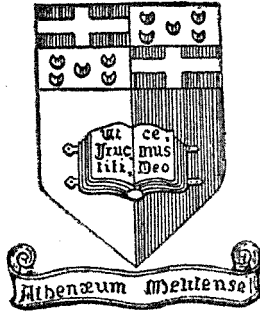


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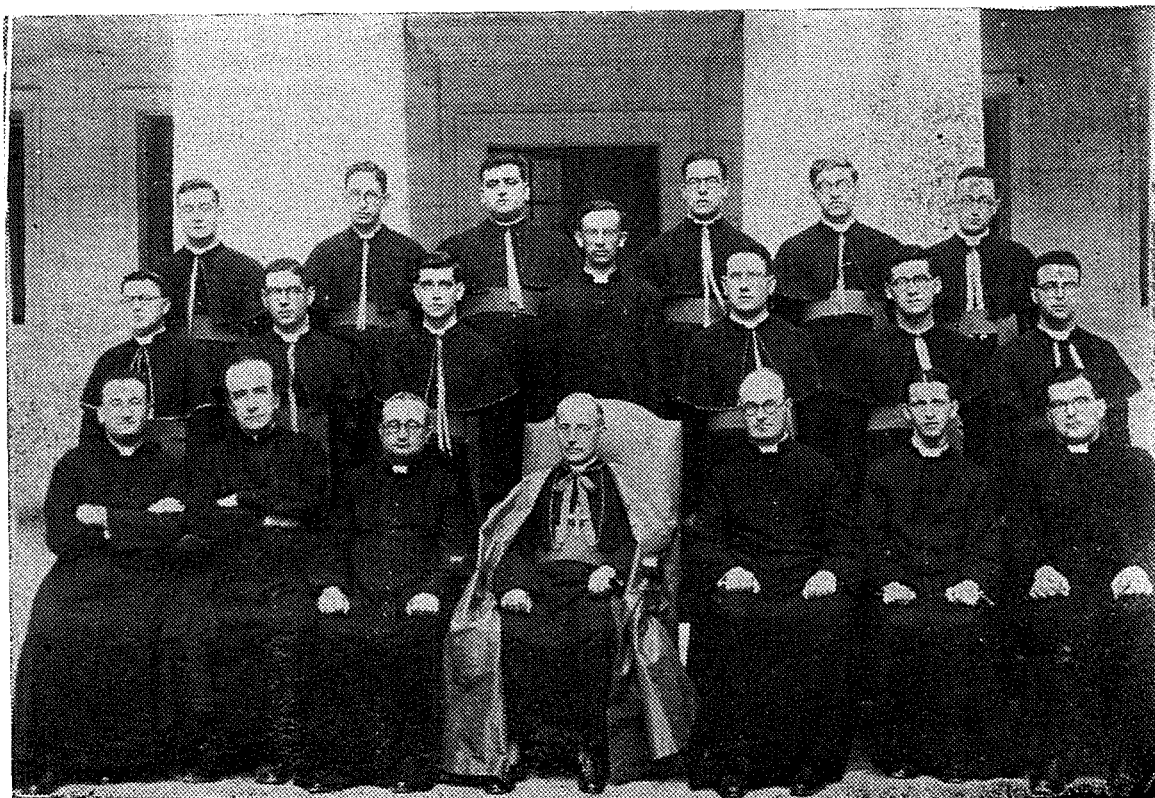


MELITA THEOLOGICA

A REVIEW OF THE
ROYAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS'
THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Vol. I, No. 2

November, 1947.



THE SECOND BATCH..... His Grace Mgr. Prof. Sir Michael Gonzi, K.B.E., G.C.O.J., B.Lit., D.D., J.C.D., Metropolitan Archbishop of Malta and the Rev. Superiors of the Seminary together with the second batch of members of the R.U.S.T.A., that were ordained priests on August 3rd, 1947.

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MELITA THEOLOGICA

Vol. I.

No. 2.

EDITORIAL

THE first issue of *Melita Theologica* met the warm welcome of all sections of our clergy. We received encouraging letters, and favourable comments appeared in the press. We assure our readers that their suggestions together with their constructive criticism are fully appreciated.

We regret to note, however, that only a few of the Universities abroad to which we have sent a copy of our review, have so far acknowledged our act. This may be due to the fact that our copies arrived perhaps too late, when the summer holidays had already started. Otherwise, to say the least, we cannot fail to blame them for a grave breach of the laws of etiquette. So we hope that this time they will show better their appreciation of our review and will not fail to send us a copy of theirs.

OUR UNIVERSITY

A short time ago the Royal University of Malta has been granted "a measure of autonomy in the sense recommended by the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies". The importance of this step cannot be overemphasized; perhaps at long last our University will not be any more enmeshed in the political turmoils which are bound to return with Responsible Government. The chorus of protests in the political press on several pretexts is understandable in so far as the University has ceased to be the Cinderella of political partisanship. An educational institution, meant to be a place of intellectual and moral training is too sacred to be profaned by any attempt to distort the mind of its inmates. Under such circumstances a University may turn out to be but an instrument of an all-powerful state bent on subjugating for its own sinister purpose all the intellectual forces of the country as in pre-war Germany, Italy and especially Russia, where educational institutions are serving not Truth, but the State.

In the preamble to the Bill "a measure of autonomy" is the definition of this "new management and control of the Univer-

sity'. It is quite obvious that the State must have a say in the matter for funds are being provided by the people who have a right to know how this money is being spent. Hence the State reserved the right to nominate the Vice-Chancellor and a number of members of the Council representing the Legislative Assembly and other interested parties, thus creating a delicate balance of power, which is easily tipped over in favour of State interests. On this score we cannot agree with the contention in the political press that the University is totally outside the sphere of State management. This semi-independence has nothing to do with the full responsible government of the great Universities of the Middle Ages, which were powerful enough to defend human freedom against the ever encroaching State.

The machinery is there; its working now depends on the engineers and the means provided. Means are being provided, but we fear that they cannot cope yet adequately with all the needs of a modern University. We hope that the engineers will rise up to create the soul of the University, that is, to enliven themselves and the students with the great ideal of service to Truth and hence to our neighbours and country. We are sorry to state that that motive force is still unfortunately lacking.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN MALTA

"We will continue to harp on this point until we see our hopes realised." So we wrote in our last issue. Again our congratulations go to the Professor of Church History for having chosen a subject of historical interest referring to the history of our own Faculty, for his inaugural lecture on October 1st. We understand that the Professor is keen on having a group of young men working under his direction; it is an excellent idea deserving all our unreserved moral support. It seems that two or three students in the Academic Course of Theology are taking history as their line of special study; they are, however, finding it difficult to make head or tail of the *archivum*, etc., at the Public Library. It is hoped that matters will be made good now that Dom Maurus Inguanez O.S.B., the Librarian of Monte Cassino, is at the helm.

A SORT OF CORRESPONDENCE CLUB

Since the birth of our Association, it has been our intention "to promote intercourse between this institution and other similar

bodies in Malta and abroad". This we hope would be partly achieved in the near future if the main Catholic Universities will condescend to send us their reviews. But to attain more effectively our aim we must see that a sort of correspondence club is created between our members and those of similar bodies whether in Malta or abroad. Thus, through personal contact, we may better appreciate the ways and means of other associations. But, above all, we shall feel more closely related to other aspirants of that noblest of calls: the priesthood, who, though their race and language may be different, yet they possess in common with us those peculiar traits that show in a prominent way the universality of the Catholic Church.

F A R E W E L L !

Before my editorship of "MELITA THEOLOGICA" comes to an end owing to my departure to the University of Louvain, I wish to extend my warmest thanks to all the members of the R.U.S.T.A. for the generous help they have given me in my dual capacity of President and Editor. I confess that I am handing over not without regret, because the short life of our Association has meant a lot for me. It has, in fact, strengthened our bonds of fraternal love and intellectual yearnings not only during our life as theological students, but also during these first years of priesthood. I am happy, however, that our association is now like a fully fledged bird ready and able to take the flight. So I strongly hope that when I return back to our dear Country I shall be satisfied with the activities and the achievements of the R.U.S.T.A. during the next scholastic year. Au revoir!

REV. R. CIRILLO.

AD ALTIORA

We warmly congratulate the Very Rev. Prof. A. Bonnici, B.A., B.L.Can., D.D., H.E.L., Professor of Church History at the Royal University of Malta, on his elevation to the dignity of Monsignor Coadjutor of the Rev. Chapter of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Malta. *Ad altiora!*

O u r N o t e b o o k

These have been some of the activities of the R.U.S.T.A. since the last issue of *Melita Theologica* :—

16th April, 1947.—Academic celebrations were held in honour of St. Thomas Aquinas under the distinguished patronage of His Grace the Archbishop and of the Hon. the Rector of the Royal University. The Very Rev. Can. L. Zammit, B.A., Lic.D., read a paper on "Some Sociological Views of St. Thomas on Private Property", and the Rev. Ph. Callus, B.A., a student of the Academical Course of Theology, lectured on "The Church and the Rise of Universities". A musical background was provided by Mro. M. Cirillo, who set our Hymn "Hymnus Rebus Divinis Studentium" to music and trained our members to sing it.

18th April, 1947.—The Very Rev. Fr. Prof. S.M. Zarb, O.B.E., S.Th.M., S.S.D., O.P., lectured on "Mental Analysis of Creatures in respect of the Simplicity of God."

9th May, 1947—The Very Rev. Fr. Prof. P. Tabone O.F.M., delivered a lecture in Latin on "The System of the New Code of Canon Law."

OUR MEMBERS

We welcome back two of our members who spent a successful time in England. The Rev. Fr. Amante Buontempo, a member of the first committee of the R.U.S.T.A., has returned home after spending a year at Nottingham, where he gathered sufficient experience in English parochial life. There too he underwent a course of perfection in the English language.

The Rev. Fr. J. Vella Galea, B.A., Lic.D., succeeded in obtaining the degree of B.A. (Honours) in the English language at the University of London, where he covered a three years course in two. We offer our sincerest congratulations to both of them and we hope that they will give their valuable help for the welfare of our Association.

The Rev. M. Chircop, B.D., and Rev. I. Borg, B.A., B.D., received Lic.D. on October 1st, 1947; and the Rev. A. Borg, Ph. Callus, B.A., S. Ebejer, C. P. Gatt, B.A., A. Saliba, B.A., G.

Zammit, J. Zammit received their B.D. Rev. G. Zammit was first in order of merit and was awarded a scholarship for the year 1947-48.

It is interesting to note that four of our members are proceeding abroad to continue their studies: Rev. S. Borg, B.A., B.D., and Rev. Ph. Grech, B.A., B.D., winners of a British Council Scholarship, have already settled at Nottingham to take up a course in English Literature; Rev. R. Cirillo, B.A., L.D., winner of the Government Travelling Scholarship is proceeding to Louvain to take up Sociology, and Rev. K. Sant, B.A., Lic.D., is specialising in Biblical Studies at the Pontifical Biblical Institute. We hope that they would do honour to our Island and return hither to help our Church and Country.

Two of our Members, of whom we are producing a group photograph, were ordained priests on August 3rd, 1947.

On October 16th. a thesis entitled "The Doctrine of the Church and the Right of Private Property (with special reference to the *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*) and an appendix on the Social Problem in Malta", presented for the Doctorate by the Rev. R. Cirillo was approved "cum laude". This is the first thesis to be approved in our Alma Mater since the Faculty of Theology has been reformed according to the Pontifical Constitution *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*.

