

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

Excerpt from the Kyivan letter.

Ms. Cambridge, T-S 12.122, lines 6–30 (Golb and Pritsak 1982, 10ff.):

- [6] קהילות קדושות הפזורים בכל פינות, יהי רצון מפני
[7] אדון השלום, להושיבם כנזר שלום. ועתה אלופינו ורבותינו,
[8] מודיעים אנו לכם קהל של קייוב' עסק מר יעקב בר
[9] חנוכה זה, שהוא מבני טובים, והוא מן הנותנים ולא מן
[10] הלוקחים, אלא שנגזרה גזרה עליו, שהלך אחיו ולקח ממו[ן]
[11] מן גוים, וזה יעקב היה ערב. והלך אחיו של זה בדרך, ובאו
[12] [ל]סטים והרגו אתו ולקחו את ממונו. ובאו בעלי חובים
[13] [ול]קחו את זה יעקב, ונתנו שלשלאות של ברזל בצוארו
[14] וברזיליים ברגליו, ועשה שם שנה שלימה. [. . . ואחר]
[15] כך לקחנו אתו בערבות, ופרענו ששים זקוקים, ועוד [. . .]
[16] נשאר ארבעים זקוקים, ושגרנו אתו בקהילות הקדושות
[17] כדי שירחמו עליו. ועתה רבותינו שאו עיניכם לשמים,
[18] ועשו כמנהגכם הטו {ב} שאתם יודעים כמה גדולה מדת
[19] הצדקה, שצדקה תציל ממות. [. . .]

...

- [25] אברהם הפרנס, [. . .] אל בר מנס, ראובן בר
 [26] גוסטטא בר כיבר כהן, שמשון
 [27] [בר] יהודה המכונה סורטה, חנוכה בר משה,
 [28] קופין בר יוסף, מנר בר שמואל כהן,
 [29] יהודה בר יצחק לוי, סיני בר שמואל,
 [30] יצחק הפרנס.

[6] [To] the holy communities scattered all across the corners [of the world]: may it be the will of the

[7] Master of Peace to settle them as a crown of peace. And now, our masters and teachers,

[8] [we], the community of Kyiv, inform you of the case of this [man] Mr Jacob bar

[9] Hanukkah, from a good family, of those who give, not of those who

[10] take, but a disaster befell him, when his brother went and took money

[11] from gentiles, and this Jacob was guarantor. And his brother was traveling on the road, and there came

[12] robbers and killed him and took his money. Then came the creditors

[13] and took this Jacob and put iron chains on his neck

[14] and shackles on his legs, and he stayed there an entire year, [. . . and after]

[15] that we bailed him out, and paid off sixty *zequqim* [silver ingots (see Zuckerman 2011, 19ff.)] and still there

[16] remained forty *zequqim*, so we sent him out to the holy communities

[17] that they might take pity on him. So now, our masters, lift up your eyes to Heaven

[18] and do according to your good custom, for you know how great is the virtue

[19] of charity. For charity saves from death. [. . .]

...

[25] [Signatories:] Avraham, elder of the community, [. . .] el bar Manas, Reuven bar

[26] Gostyata bar Kibar Kohen, Shimshon

[27] [bar] Yehudah called Surtah [for more transliterations see Kulik 2014, 112–13], Hanukkah bar Moshe,

[28] Kupin bar Yosef, Manar bar Shmuel Kohen,

[29] Yehudah bar Yitshak Levi, Sinai bar Shmuel,

[30] Yitshak, elder of the community.

APPENDIX 2

The 986 contest about the “true religion.”

The Account of Bygone Years, sub anno 6494 AM (=986CE):

В лѣто 6494. Придоша болгаре вѣры бохъмичи . . .

In the year 6494 there came the Bulgars of the Mohammedan faith . . .

По семь же придоша нѣмци от Рима.

Then came the Germans from Rome . . . [i.e., representatives of the Holy Roman Empire, called here *nēm̄tsi* [Germans; lit., dumb people, a generic term for foreigners].

Се слышавше, жидове козарьстии придоша рекуще . . .

Having heard this, the Khazar Jews came and said . . .

а мы вѣруемъ единому Бѹ аврамову исакову и ѱковлю.

whereas we believe in the one God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

и рече Володимеръ что есть законъ вашъ.

Then Volodimer said: What is your law?

вни же рѣша вѣрѣзати сѧ. свинины не ѱсти ни заѱчины. суботу хранити.

And they said: To be circumcised, not to eat pork or hare, and to observe the Sabbath.

вн же рече то гдѣ есть земля ваша.

He then said: So where is your land?

вни же рѣша въ ерѣлѣмѣ.

And they said: in Jerusalem.

вн же рече то тамо ли есте

And he then said: So are you [still] there?

вни же рѣша разгнѣва сѧ БѢ на вѣди наши и расточи ны по странамъ грѣхъ ради нашихъ и предана бысть земля наша х^сеянѡмъ.

And they said: God became angry at our fathers and scattered us among the nations on account of our sins, and our land was given to Christians.

вн же рече то како вы инѣ^х оучите а сами вѣвержени вѢ Бѧ и расточени.

And he then said: So how do you teach others, while you yourselves are rejected by God and scattered? . . .

APPENDIX 3

Canaan = Slavs.

The term Canaan with reference to Slavic reflects a medieval Jewish interpretation based on the semantic expansion in medieval Latin of the ethnonym *Sclavus* (Slav) to denote also “slave” (beside the original denomination for slaves in Latin: *servus*), since Slavs were often forced into slavery in Medieval Europe.

This semantic development is paralleled by the Jewish medieval tradition of associating the term *Knaan* with Genesis 9:25: וַיֹּאמֶר אַרְוֵר כְּנָעַן עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים יִהְיֶה לְאַחָיו

(“And he said: Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.”)

This interpretation is first encountered in the tenth-century work *Josippon*:

מוראוו וקרואטי וסורבין ולוצנין ולייכין וכראקר ובויםין מבני דודנים ייחשבו. . . הם הנקראים סקלאבי אחרים כי הם מבני כנען, אך הם מתייחסים לבני דודנים.

The Moravians, Croatians, Sorbians, Lusatians, Lechians, Cracovians, and Bohemians are considered sons of Dodanim. These are those called Slavs [*sql'by=sqlavi*], while others say that they are of the sons of Canaan, yet they are descended from the Dodanim. (Flusser 1981, 1:8–9)

The twelfth-century traveler Benjamin of Tudela echoes this interpretation (Adler 1907, 72 [עמוד 72 in the Hebrew pagination]):

ומשם והלאה ארץ בהם והיא הנקראת פרגא היא תחילת ארץ אשכלבונניא. וקוראים אותה היהודים הדרים שם כנען בשביל שאנשי הארץ ההיא מוכרים בניהם ובנותיהם לכל אומה הם אנשי רוסיה והיא מלכות גדולה משער פרגא ועד שערי כיו העיר הגדולה.

From there on is the land of Bohemia, and it is the one called Prague, which is the beginning of the land of the Slavs [*'sklbwnny'=esklavoniyā*]. And the Jews living there call it Canaan, because the people of that land sell their sons and daughters to every nation, and these are the people of Rus' [*rwsyh=rusya*]. And it is a great kingdom from the gates of Prague to the gates of Kyiv the great city.

APPENDIX 4

A monolingual Jew speaking only Russian.

J. Mann 1920, 165–66; 1922, 192:

היצרכנו הודיעכם עסק מ' פל' בן פל' שהוא מקהל רוסיה ונתארח אצלנו בקהל סלונקי צעירי הצאן, ומצא את קרובו ר' פל' בא מירושלים עיר הקודש, וסיפר לו כל הדרת ארץ ישראל, ונדבה רוחו אותו ללכת גם הוא להשתחוות אל מקום הקודש וביקש ממנו שתי שורות הללו להיות לו לפה ולמליץ יושר פני כבוד הדרתכם להתיר לו פיסת יד ולהדריכו בדרך הטוב מעיר לעיר ומאי אל אי כי אינו יודע לא לשון הקודש ולא לשון יוני גם לא ערבי כי אם שפת כנען מדברים אנשי ארץ מולדתו.

We have been required to inform you of the matter of Mr. so-and-so, who is from the community of Rus' [*rwsy'h=rusiya*] and was welcomed as guest by us, the community of Salonica, young among the sheep [expression of humility], and found his relative Rabbi so-and-so, who had come from Jerusalem the Holy City, and told him the whole splendor of the Land of Israel, which awakened his spirit to go, he too, to prostrate himself at the holy place, and he asked us for these two lines, in order to be a mouth and intercessor before your honorable presence, and to open your hand to guide him on the good road from town to town and from island to island, since he does not know either the Holy Tongue, or Greek, nor Arabic but only the language of Canaan spoken by the people of his native land.

APPENDIX 5

R. Isaac of Chernigov on *yabem* in Slavic.

Klar 1947, 142:

יבם. חזק. בא אל אשת אחיך ויבם אתה. אמ' לי ה'ר יצח' מסרנגוב כי בל' תירס הוא רושיאה קו' ליבוים בעילה, ויבם אותה ובעול אותה.

Yabem. Strong [verb]. “Go in unto thy brother’s wife, and marry her” [Genesis 38:8]. Rabbi Yitshak of Chernigov told me that in the language of *Tiras*, which is Rus’, they call *yebum* copulation, and *yabem* her = “and sleep with her.”

The name *Tiras* for Rus’ is based on Genesis 10:2:

בְּנֵי יָפֶֿתֿ גֹּמֶר וּמָגוֹג וּמְדַי וְגַוְו וְתֻבַּל וְיָבֶֿן וְתִישָׁךְ וְתִירָס

(“The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech and Tiras.”)

It first appears as referring to Rus’ in the *Josippon*:

תִּירַס הֵם רוֹסִי . . . רוֹסִי חוֹנִים עַל נְהַר כִּיּוּא.

Tiras are the Rusi [rwsy] . . . The Rusi are stationed on the river of Kyiv [kyw’]. (Flusser 1981, 1:5)

APPENDIX 6

R. Eliezer of Bohemia on the poor state of learning in Rus’.

R. Isaac of Vienna, *Or Zarua’* part I, para. 113.

רבי יצחק בן משה מווינה, ספר אור זרוע חלק א - הלכות שליח ציבור סימן קי"ג
תשובה מהרב רבי אליעזר מביהם להרב רבי יהודה חסיד זצ"ל, בדבר שכירות החזנים ונתינת חוקם . . .
הנה ברוב מקומות שבפולין ורוסייא ואונגריין שאין שם לומדי תורה מתוך דוחקם ושוכרים להם אדם מבין
מאשר ימצאו והוא להם שליח צבור ומורה צדק ומלמד בניהם.

Thus in most locations in Poland [*polin*], Rus’ [*rusiya*], and Hungary [*ve-ungarin*] where there are no Torah scholars, due to their poverty, they hire an educated man wherever they can find one, and he serves them as cantor and rabbi and school-teacher for their sons.

APPENDIX 7

Esther in the Masoretic Text and in the Septuagint.

The Hebrew Masoretic Text begins as follows:

^{1.1} ויהי בימי אחשורוש הוא אחשורוש המולך מהדו ועד כוש שבע ועשרים ומאה מדינה
^{1.2} בימים ההם כשבת המלך אחשורוש על כסא מלכותו אשר בשושן הבירה
^{1.3} בשנת שלש למלכו עשה משתה לכל שריו ועבדיו חיל פרס ומדי הפרתמים ושרי המדינות לפניו

¹¹ It happened in the days of Ahasuerus [*’ahashverosh*] that Ahasuerus [*’ahashverosh*] who reigned over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces from India [*hodu*] to Ethiopia [*kush*].

¹² In those days, when King Ahasuerus [*’ahashverosh*] occupied the royal throne in the fortress of Susan [*shushan*],

¹³ in the third year of his reign, he gave a banquet for all the officials and courtiers—the administration of Persia [*paras*] and Media [*maday*], the nobles and the governors of the provinces in his service.

The Greek Septuagint begins with an addition: a dream that Mordecai had, followed by the text corresponding to the Hebrew:

Ἔτους δευτέρου βασιλεύοντος Ἄρταξέρξου τοῦ μεγάλου τῆ / μιᾶ τοῦ Νίσα ἐνύπνιον εἶδεν Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ιαΐρου τοῦ Σεμείου / τοῦ Κισαίου ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμιν, ἄνθρωπος Ιουδαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν / Σούσοις τῆ πόλει, ἄνθρωπος μέγας θεραπεύων ἐν τῆ αὐλῇ τοῦ / βασιλέως. . .

¹¹ Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἄρταξέρξου / οὗτος ὁ Ἄρταξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι / ἑπτὰ χωρῶν ἐκράτησεν

¹² ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις, ὅτε ἐθρονίσθη / ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄρταξέρξης ἐν Σούσοις τῆ πόλει,

¹³ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει / βασιλεύοντος αὐτοῦ δοχὴν ἐποίησεν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς / ἔθνεσιν καὶ τοῖς Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων ἐνδόξοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν / τῶν σατραπῶν.

In the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great king, on the first day of Nisan, Mardocheaus the son of Jairus, the son of Semeias, the son of Kisau, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Jew dwelling in the city Susa, a great man, serving in the king's palace, saw a vision . . .

¹¹ And it came to pass after these things in the days of Artaxerxes, this Artaxerxes ruled over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces from India—

¹² in those days, when king Artaxerxes was on the throne in the city of Susa,

¹³ in the third year of his reign, he made a feast to his friends, and the other nations, and to the nobles of the Persians and Medes, and the chiefs of the satraps.

APPENDIX 8

Esther in the Slavic translation (Lunt and Taube 1998, 24):

¹¹ Бысть въ дни **Ахасъверосовы** иже царствоваше от **Одоу** даже и до **Хоусъ**, седмью и двѣма десятѣма и р̄-мь власти

¹² Въ дни ты, егда сѣде царь **Ахасъверосъ** на столѣ царства своего иже въ **Соусанѣ** градѣ

¹³ Въ лѣто <г̄-е> царства своего створи пирь <всемъ> велможамъ своимъ и рабомъ своимъ, силѣ Фарисѣистѣи и Мадѣистѣи, странамъ и боляромъ земнымъ.

Literal translation of the Slavic:

¹¹ And it happened in the days of **Achasveros**, who reigned from **Odu** to **Chous**, over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces

¹² in those days, when king **Achasveros** sat on the throne of his kingdom in the city of **Susan**,

¹³ in the <third> year of his reign, he made a feast to <all> his nobles and servants, the forces the **Phariseans** and **Madeans**, the countries [corrupted from “satraps”] and the boyars of the land.

Ruthenian translation from Hebrew in Vilnius 262 (Altbauer 1992, 151):

¹¹ И было въ днѣхъ Ахашвершовыхъ тотъ то Ахашвершъ и* црѣтвобѣ^а отъ Инди даже и до Мориновъ се^амъ и кѣ и рѣ земль.

¹² Въ днѣхъ тныхъ егда всѣ^ашѣ црѣю Ахашвершѣ на столци црѣства своего и* въ Шшане градѣ

¹³ В лѣто третее црѣствеючи емѣ вчини^а пирѣ вси^а бояро^а своимъ и холопыи своени воинскѣ Пер^аскомѣ и Маданскомѣ столечнико^а и бояро^а земьски^а пере^а собою.

Literal translation of the Ruthenian:

¹¹ And it happened in the days of **Achashverosh**, who reigned from **India** even to [the land of the] **Moors** [over] 127 provinces

¹² in those days, king **Achashverosh** sitting down on the throne of his kingdom in the city of **Shushan**

¹³ in the third year of his reign, he made a feast to all his nobles and servants, the forces the **Persians** and **Madayans**, the princes the boyars of the lands before him.

APPENDIX 9

Phraseological Hellenism 5.12:

וְאֵת כָּל־הַמְּלָכִים אֲשֶׁר־עִשְׂתָּהּ עִם־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲלֵה־הַמְּשֻׁתָּהּ כִּי אִם־אֵתִי^{5:12c}

Also, queen Esther has not brought with the king to the feast that she prepared [anyone] **except** [lit., **if not**] me.

LXX: οὐδέ κέ κληκεν ἢ βασιλισσα μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐδένα εἰς τὴν δοχὴν ἄλλ' ἢ ἐμέ.

The queen has called no one to the feast with the king but [lit., other than] me.

Slavic (Lunt and Taube 1998, 38): паки не приведе [[ли ма]] Есфирь царица съ царемъ на пирѣ иже створила бѣ **аще не** мене.

Moreover, the queen has brought no one [lit., has not brought] to the feast with the king that she had prepared **except** [lit., **if not**] me.

