

PHILO

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

F. H. COLSON, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

IN NINE VOLUMES

VII



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perfection. Such parts are heaven and sun and moon and the planets and fixed stars ; then again earth and the living creatures or plants thereon, then the sea and rivers, whether spring-fed or winter courses, and all they contain : then the air and its phases, for winter and summer, spring and autumn, those seasons which recur annually and are so highly beneficial to our life, are different conditions in the air which changes for the preservation of sublunar things. And if thou givest 211 thanks for man, do not do so only for the whole genus but for its species and most essential parts, for men and women, for Greeks and barbarians, for dwellers on the mainland and those whose lot is cast in the islands. And if it is for a single person, divide the thanksgiving as reason directs, not into every tiny part of him down to the very last, but into those of primary importance, first of all into body and soul of which he is composed, then into speech and mind and sense. For thanks for each of these will by itself be not unworthy to obtain audience with God.

XXXIX. Enough has now been said on the whole 212 burnt-offering. We must now consider in its turn the preservation-offering.^a In this case it is a matter of indifference whether the victim is male or female. When it has been slain these three, the fat, the lobe ^b of the liver and the two kidneys, are set apart for the altar, while the rest serves as a feast to be enjoyed by the person who has offered the sacrifice. But why 213 these parts of the inwards are consecrated must be carefully considered, not neglecting the following point. In the course of my reflections I have often pondered deeply on this question also ; what could

- ρησα, τί δήποτε λοβὸν μὲν ἥπατος καὶ νεφροὺς καὶ
 στέαρ ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καταθυομένων ζώων ὑπεξείλετο
 ὁ νόμος, οὔτε δὲ καρδίαν οὔτε ἐγκέφαλον, τοῦ
 214 ἡγεμονικοῦ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τούτων ἐνδαιτωμένου. τὸ δ'
 αὐτὸ νομίζω καὶ ἄλλους οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν διανοίᾳ
 μᾶλλον ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ἐντυγ-
 χανόντων ἐπιζητήσιν· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπισκεψάμενοι
 πιθανωτέραν αἰτίαν εὗρωσιν, ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ ἡμᾶς
 ὠφελήσουσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν ἐπινοηθεῖσαν ὑφ' ἡμῶν
 ἐπικρινάτωσαν, εἰ δόκιμος. ἔστι δὲ ἡδε· τὸ ἡγε-
 μονικὸν μόνον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀφροσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν
 καὶ δειλίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κακίας δέχεται¹ τε καὶ
 [244] χωρεῖ· τούτου δὲ οἶκος τὸ ἕτερον τῶν λεχθέντων
 215 ἔστιν, | ἐγκέφαλος ἢ καρδία. ἐδικαίωσεν οὖν ὁ
 ἱερὸς λόγος τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βωμῷ, δι' οὗ πάντων
 ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ἀπολύσεις γί-
 νονται καὶ παντελεῖς ἀφέσεις, μὴ προσφέρειν
 ἀγγεῖον, ἐν ᾧ ποτε φωλεύσας ὁ νοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδικίας
 καὶ ἀσεβείας ἀνοδίαν ἐχώρησεν ἐκτραπόμενος τὴν
 ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ καλοκάγαθίαν ἄγουσαν ὁδόν· εὐηθες
 γὰρ τὰς θυσίας ὑπόμνησιν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀλλὰ μὴ
 λήθην αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν. τοῦτ' αἴτιον εἶναι μοι
 δοκεῖ τοῦ μηδέτερον τῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων,
 ἐγκέφαλον ἢ καρδίαν, προσφέρεισθαι.
- 216 Ἄ δὲ διείρηται, λόγον ἔχει προσήκοντα· τὸ μὲν
 στέαρ, ὅτι καὶ πιότατον καὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνων φυ-
 λακτήριον—ἐπαμπίσχει γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ πιαίνει καὶ
 τῇ μαλακότητι τῆς ἐπαφῆς ὠφελεῖ—, οἱ δὲ νεφροὶ

¹ MSS. δύναται.

^a See the very similar passage in *De Sac.* 136, and the note there on the question whether τὸ ἡγεμονικόν resided in the brain or in the heart.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 213-216

be the reason why the law, when setting apart the lobe of the liver and the kidneys and the fat as a tribute reserved from the animals sacrificed, did not include either the heart or the brains, since the dominant principle resides in one or other of them.^a And I²¹⁴ expect the same question will present itself to not a few of those who read the holy scriptures with their understanding rather than with their eyes. If such persons after examination find a more convincing reason, they will benefit both themselves and me; if not I beg them to consider whether that which has commended itself to my mind will stand the test. It is as follows. The dominant principle is the only part of us which admits and retains folly and injustice and cowardice and the other vices, and the home of this principle is one or other of the two just mentioned, namely, the brain and the heart. The holy word,²¹⁵ therefore, thought good that the altar of God, by which is given absolution and complete remission of all sins and transgressions, should not be approached by the container in which mind had its lair when it came forth to tread the pathless wilds of injustice and impiety, turning away from the road which leads to virtue and noble conduct. For it would be foolish to have the sacrifices working remembrance instead of oblivion of sin. This seems to me the reason why neither of the parts which hold the pre-eminence, the brain or the heart, is brought to the altar.

As for the parts which are actually prescribed,²¹⁶ appropriate reasons can be given for the choice. The fat is the richest part and acts as a protection to the inwards, serving as a covering and a source of richness to them and benefiting them by the softness of its contact. The kidneys are chosen because of their

διὰ τοὺς παραστάτας καὶ τὰ γεννητικά, οἷς παρ-
 οικοῦντες ἀγαθῶν τρόπον γειτόνων βοηθοῦσι καὶ
 συμπράττουσιν, ὅπως ὁ τῆς φύσεως σπόρος εὐδοῇ,
 μηδενὸς τῶν πλησίον ἐμποδίζοντος—αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ
 αἱμοειδεῖς εἰσι δεξαμεναί, οἷς ἡ τῶν περιττωμάτων
 ὑγρὰ κάθαρσις ἀποκρίνεται, οἱ δὲ παραστάται
 πλησίον, δι' ὧν ἄρδεται ὁ σπόρος—, λοβὸς δ' ἡπατος
 τοῦ κυριωτάτου τῶν σπλάγχνων ἐστὶν ἀπαρχή, δι'
 οὗ τὴν τροφήν ἐξαιματοῦσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ ἐ-
 ποχετευομένην τῇ καρδίᾳ φέρεσθαι διὰ φλεβῶν εἰς τὴν
 217 τοῦ ὅλου σώματος διαμονήν. στόμαχος μὲν γὰρ
 παρακείμενος τῇ καταπόσει τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ὀδόντων
 τμηθεῖσαν πρότερον καὶ λεανθείσαν αὖθις τροφήν
 ὑποδέχεται καὶ προκατεργάζεται κοιλία· κοιλία δὲ
 παρὰ στομάχου λαμβάνουσα τὴν δευτέραν ὑπηρε-
 σίαν ἐπιτελεῖ, πρὸς ἣν ὑπὸ φύσεως ἐτάχθη, χύλωσιν
 ἀπεργαζομένη τῆς τροφῆς· αὐλοὶ δὲ δύο τῆς κοιλίας
 σωληνοειδεῖς ἐκπεφύκασιν εἰς ἡπαρ ἐπαντλοῦντες
 218 ταῖς διαπεφυκυαῖς ἐν αὐτῷ δεξαμεναῖς. ἔχει δὲ
 διττὴν δύναμιν ἡπαρ, διακριτικὴν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς
 ἐξαιμάτωσιν· ἡ μὲν οὖν διακριτικὴ πᾶν ὅσον ἀ-
 τέραμνον καὶ δυσκατέργαστον εἰς τὸ παρακείμενον
 χολῆς ἀγγεῖον ἀποκρίνει, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ
 διηθημένον τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν φλογμῷ τρέπει μὲν εἰς
 αἷμα ζωτικώτατον, ἀναθλίβει δ' εἰς καρδίαν, ἀφ' ἧς
 ὡς ἐλέχθη ταῖς φλεψὶν ἐποχετευόμενον διὰ παντὸς
 εἰλεῖται τοῦ σώματος γινόμενον αὐτῷ τροφή.

relation to the testicles and generative organs; situated beside them they give them neighbourly assistance, and co-operate in promoting the easy passage of nature's seed unimpeded by any of the adjacent parts. For the kidneys themselves are blood-coloured receptacles in which the moist off-scouring of the excrement is secreted, and contiguous to them are the testicles which create the stream of the semen. The lobe is a sample tribute from the most important of the inwards, the liver, by which the food is converted into blood and then being sluiced into the heart, is conveyed through the veins for the conservation of the whole body. For the 217 orifice of the stomach being adjacent to the gullet receives the food which has been first bitten off by the teeth and afterwards masticated, and by its action prepares it for the stomach itself. This receives it from the orifice and performs the second office to which it has been appointed by nature, by turning it into juice. And from the stomach there are two pipe-shaped channels extending to the liver and draining the food into the receptacles which lie at intervals therein. Now the liver has two properties: 218 it acts both as a sifter and a creator of blood. As a sifter it secretes all the hard and callous stuff into the adjacent bile-vessel, while in its other capacity by means of the heat which it contains it turns the pure liquid which has been strained off into blood full of life-giving powers, then presses this blood into the heart, whence, as we have said, it is sluiced into the veins, and coursing through the whole body becomes

- 219 πρόσσεστι δὲ κακείμενο τοῖς εἰρημένοις·
 τὴν τοῦ ἥπατος φύσιν μετέωρον καὶ λειοτάτην
 οὖσαν [καὶ] διὰ λειότητα φανοτάτου κατόπτρου
 λόγον ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν, ἵν' ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἡμερινῶν
 φροντίδων ἀναχωρήσας ὁ νοῦς, ὕπνῳ μὲν παρ-
 [245] | ἰσταμένης ἐμποδῶν, ἀνακυκλεῖν αὐτὸν ἄρξῃται καὶ
 τὰ νοήματα καθαρῶς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, οἷα εἰς
 κάτοπτρον ἀποβλέπων τὸ ἥπαρ ἕκαστα εἰλικρινῶς
 καταθεᾷται τῶν νοητῶν καὶ περιβλεπόμενος ἐν
 κύκλῳ τὰ εἶδωλα, μὴ τι πρόσσεστιν αἰσχος, [ἵνα] τὸ
 μὲν φύγῃ, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἔλθῃται, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς
 φαντασίαις εὐαρεστήσας προφητεῦν διὰ τῶν ὀνεί-
 ρων τὰ μέλλοντα.
- 220 XL. Δυσὶ δὲ μόναῖς ἡμέραις ἐπιτρέπει τὴν χρῆσιν
 τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲν εἰς τὴν
 τρίτην ἀπολείποντας, πολλῶν χάριν· ἐνὸς μὲν ὅτι τὰ
 τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης πάντα καιρίως δεῖ προσφέρε-
 σθαι σπουδῇ ποιουμένους, ὥς μὴ μεταβάλλῃ μήκει
 χρόνου· κρεῶν δὲ ἐώλων εὖσηπτος ἢ φύσις, καὶ
 221 ἡδύσμασι παραρτυθῇ. ἑτέρου δ' ὅτι τὰς θυσίας

^a This section is based on Plato, *Timaeus* 71 (see Archer-Hind's translation), and certainly reproduces the main idea of that curious passage, that the liver acts as a mirror "which receives outlines of the thoughts from the brain and exhibits reflections from them," sometimes of a bitter nature, while sometimes "the part of the soul settled about the liver is enabled to secure a sober amusement at night, enjoying divination during sleep in recompense for its deprivation of intelligence and wisdom." Whether Philo has otherwise understood Plato correctly I do not presume to say.

^b I do not understand what Philo means by μετέωρος ("high up"). Plato's description of the liver is that God set it in the dwelling-place of the lusting (ἐπιθυμητικόν) part of the soul and made it "dense and smooth and bright, with a share of

its sustenance. ^aThere is another point to 219
 be added to these statements. The liver has been
 made so as to lie high ^b and be exceedingly smooth,
 and in virtue of its smoothness it plays the part of a
 mirror of the utmost brightness. In consequence
 when the mind withdrawing from its daytime cares,
 with the body paralyzed in sleep and the obstruction
 of every sense removed, begins to turn itself about and
 concentrate upon the pure observation of its concepts,
 it looks into the liver as into a mirror where it gains
 a lucid view of all that mind can perceive and, while
 its gaze travels round the images to see whether they
 contain any ugly defect, it eschews all such and selects
 their opposites, and so, well satisfied ^c with all the
 visions presented to it, prophesies future events
 through the medium of dreams.

XL. ^dTwo days only are allowed for the use of the 220
 preservation-offering as food, and nothing is to be left
 over till the third day. This for several reasons.
 One is, that all the meats of the sacred table must be
 eaten without undue delay, care being taken that
 they should not deteriorate through lapse of time.
 It is the nature of stale flesh to decay rapidly, even
 though seasoned with spices as preservatives. Another 221

bitterness." Some stress is laid on its position, but there is
 nothing corresponding to *μετέωρος*. Can the word mean
 here "with changing moods," "temperamental," and refer
 to the mixture of sweetness and bitterness ascribed to it by
 Plato?

^e So Mangey and Heinemann for *εὐαρεστήσας*. This use
 of the verb, however, seems later. Its common meaning is
 "well-pleasing to," and so apparently always elsewhere in
 Philo (*εὐαρεστητέον* in *De Praem.* 34 may be the verbal of
εὐαρεστοῦμαι). This regular meaning is perhaps not altogether
 impossible here, "it has become a satisfactory medium for all
 the (good) visions."

^f See Lev. xix. 5, 6.

ἀταμιεύτους εἶναι προσήκει καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς μέσον
 προκείσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις· εἰσὶ γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ
 τεθυκότος, ἀλλ' ὧ τέθυται τὸ ἱερεῖον, ὃς εὐεργέτης
 καὶ φιλόδωρος ὢν κοινωνὸν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ
 ὁμοτράπεζον τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν τὴν θυσίαν ἐπι-
 τελούντων, οἷς παραγγέλλει μὴ νομίζειν ἐστιᾶν·
 ἐπίτροποι γὰρ εὐωχίας εἰσὶν, οὐχ ἐστιάτορες, ὁ δ'
 ἐστιάτωρ ἐστὶν οὗ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι καὶ τὴν παρα-
 σκευήν, ἣν οὐ θέμις ἀποκρύπτειν φειδωλίαν, ἀν-
 ελεύθερον κακίαν, φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀρετῆς εὐγενοῦς,
 222 προκρίνοντας. τελευταίου δ' ὅτι τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου
 θυσίαν ὑπὲρ δυεῖν προσάγεσθαι συμβέβηκε, ψυχῆς
 τε καὶ σώματος, ὧν ἑκατέρῳ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀπένειμεν
 εἰς εὐωχίαν τῶν κρεῶν· ἤρμωτε γὰρ ἰσάριθμον
 χρόνον ὀρισθῆναι τοῖς πεφυκόσι σώζεσθαι τῶν ἐν
 ἡμῖν, ὡς τῇ μὲν προτεραίᾳ λαμβάνειν ἅμα τῇ
 βρώσει τῆς ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας ὑπόμνησιν, τῇ δ'
 223 ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα υἱείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον
 οὐδὲν ἦν ὃ κυρίως πέφυκε σωτηρίαν ἐνδέχεσθαι, τὴν
 εἰς τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν χρήσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπηγό-
 ρευσε προστάξας, εἰ καὶ τύχοι τι κατ' ἄγνοιαν ἢ
 λήθην ἀπολειφθέν, εὐθὺς ἀναλίσκεσθαι πυρί. τὸν
 δὲ γευσάμενον αὐτὸ μόνον ἔνοχον ἀποφαίνει καὶ
 φησιν αὐτῷ· τεθυκέναι νομίζων, ὧ καταγέλαστε, οὐ
 τέθυκας· οὐ προσηκάμην¹ ἀθύτων, ἀνιέρων, βε-

¹ προσηκάμην followed by a genitive is irregular, and Cohn proposes some insertion, e.g. *θοῖνῃν*.

^a See Lev. xix. 7, 8. Philo's close following of the text should be noticed, *lxx* ἐὰν δὲ βρώσει βρωθῇ . . . ἄθυτόν (E.V. "abomination") ἐστίν, οὐ δεχθήσεται. His γευσάμενον αὐτὸ μόνον interprets βρώσει βρωθῇ ("be eaten at all"), though else-
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reason is, that the sacrificial meals should not be hoarded, but be free and open to all who have need, for they are now the property not of him by whom but of Him to Whom the victim has been sacrificed, He the benefactor, the bountiful, Who has made the convivial company of those who carry out the sacrifices partners of the altar whose board they share. And He bids them not think of themselves as the entertainers, for they are the stewards of the good cheer, not the hosts. The Host is He to Whom the material provided for the feast has come to belong, and this must not be stowed away out of sight, and niggardliness, the vice of the slave, preferred to kindness, the virtue of gentle birth. The final reason is, that the preservation-offering is in fact made in behalf of two, namely soul and body, to each of which he assigned one day for feasting on the flesh. For it was meet that an equal space of time should be appointed for those elements of our nature which are capable of being preserved, so that on the first day as we eat we obtain a reminder of the soul's preservation, on the morrow of the body's good health. And since there is no third thing which, properly speaking, could be the subject of preservation, he strictly forbade the use of the oblation as food on the third day, and commanded that if anything was left over through ignorance or inadvertence, it should immediately be consumed by fire. ^a Even him who had tasted it and nothing more he declares to be guilty. "Poor fool," he says to him, "thou thinkest to have sacrificed, though thou hast not done so. Sacrilegious, unholy, profane, impure, is the meat which thou hast dressed.

where he does not seem to understand the Hebrew idiom thus rendered in Greek.

βήλων, ἀκαθάρτων, ὧν ἤψηκας κρεῶν, ὧ γαστρί-
μαργε, θυσιῶν οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπησθημένους.

- 224 XLI. Τῆς δὲ τοῦ σωτηρίου θυσίας ἐν εἵδει περι-
λαμβάνεται ἡ λεγομένη τῆς αἰνέσεως, ἥτις λόγον
ἔχει τοιόνδε· ὁ μηδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀβουλήτω
περιπεσών, μήτε κατὰ σῶμα μήτε κατὰ τὰ ἐκτός,
ἀλλ' ἀπολέμῳ καὶ εἰρηνικῶ βίῳ χρώμενος ἐν
εὐπαθείαις τε καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἐξεταζόμενος, ἀπῆμων
καὶ ἄπταιστος ὢν καὶ τὸ μακρὸν τοῦ βίου πέλαγος
εὐθύνων ἐν εὐδία καὶ γαλήνῃ πραγμάτων, ἐπι-
[246] πνεούσης αἰεὶ κατ' οἰάκων εὐπραγίας, | ἀναγκαίως
ὀφείλει τὸν κυβερνήτην θεὸν καὶ ἄνοσον μὲν σωτη-
ρίαν ἀζημίους δ' ὠφελείας καὶ συνόλως ἀμιγῇ
κακῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ δωρούμενον ὕμνοις τε καὶ εὐδαι-
μονισμοῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς θυσίαις τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
εὐχαριστίαις εὐαγῶς ἀμείβεσθαι· ἃ δὴ πάντα ἀθρόα
225 συλλήβδην ἐν ὄνομα τὸ αἰνέσεως ἔλαχε. ταύτην
τὴν θυσίαν οὐχ ὥσπερ τὴν προτέραν τοῦ σωτηρίου
δυσὶν ἡμέρας ἀναλίσκεσθαι προστάττει, μιᾷ δ' αὐτὸ
μόνον, ἵν' οἱ ἐπιτυχόντες ἐτοίμων καὶ προχείρων
εὐεργεσιῶν ἐτοίμην καὶ ἀνυπέρθετον ποιῶνται τὴν
μετάδοσιν.

- 226 XLII. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. τὴν δὲ τρίτην
ἐξῆς ἐπισκεπτέον, ἣ καλεῖται περὶ ἁμαρτίας. αὕτη
τέτμηται πολλαχῇ, καὶ τοῖς προσώποις καὶ τοῖς
τῶν ἱερείων εἵδεσι, προσώποις μὲν ἀρχιερέως καὶ

^a See Lev. vii. 2 f. (E.V. 12 f.). It is embraced in the preservation-offering because it is called *θυσία αἰνέσεως σωτηρίου* (E.V. "the sacrifice of his peace-offerings for thanksgiving").

THE SPECIAL LAWS, I. 223-226

I accept it not, base glutton, who even in thy dreams hast caught no glimpse of what sacrifice means."

XLI. Under the head of the preservation-offering 224 is embraced what is called the praise-offering.^a The principle of this is as follows. He who has never at all met with any untoward happening, either of soul or body or things external, who lives a life of peace undisturbed by war, placed in an environment of every comfort and good fortune, free from disaster and cause of stumbling, sailing in straight course over the long sea of life amid the sunshine and calm of happy circumstances, with the breeze of prosperity ever behind the helm, has as his bounden duty to requite God his pilot, Who gives him safety untouched by disease, benefits carrying no penalty and in general good unmixed with evil—requite Him, I say, with hymns and benedictions and prayers and sacrifices and the other expressions of gratitude as religion demands. All these collected and summed up have obtained the single name of praise. ^b For the con- 225 sumption of this sacrifice one day only is allowed, not two as in the former case of the preservation-offering, that those into whose hands benefits have fallen so readily should make repayment with readiness and without delay.

XLII. So much for these. We must next examine 226 the third kind of sacrifice which bears the name of sin-offering. ^c Here we have several divisions, both according to the persons concerned and the kinds of victims. As to persons, the high priest is distin-

^b See Lev. vii. 5 (E.V. 15).

^c See Lev. iv. for the high priest (E.V. "anointed priest"), v. 3; for the nation, v. 13; for the ruler, v. 22; for the commoner, v. 27.

VENERABILIS

B E D Æ 673-735 A.D.

OPERA QUÆ SUPERSUNT OMNIA,

NUNC PRIMUM IN ANGLIA,
OPE CODICUM MANUSCRIPTORUM,
EDITIONUMQUE OPTIMARUM

EDIDIT J. A. GILES, LL.D.,
ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ PRESBYTER,
ET COLL. CORP. CHR. OXON. OLIM SOCIUS.

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OPUSCULA SCIENTIFICA, ET APPENDIX.

LONDINI:
VENEUNT APUD WHITTAKER ET SOCIOS.

MDCCCXLIII.

adjiciens, Januarium a Jano, Februarium a Februo deo lustrationum nominando, CCCLIV diebus annum ad cursum lunæ disposuit, quem Julius Cæsar undecim diebus adjectis, sicut hodie servatur, instituit.

CAPUT VII.

DE SOLSTITIO ET ÆQUINOCTIO.

SOLSTITIA et æquinoctia bina putantur, VIII Calend. Januarii et Julii, Aprilisque et Octobris, octavis scilicet in partibus Capricorni, Cancri, Arietis, et Libræ. Sed æquinoctialis dies omni mundo æqualis est. Vario autem lucis incremento in Meroe longissimus dies XII horas æquinoctiales, et octo partes unius horæ colligit: Alexandria vero XIV horas in Italia XV in Britannia XVII. Ubi æstate lucidæ noctes haud dubie testantur, id quod cogit ratio credi: solstitii diebus accedente sole proprius verticem mundi, angusto lucis ambitu subjecta terræ continuos dies habere senis mensibus, noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto, quod fieri in insula Thule Pythias Massiliensis scribit, sex dierum navigatione in Septentriones a Britannia distante.

CAPUT VIII.

DE TEMPORIBUS.

TEMPORA sunt vices mutationum, quibus sol accedendo vel recedendo anni temperat orbem. Hyems enim illo longius morante, frigida est et humida: ver, illo redeunte, humidum et calidum: æstas vero, illo superfervente, calida et sicca: autumnus, illo decedente, siccus et frigidus. Hæc autem antiqui septimo die ante Idus Februarias, et Maïas, Augustasque et Novembres inchoabant, ut solstitia et æquinoctia in medio essent temporum. Ver autem orienti comparatur, quia tunc ex terris omnia oriuntur: æstas meridiano, eo quod pars ejus calore fragrantior sit: au-

tumnus occiduo, eo quod ob confinium caloris et frigoris graves morbos habeat: hyems septentrioni, eo quod frigore torpeat.

CAPUT IX.

DE ANNIS.

ANNUS solaris vel civilis est, dum sol CCCLXV diebus et quadrante Zodiacum peragit, quem Romani a bruma, Hebræi ab æquinocio verno, Græci a solstitio, Ægyptii inchoant ab autumno. Annus lunaris communis XII lunis, id est, diebus CCCLIV. Embolismus tredecim lunis, et diebus trecentis octuaginta quatuor implentur, a luna paschali sumentes initium. Annus magnus est, dum omnia sidera certis cursibus exactis ad locum suum revertuntur, quem sexcentis annis solaribus Josephus dicit impleri.

CAPUT X.

DE BISSEXTO.

BISSEXTUS ex quadrantis ratione per quadriennium conficitur, dum sol ad id signum, ex quo egressus est, non in CCCLXV diebus, sed quarta diei parte superadjecta revertitur. Verbi gratia: si nunc æquinoc-tialem cœli locum sol oriens intraverit, in hunc anno sequenti meridie, tertio vespere, quarto medio noctis, quinto rursum in exortu recurrens, necessario diem præmonet augendum: ne si forte non addatur, per CCCLXV annos æquinoc-tium vernale brumali die proveniat. Quem Ægyptii anno suo expleto, id est, IV Calendarum Septembrium, Romani VI Calendarum Martiarum, unde et nomen accepit, interponunt. Breviori autem et vulgari ratione bissextum retardatio generat solis, non ad eandem lineam per CCCLXV dies plene redeuntis: quem si, verbi gratia, in æquinoc-tio vernali, quod juxta Ægyptios XII Calendarum Aprilium die provenit, surgentem a medio orientis diligenter adnotaveris, hunc anno sequenti, die vide-

Aprilium usque in VII. Calendas Maias, ob rationem embolismorum licenter extendi. Ultimo ordine luna festi paschalis a XV usque in XXI propter diem dominicum variata: adimit enim saltus noctem, addit vero ætatem, quæ per omnem cyclum adolevit. Sed in hoc nox adimitur, quod ante luna deficit, quod putatur, naturaliter vero nox ipsa perseverat, quæ nox initium est futuri anni, et cycli incipientis exordium: propter quod idem ultimus annus Epactas XVIII tunc retinens, primo anno non XI ut in cæteris annis fieri solet, sed XII dies accommodat. Et quia XXX dierum fine revolvuntur, nulla Epacta in principio cycli ponitur.

CAPUT XIV.

ARGUMENTA TITULORUM PASCHALIUM.

Si nosse vis quot sunt anni ab incarnatione Domini, scito quot fuerint ordines Indictionum, ut puta quinto anno Tiberii principis XLVI hos per XV multiplica, fiunt DCXC. Adde semper regulares XII quia quarta Indictione secundum Dionysium, Dominus natus est, et Indictionem anni cujus volueris, utpote in præsentī unam, fiunt DCCIII. Isti sunt anni nativitatī Domini. Si vis scire quota sit Indictio, sume annos Domini, et adjice tria, partire per XV et quod remanserit, ipsa est indictio anni præsentis. Si vis scire quot sint Epactæ lunares, partire annos Domini per XIX et quod remanserit, multiplica per XI, item partire per triginta, et remanent Epactæ. Si vis scire concurrentes septimanæ dies, sume annos Domini, et eorundem quartam partem adjice. His quoque quatuor adde, quinque concurrentes fuerunt anno nativitatī Domini, hos partire per septem, et remanent Epactæ solis. Si vis scire quotus sit annus circuli decennovenalis, sume annos Domini, et unum adjiciens, quia ejusdem anno secundo natus est Dominus, partire per XIX et quod remanserit, ipse est annus cycli

decennovenalis. Si vis scire quotus cyclus lunaris est, sume annos Domini, et duo subtrahens divide per XIX et quod remanserit ipse est annus circuli lunaris. Si vis nosse bissextilem annum, partire annos Domini per IV, quantum remanserit, tot sunt anni a bissexto. His ergo ad certum inventis, facile diem paschæ lunamque reperies. Quod si a præsentī post aliquot annos, verbi gratia post C, pascha scire velis, Epactas tamen, et concurrentes solis dies invenire sufficit, partire autem centum per XIX et remanent V. Illas ergo scito Epactas centesimo quinto anno futuras. Eodem modo centum per XXVIII dividens, eas centesimo, quas XVI anno concurrentes solis invenies.

CAPUT XV.

DE SACRAMENTO TEMPORIS PASCHALIS.

IDEO autem pascha non ad eundem redit anni diem, sicut tempus Dominicæ nativitatis, quod ibi nativitatis ipsius memoria tantum solennis habeatur: hic vero vitæ venturæ et mysteria celebrentur, et munera capi-^{bread and wi}
antur: unde et nomen ipsum Paschæ transitum de morte ad vitam significans, congruum quoque mysteriis tempus inquit. Primo ut, æquinoctio transcenso, tenebræ mortis a vera luce vincantur. Deinde, ut primo mense anni, qui dicitur mensis Novorum, vitæ novæ gaudia celebrentur. Tertio, ut resurrectio die tertio facta, et tertio tempore seculi, id est, sub gratia manifesta, cum jam ante legem, et sub lege in prophetico lateret ænigmate, in tertia lunæ septimana veneretur, cum et ipsa tunc lunæ conversio mentis gloriam de terrenis ad cœlestem doceat mutari con-
tuitum. Atque ad ultimum, ut dies Dominica conditione lucis insignis, et triumpho Christi veneranda, nostra quoque resurrectione nobis exoptabilis in memoriam revocetur.

endo significans, vel imperitos quosque quasi divinando deludens. Cujus ordo ludi vel loquelæ talis est: Quum primam alphabeti literam intimare cupis, unum manu teneto: Quum secundam duo: Quum tertiam, tria: Et sic ex ordine cæteras.

Verbi gratia: Si amicum inter insidiatores positum, ut caute rem agat, admonere desideras: III, et I, et XX, et XIX, et V, et I, et VII, et V, digitis ostende. Hujus namque ordinis literæ, Caute age, significant. Potest et ita scribi, si causa secretior exigat; Sed hæc Græcorum computo literisque facilius disci simul atque agi possunt, qui non ut Latini, paucis iisdemque geminatis suos numeros solent exprimere literis, verum toto alphabeti sui caractere in numerorum figuras expenso, tres qui plus sunt numeros votis singulis depingunt, eundem pene numeri figurandi, quem scribendi alphabeti ordinem sequentes, hoc modo:

A	I	Ξ	LX
B	II	Ο	LXX
Γ	III	Π	LXXX
Δ	IV	Λ	XC
E	V	P	C
ς	VI	Σ	CC
Z	VII	T	CCC
H	VIII	Υ	CCCC
Θ	IX	Ψ	D
I	X	X	DC
K	XX	Φ	DCC
Λ	XXX	Ω	DCCC
M	XL	Ϡ	DCCCC
N	L		

Qui et ideo mox ut numeros digitis significare didicerint, nulla interstante mora, literis quoque pariter iisdem præfigere sciunt. Verum hæc hactenus. Nunc ad tempora, quantum ipse temporum conditor ordinatorque Dominus adjuvare dignabitur, exponenda veniamus.

CAPUT II.

DE TRIMODA TEMPORUM RATIONE.

TEMPORA igitur a temperando nomen accipiunt, sive quod unumquodque illorum spatium separatim temperatum sit: seu quod momentis, horis, diebus, mensibus, annis, seculisque et ætatibus omnia mortalis vitæ curricula temperentur. De quibus singulis, prout Dominus dederit, exposituri, primo Lectorem admonemus, trimoda ratione computum temporis esse discretum. Aut enim natura, aut consuetudine, aut certe auctoritate decurrit. Et ipsa quidem auctoritate bifarie divisa: humana videlicet, ut Olympiadas quatuor annorum, nundinas novem dierum, indictiones XV annorum ambitu celebrari. Diem quoque, qui ex quadrantibus conficitur, mense Febuario vel Augusto intercalari Græci, Ægyptii, Romanique pro suo quique captu jusserunt. Divina autem, ut septima die sabbatum agi, septimo anno a rurali opere vacari, quinquagesimum annum jubileum vocari Dominus in lege præcepit. Nam etsi barbaræ gentes hebdomadas habere probentur, a populo tamen Dei mutasse non latet. Consuetudine vero humana firmatum est, ut mensis XXX diebus computaretur, cum hoc nec solis, nec lunæ cursui conveniat. Siquidem lunam duodecim horis minus, salva ratione saltus: solem vero decem horis et dimidia plus habere, qui solertius exquisiere testantur. Porro natura duce repertum est, solis annum CCCLXV diebus, et quadrante confici: lunæ vero annum, si communis sit, CCCLIV. Si embolismus, CCCLXXXIV diebus terminari, totumque lunæ cursum decennovenali circulo comprehendendi. Sed et errantia sidera suis quæque spatiis zodiaco circumferri, quæ natura non juxta ethnicorum dementiam dea creatrix una de pluribus, sed ab uno vero deo creata est, quando sideribus cœlo inditis præcepit, ut sint in signa, et tempora, et dies et annos.

quærentes, VIII Calendarum Aprilium: alii XII Calendarum supradictarum die magis adnotandum putarunt, uno utrique, hoc est, æquinoclii argumento nitentes, quasi rationi congruat, ut quia Deus æquis in principio partibus lucem tenebrasque dividerit, ibi præcipue tunc caput mundi, ubi nunc æquinoclium fieri credatur: bene quidem inquirentes, sed non plene quæ dicerent providentes, multo utique peritius acturi, si tempus æquinoclii non primo diei quo lux, sed quarto quo luminaria sunt facta, potius adsignarent, ibi namque temporis initium statuit, qui luminaribus conditis dixit, Ut sint in signa, et tempora, et dies, et annos. Nam præcedens triduum, ut omnibus visum est, absque ullis horarum dimensionibus, utpote necdum factis sideribus, æquali lance lumen tenebrasque pendebat: et quarto demum mane sol a medio procedens orientis, horis umbratim suas per lineas currentibus, æquinoclium quod annuatim servaretur inchoavit: positus videlicet cum primo terris oriretur in eo cœli loco, quem philosophi quartam partem Arietis appellant, eundemque peracto annuo circuitu, post dies CCCLXV et sex horas repetiturus, cujus argumento quadrantis efficitur, ut ipse vernalis æquinoclii punctus modo mane, modo meridie, modo vespere, modo medio noctis occurrat: luna e contrario vespere plenissima; neque enim quid imperfectum creator æquissimus instituit, stellis una fulgentibus, ac medio apparens orientis, quartam partem libræ, qua æquinoclium autumnale adseverant, tenuit, initiumque paschæ suo consecravit exortu. Neque enim alia servandæ paschæ regula est, quam ut æquinoclium vernale plenilunio succedente perficiatur: at si vel uno die plenitudo lunæ præcesserit æquinoclium, jam non primi mensis, sed ultimi luna putetur. Oportet enim, ut sicut tunc primo sol potestatem diei, deinde luna cum stellis potestatem noctis accepit, ita et nunc ad insinuandum nostræ redemptionis gaudium, primo dies noctem longitudine adæquet, ac deinde

luna plenissima eam luce perfundat, certi utique mysterii gratia: quia videlicet sol ille creatus omnium illuminator astrorum, æternam veramque lucem significat, quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. Luna autem et stellæ, quæ non proprio ut dicunt, sed adventitio, et a sole mutuato lumine fulgent, ipsum ecclesiæ corpus, et quosque viritim sanctos insinuant: qui illuminari, non illuminare valentes, cœlestis gratiæ munus accipere sciunt, dare nesciunt. At qui in celebratione maximæ solennitatis Christus ecclesiæ debuit anteponi, quæ non nisi per illum luceret. Nam si qui plenilunium paschale ante æquinocetium fieri posse contenderit, ostendat vel ecclesiam sanctam priusquam salvator in carne veniret, extitisse perfectam: vel quemlibet fidelium ante proventum gratiæ illius aliquid posse supernæ lucis habere. Neque enim sine ratione paschalis observantia temporis, qua mundi salutem et figurari et venire decebat, ita divinitus est procurata, ut neque prima die qua lux facta est: neque secunda, qua firmamentum: neque tertia, qua arida apparuit: neque mox quarta inchoante, qua sol æquinoctialis tanquam sponsus e thalamo processit, sed ad vesperam tandem oriente luna sortiretur exordium. Expectata est enim hora, quæ illuminationem ecclesiæ olim in Christo venturam designaret. Ut sicut in mysterio sacrificii cœlestis nec vinum solum, nec aquam solam offerri licet: ne videlicet ipsa oblatio vel Deo tantum, vel tantum homini conveniat: sed sanguinem, qui torculari crucis expressus est nostræ fragilitatis aqua temperamus: granum quoque frumenti, passionis mola contritum, aqua miscemus, ut juxta quod Apostolus ait, Adhærentes domino, unus cum eo spiritus effici valeamus. Ita etiam et in ejusdem sacrificii tempore observando, nec solis tantummodo cursum quæritemus, quasi Deum quidem credentes, sed ultra nostri curam sublimatum, juxta eos qui dicunt: nubes latibulum ejus: nec nostra considerat, et circa cardines cœli per-

ambulat. Nec item lunæ solius plenum captemus exortum, quasi juxta Pelagianos absque gratia superna beati esse non queamus: verum juxta eum qui dixit: Deus meus misericordia ejus præveniet me. In nostra Paschæ celebratione æquinocbialem solis exortum, cuncta videlicet tenebrarum offëndicula devincentis, plenilunio nostræ devotionis e vestigio sequente, dedicemus. Hanc Mosaicæ Paschæ rationem die propriæ resurrectionis perfecit, qui non venit solvere legem, sed adimplere. De quibus singulis suo loco consequentius, prout Dominus dederit, exponemus: nunc admonere contenti, XII Calendarum Aprilium die occursum æquinocbii, et ante triduum, hoc est, XV Calendarum earundem primum seculi diem esse notandum: cujus ad indicium primitus ibi reor antiquos initium Zodiaci circuli voluisse præfigere. Neque enim illa die vel Romanorum, vel Græcorum, vel certe Ægyptiorum mensis annus ve cujus hoc causa fieret, oritur: sed nec ab his gentibus, quamvis se Græci jactitent, verum ab antiquioribus Chaldæorum astrologia cœpit, a quibus Abraham patriarcha, ut Josephus testatur, edoctus, ut Deum cœli siderumque conversione cognovit, ipsam mox disciplinam veracius intellectam Ægyptiorum genti advexit, cum apud eos exularet. Nam et in libro beati Job, qui non longe post Abraham extitit, mazaroth, id est, signa horoscopi legimus. Igitur juxta Zodiaci quidem divisionem XV Calendarum Aprilium die, quando facta est lux, sol Arietis signum ingreditur. Juxta vero primæ suæ conditionis ordinem XII Calendarum supra scriptarum initium sui circuitus, et omnium simul temporum caput attollit juxta quod Anatolius Laodiciæ Antistes de æquinocbio scribens evidenter adstruit: In qua die, inquit, invenitur sol non solum conscendisse primam Signiferi partem, verum etiam quadrantem in ea die jam habere, id est, in prima, ex XII partibus. Hæc autem particula prima ex duodecim vernale est æquinocbium, et ipsa est initium mensium, et caput cir-

culi, et absolutio cursus stellarum, quæ planetæ, id est vagæ dicuntur, ac finis duodecimæ particulæ, et totius circuli terminus. Ubi et verissime intellexit, et elegantissime prompsit, non nisi in æquinocio vernali, quantum ad naturam, caput esse Signiferi, et ibi XII. signa, quæ ab illo particulæ nuncupantur, initium ibi habere et terminum, ibi quadrantem, quem bissextum dicimus, ibi saltum lunæ incipere ac finiri, ibi annum magnum, hoc est, planetarum cursum, exordium finemque sortiri.

CAPUT VII.

DE NOCTE.

Nox dicta, quod noceat aspectibus vel negotiis humanis: sive quod in ea fures latronesque nocendi aliis occasionem nanciscantur. Est autem nox absentia solis terrarum umbra conditi, donec ab occasu redeat ad exortum, juxta naturam ejus et Poeta describens:

Ruit, inquit, oceano nox,

Involvens umbra magna terramque, polumque.

Et Salomon sacris literis expressit: Qui pascitur inter lilia donec aspiret dies, et inclinentur umbræ. Eleganti utique sensu decessionem noctis inclinationem appellans umbrarum. Nam quoniam pro conditionibus plagarum, quibus solis cursus intenditur, et splendorem ejus a nobis objectio terrenæ molis excludit, inumbratio illa, quæ noctis natura est, ita erigitur, ut ad sidera usque videatur extendi, merito contraria vicissitudine, id est, lucis exortu umbras inclinari, noctem videlicet deprimi pellicque signavit: quam videlicet umbram noctis ad aeris usque et ætheris confinium philosophi dicunt exaltari, et acuminatis instar pyramidum tenebris lunam, quæ infima planetarum currit, aliquando contingi, atque obscurari, nullumque aliud sidus taliter eclipsim, id est, defectum sui luminis pati, eo quod circa fines telluris solis splendor undique diffusus, ea libere quæ tellure procul absunt aspiciat. Ideoque ætheris quæ ultra lunam sunt

Apocalypsi: Fui in spiritu in die dominico. Deinde secundam feriam, tertiam feriam, quartam, quintam, et sextam de suo adnectens, sabbatum ex vetere scriptura retinuit: nihil veritus grammaticorum regulas, qui sicut Calendas, Nonas, et Idus, ita etiam ferias plurali tantum numero proferendas esse decernunt. Tertia species hebdomadis in celebratione Pentecostes agitur: VII videlicet septimanis dierum et monade, hoc est, L diebus impleta. Qua die et Moyses ardentem conscendens in montem, legem de cœlo accepit, et Christus in linguis igneis spiritus sancti gratiam de cœlo misit. Quarta septimi mensis erat hebdomada, qui solennitatibus præclaris pene totus expendebatur. Inter quas præcipue dies propitiationis eminebat, qua sola per annum Pontifex derelicto foris populo sancta sanctorum intrabat, annuis antea fructibus, hoc est, frumenti, vini, et olei, ex ordine collectis: Significans, Jesum Pontificem magnum impleta dispensatione carnis, per proprium sanguinem cœlestis regni januas ingressurum, ut appareat nunc vultui Dei pro nobis, qui foris adhuc positi, præstolamur et diligimus adventum ejus. Ubi notandum, quia sicut quidam immundi per legem prima, tertia, et septima die jubebantur lustrari, sic et primus, tertius ac septimus mensis suis quique ceremoniis extitere solennes. Quinta hebdomada septimi anni, quo toto populus ab agricolandi opere legis imperio vacabat, dicente Domino: Sex annis seres agrum tuum, septimo cessabis. Sexta, anni jubilei, hoc est, remissionis hebdomada est, quæ septem hebdomadibus annorum, hoc est, XLIX annis textitur: qua expleta, hoc est, quinquagesimo demum anno incipiente, tubæ clarius resonabant, et ad omnes, juxta legem, possessio revertebatur antiqua.

CAPUT IX.

DE HEBDOMADIBUS LXX PROPHETICIS.

SEPTIMA species hebdomadis est, qua Propheta Daniel utitur, more quidem legis septenis annis singulas complectens hebdomadas, sed nova ratione ipsos annos abbrevians, duodenis videlicet mensibus lunæ singulos determinans. Embolismos vero menses, qui de annuis XI Epactarum diebus adcrecere solent, non lege patria tertio vel altero anno singulos adjiciens, sed ubi ad duodecimum numerum augescendo pervenirent, pro integro anno pariter inserens. Hoc autem fecit non veritatis cognitionem quærentibus invidendo, sed prophetiæ more ipsum quærentium exercendo ingenium: malens utique suas margaritas a filiis clausas fructuoso sudore investigari, quam profusas a porcis fastidiosa despectione calcari. Verum ut hæc apertius elucescant, ipsa jam angeli ad Prophetam dicta videamus: Septuaginta, inquit, hebdomades abbreviatæ sunt super populum tuum, et super urbem sanctam tuam, ut consummetur prævaricatio, et finem accipiat peccatum, et deleatur iniquitas, et adducatur justitia sempiterna, et impleatur visio et prophetia, et ungatur sanctus sanctorum. Nulli dubium quin hæc verba Christi incarnationem designent, qui tulit peccata mundi, legem et Prophetas implevit, unctus est oleo lætitiæ præ participibus suis, et quod hebdomades LXX per septenos annos distinctæ CCCC et XC annos insinuent. Sed notandum quod easdem hebdomadas non simpliciter adnotatas sive computatas, sed abbreviatas asserit: occulte videlicet lectorem commonens, ut breviores solito annos noverit indicatos. Scito ergo, inquit, et animadvertite ab exitu sermonis, ut iterum ædificetur Hierusalem, usque ad Christum ducem hebdomades VII, et hebdomades LXII erunt, et rursus ædificabitur platea et muri in angustia temporis. Esdra narrante, didicimus, quod

Neemias cum esset pincerna regis Artaxerxis, XX anno regni ejus, mense Nisam impetaverit ab eo restaurari muros Hierusalem, templo multo ante Cyro permittente constructo: ipsum quoque opus ut dictum est, in angustia temporis perfecerit, adeo scilicet a finitimis gentibus impugnatus, ut structores singuli gladio renes accincti una manu pugnasse, altera murum recuperasse narrentur. Ab hoc ergo tempore usque ad Christum ducem hebdomadas LXX computa, hoc est annos duodenorum mensium lunarium CCCXC qui sunt anni solares CCCCLXXV. Si quidem Persæ a præfato XX anno regis Artaxerxis, usque ad mortem Darii regnaverunt annis CXVI. Exhinc Macedones usque ad interitum Cleopatæ annis CCC. Inde Romani usque ad XVII Tiberii Cæsaris annum monarchiam tenuerunt annis LIX, qui sunt simul, ut diximus, anni CCCCLXXV. Et continentur circulis decennovenalibus XXV, decies novies enim viceni et quini fiunt CCCCLXXV. Et quia singulis circulis embolismi septem ad crescunt, multiplica XXV per VII, fiunt CLXXV qui sunt embolismi menses CCCCLXXV annorum. Si ergo vis scire quot annos lunares facere possint, partire CLXXV per XII, duodecies deni et quaterni CLXVIII, XIV ergo annos faciunt, et remanent menses VII, hos junge ad supra scriptos CCCCLXXV, fiunt simul CCCCLXXXIX: adde et menses superfluos VII partemque XVIII anni imperii Tiberii, quo Dominus passus est, et invenies a tempore præfinito ad ejus usque passionem LXX hebdomadas abbreviatas, hoc est, annos lunares CCCXC. Ad ejus vero baptismum, quando unctus est sanctus sanctorum, descendente super eum spiritu sancto sicut columba, non solum hebdomades VII et LXII fuisse completas, sed et partem jam septuagesimæ hebdomadis inchoatam. Et post hebdomadas, inquit, LXII occidetur Christus, et non erit ejus populus qui eum negaturus est. Non

statim post sexaginta duas hebdomadas, sed in fine septuagesimæ hebdomadis occisus est Christus: quam ideo, quantum conjicere possumus, segregavit a cæteris, quia de hac erat plura relaturus. Nam et Christus in illa crucifixus, et a populo perfido non modo in passione, verum continuo, ex quo a Joanne prædicari cœpit, negatus est. Quod autem sequitur: Et civitatem et sanctuarium dissipabit populus cum duce venturo, et finis ejus vastitas, et post finem belli statuta desolatio: non ad septuaginta hebdomadas pertinet: prædictum enim fuerat, quod ipsæ hebdomades ad Christi usque ducatum pertingerent, sed scriptura prædicto adventu et passionis ipsius, quid etiam post hanc populo qui eum recipere nolle, esset eventurum ostendit. Ducem enim venturum Titum dicit, qui quadragesimo anno Dominicæ passionis ita cum populo Romano, et civitatem et sanctuarium dissipavit, ut non remaneret lapis super lapidem. Verum iis per anticipationem prælibatis, mox ad exponendum hebdomadæ, quam omiserat, rediit eventum. Confirmavit autem pactum multis hebdomas una. Hoc est in ipsa novissima, in qua vel Joannes Baptista, vel Dominus et Apostoli prædicando multos ad fidem converterunt. Et dimidio hebdomadis deficiet hostia, et sacrificium. Dimidium hebdomadis hujus, decimus quintus annus Tiberii Cæsaris erat, quando inchoato Christi baptisate, hostiarum purificatio fidelibus paulatim vilescebat. Item quod sequitur: Et in templo erit abominatio desolationis, et usque ad consummationem et finem perseverabit desolatio: ad sequentia tempora respicit, cujus prophetiæ veritatem, et historia veterum, et nostrorum hodie temporum testatur eventus. Totum ideo Prophetæ testimonium ponentes, quantum facultas suppetebat, exposuimus: quia hoc et a plerisque lectoribus ignorari, et speciale genus hebdomadæ flagitare cognovimus. Falluntur enim qui putant Hebræos annis talibus usos, alioquin

tota veteris instrumenti series vacillat, nec ullius ætas tanta, quanta scripta est, debet intelligi, sed ad lunæ cursum stringi. Et Græcos quidem veteres legimus CCCLIV diebus, annum ad lunæ cursum computantes, octavo semper anno nonaginta dies qui nascentur, si quadrans cum undecim diebus epactarum octies componatur, pariter intercalasse, in tres videlicet menses tricenarum dierum distributos. Judæos autem nunquam, sed altero vel tertio anno mensem lunæ tertiumdecimum, quem embolismum vocitamus, inserere solitos, sicut notissima quartæ decimæ lunæ paschalis aperte ratio probat. Sciendum sane quod Africanus hebdomadarum cursum, quem nos in decimum septimum vel decimum octavum Tiberii Cæsaris annum, quo Dominum passum credimus, juxta Chronicam Eusebii perduximus, ab eodem quo nos incipiens exordio, quinto decimo, ejusdem Imperatoris anno, quo eum passum credit, putat esse completum, ponens annos regni Persarum CXV. Macedonum CCC. Romanorum LX. Sed diligens lector quod magis sequendum putaverit, eligat.

Cf. Prideaux, "Old and New Testament Connected," Vol. I, p. 239, New York, 1845. See also note on Greek year.

CAPUT X.

DE HEBDOMADA ÆTATUM SEculi.

OCTAVA species hebdomadis uniformis, et sola sine circuitu revolutionis extans, ad figuram per omnia primæ hebdomadis labentibus hujus seculi conficitur ætatibus. Prima enim die facta est lux, et prima ætate homo in paradisi amœnitate locatur. Divisa luce a tenebris factum est vesperum, et separatis Dei filiis a semine nequam, non longe post natis Gigantibus corrupta est omnis terra, donec Creator pœnitens se hominem fecisse, mundum diluvio perdere disposeret. Secunda die firmamentum in medio libratur aquarum: secunda ætate arca in medio fertur aquarum, hinc fonte abyssi supportata, illinc cœli cataractis compluta quæ habuit vesperam, quando filii

Adam pedes ab Oriente moventes, qui in construenda superbiae turre convenerant, linguarum divisione multati, et ab invicem sunt dispersi. Tertia die aquis in congregationem unam coactis apparuit arida, sylvis herbisque decora: et tertia ætate firmatis in cultu dæmonum nationibus, Abraham patriarcha cognitionem patriamque deserens, sanctorumque semine fœcundatur. Advenit et vespera quando gens Hebræa malis coacta prementibus contra Dei voluntatem regem sibi petit, qui mox ordinatus primo Domini sacerdotes Prophetasque trucidat, postmodum ipse cum tota gente gladio periit Allophylorum. Quarto die cœlum luminaribus ornatur: quarta ætate gens illa cœlesti fide inelyta, regno David et Solomonis gloriosa, templi etiam sanctissimi altitudine totum nobilitatur in orbem. Sed accepit et vesperam, quando crebrescentibus peccatis regnum illud a Chaldæis dissipatum, templum dirutum, et tota gens est Babylo-niam translata. Quinta die pisces avesque aquis eductæ, hi patriis manent undis, illæ aera terramque pervolant: quinta ætate multiplicatus in Chaldæa populus Israel, pars cœlestium desideriorum pennis fulta Hierosolymam petunt, pars volatu destituta virtutum inter Babyloniam fluentia resident. Successit et vespera, quando imminente jam Salvatoris adventu gens Judæa propter scelerum magnitudinem Romanis tributaria facta, insuper et alienigenis est regibus pressa. Sexta die terra suis animantibus impletur, et homo primus ad imaginem Dei creatur, moxque ex ejus latere dormientis sumpta costa fœmina fabricatur: sexta ætate præconantibus prophetis filius Dei in carne, qui hominem ad imaginem Dei recrearet, apparuit, qui obdormiens in cruce, sanguinem et aquam de latere, unde sibi ecclesiam consecraret emanavit. Hujus ætatis vespera cæteris obscurior in Antichristi est persecutione ventura. Septima die consummatis operibus suis Deus requievit, eamque

significans sabbatum nuncupari præcepit, quæ vesperam habuisse non legitur. Septima ætate justorum animæ post optimos hujus vitæ labores in alia vita perpetuo requiescunt, quæ nulla unquam tristitia maculabitur, sed major insuper resurrectionis gloria cumulabitur. Hæc ætas hominibus tunc cœpit, quando primus martyr Abel, corpore quidem tumultum, spiritu autem sabbatum perpetuæ quietis intravit. Perficietur autem, quando receptis sancti corporibus in terra sua duplicia possidebunt, lætitia sempiterna erit eis, et ipsa est Octava, pro qua VI Psalmus inscribitur, credo quia in sex hujus seculi ætatibus pro septima vel octava illius seculi ætate est supplicandum. In qua quia justî gaudia, sed reprobi sunt supplicia percepturi, Psalmus hic ingenti pavore incipit, currit, finitur : Domine ne in ira tua arguas me, &c.

CAPUT XI.

DE MENSIBUS.

MENSES dicti a mensura, qua quisque eorum mensuratur. Sed melius a luna quæ Græco sermone μήνη vocatur : nam et apud eos menses vocantur μηνές. Sed et apud Hebræos Hieronymo teste, luna, quam jare nominant, mensibus nomen dedit : Unde et Jesus filius Syrach, qui utique Hebraice scripsit, de luna loquens ait : Mensis secundum nomen est ejus. Antiqui enim menses suos non a solis, sed a lunæ cursu computare solebant : unde quoties in Scriptura sacra, sive in lege, seu ante legem quota die mensis quid factum dictumve sit indicatur, non aliud quam lunæ ætas significatur, a qua semper Hebræi, quibus credita sunt eloquia Dei, antiquo patrum more menses observare non cessant. Primum mensem novorum, qui Paschæ ceremoniis sacratus est, Nisan appellantes, qui propter multivagum lunæ discursum, nunc in Martium mensem, nunc incidit in Aprilem, nunc aliquot dies Maii mensis occupat. Sed rectius Aprili depu-

tatur: quia semper in ipso vel incipit vel desinit, vel totus includitur, ea duntaxat regula, cujus et supra meminimus, observata, ut quæ XV post æquinoctium luna extiterit, primum sequentis anni mensem faciat: quæ vero antea, novissimum præcedentis, sicque per ordinem. Secundus eorum mensis Jar Maio: tertius Sivan Junio: quartus Thamul Julio: quintus Aab Augusto: sextus Elul Septembri: septimus Theseri Octobri, quem propter collectionem frugum, et celeberrimas in ipso festivitates novum annum appellant. Octavus Maresuan, Novembri. Nonus Casseu, Decembri. Decimus Tebet, Januario. Undecimus Sabat, Februario. Duodecimus Adar, Martio simili ratione comparatur. Quos videlicet menses propter lunæ circulum, qui XXVIII semis diebus constat, tricenis undetricenisque diebus alternantes, secundo demum vel tertio anno exacto, mensem superfluum, qui ex annis XI Epactarum diebus confici solet, intercalant. Unde nonnullo moveor scrupulo, quomodo majores nostri diem, qua lex data est, quæ est tertia mensis tertii, quinquagesimam ab agni occisione computent, ponentes videlicet primi mensis residuos dies numero X et VII quia tredecim priores fuerant ante Pascha transacti, secundi XXX tertii III qui fiunt simul dies L, cum constet duos menses lunares non LX sed L et VIII diebus terminari. Ideoque si paschalis mensis XXX diebus computatus, XVII sui cursus dies post pascha retinuerit, secundum jam mensem non XXX sed undetriginta diebus debere concludi, ac per hoc in summa temporis memorati non plus quam undequinquaginta dies inveniri: nisi forte putandum est synechdochicōs, quæ est regula sanctæ Scripturæ frequentissima, a parte totum computari. Verum hæc utcumque acta, vel computata fuerint, claret tamen Hebræos ad lunæ cursum suos menses observare consuesse. Nec aliter in Genesi recte sentiendum, ubi Noë cum suis XVII die secundi mensis

arcam ingressus, et XXVII ejusdem mensis die post diluvium egressus asseritur, quam annum solis intergrum, hoc est, CCCLXV dierum esse descriptum: quia videlicet luna, quæ præsentī anno, verbi gratia: per Nonas Maïas septimadecima existit, anno sequente vicesimaseptima pridie Nonas Maïas occurret. Notandum sane, quod nimium falluntur, qui mensem definiendum, vel ab antiquis definitum autumant, quamdiu luna Zodiacum circulum peragat, quæ nimirum, sicut diligentior inquisitio naturarum edocuit, Zodiacum quidem XXVII diebus, et VIII horis, sui vero cursus ordinem XXIX diebus, et XII horis, salva sui saltus ratione conficit. Ideoque rectius ita definiendum, quod mensis lunæ sit luminis lunaris circuitus, ac redintegratio de nova ad novam. Solaris autem mensis digressio sit solis per duodecimam partem Zodiaci, id est, signiferi circuli, quæ XXX diebus et decem semis horis impletur, viginti videlicet duabus horis ac dimidia, lunari mense productior, e quibus XI Epactarum dies et quadrans annuatim subcrescere solent: duodecies enim viceni et bini CCLXIV faciunt, quas esse horas XI dierum hinc facile patet, quia undecies viceni et quaterni eandem summam efficiunt. Porro duodecies semis sex faciunt, quæ annuæ sunt horæ quadrantis: si quidem luna XII suos menses XI diebus, ut dictum est, et quadrante breviores totidem solis mensibus peragens, in iisdem peragendis tredecies Zodiaci ambitum lustrat. Sed in utroque mense computando, consuetudo, vel auctoritas, vel certe compendium calculandi naturæ prævaluit: nam non solum lunæ menses, quod calculandi necessitas cogit, tricenis undetricenisque diebus ordinant, sed et lunam superflüam, quæ juxta naturæ rationem in fine anni debuerat intercalari, plerique ubilibet intercalant, et quod est gravius, tantum inter se calculatores dissident, ut uno nonnunquam eodemque die hic quartamdecimam, ille quin-

tamdecimam, alius sextamdecimam asseverent lunam esse putandam, nec non et solis annuos menses dissimillima regula diverso quæque gens ordine metitur. Denique Ægyptii, qui primi propter ocyorem lunæ discursum, ne videlicet error calculandi ejus velocitate gigneretur, ad solis cursum, cujus motus tardior facilius poterat comprehendere, suos menses putare cœperunt, sumpto ab autumnii tempore primordio, tricenis hos produntur includere diebus, quorum primus mensis Thoth, IV Cal. Septembrium: secundus Phaofi, IV Cal. Octob. tertius Athir, V Cal. Novemb. quartus Choeac, V Cal. Decembrium: quintus Tybi, VI Cal. Januarium: sextus Mechir, VII Cal. Februarium: septimus Phamenoth, V Cal. Martiarum: octavus Pharmuthi, VI Cal. Aprilium: nonus Pacho, VI Cal. Maiarum: decimus Pauni, VII Cal. Juniarum: undecimus Epiphi, VII Cal. Juliarum: duodecimus Mesor, VIII Cal. Augustarum die sumit exordium: quem decimo Cal. Septembrium die terminantes, residuos quinque dies *ἐπαναγομένας*, vel intercalares, sive additos vocant, quibus etiam quarto anno diem sextum, qui ex quadrantibus confici solet adnectunt. Unde fit ut eorum anni primi ab bissexto tertio Cal. Septembrium, cæteri vero IV. Cal. earundem die sortiantur initium: ipsi autem bissextilis anni IV cæteri V. Cal. memoratarum die terminentur. Porro dissonantia, quam bissextilibus annis a tempore intercalati ab eis quadrantis dicimus oriri, non ante nostræ tempus intercalationis, quæ fit sexto Cal. Martiarum die, in computo lunæ, vel earundem festivitate dierum potest cum nostri anni curriculo recipere concordiam: sed idem die festus eadem luna, verbi gratia septima, quæ apud nos secunda sabbati, apud illos tertia sabbati computantur, et cætera in hunc modum.

tem καλῶ Græcum est, id est, voco : et hunc diem qui ex his diebus, qui calarentur primus esset, placuit Calendas vocari : hinc et ipsi Curiae ad quam vocabantur, Calabræ nomen datum est, et Classi, quod omnis in eam vocaretur populus. Ideo autem Minor pontifex numerum dierum, qui ad Nonas superessent, calando prodebat, quod post novam lunam oportebat Nonarum die populares, qui in agris essent, confluere in urbem, accepturos causas feriarum a rege sacrorum, sciturosque quid esset eo mense faciundum. Unde quidam hinc Nonas existimant dictas, quasi novæ initium observationis, vel quod ab eo die semper ad idus novem dies putarentur. Porro Idus vocari placuit diem, qui dividit mensem. Iduare enim Etrusca lingua dividere est : unde vidua, quasi valde idua, id est, valde divisa : aut vidua, id est, a viro divisa. Nonnullis placet, Idus dictas vocabulo Græco, a specie, quæ apud illos εἰδέα vocatur, quod ea die plenam speciem luna demonstret. Notandum autem quod in scriptura sacra Calendas cum legimus, nihil aliud quam novæ ortum lunæ intelligere debemus : juxta illud Numerorum : In Calendis autem, id est, in mensium exordiis offeretis holocausta Domino. Quia nimirum Hebræi, ut supra dictum est, non alia mensium exordia, quam Neomenias, id est, novilunia norunt.

CAPUT XIV.

DE MENSIBUS GRÆCORUM.

SED et Græci et Ægyptii, de quibus supra diximus, nullam in suis mensibus Calendarum, Nonarum, Iduum distinctionem observant. Verum ab incipiente cujusque mensis exordio usque ad terminum ejus, crescente simpliciter, et inenarrabiliter dierum concurrentium ordine computando perveniunt. Si quidem Græci (nam de Ægyptiorum anno et mensibus supra disseruimus) mutatis ex tempore et correctis prædictarum intercalationum ambagibus cunctis, fixum in duodecim

mensibus anni vertentis ordinavere circulum, quorum plerique a Calendis Decembribus suum inchoantes annum, eodem quo Romani menses suos dierum numero perstringunt: nil quidem de Romanorum, ut præfati sumus, Calendis, Nonis, vel Idibus curantes, sed a primo usque ad extremum diem augescante paulatim numero, singulum quemque mensem computantes. Vocatur autem apud eos ipse December, ἐλαφηβολιών: Januarius, νυχίων: Februarius, θαργίλων: Martius, δίστρος: Aprilis, ξαντικός: Maius, ἄρτεμίσιος: Junius, διέσιος: Julius, πάνεμος: Augustus, λῶος: September, γορδιαῖος: October, ὑπερβερεταῖος: November, διὸς. Quo illos ordine annum observare, vel menses, et nuper transmissus ad nos de Roma computus eorum annalis ostendit, et Canones, qui dicuntur Apostolorum, idem antiquioribus literis edocuere, ubi duodecimus dies mensis ὑπέρβερεταῖον: IV Iduum Octobr. esse memoratur: quo utique colligitur, utrumque mensem pariter incipere, qui uterque diem duodecimum habere probatur eundem. Quibus etiam liber sancti patris Anatolii, quem de Pascha composuit, astipulatur, ubi scriptum est: Est ergo in primo anno initium primi mensis, quod est decem et novem annorum circuli principium, secundum Ægyptios quidem mensis Phamenoth vigesimosexto die: secundum Macedones Distri mensis vigesimo-seculo: secundum Romanos vero undecimo Calend. April. Hic enim vicesimam secundam diem Distri mensis æque vicesimam secundam Martii fore commendans, indicat manifeste, quia simul uterque mensis initium sumit. Et ne quis dicat quod Anatolius in hac sententia non scripserit undecimo Calendas, sed octavo Calendas Apriles, convincet hoc non ita esse mensis Ægyptiorum Phamenoth, cujus vicesima sexta dies, non octava Calendarum, sed undecima Calendarum Aprilium dies est: utrique autem, id est, et qui octava Cal. et qui undecima Cal. Apriles, in Anatolio

tanto tibi quæ submersior est videbitur esse suspensior, donec perspecta certius veritate, cuncta ut sunt posita cognoscas. Ita ergo et nos infra duo magna cœli luminaria siti, quia utrumque habemus ad meridiem, quo hoc quod inferius est in septentrionem se subrigendo magis magisque nobis appropriat, eo nobis oculos ad illa et per illa dirigentibus ad cœlum, videtur esse illud sublimius, quod dejectius incedere manifesta ratione patebit.

CAPUT XXVII.

DE MAGNITUDINE, VEL DEFECTU SOLIS ET LUNÆ.

DE magnitudine, vel defectu solis, sive lunæ, Plinius secundus in opere pulcherrimo naturalis historiæ ita describit: Manifestum est solem interventu lunæ occultari, lunamque terræ objectu, ac vices reddi, eosdem solis radios luna interposito suo auferente terræ, terraque lunæ. Hac subeunte repentinas obduci tenebras, rursumque illius umbra sidus hebetari. Neque enim aliud esse noctem, quam terræ umbram. Stati autem, atque non menstrui sunt utrique defectus, propter obliquitatem Signiferi, lunæque multivagos, ut dictum est, flexus, non semper in scrupulis partium congruente siderum motu. Hæc ratio mortales animos subducit in cœlum, ac velut inde contemplantibus, trium maximarum rerum naturæ partium magnitudinem detegit: non posset quippe totus sol adimi terris intercedente luna, si terra major esset quam luna. Certior ex utroque vastitas solis aperitur, ut non sit necesse amplitudinem ejus oculorum argumentis, atque conjectura animi scrutari immensum esse, qui arborum in limitibus porrectarum in quotlibet passuum milia umbras paribus jaciat intervallis, tanquam toto spacio medius. Et paulo post: Certum est, inquit, solis defectum, non nisi novissima, primave fieri luna, quod vocant coitum, lunæ autem non nisi plena semperque citra quam proxime fuerit: omnibus

autem annis fieri utriusque sideris defectus, statutis diebus horisque sub terra: nec tamen cum superne fiant ubique cerni, aliquando propter nebulam, sæpius globo terræ obstante convexitatibus mundi intra ducentos annos Hipparchi sagacitate compertum est. Sed ne gentilis tantum viri dictis videamur consummare capitulum, etiam ecclesiæ doctores quid de hoc senserint quæramus. Beatus Hieronymus interpretans evangelii sententiam, qua dictum est in Domini passione tenebras factas super terram: Qui scripserunt, inquit, contra evangelia, suspicantur deliquium solis, quod veris ætatisque temporibus accidere solet, discipulos Christi ob imperitiam super resurrectione Domini interpretatos, cum defectus solis nunquam nisi ortu lunæ fieri soleat: nulli autem dubium est, paschæ tempore lunam fuisse plenissimam.

CAPUT XXVIII.

DE EFFECTIVA LUNÆ POTENTIA.

DE effectiva lunæ potentia, beatus antistes Ambrosius in libro quarto Hexameron ita commemorat: Similia de lunæ ratione conveniunt, quæ de consorte ejus ac fratre memoravimus: siquidem in id se induit ministerium in quod et frater, ut illuminet tenebras, foveat semina, augeat fructibus. Habet etiam pleraque a fratre distincta, ut quem tota die calor humorem terræ siccaverit, eundem exiguæ noctis tempore ros reponat. Nam et ipsa luna larga roris adseritur. Denique cum serenior nox est, et luna pernox, tunc largior ros fertur arva perfundere, et plerique sub aere quiescentes, quo magis sub lumine fuissent lunæ, eo plus humoris se capite collegisse senserunt. Unde et in Canticis dicit Christus ad ecclesiam. Quoniam caput meum repletum est rore, et crines mei guttis noctis. Tum deinde minuitur et augetur, ut minor sit cum resurgit nova, et cum sit imminuta cumuletur, in quo grande mysterium est. Nam et defectui ejus compatiuntur

gistri, dicentes : VIII Calendas Aprilis in æquinoctio verno Dominum conceptum et passum, eundem in solstitio brumali VIII Calendas Januarias natum. Item beatum præcursorem et baptistam Domini VIII Calendas Octobres in æquinoctio autumnali conceptum, et in æstivo solstitio VIII Calendas Julias natum : addita insuper expositione, quod auctorem lucis æternæ cum cremento lucis temporariæ concipi simul et nasci deceret. Pœnitentiæ vero præconem, quem oportebat minui, cum inchoata minoratione lucis generari pariter et concipi. Verum quia sic ut in ratione paschali didicimus æquinoctium vernale duodecimo Calendarum Aprilium die cunctorum Orientalium sentiis, et maxime Ægyptiorum, quos calculandi esse peritissimos constat, specialiter adnotatur : cæteros quoque tres temporum articulos putamus aliquanto priusquam vulgaria scripta continent esse notandos. Ut enim de æquinoctio verno, quod caput esse memoratarum quatuor mutationum annalium mundi origo docet, breviter loquamur, regula tenet ecclesiasticæ observationis, a Nicæno confirmata Concilio, ut Paschæ dies ab XI Calendas Apriles usque in VII Calendas Maïas inquiratur. Item catholicæ institutionis regula præcipit, ut ante vernalis æquinoctii transgressum Pascha non celebretur. Qui igitur VIII Calendarum Aprilium die putat æquinoctium, necesse est idem aut ante æquinoctium Pascha celebrari licitum dicat, aut ante octavum Calendarum Aprilium diem Pascha celebrari licitum neget. Ipsum quoque Pascha, quod Dominus pridie quam pateretur, cum discipulis fecit, aut IX Calendarum Aprilium die non fuisse, aut ante æquinoctium fuisse confirmet : non enim nostri tantum temporis, sed etiam legalis et Mosaica decernit institutio, non ante transcendum hujus æquinoctii diem festi paschalis esse celebrandum, sicut attestante Anatholio evidenter docet Philo et Josephus, sic ut eorum antiquiores AGATHOBOLUS,

et ab eo eruditus ARISTOBOLUS ex Paneade, qui unus ex illis LXX Senioribus fuit, qui missi fuerunt a Pontificibus ad Ptolemæum regem, Hebræorum libros interpretari in Græcum sermonem : quique multa ex traditionibus Moysi proponenti Regi percunctantique responderunt. Ipsi ergo cum quæstiones Exodi exponerent, dixerunt Pascha non prius esse immolandum, quam æquinotium vernale transiret. Unde nos necesse est ob conservandam veritatis regulam, dicamus aperte, et Pascha ante æquinotium tenebrasque devictas non immolandum, et hoc æquinotium duodecimo Calendarum Aprilium diei veraciter adscribendum, sicut non solum auctoritate paterna, sed et horologica consideratione docemur : sed et cætera tria temporum hujusmodi confinia simili ratione aliquot diebus ante octavum Calendarum sequentium esse notanda.

CAPUT XXXI.

DE DISPARI LONGITUDINE DIERUM ET VARIO STATU UMBRARUM.

ET quidem æquinotialis dies omni mundo æqualis et una est : verum solstitialis et cæteri omnes diversæ longitudinis pro ratione climatum disparium sunt et umbrarum : quod et libri vel Christianorum, vel gentilium industria editi, et testes idonei, qui de utrisque partibus, et borealibus scilicet et meridianis advenere, luce clarius pandunt. Denique beatus Ambrosius in libro quarto Hexameron de temporibus et discursu solis disputans, ait inter cætera : Medio quoque die minor umbra, quam vel in principio est diei, vel fine, et hoc apud nos in parte occidentis. Cæterum sunt qui per duos totius anni dies sine umbra fiunt in partibus meridianis, eo quod solem habentes super verticem suum, undique per circuitum illuminentur, unde et ἀσκιοι dicuntur Græce. Plerique etiam ferunt sic e regione ex alto ferri solem, ut per angustiam puteorum aquam,

culi decennovenalis annos æquali nobiscum ætate lunam putare Victorium. Nam deinceps inserta mutatione saltus, una semper die majorem nobis eam usque dum etiam nos finito eam circulo toto inserimus habere non cessat: qui profecto saltus non alibi aptius quam XII Calendarum Aprilium die videtur anno reddendus, propter originem videlicet quam præfati sumus conditionis siderum, ut luna mensis Martii, quæ eo fit die vicesima nona, dehinc vertatur in nonam. Sed sunt qui hoc nobis in luna Novembris mensis agendum magis autument: quatenus hujusmodi impedimentis cum præcedentis anni fine absolutis, novum de cætero annum libero possint computo ingredi, juxta exemplum videlicet Ægyptiorum, qui hoc in penultimo anni sui mense, qui est noster Julius facere perhibentur. Sed sive hic, sive illic, sive alibi feceris, necesse est ibidem ni fallor tres pariter menses undetricenorum computare dierum.

CAPUT XLIII.

QUARE LUNA ALIQUOTIES MAJOR QUAM COMPUTATUR,
APPAREAT.

NOTANDUM sane, quod hujus ratio saltus lunaris, longa sui facit exundantia crementi lunam aliquoties majorem quam putatur videri, adeo ut etiam die tricesima vesperscente illam non gracilem in cælo apparere contingat, et quanto circuli decennovenalis terminus amplius instat, tanto hoc crebrius patiatur causa existente perspicua, quod saltus ille, de quo loquimur, jam maxima tunc sit ex parte perfectus. Sed in naturalis assertione veritatis, quæ et Niceno Concilio probata firmatur, hæc est specialiter regula tenenda, ut lunæ ætatem non juxta quosdam a meridiana vel dimidia post meridiem, sed a vespertina potius hora mutare noverimus: quia nimirum luna quæ vespere primum mundo exorta est vespertinis ex eo semper horis necesse est aliam aliamque sumat ætatem, singulas quasque vicanis

et quaternis explicans horis, sicut e contrario sol qui mane primo ortus est, teste Genesis scriptura a mane usque ad mane diem complevit unum. Quid enim rationis est, lunæ mutationem meridianis computari ab horis, cum nec imposita tunc in cœlo, nec sit regressa super terram, sed nec ulla legis solennia meridianis vel pomeridianis, sed omnia vespertinis incipiant simul et consummentur in horis? Nisi forte quia Adam peccans ad auram post meridiem increpatus a Domino, et de paradisi gaudiis est pulsus, ad remunerationem cœlestis vitæ, quam seculi hujus ærumna mutavimus, mutatio lunaris, quæ clementis decrementisque perennibus labores nostros imitatur, in ea specialiter qua exulare cœpimus debuit hora notari: ut ex ipsa lunaris hora mutationis quotidie versiculi illius admoneremur: quia stultus ut luna mutatur: nam sapiens cum sole permanebit, suspiraremusque ad illam ardentius vitam pace æterna beatissimam, quando erit lux lunæ sicut lux solis, et lux solis septemplex sicut lux VII dierum. Verum quia sicut scriptum est, a luna signum diei festi, et quo modo prima lunæ lux a vespera mundum irradiavit, ita omnis dies festus in lege a vespera initiari, in vesperam perfici debere præcipitur, congruentius ætas lunaris a vespertina hora quam aliunde nova computabitur: eandemque ætatem quam vespere inchoat, sequentem usque servabit ad vesperam. Et siquidem eam paulo ante vesperam accendi a sole contigerit, mox sole occidente primam computari et esse necesse est: quia videlicet illam temporis horam, qua primum terris fulgere cœpit, adiit. Sin autem post occubitum solis accendatur, non tamen primam priusquam vesperam viderit, sed tricesimam potius oportet æstimare. Etiam si XXIII horas post occasum solis accensa suppleverit, illam tamen quam occidente sole habuerat, ne primæ conditionis ordo turbetur, usque ad alium ejus occasum retinere debet ætatem. Nec mirum lunam cum tot horas nova transegerit manifestam in cœlo monstrari,

cum aliquoties etiam sexta vel septima post accensionem appareat hora. Sæpe namque evenit, maxime posita ea in Ariete, una eademque die illa mane simul et vespere cerni, motu videlicet ac ascensionis circa meridiem facto. Quod si qui gravius huic insistens quæstioni, dixerit se novam lunam eo anno quo saltus inserendus est, hoc est, ultimo circuli decennovenalis biduo priusquam prima caneretur multis cum testibus vidisse, id est, quarto Nonarum Aprilium die, cum ejusdem anni XIII luna paschalis in circulo memorato XV Calendarum Maiarum sit adnotata, ideoque non nisi pridie Nonas Apriles esse prima valeat, rationemque a nobis hujus causæ exegerit, hic nostra pusillitas, ne sui fragilitate deficiat, ad paternæ, imo divinæ auctoritatis auxilium concurrat. Paternæ etenim auctoritatis subsidio fulcimur, dum Nicænæ Synodi scita sectamur, quæ quartasdecimas festi paschalis lunas tam firma stabilitate præfixit, ut decennovenalis earum circuitus nusquam vacillare, nunquam fallere possit. In quo videlicet circuitu, lunam paschalem anni de quo agitur II Nonas Aprilis fieri primam nulli calculantium in dubio est. Ideoque hanc aliter definire nulli fidelium fas est. Quid enim? numquid credendum est quia illam quam nos III Nonas Aprilis novam vidimus lunam, nemo viderit de illis CCCXVIII Pontificibus qui in Nicæno Concilio residebant? Nemo de minorum cœtu graduum, qui illorum consiliis aderant et statutis? Et non potius intelligendum, quia cum lunam anni illius paschalem a pridie Nonas Aprilis incipere signabant, aliud majus periculum per hoc declinaverint, ne videlicet si aliter decernerent, indissolubilis ille communium annorum et embolismorum status solveretur, quem inviolabiliter observandum divinæ legis auctoritate Hebræis tradentibus agnoverant. Sed et specialibus divinæ auctoritatis indiciis observantiam lunarem quam tenemus defendimus. Legimus namque scribente B. Cyrillo Alexandriæ Episcopo, quia Pachomius monachus insignis

factis apostolicæ gratiæ, fundatorque Ægypti cœnobi-
rum ediderit ad monasteria quæ regebat literas, quas
angelo dictante perceperat, ut non errorem incurrerent
in solennitatis paschalis ratione, scirentque lunam primi
mensis in anno communi et embolismo. Legimus eodem
referente Cyrillo, quia si non scripsisset Synodus Ni-
cæna cyclum lunarem primi mensis, sufficeret cyclus
lapidis Selenitis in Perside ad exemplum rationis pascha-
lis, cujus candor interior cum luna primi mensis crescit
et decrescit. Legimus item scribente sancto Paschasino
Lilybæi Antistite ad beatissimum Papam Leonem,
quia tempore Zosimi Papæ cum esset ultimus circuli
decennovenalis annus, et declinarent quidam decimo
Calendarum Maiarum die Pascha tenere, celebrantes
octavo die Calendarum Aprilium, id est, pro embolismo
communem tenentes annum, quæ esset paschalis obser-
vantix veritas multiplici miraculo supernæ virtutis
claruerit. Quædam, inquit, vilissima possessio Melthi-
nas appellatur, in montibus arduis ac sylvis densissimis
constituta, illic perparva atque vili opere constructa
ecclesia est, in cujus baptisterio nocte sacrosancta pas-
chali, baptizandi hora, cum nullus canalis, nulla sit
fistula, nec aqua omnino vicina, fons ex sese repletur,
paucisque qui fuerint consecratis, cum deductorium
nullum habeat, ut venerat aqua, ex sese discedit. Tunc
ergo sub sanctæ memoriæ Papa Zosimo usque ad lucem
aqua non veniente, non consecrati qui baptizandi fuerant
recesserunt. Illa vero nocte quæ lucescebat in diem
Dominicam decimo die Calendarum Maiarum, fons
sacer hora competenti repletus est, evidenti ergo mira-
culo claruit, occidentalium partium fuisse errorem.
Liquet itaque quia vetus hæc de hac ætate lunari quæ-
stio est, etiam olim beati Papæ Leonis industria dili-
genter exquisita, ipsa est quæ longam inter orientis et
occidentis ecclesias gravemque controversiam fecit.
Hæc et Hilarium papam post tot Nicæni concilii tem-
pora novum cyclum petere, et Victorium Paschalem

trema transacti. Et quid est quod ais : etiamsi luna conveniat, XIII Calendas Aprilis nunquam Pascha celebrandum penitus inveniri ? Quomodo enim potest luna convenire paschalibus solenniis, ubi nunquam paschalia sunt celebranda solennia ? Et si nunquam XIII Calendarum Aprilium Pascha celebrandum, etiamsi sextadecima provenerit, errant profecto Latini qui lunam paschalem a III Nonas Martias inchoare decernunt : in qua decimosexto et decimoseptimo eo quod æquinotium non transierit, non licet Pascha fieri. Et merito illorum contempta observatione, cum Ægyptiis potius eo anno in octavo Calendas Maii Pascha differendum suades. Si autem magis observandum quod Ægyptii docent autumas, quare non illorum per omnia scientiam sectaris ? Verum quia hoc facere non vis, sed inter utrosque medius incedens, magis Latinorum quos vituperas, quam Ægyptiorum quos præfers, calculum tuis legendum sequendumque contradis, nos Ægyptiam calculandi disciplinam, quæ et tuo iudicio, et universalis ecclesiæ consensu verior apparet, omnibus sequendam novimus, initium videlicet primi mensis ab octavo Iduum Martiarum usque in Nonarum Aprilium diem. Quartasdecimas vero lunas Paschæ, a duodecimo Calendarum Aprilium usque in decimumquartum Calendas Maias. Porro diem Paschæ dominicum ab undecimo Calendarum Aprilium usque in septimum Calendarum Maiarum : et hoc in luna decimaquinta usque ad vigesimamprimam esse quærendum. Verum ne nos amatores Victorii temere illum aggressos esse lacerent, legant librum doctissimi et sanctissimi viri, Victoris videlicet Capuani Episcopi de Pascha, quod quindecimo Calendas Maias putabatur celebrari debere, Indictione autem decimatertia novies Proconsule Basilio, et quanti a prudentibus, et catholicis ecclesiæ Doctoribus æstimatus sit suus magister invenient, cujus principium libri est. Cum paschalis veneranda solennitas, quam die potissimum proveniret per anni præsentis Indictionem tertiamdecimam a nobis solícite

quæreretur, et juxta patrum venerabilium constituta octavo Calendarum Maiarum diceremus resurrectionem Domini procul dubio celebrandam, aliquibus minime rationabilis visa est nostra responsio, eo quod Victorius quidam in circulo Paschali quem edidit aliter diem dominicæ resurrectionis adfixerit, licet et hunc designaverit quem nos celebrandum pariter profitemur. Et in processu operis. Sed nunc, inquam, ordo expetit, ut cyclorum quos Victorius edidit patefaciam evidenter errores, dum nescit legitimum diem definire Paschalem, ut cum in præteritis ostensus hoc modo fuerit deliquisse, in præsentibus ac futuris et auctoritate careat, et occasionem pravæ persuasionis amittat.

CAPUT LII.

ARGUMENTUM QUOT SINT EPACTÆ LUNARES.

SI autem vis cognoscere per annos singulos quot sint epactæ, sume annos Domini quot fuerint, utputa in præsentī octava Indictione DCCXXV hos partire per XIX: decies novies triceni, DLXX, decies novies octoni, cenquinquais dipondius, remanent III, hos item multiplica per XI, fiunt XXXIII, tolle XXX, remanent III. Tres sunt epactæ, id est, adjectiones lunares.

CAPUT LIII.

DE EPACTIS SOLIS.

QUARTO decennovenalis circuli tramite designantur epactæ solis, id est, concurrentes septimanæ dies unius semper ternos per annos, duorum autem per annum bissextilem usque ad septimum numerum adjectione crescentes, quarum circulus habet annos quater septenos, id est, XXVIII, quia nimirum non ante potest consummari, quam bissextus, qui quarto redire solet anno, cunctos septimanæ dies contingat, dominicam videlicet, sextam feriam, quartam feriam, secundam feriam, sabbatum, quintam feriam, tertiam feriam: hoc etenim illos ordine percurrit. Cumque

memorati anno non unum, ut in reliquis, sed duos adjicere regulares, et lunam Cal. Jan. sine errore reperies.

CAPUT LVIII.

ARGUMENTUM QUOTUS SIT ANNUS CYCLI LUNARIS, VEL DECENNOVENALIS.

IPSE autem cyclus lunæ si vis nosse quotum agat annum, sume annos domini, ut puta DCCXXV, et subtrahe semper duo, remanet DCCXXIII, hos partire per X et LX remanet unum, primus annus est cycli lunaris. Quoties autem nihil remanet, nonusdecimus est. Et quia decennovenalis circulus communem cum lunari viam quamvis ocyor currit, si vis scire et ejus quotus sit annus, sume annos Domini, ut puta DCCXXV, et unum semper adjice, fiunt DCCXXVI, hos partire per X et IX, remanent IIII, quartus est annus cycli decennovenalis. Quod si nihil remanserit, ultimus est.

CAPUT LIX.

DE QUARTA DECIMA LUNA PASCHÆ.

SEXTUS sæpe dicti circuli locus amplectitur lunas XIII primi mensis, quæ paschalis dominicæ diem singulis annis absque omni ambiguitate demonstrent: nam quæ post XIII lunam dominica dies occurrit, ipsa est paschalis dominicæ resurrectionis dies. Quæ quidem decimaquarta luna primum in æquinocio, id est, duodecimo Calendarum Aprilium, ultimum vicesimonono abhinc die, id est, XIII Cal. Maiarum suum vespere processum terris ostendit, quibus terminis per annos denos et novenos legali tempore paschalis observantiæ discursus constat esse comprehensos: et si fieri posset, ut eadem omnibus anni sabbati die luna decimaquarta contigisset, nil nostræ paschalis observantiæ tempus a legali discreparet. Nam et ipsi juxta legis edicta semper decimaquarta luna primi mensis ad vesperam immolantes, et comedentes agni immaculati carnem, sanguinemque illius ad repellendum extermini-

natores nostris postibus aspergentes, id est, aquam baptismi, et paschaliū celebrantes solennia missarum, spiritualem superaremus Ægyptum, atque illucescente mane in luna decimaquinta ejusdem mensis primum azymorum diem intraremus, septemque dies ejusdem celebritatis legitimos a mane quintidecimi diei usque in vespere vicesimi primi mensis, ipsius, id est, a dominico paschæ usque in dominicum octavarum paschæ debita cum veneratione completeremus. Sed quomodo lunæ dies eadem diversas septimanæ devolvitur inferias, inde fit, ut qui propter resurrectionem nostri redemptoris in dominicum diem paschæ initium reservare docemur, aliquoties nostra festivitas septimo post legalium azymorum exordium die sumat ingressum: non tamen unquam contingat, ut non nostra solennitas paschalis aliquem legalium paschæ dierum, sæpe autem omnes intra se complectatur. At contra hi qui dominicum paschæ diem a decimasexta luna usque ad vigesimamsecundam celebrandum æstimant, duplici miseria laborant, quia et legitimum paschæ principium nunquam habent, et crebro evenit, ut nullum dierum, qui in lege præscripti sunt, in sua paschali observatione consequantur: dum et vespere quartidecimi diei, quo pascha initiari statutum est, et mane quintidecimi, quo septima azymorum dierum solennitas inchoari præcepta, a sua prorsus festivitate repudiant. Atque insuper in hujus poenam peccati vicesimumsecundum diem, qui in tota paschali institutione per Moysen nec semel appellatus invenitur, frequenter in sui paschæ principium sanciri præcipiunt. Sunt qui in alteram partem a viaveritatis, sed non minore labantur errore, cum scriptura præcipiat via regia gradiendum, et neque ad dexteram, neque ad sinistram ab ea divertendum. Qui a tertiadecima luna usque ad vigesimam dominicum paschæ observandum decernendo, præoccupant sæpius initium paschæ legalis, dum quod ipsa in decimaquarta luna fieri statuit, illi in decimamtertiam

quod est initium decimæquintæ, usque in vespertum, id est, terminum vigesimæprimæ celebretur, quarta in ejusdem observatione regula est nobis a tempore dominicæ resurrectionis imposita, ut cum æquinotio transcenso lunam primi mensis decimamquartam vespere ortum facere viderimus, non statim ad faciendum Pascha prosiliamus, sed dominicum diem quo ipse Pascha, id est, transitum de morte ad vitam, de corruptione ad incorruptionem, de pœna ad gloriam resurgendo facere dignatus est, expectantes, in ipso tandem congrua Paschæ solennia celebremus. Quod si quis objecerit, non æquinotii memoriam, sed tantum primi mensis et tertiæ in eo septimanæ posuisse legiferum, sciat, quia etsi æquinotium nominatim non exprimit, hoc tamen ipso quod a plenilunio primi mensis Pascha faciendum præcipit, æquinotii transcensum plenaria ratione depromit: quoniam absque ulla dubietate constat, eam quæ prima transito æquinotio plenum suum globum ostenderit, primi mensis existere lunam. Quoties ergo diem dominicum mox adventante decimaquinta luna habemus, nil nostrum tempus paschale a legali dissonat, quamvis aliis sacramentorum generibus ejusdem paschæ solennia colimus. Quoties vero secundo, vel tertio, vel quarto, vel quinto, vel sexto, vel septimo ab hinc die idem dominicus occurrerit, ne sic quidem legem aut prophetas solvimus, sed evangelicæ potius gratiæ sacramentis adimplemus: quia enim et salvator noster, sicut Theophilus, cujus supra memini, venerabilis Alexandriæ episcopus scribit, decimaquarta quidem est traditus luna, hoc est, quinta post sabbatum: decimaquinta autem crucifixus die tertia resurrexit, hoc est, decima-septima luna, quæ tunc in dominica die videtur inventa, sicuti et ex evangeliorum observatione comperimus. Habemus ergo solatium quo recte facere Pascha possimus, etiam si dilatio fuerit consecuta propter incurrentem necessitatem, ut si decimaquarta primi mensis in sabbato evenerit luna, aut si in aliis ante sabbatum die-

bus septimanæ sequentis acciderit, sine dubitatione pascha celebremus. Si vero in dominicum inciderit, omni modo in septimanam sequentem, ut sæpius dictum est, differamus, propter eas quas præfati sumus causas. His ergo demonstratis atque patefactis, hoc etiam considerandum est, quod et lex frequenter causa necessitatis eos qui constrictione temporis quadam non potuerunt in primo mense pascha celebrare, secundo idem facere præcipit: melius enim est in necessitate positos superiora quam inferiora sectari: quoniam inferiora a superioribus continentur, superiora autem ab inferiori numero non includuntur. Illud iterum quod jam posuimus declarantes, quod decimus numerus nonum intra se contineat, nonus autem decimum continere non possit. Quod si lex ad secundum mensem transire nos præcipit, si non possimus sanctum pascha primo mense celebrare propter quasdam necessitates, non intelligo cur non si decimaquarta in dominicum diem incurrerit luna, in septimanam sequentem rationabiliter dilationem Paschæ facere debeamus, manente et primo mense et decimaquinta luna in qua Salvator crucifixus est, manente etiam et septimadecima quando post triduum resurrexit. Ubi autem primum dominicus resurrectionis Christi dies fuerit, varie refertur: et quidem, ut supra memoravimus, quidam VIII Calendarum Aprilium, sed alii VI nonnulli V Calendarum earundem die fuisse asseverant. Ubi notandum, quia si octava Calendarum memoratarum, ut antiquiores scripsere, resurrectio domini facta est, quintus profecto circuli decennovenalis tunc agebatur annus, habens concurrentes VII et lunam decimamquartam, sicut semper XI Calendarum Aprilium. Si autem VI Calendarum Aprilium dominus resurrexit, tertiusdecimus circuli præfati annus extitit, V habens concurrentes, et lunam decimamquartam, ut semper nono Calendarum Aprilium. Porro si quinto Calendarum suprascriptarum resurrectio celebrata est Christi, secundus circuli decennovenalis existens annus

et signatas agni sanguine domus filiorum Israel liberans : sequentes vero dies septem, id est, a decimoquinto usque ad vigesimum primum mensis ejusdem, azymorum proprie vocantur: scriptum namque est in Exodo, ubi agnus immolari decimoquarto die primi mensis ad vesperam mandatur: Et comedetis festinantes, est enim pascha, id est, transitus Domini, Et: Transibo per terram Ægypti nocte illa, percutiamque omne primogenitum in terra Ægypti. Et paulo post: Et cum dixerint vobis filii vestri: Quæ est ista religio: dicetis: Victima transitus Domini est, quando transivit super domos filiorum Israel in Ægypto, percutiens Ægyptios, et domus nostras liberans. Item in Levitico: Mense primo, inquit, decimoquarto die mensis ad vesperam, phase Domini est, et decimoquinto die mensis hujus solennitas est azymorum Domini: septem diebus azyma comedetis, dies primus erit vobis celeberrimus sanctusque. Omne opus servile non facietis in eo, sed offeretis sacrificium in igne Domino septem diebus. Et ne nos quispiam verba legis aliter quam veritas habet, intellexisse autumet, videat doctissimus legalium literarum, et sacerdos, quid de iis sentiat Josephus. Scribit in libro Antiquitatum in hunc modum: Decimaquarta luna primi mensis agnus immolatur, decimaquinta autem succedit festivitas azymorum, quæ septem diebus celebratur. Secunda vero azymorum die, quæ est sextadecima, frugum primitias quas metunt, offerunt. Quem legalium morem sacrorum etiam nunc ecclesiæ consuetudo non ignobiliter imitatur, unam videlicet noctem transitus dominici, id est, resurrectionis ejus a mortuis, quam pios triumphando fideles salvare dignatus est, principaliter observans, in cujus exortum sanguis, ipsius videlicet agni immaculati, populum ejus fonte regenerationis ablutum mundat ab omni peccato: ac deinde alios septem dies in memoriam ejusdem dominicæ resurrectionis congrua festivitate subjungens. Verum quia ipsa quoque dies paschæ a fermento casti-

gari præcipitur, hanc evangelii scriptura aliquando primam azymorum cognominat. Et primo, inquiring, die azymorum quando pascha immolabant dicunt ei discipuli: Quo vis eamus et paremus tibi ut manduces Pascha? Item die XV mensis primi, a qua VII dies azymorum inchoant, propter viciniam paschæ nomine vocat illius cum dicit: Et ipsi non introierunt in prætorium, ut non contaminarentur, sed manducarent pascha: non quia legi contraria est evangelica scriptura, sed quia sacramentum quod decebat hac nobis societate vocabulorum vivacius inculcare curavit. Salva enim subtiliore discussione, possumus intelligere quod mystica paschæ solennia singuli nostrum in die baptismatis egerint: spiritualem videlicet exterminatorem signo preciosi sanguinis evadendo, spirituales transeundo tenebras, toto autem vitæ proficientes tempore, quod deinceps in hac peregrinatione gerimus, septem dies azymorum celebremus: quibus sicut Apostolus edocet, non in fermento malitiæ et nequitiae, sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis epulari debemus. Et quia nos in baptismo, ut de potestate Satanæ in partem sortis sanctorum transire queamus, sinceritatem ac veritatem necesse est tenere, itemque toto nostræ peregrinationis tempore, quod septenario dierum numero volvitur, quotidiano profectu ad meliora transire præcipimur, quasi et in paschæ azymis vesci, et in diebus azymorum pascha spiritualiter agere cognoscimur.

CAPUT LXIV.

TYPICA PASCHÆ INTERPRETATIO.

NAM sicut tota paschalium observantia ceremonialium, ita etiam tempus quo agi præcepta est totum mysterio sacro redolet. In primis namque æquinotium transgredi in dominicæ paschæ celebratione juxta legis decreta curamus, ut videlicet solennitas, in qua mediator Dei et hominum destructa potestate tene-

brarum mundo lucis iter aperuit, etiam temporis ordine foris quid intus habeat ostendat. Et quæ nobis æternæ beatitudinis lumen promittit, tunc maxime celebretur, cum solis lumen annuo proficiens incremento, primam sumit de noctis umbra victoriam. Deinde mensem primum anni quî et Novorum vocatur, in quo pascha celebremus attendimus. Ipse autem est mensis, in quo mundus iste formatus, et homo est primus in paradisi sede locatus. Quia per hujus mysteria solennitatis primam nos stolam recepturos, primum supernæ beatitudinis regnum, a quo in longinquam regionem discessimus, nos repetituros esse speramus. De cujus gloria regni beatus apostolus Petrus: Cœlos autem novos, inquit, et terram novam, et promissa ipsius expectamus, in quibus justitia habitat. Sed et Johannes in Apocalypsi sua: Et dixit qui sedebat in throno: Ecce nova facio omnia. Deinde etiam tertiam mensis ejusdem septimanam in pascha observamus, quod resurrectionis dominicæ gaudiis aptissime congruit. Quia et eadem sacrosancta ejus resurrectio tertia die facta est, et tertio tempore seculi, id est, cum gratiæ cœlestis adventu tota ejus in carne dispensatio, quæ per resurrectionis consummata est gloriam, mundo apparuit. Prima seculi namque tempora lege naturali per patres, media lege literali per prophetas, extrema charismate spirituali per seipsum veniens illustrare dignatus est. Sed et ipsa tunc lunæ conversio pulcherrimum nobis sacramenti cœlestis spectaculum præbet: namque luna, quæ rotundi facta schematis, a sole lumen, ut supra diximus, accipit: ideoque semper ex dimidio orbe, quem ad solem habet, lucida est, ex altero autem dimidio semper obscura, a prima usque ad XV lucis crementum ad terras, defectum vero habet ad cœlos. A XV autem usque ad novissimam crementum ejusdem suæ lucis a terrenis aversum, paulatim ad cœlestia revertitur. Quia nimirum ejus conversio recte paschalis gaudii

mysteria signat, quibus omnem mentis nostræ gloriam a visibilibus avertere deliciis, caducisque favoribus, atque ad solam cœlestis gratiæ lucem suspendere contemplando docemur. Vel si utramque ejus conversionem in bonum delectat interpretari, possumus intelligere, quod crescens ad oculos humanos lumen lunæ virtutum gratiam, quibus apparens in carne Dominus mundo illuxit, insinuet, de quibus dicitur: Et Jesus proficiebat sapientia et ætate, et gratia apud Deum et homines. Recrescens vero ad cœlos, resurrectionis ascensionisque illius gloriam designet, quæ in se quidem ipsa mox perfecta provenit, sed in animo fidelium quibusdam lucis suæ profectibus usque ad finem seculi crescere non desinit. Resurgens enim Dominus a mortuis primo singulis ac binis, ac deinde pluribus, modo septem, modo undecim, modo duodecim, modo plus quam quingentis fratribus simul, ad ultimum discipulis omnibus apparuit: quibus videntibus ascensurus in cœlum, præcepit eos suæ dispensationis esse testes in Hierusalem, et in omni Judæa, et Samaria, et usque ad ultimum terræ. Et bene luna cum nostros crescit ad oculos, paulatim a sole recedit: cum vero ad cœlos, paribus ad eum spatiis redit. Hoc enim est quod ipse dixit: Exivi a patre, et veni in mundum, iterum relinquo mundum et vado ad patrem. Et quod de ipso psalmus: A summo cœlo egressio ejus, et occursum ejus usque ad summum ejus. Quia ergo luna eo suæ lucis incremento, quod exiens a sole ad nostros revolvit obtutus, domini salvatoris in carne, usque ad tempora passionis doctrinam virtutesque significat, eo autem quod ad solem rediens paulatim ad invisibilem nobis cœli faciem recolligit, resurrectionis illius ac posterioris gloriæ miracula demonstrat, merito a decimaquinta paschalis voti gaudiis apta prædicatur. His quidem paschalis temporis a legis observatione sumptis indicîis, hæredes novi testamenti etiam diem dominicam, quam scriptura unam sive

primam sabbati cognominat, adnectimus: nec immerito, quæ et conditione primitivæ lucis excellens, et triumpho dominicæ resurrectionis insignis, et nostra quoque nobis resurrectione manet semper exoptabilis. Septem quoque dies lunæ, id est, a XV usque ad XXI per quos eadem dominica naturali ordine discurrit, universitatem ecclesiæ, quæ per totum mundum paschalibus est redempta mysteriis, aperte denuntiant. Nam et septenario sæpe numero universitatem designare scriptura consuevit. Unde quod ait Propheta: Septies in die laudem dixi tibi: nil melius intelligitur, quam quod alibi ait: Semper laus ejus in ore meo. Et specialiter totam catholicæ ecclesiæ perfectionem eo figurari Johannes testatur, qui ad septem Asiæ scribens ecclesias, universalis per orbem ecclesiæ mysteria patefecit. Unde et per omnia quæ singulis septem scribit hortamenta, hunc versiculum intexere curavit: Qui habet aures audiat quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis: quod unicuique dixerat, hoc omnibus se dixisse palam probans ecclesiis. Nec minus etiam moralem nobis commendant paschalia tempora sensum. In nomine quidem paschæ, ut de vitiis ad virtutes transitum quotidie faciamus spirituales. In mense autem novorum, in quo adulti fructus adventu suo pronunciant veterum cessationem, ut exuentes veterem hominem cum actibus ejus, renovemur spiritu mentis nostræ, et induamus novum hominem qui, et cætera. Et ut vegetati diversarum varietate virtutum, earumque foliis veluti amœnæ arboris adumbratione velati, tanquam lætæ atque fructiferæ segetes pullulemus in plenilunio, ut perfectum splendorem fidei et sensus gerentes, a peccati tenebris segregemur. In reversa eadem luce lunari ad cælos, quod a quintadecima luna fieri incipit, ut quanto magni sumus humiliemur in omnibus, dicentes cum Apostolo singuli: Gratia autem Dei sum id quod sum. Quæ profecto gratia muneris superni, quia tertio tempore seculi manifestius effusa

est, pulcherrima figurarum consequentia tertia lunæ hebdomade, lumen ipsius quod eatenus ad terras creverat, ad cœlestia jam crescere inchoat, pulchre hanc in pascha observare præcipimur, ut gratiæ quam accipimus nunquam obliti, per singulos gradus spiritualis transitus largitori illius obediendo vicem rependere meminerimus: vel certe increscente ad homines luna, vitæ nobis activæ, in reversa vero ad cœlos speculativæ typus ostenditur. Vel in hac nobis conversione dilectio proximi, in illa nostri signatur auctoris. Aut huc conversus lucis ejus profectus, ut bona foris operemur admonet, porro illuc, ut eadem bona opera solo supernæ mercedis intuitu geramus. Huc, ut luceat lux nostra coram hominibus, et videant bona nostra opera, illuc, ut glorificent patrem nostrum qui in cœlis est. In una sabbati, quæ Novi Testamenti propria solennitas est, instruimur, ut spe futuræ nostræ in Christo resurrectionis patienter in præsentī omnia adversa pro Christo, et ipsam mortis toleremus injuriam, audientes ab Apostolo: Quia si spiritus ejus qui suscitavit Jesum a mortuis habitat in nobis, qui suscitavit Jesum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora nostra, per inhabitantem spiritum ejus in nobis. Cujus spiritus quia septiformis est gratia, potest eadem VII dierum lunarium numero, quo præfata una sabbati, id est, dies dominica circumfertur intimata, non inconvenienter intelligi. Verum de mysterio temporis paschæ, si quis plenius scire vult, legat beati Aurelii Augustini ad Januarium epistolam de ratione paschali.

CAPUT LXV.

DE CIRCULO MAGNO PASCHÆ.

CIRCULUS paschæ magnus est, qui multiplicato per invicem solari ac lunari cyclo, DXXXII conficitur annis. Sive enim decies novies viceni et octoni, seu

Climacus III.

HEBREWS II. 9—III. 1.

f. 25a	f. 25b
17 לבדל בד מסא	9 מר הר
נדל למ הכחל	היבדע
כחכא טהחא	שמד נח
לכעס: לבדל	חלכקע שמח
הדעק טחבד	אמ טח
סדז כחמ	לעסמ לבדל
כחמ: כחמ	כחמ
לכדל הכחמ	הכחמ
למכ: המא	הכחמ
עבמ מלחמ	כאס
18 הממל: 18 כחא	הכחמ
זי העס מס	חלל: לבדל
סכחממ נח	הכחממ
מס אספ למל	האמא חל
הכחממ שמד: *	חלל חלמ
זי כחממ	10 הכחמ: 10 עז
זי כחממ	זי מסא למ
16 לבדל: 16 לל	מר הלחמל
iii.1 מסא אס אקמ	חלל: המא
מכממ מל	חמ טח
הכחממ מלחמ	לכחממ: זי
הכחממ: אהמ	שממ חלח
לעסמ סלז	חמממ מל
מס שמד הלחמ	לכחממ:

— Cf. *Studia Sinaitica* VI. pp. 14, 118, 119.¹ Cod. הכחממ

HEBREWS II. 9—III 1.

9 τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον, ὅπως χάριτι Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσῃται θανάτου. 10 Ἐπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ¹καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα¹, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι.

Κεφάλαιον τῆς τῆς ἀγίας ἐβδομάδος παρασκευῆς.

11 ὃ τε γὰρ ἀγιάζων καὶ οἱ ἀγιαζόμενοι ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν¹ οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται ἀδελφούς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν, 12 λέγων¹

Ἀπαγγέλω τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,

ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε·

13 καὶ πάλιν

Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποithώς ἐπ' αὐτῷ·

καὶ πάλιν

Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν¹ ὁ Θεός. 14 ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παιδιά κεκοινωνήκεν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετέσχευ τῶν αὐτῶν¹, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον, 15 καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας. 16 οὐ γὰρ δήπου¹ ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται,² ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται. 17 ὅθεν ὥφειλεν κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς¹ ὁμοιωθῆναι, ἵνα ἐλεήμων γένηται καὶ πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, εἰς τὸ ἰλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ. 18 ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθεῖς, δύναται¹ τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι.

¹ Ἀρχὴ κεφαλαίου.

III. 1 Ὅθεν, ἀδελφοὶ ἅγιοι, κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου μέτοχοι, κατανοήσατε τὸν Ἀπόστολον καὶ Ἀρχι[

10¹⁻¹ Cod. om. καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα (homœoteleuton?)

12¹ λέγει γὰρ. ~~καὶ~~

13¹ ἔδωκε. ~~καὶ~~ 14¹ + παθημάτων (cum D₂ al.).

16² + ὁ Θεός. ~~καὶ~~

17¹ + αὐτοῦ (cum Pesh.).

18¹ + καὶ (cum F₂).

11¹ om. αἰτίαν (cum Pesh.).

16¹ om. δήπου (cum Pesh.).

sition to be offered, even when no evidence of their profane belief was produced during their lifetime. But that the accusation of this crime may not be too readily brought in case of uncertainty; We, by the present law, declare those to be guilty who, invested with the name of Christian, either offer sacrilegious sacrifices, or direct this to be done, and the perfidy of such persons can be proved after their death. They shall also be punished by having their donations or their testamentary dispositions declared void, and those heirs who are entitled to the legitimate succession shall obtain the estates of persons of this description.

Given at Ravenna, on the seventh of the *Ides* of April, during the Consulate of Theodosius, Consul for the fourteenth time, and Valentinian, 426.

5. *The Same Emperors to Florentius, Prætorian Prefect.*

We direct that he who has induced a slave or a freeborn person, against his will or by means of threats, to renounce the Christian religion for any infamous sect or rite, shall be punished with the loss of his property and death.

Given on the day before the *Kalends* of February, during the Consulate of Theodosius, Consul for the fifteenth time, and Valentinian, Consul for the fourth time, 435.

6. *The Emperors Valentinian and Martian to Palladius, Prætorian Prefect.*

We order that those who are members of the clergy of Catholic churches, or are monks attached to the orthodox faith, and, having abandoned the worship of the true religion, follow the abominable dogmas and the heresy of Apollinaris or Eutyches, shall be liable to all the penalties which have been prescribed by previous laws against heretics, and that they shall also be banished from the soil of the Roman Empire, as has been provided by preceding laws with reference to Manicheans.

Given on the *Kalends* of August, during the Consulate of Valentinian, Consul for the seventh time, and Arian, 450.

TITLE VIII.

NO ONE SHALL BE PERMITTED TO CARVE OR PAINT THE IMAGE
OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST UPON EARTH, STONE OR
MARBLE.

1. *The Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian to Eudoxius, Prætorian Prefect.*

As it is Our diligent care to guard in every way the religion of the Celestial Divinity, We specially command that no one shall be permitted to trace, carve, or paint the image of Christ the Saviour either upon the earth, upon stone, or upon marble placed in the earth, but

it shall be erased wherever found; and anyone who attempts to violate Our laws in this respect shall be subject to a heavy penalty.

Given on the twelfth of the *Kalends* of June, during the Consulate of Hierius and Ardaburius, 427.

TITLE IX.

CONCERNING JEWS AND THE WORSHIPPERS OF THE HEAVENS.

1. *The Emperor Antoninus to Claudius Triphoninus.*

What Cornelia Salvia bequeathed to all the Jews of the City of Antioch cannot be recovered.

Given on the day before the *Kalends* of July, during the Consulate of Antoninus, Consul for the fourth time, and Balbinus, 214.

2. *The Emperor Constantine to Evagrius, Prætorian Prefect.*

We desire all Jews and worshippers of the heavens, and their heads and patriarchs, to be notified that, if anyone, after the promulgation of this law, should dare to attack a person who has abandoned his odious sect and betake himself to the worship of God, with stones or with any other manifestation of rage (which We have ascertained has been done), he shall at once be given to the flames, and burned with all his accomplices.

Given on the fifteenth of the *Kalends* of November, during the Consulate of the Emperor Constantine, Consul for the eighth time, and Constantine-Cæsar, Consul for the sixth time, 316.

3. *The Emperors Valentinian and Valens to Remigius, Master of the Offices.*

It is proper for you to order that soldiers who are lodged in the synagogue of the Jews, as in the house of a private person, shall leave it, for it is not reasonable that they should be quartered in religious places.

Given on the day before the *Nones* of March, during the Consulate of the Emperors Valentinian and Valens, 365.

4. *The Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius to Hypatius, Prætorian Prefect.*

Let the order, on account of which persons attached to the Jewish faith were gratified, and by which immunity was granted them from curial charges, be rescinded.

Given at Milan, on the eighteenth of the *Kalends* of May, during the Consulate of Merobaudus, Consul for the second time, and Sæturninus, 383.

5. *The Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius to Cynegius, Prætorian Prefect.*

No Jew shall marry a Christian woman, nor shall any Christian man marry a Jewess; for if anyone should be guilty of an act of this

kind, he will be liable for having committed the crime of adultery, and permission is hereby granted to all persons to accuse him.

Given at Thessalonica, on the day before the *Ides* of March, during the Consulate of the Emperor Theodosius, Consul for the second time, and Cynegius, 388.

6. *The Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius to Infantius, Count of the East.*

No Jew shall retain the customs of his race relating to marriage; nor shall he marry in accordance with his religion; nor shall he contract several marriages at the same time.

Given on the third of the *Kalends* of January, during the Consulate of the Emperor Theodosius, Consul for the third time, and Habundantius, 393.

7. *The Emperors Arcadius and Honorius to Eutychianus.*

Jews who live under the common Roman law shall appear in court according to the usual custom, not only in those cases which relate to their own superstition, but also in such as have reference to the bar, the laws, and the rights of the people, and they shall bring and defend all actions in accordance with the Roman laws. If, however, any of them should, by common consent, prefer to have a case heard by Jews as arbiters, provided the action is a civil one, they are not forbidden by the public law to avail themselves of their award. The judges shall cause their decisions to be executed, just as if they had been rendered by arbiters having jurisdiction.

Given on the sixth of the *Nones* of February, during the Consulate of the Emperor Honorius, Consul for the fourth time, and Eutychianus, 298.

8. *The Same Emperors to the Jews.*

No person who does not acknowledge the religion of the Jews shall establish a price at which they shall sell their merchandise, for it is but just that this should be left to each one of them; therefore the Governors of provinces shall not permit any of you to fix or regulate the price at which your goods shall be sold. If anyone, except your chiefs, should venture to take upon himself to do this, let them hasten to punish him as one desirous of appropriating the property of others.

Given at Constantinople, on the third of the *Kalends* of March, during the Consulate of the Emperors Arcadius, Consul for the fourth time, and Honorius, Consul for the third time, 396.

9. *The Same Emperors and the Emperor Theodosius, to Eutychianus, Prætorian Prefect.*

Any Jews who are proved to be subject to a *curia* can be delivered up to the latter.

Given on the third of the *Kalends* of January, during the Consulate of the Emperor Theodosius and Rumoridius, 403.

10. *The Emperors Honorius and Theodosius to Anthemius, Prætorian Prefect.*

The Governors of provinces shall prohibit Jews from burning or exhibiting the representation of the Holy Cross, with the sacrilegious intention of bringing it into contempt, on the festival day when they celebrate the punishment of Haman; nor shall they place the emblem of our faith upon their own houses, but they can retain their rites without manifesting any scorn for the Christian religion; and unless they abstain from what was unlawful, they shall undoubtedly lose the privileges which they have hitherto enjoyed.

Given at Constantinople, on the fourth of the *Kalends* of June, during the Consulate of Bassus and Philip, 408.

11. *The Same to Jovius, Prætorian Prefect.*

The unfamiliar name of "adorer of the heavens" denotes a new kind of superstition, and such persons are hereby warned that they will be liable to the laws under which We direct heretics to be punished, unless they are converted to the worship of God and the Christian faith, and that their buildings (in which they hold their assemblies for instruction in I do not know what new dogmas), shall be claimed by the churches, for it is certain that whatever differs from the Christian religion is opposed to the Christian law.

Given at Ravenna, on the *Kalends* of April, during the Consulate of the Emperors Honorius, Consul for the eighth time, and Theodosius, Consul for the third time, 409.

12. *The Same Emperors to Jovius, Prætorian Prefect.*

We order that, upon the Sabbath day, and at other times when the Jews observe the ceremonies of their worship, no one shall either do anything to them, or, under any circumstances, compel them to appear in court; and they themselves shall not be given permission to sue orthodox Christians upon those days, so that Christians may not suffer any inconvenience from being summoned by the officials upon the days aforesaid; for it is evident that the remaining days will be sufficient for the purposes of the Treasury, and the suits of private individuals.

Given at Ravenna, on the eighth of the *Kalends* of August, during the Consulate of the Emperors Honorius, Consul for the eighth time, and Theodosius, Consul for the third time, 409.

13. *The Same Emperors to Philip, Prætorian Prefect for Illyria.*

No Jew who is innocent shall be oppressed, nor shall any person of any creed cause him to be exposed to insult; nor shall their synagogues or habitations be burned; nor shall they be maliciously injured without reason; for when any one of them is implicated in crime, the authority of the judges and the protection afforded by the public law has been established to preclude anyone from taking vengeance for himself. But, as We desire that provision be made for the personal safety of the Jews, so We think that notice ought to be given to pre-

vent them from becoming arrogant, and, elated by their security, rashly commit some act against the Christian religion, by way of revenge.

Given at Constantinople, on the eighth of the *Ides* of August, during the Consulate of the Emperors Honorius, Consul for the ninth time, and Theodosius, Consul for the fifth time, 412.

14. *The Same Emperors to Aurelian, Prætorian Prefect.*

When any dispute arises between Christians and Jews, it shall not be decided by the chiefs of the Jews, but by the ordinary judges.

Given on the thirteenth of the *Kalends* of November, during the Consulate of the Emperors Honorius, Consul for the twelfth time, and Theodosius, Consul for the eighth time, 418.

15. *The Same Emperors to Asclepiodotus, Prætorian Prefect.*

Jews who are proved to have circumcised any man belonging to our religion, or to have directed this to be done, shall be condemned to the confiscation of their property, and to perpetual exile.

Given on the day before the *Kalends* of February, during the Consulate of the Emperor Theodosius, Consul for the seventeenth time, and Festus, 439.

16. *The Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian to John, Count of the Imperial Largesses.*

The chiefs of the Jews, who govern the Sanhedrim in both Palestines, or those who reside in other provinces, shall, at their own risk, be compelled by the officers of the palace to collect the annual tax due from all the synagogues, in the same manner as the patriarchs formerly collected tribute, under the name of "coronary gold," and what was accustomed to be paid to the western patriarchs shall be deposited in the Treasury of Our Largesses.

Given at Constantinople, on the third of the *Kalends* of June, during the Consulate of Florentius and Dionysius, 429.

17. *The Same Emperors to Florentius, Prætorian Prefect.*

We order by this law, which shall be valid for all time, that none of the Jews (to whom all administrations and dignities are forbidden), shall perform the duties of municipal defender, nor do We permit them to assume the honor of father of the city, lest, strengthened by the authority of the office which they have obtained, they may have the power of judging, or of promulgating decrees against Christians, as well as frequently against the bishops of our holy religion themselves, and, by so doing, insult our faith.

(1) We also, for the same reason, direct that no Jewish synagogue shall be constructed of new materials, but permission is given to repair such old ones as are threatened with ruin.

(2) Hence, any Jew who may have received an office cannot enjoy the dignity which he has acquired; or if he has surreptitiously obtained a public employment which is forbidden, he shall, by all means, be

deprived of it; or if he should build a synagogue, he is hereby notified that he has labored for the benefit of the Catholic Church; and those who have, by craft, obtained honors and dignities, shall be considered to remain in the same condition in which they previously were, even though they may have been unlawfully promoted to an honorable rank.

He who has begun the construction of a new synagogue, not with the intention of repairing an old one, shall be condemned to pay fifty pounds of gold, and be deprived of the work which he is already presumed to do; and, moreover, it is hereby decreed that his property shall be confiscated, and that he shall be condemned to the penalty of death, as one who, by his false doctrine, has attacked the faith of others.

Given the day before the *Kalends* of February, during the Consulate of the Emperor Theodosius, Consul for the seventeenth time, and Festus.

TITLE X.

NO JEW OR PAGAN SHALL HOLD, POSSESS, OR CIRCUMCISE A CHRISTIAN SLAVE.

1. *The Emperors Honorius and Theodosius to Monoxius, Prætorian Prefect.*

A Jew shall not purchase a Christian, or acquire him as a gift, or under any other title. If any Jew should have a Christian slave, or a member of any other sect or nation should think that he had a right to the possession of one, for any reason whatsoever, and should circumcise him, he shall not only be condemned to the loss of the slave, but shall also be punished with death, and the slave shall be given his freedom as a reward.

Given at Constantinople, on the fourth of the *Ides* of April, during the Consulate of the Emperors Honorius, Consul for the eleventh time, and Constantius, Consul for the second time, 417.

TITLE XI.

CONCERNING THE PAGANS, THEIR SACRIFICES, AND THEIR TEMPLES.

1. *The Emperor Constantius to Taurus, Prætorian Prefect.*

We have determined that the temples shall be immediately closed in all cities, and access to them forbidden to all, so that permission for further offending may be refused to those who are lost. We also wish everyone to abstain from sacrifices, and if any person should do anything of this kind, he shall be laid low with the avenging sword; and We decree that his property, after having been taken from him, shall be confiscated to the Treasury, and that the Governors of provinces shall also be punished, if they have neglected to suppress these crimes.

TITLE XXVIII.

NEITHER THE DUKE NOR THE BIOCOLYTE OF LYDIA AND LYCAONIA SHALL HEREAFTER BE PERMITTED TO INTERFERE IN THE AFFAIRS OF EITHER THE PROVINCES OF BOTH PHRYGIAS AND PISIDIA.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH NEW CONSTITUTION.

The Same Emperor to Ariobindus, Most Glorious Prætorian Prefect.

PREFACE.

We, having provided a suitable remedy for such abuses as are of frequent occurrence, now direct Our attention to others which We intend to correct by the present law. We have been informed that in Phrygia and Pisidia, many popular tumults, as well as attacks of robbers, take place; and that the reason for these disorders is that the civil administration has been abolished there, and that We have placed over these two provinces, as well as those of Lycaonia and Lydia, a military commander styled a duke, or biocolyte. The inhabitants of the two Phrygias and Pisidia now ask Us that the crimes which have, for a long time, been committed in their country, shall be suppressed; stating that robberies are perpetrated there with impunity; that their provinces are no longer sufficient to support the officials; that those appointed by Us are not competent, and their subordinates are constantly running over the provinces arresting persons, and committing damage; that the country is so afflicted with military disturbances that it is becoming uninhabitable; that the higher civil judges, who are appointed by the commander-in-chief to dispense justice to the people, instead of maintaining peace among them, make use of the guards attached to their office to arrest innocent persons and oppress them.

CHAPTER I.

We, being moved with sympathy for these unfortunate people, do hereby enact the following law, by which We decree that the jurisdiction of the said provinces (We refer to Salutary Phrygia and Pacatian Phrygia, and Pisidia) shall be withdrawn from the magistracy to which they were formerly subject, together with the Lycaonians and Lydians; and, from this day, We forbid the judges having jurisdiction of Lycaonia and Pisidia to interfere with the government of the two Phrygias and Pisidia, or to send there any of their officers or any other persons under their orders, for the purpose of making arrests. And We also forbid the inhabitants of said provinces, under the penalty of a fine of thirty pounds of gold, to have recourse to the Biocolyte of Lycaonia and Pisidia, or bring either civil or criminal actions in which they themselves are interested before him, and We also forbid this magistrate to enter the two Phrygias and Pisidia, to issue any orders to those who reside there, or to claim jurisdiction

over the affairs of the said provinces; for We order him to be content with Lycaonia and Pisidia, and to govern them alone, just as if, from the beginning, We had restricted his jurisdiction to these two provinces, and as if We had never given him any authority over the two Phrygias or Pisidia.

In this manner We shall deliver the said provinces from all the evils with which they have been oppressed up to this time; civil magistrates will dispose of both civil and criminal matters, and they are hereby notified that if any theft, robbery, or unlawful removal of property of any kind should occur there, and they do not punish it, or do not recover what was stolen, they themselves shall be required to make good the loss, not only while they remained in office but after they have been removed.

If anyone invested with the military command of Lycaonia and Lydia should himself, hereafter, attempt to go into the provinces of Pisidia and Phrygia, or to send any of his subordinates there, We hereby authorize the bishops of the towns to forbid their entrance, and to drive away the officers which the biocolyte despatched, as the present law prohibits this magistrate and the officers subject to his authority, from entering the said provinces under the penalty of thirty pounds of gold, and it also renders them liable to lose their places and their estates.

EPILOGUE.

Therefore Your Glory, having been informed of the matters contained in this Imperial Law, will, in consequence, issue decrees, and address edicts and orders to the Governors of provinces and the bishops of cities, in order that they may publish them therein, and communicate them to all Our subjects.

Given at Constantinople, on the sixth of the *Ides* of February, during the fifteenth year of the reign of Our Lord the Emperor Justinian, and the twelfth after the Consulate of Basil.

TITLE XXIX.

HEBREWS SHALL BE PERMITTED TO READ THE SACRED SCRIPTURES ACCORDING TO THEIR LAW IN LATIN, GREEK, OR ANY OTHER LANGUAGE. PERSONS WHO DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE LAST JUDGMENT OR THE RESURRECTION, AND WHO SAY THAT THE ANGELS ARE CREATURES OF GOD, SHALL BE EXPELLED FROM THEIR COUNTRY.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH NEW CONSTITUTION.

The Same Emperor to Ariobindus, Prætorian Prefect.

PREFACE.

It is necessary for the Hebrews who understand the Sacred Books not to adhere strictly to their literal meaning, but to take into con-

sideration the prophecies contained therein, which announce the coming of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race. As, however, they, by adopting incorrect interpretations of the Scriptures, have, up to this time, wandered from the true faith, and adduce arguments in their favor, We shall not permit this controversy to continue any longer without being settled. For the reason that they have frequently stated that, being only acquainted with the Hebrew language, they wish to make use of it in the Sacred Books but have not deemed it advisable to translate them into Greek, and, on this account, they have, for a long time, been greatly embarrassed, We have decided that it will be better to permit them to read them, not only in Greek, but in any other language which will make them better understood by the hearers, because of its being more familiar to them.

CHAPTER I.

Therefore We order that the Hebrews (no matter in what Hebrew district they may be) shall be permitted to read the Sacred Books in Greek, or in the language of the country, before the persons assembled in their synagogues (that is to say, Latin), or in any other language—provided that it is not a different one from that spoken in the place—in order that the reading of the said Books may be understood by all who are present, and that the latter may continue to live in accordance with their precepts.

We do not, however, allow the Hebrew translators to corrupt the text, and conceal their fraud because of the ignorance of many persons. Those who read the Sacred Writings in Greek shall make use of the Septuagint, which is considered the most correct, and the best; as the authors, although separated from one another and residing in different localities, nevertheless, all agreed in the version which they made. And, indeed, who would not be surprised to learn that these men, having lived a long time before the beneficent appearance of Our Lord Jesus Christ, predicted the events mentioned in the Sacred Books, just as if they had been witnesses of them, and had been enlightened by the grace of prophecy?

Without intending to exclude the other versions, We also permit the Hebrews to make use of that of Aquilea, even though it is foreign, and does not in some points agree with the Septuagint. We, however, absolutely forbid the use of the one which the Hebrews call the second edition, for it does not form a part of the Sacred Books, it was not handed down to Us by the prophets, and is an invention devised by men who only speak of earthly things, and who had in them nothing that was divine.

The Hebrews, then, shall read the sacred words; they must reject the versions that have not been approved, and not discard those which are genuine to make use of foreign translations, transmitted orally, and devised for the perdition of weak persons. But, in order that those who translate Greek or other languages may not, in any way, be inconvenienced on account of the power which We grant them, and which no one whosoever shall prevent them from exercising, We for-

bid those whom the Hebrews call great *archipheretitzæ*, or priests or masters, to prevent *perinæi* or *anathematismi* from translating the Sacred Writings, unless the former should desire to undergo corporeal penalties, and, in addition, lose their property, for We order and desire what is best and most pleasing to God.

CHAPTER II.

If, indeed, any persons should presume to have atheistic writings in their possession, or should deny the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, or the birth of God, or should say that angels are creatures, We order that they shall be expelled from every part of the Empire, that they shall be deprived of the power of blasphemy, and that the punishment of death shall remove such false doctrines from the Jewish Nation which does not acknowledge the true God.

CHAPTER III.

We, however, beseech all who hear the Sacred Books in either Greek or Hebrew to make allowance for the evil disposition of the translators, and not only consider the literal sense of the terms, but also adopt the Divine meaning; so that those who sometimes accept errors, and sin in matters which are most important (We mean with reference to hope in God) may be instructed in the true Faith, and live in peace. For this reason, We permit the Hebrews to make use of all languages for the reading of the Sacred Books, so that in the future they may become familiar with the precepts contained therein, and make more rapid progress in better things.

EPILOGUE.

Therefore Your Glory, as well as the persons attached to Your court, will see that the matters which it has pleased Us to decree by the present law are observed. The magistrate appointed by you will cause the said law to be executed, and will not permit the Hebrews to violate any of its provisions; he will inflict corporeal penalties upon those who attempt to violate it, and will send them into exile, and deprive them of their property, in order to prevent them from audaciously rising up against God and the Empire; and he must also despatch orders to the Governors of provinces, directing them to execute Our law, and the said Governors, after having had it communicated to them, shall themselves publish it in every city; and they are hereby notified that it must be observed by those who do not desire to suffer the effects of Our indignation.

Given at Constantinople, on the sixth of the *Ides* of February, during the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Our Lord the Emperor Justinian, and the twelfth after the Consulate of Basil.

days should remain exposed, presenting a wretched and horrible sight, dishonoring humanity by their wasting and decay? And, in addition to this, as deceased persons are styled the servants of God, and honored on account of their celestial glory, does it not leave their bodies unburied, and thereby even expose them to expiation?

Therefore, We order that this law shall, by no means, be included among other civil enactments, and We abolish it by this Our decree, just as it has previously been very properly disregarded by custom; and hereafter, everyone shall have the right to bury deceased persons either inside the city or without, as he may desire.

CONSTITUTION LIV.

ALL PERSONS SHALL ABSTAIN FROM LABOR ON SUNDAY.

The Same Emperor to the Same Stylianus.

To attempt to communicate useful precepts to mankind is certainly a most laudable undertaking, and those princes who do this, and devote all their attention to the welfare of their subjects, deserve to have their love for the State made a subject of praise, and the laws which they enact religiously observed. It is much more equitable, however, to show reverence to rulers of this kind who, acting to some extent as the legislators of the entire world, experience solicitude of a much more exalted character for the safety of the human race not only on account of the excellence of their opinions, but also because they have drawn up their decrees with the assistance of God.

A law was in force among the disciples of these distinguished men which directed that every kind of labor shall be suspended on the day of the Resurrection. There is, however, another which contradicts this, and provides that all persons shall not be prevented from working upon that day, but that some should be indulged in this respect; for it declares that judges, the inhabitants of cities, and all artisans should rest on this venerated day, but that persons residing in the country can freely engage in the cultivation of their fields, which exception is not founded upon reason. For although, in this instance, the pretext that the crops must be saved can be alleged, this excuse is of no weight, and indeed is futile, as when God gave Us the fruits of the earth he intended that they should be preserved by the effect of the sun, to which, rather than to the industry of the cultivators of the soil, is due the abundance of the crops, and should be so attributed; and as the existence of a law of this kind dishonors the worship of the Lord, and is contrary to what was prescribed by those who, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, obtained a victory over all their adversaries, We hereby decree, in accordance with the wishes of the Holy Spirit, as proclaimed by Jesus Christ and His Apostles, that, during the sacred day when Our redemption is celebrated, everyone shall desist from labor, and neither farmers nor anyone else shall be allowed to perform any unlawful work. For if those who observed only the shadow and semblance of the laws had so much respect for the Sabbath as to

strictly abstain from every kind of labor, how can those who are enlightened by divine grace, and cultivate the truth, fail to exhibit the same reverence for the one day out of seven which has been consecrated to the glory of God, and on which he has honored Us, and delivered Us from death? And when one day of the seven has been dedicated to Our Lord, does it not evince contempt for religion to refuse to be satisfied with working during the other days and not preserve this one sacred and inviolate for God, nor make a distinction between it and the others by using it for the same purpose?

CONSTITUTION LV.

JEWS SHALL LIVE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RITES OF CHRISTIANITY.

The Same Emperor to the Same Stylianus.

Those who formerly were invested with Imperial authority promulgated various laws with reference to the Hebrew people, who, once nourished by Divine protection, became renowned, but are now remarkable for the calamities inflicted upon them because of their contumacy towards Christ and God; and these laws, while regulating their mode of life, compelled them to read the Holy Scriptures, and ordered them not to depart from the ceremonies of their worship. They also provided that their children should adhere to their religion, being obliged to do so as well by the ties of blood, as on account of the institution of circumcision. These are the laws which I have already stated were formerly enforced throughout the Empire. But the Most Holy Sovereign from whom We are descended, more concerned than his predecessors for the salvation of the Jews, instead of allowing them (as they did) to obey only their ancient laws, attempted, by the interpretation of prophecies and the conclusions which he drew from them, to convert them to the Christian religion, by means of the vivifying water of baptism. He fully succeeded in his attempts to transform them into new men, according to the doctrine of Christ, and induced them to denounce their ancient doctrines and abandon their religious ceremonies, such as circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and all their other rites. But although he, to a certain extent, overcame the obstinacy of the Jews, he was unable to force them to abolish the laws which permitted them to live in accordance with their ancient customs.

Therefore We, desiring to accomplish what Our Father failed to effect, do hereby annul all the old laws enacted with reference to the Hebrews, and We order that they shall not dare to live in any other manner than in accordance with the rules established by the pure and salutary Christian Faith. And if anyone of them should be proved to have neglected to observe the ceremonies of the Christian religion, and to have returned to his former practices, he shall pay the penalty prescribed by the law for apostates.

καὶ ὠραίων ὠραιότερον· οὐ ἔσωθεν τῶν ἀδύτων καὶ ἄνω-
θεν τῶν θυσιαστηρίων καὶ τραπεζῶν ἡσθιον καὶ ἔπινον, καὶ
τὰς ἀσελεγεῖς γνώμας καὶ ὀρέξεις αὐτῶν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ
παρθένων καὶ παίδων ἐπάνωθεν ἐποίουν καὶ ἔπραττον. τίς
μὴ θρηνήσῃ σε, ἄγιε ναεῖς; καὶ πανταχοῦ πᾶν κακὸν ἦν, καὶ 5
πᾶσα κεφαλὴ ἤλγει. ἐν οἴκοις θρηνοὶ καὶ κλαυθοί, ἐν τριό-
δοις ὄδυρμοί, ἐν ναοῖς ὄλοφυρμοί, ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγαί, γυναικῶν
ὄλολυγαί ἐκχυσιμοὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὶ διασπασμοὶ τε καὶ βιασμοί.
οἱ σεμνοὶ τῷ γένει ἀτίμως περιῆσαν, οἱ πλούσιοι ἀγόστοι. αἱ
πλατεῖαι, αἱ γωνίαι κατὰ πάντα τόπον πανταχοῦ πασῶν κα- 10
κιῶν ἦν ἔμπλεα· οὐδεὶς τόπος ἀνεξερεύνητος ἢ ἄσυχλος ἔμει-
νεν. ὦ Χριστέ βασιλεῦ, τῆς τότε θλίψεως καὶ στενοχωρίας
πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν, ἣν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἐλευθέ-
ρωσον. καὶ πάντα κῆπον καὶ οἶκον οἱ ἀσεβεῖς οὐκ εἴασαν
ἀνῶρνεκτον, ἵνα τὰ κεκρυμμένα χρήματα εὕρωσι· καὶ πλεί- 15
στων μὲν νέων θησαυρῶν καὶ παλαιῶν καὶ ἐτέρων πολυτίμων
πραγμάτων εὐρόντες ἐνεπλήσθησαν.

B 9. Ὡς οὖν ἡ πόλις ἐάλω, ὁ ἀμνηρᾶς ἔνδον εἰσελθὼν εὐ-
θύς πάσῃ σπουδῇ ζήτησιν ἐποίει περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς κατὰ
νοῦν ἄλλον οὐκ ἐλογίζετο εἰ μὴ μόνον μαθεῖν εἰ ζῇ ἢ τέθνη- 20
κεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. καὶ τινὲς μὲν ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι ἔφηνεν,
ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔλεγον εἶναι κεκρυμμένον, ἄλλοι δὲ τε-
θνάναι μαχόμενον. καὶ θέλων πιστωθῆναι ἀληθῶς ἔστειλεν

19. 85 om P

taria ac mensas ederent ac biberent, et incestas cupiditates et libidi-
nes suas cum feminis, virginibus et pueris exercerent. quis te non
lugeat, templum sanctissimum! ubique calamitas erat et dolebat omne
caput. in domibus lamenta et fletus, in triviis planctus, in templis
luctus, virorum gemitus, mulierum ululatus, rapinae, captivitates, in-
sultationes. genere nobiles contemti erant, divites impii. plateae et
anguli ubique omni malorum genere redundabant; nullus locus erat,
quem non scrutarentur et expilarent. Christe rex, ab illa, quam tum
experti sumus, miseria et calamitate omnem urbem et terram, quam
Christiani habitant, tueare. nullos hortos, nulla domicilia non per-
quirebant impii, ut pecuniam abditam reperirent: ac maximis inven-
tis thesauris, vetustis et novis, atque aliis rebus pretiosis impleti
sunt.