On the 21st a didactic test was held in the presence of the Professors and Students of Theology, the subject chosen being: *de iniuria in bona fortunae et de relativa restitutione*.

The defence of the thesis was held in the University Library. In the presence of His Grace the Archbishop, His Lordship Mgr. Galea, the Hon. the Rector and a considerable number of Professors and students, Rev. Cirillo gave the general outlines of his thesis and defended it successfully by answering all the questions and objections put to him. His sponsor was the Most Rev. Mgr. Prof. C. Bonnici, B.L.Can., D.D., and the Very Rev. Fr. A. M. Pircetta, O.P., Ph.D., S.Th.M., together with the Very Rev. Fr. A. Busuttil S.J., examined his thesis.

To all of these we offer our sincere congratulations, strongly believing that they will not forget our small Association which has meant so much for them. Let us work together for the honour of God, of our Church and of our Country.

ELEGIA

in Honorem Sancti Thomae Aquinatis

Me bene cantasti, numerose Magister Homere,
Calliope arridens oscula blanda iacit.

Vergilio laudes dedit Arbiter Urbis et Orbis;
Carmina Vergilii saecula cuncta canunt.

Italiaeque Novae Lux fulsit Dante poeta;
Musa comesque Fides ima superna movent.

Fulgidus apparet Shakespeare et acumine nostras
Illustrat tragicus tot comicusque vices.

Hos aliosque Viros laudabunt omne per aevum
Doctorum coetus; dulce studentis onus!

Quos superat sane qui summas quaerit Aquinas
Seu rerum causas sive profunda Dei :

Lumine quae tradit divino et acumine mentis,
Ingenii precibus Divus adauget opes.

“Tu bene scripsisti de me” e Cruce Pendulus inquit
Mentis Doctori viribus Angelico.

JOS. SCHEMBRI SAC.

d. Aprilibus MCMXLXII.

THE NEW LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE PSALTER

(By the MOST REV. MGR. PROF. P. P. SAYDON
B.LITT., B.L.CAN., D.D., S.S.L.)

ST. ROBERT BELLARMINE in a prefatory letter to H.H. Pope Paul V prefixed to his Commentary on the Psalms deplored the fact that, though the daily recitation of the Psalms was an ecclesiastical obligation, very few understood what they read; "..... liber Psalmorum, quem ecclesiastici omnes quotidie legunt, et pauci admodum intellegunt". Unfortunately these words are as true to-day as they were in the 16th century, and many ecclesiastics still complain that, despite their attentive recitation of the Breviary, they are desperately unable to make any sense out of many verses of the Psalter. And, one may add, what they understand is very often the opposite of, or at least very different from, the sense intended by the sacred writer. Therefore it is not at all surprising that many a learned ecclesiastic have in recent times expressed the wish that a more readable and a more intelligible translation should replace the Vulgate Psalter.

The unintelligibility of our Latin Psalter is due not so much to a defective theological knowledge as to intrinsic defects of the version itself. As is well known, the Psalms which we read in the Breviary are a Latin version from a Greek translation of a Hebrew original. Every translation has its own merits and faults depending on the literary skill of the translator, on the principles and methods of his work, on the quality of the text which he is translating as well as on the degree of textual deterioration which inevitably takes place in the course of its manuscript transmission. Therefore many and diverse are the causes that are responsible for the present state of unintelligibility of the Latin Psalter.

The Psalms were first translated from Hebrew into Greek about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. as a part of a complete version of the O.T. known as the Septuagint. Up to that time the Hebrew Psalms, the majority of which go back to the 11th or 10th century B.C., had already been copied and revised many times and all these processes were sources of textual alterations and corruptions. Compare, for example, Ps. 17 *Diligam te Domine* with 2Kgs 22 where it recurs with textual variations.

So also Ps. 13 and Ps. 52, both beginning with the words *Dixit insipiens in corde suo*, are really two slightly different forms of the same Psalm. Ps. 9 *Confitebor tibi Domine in toto corde meo: narrabo omnia mirabilia tua* and its sequel *Ut quid Domine*, which in the Hebrew text are reckoned as two separate Psalms, formed originally one Psalm, as is evinced by the alphabetical arrangement of the strophes and by the fact that both in the LXX and in St. Jerome's version from the Hebrew they read as one Psalm. But though the general alphabetical structure is manifest, some strophes have disappeared entirely and some are disguised by the alteration or by the corruption of the first word of the strophe. Therefore it may be confidently assumed that at the time of the Septuagint version the Hebrew text of the Psalms was already some distance from its original form. These textual corruptions originating with the Jewish copyists were the first source of obscure and unintelligible renderings which ultimately passed into our Latin Psalter.

Another cause which has largely contributed to the unintelligibility of our Latin Psalter is the defective literary skill of the Greek translators. H. B. Swete, one of the best authorities on Septuagint studies, says that the Greek version of the Psalms shows obvious signs of incompetence (1). The Hebrew text is translated literally and slavishly. No attempt is made to give a Greek turn to Hebrew idiomatic constructions or to round off an expression that sounds harsh to a Greek ear. Not infrequently the translators, who, let it be remarked, had no grammar and no dictionary but derived all their knowledge of Hebrew from oral tradition, missed the real value of the Hebrew tenses and failed to hit upon the true meaning of difficult words and expressions.

This Greek version, with all its merits and faults, became the official text of the Psalms to the Hellenistic Jews who could not read their liturgical songs in the original tongue. The New Testament writers used it freely in their preaching and writings. With the rise of Christianity it passed into the hands of the Church and soon spread all over the Greek-speaking world, giving rise, on account of textual alterations, to different forms or recensions.

(1) *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 315f.

A Latin translation of the Psalms first appears in the writings of St. Cyprian in North Africa where Latin was the language of everyday life. The translation was probably made in the 2nd century A.D. When Latin superseded the Greek language in the Church of Rome, the Greek Bible was again translated into Latin, and we meet the first traces of this translation in the writings of Novatian, a Roman writer of the 3rd century A.D.

These were popular translations made by unknown and illiterate translators who reproduced almost mechanically the Greek text in that peculiar form of Latin that was used by the masses. St. Augustine says of these early translators: "In those early times anyone who possessed a Greek Bible and had some knowledge of Greek and Latin would take upon himself the task of a translator" (2). In this manner all the Hebraisms and all the obscure and wrong renderings of the Septuagint found an easy way into the Latin versions. I submit here a few examples illustrating the defective methods of both the Greek and Latin translators.

a) Wrong translations: In Ps. 67, 16 the meaningless *montes coagulati* should be *montes clivosi*, the Hebrew adjective being wrongly referred to a root which means also 'curd, cheese'. In Ps. 72, 4 *non est respectus morti eorum* neither the Latin *respectus* nor its Greek equivalent correspond to Hebrew which means 'pains', hence the sense is: *Non sunt mala eis*, 'they are not in pain'. Sometimes proper names are translated as common nouns, and common nouns as proper names, thus Ps. 41, 7 *a monte modico* is *a monte Misar*; Ps. 59, 8 *convallem tabernaculorum* is *convallem Succoth*; Ps. 67, 16 *mons pinguis* is *mons Basan*.

b) Confused translations. Hebrew words having more than one meaning are very often translated by the same word even when the sense requires a different meaning; thus the verb *shaphat*, which generally means 'iudicare', means also *ius alicuius tueri*; hence Ps. 42, 1 *Iudica me Deus* should read *Ius meum tuere, Deus*; the *iudex viduarum* in Ps. 67, 6 is a *defensor viduarum*, and in many cases *iudicium* stands for *ius*. Another word susceptible of various meanings is *nephesh*, which is invariably translated *psyche, anima*, even when the context requires a different meaning. Thus Ps. 26, 12 *Ne tradideris me in animas tribulan-*

(2) *De doctr. Christ.* II, 16; PL 34, 430.

tium me should read *Ne tradideris me desiderio tribulantium me*. Cp. the parallel verse in Ps. 40, 3 *et non tradat eum in animum inimicorum eius*.

c) Idiomatic expressions literally translated. Exx. *ponere aliquem dorsum* for *aliquem ventere in fugam*, Ps. 17, 41; 20, 13; *in corde et corde* for *corde duplici*, Ps. 11, 3; *benedicere* used with the antithetical meaning 'to curse', as in Ps. 10, 3 *et iniquus benedicitur* for *et iniquus blasphematur*; *ponere cor* for *considerare*, Ps. 47, 17 *ponite corda vestra in virtute sua* instead of *considerate virtutem suam*.

d) Servile renderings. The Greek translators have in numerous cases missed the real meaning of particles. Thus the preposition 'al, which generally means 'upon', has also a comparative sense which is not expressed neither by the LXX nor by the Vulgate; exx: Ps. 17, 18 *confortati sunt super me* for *fortiores sunt me*; cp. Ps. 18, 11; 83, 11; 118, 72. The preposition 'a' and the expression *mippene* 'a facie' have sometimes a causal meaning 'propter' which is not rendered by the LXX; exx: Ps. 37, 4 *non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum* i.e. *propter peccata mea*; Ps. 6, 8 *Turbatus est a furore oculus meus* instead of *propter furem*.

e) Wrong rendering of tenses. Ps. 42, 3 *ipsa me deduxerunt et adduxerunt*, after the petition for God's assistance *Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam* the past tense is obviously contrary to the sense. We must read according to Hebrew *ipsa me deducant et adducant*.

f) Misreading of words. The Greek translators have occasionally read the unpointed Hebrew text with different vowels. Thus in Ps. 90, 3 the triconsonantal word *d-b-r*, was read *dabar* by the Septuagint translators and consequently rendered by *verbum*, while the Massoretes read it *deber* which means *pestis*. The Massoretic reading suits the context better, and therefore the rendering *a peste maligna* is preferable to *a verbo mendacii*. In Ps. 87, 11 *Numquid... medici suscitabunt* physicians are here intruders dragged in by the Septuagint translators who read *rophe'im* instead of *repha'im* 'defuncti'.

To these wrong renderings one must add the Latin translators' share of mistranslations and a linguistic usage with which the modern reader is not familiar. In course of time copies of the Latin Psalms were multiplied, new translations and revisions

were made and the variations in the several manuscripts became so numerous that St. Jerome, in a letter to Pope Damasus in 383, complained that there were as many varieties of texts as there were manuscripts (3). After having revised the Latin Gospels, and very probably the rest of the New Testament, St. Jerome, probably at the request of Pope Damasus, revised also the Latin text of the Psalms (4). St. Jerome does not appear to have been satisfied with this revision which, as he informs us, was carried out hastily, and, as errors cropped up again, he undertook another revision of the Latin Psalms from the LXX (5), a revision which, on account of its being first adopted by the Church of Gaul, came to be known as the "Psalterium Gallicanum" and in course of time was incorporated into the Breviary. Later on St. Jerome translated also the Psalms from Hebrew into Latin, but this translation, though far superior to his previous revisions, never succeeded in superseding the Gallican Psalter. The history of the Latin Psalter does not end with Jerome. For a long time both Jerome's revised text and the so-called Old Latin continued to be transcribed and read in Church and at home. Copyists often mixed up readings of the two forms of text, besides adding errors of their own (6). The text was definitely fixed by the Roman Commissions appointed between 1561 and 1592 and published in the Sixto-Clementine edition of the Vulgate.

