci collectores et commentatores Balsamon, Zonaras, et Blastares, de iis personis quæ suspectæ sunt, canonem explicant. Antiquæ versiones Latine contrario sensu exponunt: Dionysius quidem de honoratioribus personis; Isidoriana de his qui in opere sunt clariore. Jacobus Cujacius ad cap. 5 de clericis non residentibus, interpretatur de honestioribus personis, qui sunt in reparatione, seu integræ famæ. Quem sensum ita exprimit vetus interpres noster, cui Prisca Justelli versio concinit, de iis qui bonæ opinionis esse videntur. Ad hunc postremum sensum Dionysianam versionem aliaque, quæ de honoratioribus interpretantur, trahit Albaspinus: suam opinionem majore præcul dubio confidentia prolaturus in medium, si codicis nostri versionem legisset, cui non modica inde commendatio accedit, quod celebri œcumenicæ synodi canonem lucem nonnullam afferat. Haetenus Quesnellus

<sup>a</sup> Tit. cod. J. Vind., *Ut provincia in duos metropolitanos episcopos non dividatur.*

<sup>b</sup> Just., Luc. et Vat. mss., *Duo ... sunt metropolitani episcopi.* Dein post igitur eodem cod. cum Vat. Regiæ addunt *nunc*; et pro *sancta* habent *magna*.

<sup>c</sup> Tres laudati cod., et qui. Vind. cum Vat. Regiæ, minus ne qui. Dein Just. omittit jam.

<sup>d</sup> Vind. ms., *ipsi soli.* Quesn. notat: *lege ipsæ solum, ut sensus exigit.* Dein post nomen episcopus Quesn. ex Thuan. exemplo inseruit *vocetur archiepiscopus*: quas voces etsi præferat etiam ms. Vat. Regiæ, ex cæteris tamen cod. delevisimus, propterea quod in Græco etiam alii quæ versionibus desunt.

<sup>e</sup> Titulus in eod. Vind., *Peregrini in alia civitate non ministrent.* Dein Vat. Regiæ, *Peregrinus, clericus, et lectores* ..... possint. Just., Luc. et Vat., in *aliena civitate* ..... nusquam ministrare debere.

<sup>f</sup> Titulus in mss. Vind., *Ne cum hæreticis aut Ju-*

licis baptizaverunt<sup>h</sup>, postmodum posse catholicam communionem accipere; si autem non sunt baptizati, jam non posse apud hæreticos baptizari, nec ad conjugium cum hæretico conjugi, neque 234 cum Judæo, neque cum pagano, nisi forte promiserit se transferre ad fidem orthodoxam personæ quæ conjungenda est cum orthodoxo. Si quis autem hujus sanctæ synodi constitutum violaverit, i canonum damnationem incurrat.

<sup>k</sup> XV. Diaconissam mulierem non posse ordinari ante annum quadragesimum, et cum diligenti probatione. Si vero accepta<sup>l</sup> ordinatione, et certa temporâ ministerii observans nuptiis se tradiderit ad injuriam Dei gratiæ, hujusmodi mulier anathematizetur, cum eo qui illi conjunctus est.

<sup>m</sup> XVI. Nec eam quæ se Domino Deo virginem devovit, eodem modo nec monachum nubere licere. Si vero hoc facere voluerint, a communione suspendantur.

<sup>n</sup> Episcopo autem de hac re auctoritatem præbeamus, si velit eos reconciliare.

\* XVII. Rusticas parochias, quæ sunt in singulis dæis conjungi. Mox Quesn., et psaltæ uxores ducere; Just., et salutem nubere, et in marg.: *Lege saltem nubere, quod reperimus in Vat. 1542.* Utrumque male. Veram lectionem suppeditavit cod. Luc., concinentibus Vind. ac Thuan., in quibus solum pro psaltes legitur psaltæ.

<sup>o</sup> Just. et Luc., *ulterius hæreticam.* Vat. melius habet tantum hæreticam. Hic autem alterius hæreseos id. n. est ac alterius sectæ, ut versiones Dion. et Isid. præferunt. Dein, apud Justellum, *procreant.* *Etsi quidem.*

<sup>p</sup> Luc. et Vat., *postmodum vero*; et mox cum Just. et Vat. Regiæ, *posse eos in catholica communione percipere*, al., *accipere, vel recipere.* Dein, *jam non debere eos apud hæreticos baptizari ne ... cum hæreticis.* in Just. Luc. et Vat.

<sup>q</sup> Tres iidem cod., nisi forte se transferre ad fidem orthodoxam promiserint personæ quæ conjungendæ sunt cum orthodoxis; et dein, *violare tentaverit pro violaverit.*

<sup>r</sup> Idem cod. cum Vat. Regiæ, *canonum damnatio* i subjacet.

<sup>s</sup> Tit. co. Id. Vind., *De diaconissis.* Just., Luc. et Vat. 1542, cum titulum præferant *Quod [lege quod] amorum velari debeant ancillæ Dei,* canonem incipiunt sic: *Placuit non eas ordinari ante annum 40, et hoc cum diligenti, etc.* Vox *diaconissim*, in mss. nostræ collectionis et in Vat. Regiæ exhibita, cum Græco aliisque versionibus concinit.

<sup>t</sup> Just. cum Luc. et Vat., *velatione, et certo tempore ministerio observans.* Vat. Regiæ habet pariter et certo tempore ministerio observans, Oxon., ministerium observans. Vind., ministerio observans. Dein tres priores cod., qui illi conjungitur.

<sup>u</sup> Titulus in mss. Vind., *Nec Deo dicata virgo nec monachi non nubant.* Quesn. sic canonem inchoat: *Nec eam quæ se Domino virginem vovit, nubere licere, nec monachum uxorem ducere.* Præterea cod. Vind., Vat. Reg., cum quibus cæteri tres concordant, solum var. antes in his vocibus, *nec monachis nubere licet.*

<sup>v</sup> Just. cum Vat., *Episcopus autem de hac re auctoritatem præbebit, si velit eos reconciliari; Vat., reconciliare.* Codex Luc. versionem Dionysii hoc loco substituit: *Confitentibus autem decrevimus, ut habeat auctoritatem ejusdem loci episcopus misericordiam humanitatemque largiri.*

<sup>w</sup> Hic canon. in Vind. titulo caret. Post pauca Vind. omittit primam vocem *eas*, Oxon. delet *maxime*, et Luc. præterit primam particulam *si*.

provinciis, inconcussas manere constituimus apud A episcopos qui eas detinere videntur, maxime si eas annis triginta detinentes inviolate dispensaverunt; si vero <sup>a</sup> intra annos triginta facta est, aut **235** fiat de illis quæstio, his licere quæstionem movere apud synodum provinciæ, qui <sup>b</sup> vim se pertulisse asserunt. Si quis autem a metropolitano suo episcopo male tractetur, apud primam sedem suæ provinciæ, vel apud Constantinopolitanam, causam dicat, sicut superius comprehensum est. Si qua vero potestate imperiali nova constituta est civitas, aut certe constituatur, civilibus et publicis formulis, etiam parochiarum ecclesiasticarum ordo celebretur.

<sup>c</sup> XVIII. Conjurationalis vel conspirationis crimen etiam apud extrinsecas leges penitus amputatur; multo magis in Ecclesia Dei hoc ne fiat prohiberi oportet. Igitur si clerici aut monachi inventi fuerint B conjurati <sup>d</sup> aut per conjugationem calumniam machinantes episcopis vel clericis, proprium amittant gradum.

<sup>e</sup> XIX. Ad aures nostras pervenit quoniam in provinciis non fluit synodi episcoporum secundum canonum constituta, et ob hoc multa rerum ecclesiasticarum quæ emendanda sunt negligi. Sancta igitur synodus constituit <sup>f</sup> secundum canones Patrum bis in anno in id ipsum episcopos per singulas provincias convenire ubi metropolitano episcopo constituerit, et omnia quæcunque emergerint corrigere. Episcopi vero qui non convenerint <sup>g</sup> in propriis positi civitatibus, et non per profectionem absentes, maxime suppeditante salute, et a necessariis et excusabilibus C occupationibus liberi, fraternitatis intuitu corripiantur.

<sup>a</sup> Just., *intra triginta annis*. Vat., *in triginta annis*. Luc., *annis triginta*. Dein Just., *aut si fiat*. In Luc. omittuntur voces de illis. Postea hi tres codd. cum Vat. Regiæ, apud synodum suæ provinciæ.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Thuan., *vim pertulisse asseruntur*.

<sup>c</sup> Tit. in mss. Vind., *Qui conjugationem, non autem calumniam contra episcopum faciunt*. In Vat. 1342 totus hic canon ex Dionysii interpretatione penitus inseritur. *Crimen conjugationis vel conspirationis; et a veteribus legibus est omnino prohibitum*, et reliqua ut in Dionysio. Mox etiam desideratur in mss. Just. et Luc., qui deinde habent *amputari solere*.

<sup>d</sup> Codd. Just. et Luc., *et per conjugationem calumniam facientes episcopis, vel quibuslibet clericis*. Mox Quen. cum Oxon., *amittant locum*. Scripsimus gradum cum mss. Vind., Thuan., Just. et Luc.

<sup>e</sup> Tit. codd. Vind., *Synodus bis anno fiat*. Mox, *in quibusdam provinciis habent* Just., Luc. et Vat. exemplaria; ac deinde, *secundum canonem constitutum, et hoc multa rerum ecclesiasticarum quæ corripienda sunt vel corrigenda negligi*.

<sup>f</sup> Tres iidem codd., concinente Vat. Regiæ, *secundum canones Patrum qui apud Niciam Bithyniæ constituti sunt, bis in anno*, etc. Male in illis præmittitur *ut ante secundum*. Dein Just. et Vat., *ex singulis provinciis convenire*.

<sup>g</sup> Just. cum Luc. et Vat., *et in propriis positi civitatibus, et non profecti, sed absentis, maxime suppeditante salute secesserunt* [Vat., *cesserint*] *inexcusabilibus* [Luc., *excusabilibus*; Vat., *excusabilibus*] *occupationibus liberi*, etc.

<sup>h</sup> Tit. in mss. Vind.; *Qui alium clericum suscipi, a communione suspendi*. Mox, tres laudati codd., *sicut*

<sup>i</sup> XX. Clericos in Ecclesia militantes, **236** sicut jam constituimus, non licere in alterius civitatis Ecclesia militare, sed illa contentos esse in qua principio ministrare meruerunt; extra eos qui amissa patria ad Ecclesiam aliam <sup>k</sup> necessitate venerunt. Si quis autem episcoporum post hoc constitutum, clericum ad alium pertinentem susceperit, placuit a communione suspendi et eum qui suscepit, et qui susceptus est, quousque <sup>l</sup> clericus qui transitum fecit ad suam redeat Ecclesiam.

<sup>m</sup> XXI. Clericos vel laicos qui accusant episcopos vel clericos quomodocunque et sine iudicio, non suscipi ad accusandum debere, nisi prius eorum existimatio fuerit discussa.

<sup>n</sup> XXII. Clericis non licere post mortem episcopi sui ea diripere quæ illi competere <sup>o</sup> possunt, sicut et anterioribus canonibus cautum est; alioquin eos de gradibus suis posse periclitari.

<sup>p</sup> XXIII. Ad aures sanctæ synodi pervenit quoniam quidam clerici et monachi quibus nec aliquid ab episcopo suo commissum est, interdum etiam ab ipsius communione suspensi, ad Constantinopolitanam civitatem pergunt, et ibidem diu remorantes ecclesiasticam disciplinam disturbant, quorundam <sup>q</sup> autem etiam domos subvertunt. Ergo sancta synodus constituit prius quidem hujusmodi homines <sup>r</sup> per sanctam Ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam defensorem admoneri ut a civitate regia discedant; verum si <sup>s</sup> inter negotia fuerint per impudentiam remorati, ipsos etiam invidiosos **237** per eundem defensorem jactari, et ad loca propria cogi festinare.

<sup>t</sup> XXIV. Quæ Deo semel sacrata sunt monasteria secundum episcoporum consensum oportet in per-

*firm constitutum est*. Dein, mendose in Just. et Vat., *contentum esse .... meruit*; Vat. *meruerit*.

<sup>k</sup> Iidem codd. tres, *per necessitate venerunt*. Qui vero episcoporum .... alterius Ecclesiæ clericum suscepit.

<sup>l</sup> Adulterinus clericus ex Vind. Alii codd., *clericum qui translatus est, fecerit ad suam reverti Ecclesiam*.

<sup>m</sup> Titulus in mss. Vind.: *Qui accusant episcopum*. Apud Just., Luc. et Vat. canon sic effertur: *Clerici vel laici qui episcopos accusarint, vel quoslibet clericos, omnino sine iudicio eos non suscipi, nisi prius eorum astimatio fuerit diligenter* [Luc., *diligentius*] *examinata*. Cod. Colb., similis Lucensi apud Constantium, nisi prius eorum opinio fuerit discussa. Vind. ms. ab edito textu solum discrepat: *nisi prius eorum existimationis fuerit opinio discussa*.

<sup>n</sup> Hic quoque canon in mss. Vind. titulo caret.

<sup>o</sup> Male apud Just., Luc., Vat. 1342, et Vat. Reg., additur particula *non*; quæ probe congrueret, si pro illi legeretur *illis*.

<sup>p</sup> Tit. in mss. Vind., *Ut ad loca propria revertantur clerici*.

<sup>q</sup> Quen. delet autem, nos ex nostris mss. ac Just. adjecimus.

<sup>r</sup> Just., omisso *per*, mox habet *admonere*. Dein vocem *regia* delent cum Just. plerique codd., etiam Vindebon.

<sup>s</sup> Just., Luc. et Vat., *inter negotia et impudentia fuerint remorati; eos etiam invidiosos .... et ad loca propria revocari*. In Vind. deest *cogi*.

<sup>t</sup> Tit. in codd. Vind., *Quando sacrata sunt monasteria, cœnacula sæcularia non fiant*. Mox, pro *reservari*, alias *servari*, vel *conservari*.

petuum monasteria nuncupari, et eorum res monasteriis reservari, et non posse alterius concavata concavata fieri: si qui vero hoc fieri permiserint, canonicis interdiciis subiaceant.

XXV. Quoniam metropolitanorum quidam, sicut cognovimus, commissos sibi negligunt greges, et ordinationes episcoporum differunt, placuit sanctæ synodo intra tres menses episcoporum ordinationes fieri; nisi forte necessitas inexcusabilis dilationis tempus protrahi coegerit, alioquin eos pœnæ ecclesiasticæ subiacere; Ecclesiæ vero viduæ reddus apud œconomum ipsius Ecclesiæ integros reservari.

XXVI. Quoniam in quibusdam Ecclesiis reperimus quod sine œconomis res ecclesiasticas tractant episcopi, placuit omnem Ecclesiam habentem episcopum, etiam œconomum habere de proprio clero, qui res ecclesiasticas dispenset cum consensu episcopi sui: ne cum dispensatio sine testimonio fuerit, res ecclesiasticæ dispersæ sint ad contumeliam pontifici irrogandam. Si vero hæc non fecerint, eos sanctis esse canonicis reos.

XXVII. Eos qui mulieres diripiunt hospitalis solatii nomine, aut illos qui connivere, **238** vel conensum rapientibus raptare videntur, statuit sancta synodus, si quidem clerici fuerint, proprium amittere gradum; si vero laici, anathematizari.

#### CAPITULUM XXVI.

*Incipit constitutio divæ memoriæ Marciani de synodo Chalcedonensi.*

Imperatores VALENTINIANUS et MARCIANUS Augusti universis populis.

Tandem aliquando quod summis studiis atque

<sup>a</sup> Tres codd. Just., Luc. et Vat., non debere ulterius; et dein, si quis... permiserit... subiaceat.

<sup>b</sup> Hæc canon in mss. Vind. titulo caret. Tres laudati codd. Just., Luc. et Vat., fieri differunt. Mox mendose, et nisi forte necessitas inexcusabilis ordinationis tempus, etc., apud solum Just.

<sup>c</sup> Idem tres codices, viduæ... conservari convenit. Vat. Reg. idem habet, omisso tantum verbo convenit.

<sup>d</sup> Titulus in codd. Vind., Utepiscopi dispensatores habeant. Dein ante reperimus solum Quesn. addit rumore.

<sup>e</sup> Just. et Luc., placuit omnino ut omnis Ecclesia habens episcopum (quæ desunt in Vat. 1342), et nihilominus præferant etiam œconomum habere. Dein Just. et Vat. post vocem clero addunt censemus.

<sup>f</sup> Sic Vind. cum tribus codd. sæpius memoratis. Quesn. cum Vat. Reg., dispergantur. Dein Just., fecerint, reos eos sanctis subiacere canonicis. Vat. et Luc., fecerint, reos esse, sanctis subiacere canonicis.

<sup>g</sup> Tit. in mss. Vind., Qui mulieres diripiunt. Dein Just., Luc. et Vat., sancta constituit synodus.

<sup>h</sup> Quesn., præcipuum. Melius proprium cum mss. Vind., Vat. Regine et Luc. Mox tres codd. Just., Luc. et Vat., amittunt, et dein anathematizentur.