9. Capta igitur urbe, ameras, eam ingressus, studiosissime de
imperatore quaerebat, nec quidquam antiquius habebat, quam ut co-
gnosceret, viveretne an interiiisset imperator. atque eum alii fugisse
dicebant, alii in urbe latitare, alii proelio occubuisse. itaque ut rem
certo cognosceret, misit, ubi Christianorum et impiorum cadavera

ἐνθα δὲ τὰ πτώματα τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἔκειτο σωροειδῶς Χριστιανῶν τε καὶ ἀσεβῶν. καὶ πλείστας κεφαλὰς τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἐπλυναν, εἰ τύχῃ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν γνωρίσωσι. καὶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν γνωρίσαι αὐτὴν εἰ μὴ τὸ τεθνεὸς πτώμα τοῦ
 5 βασιλέως εὐρόντες, ὃ ἐγνώρισαν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν περικνημίδων ἢ καὶ πεδίλων, ἐνθα χρυσοὶ ἀετοὶ ἦσαν γεγραμμένοι, ὥς ἔθος ὑπῆρχε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ ἀμνηρᾶς περιχαρὴς καὶ εὐφραινόμενος ὑπῆρχε· καὶ προστάξει αὐτοῦ οἱ εὐρεθέντες Χριστιανοὶ ἔθαψαν τὸ βασιλικὸν πτώμα μετὰ βασι-
 10 λικῆς τιμῆς. οὐαὶ οὐαὶ κάμοι τῆς προνοίας ἐν τίνι καιρῷ μεφυλαττούσης! ἦν δὲ πᾶσα ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ αἰοιδίμου ἐν βασιλεῦσι καὶ γαληνοτάτου καὶ μάρτυρος τούτου χρόνοι τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα καὶ μῆνες τρεῖς καὶ ἡμέραι εἴκοσι.

Ὁ δὲ ἀμνηρᾶς τῇ νίκῃ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ πλείστης
 15 κενοδοξίας πλησθεὶς ὥμῳ καὶ ἀνελεήμων ἐφάνη. προσελθὼν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ μέγας δούξ ὁ κύρ Λουκάς ὁ Νοταρᾶς προσεκίνησεν αὐτόν, καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ θησαυρὸν πολὺν ὃν εἶχε κεκρυμμένον, καὶ λίθους καὶ μαργάρους καὶ ἑτέρα λάφυρα ἄξια βασιλεῦσιν, ἃ ἰδὼν ὁ ἀμνηρᾶς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ βουλή αὐτοῦ ἐθανύ-
 20 μασαν. ὁ δὲ Νοταρᾶς εἶπε τῷ ἀμνηρᾶ “ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαττον διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν σου, καὶ ἰδοὺ τὰ νῦν χαρίζομαί σοι δωρὸν· καὶ δέομαι, δέξαι τοῦ δούλου σου τὴν δέησιν καὶ παρακάλεσιν.” ἤλπιζεν οὖν οὗτος δι’ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίαν τύ-

23. ἐλευθερίας P

acervatim iacebant. abluerunt occisorum capita plurima, si forte imperatoris agnoscerent. non poterant autem, sed iuventum imperatoris cadaver ex imperatoris ocreis et calceamentis agnoverunt, in quibus aureae aquilae depictae essent, ut mos erat imperatoribus. huius rei certior factus ameras, summopere gavisus et exhilaratus est, et qui aderant Christiani iussu eius imperatorium cadaver honore imperatoribus legitimo sepeliverunt. vae mihi quoque, quem quo tempore servavit divina providentia! vixit venerandus hic et placidissimus imperator, dum martyr obiit, annos quadraginta novem, menses tres et dies viginti.

Ameras magna victoria elatus et inani tumefactus gloria, crudelem se et immanem praestitit. accessit ad eum Lucas Notaras, magnus dux, et, adoratione facta, ingentem thesaurum, quem absconditum habebat, gemmas porro et margaritas aliamque gazam regibus dignam ei monstravit: quorum aspectu ameras cum universo comitatu obstupuit. tum Notaras “haec omnia,” inquit, “servavi maiestati tuae et nunc tibi pro munere trado, ac rogo, ut servi tui preces et vota ne aspernere.” sperabat autem, sic se cum domo sua libertatem con-

και μετὰ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ· ἀπελογίσατο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀμνηρᾶς
 καὶ εἶπεν “ὦ ἡμικύων καὶ ἀπάνθρωπε μηχανορράφε καὶ πο-
 λύτροπε, τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον εἶχες καὶ οὐκ ἐβοήθησας τῷ βα-
 σιλεῖ τῷ αὐθέντη σου καὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ πατρίδι σου; νῦν δὲ
 μετὰ τοιοῦτων πονηριῶν καὶ πανουργιῶν ὡς οἶδας ποιεῖν καὶ 5
 πράττειν ἐκ νεότητος, βούλῃ ὑποσκελίσαι καὶ ἐμὲ, καὶ φύγῃς
 τοῦ πρόποντός σοι; εἰπέ μοι, ὦ ἀσεβῇ, τίς ὁ χαρίσας μοι τὸν
 πλοῦτον τὸν σὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην εἰς χεῖράς μου;” λέ-
 γει αὐτῷ ὁ Νοταρᾶς “ὁ θεός.” ὁ δὲ ἀμνηρᾶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ
 “ἐπεὶ ὁ θεὸς ταῦτά μοι ἐχαρίσατο καὶ σὲ καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ 10
 τὰς χεῖράς μου δούλους ἔδωκε, τί σὺ λέγεις, πονηρὲ, καὶ
 φλυαρεῖς; πῶς οὐκ ἔστειλάς μοι αὐτὰ πρὶν τὴν μάχην κινή-
 σω καθ’ ὑμῶν ἢ πρὶν τὴν πόλιν νικήσω, ἵνα ὀφείλω σοι τὴν
 χάριν καὶ τὴν ἀνταμοιβήν; νῦν οὖν οὐκ εἶ σὺ ὁ χαρίσας μοι
 ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεός.” καὶ εὐθὺς ὤρισε τοῖς δημίους ἵνα εἰς 15
 φυλακὴν βάλωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τηρῶσι. τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον
 προστάζας ἤνεγκαν πάλιν αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος αὐτοῦ·
 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ “ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησας βοηθῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ
 τῇ πατρίδι σου μετὰ τοσοῦτου θησαυροῦ ἀναριθμήτου ὃν εἶχες,
 καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἐβούλευσας τὸν βασιλέα, ὅτε ἐμήνυσα αὐτῷ ἵνα 20
 μετ’ εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγάπης μοι δώσῃ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄλλον ἀντ’
 αὐτῆς τόπον δώσω μετ’ ἀγάπης καὶ φιλίας, ἵνα μὴ τοσοῦτοι
 65 φόνοι ἀναμέσον ἡμῶν γενήσωνται;” ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν

secuturum esse. at respondit ameras “heu te semicanem, hominem
 immanem, veteratorem et fraudulentum, qui tantas opes posse-
 deris, nec succurreris domino tuo, imperatori, nec huic urbi, pa-
 triae tuae! nunc vero cum istis nequitilis et fraudibus, quibus de-
 ditus fuisti a pueritia, me quoque supplantare et poenam effugere
 studes? dic mihi, sceleste, quis est, qui in manus meas tradidit di-
 vitias tuas et hanc urbem?” respondit Notaras “deus.” tum ameras
 “quodsi deus haec mihi donavit, atque te et reliquos in manus meas
 dedit, quid tu, nequam, ais et nugaris? cur mihi haec non ante mi-
 sisti, quam bellum contra vos cominoverem aut urbem caperem, ut
 tibi gratias et remunerationem deberem? nunc enim non tu haec
 mihi largiris, sed deus.” ita statim mandavit lictoribus, ut eum in
 carcerem conficerent et diligenter custodirent. postridie eum rursus
 coram se adduci iussit et his verbis compellavit “quandoquidem im-
 peratori et patriae tuae ditissimo hoc thesauro, quem habebas, opi-
 tulari noluisti, cur imperatori non suasisti, quum talem ego ei condi-
 tionem proposuissem, ut pacifice et ultro urbem mihi daret, ego illi
 alium locum cum benevolentia et amicitia restituerem, ne tantae in-
 ter nos caedes fierent?” respondit ille “huius rei non ego culpam

αὐτῷ “ἐγὼ αἴτιος οὐχ ὑπάρχω εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἀλλ’
 οἱ Ἑνετοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Γαλατῇ, οἱ ἔτασσον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἵνα
 στόλον καὶ στρατὸν εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτῷ στείλωσιν.” ὁ δὲ ἀμη-
 ρᾶς “πολλὰ οἶδας” λέγει “ψεύδους ἐφευρήματα· τὰ νῦν δὲ
 5 καιρὸς ψεύδους οὐκ ἔστιν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ σοι.” καὶ προστάξας
 ἐπὶ τὴν αὐριον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ξηροῦ λόφου ἀγορὰν πρῶτον κα-
 τενώπιον αὐτοῦ θανατώσῃ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, οὓς ποτε
 ᾔδει τῷ βασιλεῖ ἵνα τὸν ἕνα αὐτῶν τιμήσῃ τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου
 κοντοσταύλου ἀξιώματι καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου λογο-
 10 θέτον, εἶτα καὶ αὐτὸν θανατώσῃ, ὡς καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ
 οὕτω τὰ τοῦ Λουκᾶ τοῦ Νοταρᾶ πέρας ἔλαβον. εἶτα προσ-
 τάξας μετὰ ταῦτα ἐθανάτωσε πολλοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἄρχοντας,
 τὸν τῶν Ἑνετῶν ἄγαγον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἀσιάνδην
 τῆς Καταλονίας καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ. εἶτα ᾔθελεν θανα-
 15 τώσῃ καὶ τὸν Κονταρῖνον καὶ ἑτέρους εὐγενεῖς τῶν Ἑνε-
 τῶν, οἱ χρήματα δώσαντες καὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενοι τῷ Σογᾶν μπα-
 σιᾷ τοῦ ζῆν ἔχαρισθῇσαν. καὶ στείλας ἐν τῇ Γαλατῇ καὶ
 πολλοὺς πιάσας ἐθανάτωσε, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελία ἦν
 ἐπαγγελίᾳ εἰς οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑποτελεῖς
 20 ὥρισεν εἶναι. τὸν δὲ Ἀλὶ μπασιᾶν στείλας ἀπέκλεισεν ἐν
 πύργῳ τινί, καὶ μετὰ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ αὐτὸν ἐθανάτωσε,
 δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν εἰπομεν, ἥγουν διὰ τὸ λέγειν αὐτὸν τοῦ μὴ

6. ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξηρολόφου P 8. ἵνα om P τιμήσαι τὸ τ. μ. κ.
 ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον λογοθέτην P 13. ἀσιάντην P 20.
 ἀλή πιασιᾶν P

sustineo, sed Veneti et Galataei, qui imperatori promittebant, se
 classem et copias ei auxilio missuros.” rursus ameras “multa,” inquit,
 “fingere mendacia didicisti. verum nunc tempus non est mendaciis
 tibi consulendi.” praecepit deinde, ut sequenti die in foro collis aridi
 quod dicitur prius coram ipso duo filii eius trucidarentur, de quibus
 olim rogaverat, ut imperator alterum magni contostauli, alterum ma-
 gni logothetae dignitate honestaret: deinde trucidaretur ipse: id quod
 ita factum est. hunc igitur finem res Lucae Notarae habuerunt. de-
 inde ameras multos generosos viros principes interfici iussit, velut
 Venetorum stationarium et filium eius, magistrum cursus publici Ca-
 telanorum cum duobus filiis. mox etiam Contarium et alios nobiles
 Venetos occidi voluit, qui tamen, pecunia data et promissa Sogan
 basiae, vitam impetrarunt. at vero Galatam misit et multos ibi com-
 prehensos trucidavit, nec quidquam iam meminerat, quam iis con-
 ditionem promississet, sed illos quoque sibi stipendiarios esse voluit.
 Ali basiam in turrin inclusum, post paucos dies interemit, propter
 causam a nobis significatam, quod suaserat, ne bellum adversus ur-

ἐγείραι μάχην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἵνα μὴ οἱ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἀν-
θένται Χριστιανοὶ συναχθῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης
αὐτοὺς διώξωσι καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ὥς προγεγράφται. ὁ θάνατος
οὖν αὐτοῦ λύπην ἀμέτρητον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τοῦ ἀμυρᾶ ἐνέ-
δωκε διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντων φιλούμενον καὶ εἰς 5
πάντα καλῶς τὸν ἀμυρᾶν συμβουλευόντα.

10. Ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γίνεται ἔτη βσμβ',
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως τῆς πυργοποιίας ἔτη φ', καὶ ἀπὸ
τῆς πυργοποιίας ἕως τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἀβραάμ εἰς Χαναὰν
γῆν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν λαμβάνουσιν ἀρχὴν τὰ 10
ὀνόματα, εἰσὶν ἔτη χις'. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἕως Ῥώμου
καὶ Ῥωμύλου ἔτη ατμβ', καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου
ἕως Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος ἔτη ψπζ', καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
Καίσαρος ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου Φλαβίου τοῦ τρισ-
ολβίου καὶ αἰοιδίμου τε καὶ ἀειμνήστου, τοῦ μεταθέσαντος 15
τὰ βασίλεια ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς Ῥώμης εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν
τὴν ποτε Βυζάντιον, ἣν αὐτὸς ἀνικοδόμησε καὶ νέαν Ῥώμην
ὠνόμασεν, εἰσὶν ἔτη τלב'. καὶ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντίνου Φλαβίου
τοῦ Χλωροῦ ἕως Ἡρακλείου τοῦ μεγάλου ἔτη τέ, ἐν οἷς χρό-
νοις ἦν καὶ ὁ τρισκατάρατος καὶ ψευδοπροφήτης Μωάμεθ, 20
ὁ ἀπόγονος τοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, ὃς ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Κηδὰρ φυ-
λῆς τοῦ πρωτοτόκου νιῦ Ἰσμαήλ. Νίζαρος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Κη-

1. ἐγεῖραι P 7. 10] ἀπαρτίθμῃσι τῶν ἐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ
ἄχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν περὶ τοῦ Μωά-
μεθ. MP εἰσὶν ἔτη βσμγ⁶ P 13. ψπζ' P 19. χλ' P

bem susciperetur, ut occidentales principes Christiani ne coniungeren-
tur ea occasione et se ex Europa eicerent, et quae alia supra com-
memoravimus. eius mors ingentem luctum exercitui universo amerae
attulit, quoniam ab omnibus diligebatur et praeclara semper consilia
amerae dederat.

10. Ab Adamo ad diluvium anni sunt 2242, a diluvio ad ex-
structam turrim anni 500, ab exstructa turri ad Abrahami in Chanaan
adventum, ex qua terra Graecorum deorum nomina originem ducunt,
anni 616; ab Abrahamo ad Romulum et Remum anni 1342, a Ro-
mulo ad Augustum Caesarem anni 787, ab Augusto Caesare ad ma-
guum Flaviu Constantium, ter beatum, venerandum et aeternae
memoriae imperatorem, qui a vetere Roma imperii sedem Cpolim,
quam, olim Byzantium dictam, ipse instauratam novam Romam ap-
pellavit, anni 332; a Flavio Constantino Chloro ad Heraclium ma-
guum anni 305; quo quidem tempore vixit ter execrandus pseudo-
propheta Mohametes, e posteris Ismaelis, e tribu Cedar, qui filius

δὲ ἀπύγονος ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς δύο, Μόβδαρον καὶ Ῥαβίαν, ὃ
 δὲ Μόβδαρος Κούσαρον καὶ Καῖτον καὶ Θεμίνην καὶ Ἀσα-
 δον, ὃ δὲ Κούσαρος τὸν Ἀβεδουλᾶν, ὃ δὲ Ἀβεδουλᾶς τὸν
 ψευδοπροφήτην καὶ ἀντίχριστον Μωάμεθ. γεννηθεὶς δὲ καὶ
 5 ἀνατραφεὶς πενία συζῶν καὶ κτηνοτρόφος ὢν καὶ μάλιστα σε-
 ληνιαζόμενος, φωτισθεὶς τὰ τοῦ σκότους παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ἐκατέρωθωσεν ἃ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ συνέγραψαν,
 περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον διηγέσθαι. πλὴν ὁλίγων
 10 τινῶν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μιαιῶν ἔργων καὶ πονηρῶν μνειάν ποιή-
 σωμεν. οὗτος ὁ παμμίαρος ἐκ τῶν Ἐθρίβον ὀρέων ὠρμητο,
 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν δοῦλος ὑπάρχων τινὶ γυναικὶ χήρᾳ καὶ ὁμο-
 φύλῳ αὐτοῦ, πλουσίᾳ πάνν, ὀνόματι Χαδιχᾶ. ὃς μετὰ τῆς
 πονηρίας καὶ πανουργίας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κυρίαν εἰς γυναι-
 κα ἔλαβεν, καὶ δαιμόνια ἔχων καὶ πίπτων καὶ τρέμων καὶ
 15 ἀφρίζων αὐτὸς τὸ πάθος μετεσχημάτιζεν, ὅπως μὴ αἰσχύνη-
 ται ἡ γυνή καὶ κυρία αὐτοῦ, μεμφομένη αὐτὸν πῶς συνεξεύ-
 χθη τοιοῦτῳ πέννῃ καὶ δαιμονήτῃ. τὸν ἄγγελον Γαβριὴλ
 ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἑώρα λέγοντα αὐτῷ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν ἐν τῷ
 κόσμῳ καὶ ἀποκαλύπτοντα, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μοναχοῖς
 20 καὶ προφήταις. ἐκ τοῦ φόβου ἐξίστατο καὶ ἐδειλία. ἦν δὲ
 τις ψευδαββᾶς ὀνόματι Σέργιος, διὰ κακοπιστίαν ἐκ τῆς Κων-
 σταντινουπόλεως ἐξόριστος, καὶ φίλος ὢν τῷ Μωάμεθ. ὃν

1. Μούδαλον P

2. Μούδαρος P

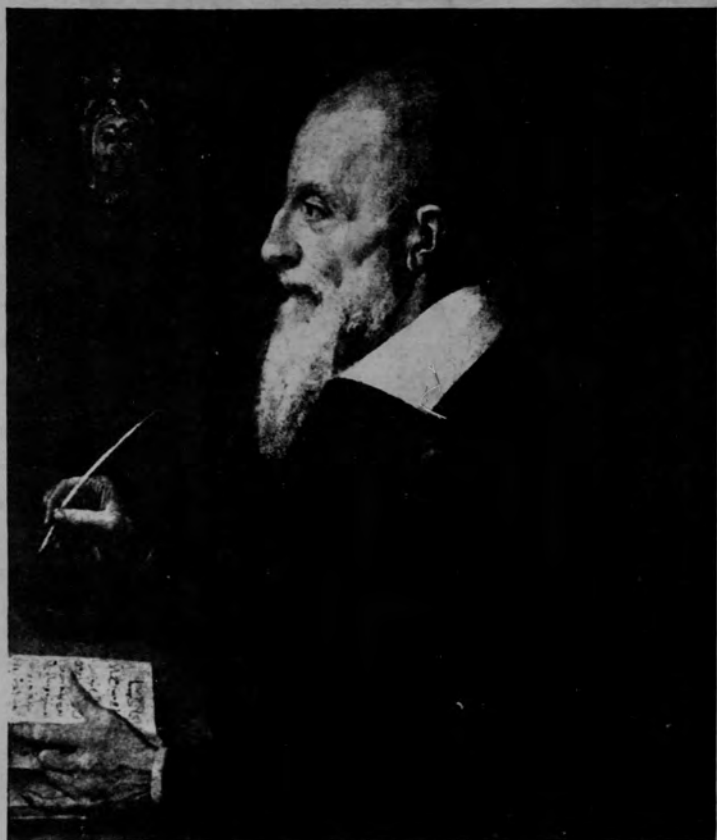
5. καὶ μάλιστα om P

10. ἐθριβόλων P

17. δαιμονιώντι P

21. Ἀλεξανδρείας P

primogenitus Ismaelis fuit. Nizarus enim, unus e posteris Cedar,
 filios duos genuit, Mobdarum et Rhabiam, Mobdarus Cusarum, Cai-
 tum, Theminen et Asadum, Cusarus Abedulam, Abedulas pseudo-
 prophetam et antichristum Mohametem. is in egestate natus et edu-
 catus, adeoque pecunarius et quam maxime lunaticus, quae innova-
 verit, tenebris sibi a patre Satana illustratis, alii multi conscripse-
 runt, ut nos de iis dicere nihil attineat. sed tamen pauca aliqua e
 scelestis et pravis facinoribus eius commemorabimus. e montibus
 Ethribi igitur profectus scelestissimus iste homo, primum servus fuit
 viduae alicuius tribulis, feminae ditissimae, nomine Chadichae; sed
 mox, qua erat pravitate et versutia, heram uxorem duxit, atque,
 morbo comitiali correptus, caducus, tremebundus et ore spumans,
 ipse ita moderabatur morbum, ut eum non aegre ferret uxor et hera,
 neve conquereretur, quod homini egeno et lunatico coniugio iun-
 cta esset. Gabriele angelum videre se aiebat, dicentem sibi et ape-
 rientem, quae futura essent in mundo, quemadmodum monachis et
 prophetis mos est: atque prae timore sui impos erat ac stupebat.
 erat porro pseudabbas quidam, Sergius nomine, propter fidei pravi-



PORTRAIT OF JOSEPH SCALIGER.

From an original painting in the Senate Hall at Leyden.

THE
ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.

TRANSLATIONS OF

The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.

THE REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,

AND

JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.,

EDITORS.

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REVISED AND CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED, WITH BRIEF PREFACES AND
OCCASIONAL NOTES,

BY

A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D.

VOLUME I.

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1899.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS.

SHORTER AND LONGER VERSIONS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy Church which is at Tralles, in Asia, beloved of God, the Father of Jesus Christ, elect, and worthy of God, possessing peace through the flesh, and blood, and passion of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, through our rising again to Him,¹ which also I salute in its fulness,² and in the apostolical character,³ and wish abundance of happiness.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy Church which is at Tralles, beloved by God the Father, and Jesus Christ, elect, and worthy of God, possessing peace through the flesh and Spirit of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in His passion by the cross and death, and in His resurrection, which also I salute in its fulness,² and in the apostolical character,³ and wish abundance of happiness.

CHAP. I. — ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THEIR EXCELLENCE.

I know that ye possess an unblameable and sincere mind in patience, and that not only in present practice,⁵ but according to inherent nature, as Polybius your bishop has shown me, who has come to Smyrna by the will of God and Jesus Christ, and so sympathized in the joy which I, who am bound in Christ Jesus, possess, that I beheld your whole multitude in him. Having therefore received through him the testimony of your good-will, according to God, I gloried to find you, as I knew you were, the followers of God.

I know that ye possess an unblameable and sincere mind in patience, and that not only for present use,⁴ but as a permanent possession, as Polybius your bishop has shown me, who has come to Smyrna by the will of God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, with the co-operation of the Spirit, and so sympathized in the joy which I, who am bound in Christ Jesus, possess, that I beheld your whole multitude in Him. Having therefore received through him the testimony of your good-will according to God, I gloried to find that you were the followers of Jesus Christ the Saviour.

CHAP. II. — BE SUBJECT TO THE BISHOP, ETC.

For, since ye are subject to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us, in order, by believing in His death, ye may escape from death. It is therefore necessary that, as ye indeed do, so without the bishop ye should do nothing, but should also

Be ye subject to the bishop as to the Lord, for "he watches for your souls, as one that shall give account to God."⁶ Wherefore also, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us, in order that, by believing in His death, ye may by baptism be made partakers of His resurrection. It is therefore necessary, whatsoever things ye do, to do nothing without the bishop. And be ye subject also to the presbytery, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ, who is

¹ Some render, "in the resurrection which is by Him." ² Either, "the whole members of the Church," or, "in the fulness of blessing."

³ Either, "as an apostle," or, "in the apostolic form." ⁴ Literally, "not for use, but for a possession."

⁵ Literally, "not according to use, but according to nature." ⁶ Heb. xiii. 17.

be subject to the presbytery, as to the apostle of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in whom, if we live, we shall [at last] be found. It is fitting also that the deacons, as being [the ministers] of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, should in every respect be pleasing to all.¹ For they are not ministers of meat and drink, but servants of the Church of God. They are bound, therefore, to avoid all grounds of accusation [against them], as they would do fire.

our hope, in whom, if we live, we shall be found in Him. It behoves you also, in every way, to please the deacons, who are [ministers] of the mysteries of Christ Jesus; for they are not ministers of meat and drink, but servants of the Church of God. They are bound, therefore, to avoid all grounds of accusation [against them], as they would a burning fire. Let them, then, prove themselves to be such.

CHAP. III. — HONOUR THE DEACONS, etc.

In like manner, let all reverence the deacons as an appointment² of Jesus Christ, and the bishop as Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father, and the presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and assembly of the apostles.³ Apart from these, there is no Church.⁴ Concerning all this, I am persuaded that ye are of the same opinion. For I have received the manifestation⁵ of your love, and still have it with me, in your bishop, whose very appearance is highly instructive,⁶ and his meekness of itself a power; whom I imagine even the ungodly must reverence, seeing they are⁷ also pleased that I do not spare myself. But shall I, when permitted to write on this point, reach such a height of self-esteem, that though being a condemned⁸ man, I should issue commands to you as if I were an apostle?

And do ye reverence them as Christ Jesus, of whose place they are the keepers, even as the bishop is the representative of the Father of all things, and the presbyters are the sanhedrim of God, and assembly³ of the apostles of Christ. Apart from these there is no elect Church, no congregation of holy ones, no assembly of saints. I am persuaded that ye also are of this opinion. For I have received the manifestation⁵ of your love, and still have it with me, in your bishop, whose very appearance is highly instructive, and his meekness of itself a power; whom I imagine even the ungodly must reverence. Loving you as I do, I avoid writing in any severer strain to you, that I may not seem harsh to any, or wanting [in tenderness]. I am indeed bound for the sake of Christ, but I am not yet worthy of Christ. But when I am perfected, perhaps I shall then become so. I do not issue orders like an apostle.

CHAP. IV. — I HAVE NEED OF HUMILITY.

I have great knowledge in God,⁹ but I restrain myself, lest I should perish through boasting. For now it is needful for me to be the more fearful, and not give heed to those that puff me up. For they that speak to me [in the way of commendation] scourge me. For I do indeed desire to suffer, but I know not if I be worthy to do so. For this longing, though it is not manifest to many, all the more vehemently assails me.¹⁰ I therefore have need of meekness, by which the prince of this world is brought to nought.

But I measure myself, that I may not perish through boasting; but it is good to glory in the Lord.¹¹ And even though I were established¹² in things pertaining to God, yet then would it befit me to be the more fearful, and not give heed to those that vainly puff me up. For those that commend me scourge me. [I do indeed desire to suffer¹²], but I know not if I be worthy to do so. For the envy of the wicked one is not visible to many, but it wars against me. I therefore have need of meekness, by which the devil, the prince of this world, is brought to nought.

¹ It is doubtful whether this exhortation is addressed to the deacons or people; whether the former are urged in all respects to please the latter, or the latter in all points to be pleased with the former. ² Literally, "commandment." The text, which is faulty in the ms., has been amended as above by Smith. ³ Or, "conjunction." ⁴ Literally, "no Church is called." ⁵ Or, "pattern."

⁶ Literally, "great instruction." ⁷ Some here follow a text similar to that of the longer recension.

⁸ Both the text and meaning are here very doubtful; some follow the reading of the longer recension.

⁹ Literally, "I know many things in God." ¹⁰ 1 Cor. i. 31. ¹¹ Or, "confirmed." ¹² Omitted in the ms.

¹³ A different turn altogether is given to this passage in the longer recension.

CHAP. V. — I WILL NOT TEACH YOU PROFOUND DOCTRINES.

Am I not able to write to you of heavenly things? But I fear to do so, lest I should inflict injury on you who are but babes [in Christ]. Pardon me in this respect, lest, as not being able to receive [such doctrines], ye should be strangled by them. For even I, though I am bound [for Christ], yet am not on that account able to understand heavenly things, and the places⁴ of the angels, and their gatherings under their respective princes, things visible and invisible. Without reference to such abstruse subjects, I am still but a learner [in other respects⁵]; for many things are wanting to us, that we come not short of God.

For might¹ not I write to you things more full of mystery? But I fear to do so, lest I should inflict injury on you who are but babes [in Christ]. Pardon me in this respect, lest, as not being able to receive their weighty import,² ye should be strangled by them. For even I, though I am bound [for Christ], and am able to understand heavenly things, the angelic orders, and the different sorts³ of angels and hosts, the distinctions between powers and dominions, and the diversities between thrones and authorities, the mightiness of the *Æons*, and the pre-eminence of the cherubim and seraphim, the sublimity of the spirit, the kingdom of the Lord, and above all, the incomparable majesty of Almighty God — though I am acquainted with these things, yet am I not therefore by any means perfect; nor am I such a disciple as Paul or Peter. For many things are yet wanting to me, that I may not fall short of God.

CHAP. VI. — ABSTAIN FROM THE POISON OF HERETICS.

I therefore, yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, entreat you that ye use Christian nourishment only, and abstain from herbage of a different kind; I mean heresy. For those⁷ [that are given to this] mix¹¹ up Jesus Christ with their own poison, speaking things which are unworthy of credit, like those who administer a deadly drug in sweet wine, which he who is ignorant of does greedily¹³ take, with a fatal pleasure,¹⁴ leading to his own death.

I therefore, yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, "entreat you that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment."⁶ For there are some vain talkers⁸ and deceivers, not Christians, but Christ-betrayers,⁹ bearing about the name of Christ in deceit, and "corrupting the word"¹⁰ of the Gospel; while they intermix the poison of their deceit with their persuasive talk,¹² as if they mingled aconite with sweet wine, that so he who drinks, being deceived in his taste by the very great sweetness of the draught, may incautiously meet with his death. One of the ancients gives us this advice, "Let no man be called good who mixes good with evil."¹⁵ For they speak of Christ, not that they may preach Christ, but that they may reject Christ; and they speak¹⁶ of the law, not that they may establish the law, but that they may proclaim things contrary to it. For they alienate Christ from the Father, and the law from Christ. They also calumniate His being born of the Virgin; they are ashamed of His cross; they deny His passion; and they do not believe His resurrection. They introduce God as a Being unknown; they suppose Christ to be unbegotten; and as to the Spirit, they do not admit that He exists. Some of them say that the Son is a mere man, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are but the same person, and that the creation is the work of God, not by Christ, but by some other strange power.

CHAP. VII. — THE SAME CONTINUED.

Be on your guard, therefore, against such persons. And this will be the case with you if you are not puffed up, and continue in intimate union with¹⁷ Jesus Christ our God, and the

Be on your guard, therefore, against such persons, that ye admit not of a snare for your own souls. And act so that your life shall be without offence to all men, lest ye become as "a snare upon a watch-tower, and as a net which is spread out."¹⁸ For "he that does not heal him-

¹ ἐβουλόμην apparently by mistake for ἐδυνάμην. ² Literally, "their force." ³ Or, "varieties of." ⁴ Or, "stations."
⁵ Literally, "passing by this;" but both text and meaning are very doubtful. ⁶ 1 Cor. i. 10. ⁷ The ellipsis in the original is here very variously supplied. ⁸ Tit. i. 10. ⁹ Literally, "Christ-sellers." ¹⁰ 2 Cor. ii. 17. ¹¹ Literally, "interweave."
¹² Literally, "sweet address." ¹³ Or, "sweetly." ¹⁴ The construction is here difficult and doubtful. ¹⁵ *Apost. Constitutions*, vi. 13.
¹⁶ Supplied from the old Latin version. ¹⁷ Literally, "unseparated from." ¹⁸ Hos. v. 1.

bishop, and the enactments of the apostles. He that is within the altar is pure, but ² he that is without is not pure; that is, he who does anything apart from the bishop, and presbytery, and deacons,⁴ such a man is not pure in his conscience.

self in his own works, is the brother of him that destroys himself."¹ If, therefore, ye also put away conceit, arrogance, disdain, and haughtiness, it will be your privilege to be inseparably united to God, for "He is nigh unto those that fear Him."³ And says He, "Upon whom will I look, but upon him that is humble and quiet, and that trembles at my words?"⁵ And do ye also reverence your bishop as Christ Himself, according as the blessed apostles have enjoined you. He that is within the altar is pure, wherefore also he is obedient to the bishop and presbyters: but he that is without is one that does anything apart from the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons. Such a person is defiled in his conscience, and is worse than an infidel. For what is the bishop but one who beyond all others possesses all power and authority, so far as it is possible for a man to possess it, who according to his ability has been made an imitator of the Christ of God?⁶ And what is the presbytery but a sacred assembly, the counsellors and assessors of the bishop? And what are the deacons but imitators of the angelic powers,⁷ fulfilling a pure and blameless ministry unto him, as the holy Stephen did to the blessed James, Timothy and Linus to Paul, Anencletus and Clement to Peter? He, therefore, that will not yield obedience to such, must needs be one utterly without God, an impious man who despises Christ, and depreciates His appointments.

CHAP. VIII. — BE ON YOUR GUARD AGAINST THE SNARES OF THE DEVIL.

Not that I know there is anything of this kind among you; but I put you on your guard, inasmuch as I love you greatly, and foresee the snares of the devil. Wherefore, clothing ¹¹ yourselves with meekness, be ye renewed ¹² in faith, that is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, that is the blood of Jesus Christ. Let no one of you cherish any grudge against his neighbour. Give no occasion to the Gentiles, lest by means of a few foolish men the whole multitude [of those that believe] in God be evil spoken of. For, "Woe to him by whose vanity my name is blasphemed among any."¹⁷

Now I write these things unto you, not that I know there are any such persons among you; nay, indeed I hope that God will never permit any such report to reach my ears, He "who spared not His Son for the sake of His holy Church."⁸ But foreseeing the snares of the wicked one, I arm you beforehand by my admonitions, as my beloved and faithful children in Christ, furnishing you with the means of protection⁹ against the deadly disease of unruly men, by which do ye flee from the disease¹⁰ [referred to] by the good-will of Christ our Lord. Do ye therefore, clothing ¹¹ yourselves with meekness, become the imitators of His sufferings, and of His love, wherewith ¹³ He loved us when He gave Himself a ransom ¹⁴ for us, that He might cleanse us by His blood from our old ungodliness, and bestow life on us when we were almost on the point of perishing through the depravity that was in us. Let no one of you, therefore, cherish any grudge against his neighbour. For says our Lord, "Forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you."¹⁵ Give no occasion to the Gentiles, lest "by means of a few foolish men the word and doctrine [of Christ] be blasphemed."¹⁶ For says the prophet, as in the person of God, "Woe to him by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles."¹⁷

CHAP. IX. — REFERENCE TO THE HISTORY OF CHRIST.

Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you at variance with ¹⁸

Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you at variance with ¹⁸ Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was

¹ Prov. xviii. 9 (LXX.). ² This clause is inserted from the ancient Latin version. ³ Ps. lxxxv. 9. ⁴ The text has "deacon." ⁵ Isa. lxvi. 2. ⁶ Some render, "being a resemblance according to the power of Christ." ⁷ Some read, "imitators of Christ, ministering to the bishop, as Christ to the Father." ⁸ Rom. viii. 32. ⁹ Literally, "making you drink beforehand what will preserve you." ¹⁰ Or, "from which disease." ¹¹ Literally, "taking up." ¹² Or, "renew yourselves." ¹³ Comp. Eph. ii. 4. ¹⁴ Comp. 1 Tim. ii. 6. ¹⁵ Matt. vi. 14. ¹⁶ 1 Tim. vi. 1; Tit. ii. 5. ¹⁷ Isa. lii. 5. ¹⁸ Literally, "apart from."

Jesus Christ, who was descended from David, and was also of Mary; who was truly born, and did eat and drink. He was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate; He was truly crucified, and [truly] died, in the sight of beings in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth. He was also truly raised from the dead, His Father quickening Him, even as after the same manner His Father will so raise up us who believe in Him by Christ Jesus, apart from whom we do not possess the true life.

descended from David, and was also of Mary; who was truly begotten of God and of the Virgin, but not after the same manner. For indeed God and man are not the same. He truly assumed a body; for "the Word was made flesh,"¹ and lived upon earth without sin. For says He, "Which of you convicteth me of sin?"² He did in reality both eat and drink. He was crucified and died under Pontius Pilate. He really, and not merely in appearance, was crucified, and died, in the sight of beings in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth. By those in heaven I mean such as are possessed of incorporeal natures; by those on earth, the Jews and Romans, and such persons as were present at that time when the Lord was crucified; and by those under the earth, the multitude that arose along with the Lord. For says the Scripture, "Many bodies of the saints that slept arose,"³ their graves being opened. He descended, indeed, into Hades alone, but He arose accompanied by a multitude; and rent asunder that means⁴ of separation which had existed from the beginning of the world, and cast down its partition-wall. He also rose again in three days, the Father raising Him up; and after spending forty days with the apostles, He was received up to the Father, and "sat down at His right hand, expecting till His enemies are placed under His feet."⁵ On the day of the preparation, then, at the third hour, He received the sentence from Pilate, the Father permitting that to happen; at the sixth hour He was crucified; at the ninth hour He gave up the ghost; and before sunset He was buried.⁶ During the Sabbath He continued under the earth in the tomb in which Joseph of Arimathea had laid Him. At the dawning of the Lord's day He arose from the dead, according to what was spoken by Himself, "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man also be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."⁷ The day of the preparation, then, comprises the passion; the Sabbath embraces the burial; the Lord's Day contains the resurrection.

CHAP. X.—THE REALITY OF CHRIST'S PASSION.

But if, as some that are without God, that is, the unbelieving, say, that He only seemed to suffer (they themselves only seeming to exist), then why am I in bonds? Why do I long to be exposed to⁸ the wild beasts? Do I therefore die in vain?⁹ Am I not then guilty of falsehood¹⁰ against [the cross of] the Lord?

But if, as some that are without God, that is, the unbelieving, say, He became man in appearance [only], that He did not in reality take unto Him a body, that He died in appearance [merely], and did not in very deed suffer, then for what reason am I now in bonds, and long to be exposed to⁸ the wild beasts? In such a case, I die in vain, and am guilty of falsehood¹⁰ against the cross of the Lord. Then also does the prophet in vain declare, "They shall look on Him whom they have pierced, and mourn over themselves as over one beloved."¹¹ These men, therefore, are not less unbelievers than were those that crucified Him. But as for me, I do not place my hopes in one who died for me in appearance, but in reality. For that which is false is quite abhorrent to the truth. Mary then did truly conceive a

¹ John i. 14. ² John viii. 46. ³ Matt. xxvii. 52. ⁴ Literally, "hedge," or "fence." ⁵ Heb. x. 12, 13.

⁶ Some read, "He was taken down from the cross, and laid in a new tomb." ⁷ Matt. xii. 40. ⁸ Literally, "to fight with."

⁹ Some read this and the following clause affirmatively, instead of interrogatively.

¹⁰ The meaning is, that if they spoke the truth concerning the phantasmal character of Christ's death, then Ignatius was guilty of a practical falsehood in suffering for what was false.

¹¹ Zech. xii. 10.

body which had God inhabiting it. And God the Word was truly born of the Virgin, having clothed Himself with a body of like passions with our own. He who forms all men in the womb, was Himself really in the womb, and made for Himself a body of the seed of the Virgin, but without any intercourse of man. He was carried in the womb, even as we are, for the usual period of time; and was really born, as we also are; and was in reality nourished with milk, and partook of common meat and drink, even as we do. And when He had lived among men for thirty years, He was baptized by John, really and not in appearance; and when He had preached the Gospel three years, and done signs and wonders, He who was Himself the Judge was judged by the Jews, falsely so called, and by Pilate the governor; was scourged, was smitten on the cheek, was spit upon; He wore a crown of thorns and a purple robe; He was condemned: He was crucified in reality, and not in appearance, not in imagination, not in deceit. He really died, and was buried, and rose from the dead, even as He prayed in a certain place, saying, "But do Thou, O Lord, raise me up again, and I shall recompense them."¹ And the Father, who always hears Him,² answered and said, "Arise, O God, and judge the earth; for Thou shalt receive all the heathen for Thine inheritance."³ The Father, therefore, who raised Him up, will also raise us up through Him, apart from whom no one will attain to true life. For says He, "I am the life; he that believeth in me, even though he die, shall live: and every one that liveth and believeth in me, even though he die, shall live for ever."⁴ Do ye therefore flee from these ungodly heresies; for they are the inventions of the devil, that serpent who was the author of evil, and who by means of the woman deceived Adam, the father of our race.

CHAP. XI. — AVOID THE DEADLY ERRORS OF THE DOCETÆ.

Flee, therefore, those evil offshoots [of Satan], which produce death-bearing fruit, whereof if any one tastes, he instantly dies. For these men are not the planting of the Father. For if they were, they would appear as branches of the cross, and their fruit would be incorruptible. By it⁵ He calls you through His passion, as being His members. The head, therefore, cannot be born by itself, without its members; God, who is [the Saviour] Himself, having promised their union.¹⁰

Do ye also avoid those wicked offshoots of his,⁵ Simon his firstborn son, and Menander, and Basilides, and all his wicked mob of followers,⁶ the worshippers of a man, whom also the prophet Jeremiah pronounces accursed.⁷ Flee also the impure Nicolaitanes, falsely so called,⁸ who are lovers of pleasure, and given to calumnious speeches. Avoid also the children of the evil one, Theodotus and Cleobulus, who produce death-bearing fruit, whereof if any one tastes, he instantly dies, and that not a mere temporary death, but one that shall endure for ever. These men are not the planting of the Father, but are an accursed brood. And says the Lord, "Let every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted be rooted up."¹¹ For if they had been branches of the Father, they would not have been "enemies of the cross of Christ,"¹² but rather of those who "killed the Lord of glory."¹³ But now, by denying the cross, and being ashamed of the passion, they cover the transgression of the Jews, those fighters against God, those murderers of the Lord; for it were too little to style them merely

¹ Ps. xli. 10.

² Comp. John xi. 42.

³ Ps. lxxxii. 8.

⁴ John xi. 25, 26.

⁵ i.e., Satan's.

⁶ Literally, "loud, confused noise."

⁷ The Ebionites, who denied the divine nature of our Lord, are here referred to.

⁸ It seems to be here denied that Nicolas was the founder of this school of heretics.

⁹ i.e., the cross.

¹⁰ Both text and meaning are here doubtful.

¹¹ Matt. xv. 13.

¹² Phil. iii. 18.

¹³ 1 Cor. ii. 8.

murderers of the prophets. But Christ invites you to [share in] His immortality, by His passion and resurrection, inasmuch as ye are His members.

CHAP. XII. — CONTINUE IN UNITY AND LOVE.

I salute you from Smyrna, together with the Churches of God which are with me, who have refreshed me in all things, both in the flesh and in the spirit. My bonds, which I carry about with me for the sake of Jesus Christ (praying that I may attain to God), exhort you. Continue in harmony among yourselves, and in prayer with one another; for it becomes every one of you, and especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the apostles. I entreat you in love to hear me, that I may not, by having written, be a testimony against you. And do ye also pray for me, who have need of your love, along with the mercy of God, that I may be worthy of the lot for which I am destined, and that I may not be found reprobate.

I salute you from Smyrna, together with the Churches of God which are with me, whose rulers have refreshed me in every respect, both in the flesh and in the spirit. My bonds, which I carry about with me for the sake of Jesus Christ (praying that I may attain to God), exhort you. Continue in harmony among yourselves, and in supplication; for it becomes every one of you, and especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, and to the honour of Jesus Christ and of the apostles. I entreat you in love to hear me, that I may not, by having thus written, be a testimony against you. And do ye also pray for me, who have need of your love, along with the mercy of God, that I may be thought worthy to attain the lot for which I am now designed, and that I may not be found reprobate.

CHAP. XIII. — CONCLUSION.

The love of the Smyrnæans and Ephesians salutes you. Remember in your prayers the Church which is in Syria, from which also I am not worthy to receive my appellation, being the last¹ of them. Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, while ye continue subject to the bishop, as to the command [of God], and in like manner to the presbytery. And do ye, every man, love one another with an undivided heart. Let my spirit be sanctified² by yours, not only now, but also when I shall attain to God. For I am as yet exposed to danger. But the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ to fulfil both mine and your petitions: in whom may ye be found unblameable.

The love of the Smyrnæans and Ephesians salutes you. Remember our Church which is in Syria, from which I am not worthy to receive my appellation, being the last¹ of those of that place. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ, while ye continue subject to the bishop, and in like manner to the presbyters and to the deacons. And do ye, every man, love one another with an undivided heart. My spirit salutes you,² not only now, but also when I shall have attained to God; for I am as yet exposed to danger. But the Father of Jesus Christ is faithful to fulfil both mine and your petitions: in whom may we be found without spot. May I have joy of you in the Lord.

¹ i.e., the least. ² The shorter recension reads ἀγνίστῃ, and the longer also hesitates between this and ἀσπάζεται. With the former reading the meaning is very obscure: it has been corrected as above to ἀγνίστηται.

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THE
ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.

TRANSLATIONS OF

The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.

THE REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,

AND

JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.,

EDITORS.

AMERICAN REPRINT OF THE EDINBURGH EDITION.

REVISED AND CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED, WITH BRIEF PREFACES AND
OCCASIONAL NOTES

BY

A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D.

VOLUME VIII.

*THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS. EXCERPTS AND EPISTLES. THE CLEMENTINA. APOCRYPHA, DECRETALS,
MEMOIRS OF EDESSA AND SYRIAC DOCUMENTS, REMAINS OF THE FIRST AGES.*

AUTHORIZED EDITION.



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"Well, then, if the parts of a whole are not mutually destructive, and yet the parts of matter are mutually destructive, they cannot be parts of one matter. And, if they are not parts of one another, they cannot be composed of one and the same matter; nay, they cannot be matter at all, since nothing in existence is destructive of itself, as we learn from the doctrine of opposites: for nothing is opposed to itself—an opposite being by nature opposed to something

else. White, for example, is not opposed to itself, but is said to be the opposite of black; and, similarly, light is shown not to be opposed to itself, but is considered an opposite in relation to darkness; and so of a very great number of things besides. If, then, matter were some one thing, it could not be opposed to itself. This, then, being the nature of opposites, it is proved that matter has no existence."

CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS,¹ BISHOP OF HIERAPOLIS, AND APOLOGIST.

[A.D. 160-180.] This author, an early apologist, is chiefly interesting as a competent witness, who tells the story of the *Thundering Legion*² in an artless manner, and gives it the simple character of an answer to prayer. This subject is treated by Lightfoot, in his recent work on the *Apostolic Fathers*,³ in an exhaustive manner; and the story, reduced to the simple narrative as Apollinaris gives it, receives from him a just and discriminating approval.

Apollinaris, as well as Rhodon, has been imagined the author of the work (ascribed to Asterius Urbanus) against Montanism, dedicated to Abiricius Marcellus.⁴ This is sufficiently refuted by Routh,⁵ whose Greek text, with notes, must be consulted by the studious.⁶

Apollinaris was bishop of Hierapolis on the Mæander, and, Lightfoot thinks, was probably with Melito and Polycrates, known to Polycarp, and influenced by his example and doctrine.⁷ He addressed his *Apology*, which is honourably mentioned by Jerome, to M. Antoninus, the emperor. He also wrote *Adversus Gentes* and *De Veritate*; also against the Jews. Serapion calls him⁸ "most blessed."

FROM AN UNKNOWN BOOK.⁹

"THIS narration (says Eusebius, *Hist.*, v. 5) is given" (it relates to that storm of rain which was sent to the army of the Emperor M. Antoninus, to allay the thirst of the soldiers, whilst the enemy was discomfited by thunderbolts hurled upon them) "even by those historians who are at a wide remove from the doctrines that prevail among us, and who have been simply concerned to describe what related to the emperors who are the subjects of their history; and it has been recorded also by our own writers. But historians without the pale of the Church, as being unfriendly to the faith, while they have recorded the prodigy, have refrained from acknowledging that it was sent in answer to our prayers. On the other hand, our writers, as lovers of truth, have reported the matter in a simple and artless way. To this number Apollinaris must be considered as belonging. 'Thereupon,' he says, 'the legion which had by its prayer caused the

prodigy received from the emperor a title suitable to the occurrence, and was called in the Roman language the Thunder-hurling Legion.'"

FROM THE BOOK CONCERNING THE PASSOVER.¹⁰

There are, then, some who through ignorance raise disputes about these things (though their conduct is pardonable: for ignorance is no subject for blame—it rather needs further instruction), and say that on the fourteenth day the Lord ate the lamb with the disciples, and that on the great day of the feast of unleavened bread He Himself suffered; and they quote Matthew as speaking in accordance with their view. Wherefore their opinion is contrary to the law, and the Gospels seem to be at variance with them.¹¹

FROM THE SAME BOOK.

The fourteenth day, the true Passover of the Lord; the great sacrifice, the Son of God instead

¹ Westcott, *Canon*, p. 248.

² See vol. i. p. 187, this series, and references in my note (ii.) on same page. The incident occurred during the war against the Quadi, A.D. 174.

³ Part ii. vol. i. pp. 469-476.

⁴ See p. 766, note 3, *supra*; also vol. vii., this series, p. 338.

⁵ *Rel. Sac.*, tom. ii. p. 196; and *Ibid.*, tom. i. pp. 157-174.

⁶ *Rel. Sac.*, tom. i. p. 173.

⁷ *Ap. Fathers*, part ii. vol. i. p. 428.

⁸ See p. 775, *infra*.

⁹ [See vol. i. p. 187, note 2.]

¹⁰ This extract and the following are taken from the preface to the *Chronicon Paschale*.

¹¹ [Routh, *R. S.*, vol. i. p. 160.]

of the lamb, who was bound, who bound the strong, and who was judged, *though* Judge of living and dead, and who was delivered into the hands of sinners to be crucified, who was lifted up on the horns of the unicorn, and who was

pierced in His holy side, who poured forth from His side the two purifying elements,¹ water and blood, word and spirit, and who was buried on the day of the passover, the stone being placed upon the tomb.

POLYCRATES,² BISHOP OF EPHESUS.

[A.D. 130-196.] This author³ comes in as an appendix to the stories of Polycarp and Irenæus and good Anicetus, and his writings also bear upon the contrast presented by the less creditable history of Victor. If, as I suppose, the appearance of our Lord to St. John on "the Lord's day" was on the Paschal Sunday, it may at first seem surprising that this Apostle can be claimed by Polycrates in behalf of the Eastern custom to keep Easter, with the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon. But to the Jews the Apostles became "as Jews" in all things tolerable, so long as the Temple stood, and while the bishops of Jerusalem were labouring to identify the Paschal Lamb with their Passover. The long survival of St. John among Jewish Christians led them to prolong this usage, no doubt, as sanctioned by his example. He foreknew it would quietly pass away. The wise and truly Christian spirit of Irenæus prepared the way for the ultimate unanimity of the Church in a matter which lies at the base of "the Christian Sabbath," and of our own observance of the first day of the week as a weekly Easter. Those who in our own times have revived the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, show us how much may be said on their side,⁴ and elucidate the tenacity of the Easterns in resisting the abolition of the Mosaic ordinance as to the Paschal, although they agreed to keep it "not with the old leaven."

Our author belonged to a family in which he was the eighth Christian bishop; and he presided over the church of Ephesus, in which the traditions of St. John were yet fresh in men's minds at the date of his birth. He had doubtless known Polycarp, and Irenæus also. He seems to have presided over a synod of Asiatic bishops (A.D. 196) which came together to consider this matter of the Paschal feast. It is surely noteworthy that nobody doubted that it was kept by a Christian and Apostolic ordinance. So St. Paul argues from its Christian observance, in his rebuke of the Corinthians.⁵ They were keeping it "unleavened" ceremonially, and he urges a spiritual unleavening as more important. The Christian hallowing of Pentecost connects with the Paschal argument.⁶ The Christian Sabbath hinges on these points.

FROM HIS EPISTLE TO VICTOR AND THE ROMAN CHURCH CONCERNING THE DAY OF KEEPING THE PASSOVER.⁷

As for us, then, we scrupulously observe the exact day,⁸ neither adding nor taking away. For in Asia great luminaries⁹ have gone to their rest, who shall rise again in the day of the coming of the Lord, when He cometh with glory from heaven and shall raise again all the saints. *I speak of Philip, one of the twelve apostles,*¹⁰

who is laid to rest at Hierapolis; and his two daughters, who arrived at old age unmarried;¹¹ his other daughter also, who passed her life¹² under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and reposes at Ephesus; John, moreover, who reclined on the Lord's bosom, and who became a priest wearing the mitre,¹³ and a witness and a teacher—he rests at Ephesus. Then there is Polycarp, both bishop and martyr at Smyrna; and Thraseas from Eumenia, both bishop and

¹ Πάλιν καθάρσις, qu. παλινκαθάρσις = "re-purifiers."

² Westcott, *Canon*, p. 432, note 1; Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, pp. 379, etc., 494.

³ See Lardner, *Credib.*, vol. ii, cap. 23, p. 259.

⁴ They cannot be satisfactorily answered, it seems to me, save by the appeal to John xx. 19, 26, Acts xx. 7, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, and Rev. i. 10, for "the Lord's day," and to the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv. 28: Col. ii. 16) for the repeal of Sabbatical ordinances; and to the great laws (Matt. xvi. 19; John xiv. 26; Matt. xxviii. 20) of plenary authority given by Christ Himself to His Apostles.

⁵ 1 Cor. 7, 8, and margin of Revised Version; also Acts xii. 4 and 12.

⁶ Acts ii. 1, xx. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

⁷ In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 24.

⁸ Ἀρραδιούργητον ἀγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν.

⁹ Στοιχεῖα.

¹⁰ [See vol. vii. p. 500, n. 6. Great confusions adhere to this name.]

¹¹ Δυὸ θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεννησάμεναι παρθενοί.

¹² Πολιτευσάμενη. [Phil. iii. 20, *Greek*.]

¹³ Πεταλον. [Probably the ornament of the high priest; Exod. xxviii. 35, 36.]

HORAE SEMITICAE No. VIII

183
40

CODEx CLIMACI RESCRIPTUS

FRAGMENTS OF SIXTH CENTURY PALESTINIAN SYRIAC TEXTS
OF THE GOSPELS, OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND
OF ST PAUL'S EPISTLES. ALSO FRAGMENTS OF AN
EARLY PALESTINIAN LECTIONARY OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT, ETC.

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED

BY

AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S.

HON. D.D. (HEIDELBERG); LL.D. (ST ANDREWS);
PH.D. (HALLE-WITTENBERG)

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Climacus II.

ROMANS V. 4^b—15^a.

f. 4b	f. 4a
13 בד חלקא יז	* בהמא ה
נחמא	5 שבו: 5 שבו
שחלחא מוה	ה ל חכמה
חלחא: שחלחא	לבו
ה ל מוה	המחמ
חלחעכא חל	הלמא שחלחא
אחלחא חל	חלחמ
מוה נחמא:	חלחא
14 חלחא חלחא	המחמא מו
חלחא חלחא	החלחמא ל *
אחלחא חלחא	חלחא לחלחא
חלחא חלחא	החלחא
חלחא חלחא	חלחא
חלחא:	חלחא חלחא
חלחא חלחא	6 [†] חלחא חלחא
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חלחא חלחא	חלחא חלחא
חלחא חלחא	חלחא חלחא
15 חלחא חלחא	חלחא חלחא
חלחא חלחא	חלחא חלחא
חלחא חלחא	חלחא חלחא

¹ Cod. ה*—* Cf. *Studia Sinaitica* VI. p. 2.†—† Cf. *Studia Sinaitica* VI. p. 114.

ROMANS V. 4^b—15^a.

4^b ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα· 5 ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς οὐ καταισχύνει, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν.

Κεφάλαιον Εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς Ἁγίας Ἐβδομάδος.

6 ¹ ἔτι γὰρ¹ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν. 7 μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τάχα τις καὶ¹ τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν· 8 συνίστησιν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν. 9 πολλῶ οὖν μᾶλλον δικαιοθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ σωθησόμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς. 10 εἰ γὰρ¹ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες ² κατηλλάγημεν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ³ καταλλαγέμεθα ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ· 11 οὐ μόνον δέ¹, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμενοι² ἐν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ νῦν³ τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν. 12 Διὰ τοῦτο ὥσπερ δι' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διῆλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον· 13 ἄχρι γὰρ νόμου ἁμαρτία ἦν ἐν κόσμῳ, ἁμαρτία δὲ οὐκ ἐλλογεῖται μὴ ὄντος νόμου· 14 ἀλλὰ ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ θάνατος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Μωϋσέως καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιώματι τῆς παραβάσεως Ἀδὰμ, ὅς ἐστιν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος. 15 Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὡς τὸ παράπτωμα, οὕτως καὶ

6¹⁻¹ Cod. εἰ γὰρ (cf. B εἴγε).

7¹ om. καὶ. ⲓⲁ

10¹ δέ. ⲓⲁ

10² + πάλαι. ⲓⲁ

10³ + νῦν. ⲓⲁ

11¹ γὰρ. ⲓⲁ

11² om. καυχώμενοι. ⲓⲁ

11³ om. νῦν. ⲓⲁ

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

TO THE
TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN
OF CONSTANTINE,
BEING THE
324TH OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY
EUSEBIUS,

SURNAMED PAMPHILUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

TRANSLATED BY
THE REV. C. F. CRUSÈ, D.D.

PROFESSOR IN ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE, FLUSHING, NEW YORK.

THE FOURTH EDITION, CAREFULLY REVISED.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, THE
LIFE OF EUSEBIUS, BY VALESIIUS;
TRANSLATED BY S. E. PARKER, OF PHILADELPHIA.



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M.DCCC.XLVII.

bitterly, and embracing the old man as he came up, attempted to plead for himself with his lamentations, as much as he was able; as if baptised a second time with his own tears, and only concealing his right hand. But the apostle pledging himself, and solemnly assuring him, that he had found pardon for him in his prayers at the hands of Christ, praying on his bended knees, and kissing his right hand as cleansed from all iniquity, conducted him back again to the church. Then supplicating with frequent prayers, contending with constant fastings, and softening down his mind with various consolatory declarations, he did not leave him, as it is said, until he had restored him to the church; affording a powerful example of true repentance, and a great evidence of a regeneration, a trophy of a visible resurrection."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ORDER OF THE GOSPELS.

THESE extracts from Clement may here suffice, both for the sake of the history and the benefit of the readers. Let us now also show the undisputed writings of the same apostle [John]. And of these, his Gospel, so well known in the churches throughout the world, must first of all be acknowledged as genuine. That it is, however, with good reason, placed the fourth in order by the ancients, may be made evident in the following manner. Those inspired and truly pious men, the apostles of our Saviour, as they were most pure in their life, and adorned with every kind of virtue in their minds, but common in their language, relying upon the divine and wonderful energy granted them; neither knew how, nor attempted, to propound the doctrines of their Master, with the art and refinement of composition. But employing only the demonstration of the divine Spirit, working with them, and the wonder-working power of Christ, displayed through them, they proclaimed the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven throughout the world. They bestowed but little care upon the study of style, and this they did, because they were aided by a co-operation greater than that of men.

Paul, indeed, who was the most able of all in the preparations of style, and who was most powerful in sentiments, committed nothing more to writing than a few very short epistles. And this, too, although he had innumerable mysterious matters that he might have communicated, as he had attained even to the view of the third heavens, had been taken up to the very paradise of God, and had been honoured to hear the unutterable words there. The other followers of our Lord were also not ignorant of such things, as the twelve Apostles, and the seventy, together with many others; yet of all the disciples, Matthew and John are the only ones that have left us recorded comments, and even they, tradition says, undertook it from necessity. Matthew also having first proclaimed the gospel in Hebrew, when on the point of going also to other nations, committed it to writing in his native tongue, and thus supplied the want of his presence to them, by his writings. After Mark and Luke had already published their gospels, they say that John, who during all this time was proclaiming the gospel without writing, at length proceeded to write it on the following occasion. The three gospels previously written, having been distributed among all, and also handed to him, they say that he admitted them, giving his testimony to their truth; but that there was only wanting in the narrative the account of the things done by Christ, among the first of his deeds, and at the commencement of the gospel. And this was the truth. For it is evident that the other three evangelists only wrote the deeds of our Lord for one year after the imprisonment of John the Baptist, and intimated this in the very beginning of their history. For after the fasting of forty days, and the consequent temptation, Matthew indeed specifies the time of his history, in these words: "But hearing that John was delivered up, he returned from Judea into Galilee." Mark in like manner writes: "After John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, before he commenced the deeds of Jesus, in much the same way designates the time, saying, "Herod thus added yet this wickedness above all he had committed, and that he shut up John in prison." For these reasons the apostle John, it is

said, being entreated to undertake it, wrote the account of the time not recorded by the former evangelists, and the deeds done by our Saviour, which they have passed by (for these were the events that occurred before the imprisonment of John), and this very fact is intimated by him, when he says, "this beginning of miracles Jesus made;" and then proceeds to make mention of the Baptist, in the midst of our Lord's deeds, as John was at that time "baptizing at Ænon near Salim." He plainly also shows this in the words "John was not yet cast into prison." The apostle, therefore, in his gospel, gives the deeds of Jesus before the Baptist was cast into prison, but the other three evangelists mention the circumstances after that event. One who attends to these circumstances, can no longer entertain the opinion that the gospels are at variance with each other, as the gospel of John comprehends the first events of Christ, but the others, the history that took place at the latter part of the time. It is probable, therefore, that for these reasons John has passed by in silence the genealogy of our Lord, because it was written by Matthew and Luke, but that he commenced with the doctrine of the divinity, as a part reserved for him by the divine Spirit, as if for a superior. Let this suffice to be said respecting the gospel of John. The causes that induced Mark to write his, have already been stated. Luke also, in the commencement of his narrative, premises the cause which led him to write; showing that since many others had rashly undertaken to compose a narration of matters that he had already completely ascertained; in order to free us from their uncertain suppositions, he delivered in his own gospel the certain account of those things which he himself had fully received from his intimacy with Paul, and also, his intercourse with the other apostles. This may suffice respecting these. At a more proper time we shall endeavour also to state, by a reference to some of the ancient writers, what others have said respecting the sacred books. Besides the gospel of John, his first epistle is acknowledged without dispute, both by those of the present day, and also by the ancients. The other two epistles, however, are disputed. The opinions respecting the Revelation are still

greatly divided. But we shall, in due time, give a judgment on this point, also from the testimony of the ancients.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SACRED SCRIPTURES ACKNOWLEDGED AS GENUINE, AND THOSE THAT ARE NOT.

✕ THIS appears also to be the proper place to give a summary statement of the books of the New Testament already mentioned. And here, among the first, must be placed the holy quaternion of the Gospels; these are followed by "The book of the Acts of the Apostles;" after this must be mentioned the epistles of Paul, which are followed by the acknowledged first Epistle of John, as also the first of Peter, to be admitted in like manner. After these, are to be placed, if proper, the Revelation of John, concerning which we shall offer the different opinions in due time. These, then, are acknowledged as genuine. Among the disputed books, although they are well known and approved by many, is reputed, that called the Epistle of James and Jude. Also the "Second Epistle of Peter," and those called "The Second and Third of John," whether they are of the evangelist or of some other of the same name. Among the spurious must be numbered, both the books called "The Acts of Paul," and that called "Pastor," and "The Revelation of Peter." Beside these, the books called "The Epistle of Barnabas," and what are called "The Institutions of the Apostles." Moreover, as I said before, if it should appear right, "The Revelation of John," which some, as before said, reject, but others rank among the genuine. ✕ But there are also some who number among these, the gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have received Christ are particularly delighted. These may be said to be all concerning which there is any dispute. We have, however, necessarily subjoined here a catalogue of these also, in order to distinguish those that are true, genuine, and well authenticated writings, from those others which are not only not embodied in the canon, but likewise disputed,

notwithstanding that they are recognized by most ecclesiastical writers. Thus we may have it in our power to know both these books, and those that are adduced by the heretics under the name of the apostles, such, viz., as compose the gospels of Peter, Thomas, and Matthew, and others beside them, or such as contain the Acts of the Apostles, by Andrew, and John, and others, of which no one of those writers in the ecclesiastical succession has condescended to make any mention in his works; and indeed, the character of the style itself is very different from that of the apostles, and the sentiments, and the purport of those things that are advanced in them, deviating as far as possible from sound orthodoxy, evidently proves they are the fictions of heretical men; whence they are to be ranked not only among the spurious writings, but are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious. Let us now proceed to the continuation of our history.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MENANDER THE IMPOSTOR.

MENANDER, who succeeded Simon Magus, exhibited himself in his conduct an instrument of diabolical wickedness, not inferior to the former. He, also, was a Samaritan, and having made no less progress in his impostures than his master, revelled in still more arrogant pretensions to miracles; saying that he was in truth the Saviour, once sent from the invisible worlds for the salvation of men; teaching also, that no one could overcome those angels who were the makers of the world, in any other way, than by being first initiated into the magic discipline imparted by him, and by the baptism conferred by him for this purpose. Of which, those who were deemed worthy would obtain perpetual immortality in this life; and being no more subject to death, but continuing here the same, would be exempt from old age, and be in fact immortal. This account may be easily confirmed from Irenæus; but Justin, in the same place where he mentions Simon, also adds the narrative respecting him as follows: "But we know that Menander, who was a Samaritan of the village

custom, would have said: 'O good God, unto what times hast thou reserved me, that I should tolerate these things!' He would have fled from the place in which he had sat or stood, hearing doctrines like these. From his epistles, also, which he wrote to the neighbouring churches, in order to confirm them, or to some of the brethren in order to admonish or to exhort them, the same thing may be clearly shown." Thus far Irenæus.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MARTYRDOM OF APOLLONIUS, AT ROME.

ABOUT the same period, in the reign of Commodus, our circumstances were changed to a milder aspect, as there was peace by the grace of God prevailing in the churches throughout the whole world. Then also the salutary doctrine brought the minds of men from every race on earth, to the devout veneration of the supreme God, so that now, many of those eminent at Rome for their wealth and kindred, with their whole house and family, yielded to their salvation. But this was not to be easily borne by the adversary of all good, that demon who in his own nature is envy itself: for he again prepared for action, and commenced plotting various devices against us. He led to the tribunal Apollonius, one of the faithful at that day, renowned for his learning and wisdom, by stimulating a certain man, well calculated to be his minister for such a purpose, to bring accusation against him. But this miserable instrument, entering upon the charge out of season, when such informers were not suffered to live according to the imperial edict, his limbs were immediately broken, after Perennis the judge had pronounced the sentence. But this most approved and divinely favoured martyr, as the judge earnestly desired and entreated him to give an account of himself before the senate, delivered a most eloquent defence of the faith for which he was suffering, in the presence of all, and terminated his life, by decapitation, according to the decree of the senate; as there was a law of long standing with them, that those who had been once led to trial, and that would

by no means change their purpose, should not be dismissed. But the declarations of this martyr before the judge, and the answers that he gave to the questions of Perennis, and his whole defence before the senate, whoever wishes to know, may learn from the narratives of ancient martyrs collected by us.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BISHOPS THAT FLOURISHED AT THIS TIME.

IN the tenth year of the reign of Commodus, Eleutherus, who had held the episcopate for thirteen years, was succeeded by Victor. In this year, also, Julianus, who had the episcopal charge of the churches at Alexandria ten years, was succeeded by Demetrius. At this time, also, was yet living the above-mentioned Serapion, bishop of Antioch, and the eighth in succession from the apostles. At Cæsarea, in Palestine, Theophilus presided; and Narcissus, who was mentioned before, had still at the same time the administration of the church in Jerusalem. Bacchyllus was then also bishop of Corinth, in Greece, and Polycrates of the church at Ephesus, and many others besides these, as is probable, were prominent. We have only given the names of those whose orthodoxy has been left on record.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE QUESTION THEN AGITATED RESPECTING THE PASSOVER.*

THERE was a considerable discussion raised about this time, in consequence of a difference of opinion respecting

* Our English word *passover*, happily, in sound and sense, almost corresponds to the Hebrew פסח, of which it is a translation. Exod. xii. 27. The Greek *pascha*, formed from the Hebrew, is the name of the Jewish festival, applied invariably in the primitive church to designate the festival of the Lord's resurrection, which took place at the time of the passover. Our word *Easter* is of Saxon origin, and of precisely the same import with its German cognate *Ostern*. The latter is derived from the old Teutonic form of *auferstehn*, *Auferstehung*, i. e. resurrection. The name *Easter*, is undoubtedly preferable to *pascha* or *passover*, but the latter was the primitive name.

the observance of the paschal season. The churches of all Asia, guided by a remoter tradition, supposed that they ought to keep the fourteenth day of the moon for the festival of the Saviour's passover, in which day the Jews were commanded to kill the paschal lamb; and it was incumbent on them, at all times, to make an end of the fast on this day, on whatever day of the week it should happen to fall. But as it was not the custom to celebrate it in this manner in the churches throughout the rest of the world, who observe the practice that has prevailed from apostolic tradition until the present time, so that it would not be proper to terminate our fast on any other but the day of the resurrection of our Saviour. Hence there were synods and convocations of the bishops on this question; and all unanimously drew up an ecclesiastical *decree*, which they communicated to all the churches in all places, that the mystery of our Lord's resurrection should be celebrated on no other day than the Lord's day; and that on this day alone we should observe the close of the paschal fasts. There is an epistle extant even now, of those who were assembled at the time; among whom presided Theophilus, bishop of the church in Cæsarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem. There is also another epistle extant on the same question, bearing the name of Victor. An epistle, also, of the bishops in Pontus, among whom Palmas, as the most ancient, presided; also, of the churches of Gaul, over whom Irenæus presided. Moreover, one from those in Osrhoene, and the cities there. A particular epistle from Bacchyllus, bishop of the Corinthians; and epistles from many others, who, advancing one and the same doctrine, also passed the same vote. And this, their unanimous determination, was the one already mentioned.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONTROVERSY ABOUT EASTER.

THE bishops, however, of Asia, persevering in observing the custom handed down to them from their fathers, were headed by Polycrates. He, indeed, had also set forth the tradition handed down to them, in a letter which he

addressed to Victor and the church of Rome. "We," said he, "therefore, observe the genuine day; neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom. For in Asia great lights have fallen asleep, which shall rise again in the day of the Lord's appearing, in which he will come with glory from heaven, and will raise up all the saints; Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two aged virgin daughters. His other daughter, also, who having lived under the influence of the Holy Ghost, now likewise rests in Ephesus. Moreover, John, who rested upon the bosom of our Lord, who also was a priest, and bore the sacerdotal plate* (*πεταλον*), both a martyr and teacher. And is buried in Ephesus; also Polycarp of Smyrna, both bishop and martyr. Thraseus, also, bishop and martyr of Eumenia, who is buried at Smyrna. Why should I mention Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who rests at Laodicea? Moreover, the blessed Papirius; and Melito, the eunuch, whose walk and conversation was altogether under the influence of the Holy Spirit, who now rests at Sardis, awaiting the episcopate from heaven, when he shall rise from the dead. All these observed the fourteenth day of the passover according to the gospel, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith. Moreover, I, Polycrates, who am the least of all of you, according to the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have followed. For there were seven of my relatives bishops, and I am the eighth; and my relatives always observed the day when the people (*i. e.* the Jews) threw away the leaven. I, therefore, brethren, am now sixty-five years in the Lord, who having conferred with the brethren throughout the world, and having studied the whole of the sacred Scriptures, am not at all alarmed at those things with which I am threatened, to intimidate me. For they who are greater than I, have said, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.'" After this, he also proceeds to write concerning all the bishops that were present, and thought the

* The sacerdotal plate here mentioned, is not to be understood of the Jewish priesthood, for John had no connexion with that. It is probable that he, with others, wore a badge like this, as the priests of a better covenant.

same with himself: "I could also mention," says he, "the bishops that were present, whom you requested to be summoned by me, and whom I did call. Whose names, did I write them, would present a great number. Who, however, seeing my slender body, consented to the epistle, well knowing that I did not bear my gray hairs for nought, but that I did at all times regulate my life in the Lord Jesus." Upon this, Victor, the bishop of the church of Rome, forthwith endeavoured to cut off the churches of all Asia, together with the neighbouring churches, as heterodox, from the common unity; and he published abroad by letters, and proclaimed, that all the brethren there were wholly excommunicated. But this was not the opinion of all the bishops. They immediately exhorted him, on the contrary, to contemplate that course that was calculated to promote peace, unity, and love to one another.

There are also extant, the expressions they used, who pressed upon Victor with much severity. Among these also was Irenæus, who, in the name of those brethren in Gaul over whom he presided, wrote an epistle, in which he maintains the duty of celebrating the mystery of the resurrection of our Lord, only on the day of the Lord. He becomingly also admonishes Victor, not to cut off whole churches of God, who observed the tradition of an ancient custom. After many other matters urged by him, he also adds the following: "For not only is the dispute respecting the day, but also respecting the manner of fasting. For some think, they ought to fast only one day, some two, some more days; some compute their day as consisting of forty hours night and day; and this diversity existing among those that observe it, is not a matter that has just sprung up in our times, but long ago among those before us, who perhaps not having ruled with sufficient strictness, established the practice that arose from their simplicity and inexperience, and yet with all these maintained peace, and we have maintained peace with one another; and the very difference in our fasting establishes the unanimity in our faith." To these he also adds a narrative, which I may here appropriately insert. It is as follows: "And those presbyters who governed the church

before Soter, and over which you now preside, I mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus with Telesphorus and Xystus, neither did themselves observe, nor did they permit those after them to observe it. And yet, though they themselves did not keep it, they were not the less in peace with those who came from other churches where it was kept; although to keep it then was so much the more in opposition to those who did not.* Neither at any time did they cast off any merely for the sake of the form. Those very presbyters before thee, who did not observe it, sent the eucharist† to those who did. And when the blessed Polycarp went to Rome, in the time of Anicetus, and they had a little difference among themselves likewise respecting other matters, they immediately were reconciled, not disputing much with one another on this head. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe it, because he had always observed it with John the disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the apostles, with whom he associated; and neither did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, who said that he was bound to maintain the practice of the presbyters before him. Which things being so, they communed with each other; and in the church, Anicetus yielded to Polycarp, out of respect no doubt, the office of consecrating, and they separated from each other in peace, all the church being at peace; both those that observed and those that did not observe, maintaining peace." And this same Irenæus, as one whose character answered well to his name, being in this way a peace-maker, exhorted and negociated such matters as these for the peace of the churches. And not only to Victor, but likewise to the most of the other rulers of the churches, he sent letters of exhortation on the agitated question.

* The meaning of this passage, if it has any obscurity, is, that the act of observing and celebrating, was a more decided attitude of opposition in the very face of the church that did not observe the festival at this time. And that the western church bore with this, is here adduced as a proof of the love and unity prevailing in the churches.

† The bishops were accustomed at Easter to send the eucharist to one another.

his reign, he began to cherish different sentiments with regard to us, and then proceeded, influenced by certain advisers, to raise a persecution against us. The rumour of this was now every where abroad. But whilst he was already on the point, and so to say, in the very act of subscribing the decrees, the Divine vengeance overtook him, all but, as we might say, restraining him from his design at the very elbow, and illustriously proving to all, that there can be no privilege granted the rulers of the world against the churches of Christ, unless by the sovereign hand of God, and the decree of heaven permitting it to be done for our correction and amendment, and in those times and seasons that he may approve. Aurelian, therefore, after a reign of six years, was succeeded by Probus. He held the government the same number of years, when he was succeeded by Carus, together with Carianus and Numerianus. These again did not continue three full years, when the government devolved on Diocletian, and those subsequently associated with him. In their times the persecution of our own day was begun, and the destruction of the churches at the same time; but a little before this, Dionysius, who had been bishop of Rome for nine years, was succeeded by Felix.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE ERROR OF THE MANICHEES, WHICH COMMENCED AT THIS TIME.

In the mean time, also, that madman (*μανεις τας φρενας*) Manes,* as he was called, well agreeing with his name,

* Our author here uses an epithet, *μανεις*, instead of the proper name of this heretic. Eusebius, here taking occasion to rail at the folly of Manes, by an allusion to his name, finds a word in his own language which seems to characterise, whilst it gives his name nearly. We cannot, however, infer from this, that Eusebius considered the name Greek. He doubtless knew as well as we, that Manes was a Persian name, or at least that it was not Greek. But he wanted nothing more than similarity of sound for his purpose.

Shorting is mistaken in supposing our author here to intimate the word was Greek. The truth is, the orientals call the name Mani, whence the Greek and Latin *Manes*. The resemblance of this name to the Greek *μανεις*, madman, gave our author an opportunity to exercise his wit, by the application of the epithet without the name.

for his demoniacal heresy, armed himself by the perversion of his reason, and at the instigation of Satan, to the destruction of many. He was a barbarian in his life, both in speech and conduct, and in his nature was as one possessed and insane. Accordingly, he attempted to form himself into a Christ, and then also proclaimed himself to be the very Paraclete* and the Holy Spirit, and with all this was greatly puffed up with his madness. Then, as if he were Christ, he selected twelve disciples, the partners of his new religion, and after patching together false and ungodly doctrines, collected from a thousand heresies long since extinct, he swept them off like a deadly poison, from Persia, upon this part of the world. Hence the impious name of the Manichees spread among many, even to the present day. Such was the occasion of this knowledge, as it was falsely called, that sprung up in these times.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THOSE DISTINGUISHED ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF OUR OWN DAY, AND WHICH OF THEM SURVIVED UNTIL THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCHES.

AT this time Felix, having held the episcopate at Rome five years, was succeeded by Eutychianus; he did not hold the office quite ten months, when he left his place to be occupied by Caius of our own day. Caius, also, presided about fifteen years, when he was succeeded by Marcellinus. He was overtaken by the persecution, and in these times, also, Timæus, after Domnus, governed the church of Antioch, who was succeeded by our contemporary Cyrillus, under whom we have known Dorotheus, a learned man, who was honoured with the rank of presbyter of Antioch at that time. He was a man of fine taste in sacred

* *Paraclete*. See note, Book V. ch. 16. The names of three prominent leaders in delusion, to whom the holy epithet Paraclete was either applied, or by whom it was claimed, however different their errors, seem almost to coalesce by alliteration; Montanus, Manes, Mahomet; the first a deluded and ignorant fanatic, the second a crazed philosopher, and the third an ambitious, artful voluptuary, presenting a singular *concordia discors*, all at antipodes in doctrine, yet all aspiring to the exalted attributes of the Paraclete.

literature, and was much devoted to the study of the Hebrew language, so that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with great facility. He, also, was of a very liberal mind, and not unacquainted with the preparatory studies pursued among the Greeks, but in other respects a eunuch by nature, having been such from his birth; so that the emperor, on this account, as if it were a great miracle, received him into his house and family, and honoured him with an appointment over the purple dye establishment of Tyre. Him we have heard in the church expounding the Scriptures with great judgment; after Cyrillus, the duties of the episcopal office in the church of Antioch were administered by his successor Tyrannus, under whom the destruction of the churches took place. At Laodicea, the church was governed by Eusebius, the successor of Socrates, who was sprung from an Alexandrian family. The occasion of his removal was the affair respecting Paul of Samosata, on which account having come to Syria, he was prevented from returning home by those who took great interest in the Scriptures there. He was also an amiable instance of religion among our contemporaries, as may be readily seen in those extracts from Dionysius, which we have inserted above. Anatolius was appointed his successor, a good man, as they say, in the place of the good. He, too, was an Alexandrian. For his learning and skill in the Greek philosophy, he was superior to any of the most distinguished men of our day, as he had attained to the highest eminence in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, besides his proficiency in dialectics, physics, and rhetoric. On this account it is said, that he was requested by the Alexandrians to establish a school there of the succession (or order) of Aristotle. They relate innumerable achievements of his at the siege of the Bruchium,* at Alexandria, as he was honoured by all in office, with extraordinary distinction; as a specimen, we shall only mention this.—When the bread, as they say, failed in the siege, so that they were better able to sustain their enemies than without than the famine within,

* The Bruchium here mentioned, was a part of Alexandria; it seems derived from *πυρρονχος*, *annonæ præfectus*, and was a kind of corn-market.

Anatolius being present, devised a project like the following. As the other part of the city was in alliance with the Roman army, and therefore happened not to be besieged, he sent to inform Eusebius, who was among those not besieged, for he was yet there before his removal to Syria, and was very celebrated, and in high repute even with the Roman general, to inform him of the siege and those perishing with famine. On learning this he begged of the Roman general to grant safety to those who would desert from the enemy, as the greatest favour he could grant him. Obtaining his request, he immediately communicated it to Anatolius. The latter receiving the promise, collected the senate of Alexandria, and at first began to propose that they should come to a reconciliation with the Romans. But as he perceived that they were incensed at the suggestion, he said, I do not think you will oppose me, if I should advise you to send forth the superfluous number, and those that are of no use to us, the old women and children, and old men, and let them go where they wish. For why should we keep those with us, who will ere long at any rate die to no purpose? and why should we destroy with famine those that are already bereft of sight and mutilated in body? We ought to feed only men and youth, and furnish the necessary provisions to those that are necessary for the defence of the city. With such reasoning, having persuaded the senate, he was the first that rose and proposed the resolution, that the whole multitude whether of men or women, that were not needed for the army, should be dismissed from the city, because there would be no hope of safety at all for them, who, at any rate, were about to perish with the famine, if they continued and lingered in the city until the state of affairs was desperate. All the rest of the senate agreeing to this decree, he nearly saved the whole of the besieged; among the first providing, that those of the church, then those of every age in the town, should make their escape, and among these not only those that were included in the decree, but taking the opportunity, many others, secretly clad in women's clothes, went out of the city by his management at night, and proceeded to the Roman camp. There

Eusebius receiving them all, like a father and physician, recovered them, wasted away by a protracted siege, with every kind of attention to their wants. With two such pastors in succession, was the church of Laodicea honoured by the Divine interposition, who after the termination of the war mentioned had left the city of Alexandria, and came to these parts. Not many books were written by Anatolius; as many, however, have come down to us, as shew his eloquence and erudition. In these he sets forth his opinions on the Passover, from which it may be proper to extract the following: Extracts from the Canons of Anatolius 'On the Paschal Festival.' "You have, therefore, in the first year, the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of every cycle of nineteen years, on the twenty-sixth of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, according to the months of the Macedonians, the twenty-second of Dystrus; and as the Romans would say, before the eleventh of the calends of April. The sun is found on the said twenty-sixth of the month Phamenoth, not only as entering the first segment (of the zodiac), but on the fourth day is already found passing through it. This segment they generally call the first dodecatomorium, and the equinox, and the beginning of the months, and the head of the cycle, and the head of the planetary course. That (segment) before this, they call the last of the months, the twelfth segment, and the last dodecatomorium, and the end of the planetary revolution. Hence, also, those that place the first month in it, and that fix the fourteenth of the month by it, commit, as we think, no little and no common blunder. But neither is this our opinion only, but it was also known to the Jews anciently, and before Christ, and was chiefly observed by them, as we may learn from Philo, Josephus, and Musæus; and not only from these, but also from those still more ancient, i.e. the two Agathobuli, commonly called the masters, and of Aristobulus, that most distinguished scholar, who was one of the seventy that translated the holy Scriptures from the Hebrew for Ptolemy Philadelphus, and his father, and dedicated his exposition of the law of Moses to the same kings. These, when they resolve inquiries on Exodus,

say that all ought to sacrifice the passover alike after the vernal equinox, in the middle of the first month. This is found to be when the sun passes through the first segment of the solar, or, as some call it, the zodiacal circle. Aristobulus also adds, it was requisite that not only the sun should have passed the equinoctial segment for the feast of the passover, but the moon also. For as there are two equinoctial segments, the vernal and the autumnal, diametrically opposite to each other, and since the day of the passover is given on the fourteenth of the month at the evening, the moon will stand diametrically opposite to the sun, as may be seen in full moons. Thus the sun will be at the vernal equinox; the moon, on the contrary, at the autumnal equinox.

"Many other matters, I know, have been discussed by him; some of them with great probability, others established with the most certain demonstrations, in which he attempts to show that the festival of the passover; and of unleavened bread, ought to be observed altogether after the equinox; but I shall omit demanding such full demonstrations of matters from which the veil of the Mosaic law has been removed; and it now remains for us, in this uncovered surface, to contemplate, as in a mirror, the reflected doctrines and sufferings of Christ. That the first month of the Hebrews is about the equinox, may be gathered from the book of Enoch."

The same author has also left an elementary work, On Calculation, ten books in all; and other proofs of his great study and proficiency in sacred literature. Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, was the first that laid his hands upon him in his ordination to the episcopate, designing to constitute him his successor in his own church after his death; and, indeed, both of them presided for a short time over the same church. But when the synod at Antioch called him to Antioch against Paul, as he passed through the city of Laodicea, Eusebius, the bishop of that place, being dead, he was constrained by the brethren to remain. And Anatolius also dying, Stephen was made bishop of that church, the last bishop before the persecution; a man greatly admired for his knowledge of

philosophy, and other branches of Greek learning. But he was not equally disposed towards the divine faith, as the progress of the persecution evinced; in which he was proved to be timid and cowardly, rather than a sound philosopher. The affairs of the church, however, were not likely to be ruined by this, for these were corrected and restored by Theodotus, who, under a special providence of God, the Saviour of all, was ordained bishop of the church there: and by his deeds proved the reality of his name (given of God), and of his office as bishop; for he excelled in his knowledge of the medical art, as applied to the body, and was skilled in that healing art which is applied to the soul. No one was ever his equal in kindness, sincerity, sympathy, and a zeal to benefit those that needed his aid. He was, also, much exercised in the study of divine things. Such was he.

At Caesarea in Palestine, Theotecnus, after a most diligent and active episcopate, was succeeded at his death by Agapius. Him we know to have laboured much, and to have kept a most thorough oversight in superintending the people, and with his liberal hand to have paid regard especially to the poor. In his time, we were acquainted with that most eloquent man, and truly practical philosopher, who was honoured with the rank of presbyter in that church; I mean Pamphilus, whose character and greatness would be no trifling subject to elucidate. But we have dwelt in a separate work on the particulars of his life, and the school which he established, as also the trials which he endured amid the persecution in the different confessions, and besides this, the death of martyrdom with which he was crowned. He, indeed, was the most admirable of all here. Among the very eminent men that have flourished near our own times, of presbyters we have known Pierius of Alexandria; Melchius also, bishop of the churches in Pontus. The former was greatly celebrated for his voluntary poverty, and his philosophical knowledge, and was abundantly exercised in expositions of the Scriptures, and the discourses in the public assemblies of the church. Melchius was called by the learned, the honey (*μελι*) of Attica, and was the most perfect original of

learned men that could be described. It is impossible to admire sufficiently the superiority of his eloquence; it might be said perhaps that he derived this from nature, but who is there that could excel him in the excellence of his skill and erudition? for in all the sciences that require the exercise of argumentation, if you were to make trial, you would readily say that he was a most subtle and acute reasoner. The virtues of his life were also a parallel to these. We have had the opportunity of observing him during the persecution, escaping its fury for seven years, in the regions of Palestine. The church of Jerusalem, after Hymenæus, was under the episcopal care of Zambdas, and he not long after dying, Hermon was the last before the persecution of our day; the same that now holds the apostolic chair preserved there to the present. At Alexandria, however, Maximus, who held the episcopal office eighteen years after the death of Dionysius, was succeeded by Theonas. In his time Achilles, who had been honoured with the order of presbyter, was of note at Alexandria, having entrusted to him the school for religious instruction. In his life and actions he exhibited a most rare instance of sound wisdom, and a genuine specimen of evangelical deportment. After Theonas had discharged the duties of the office nineteen years, he was succeeded in the episcopate of Alexandria by Peter, who was also very eminent, and held the office twelve years; nearly three of which he governed the church, before the persecution; during the rest of his life he subjected himself to a more rigid course of discipline, but still continued to manifest great interest in advancing the welfare of the church. Hence, in the ninth year of the persecution he was beheaded, and thus obtained the crown of martyrdom. But after giving in our history an account of the successors, since the birth of our Saviour until the demolition of the churches, embracing a period of three hundred and five years, now let us here attempt to give the conflicts which have been endured in the cause of religion, in our own times, in all their extent and magnitude, that it may be on record for the benefit of posterity.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
ENGLISH MILITARY BOOKS
UP TO 1642 AND OF
Contemporary Foreign Works

BY
MAURICE J. D. COCKLE

LATE CAPT. 4TH BATT. BORDER REGT.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY
CHARLES OMAN, M.A., F.S.A.

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD

EDITED BY H. D. COCKLE



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

NONE know so well the value of a good Bibliography as those who have had to work at the same time on two topics, one of which has and the other has not been dealt with by a competent bibliographer. In the first case the student knows the obvious books, but he is fully aware that others exist, and it is his duty to find them. The preliminary labour of so doing is often enormous : I have known would-be authors who found it so engrossing that they have finally produced nothing more than a list of sources, where they had intended to write a book. Those who are not so faint-hearted, and who have got well to work on a hitherto neglected subject, are always finding new authorities containing facts which make it necessary to delete whole pages of their manuscript. It has always seemed to me that, by some special perversity of fate, a tract of importance, which has hitherto escaped notice, invariably turns up just as the author has despatched the second revise of his proofs to the press.

It is impossible, therefore, to exaggerate the debt which the specialist owes to those who are good enough to make his way clear for him, by searching out all the scattered materials bearing on his subject. As one who, after working through the military annals of the Middle Ages, is about to analyse the far more com-

plicated Art of War of the Renaissance, I am myself bound to express my personal obligation to Mr. Cockle for his diligence and care in compiling this bibliography of English works bearing on War. A glance through his proofs was sufficient to show me dozens of interesting books which had not before come under my notice.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the English had a school of war of their own, entirely dependent on the use of their great national weapon, the long-bow. From the day of Falkirk to that of Flodden the archer, when properly handled by his commanders, discomfited all who, on horse or on foot, came up against him. Unfortunately the tactics of this invincible English archery were not committed to paper by any scientific soldier: they have to be gathered from the chroniclers, who were generally clerics, and often unable to describe with clearness or accuracy the fights of which they have to tell. Just as laymen and professional soldiers began to write, the predominance of the long-bow was ceasing. Roger Ascham's "Toxophilus" (1545) has already to take the defensive against the incoming of firearms, and Sir John Smythe (1590), when he enlarges on "the great sufficiency, excellency, and wonderfull effects of archers" in his "Discourses," is the champion of a cause that had already been lost. Though many of the militia who had been called out against the Armada in 1588 were still armed with the bow, yet before 1600 Sheriffs and Lords-Lieutenant had begun to refuse to put into the ranks any man bearing the old national weapon. Roger Williams and Barwick had demolished all Sir John Smythe's old-fashioned theories.

It is a thousand pities that we have not any literary survivals from the earlier contentions between the advocates of the bow and the arquebus, which must have begun a full century before Smythe and Williams engaged in their controversy. The smaller firearms had been seen in England ere the Wars of the Roses came to an end: they had figured at the second battle of St. Albans and at Stoke Field. Yet they failed to make much way on this side of the Channel till the reign of Henry VIII. was far advanced.

Their advocates must have argued in vain, for two generations, against the conservatives who trusted in the clothyard shaft alone; but not a word of the dispute has descended to us.

By the time that the English soldier began to commit his experiences and his theories to paper, the old school of national tactics was moribund. The men who wrote in the age of Elizabeth had seen all their service in Flanders and France, and were set on teaching their fellow-countrymen the Art of War that had been developed by Spanish and Italian captains since the commencement of the great struggle between Charles V. and Francis I. The military books of the period which Mr. Cockle's bibliography covers are very largely compilations from the continental authors. When they are original compositions, they are still mainly inspired by foreign experience and foreign necessities. England was not destined for many generations to develop a new national system of tactics. This was not unnatural: the country was fortunate enough to escape the sight of battle within her own borders from the day of Solway Moss to that of Edgehill. Between 1542 and 1642 English troops often fought on the continent, but it was generally in small numbers, and as the mere auxiliaries of foreign allies. The only force of really formidable strength that was ever sent abroad was the army that sailed in 1589 to the ill-managed and unlucky "Journey of Portugal." Moreover, all the expeditions which were despatched to the continental wars consisted of men raised for the occasion, and disbanded on their return. There was no standing army in which the professional soldier could find a regular livelihood and a fixed position. He never got the chance of training a full army of Englishmen embodied for permanent service: the only bodies of his countrymen which were held together long enough to become veterans, were the regiments which were hired by the Dutch for their struggle with Spain, and afterwards by the German and Swedish princes during the Thirty Years' War. These corps were mere auxiliaries, and were naturally trained and exercised on continental and not on English methods. We were never to have a professional army of our own till Fairfax and Cromwell

embodied and disciplined the famous "New Model" in the spring of 1645.

It is natural, therefore, that all our early English military books, with very few exceptions, are echoes from the great wars of the continent. We need only except the works of the last advocates of archery, such as Sir John Smythe and William Neade, the author of that fantastic publication, "The Double-armed Man" (1625). All other writers sought their inspiration from the continent, and Mr. Cockle has therefore compiled a bibliography of foreign authors on the Art of War, in whose works the original material of books published on this side of the Channel is so often to be found. Any survey of the history of English warcraft would be incomplete without a notice of them. The labour involved in this part of the work is not less than that required for the construction of the English section: it is true that in the latter Mr. Cockle had no forerunners and was compelled to begin *ab initio*, whereas several good continental bibliographies already exist. But, on the other hand, the bulk of the foreign works is considerably larger, and the British Museum Library, in spite of its wealth, is naturally not so complete in its collection of books published overseas as in that of our national authors.

C. OMAN.

Oxford, July, 1900.



From the "Büchsenmeisterei" of Furtenbach, 1643.



PREFACE.

THE first steps in the study of a subject are often bibliographical. So well did Hulsius¹ understand this that for the benefit of his readers he made a list containing the short titles of the works used in preparing his treatises "Der Mechanischen Instrumenten" (Franckfurt-am-Mayn, 1604, 4°), prefixing it to Part I. Twenty, at least, of the hundred works mentioned may be classed as military; and starting from this index, with its recognition of the fact that some acquaintance with what had already been written should be a prelude to research, it will not be out of place to inquire here what further assistance has been given from time to time in this respect to the student of the art of war and its history. A brief notice of the books actually seen will suffice, for the ground has been covered already by Doisy,² who mentions about fifty lists, most of them very short, however, and occurring in general catalogues, or at the end of other works.

The "Syntagma de Studio militari" of Gabriel Naudé (Rome, 1637, 4°)³ is commonly called the earliest military bibliography, but it is not correctly so described. It is, rather, a compendium, pointing out to the military student what books he should consult,

¹ See No. 945.

² "Essai de bibliologie militaire", Paris, 1824, 8°.

³ This ed. is not in the British Museum.

those being recommended which had been written by successful generals. First there comes a short account of ancient military writers, and of the libraries in which certain MSS. in the Greek, Latin, Arabic, and other tongues, are to be found. Next, some modern authors are mentioned, who are divided into two classes, those who had written on the ancient, and those who had written on the modern discipline. Titles are rarely given, and dates never. Part of the essay was reprinted by Schubert at Jena, 1683, 12°; and Crenius has included it in his collection, "*De eruditione comparanda . . . tractatus*" (Leyden, 1699, 4°), enriching it with notes.

In 1697, Saint-Rémy, in his "*Mémoires d'artillerie*" (Paris, 4°),¹ printed a list of the twelve books on artillery that he considered most necessary for study. It has most remarkable omissions.

Leonhard Stürm, in the "*Vade Mecum architectonicum*" (Amsterdam, 1700, 8°), gives a list of books on fortification, in alphabetical order, under author's names, with short titles, place of printing and date, but not editions.

In 1738 appeared the first English list.² It was added by William Horneck to his translation of Bernard's "*Nouvelle manière de fortifier les places*" (London, 1738, 4°), under the heading, "An account of the rise and progress of Fortification from its Infancy to this June, and of the most noted Engineers who have wrote on that subject."

Next came Loen's "*Bibliothèque Militaire*" (Frankfort, 1743, 8°), in two parts, historical and technical. The latter (pp. 125-167) is in eighteen sections, each subdivided according to language.

The first Spanish military bibliography to be printed was Garcia de la Huerta's "*Biblioteca Militar*" (Madrid, 1760, 8°). Huerta, however, seems only to have published a manuscript which he found in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, while librarian there.

F. von Nicolai, in 1765, issued the first number of "*Nachrichten von alten und neuen Kriegs-Büchern*" (Stuttgart, 8°); it

¹ Reprinted, Paris, 1707 (La seconde Ed.), La Haye, 1741 (La quatrième Ed.), and Paris, 1745, 4^{os}. A pirated ed. of Amsterdam, 1702, 4°.

² Doisy. I have not seen the work.

was to have been in six parts, but the others were never printed.¹ The first part contains a list of writers on tactics, ancient and modern, with brief notices of some of them; short titles, and, in some cases, editions are given. The plan is far more extensive than Loen's, and it is to be regretted that the other parts were not published.

Not a bibliography, strictly speaking, is the admirable "*Discurso sobre los illustres autores e inventores de artilleria*" (Madrid, 1767, 12°, pp. 144) of Vincente de los Rios. Six authors, Tartaglia, Alaba, Collado, Lechuga, Ufano, and Firrufino, are treated of at length, while other writers on the subject are mentioned briefly.

An attempt at a general military bibliography was made by Conrad Walther in 1783, "*Versuch einer vollständigen Militair-Bibliothek*" (Dresden, 8°, pp. 376). This catalogue, in sixteen parts, is arranged according to subject, with an index to authors and subjects at the end. Though it is the most complete and best arranged that had so far been printed, on account of the confusion of titles and of the large number of printer's errors, mistakes in names, dates, etc., little dependence can be placed on it.

Hoyer's "*Geschichte der Kriegskünste [und Wissenschaften]*" (Gottingen, 1797-1800, 8°) is in seven parts. At the end of parts v., vi., and vii. are lists of military books printed between 1651 and 1798, the earlier writers being given in footnotes.²

The first Italian military bibliography is Guarnieri's "*Breve biblioteca dell' architettura militare*" (Milan, 1797 and 1803, 4^{os}). This was amplified by Marini in his preface to the splendid reprint of Marchi's "*Architettura militare*" (Roma, 1810, fol.).

Rumpf's "*Allgemeine Literatur der Kriegswissenschaften*" (Berlin, 1824, 8°) is the best known of the German bibliographies. It is arranged chronologically according to subject, in sections, and these again split up according to size. Rumpf has based his catalogue on Walther, whose inaccuracies he has transported into his

¹ MS. note in B.M. copy.

² Hoyer wrote also: "*Litteratür der Kriegswissenschaften und Kriegsgeschichte*" (Berlin, 1832, 1840, 8°).

own work, adding countless others thereto. In a word, he is not to be relied upon.

General Mariano Ayala used Guarnieri's work as the basis of his "Bibliografia Militare Italiana" (Turin, 1854, 8°). Of this work, as of Almirante's, one can scarcely speak too highly. Wherever I have had an opportunity of checking descriptions with the books themselves, I have found them almost invariably accurate; and if here and there some evident discrepancy makes it as well to verify a date, it is probably the printer who is in fault. This bibliography, which includes MSS., is divided into seven parts according to subject; the number of each might with advantage have appeared in the margins to facilitate reference.

The "Bibliografía Militar de España" (Madrid, 1876, 8°) of Almirante is founded on the general Spanish bibliography of Antonio Nicolas (Rome, *circa* 1670), and on Huerta's catalogue. Almirante is accurate, and invariably gives his authorities for a book not seen by himself. The titles, with occasional notes, occupy more than nine hundred pages, and it would, perhaps, have been better had he separated the historical works, which take up the greater part of the book, from the technical. He admits, besides, many works that are not Spanish and many that have but a remote connection with the subject, and this, combined with the system of indexing, causes much unnecessary trouble.

I know of no French military bibliography. Brunet has an incomplete list, and Bardin's "Dictionnaire de l'armée" (Paris, 1841, 8°), under the heads, "Auteurs militaires" and "Noms propres," includes writers of all nations.

None of these bibliographers make much account of English works; Stürm has two upon his list, which Loen, coming after him, has taken. Walther catalogues about fifty,¹ and these Hoyer and Rumpf borrow, generally without corrections, adding a few more of their own finding; and as no Englishman has attempted to index them as a whole, the bulk of them remains, except in library catalogues and catalogues of recent books, quite unchronicled.

¹ This number does not include histories, etc.

But, although we have no general bibliography of English military books, we have several catalogues of works in all languages, on special branches, in which they figure; notably, Colonel Lefroy's list of works on Artillery,¹ Wirt Gerrare's "Bibliography of Guns and Shooting",² Capt. F. H. Huth's "Works on Horses and Equitation",³ and Major Elliot's "Cavalry Literature."⁴ Lefroy's list has few English books. Elliot's, however, has a section entirely devoted to them, with occasional notes of value to the military student, for whom the catalogue is intended. But the spelling of title-pages, which are rarely given in full, is not closely followed, nor is there any indication as to size or form; while many of the nine hundred works in English and French mentioned are taken from Huth.

In this catalogue I have included only the more important of the historical pieces, such as Hugo's "Siege of Breda", Grimston's "General History of the Netherlands", and Williams's "Wars of the Low Countries", which, though not technical, were too important to be omitted. The Wars of the Netherlands, the Civil Wars in France, and the Thirty Years' War, gave rise to a quantity of literature both in this solid form and in the more ephemeral form of pamphlets. The latter, which help to illustrate the technical writings, are, in many cases, letters written from the seat of war, sometimes dashed off between one engagement and another,

¹ Proc. Roy. Art. Inst., vol. ii., pp. 4-12.

² Westminster, 1895, 8°.

³ London, 1887, 4°.

⁴ Calcutta, 1893, 8°. Mr. B. H. Soulsby has in progress a "Catalogue of English Military Books published by the British Government." Vol. I. appeared London, 1894, 8°. The aim and object of catalogues of recent military books have been so fully stated by Major-General Maurice ["War . . . to which is added an Essay on Military Literature, and a list of books", etc. Macmillan & Co., London, 1891, 8°], and by Colonel von Gyzicki ["Ueber Kriegsgeschichte Studien", Berlin, 1881, 8°], that it is unnecessary to add anything upon that head.

and the writers would seem to have been employed by certain printers, John Wolfe in particular in the sixteenth century, and Butter and Bourne in the seventeenth, as war correspondents. Much of the importance of these slight productions lies in the fact that names of persons and details concerning actions are often to be found in them which may be sought for in vain elsewhere.

In the first instance I had intended to include all such histories and pamphlets bearing on military affairs; and finding how large a number of them was issued during the Civil Wars in England—thirty thousand, Oldys says,¹ on various subjects, but many of them, no doubt, relating to the wars in progress—I determined to break off at 1642. I see now that the list might have been better carried up to 1660, the date of the institution of the Standing Army, and of the final merging in it of the feudal militia.

Although the intention of the compilation was originally only to furnish an index of works treating of the art of war as practised by the English people, I soon found that a parasite such as our military literature was in its first period could not be reviewed independently and at the same time efficiently. Therefore I added the contemporary foreign works, arranged like the English in chronological order, but, unlike them, having this order subordinated to a classification according to subject, in order that the student, examining an English book, may see at a glance what was being written abroad, about the same time, on the same branch. This divergence in the plan is rather significant of the difference both in quality and number between native and foreign productions. The former do not lend themselves to subdivision until quite the close of the sixteenth century; with few exceptions they are nothing more than compendiums from some bulky foreign treatise, and, not content to confine himself to one branch, the English writer in one volume travels over the whole ground of the art, filching and plagiarizing without scruple, and without acknowledgment. An exact translation was not to his liking. In the century and a half between the English renderings of Christine de Pisan

¹ "Dissertation upon Pamphlets", London, 1731, 4°.

and de Rohan, I have found less than a score of translations of strictly technical works. Unwilling to forego the honours of authorship, he put together his patchwork with more or less skill, unhesitatingly claiming it on the title-page as his own entirely. Punishment sometimes followed in the shape of criticism from succeeding writers, but as a rule the practice seems to have been considered excusable. For at this period, a widely-diffused knowledge of Italian and Spanish among the class to whom these works were chiefly addressed, men who not only commanded the trained bands at home, but officered the bands of volunteers abroad, rendered mere translation to some extent superfluous. Then, again, what the Englishman wrote of was matter of common knowledge ; and as he was usually a soldier whose professional training had been carried out entirely abroad, it would not be surprising if he should have confused the contents of the famous foreign text-books, and the lessons derived directly from them, with his own practical experiences, and have brought out the combination as wholly his own. At any rate, we have nothing so gross as the fraud of de La Treille, who, in 1556, published at Lyons a translation of Zanchi, pretending it was original, and who long continued to receive credit for another man's work.¹ Yet a slight acquaintance with the subject is sufficient to show that, however they might imitate foreign authors, the English writers were considerably behind the times, as is proved also by a comparison of the dates of originals and translations ; a book might be in continual use on the continent for a quarter of a century and more, before it was thought necessary to "do it into English." It was not till their fighting days were over, that men found time and inclination to write for the instruction of their countrymen ; thus, while the continentals were treating of things as they actually were, Englishmen were treating of things as they had been years before.

It is quite in keeping with all this that, while English writers were borrowing from the Spaniards, Italians, French, and Germans,

¹ Robins classes him with Alghisi, Marchi, Pasino, and Speckle ("New Principles", London, 1742, p. ix).

both by direct translation and by unacknowledged plagiarism, not a single English military book was thought of sufficient importance to be translated into a foreign tongue. The existence, even, of the English books seems to have been overlooked.¹ This was due, no doubt, in great part, not to an entire lack of merit in our writers, but to our isolated position, and also to English being a tongue almost unknown outside its own coasts. But these difficulties were not insuperable; indeed, we find that there was a work on military jurisprudence, Sutcliffe's "*Practise, Proceedings and Lawes of Armes*", which succeeded in overcoming them, and was studied in the original by the learned, at least, among foreigners.

Clearly then, the attempt to survey the military antiquities and military history of England without close reference to foreign works would be futile; and equally futile would be the study of the military antiquities of the continent, but above all of Italy, without recourse to the early manuscripts. For at first writers—especially Italian writers—on artillery and fortification, unwilling that the secrets of their arts should become public property, did not send their works to the press. In the printed books of the fifteenth century, and the first part of the sixteenth, particularly when the authors are touching on destructive weapons, such a remark as the following is often to be met with: "I could say such and such a thing, but refrain for fear the infidel [the Turks, who in those days hung threateningly over Christendom] should profit by it"; while certain Italians altogether condemned the practise of writing on fortification on the ground that foreigners, if they were left untaught in that art, would be forced to employ Italian engineers.² Thus information concerning the germ of these sciences remains locked up in the original manuscripts.

¹ Malthus and Davelourt, the only English-speaking military writers of this period entered in the foreign catalogues up to Walther's time, published their works in French.

² Promis, "*Dell' arte dell' ingegnere e dell' artigliere in Italia*" (Torino, 1841, fol., p. 4); a fine work. Promis is the great authority on Italian military manuscripts, which have been fully catalogued in this work.

Besides the list of contemporary foreign works I have included one of the ancient technical writers, in chronological order, with notes. Although the writings of the latter are now of more service to the military historian than to the soldier, yet, as regards strategy, some of their teaching is still to be found in our text-books. It is in tactics that the great changes have taken place, and in that branch, therefore, there is little, perhaps, to be learnt from them. But it was not so during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or even in the seventeenth, up to the time of Gustavus Adolphus ; who started a new system, and won his battles by movements entirely opposed to the ponderous and slow methods of handling troops handed down from ancient and from feudal days.

The editing and printing of these MSS., in the first instance, were carried on almost entirely abroad. The sole Englishman to put his hand to one of them was Sir John Cheke, who translated Leo's "Tactics" into Latin ; and he was forced to send it to Basle to be printed, his own countrymen not being competent to the task. There are three editions of the work : Basle, 1554, 16° ; Basle, 1595, 16° ; and Leyden, 1612, 4°. Of the twenty-nine authors in the list whose treatises, or parts of them, are extant, the first to be sent to the press was Vegetius (1475), while the last was only recently published (1898) ; but with three exceptions all were in print by 1693. Ælian, Modestus, Frontinus, and Vegetius were often combined in one volume ; the British Museum has eleven such collected editions, all issued between 1487 and 1670. Vitruvius was brought out in 1486 ; seven others, Xenophon, Orbicius, Apsyrtus, Leo, Constantine, Polyænus, and Polybius appeared during the sixteenth century.¹ Hyginus, Æneas, and Hero the Elder followed between 1607 and 1616 ; Arrian and Maurice together in 1664. The fragments of Athenæus, Apollodorus, Philo, Bito,

¹ A Latin translation of Hero the Younger appeared in 1572.

and Julius Africanus, the Greek text of Hero the Younger, and another treatise of Hero the Elder, were first printed by Thévenot, sub-librarian of Louis XIV., in 1693, under the title, "*Veterum Mathematicorum Opera*", with Latin translations to all but the fifth and sixth. Thévenot used a MS. which contained also Ælian's "*Tactics*", Onosander's "*Stratagems*", and part of Maurice's "*Stratagems*." But his edition, which has not only become excessively rare, but is also obscure and inaccurate, is superseded by the "*Poliiorcétique des Grecs*" of Wescher. The most important source of M. Wescher's edition is the tenth century MS., brought from Mount Athos in 1843 by Minoides Minas, comprising a collection of technical writings on the defence of places; namely, the treatises of Athenæus, Bito, Hero the Elder, Apollodorus, and Hero the Younger; to which are added sixteen extracts from the historians, Polybius and Dionysius, relative to famous sieges. It is supposed that the collection is a compilation made in Constantinople about the ninth or tenth century, probably by command of the reigning emperor. The discovery of this MS. enabled Wescher to fill up the gaps in the edition of Thévenot, and, with the help of other MSS. in various libraries of Europe, to make such substantial alterations as to render the readings in many cases entirely different.

There are few English translations of the Greek and Latin technical writers.¹ But, by 1632, Philemon Holland had translated twelve or thirteen of the histories. Until his time the rendering was made, almost without exception, through the French or Italian versions.

Of the technical writers of antiquity, the only one studied during the middle ages was Vegetius; and he was translated into French by de Meung in 1284. After the invention of printing, when other MSS. of the same class were disinterred, Frontinus, Modestus, and Ælian came to the fore, but none of them ever attained to equal popularity.

¹ There is a German translation of all Greek and Latin works on tactics, by Frankenthorn and Mannheim, 1779, 4°.

After Hero the Younger and Nicephorus Phocas there is a gap in military literature of over three centuries. The connecting link between antiquity and modern times is Colonna's "*De Regimine Principum*", composed in Latin in 1285, and translated into Italian in 1288. The latter part treats of manœuvring, the attack and defence of places, etc., so that he divides with de Meung the honour of being the first modern author to treat of military matters. But there is no trace of a new system to be found in the treatise; it is taken entirely from Vegetius, from whom, as well as from Polybius, Frontinus, Modestus, and Ælian, are compiled all the early books on tactics. They were written, moreover, not by soldiers, but by scholars, such as Robert Valtur; who, however, as Promis puts it, "had this advantage over men of the sword, that, versed in the history of the Greeks and Romans, they had, in theory, a far deeper acquaintance with the laws of discipline and strategy than had those Captains to whom war was not a branch of learning, but a profession."¹ Indeed, the title, "*De re militari*", so frequent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, sufficiently indicates how fully the ideas of the time had reverted to the ancient teaching. The first hint of change, so far as tactics are concerned, comes in with Macchiavelli, whose most worthy successors in this branch are Du Bellay (or rather de Fourquevaux) and de La Noue.

On mediæval machines of war the earliest authority is Robert Valtur. Paolo Santini may be said to be the first writer on artillery; his MS., which dates from the year 1450, containing drawings of ordnance, powder mines, and receipts for fire-balls and hollow balls filled with powder; while Lampo Birago is the second. The MS. of the latter, which was written in 1454, is the earliest known treatise exclusively on artillery, and contains an

¹ P. 35. By the word "discipline" was formerly understood training or skill in military affairs generally; military skill and experience; the art of war; drill.—See Murray's *Dict.*

interesting comparison between the crossbow and the hand-gun.¹ Like Santini's, it has never been printed. In 1452 Leonardo Da Vinci was born, and with him begins the true modern science of artillery. It is difficult to justly appreciate "the great pioneer of modern thought." Until recently, his works have been shut up in the original MSS., and, although these have now been edited, the suggestions and sketches relating to military affairs scattered through them have never been brought together. The range of his knowledge was wide beyond his time; while his contemporaries were stumbling in the old worn tracks, he had entered on the new paths. Half a century before Tartaglia he wrote on the flight of projectiles; in the theory of gunnery he was a hundred years in advance of his time.² And yet it is improbable that his manuscripts were ever in circulation, and the extent of his influence cannot be determined. In the Atlantic MS. alone are two hundred and seventy-five designs; the greater number corresponding exactly to what he offered to do for Lodovico il Moro in the way of engines of war, fortifications, etc.³ One of them represents a mortar, and it may be that he was the inventor of this piece of artillery, or, at least, that he endeavoured to improve it.⁴ He died in 1519. In the theory of gunnery the immediate successor of Da Vinci was Tartaglia, and of Tartaglia, the almost forgotten Spaniard, Alaba, whose tables, though they are very far from giving the true ranges of a projectile, are, nevertheless, better than any that could be formed on the principles of the Italian mathematician.⁵ He, in his turn, gave place to Galileo, who was the third mathematician of note to write on the flight of projectiles, and the first to thoroughly take into account the resistance of the air. Between the printing of Tartaglia's "Nova Scientia" in 1537 and the establishment of

¹ Promis. Santini, in 1452, uses the same arguments in favour of the bow as Smythe uses in 1590.

² Capt. H. J. W. Jervis, "Our Engines of War", London, 1859, 8°, p. 45.

³ Promis. The letter was written about 1483.

⁴ Ayala.

⁵ Vincente de los Rios, "Discurso sobre los illustres autores e inventores de artilleria", Madrid, 1767, 8°, p. 26.

the doctrine of Galileo, says Robins,¹ like the rest, ignoring Alaba, "many theories of the motions of military projectiles, and many tables of their comparative ranges at different elevations, were published; all of them egregiously fallacious and utterly irreconcilable with the motions of those bodies, although some of them were the labours of such who had spent the greatest part of their lives in employments relating to the Artillery. Such were the tables of Ufano, Galeus, of Ulrick, etc., taken notice of by Blondel."² On reading Galileo's treatise on the theory of projectiles, Evangelista Torricelli³ developed many of the mechanical principles as first set forth by him; but it remained for Robins to supply what these two writers knew to be still wanting in their theories.⁴

There has been some argument as to who was the first to write on modern fortification. The Spaniards claim the honour for Escriva; but as the question turns on a lost MS., it is a difficult one to resolve; at all events, if not before Dürer, Escriva wrote at the same time.⁵ But if, as Marini⁶ believes, Macchiavelli, in the MS. entitled "*Relazione d'una visita fatta per Fortificare Firenze*" (*anno* 1526),⁷ means by "*torri*" what we call "*bastions*," the honour rests with him. Another remarkable MS. on the subject is Giangiacomo Leonardi's, which was written about a quarter of a century after Macchiavelli's, but, unlike his, was never published, however tardily. Leonardi is commended by Lanteri, and Promis calls him "one of those extraordinary men of whom Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was so full." Renowned in his own time, since his death he has been almost entirely forgotten.

¹ Benjamin Robins, F.R.S., "*New Principles of Gunnery*", London, 1742, 8°, p. xlii.

² "*L'Art de jeter les Bombes*", La Haye, 1685, 12°, bk. ii.

³ In his work entitled "*De motu gravium naturaliter descendentium et projectorum*", Florence, 1644, 4°.

⁴ Wilson's Preface to the 1805 ed. of Robins's "*Gunnery*", p. xxx.

⁵ Almirante, "*Bibliografia Militar*", p. 269.

⁶ Introduction to Marchi's "*Architettura Militare*", Rome, 1810, fol., vol. i., p. 59.

⁷ Not printed till 1782.

Of Italian printed works exclusively on fortification, the first was Zanchi's; while the French usually place earliest in the list of their writers on this branch Errard de Bar-le-duc; and although Promis states that he knows of one or two Frenchmen who wrote ten years before the latter, unfortunately he does not give their names. Towards the end of the sixteenth century there appeared many celebrated writers on the subject, Alghisi, Marchi, Aurelio di Pasino, and, above all, Daniel Speckle, "who was one of the greatest geniuses who has applied to this art."¹ The new military architecture was introduced into England by Pennacchi.²

The works on equitation and the veterinary art included here do not by any means represent the number printed. Though most of them were written with a view to the training and care of war horses, those only are entered which have parts, or chapters, written expressly to that end. In the same way, only the medical works which apply to the treatment of gunshot wounds are given.

I have made the addition of books on the laws of honour and single combat. They represent that spirit of chivalry which up to the close of the sixteenth century still retained vitality enough to overleap on occasion all strategical considerations.³ In consequence of the great number of works more or less remotely connected with this subject, I have been compelled to some severity in rejecting those that did not keep strictly to the point. For example, Mutio's "*Gentilhuomo*", though on the laws of honour, only mentions single combat incidentally; his "*Duello*" is what the title implies—a treatise on the laws and usages of duelling. The first I rejected, the second include. There was another difficulty. Military law had no existence in the Middle Ages. The chivalric code, supplemented by temporary ordinances promulgated by individual commanders, took its place. Hence the associating of the two subjects by early writers, and the inexpediency of

¹ Robins, "*New Principles*", p. ix., ed. 1742.

² Promis.

³ For a remarkable instance, see pamphlet entitled: "*Journall . . . of the late service in Britaigne . . . under . . . Sir John Norreis*", London, 1591, 4^o (in Brit. Mus.).

grouping works on them except in one class. By the time they were entirely separated chivalry itself was no more.

And now as to the arrangement of this catalogue.

I have thought it inadvisable to hinge that on the accident of an author's name or initial. Placed in the chronological order, the title-pages alone form a military history in miniature. In reading through them as they occur here, we trace the descent of one book from another, we watch the military art at perhaps the most interesting phase of its development, when, unwilling to cut itself adrift from theories and practices consecrated by the conformity of wellnigh two thousand years, but forced on by the exigencies of the recently-invented artillery, it was painfully endeavouring to adapt itself to a new order which was to lead, step by step, to the system of the present day. Ranged among its contemporaries, "the most worthless book of a bygone age," says De Morgan,¹ "is a record worthy of preservation. Like a telescopic star, its obscurity may render it unavailable for most purposes, but it serves, in hands which know how to use it, to determine the places of more important bodies." The chronological order must be preferred, especially where it is a question of the value of a work and its influence, when it must be weighed against others of its own time, not against those of a later and more advanced stage. Though, for a view of the state of the theory and practice of artillery during the sixteenth century, the student would go to Firrufino rather than to Tartaglia, he would not, therefore, rank the intelligent summary of the one above the original treatise of the other, for all its fallacies.

One book, Vere's "Commentaries", written before 1642, but printed after that date, is placed in its chronological order at the end; circulating, if at all, in manuscript only, it would have had no appreciable influence when first written, and its value would, therefore, never have been other than historical.

¹ "Arithmetical Books", London, 1847, p. ii.

The English books have been treated more fully than the foreign books in the following respects :

1. To insure accuracy, the date is given in words, after the example of De Morgan ("Arithmetical Books"). It thus occurs in some cases three times ; before the title, in the imprint, and in the colophon.

2. *Title-pages* are given in full, with upright strokes to mark the turning of a line.

3. *Running headlines* are given as a means of identification if a title-page be missing ; besides, on account of the length of many early title-pages, it becomes necessary to adopt some fixed short title by which a work may be known, and, as a rule, it is best to take that chosen by the author. To the careless practice of making up short titles for oneself may be attributed the chronicling of one book under several titles. Amongst bibliographers, Rumpf is a great sinner in this respect.

4. The length of the *Preface* is stated. This is often an epitome of the whole book, containing many interesting details concerning the author and his work.

5. The name of the person to whom the Epistle Dedicatory is addressed is given.¹ "It is the custome," says Philip Jones, "or rather by custome the habite in men of industry to comende their labours to persons of countenance and judgement, and for the most part to such as by their owne experience are able to speak of that argument, which the worke presented to them doth principally prosecute." This is certainly true of military writers. The patron, too, often bore the cost of producing a work.

In the first part the Signatures are given to all editions, in the second to one only. While the pagination of these books from being frequently faulty is not to be relied upon, the signatures, as the sets of letters and signs are termed which are printed at the bottom margin of a page to distinguish the sheets, afford a quick and sure means of ascertaining the number of the leaves without

¹ Ep. Ded. to his translation of Meier's "Instructions for Travellers." See No. 44.

counting them one by one. It is only necessary to multiply the number of sets by the number of leaves allotted to each, remembering that no more than twenty-three letters go to an alphabet. Thus *, **, in 2^a, A-CCC in 4^a, will give two complete alphabets and three odd letters, besides two signs; in other words, forty-nine sheets of four leaves each, and two of two leaves—in all, two hundred. Many of the foreign books, and especially of the Italian, are supplied at the end with registers of the signatures, a convenience which I have not remarked in any of the English books consulted.

The form of a book is given throughout according to the number of leaves to a sheet. As a rule, leaves having the same signature are taken to belong to the same sheet; but sometimes the wire-lines, combined with the shape and size, show that half-sheets have been used, or, and this is common in folios, that two or more sheets have been laid one upon another, or quired, and then folded, and the whole printed under one signature. A sheet folded once, with the wire-lines perpendicular, forms a folio; folded twice, with the wire-lines horizontal, it forms a quarto; and three times, with the wire-lines restored to the perpendicular, an octavo.

The terms *in 2'*, *in 4'*, etc., denote the number of leaves allotted to each signature. It is to be remarked that in the registers affixed to Italian books the printers sometimes use the corresponding terms, *duerni*, *quaderni*, etc., when, according to this explanation, they should say *quaderni*, *ottavi*, and so on. In these cases they are counting by double leaves, and not by single; starting from the folio as being composed of sheets folded once, giving one double leaf to a signature, the quarto is described as having two such leaves, the octavo, four. The folio of three sheets quired, giving as many double leaves to a signature, is said to be in threes (*terni*).

The abbreviations B.M., Bod., R.U.S.I., etc., denote the libraries in which copies are to be found. The British Museum is rich in early military literature. Of the English books mentioned in this catalogue, it has all but about twenty, most of the Italian, and fewer, though still a large number, of the Spanish. Of the

French I cannot speak, as there is no bibliography of these, and search through the General Catalogue of nearly nine hundred volumes was too great a task to be attempted. The authority for the inclusion of a book not seen by myself is always given.

The collector of these military works will in course of time become possessed of some fine specimens of typography, adorned with many beautiful engravings, and furnished with a vast store of interesting and valuable matter. For their rarity, the evidence of the bibliographers shows it to be unquestionable. There seem to be special reasons for this scarcity. In the first place, the demand was small, and few copies were printed. We know that the pay of the military man did not always find its way to his pocket, and where it did, it was not so liberal that he could afford to spend it on books so costly as these were; and thus a single copy might have much hard service laid upon it, and would be passed from hand to hand till worn out. Many other copies doubtless perished in the accidents inseparable from "the wandering, unquiet life of a soldier," a risk much increased in the case of Englishmen, who, seeing no service but on the continent, had to carry their text-books across the seas with them, whence they were probably never brought back. Again, on the appearance of a new work, as the soldier would be unable to carry a library about with him, the old technical treatise would be cast aside and lost. In this connection, Marini remarks that the scarcity of Italian works may also be accounted for on the supposition that foreign plagiarists, when they could lay hands on a copy, tore it up to hide their thefts.

To conclude, I may observe that it is as well not always to trust to the text fulfilling what is predicated of it on the title-page; as Doisy¹ remarks: "One author will boldly announce that his method of fortification is the best of all, although he may be in

¹ "Essai de Bib. Mil.," p. 9.

complete ignorance of the first elements of attack and defence; another professes to publish 'very curious' bits of information, as he phrases it, which are in reality merely trivial; a third adorns his ill-arranged compilation with the title of 'discoveries,' 'new methods,' etc.;" such claims having far less justification than Aconzio's¹ and Zanchi's, when they claim to be the first to write on fortification. Other titles, again, give not the slightest clue to the text, a remark which applies with special force to Barnaby Rich's "Farewell to Militarie Profession",² a collection of short stories translated from the Italian; to the "Specchio di Guerra"³ of Francesco Panigarola, Bishop of Asti, a religious treatise; and to the "Bibliotheca Militum",⁴ a satire against the Puritan army. However, they are, as a rule, sufficiently accurate to make an analysis of the contents unnecessary.

M. J. D. COCKLE.

July, 1900.

The compiler wishes to take this opportunity of thanking the Officers of the British Museum for the facilities accorded him in compiling this bibliography; the access granted to the Fourth Copies was of the greatest service. Both the compiler and the editor join in acknowledging the unfailing attention and courtesy received from the attendants.

¹ See Promis, p. 91.

² London, 1581 and 1606, 4^{os}.

³ Bergamo, 1595, 4^o.

⁴ London. Sixteen-fifty-nine. "Bibliotheca Militum: or the Souldiers Publick Library. Lately erected for the Benefit of all that love the Good Old Cause, at Wallingford House, and already furnished with diverse excellent Treatises." 4^o. Six pages. Reprinted in the "Harleian Miscellany," vol. vii., p. 334, from which the above title is taken. I have seen it described as a catalogue of military books.

LIST OF CATALOGUES CONSULTED.

The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books.

Catalogue of the Books in the Library of the British Museum printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland . . . to the year 1640. By George Bullen. London, 1884, 3 vols., 8°.

Bibliografía Militar de España. By José Almirante. Madrid, 1876, fol.

Bibliografia Militare Italiana antica e moderna. By Mariano d'Ayala. Torino, 1854, 8°.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640. By Edward Arber. London, 1875-1894, 5 vols., fol.

Typographical Antiquities. Begun by Joseph Ames. Augmented by William Herbert. London, 1785, 3 vols., fol.

Typographical Antiquities. Begun by J. Ames. Augmented by W. Herbert. Enlarged by Thomas Dibdin. London, 1810, 5 vols., fol.

Handbook to the Popular, Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain. By W. Carew Hazlitt. London, 1867, 8°.

Collections and Notes. London, 1876, 8°. Bibliographical Collections and Notes. By W. Carew Hazlitt. London, 1882, 1887, 1889, and 1892. 4 vols. 8°.

Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U.S. Army. Washington, 1880-98, 20 vols., 8°.

Biblioteca dell' Eloquenza Italiana. By G. Fontanini. Edited, with Notes, by A. Zeno. Venezia, 1753, 4°.

Bibliografia Generale della Scherma. By Jacopo Gelli. Firenze, 1890, 8°.

Manuel du Libraire. By J. C. Brunet. Paris, 1860, 8 vols., 8°.

Complete Bibliography of the Art of Fence. By C. A. Thimm. London, 1890, 12°.

by Koechly and Rüstön, Leipsig, 1853, 8°. ¹ Æneas is also said to have written on signalling by fire, or beacons (Polybius, bk. x.), "On Stratagems" (Suidas, p. 38, ed. Bernhardt), and he himself speaks of his books "On Castrametation", "On preparations of War", and "On Finances" (chaps. xxi., viii., xl., and xiv.).

PYRRHUS (b. *circa* B.C. 316, d. 272), one of the greatest generals of antiquity, was the author of works on tactics which were held in the greatest estimation by the ancients, and used by the Romans as text-books. They are praised by Cicero, and are mentioned by Ælian ("Tactics", chap. i.). They were in existence as late as the time of Plutarch (*circa* A.D. 30-117), but nothing now remains of them.

BITO (*circa* B.C. 300-200), a Greek mathematician, of whom little is known, is mentioned by Hesychius, Hero the Younger, and Ælian, who calls him Bion. His only remaining treatise is dedicated to Attila, King of Pergamos, and describes the stone-throwing machine of Charon of Magnesia, the moving tower of Damius of Colophon, the balista of Posidonius of Miletus, and another weapon for throwing missiles, a kind of arbalist. Printed in Thévenot's collection, Paris, 1693, fol., p. 105, etc., and in Wescher's "Poliorcétique", Paris, 1867, fol.

POLYBIUS (b. *circa* B.C. 214-204) wrote a treatise on tactics, two fragments of which are included in Book VI. of his history. For editions of these apart from the history, see No. 127. Both Arrian and Ælian mention the complete treatise in its separate form.

ATHENÆUS (*circa* B.C. 200), a Greek mathematician and contemporary of Archimedes, dedicated his treatise "On machines of war" to Marcellus. Printed by Thévenot; and also by Wescher, with the addition of many long passages hitherto unpublished.

CTESIBIUS (*circa* B.C. 200-150). Vitruvius refers to various books of Ctesibius, but none have come down to us. However, the treatise "Ctesibii Belopoica" of Hero the Elder probably incorporates a work of Ctesibius. According to Philo of Byzantium, a contemporary, Ctesibius was the inventor of an air-gun, closely resembling in principle the air-gun of the present day.

PHILO of Byzantium (*circa* B.C. 146). All but Books IV. and V. of his "Μηχανικὴ Σύνταξις" are lost. Book IV. is on the making of darts, balistas, catapults, and other machines, many of which were of his own in-

¹ Recent eds. of the Greek text: Berolini, 1870, 8° (two); Lipsiæ, 1874, 8°. A critical study, by A. Mosbach, Berolini, 1880, 8°.

vention. Printed by Thévenot, but as they are not included in the Minas MS. they are absent from Wescher's "Poliorcétique." Book V. is a treatise on fortification, and the attack and defence of places. A French translation of Book V., with notes, by A. de Rochas d'Aiglun, printed in the "Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs", Besançon, 1872, vol. ii.

HYGINUS GROMATICUS (*circa* B.C. 103) introduced a chapter on castrometation into his book on surveying, which was published separately by Schryver, Leyden, 1607, 4°; by Hermann Rabod, Amsterdam, 1660, 4°; and by Grævius, Rome, 1694, fol., vol. x., p. 599.¹

VITRUVIUS, POLLIO (b. *circa* B.C. 80), was personally known to Julius Cæsar, after whose death he was befriended by Augustus, on account of the services he had rendered the state as a military engineer. Vitruvius commences his account of machines of war in Bk. X., chap. xv., of the "Architectura" with a description of scorpions and catapults; the contents of the other chapters are as follows: Chap. xvi. Of the balistæ. Chap. xvii. Of the proportions of the balistæ. Chap. xviii. On the preparation of the balistæ and catapultæ. Chap. xix. Of machines for attack, and their invention. Chap. xx. Of the testudo, prepared for filling ditches. Chap. xxi. Of other kinds of testudî. Chap. xxii. Of things relative to defence. First printed Rome, 1486.²

ONOSANDER, the Platonic (*circa* 1st cent. after Christ), wrote on the "Office of the General." See No. 14.

APOLLODORUS of Damascus (b. *circa* A.D. 60), a celebrated architect and military engineer, dedicated his treatise on "Machines of War" to the Emperor Trajan. Published by Thévenot and by Wescher.

FRONTINUS, SEXTUS JULIUS (*circa* A.D. 40-103), besides the "Stratagems" (see No. 3), wrote another work on the military art, mentioned by himself and also by Ælian (chap. i.), which is now lost.

ÆLIANUS TACTICUS (*circa* A.D. 100). See No. 88, and for editions with Vegetius, Frontinus, and Modestus, see No. 3.

HADRIAN (A.D. 76-138). Vegetius speaks of the "Constitutiones", or laws relating to military affairs, of Hadrian, placing them side by side with those of Augustus and Trajan, but it is now generally admitted that these "Constitutiones" are not the work of Hadrian.³ Tillemont⁴ remarks that

¹ An ed. of Leipsig, 1879, 8°. German translation, ib., 1887, 8°. ² Brunet.

³ M. Georges Doublet, "Notes sur les œuvres littéraires de l'Empereur Hadrien", Toulouse, 1893, 8°.

⁴ "Histoires des Empereurs", Paris, 1700-38, 4°, art. xviii.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Bod.	Bodleian Library.
Bk.	Book.
B.M.	British Museum.
B.M.C.	British Museum Catalogue.
Chap.	Chapter.
Cts.	Contents, Table of.
Col.	Colophon.
Ded.	Epistle Dedicatory.
Ed., Eds.	Edition. Another Edition. Other Editions.
Err.	Errata.
f., ff.	Leaf. Leaves.
Fr.	French.
Ger.	German.
Ill., Ills.	Illustration. Illustrations.
Ital.	Italian.
Ll. to p.	Lines to a page.
Nums.	Numerals.
Orig.	Original.
p., pp.	Page. Pages.
Pref.	Preface.
Pt., Pts.	Part. Parts.
R.H.	Running Headlines.
Roy. Art. Inst.	Library of the Royal Artillery Institute.
R.U.S.I.	Library of the Royal United Service Institute.
Sigs.	Signatures.
Span.	Spanish.
Tp.	Title-page.
Trans.	Translation.
V.	Vide.
W.O.	Library of the War Office.

I shall be most grateful for corrections, and for notices of books and editions omitted.

PLATES.

- Frontispiece. From the "Arte of Warre" of Macchiavelli, London, 1560, 1573, and 1588.
- I. Portrait. From the "Büchsenmeisterey" of Furtenbach, Augspurg, 1643.
- II. Facsimile of the first page of text of the "Book of fayttes of armes" of C. de Pisan, Westminster, 1489. *To face page 1.*
- III. Maps of the Battle of Musselburgh or Pinkie Cleugh. From Patten's "Expedicion into Scotlāde", London, 1548. These are the earliest military maps to be found in any English book. *Between page 8 and page 9.*
- IV. Title-page from the "Double-Armed Man" of Neade, London, 1625. *To face page 85.*
- V. From the German-French translations of the "Artilleria" of Ufano, Frankfurt, 1614. Engraved by J. T. de Bry. This plate reappears in the "Gunner" of Norton, London, 1628. *To face page 91.*
- VI. Portrait of Giorgio Basta, Count d'Hust. From the memoir annexed to the treatise, "Delle Macchine" of Tarducci. *To face page 97.*
- VII. Portrait of Barriffe. From the "Military Discipline", second edition, London, 1639. *To face page 103.*
- VIII. The Pike Exercise. From the "Principles of the Art Military" of Hexham, London, 1637. *To face page 107.*
- IX. The Musket Exercise. From the "Directions for Musters", London, 1638. *To face page 113.*
- X. Portrait of Sir Francis Vere. From the "Commentaries", London, 1657. *To face page 129.*
- XI. Two Bombards. From the treatise, "De re militari" of Valtur, Veronæ, 1483. These cuts also appear in a larger size in the edition of 1472. *To face page 133.*

- ✓ XII. From the "Artilleria" of Ufano, translated and illustrated by J. T. de Bry, Frankfurt, 1614. *To face page 175.*
- ✓ XIII. From "Der furnembsten, notwendigsten der gantzen Architectur" of Ryff, Nürnberg, 1547. *To face page 197.*

TAILPIECES.

- I. The Device of John Kingston, printer. From Macchiavelli, London, 1560. *Page 129.*
- ✓ II. From the "Büchsenmeisterey" of Brechtel, Nürnberg, 1591 and 1599. *Page 246.*

ANCIENT TECHNICAL WRITERS.