This brief survey of the history of the origin of the Latin liturgical Psalter is intended to justify the complaints of those who recite the Breviary and the impellent need of a more readable translation. A preliminary point, however, had to be settled. Was a new translation necessary? was not a revision enough to meet the requirements of the average priest? A revision similar, more or less, to that carried out by St. Jerome was obviously the easier course and there were some who stood for it. But, the literary problems of the Psalter are so varied and complex and the linguistic and exegetic study of the Psalms has advanced so far that

(3) PL 29, 526. Though St. Jerome's words 'tot enim sunt exemplaria pene quot codices' refer directly to the Gospel-manuscripts, there is no reason why they should not be extended to other manuscripts, especially to the manuscripts of those books that were more frequently copied.

(4) *Praef. in libr. Psalmorum*, PL 29, 117.

(5) L. cit.

(6) A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 2, pp. 61-70. See also A. Allgeier, *Die altlateinischen Psalterien*, Freiburg i, B., 1928.

a revision would have resulted in a sort of patchwork which would have been neither the Vulgate text nor a new translation. Fortunately the former opinion prevailed and by order of H.H. Pope Pius XII a fresh translation of the Psalms and the Canticles of the Breviary has now been made and published by the Professors of the Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome under the title "*Liber Psalmorum cum Canticis Breviarii Romani, nova e textibus primigeniis interpretatio Latina cum notis criticis et exegeticis cura Professorum Pontificii Instituti Biblici edita*"; Romae, 1945. By the *Motu proprio* 'In cotidianis precibus' given on the 24th March 1945 and prefixed to this edition H.H. Pope Pius XII places this new translation in the hands of all those who are under the obligation of reciting the office permitting them at the same time to make use of it in their private and public recitation of the office after the publication of the liturgical edition of the Psalter.

The first and most important task confronting the translator of an ancient text that has been handed down in a number of different forms and versions is the critical reconstruction of the text itself, that is, the determination of its original form or, at least, of that form that is nearest to the original. Our Hebrew text of the Psalms, even in its best and latest critical edition (7), represents that form which had been definitely fixed by the Masoretes before the 10th century A.D. and which had been rendered uniform in the preceding centuries, by the elimination of all variant readings. But the version carry us much further back. The LXX version was made in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C.; the Old Latin versions appeared in the 2nd and 3rd century A.D.; Jerome's translation was made in the closing years of the 4th century A.D. To these we must add three other Greek versions made in the 2nd century A.D. by Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus respectively; the Syriac version called the Peshitta made probably in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and the Aramaic Targum of the Psalms which represents a traditional oral translation from Hebrew dating from the 9th century A.D. but which in its oral form goes back to the 1st century A.D. All these text-witnesses must be called upon to bear evidence of the state of the Hebrew

(7) By F. Buhl in R. Kittel's 3rd edit. of *Biblia Hebraica*, Stuttgart, first separately in 1930 and then in 1937 in the complete edition of the O.T.

text in its pre-Massoretic stages and, when their evidence is carefully sifted, to serve as a means for its emendation.

I do not wish to imply that the versions have invariably preserved a better form of text. They all have their own deviations arising either from a misunderstanding of the original text or from later scribal corruptions. But in certain cases they have unquestionable claims to originality. In all cases the determination of the correct reading, which is the indispensable basis of a good translation, requires a keen sense of discernment and must absolutely be made on the ground of established principles of textual criticism independently of subjective considerations which many a time have led critics astray in their search after the original form of the Hebrew text.

Applying the principles of textual criticism objectively and intelligently the translators of the Biblical Institute have produced a text which is much nearer the original than either the Massoretic text or any of the ancient versions. It is not possible to enumerate here all the emendations made by the help of the versions, but I wish to mention just a few :

Ps. 21, 17 '*foderunt manus meas et pedes meos*'; this reading, which is also that of the LXX and, with slight differences, that of the ancient versions has been preferred to the Hebrew: *sicut leo manus meas et pedes meos* which is meaningless.

Ps. 68, 11 '*et operui in ieiunio animam meam*'; 'I covered my soul in fasting'. I wonder what meaning the average priest can make out of these words. MT has 'I wept' for 'I covered', and the sense is: I wept myself out in fasting. The difficulty against this translation is that the verb *baka* 'to weep' is never used with a reflexive meaning as in English 'to weep oneself out'. St. Jerome translates *et fleui* thus supporting the MT. But the LXX and the Syriac version read: 'and I humbled myself with fasting', a reading which is preferred by the translators and is very probably original. cp. Ps. 34, 13 *Humibiliam in ieiunio animam meam*. The Vulg. reading can be easily traced back to a Greek origin as an obvious confusion of *synekamposa* 'I humbled' read as *synekalypsa* 'I covered'.

Ps. 70, 6 '*in te cantatio mea semper*'; 'of thee shall I continually sing'. All versions give the same sense. But the construction is awkward. One would rather expect *tehillati atta* 'laus mea tu es' as in Jer. 17, 14. Symmachus, however, seems to have read

tohalti 'speravi' and this reading has been adopted in the translation as more consistent with the context. Hence we read : *in te speravi semper*.

Ps. 76, 11 '*Et dixi : Nunc coepi, haec mutatio dexteræ Excelsi*'. This rendering is supported by the LXX and the Syriac version. But St. Jerome has read the text differently and translated : '*Et dixi : Inbecillitas mea est haec; commutatio dexteræ Excelsi*'. The same reading is given by the Jewish translator Aquila, and is certainly preferable. Hence in the new translation we read : '*Et dico : Hic est dolor meus, quod mutata est dextera Altissimi*'.

But sometimes the corruption goes further back than all our versions. In this case the evidence of versions is of no value as they all derive from a corrupt original. The critic will have to fall to conjectures which may attain a high degree of probability when they are founded on the rules of paleography, on the knowledge of the causes of errors and on the requirements of grammar, style and context. The Professors of the Biblical Institute have, very judiciously and sparingly, made use of conjectural corrections consisting mostly in the transposition of a word, in a different vocalization of the same consonants or in the change of similar consonants. The following are a few instances :

Ps. 2, 11b. 12a the words '*apprehendite disciplinam*' are a well-known textual puzzle. The Latin is the exact rendering of the Greek *dracasthe*, 'receive instruction' which does not correspond to Hebrew. St. Jerome following Symmachus translates *adorate pure*, though in his *Commentarioli* he refers another translation *adorate filium* (PI. 23, 413; 26, 827). The Hebrew can only mean : *osculamini purum*, or *osculamini pure*, or *osculamini filium*, i.e. 'pay homage to the elected one', or 'pay homage sincerely'. All these translations are either impossible or improbable. Interpreters have tried all ways to make the text yield a reasonable sense. The simplest correction consists in transposing the words corresponding to '*apprehendite disciplinam*'. The sense of vv. 11, 12 then would be : *Servite Domino in timore et exultate ei; cum tremore praestate obsequium illi*. This correction proposed about 40 years ago by Sievers and Bertholet is now generally accepted and has been adopted in this translation (8).

(8) G. E. Closen, *Gedanken zur Textkritik von Ps. 2, 11b, 12a*; Bibl. 21 (1940) 288-309.

Ps. 72, 4 *Quoniam non est respectus morti eorum : et firmamentum in plaga eorum.* This translation yields no sense. Apart from three mistranslations *respectus*, *firmamentum* and *plaga*, the mention of death is utterly inconsistent with the context which is describing the earthly felicity of the wicked. Modern interpreters generally split up the word *lemotam* 'morte eorum' into two words *lemo* 'iis' and *tam* 'integrum, sanum'. Hence the whole verse in the new translation reads thus : *Nulla enim sunt iis tormenta, sanum et pingue est corpus eorum.*

Ps. 110, 3 reads thus : *Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum, ex utero ante luciferum genui te.* But Hebrew gives an entirely different sense : 'Populus tuus sponte se offert in die fortitudinis tuae in splendore sanctitatis : ex utero aurorae tibi ros adolescentiae tuae'. LXX-Vulg. represent Christ, to whom the Psalm refers (Mt. 22, 42-46) as holding the supreme command of an army marching out for the spiritual conquest of the world and they both entrust him with this leadership on account of his eternal generation from his Father. But according to Hebrew Christ is simply marching forth to subdue his enemies while youthful warriors, innumerable as the drops of the morning dew, flock to his standard.

The whole verse critically emended is translated thus : *Tecum principatus die ortus tui in splendore sanctitatis : ante luciferum, sicut rorem, genui te.*

The translation of this verse does not claim more than a fair degree of probability, but, though some of the proposed emendations are questionable, the translation is far clearer than the Vulgate and is in perfect conformity with Ps. 2 and with patristic tradition.

It is upon such a critical reconstruction of the Hebrew text that the new translation of the Psalter is based. As the object of textual criticism is to recover so far as possible the actual words written by the sacred writers and, by this means, to determine their thoughts with the utmost possible accuracy, it follows quite logically that a translation must aim at reproducing the original writer's ideas as faithfully and as clearly as possible. Literalness and perspicuity are therefore the two chief qualities of a good translation. The ancient Greek and Latin translators of the Psalms held different views especially as re-

gards the fidelity of a translation. They endeavoured to render the original word for word, almost mechanically, thus missing the real force of certain idiomatic expressions, the syntactical value of particles and sometimes the true meaning of words and phrases. On the contrary, some modern translators run to the opposite extreme, reproducing the sense without caring much for details of words and expressions of the original. The translators of the Psalter have avoided both extremes; the translation is literal but not servile, and clear without being paraphrastic. The following verses of Ps. 67 *Exurgat Deus* from the old and the new translation will make clear the difference between the two ways of translating.

Rex virtutum dilecti dilecti :	Reges exercituum fugiunt fugiunt;
et speciei domus dividere spolia.	et incolae domus dividunt praedam.
Si dormiatis inter medios cleros,	Dum quiescebatis inter caulas gregum,
pennae columbae deargentatae,	alae columbae nitebant argento
et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri.	et pennae eius flavore auri
Dum discernit caelestis reges super eam,	Dum omnipotens illic disper- gebat reges,
nive dealbabuntur in Selmon; mons Dei, mons pinguis.	nives ceciderunt in Salmon. Montes excelsi sunt montes Basan :
Mons coagulatus, mons pin- guis;	clivosi montes sunt montes Basan :
ut quid suspicamini montes coagulatos?	Cur invidiosi aspicitis, montes clivosi,
Mons, in quo beneplacitum est Deo habitare in eo;	montem in quo habitare pla- cuit Deo,
etenim Dominus habitabit in finem.	immo in quo habitabit Domi- nus semper?

This is a plain translation of the Massoretic text without any textual corrections and without any paraphrastic renderings. For such a translation a thorough and accurate knowledge of Hebrew is essential. It has already been remarked that the ancient translators derived all their knowledge of Hebrew from

oral tradition and we all know that oral tradition is not always a reliable source of information. While the Greek translators have certainly preserved some very rare meanings of Hebrew words which were never recorded by later lexicographers, it must be admitted that not infrequently they simply picked out the wrong meaning; in some cases a single Hebrew word stands for two originally different though like-sounding words with different meanings one of which became absorbed by the other and so disappeared entirely; sometimes, it may be supposed, tradition failed completely to supply any meaning.