<sup>i</sup> Ita codd. Vind. et Thuan. hujus collectionis. Quesn. cum Oxon., Constitutio Marciani imperatoris synodi supradictæ statuta confirmans. Hæc constitutio invenitur etiam in codicibus Rustici, ex quibus duos Baluzius contulit, nos autem antiquissimum Veronensis capituli 57. Exstat præterea in codd. collectionum Hisp. et Isid. Relegimus vero Vat. Hisp. 4344 et Vat. Isid. 650. In codicibus Rustici hic titulus sequentibus legibus communis præigitur: Sanctæ memoriæ [cod. Ver., religiosi] principis Marciani, quas beatus sanctus Leo papa in suis confirmavit epistolis, de

votis optabamus event. <sup>k</sup> Remota est de orthodoxa Christianorum lege contentio. Tandem remedia culpabilis erroris inventa sunt; et discors popularum sententia in unum consensum concordiamque convenit. <sup>l</sup> E diversis enim provinciis religiosissimi sacerdotes Chalcedonam venerunt juxta nostra præcepta, et quid observari in religione debeat, perspicua definitio docuerunt. <sup>m</sup> Cesset igitur jam profana contentio. Nam vere impius atque sacrilegus est qui post tot sacerdotum sententiam opinioni suæ aliquid tractandum relinquit. **239** Extremæ quippe dementiæ est in medio et perspicuo die commentitium lumen inquirere; quisquis enim post veritatem repertam aliquid ulterius discutit, mendacium quærit. Nemo itaque vel clericus, vel militans, vel alterius cujuslibet conditionis, de fide Christiana publice turbis coadunatis et audientibus tractare conetur in posterum, ex hoc tumultus et perfidiæ occasionem requirens, nam injuriam facit judicio religiosissimæ synodi, si quis semel judicata ac recte disposita revolvare et publice disputare contendit: cum ea quæ nunc de Christiana fide statuta sunt, juxta apostolicas expositiones et statuta sanctorum Patrum trecentorum decem octo, et centum quinquaginta definita esse noscantur. Nam in contemptores hujus legis pœna non deerit: quia non solum contra fidem bene compositam veniat, sed etiam Judæis et paganis ex hujuscemodi certamine profanant veneranda mysteria. Igitur si clericus erit qui publice tractare de religione ausus fuerit, consortio clericorum removebitur; si vero militia præditus sit, cingulo expoliabitur. Cæteri etiam hujus criminis rei de hac sanctis-

prohibitis disputationibus a Christianis.

<sup>i</sup> Cod. Veron. Rustici cum cæteris Baluzii tom. IV Concil. Ven. edit., col. 2025, c. Imperatores Cæsares Flavius Valentinianus pontifex inclitus, Germanicus inclitus, Alamanicus inclitus, Sarmaticus inclitus, tribunus pot. status vicies septies, imperii vicies septies, consul septies, et Flavius Marcianus pontifex inclitus, Germanicus inclitus, Sarmaticus inclitus, Alamanicus inclitus, Francicus inclitus, tribunus potestatis vicies septies [lege secundo] imperator, consul semel. Edictum civibus [Baluz. cum Græco addit nostris] Constantinopolitanis. Inscriptionem quam dedimus exhibent codices nostræ collectionis et Hisp. ac Isid.

<sup>k</sup> Thuan., Remota est quippe.

<sup>l</sup> Codd. Hisp. et Is., Ab universis enim. Dein mss. Rustici, reverentissimi sacerdotes. Mox, vocem Chalcedonam, a Quesn. omissam, ex omnibus nostris et Baluzii codd. nec non editis revocavimus.

<sup>m</sup> Vat. Hisp. et Is. cum Merlino, discessit igitur.

<sup>n</sup> Quesn., publice determinata coadunatis; quibus conciaunt codd. Hisp. et Isid. In mss. Vind., Thuan. et Vat. 1322, publice aliquid terminabit coadunatis; vel in Thuan., ut coadunatis. Melior est lectio codicum Rustici, quam in Veron. et vulgatis Conciliis non invenimus; cui suffragatur Facondus lib. II, c. 2, publice congregatis populis et audientibus tractare præsumat. Concordant etiam illa sequentis constitutionis, de religione publice contendere coadunatis populis, etc. Mox in cod. Oxon. pro perfidiæ legitur per fidei

<sup>o</sup> Codd. Rustici, et instituta.

<sup>p</sup> Solum Quesn. omisit hujus.

<sup>q</sup> Codd. Hisp. et Rustici, a consortio. Post pauca vulg. Conc., de hac regia urbe. Mox mss. Hisp. et Is., pellantur.

"A law to the divine memory of Marcian begins to speak. *concerning the synod of Chalcedon.*

The emperors Valentinian and Marcian Augusti to all the people.

Since those laws which have been established concerning the Christian faith are known to be defined on a par with the apostolic expositions and the statutes of the holy 318 and 150 fathers. For punishment against despisers of this law will not be wanting; since they come not only against the well composed symbol of faith, but they also profane the mysteries which are to be honoured in the contest of this kind by Jews and pagans." Cols. 547, 548.

sima urbe pellentur, pro vigore judiciario etiam competentibus supplicis subjugandi. Constat enim hinc hæreticæ <sup>a</sup> insaniam fomitem exordiaque præberi, dum publice quidam disputant atque contendunt. **240** Universi ergo quæ a sancta synodo Chalcedonensi statuta sunt custodire debebunt, nihil postea <sup>b</sup> dubitaturi. Hoc itaque commoniti nostræ serenitatis edicto, abstinete profanis vocibus, et ulterius desinite de divinis disputare; quod nefas est: quia peccatum <sup>c</sup> hoc non solum divino iudicio, prout credimus, punietur, verum etiam legum et iudicium auctoritate coercerebitur. <sup>d</sup> Data vi kal. Febr., Constantinopoli, Sporatio consule.

CAPITULUM XXVII.

<sup>e</sup> Incipit alia constitutio divæ memoriæ Marciani, Christianis catholicis in synodo convenientibus.

<sup>f</sup> Idem AUGUSTI PALLADIO præfecto prætorio.

Venerabilem catholicæ orthodoxorum fidei sanctitatem manifestam et indubitam universis consistere cupiens nostra serenitas, ut major erga Divinitatis obsequia hominibus religio traderetur, tantam atque talem synodum <sup>g</sup> ex omnibus pene **241** provinciis coadunatis episcopis in Chalcedonensi civitate colligi jussit; atque ibi plurimis diebus tractatu habito, quod verum et infucatum Christianæ fidei esset invenit. Votis etenim plurimis et orationibus exoravere Divinitatem quatenus sancta eos et plena veritas non lateret, secutique sunt statuta venerabilium Patrum, ea videlicet quæ apud Nicæam trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum episcoporum sunt sententia definita; similiter et ea quæ **C**

**A** centum quinquaginta in hac urbe amplissima coadunati constituerunt; atque ea quæ apud Ephesum <sup>h</sup> de fide statuta sunt, cum beatissimæ recordationis Cælestinus Romanæ urbis et Cyrillus Alexandrinæ civitatis <sup>i</sup> episcopi invenerent veritatem. Quo tempore etiam Nestorianus error exclusus est, ejus auctore damnato. Quibus ita rite et venerabiliter apud Chalcedonam inquisitis, Eutyches, qui plura affirmabat illicita, cum sua assertione dejectus est; <sup>j</sup> ne decipiendorum ulterius ei hominum præberetur facultas. Ordinatis itaque religione et fideliter quæ venerandam orthodoxorum fidem fundasse noscuntur, ita ut nulla in posterum dubitatio vel illis qui calumniari Divinitatem assolent, relinquereur; sæpe nostræ serenitatis edicto venerandam synodum confirmantes, **B** a hominibus universos ut de religione disputare desinerent; quoniam unus et alter tanta secreta invenire non posset, maxime cum <sup>k</sup> summo labore et amplissimis orationibus tot venerabiles sacerdotes, nisi Deo, ut credendum est, auctore, ad indaginem veritatis non potuerint pervenire. Verum, sicut manifesta ratione cognovimus, non desinunt quidam in eadem perversitatis insaniam permanere, et de religione publice contendere populis coadunatis, et mysteria divina Judæorum paginorumque sub obtutibus publicare et profanare, quæ rectius colenda sunt quam inquirenda. Oportuerat itaque in eadem pertinacia consistentes, statuta dudum animadversione compesci: ut pœna corrigeret quos reverentia iussionum **242** emendare non potuit. Verum in hoc secuti consuetudinem nostram, nocentes <sup>l</sup> non puni-

<sup>a</sup> Quesn., infamie. Correximus ex Vind. aliisque pluribus ac potioribus codicibus. Mox nutriri pro præberi in mss. Vat. Hisp. et Isid.

<sup>b</sup> Codd. Rust. et, dubitantes. Vind. et Facundus, dubitari.

<sup>c</sup> Addidimus hoc, requirente sensu, cum mss. Rustici, et Hisp. ac Isid.

<sup>d</sup> Cod. Vind., Data vi kal. Labb., omisso voce Data, habet Constantinopoli vi idus Febr. Hæc conciliantur, si legas cum codd. Vat. Hisp. et Isid., Proposita vi kal. Febr. Constantinopoli, et cum codd. Rustici, concinente Græco textu, Datum vi idus Febr. Constantinopolim.

<sup>e</sup> Exstat in mss. codd. hujus collectionis et Rustici ac in Vat. 1522. In vulg. Conciliorum legitur parte in conc. Chalced., cap. 4. Titulus in ms. Ver. 57 Rustici sic exhibetur: Item de eodem edictum secundum. Laudatus cod. Vat., Incipit a iâ constitutio divæ memoriæ Marciani in [lege pro] synodo Chalcedonensi Cod. Oxon., Ejusdem imperatoris constitutio ad Palladium P. P., ejusdem synodi decreta serva præcipiens, Eutychet s errore damnato. Titulus quem dedimus est in vetustioribus nostræ collectionis codd. Thuan. et Vind., in quem hæc notavi: Quesnellus: Hunc titulum habet codex Thuanus. Ex quo synodus alius omnibus ignota modo innotescit. Quo concenit synodus indicat alii codices, Crabbianus scilicet, in quo hujusmodi titulus legitur: Edictum ad CP. civis, etc.; et Boherianus laudatus in Libæana Conciliorum editione, qui alterum hunc exhibet: Civibus nostris CP. idem Augustus. Denique vulg. edit.: Edictum... Propositum Constantinopoli. Nimirum redit e synodo œcumenica Anatolius, quid in ea actum esset pro fide suis significare pro more et officio volens conventum Ecclésiæ suæ habuit ad quem et hoc Marciani edictum

missum est; quo synodalem definitionem imperatoria constitutione confirmatam esse non nesciret. Cui conventui cum episcopi tunc in urbe commorantes pro more intersuissent, inde synodi nomine donatus est.

<sup>f</sup> Cod. Vind., Idem Augustus Palladio, etc. Vat. 1522, Imperator Marcianus Augustus Palladio, etc. Cod. Veron., concinentibus cæteris Rustici: Idem Augusti Constantinopolitanis civibus nostris; et in fine constitutionis addit, Eodem exemplo scripta Palladio viro illustri præfecto Orientis, Valentiniano viro illustri præfecto Illyrici, Tatiano viro illustri præfecto Urbis, Vincomalo viro illustri magistro officiorum et consuli designato.

<sup>g</sup> Solus Quesn. ex uno ms. Oxon. inserit quantum nulla memoria meminit. Desunt in omnibus nostris et Baluzii codd. atque vulg., immo etiam in Thuan. ejusdem Qu snelli.

<sup>h</sup> Vulg. Cœcæ. cum mss. Rustici et Græco textu addunt pridem.

<sup>i</sup> Vulg. Conc. post edit. Rom., episcopi veritatis duces fuerunt, nullis Latinis codd. suffragantibus.

<sup>j</sup> Quesn., ne recipiendorum ulterius sacrilegiorum præberetur, etc. Thuan., ne ei recipiendo ulterius a quoquam hominum præberetur, etc. Melior lectio exemplarium Rustici, concinentibus vulg. et Græco textu. In Vat. et Vind., recipiendorum pro decipiendorum, quod mendum variis lectionibus inducendis occasionem dedisse videtur.

<sup>k</sup> Quesn. inserit nisi: delevisimus cum codd. Vind. et vulg. Conciliorum. Mox in iisdem vulg., et magnis orationibus.

<sup>l</sup> Cod. Vind. omittit non punimus, sed iterat. Hinc forte cum hic locus sensu careret, suppletæ fuerunt hæ voces, quæ in aliis codicibus hujus collectionis leguntur. Verior lectio videtur illa vulgatorum et

Flavianum Constantinopolitanæ urbis episcopum nostrum data prædicatione lucidissimæ veritatis exposuit. Confiteor unum eundemque Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, unigenitum Dei Patris, eundem <sup>a</sup> in Deitate perfectum, eundem in humanitate Deum vere, et hominem vere; ipsum eundemque ex anima rationali et carne, consubstantialem Patri secundum Deitatem, consubstantialem eundem nobis <sup>b</sup> secundum humanitatem; in omnibus nobis similem absque peccato; ante sæcula quidem de Patre genitum secundum Deitatem, in novissimis vero diebus, eundem propter nos et propter nostram salutem de Virgine Maria, quæ eundem Deum peperit secundum humanitatem, unum eundemque Christum, Filium Dei, Dominum unigenitum in duabus naturis, inconfuse, inconvertibiliter, et individue, et inseparabiliter cognitum; nequaquam naturarum differentia sublata propter unionem; sed potius, salva manente proprietate utriusque naturæ, in unam non in duas concurrisse personas; sed unum eundemque <sup>c</sup> Filium unigenitum Deum Verbum, Dominum Jesum Christum sicut olim prophetae de eo, vel ipse nos Christus per semetipsum Dominus erudit. Qui autem ita **391** non sentiunt, cum Nestorio et Eutyche <sup>d</sup> vel eorum sectatoribus æterno anathemate dignos esse pronuntio.

#### CAPITULUM LIV.

<sup>a</sup> *Definitio sanctæ synodi Chalcedonensis.*

Ad cognoscendam quidem confirmandamque perfectissimæ pietatem consultissimum satis hoc divinæ gratiæ symbolum saluberimque sufficeret. De Patre namque et Filio, ac Spiritu sancto, quod plenissime fuerat institutionis edocuit, et incarnationem Domini fideliter excipientibus evidenter insinuat. Verum quoniam quidem ea quæ sincera veritas prædicat depravare conati, novas auditu suas hæreticas perfidias ediderunt, et alii quidem dispensationis Dominicæ sacramentum, quod nostri causa est celebratum, ausi fuere corrumpere, dum a sancta Virgine partum processisse divinum vocis abnegatione dissimulant, et alii confusionem sive permixtionem rursus inducunt, ut unam esse naturam Divinitatis et carnis stulte conungunt, ac per hoc unigeniti confusione portentosa, divinam naturam passibilem esse significant; ea propter ab universa contra veritatem machinatione veniente volens eos excludere quæ modo præsto est sancta et magna hæc synodus,

A quod antiquitus in fide prædicatur, immobile hæc dicens, ante omnia statuit ut trecentorum decem et octo Patrum venerabilium fides illibata permaneat. Et propter eos quidem qui cum Spiritui obviare nituntur, eam traditionem, quam in augustissima Constantinopolitana urbe postea, congregatis centum et quinquaginta Patribus, de substantia sancti Spiritus fuerat decreta, confirmat. Hanc etenim cunctis innotescere memorati fecerunt, non quasi aliquid deesse præcedentibus indicentes, sed de Spiritu sancto quid ipsi sentirent, contra illos qui ejus potestati refragari conati sunt, sanctarum Scripturarum testimoniis illustrantes. Propter eos autem qui dispensationis Dominicæ tentare pervertere sacramentum, et **392** hominem solum de sancta Maria Virgine procreatum esse vaniloquis suis autumant imprudenter, sancti Cyrilli, qui Alexandrinæ fuit pastor Ecclesiæ, synodales epistolas ad Nestorium scriptas atque Orientales utique sibi convenientes, amplexa est, ad arguendum quidem Nestorianam dementiam, interpretationem vero desiderantium pio zelo concipere saluberrimi sacramenti sententiam. Quibus epistolam quoque beatissimi Romanæ antiquioris urbis antistitis atque venerabilis papæ Leonis Flaviano sanctæ memoriæ archiepiscopo scriptam, ad expugnandam pravitatis Eutyelianæ perfidiam, ut pote maximi Petri confessioni salutis convenientem, et velut monumentum cujusdam statutz communis extantem, contra cunctos hæreticos merito copulavit, ut recto dogmati sua firmitas inconcussa permaneat. Nam et in duos filios dispensationis tentantibus dividere sacramentum restitit hostiliter, et eos qui passibilis audent dignitatis Unigenitum dicere, collegio sacerdotali detruit; et confusionem et commixtionem in duabus Christi naturis excogitantibus reluctat; et cœlestem vel alterius cujusdam substantiæ esse quam de nobis assumpsit sibi formam servilem, delirantes, exterminat, nec non et eos qui duas quidem ante unionem, unam vero post unionem in Christo naturas fabulose conungunt, anathematizare non cessat. Beatissimos igitur sequendo Patres, unum et eundem Filium confiteri Dominum Jesum Christum concordantibus omnes institutionibus edocemus, eundem in Deitate perfectum, eundem in humanitate perfectum, Deum vere et vere hominem eundem ex anima rationali et corpore, consubstantialem Patri secundum Deitatem, consubstantialem nobis eundem secundum humanitatem, per omnia similem no-

partem autumant unice definitionis quartæ synodi. Eam hic prætermittimus, tum quia non habetur in Oxoniensi codice, tum quod nihil aliud sit quam prima quatuor versionum in editionibus Crabbi, Surii, Nicolini, etc., excusarum, quas quisque facile adire possit. Denique eadem definitio superius habetur ex alia versione in capitulo 25 post fidei symbolum; et ita incipit: *Suffecerat quidem ad plenariam pietatis agnitionem, etc.* Hactenus ille cum; vero, unò recentiori Oxoniensi codice excepto, cætera hujus collectionis exemplaria hanc definitionem exhibent, ea ab ejusdem collectionis editoribus prætermittenda non fuit.

<sup>a</sup> Sic cod. Vind. cum Burch. Quesnellus, in *divinitate*.

<sup>b</sup> Burch., *secundum humanitatem*.

<sup>c</sup> Adjectivus *Filium* cum ms. Vind. et Burch. Mox idem Burch. pro *verbum* habet *verum*.

<sup>d</sup> Voces *vel eorum sectatoribus*, a Quesnello omisas codd. Vind. et Burch. suppeditarunt.