Ruthenian translation from Hebrew in Vilnius 262 (Altbauer 1992, 163):

такѣжъ не привела Естерь црѣца съ црѣмъ к' пирѣ што вчинила **ни^али** мене

Also, Queen Esther has not brought with the king to the feast that she had prepared [anyone] **but** [lit., **unless**] me.

APPENDIX 10

Phraseological Hellenism 2.13:

וְכֹל־הַדְּבָרָה בְּאֵהָ אֲלֵה־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר תֹּאמַר יָבִיאוּ לָהּ לְבוֹא עִמָּהּ

And in this the maiden would come in to the king, **everything whatsoever** she says would be given her to come with her . . .

Slavic (Lunt and Taube 1998, 30): и в томъ дѣвая дѣва придаше къ цареви и **все еже аще** речаше дадаше еи прити с нею . . .

And in this the virgin maiden would come in to the king and **everything whatsoever** [lit., **all which if**] she said he would give her to come with her . . .

LXX: καὶ τότε εἰσπορεύεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ **ὅ ἑὰν** εἴπῃ, παραδώσει αὐτὴν συνεισέρχεται αὐτῷ

And then *the damsel* goes in to the king; and *the officer* to **whomsoever** he shall give the command, will bring her to come in with him. (Brenton's translation of LXX)

Ruthenian translation from Hebrew in Vilnius 262 (Altbauer 1992, 163):

и в тои мѣре тая мологица приходила к црѣю **все нѣ** речеѣ маеть быти дано еи прити с нею . . .

and in this manner the maiden would come to the king and **everything that** she says has to be given her to come with her . . .

APPENDIX 11

Semantic Hellenism 1.20:

^{1.20} וְכָל־הַנְּשִׂימִים יתְּנוּ יָקָר לְבַעְלֵיהֶן

And all the women will give **honor** to their husbands.

Slavic (Lunt and Taube 1998, 28): и вса жены възложать **срамотоу** на мужь свои
And all the women will put **shame** on their husbands.

LXX: καὶ οὕτως πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες περιθήσουσιν **τιμὴν** τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἑαυτῶν

And so shall all the women give **honor** to their husbands. (Brenton's translation of LXX)

Ruthenian translation from Hebrew in Vilnius 262 (Altbauer 1992, 153):

и вси жонкы оузладдѣтъ чєсть мѣжо^м своимѣ

And all the women will pay **honor** to their husbands.

APPENDIX 12

The account from *Josippon* (Flusser 1981, 1:54–57) followed by the entry for 1110 in the Hypatian redaction of the *Account of Bygone Years*. The Old Russian text is given according to the 1908 edition, now available online (https://www.lrc-lib.ru/rus_letopisi/Ipatius/content.htm).

Hebrew text of the Alexander episode in *Josippon* as established by Flusser (the Hebrew portions missing in Russian are marked by *italics* in the Hebrew text and in its English translation):

[...] ויהי בהתעורר גוי מקדון על מלכות פרס ויצא אלכסנדרוס ממקדוניה בחיל כבד ויבא על דריוש למלחמה ויך את כל הגוים אשר היה ברית עם דריוש, ויך את ארץ מצרים ואת ארץ ארם ויבא בחוף הים ויך את עכו ואת אשקלון ואת עזה, וישם פניו לעלות ירושלם להכותה תחת אשר היה להם ברית עם דריוש. ויסע מעזה עם כל מחנהו הלוך ובוא עד אשר בא בדרך במלון ויחן שם עם כל מחנהו. ויהי בלילה ההוא והוא שוכב על מטתו בתוך האוהל, וישא עיניו והנה איש עומד עליו לבוש

בדים וחרבו שלופה בידו ומראהו כמראה דמות ברק אשר יביריק ביום הגשם, וירם חרבו על ראש המלך. ויירא המלך מאד ויאמר: למה אדוני יכה את עבדו? ויאמר האיש: כי שלחני אלהים לכבוש לפניך מלכים גדולים וגוים רבים ואני ההולך לפניך לעזרך. ועתה דע כי מות תמות על אשר מלאך לבך לעלות ירושלים להרע לכהני ה' ולעמו. ויאמר המלך: אנה שא פשע עבדך בי אדוני. אם רע בעיניך אשובה לי. ויאמר לו האיש: אל תירא נשאתי פניך. לך לדרכך ירושלים והיה בבואך לפני השער אשר בירושלם וראית איש לבוש מדים כמוני, והאיש כתוארי וכדמותי, מהר נפול על פניך והשתחוית לאיש וכל אשר ידבר אליך עשה ועל תעבור את פיו, כי ביום עברך את פיו מות תמות. ויקם המלך וילך לדרכו ירושלים.

ויהי כשמוע הכהן כי בא אלכסנדרוס המלך על ירושלים בחרון אף, ויירא הכהן מאד וכל עם ירושלים, ויצעקו אל ה' ויקראו צום. ויהי אחרי הצום ויצאו היהודים לקראתו להתחנן לו לבלתי הכות את העיר. ויצא הכהן מן השער הוא וכל העם וכל הכהנים, והיה הכהן הגדול עומד לפניהם לבוש הבדים. וירא אלכסנדרוס את הכהן, וימהר וירד מעל הרכב ויפול על פניו וישתחוה אל הכהן וישאל לו לשלום. וירגו המלכים עבדי אלכסנדרוס ויאמרו אליו: מדוע השתחוית לאיש אשר אין לו כח למלחמה? ויאמר המלך אל עבדיו המלכים כי האיש אשר ילך לפני להכניע לפני כל הגוים דמותו ותוארו לאיש הזה דומה אשר השתחוית לו.

ויהי אחרי כן ויבא הכהן והמלך אלכסנדרוס אל מקדש אלהינו, ויראהו הכהן את ההיכל ואת בית ה' ואת חציריו ואת גנסכיו ואת אולמיו ואת מקום קדש הקדשים ואת מקום הובח ואת מקום העולה. ויאמר המלך: ברוך ה' אלהי הבית הזה כי מאז ידעתי כי הוא אדון הכל וממשלתו על כל נפש כל חי בידו להמית ולהחיות ואשריכם עבדיו המשרתים לפניו במקום הזה. ועתה אעשה לי זכר הנה ואתן זהב לרוב לאומנים ויבנו את צלמי ויקומו אותה בין קדש הקדשים ובין הבית ויהי גולמי לזכרון בבית אלהים הגדול הזה. ויאמר הכהן אל המלך: הזהב אשר נדבו שפתך תנהו למחיית כהני ה' ועניי עמו הבאים להשתחוות אליו בבית הזה. ואעשה לך זכר טוב מאשר דברת: כל ילידי הכהנים אשר יוולדו בשנה הזאת בכל ארץ יהודה ובכל ארץ ירושלים יקראו בשמך אלכסנדרוס, ויהיה לך לזכרון כאשר יבאו לעבוד עבודתם בבית הזה, כי אין לנו לקבל בבית אלהינו כל פסל וכל תמונה. וישמע אליו המלך ויתן זהב לרוב לבית ה' ולכהן נתן מתנות גדולות.

וישאל המלך את הכהן לדרוש אלהים אם ילך למלחמה על דריוש ואם יחזל. ויאמר לו הכהן: לך כי נתון ינתן בידיך. ויבא לפניו את ספר דניאל ויראהו את הכתב אשר כתוב בו על דבר האיל המנגה לכל רוח ועל דבר צפיר העזים אשר רץ אל האיל וירמסוהו ארצה. ויאמר: אתה הוא צפיר העזים ודריוש הוא האיל, ואתה תרמסוהו ותקח מלכותו מידו. ויחזקהו הכהן ללכת על דריוש. ויכתוב ספרים אלכסנדרוס כחזיו אשר ראה ואשר אמר לו הכהן וישלח למקדוניה ולרומא.

ויצא אלכסנדרוס מירושלם ללכת על דריוש למלחמה [. . .]

And it came to be when the people of Macedon rose against the kingdom of Persia, that Alexander left Macedonia with a heavy army and went to war against Darius. He defeated all the peoples that were in alliance with Darius, he defeated the land of Egypt and the land of Aram and proceeded to the seashore and defeated Akko and Ashkelon and Gaza and turned his face to go up to Jerusalem to conquer it, since it had been in alliance with Darius. He went from Gaza with all his camp moving along until he reached the place of encampment and camped there, he and his whole army. And it came to pass at that night, as he was lying on his bed in his tent, he raised his eyes and saw a man standing above him, clothed with linen, and his sword drawn in his hand, and the form of the sword was as the appearance of lightning on a rainy day. And he raised his sword over the king's head, and the king was greatly afraid and said: Why does my Lord smite thy servant? Then the man said: for God has sent me to conquer before you great kings and many nations, and it is I who goes before you to help you. And now know that you will surely die for having dared to go up

against Jerusalem and to harm the Lord's priests and His people. Then the king said: Please forgive the trespass of thy servant, I pray thee my Lord, if it displease thee, I will turn back. Then the man said: do not be afraid *for I grant your request*. Go on your way to Jerusalem, and *when you arrive before the gate of Jerusalem* you will see a man *clothed with linen like me, and the man will be in my image and likeness*, then fall quickly to the earth upon your face and bow to that man, and do whatever he tells you, do not disobey anything he tells you, for on the very day when you disobey his words you shall die. And the king rose and went on his way to Jerusalem.

And when the Priest heard that Alexander was going against Jerusalem full of anger, the Priest was greatly afraid and thus also all the people of Jerusalem, and they cried to God and declared a fast. And it came to pass after the fast, the Jews came out toward him to beg him not to smite the city. And the High priest came out of the gate, he and all the people and all the priests, and the High Priest standing before them clothed with linen. And King Alexander saw the Priest and hastened to get off his chariot and fell upon his face and bowed to the Priest and greeted him with peace. Then the kings, Alexander's servants, became angry and said to him: Why do you bow to a man without military power? Then the king said to his servants: for the man who will be going before me to defeat before me all the nations is of the same image and likeness as the man to whom I have bowed.

And afterward the High Priest and Alexander came to our Lord's temple and the priest showed him the temple, its courts and its treasures and its halls and the place of the holy of holies and the place of sacrifice and the place of the burnt offering. Then the king said: Blessed is the Lord, God of this house for I have always known that He is the master of all and His reign is over all and the soul of every living creature is in His hand to put to death or to preserve, and blessed are you, his servants serving before him at this place. And now I will make for myself a monument here and will give much gold to the artisans and let them construct my image and put it up between the Holy of Holies and the temple and my sculpture will be a memorial in the house of this great God. Then the priest said to the king: the gold that your lips have pledged, give it rather for the support of the Lord's priests and for the poor from among His people who come to bow before Him at this house. And I will make you a better monument than the one you spoke about: all the sons of priests that will be born this year in all of Judea and in the whole land of Jerusalem will be called Alexander in your name, and it will be a memorial when they come to perform their worship in this house, for we must not accept in our Lord's house any graven image or likeness. And the king listened to him and gave much gold to the Lord's house, and the priest he gave great presents.

And the king asked the priest to *inquire of God on his behalf* whether he should go to war against Darius or *desist*. And the priest said: *Go, for he shall be given into your hands*. And he brought before him the book of Daniel and he showed him what is written [in Daniel 8:5–8] *about the ram charging in all directions and about the he-goat who ran unto the ram and trampled him to the ground*. And he said: you are the he-goat and Darius is the ram, and you will trample him and take his kingdom from him. *And the priest encouraged him to go to war against Darius . . .*

The entry for the year 1110 in the Hypatian redaction of the *Account of Bygone Years*:

В лѣтѣ . #s̄s̄.х̄.ѣи. Идоша веснѣ на Половецѣ, Стополкъ и Володимерь. Дѣдѣ . . . В то же лѣто бы знаменье в Печерскомѣ монастыри, феврала въ .ѣи. днѣ. ѡвиса столпъ ѡгненъ ѡ земля до нбсе. а молнья ѡсвितिша всю землю и на нбси погремѣ въ часъ .ѣи. нощи. весь миръ видѣ. се съе столпъ ста на тралезници каманѣи. ѡко не видити хрста баше. и стоа мало ступи на црѣвь. и ста надъ гробомъ Федосьевомъ. и птомъ надъ верхъ съступи . аки ко вѣстоку лицемъ . и потомъ невидимо бы^ѣ. **се же баше не ѡгнь. но видѣ аѣглъскыи. аѣглъ бо сице ѡвлаеть са** ѡво столпомъ ѡгненомъ. ѡво же пламеномъ. ѡкоже рче Дѣдѣ твора аѣглы своа дѣхы . и слугы своа ѡгнь пламанъ. и слеми суть повеленьемъ Бѣжимъ . аможе хоцетъ вл^нка всихъ творецъ. аѣглѡмъ и члѣкомъ. аѣглъ бо приходитъ кдѣ блѣга мѣста. и молитвении домове. и ту показаютъ нѣчто мало видинья своего . ѡво бо ѡгнемъ. ѡво столпомъ. ѡво инако ѡко мощно зрѣти имъ. а^ж не мощно бо зрѣти члѣкомъ. ества аѣглъскаго видити. аще и Моиси великии не возможе видѣти. аѣглъскаго ествства. водашетъ бо ѡво дѣе столпъ ѡблаченъ. а в нощи столпъ ѡгненъ . то се не столпъ водаше ихъ по аѣглъ Бѣжи. идаше предъ нимъ. в нощи и во днѣ. тако и са ѡвленье которое показываше. емуже быти хоташе. еже бо и бы^ѣ на второе лѣто. не сии ли аѣглъ. вожъ бы на иноплеменники супостатъ бысть. ѡкоже рече аѣглъ предъ тобою предъидет. и пакы аѣглъ твои буди с тобою.

[Here ends the entry for the year 1110 in the 1377 Laurentian manuscript of the *Primary Chronicle*, with a colophon made by Abbot Sylvester in 1116. The Laurentian then goes on with the entry for 1111, whereas the Hypatian continues with the discourse on angels that follows and the account of Alexander.]

ѡкоже прѣркъ Двдѣ глеть. ѡко аѣглѡмъ своимъ заповѣсть ѡ тебе схранитъ та. ѡкоже пишеть премудрыи Епифаньи. къ коеиже твари аѣглъ приставленъ. аѣглъ ѡблакомъ и мѣгламъ. и снѣгу и граду. и мразу. аѣглъ гласомъ и громомъ. аѣглъ зимы и зноевы. и осени и весны. и лѣта. всему дѣху твари его на земли и таинныа бездны и су^т скровены подъ землею. и преисподньи тьмы и сущи во безны бывшина древле верху земля. ѡ неаже тмы вечеръ и ноцъ. и свѣтъ и днѣ. ко всимъ тваремъ аѣгли приставлени. тако же аѣглъ приставленъ къ которой оубо земли да соблюдаютъ. куюждо землю. аще суть и погани. аще Бѣжни гнѣвъ будеть. на кую оубо землю. на кую оубо землю бранью ити. то ѡнои землѣ аѣглъ не вопротивитса повелѣнью Бѣжью. ѡко и се баше и на ны навель Бѣ грѣхъ ради нашихъ иноплеменники поганыа. и побѣжахуть ны повелѣньемъ Бѣжимъ. ѡни бо баху водими аѣглѡмъ. по повелѣнью Бѣжью. **аще ли кто речеть ѡко аѣгла нѣсть оу поганыхъ. да слышитъ ѡко [Beginning of Story from *Josippon*]** Сѡлександрѡу Макидоньскому. ѡполчившю са на Дарья . и пошедшю ему и повинувшю землю всю. ѡ вѣстокъ и до западъ. и поби землю Егупетьскую. и поби Арама. и приде в островы морьскыа. и врати лице свое възыти въ Ер^лмъ побидити Жиды. занеже баху мирни со Дарьемъ. и поиде со вси вои его. и ста на товарищи и почи. и приспѣ ноцъ. и лежа на ложи своемъ посредѣ шатра. ѡверзъ вчи свои види мужа стоаща надъ нимъ. и мѣчь нагъ в руцѣ его. и ѡбличенье меча его ѡко молонии. и запраже мечемъ своимъ

на главу цѣрѣ. и оужасеса цѣрѣ велми. и рече не бии мене. и рече ему анѣлъ посла ма Бѣ оумати цѣрѣ великии предѣ тобою. и люди многи. азъ же хожю предѣ тобою помагана ти. а нынѣ вѣдаи ѿко оумьрьши. понеже помыслилъ еси взити въ Ерѣлмѣ. зло створити ерѣемъ Бѣжимъ и к людямъ его. и ре^а цѣрѣ молю та в Гѣи ѿпусти нынѣ грѣхъ раба твоего. аче не любо ти а ворочюса дому моему. и рече анѣлъ не боиса. иди путемъ твоимъ къ Иерѣлму. и оузриши ту въ Ерѣлми. мужа въ бличенъе мое и борзо пади на лица своемъ. и поклониса мужу тому. и все еже речеть к тобѣ створи не прѣступи рѣчи ему. вонъже дѣи приступиши рѣчь его и оумерши. и вѣставъ цѣрѣ иде въ Ерѣлмѣ. и пришедѣ въспроси ерѣевъ. иду ли на Дарья. и показаша ему книги Данила прѣрка и рекоша ему ты еси козель. а внѣ ввенѣ. и потолчеши и возмеша цѣрѣтво его. [End of Story from *Josippon*] се^и оубо не анѣлъ ли вожаше Сѣлександра. не поганъ ли побѣжаше. и вси Елини кумиролужебници. тако и сѣ погании попущени грѣхъ ради нашихъ . . .