XENOPHON (b. *circa* B.C. 431) wrote two technical treatises, one on the "Hipparch", or Athenian General of Cavalry, which is the most important existing source of information on the tactics of the Attic cavalry of that time; the other on "Horsemanship", containing descriptions of the barbing, training, and treatment of horses, and of the arms and armour of the troopers. Much may be learned, besides, of the great principles of warfare, and of the organization and tactics of the Persians and Greeks from the "Cyrupædia", the "Anabasis", and "The Polity of the Lacedæmonians", which was written between B.C. 387 and 378.¹ The last contains information concerning the encampments, evolutions, etc., of the Lacedæmonians. There are English translations of the "Cyrupædia" by Philemon Holland, London, 1632, fol., and one of the "Anabasis" by John Bingham, London, 1623, fol. The two technical treatises were printed with the complete works, Florence, 1516, fol.

ÆNEAS, called *Tacticus* (*circa* B.C. 367-366), is generally considered the earliest technical military writer of whom we have any knowledge. From references in Polybius and Suidas, we learn that he lived at the commencement of the reign of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great. All that now remains of his work is one fragment, "A treatise on the defence of places", which, according to Ælian, has come down to us in a much abridged form. It was printed (with a Latin translation) in Casaubon's edition of Polybius, Paris, 1609, fol., and afterwards at Frankfort, 1610 and 1619, and Amsterdam, 1670, 8^{os}; and with Ælian, Frontinus, and Vegetius, Leyden, 1644, 8^o; also in Schryver's "Veteres de re militari scriptores", Vesaliæ, 1670, 8^o. French translations by Beausobre, Amsterdam, 1757, 4^o, and by d'Aiglon, with notes, Besançon, 1871-72, 4^o. German translation

¹ H. G. Dakyn's "The Works of Xenophon", London, 1897, 8^o, 4 vols.

in his time it was thought that Hadrian wrote the book on "Tactics", which, having for a long time remained unknown, was found in the reign of Anastasius I. (A.D. 430-518), and published by Maurice or Orbicius, who added something thereto.

ARRIAN (b. *circa* A.D. 90), a Greek historian and philosopher, was the author of the "Τεχνη Τακτική", an abridged account of the military art as practised among the Greeks of his own day. It is one of the most trustworthy sources of information concerning ancient tactics that we possess. Guischart highly commends this fragment, which was published for the first time by Scheffer, Upsaliæ, 1664, 8°, with Greek and Latin texts, and with notes. According to Brunet, this edition was reissued at Amsterdam, 1750, with a new title-page. There is an Italian translation by Racchetti, Milano, 1807, 8°, and a French translation by Guischart¹ ("Mémoires Militaires", 1758, fol.).

HERO THE ELDER (*circa* A.D. 130-200), a Greek mathematician of Alexandria, living at the time of the Antonines, was a disciple of Ctesibius. The treatise put forth by Hero under the title "Ctesibii Belopoica" perhaps incorporates a work of Ctesibius. It was printed, Augsburg, 1616, 4°, by Baldi, with the Latin translation; also in Thévenot's and Wescher's collections, with the treatise entitled "Χειροβαλλιστρας χατασκευη καὶ συμμετρία" ("De constructione et mensura manubalistæ"), which is Hero's own. It has been restored, annotated, and translated into French by Prou and Vincent, Paris, 1862 and 1866.

POLYÆNUS (*circa* A.D. 150) dedicated his "Stratagems of War" to the Emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Verus. The book, which he calls "a manual of the science of generalship," is illustrated by means of examples taken from the most ancient histories and from those of his own time. His materials were collected from sources many of which are now lost, so that his work is an important one, scanty as the details are. The plan of it is much the same as that of the work by Frontinus. Printed by Casaubon at Lyons, 1589, 16°, in Greek and Latin; by Maasvicius at Leyden, 1690, 8° (of which copies are to be found with the date 1691), with a reprint by Mursinna, Berolini, 1756, 8°. But the Preface to the Emperors Antoninus and Verus in the first book had been printed by Gemistus ("De Gestis Græcorum", Basiliæ, 1540, 4°; reprinted by Koraes, Paris, 1809). German translation of the whole existing text by Seybold, Frankfort, 1793-94. French transla-

¹ Danish translation by P. F. Suhm, 1749, 4°.

² Recent eds. of Leipsig, 1860 and 1887, 8°.

tion: Paris, 1739, 12°. ¹ Italian translation by Mutoni, Vinegia, 1552, 8°, and another by Carani of the same place, date, and size. ² An English translation by R. Shepherd, London, 1793, fol.

MODESTUS (*circa* A.D. 200-300), a Latin author, is known to us by his short, but valuable vocabulary of terms used in the drilling and manœuvring of the phalanx, entitled "*Libellus de vocabularis rei militaris*", and dedicated to the Emperor Tacitus. Modestus has been accused of having copied from Vegetius, who wrote a century later. First printed edition, undated, Rome [1474?], 4°. Others: Venice, 1474, 4°; Leyden, 1593 and 1612, 4^{os}; Basle, 1595, 12°; the two last, with Cheke's Latin translation of Leo VI. For editions with Vegetius, Frontinus, and Ælian, see No. 3.

AFRICANUS, SEXTUS JULIUS (3rd cent. after Christ). Great doubts have been expressed as to his being the author of the work entitled "*Κεστοι*", in which some military writings appear amongst others. Thévenot was the first to print the military fragments, which appeared again, Florence, 1746, in a collection made by Meursius. French translation, with notes, by Guischart, Berlin, 1773, fol., and Paris, 1774, 8°.

APSYRTUS, or ABSYRTUS (*circa* A.D. 322), a Greek writer on the veterinary art, according to Suidas accompanied Constantine in his expedition to the Danube, though which Constantine is not stated; but as Apsyrtus is spoken of by Vegetius, it was in all probability Constantine the Great. Only fragments of his treatise remain, which were printed by Ruellius in 1530 (Paris, fol.), and by Grynæus in 1537 (Basle, 4°). There are said to be translations in French, German, and Italian.

VEGETIUS (A.D. 375-392). The most popular of all ancient military writers. See No. 17.

ASCLEPIODOTUS (*circa* A.D. 450), who was a celebrated disciple of Proclus, wrote on tactics. A fragment of the work of Asclepiodotus was printed for the first time in the "*Spicilegium Romanum*" (Rome, 1840, 8°).

ORBICIUS (*circa* A.D. 500). Nothing is known of the private history of this writer, nor of the date of his writing; but a fragment of his military vocabulary, containing some words used in connection with the phalanx, is included in the "*Etymologicum Magnum*" (printed by Aldus, 1524, fol., ³ half a column on f. 77; and Basle, 1522, fol., edited by Curio), a dictionary said to have been drawn up as early as the tenth cent. The short treatise at the end of Onosander's work is ascribed by some to the Emperor Hadrian,

¹ Reprinted Paris, 1851, 8°.

² Reprinted Milano, 1819, 8°.

³ The first printed edition of the dictionary (Aldus, 1497) did not include this fragment.

by some to Maurice, and by others to one Orbicius, perhaps the compiler of this vocabulary. He must in that case have been living between A.D. 491 and 518, for in the treatise he recommends to Anastasius I. a new invention, in modern terminology, a "chevaux de frise," for enabling infantry to meet an attack by barbarian cavalry. There is a translation by Guischardt of the passage describing the invention ("Mémoires Militaires", La Haye, 1758, fol., pp. 104-106).

ANONYMOUS (*circa* A.D. 527-565). This anonymous Byzantine treatise is in thirty-three chapters. The name of the author is unknown, but from certain remarks in the text we learn that he lived in the reign of Justinian (A.D. 527-565), and that he was the author of another work on the defence of places. "The reader will notice especially in the eighth chapter," says d'Aiglon,¹ "how the military art had declined since the time of Philo; yet this anonymous Byzantine writer has some points of great interest to military engineers. In the remarks on the choice of sites of fortresses and on their strategical and tactical value in the defence of frontiers, he gives the only details that have come down to us on this subject from the technical writers of antiquity." This treatise was commented on for the first time in 1854, by Th.-Henri Martin,² in his dissertation on Hero, who has pointed out that it was one of the sources from which Hero the Younger had drawn. There is a German translation and notes, with Greek text, by Koechly and Rüston.³ Contents: Chap. ii. On guards. Chap. iii. On signalling with torches or beacon fires. Chap. iv. On watch towers. Chaps. v. and vi. On fortification and the defence of places. Chap. xix. On the passage of rivers. Chap. xxix. On the construction and guarding of camps. The other chapters relate to the arming, organization, and manœuvring of troops, and to the conduct of wars in general. First printed by Wescher.

MAURICE, Emperor of the East (b. *circa* A.D. 539), was the author of the "Strategica", in twelve books, arranged as follows: Bk. I. On the division, exercising, arming, enlisting, and punishment of soldiers. Bk. II. On cavalry, their arms, exercising, equipment, etc. Bk. III. On the disposition of the "tagma." Bk. IV. On ambushes. Bk. V. On baggage. Bk. VI. The battle formations of the Scythians, etc. Bk. VII. On the duties of the commander in chief. Bk. VIII. Precautions to be taken prior to a battle. Bk. IX. On invasions. Bk. X. On sieges. Bk. XI. Battle

¹ "Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation" (vol. vi., p. 330).

² "Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions", Paris, 1854.

³ "Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller" (Leipsic, 1853-55, 8°).

formations of the Persians, Turks, etc. Bk. XII. On points appertaining to a battle. Leo VI. may be said to have built up his work on this; he has borrowed the whole of Bk. II. First printed by Scheffer, with Arrian's "Tactics", Upsaliæ, 1664, 8°, Greek and Latin.

LEO VI., Emperor of the East (A.D. 866-912), wrote a famous book on tactics. He has been accused by Guischart of borrowing from Onosander without acknowledgment,¹ and, by a translator of Vegetius, of copying from Julius Africanus; and there is no denying that he took extensively from the "Strategica" of Maurice.² Leo's work is, however, of the greatest value; his explanations, especially concerning battle formations, are well given, and on this point he has supplied us with information to be met with in no other writer. A Latin translation by Sir John Cheke, Basle, 1554, 16°; Basle, 1595, 12°; and Leyden, 1612, 4° (with the Greek text of Meursius), re-issued, *ibid.*, 1613, and reprinted, 1741, fol. Italian translation, by Pigafetta, Venice, 1602, 4°. French translation, by Joly de Maizeroy, Paris, 1771, 8°.³

CONSTANTINE VII. (A.D. 915-959), son of Leo VI., is supposed about A.D. 951 to have re-edited one of his father's treatises. His own treatise, entitled "Περὶ Θειμάτων", was printed Leyden, 1588, 8°; Paris, 1609, 8°; and by Banduri, Paris, 1711, and Venice, 1729, fols. All have Latin translations.

HERO THE YOUNGER (*circa* A.D. 950), also called Mechanicus, or of Byzantium, made a compilation on machines of war from the writings of Athenæus, Bito, Hero the Elder, and Apollodorus. It is in two parts, (1) On preparations for a defence, and (2) Examples from history to illustrate the first part, taken from Polybius, Arrian, Josephus, and others. The first part is of particular value, being derived from the lost writings of Æneas and Philo. First printed in a Latin translation by Barozzi, Venice, 1572, 4°; afterwards by Thévenot and by Wescher, and in Harles' edition of Fabricius. Re-edited by T. H. Martin, Paris, 1854. French translation by E. Caillemet ("Proc. Soc. d'Emulation", 1872).

NICEPHORUS PHOCAS, afterwards Emperor of the East (reigning A.D. 963-969), wrote a treatise, "Περὶ Παραδρόμης Πολέμου" (*De Velitatione Bellica*), on Outposts and Frontier operations mainly in Asia Minor. Printed for the

¹ "Mémoires Militaires", vol. ii., p. 51.

² Maizeroy, "Institutions Militaires de l'Empereur Leon." Pref., p. xlvi.

³ Another French translation, by Liskenne and Sauvan, Paris, 1851. A German translation, Wien, 1781, 8°. For remarks on Maurice and Leo, see "History of the Art of War", by Charles Oman, London, 1898, 8°, bk. iv., chaps. i.-iii.

first time, Paris, 1819, fol., with a Latin translation ; reprinted, Bonn, 1828, 8°. The important treatise, “Περὶ καταστάσεως ἀπλήκτου”, on the surveying and construction of camps, is also attributed to Nicephorus Phocas. It was only lately found, and published by Charles Graux, with a preface by A. Martin, Paris, 1898, 4°.

ERRATA.

- Page 16, footnote. For "auteurs latin" read "auteurs latins."
- No. 53. For "*Printed at Caen | by E. A. |*" read "Printed at Caen | by E. A. |"
- No. 84, Collation. For "Aphorismes Lib. 1 [v.]" read "Aphorismes Lib. 1 [—v.]"
- No. 88, Collation. For "with monogram of R. D., the engraver," read "signed R. Mab."
- No. 106, Collation. For "Brydge's" read "Brydges'."
- No. 118, Contents. For "(Paris, 1650, 4°, and 1668, 12°; a 3rd ed. is mentioned by Douce, MS. 266, Bod. Lib.)" read "(Paris, 1650, 4°, and 1668, 12°; a 3rd ed. of Paris, 1681, 8°, is mentioned by Saint Remy and by Douce, MS. 266, Bod. Lib.)"
- No. 125, Contents, line 8. For "all printed by Butter and Bourne" read "all published by Butter and Bourne."
- No. 144, Contents (p. 115). For "The 'Torneo' of Pistofilo" read "The 'Orchesographie' of Tabourot."
- No. 645. For "Rohan, Henri de, Duc de" read "Rohan, Henri, Duc de."
- No. 670. Read in inverted commas after "rarity."
- No. 682. For "Ajello d'Ayello Santo" read "Ajello d'Ajello Santo."
- No. 721. For "Vol. ii., 2 ff., A—4th Q." read "Vol. ii., 2 ff., A—5th Q."
- No. 723 (p. 186). For "Gali" read "Galí."
- No. 785. For "G. D. Jarino" read "G. D. Tarino."
- No. 791. For "with a 6th Bk. added; portrait of Lorini, *æ*t. 70; same cuts" read "with a 6th Bk. added, portrait of Lorini, *æ*t. 70, and same cuts."
- No. 798. For "A. de la Ville" read "A. de Ville."
- No. 944. For "C. P." read "G. P."
- Page 247. For "Saint Didier, Henri" read "Saint Didier, Henri de."
- Page 248 (No. 5). Read in inverted commas after "cheval."

Here begynneth the booke of fayttes of armes & of Chyualrye/ And the first chapptre is the prologue/ in whiche xpyr: styne of pyse excuseth hir self to haue dar enterpryse to speke of so hye matere as is conteyned in this sayd booke

¶ Capitulum primum

By cause that hardynes is so moche necessarye to enterpryse hye thynges/ whiche without that shold neu be enpryses That same is couenable to me at this present werke to put it forth without other thyng/ Seen the lytylhed of myr persone/ whiche I knowe not digne ne worthy to treate of so hye matere/ ne durst not only thynke what blame hardynes causeth whan he is folyssh/ I thene nothyng moeued by arrogauce in folyssh presumpcion / But admonestred of veray affection & good desyre of noble men in thoffyce of armes/ am exported after myne other escriptures passed/ lyke as he that hath to foryn leten down many stroge edyfyces/ is more hardy to charge hym self desyre or to lette down a castell or forteresse whan he feleth hym self garnysshed of couenable stuffe thereto necessarye/ Thenne to enterpryse to speke in this present booke of the right honorable offyce of armes & of Chyualrye/ as wel in thynges whiche therto ben conuenient/ as in droptes whiche therto be appertenaunt/ lyke as the lawbes & dyuerse auctours declaren it/ to the purpoos/ I haue asssembled the maters & gadred in dyuerse bookes for to produce myne etenciõ in this present Volume/ But as it apperteyneth this matere to be more executed by fayt of dyligence & witte/ than by subtiltees of wordes polissed/ and also considered that they that ben expertysng & experte in tharte of chyualrye be not comune ly clerkys ne instructe in science of langage/ I entende not to treate/ but to the most playn and entendible langage that



BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILITARY BOOKS.

ENGLISH.

1. Fourteen-eighty-nine. Pisan, Christine de.

Commences: "Here begynneth the table of the rubryshys of the | boke of the fayt of armes and of Chyualrye whiche | sayd boke is departyd in to four partyes. | " The postscript commences: "¶ Thus endeth this boke whiche xpyne of pyse [Christine de Pisan] made & dre | we out of the boke named Vegecius de re militari & out of | tharbre of bataylles wyth many other thynges sett in to the | same requisite to Werre & battailles whiche boke beyng in frē | she was delyuered to me Willm Caxton by the most crysten | kynge & redoubted prynce my naturel & souerayn lord kyng | henry the | vij | kyng of englond & of fraūce in his palais of | Westmestre the | xxij | day of Januere the | iiij | yere of his re | gne & desired & wylled me to translate this said boke & reduce | it in to our english & natural tonge | . . . Per Caxton. | "

Black letter. Folio.

Collation. No tp., or pag.—30-31 ll. to p.—Sigs. in 8^s, A-S; S6 blank; first two ff. unsigned. For further description see *Blades*, vol. i.

The copy described has Grenville's note: "This is an original and perfect copy: it came from the library of the Earl of Ferrers at Chartley. The copy in the Roxburgh Library sold for £356." *Blades* gives twenty as the number of known copies, of which three are in the B.M.

Copies. B.M.; Ashburnham.

Contents. "L'Art de Chevalerie," as the original is called, was written about 1412, and was first printed in Paris, 1488, fol. [See 503.] Caxton made his translation from a French MS. entrusted to him by Henry VII. (probably the MS. Royal, 15 E. VI., now in the B.M.), which was transcribed before 1453, and, like many MSS. transcribed during her lifetime, has the passage at the end of the prologue, present in the English printed ed., but omitted in the French, in which Christine apologizes for writing of wars and battles. Doubts have been expressed as to whether this really is Christine de Pisan's work, solely, it would seem, on account of her sex. But if she were capable of writing "Le Livre de Paix," why not this military compilation? Scholarship and conversation with eminent soldiers of her time would, in a work of this kind, be a sufficient substitute for personal experience.¹ Many French bibliographers have ascribed the authorship to Jean de Meung, but what the author of the "Romaunt de la Rose" really did was to translate Vegetius' "De re militari" into French in 1284, by command of Jean, Count of Eu, which translation is alluded to by him in the dedication of his translation of Boetius. It is this passage which has mislead the bibliographers. But now, since the publication of de Meung's version (Paris, 1897, 8°), there is no longer any excuse for ascribing the other to him. Antedating the Italian translation of Colonna's compilation from the same ancient writer by three years, it is, of course, a work of the greatest interest. It is coloured throughout by the mediæval spirit; the military terminology of the Romans is translated into the chivalric terminology of the Middle Ages. Since there were no equivalents in his language for the Latin words, de Meung simply impressed those used in chivalry, and thus fixed the military vocabulary of Western Europe for two hundred years; and, not content with merely translating, he amplified the text with all sorts of interpolations—comments, personal reflections, historical examples, and explanations of what did not seem quite clear. See Introduction by M. Ulysse Robert, Paris, 1897.

2. [No date.] Anonymous.

[Begin fol. 2 recto.] Heere foloweth the | ordre or Trayne
of War | re, that a Prynce, or a | heed Captayne, ought | to
take, that wyll Con- | quere, or assege a place, or kepe or
defen- | de a place, where he dowlth to be assay | led in his
owne countree, or to marche | or trauers the countree of his
enemyes | or to make gwerre gwerreable | .

¹ There is an interesting essay on Christine de Pisan by Thomassy, Paris, 1838, fol.

Black letter. Octavo.

Collation. A1 missing.—Woodcut of battle-scene and title below, A2.—Text begins A2.₂.—Col., G4: “¶ Imprynted by me Robert Wyer | dwellynge in | seynt Martyns parysshe at | Charynge | Crosse. | Imprynted for Iohn Gowgh | Cum priuilegio Regali, | Ad imprimendum solum.” | —Wyer’s large device, G4.₂.—Sigs. in 4^s, A-G.—Without preliminary matter, pag. or R.H.

Very rare. Mr. Plomer¹ had not seen a copy. Ames describes one in the collection of Mr. Thomas Martin of Palgrave, Suffolk, of which the first leaf was missing, as in the case of the copy I have examined, which was sold by auction in London, Feb., 1898, for £25 10s. A MS. note places its date at between 1525-30. Robert Wyer is thought to have ceased publishing in 1556.

3. Fifteen-thirty-nine. Frontinus, Sextus Julius.

“§ The Stra- | tegemes, Sleygh- | tes, and policies of warre, | gathered togyther, by | S. Julius Fronti- | nus, and tran- | slated into | En- | glyshe, by Rycharde | Morysine. | ¶ Anno. M.D.xxxix. |

Black letter. Octavo.

Collation. Tp., a1.—Ded. to Henry VIII., a2-6₁.—Cts., a6₂-8.—Col.: “Londini in ædibus Thomæ Ber- | theleti typis impress. | Cum priuilegio ad imprimen- | dum solum. Anno. M.D.xxxix.”, N8.—R.H.: “Sex. Iul. Front. Liber. . . .”—No pag.—Sigs. in 8^s, a, A-N.—26 ll. to p.

Copies. B.M. (two).

Contents. This trans. is from the French version of Paris, 1536, fol. To fill up some blank pages at the end, the printer has added some “general rules of war, taken out of Vegetius.”

The “Stratagems” had been preceded, as Frontinus says himself in his Preface, by another work on the military art, now lost, which Ælian² had seen. The work is not so much a treatise on war as a collection of anecdotes, made “in order that readers might have under their hands examples of address and prudence which might be of use to them in planning and carrying on in an emergency similar stratagems.” The three books give instances respectively of what should be done, before, during, and after a battle; they are each subdivided into twelve or thirteen short chapters. The fourth book contains anecdotes illustrating military virtues. At the Renaissance Frontinus was only less a favourite than Vegetius. Besides the numerous Latin

¹ Henry R. Plomer’s “Robert Wyer.” (London, 1897, 4°.)

² “Tactics,” chap. i.

11. - [Fifteen-sixty?] Grisone, Federico.

¶ A newe booke | containing the arte of ryding, | and
breaking greate Horses, toge- | ther with the shapes and Figures,
of | many and diuers kyndes of Byt- | tes, mete to serue diuers
mou | thes. Very necessary for all | Gentlemen, Souldy- |
ours, Seruingmen, | and for any man | that deligh- | teth in
a | horse. |

Black letter. Octavo.

Collation. Tp., A1.—Ded. to Lord Robert Dudley, A2-5.—Cts., &c.,
A6-B4.—Col.: “¶ Imprinted at London by Willyam Seres dwellinge at
the West ende of Poules, at the signe of the Hedgehog.” (2nd F4v).—R.H.:
“The . . . booke of the art of Riding.”—51 woodcuts of bits (26 ff.).—
Sigs. in 8^a, A-B, A-M, A-F, A-D2.—1st B and 2nd F in 4^a.—24-26
ll. to p.

Copies. B.M.

Contents. The cuts are copied from those of the Italian eds. Abridged
from Grisone by Blundeville, at the suggestion of John Astley.¹ It is the first
work in English on equitation, and after its publication, teachers of riding,
who before, says Bedingfield, “were not of much knowledge,” improved so
much, that by 1584, through their industry and skill, the number of service-
able horses and horsemen had much increased. Some of the credit for this
change is due, no doubt, to individuals, such as “old Alexander, the earliest
riding-master to the esquires and riders of the Queen’s stable,” who had been
a pupil of Grisone. Blundeville’s remained the most popular book on the
subject until the publication of Markham’s “Soldiers Accidence;” for
Bedingfield, in his abridgment of Corte (v. 30), avoided going over the same
ground as his predecessor.

Chap. XIX. is headed “How to make your horse abide both staffe, sworde,
great noyse, gonshot, or any other thing.” [V. Orig. 707.]

12. Fifteen-sixty. Macchiavelli, Niccolo.

The Arte of warre, | written first in Italiā | by Nicholas
Machiauell, and set | forthe in Englishe by Peter | White-
horne, student at Graies Inne: | with an addiciō of other like
Mar- | cialle feates and experimen- | tes, as in a Table in the

¹ Author of another “Art of Riding” (London, 1584, 4°). This, like Thomas
Blundeville’s original work of the same title (London, 1597, 4°), and his “Foure
chiefest Offices belonging to Horsemanship” (London, 1565-66, 4°; 1580, 4°; and
1609, 4°), having no specially military interest, is not included here.

| ende of the Booke | maie appere. | *Anno. M.D.LX. | Menss. Iulii.* |

Black letter. Quarto.

Collation. Tp., A1, enclosed in fine woodcut border, reproduced as frontispiece to this catalogue.—Ded. to Queen Elizabeth, a2-4.—Cts., Gg2^g-Hh1.—Device of the printer, John Kingston, Hh1_g.—R.H.: "The first [-seventh] booke."—Nums. to ff. i-cix.—Sigs. in 4^s, a, A-Z, Aa-Hh2, which is blank.—37 ll. to p.—Tailpiece representing a sleeping camp, Ee1; tables and diagrams, Ee1_g-Gg2.—For Col. v. the "Addition" (No. 13, 1st ed.).

Copies. B.M.; Bod.

Second Edition. Fifteen-seventy-three.

¶ The | Arte of Warre, | *Newly imprin- | ted with other ad- | ditions.* | *An. M.D.LXXIII.* |

Black letter. Quarto.

Collation. A reprint of the 1560 ed.—The border of tp. and diags. are from the plates of 1st ed., but there is no tailpiece on Ee1, and no device; the woodcut initials, too, are different.—Table ends on Gg4.—Nums. to ff. in roman.—36 ll. to p.—For Col. v. No. 13 (2nd ed.).

Copies. B.M.; W.O.

Third Edition. Fifteen-eighty-eight.

¶ The | Arte of Warre, | *Newly imprin- | ted with other ad- | ditions.* | 1588. |

Black letter. Quarto.

Collation. A reprint of the 1573 ed.—Tp. has the borders of the previous eds.—New woodcut initials, and the tailpiece of 1st ed. absent.—Nums. to ff. in arabic.—36 ll. to p.—This has an addition of a folding diag. of the embattling of an army.—For Col. v. No. 13 (3rd ed.).

Copies. B.M.; Roy. Art. Inst.; Bod.

Contents. The title, "Art of War," is a common one in these early books, and it usually indicates that the work gives information on all branches—tactics, fortification, artillery, etc. The treatise in question takes a high place amongst contemporary works, and remained in use as a text-book for a long period; it was a favourite book of Frederick the Great. On this alone of the foreign writings mentioned here was conferred the honour of a translation twice reissued. Macchiavelli's knowledge of his subject is all the more remarkable when we take into account that he was not by profession a soldier, but a diplomatist.

Soldiers have attacked his description of a battle on the ground that it is the work of one who had never seen what he describes, but the account is too circumstantial to have been drawn from the imagination, and Macchiavelli

must have gathered his information from men of practical experience in war; it is clear, too, that he had carefully studied the most important military literature of antiquity. A prominent feature in the work is the desire of the author to improve the status of the infantry, which, owing to the aristocratic prejudice in favour of cavalry, and the exaggerated opinion held of the merits of the latter arm, had been suffered to fall into a condition of neglect, bordering on disorder.

Book VII. is on the defence of fortified places. The Harquebus is spoken of as a "new instrument," which must mean that it had only just come into general use, for Philip de Comines mentions it in his account of the Battle of Morat in 1476. For nearly a century after the invention of fire-arms writers speak disparagingly of them, and, indeed, their effect gave a moral, rather than a physical, superiority to the side using them. Giacomo Purlilia, writing about this time, recommends soldiers to "stop their ears with something, so that they might not be terrified by the sound of these weapons," and Macchiavelli regards them as profitable only to frighten the country people. His statement, that the introduction of ordnance did not render it necessary to make any change in the dense formations derived from the ancients, goes to show that the improvements made in artillery during the first two hundred years were insignificant, although the remark leads us to infer that certain soldiers were beginning to realize that a change was becoming necessary. [V. Orig. 507.]

13. Fifteen-sixty-two. Whitehorne, Peter.

Certain Waies | for the order yng of Souldiers in bat- | telray,
& setting of battailes, af- | ter diuers fashions, with their maner
| of march yng: And also Fy gures of | certaine new plattes for
fortifi- | cacion of Townes: And | more ouer, howe to | make
Saltpeter, | Gunpoulder, | and diuers | sortes | of Fireworkes
or wilde Fyre, | with other thynges aper- | taining to the
warres. | Gathered and set | foorth by Peter | Whitehorne.

Black letter. Quarto.

Collation. Tp., A1, enclosed in woodcut, has no imprint—Postscript, N1₂-2.—Cts., N2₂-3.—Col.: "¶ Imprinted at London, By Ihon Kingston: for Nicholas Englande. Anno salutis, M.D.LXII. Mense. Aprilis", N4.—Kingston's device, N4₂.—Diags.—R.H.: "The order yng of Souldiers in battelraie", "Plattes of fortificacion", "The mak yng and refinyng of Saltpeter", "The making of Gunpowder", "The making of Artillerie", "Of Muynes", "Of Fireworks", and "Of sending advice"—Nums. to ff.—Sigs. in 4^s, A-N.—36 and 37 ll. to p.

Copies. B.M.

learning, and died about 1574. The eldest son of Thomas was also very learned: he was Sir Dudley Digges, and was Master of the Rolls to Charles I. He died about 1639."—(MS. note in compiler's copy.) Thomas himself, who was one of the first mathematicians of his age, was Muster-Master General to the English forces in the Netherlands, a post obtained for him by his patron, Leicester. It was thus he gained his knowledge of military organization.

17. Fifteen-seventy-two. Vegetius, Flavius.

The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Ranatus, brieflye contayninge a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of Martiall policye, feates of Chiualrie, and whateuer p̄rtayneth to warre. Translated out of lattine, into Englishe, by Iohn Sadler. Anno. 1572. Imprinted by Thomas Marshe.

Quarto. Herbert, 862.

Contents. Vegetius dedicated his work, "De re militari, lib. v", to Valentinian II. He himself states that it is derived from the commentaries of Cato, Celsus, Trajan, Hadrian, and Frontinus. "His gravest defect is that he confounds periods and usages, the ancients with him signifying sometimes the Romans in their early days, sometimes in the palmy days of the Republic, and sometimes in the times immediately before his own."¹ But he is considered a great authority on what concerns the Romans, and no writer has written of that system without mentioning him. "He is, as it were, an immense bridge," says Almirante, "uniting antiquity with modern times. Notwithstanding grave defects, he has had the good luck and the glory of surviving the shipwreck of the middle ages, and of being reverently imitated during the renaissance, being one of the few classics that have come down to us complete." It was Egidio Colonna who, in 1284, first brought Vegetius into vogue, by taking him as his model and guide in the "Principium Regimine," which may be called the first modern work on the military art, while, in the same year, by command of Jean, Count of Eu, Jean de Meung translated him entirely. For 250 years after this revival he remained one of the most popular of writers. [V. No. 1.] The five books are thus divided: Bk. I. On the levying and training of recruits.—Bk. II. On the legion, its organisation, rank of officers and men, and their arms.—Bk. III. On tactics; the last chapter of this book consisting of thirty-two "maxims of war."—Bk. IV. On fortification and the attack and defence of places; on machines of war.—Bk. V. On the navy.

¹ Nisard's "Collection des auteurs latin," Paris, 1851.

Eds. [For collected eds. v. No. 3.] Utrecht, 1475, 4°; Parisiis, 1535, fol.; Lugduni Batavorum, 1644, 12°.—Fr. trans., Paris, 1488, fol.; Paris, 1527, 8°; Paris, 1536, fol.; Francfort-sur-le-Main, 1616, fol.—Ger. trans., Ulm? 1470? fol.; Erffurt, 1511, fol.; Augsburg, 1529, fol.; [Augsburg] 1534, fol.—It. trans., Venesia, 1525, 8° (trans. by Gaetano); Venetia, 1540, 8°; Vinegia, 1551, 8° (trans. by Ferrosi). The "Commentary" of Stewechius on Vegetius is first found in the 1592 ed. of the collected works. It was printed separately by the Plantin Press, 1606, 4°, and again Vesaliæ, 1670, 8°.

There is an English trans. of Vegetius among the Lansdowne MSS. (285.47.), dating from 1408. The colophon runs: "Here endeth the boke that Clerks clepith in Latyn Vegesius de Re militari, the boke of Vegesy of dedis of knyghthode, which boke was translatid and turnyd frō Latyn into Englissh at the ordenaunce and bidding of the worthy and worshupful Lorde Sir Thomas of Berkeley . . . , the turnyng of this booke into Englissh was wryten and endid in the vigill of Allhalowe, the yere of our Lorde a thousand cccc and viii, the x yere of the reigne of Kyng Herry the fourthe. . . ." Mr. Douce's note (Cat. MSS. Lansd.) is as follows: "It was supposed that Ebesham was the translator; but this is a mistake: he was merely the transcriber, and received for his trouble the sum of ten shillings. The real translator's name appears at the end of another copy [Mr. Douce's], on vellum, in this form: 'This is his name that turned this book frō Latyn to Englishe ☐ toñ,' which rebus or device is to be interpreted 'Clifton.'"

18. Fifteen-seventy-three. Drury, Sir William.

[Regulations to be observed by the English army marching to besiege Edinburgh Castle]. *Printed by Robert Lekprevik, Edinburgh.*

Single sheet.

Arber, v. 89.

19. Fifteen-seventy-four. Cataneo, Girolamo.

¶ Most | briefe ta- | bles to knowe redily howe | manye ranckes of footemen armed | with Corslettes, as vnarmed, go to the ma- | king of a iust battayle, from an hundred vnto | twentye thousande. | Next a very easye, and ap- | proued way to arme a battaile with Harkabuzers, | and winges of horsemen according to | the vse at these daies | Newlye in-

Commentar

über das

Evangelium des Johannes.

Von

Dr. Friedrich Rücke,

Consistorialrath und ordentlichem Professor der Theologie
zu Göttingen.

Zweyter Theil.

Auslegung von Kap. V — XXI.



Dritte, verbesserte Auflage.

Bonn,

bey **Eduard Weber.**

1843.

Commentar
über
die Schriften
des Evangelisten Johannes.

Von
Dr. Friedrich Lücke.

Zweyter Theil.
Auslegung des Evangeliums von Kap. V — XXI.

Dritte, verbesserte Auflage.

Bonn,
bey **Eduard Weber.**
1843.

J.

Er weiß gewiß, daß sie ihres anstößigen Inhalts wegen von den Zeugen ausgelassen worden. So ist sie ihm ohne weiteres echt, und höchst erwünscht, als ein Beleg mehr, daß der angebliche Joh. die Gegensätze bis zum Unwahrscheinlichen, Verhältnißlosen hinausschraubt. Die Collision zwischen dem bürgerlichen und himmlischen Gesetz werde in einem Falle dargestellt, von dem man nicht begreife, wie die Gegner daraus eine Versuchung für Jesus hätten hernehmen können, da das positive Gesetz den Fall bestimmt genug entscheide. Noch weniger begreife man, wie Jesus, der sich nach den Synoptikern auf Collisionen wohl verstehe, diese Collision nicht besser gelöst, d. h. nach Hegelscher Dialektik vermittelt habe. Aber an dergleichen Unklarheiten, Unwahrscheinlichkeiten sey man in diesem Ev. schon gewöhnt. Den Zusammenhang der Erzählung mit dem Vorhergehenden und Folgenden betreffend, so habe den Verf. ein richtiges Gefühl unwillkürlich gezwungen, der unzweckmäßigen Ausdehnung der Streitreden K. 7. einen Schein von Grenze oder Schluß zu geben, zu welchem sich das Gewirr des Streites steigere. Ebenso habe der Streit 8, 12 ff. eine Pointe, eben darin, daß die Juden den Herrn zuletzt steinigen wollen. Unter diesem Gesichtspuncte sey die Erzählung ein unentbehrliches Ergänzungsstück.

Die Unklarheit in der Absicht und Beziehung der Versuchung geben wir vollkommen zu. Aber die Lösung der Collision ist des Herrn vollkommen würdig. Vom Standpuncte der *παιδεία* konnte Jesus nicht anders, als die bürgerliche Entscheidung ablehnen, die Versucher strafen mit Beschämung, die Frau aber in Liebe richtend zur Buße führen. Jesus hebt das bürgerliche Gesetz damit nicht auf, sondern beschränkt sich nur auf seinen Beruf, ähnlich, wie Luk. 12, 13. 14. Anders ist die Collision Matth. 22, 15 ff. Die sogenannte Vermittlung, welche Bauer fordert, nemlich der Schmerz der Strafe, fehlt nicht. Jesus gebietet

die Steinigung nicht. Er vergiebt der Frau, nachdem die bürgerlichen Richter sie unverurtheilt gelassen hatten, aber er erspart ihr den Schmerz der Reue nicht. — Die Hauptfrage aber ist, ob die Erzählung wirklich ein so unentbehrliches Mittelstück zwischen 7, 52. und 8, 12. sey, wie Bauer meint? Die Streitreden endigen schon B. 36., und auch die Spaltung der Meinungen so im Volke, wie im Synedrium, tritt bis 7, 52. klar hervor, und bedarf weder eines scheinbaren noch wirklichen Schlusses. Dieser würde auch in 7, 53. — 8, 11. nicht liegen. Denn der Streit fängt ja mit dieser Erzählung wieder an. Weber schließt der Abschnitt die bisherige Reihe ab, noch fängt er die folgende an. Wäre er im Zusammenhange unentbehrlich, so müßte wenigstens 8, 12. sich bestimmt darauf beziehen. Aber Bauer findet selbst keine innere Beziehung darauf, sondern nur eine äußere Gelegenheitsverknüpfung. Nach der Collision mit den Pharisäern, meint er, habe Jesus jetzt die beste Gelegenheit gehabt, den Streit mit den Juden über seine Person fortzusetzen, weil das Volk, welches ihn B. 2. umgab, noch da war. Dieß aber ist gar keine nothwendige Verknüpfung. Es läßt sich auch eine andere Beziehung von *αὐτοῖς* B. 12. denken, nemlich auf die *Ἰουδαῖοι* die Judenthümlichkeit in abstracto, nach Joh. Weise, oder auf das gemischte Festauditorium von K. 7.

Unjohanneisch ist also die Erzählung gewiß, aber deshalb noch keine Erdichtung. Bey aller Dunkelheit und archäologischen Schwierigkeit enthält sie so viel dem Charakter und den Verhältnissen Jesu Entsprechendes, daß man geneigt wird, sie für ein Stück aus der vulgären, mündlichen Tradition zu halten, welchem ein wirklicher Vorfall im Leben Jesu zum Grunde gelegen. Eine ähnliche Erscheinung bietet der Zusatz K. 21. dar. Nur ist dieser uralte, aus der ersten Zeit der Verbreitung unseres Ev. Wäre unsere Perikope erst im dritten oder vierten Jahrhundert entstanden, so wäre sie freylich rein apokry-

phischen Ursprungs, d. h. eben erdichtet. Allein dafür ist sie zu einfach und kurz. Auch ist es nicht Apokryphenart, so einzelne Erzählungen zu erdichten. Diese Einzelheit ist ein Zeichen, daß sie ursprünglich der mündlichen Evangelientradition angehört haben mag. Eusebius K. G. 3, 39. erzählt vom Παπίας: ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ιστορίαν περὶ γυναικός, ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ κατ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. Diese Notiz ist zu kurz und unbestimmt, als daß man mit Sicherheit daraus abnehmen könnte, die Erzählung des Hebräerevangeliums sey eben unsere Perikope gewesen. Die Frau, welche im Hebräerevang. wegen vieler Sünden bey dem Herrn verklagt wurde, wird nicht bestimmt als Ehebrecherinn bezeichnet. Aber die πολλαὶ ἁμαρτίαι lassen sich auf nichts anderes beziehen, als auf Sünden der Wollust; auch ist διαβάλλεσθαι nicht gerade verleumben, sondern kann auch anklagen heißen, und unstreitig ist dieß von Eusebius gemeint. Derselbe fand die Erzählung des Hebräerevang. in den kanon. Evv. nicht, sonst hätte er es bemerkt. Möglich, daß, wie Strauß meint ¹⁾, dieselbe nur eine abweichende Relation der Geschichte von der Sünderin im Hause des Pharisäers Simon Luk. 7, 36 - 50. ist. Allein, diese las Eusebius in seinem Lukas so gut, wie wir; auch schickt sich dazu, wie schon Strauß bemerkt, in keiner Art διαβληθεῖσα. Dagegen läßt sich unsere Erzählung wohl damit zusammenstellen. Eine Ehebrecherinn auf frischer That ertappt, mag wohl mehr als einmahl die ἁμαρτία begangen haben. Eusebius giebt nur eine Ueberschrift von der nicht ganz unbekannten Geschichte. Er sagt, ἄλλην ιστορίαν, eine andere Geschichte, als welche? Im Context hat ἄλλην keine Beziehung. So ist es also wohl beziehungsweise auf die Erzählung Luk. 7, 36 ff. oder unsere Perikope gesagt?

1) Leben Jesu, 2te Aufl. Bd. 1. S. 796.

Die letztere aber hatte er in seinem Kanon nicht. Also meinte er die erstere. Die Verwandtschaft aber unserer Perikope mit der Erzählung im Hebräerevangelium wird noch wahrscheinlicher, wenn man 8, 3. die Lesart des Cod. D. beachtet, wo statt *ἐν μοιχαλῇ κατεῖλ.*, *ἐπὶ ἀμαρτίᾳ κατεῖλ.* steht.

Nach diesem allen wird die Vermuthung gerechtfertigt erscheinen, daß die Erzählung ursprünglich der mündlichen Tradition angehörig, zuerst im Hebräerevangel. schriftlich fixirt, dann, weil sie der Aufbewahrung in den kanonischen Evv. werth schien, in den Evangelientext gekommen ist, an unsere Stelle wahrscheinlich als vermeintlicher Beleg für 8, 15.

VIII, 12 — 59.

Verschiedene Lehr- und Streitreden.

Johannes theilt hier aus mehreren Reden und Unterredungen Jesu im Tempel theils auszugsweise, theils ausführlicher dasjenige mit, was ihm sowohl für die tiefere Erkenntniß der Person und Würde Christi und die Anregung und Belebung des Glaubens an ihn, als auch für die Entwicklung des Kampfes mit der Jüdischen Welt wichtig und erfolgreich schien. Die Spitze für beydes ist B. 56–59.

B. 12. Wäre 7, 53. — 8, 11. echt, so kann man sich die Verbindung so denken, daß Jesus B. 12. den B. 2. und 3. unterbrochenen Lehrvortrag wieder anknüpft. Die Pharisäer B. 13. wären dann dieselben, welche B. 9. beschämt abzogen. Da aber die Perikope unecht ist, so fragt sich, ob und wie dieser Abschnitt mit 7, 52. chronologisch zu verbinden sey? Johannes bemerkt keine Zeitverschiedenheit. Also scheint B. 12 ff. noch am letzten großen Festtage vorgefallen zu seyn. Dieß wäre unzweifelhaft, wenn der Ausspruch B. 12. eine bestimmte Anspielung auf einen gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch an jenem Tage enthielte. Allein dieß kann nicht bewiesen werden. Schließt sich

B. 12. an 7, 52. der Zeit nach unmittelbar an, so scheint das natürlichste Verhältniß dieses: Jesus war 7, 40–44. theils durch den Streit des Volkes, theils durch den Versuch, ihn zu greifen, in seiner Lehrthätigkeit unterbrochen worden. Er blieb aber im Tempel. Als eine Art von Episode tritt 7, 45–52. ein, aber nicht ohne pragmatische Verbindung mit 8, 12 ff. Da das Synedrium vergebens seine Knechte aussendet, ja im Synedrium selbst sich eine Stimme der Gerechtigkeit für ihn erhebt, so kann Jesus nach einiger Zeit (einigen Stunden) ungehindert wieder (*πάλιν*) anfangen, zu der versammelten Menge zu reden. So verknüpft Meyer.

Allein wenn Joh. von 7, 37 ff. an doch nur die Hauptmomente aus den Reden Jesu kurz mittheilt, scheint da nicht für so viel Reden und Gegenreden Ein Tag zu kurz, auch der Inhalt der Reden für dieselbe Situation eines Tages zu verschieden und beziehungslos zu einander? Nirgends zeigt sich von B. 12. an eine sichere Beziehung auf das Fest. Während der *ὄχλος* seit 7, 40. sehr zurücktritt, treten die *Ἰουδαῖοι* wieder überwiegend hervor. Deutet dieß nicht darauf hin, daß das Fest vorüber war? Die Dertlichkeit scheint nach B. 20. für die Reden von B. 12. an eine andere zu seyn, als 7, 37 ff. Eben so ändert sich auch die Zuhörerschaft, die Umgebung; 7, 40. hat es Jesus mit dem *ὄχλος* zu thun, 8, 13. mit den Pharisäern, oder was dasselbe ist mit den Juden B. 22. Es ist möglich, daß Ort und Zuhörerschaft an einem Tage wechselten, aber näher liegt doch, auch eine Tagesverschiedenheit vorauszusetzen, die Joh. nur nicht bemerkt, weil die nähere Zeitbestimmung für den Inhalt ohne Bedeutung war. — Jesus blieb, kann man denken, nach dem Laubhüttenfeste noch einige Zeit in Jerusalem. Die getheilte Stimmung auch unter dem Volke von Jerusalem und die Uneinigkeit im Synedrium schienen ihm für seine Lehrthätigkeit einigen Schutz zu gewähren. Sich vor dem Volke gegen den im-

mer heftiger werdenden Haß und die immer deutlicher hervortretenden Machinationen des Synedriums zu rechtfertigen, daran schien ihm jetzt um so mehr gelegen, je näher er den immer schneller sich entwickelnden Ausgang seines Lebens voraussah. So lehrt er also zu einer gelegenen Zeit, an einem andern Tage als 7, 37., im Tempel und knüpft mit einem frappanten Ausspruch, wie er pflegte, an, vielleicht, wie Euthymius meint, in Beziehung auf die *διαφόρους ὑπολήψεις αὐτῶν*, 7, 40 ff. Aber es fehlt an sichern Daten eines bestimmten pragmatischen und chronologischen Zusammenhanges von 8, 12. mit 7, 52.

Der Ausruf 8, 12. soll nach einigen Auslegern entweder auf die zwey hohen guldernen Leuchter, welche an der Skenopägie auf beyden Seiten des Brandopferaltars im Vorhofe der Weiber, wo auch das *ραζοφυλάκιον* war, brannten, oder vielleicht gar auf das Auslöschen derselben am Abende des letzten Festtages anspielen. Gewiß ist zunächst nur dieß, daß am ersten Abende des Festes jene Leuchter aufgestellt wurden und brannten ¹⁾. Der Glanz dieser Erleuchtung war so groß, daß ganz Jerusalem, wie es heißt ²⁾, davon erleuchtet wurde. Es begann damit die nächtliche Freude, die bis an den hellen Tag dauerte ³⁾. Die Anspielung also auf den alles bestrahlenden hellen Glanz wäre sehr schicklich, wenn entschieden wäre, daß jene Illumination, wie am ersten, so auch am letzten Tage des Festes statt fand. Nach Maimonides geschah sie während des Festes täglich ⁴⁾. Nur ist zu bedenken, daß mit dem Anzünden der großen Leuchter ein so allgemeiner Jubel entstand, daß auch fromme Männer an dem darauf entstandenen Fackeltanz Theil nahmen, und

1) Codex Succa Cap. 5. §. 2. Hier ist zunächst nur von der Erleuchtung am Ende des ersten Tages die Rede.

2) Codex Succa Cap. 5. §. 3.

3) Ebendasselbst §. 4.

4) S. Dachs Notae zu Cod. Succa p. 431.

Gesang und Instrumentalmusik den Tempel erfüllte ¹⁾. Konnte Jesus vernünftiger Weise in diesem Tumult sprechen wollen? Die Scene 8, 12 ff. macht den Eindruck einer gewissen Ruhe und Stille. Auch ist ja die Frage, ob das Fest nicht schon vorüber war. Auf keinen Fall aber scheint es schicklich, daß Jesus auf das Auslöschen der Leuchter angespielt habe. — Indessen, sagt man, ohne alle äußere Veranlassung und Anspielung lasse sich der Ausruf Jesu eben so wenig denken, als der ähnliche 7, 37. Da *ὥς τοῦ κόσμου* ²⁾ dem *ὥς ἑδνῶν* Jes. 42, 6. so sehr entspricht, daß die damahls übliche Bezeichnung des Messias, als eines Lichtes der Völker oder der Welt, aus jener und ähnlichen Stellen des Jesaias (vergl. 49, 6. 9, 1. 2.) entstanden zu seyn scheint, so finden Einige wahrscheinlich, daß der Ausruf durch die Vorlesung jenes Hauptstückes im Jesaias veranlaßt wurde. Eine schicklichere Veranlassung und Anspielung läßt sich kaum denken. Daß der Messias auch für die Heiden das große Licht des Lebens seyn, und alle Menschen und Völker (*τὸν κόσμον*), wenn sie ihm folgen würden, von der Finsterniß des Irrthums, der Sünde und des Todes befreien und ihnen Licht und ewiges Leben geben werde, war nach der Weissagung die bald mehr bald weniger geistig gefaßte Hoffnung aller Frommen, vergl. Luk. 2, 32., besonders Joh. 1, 4. 9. ³⁾. An diese Hoffnung wendet sich Jesus hier mit dem Worte der Erfüllung: Ich bin jenes Licht. — Allein man unterscheide äußere Veranlassung und innere Beziehung. Diese ist gewiß, jene unwahrscheinlich. Denn, obwohl im Tempel

1) Codex Succa 5, 4.

2) Wohl zu unterscheiden von dem *ὥς τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτου*, der Sonne, Kap. 11, 9.

3) Im Testament des Levi heißt es (Test. XII. Patr. ed. Fabricius Cod. Pseudep. Tom. I. p. 578) vom Messias: *τὸ ὥς τοῦ κόσμου τὸ δοθὲν ἐν ἡμῖν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντός ἀνθρώπου*. Gewiß hat hier der Verfasser das Johanneische Evangelium, namentlich 1, 9. und 8, 12., vor sich gehabt.

gelehrt wurde, so war doch der eigentliche Ort für die Vorlesung und Auslegung des Gesetzes und der Propheten die Synagoge ¹⁾. Nun macht zwar Vitringa wahrscheinlich, daß neben den vielen Synagogen in der Stadt auch der Tempel eine Synagoge hatte, aber sie war nach *Tarchi proxima atrio in monte Domus* ²⁾. Es kommt zwar vor, daß z. B. am großen Versöhnungstage der Hohepriester nach vollbrachtem Opfer in den Vorhof der Weiber ging *ad legendum in lege*. Ferner wird erzählt, daß am ersten Laubhüttentage der König im Vorhofe der Weiber das Gesetz vorgelesen und den Segen gesprochen habe ³⁾. Aber war dieß auch sonst regelmäßig? Geschah auch die Vorlesung der Propheten im Tempel? Diese Bedenkenheiten hat Vitringa nicht gehoben. Es scheint darum, so lange nicht das Gegentheil erwiesen ist, angenommen werden zu müssen, daß im Tempel keine regelmäßige Vorlesung des Gesetzes und der Propheten statt fand. Ist dieß, dann kann Jesus nicht durch die eben geschehene Vorlesung von Jes. 42. zu dem Ausspruche B. 12. veranlaßt worden seyn. Die innere Beziehung aber und Erinnerung an Jes. 42, 6., vergl. Mal. 4, 2., ist nicht nur möglich, sondern augenscheinlich.

Der Ausspruch hat zugleich die Form einer Aufforderung, dem Lichte zu folgen. Das Licht für die Welt ist das Licht des Lebens *τὸ φῶς τ. ζωῆς*, wie *ὁ ἄγρος τῆς ζωῆς*, *ζωὴν δίδους*, Leben gebend, vgl. 6, 33. 35. Lachmann liest *περιπατήσας* nach BGKT, mehreren Minuskeln, Origenes, Cyrill. Auch die Vulg. und mehrere Handschriften der It. haben *ambulat*, sie lesen also das Futurum nicht. Dieß ist wahrscheinlich dem folgenden *ἔξτε* zu

1) E. Zunz, die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt S. 339.

2) E. Vitringa de Synag. Vet. p. 29. und p. 39.

3) Vitringa a. a. O. p. 37 sqq.

Liebe corrigirt worden. Lesen wir *περιπατήσῃ*, so haben wir eine ähnliche Construction, wie 10, 5. nach der lectio vulg., dem Aor. Conj. folgt nach *ἀλλὰ* das Futurum. Darf man der neutestam. Sprache classische Feinheit ¹⁾ zu-
trauen, so würde ich sagen, der Aor. Conj. stelle das bild-
liche *περίπ.* eben nur als Moment dar, und werfe den
Gedankenaccent auf das folgende *ἔξει*, als Hauptbegriff.

B. 13. Um den Eindruck dieser entschiedenen, vielleicht
ursprünglich ausführlicheren Erklärung auf das Volk wie-
der auszulöschen, machen die Phariseer dem Herrn den
Einwurf, daß sein eigenes Zeugniß über seine Würde
nach bekannter Rechtsregel als ungültig, unwahr ver-
worfen werden müsse.

B. 14. Jesus behandelt den Einwurf hier anders, als
5, 31., aber der Fall ist auch verschieden. Dort kommt
der Einwurf, vielleicht gar nicht ausdrücklich gemacht, mit-
ten in einer Disputation vor, deren Ausgangspunct und
Richtung anderer Art sind. Hier galt es, in Gegenwart
des zum Theil noch unentschiedenen Volkes das Sophisma
der Phariseer, so schnell als möglich, zu beseitigen. Erst
nachdem Jesus dieß gethan, erlaubt er sich eine ähnliche
συγκρίσις, wie 5, 31 ff. aber in einer andern Ver-
knüpfung. Thatsachen des Gewissens, des innersten Be-
wußtseyns von Gott und göttlichen Dingen müssen an-
ders beurtheilt werden, als Thatsachen der äußeren Er-
fahrung. Wie Gott sich selber nur bezeugen und offenba-
ren kann, (*ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀξιόπιστος μάρτυς*,
sagt Chrysostomus,) so ist das göttliche Leben und
Licht in der Welt immer nur sein eigener Zeuge ²⁾. Daß
Jesus der Sohn Gottes, das Licht der Welt sey, konnte
zunächst nur er selber wissen und aus seinem eigenen Got-

1) S. Rost, Gr. Gramn. 6te Ausg. S. 587.

2) Lumen, sagt Augustin, et alia demonstrat et seipsum. Testi-
monium sibi perhibet lux, aperit sanos oculos et sibi ipsa
testis est.

tesbewußtseyn bezeugen. Treffend also antwortet Jesus: Wenn ich auch (καὶ ἐγὼ) von mir selber zeuge, so ist mein Zeugniß dennoch wahr; denn ich weiß, von wannen ich gekommen bin und wohin ich gehen werde (von Gott zu Gott). Nur der Wissende kann ein gültiges Zeugniß ablegen. Oder meint Ihr ein gültigeres ausstellen zu können, Ihr, die Ihr nicht wisset, von wannen ich komme, noch wohin ich gehe, mich also eben so wenig kennt, als den Vater, der mich gesandt hat, vergl. B. 19.? — Die letzteren Worte, B. 14. ὑμεῖς bis ὑπάγω, so sehr sie auch im Zusammenhange nothwendig sind, fehlen in einigen besonders Moskauer Handschriften, auch bey Origenes zwey Mahl; welche unachtsame Auslassung sich vielleicht aus dem ὁμοιοτέλετον erklären läßt. Statt καὶ ποῦ am Ende des Verses lesen DKT. 1. 10. 11. u. a., auch die Vulg. und andere Uebersetzungen ἢ ποῦ. Obwohl Lachmann diese Lesart nicht einmahl bemerkt, so verdient sie doch vielleicht den Vorzug. Sie kann durch Conformation mit dem vorhergehenden καὶ verdrängt worden seyn. Griesb. hat sie ohne Weiteres in den Text aufgenommen, ich fürchte, mit zu viel Sicherheit. ¹⁾ H steht, wenn echt, nicht für καὶ ¹⁾. Es dißjungirt auch hier. Jesus sagt, weder wüßten die Pharisäer, woher er gekommen sey, noch wohin er gehe; er aber wisse das eine und das andere. Während πόθεν ἦλθον das historische Factum des Ausgesandtsseyns, bezeichnet ἐρχομαι das gegenwärtige Auftreten als Gesandter. Wie des Menschen Ursprung aus Gott und seine Bestimmung und Rückkehr zu ihm, einander entsprechend, das himmlische Wesen der menschlichen Natur beweisen und bezeugen, so auch das Woher und Wohin bey Christo, nur in dem eigenthümlichen Sinne des μονογενῆς, vergl. 16, 28.

B. 15. 16. Die Pharisäer hatten, indem sie das Zeugniß Jesu über sich selbst geradezu als unwahr ver-

1) S. Winers Gramm. S. 57. S. 413 f.

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(Lib. III, cap. 99.)

pœnitentiam ad communionem catholicam recipi etiam a sede apostolica poposeit Acacius. Ac per hoc ¹ queruntur a nobis Acacium fuisse damnatum; eum hac professione præmissa, et ² per infectos Antiocheni Petri recepta communionem, se doceatur ipse damnasce. Ubi tamen non solum reus teneatur Acacius, sed omnes pontifices Orientales, qui pari modo in hæc cecidere contagia, meritoque simili damnatione ³ tenentur obstricti, nec inde possint ullatenus expediri, nisi dum supersunt a talibus abstinendo. Nec nos oportet in talibus causis nisi illis credere, qui aut omnino se sciunt ab hujus perfidiæ nexibus divino beneficio servare discretos, aut his qui a perfidorum consortio recesserunt. Nam in perfidorum contagio constitutis, quam fidem pro sinceræ communionis testificatione possumus adhibere, qui ⁴ in sincera communionem sunt ⁵ polluti? Nec eorum testimoniis niti pro veritate poterimus, qui impugnare non verentur [al. nituntur] falsitatibus veritatem. Restat ut non nisi illis credere debeamus qui ab omni contagione sunt liberi.

EPISTOLARUM

GELASII PÆPE DECEM FRAGMENTA.

(Ex Collect. canonum card. Deusdedit.)

Gelasius Cælestino episcopo.

(Lib. I, cap. 111.)

In ecclesia beati martyris Eleutherii, quæ in Histoniensium civitatis parochia probatur esse constructa, Julianum diaconum, si nil in eo est quod contra canonum veniat instituta, presbyteri honore decorabi: sciturus eum visitoris te nomine, non cardinalis creasse pontificis.

Idem Sabino episcopo.

(Ibid.)

Quantum defensorem diaconum sibi met consecrari populus Grumentinæ civitatis exposcit. Hunc ergo, si nil est quod ejus personæ possit opponi, diaconii protectione decorabis: ut noverit tamen dilectio tua hoc se delegantibus nobis exsequi visitoris officio, non potestate proprii sacerdotis.

Gelasius Quinigesio et Constantino episcopis, inter cetera.

(Lib. IV, cap. 56.)

Felix et Petrus Ecclesiæ Nolani clerici contumaciter et contra constitutum rebelles ad comitatum filii mei regis putaverunt esse properandum, dicentes sibi vim fuisse generatam, tacito clericatus officio: et auctoritate promerita contra civilitatem redemptis sibi barbaris superscriptum episcopum suum gravibus injuriis et dispendiis affecerunt. Proinde necessarium fuit ut ad eundem dominum filium meum supradictus frater noster Serenus episcopus convolaret, ostensaque fraude secundum beatitudinem temporum suorum vir præcellentissimus filius

Dudum de Sanctæ Agathæ basilica, quæ in Caelano fundo olim noscitur constituta, processione sub nostra consultatione suspenderas, asserens possessionis dominum omnia quæ illi conferebantur accipere, et suis usibus applicare; nec illic posse ministrorum Dei aliquos ad processionem venire, cum nulla illis alimenta susciperent. Sed nuper vir spectabilis Petrus noster nobis rationabiliter intimavit, hoc quod in culpam venerat se taliter ordinasse, ut universa quæ in Ecclesia supra dicta diversorum fuerint oblatione collata, ad episcopum aut ad eum cui basilicam deputaverit, universa pertineant: ita ut ex hoc compendio sarta tecta ecclesiæ procurentur. Et ideo frater saluberrimæ dispositionis professione suscepta, processionem supradictæ ecclesiæ te convenit ordinare.

Gelasius Respecto et Leonino episcopis.

(Lib. III, cap. 99.)

Joannes archidiaconus Falerionensis urbis eversionem ecclesiæ ab eo qui præsulis nomine censetur effectam grandi nobis supplicatione conquestus est; ita ut se videlicet de loci sui administratione defecto, iter sibi liberum ad depopulandas facultates aperiret ecclesiæ. Nam ministeriis et ornato pro sua voluntate distracto, prædium etiam paternum, quod in alimoniam clericorum decessor ejus reliquerat, velut proprium suis utilitatibus vindicavit: obviantemque supradictum archidiaconum, cæterosque complures, qui pariter reclamabant, ab ordinibus suis credidit excludendos. Et ideo, fratres carissimi, Divinitatis intuitu Ecclesiæ causam summa attentione trutinantes, omni veritate discussa, de compertis cunctis nostris auribus relatione signate; ut perspecta instructione diligentia vestra quid fieri debeat censeamus.

Gelasius Justo et Stephano episcopis.

(Lib. III, cap. 97.)

Frater et coepiscopus noster Proficuum Salpinæ sacerdos Ecclesiæ petitorii nobis insinuatione suggestit, frumarium spectabilem virum, cum nullis exstantibus causis servum ecclesiæ gravissima eade mactasset, tunc etiam ad augendam violentiæ suæ pervicaciam supradictum antisitem gravissimis contumeliis affecisse. Et ideo, fratres carissimi, si a vobis admonitus ad judicium vestrum inquisitionemque convenerit, veritate discussa unde tantus superbæ spiritus aut violentiæ conceptio fluxerit, quidve fuerit quod pontifex tanta laceraretur insolentia, nostris auribus relatione signate. Aut si forte simili præsumptione contempserit, potestatem sibi supradictus pontifex noverit esse concessam, quatenus apud ju

¹ Id. cod., quid queruntur.² Id. cod., per anfractus.³ Id. cod., teneantur.⁴ Id. cod., in insinuera.⁵ Id. cod., positi.

dicem provinciæ atrocium injuriarum quærat propo-
sitione undictam.

Gelasius Majorico, Sereo et Joanni episcopis.

(Lib. III, cap. 98.)

Qui et humanis legibus incivili temeritate calcatis,
et reverentia religionis abjecta, vel ecclesiastica pri-
vilegia calcare contendunt, vel ubilibet in pauperum
prosilire dispendium, nec hujusmodi saltem commo-
niti convictique nequitiam sopire consentiunt, atque
illata sacris rebus detrimenta sancire, merito divini
moneris sunt participatione privandi: ut hujus per-
ceptione ne careant, quod sacrilegis ausibus habuere
despectui. Quapropter Dionysii, qui sicut vestræ
textus relationis ostendit, non solum Vibonensis
Ecclesiæ jura turbare, sed etiam pensare, quod
nequiter admisserant, respuerant, sacræ communio-
nis arecantur accessu, donec quæ honori divino compe-
tunt discant devota mente deferre. Contra quos etiam
quidquid publicis legibus agi poterit, minime negli-
gatur. Ut qui utrumque tempserunt utrisque cohibiti,
tam sibi quam cæteris præbeant quod necessaria
disciplina poscit exemplum. Cælestinus vero presby-
ter fratris et coepiscopi nostri Serei qui contra
pontificale judicium, contraque apostolicæ sedis man-
data prorumpens supradictis communionem sacram
ministrare præsumpsit; cum non potuerit ignorare
sententiam proprii sacerdotis, ab officio protinus
ecclesiastico pellatur. Ut nullus Ecclesiæ ministro-
rum contra pontificalia instituta venire contendat.

Gelasius Joanni episcopo Pisano.

(Lib. III, cap. 99.)

Ecclesiastica ministeria, quæ unicuique basilicæ
fidelium devotiæ deputavit, ad aliam ecclesiam nullo
debent surripiente transferri. Et ideo, si hujus juris
portitoris petitio veritate subsistit, calicem quem
decessor tuus abstulit, ecclesiæ cuius fuit restituere
sine intermissione.

Gelasius Natali episcopo.

(Ex Anselm. lib. VI, cap. 59.)

Quia per ambitiones illicitas non pudet quosdam
ecclesiarum jura turbare, ac privilegia quæ metropo-
litanis vel provincialibus episcopis decrevit antiqui-
tas, temeraria præsumptione pervadere; propter
quod etiam communionis apostolicæ desiderant te-
nere dissidium, quo scilicet ab ejus auctoritate di-
visi velut impune proprias usurpationes exerceant:
non respicientes quod æterno judici rationem tam
de catholicæ sinceritatis injuria, quam de traditio-
num præjudicio paternarum non sine perpetuæ sint
damnationis interitum reddituri. Si in hæc obstina-
tione permanerint, caritatem tuam duximus in-
struendam, nos pariter ad metropolitanos vestræ
provinciæ, sive cujusquam contiguae, quæ catholi-
cam servant unitatem, magnopere delegasse, ut

abstantes episcopos in eadem regione metropolitanus
suis debeat ordinare; eundemque ipsum metropoli-
tanum, si humana morte transferit, non nisi com-
provinciales episcopi juxta formam veterem studeant
ordinare; quatenus quæ veneranda decrevit antiqui-
tas nullus sibi met contra fas usurpare contendat.

Gelasius clero, ordin. et plebi Brendesii.

(Ex Anselm. lib. VI, cap. 46.)

Concesso vobis quem petistis antisite fratre jam
et coepiscopo meo Juliano, necessarium fuit eodem
ad ecclesiam suam mox remisso ad vos nostra scri-
pta pariter destinare; quibus agnosceretis eidem
fuisse præceptum, ne unquam ordinationes præsu-
mat illicitas. Ne bigamum et qui virginem non est
sortitus uxorem, atque illitteratum vel obnoxium,
in aliqua parte corporis debilem, notatumque modis
omnibus ad sacros ordines permittat accedere. Quod
etiam de peregrinis atque incognitis vel expetentibus
cavere debet; quia hujusmodi a venerabilibus
prohibentur officiis, ac nihil ex ministeriis atque
ornatu postremo de quacunque re quam constat ad
ecclesiam pertinere, audeat in alterum qualibet ra-
tione transferre. Reditus et oblationes fidelium in
quatuor partes dividat, quarum sibi unam ipse reti-
neat, alteram clericis pro officiorum suorum seduli-
tate distribuât, fabricis tertiam, quarum rationem
divino est redditurus examini. Sacris quoque ordi-
nibus applicandos hæc observatione promoveat, ut
jejunio quarti, septimi et decimi mensis vespere
sabbati presbyteros atque diaconos ordinandos esse
C cognoscat. Venerabilis etiam baptismi sacramentum
nisi in festivitate paschali et Pentecostes tradere
non præsumat, exceptis agitudine laborantibus.

1 GELASII TOMUS

DE ANATHEMATIS VINCULO.

*Acta Chalcedonensis concilii ea tantum rata quæ sedes
apostolica approbavit; juxta quæ in Acacium sta-
tuta; et Petrum Alexandrinum a sede apostolica so-
lumnino potuisse absolvi.*

* Ne forte quod solent, dicant, quod si synodus
Chalcedonensis admittitur, omnia constare debeant
quæ illi videntur esse deprompta. Aut enim ex toto
admitti oportere, aut si ex parte repudiabilis est,
firmam ex toto constare non posse. Cognoscant igitur
illud secundum Scripturas sanctas traditionem-
que majorum, secundum canones regulasque Eccle-
siæ, pro fide ² communi, et veritate catholica et
apostolica, pro qua hanc fieri sedes apostolica dele-
gavit, factamque firmavit, a tota Ecclesia indubitan-
ter admitti; alia autem quæ per incompetentem
presumptionem illi prolata sunt, vel potius venti-
lata, quæ sedes apostolica gerenda nullatenus dele-
gavit, ³ mox a vicariis sedis apostolicæ contradicta,
manifestum est; quæ sedes apostolica, etiam petente

¹ In vetustissimo codice Frisingensi iste tractatus
legitur, et in eo pariter incipit ab his verbis: *Ne
for e quod solent*. Titulum autem hunc præfert: *Tomus
de anathematis vinculo papæ Pelasii* (sic).

² Ms. codex Veronensis capituli, cum quo collatus

est a Francisco Blanchino hic tractatus, hic legit,
pro fide communi etc.

³ Id. coll., quæ mox a vicariis.

* Abruptum principium tomi imo potius deesse
principium credibile est.

Marciano principe, nullatenus approbavit; quæ præ-
 sud Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ tunc Anatolius,
 nec se præsumpsisse professus est, et in apostolicæ
 sedis antistitis non negavit posita potestate: quæ
 ideo, sicut dictum est, sedes apostolica non re epit,
 quia quæ privilegiis universalis Ecclesiæ contraria
 probantur, nulla ratione ¹ sustinet. Quid enim? Quia
 in libris sanctis, quos utique veneramur et sequimur,
 quoniam quorundam illie et profanitates esse feruntur,
 aut veneranda sunt, aut sequenda, quia in illis sanctis
 libris et venerabilibus continentur. Sanctus Petrus
 primus apostolorum, sic existimans Novi Testamen-
 ti gratiam prædicandam, ut a legis veteris non
 recederet institutis, quædam per simulationem legi-
 tur inter Judæos gentiisque gessisse. Nunquid ideo
 aut illa ejus sequenda sunt, quæ merito et coaposto-
 lus ejus facta redarguit, postea consequenter ipsa vi-
 tavit, pariterque assumenda sunt cum his quæ (ut
 pote primus apostolus) sabria prædicavit? Nun-
 quidnam aut ejus recta doctrina cum his quæ huma-
 nitas acciderant repudianda est, aut illa adhuc im-
 becillis inscitia, cum perfecta ejus suscipienda est
 doctrina? Nunquidnam in ipsorum hæreticorum li-
 bris non multa quæ ad veritatem pertineant posita
 relegantur? Nunquidnam ideo veritas refutanda est,
 quia illorum libri, ubi ² pravitas inest, refutantur? Aut
 ideo pravi libri suscipiendi sunt eorum, quia veritas,
 quæ illis inserta est, non negatur? Ait Apostolus: *Om-
 nia probate; quæ bona sunt tenete* (1 Thess. v). Sci-
 mus Apostolum (Act. xix) etiam de paganorum
 libris aliqua posuisse. Nunquid ideo etiam cuncta
 recipienda sunt, quæ cum his pariter sunt prola?
 Ipse Apostolus (Philipp. i) ait multos prædicatores
 aliter atque aliter Christum prædicare, ubi licet
 quocunque modo, Christum prædicatum oportet ad-
 mitti, tamen non ideo illum morem, quo non recte
 prædicatum est, non admonet evitare. Malos opera-
 rios ipse conqueritur (Philipp. iii), quorum alia refu-
 tando, alia docet esse sectanda. Hæc et hujusmodi
 exempla nos edocent, et testimonia divina confir-
 mant, non omnia passim a quocunque dicta, vel ubi-
 cunque scripta, indifferenter accipere, sed retentis
 bonis, quæ noceant refutare. Peccatori homini mors
 illata est, et tamen homini Jesu Christo mors illata
 reum fecit esse diabolus: quia ubi causa mortis non
 erat (puta peccatum) non debebatur et poena. Sen-
 tentia præfigitur, vel præfixa est semper errori. Quæ
 sententia huic errori præfixa, nunquam omnino re-
 solvetur. Sicut enim, in quantum est ipse error,
 nunquam error esse desistit, sic a sententia præfixa
 nunquam resolvitur, quia error qui agnoscitur esse
 damnatus, et eadem quandiu manet error, probatur
 strictus. Itaque qui in eo errore sunt, sententia
 erroris obstricti sunt; et quandiu in eo manent, nul-
 latenus absoluti sunt, sicut nec ipse ³ in quo sunt

A error absolvitur. Error enim ipse nunquam veniam
 promeretur; sed qui eo veraciter caruerit, atque ab
 ejus participatione di-cedit. Quandiu ergo in eis est,
 error damnationem suam tenet, nunquamque resol-
 vitur, quia error semper poenam meretur. Paricipes
 vero ejus, aut semper sunt et ejus poenæ participes,
 si in eodem perstare non desinant; aut si ab eodem
 recesserint, quam alieni facti sunt ab errore, et ab
 ejus participatione discreti, tam et poenæ ejus erunt
 consequenter alieni. ⁴ Cui erranti poena præfigitur,
 quandiu manet errans, eadem poena constringitur;
 quia errans esse non potest sine poena errati. Hæc
 eadem poena perpetua est, nunquamque solvenda
 quandiu errans esse perstiterit. Qui si errans esse
 destiterit, poena, quæ erranti est præfixa perpetua,
 B non erranti, id est alteri effecto quam cui præfixa
 est, non solum non potest esse perpetua, sed nec esse
 jam poena. Non est enim ipse cui præfixa est. Er-
 ranti enim præfixa est, non non erranti. Quæ enim
 erranti præfixa perpetua est, et perpetuo constringit
 errantem, non errantem non potest jam tenere. Sit
 erranti dicta fore perpetua, sit erranti dicta nunquam
 esse solvenda. Manet omnino et vere, certumque
 est, quod ⁵ in ea præfixum est; nec potest prorsus
 absolvi, quandiu manent præfixa debetur erranti. Non
 erranti autem nec poena potest esse, quæ non erranti
 non debetur inferri. Nec motatur illa omnino nec
 solvitur quæ debetur erranti. In suo ergo tenore illa
 præfixa est, in suo jure non potest omnino resolvi;
 in non suo tenore, quæ esse non potest, jam docetur
 C esse vacuata: et jus illis penitus non habere,
 ubi causam non habet existendi. Plenæ sunt sanctæ
 Scripturæ tali forma justitiæ. Dicitur: *Pereant pec-
 catores a terra, ita ut non sint; peccatores ut desistant
 esse peccatores. In hoc pereant, ut esse deficient pec-
 catores* (Psal. ciii). Cæterum si prorsus peccato-
 res, secundum prophetæ sententiam, usquequaque
 deperirent, ut substantialiter non subessent: qui
 salvari potuissent a Redemptore nostro, qui venit non
 justos vocare, sed peccatores (Luc. v)? vel de quibus
 dicit Apostolus: *Christus venit in hunc mundum pec-
 catores salvos facere, quorum primus ego sum* (1 Tim. i;
 Rom. v)? et: *Cum peccatores essemus, misit Deus
 Filium suum* (Galat. iv), et cætera hujusmodi? Hic re-
 vera plurimi etiam substantialiter perierunt peccato-
 D res, in peccatis suis utique permanentes, veraque in
 eis sententia dicta permansit, nunquamque resoluta
 est; et tamen eadem in talibus, quibus præfixa est,
 permanente perpetua, quodam genere factum est,
 ut in talibus non usquequaque manentibus, id est, in
 peccatis suis non usquequaque durantibus, sententia
 tamen præfixa talibus permaneret. Nam et ipsi pe-
 reunt; sed esse peccatores, ut dictum est, non poen-
 aliter, sed remedialiter, quodam et ipsi genere pe-
 rierunt; quodam genere et in ipsis mansit præfixa
 sententia, donec permanens eos efficeret non esse

¹ Id. cod., *subsistunt*.

² Id. cod., *pravitatis interest*.

³ Id. cod., *in quo sunt errores, absolvitur*.

⁴ Id. cod., *Cum*.

⁵ Id. cod., *in eo*.

peccatores, vel peccatores non esse perficeret. Com-
posita est et in eis sententia,¹ nec quo tenore peracto
permanens illa sententia pereuntibus peccatoribus,
ita ut non essent utique peccatores. At ea jam in non
peccatoribus manere non potuit, quia in eis quibus
inflicta non fuerat jus manendi penitus non habebat.
Ita nec in suo jure vel tramite ullatenus sententia
resoluta est, et eadem in his quibus inflicta est, perma-
nente, ab his qui ab ejus jure discreti sunt, aliena
prorsus effecta est. Nec in his, salva sui conditione,
fos haberet manendi, quibus inflicta non erat. Dixit
Dominus, quod in Spiritum sanctum peccantibus,
nec hic esset nec in futuro saeculo remittendum
(*Matth. xii*).

Quantos autem cognoscimus in Spiritum sanctum
de inquentes, sicut hæreticos diversos, Arianos, Eu-
nomianos, Macedonianos, ad fidem catholicam re-
vertentes, et hic remissionem suæ perecepisse blas-
phemiae, et in futurum spem sumpsisse indulgentiæ
consequendæ? Nec ideo non vera est Domini senten-
tia, aut putabitur esse ullatenus resoluta, cum circa
tales, si hoc esse permaneant, nunquam omnino sol-
venda persistat, effectis autem non talibus non ir-
rogata. Sicut etiam est consequenter et illud beati
Joannis apostoli: *Est peccatum ad mortem: non dico
ut oretur pro eo; et est peccatum non ad mortem: non dico
ut oretur pro eo* (*I Joan. v*): est peccatum ad
mortem, in eodem peccato manentibus; est pecca-
tum non ad mortem, ab eodem peccato recedentibus.
Nullum est quippe peccatum pro quo aut non oret
Ecclesia² remittendo, aut quod, data sibi divinitus
potestate, desistentibus ab eodem non possit absol-
vere, vel pœnitentibus relaxare, cui dicitur: *Quæ-
cunque dimiseritis super terram, dimissa erunt in
cœlis; et quæcunque solveritis super terram, erunt solu-
ta et in cœlis* (*Matth. xviii, 18*). In quibuscunque
omnia sunt, quantacunque sint, et qualiacunque sint:
veraci nihilominus eorum manente sententia,³ quæ
nunquam solvenda esse denuntiatur: in eorum te-
nore consistens, non etiam ab hoc eodem post rece-
dens. Quod etiam in Acacii sententia rationabiliter
invenendum est, in qua etiamsi ei dictum est, nun-
quamque solvendus, non est adjectum tamen, etiamsi
resipueris, etiamsi aberrare discesseris, etiamsi præ-
varicator esse destiteris. Quapropter in aperto est
ita dictum, nunquam solvendus, sed talis, scilicet,
qualis est et ligatus, non autem talis effectus qui
sicut ligandus non erat, sic absolutus esse doceba-
tur. Sicut carebat obligatione, cum obligationis causa
carni set: sic utique absolutus existeret, quatenus et
ipse non necessitate dictæ sententiæ videretur non
posse quodammodo jam solvi; ⁴ nam talis effectus et
obligatione carens, fieret absolutus, et circa tales
præfixa sententia nullo modo ⁵ insolubilis reddere-
tur. Nunquid enim misit, quæsiuit, expetiit, et ab-

jectus est? Itaque ipse in se insolubilem fecit esse
sententiam, qui talis permanere delegit, qualis ve-
raciter non posset absolvi; et noluit talis effici, circa
qualem, permanente sententia circa tales, effectum
non talem insolubilis sententia non maneret, quæ
circa effectum non talem non haberet licentiam
permanendi. Quo magis (ut dictum est) exemplo at-
que periculo admitti, qui eodem tenore sunt con-
stricti, festinare debent ut non tales esse perma-
neant quibus sententia illa non solvenda præfixa
est, et esse tales incipiant qualibus non insolubilis
præfixa sententia possit esse solubilis. Quoniam au-
tem effecto non tali quali non solvenda præfixa sen-
tentia est, effecto, inquam, non tali, potest solubilis
esse sententia; quia jam Acacio, non volenti non
talem esse, sicut tali utque in finem permanenti, per-
mansit in absoluta sententia: ita jam non tali effici
non volenti solubilis non potest esse sententia.
Nonne tantos habebat Acacius quorum exemplum
sequi potuisset, antistites, qui, in Ephesino prolapsi
latrocinio, quolibet modo in consensionem recide-
rant pravitatis? Utique tamen (etsi dictum non erat)
et perpetuam damnationem ferre potuissent, nisi
resipiscentes, et non tales effecti quales illi facti
fuerant, damnationemque perpetuam merebantur,
resolvi circa se damnationem, recedentes a perpe-
tue damnationis causa, ⁶ meruissent: quam qui
persistere circa se insolubilem reddiderunt. Nihil
interest igitur, nihil differt, utrum dicatur nunquam
solvendus, an non dicatur: quia ecclesiastica sen-
tentia reos et prævaricatores obligat; quia sicut ei
non potest suffragari quod non est dictus nunquam
solvendus, sed si in errore permanserit insolubilis
modis omnibus perseverat, nec potest inde nisi non
talis effectus absolvi; sic cuiquam præjudicare non
potest, tametsi dictum est nunquam esse solvendum,
manifesta ratione monstrante quia nunquam sit
omnino solvendus, si talis qualis ligatus est esse per-
sistat, vel talis utique nunquam solvendus qualis est
obligatus. Non adjecto autem, etiamsi resipiscat et
corrigat, patere prorsus et liberum esse non dubium
sit, ut non talis effectus qualis nunquam dictus est
esse solvendus, sed talis qualis non est dictus nun-
quam esse solvendus, id est, correctus et emendatus,
consequenter correctus et possit solvi. Notandum
quod quolibet genere blasphemantibus in Spiritum
sanctum, si resipiscant et corrigant, et hic eis et in
futuro saeculo remittatur; nec inde possit Domini
nutare sententia, quæ circa tales utique permanen-
tes permanere dicta est, non circa non tales effe-
ctos. Quoad autem in hoc manent, tales sunt qua-
libus non remittendum esse præfixum est. Cum autem
ab hoc recesserint, non tales efficiuntur qualibus non
remittendum esse prædictum est. Et ideo non tali-
bus effectis potest et hic et futuro saeculo⁷ non re-

¹ Ille subesse mendum videtur, cui medelam non
afferunt mss. HARDUIN.

² Id. cod., remittendum.

³ Id. cod., quæ nunquam.

⁴ Id. cod., non talis effectus.

⁵ Id. cod., Solubilis.

⁶ Id. cod., meruerunt.

⁷ Id. cod., jam remitti.

Abbé J. P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca,
vol. 107.

Paris 1863.

Tactica, seu (the emperor) the
Philosopher, or a Book
Concerning Military Matter.

Preface and Constitution 506.

PATROLOGIÆ

CURSUS COMPLETUS,

SEU BIBLIOTHECA UNIVERSALIS, INTEGRÆ, UNIFORMIS, COMMODA, OECONOMICA,
OMNIUM SS. PATRUM, DOCTORUM SCRIPTORUMQUE ECCLESIASTICORUM,

SIVE LATINORUM, SIVE GRÆCORUM,

QUI AB ÆVO APOSTOLICO AD TEMPORA CONCILII TRIDENTINI (ANNO 1545) PRO LATINIS
 ET CONCILII FLORENTINI (ANN. 1439) PRO GRÆCIS FLORUERUNT :

RECUSIO CHRONOLOGICA

OMNIUM QUÆ EXSTITERE MONUMENTORUM CATHOLICÆ TRADITIONIS PER QUINDECIM PRIMA
 ECCLESIAE SÆCULA ET AMPLIUS,

JUXTA EDITIONES ACCURATISSIMAS, INTER SE CUMQUE NONNULLIS CODICIBUS MANUSCRIPTIS COLLATAS, PERQUAM DILIGEN-
 TER CASTIGATA; DISSERTATIONIBUS, COMMENTARIIS, VARIISQUE LECTIONIBUS CONTINENTER ILLUSTRATA; OMNIBUS
 OPERIBUS POST AMPLISSIMAS EDITIONES QUÆ TRIBUS NOVISSIMIS SÆCULIS DEBENTUR ABSOLUTAS DETECTIS, AUCTA;
 INDICIBUS PARTICULARIBUS ANALYTICIS, SINGULOS SIVE TOMOS SIVE AUCTORES ALICUJUS MOMENTI SUBSEQUENTI-
 BUS, DONATA; CAPITULIS INTRA IPSUM TEXTUM RITE DISPOSITIS, NECNON ET TITULIS SINGULARUM PAGINARUM
 MARGINEM SUPERIOREM DISTINGUENTIBUS SUBJECTAMQUE MATERIAM SIGNIFICANTIBUS, ADORNATA; OPERIBUS
 CUM DUBIIS, TUM APOCYPHIS, ALIQUA VERO AUCTORITATE IN ORDINE AD TRADITIONEM ECCLESIASTI-

CAM POLLENTIBUS, AMPLIFICATA;

DUCENTIS ET AMPLIUS LOCUPLETATA INDICIBUS AUCTORUM SICUT ET OPERUM, ALPHABETICIS, CHRONOLOGICIS, STATI-
 STICIS, SYNTHETICIS, ANALYTICIS, ANALOGICIS, IN QUODQUE RELIGIONIS PUNCTUM, DOGMATICUM, MORALE, LITUR-
 GICUM, CANONICUM, DISCIPLINARE, HISTORICUM, ET CUNCTA ALIA SINE ulla EXCEPTIONE; SED PRÆSENTIM
 DUOBUS INDICIBUS IMMENSIS ET GENERALIBUS. ALTERO SCILICET RERUM, QUO CONSULTO, QUIDQUID
 NON SOLUM TALIS TALISVE PATER, VERUM ETIAM UNUSQUISQUE PATRUM, NE UNO QUIDEM OMIS-
 SO, IN QUODLIBET THEMA SCRIPSERIT, UNO INTUITU CONSPICIATUR; ALTERO SCRIPTURÆ
 SACRÆ, EX QUO LECTORI COMPERIRE SIT OVIUM QUINAM PATRES ET IN QUIBUS OPERUM
 SUORUM LOCIS SINGULOS SINGULORUM LIBRORUM S. SCRIPTURÆ VERSUS, A PRIMO
 GENESEOS USQUE AD NOVISSIMUM APOCALYPSIS, COMMENTATI SINT.

EDITIO ACCURATISSIMA, CÆTERISQUE OMNIBUS FACILE ANTEPONENDA, SI PERPENDANTUR CHARACTERUM NITIDITAS,
 CHARTÆ QUALITAS, INTEGRITAS TEXTUS, PERFECTIO CORRECTIONIS, OPERUM RECUSORUM TUM VARIETAS,
 TUM NUMERUS, FORMA VOLUMINUM PERQUAM COMMODA SIBIQUE IN TOTO PATROLOGIÆ DECURSU CONSTAN-
 TER SIMILIS, PRETII EXIGUITAS, PRÆSENTIMQUE ISTA COLLECTIO, UNA, METHODICA ET CHRONOLOGICA,
 SEXCENTORUM FRAGMENTORUM OPUSCULORUMQUE HACTENUS HIC ILLIC SPARSORUM,
 PRIMUM AUTEM IN NOSTRA BIBLIOTHECA, EX OPERIBUS ET MSS. AD OMNES ÆTATES,
 LOCOS, LINGUAS FORMASQUE PERTINENTIBUS, COADUNATORUM.

SERIES GRÆCA POSTERIOR,

IN QUÀ PRODEUNT PATRES, DOCTORES SCRIPTORESQUE ECCLESIAE GRÆCÆ
 AB ÆVO PHOTIANO AD CONCILII USQUE FLORENTINI TEMPORA;

ACCURANTE J.-P. MIGNE,

Bibliothecæ Cleri universæ,

SIVE CURSUUM COMPLETORUM IN SINGULOS SCIENTIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ RAMOS EDITORE.

PATROLOGIA, AD INSTAR IPSIUS ECCLESIAE, IN DUAS PARTES DIVIDITUR, ALIA NEMPE LATINA. ALIA GRÆCO-LATINA.
 LATINA, JAM PENITUS EXARATA, QUOD PRIMAM SERIEM, VIGINTI-QUINQUE ET DUCENTIS VOLUMINIBUS MOLE SUA
 STAT, MOXVE POST PERACTOS INDICES STABIT, AC QUINQUE-VIGINTI-CENTUM ET MILLE FRANCIS VENIT. GRÆCA
 DUPLICI EDITIONE TYPIS MANDATA EST. PRIOR GRÆCUM TEXTUM UNA CUM VERSIONE LATINA LATERALIS AMPLI-
 CITUR, ET AD NOVE ET CENTUM VOLUMINA PERVENIT, SED SINE INDICIBUS; POSTERIOR AUTEM HANC VERSIONEM
 TANTUM EXHIBET. IDEOQUE INTRA QUINQUE ET QUINQUAGINTA VOLUMINA RETINETUR; UTRAQUE VIGESIMA QUARTA
 DIE DECEMBRIS 1860 OMNINO APPARUERAT. UNUMQUODQUE VOLUMEN GRÆCO-LATINUM OCTO, UNUMQUODQUE NERE
 LATINUM QUINQUE FRANCIS SOLUMMODO EMITUR: UTROBIQUE VERO, UT PRETII HUIUS BENEFICIO FRUATUR EM-
 PTOR, COLLECTIONEM INTEGRAM SIVE GRÆCAM SIVE LATINAM, 326 VOLUMINIBUS PRO AMPLIORI EDITIONE ET 272
 PRO MINORI ABSQUE INDICIBUS CONSTANTEM, COMPARET NECESSE ERIT, SECUS ENIM CUJUSQUE VOLUMINIS AMPLI-
 TUDINEM NECNON ET DIFFICULTATES VARIA PRETIA ÆQUABUNT. ATTAMEN, SI QUIS EMAT INTEGRE ET SECURAM
 COLLECTIONEM GRÆCO-LATINAM, VEL EANDEM EX GRÆCO LATINE VERSAM, TUM QUODQUE VOLUMEN PRO NOVE VEL
 PRO SEX FRANCIS OBTINEBIT. ISTÆ CONDITIONES SERIEI QUÆ NUNC INCIPIT APPLICANTUR.

PATROLOGIÆ GRÆCÆ TOMUS CVII.

LEO IMPERATOR, COGNOMINE SAPIENS.

EXCUDERATUR ET VENIT APUD J.-P. MIGNE EDITOREM,

IN VIA DICTA D'AMBOISE, OLIM PROPE PORTAM LUTETIÆ PARISIORUM VULGO D'ENFER
 NOMINATAM, SEU PETIT-MONTROUGE, NUNC VERO INTRA MOENIA PARISIENSIA.

et xix. Itaque e Pistoriano suppeditatæ sunt xvii, xviii, xx et xxi. Jam restabant xii et xiii, quæ in neutro comparebant; eas, simul Lutetiam advenissem, e Regio descripsi; unde et lacunas plurimas supplevi, quæ passim erant in x, xi, et posterioribus illis, quas e Pistoriano acceperam. Vellem vidisse etiam Anglicanum, e quo versionem suam adornavit *Joannes Chæcus*, quam hic exhibeo, ne quid desiderares. Alibi ille nostris melior fuit; alibi rursum illo nostri meliores. Ut singulatim id indicarem, non visum operæ pretium, quod facile ipse atque obiter animadversurus esses inter legendum, si contuleris. Loca item invenies nonnulla satis depravata, quæ e Chæci codice certo emendari potuissent, quem quia non habebam, a divinatione incerta abstinere satius putavi. Quædam tamen, quorum correctio obvia, dum typographo operam navo, emendavi, et ad calcem subjeci. His tu utere, ac frui, eo candore, quo tecum a me communicantur, si alia, quæ habeo, publicare me postulas. Vale, et quisquis es, *Æternitatem cogita*.

TACTICORUM INDEX.

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Α ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΠΙΝΑΞ.

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* Τί δεῖ γενέσθαι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρας.	ΙΓ'.
* Ὅσα ἐν τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρᾳ ἐποφείλεται.	ΙΔ'.
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NOTÆ.

(1) Constitutiones asterico notatæ desiderabantur in codice Palatino, quarum xii, xiii susceperat

sunt ex manuscripto Regio, xvii, xviii, xx, xxi, e Pistoriano.

LEONIS IMPERATORIS TACTICA.

Leonis in Christo Deo imperatoris Tacticorum brevis disciplina. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti et sanctæ et consubstantialis et adorandæ Trinitatis, unius ac veracissimi Dei nostri, Leo pacificus in Christo imperator, fidelis, pius, semper augustus Cæsar.

PROOEMIUM.

Neque regium satellitium nostrum et potentia, neque potentie nostræ dignitas et amplitudo, neque

Λέωντος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ (2) αὐτοκράτορος τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τακτικῶν σύντομος παράδοσις. Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, τοῦ ἐνδὸς καὶ παναληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, Λέων ὁ εἰρηνικὸς ἐν Χριστῷ αὐτοκράτωρ πιστὸς, εὐσεβὴς, ἀνισέβαστος Αὐγουστός.

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ.

Οὐ βασιλικὴ δορυφορία καὶ ἐξουσία, οὐ τῆς ἐξουσίας δυναστεία καὶ περιουσία, οὐ τῆς περιουσίας

NOTÆ.

(2) In codice Laurentiano deest τῷ Θεῷ.

Volent athleticos luctus celebrare.

Multa mihi video sermonum luctum adesse, etc.

A Ἀθλητικούς ἀγῶνας εὐφημεῖν θέλων,
Πολλὰν ὥρῃ μοι τῶν λόγων ἀγωνίαν, κ. τ. λ.

Alterum ejusdem poematis fragmentum.

Et jam ad ipsum Verbum sacrificatum
Libantes caput Clementis praedant,
Caput illud quod in perpetuum coronat,
Corona vitam dante, manu Domini implexa;
Et honoratum videns angelorum multitudo,
Vertentes se ad sonum canticorum
Ob robur certaminum jubilarunt.

Καὶ δὴ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Λόγῳ τεθυμένῳ
Σπείσαντες ἐκτέμνουσι Κλήμεντος κόμην,
Κόμην ἐκείνην, ἣν ἀκηράτω στέφει,
Ζωαρχεικῇ πλακέντι χειρὶ Δεσπότης,
Τιμωμένην δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἀγγέλων βλέπων
Ἐπιστρέφοντος τῇ βοῇ τῶν ἁγμάτων
Ἀνῆλάλαξαν τῶν ἀγῶνων τὸ κράτος.

LEONIS HOMILIAE IN S. TRYPHONEM FRAGMENTA.

(Apud Leonem ALLATIUM contra Hottingerum, pag. 170.)

Hæc lucta fuit athletæ coronati; hoc veritatis tropæum. Jubilavit martyrum multitudo; cœlorum portæ exceperunt cum gravi victoriæ ornamento veritatis militem. Coronarum dator præpulchrum diadema caput coronavit; fassus est ante Patrem cum regni participem, pro ea quam ille dederat coram hominibus confessionem. Induit eum veste immortalitatis propter ea quibus corruptionis texturam certaminibus in sui gratiam initis vidit disceptant.

... Sic adhuc invisibilibus pulchritudinibus, ejus oculorum aciem nihil fugit, oculum delinens; uti amatoria munera miracula accipis. Nunc autem carnis vinculis solutis, et cum præfulgida certaminum oblatione amatori obviam factus, magnificentioribus donis remuneraris, cum primis honoribus laborum remuneratio addatur. Nunc cum choris illis, qui lumen existentes magno illi lumini administrant, immateriatus cum immateriatis dies festos agis; venerandus illis, quod in passionibus Domini immutatus esse videris, et quam prius lutea crassitie obductam pulchritudinem considerantes, animam admirabantur, nunc pure virtutem conspicientes magis ac magis desiderii illecebris attrahuntur. Nunc dulcedine ejus arribone tormentorum amaritudinem excipias, perfrueris, et non sperata sed præsentem fruitionem delicias. Et his quidem in superioribus gaudet divini opus inflatus beata anima.

B Αὕτη τοῦ στεφανίτου ἡ πάλη· τοιοῦτον τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ πρόπαιον· ἡλάλαξαν τῶν μαρτύρων τὰ πλήθη· πύλαι οὐρανοῦ ὑπεδέξαντο μετὰ σεμνοῦ τοῦ τοῦ νίκης χρώματος τῆς ἀληθείας τὸν στρατιώτην. Ὁ στεφανοδόκτης τὴν καλὴν ἐστεφάνωσε διαδήματι κεφαλῇ· ὡμολόγησε κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐνώπιον τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀνθ' ἧς ἔδωκεν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ. Ἐνέδυσεν ἐνδυμα ἀφθαρσίας, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ τῆς θορόας ὕψος τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγῶσιν εἶδε διεβρώγος.

... Οὕτως ἐστὶ καλῶνας ἀοράτοις, τὸν οὐ μὴδὲν διαφεύγει τὴν ὄρασιν καταθέλας ὀφθαλμὸν, ὥσπερ ἐρωτικά δῶρα λαμβάνεις τὰ θαύματα. Νῦν δὲ λύσας τοὺς δεσμούς τῆς σαρκὸς, καὶ μετὰ λαμπρᾶς τῆς τῶν ἁλῶν προσαγωγῆς τῷ ἐραστῇ προσίῳν, μεγαλοπρεπεστέrais τιμὰ δωρεάς, προστιθεμένης τῇ προτέρᾳ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῆς ἀμοιβῆς τῶν καμάτων· νῦν μετὰ χορῶν ἐκείνων, οἱ φῶς ὄντες πληροῦσι τὴν λειτουργίαν, τῷ μεγάλῳ φωτὶ αὐλοῖς ἀδούκοις συνεορτάζεις, σεβάσμιος αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεμνησθῆναι τὰ δεσποτικά παθήματα καθορθώμενος, καὶ τὴν πρότερον τοῦ πηλίου πάγους ἐπικείμενον τοῦ καλλοῦς κατανοοῦντες ψυχὴν ἀπεθαύμαζον, ἄρτι καθαρῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁρῶντες ἐπιπλέον αὐτῆς τοῦ πόθου τῇ ὑγίει ἐλκονται. Νῦν ἡς ἀρραβὼν γλυκύτητος τὸ πικρὸν τῶν βασάνων· ἐδέχου κατατροφᾶς, οὐκ ἐλπιζομένης, ἀλλὰ παρούσης τῆς ἀπολαύσεως. Ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄνω χαίρει τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμφυσήματος ἔργον ἡ μακαριὰ ψυχὴ.

LEONIS HOMILIARUM IN S. DEMETRIUM FRAGMENTA.

(Leo ALLATIUS contra Hottingerum, p. 170.)

Nihil ita ad gaudendum invitat. Diem itaque festum agamus, et letemur hoc sacro die, in quo generosus Christi miles, magnus martyr Demetrius, cum cessasset a laboribus, in beatam requiem transmigravit; in qua coram athleta adversarios robore suffundens astitit, et præcelebre caput glorie corona exornatus est.

... Deus in medio deorum gloriæ suæ cohærem athletam excipiebat. O beatum aspectum! o dulem fruitionem! o gloriam et exultationem, ejus non sunt dignæ passionibus hujus seculi. Hæc ratione Martyr estæcorum velaminum impedimentis disruptis ad immateriales stationes avolvit. Ibi absolute votorum compos factus est. Vidit pure, quem in ænigmatibus videns immorari non sustinebat; sed licet in inferioribus esset, tota mente ad superiora efferebatur. Heres factus est gloriæ, ob quam humanam gloriam nihil fecerat, annumeratus est enim angelis, quorum institutum æmulatus fuerat, oblectatus est Patriarcharum choreis, quorum vestigia secutus fuerat.

D Οὐδὲν οὕτω παρασκευάζει χαίρειν. Ἐορτάσωμεν οὖν καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ταύτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καθ' ἣν ὁ γενναῖος τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιώτης, ὁ μέγας μάρτυρ Δημήτριος τῶν πόνων καταπαύσας εἰς τὴν μακαρίαν ἀνάπαυσιν μετεσκήνωσεν, ἐν ᾗ πρὸς τὸν ἀβλοβήτην τοὺς ἀντιπάλους κατασχύνας παρέστη, καὶ τὴν αἰδοίμην κεφαλὴν τῷ στεφάνῳ τῆς δόξης κατεκοσμήθη.

... Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν τοῖς συγκληρονόμοις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δεξιούμενος τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν ὑπεδέχετο. Ὁ μακαρίων θεάματος! Ὁ γλυκείας ἀπολαύσεως! Ὁ δόξης καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως, ἧς οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ παρόντος αἵωνος. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ μάρτυς τῶν ἐστρακίων ἐλύτρων περιβρόχῳ τῶν καλῶν πρὸς τὰς αὐλοῦς ἀπέπη μνας. Εὐρεν ἐκείν τοῦ πλοῦθου τὸ τέλος· εἶδε καθαρῶς, ὃν τοῖς ἐσώπτοις ἱρῶν οὐκ ἠνεχέτο μένειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελὼν ἐστὶ κάτω, ὅν εἶχε τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἄνω συνεπαυρόμενον. Ἐκκληρονόμησε δόξαν, δι' ἣν τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπέβητο δόξαν, συνηριθμήθη μετὰ ἀγγέλων, ὧν τὴν πολιτείαν ἐμίμησε, εὐφράνθη Πατριάρχων χορείαις, ὧν ἡκολούθησεν ἵχνησιν.

LEONIS IMPERATORIS TACTICA

SIVE

DE RE MILITARI LIBER.

JOANNES MEURSIUS

GRÆCE PRIMUS VULGAVIT, ET NOTAS ADDIDIT.

J. LAMIUS

EX ABSOLUTISSIMO CODICE LAURENTIANO MUTILUM SUPPLEVIT ATQUE RESTITUIT.

ILLUSTRISSIMIS AC POTENTISSIMIS

DD. ORDINIBUS GENERALIBUS FOEDERATORUM BELGII PROVINC., PATRIÆ PATRIBUS
JOANNES MEURSIUS DEDICO CONSECROQUE.

Illustrissimi potentissimique Domini, in lucem profero Leonem imperatorem, sua nunc lingua De re militari disserentem, cum hactenus per interpretem tantum id egerit, et vobis offero. Reprehendent fortasse nonnulli, quasi præter tempus, cum per inducias arma sileant; quibus equidem rationes suas non constare respondebo. Nam quando vel in altissima pace cogitandum esse de bello, sciūm sit veterum prudentum, quis sanus sepositis duntaxat ad XII annos armis, a tam brevi induciarum tempore alienam belli cogitationem dicerit? Certe in pace arma discenda sunt, ut eorum scientia in bello prompta atque utilis esse possit. Præterea sua sponte ad vos hic Leo contendebat, vobis se deberi existimans, qui rei militaris longo usu maxime periti, honorem armis eorumque præceptoribus habere sciretis. Quis enim hodie mortalium ignorat bellum, quod gravissimum per tot annos gestum est, vestris auspiciis, ductu illustrissimi principis Mauritiū a Nassau, cujus et virtutem laude quavis majorem, et incomparabilia in rempublicam vestram merita, nulla unquam ætas obliterabit. Evolvamus Historiarum omnium monumenta, repetamus omnium sæculorum bella, nemo quidquam inveniet, quod cum hoc vestro componere possit. Atque adeo vix habere fidem posteritas poterit, cum leget, vel optima fide in scripta relatum. Admirabitur populum imbellem, et per longissimam pacem militiæ ignarum, adversus potentissimum totius orbis Christiani regem arma unquam sumere ausum fuisse: admirabitur a tam parvis initiis, animi pleniorē, quam spei ad istam magnitudinem pervenisse.

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum.

Inter quæ eminebat semper, ut singularis vestra prudentia, ita quoque illa invicta constantia, qua armati rectum nunquam non clarum tenuistis, animūque vel rebus maxime afflictis inconcussū habuistis. Nimirum hoc semper cogitabatis; pro libertate publica ejusque tutela et agere et pati fortia, fœderatorum Belgarum esse. Ingens profecto beneficium est, quod a vobis accepere subditi vestri, neque facile æstimandum; et debet illud æterno aliquo monumento consecrari, ne posteritas ignoret. Id ut fiat, quantum in me, operum dabo; proponamque brevi omnium oculis in Historia mea: quam quod vestro jussu adorno, ut maximo mihi honori duco, ita pares quoque eo nomine vobis agendas esse gratias. Cum autem satis me id facere non posse judicarem, allegandum hunc imperatorem statui, ut quod vestro merito mea tenuitas detraheret, id ipse universum sua majestate suppleret. Atque hic desino, æternum illud Numen supplex venerans, Illustrissimi, Potentissimique Domini, ut vobis consiliisque vestris benedicat, et tam præclaro Operi benigna manu colophonem imponat, inducias hæc pace confirmans, ipsi gloriosa, reip. vestræ salutari. Lugdunī Batavorum iv Id. Februarii 1672.

LECTOR BENIGNE.

Habes *Leonis Tactica*. Integra ea prodeunt, exceptis paucis paragraphis, e tribus codicibus imperfectis, quorum uno usus sum e bibliotheca regis Galliarum, altero electoris Palatini, tertio Joannis Pistorii, viri ad litteras juvandas promptissimi. Regius in principio et fine mutilus erat; Palatinus in medio et fine; Pistorianus tantum in medio. In Palatino erant duntaxat Constitutiones xi priores cum xiv, xv, xvi

* Opp. Meursii, tom. VI.

uniuscuiusque numeri partem assumas, et illos in decurias sive contubernia, ut ante dictum est, divides, illisque decanos bonos atque idoneos praeficies, unumque etiam omnium ducem praefectum sagittariorum nominalis.

69. Reliquarum duarum partium dimidium, octodecim virorum seniorum simul, et juniorum contubernia divides, et duos ex iis octodecim, qui debilissimi sunt, seu potius omnes, qui supra sedecim sunt, ad carros reliquasque sarcinas servandas operam navare oportet: sedecim autem reliquos in acie consistere, et praesse illis manipulares duces, sive decanos oportet strenuos atque idoneos.

70. Octo vero ex istis sedecim, qui meliores sunt, primos et postremos contubernii sive manipuli constituere oportet. Nam sedecim virorum contubernium, manipulum antiqui vocaverunt. Constituere autem eos oportet in primo, in secundo, in tertio, in quarto loco, in xvi, in xv, in xiv, in xiii, ut altitudine ad quatuor hominum numerum descripta, firmetur tum frons tum cauda, id est, extremum agmen. Reliqui vero octo imbecilliores in medio collocandi sunt.

71. Istos sedecim nominabis seorsim per primos, et secundos, vel per praestites et asites. Duo autem ex illis binomines erunt, et primus quidem vocabitur lochagus, sive manipularis dux primus, sive protostates; alter autem vocabitur decarchus et secundus sive astes, et deinceps similiter, ut universa acies ex praestitibus et astitibus instruat.

72. Ut autem obedire facilius possint, et idoneo inter se vivere, melius est illos in duo solum contubernia dividere, ut primi sive praestites sint eum praefecto manipulari, secundi autem vel astites sint eum decano; ita fiet ut, quanquam in vite cultu separantur, in acie tamen adunati, isti sedecim concilio mandatoque manipularis praefecti obtemperent. Hoc modo acies optime conservatur, et illi facillime obedientes erunt.

73. Utile autem est, si id fieri potest, non solum secundum virtutem, vel strenuitatem unumquodque contubernium scutatorum ordinare, verum etiam iuxta aetatem, ut proveciores aetate, si anteponantur, magis parentem atque obedientem manipulum faciant. Ut vero ne omnia vel ad strenuitatem, vel ad aetatem referamus, oportet eos qui alacriores et generosiores sunt, in fronte et cauda, id est, extremo contubernio, imbecilliores autem in medio, quemadmodum praediximus, collocari.

74. Propterea autem antiqui ex sedecim viris

Α που και ανωτέρω ειπομεν, εις δεκαρχίας, και επιστηναι αυτοις δεκαρχας χρησίμους, και άρχοντα ένα τον λεγόμενον άρχισαγιττάτωρα (46), ηγουν άρχιτοξότην.

ΞΘ'. Το δὲ μόνον διμοίρον μέρος ἡ ἡμῖς διαμερίζαι εἰς ἀκίας ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν τῇ παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων. Ἀκίαι δὲ λέγονται, ὡς μοι εἴρηται, τὰ λεγόμενα κοντουβέρνια (47). Καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο αὐτῶν τοὺς ὑποδεστέρους, ἦτοι τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ις', εἰς τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ ἐτέρας, ὡς εἰκὸς ἡχρείας ἀσχολεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ις' ἴστασθαι ἐν τῇ παρατάξει, καὶ επιστῆναι αὐτοῖς τοὺς λοχαγούς (48) λεγομένους γενναίους καὶ χρησίμους.

Β ο'. Ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν ις' χρησιμωτέρους ἢ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν τῆς ἀκίας ἦτοι τοῦ λόχου καταστήσεται. Τὴν γὰρ τῶν ις' ἀνδρῶν ἀκίαν λόχον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί. Στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πρῶτον τόπον, καὶ εἰς τὸν δευτέρον, καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίτον, καὶ εἰς τὸν τέταρτον, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξδέκατον, καὶ τὴν πεντεκαιδέκατον, καὶ εἰς τὸν τέσσαρσεκαιδέκατον καὶ εἰς τὴν τρισεκαιδέκατον, ἵνα καὶ μέχρι τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν μεριζομένου τοῦ βάρους, ἦτοι τοῦ πάχους τῆς ἀκίας, ἐν δυνάμει ὑπάρχει ἡ οὐρά αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ μέτωπον. Τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τοὺς ὑποδεστέρους ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτῆς τάξει.

οα'. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς ις' ὀνομάζται ἕνα παρ' ἕνα ἀπὸ πρίμων, καὶ σεκουῶδων, ἦτοι πρωτοστατῶν (49) καὶ ἐπιστατῶν. Τοὺς δὲ δύο ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ δύο ἔχεν ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον καλεῖσθαι λοχαγὸν καὶ πρωτοστάτην, τὸν δὲ δευτέρον δεκάρχην καὶ σεκουῶδον ἦγουν ἐπιστάτην, ὥστε εἶναι τὸν ὅλον στίχον ἐκ πρωτοστατῶν καὶ ἐπιστατῶν συγκείμενον.

οβ'. Ἴνα δὲ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι εὐκόλως δύνωνται, καὶ ἀρμοζόντως συνδιάνειν ἀλλήλοις, κάλλιον ἔστιν μᾶλλον τούτους εἰς δύο μόνα κοντουβέρνια γίνεσθαι, ἵνα οἱ μὲν πρίμου ἦγουν οἱ πρωτοστάται ὥσε μετὰ τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, οἱ δὲ σεκουῶδοι ἦγουν οἱ ἐπιστάται μετὰ τοῦ δεκάρχου, οὕτω μέντοι ὥστε, καὶ ἐν τῇ διαγωγῇ διαίρωνται, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν τῇ τάξει ἡνωμένοι ὄντες οἱ ις' τῇ βουλῇ καὶ γνώμῃ τοῦ λοχαγοῦ πεύθωνται. Ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ ἡ τάξις φυλάσσεται, καὶ εὐκόλως ἄρχεσθαι δυνάμει.

ογ'. Χρήσιμον δὲ ἔστιν, ἐὰν δέχεται, μὴ μόνον κατὰ ποιότητα ἦγουν εὐφυχίαν ὀρδινεῦν τοὺς ις' καθ' ἑκάστην ἀκίαν τῶν σκουατῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ἡλικίαν· ἵνα οἱ μακρότεροι ἔμπροσθεν τασσόμενοι εὐτακτοτέρην τὴν παρατάξιν ἀποδείξωσιν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἅπαντα πρὸς ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν πάντως, ὡς εἴπομεν, τοὺς εὐφυχοτέρους καὶ γενναιοτέρους ἐκάστης ἀκίας ὅσον ἔστιν εἰς τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν τοίπους τάσσεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ὑποδεστέρους εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, καθ' ὃν εἰρήκαμεν τρόπον.

οδ'. Ὡστε οὖν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἀπὸ ις'

NOTÆ.

(46) Ἀρχισαγιττάτωρα. Scribebatur, ἀρχισαγιττάτωρα.

(47) Ἀκίαι δὲ λέγονται τὰ λεγόμενα κοντουβέρνια. Hæc a glossa esse censeo, neque Chæci

item codex agnoscit.

(48) Τοὺς λοχαγούς. Scribe, τοὺς λοχαγούς.

(49) Πρωτοστατῶν. Scribe, πορωστατῶν.

ἀνδρῶν πειζῶν τὸ βάθος τῶν ἀκίων ἦτοι τῶν ὁρδίνων ἄριστον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἀρκοῦν ἔστιν, ὅπερ ὑπερβαίνειν οὐ χρὴ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χρεαῖς εὐτάκτως καὶ συντόμως μερίζεται, καὶ λεπτύνεται μέχρις ἑνὸς ἀνδρός. Τσαυτὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ στρατοῦ διατάξεως τε καὶ καταστάσεως, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμένων ἀρχόντων μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων διωρισάμεθα.

ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Ε'.

Περὶ ὅπλων.

α'. Κελεύομεν μέντοι νῦν τῇ ὕμῳ ἐνδοξότῃ, τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους συντεινόντων ὅπλων τε καὶ ἀποσκευῶν πεζικῇ τε καὶ καβαλλαρικῇ στρατιᾷ φρονεῖν, ὥστε ταῦτα διαμένειν ἀδιάλειπτα, καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατεπαίγουσαν τῇ καιρῷ χρεῖαν ἔτοιμα.

β'. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν, τὸ μὲν διὰ σοῦ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ ἀρχόντων μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων, εἰς ὅπλιν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ ὑπὸ τὸ σὸν θέμα μάχῃ στρατοῦ.

γ'. Οἷον τοξάρια μετὰ θηκαρίων αὐτῶν, σαγίτης μετὰ κουκούρων, σπαθία ἵκνημένα, καὶ σασαμωμένα, σκουτάρια, καὶ ἕτερα σκουτάρια μεγάλα, ἅπερ λέγονται θυρεοὶ, ἕτερα σκουταρίσκια τῶν πεζῶν τὰ ποτε λεγόμενα πέλται, ἕτερα σκουτάρια σιδηρᾷ στρογγύλῃ σασαμωμένα, κοντάρια μικρὰ ὀκτάπηχα. Ἦσαν δὲ ποτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Μακεδόσι κοντάρια ἄχρι πηγῶν ἰσ', ἅπερ ἡ νῦν χρεῖα οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ. Τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστην τῶν μεταχειροζομένων δύναμιν ὅπλον σύμμετρον τε καὶ χρήσιμον, ῥιπτάρια (50), τζικούρια καὶ ἕτερα τζικούρια ἀμφίστομα, ἐφ' ἑνὸς μέρους οἰονεῖ σπαθίον, μετὰ τῶν θηρακίων αὐτῶν δερματίνων καὶ βατταγίων, παραμήρια, μαχαίρας μεγάλας μονοστόμους.

δ'. Λωρίκια μέγρις ἂν στραγάλων, ἀνατυρόμενα διὰ λωρίων καὶ κρικελίων, μετὰ τῶν θηκαρίων αὐτῶν δερματίνων, καὶ εἰ δυνατόν πάντα ἀλυσίδετα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, τινὰ αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ κερατίνης ὕλης ἢ βουβαλικῶν δερμάτων καταξήρων, ἐπιλωρίκα ἱμάτια, κλιθάνια σιδηρᾷ, ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὕλης, ὡς εἴρηται, κασσίδας τελείας· ποδόφελλα, χειρόφελλα σιδηρᾷ, ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὕλης, διὰ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας περιτραχήλια ἀλυσίδετα, σιδηρᾷ, ἐνδεδομένα, ἔσωθεν ἀπὸ ἐρίου καὶ ἔξωθεν λίνου. Νευρίκα τὰ ἀπὸ κενδούκλων γινόμενα, καὶ αὐτὰ ἀντὶ λωρικίων τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσι σιδηρᾷ. Κένδουκλα φαρδέα ἐνδύοντα τὸν στρατιώτην μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων. Σωληνάρια μετὰ μικρῶν σαγιτῶν καὶ κουκούριον αὐτῶν σφενδοβόλα· σέλοπούγγια μεγάλα· πυρέκβολα καὶ ὕσκας (51)· λωρόσκα· πέδila σεληναῖα σιδηρᾷ μετὰ καρφίων αὐτῶν· ῥινία, σουβλία (52)· προμετώπια ἵππων, στηθάρια ἵππων ἢ σιδηρᾷ, ἀπὸ κενδούκων· περιτραχήλια ἵππων ὁμοίως.

A peditibus contubernium in militia designaverunt; quoniam hic numerus tum idoneus est quem transire non oportet, tum in omni militari usu facile et nullo negotio dividitur, et secatur usque ad unum virum. Atque hæc quidem de exercitus divisione et constitutione, et de duclibus huic præfectis tum majoribus, tum minoribus, a nobis dicta sint.

CONSTITUTIO V.

De apparatu armorum.

1. Mandamus dignitati tuæ ut omnem apparatus bellicum ad pedestres et equestres copias spectantem accures, ut integra minimeque defecta sint, sed ad omnem opportunitatem usumque bellicum parata.

2. Hoc autem partim per teipsum, partim per præfectos tuos tum majores, tum minores efficies, ad universi exercitus qui sub ditione tua est, armaturam et præparationem.

3. Arcus cum corytiis suis, sagittas cum cucurris, spathas acutas, et samiatas. Scuta, nempe scuta majora, quæ thurei appellantur, et scuta minora peditum, quæ pelte, id est, cetra nominantur; et scuta quædam ferro rotundo signata; hastas parvas præterea octo cubitorum. Erant autem Romanis et Macedonibus hastæ sedecim cubitorum longitudine, quas nunc usus noster non requirit, sed singula jam pro utentis viribus ac robore arma apta atque idonea sunt, rhictaria, tzieuria bidentia, altera ex parte habentia aciem quasi spathæ, altera ex parte quasi hastæ cuspidem, cum thecis ex pellibus, et bastagia, femoralia, id est, gladios magnos unam solum aciem habentes.

4. Lorica, id est, galeæ usque ad jugulum demissæ loris et fannulis cum thecis coriaceis; et si fieri potest, omnia sint catenata; sin minus, quædam ex illis cornea aliqua materia, vel siccatis bulalorum pellibus junctis; superloricas vestes, elibania ferrea, vel ex alia quapiam, ut dictum est, materia. Cassides integras, manicas, ocreas ferreas, vel ex alia quapiam, ut dictum est, materia, propter eos, qui non habent collaria catenata ferrea, tecta intus lana, foris lino; nervos et lora a cenductis, quæ et ipsa sint galearum vice, iis qui ferrea cenducta non habent. Fardea induat miles cum armis, solenaria cum parvis sagittis, et cucuris ipsis; fundas, sellopungia magna, pyrebola, id est, ignem jacentia, iscas, borosacca, pedila, id est, calceos lunatos ferreos cum ipsis carphiliis; rhinia, suglia, frontalio, equorum pectoralia ferrea, vel a cenductis facta, et equorum collaria similiter.

NOTÆ.

(50) Ῥιπτάρια. In codice Checi videtur fuisse ρικτάρια. Sed ῥιπτάρια melius est. Vide Glossarium Rigaltii, et nostrum.

(51) Πυρέκβολα, καὶ ὕσκας. Scribatur, παρέκβολα, καὶ ἱσκακας. Constantinus in Tacticis: Σφενδοβόλα μεγάλα, πυρέκβολα, καὶ ὕσκακ. Jam ὕσκα,

est fomes, ignitubulum, Suidas: ὕσκα, ὀφάρων, καὶ ἔυλον ἐν ᾧ ἀπτεται πῦρ.

(52) Σουβλία. In codice Checi videtur fuisse σουγλία, et sic semper scribitur in Glossis Græco-barbaris.

5. *Flamula magna, et flamula parva hastarum, A* banda varie tincta, cucina parva, falces magnas, secures, phalcia, bipennes, ascias, tribulas fasciis quibusdam astrictas, quæ clavis quibusdam appendantur.

6. *Carros leves, atque ad omnem necessarium usum et commeatum expeditos, ad omnia nempe opera, ad molas manuarum, prionia orygas, malleos, ptyaria, cophinos, cilicia, et si quid aliud ad fossati seu castrorum externam custodiam, et ad ambitum conservandum leviori aliqua materia confectum a duce excogitari potest.*

7. *Alios currus habentes sagittarios, manganica alacatia utrinque conversa, balistarios peritos quos maganarios appellant, cælatores, fabros ærarios cum officinis suis; alios currus armamenti plenos, alios currus commeatum ferentes, et alios præterea superfluos currus quot opus est; jumenta præterea sagmaria, id est, sarcinaria, et equos sagmarios, et alia instrumenta iis similia, quæ fossatum, id est castra, ad usum suum requirit.*

8. *Ad obsidiones manganica diversa habere oportet, et scalas ligneas contractas, et alias permultas machinationes quascunque excogitare possis.*

9. *Ad fluvios et lacus naviculas, id est, navigia parva, vel ex coriis confecta, vel naturæ vi quadam fabricata. Excogitabis etiam ac præparabis tentas et ategias, id est, integumenta cum suo ipsorum apparatu, quibus pluviarum et æstium vim possis depellere.*

10. *Rei navalis præfectum oportet naves parare, partim bellatrices, partim equorum vectrices, partim sarcinarias, ad omnia arma bellica et omnem apparatus nauticum vehendum.*

11. *Cum hic apparatus omnis, qui superius a me memoratus est, partim abs te ipso, partim ab aliis sub tuo dominatu præfectis supeditatus et suffectus sit, arma partim ad propulsandos hostes, partim ad præliantium militum defensionem, partim aliarum rerum usum atque occupationem paranda sunt.*

12. *Maxime autem armorum bellicorum curam geres, ut splendida et acuta ad hostes perterrefaciendos conserventur. Hæc omnia diligenter præparabis, ut in promptu esse possint ad usum belli iis, qui se pro virtute armant contra hostes; et nequaquam illud tempus, in quo acies instrui debet, tempus præparandorum armorum facias. Hæc et si qua alia a nobis propter oblivionem prætermissa sunt, necessario debes præparare; si vero aliquid excogitare possis, Deo gratiæ agendæ et solertiae tuæ sunt.*

13. *Ante omnia autem Dei timorem, ingenium*

ε'. Φιάμουλα μεγάλη, φλαμουλίσκια τῶν κονταρίων, βάνδα διαφόρως βεβαμμένα, γούκινα (53) μικρά καὶ μεγάλη, θρέπανα, ἀξίνιας, φαλκίδια, πελέκια, σκέπαρνα, τριβόλους ἀναδεδεμένους σφηκώμασι δεδεμένοις εἰς ἤλους τελείους.

ς'. Ἀμάξας εὐσταλεῖς φερούσας ἐτοίμως τὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἰς χρεῖαν ἀποσκευὴν, οἷον τὰ τε εἰρημένα ἔργα· καὶ χειρόμουλα, καὶ περιόνια, καὶ ὀρύγια, καὶ σφύρας, πτυάρια, κοφίνους, κιλίκια, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πρὸς φоссάτου ἔξωθεν φυλακὴν καὶ περιβολὴν ἐπινοηθῇ τῷ στρατηγῷ δι' ἐλαφροτέρας ὕλης μεμηχανημένον.

ζ'. Ἐτέρας ἀμάξας ἐχούσας τοξοβαλλίστρας, μαγανικὰ ἀλακάτια ἐκατέρωθεν στρεφόμενα, βαλλισταρίους ἐμπείρους ἤτοι μαγγαναρίους, λεπτουργοὺς, χαλκείας μετὰ τῶν ἐργαλείων αὐτῶν, ἐτέρας ἀμάξας λόγου ἄρμασμένον, ἐτέρας ἀμάξας τὰς φερούσας διαστροφάς (54). Καὶ τὰ ἐκ περισσοῦ ἄρματα ὅσα ἡ χρεῖα καλεῖ, καὶ ἔστι ὑποζύγια, καὶ ἵππους σαγμάρια, σκευοφόρια, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὄργανα, ὅσα ἡ συνήθεια τοῦ φоссάτου παρακελεύεται.

η'. Πρὸς δὲ πολιορκίας καὶ μαγανικὰ διάφορα, καὶ σκάλας ξυλῖνας συσσελλόμενας, καὶ ἕτερα μηχανικὰ ὄργανα ἐπινοήσεις.

θ'. Εἰ δὲ πρὸς ποταμούς ἢ λίμνας, καὶ ναυκλία, ἤγουν πλοῖα μικρὰ, ἢ ἀπὸ βυσσῶν κατασκευασμένα, ἢ κατὰ φύσιν. Φροντίσεις δὲ καὶ ἐτοιμάσεις καὶ τὰς λεγομένας τένδας καὶ ἀτεγείας (55), μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐξοπλίσεως, ἐν αἷς καὶ ὑετῶν καὶ καυμάτων, ὅτε χρεῖα, ἔξεις ἐλευθερίαν.

ι'. Τοῖς δὲ ναυμάχοις στρατηγοῖς καὶ ναῦς παρασκευάζειν ἐξωπλισμένας, τὰς μὲν μαχίμους, τὰς δὲ ἱππαγωγούς, τὰς δὲ σκευοφόρους, ἅμα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸς ἀπάσῃ χρειώδει πανοπλίᾳ καὶ ἀποσκευῇ παρακελευόμεθα.

ια'. Τῶν δὲ ἀπαριθμημένων σοι παρασκευῶν ἀνωτέρω τῶν καὶ ὀφειλουσῶν τινῶν μὲν παρὰ σοῦ, τινῶν δὲ παρὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατιωτῶν πορίζεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔξεις εἰς ἄμυναν τῶν πολέμιων, τὰ δὲ εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν μαχομένων στρατιωτῶν, τὰ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην χρεῖαν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν.

ιβ'. Καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολεμικῶν ὅπλων ἐπιμελήσῃ, ὥς ἂν διαφυλάττονται πάντοτε λαμπρὰ καὶ τεταγμένα πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν πολέμιων. Ταῦτα πάντα προσυτρεπίσεις, ἵνα ἐν ἐτοίμῳ ὣσιν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς χεῖρας ὀπλιζοῦσι κατὰ τῶν πολέμιων καὶ μὴ τὸν παρατάξιν καιρὸν παρασκευῆς καιρὸν ἀναγκάζῃ ποιεῖσθαι. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἡμῖν παραλείπεται διὰ λήθην, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλεις παρασκευάζειν. Εἰ δέ τι πλεον εἰς ὅπλων παρασκευὴν ἐπινοήσεις, τῷ Θεῷ χάρις καὶ τῇ σῇ ἀγγινοίᾳ.

ιγ'. Πρὸ δὲ πάντων καὶ μετὰ πάντων φόβον Θεοῦ,

NOTÆ.

(53) *Γούκινα*. Male in Checi codice κούνια, qui etiam non agnoscit ista, καὶ μεγάλη.

(54) *Διαστροφάς*. Scribe διαστροφάς.

(55) *Καὶ ἀτεγείας*. Perperam erat in codice Palatino, καὶ ἀτελείας. Vide Glossarium doctissimi Rigaltii.

καὶ διάνοιαν ὀξεῖαν, καὶ σπουδαίαν γνώμην ἐν παντί ἔχειν καιρῷ, καὶ τόπῳ, καὶ πράγματι, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἑτοιμον εἶναι παρακελεύομεθα.

ιδ'. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν ὀπλῶν παρασκευῆς, ὡς στρατηγῆς, καθόσον ἡμῖν τέως ἐχρηγήθησεν ἡ μνήμη ὑπεθέμεθα τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξότητι. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ μὲν πεζικῆς καὶ συμμίκτου τάξεως ὑστερον ἐροῦμεν. Νῦν δὲ ὅπως ὀπλίσεις τὸν ἑκαστον ἄνδρα καθάλλαιον (56) στρατιώτην ἐν τε ταῖς γυμνασίαις, καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου, καὶ ὅποια κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον δεῖ φέρειν παρασκευάσεις, ἤδη ἐροῦμεν.

ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ Γ'.

Περὶ ὀπλίσεων καθάλλαιων καὶ πεζῶν.

α'. Δεῖ τοίνυν ὀπλισθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ καιρῷ εἴτε παρὰ χειμαδίου, εἴτε φροσάτου, παρασκευάζεσθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀναγκαίας χρεῖας τῆς ἐκστρατείας, καὶ ἔχειν ἅπαντας ἀναλόγως ἀρχοντας τε καὶ ἀρχομένους πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου ποιότητά τε καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρχοντας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τε τουρμάρχου, καὶ μέχρι κεντάρχου καὶ τετράρχου, καὶ κατὰ ἐξαίρετον σεαυτὸν, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ αὐτῷ προέλευσιν.

β'. Ἐχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς δεῖ τὸν ἑκαστον ἄνδρα ὀπλίσιν τοιαύτην. Ζάβας (57) τελείας μέχρι τοῦ ἀστραγάλου, ἀνασυρομένας δὲ διὰ λωρίων καὶ κρικελίων, μετὰ τῶν θηκαρίων αὐτῶν. Ἐχειν δὲ καὶ κασσίδας σιδηρᾶς στιλπνὰς διὰ παντὸς ἐχούσας ἀνωθεν εἰς τὰς κορυφὰς τουφία μικρά. Τοξάρια δὲ ἑκάστον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτήν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀπαλώτερα, ἔχοντα θηκάρια πλατεῖα, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ τεταγμένα (58) χωρεῖν τὰ τοξάρια εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἔχειν δὲ καὶ χορδὰς ἐκ περισσοῦ ἐν τοῖς πωγγίοις αὐτῶν. Κούκουρα μετὰ σαγιττῶν καὶ σκεπασμάτων αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια χωροῦντα ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἢ τεσσαράκοντα σαγιττῶν. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοξοζωνίοις (59) ῥινία καὶ σουβλία. Ἐχειν δὲ καὶ κοντάρια καθάλλαια, μακρὰ, ἔχοντα λωρία κατὰ τὸ μέσον μετὰ φλαμουλῶν. Ἐχειν δὲ καὶ σπαθία ἀποκρεμάμενα τῶν ὤμων αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν τάξιν, καὶ ἑτέρα παραμήρια, ἥτοι μαχαίρας διεζωσμένας.

γ'. Ὅσοι δὲ μὴ οἶδασι τοξεύειν νεώτεροι, ἐχέτωσαν κοντάρια μετὰ σκουταρίων τελείων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ χειρομάνικα σιδηρᾶ, ἃ λέγεται χειρόφελλα, τινὲς κτήσωνται, λίαν χρήσιμον. Ἐχειν δὲ καὶ μικρὰ τουφία κατὰ τῶν (60) ὀπισθελλίων τῶν ἵππων, καὶ φλάμουλα μικρὰ ἐπάνω τῶν ζαβῶν κατὰ τῶν νόμων (61). Ὅσον γάρ ἐστιν εὐσηχημὸς ἐν τῇ ὀπλίσει αὐτοῦ ὁ στρατιώτης, τοσοῦτον καὶ αὐτῷ προθυμία προσγίνεται, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δειλία.

celere, mentem honestam in omni tempore, et loco et in omni re habeas, et ad omnia teipsum paratum esse præcipimus.

14. De armorum igitur apparatu, quantum huc usque nostra suppetit memoria, tuæ dignitati explicuimus. De pedestri autem et mista acie postea dicemus. Nunc vero quemadmodum unumquemque separatim virum equestrem in exercitationibus, et omnino in ipso belli tempore, et qualia necessario tecum ad bellum asportare oportet, dicemus.

CONSTITUTIO VI.

De armatura equestrium et pedestrium.

1. Oportet igitur armari milites a suis ipsorum præfectis, et quæ idonea sunt, et ad usum castrensem accommodata, sive hibernis, sive æstivis parari, ut unusquisque tum præfectus tum miles, pro virtute ac dotibus suis æqua proportionem habeant, potissimum autem præfecti a turmarca incipientes usque ad centurionem et quartanum. Tu vero in primis, atque etiam copiarum præterea tuarum, aliquid habeatis præ cæteris eximium.

2. Habere autem eos oportet sigillatim armaturam talem : Zabas integras, et talares revolutas iterum per lora et annulos cum thecis suis ; habeant et cassides ferreas splendidas, quæ omnino in vertice habeant taphia quædam parva. Arcus etiam singulorum viribus idoneos, non supra vires, sed potius infra vires utentium, corythos, id est, thecas arcuarias habentes latas, ut opportune cum usus fert educere e corythis arcus possint. Habeant etiam chordas, sive nervos multos in pungiis suis. Cucura sagittarum in tegumentum idonea, quæ capiant triginta, vel quadraginta sagittas. In toxozontis, id est, in zonis arcuariis, rhinia et zuglia. Habeant autem contaria, id est, hastas equestres longas, in medio habentes lora quædam cum flamulis ; habeant præterea spathas Romano more ab humeris illorum pendentes, et parameria, id est, gladios sibi accinctos.

3. Quicunque autem adolescentes sagittarum jaciendarum imperiti sunt, habeant contaria, id est, hastas cum scutis integris. Non inutile autem erit, si chiromanica, et chiropsella, id est, manicas ferreas habeant. Habeant etiam et parva taphia in opisthelinis equorum, et flamula parva supra zabas in humeris. Quanto enim decentior in armatura sua miles est, tanto major illi alacritas, et hostibus formido vehementior aderit.

NOTÆ.

(56) *Καθάλλαιον*. Hæc vox νοθεύει. Nam agitur sequenti titulo non minus de pedestri armatura, quam de equestri. Et in Proœmio, ubi huc respicit, promittit, τὴν ἐκάστου μαχομένον ὀπλίσιν. Ergo legendum simpliciter, ἑκαστον ἄνδρα στρατιώτην.

(57) *Ζάβας*. Scribatur, ζώβας. Vide Glossarium nostrum.

(58) *Τεταγμένα*. Scribe, τεταμένα.

(59) *Τοξοζωνίοις*. Sic in Cheri codice videtur fuisse, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοξοζωνίοις. Recte. Legebatur τοξάρίοις. Constantinus : Βασταζέτωρος δὲ εἰς τὰ ζωνάρια τῶν τοξαρίων ῥινία καὶ σουβλία.

(60) *Κατὰ τῶν*. Scribatur, καὶ τὰ τῶν.

(61) *Τῶν νόμων*. Scribe, τῶν ὤμων.

4. Si fieri potest, habeant elibania, quos thoraces A vocant, eosque illustres ac splendidos; et ποδόψελλα, et περυσιτήρας, quæ ocreæ nominantur, et superloricas, si quando opus illis, induant.

5. Omnes autem adolescentiores Romanos usque ad quadraginta annorum ætatem, quanquam parum vel nihil sciant sagittarum jaciendarum, coges, arcum et pharetram gestare: postquam enim ars sagittaria contempta spreteque esse cœpit, permulte Romanis offensiones accedebant.

6. Habeas etiam hastas duas, ut altera deficiente, altera statim uti possis. Imperitoribus arcus imbecilliores dato; quanquam enim sagittas jacere nesciunt, tempore tamen discere conabuntur, quod in primis conducibile est.

7. Si id commodè fieri potest, rhictaria, id est, jacula in hostes conjiciant. Equitem igitur ad hunc modum armabis.

8. Equi autem, sed præfectorum potissimum, reliquorumque lectorum virorum, pectoralia, et frontalis vel ferrea, vel ex cenduculis facta habeant, vel quæ ex nervis efficiuntur, et tegantur pectora illorum, et colla, si fieri possit, et ventres per parva quædam apocremasmata eorum, quæ feletra sellarum dicuntur; a magnis enim sæpe periculis equos liberant, atque adeo ipsos equites. Hæc in primis habeant illi, qui cæteros in bello anteeunt.

9. Et sellæ habeant episelia hirsuta et magna. C Frena autem illorum idonea sint et fortia.

10. Ad sellas duas ferreas scalas et lorosocum, et pedilum, et sellopongium, ut quo tempore advocatur aliquis sufficere sumptum duorum aut trium dierum possit; et tuphia ad opisthelinas quatuor, et verticalia, equi tuphium, et similiter ὑπογήνειον, id est, summentum.

11. Ombino autem equitem habere oportet tzi-eurem ancipitem, unam aciem instar cuspidis hastæ longam, et acutam in sella cum theca coriacea pendentem.