<sup>e</sup> Quesnellus huic capitulo ejusmodi admonitionem præmisit. « In Thuaneo codice præmittitur legibus ex Theodosiano codice decerptis, quæ caput 54 conflant, *Definitio sanctæ synodi Chalcedonensis*: ita enim ibi inscribitur tractatus ille quem editiones antiquiores alteram definitionem appellant, nonnulli vero



bis sine sordē peccati, ante sæcula quidem a Patre A progenitum secundum Deitatem, in ultimis vero diebus eundem propter nos, et propter nostram salutem ex Maria Virgine, quæ Deum peperit secundum incarnationem unum et eundem Christum, Filium, Jesum, Dominum, unigenitum, quem in duabus naturis inconfuse et immutabiliter, indivise atque inseparabiliter omnes agnoscimus, nusquam sublata differentia naturarum propter unitiōnem, sed potius utriusque naturæ proprietate servata, et in una concurrente personam, non in duas deductum divisumque personas, sed unum et eundem Filium, Deum verum, Dominum Jesum Christum, sicuti nos ab initio prophetæ de eo, et ipse nos Jesus Christus instituit, et paternum nobis tradidit symbolum. Illis igitur a nobis undique cum omni de liberatione ac diligentia pariter ordinatis, decrevit sancta atque universalis hæc synodus aliam fidem nemini licere proferre, sive conscribere, aut exponere, vel sentire, vel aliter tradere. Sed eos qui audent vel componere aliam fidem, vel proferre, vel docere, vel tradere aliud symbolum volentibus ad cognoscendam se convertere veritatem ex ritu pagano sive Judaico vel qualicumque hæretico, eos, si quidem episcopi vel clerici sunt, alienos esse episcopos ab episcopatu, et clericos a clero; quod si monachi vel laici fuerint, anathematizari.

*Leges ex libro xvi Codicis Theodosiani sub titulo, De fide catholica.*

Imperatorum GRATIANI, VALENTINIANI et THEODOSII Augustorum edictum ad populum urbis Constantinopolitanæ. (*Cod. Theod. lib. xvi, tit. 1, l. 2.*)

Conctos populos quos clementiæ nostræ regit tempe amentum, in tali volumus religione versari quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis, religio usque ad nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat, quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret, et Petrum Alexandrinæ urbis episcopum, virum apostolicæ sanctitatis: hoc est, ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, unam Deitatem sub parilli majestate et sub pia Trinitate credamus. Hanc legem sequentes Christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti; reliquos vero dementes vesanosque judicantes, hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere, nec conciliabula eorum Ecclesiarum nomen accipere, divina primum vindicta, post etiam motus nostri, quem ex cœlesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ulione plectendos. Data tertio kal. Martias, Thessaloniciæ, Gratiano quinto et Theodosio primum, Augustis consulibus.

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Theod. Gothofr., *egresso*, ac dein, *vel consilii*.

<sup>b</sup> Ita codd. Vind. et alii a Constantio laudati in præfatione ad tom. I Epistolarum Romanorum pontificum, pag. 79, nec non Gothofredi editio, quæ addit *Stobis*. Apud Quesn., *Augusti*.

<sup>c</sup> Quesn. *perperam, præposito*. Correximus ex nostro ac ex Constantii codicibus, nec non cum editione Gothofredi.

<sup>d</sup> In aliquibus editionibus Codicis Theod. male, *nullos hæreticos*; et mox, *ad ex recendi animi*.

394 *Item eodem libro sub titulo, De his qui super religione contendunt.*

Imperatores VALENTINIANUS, THEODOSIUS, ARCAIUS Augusti, TATIANO præfecto prætorio. (*Ibidem, tit. iv, l. 2.*)

Nulli a egressum ad publicum vel discerpandi de religione, vel tractandi, nec consilii aliquid deferendi pateat occasio. Et si quis posthac ausu gravi atque damnabili contra hujusmodi legem veniendum esse crediderit, vel insistere motu pestiferæ perseverationis audebit, competenti pœna et digno supplicio coercetur. Data xvi kalend. Julias, Theodosio Augusto et Cynegio consulibus.

*Item eodem libro sub titulo, De hæreticis.*

Imperatores GRATIANUS, VALENTINIANUS et THEODOSIUS Augustus, EUTROPIO præfecto prætorio. (*Ibidem, tit. v, l. 6.*)

<sup>d</sup> Nullus hæreticis mysteriorum locus, nulla ad exercendam animi obstinioris dementiam pateat occasio. Sciant omnes, etiamsi quid speciali quolibet rescripto per fraudem elicto ab hujusmodi hominum genere impetratum est, non valere. Arceantur cunctorum hæreticorum ab illicitis congregationibus turbæ. Unius et summi Dei nomen ubique celebretur. Nicænæ fidei dudum a majoribus traditæ, et divinæ religionis testimonio atque assertione firmatæ observantia semper mansura teneatur. Photiniana labis contaminatio, Ariani sacrilegii venenum, Euno planæ perfidie crimen, et nefanda monstruosis nominibus auctorum prodigia secularum ab ipso etiam aboleantur auditu. Is autem Nicænæ assertor fidei, et catholicæ religionis verus cultor accipiendus est, qui omnipotentem Deum, et Christum Filium Dei uno nomine confitetur, Deum de Deo, lumen ex lumine; qui Spiritum sanctum, qui id quod ex summo rerum parente speramus et accipimus, negando non violat; apud quem intemeratæ fidei sensu viget incorruptæ Trinitatis indivisa substantia, quæ Græci assertione verbi *omousia* recte credentibus dicitur. Hæc profecto nobis magis præbata, 395 hæc veneranda sunt. Qui vero hisdem non inserviunt, desinant affectatis dolis alienum veræ religionis nomen assumere, et suis a per is criminibus denotentur: ab omnium summoti ecclesiarum limine penitus arceantur, cum omnes hæreticorum illicitas agere intra oppida congregationes vetemus. Ac si quid erupti factiosa tentaverit, ab ipsis etiam urbium mœnibus, exterminato furore, propelli jubemus, ut cunctis orthodoxis episcopis qui Nicænâ fidem tenent, catholicæ Ecclesie toto orbe reddantur. Data quarto iduum iunia-

<sup>e</sup> Apud Gothofr., *Filium Deum unum nomine*.

<sup>f</sup> Sic cod. Vind. cum Gothofr. editione. Quesnellus, *quique id quod*. Emendaremus libenter a quo id quod ex summo rerum parente speramus, accipimus, si qui codex suffragaretur.

<sup>g</sup> Edit. Cod. Theod., *odiosa*.

<sup>h</sup> Quesnellus, *his nominibus non inserviunt*. Prætulimus codd. Vind. ac Thuan. cum edit. Gothofr.

<sup>i</sup> Sic Gothofr. cum Vind. Apud Quesn., *aperte criminibus denudentur*. Ab omnium ergo summoti.

<sup>j</sup> Cod. Theod. et Justinian., *Jan. At Gothofredus*

esse plenaria in qua etiam metropolitanus episcopus A adfuerit.

XVII. Si quis episcopus, suscepta manus impositione, et deputatus populis præesse, non suscipiat ministerium sacerdotii, **430** nec consentiat abire in Ecclesiam cui fuerat ordinatus; hunc incommunicabilem esse debere, donec coactus consentiat plebem suscipere a sibi deputatam, aut plenaria synodus episcoporum provincie de eo aliquid statuatur.

XVIII. Si quis episcopus ordinatus non abierit in parochiam cui est ordinatus, non suo vitio, sed plebis forsitan contradictione; hic honorem susceptum retinere debet et sacerdotio fungi, ita ut nihil molestie afferat Ecclesie illi in qua b constitutus est. Expectare autem eum oportet plenariam synodum provincie, donec de eo quod competit statuatur.

XIX. c Episcopus non est ordinandus præter consilium et presentiam metropolitani provincie, cui melius erit si ex omni provincia congregentur episcopi. Quod si fieri non potest, hi qui adesse non possunt, propriis literis consensus suum de ipso designent. Et tunc demum post plurimorum, sive per presentiam, sive per litteras sententiam consonam ordinetur. Quod si aliter quam statutum est fiat, nihil valere hujusmodi ordinationem d. Si vero etiam secundum definitas regulas ordinatio celebretur, contradicant autem aliqui propter proprias et domesticas similitudines, his contemptis sententia de eo obtineat plurimorum.

XX. Propter ecclesiasticas e curas et quæ existunt controversias dissolvendas, sufficere visum est bis in anno per singulas provincias episcoporum concilium fieri: f primo quidem post tertiam hebdomadam paschalis festivitatis; ita ut in quarta hebdomada quæ consequitur, id est, medice Pentecostes, concilium compleatur. Admoneant autem provinciales episcopi hi qui in amplioribus civitatibus, id est, in metropolitanis degunt. Secundum vero concilium idibus Octobris habeatur, qui dies **431** apud Græcos hy-

perberetæ mensis g decimus invenitur. In ipsis autem conciliis et presbyteros et diaconos presentes esse oportet, et omnes quotquot se læsos existimant, et synodicam expectare sententiam. Nec liceat aliquibus apud semetipsos concilia præter metropolitanorum episcoporum conscientiam facere, quibus de omnibus causis constat permissum esse iudicium.

XXI. h Episcopus de diocesi ad diocesim alteram non debet transire; neque si seipsum ingesserit, neque si a populo fuerit violenter attractus, i neque si etiam hoc ei ab episcopis suadeatur. Manere autem eum in Ecclesia Dei debere quam ab initio sortitus est, et non ab ea alio demigrare, secundum regulam super hoc a Patribus olim constitutam.

XXII. j Episcopus non debet in aliam civitatem B quæ in li non videtur esse subjecta irruere, neque in regionem quæ ad ejus curam minime noscitur pertinere, ad aliquem ordinandum; neque presbyteros vel diaconos constituere ad alios episcopos pertinentes, nisi forte cum consilio k proprii episcopi regionis. Quod si quispiam horum aliquid ausere voluerit, irrita erit hujusmodi ordinatio, et is qui male usurpaverit, a synodo arguetur l.

XXIII. m Episcopo non licet tanquam successorem sibi futurum constituere alterum, quamvis circa viciniam mortis habeatur. Quod si tale aliquid factum fuerit, irrita sit hujusmodi ordinatio. Custodiri enim oportet ecclesiastica constituta, quæ ita se continent, non posse episcopum n aliter fieri, nisi in consilio et cum consensu episcoporum eorum duntaxat qui post obitum ejus qui præcessit habuerint potestatem eum qui dignus fuerit provehendi.

**432** XXIV. Quæcumque res Ecclesie sunt, bene debent cum omni diligentia et bona fide servari: ila scilicet fide quæ Deo o servatur omnia providenti atque judicanti. Quæque gubernari atque dispensari oportet cum iudicio et potestate episcopi, cui totius plebis animæ videntur esse commissæ. Manifesta au-

Vind. et vulgatam Is., eo quod etiam Ferrandus tit. 144 plenariam egerit.

a Vind., sibi commissam. Mox episcoporum cum omnibus nostris codd. et vulg. Is. inseruimus.

b Cod. Vind., constitutus fuerat.

c Vulg. Isid. cum ms. Vind., episcopum non ordinandum. Dein., metropolitani provincie scripsimus cum mss. Vind. et Veron. Al., metropolitani episcopi.

d Quesn. addit censemus. Delevimus cum mss. Vind. et Veron., atque vulg. Is. Mox idem Quesn. delevit etiam, et pro celebretur prætulit compleatur, nostris codd. et vulg. repugnantibus.

e Vulg. Is., causas.

f Sic cod. Vind. Al., semel. Dein vulg. Is., ita ut in quarta septimana sancti Paschæ perfici concilium possit, convocante metropolitanis episcopo omnes provincie episcopos. Secundo autem concilium fieri idibus, etc. Scripsimus id est medice Pentecostes cum mss. Vind., Thuan. et Veron. Quesnellus, id est media ad Pentecostem.

g Vulg. Is., decimus quintus invenitur: ita ut in his conciliis procedant omnes presbyteri, diacones et reliqui, qui se læsos dicunt, ut in concilio eorum causa examinata, ad debitum iudicium perveniant. Nec liceat ulli proprie apud semetipsum concilium celebrare præter eos quibus metropoles creditæ sunt.

h Cod. Veron. cum vulg. Isid., Episcopum... non debere transire.

i Ita nostri codd. et vulg. Is. Solus Quesn., neque si sibi etiam ab episcopis hoc suadeatur; et postea solus omisit Dei, ac post debere addidit oportet.

j Veron. cod. cum vulg. Is., Episcopum non debere irruere in alienam civitatem. Mox idem vulg. Is., quæ illi probatur non esse subjecta.

k Vulg. Is. addit et voluntate. Dein voluerit cum nostris codd. et vulg. scripsimus: apud Quesn., tentaverit. Mox Veron. et vulg., irrita quidem erit.

l Vulg. Is. addit: Nam si ordinarum non potuerit, nullatenus alterius parochianum judicare præsumat. Aliquid simile est in versione Dionysii Exigui, aliquid etiam in Prisca; nihil autem in Græco, nec in nostris codicibus Vind. et Veron., qui Isidorianam interpretationem repræsentant.

m Veron. cod., Episcopum non licere. Vulg. Isid., Episcopos non licere. Mox Quesn. omisit voces futuram, et alterum, quæ ex nostris mss. et Thuanico Quesnellus, nec non ex vulg. Is. revocavimus.

n Vind. ms., alterum fieri.

o Idem cod., debetur. Dein vulg. Is. pro quæque gubernari melius easque gubernari. Mox voces atque dispensari et totius ex omnibus nostris codd. et vulg. inseruimus.

tem oportet esse quæ Ecclesiæ competunt \* sub conscientia eorum presbyterorum et diaconorum, id est, qui circa ipsum sunt; ut ipsi non ignorent, nec eos aliquid lateat eorum quæ sunt propriæ Ecclesiæ; ut si contigerit episcopum ex hac vita migrare, cum manifestæ sint et notæ res ecclesiasticæ, non intercidant atque deperiant. Sed nec res propriæ episcopi tanquam obnoxie, rerum ecclesiasticarum occasione, ullius pulsantur injuria, quia justum et <sup>b</sup> decibile est apud Deum et homines, quæ propria sunt episcopi, quibus ipse jusserit, derelinqui; et quæ Ecclesiæ sunt ipsi servari. Ita enim fiet, <sup>c</sup> ut nec Ecclesia damno aliquo affligatur, nec episcopus occasione rerum ecclesiasticarum proscriptatur, neque pertinentes ad eum causas incurrant, quo post mortem memoria ejus maledictis aliquibus oneretur.

XXV. Episcopum <sup>d</sup> habere ecclesiasticarum rerum potestatem, ad dispensandum omnibus indigentibus cum omni timore et reverentia Dei. Ipsum quoque ex eis percipere atque uti debere quibus indiget, si tamen indiget, vel ad suas necessarias expensas, vel fratrum qui apud eum hospitalitatis gratia commorantur: ut nulla ex parte per inopiam defraudentur, secundum Apostolum dicentem: *Habentes <sup>e</sup> victum quotidianum et tegumentum corporis, his contenti sumus* (1 Tim. vi, 8): Quod si iis minime contentus atque sufficiens, transferat in necessitates **433** domesticas ecclesiasticas res, vel commoda qualibet Ecclesiæ, aut agrorum ecclesiasticorum fructus, citra conscientiam presbyterorum <sup>f</sup> aut diaconorum apud se redigat, et domesticis suis, vel etiam affinibus, aut fratribus, aut filiis earum rerum tribuat potestatem,

<sup>a</sup> Quesn., conscientie presbyterorum et diaconorum, id est, qui circa episcopum sunt, ut non ignorent nec quidquam eos lateat, etc. Nostros codd. Vind. et Veron. cum vulg. Is. secuti sumus.

<sup>b</sup> Vulg. Is., acceptum est. Porro decibile pro eo quod ecet olim usurpatum Quesnellus notavit. Dein pro jusserit, Vind. habet judicaverit.

<sup>c</sup> Ita nostri codd. et vulg. Is. Apud Quesn., ut non Ecclesiæ... affligatur... neque pertinentes ad eum in causas occurrant.

<sup>d</sup> Quesn. inserit *convenit*, repugnantibus nostris mss. et vulg. Is.

<sup>e</sup> Quesn., *victum et vestitum corporis, his contenti sumus*. Lectionem nostrorum codicum, et Thuanei, ac vulg. Is., recepimus.

<sup>f</sup> Vulg. Is. et Vind. delent voces *aut diaconorum*; sunt tamen in aliis versionibus et in Græco.

<sup>g</sup> Quesn., *causas is qui hujusmodi est, apud metropolitanum præstare debet*. Nos eorum codicum et vulg. lectionem prætulimus. Solum Vind. habet *debere*.

<sup>h</sup> Quesn. hic signavit numerum *XXVI*, ac si canon esset a præcedenti distinctus. Notavit tamen in margine: *Est pars canonis præcedentis apud Isidorum et alios*. Nulli sane nostri codices dividunt, neque ipsum exemplar Vind. hujus collectionis. Quesnelli autem lectionem *Quod si aliter reprehendatur episcopus, vel qui apud eum sunt, ad nostros codices et vulg. exegimus*; ac sub finem hujus canonis ex communi eorumdem suffragio inseruimus igitur.

<sup>i</sup> Voces in sancta synodo omittunt nostri codd. Vind. et Veron. Porro Vind. subscriptiones sic exhibet: *Eusebius, Theodorus et cæteri, quorum nomina in Græco jam superius continentur, consensimus. Amen. Finit concilium Antiochenum, Cod x autem Ve-*

**A** ut per eorum secretam diligentiam cæteri ecclesiastici lædi videantur; <sup>e</sup> reatum hunc qui hujusmodi est, apud metropolitanum provinciæ præstare debet. <sup>h</sup> Quod si et aliter reprehendatur episcopus, vel ii qui cum ipso sunt presbyteri, quo dicatur, hæc quæ ad Ecclesiam pertinent, sive de agris, sive de aliis quibusque ecclesiasticis causis eos sibi met usurpare; pauperes vero necessitate et penuria opprimi, atque ex ipso non solum ecclesiasticæ rationi, verum etiam dispensatoribus ejus maledicta et reprehensio augeantur; hos igitur correctionem oportet mereri quæ concedet, sancta cognoscente synodo.

Eusebius omnibus quæ constituta sunt <sup>l</sup> in sancta synodo præsens consensu; Theodosius, Nicetas, Macedonius, et cæteri prænominati consensimus.

**B**

### 434 CAPITULUM LX.

<sup>1</sup> *Incipit concilium Laodicæ Phrygiæ Pacatianæ.*

Sancta synodus secundum Laodicam Phrygiæ Pacatianæ convocata ex diversis provinciis Asiæ regulas exposuit ecclesiasticas, sicut infra scriptum est.