In the year 6618 [=1110 CE] Svjatopolk, Volodimer, and David went in the spring to fight against the Polovtians . . . That year there was a sign at the Caves Monastery [in Kyiv]. On February 12 appeared a pillar of fire [extending] from Earth to Heaven, lightnings illuminated the whole land, and there were thunders in heaven in the first hour of the night, the whole world saw it. That same pillar stood over the stone-built refectory so that the cross became invisible, and after halting a little while moved over the church, and stood over the grave of Feodosij [the founder of the monastery] then moved away from the top as if heading eastward, and then disappeared. **This was not fire but an apparition of an angel.** For thus does an angel appear: sometimes as a pillar of fire, sometimes as a flame, as David says: “Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire” [Psalms 104:4] and they are dispatched by God’s command wherever the Lord of all [beings] the Creator of men and angels wishes. For angels appear in whatever place there is good and in houses of prayer, and there they show a little of their appearance, sometimes as fire, sometimes as a pillar, sometimes otherwise, so they may be observed, for it is impossible for men to see an angelic being, as even the great Moses could not see it. “There lead them by day a pillar of cloud and by night a pillar of fire” [Exodus 13:21]: this indeed was not a pillar that lead them but an Angel of God that was walking before them night and day. Thus also was this appearance an indication of what was about to happen, and which indeed did happen the following summer. Wasn’t this the one leading [them?] against their heathen opponents, as it is said: “my angel shall go before you” [Exodus 23:23], and again “may your angel be with you” [End of entry for 1110 in the Laurentian Chronicle. From here on it appears only in the Hypatian Chronicle] as the prophet David says: “for He will command his angels concerning you to protect you” [Psalms 91:11]. As Epiphanius the Wise [of Salamis] says: to all things created there is assigned an angel: an angel to clouds and mists, to snow and hail and frost . . . **to every land there is an angel assigned to protect whichever land, even if they are pagans.** If God’s wrath be to go to war on any land, the angel of that land will not stand up against God’s command. As it happened also when God, due to our sins, brought upon us the pagan foreigners, and they defeated us by God’s command.

And if anyone should say that the pagans have no angels, let him hear how [Beginning of the account from *Josippon*] Alexander of Macedon, when going to war against Darius, conquered all lands from East to West, he defeated the land of Egypt and the land of Aram and proceeded to the isles [Hebrew: “shore”] of the sea and turned his face to go up to Jerusalem to subjugate the Jews, since they had been at peace with Darius. He went with all his armies moving along until he reached the place of encampment and camped there. And when night came, as he was lying on his bed in his tent, he opened his eyes and saw a man standing above him, with his sword drawn in his hand, and the appearance of the sword as that of lightning, and he raised his sword over the king’s head. And the king was greatly afraid and said: Do not smite me! Then the angel [Hebrew: “man”] said: God has sent me to conquer before you great kings and many nations, and it is I who go before you to help you. And now know that you will surely die for having dared to go up against Jerusalem and to harm the Lord’s priests and His people. Then the king said: I pray thee my Lord, please forgive the trespass of thy servant, if it displease thee, I will return to my home. Then the angel said: do not be afraid. Go your way to Jerusalem, and you will see there in Jerusalem a man in my likeness, fall quickly upon your face and bow to that man, and do whatever he tells you, do not disobey anything of his words, for on the same day when you disobey his words you shall die.

And the king rose and went on his way to Jerusalem, and asked the priests [Hebrew: “priest”]: “should I go to war against Darius?” And they showed him the book of the prophet Daniel and said to him: “you are the he-goat and he is the ram, and you will trample him and take his kingdom.” [End of the account from *Josippon*] Was it not then an angel who guided Alexander? Was it not a pagan who triumphed, since all the Hellenes are idolaters. Thus also these pagans are sent, due to our sins . . .

APPENDIX 13

“Like a bride fornicating in front of her wedding-canopy” in the *Commented Palaea* of 1406.

и емъ обѣ дѣсцѣ повергохъ из руку мою и скрушихъ ѣ предѣ вами судивъ
w васъ яко не достойни есте людїе їстѣственаго законоположенья. **якоже бо
невѣста преже чертога своѣго съблудивши.**

“And I took the two tablets, and cast them out of my hands, and broke them before your eyes” (Deuteronomy 9:17). Judging that you are not a people worthy of the deposition of the true Law, **like a bride having fornicated in front of her wedding canopy.**

APPENDIX 14

The editor boasts of his knowledge.

Commented Palaea of 1406.

**Ты же оубо жидовине скажи намъ. како взаша кости ивсифла, или коеи
мудростѣ наидоша на грезаща в мори за .ѵ. лѣ⁵. аще ли ты не вѣси мы
оукажем ти.**

But you, Jew, tell us, how did they take Joseph's bones, or what wisdom did they use to find them, being sunk in the sea for four hundred years? If you do not know we will tell you.

APPENDIX 15

The account of the finding of Joseph's remains as narrated in the 1477 *Commented Palaea*.
Толковая Палея 1477 г. Син. 210, f. 205vff.

и въставъ мѡѡсїи нача^т сочители кто повѣдѣ^т иаковуу иусифа въ египтѣ жива . и начати сочители въ костѣхъ иусифовѣхъ како ѡ ѡбрѣсти . и иусифа повѣда дщи іаковла жива соущи . шна^ж возпи къ шїю и ре^и . шѣе иусифѣ живѣ е^т . шнже възложи роу^т на главѣ еѡ и ре^и жива воуди и ты въ вѣ^т и та е^т была жива . ѡ . лѣ^т . и та повѣда мѡѡсѣеви . гдѣ^т соу^т кости иуси^а . естѣ рѣка въ египтѣ именовъ вонда . тоу соу^т погрѣжени кости иусифа въ шованѣ рацѣ . егдаже ре^и г^ь мѡѡсѣеви изведи лю^{ди} моѡ изъ египта съ вѣ^тмъ имѣниемъ ихъ . и створи емоу вѣ . ѡ . ношѣи въ единѣ ношѣ и на^и мѡѡсїи въпрашати ихъ . хотѣ кости иусифови съ свѣ^тцями искати и срѣте и дщи іаковла и ре^и емоу въ рѣцѣ соу^т кости иусифови въ вонда мѡѡсїи же вѣ^тмъ свѣ^тца . помѣ с собою . ѡ . мѡ^ж и вше^а на гороу и ре^и возми са вондаю . и дажѣ^а кости иусифови . и не бы^т явленїѡ . и па^к ре^и второе и не бы^т явленїѡ . третнее же написа на хорьтъю . и ре^и во^лдаю возми^т и положи на во^л . и възвѣстуйи рака иусифова . мѡѡсїи же ра^а бы^т и взѡ ра^к . хоргїи же не взѡ но пристоупивъ единѣ жидовинѣ жестосердѣ взѡтъ ю .

And Moses got up and began to inquire who told Jacob that Joseph was alive in Egypt, and began to inquire about Joseph's bones, and how to find them. It was Jacob's daughter who said that Joseph was alive, she cried out and said: father, Joseph is alive. Then he put his hand on her head and said: May you too live for eternity, and she lived four hundred years and it is she who told Moses where the bones of Joseph are. There is a river in Egypt named *Voilda* [v.l. *Vol* "Bull"]. This is where the bones of Joseph are submerged in a leaden casket. When God said to Moses: lead my people out of Egypt with all their belongings, God also turned seven nights into a single night for him, and Moses began asking them, wanting to search for Joseph's bones with candles, and Jacob's daughter encountered him and said to him: It is in the river that Joseph's bones are, in the Voilda. Then Moses, having taken candles, took with him thirty men and went up a hill and said: Rise *Voilda* [v.l. *Vol* "Bull"] and give up Joseph's bones. And there was no apparition. Then he said again for the second time and there was no apparition. For the third [time] he wrote down on a parchment and said: *Voilda* [v.l. *Vol* "Bull"] rise, and put [it] on the water, and Joseph's casket emerged. And Moses rejoiced and took the casket, the parchment, however, he did not take, but a certain hard-hearted Jew approached and took it.

APPENDIX 16

The account of the finding of Joseph's remains in the Talmud, *Soṭah* 13a:

ת"ר בא וראה כמה חביבות מצות על משה רבינו שכל ישראל כולן נתעסקו בביוה והוא נתעסק במצות . . . ומנין היה יודע משה רבינו היכן יוסף קבור אמרו סרה בת אשר נשתיירה מאותו הדור הלך משה

אצלה אמר לה כלום את יודעת היכן יוסף קבור אמרה לו ארון של מתכת עשו לו מצרים וקבעוהו בנילוס הנהר כדי שיתברכו מימיו הלך משה ועמד על שפת נילוס אמר לו יוסף יוסף הגיע העת שנשבע הקב"ה שאני גואל אתכם והגיעה השבועה שהשבעת את ישראל אם אתה מראה עצמך מוטב אם לא הרי אנו מנוקין משבועתך מיד צף ארונו של יוסף.

Our Rabbis have taught: Come and see how beloved were the commandments by Moses our teacher; for whereas all the Israelites occupied themselves with the spoil, he occupied himself with the commandments . . . But whence did Moses know the place where Joseph was buried? —It is related that Serah, daughter of Asher, was a survivor of that generation. Moses went to her and asked: "Do you know where Joseph was buried?" She answered him, "The Egyptians made a metal coffin for him which they placed in the river Nile so that its waters should be blessed." Moses went and stood on the bank of the Nile and exclaimed: "Joseph, Joseph! the time has arrived which the Holy One, blessed be He, swore, 'I will deliver you,' and the oath which you did impose upon the Israelites has reached [the time of fulfillment]; if you will show thyself, well and good; otherwise, behold, we are free of your oath." Immediately Joseph's coffin emerged.

APPENDIX 17

The account of the finding of Joseph's remains in the Midrash.

בראשית רבתי פרשת ויחי: Genesis Rabbati:

ויחנטו אותו וגו'. ר' נתן אומר חנטוהו כדרך המלכים וקברוהו בקפיטולין של מצרים בין המלכים. **וי"א (ויש אומרים) עשו לו ארון של מתכת ושקעוהו בנילוס** . . . כדי שלא יבא עליהם רעב. ור' אמרין בשעה ששמעו מצרים שכך השביע יוסף לאחיו שלא יוכלו לעלות ממצרים אלא עד שיעלוהו עמהם, אמרו החרטומים אל פרעה רצונך שלא תעלה אומה זו מכאן לעולם, מיד עשו לו ארון של עופרת של ה' [מאות ככרים] והשליכוהו בתוך נילוס. כשראו ישראל כן אמרו ווי אין אנו נגאלין לעולם. . . וכיצד מצאו משה, ר' יהודה אומר בתוך פלטרין של מלכים היה יוסף קבור בקבורת המלכים והוציאו משם. . . ורבנן אמרי הלך משה ועמד על קברי המלכים ואמר יוסף יוסף הגיעה השעה שהקב"ה גואל את ישראל והשכינה וישראל מעוכבין בשבילך וענני כבוד, אם אתה מודיע את עצמך מוטב, ואם לאו אנו נקיים משבועתך. מיד נזדעזע ארונו של יוסף ונטלו משה. **ועל דעתיה דמ"ד (דמאן דאמר) בנילוס נשקע ארונו**, היה משה מסבב את העיר למצא ארונו של יוסף ולא היה מוצאו. אמרו סרה בת אשר נשתיירה מאותו הדור ופגעה במשעה ואמרה לו אדוני משה למה אתה עיף ויגע. אמר לה ג' ימים וג' לילות סבבתי את העיר למצא ארונו של יוסף ואיני מוצאו. אמרה לו בא ואראך היכן הוא. הוליכה אותו לנילוס, אמרה לו במקום הזה השליכוהו המצריים במים כדי שלא יוכל אדם להוציאו משם לעולם ולא יגאלו לעולם. מיד עמד משה על שפת הנהר ואמר יוסף יוסף, אתה יודע היאך השבעת את אחיך תן כבוד לאלהי ישראל ולא תעכב גאולתן של ישראל מעשים יש לך בקש רחמים לפני בוראך ועלה מן התהומות. מיד התחיל ארונו של יוסף להיות מפעפע ועלה מן התהומות כקנה. נטלו משה על כתפיו ונשא. **וי"א (ויש אומרים) נטל משה צרור וזרק לתוכו וצעק ואמר יוסף יוסף הגיעה השבועה שנשבע הקב"ה לאברהם שהוא גואל את בניו, נקיים אנו משבועתך אם אין אתה מעלה את עצמך**. מיד צף ארונו של יוסף ונטלו משה. . . **וי"א (ויש אומרים) טס של זהב נטל וכתב שם המפורש וחקק בו צורת שור** על שם יוסף שנקרא שור כבור שורו (דברים ל"ג י"ז), וצעק ואמר עלה שור עלה שור. מיד צף ארונו של יוסף ונטלו משה.

אמרו מיכה היה שם ונטל את הטס, וכשעשה אהרן אותו מעשה נטל מיכה אותו טס והשליכו לאש ואמר עלה שור עלה שור, ויצא אותו עגל מן האש . . . מכח שם המפורש שחקק בו . . .

”And they embalmed him, etc.” [“and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt,” *Genesis* 50:26]. R. Nathan says: they embalmed him as is customary for kings and they buried him in the capitol of Egypt among the kings.

And some say, they made a metal coffin for him and immersed it in the Nile . . . so that they may avoid hunger.

And the Rabbis say: when the Egyptians heard that Joseph had made his brethren swear, that they could not leave Egypt unless they take him with them, the magicians said to Pharaoh: Do you wish that this nation should never get out of here? and they immediately made a leaden coffin weighing five [hundred talents] and threw it into the Nile. When the Israelites saw this they said: Woe! We will never be delivered . . .

And how did Moses find him? R. Yehudah says: in the palace of kings, Joseph was buried in the burial place of the kings and he took him out of there . . . And the Rabbis say: Moses went and stood on the burial site of the kings and said: Joseph, Joseph, the time has come for God to deliver the Israelites, and the Shekhinah and Israel are hindered on your account, as well as the Clouds of Glory, if you announce yourself, —that is good, and if not, we are no longer bound by your oath. Immediately Joseph’s coffin started upwards and Moses took it.

And according to those who say that his coffin was immersed in the Nile, Moses had been walking around the city to look for Joseph’s coffin and could not find it. They say that Serah, Asher’s daughter, remained of that generation and she encountered Moses and said to him: Master Moses, why are you tired and weary? He said to her: for three days and three nights I have been walking around the city to look for Joseph’s coffin and I cannot find it. She said to him: come and I shall show you where it is. She walked with him to the Nile and said to him: at this place the Egyptians threw it into the water so that no man can ever take it out, and so they would not be delivered. Immediately Moses stood on the bank of the river and said: Joseph, Joseph, you know how you made your brethren swear, pay respect to the God of Israel and you will not hinder the deliverance of the children of Israel, you have deeds [to your credit], ask your Creator for mercy and rise up from the depths. And immediately Joseph’s coffin began rising and rose up from the depths like a reed. Then Moses took him/it on his shoulders and carried him/it away.

And some say, Moses took a pebble and threw it into it [sc., the river] and cried out and said: Joseph, Joseph, the time has come for [the fulfillment of] the oath that God gave to Abraham that he would deliver his children, we are released from your oath if you do not raise yourself. Immediately Joseph’s coffin rose up and Moses took it . . .

And some say that he took a golden foil and wrote thereon the ineffable name and engraved in it the shape of a bull, [standing for the name of Joseph who is called bull, “In majesty he is like a first-born bull” (*Deuteronomy* 33:17)], and cried out and said: “Rise bull, rise bull.” Immediately Joseph’s coffin rose up and Moses took it.

They say that Micah was there and took the foil, and when Aaron did what he did, **Micah took that foil and threw it into the fire and said: “rise bull, rise bull,” and that calf came out of the fire . . .** by the force of the ineffable name engraved in it . . .

APPENDIX 18

Addressing a contemporary Jew in an effort of proselytization.

Commented Palaea (Milkov 2002) from 1406 copy.