12. Vestes militum, sive sint lineæ, sive laneæ, sive ex alia materia, latas esse oportet, ut ad equitandum non impediuntur, et tegant præterea genua illorum, et magis decori fiant.

13. Oportet vero cenducula habere lata admodum, quæ habeant etiam manicia lata, ut cum armantur illi, et gestant zabas atque arcus, si, quemadmodum sæpe fit, contingat pluviam esse, aut aerem humidior, currum suum conservent, et non impediuntur, sive arcubus, sive scutis uti voluerint. Sunt vero etiam cenducula in explorationibus et vigiliis pernecessaria; non apparent enim zabæ

δ'. Εἰ δυνατόν δὲ καὶ θώρακας ἔχειν, ὅτινες καλοῦνται νῦν κλιθάνια, καὶ αὐτὰ στιλπνὰ καὶ λαμπρά. Καὶ περικνημίδας, ἅτινα λέγεται νῦν ποδόψελλα, καὶ περυσιτήρας ἐνίοτε· ἔχειν δὲ καὶ ἐπιλώρικα ὅτε χρεῖα ἐπιנדύμενα.

ε'. Πάντας δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους Ῥωμαίους ἀκριτεσσάροντα ἐτῶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι, εἶτε [κατὰ] λόγον οἰδᾶσι τοξεῦσαι εἶτε καὶ μετρίως, τοῦ πάντως τοξοφάρετρα φορεῖν. Τῆς γὰρ τοξείας παντελῶς ἀμεληθείσης καὶ διαπεσούσης ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πολλὰ νῦν εἰώθε σφάλματα γίνεσθαι.

ς'. Ἐχειν δὲ καὶ κοντάρια δύο, ἕνα τοῦ ἐνός, ὡς εἰκός, ἀστοχοῦντος ἔχη τὸ ἄλλο εἰς χρῆσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειροτέρους ἀπαιώτερα ἔχειν τοξάρια. Κἂν γὰρ οὐκ οἰδᾶσι τοξεύειν, τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπιτηδεύουσι μαθεῖν, ὅπερ τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

ζ'. Εἰ δὲ δυνατόν καὶ ἀκόντια ἦτοι ρικτάρια ἔχειν ἕως δύο, ἕνα ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἀκοντίσῃ κατὰ τοῦ πολεμίου. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἱππέα στρατιωτῆν οὕτως ὀπλίσεις.

η'. Τοὺς δὲ ἵππους καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιλέκτων, προμετώπια ἔχειν, καὶ στηθάρια, ἢ σιδηρᾶ, ἢ ἀπὸ κενδούκλων, οἷον νευρικά. Καὶ σκέπεσθαι τὰ στηθὴ καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους αὐτῶν, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τὰς κοιλίας διὰ μικρῶν ἀποκρεμασμάτων ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων ἀφελέτρων τῆς σέλλας. Μεγάλων γὰρ ταῦτα κινδύνων πολλάκις τοὺς ἵππους διασώζουσι, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὀχομένους. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔχειν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς προτασσομένους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

θ'. Καὶ αἱ σέλλαι δὲ ἐχέτωσαν ἐπισέλλια θασέα καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ χαλινάρια αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια ἔστωσαν, καὶ ἱσχυρᾶ.

ι'. Εἰς δὲ τὰς σέλλας τὰς δύο σιδηρᾶς σκάλας, καὶ λωρόσακον (62), καὶ πέδικλον, καὶ σελλοπούγγην, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ καλοῦντος δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν δαπάνην χωρῆσαι. Καὶ τουφία δὲ εἰς τὰς ὀπισθελλίνας τέσσαρα. Καὶ κορυφάδην τοῦ ἵππου τουφίν (63), καὶ ὑπογήνειον ὁμοίως.

ια'. Πάντως δὲ ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν καθαλλάριον στρατιωτῆν καὶ τζικουῖριν δίστομον, τὸ ἐν στόμα τάξιν ξίφους κονταρίου μακρὸν καὶ ὀξύ, ἀποκρεμáμενον μετὰ θηκαρίου δερματίνου ἐν τῇ σέλλᾳ.

ιβ'. Τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἶτε λινὰ εἰσιν, εἶτε ἐξ ἐρίου, ἢ ἐτέρας ὕλης, πλατέα δεῖ εἶναι, ἵνα ἐν τῷ καθαλλικαύειν μὴ ἐμποδίζωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκίπωνται δι' αὐτῶν τὰ γόνατα αὐτῶν, καὶ εὐσχημοὶ φαίνονται.

ιγ'. Χρή δὲ καὶ κένδουκλα ἔχειν πλατέα πάντοτε ἔχοντα μανίκια πλατέα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀπλισθῆναι αὐτοῦ καὶ φορεῖν τὰς ζώνας καὶ τὰ τοξάρια, ἐὰν, ὡς εἰκός, συμβῇ βροχὴν γενέσθαι, ἢ ὑγρότερον τὸν ἀέρα ἐκ τῆς θρόσου, φοροῦντες αὐτὰ ἐπάνω τῶν ζαβῶν καὶ τῶν τοξαρίων φυλάττωσι τὸ ἄρμα αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐμποδίζωνται, εἶτε τοῖς τοξαρίοις, εἶτε τοῖς σκουταρίοις αὐτῶν βουληθῶσι χρῆσασθαι. Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως

NOTÆ.

(62) Λωρόσακον. Scribe, Λωρόσσκον, vel λωρόσσκον.

(63) Τουφίν. Scribatur, τουρόν.

πως ἀναγκαῖα τὰ κένδουκλα ἐν ταῖς σκούλαις (64) *A* hostibus, ipsis cenduculis tectæ. Resistant etiam
 ἡγουν ταῖς βίγλαις. Οὐ διαφαίνονται γὰρ μήκο- impetui sagittarum.
 θεν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἱ ζάβαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν σκεπόμεναι, ἀντέχουσι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς βολὰς τῶν σα-
 γιτῶν.

ιβ'. Προστάσσομεν δὲ καθ' ἑκάστον κοντουβέρνιν
 καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἄξινας ἔχειν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον
 τῆς χρείας.

ιγ'. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων ἄρχοντας, ἢ στρατιώ-
 τας, καὶ τῶν θεματικῶν βάνδων τοὺς δυνατιωτέρους
 ἀναγκάζεσθαι χρῆ, παῖδας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπινοεῖν δοῦλους,
 ἢ ἐλευθέρους, καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τε βό-
 γας, καὶ τοῦ ἀδνουμίου, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ
 τὸ ἄρμα ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ καταζητεῖσθαι, ἵνα μὴ
 περιφρονούντες παλλήκων (65) τῶν δουλευόντων ἐν
 καιρῷ πολέμου ἀναγκάζονται ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν ἀφορίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ τοῦλθεν, καὶ ὀλίγοι γίνωνται
 οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

ιδ'. Εἰ δέ τινες, ὡς εἰκὸς, μὴ εὐποροῦσι κτῆσασθαι
 παῖδας, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν εἰς τοὺς κατωτέρους στρα-
 τιώτας τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας ἕνα παῖδα τὸν ὑπηρετεῖν
 αὐτοῖς μέλλοντα ἐπινοεῖν.

ιε'. Τὸν ὅμοιον δὲ τρόπον ποιεῖν καὶ εἰς τὰ σαγμά-
 ρια, ὧν χρεία κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον διὰ τὰς ζάβας καὶ
 τὰς πέλτας αὐτῶν.

ιη'. Προστάσσομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν βάν-
 δων ἑκάστου τάγματος ὁμοχρόνως γίνεσθαι, καὶ
 τὰ φλάμουλα ἑκάστης τούρμας ἢ δρόγγου ἰδιόχρσα
 εἶναι.

ιθ'. Ἴνα δὲ καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον τάγμα εὐκόλως ἐπι-
 γινώσκῃ τὸ ἴδιον βάνδον, δεῖ ἕτερα εἶδη καὶ σημεῖα
 προστιθέναι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν βάνδων ἐγνωσμένα
 τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὥστε ἐκ τούτου ἐπιγινώσκεισθαι
 αὐτὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς τούρμας, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς δροῦγ-
 γους, καὶ κατὰ τὰ βάνδα (66).

κ'. Πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν τουρμαρχῶν ἐνηλλαγμένα δεῖ
 εἶναι καὶ πρόδῃλα, ἵνα ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐπι-
 γινώσκωνται τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τεταγμένοις.

κα'. Κελεύομεν δὲ σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ ἄρμα ἐπι-
 φέρεσθαι ἐκ περισσοῦ διὰ βασταγῆς καὶ μάλιστα
 τοξάρια καὶ σαγίτας. Ἴνα τοῖς, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἀστοχοῦ-
 σιν ὅπλοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀντεισάγηται.

κβ'. Ἐξῶθεν δὲ τῶν βοῦνων θηκαρίων τῶν ζαβῶν
 ἔχειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ δερμάτων θηκάρια ἕτερα
 ἐλαφρὰ, ὅπως ἢ ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου, ἢ ἐν καιρῷ
 κούρσου, ὅπισθεν τῶν ἐπισθοκουρβίων κατὰ τὰς ψύας
 τῶν ἵππων βασταζόνται (67), καὶ ἂν συμβῇ, ὡς
 πολλάκις, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τροπῆς γινομένης πρὸς
 μίαν ἡμέραν ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι τοὺς τὴν παρα-
 σκευὴν ἔχοντας, μὴ εἰσι γυναι αἱ ζάβαι καὶ
 φθείρονται. Εἴτα καὶ σκέπῃσι τοὺς στρατιώτας
 διηλεκτῶς ἐπικείμεναι αὐτοῖς.

κγ'. Οὐδὲ τοῦτο παραλείψομεν ἐν τῇδε τῇ δια-
 τάξει, ἵνα οἱ ἄρχοντες ἑκάστου τάγματος διαγνώ-
 σις ποιῶσιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πυραγμαδίου,

14. Mandamus etiam ut in unoquoque contuber-
 nio et falces et secures habeant ad necessarios
 usus.

15. Cohortium autem praefectos, sive milites, qui
 potentiores sunt, cogere oportet pueros sibi con-
 quirere sive servos, sive liberos, et diligenter in
 tempore rogæ et adnomii, id est, descriptionis
 nominum, pueri illorum et currus describantur, et
 conquirantur, ut ne contemptis iis adolescentibus
 administris ipso belli tempore ex ipsis militibus ad-
 tuldum, id est, impedimenta conservanda cogantur
 separare, et pauciores fiant, qui in ipso prælio di-
 micent.

16. Si vero quidam, quemadmodum verisimile est,
 non adeo locupletes sunt, ut sibi sufficere pueros
 administros possint, necesse est tribus aut qua-
 tuor militibus tenuioribus unum aliquem admini-
 strum, qui illis operam det, tribuere.

17. Pari modo pro sagmariis, id est, sarciniis
 facere oportet, quorum magnus est usus propter
 zabas et tentas illorum.

18. Mandamus ut capita uniuscujusque bandi, id
 est, cohortis, unius coloris sint; et flamula
 uniuscujusque turmae, et uniuscujusque drungi, id
 est, cohortis milliariae, unius quoque coloris sint.

19. Ut vero unaquaque cohors suam ipsius co-
 hortem, id est, bandum facile agnoscat, oportet
 alia quædam privata signa capitibus adjungere, ut
 ex illis tum per turmas, tum per drungos, tum per
 banda cognosci possint.

20. Omnia autem turmarcharum signa tum di-
 versa esse oportet, tum manifesta, ut longo inter-
 vallo cognoscere suos possint.

21. Mandamus etiam, ut currus quidam super-
 flui adhibeantur propter bastagen, id est, vecturam,
 et maxime arcuum sagittarumque, ut iis, qui ar-
 mis destituantur, inde suffici arma possint.

22. Præter bubulas zabarum thecas, habere opor-
 tet milites ex pellibus thecas quasdam expeditas,
 ut vel belli tempore, vel excursionum, post epistho-
 curbia in lumbis equorum, etsi (quod absit) con-
 tingat sarpenumero in fugam converti, et ad unam
 diem disparere eos, qui commeatum habent, non sint
 nudæ zabæ, et corrumpantur. Deinde et legant mi-
 lites assidue ipsis impositæ.

23. Neque hoc præteribimus in hac ordinatione, ut
 præfecti cujusvis cohortis recognoscant tempore hi-
 berno, vel alio otii tempore, an abundant milites in

NOTÆ.

(64) Ἐν ταῖς σκούλαις. Scribebatur, ἐν ταῖς
 σκούραις.

(65) Περιφρονούντες παλλήκων. Scribebatur, πε-

ριφρονούνται πάλλικων.

(66) Τὴ βάνδῃ. Scribebatur, τὰς βάνδας.

(67) Βαστάζονται. Scribebatur, βαστάζοντα.

Corpus Juris civilis.

CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS

EDITIO STEREOTYPA TERTIA

VOLUMEN SECUNDUM

CODEX IUSTINIANUS

RECOGNOVIT

*Critical Edition of
Momm森 and Krueger*

...

BEROLINI
APUD WEIDMANNOS

4 ἐτίσαν, ἡ ἀξίον ἐστι τὸ δοθέν. Χόραν δὲ ἐχει
5 τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γίνεσθαι ἐκ-
κλησιαστικοῖς καὶ τοῖς λαομένοις ἐπαγίαι. Ὑπὸν-
των δὲ κινητῶν ἔξωθεν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀκινήτων καὶ
ἀρκοῦντων εἰς τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας ἀργεὶ τῶν
ἀναγκαίων ἀκινήτων καὶ τῶν ἄρτων ἡ ἐκποίησις
καὶ ἡ ὑποθήκη.

18 [1^o Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς]
2^o Ἡ διάταξις ἀφορᾷ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Κων-
σταντινουπόλεως ἐβδόμηκοντα λίτρας χρυσίου πρόσ-
οδον εἰς τὸ τὰς κηδείας ἀδαπάνους ἐν Κωνσταν-
τινουπόλει γίνεσθαι καὶ μέχρι τῶν νέων τεχνῶν
καὶ Βλαχέρναις· αἱ γὰρ Συκαὶ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς

1 πόλεως. Οὐδεὶς κατὰ τῶν παραβαίνοντων ποι-
νὴν ἀπὸ πέντηκοντα χρυσίου λίτρῶν.

19 *Imp. Iustinianus A. Menae pp.* Illud, quod
ex veteribus legibus licet obscure positum a quibus-
dam attemptabatur, ut donationes super piis causis
factae, licet minus in actis intimatae sint, tamen
valeant, certo et dilucido iure taxamus, ut in aliis
quidem casibus vetera iura super intimandis dona-
tionibus intacta mancant: si quis vero donationes
usque ad quingentos solidos in quibuscumque rebus
fecerit vel in sanctam ecclesiam vel in xenodochium
vel in nosocomium vel in orphanotrophium vel in
ptochotrophium¹ vel in ipsos pauperes vel in quam-
cumque civitatem, istae donationes etiam citra actio-
rum confectionem convalcant: sin vero amplioris
quantitatis donatio sit, excepta scilicet imperiali dona-
tione, non aliter valeat, nisi actis intimata fuerit:
nulli danda licentia quacumque alia causa quasi pie-
tatis iure subnixā praeter eas, quas specialiter ex-
posuimus, introducenda² veterum scita super inti-
mandis donationibus permutare. [D.] dn. Iusti-
niano pp. A. [II cons.] [a. 52^v]

20 [Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς]
2^o Μηδὲ ἀπὸ θεῶν τύπον ἢ ἀρχικῆς προσταξέως ἢ
οἰονόμοτε δικαστηρίον στρατιωτικῆς αἰτίας εἰς
ἐκκλησίους οἴκους ἢ κληρικῶν ἢ μοναστηρία μετα-
γέσθω, ὡς ἐλλειπόντων δέηθεν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς
σωμάτων³.

21 *Idem A. Demostheni pp.* Sancimus nemini
licere sacratissima atque arcana vasa vel vestem nec-
essaria sunt (cum etiam veteres leges ea, quae iuris
divini sunt, humanis nexibus non illigari sanxerunt)
vel ad venditionem vel hypothecam vel pignus tra-
here, sed ab his, qui haec suscipere ausi fuerint,
modis omnibus vindicari tam per religiosissimos epis-
copos quam oeconomos nec non etiam sacrorum
vasorum custodes: nullam eis actionem relinquen-
dam⁴ vel super recipiendo pretio vel fenore exigendo,
pro quo res pignorate sunt, sed omnibus huius-
modi actionibus respuendis ad restitutionem earum
1 modis omnibus coartari. Sin autem vel conflata
sunt vel fuerint vel alio modo immutata vel dispersa,
nihilominus vel ad ipsa corpora vel ad pretia eorum

exactionem competere sive per in rem sive per con-
ditionem sive per in factum actionem, cuius tenor in multis
et variis iuris articulis saepe est admissus, excepta vide-
licet causa captivitatē in locis, in quibus hoc (quod abo-
2 minatur) contigerit. Nam si necessitas fuerit in
redemptione captivorum, tunc et venditionem praefat-
arum rerum divinarum et hypothecam et pignora-
tionem fieri concedimus, cum non absurdum est
animas hominum quibuscumque causis⁵ vel vesti-
mentis praeferi: hoc obtinente non solum in futuris
negotiis, sed etiam in iudiciis pendentibus. [a. 52^v]

22 *Idem A. Demostheni pp.* Sancimus res ad ve-
nerabiles ecclesias vel xenones vel monasteria vel
ptochotrophia vel brephotrophia vel orphanotrophia
vel gerontocomia vel si quid aliud tale consortium
descendentes ex qualicumque curiali liberalitate sive
inter vivos sive mortis causa sive in ultimis volun-
tatis habita lucrativorum inscriptionibus liberas
immunesque esse: lege scilicet, quae super huius-
modi inscriptionibus posita est, in aliis quidem per-
sonis suum robur obtinente, in parte autem eccle-
siastica vel aliarum domuum, quae piis consorciis
deputatae sunt, suum vigorem pietatis intuitu miti-
gante. cur enim non faciamus discrimen inter res
divinas et humanas, et quare non competens prae-
1 rogativa caelesti favori conservetur? Quae oportet
non solum in casibus, quos futurum tempus
creaverit, sed etiam in adhuc pendentibus et iudiciali
termino vel amicali compositione necdum sopitis ob-
tinere. *Recitata septimo miliario huius inclitae ci-
vitatē in novo consistorio palatii Iustiniani*. [a. 52^v]

23 *Idem A. Iuliano pp.* Ut inter divinum publi-
cumque ius et privata commoda competens discretio
sit, sancimus, si quis aliquam reliquerit hereditatem
vel legatum vel fideicommissum vel donationis titulo
aliquid dederit vel vendiderit sive sacrosanctis eccle-
siis sive venerabilibus xenonibus vel ptochiis vel mo-
nasteriis masculorum vel virginum vel orphanotro-
phiis vel brephotrophis vel gerontocomis nec non
iuri civitatum, relictorum vel donatorum vel vendi-
torum eis sit longaeva exactio nulla temporis solita
1 praescriptione coartanda. Sed et si in redem-
ptione captivorum quaedam pecuniae vel res relictae
vel legitimo modo donatae sunt, et earum exactionem
2 longissimam esse censemus. Et nobis quidem
cordi erat nullis temporum metis huiusmodi actionem
circumcludi. sed ne videamur in infinitum hanc ex-
tendere, longissimum vitae hominum tempus eligi-
mus et non aliter eam actionem finiri concedimus,
nisi centum annorum curricula excesserint: tunc
enim tantummodo huiusmodi exactionem evanes-
3 cere sinimus. Sive itaque memoratis religiosissimis
locis vel civitatibus hereditas sive legatum sive fidei-
commissum fuerit relictum, vel donatio vel venditio
processerit in quibuscumque rebus mobilibus vel im-
mobilibus vel se moventibus, sive pro redemptione
captivorum quaedam fuerint derelicta vel donata, sit

(1) inscriptionem petivimus ex Nov. 59 pr., qua laudantur
duae Anastasit constitutiones, quarum altera numerum decanorum seu collegiarum urbis Constantinopolitanae auxit
(cf. Nov. 43 pr. c. 4 h. t.), altera certum redditum sepulchris
eiusdem urbis impendendum assignavit (2) index c. 15 =
Const. (2) Βλαχερνῶν Zachariae (3) vel in ptochotro-
phium vel in ipsos pauperes scripsi auctore Const.: ἢ πτω-
χῶν ἢ εἰς αὐτοὺς τῶν πτωχῶν, vel brephotrophium vel
tochotrophium vel in ipsos pauperes C, vel in ipsos pau-
peres (om. vel in ptochotrophium) R (4) sic R, quam-

cumque aliam causam q. p. i subnixam ... introducendo C
(5) index c. 20 = B 5, 1, 2: breviorē indicem exhibet
Const.: οὕτε κατὰ θεῶν τύπον οὕτε κατὰ προσταγῶν
τῶν ἀρχόντων ἔξεστι μεταγενεῶν στρατιωτικῶν αἰτίαις
εἰς εὐαγέας οἴκους ἢ κληρικῶν (id est: neque ex sacra forma
neque ex iussione praefectorum militares annonas ad vene-
rabiles domus vel clericos transferre licet) (5^o) σωμάτων
Zachariae (6) sic C cum Graecis, nulla eis actione relin-
quenda R (7) causis confirmant Graeci, sed vasis scri-
bendum cum edd. (8) D. III (?) k. Nov. Decio ve. cons. suppl.

4 quanti est quod datum fuerit. Quae dicta sunt
locum habent etiam in iis rebus quae ecclesiarum
5 et venerabilium domorum futurae sunt. Si qua
vero mobilia erunt praeter vasa sacra, quae suffi-
ciant ad dietas causas, cessat alienatio et obpigne-
ratio immobilium necessarium panumque.
18 *Idem A. Constitutio magnae ecclesiae Con-
stantinopolitanae redditum septuaginta auri librarum*

assignat, ut funera Constantinopoli gratis fiant etiam
usque ad novos muros et Blachernas: Sycae enim
1 pars urbis sunt. Adversus violatores statuit poe-
nam quinquagenarum librarum auri.
20 *Idem A.* Neque ex sacra forma vel prae-
fecti vel cuiuslibet iudicis iussu militaris annona
ad venerabiles domus vel clericos vel monasteria
transferatur, cum corpora iam numeris deficiant.

eorum paene perpetua vindictio et ad annos centum secundum quod dictum est extendatur, nulla alia exceptione temporis inhibenda, sive contra primas personas sive contra heredes vel successores earum 4 (1) moveatur. In his autem omnibus casibus non solum personales actiones damus, sed etiam in rem et hypothecariae secundum nostrae tenorem constitutionis¹, quae legatariis et² hypothecariis donavit, et supra dictis omnibus unum tantummodo terminum vitae suae imponimus, id est centum metas annorum 5 (2) norum. Haec autem omnia observari sancimus in iis casibus, qui vel postea fuerint nati vel iam³ in iudicium deducti sunt. D. v k. April. Lampadio et Oreste vv. cc. cons. [a. 530]

24 [Ο αὐτός βασιλεὺς] * Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διαφερόντως τῶν προσκόντων τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως τῇ μετεῖρα καὶ πάντων μητροῦ, ἥτις κεφάλαιόν ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν, ποιοῦμενοι πρόνοιαν θεοπίστομον παροικίῳ μὲν δικαίῳ μηδελίαν τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ἐκδοσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρῶσαι τοῦ μηδενὶ νόμῳ γνωρίζομενον ὄνομα. 1 Τὰ μέντοι λοιπὰ συναλλάγματα, ὅσα ἐρεῖται τοῖς Θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγιοτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ποιῶν, ἐξείναι αὐτοῖς τίθεσθαι, πρὸς οὓς ἂν δοκιμάσῃ, διχα τῶν ἐκδοσίων ἢ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων ἐμπράκτων ἀρχόντων ταύτης τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺτους κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ποιεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀναρῶσαι ἐκδοσιν ἀκινήτων πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ἄλλον παρενθεμένον προσώπων ἐπὶ περιγραφῇ τῆς θείας ἡμῶν διατυπώσεως συγχωροῦμεν, εἴτε τινὰ οἰκειότητα οὗτος ἔχει πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τελόντα, εἴτε διχα παλαιὰς οἰκειότητος νεωστὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο παρελήπται. 2 Γνωσκόντων μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν Θεοφιλεστάτων οἰκόνων, ὡς, εἴ τι παρ' αὐτὰ γένοιτο, τὴν τοῦ ἐκδικουμένου πράγματος διετίμῃν οἴκοθεν αὐτοὶ καταδεῖναι συναρῶσαι τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐκλήβην χωροῦντων ἐκδοσίων μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων ἐμπράκτων ἀρχόντων, ὡς, εἴ καὶ πᾶσι περινενομημένοι λαβεῖν σπεύσαιεν⁶ τρόποις καὶ πρόσωπα τοιαῦτα παρενθεῖεν, ἅπερ οἰον-

ται λῆσειν μέχρι παντός, ὅτιπερ ἑαυτοῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα πράττουσι, ὅμως μετὰ ταῦτα διαφαινόμενός τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκρωθίζεται μὲν παντελῶς τὸ συναλλάγμα, ποιητὴς δὲ χεῖρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος καταθήσει τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ διατίμῃν.

3 Εἰ δὲ καὶ κατ' ἕτερον τρόπον πείσει ἡ ἀναγκάσει περιελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγδὲν ἄκαρον καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον εἰς πρόσσωπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποδίδεται αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημίνοις ὑπόκειται ποιῆναι κ' χρυσίου λίτρων αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τὸ πρᾶγμα δοῦναι, καὶ ὁ λυθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ παρασκευάσαι γενεῖσθαι τὸ συναλλάγμα τὸ δοθὲν αὐτῷ διπλοῦν δίδωσι, καὶ πάντα προσκρουῖνται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Παραίτηρ τῶν κ' ἑτῶν ἀκινήτων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐ μοιδοῦνται. Μόνους εὐπόρους δεῖ τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἐμμεντεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς ὁψεως, καὶ μὴ περιαιτέρον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐμμεντενομένου καὶ δύο ἔξῃς κληρονομῶν, καὶ μὴ κοιφίζειν πλέον τοῦ ἔκτου μέρους τοῦ σωζομένου κανόνος ἐν τῇ καιρῷ τῆς ἐκδόσεως. Εἰ δὲ βλάβη τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐκταμίνον τοῦ χρόνου ἐξεοῖται⁸ καὶ τὴν ζημίαν ἀποθεραπεῖν. Εἰ δὲ ῥαθυμία ὁ οἰκονόμος ἢ ὑπόρουρος (25) ἐκδῶν, ἐπιγινώσκει τὴν βλάβην. Οἱ χαρτουλάριοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς μεγάλης οὔτε διὰ μέσον προσώπων δύνανται λαβεῖν ἀκινήτων αὐτῆς κατὰ μίσθωσιν ἢ ἐμμεντεῖν ἢ ἕτερον τρόπον. Γίνονται οἱ χαρτουλάριοι ἡγουμένοι λιβελλῶν καὶ γέροντος υπογράφειν τὸν πατριάρχον καὶ τοῦ οἰκονόμου. Καὶ ἐάν τις αὐτῶν γρατῇ κλέπτῃν ἢ παραδίδῃς ἢ ἄλλως ἀνεπιτήδειος, ἐξεστὶ τῷ πατριάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς οἰκονόμοις ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὸν τοῦ κατὰ λόγον. Γίνονται δὲ εἰς σκηνίον τῆς Ἀνατολῆς χαρτουλάριοι ἰε', εἰς τὸ Ἀσιατικὸν ἰε', εἰς τὸ Πόντιον ἰε', εἰς τὸ ἐνοίκιον⁹ ἰε', εἰς τὸ Θράκας ἦ, εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ζ', εἰς τὸ τοῦ Καλοποδίου ζ', εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἀναλωματος ἰ', εἰς τὸ τῶν ληγάτων θ'. Καὶ λαμβάνουσι λόγῳ συντηθεῖν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐμμεντεντικοῖς συμβολαίοις πενήκοστας, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς μισθωτικαῖς καὶ λοιποῖς συναλλάγμασιν ἑκατοστήν. Εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν εἰρημῶν ἀριθμὸν γίνηται χαρτουλάριος, ἐκπίπτει καὶ

(1) 6, 43, 1 (2) fideicommissariis ins. dett. (3) iam R, alias C (4) c. 24 pr. § 1. 2 extant in Nomoc. (5) sic Zachariae, μὴ τίς Nomoc. (6) σπεύσαιεν ἐν Nomoc.

(7) indices §§ 3—13 dedi ex Const. (8) vox corrupta: requiritur ἐξελαίνεται (9) Ἐνοίκιον Zachariae

24 Idem A. Omnibus rebus ecclesiasticis prospicientes et praecipue iis, quae competunt sacrosanctae magnae ecclesiae huius felicitis urbis nostrae omniumque matri, quae caput est reliquarum omnium, vetamus ullam de cetero rerum ecclesiasticarum concessionem colonario iure fieri, sed tolli nomen 1 legibus incognitum. Reliquos vero contractus, quaecumque iure religiosissimis episcopis eiusdem sacrosanctae magnae ecclesiae permissum est, licere eis componere cum quibus visum erit, praeter nobilissimos et magnificentissimos huius regiae urbis praefectos in potestate positos. ad quos eos nullo modo alienare permittimus neque alia persona interposita ad circumscriptionem sacrae nostrae sanctionis, sive ei necessitudo aliqua sit cum praefecto in potestate posito sive sine vetere necessitudine nunc ab eo ad 2 hoc adhibitus sit. Sciant igitur religiosissimi oeconomi, si adversus ea quid fiet, se cogi, ut aestimationem rei evincendae ex proprio sacrosanctae ecclesiae refundant: nobilissimi vero et magnificentissimi praefecti in potestate positi, qui ad eiusmodi elocationem progressi fuerint, etsi omnibus artibus excogitatis id obterege enisi fuerint et tales personas interposuerint, quas ipsis rem egisse semper in occulto fore credant, veritate postea explorata infirmari omnino contractum, ipsos autem in modum poenae sacrosanctae magnae ecclesiae rei aestimationem praestatueros esse. Quod si alio modo persuadendo vel vi efficiet, ut ad se res ecclesiastica perveniat, et quod gestum est irritum est et quod

eo nomine datum est alicui eorum qui ad ecclesiam pertinent, ecclesiae restituitur et praeterea poenae XX auri librarum subiacet tam ipse quam qui rem dedit: et qui accepit, ut contractum fieri curaret, duplum eius quod datum est praestat, eaque 4 omnia ad ecclesiam perveniunt. Ultra XX annos 5 res soli ab ecclesia non locantur. Locupletibus solis res ecclesiasticae in emphyteusim dandae sunt propter restitutionem pristini status, nec ultra ipsum cui datur et duos deinceps heredes, nec remitti amplius sexta parte eius canonis, qui tempore locationis receptus est. Quod si rem deteriore fecerit, intra tempus locationis expellitur et damnum resarcit. Oeconomus vero si negligens fuerit vel inopibus locaverit, damnum restituit. 7 Chartularii magnae ecclesiae nec per interpositam personam rem eius immobilem conductionis vel emphyteusim titulo aliove modo accipere possunt. 9 Chartularii sunt praevio libello, cui subscribitur est a patriarcha et oeconomis. Et si quis eorum fur vel proditor vel aliam ob causam minus idoneus visus erit, licet patriarchae et oeconomis catalogo eum 11 exinere. In scrinio Orientis sunt chartularii XV, Asiano XVI, Ponti XV, domestico XV, Thraciae VIII, Antiochi VI, Calopodii VI, largitionum X, legato 12 rum VIII. Et accipiunt titulo consuetudinum pro emphyteuticis quidem instrumentis quinquagesimas, pro conductionum et reliquis contractibus centesimas. Quod si supra memoratum numerum chartularius fit, eicitur et solvit ecclesiae XV libras et

MEDIEVAL LATIN WORD-LIST

FROM BRITISH AND IRISH SOURCES

PREPARED BY

comes of
J. H. BAXTER, D.LITT., HON.D.D.

AND

CHARLES JOHNSON, M.A.

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

PHYLLIS ABRAHAMS, M.A., D. UNIV. PARIS.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

A COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE BRITISH ACADEMY

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PREFACE

FOR a good many years the project of producing a dictionary of Medieval Latin was entertained by Mr. John Murray, whose publishing house had already given the public not only Smith's *Latin Dictionary*, but also other works of reference that have found a permanent place in libraries. Mr. Murray's plan was that an abridged version of Du Cange's famous *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* should be compiled and published for English students, under the editorship of the Rev. E. A. Dayman, to whom, after some time, Mr. J. H. Hessels was added as assistant. After having spent a large sum of money on the scheme, Mr. Murray was compelled to abandon it in 1882, and though Mr. Hessels returned to the task in 1897 and produced one or two articles by way of specimens and firstfruits, the enterprise proved too gigantic for the powers of one man and had to be abandoned. But in 1913 the idea was revived by Mr. R. J. Whitwell who, at the Historical Congress held in London in that year, brought forward a project for a Dictionary of Medieval Latin on historical principles similar to the English Dictionary begun by Sir James Murray and now happily completed. The Great War which so shortly followed precluded the execution of this scheme, and only in 1920 was it revived by the International Academic Union, which requested the co-operation of the British Academy. This body in 1924 appointed two Committees, one to collect British and Irish material for the international scheme (which did not then include anything after the eleventh century), and another to do the same for a dictionary of later Latin as used in the British Isles. Domesday Book (1086) was taken as the dividing line between the fields of the two Committees. These Committees have since been amalgamated, and the following List shows the non-classical Latin words about which they have collected information.

As the scheme progressed, Committees were formed, in the United States, Scotland, and Ireland, to co-operate with those formed by the British Academy, and these have given substantial assistance in recruiting contributors, and in preparing a list of authorities. The classification and arrangement of the quotations collected has of necessity been the work of the original Committees.

The Editors of the List are conscious that the material so far collected is not exhaustive. For the earlier period it is indeed nearly complete, but for the later period a large number of works remain to be read. Many philosophical, theological, and scientific terms have doubtless escaped notice, and many of the words noted may occur over a wider period than indicated in the List. The principal motive for putting this List into the hands of students is the hope of interesting them in the progress of the future Dictionary and enlisting their help

in the collection of further material and in the elucidation of individual words.

The Editors are indebted to the members of both Committees for constant direction and help, and to the many voluntary workers who have supplied dated quotations from printed books or from manuscripts. Among these they would especially mention Mr. R. J. Whitwell (to whom the scheme owed its inception), Mr. Uvedale Lambert, Mr. R. W. Cracroft, Mr. G. R. Scott, the Rev. C. R. Bingham, and the Rev. E. S. Prideaux-Brune, none of whom lived to see the firstfruits of their labour; and His Honour Judge J. R. V. Marchant, Mr. H. J. Hardy, Mr. G. G. Loane, the Rev. R. Dew, the Rev. William Brooke, Mr. C. J. Fordyce, and Mr. S. Gaselee. Much help has been received from American workers such as Professors F. S. Betten, J. S. P. Tatlock, Raymond T. Hill, E. Faye Wilson, A. Hoffmann, P. E. Kretzmann, Eva M. Sanford, and Mr. H. E. Wedeck; and from Scottish workers such as the late Mr. D. M. Lamont, the Misses G. F. Peterson and E. H. Dowden, Mrs. S. C. Wilson, and Messrs. W. Murison and W. A. Anderson; and in Ireland, where a corresponding Committee has been formed, the late Dr. L. C. Purser rendered valuable assistance.

The actual task of putting the material into shape has been carried out by Miss Abrahams; and Miss M. Joyner, of St. Andrews University, has done some similar work for the period before 1086. Dr. C. T. Onions, though unable to act as an editor, has given valuable advice with regard to typographical and other difficulties. The British Academy have supported the work of the Committee by an annual grant, and the publication of this List had been helped by the co-operation of the Selden Society. Without the hospitality and assistance afforded by the Public Record Office the execution of the work would have been much more difficult. In conclusion the Editors wish to express their indebtedness to the Printer both for technical help and for valuable suggestions.

The Committee invite scholars to help them to make this Word-List a step towards the fuller Dictionary which they are preparing, by contributing dated quotations from British and Irish writers illustrating Latin words not found in this List, or extending the limits of date given for individual words. Quotations which define or explain obscure terms are invaluable. Such notes should be sent to

THE SECRETARY,
MIEVEAL LATIN DICTIONARY COMMITTEE,
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,*
CHANCERY LANE,
LONDON, W.C. 2.

INTRODUCTION

THE following List contains all Latin words of which examples had been collected by the Medieval Latin Dictionary Committee by the end of 1932 which are either themselves not classical or, though classical, are used with altered meanings. At that date, the material, which had been divided into two groups (pre-Conquest and post-Conquest), had reached a stage when it seemed desirable to make it accessible to students. It was felt that, for a good proportion of the eventual contents of the Dictionary, enough was already in hand to render further excerption unnecessary and to show readers where gaps might usefully be filled. It was therefore decided to compile a Word-List on the following lines:—Every word contained in the material collected has been noted in the Word-List, together with the earliest and latest date, and some indication of the meaning. As the collection falls into two groups, one of which is practically complete while the other is still slowly accumulating, the dates have also been divided into two groups (separated in the text by a full stop) indicating pre-Conquest and post-Conquest use respectively.

The purpose of the present list is purely practical; it does not represent more than a choice of the materials available, and it was designed in the first instance to aid the contributors upon whose voluntary labours the Committee rely for the execution of their task. The methods employed in the two parts of the field naturally differ to some extent; for the ordinary Latin-English Dictionary, even that of Lewis and Short, contains a sprinkling of late words and a certain proportion of the Vulgate vocabulary, which, although haphazard and occasionally inaccurate, seemed to render superfluous the reproduction of such words as are to be found there. And again, it has not always seemed advisable to aim at providing a full list of the *hapax legomena* of any author, and, in the earlier period, several texts which had been read for the pre-Conquest Committee but are being re-read for the Irish Committee, have been deliberately left out of account. In the first period, words recorded only in glossaries have been included: in the later period, such words, unless attested by actual quotations, are omitted and must be sought in such works as the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, the *Catholicon Anglicum*, or Wright's *Old English Vocabularies*. In the later period only, words continuously attested between the earliest and latest dates given are marked with an asterisk. Considerations of space have made it impossible to include more than a minimum of grammatical, syntactical, and explanatory matter. Proper names have been omitted, but a few adjectival forms and titles of books have been included. Users of the Word-List are asked to take careful note of the information

INTRODUCTION

given in the following pages under the headings *Spelling* and *Abbreviations*. The words themselves are printed in **clarendon type**, grammatical indications in *italic*, meanings and explanations in roman. The arrangement is by groups of words of which the beginnings are the same, without any etymological implication. Variant forms are cross-referenced either to the word itself (**clar.**) or to the alphabetical group to which it belongs (SM. CAPS.). Many alphabetical groups are divided into subsections by the use of semicolons. When a subsection commences with a date or with an English translation, the reference is to the first Latin word in the preceding subsection. Thus, in the alphabetical group **claus/a** (page 82) the Latin word referred to by the dates c 1159, c 1450 in line 5 of the alphabetical group is **claustralis**. Similarly the Latin word translated 'right to enclose' in line 13 of the alphabetical group is **claustrura**. Occasionally, in unusually long alphabetical groups, Latin forms have been repeated (as in **commun/a**, page 90).

Semicolons are also employed to separate the different meanings of the same word (e.g. **clavis**, on page 82). When a word is repeated in a phrase, the initial only is used. Thus **c. ecclesiae** = **clavis ecclesiae**. In a long alphabetical group, the initial refers to the first Latin word of the preceding subsection. The wider margin is intended for additions and corrections.

SPELLING

The following variants, often found in medieval texts, have been disregarded:

i = *y* = *hi*

i = *j*, *j* = *i*

ea = *ia*

ium = *ium*

e = *ae* = *oe* (note, these spellings have all been reduced to *e*, and the digraphs do not appear at all)

c = *k*

c = *t*

f = *ph*

h omitted or wrongly inserted in most cases (see below)

double letters for single, and vice versa

On the other hand, the following variants have been distinguished:

ar, *er*, *or*, *ur*

o, *ou*, *u*

aill, *alli*

ulus, *ellus*

mpt, *mt*, *nt*

mpn, *mn*, *nn*

c, *s* (the existence of these variants has been indicated, but details have not been given of all cases)

g, *j*, *hi*

p, *ph*

t, *th* in English words

v, *w*

x, *xs*

ex, *es*, *x*, *s*

A certain number of general headings will be found in the Word-List, e.g. **inr-**, see **IRR**. Wherever possible variants of the same word have been grouped together under a convenient heading. The grouping is not to be considered final, and does not pretend to be based upon scientific principles.

INTRODUCTION

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>a</i> = ante	<i>her.</i> = heraldic
<i>A.S.</i> = Anglo-Saxon	<i>imp.</i> = imperative
<i>abl.</i> = ablative	<i>impers.</i> = impersonal
<i>ac.</i> = academic	<i>indecl.</i> = indeclinable
<i>acc.</i> = accusative	<i>inf.</i> = infinitive
<i>act.</i> = active	<i>inter.</i> = interjection
<i>adj.</i> = adjective	<i>intrans.</i> = intransitive
<i>adv.</i> = adverb	<i>I.</i> = Irish
<i>alch.</i> = alchemical, chemical	<i>leg.</i> = legal
<i>astr.</i> = astronomical, astrological	<i>log.</i> = logical
<i>bibl.</i> = biblical (with special reference to the text of the Vulgate)	<i>m.</i> = masculine
<i>c</i> (before a figure) = circa	<i>math.</i> = mathematical
<i>c</i> (after a figure) = century	<i>med.</i> = medical
<i>class.</i> = classical	<i>mus.</i> = musical
<i>coll.</i> = collective	<i>n.</i> = neuter
<i>dat.</i> = dative	<i>O.E.</i> = Old English
<i>correl.</i> = correlative	<i>p</i> = post*
<i>decl.</i> = declinable	<i>pass.</i> = passive
<i>dep.</i> = deponent	<i>phil.</i> = philosophical
<i>eccl.</i> = ecclesiastical (when found without a date indicates that a word first found in early Christian writers has a continuous history throughout the period covered by the Word-List)	<i>pl.</i> = plural
<i>f.</i> = feminine	<i>p.p.</i> = past participle
<i>fig.</i> = figurative	<i>prep.</i> = preposition
<i>gen.</i> = genitive	<i>s.</i> = singular
<i>Gr.</i> = Greek	<i>Sc.</i> = Scots
<i>gramm.</i> = grammatical	<i>sub.</i> = substantive
	<i>subj.</i> = subjunctive
	<i>trans.</i> = transitive
	<i>trop.</i> = tropological
	<i>v.</i> = verb
	<i>W.</i> = Welsh

* An asterisk indicates that sufficient examples have been received for the given meaning and period. Placed before the word it denotes that every meaning given has been fully illustrated for the period indicated. Placed after the word it refers to one meaning only. It refers only to Post-Conquest material.

† An obelisk indicates that a word is of doubtful meaning or form.

Explanatory matter has been used as sparingly as possible. National indications (Irish, Welsh, and Scots) have been limited, with a few exceptions, to those words of which more than one example has been received.

Grammatical indications have been reduced to a minimum. Deponent verbs, reflexive verbs, and the irregular use of passive forms have usually been indicated, but space could only be found for a skeleton treatment of adverbs and prepositions, while much grammatical matter has had to be omitted. Neuter plural nouns have been distinguished from feminine singular forms, and second and fourth declension nouns have also been distinguished, but it has not always been possible to separate first and second declension forms.

si-, for **ci-**: **signus**, **silicinus**, **silicium**, **simbalum**, **sinimum**, **sinomomus**, **sinoglossitorium**, **sista**, **Sisterciensis**, **sitatio**.

sibe, for **sibi** c 731.

sibil/ator, one who whispers c 1255; **-o**, to maintain, insinuate c 1114; to speak wisdom c 1159.

†**siblegerrum**, (perhaps) weregeld c 1114.

sic, for **tam** 790; **sicsic**, for **sic** 870.

sic/a c 1150, 15c., **-us** c 1180, c 1259 syke, stream, ditch; **-etum** c 1220, 1300, ***siketis** c 1129, 1464, **secheta** 1262, c 1300 small syke.

†**siccetia prati**, (perhaps) water-meadow 1380.

sicariatus, assassination 9c.

†**sicca**, fish, (perhaps) cuttle-fish 1130.

sicc/itas, act of drying 1325; **-um**, dry wood 1255; ***-us**, hard (of cash) 1269, c 1450.

siclas, for **cyclas** c 1392, c 1437.

siclus, coin 805, c 1114, 12c.

sicut, for **si**, if c 1000.

sidile, **cidile**, for **sedile**, seat 1498.

sidule, for **sedule** 9c.

sigellus, **sigillus**, hobble for horses c 550.

***sigill/arius** 12c., 1419, **-ator** c 1190, ***-ifer** c 1192, 1380 official in charge of a seal; **-atio**, *sealing, stamping with a seal c 1114, a 1564; marking, stamping 1267; ***-o**, to seal, stamp with a seal c 1125, 1558; to mark, stamp 12c., 1345; **-or** (*dep.*), to seal 1266; **-um** *796, 1001, c 1130, 1565; **sigillum** 550 seal; the great seal 1130, c 1450; ***s. magnum** c 1324, 1426; **s. patens**, open or common seal 1278, 1324; ***s. privatum** c 1290, 1475, **s. secretum** 1369, 1445 privy seal; **-um**, *stamp for bread 1203, c 1324; sealed document 1440; **s. crucis** 939, 947 **singillum crucis** 966 sign of the cross.

sigillo, for **sugillo**, to deride 12c.

sigl/a, sail c 1114; **-o**, to sail c 1300.

sign/a (*f.s.*), mark, token, sign 836; **-abilis**, expressed by signs or letters c 1363; **-aculum** 720, c 1148, ***s. crucis** 8c., 867, c 1125, 1482 sign of the cross; **-aculum**, *tag or clasp of a book 1345, 1445; **-aliter**, figuratively c 1363; **-anter**, significantly 7c., 8c. 1267, 13c.; *expressly 1345, 1506; **-atum** 1419, ***-etum** 1281, 1536, **-itum** a 1553 a, the signet; **-atum**, imprint 13c.; **-ate**, significantly 13c.; **-atio**, designation c 1204, 13c.; *marking, stamping 1274, 1546; sealing 1446; **-ativus** a 1381, **-atrix** 13c. significant; **-atura**, sign, mark, stamp 1417; sign manual 1565; **-ificative**, with a typical purpose c 830; by way of significance 1267; **-ificativus**, indicative of 790, 870; **-ificator**, he that signifies or indicates 1267, 13c.; **-ificatrix**, she that signifies or indicates 13c.; **-ificatum**, meaning 1267, a 1408; **-ificavit**, name of a writ (*leg.*) 15c.; **-ifico**, to ennoble 1241; **-o**, to mark with the sign of the cross 720, c 1000, c 1148, 1397; to brand c 1102, 1166; to inform, notify 1228; to assign, attach 1243; **signo**, to mark 1231, 1284; **-um**, *bell 1050-1100, c 1436; boundary-mark c 1150; beacon 1258; pattern 1259, 1264; buoy 1297, 15c.; sign, device (on documents) c 1459, 1549; 1285, **signum** 1284 badge; c 1450, **s. armorum**

SIGNUS

- 1419, coat of arms; **s. criminis**, branding c 1110; **s. crucis**, sign of the cross c 600, 1001, c 1114, 1461; **s. manuale** c 1204, 1450, **s. manus** 676, 738 sign manual; **s. Salamonis**, plant, Solomon's seal c 1250.
- signus**, for **cygnus** c 1307, a 1347.
- sigillum**, see **sigillum**.
- siketus**, see **SIC**.
- silba**, for **silva** c 740, 873.
- †**silempsis**, (probably) for **syllipsis**, grammatical figure c 1218.
- silfa**, for **silva** 839.
- siliba**, for **syllaba** c 1365.
- silicet**, for **scilicet** 969, 1292.
- silic/inus**, **-ium**, see **CILIC**.
- sillicum**, small coin or number 799.
- ***siligo**, rye 1227, 1349.
- silinga**, see **solinum**.
- ***silio**, for **sileo**, to be silent 1200.
- silv/a cedua** 1287, 1425, **s. sedua** 1345, **-icedium** 1237, 1479 coppice-wood; **-aticus**, wooded c 1066; **ignis s.**, wild fire c 1436; **-atinus**, of or for a wood 15c.; **-iuncula**, small wood 11c.; **-ositas**, wooded region c 1200.
- simbalum**, for **cymbalum**, bell 1397.
- simbalum**, see **symbolum**.
- sim/enellus** (*adj.*), **panis simnellus**, **panis s.**, simnel-bread 1275; (*subst.*) *c 1066, c 1437, **seminellus** 1282, **siminellus** c 1200, c 1436, **simnellus** c 1174, 12c. simnel bread, loaf of simnel bread; **-ilago**, loaf of fine wheaten flour 1312; **-ula**, for **simila**, fine wheaten flour 1342.
- sim/ialis**, of or for an ape c 1255; **-itas**, flatness (of noses) c 1257.
- simil/ate**, feignedly 1461; **-atio**, feigning, deceit 1511; **-atorius**, like, resembling c 1200; **-iter**, at one time 7c.; ***-itudinarie**, figuratively c 1200, c 1380; **-itudinarius**, figurative c 1500; **-o**, to liken 1461; see also **SIMUL**.
- siminellus**, **simnellus**, see **simenellus**.
- simiterium**, see **cemiterium**.
- simon/achus** 12c., **-iacus** c 1190, 1377, **-ianus** c 1465 (*subst.*) simonist (eccl.); ***-ia** c 1114, 1562, **-iaca** 12c., c 1308 simony (eccl.); **-iace**, simoniacally (eccl.) 1136, 1537; **-iacus** 7c., 8c. c 1100, 1549, **-ialis** c 1125, 13c. (*adj.*) simoniacal (eccl.)
- simpl/ex** *1318, 1433, **-icus** 1402 unlined; inferior 1325; **-icitas**, simplicity (title) 8c.; Trinity 957; **-iciter**, entirely, completely c 1400; **-us**, simple 790, c 860.
- simul/atorie**, deceitfully 9c.; **-atorius**, of or for feigning c 1200; **-atrix**, feigning, deceiving 720, 9c. c 1190; **-tatorius**, counterfeit, imitated c 1197; **-tas**, deceptive appearance c 1190.
- simul/or** (*dep.*), to unite, agree c 1200, c 1425; **-taneitas** 13c., **-tas** c 1267, 13c. simultaneity.
- sin alias**, but if otherwise 8c.
- sinalimpha**, for **synaloepha**, contraction of syllables c 1125, 12c.
- sinap/ius**, of or for mustard c 1200; **-um** 1271, **cinapium** 1368, 1463, **cenapium** 1290, 1351, ***senapium** 1313, 1415 mustard.

SINCATIO

- sinc/atio** 1374; **-tatio** 1376 sinking a shaft;
sinko, to sink a shaft c 1358.
sincellus, one who shares the same cell 7c.
sinceriter, sincerely 720, 9c.
sincubo, *see* **syncopo**.
sindo/ *1243, 1345, **cindo** 1290, 1355 sindon,
 fine material of silk or linen; corporal cloth
 720. c 1250; sheet, coverlet c 1200; **-nicius**,
 of or for sindon c 1370.
sindo, *for* **scindo** 1275.
sindregabulum 1234, **sindegabulum** c 1250
 lease for years.
sindula, *see* **scindula**.
sinefectura, *see* **cenevectorium**.
singillum, *see* **SIGILL**.
singn-, *see* **SIGN**.
singul/aris, wild boar 893; **-arissime**, most
 matchless 870; **-aritas**, being alone, single-
 ness 790; outstandingness, marked character
 720. c 1070, 1267; sole possession c 1190,
 12c.; **-ariter**, in singleness of heart c 1500;
-tatim, one by one 1408; **-us**, every c 1365;
 unlined 1419.
singult/atio, sobbing, sob 15c.; **-ivus** c 1150,
-uosus 1050-1100, 1423 sobbing.
sinimum, *see* **cinamonium**.
sinister, treacherous, evil c 1197, 1560; **sini-**
str/alis, northern 7c., 893; **ecclesia s.**,
 church built north and south c 500; **-anter**,
 treacherously, wickedly c 1397; **-e**, on the
 left side c 1250; **-o**, to place on the left 12c.;
 to thwart 1376, c 1397; to do wrong a 1408.
sinko, *see* **SINC**.
sinodochium, *see* **xenodicum**.
sinoglossitorium, *see* **cinglocetorium**.
sinomomus, *see* **cinamonium**.
sinopsis c 1200, **cinoprum** 1336, 1341 sinople,
 red ochre.
sin/ositas, intricacy c 1436; **-uositas**, sinuo-
 sity c 860.
sinothus, *see* **SYNOD**.
sinscalus, waiter 790; *see also* **senescallus**.
sinthoma, symptom 13c.
siosbole, Διὸς βουλῆ, will of Zeus c 1159.
†sipessocna, district, (perhaps) district liable
 to furnish a ship c 1114.
siphus, *see* **scyphus**.
sippa, dry measure c 1320.
siquidem, but 957; without doubt c 1000.
sir/a, **-emotus**, **-ia**, *see* **scira**.
siricum, robe 8c.
siring/ia, **-ies** c 1114, **-is** c 1150 buttermilk.
siro-, *see* **CHIRO**.
sirpus, *for* **scirpus** 1382, 1445.
sirupum, syrup c 1257, 13c.
sirurgicus, *see* **chirurgicus**.
sisamum, *for* **sesamum**, sesame 13c.
sismaticus, *see* **SCHISM**.
sison, *for* σώσον, to save 550.
sis, fountain c 550.
sissera, *for* **sicera** 1276.
sis, *see* **scissor**.
sista, *for* **cista**, box, chest (Sc.) 1432, c 1450;
 counter 1466.
sistarium, **sistra**, *see* **sextarium**.
sistencia, rest a 1519.
†sistres, meaning unknown 6c.
sisus 1277, **situs** 1289 assessed.
sita, *for* **seta**, hair, bristle c 1220.

SITHARCHA

- sitharcha**, for **sitarchia**, scrip 790.
sithcundus, noble c 1114.
sit/ibunde, thirstily c 1196; **-ientes** (pl.), Saturday preceding Passion Week (introit) 1341.
sit/uialis, local, relating to position c 1205, 1267; **-uatio** 1450, **scitus** 1230, 1467 site; placing in position 1512; **-uo**, *to place, situate 1198, 1494; to found, institute, construct a 1408, 1505; to impose a tax 1461; **-us** 1228, ***scituatus** c 1350, 1504, **cituatus** 1389, c 1450 situated; ***-us** (coll.), manners, customs c 1114, 1241; **scitor**, to be situated 1430.
situla, see **setula**.
situs, see **sisus**.
sivi, for **sive** c 834, 863.
six/hindus, **-ihindus**, **-hundus**, see **SEX**.
sixerium, see **sextarium**.
skamberlengaria, see **CAMB**.
skermia 1220, **skirmia** 1419 sword-play, fencing; **eskermio**, to fence 1207.
skip-, see **ESKIP**.
skivanus, see **scabinus**.
skuvinagium, see **escavingor**.
sladum, stream 1583; see also **lada**.
slatta, slat or slate, bastard incense 1345.
sleddus, sled c 1400.
sloppum, slop, loose gown 1378, 1416.
slusagium, see **exclusa**.
slyngeropa, sling-rope, noose 1325.
smalemannus, inferior tenant 1130.
smaragdo, for **smaragdus** 1205, 1245.
smegmum, see **smigma**.
smelt/is 1312, **-us** c 1324, **smyltus** c 1324 small fish, smelt, sprat, or sperling.
smere mangestra, female dealer in butter and cheese c 1114.
***smigma** 1375, 1528, **smegmum** 1439 soap.
smoltus, fish, smolt, young salmon (Sc.) c 1315, c 1320.
snecka c 1200, **esnecka** 1187, 1203, **necka** c 1200 royal yacht or warship.
snocum, snook c 1230.
soalagium, due or toll c 1189.
***soc/a**, **-um** 1086, c 1437, **-na** 1067, c 1414, **sokena** c 1087 soc, soken, form of jurisdiction; 1109, 1320, **-agium** 1156, 1511, **sochogia** 1147, **-na** *1131, c 1320 soke, area of special jurisdiction; **-agium** *1173, 1511, **soggagium** 1190 socage, form of tenure; *1088, 1331, **sokemannia** 1281 land held in socage; service due from a socman 1253, 1331; **s. liberum**, free socage 1219, 1364; land held in free socage 13c.; **s. villanum**, villein socage c 1250; **-man-nus** c 1080, c 1357, **-omannus** a 1609, **sokemannus**, **sochemannus** *c 1070, 1307, **sakemannus** 1201 sokeman, tenant in socage; **-na**, recourse, refuge c 1114; **sokemannus** c 1320, **sokereva**, **sokerevis** c 1290, **sokerevus** c 1320, 1419 reeve of a soke.
socco, to put in shocks c 1350.
soci/ative, unitedly 870; **-etas**, fraternity (eccl.) 692, 957. c 1123, c 1148; religious order 1548; *association, complicity (leg.) c 1114, 1291; **s. adventuraria**, company of merchant adventurers 1597; **s. fortunae** [391]

had been founded at Prague (c. 975) in which the Popes took special interest, and indeed the Latin rite was used there from the outset. So Bohemia looked towards the Papacy. But Willigis of Mayence had consecrated St Adalbert to Prague (983), and so to claims of overlordship by the German kings was now added a German claim to ecclesiastical control over Christians who, as we are told, lived much as barbarians. Then Brätislaw of Bohemia, largely for political reasons, founded or restored a lapsed Moravian see at Olmütz, over which he placed John, a monk from near Prague, Severus of Prague being promised compensation in Moravia. In 1068 Brätislaw, for family and political reasons, made his troublesome brother Jaromir Bishop of Prague, in the hope of rendering him more amenable. But the only change in the disorderly prince was that of taking the name of Gebhard. He, like Severus, strove for the delayed compensation but took to more drastic means: he visited (1071) his brother-bishop at Olmütz, and after a drunken revel mishandled his slumbering host. John complained to Brätislaw, who shed tears over his brother's doings, and sent to Rome to place the burden of the unsavoury quarrel upon Alexander II. His messenger spent a night at Ratisbon on his road with a burgher friendly to Gebhard. Then, strangely enough, he was stopped and robbed on his farther way and came back to tell his tale. A second and larger embassy, headed by the Provost of St George at Prague, an ecclesiastic so gifted as to speak both Latin and German, was then sent, and reached Rome early in 1073. A letter from Brätislaw, weighted with two hundred marks, was presented to the Pope, and probably read at the Lenten Synod. Legates were sent who, at Ratisbon, were to investigate the case, but its settlement remained for Gregory VII. It is a sordid story of evil ecclesiastics on a background of equally sordid social and dynastic interests. And there were many like it.

The common corruption is better told us and easier to depict for regulars than for seculars. In the districts most open to incursions, many monasteries were harried or sorely afflicted. If the monks walled their houses as protection against pirates or raiders, they only caused neighbouring lords to desire them for fortresses. The spirit of the ascetic life, already weakened by the civil employment of monks, seemed lost. The synod of Trosly, near Soissons, called by Hervé of Rheims in 909, ascribed the decay of regular life mainly to abbots, laymen, for the most part unlearned, and also married, and so eager to alienate property for their families. Lay lords and laymen generally were said to lack respect for Church laws and even for morality itself; debauchery and sensuality were common; patrons made heavy charges on appointments to their parish churches. This legislation was a vigorous protest against the sins of the day, and it is well to note that the very next year saw the foundation of Cluny. The Rule was kept hardly anywhere; enclosure was forgotten, and any attempt to enforce episcopal control over monasteries was useless when bishops were so often themselves of careless or evil life. Attempts at

improvement sometimes caused bloodshed: when the Abbot Erluin of Lobbes, trying to enforce the Rule, expelled some malcontents, three of them fell upon him, cut out his tongue, and blinded him.

The story of the great Italian monastery of Farfa is typical. It had been favoured by Emperors and was scarcely excelled for splendour. Then it was seized by the Saracens (before 915) and afterwards burnt by Christian robbers. Its members were scattered to Rome, Rieti, and Fermo; its lands were lost or wasted; there was no recognised abbot, and after Abbot Peter died his successor Rimo lived with the Farfa colony at Rome and there was poisoned. Then as the great nobles strove eagerly for so useful a fortress, King Hugh supported a new abbot, Rafred, who began to restore it: he settled in the neighbourhood 100 families from Fermo and rebuilt the cloister. As far as was possible, the monks were recalled and the monastic treasures restored. But there was little pretence of theology or even piety; only the study of medicine was kept up, and that included the useful knowledge of poisons, as abbot after abbot was to learn. When Rafred was disposed of, one of his poisoners maintained himself in the monastery by military force; the so-called monks lived openly with concubines; worship on Sundays was the sole relic of older habits, and at length even that was given up. One Campo, to whom King Hugh had given the monastery in fief, enriched his seven daughters and three sons out of its property. When some monks were sent from Rome to restore religion, he sent them back. Then Alberic drove Campo out by force, and installed as abbot one Dagobert, who maintained himself for five tumultuous years until he, too, fell before the local skill in poison. Adam of Lucca, who followed with the support of Alberic and John XII, led much the life of Campo. Then Theobald of Spoleto made his own brother Hubert abbot, but he was removed by John XII, and succeeded by Leo, Abbot of Sant' Andrea at Soracte. But the task of ruling was too hard for any man, and only force heavily applied could procure even decency of life. If this was the sad state and tumultuous history of monasteries, once homes of piety and peace, it can be guessed how, with less to support them, parishes suffered and missions languished. Priests succumbed and forgot their holy task. Their bishops, often worse than themselves, neither cared nor attempted to rule or restrain them. For the episcopate was ineffective and corrupt.

The primitive rule for election of bishops had been that it should be made by clergy and people. To choose a fit person was essential, but the mode of choice was not defined. Soon the clergy of the cathedral, first to learn of the vacancy and specially concerned about it, began to take a leading part. They, the clergy of the neighbouring country, and the laity, were separate bodies with different interests, and tended to draw together and to act as groups. But the forces, which made for centralisation of all kinds in civil politics, worked in the ecclesiastical sphere as well, and the cathedral clergy gained the leading part in elections, other

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from sub-deacons upwards. Siricius (384-398), by what is commonly reckoned the first Decretal (385), and Innocent I (402-419) pronounced strongly against clerical marriage. Henceforth succeeding Popes plainly enunciated the Roman law. There was so much clerical immorality in Africa, in spite of the great name and strict teaching of St Augustine, and elsewhere, that the populace generally preferred a celibate clergy. Ecclesiastical authorities took the same line, and Leo I extended the strict law to sub-deacons. The Theodosian Code pronounced the children of clergy illegitimate, and so the reformers of the tenth and eleventh centuries could appeal to much support. Nevertheless, there were both districts and periods in which custom accorded badly with the declared law, and the confusion made by reformers between marriages they did not accept and concubinage which opinion, no less than law, condemned makes the evidence sometimes hard to interpret. St Boniface dealt firmly with incontinent priests, and on the whole, although here popular feeling was not with him, he was successful both in Austrasia and Neustria. The eighth and ninth centuries saw the struggle between law and custom continuing with varying fortune. Custom became laxer under the later Carolingians than under Charlemagne, who had set for others a standard he never dreamt of for himself; Hincmar, who was an advocate of strictness, gives elaborate directions for proper procedure against offending clerks, and it is clear that the clergy proved hard either to convince or to rule. By the end of the ninth century, amid prevalent disorder, clerical celibacy became less general, and the laws in its favour were frequently and openly ignored. It was easy, as Pelagius II (578-590), in giving dispensation for a special case, had confessed, to find excuse in the laxity of the age. So too St Boniface had found it necessary to restore offenders after penance, for otherwise there would be none to say mass. Italy was the most difficult country to deal with, and Ratherius of Verona says (966) that the enforcement of the laws, which he not only accepted but strongly approved, would have left only boys in the Church. It was, he held, a war of canons against custom. By about the beginning of the eleventh century celibacy was uncommon, and the laws enforcing it almost obsolete. But they began to gain greater force as churchmen turned more to legal studies and as the pressure of abuses grew stronger.

The tenth and eleventh centuries had special reason for enforcing celibacy and disliking clerical families. Married priests, like laymen, wished to enrich their children and strove to hand on their benefices to them. Hereditary bishops, hereditary priests, were a danger¹: there was much alienation of clerical property; thus the arguments urged so repeatedly in favour of celibacy were reinforced. Bishops, and not only

¹ Atto of Vercelli (from 945) links clerical marriage and alienation of church property together, putting the latter as a cause of abuse. The case is well put by Neander, vi, 187 (Eng. trans.) and Fleury, Bk. LV, c. 55.

those who held secular jurisdiction, thought and acted as laymen, and like laymen strove to found dynasties, firmly seated and richly endowed. Parish priests copied them on a humbler scale. Hence the denial of ordination to sons of clerks is frequent in conciliar legislation.

One attempt at reform of the secular clergy, which had special importance in England, needs notice. This was the institution of canons, which has a long and varied history. The germ of the later chapter appears at a very early date in cathedrals, certainly in the sixth century; a staff of clergy was needed both for ordinary mission work and for distribution of alms. But poverty often, as with monasteries later on, led to careless and disordered life. Chrodegang of Metz (*ob.* 766), the pious founder of Gorze, near his city, and of Lorsch, set up, after a Benedictine model, a rule for his cathedral clergy: there was to be a common life, although private property was permitted; a synod under Louis the Pious at Aix-la-Chapelle (817) elaborated it and it was widely applied. The ideal was high, and although inspired by the asceticism which produced monasticism, it paid regard to the special tasks of seculars; it infused a new moral and intellectual life into the clergy at the centre of the diocese, and education was specially cared for. So excellent an example was soon copied by other large churches, and the system spread widely. In its original form it was not destined to live long: decay began at Cologne with the surrender of the common administration of funds; Gunther, the archbishop, yielded to the wish for more individual freedom, and his successor Willibert in a synod (873) confirmed his changes¹. After this the institution of prebends (benefices assigned to a canon) grew, and each canon held a prebend and lived apart. This private control of their income, and their surrender of a common life, began a long process of decay. But variations of the original form, which itself had utilised much older growths, appeared largely and widely in history. Brotherhood and the sympathy of a common life furthered diligence and devotion.

In councils of the tenth and eleventh centuries, clerical celibacy and simony are repeatedly spoken of. With few exceptions², all well-wishers of reform, whether lay or clerical, desired to enforce celibacy, although

¹ At the Roman Council of 1059 Hildebrand spoke against the laxity of the system, especially its permission of private property and its liberality as to fare (Mabillon, *ASB.* and Hefele-Leclercq, pp. 1177-8, with references there). In 1074 Hildebrand, as Gregory VII, put out a Rule for canons (Hefele-Leclercq, v, p. 94 n., Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i, clxviii); it was wrongly ascribed to Gregory IV. See Dom Morin, *R. Ben.* 1901, xviii, pp. 177-183. Hildebrand's Rule breaks off short in the MS., and the abbreviation *can.* for *canonicorum* led to its being attributed to musical history (*canendi*).

² Ulrich (Udalrich) of Augsburg (923-973) was, perhaps, an exception. So later on was Cunibert of Turin, himself a celibate whose clerks reached a high standard of life: he permitted them to marry, for which Peter Damian reproved him. Both these prelates were earnest reformers. Damian tried to get Adelaide, Regent of Piedmont and Savoy, to enforce his policy against Cunibert.

some thought circumstances compelled laxity in applying the law. Thus in France the Council of Poitiers (1000) forbade priests and deacons to live with women, under pain of degradation and excommunication. The Council of Bourges (1031), while making the same decrees (repeated at Limoges the same year), went further by ordering all sub-deacons to promise at ordination to keep neither wife nor mistress. This promise resembles the attempt of Guarino of Modena¹ a little earlier to refuse benefices to any clerk who would not swear to observe celibacy. In Germany the largely-attended Council of Augsburg (952) forbade marriage to ecclesiastics, including sub-deacons; the reason assigned was their handling the divine mysteries, and with German respect for Canon Law appeal was made to the decrees of many councils in the past. Under Henry III the prohibitions were better observed, not only through the support of the Emperor, but because collections of Canons, especially that by Burchard of Worms (*Decretum*, between 1008 and 1012), were becoming known and gaining authority². The statement of principles, especially from the past, as against the practice of the day was becoming coherent. But the Papacy, which had so repeatedly declared for celibacy, was not in a state to interfere authoritatively. Thus we come to the question of reform at Rome. The movement for reform needed authority and coherence, which were to be supplied from Rome. But first of all Reform had to capture Rome itself.

At Rome a bad ecclesiastical atmosphere was darkened by political troubles and not lightened by religious enthusiasm. There as elsewhere local families were striving for local power; the nobility, with seats outside, was very disorderly and made the city itself tumultuous and unsafe. The Crescentii, so long and so darkly connected with papal history, had lands in the Sabina and around Farfa, and although with lessening influence in the city itself they stood for the traditions of civic independence, overshadowed, it is true, by the mostly distant power of the Saxon Emperors. Nearer home they were confronted by the growing power of the Counts of Tusculum³, to whose family Gregory, the naval prefect under Otto III, had belonged; they naturally, although for their own purposes, followed a German policy. Either of these houses might have founded at Rome a feudal dynasty such as rose elsewhere, and each seemed at times likely to do so. But in a city where Pope and Emperor were just strong enough to check feudal growth, although not strong enough to

¹ This tendency to enforce celibacy on seculars by an oath might have led to a general policy, but was not followed. It was an obligation understood to be inherent in the priestly office.

² Burchard illustrates, on celibacy and lay interference, the conflict between old canons and later customs. He copies the former, but accepts the latter, and allows for them.

³ For a discussion of their genealogy see R. L. Poole, *Benedict IX and Gregory VI* (reprinted from *Proceedings of British Academy*, VIII), pp. 31 sqq.

impose continuous order, the disorderly stage, the almost anarchy, of early feudalism lingered long.

When Sergius IV (1009-1012) "Boccaporco," son of a Roman shoemaker and Bishop of Albano, died soon after John Crescentius, the rival houses produced rival Popes: Gregory, supported by the Crescentii, and the Cardinal Theophylact, son of Gregory of Tusculum. Henry II of Germany, hampered by opposition from Lombard nobles and faced by King Arduin, had watched Italian politics from afar, and the disputed election gave him an opening. Rome was divided. Theophylact had seized the Lateran, but could not maintain himself there; Gregory fled, even from Italy, and (Christmas 1012) appeared in Henry's court at Pöhlde as a suppliant in papal robes. Henry cautiously promised enquiry, but significantly took the papal crozier into his own keeping, just as he might have done for a German bishopric. He had, however, partly recognised Theophylact, and had indeed sent to gain from him a confirmation of privileges for his beloved Bamberg¹: a decision in Theophylact's favour was therefore natural. Henry soon appeared in Italy (February 1013); his arrival put Arduin in the shade. Theophylact, with the help of his family, had established himself, and it was he who, as Benedict VIII, crowned Henry and Cunegunda (14 February 1014). The royal pair were received by a solemn procession, and six bearded and six beardless Senators bearing wands walked "mystically" before them. The pious Emperor dedicated his former kingly crown to St Peter, but the imperial orb bearing a cross was sent to Cluny. Benedict VIII was supported now by the imperial arm, and in Germany his ecclesiastical power was freely used: he and the Emperor worked together on lines of Church reform, even if their motives differed.

Benedict VIII (1012-1024) proved an efficient administrator, faced by the constant Saracen peril, and wisely kept on good terms with Henry II. Although he was first of all a warrior and an administrator², he also appears, probably under the influence of the Emperor, as a Church reformer. A Council was held at Pavia (1018)³, where the Pope made an impressive speech, which, it is suggested, may have been the work of Leo of Vercelli, on the evils of the day, denouncing specially clerical

¹ For the foundation of Bamberg see Hefele-Leclercq, *Les Conciles*, iv, pp. 909 sqq.; Hauck, *op. cit.* iii, p. 418; and Giesebrecht, *Deutsche Kaiserzeit*, ii, pp. 52 sqq. The missionary importance, as well as the ecclesiastical interest, of the new see and the disputes about it should be noted. For the Church policy of Henry II see *supra*, Vol. iii, pp. 231 sqq.

² A more favourable view of him is summarised in Hefele-Leclercq, iv, p. 914. So K. W. Nitzsch, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1892, i, pp. 392 sqq., in the same sense.

³ The date of this Council is disputed. 1022 was accepted until Giesebrecht suggested 1018 (*op. cit.* ii, p. 183, and note 623-4). Also Hauck (who prefers 1022), *op. cit.* iii, p. 523, n. 2. The earlier date seems a little more probable. In Vol. iii *supra*, p. 251, the date 1022 is accepted.

concubinage and simony. His starting point was a wish to protect Church property from alienation to priestly families, a consideration likely to weigh with a statesmanlike administrator, although Henry II might have had a more spiritual concern. By the decrees of the Council, marriage and concubinage were forbidden to priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, indeed to any clerk. Bishops not enforcing this were to be deposed. The children of clerks were to be the property of the Church. In the Council the initiative of the Pope seems to have been strong. The Emperor gave the decrees the force of law, and a Council at Goslar (1019) repeated them. Italy and Germany were working as one.

There was little difference between the ecclesiastical powers of Henry in Italy and in Germany. He knew his strength and did not shrink from using it. Before his imperial coronation he held a synod at Ravenna (January 1014) where he practically decreed by the advice of the bishops; for Ravenna he had named as archbishop his half-brother Arnold, who was opposed by a popularly-supported rival Adalbert. This probably canonical prelate was deposed, and after Henry's coronation a Roman synod approved the judgment, although it did obtain for the victim the compensation of a smaller see. Decrees against simonist ordinations and the alienation through pledges of Church lands were also passed, and published by the Emperor. A liturgical difference between Roman and German use in the mass was even decided in favour of the latter. So far did German influence prevail.

The reforming tendencies of the German Church found full expression at the Synod of Seligenstadt (12 August 1023). In 1021 a young imperial chaplain Aribio had been made Archbishop of Mayence; and he aimed at giving the German Church not only a better spirit but a more coherent discipline. In the preamble to the canons, Aribio states the aim of himself and his suffragans, among whom was Burchard of Worms (Bishop 1000-1025): it was to establish uniformity in worship, discipline, and ecclesiastical morals. The twenty canons regulated fasting, some points of clerical observance, observance of marriage, in which the canonical and not the civil reckoning of degrees of kinship was to hold¹; lay patrons were forbidden to fill vacancies without the approval and assent of the bishop; no one was to go to Rome (*i.e.* for judgment) without leave of his bishop, and no one subjected to penance was to go to Rome in the hope of a lighter punishment. This legislation was inspired by the reforming spirit of the German Church, due not only to the saintly Emperor but to many ecclesiastics of all ranks, with whom religion was a real thing; and for the furtherance of this the regulations of the Church were to be obeyed. The Canon Law, now always including the Forged Decretals, involved respect to papal authority, but Aribio

¹ The civil law reckoned brothers and sisters as in the first degree; the canonical law was now reckoning cousins-german as such.

and his suffragans laid stress also upon the rights of metropolitans and bishops in the national Church, which gave them not only much power for good but the machinery for welding the nation together.

In June 1024 Benedict VIII died and was followed by his brother Romanus the Senator, who became John XIX; his election, which was tainted by bribery and force, was soon followed by the death of the Emperor (13 July 1024). The new monarch, Conrad II, was supported by the German adherents in Italy and especially by the Archbishop Aribert of Milan, a city always important in imperial politics. Both he and John XIX were ready to give Conrad the crowns which it was theirs to bestow. So in 1026 he came to Italy; and he and his wife Gisela were crowned in St Peter's (26 March 1027). Then, after passing to South Italy, he slowly returned home, leaving John XIX to continue a papacy, inglorious and void of reform, until his death in January 1032. Under him old abuses revived, and so the state of things at Rome grew worse, while in Germany, although Conrad II (1024-1039) was very different from Henry II in Church affairs, the party of reform was gaining strength.

With the election of Benedict IX, formerly Theophylact, son of Alberic of Tusculum, brother of a younger Romanus the Consul, and nephew of Benedict VIII and John XIX, papal history reached a crisis, difficult enough in itself, and distorted, even at the time, by varying accounts. According to the ordinary story, Benedict IX was only twelve years old at his election, but as he grew older he grew also in debauchery, until even the Romans, usually patient of papal scandal, became restive; then at length the Emperor Henry III had to come to restore decency and order at the centre of Western Christendom. But there is reason to doubt something of the story. That Benedict was only twelve years old at his accession rests on the confused statement of Rodulf Glaber; there is reason to suppose he was older. The description of his depravity becomes more highly coloured as years go by and the controversies of Pope and Emperor distort the past. But there is enough to shew that as a man he was profligate and bad, as a Pope unworthy and ineffectual. It was, however, rather the events of his papacy, singular and significant, than his character, that made the crisis. He was the last of a series of what we may call dynastic Popes, rarely pious and often bad; after him there comes a school of reformed and reformers.

Conrad II differed much in Church matters from Henry II. It is true that he kept the feasts of the Church with fitting regularity and splendour and that he also was a "brother" of some monasteries. But his aims were purely secular, and the former imperial regard for learning and piety was not kept up. Some of his bishops, like Thietmar of Hildesheim, were ignorant; others, like Reginhard of Liège and Ulrich of Basle, had openly bought their sees, and not all of them, like Reginhard, sought

absolution at Rome. Upon monasteries the king's hand was heavy: he dealt very freely with their possessions, sometimes forcing them to give lands as fiefs to his friends, sometimes even granting the royal abbeys themselves as such. Thus the royal power worked harmfully or, at any rate, not favourably for the Church¹, and bishops or abbots eager for reform could no longer reckon upon kingly help. It is true that Poppo of Stablo enjoyed royal favour, but other ecclesiastics who, like Aribio of Mayence, had supported Conrad at his accession, received small encouragement. Conrad's marriage with Gisela trespassed on the Church's rule of affinity, and the queen's interest in ecclesiastical appointments, by which her friends and relatives gained, did not take away the reproach; but she favoured reformers, especially the Cluniacs, whose influence in Burgundy was useful.

A change in imperial policy then coincided with a change in Popes. Benedict VIII may have been inspired by Henry II, but John XIX was a tool of Conrad. For instance, he had to reverse a former decision, by which the Patriarch of Grado had been made independent of his brother of Aquileia. Poppo of Aquileia was a German and naturally an adherent of Conrad: everyone knew why the decision was changed². It was even more significant that the Emperor spoke formally of the decree of the faithful of the realm, "of the Pope John, of the venerable patriarch Poppo, and others." It was thus made clear that, whether for reform or otherwise, the Pope was regarded by the Emperor exactly as were the higher German prelates. They were all in his realm and therefore in his hands. Here he anticipated a ruler otherwise very differently-minded, Henry III.

Benedict IX³ could be treated with even less respect than John XIX. It is true that he held synods (1036 and 1038), that he made the Roman Bishop of Silva Candida *bibliothecarius* (or head of the Chancery) in succession to Pilgrim of Cologne. But in 1038 he excommunicated Aribert of Milan, who was giving trouble to Conrad. To the Emperor he was so far acceptable, but in Rome where faction lingered on he had trouble. Once (at a date uncertain) the citizens tried to assassinate him at the altar itself. Later (1044) a rebellion was more successful: he and his brother were driven from the city, although they were able to hold

¹ See *supra*, Vol. III, p. 271.

² The later incident, 1042, in which Poppo entered Grado by force, burning and destroying churches and houses, slaughtering and ravaging, illustrates what some bishops of the day were and did. The story of this revived quarrel between Grado and Aquileia is well told by F. C. Hodgson, *Early History of Venice*, London, 1901, pp. 196-206 sqq.; also *supra*, Vol. IV, pp. 407-8. The quarrel, which was old ecclesiastically, had now a twofold connexion with Venetian and German politics.

³ On the difficult chronology of Benedict's papacy see R. L. Poole, *Benedict IX and Gregory VI* (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, VIII). For the chronology of, and authorities for, the Italian journey of Henry III, Steindorff, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich III*, I, pp. 456-510.

the Trastevere. Then John, Bishop of Sabina, was elected Pope, taking the name of Sylvester III. Again we hear of bribery, but as John's see was in the territory of the Crescentii, we may suppose that this rival house was concerned in this attack upon the Tusculans; in fifty days the latter, helped by Count Gerard of Galeria, drove out Sylvester's party, and he returned to his former see. Then afterwards Benedict withdrew from the Papacy in favour of his godfather, John Gratian, Archpriest of St John at the Latin Gate, who took the name of Gregory VI. The new Pope belonged to the party of reform; he was a man of high character, but his election had been stained by simony, for Benedict, even if he were weary of his office and of the Romans, and longed, according to Bonizo's curious tale, for marriage, had been bought out by the promise of the income sent from England as Peter's Pence. The change of Popes, however, was welcomed by the reformers, and Peter Damian in particular hailed Gregory as the dove bearing the olive-branch to the ark. Even more significant for the future was Gregory's association with the young Hildebrand; both were probably connected with the wealthy family of Benedict the Christian¹. There was a simplicity in Gregory's character which, in a bad society calling loudly for reform, led him to do evil that good might come. For nearly two years he remained Pope, but reform still tarried.

Attention has been too often concentrated on the profligacy of Benedict IX, which in its more lurid colours shines so prominently in later accounts. What is remarkable, however, is the corruption, not of a single man, even of a single Pope, but of the whole Roman society. Powerful family interests maintained it; the imperial power might counterbalance them, and, as we have seen, the Papacy had been lately treated much as a German bishopric. In the Empire itself there had been a change; Conrad II had died (4 June 1039), and his son Henry III, a very different man, now held the sceptre.

Whether it be true or not that, as Bonizo tells us, Peter the Archdeacon became discontented and went to ask Henry's interference, it is certain that in 1046 Henry came to Italy; German interests and the state of the Church alike incited him. At Pavia (25 October) he held a Council, and the denunciation of simony made there² by him gave the keynote of his policy, now, after Germany, to be applied to Italy and Rome itself.

Henry was now a man of twenty-two, versed in business, trained to responsibilities and weighty decisions since his coronation at eleven.

¹ For a very probable genealogy see Poole, *Benedict IX and Gregory VI*, pp. 23 sqq. The connexion explains but avoids Hildebrand's alleged Jewish descent.

² Steindorff places here Henry's discourse (given by Rodulf Glaber, ed. Prou, p. 133). See Steindorff, *op. cit.* pp. 300 sqq. and 497 sqq., followed by Hefele-Leclercq, iv, pp. 979 sqq. But see also Hauck, *op. cit.* iii, p. 536, n. 3, who rightly holds the words not to be taken as an exact report.

William of Normandy, was success undiluted. The king was just and conscientious; Lanfranc was a theologian and a reformer, even if of the school of Damian rather than of Humbert. The episcopate was raised, and the standard of clerical life; councils, such as marked the movement, became the rule, as was seen at Winchester and London in 1072. But if England moved parallel to Rome it was yet, as an island, apart. It was also peculiar in its happy co-operation of a just king and a great archbishop.

The growth of canonical legislation (1049-1073) is easily traced. It begins with an attempt to regain for the Church a control over the appointment of its officers through reviving canonical election for bishops and episcopal institution for parish priests. But the repetition of such canons, even with increasing frequency and stringency, had failed to gain freedom for the Church in face of royal interests and private patronage. The Synod of Rheims under Leo IX (1049) had led the way: no one was to enter on a bishopric without election by clergy and laity. The spread of Church reform and literary discussion moved towards a clearer definition of the rival principles: the Church's right to choose its own officers, and the customary rights of king or patron in appointments. So the Roman synod of 1059 went further: its sixth canon forbade the acquisition either gratis or by payment by any cleric or priest of a Church office through a layman. The French synods at Vienne and Tours (1060), held under the legate Stephen, affirmed the necessity of episcopal assent for any appointment. Alexander II, with greater chance of success, renewed in his Roman synod of 1063 Pope Nicholas' canon of 1059. Under him the two elements, the cure of souls, which was obviously the Church's care, and the gift of the property annexed to it, about which king and laymen had something to say, were more distinctly separated. It was significant when on 21 March 1070 Alexander gave to Gebhard of Salzburg¹ the power of creating new bishops in his province, and provided that no bishop should be made by investiture as it was accustomed to be called or by any other arrangement, except those whom he or his successors should, of their free will, have elected, ordained, and constituted². So far, and so far only, had things moved when Alexander II died.

The constant use of legates was continued if not increased, and France was as before a field of special care. Thither Damian had gone, returning in October 1063, and Gerard of Ostia (1072) dealt specially and severely with simony. In France, and also elsewhere, the frequency of councils

¹ Throughout the Middle Ages the right of confirming his suffragans was left to this archbishop, and the peculiarity was mentioned at the Council of Trent.

² Jaffé-Löwenfeld, *Regesta*, no. 4673. The history is clearly summarised in Scharnagl, *Der Begriff der Investitur in den Quellen und der Litteratur des Investiturstreites* (*Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, ed. U. Stutz, No. 36). Some of the canons mentioned are in Bernheim, *Quellen*. Also at length Hefele-Leclercq (*passim*). The Latin originals in Mansi.

locally called is now noticeable. Not only the ordinary matters but laxity of marriage laws among the laity arising from licence among great and small were legislated upon.

The course of affairs at Milan, however, needs longer and special notice. Alexander II had been for many years concerned in the struggle at Milan; his accession gave encouragement to the Patarines; to the citizens and clergy he wrote announcing his election. When Ariald visited Rome under Stephen IX, Landulf, who was on his way thither, was wounded at Piacenza; his wound was complicated by consumption, and he lost the voice and the energy which he had used so effectively. After his death, the date of which is uncertain, his place was more than filled by his brother Erlembald, a knight fresh from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and with, as it was said, private, as well as family, wrongs to avenge upon the clergy. He had a personality and appearance very different from his brother's; striking and handsome as became a patrician, splendidly dressed, gifted with that power of military control and organisation which was destined to reappear so often in medieval Italian States. He fortified his house, he moved about with a bodyguard; he became the Captain of the city; personal power and democratic rule were combined and so he was the real founder of the Italian commune. Ariald was content, as he put it, to use the word while Erlembald wielded the more powerful sword. The new leader visited Rome (1065) when Alexander was settled there; he received from the Pope a white banner with a red cross, and so became the knight of the Roman and the universal Church. The archbishop, with no traditions of family or friendship to uphold him, saw power slipping from his hands, and the Emperor counted for naught. From a second visit to Rome (1066) Erlembald returned with threats of a papal excommunication of Guido, and fresh disturbances began. Married priests and simonists were sharply condemned from Rome, and believers were forbidden to hear their masses. But the Papacy sought after order, and the cathedral clergy, faced by persecution, gathered around the archbishop. More tumult arose when Ariald preached against local customs of long standing. Milan had not only its own Ambrosian Liturgy¹, but various peculiar customs: the ten days between Ascension Day and Pentecost had been kept since the fourth century as fasts; elsewhere only Whitsun Eve was so observed. Ariald, preferring the Roman custom, preached against the local use, and so aroused indignation. Then Guido at Whitsuntide seized his chance, and rebuked the Patarines for their action against him at Rome in

¹ It seems best with Duchesne (*Origins of Christian worship*, p. 38) to connect the Ambrosian Rite with the Gallican group. Aquileia and the Danubian districts followed Milan. The Carolingian changes affected the Gallican Church, and through imperial influence reached Rome. But Milan kept its Ambrosian traditions, dating from the days of Auxentius (355-374), a Cappadocian Arian and immediate predecessor of St Ambrose; no doctrines were concerned (Duchesne, *op. cit.* pp. 93 sqq.).

ERRATA & a calamo & ab operis typographicis ita corrigito.

6. d. torib. *Scribe*: Regula-
res, quæ cum concurrentib.
id est Epactis Solarib.
18. b. maior. plusquam 26.
20. b. ca. xxii.
30. b. erit. proinde octauus.
61. d. tyranno. sex dies de
360.
62. d. num. xxix Martij.
63. b. Zodiaci. Luna xviiii
Item Scebat 4. 1. 76.
66. b. dum. Pentaeteris &
Trieteris.
84. a. raster. 3. 22. 13.
86. b. 7. Iulj.
87. a. 22. Iulj.
90. a. datus est. data est.
92. mali. Scebat Syriaco.
Est 26. embolimus com-
munis.
108. c. decursu. 84. embo-
lismos.
119. a. æquinoctij. autum-
nalis Cæsariani.
119. c. catur. כבד יח.
121. rum. 4105. & ita in-
fra.
121. mensis. 1. 12. 793. item:
momenta 793.
123. linea 22. lege 6. 15. 391.
ibid. lin. 27. lege: 4. 12. 957.
linea 28. lege 5. 10. 466.
124. linea 113. lege 1. 2. 149.
135. c. anno. xvi. Iulj.
136. a. let. aufer a 1489. 500.
140. a. nono. Dulhagia.
158. c. vicesima. vicesima
prima tenus.
159. a.prehendit. 76. anno.
160. b. qualis. & quantus.
166. c. excusis. Varronis
libris legitur.
169. d. Pernia egisse.
172. c. cim. anni Iuliani.
178. c. ite. Crastina si radiis.
179. c. enim. ad eam rem.
181. ante. 1461.

201. in linea xi anni lege. 29.
18. 726.
204. a. Dionysiano: neo-
menia Ab 27. 440.
223. 38C :: Hadar.
TmWw: Talschchas.
226. c. xandri. 1906.
261. c. Iudaicum. vi. Octo-
bris.
229. b. loca. Christi. 140.
ibid. DAMASCENORVM
RECENTIORVM.
231. a. Ægyptij. 47. a. eos
quadrantes, alteri 47. voca-
bant.
250. b. Metonis. xxiv.
272. c. æquinoctium, pe-
riodus minor.
278. b. حسيب ibid.
c. decaeteris. exactis decem.
283. supra annum x. lege
xv April.
294. a. interuallum. anni
4046.
303. a. non fit. in 323 fit.
312. c. syzygiis. Nisanin.
315. c. 660. anno 1614.
331. c. tur. 621 annos.
338. c. alem. alem. d. c.
341. b. quod non. qui non.
372. c. Ianuarius. Ianna-
rium & Februarium fuisse.
374. a. 27. 440. 440.
375. d. Iudaico. dele verba
DANIEL ET.
377. d. tatis. septemdecim.
381. a. Iuliano. Iulianæ.
389. c. faciunt. profecti.
398. a. Iulianæ. 418.
401. a. tes. 440. 440.
405. caeteris lib. secundo.
417. a. mun. totius.
422. b. 27. 440. 440.
428. habebat. 440. 440.
ibid. in. 440. 440.

465. b. magnæ. deductus.
481. c. est. tres solidos.
500. a. Iulianus. Iulianus 28.
504. b. qui. Na. 440.
523. Sabbatum. dicitur.
529. a. concurrisset. cxv.
531. c. Mattheus. immo.
labant.
539. d. tinuandi. Iulianæ.
4173. q. e. d. t. septimus Iph.
& quartus Olymp. quinquage-
simæ nonæ.
542. c. Claudianum. belli
pro Belli.
544. c. 440.
548. Antiochi. ad profan.
551. a. dem. Grecos.
561. a. dem. istum.
563. c. Iulianæ. quadragesimus
sextus.
567. c. iterum. dicuntur.
568. a. 440. abolebit.
573. c. Sed. qui anni 362.
annis.
583. a. ordinatus. indictione
viii.
594. a. cise. 37. 5. 204.
596. a. rum. cyclis.
599. c. incurrant. Saadia.
608. c. 440. 440. SEPTIMA
440.
612. d. se. 440.
615. a. 440.
616. b. 440.
item 440. 440. ibid. c. OB-
SIGNATIO. SEPTIMI IN
SEMITA H.
649. c. manuelis. ex xxxix.
ibid. PAGOMEN. intercalari.
656. a. est. introitus ieiunij
Æthiopicus.
674. c. abiicias. annos
Christi.
705. 5. c. cics. 6. 23. 444.
729. c. Ar. 7. 16. 50.
738. Alexandro. 1908.

IOSEPHI

IOSEPHI SCALIGERI IULII CAESARIS F.

DE EMENDATIONE TEMPORVM

LIBER PRIMVS.



VERVM est, quod sciscit Stoicorum schola,
Tempus esse normam rerum, & custodiam, quia
veritatis index atque examen est, & rerum gesta-
rum memoriam, ac diuturnitatem posteritati tue-
tur: ij non vulgari laude digni sunt; qui temporum
rationes conscribere, atque fugitiuam antiquita-
tem retrahere conantur. Qua in re cum tam pri-
scis scriptoribus, quam æqualibus temporum nostrorum opera egre-
gie nauata sit, dolendum tamen, aut serius, quam oportebat, antiquos
se ad id studium contulisse, aut pauciora ea de re monumenta, quam
ab ipsis auctoribus relicta sunt, ad nos peruenisse. Nam vt omnia ex-
tent veterum Græcorum scripta, ea tamen paucorum temporum in-
teruallum complectebantur. Græcis enim ante initia Olympiadum
suarum nihil plane exploratum est: & quod dolendum est, de illorum
scriptis, quæ ad Chronologiam spectabant, nihil nobis præter deside-
rium relictum est. Nam quæ Eusebij exstant, quamuis è Græcorum
monumentis hausta sunt, & multa egregia ac cognitu digna nobis
conseruarunt: tamen dissimulandum non est, multa in illis reperiri,
quæ castigatorijs iudicijs non satisfaciunt. Quod si Thalli, Casto-
ris, Phlegontis, Eratosthenis canones exstarent, perparua, aut nulla po-
tius ratio haberetur librorum quorundam, qui hodie in penuria me-
liorum nobis in pretio sunt. Apud Romanos vero, ea scriptio infeli-
citer cessit, quod eam cognitionem serius amplexi sint. Nam ante
Consulatum Bruti nihil certi apud illos: omnia fabulosa: & si rem-
propius spectemus, ne ipsius quidem Bruti Consulatum, ac tempus
Regifugij satis exploratum habent: quamuis, vt prodidit Censorinus,
Varro collatis diuersarum ciuitatum temporibus, & interualla rete-
xens, verum in lucem protulerit, & viam repererit, qua certus anno-
rum

A

rum

rum Urbis conditæ numerus iniri posset. Sed, ut suo loco disputabitur, non magis constabat Varroni de initiis Urbis, quam Græcis de anno excidij Trojæ. Nam ea demum est vera demonstratio, quæ cogit, non quæ persuadet. Soli sacri libri supersunt, ex quorum fontibus certa temporum ratio hauriri possit. Sed omnis temporum cognitio inutilis est, nisi certa epocha in illis deprehendatur, ad quam omnium temporum contextus tam antecedentium, quam consequentium referri possit. Nam, ut præclare dixit vetus inter Christianos scriptor Tatianus, apud quos temporum notatio non coheret, apud illos neque veritatis & fidei historiciæ ratio vlla constare potest. Quod si aliquis sacræ historiæ peritissimus, hoc est, qui intervalla rerum gestarum, nobilissima certissimis ratiociniis ex Mose, & reliquis sacris Bibliis explorata habeat, nihil tamen ex illis ad certam epocham historiæ Græcæ, aut Romanæ referre possit: quodnam adiumentum is ex eiusmodi diligentia adferre potest aut sibi, aut studiosis rerum antiquarum? Nam omnis cognitionis finis ad usum aliquem spectat, quem si ex medio literarum sustuleris, ingratus est omnis labor & opera, quæcunque in omne studium impenditur. Eiusmodi est Iudæorum scientia, qui in ratiociniis quidem sacrorum temporum colligendis tantum studio & diligentia consecuti sunt, ut proxime à veritate abesse possint: sed dum nullam aut saltem depravatam rerum exterarum cognitionem tenent, multum errant, quod sine externa historia sacram tractare aggre-
 diuntur. Venio ad nostros, recentiores dico, qui hodie summo cum fructu, sacræ, Græcæ, & Romanæ historiæ tempora digesserunt. Ij heroica virtute chronologiam negligentia & contemptu maiorum intermörtuam ac sepultam, è tenebris & obliuionis silentio quotidie eruere conantur. Certe meum semper iudicium fuit, eam rem maiorem cum laude ab illis restitutam, quam ab antiquis proditam fuisse. Nam non solum pleraque in ratione temporum pristinae integritati reddiderunt, sed & longe meliora effecerunt. In multis tamen iudicium, in quibusdam etiam diligentiam requiro. neque enim dum verum adepti sunt. Argumento fuerint omnium, quotquot de his rebus tractarunt, dissensiones: ut inter tot millia Chronologorum vix inter duos de eadem re conueniat. Quanta adhuc contentione de Septimanis Danielis, de initio, medio, & fine earum velitantur? Tamen nihil plane eorum, quæ volunt, assecuti sunt. Ab eorum lectione incertior atque indoctior sum, quam dudum. Quis vnquam eorum veram epocham Exodi Hebræorum, quis, quod pudendum est, verum annum natalis Dominici odoratus est? Ecce trita, obuia, vulgaria, ut nobis videtur, ignoramus, & remotiorum ac reconditorum indicium promittimus! Quis eorum Danielis Hebdomadas interpretandas suscepit,

A suscepit, qui inscitia suæ latebram non quæsiuerit, & reges Persidis, qui nunquam in rerum natura fuerunt, non commentus sit? Quod si Daniele accuratissime legissent, eis ad negotium explicandum non aliis regibus Persidis opus fuisset, quam iis, quos Herodotus, Diodorus, & omnis Græcorum antiquitas nouit. Sed quo non progressa est *ἀμύγνια*? Berofos, Metasthenes, & nescio quos Catones, ac Philones consulunt, qui ante hos centum annos ex officina nescio cuius indocti & impudentis prodierunt. Et sese Criticos in temporum notatione profitentur, quibus tam facili genere, tam pueriliter vnus homo orio-
 fus in tanta luce literarum quotidie imponit. Cuius hominis inscitiam si nihil aliud, certe illud arguere possit, quod Metasthenem pro Me-
 B gasthene posuit. Si Iosephum Græcæ, aut Strabonem, aut Athenæum legisset, is Megasthenem vocari deprehendisset, quem Metasthenem vocat. Si Græcæ scisset, nunquam *μεγαθένης* in illa lingua reperiri, neque hanc compositionem in eadem probari intellexisset. Ut igitur ij resipiscant, qui & nouos reges in Perside creant, & Assueros Priscos, Assueros Longimanos, Assueros Pios, duos Cyros, & nescio quæ alia somnia Annij Viterbiensis in medium producunt, primum vno verbo indicabo fontem erroris eorum: deinde qui medicina huic morbo fieri possit, docebo. Quod igitur in veri inuestigatione eos ratio fugerit, duas summas causas reperio: vnā, quod veterum tempora ciuilia, annorum, mensium formas, status, ac genera ignorarunt: alteram, quod characterem, & notationem ei anno, quem sibi propo-
 C fuerant, non adhibuerunt. Ex vtraque quidem causa temporum confusio manauit, sed diuerso genere. Ex priore causa ignoratus est annus, mensis & dies multarum nobilium epocharum. Huius enim rei cognitio pertinet ad tempus ciuile nationum. Ex altera causa Palilia urbis Romæ nunc tertio anno Olympiadis, nunc quarto attribuuntur. Item Consulatus Bruti nunc in hunc, nunc in illum annum Olympiadis confertur. Ut igitur nouam rationem emendationis temporum ineamus, duo illa præcipue nobis discutienda sunt: sed prius de omnium nationum temporibus ciuilibus: quam assequi perdifficile est, nisi prius tempore in sua principia, hoc est ab annis, periodis, mensibus in vltimum terminum, dies, horas, ac scrupula resolutio.
 D Nam qui ante nos hanc prouinciam aggressi sunt, si modo hanc nostram, non aliam aggressi sunt, ij satis de tempore, & eius natura disputarunt. Sed hanc disputationem melius interpret *Φυπικὴ ἀνεργασίας* sibi vindicasset. Neque vero nos id agimus, ut definiamus tempus esse hoc secundum Peripateticos, aut illud secundum Stoicos, aut Academicos. Qui istis definitionibus diu immorati sunt, & hac sola scientia Chronologiæ scribendæ modum termina-
 A 2 runt,

runt, illi satis verborum quidem, sed rerum nihil definiuerunt. Ne-
quid tamen αμεθοδώς transigatur, decreui singularum, vel minima-
rum temporis partium prius conspectum aliquem dare, quam ad de-
scriptionem ἰσομελὲς temporum civilium, & eorum methodum ag-
grediar. Incipiam igitur ab ultimo termino, a die scilicet, & eius par-
tibus, hoc est hora, & scrupulis. Ab hora igitur, si libet, princi-
pium esto.

DE HORIS ET PARTIBVS DIEI RELIQUIS.

VETERIBVS statim ab initio has diei partes, quas HORAS vo-
camus, in vsu non fuisse, argumento fuerint priscae locutiones,
quibus dies non in partes secatur, sed actionibus quotidianis distin-
guitur: ut cum βελυκὴν vesperam vocabant, nimirum, ut poeta inquit,
Demeret emeritis cum iuga Phœbus equis. Item quod tempus ante-
meridianum designantes dicebant πληθύσεως vel πληθύνσεως ἀγροῦ, con-
venientibus scilicet eo tempore in Comitium viris: ut Hesiodus dicit,
ὅτ' αὐτὸ ἀλγηδέω λαοὶ κρῖοντες ἀγῶσιν. Quod tamen longe aliter in-
terpretes Græci illius poetæ exponunt. Aiunt enim Hesiodum in-
tellexisse de tricesima mensis Lunaris: & sensum loci Hesiodici esse
perinde ac si dixisset, Quando homines veram περιακάδα Lunarem
agunt, & non secundum vsum politicum, sed secundum motum Lu-
næ. Quod tamen nobis valde coactum videtur: & mentem Hesiodi
hanc fuisse dicimus: περιακάδα esse valde idoneam rebus gerendis ea
hora, qua homines ad ius in forum conueniunt. Quæ sane interpre-
tatio melior vulgari. Sic etiam paulo post dicit, ἡμαῖθ' ἐκ πλείν, lo-
quens de vndecima: cuius partem designat, cum dicit ἡμαῖθ' ἐκ πλείν.
Quod nos interpretamur iam adulto die. Sic Homerus meridiem
designat, ὅταν δρυτῆμα αἰὲς ἡδ' ὀρεπον ὀπλίσσῃ. Porro neque hoc verbum
ἄρα id, quod nunc, valebat. Sed tempus actuum quotidianorum illo
notabatur: ut cum dicebant ὥρα δόρυ, ὥρα δειπνῶ. Latinis vero Tem-
pestas dicebatur. In Legibus Decemvirum Articis fuit: SOL OCCA-
SVS SVPREMA TEMPESTAS ESTO. Neque recte quidam hinc
expungunt TEMPESTAS, quod SVPREMA absolute diceretur, ut
apud Plautum. Nam plane in legibus Solonis, vnde illud caput tra-
ductum, scriptum fuit, ὁ ἡλιος ὅπῃ πᾶν ὄρεων ἐρχάται ὥρα ἔστω. Stoicus
scriptor apud Stobæum loquens de Socratis iudicio capitali: καὶ τελὴν
ἡμερῶν αὐτῷ δοθῆσαν, τῇ πρώτῃ ἐπικν, & ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσπέρῃ τῇ τελευτῇ ἡμέρας τὴν
ΕΣΧΑΤΗΝ ΩΡΑΝ ἀπαρτεῖν, εἰ ἐστὶν ΗΛΙΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ
ΟΡΩΝ, ἀλλ' ἀπαρτεῖν τῇ πρώτῃ. Idem censeas de veteribus Hebræis,
qui

A qui diei nullas alias partes, quam mane, meridiem, & vesperam no-
rant: & ita dies diuiditur Psalmo LV, commate XVII. Sic Homero,
ἡὸς, ἢ δαίη, ἢ μέθ' ἡμαρ. Sed hic dies intelligitur Lux, exclusa nocte.
Nam totum νύκθήμερον Hebræi in quatuor partes diuidebant, quas vi-
giliae vocabant. Prima vigilia erat à vespere: secunda à media nocte.
tertia à mane. quarta à meridie. Alioqui nomen hoc νύξ quo ho-
die horam designant, ne notum quidem illis erat: quod apud Danie-
lem aliud significat. Posteriorum inuentum est Horologium, & ὕλη-
της, quibus dies per lineas, & intervalla umbrarum distinguebatur.
vnde prodiit locutio οὐδεκάποις σκιά, pro hora coenæ. vel ἐνδεκάπαις σκί-
α: quia notis literarum singularium horæ distinguebantur. Te-
B statur: & Epigrammatum de Horologio: ἐξ ἀραμὸς τοῖς ἰκανῶτα. αἱ δ' μετ' αὐτὰς
γράμμασι δὲ νύκτα Z H Θ I λέγουσι βεβῆται. Nam ante

Z, H, Θ, I, erat A, B, Γ, Δ, E, ς. Arabibus, Persis, & reliquis Orientis
gentibus non horologiis, sed

TABVLA CON-
VERTENDI OSTEN-
ta in sexagesimas.

Ostenta.	Sexag.	Sexag.	Sexag.
1	0'	1	20"
2	0'	2	40"
3	0'	3	00"
4	0'	4	20"
5	0'	5	40"
6	0'	6	00"
7	0'	7	20"
8	0'	8	40"
9	0'	9	00"
10	0'	10	20"
20	1'	6"	40"
30	1'	4"	00"
40	2'	13"	20"
50	2'	46"	40"
60	3'	20"	00"
70	3'	33"	20"
80	4'	26"	40"
90	5'	0"	00"
100	5'	33"	20"
200	11'	6"	40"
300	16'	40"	00"
400	22'	13"	20"
500	27'	46"	40"
600	33'	20"	00"
700	38'	53"	20"
800	44'	26"	40"
900	50'	0"	00"
1000	55'	33"	20"

TABVLA CON-
VERTENDI SEXAGE-
simas in ostenta.

Sexag.	Sexag.	Ostenta.	Ostenta.
0	1'	0	324"
1	2'	0	648"
2	3'	0	972"
3	4'	1	216"
4	5'	1	540"
5	6'	1	864"
6	7'	2	108"
7	8'	2	432"
8	9'	2	756"
9	10'	3	0"
10	20'	6'	0"
20	30'	9'	0"
30	40'	12'	0"
40	50'	15'	0"
50	60'	18'	0"
60	2'	36'	0"
70	3'	54'	0"
80	4'	72'	0"
90	5'	90'	0"
100	6'	108'	0"
200	7'	126'	0"
300	8'	144'	0"
400	9'	162'	0"
500	10'	180'	0"
600	20'	360'	0"
700	30'	540'	0"
800	40'	720'	0"
900	50'	900'	0"
1000	60'	1080'	0"

A 3

& alia

& alia Orientis nationes utuntur. Quorum in sexagesimas, & contra sexagesimarum in hac conuertendarum. Tabellas duas posuimus.

DE DIEBUS.

Theodorus quoque, quod est spatium viginti quatuor horarum, Daniel eleganter vocat *ἡμέρα* quasi dicas *ἡμέρα*, initio diei civilis summo Iudaice ab eo tempore, quod proxime Solem occisum sequitur. Nam illud intervallum, quatenus viginti quatuor horarum est, naturale est: quatenus aliud atque aliud initium habet, dicitur civile, Atticis & Iudæis ab occasu Solis: Egyptiis & Romanis à medianoctē: Chaldaeis Genethliacis ab ortu Solis: Vmbris à meridie initium summentibus. Dierum notationes duplices: aut secundum numerum, & ordinem: ut prima, secunda, tertia mensis, aut secundum *ἐπωνυμίαν*, qua dies alicui rei cognominis, ut dies mensis Persici sunt cognomines regum praeiorum, & dies mensis Mexicanorum animalium, aut aliarum rerum, & *ἐπαγομίας* Aegyptiorum nominibus singulorum Deorum vocatae. & dies festi, ut quinquatrus, *κρήνη, θαρρήλια*, Quirinalia. & ab euentu, dies Alliensis, Regifugium, à stellis, dies Septimanæ. **Ecclesia Romana vocat ferias, quia veteris anni Ecclesiastici initium à Pascha. Et Pascha dicebatur annus novus, ut etiam hodie ab Ecclesia Antiochena:** à Constantinopolitana autem *διακαισμητὸς ἑβδομάς*, ab eadem mente. Illius autem Hebdomadis dies omnes septem erant feriati, ut testis est Hieronymus, & alij veteres. **Hinc obtinuit, ut reliquarum hebdomadam dies etiam Ferie vocarentur**, præcipuo quodam principis septimanæ Paschalis auspicio & omine. **Solon autem primus omnium *πρῶτον τετρακὰ ἐν τῷ ἔτει* vocavit, cum antea *ἔτη* esset prima mensis.** Hesiodus: *Πρῶτον ἔτη τελεῖς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὴ ἡμέρα.* Diei diuisio summa ab actibus quotidianis, in fastos, nefastos, atos, religiosos, intercisos, iustos: ut Græcis *εἰς ἐρεγνός, ἑ ἀεργός*, vel, ut alij, *ἀνεσίμους ἡμέρας ἑ ἀπαφεγάδας, καὶ ἐοχασίμους*. aut ab æquatione annui temporis, Solaris, & Lunar, in *περὶ δεκάς ἡμέρας, ἐπακλίας, ἑξαήμεροις, ὑπεράκλεις, ἐμβολίμας, ἐπαγομίας, περὶ τὰς*. *Περὶ δεκάς ἡμέρας* Computatoribus Græcis dicuntur, quæ Latinis Regulares, & Concurrentes, D quæ cum Epactis Solaribus compositæ dant characterem Kalendarum, aut alius diei mensis. *Ἐπακλίας* sunt duplicis generis, Solares, & Lunares. Solares sunt abiectis septenariis ex cyclo Solari, addito præterea die bisextili. Lunares producuntur, excessu Solis, qui est xi dierum, in numerum aureum ducto, abiectis tricenariis. Præterea utrarumque Epactarum sua methodus: Solarium ad characterem dierum: Lunarium ad ætatem Lunæ, ut Computatores Latini loquuntur, ut Græci

A Græcia autem, *εἰς περὶ τὰς δεκάς*. *Ἐξαήμεροι* sunt, quæ eximuntur de mense, duplici ex causa: aut ut rationes Solis cum Lunaribus congruant, ut in anno veteri Græcorum: & in enneadecaeteride Paschali Saltus Lunæ Latinis dictus, Græcis *ὑπερβολὴ δεκάς*. aut ut solennia festa cum feria Septimanæ, ut in anno Iudaico. *Υπερδεκάς*, vel *ὑπεράκλεις*, sunt, quæ ex causa religionis transferuntur, & dissimulantur per speciem comperendinationis, ut in anno Iudaico, & olim in prisco Romano. In Iudaico enim *ὑπερδεκάς* & comperendinationes institutæ, ne feria secunda, quarta, sexta in caput anni incurrat. in Romano prisco comperendinabantur Nundinæ, ut à religiosis diebus summouerentur, auctore Macrobio. *Ἐμβολίμοι* sunt, ut notio verbi declarat, inficitij **B** dies: & erant naturales, aut civiles. Naturales, qui ex scrupulis, & horis appendicibus colliguntur, ut quarto quoque anno exeunte vnus dies ex quadrantibus anni Iuliani, quod **B I S E X T V M** vocatur, item in periodo Arabica vndeies vnus dies intercalatur in fine Dulhagathi, qui est vltimus mensis anni Hagareni Muhamedici. Civiles sunt, qui præter naturalem anni rationem & modum inseruntur, ut vnus dies in fine Marcheschwan Iudaici, anno, qui dicitur superfluous, aut abundans. *Ἐπαγομίας*, quæ explendis spatiis anni adiciuntur potius, quam inseruntur, ut quinque, quæ anno æquabili extra ordinem mensium adiectæ Aegyptiis dicuntur **N I S I**, Persis, & Armeniis **M V S T E R A K A**: item duæ, quæ extra modum anni Attici in calce Posideonis **C** appensæ, *ἀναρχοὶ ἡμέραι* dicebantur, aut *ὑπεράλλυσαι*, aut *ὑπερχειρῆσαι*. At *περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας* locum habent in anno mobili. Est autem intervallum inter epocham & caput anni, utroque termino excluso. Hoc constat semper in annis, quorum caput nunquam epocham antevertebat. Ut in anno Attico caput Hecatombæonis nunquam ante Solstitij veterem epocham statuebatur. Itaque quod inter Solstitium, & propositum Hecatombæonem interiacet spatij, utroque termino excluso, dicebantur *περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας*. Idem observabatur in annis magnis Metonis & Calippi. Rursus Romanorum sacri dies Kalendæ, Nonæ, Eidus: Græcorum autem *ἔτη τελεῖς, ἑβδόμη*. Quod ex versu Hesiodi à nobis adducto constat. Sunt præterea nomina imposita diebus mensium singulis, ut suo loco referetur. Sunt & secundum hebdomadas, ut infra subieciemus.

י' שני	א' כסיו	1 Ruz iache
ד' שני	ב' כושני	2 Ruz duiemi
ח' שני	ג' ששני	3 Ruz sumi
י"ב שני	ד' שרשני	4 Ruz izcharmi
ט"ז שני	ה' שני	5 Ruz pengemin
כ"א שני	ו' שני	6 Ruz schesmin
כ"ו שני	ז' שני	7 Ruz haphthemi.

גמעה	جمع	روز و حل	روز رحل
גמעה ארתסי	جمع ارثسي	روز مشتري	روز مشري
בורכו	بركوة	روز مريخ	روز مريخ
בור ארתסי	بر ارثسي	روز افتاب	روز افتاب
צלי	صلي	روز زهر	روز زهر
גהר שני	جهر سني	روز عطارد	روز عطارد
בגשני	بج سني	روز م	روز م

Cūr autem dies cognomines Planetarum non sequuntur ordinem & situm siderum, quorum cognomines sunt, ut scilicet post diem Saturni non sequatur dies Iouis, sed dies Solis, hæc causa est. Septem Planetæ per circulum secundum ordinem suum dispositæ æquabili intervallo constituunt septem Triangula isoscele ad peripheriam, quorum bases sunt latera Heptagoni circulo inscripti, ut habes in circulo proposito, ad cuius peripheriam septem errantes sunt secundum feriem suam sitæ, constituentes triangula isoscele 324. 423. 330. 312. 242. 233. 201. In quibus Triangulis dexter angulus ad basim est prima stella Trianguli, secunda in angulo ad verticem, tertia angulus sinister ad basim: ita ut omnis stella anguli dextri habeat oppositam.



A positam stellam anguli in vertice, stella autem anguli à vertice stellæ anguli sinistri ad basim sit opposita. Sequentur igitur sese omnes septem Planetæ non per feriem suam, sed per intervalla laterum, quæ veræ sunt oppositiones. Sit igitur Triangulum 323 primum ordine. 30 in angulo basis dextro præibit. sequetur Luna ei opposita in vertice; eam oppositus Mars in angulo sinistro basis. qui quidem Mars cum in Triangulo 323, sinistrum angulum basis occupet, in triangulo 324 occupabit dextrum basis angulum, habens oppositum Mercurium; Mercurius autem oppositum Iovem in angulo sinistro. qui Iuppiter faciet angulum dextrum in Triangulo 325, habens oppositam in vertice Venerem, ut ea opposita est Saturno in angulo sinistro. Sed angulus ille rursus erit dexter in Triangulo 326. Et sic erogati sunt septem planetæ in totidem dies, quas Ecclesia Romana vocat ferias. Hæc est vera harum appellationum ratio.

DE MENSIBVS.

Ex diebus fiunt συστήματα & ομάδες, quæ notationes & epochas temporum constituunt. Primum σύστημα ex diebus dicitur Septimana, res omnibus quidem Orientis populis ab vltima vsque antiquitate vsitata, nobis autem Europæis vix tandem post Christianismum recepta. De ea iam dictum est. Tum Romanorum ὀγδοάς: cui successit hebdomas nostra. Nam nono quoque die Nundinæ erant. & spatium illud in Calendario vetere Romano notatum est literis ab A ad H, ut in nostro Calendario Hebdomas notata est ab A ad G, inclusiue, ut loquuntur. Mexicanorum τεσσαυδεκάς sequitur. Quod enim spatium nobis septenis diebus, illis finitur ternis denis. Ita Iudæorum est ἐπ' ἑτάμηνον, veterum Romanorum δ' ἐπ' ἡμέραν, Mexicanorum τεσσαυδεκάμηνον. Proximum ab hoc σύστημα dierum est Mensis: qui & naturaliter, & ciuilitè sumitur. Naturalis mensis & ipse duplex. Aut enim Lunaris, aut Solaris. Rursus Lunaris triplicis generis: aut quatenus Luna ab eodem puncto Zodiaci profecta, ad idem reuertitur. qui dicitur αἰετίας, item αἰεὶ δ' ὁ σελήνης. quod intervallum minus est, quam viginti octo dierum: maius quam viginti septem. Secundum genus est eiusdem sideris à Sole profecti ad eundem reditus. Hæc dicitur αἰεὶ δ' ὁ σελήνης. Tertij generis mensis est secundus dies ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου, quæ dicitur φάσις, φεγγάριον, & ἀπόκρισις σελήνης. Secundum & tertium genus in temporibus ciuilibus locum habent. Nam Athenienses ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου neomenias suas putabant: hodie vero Hagareni ἀπὸ τῆς φάσεως. Græcorum enim neomenias ab ipso iugo Lunæ putari solitas testis Vitruuius ex Aristarcho Samio, his verbis, loquens

loquens de Luna: *Quot mensibus sub rotam Solis radiosque primo die antequam praterit, latens obscuratur. Et cum est sub Sole, noua vocatur. Postero autem die, quo numeratur secunda, prateriens à Sole, visitationem facit tenuem extremae rotundationis.* Vbi etiam dixit visitationem, extremae rotundationis, quam ille Samius sine vlllo dubio φάσιν μινωειδῆ vocabat. Sed & Onomacritus, qui sub nomine Orphei τελετάς scripsit, in opere, quod ἡμέρας vocauit, mensē Lunarem à iugo Lunae incipit. Cuius versus apposui:

Παύτ' ἐδάς Μινωαῖ θεοφροδές. εἰδὲ σ' ἀνώγα
 ἰονυθιμὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μινωαῖς κ' μοῖρα ἄκοδοι,
 ἡ βρεῖα τοῖς ἔξω, ὅν' ἐν φρεσὶ βάλλω σῆσιν,
 ἡ δὲ αἰὶν τὰξιν ἐχούσιν κυρτὰ. μάλα γὰρ ἡρεῖ ἐσὶν
 ἰδμεναι, ὡς αὐτὴ πᾶρξ' ἡ κλέος ἀντιμω μινωός.
 πρῶτα μὲν εἰ πρῶτα ἐνὶ ἡματι φαίνεται ἀρης,
 μινωὴ δ' ἐστ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἡρεῖ δ' ἐργων
 τὸν ὃ παρεξάνυσσας φῶς δις κερων ἀναφαίνει.
 αὐτὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἡμᾶρ δὲ πᾶσι θεοῖς ἡελίοιο
 παῖσιν ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος αἰλῆς.
 ἡμεῖς τὸν ἡμᾶρ δὲ πᾶσι θεοῖς ἡελίοιο

Sed Neomenia Arabica, excedit modum φάσεως vt plurimum. ita vt civilis neomenia mensium Lunarium sint non vnus generis: Atticae δὲ τὸ σινωδὸς: Iudaica saepe δὲ τὸ ἀποκρύσεως. Arabicae semper δὲ τὸ μινωειδὸς ἡμέρας, à tertia, inquam, die. Mensis Solis naturalis est, qui naturalibus circuli coelestis segmentis definitur, qualis est transitus Solis à signo ad signum. Hi, & Lunares, sunt vere coelestes menses. Mensis civilis Solis est, qui non naturali modo, sed aequaliter tributus est: vt in anno Aegyptiaco & Graeco omnes aequaliter sunt τελακονθήμεροι, & in Lunari alternis pleni, & caui. in anno Mexicano εἰκοσαήμεροι, cum ex xviii. mensibus eorum annus constituatur. Apud Albanos Martius erat sex & triginta dierum, Maius viginti duum, Sextilis duodeviginti, September sedecim. Tusculanorum Quintilis habuit triginta sex, October triginta duos, Aricinorum October trigintanouem. At rationes Lunae non patiuntur, vt menses sint alternis perpetuo pleni, & caui. sed hoc ad methodum civilis temporis institutum. Sunt & alij menses ex superfluis diebus collecti, qui Embolimi dicuntur: ii que aut naturales, aut civiles: ambo autem ad æquationem Solis directi. Naturales embolimi sunt, qui ex Solis excessu collecti ad spatia Lunae complenda adhibentur. cuiusmodi est Iudaicus Adar prior, & Samaritanus Adar alter. isque mensis est semper tricenarius dierum. Civilis embolimus, qui ex diebus Solis superfluis confurgens fulciendo anno cauo adiicitur. Eiusmodi erat Merkedonius

prisci

prisci anni Romani alternis binum & vicenum, item trinum & vicenum dierum. Eiusmodi & Posideon Atticus. Neque enim Posideon naturalis esse potest, quamuis triginta dierum, cum neque Lunaris esset, quod eius neomenia longe à Lunari discederet: neque Solaris, quod pars esset illius anni, qui ad Solis cūsum descriptus non esset. Idem de Merkedonio dicas, qui neque ad Solarem annum, neque ad Lunarem pertineret, neque modum eum haberet, qui nullo mense competit, cum esset tantum xxii, aut ad summum xxiii, dierum. Mensis diuisio Atticis in τελακας. prima τελας dicebatur μινω ισάμηνος, secunda μινω μεσοδών, tertia μινω θινών. Idque factum, quia illorum menses omnes erant τελακονθήμεροι. Persae vero in πεμταδας, non solum, quia eorum menses omnes τελακονθήμεροι, sed etiam, quia totius annus constat ex quinariis tribus & septuaginta. In mense Ἑκατημερίᾳ Athenienses pro δευτέρῃ ισάμηνος dicebant. τετὴν ισάμηνος! Quamuis enim mensē vno die mutilabant, tamen eum tertia mensis pro secunda dicebant, non videbantur mensē mutilare, cuius τελακὰς numerabant. Meton vero & Calippus eam diem eximunt, quae post duas syzygias & dies quatuor succedebat. Mensium nomina in antiqua Hebraici anni forma nulla fuerunt, neque in hodierna Sinarum, Japonensium & Indorum. Menses enim illi ab ordine primi, secundi, tertij dicuntur. In anno Romano mistae sunt appellationes, ex cognominibus, & ordine numerario. Quidam etiam cognomines imperatorum Romanorum, vt Cyprii Καὶσάρειος, Σεβαστός, Αυτοκρατορικὸς. Romanis ipsis Iulius, Augustus: & temporibus Domitiani Germanicus pro Septembri, Domitianus pro Octobri. Martialis:

Dum Ianus hiemes, Domitianus autumnos, &c. Sed Statius omnes Kalendas vindicat. Domitiano, prater Iulium, & Augustum, — *Nondum omnis honorem* — *Annus habet, cupiuntque decem tua nomina menses.* Infamia quoque Commodi idem cōsecuta esset, si longior vita monstro illi data fuisset. Augustum enim Commodum, Septembrem Herculeum, Octobrem Inuictum, Nouembrem Exuperatorium, Decembrem Amazonium vocari edicit. Extat quoq. lapis Lauinij, in quo mentio Iduum Commodarum. vbi &

A latere dextro saxi.
 IDVS. COMMODAS
 ELIANO. COS.
 nomen

nomen Commodi Senatusconsulto prius deraſum, poſtea alia manu A incifum.

Quardam nationes etiam geminos meſes cognomines habent. An- nus Syrochaldaicus habet geminum Tiſſin, item geminum Conum. Annus Hagareus geminum Regiab, & geminum Giumadi. Annus Saxonius geminum Giuli, & geminum Lida. Sed in anno emboli- mæo Lida eſt tergeminus. Et tunc annuſ ille dicebatur Trilida. Item, diuerſarum nationum iidem meſes communes. Nam Panemus in anno Macedonico fuit, item Corinthiaco, & Thebano. Artemiſius communis fuit Laconum, & Macedonum: Carneus Syracuſanis, & Cyrenenſibus uſitatus. Sed differebant ſitu anni & tempore: ut ſuo loco diſputabitur. Sic Martius primus erat Romanorum: ter- tius Albanorum, Aricinorum, Formianorum: quartus Forenſium, Pelignorum, Sabinorum: quintus Falſcorum, Laurentum: ſextus Hernicorum: decimus Æquicorum. Hæc in genere de meſibus.

DE ANNO.

MAXIMUM *Κύμα* dierum annus, ſed qui multipliciter dictus ſit. Totenim conſtitui poſſunt, quot ſunt ſiderum errantium periodi. Eſt enim annus circuitus eius periodi, cuius cognominis ipſe eſt. Ut annus Solaris eſt cognominis circuitus eius ſideris, qui quidem circuitus dupliciter ſumitur, aut à Solſtitio ad Solſtitium, à bruma ad brumam: & eſt minor anno Iuliano. aut à puncto Zodiaci ad idem punctum Zodiaci. qui eſt maior anno Iuliano. hoc eſt maior $365 \frac{1}{4}$ diei. quo ad id punctum Zodiaci redit, unde proſectum erat. Eadem fere quantitas quæ & Soli, attribuitur Veneri & Mercurio. Saturni periodus eſt dierum 10747. 18'. 59". 13". Hoc eſt annorum Ægyptiorum 29. dierum 162. Iouis annus dierum 4330. hora- rum 17. 14'. Id eſt annorum Ægyptiorum 11.315. Martis annus die- rum 686. horarum 22. 24'. annorum Ægyptiorum 1.321 dierum. Lu- næ, dierum 29. 31'. 50". 8". Obtinuit tamen vulgo, ut duorum ſiderum, Solis & Lunæ, labentem cælo qui ducunt annum, ratio in temporibus ciuilibus haberetur. Et Lunæ quidem primum vnus circuitus pro anno habebatur, ut apud Ægyptios. deinde tres, ut apud eoſdem Ægyptios & Arcades. Tandem duodecim periodi Lunares annum ciuilem conſtituerunt dierum 354 cum triente, & paulo plus quam duum trientum horariorum. Duodecim quoque ſegmenta Zodiaci componunt annum Solarem tantum, quantum diximus. Sed igno- ratio motuum vtriuſque ſideris alias atque alias anni formas veteribus peperit:

A peperit: quarum veruſtiſſima eſt ea, quæ annum quidem ad curſum Lunæ deſcribebat: ſed incertis neomeniis, quæ non prodeunt ex ob- ſervatione motus Lunæ, quales vulgus ruſticorum obſeruare ſolet, & quæ proprie ciuilem meſem conſtituere non poſſunt. Cum igitur hoc modo incertæ eſſent neomeniæ, conuenit primum, ut meſes om- nes tricenſis diebus explicarent, annumque dierum ſexaginta & tre- centum conſtituerent. quod genus longe deſciſcebat à modo anni Lunar. Hæc diu ſeruata fuit apud Græcos anni forma. In Oriente ſeptuageſima ſecunda pars illius anni, hoc eſt quinque dies, acceſſerunt anno Græco: ut anni modus fuerit dierum trecentorum ſexaginta quin- que: qua ratione ab anno ſolari ſe minimum diſcedere arbitrati ſunt.

B Vnde duo præcipua genera anni apud veteres fuerunt neque Lunar, neque Solar, ſed ambigui inter vtrumque generis. Prior forma in Græcia reſedit: altera in Oriente. Græci vero non vna via ad emen- dationem ſuæ aggreſſi ſunt. Difficile erat meſes plenos omnes ad Lunæ rationes exigere: & tamen in quibuſdam actibus ciuilibus opus habebant motu Lunæ. Nam ſemper Olympias plenilunio, & xv die meſis celebrabatur. Ut igitur annus Græcus æquabilis Olym- piadem deprehenderet in xv meſis, hoc difficile non erat. Ut autem xv meſis in xv Lunæ incidat in meſibus æquabilibus, hoc fieri non poteſt, niſi poſt ſingula quadriennia, adiectis vniciuique anno ſingulis biduis, quas *ἀνὰ πρῶτος ἡμέρας* vocabant. Hæc Tetraeteris Elidenſibus vocata eſt Olympias, Delphis Pythias. eiusque meſis primus dunta- xat erat Lunar: reliquorum ratio claudicabat. Primus Cleoſtratus eum annum in Lunarem modum reformare conatus eſt, excogitata octaeteride dierum 2922, cuius meſes alternis pleni & caui: anni vero ſinguli cōmunes 354 dierum: embolimæi 384. cōmunes quidem quin- que, embolimæi tres. Syzygiæ autem nouem & nonaginta. Octaeteri- dum vitio deprehenſo Meton enneadecaeterida excogitauit dierum ſoli- dorum 6940. Cui caſtigandæ periodus Calippica ſucceſſit dierum 27759, ſine vllis ſcrupulis appēdicibus, anno ab editione Metonica centeſimo tertio. Hanc excepit vltimus, tanquam ſecutor quidam, Hipparchus, annis circiter centum octoginta octo ab epocha Calippica, periodo publicata dierum 111035: quæ minor eſt Calippicis rationibus die vno, Metonicis autem quinque. Quare duæ caſtigations adhibitæ anno æquabili Græco. Altera eſt coniugatio alterna vel interrupta men- ſium plenorum & cauorum, ut cum ipſa Luna congruerent, quod annus Græcus maior eſſet Lunari. altera eſt emboliſmus meſium, ut cum ſole æquaretur, quod annus Lunar minor eſt Solari. Sed alter- natio plenorum & cauorum meſium aliquando variat: idque ſit aut naturaliter, aut ciuilitur. Naturalis varietas committitur propter em- bolifmum.

bolismum aut mensis, aut diei. Vtroque enim modo duo menses pleni
 continuantur. Vt in anno Iudaico cum intercalatur mensis Adar, tunc
 Schebar, & Adar embolimus ambo sunt pleni. In anno vero Arabico
 cum accedit dies mensi ultimo, qui Dulhagiathi dicitur, tunc & ipse
 Dulhagiathi, & antecedens Dulkaadathi ambo sunt tricenarii dierum.
 Sed in Samaritano saepe continuantur tricenarii menses, & in antiquo
 Iudaico, vt ex Talmud & Iad Mosis cognoscimus: & menses Harpali,
 Metonis, & Calippi non semper alternis continuati sunt, sed saepe bini
 pleni continuati, nunquam autem bini caui. Quin etiam cum dies ac-
 cedit ultimo mensi Arabico, tres continui menses sunt pleni, Dulkaa-
 dathi, Dulhagiathi, & Muharam sequētis anni. Isque annus ab Arabi-
 bus dicitur *سنة*. hoc est embolimus. Sic etiam anno Iudaico ple-
 no tres menses continui sunt pleni, Tisri, Marcheswan, Casleu. Cuius
 varietas accedit anno Iudaico tantū, accrescente mensi Marcheswan
 die vno: & Marcheswan ex cauo fit plenus. Rursus & in embolismo
 mensium differentia fitu, & tempore. Situ, si aut in medio, aut in calce
 intercalatio fiat, vt in anno Attico vltimus mensis intercalabatur, qui
 dicebatur *ποσδεών* *αέρης*. In Iudaico sextus mensis intercalatur, &
 dicitur Adar prior. In anno Hagareno mēsis embolimus erat defactor,
 qui omnes menses anni percurrebat in annis 228, quæ sunt enneade-
 caeterides duodecim, qua intercalatione memoria proavorum no-
 strorum utebantur Turæ Cilices, donec annum Hegiræ simplicem
 Muhammedicum vsurpare coeperunt. At in anno prisco Romano
 ritus embolismi longe diuersus ab aliis, non enim is inter duos
 menses intericiebatur, vt alias solet: sed in mensem ipsum, tanquam
 surculus in truncum infindebatur. Inter xxiiii enim, aut xxiiii,
 aut inter xxii, & xxiii Februarij inferebatur, neque vero sine causa.
 Hoc enim semper obseruabant, vt mēsis proximus Martio semper esset
 dierum xxviii, eratque Februarius ordinarius, at intervallum inter exi-
 tum Ianuarij, & Kalendas Februarij ordinarij imputabatur Merkedo-
 nio, & Kalendæ Februarij ordinarij in anno embolimo nunc in Re-
 gifugium, nunc in Terminalia, incuriebant. Neque enim semper in-
 ter Terminalia, & Regifugium intercalabatur, vt vult Censorinus,
 quia hoc pacto Februarius ordinarius nunc viginti octo, nunc vnde-
 tricenarius dierum fuisset. Quod tamen falsum ex Varrone conuinci-
 tur. Tempore differt intercalatio, quatenus Iudæi nunquam interca-
 lant, priusquam *επιφωγή* *ήλιακή*, qui sunt dies decem cum horis paulo
 magis quam vna & viginti, eo rationes Solis deduxerint, vt commodè
 mensis Et naris constari possit. Quod spatium nunquam maius est
 trientio, nunquam minus biennio: & in xix. annis semper septies fit.
 At in Calippico & Metonico anno aliquando citius, aliquando serius
 inter-

intercalabatur, quam ratiocinia *επιφωγή* *ήλιακή* postulare videntur.
 quandoquidem hoc vnum cauent præcipue Athenienses, ne Heca-
 tombæonis neomenia Solstitij priscam epocham anteuerrat: cum in
 anno Iudaico vt plurimum neomenia Tisri æquinoctium autumnale,
 neomenia vero Nisan æquinoctium veris antiquum, si ratio Iuliani
 anni habeatur, anteuerrat. Anni Lunaris non vnum genus est: sed
 summa diuisio in duo fastigia discedit: in annos periodicos, & sim-
 plices. Anni periodici dicuntur, qui certo annorum orbe, interuen-
 tu embolismorum, recurrunt. Huius intervalli modum veteres certo
 definire non potuerunt, quippe Cleostratus dierū 2922, Harpalus 2924,
 Eudoxus plusquam 2922, minus quam 2924: Meton aliter: & ab om-
 nibus diuerse Calippus, & deniq. ab eo discedens Hipparchus. Cuius
 sententia, sed cælestibus rationibus leuiter castigata, enneadecaeterida
 Lunarem minorem Iuliana statuit, hora vna cum scrup. paulo plus
 quam viginti septem. Simples anni & ipsi quidem sine remedio
 intercalationis in pristinam epocham recurrunt, sed longo intervalllo,
 annorum scilicet Iulianorum 228, qui sunt anni simplices Arabici 235,
 scrupuli diurni quinquaginta. Sunt & in annis Lunaribus caui, su-
 perflui, æquabiles. Annus cauus is est, cui competit *Ξαίρεσις* *ήμέρας*.
 Ideo à nobis *Ξαιρεσιμαίων* *ετος* vocabitur. ex eo enim eximitur dies
 vel propter ciuile institutum, cuiusmodi est annus Iudaicus, quem de-
 fectiuum Computatores Iudæorum vocant. (In eo quippe Casleu, qui
 natura est plenus, instituto fit cauus.) vel naturali de causa: vt anno
 decimonono Cycli Paschalis Dionysius diem vnum eximit, quem
 vocauit Saltum Lunæ: Græci vero Computatores *εποτρύλη* *αερίνης*.
 quanquam inepte annum vltimum enneadecaeteridis constituit die-
 rum duntaxat 353, cum eiusmodi annus natura nullus sit. Superfluous
 annus vocetur à nobis *ετος* *επιήμερον*. Accedit enim illi *ήμέρα* *εμβόλη*.
μ tam ex causa ciuili, vt in anno Iudaico Marcheswan naturali-
 ter cauus, ciuilitate fit plenus: quam ex causa naturali: vt vndecim anni
 in Triacontaeteride Arabica augentur singulis diebus ex ratiociniis
 Lunæ collectis. Annus æquabilis vocetur *ετος* *όμαλόν*. Iudæis compu-
 tatoribus dicitur annus ordinarius. Is est, cui nihil accedit, nihil de-
 dit. Huc vsque ad annum Lunarem deduxit nos æquabilis minoris
 disputatio. Nunc de altero æquabili maiore disputandum, quo Egy-
 ptij, Persæ, & Armenij, Mexicani, & Perusiani vsi. Hic antiquitus
 Orientis nationibus vnus idemque fuit: præterquam si quando *επα-*
γομένη quinque in alium locum traductæ, diuersum anni caput con-
 stituebant. qua *επαγομένη* translatione utebantur ij, qui post annos 120
 æquabiles mensem solidum intercalabant, vt Persæ: qui quidem *επα-*
γομένης suas in æquinoctium vernum semper reiciebant. Terminum

IOSEPHI SCALIGERI
autem vocabatur *NEVRIVZ*. & habebant mensem desolutorem. *ἐμβόλιμον*, omnes menses anni peruagantem, donec in primum mensem recurreret. qui orbis non redibat, nisi anno æquabili 1461 vertente, qui sunt anni Iuliani perfecti 1460. Hic est magnus annus, cuius menses sunt annorum æquabilium tricenum, quot dierum simplex mensis. *ἐπαγόριαι* autem sunt quinquies quatuor annorum, ut illæ simplices quinque dierum. Quod autem illa anni forma retenta sit, in causâ fuit non tam ignoratio anni solaris, quam facilis, & tractabilis, ac vere popularis eius usus. Alioqui nulla fere natio fuit, quæ quadrantem anni Solaris ignorauit: sed modum illius dispensandi nesciebant. præterea à mensibus superfluis, qui sunt maiores tricenis diebus, refugiebant, quos necesse est retineri, quadrante illo retento. B
Ægyptij singulis quadrienniis exactis diem intercalabant in ortu Caniculæ, & quadriennium illud exactum *ἔτ' ὅλιακόν, ἔτος θεοῦ, ἔτ' ὅ κωικόν*, vocabant. Attici diem quarto quoque anno exacto intercalabant inter septimum & octauum diem Ianuarij. Elidenses inter octauum, & nonum Iulij. Syromacedones, Chaldæi, & Iudæi inter septimum & octauum Octobris. Eamque diei intercalationem à Seleucidarum temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini & infra retinuerunt Iudæi: quam utique simul cum anni Calippici forma à victoribus Syromacedonibus acceperant. Romani Atticos secuti brumæ fidere confecto intercalabant, quæ ipsis Olympiadum mysteria vocabantur. Nam & Attici & reliqui omnes Græci annum Solarem in C
quatuor quadrantes diuidebant, quæ *κέντρα* vocabant, singulis dies 91. hor. $7\frac{1}{4}$ attribuentes. quod à temporibus Seleucidarum ad hanc usque diem Iudæi constanter obseruant. Itaque VIII Iulij erant *τρεπαὶ θεοῦ καὶ*, VII Octobris *σημεῖα ὀπωρινή*: VII Ianuarij *τρεπαὶ χειμερινὰ*, VIII Aprilis *σημεῖα ἁρινή*. Quare cum legis *τρεπὰς θερινὰς, & χειμερινὰς*, nullas alias intellige; præter has. quod & *τρεπὰς ὀπωρινὰς* quoque intelligendum. Hæc *κέντρα* Iudæi Tekuphoth vocant. Germani, Celtæ, Saxones, inter xxv & xxvi Decembris intercalabant: quam noctem vocabant *MVDRA NECHT*. Tartari hodie inter ultimam Ianuarij, & Kalendas Februarij. quas Kalendas patrio sermone Festum Alborum vocant: quia albis vestibus eam diem colunt. Denique quanuis D
Lunari anno, aut alio longe diuerso à Solari vterentur, tamen tacita quadam obseruatione post dies 1460 vnum diem intercalandum essentientiebant. Neque enim aliter Hebræi quatuor Tekuphas suas tueri potuissent, nisi quadrante post quartum quemque annum rationibus accedente. Et sane vnaquæque Tekupha est dierum 91, horarum $7\frac{1}{4}$. Vnde quatuor tantæ Tekuphæ fiunt dies 365 $\frac{1}{4}$. Displicuit tamen hæc quadrantis obseruatio Græcis Astronomis, propter causam admodum futilem.