I. De eo quod oportet, secundum ecclesiasticum canonem, eos qui libere et legitime <sup>k</sup> secundis nuptiis conjuncti sunt, nec occultam permixtionem operati sunt, pauco tempore exempto, vacare orationibus et jejniis, et secundum veniam reddi eis communionem.

II. His qui diversorum peccatorum lapsus incurrun, et instant orationi, confessioni, <sup>l</sup> ac penitentiae malorum suorum, perfectam conversionem demonstrantes, pro qualitate peccati penitentiae tempus tribuendum est, et propter misericordiam bonitatem-

ron. sic: *Eusebius omnibus quæ constituta sunt præsens consensu; Theodorus, Niceta, Macedonius, Anatolius, Tarcodimantus, Etherius, Narcissus, Alpius, Archelaus, Bassus, Siricius, Escius, Mauricius, Theodosius, Moses, Mucinus, Magnus, Agapius et Agapius, Magnus, Eneas, Paulus consensimus*. Vulg. Is. eadem episcoporum nomina et eodem ordine præferunt usque ad *Narcissum*, post quem addunt *Eustachius, Eyschius, Mauricius, Paulus et cæteri consenserunt, et subscripserunt triginta episcopi*.

<sup>l</sup> Est et versio antiqua quæ Isidoriana vulgo appellatur. Exstat in codd. hujus collectionis, nec non in Hisp. et Isid., ac præterea in alia vetustissima col. Vat. 1342 ac in duobus mss. Veron. 55 et 58, ita tamen ut in hoc ultimo codice, qui mutilus est, desinat in canone 16. Titulum ex Vind. bonensi exemplo expressimus. Quesn., *Canonis concilii secundum Laodicam Phrygiæ Pacatianæ*; notatque in margine codicem Thuan. habere: *Incipitur regulæ seu definitiones secundum Laodicam Phrygiæ Pacatiana*; et id ipsum legitur in ms. Veron. 58. De tempore hujus synodi vide quæ constituimus in Tractatu part. 1, c. 5, § 1.

<sup>k</sup> Quesnellus cum vulg. Is., *secundo nuptiis conjuncti sunt*. Scripsimus autem *secundis nuptiis* cum omnibus quatuor nostris codd. Vind., Vat. 1342 ac duobus Veron. Duo priores suggererent *conjuncti sunt*. Dein *permixtionem* prætulimus cum omnibus codd. et vulg. Apud Quesn., *commixtionem*.

<sup>l</sup> Conjunctionem ac inseruimus cum tribus mss. Vat. et duobus Veron., vulg. Is. consentiente. Idem duo codd. Veron. cum vulg. postea omittunt et autem *propter misericordiam*.

que Dei, qui hujusmodi sunt, revocandi et ad communionem sunt applicandi.

III. Non oportet neophytum promoveri ad ordinem sacerdotalem.

IV. Non liceat <sup>b</sup> ordinationem clerici ullius, **435** presentibus <sup>c</sup> catechumenis, celebrare.

V. Non liceat fenerare ministris altaris, vel in sacerdotali ordine constitutis, <sup>e</sup> et vel usuram, vel laica quæ sescupla dicuntur, accipere.

VI. Non concedendum hæreticis ingressum domus Dei in hæresi permanentibus.

VII. Novatianos <sup>d</sup> etiam excludendos, et Quartadecimanos, quos Tessarescædecitas appellant, id est, qui xiv luna primi mensis Pascha cum Judæis celebrant; sed et catechumenos eorum, vel fideles, non recipi, priusquam condemnent omnem hæresim plenissime, ante omnia autem illam in qua detinentur. Et tunc qui apud eos fideles dicuntur, symbolum fidei doceantur, <sup>e</sup> atque ita unctos sancto etiam chrismate, divino sacramento communicare conveniet.

VIII. Eos qui convertuntur ab hæresi quæ dicitur <sup>f</sup> secundum Phrygas, seque in clero constitutos existimant, quamvis magni dicantur, hujusmodi <sup>g</sup> cum omni diligentia catechizari oportet, et baptizari ab Ecclesiæ catholicæ episcopis et presbyteris.

IX. Non concedendum <sup>h</sup> catholicis quæ dicuntur cœmeteria vel martyria hæreticorum orationis gratia et petende curationis in rare; sed et qui ierint, si sunt fideles, <sup>i</sup> incommunicabiles factos ad poenitentiam usque ad aliquod tempus redigi: poenitentes autem eos, et errasse se confessos, suscipi oportere.

**436** X. Eos qui ad Ecclesiam pertinent, in-

<sup>a</sup> In hoc ac duobus sequentibus canonibus Quesn. præmittit *De eo quod ante voces non oportet, vel non liceat. Delevimus cum mss. Vind. et Vat. ac vulg. Is.*

<sup>b</sup> Quesn., manus impositionem super ordinatos presentibus catechumenis celebrare. Idem est in duobus mss. Veron., nisi quod habent celebrari. Vulg. Is., non licere manus impositionem super ordinandos presentibus catechumenis fieri. Lectionem optimorum codd. Vind. et Vat. textui inseruimus.

<sup>c</sup> Vat. ms., sed nec usuras. Duo Veron., et vel usuras; vulg. Is., vel usuras. Dein, cum in Vind. hujus collectionis scribatur quæ sescupla, alii transcripsere ex simili aliquo codice quæ ex culpa ducuntur. Veram lectionem cum vulg. Is. suppediunt tres nostri codd. Vat. et duo Veron. Notavit Quesnellus: *Idem habet Dion. ex Græco ἡμοίως, quod centesimas interpretatur codex Ecclesiæ universæ Justelli: verius Justellus, qui editurus Græcum codicem, ab eodem perperam insertum Ecclesiæ universæ, in alterenda versione Dionysii Exigui, centesimas, pro sescupla substituit.*

<sup>d</sup> Mss. aliarum collectionum Veron. et Vat. cum vulg. Isid., vel etiam Quartadecimanos, quos Græci Tessarescædecitas appellant. Duo codd. Veron. omittunt vocem Græci.

<sup>e</sup> Quesn., et sic unctos chrismate. Tres nostros codd. Vind., Veron. 55 et Vat. secuti sumus. Vulg. Is. delet solum etiam. Veron. 55 pro conveniet habet permittantur.

<sup>f</sup> Ita codd. Vind., Vat., Oxon. et Veron. 58. Quesnellus cum vulg. Is., Cataphrygarum. Veron. 55, Cataphrygas, id est Montanistæ: Græc. τῶν λεγομένων οὐροῦων. Postea Vind., quamvis magnifici dicantur.

<sup>g</sup> Sic Vind., Vat. et vulg. Apud Quesn. cum alijs mss., cum magna.

A differer filios proprios hæreticorum nuptiis minime sociare debere.

XI. Mulieres quæ apud Græcos presbyteræ appellantur, apud nos autem viduæ <sup>k</sup> seniores, univiræ, et matriculariæ nominantur, in Ecclesia tanquam ordinatas constitui non licebit.

XII. Epis. opus non oportet <sup>l</sup> præter iudicium metropolitanorum et finitiorum episcoporum constitui ad Ecclesiæ principatum. <sup>m</sup> Nec eligantur nisi hi quos multo ante nota et probabilis vita commendat; et nihilominus <sup>n</sup> si in sermone fidei et recti ratione per suam conversationem fuerint comprobati.

XIII. De eo quod non sit populis concedendum electionem facere eorum qui <sup>o</sup> altaris ministerio sunt applicandi.

B XIV. Sanctas oblationes, ad vicem eulogiarum, per festivitatem paschalem ad alias parochias mitti minime oportere.

XV. Non liceat, præter canonicos <sup>p</sup> psaltas, qui pulpitem ascendunt, et de codice legunt, alium quemlibet in Ecclesia psalere.

XVI. Sabbatis Evangelia cum alijs Scripturis legenda esse.

XVII. In processionibus non connectere, id est, ex diversis versibus, et sensibus libri unum canticum minime conjungere; sed singulorum psalmorum ordinabiliter de medio <sup>q</sup> debere fieri lectionem.

XVIII. De eo quod semper easdem supplicationes **437** orationum, et ad horam nonam et vesperam oporteat celebrari.

C XIX. Quoniam catechumenorum orationem se-

<sup>h</sup> Ms. Vat. et Veron. cum vulg., in cœmeteria, vel quæ martyria dicuntur hæreticorum, catholicos orationis gratia, etc.

<sup>i</sup> Cod. Veron. 55, Sciant se incommunicabiles esse factos. Ad poenitentiam usque ad aliquod tempus rediguntur; post poenitentiam vero cum errasse confessi fuerint, tunc suscipi in communione debent.

<sup>j</sup> Ille canon cum in utroque codice Oxon. ac Thuan. deesset, a Quesnello ex vulg. Isid. in margine descriptus fuit. Nos vero eundem nacti in cod. Vind. hujus collectionis, nec non in duobus alijs, scilicet Veron. 55 et Vat. 1512, textui inseruimus. Desideratur tantum in nostro Veron. 58.

<sup>k</sup> Voces seniores, univiræ, a Quesnello ommissas, cum omnibus nostris codd. et vulg. Is., suffragante etiam Ferrando tit. 221, revocavimus.

<sup>l</sup> Sic codd. Thuan., Vat. et vulg. Is. Quesnellus cum alijs mss., præiudicium metropolitanorum.

<sup>m</sup> Quesn., Nec enim debent eligi, nisi quos. Lectionem codd. Vind. et vulg. Is. recepimus. Consentiant etiam Vat. et Veron. 58, nisi quod ignorant hi. Veron. 55 sic legit: Nec eligantur nisi ii qui multo ante vitæ merito probabiles judicantur; et nihilominus, etc.

<sup>n</sup> Ita quatuor nostri codd. cum Thuaneco Quesnelli, qui suspicatur pro ratione legendum fortassis actione. Vulg. Is. discrepant solum et recta operatione. Quesnellus, si in ratione fidei et recti sermone.

<sup>o</sup> Cod. Vind., ad altaris ministerium.

<sup>p</sup> Cod. Vind., psalmistas. Vulg. Isid. addit id est, qui regulariter cantores existunt, quique pulpitem, etc.

<sup>q</sup> Verbum debere ex omnibus nostris codd. et vulg. Is. adiecimus. Oxon. desiderat de medio.

<sup>r</sup> Notat Quesn. in margine: Reliqui canones hujus concilii ex cod. Thuaneco intercidere ab hoc canone us-

paratim et prius post tractatum episcoporum oportet celebrari. Quibus egressis, orent etiam hi qui in poenitentia sunt constituti, et post manus impositionem, his quoque abscedentibus, tunc fideles orare debent, quorum tres orationes fiant, una quidem, id est, prima per silentium, secunda vero et tertia per vocis pronuntiationem; ac tunc demum osculo pacem dari debere, et posteaquam presbyteri episcopo pacem deierint, tunc etiam laicos dare, et sic oblatio offeratur. Solis autem ministris altaris liceat ingredi ad altare, et <sup>a</sup> communicare.

XX. Quoniam non oportet diaconum sedere praesente presbytero, sed ex iussione presbyteri sedeat; similiter autem et diaconus honorificetur a ministris inferioribus et omnibus clericis.

XXI. Quoniam non oportet <sup>b</sup> ministros licentiam habere in secretarium, sive sacrarium, quod Graeci diaconicum appellant, ingredi et contingere vasa Dominica.

XXII. Ministrum non oportet orario uti, nec ostia derelinquere.

XXIII. <sup>c</sup> Quoniam non oportet lectores aut psaltes orario uti, et sic legere aut psallere.

XXIV. Quoniam non oportet altari deservientes, a presbyteris usque ad diaconos, et deinceps ecclesiastici ordinis homines usque ad ministros, aut lectores, aut psaltes, aut exorcistas, <sup>d</sup> aut ostiarios, aut etiam eos qui in proposito continentiae sunt, tabernas intrare.

XXV. Non oportet ministros <sup>e</sup> panem dare, nec calicem benedicere.

**438** XXVI. Non oportet exorcizare eos qui necdum ab episcopo sunt proveci, neque in ecclesiis, neque intra domos.

XXVII. Non oportet ministros altaris, vel quoslibet clericos vel etiam laicos ad agapen vocatos partes tollere, propter injuriam quae ex hac occasione ecclesiastico ordini deputari poterit.

quae ad finem 51, qui est in hoc Oxon. 54; in quo 53, 56 et 57, sunt in Thuan. 52, 53 et 54. Apud eundem Quesn. hic canon incipit sic: Quod catechumenorum orationes. Nostros codd. et vulg. Is. secuti sumus.

<sup>a</sup> Vulg. Is. addunt *ibidem*.

<sup>b</sup> Vulg. Is., *subdiaconos licentiam. Mox sive sacrarium ex omnibus nostris mss. adjecimus.*

<sup>c</sup> Auctoritate nostrorum codicum et vulg. Is. vocem *quoniam* in hoc et sequenti canone a Quesnello omissam revocavimus.

<sup>d</sup> Quesn., *aut officarios, qui in proposito, etc.* Emendavimus et supplevimus ex nostris codd. atque vulg. Is.

<sup>e</sup> Al., *panes dare, sive calicem, etc.*

<sup>f</sup> Al., *non decet, vel non debet, vel non licet.*

<sup>g</sup> Quesn., *in eadem die. Dominica vero si eis placet, etc.* Vulg. Is., *in eadem die, Dominicam praeposendo eidem diei. Si hoc eis placet, etc. Quod si inventi fuerint, etc.* Praetulimus lectionem Vind. et Vat., nisi quod mendose praferunt *eandem diem*. Cod Veron. 55 sic, *in eodem die. Dominico (leg. Dominicum) vero praeposendum eidem diei; nam si vacare voluerint sabbato die, vacant sicut Christiani. Nam si inventi fuerint, etc.*

<sup>h</sup> Sic nostri codd. Apud Quesn., *continentem, aut ullum omnino.*

XXVIII. <sup>f</sup> Non oportet in Dominicis vel in ecclesiis agapen facere, et intus manducare, vel accubitus sternere.

XXIX. Non oportet Christianos judaizare, et in sabbato vacare; sed operari eos <sup>g</sup> in eadem die. Dominica vero praeposenda eidem diei. Si hoc eis placet, vacant tanquam Christiani. Qui vero inventi fuerint judaizare, anathema s'nt.

XXX. Quoniam non oportet ministros altaris, vel etiam clericos quoslibet, aut <sup>h</sup> continentem, sed et omnem omnino Christianum cum mulieribus lavacra habere communia; haec est enim apud gentes prima reprehensio.

XXXI. Quoniam non oportet <sup>i</sup> cum omnibus haereticis miscere connubia, et vel filios, vel filias dare; sed potius accipere, si tamen profiteantur Christianos se futuros esse catholicos.

XXXII. Non oportet haereticorum benedictiones accipere; quoniam istae maledictiones sunt magis quam benedictiones.

XXXIII. Non oportet cum haereticis vel schismaticis orare.

XXXIV. Non oportet <sup>j</sup> omnem Christianum, derelictis martyribus Christi, abire <sup>k</sup> ad falsos martyres factos: hi enim alieni a Deo sunt. Quicumque autem abire voluerit, anathema sit.

XXXV. Quoniam non oportet Christianos, derelicta Ecclesia Dei, abire, <sup>l</sup> et **439** angelos nominare, et congregationes facere: quae omnia interdicta sunt. Quicumque autem inventus fuerit huic idololatriae occulte vacans, sit anathema. Quoniam derelinquens Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium Dei accessit ad idola.

XXXVI. Quoniam non oportet ministros altaris, aut clericos, magos et incantatores esse, aut facere quae <sup>m</sup> dicuntur phylacteria, quae sunt magna obligamenta animarum. Hos autem qui talibus rebus utuntur projici ab Ecclesia jussimus.

<sup>1</sup> Quesn., *cum ullis haereticis miscere convivium, v. l. filias dare; ac dein futuros et catholicos.* Correximus ex nostris codd. et vulg. Is.

<sup>2</sup> Vocem *omnem* adjecimus cum mss. Vind. et Vat., concinente Graeco textu.

<sup>3</sup> Ita cod. Vat. et duo Harduini. Concinnat ex parte Ferrandus, cod. Veron. et vulg. Is., qui habent *ad falsos martyres, suppressa voce factos.* Quesn. cum Vind., *ad falso martyres factos.*

<sup>4</sup> Hanc lectionem, quae concordat cum versione Dion. et Graeco textu, praefendam duximus. Hanc autem suppedavit codex Vind., nisi quod mendose nomine exhibet *pro nominare*. Duo codd. Vat. et Veron. 55, cum tribus Harduini, *et ad angelos nominantem congregationem, vel congregationes facere.* Ferrandus lit. 184 legit *ad angelos congregationem facere.* Vulg. Is., *et angelos idololatriae obominandae congregationes facere.* Quesn., *ad angelos nominantes congregationem: quae omnia.* Ex contextu manifestum est sermonem esse de cultu idololatriae, qui extra Ecclesiam Dei angelis praestabatur. Sicut autem in antecedenti canone cultus falsorum martyrum perstringitur, ita hic prohibetur cultus falsorum angelorum, seu demonum, vel indebitus cultus Judaico seu ethnico more angelis tributus a quibusdam haereticis, qui *Angelici* ab Epiphiano appellantur haeres. 69.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. Veron. 55 addit *Graece.*

XXXVII. Non oportet a Judæis vel hæreticis quæ a chrismatis quoque cœlestis et regni Christi participes fieri.

XXXVIII. Non oportet a Judæis azyma accipere, aut communicare impietatibus eorum.

XXXIX. Non oportet cum paganis festa celebrare, et impietatis eorum habere societatem.

XL. Non oportet episcopos ad synodum vocatos contemnere, sed abire debere; et aut docere aut doceri quæ sunt ad Ecclesiæ cæterorumque correctionem. Quod si contempserit, seipsum videbitur accusasse; nisi forte per infirmitatem ire non possit.