Паляя Толковая, Москва: Согласие 2002; с. 320:

Ты же оубо дньсь соуции жидовине. почто не ревнуѣши древле бывшимъ израильтоумъ. ихъ же ради показанне египта. ты же дньсь наказанъ и въ работу преданъ еси подъ рѣкы языкомъ. ихъ же древле прослави господь богъ. ты же дньсь порѣганю и покорѣ въ языцѣхъ. иже древле чермнаго моря преидоша безданъ ты же дньсь по градомъ язычскимъ калъ и гноица свираѣши. акы свинья пыца и въ мотыльхъ пребываѣши. почто оубо не развѣѣши. почто ли не въспранѣши ꙗко жестосерднѣ фараона. такоже бо и онъ жестосерднѣ имѣа противъ людемъ божимъ погыбе. тако же и вы ожесточающе противъ законъ избраномъ богомъ погыбающе погыбнете. исповѣргъше заѣ животъ свои. огню вѣчномъ предани бѣдете. но възникъни. въздѣхни и възпи къ господу. поверзи прелестъ и одежиса въ новѣю одежу. еже есть свѣатое крещеніе. такоже и змиа. когда състарѣеть са и и ослаѣпнѣта очи еѣ. и алчеть мѣдъни и мѣнощи. дондеже ослабѣеть еи сила телеси. тогда авіе съвѣлечеть съ себе ветшаню кожу и бѣдетъ обновившиса. такоже и ты жидовине не бѣди несмысленъ и бесловесенъ яко змии. пророчества почитаѣши. бытъи время ведаѣши. обнови свое тѣло. прозри своимъ очима. сверзи ветшаню одежу. еже есть невѣръство. и обновиса свѣатымъ крещеніемъ. и притеци къ христу и бѣди единогласникъ съ нами.

But you, Jew living today, why are you not you jealous of the Israelites of old, on whose account Egypt was punished? You are today punished and delivered into servitude under the hand of the gentiles. They were once glorified by God, whereas you have now become profaned and subjugated among the nations. They crossed the abyss of the Red Sea, whereas you collect excrement and filth, panting like a swine and living in the manure. Why do you not understand, why do you not wake up from the Pharaonic hard-heartedness? For just as he, being hard-hearted towards the people of God, perished, so will you, hardening yourselves against the Law chosen by God, surely perish; vomiting miserably your lives, you will be committed to the eternal fire. But rise, sigh and cry to the Lord, throw off the spell and put on a new garment, which is the Holy Baptism. Just like a snake, when it grows old and its eyes darken, fasts for forty days and forty nights, until its corporeal force weakens, and then it sheds its decayed skin and becomes renewed. **So also you, Jew, do not be insensate and irrational like the snakes. The prophecies you have read, the time of Creation you know. Renovate your body, regain the sight of your eyes, throw off the decayed garment which is incredulity, become renewed through the Holy Baptism, rush to Christ and become one with us.**

APPENDIX 19

Persecution of Jews under Antiochus.

Academy Chronograph (Istrin 1905, 326):

И повелѣша Изѣю да всакъ оу негоже есть волъ да напишетъ на розѣ его да не бѣудеть емоу части въ всѣхъ излѣвѣхъ. и изрѣзаша Изѣльтанѣ волы своѣя. И

пакы повелѣша не ходити дщерамъ Излѣвымъ купатиса на рѣкѣ, и слышаша Излѣтане лишишася женъ своихъ и быша поганїи веселїи рекуще. се да прїидѣтъ к намъ жены ихъ. и егда оуслышаша Излѣтане словеса ихъ рекоша. приидем к женамъ своимъ бес кѣпанїѣ да не скончаѣтся сема Излѣво. и створиса имъ чудо. и показася источникъ водный комѣждо посрѣде домѣ своего и прихѣжахѣ купатса тѣщеры иерслимовы каѣждо в домѣ своемъ. и прихѣжахѣ к мѣжамъ своимъ кѣпавшеся.

And they ordered Israel that **everyone who has an ox should write on its horns that he has no stake in the God of Israel**. So the Israelites slaughtered their oxen. And then **they ordered that the daughters of Israel should not go to bathe in the river**. And when the Israelites heard this they withheld themselves from their women, and the heathens rejoiced saying: now their women will come to us. And when the Israelites heard this, they said: let us come to our women without a bath so that the seed of Israel would not perish. **And a miracle happened to them and a water source appeared to each one of them in his house**, and the daughters of Jerusalem went to bathe each one in her house, and they came to their men having bathed.

Midrash Ma'áseh Hanukka (Eisenstein 1915, 189–92).

מדרש מעשה חנוכה

כיוון שראו יוונים שעמדו ישראל בגזירה, ולא נכשל אחד מהם בשום דבר רע, עמדו וגזרו עליהם גזירה אחרת, והעבירו קול: **כל אדם מישראל שיש לו שור או שה יחקק על קרניו שאין לו חלק באלהי ישראל**. . . . כיון ששמעו ישראל כך, . . . אמרו: חס ושלום שנכפור באלהינו! עמדו ומכרו בהמתם..

וכיון שראו היוונים שעמדו ישראל בגזירה זו, **עמדו וגזרו כל מי שאשתו הולכת לטבילה ידקר בחרב**, וכל הרואה אותה הרי היא לו לאשה ובניה לעבדים, כיון שראו ישראל כך מנעו עצמם מל־שמש, וכיון ששמעו יונים. אמרו: הואיל ואין ישראל משמשין מטותיהם אנו נזקקין להן. כיון שראו ישראל כך, חזרו על נשיהם בלא טבילה בעל כורחן. . . אמר להם הקב"ה: הואיל ועשיתם בלא כוונה אני אטהר אתכם. **ופתח לכל אחד ואחד מהן מעיין בתוך ביתו** והיו נשיהם טובלות בתוך בתיהם. . .

And when the Hellenes saw that Israel withstood this decree, and not one of them failed in any evil deed, they went and ordered them that **anyone from Israel who has an ox or a lamb should write on its horns that he has no stake in the God of Israel**. When the Israelites heard this, . . . they said: Heaven forbid that we should deny our God, and they went and sold their cattle . . . And then **they ordered that anyone whose wife goes to bathe will be smitten by a sword**. When the Israelites heard this they withheld themselves from approaching their wives. When the Hellenes heard this, they said: Since [the men of] Israel are not performing their marital duties towards their wives, we will approach them. And when the Israelites heard this, they perforce came to their wives without a bath . . . Then God said to them: Since you have acted without [evil] intention, I will purify you, **and He opened to each one of them a fountain in his home**, and their wives went to bathe in their homes.

APPENDIX 20

The miraculous conception in prison of Jechoniah's son Salathiel.
Academy Chronograph (Istrin 1905, 325):

Третієе приходи Навходносоръ на Іерусалимъ и полони Іехонїю егоже всади в темницѣ. Четвертое приходи на Седекїю на всѣ Іерусалимъ и полони и введе в Вавилонъ и постави въ земли Сенарскѣ въ Вавилонѣ. Видѣ всѣ Іиль тако не осталоса ѿ племєне Дѣдва развѣ единъ Ѣхонїа иже бѣ всажєнъ в темницю и не пѣстахоу жены его къ нему. И не бѣ оу Ѣхонїа сїа. Идоша старѣишины жидовскїа к женѣ Навходносоровѣ и даша еи дары дабы пѣстила женѣ Ѣхонїевѣ в темницѣ к Ѣхонїю. И не повелѣ Навходносоръ црѣ створити сего. и оумоли его жена его. И пѣстиша женѣ его къ нему, и сташа старѣишины домоу Іилєва молашєса предъ Бгомъ, дабы оутѣшилса Бгъ ѿ заклатїи, имже бѣ калася не быти племєни ѿ него. И приатъ Бгъ молєбу ихъ и не погуби семєни Дѣдва, и породи Ѣхонїа сїнъ въ темници и нарече имя емѣ Саладїилъ и роди Саладїилъ Зоровавєл.

A third time Nauchodnosor went against Jerusalem and captured Jechoniah and put him in prison. A fourth time he went against Sedekiah and against all of Jerusalem and captured [them] and deported [them] to Babylon and settled [them] in the land of Senar in Babylon. And all Israel saw that there was no one left of David's family except Jechoniah who had been put in prison and they would not allow his wife to see him. And Jechoniah had no son. So the elders of Israel went to Nauchodnosor's wife and gave her gifts that she may allow Jechoniah's wife to join Jechoniah in prison. And the elders of Israel stood far off praying before God, so that God would regret His oath which He had sworn that there would be no offspring from him. And God accepted their prayer and did not destroy the seed of David, and Jechoniah begot a son in prison and called his name Salathiel, and Salathiel begot Zorovavel.

APPENDIX 21

The miraculous conception of Shealtiel in the Talmud and Midrash.

Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 37b–38a:

אמר רב יהודה גלות מכפרת שלשה דברים שנאמר (ירמיהו כא ט) "כה אמר ה' וגו' היושב בעיר הזאת ימות בחרב ברעב ובדבר והיוצא ונפל אל הכשדים הצרים עליכם יחיה והיתה לו נפשו לשלל". ר' יוחנן אמר גלות מכפרת על הכל שנאמר (ירמיהו כב ל) "כה אמר ה' כתבו את האיש הזה ערירי גבר לא יצלה בימיו כי לא יצלה מזרעו איש יושב על כסא דוד ומושל עוד ביהודה". ובתר דגלה כתיב (דברי הימים א, ג יז) "ובני יכניה אסיר שלתיאל בנו". אסיר שעברתו אמו בבית האסורין שלתיאל ששתלו אל שלא כדרך הנשתלין גמירי שאין האשה מתעברת מעומד והיא נתעברה מעומד.

R. Judah said: Exile makes remission for three things, for it is written (Jeremiah 21:8–9): Thus says the Lord, etc. He who stays in this city shall die by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence, but he who goes out and surrenders to the Chaldeans who are besieging you shall live and shall have his life as a prize of war.

R. Joḥanan said: Exile atones for everything, for it is written (Jeremiah 22:30): Thus says the Lord, "Write this man down childless, a man who will not prosper in his days; For no man of his descendants will prosper sitting on the throne of David or ruling again in Judah." Whereas after he [the king] was exiled, it is written (1 Chronicles 3:17): And the sons of Jechoniah, Assir ["prisoner"], Shealtiel his son

etc. [He was called] Assir, because his mother conceived him in prison. Shealtiel, because God did not plant him in the way that others are planted. It is well known that a woman cannot conceive in a standing position, yet she did conceive standing.

Midrash Leviticus Rabbah 19:

מדרש רבה לחומש ויקרא - פרשת מצורע
 [ו] ואשה כי יזוב זוב דמה ימים רבים (ויקרא טו כה). מי מקיים מצוות זיבה, יכנייהו בן יהויקים מלך יהודה קיים מצוות זיבה. אמרו כיון שעלה נבוכדנצר להחריב את ירושלים עלה וישב לו בדפני של אנטיוכיא. ירדה סנהדרין גדולה לקראתו אמרו לו הגיע זמנו של בית הזה ליחרב, אמי להן לאו, אלא יהויקים מלך יהודה מרד בי תנו אותו לי ואני הולך לי. . . כיון שהרגו המליך את יכניהו בנו תחתיו וירד לו לבבל. . . חזר וישב לו בדפני של אנטיוכיא. ירדה סנהדרין גדולה לקראתו אמרו לו הגיע זמנו של בית הזה ליחרב, אמי להן לאו, אלא תנו לי את יכניהו בן יהויקים ואני הולך לי. אולן ואמי ליכניהו נבוכדנצר בעי לך. . . מה עשה נבוכדנצר? נטלו וחבשו בבית האסורים וכל מי שהיה נחבש בימיו לא היה יוצא משם לעולם. . . גלה יהויכין וגלתה סנהדרין גדולה עמו. . . באותה שעה ישבה סנהדרין גדולה על דעתה ואמרו: בימינו מלכות בית דוד פוסקת, אותו שכתוב בו (תהלים פט לו): וכסאו כשמש נגדי. מה נעשה? נלך ונפייס לגדלת, וגדלת למלכה, ומלכה למלך. הלכו ופייסו לגדלת, וגדלת למלכה, ומלכה למלך. . . כיון שבא נבוכדנצר להזקק לה א"ל: את מלך יוכניהו אינו מלך?! אתה מבקש תפקידך ויכניהו אינו מבקש תפקידו?! מיד גור ונתנו לו אשתו? וכיצד שלשלה לו? ר' שבתי אמר: דרך נקלקין שלשלה לו. ורבנן אמרי: פתחו המעזיבה ושלשלה לו. כיון שבא להזקק לה, אמרה: כשושנה אדומה ראיתי פרש ממנה מיד. הלכה וספרה וטרה וטבלה. אמר לו הקב"ה: בירושלים לא קיימת מצוות זיבה ועתה אתם מקיימין, שנאמר: (זכריה ט יא): גם את בדם ברייתך שלחתי אסירך מבור, נזכרתם אותו הדם שבסיני בשביל כן שלחתי אסירך. . . ונעשה לו נס ונתעברה אשתו מעומד. . .

"And if a woman has a discharge of her blood many days" (Leviticus 15:25).

Who keeps the commandment of [abstinence during] menstruation? Jechoniah son of Jehoiakim kept the commandment of menstruation. They say that when Nebuchadnezzar came to destroy Jerusalem he took up position at Daphne of Antiochia. The great Sanhedrin went out to him and said to him: is it time for this temple to be destroyed? He said: no, but Jehoiakim, king of Judea, revolted against me, deliver him to me and I shall leave. . . After he had him executed he made his son Jechoniah king in his place and left for Babylon. . . [thereafter] he came back and stopped at Daphne of Antiochia. The great Sanhedrin went out to him and said to him: is it time for this temple to be destroyed? He said: no, but give me Jechoniah son of Jehoiakim and I shall leave. They went and said to Jechoniah: Nebuchadnezzar is asking for you. . . What did Nebuchadnezzar do? He took him and put him in prison. And anyone imprisoned in the times of this wicked man would never get out. . . Jechoniah went into exile and the great Sanhedrin went into exile with him. . . At that time the great Sanhedrin sat and debated, and said: in our times the royal house of David is about to end. . . What shall we do? Let us win the favor of the [queen's] hairdresser [or: governess], and the hairdresser will win the queen, and the queen the king. And they went and persuaded the hairdresser, and the hairdresser the queen and the queen the king. . . When Nebuchadnezzar came to make love to her, she said: You are king and is not Jechoniah a king? You have sexual desires, and has Jechoniah none? He then immediately gave the order and they gave him his wife. And how did they let her down to him? R. Shabtai says: they let her down to him through the bars. And the Rabbis say: they opened the ceiling and let her down to him. When he came to

make love to her, she said to him: I saw something like a red lily [a euphemism for menstruation], and he immediately withdrew from her. And she went and counted [the necessary days] and bathed. Then God said to them: In Jerusalem you did not observe the commandment of menstruation and here you do? As it is said, "As for you also, because of the blood of my covenant with you, I will set your prisoners free from the waterless pit" (Zechariah 9:11), since you remembered that blood [of the covenant] at Sinai, I therefore set free your prisoners from the waterless pit . . . And a miracle occurred to him and his wife became pregnant in a standing position.

APPENDIX 22

Differences between the Latin *pseudo-Hegesippus* and the Hebrew *Josippon*.

Pseudo-Hegesippus (Christian text, clearly tainted by Christological bias; Ussani 1932, 394):

Urbem quoque ipsam cum templo uestustis etiam litteris scriptum erat tunc perituram, cum tetragonum templum factum fuisset. itaque siue obliti siue obstupefacti ingruentium malorum necessitate, ubi occupata est Antonia, tetragonum circuitum templi fecerunt. inter quae illud (395) praecellentissimum, quod in litteris aequae uetustis, quas sacras uocabant, manebat impressum quod secundum illud tempus futurus esset uir, qui de regione eorum imperium adsumeret in orbem terrarum. quae res eos in tanto furore posuit, ut sibi non solum libertatem sed etiam regnum pollicerentur. id alii ad Vespasianum referendum putarunt, prudentiores ad dominum Iesum, qui eorum in terris secundum carnem genitus ex Maria regnum suum per uniuersa terrarum diffudit spatia. tantis itaque rebus monentibus non potuerunt cauere quod diuinitus decernebatur.

And it was inscribed also in ancient letters that the city itself with the temple would perish at the time, **when the temple will have been made quadrangular**. And so, whether forgetful or dazed by the inevitability of the threatening evils, when the Antonia [tower] was seized, they made the circuit of the temple quadrangular. The most outstanding of which [omens], also in the ancient letters, which they called sacred, there remained impressed that **following that time there would be a man from their region who would take up rule over the whole world**. Which thing put them in a great frenzy, as not only freedom but even dominion was being promised to them. **This, some thought to make reference to Vespasian, but the wiser thought it made reference to the Lord Jesus who, born in the flesh in their lands of Maria, will spread his kingdom over the entire space of the world**. And so even with so many things foretelling this they were not able to avoid what was divinely decreed.