In recent years Semitic linguistic research has advanced so much that the need for a revision of the Hebrew vocabulary has long been felt. The comparative study of Hebrew and the cognate Semitic languages, especially the Accadian language, which was unknown to the older lexicographers, as well as a deeper investigation into the lexical element of the LXX have in recent years brought out new Hebrew roots and new meanings of existing roots which have not only modified the traditional translation of many biblical passages but have also helped to smooth away the difficulties of obscure and unintelligible verses of the Psalms (9). Not less important for a better understanding of the Bible is the investigation into the grammatical structure of Hebrew, especially the complicated problem of the use of tenses (10). Although some of the results of this linguistic research are still open to controversy, others may be considered as well established and have been accepted in the new translation of the Psalter. I give here a few examples:

The Hebrew word *nephesh* generally means 'soul' and is usually translated by *psyche* 'anima' in the Psalms and in the other books of the O.T. Now in some cases this translation does not suit the context, thus in Ps. 68, 2 the words *intraverunt aquae usque ad animam meam* hardly make any sense though the word *aquae* is sometimes used metaphorically in the sense of 'suffering, persecution, oppression'. Still more incomprehensible is Is. 5, 14 *dilatavit infernus animam suam*. As the same word occurs in Ac-

(9) See the numerous contributions by G. R. Driver to *The Journal of Theological Studies*, *the Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

(10) G. R. Driver, *Problems of the Hebrew verbal system*, Edinburgh, 1936.

cadian with the primary meaning of 'breath, soul, life' and a second meaning 'throat', and as this meaning is absolutely required in Is. 5, 14 by the context and by the law of parallelism, there is every reason to suppose that this secondary meaning of the word *nephesh* was not unknown to the Hebrew writers (11). Let us now apply this meaning to those passages where *anima* is inappropriate: Ps. 68, 2 *venerunt aquae usque ad collum meum*, the image being that of a drowning man who is in peril of being swept away by the current. Ps. 77, 17 *petentes cibum secundum cupiditatem suam* instead of *ut peterent escas animabus suis*. A more forceful and more literal translation would have been *petentes cibum faucibus suis*. Ps. 104, 18 *ferro ligatum erat collum eius*, instead of *ferrum pertransiit animam eius*, the reference being to Joseph's slavery in Egypt.

Ps. 16, 4 *ego custodivi vias duras*; Hebrew has a genitive instead of the adjective *duras*, hence modern interpreters generally translate *custodivi vias (viri) violenti* that is *custodivi me a viis viri violenti*. This translation is forced. The verb *shamar* means 'to observe a law' not 'to abstain from evil'. A far better sense is obtained by referring the word *paris*, which is usually used of robbers and murderers, to Accadian *parsu* 'command, order, law', or to Arabic *fard* 'divine law'. The sense then will be *ego custodivi vias legis*, and this is the translation adopted in the new Psalter. This new meaning of the Hebrew word *paris* has been proposed by G. R. Driver in 1922 (12), and is accepted by F. Zoreil (1928), N. Peters (1930), C. Lattey (1939) in their respective translations of the Psalms.

Ps. 31, 9 *camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe* the Hebrew word for *maxillas* is referred to an Arabic root meaning 'course', hence the new Psalter reads *quorum impetus camo et freno constringitur*. So also G. R. Driver (13), Zorell (14), Calles (15), Peters (16).

(11) P. Dhorme, *L'Emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en accadien*, Paris, 1923, pp. 18f.

(12) *The Journ. of Theol. St.*, 23 (1922) 72. See also *J.T.S.* 24 (1923) 318; 25 (1924) 177f.

(13) *J.T.S.* 43 (1942) 153.

(14) *Psalterium ex Hebraeo Latinum*, Rome, 1928, p. 49.

(15) *Le Livre des Psaumes*, Paris, 1936, I, p. 350.

(16) *Das Buch der Psalmen*, Paderborn, 1930, p. 70.

Ps. 56, 9 *Exurge gloria mea* : the Hebrew word for *gloria* is referred to a root which in Arabic means 'liver' and, metaphorically, 'the innermost part of man, heart', and we therefore read *Exurge anima mea*. So also Zorell, *Ca'es*.

Ps. 77, 21 *et ira ascendit in Israel* : though the sense is fairly clear, it is much clearer in the new translation which reads *et ira efferbuit contra Israel*. The Heb. verb '*ala*', generally translated 'to rise up', in reality represents two roots with two different meanings 'to rise up' and 'to boil'.

Ps. 83, 7 *in valle lacrimarum, in loco quem posuit* : limiting ourselves to the first half-verse, the other half being mistranslated, we notice that the translators of the Psalter have derived the word *baka* from a root which, though inexistent in our Hebrew Dictionaries (17), occurs in Arabic and means 'to be waterless (land)'. The whole verse is therefore translated : *Transeuntes per vallem aridam, fontem facient eam.*

It has been said above that the Greek translators have frequently rendered the Hebrew tenses wrongly. Hebrew, unlike Greek and Latin, has a very rudimentary system of moods and tenses, and the same tense-form may have different temporal values depending on the quality of the action expressed, on the different vocalization of the so-called *waw consecutive* and other grammatical considerations. A literal and servile translation, which does not take into account the various phonetical, grammatical and contextual factors determining the exact value of the tenses is, naturally, apt to misrepresent the original writer's mind by disrupting the logical nexus and sequence of his thoughts and sometimes even distorting the sense intended by him. But the translators of the new Latin Psalter, more conscious than their early predecessors of the value of the Hebrew tense-forms, have also been more successful in expressing the different time relations of the verbal forms thus eliminating another cause of obscurity in our Vulgate Psalms. The following verses from Ps. 103 in the old and in the new translation will illustrate the different ways of rendering the tenses. In these verses the Psalmist is describing the wonderful works of creation.

(17) With the exception of F. Zorell *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*, Rome, 1940 (in progress).

Abyssus sicut vestimentum amictus eius :
super montem stabunt aquae	super montes steterunt aquae.
Ab increpatione tua fugient :	Increpante te fugerunt,
a voce tonitruui tui formi- dabunt.	te tonante trepidarunt.
Ascendunt montes, et descen- dunt campi	Ascenderunt montes, descen- derunt valles
in locum quem fundasti eis.	in locum quem statuisti eis.
Terminum posuisti, quem non transgredientur :	Terminum posuisti, quem non transgrediantur,
neque convertentur operire terram.	ne iterum operiant terram.
Qui emittis fontes in conval- libus :
inter medium montium per- transibunt aquae.	qui manant inter montes.
Potabunt omnes bestiae agri;	Potum praebent omni bestiae agri;
expectabunt onagri in siti sua.	onagri extinguunt sitim suam.
.....
Ut educas panem de terra :
et vinum laetificet cor hominis :	et vinum quod laetificet cor hominis;

If a sound knowledge of both the lexical and grammatical element of Hebrew is essential for the comprehension of the original writer's sense, a clear, smooth and unambiguous rendering is not less important for its intelligibility in another language. Under this respect too the Old Latin version of the Psalms, which is reproduced substantially in our Vulgate Psalter, falls a long way short of the standards of a clear and readable translation. Apart from the fact that the earliest Latin translations were made at a time when the classical age of Latin literature had long passed away to give place to that form of provincial Latin which Cicero and Quintilian labelled as *Asianus* or *Asiaticus*, it must be also borne in mind that those early Latin translators were illiterate men writing not in the more refined style of the African writers Tertullian, Minutius Felix, Cyprian and others, but in that form of everyday's speech which is referred to by Cicero and Quintilian as *sermo plebeius, rusticus, quotidianus*. It thus hap-

pened that many words, meanings and constructions that were current in those times became unintelligible to the modern reader to whom the classical forms are certainly more familiar.

In order to obviate this defect the translators of the Latin Psalter have preferred the more polished style and language of the classical period. There were some, it is true, who advocated strongly the use of that form of Latin which is known as 'Church Latin', the Latin used during the first centuries of the Church and which has been ever used in its daily service (18). But their reasons were perhaps more sentimental than practical. If a more intelligible translation of the Psalms was needed, it was imperative that it should be made in that form of Latin with which the young ecclesiastics, after their classical studies, had become familiar. It has been objected that a translation of the Psalms in the classical Latin of Cicero was an anachronism (19). It would have been an anachronism had it been made in the 2nd or 3rd centuries when a new form of Latin was developing in the Roman provinces under the combined influence of new Christian doctrines and different literary standards. But to-day in view of the fact that, rightly or wrongly, our ecclesiastics are more at home in classical than in ecclesiastical Latin, there is no reason why the Church, which is a universal institution, should adopt a provincial form of Latin instead of the classical form which has ever been the standard form of Latin. The translators have therefore very wisely conformed, so far as it was possible, to classical usage both in the selection of words as well as in the grammatical construction. The following examples illustrate the literary method of the translators :

a) Words belonging to the late Latin, or that are servile renderings of Greek mistranslations are generally replaced by classical equivalents. A typical example is the verb *confiteri* and its derivative *confessio*. Naturally the word recalls to our mind, as it did to the Christians of St. Augustine's time (20), the sacramental confession. But *confiteri* is the literal translation of the Greek *exomologeisthai* 'to confess' which is one of the meanings of the Hebrew verb *hoda(h)*, and the one which in many cases

(18). See A. Bea, *La nuova traduzione latina del Salterio*, Biblica 26 (1945) 221.

(19). Christine Morrmann in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1 (1947) 116.

(20) S. Aug. In Ps. 137; PL 37, 1774; etc.

does not suit the context. The proper meaning required by the context is 'to praise'. Hence the Greek verb *exomologeisthai* acquired a new meaning which passed on to the Latin *confiteri* 'to praise'. This meaning is utterly unknown in Latin even in the late and medieval periods. Both the verb *confiteri* and the noun *confessio* have now been eliminated from the Psalter, and so we read *Celebrate Dominum* instead of *Confitemini Domino* (104, 1; 105, 1; 106, 1); *Majestas et decor* for *confessio et magnificentia* (Ps. 95, 6). The words 'protectio' and 'protector' are used instead of 'susceptio' 'susceptor'. A synonymous word of *susceptio* is *assumptio* which is used in the same sense of *protectio*, and is generally rendered 'clipeus' (88, 19). *Subsannare* 'to laugh at' belongs to the vulgar language and has been replaced by the more classical *illudere*, *ludibrium*. Other words which have been eliminated are *eructare* in the sense 'to utter'; *iustificaciones* 'precepts'; *praeparare* and *praeparatio* in the sense of 'to found, foundation' as in Ps. 23, 2; *sine causa* 'in vain' as in Ps. 72, 13; *sanctificium* for *sanctuarium*; and the Greek words *clerus*, *ecclesia*, *episcopatus* 'office', *diabolus* 'adversary', *neomenia* 'new moon' and many others.

b) In the construction of sentences the translators have followed the classical standards. The *quod*-clauses, which feature so conspicuously in the Latin of Theology, are replaced by the more regular infinitive clauses, thus we read *existimasti me esse similem tui* instead of *existimasti quod ero similis tui* (49, 21). In 26, 13 *credo visurum me bona Domini* the future infinitive is certainly preferable to the present infinitive of the Vulgate *credo videre bona Domini*.

c) The use of particles, which is strongly influenced by the underlying Hebrew text, has also been reduced to the classical standards. Thus verbs expressing an internal feeling such as *laetari*, *exultare* take the ablative with *de* instead of the ablative with *in* which is a well-known Hebraism. The preposition *in* has been omitted when it represents the *b* of instrument, e.g. 43, 4 *neque enim gladio suo occupaverunt terram*; when it is used redundantly to denote time or place, e.g. 5, 8 *ingediar (in) domum tuam*; 33, 1 *Benedicam Domino (in) omni tempore*.

d) Ungrammatical and servile renderings have been given a perfectly regular turn of expression, e.g. 125, 1 *In convertendo Dominus captivitatem Sion, facti sumus sicut consolati*, this con-

struction is anything but Latin; the nominative *Dominus* has no syntactical function as there is no finite verb to which it can be referred as subject. In Greek the construction is perfectly regular but the word for *Dominus* is in the accusative as the subject of the infinitive *convertere*. The new translation reads thus: *Cum reduceret Dominus captivos Sion, fuimus sicut somniantes.*

But the Latin classical language with all its rich resources is unable to give expression to all the lofty ideas of the inspired Psalm-writers. Classical Latin was the language of a heathen people, while the Psalms, as all the rest of the Bible, are all permeated by the idea of one God, a living God, a just and merciful God who punishes sin and saves man from perdition. Hence many ideas characteristic of the true religion, such as the ideas of salvation, redemption, reconciliation, sin, penance etc. could not be adequately expressed by the language of Greece or Rome. Thus, for example though neither *salvator* nor *salvare* belong to the classical language and though Cicero himself is reluctant to use the word *salvator* for the Greek *soter* (Verr. 4, 63), both words have become part and parcel of the Latin Christian language. The same with *redemptor*. Its classical meaning is 'contractor'. But St. Jerome frequently uses it in the sense of 'redeemer'. This meaning has now become common in Christian literature and has acquired an inappellable claim to recognition. Both *salvator* and *redemptor* have been retained in the new translation. Other words which have been retained are: *psallere*, *confidere in aliquo*, *cornu* or *cornu salutis*, *via* in the sense of 'way of living'.