XLI. Non oportet ministrum altaris, vel etiam laicum sine canonicis litteris, id est formati, aliquo proficisci.

XLII. Non oportet altaris ministri, vel quemlibet clericum præter jussionem episcopi ad peregrina proficisci.

440 XLIII. Non oportet ministros vel brevi tempore ab ostiis deesse et orationi vacare.

XLIV. Non oportet post duas hebdomadas quadragesimæ quemquam ad baptismum suscipi.

XLV. Non oportet mulieres ingredi ad altare.

XLVI. Oportet baptizandos et fidei symbolum dicere, et quinta feria ultimæ septimanæ vel episcopo vel presbytero reddere.

XLVII. Qui in ægritudine constituti baptismum perceperunt, sani facti fidei symbolum edoceantur, ut noverint qua donatione digni sunt habiti.

XLVIII. Oportet baptizatos, post baptismum,

<sup>a</sup> Ita omnes codd. et vulg. Is. cum Ferrando tit. 485. Quesn., *xenia*; et in marg.: *Alias, munera festiva, quod apud Dionysium legitur. Reliqua, neque cum eis dies agere festos*, desunt in mss. Vind. et Vat. Codex Veron. pro *festos* habet *feriatos*.

<sup>b</sup> Hic canon a Quesnello descriptus; post sequentem, ex omnibus nostris codd. et vulg. in suum locum revocavimus.

<sup>c</sup> Auctoritate mss. Vind. et Veron. 55, cum vulg. Is., *adjecimus cæterorumque*; et mox scripsimus *videbitur*: pro quo Vat. habet *videtur*; Quesn., *judicabitur*.

<sup>d</sup> Hic canon ob concursum ejusdem initii *Non oportet*, per saltum omissus est in mss. Vind. et Veron. 55. In hoc tamen ultimo secunda manu descriptus fuit. Ex hoc autem additamento, nec non ex Vat. ms. ac vulg. Is. adjecimus *clericum*, quam vocem etiam Ferrandus recepit tit. 412. Dein iidem codd. Veron. et Vat. pro *ad peregrina* habent *ad peregrinationem*.

<sup>e</sup> Ita omnes nostri codd. et vulg. Is. Solus Quesn., *Ostiariorum... deesse, quin orationi vacent*. Hic canon apud vulgatum Is. sequenti postponitur; et canon 45 post canonem apud nos 46 in eodem vulg. exhibetur.

<sup>f</sup> Sic omnes nostri codd. et vulg. Is. Apud Quesn., *accipere*.

<sup>g</sup> Quesn., *post baptismum quoque chrismatis et cœlestis regni participes fieri*. Codicum et vulg. lectionem recepinus.

<sup>h</sup> Hunc canonem omisit codex Oxon. et cum eo Quesnellus; idque ea de causa accidisse putat, quia (ut in postilla marginali notavit) *usui Romanæ Ecclesiæ contrarius*. Verum hic canon non solum legitur in Græco et aliis versionibus, verum etiam in Isidoriana, quæ a nostro collectore recepta fuit. Id patet ex

Cod. Vind. hujus collectoris, ex Vat. 1542 et vulg. Is., nec non ex Ferrando tit. 207, qui Isidoriana, ut appellanti, interpretatione usus est. In cod. Veron. 55 prima manu deest, sed curis secundis additus fuit. Hujus vero canonis defectus in quibusdam codicibus eidem saltim triludendus est quo canonem 42 in aliis codicibus omissum animadvertimus not. 58 (Sup.; n. 4).

<sup>i</sup> Sic cod. Vind., concinente Ferrando tit. 508. Quesn., *quintam feriam ultimæ septimanæ solvi, et totam*. Cod. Veron. prima manu, *quintam feriam ultimæ septimanæ solvere, et tota Quadragesima in oratione*; et sic canon desinit. Secundis vero curis emendatum; *quinta feria ultimæ septimanæ jejunium solvere, et totam Quadragesimam sine veneratione jejunii transire*, nec amplius in hoc canone legitur. Dein Quesnellus pro *inhonorari* scripsit *exhonorari*; omisit autem voces *id est aridioribus*, quas auctoritate codicis Vind. cum vulg. Is. inseruimus.

<sup>j</sup> Quesn. cum vulg. Is. et cod. Veron. 55, *saltare*. Correximus ex ms. Vind. et Ferrando tit. 188, concinente ms. Vat., in quo *canere*. Mox hic codex convenit habet pro *competit*.

<sup>k</sup> Vulg. Is. cum m. Veron. 55, *scenarum*, repugnantibus cæteris codd. et Græco textu. Dein idem Quesnellus *insurgere, et de convivio abire*. Omnium nostrorum codicum et vulg. Is. lectionem revocavimus.

<sup>l</sup> Quesn. omisit *ministros altaris vel, ac dein scripsit symbola celebrare, quæ vulgus competalia convivia appellat*. Nostrorum codicum concordem lectionem recepinus. Conciuit etiam vulg. Is., in quo solum pro *commensalia* legitur *commensalia*.

<sup>m</sup> Vulg. Is., *sed visitatores, id est, qui circumceant constitui*. Cod. Veron. 55, retenta lectione textus post *circumceant* addit, *pro salute plebis ab episcopo civitatis constitui*. Post pauca Quesn., *Qui autem ante hæc or-*

tem qui antehac ordinati sunt, nihil agere sine conscientia episcopi civitatis. Similiter etiam presbyteri nihil sine præcepto et consilio episcopi agant.

LVIII. Non oportet oblationes in domibus ab episcopis vel presbyteris fieri.

LIX. Non oportet psalmos ab idiotis compositos et vulgares in Ecclesiis dici, neque libros qui sunt extra canonem legere, **442** nisi solos canonicos novi ac veteris Testamenti. <sup>a</sup> Quæ autem oporteat legi, et in auctoritatem recipi, hæc sunt: Genesis mundi, Exodus Aegypti, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesu Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri IV, Paralipomenon, <sup>b</sup> id est, Abrelictorum libri II, <sup>c</sup> Esdræ duo, liber Psalmorum cL, Proverbia Salomonis, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticum, Job, Hester, <sup>d</sup> duodecim Prophetæ, id est, Osee, Amos, Joel, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Abacuch, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, <sup>e</sup> Angelus Malachi, <sup>f</sup> item Esaias, Hieremias, Ezechiel, Daniel. <sup>g</sup> Novi Testamenti Evangelia quatuor, secundum Matthæum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Joannem; Actus Apostolorum, <sup>h</sup> epistolæ canonicæ septem, Petri duæ, Jacobi una, Joannis tres, Judæ una; epistolæ Pauli XIV, ad Romanos, ad Corinthios

*ordinati sunt, nihil agere sine conscientia civitatis; ac omisit reliqua. Veram integramque lectionem, quam ille ex vulg. Is. et cod. Thuanæo rejecit in marginem, nos cum nostris codicibus restituumus.*

<sup>a</sup> Quænellus omisit sequentem catalogum Scripturarum, hancque notationem subiecit: *In aliis versionibus (scribendum fuerat in vulgatis editionibus Isid.) et etiam in Græco sequitur catalogus librorum veteris et novi Testamenti, qui deest in utroque ms. codice, nimirum in Thuanæo et Oxoniensi hujus collectionis, quos ipse consulit. At eum reperimus in præstantissimo cod. Vind. ejusdem collectionis, ac præterea in duobus aliis Vat. 1312 et Veron. 55, qui Isidorianam versionem similiter exhibent. Hinc iste catalogus ab auctore hujus interpretationis omissus non fuit, ac proinde duo illi codices Thuan. et Oxon., qui Laodicænos canones ex eadem versione sumpserunt, dum hoc catalogo carent, imperfecti sunt.*

<sup>b</sup> Vind., id est Abrelictorum, mendose: correctus ex ms. Veron. Vulg. Isid. et Vat. has duas voces ignorant.

<sup>c</sup> Ita vulg. Is. cum Græco. Alii nostri codd. omitunt duo.

<sup>d</sup> Sic cod. Vind. cum vulg. Is. In Vat. deest duodecim, et id est. Veron., duodecim prophetarum libri, id est, etc. In Græco vulgato nomina prophetarum duodecim desiderantur.

<sup>e</sup> Ita cod. Vind. In mss. Vat. et Veron., Aggæus, Malachias; ita tamen ut in Vat. Aggæus antea itein legatur, in Veron. autem omitatur. Vulg. Is. hic habet tantum Malachias, et supra Aggæus.

<sup>f</sup> Veron., Item libri quatuor, Esaias, etc.

<sup>g</sup> Idem Veron., Item novi Testamenti. Vulg. Is., Novi autem Testamenti.

<sup>h</sup> Vind., catholicæ epistolæ canonicæ Petri, etc. Vulg. Is., Epistolæ catholicæ septem. Codices Veron. et Vat. præterimus; ordinem vero codicis Vind. retinimus. In Vat. alius ordo legitur, ut in Græco et vulg. Is. Jacobi I, Petri duæ, Joannis tres, Judæ una. Illiusmodi secunda manu etiam in ms. Veron., qui postea hac ratione Pauli epistolæ recenset. *Ad Romanos I, secunda et tertia ad Corinthios, quarta ad Galatas, quinta ad Ephesios, sexta ad Philippenses, septima ad Colossenses, octava et nona ad Thessaloni-*

*A I et II, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, ad Thessalonicenses I et II, ad Timotheum I et II, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, ad Hebræos i. i Finit concilium Laodicæ Phrygiæ Patricianæ.*

#### 443 CAPITULUM LXI.

<sup>k</sup> Incipiunt Regulæ sive Definitiones expositæ ab episcopia et qui in unum Constantinopolim convenerunt, quando ordinatus est B. Nectarius episcopus; quorum nomina et provinciæ in Græco continentur; sub Theodosio principe

CAN. I. Non spernendam esse fidem Patrum trecentorum decem et octo, qui in Nicæam Bithyniæ convenerunt; sed manere eam ratam oportet, et anathematizari omnem hæresim, specialiter autem Eunomianorum, <sup>l</sup> qui Latine sine lege dicuntur; et Arianorum, sive Eudoxianorum, et Semiarianorum, nec non Pneumatomachorum, id est, qui contra Spiritum sanctum pugnant; <sup>m</sup> Photinianorum, et Sabellianorum, et Apollinaristarum.

II. Episcopi qui <sup>n</sup> super dioccesim sunt, ad Ecclesias quæ extra terminos eorum sunt non accedant, neque confundant et permisceant Ecclesias, <sup>o</sup> sed

*censes, decima et undecima ad Timotheum, duodecima ad Titum, decima tertia ad Philemonem, decima quarta ad Hebræos.*

<sup>l</sup> In ms. Veron. 55 additur Apocalypsis Joannis. Hic concludi debet canon ecclesiasticus. Explicit.

<sup>i</sup> Hanc clausulam ex ms. Vind. subiecit.

<sup>k</sup> Hic titulus in Vind. ms. legitur... Quænellus hunc alium prætulit: *Canones concilii Constantinopolitani a 150 episcopis, quando B. Nectarius eidem urbi est ordinatus episcopus, sub primo Theodosio piissimo Augusto. Horum canonum versio est illa quæ, ab Isidoro recepta, Isidoriana vocatur. Hanc eorundem canonum versionem reperimus in ms. Veron. 55, cum hoc titulo: Incipiunt statuta seu definitiones synodi Constantinopolitanæ episcoporum 159, quando ordinatus est B. Nectarius.*

<sup>l</sup> Vulg. Isid. addunt cum Græco sive Anomæorum, huiusque voci respondent sequentia, qui Latine sine lege dicuntur. Dein voces sive Eudoxianorum desunt in ms. Vind.

<sup>m</sup> Codd. Veron. 55 et vulg. Is., concinentes cum Græco, et Sabellianorum, et Marcellianorum, et Photinianorum, et Apollinaristarum. Vind. post nomen Apollinaristarum addit et Marcellianorum, et Manichæorum, et omnium qui a sana doctrina et Ecclesia catholica discedunt.

<sup>n</sup> Vind. cum vulg. Is., extra. Veron. 55 cum Oxon., ultra.

<sup>o</sup> In mss. hujus collectionis varia est canonum partitio. Vind. dividit in canones xi, ac propterea hic notat can. III; dein ad vocem Orientis canonem IV, ad illa Sed et Asiæ can. V, Ponti autem can. VI, Thraciæ vero can. VII, Non invitatos can. VIII, Ecclesias autem can. IX, Constantinopolitanæ can. X, De Maximo can. XI. Codex Oxon. quem Quænellus secutus est, tres tantum canones partitur. Sub secundo enim canone Episcopi quintum a nobis receptum complectitur, quod Dionysianæ versionis proprium est. Amplexi sumus sex canonum divisionem quam præbuit codex ms. Thuanæus hujus collectionis. Totidem enim canones alii codices Isidorianæ interpretationem præferentes distinguunt: uti Veron. 55 et vulg. Is., cum quibus Ferrandus concinit. Hi autem in eo solum discrepant, quod cano-

ipsas enim studio vulgantes non modicum ex iisdem fructum percipi posse opinati sunt. Ita vero obscura et invidiosa et involuta hæc Prisca interpretatio est, ut quamvis ex memoratis collectionibus non pauca emendamus, pura tamen adhuc difficilia loca supersint, quæ non semper librorum oscitantæ, sed sapius interpretis imperitiæ tribuenda videntur. Quæ si ex Græco, vel ex alijs versionibus mutando quasdam voces ad clariorum sensum revocare conaremur, primigenium textum a nobis non exhiberi jure omnes conquirentur. Lectorum vero intelligentiæ consulamus vel in postillis margini appositis, vel in notationibus quæ ad calcem subjiciuntur. Quanto autem usui hæc versio apud antiquos fuerit, ex iisdem antiquis collectionibus liquet quæ ex hæc canones derivantur. Vide quæ de hæc eadem versione pluribus disseruimus in Tractatu præmissio part. II, c. 2, § 3.

5. Nunc præfationem a Voello et Justello huic interpretationi præfixam hic appendimus.

#### LECTORI.

« Ut nihil desiderares, erudite lector, quod ad antiquitatis canonicæ et ecclesiasticæ memoriam conservandam posteris usui esse posset, huic operi nostro Priscam illam canonum editionem Latinam, a cæteris quæ hæcenus editæ sunt aliam atque diversam, quam multi iique gravissimi viri sæpe laudarunt, inserendam esse duximus. Hanc ex venerandæ antiquitatis codice ms. literis majusculis et bene quadratis descripto in bibliothecæ Christi tophori Justelli tibi representamus. Continebat olim ille præstantis ævum codex canones conciliorum Ancyrani, Neocæsariensis, Nicæni, Sardicensis, 479 Gangrensis, Antiocheni, Laodicensis, Constantinopolitani I et Chalcedonensis; sed, quod maxime dolendum, synodi Laodicenæ integri canones, et maxima pars Sardicensium, cum postrema parte subscriptionum concilii Nicæni injuria temporum perierunt. Quæ tamen si persunt concilii Sardicensis fragmenta, post Nicænam synodum collocavimus. Auctorem namque hujusce editionis non dignitatem conciliorum, sed ordinem temporis secutum fuisse in sua collectione verosimile est. Nec obstat quod in eo codice Chalcedonensis synodus ordine præpostero ante Constantinopolitanam ponatur, et canon 28 Chalcedonensis inter Constantinopolitanos referatur; cum id potius allucinationi vel incogitantia amanuensis qui hunc codicem exscripsit, quam auctoris errori, vel imperitiæ tribuendum esse videatur. Et quamvis alia non pauca depravata, corrupta, et confusa in eodem libro passim occurrant, quæ non abs re amanuensis errata judicari possent, nobis tamen in tam elegantis et tantæ vetustatis cinis aliquid emendare aut immutare religio fuit; satis esse rati, si ad marginem scriptoris σφάλματα annotaremus. »

4. Tria in hæc præfationem annotanda. Primo falsum est, quod aiunt, Laodicenæ synodi integros canones hujus versionis injuria temporum in erecidisse. Hos enim ab interprete in Græco codice quo usus est, haudquaquam inventos, nec Latine redditos satis probabiliter ostendimus in Tractatu loco paulo ante laudato. Secundo quod affirmant in Sardicensibus canonibus codicem fuisse mutilum; quæ de causa id acciderit, ibidem ex Stephano Baluzio exposuimus. Tertium quod allucinationi vel incogitantia amanuensis potius quam interpretis errori tribuitur, Constantinopolitanos canones post Chalcedonenses describi, iisdemque annecti canonem de primatu sedis Constantinopolitanæ, qui in Chalcedonensi synodo conditus fuit, falsum pariter credimus. Hanc nimirum præpostera hujusmodi canonum descriptionem et confusionem nec amanuensi, nec interpreti Latino, sed Græco alicui eod. ci vertendam arbitramur, ut in eodem Tractatu et in annotationibus ad ipsos canones plenius dicetur.

## PRISCA CANONUM EDITIO LATINA,

COMPLECTENS

CANONES CONCILIORUM ANCYRANI, NEOCÆSARIENSIS, NICÆNI, SARDICENSIS,  
GANGRENSIS, ANTIOCHENI, CONSTANTINOPOLITANI PRIMI  
ET CHALCEDONENSIS;

Quæ primum in lucem prodit ex antiquissimo codice ms. bibliothecæ Christophori Justelli; nunc autem eam alijs pervetustis mss. collectionibus collata, integra et emendatior exhibetur.

Additur vetustissima interpretatio Latina canonum Nicænorum ex præstantissimo ms. Vat. Regiæ 1997.

### 481<sup>a</sup> INCIPIT<sup>b</sup> CAPITULA

Canonum Ancyrensiun.

- I. De presbyteris qui immolaverunt in persecutione.
- II. De diaconis<sup>c</sup> qui immolaverunt.
- III. De his qui per vim paganizaverunt.
- IV. De his qui multifarie eum paganis conveniunt.

<sup>a</sup> Lege Incipiunt.

<sup>b</sup> Horum canonum Priscam interpretationem in uno ms. Vat. Regiæ 1997 invenimus, ubi pro capitula legitur tituli; et similiter semper in alijs canonum tabulis. In ms. Justelli constituta; male; constituta enim canones dicuntur, non vero tituli seu capitula canonum. Correximus ex inscriptionibus aliarum synodorum, et ex ipsa clausula eisdem e-

- A V. De his<sup>d</sup> qui timori lapsi sunt.
- VI. De his<sup>e</sup> qui in idolorum loca [Lege locis] comederunt.
- VII. De his qui sæpius immolaverunt.
- VIII. De his<sup>f</sup> qui et alii suadent idolis immolarent [Lege immolare].