The Josippon (Flusser 1980, 1: 415, section 87, lines 74–83):

בימים ההם נמצא מכתב כתוב על הצור מימים הראשונים ויקראו אותו והנה כתוב בו לאמר: **בעת אשר ימלא בניין ההיכל ויהיה מרובע, אז יהרס**. וכאשר נלכדה אנטוניה ויהרסוה חיל רומנים ויפרצו את פאת ההיכל וימהרו היהודים לבנות את פריצת ההיכל, ויהי ככלותם לבנות והנה היכל מרובע. והם לא זכרו את דברי המכתב אשר היה על הצור, על כן נאמנו דברי המכתב ההוא. **וגם נמצא כתוב בקיר קודש הקדשים לאמר: כאשר יהיה בניין ההיכל מרובע, אז ימלוך מלך על ישראל, מלך המלוך**

ומושל בכל הארץ, על כן אמרו מקצת העם כי הוא מלך ישראל, והכמי ירושלם והכהנים אמרו כי מלך רומנים הוא.

In those days, an ancient inscription was found on a rock, and they read it and lo, it was written therein as follows: **At the time when the building of the Temple will be accomplished and it will be quadrangular, then it will be destroyed.** And when Antonia was captured and the Roman army destroyed it and breached the corner of the Temple, the Jews hurried to build the broken part of the Temple, and when they finished building, there was the Temple, quadrangular. And they did not remember the words of the inscription that was on the rock, therefore the words of that inscription came true. **There was also an inscription found on the wall of the Holy of Holies, saying: when the edifice of the Temple will be quadrangular, then there will reign a king over Israel, a king who reigns and rules over the whole earth. Hence a part of the people said that it is the king of Israel, whereas the wise men of Jerusalem and the priests said that it is the king of the Romans.**

APPENDIX 23

Prophecy written on the wall of the temple as quoted by Meshcherskij.

Meshcherskij 1958, 146:

О пророчестве сказано, что оно в בית קדש הקדשן (написано на стене сватого святых); о истолковании אמרו כי הוא מלך והכהנים אמרו כי הוא מלך והרומיים (все простые люди говорили, что это царь израильский, священники же говорили, что это царь римский).

About the prophecy it is said that it “is written on the wall of the holy of holies”; on the interpretation: “all the simple folk said that this is]the king of Israel[, whereas the priests said that it is the king of the Romans.”

APPENDIX 24

Phrase left out by Meshcherskij about the Temple lasting 420 years.

The Third Capture of Jerusalem by Titus:

^{31.2} и прїидоша римлани въ .ѣ днѣ «и» сѣкоша са въ дворѣ. и прїидоша посредѣ полаты. и се сѣаа сѣыхъ замчена. ^{31.3} и оузрѣша жидове знаменїе на стѣнѣ написано. егда же исполнитса дому сему .ук. лѣ^т. тогда црѣствовать начнеть над іерлмомъ иже црѣтворюеть на^н всею землею. ^{31.4} и рѣкоша моу^рреци. то есть црѣ римскыи. а дроусїи рѣша то есть црѣ иїльтескыи.

And the Romans came on the ninth day [of the month of Ab] and fought in the court, and they came inside the Temple, and lo, the Holy of Holies is locked. And the Jews saw a sign written on the wall: **when this house will be 420 years old, then there will begin to reign over Jerusalem the one who reigns over the whole earth. And the wise men said: this is the king of the Romans, while others said: this is the king of Israel.**

APPENDIX 25

The Temple lasting 420 years in the Talmud.

Babylonian Talmud, tractate Yoma, 9a:

תלמוד בבלי, יומא ט' א: **שנות רשעים תקצרנה** (משלי י כז) **זה מקדש שני שעמד ד' מאות ועשרים שנה** ושמשו בו יותר משלש מאות כהנים.

“The years of the wicked shall be shortened” (Proverbs 10:27)—that is the second temple, which stood for **four hundred and twenty years**, and more than three hundred priests served in it.

APPENDIX 26

Extra details in the Huntington Hebrew reworking of *Josippon*.

Portions missing in Slavic are marked by italics. References to pages in Flusser's 1980 edition of *Josippon* where some of these portions do appear, albeit in a different order, are given in parentheses:

ויבואו רומיים ביום התשיעי בחצר העזרה ויערכו מלחמה וישטטו את מגדל ההיכל וימהרו היהודים ויבנוהו בלילה ההוא. ויהי ממהרת ויגהזוהו רומיים ויבואו בתוך ההיכל והנה קדש הקדשים סגור ויריעו רומיים את ההמון שאון עצום מאד ויריעו תרועה גדולה ותרעש העיר ביום ההוא כרעש אשר היה בימי אורודוס וירעם בעם עצום מאד ויפלו הבתים ביום ההוא עד קם אחד מעמי הארץ ויתנבא לאמר חזקו והלחמו כי הרעד והרעש הזה לעזרתם הם עתה יבנה הבית מאיליו. ויתחזקו על דברי נביא השקך ולא שמו לבם אל האותות אשר נראו בשנה ההיא בירושלים. (פלוסר 413)

בשנה ההיא נראה בירושלים על קדש הקדשים דמות אדם אשר לא נראה כיופיו מעולם רגלי נערי אדם בקדש הקדשים קוראים ואומרים לכו ונעלה לכו מן הבית הזה. (פלוסר 414)

בימים ההם מצאו בצור אחד חקוק בקיר חוץ לחומה כאשר יבנה מרובע כן יהרס וכאשר הרסו רומיים את מגדל הבית ויבנוהו היהודים במהירות. ויהי בבקר וימצאו מרובע. ועוד מצאו חקוק בקיר קדש הקדשים כאשר ימלא ארבע מאות ועשרים אז ימלוך מלך המולך על כל הארץ ויאמרו החכמים הוא מלך רומיים והעם היו אומי הוא מלך ישראל (פלוסר 415) ועוד נראה מופת בחצר העזרה ויביאו פרה לשחטה לעולה ויהי בהפילם אותה והנה ילדה כבש (פלוסר 414).

And the Romans came on the ninth [of the month of Ab] into the courtyard, and waged war *and toppled the tower of the Temple, and the Jews rushed to build it on the same night. And the next day the Romans battered it and came inside the Temple and lo, the Holy of Holies is locked. And the Romans with the crowd gave a very loud shout and raised a great war cry, and the city shook on that day as in the quake that was on the days of Herod, and there was a huge thundering and houses tumbled on that day, until someone, of the simple folk [lit., peoples of the land], stood up and prophesied saying: be strong and fight, for this shake and quake is in their favor, for now the Temple will be built by itself. And they were fortified by the words of the false prophet, and did not heed the omens which had been observed that year in Jerusalem.*

In that year there appeared above the Holy of Holies a human figure of a beauty the likes of which had never been seen <lacuna> the footsteps of young men in the Holy of Holies calling and saying: let us go away from this house. In those days they found

inscribed in a stone in the exterior wall of the bulwark: when it will be built quadrangular, then it will be destroyed. And when the Romans destroyed the tower of the Temple, and the Jews [re]built it in a hurry, in the morning it appeared to be quadrangular. And they found inscribed on the wall of the Holy of Holies: when it will be 420 years old, then there will reign a king who reigns over the whole earth. And the wise men said: this is the king of the Romans, while the people said: this is the king of Israel. And still another sign was observed in the courtyard [of the Temple] they brought a cow for slaughtering as a holocaust offering, and when they were bringing her down, lo, she gave birth to a lamb.

APPENDIX 27

Discussion of hyponymy in Maimonides's *Logical Terminology*.

Maimonides's text in Arabic script (Türker 1960, 60; 1961, 106):

والإسم المقول بعموم وخصوص هو أن يسمى نوع من الأنواع باسم جنسه كقولنا النجم المقول على كل كوكب من كواكب السماء على العموم وهو اسم للثريا خاصة وكاسم الخشيشة المقول على أنواع الخشائش كلها وعلى هذا الزهر الأصفر الذي يصبغ به الصباغون

Maimonides's text in Judaeo-Arabic (Efros 1966: לו-לוז Hebrew pagination)

ואלאסם אלמקול בעמום וכצוין הו אן יסמי נוע מן אלאנואע באסם גנסה כקולנא אלנגם אלמקול עלי כל כוכב מן כואכב אלסמאע עלי אלעמום והו אסם לתרזא כאצף וכאסם אחשישה אלמקול עלי אנואע אלחשאי'ש כלהא ועלי הדא אלוהר אלצאפר אלדי יצבג בה אלצבאגון.

Moses Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation (Efros 1938: נח Hebrew pagination):

והשם הנאמר בכלל וייחוד הוא אשר יקרא מין מן המינים בשם סוגו, כאמרנו כוכב הנאמר על כל כוכב מכוכבי השמים בכלל והוא שם לאחד מז' כוכבי לכת. וכשם חשישא בערב הנאמר על כל מיני העשבים ועל הפרח הצהוב אשר יצבעו בו הצבעים.

English translation (Efros 1938, 60):

A term used in general and in a particular is one that designates any species by the name of its genus, e.g., the word *kôkab* applied to any star of heaven, though it is the name of one of the seven planets [sc., Mercury], and the word *hashish* in Arabic given to all kinds of grass as well as to the yellow flower used for dyeing.

Slavic translation (Taube 2016, 242):

а има реченое всем и едине то иже наречесѣ соущество вслечством. яко речем Израиль всѣмъ намъ има и одному между нами.

And a name applied to [both] a universal and a particular, is when a species is referred to by the genus, e.g., “**Israel**” is the name of us all, as well as of an individual among us.

APPENDIX 28

The discussion of “prime matter” in the *Logical Terminology*.

Maimonides's text in Arabic script (Türker 1960, 52; 1961, 98):

אז קד תירهن אן هذه الاستقصات الأربعة يستحيل بعضها لبعض ويتكون بعضها من بعض فلها بلا محالة شيء مشترك هو مادها وهذا الشيء المشترك للأستقصات الأربعة الذي يعقله ضرورة هو الذي نسميه المادة الأولى واسمه في اللغة اليونانية الهيولى وكثيرا ما يسميه الأطباء والفلاسفة العنصر

Judaeo-Arabic transliteration (Efros 1966: כה Hebrew pagination):

אד קד תברהן אן הדה אלאסתקצאת אלארבעה יסתחיל בעצהא לבעען ויתכון בעצהא מן בעען פלהא בלא מחאלה שׁיׁע משתרך הו מאדתהא והדא אלשיׁע אלמשתרך ללאסתקצאת אלארבעה אלדי יעקלה צרורה הו אלדי נסמיה אלמאדה אלאולי ואסמהו פי אללגה אליונאניה אלהיולי וכתירא מא יסמיה אלאטבאׁ אלפלאספה אלענצר

Hebrew translation by Aḥituv, (Efros 1938: פד Hebrew pagination):

כי התבאר במופת כי אלו היסודות הדי נפסדים (אבן תיבון: משתנים) קצתם אל קצתם ויתהוו קצתם מקצתם, א״כ יש להם בלא ספק דבר משותף הוא חמרם. וזה הדבר המשותף אל היסודות ארבעה אשר נשכיליהו בהכרח הוא אשר נקרא אותו החמר הראשון. ושמו בלשון יון היולי ורבים מן הפילוסופים והרופאים יקראוהו הענצר.

For it has been demonstrated that these four elements are corrupted [Ibn Tibbon: transformed] into one another and generated from one another, hence they undoubtedly have some thing in common which is their matter. And that thing which is common to the four elements and which the mind necessarily affirms is what we call prime matter, and in Greek *hyle*, and many philosophers and physicians call it the *ʿanṣar* [Arabic *عُنْصُر* (*ʿunṣur*), lit., origin, element, stock, race].

The terminological usage describing transformation in terms of corruption and generation goes back to Aristotle's work *Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς* (*On Generation and Corruption*) and is reflected in both the Arabic and Hebrew philosophical traditions.

Slavic (Taube 1016, 208):

а вѣдомо иже корень всѣхъ замѣсны* .дѣ основаніа. < . . > а прото и* < . . > казатса единъ во единъ. < . . > но мы видимъ иже корень ихъ единъ. и то нарече^m гѣюли. и по грецки тако*.

And it is known that the root of all things composite are the four elements. < . . > And since < . . > they are **corrupted** into each other < . . > **but we see that their root is one.** **And this we will call hyle, and in Greek the same** < . . >.

The choice by the translator into Slavic to use Aḥituv's "corrupted" rather than Ibn Tibbon's "transformed" (as was said, he used both) reflects the translator's literalism.

APPENDIX 29

Aristotelian "form" rendered by "animacy" in the *Logika*, chapter 9.

Maimonides's *Logical Terminology* in Arabic script (Türker 1960, 52; 1961, 98):

مثال ذلك الإنسان من الأمور الطبيعية مادته هي الحيوانية وصورته القوة الناطقة وغايته إدراك المعقولات وفاعله هو الذي اعطاه الصورة اعنى تلك القوة الناطقة لأن معنى الفاعل عندنا إنما هو موجد الصور في المواد وهو الله عز وجل ولو على رأى الفلاسفة غير إنهم يقولون هو الفاعل البعيد ويطلبون لكل موجود محدث فاعله القريب

Maimonides's text in Judaeo-Arabic transliteration (Efros 1966, כד Hebrew pagination):

מתאל דלך אלאנסאן מן אלמור אלטביעיה מאדתה הי אלחיוניה וצורתה אלקוה אלנאטקה וגאיתה אדראך אלמעקולאת ופאעלה הו אלדי אעטאה אלצורה אעני אלקוה אלנאטקה לאן מעני אלפאעל ענדנא אנמא הו מוגד אלצור פי אלמואד והו אללה עז וגל ולו עלי ראי אלפלאספה גיר אנהם יקולון: הו אלפאעל אלבעיד ויטלבון לכל מוגוד מחדת פאעלה אלקריב.

Hebrew translation by Moses b. Judah Ibn Tibbon (Efros 1938: מג Hebrew pagination):

דמיון זה האדם מן העניינים הטבעיים חמרו הוא החיות, וצורתו הוא הכח המדבר, ותכליתו הוא השגת המושכלות, ופועלו הוא אשר נתן לו הצורה ר"ל הכח ההוא המדבר. כי ענין הפועל אצלנו ממציא הצורות בחמרים, והוא האל ית' ואפילו לפי דעת הפלוסופים, זולת שהם יאמרו כי הוא הפועל הרחוק ויבקשו לכל נמצא מחודש פועלו הקרוב.

For example, man, belongs to the natural order, his matter is living, his **form** is the rational faculty, his purpose [Greek *telos*] is the attaining of ideas, and his agent is the one who gave him **his form, i.e., his rational faculty**, because by “agent” we mean the creator of **form** in matter, and this is God, blessed be He, even according to the philosophers; albeit they maintain that He is the remote cause, and for every created thing they seek its proximate agent. (Based on Efros 1938, 50)

Slavic (Taube 2016, 204–7):

как* рече* о члвкѣ, иже тѣлество его животно. а дшвевенство его слово. а дѣлатель его дшвдатель. а статокъ его доставати разумо* истинны < . . >.

We say, e.g., of Man that his matter is life, **his form is rationality** [lit., “his animacy is **word**”), his agent is **the Giver of form** [lit. **soul-giver**], and his purpose is the attainment of truth by the intellect . . .

APPENDIX 30

Maimonides's view of “soul” as man's form.

In the *Guide of the Perplexed*, part I, chapter 1, dealing with Hebrew words appearing in the Bible that risk to be interpreted as instances of anthropomorphism (which Maimonides utterly rejects), the word צלם (*tselem*), “image,” is characterized as follows:

Maimonides's *Guide* in the Judaeo-Arabic original I, 1 (Munk 1856–66: Hebrew pagination יב):

אמא צלם פהו יקע עלי אלצורה אלטביעיה אעני עלי אלמעני אלדי בה תגוהר אלשי וצאר מה או. והו חקיקתה מן חית הו דלך אלמוגוד אלדי דלך אלמעני פי אלאנסאן הו אלדי ענה יכון אלאדראך אלאנסאני

ומן אגל הדא אלאדראך אלעקלי קיל פיה בצלם אלהים ברא אותו ולדלך קיל צלמם תבוה. לאן אלבויון לאחק ללנפס אלתי הי אלצורה אלנועיה לא לאשכאל אלאעצא ותכטיטהא.