There still remains one more point to be considered, namely the poetical structure of the Psalms as it is reproduced in the Latin translation. All are agreed that the Psalms are written in verse, but opinions widely differ on the nature of Hebrew poetry, whether it is metrical or simply rhythmical. The translators have purposely abstained from proposing any metrical theory, but have arranged the text on the grounds of parallelism, the characteristic feature of Hebrew poetry. Verses are divided into two or three stichi according to the law of parallelism, independently of the number of stressed syllables in each stichos. Following this principle the translators have in many cases given a verse-division different from, and better than, that with which we are familiar. Thus Ps. 29, 9 is re-arranged and translated thus:

Facere voluntatem tuam Deus me delectat,
et lex tua est in praecordiis meis.

As a result of this verse-division based on parallelism certain disharmonious half-verses consisting of single words as *super-vacue* (24, 4), *potentissime* (44, 4) have disappeared.

This apparent indifference to metrical theories has provoked some adverse criticism (21), which seems to be altogether unjustified. It is very well known how precarious all such theories are and how inopportune it is to force the Hebrew songs into the Pro-custean bed of metrical and strophic structure. That Hebrew poetry is rhythmical none will deny; it is also agreed that rhythm is governed by certain definite rules, but any attempt to discover these rules in the poems of the Bible may be considered as a forlorn hope owing to corrupt state of the Hebrew text and to the fact that the Hebrew poets allowed themselves a greater freedom in the use of rhythmical devices than their modern readers are inclined to recognize. As an example of different views we may mention Fr. Zorell and Fr. Lattey. Both are convinced metrists; they are both authors of a translation of the Hebrew Psalms, but in the metrical arrangement of the translation they differ from one another in more than one case. Thus vv 5 and 6 of Ps. 4 are arranged by Fr. Zorell so:

Trascimini, sed nolite peccare!
recolite hoc super cubile vestrum et considerate,
Sacrificate sacrificia iustitiae,
et sperate in Domino.

Fr. Lattey gives a different disposition:

Tremble and sin not; speak with your heart
upon your bed, and be still:
sacrifice sacrifices of justness, and trust in Jehovah.

Another different arrangement is given by Cales in his two-volume commentary on the Psalms. In such a variety of opinions it would have been unwise to arrange the text on the basis of debatable theories, especially in view of the fact that this translation is intended to meet the needs of those who recite the Breviary rather than to solve the problem of Hebrew prosody.

(21) See, for example, C. Lattey in *Scripture*, Oct. 1945, p. 9; Lattey's metrical structure of the Psalms in his translation *The Psalter in the Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures*, 1945, has been criticized by T. E. Bird in *Scripture* 1 (1946) 16f.

I have tried to bring out the main features of this new Latin translation of the Psalms which is unquestionably an outstanding achievement of Catholic Biblical scholarship. But in a work like this involving countless problems of textual criticism, Semitic philology and exegesis it is but natural to expect that the reader will express different views on a number of points. I have noticed a few passages which call for some remarks.

Ps. 7, 5 reads thus :

Si attuali amico meo malum,
qui salvavi adversantes mihi iniuste :
Insequatur inimicus animam meam etc.

The insertion of the relative clause *qui salvavi* between the apodosis and the protasis of a conditional sentence, though syntactically correct, is certainly stylistically very awkward. In Hebrew that clause is simply coordinated with the protasis *si attuli* so that the sense is *si attuli... et salvavi... inse- quatur*. The difficulty against this construction is that it would make the pious Psalmist call evil upon himself for having rescued his enemy. If one is unwilling to admit this sense, one can translate the second verb of the Hebrew text by *exspoliavi* instead of *salvavi*, a rendering which is perfectly possible and is accepted by many recent interpreters. I should therefore translate :

Si attuli amico meo malum,
aut exspoliavi eum qui iniuste adversabatur mihi :
Insequatur etc.

Ps. 14, 4c *Qui, etsi iuravit cum damno suo, non mutat*. This is the usual rendering of Heb., and the sense is that the righteous man keeps his oaths even when they prove to be to his own disadvantage. But the rendering of LXX, which is also that of Syr. and Vulg., *Qui iurat proximo suo et non decipit* is easier, simpler and more suitable to the context, and should therefore have been preferred to MT. The LXX-Vg. reading is preferred by Briggs (22), Lattey.

Ps. 72, 7 *Prodit ex crasso corde iniquitas eorum, erumpunt figmenta mentis* : instead of *iniquitas eorum* MT reads *oculi eorum*. As this reading yields a good sense there is no reason for preferring LXX. I should therefore translate : Their eyes, i.e. their looks, come out of a puffy face, and their evil thoughts are

(22) *The Psalms* (The International Critical Commentary).

manifest therefrom. So also Zorell, Cales, Schmidt (23), Driver (24).

Ps. 105, 15 *tubem immisit eis* for Vulg. *misit saturitatem in animas eorum*. It has already been remarked that the Hebrew word *nephesh*, besides its usual meaning 'soul', has also a secondary meaning 'throat'. This meaning, which has been admitted in several cases, must be admitted in Ps. 105, 15 also, and I would therefore translate: *Concessit eis petitionem eorum, et misit (cibum) mortiferum in fauces eorum*. The referenece is to the Israelites' lust for flesh in the wilderness. Their lust was satisfied, but they had to pay for it by their lives. The same meaning must be recognised also in Ps. 106, 9: *Quia satiavit ventrem famelicum, et ventrem esurientem replevit bonis*, instead of *animam famelicam, et animam esurientem*; *venter*, of course, being a synonym of *fauces*. Likewise in v. 18 of the same Psalm I would read *omnem escam fastidiunt fauces eorum* the throat being considered as the seat of appetite.

Now I suppose one would like to know whether the new Psalter will be made obligatory for those who recite the Breviary. I dare say that it will not, at least for the time being. The older editions of the Breviary must be sold out before new editions are printed. But I believe that the new Psalter will become universal before it is made obligatory. So far as one can see it had a favourable reception in Malta, and a number of priests have already adopted it in their private recitation of the office. In the next ten years that number will have increased considerably, while the number of the partisans of the old Psalter is bound to decrease. Supposing the new Psalter had the same reception in other countries, one may hope that in the next ten or twenty years it will have dominated the liturgical service to such an extent that its official imposition by the Pope will be only the recognition of an accomplished fact.

(23) *Die Psalmen* (Handbuch zum alten Testament), Tübingen, 1934.

(24) *J.T.S.* 45 (1943) 12.

THE CHURCH AND THE RISE OF UNIVERSITIES

(By the REV. PH. CALLUS, B.A., B.D.)

THE history of Europe is intimately linked with the history of the Catholic Church throughout the first fifteen centuries of the Christian era. Realising this, the enemies of the Church, have always attempted to decry the Middle Ages in order to cast discredit and disrepute on this Institution. They have unimously called the Middle Ages—the ages in which the light of Christianity and civilization shone with the greatest lustre—the Dark Ages. True it is, that they were ages of violence and greed, of anarchy and strife. But we must remember that society was then in an age of transition, hence necessarily violent and aggressive, and that the nations of Europe were still struggling into shape. What is more, “the Age of the greatest light is a Dark Age, in the sense, that the greatest light casts the darkest shadow, and so in the deep, well defined shadows of the Middle Ages,..... anti-Catholic historians have poked and searched, like beetles on a carcase” (1). They have busied themselves for centuries in raking up all the most unpleasant phases of this period, and in searching for the dark sides of its history.

They have failed, however, to appreciate the great medieval achievements, which have been, in fact, an inspiration ever since. For the Middle Ages were an era of faith, light and splendour. It was an era which saw the rise of those grand creations of Christian art and those wonderful productions of human skill which still adorn the great European cities. It was an era that gave rise to “the great national literatures that lie at the basis of all modern literature”, to the chivalry of medieval knighthood, to the trade-gilds, the forerunners of our modern trade unions, and to monasticism with its manifold contribution to civilization. The Middle Ages inspired a widespread appreciation of the things of the spirit and a real love of learning, of discipline and training of the mind, of the revival of philosophy and jurisprudence of antiquity; and of the soaring geniuses whose intellectual achievements have been an inspir-

(1) G. A. Mac Eoin: *The Monastic Inquisition*, C.T.S.I.

ation to many scholars. Consequently there arose and flourished the great European Universities, "the instrument by which the human mind has ever since been trained."

The Latin term, "universitas", as understood in the Middle Ages, was a legal term which derived its meaning from the "Corpus Iuris Civilis". It was originally employed to denote any community or association in its corporate capacity. When used in its modern sense, as denoting a body devoted to learning and education, it required the addition of other words in order to complete the definition—the most common mode of expression being "universitas magistrorum et scholarium". In course of time, probably towards the latter period of the 14th century the term began to be used by itself, with the exclusive meaning of a community of teachers and scholars whose corporate existence had been recognised and approved by civil or ecclesiastical authority or by both. But the more ancient and usual term by which the university was first designated in medieval times was "studium" and subsequently "studium generale". This did not originally and essentially imply that it was a centre of universal learning but only a centre of instruction for all. It was a school which admitted students from all parts, enjoyed special privileges and conferred a right to teach anywhere. Gradually, however, the terms "universitas" and "studium" came to be used promiscuously, to denote a centre of learning. Thus "Universitas Oxoniensis" and "Studium Oxoniense" were both applied to Oxford.

After the explanation of the terms by which the universities were designated we shall now pass on to study the origin and development of these institutions. We are not to suppose that the medieval universities sprang up "full-fledged and equipped out of a void". The universities had an ancestry, they had their forerunners. The Revival of Learning in the 12th and 13th Century, that remarkable movement in Europe in which the earliest universities had their origin, can be traced and linked to "the many hidden transmissions of ancient learning from studies pursued in quiet cells and monastic schools" (2). Consequently, in order to understand the conditions under which the earliest universities came into existence it is necessary to

(2) S. Cunningham: The Story of the Universities, C.T.S., p. 4.

give a glance over the main influences which served to modify both the theory and practice of education, especially from the 6th to the 12th century.