Jicis Justelliani; Explicit capitula canonum Ancyrensiun.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Vat. Reg. : II. De diaconis similiter, III. De his qui idolotytum manducaverunt.

<sup>d</sup> Idem cod., qui pro timore paganizaverunt.

<sup>e</sup> Just. ms., qui in idolis comedunt. Emendavimus ex cod. Vat. Reg., qui mox pro sapius habet sapiissime.

<sup>f</sup> Idem cod. Vat. Reg., per quos et alii coacti im-



- IX. De his qui in ordinatione nuptias contestantur.
- X. De dispensatis [Lege desponsatis] puellis, et ab aliis corruptis.
- XI. De catechumenis lapsis.
- XII. Ut nullum liceat ordinare chorepiscopum.
- XIII. De his qui abstinere a carnibus.
- XIV. De distrahentibus res ecclesiasticas.
- XV. De his qui in animalibus coierunt.
- XVI. Ut supra, aut in masculis vel corrupti sunt, aut corruptum.
- XVII. De ordinatis episcopis et non susceptis.
- XVIII. De his qui virginitatem promittunt, et quasi sororibus <sup>a</sup> fingunt commorari.
- 482** XIX. <sup>b</sup> Qui adulteras habent uxores.
- XX. De his qui ex fornicatione interficiunt natos.
- XXI. De homicidiis.
- XXII. De extra voluntatem homicidiis.
- XXIII. <sup>c</sup> De divinantibus vel maleficiis.
- XXIV. De consciis corruptionis virginum.

Explicit [Lege explicitunt] capitula canonum Ancyrensi-um.

INCIPIT CONSTITUTA

ejusdem concilii.

<sup>a</sup> Isti canones priores quidem sunt Nicæni canonibus expositis; sed tamen Nicæni primo accepti sunt, propter auctoritatem sancti et magni concilii quod factum est in Niciam.

CANONES CONSTITUTI

a SS. Patribus qui congregati sunt per sanctum Spiritum in civitate Ancyrense. Tit. XXIV.

De presbyteris qui immolaverunt in persecutione, <sup>b</sup> reluctaverunt [Lege et reluctaverunt].

I. Presbyteri qui immolaverunt et iterum resipuerunt, et neque reluctaverunt **483** per remedium aliquem [Lege aliquod], sed ex veritate; neque ante per compositum ea que egerunt firmantes, ut ostenderent se quasi supplicii missos, ut videantur et

molaverunt. IX. De diaconis qui in ordinatione de nuptiis contestati sunt. X. De puellis quæ sponsatae sunt, et ab aliis stuprate. XI. De catechumenis prævaricatis. XII. De chorepiscopis. XIII. De clericis qui abstinere a carnibus. XIV. De his qui in opus Ecclesie vendunt. XV. De his qui in animalibus sunt fornicati. XVI. De his qui cum masculis animalibus faciscunt.

<sup>a</sup> Just. cod. hoc loco, commorantur. Prætulimus ms. Vat. Reg., quoniam concinit idem Justellii codex in titulo canonis inferius prælixo; fingunt commorari.

<sup>b</sup> Vat. Reg., De his qui invicem adulterantur. XX. De his qui natos interficiunt.

<sup>c</sup> Id in cod., De sclaeticis vel divinis. XXIV. De corruptores (lege corruptoribus) virginum.

<sup>a</sup> Lege Incipiunt.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. V. R. omittit præmissam clausulam explicit, etc., ac sequentem titulum Incipit, etc. Hanc vero annotationem sic offert; Isti sunt canones priores quidem Nicæni canonibus expositi. Sed Nicæni primo scripti sunt propter auctoritatem sanctæ et magnæ synodi quæ facta est in Nicæa, melius et cum Græco coherentius, ubi Nicæni canones Ancyrensis præmittuntur.

<sup>f</sup> Just. ms. omittit verbum reluctaverunt; adjecimus e cod. Vat. Reg., contextu canonis exigente. Dein ex eodem cod. emendavimus resipuerunt; apud

A credantur per schemate <sup>s</sup> offerri eis; de istis placuit honorem quidem secundum cathedram eos habere; <sup>b</sup> offerre autem eos, aut patere [Lege pascere], aut agere, aut sacro ministerio ministrare non liceat.

De diaconis qui immolaverunt.

II. Diaconi similiter qui immolaverunt et postea resipuerunt, dignitatem quidem suam habere, et cessare eos a sacro ministerio panis et calicis, non portare, <sup>i</sup> neque prædicare. Si autem aliqui episcoporum ipsorum scientes laborare eos, humilitatem mansuetudinis habere, voluerint plus aliquid dare eis, vel minuire, in eorum esse potestate.

De his qui in fuga tenti per vim paganizaverunt.

III. Qui fugentes tenti sunt, aut a domesticis suis traditi <sup>k</sup>, aut substantias suas perdidierunt; passos <sup>B</sup> autem supplicia, aut in carcerem missos clamantes Christianos se esse tentos adque in manibus ferro volenter mittentes, et escam cum paganis necessitate acceperunt, confitentis quia sunt Christiani, et luctum de hoc quod evenit semper ostendentes, cum omni humilitate et scemate bonitatis, et seculi hujus humilitate istos, quasi foris a peccato factos, de communione non privari. <sup>l</sup> Sin autem privati sunt ab aliquibus, ut possent plus probari, et ab aliquot mox suscipi. Hæc autem similiter apud clericos vel laicos. Discussum est, ut si possibile et laici tale necessitate subjecti ad profectionem honoris possunt [Lege possint] venire. Placuit ergo et istos, quasi nihil peccantes, aut antea inveniantur recta **484** vita eorum, ad ordinationem venire clerici.

C De his qui multifarie <sup>m</sup> egerunt paganis [Lege cum paganis].

IV. De his qui per vim immolaverunt, qui et apud idolis [Forte idola] cenaverunt, quanti et scemate <sup>n</sup> inlustri ascenderunt, et veste usi sunt pretiosa, et acceperunt ex præparata cæna <sup>o</sup> diversi; placuit eos <sup>r</sup> audire, et subjacere eos tres annos, orationi

Just. resipiscerunt. Mox cod. Vat. R. delet et ac reluctaverunt.

<sup>s</sup> Sic noster codex. Apud Just., offerri se is.

<sup>b</sup> Just. in textu, habere aut precare, at in margine; Adde offerre autem eos, ac pro precare lege peccari. Noster codex integram et veram lectionem exhibuit, si pascere pro potere emendes; Græcus enim textus aliaque veriones habent sermonem habere, pro quo noster interpres pascere reddidit.

<sup>i</sup> Just., neque ministrare. Melius noster codex, cum Græco aliisque versionibus concinens.

<sup>l</sup> Noster cod., istorum scientes laborem, aut humilitatem mansuetudinis habere, voluerunt, etc. Mox delet eis; ac dein ex eodem cod. scripsimus potestate; Just. potestatem.

<sup>k</sup> Just. repetit sunt; expunximus cum nostro codice.

<sup>m</sup> Ms. Vat. Reg., Si autem... ut possint; et post pauca, apud clericos et laicos.

<sup>n</sup> Idem cod., paganismum egerunt. Mox initio canonis adjecimus De his ex nostro codice.

<sup>o</sup> Sic noster codex. Ita t., illustrati.

<sup>p</sup> Aliæ versiones reddidere indifferenter.

<sup>r</sup> Quodam hoc loco deesse notavit Voellus atque Justellus. Deerant autem quatuor sequentes voces, quas ex ms. Vat. R. supplēvimus. Audire eum penitentiae gradum indicat, quo peccitantes inter audientes recipiebantur; subjacere vero alterum, quo orationi fidelium prostrati aderant.

viciis ac partibus Orientis Thebaidis, Ægypti, Palestinae, Phanices, Syriae Cæles, Mesopotamiæ, Ciliæ, Cappadociæ, Ponti, Paphlagoniæ, Galatiæ, Phrygiæ, Bithyniæ, Elessanti, Asiæ, Pisidiæ, Insularum, Pamphiliæ, Cærtæ, Lydiæ, Europæ, Thraciæ, Hæmimontis, Pannoniæ, Mæsiæ, Daciæ <sup>c</sup> hanc exposuerunt fidem.

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem creatorem omnium et factorem, ex quo <sup>d</sup> omnia in cælo et in terra nominantur. Et in unicum Filium ejus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ante omnia sæcula ex Patre natum, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, per quem omnia, et propter quem omnia facta sunt in cælo et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia: Verbum, sapientia, et <sup>e</sup> potestas, lumen verum sempiternum in omnibus, qui novissimis temporibus propter nos homo factus est, et <sup>f</sup> creatus ex sancta Virgine. Crucifixus, et mortuus, et sepultus, et resurrexit a mortuis tertia die. Receptum in cælis sedentem ad dexteram Patris, et venientem <sup>g</sup> in finem sæculi judicare vivos et mortuos, et <sup>h</sup> reddere unicuique secundum facta sua. Cujus imperium sempiternum

**616** manebit in æterna sæcula, sedens semper ad dexteram Patris non solum in hoc sæculo, sed etiam in futuro. Credimus et in unum Spiritum sanctum Dei, hoc est Paraclerum, quem pollicitus apostolis post in cælum ascensionem misit docere eos, et monere omnia; per quem et sanctificantur, et vivunt religiosorum animæ in eum credentes. Dicentes autem ex nihilo esse filium, vel ex alia substantia (<sup>h</sup> spiritum) et non ex Deo: et erat aliquando tempus, vel

sed ex alia versione. Hinc liquet hanc formulam duplici modo fuisse editam, et annexam Synodicæ, et separatim. Prima pars hujus formulæ usque ad voces alienos novit sancta et catholica Ecclesia vulgata fuerat ab Eusebianis aliquot menses post synodum Antiochenam anni 441, altera vero pars addita triennio post eum aliis prolixis additionibus: ejusque Græcus textus superest apud S. Athanasium in libro de Synodi; ex quo recusa legitur t. II Concil. editionis Venetæ, col. 656. Tandem in Pseudo-Sardicensi eon illo repetita fuit. Sicut autem Vigilii Tapsensis lra contra Eutychem, n. 5, minus caute hanc veram et catholicæ synodi formulam habuit, cum præsertim eam S. Hilarius in rectum sensum exponere studeat; ita nihil mirum, si in Græca eon lectione et inter documenta Sardicensia descripta et a nostro interprete Latine reddita fuit.

<sup>a</sup> Apud Hilarium utrobique additur Arabiæ.

<sup>b</sup> Apud eundem de synodi Phrygiis duabus, uti etiam legit Vigilii Tapsensis lib. v contra Eutychem, num. 5, sed mendose: Phrygia enim tunc temporis nondum divisa erat in duas. Vide tractatum part. 1, c. 5. In Fragmentis vero ejusdem Hilarii inscriptio synodicæ unam tantum Phrygiam præfert.

<sup>c</sup> Hilar. de Synodi, hanc exposuimus fidem.

<sup>d</sup> Hilar., ibidem, omnis paternitas... nominatur, ut in Græco apud Athanasium. At in Fragm., omnis creatura, quibus eum concinit nostri interpretis versio omnia. Mox pro unicum Hilarius utrobique unigenitum. Semper vero noster interpret Græcam vocem μονογενῆ, unicum reddidit.

<sup>e</sup> Apud Hil., virtus, et vita, lumen, etc. Desunt autem sempiternum in omnibus, sicut nec in Græco leguntur.

<sup>f</sup> Apud eundem, natus.

<sup>g</sup> Hilar. in Frag., in finem mundi: in libro autem de

A sæculum, quando non erat, alienos novit sancta et catholica Ecclesia. Similiter etiam dicentes tres esse Deos, vel Christum non esse Deum (sive spiritum non esse Dei) vel ante sæcula, nec Christum, nec Filium (nec Spiritum) Dei esse, vel eundem [Subaudi esse] Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, vel non natum Filium (vel natum Spiritum) <sup>k</sup> aut voluntate, vel arbitrio Pater genuit Filium, fecit, sive creavit, vel demonstravit, sed secundu n intellectum omnia scientem Verbum Dei; hos omnes anathematizat sancta catholica Ecclesia.

## 617 INCIPIUNT STATUTA

SANCTÆ SYNODI CHALCEDONENSIS.

Piissimus noster imperator <sup>k</sup> Constantinopolitanæ perpetuus Augustus ad sacrosanctam synodum dixit: Lassati estis nimio spatio fatigationem sustinentes. Expectate ergo tres dies, vel quatuor adhuc, et præsentibus magnificis nostris judiciis singula, quæ vultis <sup>l</sup> monete, et congruum præsidium meremini. Ante vero quam perfectæ formulæ de omnibus dentur, nemo vestrum a sancta discedat synodo.

DEFINITIONES ECCLESIASTICÆ PRONUNTIATÆ A SANCTA ET UNIVERSALI SYNODO QUÆ CHALCEDONE CONGREGATA EST.

Acta <sup>m</sup> septimæ cognitionis Chalcedonensis.

I. Canones, qui a sanctis Patribus usque ad hanc synodum tenuerunt, teneri justum duximus.

II. Si quis per pecunias ordinatus fuerit, et in pretium adduxerit <sup>n</sup> inoptam gratiam, et ordinaverit

C Synodis nihil æquivalens exhibet.

<sup>b</sup> Apud Hilar. Græco concinente utrobique deest spiritum, et similiter desunt, quæ deinceps uncis inclusimus.

<sup>i</sup> Hilar. in Fragm., aut non sententia, nec voluntate Deum Patrem genuisse Filium; hos omnes anathematizat, etc. In libro de Synodi, vel quod neque consilio, neque voluntate Pater genuerit Filium; anathematizat sancta, etc. Utrobique, sicut et in Græco, negatio exhibetur, et intermedia nostræ versionis fecit sive creavit, etc., nullibi apparent.

<sup>j</sup> Præmittitur in codice definitio fidei Chalcedone edita actione 6, cujus versio ab editis discrepat. Dein hic titulus sequitur, cui quæ mox subjiciuntur, sunt postrema verba allocutionis imperatoris Marciani relata eadem actione. Tum subnectuntur canones, eo quod hi in sequenti actione 7, uti ibidem notatur, conditi fuerant. Hæc autem septimæ actionis notatio, quæ in aliis versionibus non legitur, aperte demonstrat, nostræ collectionis Græcam auctorem vulgato codice canonum non fuisse usum; ac propterea vel ex hoc confirmatur ipsam Græcam collectionem quam ille adhibuit, fuisse originis prorsus diversæ ab iis collectionibus, quæ aliis interpretibus usui fuere.

<sup>k</sup> Vox Constantinopolitanæ redundat.

<sup>l</sup> Ex Græco aliisque versionibus corrigendum est movete.

<sup>m</sup> Canones in septima actione conditos pluribus comprobavimus in observationibus ad dissert. 4 Quesnelli, not. 18, ad an. 451. tom. XI Græcæ collectionis auctorem, qui ex actis concilii ebibit, in septima quidem actione post imperatoris allocutionem canones reperisse ex toto contextu manifestum est.

<sup>n</sup> Forte inemptam, sed verius inenibilem, seu non venalem, nam Græcæ ἀπρατον.

episcopum per pecunias, vel chorepiscopum, vel presbyterum, vel diaconum, vel alterum quemlibet clero annumeratum; vel si instituerit per pecunias œconomum, vel defensorem, vel custodem, vel alterum canonis propter turpem pravamque questum; qui hoc conatur, convictus periclitabitur de suo gradu; et qui ordinatur, nihil juvetur de ordinationis institutione, quæ per questum facta est, sed sit alienus a dignitate, vel cura, quam per pecunias impetravit. Si vero et intercedens aliquis visus est turpibus, et infandis dationibus; siquidem clericus fuerit, de suo excidat gradu; si vero laicus aut monachus, anathematizetur.

III. Venit ad sanctam synodum quia quidam de clericis propter turpe suum lucrum alienarum possessionum fiant conductores, et negotia sæcularia suscipiant, ministeria quidem Dei negligentes, ad sæcularium vero occurrentes domus, et dispensationem substantiarum accipientes propter amorem avaritiæ. Definuit igitur sancta et magna synodus ullum de reliquis nec episcopum, nec clericum, neque monachum nec conducere posse possessionem, neque causis se immittere sæcularibus, nisi forte ex legibus vocetur ad impuberum inexcusabile tutoris officium, vel si episcopum civitatis de ecclesiasticis ei præceperit curari causis, de pupillis et viduis destitutis, et de personis quæ maxime ecclesiastico egent præsidio. Si vero aliquis prætergredi defuita de reliquo notus fuerit, ecclesiasticis subiaceat pœnis.

IV. Qui vere et sincere singularem eligunt vitam convenienti digni sunt honore. Quoniam vero quidam monachorum habitu utentes, Ecclesias, et civiles causas perturbant, circumeuntes in civitatibus, nec non est monasteria sibi constituentes: placuit neminem ullo modo edificare, nec instituere monasterium, vel oratoriam ad eam sine voluntate civitatis episcopi. Monachos vel qui sunt per singulas civitates et provincias, subjectos esse episcopo, et quietem diligere, et operam dare jejunio et orationi, in quibus locis abundantaverunt observantes; nec vero ecclesiasticis, neque sæcularibus causis frequentare, nec communionem habere reliquentes sua monasteria, nisi forte præceptum eis fuerit propter necessariam utilitatem ab episcopo civitatis. Nemo vero suscipiat in monasteriis servum, ut monachus fiat, sine voluntate sui domini. Prætergredientem vero hanc nostram definitionem, delinimus excommunicatum eum esse, ut nomen Dei non blasphemetur. Episcopum vero civitatis oportere congruam providentiam facere monasteriis.

V. De transferentibus se a civitate in civitatem

A episcopis vel clericis, placuit ut positi de eis canones a sanctis Patribus habeant suam vim.