Hebrew translation by Samuel Ibn Tibbon I, 1 (Jerusalem 1960: יב):

אמנם צלם הוא הצורה הטבעית, ר"ל על הענין אשר בו נתעצם הדבר והיה מה שהוא. והוא אמתו, מאשר הוא הנמצא ההוא אשר הענין ההוא באדם הוא אשר בעבורו תהיה ההשגה האנושית. ומפני ההשגה הזאת השכלית נאמר בו, בצלם אלהים ברא אותו, ולכן נאמר צלמם תבוה, כי הביון דבק בנפש אשר היא הצורה המינית, לא לתכונת האברים ותארם.

English translation (Maimonides 1963, 22, emphasis added):

The term *image* [צלם], on the other hand, is applied to the natural form, I mean, to the notion in virtue of which a thing is constituted as a substance and becomes what it is. It is the true reality of the thing in so far as the latter is the particular being. In man that notion is that from which human apprehension derives. It is on account of this intellectual apprehension that it is said of man: *In the image of God created He him* [Genesis 1:27]. For this reason also, it is said: *Thou contemnest their image* [Psalms 73:20]. For *contempt* has for its object the **soul**, which is **the specific form**, not the shape and configuration of the body.

An explanation equating “rational soul,” man’s constitutive characteristic, with “form of man” appears also in the *Guide of the Perplexed* Part I, chapter 41:

Maimonides’s Judaeo-Arabic original (Munk 1856: Hebrew pagination מו):

נפש: אסם משותרך הוא אסם אלנפס אלחיואנייה אלעאמה לכל חסאס אשר בו נפש חיה, והו איצא
אסם אלדם:

לא תאכל הנפש עם הבשר, והו איצא אסם אלנפס אלנאשקה אעני צורה אלנאסאן.

Hebrew translation by Samuel Ibn Tibbon (Jerusalem 1960: סא):

נפש שם משותרך, הוא שם הנפש החיה הכוללת לכל מרגיש אשר בו נפש חיה, והוא גם שם הדם,
לא תאכל הנפש עם הבשר, והוא גם הנפש המדברת כלומר צורת האדם.

Soul [*nefesh*] is an equivocal term. It is a term denoting the animal soul common to every sentient being. Thus [Genesis 1:30]: *Wherein there is a living soul*. It is also a term denoting blood. Thus (Deuteronomy 12:23): *Thou shalt not eat the soul* [i.e., *the blood*] *with the flesh*. It is also a term denoting the **rational soul**, **I mean the form of man**.

APPENDIX 31

Aristotle and the Jewish Prophets according to an addition in the *Logika* (Taube 2016, 422):

конецъ логичны^м книгамъ

а мудрость сію исполнилъ Аристотель, а она подобна естъ вѣзѣ и мѣрѣкѣ и
всакъ златон. а Аристотель Мардохай и Зороваве^а и Ездра пр^рркъ, и пр^рркъ
Малахїа во єдини лѣта были. а 8 тѣхъ Аристотель ѡчился миротворенїе.

End of the Books of Logic

This science was perfected by Aristotle. And it is like a weight and measure and like a touchstone for gold. Aristotle and Mardochai, and Zerubavel, and Ezdras the prophet, as well as the prophet Malachi lived in the same years, and it is from them that Aristotle learned the Natural Sciences [lit., *Creation of the World*].

The combination “Creation of the world” for denoting the natural sciences may reflect the Hebrew expression corresponding literally to the Hebrew *יצירת העולם* (*jetsirat ha-’olam*) used by Ibn Tibbon in his translation of Sa’adia Gaon’s *Doctrines and Beliefs* (אמונות ודעות), chapter 10. Alternatively, it may reflect the expression

מַעֲשֵׂה בְרֵאשִׁית (*ma'ṣeh berēshit*) (lit., “the act of the beginning”), a term commonplace since Maimonides, meaning “natural sciences.”

APPENDIX 32

The Slavic translator removes God's associate from the *Logika*.

Arabic original of al-Ghazālī's *Intentions of the philosophers* (Dunyā 1961, 57–58):

وكذلك قد يغلط في الحملية ويظن أن قولك : (زيد نا بينا است) بالعجمية سالية ، وهي موجبة ، إذ معناه أنه أعمى ، وربما يقال بالعربية : زيد غير يبصر . وهي موجبة . والغير يبصر عبارة عن الأعمى ، وهو بجملته محمول يمكن أن يثبت ويمكن أن ينفي ، بأن يقال : زيد ليس غير بصير . وهذا سلب . إذ سلب الغير بصير عن زيد . وتسمى هذه قضية معدولة ، أي هو إيجاب في التحقيق ، عدل به إلى صيغة السلب . وأية ذلك : أن السلب : ولا يمكن أن يقال ، إذ المحال ليس علما . يصح على المعدوم ، فيمكن أن يقال : شريك الله ليس بصيرا شريك الله غير بصير . كما لا يقال : أعمى وهو في لغة العجم أظهر .

Likewise, one may err in [the interpretation of] the categorical [proposition], and think that when you say *Zayd na bina asti* in Persian it is a negative, but it is affirmative, for its meaning is that he is blind, and sometimes one says in Arabic, “Zayd is un-seeing” [sc., sightless] and it is affirmative. And “sightless” is an expression for “blind” and it is, within its proposition, a predicate which may be either affirmed or negated, for one may say: “Zayd is not sightless.” And this negates the “sightlessness” of Zayd. And this [type of] proposition is called digressive, i.e., it is truly an affirmative which has digressed into the negative mode. The demonstration thereof is that the negation is valid [even when applied] to the nonexistent, and one can say “**God's associate** is sightless,” and “Idle talk is not wisdom,” but one cannot say “**God's associate** does not see,” just as one cannot say [that he is] blind, and this is even more manifest in the vulgar tongue [i.e., Persian].

Hebrew anonymous translation of the *Intentions of the Philosophers* (Taube 2016, 487):

וכן כבר יטעה בנשואיו, ויחשב שאמר: זיד נאבינסת בפרסי ולא רואה בעברי שולל, והוא מחייב, כי ענינו שהוא עור. ופעמים יאמר בערבי: זיד בלתי רואה, ויחשוב שהוא שולל, והוא מחייב. והבלתי רואה מליצה מן העור, וזה בכללו נשוא אפשר שיקויים ואפשר שיסולק, בשיאמר זיד אינו בלתי רואה, וזה שלל הבלתי רואה מזיד. ויקרא זה משפט מוסר, ר"ל הוא חיוב באמת, סר בו אל דרך השלילה. ואות זה שהשלילה תהיה אמיתית על הנעדר, ואפשר שיאמר **שותף האל ית'** אינו רואה, והבטל אינו ידיעה, ואי אפשר שיאמר **שותף האל ית'** בלתי רואה, כמו שלא יאמר עור, והוא בלשון ההמון יותר נראה.

Likewise, one may err in the categorical [proposition], and think that when you say *Zayd nebina asti* in Persian and [sc., *Zayd lo ro'eh* [“does not see”] in Hebrew it is a negative, but it is affirmative, for its meaning is “blind.” And sometimes one says in Arabic, “Zayd is un-seeing” [sc., “sightless”] and thinks that this is a negative, whereas it is affirmative. And “sightless” is an expression for “blind” and it is, within its proposition, a predicate which may be either affirmed or negated, as for example, “Zayd is not sightless.” This negates the “sightlessness” of Zayd. And this [type of] proposition is called digressive, i.e., it is truly an affirmative which has digressed into the negative mode. The demonstration thereof is that the negation is valid [even when applied] to the nonexistent, and one can say “**God's associate** is sightless,” and “Idle talk is not wisdom,” but one cannot say “**God's associate** does not see,” just as one cannot say [that he is] blind, and this is even more manifest in the vulgar tongue [i.e., Persian].

Slavic translation (Taube 2016, 486):

и такѣ съблѣди въ одръжателномъ, да мнитса егда рѣмъ яко{ва} не видѣшимъ якобы то вѣемъ, ѡнъ же въ истиннѣ прилоѣ иже развѣмѣетъ якобы то слѣпъ < . . >. и нарѣтъсѣ ѡсѣси ѡстѣпнѣ ныи поне ѡстѣпнѣ вѣимѣ ѡу прилогѣ. < . . > а могомъ рѣчи, бѣтъ < . . > не видитель, и празднословѣе не мѡдрость, а не могомъ рѣчи бѣтъ < . . > не видиѣ. < . . >

Likewise, one may err in the categorical [proposition], and it may seem as though when we say “Jacob is unseeing” this would be a negative [proposition]. But it is indeed an affirmative, meaning that “he is blind.” < . . >. And this [type of] proposition is called digressive, for it has digressed from negation into affirmation. < . . > And we can say “God < . . > [is] sightless,” and “Idle talk [is] not wisdom,” but we cannot say “God < . . > does not see < . . >.”

APPENDIX 33

The Slavic translator of the *Logika* removes the “point” from the instances of true unity. Arabic original of al-Ghazālī’s *Intentions of the Philosophers* (Dunyā 1961, 183):

الموجود ينقسم إلى واحد، وكثير. فلنذكر أقسام الواحد، والكثير، ولو احقهما. أما الواحد: فإنه يطلق حقيقة ومجازًا. والواحد بالحقيقة، هو الجزئ المعين، ولكنه على ثلاث مراتب: المرتبة الأولى: وهي الحقيقة الحقة هو الجزئ الواحد الذي لا كثرة فيه، لا بالقوة، ولا بالفعل. وذلك كالنقطة، وذات الباري جلت قدرته، فإنه ليس منقسمًا بالفعل، ولا هو قابل له، فهو خال من عن الكثرة بالوجود والإمكان، والقوة والفعل. فهو الواحد الحق.

Hebrew anonymous translation (Taube 2016, 376):

הנמצא יחלק אל אחד ורב. ונזכור חלקי האחד והרב ומשיגייהם. אולם האחד, הנה הוא ישולח אמתו ודרך העברה. והאחד באמת הוא החלק המעויין, ואבל הוא על שלוש מדרגות: המדרגה הראשונה, והיא האמתית באמת, הוא החלק האחד אשר אין רבוי בו לא בכח ולא בפעל, וזה כנקודה ועצמות הבורא, כי הוא אינו מתחלק בפעל ולא הוא מקבלו, והוא מתעלה מן הרבוי במציאות והאפשר והכח והפעל, והוא האחד האמתי.

Being is divided into one and many. Let us, then, mention the kinds of “one” and of “many” and their attributes. As for “One,” it can be applied properly or metaphorically. And “one” in the proper sense is the kind we focus on, and it is of only three degrees: the first degree, which is truly [one], is that in which there is no multiplicity, neither potentially nor actually. And this is, for example [Arabic: the essence of] **the point and the essence of the Creator**, for He is indivisible neither potentially nor actually, nor does He admit multiplicity, and He is above multiplicity in reality and possibility, both actually and potentially, and He is the true One.”

(The English word “above” here is a misreading in Hebrew of Arabic خال [*khal*, “devoid of” as عال (‘*al*), “superior”].)

Slavic translation in the *Logika* (Taube 2016, 377):

обрѣтены дѣлится на єдина и многа. но помане части єдина и многа. < . . > єдинны бо речеѣсѣ истинноу и преходо. єдинны бо по истинѣ се єсть часть тождествена ино на трехъ степенехъ. ѡ. оноже по истинѣ в неже

нѣсть множество ни в силѣ ни в дѣлѣ. и се яко < . . > самость сотворителя нераздѣлима ни в силѣ ни в дѣлѣ. такоже < не прїимаетъ > множества возможенствомъ и премѣненїа и в силѣ и в дѣлѣ, онже есть единъ по истинѣ.

Being is divided into one and many. Let us, then, mention the parts of one and of many < . . >. "One" can be said [either] properly or metaphorically. "One" in the proper sense is a concrete part[icular], and this [occurs] in three degrees: first, which is truly [one], is that in which there is no multiplicity, neither potentially nor actually. And this is, for example < . . > **the essence of the Creator**, [Who is] indivisible, [admitting division] neither potentially nor actually, and [Who] also < does not admit multiplicity as a possibility, nor variation potentially or actually, and He is "one" in the true sense.

APPENDIX 34

Translator's addition about the difference between essential and accidental qualities.

Arabic text of the *Intentions of the Philosophers* (Dunyā 1961, 50):

فإن أبدلت الناطق بعرضي يفصله عن سائر الحيوانات

And if you replace "rational" by an accident, it will differentiate him from the other animals.

Anonymous Hebrew translation (Taube 2016, 473):

ואם המרת המדבר במקרה יבדילהו משאר הבעלי חיים.

And if you replace "rational" by an accident, it will differentiate him from the other animals.

Slavic (Taube 2016, 472) with an addition, marked in the English by italics:

а аще ѿмѣниши словѣснаго приключенїамъ, въ ѿсобїи^ѣ его ѿ иныхъ живыѣхъ, но не исповѣси чтовства его.

But if you replace "rational" by accidents, you may differentiate him from other animals, *but you will not express his quiddity.*

APPENDIX 35

Additions in the discussion of figures of syllogisms

Interpolation by Jacob Anatoli in Moses ibn Tibbon's translation of Maimonides's *Logical Terminology*. (Efron 1938: 71 Hebrew pagination):

והתמונה הג' משותפת לראשונה באיכות ונבדלת ממנה בכמות, וזה בהקדמות ובתולדה. ורצוני בש' תוף באיכות בהקדמות שהשלישית תשמר סדר המחייבת ר"ל שהיא עכ"פ בקטנה כמו בתמונה הראשונה. ונבדלת בכמות שאפשר שתהיה הגדולה חלקית. ורצוני בתולדה שתוליד ג"כ מחייבת. ורצוני בהבדל בכמות כי השלישית תוסיף על הראשונה שלא תצטרך לכוללת הגדולה, ובו בעצמו תחסר ממנה שלא תוליד כוללת. השנית והשלישית הפכיות בכמות ובאיכות, רצוני בזה כי השנית תשמר סדר הכוללת ולא תשמר סדר המחייבת ותוליד כוללת ולא תוליד מחייבת, והשלישית בהפך זו, כי היא

שומרת סדר המחייבת ולא תשמר סדר הכוללת ולכן תוליד מחייבת ולא תוליד כוללת. ובכלל שהשנית לא תשמר סדר חיוב ולא תולידהו, והשלישית לא תשמר סדר כולל ולא תולידהו.

The third figure shares with the first in quality and differs from it in quantity, and this [both] in the premises and in the conclusion. And what I mean by “sharing in quality in the premises” is that the third [figure] conserves the order of affirmation, i.e., that with regard to the minor premise it is in all instances like in the first figure [sc., affirmative]. And it differs in quantity, because the major premise may be particular. And what I mean by “[sharing] in the conclusion” is that it [sc., the third], too, yields an affirmative [conclusion]. And what I mean by the “difference in quantity” is that the third is larger [in scope] than the first, in that it does not require universality of the major premise. Yet for this same reason it [sc., the scope of the third] is also lesser [in scope] than it [sc., the first] in that it [sc., the third] will not yield a universal conclusion. But the second and the third [figures] are opposed to each other in quantity and quality. That is, the second preserves the order of universality but not the order of affirmation, and yields universality but not affirmation, whereas the third is the opposite thereof, for it preserves the order of affirmation but renounces the order of universality, and yields affirmation, but does not yield universality.

Slavic (Taubе 2016, 184–86; additions in Slavic marked by italics in the English translation):

Обра³. ґ. Примѣшенъ къ первой качество^м. а разнитса ѿ нея количество^м. а то те^ж в предко^х и оу роженон. а слово мое в примѣшанїи качество^м в предко^хѣ, иже третїи вбразъ храни^т ра^а приложныи. иже вселично малы^м предко^м іако и обра³ первый < . . >. а слово мое в роженон, иже роди^т те^ж приложнѣю. а слово мое о разни количества иже третѣа болєи первое, тѣ^м иже не потребна до всачества предк⁸ великого. а того дѣла те^ж оубѣдетъ ея иже не родитъ всачества. але дрѣгаа и третїа превращены сѣтъ количествомъ и качеством^м. рекомо иже дрѣгїи храни^т ра^а всачества. а не храни^т чин⁸ приложенїа. а родитъ всачество. а не приложенїе. а третїи превращенъ сем⁸. занеже храни^т ра^а приложенїа. но оставлетъ ра^а всачества. а родитъ приложенїе. а не родитъ всаческои. < . . > а вси образы дрѣгїи и третїи наврататса к первом⁸ образ⁸. а первый не навратитса до ннхъ. а роди^т шклады четыри предреченныхъ. а ровны же сѣ^т вбразы три си^м иже нѣ^т ровнанїа з двѣ предковъ частныхъ. ни з двѣ оуемныхъ. ни малыи оуемныхъ, а великїи частныхъ. а болє сего ници в долгон логице.