A tilem & puerilem, qua Solis quantitatem ad Lunæ ratiocinia exigebant, & cum vtriusque sideris exactum motum adhuc non tenerent, ex Lunæ comparatione Solares rationes eliciebant. Itaque tantam censuerunt Solis quantitatem, quantum summam dies periodi in annos periodi distributæ relinquebant. Metonis periodus est dierum 6940. Diuisa per 19 annos relinquit quantitatem anni Solaris Metonici dierum 365. scrup. diurnorum $15\frac{1}{19}$. Calippi periodus dierum 27759 per 76 annos diuisa relinquit modum anni Calippici Solaris dierum 365 $\frac{1}{4}$. qualis est annus noster Iulianus. Periodus Hipparchi est dierum 111035, annorum 304. Sed neglectis illis 4, trecentesima pars diei detrahatur de quantitate anni Calippici Solaris, ut fiat annus Solaris Hipparcheus dierum 365. hor. 5. 55'. 12". quæ etiam B
fuit sententia Ptolemæi. Itaque ex sententia Hipparchi & Ptolemæi annus Tropicus, est annus Iulianus, vel Calippicus nonadecima parte differentiæ enneadecaeteridis Lunaris & Iulianæ diminutus: qui est verus annus Rabbi Ada: de quo alibi. Philolai Pythagorei magnus annus dierum 21505 $\frac{1}{2}$ per 59 annos diuisus constituit modum Solarem dierum 365. Oenopidæ annus magnus dierum 21557 itidem per 59 annos diuisus dat modum anni Solaris dierum 365 cum parte dierum duum & viginti vnde sexagesima. Harpali octaeteride per 8 annos diuisa remanet modus anni Solaris dierum 365 $\frac{1}{4}$. Annus magnus Democriti dierum 29950 $\frac{1}{4}$ per 82 annos diuisus relinquit annum Solarem dierum 365, cum quadrante & centesima sexagesima: quarta parte vnius diei. Denique nullus veterum non putauit rationes C
Solis ad Lunam exigendas esse. Et quotiescunque ex certa collectione dierum vtriusque sideris rationes congruerent, dies illi per tot annos diuisi, quot ex illa summa dierum constitui poterant, visi sunt illis certam anni Solaris quantitatem definire posse. Sapientiores vero, quanuis incomprehensibilem illam existimarēt, tamen pro vero quod proximum putabant amplexi sunt, dies trecentos sexaginta quinque cum quadrante, qui est modus anni Iuliani. cui singulis quadrienniis exactis vnus dies accrescit. sed hic annus comparatione Ægyptiaci est Solaris: comparatione autem Tropici est æquabilis. Maior enim est vera anni ratione scrup. horariis 11'. 6". 40". secundum D
Gelaxam formam, aut 10'. 44". fere, ut Alfonsini docent. Neque Prutenicæ tabulæ multum abluunt, quæ constituunt motum æqualem Solis ab æquinoctio. Dierum 365. Hor. 5. 49'. 15". 46". Itaque hinc nasci possunt aliquot genera anni Solaris. Æquabilis, ut Iulianus. Tropicus, ut Persarum Gelaxus. Rursus Tropicus aut æquabilis, aut cælestis. Æquabilis Tropicus, cuius quantitas Tropica est, partes autem, hoc est menses, æquales & ciuiles: ut is, B 3 quem.

quem modo dixi, Gelafus. Descriptus est enim mensibus æqualibus, omnibus tricenum dierum, cum epagomenis appendicibus, quæ in communi anno sunt quinque, in embolismo sex. Cælestis Tropicus, cuius partes in naturalia Zodiaci segmenta tributa sunt. Rursus & annus Solis æquabilis in civilem & cælestem diuidi potest. Civilis, ut Iulianus Romanorum, Syrogræcorum, Græcorum Elkupti. Cælestis, ut Dionysianus Ptolemæi Philadelphi. Nam & is quoque quadrantem Canicularem quadriennio exacto accipiebat. Finis vero omnis periodi is est, ut caput recurat & reuoluatur in idem principium, quam *ἐποχὴ* Græci vocant: quæ quidem pessum iuerit tandem, non seruata veri anni Tropici mensura. & quia annus Iulianus suam tueri non potuit, manifestum est Kalendas Ianuarias ab VII parte Capricorni, in qua statuerat eas Cæsar, in vicesimam primam, fere traductas esse hodie. Sed nihilo commodius epocha in enneadecaeteride seruari potest. Nam enneadecaeteris Tropica est velocior Lunari horis plusquam duabus. Contra enneadecaeteris Iuliana maior Lunari hora vna, & scrup. plusquam 27. Cum vero peccatur vtraque ratione, Tropica & Iuliana, Luna, cuius rationes mediæ sunt, inter illas duas, fines epochæ suæ tueri non potest: ut in cyclo Dionysij Paschali accidit, cuius nequerationes ad enneadecaeterida Lunarem collectæ sunt, neque epocha ad Solis motum castigata: sed eius forma potius tota mere Calippica est. ita ut eius statum post trecentos annos variare necesse sit. Quare ut epochas suas seruarent illi veteres, immanes periodos excogitauerunt, quales illæ Calippi, Philolai, Democriti, Oenopidæ. Sunt etiam periodi, quæ omnem modum excedebant. Et cum in omnibus illis orbibus annorum præcipuam vtriusque sideris rationem haberent, tamen nescio quæ confidens eos incessebat opinio, non solum vtriusque sideris, sed etiam omnium *ἀπαραγὰν ἀποκατάστασιν* illo circuitu fieri. Sic Harpalus & Eudoxus putant in sua Octaeteride omnes *ἀνατολὰς & δύσεις* in orbem redire. Idem etiam censet fieri Aratus in Metonica enneadecaeteride, Eudoxum suum secutus, qui in fabrica Sphæræ suæ eam planetarum & inerrantium harmoniam in eorum orbibus ostendit esse, ut sequente restitutione vtriusque sideris, necessario & omnium inerrantium redditum contingere concluderet. Propterea tot Sphæras *ἀστρων* commentus est, quot narrat Aristoteles libro XI τὰν *ὕψι* τὰ φυσικά quem consulas licet. Quin etiam Calippus alios orbes præter Eudoxum, addidit, ea ratione, ut *ἀποκατάστασιν τὰν φαινομένων* adstrueret, τὰ φαινόμενα *εἰ μέλλοις ἀποδοῦναι*, ut Aristoteles de ea re scribens pronuntiauit. Itaque τὰν φαινομένων nomine intelligendum ortus, & occasus τὰν ἀπλανῶν, non autem τὰν πλανητῶν καὶ τὰς ὁπισθημασίας, hoc est significationes

Acationes eorum: quas in orbem redire cum Luna & Sole in enneadecaeteride Meto quidem, Calippus, & Hipparchus putarunt, & aliis persuasurunt, donec deprehenso vero anni Tropici modulo vitium harum periodorum castigatum est. Cicero quoque apud Macrobius, sexto de republica, annum illum immanem, quem ex tot millibus annorum simplicium componit, non aliter in orbem rediturum, cum omnibus errantibus & inerrantibus censet, quam si eadem defectio Solis in eodem loco, eodem tempore fiat: quauis defectiones cyclo enneadecaeterico recurrant non raro. Et tamen ea eclipsi putat non tantum Solis & Lunæ, sed etiam quinque errantium ad eandem, inter se comparisonem, confectis omnium spatiis, reditum fieri, quo eadem cæli positio, siderumque, quæ ab initio maxime fuit, rursus existit. Quare eclipses ad eam rem notabant veteres, ut etiam *ἐκλειπτικὰς ἀφαιρέσεις* excogitarint. *Ἑξελιγμὸς* vocabant. Eorum vetustissimus fuit dierum 6585 $\frac{1}{3}$, qui sunt anni Arabici 18, syzygiæ 7. in genere vero sunt syzygiæ 223. Quamobrem in secundo libro Plinij perperam legitur siue culpa ipsius Plinij, siue librarij, defectus luminum ducentis viginti duobus mensibus redire. Hipparchus alium *Ἑξελιγμὸν* longe maiorem excogitauit dierum 126007, syzygiarum 4267, annorum Arabicorum 355 cum syzygiis 7: annorum Iulianorum 344 cum diebus 361. Quæ sunt tolerabiles periodi. Nam à causis naturalibus, nempe à defectionibus Luminum proficiscuntur. quemadmodum etiam enneadecaeteris Lunaris, & Cyclus Solis: quorum illa Lunam Soli restituit, hic Solem Septimanæ. & præterea periodus Mexicanorum constans annis LII, quæ restituit τὴν τετρακαίδεκάήμερον, quæ est ipsis vicem nostræ Hebdomadis. Neque alia fuit periodus magna Persarum veterum, quam Salchodai vocabant. Sunt & aliæ, sed civiles, & Indictio, Aliæ inanibus coniecturis insistant, ut Dodecaeteris Chaldaica Genethliacorum, item Heracliti, Lini, Orphei, Dionis, & Magorum: quorum periodus ad motum octauæ sphæræ composita est annorum 360000 à conditu Mundi, ut ipsi putant. quorum annorum hic est centies octagies quater millesimus, sexcentessimus nonagesimus quartus. Sed longe illa Sinarum prodigiosior, iuxta quam hic annus Christi 1594 est à conditu rerum octingenties octagies quater millesimus, septingentesimus septuagesimus tertius. Bonziorum vero Iaponensium periodus annorum 470 desinit cum anno Christi 1561. & 1562 cœpit sequens. eiusque hic est vicesimus currens. Ea vertente scelera extirpatum iri: reliquum tempus omnia pacata fore credunt. Taceo diuersas Christianorum, Iudæorum, Samaritanorum de conditu rerum opiniones: item Romanorum lustrum quinque annorum, sæculum centum & decem. Sunt & periodi Computatorum: ut Iudæa

annorum 6916, quæ constat cyclis Lunaribus 364, Solaribus 247, periodis magnis Dionysianis 13. Habetque tot cyclorum septimanas, quot dierum septimanæ sunt in anno Solari: tot periodos Dionysianas, quot menses annus embolimæus: tot cyclos Solares, quot cyclos Lunares magnus cyclus Iudaicus. Itaque elegantissima est, & artificiosissima. eiusque hic agitur annus 5354, anno Christi vulgari 1594. Et inibit 1595 annus eiusdem proximo autumno, vnde omnes epilogismi neomeniarum Iudaicarum. Periodus Dionysiana & ipsa ad annalem computum pertinet, annis constans 532, ducto in sese utroque cyclo. Veræ quidem periodi magnæ caput incurrit in annum primum utriusque cycli, pertinetque ad methodum Lunæ & Solis, & locum habet dumtaxat in anno Iuliano, hoc est in eo, cui præter 365 dies quadrans attribuitur. Itaque eius initium est à Kal. Ianuariis in anno Romano: in anno Constantinopolitano à Kal. Septembris. in Antiocheno à Kal. Octobris. in Alexandrino & Samaritano ab a. d. 1111. Kal. Septemb. Periodus vero Dionysij pertinet ad methodum neomeniæ Paschalis, initio sumto ab anno primo natalis Christi, ut ipse quidem putabat: item ab anno decimo cycli Solis Iuliani, & ab ea neomenia, cuius **quartadecima dies proxime post XXI, aut in XXI Martij conficeretur.** Hactenus à minimis initiis ad summa temporum incrementa, quam *ἐμὰδα χρόνων* Græci vocant, Chronologum perduximus, & eum in conspectu totius antiquitatis collocauimus. Superest nunc, ut quæ carptim & obiter perstrinximus, ea vberius suis locis explicentur. Resumamus igitur eos annos, ex quibus tanquam elementis, ad tot tamque diuersa genera annorum progressus factus est. Ex anno Græco, qui est æquabilis minor, omnes anni Lunaris formas propagatas esse vidimus: ut ex Ægyptiaco, qui est æquabilis maior, omnes Solares. Non igitur confuse, & per saturam hæc tractanda, sed suo quæque & loco & ordine. Quatuor igitur libris quatuor genera anni summa explicare decreuimus. Primus erit de anno æquabili minore. Eo enim omnis Græcia vsa tam diuersis generibus, quam multæ fuerunt eius terræ nationes, & *πολιτεῖαι*. Itaque ea erit reliqua pars huius libri. Secundum locum sibi vindicat annus Lunaris, quia ex illo priore deriuatus. Tertius liber complectetur anni æquabilis maioris formas, *ιδιόμτες*, & differentias. Quartus illius anni traduces & propagines persequetur, diuersa nempe anni Solaris genera, & mutationes. Hæc est pars prior, quam initio huius diatribæ Chronologo promissimus, de annorum & temporum Ciuium generibus. Altera pars est de caractere, qui necessarius est notandis temporum interuallis, quæ sequentibus libris tractabimus, item diuersis computis nationum annalibus, de quibus librum singularem ad calcem.

Acem operis adiciemus, non tanquam appendicem, sed partem vnam operis nostri. Quis igitur sit vsus characteris temporum, docet nos Dionysius ex Ephoro, qui cum annum excidij Troiæ ex Olympiadum epocha notare non posset, cum is casus aliquot seculis antiquior sit prima Olympiade, dixit id accidisse eo anno Artico, quo viginti *ἑξήκοντα* annus explebant. Statim peritis anni Artici subolebat, quo anno id accidere potuerit. Sciebant enim quoties in quanto interuallo annorum id fieri posset. Exemplo Ephori aut Dionysij erit nobis character excogitandus, quo animus anteps in triuo constitutus quæsitum ad fontem manu deducatur. Erit igitur primum totius instituti nostri fundamentum annus Iulianus, quem fingimus ante multa millia annorum fuisse. Characteres vero illi duos dabimus, cyclum Lunæ Dionysianum, cuius hic est annus XVIII. & cyclum Solis Iulianum cuius hodie annus VII currit. Tertium etiam, vbi ratio temporum patietur, Indictiones non aspernabimur. Nam qui his characteribus semel vti institerint, illi, quæ sit constantia, & fides illius methodi pulcherrimæ in ratione temporum, experientur. Si quis hoc anno Christi 1594. incertus, quot annos natus sit, tamen & maiorem se quadraginta nouem annorum, & minorem quinquaginta sex sciat, is imitatur imperitiam Chronologorum Græcorum, qui circiter illius, & illius regis tempora illud, & illud accidisse dicunt, annum vero certum non definiunt. Sed cum idem adiecit natum se Nonis Augusti, feria quinta, is addit characterem certum & indubitatum, quales sunt viginti *ἑξήκοντα* Ephori. Nam feria quinta non potuit incurrere in Nonas Augusti, nisi cum litera Dominicalis est C. Ante 49 autem annos id accidit anno Domini 1540, cyclo Solis nono. Itaque hoc characterismo constantissime affirmamus eo anno hominem natum, & proximis Nonis Augusti Iulianis illi quinquagesimum quintum natalem initurum. Idem vsus cycli Lunaris adhibita castigatione, ut à prima Olympiade ad annum Domini 1460 tot dies neomeniis adhibeas, quoties 304 annos reperies. Exemplum. hic est annus à prima Olympiade 2370. In quibus annis septies reperitur numerus 304. septem igitur dies neomeniis hodiernis adiciendi. Verbi gratia. anno primo cycli epactæ sunt XI. nouilunium Martij XVI. additis VII. diebus, nouilunium, vel potius coniunctio luminarium erat in XXV. Martij anno quarto ante primam Olympiadem, aut quintodecimo post eandem primam Olympiadem, & deinceps ad 304 annos. Sed ab hoc sæculo nostro post 150 annos minuendæ erunt neomeniæ totidem diebus, quoties 304 anni reperientur post annum Christi 1700. & fortasse citius. Sed quia nullam epocham veterem certiore Olympiadum capite habemus: illud autem cum.

cum vetustate comparatum nouitium esse videtur: inutiles erunt characteres cyclorum & Indictionis, nisi à quadam remotissima epocha initium temporum instituamus. Excogitemus igitur periodum, quæ & vtriusque cyclum, & Indictionem contineat: quod fiet, si periodum Dionysij Exigui quindecies multiplicemus: qui fient anni 7980. Ita periodus illa incipiet ab anno primo tum vtriusque cycli, tum Indictionis: & proinde eiusdem ultimus annus desinit in vltimis vtriusque cycli, & Indictionis. Sed annus Christi, ut vulgo putamus, 3267 desinet in vltimum vtriusque cycli, & Indictionis. Ergo deductis 3267 de 7980 annis, relinquetur epocha anni ante vulgarem Christi, nempe 4713. Ita ut 4714 sit primus annus Christi vulgaris cycli Solis x, Lunæ 2, Indictionis 4, à Kal. Ianuarij: quamvis & indictio autumno proxime antecedenti, Cyclus autem Lunæ Martio sequenti cæperit. Quare annus iste, qui ex errore vulgi putatur 1594, est 6307 periodi huius, quam Iulianam vocamus, quod ad Iulianam anni formam accommodata sit. Ideo 6307 diuisis per 28, per 19, per 15, habebimus huius anni 6307 periodi Iulianæ, vel vulgaris Christi 1594, cyclum. Solis septimum à Kal. Ianuarij: Lunæ decimum octauum à Martio sequente: Indictionis septimum Cæsarianæ quidem ab ante d. vii Kal. Octobris antecedentis anni 6306: Pontificiæ vero à Kalendis Ianuarij anni propositi 6307. Non prædicabo laudes huiusce periodi. Chronologi & astrologi, qui omnia *Ἀπρημονικὰς* disputare volunt, non poterunt eam satis laudare. Qui igitur eclipses ex Tabulis Prutenicis putare volent, ex anno periodi Iulianæ auferant 2408. & cum residuo toto excerpant tempora epochæ diluuij. Exemplum: Eclipsis Lunaris accidit in Septembri anno Olympiæ 446, qui est annus periodi Iulianæ 483. Deductis 2408, remanent 1975. Excerpo primum 1900 ex epocha Diluuij: deinde 75, ex filo annorum expansorum. Postremo menses vsque ad Septembrem. Et reliqua ut ex methode Prutenica. Qui omne dubium ex temporum ratione tollere volet, uti debet hac periodo, sine qua nihil vnquam certi in notatione temporum adferre poterit.

DE ANNO ÆQVABILI

MINORE GRÆCORVM.

CVM quidam veterum, ut Macrobius & Solinus, annum Græcorum merum Lunarem fuisse prodiderint: neque solum in ea hæresi fuerit vir eruditissimus Theodorus Gaza, sed & vetustissimus scriptorem Herodotum opinionis suæ testem adhibeat: equidem non temere ab eius auctoritate discedendum esse censuissim, nisi hominem.

At nem clarissimum, atque vtriusque linguae vindicem in re manifesta pueriliter errasse deprehendissim. Is igitur ut probet menses Græcorum Lunares, & alternis plenos & cauos fuisse, hæc verba ex Herodoto producit: *ἔτι δ' ἐβδόμηκοντα ἔτεα ἔργον ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀποτίθηται. ἔτι εἰσὶν ἔτη ἐν ταῖς ἐβδόμηκοντα (αὐτὰ παρ' ἑαυτὸν) ἡμέραις διηκοσίας καὶ ποικιλικήνας & δισηκοσίας, ἐμβολῆμας μὲν καὶ μὴ ἡρόμους.* Videamus, an vera sit summi viri sententia: & dies viceses quinquies mille ac ducentos per septuaginta annos partiamur. Prodit modus vnius anni, dies trecenti sexaginta. Perperam igitur Lunarem annum definit, cuius menses omnes fuerunt solidi. Duodecim enim menses omnes *ἑκακοβήμεροι* annum habuisse, prodit Herodotus, non, ut ipse vult, alternis plenos & cauos. Sed cum ea fuerit Gazæ sententia, mirum non coherere mihi fuisse hominem, vnum Herodoti testimonium contra se produxisse, nisi & Aristotelis altero ex libris *ζῴων ἰστορίαι* loco, magnam iniquitatem existimationi suæ fecisset. Scribit enim Aristoteles: *οἱ, ἵνα μὴ ἡμεῖς ἑβδόμηκοντα & διὰς*. En quinquies *κ' κ' x' i* dies est annus solidus Græcorum, hoc est totidem dierum, quot iam posuimus ex Herodoto, nempe *ccc c l x*. Idem etiam Cleobuli anigma canit, quod ex ipso Gaza confessionem expresserit. Id eiusmodi est *ἡμεῖς ἑβδόμηκοντα & διὰς*. *Εἰς ὁ πατήρ. πᾶσας δ' ἀνάστα. τὰ δ' ἐκείνου πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ διχάσειδ' ἔχουσιν. ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἱ μὲν λαοὶ καὶ εἰσὶν ἰδεῖν. αἱ δ' αὐτὲ μέλαινα καὶ οὐραία. ὅτι οὐραία ἀθάνατοι δι' ἃ τε ἔσται ἀποφθνήσκειν ἅπαντα, πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.* Enigma quidem: sed eiusmodi, ut ex eo vel pueri diuinent, annum Græcorum habuisse menses *ἑκακοβήμεροι* omnes. Sed clarius Plinius, ac sine vilo anigmate: *Nulli, inquit, arbitror plures statuas dicatas, quam Demetrio Phalereo Athenis. Siquidem ccc c l x statueret, quas mox lacerauerunt, nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente.* Cuius loci Pliniani Varronem interpretem dare possumus, qui apud Nonium scribit Demetrium Phalereum tot statuas adeptum fuisse, quot lucēs habet annus absolutus. Quare modus anni Græci fuit dierum *ccc c l x*. Non igitur fuit Lunaris. Laërtius de Solone scribit: *ἡμέρας τε πέντε Ἀθηνάων τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἑκατόμβην ἄγαν.* Ergo temporibus Solonis nondum Græcorum annus erat Lunaris. Alioqui si annus Lunaris fuisset, quomodo constaret id, quod scribit Plutarchus, scilicet defectionem Lunarem, quæ præcessit cladem Persarum, ad Gaugamela, incidisse in noctem nysteriorum Atticorum, hoc est *εἰς ἐκὰς βονδρομιῶν*? Nam si vicesima Boedromionis confectum est plenilunium, sane sexta, hoc est *ἕκτη ἑξαμήνης*, fuit nouilunium. Non igitur Lunaris fuit ille Boedromion. Idem Plutarchus in Camillo

harram anni 1003 in hoc anno Christi 1594: quem Muharram supra ostendimus incurrere in Tifri Iudaicum 5355, cuius Tifri characterem supra exhibuimus 5, 3, 904. In Tabula annorum collectorum accipe numerum proxime minorem, quam 1002 anni præteriti: hoc est numerum 840. quo de 1002 deducto, supersunt 162. de quibus iterum deductis proxime minoribus 150, supersunt anni 12 præteriti expansi. Iam collige characteres annorum 840, 150, 12. hoc est 7, 9, 360. 4, 1, 720. 3, 9, 792. qui compositi simul fiunt 7, 20, 792. His aggerè characterem Radicis Hegiræ 4, 7, 112. Confurgit neomenia Tifri 5, 3, 904: cum tamen, ut diximus, Muharram vno die serius secutus sit. Sed si vis ratiociniorum Arabicorum *αριθμητικῶν* perspicere, hoc potes ita. Hoc anno Christi 1594 syzygiæ Septembris cōgruit neomenia prima anni Indorum 1690. Ex epilogismo Arabico debebat esse feria vī in vī Septembris. ex epilogismo autem superioris Tabulæ, siue Iudaico, qui idem est, debuit contingere feria v, Septembris quinta. Sed primus Muharram Indicus incidit in feriam vī, Kal. ipsis Iulianis, utique citius vno die, quam æquum erat. Igitur eandem periodum esse oportet annorum Indicorum & Arabicorum: siquidem amborum eadem feria sexta est initium. Abiectis omnibus 210 de 1690, remanet decimus annus, cuius character vnitas cum 2 caractere primæ Triacacteridis compositus dabit feriam tertiam anni Indorum propositi 1690, Septembris 3. Sed quia coniunctio primi Muharram Iuliani incidit in Sabbatū, propterea addatur vnitas. Tunc esset neomenia anni 1690 in quarta Septembris vno die citius, quam Tifri Iudaicus. Causa est, quod in annis Arabicis 1690, tot $\frac{11}{1000}$ omittuntur de rationibus Lunæ, quot anni præterierunt. Ductis igitur annis præteritis 1689 in 12, fiunt horæ 18, 828. hoc est fere 19 horæ. Proemptosis igitur fere vnus diei facta est in periodis Arabicis, a Kal. Ianuarij Iulianis ad hanc vsq. diem. In 2160 enim annis Arabicis, iusta vnus diei fit *αριθμητικῶν*. Propterea ut dixi, studiosiores Muhamedani, siue Mussulmanin vtuntur epilogismis iis, quos habes in Tabula proposita, ut manifesto extant in meo Kalendario Persico: in quo menses duodecim positi sunt primo ordine, sed cum epocha. Nam primi mensis character est 4, 1, 86. Reliqui vndecim per adiectionē 1, 12, 793. hoc est vnus syzygiæ compositi sunt. Secundo ordine sunt viginti anni expansi. Sed primi character est 1, 2, 160. Deinde reliqui 19 per adiectionem 4, 8, 876. qui est character vnus anni, crescunt. Tertio ordine sunt anni collecti per 3, 8, 240 crescentes, qui est character viginti annorum Arabicorum. Sed primi anni character est 5, 14, 586. Ita & menses & anni tam expansi, quam collecti habent Radicem suam. Quod sane mirum est: cum vna epocha, siue, ut vocant, Radix, satis sit cuius annorum

rum collectioni quantumuis immani. Hæc ego non intelligo, quem admodum multa alia, quæ sunt in eo calendario. ut neque id, quod magis miror, nempe quod in Calendario anni semper digesti sunt per 19, isque annorum numerus vocatur *سالها*, hoc est periodus Lunaris. Sed anni illi, quorum primi character est, 5, 14, 586, quique per adiectionem viginti annorum crescunt, vocantur quoq. *سالها*. quasi tam xx anni, quam xix sint periodus Lunæ. Hæc ego illis, qui meliore ingenio sunt, inuestiganda relinquo. Est autem Kalendarium illud impeditiuissimis characteribus exaratum; ut non nisi peritissimos admittant.

DE CYCLO IVDÆORVM KARRAIM.

B **H**EBRÆORVM, & Mosicolarum summa *ὁλόκληρος* diuisio est in eos, qui *πατροδιδότας διδασκῶντας* obseruant, & eos, qui ab eis alieni sunt. *διδασκῶντας* sunt scita & traditiones Magistrorum. Qui sanctiones Magistrorum sequuntur, eorum duo genera extant in Ægypto in numerosam plebem diffusa: eaq. inter se neque cultu numinis, neque fide diuersa, sed rituum tantum aliquot, & lectionum annuarum, œconomia. Alteri eorum dicuntur Arabice *الساميين*, Damasceni siue Syri. Alteri *الاعراقيين* Græci. Sed & utrique appellationibus etiam Hebraicis distinguuntur. Nam Damasceni *דמשקאים* id est Israelitæ, vel Hebræi dicuntur. Græci autem *ββλ*, Babylonij: qui antiquitus a Ptolemæo Lago in Ægyptum traducti sunt, & sub Philadelpho Biblia tantum Græca in Synagogis cæperunt legere, quæ iussu Ptolemæi coacti sunt vertere: adeo ut pauci inter illos Hebraice scirent. quod non inuitus crediderit, qui Philonem eximium Iudæum ex ipsius met scriptis Hebraice nescisse cognouerit. Græci vero vel *ελληνιστῶν* cur dicantur, nunc ignorare non potest, qui sciuerit eos Græce tantum Biblia legere solitos. Babylonij autem, sunt cognominati, quod sint ex reliquiis eorum, quos ex Chaldæa in patriam reduxit Esdras: tametsi nihilominus Babylonienſes erant etiam alteri. sed cognomine Hebræorum siue Israelitarum distincti, quod semper Hebraicis lectionibus operam dederunt. Syros cognominarunt, quod ex Syria recenter post excidium Hierosolymorum sub Romanis Imperatoribus in Ægyptum sponte, an vi immigrarunt. In Actis Apostolorum non semel utrumque gentis distinguitur *εβραίων* & *ελληνιστῶν* appellatione. Isti meri Iudæi sunt, neque inter se vlla capitalia odia exercent; eorumque vnus est computus anni, quamuis in lectionibus & precibus immane quantum discrepent. Alterius generis Hebræorum, qui Magistrorum scita auerſantur, alij legem tantum amplectuntur, nempe

nempe Samaritæ, alij præter Legem reliqua etiam Biblia, quæ cum vno nomine dicantur, id est lectio, vel Textus: propterea ex illis alij dicti sunt, id est Lectionarij, Scripturarij, Textuarij, ut alij qui scripta Rabbiorum non minore reuerentia, quam Legem ipsam sequuntur, dicti sunt Rabbini, Magistralis. Arabice alteri ab alteris ita vocantur *القراون* & *الرايون*. Sed pauci sunt Karraim, pro portione Rabbanij, qui per totam Europam diffusi sunt. Isti quamuis meri Iudæi sunt, tamen inexpressibilia odia inter se exercent, neque ab alterutris exprimas, ut alteros saltem alloquantur. Et sunt isti Karraim de reliquiis veterum Sadducæorum. Quia igitur utriusque nullum inter se commercium, nihil commune habent, præter Bibliorum textum, isti Karraim, ne cum Iudæis facere videantur, rationem neomeniarum diuersam a Iudæis habent, cum Iudæi a totum luminarium, illi *דוד* & *פסח* neomenias putent. Quare eorum neomeniæ puræ putæ Arabicæ sunt, mensium nominibus tantum cum Iudæis conuenientes. Qui igitur Arabicas neomenias tenet, istenec & neomenias Karraim: & ex Laterculo neomeniæ Muharram, mensis Paschalem Karraim cum Luratione Dionysiana comparare potest. Quare id docere, hoc esset actum agere. Porro horum Karraim synagoga etiam hodie est Constantinopoli. Aliæ sunt in Palestina.

DE CYCLO TESSARESKÆDECATITARVM

ET VETVSTISSIMORVM ASIÆ CHRISTIANORVM.

IN primordiis Ecclesiæ tum Apostoli, tum qui eos centum annis postea sequuti sunt, Pascha semper Iudaice celebrarunt, ut testantur Eusebius, & historia vetus Ecclesiastica, & post omnes Nicephorus Callistus. Sed sub Commodio ii, qui Iudaice Pascha celebrabant, damnati sunt hæreseos à Victore Romano Episcopo, & aliis, quos ipse in synodum conuocauerat. Differentia autem huius celebrationis duplex est. Aut enim in ratione Lunæ, aut in ritu. Rationis Lunæ irem duplex differentia est. Aut enim in neomenia, quatenus neomeniæ tripliciter usurpatæ sunt à veteribus, ut in anno Græco disputauimus: aut in embolismo. Neomeniæ enim aut *κ* *συνόδον*, quales priscorum Atticorum, aut *κ* *ξανασμών*, quales veterum Chaldæorum, aut *κ* *χρῖμα* *μυσείδες* putantur, quales sunt Arabum. Embolismi differunt pro ratione capitis cyclorum: quandoquidem alij aliunde cyclos suos ordiuntur. ut Iudaici cycli annus primus est tertius nostri in Tisri, & quartus in Nisan. Hoc modo Christianorum mensis Paschalis aliquando incurrit in Ijar Iudaicum, idque in cyclo 8, & 19. Ritus autem *τessaresκαδεκατίται* differebat interdum solo tempore a ritu Europæorum: quod Europæi Dominica die *πάχα ἀναστάσιμον* celebrandum censerent

A censerent, *τessaresκαδεκατίται* autem *πάχα ἀναστάσιμον* XIII Luna celebrabant: Interdum Lurationibus, in cyclis 8, 19, ut diximus. Quis autem, aut cuiusmodi fuerit cyclus iste *τessaresκαδεκατίται*, etiam me tacente sciunt, qui Eusebium, & auctores Ecclesiasticæ historiæ legerunt. Nam qui per omnia Apostolos hac in re imitarentur, & permulti ex illis ex Iudaismo ad Christianismum transissent, non obscurum est, eorum cyclum merum Iudaicum fuisse, & de periodo Alexandria Iudæorum peti solitum. Porro perperam scribit Epiphanius, *τessaresκαδεκατίται* gloriari solitos se compertum habere ex Actis Pilati, Christum passum fuisse VII Kal. Aprilis. cuius opinionis fuit Augustinus. Sed qui hoc potuit? cum neomenia Nisan incidat in 12 Martij, quoties 25 Martij est 14 Nisan. Atqui æuo illo hoc non potuit contingere nisi cyclo 13, idque in anno Hagareno, in annis 19, 38, 57, periodi. Atqui tunc Iudæorum neomeniæ vno die tardiores erant propter *ἀρῆμῶν*. Non igitur potuit accidere. Quod si cyclo 13 passus esset Christus, duos tantum annos prædicasset: quod est absurdum, quamuis id multi patrum crediderint, & scriptis prodiderint. Eiusmodi plura extant apud illum eruditum Patrem, & alios veteres, præsertim Eusebium: quæ sane cum delectu sunt legenda.

DE OCTAETERIDE

E T

TESSARESDECAETERIDE PASCHALI.

ERRORES in celebratione Paschatis, item dissensiones, quæ ex hoc fonte in Ecclesias deriuatæ sunt, non ex solis Quartadecimanis propagati sunt, sed a diuersis cyclis Lunæ. Nam fuerunt, qui Octaeteridem usurparent ex syzygiis Philolai, quæ fuerunt vndetricenū dierum cum semisse. annus autem Lunaris ex illis constitutus erat dierum 354 præcise sine vllis appendicibus horarum, aut scrupulorum. Octo huiusmodi anni communes erant dierum 2832. Quibus accedebant embolimi menses tres *πριακονθήμεσσι*. Summa dierum Octaeteridis Paschalis 2922. Iam octo anni Iuliani cum quadrantibus totidem dies efficiunt. Hinc putarunt præcisam *ἀπκατάστασι* fieri. Sed hæc Octaeteris solido biduo deficit a vera Lunari: Est autem mera Octaeteris Cleostrati, ut supra demonstratum est. Quare non mirum, si propter errores, qui hinc sequebantur, factum, ut sæpe rixæ & tumultus suborirentur. Meminit huius Octaeteridis Ecclesiastica historia, item Epiphanius contra Audianos. Sed non melior Tessaresdecaeteris, quam non solum, ut probam & legitimam adducit idem Epiphanius, sed Iudæos non aliam rationem in anno Lunari sequi vult, quam illius

N

Metho-

methodum. Verba eius de Iudæis hæc sunt: *ᾠροσπιθέασι γὰρ τὰς ἑλῶναι- A*
καὶ δὲ ῥωμῶν τὰς τετακοσίας πεντήκοντα τέσσαρας ἡμέρας καὶ ἄλλας καὶ
ἑξῆς τέσσαρας ὥρας, ὡς εἶναι εἰς τὰ τετὰ ἑπὶ ἡμέραν μίαν. Manifesto intel-
 ligit horas, quantarum duodecim est *τὸ νυχθήμερον*. At falsum erit
 vnam tantum diem post triennium accrescere, cum relinquuntur
 post triennium dies duo, horæ 18, quantarum 24 est totum; aut 9, quan-
 tarum 12. Adiciit: *διὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς πέντε μῶνες τελευτῶν ἐμβόλιμοι εἰς ἑπὶ δεκα-*
τέσσαρας. Quatuordecim ergo annis cyclum Iudaicum definit, cum
 in illo interuallo *ὑπεροχὴ* Solaris sit dierum quatuor, hor. 16, 1051. Sed
 neque vlla præcisa ratio ita confici ex illa Tessaresdecaeteride potest.
 Quatuordecim anni Iuliani fiunt dies 5113, horæ 12. Anni Lunares to-
 tidem simplices 4956. Differentia dies 157, 12. De quibus intercalen-
 tur *τετακονθήμεροι* menses v. Remanent dies $7\frac{1}{4}$. Deinde quatuor
 horæ quatuordecies constituunt dies quatuor, horas 8. quæ summa
 de diebus $7\frac{1}{4}$ detracta relinquit differentiam veræ Tessaresdecaete-
 ridis, & falsæ, dies $2\frac{1}{4}$. En ratio præcisa. Tamen & in Palæstina, &
 inter Iudæos & Samaritanos adeo illum ex eius scriptis versatum pa-
 tet, vt ex illis scire potuerit, quisnam eorum anni civilis status & for-
 ma esset. Sed omnes veteres scriptores hac in parte negligentia culpa
 liberare non possum.

DE HECCÆDECAETERIDE

HIPPOLYTI EPISCOPI.

OCTAETERIDA primam fuisse institutam ante omnes alias pe-
 riodos Lunares, ex iis, quæ supra strictim demonstraui, con-
 stare potest. Dionysius quoque Alexandrinus etiam post alios Octae-
 terida instituit: in qua ostendit Pascha ante xxii Martij rite celebrari
 non posse, in epistola, quam ad Domitium & Didymum scripsit, &
 Canonem Octaeteridos suæ præfixit. In qua, vt inquit Eusebius, *ἡ κανό-*
να ἐκτέθεικε ὁ καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς ὅτι μὴ ἄλλοτε, ἢ μὴ τὴν εἰαρινὴν ἡμέραν ᾠροσπ-
καὶ πάχα ἑορτὴν ἡπικλεῖν παρεσάμην. Producebat enim, vt puto,
 vetustissimum Canonem, *εἰ τις περὶ βύστερος, ἢ διάκονος τὴν αἰρίαν ἔπαχα*
ἡμέραν ᾠροσπ τὴν εἰαρινὴν ἡμέραν μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἡπικλεῖται, καὶ βαρύνει. Cor-
 rexigit igitur annum quendam Octaeteridis, quem ex communi embol-
 imæum fecit, vt manifesto ostendit Epistola; ne Pascha ante xxii
 Martij celebraretur. An post hunc Dionysium, an vero ante perio-
 dum suam xvi annorum scripserit Hippolytus, hoc vero diuinare
 est. Id vnum exploratum habemus, hunc nostrum Hippolytum nihil
 noui ad hanc rem attulisse; vt aliquid in embolismis, aut neomeniis
 innouauerit. Sed vidit ille in duabus Octaeteridibus aliquam seriem
 feriarum

A feriarum esse, vt semper xvii annus incipiat a feria proxime antece-
 dente illam, a qua primus annus caperat. Exemplum. Incipiat pri-
 mus annus a feria prima. Annus decimusseptimus incipiet a feria pro-
 xime antecedenti, nempe a Sabbato; deinde annus tricesimus tertius a
 feria sexta: quadragesimus nonus a feria quinta: & ita per orbem, do-
 nec compleantur xiiii octaeterides, quæ sunt septem *ἑκαδεκαετηρίδες*.
 Etiam hoc habet insigne hæc periodus, quod annus vltimus incipiat
 ab eadem feria, a qua primus. Quæ omnia potes videre in subiecta
 Tabula Canonis. Hoc modo & capite & calce sibi tota similis est pe-
 riodus *ἑκαδεκαετηρίκη*. Nam series feriarum capitibus Z, 5, E, Δ, Γ, B, A,
 occurrit eadem serie immutabili in limbo. Hæc ratio fuit, quare *ἑ-*
καδεκαετηρίδα potius, quam *ὁκταετηρίδα* amplexus sit. Quæ omnino
 puerilis est, vt suo loco demonstrabitur, & vitia huius periodi decla-
 rabuntur.

HECCÆDECAETERIS PASCHALIS

HIPPOLYTI EPISCOPI,
 ab anno primo Imperatoris
 Alexandri.

EMBOL.	EIDIB. APRIL.	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	I
	II. I. NON. APRIL.	D	C	B	C	B	A	G	II
BISSEX.	XII. XI. KAL. APRIL.	A	G	F	E	D	C	B	III
EMBOL.	V. EID. APRIL.	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	IIII
	III. KAL. APRIL.	D	C	B	A	G	F	E	V
	XV. KAL. APRIL.	A	G	F	E	D	C	B	VI
EMBOL. BISSEX.	NON. APRIL.	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	VII
	VIII. KAL. APRIL.	D	C	B	A	G	F	E	VIII
EMBOL.	EIDIB. APRIL.	C	B	A	G	F	E	D	IX
	III. NON. APRIL.	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	X
BISSEX.	XII. XI. KAL. APRIL.	D	C	B	A	G	F	E	XI
EMSOL.	V. EID. APRIL.	C	B	A	G	F	E	D	XII
	III. KAL. APRIL.	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	XIII
	XV. KAL. APRIL.	D	C	B	A	G	F	E	XIIII
EMBOL. BISSEX.	NON. APRIL.	C	B	A	G	F	E	D	XV
	VIII. KAL. APRIL.	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	XVI

DE CYCLO PASCHALI

ALEXANDRINORVM.

QUANTVM antiquitus in Ecclesia turbatum sit propter Paschalis cultus obseruationem, & ij sciunt, qui historiam Ecclesiasticam legerunt, & nos quædã paulo ante delibauimus, cum ostendimus in hac celebratione dissensum fuisse dupliciter: in die, & in mense. In die, cum Tessarescædecatitæ omni plenilunio, reliqui dominica proxima post pleniluniũ Pascha celebrarent. In mense, cum alij plenilunio proximo post æquinoctiũ vernum, alij plenilunio ante æquinoctium. Quæ diuersitas contingebat ex embolismis, cum aliis gentibus idem annus embolimus esset, qui aliis communis. Diuersitas vero embolismorũ nata ex eo, quod alij Octaeteridas amplecterentur, alij Tessarescædecæcteridas, alij Heccædecæcteridas. Hoc vidētes periti Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ, ita tumultus & turbas in ecclesia componi posse putarunt, si ratio & modus periodorũ Lunarium, quibus hætenus utebatur Ecclesia, mutaretur. Itaque ad veterum Græcorum atque adeo Iudæorum epilogismos confugerunt, præsertim cum quotidie Iudæi Christianis merito exprobrarent Paschatis celebrandi nullam aliam rationem iniri posse, quam eam, quæ inter ipsos vñtata erat. Quam Iudæorum ostentationẽ stomachabundus castigat Imperator Cōstantinus epistola ad Ecclesiās de Actis Concilij, ἐστὶν, inquit, ὡς ἀληθὺς, ἀποβλέποντες ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς ἀπὸ παρεκτὸς τῶν αὐτῶν διδασκαλίας τὰ πάντα φυλάττειν ὡς ἡμεῖς ἰκανοί. Sed Iudæi recte Christianorum supinitatem arguebant, inter quos hætenus nemo extitisset, qui rem Iudæis, Chaldæis, Syris, Hagarenis, Samaritanis, Græcis tritissimam ignorarent, Lunæ ἀποκατάστασιν in xix annis Iulianis fieri. Non tulerunt igitur hoc Ecclesiæ Ægypti, & abrogatis Octaeteridibus, Heccædecæcteribus, & aliis ineptis periodis, Enneadæcterida construxerunt, cuius primus annus incidit in 314. Actiacæ victoriæ, cyclo Dionysiano xix, cyclo Solis xiiii. Neomenia Lunaris & Toth conueniebant in vnum, feria vi.

Neomenia hodierna Tisri 4045 translata fuisset in secundam Toth propter Adu. Ab hoc principio cæptum ab Ægyptiis putare initia imperij Diocletiani, eoque ad hanc vsque diem vtuntur Ecclesiæ tam Ægypti, quam Æthiopix in epilogismo Paschali, propter cyclum

Toth

Dies Toth	Cyclos Enneadæcteris	Dies Paophi	Cyclos Luna
1		1	
2		2	
3		3	
4		4	xvi
5		5	v
6		6	
7		7	xviii
8		8	ii
9		9	
10		10	x
11		11	viii
12		12	xviii
13		13	vii
14		14	
15	xv	15	
16	iiii	16	
17		17	
18	xii	18	
19	i	19	
20		20	
21	ix	21	
22		22	
23	xvii	23	
24	vi	24	
25		25	
26	xiiii	26	
27	iii	27	
28		28	
29	xi	29	
30	xix	30	

AToth Diocletiani. Adeoque Ecclesiis omnibus hæc ratio placuit, vt non solum ipsæ cyclos sibi similes instituerint, sed & si quando controuersia de solenni Paschatis incurreret, ea de re ad Alexandrinam Ecclesiam referretur: quod alibi tetigimus. Imo cura denunciandæ solennitatis Paschalis Romano Episcopo delegata fuit Alexandrino antistiti per Imperatorem, vt *luculentissime traditur a Beda, xlii cap. de ratione temporum*. Huius cycli plerique veterum meminerunt: sed & inter alios Ambrosius epistola lxxxiii, lib. x, in hæc verba: *Anno lxxx, ex die imperij Diocletiani, cum xiiii Luna esset ix Kalend. Aprilis, nos celebravimus Pascha prid. Kalend. Aprilis. Alexandrini quoque & Ægyptij, vt ipsi scripserunt, cum incideret xiiii Luna xxviii die Pharmuthi mensis, celebrarunt Pascha quinta die Pharmuthi mensis, quæ est pridie Kal. Aprilis. & sic conuenere nobiscum*. Hoc accidere non potuit, nisi anno Christi 373. Tunc enim terminus Paschalis fuit 24 Martij, cyclo Lunæ 13, litera dominicali F, cyclo Solis 18. Quare error est lxxx ex die imperij Diocletiani, pro lxxxix: item xxviii die Pharmuthi, pro Phamenuthi. Quare corrigatur locus optimi & Christianissimi scriptoris. Primi igitur omnium Christianorum Alexandrini & cyclum decemnouenalem instituerunt, & epactas docuerunt, quæ in primo, aut secundo mense, hoc est in Toth, aut Paophi, nouilunium indicarent. Annus enim Lunaris duodecim mensium alternis plenorum & cauorum est: excessus autem Solis supra illum, dies xi: qui detracti de mense relinquunt xix epocham nouilunij. Secundo anno excessus erit bis xi. qui detractus de mense relinquit epocham nouilunij in viii mensis. Tertio anno ter xi dies sunt maiores mense. Detracto mense, relinquuntur iiii dies excessus, qui de mense deducti relinquunt epocham neomeniæ in xxvii mensis. Ita semper proceditur per incrementum xi, & deductionem mensis Lunaris, vbi opus est. Hæc dies ἐπεροχῆς ἡλιακῆς vocatæ sunt ab Alexandrinis ἐπακταὶ: quæ cum detractæ fuerint de mense, reliquum vocatur ἀποβυὴ a Græcis, voce Geometrica, vt vsurpatur ab Euclide proposit. lxxiiii libri x.

Arabes vocant *مطلع*. Epactai dictæ ideo, quod vt Luna Solem consequatur, adiciendæ sunt: quasi ascititias dicas. Hæc fuit prima origo Epactarum, quæ temporibus Diocletiani antiquior non est: cum tamen hodie quidam acutias a Cæsare simul cum anno Solari excogitatas dicant. Imo ne vsus quidem earum statim in vulgus. Longe enim posterior illa res, quam cyclus. Sed & Eusebius alium postea cyclum Græcis instituit, qui nihil aliud est, quam Alexandrinus. Non enim vllum commentus est: sed Alexandrinum. Græcis publicauit: quod ex xlii capite Bedæ de ratione temporum

N 3 constat

constat. Itaque ex Ambrosio cognoscimus semper Græcis cum Alexandrinis de celebratione Pascha conuenisse, Occidentales autem ab ipsis discrepasse in cyclo 8, & 19. De quorum Occidentalium cyclo dicendum. Vfus Epactæ & Apotomes hic est. Detracta Epacta de diebus mensis, reliquum dicitur Apotome, eique apponitur cyclus. Exemplum. Quando cyclus est 1111, Epacta est 14, quæ detracta de 30 diebus mensis relinquit 16 diem mensis apotomen, cui apponitur 1111 nota cycli. Sic cum cyclus est xv11, Epacta 7 de 30 diebus detracta relinquit apotomen 23 diem mensis: cui apponitur xv11, cyclus nempe illius anni. Apotomæ igitur notant nouilunia in diebus mensis. Et hoc per totum annum, ac deinceps singulæ notæ per totum cyclum.

DE CYCLO PASCHALI OCCIDENTALIVM SIVE LATINORVM.

MIRVM Victorem Episcopum Romanum exposulasse cum Asianis, quod nullum aliud Pascha agnoscerent præter x1111 Nisan Iudaici, cum ipse interea nullo certo Canone ad Paschalem neomeniam deprehendendam vteretur: siquidem octaeteride & hecædecaeteride rem explicabant: quo consequebantur, ut eo nomine a Tessarescædecatitis riderentur, qui neomeniis pure Iudaicis utebantur. Quin postea quem cyclum admiserunt, is merus erat Iudaicus, & non alius, quam Tessarescædecatitarum: cuius exemplum infra subieci-
mus. In omnibus igitur conueniebat inter utrosque, præterquam in cyclis 8, & 19 Alexandrinorum. Nam cum ij sint Embolimæi, in Occidentalium cyclo erant communes, utpote cum octauus Alexandrinus sit quintus Occidentalis, 19 autem Alexandrinus sit sextusdecimus Occidentalis. Ita Occidentales Itali, Hispani, & Galli Pascha in Nisan Iudaico celebrabant, Alexandrini autem & Græci in Ijar Iudaico. Quare annis Christi 330, 349, 387, in quibus currebat cyclus Alexandrinorum octauus, item in annis 341, 379, qui inciderunt in annum 19 eiusdem cycli Alexandrini, Latini Pascha in Nisan, Alexandrini, & Græci in Ijar celebrarunt. Victorinus in Prologo suæ magnæ periodi ita scribebat: *Latini a 1111 Nonarum Martiarum, ad 1111 Nonas Apriles, diebus scilicet xxix, obseruandum maxime censuerunt, ut quocunque eorum die Luna fuerit nata*

	Cycli notæ	Emb. notæ
	1	17 Emb.
	2	18
Emb.	3	19 Emb.
	4	20
	5	21
Emb.	6	22 Emb.
	7	23
Emb.	8	24 Emb.
	9	25
	10	26 Emb.
Emb.	11	27
	12	28 Emb.
	13	29
Emb.	14	30 Emb.
	15	31
	16	32
Emb.	17	33 Emb.
	18	34
Emb.	19	35

Anata, efficiat primi mensis initium, cuius Luna decima quarta si feria sexta prouenerit, subsequens dominicus, id est Luna decima sexta, festiuitati Paschali sine ambiguo deputetur. Sin autem die Sabbati plenilunium esse contigerit, & consequenti Dominico Luna decima quinta reperiri, eadem Hebdomada transmissa, in alterum diem Dominicum, id est, Lunam vicesimam secundam, transferri debere Pascha dixerunt: ne minus eiusdem Dominici peragendo mysterio destinerent, quam sextamdecimam, nec amplius, quam vicesimam secundam Lunam aliquando reciperent, eligentes potius in Lunam vicesimam secundam diem festi Paschalis extendi, quam dominicam Passionem ante Lunam quartamdecimam vllatenus inchoari. Quartasdecimas porro Lunas mensis eiusdem a xv Kalendarum Aprilum vsque in xvi Kalendas Maias asserunt esse seruandas. Haftenus Victorinus. Vbi vides manifesto quartamdecimam vocari plenilunium: quia neomeniæ Christianorum Paschales sunt ἀπὸ φάσεως. Porro multa sunt in verbis Victorini, quæ merito reprehendas, si ad examen conferantur.

DE PERIODIS PASCHALIBVS THEOPHILI, CYRILLI, VICTORINI, VICTORIS, DIONYSII EXIGVI.

QUAMVIS de Paschatis prisco ritu apud Christianos aliquid superiore capite tetigimus, tamen locus hic postulat, ut de ea re amplius dicamus. Omnes veteres Christiani Pascha ad annum Lunarem dirigebant, hoc solo ad eam rem καὶ νομίζοντες vtentes, atque eo putantes se vestigiis Mosis & Iudæorum insistere. Sed duplex erat differentia. Altera est, quod alij citius, alij serius aliis menses intercalabant. Nam Asiani, qui Ioannis Euangelistæ, & aliorum, qui Apostolorum æquales fuerunt, vestigia sequebantur, mero anno Iudaico utebantur. Europæi vero cyclum suum ad æquinoctium componebant, & proximo post æquinoctium plenilunio Pascha celebrabant. Hæc erat differentia in mensibus. Altera differentia erat in die: quod alij videlicet Iudaice in x1111 Nisan, alij proxima post quartamdecimam Lunam die Dominica, solemnitatem Paschalem indicebant. Imo aliud tertium genus erat hominum, qui priuatum & proprium morem haberent. Nam quia veteribus persuasum erat Christum passum viii Kal. Aprilis, Gallicanæ Ecclesiæ, quacunque die viii Kal. Aprilis fuissent, in ea die Pascha celebrabant. Auctor Beda de Temporibus ratione cap. xliiii. Hinc contentiones ortæ a temporibus vsq. Victoris Episcopi Romani haftenus Ecclesiam agitarunt, donec utrique malo per patres Nicenos occurreretur. Hi differentiam pri-

nam, quæ erat in Embolismis, ita composuerunt, ut Paschalem quartamdecimam eam statuerent, quæ proxime æquinoctium sequeretur, quod tunc deprehendebatur in XXI Martij. Alteram differentiam, propter quam capitalia odia in Ecclesiis succreuerant, nihilominus sustulerunt, indicta celebritate Paschatis in eam Dominicam, quæ XIII diem Paschalem sequeretur. Ita duo sublata à confesso Niceno, diuersitas embolismorum, & diuersitas dici. Nam antea non conueniebat inter Ecclesias Orientis, & Occidentis. Europæi πάχατος ἀναστάσις rationem habebant: Asiæ πάχατος σωτηρίας: quod Christiani πάχα νομικὸν & πάχα ἰσδαϊκὸν vocant. Huic generi hominum nomen factum αἵρεσις τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάπλην, ut iam diximus. Nequetamen statim post Nicenam synodum a dissensionibus temperatum. Iam sexcenta millia cyclorum, Octaeteridum, Tessareskæ-decaeteridon ab hominibus otiosis edita nihil aliud quam incertiam, auctorum detegebant. Cycli quidem Lunaris ostendebat epochas quartarumdecimarum Paschalium, quos Terminos Paschales Computatores vocant. Sed quotiescunque ipsi Termini in dominicam incidebant, maxima pars Ecclesiarum in ipsa quartadecima πάχα ἀναστάσιμον celebrabant: reliqui autem in dominicam proximè sequentem transferebant. Ita nullus finis erat dissentendi. Tandem Computatoribus visum non aliter has lites componi posse, quam si ut Terminorum Paschalium, ita feriarum quædam periodus, aut cycli institueretur, quo vertente, omnis ratio feriarum & Terminorum Paschalium in orbem rediret. Primus omnium, quod quidem sciamus, eam rem aggressus est Cyrillus Alexandriæ Episcopus, excogitata annorum nonagintaquinque periodo, quam ob id ἐνεντηκονταπενταετηρίδα vocauit, eamque additis festiuitatis Paschalis rationibus Ecclesiis publicauit: cuius periodi initium con-surgebat ex anno Diocletiani centesimo quinquagesimo tertio, anno Christi vulgari, 380, Postumio Syagrio v. c. Fl. Annio Eucherio c o s s. cum anno antecedente cepisset dictus annus Diocletiani. Sed eam rursus castigauit Theophilus eiusdem urbis Episcopus, edita totidem annorum, sed castigatione, ut ipsi videbatur, sumpto initio ab anno Christi 437, qui erat Diocletiani 210, Fl. Sigeulte v. c. Fl. Aëtio v. c. Mag. vtr. milit. c o s s. Dionysius Abbas cognomine μικρός scribit periodum ipsius Cyrilli cepisse ab anno

ELENCHVS PERIODI THEOPHILI ET CYRILLI.

Cyclus Solis.	Luna Dominica.	Cyclus Solis.	Luna Dominica.
12	G	20	D
23	G	3	D
6	G	14	D
17	AG	25	ED
28	A	8	E
11	A	19	E
22	A	2	E
5	BA	13	FE
16	B	24	F
27	B	7	F
10	B	18	F
21	CB	1	GF
4	C		
15	C		
26	C		
9	DC		

Diocle.

A Diocletiani 153, ut quidem a nobis positum est. Sed quidam Chronologi contrarium in suis indicibus temporum annotarunt: inter quos Florentius Wigorniensis monachus ait Theophilum orsum periodum suam anno Diocletiani 153, Christi 380, Cyrillum autem suam anno Christi 437. Nos melioribus auctoribus, Dionysio & Gennadio, contrarium secuti sumus: quorum alter, ut diximus, ait eam periodum inire ab anno Christi 380, id est Diocletiani 153, alter vero ait Theophilum eam obtulisse Theodosio iuniori. Id vero plane conuenit anno Christi 380. Sed non solum vitiosa, sed ridicula est hæc periodus. Nam 84 annis, qui sunt tres cycli Solares, detractis de 95 annis remanet annus cycli vndecimus. Itaq. si anno XII cycli, a quo proxime sequitur bisextum, perpetuo addantur vndecim, primus annus primæ periodi, secundæ, tertiæ, & quartæ incipiet a litera G. annus vero primus quintæ, sextæ, septimæ, octauæ inibit a litera proxime sequente, nempe ab A. & sic deinceps, ut habes in Tabella superiori. quod potes periclitari in annis Christi. Anno Christi 535, cycli Solis XII, litera dominicalis G, Terminus 2 Aprilis feria secunda. Hoc continuatur annis sequentibus 630, 725, 820, cyclis Solis 23, 6, 17. Sed annis sequentibus 915, 1010, 1105, 1200, erit feria prima, cyclis Solis 28, 11, 22, 5. Reliqua per te potes experiri. Hac Theophili & Cyrilli hallucinatione deprehensa, Victorinus (Victorius dicitur Pedæ, & aliis) natione Aquitanus, inuitatus ab Hilario Sardo Romæ Episcopo, cōmentus est C periodum satis elegantem, ductis annis cycli Solaris in annos cycli Lunaris, qui fiunt omnes anni 532, quorum orbe feriæ, & Termini Paschales ad initium suum recurrunt. Quod sane prudenter ab eo factum, siquidem neomeniæ vni diei affixæ essent in Calendario, neque vno die in anteriora per 304 annos eniterentur. Initium huic magnæ periodo a Kalend. Ianuarij anno, in quem contulit baptismum Christi, qui erat, ut ipse putauit, xv Tiberij, consulatu duorum Geminorum, cyclo Solis vndecimo, Lunæ duodecimo, anno periodi Iulianæ 4743. Eamque periodum continuauit circiter vsque ad tempora sua, appositis a latere paribus Consulium, ut vidimus in peruetusta magni illius Cuiacij membrana, maiusculis literis, quas capitales vocant, perscripta. Sed scdissimi errores erant, tam in Consulium nominibus, culpa librorum, quam in terminis Paschalibus & dominicis resurrectionis, negligentia ipsius Victorini. Neque melior est codex, quem penes nos habemus. In utroque codice nomen Victorini, non Victorij præferebatur. His erroribus tam Paschalium Terminorum, quam τὴν νομικὴν ἀναστάσιμον manum admouit Victor Capuæ Episcopus, qui huius periodi elenchum scripsit anno Christi 550, qui erat nonus post Consulatum Basilij Iunioris. Hoc enim colligimus ex verbis

ex verbis ipsius Victoris. *Cum*, inquit, *Paschalis veneranda solennitas quam die potissimum proveniret, per anni presentis Indictionem tertiamdecimam, a nobis sollicitè quæreretur, & iuxta Patrum venerabilia Constituta octavo Kalendarum Maiarum diceremus resurrectionem Domini proculdubio celebrandam: aliquibus minime rationabilis visa est nostra responsio: eo quod Victorius quidam in circulo Paschali, quem edidit, aliter diem dominicæ resurrectionis affixerit, licet & hunc designauerit, quem nos celebrandum pariter profiteamur.* Post: *Sed nunc, inquam, ordo expetit, ut cyclorum, quos Victorius edidit, patefaciam evidenter errores, dum nescit legitimum diem definire Paschalem: ut cum in præteritis ostensus hoc modo fuerit deliquisse, in presentibus ac futuris, & auctoritate careat, & occasionem prava persuasionis amittat.* Hæc omnia igitur non potuere concurrere, nisi in annum Christi 550, nempe ut indictione tertiadecima Pascha ἀναστασιμὸν conveniret in *xxiiii* Aprilis. Igitur scripsit, post tempora Iustiniani, & quidem post Dionysium *μικρόν*. Mirum igitur, cur Dionysij nullam fecerit mentionem, si Dionysius Victorini, siue Victorij periodum emendavit. Hæc igitur Victoriniana, siue Victoriana periodus interpolata est a Dionysio non solum in Terminis Paschalibus & Dominicis resurrectionis, sed etiam in capite, quod quidem non a baptismo, ut Victorinus, sed a prima Paschali quartadecima deducit, in mense Martio. Itaque periodi auctor Victorinus, emendator autem Dionysius, qui hac interpolatione precium eius accendit, & dignitatem illi commendatione sua quæsiuit: adeo ut apud posteritatem non Victoriniana ab auctore, sed Dionysiana a recensitore dici meruerit. Sero tamen in Ecclesiis Galliarum locum habuit, quæ adhuc Victorini priorem editionem retinebant, ut constat ex Gregorio Turonensi, Aimoino monacho, & Adone Viennensi. Itaque nescio an apud illos Victoris cycli perperam aut Victorij, pro Victorini. Nam scio nunc Victorinum, nunc Victorium vocari, non autem Victorem. Victor enim Victorinum emendavit, ut iam vidimus. Scripsit igitur cyclum suum Dionysius anno Christi 526, ut ipsemet testatur his verbis: *Presentis anni monstremus exemplum. Indictio quippe quarta est, & Lunaris cyclus undecimus, & decemnouenalis quartusdecimus. Et quia Hendecadis est sextus annus, cum ἐμὲόλιμὸν esse necesse est. A quintadecima itaque Luna præteriti festi, usque ad quartadecimam presentis, quot dies sunt, diligentius inquiramus, & inueniemus proculdubio, quando Pascha celebrare debemus. Transacto anno per Indictionem tertiam, Pascha quartadecimam Lunam, nono die Kalendarum Aprilis, id est vicesimaquarta die mensis Martij, fuisse, quis dubitat?* Anno igitur Christi quingentesimo vicesimo

A limo sexto cyclum Victorini recensēbat Dionysius, incipiens suum cyclum ab anno ultimo illius, id est ab anno quingentesimo tricesimo secundo. Præcipit enim annis Domini unitatem addere, reliquum in *xxix* parti: quod scilicet annus primus cycli secundum Alexandrinos, est is, cuius neomenia incidit in *22* diem Martij. Cum autem ecclesia admiserit natalem Christi in *xxv* Decembris, Dionysius putavit eum natalem incidisse in annum, cuius *xxii* Martij habuit neomeniam, & proinde fuisse primum cycli. Itaque sequens Martius, qui competit primo anno Christi currenti, habuit cyclum secundum. De quo postea satis loco suo. Magnus igitur iste cyclus constat enneadecaeteridibus *xxviii*, aut cyclis Solis *xxix*: Enneadecaeteris vero diebus 6935, & quatuor præterea diebus, quæ in quatuor bisextis intercalantur. Nam horæ 18 appendices ex tribus quadrantibus diei conflata eximuntur fine cycli: quod Græci vocant *ἡμερῶν σελήνης*, nostri Computatores saltum Lunæ. Alioquin absque illa succissione esset, dies ultima cycli pessum iret in *xxiii* Martij: a qua potius incipere debet cyclus. Terminorum epochas coniecimus in laterculum, quas iam Luna diem unum a temporibus Nicenæ synodi, biduum autem a Christo anteverterat: id quod ipse Dionysius indicat, cum alium cyclum Lunarem, alium Paschalem instituat. Ad methodum cycli Lunaris sæculo Dionysiano convenientis tria detrahenda sunt de cyclo Paschali. Proinde anno Christi 526, cycli Paschalis erat quartus decimus, Lunaris undecimus. Manifestum est autem, ubi periodus Cyrilli *ἐννενηκὸν τὰ πέντε* definit, inde Dionysianam incipere. Annus primus *ἐννενηκὸν τὰ πέντε* Cyrillianæ est annus Christi 437. Ergo nonagesimus quintus est 532 Christi. Hoc etiam monet ipse Dionysius: *Hoc monemus, inquit, quod cycli iste nonaginta quinque annorum, quem fecimus, non per omnia in se ipsum reuertitur. Et ideo post expletionem nonaginta quinque annorum, non ad quintum cyclum sancti Cyrilli, qui incepit cyclos suos ab anno centesimo quinquagesimo tertio Diocletiani, quorum quintum cyclum necessario nobis præposuimus, sed ad nostrum primum cyclum, quem nos ab anno ducesimo quadragesimo octavo eiusdem Diocletiani incepimus, lector adcurrat.* Continuavit autem totam periodum ad annum 1063, ut ait Beda. Hinc ipse Beda ad annum 1596. Sed ineptissimum tres periodos continuare, cum una sufficiat, siquidem in una

LATERCULVM TERMINORVM Paschali in cyclo Dionysiano.	
TERMINI Paschales.	
1	v. Aprilis
2	xxv. Martij
3	xiii. Aprilis
4	i. Aprilis
5	xxi. Martij
6	x. Aprilis
7	xxx. Martij
8	xviii. Aprilis
9	vi. Aprilis
10	xxvii. Martij
11	xv. Aprilis
12	iiii. Aprilis
13	xxiii. Martij
14	xii. Aprilis
15	Kal. Aprilis
16	xxi. Martij
17	x. Aprilis
18	xxix. Martij
19	xviii. Aprilis

omnes feriæ & Terminis Paschales recurrunt. Sed ipse Dionysius, qui A nihil aliud, quam Victorianam periodum recoxit, ne ipse quidem per omnia se tutum a reprehensione præstitit. Ecce in illis verbis, quæ supra adduximus, ait anno Christi 525, indictione tertia, terminum Paschalem incidisse in $\text{xxi} \text{iiii}$ Martij, cum tamen esset in $\text{xx} \text{iii}$. Dicit enim nono Kalendarum Martiarum, cum vere fuerit decimo Kalendarum; & vicesima quarta, cum fuerit vicesima tertia. Neque vero putes errorem librariorum. Plura enim & talia & maioris momenti peccata sunt ab eo. Ecce in eius cyclo primus annus a Christo habet, ut debet, terminum Paschalem v Aprilis: e regione vero literam dominicalem E, hoc est cyclum Solis $\text{v} \text{iii}$. Atqui eo tempore primus annus cycli Lunaris respondebat nono Solari; secundus, qui B est primus annus Christi vulgaris, conveniebat in decimum, non in octauum, ut vult Dionysius. Rursus primus annus secundæ periodi est 532 Christi. Recte notatur Terminus in v Aprilis, & litera dominicalis B item recte, cur non in priore eodem modo? Sed & inepte unitatem adiiciendam præcipit ad methodum cycli. Nam in omni æra primus annus potest esse primus cycli tam Lunæ, quam Solis. Anno primo Nabonassari cycli Lunæ erat xv. Itaque qui in ratione Paschæ est quintusdecimus, in ratione annorum Nabonassari est primus. Quod enim dicatur primus cycli Lunæ, non magis potest esse primus, quam principium esse in circulo. Omne principium in circulo est $\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$, non $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$. Sed quia prima enneadecaeteris Christiana capit ab initio Diocletiani, propterea is annus est primus cycli Christiani. De hallucinatione autem in computatione annorum Christi, alibi fusius dicetur. Nam male meritis est de posteritate Christiana, qui primus omnium æram Christi vno anno mutilavit. Porro periodus hæc, quia a natali Christi initium capit, propterea periodus annorum gratiæ vocata est. Æthiopes vocant annos gratiæ. Ea, ut diximus, ante tempora Caroli Magni in Galliis locum non habuit, cyclo Victoriano regnum in Ecclesiis Gallicis obtinente.

DE FALSO CYCLO PASCHALI.

ERAT genus hominum, cui nomen impositum nullum memini. Tantum eorum methodum, qua utebantur in cyclo suo Paschali, Maximus Monachus vocat $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ & $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$, quod vno verbo poterat dicere $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$, vel $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$. Nam primum, aliquid sexies, deinde idem quinquies multiplicare, aut diuidere, tantundem est, ac semel vndecies id facere. Ij igitur homines, ut ait Maximus, primo annum suum Lunarem supra 354 dies, quinque etiam scrupulorum diurnorum æstimabant. Deinde quot dies a Kal. Ian.

putantur ad terminum Paschalem Eusebianum, hoc est, ad terminum in omnibus Ecclesiis receptum, tot scrupulos dierum colligebant. Denique singulis annis cycli vndecies dies imputabant. Tandem a congerie illorum vndecim dierum, scrupulorum, & dierum a Kal. Ianuarij collectorum, abiectis omnibus triceniis, reliquum pro termino Paschali accipiebant. Hoc modo aliquando $\text{x} \text{iiii}$ Luna exhibit, aliquando xv, & xvi. Quod si abiectis 30, reliquum esset xvi Luna, & in secundam feriam incideret, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha \alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$ in præcedenti celebrabant, quæ erat feria prima. Nam, inquiebant, si xvi Luna incurrit in secundam feriam, $\text{x} \text{iiii}$ incidit in vii. Sequenti igitur, B quæ est feria prima, licet per Canonem Nicenum Pascha $\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\omega\varsigma$ celebrare. Sed merito illos reprehendit Maximus Monachus. Quia, quæ nobis est $\text{x} \text{iiii}$ Luna, illorum epilogismus eam aliquando xv, aliquando etiam xvi constituebat. Quarecum feria secunda incidebat in xvi, quæ nobis est $\text{x} \text{iiii}$, tantum abest, ut contra Canonem non peccarent, qui $\sigma\omega\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ interdicat, ut etiam $\kappa\tau\prime \pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ Pascha ante $\text{x} \text{iiii}$ Lunam celebrarent. Multum de hoc genere hominum disputat idem Maximus, & quidem ita obscure & intricate, ut vix & a doctis ipsis intelligi possit.

Nos expeditius & planius explicare conabimur, si prius primi cycli eorum magnæ C periodi Tabellam proposuerimus. In cuius versu primo posuimus filum cycli Paschalis Dionysiani, siue Eusebiani: in secundo cyclum horum hominum, quibus nullum nomen fecit antiquitas, tantum eos vocans $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ & $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$. Tertius versus continet dies collectos ex Solis supra Lunam excessu, quos quidam epactas anni Solaris vocant, ut re vera sunt. Quartus scrupulos collectos, quos diximus quinos anno Lunari attribui, supra dies 354. Quinto continentur dies a Kal. Ianuarij ad terminum Paschalem visitatum collecti. Sextus complectitur terminos Paschales illius cycli. Septimus & ultimus cyclum Solis. In annis igitur cycli sui, 1, 2, 3, 4, 18, quartamdecimam colligunt ex ratiociniis suis. In quibus annis dumtaxat cum termino visitato conveniunt: in reliquis vero annis cycli, neutiquam. Nam

Cycli Dionysiani	Cycli Eusebiani	Epactæ anno Solari.	Epactæ anno Lunari.	Dies a Kal. Ian. ad terminum Paschali collecti.	Termini Paschalis cycli victor. victor.	Cycli Solis.
1	1	11	5	92	14	FE
2	2	22	10	81	14	D
3	3	33	15	100	14	C
4	4	44	20	89	14	B
5	5	55	25	108	15	AG
6	6	66	30	97	15	F
7	7	77	35	86	15	E
8	8	88	40	105	15	D
9	9	99	45	94	15	CB
10	10	110	50	83	15	A
11	11	121	55	102	15	G
12	12	132	0	91	15	F
13	13	143	5	80	15	ED
14	14	154	10	99	15	C
15	15	166	15	88	15	B
16	16	177	20	107	16	A
17	17	188	25	95	15	GF
18	18	199	30	84	14	E
19	19	210	35	103	15	D

nia Mucharam Indici, sed secunda Ianuarij fuit, feria septima: Cuius A nouilunij Character, 7, 1, 940. Atqui Cæsar non magis nouit vsum epactarum, quam hebdomadis Iudaicæ. Potuit igitur in Fastis suis nouiluniorum notas apponere, vt stellarum ortus & occasus, sed non per enneadecaeteridas. Nam absque controuersia Paschatis fuisset, quid esset cyclus Lunæ, hodie solum Iudæorum vulgus, & docti duntaxat Christiani scirent. Cyclus, inquam, Lunæ Paschalis hanc Methodum nobis peperit, quam frustra attribuunt Cæsari. In Chronico Eusebij, anno septimo Iuliano annotatur, cursum Lunæ eo tempore deprehensum fuisse. Quid sit, nescio. Porro ex vetustissimis scriptoribus, qui quidem exstant, Marcus Varro vtitur ordinatione temporis Iuliani in libris rerum rusticarum. Eius verba sunt ex libro primo. B *Dies primus est Veris in Aquario, æstus in Tauro, autumnus in Leone, hiemis in Scorpione. Cum vniuscuiusque horum quatuor Signorum, dies tertius & viceprimus quatuor temporum sit primus, efficitur, vt Ver dies habeat xci, Æstas xciiii, Autumnus xci, Hiems lxxxix. Quæ redacta ad dies civiles nostros, qui nunc sunt, primi verni temporis a. d. vli Eid. Sext. hiberni ex a. d. iiii Eid. Nouemb.* Manifesto dies civiles Iulianos intelligit. Sed & Cicero & Brutus, ac Cassius paulo antequam hæc scriberet Varro, eadem descriptione vtuntur: quia, quod Ciceroni dolebat, ἐν διατάγματι hoc facere cogebantur. ver-tens enim locum Oeconomici Xenophontei, vbi auctor Græcus se-re-re vetat ante, quam Deus signum dederit, Cicero Nouembris imbre C fieri interpretatus est. Non erat igitur Nouember prisceus, qui illo sæ-culo incurrerat in Augustum Iulianum, sed nimirum Iulianum No- uembrem intelligit. Et profecto Oeconomicum vertit post editionem Iulianam. Cætera de appellationibus mensium, Iulij, & Augusti, & si qua sunt id genus, notiora sunt, quam vt iterum recoquenda sint. Porro locus exigebat, vt parapegma Sosigenis huc coniiceremus, hoc est ortus & occasus siderum, atque, vt Ouidius dicit, Lap-saque sub ter-ras orta que signa: quod ex Ouidio ipso, Columella, & Plinio haurire licebat. Sed tanta est inter illos tres auctores in hac re discrepantia, vt melius visum fuerit ab hac re abstinere, quam incerta pro certis pro-ponere. Immane enim quantum in multis differunt Plinius & Oui- D dius, cum tamen vterque editionem Cæsaris sequi videatur. Habes præterea optimum Commentarium Cl. Ptolemæi de inerrantium stellarum significationibus, a Nicolao Leonico olim Latine conuer- sum. Eius libri meminit Suidas, cum scribit inter alia Ptolemæum edidisse τὰ ἐν φάσεως καὶ ἡλιοσημασιῶν ἀνερῶν βιβλία. β.

A • DE ANNO ÆGYPTIORVM
ACTIACO.

Q V O D nationes ac Prouinciæ Romani orbis ex edicto Iuliano annum civilem Romanorum statim non acceperint, in causa fuit præpropæra mors C. Cæsaris, quæ incidit in Idus Martias anni se-cundi Iuliani. Quare anno tricesimo septimo a cæde Cæsaris, C. Octavius Cæsar emisit secundum Edictum anni corrigendi, quo & nationibus imperij Romani hanc anni formam indixit. Sed Ægyptij iam acceperant, anno Nabonassari 719, quo Antonius & Cleopatra ab Augusto nauali prælio ad Actium promontorium victi sunt. Pto- B lemæus a meridie Nabonassari, ad Thoth Philippeum mortis Alexan- dri, colligit annos 424. Hinc ad Thoth Actiacum, annos 294. Sum- ma anni Ægyptiaci perfecti 718. Ergo Thoth 719 Nabonassari est Thoth Actiacus. Censorinus ait annum Augustorum Actiacum: 267 esse 1014 Iphiti, & 986 Nabonassari. Ergo Actiacus anius cur-rens inciderat in 747 annum Iphiti, & 719 Nabonassari. Rursus, quantum colligere potes ex illis, quæ de anno Iuliano disputauimus, Kalendæ primæ Iulianæ inciderunt in annum Nabonassari curren-tem 703. Quod si annus Actiacus congruit anno 719, ergo is fuit an- nus Iulianus 16, cuius Augusto Thoth Actiacus competit. Annus Nabonassari 719 est 19 cycli Solis Nabonassari. E cuius regione C character Thoth est feria prima. Cui in secunda columna dextra congruit annus cycli Solis Iuliani octauus. Litera Dominicalis E, in- vltima Augusti. Quadrans annorum Nabonassari 176, 18, detractis 56 relinquit dies exactas 120. 18, anni 719. quæ proculdubio incipiunt ab vltima Augusti. Hæc ratio vera erat, si Sacerdotes Romani Bisexti intercalationem recte obuiissent. Nunc qui Cæsarem anni corrigen- di rectam formam docuissent, ipsi vitiosam secuti sunt, vt Romani: donec ex secundo edicto, quod emisit Octavius Cæsar, annis x i i sine intercalatione transire iussis, ipsi rectam viam intercalationis instite- runt. Igitur annus 16 Iulianus, in cuius Augustum Thoth 719 in- currebat, habuit bisextum vitiosum D C, vt habes in capite anni Iu- D liani, feria prima, in litera C. Itaque Thoth, cui debetur litera C, propter feriam primam, quæ eius character fuit, incidit in 29 Augusti, cum ex methodo emendati cycli deberet in vltima Augusti. Hæc est ratio, quare 29 Augusti est prima Thoth fixi Ægyptiaci. Quam rem frustra tentassem, si cycli emendati, non vitiosi rationem habuiss- sem. Tandem anno Iuliano 49, qui erat duodecimius currens eorum, quos Augustus sine intercalatione transegit, imputarunt quadrantem diei in fine 28 Augusti mensis, & anno quinquagesimo secundo in-

fine eiusdem 28 diei intercalatus est dies vnus ex quadrantibus quæ A tuor conflatus. quæ fuit prima recta intercalatio in annis Actiacis. Quare Thoth Actiacus incidit in tricesimam Augusti, feria III, cyclo Solis emendato XVI. Romani vero, centesimo octagesimo die post Ægyptios suum Bisextum rectum inter Terminalia & Regifugium intercalarunt, anno Iuliano 53, vt supra disputatum est. Ab eo tempore, ad hanc vsque diem, Ægyptij, atque Æthiopes 180 diebus ante nos intercalationem suam celebrant, die 29 Augusti, quæ dicata est passioni Ioannis Baptistæ, & suum Thoth differunt in 30 Augusti: qui tamen semper incurrit in decollationem Ioannis. Vnde fit, vt anno Embolimæo eorum solemnitates, & festi dies postridie quam ab Ecclesiis Romana, Græca & Antiochena celebrentur. Plutarchus B *τῶν μνησολογῶν* Ægypti loquens, non aliis vitur, quam Actiacis mensibus, hoc est fixis, non vagis. Nam in libro *τῶν ἱστορίων* *ἑορτῶν*, *ταῦτα*, inquit, *πραχθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐξ ὁδοῦ τῆς δέκα μηνὸς Ἀθύρ, ὅτι τὸν Σκόρπιον ὁ ἥλιος διέξεισιν*. Athyr, in quo Scorpion permeat Sol, est merus Athyr Augustorum, & Actiacus. At quo tempore ea facta finguntur, nullus erat Athyr fixus. Neq. vero putes Plutarchum *ἀεὶ λαμβάνει* hæc fingere. Summus enim ille scriptor in his rebus puer est. Nam quidni hoc fateamur, cum ipse tam manifeste prodat se illis, quæ in eodem libro adiicit: *διὸ μηνὸς Ἀθύρ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸν Ὀπίαν λέγουσιν, ὅτε τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀπὸλόντων παντάπασιν ὁ μὲν Νεῖλος ὑπονοεῖ, γυμνοῦται δὲ ἡ χώρα*. Post æquinoctium Autumni hoc contingere pueri Ægyptiorum sciunt. & merus Athyr Augustalis est ille. Item: *ὁ γὰρ Πάωφι μηνὸς καὶ τὸν ὁπωρενὸν ἰσημερίαν*. Plutarchus nullos menses Ægyptiorum agnoscit præter Augustales, vt vides. Sed ignoscet illi menses fixos Ægyptiis ab vltima antiquitate attribuenti, qui Lunares mox facit, quos iam fixos statuerat. Quis tam illius fautor inepte est, vt eum excusare velit? Loquens de mense Athyr, *ἐξ ὁδοῦ*, inquit, *τῆς δέκα τῶν Ὀπίωνος ἡμέρας τελευταίῳ Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογῶσιν, ὅτι ἡ μάστις γίνεται κατὰ δὴλος πληροῦς πλοῦτος ἰσχυρὸς*. En menses Lunares, quos *παιονονημέρους* omnes sciebat, & quos antea, quod maius est, fixos faciebat. Par error infra: καὶ τῇ τριακάδῃ ἔπι μὲν ἐορτάζουσιν ὁ φθαλμὸς Νεβυ γρέθιον, ὅτε ἡ δὲ καὶ ἡλίου τῆς μίας δι' ἑαυτῆς γενόασιν. Atque in D eiusmodi rebus eandem inscitiam in summo scriptore experire semper. Verbi gratia, cum scribit Romulum conceptum XXI I Choia, anno primo Olympiadis secundæ, in coniunctione luminarium ecliptica. Hic quoque mensis est Actiacus, non Philippeus, aut Nabonassari. Tempus congruit XIX diei Decembris. Coniunctio media luminarium fuit die antecedenti, cyclo Lunæ nono. Nulla omnino defectio fuit, anomalia latitudinis Lunaris adeo refragante. Id tamen

Amen proficitur Plutarchus se ex Varrone, Varronem ipsum ex L. Tarrutio Firmano, summo Mathematico, didicisse. Cum igitur Plutarchus menses Ægyptiorum fixos agnoscat, eisdemq. apud veterem scriptorē Christianum Clementem Alexandrinum exstare videamus: denique cum constet ab Augusti temporibus fixos fuisse: quam falluntur ij, qui eorum Mensium autorem statuunt Diocletianum! Et cum sint Astronomicarum rerum peritissimi, cur non cogitarunt, Thoth Nabonassari vagum, si anno primo Diocletiani fixus fuisset, non in 29 Augusti, sed in 10 Iulij statui debuisset? Sed omnis orbis Romanus etiam post indicationes Constantinianas, ad tempora vsque Iustiniani imperatoris, annis Diocletiani vsus est: qui & hodie in vsu sunt Ægyptiis siue Elkupti Christianis. Eorum annorum initium est a Thoth anni Christi Dionysiani 284, cyclo Solis Iuliano XXI I, Lunæ XIX, cyclo Solis Actiaco VI, feria VI, anno Actiaco 314. Proinde illorum cycli Solis incipit a 13 nostro. atque in methodo vtriusque cycli, breuitatis causa, non annos integros Diocletiani assumunt, sed annos periodi magnæ Dionysianæ. Anno Christi 1582, Thoth Elkupti, vt notum est, cæpit 29 Augusti. Eratque

Cyclus Solis Iulianus	Cyclus Solis Actiacus	Cyclus Lunæ Actiacus	Cyclus Lunæ Iulianus	Cyclus Lunæ Iulianus
1	1	1	1	1
2	14	4	7	1
3	15	5	1	1
4	16	7	3	1
5	17	1	4	1
6	18	2	5	1
7	19	3	6	1
8	20	5	1	1
9	21	6	2	1
10	22	7	3	1
11	23	1	4	1
12	24	2	5	1
13	25	3	6	1
14	26	5	1	1
15	27	6	2	1
16	28	1	4	1
17	1	2	5	1
18	2	3	6	1
19	3	4	7	1
20	4	6	2	1
21	5	7	3	1
22	6	1	4	1
23	7	2	5	1
24	8	4	7	1
25	9	5	1	1
26	10	6	2	1
27	11	7	3	1
28	12	1	4	1

LATERCVLVS MENSIVM ACTIACORVM						
ÆGYPTIORVM MENSES.			ÆTHIOPVM MENSES.		Cyclos Solis	Lunæ
ἑβρ.	ἑβρ.	ἑβρ.	ἑβρ.	ἑβρ.		
توت	Tuth	Θάθ	ἑβρ. 11	Masfaram	0	3
بابه	Pape	Παωφι	ἑβρ. 11	Tikmish	2	5
هاتور	Harhur	Αθύρ	ἑβρ. 11	Hagar.	4	7
כيهק	Chiach	Χοιάκ	ἑβρ. 11	Tachsam	6	2
طوبه	Tube	Τυβί	ἑβρ. 11	Tir	1	4
امشير	Amschir	Μεχέις	ἑβρ. 11	Iachathish	3	6
برمهات	Parmahath	Φαμενιάθ	ἑβρ. 11	Magabith	5	1
برموده	Parmude	Φαρμεθί	ἑβρ. 11	Miazia	7	3
بشنس	Paschnes	Παχών	ἑβρ. 11	Ginboth	2	5
بونه	Payne	Παυνί	ἑβρ. 11	Sene	4	7
ابيب	Epip	Επιφί	ἑβρ. 11	Hamle	6	2
مسري	Mesori	Μεθερί	ἑβρ. 11	Nabase	1	4
النسي	Nisi	ἑβρ. 11	ἑβρ. 11	Pagomen.	3	6

annus ab initio Diocletiani 1299. De quibus iam fluxerunt duæ pe-
 A riodi magnæ Dionysianæ, quæ fiunt anni 1064. Et relinquebantur
 anni 235 periodi tertiæ, qui continuabantur vsque ad 532, qui est mo-
 dus vnius periodi magnæ, diuisis 235 per 28, relinquitur annus x1
 cycli Solaris Kopti, & Æthiopum, qui in linea subiecta respondet 23
 cycli nostri. In tertia linea habes Regularem vnum, qui appositus se-
 cundæ lineæ characteris mensium componit feriam quartam neome-
 niæ Thoth anni a Diocletiano 1299, in anno Christi 1582. Anno se-
 quenti 12, Regulares tres eidem characteri apppositi constituent feriam
 Thoth vi. & Thoth erit in 30 Augusti: in qua Decollationem Ioannis
 celebrarunt, quæ in Ecclesiis Romana, Antiochena, Constantinopo-
 litana pridie celebrabatur. Hos Regulares Elkupti, & Æthiopes B
 Græco nomine Plinthion, hoc est Laterculum, vocant: vt in computo
 Æthiopico explicabitur. In quarta linea est character Thoth, qui
 characteribus prioris lineæ mensium adiectus efficit idem, quod regu-
 lares alteri lineæ apppositi. Apertum est, quare Character neomeniæ
 Thoth vocetur dies Ioannis, cum neomenia Thoth semper dicata sit
 memoriæ passionis Ioannis Baptistæ. Mensibus Elkupti veterem
 appellationem Alexandrinorum adiecimus, vt eos comparare inter se
 possis. Sunt enim iidem, aliquantum tamen a veteri appellatione,
 desciscetes. Simul etiam vt eos haberes emendatiores. Nam & in edi-
 tione Latina Albateni, & in Indicibus Alfonsois ioculariter depraua-
 tæ sunt illæ mensium appellationes. Τὰς ἐπαγομύδας Æthiopes etiam C
 num PAGOMEN vocant: Coptitæ ΝΙΣΙ. Albateni dicit eas vocari LAG-
 NAHIR. Sed multa apud illum auctorem deprauate leguntur, siue
 interpretis inscitia, siue Librariorum culpa. Vt cum apud eum legi-
 tur Alkept pro Elkupti. Nam Cupti vox deprauata ex Αἰγυπτίῳ: vt
 Æthiopes adhuc dicunt Gibtu, pro Ægypto. Item cum legitur apud
 eum scriptorem, Tarich Elkupti putari a morte Alexandri, & tamen
 differentiam Tarich dilkarnain constituit annorum 587. Vtrumque
 est falsum. Neque est error Albateni, sed librariorum. Nam si anni
 Elkupti putarentur a morte Alexandri, ea Tarich esset annis 12 anti-
 quior, quam Tarich Dilkarnain. Nunc vero e Tarich Dilkarnain iu-
 bet abiicere 587 ad methodum Tarich Elkupti. Sed & numerus 587 D
 falsissimus est. Nam differentia Tarich Dilkarnain, & Elkupti, est
 annorum solidorum 595. Eaque differentia adiecta annis Diocletiani
 producit Tarich Dilkarnain, & contra detracta de Dilkarnain consti-
 tuit illam Diocletiani. Hæc æra utilis est Tabulis Theonis. Sed men-
 sium Alexandrinorum nomina Arabica solis Christianis Elkupti ho-
 die in vsu sunt. Nam Muhammedanorum vulgus ea ignorat. Ne mi-
 rere vero, quod AMSCHIR pro μεχαιρ scribunt. Quoties enim χ
 Græcum.

A Græcum præcedit literas ε, ι, ο, α, η, υ, Arabes expriment χ per suum.
 شين notatum triplici apice. Cuius pronuntiatio est qualis Galli-
 licum CH in CHETIF, CHIERE, & Hispanorum X in XARAVE, EN-
 XVTO, ENXERIR: & omnino qualis est sonus Hebraici כ, cui re-
 spondet شين Arabica. Vtraque etiam in suo idiomate pro numero
 trecentorum ponitur. Idem vero sonus est Græci χ, in ἀχλὺς, χε-
 λώνη, χείρες, &c. vt quidem hodie pronunciat vulgus Græcorum: quod
 adeo in ea gente vetustum est, vt δὲ χέλας, βαράχιας in Euangelio pa-
 raphrastes quidam Arabs (tres autem diuersos penes me habeo) lite-
 ram χ reddiderit per suum شين. Sed hoc mirum videri non debet.
 B Illud miror magis, quod in Paschnes litera χ ante ὦ μέγα reddita sit
 per شين, & quidem genitiuus παχῶνος, non autem nominatiuus
 παχῶν. Non enim Paschnes sed Paschunos legendum est, siquidem
 apices Grammatici adderentur بَسْنَس. Parmahath autem multum
 distat a primigenio φαιδράθ. Reliqua omnia pene incolumia
 retenta sunt. His mensibus Elkupti congruentes singulos Æthiopi-
 cos e regione addidimus, quos ab vrbe Kairo ad nos transmisit bonus
 quidam sacerdos Æthiops manu sua exaratos.

DE ANNO SYROGRÆCORVM
 ET ANTIOCHENORVM IVLIANO.

C M A C E D O N E S, qui sub Seleucidis in Syria & Asia fuerunt, vo-
 cantur a Græcis Συροέλληνες, ab Arabibus اليوناني id est
 Græci. Ij antiquitus utebantur in Syria anno vetëris periodi Macedo-
 nicæ, & Calippico Lunari: in Chaldaea, anno Chaldaeorum Lunari.
 Ægyptij putabant annos suos a morte Alexandri, & vocabant annos
 Philippeos, de quibus libro primo & secundo. Quorum caput quam-
 uis a morte Alexandri deduceretur, tamen Philippi ob id dicti, quia
 hoc modo etiam antea appellabatur. Sic periodus Calippi Alexandrea
 locum habuit in Syria x11 annis post mortem Alexandri. Et quem-
 admodum eam nominauerat Calippus auctor, ita etiam Seleucus
 D & eius posteritas, qui ea simulcum periodo Macedonica vsi sunt, vo-
 carunt Alexandream, vt re vera est. Cõdita enim periodus Calippi
 in gratiam Alexandrei Imperij Asiæ. Atque hæctenus hoc nomine
 vocatur ab iis, qui ea epocha vtuntur, Syris, Syrochaldæis, & aliis
 Christianis, qui in Ecclesiam Antiochenam contributi sunt. Vo-
 cant enim تاريخ السكندرية, hoc est: ÆRAM ALEXANDREAM.
 Albateni nominat تاريخ دي القرنين Terik dilkarnain, ἐπαχλὺς δὲ δι-
 μέσων

sari non Augusto tribuunt. Tertiam adde ignorationem vocis *Æræ*. A De qua vide libro sequenti.

DE ANNO IUDÆORVM SOLARI.

DVP LICI anno vtuntur Iudæi, Lunari, & Solari, quem tanquam trama subtemen ipse Lunaris percurrit; itque reditque viam, interuentu embolismi ab alienis finibus ad suos summotus. Ante Exodum non est dubium, quin Iudæorum dies intercalatitius, quem Bisextum vocamus, eo loco infereretur, quo & mensis Lunaris embolimus, nempe ante Tifri, quamuis non Tifri, sed primus mensis vocaretur. Deinde mense verno pro capite anni sumpto tractum bisextum in veris tempus, quia & ante ver proxime mensis Lunaris intercalatio instituta. Postquam autem anni formam & periodum Lunarem Calippicam a Seleucidis acceperunt, nihil mutatum est in ratione anni Solaris. Nam bisextum eorum inferebatur inter primam, & secundam Aprilis: quæ erat Tekupha Nisan. Postea accepta Iuliana forma, Bisextum caput intercalari inter xxv & xxvi Martij. quæ ratio hactenus apud eos obtinuit. Et quia a xxv Martij ad secundam Aprilis, quæ erat sedes prisca bisexti, supersunt dies vii, propterea totidem dies hodie eximuntur ad Tekupham Nisan inuestigandam, quemadmodum tredecim detrahuntur, quoties inuestigatur Tekupha Tifri. Tekupham vocant quadrantem anni Iuliani, qui constat diebus 91, horis $7\frac{1}{2}$. Temporibus Mosis Tekupha unica tantum dicebatur punctum interiectum inter finem anni antecedentis, & caput succedentis: idque in autumno: circa quod tempus quam proxime *σκηνοπηγίαν* celebrari præcipit Deus. Est igitur Tekupha, momentum, aut punctum temporis, in quo, finito quadrante anni, alius statim quadrans incipit. Id punctum adeo superstitiose obseruant, vt si latum pilum excederent, magnam vitæ discrimen se adituros putarent. Vnicuique enim Tekuphæ suum elementum tribuunt. Verbi gratia Tekuphæ Tamuz solstitiali attribuunt ignem. Ex elementorum excessu putant periculum rebus imminere. puta, ex Tekupha Tamuz *ἐκπύρωσις*: & qui in momento illius Tekuphæ biberet, aut ederet, illum ardentissima febre correptum iri. Apposui hic Laterculum omnium Tekupharum quadriennij vnus: quæ quadriennio confecto redeunt in orbem. Anno Iudaico per quatuor diuiso facile scies quæ Tekupha

	TEKUPHÆ QVADRIENNI IYDAICI.							
	I.		II.		III.		IIII.	
	Horæ	Scrup.	Horæ	Scrup.	Horæ	Scrup.	Horæ	Scrup.
TISRI	9	0	3	0	21	0	15	0
TEBETH	4	30	10	30	4	30	22	30
NISAN	0	0	6	10	12	0	18	0
TAMVZ.	7	30	13	30	19	30	1	30

phæ

Apha cuius anni sit. Si enim post diuisionem relinquatur vnitas, Tekupha Tifri est 9. o. si duo, Tekupha Tifri est 3. o. Et ita deinceps. Quando hora est infra 12, tunc incidit in noctem: tum maior, in diem: & abiiciendæ sunt horæ xii. Tekuphæ solæ fixæ sunt & statæ in Computo Iudæo, vt pote cum sint Solares. Vnus præterea dies status in 22 Nouembris, nempe *ἡμέρη* pro pluuiis instituta, quia diluuium incidit in xvii secundi mensis, cuius neomenia fuit in vi Nouembris, cum primi mensis neomeniam in conditu Mundi in vii Octobris fuisse asserant. Est autem Tekupharum antiquissima obseruatio, & cognitu propter vetustatem dignissima, præsertim cum Græci & Ægyptij partes annorum quatuor notarent, quorum alteri *ἔννεα* eos, alteri quadrantes *ἄρδι* vocabant. Annum enim simplicem Ægyptij in quatuor *ἄρδι*, & annum Canicularem in quatuor annos simplices tribuebant. Neque Græcorum *ἔννεα*, neq. Ægyptiorum *ἄρδι* alij sunt a Tekuphis Iudæorum. *ἄρδι* enim *ἐαρινὸν* vocabant *ἐμβασιν* *Οσίριδ*, item *ἄρδι* *θερινὸν*, *ὀφθαλμῶν* *Νεφ* *ἡμέρη* *Θιόν*. *ἄρδι* *ὀπωρινόν*, *βακτηρίας* *ἡμέρη*, *ἄρδι* *χειμερινόν*, *ζήτησιν* *Οσίριδ*. Atque vt Hæbræi incrementa anni per hos quadrantes notantes, a Nisan incipiebant, propter annum nouum Mosis Paschalem: ita etiam Ægyptij a Canicula quadrantes suos auspicabantur (quod iam tetigimus,) propter incrementa Nili, quæ tum primum incipiebant fieri: tum etiam, quia ex ortu caniculæ anni statum coniciebant, pestilens, an salubris, sterilis, an frugifer futurus esset. Orus Apollo: *ἐνιαυτὸν ὃ βαλόμενοι δηλώσω, Ἰσιν, ἔτ' ἐστὶ γυναικα, ζωγραφοδοσι, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν θεὸν σημαίνουσιν. Ἰσις ὃ πάρε' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀστὴρ Αἰγυπτίσι καλόμενος ΣΩΘΙΣ, ἐλλήεσι ὃ ΑΣΤΡΟΚΥΤΟΝ, ὃς καὶ δοκεῖ βασιλεὺς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων, ὅτε μὲν μείζων, ὅτε ὃ ἥσων ἀνατέλλων. καὶ ὅτε μὲν λαμπρότερος, ὅτε δ' ἐλάττω. ἐπὶ ὃ καὶ διότι καὶ τὴν ἑσπέρου ἀστὴρ ἀνατέλλων σημαίμεθα πρὸς πάντα τὰν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ μελλόντων τελεῶν. διόπερ οὐκ ἀλόγως τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἸΣΙΝ λέγουσιν.* Manilius de Cilicibus idem dicit, quod Orus de Ægyptiis:

*Hanc qui surgentem, primo cum redditur ortu,
Montis ab excelso speculantur vertice Tauri,
Euentus frugum varios, & tempora dicunt,
Quaque valetudo veniat, concordia quanta, &c.*

DCicero ex Heraclide Pontico idem Ceis attribuit, libro de Diuinatione primo: *Ut enim Ceos accepimus ortum Canicula diligenter quotannis solere seruare, coniecturamque capere, vt scribit Ponticus Heraclides, an pestilens annus futurus sit, &c.* Ex hac exactissima obseruatione Caniculæ quadrantes reliqui pendebant, vt ex Tekupha Nisan reliquæ. Qui de temporibus olim scribebant, a vetustissimis Græcis dicti sunt *ἡεργάροι*. Alij scribunt eos esse annalium scriptores.

ARMS AND ARMOUR

In Antiquity and the Middle Ages:

ALSO A

DESCRIPTIVE NOTICE OF MODERN WEAPONS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF M. P. LACOMBE, AND WITH A PREFACE, NOTES,
AND ONE ADDITIONAL CHAPTER ON ARMS AND ARMOUR IN ENGLAND.

BY

CHARLES BOUTELL, M.A.,

Author of "English Heraldry," &c.



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1870.

Monograph.



SUIT OF ARMOUR OF HENRI II. OF FRANCE: A.D. 1547—1559.
In the Museum of the Sovereigns, at the Louvre, Paris.

armour these later Franks differed from the soldiers of Clovis, by whom, as we have seen, the shield alone was in use. In addition to their shields, the military vassals of Charlemagne, who so far followed the customs of their forefathers that they went into battle bare-headed, or sometimes wearing a simple kind of leathern cap, were provided with the *Lorica* or *Brunia*, a true coat of mail. This *lorica*, a short and tight species of *paletot*, was padded, and also was more or less closely covered



Fig. 20.—SOLDIERS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

with small pieces of metal sewn upon the fabric of which the piece of armour itself was composed. Another change, in a military point of view of the greatest importance, and which gave a fresh character to the troops of Charlemagne, was the introduction of a numerous cavalry. The earlier Franks had been exclusively infantry, and horses had been almost or absolutely unknown amongst them; but the Franks of the Emperor numbered in their ranks at least as many horsemen as foot soldiers. Thus, we are approaching towards the age in which cavalry,

soon to be entitled "chivalry," will form the strength of every army, and the infantry—the serfs and peasantry—will be esteemed as little in the camp as in the village.

The soldiers of the second class, who evidently formed a privileged body, and were looked upon somewhat in the capacity of an imperial guard, were altogether distinct from their comrades of the former class. In their equipment they bore a close resemblance to the Roman Prætorians; except that, instead of the true Roman globular helm, these Frankish knights wore a helm of a triangular form, by no means prepossessing in its appearance, which, in place of a crest, was surmounted by a cluster of conventional foliage or scroll-work.

CHAPTER VII.

ARMS AND ARMOUR OF THE MIDDLE AGES.—PART I.

As an introduction to our researches into the history of the *Middle Ages*, and to our description of the *arms* and *armour* that were in use during the centuries which compose that great period, it appears to be desirable that, in a few words, we should set forth so much of the military system then prevalent, as will show upon what principles armies (French armies, at any rate) were levied, and recruited, and maintained in those days; so that, in the first instance, it may be possible to form a correct estimate of the troops by whom the armour was worn, and who wielded the arms.⁴⁵

Throughout the entire period, distinguished and known as the “Gothic,”—from the 9th to the 16th centuries of our era, that is—the armed force which formed the army of France, was composed almost exclusively of the “*Gendarmerie*,” or men-at-arms, a cavalry force, equipped in complete armour, and provided with the lance. These men-at-arms, or knights, were the lords (Seigneurs), possessors, or holders of fiefs, who, in consideration of these their fiefs, owed to their supreme suzerain, the KING, either directly or indirectly, a military service of a variable duration, but generally extending to about forty days. When the service required from them was longer than this, the King was supposed to give them a certain pay. The King, we say, was *supposed* to give this pay, because, in this matter, even in the case of their greatest and most

Knights
like
Timariots

powerful vassals, the French sovereigns discharged their obligations with extreme irregularity. The act of calling together the vassals in armed array, was entitled "convoking the *can*" — "*convoquer le ban*."

The infantry, at this period, was simply an assemblage of serfs or dependents, who were led to the war by their feudal lords. We hear nothing of their having been formed into bodies, resembling regiments and companies; and every man appears to have armed himself in accordance with his own taste, or as his means would permit. This was the common army—the *feudal army* of the period.

On extraordinary occasions, under Philip Augustus, temporary levies of a regular infantry were introduced, commanded by chiefs, who were nobles. This force was the "*Sergents d'armes*," who fought with distinction (against the Germans) at the Battle of Bovines (A.D. 1214), and who are to be carefully distinguished from the inferior foot-soldiers, little better than an armed rabble, to whom, in France, during the middle ages, the same title of "Sergeants" was commonly applied. This institution speedily came to an end.

At two somewhat distant periods, in the 12th century, and towards the close of the 14th, attempts were made, on a grand scale, to establish the system of volunteers. Certain nobles, men well versed in the art of war, took upon themselves to collect recruits from amongst the most lawless classes of men, such as brigands, robbers, bold serfs who had escaped from serfdom, ruined nobles, and adventurous citizens. These men, all of them pre-eminently men of action, they formed into regular companies; and then they tendered their services, on certain terms, to the French monarch, or to other sovereign princes, as to the Count of Toulouse, for example, in the 12th century; and in the 15th century to the kings of England, Spain, Portugal, and others. For all fighting purposes, these soldiers of fortune were excellent troops; but they had no

attachment, either to any cause or any country ; and, besides, they were men capable of any excess and crime, who were faithful only to the highest bidder, and always ready to transfer their mercenary services from one temporary master to another, as soon as an increase of pay or booty was offered to them. These free companies completely desolated whatever country was the scene of their operations, and their presence was the sure signal for ruin and devastation. But too well known is the terrible reputation of the "*Boutiers*" of the 12th century, which, in the 15th century, was even surpassed in atrocity by that of the "*Grandes Compagnies*." It must be added, that these fierce and fickle mercenaries of the 15th century differed, in no unimportant degree, from their congenial predecessors in military organisation ; since they were masters of whatever military science was known in their times, and their ranks included men-at-arms (*gendarmes*), mounted archers, regular infantry, and every other arm then held in any esteem.

Charles VIII. (A.D. 1483—1498) abolished the feudal armies. He established a system by which the royal armies should be formed and recruited from armed bands of men, levied for the service of the king by officers commissioned for that purpose, and paid either directly from the royal treasury, or by means of taxes imposed for that express purpose on the provinces of the kingdom. From this time, the greater number of those gentlemen of France whose inclination led them to a military life, entered into the "*compagnies d'ordonnance*"—the regular royal army of the realm, either as officers or as private soldiers.

A similar system was adopted for the enlistment of a force of infantry. In each commune, a man skilful in handling the bow or the arblast was chosen, who was required to equip himself at his own cost, and in return was exempted from all payment of taxes. These men remained at home,

and were summoned to join their companies only in the time of war; and then, also, they received pay. These archers gained for the French infantry a truly deplorable reputation.

Some years later (about A.D. 1475) the French became acquainted with the infantry of Switzerland. That was to form an acquaintance with genuine soldiers—men thoroughly in earnest, who came upon the scene sword and pike in hand. The famous victories won by the Swiss at that time over Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, secured for the mountaineer soldiers the highest estimation amongst all classes in France. This led to the abandonment of all hope of forming a native French infantry, and to the establishment in its stead of hired bodies of Swiss pikemen and halberdiers; and then it was decided amongst military men in France, that the French nobility alone were able to render any good service in war.

After the Swiss, the services of German mercenaries were engaged by France. Francis I., however, in consequence of the pressure of circumstances, when on the point of entering on a war with Charles V., in the year 1534, was anxious again to attempt the establishment of a national militia. He ordered a levy of seven “legions,” each to be composed of 6,000 infantry, “*after the manner of the Romans.*” Each legion was to be composed of men chosen from the same province; and, in like manner, the chiefs also were to be appointed to each legion exclusively from the same province which had furnished the men, in order that thus the courage and spirit of the soldiery might be confirmed by local patriotism, and enhanced by home associations and provincial emulation. This excellent project was not carried into execution, but in its stead, the old system of hiring foreign troops again was put into requisition. These mercenaries, after their customary habit, proved a costly resource; and they exacted the most arbitrary terms, which they enforced peremptorily on the morning of any battle. Reliance, however, was not permitted to rest exclusively upon these hired

levies ; but the system of "commissions" was made to extend to the infantry. Officers expressly appointed were empowered, under the authority of the king's patent, to recruit foot soldiers from certain specified provinces, such as Gascony and Dauphiny, which in a military point of view had a less unfavourable reputation than the rest of France. This plan for forming companies and regiments from men who had voluntarily joined and had been regularly enrolled, and whom their own future commanders had undertaken to obtain and to produce, continued in force for maintaining the greater part of the French army until the year 1789. Foreign corps made good any deficiency.

The Swiss and German troops who served in the French armies were formed into bodies, that were equipped and armed with a becoming uniformity. Thus the strange and most inconsistent combination of dissimilar arms, and equally incongruous military duties, which, early in the middle ages, had been universal, had disappeared ; each corps had its own duties, and its own proper appointments, its own officers also, and its suitable and uniform pay. On the field of battle troops of various corps still appear to have been brought into very close contact ; but still each corps in reality was a distinct body, halberdiers, pikemen, arquebusiers, and others, each class separate from every other, and having its own men connected together in a correct military union. These troops, accordingly, formed the model upon which the main bodies of the European armies were subsequently reconstructed. It will be understood that at the first each body, uniform and complete in itself, formed a *company*. The formation so well known now under the title of *regiment* was not introduced until considerably later, nor does the origin of this term appear to be clearly known.

In like manner, it was the influence of foreign hired troops, which led to a complete remodelling of the cavalry of France.

Instead of the original men-at-arms, or knights, who alone had constituted the mounted forces of the French armies, the "*Estradiots*," Illyrian, or Dalmatian mercenary cavaliers armed with a *zagaie*, or javelin, pointed at both ends, and the German "*Reiters*," whose weapons were the pistol and sword, suggested the first idea of the various bodies of regular light cavalry, the mounted carabineers and others, that were established after the middle of the 16th century. At that time the lance began to give place, in the hands of mounted soldiers, to the arquebus and the pistol; but it was not until the middle of the "religious wars" (about A.D. 1575) that the original armour of the men-at-arms can be said to have fallen, in any decided degree, into disuse. Disorder and disorganisation then crept into every corps; the soldiers felt that their discipline had so far relaxed that each man might think and act in a great measure for himself; and hence, many of the soldiers, on their own authority, laid aside the cuirass and corslet, and in their stead assumed the simple buff-coat, or leathern tunic.

At this time, the ancient system of enlistment peculiar to feudal rule, the "Ban," had not become altogether obsolete; for in the 16th and 17th centuries, and even as late as the reign of Louis XIV. (A.D. 1643—1715), the French kings considered that, under certain contingencies, they might claim military service from all who held fiefs under the crown. This is not to be considered as implying that, in the 16th century, the feudal militia enjoyed a very high reputation, since on more than one memorable occasion these troops fled disgracefully from the field. Their misconduct, however, it is only fair to attribute to the true cause. The best men had been carried off to fill the ranks of the men-at-arms; and, consequently, the Ban, really strong only in numbers, but wretchedly deficient in all military efficiency, was composed only of those classes of people who had a decided distaste for a military life, many of whom were advanced in years, who invariably had no

experience in the use of weapons, and were certain to be absolutely deficient in that grand military element, discipline. Such forces might have had their value in those early and rude times, when they would have been opposed to an enemy as unwarlike as themselves; but they proved to be even worse than useless in the face of comparatively modern discipline, order, and military science.

So unsatisfactory, and indeed so palpably calculated to lead to the most disastrous results, was the muster of the Ban when it had been summoned to assemble by Louis XIV., that the king resolved never again to put into action that ancient national system for raising forces. And the "Ban" of France was never again convoked from that time.

Under the same sovereign, Louis XIV., the "*Conscription*," if not actually for the first time introduced, certainly was first brought seriously into operation. By the action of this system, men chosen by lot were formed into regiments, whose duties would be to guard the coasts, and to protect and maintain order in the cities and towns in time of war, without their having to take the field and to meet the enemy in open battle. The authorities had yet to learn that confidence might be reposed in the military instincts of the peasantry of France. The Revolution and the Empire have taught this lesson, and have shown the French to be a race, in their natural energy in no degree inferior to the Swiss and the Germans. It cannot be rightly objected to this opinion, that the French regiments of the period now under consideration were composed of soldiers who had been voluntarily enlisted; since a very decided distinction ought to be drawn and maintained between men who have offered themselves, of their own free choice, for military service, and who, in so doing, have proved both their inclination and their conviction that they possess the qualities suitable for the soldier's life and duties, and others who, without any other principle of selection than the chances of drawing

lots, have been taken by force to the barracks from their workshop or their plough. These last are the questionable soldiers, who were held to be incapable of ever being moulded into the elements of effective armies. The opinion prevailed throughout Europe that the conscripts, notwithstanding their military equipment and training, would always retain that faint heart which appeared to be common to all the peaceful classes of their nation; and, indeed, to be a condition of their nature. And at the commencement of the Revolution this opinion was confirmed by the character and habits of the French emigrants; it led other nations to enter with alacrity into enterprises against France; and then it caused the first great victories of the French to be regarded with such profound amazement.

The military organisation of the Middle Ages, as it would seem, may be considered to have been already systematically established at the end of the reign of Charles the Bold, of France (A.D. 840 to 877), that is, about the commencement of the reign of Alfred (A.D. 872—901) in England. The only real soldier, the "*Miles*," or man-at-arms of that period, was a man of wealth, and of noble, or at least knightly rank, who went to the wars, mounted on a good war-horse, and followed by an escort, more or less numerous in accordance with his own rank and means, composed of vassals and serfs, who were equipped with slings, bows and arrows, cutlasses, and spears. When formed in order of battle these troops, if troops they may be called, played but a poor and feeble part. Without defensive armour, without such offensive weapons also as were competent to meet and to check the career of the horsemen, without tactics, too, and without discipline, it was not possible that an infantry such as this should withstand the shock of the mail-clad men-at-arms with their long lances, their strong swords, and their powerful horses. Hence the serious fighting in those

days took place between the mounted combatants—the men-at-arms.

For the earliest authentic contemporaneous examples of the equipment of this mediæval chivalry, we must refer to a work of the second half of the eleventh century, the Bayeux Tapestry, which illustrates the conquest of England by William of Normandy.

The more important circumstances connected with the Norman invasion and conquest are universally well known. Taking advantage of old promises made to him by Edward the Confessor (promises, however, which the Anglo-Saxon king revoked and cancelled when on his death-bed), and of an oath of allegiance which he had forcibly extorted from Harold (Edward's successor) while he was a prisoner, during Edward's life-time, in Normandy, William invaded England with an army of adventurers, who had been attracted to his standard by the hope of spoil, and who also might possibly have been in some degree influenced by a religious zeal in consequence of the declaration of the Pope against Harold, and in favour of William. Then followed (an event apparently without a parallel, and in most remarkable contrast to the experience of Cæsar so near the same scene of conflict), as the result of a single battle (Hastings, October 14, 1066), fought at the water's edge, the complete subjugation of England to Norman rule, and the establishment of an Anglo-Norman dynasty. We now will consider with what weapons (A.D. 1066) the battle of Hastings was fought, and with it England was lost and won.

In the Bayeux Tapestry we observe that some of the combatants, who are most actively engaged, are on horseback, while others are on foot; but it is apparent, at the first glance, that the arms and equipments of all these combatants are precisely the same. These men, then, who are fighting so vigorously on foot, we may confidently assume to have

been intended to represent, not infantry as distinguished from cavalry, but horsemen, who from some cause or other had been dismounted. The designer of this tapestry, we may suppose, did not condescend to give a place in so great a work to any but the "miles"—the noble or knightly soldier; and, so far as the tapestry was concerned, the peasant foot-soldier and the light-armed vassal had no existence. However that may be, the tapestry enables us to examine the arms and appointments of the soldiers of rank one by one.⁴⁰



Fig. 21.—GROUP OF ARMS AND ARMOUR, FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

Our attention is first attracted to the *head-pieces* of these warriors. They have the pyramidal form of a pointed cone (though possibly they may have had more than four sides). In front, these helmets are elongated by a straight piece of iron, a short bar of rectangular section, which descends over the

forehead and nose, and guards them against any horizontal blow: this is the *Nasal*. These conical helms appear to have been constructed of a strong iron framework, which was filled in and enclosed with either a thin metal plate or some woven material. They are not always provided at the back with neck-guards, evidently because the mail hauberk, which rose to the neck of the wearer and covered it, rendered such an appendage unnecessary. In Fig. 21, one of the rarer and more elaborate examples of the Bayeux tapestry helms is represented.

The body armour is a *shirt of mail* or *coat of mail*—a long, narrow, blouse-like garment, having short sleeves descending to the middle of the upper arm, which sometimes, perhaps, was formed of interwoven rings, or chain-work; but more generally it was constructed of a stout woven fabric, upon which were sewn, or otherwise fixed, in either vertical, or horizontal, or oblique lines, rows of iron rings, or of small plates of the same metal in their form either circular, square, or triangular. [See Fig. 21.] This mail shirt, or *hauberk*, was fitted almost tightly to the person; and at the bottom it was divided, so that the wearer when mounted might wrap one division of it round each thigh, or when on foot might have his limbs covered by the cleft extremities of his hauberk without any impediment to his free movements. The legs and feet appear to have been enveloped in simple bandages, or in fillets bound round them.

The defensive equipment is seen to have been completed by a *shield*, generally long in form, and rounded or oval at the top, the base being pointed, so that the shield resembles a kite: some examples, however, are circular. All the shields are bordered; some have certain rude dragon-like figures roughly depicted upon them; but the more general decoration is a simple boss of slight projection, from which several bands radiate; and studs also adorn both the borders and

the faces of these shields. On the inner face, a hollowed space appears quite at the top of these shields, which has been supposed to have been designed to assist the wearer in carrying his shield on his back when it was not in use in action. Lower down, about in the middle, two shorter hollow grooves, or hollows, occur, parallel to each other; and these, with two slight bars, or two straps, form a double handle, by which the warrior might adjust his shield to his arm, and wield it with good effect for his protection.

The offensive weapons introduced into the tapestry are the *lance*, *sword*, *mace*, *axe*, and the *bow* and *arrows*.⁴⁷

The *lance* has a slender shaft, equal in circumference throughout, and it is of moderate length, with a rather broad iron head, both with and without barbs. It is shown in use both as a spear to thrust or charge, and as a javelin to be thrown from the hand. On the march the lance was supported by resting on the stirrup. The *sword*, the shape of which it is not very easy to determine with minute exactness, is somewhat large, long, straight, broad in the blade, tapering from the hilt to the point, and apparently double-edged; when in the scabbard, it was worn on the left side. The *mace*, or knotty club, very massive at the extremity, resembles the similar weapon that is associated with our ideas of the Hercules of classic antiquity. It was generally made of wood hardened in the fire, or sometimes of iron which had been modelled to imitate the knots and inequalities of wood. The *axe*, having a single curved blade, presents almost exactly the appearance of the modern hatchet, except that it has a very long shaft: it evidently was a weapon that was held in high esteem. The *bows* and *arrows* do not present any peculiar features, nor does it appear that the latter were used as missiles so frequently as javelins were. [See Fig. 21.] One or two individuals wear, with the sword, a long *dagger*, a weapon then rarely used, but, at a later period, almost universal. Spurs, con-

sisting of a straight sharp spike, the true "*pryck spurs*," occasionally are seen. The horse appointments are simple, and evidently well adapted to the uses required from them; the bridles have single reins; and the saddles which are provided with stirrups, are secured both under the bodies of the horses and round their chests.

It must be added, that in the Bayeux Tapestry the knightly and noble warriors in both the hostile armies have the same arms and appointments.

In the next place we proceed to consider the military equipment of the vassals and subjects of Louis the Young, Philip Augustus, and Saint Louis, of France, the warriors who conducted the first crusades, the most brilliant of all these remarkable enterprises. This will bring us from the era of the Norman conquest in the year 1066, to the close of the 12th century—that is to about the year 1200. At this period the arms and armour used in England evidently differed from those of France only in certain local peculiarities of minor importance; consequently, in the matter of arms and armour, the period which closes in England with the reign of Richard of the Lion's Heart, may be considered to be the counterpart in all important particulars of the contemporaneous period in France.⁴⁸

The very long plated or mailed shirt with which the comrades and followers of William of Normandy were equipped, early in the 12th century was superseded by a defensive tunic, reaching about to the knees, and having short sleeves; sometimes, as before, it was covered with variously shaped plates of metal; but more generally it was formed of interwoven ring or chain mail, and this was sometimes single, at other times double, and occasionally, though but rarely, it was triple. Narrow and wrought throughout in one piece, this *hauberk* was adjusted to the figure by a belt about the waist; it had a hood or coif, of the same fabric with itself,

which might hang about the neck or be drawn up over the head of the wearer, at his pleasure; and over this hood, as a second defence for the head, the close-fitting iron helm was worn. Under this hauberk the knight wore a tunic, or *camisia*, of strong material, probably quilted. His sword hung at his left side, supported by a broad belt, which was carried over the right shoulder. This belt was decorated with pieces of metal of various shapes.

Another change was introduced into the military equipment before the 13th century had far advanced. These changes we may consider to have been the results of corresponding changes in the civil costume of those ages: and, indeed, we have every reason to believe that all the early changes in military equipment, arose simply from the desire to follow and to conform to what was the prevailing fashion of each period in the common costume of every-day life.⁴⁰ The long mail tunic of the time of William the Conqueror, with its skirt divided to cover the lower limbs, was a direct imitation of the garment of the same description that then was in constant use; and, in like manner, the coifed hauberk, as it appeared in the beginning of the 12th century, was made on the model of the ordinary *vestitus franciscus*—the ordinary French habit of that period. And, as time advanced, one change succeeded to another, first in the costume of peace, and then, as a consequence, in that of war. Thus, early in the 13th century, the sleeves of the hauberk were lengthened until they covered the wrists, and the hauberk itself was made to descend to the middle of the leg, thus following the fashion which had substituted a long robe for the short tunic. Innovations began to be introduced into other parts of the knight's equipment. He began to wear gauntlets or gloves of strong leather, covered with mail or small pieces of metal; and leggings (*chausses*) also, which were formed of mail, with corresponding coverings for the feet (*champons*) came into use.

The belt, too, changed its position. Instead of passing over the shoulder, it was adjusted about the waist, or even somewhat below the waist; and, being thus placed, it was permitted to drop down a little in front where the ends were united, and through the fastening was passed the sword, which hung obliquely from hilt to point, the point sloping away from the body on the left side. [See Note 69.]

A more important change, and one which was attended with no little inconvenience to the knights, took place in the time of Philip Augustus (A.D. 1180 to 1223, and therefore contemporary with our Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III). The small and tight-fitting head-piece was superseded by the more massive helm, or *heaume*, in the time of Philip Augustus; and in England the same change is exemplified, at the same period, in the great seal of Richard I. This helm is nearly cylindrical in form, flat at the top, sufficiently large to be put on easily over the mail coif, and of such height that it reached down almost, if not quite, far enough to rest on the shoulders. Two plates or bars of iron were fixed on the front, forming a cross; above the transverse bar, openings, called *vues* or *sights*, were pierced for vision, and holes were drilled lower down for breathing. This ponderous head-piece, which was carried suspended by a small chain from the saddle-bow ("where," says M. Lacombe, "it must have looked rather like a travelling kettle—*marmite de voyage*") was assumed by the knight only when on the point of going into action. When he lost the battle of Mansourah, Saint Louis wore on his head a head-piece such as this.⁵⁰

The use of this mighty *heaume*, introduced in the reign of Philip Augustus, was maintained until that of Philip IV., A.D. 1285—1314. An example is given in Fig. 22, which is a portrait of Saint Louis, as he is represented in the painted glass of the Cathedral of Chartres. Of the mail hauberk here the lowest part only, with the sleeves and the defence for the

throat are shown. The rest of the figure is covered with the long, loose, flowing, sleeveless surcoat, which is secured about the waist by a narrow belt; the lower limbs are covered with chausses of mail, prolonged to cover the feet; the spurs are long, straight, and sharp. The heaume, or great helm, covers the head; the shield, which is very large, is charged with the ancient arms of France—the golden fleurs-de-lys, that is, are scattered over the whole surface of the azure field; and from the very long lance, the royal banner, charged



Fig. 22.—SAINT LOUIS: 1226—1270.
(From Glass in Chartres Cathedral.)

with the same insignia, is displayed. No sword is visible, which, with other conditions of the design, shows that the composition has been *reversed*, so as to cause the right and left sides of the figures of both rider and horse to have the appearance of having changed places. The horse-furniture is very simple, and the charger is not encumbered with any bardings. The long surcoat, open in front, shown in Fig. 22, became general at the time

of Saint Louis, A.D. 1226—1270. Our small engraving does not show any visible tokens of the presence of the padded or quilted tunic, the *haqueton*, or *gambeson*, that was worn, doubtless, by the sainted king, as it was by other armed warriors of his era, beneath his mail, and which was generally as long, and often a little longer, than the hauberk itself.⁵¹ The knightly equipment, as it is represented in this Fig. 22, must have been painfully oppressive to the wearer

from its weight and its thickness ; and, at a glance it must be seen that a military costume such as this was singularly ill qualified to be worn with either comfort or advantage under the burning sun of Syria, or even in France. And again, when he had been dismounted by any chance, it is equally evident that a knight in this armour must have entered upon the duties of a foot soldier under singular disadvantages.

But the armour of the middle ages had by no means arrived at its greatest weight, or its most oppressive massiveness, in the days of Philip le Bel. About the middle of the 13th century, the injuries to which mail armour was liable whenever it was exposed in any unusual manner, naturally led to the introduction of additional defences for such parts of a knight's person, as from experience he had learned to be most in need of them. Small plates of iron, of various shapes, were fixed, generally by straps and buckles, over the mail, in order to give an increased security to the joints at the elbows and knees. These secondary defences were severally entitled *coudières* and *genouillères*, *elbow-guards*, that is, and *knee-guards*. Another step in the same direction added *shoulder-guards*, or *épaulières*. Then, as the 13th century passed into the 14th, there succeeded hollow plates of metal which might guard the outer or the most exposed surfaces of the limbs themselves—plates to be buckled over the mail, and adjusted to the outer surface of the upper arm, and to the front of the lower arm, which bore the appropriate name of *gardes-bras*, or *arm-guards*. Similar pieces of armour were fastened in the same way also over the mail *cuisse*s or *chausses*, to protect the thigh and leg ; these are *trumelières*, or *grevières*. A further advance completed the additional defence of the limbs, by carrying the plates round the limbs. This was effected simply by having double plates, which would fit the limbs, fixed together with hinges, and which might be secured by straps

and buckles. The hinges are almost always found to have been adjusted to the outside of the limbs.⁵³

The thick quilted under-tunic—the *gambeson*, or *haqueton*, the mail hauberk, the additional defensive plates, and, over all, the helm and the surcoat, with the belts, and the shields, and the weapons, must have combined to form an equipment of such excessive weight that, when once he had fallen to the ground, the knight would find the act of rising to be attended with no little difficulty; and we may well believe that these carefully armed warriors not unfrequently lay prostrate and helpless, at the mercy of the meanest soldier who carried a knife, or liable to be trampled to death by any charge or retreat that might pass over them.

In this state of the military system it would soon become a necessity that a revolution in armour should be carried into effect; and there could be no uncertainty concerning the course that it would take. Recent changes would clearly presage the fresh change that was imminent. But before we enter upon any inquiries concerning the actual results that were effected by the revolution in armour to which we now refer, in order that we may be able to form a completely correct conception of the arms and armour of the 12th and 13th centuries, some details connected with our subject in those centuries must here be brought forward and described.

The knights of those centuries—that grand epoch in mediæval art—were so far from considering that their armour was sufficient for their protection, that they still retained the supplementary defence of the shield. It is indeed true, that their shields, which were flat or straight at the top, pointed at the base, and with the sides formed in graceful curves, were considerably smaller than those of earlier times, and that their dimensions continued to diminish as the 12th century came to its close. At first, these shields were generally “bowed” on their front face, that is, they generally presented

a convex external contour ; but the smallest shields, which were almost "heater-shaped," were either quite flat or nearly so. Suspended from a *guige*, or shield-belt, which passed over the right shoulder, these shields, when the knights were dismounted, either were adjusted in such a manner as to cover the left hip, and with it the hilt and the upper part of the sword ; or, at other times, they seem to have been fastened to the waist-belt by a clasp or very short strap. When in the saddle, the knight would carry his shield—his *ecu*, as he called it at that period—over his shoulder, or, perhaps, slung from his saddle-bow ; but, in the charge, and generally, as it would appear, when in action, the shield was carried in front of the knight's person, as a breast-plate, hanging down from the guige which was passed round his neck : thus, while the right arm was free to wield the lance, the mace, or the sword, the left was equally at liberty to direct the course of the charge.⁵³

That the *sword* was worn on the left side, has been already stated. When on foot the knight held it almost in a vertical position, and he caused it to hang over his left thigh obliquely when he was on horseback.

The noble personage who is represented in the accompanying engraving (Fig. 23) is some member, but it is not certain what member, of the old royal family of France, whose effigy is still preserved in the most interesting Abbey Church of St. Denis, near Paris. This figure, which in the engraving seems to have suffered a transposition of sides (probably the drawing on the wood for the engraver was *not* reversed, and



Fig. 23.—EFFIGY OF A FRENCH PRINCE, about A.D. 1225: Abbey Church of St. Denis.

therefore the engraving itself is reversed) is thoroughly French in all its details ; and, consequently, it must be regarded as an example of the military equipment that was in use in France at the commencement of the 13th century amongst personages of high rank ; but even in this local acceptance, the figure is in some degree fanciful, and particularly in the introduction of an embattled or mural crown instead of a regular head-piece.⁵⁴



Fig. 24.—FRENCH
HELM : about
A.D. 1300.

The cylindrical *helm* which was worn from the times of Philip Augustus to those of Saint Louis, under Philip IV, became more conical—a change which cannot be considered to have improved the appearance of the head-piece, while it failed to diminish its excessive weight. In the monuments of this age, the helm, or “*heaume*,” often appears in the form represented in Fig. 24.

At the same time, the socks of mail, which covered the feet, show a tendency to become lengthened into a point.

Of the weapons in use at this same period, and which were directed against the armour of mail with its covering plates, the first and most important was the *lance*. It varied in its length ; but now it was made only to be wielded when grasped in the hand, and not to be thrown under any circumstances as a javelin. The shaft was strong and generally of uniform thickness, and the head long, rather broad, and without any barbs. At first all the knights, without any distinction, were considered to enjoy the same right and title to display from their lances, immediately below the lance-head, a *pennon*, or *gonfanon*—a small flag, which fluttered in the wind. After a while, however, this privilege was reserved for rich and powerful knights, who came to the war attended with a retinue of vassals and dependants. Every knight of this rank assumed the distinctive title of “*Knight Banneret*,” a title derived from that variety of mediæval flag which was distinguished as a “*barner*.” In England all knights dis-

played the pointed or swallow-tailed "pennon," charged with their badge; and, instead of pennons, the nobles and men of greater wealth and importance, who bore the title of "Bannerets," from their lances displayed square (or rectangular elongated) "banners," upon which their armorial insignia were blazoned in full.⁵⁵

Until the 14th century the *sword* varied but little from the form in which it is depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. The hilt, with the guard, produces a cruciform figure; the blade is long, straight, tapering slightly towards the point, double-edged, and having its two edges separated by a central ridge.⁵⁶

Of the remaining weapon, the *mace*, hammer, or *martel-de-fer*, it is unnecessary for us to give any description, since the representation of a mace in the engraving, Fig. 27, No. 3, is able to speak all that can be desired on its own behalf. In England the same mace was used, and also a regular *hammer*, of which a remarkable example exists in the effigy in mail armour preserved at Great Malvern.

At present we have been treating only of the arming and the equipment of soldiers, at the lowest of knightly rank, all of whom, as a matter of course, were horsemen. The foot-soldier of the same period, whose presence is scarcely to be discerned in the imagery of the middle ages—at that period of the middle ages, at any rate, now under consideration—cannot be described with certain accuracy. It may be assumed, however, that he wore for defence a strongly quilted garment, with a simple yet strong head-piece; and that of his weapons the sling was the most common, and the most dangerous the French or the Turkish bow, the former of moderate size, and the latter smaller, but both of them made of goats' horns which had been brought from the East after the first Crusade. These foot-soldiers also used the cross-bow, which was not the powerful weapon that it afterwards became.

From this slight and unfinished sketch it is evident that the infantry of France in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, which was composed of the vassals and feudal dependants of the nobles and knights, as a military force was altogether distinct from the contemporary arm of the same class and rank in England. Of the English yeomen of those days, those famous archers, it certainly cannot be justly said that in the warlike imagery of the middle ages they could claim no place.