VI. Nullum absolute ordinare nec diaconum, nec presbyterum, nec omnino aliquem eorum qui sunt in ecclesiastica ordinatione, nisi specialiter in Ecclesia civitatis, vel in possessione, vel in martyrio, vel monasterio ordinandus prædicetur: et eos vero qui absolute ordinantur, definiit sancta synodus irritam habere hujusmodi ordinationem, et in actu invalidam, ad injuriam ordinantis.

VII. Eos qui semel in clero ordinati sunt, vel monachos, definiimus neque ad militiam, neque ad sæcularem dignitatem venire. Quod si hoc ausi fuerint, nec [Supple ad] pœnitentiam venerint, ut convertantur ad hoc, quod propter Deum elegerunt, anathematizentur.

VIII. Clerici qui ptochis, vel monasteriis, vel oratoriis præpositi sunt in unaquaque civitate ab episcopis, secundum sanctorum Patrum traditionem perseverent, et ne per audaciam contemnant suam episcopum. Qui vero audent contradicere huic dispositioni quolibet modo, et non se subjiciunt proprio episcopo; siquidem clerici sunt, canonicis subiaceant pœnis; si vero laici vel monachi, sint excommunicati.

IX. Si quis clericus cum clero causam habet, non relinquat suum episcopum, et ad sæcularia iudicia currat; sed prius negotium exerceat apud suum episcopum, vel etiam cum voluntate ejusdem episcopi, apud quos utraque partes voluerint, negotium peragatur. Si vero quis præter hæc fecerit, canonicis pœnis subiaceat. Si vero et clericus habeat causam cum suo vel cum altero episcopo, apud synodum provincie causam dicat. Si vero cum ejusdem provincie metropolitano episcopo [Lege episcopus], vel clericus abiit [Lege habeat causam], perveniat ad principem dioceseos, vel ad regie Constantinopoleos sedem, et apud ipsum causam dicat.

X. Ne liceat clericum in duarum civitatum simul Ecclesiis militare, in qua prius ordinatus est, et in quam confugit ut ad majorem, videlicet propter xenodochie desiderium. Hoc vero facientes restitui se Ecclesie in qua ab initio ordinati sunt, et ibi solum ministrare. Si vero quis se transtulerit ex alia ad aliam Ecclesiam, nihil de priore Ecclesia, vel de oratoriis qui sub ea sunt, vel ptochis, vel xenodochiis rerum communicent [Lege communique]. Audentes vero post definitionem magnæ et universalis hujus synodi agere aliquid de nuper interdictis, definiit sancta synodus excidere eos de suo gradu.

XI. Omnes pauperes et egentes præsidio cum probatione, epistolis, vel pacificis ecclesiasticis solis iter

ceuset.

<sup>b</sup> Id est monasticam.

<sup>c</sup> Græce χωρην, id est loca ruralia, quæ nunc diocesis appellantur. Isid. possessiones reddidit.

<sup>d</sup> Lege perseverantes ex Græco.

<sup>e</sup> Clarius Dion., et nusquam posse ministrare ad ordinantis injuriam.

<sup>a</sup> Editio prisea *hostiarium*. Isid. Græcam vocem expressit παραμοναριον *peramonarium*. Dion. Justelli, et duo eodd. antiquissimi versionis antiquæ Chalcedonensis synodi, qui canones ex Dionysio receperunt, omittunt hæc vocem. Codices vero Rustici ex ipsius fortassis Rustici emendatione habent *mansionarium*. Justinianus lib. iv, c. de Episc. et Cler., inter rerum ecclesiasticarum administratores παραμοναριους re-

Ecclesie Carthaginensis diacono. Hic titulo 214 sua Breviationis statutum refert, ut diebus Quinquagesimae *genus non flectantur*: ex concilio Sardicensi tit. 4, cum tamen sit iste canon 20 Nicenae synodi. Nec librarium error est, tum quia omnes Ferrandi editiones, Pitheana, Altaverrana, Chiffletiana, Justelliana, omnesque cod. mss. ab iis consulti eandem lectionem exhibent; tum quia secundus Sardicensis apud Ferrandum respondet primo Dionysiano, tertius secundo, quartus tertio et ita deinceps: ut dubium non sit revera ab auctore, sed pro Sardicensi primo habitum esse canonem istum. Qua ratione, quo fato id contigerit, ignoratur. Ita hoc ego evenisse auguro: Venit in manus Ferrandi diaconi codex vetus canonum Ecclesie Romanae nostro similibus, in Africam scilicet vel per legatos Zosimi papae deportatus, vel illic missus post eorum reditum ad partes transmarinas. Legimus certe in Africana illa synodo in qua de appellationibus ad sedem Romanam deferendis **707** actum est, dum Alypius de petendis authenticis exemplaribus ab Orientalibus Ecclesiis verba faceret, Faustinum legatum haec concilii Patribus suggestisse: *Sed haec ipsa, inquit, ad sanctum et beatissimum papam nostrum scribere dignemini, ut et ipse integros canones inquirens, cum vestra sancta auctoritate omnibus constitutis tractare possit.* Ex quibus credi potest integros canones istos, Nicenos scilicet, et Sardicenses, sub una numerorum serie eisdem annexos, transmissos esse in Africam; quibus postmodum vigesimum canonem intertextum crediderim ex exemplaribus Teilonis et Tharistae ex Oriente missis. Cum porro errore confusionis illius detecto canones Sardicenses Africanis prius fere ignoti immotescere coeperunt, eosque suae collectioni inserere voluit diaconus ille Carthaginensis, eosdem decerpit e codice Romano, et ab illo primo Sardicensis censuit numerandos, in quo Nicenos desinere ex proprio Ecclesiae suae codice et usu noverat: nisi enim certum habuisset vigesimum illum Dionysianum pro Niceno apud Afros non haberi, nunquam eum a Nicenorum numero ablegasset; nec eundem inter Sardicenses numerare primum potuit, nisi auctoritate alienius codicis, qui Sardicensibus praefixum illum habuerit, quod rursus contingere vix aliter potuit, quam ex canonum utriusque synodi permutatione, vel potius alligatione, quae pro unius synodi canonibus utrosque haberi sineret. Nec ipsi nobis contradicimus, cum modo negamus canonem illum ab Afris pro Niceno habitum, vel pro canone in illis regibus recepto; quin inferius ultro fatebitur genulectendi ritum per diem Dominicum et Quinquagesimam paschalem apud Africanos viguisse: aliud enim est canonem repellere, et disciplinam eodem canone contentam recipere atque usurpare, sive ex antiqua consuetudine et traditione ecclesiastica, sive ex priorum canonum praerupto.

5. Contentus exemplarum mss. hujus codicis, quae in variis bibliothecis, vel nunc adhuc asservantur, vel olim asservata esse narrat scriptores, illius asserunt sinceritatem. Quatuor sunt ejusmodi: *Thuanum*, quod ipsi vidimus et evolvimus, ac ante nos Sirmoudus, Salmasius, Chiffletius, Justellus, et Voellus; *Oxonienae*, cujus apographum penes me est, quodque in Catalogo mss. Oxoniensium numeratur; *Atrebatense*, a Baronio, Gravio, Pamelio, Binio et

A Alano Copo laudatum; (a) *Vaticanum*, quod vidit Sirmoudus.

**708** 6. Accessit etiam ex ipsa translatione canonum Orientalium, quae in hoc codice reperitur, non spernendum pro ejus sinceritate et antiquitate suffragium. Versio quippe illa ipsa est quae ante Dionysianam in Ecclesia Romana et per plures forte usurpabatur Occidentis Ecclesiis. Apud Africanos enim Ilic, anasque Ecclesiae in usu fuisse translationem illam canonum quae in Isidoriana collectione habetur, quaeque nostrae, paucis exceptis, similis est, eruditorum est virorum sententia. De Galicis quod idem opinantur nonnulli, verum non esse ostendimus (b) in dissertatione de codice Dionysiano usu in Galicis: quae videlicet Rufini versionem canonum Nicenorum in usu habuerunt saltem usque ad Caroli Magni tempora. Sufficit porro ut in Africanis Ecclesiis vigerit, quod Ferrandi Carthaginensis diaconi Breviatio canonum probat; et in Hispaniis, quod ex Martini Bracaraensis collectione suadet, ut ejus antiquitas pretiumque in comperto sint. Versionis porro canonum Orientalium sinceritas integra collecti auctoritatem concitat, fidemque commendat collecti. Etsi quaedam sunt loca (ut revera non pauca reperiuntur) quae, ut discipulae Romanae accommodarentur, mutationem aliquam passa fuerunt, quae ab Isidoriana discrepare prolatur. (c) haec non modo ejus codicis integritatem in dubium non vocant, sed confirmant magis: hanc enim diversitatem inducere in codicem antiquum, quae discipuli pariter antiquae concineret, tentasset nunquam aut cogitasset impostor novitus juxta atque imperitus.

7. Similem codicem, in quo Sardicenses canones Nicenis mixti annexi haberentur, visum vel a se vel ab aliis indicat Hincmarus, cum *refutandam scribit falsam opinionem de quorundam scriptis exortam, quod Nicenum concilium tempore Julii PP. fuerit celebratum.* Haec quippe falsa opinio nata videtur ex utrorumque canonum permutatione. Cum enim in Sardicensibus Julii PP. mentio habeatur, sub quo habita est, idem autem Nicenis annexi pro Nicenis haberentur, hinc errandi occasio data incutis lectoribus, qui canones illos omnes, Nicenumque adeo concilium, sub eodem Julio celebratum esse sibi persuaserunt.

## 709 CAPUT IV

*Eum codicem proprium fuisse Romanae Ecclesiae*

Asserta codicis sinceritate, restat ut eundem Ecclesiae Romanae proprium fuisse certis *xpianis* ostendamus: quod operosum meo quidem iudicio non est. Quae enim codicis Romani super ut sive in epistolis pontificum Urbis, sive in aliis monumentis y stigia, haerenti nostrum codicem sponte occurrunt.

Primum enim ipsa codicis (d) confusio, qua offensus Laurentius quidam Dionysium Exiguum ad novum eundem impulit, Romanum clamat codicem. Quae quidem confusio magna esse debuit, cui videlicet satis non esset medicam manum adhibere, sed quae opus plane novum posceret. Vix tamen major esse potuit ea, qua codex noster laborat. 1° Quoad translationem, quae paraphrasi aliquot in locis similior est quam translationem: 2° Quoad canonum distinctionem et integritatem: aliqui enim ostendant, ut

## BALLERINORUM ANNOTATIONES.

a) Confer not. 2 (Supra col. 915, not. a). Alia vero antiquissima mss. exemplaria hujus collectionis, quae postea detecta sunt, et a nobis in praefatione ad codicem fuerunt recensita, ejusdem sinceritatem comprobant: si modo ex multitudine codicum qui in variis bibliothecis servantur, sinceritas legitime colligi queat: cum suppositorum quoque operum mss. exempla vetustissima nonnunquam reperiuntur, ut de pseudo-Isidori collectione notissimum est. Nostrae col-

lectionis sinceritas, non ex sola vetustate ac numero codicum, sed praesertim ex toto complexo elucescit. (b) Id pariter verum, partim falsum est, uti ostendimus in observationibus ad dissert. 16.

(c) Vide Observationes in hanc dissertat., cap. 2 num. 9.

(d) Hoc argumentum non solum refelletur, verum etiam in Quesnellii sententiam retorquetur in observationibus cap. 1, n. 11.

vigesimus Nicænus et Gangrensis quartus; alii eju-  
dem concilii in unum conflantur; quidam etiam non-  
nullorum conciliorum miscentur aliorum canonibus;  
quidam trahuntur, quidam auplicantur. 3<sup>o</sup> Quan-  
tum ad ordinem, eam conciliorum decreta pontifi-  
cium decretis miscantur, nec pro ætatis suæ ordine  
collocantur, sed posteriora præponuntur prioribus,  
topica æcumenicis. Neque tamen hæc confusio codi-  
cis auctoritati detrahatur quidquam: sua enim ratione  
hæc confusio nititur, nec ordine vacat ipsa: ordi-  
nis perturbatio; inde nimirum orta, quod obscuriores  
quandoque canonum regulæ in e paraphrasis indige-  
rent: quod ante Chalcedonensem synodum nullis nisi  
Nicænis canonibus astringi se Romani existimave-  
runt, nec eis a ias regulas admittere placuit, nisi quas  
Ecclesiæ suæ consuetudini ac moribus convenire cen-  
suerunt. Inde factum ut eas alia immutatione facta  
suis verbis accommodarent, nec alio ordine digestæ  
reperiantur in codice, quam serie temporis, per quod  
visum est et earum unasqueque in usum recipere.

2. Codicis (a) præfatio declarat ad usum Ecclesiæ  
Romanæ ipsum esse concinnatum. Quid enim aliud  
iudicant hæc verba de Nicæna 710 fidei expositione?  
*Quam sancta, inquit, et reverentissima Romana com-  
plectitur et veneratur Ecclesia. Quid quod medianibus  
Viciorum atque Vincentio religiosissimis Romanæ sedis  
presbyteris esse prolata memorat assit? Nonnullas etiam  
subnexas esse regulas, quas memorata suscipiens confir-  
mavit Ecclesia. Eandem nullis synodis decretis, sed  
Salvatoris voce esse prælatam ac primum obtinuisse.*  
Denique quidquid ibi de Romanæ Ecclesiæ iudicatio-  
ne ac fundatoribus privilegiisque scribitur, argumento  
est pro illa codice esse exaratum.

Erant tamen qui vel ex hac præfatione totum co-  
dicem explosum velint. Siquidem et anachronismus la-  
borat, quos admisisse Romani codicis auctores, pro-  
babile non est: et præterea præfatio illa impostoris  
Isidori fetus et se videtur; cum eam suæ canonum  
Nicæorum editioni præfixerit. Quod enim adversus  
Justellianum codicem excipit Joannes David, ne pro  
antiqua collectione Latina habeatur, procul dubio  
adversus nostrum urgere non omittet: scilicet in in-  
scriptione concilii Nicæni legitur habitam eam esse  
*Constantino Augusto et Licinio Cesare.* At quæ, inquit  
ille, impostoris inscitia: quisve eam ferat tribui præ-  
fatione Latinarum collectioni? Constat enim Licinium  
ante annum Christi 325 esse occisum, ac proinde  
(b) consulatum gerere non potuisse et anno illo 25 vel  
28 quorum alter concilii celebrationi assignatur ab  
omnibus scriptoribus seu chronicis.

At vereor ego ne parum scita sit hæc inscitia ac-  
cusatio, quæ et pluribus codicibus mss. irrogatur, et  
Eusebium Historiæ ecclesiasticæ principem petit.  
Non solus enim codex Cresconianum appellat Baro-

nius, et Isidori Mercatoris codex, quem procul dubio  
ex antiquioribus transcripsit. Istud purro dubium non  
est ex Eusebio haustum, quo tunc temporis unico-  
fere utebantur Occidentales post Hieronymianam  
Chronici translationem; quod et præfationis hujus,  
quam expendimus, finis demonstrat. Porro Eusebius  
Nicænam synodum trecentesimo vicesimo quarto  
Christi anno assignat, aut assignare videtur, Licinii  
vero senioris obitum anno trecentesimo vicesimo se-  
ptimo. Secundum quam epocham, liquet Licinium  
potuisse (c) imperatorem 711 eo anno appellari  
quo synodus congregata, absque iusticiæ nota, qua  
simul non aspergatur Eusebius.

Sed et Idatii Fasti consulares occisum Licinium  
produit sub Paulini et Juliani consulatu, qui Nicæna  
synodo vulgo assignatur et in trecentesimo vice-  
simam quintam Christi annum incidit. Quo posito,  
quid velat eodem anno et congregatam synodum  
mense Junio, Licinio adhuc in vivis agente, et cum-  
dem Licinium postea occisum? Etsi porro nec Euse-  
bii, nec Idatii numerandi ratio probetur, sufficit tamen  
ut nota temporalis ex altero eorum in præfatio-  
nem codicis transcripta, nihil hujus fidei et auctori-  
tati detrahere posse iudicetur: cum facile fuerit tam  
celeberrimum scriptorum errorem abripi præfationis au-  
ctorem, hujusmodi chronologicis apicibus discutien-  
dis minime a-suetafactum.

Sed hujusmodi responsis alterum addimus, quo  
Joannis Davidis objectio, nisi spes me fallat, exsul-  
letur. Quid enim velat quominus de Licinio juniori  
sermonem hic esse contendam? Is quippe Licinius  
cum Crispo Cæsar jampridem erat appellatus; cum-  
que ex Eusebii Chronico usque ad annum Christi  
trecentesimo vicesimum nonum Licinio seniori  
patri suo supervixerit, et ipsi synodo Nicæna pluri-  
bus etiam annis, manifestum est hanc Constantino  
et Licinio Cæsaribus esse celebratam ex Eusebii  
mente.

Jam ad alterum objectionis caput quod attinet,  
quamvis Isidoriana synodi Nicænae editioni præfixa  
invenitur ista præfatio, non eam ob rem suppositio-  
nis argui debet; sed contra verosimillimum est pseudo-  
Isidorum illum tot commentitiis scriptis celebrem,  
præfationem istam suffuratum esse, verumque pla-  
glatitè assuetum eam suo operi quasi propriam præ-  
fixisse: quod pluribus (d) a genuinis probatum  
imus.

1. Isidorus eam solius concilii Nicæni præfationem  
inscribit: *Præfatio Nicæni concilii*: quam tamen eo-  
line scriptam liquet, 712 ut integro alicui regula-  
rum ecclesiasticarum codici præfigeretur: ita enim  
in præfatione: *Nam et (e) nonnullas, inquit, regulas  
subnexas sunt, quas memorata suscipiens confirmavit  
Ecclesia Romana.*

2. Nihil (f) est in Isidoriano codice quod cum Ec-

#### BALLERINORUM ANNOTATIONES.

D Paulini, alteram canonibus præfixam cum consulato  
Constantini Augusti et Licinii Cæsaris, utramque in  
unum copulasse, retento Paulini et Juliani consulato,  
qui Nicænae synodo congruit, suppressa autem voce  
consulatus in Constantino Augusto et Licinio Cesare,  
quorum consulatus, incidens in annum 319, ab e-  
adem synodo plurimum distat.