The third figure shares with the first in quality and differs from it in quantity, and this both in the premises and in the conclusion. And my statement about sharing the quality in the premises [means] that it conserves the rule of affirmation, i.e., that with regard to the minor premise it is in any case like the first figure [i.e., affirmative] < . . >. And my statement about the conclusion [refers to the fact] that it [the third], too, yields an affirmative [conclusion]. And my statement about difference in quantity refers to the fact that the third is larger in scope than the first, in that it does not require universality of the major premise. Yet for this same reason it [sc., the scope of the third] is also less than it [sc., the first] in that it [sc., the third] will not yield a universal conclusion. But the second and the third [figures] are opposed to

each other in quantity and quality. That is, the second preserves the order of universality but not the order of affirmation, and yields universality but not affirmation, whereas the third is the opposite thereof, for it preserves the order of affirmation but renounces the order of universality, and yields affirmation, but does not yield a universal [conclusion]. < . . . > *And both these figures, the second and the third, revert to the first [i.e., in order to yield a conclusion], while the first [need] not revert to them, and it yields the four aforementioned quantifiers. And the three figures are equal in that there is no syllogism from two particular premises, nor from two negative ones, nor from a negative minor and a particular major. And for more [details] look in the Long Logic.*

APPENDIX 36

The terminology for the parts of speech.

Al-Ghazālī's *Intentions of the Philosophers* (Dunyā 1961, 41):

اللفظ ينقسم إلى فعل وإسم وحرف . والمنطقيون يسمون الفعل كلمة . وكل واحد من الاسم والفعل يفارق الحرف في أن معناه تام بنفسه في الفهم ؛ بخلاف الحرف.

The word [lit., expression/sound-form] is divided into verb [lit., act; cf. Greek *πράγμα* (*prāgma*), act, thing), noun [lit., name], and particle [sc., function word, lit., edge; gram. letter/particle/consonant]. And the logicians call the verb word [lit., speech/utterance; cf. Greek *ῥῆμα* (*rhēma*), that which is said, word; gram. verb]. And both [lit., each one of] the noun and the verb differ [lit., differs] from the function word in that their [lit., its) meaning is complete in itself in the mind, unlike the function word.

Hebrew anonymous translation (Taube 2016, 453):

התיבה תחלק אל פעל ושם ואות. וההגיוניים יקראו הפעל מלה והאות כלי. וכל אחד מהשם והפעל יבדל מהאות בשענינו שלם בעצמו ובהבנה, בחלוף האות.

The [written] word [lit., ark/box] is divided into verb [lit., act], noun [lit., name], and particle [sc., function word; lit., letter]. The logicians call the verb word and the function word vessel/tool. And both [lit., each one of] the noun and the verb differ [lit., differs] from the function word [lit., letter] in that their [lit., its) meaning is complete in itself and in its understanding, unlike [lit., in difference] the function word.

Slavic (Taube 2016, 452):

слово разнитса в' дѣло и има и сѣно. мѣдрѣци* лонч'ныи зовѣтъ дѣло
словомъ а слово сѣдно^н. а всакоє има и дѣло разнитса ѿ сѣдна иже ѿвѣтъ
его поло^н.совою. а дѣ слово не та^н

The word is divided into verb [lit., act/affair/business), noun [lit., name] and particle/function word [lit., vessel]. And the scholars of logic call the noun [lit., name] word while the word [they call] vessel. And both [lit., each] the noun and the verb differ [lit., differs] from the function word [lit., vessel] in that their [lit., its) meaning is complete in itself, whereas the particle/function-word [lit., word] is not so.

APPENDIX 37

The translator into Slavic omits a faulty rendering in Hebrew.

Arabic original of the *Intentions of the Philosophers* (Dunyā 1961, 133):

ولكننا نورد في خلل الكلام من الطبيعي ما يتوقف عليه فهم المقصود.

But we shall quote **in the course of the discussion** from the natural science what the comprehension of the intended [point] depends upon.

Anonymous Hebrew translation (Taube 2016, 263):

ואבל אנחנו נביא בחולשת הדברים מן הטבעית מה שיעמוד עליו הבנת המכוון.

But we will bring **in the deficiency of the words/things** from the natural science what the comprehension of the intended [point] rests [lit., stands] upon.

Slavic (Taube 2016, 262):

но мы приведем < . . . > ꙗко свѣтскіе чини сѧ даразумѣеть корень ихъ

But we will bring < . . . > from the natural science that by which its deep meaning [lit., root] may be understood.

APPENDIX 38

Evidence of oral dictation in the translation of the *Intentions*.

Arabic original of the *Intentions of the Philosophers* (Dunyā 1961, 40):

وإذا قلت عبد الله وكان اسم لَقَب ، كان مفرداً ، لأنك لا تقصد به إلا ما تقصد بقولك زيد

And when you say ‘*abd-ullah*’ [lit., God’s servant] as an agnomen/nickname, then it would be (considered) simple, since you do not intend by it anything more than what you intend by saying *Zayd*.

Hebrew anonymous translation (Taube 2016, 451):

וכאשר אמרת עבד האל והיה שם כנוי, היה נפרד, לפי שאתה לא תכוין בו אלא מה שתכוין באמרך זיד.

And when you say ‘*eved ha-’el*’ [God’s servant] as a nickname, then it would be [considered] simple, since you do not intend by it anything more than what you intend by saying *Zayd*.

Slavic (Taube 2016, 450) much longer:

а коли рѣчь богорабъ, а было бы то прозвищо, было бы особное. занже ты не мыслишь тымъ. а ꙗко ш’то мыслишь ꙗко рѣшь, зовомо самостїю, ино вѣдѣ ꙗко еже ты не мыслишь, ни ꙗко бы еси рѣчь, исни дѣдъ.

And when we say “God’s servant” as a sobriquet/nickname, then it would be [considered] simple, since you do not intend by it anything more than what you intend by saying, **properly speaking**, *it will be: for you do not intend anything more than if you had said* “Jesse,” “David.”

APPENDIX 39

Evidence of oral dictation in the *Secret of Secrets*.

Arabic original (Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, Rabat, MS d-754, f. 37v):

يا اسكندر . طاعة السلطان لا تكون الا باربعة وجوه وهى الديانة والمحبة والرغبة والرهيبة . واحسم علق
الناس كلهم وارفع الظلم عنهم ولا تحوجهم الى القول . فان الرعية اذا قدرت ان تقول قدرت ان تفعل . فاجهد
ان لا تقول تسلم من ان تفعل

Alexander, obedience of power does not occur unless for four reasons [lit., faces], and these are religion, love, desire/greed/ambition, and fear. And settle the pleas of all the people and relieve them of injustice, and [sc., thus] you will not compel them to speak [ill of you]. Because the subjects, if they are in a position to speak, will be able to act. Therefore, make efforts that they do not speak so that you may be safe from their acting.

Hebrew anonymous translation (Gaster 1907–8: page π of Hebrew pagination):

אלכסנדר. לא יסורו למשמעות המלך אלא בארבעה פנים. והם אמונת הדת והאהבה והשאיילה והאימה.
ולכן מנע עילות האנשים כולם. והסר מהם החמס. ואל תצריכם לדבר. כי ההמון כמו שיכולים לדבר כן
יכולים לעשות. ואם תשמור מלדבר תשלם מעשיכם.

Alexander, one does not obey a king unless in four manners [lit., faces], and these are belief in religion, love, desire/interest, and fear. Therefore, prevent the reasons/ pretexts [sc., of grudge] of all the people and relieve them of injustice, and do not compel them to speak [ill of you]. Because the crowd, just as they can speak, they can also act. And if you keep [them] from speaking, you will be safe from their acting.

(Moses Gaster used for his 1907–8 edition four Hebrew manuscripts out of the twenty-one full witnesses [and twenty-two partial copies] that have been preserved. Since he had no access to the Arabic version, he lacked the means for properly choosing the best readings, so that sometimes his variants happen to have a better reading than his main text. We tacitly provide the better reading when appropriate.)

Slavic (Ryan and Taube 2019, 110–11, additions marked by italics in English):

Александръ не пристѣпають к послушенствѣ црѣкомѣ. нижели четырма
вещьми. а крѣпкани законѣ. ѿ любовью твоею до ниѣ. ѿ пытаніеѣ. а грозюю. а
оунятіеѣ кривды ѿ ниѣ. изведеши иѣ вси четыри пресѣреченныѣ. а смѣють ли
говорити ѡ тебе лихѣ. смеють оучинити. а протоѣ не дан ѡ совѣтѣ говорити. да не
дашь и оучинити. а иначе не ѿведешь дела иѣ. нижели слово ѿведѣть.

Alexander, people obey the king only for four reasons [lit., by four things]: (1) for [your?] being steadfast in [God's?] Law; (2) for *your love for them* [the people]; (3) for ambition; (4) for awe. And by redressing their wrongs *you will induce in them all four aforementioned things*, < . . . and if they dare speak *ill* of you they will also dare to act. Therefore do not let them talk *about you* lest you also let them act, *otherwise [said], you shall not prevent their deeds unless you prevent their words*.

APPENDIX 40

The two oldest versions of the sorites in the *Laodicean Epistle*.

Saint Petersburg, Academy Library ms 4.3.15 (Kazakova and Lurie 1955, 265):

TABLE 3

MS BAN 4.3.15	English translation
Душа самовластна, заграда ей вера.	The soul is sovereign, its barrier is faith.
Вера ставится пророк наказанием.	Faith is established by prophets' instruction.
Пророк наказание исправляется чудотворением.	Prophets' instruction is righted by miracle working.
Чудотворения дар оусиляеть мудростию.	Miracle-working gift is strengthened by wisdom.
Мудрости сила житие фарисейску.	Wisdom power is a life of pharisee.
Проро ¹ его наука.	The prophet ¹ —his is science.
Наука преблажена есть.	Science is blissful.
Сею приходим в страх божий—начало добродетелем.	By it we attain the fear of God—inception of virtues.
Сим съоружается душа.	Thereby is constructed the soul.

¹ Испр., ркл прок.

Corrected. Ms прок 'aim'.

Moscow, Russian State Library, fond 310 (Undol'skij collection), no. 53

TABLE 4

MS RGB Und. 53	English
Душа самовластна, заграда ей вера.	The soul is sovereign, its barrier is faith.
Вера наказание ставится пророком.	Faith [is] instruction established by a prophet.
Пророк старѣйшина исправляется чудотворением.	Prophet is an elder righted by miracle working.
Чудотвореніа дар мудростию оусилѣет.	Miracle-working gift is strengthened by wisdom.
Мудрости сила фарисейство жителство.	Wisdom's power [is] a pharisee way of life.
Прѣрок его наука.	The prophet—his [is] science.
Наука преблаженаа. Сею приходит в страх божий.	Science is blissful. Thereby one attains fear of God.
Страх божий начало добродѣтели.	Fear of God [is] the inception of virtue.
Сим въоружается душа.	Thereby is armed the soul.

APPENDIX 41

A figure in eight parts promised in the *Secret of Secrets*.

(Gaster 1907–8, p. 8 Hebrew pagination; Taube 1995b and 1998; Ryan and Taube 2019, 126–27):

ואני מדמה לך תבנית חכמי פילוסופי אלוהי נחלק לשמונה חלקים. והוא יגיד לך כל ענייני העולם כולו. ובכלל על כל הנהגות העולם ומאסף כיתותם. ואיכות הגעת הראוי מהיושר לכל כיתה. וחילוק תיהו חלק עגול כל חלק כנגד כת אחת. וכשתתחיל באי זה חלק שתמצא תמצא מה שאחריו במציאות עיגול הגלגל. ולפי שהיו המחשבות כולם מטה ומעלה עומדים על העולם ראיתי להתחיל בזה כפי ערך העולם. והצורה הזאת היא מבחר הספר הזה, ותועלת שאילתך. ואילו לא שלחתי אליך במה שחיליתיה פני אלא התבנית הזו כן היה מספיק אליך. ולכן חשוב אותו ועיין בו יפה ותמצא חפצך ויגיע אליך רצונך. וכל מה שזכרתי בספר הזה בארוכה ובפירושו הוא נכלל בתבנית הזו. וזו היא צורתו:

And I am drawing for you a gnomonic philosophic divine figure divided in eight parts, which will tell you all the affairs of the world, and in general all that concerns the governments of the world with all the variety of their factions, and how each faction receives the justice that it is due. **And I have divided it into parts of the circle**, each part for each faction, and if you begin by whichever part, you will find that which follows it in the essence of the circular sphere. And since all schemes high and low are based on the world, I saw fit to start it appropriately with “World.” And this figure is the quintessence of this book, and the goal of your quest. And even if I had not sent you in response to your request anything but this figure, it would have been sufficient for you. Consider it therefore and study it well and you will find your desire and your wish will be fulfilled. And everything that I have discussed and explained in this book *in extenso* is included in this figure, and here is its form:

APPENDIX 42

The text of the circle in the *Secret of Secrets* (some variant readings both in Arabic and Hebrew, omitted here):

العالم بستان سياجه الدولة	1. העולם פרדסי משוכתו המלכות
الدولة سلطان تحجبه السنة	2. המלכות שלטון תשגבנו הדת
السنة سياسة يسوسها الملك	3. הדת מנהג ינהגנו המלך
الملك راع يعضده الجيش	4. המלך רועה יעודדנו החיל
الجيش أعوان يكفلهم المال	5. החיל חניכים יכלכלם הממון
المال رزق تجمععه الرعية	6. הממון טרף יקבצנו ההמון
الرعية عبيد يتعبدهم العدل	7. ההמון עבדים יעבידם הצדק
العدل مألوف وبه صلاح العالم	8. הצדק מאושר והיה תיקון העולם

1. The world is a garden, hedged in by the kingdom.

2. The kingdom is a power exalted by Law

3. Law is a custom administered by the king
4. The king is a shepherd supported by the army
5. The army are helpers nourished by money
6. Money is sustenance gathered by the people
7. The people are servants subjected to justice
8. Justice is bliss and the basis of social order [lit., reparation of the world].

APPENDIX 43

Promised circle in the Slavic *Secret of Secrets* (Ryan and Taube 2019, 126–27, with portions added in Slavic marked by italics in the English translation):

а протоже хочю ти написати два крѣга, єдинъ свѣтскїи а другїи дѣховни. а почнѹ ти свѣтскїи свѣтомъ, а дѣховни дѣшю. а каждѹи ѿ нихъ ѡслаи частєи. а ими тобѣ завѣзѹю вси ѡбычоды достатиа ихъ. а быхъ ти написахъ толко два тыи крѣуги. досыть єси мѣлѣ на то^а, занѣже невозможнѡ црѣю извѣсти свѣтскѡа. не извѣдѡ дѣховнѡа. ноли бесѣдою мрѡю. а безъ того не поможеть ємѡ ни планета єго. а все что поминано во книзе сєи издолга завѣзжетьсѡ во кратце во крѣзѣ сѡихъ аминь.

And therefore I wish to inscribe for you *two circles, one worldly and the other spiritual. And I will begin the worldly one with “world” and the spiritual with “soul,” and each of them [has] eight parts* and in them I shall draw together for you all the requirements for their attainment, and had I written for you only these *two* circles, that would suffice you, *for it is not possible for a king to master worldly matters without mastering spiritual matters except by learned discourse, and without this not even his planet shall help him*, and all that is discussed at length in this book is contained in concise manner in these circles, *Amen*.

APPENDIX 44

The reconstructed eight-part sorites.

1. Душа самость властна заграда еи вѣра.
2. Вѣра наказание ставит сѡ пророкомъ.
3. Пророкъ старѣшина исправляется чюдотворениемъ.
4. Чюдотворение даръ оусилеет мудростию.
5. Мудрость сила еи житие фарисейско.
6. Фарисейство жительство прокъ емоу наука.
7. Наука преблажена єю приходимъ въ страхъ божи.
8. Страхъ божи начало добродѣтели—сим сооружается душа.

1. "Soul" is a separate substance whose constraint is religion.
2. "Religion" is a [set of] commandments established by a prophet.
3. "Prophet" is a leader authenticated by working miracles.
4. "Miracle-working" is a gift strengthened by wisdom.
5. "Wisdom"—its power is in a temperate ["pharisee"] way of life.
6. "Temperate ["pharisee"] way of life"—its goal is learning.
7. "Learning" is most blessed—through it we attain the fear of God.
8. "The fear of God" is the incipience of virtues—by it is edified the soul.

APPENDIX 45

Retroversion of the Slavic reconstructed text into Hebrew.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 5. החכמה תחזק בחיי פרישות | 1. הנפש עצם נפרד משוכתה הדת |
| 6. חיי פרישות תכליתם הלימוד/מדע | 2. הדת מצווה ייסדה הנביא |
| 7. הלימוד/מדע מאושר בו נבוא ליראת ה' | 3. הנביא מנהיג יאמתוהו מעשי נסים |
| 8. יראת ה' ראשית המידות בה תכונן הנפש | 4. מעשי נסים מתת תחזקם החכמה |

APPENDIX 46

The *Enlightener* on the Jew Scharia.