When the barons and knights of the West went to Syria under the banner of Richard Cœur de Lion (A.D. 1189 to 1199), and under that of Louis IX. (A.D. 1226 to 1270) to Egypt, in those regions which were so different from their own native lands they had to encounter warriors, whose armour and arms and system of warfare were alike strange and new to them. It will not be devoid of interest for us to compare these renowned combatants, and to observe in what more prominent and important particulars they differed from one another in their military appointments. This difference may be concisely summed up in the two words "heavy" and "light." The Crusaders were heavy cavalry, the Saracens were light cavalry. The soldiers of the West formed in a solid line for the charge; and they were well prepared to deliver terrible thrusts with stout lances, and to strike crushing blows with ponderous and strong maces and swords. The soldiers of the East were equipped for active and swift movement, and for rapid manœuvres; they were masters of fence with the light keen-edged scimitar, and were well skilled in handling the bow and arrow, and in darting with sure aim the sharp jerrid or slender javelin.

The Saracen chiefs wore armour of ring or chain mail, admirably wrought, strong, and capable of great resistance, yet light and flexible, and in every respect very greatly superior to the more massive and cumbersome personal equipment

which the Crusaders carried with them to the first Crusade.⁵⁷ This oriental mail also was richly and delicately adorned with gilding, but had no additional defences of plates attached to it. The head-piece, in like manner, was light, and afforded a remarkable contrast to the Western heaume; it was gilt and damascened with gold, with a far higher art than was then known amongst the armourers of the West. This casque, which was made of iron, was globular in form, or somewhat pointed at the crown; it was provided with a nasal, which was prolonged until it rose above the crown of the head-piece, where it expanded to receive a plume. The shield was small in size, round, boldly convex, and with an umbo, or boss, which projected and ended in a point. The offensive weapons were the dart, the scimitar, the dagger, the bow and arrows; and, after the first Crusade, to them the lance was added. The inferior soldiers of the Saracens were, for the most part, archers.

The knights of the West, well padded as they were, armed in mail and plate, and fastened to their saddles by the weight of their helms and of their double and triple armour, armed with long and strong lances, and mounted on immense Norman and Flemish horses, when formed in their long, well-dressed and serried line, brought to bear upon their opponents a weight and a pressure that at the first proved to be irresistible. Thus, in the earliest engagements, the Saracens were almost invariably broken and discomfited. But, when they had acquired some experience of their invaders, the Saracens were not long in recovering all the advantages which, for a while, had been in abeyance. It was not possible for them to be unconscious of the fact that in their climate theirs was the superior equipment, and the more advantageous system of warfare. So they returned, undismayed, to a conflict which for the moment had appeared to be almost hopeless. Lighter and more alert than the Crusaders, they rushed now on one

flank of their massive battalions, and now on the other; as their opponents stood firm, yet almost powerless, they would sweep round them like a whirlwind; or, if at any point they met with even a severe repulse, they returned speedily to the attack, with fresh vigour and in increased numbers. And they were brave warriors, those dexterous and indefatigable horsemen. They would beat down the levelled lances with their scimitars; and, while the knights, compelled to use their swords, were with difficulty bringing those weapons into play, the quick-eyed Saracens sought and found weak points where they might drive home their finely-tempered blades.

And, again, comparatively trifling obstacles, such as might naturally arise from the nature of the ground whereon they fought, would check, and perhaps completely paralyse, the otherwise resistless charge of the heavy cavalry (it was the old story of the phalanx repeating itself), and would expose them to be sifted by the Saracens with showers of arrows, and with the tremendous Greek fire. This Greek fire was the terror of the Crusaders. "Every time," says Joinville, "that the good king (the French Crusader Prince) heard them projecting this fire, which when in the air was attended with a loud roar, he would throw himself prostrate on the ground, and with uplifted hands, and his face turned towards heaven, he would vehemently implore for himself and his army the Divine protection against so tremendous an engine of destruction."

Now, concerning the armour which has just been described, perhaps at too great length and with excessive minuteness of detail, it may be inquired whether, massive and cumbersome as it was, it afforded, at any rate, a complete and perfect defence. The hauberk, supported by the quilted under-tunic, and strengthened by the additional plates, very generally offered an effectual resistance to both blows and thrusts of the sword, and to arrow-shots. By the thrust or stroke of the

lance this armour was not unfrequently broken through or torn; and, even when the mail held firm, the man was not always much the less injured by blows such as these. He, indeed, was so far in safety that he had not received the lance-point in his body; but, nevertheless, he might be very seriously injured by the bruising effect of the blow. Against the mace the hauberk was even less effective for securing the wearer, than against the lance. It is true that the mace, or battle-axe, was chiefly used for blows struck upon the head of an enemy, and, consequently, it had to do for the most part with the helm. Massive as were the helms, or "healumes," that we of late have been examining, they were often crushed beneath the mace-blows that fell upon them; or, if they remained entire, these helms were necessarily powerless to save the wearer from being stunned, and consequently from losing his equilibrium in his saddle—a most serious, and in all probability, as we have seen, a fatal mischance. And, besides, since they constantly rested on the shoulders, these helms, under the force of a strong blow, sometimes would cause a fracture of the collar-bone. When once on the ground, however he might have been unhorsed and brought down there, the knight was at the mercy of the foot-soldiers; that is, he was in their power, and, unless they supposed that he might produce an important ransom, he was certain to find no mercy at their hands. One chance, indeed, the knight had, even when on the ground and prostrate, and for this he was indebted to the strength of his armour. It was just possible that repeated blows from either spear, or dagger, or club, might be necessary before his armour could be beaten through; and meanwhile his assailants might be assaulted in their turn, and before they had found time to complete their work and to kill him, they might themselves have fallen.

The French historians, who have written concerning the times now under our consideration, are unanimous in their

warm commendation of the strong and almost impenetrable armour, which then had been recently invented and brought generally into use. They evidently take delight in recording that when armed in their favourite armour, the knight was in safety until his war-horse had been killed under him. They admit that when once he had been dismounted and thrown on the ground, it would not be possible for him to rise again without assistance; and, therefore, in such a case they are aware that the knight's armour would be to him of but little avail. And it is a consequence of such a condition of things, these chroniclers add, that in battles the loss in killed had become so much less than it had almost invariably been in earlier and ruder times.⁵⁸ All this certainly was evidence of progress; but still it is somewhat remarkable that the progress thus achieved, and that all these complicated devices for the protection of the person of the combatant should belong to the period which is called the "Age of Chivalry," and that this term "chivalry" should always be considered to imply the existence of the most undaunted personal courage, coupled with an almost culpable disregard of life and safety.

"For myself," adds M. Lacombe, "in my estimation the little⁵⁹ modern foot-soldier, in the cloth tunic of his simple uniform, who stands firm and steady in the face of both rifled cannon and rifles, approaches nearer to the realisation of the military ideal, and is a more truthful impersonation of the chivalrous than the great baron of the olden time, covered from head to foot with an iron sheathing of mail and plate. They certainly had the name—chivalry—in those days; but whether they possessed the thing itself—the chivalrous—is questionable."

Whatever sentiments he may entertain towards the warriors of antiquity, the sympathies of M. Lacombe evidently are not with the armour-clad barons and knights of the middle ages. Between them and our own soldiers and the French and

other European soldiers of to-day, it is scarcely possible to draw a faithful parallel. Each group belongs to its own age, and is surrounded and associated with its own distinct and characteristic accessories. We know, and we hope that we are able to appreciate, the true genuine pure chivalrous spirit that lives in the hearts of living soldiers, their birthright at once and their inheritance from their comrades who have gone before them. May we not also concede the spirit of chivalry, in its truth and purity, to those more remote men-at-arms, in whom the genius of their own times is reflected with such vivid fidelity? If science was in its early childhood when they wore their armour and laid their lances in rest, art then had attained to a vigorous and noble maturity. The men of the days of chivalry flourished amidst chivalrous surroundings; and, surely, it is scarcely consistent to assume, because of the excellence of their armour, that they were not chivalrous themselves.⁶⁰

CHAPTER VIII.

ARMS AND ARMOUR OF THE MIDDLE AGES.—PART II.

IN the reign of Philip VI., of Valois (A.D. 1328 to 1350), in France, and when in England Edward III. was king, the terrible and most unhappy hundred years' war between those countries had its commencement.⁶¹ Then there appeared on the scene of the great historic drama the *Grandes Compagnies*—armies, that is, composed of mixed bands of mercenary soldiers who, having made a military life their profession, were always ready to enter into any service which would secure to them the highest pay, accompanied with the most attractive promise of plunder. These men, who included the natives of many countries in their ranks, knew no other interest than their personal advantages, and owed no allegiance except to themselves. In the war between England and France, they sometimes were French and sometimes English, their standard having been determined by their paymaster. During intervals of truce, these bands carried on war, and most atrocious and cruel was their system of warfare, on their own account with the peasantry, and with such citizens as might be exposed to their attacks. They included in their numbers cavalry and infantry, men-at-arms and archers, and miscellaneous bands. Men of noble birth and high rank rode amongst them side by side with peasants, or with serfs who had escaped from vassalage. Alike in their passions, their morals, their pursuits, and their military aspect, it may easily be supposed that but slight distinction amongst them grew

out of any differences there might be in their birth, their education, or their original rank.

To these men, brigands as they were, belongs the merit of having brought about that revolution in arms and armour, to which reference was made in the last chapter, and which the equipment of the more honourable troops of Louis IX. had rendered both necessary and inevitable.⁶²

The civil costume had just undergone a thorough change. The long double robe, the coat and surcoat (*cotte* and *surcot*) which had been worn in France since the time of Philip Augustus, had given place to the *pourpoint*, a kind of paletot, fitting tight to the figure, buttoned from top to bottom in front, without any collar, provided with half-sleeves, padded and quilted, and swelling over the chest. As we see in the monuments of the period, under this *pourpoint* the coat, or *cotte*, was still worn; but now it had become a narrow and short blouse, in comparison with its earlier form and proportions, although still its sleeves might be longer than those of the *pourpoint*, and it might descend lower than that garment. Instead of the coat (*cotte*) in its new form, the men-at-arms adopted as their under-garment the quilted *pourpoint*, which they wore without sleeves; and over this, for defence, they placed a shirt or tunic of fine mail, a little longer than their *pourpoint*, and having sleeves; this they called the *haubergeon*, or diminished hauberk, and it was soon worn by all ranks, and the original long hauberk was altogether abandoned. In England, however, the shortened mail tunic generally retained the old name, and was called either hauberk or haubergeon. Whatever additional guards had been affixed to the mail of the hauberk in earlier times, to protect the shoulders, elbows, and knees, and also the more exposed surfaces of the limbs, were retained; and at this time the limb-guards were made to enclose the limbs within back and front pieces, hinged and buckled together; and the lower arm and the leg received

habitually the same defences of plate-armour, which before, while almost always given to the upper arm and the thigh, in their case were rather exceptional than general. These defences for the lower arm and the leg were severally named *avant-bras* and *grevières*, *lower arm-guards*, and *leg-pieces*.

The *garde-bras*, or upper arm-guard, had its form somewhat modified at each extremity, both towards the shoulder and the bend of the arm, where it was finished in three or four circular overlapping plates, which gave more liberty to the limb. At the shoulders also, and at the openings in the arm-guards at the elbow-joint, and in like manner at the similar opening in the leg-pieces at the joints of the limb, where the mail would be visible, shields of very small dimensions were fixed, which more or less resembled convex discs. In England, at this time, the cuisses and chausses, or leg-coverings of mail, were not worn beneath the plate, nor had the shortened hauberk sleeves, except quite early in the new period. The openings, however, in the plate, at all the joints of the limbs, and on the instep, were filled with small pieces of mail fixed within the plates. The feet were covered, not with mail, but with *sollerets*, formed of articulated plates, and the *spurs* were always of the *rouelle* form. The new armour for the foot, following the civil fashion (or leading it), eventually, in the 15th century, ended in extravagantly long points; and then the spurs were also scarcely less extravagant in their projection from beyond the heels. It will be observed that the plate *sollerets* were pointed, from the time of their first introduction, throughout the 14th century, and until some little time before the close of the 15th century.

The happiest innovation of all was the abolition of the heaume, or great helm, and the substitution in its stead of the *basinet*, a smaller and lighter head-piece, which was somewhat globular in form, but was raised a little above the head, and terminated above in a point. The *basinet*, while always

conforming to the general characteristics of its proper type, admitted many modifications in its form and contour. As it decidedly differed from the heaume, in being only a true head-piece without descending over the head and resting on the shoulders, notwithstanding the circumstance that it was often made in such a prolonged shape at the back and sides as to cover the neck of the wearer, the basinet was considered to be incomplete without having appended to it, and depending from it, a mail defence for the neck and shoulders, called the *camail*. This is the lower part of a mail coif, a hood, or a tippet of mail, which was fixed to the basinet, and hung gracefully over the shoulders, covering the upper part of the body-armour, but leaving the face bare. The defensive action of the basinet was completed by the further addition of an efficient protection for the face, which was accomplished by means of a piece that would completely close-in the open front of the basinet itself. This piece, called the *mesail*, or *mursail* (from the kind of resemblance it necessarily bore to the muzzle of an animal), but more generally known in England as the *ventaile*, or visor, was pierced for both sight and breathing, and was adjusted in such a manner that it could be raised or lowered, or could be altogether removed, at the pleasure of the wearer; and, as a matter of course, this visor was not lowered and secured in front of the face except when the combat was imminent. In England the basinet was constantly worn with the *camail*, but without any *ventaile*; and in this case the great helm was retained, and in action was worn over the basinet, and, as of old, resting on the shoulders. A plate for additional defence sometimes was screwed upon a basinet.



Fig. 25.—FRENCH BASINET WITH CLOSED VENTAILE.

In England the camailed basinet ceased to be worn when the 15th century was only two or three years old; but the basinet itself continued in use, having, in place of the camail, a gorget of steel plate, encircling and protecting the throat. In Fig. 25 a representation is given of a French basinet, without any camail, but having the acutely-peaked visor or mesail lowered and closed.⁶³

The men-at-arms still used the old weapons of the earlier knights with some comparatively trifling modifications. Their *lances*, longer and heavier than before, instead of following the earlier usage of having the shaft plain and even from end to end, had their shaft increasing in circumference near the end furthest from the point; and, also at the handle the shaft passed through a small circular shield, or hand-guard (called a *vamplate*), which was fixed to the shaft of the lance, and was found to be of great use in giving firmness and stability to the grasp, as well as for protecting the hand.

The *sword* is also seen to differ in a very decided manner from the corresponding weapon of the earlier ages, when, having been made to be used both for striking blows with the edge and thrusting with the point, it could scarcely be considered really efficient for either purpose. Now, the sword, designed to be used only for delivering a thrust with the point becomes a *rapier*, long and slight and sharply pointed, and thoroughly efficient for the use assigned to it. This description, which is applicable to French swords, does not extend to the contemporaneous English weapons. In England, the earlier swords, even if they were not very perfectly adapted for thrusting, were perfect in the hands that then wielded them for striking blows; and, later, the English swords of the fourteenth century and of the early part of the fifteenth century, while well qualified to inflict wounds with the point, were second to none in their efficiency for the delivery of genuine hard English blows with their edge. The

rapier belongs to another—a later and a perfectly distinct period—in the history of English weapons. In France the *mace*, the hammer amongst weapons, came into more general use when the rapier form of sword began to prevail.

The infantry,⁶⁴ in the fourteenth century, began to arise from out of its nothingness, and to assume on the field of battle that importance which from thenceforth was destined continually to increase. The power of this arm was first shown by the foot-soldiers and the archers of England, and this was done by them in a manner that was felt very severely by the French. At Crécy (August 26, 1346), the first lesson was given, and it was a very harsh one. On that day, however, the French army had in its ranks an infantry force which ought to have been able to have decided the victory. This was the corps of Genoese crossbow-men, in the pay of France, which in the first instance was opposed to the English archers. Unhappily, the crossbow-men had to open the discharge of their bolts while their bow-strings were still wet from a heavy shower, and so the missiles would not fly with their proper force. On the other hand, the archers of England had succeeded in keeping their bow-strings dry. When the Genoese desired to retire (and they had a good reason for such a desire), King Philip, who with his knights and men-at-arms was in the rear of the Genoese, would not suffer them to fall back, and, in his violent indignation, as a true (?) warrior of the knightly class, he exclaimed—"Forward, and strike down this useless rabble, who thus are blocking up the way in our front!" And with his squadrons of cavaliers the king charged the army of England, trampling under foot the dead bodies of his own Genoese crossbow-men.

This was far from being the first occasion on which such an incident had taken place; nor was Crécy by any means the first mediæval battle that commenced with the destruction of the foot soldiers by the cavalry of their own army.

When we consider the utter contempt in which the knights held the unfortunate peasantry whom they dragged with them to battle, it certainly does not appear very easy to assign any satisfactory reason for their encumbering themselves with such auxiliaries. Armed as they were, the French foot-soldiers could not possibly oppose any effectual resistance to a charge of mounted men-at-arms: and the estimation in which they were held by their noble and knightly comrades is shown but too significantly by their readiness to crush and destroy them, at any moment, on the very field of battle. The presence of these troops, then, if troops they may be called, in the armies of France, can be explained apparently only by the fact, that it was customary to begin a battle with such an attack as the foot-soldiers might be able to make. It is certain that battles then opened with an advance of the French infantry; and it would seem to have been the motive of the commanders in ordering such a movement, to place their own inferior troops in a position where they might cause some little annoyance to the hostile chivalry, and might take off the edge of their fresh energy; but the discomfiture and the destruction also of the infantry, while discharging the duty assigned to them, were regarded as matters of course; so much so, in fact, that if they fought too well, and accordingly were not routed with sufficient speed to satisfy the impatience of their own knights, those valiant warriors took upon themselves to complete the overthrow of their hapless fellow-countrymen, and, like King Philip at Crécy, delivered their own charge through (or, more probably, over) the shattered ranks in their front.

At Crécy, the Genoese were not quite so easily crushed as the royal chivalry doubtless had expected; indeed, so far were they from submitting with good humour to the charge of their mounted allies, that they actually resisted it. Thereupon a strange, yet disastrous confusion ensued; and thus

were the French knights for a considerable time entangled amongst the Genoese, while the English archers with a sure aim poured upon them their deadly arrows in flights thick as hail. At last, having disposed of the Genoese with no little difficulty, in grievously diminished numbers the French knights fell upon the English archers, and they succeeded in breaking their lines, but not without fresh and very serious loss. Then they closed with the knights of England, and were driven back by them. Such a result was inevitable. Once more, in retreating, the French knights were exposed to the terrible discharge of the English archers; by whom, without any such deliberate intention on their part, the fate of the Genoese was fearfully avenged. So the victory that day was with England.

But there yet remains to be noticed another event that took place at Crécy, which was calculated to enhance most powerfully the importance of infantry, and to secure for that arm a very different reputation with the highest military authorities. At that battle, setting an example altogether new and without precedent, the Prince of Wales (the Black Prince) caused his men-at-arms to dismount; and with the butts of their lances resting on the ground, acting as infantry—infantry with knightly armour and weapons—in obedience to his command, they received and repulsed the charge of the French knights. The complete success of this manœuvre caused it to be imitated for at least two centuries. The French made an experiment, in imitation of the tactics of the Black Prince, at Poitiers (September 19, 1356). Unfortunately for themselves, they applied the excellent example of the Prince in a manner which reversed both his motive and his course of action. The English army had been formed in order of battle on rising ground, difficult of access, and to which indeed there was a practicable approach for an attacking force only by a single defile. By this pass the French men-at-

arms were led, dismounted and in their full armour, to attack the English position, and, if possible, to carry it by storm. This was an enterprise of a very different character from the calm and steady formation of his dismounted knights by the Black Prince, for the reception of an impetuous and somewhat disorderly attack. The English archers at Poitiers, well covered by thickets, lined the pass, and with their arrows drove the toiling men-at-arms of France before them in terrible disorder and with frightful loss. Two of the three French divisions broke into hopeless confusion, and fled, without having effected much more than an advance within sight of the enemy. The third division, led by King John (A.D. 1350 to 1363), made an effort to rally and to save the day; but they were assailed, first by the same formidable archers who had routed their comrades, and then by the English knights, who remounted for their charge. Escape for them, consequently, was impossible, and they were either killed or captured almost to a man.

At Cocherel, and at Auray, some time later (May 16, and September 29, 1364), we discover a novel application of the same principles. The men-at-arms dismounted and charged on foot; and in order that they might be able to manage their lances more effectually under such unusual conditions, before they went into action they reduced their length from the customary twelve feet to about five feet. At Auray the English archers showed that they possessed other military qualities, in addition to their well-known ability to shoot with a sure aim and great power from a long distance. Intermixed with the dismounted men-at-arms of their own army, with their swords and cutlasses they fought hand to hand against the lances of the enemy.

It is necessary that we should here explain the unquestionable fact, that at the period under our notice the English foot-soldier, in addition to the superiority of his military

equipment, was superior to the French soldier of the same order in the great and vital qualities of courage and energy. This arose, we may assert with confidence, from the treatment (so different from that which was experienced by the French foot-soldier) shown to the foot-soldier of England by the nobles and knights of his own nation. By them he was treated with consideration and respect and confidence, as a good soldier and a brave man; and whenever an occasion served, he received practical proofs of the high estimation in which he was held. In battle some English barons and distinguished knights always joined the bands of their archers, and fought side by side with them in their own ranks.

The French naturally desired to have archers of their own; and they soon succeeded in organising a force of bowmen who, in the estimation of Juvenal des Ursins, an historian who wrote a little later, were as good, and indeed even superior to the archers of England. "In a short time," says this chronicler, "the French archers became so expert in their use of the bow, that they were able to discharge their arrows with a more sure aim than the English; and, indeed, if these archers had formed a close confederacy amongst themselves, they might have become a more powerful body than the princes and nobles of France; and, accordingly, it was the apprehension of such a result as this which caused the French king to suppress the archer force in his army." Possibly the French writer may have been slightly prepossessed in favour of his own countrymen; and when he found that the French archers were considered to be capable of surpassing nobles and knights in military prowess, he might naturally suppose them to be the most perfect archers in the world. At any rate, their own sovereign considered them to be even too perfect; and so he did not give to the bowmen of England an opportunity for bringing this question of national superiority to a practical test. Without a doubt, the archers of England would have

candidly admitted their own comparative inferiority, when once they had felt a proof of being inferior. A very decided and decisive proof would certainly have been required, since, even in those days, we may suppose that there existed some presentiment of that later evidence of insular obtuseness, which is said now to render English soldiers unable to understand when they are beaten. In the days of Crécy they were not beaten; and Juvenal des Ursins has told us that, some little time after Crécy, the French archers were too good to be permitted to attempt to beat their English contemporaries. Certain English writers, on the contrary, are disposed to suspect it to have been just as well for those skilled archers of France that they never were able to make the trial.

It is a singular fact that an early French historian should not only have described the powerful impression produced in his own times upon the popular mind in France by a body of soldiers formed from the humbler classes, but also should have shown that this most important force troubled the mighty ones of the earth with an implied threat of a revolution, distant, indeed, but in due time certain to take place.

We may now consider the military equipment of archers in their palmy days.

Their proper weapon, the *bow*, to which they owed their reputation, by right first claims our attention. Amongst the archers of England it was exclusively the great bow, five feet in length, and formed of yew, which at a range of at least 240 yards discharged a strong arrow, sharp and barbed. The shafts of these arrows were provided, near their base, with feathers, or with strips of leather. They were carried, not in such a quiver as appears in antique statues of Apollo or Diana, but bound together in a sheaf, and so suspended from the waist-belt. When in the act of commencing battle, the archer shook out his sheaf of arrows and placed them under his left foot, their points outwards; and thus he had only

to stoop down in order to take them one by one in his hand as they were required. "A first-rate English archer," says Prince Louis Napoleon, "who in a single minute was unable to draw and discharge his bow twelve times with a range of 240 yards, and who in these twelve shots once missed his man, was very lightly esteemed." It is doubtful whether, at so great a distance, an arrow could have struck its mark with sufficient force to penetrate a knight's surcoat and hauberk of mail; but it would kill his horse, which was not yet provided with defensive armour, and this was the very circumstance which caused that change in tactics which has been mentioned.⁶⁵

At all periods in the history of warfare it always has been a matter of great difficulty for infantry to resist and repel the shock of a cavalry charge. In some ages, as for example in the 12th century, this was a military problem for which it was held to be hopeless to seek for any solution; while at other periods, as in antiquity, this same problem was considered to be difficult, though by no means impossible, to be solved. It does not appear from Homer that the war-chariots, which then took the place of cavalry properly so called, were particularly formidable to the combatants who fought on foot. It is evident that they served simply to carry the warriors here and there, on the field of battle, with greater rapidity than they could have moved without them. The warriors voluntarily, and, indeed, systematically, dismounted from their chariots when they were about to engage in actual combat, and they fought on foot; which, assuredly, they would not have done, had their chariots offered to them those advantages in action which afterwards they acquired when mounted on horseback. Thus we never hear of any such thing as a charge by the Homeric war-chariots.⁶⁶ The Greek phalanx, again, had no great dread of cavalry—a fact easy to be understood, since to break into that massive and serried formation a

body of horse would have been required, far more numerous, and infinitely better provided and trained than the Greeks or their enemies were able to bring into the field. In like manner, the Roman legion did not consider it necessary to bestow much attention on hostile cavalry. The precautions, however, that were adopted at the battle of Zama, by Scipio, against the Numidian cavalry, a body of horsemen of a peculiarly formidable character, have been observed and recorded. He formed his lines in such a manner that unusually wide spaces were left between the companies into which his legions were divided. Scipio knew that horses, when they are caused to charge men in line, and especially when they feel the points of weapons, only attempt to glide along the length of the obstacle and to escape by the flanks; and, consequently, he desired to oppose to the Numidians a formation of his infantry with a front as little extended as possible. The plans of that illustrious general were attended with the full measure of the success that he anticipated from them. And, in general also, the legion which fought in its customary open formation, divided into sections of companies, was in an excellent condition to resist cavalry with good effect. In the middle ages, on the other hand, either the foot soldiers were very inferior in military qualities (which was really the fact) or (which also in some degree was probable) the art of training horses had made a great advance, or from some other causes, for a long period it appeared to be altogether hopeless for any infantry to attempt to encounter the career of the Western mounted men-at-arms. The revival of the military art dates from the very day upon which this opinion ceased to prevail.

The charge of cavalry is checked by two forms of resistance, which, though really distinct, are generally applied in combination. First, that is, by presenting a line of pikes or bayonets, which is too strong to be broken; and secondly, while the charge is yet being made, by striking down by

means of missiles, either arrows or bullets, so many of the horses that the advancing column is necessarily shaken, or, perhaps, actually thrown into disorder.

Whenever any improvement is made in arrows and other missiles, cavalry sinks in importance—for a time, that is to say—and until fresh and more effectual means are discovered for repelling the new or improved missiles. What has just now been described took place at Crécy. The English archers on that day shot down the horses of the French knights in considerable numbers; and their arrows wounded many others, which, through their violence and terror, contributed in a great degree to break up the cavalry and destroy its efficiency. Indeed, the French knights at Crécy were unable to accomplish more than to reach the position of their enemies, when they melted away, so to speak, and were either dispersed or destroyed. Foot soldiers, who stood firm and in good order, under such circumstances, had every advantage. And this it was which, when once clearly understood, led the knights to dismount and to form on foot in rear of the archers, where they might receive a charge of cavalry without injury to themselves, and repel it to the utter discomfiture of the cavaliers.

After a while (early in the 15th century), an innovation was introduced, which, in some slight degree, affected the practice of the archers. This was the introduction of a large shield, called a *pavise*, or *pavas* (also called a *mantlet*), a kind of movable breastwork, which, resting on the ground, covered almost entirely the person of the soldier.⁶⁷ Not only when on the march, but also in battle, and above all at sieges, the knight had his pavise carried before him by a page or valet. Square in outline, and convex in form, this pavise was sufficiently large to shelter both the page and his master; the latter it must be added, still continued to carry his regular shield. It is curious to enumerate the defences which thus

weapons of the enemy—his haqueton, hauberk, a breastplate (or *plaston*) probably, surcoat, with iron outer-guards for the limbs and joints, then the shield, and, last of all, the great pavise. Bodies of *pavisiers* were formed on each side, in action; and, doubtless, these strong defences were opposed, as much as possible, to the hostile archers. All this shows how terrible the bows and arrows had become.

We now return to the equipment of the infantry. When not provided with a long-bow, the foot soldier carried a *cross-bow*, or *arblast*. In its elementary form, this is a weapon composed of a short bow adjusted to a staff, called the *arbrier*, or *stock*, and fixed at right angles to it, close to one extremity. For a while, during the 12th century, as the long-bow in the 14th, the cross-bow had the reputation of being a weapon terrible beyond all others. At that time, probably, it was a novelty. It does not appear at all in the Bayeux tapestry, nor in any other monument of the 11th century. It is remarkable, also, that when the cross-bow was first introduced it was forbidden to be employed by Christians in warfare with one another, as being too murderous a weapon; this was at the second Council of Lateran, held in the year 1139; and it was only new inventions, or early ones revived, that were interdicted in such a manner as the cross-bow was at that time. If it has not hitherto been mentioned amongst the weapons of the 12th and 13th centuries, it has been omitted because, notwithstanding its reputation, the cross-bow at that period was but little used, so that even in the Crusades (when its use was allowed) this weapon performed only a very subordinate part. The reasons for this will soon be apparent. In the 14th century, the cross-bow was much more generally used; thus, as we have seen, the French army at Crécy included in its ranks 6,000 Genoese cross-bowmen.

The cross-bow, simply formed from a bow and a stock, may be used with more precision than the long-bow; but,

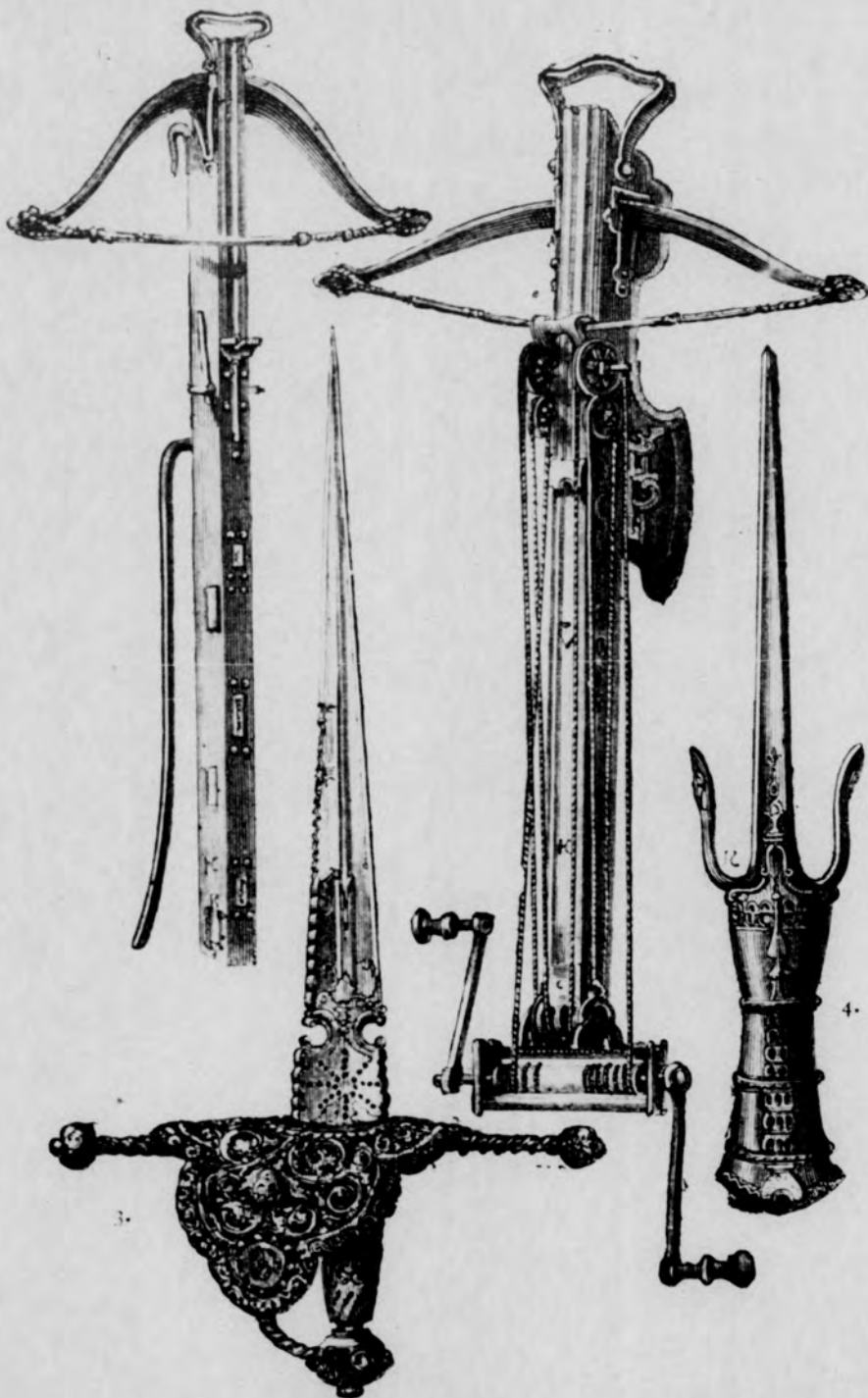


Fig. 26.—GROUP OF TWO ARBLASTS OR CROSS-BOWS, AND TWO DAGGERS.
 1. Hand Cross-bow. 2. Rolling purchase Cross-bow. 3. Left-hand Dagger
 4. Moorish three-point Dagger.

at the same time, it is both inconvenient when in use, and heavier to carry. Again, it can be protected from the very injurious action of rain only with great difficulty ; and, finally, it has a considerably shorter range than the long-bow. Should it be desired to give it an equally long range, it would be necessary to add greatly to the strength of the cross-bow ; and this, in its turn, would require some mechanical apparatus to draw the bow-string, which implies a further addition to both weight and inconvenience. At the end of the 13th century, and at the commencement of the 14th, all the cross-bows that were in use had their bow-strings drawn by means of machinery ; and of these cross-bows, or arblasts, there were three varieties, severally named—the *hind's foot*, the *lever*, and the *rolling purchase*—*arbalètes à pied de biche*, *à cric*, and *à tour*.

A few words may be said by way of description of each of these varieties of this weapon. The distinctions, it will be observed, between these varieties of the cross-bow consist exclusively in the varied means that are employed for bending the bow and drawing up the bow-string.

1. The *hind's foot* (called also the *goat's foot*) *cross-bow* (*à pied de biche*, or *à pied de chevre*). The apparatus employed to bend this cross-bow is a lever composed of two articulated pieces. The smaller piece, or the small arm of the lever, is divided into two branches, each of which is provided with a kind of fork. When the bow is to be bent, the bowstring is grasped by one of these branches ; and then the other branch, by means of its long fork, rests on points placed on the two sides of the stock. The archer, having taken a firm hold of the larger piece or arm of the lever, draws it back ; the small fork, with the bowstring in its grasp, follows this movement ; the bowstring is brought up to a notch, in which it is caught, and remains fixed ; and thus this bow is drawn up and ready to act.

2. The *lever cross-bow* (*à cric*). A stout and strong cord secures to the bow-stock a *pignon*, that is, a toothed wheel, enclosed within a circular iron case. This wheel is in gear with a rod, which is straight, but has a hook at its further extremity. When the wheel is turned by means of a handle, the rod is advanced until the hook at its extremity is made to grasp the bowstring; then by the reversed action of the wheel the rod is drawn back, and the bowstring follows with it to its own proper place. See Fig. 27, No. 2.

3. The *rolling-purchase cross-bow* (*à tour, or de passot*). The stock of this bow is furnished at its extremity with a kind of iron stirrup, into which the archer inserted his foot, that he might be enabled to bend his bow with a greater purchase. At the opposite extremity is fixed a compound tackle, or system of pulleys, over which strong cords are led; and these cords being set in motion over their pulleys by means of a small windlass, and the pulleys themselves at one end of the tackle having been hooked to the bowstring, the bow is thus bent. The string is then lodged on a nut, the tackle is removed and suspended from the archer's belt, the arrow, or bolt, is laid in its proper place, and the weapon is ready for the aim. In Fig. 26, No. 2, a cross-bow of this class is represented; and in No. 1 of the same figure is shown a simple cross-bow, which is drawn up by the action of the left foot and the right hand.

The *sword* of the foot soldier differed from the corresponding weapon worn and used by the knight, in having its blade much narrower. Besides such a sword as this, when he was provided with neither long-bow nor cross-bow, the foot soldier carried either a pike or a *vouge*, a strong staff, having at its extremity a long point also very strong, which, in fact was a kind of spear; or sometimes he was armed with the *guisarme*, a lance having a small axe fixed at the foot of its blade or lance-head on one side, and generally a spike projecting on

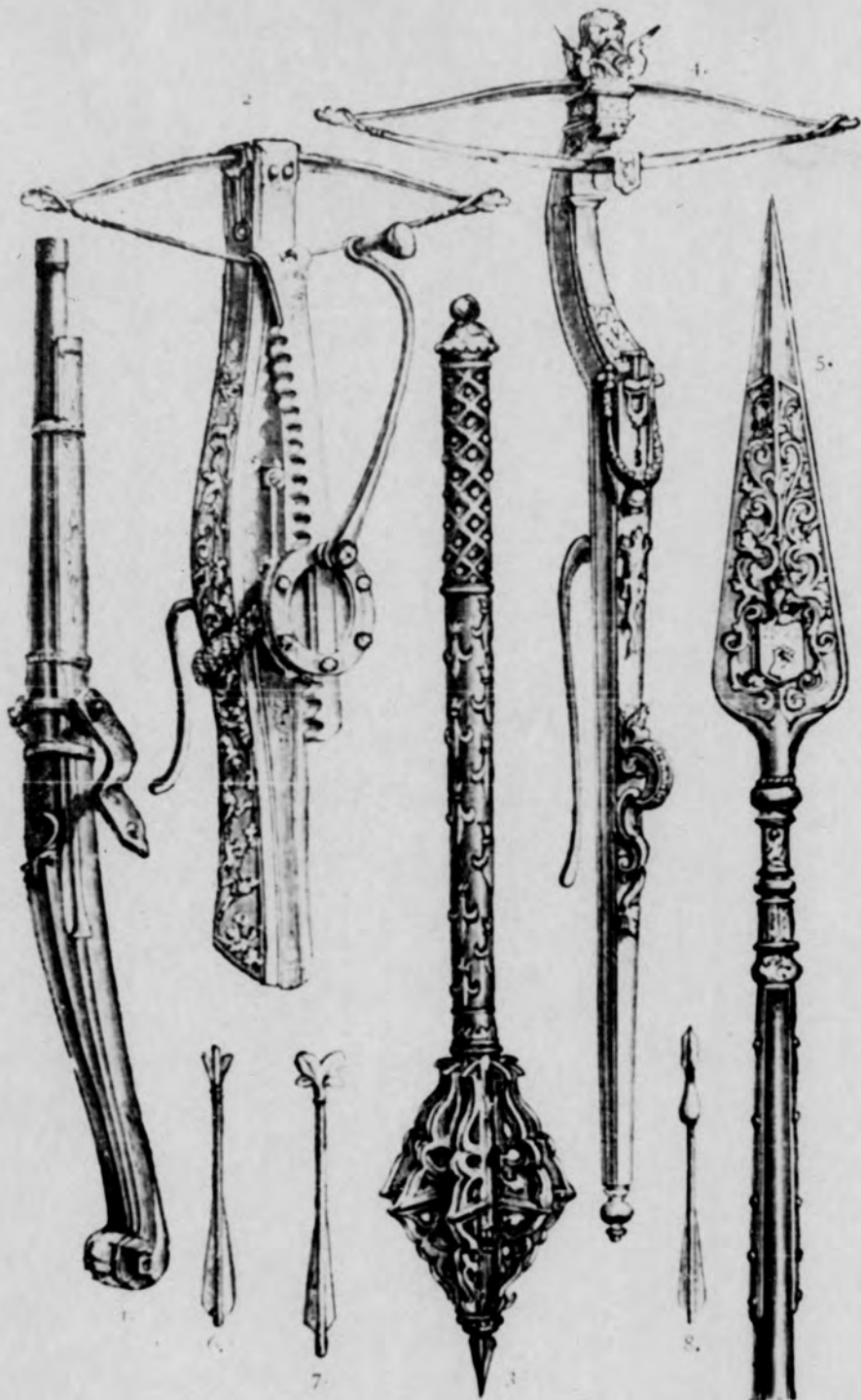


Fig. 27.—GROUP OF TWO ARBLASTS OR CROSS-BOWS, THREE ARBLAST-BOLTS, A MACE, A PIKE, AND AN EARLY MUSKET.

1. Early Musket. 2. Lever Cross-bow. 3. Mace. 4. Decorated Cross-bow of Catherine de Medicis. 5. Decorated Pike. 6, 7, 8. Cross-bow Bolts.

the other side. (See Fig. 53, Nos. 12 and 13.) This weapon, after having been suffered to fall into disuse in the 14th century, again became popular in the 16th under various appellations. The terms *partizan*, *halberde*, and *guisarme*, denote the same class of weapon, which admitted various modifications. (See Fig. 53, Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13.) It will be observed that in all these examples a lance-head and an axe are present. In the 16th century both the lance-head and the axe are made to cut in various ways, and they present to the eye strange and often fantastic modifications of form. At this time, also, the *guisarme* often gives place to the *fauchard*, a weapon of a truly formidable character in close fight, and rightly considered almost too cruel to be used in Christian warfare; it resembles a very large razor-blade fixed to the end of a staff, and it is represented in Fig. 53, No. 4.

We may now direct our attention to the defensive equipment of the foot soldier. The common soldier, as has already been stated, who would be a serf, or peasant escaped from serfdom, figures but little, if at all, in the military imagery of the middle ages previous to the 14th century. If by any chance we meet with him at an earlier period, we find that his costume in war externally differs scarcely at all from what it had been when he was at work in the fields; still, imbued as he naturally would be with that sentiment of his age, which would suggest to him to regard armour as the only true military uniform, he appears always to have worn beneath his customary clothing whatever pieces, or fragments of pieces, of armour he might have obtained, either from the wreck of a field of battle, or from any other source; he also gladly assumed any quilted garment that he might be able to add to his scanty armoury. In the 14th century, on the contrary, the foot soldier may almost be said to have a definite and characteristic military costume of his own. On his person at this time he wears a *jaque*, or *jack*, which is a pourpoint, or

quilted tunic, made of leather, and well padded; or a *brigandine*, also a pourpoint, but which is covered over with small iron plates of various forms, and may be called a studded tunic. For the legs and arms he has half-armour; that is, instead of having his limbs encased in armour, he has defences for the more exposed parts of them, which, accordingly, may be distinguished as *demi-gardes-bras*, *demi-grevières*, &c. On his head he wears a *chapel-de-fer*, or iron cap, furnished with a broad and slightly curved rim; or the *salade*, a head-piece having large projecting defences for the back of the neck, and square plates to cover and protect the ears.

The armour of the knight we left when in a condition of semi-transformation; now we proceed to trace out the completion of the change from the defensive equipment of mail to the suit of plate armour, the full panoply of chivalry.⁶⁸ It is the civil costume which, undergoing a fresh change in fashion, furnishes as usual the motive for a corresponding change in armour. Under Charles VI. of France (A.D. 1380 to 1422), contemporary with Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. of England, instead of the true pourpoint or surcoat, a short vest was worn, slightly padded, fitting tight to the figure, and having long narrow sleeves; and the chausses (breeches), which covered the rest of the body, being also tight (or elastic so as to cling to the figure), the men at a little distance appeared to be altogether destitute of all clothing, so that it was said of them that they resembled skinned rabbits—a pleasantry that was by no means inconsistent.

However this may be, the new substitutes for the quilted surcoat were found to leave the lower part of the body and thighs much less protected than was satisfactory. The new covering for the armour might be the fashion, but certainly it was not safe. It would be necessary to discover a remedy for this; nor would such a discovery be attended with any difficulty. A corslet of iron, formed of two pieces, was soon

introduced, which enclosed and protected the body, front and back, above the waist, and as low down as the hips; this may be called a *demi-cuirass*. It was worn over the haubergeon, and formed a very efficient defence as far as it went. In order to complete the defence, to the lower part of this *demi-cuirass* there was attached a system of articulated *lames*, or narrow plates, in their contour adapted to cover the figure, and so arranged that each one would slightly overlap the one below it; thus was formed a species of kilt of armour, or iron petticoat, called *faudes* (and in England known as *taces*). Over the flanks, on each side of the figure, to the *faudes* or *taces* was appended a plate, or small shield, or *garde-faude* (in England called a *tuille*), which would cover the front of the thigh, and, being secured by only straps and buckles, would allow free movement to the limb. These plates (*tuilles*) appear in almost every variety of form—square, hexagonal, lozenge-shaped, serrated, &c. In front, and also behind, the haubergeon was shown uncovered.



Fig. 28.—FRENCH KNIGHT DISMOUNTED, temp. CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE, A.D. 1380-1422.

Such was the armour worn by the brothers of Charles VI., the "Sires des fleurs de lis," when they went to war. Such also was the armour of the famous Duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, who caused the Duke of Orleans to be assassinated; and the same armour was worn by the nobles of Armagnac and of Burgundy, who, in the 15th century, deolated France with such ferocious rapacity.

Under Charles VII. of France (A.D. 1422 to 1461), the half cuirass became the complete cuirass, which enclosed the whole body from the throat downwards. This important piece of armour, however, was not like the modern cuirass, simply a sleeveless tunic, or vest of plate; nor did it resemble its own predecessor, the demi-cuirass, in being formed of two pieces for breast and back; but the cuirass of this period was considerably sloped away, on each side, at the shoulders; and there was fixed, to meet the slopes, a system of articulated plates, curved in half-circles, and projecting considerably, after the manner of a thick and large epaulette; this part of the cuirass was called the *epaulière*.

Now that we have before us plate-armour in its most perfect development, as it appears in Fig. 29, we may enumerate the several pieces of which the suit is composed:—

1. The *cuirass*, covering the whole figure, breast and back.
2. The *epaulières*, guards for the shoulders.
3. The *brassarts*, or arm-guards.
4. The *coudières*, elbow-guards, and coverings for the inside of the elbow-joints.
5. The *avant-bras*, guards for the lower arms.
6. The *faudes*, or *taces*, with the *tuilles*, which have just been described.
7. The *haubergeon*, or defence for the body worn under the cuirass.
8. The *cuissarts*, thigh-pieces.
9. The *genouillères*, knee-guards.
10. The *grevières*, leg-pieces.
11. The *sollerets*, or *soulières* (with the *spurs*), laminated coverings for the feet; and
12. The *gauntlets*, pieces of armour that have not yet been described, and which in the time of Charles VII. were recent inventions (in France); they were composed of pieces of iron sewn on gloves of strong leather, for the protection of



Fig. 29.—SUIT OF ARMOUR OF CHARLES THE BOLD.

the hands and wrists. The only protection (in France) to the hands, in earlier times, was the leather glove.⁶⁹

No mention is made by M. Lacombe of the additional plates that, towards the close of the 15th century (at any rate in England), were screwed upon the cuirass, and that were added, after the shield had generally been laid aside, to the primary defences of the left arm. Nor are the belts noticed; nor do the heraldic accessories of the noble and knightly panoply, in themselves, at the era under consideration, matters of no slight importance, appear to have attracted M. Lacombe's attention. In like manner, the horse-furniture of the period has been passed over without any description or remark. (See Chapter XI.)

The celebrated warriors of France, who flourished in the 15th century, continues M. Lacombe, are universally well known. To awaken the remembrance of a thousand acts of bravery, intermingled also, unhappily, with as many of violence and rapacity, it is enough to mention the names of La Hire, Xaintrailles, D'Alençon, and Richmond; but, for the honour of the period, never let it be forgotten that the armed image of Joan of Arc (A.D. 1431) shines pure and radiant, high above them all.

In order to complete the recapitulation of the innovations in arms and armour that were effected in the 15th century, the head-piece and the sword must be added to the body-armour. The head and the neck, as has been shown, were covered and guarded by the *basinet* and *camail*—the latter pendant from the former. About the middle of the century, the basinet gave place to the *armet*, or *helmet*, a head-piece consisting of a globular iron cap, which spreads out with a large hollowed projection over the back of the neck, and in front has a piece formed like part of a bowl, so as to cover the mouth and chin. This piece, called the *bavière* (*beavor*, or *mentonière*), is pierced with holes for respiration.

In order to fill in and to defend the space left open before the face of the knight, between the front rim of the helm itself and the upper part of the *bavière*, a movable plate, pierced with narrow openings for sight, was added; this is the *visière*, or *visor*. Finally, at the bottom of the helm, and below the *bavière*, instead of the mail *camail*, the *gorgerin*, or *gorget*, completes this head-piece. It is formed of a series of circular pieces of plate, jointed and carefully connected together to cover the throat, and (after the manner of an iron cravat) to connect the helm with the body-armour.⁷⁰

In the case of the *sword*, the changes which it underwent during this century produced a weapon that, instead of being long and narrow, was somewhat shorter, broader at the head of the blade, and gradually tapering towards the point—a weapon, in fact, that in many respects closely resembles the sword that was in general use in the 12th century.

Ostrogathic
Basula (541-552) Wroth

1. Sabbatic

(place XIX)

p 206

2. Wroth (XXXVI + XXXVII)

PLIV (Plates X, XI, XII)

3. Elliptic (Double page)

Phia (552-553) Wroth

Wroth (XXXVIII)
(Place XII)

Sabbatic (pl. XIX
pp 209-211)

Imp. Caesar. Vir Religiosus. Lervous Publicus
Augustus Censitor.

Pontifex Maximus

DN) THEODO SIVS PP AUG

1
Vol I p256

GLORORRI STERRAR

TESOB

(Globe Surmounted by Cross)

Victoria Aug. C.C.

R. N. O

CONJB

Victoria Augustus Caesars

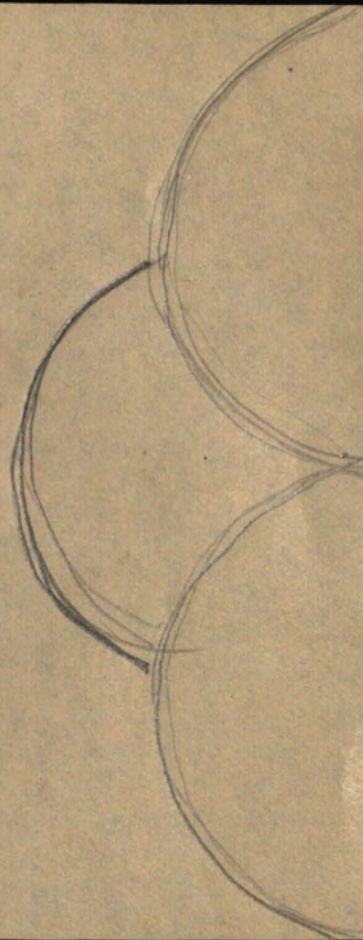
Noric Kingdom

Obedient Consul

Hieronymus
DOETISSI

FORD PREFIR
MUS

-TERA.CITO.ET VELOCITER SPIRITUS.
DNI.SVB TERRA COPIOS ET HAS VOAT
GLADIUS DOMINI SUBTERA



Omnis Reges Servient E
Ecclisto Hor. apoc.
Vol. III, p180

Bonanni pX/V

Strages Hecgonotum

Araceae

1. Elliott Vol III p 191
2. Pope & Anderson - pp 62, 63
3. Bonnier (p 323 # XXVII
p 336)

Vicir Leo De Tribu Iudae

1 (Bonanni) - (p¹⁶⁷ 363 #10
2 (Le Belle) - Tab. XXVIII
#16

Spes Publice

Dono

Haras apse

Vol 3 (pl 24
p 31)

Constantine &
fallen Dragon

Edict Horae Apoc
Voc III p 31

Spes Publica a Caro

1

Quaslatius Aug.

ON THILA REX



HISTORICAL GREEK COINS.

1. Philip II of Macedon (A); 2. Alexander the Great (A); 3. Lysimachus of Thrace (A); 4. Seleucus I of Syria (A); 5. Ptolemy I of Egypt (A); 6. Demetrius Poliorcetes of Macedon (A); 7. Mithradates the Great (A).

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89



1



1



3



2



3



5



4



5



6



6

GREEK COINS, FINE PERIOD, B.C. 480-400.

1. Terina (AR); 2. Thurium (AR); 3. Elis (AR); 4. Tarentum (A);
5. Amphipolis (AR); 6. Syracuse (AR).

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EARLY GREEK COINS, B.C. 700-480.

















1. Ionia (EL); 2. Ephesus? (EL); 3. Croesus (A); 4. Athens (A);
5. Calymna (A); 6. Aegina (A); 7. Tarentum (A); 8. Syracuse (A).

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A.D.	ROMAN EMPERORS	VANDALS	SUEVI	VISI-GOTHS	FRANKS	ALLEMANS	BURGUNDIANS	ANGLO-SAXONS	OSTRO-GOTHS	BAVARIANS	LOMBARDS	POPES	A.D.
450	Leo I 457-474.	 Honorius 460-474.	* Richarius 448-456 									LEO (S) 441-461. Hilary 461-468.	450
460													460
470		 Huneric 477-484.										Simplicianus 468-483.	470
480	Zeno 474-491.	 Gunthramund 484-496.										Felix II (S) 483-492.	480
490	Anastasius 481-518.				* Clovis 481-511 	496 Defeat and subjugation of the Allemanni by Clovis	* Gundobald 494-516 		* Theodoric 493-526 			Gelasius II (S) 492-496. Anastasius II 496-497. Laurence (S) 498.	490
500		 Thrasamund 496-523.										Symmachus 498-510.	500
510													510
520	Justin I 518-527.	 Hilderic 526-530.				* Theodoric I. (son of Clovis) 511-526 	* Sigismund 516-528 		* Athalaric 534-534 			John I (S) 523-526. Felix III 526-529.	520
530	Justinian 527-565.	 Gelimer 530-534.			Childebert I. 511-534 	Theodoric I. 511-526 	Burgundy conquered by Childebert & Clothar 534		 Theodatus 534-534.		526 Pannonia ceded by Roman Em- peror to the Lombards. Lombard Kingdom established in Pannonia, under King Autari, after long war with, and expulsion of Gepids.	Boniface I 530-531. John II 532-538. Agapetus 535-6	530
540												Vigilius 538-555.	540
550													550
560	Justin II 565-574.											Pelagius I 555-559. John III 559-572.	560
570	Tiberius 574-582.												570
580	Mauricius 582-602											Benedict I. 573-577. Pelagius II 578-590.	580
590												Gregory I (S) 590-604.	590
600													600
610	Phocas 602-610. Heraclius 610-642.											Qu' Antharis, 584-591 as contemp ^t of Mauricius Tiberius. 582-602	610
620													620
630													630
640	Constant II 641-668.											Severinus 640. John IV 640-42. Theodorus 642-649. Martin I (S) 649-655.	640
650													650
660												Vitalian 658-672.	660
670	Constantine Fugustinus 668-685.											Adeodatus 672-676. Donatus 678-8	670
680												Agatho 678-682. Leo II 682-683. John V 685-6	680
690	Justinian II 685-712.											Sergius 687-701.	690
700													700
710												John VI & VII 701-707.	710
720	Bartholomae 712-714. Theophylact 714-716. Leo the Isaurian 717-741.												720

N.B. In certain of the earlier coins here given the diademed head and legend round it is that of a Roman Emperor generally the contemporary Emperor. In such cases the Barbaric Kings name is marked with an asterisk.

Monnaies Byzantines (Sabbatier) Paris 1819 PL. XIX.

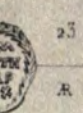
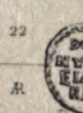
WITIGES
AVEC JUSTINIENMATASUNDA
AVEC JUSTINIEN

BADUELA SEUL

BADUELA OU TOTELA
AVEC ANASTASE

BADUELA AVEC JUSTINIEN

THEIA AVEC ANASTASE



AUTONOMES DE ROME ET DE RAVENNE



124

cut as marked



*Baduila
(Rome)
541-552*



*Theia
552-53*



OSTROGOTHS:—BADUILA (ROME, 1-6). THEIA (7-19). QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE OF ROME (20-23).

2034 d.

P. 27895

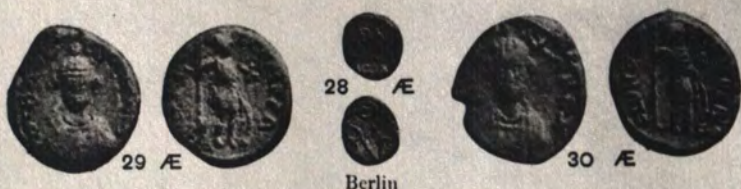
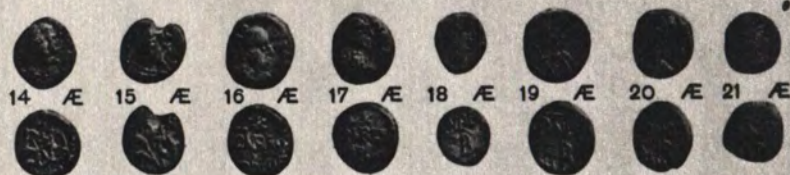


BRITISH MUSEUM

2-125 right



Copenhagen



Berlin

OSTROGOTHS: —BADUILA (TICINUM, 1-27; ROME, 28-30).

Baduila
541-552

Baduila
Rome
541-552



OSTROGOTHS:—WITIGIS (1-10). MATASUNTHA (11-15).
BADUILA (TICINUM, 16-26).

Matasuntha
536-540

Baduila
541-552

536-540

L-125 left



OSTROGOTHS:—QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE OF ROME AND RAVENNA.

2034 d.

P. 27895.

1

2

3

4

5

BRITISH 1

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2

FRONTISPIECE.



GOLD COIN OF THEODORIC ENLARGED IN THE COLLECTION OF
COM. F. GNECCHI, MILAN.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS OF THE VANDALS, OSTROGOTHS AND LOMBARDS

AND OF THE EMPIRES OF
THESSALONICA, NICAËA AND TREBIZOND
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY
WARWICK WROTH
ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF THE COINS AND MEDALS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND 43 PLATES

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1 2 3 4 5
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L-122 a

M (40 nummi) bronze of Theodahad (A. D. 534-536), especially in regard to the treatment of the head (Pl. IX. 13-18), suggests that the coins belong to about this period, i. e. Dec. 536-circ. 538.

Some of the **M** coins (Pl. XV. 5-8) form a class by themselves, distinguished by their relatively light weight and their fabric, and by the dry and careless engraving of the head. We could imagine these as spreading over a period of several years, but in view of the fact that we have a new type of **M** coin—with a facing head—to fit into the Roman system, it may be necessary to make the above-mentioned coins with the profile head cease about A. D. 538. The degeneracy of the **M** coins with the profile head may, indeed, be accounted for, not unsatisfactorily, by a disorganization of the mint caused by the great siege of Rome under Witigis. This siege began in March, 537, and was only abandoned in March, 538.

circ. 538, Soon after the departure of the Goths the **M** coin, with the full-face head of Justinian (Pl. XVI. 6), may have been minted. It cannot at any rate have been issued earlier than this, for it was only after April, 538⁹, that Justinian introduced this full-face portrait on the principal coins of the Empire.

The full-face **M** issue at Rome was no doubt accompanied by full-face **I** coins (one of which is in fact inscribed **ROM**) and by minute bronze pieces with reverse, **Lion**, a type which is found also on the bronze of Baduila, A. D. 541-552. It would probably be during this period, A. D. 538-549, that the gold solidi with the full-face bust of Justinian, and the tremissis with **ROMOB** were issued by the Imperial authority at Rome (see p. xlviii, *supra*, note 3).

So far as we know no further Imperial coins were issued at Rome till A. D. 552/3, when a (dated) coin of **XX** nummi (henceforth the highest denomination in bronze at Rome) was put into circulation (see *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 70, No. 402, Pl. X. 11). A similar piece of **XX** nummi was afterwards issued at Rome by Justinian's successor, Justin II (ib., p. 102).¹

¹ There are also small bronze coins with *obr.* Head and name of Justinian I facing, *Rec. F.* within wreath. Specimens occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard (Friedlaender, *M. d. Vand.*, p. 43; Pinder and Friedlaender, *Münzen Justinians*, p. 54, with **AW**), and they may possibly be Italian, i. e. Imperial coins of Justinian, struck (because of the facing head) not earlier than A. D. 538. On the other hand, the *obr.* type is of the kind found on Imperial coins of Carthage, and a specimen in the British Museum, weight 6 grains, probably comes from an African source (Doubleday purchase, 1849, 7-17-374). The style of this specimen is not distinctly Italian, and on the whole, these coins may perhaps be best regarded as Imperial struck at Carthage, circ. A. D. 539-541. In the British Museum are two small bronze pieces (weight, 7 grains and 7.7 grains) which seem to be rude (African?) imitations of these coins.

I am also inclined to regard as Imperial African (of Justinian I) the following small

§ 3. COINAGE OF THE LOMBARD KINGS.¹

The domination of the Lombardic invaders of Italy was of longer duration than the Ostrogothic, and extended—so far as concerns the Lombard kingdom—over a period of more than two centuries, from Alboin the conqueror and 'Lord of Italy' (A. D. 568-572) to Desiderius, the last king who, in June, 774, became the prisoner of Charlemagne.

The number of coins inscribed with the names of Lombard rulers is not large, but in order to ascertain the total output of their mints it is necessary to take into account a considerable mass of gold and silver money which, though modelled on the Imperial coinages, is evidently not Imperial, and is of Italian style and provenance.

The practice of inscribing the coins with the king's name did not arise till the Lombard kingdom had been long in existence, and perhaps not till late in the seventh century.² In the time of Cuninepert (A. D. 688-700) the practice first becomes settled, and the Lombard coinage assumes its well-marked characteristics. This coinage of Cuninepert, imitated by his successors, is found to consist almost entirely of gold, the coins being of a single denomination—the tremissis, and, as shown by its flat, bracteate-like fabric, is evidently derived from the Imperial solidi struck at Ravenna.

The main difficulties of attribution arise in the period that extends from Alboin to Cuninepert, or perhaps from Alboin to Rothari, and have hardly been noted by previous inquirers.³ Though I am aware of the conjectural nature of the following attributions, there may at least be some convenience in attempting them instead of leaving the coins to swell the already lengthy list of 'Uncertain' pieces imitated from Imperial issues.

Attribution of the anonymous coins of the Lombard kings.

First, then, there are several types of small silver coins (**CN**, &c., Pl. XVIII. 3-13) bearing the name of Justinian I, but which, from the rudeness of their style, we cannot suppose to be Imperial, or even Ostrogothic money.⁴ If these are Lombardic imitations, as I suggest, they must

coin in the British Museum: *obr.* Bust facing, draped; on each side, a star; border of dots. *Rev.* **P**: border of dots. *E* Size .35 inch. *Wt.* 8 grains (Doubleday purchase, 1849, 7-17-288). *Cp.* the *obr.* type on silver Carthage coins of Justinian and of Phocas.

¹ The coinage of the Lombard Duchy of Beneventum is discussed in § 4.

² The coins believed to bear the names of Rothari, of Grimwald and Peretrar (Catalogue, *infra*), may be, more or less, of doubtful attribution.

³ Count de Salis does not seem to have given any special study to the Lombard series. Mr. Keary's descriptions (*Coinages of W. Europe*, p. 96) begin only with Cuninepert.

⁴ They might, conceivably, be very careless productions of the Imperial mint of Ravenna, but this seems less likely than the supposition that they are barbarous imita-

Ostrogoths, and in 552 the general inflicted on them a great defeat in the battle of the Apennines, and Baduila was mortally wounded.

During the whole of the reign of Baduila, Ravenna was in the hands of the Imperialists. We may readily assume, therefore, that his chief mint was at Ticinum, and this supposition is confirmed by the appearance of the personification of *Felix Ticinus* on one of his bronze coins (Pl. XI. 22). Yet it is not improbable that he occasionally set up mints elsewhere as his conquests progressed, as for example at Naples after its surrender in 543. At Rome the only Ostrogothic issue appears, as we have just seen, to have taken place in 549.

Baduila's coins may be divided broadly into three classes: (i) with the head of Justinian I; (ii) with the head of Anastasius I; (iii) with the head of the king himself. Examples of the first class are very rare, probably the head of Justinian was for political reasons soon rejected, and that of Anastasius, the contemporary of Theodoric, substituted. Like Theodahad, Baduila placed his own head upon his coins, and not only on the Roman issue but on the ordinary regal issue of Ticinum. Pl. XI. 13, a diademed head in profile, is, however, a portrait merely in name, so closely is it imitated from the head of Anastasius. The bronze coins (Ticinum and Rome) show the king's bust facing, probably in accordance with a fashion made popular by Justinian's coins since A. D. 538. Like Theodahad, he wears an embroidered robe and a closed crown decorated with panels and sometimes with stars (Pl. XI. 25). The coins are neatly executed, but the attempt at portraiture is evidently less successful than in the case of Theodahad.¹

The Goths at Ticinum crowned as their king Baduila's general Theia. We hear that he expended the treasure stored in that city in an attempt to win over the Franks to the Ostrogothic cause. His coins—all evidently struck at Ticinum—consist apparently only of gold tremisses of rough workmanship, and of silver half siliquae and quarter siliquae, of the usual types, but of very careless, and sometimes of almost barbarous execution.

Theia perished in 553 in the prolonged battle of Mons Lactarius in which the Imperialists crushed the Ostrogothic host. All resistance did not cease even then, but soon after the battle the remnant of the great army left Italy for ever, passing over the Alps to be 'swallowed up in we know not what morass of Gepid, of Herulian, of Slavonic barbarism'.²

A Roman emperor was once again master of Italy, with Ravenna and

¹ Baduila, unlike Odovacar, Theodoric, and Theodahad, is represented without a moustache.

² As to the form of his name see *infra*, p. 96, note 4.

³ Hodgkin, *Italy, &c.*, iv, p. 367.

Rome as his mint-places.¹ But after the lapse of only fourteen years, a new phase opens with the invasion of the Lombards (A. D. 568), described in the third section of this Introduction.

DENOMINATIONS AND WEIGHTS.

GOLD.

The solidi and tremisses issued by Odovacar and by the Ostrogothic kings are throughout the whole period of their rule not inferior in weight, nor, apparently, in quality, to the Imperial coins from which they were imitated. The solidus weighs rather more than Gold. 68 grains and the tremissis over 22 grains.

A solidus of Theodoric, marked with his monogram, attains 69 grains, and the only solidus of Baduila in the British Museum is of the same weight. The very latest gold coins, namely the tremisses attributed to Theia, weigh 22.7 grains and 23 grains. The triple solidus of Theodoric is probably an exceptional issue (see *supra*, p. xxxi).

SILVER.

The coins in this metal are half siliquae and quarter siliquae² chiefly struck at Ravenna. It will be seen from the following list of the highest weights of specimens in the British Museum that the half siliqua weighs over 21 grains and the quarter siliqua more than 10 or 11 grains:—

KING	½ SILIQUA	¼ SILIQUA
Theodoric (Ravenna)	23.7	11.4
" (Rome)		13.7
Athalaric (Ravenna)	21.4	11.2
Theodahad (Ravenna)	21.5	11.4
Witigis (Ravenna)	22.6	11.1
Matasuntha (Ravenna)	21.1	
" (Ticinum)	18.9	
Baduila (Ticinum)	21.7	9.5
Theia (Ticinum)	22.2	9.5

¹ For the Imperial coins of Justinian I struck at Ravenna after the Ostrogothic overthrow see Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, pp. 70, 71, and *infra*, pp. xlvii, xlviii, 113 f., and for Ravenna coins of his successor Justin II see *infra*, pp. 120 f. As to the Roman mint see this Introduction, *infra*, p. liii.

² On the denominations and weights see Babelon in *Revue numismatique*, 1901, p. 334, and his *Traité*, i, p. 582; Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, iii, p. 165.

The Imperial silver coins struck at Ravenna by Justinian weigh, according to specimens in the British Museum:—CN (250'), 21 grains; PKE (125'), 11.3 grains; PK (120'), 10.4 grains, all highest weights. The weights of various other specimens are by Luschin von Ebengreuth in *Der Denar der Lex Salaria*, Wien, 1910, pp. 3, 6.

The existence of coins bearing the name (in monogram) of Matasuntha, and issued (as is generally, and most naturally assumed to be the case) during the period 536-540, when she reigned as the queen of Witigis, is somewhat remarkable. At least, it is **MATASUNTHA**, not usual to find the coins of a king and queen issued separately, and indeed of the earlier Ostrogothic queens we possess no coins at all. Thus Amalasuntha was regent for her youthful son Athalaric, but the coinage was issued in the son's name, not in the mother's; nor did she strike coins after her son's death, or when she invited Theodahad to share her throne.

It may, however, be said that the great importance attached by Witigis to the legitimization of his claim to the throne by his marriage to Theodoric's granddaughter induced him to put forth coins with her name; and, as her name could not well be united with his on the same coin (the obverse being, by custom, devoted to the head of the emperor), king and queen had each their separate coin-designs. It would have been with the same intention that Witigis issued silver coins bearing the monogram of Theodoric.

No. 1, p. 80, *infra* (Pl. X. 11), was apparently issued at Ravenna, but Nos. 2-5 (Pl. X. 12-14) cannot, for reasons of style, be attributed to that mint. I have suggested (*infra*, pp. 80, 81) that Nos. 2-5, together with the bronze coin No. 6 (Pl. X. 15), were minted at Ticinum, either at the time of the marriage of Matasuntha (536) or, perhaps, after the battle of Ticinum in 538.

But there is another possible alternative. Friedlaender (*Münzen d. Ostgothen*, p. 42) has raised the question whether Matasuntha's coins may not have been struck many years after she had ceased to reign in Italy; but he has raised the question only to negative it without discussion. Now, if we examine Nos. 2-5 (Pl. X. 12-14), we must admit there is nothing distinctively Italian about them: so far as style is concerned they might well have been struck at Constantinople. The bronze coin No. 6 (Pl. X. 15), again, though, as regards its reverse, of a more Italian appearance, is yet of a size and denomination not usual in the Ostrogothic coinage of the period of Witigis, and is apparently intended to correspond to the twenty-nummi pieces (marked **K**) familiar at the Imperial mints.

The only occasion when such coins could have been struck at Constantinople was in the year 550, when Justinian prepared a new expedition for the conquest of Italy, headed by his nephew Germanus, who was to be accompanied by Matasuntha, she (after the death in 542 of Witigis) having become the wife of Germanus. Justinian's idea was to unite (through Matasuntha) the house of Theodoric with his own, and to govern Italy—in a way likely to be acceptable to its mixed population—by a Gotho-Roman line.¹ Great enthusiasm for the expedition prevailed; but

¹ Bury, *Hist. of Later Roman Empire*, i, p. 411.

it was at first diverted to Thessalonica, and finally rendered abortive by the death of Germanus. This incident in the life of Matasuntha deserves attention, though it would, no doubt, be hazardous (without further evidence) to maintain that the coins under discussion were actually minted at the Byzantine capital in order to support—and at the same time to authenticate—the pretensions of Germanus to become ruler of Italy.

Ildibad, the son of Theudis King of the Visigoths, was chosen king in place of Witigis. He gained a great victory over the Imperialists near Treviso in the autumn (!) of 540, but was assassinated in the spring of the following year.

Eraric was then set up as king by the Rugians, but was not accepted by all the Ostrogoths. He, too, was assassinated after a few months' reign. Neither Ildibad nor Eraric would appear to have issued coins.

These ephemeral rulers were succeeded by the nephew of Ildibad, Baduila (otherwise known as Totila¹), the only Ostrogothic king, besides Theodoric, of remarkable character. Baduila was an able statesman and a chivalrous soldier, and during his eleven years' reign displayed the same ideals of kingship and justice as Theodoric himself.

His victories over the Imperialists at Faenza and Mugello were followed by the submission of Central and Southern Italy and the surrender of Naples (543). In 545 he laid formal siege to Rome, which he entered in December, 546, only, however, to evacuate the deserted city. Rome, reoccupied by Belisarius in 547, was again recovered in 549 by Baduila, who now in part rebuilt it, restoring the banished senators and celebrating the Games. It was probably in this year that these Roman coins of Baduila that are of Roman fabric and style were struck: on the obverse (Pl. XI. 29, 30) he placed his own head, crowned; on the reverse, an armed figure of himself, modelled on the older Roman coins of Athalaric. The legend on these coins, apparently referring to Roma, is *Floreas semper*. The letters **SC** (*Senatus consulto*) do not occur on the reverse of this coin, though they had appeared on the coins of Athalaric which served as its model. One can hardly say whether the omission is accidental or intentional; for though the Roman senators had originally been exiled from the city by Baduila, he afterwards showed them favour and brought them back in 549. The Senate, it may be observed, still continued in existence to the end of the fifth century, and indeed made a last appearance in 603 to acclaim the statue of the Emperor Phocas.²

But the arrival of Narses was soon to change the fortunes of the

¹ On his coins he is always *Baduila* or *Baduella*.

² *Infra*, p. 93 n.

³ Diehl, *L'Exarchat de Ravenne*, p. 125.

ILDIBAD.
spring (?) 540
-May (?) 541.

ERARIC,
May (?) 541
-Sept. (?) 541.

BADUILA
(**TOTILA**).
Sept. (?) 541
-July or Aug. 552.

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2-123
left

Their periods of rule are as follows:—

Zeno (first reign), 474—Nov. 475.

Basiliscus, Nov. 475—July, 477.

Odovacar, 23 Aug. 476—493.

Zeno (second reign), July, 477—491.

It will thus be seen that any Italian coins issued with Zeno's name during his first reign (474—475) cannot have been struck by Odovacar, whose reign began in 476; nor can the earlier Italian issues of Basiliscus have been struck by Odovacar. Odovacar may well, however, have imitated the later coinages of Basiliscus (end of 476 to July, 477), and subsequently (after July, 477) have struck coins bearing the name of Zeno, then in his second reign. It is thus difficult to discriminate between the coins that may have been struck before Odovacar's accession and those struck after it. In the case of the coins bearing the name of Basiliscus I have left all the specimens among the Imperial series, not venturing to regard any as imitative issues put forth by Odovacar.

In the case of the Italian coins bearing the name of Zeno, it is perhaps

The gold of Zeno's second reign, probably struck by Odovacar.

possible to distinguish between those struck during his first reign—in the ordinary course, as Imperial money—and those struck during his second reign, these last being imitative

coins issued by the authority, or with the allowance, of Odovacar.¹

ANASTASIUS I. There are solidi of Italian style inscribed **COMOB** (instead of **CONOB**), which is usually, though not invariably, a sign of Roman or of Italian origin. Some of these have the rough and, so to speak, gritty

characteristic of many coins of the Ravenna mint: others were probably struck at Rome and Milan, and all were no doubt the coinage of Theodoric. The solidi were supplemented by various series of tremisses, apparently, from their style, struck both at Rome and Ravenna.

¹ Zeno's gold coins are as follows:—*Ravenna*. A solidus with **RV** of coarse style, resembling the Italian coins of Basiliscus: this probably belongs to Zeno's first reign and is thus Imperial. Solidi with a small narrow head (without **RV**) and some tremisses of rough style were probably struck by Odovacar during Zeno's second reign.

Rome. Solidi of rough work like those of Basiliscus, and like the Ravenna coin above assigned to Zeno's first reign, and therefore not of Odovacar. Tremisses (*rev.* Cross in wreath. **COMOB**). An attribution is perhaps hazardous, but I venture to assign those of fairly neat work (as regards the obverse) to the first reign of Zeno (thus they are Imperial), and those with a ruder obverse head to Odovacar (Pl. V. 3-5).

Mediolanum. Gold and silver. Count de Salis has apparently divided each series into an earlier and a later class. The first of these might be regarded as of Zeno's first reign (Imperial coinage) and the second as imitative issues of Odovacar. But I do not venture to make the distinction, and the two classes may be treated as Imperial issues and not as Odovacar's coinage.

§ 2. OSTROGOTHS. COINS WITH IMPERIAL NAMES xlvii

Besides the coins above mentioned there are some solidi and many tremisses which are of ruder style and (as can hardly be doubted) later date. These pieces are certainly later than Theodoric (the contemporary of Anastasius), and may well be assigned to the time of Baduila and of Theia, who (as we know from their named regal money) placed the head of the deceased Anastasius upon their coins in lieu of the head of their contemporary Justinian, with whom they were at war.

and by Baduila and Theia.

JUSTIN I. This emperor was the contemporary of Theodoric and, for a short time, of Athalaric. The Ravenna solidi and tremisses that bear his name were therefore probably struck by those kings.

Gold with name of Justin I, struck by Theodoric and Athalaric.

JUSTINIAN I. *Solidi and Tremisses.* Justinian was the contemporary of Athalaric, Theodahad, Witigis, Baduila, and Theia. The two kings last named are not very likely (as we have just seen) to have issued coins

Gold, with name of Justinian I,

with the name of their enemy Justinian, and the choice of possible issuers is therefore probably to be limited to Athalaric, Theodahad, and Witigis. As these three rulers issued silver coins with the name of Justinian, there is reason to suppose that they would also

coined by Athalaric, Theodahad, and Witigis.

issue gold coins imitated from the same emperor. The Italian gold coins with Justinian's name may therefore be assigned to the period of these three rulers, though it is hardly possible to make an exact assignment to individual kings: certain solidi and tremisses which are of markedly ruder style than others will naturally be attributed to Witigis rather than to Athalaric or Theodahad.

Some still ruder solidi and tremisses with Justinian's name will be found described *infra* in the Lombardie series.

IMPERIAL ISSUES OF JUSTINIAN I. In addition to the above, there is a series of solidi and tremisses with the name of Justinian recognizable by

its flat, spread fabric (Pl. XVI. 11-16). These coins were apparently classified by de Salis as Lombardie or Ostrogothic, and were not included by me in the British Museum Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins*. I am now convinced that these coins, though of very bizarre appearance, especially the solidi, are Imperial issues made at Ravenna.¹ They are, in fact, of the same fabric and style as coins already recognized as the Ravenna currency of the Emperor Justin II and his successors.²

JUSTINIAN'S IMPERIAL GOLD COINAGE

At Ravenna.

¹ A correction is therefore required of the statement in *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. ciii n., that gold coins at Ravenna were 'apparently first issued in the reign of Justin II'.

² *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 103.

The earliest date at which these coins of Justinian can have been struck is A. D. 540, when Ravenna passed from the Ostrogoths to Belisarius and his master; but what we know of the Ravenna coinage from other sources renders it likely that these gold coins were not issued till A. D. 555. Now, the bronze coins issued under Justinian's authority in Italy bear as their earliest date—and they are all dated—year 29, i. e. A. D. 555/6.¹ The gold coins are probably of the same period, and the likeness between the emperor's head on the solidi and that on the small bronze coins issued at Ravenna, A. D. 555-564, is remarkable.

The Imperial coinage in Ravenna would thus seem to belong to the period following the complete overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom, and nearly to coincide with the rule of Narses in Italy, A. D. 555-567.²

SILVER.

ZENO. The coin described *infra*, p. 44, No. 8, *rev.* Eagle (Pl. V. 6), may best be assigned to Odoacar. It seems to be a somewhat rude copy (not, however, as regards the reverse, an exact imitation) of the silver coins of Zeno (Imperial issues), which were probably struck at Milan. The obverse head is not unlike the silver bearing Odoacar's name (Pl. V. 7). The mint was probably Ravenna. With the eagle on the reverse compare the eagle on the quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome (Pl. XIII).⁴

ANASTASIUS I. The silver coin (Pl. VII. 5) with *rev.* Victory and SC was struck at Rome, and no doubt under Theodoric, perhaps at the time of his visit in A. D. 500.

The coins with reverse *, p. 49, *infra* (Pl. VI. 5-7), are thoroughly Ostrogothic in style, and have the appearance of issues of the mint of Ravenna. They resemble, especially in the blurred lettering certain silver coins of Theodahad and of Witigis, but seem to be earlier than these reigns, and indeed both these kings indicated their own names on their coins. They may, perhaps, be assigned to Theodoric.⁵

¹ See *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 70, 71.

² Compare, especially, the solidi of Ravenna (Pl. XVI. 11) with the bronze of Ravenna figured in *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Pl. X. 13, p. 71, No. 408: in each case the curious treatment of the corners of the eyes is remarkable.

³ Some solidi with the name of Justinian are attributed *infra*, p. 111, to the Imperial mint at Rome, partly on account of their resemblance to the remarkable solidus at Berlin (Pl. XVI. 4; *infra*, p. 111; *Z. f. N.*, i, p. 393), reading ROMOB. A tremissis inscribed ROMOB no doubt belongs to the same time (p. 111, No. 29, *infra*).

⁴ Silver coins with *rev.* Standing figure and RV probably belong to Zeno's first reign, and are thus Imperial issues. On silver struck at Mediolanum with Zeno's name see *supra*, p. xli n.

⁵ A coin with *rev.* RD is discussed, p. li n., *infra*, where it is assigned to Baduila.

JUSTINUS. There are silver coins inscribed IVSTINVS bearing the numerals CN, PKE, and varieties of the sacred monogram on their reverses. Coins with similar reverses also bear the name of Justinian.

These IVSTINVS coins have usually been regarded as Imperial issues of Justin I, but in the Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, p. 21, it was pointed out that they might possibly have been struck after the death of Justin I as Ostrogothic issues of Baduila, who might be supposed to have revived the head of the deceased Justin I for the same reason—hostility to Justinian—that he had revived the head of Anastasius.¹ I am now more fully convinced than before that these coins are later than the lifetime of Justin I, and I believe, moreover, that it can be shown that they are not Ostrogothic but Imperial issues made by order of Justin II, the successor of Justinian.

On the supposition that the coins bear the name and head of the first Justin, they must obviously be Ostrogothic issues, for in the reign of Justin I the Imperial authority had not yet been regained over any of the Italian cities. But if we regard the coins as Ostrogothic and compare them with the named silver coins of the Ostrogothic kings, we are struck by the differences between the two series. While the undoubted Ostrogothic coins are comparatively thick and compact, these supposed Ostrogothic coins of Justin I are thin and flat. The Ostrogothic coins, again, show a well-modelled rounded bust; in the other series the bust is differently treated, and so also the cuirass and drapery. The 'Justin' coins, then, are probably not Ostrogothic, but in respect of their fabric and the treatment of the bust they bear considerable resemblance to the Imperial coins struck at Ravenna by Tiberius II (*Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 124, No. 161) and by Maurice Tiberius (*ib.*, p. 156, No. 281).

The coins, then, are not Ostrogothic issues of the period of Justin I but Imperial issues of Justin II, and the view that we may best take of the CN, &c., silver coins may be thus expressed. This coinage was inaugurated by Justinian I² at Ravenna, at some date after the year 540, when the city passed from Ostrogothic into Imperial hands: probably the date of the coinage was *circa* 555-565. This Imperial coinage was continued at Ravenna in the time of Justinian's successor, Justin II, and all the coins inscribed IVSTINVS were issued by him.³ Some silver coins of similar fabric continued to be issued at Ravenna by Justin's successors, Tiberius II and Maurice Tiberius.⁴

JUSTINIAN I. The numerous silver coins with CN, PKE, &c. (Pl. XVII.

¹ *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 21, 22.

² See next paragraph.

³ But some imitations of these coins are probably Lombardic, and will be found described *infra* in the Lombard Series.

⁴ See *infra*, p. 122.

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ANASTASIUS I. Bronze assigned to Theodoric: see text, *infra*, p. 51.

JUSTIN I. The various coins of Italian origin bearing the name of Justinus (and others bearing the name of Justinianus) have been insufficiently discussed by numismatists, though they present a number of not unimportant problems. Thus we have to determine whether the *IVSTINVS* of the coins was the first or second emperor of that name; whether the coins are Imperial issues or Ostrogothic, or partly of both classes; at what periods they were issued, and at what mints.

The coins inscribed *IVSTINVS* are small pieces marked *V* (Pl. VI. 18-24), and also some marked *€* (Pl. VI. 16, 17).¹ It is not easy to decide between the claims of the two Justins to these coins, but I think an attribution to Justin I has most in its favour. The head of the emperor it must be observed, is represented in profile, and if the coins were issued by Justin II we should expect the head to be shown *facing*, in accordance with the practice introduced by his predecessor Justinian.² And an attribution to Justin I receives further support when we compare the treatment of the head (small and in high relief) with the head of Justinian found on small bronze of Athalaric (cp. Pl. VI. 16-18 with Pl. VIII. 15-18).

On the reasonable assumption, then, that these coins bear the head of Justin I, it follows that they were issues of the Ostrogoths and not of the emperor who had no foothold in Italy. They may be attributed to Theodoric, though it is possible that some may have been issued by Athalaric, who was, for a short time, the contemporary of Justin I. The style of the coins—note the well-modelled bust in prominent relief—suggests that they were struck at the Ravenna mint.

issue of bronze tokens by private traders supplied the dearth of official small change during part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹ *Obv.* Head of Justin in profile. *Rev.* *€* in wreath.—There are bronze coins with a similar *rev.* but with *obv.* Head of Justinian I, and rather thicker and larger than the 'Justin' coins. Several specimens are in the British Museum, where I have found them classed with the Italian or Ostrogothic coins. I am not aware that they are known to be of Italian provenance: perhaps the occurrence of the wreath on the *rev.* may have been supposed by de Salis, or whoever arranged the coins, to be indicative of Ravenna. But the wreath is not much like the wreaths that are found on undoubted coins of that mint, nor do the obverses seem to me to be of Italian style. From the general treatment of the bust (especially of the drapery) I should be disposed to assign them to the mint of Carthage, where, however, we already find *€* coins marked with the mint-name (*CAR*).

Besides these, there are in the British Museum bronze coins with a similar *rev.*, *€* in wreath, but with a *full-face* head of Justinian I on the *obv.* These are probably of the same mint (Carthage?) as the *€* coins of Justinian with profile head, just described.

² Or, as an alternative, we should expect that the *obv.* would have consisted of facing figures of Justin II and Sophia, the usual *obv.* of the Imperial bronze coins of Justin II.

³ Compare also the head of Odovacar on his small bronze, Pl. V. 8, 9.

JUSTINIAN I. The coins of the denomination *X* nummi (Pl. VIII. 11-14) are of the same style as the pieces with the name of Justin I, marked *V*, which we have just assigned to the Ravenna mint under Theodoric (Pl. VI. 18, &c.). They may therefore be assigned to Athalaric, Theodoric's successor, who was a contemporary of Justinian I.¹

Coins of Rome, chiefly of *M* and *K* denominations. In the Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins* (pp. xvii, xviii, cii) doubts were expressed as to whether any Imperial coins of Justinian were struck at Rome until *circa* A. D. 552, and the scanty issues of the Roman mint under Justinian's immediate successors seemed to bear out this view. Count de Salis appears to have considered that these coins were Ostrogothic and not Imperial. But though this view as to the non-Imperial nature of the coins is not to be hastily dismissed, I am now of opinion that these *M* and *K* pieces (and also some others noted below) are best accounted for on the supposition that they are *Imperial* issues. The insertion of them in the Ostrogothic series proper would rather overload that coinage, especially as we could not place them later than the earlier part of the reign of Theodahad, for the reason that Theodahad at last repudiated the head of Justinian, and his successors, Baduila and Theia, to a great extent did likewise. On the other hand, there is no insuperable difficulty in recognizing in them the Roman coinages of Justinian.

The earliest date at which coins of a true Imperial character can have been issued at Rome is Dec. 536, when Justinian, through his general, Belisarius, first became master of the city. The *M* coins, of fine style (Pl. XV. 1-4), and the corresponding *K* coins (Pl. XV. 9-14), may well have been minted at that time, and a comparison of them with the large

¹ The mint-place was no doubt Ravenna: compare the *obv.* of bronze nummi of Ravenna with *rev.* monogram of Athalaric (Pl. VIII. 16-18). Besides the *X* coins with the head of Justinian there are pieces of the *V* denomination. One of these (Pl. VIII. 15), of small module, resembles the nummi of Athalaric (*rev.* monogram of Athalaric, Pl. VIII. 16-18), and may be assigned to him. The other coins marked *V* (Pl. IX. 7-10) are of larger module and display a different treatment of the head of Justinian on the *obv.* (it is in lower relief and in some cases resembles the head on the earliest Imperial coins of Justinian struck at Rome). Perhaps they may best be assigned to the reign of THEODAHAD (early part). Their style is not distinctively that of Ravenna, but their *rev.* type, *V* in wreath, fits in better with the bronze coins of Ravenna than with the coinage of Rome.

On coins of Justinian with *€* on *rev.* see *supra*, p. lii. note 1.

Bronze,
with Justinian's
name, struck
by Athalaric.

Imperial bronze
coins of Justinian
struck at Rome.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
Tremissis					
			Inscr. Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	Inscr. Victory to front moving r., looking l.; in r. wreath; in l. globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONOB ¹	
2	20.2	A ⁻ .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP VC On head, crescent and pellet.	VICTORIAAΛVCVST ORVM (COMOB) [de Salis gift]	x. 17
3	20.2	A ⁻ .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP VC On head, crescent and pellet.	VICTORIAAΛVCVST ORVM (COMOB) [de Salis gift]	x. 18
4	22.2	A ⁻ .6	DNANASTA SIVSPP VC On head, ✱.	VICTORIAAΛVCVST ORVM (CONOB) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-20]	x. 19
5	21.6	A ⁻ .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP VC On head, +.	VICTORSAAVCOSTR VI [de Salis gift]	x. 20
6	21.8	A ⁻ .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP VC	VICTORIAA VCSTO RVM [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-18]	x. 21
7	22.4	A ⁻ .6	DNANASTASIVSPP VC	VICTORIAAΛVCVST N (Star, in field l.) [de Salis gift]	x. 22

¹ The globus on which the Victory stands on the tremisses of earlier reigns is now longer represented.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
8	22.2	A ⁻ .5	DNANASTA SIVSPA VC On head, +.	VICTORIAAΛVCVST ORVM [de Salis gift]	x. 23
9	22.7	A ⁻ .65	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-72] ¹	VICTORIAAΛVCVST ROVH	x. 24
10	21.6	A ⁻ .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC	VICTORIAAΛVCVST ORVM [de Salis gift]	x. 25
11	23.1	A ⁻ .6	DNANAST SIVSPPA VC [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAAΛVCVST ORV (without star) (CONOR)	x. 26
12	22.4	A ⁻ .6	DNANASTA [*] SIVSP PAVC [Dr. G. F. Nott's sale, 1842]	VICTORIAAΛVCVSTO RAH (CONOR)	xi. 1
13	21.	A ⁻ .65	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [Royal coll.]	VICTORIAAΛVCVSTO RVH (CONOR)	xi. 2
Silver					
(i) with head of Justinian issued <i>circa</i> A.D. 541 ²					
Half Siliqua					
A 'siliqua' (weight not stated; ? half siliqua) is described in the Rossi Sale Catalogue (Rome, 1880), p. 251, lot 3359, with <i>obr.</i> Head of Justinian, <i>rev.</i> DN BADV ILA REX in wreath. The similar coin described by Friedländer (<i>M. d. Ostgothen</i> , p. 46, No. 1, Pl. II. 1) as a 'siliqua' is a quarter siliqua: see the next description.					

¹ On Nos. 9-13 the neck of the *obr.* bust is abnormally long.

² Coins of Baduila with the head of Justinian are very rare. It may be presumed that they were issued for a short time at the beginning of Baduila's reign, but that the king was soon induced by political reasons to reject the head of the reigning emperor and to substitute for it (since commercial convention required the presence of an Imperial effigy) the head of another emperor. He selected Anastasius, who had been the contemporary of Theodoric, and whose head had appeared on Theodoric's coins.

IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTINIAN I

struck at

ROME AND RAVENNA

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
<p style="text-align: center;">ROME</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Period I. Dec. 536-538¹</p> <p style="text-align: center;">M (40 nummi)</p> <p>DNIVSTINI ANVSPP AVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless; hair short, but arranged in fringe in front; wears diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum. Border of dots.</p> <p>M above, +; in ex., ROMA; whole in wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X.</p>					
1	311.4	Æ 1-1	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	(A for A); beneath M, Δ; on l., +; on r., +	xv. 1
2	287.5	Æ 1-15	(Λ for A)	(A for A); beneath M, Δ; on l., +; on r., +	xv. 2
3	207.2	Æ 1.	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-84]	(A? for A); beneath M, Δ; on l., *; on r., *	xv. 3
4	248.6	Æ .95	(Beginning doubtful; ends AV) [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-241]	(A for A); beneath M, Δ; on l., *; on r., + ²	xv. 4

¹ On the date of the Imperial coins of Justinian I struck at Rome and Ravenna see 'Introduction', *supra*, § 2, under 'Coins with Imperial Names'. All the Roman coins of Period I show the head in profile; those of Period II have the bust facing, except on the tremissis, where, by the convention of Byzantine coins, it is in profile.

² Nos. 1-4 are of thick fabric. Nos. 5-14 are of thinner fabric and inferior workmanship: they are without the officina-mark (Δ).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
5	154.8	Æ .95	(DNIVSTI[N ?]I ANVSPPAV) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-85]	(ROM); on l., +; on r., *	xv. 5
6	138.	Æ 1-05	(DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAV) [de Salis gift]	(Λ for A); on l., +; on r., *	
7	163.8	Æ 1-2	(N for M; ends PPV AC)	On l., +; on r., * [Townley coll.]	xv. 6
8	146.1	Æ 1-2	(N for M; ends PPV AC)	On l., *; on r., + [Townley coll.]	xv. 7
9	170.5	Æ 1-15	(Ends ANVSPPAV) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-83]	On l., *; on r., +	
10	152.2	Æ 1-15	(DNIVSTINI ANVS &c. [Royal coll.]	(Λ for A); on l., *; on r., +	
11	144.8	Æ 1-05	(DNIVSTIN IANVSP PAVC) [Townley coll.]	(Λ for A); on l., *; on r., + (circular ornament absent)	
12	126.	Æ 1-05	(DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC) [Townley coll.]	On l., *; on r., +	
13	152.7	Æ 1-15	(Type double-struck) [Townley coll.]	On l., [*?]; on r., +	
14	161.6	Æ 1-15	(DNIVSTI NIANVSP PA) [Townley coll.]	On l., *; on r., + (upper part of wreath has ⊗; lower part, X)	xv. 8
<p style="text-align: center;">K (20 nummi)</p> <p>Inser. Bust of Justinian I r., as on No. 1. Border of dots.</p> <p>K in wreath; in upper part of which, ⊗; in lower part, X</p>					
15	102.8	Æ .85	DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAV [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-271]	On l., +; on r., *	xv. 9

Constantinian Phoenix

Elliott (Hornac #pac)

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Sanctus Deo Soli

Cook (XLV. #10
p. 289

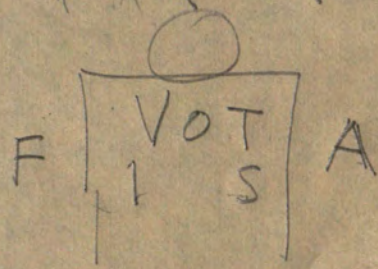
Seder Super Universum

^{Efforts}
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CONSTANT INVS IVN NC

BEAT^(A)₁ M⁰_A NQLITA



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Nicolaus Vancellus Trachyemus 2
harodunensis; to Lemba Borbona,
Rev. Abbat & Trintelaldensis, Medicus;

Analogy of the Microcosmos to the
Macrocosmos,

that is,
The relation and proportion of the Universe
to man; in which is discerned what ^{it is possible} ~~can be~~
to discern ^{in each}; theologically; physically;
medically; historically and mathematically;
the one is referred to the other, compared, and
explained specifically and generally.

NICOLAI

NAN CELII TRACHYENI

NOVIODVNENSIS,

LEONORÆ BORBONIÆ,

REVERENDÆ ABBATISSÆ

Fontebraldensis, Medici,

ANALOGIA MICROCOSMI AD MACROCOSMON; Id est,

Relatio & Proportio Vniuersi ad Hominem: In qua quid in Vtroque dispici queat, Theologicè, Physicè, Medicè, Historicè, & Mathematicè disceptatur: Vnum ad aliud refertur, confertur, & sigillatim & Vniuersè explicatur; Rursus Problematicè & Demonstratiuè adstruitur, ut vix quicquam quod ad alterutrum spectet, præteritum arguatur: sic iam, ut PROMPTVARIUM VNIVERSI, non indecorè appelletur, Omnigenis hominibus cum primis appositum, & ad omnem literariam supellectilem accommodum.

Edited by Pierre de Nancel.



LVTETIÆ PARISIORVM,

Ex officina Typographica CLAVDII MORELLI, via
Iacobæa, ad insigne Fontis.

SECUNDA PARS HVIVS PROBLEMATIS; IN QVA NOMINATIM

ET COPIOSE DE CORRECTIONE
anni Gregoriani,

AD LILIOS FRATRES.

Vbi de Equinoctiis & Solstitiis, eorūque obseruationis modo: item de annorum & mensium diuersitate, mensura, & correctione: deque Paschali ritu veteri & nouo, & eius sede assignanda.

Propositio.



NIMVERO vt anni exacta nobis ratio, quo ad eius fieri potest, clariùs innotescat; videamùsque qui sensim anni, ex superflua quorundam minorum additione, facta sit accessio, &

supra naturalem Solis cursum inordinata quædam accretio: paulò nobis altius repetenda sunt præcorum æquinoctiorum solstitiorūque dimensa interualla, quorū ex obseruatione atque anticipatione, accrementi quoque huius ratio per analogiam vitrorumque faciliùs concipiatur. Consideranti igitur mihi, & veterum temporum momenta reuoluenti atque replicanti, ea vetustissima (quorum nobis mentio

Equinoctiorum, sedis & solstiorum.

exterior, vel saltem mihi constet) videntur olim fuisse æquinoctia, vernūm quidem, 25. Martij: autumnale verò, 25. Septembris, aut sanè 26. sic enim patet ex epistola quadam, quæ inscribitur Hippocratis ad Antiochum regem (opinor tamen falsò Hippocrati attributa) quæ præponi solet Marcello Medico Empirico. Ex die v. i. i. Cal. Ianuarij (solstitium hybernum designat, 25. Decembris) corporibus humor accrescit, vsq. veris æquinoctium, quod incipit v. i. i. Cal. Aprilis. Autumni æquinoxium, v. i. Cal. Octobris: nempe 26. Septemb. Quod iisdem penè verbis post illum Hippocratē Theodorus Priscianus lib. 4. de re medica ad Eusebiū filium repetit: Solstitium hybernum (inquit) est viii. Cal. Ianuarij. at æquinoctium vernum, viii. Cal. Aprilis. vt vno dato (inquam) alterum pari mensium interuallo fore recognoscas: æstium quidem solstitium, v. i. i. Cal. Iulij: æquinoctiū verò autumnale, viii. Cal. Octob.

Solstiorum & æquinoctiorum analogia per tres menses.

Cautio de mensibus intercalatis iuxta Egyptios.

lic enim ferè tres menses vtrumque sigillatim occupat, vt postea repetetur. Nam quòd Ptolemæus lib. 3. cap. 2. Almagesti, æquinoctium 27. die Mechir scripsit contigisse, illud ob dies intercalares, minùs certum habetur. vnde ibidem, æquinoctium à se obseruatum 9. die mensis Athir dicit: hinc 7. die Pachon: & aliàs aliis aliorum mensium intercalatorū diebus. Quam intercalationem cum quidam dimetiri & exæquare vellent, antiquissimum solstitium à Metone & Eusemone obseruatum Phamenoth

A 21. ad 28. Iunij retulerunt. & æquinoctium ab Hipparcho deinde obseruatum, ad 27. Septembris: alterum eiusdem, ad 24. Martij, quæ tamen inæqualitas tam paruo tempore facta, mihi suspensa est. Sic etiam Sozomenus histor. Tripartitæ lib. 9. cap. 39. æquinoctium vernale, secundum Romanos, v. i. i. Cal. Aprilis definit sic Theodorus Gaza lib. de mensibus, Galeni seculo solstitia & æquinoctia, circa 24. diem mensium, à Romanis designari solita scribit. Et tamen circa idem tempus, ab ipso Ptolemæo quidam putat notatum æquinoctium vernum 22. Martij. Sic author Græci epigrammatis demum ad xx. diem mensis, ipsum æquinoctium reducit: vt de solstitio idem vt monui, intelligas:

Gal. etate solstitia & æquinoctia ad 24. menses & post ad 20. anticipant.

B

Ἰον δ' εἰκασὶ ἡμερὰ πλεον.

Postea Mahometes Araçensis ad 19. Septembris æquinoctium designauit: & alij aliter: vt octo sapientes Persidis, in 15. Martij, ante annos circiter quingentos.

Vt ex hac temporum vicissitudine appareat, quæ prima dixi tempora, antiqua fuisse illa quidem, non tamen Hippocratis æuum attingisse, qui ferè totis sexcentis annis Galenum antecessit: sed inferiora longè secula, vt fortè Augusti Cæsaris, qui post Iulium auunculum, & Imp. Romanum Cæsarem primum, dedit operam, vt annus constitueretur, sicuti de eo Suetonius

Gal. post Hipp. seculum.

C

retulit paragrapho 31. antea multum diuulsus & inconstans, ex mathematicorum nondum satis accurata pensatione. Nam de Iulio sic idem Suetonius in huius vita, paragrapho 40. Conuersus hinc ad ordinandum Reipubl. statum, fastos correxit, iam pridem vitio Pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adedò turbatos, cum per intercalandi licentiam adedò turbatos, vt neque messium feriæ æstate, neque vindemiarum autumnò competerent: Annūque ad cursum Solis accommodauit, vt ccc. lxxv. dierum esset: & intercalario mense sublato, vnus dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur. Quò autem magis in posterum è Calendis Ianuariis, nobis temporum ratio cōgrueret: inter Nouembrem ac Decembrem mensem, interiecit duos alios: fuitque is annus, quo hæc constituebantur, xv. mensium, cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine in eum annum inciderat. Et Plutarchus hanc Iulij Cæsaris emendationem commen-

Iulij Cæsaris emendatio anni, quæ.

Dies intercalari quatuor quoque annis.

*Iulij Cæs.
Imperij &
anni corre-
ctio philo-
sophica.*

*Solis &
Lunæ com-
paratio in
principatu.*

*Iulij corre-
ctio anni
quomodo
facta.*

*Error cor-
rectionis in
intercalando
quomodo
interpresit.*

*Augusti
Cæs. refor-
matio anni
post Iulium
annunciū.*

*Intercalatio
quaratione
variari &
qua de cau-
sa.*

*Iulij corre-
ctio anni
quomodo
facta, ex
imitatione
Ægyptiorū.*

commendauit, cum ait; Fastorum autem dis-
positio, & inconstantia illius vagæ atque in-
certæ correctio, eleganter ab ipso, philoso-
phica ratione explicata, finemque sortita, iu-
cundissimum vsum præbuit. Cæsar itaque is,
qui primus imperium inuasit, & ad cuius vnus
arbitrium res Romana deuoluta est, quæstione
hac de re optimis mathematicis proposita, ex
substratis iam viis rationibusque, propriam
quandam & accuratiore curâ excogitatam e-
mendationem confecit. In eo quidem securus
philosophi consilium, qui à causa & priore, &
magis necessaria suadet ordiendum, qualis Sol,
in hac quæstione censetur: nam quod à Luna,
notius nobis cum sit & apertius, viam ad ea quæ
sunt notiora naturâ, & perfectiora, munit, vt
Theodorus interpretatur. De vtroque porro
sic Solinus cap. 3. Caius Cæsar vniuersam hanc
inconstantiam incisâ temporum turbatione
composuit: & vt certum statum præteritis ac-
ciperet error, dies 21. & quadrantem simul in-
tercalauit, quo pacto regradati menses, de cæ-
tero statuta ordinis sui tempora detinerent. Ille
ergo annus solus 364. dies habuit: alij de-
inceps 365. & quadrantem. Et tum quoque
viciū admissum est per sacerdotes: Nam cum
præceptum esset, anno quarto vt intercalarent
vnum diem, & oporteret, confecto anno
quarto id obseruari, antè quàm quintus auspi-
cetur: illi incipiente quarto intercalarunt,
non desinente. Sic per annos sex & triginta,
cum nouem dies tantummodò sufficere debuif-
sent, 12. sunt intercalati. Quod deprehendens
Augustus, reformauit, iussitque annos 12. sine
intercalatione decurrere: vt tres illi dies, qui
vltra nouenarios temerè fuerant intercalati,
hoc modo possent repensari. qua disciplinâ,
omnium postea temporum fundata ratio est.
sed de his aliàs, vel adeo ex Appiano & Dione
in vita Cæsarum, nisi si interim Macrobiū
Solino adstipulantem subijcere placet, ex cap.
14. lib. 1. Saturnal. Verum fuit tempus, cum
propter superstitionem, intercalatio omnis o-
missa est: nonnunquam verò per gratiam sacer-
dotum, qui cum publicanis proferri vel immi-
nui consultò anni dies volebant, modò auctio,
modò retractio dierum proueniebat: & sub spe-
cie obseruationis, emergebat maior confusio-
nis occasio. Sed postea C. Cæsar omnem hanc
inconstantiam temporum, vagam adhuc & in-
certam, in ordinem statutz definitionis cōegit:
adnitente sibi M. Flauio scriba, qui scriptos
dies singulos ita ad Dictatorem retulit, vt &
ordo eorum inueniri facillimè posset, & inuen-
to, certus status perseveraret. Ergo C. Cæsar
exordium nouæ ordinationis initurus, dies
omnes, qui confusionem adhuc poterant face-
re, consumpsit: eaque re factum est, vt annus
confusionis vltimus, in 364. dies protēderetur.
Post hoc, imitatus Ægyptios, solos diuinarum
rerum omnium confcios, ad numerum Solis,
qui diebus 365. & quadrante cursum conficit,
annum dirigere contendit. Nam sicut Lunaris
annus, mensis est, quia Luna pauld minùs quàm
mensē in Zodiaci circuitione consumit: ita

A Solis annus hoc dierum numero colligendus
est, quem peragit, dum ad id signum se de-
nuò vertit, ex quo digressus est. vnde annus
vertens notatur. Plinius lib. 18. cap. 25. Primum
omnium dierum ipsorum anni, Solisque mo-
tus propè inexplicabilis ratio est. ad 365. adi-
ciunt etiamnum intercalarios diei noctisque
quadrantes. Ita fit, vt tradi non possint certa
siderum tempora. Accedit confessa rerum ob-
scuritas, nunc præcurrente, nec paucis diebus,
tempestatum significatu, quod prochemasin
Græci vocant: nunc postueniente, quod epi-
chemasin: & plerumque aliàs citius, aliàs tar-
dius, cœli effectū ad terram decido: vnde vul-
go serenitate reddita, confectum sidus audi-
mus. sed post multa, eodem mox capite: Ordo
temporū quadripartita anni distinctione con-
stat, per incrementa lucis, augetur hæc à bru-
ma, & æquatur noctibus verno æquinoctio,
diebus 90. horis tribus: deinde superat noctes
ad solstitium, diebus 93. horis 12. vsque ad
æquinoctium autumnū. tum æquata die, pro-
cedit ex eo ad brumam, diebus 89. horis 3.
Horæ nunc in omni accessione, æquinoctia-
les, non cuiuscumque diei significantur. om-
nēsque eæ differentiz sunt in octauis partibus
signorum; Bruma, Capricorni, ab 8. Calend.
I Ianuarij ferè: æquinoctium vernum, Arietis:
solstitium, Cancrī: alterumque æquinoctium,
Libræ. qui & ipsi dies rarè non aliquos tem-
porum significatus habent. Idem verò cap. 8.
lib. 2. sic iam annum definierat, Solis meatum
esse partium quidem trecentarum sexaginta:
sed vt obseruatio vmbrarum eius redeat ad no-
tas, quinos annis dies adijci: superque, quar-
tam partem dici. Quam ob causam, quinto
anno vnus intercalaris dies additur, vt tempo-
rum ratio, Solis itineri congruat. Sed idem rur-
sum cap. 28. lib. 18. solstitium peragi in 8. partē
Cancrī, & 8. Cal. Iulij; nominatim velut sibi
interpretis repetit. & eiusdem libri cap. 26. æqui-
noctium vernum ad 8. Cal. Aprilis peragi iam
antè scripserat: id est 25. Martij. & cap. 27. idem
repetit; 8. Cal. Iulij, longissima dies totius an-
ni, & nox breuissima, solstitium conficiunt. id
est 24. Iunij, qui dies natiuitatis Ioannis Ba-
ptistæ. At enim deinceps aliquot seculis inter-
iectis, Constantini Magni Imperat. tempore,
æquinoctium vernum redierat ad 21. Martij,
iam quatuor diebus absumptis (vt quidam hi-
storici perhibent: qua de re posthac accuratiùs)
de veteri illo calculo: qui nunc vtrique multò
plures exciderunt, sicut apparet nostra tempora
cum præteritis ac priscis illis conferenti. Fides
ex eo capitur, quòd sub Constantino celebratū
est Synodus Nicæna anno Christi 328. tem-
pore, Syluestri Papæ Romani. quò tempore,
sancitum est, contra institutum Asianorum,
qui Quartadecimani dicti sunt (de quibus a-
bundè Eusebius & Nicephorus) non quarta-
decima Lunâ, quicumque is fuisset dies, sed pri-
mo mēse, id est ea Lunâ, cuius plenilunium fuif-
set post æquinoctium vernum (quod tunc erat
21. die Martij mensis) diem dominicam post
plenilunium illud, solennem esse; Paschæque

*Annus ver-
tens, qui.
Anni solis-
que motus
ratio vnde
sumenda.*

*Anni tem-
porum qua-
drupartita
distinctio
per duo sol-
stitia & to-
tidè æqui-
noctia quot
diebus con-
stat.*

*Quatuor
temporū anni
ratio quibus
in signis fiat
& quando
& quòd ibi
tempestatē
fiant.*

*Solstitium
quòd fiat,
Item æqui-
noctium.*

*Tempore
Constantini
magni Sy-
nodus Nicæ-
næ quid
stauerit ad
Paschæ ce-
lebrandum;
& quando.*

à Christianis ea die celebrandum, qua Christus resurrexit, qui est Pascha nostrum: nec seruandum morem Iudaicum, vt quattadecima Lunâ à Christianis fiat Pascha, quæcumque ea fuerit. Ita Gaspar Contarenus Cardinalis ex Augustini epistola ad inquisitiones Ianuarij: de quo mox adeo plura. Quibus tamen ex verbis clarum fit, quî nostrum vernum æquinoctium à prisco differat. vt pari ratione intelligatur, alterum autumnale æquali retrò interuallo recessisse: sicuti & ex analogia, vtrumque solstitium. Cuius euentus omnino diuersa ratio fuit à posito Galeni ineunda decreto: vt non vnus dici maior fuerit pars vna quarta: seu quadrante diei (sic enim omnia illa non retrò, sed vltra, & porro ac prorsus progressa forent, æquali quo nunc anticiparunt interuallo) sed omnino quadantenus minor. Cuius diminutionis portio ex eo paruit atque innotuit, quod ab anno illo 328. (al. 325.) ad annum correctionis huius 1582. dies totidem decem deficiant, vt recens isthæc emendatio anni docet ac præsupponit. Quanquam non tam exactâ trutinâ, quin aliquid desit, vel sanè vt tunc temporis, non omnino exactè æquinoctium incideret in 21. Martij: nam & Anatolius, qui eodem tempore floruit, & in mathematicis excelluit (si modò sunt huius, quæ nos de Græco in Latinum sermonem traduximus de æquinoctiis commentarij) non 21. sed 22. Martij æquinoctium statuit, vel vti que dies vt pauciores interim deperierint: nam intra 1200. annorum spatium, dies excidere decem perhibentur. quod quî fiat, si nescis, sic breuiter accipe. Annus Solaris totis diebus constat 365. & præterea quarta (vt putant) diei parte: quæ quarto quoque anno diem vnum intercalarem faciebat, & annum bissextilem denominabat: eò quod in sextum Calendas Martij incideret: quo die, velut bis seni dies ante Calend. Martij notabantur: nempe quod

A igitur dies ita particulariter collectus, interponitur in Februario, quoniam mensium breuissimus est, & secundum rationes prædictas, vltimus. Et quoniam quando est annus bissextilis, in Ecclesiis cathedralibus legentes in martyrologio, bis pronuntiant, sexto Cal. Martij, duos dies ponentes super eandem literam: ideo bissextus dicitur. Duo igitur dies quum super eandem F computentur, in sequenti die debet celebrari festum Matthiæ Apostoli. vnde versus:

Posteriore die celebrantur festa Matthiæ:

Bis sextum sexta Martij tenuere Calenda:

B (Vbi & necessitas bissexti ab incommodo demonstratur: quod alioquin intra annos 364. natalis Domini celebraretur die Annuntiationis, nempe 25. Martij) Compendiosè & verè dixisset, annum vocari bissextilem, eò quod in numerando, bis dicatur, 6. Calend. Martij: velut vno die, & vna litera F bis eundem numerum senarium suscipiente: quum tamen reuerà duo sint dies: & litera F altera aliunde extrinsecus subintellecta, & mente concipienda, accedat & singula F semel nominetur, altera 6. altera 7. Cal. Martij. aut si mauis, eadem sub F litera, & eodem die (cùm sint tamen duo) bis dicatur, 6. Calend. Martij: quod nonnulli magis recipiunt. Veruntamen vtrius modo numeres, errorem calculi sequens agnouit ætas, cùm quotannis aliquid deperiret, quod intra multorum annorum spatium facillè innotuit, æquinoctiis & solstitiis semper anteuertentibus ac præoccupantibus: vt quî olim 25. die Martij & Septembris, dies foret æquinoctij: quique 25. die Iunij & Decembris, solstitium dies metiretur, paulatim in diem 24. mox 23. deinde successiue 22. 21. 20. 19. 18. 17. 16. 15. 14. 13. 12. 11. ac demum in 10. diem eorundem mensium (quod nunc recidisse, multis viris solertibus assentimur) retrò cederet: sic tandem D cancri in morem retrogradiendo, ad primum diem mensis recursurus, & longo temporis tractu, in mensem priorem Februarium, Maium, Augustum, Nouembrem. vt sic progressu paulatim facto, regrederetur, quomodo dixit poeta Ouidius;

*Xanthe, retrò propterea, versaque recurrit
lympha:*

ista quidem peruersa ratione, peruersis tempestatum anni statibus, & festorum mobiliū serie tota sūsq; deque immutandâ. Quem casum multi quidem viri clarissimi, & mathe- E seos peritissimi animaduertuerunt: sed nostro tandem hoc æuo, cæteris quidem rebus misero, peste, fame, bello, at hoc saltem euentu nobilitato, vigilantia GREGORII XIII. Pontificis Max. non minore solertia, quàm auctoritate prouisum est. ne error ille ingens in futura secula serperet longius: sicuti Calendarium Gregorianum acutè perdocet, Pontificis Max. Gregorij auctoritate promulgatum, doctissimorumque medicorum, Aloisij & Antonij Liliorum fratrum accurata diligentia emendatum, demptis de medio totis decem diebus (sic olim diēs 21. intercalatos sustulerat, quo

*Æquinoctio verno
Autonale
respondet:
ita de solstitiis.*

*Correctio
anni per
Lios facta,
non videtur
N. exacta
quare.*

*N. demonstratio. quod
10. dies
fuisse non
satis sit.*

*Annus bis
sextilis quis
sit, & unde
dicatur.*

*Bissextum
qui & quādo
& unde
fuit.*

*Cur anno
tantū quārto
dies bis
sextilis ad
datur &
quādo.*

*Bissextus
cur dicatur,
& quādo
contingat
ubi.*

*Error cal-
culi incom-
moda, ab
exempla.*

*Error cal-
culi veterū
quādo ag-
nitus, &
quomodo.*

*Æquinoctia & sol-
stitia prisca
quādo die con-
tingerint &
ad nostra
tempora au-
ticiparint, &
simili.*

*Incommoda
ex errore
calculi secu-
tura, & fe-
storum in-
certa ratio
ac sedes.*

*N. secundū
multū cla-
dibus mis-
erū sed felix
anni cor-
rectione.*

*Gregorij
Papa laus
& Liliorum
fratrum.*

*Lilij fratres
imitantur
Inlium Ce-
sarem, in
quo.*

*Pars in-
terior mundi
quorū oculis
constet.*

*Solon quo-
modo annū
dimensus sit
et quo tem-
pore: hinc
Eudoxus
idē rectius:
mox Iulius
rectissime,
et cuius o-
perā.*

*Siderū duū
generū mo-
tus qui fiat.*

*Quod Caeli
globosa fi-
gura sit, et
quorsum.*

*Quatuor
anni temporū
vis à Sole et
fructuū hu-
beras.*

*N. opinio de
Cicerone et
Iul. Cesar.
pene anni
correctionē.*

eiusdem naturæ orbe, principatum antiquio-
rem in mundo habente. Cæterum orbis ille
alterius naturæ, in partes harmonicis pro-
portionibus diuisus, circulis septem constat.
Et Luna quidem terram proximè ambiens,
mensura conuersione circumuehitur. Soli ei
proximus, annuo temporis spatio orbem
suum conficit. De aliis deinceps non satis de-
finitè, de quibus statim circa initia huius to-
tius operis, ex Astrologorum consensu ferè
transigimus. Porro circa eadem propè tem-
pora, quum Pythagoras in Italia & magna
dicta Græcia, Thales in Ionia doceret, fertur
Solon Athenis, adhibito in consilium Thalete
Milesio, annum per sua solstitia & æquino-
ctia designasse. Cuius industriam ducentis post
annis imitatus Eudoxus, Platonis contempo-
raneus, anno rectius constituto, facilè vicit.
Eudoxi fastos Iulius Cæsar (vel Lucano teste)
superavit, anno sic per Sosigenem Astrono-
mum restituto, quali deinceps longa posteritas
vsa est, & qualem paulò antè designauimus.
Nec meus Eudoxi vincetur fastibus annus, ait
de illo Lucanus. Et tamen M. Tullius Iulio
æqualis vndeumq; hauserit ac didicerit (nam-
que in mathematicis, vel suo præ testimonio,
parum versatum, ex epist. ad Attic. alibi osten-
dimus) sic lib. 2. de nat. Deor. annum metitur;
Nam cum sint duo genera siderum, quorum
alterum spatiis immutabilibus, ab ortu ad
occasum commens, nullum vnquam cursus
sui vestigium inflectat: alterum autem conti-
nuas conuersiones duas iisdem spatiis cursi-
busque conficiat: ex vtraque re, & mundi vo-
lubilitas, quæ nisi in globosa forma esse non
posset, & stellarum rotundi ambitus cognos-
cantur, primūque Sol, qui astrorum obtrinet
principatum, ita mouetur, vt quum terras largâ
luce compleuerit, eisdem modò his, modò
illis partibus opâcet. Ipsa enim vmbra terræ,
Soli officiens, noctem efficit. nocturnorum au-
tem spatiorum eadem est æqualitas, quæ diur-
norum: eiusdemque Solis tum accessus modici,
tum recessus, & frigoris & caloris modum
temperant. Circuitus enim Solis orbium v. de-
fectibus, & lxx. & ccc. quarta ferè dici parte
abditā, conuersionem conficiunt annuam. In-
flectens autem Sol cursum tum ad Septentrion-
es, tum ad Meridiem, æstates & hyemes ef-
ficat: & ea duo tempora, quorum alterum hye-
mi fenescenti adiunctum est, alterum, æstati.
Ita ex quatuor temporum mutationibus, om-
nium quæ terra marique gignuntur, initia,
causæque ducuntur. Iam Solis annuos cursus
spatiis mensuris Luna consequitur: cuius re-
nuissimum lumen facit proximus accessus ad
Solem: digressus autem longissimus quisque,
plenissimum. Neque solum eius species ac for-
ma mutatur tum crescendo, tum defectibus in
initia recurrendo: sed etiam regio, quæ tum
est aquilonalis, tum australis. Hæc ferè Tul-
lius, ex optimi videlicet Astronomi deprompta
libris, eleganter & verè extulit: vt Iuliani cor-
rectionem anni videatur agnouisse. Claudius
Ptolemæus Alexandrinus insignis mathema-

A ticus (non rex tamen) circa Antonini Pij &
Philosophi tempora (vt putant) tum de multis
aliis matheseos partibus luculenter scripsit,
tum hanc partem, qua de agimus, illustrauit,
longa ille quidem, sed vtcumque obscurâ ora-
tione vsus, quam ab eo censeo repetant, qui au-
thorem habent præ manibus: nos eorum gra-
tiâ, quibus deest, pauca hæc & magis necessaria
subijciemus, ex præclaro quidem opere, cui ti-
tulus est, *Almagestum*, Arabica (opinor) for-
mâ: nam Suidas *μεγάλων ἀστρονομῶν* videtur insinua-
re, titulus Græcus frequentior, *μεγάλων σμῶντων* quid et eius
præ se fert. Ergo author ille cap. 2. lib. 3. dicti
operis, longa satis oratione, de anno Solari
differit, ex diuersis priscorum sententiis, præ-
fertim Hipparchi, cui quidem per restitution-
es Solis, in solstitiis & æquinoctialibus pun-
ctis factas, annum tempus minus 365. die-
bus in quarta dici vnus additione censetur:
per eas verò, quæ à fixis stellis considerantur,
maius. illam tamen vt certiolem & veriolem
censet Ptolemæus, quæ Solem ab vno puncto
digressum, ad idem punctum regredientem
considerat, quæ solstitialibus & æquinoctia-
libus punctis determinantur. cum nulla magis
idonea restitutio inueniri queat, quàm quæ à
simili æris temperie ad similem, & ab iisdem
temporibus ad eadem, Solem reducit. quan-
quam in his falli obseruationem nihilominus
contingit: sed leui tamen lapsu, & penè con-
temptibili: vt per instrumenta se idem anno-
tasse Ptolemæus profitetur, annua tempora
ferè sibi semper æqualia obseruando, ex æqui-
noctiorum & solstitialium inspectione. ac
si qua sit inæqualitas, quotannis deprehendi
nequit. Quam in rem, Archimedis testimo-
nium adducit, authoris eximij & fide digni,
rem ipsam facto periculo comprobantis. sed
differentiam tamen aliquot annorum concur-
su euidenter percipi: & organorum certitu-
dinem tempore labefactari: quæ autem à Lunæ
eclipsibus captantur indicationes, esse fallaces.
Deinde sic concludit; Quod igitur tempus an-
nuum, quod ad solstitia & æquinoctia colla-
tum perspicitur, minus est quàm 365. dies,
quartaque parte dici, adaptum nobis est
etiam per ea, quæ Hipparchus demonstrauit,
quantò autem minus est, non possumus exa-
ctissimè accipere: quum additio quartæ partis
ad plures annos immutabilis, propter mini-
mam eius differentiam permanere videatur: &
propterea quæ longioris temporis computa-
tione, poterit adinueniri, eam annis qui inter-
erunt, distribuere oportebit: quoniam tam in
multis, quàm in paucis annis eadem esse co-
gnoscutur. Quæ tamen restitutio, tantò ex-
quisitiùs capietur, quantò longius maiusque
inter obseruationes fuerit tempus, quod non
huic solum, verum etiam cæteris restitutioni-
bus accidit. Nam qui propter obseruationum,
etiam si exquisitè adhibeantur, instabilitatem
error sit, quamuis parus & nullus ferè, quan-
tum ad sensum, esse videatur, tam in lon-
go, quàm in breui tempore apparentibus: in
pauciores tamen diuisus annos, maior in vno

*Ptolemæi
Mathema-
tici tempora
et laus et
conditio.*

*Almagestū
quid et eius
Synonyma.*

*Annuus quot
diebus con-
stat ex Ptol.*

*Sol quomo-
do metien-
dus.*

*Annuum
tempus per
æquinoctia
& solstitia
qualiter
metiendum.*

*Anni tempus
quot diebus
constet exa-
ctè fieri ne-
quit.*

*Anni quæ-
ritas defini-
ri non potest,
licet defectus
semper eo-
dem.*

anno efficitur, & qui in longiore, hinc à tempore colligitur similiter: in plures autem minor. Quare satis esse censemus, si quantum inter nostras & exquisitas priscorum observationes, interfuit tempus, restitutionibus istis adferre potest: tantum ipsi quoque adferri conemur, nec sponte exactam examinationem negligamus. Veritatem autem, quæ à tota temporis perpetuitate, aut à multiplici tempore observationum haberi potest, aliis relinquendam putamus. hæc ille de se: vbi secundum Calippum, Solarem annum, id est tempus, quo à solstitio ad solstitium, vel ab æquinoctio ad æquinoctium redit, continere dies 365. & minus quarta parte per vnam 300. diurni nocturnique temporis partem, scriptum reliquit, neque (vt Mathematici arbitrantur) quartam solummodò partem additam supra 365. dierum multitudinem addi. Cæterum ex Aristarchi & Metæonis & Euctemonis observatione, intra 600. annos, duos plenos statuit proximè dies quartæ additionem solstitium præcessisse. Vnde si diem vnam per 300. annos partiamur, inueniemus singulis annis 12. secunda distribui, hæc si subtraxerimus à 365. diebus, & m̄ 15. habebimus spatium anni, 365. 14. 48. Tanta igitur multitudo dierum anni erit, quam proximè Prolemaicis observationibus inuenta. quamquam exactam differentiam non inueniri posse, candidè fuerat professus. Quam confessionem, aorum nostrorum memoriâ arripuit Ioannes de Sacro-bosco, Parisiensis doctor, & insignis eo tempore Mathematicus, hunc in modum scribens lib. de anni ratione inscripto, & pridem toti Gallicanæ Ecclesiæ notissimo: Quum itaque multiplex sit annus, & cæteris omnibus omissis, duo specialiter à computista intendantur, scilicet Solaris & Lunar, de digniori prius est pertractandum (postea enim de posteriori, suo loco dicam) scilicet de Solari. Est igitur annus Solaris, spatium temporis, quo Sol à quocumque quatuor punctorum Zodiaci, æqualitatis vel conuersionis, mouetur circumiens totum Zodiacum motu proprio, rediens iterum ad idem punctum. Vnde apud antiquos solet depingi serpens deuorans propriam caudam. vnde versus,

Serpens annus ego sum: Sol sic circumat, in quo Qui fluxit pridem, stans est nunc temporis idem.

Cuius quidem reuolutionis terminus, in 365. diebus, & quarta diei naturalis, præter rem modicam secundum sensum, perficitur. Neque defectus illius quantitatem, secundum veritatem, propter diuersitatis paruitatem, possibile est inueniri. Hoc autem sciolis Computistarum, suæ licet professioni aduersantibus, sensibilibiter ex eius causa congruit demonstrari. Est itaque Solis motus in die vno naturali, 59. minuta, 8. secunda, 17. tertia, 13. quarta, 12. quinta, & 31. in sextis. vt huiusmodi quippe minutorum in fractionibus ad sexta perueniat, nunc sufficit partitio. Qui quidem motus si Zodiacum in sexta redactum, tum in toto, tum in parte, prout competit mensuret, prædictis sex horis, non ex toto vnus duode-

Annus quos
diebus con-
stitet exactis.

Dies collecti
ex horis an-
nis quot
seculis nu-
merandi.

Proportio
dierum &
minutorum
per annos
singulos.

Io. de Sacro-
bosco laus &
annus.

Annus
quotuplex.

Annus So-
laris quis sit
ex motu
proprio &
quali.

Solis & an-
ni litera
olim hiera-
glyphica.

Dies anni
quot sint
exactè sciri
nequit.

Solis motus
diurni quan-
titas.

A cima deficiet. vnde versus,

Qui scidit Eudoxum, superatur Casaris annus.

Hæc itaque anni Solaris quantitas, si per 12. diuidatur, erit mensis Solaris 30. dierum, & 10. horarum, & 29. minutorum, & 36. secundorum. Idem author de solstitiis & æquinoctiis sic statuit, & citato Plinij loco, velut Interpretes, explicationem aptam subiungit, innotato tamen, vt patebit, authore. In his quatuor anni partibus, sunt duo solstitia, & duo æquinoctia. Dicitur solstitium, non quod Sol aliquando stet (paulò tamen antè de huius mora in Tropici, dubiam Astrologorum opinionem proposui) sed quia tunc est in maximo accessu ad Zenith capitis nostri (punctum verticale, vel Augen appellant veteres) vel iterum in maximo recessu à Zenith capitis nostri. Zenith autem, punctus quidam est firmamenti, capitibus nostris directè suprapositus. Æquinoctium verò dicitur, quando dies artificialis nocti adæquatur. In quibus igitur signis contingant Solstitia, & æquinoctia, patet in his versibus;

Hæc duo solstitia faciunt Cancer, Capricornus.

Sed noctes æquant Aries & Libra diebus.

Est itaque solstitium hyemale, circa principium & introitum Solis in Capricornum: C scilicet in medio Decembris. tunc enim Sol maximè recedit à Zenith capitis nostri, siue à nostro habitabili. Solstitium verò æstiuale, est circa principium Cancr, in medio Iunij: Sol enim tunc maximè accedit ad nostrum Zenith, in nostro habitabili. Cum autem Sol recedens à primo puncto Capricorni, venit ad locum medium inter vtrumque solstitium, facit æquinoctium circa medium Martij in principio Arietis, & quoniam contingit in vere, dicitur æquinoctium vernale. Sol verò discedens à Cancro versus Capricornum, venit ad locum medium inter vtrumque, & tunc facit æquinoctium. & quia contingit in autumno, dicitur æquinoctium autumnale, in medio Septembris: scilicet circa introitum Solis in Libram. Hæc ille, de solstitiorum & æquinoctiorum sui seculi temporibus in 15. mensis diem incidentibus. Floruit autem (aut potius mortuus est) Luteriæ professor, natione Anglus, circa annum Domini 1256. sicuti nos aliquando de marmore legimus erutum, & eius tumulo insculptum Luteriæ in claustrò Maturingensium, haud procul à valua templi interiore, cui notà est insignita, Sphæra marmoris appicta, insculptave, cum insigni elogio alibi dicendo. seculi versus hic erit index;

M. Christi bis C. quarto deno quater anno.

De Sacro-bosco differunt tempora Ianus.

(idem in suis scriptis suum seculum notat fuisse anno 1232.) Ex quo facillè intelligitur, aut hunc, aut illos, aut recentiores adeo circa stata æquinoctiorum & Solstitiorum tempora insigniter falli: quum historia ecclesiastica restetur, anno celebratæ Synodi Nicænæ, æquinoctium vernum fuisse 21. Martij (dato vno, de cæteris pari interuallo trimestri statuo, vt antè indicaui) quod tempore Iulij & Augusti

Mensis 30.
dierum quot
diebus con-
stitet.

Io. de Sacro-
bosco arguitur
plagij.

Solstitium
quid &
vnde dictū.
N. contra.

Æquinoctiū
quid &
quādo fiat:
item solsti-
tium.

Solstitium
hybernū &
æstiuū quā-
do fiat, &
quomodo:
item æqui-
noctium &
quotuplex
sit.

Io. de Sac-
ro-bosco
quid & qua-
li & vnde,
& quādo flo-
ruerit: eius-
dem sepul-
crum ubi &
qualiter in-
scriptum.

Cæsarum, fuerat 25. die mensis: nostro autem seculo (vt isti perhibent) vel 11. Martij vt Petrus Messia scribit, vel 10. eiusdem mensis, vt Contarenus numerat. Fernelius in suo Monhalospherio, post Nicænam Synodum ad vndecim propè dies succreuisse & anticipasse vnum æquinoctium annotat: qui dies idem fuerit Martij 10. sed de his postea: de priscis narrantem audiamus Hieronymum illum nostrum Archimedes Gallicum, & Plinij locum propositum ex cap. 25. lib. 18. explicantem. De certis quidem diebus Solstitiorum & æquinoctiorum, dubium est apud modernos. dixerunt enim veteres (Plinium designat ex loco citato) quod Sol intrat nouum signum 15. Cal. alicuius mensis. vnde versus;

Semper quindenis ponuntur signa Calendis.

Æquinoctij & octauo die post, dixerunt esse Solstitium, vel æquinoctium. Vnde patet, quum Sol intret Capricornum 15. Cal. Ianuarij, & octauo die post, debeat esse Solstitium, erit Solstitium hyemale, in die Natiuitatis Domini, scilicet 8. Cal. Ianuarij. Similiter quum Sol intrat Cancrum 15. Cal. Iulij, erit Solstitium æstiuale in die Natiuitatis Beati Ioannis Baptistæ. Similiter est de æquinoctiis, quoniam quum Sol intrat Arietem 15. Cal. Aprilis, erit æquinoctium vernale, vbi notatur Annuntiatio Domini, scilicet 8. Cal. Aprilis. Quum Sol iterum intrat Libram 15. Cal. Octobris, erit æquinoctium autumnale in die Conceptionis Ioannis Baptistæ, scilicet 8. Cal. Octobris. Sed quod solstitium hyemale fuerit in die sexto, tempore Natiuitatis Domini, ante eius ortum, æstiuale sexto die ante Natiuitatem beati Ioannis Baptistæ, ostendi per hoc videtur, quod cursui Solis plus temporis quam debeat, attribuitur: vnde & retrocedunt Solstitia & Æquinoctia. Quam enim ad veritatis sensibilitatem, Sol moratur in quolibet signo per 30. dies, & 10. horas, & 29. minuta & 36. secunda: licet 30. minuta minùs complerè vna medietas (vel potiùs medietate) horæ vnus supponantur, prout in prædictis sensibilitè exprimitur. Vnde vna centesima & quinquagesima pars vnus horæ, scilicet 24. secunda, in omni superflue computantur signo. Et cum 12. sint signa, erunt duodecies 24. secunda. ex quibus in vnum redactis, pars horæ duodecima conficitur. sic igitur in 12. annis, hora vna integrabitur. Vnde quum dies naturalis ex 24. horis constet, in duodecies 24. annis, hoc est in 288. annis, dies vnus naturalis superflue reperietur (nostri tamen ad annos 120. reducerunt vnus diei superflui numerum, vt iterum mox patebit) Nunc igitur quum in die 10. Solstitium hyemale Natiuitatem Domini, die natiuitis computato: æstiuale beati Ioannis Baptistæ antecedit (quod diuersis lucefcit rationibus) & nonnisi quater prædictus numerus ab annis Domini subtrahi possit: relinquitur quod tempore Natiuitatis Domini, & beati Ioannis, in sexto die præcesserit Solstitium: & sic nunc est in decimo. Idem etiam respectu Annuntiationis Domi-

nica, & Conceptionis Ioannis Baptistæ, de æquinoctiis inuenitur. vnde versus,

Solstitium decimo Christum præit atque Ioannem.

Nuntia sic matris nox æqua diemque Ioannis.

(vbi indicat suo seculo æquinoctia & Solstitia fuisse die 15. mensium Martij & Septembris, & Iunij & Decembris: quod nostris istis recentioribus neutiquam quadrabit) postremo sic concludit, & tanquam vaticinatur, annum Gregorianum eminens salutans, & seræ posteritatis gaudia (vtinam vera & solida, ac non qualia cernimus, fame, bellis, peste interrupta atque contaminata) animo læto & alacri præfagiens. Solstitiorum autem & æquinoctiorum retrocessionis error, Calendario ordini restituto, saltem in die vitabitur, si in postremo temporis istius anno, scilicet 288. annorum, in fine Februarij, dies vnus surripiatur: vel decentius, diei bissextilis prætermittatur appositio: qui ex diuisione annorum Domini, per numerum prædictum, quum nihil remanserit, percipietur. Hæc etiam eadem, Lunæ priuationem per plurima seculorum spatia iidem idem die stabiliret subtractione. vnde & hic, ex eiusmodi diei subtractione, Annus decurtationis, siue ex temporum æquationis iucunditate, annus Iubilationis appellari meretur. Hæc ille omnino scitè & argutè, magis quam disertè aut eleganter.