“Christianity”, as Fr. C. Martindale puts it, “claims that it exists for the supernatural sanctification and salvation of humanity and issues only by way of consequence into a philosophy, a social order, or the development of the arts and sciences”. He goes on to say: “By the laws of its own being, it came at once into contact with the general life of the civilized world, in the departments of social organization and of thought especially” (3). Thus from the first centuries of the Christian era we see the Church realising the importance of learning and hence playing her part as the guardian of knowledge. At first the so-called “Catechetical Schools” were opened where mature and learned men could meet, explain and discuss the truths of the Christian faith. In these institutions, which may well be called the first Christian “Studia”, theology based on the interpretation of Sacred Scripture and ancient philosophy, was first formed and developed. But these schools, from their very nature, were for the few, so that many, especially those who felt themselves called to the priesthood, had to resort to the pagan schools to become acquainted with profane learning and had to seek out learned ecclesiastics or hermits for the study of theology. Others went to seek out learning in monasteries when these came into existence.

In the 6th century the Roman Empire succumbed to the barbarian hordes. Learning received a terrible blow and the pagan schools were entirely swept away, so that the need for schools made itself felt still more. But the Church proved herself equal to the task. The bishops felt the need of learning especially for their clergy, and urged by Popes and Councils began to open schools in their dioceses. The superiors of the monasteries did likewise, and so centres of learning were founded for monks and novices. Hence we have the parochial or episcopal schools under the direction of the bishop and monastic schools attached to the monasteries. The Church, it is true, set up these institutions for the training of priests and monks, but with the lapse of time she opened these centres of learning for all and introduced profane studies as well. From the episcopal school sprang up

(3) S. C. Martindale, S.J.: *Catholic Thought and Thinkers*, ch. ii.

the Cathedral-school: Grodegang, Bishop of Metz, exhorted his clergy to live in a community and founded a school to be directed by a priest dependent on him, the "magister scholae". Many bishops followed his example and the so-called cathedral-schools attached to the cathedrals sprang up. In these schools an elementary and a higher course of studies were introduced. The latter, according to the Roman method, embraced the "Trivium" and the "Quadrivium". Besides these elements of learning we have the study of Theology and Sacred Scripture. These cathedral-schools, moreover, admitted special courses for those who did not intend to embrace the priesthood.

Under the rule of the Merovingian dynasty learning declined throughout the Frankish empire, but in England through the efforts of Theodosius, Bede and Alcuin, a great revival of education and letters was effected. The influence of this revival extended in the 8th and 9th centuries to the continent, where Charlemagne, the ardent lover and generous patron of knowledge, advised and aided by Alcuin, effected a memorable reformation. This revival of learning affected the monastic and cathedral schools. Besides, imperial charters revealing the voice of Alcuin, ordained that schools be opened in those dioceses, monasteries and abbeys where no such institutions existed. Before the death of Alcuin (801) there were established cathedral schools throughout the empire and some of them, at least, contained the germ of the future universities.

The activity thus generated and the enthusiasm for learning which this revival kindled almost died out in the stormy period which marked the break-up of Charlemagne's Empire. So that it is, at least, questionable whether any real connexion can be found to have existed between the Carolingian revival and that remarkable movement in which the earliest universities had their origin. On the whole, however, it can be stated that the learning of which Alcuin was the indefatigable instigator, continued to survive and became the nucleus of the teaching in which the universities took their rise. "But", as J.B. Müllinger says, "in order adequately to explain the remarkable development and novel character which that teaching assumed in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, it is necessary to take account of the operation of certain general causes to which the origin of the great majority of the earlier universities may

in common unhesitatingly be referred' (4). These causes are : (i) the introduction of new subjects, (ii) the adoption of new methods of teaching, (iii) the growing tendency to organization which marked the development of the European nations.

It will be useful to see more fully the working of these three causes leading to the rise of medieval universities. In the 12th and 13th centuries a revival of studies took place, in medicine at Salerno, in theology at Paris, and in law at Bologna. At Paris, the study of dialectics received an impetus from teachers like Roscellin and Abelard. The dialectical method, moreover, was applied to theology and chiefly through the work of Peter Lombard developed into scholasticism. Hence, a new basis was introduced for the exposition of doctrine and theology itself was cast into that systematic form which is seen in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, above all in the great "Summa Theologica". At Bologna the new movement affected the teaching, not of philosophy and theology but of civil and canon law. It became, in a comparatively short time, the chief centre of the teaching of law in all Europe. The school developing thus vigorously from within was further strengthened by the "Authentic Habita" issued in 1158, by the Emperor Frederick I, which granted privileges to the students who resorted to the schools of Italy for the purpose of study. It is highly probable, likewise, that Paris also enjoyed similar privileges and immunities from an early date. To these two factors of internal development and external advantage a third had to be added before Paris or Bologna could become universities: it was necessary to secure a corporate organization.

This organization developed from the scholastic associations that were springing up around the schools. They were scholastic guilds of teachers or students or of both, and formed on the analogy of the trade-guilds or the guilds of aliens which were being formed in most of the great cities of Europe. The aim of these guilds at first was little more than that of securing mutual protection, and so in the case of these associations, composed for the most part of foreign students. They were formed for the protection of the members from the extortion of the townsmen and the hindrances which characterized residence in a

(4) The Enc. Brit. (11th edition), art. "Universities" J. B. Mullinger, p. 749.

foreign sate in medieval times. The first stage of development was reached with respect to these student-bodies, when the chancellor of the cathedral, or some other authority, began to grant to other masters permission to open other schools than the cathedral school. Such licences to teach were granted by the Chancellor Scholasticus or some other dignitary of a cathedral church, in those places where the "Studia" were attached to the Cathedral Churches, as was the case in France. But in Italy where several "Studia" were founded and maintained by the communal authorities, it is probable that the guilds of teachers, when these came to be formed, were at first free to grant their own licenses, without any ecclesiastical or other supervision. But in all cases such permissions were of a purely local import.

Gradually, however, about the end of the 12th century, a few great "Studia" claimed in view of the standard and repute of **their teaching to be of more than merely local importance**. So that practically a professor of Paris or Bologna could teach anywhere; whilst these famous schools began to be known as "Studia generalia", i.e. schools which admitted students from all parts. Consequently, with this licence to teach at any centre of learning, a further stage in the development of these "Studia" was reached. Another development was undergone when it began to be recognised that without a papal or imperial licence no "Studium generale" could be formed possessing this right of conferring degrees to teach everywhere. The Emperor Frederick II had conferred by an authoritative bull upon his new school at Naples the prestige which the earlier "Studia" had acquired by their reputation for learning. In 1229, Gregory IX did the same for Toulouse, to combat the Albigensian heresy, and in 1233 added to its privileges a bull by which anyone who had been admitted to the doctorate in that university should have the right to teach anywhere. Other "Studia generalia" were subsequently founded by papal or imperial charters, so that in 1292 even the oldest universities of Paris or Bologna, found it desirable to acquire similar bulls from Nicholas IV. From this time, therefore, the notion began to prevail among the jurists that no "studium" could acquire this dignity without a papal or imperial charter.

As the Universities of Paris and Bologna were the earliest universities and exerted a great influence on the development

of the university system, some fuller account of their origin and early organization is necessary and useful. We begin with Paris and say that before the 13th century, to which, strictly speaking, belongs the rise of the universities, places of education already existed by the middle of the 12th century three schools were especially prominent: St. Victor's attached to the church of the canons regular; St. Genevieve conducted first by seculars then by canons regular; and Notre Dame, the school of the Cathedral on the "Island". These Paris studia had the most distinguished reputation for philosophy and theology. According to the view held by Thurot, the University of Paris was formed when the three above-mentioned schools were united. But the Dominican Denifle, an authority on the history of the universities, maintains that the cradle of the University of Paris was the Cathedral school of "Notre Dame" (5). It had its rise entirely out of the movement carried on by the teachers on the "Island", who taught in virtue of the license conferred by the Chancellor of the cathedral. This does not mean, however, that the cathedral school as an institution was elevated to the rank of a university by an imperial or papal charter. The initiative was taken by the professors who in virtue of the licence conferred by the Chancellor of Notre Dame and subject to his authority, taught either at the cathedral or in private dwellings on the "Island".

It was this licence of the Chancellor which empowered a candidate to commence the career of a professor, and to be recognised as such by his brethren in the profession. This community of teachers did not in itself suffice to constitute a university, but some time between the years 1150 and 1170, when these professors united into one teaching body, the University of Paris came formally into being. This "consortium magistrorum" included the professors of theology, law, medicine and arts. As the teachers of the same subject had special interests, they united into smaller groups within the entire body. The name "faculty" which originally designated a branch of knowledge, later came to mean the group of teachers engaged in teaching the same subject. Then followed the drafting of statutes for each faculty whereby its own internal affairs were regulated and distinguished from the sphere of action of

(5) Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters*, 655 sqq. quoted in *The Cath. Enc.*, (special ed., 1912) Vol. 15, art. "Universities" E. Pace p.

other faculties. This organization must have been completed within the first half or perhaps first quarter of the 13th century, since Pope Gregory IX in the bull "Parens Scientiarum", of 1231, recognised the right of the several faculties to regulate and modify the constitution of the entire university.

The students, on their part, just as naturally grouped themselves into different bodies. They were of various nationalities and those from the same country must have realised the advantage, or rather the necessity, of forming associations. This was the origin of the "Nations", as they came to be called, which were probably organized early in the 13th century. They were student bodies formed for the purposes of administration and discipline, as compared with the "faculties" which were organized to deal with matters relating to the several sciences and the work of teaching. Each of these "nations" elected from among its members a master of arts as procurator (proctor), and the four procurators elected the rector, i.e. the head of the "nations", not originally, the head of the university. As, however, the faculty of arts was intimately linked with the nations and was the most numerous, the rector gradually became the head of that faculty. His authority extended later to the faculties of law and medicine and finally to the faculty of theology. The rector henceforward became the head of the university.

The first university of Bologna was not formed until the close of the 12th century. But for a long time before this date, Bologna was recognised as a great centre of learning. It had a flourishing school which specialized, so to say, in the study of law. Canon law was studied side by side with the civil code, so that it was not only the needs of the secular student that were here met, but the needs of the ecclesiastical student as well. We have satisfactory evidence that Bologna, up to the close of the 13th century, was generally recognised as the chief centre of the study of civil and canon law (1). But, though there was a flourishing school of study, it is to be noted that Bologna saw the rise of the first university towards the close of the 12th century.

(6) Denifle, *Die Universitäten...* i, 48, quoted in the *Enc. Brit.* Vol. I.c. p. 750.

Just as the union of the teachers of the school of Paris into one teaching body led to the rise of its university, so the origin of the university of Bologna may be traced to the formation of student guilds in that city. Towards the close of the 12th century, we see associations being established by foreign students for purposes of mutual support and protection. These associations were probably suggested by the precedent of those foreign guilds which, in the course of the 12th century, began to rise throughout Western Europe. Each association comprised a number of "nations", formulated its own statutes, and elected a rector who was assisted by a body of "consilarii". These student-bodies were known as "universitates", i.e. associations in its legal sense. Denifle considers that the "universities" were at one time certainly more than four in number. But by the middle of the 13th century they were reduced to two: "universitas citramontanorum" and "universitas ultramontanorum".