Kazakova and Lurie 1955, 468ff:

Бысть убо в та времена жидовин именем Схария, и сей бьяше диаволов съсуд, и изучен всякому злодейства изобретению, чародейству же и чернокнижию, звездозаконию же и астрологъи, живый в граде Киеве.

There was at that time a Jew by the name of Scharia, and this one was the Devil's instrument, versed in every kind of evil-doing invention, in sorcery, in the books of black magic, astronomy, and astrology, living in the city of Kyiv.

APPENDIX 47

A rationalist manifesto added at the end of the *Logical Terminology* in the *Logika* (Taube 2016, 246ff.):

а мѣрость сію исполни{лъ} аристотель голова всѣмъ филосооѣмъ первыи^а и послѣдни^а, подлѣ^ѣ смыслу мѹдрецѣ^ѣ израилевыхъ, аже по плѣненіи не нашли своихъ книгъ, а спѣстилисѣ на его разс^а иже рече^ѣ во прѣроческіи^ѣ фундаменте^ѣ. занеже невозможно естъ абы прѣрокъ неполонъ бы^ѣ в седми мѣдростѣ^ѣ. а овсе^ѣ в логицѣ <и въ> пѣт^ѣ{ны}^ѣ. а исполни^ѣ еѣ осмыми книгами прежереченными. иже она направи^ѣ каждого в ты^ѣ мѣдростѣ^ѣ. а она подобна естъ възѣ и мѣрѣ і ослѣ златон. а дѣло иногда имансетсѣ назка разс^амнаѣ. а иногда дѣиственнаѣ .ѣ. ѣ седми мѣростей численаѣ .ѣ. мѣрнаѣ .ѣ. спѣвалнаѣ

.Ѧ неѣнаѡ .Ѣ. свѣтскаѡ . а та на .Ѧ. Ѧ. водити дѡшъ свою .Ѣ. до^а сво^г. вестисѡ г^ѣдрю великомѡ .Ѧ. водити землю и сѡды ѡ . < . . > Ѣ. о прироженїи сего свѣта . а ты^х кни^ѣ десѡт. и мѡдрость лѣкарскаѡ по^а нею же . Ѣ. м^арость бж^ѣтвеннаѡ. ꙗже есть глава всѣ^а седми^а . ꙗдро н^а статочное . занеже ѡю оживѣт во вѣки дѡша члѣскаѡ. а то познаѣт каждыѡ вѣры члѣкъ . иже жадныи глѡпыи ѡ вѣа не може^т быти. а то подобно какъ вы нѣкто реклѡ иже ꙗзѡ князю сѡбжѡ а кто тои кня^з не вѣдаю. или хожу в цр^ковь . а гдѣ цр^ковь не вѣдаю . а сѡѡ . Ѣ. м^аростей не подавг^ѣ жаднаго законѡ. нежели подав^ѣ члѣсства . а можеса каждыѡ вѣры члѣкъ кохати в ни^х. какоже види^а иже во всѣ^х вѣра^х сѣтъ прото иже законникъ подобѣ^т скарбникѡ . а м^арецъ к томѡ, что давыкаѣт . а на каторю рѣчь не прикладѡт подавг^ѣ шноѡ. а таѡ гинѣт .

Рече Александръ . приводы незнатїѡ правды четыре .Ѧ. глѡбныи ѡѡ кратки^а развѡм^а . Ѣ. непоряднею развѡма . ꙗ. ицѡчи перемоганїѡ ꙗ паньства .Ѧ. любѡ то в че^а привыкѡ. а то наиболшаѡ забада ниже котораѡ ꙗнаѡ . а сїи исполненїѡ не мог^ѡт быти, нежели и с свѣтскою м^аростїю а штавалаѡ всѡ лишнаѡ . ꙗкже рече дѣдъ цр^ь . бли^з гдѣ ко всѣ^а призывающимъ ѡго . всѣ^амъ же призываѣтъ ѡго по правдѣ.

And this Wisdom was perfected by Aristotle, *chief of all Philosophers, both ancient and recent in accord with the view of the wise men of Israel, since after the exile they did not find their books, so they relied on his wisdom, which is equal in its foundations to that of the prophets. For it is inconceivable that a prophet be incomplete in the seven wisdoms, and especially in logic (and in) the mathematical sciences.* And he completed it in the aforementioned eight books, for it guides everyone in those wisdoms, *and it is [for them] like a weight and measure and like a touchstone for gold.* And art is [a term by which] sometimes is designated the theoretical science and sometimes the practical [craftsmanship]. The first among the seven wisdoms is arithmetic, second geometry, third music, fourth astronomy. The fifth is politics, which divides into four: (1) self-governance [ethics]; (2) household governance [economics]; (3) the conduct of a great lord; (4) governance of a land and its rules. < . . > The sixth is physics, *and the books thereof are ten, under which is also medicine.* The seventh wisdom is theology, *which is the crowning of all seven as well as the core of their purpose. For through it will the human soul survive in eternity. And this a man of any creed will admit, that he who is ignorant, cannot be with the Lord. For this is as if one were to say: I serve the prince, but who that prince is I do not know; or: I go to church, but where that church is I do not know. And these seven wisdoms are not in accordance with any [particular] religion, but rather in accordance with humanity. And a man of any creed can embrace them. As we see that in all creeds it is asserted that the jurist resembles the keeper of the treasury, whereas the wise man resembles him who adds to it. And to whichever thing one fails to add according to it[s] nature], that thing perishes.*

Said Alexander [Aphrodisiensis]: *The reasons for ignorance of the truth are four. (1) Its depth for the shallow mind; (2) the weakness of the intellect; (3) striving to overpower and dominate; (4) cherishing that to which one is accustomed. And this is a greater hindrance than any other. And these accomplishments cannot be [achieved] but in combination with the political science by shedding all vices. As King David said (Psalms 145:8): The Lord is near unto all who call upon him, to all who call upon him in truth.*

APPENDIX 48

The right to add to the divine law according to Maimonides, Commentary on the Mishna, in al-Ḥarizi's translation from Arabic.

שאין תורה נתונה אחרי הנביא הראשון ואין להוסיף ואין לגרוע, כמו שנאמר "לא בשמים היא" (דברים. ל. יב). ולא הרשנו הקב"ה ללמוד מן הנביאים אלא מן החכמים אנשי הסברות והדיעות.

[https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%94%D7%A7%D7%93%D7%9E%D7%AA_%D7%94%D7%A8%D7%9E%D7%91%22%D7%9D_%D7%9C%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%A0%D7%94_\(%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%97%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%96%D7%99\)](https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%94%D7%A7%D7%93%D7%9E%D7%AA_%D7%94%D7%A8%D7%9E%D7%91%22%D7%9D_%D7%9C%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%A0%D7%94_(%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%97%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%96%D7%99)).

For there is no Torah given after the first prophet [sc., Moses] and one must not add to or subtract from it, as it is said (Deuteronomy 30:12) "it is not in heaven", and God has not allowed us to learn [the Law] from the prophets, but [only] from the sages, masters of logical argumentation and knowledge.

APPENDIX 49

Stagnation = Demise.

Babylonian Talmud Baba batra 121b:

מכאן ואילך דמוסיף יוסיף ודלא מוסיף יסיף (נ"א: יאסף) (תענית לא א', בבא בתרא קכא ב')

From that [day] onward, he who adds [from the night to the day] will [also] add [length of days and years for himself], [and he] who does not add [from the night to the day], decreases [his years].

APPENDIX 50

Universality of wisdom.

Book of Grades (Venetianer, 75):

כי החכמות כל האומות משתתפות בהם ואינם מיוחדות לאומה ידועה.

For all nations have a part in the wisdoms, and they are not the particular [property] of any given nation.

APPENDIX 51

True worship of God and wisdom.

Book of Grades (Venetianer, 34):

ואפלטון אמר כי אי אפשר שיעבוד האלוהים ית' עבודה אמתית אלא או הנביא או הפילוסוף במה שיש עמו מן החכמה.

And Plato said that no one can worship God in true manner, except for a prophet or a sage full of wisdom.

APPENDIX 52

The four reasons of ignoring the truth.

Interpolation from Maimonides's *Book of Asthma* in the *Slavic Secret of Secrets* (Ryan and Taube 2019, 330–31):

Рече Александръ: приводы незнатїа правды четыре. а. глѣбины еѧ краткимъ разсѣмомъ .б. непоряднѣю разсѣма .г. ищѣчи перемоганїа і паньства .д. любѣа то в чѣмъ привыкѣ. а то наиболшаѧ завада ниже котораѧ їнаѧ.

Said Alexander [of Aphrodisias]: “The reasons for ignorance of the truth are four: (1) Its depth for the shallow mind; (2) weakness of the intellect; (3) striving to overpower and dominate; (4) cherishing that to which one is accustomed. And this is a greater hindrance than any other.”

APPENDIX 53

Archbishop Gennadij of Novgorod in 1490 on the Jews of Kyiv relating exciting rumours about events in Moscow (Sobolevskij 1903, 397):

Здѣсе прїѣхалъ жидовинъ новокрещенныи. Даниломъ зовуть. а нынѣ христїанинъ. да мнѣ сказывалъ за столомъ во всѣ люди. нарядился дѣи есми изъ Кѣева къ Москвѣ. ино ми дѣи почали жидове лаяти. собака дѣи ты ся куды нарядилъ. князь дѣи великїи на Москвѣ церкви изъ града всѣ выметалъ вонъ.

A newly baptized Jew has arrived here [i.e., in Novgorod], by the name of Daniel, presently a Christian, and told me at the table, in front of everyone: I set out for Moscow from Kyiv, and then, he says, the Jews began to insult me: “You dog, they say, where are you headed for? The great prince in Moscow, they say, has swept all the churches out of the City.”

APPENDIX 54

Sefer ha-qanah f.18b on the redemption predicted for the year 5250 from Creation.

ספר הקנה דף י"ח ע"ב
ובין השמשות של אלף השביעי יעמוד העולם וביאת המשיח כשיעברו ה' אלפים ומאתיים וחמשים
שהוא חצי לממשלת הכת"ר לת"ק השנה אז יבא המשיח זהו בר"ן יחד כוכבי בוקר ויריעו כל בני
אלקים ואותו האיש קרא שיעבוד האומות ת"י ישראל חורבן העולם כי ירא לבשר מפלתם כדי לרדוף
אחריו (א.ג. כי ירדופו אחריו).

And in the twilight of the seventh millennium the world will stop and the coming of the Messiah [is] when 5250 [years]]have elapsed, which is half of the five-hundred-year reign of the *Sefirah* of *Keter*, then will the Messiah come, that is “when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy”. And that man [i.e., Jesus] called the subjugation of the nations under the hand of Israel the destruction of the world for he was afraid to announce their demise lest they persecute him.

APPENDIX 55

Rabbi Moses in Shoshan Sodot f. 73a on the approximate date of the redemption.

שושן סודות דף עג, א:
 והנה אנחנו כהיום הזה רס"ט מאלף הששי בת"ק שני הכתר ובממשלתו יבוא הגואל כי גאל בא"ת
 ב"ש כתר וקבלנו כי מעת בא גואל עד סוף אלף הז' יהיה ממשלתו של ישראל ומה שאמר וחד חרוב
 ר"ל חרוב מן ממשלת האומות. ולא רצה לגלותו כי ירדופו אחריו.

And here we are today in the [year] 269 of the sixth millennium [= 5269 (=1509CE)] in the five hundred years of [the *sefirah* of] *Keter* during the reign of which the redeemer will come. For *ga'al* [redeem] in *a"tba"sh* [cipher mapping the alphabet to its reverse] is *keter*. And as for what is written “and one is destroyed” it means: void of the reign of the nations. And he did not want to divulge it, for they would persecute him.

APPENDIX 56

Rabbi Moses on the importance of proselytes for the Redemption.

Shoshan Sodot, para. 431, f.73b

שושן סודות: אות תנא, עמוד עג, ב.
 סוד המדרש שאמר גדולים גרים בזמן הזה מישראל: שעמדו על הר סיני לקבל התורה. וזה דבר זר מאוד
 לא יסבלהו השכל זה שעבד כל ימיו ע"ז ועתה ששב יהודי, יהיה עדיף מישראל שזכה והשיג בקול מתן
 תורה. ונראה הטעם כי סוד הדבר כן הוא. כי העומדים בהר סיני הם בעצמם עשו העגל עד שהמלך במ
 סיבו נרדי נתן ריחו הבאישו וקצצו בנטיעות ונטמאו. והגר פשט בגד טומאתו ועשה חיבור כ"י בבת זוגו.

The secret of the Midrash that says: proselytes at this time are greater than the Israelites who stood at Mount Sinai to receive the Torah. And this is a strange statement which the mind refuses to accept, that somebody who indulged in idolatry all his life will now, once he turned into a Jew, be preferable to an Israelite who got to perceive by voice the giving of the Torah. And it seems that the reason lies in the following secret: since those who had stood at Mount Sinai, they themselves made the [golden] calf “While the king is at his table, my spikenard sends forth its fragrance” [Song of Songs 1:12] they polluted and destroyed the saplings and were soiled with impurity, whereas the proselyte has shed off his garment of impurity and brought about “the union of Ecclesia Israel with its partner.”

APPENDIX 57

Celebrating five hundred years since the defeat the Judaizers.

Marking the five hundredth anniversary of the defeat of the Judaizers on a Kyivan nationalistic site

(<http://archiv.kiev1.org/page-1053.html>):

К 500-ЛЕТИЮ РАЗГРОМА ЕРЕСИ ЖИДОВСТВУЮЩИХ

В декабре 2004 года исполняется 500 лет Московского церковного собора, на котором была безоговорочно осуждена ересь жидовствующих – крайне

опасное иудейское еретическое движение в Древней Руси последней трети XV – начала XVI века.

Это было напряженное время, когда многим казалось, что вот-вот грянет вселенская катастрофа, которую связывали с «роковым» 1492 годом – окончанием очередного тысячелетия от сотворения мира. Только что, в середине XV века, в 1453 году, рухнул Второй Рим, пала тысячелетняя православная держава. Глубоко промыслительным представляется тот факт, что едва пала Византия, восстал из пепла татарского пожара Феникс – великая Русь . . .

Будем же молить великих подвижников земли русской, Преподобного Иосифа Волоцкого, архиепископа Новгородского Геннадия и всех святых об избавлении Православной России от новой ереси. Пусть Московский церковный собор 1504 года станет уроком для поборников Святой Руси.

On the Five Hundredth Anniversary of the Defeat of the Judaizing Heresy

December 2004 marks five hundred years since the gathering of the Moscow church council that unconditionally condemned the heresy of the Judaizers—an extremely dangerous Jewish heretical movement in ancient Rus’ of the last third of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It was a tense time, when many people thought that at any moment there would break out a universal catastrophe, which is associated with the fateful year of 1492—the end of the current millennium from creation. Just recently, in the middle of the fifteenth century, in 1453, the Second Rome collapsed, the millennial Orthodox power fell. Profoundly providential is the fact that as soon as Byzantium fell, there rose from the ashes of the Tatar fire a Phoenix—Great Russia . . .

Let us pray to the great zealots of the Russian land, the venerable Joseph of Volokolamsk, the archbishop of Novgorod Gennadij and all the saints of Orthodox Russia for deliverance from the new heresy. Let the Moscow church council in 1504 be a lesson for the supporters of holy Russia.

Marking the anniversary of the victory over the Judaizers by members of the Russian Duma, Alexander Krutov, on the pages of the Moscow journal, *Russkij Dom* [Russian house], published with the blessing of the patriarch of Moscow.

Александр Николаевич Крутов — Журнал Русский Дом, декабрь 2005 г.

<http://www.krutov.ru/content/pz29.shtml>.

Уходящий год был отмечен юбилеями знатных побед наших прадедов и отцов: 1040 лет разгрома Хазарского каганата, 625 лет победы на Куликовом поле, 525 лет освобождения от татаро-монгольского ига, 500 лет победы над ересью жидовствующих, 60 лет победы в Великой Отечественной войне. Каждая дата - это символ, это призыв к нам, сегодняшним, из великого героического прошлого. Услышим ли мы этот призыв? Или нам выгоднее, удобнее постараться не заметить его?

The outgoing year was marked by the anniversaries of the notable victories of our great-grandfathers and fathers: 1040 years of the defeat of the Khazar Khanate, 625

years of the victory on the Kulikovo Field, 525 years of the liberation from the Tatar-Mongol yoke, five hundred years of the victory over the heresy of the Judaizers, sixty years of the victory in the Great Patriotic War. Each date is a symbol, is a call to us today from the great heroic past. Will we hear that call? Or is it more profitable, easier for us to try not to notice it?