Posteriores verò, iidemque neoterici quidam, acuti sanè viri & solertes, Ioannis huius de Sacro-bosco calculum videntur æmulari, necdum tamen planè assecuti, arque ita statuisse propemodum de totius anni summa. Solem totum percurrere Zodiacum in 12. signa diuisum, totis diebus 365. & vnus diei parte quarta, non tamen illa integra, sed cui 12. quotannis minuta de 60. desint: vt dies Solaris cursus annui sint 365. integri, cum horis quinque, & minutis 48. Sic enim iam paulò antè dixi, & nunc breuiter commemoro, totum Zodiacum in 12. signa diuidi: quorum hæc nomina

Sunt, Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libraque, Scorpius, Arcitenens, Caper, Amphora, Pisces.

Indita (inquam) nomina vel à proprietate quadam simili & analogia istis quidem animalibus, vel à dispositione siderum talem quandam speciem referentium. At noster clim in mathematicis præceptor Orontius Finæus cap. 4. lib. 2. de sphaera mundi; Hinc factum est (ait) vt stellæ fixæ circa viam Solis, & sub ipsis duodecim signis comprehensæ, in prædictorum animalium aliarumque rerum figuras sint redactæ: vt singulæ constellationes singulis signorum qualitatibus: non autem signorum proprietates ipsis imaginibus, stellarumque naturis responderent. sed institutum mihi sermonem vt promoueam, hoc adjicio; Signum quodlibet in 30. gradus diuidi: horumque omnium summam multiplicatam, 360. exurgere. Solem autem quoto quoque die,

Æquinoctia & Solstitia die 15. mensium cōtingebant tempore Io. Sacrob. N. non assentit. N. seculum quibus claudibus miserrimum.

Analoga correctionis erroris de Luna motu ad Solem.

Annus Iubilationis siue decurtationis, qui & vnde dictus vel dicitur.

Zodiaci signa 12. eorum nomina, nominumque ratio.

Animalis Zodiaci ratio nominis.

Solstitia & æquinoctia qualiter retrocedant & vnde error.

Solis mora in quolibet signo Zodiaci quot diebus fiat.

Quòd æquinoctium & Solstitium die sexto contingat quando.

singulos paulò minùs gradus conficere præmonui. postremò graduum istorum vnumquemque in 60. minuta dispesci: & minuto-
rum quodlibet, in alia 60. minuta secunda subdividi: secunda deinde quælibet, in 60. tertia: tertia verò, in 60. quarta: quarta porrò, in 60. quinta: quinta postremò, singula in 60. sexta dispesci, mente concipiendum ex Astrologorum doctrina; rei tantæ percipiendæ necessaria. Neque enim minorum maiorum in minuta minora, vel adeo minutissima, negligi debet sectio, ad exactam cursus morûsque astorum scientiam: cum immensitas cœli, vel hanc, vel adeo multò crebriorem, & in plura factam sectionem ferre possit, ingentibus etiamnum futuris segmentis, quæ post repetitam toties partitionem supererunt. Sed quia de istis etiamnum antea; ut ad quadrantem illum dici reuertar, ex quo bissextilis annus quarto quoque anno exurgit: Dixi non integrum illum consistere: ut ideo neque bissextilis annus inde exactè confici & exurgere queat: sed plus assumat,

De annobis
sextile &
eius compo-
sitione.

Quod 4.
quadrantes
diei bissex-
tilem annum
excedant,
& quan-
to.

Horæ quot
minutis cõ-
stit: &
quod 12. mi-
nuta quot-
annu exu-
perent.

Demõstra-
tio per re-
gulam triu-
& divi-
sionem.

Sol uno die
gradum v-
num facit,
id est 30.
minuta.

N. ita sub-
ducit: An.

quàm rei natura patiatur. Hoc autem supple-
mentum insuper assumptum, quum varij variè accipiant atque interpretentur (ut paulò pòst ex quorundam referam sententia) quidam remota omni ambage, potiùs κατ' ἑξῆς, quàm ex veritate rerum exacta (quam soli Deo notam arbitror) duodecim prima minuta τῆς ἡμέρας quartæ partis diei statuunt, ex eorum genere quæ sexagenaria dixi gradum vnum signi cuiuslibet constituere. Sic ergo his neotericis nostris, οὐδὲν ἀρετὰν ἔχοντες in hoc genere præsumen-
tibus visum est; 60. minuta, vnam æqualem horam conficere. quotannis autem 12. minuta supra legitimum cursus Solaris spaciū adiici, quo quadrans ille diei integretur, alioquin imperfectus futurus, neque bissextilem annum quarto quoque anno perfectè & integrè mensurus. quod tamen, uti dixi, præsupponitur ex hypothesi, facilioris doctrinæ gratiâ. Quod si ita sit (ut nunc esse patior) quinto quolibet anno, ex additione quinquies duodenorum minorum, exurgent 60. minuta, quæ horæ vnus probatum spatium integrant & conficiunt: qua proportionem, decennio accrescunt horæ duæ: & annis 20. horæ quatuor; eaque progressionem, ter vicenis annis, id est 60. annis, horæ 12. efficiuntur: quæ pars est diei media. tandè quæ annis totis 120. dies vnus integer, ex multiplicatione tot minorum conflabitur. hoc ferè modo, per regulam trium denominatam. Vnus annus adiicit quadrantem diei, 12. minuta: anni 120. quot minuta tandem adicient? Nempe 1440. quæ diuisa per 30. (qui gradus vnus est, & quem dixi à Sole quotidie confici) nihil relinquunt: & quotientem habent 48. minimè nunc quidem contemplabilem.

Quæ si vera forent, facilè nunc quidem explicatum hoc totum esset negotium: quum diceretur, post annos 120. semper vnum insuper diem accrevisse: qui vtrique anno bissextile semel eximendus intra id spatium foret, ne semel assignatam æquinoctiorum & solstitiorum sedem interturbaret. Sed multum metuo ac ve-

reor ut ita sit: & iam noster ille Iohannes Sacroboscus subolsit: ac nos vtrunque præsentimus, & iam olim acutissimus Mathematicus Claudius Ptolemæus peruidit, imò verò & præuidit: quum quadrante diei minorem particulam falsus est diebus 365. accedere; sed exactè definiri negavit posse: iuxta Calippum autem, diurni nocturnique temporis parte trecentesima minorem dixit. de Methone & Euctemone paulò antè assignavi. Sacroboscus autem vnus horæ partem duodecimam, quadrantem illi complendo non in totum deesse, sed huic quidem defectui propiùs accedere indicavit. Alij exactiùs demens, ad horas quinque addunt minuta 49. & sex secunda: id est, horæ vnus quinque sextas. sic ut ad horas sex completas, siue diei quadrantem, desit horæ vnus pars sexta quotannis, quæ intra annos quatuor, duas tertias horæ vnus constituent. Alij annum æstima-
nt dierum 365. & præterea hor. 5. 880. magnamque periodum annis 648. metiuntur; quo intervallo, omnium feriarum κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν restitutionem iri augurantur: quem magnum annum iure dixeris. Sapientes Persidis, ante annos 500. iussu Imperatoris Mesopotamiæ, annum restituerunt, æstimaruntque diebus 365. horis 5. minutis primis 48. secundis 53. tertiis circiter 20. Fernelius noster (& verò nostras) vndecim ferè minutis horæ, maiorem quàm satis est, annum Iulium existimavit, propos. 6. partis 2. Monhalosphærij (sic enim novus tum Mathematicus, nouo nomine Astrolabium denominabat) aliorum potiùs quàm suam securus sententiam. Theodorus Gaza, patrum nostrorum memoriâ clarus, veteris Græciæ collabascens, ac iam ferè prorsus abolitæ reliquias perire indignè ferens, inter alia præclara ingenij monumenta, & linguæ vtriusque exhibita specimina ac documenta, libello de mensibus, hanc quæstionem attigit, & suam sententiam vir inter doctos haud indoctus interposuit, hunc in modum; Quod si fortè ne Solis quidem motus ratio satis nobis cõstet; & quàm Lunæ, certè multò certior est; eiùsque error leuior, & multò minùs errori propinquus. Si quidem satis est vnum diem quarto quoque anno intercalari: post verò ducentos ferè annos, vnum exemptibilem fieri: vel quàm longo temporis intervallo iudicabunt, qui assidue succedent experientiæ excellentes Astronomi. Neque enim præsentis est instituti, si quibus controuersa est in hac re annorum multitudo. haud dubiè enim plurimo interstitio emendabitur, vtrunque se habeat. hæc ille, ex aliorum potiùs, quàm suo dependens iudicio, nihilque certi in re incerta (quod sapientis hominis est) statuens. Adrianus Iunius nostræ professionis haud ignobilis Medicus, Gazæ cautelam imitatus, sic scribit libello de annis & mensibus; Legitimus annus, quem ex cursu Solis describunt, trecentis sexagenis quinque diebus constat, ut harum difficultatum curiosi inquisitores colligunt, horis quinque, minutis (κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν) quadraginta novem, & ampliùs secundis sex. Vtendum est enim necessariò artis vocabulis, ubi alia non suppetunt.

no 1600.
toti dies 13.
superfunt,
insuper 40
quot eximè
debuerant
à Liliis fra-
tribus, anni
Gregoriani
correctoris
bmi.

N. de Iunio
Medico.

Solis annus
quot diebus
constat &
minutis.

Ita fit, ut in quadriennio, duæ tertiæ partes horæ, & aliquanto plus subducantur. Sed nos minutis istis salebrosis valedicimus, per quas vix vnus dies multis annorum centuriis reliquus fit, euariato tot annorum cursu. satiusque est multò Menippis istis astra temerario volari superantibus, hæc relinquere. Hac utique ironiâ facetus homo & festiuus ac prudens, rei confessam apud omnes obscuritatem (ut Plinianis verbis & assensione utar) subterfugit, & indiscussam reliquit. Dion, libr. 43. Cæsar (inquit) apud Alexandrinos de anni ratione edoctus, annum constituit diuersum nonnihil ab Alexandrinis, qui triginta singulis mensibus dies attribuunt: eidem quolibet anno quinos dies adiungunt (quâ ratione, monui iam antè Ptolemæi æquinoctia solstitiâque multum ab aliis discrepare, ut exemplo posito nuper docui) Hos enim ille superuacaneos dies in menses redegit, vnique duos detraxit: dein quarto cuilibet anno inferendum admisit intercalarem: ita ut horæ vnus vix minimo momento distorres sint. quo fit, ut in annis 1461. veniat intercalandus solum vnus dies. Hæc Dion ex xui sui Astrologorum fallaci relatu; qui pro certo asseuerabant, quod multorum annorum lapsus falsum deprehendit. sic ut idem nobis de iis liceat ominari, qui se ex abaco & calculo suo, omnem xui æterni statum ratumque anni motum, Solis & Lunæ cursum posse certum constituere arbitrantur. Ex quo colligo, aduersus Ptolemæi *de astronomia*, etiam si paucioribus annis, maior error committatur (cùm tamen æqualem annis singulis committi credâ & affirmem) pluribus autè, minor sensim euadat, ut ex illo nuper protuli: tamen errorem illum, qui vno aut altero anno, aut breui annorū decursu utcumq. later, nec nisi à summis artificibus deprehenditur aut ne deprehenditur quidem; tandem pluriū lustrorum aut Olympiadum spatiis, vel adeo secutis annorum centuriis, manifestum & vulgo aded conspicuum euadere; ita tamen, ut hominum nemini fas sit, defectus annui exactam mensuram definire: quod ex iis patere puto, quas complures citavi variorum sententias; in quibus id facile vsuuenire cernimus, quod vulgari fertur sententia: Quot capita tot sensus. quotquot enim sunt Astrologi, qui suam super hac re interposuerunt sententiam, totidem videre est discrepantes opiniones: id quod per plures excurrentes authores possem probare, si aut vacaret, aut si essent ad manum cæteri omnes; aut si laborem hunc nostrum necessarium, vel prorsus rei literariæ vtilem ducerem. Vnus est tamen, quem prætermittere mihi religio est, & quem vnum in istar multorum millium habeo: quippe qui plurimorum vnus collegerit, ne dicam magno pretio licitatus sit sententias: Alphonsus enim Rex Arragonum, ad tabulas Astronomicas conficiendas, conuocatis vndique Mathematicis insignibus, quadringenta coronatorum millia in id studium impendisse, & probatis authoribus elargitus fuisse perhibetur: adæquatâ propè dicam Magni Alexandri Regis munificentia, qui animalium historiam,

A olim Aristotele præceptore exscribente, est ab infinitis penè naturæ cuiusque animalium naris & peritis edoctus & magno pretio licitatus: sic igitur ille supputat & calculat; Verus anni circuitus, dierum est trecentorum sexaginta quinque, horarum quinque, & quadragintanovem sexagesimarum alterius horæ, & partium præterea secundæ sexagesimæ sexdecim.

Ego verò, expensis ac subductis tot & tam discrepantibus multorum opinionibus, sic existimo; non esse in humana potestate situm, ut exactum quisquam anni Solaris cursum, vel ad minima vsque minutula (quæ quinta & sexta diximus) accuratè certòque dignoscat; ne si gnomoni quidem aut astrolabio assiduus incumbat: aut putco illi adsit perdius & pernox, qui apud Syenen experimenti gratiâ factus memoratur, & quem totum Solstitij die medio illuminari, raro exemplo asserunt: quinetiam per totum oppidum Syenen (quod est supra Alexandriam quinque millibus stadiorum) eodem Solstitij die medio, nullam vmbra iaci, referente Plinio cap 73. lib. 2. sicuti in Meroë insula Æthiopica, bis anno absumi vmbra, Sole duodeuicesimam Tauri partem, & quartamdecimam Leonis obtinente. Quin in India esse loca quædam idem Plinius scribit, in quibus vmbra non sint; ob id vocata Ascia siue *ασκια*; quod nominatim de Hypasi flumine ibidem scripserat Onesicritus; atque alibi alio tempore. His (inquam) aut similibus in locis, si quis matheos peritus versetur, & attentissimè Solis cursum à carceribus ad metam obseruet, eiusdemque à meta ad carceres regressum (quem in puncto temporis fieri credibile est: alij morâ longiusculâ putant) speculetur & contempletur, diem vtiq. Solstitij vel æquinoctij diiudicabit, horam fortè designabit, temporis momentum quadam coniecturâ consequetur: sed ipsa singula minuta notare ac designare, viribus humanis negatum puto. Quid verò si nocte fiat?

D vt ex Ptolemæo citauimus. Hic vmbra peribit observatio: ad instrumenta & dioptras & astrolabia incerta erit confugiendum; vel potius ex apparentibus & antegressis, incunda erit præteriti temporis ratio atque supputatio; cui tamen in totum fidere videtur esse periculosum. Sed fac ita esse; fac nullum vel minimum errorem à perito Astronomo committi. quâ scis, an Solis & astrorum cursus semper æqualis, siue similis omni æuo permaneat? quid si eccentrici & epicycli dicti circuli, motum Solis variant? quid si obliqua rectaque in obliquo circulo ascensio, inæqualitatem motus parit? quid si observatio certa, longo temporis tractu euadat incerta? Etsi enim aliquis ingenij potiùs acumine, quàm oculorum acie, Solis & Lunæ cursus exactè dispiciat & assignet, ne id quidem fore duco perpetuum: quum natura rerum omnium, velut per suos ætatum gradus deuoluta ac peragrata tandem fathiscat, & motus orbium cœlestium sensim ac paulatim lentescat. Et verò iam olim Plinius cap. 10. lib. 36. Solis ipsius dissonum cursum meminit, & cœli aliqua ratione mutari: terramque aliquid à centro suo

N. quod Solis & Astrorum cursus nunquā sit similis: & quæmbræ.

N. quod Solis & Lunæ cursus sensim deficiat, & nos lateat.

Iocus in Astrologos, & Plinij cancellam.

Iulij Cæsaris correctio anni.

N. quod homini nemini cognitum sit exacta defectus annui mensura.

Alphonse Regis diligentia & sumptus in vero peruestigando, à simili.

Dei enco-
mum.

dimoueri, vt posthac ex illo repetam, admo-
dum probabili cōiecturā. Siue igitur terra mo-
netur, immobilibus sphaeris cœlestibus & quie-
tis, vt nostro æuo Copernicus post Philolaum
& quosdam Pythagoricos sensit (de quibus cir-
ca operis huius initia) siue potius circa terram
immotam, globi cœlestes assiduo gyro rotan-
tur: vtrouis tamen modo, futurum est omnino,
vt tandem aliquantō remissiùs agant, & quo-
dammodo subsidant, suisque cursus citatissimi
impetum remorentur (si Deus velit ac sinat, &
quando volet ac sinet: cuius potestas æterna:
cuius manus non abbreviatur: cuius potentia
nullis æuis frangitur ac debilitatur: & cui mille
anni, velut dies vnus, vt sacrae paginae testantur)
Non quòd Pytois, Eous, Æthon & Phlegon,
Solis equi & quadrigæ, lassitudinem contra-
hant: non quòd Phaëthon labore fatigetur, aut
senio marcescat, aut contrahatur: non quòd
Atlas humeris tamdiu gestans ac sustentans O-
lympum, succumbat tandem oneri tanto. Hæc
sunt figmenta Poëtarum, aut delirantium som-
nia. sed quia mundus hic, qui ortum habuit a-
liquando, idem est & finem habiturus: contra
quàm Plato & Aristoteles senserunt; hic qui-
dem sine principio & fine: ille sine fine, ortum
tamen & creatum ab initio existimans. quod &
Philo Iudæus multis rationibus & argumentis
frustrā conatur demonstrare, vt alibi disceptabi-
mus. vbi & illud reuocabimus in quæstionem,
quod commentus est Origenes, plures antea
fuisse mundos: & hūc postremum verè quidem
desitūrum, nouūque deinceps excitandum:
essēque mundorum sibi inuicem succedentium
ætatē vt plurimū sex millium annorum. Si
ergo mundus habuit principium, vt credimus
ex Genes. cap. 1. & si verè scripsit Dauid Psalm.

101. Initio tu Domine terram fundasti, & opera
manuum tuarum sunt cœli. Ipsi peribunt, tu au-
tem idem permanes, & omnes sicut vestimen-
tum veterascent. Et sicut opertorium mutabis
eos, & mutabuntur: tu autem idem ipse es, &
anni tui non deficient. Et Ecclesiastic. cap. 17.
Quid lucidius Sole? & hic deficient. itēque
Isaias cap. 34. Tabescent omnis militia cœlorum:
& complicabuntur sicut liber, cœli: & omnis
militia eorum defluet, sicut defluit folium de
vineâ & de ficu (nam alibi tum ex eodem Pro-
pheta, tum ex 2. Petri 3. cap. de fine seculorum
per ignem referetur) Si hæc (inquam) vera sunt,
atque ita accipienda vt sonant (Hebræi enim ad
voluntatem Dei, non ad verum exitum & exi-
tium cœlorum videntur referre) omnino vide-
tur consentaneum, vt qui ocyssimè primū, ve-
lur in iuuenili ætatis flore mouebantur globi

N. alluso
de Solis &
astrorum
metu, ad
hominem
iuuenē &
Senem.

cœlestes, iidem paulatim velut ingrauescente
senio, tardiùs incedere occipiant: velut imitati
senum morem, qui in adolescentia & iuuentu-
te, citatissimo cursu contendunt: iidem senectu-
te intercepti, vix tandem lento passu innixi sci-
pionibus ingradientur. Aut quid aliud tandem
sonat illud Psalmographi? cœlos veterasce-
re profrentis? Verū vt orbium cœlestium mul-
tò longior est ætas humano vitæ curriculo: sic
motus agilitas multò vegetior & durabilior

A permanst: tandem tamen aliquando paulatim
desitura, quando is qui omnia condidit, iubebit
subsistere. Multū enim à Platonis, & Stoico-
rum, & eorum absum sententia, qui Solem, Lu-
nam, stellas, cœlum denique ipsum, Deos esse
immortales, animatos, intelligentes existimant;
imò & colunt, & impiè venerantur, vt Iob ipse
indicat cap. 31. vt Plinius, & recentes Chorogra-
phi, de multis populis, potissimū Orientali-
bus indicant; vt Cicero de natura Deorum, Pla-
to in Timæo, & omnis antiquitas profitetur; &
nostri Theologi arguunt, ac iure reprehendunt;
quin & Enniano versu constat illo apud Cic.
sæpe reperito,

B *Aspice hoc sublime candens, quem omnes inuocant
Iouem.*

Longè enim uerò mea differt ab illorum opi-
nionē sententia: non enim Solem, Lunam, stel-
las, Deos deputo, cultu aliquo venerandos: sed
Dei supremi eximia opera, suum artificem no-
biscum collaudantia, vt Danielis cap. 3. & Dau-
dis Psalm. 148. Laudate eum Sol & Luna, lau-
date eum omnes stellæ & lumen. Laudate eum
cœli cœlorum, &c. iterūque apertius Psalm.
18. Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei, & opera manuū
eius annuntiat firmamentum. Eccui autem mi-
rum debet videri, si cœlum senescere ac veteras-
cere dicimus? nōne & reliqua elementa con-
senescere videmus? vbi est illa primæua terræ
fertilitas? vbi maris & vndarum profluens v-
bertas? vbi aëris benigna temperies? vbi ho-
minum vitæ illa immensitas? An verum est,
quod Latinus poëta tanquam vaticinatus post
Pythagoram, inlāmat?

*Tempus edax rerum, inque inuidiosa vetustas,
Omnia destruit: vitæque dentibus æui,
Paulatim lentâ consumitis omnia morte.*

Ouid. 5. Metam. Scilicet omnia marcescunt,
omnia flaccescunt, omnia tabescunt. omnia tē-
dunt ad exitium: præter illum summum rerum
opificem Deum, qui vt principio, sic & fine ca-
ret, nec æui mutationi degit obnoxius, eternus,
immutabilis, incorruptibilis; nostrōque ani-
mos immortalitatis participes facit. Sed de his
alibi: vt tamen tum in his, tum in reliquis, quæ
ad fidem & religionem pertinent, Theologorū
sano iudicio atque æstimationi mihi semper ac-
quiescendum putem.

Et verò credant Astronomi se posse exactè
comprehendere, non modò quot diebus inte-
gris, aut quot horis, sed etiam quot horarum
momentis minutisve primis, secundis, tertiis,
quartis, quintis, sextis, Sol annuum conficiat
curriculum? cū tamen paucis annorum cen-
turiis, tot dierum interuallo pugnent Equino-
ctiorum & Solstitiorum assignata ab illis spa-
tia? Vt Iulij, & Augusti, & Vespasiani tempori-
bus, ex Plinio & priscais illis, æquinoctia & Sol-
sticia, 25. diem mensium infederint. Ad quam a-
nalogiam, intra annos 500. ego suppono quin-
decim dies paulò minùs superuenisse ad nostra
hæc vsque tempora. sic vt anno centesimo
quoto quoque dies propemodum vnus super-
ueniat: atque Gregoriano isti anno correctio-
nis, quinque paulò minùs dies toti adhuc exi-

N. Cælum
senescere
probat à se-
mili, de ele-
mentis, &
homine.

Dei &
animorum
æternitas.

N. ad Theo-
logos refert
sacrorum
Iudicium.

mensis superant, quam ego in sententiam faci-
le fecer, sed percurramus reliqua. Deinceps an-
no 328. siue ut alij, 325. quo anno (in id toto trien-
nio, à 171. anno imperij Constantini, ad 30. siue
ab anno Christi 326. ad annum 329. ut perhibent
& Nicephorus cap. 26. lib. 8. insinuat) Concilium
illud famosissimum & celebratissimum, & primū
ecumenicum, à Patribus & Episcopis 318. sub
Constantino Magno quodvis Arrium (quem
Attium vulgò nuncupant) est celebratum, &
quinoctium, v. n. m. ex Patrum decreto, ad
diem Martij, 21. ut auctum Apatoius, tunc recte
poris obseruauerat (ut eodem anno, dicitur, vni-
us spatio ambigeretur) ad 22. diem denotavit, &
de Solstitio eodem intelligas. Postea Iohannis de
Sacro-bosco ætate, anno 1246. ad 15. diem men-
siu ambobus participant. Nōstis autem istos
ulo, circa annum 1550. (6070. 80. ad diem mensi-
u, vel ut alij, videret) ad 16. diem (ante obitū
Episcopi anni Gregoriani) retrocesserint. Quod
est ætate, p. p. o. p. o. t. i. o. n. i. s. h. o. m. i. n. u. m. a. d. d. i. e. s. t. a. m. v. a. l. d. i. o. s. t. a. m. q. u. e. i. n. h. o. m. i. n. a. n. t. e. s. i. d. e. m. t. h. e. S. o. l. i. s. t. o. d. d. o. c. e. l. e. r. i. t. i. s. p. e. n. o. d. t. a. n. d. i. s. a. m. b. u. e. r. u. n. t. a. n. n. o. t. o. l. i. s. s. o. l. h. o. m. i. n. u. m. m. a. l. e. c. a. l. c. u. l. a. n. t. i. u. m. e. r. r. o. r. e. s. t. a. n. t.

mensibus nomina, sequens ætas aboleuit, ob-
similem à se nauatam in dñi restitutione opē-
ram, duos suis nominibus, menses nuncupatū,
qui olim ex ordine ac serie, ante additos à Nu-
ma Pompilio Ianuariū Februariūque, Quin-
tilis & Sextilis dicebantur, qui nunc ab illo tē-
pore, Iulius & Augustus denominantur, atque
ut correctum à se, vel potius ab Ægyptijs & As-
tronomis, dūce Soligene & Iulianum del se, dē-
que suo nomine annum Iulius nuncupauit. Sic
præter hos sacros ritus à se melius & sanctius
reformatos, & Concilij Tridentini auctoritate
confirmatos, & etiam noui Calendarij
obrectiois formula ad posteros in infinitum
transmissa, & p. o. n. o. n. & deus Gregorij XIII.
Papa sanctissimi, ab omni hominum obliuio-
nis, suo merito vindicaret, & p. o. n. o. n. & deus
Verum in dñi huius seculi, & futuri xui stul-
tiosos homines Astronomosque monitos hoc
lito velim, ut huic contemplationi accuratius
indumbant, & quæ vna ætas hominis, breui citi-
conscripta antiorum termino, & ætate definire
non potuit (id ex obseruatione præcipuum pau-
lō ante ostendi, & Prosentis de se, dēque suis
antecessoribus, protestatur) hoc ut plurimum deinceps
hominum doctorum, & contemplationi
huic dediturum, labentibus seculis, diligentia
& accuratio obsequatione, per ætates contin-
nuas successio, quadam definitur. Ad quam
obseruationis, in eundam rationem, & mirificā
probo veterum Alexandrinorum, Astrologorū
consilium, v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s. p. r. a. c. e. l. l. o. r. i. a. m. i. l. l. a. v. e. l. o. b. e. l. i. s. o. n. i. s. a. u. t. o. l. u. m. n. a. a. u. t. p. y. r. a. m. i. s. a. l. t. a. e. r. i. g. a. t. u. r. e. u. i. u. s. e. x. v. m. b. r. a. o. b. s. e. r. u. a. t. i. o. n. i. s. m. o. r. u. s. o. u. e. s. u. s. q. u. e. S. o. l. i. s. d. e. s. i. g. n. a. t. i. s. a. t. q. u. o. s. u. s. d. e. r. e. c. e. s. s. u. s. d. e. f. i. n. i. r. i. t. a. q. u. i. n. o. c. t. i. j. & S. o. l. i. t. i. j. d. i. e. s. c. e. r. p. t. o. d. e. p. r. e. h. e. n. d. i. h. u. e. a. t. S. i. o. e. n. i. m. a. l. l. e. a. p. h. o. r. e. c. a. p. 22. l. i. b. 2. H. i. s. o. b. s. e. r. u. a. t. i. o. n. i. b. u. s. p. a. t. e. t. p. a. r. u. a. s. a. d. m. o. d. u. m. h. o. r. u. m. d. i. f. f. e. r. e. n. t. i. a. s. a. n. n. o. r. u. m. f. u. i. s. s. e. S. e. d. i. n. s. o. l. i. t. i. a. l. i. b. u. s. s. p. e. c. i. e. n. t. e. n. o. s. n. e. c. A. r. c. h. i. m. e. d. e. m. i. n. o. b. s. e. r. u. a. t. i. o. n. e. a. t. q. u. e. c. o. m. p. u. t. a. t. i. o. n. e. a. d. q. u. a. r. t. a. m. v. s. q. u. e. p. a. r. t. e. m. d. i. e. i. e. r. a. t. e. (v. b. i. v. e. l. i. m. o. b. i. t. e. r. a. n. n. o. t. e. s. i. n. g. e. n. t. i. a. m. s. u. m. m. i. m. a. t. h. e. m. a. t. i. c. i. c. o. n. f. e. s. s. i. o. n. e. m. v. t. d. e. t. r. i. u. i. a. l. i. b. u. s. i. l. l. i. s. q. u. i. d. i. s. t. a. r. u. i. d. e. b. e. a. t. p. a. n. i. m. o. c. o. n. c. i. p. i. a. s.) e. x. i. e. n. t. e. t. a. m. e. n. i. n. a. q. u. a. l. i. t. a. s. a. n. n. u. i. t. e. m. p. o. r. i. s. a. b. a. r. m. i. l. l. a. æ. t. h. e. a. q. u. a. i. n. p. o. r. t. i. c. i. s. s. e. n. t. i. f. o. r. n. i. c. e. q. u. a. d. r. a. t. o. (s. i. c. e. n. i. m. v. o. c. a. t. u. r.) A. l. e. x. a. n. d. r. i. e. c. o. l. l. o. c. a. t. a. e. s. t. i. n. t. e. l. l. i. g. i. p. o. t. e. s. t. d. i. e. s. e. n. i. m. i. n. h. o. r. a. æ. q. u. i. n. o. c. t. a. n. i. s. i. g. n. i. f. i. c. a. r. i. v. i. d. e. t. u. r. i. l. l. e. i. n. q. u. o. i. n. c. i. p. i. t. a. b. i. a. t. e. r. a. p. a. r. t. e. c. a. u. a. l. e. i. u. s. s. u. p. e. r. f. i. c. i. e. s. i. l. l. u. m. i. n. a. r. i. S. e. d. d. e. P. l. i. n. i. o. p. l. a. c. e. t. s. u. m. i. l. l. a. q. u. a. d. a. m. i. n. d. i. c. a. r. e. n. o. n. v. t. a. b. i. l. l. o. i. n. u. e. n. i. a. p. r. i. m. o. a. n. t. h. o. r. e. A. s. t. r. o. l. o. g. i. æ. q. u. i. d. a. m. s. t. u. d. i. o. r. i. f. o. m. o. n. t. a. m. e. n. h. u. i. c. s. t. u. d. i. o. p. r. i. u. a. t. i. u. m. d. e. d. i. t. o. a. u. t. i. n. a. n. c. i. p. a. t. o. s. e. d. a. l. i. o. r. u. m. e. x. c. o. g. i. t. a. t. a. a. c. u. m. i. n. o. & h. u. i. u. s. d. i. l. i. g. e. n. t. i. a. i. n. b. i. b. l. i. o. t. h. e. c. a. m. n. a. t. u. r. a. r. e. t. u. m. v. e. l. u. t. i. n. æ. t. a. p. u. b. l. i. c. a. t. e. l. a. t. a. s. i. c. e. n. i. m. c. a. p. 72. l. i. b. 2. S. o. l. i. s. v. m. b. i. l. i. t. i. (q. u. e. m. g. n. o. m. o. n. e. m. a. p. p. e. l. l. a. n. t) v. m. b. r. a. i. n. Æ. g. y. p. t. o. m. e. r. i. d. i. a. n. o. t. e. m. p. o. r. e. æ. q. u. i. n. o. c. t. i. j. d. i. e. p. a. u. d. o. p. l. u. s. q. u. a. m. d. i. m. i. d. i. a. m. g. n. o. m. o. n. i. s. i. n. e. n. s. u. r. a. t. a. m. e. f. f. i. c. i. t. i. n. v. r. b. e. R. o. m. æ. v. o. n. a. p. a. r. s. g. n. o. m. o. n. i. s. d. e. e. s. t. v. m. b. r. a. i. n. o. p. p. i. d. o. A. n. c. o. n. a. s. u. p. e. r. e. s. t. q. u. i. n. t. a. t. r. i. c. e. s. i. m. a. i. n. p. a. r. t. e. I. t. a. l. i. æ. q. u. a. V. e. n. e. t. i. a. a. p. p. e. l. l. a. t. u. r. e. i. s. d. e. m. h. o. r. i. s. v. m. b. r. a. g. n. o. m. o. n. i. p. a. r. t. i. t. d. e. S. y. e. n. e. o. p. p. i. d. o. c. i. u. s. q. u. e.

N. dubium:
S. q. d. d.
D. e. i. s. u. s. s. i. m.
h. u. i. c. f. i. a. n. t.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.

Hominiū
vanitas &
curiositas.

Veror p. p. i. s.
e. o. r. i. s. a. p. o. s. s. e. r. a. v. a. n. d. e.
d. i. g. n. o. s. c. i. t. u. r.
a. b. e. x. e. m. p. l. o.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.

Deus hominum ingētia voluit hæc datere. S. a. n. t. o. r. g. a. m. A. s. t. r. o. n. o. m. o. s. f. a. l. l. u. n. t. a. n. c. l. i. m. a. t. u. m. d. i. u. e. r. s. i. t. a. s. i. s. t. a. m. d. i. s. c. o. r. e. p. a. n. t. i. a. m. o. p. i. n. i. o. n. u. m. p. e. p. e. r. i. t. a. n. c. u. m. S. a. p. i. e. n. t. i. l. i. c. e. t. d. i. c. e. r. e. C. u. n. c. t. æ. r. e. s. d. i. f. f. i. c. i. l. e. s. n. o. n. p. o. t. e. s. t. h. a. s. h. o. m. i. n. o. e. x. p. l. i. c. a. t. o. f. e. r. m. o. n. e. H. a. n. t. e. o. c. c. u. p. a. t. i. o. n. e. m. p. e. s. s. i. m. a. m. d. e. d. i. t. D. e. u. s. f. i. l. i. s. h. o. m. i. n. u. m. v. t. o. c. c. u. p. a. r. e. n. t. u. r. i. n. l. e. a. c. a. p. o. r. l. E. c. c. l. e. s. i. a. s. t. a. V. e. r. b. a. s. u. n. t. p. l. a. c. i. m. a. l. m. u. l. t. a. m. q. u. e. i. n. d. i. s. p. u. t. a. n. d. o. h. a. b. e. a. n. t. i. a. v. a. n. i. t. a. t. e. m. c. a. p. 6. Q. u. i. d. n. e. c. e. s. s. e. e. s. t. h. o. m. i. n. i. m. a. i. o. r. a. s. e. q. u. æ. r. e. n. t. E. c. c. l. e. s. i. a. h. o. c. i. n. u. e. n. i. d. i. x. i. t. E. c. c. l. e. s. i. a. s. t. e. s. v. n. u. m. & a. l. t. e. r. u. m. v. t. i. n. u. e. n. i. r. e. m. r. a. t. i. o. n. e. m. q. u. a. m. a. d. h. u. c. q. u. æ. r. i. t. a. n. i. m. a. m. e. a. & n. o. n. i. n. u. e. n. i. c. a. p. 7. S. o. l. u. m. h. o. d. o. h. o. c. i. n. u. e. n. i. q. u. o. d. f. e. c. e. r. i. t. D. e. u. s. h. o. m. i. n. e. m. f. e. q. u. i. t. u. m. & i. p. s. e. s. e. i. n. f. i. n. i. t. i. s. m. i. s. e. r. e. n. t. q. u. æ. s. t. i. o. n. i. b. u. s. & q. u. æ. m. u. l. t. a. a. u. t. h. o. r. i. t. e. i. n. h. a. n. t. e. s. e. n. t. e. n. t. i. a. m. b. e. n. i. u. b. i. d. V. i. d. e. n. t. q. u. æ. a. u. t. e. m. r. e. s. c. a. d. a. t. & q. u. æ. m. l. i. b. e. t. æ. c. c. u. r. a. r. e. s. i. n. g. u. l. a. p. e. r. l. u. s. t. r. e. n. t. & o. b. s. e. r. u. a. n. d. o. d. o. f. i. g. n. e. n. t. h. o. m. i. n. e. s. a. c. u. t. i. s. s. i. m. i. & A. s. t. r. o. n. o. m. i. p. e. r. i. t. i. s. s. i. m. i. q. u. a. m. v. e. t. e. r. e. q. u. a. m. q. u. e. c. e. r. t. o. s. e. r. a. t. a. n. d. e. m. p. o. s. t. e. r. i. t. a. s. a. n. i. m. a. d. u. e. r. e. t. c. l. a. r. e. a. p. t. e. q. u. e. d. i. u. i. d. i. c. a. b. i. n. f. i. c. i. u. t. i. n. u. c. t. a. n. d. e. m. i. m. o. m. u. l. t. o. i. a. m. a. n. t. e. s. u. p. e. r. i. o. r. i. b. u. s. s. e. c. u. l. i. s. e. s. t. a. m. a. i. o. r. i. b. u. s. n. o. s. t. r. i. s. o. b. s. e. r. u. a. t. u. m. p. l. u. s. c. u. l. o. s. d. i. e. s. (e. g. o. a. z. a. b. a. n. n. o. A. u. g. u. s. t. i. o. a. d. h. u. n. d. G. r. e. g. o. r. i. a. n. u. m. s. u. p. p. o. n. e. b. a. m.) v. e. r. e. c. a. l. c. u. l. o. a. c. c. e. p. i. s. s. e. q. u. i. d. o. c. u. m. æ. q. u. i. n. o. c. t. i. j. & S. o. l. i. t. i. j. v. t. r. i. u. s. q. u. e. c. o. n. f. u. d. e. r. i. n. t. N. u. n. c. t. a. m. e. n. & m. e. l. i. u. s. & s. e. r. e. c. t. i. u. s. c. e. r. u. i. s. q. u. e. (q. u. a. n. t. u. m. h. u. m. a. n. o. d. a. t. u. r. i. n. g. e. n. i. o. & q. u. a. t. e. n. u. s. p. r. æ. s. e. n. t. i. j. s. e. c. u. l. o. i. u. d. i. c. a. r. e. l. i. c. e. t.) c. o. n. s. t. i. t. u. t. u. m. & d. e. f. i. n. i. t. u. m. a. t. q. u. e. s. t. a. b. i. l. i. t. u. m. o. p. e. r. a. & i. n. d. u. s. t. r. i. a. c. l. a. r. i. s. s. i. m. i. M. e. d. i. c. i. & a. c. u. t. i. s. s. i. m. i. M. a. t. h. e. m. a. t. i. c. i. A. l. o. i. s. i. j. L. i. l. i. j. s. u. b. c. u. i. u. s. c. o. r. r. e. c. t. i. o. n. e. m. & r. e. f. o. r. m. a. t. i. o. n. e. m. c. o. m. p. r. o. b. a. t. a. m. d. i. x. i. m. u. s. a. u. t. h. o. r. i. t. a. t. e. S. S. P. o. n. t. i. f. i. c. i. s. M. a. x. G. r. e. g. o. r. i. j. X. I. I. I. C. a. l. e. n. d. a. r. i. u. m. p. r. o. m. u. l. g. a. t. u. m. a. c. r. e. f. o. r. m. a. t. u. m. i. n. q. u. o. d. e. x. e. o. c. a. s. u. a. d. æ. t. e. r. n. a. m. r. e. i. m. e. m. o. r. i. a. m. G. r. e. g. o. r. i. a. n. u. m. i. n. t. e. s. t. c. o. g. n. o. m. i. n. a. t. u. m. v. e. l. s. a. n. e. m. e. m. o. n. i. t. o. r. e. c. o. g. n. o. m. i. n. a. n. d. a. m. V. t. q. u. e. m. a. d. m. o. d. u. m. I. u. l. i. u. s. o. l. i. m. & A. u. g. u. s. t. u. s. C. æ. s. a. r. e. s. (q. u. o. s. & a. l. i. j. d. e. i. n. c. e. p. s. m. u. l. t. i. I. m. p. e. r. a. t. o. r. e. s. R. o. m. a. n. i. s. u. n. t. æ. m. u. l. a. t. i. s. s. e. d. i. n. d. i. t. a. s. u. a.

N. adhor-
tatio ad po-
steros de cor-
rectione &
restitutione
anni.

Mira &
landabilis
historia A.
strologorū
Ægyptio-
rum, in ob-
seruatione
cursum So-
lis.

Ad hoc q. d.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
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v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.

Ad hoc q. d.
v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.
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v. n. l. o. c. o. p. p. o. i. c. i. o. n. i. s.

Historia de
gnomone
Augusti
Rom. ad
captandas
Solis um-
bras &c.
eiusque cō-
structio,
qualis.

Quod gno-
mones isti
tempore e-
narrat, qua
dere.

N. admoni-
tio ad Ma-
thematicos,
de construc-
tu gnomo-
nibus, eo-
rumque for-
ma & visi-
minime fal-
laci, quor-
sum.

Quod talia
quāvis ac-
curata ar-
tificio, sepe
fallant, ta-
men.

N. Apostro-
phe ad Hē-
ricum Re-
gem: eius-
que clausu-
la simili.

N. corre-
ctio ad
Gregoriani

puteo, & de Hypasi Indiæ flumine, deque Me-
roë, & locis Indiæ æquæ, umbræque carenti-
bus, dixi iam paulò antè: hoc autem à me obi-
ter antea commemoratum, deinceps explico.
Obelisco siue gnómoni ei, qui est in campo
(Martio) Diuus Augustus addidit mirabilem v-
sum, ad deprehendendas Solis umbras, dierum-
que ac noctium magnitudines; strato lapide ad
obelisci magnitudinem, cui par fieret umbra
Romæ confecto die, sexta horâ, paulatimque
per regulas (quæ erant ex ære inclusæ) singu-
lis diebus decresceret, ac rursus augesceret: di-
gna cognita res, & ingenio fecundo. Manlius
mathematicus apici auratam pilam addidit, cu-
ius vertice umbra colligeretur in semetipsam,
alia atque alia incrementa iaculante apice, ra-
tione (vt ferunt) à capite hominis intellecta.
Hæc obseruatio (ait Plinius cap. 10. lib. 36.) tri-
ginta iam ferè annis non congruit: siue So-
lis ipsius dissono cursu, & cœli aliqua ratio-
ne mutato: siue vniuersa tellure aliquid à cen-
tro suo dimotâ, vt deprehendi & in aliis lo-
cis accipio: siue vrbis tremoribus, ibi tantum
gnomone intorto: siue inundationibus Tibe-
ris, sedimento molis facto: quamquam ad al-
titudinem impositæ rei, in terram quoque di-
cantur iacta fundamenta. Quem locum Plinij
insignem diligenter obseruent, moneo, qui-
cunque æquinoctiorum & solstiorum ratio-
nem indagant ac venantur; tum vt similibus
gnomonibus umbras solares capient, atque
metiantur; ex istis incrementa & decremen-
ta & stationes designent, ad geminorum æ-
quinoctiorum, geminorumque solstiorum
tempus statum deprehendendum: tum vt fa-
cto iam alieno periculo cauti discant, exacta
ista interualla humano artificio captari ac de-
signari non posse; sic vt simili se semper mo-
do habeant: aut vt ex his credant, non modò
quot diebus integris, sed etiam quot horis, &
quot horarum momentis, exactè Solaris an-
nus cursus constet & absoluat, definiri &
statui absolute posse.

Te verò HENRICE IV. Rex regum opti-
me ac mitissime, hoc loco cohortabor, vt in
isto per te pacato rerum Gallicarum statu, se-
datoque (Deo duce & auspice) bellorum ciui-
lium, velut sæuæ tempestatis, tumultu & im-
petu atque procella, quo de Neptuni tridente
modo tradunt Poëtæ ac Mythologici; præter
cæteras eximias & regiâs occupationes, regni-
que iustam & placidam administrationem, &
ouilis Gallici tibi à Deo curam traditam ac
demandatam; animum istum planè regium ac
ferenum & splendidum, Alexandrum Ma-
gnum imitatus, ad mathematicas has artes ap-
plices, & in huius gloriæ partem correctio-
nis anni, socium te & comitem Gregorio Pa-
pæ adiungas, ipso cognomine bene ominanti,
Boncompagnono: sic vt dici de vtroq. vestrum
iure possit, quod olim Virgilius de suo Octauio
gloriosè cecinit,

Diuisum imperium cum Ioue Cæsar habet.

Sentio enim ad perfectam anni correctionem,
aliquid adhuc deesse, quod tua regalis munifi-

centia facilè sarciet. vt quomodo iam olim Iu-
lij auunculi maximos & mirabilissimos cona-
tus, Octauij adiutrix opera plurimum promo-
uit, & annum bene iam à priore Pontifice Iu-
lio institutum, posterior Pontifex Augustus
(erant enim Pontifices pridem, qui & Impera-
tores) ad suam perfectionem demum consti-
tuit. sic tu summo Pontifici, si non & ipse Pon-
tifex, at sacer tamen, & Augustus accedas, anno
deinceps planè & perfectè componendo con-
stituendoque & socius & comes futurus, Habes
in Gallia & multa & præclara ingenia: habes
in Germania huius studij & artis mathemati-
cæ multos coryphæos: quos propositis libera-
libus præmiis salariisque, ad huius operis so-
cietatem industrios & gnauos operarios faci-
lè euocabis. Interim verò suadeo (quamquam
me suatore aut monitore non egesset, quum per
te sapias satis) vt in ista tua Luparensi regia, aut
regiis illis dictis Tegulis, nouo & illustri &
regali planè ædificio, quodam loco amplo, e-
dito, aprico, aperto, bene iactis fundamen-
tis, æquabili solo, nec terræ trepidationi ob-
noxio, vndique constrato lapide quadrato,
polito, æquabili, vnito, læui, in orbem cir-
cumducta arcâ, Gnómonem vel obeliscum
excites marmoreum, aut æneum, aut de qua-
cunque dura & viuaci solidaque videbitur ma-
teria; procerum, rectum, acuminatum, isto-
rum Ægyptiorum vel Romanorum æmulum,
quos antè indicavi, sempiternum tuæ laudis
futurum monumentum: cuius ex umbra cres-
cente, decrescente, consistente, in hanc vel
in illam partem vergente; dierum incremen-
tum, ac decrementum, æquinoctiorum & sol-
stiorum statos dies, ac si fieri possit, horas li-
neis inductis, vel notis apposis, summa cum
animi voluptate cernas inambulans, & in li-
bera animi remissione, lubens atque hilaris
lætusque, nobili cateruâ septus circumsan-
te & applaudente ac gratulante, contem-
pleris.

D *Fælices anime, quibus hæc cognoscere primum,*

Inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!

Credibile est illos pariter virisque iocisque

Altius humanis exernisse caput.

Non Venus & vinum sublimia pectora fregit,

Officiumque fori, militiaque labor.

Nec leuis ambitio; persudæque pectora fuco.

Magnarumque fames sollicitauit opum.

Admonere oculis distantia sidera nostris:

Ætheræque ingenio supposuere suo.

Sic petitur cælum: non ut ferat Ossan Olympus,

Summaque Pelicæ sidera tangat apex.

Fast. 1. Maçte ingenio este, cœli interpretes,
rerumque naturæ capaces, argumenti reper-
tores, quo Deos hominésque vicistis! Viri
ingentes, supràque mortalium naturam, tan-
torum numinum lege deprehensâ; & miserâ
hominum mente absolutâ! vt egregio epiphon-
emate in Astrologorum & summorum Ma-
thematicorum laudem exclamat Plinius cap.
12. lib. 2. de quibus hoc in genere præfatus,
deinceps cum Aloisio priuatim mihi duco di-
cendum, & bona cum venia communicandum;

manca da
cit, modum
que præscr-
bit restitu-
di in inte-
gram, a si-
mili.

Latini Gal-
lorum &
Germano-
rum vt in
Mathesi, sic
in reliquis
disciplinis.

Epiphone-
ma in lau-
dem Astro-
logorum exi-
miorum.

N. adhor-
tatio ad eos-
dem, et ce-
lebre enco-
mium.

non docendi, sed discendi, vt ingenuè profiteor, studio.

Ergo mi Aloisi Lili candidissime ac floridissime, magna est profectò laus tua, & omnibus encomiis celebranda industria, paritèrque extollenda fortuna atque conditio: tum qui acutissime ingenij, ea de tenebris erueris, quæ ferè hæcenus latuerant: tum qui iam indicata à nonnullis, vt Stoëserino, & aliis recentioribus, primus orbi Christiano produxeris: tum qui tuæ inuentionis laudatorem & approbatorem, non quemlibet de populo; sed summum Pontificem nactus sis illum vigilantissimum

N. alluso ad Gregorij nomen.

N. timide ac sensim probat & arguit errorem Lili & omissionem. N. diligentia in euoluendis priscorum libris.

παιδρα καὶ ὁ Γρηγόριον. cuius sub auspiciis, anni correctionem aut numeris omnibus absolutam, aut ad perfectionis culmen proximè accedentem inuulgasti. Verumtamen si mihi licet candidè & verè ac liberè dicere quod sentio; illud ad laudum tuarum cumulum videtur deesse, quòd de æquinoctiis & solstitiis nullam admodum mentionem fecisti; quo mensis vñtati die, horum vnumquodque hoc æuo contingat. Dixi enim & probaui ex veterum monumentis (plura de mathematicis libris authorum & priscorum & recentium petet, cui plus erit otij: nobis neque placuit, neque vacauit nunc quidem plura venari aut indagare) iam olim ex vetustissima obseruatione, in vigesimumquintum diem Martij, Iunij, Septembris, Decembris incurrisse: sed ex inconstanti calculo, propter subingressos dies complures, paulatim solitum terminum anticipasse: ac sub Constantino Magno, ad 12. Calend. Aprilis, id est 21. Martij diem, æquinoctium vernale fuisse antegressum, circa annum 325. quo tempore œcumenica illa Synodus Nicæna longè omnium famosissima & vniuersalis est celebrata. deinde pluribus elapsis seculis, tempore Iohannis Hieroxylini, circa annum Domini 1256. ad diem 15. mensis decubuisse. postremò à Contareno Cardinale dici scribitur (si modò verè & exactè) ad diem 10. mensis anteuertisse nostro hoc penè seculo: vixit enim sub Paulo III. circa annum Domini 1540. aut 50. annos vix ante nos, 40. aut 50. sed malè seruata proportione, quatuor dierum in primo illo termino à Iulio ad Constantinum, vix intra annos 350. deinde sex dierum in secundo termino, à Constantino Magno ad Iohannem illum Sacro-bosciū, fortè intra annos 926. quid enim intermedio tempore acciderit, non memini me legere; siue barbaries ea secula occupauit; siue conquirendis Arabum potissimum scriptis mathematicis, aut aliorum quorundam editis hac de re monumentis non incidi: quam curam aliis relinquo, & vltrò moneo vt satagant, ac suppleant. Porro vltimus terminus, qui annos circiter 326. continet, toros dies sex anteuertit: quod parum fit verisimile. Vt Iohannes ille de Sacro-bosco minùs accuratè subduxisse; nostri vix dum satis exactè rem perpendisse, & accuratè subduxisse calculum videantur, vt ex dictis & dicendis patère puto. Ego verò correctoribus hanc existimo tacitam curam fuisse,

N. arguit Io. Sacrobosculum vt imperfectū sed & Recentiorum.

vt æquinoctia & solstitia ad eam formam reducerent, in qua extitisse notauimus Nicænorum Patrum seculo, anno Dom. 325. aut 28. (mallem ad annum vsque Iulium ascendissent, quo dixi priùs modo) Sic enim putabant fore; demptis de medio decem diebus, qui toti ex eo tempore accreuerant; ac post illam refectionem factam anno 1582. iuncto post illam subtractionem, nono Decembris die ad vicesimum eiusdem mensis diem immediatè (quo interuallo, decem integri dies continentur) & sic in posterum labente annorum curriculo, vt æquinoctium vernum (quod vnum ac solum nostri spectarunt, & præcipuum norunt, ac nominarunt) in diem 21. Martij, autumnale autem, in diem 21. Septembris incideret. similiterque solstitium æstiuum in diem 21. Iunij; hybernum autem in 21. Decembris recideret (namque dato vno, reliqua ferè per analogiam sequuntur, vt antè dixi) sic enim ferè trimestri semper interuallo, æquinoctia sese atque solstitia subsequuntur. Licet Sol singulis mensibus nouum signum in Zodiaco ingrediatur, non primo mensis die, sed circa decimumquintum. sunt qui ferè ad 18. vt ex Plinio patuit: sunt qui celebriùs, ad 20. 12. 14. referant: alij medio quodam & diuerso dierum numero: ego ad 15. suppono; sic vt menses singulos signa singula ordine diuidant, ac velut dimidiant: & duos integros menses duobus dimidiatis mensibus, æquinoctia solstitiaque connectant. De istis dixi iam antè tum ex aliis, tum ex Plinio, lib. 18. cap. 25. 26. 27. 28. ex quo etiam adiciere nunc placet, ex cap. 19. lib. 2. Sol autem ipse quatuor differentias habet, bis æquata nocte diei, Vere & Autumno, & in centrum incidens terræ, octauis in partibus Arietis ac Librae: bis permutatis spatiis in auctum diei, brumâ, octaua in parte Capricorni: noctis verò, solstitio totidem in partibus Cancræ. Inæqualitatis causa, obliquitas est Signiferi; quum pars æqua mundi super subterque terras omnibus fiat momentis. sed quæ recta in exortu suo consurgunt signa, longiore tractu tenent lucem: quæ verò obliqua, ocyore transcunt spatio. Quem locum aliunde productum, iam antè ex Sacro-bosco exposui, & nunc breuiter repero. Dixerunt veteres, quòd Sol intrat nouum signum 15. Calend. alicuius mensis (id est 17. aut 18. die mensium singulorum) & octauo die post, dixerunt esse solstitium vel æquinoctium (nempe solstitium æstiuum, 24. die Iunij; hybernum autem, 25. Decembris: æquinoctium autem vernum, 25. Martij; autumnale verò, 24. Septembris.) Gaza id pridem monuit, anni correctionem necessariam insinuans. Cæterum de exemptili die (inquietat) consideratio suscipienda est; & quod visum fuerit, Latini admonendi sunt, vt idem amplexantes, annum sibi corrigant: sic enim inter nos conueniret. Exemptilis enim die iam longo tempore nulla ratione initâ, solstitia nostra ætate multò anteuertunt diem mensis ab initio solstitialem constitutum. De

N. indicat scopum priscorum, in reducendum æquinoctium et solstitium, vt olim tempore Nicæni Consilij.

Solstitiorum ad æquinoctia analogia, in diebus & mensibus, qualis.

Soli differentia quatuor per quaternam anni tempora, quales: et quòd.

Sol quoto mensis die nouum signum intret: & quòd octauo post die, Solstitium sit vel æquinoctium, quomodo.

Petro

N. de Pie-
rio senten-
tia, & quo
tempore fla-
tuerit.

Bruma
quid est
quo mensis
die.

Quid in-
comodi ex
errore cal-
culi subse-
quatur.

Cyclum Lu-
naris 19.
malè con-
stat Alpho-
se: quo
seculo fla-
tuerit.

Petro Messia memini iam antè. Pierius Vale-
rianus ad Alexand. Farnesium Cardinalem de
sphæra scribens, quadam ex parte errauit,
quadam autem parte rem acu tangit. Constat
ab Octauiani Augusti tempore (ait) ad hanc vs-
que diem, qui anni fluxere 36. supra mille &
quingentos, Solem quatuordecim fermè dies
progressum. Nam eo tempore, vt obseruat Plin-
ius (locis à me citatis) brumæ dies 25. Decem-
bris erat; quo die natus est Christus assertor
noster. Bruma verò, si ea est ingressus Capricor-
ni, nunc est, vt plerique supputant, statim ab
eiusdem mensis vndecimo. Græci tamen bru-
mam, & tres alios Cardinales, octauo omnes
gradu Capricorni, Arietis, Cancræ & Libræ
statuunt (quam rationem sequi Plinium iam
antea ostendi) sed hæc alia est consideratio. Dil-
igētiore quidam vndeuginti dies deprehen-
dēre, qui iam debent intercalari. Quare nisi
annus aliquando corrigatur, vt Leonis X. tem-
pore, sapientissimus auus tuus, maximus ho-
die Pontifex faciendum censebat; futurum o-
lim est, vt salutis nostræ natalitij dies, qui bru-
males olim erant, in vernum tempus inua-
dant, Pascha in æstatem. Hæc ille, sed quàm
verè, & quatenus, ex iis patet quæ antè de-
monstrauimus tantum enim abest, vt dies 19. inter-
calari debeant, vt potius eximi non tamen toti,
debuerint. & qui brumam interpretetur ex
Plinio, ipse viderit: nam & fallit & fallitur, vt
antè ostendi. Iohannes Fernellius, qui æuo no-
stro in eximium euasit medicum, iuuenilibus
annis dum mathematicis incumberet (quæ me-
dicinam & ornant & locupletant plurimum)
in hanc mentionem incidit lib. 2. monhalo-
sphærij cap. seu prop. 6. vbi cycli decennoue-
nalis errorum fatetur; & minorem annis 19.
Iulianis deputat vna horâ & minutis 28. At
iuxta Alphonsum contrà, cyclus Lunaris no-
uemdecim annis constans, annos Alphonsinos
19. vna horâ & minutis 56. superaret. Idem, à
Nicænæ Synodi tempore ad sua tempora, in-
tra annos 1204. ad quatuor propè dies succre-
uisse, admodum probabiliter colligit illum cy-
clum Lunarem: & ab eodem anno Nicæni
Concilij, ad nostram hanc ætatem, & annum
quo scribebat, 1525. anticipasse dies paulò mi-
nus vndecim. annum porrò Iulium, vndecim
ferè minutis horæ maiorem esse quàm satis sit
(de aliorum opinione multum varia & discre-
panti, iam antè monui: rarus est, qui idem
cum altero sentiat) sic vt annis trecentis ad v-
num diem excrescat cyclus Lunaris: error au-
tem cycli Solaris, siue additio intercalarium
dierum, intra annos illos 300. ad duos dies &
sex horas adaugeri videatur. cui ego sententiæ,
non Fernellij, sed Stoësterini, & multorum vi-
rorum doctissimorum, volens & sciens subscri-
berem: Nisi potius, vt dixi, centesimo quodque
anno dies vnus superat: & intra annos 1500. ro-
ti quindecim dies accreuerunt. vt quæ olim sol-
stitia & æquinoctia, die mensis 25. incidebat;
nunc ex nostra confessione, ad decimum diem
anticiparint. Ita vt in ista correctione anni Gre-
goriani, non decem modò dies eximendi fue-

rint, sed toti quindecim: & decem iam sublatis,
quinque eximendi supersint. Qua ratione, non
ad tempora Nicæni Concilij, sed prisca illa Iulij
& Augusti Cæsarum reuoluemur, nempe 25. die
mensium, Equinoctia & Solstitia dimensuri
hæc ego ad Fernellium adiicienda iudicauimus. Vnde
concludit, & verè (meo quidem iudicio) ni-
piè Ecclesia tanto succurrisset errori, quandò-
que futurum fuisse, vt sacra solemnitas Paschæ
mense tertio aut quarto post Martium, primum
olim mensem habitum, celebraretur. de quo
præcipitio multi etiam alij admonuerunt; quos
nunc prudens ac sciens prætermitto, vt Alber-
tum, Pighium, Stoësterum, & sanè complures
B alios. illud modò dicam; Stoësterinum illustrem
mathematicum, non multis antè annis, viam
huic errori corrigendo velut præstrauisse; ac
præstruxisse, & Aloisio aperuisse. Primum vt dies
verni æquinoctij constitueretur; deinde seruato
& correcto numero aureo, vt cyclus Lunaris
fallax aboleretur; reliqua deinde leui operâ, ad
veras oppositiones, & verum æquinoctium ver-
num redigerentur ac stabiliarentur. Enimuerò
vt liberè dicam quod sentio (bona tamen cum
superiorum venia, & Patrum blanda correctio-
ne, si quid dico perperam) Quando semel sus-
cipienda fuit necessaria Calendarij Roma-
ni correctio; vtique adhibitis in id consilium
C omnibus omnium nationum doctissimis qui-
busque Mathematicis, & publico sumptu per-
veredarios, aut publico diplomate conuoca-
tis (quales potissimum fert alitque Germania,
& patrum nostrorum memoria principes tulit
Astronomos, non istos de vulgò Almanachi-
stas) negotium tantum tamque magni momen-
ti in toto orbe Christiano futurum, summa ac-
curatione cautioneque fuit conficiendum; vt
nihil esset in posterum, quod nostra, aut quod
posterorum ætas admodum posset desiderare
(absolutè enim confici posse in omne æuum,
mihi quidem non videtur) aut quod exactissima
D trutina, vel momi cuiuslibet adeo fastidiosa &
scrupulosa calculatio, seu Græcè *μαυς λογισμὸς* posset iure vel reprehendere, vel omis-
sum erratumque deprehendere.

Quamvis autem ingenuos Liliorum conatus
(quos eo nomine vel tantò plus diligo, quod
Lilia Francica, sui candore nominis ac suau-
tatè æmulentur; & quod eam artem profitean-
tur, quam ego vnice amplector & colo) pluri-
mum probem, ac summopere dilaudem, neque
parem gratiam putem illis à posteris, suoque
dignam labore referri posse: Tamen vnum est
hoc postremum, quod monere vel percontari
non verebor, & adhibita ratione atque hi-
E storiâ, cum hominibus rationis optimæ com-
poribus, & historiæ tum sacræ & Ecclesiasti-
cæ, tum gentilis & prophanæ apprimè gna-
ris, ingenuè ac modèstè, non docendi (quod
arrogantiæ crimen à me sum iam amolitus)
sed discendi & communicandi gratiâ paulò
copiosius & enucleatius disserere. Atque vt
res, qua de agitur, cæteris fortè hæc aliquan-
do lecturis innotescat; historia primum sic
est breuiter & summatim concipienda, quæ

EEE

N. se suad
que subdit
maiorum
censura.

N. queri-
tur ad an-
ni correctio-
nem non
fuisse adhi-
bitos exi-
mios omniū
gentiū Ma-
thematicos:
quorsum.

N. cur Li-
lios tanto-
pere laudes
& probet.

N. modèstè
cum Liliis
expositur.

N. accedis paulatim ad historiam instituti Concilij Nicæni, & quorsum.

Propositio dicendorum.

Causa conuocati primæ Concilij Nicæni ad Pascha diem constituendum.

Origo eiusdem Concilij vnde.

Pascha primum quo die & mense olim institutum est quorsum.

Azymarum dies quo ritu celebrandi, & quare.

Azuma quot diebus & quibus edenda sint & vnde dicantur.

pluribus & verbis & capitibus & libris in tota historia Ecclesiastica, tum apud Eusebium, tum apud Nicephorum, tum apud Rufinum, tum apud tripartitæ historiæ authores, Socratem, Sozomenum, Theodorum identidem repetitur ac disceptatur, præcipuèque Eusebij lib. 5. Nicephori lib. 4. capitibus vltimis, & lib. 12. atque historiæ Tripartitæ lib. 2. cap. 12. & deinceps sequentibus multis. Vbi autem historia patuerit, eiusque ratio innotuerit, tum ad Liliis nostra speciatim conuertetur oratio, præcipuè ad Canonem VI. qui de festis mobilibus inscribitur. quo confecto negotio, ad meos medicos, & parturientes mulierculas interim quirantes, postmodum regrediar, de anno menstruo & Lunari, & quæ videbuntur huic tractationi necessaria, subiungatur.

Fuit igitur iam olim grauis & seria contentio inter viros Ecclesiasticos maiores nostros excitata, de solemnibus & perpetuo ritu celebrandi Pascharis. cuius prima quidem iam olim talis quædam fuit (vt rem à capite arcessam) à Propheta ex diuino præcepto promulgata institutio. Moses accepto Dei iussu, egressurus de Ægypto, & populum Israheliticum post annum captiuitatis Pharaonicæ 430. liberaturus, ad perpetuam rei & beneficii tanti memoriam, præcepit filiis Israhel, vt mense anni primo (qui & mensis nouarum frugum est ac dicitur, ibi maturius, ob regionis & climatis æstus, quàm apud nos exortarum) decima die mensis, per singulas familias, quæ agno edendo sufficiant, agnum masculum anniculum sine macula, similiter & hædum sibi comparent, seruèntque ad diem mensis eiusdem decimum quartum: quem vtrumque sub vespere decimiquarti diei immolent; & de sanguine eius, vtrumque postem ac superliminaria, hyssopi fasciculo madente illinant: carnes autem assa igni, nocte illa, & azymos panes cum lactucis agrestibus edant, edendoque sic consumant, vt nihil reliquiarum in diem posterum superstit: aut quicquid erit reliquum, igne comburant: neque demùm tota nocte illa pedem domo efferant. ritus comedendi mirificus præcipitur. septem diebus azyma præscribuntur: dies prima, itémque septima, pari veneratione celebratur, interdicto omni opere. ritus in perpetuum sancitur. eodem die populus de terra Ægypti emigrat. omne primogenitum Ægyptiorum ab homine ad pecus interficit Dominus. sanguinis illius signum Hebræos tueretur incolumes; Angelo exterminatore & percussore, domum signatam confestim intactam pertransiente. vnde Paschæ seu Phase appellatio Hebræis, quæ ἡ γὰρ εἰς Græcis; à Latinis, transitus exponitur. Denique primo mense, quartadecima die mensis à vespere, vsque ad vicessimam primam eiusdem mensis vespere sequentem, per dies totos septem continuos, azyma edenda iubentur (id est ἀζυμὸς ἄρτος ἢ ἄρτος ζύμης, panis sine fermento, contra Græcorum & Orientalis Ecclesiæ ritum atque institutum) Estque hæc victima, transi-

tus Domini (ideo Phase aut Pascha denominatur) quoniam percussus Ægyptios, signatus agni sanguine domos filiorum Israhel (opinor ligno τῷ † aut Hebræicæ literæ vltimæ in Alphabeto Hebræico, cognominis quidem, sed bifurcata, vt cernis π siue T) pertransiit illas. Hæc mihi quidem summa videtur historiæ, de institutione sancti Pascharis, descripta copiosè Exodi cap. 12. nam cap. 13. id modò repetitur; Septem diebus vescèris azymis: & in die septimo, erit solemnitas Domini. & Levitic. cap. 23. Mense primo, quartadecima die mensis, ad vespere, Phase Domini est. septem diebus azyma comedetis. quod iisdem verbis repetitur Numer. 28. sed cap. 16. Deuteronomij, quum eandem sanctionem repetit, tota mentem apertius designat, & nouarum frugum, & verni primùm temporis. Ex quo, Samaritani, qui præcipuè tempora secundum constitutiones Moysi obseruant, non prius festum hunc diem peragunt, quàm nouos fructus crescentes conspiciant. Nouarum enim (inquiunt) frugum festum in lege dicitur: vt id celebrare, antequàm illi appareant, nefas sit. Proindeque vernum æquinoctium ferias eas præcedere necessariò debet, vt scribit Nicephorus cap. 32. lib. 12. Iosephus Iudæus de Paschali festo multa quidem sacris Bibliis consentanea refert, qui & sacerdos, & princeps in sua Repub. extitit: quem tamen mihi nunc duxi prætermittendum. Iam verò hæc in figura patribus contingebant, & verum Pascha designabant; de quo sic Paulus 1. Corinth. 5. & ex eo quidem Origenes cap. 34. lib. 12. apud Nicephorum: Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. vtrique nobis epulandum (vt idem Paulus subiicit) non in fermento veteri, neque in fermento malitiæ & nequitie; sed in azymis synceritatis & veritatis. Quale autem sit Christianorum Pascha, & quo ritu vel die celebrandum, grauis (vt dixi) iam olim cum primis fuit apud maiores nostros quæstio: de qua dicere nunc aggredior, sed summam longioris historiæ & controuersiæ, ex longiori oratione breuiter, si potero, subducturus: sic autem proponit Eusebius lib. 5. capitibus 22. 23. 24. 25. & post eum Nicephorus capitibus 36. 37. 38. 39. lib. 4. & cap. 32. 33. 34. lib. 12. ne de aliis repetam istos autores secutus.

Quum Victor Romæ præfesset Episcopus, sub Commodi incommodo principatu, Demetrius Alexandria, Serapion Antiochiæ, Narcissus Hierosolymis (quæ quatuor primariæ ex decreto Nicæni Concilij, censentur Ecclesiæ, Rufini lib. 10. cap. 6.) in Asiæ prouinciis hæc excitatur quæstio; An quartadecima Luna, Pascha sit obseruandum; quo tempore Iudæis agnus præcipitur immolandum; quacunque tandem die septimanæ, Luna decimaquarta venisset. Concilium Romanum & Cæsariense, non nisi die Dominico celebrandum Pascha decernit: Polycrates Ephesus Episcopus acceptum à maioribus morem tuendum profiteatur, & Pascha 14. Luna celebrandum contendit, & maiorum autoritate comprobatur.

N. cunctis. ra de signo ab Angelo impresso.

Iosephi Iudæi dignitas.

Verò Pascha Christianorum, Christus & quomodo epulandum.

N. summa historia de celebrando olim pascha.

cuius sequaces etiam nunc *πατριστασικαίηται*, Quartadecimani seu Quatuordecimani inde cognomen, à schismatis insigni nota retulerunt: & à Victore Rom. Pontif. excommunicantur. Cuius tamen impetui sese Irenæus Lugdunensis Episcopus opponit, pacem Ecclesiæ, ex nominis sui etymo (*εἰρήνη* enim, pax Græcis dicitur) conservare studens. Et verò idem, Pascha die Dominico celebrandum, diverso à Iudæis ritu, assentitur, ut formâ, sic & immutato tempore. sed ob istam dissensionem circumstantiæ temporis, non esse tot viros alioqui fideles, à communione Christiana remouendos ducit; quum verustæ & Apostolicæ consuetudinis traditionem alioquin integram obseruent. vsus & hac præclara & pacifica sententiâ: quam si nostri æui homines forent secuti, tot annis de religione non esset tam atrociter, tamque immaniter bello civili dimicatum. sic autem ille omnino præclare & pacificè; ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας, πλὴν ὁμοιοῦται τῆς πίστεως σωτηρίας. Ieiunij dissensio, fidei consensum confirmat. cuius sententiam planè salubrem & pacificam Baptista Mantuanus lib. 1. Fast. carmine sic expressit;

— concedere Roma

Debit, aiebat, potius quam rumpere pacem:

Humani que iuris erant: modo salua maneret

Lex divina, fides Christi, doctrina, Senatus

Quam primus tulit ore suo: quia tradita ab ipso

Christo erat, humana doctore & lumine vita.

Nec curandus erat morum consensus in unum

Vsq̃ue adeo; dixit. —

Sic quod ratio ab initio non persuasit, id longa dies sensim postea perfecit, ut docet epistola Nicænæ Synodi ad Alexandrinos & Ægyptios scripta apud Theodorum cap. 12. lib. 2. histor. Tripar. & apud Nicephorum lib. 8. cap. 24. & cap. 34. lib. 12. Placet autem Anatolij Episcopi Laodicæ, viri doctissimi audire sententiam ex cap. 28. lib. 7. Eusebij histor. Ecclesiast. & quid ille de Pascha senserit. Est ergo (inquit) in primo anno initium primi mensis; quod est decem & nouem annorum circuli principium, secundum Ægyptios quidem mensis Phame-noth vicesima sextâ die: secundum Macedones, Dystrimenis vicesima secundâ: secundum Romanos verò, vndecimo Cal. Aprilis (hic mensis dicitur Hebræis Nisan) cuius 14. Lunâ celebrabatur Pascha, ut postea repetam. In qua die Sol inuenitur non solum conscendisse primam partem, verum etiam quartam (Arietis scilicet) iam in ea die habere: id est, in prima ex duodecim partibus. Hæc aurem (Zodiaci nempe) particula prima ex duodecim (qui est Arietis) vernale est æquinoctium. & ipsa est initium mensium, & caput circuli, & absolutio cursus stellarum, quæ *πλῆθυσ*, id est vagæ dicuntur; ac finis duodecimæ particulæ, & totius circuli terminus. Et ideo non parum dicimus delinquere eos, qui ante initium hoc noui anni, Pascha putant esse celebrandum. quod auctoritate Philonis & Iosephi adstruit: atque adeo Agathobuli & Aristobuli, vnius de 72. biblicorum interpretibus. ex quo & hoc insigne

A colligitur; Quum duo sint æquinoctia, veris & autumnii, æquis spatiis dirempta: & 14. die mensis primi sit statuta sollemnitas post vespertinam, quando Luna Soli opposita è regioneprehenditur, sicut etiam oculis probare licet: inuenitur vtrique vernalis æquinoctij partem Sol obtinens; Luna verò è contrario, autumnalis. Vnde concludit, in die Paschæ, non solum obseruandum esse, ut Sol æquinoctium vernale transcendat, verumeriam Luna. vbi & hoc potuisti obseruare, Anatolio æquinoctium vernum, iuxta Rom. tum dici II. Calend. April. quum tamen eodem tempore Patres Nicæni Concilij constituent 12. Cal. April. alij autem ante diem Cal. Aprilis, Niceph. cap. 32. lib. 16. Deinde Lunam 14. non à luminarium coitu, verum à die prima post eorum coitionem supputari solitam: qua tamen luminarium est oppositio. quartamdecimam enim Theophilus oportere censuit videri, cum pleno orbis sui circulo, eodem momento oritur, quo Sol occidit. huic enim antistiti Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ, Theodosius Imperator curam olim commiserat huius dissidij componendi, circa annum Dom. 390. ut eius scripta declarant. Cuius antecessor Dionysius quadam epistola iam antè cauerat, Pascha non aliàs, quam æquinoctio verno celebrari oportere, Nicephori lib. 6. cap. 18. De Nouatianorum & Sabbatianorum ritu nihil habeo necesse dicere ex c. 37. lib. 9. histor. Eccles. nihil denique de hæresi Montanistarum Pascha celebrantium 8. Idus Aprilis: quasi eodem decimaquarta Luna concurrat: à qua, vsque ad 21. Pascha olim celebrabatur, ut scribitur eiusdem libri cap. 39. & ex eadem repetit Nicephorus præcipuè cap. 31. & 32. lib. 12. secutus ut aliàs passim, Eusebij doctissimi sententiam, & ad verbum æmulatus historiam. quod tamen sequitur, potius ab historico dictum, quam à Concilio & Synodo decretum est accipiendum. Mihi sanè (inquit) non rectè fecisse videntur, qui olim de festo hoc die tantoperè dissidentes contenderunt: multò verò minùs, qui hac in parte Iudæos sibi imitandos esse statuerunt. Sed illis (ut opinor) in mentem non venit, quòd Iudaïsimo in Christianismum mutato, ex necessitate quadam, figuræ, rei ipsi cesserunt: sicuti hoc inde satis constabit. Nulla namque Christi lex Christianis ut iudaizent, præcipit: præcipit autem? imò potius id prohibet, quemadmodum disertis verbis diuinus Apostolus sanxit, non solum de circuncisione, quæ legis est caput, verans; verum etiam de diebus festis cohortans, ut nequaquam disceptantes (seu discrepantes) segregemur. & ad Galatas scribens; Dicite mihi (inquit) qui sub lege esse vultis, legem non auditis? vbi admonet non esse obseruandos dies & annos. & ad Colossenses; Nemo vos iudicet in cibo, aut potu, aut in parte diei festi. aut neomeniæ, aut sabbathi, quæ sunt umbra futurorum. ad Hebræos autem hæc omnia veluti sigillo confirmans, dicit; Translato enim sacerdotio, necessariò etiam legis translatio subsecuta est. Satis igitur liquet, neque sacrum Euangeliorum

Dies Paschæ post æquinoctium Solis esse debet.

Luna 14. unde æstimanda.

Nicephorus Eusebij sententiam.

N. Improbatur Nicephori sententiam.

Quòd Christiani non teneantur iudaizare, in quo.

Quod dies
Pasche &
festi reliqui
non debeant
celebrari cum
Iudeis.

Apostolorum
cura in præ-
ceptis tra-
dendis.

Quod Pas-
che celebrā-
di dies con-
suetudinem
sequatur.
N. negat.

N. contra
Nicephorum,
& liberta-
re celebra-
di Pascha-
m: & quod
sequenda
authoritas
& consue-
tudo pluris
& melio-
rum.

N. quod Ec-
clesiæ con-
sensus se-
quendus sit,
& ubi pas-
sim.

Quod Ni-
cæna Syno-
dus errorē
de Pascha
non indu-

librum, neque diuini ipsius Apostolum, Chri-
stianis iugum seruitutis legis imposuisse: sed
ut & Pascha, & reliquos festos dies honorifi-
cè, quādoque eis visum esset, peragant, ani-
mi gratitudini eorum, qui beneficio sunt
affecti, reliquisse. Proinde quia homines ma-
ximè ferias amant, à laboribus in eis conquies-
centes; tum sicuti cuique visum erat, in regio-
nibus passim consuetudine quadam per tradi-
tionem accepta traducti, salutiferæ passionis
memoriam colentes celebrarunt. Neque enim
vel Seruator ipse, vel eius discipuli, lege vlla
id obseruandum esse statuerunt. sed neque in
eum, qui hoc ita non perageret, condemnati-
onem, aut pœnam, aut execrationem, sicuti
Mosæ lex facere solita erat, vel Euangelica,
vel Apostolica scripta induxerunt, aut com-
minati sunt. Diuini verò Euangelistæ, Mosæici
Paschæ festi obiter mentionem fecere. Ipsi
autem sanctis Apostolis consilium illud pro-
positum non fuit, ut sibi de diebus festis iu-
diciū sumerent, aut de eis leges ferrent: sed
potius Deo gratam vitam, virtutem, & veram
erga Deum pietatem traderent atque induce-
rent. Mihi quidem videtur, quemadmodum alia
plurima plerisque in locis suam obtinere
consuetudinem; ita id quoque de Paschæ festo
accidisse; quod ex more quodam apud gen-
tes, quæque suam habuit obseruationem. ut
satis manifestum est, neminem Apostolorum
quicquam de festo hoc die, legis sanctionem
statuisse. Hæc paulò prolixius illic Nicephorus;
& sanè paulò liberius, quàm ut historiogra-
phum decet, suam interponens in tam ar-
dua disceptatione sententiam; quæ ex Concilij
decreto potius petenda fuerat. Et verò magis
consentaneum esse videbatur, ut quando plu-
res Ecclesiæ in eam sententiam venerant, ut
certo die Pascha celebraretur, eoque à Iudæis
diuerso, hanc determinationem reliquæ se-
querentur; quàm ut suo cuique arbitrio liber-
tas esset ac relinqueretur, Paschatis quouis
diei ac mensis indefinito tempore celebrandi.
Ut enim hoc concedam, tres partes in lege
Mosæica spectari oportere; penes morum, ce-
remoniæ & iudicij rationem forique dis-
tinctas; duæque posteriores, lege & morte
Christi abolitas esse, aut saltem minimè ne-
cessarias homini populoque Christiano. Ta-
men ubi semel Ecclesiæ consensus intercessit;
tutius esse & salubrius videtur ab hac parte sta-
re, quàm pro suo cuique arbitrio & libidine,
omnia moliri, & priuatæ consuetudini mori-
bûsque indulgere. Quæ ratio, non modò in
Paschali ritu, sed etiam diei Dominicæ, & Na-
talis Domini, & aliorum dierum festorum ac
profestorum stato circuitu & periodo definitâ
locum habere videtur. Et hoc mihi breuiter ad-
uersus Nicephori *ἀδελφότητος* dictum sit. ex quo
postquàm etiam hoc adscripsero, ad cætera
transibo. Neque verò, quemadmodum multo-
rum sermionibus fertur, magna illa sub Con-
stantino Nicææ celebrata Synodus, eiusmodi
diei Paschæ celebrandi errorem induxit: sed ip-
se potius diuus Constantinus paucos illos, qui à

recepta obseruatione dissentiebant, literis suis
cohortatus est; ut partem maiorem sequerentur;
& eam imitantes, eodem modo cum illa festum
diem peragerent. ubi epistolam Imperatoris
subiectam offendes, c. 33. lib. 12. sapienterque
à Victore & Polycarpo extinctam illam de Pas-
chali festo contentionem; & de communi con-
silio statutum, ut quisque sicuti assueuerant, festum
diem agerent; mutua autem communio-
nem ne rescinderent. Stultum quippe videri,
consuetudinem eiusmodi variantium gratiâ, à
mutua coniunctione discedere; quum eis, de re-
bus religionis præcipuis, per consentientem
concordiam conueniret. unde concludit, post
multa etiam capite sequenti 34. vltro citroque
agitata; Nunc verò diuina suppeditante gratiâ,
impedimentis & dissensionibus omnibus, tem-
poris cursu sublatis, concordibus sententiis apud
omnes in Ecclesiis Christi, festus dies cele-
bratur. Hæc ferè sunt, quæ de veteri Paschæ ritu
& obseruatione, tum quæ sita anxie, tum stabili-
liter prudenter feruntur. quæquidem quum nô-
dum satis essent explicita; Ita placuit tandem
posteris Ecclesiæ Catholicæ proceribus ac pri-
matibus, primum secutis Nicæni Concilij de-
cretum; sub tribus istis conditionibus; Ut proxi-
mâ die Dominicâ, ut post plenilunium proxi-
mum, ut ab æquinoctio verno (quod tunc erat
21. die Martij) *τῇ δ' ἑκατέρᾳ*, Paschalia pro tran-
situ sacrificia festaque à tota Ecclesiâ Christiana
celebrarentur. aboliito interim veteri more Iu-
dæorum & iudaizantium, qui 14. Luna suum
Phase, iuxta morem priscum illum Mosi præ-
scriptum obseruabant; quicumque is tandem
dies foret, vel adeo profestus, neque Domini-
cus: sic enim etiam D. Augustinus ad inquisito-
res Ianuarij rescripsit.

Postea verò re diligentius expensa & pensita,
decretum est, ne Pascha ante 14. Lunam cele-
braretur. idèoque si plenilunium contigerit
esse die Dominica, aut die sabbathi, qui à me-
ridie inchoaretur, ut transferretur Paschalis
solemnitas ad proximam diem Dominicam
post dies octo consequentem, ut ipse D. Am-
brosius, epistolâ ad Episcopos Aemiliæ confir-
mar. Non tamen (opinor) quòd ipsa illa 14.
Luna, vllò modo sequi posset Pascha Chri-
stianorum, quod post 21. Martij diem, proxi-
mo die Dominico à plenilunio celebrandum
statuebatur (quomodo enim decimus quintus
vicesimus primum diem mensis eiusdem se-
quatur?) Sed quia celebrandi Paschatis Iudaï-
ci dies numerantur 7. à 14. Luna ad 21. in hunc
postremum diem, 21. Phase Iudaïci vltimum,
fortè Dominicâ ab æquinoctio verno post
plenilunium proxima, vel potius in ipso ple-
nilunio eiusdem diei contingens, Pascha Chri-
stianorum cum Iudaïco coniungeret, vno &
eodem vtrumque die 21. Martij celebran-
dum. quem diem septimum & vltimum Pas-
chalis festiuitatis, Iudæi pari celebritate &
sanctimoniâ cum primo die colunt, id est,
14. & 21. ut ex cap. 12. Exodi ostendimus. Sic
enim solui hoc dubium de die Paschæ ante
14. Lunam, debuit: alioquin absurda correctio

Quod Synodus non
inisset cer-
to die Pas-
chæ celebrā-
dum.
N. negat.

Dies Pas-
chæ idem
apud om-
nes, cum se-
pare.
Nota.

Augustini
resolutio su-
per quæstio-
ne propo-
sita.
Cui N. ac-
quiescit.

N. solutio
de ritu Iu-
daico per
dies 7. cele-
brandi.

N. solutio
dubij de die
Paschæ an-
te 14. Lu-
nam.

videretur, & inanis metus eorum, qui ne 21. dies anteuertat 14. diem, reformidant. similiter quæ in tota historia ambigüe dicta sunt, solerter ac prudenter sunt distinguenda, vt partim fecisse, partim facturi nobis videmur: si modò quod conamur, *οὐδ' ἡδ' αἰσέμεθα*. Neque verò dissimulandum aut tenendum fuit hoc miraculum, quod Paschasinus episcopus Constantinopol. Leoni Papæ Rom. rescribit, his verbis; Quædam possessio vilissima, Melinas appellatur, in montibus arduis ac syluis densissimis constituta: illicque perparua atque vili opere constructa est ecclesia, in cuius baptisterio, nocte sacrosancta paschalis baptizandi horâ, cum nullus canal, nulla sit fistula, nec aqua omnino vicina, fons ex his repletur: paucisque qui fuerint, consecratis, cum deductorium nullum habent, vt aqua venerat, ex sese descendit. quo miraculo deprehensus est error, qui contigit sub Zosimo Papa in anticipatione celebrari paschatis: cum tamen fons ille non nisi 10. Cal. Maij eruperit.

Quæ quum ita sint, deinceps mihi tecum, ô floridissime & suauissime Lili, sermo futurus est, & amica atque beneuola *ἀγάπη* ac disceptatio, non reprehendendi, vt sæpe sum professus, sed tecum addiscendi studio: neque vanitatis confectandæ, sed veritatis inuestigandæ desiderio. Sic igitur scribis Canone 6. de festis mobilibus inscripto. vtat enim tuis verbis & disertis, & sanè *ἀποστολική*. Quoniam (ais) ex decreto sacri Concilij Nicæni, Pascha, ex quo reliqua festa mobilia pendent, celebrari debet die Dominico, qui proximè succedit 14. Lunæ primi mensis (is verò apud Hebræos vocatur primus mensis, cuius 14. Luna cadit vel in diem verni æquinoctij. quod die 21. mensis Martij contingit, vel propius ipsum sequitur) efficitur, vt si Epacta cuiusuis anni inueniatur ex Canone 2. ab ea in Calendario notata inter diem octauum Martij inclusiue, & quintum Aprilis inclusiue (huius enim epactæ, 14. Luna cadit vel in diem æquinoctij verni, id est, in diem 21. Martij, vel eum propius sequitur) numerentur inclusiue deorsum versus, dies quatuordecim: proximus dies Dominicus diem hunc 14. sequens (ne cum Iudæis conueniamus, si fortè dies 14. Lunæ, caderet in diem Dominicum) sit dies Paschæ. Deinde addis, Anno 1585. (exempli gratiâ) epacta est 29. & litera Dominicalis F: & quoniam inuenio epactam 29. inter diem 8. Martij, & 5. Aprilis, inclusiue positam esse è regione diei 1. Aprilis: à quo inclusiue si deorsum versus, numerem 14. dies, inuenio 14. Lunam die 14. Aprilis, quæ est Dominica; quum è regione illius sit litera Dominicalis F. Ne igitur cum Iudæis conueniamus, qui Pascha celebrant die 14. Lunæ: sumenda est litera Dominicalis F. quæ sequitur 14. Lunam. nempe ea, quæ è regione diei 21. Aprilis collocatur. atque adeo Pascha eo anno celebrandum erit 21. Aprilis. Item anno 1592. epacta est 16. & duplex litera Dominicalis e, d, quum annus ille sit bissextilis. Si igitur ab epacta 16. quæ è regione diei 15. Mar-

tij ponitur, inter diem 8. Martij, & 5. Aprilis inclusiue, numerentur inclusiue dies 14. cadet 14. Luna in diem 28. Martij. Et quia tunc erit posterior litera Dominicalis, nempe d, quæ post diem 28. Martij, id est, post 14. Lunam collocata est è regione diei 29. Martij, celebrabitur eo anno Pascha die 29. Martij. Item Canone 2. de epactis & nouiluniis; Quod si quando epactæ per dies Calendarij distributæ indicent nouilunia paulò seriùs, quàm res postulet; mirandum non est, cum maturo consilio ita sint dispositæ. Quum enim nullus cyclus Solaris ad vnguem calculo astronomico respondere possit, sed modò citiùs, modò tardiùs nouilunia indicet: data est diligenter opera in distribuendo cyclo triginta epactarum in Calendario, vt porius nouilunia seriùs aliquando per epactas demonstrantur, quàm vt aliquando sedes suas anteuertant: Ne cum Quartadecimanis hæreticis sacrosanctum Pascha vel in 14. Luna, vel antè celebretur. Adeo vt propter celebrationem Paschæ, maior sit habita ratio 14. Lunæ, vel plenilunij, quàm nouilunij. Neque magni refert, si aliquando (quod rarò tamen accidit) propter hanc nouilunij postpositionem, contingat Pascha celebrari post diem 21. Lunæ: minus enim hoc peccatum est, quàm si ante diem 14. Lunæ celebretur, vel in ultimo mente, quod esset absurdissimum. Hæc ad verbum Lilius scripsit: quæ nunc subtiliùs placet excutere, tum ad rei veritatem inquirendam, tum ad historiæ obliuiscitatem illustrandam.

Quod si epacta indicent nouilunia seriùs, quàm res postulet; mirandum non est, cum maturo consilio ita sint dispositæ. Quum enim nullus cyclus Solaris ad vnguem calculo astronomico respondere possit, sed modò citiùs, modò tardiùs nouilunia indicet: data est diligenter opera in distribuendo cyclo triginta epactarum in Calendario, vt porius nouilunia seriùs aliquando per epactas demonstrantur, quàm vt aliquando sedes suas anteuertant: Ne cum Quartadecimanis hæreticis sacrosanctum Pascha vel in 14. Luna, vel antè celebretur. Adeo vt propter celebrationem Paschæ, maior sit habita ratio 14. Lunæ, vel plenilunij, quàm nouilunij. Neque magni refert, si aliquando (quod rarò tamen accidit) propter hanc nouilunij postpositionem, contingat Pascha celebrari post diem 21. Lunæ: minus enim hoc peccatum est, quàm si ante diem 14. Lunæ celebretur, vel in ultimo mente, quod esset absurdissimum. Hæc ad verbum Lilius scripsit: quæ nunc subtiliùs placet excutere, tum ad rei veritatem inquirendam, tum ad historiæ obliuiscitatem illustrandam.

Potior ratio Lunæ 14. vel plenilunij quàm nouilunij, qua de re.

Satiùs esse post 21. Lunam, quàm ante 14. Pascha celebrari. N. examen dictorum.

Primum igitur de decreto sacri Concilij Nicæni, nos copiosissimè ex historia Ecclesiastica transegimus. Quod autem primus mensis hîc dicitur apud Hebræos haberi, cuius 14. Luna vel cadit in diem verni æquinoctij, vel propius ipsum sequitur: id quidem definiri alia quadam ratione debet, quam & iam obiter attigimus: sed & hoc sic est generaliter accipiendum. Apud diuersas nationes diuersus fuit anni mos inchoandi. nam de Romanis id constat, à Romulo ad Numam vsque, initium anni à Martio ductum fuisse, quum annus Romuleus decemestris foret, sed additis duobus à Numa mensibus, principium anni à Ianuario duci cæpit, sicuti tota Romana testatur historia: quod nec Ouidium latuit, Fastos Rom. describentem: sic enim lib. 1.

Tempora digereret quum conditor vrbis, in anno Constituit menses quinque bis esse suo. & mox; At Numa nec Ianum, nec auitas preterit umbras:

Mensibus antiquis preposuitque duos:

& paulò post, Bruma, noni prima est veterisque nonissima Solis:

Principium capiunt Phæbus & annus idem. & quæ ibidem multò plura disquiruntur, & longo dialogismo doctè & acutè disceptantur. Noster verò Sacroboscius, Numæ correctionem probare non potuit, causamque istam subdidit lib. de anni ratione: Licet igitur Numa annum ex 12. mensibus fecerit: diminutè

EEE iij

Festa mobilia pendent à Paschate.

Primus mensis Hebræus, quous sit.

Ab exemplo ex hypothese.

Cautione Christiani, Pascha celebrant cum Iudæis, 14. Luna.

Alterum exemplum ex hypothese.

tamen egit, quoniam menses assumpsit lunares. vnum scilicet 30. dierum, & alium 29. dierum. vnde annus eius constabat ex 354. diebus: qui numerus dierum non sufficit cursui Solis.

Annus Romuli quot diebus constaret: Julij Cæs. restitutio, & quot diebus additis. N. de Augusto.

Sequens igitur Iulius Cæsar, vltimam Calendario apponens correctionem, vndecim dies adiecit & quadrantem. vnde annus Iulij constabat ex 365. diebus & sex horis. de quo patuit antea, sicuti & de anno multiplici iuxta eundem Sacroboscium: cui nec ignotus hic fuit Ouidij locus; sic enim eodem libello; Notandum igitur, quod secundum diuersos, diuersa sunt anni principia. Numa enim Pompilius annum suum incipit à solstitio hyemali: quoniam tunc ad nos Sol ascendere incipit (vbi adscribit duos illos Ouidij versus, Bruma noui, &c.) Romulus verò annum incepit à Martio, iuxta æquinoctium vernale: quia tunc omnia virent & florent. Hæc ille: nam cætera forsitan alibi. Quando autem semel hanc distinctionem sumus ingressi, lubet rem pluribus testibus comprobare, & istam annorum differentiam, plurimum suffragiis authorum comprobare. Plinius lib. 7. cap. 48. Annum alij æstate vnum determinabant, & alterum hyeme: alij quadripartitis temporibus, sicut Arcades, quorum anni trimestres fuere: quidam Lunæ senio, vt Ægyptij, itaque apud eos aliqui & singula milia annorum vixisse produntur. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 13. postquam annum Romuli explicuit, decem mensium, & dierum 304. neque Solis, neque Lunæ cursui quadrantem, & anni tempestates confundentem: mox de Pompiliano anno subiicit; quinquaginta diebus auctiore, & dies 354. Lunares menses 12. completente, more Græcorum, & intercalarem admittente, quum tamen solaris annus 365. diebus compleatur, addito insuper diei quadrante, vt supponit, & nos antè discussimus. sed cap. 12. eiusdem libri, Anni certus modus (inquit) apud solos semper Ægyptios fuit: aliarum gentium dispari numero, pari errore nutabat: & vt contentus sum referendo paucorum morem regionum; Arcades annum suum tribus mensibus explicabant: Acarnanes sex: Græci reliqui, 354. diebus annum proprium computabant. Non igitur mirum, in hac varietate, Romanos quoque olim authore Romulo, annum suum decem habuisse mensibus ordinatum. & quæ ille multò pluribus differit. Herodotus historiæ parens, lib. 2. sic iam olim scripserat; Quæ autem humanarum rerum sunt, hæc ita referebant; inter se constare, omnium hominum primos Ægyptios annum comperisse, distinguentes cum in duodecim temporum menses; idque comperisse ex Astris: eò scientiùs, vt mihi videtur, hoc agentes, quàm Græci; quod Græci quidem tertio quoque anno intercalarem mensem introducunt temporis gratiâ: Ægyptij verò tricenis diebus, quibus duodecim menses taxant, adiiciunt huic numero quotannis quinos dies: vnde eis ratio circuli temporum constat eodem redeuntis, quam obseruationem Diodorus Siculus Thebanis assignat lib. 1. Laërtius Thaleti,

Annus Romuli in quo deficeret: Iterum Numæ.

Annus reuera quot diebus constare deberet.

Annus in orbem redit.

vt patuit: Iosephus rectiùs, Hebræis primis veterè & antiquissimis aliorum contemplatoribus. Solini iam antè meminimus, qui cap. 3. de anni correctione & constitutione, multa disceperat, præcipuè ex Numæ & Cæsaris decreto: vbi & hoc repetit: Ante Augustum, incerto modo annum computari solitum: quia apud Ægyptios, quatuor mensibus terminabant: apud Arcades, tribus: apud Acarnanes, sex: in Italia apud Lauinios, tredecim; quorum annus, 374. diebus ferebatur. vbi statim de Romanis subiungit antè à me proposita vsipiam. Censorinus Romanus author perdiligens, capitibus aliquot, anni differentias persequitur. sic autem ille cap. 15. Veteres in Græcia ciuitates quum animaduertent, dum Sol in annuo cursu orbem suum circuit, Lunam nouam interdum terdecies exoriri, idque sæpe alternis fieri; arbitrati sunt Lunares duodecim menses & dimidiatum, ad annum naturalem conuenire. Itaque annos ciuiles sic statuerunt, vt intercalando, facerent alternos duodecim mensium, alternos tredecim. vtrumque annum separatim, vertentem; iunctos ambo, annum magnum vocantes. vbi de anno magno longè plura, per totum deinceps caput. idem cap. 16. Annus vertens est naturâ, dum Sol percurrent 12. signa, eodem vnde profectus est, redit. hoc tempus quot dierum esset, ad certum nondum Astrologi reperire potuerunt. Philolaus annum naturalem dies habere prodidit trecentos sexaginta quatuor & dimidiatum. Aphrodisius 365. & dierum duorum & viginti partem vnde sexagesimam. Harpalus autem 365. & horas æquinoctiales tredecim. At noster Ennius, 366. Plerique præterea incomprehensibilem quidem & innumerabilem esse existimauerunt: sed pro vero, quod proximum putabant, amplexi sunt: dies scilicet 365. Igitur quum tanta inter viros doctissimos fuerit dissensio; quid mirum, si anni ciuiles, quos diuersæ ciuitates rudes etiam tum sibi quæque statuebant, & tam inter se discrepent, quàm cum illo naturali non congruant? Et in Ægypto quidem antiquissimum ferunt annum bi-mestrem fuisse. post deinde à Pisone rege quadrimestrem factum: nouissimè annum ad tredecim menses & dies quinque produxisse. Item in Achaia, Arcades trimestrem annum primum habuisse dicuntur: & ob id, Profelénas appellant. Cæres autem & Acarnanes, semestres habuerunt annos inter se dissimiles: quibus alternis, dies augescerent aut senescerent. Sed vt hos annos omittam iam caligine profundæ vetustatis obductos: in his quoque, qui sunt recentiores memoriâ, & ad cursum Lunæ vel Solis instituti, quanta sit varietas, facile est cognoscere, si quis vel in vnus Italiæ gentibus, ne dicam peregrinis, velit inquirere. Nam vt alium Ferentini, alium Lauinij, item Albani, vel Romani habuerunt annum, ita quoque & aliæ gentes. Omnibus tamen fuit propositum, suos ciuiles annos variè intercalandis mensibus, ad vnum verum illum naturalemque corrigere: vbi mox de anno Romano, toto c. 17. siue mensium

Hebræi primi Astrorū contemplatores.

Quod annus Solaris 12. mensium sit, Lunaris vero 13. quo modo.

Annus vertens quis sit, & quot diebus constet, plerique ambigunt: sic de naturali, ab exemplis.

Anni ciuiles apud varios varij.

Anni ciuiles ad annum naturalem reducti intercalando.

22. iuxta Macrum & Fenestellam, siue decem potius, iuxta Varronem, Suetonium & alios: qui postea à Numa, duodecim sunt facti, dierum 355. vbi & de mensibus plenis & cauis, deque mense & die intercalari, & anni per Iulium correctione, de qua iam antehac. Ex hoc enim anno ita à Iulio Cæsare ordinato, cæteri ad nostram memoriam Iuliani appellantur: iisque consurgunt ex IIII. Cæsaris Consulatu: qui etiam si non optimi, soli tamén ad annum naturæ aptati sunt. Vt autem de anni varietate discrepans est multorum sententia, sic de eiusdem principio: aliis à nouo Sole, id est à brumali: aliis ab æstiuo solstitio: aliis ab æquinoctio verno, aliis ab autumnali, aliis ab ortu Vergiliarum, aliis à Canis exortu, anni naturalis auspiciâ ducentibus. Adrianus Iunius cap. 2. lib. de annis & mensibus, anni varietatem apud priscos reperit, deque ciuili, cuique nationi proprio, inter alia mihi ferè à genuinis authoribus repetita; Chaldæis annum menstruum, sicuti & Ægyptiis assignat: & his demùm quadrimestrem, deinde duodecim mensium, insuper additis diebus quinque. Iberis pariter quadrimestrem: Latii tredecim mensium. vbi mox de Romano, tum ex Romuli decreto, tum Numæ & Iulij emendatione. Claudianus his carminibus ad priscam anni alludit effigiem:

*Omnia qui placido consumit numine serpens,
Perpetuusq; viret squamis, caudamque reducto
Ore vorat, tacito relegens exordia lapsu.*

de qua nota hieroglyphica iam antè ex Hieroxylyno: nam Orus Apollo aliter depinxit, sed nunc picturas nil motor. Plutarchus de ista annorum varietate apud gentes varias, aliis istis consentit, sed de Græcis mensibus vix potest nobis satisfacere: de quibus etiam mox subiungam. Ergo vetustissimos illos homines, nulla ratione nulloque ordine mensibus vsos confiteretur, atque aliter alios annum ipsum partitos esse profiteretur. Nam barbarorum nonnulli (ait) trimestrem annum habebant, & ex Græcis Arcades quadrimestrem, Acarnanes semestrem: Ægyptiis autem mensiuus erat annus, deinde quadrimestris, vt aiunt. Idcirco antiquissimi videntur immensam annorum multitudinem sibi annumerantes, vt qui certè annum mense definirent. Romani verò prius decem mensium annum agebant: & menses alios vicenùm dierum, alios tricenùm quinùm, alios etiam plurium. illudque solum considerabant, vt 360. dierum suus esset annus: nec quæ esset Solis & Lunæ inæqualitas, quicquam pensi habebant. Sed postea rex Numa Pompilius duos menses adiecit fertur: & discrimen huius inæqualitatis, vndecim dierum esse reputans: vt pote anno Lunari 354. dies, Solari autem, 365. habente: vndecim hos dies duplicatos, alternis annis intercalatione facta (quæ 22. dierum esset) in Februarium induxisse. Verisimile est, hæc illum ex imitatione quadam Græcorum fecisse: Primum enim Solonem aiunt Athenis hanc mensium vagam & adhuc incertam inconstantiam deprehendisse, & diem, quo Luna Solem attingitur, & transmittit, *ἐλευ γ' ἡμέρας*, id est anti-

quam & nouam Lunam, siue extremam & primam, hoc est, interlunium vocari instituisse: & sequentem, *ρηνυμένης*, id est nouilunium seu Calendas appellauisse, mensemque 30. dierum constituisse: & in genere, annum ipsum in concinniore ordinem digessisse. Intercalaris verò mensis vsus antiquitus fuisse Græcis declarat citatus nuper Herodotus: Græci (inquit) tertio quodque anno intercalationē interserunt temporum gratiâ: Ægyptij verò tricenis diebus (quibus 12. menses anni taxant) auctario facto ad eum numerum, dies quinque quotannis superaddunt: & iis ratio circuli temporum constat, eodem redeuntis. Bifariam ergo Athenienses annum considerabant: vt qui partim à Sole, 365. diebus definiretur, propter sectionem obliqui signiferi in totidem gradus: & huius certè quintam partem, Aristoteles dicit esse duos & septuaginta dies: partim à Luna, diebus 354. eadem etiam ratione mensibus partim ad Solem, partim ad Lunam deductis: aliisque annis dies 30. adiciebant, aliis quinque, & siquid amplius opus erat, quarto quoque anno. hæcque erant subsidia, quæ non latius quidem paterent, sufficientia tamen restituere menses sibi, & iisdem ferè finibus eos coëtcere. eaque inæqualitatis curatio, vt maioribus olim remediis indigeret, futurum erat: quemadmodum refert Plutarchus, de Cæsaris anno ea subiungens, quæ antea produximus. Quomodo autem Plato & Eudoxus, diu in Ægypto peregrinati, rationem anni ab Ægyptiis didicerint, tibi Gaza recenset lib. de mensibus. Primi enim omnium Ægyptij, ad Solem 12. mensibus vsi perhibentur, & iis quidem tricenariis, quinque dies quotannis adiecit: particulamque diei excurrentem, ad supplementum totius anni, ex multis annorum circuitibus acruatam, in vnum diem integrum coniecisse. Græci verò ab illis quum alia permulta rerum cælestium, tum hæc præcipuè mutuo acceperunt, partim traductis in linguam Græcam commentariis, partim cum eorum sacerdotibus versati, egregiè diuinarum cælestiumque scientiarum peritis. Sanè Græcorum annus admodum varius & inconstans semper extitit, vt vel ipsi Græci profitentur: annumque suum à primo mense Hecatombæone incepisse dicantur, qui nostro Iunio mensi solstitiali respondere perhibetur. quanquam ne id quidem certum aut perpetuum: quum menses Græcorum vagi & inconstantes, & *ἐμβόλιμοι*, intercalarem admittentes mensem, sepe in duos menses Latinos incurrat, siue inter binos Rom. menses ambigant, vt idem Gaza testatur: causamque ignorationis rerum eam dicit fuisse, quod Romani & annum emendarint: & vt aliis populis, ita Græcæ genti imperarint. Ad imperium enim externum, puritate elegantique sermonis amissa, Græci (vt ferè fit) ad imperitantium linguam transierunt: & Latina nomina cum in aliis multis, tum in mensium propriis vocabulis permiscerent, in vsu suum verterunt: acceptisque Romanorum colonis, se etiamnum Romanos, non Hellénas vocant, & nominibus mensium Romanis, tanquam

Luna noua, que: item nouilunium ex Solone.

Intercalaris mensis apud veteres Græcos, quò, et quando.

Athenienses annum duplex, et quot diebus uterque constiterit: atque intercalandi ratio.

Græcorum menses vagi & inconstantes, in duos Latinos incurrunt & vnde.

Anni principia variis apud varias gentes, quomodo.
Annus ciuili quis.

Anni effigies hieroglyphica, et qualiter Orus Apollo.

Collatio Solaris & Lunarum anni: & intercalationis ratio.

Galli spōte
sua Rom.
legibus v-
tuntur præ-
sertim Ec-
clesiasticis.

Anni ini-
tium variū
apud varios.

Verum anni
principium
iuxta Rom.
in fine cur-
sus, et initio
reversus So-
lis.

Menses
Athenien-
ses Luna
motū secuti
non Solis
quomodo.

Epactæ
triennales
faciunt in-
tercalarem
mensē, ap-
ud Græcos
& Indæos.

fuis vtuntur. Quæ mihi eadem de nostro hoc Gallico imperio licet dicere, iam olim Rom. subiecto, nunc autem licet libero, at Romanis tamen multis legibus & nominibus, tum in rebus multis, tum in mensium appellatione, vtente. addo & illud; Cùm Romani imperij iugum à nostris ceruicibus excusserimus, nostris regibus & principibus indigenis parendo: tamen nos Romani imperij legibus vltro parere volentes: non tam ciuilibus, & politicis, quàm Ecclesiasticis, & ritus cultusque diuinos instituentibus atque informantibus. Ita Roma, caput mundi, imperium sibi hæcenus in toto orbe Christiano retinuit. sed de his aliàs. Simplicius in lib. 5. physicæ auscultationis Arist. Quæ facimus initia anni (dixit) vel ad æstiuum solstitium; vt Attici: vel ad autumnale æquinoctium; vt Asiatici: vel circa brumam, vt Romani: vel circa æquinoctium vernum, vt Arabes & Damasceni. Plethon morem Rom. præfert cæteris. Quod lege & instituto aliis aliud anni principium agentibus, Natura quodammodo idem vt sit principium, suadere videtur: quando Sol generationis author, vltra progredi desinens, reflecti ad nos incipit, & lucis auger tempus, tenebrarum verò minuit. Et iam productus à me Herodotus; Ægyptij (ait) faciunt eò consultius, quàm Græci, quòd hi quidem tertio quòque anno ἐμβόλιμον, velut insititium adiiciunt mensē, propter anni stationes: illi verò, 12. menses tricenū quemq. dierum obseruantes, quolibet anno quinos dies adiungunt. cui & Strabo subscribit. Phil. Melanthon, de intercalatione præfatus Ioanni de Sacro-bosco: Græci anni menses ad Lunam quadrant (inquit) sine cæto dierum numero. accesserunt autem epactæ 11. ex quibus mensē ἐμβόλιμον collegerunt. Arabica ratio eruditior fuit his duabus: Nam Ægyptiaci anni menses, habuerunt 30. dies singuli, & accesserunt quotannis epactæ quinque. At menses Arabici, alternis variant: ita vt prior habeat dies vndetriginta: sequens verò, 30. Deinde accesserunt 11. epactæ, ex quibus colligebant ἐμβόλιμον. Cui ferè subscribit Iunius cap. 4. Porro (inquiens) Athenienses Lunari cursu totius anni menses metiebantur, non Solari. Lunar 354. dies complectebatur: Solaris autem, 365. quo fiebat, vt superantes è singulis annis dies 11. triennio iam decurso, in vnum mensē cogerent, dictum ἐμβόλιμον, è tricenis diebus constantem, teste Libanio. Eandem rationem obseruabant Iudæi, tertio quòque anno embolimon mensē adjicientes suo. de quò nunc tempestiuum est dicere, velut magis huic quæstioni neces-
sario.

Igitur Hebræi duplex anni principium agnoscunt: alterum à mense Tizri, alterum à mense Nisan (sic enim appellant, nomine à Chaldæis mutuato) Hic mensis Nisan, nostro Martio ferè responderet. Dixi ferè, quia Hebræi intra spatium nouèdecim annorū, quibus Luna suum circulum peragit, septies nouum mensē interponunt, quem Veadar, quasi alterum Februarium denominant. sicque ferè per trien-

num singulum, aut eo sæpius, annus Hebræorum habet menses 13. Ex quo fit, vt singuli menses Hebræi, duos Latinos attingant. Sed tamen Nisan mensis, vt dixi, Martio semper responderet, si non toti, at parte tamen sua quadam præcipua. Contrà verò Tizri, ex ordine responderet nostro Septembri, vel toti, vel potius ex parte, quo dixi modo. Hoc igitur mense Tizri, velut Septembris nouilunio, annum Hebræi suum circa autumnale æquinoctium ordiuntur, quòd eo mense orbem conditum credant. Ideo festum turbarum primo die mensis sacrum, ex Leuitic. 23. & Numer. 29. caput seu principium anni vocant. Et tamē ex cap. 13. Exodi, & cap. 23. Leuitici, mensē Nisan, primum mensium, & nouarum frugum mensē dici constitit: qui genuina Hebræorum lingua, Abib, quasi culmus spiciger, quòd eo spicæ de culmis in regione Iudaica exeant, denominatur, vt videre est Exodi cap. 12. & 34. Ideo Ambrosio teste, hic mensis primus nouarum frugum dicitur, quo noui fructus apud Ægyptios colliguntur: idēque primus verni temporis mensis Augustino vocatur, quo Sol est in Arietis principio. cuius mensis Luna 14. de manu Pharaonis, & captiuitate Ægyptiorum liberati sunt Hebræi, vt patuit. Ex aduerso autem, Tizri septimus dicitur, totusque ferè mensis festus ducitur, ob vniuersos fructus collectos, ex 23. cap. Leuitici, & Numer. 29. Ex quo quidam colligunt (quos inter doctus Genebrardus accensetur) nonnisi ratione atque ordine festorum, Nisan primum mensium dici. sic vt cæteris negotiis & priuatis & publicis, à Tizri numerent. Cui opinioni rursus alij aduersantur, & præsertim viri pij Christianam fidem & religionē professi, mensē Nisan rati mundo dedisse originem. sicuti & Christo passo, orbi toti salutem attulisse, ac veluti melioris mundi παρισυστάας, per mortem Christi sancienda, spem quandam inieciisse, ratamque fidelibus & piis omnibus futuram. Quorsum suas Daniel hebdomadas videtur direxisse, ad Christum, ceu scopum collimans. Quinetiam scribens in Daniele cap. 7. Rabi Abraham, Hebræorum quosdam annum à Tizri inchoare scribit, quòd is sit principium orbis conditi: alios à Nisan, quòd eo patres sint egressi ex Ægypto: cuius sententiam video plerisque arrisisse, & probabilem visam fuisse. Sic tamen, vt velint, longis aliquot post reuersionem ab Ægypto annis, sancitum à Rabbis & Talmudistis, vt posthac anni exordium non aliunde, quàm à Tizri, velut nostro Septembri, & æquinoctio autumnali duceretur. Quorum sententiæ suam interposuit sententiam noster Ianus Sacro-boscius; Secundum theologiam (inquiens) annus à Martio dignè inchoari videtur, quum mundus factus sit 15. Cal. Aprilis. item præcepto Domini in Exodi 12. de Martio dicentis; Mensis iste primus erit in mensibus anni. Quòd autem Numa à solstitio hyberno suum annum inchoarit, protuli tum ex aliis, tum ex eodem hoc authore, qui sic de cæteris continuat institutū sermonem; Arabes annum incipiunt à solstitio æstiuo, quorum opinio

Hebr. inci-
piunt annum
ab autum-
nali & æqui-
noctio. Et
quare, &c.

?

Annis à
Martio, vt
& mundus
ipse, inchoa-
ri Theologi
perhibetur,
ex Sacrob.

est. Solem factum fuisse in Leone. Quidam autem annum incipiunt à Septembri, iuxta æquinoctium autumnale, quemadmodum Iudæi, propter illud Genesis: Protulit terra herbam virentem, facientem fructum iuxta genus suum. Sed autumnus, est tempus fructuosum. unde ibi volunt annum incipere, quum à fructibus suis annum veterem spoliauerunt. Istorum autem omnium principia imitatur in aliquibus, & in aliquibus mutamus: Nam clauus terminorum, aureum numerum, & literam dominicalem incipimus à Ianuario: concurrentes, & regulares Solares, à Martio: à Septembri verò, epactas, & regulares Lunares, & secundum quosdam, embolismos. Hæc ille prorsus iisdem verbis: Atque ego quidem de diuersitate annorum multiplici, nunc satis: reuertor enim ad nostrum Aloisium.

Luna 14. (inquis, ô Lili suauissime) cadit in diem æquinoctij 21. Martij, vel eum propius sequetur. vel adeo (vt sequenti exemplo scribis) anno 1592. Luna 14. cadit in diem 28. Martij. id verò qua ratione sit abs te dictum, fateor me hæcenus assequi nō potuisse. Quid enim? tūc Lunam 14. velut decemipedam aliquam, aut circinum circunducis pro arbitrio, quocumque lubet? aut quænam tibi tandem Luna 14. intelligitur? Omnino enim sit dies aliquis, in quem cadat Luna 14. necesse est: non autem spatium dierum 12. vt tu videris traducere, aut adeo longè plurimum. Exposui iam antè, & tu non es nescius, institutum fuisse Hebræorum Pascha præcisè 14. die Martij, qui & Nisan dicitur, celebrandum. Sic Luna 14. pro illo solo die capi debet: non autem reliquis multis ad 28. mensis Martij, aut 25. Aprilis diem consequentibus. Sanè verò nec minùs illud constat, celebrandi Paschatis rotos dies fuisse septem, qui à 14. inchoantes, ad 21. terminarentur. quod quidem septem dierum intervallum, *καταρχή τῆς Πάσχα* video à Patribus interdum Lunæ 14. nomine & dici, & censerì (vt sit synecdoche totius pro parte) & sic homonymiam de die Paschæ ante 14. Lunam celebrando, paulò antè solui. Sed qui quouis tropo, Lunam 14. ad 28. Martij, vel etiam vltiùs in mensem Aprilem produceret, fateor vidisse vel audisse me hæcenus neminem. Ideoque magis mirum mihi fuit, quum Lunæ 14. vim, in diem vsque 21. mensis Aprilis produceres ac proferres: de quo mox iterum diceretur. Deinde quæ necessitas nos impulit, vt ab epacta in Calendario notata, nonnisi ea capiatur, quæ inter diem Martij octauum, & Aprilis quintum intercedit? aut quid metuis, ne dies Lunæ 14. quo Hebræi Pascha celebrant (nos autem minime cum illis eodem die celebramus) cadat in diem Dominicum? Nam velis nolis, non potest euitari, nec puto nos ad id Concilio Nicæno adstringi, vt Luna 14. Iudæorum, in diem Dominicum non cadat. quid enim ad nos, si Iudæi fortè die Dominico Pascha celebrent, si modò nos diuerso ab illis tempore? Et verò ne id quidem fieri aut caueri villo modo potest, quin Pascha illorum, aut aliquis saltem dies de toto septenario à 14. die Nisan, ad 21. eiusdem mensis

A diem, incurrat in diem Dominicam. Neque tamen nos necesse ob id fuerit, cum Iudæis in celebrando Paschate conuenire: si modò eam regulam scruiamus, quam ex decreto Patrum attulimus; Vt nonnisi die Dominico, qui pleniluniū proximè sequitur, post 21. diem Martij (qui dies vltimus est *ἡ δὲ Πάσχα* septem dierum Iudæicorum, idemque habitus æquinoctij verni dies) nostrum Pascha celebremus. Quam in sententiam videntur postea venisse, & vltro consensisse Victor primus, Papa XIII. de consecratione, distinct. 3. c. celebritatem: & ante Victorem, Pius primus, de consecrat. d. 3. c. Nosse vos volumus. cuius frater Hermes nomine, scripto testatus est, Angelum sub pastoris habitu, sibi occurrissè, & præcepissè, vt Pascha die Dominica celebraretur. Quam in rem sanxit Concilium Arelatense sub Syluestro primo celebratum, vt vno die, & eodem tempore per totum orbem obseruetur. quod iisdem penè verbis repetiit Concilium Carthaginense sub Zosimo Papa celebratum. Quem longo post tempore secutus Pelagius primus, in Concilio Aurelianensi, decreuit eodè quidem die Pascha celebrari: sed quotannis ab Episcopo, Epiphaniæ die publicè Ecclesiis denuntiari, & dubium de eo per Metropolitanos Episcopos decidi. quod idem Concilium Toletanum sub Honorio primo Papa edixit: ne de Antiochen. & Matisconensi Concilio repetam. Vt hoc tamen obiter moneam, neque inter articulos Nicænæ Synodi, quos Rufinus 22. recenset, aut Stephanus tantum 20. numerat, distinct. 16. c. Viginti, neque in Græco codice Conciliorum, reperissè me peculiarè de Paschali festiuitate articulum, præter illa iam antè à me fusè ex Eusebio & Nicephoro commemorata. Nisi fortè inter 70. illos articulos extitit, quos Athanasius Alexandrinus à Nicæno Concilio constitutos memorat. sed hæc de re iam plus satis. Hoc potius abs te quæro, mi Lili candidissime, quæ te tandem causa impulit, vt dies tam multos ab illa 21. diei mensis Nisan semel constituta meta recederes? quidve Lunam 14. mensis Aprilis, qui Iar vocatur Hebræis, reformidas? Neque enim eo mense suum Iudæi Pascha colunt, iam toto mense interiecto antè celebratum. Neque rursum illis assentior, qui variata Lunâ, variari diem mensis Nisan celebrando Paschate putant: vt modò 6. 8. 10. 12. aut alio quouis die mensis Nisan obuio celebrari Phasæ credant: quum meo iudicio, semper 14. mensis dicti obseruetur, nisi me tot & locorum, & authorum authoritas ac testimonia fallunt. Quæ rursus ex hypothese, non video quam obrem anno ingruente proximo 1585. (nam vnum aut alterum exemplum mihi satis sit, ad discrimen illud declarandum) futurum Pascha 21. Aprilis traducas: quum Lunam 14. Aprilis, nihil ad Iudaismum referre, aut vllam cum Hebræico Phasæ habere affinitatem ostenderim. Neque porrò necesse videretur fuisse, epactam deligere, quæ inter diem Martij octauum, & Aprilis quintum intercedat: quum superior proxima epacta, quæ incumbit secundo diei Martij, conuenientissima mihi quidem

Ecclesiastici Rom. clauus terminorum est aureum numerum & literam Dominicalem à Ianuario: cetera à Martio vel Septembri, quomodo. N. cum Aloisio disceptatio cum ironia à simili.

N. quid sit Luna 14. aduersus Liliam.

Luna 14. interdum pro 7. diebus à 14. ad 21. quomodo.

Quod Pascha Iudæorum aut tota eius octaua incurrat in aliquem diem Dominicum.

Quod Pascha Christianorum semper die Dominico, plenilunium proximè sequitur post 21. Martij

Quod Liliam Lunam 14. Aprilis refugere nō debuerit, ob Pascha Iudæorum.

Quod Pascha Iudæorum semper Luna 14. siue die 14. mensis Nisan celebrata sit.

(nisi fallor, vt homo sum, & humani à me nihil alienum puto) ad Christianum Pascha inueniendum, iudicetur. Numera enim à 2. die Martij, ad diem 16. eiusdem mensis proximum, futuram (ni fallor) Lunæ oppositionem, quod plenilunium dicimus: nōne satis tibi videtur amplius dierum numerus superesse, vt exactâ tota hebdomade Iudaica, post diem Martij 21. nostrum Pascha incidat in diem eiusdem mensis Martij 24. qui dies & Dominicus est, & proximus erit à plenilunio, eo quod proximè æquinoctium vernum diei 21. mensis Nisan consequitur. Aut quid tandem aliud sonat Nicænæ Synodi decretum? quōve interprete opus habet, illa tam aperta verborū simplicitas? Quamquam id facis non sine auctore, vt mihi quidem videris: Nam in tabula Paschali perpetua illa prisca, & maioribus hæctenus vsitata, quæ annos 28. (vt opinor) complectitur, primum diei Paschalis terminum (à quo) 22. diem Martij, & vltimum (ad quem) ad Aprilis diem 25. progredi cernimus: siue ab 11. Cal. Aprilis, in 7. Cal.

N. dubium de interpositis diebus 35. ad Pascha statuerdam.

Maij, qui interiectorū dierum numerus, est 35. intra quem terminū, liberè euagari Paschalem diem sinunt. Leo tamen ab 11. Cal. Aprilis, ad 10. Cal. Maij, & olim ad 15. Cal. Maij, legitimum Paschæ spatium præfiniri scribit epist. ad Martianum Imp. quod vtique posteri vltius extenderunt. Ad octauum tamen (inquit) Cal. Maias Paschalem obseruantiam perducere, nimis insolens & aperta transgressio est. cui ego facile assentior: licet Theophilum Episcopum auctorem prætexenti eius transgressionis, contra patrum decreta vsurpatæ. Quod tamen qua sit ratione factum, fateor me adhuc non habere satis comperitū: quum ex decreto Nicænæ Synodi, Pascha videatur priori tempore non dico debuisse (neque enim Legislatorem me pronuntio, aut haberi postulo) sed saltem potuisse celebrari. quæ de re obscure & velut per ambages, sic philosophantem audio Ianum Sacrobosciū libello de anni ratione; Pascha *ἑορτή*, transitus, idem sonant: sed à diuersis linguis imponuntur. Pascha enim Hebraicè; *ἑορτή* Græcè, transitus Latine dicitur: quoniam tum de non esse ad esse, factus est rerum transitus. atque Angeli exterminatoris, in veteri lege in Ægypto, necnon & Christi, de mortalitate ad immortalitatem, nostram figurantis transiitionem de vitiis ad virtutes, & de hac vita ad æternam. vbi de Rogationibus, & de Pentecoste, eiusque modo & Græcis inaudito etymo. deinde subijcit; Ad hæc autem festa scienda, quædam genera numerorum inueniuntur: & dies ante festum, vbi huiusmodi numeri terminantur termini appellantur. Terminus enim, dies est clauem finiens, festum mobile futurum in die Dominica proxima annuatim designans. Est itaque regula in computo, quod terminus & festum, nunquam simul sunt. & hoc, ne videamur Iudæos imitari, qui simul ponunt terminum & festum: vel quia terminus Paschæ semper est 14. dies Lunationis Aprilis; & Pascha magis accedens ad terminum, est quintodecimo die eiusdē Lunationis. quare non poterunt simul esse terminus & festum.

N. locus in Io. de Sacra.

Terminus numerorum ad festa designanda quid sit.

A Ratio autem, quare festa mobilia non habent certa loca in Calendario, hæc est. Pascha (quemadmodum cætera festa mobilia) semper debet celebrari die Dominico. sed cum vna & eadem litera in Calendario non semper denotet diem Dominicū: non potuit Pascha, nec cætera festa mobilia, habere certum locum in Calendario. Quidam etiam dicunt, quod Dominus passus est 10. Cal. Aprilis. ibi enim fecit Adam, sicut dicit Theophilus Alexandriæ Episcopus, & sui consentanei. Vnde dicunt, quod eodem die voluit pati pro primo homine, & suo genere redimendo, quo die ipsum formauit. Alij verò, sicut Hieronymus, & sui sequaces, dicunt quod 8. Cal. Aprilis passus est Dominus (quæ de re nos alibi) ibi enim sumpsit carnē de beatâ virgine. vnde dicunt, quod eodem die, quo carnem assumpsit, passus est. Præceptum etiam erat in veteri testamento, agnum Paschalem post quartumdecimum diem Lunationis Aprilis immolari ad vesperam: hoc est, in principio 15. diei eiusdem Lunationis. Ita Christus, qui verus agnus est, & per illum agnum typicum figuratus, passus est in plenilunio: vt sicut eo tempore lumen nocti attribuitur copiosius: ita per passionem eius, humanæ naturæ gratia redemptionis plenius exhibeatur. **Quum ergo** Lunationes Aprilis quandoque sint prius, quandoque sint posterius: non potuit Pascha in certo loco assignari. Est autem infimum Pascha 11. Cal. Aprilis: quod sic patet; Infima Lunatio Aprilis incipit 8. Idus Martij, vbi 16. pro aureo numero assignantur. Lunationes quidem duæ in proximo præcedentes, sunt embolismales: duæ verò reliquæ illas præcedentes, sunt Lunationes Martij: licet posterior illarum terminetur prima die Aprilis: quod contingit per quartum embolismum. Si igitur à prima Lunatione Aprilis, à iam dicta, computentur 14. dies, primus terminus Paschalis erit in 11. Cal. Aprilis: **D** & bene potest contingere, mediante variatione literarum Dominicalium, quod Pascha celebretur in crastino illius termini, hoc est, 11. Cal. Aprilis. vnde ibi solet notari primum siue infimum Pascha. Ex dictis patet, quod bene datur hæc regula;

Post Martij Nonas, vbi sit noua Luna, require: Bis septem completo dies, vt Pascha sequatur.

E Omnes enim Lunationes Aprilis incipiunt post Nonas Martij (hic autem notabis, Lunationem Astronomis dici, illius mensis in quo terminatur) Quod autem vltimum Pascha celebretur 7. Cal. Maij, sic patet: Nam vltima Lunatio Aprilis signatur contra Nonas ipsius, vbi aureus numerus est 8. quamuis illa terminetur tertia die Maij: sicut sua præcedens, secunda die Maij: quod contingit propter tertium & vltimum embolismum. Si igitur ab vltima Lunatione Aprilis iam dicta, computentur 14. dies, erit vltimus terminus Paschæ, 14. Cal. Maij. & potest contingere, mediante variatione literarum Dominicalium, quod ille terminus, sit dies Dominicus: vnde dies Paschæ celebrabitur in sequenti Dominico, hoc est, 7. Cal. Maij. Ex his patet, quod in illis 35. diebus, qui sunt 11. Cal. Aprilis,

Cur Pascha et festa mobilia sedem variant in Calendario, mutatis subinde literis.

Agni Paschalis immolatio quo die fuerit, sic Christus passus in plenilunio, quo angelus sunt dies, à simili.

Pascha sequitur dies 14. post nonam Lunæ Martij nonas.

Vltimum Pascha celebrandum 7. cal. Maij & demonstratio. Quod in 35. diebus ab 11. cal. April. ad 7. cal. Maij semper Pascha celebratur: & ratio embolismi.

Quod in
Pascha no-
strum non
posset ca-
dere passio
Christi

N. quod
Christi mors
inciderit in
die 13. Mar-
ti, qui Azy-
morum ante
primam diem
et pasce-
re diceba-
tur.

Embolismus
quis dies et
unde dictus
mensisve
eiusque or-
igo unde.

Menses lu-
nares quot
diebus con-
sistunt singulis
et universi.
Et annus
embolismus
quis, et unde.

& 7. Cal. Maij, siue prius, siue posterius, semper habet Pascha celebrari, ita quod in anno communi, descendat terminus Paschæ per 11. dies: in anno embolismali, ascendat per 19. dies. Hæc ferè noster Sacroboscus: ubi quomodo accipiat præceptum immolandi agni Paschalis, vides, & cum antecedentibus potes confetre. & & qua ratione, posito termino, Iudaismus declinet, in quem, si ea obseruentur, quæ ex decreto Nicænæ Synodi proposui, cadere tamen fuerit impossibile. Porro dies verus passionis Christi, licet controuersus, alio spectat tamen: neq. in hunc cadere Pascha nostrum Nicæna Synodus sanxit. Hic tamen obiter Theologos monebo, vt videant, quomodo cum 12. & 13. Exodi, & Leuitici 23. & Numer. 28. & Deuteron. 16. capitibus, quadrare possit, quod scripsit Tertullianus lib. aduersus Iudæos; Christum mense Martio passum, temporibus Paschæ, die 8. Cal. Aprilis, die prima Azymorum. quum patuerit, Azymorum diem primum à 14. die Martij inchoare, & in diem 21. mensis eiusdem desinere: quumq. Matthæi 26. & Marci 14. scriptum constet; Scitis quia post biduū Pascha fiet. vt videatur potius (absit dicto inuidia, absit temeritas: adsit autē consensus cum piis & sanctis) Christi mors incidisse in decimūtertium diem Martij, qui *ἡμέραν* dicebatur, & diem Azymorum primū antecederet. si dicta Theophili opinio, aut ab hac discrepans citata Hieronymi, consentiret. Sed quæ de die passionis Christi fuit priscorū discrepantia, eadem vel maior de anno fuit: quum Nicephorus & alij plures, Christum natum anno quadragesimosecundo imperij Augusti, passum anno decimo octauo Tiberij Cæsaris scribāt, & triginta tres annos vitæ consummasse. At Tertullianus, & eum sequentus Lactantius, Tiberij anno quindecimo passum, anno ætatis trigesimo, referant. Quæ omnia sanctis & peritis Patribus relinquo expendenda & discutienda, eorumque decreto sciens ac volens acquiesco. Sed Hieroxylino vix possum assentiri, Paschatis celebrandi terminum vtrumque ad Lunationes (sic enim loquitur) Aprile referenti: & in nouas sese, minimèque necessarias difficultates coniicienti, embolismalium Lunationum (sic enim vocat) menses lunares

A mensis *ἡμέλιμος* in cyclo decemnouali, septies occurrit, tertio, sexto, octauo, vndecimo, decimoquarto, decimoseptimo, & vltimo decimonono. qui quoto diei mensis, imò & cui mensi sit inferendus, & quomodo epactas immutet, aliæque peruertat, alterius est longioris speculationis. Et tamē in ista tam celebri anni correctione, hic scrupus eximi flagitabat. Illud autem mirari subit, quid fiat, vt vnus huius hominutionis Ioannis de Sacro-bosco sententiæ, tot hominum doctissimorum hætenus ita consensus fauerit, vt ex illius calculatione & supputatione, tot annis, imò & seculis, Paschalis festi, & inde reliquorum festorum mobilium dies populo toti Christiano sit præscriptus ac præfixitus, & quidem à sanctione Nicæni Concilij vtrumque discrepans, vt ostendi, aut alioquin operæ & arduæ, & minimè necessaria. Scripsit Cyrillus, olim Synodo constitutum fuisse, vt quotannis Alexandrinus Episcopus (nam in hac ciuitate Alexandria flagrantius studium matheos video fuisse olim, quàm ferè alibi vsquam) Romano Pontifici certum verni æquinoctij diem, ad Pascha constituendum, significaret. Edixit olim Aurelianense Conciliū, deinde Toletanum, vt Epiphaniæ die, communi Episcoporum captato consensu, publicè Ecclesiis denuntiaretur, quoto mensis deinceps tertij die sacrum Paschatis festum celebrandum foret. id negotium tam arduum, tamq. difficile vnus vir bonus confecit ac determinauit. Qui vtinam & verè & certò rem confecisset ac determinasset: neque enim ad nostram vsque ætatem deuoluta foret ambiguitas, vix tandem nostris his diebus satis explicata. Mihi quidem hæc expeditissima videretur futura tanti negotij conficiendi, & Paschatis constituendi ratio, nisi quis potiorē indicarit. Scilicet primū vt per dioptras, aut per vmbraŕū gnōmonas mihi dictos, capteretur dies vt cæterorū solstitorum, & autumnalis, sic potissimū verni æquinoctij: quod semel deprehensum, sedem Paschæ indubitarā in sinuabit: post plenilunium. Nempe proximo sequente æquinoctium vernum die Dominico: nisi illud plenilunium in diem Dominicum, aut in diem Sabbati post meridiē inciderit: sic enim Pascha transferri ad proximū diem Dominicum, octauo post die futurū, Patribus æquinoctium supponētibus 21. die Martij, placuit iam à me commemoratis. Quæ tamen cautio, reductis solstitiis & æquinoctiis ad pristinā formā, vt fortè 24. aut 25. diem mensium, nedum utilis aut necessaria est futura. Quæ ratione, neque nostrum Pascha cum Quartadecimanis, neq. cum Phasæ Iudaico vnquam concurreret, neque tam procul à primo mense Nisan, ex veteri Mosis instituto recederet: quod nunc propter istas embolismalēs Lunationes, non rarò in extremū ferè mensem, Aprilem incurrit. Sed ad meū Liliū reuertor: & hoc admonendi vel consultandi gratiā, dictum à me accipi volo.

Enimuerò mi Lili, quod epactas paulò tardiores succedere, quàm anteuertere satius ducis, ne cum Quartadecimanis hæreticis sacrosanctum Pascha, vel in 14. Luna vel antè celebretur

N. mirum
quod viri
Ecclesiastici
tantum tri-
buerint Io-
de Sacrob.
authoritati
tot annis de
calendario et
festis mobi-
libus assi-
gnandi, qua-
liter.

Quod in
Ecclesiis oc-
cidentalibus
die Epipha-
niæ, ab Epi-
scopis coge-
rentur dies
proximi Pas-
chæ indicet-
retur.

N. cōsiliū
de statuēdo
Pascha in
multos an-
nos per des-
ignationem
vernī æqui-
noctij, quo-
modo.

(quod quidem securis illam Ecclesiæ à me positam cautionem contingere nequit) id verò iam à Patribus prouisum fuerat, sicut aliquoties ostendi, qui diem Paschæ in sequentem hebdomadam transferebant: siquando contigisset plenilunium die Dominica, aut sabbati, quæ à meridie inchoaretur, post æquinoctiū vernum. Ita ut dies Paschæ incideret in diem apparitionis Lunæ 22. aut 23. quod tu tamen obscurius dixeras Canonē 2. Pascha contingere celebrari post diem 21. Lunæ. cum vtrique diem non satis apertè declarans: Quum illud cōster, nunquā à nobis Pascha non post diem Lunæ 21. mensis Martij celebrari, non ob quam Sacro-boscius commentus est, sed quam fideliter ex sacris voluminibus exposui rationem: quum fateamur vtrique, mensis Martij 22. diem, esse primum terminum (à quo dixerint nostri Logici) Christiani Paschæ celebrandi: scilicet exacto iam toto septenario Azymorum, quorum dies primus 14. fuit, vltimus autem, dies 21. mensis Nisan definitus est. Sic enim Lunam 14. pro die mensis 14. *πνευματικὸς* exposui: ac non cum quibusdam, & quidem cum nostro Fernelio, ut Luna 14. Hebræorum possit cōtingere die mensis 10. aut 12. aut his celerius (extra positos cancellos) tardiusve: quod ex vaga Iudaicorum mensium, & Lunariorum oppositionum & *ἐκβολῶν* incōstantia, planè incertum sit futurum. Cæterum meo quidem iudicio, de Paschate sic à Nicænis patribus est institutum, ut in diem Dominicum à plenilunio illo verni æquinoctij, & diei Dominici proximum transferretur, ne eodem die Dominico, & plenilunij, & æquinoctij, & die Martij 21. eoquē vltimo de septem diebus solennitatis Azymorum, Christiani suum Pascha nouum, & incruentum illud augustissimum sacrificium, atque illibatam & synceram hostiam immolarent: quam mihi Graij doctores, *ἀρχαῖον ἑσθλαμακτικὸν θυσιῶν* visi sunt denominare.