Neither the Bolognese students nor the doctors, being citizens of Bologna, belonged to a "university". Though the doctors were employed under contract and paid by the scholars and were subject, in many respects, to the statutes formulated by the student-bodies, they exercised control over strictly academic matters. The professors were the "rectores scholarum" to be distinguished from the "rectores scholarium" who were the heads of the "universities". To the former was reserved the right of conferring degrees, but in 1219 Pope Honorius III granted the exclusive right to confer the doctorate to the Archdeacon of Bologna, thus creating an office equivalent to that of the Chancellor of Paris. The professors also formed associations, the "collegia doctorum", which probably existed about or before the founding of the student-bodies. In course of time, the two above-mentioned "universities" were united into one body and this in its turn was drawn into closer relations with the college of professors, so that Clement V in 1310, could speak of a "universitas magistrorum et scholarium" at Bologna. It is about this time that the university of Bologna came formally into being, though it is only at the beginning of the 16th century that we find only one rector in the university.

————— (To be continued)

THE CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION *

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IV—PHILOSOPHICAL CAUSES

A—Illuminism (or Enlightenment)

THIS intellectual movement was another cause, and not the least, of the French Revolution. Mallet du Pan wrote: "Philosophy may boast her reign over the country she has devastated... Her votaries hastened the degeneration and corruption of the French by weakening the bulwarks of morality, by sophisticating conscience and by substituting the uncertain dictates of man's fallible reason, the equivocalism of passion and of selfishness, for the rules of duty proposed by tradition, confirmed by education and secured by habit. They threw doubts on all truths and shook the foundations of whatever had been established and consecrated by time, experience, and by a wisdom saner than their own. Intellectual anarchy prepared the way for social anarchy. Rousseau the favourite author of the middle classes, who was read and commented upon in the streets, misled virtue itself. He taught the nation to receive the dogmas of popular sovereignty and of natural equality as axioms, and deduced from them their most extreme consequences. He was the prophet of the Revolution, and his works were its Gospel" (1).

Mounier, an equally acute observer and a protagonist in the opening scenes of the Revolution, denies the play of such a great rôle by the "philosophers" in the overthrow of the old political and social order because, "their wilder rhapsodies were little read or not seriously taken". According to him the desire for civil and political liberty existed before the "philosophers" and if in the period before the Revolution, it became more vehement, this was far more due to an envious appreciation of English freedom and American Independence. The "philosophers" were not the cause of ruined finances, of fiscal oppression, of the vacillation, of the weakness and the incompetence of the government. The

* The first part of this article appeared in Vol. I, No. 1.

(1) Mallet du Pan: *Mercure Britannique*.

principles of the "philosophers" were adopted and proclaimed by the Americans in their struggle for Independence (1776), yet none of the evil consequences attributed to them had followed in the New World (2).

We agree with Mounier in his last assertion, but we add that, very naturally the doctrine of the "philosophers" had a greater influence in the country where they wrote and spoke, and conclude that, like the other factors Mounier mentions, the philosophism of the French writers of the XVIII century, was one of the most influential causes of the Revolution.

In order to prove our assertion we must see what was this intellectual revolutionary movement styled "Enlightenment" or "Illuminism". It was a movement, or as some would have it, an intellectual dynamic force, which, without having any particular religious, philosophical, scientific, social or political purpose, aimed to draw all mankind to itself and to overthrow all the then existing orders, traditions, systems and institutions.

The Enlightened preached natural Religion, especially Deism, and natural ethics in opposition to revealed truths and Christian morality;

they vindicated the superiority of reason, or better of sensibility;

they supplanted the synthetic and deductive method in science by the analytic and inductive method;

they introduced and defended with all their might the sovereignty of the people;

they subjected history, laws, and life itself, to a certain determinism based on the character of a people;

they secularized culture by severing it from Religion and imparting it to the people;

they strove to mitigate the harshness of the criminal laws;

they inaugurated a new material, natural, mechanic order against the spiritual, supernatural and ascetic old one.

As one can easily see, this all-pervading movement entailed several consequences, of which some were good and some were bad.

Among the good effects of this rising power we include: the impulse given to the study of philosophy, the improvement

(2) Quoted by P. F. Wilbert in Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 and 2.

of natural sciences, the introduction of a critical method in history, the spreading of culture, the check to royal absolutism, the mitigations of the existing Criminal Code.

Among the bad effects we find : the attempt to strangle all kinds of religion, the mockery of Providence, the denial of revealed truths, the introduction of a free morality, or better the exclusion of moral laws, the overthrow of all the old institutions.

I wish I had time enough to show the origin, the growth and the diffusion of this campaign, but I have to limit myself to very short notes about the three different periods of Illuminism in France.

Bayle, Decartes, Fontenelle, Spinoza, Hobbes, Evremond and Locke were the forerunners of this intellectual movement, especially of the political assertion of the people's sovereignty.

Mornet divides the campaign into three periods

In the 1st period (1715-48), or that of the initial struggle, great writers and several minor ones, rather clandestinely, scattered propaganda works in books and in pamphlets : the chief work of this period was :

Montesquieu's "*Lettres Persanes*" (1721), famous for its outspoken vigour against the Church and the existing political order; it anticipated Voltaire's attack upon intolerance and orthodoxy.

At the end of this period we have the partial victory of "Illuminism", especially among the cultured class.

In the 2nd period (1748-1774), or the period of a bolder and more systematic attack, the most outstanding works are :

Montesquieu's "*Esprit de Lois*", which preaches a liberal conservatism, but which foresees a threat of anarchy in the then-existing despotism of the political system;

Voltaire's works—historical, political, social, romantic, critical, dramatic and poetic—written in the most attractive and sarcastic style, attacking Religion and morality, priests and nobles, Church and State;

Rousseau's "*Contrat Social*" (1760), "*Joulie ou la Nouvelle Heloise*" and "*Emile*" (1762) which gave to France a new field of thought and laid down principles of government and conduct which bore fruit in the Revolution.

But undoubtedly the greatest influence was exerted through the work called "*Encyclopedie*", which, in a remarkable way, reflected the religious and social views of the time. As its title implies, it was a dictionary of sciences, arts and trades, by a society of literary men, put in order and published by M. Diderot... and as to its mathematical section by M. D'Alembert. It comprises 35 folio volumes of which 17 vols. of text (Paris 1751-65), 11 vols. of plates (Paris 1762-1772), 5 vols. of supplement, viz: 4 vols. of text and 1 of plates (Amsterdam and Paris, 1776-77) 2 vols. of analytical index by Pierre Mouchon (Amsterdam and Paris, 1780).

Since the publication of the II Vol. (1752) the sale of this work was stopped and an "*arret*" of the King's Council suppressed both vols. as injurious to Religion and Royal Authority. The work was, however, allowed to be continued 3 months later. After the publication of the VII Vol. (1757), so many other denunciations were made against this work, that another "*arret*" of the Council (1759) revoked the privilege of publication, forbade the sale of the volumes already printed and the printing of any future volume. But, under the secret protection of Choiseul, Madame de Pompadour, Malesherbe, then Director of the Librairie (and as such he controlled the granting of privileges for new publications and the censoring of books) and of Sartine, the chief of the Police on whom depended the enforcement of laws and ordinances concerning the printing and sale of books, the work was resumed and the 10 remaining volumes were published together in 1765.

It is not possible to mention all the contributors of this gigantic work—about 160 in all. Suffice it to name, beside the editors already mentioned, Voltaire, Rousseau, Buffon, d'Holbach, Condorcet, Quesnay, Turgot, Necker and Helvetius.

Montesquieu was one of the collaborators, and his two works already mentioned inspired many of the social and political articles of the "*Encyclopedie*".

If several articles of the "*Encyclopedie*" contained objectional views on religion and politics, we are sure that several other and worse views were concealed or disguised by the Editors or by writers of moderate views, so that Voltaire, who was more outspoken, remarked to D'Alembert: "Time will enable people to distinguish what we have thought from what we have said". But the true unrestrained, encyclopedic spirit was to be found openly

expressed in the "salons" where the "*Encyclopedists*" were looked upon as oracles. This may be considered as the second stage of the "philosophers'" Victory. During this period the Jesuits who energetically opposed the irreligious spirit of the "*Enc. ists*", were, of course, through the intrigues of the latter, expelled from France (1762), and their expulsion gave a new prestige to the "philosophers" (3).

The 3rd period (1774-89) is the period of the dissemination of the new ideas among the people, after the great victory in the "salons".

Voltaire was hailed as the leader of the literary world. He could return to Paris after his exile and here he received his "apotheosis" (4).

Diderot could issue a new and correct edition of the *Encyclopedie* in 1782.

Malby could propound his false social and religious views.

Deille dared to call Religion the source of all evil; and preached a humanitarian catechism: he was arrested but his fame was hailed in banquets and Parliament had to release him on request of the public.

Abbé Raynal vehemently attacked Church and State, he preached a natural religion and thought that our own interests are to be sacrificed to those of others.

With the aid of "*cliques*" and associations, libraries and reading rooms, "*cafes*" and "*salons*" the philosophers had gained a considerable part of the nobility, of the cultured class and of the wealthy middle-class. The people was not imbued with all the new ideas of the "Illuminists", but the idea of overthrowing the old regime for a new one was from day to day gaining in volume and power, until nothing could stop its destructive force.

B—Free-Masonry

The elements of Deism and Freethinking so common with the illuminists found a centre in Freemasonry, and as we shall see this secret society also was responsible for the French Revolu-

(3) Dubray C.A.: "Encyclopedists" in the Catholic Encyclopedia, V.

(4) The titles attributed to Voltaire show his position in literature and in the thought not only of France but of Europe of his time. Some of these titles are: "The Patriarch of Ferney", "The most accomplished and brilliant popularizer", "The first of mediocrities", "The second in every class", "Leader of culture".

tion. Hiram, a Mason, calls "a legend" this assertion, and throws the responsibility of the Terror over the Jesuits, but he confesses that Freemasonry "has merely prepared (the Revolution), and still unwillingly, without foreseeing the course of the following events" (5).

M. W. Vogt declares: "FM.ry, either universal or French, has prepared no ruin, and, spontaneously, it has neither hastened, nor advanced any fall" (6).

But we are of a different view. A powerful element for the overthrow of the old regime was undoubtedly FM.ry. It is of no interest to our purpose to speak about the beginning and growth of this sect, but only about its spread and work in France.

With the expulsion of the Stuarts from England, the Jacobite Freemasonry started working in the continent, especially in France, the land of refuge for that family. Almost all the Lodges of France had as their source or model the lodges of the Scots and Irish Regiments whence the name "*écossaises*", although the Scottish regime had not been established in that country before the year 1771. Up to 1777, all the lodges were independent of the English Rules: the only thing in common was the initiation ceremony. But with the establishment of the Grand Orient, French FM.ry formed close relations with the Grand Lodge of England, in spite of the French Laws, which considered this relation as a treason against the nation (7).

In 1785 there were in France at least 395 lodges affiliated to the Grand Orient, among which the Lodge of "Neuf-sœurs", where Voltaire was initiated in 1778, founded by Helvetius, attended by Franklin, Condorcet, Delille, and others of the "Enlightened", whose principles were "Freedom, Equality and voluntary Sacrifice" (8).

In 1774, lodges for women were also founded, and besides there were lodges exclusively for the Aristocracy. Since 1743, the

(5) Dubray C.A.: Encyclopedists (in The Catholic Encyclopedia, V, pp. 418-421).