(d) Unum argumentum quo hæc præfatio ab Isi-  
doro Mercatore ex nostra collectione sumpta probatur,  
istud est, quod eadem collectio pseudo-Isidoro  
est antiquior, non autem e contra. Auctor vero no-  
stræ collectionis eam præfationem partim ex Gelasio,  
partim ex Rufino exscripsit, ut in notis ad eandem  
animadvertimus.

(e) Hæc præfationis particula sumpta est ex de-  
creto Gelasiano de apocryphis, in quo voces *nonnullas  
regulæ subnexas sunt* ad Nicænos canones fidei syn-  
bulo subjectos referuntur, ut ex lectione ipsius de-  
creti manifestum fiet.

(f) Nihil potius est in ea præfatione, quod eam

a) Vide observationes cap. 2, n. 2.

(b) In præfatione collectoris non notatur quidem  
consulatus Constantini et Licinii, qui signatur in  
editione Justelliana versionis prisce. At idem consu-  
latus in nostra collectione inseritur in alia præfatiuncula  
seu annotatione Nicænis canonibus præfixa, in  
quam vide not. 43, ubi hujus erronei consulatus rati-  
onem expiscari studuimus.

(c) In verbis ex præfatione a Quesnello recitatis,  
Licinius non imperator vocatur, sed Cæsar tantum;  
ac propterea de Licinio Augusto hic locus intelligi  
nequit. De Licinio autem Cesare ejus filio, qui Ni-  
cænae synodi tempore vivebat, accipi quidem potest.  
At eum solum Licinium Cæsarem potius quam Cris-  
pum, aut alios Cæsares Constantini filios præfationis  
auctor appellavit, congrua ratio afferri non poterit.  
Istud unum nobis verosimile est, eundem auctorem,  
cum duplicem notationem chronicam in diversis col-  
lectionibus, quas adhibuit, reperisset, alteram præ-  
missam Nicæno symbolo cum consulatu Juliani et

Cujus symboli plenitudinem, si Eutyches puro et simplici voluisset corde concipere, &c.

7. Vocatur symbolum salutare et confessio, in epistola 97 (nunc 124), ad monachos Palæstinos, cap. 8. *Obliti, inquit, salutaris symboli et confessionis, quam pronuntiantes coram multis testibus sacramentum baptismi suscepistis.*

8. Euty hinc exprobrat in ep. 24 (nunc 28), ad Flavianum, cap. 1, quod ne ipsius quidem symboli initia comprehendit: et quod per totum mundum omnium regenerandorum voce deprecatur, istius adhuc senis corde non capitur. Et cap. 2: *Illam solum communem 911 et indiscretam confessionem sollicito recepisset audita; qua fidei uniuersitas proficitur, credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria Virgine. Quibus tribus sententiis omnium fere hæreticorum machinæ destruantur.*

9. Ex descriptis S. Leonis verbis ad monachos Palæstinos, ad Flavianum Constantinopolitanum, ad Pulcherium Augustam, et ad Egyptios in serm. 95 (nunc 96), manifestum est in ea fuisse pontificem sententia, omnes quotquot erant per orbem uniuersum Ecclesias eodem quo utebatur Romana symbolo apostolice pariter usas esse in traditione symboli a te baptismum: de quo vide doctissimum Vossium in dissert. 4 de tribus Symbolis, thesi 50, qui contrariam aplexus est opinionem. Nec enim de his plura dicere animus est. Ad libellos igitur fidei quos habet Codex Trausianus.

II. *Nicænum symbolum.* — Primus est, *Expositio fidei Nicænae*, quæ (a) in primo capitulo habetur. Est ex eadem omnino versione, ac ea quæ legitur in præsea illa Justelli canonum editione Latina, quam Dionysianæ atexit: diversa est autem ab altera quæ a S. Leone inserta est suæ ad Leonem Augustum epi-

stolæ 154 (nunc 165), cap. 5, et hinc Leoninæ conuenit *Professio fidei Nicæni concilii*, quæ habetur in Codice canonum Africano Græco-Latino quem Justellus edidit.

III. *Constant. symbolum.* — Secundum locum habet Constantinopolitanum symbolum quod describitur in 912 capitulo 25 inter acta concilii Chalcedonensis, cui subjungitur expositio Dominicæ incarnationis, ex versione magnam partem nondum ante edita, quam Chalcedonenses Patres condiderunt. De illo Constantinopolitano symbolo abunde Joannes Vossius in dissertatione tertia de Symbolis.

IV. *Libellus contra Pelagianos.* — (b) Libellum fidei non temere appellaueris scriptum illud quod habetur capitulo 18 Codicis, continetque duodecim capitula, quæ damnare compulsus est Pelagius, et oppositos totidem catholicæ doctrinæ articulos, quos amplecti se professus est, ut suum imminenti anathemati caput subtraheret. Antonius Augustinus in Epitome juris veteris lib. II, tit. 40, cap. 27, ut Pelagii dogma describeret, iisdem capitulis in compendium missis utitur, eaque refert tanquam ex concilio Carthaginensi aliquo, quod post epistolam S. Leonis 72 in veteri editione (Merliniana scilicet Isidori) excusum fuisse testatur; an ex conjectura tantum excerptum illud tribuat Carthaginensi synodo, an vero ita inscriptum alibi repererit, non apparet. Sed aliquid istiusmodi jam pridem argutus sum, cum ea capitula legere mihi contigit in mss. Grimánico, Victorino, Cisterciensi, et in utraque editione Merliniana Conciliorum Isidori Mercatoris anni 1525 et 1553, una cum epistola Aurelii Carthaginensis episcopi ad episcopos Byzacenæ et Arzugiitanæ provinciarum. Cum enim hæc epistola dictis capitulis juncta illic reperitur, procul dubio ad idem negotium pertinere necesse pene est existimare (c). Porro epistola illa Aure-

#### BALLERINIORUM ANNOTATIONES.

(a) Non solum in primo, sed etiam in secundo capitulo exhibetur hæc expositio fidei breuiario canonum Hipponensium inserta, quam a Quesnelo hoc secundo capite omissam, ex mss. exemplaribus hujus collectionis restitimus. Quæ autem legitur capite primo, non est omnino eadem ac in præsea versione, ut conferenti patebit. Quæ vero in breuiario profertur, et apud Dionysium in synodo Carthaginensi anni 419, est antiqua versio jam inde a Cæcilianii tempore ab Africanis recepta; cum qua cur etiam concibat interpretatio ejusdem symboli recepta a Romanis, uti legitur apud Leonem epist. 165, vide in Tractatu de Collectionibus part. II, c. 2, § 4, n. 5.

(b) Capitula Pelagio objecta in synodo Diospolitana cum totidem oppositis doctrinæ catholicæ capitulis, quæ capite 18 nostri codicis exhibentur, non esse libellum fidei ostendimus not. 52 (*Supra*, col. 977, not. \*) in dissertationem præcedentem. Pelagius quidem ipsa capitula sibi objecta in laudata synodo anathematizare compulsus est, ut in epigraphæ laudati capitis traditur. At oppositos totidem catholicæ doctrinæ articulos amplecti se professus dici nequit. Eos enim articulos Pelagii capitis Augustinus post Diospolitana synodum subiecit, cum ad Paulinum litteras dedit; ac ex Augustino tum ea capitula, tum articuli catholicæ doctrinæ excerpti fuere, quales in nostra collectione inueniuntur. Hinc Antonii Augustini conjectura, quæ ea capitula ac oppositos articulos retulisse traditur tanquam ex concilio Carthaginensi aliquo, evanescit. Certe nullum codicem cum inscriptione concilii Carthaginensis inuenit. Solum enim editionem Merlinianam allegat, in qua eadem capitula Aurelii epistolæ ad Byzacenos et Arzugiitanos subiecta, post epistolam 72 S. Leonis excusa leguntur. Merum diversorum collectorum arbitrium fuit hæc epistola et Aurelii epistolam simul jungere, quia ad eandem Pelagianorum causam pertinebant.

(c) Tota subsequens narratio somnio similissima est. Eandem profert quæ non solum nullo fundamentum

nulla auctoritate nituntur, verum etiam validis rationibus refutantur. Plurimos Africanos episcopos Zosimi definitioni et concilio Carthaginensi reluctatos fuisse nulum indicium est. Immo omnium episcoporum Africanorum zelum atque constantiam adversus Pelagianos satis testantur frequentissima synoda, quæ per idem tempus conuenerunt, ac illis accesserunt. Honorii autem legem non Afrorum, sed Italorum quorundam episcoporum causa potissimum editam, in quibus decem et octo Juliano præeunte litteris Zosimi repugnabant, eamque non ad unum Aurelium, sed eodem exemplo ad alios præcipuarum sedium antistites, ac præsertim ad Bonifacium Romanum pontificem directam ostendimus in obseruationibus ad dissertationem præcedentem § 10, n. 48. Subscriptio quam eadem lex, et Aurelius ex mandato ejusdem legis exegit, non memoratis capitulis, sed Tractoria Zosimi, quam refractarii episcopi non leuabant subsignare, adijcienda erat. Tenent tum imperator in lege, tum Aurelius in epistola ad Byzacenos et Arzugiitanos exigunt, ut præter errores ipsi hæretici condemnentur. Horum autem hæreticorum, qui expresse damnabantur in Tractoria, nulla est neque in memoratis capitulis, neque in oppositis articulis mentio. Quod si eos quoque episcopos qui in plenaria synodo Tractoriam Zosimi subscripserant, cum cæteris subscribere iussit Aurelius; non idcirco otiosa credenda est hæc iterata subscriptio. Aurelius enim imperatori responsurus, ut edicti executionem probaret, perdidit omnium subscriptiones ad eundem transmitti oportere, tum eorum qui in concilio sederant, tum eorum qui abfuerant. Leonem porro, qui ante medium annum 418 in Africam a Zosimo directus fuerat, ut Tractoriam afferret, ibidem immoratum suspicari etiam post Zosimi mortem usque ad kalendas Augusti anni sequentis, cum Aurelius post acceptam Honorii legem ad episcopos Africanos scripsit tam est incredibile quam quod maxime.

li 913 hac occasione scripta est. Postquam sententia Zosini adversus Pelagianos Romæ lata fuisset, et illinc ad Africanos episcopos transmissa a Romano pontifice opera Leonis nostri tunc acolythi, plurimique etiam episcopali honore fulgentes tum decretis sedis apostolicæ, quam concilio Carthaginiensi adhuc relictari, damnatumque dogma secretis disputationibus asserere non veriti sunt. Quæ de re monitus Honorius imperator statim ad Aurelium rescriptum misit notatum Monaxii et Plintæ consulatu, hoc est an. 419, quo quidem omnes episcopi ad subscribendum damnationi Pelagianorum cogentur, nisi episcopatu dejecti, Quælli civitatibus, et communione privari vellent. Quo accepto Aurelius scripsit episcopis provinciarum Byzacensæ et Arzugiænæ, misitque pariter imperatoris edictum, ejus lectione intelligenter quemadmodum unusquisque eorum subscribere deberet hæreticorum damnationi, sive quorum synodali bus gestis Carthag. concilii anni præcedentis subscriptio jam tenebatur, sive qui non poterant eidem plenario totius Africæ interesse concilio. Unde conjicimus hanc subscribendam formulam proposi tam ab Aurelio fuisse, quæ olim oblata fuerat Pelagio in concilio Diospolitano, et duodecim articulis continetur huic epistolæ subjectis. Quod Augustino auctore factum fuisse facile eredit, qui meminerit hanc subscriptionem quasi appendicem sui se ac supplementum Carthaginiensis concilii, cui dux Aurelius, ingeniuque Augustinus erat, ut de eo loquitur Prosper: totamque illius negotii molem Augustino incubuisse: qua de causa imperatorium illud edictum, non ad solum Aurelium destinatum fuit, sed etiam ad Augustinum. 914 Atque ut credam assumptam fuisse hanc formulam, suadet præterea necessitas subscribendi quæ illis etiam episcopis imposita est qui concilio posteriori Carthaginiensi interfuerant. Iterata enim subscriptio otiosa videretur, si iisdem capitulis quibus jam eorum plerique in synodo subscriperant, iterum subscribere cogentur. Ex his colliges quam ob causam in illis capitulis S. Leonis quos vidit Antonius Augustinus, capitula illa Carthaginiensi concilio tribuuntur: quia scilicet subscribenda proposita sunt ad corrigendam pervicaciam eorum præsertim episcoporum qui illi synodo restiterant: quia missa ad eosdem episcopos qui synodum conflagrant, et ejusdem, ut diximus, portio quædam ac complementum fuit. Inventa sunt autem tam epistola Aurelii quam articuli eidem subjecti inter S. Leonis scripta: unde factum est ut ejusdem operibus insererentur: quia cum in Africa, quo anno superiori jam mediam partem elapse profectus erat damnationem Pelagianorum perlaturus, forte adhuc tunc temporis moraretur, quando ad Aurelium pervenit imperatoris edictum, et Aurelii ad episcopos Africanos scripta directa sunt, cum capitulis subscribendis, eorundem exemplar secum Romam detulit, de totius negotii illius tam operosi sine ac successu ipsorum actuum inspectione certior facturus summum pontificem. Quibus capitulis et ipse, summus postmodum pontifex factus, uti potuit ad extinguendos compeccendosque Pelagianorum motus per ea tempora reviviscentis.

Venit enim in mentem propositam fuisse a sancto Leone (a) hanc fidei formulam cui subscribere Pelagianis communionem Ecclesiæ 915 recepturi: sive ea occasione de qua epist. 6 (nunc 1) ad Aquileien-

A sem episc. sive alia, assumptamque eo concilio fuisse ab illo partem epistolæ 106 S. Augustini ad Paulinum. Hæc a S. Leone fuisse proposita, ut suspicer facit, quod illa inter epistolas sancti hujus pontificis edita habentur in collectione Meruliani Conciliorum seu Isidori Mercatoris, Parisiis an. 1524 et 1535 typis excusa, et in mss. codd. epistolæ ejusdem, Victorino, Cisterciensi, et nostro Grimmanico, qui postremus cum satis accurate servet ordinem temporis quo unaquæque epistola scripta est, hoc lemma descriptum habet statim post epistolam ad Dioscorum vel hoc ipso anno 444, vel sequenti scriptam, quæque prima est in hoc ms. cod. Et licet compendiosior videatur iste libellus, quam ut callidissimorum hæreticorum confessioni sufficere propter posteriores Pelagii et Juliani errores recentioribus libris expressos; potuit tamen S. Leo existimare magis illum assumendum esse, quam novum condendum, 1º propter S. Augustini auctoritatem, a quo excerptus erat; 2º quia Pelagianorum an esigiano prop situs (im fuerat a Patribus Diospolitani, quos minime omnium infensus habuerat Pelagius: et postea episcopis Africanis ab Aurelio jussu imperatoris missa, ut mox dicemus; 3º quia Romano canonum Codici insertus habebatur inter cetera monumenta, quæ sibi propria fecerat sedes apostolica. Est enim in capitulo 48 cum eodem titulo, sequiturque epistolam Aurelii Carthaginiensis ad Africanos episcopos provinciarum Byzacensæ et Arzugiænæ; qua ad certam formulam adversus Pelagianos subscribendam eos compellat suo imperatorisque nomine. 4º Præcipua catholici dogmatis capita libello continentur: quibus si semel acquiescerent Pelagiani, aliis capitulis, quæ ex illis fluebant, non age erant assensuri. Quod et Augustinus ipse indicat in lib. de Hæresibus ad Quodvultdeum cap. 88. Pelagianorum hæresim iisdem fere capitulis damnatis a Pelagio coram synodo Diospolitana, circumscriptis; hæc statim subdens: *Obiciuntur eis, inquit, et alia nonnulla; sed ista sunt maxime, ex quibus intelliguntur etiam illa vel eneta vel fere cuncta pendere.*

Hæc capitula excusa reperies primum quidem apud S. Augustinum epist. 106 ad Paulinum, tum a Margaritho de la Bigne in utraque editione Conciliorum Isidori post epistolam Aurelii, quæ inter Leonis 72 ibi numeratur. Hæc etiam Gabriel Vasquez sub synodi Palestine nomine et pro genuinis 916 istius concilii actis edidit ad calcem tom. II, in 2-2 S. Thomæ, ex ms. cod. Antonii Aquinatis. Eadem suis Annalibus inseruit em. card. Baronius ad annum 417; num. 21, ex ms. cod. collectionis Cresconiane. Jacobus Simonius S. J. eadem quasi novum opusculum ex mss. codd. edidit curavit inter alia veterum auctorum opuscula anno 1670. Denique in Codice nostro Romano jacet post eandem Aurelii epistolam cap. 48.

V. Libellus fidei contra Arianos. — Quartum libellum habes in capitulo 57; ita inscribitur: *Expositio fidei catholice contra hæresim Arianam*. Quis porro hujus confessionis auctor sit, prorsus ignoro. Suspicio esse alicujus Luciferiani, tum quia hujus communionis homines hæresim Arianam pugnacissimè semper insectati sunt; tum quod, dum plurali numero effertur libellus: *Nox confitentur, etc.*, indicari videtur editum illum esse ab hominibus aliquo pecu-

#### BALERINIORUM ANNOTATIONES.

(a) Cum in capitulis Pelagio objectis, ac totidem oppositis Ecclesiæ dogmatibus nulli damentur hæretici, eadem profecto haberi nequeunt pro illa formula seu professione fidei quam S. Leo subscribendam proposuit Pelagianis in communionem recipiendis, quos *apertis professionibus* Pelagianæ hæresis auctores condemnare jussit. Quod porro ea capitula legantur in aliquo Leonis collectionibus, merum fuit collectorum arbitrium, ejus ratio reddi non potest. Duo exemplaria, Victorinum et Cisterciense, quæ al-

legantur, spectant ad collectionem posteriori avi 24, quæ capitula post Leonis epistolam una cum Aurelii litteris addita esse ex nostris ejusdem collectionis in manuscriptis perspeximus. Apud Merlinum describitur post epistolam ad Turribium, quæ in mss. lauda in collectionis 24 ultima recensetur. In codice autem Grimmanico leguntur post epistolam ad Dioscorum. Causam inquirere quæ Leonem attingat supervacaneum est. In aliis certe et pluribus et antiquioribus Leonis collectionibus nusquam apparent.

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