Sed vndenam dies inchoari deberet (ne hoc indiscussum relinquam) iam olim quæsitum est: sic enim Plinius lib. 2. cap. 77. Ipsam diem alij aliter obseruauere. Babylonij inter duos Solis exortus: Athenienses inter duos occasus. Vmbri à meridie in meridiem, vulgus omne à luce ad tenebras. Sacerdotes Romani, & qui diem diffinire ciuilem, item & Ægyptij, & Hipparchus (quos inter, nos Christiani accensetur) à media nocte in mediam. quam sententiam Varro apud A. Gellium cap. 2. lib. 3. expressam reliquerat; Homines (inquiens) qui media nocte ad proximam mediā noctē, in his horis 24. nati sunt, vna die nati dicuntur. Apud Athenienses, à Sole occaso ad Solem iterum occidentem, omne id tempus, vnum diem esse idem Varro dixit. Babylonios porrò aliter: à Sole enim exorto ad exortum eiusdem incipientem, totum id spatium, vnius diei nomine appellare. Multos verò in terra Vmbria, vnum & eundem diem esse dicere, à meridie ad insequentem meridiem. Populum autem Romæ, dies singulos annumerare à mediā nocte vsque ad mediam proximam (cui & nos, ut dixi, assensimur etiamnum.) Censorinus his ferè suc-

cinit cap. 19. Dies ab Astrologis, & ciuitatibus, quatuor modis definitur: Babylonij quidem à Solis exortu ad exortum eiusdem astri, diem statuerunt. At in Vmbria, plerique à meridie ad meridiem. Athenienses autem ab occasu Solis ad occasum. Cæterum Romani à media nocte ad mediam noctem, diem esse existimauerunt. quos authores, & præcipuè Varronem, Gaza vtriusque peritus linguæ, libello Græco de mensibus est secutus: & nouissimus omnium Iunius cap. 7. lib. de anno & mensibus. Quò respexisse nostri maiores videntur, cum Pascha in octiduum differri sanxerunt, quando plenilunium Martium & æquinoctiale, in diem sabbati à meridie, aut in diem Dominicum incurrisset.

At verò, ô Lili sapientissime, quòd numerum illum planè aureum cycli decennoualis, sede exturbas ac dejicis velut mancum & imperfectum, & qui nouilunia non exactè demonstret: & subinde epactas pari annorum 19. decursu incedentes, deinceps inutiles fore colligis, & verè concludis, ac necessariò demonstras: & iam maiores nostri obseruant: eorumque in vicem amborum, numeras 30. epactas, vel potiùs 30. numeros epactales vocandos inducis ab 1. ad 30. ordine progredientes, magnas nos verò tibi gratias, imò ingentes, pro isto tam acuto tamque subtili inuento, & in perpetuum, sicuti polliceris (si vera polliceris) duraturo. Quanquam vix humani videtur esse posse ingenij, istos orbium cœlestium admirabiles cursus, humano calculo ita coërcere & adstringere, ut ne vel minimū, aut ne latum quidem, (quod aiunt) vnguem, intra tot annorum volumina anteuertant aut postuertant ac subsequatur. quod si fieri potuisset (cur autem non possit, mihi videtur iam antè causas probabiles attulisse) olim summorum Mathematicorum, ac præstantissimorum Astrologorum labor circa eam rem susceptus, longo temporum tractu irritus, ac potiùs inconstans & incertus non foret deprehensus. Quo fit, ut maiorem solus, cæteris gloriam sis relaturus, si quod vno propemodum omnes ore fassi sunt, humani viribus ingenij definiri non posse, id tu nostro vnus isto tam felici seculo, noua quadam & diuina virgulâ monstrante, excogitasti. Maecte igitur esto ingenij, vir præstantissime: atque ut te Virgiliano carmine magis exornem atque honorem, & magnificentius celebrem, atque extollam decentius;

Macte noua virtute senex scitur ad astra. Æn. 9.
E Atenim verò (inquam) mi Aloisi, ad hoc vsque tempus, tam singularis Aurei numeri visa est præstantia, tanta dignitas, ut de eius authore multi contenderint. Nam lib. 8. diuin. offic. Iulio Cæsari ascribitur: alij D. Bernardo assignat: sunt qui antiquiorem putent, & iam Theodosij magni tempore, circa annum Do. 390. à Theophilo Alexandrino Episcopo & Mathematico constitutum, quum à maioribus illum accepisset: deinde à Dionysio Abbate Romano illustratum, Iustiniano imperante anno Christi 532. Sacroboscius à Chaldæis aureum numerum inuentum,

De Gæa
& Lunæ.

N. ad Liliū
de numero
aureo &
epactis decē
noualibus
velut inuē-
libus.
Vfus 30.
epactarum
& ordo ad
quid.

Quod astro-
logorū cal-
culus in nu-
merandis e-
pactis lapsus
sit.

N. Contra
Liliū pro
numero au-
reo retinēdo
tanquā ne-
cessario.
Dubium de
Authore &
quo illo. Et
qua etate.

Quod Chri-
stiani Pas-
cha celebrēt
semper post
diem Lunæ
21. Martij,
& quare.

Pascha die
Dominico à
plenilunio
vernæ æqui-
noctij pro-
ximo, vel se-
quente post
dies 8. quan-
do.

Quod Chri-
stiani suum
Pascha die
ab Hebræis
diuerso ce-
lebrēt, quo-
modo.

Christiani
& Rom. à
media nocte
diem ciuile
incipiunt.

Dies qua-
liter varij
populi me-
siantur.

Dies qua-
tuor modis
definitur ab
astrologis &
ciuitatibus.

uentum, & Romam missum refert: quem acceptum, Romani propter facilitatem & utilitatem, in suo Calendario aureis literis scripserint: unde adhuc aureus appelleretur numerus. Multi hunc variis encomiis extulerunt: usus autem tam mirificus extitit, cum epactis illis decennotennibus, ut his ducibus, Lunæ cursum, & quadriformem habitum figuramque prædicere ac prævidere fas esset, si non exactè, at verò tamen propius, & notis Ephemeridum proximè accedentes periodos; vix ut 12. horarum intervallo, aut ad summum 13. distarent. Ut ea quidem ratione & viâ, tum Paschæ dies, tum festorum mobilium antecedentium & consequentium circuitus inueniri possent. Quæ cum ita sint, ô Lili candidissime, in

Numeri aurei & epactarum decennotennium usus mirificus ad quid: & an fallant, & quantum.

N. ad Liliam, pro detegendo errore numeri aurei plane necessarium, ad quid.

N. de diebus tricesimi epactarum Liliæ, sententia, contra de epactis veteribus.

N. operam pollicetur et Liliam diligenter.

cam (quæso) curam incumbere, id meditare, & elaborare, id etiam atque etiam perpendere, ut ne tam singulari beneficio, & nostra & posterorum ætas priuetur: tuncque pro tua solertia, & præstanti ingenij acumine perfice, & omnes calculos & lapillos moue ac promoue. quo numeri aurei errorem, qui levis est, sarcias & corrigas: aut sanè alias notas indices excogita, quibus præmonstrantibus, quisque possit, vel ἀναφύκτως, per articulos digitorum percensere ac prædicere, quoto mensis cuiusque die, Lunæ coniunctio, vel oppositio, vel quadratura utraque δὲ ἄνωγος futura sit. Namque tui isti dies tricenari epactales, à priscis utcumque discrepantes, hoc ipsum docent utrique: sed suo cuique libro semper præ manibus habendo sit opus; quo inspectando, id perdiscat, quod iam olim in mediis tenebris, & in solitudine, citra librorum supellestem ullam licebat pernosse. Quæ in rem, & studium operamque, nos pro nostra quidem virili, quoad & quantum licebit, incumbemus. Sed quia tam bene mereri de Christiana Republ. cœpisti, ut GREGORII XIII. Pontif. Max. suffragio (quod est mihi multorum millium instar, ut ille de suo Platone auditore Antigenidas gloriabatur) vnus omnibus anteferri merueris; id verò perfice, quod omnium optimè inchoasti: Ne quis de tuis istis præclaris operibus laboribusque iniquè æstimans, & tanti beneficii ingratus (quod iam de nonnullis inaudij) obiciat Homericum illud ex Iliad. ὅ. usurpatum à Platone in Phædro, χρυσὴν χαλκίαν διαμειδῶν. Ea verò te palma manet, ea laurea supremæ laudis tuo clarissimo nomini debe-

A tur. Quam nisi præripis; iam mihi videre videor Cyprianum Leouicium, nostri seculi Mathematicum longè celeberrimum, ut alia longè pulcherrima solerti ingenij acumine in tota mathesi explicantem & promouentem: sic istum aurei numeri leuiculum errorem breuementurum ac deterfuturum: ut ne isto tam singulari indice, à maioribus nostris acutissime inuento, & per annos mille plus minùs felicissime usurpato, tota deinceps posteritas priuetur. Eademque opera, diligenti obseruatione adhibitâ, qui æquinotiorum & solstitiorum certas metas restituat; & qui embolismas illas tricas summoveat: unde mox paschalis ritus multò certior & constantior sedes in posterum stabiliatur. Idem namque ille Leouicius, circa magni anni tantopere olim quæsitum terminum cum incubuisset, reclamantibus licet multis, id deprehendit, quod iam multò antè nostri maiores prodiderant; ita referente Censorino. cap. 15. Est annus (ait) quem Aristoteles maximum potius quam magnum appellat; quem Solis & Lunæ, vagarumque quinque stellarum orbes conficiunt, quum ad idem signum, ubi quondam simul fuerunt, vnà referuntur. cuius anni hyems summa, est καταιγισμός; quam nostri diluuium vocant: æstas autem, ἐκπύρωσις; quod est mundi incendium. Nam in his alternis temporibus, mundus tum exignescere, tum exauescere videtur. Hunc Aristarchus putauit esse annorum vertentium duum millium cccc lxxxiiii. Aretes Dyrhachinus, quinque millium dclii. Herodotus & Linus, decem milliū dccc. Dion, tredecim (millium) dcccclxxxiiii. Orpheus, centum viginti. Cassandrus, tricies sexies centum millium. alij verò infinitum esse, nec in se vnquam reuerti existimauerunt. Posteriores ad annos circiter dccc. reuocant. sed de his aliàs.

N. de Leouicio Math. præstantiss.

Numeri aurei præstantia & antiquitas.

N. de æquinotio & solstitiis corrigendis, & embolismis remouendis, ad quid.

Ad mægnum annu post reuolutes 800. terminetur & nouu inchoet.

N. videtur assentiri.

Nunc verò palmam si fortè neglexerit Leouicius; video succedentem illi in eadem gente Germanica, Clauium Mathematicum doctissimum, vnum de societate eorum, qui se Iesuitas dici volunt. quem ego & hortor, & moneo, ut hanc prouinciā suscipiat qua defungi posse illum magno suo cum honore & Reipublicæ commodo, vltro polliceor, ac recipio: & nisi animus fallit, illi de secundo successu bene ominor.

Sequitur tabula, & proportio, & nomina mensium.

Romanorum.	Græcorum.	Hebræorum & Chaldæorum.	Aegyptiorum.
Ianuarius	Gamelion	Sheuet seu Scebat	Chiac seu Ayah
Februarius	Elaphebolion	Adar	Tiby siue Sobbi
Martius	Munychion	Nisan	Mechir siue Mayr
Aprilis	Thargelion	Iar, seu Iar.	Phamenoth, seu Phemanich
Maius	Sciophorion	Sinan	Pharmuri siue Sarmorum
Iunius	Hecatombeon	Tamnus seu Tamus	Pachon seu Machor
Iulius	Metagitnion	Ab vel Au	Pauni siue Sensi
Augustus	Boëdromion	Elul	Epiphi seu Acticha.
September	Memaeterion	Tizri seu Tisri	Mesori seu Mauzori
October	Pyanepsion	Mathesua seu Marche sua	Thoth seu Tuth
November	Anthesterion	Kisleu seu Kasleu	Phaophi vel Bala
December.	Posideon.	Teuet seu Tebeth.	Athir vel Acco.

*Pœna legi
in abortus
auctores.*

pitur dedit, Lacedæmonis Pythius ipse, Pallas Atheniensibus. Horum igitur discipuli Legisla-
tores, Lycurgus & Solon, per hæc quæ modò dixi, capita duo, firmum nobis de fœtu ac indubitable argumentum præbuerunt. Nisi enim animalia essent, non in ipsos abortus auctores (de quibus etiam cauit Hipp. in suo Iusiurâdo) legibus apertè proposita pœnâ animaduertissent. quoniam verò animalia esse dicebant: iccirco pœnam instituerunt. Quis perfectus iam ac indubitatus homo, ius exigens causâ eius, qui in vtero non homo, ac ne animatus quidè est, vnquam hæreditatem dimittet? ignarus an animal sit, quod in vtero est? Quid igitur animal esse, quod in vtero est, negare contendis? Quis successore vitur eo, quem nondum esse credimus? Quis sibi dominum dicet eum, de quo dubitatio est? Nondum natus erat Pericles Olympius, & iam Græcos omnes ob infomniū terrebat: nondum Pisistratus, & tyrannus erat. Alexander ex Olympiade nondum natus, ab omnibus iam Ammonis filius dicebatur, & regni princeps; Cypselusque cùm adhuc generaretur, etsi Bacchiadis non videbatur, terrente ipsos spectro. Hecuba quoque ante partū formidasse Alexandrum dicitur, graui visione perterrita: at ipsi Phryges, omnes ex igne nondum genito calamitates accepisse. Itémque Alcmena Herculem procreans, terrorem aduersariis, diffidentiam inimicis incutiebat, quum adhuc infantem vtero gereret. Tantum igitur abest, vt fœtus, non animal dicatur, vt non modò animal sit; sed etiam humanæ naturæ vim habeat; quanuis adhuc vtero radicitus hæreat. Sed iam ad fœtum ipsum, tanquam animal id, vt nihil ipsi, quò minùs homo sit, desit, formatum nostra vertatur oratio. Proдите quæso, è sinibus nihil rimentes, ô fœtus, neque generis demissionem, neque charissimos alienatos, neq. opes conferendas. non vos multorum calumnia, neque horum qui naturam ipsam iniuria afficiunt, excludit malignitas. quapropter eos pœna vos afficietis, vt Pericles, vt Pisistratus, vt Paris, vt Macedo Alexander, atque Hercules.

*Fœtus con-
summatius,
quoto mense
mouetur.*

*Figuratio
et motus et
perfectio in-
fantis in v-
tero quæ
fiat, et va-
rio ab euen-
tu.*

Sed remotis istis coloribus rhetoricis, ita tandem cum Hipp. concludamus, ex sect. 7. l. 6. Epidem. Quicquid in septuaginta mouetur, in triplicitate perficitur. Et quicquid in nonaginta mouetur, in triplicitate perficitur. Quam sententiam sic idem mutatis verbis lib. de alimento explicat; Ad figurationem, soles 35. ad motum, 70. ad perfectionem, 210. Alij autem sic tradunt; Ad formam, 45. ad motum 76. ad exitum, 210. Alij sic; Ad formam, 50. ad primū saltum, 100. ad perfectionem, 300. Alij sic; Ad discriminationem, 40. ad transitum, 80. ad elapsum, 240. non est, & est. gignuntur autem in his & plures, & pauciores, secundum totum, & secundum partes. non multò autem plures aut pauciores: pauciores verò tot, & quæcunque alia his similia. Verumenimverò remotâ verborum ambage, ita cum Galeno ad lib. 6. Epidem. sect. 7. statuimus; Quum duos insignes ac præcipuos legitimi & vitalis partus mensis sciret & norasset Hippocrates, septimum & no-

num (Pythagoras præter hos, etiam decimum adiecerat, vt indicaui) ira extulisse per multiplicationem ternariam, seu maius, triplicationem mensium & motus & partus. Quisquis enim partus intra nonaginta dies moueri incipit (quod spatium est trimestre, singulis mensibus triginta dies continentibus, ex hypothesi) idem triplicato mensium numero, id est mense nono, siue diebus 270. in lucem editur perfectus; & numeris omnibus absolutus. At quisquis celerior hunc terminum anteuertit, & lucem intempestiuam, vitalis tamen futurus affectat; is intra 70. dies moueri in aluo materna percipitur, instar muscæ leniter volitantis: idémque triplicato isto numero, id est, mense seprimo, in auras vitales prorumpit, siue diebus 210. sic etiam Pythagoras senserat: sed senario hunc, non autem septenario numero metitur, vt antè monui. Ita vt mensis quilibet hoc loco, ex Hippocr. æstimatione, dierum 30. censeatur. quam supurationem etiam Galenus lib. 2. de diebus criticis sequitur, quatuor menses diebus 120. æstimans: quamquam alias paucioribus, vt patuit in antecedentibus, & postea fortasse repetam apertiùs.

Atque hi sunt legitimi partus, vt iusti, sic & frequentissimi duo termini: quos rarò puerperam anteuerrere; aut subsequi & remorari contingit. quod tamen si quando accidat (accidit autem non infrequenter) ea valebit multiplicationis ratio, quam paulò antè ex libro de alimento subieci; per *τρίπλασμα* siue triplicationem. Genethliaci suam quandam & nouam multiplicationem sequuntur; & moras fœtus in vtero materno ferè istas, neque plures aut pauciores assignant: nempe dierum 268. qui menses octo faciunt, & dies insuper 18. aut dierum 273. qui nouem menses, & tres dies præterea metiuntur; aut dierum 283. qui ad nouem menses adiciunt insuper dies 18. At qui venit adimplendus, non autem solutus legem Naturæ & Mosis CHRISTVS IESVS, similis nobis factus absque peccato, & humana conditione natus; augustò suo natali nos docuit, quis verus & legitimus foret homini nascendi terminus: Nam conceptus in aluo Mariæ virginis deiparæ, de Spiritu sancto, ad 8. Cal. Aprilis, emenso nouimestri spatio, ortu auspiciatissimo, & toti orbi salufero, in lucem prodit, qui erat ante secula Deus, 8. Cal. Ianu. & quidem præter communem hominum sortem, multis miraculis illustratus; de quibus nos ad Strabum, tum ex Euangelio, tum ex historia sacra, imò & prophana, & Sibyllarum oraculis. Et quidem (vt ferunt) in primo natus gradu Capricorni, iam incipientibus lucibus augescere, quum lux vera illucesceret; atq. adeo Dominico die; quia Dominus & artifex dierum oriebatür: porro in ortu Virginis; quia ortus de Virgine, mortuus (vt nonnulli perhibent) eodem quo & die conceptus fuerat; & quidem die parasceues, quem Veneris, antiquo & gentili ritu vocat. ita vt non modò dierum, sed etiâ horarū spatia obseruasse nascendo dicatur, Augustino serm. de nativ. Domini, Leoni

*Christi co-
ceptus et
partio noni-
mestri
quando.*

*Christi na-
tinitas mi-
raculis illu-
strata.*

*Christus
eodem die
mortuus
quo et con-
ceptus, per
certa horæ
vnt inter-
ualla.*

Papæ, Orosio, Alberto, Toscato, Driedonio, Paulo Forosempronienfi, & aliis tum religionis, tum antiquitatis authoribus. Quod idem possem, si vacaret, de beata virgine deipara demonstrare; cuius conceptio auspiciatissima, & labis primigeniæ expers, in diem incidit 6. Idus Decemb. natiuitas autem, nono post mense consummato, 6. Idus Septemb. quod idem de præcurfore Christi Iohanne Baptista confirmant: cuius conceptio in 8. Cal. Octob. natiuitas autem, in 8. Cal. Iul. incidit, sed his modò prætermisissis, quod instar, agamus.

Priorem illam partus rationem, ut legitimam & probatam, & ab Hipp. bis repetitam 2. & 6. Epidem. nos quidem recipimus & admittimus: & Auicennas lib. 3. fen. 21. tract. 1. cap. 2. admisit; quem nunc sit satis indicasse, ob sermonis & tractationis barbaram rusticitatem: illud potius sit ex Macrobio repetere lib. 1. in Somn. Scip. ex Pythagora & Hipp. desumptum, & eleganter explicatum; Humano partui frequentiore vsum nouem mensium, certo numerorum modulamine natura constituit: sed ratio sub asciti senarij numeri multiplicationem procedens, etiam septem menses compulit usurpari. quam breuiter absolutèq. duos esse primos omnium numerorum cubos; id est, à pari, octo; ab impari, vigintiseptem: & esse imparem, marem; parem, foeminam, superius expressimus. Horum vterque si per senarium numerum multiplicetur, efficiunt dierum numerum, qui septem mensibus explicantur. Coeant enim numeri, mas ille qui memoratur, & foemina, octo scilicet, & vigintiseptem: pariunt ex se quinque & triginta. hæc sexies multiplicata, creant decem & ducentos: qui numerus dierum, mensem septimum claudit. Ita est ergo naturæ fecundus hic numerus, ut primam humani partus perfectionem, quasi arbitrat quidam maturitatis absoluat. Discretio vero partus futuri (sicut Hippocrates refert) sic in vtero dignoscitur: Aut enim septuagesimo, aut nonagesimo die, conceptus mouetur. dies

Discretio partus in vtero formati ad motum & exitum per triplicationem.

Partus nouimestris qua necessitate fiat quòq. modo.

blime distendens. Id autem nonnunquam molitur vno mense (si credere dignum est) ante partum. At sic se inuertens, nihil defringit; quòd laxior sit umbilicus, duos plerumque cubitos longus, multis modis (seu nodis) & inuolucris foetum præcingens. Instante partu, ille calcitrans, primum amnium membranam, manuum pedumq. crebra impulsione difrumpit; ac tum miscetur vrina sudori. Post hæc vero, maiore impetu sese conuolutans, plurima acetabula dissoluit: quo tempore mater, ventris tortiones experitur, defluitque sanguis in vteri capacitatem. Postea vero secundæ ab acetabulis euelluntur, & reliquæ discerpuntur membranæ; aquæ ex vtero defluunt. cumque nil ampliùs habet foetus, excidit ceu maturum malum ab arbore, soluto sponte pediculo. hæc quidem foetus molitur. Vterus vero, qui nouem continenter mensibus tota ceruice connixerat, foetum auidè comprehendens, tum os paulatim aperit; ac primum quidem ita diducit, ut obstetricibus minimum in id digitum immittere liceat. dehinc vero ampliùs, ut obstetrices allantoeidem tunicam, & quas vocant aquas ori obuias percipiant, ab his vero, ore ad foetus prolapsionem satis patente, vniuersus vteri fundus (fundum dici maluissem) quam proximè potest, ad os se contrahit, foetumq. foras propellit; cui & aliæ, quæ circumstant, partes suppetias ferunt. Ipsa quoque mulier non mediocriter sibi ipsi opitulatur, & viribus connititur ad foetum strenuè excludendum, contractis intentisque his, qui in abdomine sunt, musculis. Foetus in os vteri delapsus, capite corpori viam parat, seque foras dat per lubricam ceruicem; ut quam copiosus effluenter humor perfuderat. Multa igitur in tam difficili arduoque opere conueniunt; foetus, mulier, & vterus. quem ipsi aliquando vidimus tanto impetu foetum extrudere, ut simul foras excideret. Quo autem pacto, os vteri tantopere dehiscat, ut per id foetus elabatur, nescit Galenus, nec aliud quam admirari potest, ut alio quodam antea problemate ostendimus. ex quo tamen desumpta hæc à Fernelio deprehendis, si eorum meministi, quæ iam antè in prima parte problematis huius citauimus ex cap. 3. lib. 3. de facult. natural. Sed suo tamen more, vix vnquam authorem, aut librum, aut locum vllum nominatim indicando: quòd antehac vsquam illi ab initio operis huius obiecimur.

Iam vero grauis incurrit hoc loco quæstio, & à paucis (nolui dicere à nullis) satis hæctenus obseruata vel explicata, circa Hipp. multiplicandi rationem ab Arithmetica non paulum discrepantem. Namq. mensem interdum diebus metitur integris, interdum multò breuiori tempore. sic enim lib. de septimestri partu, septimū mensem diebus 182. ac dimidiò, insuper accedente quadam diei particula, metitur: quæ summa dierum, dimidium annum planè efficit: Sic ut in anno Hippocratico (ut cuiuspiā prima fronte videatur) quatuordecim menses sint futuri. Et tamen idem ibidem, duos menses vnde sexaginta diebus componit. ita ut mēsis illi æstime-

Foetus membranae, quot sint: Et quando tormina puerperam corripiant.

Vteri in partu suppetia, quæ.

Puerpera nifus adpariendum quis, & quantum.

Vterus in partu quòd tempore dehiscat, & quæ vi.

N. attentio ad sequentia, de multiplicatione Hipp. instituta.

dies tantum Hippocrates 15. numerat? vltimi vero dies tantum 20. Sanè (inquam) quod tres septimanæ, 20. diebus terminentur, tum ex eodẽ Hipp. tum ex Galeno ipso constitit ad aph. 24. lib. 2. & prognost. sect. 3. & lib. 3. de diebus crifimis, & lib. 2. de crifibus, & alibi. & hoc ad vicenarium numerum vltimi mensis, primo loco à me dictũ sit. Illud autem prius, de quindecim diebus mensis primi, ex eo mihi quidem videtur accipere, quod conceptum desinente mensium fluore fieri opportunè, & verè scripsit, vt alibi productis locis docuimus, & postea ex 2. epidẽ. & lib. de octimestri partu repetemus, & aliàs ex Aristotele ipso & Galeno. Atque illo quidem æuo, mulieres tum longiori dierum interuallo,

Dies 40. aur olim insignis habitus, ex matre mulieris & factus.

Fluxus sanguinis ab utero post conceptum quãdiu fiat, à tẽ à partu.

Mulier olim quot diebus à partu immunda habebatur ob sanguinis fluxum. Maria virginis lani puritatis & legũ obseruationis.

tum longè maiori sanguinis copiã, ad heminas Atticas duas aut plures, id est sesquilibram, seu libram vnã cum semisse, aut ad libras duas plurẽsve expurgari singulis mensibus solebant, vt scribitur lib. de natura pueri, & lib. 1. de morb. muliebribus. A partu autem per totos dies 35. aut 40. vt idem Hipp. scripsit locis productis. Quare in Græcia dies habent quadagesimos insignes, ait Censorinus cap. 12. namque prægnaans ante diem quadagesimum non procedit in fanum: & post partum, 40. diebus pleræque fætæ grauiorẽs sunt, nec sanguinem interdum continent. & paruuli fermè per hos fètẽ morbidi, sine risu, nec sine periculo sunt. ob quam causam, quum is dies præterit, diem festum solent agitare: quod tempus appellant *παρὰ γεννησιν*. Et Arist. cap. 3. lib. 7. histor. animal. Purgationes autem accidunt plurimis, quum conceperint, ad tempus quoddam, scilicet triginta dierum; maximè si concepta fœmina est: quadraginta, si mas (antea ad mensem secundũ produci dixi, quum Hippocratis sententiam exponerem.) A partu etiam purgationes eodẽ dierum numero consequi volunt: quanquam non æquè ita diligenter eueniunt. Ne de Leuitico repetam cap. 12. nisi quod ex eodẽ capite, mihi probare licet illam quindecim paulò minùs dierum menstruam fluxionem statam & periodicam menstruorum; quæ hoc æuo vix ad dies 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. ad summum perdurat: ait igitur: Ipsa mulier triginta tribus diebus manebit in sanguine purificationis suæ, si masculũ peperit. Sin autem fœminam pepererit, immunda erit duabus hebdomadibus, iuxta ritum fluxus menstrui: & sexaginta sex diebus manebit in sanguine purificationis suæ. & quæ sequuntur alibi dicenda, ne misceam sacra prophanis; & ex Luca resumam cap. 2. de B. Mariæ purificatione legem implente, quum ramen esset ipsa purissima, & templũ suo ingressu, & Iesu pueri oblatione, potiùs purificaret & sanctificaret. Sic ergo se & menstrui muliebris olim, & purgationis *νοχέων* à partu habuit ratio dierum, nũc vtique multò breuior, vt & corpora breuiora, & vita breuior, & sanguinis portio vnicuique minor. His accedit aliquot mora dierum, quibus sperma in vtero manet iners & euandidum: quo interuallo trium fortè aut plurium dierũ, adhuc incerta manet conceptio, vt postea dicitur. Aristoteles loco nuper citato; Semen si in

septimum diem intus permanferit, ait, conceptum iam esse certum est: nam quæ effluxiones vocantur, intra tot numero dies fieri solent. quod nominatim Hip. repetit lib. de septimestri partu; Nam plurimi (ait) abortus in his diebus fiunt (nempe primo & septimo) nominantur autem tale s effluxus, non abortus.

Semen in vtero quãdo conceptũ indicat à dierum numero.

Ergo vera dicere Hippocratem, & rationi cõsentanea, iure omnis ætas existimauit: tantumque ei detulit, velut numini cuiquam, vt & falli, & fallere nescium videlicet censuerit: quantum nẽdum ipse sibi vendicauit, à futuris deceptum se professus; vt & Celsus ex eius confessione arripuit. Quo fit, vt septimestrem partum vitalem omnis ætas, omnis natio, omnis secta & professio duxerit: licet rationem non omnes perinde viderint aut intellexerint (tantum valet præiudicata opinio) siue totis septem mensibus legitimum dierum numerum explentibus 210. vt idem metitur alibi, & nos indicauimus: siue posteriore isto modo abbreviatis, & ad 182. cum dimidio reductis, Quem posteriorem numerum, si nostris moribus ac temporibus accommodes, dixeris fætum vitalem eum fore, qui totos & integros sex menses solares exegerit (qui 182. diebus constant, ex hypothesi, cũ dimidio, & tribus horis) aut Græca & Hippocratica supputatione, hunc in modum; Sex menses faciunt dies 177. his adde insuper de mense septimo, dies quinque cum dimidio: eruntque toti dies 182. cum dimidio: quo spatio natus infans, vitalis Hippocrati ducitur. Hunc enim mensium terminum hoc libro assignat, singulis tribuens mensibus dies 29. cum dimidio. quod si, vt alibi apud eundem Hipp. diebus 30. mensem singulum definias; sex menses efficiẽt dies 180. ita vt de septimo mense futuro & sequenti, duo tantum dies integri cum dimidio vnus diei, & particula quapiam (quam dolores partus & impedimenta facillè obliterant) ad legitimum septimestrem partum desiderentur. qui coniuncti, annum dimidium (quo dixi & ostendi modo) faciunt. Nam bis 182. dies, cum dimidio vnus, dies 365. integros explent: quæ summa est anni, nam de particula diei quarta, iã nos copiosissimè antehac. Ac 182. diuisa per 7. (Hippocrates enim septenarij vim multò maximam hĩc ducit, secutus Pythagoræ placita, vt ostendi antea) nihil relinquunt: & quotientem habent 26. nam 7. 26. eundem numerum restituant 182. Sic Polybus dies centum octoginta duos & dimidium sufficere putat, vt ortus aliquis viuat. Quod spatium, quamuis sex menses comprehendat, septem tamẽ computatur: quia dies vltimi septimum mensem incurrunt. tot enim diebus à bruma ad Solstitium Sol peruenit ac redit. sic Plutarchus hunc locum lib. de placitis philosoph. cap. 123. citat & explicat: authorẽque non Hippocratem, sed Polybũ (quod ab initio monui) assignat. Sic igitur nobis constabit ratio partus septimestris ad calculum Hippocraticum vtrumque reducta. Ita tamen, vt si totum mensem septimum decurrerit, nihilo seciùs, imò vel multò magis vitalis sit futurus; cui totus & integer septem mensiũ

Quod septimestris partus vitalis habeatur apud omnes

Mensis Græcus diebus constat 29. cũ dimidio interdũ 30.

Quod 7. menses Hipp. dimidium annum cõpleant per additionem & diuisionem per 7.

Partus 7. mensiũ in regravatũ, potens vitalis quam anni dimidiũ iuxta Hippocratem.

Septenarij
vnde.

numerus accesserit: & si qua vis septenarij tanta est; ea nihilominus isti septimestri partui planè & consummatè adfuerit. nam 210 diuisa per 7. nihil relinquunt: & quotientem habent 30. (nam 7. 30. summam illam multiplicando faciunt) qui mensis vnus 30. dierum terminus est. Diuersa ergo ratione, idem partus septimestris erit calculatione Hippocratica à me exposita: idemq. semestris & est, & dici potest; quia sex menses solares compleuit; id est dimidium annum, siue dies 182. cum dimidio.

Septimestris
partus idem
est semestris
dici potest,
quomodo.

N. Ap-
strophe ad
maritos,
quod fœtus
anni dimi-
di sit legi-
timus, qua-
liter, et sub
qua condi-
tione.

Quæ cum ita sint, vos ô mariti & coniuges, hortor & moneo; si quando à die nuptiarum primo, vos pulchra prole parentes vxor fecerit, intra anni dimidium, siue menses Solares sex integros; vt ne factam temerè vobis iniuriam, aut nomini & existimationi vestræ creatam vel conflata furtiue calumniam faciliè suspicemini, aut queramini: si nulla prius iusta violatæ fidei maritalis, aut coniugalis tori polluti infedit suspicio: si familiæ vxoriæ nulla nota infamiæ prius in eo genere iniusta est: si vxor eadem in posterum æquali, aut paulò longiori temporis spatio, natiua quadam retentricis infirmare facultatis, vterum gestare deprehendatur. Hoc enim Hippocratico decreto, & medicorum ac physicorum quodam velut Senatuf-consulto, & pudor & fama coniugalis facta recta vindicatur: hoc velut *ἀπόστα*, cui & Curiam & Parlamentum, & Iudices, & Prætores, & Præfides parère vltro cupimus & rogamus, legitimi partus prima & ocysissima meta; & tanquam latifundij siue *ἀπορροίας* genitalis primus limes constituitur stabiliturque.

N. S. C.
Hipp. &
Medicorum
de partu 6.
mensium
vnalis &
legitimo.
N. Primus
enigma
Hipp. seu
Oedipus
soluit.

Hæc mihi ad Hipp. obscurissimam, & nulli adhuc (quod legerim) satis perspectam aut explicatam de septimestri partu sententiam dicta sint. Cætera enim, quæ scripsit idem de decimestri & vndecimestri partu (quem Galenus non agnoscebat tamen) & post Hippocratem, Aristoteles, ista vtrius supputatione metienda sunt (qua de re paulò post certiùs audies) & quia Hippocrates scripsit, & asseuerauit, recipienda sunt: tum propter auctoritatem summi viri, vt Iureconsultus homini assurgebat: tum quia rationi congrua sunt: tum quia experientia consentanea. Nam si proportio motus ad partum recipitur, ab eodem authore primum proposita; scimus certissimè fœmellas, imò & masculos imbecillos aut ægtos [his dies 30. illis, Hipp. lib. de natura pueri] post tertium mensem, & iam ingruente quarto mense, aut eo penè exacto, frequentissimè atque vt plurimum moueri. sic verò Hippocrates ipse lib. de natura pueri profiteretur; Quum itaque extremitates corporis pueri foras ramos sparserint, & vngues ac pili, radices egerint; tunc iam etiam mouetur. & tempus ad hoc fit masculo quidem menses tres; fœmellæ verò, quatuor: sic enim vt plurimum contingit. Sunt autem aliqui pueri, qui ante hoc tempus mouentur. Mouetur autem primum masculus, quia fortior est, quàm fœmella: & primum quoque conformatur masculus; nam à fortiore & craf-

Decimestris
& vndeci-
mestris par-
tus, an sint.
& quomo-
do mensedi.

Analogia
motus ad
partum in
mare &
fœmella,
qualis &
quoto men-
se fiat. hoc
quidem
tempore.
Motus in-
fantis quoto
mense &
qualiter
perfecto fœ-
tu fiat.

Mos ante
fœminam
mouetur &

flore genitura fit. At Plinius cap. 6. lib. 7. Mo-
tus in vtero, quadragesimo die [de mare lo-
quitur] & de fœmina; primus nonagesimo die
motus. parum verisimili discrimine tanti in-
terualli in masculo & fœmella, contra Hipp.
Ob quem motum fœtus tam tardum, pleræque
mulierculæ dum nos consulunt, an vtero ge-
rant, planè dubitant, etiam circa mensem quin-
tum: vt certa mihi fide retulerunt: nisi certioribus aliunde petitis signis imprægnatio confir-
maretur. Quas tamen moliri quicquam, aut
menses suppressos proritare, aut venam per-
tundere, aut fortioribus vti medicamentis, con-
tra nonnullorum temeritatem, & consilium
præceps, sæpe inhibui: suo deinceps & legiti-
mo tempore [Deum testem appello] vitales &
absolutos fœtus enixas. Et iam frequenti con-
stat experientia, plerasque honestissimas & le-
tissimas matronas, seu matres familias [qua-
rum de castimonia & pudicitia ne minima qui-
dem fuit mora suspicio, & quarum mihi sup-
petunt exempla] feliciter enixas fuisse, & vita-
les partus edidisse post absolutum mensem de-
partum 10.
cium, & iam vndecimo vertente [inchoato
dico, non autem absoluto] siue maritis contu-
bernalibus vsas; siue ruri, vel militiæ, aut pere-
grè degentibus, aut alioquin domo & vrbe ab-
sentibus, siue adeo iisdem mortuis viduas, &
posthumæ prole post virorum fata, auctas. cuius
rei fidem Hippocrates ipse ab obstetricum re-
latione repetit tum alibi, tum lib. de carnibus.
Siquis [ait] hoc deprehendere vult, facile est
obstetrices adire, quæ parientibus adsunt, &
ex ipsis percunctari. Quem euentum & Im-
peratores suis edictis, & Iurisconsulti suis res-
ponsis, & Philosophi suis monumentis recepe-
runt, approbarunt, confirmarunt. Vt tamen
fareamur esse verum, quod Aristoteles, & ante
Aristotelem, Hippocrates antè citari ambo
scripserunt: non raro falli mulieres, vt seriùs,
aut seciùs & citiùs sese concepisse autument.
sic enim primum Hippocrates lib. de natura
pueri; Cæterum quæ longiùs, quàm decem
mensium tempus, vterum gestare sibi visæ sunt
[nam hoc iam sæpe audiui] illæ ipsæ hoc mo-
do, quem dicturus sum, deceptæ sunt. Cum
vteri spiritum acceperint in seipsos, à ventre
flatum exhibente, eleuantur ac intumescunt
[contingit enim hoc] videntur sanè sibi mulie-
res tunc concepisse. Præterea si menses non
precedentes, congregati fuerint in vtero, &
diutiùs manserint, semper perfluunt in vteros,
aliquando vnà cum flatu à ventre, aliquando
etiam calefcentes: & sanè tunc quoque in vte-
ro habere mulieres sibi videntur: nimirum
mensibus non prodeuntibus, & vteris eleua-
tis. Deinde aliquando menses sua sponte erum-
punt; aut aliis superuenientibus à corpore in
vteros, & priores protrudentibus, & flatu
egreditur; & multis iam statim post mensium
purgationem, vteri hiant, & ad pudendum ver-
runtur: & tunc viris permixtæ, ad se genituram
conciunt eadem die, aut omnino in paucis.
Existimant autem inexpertæ harum rerum ac-
rationum, etiam illo tempore se in vtero ha-

formati,
quæ de re

N. Cauti-
das, penes
purgatio-
nem &
phleb.

N. Obser-
uatio circa
partum 10.
& 11. men-
sum quo-
modo.

Hipp. expe-
rientia ab
obstetricum
relatu.

Quid mihi
licet sæpe
falluntur in
ipso conce-
ptionis tem-
pore, quo-
modo esse
Hipp.

Menstrua-
rū suppress-
io verum
conceptum
ementitur,
quomodo.

Mulieres
quomodo
falli contin-
gat circa
conceptionis
tempus.

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buisse; quando menses non prodibant ipsis, & vteri erant eleuati ac tumentes. Vbi deinceps non vltra decem menses vterum gestari, siue oblitus sui, seu diuersus author demonstratur se profiteretur. ac lib. de septimestri partu: Verum dies non similiter neque dicunt, neq. cognoscunt mulieres: Decipiuntur enim, ex eo, quod non eodem modo fiunt: sed aliquando à septimo mense plures dies accedunt ad quadraginta, aliquando à nono. tunc enim fieri necesse est; prout contigerit mulierem in ventre concipere tum mente, tum tempore. Porro mulieribus de partibus (non autem partibus) fidem derogare non oportet: dicunt enim omnia, & semper dicunt, & semper proferunt. neque enim aut opere, aut sermone persuasæ sunt: sed ex eo quod cognouerunt in corporibus suis contigisse. Licet autem & volentibus aliud dicere. quæ verò iudicio præditæ sunt, & victoriam de hac sententia pronuntiant, semper dicunt ac

Quod mulieribus de his quæ circa partum contingunt omnino sit credendum cur.

Partuum alij 7. alij 8. alij 9. alij 10. alij 11. mense prædicti in lucem: sed octimestres non superuiuant, decimestres contra quare.

Abortus 4. vel 8. mense ferè cum matre facti perimis.

Quod 11. mense factus non nascitur: & cur puerpera fallatur à dolore mensium.

testantur nasci septimestres, & octimestres, & nouimestres, & decimestres, & vndecimestres: & ex his octimestres non superstites manere. vbi, cur decimestres potissimum viuant, causam adiicit; quod fortissimi sint, & plurimum à vulgari puerorum tempore ab sint: & in septem quadragenariis nasci statuit; id est, diebus 280. qua de multiplicatione iam antea. At secutus physicum philosophus, sic ait Aristoteles cap. 4. lib. 7. de historia animalium, post expositam partus multiplicis differentiam, circa problematis huius principia citatam, 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. mensium. Sed mulierem (aiebat) sui conceptus initium latuit: infestantur enim mulieres maximè mense quarto octauoque. & si vel quarto, vel octauo fœtus perierit, ipsæ quoque magna ex parte intereunt. Itaque fit, ne solum mense octauo nati non viuant; sed etiam ipsis emortuis (caueant sibi monitæ mulierculæ) periculum quæ pariunt, subeant. Simili modo & qui diuturniores, quàm vndecimo mense nasci videntur, latere putantur. latet enim mulieres conceptus initium; si cum antè inflatus fuerit vterus, vt sæpe accidit, post coierint, atque conceperint. hoc enim principium esse sui conceptus existimant, quod simile indicium attulit. Ita multiplex perficiendi tempus patiendiq. diuersum homini datum est. Timæus autem etiam alium quendam erroris modum istum docet cap. 123. lib. de placitis philosoph. Duodecim enim mensibus partum gestari credidit: nouem tamen eos interdum existimari, interdum & septem: quia non semper statim à conceptione, menstrua supprimantur. Quam rationem vt veram, & frequentem, & multum efficacem, iam alibi vsipiam antea ad Hippocratem conciliandum adhibui, de meo prius sensu depromptam, & frequenti experientiâ obseruatam: & verò ab hoc Timæo deprehensam, & ab ipso notatam Hippocr. aphorism. 60. lib. 5.

Eant nunc medici, optimarum rationum & ratiocinationum expertes ac mendici: atque ad numeros illos Pythagoricos, & Platonicos, & inexplicabilem atq. inextricabilem labyrinthum, velut ad asylum quoddam confugiant.

quo de certamine dictum à nobis paulò antè ex aphor. 24. lib. 2. & prognost. sect. 3. & lib. 2. de crisib. & lib. 3. de diebus crismis, & alibi nonnunquam. De quo porro video inter homines otio diffuentes certatum & dimicatum esse acerrimè, si sine sanguine & cruore; at non sine sudore tamen & puluere (Græci αἰσχυρὰν, αἰσχυρὰν dicunt festiuus) dum alij vicenariū, alij vicenarium primum, iudicem & criticum adstruunt. quam litem dirimet fortasse different. 104. Conciliator ille Taponus seu Taponensis (Aponensem volui vel Aponum dicere: sed quem prius magni faciebam, postquam φαρμακείαν intellexi ἔργον, nescio quo modo magum & præstigiatores despiciere cœpi.) Non potest quicquam horum integris diebus exactè numerari: neque enim anni aut menses totis diebus constant, ait Hippocr. lib. de crisib. & iisdem omnino verbis repetit libro tertio prognostic. versus libri calcem, vt antè citauim. quo loco & hoc adiicit: Iuxta eandem rationem mulieribus quoque iudicationes fiunt ex partu. Quam in sententiam, memini à Conciliatore illo Petro de Abano Aponensi, ἡ οὐκ ἀποδοκίμου, vt aiunt, differentiā centesima sextâ dici & disceptari. Sed hoc diligenti examine obseruandum est, quod sect. 3. lib. 2. epidem. scribitur, & iisdem verbis lib. 6. epidem. repetitur, iam vsipiam à me semel bisve citatum; Quicquid in septuaginta mouetur, in triplicitatibus perficitur. subiicit autem; Quæ nosse oportet ad septimum mensem (seu potius ad fœtum septimestrem) aut à mensium fluxu numerandi sunt nouem menses, aut à conceptione. & à septuaginta ad ducetos dies, Græci menses fiunt. & siquid amplius vltra hos est, & aut masculis, aut etiam fœmellis hæc fiunt, aut contraria. de quibus omnino notatu dignis, quia iam antè transegi, nunc sit memoriam refricuisse satis: de quibus tamen forsitan iterum posthæc.

N. Iocundus medicos curiosos, & curiosos numerorum obseruatori.

Quod neq. dies neque menses, neque anni integri censentur.

Motus & perfectionis infætu analogiâ tripla. Menses conceptus unde numerandi.

N. Regressus ad Hipp.

Octimestris partus cur non vitalis? & octauus mensis unde fiat. Crisis octauo die diffinit.

Fœtus in vtero multa patitur octauo mense quanam.

Cæterum cur octimestres non viuant, multas multorum protuli antea opiniones problematis huius sect. 1. De Hipp. autem, præter admodum pauca iam mihi dicta, in hunc locum dicere distuli. Primum igitur sic ille lib. de septimestri partu; Aiunt autem & octonos menses difficillimè vteros ferre; rectè id dicentes, partus est autem octauus mensis, non solum hoc tempus: sed & dies accedunt à septimo mense, & à nono, & ab ipso anno. Verum dies non similiter neque dicunt, neque cognoscunt mulieres: decipiuntur enim quo iam paulo antè dixi modo. Mensis autem octauus minimè dubius est: secundum hunc enim contingit, vt iudicatio difficilis existat. vbi deinceps octauo mense labores contingere, inflammationes fieri, fœtus in vtero claudos cæcosque ex morbo euadere tradit. dein subdit; Fœtus enim mancus in octauo mense fortiter ægrotat: vt etiam morbus abscessum ac ablationem siue mutilationem alicuius partis fecerit: quemadmodum etiam viris fortes morbi faciunt. Qui verò fœtus in alio tempore fortiter ægrotant, pereunt prius quàm ipsis abscessus eiusmodi fiat: Quicunque autem octimestres fœtus non valdè ægrotant,

sed iuxta vnam aliquam partem, ex secessu afflictionem pertulerunt; quadraginta quidem dies in imbecillitate transigunt ut plurimum in utero, propter prædictas necessitates, sani autem fiunt. Quicumque autem natus fuerit in his quadraginta diebus, cum impossibile est superstitem manere: ægrotanti enim adhuc ipsi in utero, transmutationes & afflictiones post partum accedunt. Quicumque autem ægrotans in utero, ad nonum mensem peruenerit, & in hoc mense natus fuerit, superstes erit. & quæ sequuntur de nouimestri & decimestri partu, & aliis aliò pertinentibus. Nam nunc quidem de octimestri institutum sermonem & continuare & absolue intendo, præsertim

*Fætus noui-
mestri su-
perstit.*

*Octimestres
partus raro
superstitis
ob duas af-
flictiones.*

*Decime-
stres vitales
infra septē
40. dies
edunt.
Quadrage-
narij vi.*

*Hipp. deci-
mestri fæ-
tus, idem
nouem mē-
sum et 10.
dierum per-
hibetur.*

*Conceptio
mulierum
ut plurimum
post mensis
florem fieri
solet.*

ex libello ita inscripto. De octimestri partu (ait) sic sentio: Impossibile esse, ut duas consequenter succedentes afflictiones pueri ferre possint: & propterea octimestres non superstitis manere. contingit enim ipsos consequenter affligi, tum ea quæ in utero sit, afflictione; tum ea quæ in partu accedit: & ob id, nullus octimestris vitalis est. Insuper & decimestres appellatos, in septem quadragenariis dierum magis in lucem edi sentio; & maximè contingere, ut educantur. nam perfectissimus est fætus in primis quadraginta diebus: vbi verò plures accesserint, perit. Vbi notanda est supputatio logistica tenis; cui decem menses efficiunt dies 280. quum tamen eidem paulò antè, libello de septimestri partu, quinque menses, dies 147. cum dimidio vnius diei edere, nominatim dicerentur. quos si duplices, ut denos menses constituas, non iam 280. sed 295. integrabis. Solutio verò patebit ex calce lib. de carnib. vbi nouem mensium & decem dierum partum vitalem dicebat nasci, & habere ad hebdomadas numerum exactum: quatuor enim denarij hebdomadam, dies sunt 280. in denarium autem hebdomadam, septuaginta dies incurrunt. At Pythagoras decimestrem partum edi 274. die prodidit, ut antè indicaui: vbi & de Hipp. ista supputatione transegi. Quibus utrisque locis, licet verborum discrepante sono, rem tamen eandem designat Hippocrates; decimestrem fætum vocans libro posteriore, quem nouem mensium & decem dierum libello superiore vocauerat; hebdomadis numerandis magis intentus, quàm mensibus exactè metiendis. quos modò totis diebus 30. modò 29. cum dimidio æstimat, ut iam sæpè ostendi. Postremò accedit iam dictis noua insuper quædam observatio, ex eodem libello de octimestri partu: vbi de decimestri & vndecimestri sic calculat, & nouum supputat ratiocinium. Cæterum decimestres & vndecimestres partus ex septem quadragenariis eodem modo fiunt, velut ex dimidio anno septimestres. plurimis enim mulieribus necessarium est in ventre concipere post menstrua purgamenta, vbi ab his exolutæ fuerint. Oportet igitur mulieri tempus dare mensis, in quo ipsa purgatio continget: & hoc tempus quibus breuissimum fit, tres sunt dies: plerisque autem multò plures (antea dixi ad 15. dies, menstrua olim purgationem

extendi.) Sunt autem & alia multa impedimenta etiam in viris, ex quibus conceptus retardatur. Oportet autem vel maximè hoc considerare: quodd novilunium, quod dies vnus existit, exactissimè tricesima mensis pars est: duo autem dies, fermè quindecima mensis pars sunt, tres verò dies, pars mensis decima sunt; & reliqua iuxta horum rationem. & non est possibile in paucioribus partibus fieri neque menstruorum solutionem, neque fætuum cōceptionem. Ex his igitur omnibus, necessarium est plerasque mulieres circa plenilunium & ultra in ventre concipere: ut ducenti & octoginta dies, sæpè vndecimum mensem apprehendere videantur: tot enim dies, septem quadragenarios constituant. Nam cum ultra plenilunium mulier cōcipit, necesse est eum conceptum, vndecimum mensem attingere ac apprehendere, quo ad vltimum circuitum perueniat. hæc ille non oscitantè legenda proposuit, ut ratio partus vndecimestris intelligatur; non qui totos menses vndecim exegerit: sed exacto decimo mense, qui vndecimi principia inuaserit, quo statim dicam modo, vbi ex eodem Hipp. vnū præterea aut alterū locum de decimestri, vndecimestri, duodecimestri partu, protulero: prior erit ex lib. de septimestri partu, iam mihi antè indicatus: Qui in septem quadragenariis nascuntur, decimestres appellati: ob id maximè educantur, quodd fortissimi sunt, & plurimum à vulgariū puerorum tempore absunt; in quo affliguntur quadraginta ægrotantes diebus circa octauum mensem. Quem locū iam antè exposui, & septē quadragenariis, dies 280. contineri ostendi: qui nullo modo decem totos cōtinent menses; qui forent dies 300. aut saltem dies 295. prout mēsis illi modò dierum 30. modò 29. cum dimidio æstimatur: sed ad summam completam nouem mensium, dierum 270. addunt insuper dies 10. ex Hippocratis postulato; de quo iam transegi-
mus. Posterior autem locus hic erit ex altero principio libelli de septimestri partu, nisi fallor, supposititio & adulterino. Sed forsitan aliqui perent (ait) cur octimestria & trimēstria non viuunt? Quoniam fluxi paruuliq. sunt. quædā enim sic æuum & ætatem nata sunt, & per similia cōformari & discerni cōsueuerunt: quæ admodum quæ in terra seruntur & plantantur: quædam enim pluribus, quædam paucioribus diebus nascuntur secundum tempus. tempus autē Solis & Lunæ circuitu perficitur, & sequitur. Nec etiam vndecimestres, nec duodecimestres secundum eandē rationem horū viuēt, dū pueruli sunt: nihil enim præter sua vestigia & naturam fit, aut adolescit, nec etiam si quid fabulentur. hæc ille author, quisquis est, non admodū artificiosè, & à propositis Hippocraticis sermonibus & sententiis genuinis discrepāter: quæ mihi sit indicasse satis. redeo enim ad examinandum illum locū insignē, mihi ex lib. de octimestri partu paulò antè citatum: quo explicato, ad alia mihi fiet transitio. De septimestri partu (cui decimestres & vndecimestres cōparat fætus) iā ante constitit, quæ tandem noua ratiocinatione siue λογισμῶς, dies expleat 182. cum dimidio. Iam

*Purgationis
tempus fere
triduum est
vel pluris
dies.*

*Quodd con-
ceptio in
plerisque
circa pleni-
lunium con-
tingat.*

*Ut plerūq. in
terra sic
fætus in u-
tero diuersis
temporibus
adulescent.*

*Fætus 11.
& 12. mē-
sum, cur nō
vitales:
quodd nil fit
præter na-
turam.*

verò ex hypothesi, adde isti inuento numero, numerum trium mensium, nempe 90. dies; & insuper ex postulato, dies addece 10. (sic enim pugnantes locos ex lib. de septimestri, deq. octimestri partu, & eo qui de carnibus inscribitur, mihi conciliasse videor) adde inquam, 182. & 90. & 10. dies ita collectos, vt insinuauit (dimidiatum diem nunc prætermittimus, pariterque duos dies mensi vndecimo adscribendos) exurgent vique septem quadragenarij propositi, id est dies 280. quo dierum termino, fœtum decimestrem, aut lanè nouimestrè & decem dierū, antea circumscripsit: & nunc vndecimestrem eodē rursus includit, adiectis mensi vndecimo, diebus duobus cum dimidio. Non tamen qui totos vndecim menses, fœtus percurrerit, sicuti monui: nam menses vndecim compleri, dies totos 330. vel saltem 324. cum dimidio, iuxta Hipp. comprehenderint: prout mensem modò dierum 30. modò dierum 29. cum dimidio æstimat. Sed in hunc locum, triplex omne genus supputandi suum sibi reservauit Hippocrates. Primum illud septimestris partus, in quo de primo mense dies tantum 15. vsurpantur: de postremo autem, dies tantum 20. cum integris quinque mensibus, qui diebus constant 147. cum dimidio. Alterum, æstimationis mensium singulorū, dies 29. integros cum vnus dici dimidio complentium. Tertium denique, quo singuli menses tricenis diebus æstimantur. Nā septimestris partus dies præsupponit 182. cum dimidio (nunc tamen minimè contemplabili cum suo biduo) additq. tres rotos menses dierū 90. triginta diebus singulos metiens: insuper autem ad septenarium numerum explendum aliunde dies 10. asciscit; & modò mensi decimoq. adscribit, modò autem vndecimo, vt hoc quidem loco. Summa tamen vniuersa ad dies 280. reducta, per septenarium diuidua: nam septies quadragenis dies hanc summam 280. efficiunt multiplicando: ac diuisione per 7. facta, quotiens est 40. nihilque sit de summa reliqui: qua decimestris fœtus nuncupatur; aut idem nouimestris, sed decē diebus superadditis: nunc autem vndecimestris; quia supra summam vniuersam 280. accedūt duo dies cum dimidio: quo tantillo spatio, fœtus vndecimum mensemprehendit: quodd iam antè ex Aristotele & Plinio indicaram, & nunc ex Hipp. huius opinionis primario authore declarauit: Apud quem, primus & minimus dierum numerus legitimi partus, quem septimestrem vocat, est 182. cum dimidio: maximus autem & vltimus, est 282. cum dimidio; quem vocat vndecimestrem. quibus duobus extremis terminis, omnis Hippocratis ratio partus genuini & vitalis circumscribitur. prior summa anni facit dimidium: posterior ad nouem nostros menses, addit dies nouem, aut circiter decem ad summum.

Quos ultra citràque nequit consistere partus.

Hippocrati. certus, verus, propriusque futurus.

Quiquidem quò sua sibi summa cōstaret, iussit insuper, vt omne dubium circuncideret, rationem haberi conceptus post absolutam mensiū purgationem initi (aliquando enim etiam men-

strui fluoris initio conceptus sit, vt alibi ostēdimus) quineriā auctuarij vice, suppleri illud impedimentū, quod ex parte viri pender (vt idē penes fœminā, vel adeo multò iustius depures) cui fortasse sit morbosum semen, aut minùs efficax ac vegetū: quod quidē non simulatq. iniectū est in vterū, etiam confestim suas exuscitat vires, & loci tēpore, & muliebris seminis ope sociali atque amicabili adiutū. Qua tamen ratione incedā, ac velut vrgēdā & cogēdā supputatione, videtur Hippocrates nouo quodā, & sibi insolito more loquendī, conceptionē insinuare, non illā ipsam modò seminis virilis in vtero materno factam retentionem, quam Graij vocāt *σύντηξ*, vt idem alibi passim accipit (sic enim minùs sibi constaret & dierū & mensiū ratio) sed ipsum illum conarū indicare mixti seminis vtriusq. ex potentia insita, sese in actum & energiā erigentis, & generationis primordia promouentis.

Quali aliquāto tempore (tridui spatiū nominat vsuam; quo intervallo retentum semen interdum post debilis vterus eructat) vis genitalis sopita langueret velut otiosa: quæ mox, exacto illo fortè tridui, aut longiore temporis intervallo, sese attolleret atque exuscitaret ad agendum. Quomodo igniculus cinere obrutus, aliquandiu delitescit: mox agitante flabello, vel aspirante aurā quadam leni, flammam concipit & eiacularur: deinde verò (vt poeta loquitur)

— dant clara incendia lucem. Quorsum res-

pexit Aristoteles cap. 3. lib. 7. hist. animal. Sed si in septimum diem permanferit in vtero semen, conceptum iam esse certum est: nam quæ effluxiones vocantur, intra tot numero dies fieri solent. quam sententiam ex libro Hipp. de septimestri partu, iisdem verbis, & ex hoc eodem Aristotele non ita multò antè produximus. Sic verò cōceptionis & nomen, & vim ipsam acutè & disertè, vt solet; sed tamen furtiue ac dissimulanter ex more, nullo authore appellato, noster Fernelius interpretabatur lib. 7. cap. 8. Neque profectò seminis attractio, neque retentio, conceptio est; tamen si id ratio nominis videretur indicare. non rarè enim audius vterus attraxit, quod diu continere non potuit; sed biduo aut triduo fuit elabi. Est & quum id diutius inutiliter reseruatur; vti in mola, quæ nec conceptio vera est: huius enim mole opprimitur & laborat, perinde vt ventriculus cibo graui & immutabili: quem tamen traxit ac continet conceptio propria & peculiaris. Est igitur vteri actio, qua seminis potestas exuscitatur, & insitum sibi munus reipsa obit & exequitur. Quemadmodū enim terra ferax & fœcunda, exceptum semen suo calore fouet; deinde excitat, & ad parturiendū impellit: sic vterus fœcundus, ingenitā vi, quæ alteri nulli parti est concessa, sopitam seminis vim, & delitescentem in eo potestatem excitat, & ad agendum extimulat, vt energia fiat & dicatur. Tum temporis semen opus aggreditur & suscipit; quodd antè nusquam agere potuisset: alioqui enim mas solus in seipso generaret. Itaque seminis potestas in actum erumpit & exuscitatur, vteri vi: atque ea ipsa exuscitatio, conceptio est. vt enim

Conceptio quid sit propriè & improprie dicta.

Post conceptionem, semen in vtero per triduum fluctuat.

à simili.

Conceptum in vtero, retento semine post diem 7. certum est.

N. Flagium Arist. deprehendit ex Hipp.

Conceptio quid sit & unde dicta. Itē de mola, à simili.

Conceptio est actio vteri quales, à simili.

Pter viū à potestate ad actum reduciuntur.

Cur mas ex se & ipse non generet.

Triplex supputandi genus penes Hipp. notatur.

Septimestris partus quot diebus consistit.

Decimestris partus & vndecimestris vnde æstimandus.

Nouimestris & decimestris fœtus & vndecimestris: quomodo in sese agant.

concoctio, ventriculi; sic conceptio, vteri propria est actio. De Auicennæ & aliorum opinione aliàs.

Arque hunc quidem in modum mihi sit explicata Hippocratis perobscura, & multis ambagibus atque labyrinthis obscurata & inuoluta de partus dissimili tempore, sententia. Quem nodum plus quam Gordium cum soluere plerique non possent, ad mensium se confusam distinctionem dictam antea conuerterunt, veluti ad asylum quoddam diuercentes: ac præter alios notatione veterum obseruatos, vnum præterea medicinalem mensum confinxerunt. quæ de re vbi nonnulla dixero, & ad Galenum pauca subiecero, tum longissimo huic & difficillimo pulcherrimoque (διόλου γὰρ τὰ καλὰ, vt Plato dixit) problemati finem imponam. Primum mensium simplex discrimen sic Censorinus exponit cap. 18. Mensium duo genera: nam

Mensium
partitio in
naturales
& ciuiles.
Naturalium
aliq Solis,
aliq Lunæ
esse dicuntur.

Annus quos
diebus con-
stit. mensis
nec ciuilib
quos diebus
minimè in-
teruenit.

Lunæ natu-
ra mirabilis
& minis
cognita:
semper que
mutabilis,
quæ forma
& quando.

alij sunt naturales, alij sunt ciuiles. Naturalium species duæ, quod partim Solis, partim Lunæ esse dicuntur. Secundum Solem fit mensis, dū Sol vnum quodque in Zodiaco orbe signum percurrit. Lunaribus autem, est temporis quoddam spatium à noua Luna. Ciuiles menses, sunt numeri quidam dierum, quos vnaquæque ciuitas suo instituto obseruat: vt nunc Roma à Cal. in Calendas. Naturales, & antiquiores, & omnium gentium communes sunt. Ciuiles, & posterius instituti, ad vnamquamque pertinent ciuitatem; qui sunt cælestes seu Solis, seu Lunæ: nec peræquè inter se pares sunt, nec dies habent totos. sed vsque adeo non totos dies in singulis, vt annum suum, id est trecentos quinquagintaquinque (vel potius 365.) & portionē nescio quam adhuc Astrologis in exploratam, in duodecim suos diuidat menses. Luna autem singulos suos menses conficit diebus 29. circiter & dimidiato; sed & hos inter se dispares, alios longiores, alios breuiore. At ciuitatum menses, vel magis numero dierum inter se discrepant: sed dies vbique habent totos. Minimè videntur errasse, qui ad Lunæ cursum menses ciuiles accommodarunt: vt in Græcia pleraque, apud quos, alterni menses ad 30. dies sunt facti. vbi mox de prisco anno Rom. qui diebus constabat 360. deque Iuliano & Augustio, & Romanorum mensium numero & nominibus, nominumque rationibus. Plinius doctè ille quidem, sed minùs distinctè, naturā mensium explicauit (Ptolemæus toto penè libro 4. id agit, sed prolixiùs, quàm vt huic sermoni accommodari queat) ex quo placet ista ex cap. 9. lib. 2. desumere. Sed omnium admirationem vincit nouissimum sidus, terrisque familiarissimum, & in tenebrarum remedium ab natura repertum, Lunæ. multiformi hæc ambage torsit ingenia contemplantiū, & proximum ignorari maximè sidus indignantium, crescens semper aut senescens. & modò curuata in cornua, modò æquā portione diuisa, modò sinuata in orbem, maculosa, eadēque subito prænitens, immensa, orbe pleno, ac repente nulla: aliàs pernox, aliàs fera, & parte diei, Solis lucem adiuvans, deficiens, & in de-

fectu tamen conspicua: quæ mensis exitu latet, cum laborare iam creditur. Iam verò humilis, & excelsa; & ne id quidem vno modo, sed aliàs admota cælo, aliàs contigua montibus: nunc in Aquilonem clara, nunc in Austros deiecta. quæ singula in ea deprehendit hominum primus Endymion: & ob id, amore eius captus famâ traditur. Proxima ergo cardini, ideoque minimo ambitu, vicinis diebus septenisque, & tertia diei parte peragit spatia eadem, quæ Saturni sidus altissimum, triginta annis. Deinde morata in coitu Solis biduo, cum tardissimè, à tricesima luce rursus ad easdem vices exit: haud scio, an omnium quæ in cælo pernosci potuerunt, magistra. In duodecim mensium spatia oportere diuidi annum: quando ipsa toties Solem redeuntem ad principia consequitur. Solis fulgorē eam, vt reliqua sidera regi. siquidem in totum mutuata ab eo luce fulgere: qualem in repercussu aquæ volitare conspiciamus. ideo molliore & imperfectâ vi soluere tantum humorem, atque etiam augere, quem Solis radij absumant. ideo & inæquali lumine aspici: quia ex aduerso demum plena, reliquis diebus tantum ex se terris ostendat, quantum ex Sole ipsa concipiat. In coitu quidem non cerni: quoniam haustum omnem lucis auersa illò regeat, vnde acceperit. quorum similia quamplurima iam antè ex Galeno, parte prima problematis huius protulimus: ne aliis rem eandē authoribus accersitis comprobemus: quod ex Ptolemæo plenissimè possemus, nisi longior esset: de quo tamen obiter nonnulla posthac. Porro & hoc dictum iam alibi: Athenienses ad Lunæ; ad Solis verò cursum Romanos calculum temporis subducere: quum tamen Solis celeritatem Luna minimè assequatur: neque vnâ, velut à carceribus exorsi, simul ad metam perueniant. *ἐκ ἰσότητος γὰρ σελήνης καὶ ἡλίου, αἰτ' ἂν Γαζα.* Ex quo fit, vt mentes Græci, Romanis minimè respondeant pari dierum intervallo: sed vnus in duos incurrat; sicuti antea dictum à me memini, vbi & de mensibus multò plurima transigi. inter quæ, nec illud omisi dicere, Annum Lunarem diebus constare 354. Solarem verò 365. & quadrante circiter diei, ideoque illum vinci ab hoc & superari totis vndecim diebus. Ex quibus epacta constituitur; dicta *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιπλεονέκτι*, quasi adiectitios vel addititios, siue intercalares dies vocites: quod hi simul collecti ex alternorum annorum circuiu, non in totum triūm, olim mensum intercalarem, seu *ἐμαρτολίμου* conficerent, qui nunc ætati Lunæ dignoscendæ subseruiunt; aut vt verius dicam, ante istam Calendarij Romani reformationem, subseruebant commodiùs, deinceps minùs certò; proximi sequentis anni noua Luna, proximè elapsi anni Lunam nouā, aut plena plenam, vndecim dierum intervallo antecedente & anteuertere. Sic enim additis semper vndenariis, epactæ quotannis accrescunt (hoc anno 1584. epacta censetur 18.) Ita tamen, vt nunquam tricenarium numerum excedant; qui numerus mensum intercalarem repræsentat. Atque excessu supra 30. remoto,

Endymion,
Luna ama-
sius curba-
bitus.
Luna quod
diebus orbe
suum per-
agrat com-
parata Sa-
turno, &
quod diebus
occuletur,
vt deinceps
renouetur.

Luna vbi in
humores
angendos.

Annus Lu-
naris quos
diebus con-
stit. Solaris
item: &
quanto in-
teruallo dif-
ferant.
Epacta vn-
de dicta, &
vnde fiat.
hinc mensis
intercala-
ris.

Epactæ
quotannis
11. diebus
antecedunt
anni supe-
rioris epac-
tæ, vnde

id quod reliquum est, pro epacta censetur: A
quod idem residuum, 30. exuperans, ætatem
Lunæ designabit, cum sequentibus mox di-
cendis: semperque post expletos totos annos
19. ad principium erit recurrendum: & anno
20. luminarium coniunctiones & oppositiones

*Epacta post
exactos an-
nos 19. ad
principium
redeunt: quo-
modo.*

*Epacta
quid sit, &
unde sit: &
quod 30. nō
excedat, &
ad quid va-
leat.*

*Primus an-
nus cycli 19
non habet
epactā, quā
re. & 30.
pro epacta
nō habetur.*

*Modus in-
ueniendi ep-
actam per
multiplica-
tionem nu-
meri aurei
per 11. &
divisio-
nem per 30.
quomodo.*

*Luna regit
festa mobi-
lia: Sol au-
tem immo-
bilis.*

*Mensium
alium Solaris,*

anno 2. & anno 22. iis quæ anno tertio: & sic
(vel paulò citiùs) deinceps aliis annis oblige-
rint, seruata inter se annorum & epactarum
analogiâ. qua de re placent quæ scripsit Sacro-
boscius noster Computista lib. de anni ratio-
ne; Est igitur Epacta, numerus 30. non exce-
dens, proueniens ex superabundantia anni So-
laris ad annum Lunarem communem. Trigin-
ta non excedens dicitur quia cum officium e-
pactæ sit, ostendere ætatem Lunæ: nulla au-
tem ætas Lunæ sit maior quàm 30. dierum, nec
epacta maior debet esse. Primus autem annus
Cycli decemnoualis epactam non habet, cum
non præcedat annus, ex cuius inæqualitate
epactam haberet. & 30. quasi pro nulla habentur
epacta. hæc ille. Porro quora est Luna, 11.
Cal. Aprilis, talis est numerus epactæ anni il-
lius: quæ semper à Martio inchoat. Alij verò
ducunt aureum numerum (qui anno hoc 1584.
est 8. & post 19. quo annorum numero expli-
cit, ad 1. reuertitur, quotannis vnitate auctus
tantum) & augent eundem in 11. multiplican-
do; & productum partiuntur per 30. qui enim
superest numerus, epactam signat: atque vbi
nihil relinquitur, 30. pro epacta habentur. In-
uenta verò epacta, adde numerum Calenda-
rum, quæ à Martio fluxerunt: dierumque mē-
sis quo de agitur: productum (si maior est)
aufer à 30. qui restat numerus, aut qui fuit tri-
cenario minor, diem coniunctionis Lunæ in-
dicat, siue nouilunium: die autem proximâ
decimaquintâ sequente, Lunæ oppositio, seu
plenilunium sequetur. Quòd si oppositio Lu-
næ coniunctionem in aliquo mense antecedit,
ut sæpe fit, sublati totidem diebus 15. habe-
bitur dies antecedentis, vel consequentis con-
iunctionis inclusiuè. Error tamen exacti cursus
Lunaris per epactas fallit interdum, sed vix di-
midij diei spatio. & tamen sic festorum mobi-
lium iniri solet ratio. Ideo post nouilunium
mensis Februarij, proxima dies Martis, diem
cinerum proximum indicat posterum: aut si
coniunctio in diem Martis inciderit, dies octo
differri debent, ratione Paschatis subsequenti:
de quo constituendo antè tam multa diximus.
Sic Luna regit festa mobilia; Sol autem, ea
quæ immobilia dicuntur. Sed frustra de epactis
doctrinam inculco, quam cum aurei numeri
vfu olim tantopere expetito & dilaudato, no-
ua noui Calendarij reformatio, aut multum
immutauit, aut in totum sustulit. itaque de
mensium discrimine institutum sermonè pro-
moueo, & si quid huic parti desit, de qua tam
multa priùs dicta sunt, illud subiungo, & re-
ceprui cano. Ianus noster Hieroxylinus citato
toties libello, ita scribit ferè ab initio: Men-
sium alius Solaris, alius Lunaris, alius vsualis.
Solaris, est spatium temporis, quandiu mora

tur Sol in signo peragendo. Lunaris, est pro-
priè post Lunæ à Sole recessum, eius ad Solem
reversio. Vsualis, est spatium dierum Calen-
darii nostri inscriptum, & ab antiquis au-
thorizatum. vbi mox de anno Romuleo, &
Pompiliano, & Iuliano, de quibus nos ante-
hæc, idem ibidem multò post, de Lunæ figuris
& spatiis mensuris post Marrianum tractat
vberius. Cuius primi luminis à Sole accepti
effigies cornibus circulata, μηνωδης dicitur
(item corniculans, falcata, nondum semi-
plena) scilicet cum duobus punctis, siue 6.
gradibus à Sole distans, nobis apparere ince-
perit. Cum autem à Sole distantis 90. partibus
orbem eius radius Solaris illuminauerit, quasi
septima, Δεσμοειδης ἡ ἡμίσητος, semiplena, dimi-
diata) perhibetur. Aliis etiam 45. partibus ite-
rum adiectis, velut vndecima, ἀμφικύρτης (gib-
ba, gibbosa, turgida) nominatur. Cum verò
180. partibus à Sole discesserit, è contrario
posita, in parte inferiori, nobis opposita,
vniuersaliter illuminatur, tanquam quinquade-
cima, παισιληνός (plenilunium, oppositio) di-
citur. Nam qua parte se Soli obicit, toto he-
misphærio collustratur. Cum autem tricesima,
nullum nobis lumen ostentat, superius quàm
Solem aspicit, pleno lumine lucebat: eaque
coniunctio, νομιλῳία, συνωδης, nouilunium, in-
terlunium, primario perhibetur. Dein cum à
Sole discedens, eum à latere cœperit intrui,
pro parte lumen inferius acquirit: donec deinceps
è contrario posita, tota ea parte, quam
terris opponit, illuminetur. Circuit enim sem-
per Lunæ globum vndique nitor Solis: & me-
diatari quàm aspicit, suum lumen indulget ac
fœneratur, sicuti apud illum, ut opinor, Mar-
rianus scripsit. Vt autem Luna augetur, pro
varia figuravariis nominibus denominatur iam
dictis: sic eadem decrescens, ac sensim deficiēs,
& figuras & nomina eadē sortitur, facie octu-
plici, singulis mensibus variata. sed quia de his
iam antè pleraque ex Plinio, & Galeno, & aliis
transegi, reuertor ad Sacroboscium. Mensium
Lunarium (inquit) quatuor sunt species: Est
enim mensis peragratiōis, mensis apparitiōis,
mensis medicinalis, & mensis consecutiōis.
Primus itaq. mensis peragratiōis, est spa-
tium temporis, quo Luna circuit Zodiacum,
exiens ab vno puncto, proprio motu, rediens
iterum in idem. vnde ex huiusmodi in circulo
signorum reuolutione, annus à pluribus nun-
cupatur. cuius quidem punctalis perfectio, se-
cundum sensum scire satagentibus, ex motu
ipsius Lunæ diurno commensurari potest. ex
quo, mensis peragratiōis, 27. dierum exit, &
7. horarum, & 43. minorum, 7. secundorū,
15. terriorum, 36. quattorum, & 55. quintorum:
ad summam, mensis peragratiōis habetur 27.
dierum, & 8. horarum circiter. cuius computa-
tiōis dies à Solis occasu incipit: contrā quàm
in die Solari. Secundus mensis dicitur appa-
ritiōis, constans ex 28. diebus per quatuor
hebdomadas vulgariter distributis (quem
mensē pleræque nostræ mulierculæ, in ra-
tione mēstruæ purgatiōis, & gestatiōis vteri,
sibi

*alius Luna-
ris, alius
vsualis, qui
est quomo-
do.
Annus au-
tem quom-
odo Roma-
nus, alius
Numæ,
alius Iulij
Cæsaris.*

*Solis nitor
semper Lu-
na globum
circuit &
partes quā
aspicit, Lu-
men fœne-
ratur suum.*

*Mensium
Lunarium,
4. species
quæ.*

sibi fideliter obseruari, non rarò mihi retulerunt: & quem mensem præcipuè maris æstus & reciprocatio sequitur, vt alibi dicam.) Tertius mens medicinalis, secundùm medicos supponitur dierum 26. & dimidij, Galeno perhibente. Quartus mens consecutionis, alijs coniunctionis dicitur: & est spatium temporis, quo Luna accensa à Sole, peragrat circulum suum, rediens ad punctum, vbi accensa fuit: & cõtinet 29. dies & dimidium, cum minorum fractionibus ab Alfragano designatis. Estq. Lunatio quælibet naturaliter dierum 29. & dimidij, cum prædictis minorum fractionibus. Quibus ommissis, Ecclesia alteram Lunationem 30. dierum, alteram 29. dierum computat, minutis ad embolismorum restaurationem reiectis, de quibus idem author tibi satisfaciât. Annorum enim Lunarium duo facit genera, alium cõmunem, & alium embolismalem. Communis autem, est spatium 12. Lunationũ in anno Solari vicissim transeuntium, siue mensium lunarium 12. quibus quintam aut sextam vnus diei addit Alfraganus. quem annus Solaris superat diebus 11. ommissis minutis, vt antè annotaui. Embolismalis annus, spatium 13. Lunationum continet, constans diebus 384. Lunarem excedens diebus 30. Solarem verò, diebus 19. quia embolismalis Lunatio, 30. dierum est, ex reliquiis tum mensium, tum dierum collecta, sicuti antea vspsiam designaui, & Sacro-boscus tibi pluribus refert, quandoquidem aliò nostra spectat oratio: vt hoc obiter accipias, ἐμβολισμὸς annus; ἐμβολισμὸς dies vel mensis; ἐμβολισμὸς, ipse actus intercalandi est. & quoniã mensis medicinalis mihi facta est mentio, & huius Galenus author assignatus, de hoc vtroq. lubet ad extremum pauca quædam dicere.

Galenus igitur licet summus in medicina post Hippocratem author, cùm in dierum criticorum numero exactè assignando, velut in sacro-lebra, aut quasi aries ille inter vespes vellere implicante interceptus hæreret, & videret partus tam discrepantes apud Hipp. mensium variationes, ad numeros non Platonicos, vt aiunt, sed ad suos & priuatos est conuersus, multa quidem curiosè & subtiliter (ne dicam inaniter atque inutiliter) euoluens & comminiscens, quò suos sibi dies κρίσιμους statueret atque adstrueret: qua de re partim diximus obiter antea, partim nonnulla deinceps ex aliorum potiùs ac magis, quàm ex priuata (nisi quid obiter inciderit) sententia subiiciemus. vt tamen legendos tibi toros de crisi-bus, de quæ crisi-mis (potiùs quàm vt vulgò criticis) diebus libros relinquam: vt ipse fias argutæ disceptationis, vel auditor, si parum in istis fuisi versatus: vel iudex & arbiter, si rem exactè percalles, & ad vnguem gnarus perdidicisti ac peruidisti. In quo tamen miror à suis Galenum deferri, & veluti prodi, irrideri etiam, vt iam inde multa suspicio sit, parum feliciter illum & gnauiter rem gessisse, vel ratiocinatum fuisse, & quidem in calculo subducendo hallucinatum turpiter, vel potiùs humaniter lapsum fuisse. sic enim, vt à postremis & neotericis incipiam, Augerius

A Ferrerius, doctus alioqui medicus Tolosæ, lib. de diebus decretoriis, de Galeni ratione & ratiocinatione sensit: Galenus vt reduceret dies criticos ad motum Lunæ, tres veros & vsu cognitos menses Lunares supposuit. Primum coniunctione vna Solis & Lunæ in alium exactè definitum: quem 29. dierum, 12. horarum, minorumque 40. esse tradunt recentiores Astrologi. Alterum, 27. dierum, & horarum 8. reditu Lunæ à puncto Zodiaci in idem punctum descriptum. quem mensem peragratiōis vocant: huiusque partes esse putant, facultates fouere naturales, & omnia hæc inferiora immutare. Tertium ponit idem Galenus vno die ferè, aut circa hoc, minorem, ab exitu Lunæ à radiis Solaribus, ipsaque apparitione incipientem, desinentemque sequenti prima occultatione, quem apparitionis dicunt. His mensibus suos dies accommodare non potuit Galenus: quòd vel suum numerum excederent, vel cum non complerent, nec cum morborum temporibus vilo modo sæpe conuenirent. Quare ex secundi & tertij mixtione, mensem alium, medicalem vulgò appellatum, ceu Chimæram quandam in natura nusquã existentem effinxit, 27. diebus constantem, demptis duabus horis ferè: neque rationem vllam habentem cum motu Lunæ, neque cum eius aspectibus ad Solem, siue integram, siue cornicularem diuiduamque eam contempleris. Rationem tamen huius facti si quæras, nō aliam tibi reddet Galenus, quàm id necessariò faciendū esse, vt 17. 20. & 24. inter decretorios locus inueniretur: rejicerenturque aut postponerentur 18. 21. & 25. Vides virum in reliqua omni doctrina admirabilem, quomodo in hac assertionem seridiculum exhibet? vtque meritò portentosus hic mensis à Medicis & Astrologis doctis omnibus exploratus sit? hæc ille.

D At doctus Manardus epist. 1. lib. 15. vbi hanc quæstionem iam antè attigisset, penè indiscussa reliquit: cùmque viam triplicem effugiendi aperire sibi visus esset, tamen in eodem luto hædere deprehenditur: idèoque sic ait; Quæ responsiones in clamorosis quidem disputationibus, quæ captandæ potiùs popularis auræ, quàm veritatis indagandæ gratiæ fiunt, videri possunt probabiles: re autem ipsa, non plene intellectum quietum reddunt. De Galeno autem sic statuit sequente epist. 5. Quod verò ad maiorem machinā, hoc est ad Galenum attinet, non adeo ei adstricti sumus, vt non veritati magis. vbi Astrologorum deliriis manum dedisse in lib. de diebus decretoriis nominatim proficitur. & post multa, sic concludit tandem: Tota Galeni machina supra obseruatos, ab Hippoc. dies fabricata, cum ipso corrueat fundamento, vbi post pauca. Cùm ex tribus Lunæ veris mensibus nullus suppetere, in quem crisimorum dierum rationem commodè posset referre, quartum quandam machinatus est, imaginariè potiùs, quàm re ipsa ex duobus compositum. & post multa, Nihil (ait) ratum & stabile in Luna inuenitur: Nam vt à mense coniunctionis incipiamus, non semper idem spatium

Mensis medicinalis quorsum à Galeno inuenitur.

N. de Manardo Iudicium.

Ma. multum defert Gal. sed veritas magis.

Nihil in Luna stabile tam in mense coniunctionis: quā in mense peragratiōis.

*Mensis con-
iunctionis
superat dies
29. semis.*

primam & sequentem coniunctionem interiacet: alioqui vna scita, per facile esset absque ullo labore futuras omnes cognoscere: quod in mediis (vt vocant) coniunctionibus docent Astrologi. quanquam nec ipsæ id præcisè habent intervallum, quod Galenus putavit: sed supra 29. diē semis, partes quatuordecim superaddunt. Minus quoque stabile est peragrationsis sub signifero circulo tēpus: ipsa videlicet Luna modò velocius, modò tardiùs lata. Quādo enim celerrimè mouetur, supra 15. gradus quotidie perambulat: quando tardissimè, duodecimum non attingit. Ex quo fit, vt instabilissimum sit illuminationis tempus. cuius inconstantiam cum agnouisse Galenus videatur, mirum est, quòd eo velut stabili vtatur. Tandem ita Galenum eludit; Tanti autem momenti esse Galenus putat principia, vt ab his ferè dependere dicat vniuersam ex crisimis diebus prognosticationē: quale enim fuerit principium, talem futurum & exitum. Quare principij hora erit cum astrolabio à medico accuratissimè cognoscenda, & quod signum in ea oriatur, solertissimè inuestigandum. hoc enim perditō, simul omnis dierum iudicialium ars deperibit: alioqui eo etiam habito ruitura: & horæ principis magis standum sit, quàm diebus ab Hipp. præscriptis. deinde subiicit; Hæc & alia permulta faciunt, vt à Galeno in hac parte recedam: nec solum ab eo, sed omnibus, quotquot Astrologiā superstitione præclarissimam & castissimam medicinæ artem fœdare & adulterare contēdunt. tandem sic concludit; Laudandum igitur in hac parte Galeni ingenium, quòd subtili artificio Hipp. dicta in cœlum redigere conatus sit (nisi malis, in artem, legere.) Non propterea tamen eius authoritati tantum est tribuendum, vt veritas deferatur. quæ sola amica magis esse cuilibet bono viro debet, quàm myrias Galenorum. hæc ille bonus vir & prudens, & verò catus & cautus, nec in errorem induci facilis, aut in ergastulum seruitutis opinionum leui operâ impellendus.

*Quod partus
est octimestris
vitalis
sit, ab au-
toritate,
licet raro.*

*Saturnus
dominatur
primo &
octauo mēse
conceptionis,
ideo raro
vitalis, qua-
re?*

Iam verò P. ille Aponensis, qui Conciliatoris nomine circumfertur, primū quidem differentia 49. partum octimestrem viuere docet, authoritate Aristotelis dicta, & Auicennæ, & Genethliacorum testimonio, item Alex. Aphrodisiæ, Haly, Alchabitij, & Abraham de natiuitatibus. licet id sit rarū & infrequēs. Vbi euertit istam sententiam authoris Centri loquij; Quòd Saturni frigore & siccitate & malitiā enecetur fœtus, quòd ille primo mense & octauo super conceptione embryonis dominetur. Saturnus namque non solum destructionem machinatur: verum etiam quadam malucolâ impressione occidit, ait ille author, & hic Aponensis reperit differ. 10. Sed de verbo ad verbum, ex prius citata illa differ. 49. hoc tibi proponam expendendum, quod antè produximus, & nostro more explicauimus. Dicunt etiam, vt asserit A. & hic videtur Hippoc. cum Haly fuisse 7. etiam particula 6. epidimiæ; Quòd si tempus informationis dupletur, tempus inde confurget motus: si verò hoc tripletur, tempus dabitur par-

tus. Vnde formatus in 30. diebus, mouebitur in 60. & nascetur in 180. qui sunt menses integri triceni (imò seni) Plasmatus autem in 35. mouebitur in 70. & nascetur in 210. qui septem extant menses. Formatus verò in 40. motus sibi aderit in 80. natiuitas in 240. qui sunt octo menses. & quia talis rarissimè viuit, & formationem ponit A. cōmuniter in 40. ideo refert canonem præfatum sub aliorum sentētia. Plasmatus quoq; in 45. mouetur & in 90. & nascitur in 270. & 9. constituunt menses. Qui autem in 50. formatur, in 100. mouetur, nasceturque in 300. qui erunt decē menses. hic igitur motus

*Quod tēpus
formationis
vt plurimū
in 40. die-
bus.*

est terminationis & partus embryonis. Hæc ille prorsus ad verbum Conciliator, malè & peruersè sibi ipsi pugnantem Hippocratem concilians & explicans, nec mensium, nec partuum Hippocraticorum terminos obseruans aut diiudicans: tantū abest, vt quòd quærimus, & in quo iamdiu laboramus, nobis indicet, aut lectoribus dubiis & ambigentibus exponat. In quo confutando non abutar meo aut lectoris otio: quæ enim antè proposui & exposui, hæc (nisi fallor) rem satis aperiunt, nulli (quod sciam, aut quod legerim) antea satis explicatam. Sed ad Conciliatorē redeo: Is nono mēse vitales rectè asserit, velut ab Ioue confortos & instauratos.

*Partus de-
cimestris in
300. diebus
quomodo.*

Item decimo mense sub Martis dominio natos, iuxta Abraham. vbi de se sic perhibet, natum nono mense exacto, & insuper diebus 14. Præterea mense vndecimo natos viuere, sub Solis potestate: licet talis partus non sit omnino naturalis. Sed hoc post Auicennam, reor ex illo notandū; Iam dixit mihi vnus fidelis, quòd vna mulier peperit post 14. mensem: & bene dixit. Natus quoque siue partus est triplex (ait) nam quidam est naturalis omnino & consuetus, qualis qui nouimēsis cum aliquibus decimi diebus: aliū innaturalis & extraneus penitus, vt octauimēsis: reliquus verò medius: &

*Partus nouimēstris,
cur vitalis
item decimestris,
& de vndecimēstri an
est quando
vitalis.*

hic similiter triplex: aut enim omnino medium possidet, sicut qui septimi: aut declinat ad latus ampliùs naturalis & consueti, seu decimi: vel ad partem sui oppositi, vt 11. & 14. Idem ibidem mensem alterum Lunarem, alterum Solarem nominat, nec definit tamen: nisi quòd nouem Lunares menses à nouem Solaribus deficere per quatuor dies & semis dicit: Lunari quidem continente 29. cum dimidio, & Solari vt plurimū 30. quod tamen, vt meminisse potes ex antecedentibus, est ad 102. nisi fortè sic idem exactiùs differ. 104. definierit; Lunæ motus duplex, simplex & compositus (operatio enim corporum superiorum in ista inferiora, fit per motum & lucem)

*Quod par-
tus triplex:
1. naturalis
& nouimē-
stris: in 2.
octimestris
contra 3.
mediū am-
bitorum septi-
mestris aut
decimestris,
aut 11. &
14. mē-
sum.*

Qui etiam simplex, triplex existit: vnus quidem, quo Luna mouetur ab vno puncto zodiaci, & ad idem reuertitur. qui motus mensem constituit dictum peragrationsis, seu propriè impressionis à Galeno. Et hic quidē vicesimo septimo dierum spatio, & octo ferè terminatur horis. certius tamen septem horis, & tertia horæ parte. Et iste motus propriè in Almagesti, cursus vocatur lōgitudinis: qui confurget ex eo, quòd centrum epicycli Lunæ mouetur omni die 13. gradibus & 14. minutis, seu 11.

*Motus tar-
datus qui
ubi fiat.*

*Motus Lu-
nae veloci-
ores aut tar-
diores aut
stationarij
qui ubi
fiat.*

*Mensis Lu-
narij vel 29.
dierum est
vel 30. &
unde fiat.*

propter motum Genzahar capitis, & caudæ Draconis, oppositum super eccentrici deferentis superficiem. Est & alius motus simplex, qui à Ptolemæo dicitur diuersitatis cursus: & est, quo Luna mouetur omni die, 30. gradibus ipsius & minutis: quiquidem motum velocitatis præmissum. & hoc, quando Luna fuerit in opposito augis (pro auges) epicycli: in loco scilicet terræ propinquiori. tunc enim dicitur velox cursu, seu cita. & motus eius est ab occidente in oriens. Quando autem fuerit in parte superiori epicycli, videlicet in auge, motus tunc retardatur prædictus. & sic cursu appellatur tarda, in contrarium aliorum quinque planetarum: quando in his duobus epicyclorum suorum locis extiterint. Etenim circa augem (pro augen ex Greco) veloces appellantur & directi: circa verò oppositum, tardi & retrogadi: in locis autem intermediis, stationarij, præter Solē: ipse namque caret epicyclo. Et ideo quando duo isti motus, scilicet longitudinis & diuersitatis concurrunt in eandem partem ab occidente in oriens, in contrarium videlicet motus primi, motus Lunæ velocitatur in tantum, quod circa 15. gradus zodiaci perambulat in die naturali. ita quod in sex diebus vnam quartam peragrauit zodiaci. Si verò prædicti duo motus sibi in contrariam dissonent partem: videlicet quando motus diuersitatis fuerit in oppositum motus longitudinis ab oriente in occidens, continget id quod colligitur de motu Lunæ ab occidente in oriens in zodiaco, minus 12. gradibus in die reperiri naturali: & secundum hoc, accidet quod Luna cum octo diebus & aliquibus horis, vnam peragrabit quadrarum. Quod si contingat Lunam mediocriter inueniri inter id quod est esse tardam & velocem cursu, aut contractam ex ambobus, & hoc est, cum 13. gradibus cum quibusdam minutis in die: tunc vnam quadrarum circa septem dies perambulabit. Est & tertius motus simplicium iam dictorum, qui & communis dicitur à Galeno impressionis: eò quod Luna distans à Sole spatio tanto, quod lumen ab ipso receptum potest in hæc inferiora viuificando imprimere. & hic quidem motus sic constituitur: Subtrahitur enim à mense coniunctionis, qui erat 29. dies cum dimidio, tres dies ante Solis coniunctionem, & prius: quod tempus maius existit occultationis & debilitatis Lunæ lumine priuatæ. illud autem, quod remanet, sunt 26. dies cum medio. hæc ille de simplici, eoque triplici mense Lunari. Est autem compositus etiam triplex: vnus quidem compositus ex cursu longitudinis & diuersitatis prædictæ, differente in medijs, & concordante in ultimo. Alius ex hoc commisto toto, & aliqua eius parte. & est, secundum quod Luna mouetur de coniunctione Solis ad coniunctionem ibidem, dictus coniunctionis: qui & numero 28. dierum naturalium cum dimidio mensuratur. & iste etiam communi nomine, mensis dicitur Lunaris: quamuis secundum calculatores dicatur, vnum esse ex 30. diebus, alterum verò ex 29. solum facilius causâ computationis. Et hoc quidem confurgit ex additione duarum dierum & qua-

A tuor horarum supra prædictum mensem, in quibus Luna peruenit ad Solem: nõ enim cum inuenit in loco, in quo ipsum reliquit: sed ferè per signum vnum iam anteceffit. Et secundum istum mensem, Lunæ non distinguitur aspectus, nec ægritudinum breuium secundum Lunam currentium præfigitur terminus: quum alicubi eandem partem zodiaci bis in hoc mense circuire contingat. Tertius autem compositus est, qui secundum phantasiam Galeni, ex mense peragracionis, siue propriæ impressionis, & mense communis illuminationis conficitur. coniunguntur namq. isti duo menses inaduicem: & quod resultat ex eis, sunt 33. dies & 20. horæ. Huius quidem aggregacionis medietas, sunt 26. dies, & 22. horæ. Et hic mensis medicinalis à Galeno appellatus existit. quam quidem in septimanas lequestrauit, constituens vnamquamque ex sex diebus, & 17. horis cum media. medietatem septimanæ ex tribus diebus, & octo horis cum media & quarta horæ. diem quidem, 23. horis, & quartadecima parte horæ. Et secundum hoc, duæ septimanæ in 13. diebus & 11. horis inueniuntur terminari: tres verò, in 20. diebus & 4. horis cum media. Hæc autem phantasiatus est Galenus, vt ostenderet, quod tres septimanæ, 20. dierum spatio, & non 21. terminarentur omnino. quod tamen præcisè non potuit, etsi laborauerit plurimum, inuenire: cum quatuor horæ secundum computationem, vltra vicesimum excrescant cum medio: ita vt in octaua die supersint 18. horæ: & in 12. 27. Quapropter Galenum, & alios multos medicorum, motum hunc Lunæ non taliter distinguentes, sed simpliciter confundentes tanquam vniformem, in eorum crisi bus plerumque errare contingit: quod fortè is nondum vidit, vt apparet Criticorum 3. cum nondum motus, tempore suo fuissent perfectè inuenti: cum Ptolemæus perfectius comprehendens, ad ipsum nõ perueniens fortasse: licet ei contemporaneus extiterit. Et ideo ei minimè imputandum, maxime cum fuerit medicus, Astrologus verò rarus: posterioribus verò magis. aut quanquam ipse indicauerit occultius Lunæ diuersitatis motum: non tamen denuò est visus illud conuerri. Hæc & plura Petrus ille de Abano; partes sibi iudicis de Galeni mensibus, & diebus criticis, vendicans: quàm verè porro, quàmque certò dubium definierit, aliorum esto iudicium. Quæ quoniam ad dies criticos magis pertinent, ideo nunc, vt & reliqua conformia apud eundem multa à nobis prætermittantur.

E Et verò ex iis quæ satis multa protulimus, facile apparet, licet diligentiori & accurata facta à nobis indagine, nihil admodum lucis ad Hippocratis mensium partus tam abstrusam & reconditam illam difficultatem obscuritatemque ab istis omnibus illatum fuisse: Ex istis enim mensibus omnibus, nullus omnino septimestrem, nullus vndecimestrem potest metiri dictum ab Hippocrate partum: de cæteris, vix vltimum exactè queat. Nisi si quis alius mihi nõdum lectus, rem penitus peruidit. nam de Fernelio & Scaligero Iulij F. nuper inaudij: ab hoc

*Mensis medicinalis
quot hebdomadibus consistet
& hebdomada quot diebus, quomodo.*

Quod motus lune tempore Galeni non fuerit cognitus ne ipsi quidem Ptolemæo eius cõsentia porali.

N. de Fernellio & Scaligero Iunior.

Quod Gal. sibi ipsi non satisfacit, sed seipsum pugnat, & rem per se difficilem obscurat.

Fernel. de septimestri partu sententia exploditur, à N.

Quod Hipp. & priscis ignota fuerit anni & mensis Rom. ratio.

Hipp. & experientia credendum vel citra rationem.

Quod partus septimestris ab Hipp. & aliis non estimetur diebus 202, qualiter.

emissos de emendatione temporum novos commentarios: ab illo, velut posthumos liberos, sic libros Consiliorum in lucem editos. qui ambo, nondum ad meas manus pervenerunt: quos cum & doctus & æquus lector diligenter perlustraverit, quomodo cum Hippocraticis & nostris consentiant, cumque rerum veritate (quæ vnica est & simplex) concordent, demum iudicabit: ac veritati ipsi plus quam personæ cuiusquam authoritati tribuet: Deoque vero, & veritatis assertori, & veritati denique ipsi nobiscum gratias persoluet. Quod enim ad Galenum attinet, ne ipse quidem sibi ipsi satisfacit, nedum alijs, mirâ subtilitate secum ipse certans, & rem aliqui valdè implicitam, novis quibusdam, & studio quodam affectatis ambagibus tricisque implicans atque inuoluens.

Scripseram hæc, cum fortè allatus est ad me Fernelij liber Consiliorum: in quo velut consultum oraculum super septimestri partu, ita breui quodam & arguto consilio, intra vnam aut alteram paginam comprehenso, hac de re statuit. Partum septimestrem eum habendum, qui ducentesimo secundo nuptiarum die in lucem editus foret. Cæterum Hippocrati & priscis philosophis incompertam fuisse rationem anni & mensium Romanorum: & menses haberi illis Lunares dierum 29. cum dimidio. qua ratiocinatione, ad sex menses, qui constant diebus 177. addit de septimo mense dies 25. quæ summa dierum, priorem explet 202. & hoc sufficere putat, ut septimestris partus dicatur, ad hunc terminum si accedant vltra aut infra dies 7. His enim limitibus, siderum nos gubernantium vires contineri. & tamen Hippocrati & experientiæ, de septimestri partu credendum: rationem autem ab Astrologis reperendam: Quæ solutio quantum cum Hippocraticis concordet, puto te advertere, si dictorum es memor: Non enim Hippocrati, sed nec ulli aliorum à me propositorum, partus septimestris, æstimatur diebus 202. sed vel, quod minimum est, diebus 182. cum dimidio diei: vel quod summum est, diebus 210. cuius vtriusque termini ratio exposita nobis est. Sed & illud ostendi, Hipp. non semper Lunaribus intentum mensibus fuisse: sed aliàs 29. cum dimidio, aliàs totis 30. diebus mensem æstimasse. Ita fides Hippocrati, ratione indicta & incognita defertur, ob id tantum, quod autem est. & ab ignoto ad ignotius deuoluimur: nempe à certis medicorum placitis, ad incerta Astrologorum iudicia. Quos inter, præclaro aliquo Astronomo video placuisse Ptolomæo, ut septem dies mensi additi vel subtracti, legitimum tamen partum non varient. Ita sæpe fallunt oracula. ita vel doctissimus quisque, non tamen omnibus horis sapit.

Nos quidem de dierum criticorum vi & nexu aliàs diximus: de numeris autem ad Pythagoram aliàs scripsimus, secuti & Aristotelem, & Galenum, & aliquid de nostro adijcentes: sicque omnino statuimus; Non esse numeros quidem, substantias, sed *λογος τῶν τῶν ποσότητος καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων*, ad Categoriā quantitatis referri oportere. cam quæ discreta dicitur: hæc enim & nume-

rum, & orationem complectitur: sicuti altera, quæ dicitur continua, lineam, superficiem & corpora denique concipit: præterq. hæc, tempus & locum, sicuti Aristoteles in Organo Logico docet. Idem verò lib. 13. Metaphy. cap. 6. Pythagoreos carpit, qui numeros, substantias separatas dicunt, & entium causas primas speculari. Quidam enim mathematicum solum numerum esse, primum entium, ac à sensibilibus separatum asserunt: Pythagorici quoque vnum ipsum mathematicum, verum non separatum, sed ex eo sensibiles substantias constare dicunt: Totum enim cælum ex numeris construunt, præter id, quod non ex monadicis, sed vnitates existimant habere magnitudinem: In quo neque sibi ipsi omnes consentiunt, ut ibidem arguit metaphysicus. Quæ quoniam prolixis rationibus & sermonibus in reliquum ferè totum librum discrepantur & confutantur, tibi relinquenda per otium. Mihi enim satis est dixisse cum Epicharmo; *καλὸν δ' ἐν μὴ καλῶς εἰρηπῆσαι, λέγει καλῶς*. Difficile esse ex non bene præsuppositis, bene dicere. Porro numeris nullam inesse vim agendi, & τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ γενέσθαι, nullam rebus necessitatem imponendi: sed his notulis, seriem & ordinem rerum ac temporum, memoriæ gratiā distingui. Sic tamen, ut huic aut illi numero vis ἀεὶ γενέσθαι non sit deferenda: sed singula singulis ex euentu succedant modò bona, modò mala, modò ad salutem, modò ad perniciem: & quidem vno eodemq. tempore dierum vel horarum, huic quidem bene, illi malè esse: imò eidem homini modò hoc, modò illo, modò etiam prorsus eodem numero, vel similiter, vel dissimiliter contingere. quod mihi liceret exemplis Biblicis illustrare probando, de Iacob & Esau, eodem temporis momento conceptis & editis vterinis fratribus, multum tamen dissimili vitæ & morum instituto vsis, & dissimillimo mortis euentu raptis, fatòque functis, ut constat ex

Genesi, & ut Paulus Rom. 9. disceptat, & ex illo Diuus Augustinus, & alij Theologi. Sed quia finem huic problemati paro, alius dabitur huic quæstioni locus: vnum aut alterum locum subijciam, ex Galeno primum, secundum ex Plinio, deinde ad aliud problema transibo; Quænam sit natorum ad parentes similitudinis causa? item, An insit mulieri semen, idque fecundum? item, An semen à toto corpore profluat? item, An mulier superfætet? & quæ sunt eius generis. quibus absolutis & discussis, ad generalem sermonem fiet regressio. Galenus igitur cap. 8. lib. 3. de diebus crismis; Dies ipsi primariam decernendi virtutem non habent, sed per accidens aliquod sic eueniunt. Si enim dierum numerus ipse decernendi facultatem habet, non frequenter diebus imparibus, raro paribus, verum perpetuò imparibus, nunquam paribus de acutis morbis iudicium fieri oporteret. Neque enim septimi vel quarti numerus, crisis author est: sed quod Luna innouante, & terrena immutante, motuum quoque circuitus ad hos principes numeros venire contingat, merito in ipsis tanquam stata alterationum tempora inueniuntur. Quippe mutationes

Quod numeri non sint substantiæ, & entium cause quomodo.

Quod numeri, mathematici primi entium qualiter.

Quod cælus numeri constet, & vnitates habeant magnitudinem.

Diebus nulla inest decernendi virtus nisi per accidens quæ.

Luna vii 4. & 7. diebus.

*Mutatio-
nes temporū
non à nu-
mero sed à
luna pēdēt.*

*Numerus
par an fœ-
mina &
impar mas-
sit. hinc vis
eris eos.*

non numeris, sed Lunæ terrena debent. ac cū in motu nutans consistat, tempus mutationibus necessariò coniunctum est: quare etiam numerus necessario. Non igitur quòd omnis par numerus, fœminam; impar, masculum referat, acutorum iudicia imparibus diebus accidunt: neque enim impar absolutè pari fortior est: neque si fortior, iam fœmininus imbecillior. neque si fœmininus quidem hic, masculus autem alter sit, acutos morbos in masculis numeris iudicari, diurnos in fœmininis, rationi consentaneum est. Omnia siquidem, quæ de numerorum virtute nugantur, tam facile absurda esse deprehendimus, ut mihi subinde mirari subeat, Pythagoram illum tam sapientem virum (nobis similiter Galenum) numeris tantum tribuisse. at nunc aduersus ipsos nugari non vacat. cuius Galenicæ longioris disceptationis summam sic licebit breviter subducere; Quod mutat (ut Sol & Luna) in motu sit necesse est: Motus autem sit tempore: Atqui philosophis tempus, est numerus motus secundum prius & posterius. Inde fit, ut mutatio certis numeris, aut numeratis dierum interuallis accadat. Ibidem verò cap. 11. sequenti sic exponitur: Nam stulti nimirum essemus, si huiusmodi sermonem vulgo cōuenire arbitraremur: quoniam illi vnitatem matris exortem, dualitatem verò spuriam esse, audire iucundius est: & alia ratione, vnitatē, formā esse, dualitatem, materiam infinitam, deinde Trinitatē, absolutam harmoniam, vel perfectum numerum, & primum, aut solidum, aut planū. Quicquid enim ipsis visum fuerit, effutiunt: & Mineruam, aliquem numerū appellant, alterum Dianam, alterum Apollinem. Quemadmodum igitur hoc non ignoramus: ita dicere dedignamur, cū nullam demonstrationem scientificam huiusmodi placi-

tis adducere queamus: & amicis frequenter ipsa re ostendimus, huiusmodi frigidis sermonibus videnti, siue quemuis numerum laudare, siue reprehendere voluerit, proclive esse. Nam eò stupiditatis veniunt, qui huiusmodi nugantur, ut cū vel de septimana, vel de alio quouis dicunt, non contenti solis huiusmodi ineptiis, addant Pleiadas septem, & vtramque Vrsam in aëre, velut septastram: imò & Thebarum septem portis insignium meminerunt, & septem ducum Thebanorum. At quid ad rem propositam spectat, si Pleiades septem sint; Dionem laterali morbo laborantem, septimò die de morbo crisin sustinuisse? Quid similitudinis est, si septem Nili ostia, Theonem pulmonis vitio ægrotantem, septimo die ad crisin peruenisse? & sic de aliis similiter. Nam Plinius multò brevius & pressius hanc quæstionem definiuit ac præcidit lib. septimo, cap. 40. Ita est profecto: Alius de alio iudicat dies: & ramen supremus de omnibus: ideòque nullis credendum est. Quid quòd bona malis paria non sunt, etiam pari numero? nec lætitia vllò minimo mœrore pensanda? Heu vana & imprudens diligentia! numerus dierum comparatur, ubi quæritur pondus. hæc ille: quibus addo, Omnia disponi à Domino prudenter, & provideri sapienter, prout diuinæ eius bonitati visum est: nullis se tamen numerorum legibus adstringenti. Quia vnus dies apud Dominum, sicuti mille anni, & mille anni, sicuti dies vnus, 1. Petr. 3. & Sap. 8. diuinæ sapientiæ encomia celebrans author libri, quisquis est, siue Salomo, seu Philopotiùs, verè scripsit; Attingit ergo à fine vsque ad finem fortiter, & disponit omnia suauiter, & cap. 11. Omnia in mensura, & numero, & pondere, ô Deus, disposuisti. Tibi laus, tibi gloria in secula, Amen.

*Dies suprema
omniū
Index, alio-
qui nullis
credendum,
nec bona
malis paria.*

*Nō dierum
numerus sed
pondus esti-
mandum.*

*Omnia à
Deo prou-
dentur nullis
numerorum
legibus ad-
stricto.*

Wüstenfeld, Heinrich Ferdinand

Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche

Vergleichungs-Tabellen

der

mohammedanischen und
christlichen Zeitrechnung

ZWEITE AUFLAGE

Im Auftrage der DMG. neu redigiert sowie mit einem Anhang: „Das türkische Sonnenjahr“
erweitert und auf deren Kosten herausgegeben

von

EDUARD MAHLER

LEIPZIG 1926

DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

In Kommission bei F. A. Brockhaus

Hidschra- Jahr	Muharram 30 Tage	Safar 29 Tage	Rabi' I. 30 Tage	Rabi' II. 29 Tage	Dschumādā I. 30 Tage	Dschumādā II. 29 Tage	Radschab 30 Tage	Scha'ban 29 Tage	Ramadhān 30 Tage	Schawwāl 29 Tage	Dsul-Qa' da 30 Tage	Dsul- Hiddscha 29—30 Tage
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I = Januar, II = Februar, III = März, IV = April, V = Mai, VI = Juni, VII = Juli, VIII = August, IX = Sept., X = Okt., XI = Nov., XII = Dez.

A = Sonntag, B = Montag, C = Dienstag, D = Mittwoch, E = Donnerstag, F = Freitag, G = Sonnabend.

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728	1327 XI 17C	XII 17E	1328 I 15F	II 14A	III 14B	IV 13D	V 12E	VI 11G	VII 10A	VIII 9C	IX 7D	X 7F
729	1328 XI 5G	XII 5B	1329 I 3C	II 2E	III 3F	IV 2A	V 1B	V 31D	VI 29E	VII 29G	VIII 27A	IX 26C
730	1329 X 25D	XI 24F	XII 23G	1330 I 22B	II 20C	III 22E	IV 20F	V 20A	VI 18B	VII 18D	VIII 16E	IX 15G
731	1330 X 15B	XI 14D	XII 13E	1331 I 12G	II 10A	III 12C	IV 10D	V 10F	VI 8G	VII 8B	VIII 6C	IX 5E
732	1331 X 4F	XI 3A	XII 2B	1332 I 1D	II 30E	III 29G	IV 29A	V 28C	V 27D	VI 26F	VII 25G	VIII 24B
733	1332 IX 22C	X 22E	XI 20F	XII 20A	1333 I 18B	II 17D	III 18E	IV 17G	V 16A	VI 15C	VII 14D	VIII 13F
734	1333 IX 12A	X 12C	XI 10D	XII 10F	1334 I 8G	II 7B	III 8C	IV 7E	V 6F	VI 5A	VII 4B	VIII 3D
735	1334 IX 1E	X 1G	X 30A	XI 29C	XII 28D	1335 I 27F	II 25G	III 27B	IV 25C	V 25E	VI 23F	VII 23A
736	1335 VIII 21B	IX 20D	X 19E	XI 18G	XII 17A	1336 I 16C	II 14D	III 15F	IV 13G	V 13B	VI 11C	VII 11E
737	1336 VIII 10G	IX 9B	X 8C	XI 7E	XII 6F	1337 I 5A	II 3B	III 5D	IV 3E	V 3G	VI 1A	VII 1C
738	1337 VII 30D	VIII 29F	IX 27G	X 27B	XI 25C	XII 25E	1338 I 23F	II 22A	III 23B	IV 22D	V 21E	VI 20G
739	1338 VII 20B	VIII 19D	IX 17E	X 17G	XI 15A	XII 15C	1339 I 13D	II 12F	III 13G	IV 12B	V 11G	VI 10E
740	1339 VII 9F	VIII 8A	IX 6B	X 6D	XI 4E	XII 4G	1340 I 2A	II 1C	III 1D	III 31F	IV 29G	V 29B
741	1340 VI 27C	VII 27E	VIII 25F	IX 24A	X 23B	XI 22D	XII 21E	1341 I 20G	II 18A	III 20C	IV 18D	V 18F
742	1341 VI 17A	VII 17C	VIII 15D	IX 14F	X 13G	XI 12B	XII 11C	1342 I 10E	II 8F	III 10A	IV 8B	V 8D
743	1342 VI 6E	VII 6G	VIII 4A	IX 3C	X 2D	XI 1F	XI 30G	XII 30B	1343 I 28C	II 27E	III 28F	IV 27A
744	1343 V 26B	VI 25D	VII 24E	VIII 23G	IX 21A	X 21C	XI 19D	XII 19F	1344 I 17G	II 16B	III 16C	IV 15E
745	1344 V 15G	VI 14B	VII 13C	VIII 12E	IX 10F	X 10A	XI 8B	XII 8D	1345 I 6E	II 5G	III 6A	IV 5C
746	1345 V 4D	VI 3F	VII 2G	VIII 1B	VIII 30C	IX 29E	X 28F	XI 27A	XII 26B	1346 I 25D	II 23E	III 25G
747	1346 IV 24B	V 24D	VI 22E	VII 22G	VIII 20A	IX 19C	X 18D	XI 17F	XII 16G	1347 I 15B	II 13C	III 15E
748	1347 IV 13F	V 13A	VI 11B	VII 11D	VIII 9E	IX 8G	X 7A	XI 6C	XII 5D	1348 I 4F	II 2G	III 3B
749	1348 IV 1C	V 1E	V 30F	VI 29A	VII 28B	VIII 27D	IX 25E	X 25G	XI 23A	XII 23C	1349 I 21D	II 20F
750	1349 III 22A	IV 21C	V 20D	VI 19F	VII 18G	VIII 17B	IX 15C	X 15E	XI 13F	XII 13A	1350 I 11B	II 10D

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A = Sonntag, B = Montag, C = Dienstag, D = Mittwoch, E = Donnerstag, F = Freitag, G = Sonnabend.

Hidschra-Jahr	Muharram 30 Tage	Safar 29 Tage	Rabi' I. 30 Tage	Rabi' II. 29 Tage	Dschumada I. 30 Tage	Dschumada II. 29 Tage	Radschab 30 Tage	Scha'ban 29 Tage	Ramadhan 30 Tage	Schawwal 29 Tage	Dsul-Qa'da 30 Tage	Dsul-Hidscha 29—30 Tage
n. Chr.												
851	1447 III 19 A	IV 18 C	V 17 D	VI 16 F	VII 15 G	VIII 14 B	IX 12 C	X 12 E	XI 10 F	XII 10 A	1448 I 8 B	II 7 D
852	1448 III 7 E	IV 6 G	V 5 A	VI 4 C	VII 3 D	VIII 2 F	VIII 31 G	IX 30 B	X 29 C	XI 28 E	XII 27 F	1449 I 26 A
853	1449 II 24 B	III 26 D	IV 24 E	V 24 G	VI 22 A	VII 22 C	VIII 20 D	IX 19 F	X 18 G	XI 17 B	XII 16 C	1450 I 15 E
854	1450 II 14 G	III 16 B	IV 14 C	V 14 E	VI 12 F	VII 12 A	VIII 10 B	IX 9 D	X 8 E	XI 7 G	XII 6 A	1451 I 5 C
855	1451 II 3 D	III 5 F	IV 3 G	V 3 B	VI 1 C	VII 1 E	VII 30 F	VIII 29 A	IX 27 B	X 27 D	XI 25 E	XII 25 G
856	1452 I 23 A	II 22 C	III 22 D	IV 21 F	V 20 G	VI 19 B	VII 18 C	VIII 17 E	IX 15 F	X 15 A	XI 13 B	XII 13 D
857	1453 I 12 F	II 11 A	III 12 B	IV 11 D	V 10 E	VI 9 G	VII 8 A	VIII 7 C	IX 5 D	X 5 F	XI 3 G	XII 3 B
858	1454 I 1 C	II 1 E	III 1 F	III 31 A	IV 29 B	V 29 D	VI 27 E	VII 27 G	VIII 25 A	IX 24 C	X 23 D	XI 22 F
859	1454 XII 22 A	1455 I 21 C	II 19 D	III 21 F	IV 19 G	V 19 B	VI 17 C	VII 17 E	VIII 15 F	IX 14 A	X 13 B	XI 12 D
860	1455 XII 11 E	1456 I 10 G	II 8 A	III 9 C	IV 7 D	V 7 F	VI 5 G	VII 5 B	VIII 3 C	IX 2 E	X 1 F	X 31 A
861	1456 XI 29 B	XII 29 D	1457 I 27 E	II 26 G	III 27 A	IV 26 C	V 25 D	VI 24 F	VII 23 G	VIII 22 B	IX 20 C	X 20 E
862	1457 XI 19 G	XII 19 B	1458 I 17 C	II 16 E	III 17 F	IV 16 A	V 15 B	VI 14 D	VII 13 E	VIII 12 G	IX 10 A	X 10 C
863	1458 XI 8 D	XII 8 F	1459 I 6 G	II 5 B	III 6 C	IV 5 E	V 4 F	VI 3 A	VII 2 B	VIII 1 D	VIII 30 E	IX 29 G
864	1459 X 28 A	XI 27 C	XII 26 D	1460 I 25 F	II 23 G	III 24 B	IV 22 C	V 22 E	VI 20 F	VII 20 A	VIII 18 B	IX 17 D
865	1460 X 17 F	XI 16 A	XII 15 B	1461 I 14 D	II 12 E	III 14 G	IV 12 A	V 12 C	VI 10 D	VII 10 F	VIII 8 G	IX 7 B
866	1461 X 6 C	XI 5 E	XII 4 F	1462 I 3 A	II 1 B	III 3 D	IV 1 E	V 1 G	VI 30 A	VI 29 C	VII 28 D	VIII 27 F
867	1462 IX 26 A	X 26 C	XI 24 D	XII 24 F	1463 I 22 G	II 21 B	III 22 C	IV 21 E	V 20 F	VI 19 A	VII 18 B	VIII 17 D
868	1463 IX 15 E	X 15 G	XI 13 A	XII 13 C	1464 I 11 D	II 10 F	III 10 G	IV 9 B	V 8 C	VI 7 E	VII 6 F	VIII 5 A
869	1464 IX 3 B	X 3 D	XI 1 E	XII 1 G	XII 30 A	1465 I 29 C	II 27 D	III 29 F	IV 27 G	V 27 B	VI 25 C	VII 25 E
870	1465 VIII 24 G	IX 23 B	X 22 C	XI 21 E	XII 20 F	1466 I 19 A	II 17 B	III 19 D	IV 17 E	V 17 G	VI 15 A	VII 15 C
871	1466 VIII 13 D	IX 12 F	X 11 G	XI 10 B	XII 9 C	1467 I 8 E	II 6 F	III 8 A	IV 6 B	V 6 D	VI 4 E	VII 4 G
872	1467 VIII 2 A	IX 1 C	IX 30 D	X 30 F	XI 28 G	XII 28 B	1468 I 26 C	II 25 E	III 25 F	IV 24 A	V 23 B	VI 22 D
873	1468 VII 22 F	VIII 21 A	IX 19 B	X 19 D	XI 17 E	XII 17 G	1469 I 15 A	II 14 C	III 15 D	IV 14 F	V 13 G	VI 12 B
874	1469 VII 11 C	VIII 10 E	IX 8 F	X 8 A	XI 6 B	XII 6 D	1470 I 4 E	II 3 G	III 4 A	IV 3 C	V 2 D	VI 1 F
875	1470 VI 30 G	VII 30 B	VIII 28 C	IX 27 E	X 26 F	XI 25 A	XII 24 B	1471 I 23 D	II 21 E	III 23 G	IV 21 A	V 21 C
876	1471 VI 20 E	VII 20 G	VIII 18 A	IX 17 C	X 16 D	XI 15 F	XII 14 G	1472 I 13 B	II 11 C	III 12 E	IV 10 F	V 10 A
877	1472 VI 8 B	VII 8 D	VIII 6 E	IX 5 G	X 4 A	XI 3 C	XII 2 D	1473 I 1 F	II 30 G	III 1 B	III 30 C	IV 29 E
878	1473 V 29 G	VI 28 B	VII 27 C	VIII 26 E	IX 24 F	X 24 A	XI 22 B	XII 22 D	1474 I 20 E	II 19 G	III 20 A	IV 19 C
879	1474 V 18 D	VI 17 F	VII 16 G	VIII 15 B	IX 13 C	X 13 E	XI 11 F	XII 11 A	1475 I 9 B	II 8 D	III 9 E	IV 8 G
880	1475 V 7 A	VI 6 C	VII 5 D	VIII 4 F	IX 2 G	X 2 B	X 31 C	XI 30 E	XII 29 F	1476 I 28 A	II 26 B	III 27 D
881	1476 IV 26 F	V 26 A	VI 24 B	VII 24 D	VIII 22 E	IX 21 G	X 20 A	XI 19 C	XII 18 D	1477 I 17 F	II 15 G	III 17 B
882	1477 IV 15 C	V 15 E	VI 13 F	VII 13 A	VIII 11 B	IX 10 D	X 9 E	XI 8 G	XII 7 A	1478 I 6 C	II 4 D	III 6 F
883	1478 IV 4 G	V 4 B	VI 2 C	VII 2 E	VIII 31 F	VIII 30 A	IX 28 B	X 28 D	XI 26 E	XII 26 G	1479 I 24 A	II 23 C
884	1479 III 25 E	IV 24 G	V 23 A	VI 22 C	VII 21 D	VIII 20 F	IX 18 G	X 18 B	XI 16 C	XII 16 E	1480 I 14 F	II 13 A
885	1480 III 13 B	IV 12 D	V 11 E	VI 10 G	VII 9 A	VIII 8 C	IX 6 D	X 6 F	XI 4 G	XII 4 B	1481 I 2 C	II 1 E
886	1481 III 2 F	IV 1 A	IV 30 B	V 30 D	VI 28 E	VII 28 G	VIII 26 A	IX 25 C	X 24 D	XI 23 F	XII 22 G	1482 I 21 B
887	1482 II 20 D	III 22 F	IV 20 G	V 20 B	VI 18 C	VII 18 E	VIII 16 F	IX 15 A	X 14 B	XI 13 D	XII 12 E	1483 I 11 G
888	1483 II 9 A	III 11 C	IV 9 D	V 9 F	VI 7 G	VII 7 B	VIII 5 C	IX 4 E	X 3 F	XI 2 A	XII 1 B	XII 31 D
889	1484 I 30 F	II 29 A	III 29 B	IV 28 D	V 27 E	VI 26 G	VII 25 A	VIII 24 C	IX 22 D	X 22 F	XI 20 G	XII 20 B
890	1485 I 18 C	II 17 E	III 18 F	IV 17 A	V 16 B	VI 15 D	VII 14 E	VIII 13 G	IX 11 A	X 11 C	XI 9 D	XII 9 F
891	1486 I 7 G	II 6 B	III 7 C	IV 6 E	V 5 F	VI 4 A	VII 3 B	VIII 2 D	VIII 31 E	IX 30 G	X 29 A	XI 28 C
892	1486 XII 28 E	1487 I 27 G	II 25 A	III 27 C	IV 25 D	V 25 F	VI 23 G	VII 23 B	VIII 21 C	IX 20 E	X 19 F	XI 18 A
893	1487 XII 17 B	1488 I 16 D	II 14 E	III 15 G	IV 13 A	V 13 C	VI 11 D	VII 11 F	VIII 9 G	IX 8 B	X 7 C	XI 6 E
894	1488 XII 5 F	1489 I 4 A	II 2 B	III 4 D	IV 2 E	V 2 G	V 31 A	VI 30 C	VII 29 D	VIII 28 F	IX 26 G	X 26 B
895	1489 XI 25 D	XII 25 F	1490 I 23 G	II 22 B	III 23 C	IV 22 E	V 21 F	VI 20 A	VII 19 B	VIII 18 D	IX 16 E	X 16 G
896	1490 XI 14 A	XII 14 C	1491 I 12 D	II 11 F	III 12 G	IV 11 B	V 10 C	VI 9 E	VII 8 F	VIII 7 A	IX 5 B	X 5 D
897	1491 XI 4 F	XII 4 A	1492 I 2 B	II 1 D	III 1 E	III 31 G	IV 29 A	V 29 C	VI 27 D	VII 27 F	VIII 25 G	IX 24 B
898	1492 X 23 C	XI 22 E	XII 21 F	1493 I 20 A	II 18 B	III 20 D	IV 18 E	V 18 G	VI 16 A	VII 16 C	VIII 14 D	IX 13 F
899	1493 X 12 G	XI 11 B	XII 10 C	1494 I 9 E	II 7 F	III 9 A	IV 7 B	V 7 D	VI 5 E	VII 5 G	VIII 3 A	IX 2 C
900	1494 X 2 E	XI 1 G	XI 30 A	XII 30 C	1495 I 28 D	II 27 F	III 28 G	IV 27 B	V 26 C	VI 25 E	VII 24 F	VIII 23 A

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Hidschra- Jahr	Muharram 30 Tage	Safar 29 Tage	Rabi' I. 30 Tage	Rabi' II. 29 Tage	Dschumada I. 30 Tage	Dschumada II. 29 Tage	Radschab 30 Tage	Scha'ban 29 Tage	Ramadhan 30 Tage	Schawwal 29 Tage	Daul-Qa'da 30 Tage	Daul- Hidschra 29—30 Tage
n. Chr.												
1251	1835 IV 29 D	V 29 F	VI 27 G	VII 27 B	VIII 25 C	IX 24 E	X 23 F	XI 22 A	XII 21 B	1836 I 20 D	II 18 E	III 19 G
1252	1836 IV 18 B	V 18 D	VI 16 E	VII 16 G	VIII 14 A	IX 13 C	X 12 D	XI 11 F	XII 10 G	1837 I 9 B	II 7 C	III 9 E
1253	1837 IV 7 F	V 7 A	VI 5 B	VII 5 D	VIII 3 E	IX 2 G	X 1 A	XI 31 C	XI 29 D	XII 29 F	1838 I 27 G	II 26 B
1254	1838 III 27 C	IV 26 E	V 25 F	VI 24 A	VII 23 B	VIII 22 D	IX 20 E	X 20 G	XI 18 A	XII 18 C	1839 I 16 D	II 15 F
1255	1839 III 17 A	IV 16 C	V 15 D	VI 14 F	VII 13 G	VIII 12 B	IX 10 C	X 10 E	XI 8 F	XII 8 A	1840 I 6 B	II 5 D
1256	1840 III 5 E	IV 4 G	V 3 A	VI 2 C	VII 1 D	VIII 31 F	VIII 29 G	IX 28 B	X 27 C	XI 26 E	XII 25 F	1841 I 24 A
1257	1841 II 23 C	III 25 E	IV 23 F	V 23 A	VI 21 B	VII 21 D	VIII 19 E	IX 18 G	X 17 A	XI 16 C	XII 15 D	1842 I 14 F
1258	1842 II 12 G	III 14 B	IV 12 C	V 12 E	VI 10 F	VII 10 A	VIII 8 B	IX 7 D	X 6 E	XI 5 G	XII 4 A	1843 I 3 C
1259	1843 II 1 D	III 3 F	IV 1 G	V 1 B	VI 30 C	VII 29 E	VIII 28 F	IX 27 A	X 25 B	XI 25 D	XII 23 E	XII 23 G
1260	1844 I 22 B	II 21 D	III 21 E	IV 20 G	V 19 A	VI 18 C	VII 17 D	VIII 16 F	IX 14 G	X 14 B	XI 12 C	XII 12 E
1261	1845 I 10 F	II 9 A	III 10 B	IV 9 D	V 8 E	VI 7 G	VII 6 A	VIII 5 C	IX 3 D	X 3 F	XI 1 G	XII 1 B
1262	1845 XII 30 C	1846 I 29 E	II 27 F	III 29 A	IV 27 B	V 27 D	VI 25 E	VII 25 G	VIII 23 A	IX 22 C	X 21 D	XI 20 F
1263	1846 XII 20 A	1847 I 19 C	II 17 D	III 19 F	IV 17 G	V 17 B	VI 15 C	VII 15 E	VIII 13 F	IX 12 A	X 11 B	XI 10 D
1264	1847 XII 9 E	1848 I 8 G	II 6 A	III 7 C	IV 5 D	V 5 F	VI 3 G	VII 3 B	VIII 1 C	VIII 31 E	IX 29 F	X 29 A
1265	1848 XI 27 B	XII 27 D	1849 I 25 E	II 24 G	III 25 A	IV 24 C	V 23 D	VI 22 F	VII 21 G	VIII 20 B	IX 18 C	X 18 E
1266	1849 XI 17 G	XII 17 B	1850 I 15 C	II 14 E	III 15 F	IV 14 A	V 13 B	VI 12 D	VII 11 E	VIII 10 G	IX 8 A	X 8 C
1267	1850 XI 6 D	XII 6 F	1851 I 4 G	II 3 B	III 4 C	IV 3 E	V 2 F	VI 1 A	VI 30 B	VII 30 D	VIII 28 E	IX 27 G
1268	1851 X 27 B	XI 26 D	XII 25 E	1852 I 24 G	II 22 A	III 23 C	IV 21 D	V 21 F	VI 19 G	VII 19 B	VIII 17 C	IX 16 E
1269	1852 X 15 F	XI 14 A	XII 13 B	1853 I 12 D	II 10 E	III 12 G	IV 10 A	V 10 C	VI 8 D	VII 8 F	VIII 6 G	IX 5 B
1270	1853 X 4 C	XI 3 E	XII 2 F	1854 I 1 A	II 30 B	III 1 D	III 30 E	IV 29 G	V 28 A	VI 27 C	VII 26 D	VIII 25 F
1271	1854 IX 24 A	X 24 C	XI 22 D	XII 22 F	1855 I 20 G	II 19 B	III 20 C	IV 19 E	V 18 F	VI 17 A	VII 16 B	VIII 15 D
1272	1855 IX 13 E	X 13 G	XI 11 A	XII 11 C	1856 I 9 D	II 8 F	III 8 G	IV 7 B	V 6 C	VI 5 E	VII 4 F	VIII 3 A
1273	1856 IX 1 B	X 1 D	X 30 E	XI 29 G	XII 28 A	1857 I 27 C	II 25 D	III 27 F	IV 25 G	V 25 B	VI 23 C	VII 23 E
1274	1857 VIII 22 G	IX 21 B	X 20 C	XI 19 E	XII 18 F	1858 I 17 A	II 15 B	III 17 D	IV 15 E	V 15 G	VI 13 A	VII 13 C
1275	1858 VIII 11 D	IX 10 F	X 9 G	XI 8 B	XII 7 C	1859 I 6 E	II 4 F	III 6 A	IV 4 B	V 4 D	VI 2 E	VII 2 G
1276	1859 VII 31 A	VIII 30 C	IX 28 D	X 28 F	XI 26 G	XII 26 B	1860 I 24 C	II 23 E	III 23 F	IV 22 A	V 21 B	VI 20 D
1277	1860 VII 20 F	VIII 19 A	IX 17 B	X 17 D	XI 15 E	XII 15 G	1861 I 13 A	II 12 C	III 13 D	IV 12 F	V 11 G	VI 10 B
1278	1861 VII 9 C	VIII 8 E	IX 6 F	X 6 A	XI 4 B	XII 4 D	1862 I 2 E	II 1 G	III 2 A	IV 1 C	IV 30 D	V 30 F
1279	1862 VI 29 A	VII 29 C	VIII 27 D	IX 26 F	X 25 G	XI 24 B	XII 23 C	1863 I 22 E	II 20 F	III 22 A	IV 20 B	V 20 D
1280	1863 VI 18 E	VII 18 G	VIII 16 A	IX 15 C	X 14 D	XI 13 F	XII 12 G	1864 I 11 B	II 9 C	III 10 E	IV 8 F	V 8 A
1281	1864 VI 6 B	VII 6 D	VIII 4 E	IX 3 G	X 2 A	XI 1 C	XI 30 D	XII 30 F	1865 I 28 G	II 27 B	III 28 C	IV 27 E
1282	1865 V 27 G	VI 26 B	VII 25 C	VIII 24 E	IX 22 F	X 22 A	XI 20 B	XII 20 D	1866 I 18 E	II 17 G	III 18 A	IV 17 C
1283	1866 V 16 D	VI 15 F	VII 14 G	VIII 13 B	IX 11 C	X 11 E	XI 9 F	XII 9 A	1867 I 7 B	II 6 D	III 7 E	IV 6 G
1284	1867 V 5 A	VI 4 C	VII 3 D	VIII 2 F	VIII 31 G	IX 30 B	X 29 C	XI 28 E	XII 27 F	1868 I 26 A	II 24 B	III 25 D
1285	1868 IV 24 F	V 24 A	VI 22 B	VII 22 D	VIII 20 E	IX 19 G	X 18 A	XI 17 C	XII 16 D	1869 I 15 F	II 13 G	III 15 B
1286	1869 IV 13 C	V 13 E	VI 11 F	VII 11 A	VIII 9 B	IX 8 D	X 7 E	XI 6 G	XII 5 A	1870 I 4 C	II 2 D	III 4 F
1287	1870 IV 3 A	V 3 C	VI 1 D	VII 1 F	VIII 30 G	VIII 29 B	IX 27 C	X 27 E	XI 25 F	XII 25 A	1871 I 23 B	II 22 D
1288	1871 III 23 E	IV 22 G	V 21 A	VI 20 C	VII 19 D	VIII 18 F	IX 16 G	X 16 B	XI 14 C	XII 14 E	1872 I 12 F	II 11 A
1289	1872 III 11 B	IV 10 D	V 9 E	VI 8 G	VII 7 A	VIII 6 C	IX 4 D	X 4 F	XI 2 G	XII 2 B	XII 31 C	1873 I 30 E
1290	1873 III 1 G	III 31 B	IV 29 C	V 29 E	VI 27 F	VII 27 A	VIII 25 B	IX 24 D	X 23 E	XI 22 G	XII 21 A	1874 I 20 C
1291	1874 II 18 D	III 20 F	IV 18 G	V 18 B	VI 16 C	VII 16 E	VIII 14 F	IX 13 A	X 12 B	XI 11 D	XII 10 E	1875 I 9 G
1292	1875 II 7 A	III 9 C	IV 7 D	V 7 F	VI 5 G	VII 5 B	VIII 3 C	IX 2 E	X 1 F	X 31 A	XI 29 B	XII 29 D
1293	1876 I 28 F	II 27 A	III 27 B	IV 26 D	V 25 E	VI 24 G	VII 23 A	VIII 22 C	IX 20 D	X 20 F	XI 18 G	XII 18 B
1294	1877 I 16 C	II 15 E	III 16 F	IV 15 A	V 14 B	VI 13 D	VII 12 E	VIII 11 G	IX 9 A	X 9 C	XI 7 D	XII 7 F
1295	1878 I 5 G	II 4 B	III 5 C	IV 4 E	V 3 F	VI 2 A	VII 1 B	VIII 31 D	VIII 29 E	IX 28 G	X 27 A	XI 26 C
1296	1878 XII 26 E	1879 I 25 G	II 23 A	III 25 C	IV 23 D	V 23 F	VI 21 G	VII 21 B	VIII 19 C	IX 18 E	X 17 F	XI 16 A
1297	1879 XII 15 B	1880 I 14 D	II 12 E	III 13 G	IV 11 A	V 11 C	VI 9 D	VII 9 F	VIII 7 G	IX 6 B	X 5 C	XI 4 E
1298	1880 XII 4 G	1881 I 3 B	II 1 C	III 3 E	IV 1 F	V 1 A	V 30 B	VI 29 D	VII 28 E	VIII 27 G	IX 25 A	X 25 C
1299	1881 XI 23 D	XII 23 F	1882 I 21 G	II 20 B	III 21 C	IV 20 E	V 19 F	VI 18 A	VII 17 B	VIII 16 D	IX 14 E	X 14 G
1300	1882 XI 12 A	XII 12 C	1883 I 10 D	II 9 F	III 10 G	IV 9 B	V 8 C	VI 7 E	VII 6 F	VIII 5 A	IX 3 B	X 3 D

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Julian. Datum = gregor. Datum — 12.



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