(6) Acacia, mai 1908, p. 335 seqq.

(7) La grande duperie de siecle, Paris, Bertout, 1904, p. XIV.

(8) Gautherot G.: Franc. Maçonnerie (in Dictionnaire Apologetique de la Foi Catholique, p. 102).

Grandmastership of the Order had been reserved to Princes of noble birth. Louis XVI and his brothers had been mason-protectors, the Duke of Orleans had been a G.M. The Lodges became the meeting places of the nobility : so that G. Bord could rightly remark that "Versailles has become a vast lodge". High dignitaries of the Army, of the Magistrature, of the Clergy, members of the King's family, his body-guard and others had sworn at the hands of the Venerable of the Lodge and of the King (9).

Having thus conquered the French Aristocracy, Freemasonry, with its anarchical principles, destroyed the social and political structure of the old regime and deprived the King of his natural aids. This destruction and deprivation was plainly foretold by the Mason Weishaapt in the Congress of Wilhemsbad, ten years before the Revolution, when he declared : "Yes, a time will come when men will have no other laws, but the book of nature. This revolution will be the work of secret societies... all the efforts of Princes to obstruct our projects are thoroughly of no use. This spark can still for a long time remain hidden under the embers, but the day of the fire will arrive". And Count of Viribu, another Mason returning from the Congress added in 1782 : "The conspiracy which is being plotted is so well planned, that it will be, so to speak, impossible for the monarchy and the Church to evade it" (10). And so it really was !

V—POLITICAL CAUSES

A—King's Weakness

Since the time when France, under Richelieu and Mazarin, had achieved supremacy in Europe, the royal authority became absolute and the Crown had been considered as the symbol of natural unity and power. But, in spite of this conception, the French people, with all their loyalty would not be subjects of lawless whim. As Montesquieu distinguished so the people distinguished between a despotism based on fear and a monarchy founded on honour. If the King wished to enjoy the favour of the people he had to be an honourable monarch.

Louis XVI was a clever, thoughtful and amiable monarch. He loved duty and revolted against the vices of the court. He was **religious without being fanatic**. With all these qualities, however,

(9) Gautherot G. : l.c. 106.

(10) Bord G. : *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France I*, p. xxiv.

he was unfit to be an autocrat, and doubly unfit to govern France on the eve of the Revolution, because he was unequal to prolonged toil, or daring resolution, and self-distrustful. Being a good husband, he was badly influenced by the Queen, an unwise counselor. "In another age and country, Louis might have proved an excellent constitutional King; but where fate had placed him he was no more than an inglorious victim" (11).

The Queen had prompted to the King an Austrian Alliance, which was unpopular to the French people, both as a departure from French tradition and as the cause of many misfortunes to France. It was due to this Alliance that France, in the Seven Years' War, lost her Empire in India and America, her navy was destroyed, her military renown tarnished, her finances ruined. The Queen's interference in public affairs had proved often harmful, and brought upon her a popular hatred perhaps out of proportion to the harm.

The King's relatives were not such as would, or could, give him good counsel in his needs.

Had the King chosen a clever minister and abidden by his counsels, made some administrative reforms, sacrificed the privileged orders, he would have evaded the Revolution. But though he often saw what was right, he could not conceive or execute a policy; and although he tried to choose honest and capable servants, he could not support them against noisy opposition (12).

The first of Louis' appointments were hailed by the people, and he gained louder applause by renouncing the so-called "*gift of joyous accession*" and the "*girdle of the Queen*", commonly levied when a sovereign came to the throne. He further promised frugality and full satisfaction to the public creditor.

B—Financial Plight

It is generally said that money is the root of all revolutions. And we admit that among the varied influences which provoked the French Revolution vicious finance takes the first place. The pressure upon the tax-payer alienated the affection of the French people from the King and from his government, and the refusal

(11) Talmeyr M.: *La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Revolution française*, p. 22 sqq.

(12) Montague F. C.: *Louis XVI* (in *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII, p. 80).

of the Parliament of Paris to legalise by registration permanent additions to taxations necessitated the Convocation of the Assembly of the Notables and subsequently of the States General, which grew into the Constituent Assembly.

The domain of feudal property of the Crown were sufficient for the Kings of France, but bargains, exemptions, privileges, alienations by sale or gifts, increase of expenditure, due partly to the increased wealth and population of the country, partly to costly wars, reduced the King to the necessity of appealing for additional resources.

The provinces of France had lost their control over direct taxation, and they had to pay a tax called "*taille*", amounting to 91,000,000 livres, to be borne by the III Estate, because the clergy, the Nobles and the civil officials were exempt.

For this reason the tax-payers lowered their standard of living and refused to stock or cultivate their farms to the best advantage, because the increased taxation deprived them of the fruits of increased industry and enterprise—a check to the creation of wealth and to the increase of comfort. The "*Contrainte-solidaire*—or solidary responsibility—rendered the wealthiest inhabitants liable to imprisonment until the whole *taille* of the district has been paid, even if their contribution had been faithfully discharged.

Besides the *taille* there was another tax to be paid and this was the *capitation*, a kind of war-tax, to be abandoned six months after the conclusion of peace. It started in 1701, on the occasion of the Spanish Wars, but was maintained till 1791. This tax was proportionate, starting from the Dauphin with 2,000 *livres* and ending with the labourer at 20 *sous*. The clergy used to offer a free gift, known as the *don gratuit*, which in 1755 was settled at 16,000,000 *livres* every five years.

Under various pretexts the nobles obtained exemptions and they were estimated to pay only one eighth of the fair contribution, the peasants, consequently, had to bear eight times the burden. In 1789, the *capitation* yielded 56,000,000 livres.

A third direct tax was the *vingtieme*, or tithe on all real and personal property. The clergy was exempt in return to the *don gratuit* and the nobles strove to evade this tax. Some Provinces arranged for a fixed annual subscription.

Together with these direct taxes there were the indirect ones :

the *aides* or excise duty levied on alcohol, metals and some other articles; the *traîtes*, internal custom duties or toll, and other smaller taxes.

In addition to these the people paid the ecclesiastical tithes, the local taxes, the feudal dues and had to contribute personal service and forced labour *corvées* upon public works, and had to billet soldiers.

Some of these taxes were farmed. It was usual to give this privilege to the higher bidder, who consequently was very harsh in collecting taxes.

The banking system of France was very imperfect and the remittance of large sums of money from place to place was slow, troublesome, expensive and almost dangerous.

In spite of all these taxes, which, according to Forbonnais, could be sufficient for the country, if they were more fairly apportioned, there was a great deficit in the French Exchequer, which went on increasing year to year since the beginning of the XVIII century. Bankruptcies or repudiation of part of the national obligations occurred in 1715, 1721, 1726, 1759, 1770, and money was being raised by the Controller-General how and when he could.

The presence of these taxes and these bankruptcies were vexing the people. Since a radical reform was needed in Finance, the King nominated the clever and experienced, skilful and humane Turgot as Controller-General. Turgot's programme was: 'No bankruptcy, no new taxes, no loans'. The deficit was to be made good by rigorous thrift. He took several measures to lessen the waste of public money and tried all fair means to add the revenue. He abolished or reduced several petty indirect taxes and modified the method of levying taxes. But he allowed a free trade of corn and sold the King's granaries, so that in 1776 these were thoroughly empty. For this fault, that same year Turgot was dismissed from his office, and the protestant banker of Geneva Necker, filled the place of Finance Minister (13). On his appointment Necker had to meet an annual deficit of 24,000,000 *livres* and to provide for the growing expense of warlike preparation against England, for the colonies of North America. The thrifty policy and the several reforms and measures he adopted were not sufficient for this purpose. He imposed no fresh burdens, but pro-

(13) Montague F. C.: l.c. p. 81.

longed to 1790 some few taxes which should have expired in 1780 and borrowed great sums of money, things which embarrassed the more his successors and hastened the overthrow of the monarchy. But Necker's fall is said to be due to his publication of the "*Compte Rendu au Roi*" (1781), containing a particular statement of national revenue and expenditure (14). Since the time of Richelieu the government had discouraged the publication of such documents. This caused the fall of Necker, but still other "*Comptes Rendus*" were published later by other Ministers. The last one, presented to the King before the Convocation of the States General showed a revenue of 500,000,000 *livres* (out of which half was to be paid as an annual charge for debts incurred) against an expenditure of more than 600 million (15).

The People's Sovereignty

Though Necker was inferior to Turgot deserving in some respects severe blames, yet it was a mistake for Louis to part with Necker, who was a reformer enjoying public favour.

After Necker, Joly de Fleury was appointed Controller-General. He did not enjoy the financiers' confidence, and consequently he had to raise other taxes and to sell a number of useless offices. Seeing later that he was becoming less favoured by the King, he resigned, in March 1783.

He was succeeded by Lefèvre d'Ormesson, an industrious and honest man, but unequal to such a difficult task. He had to retire in November of that same year.

By this time, the state of the Treasury was at its worst, and the Crown had lost the confidence of the nation. An able and daring Controller-General was needed. The King's choice fell on Calonne, an experienced Intendant. In 1785, Calonne had to declare to the King that an extraordinary financial aid was sorely needed. For this reason an Assembly of the Notables was convoked. It met for the first time in February 22, 1787. Calonne's scheme of reform was not approved by the Assembly, because in the near future his proposals would yield little, and a growth of revenue was badly and instantly needed. By the publication of his speeches to the Notables and of the statements drawn up for their use, together with an insinuating introduction, he lost the favour

(14) Montague F. C.: l.c. p. 94.

(15) Higgs H., C.B.: Finance (in Cambridge Modern History, VIII, p. 76).

of the Notables, and the King, in order to conciliate the latter, had to dismiss him.

Calonne's successor was chosen from the triumphant Notables, and was Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse. The Notables dispersed and Brienne was left to enjoy the vanity and the difficulties of his new office.

The Notables would not decree territorial imposts, nor would they reject them, the new Minister would not lose neither the respect of the privileged orders nor the favour of the people and consequently, he hesitated and manoeuvred to gain time. The *parlement* followed the same policy. The cry was for a convocation of the States-General. From the shoal of bankruptcy the vessel of the state was to be struck on the sand-bank of the State-General (16).

The *Parlement* continued to refuse to register the taxes imposed by the King. The latter was going to suppress the *parlements*, a measure which was met with vigorous protests from the parliamentarians. Some of these were arrested, new troubles were thus raised. For lack of money in the Exchequer payments had to be stopped. The people indicated Necker as the saviour of the State. The King dismissed Brienne and had to recall Necker. The people hailed the new Minister and committed several excesses causing the death of 150 persons. This happened on August, 25th, 1788.

As an excellent financier, Necker used all the expedients, transfers and bank resources, which would have been feeble alone, but were strong when united. His great aim was, however, the convocation of the States-General. His desire was complied with, when on January 24th, 1789, the King issued the decree summoning the States-General, which had to meet at Versailles, on the 1st of May. The III Estate was to have a double representation.

This Assembly was composed of members chosen by the King from the three Estates of the realm. Out of 144 members, 46 were Princes or nobles, 11 were clergymen, 12 were members of the Council, 38 were magistrates of the Supreme Courts, 12 were deputies of the *pays d'états*, and 25 were municipal officers.

(16) The cry was first heard at a sitting of the *Parlement*, when the Abbé Sabathier uttered famous expression: "It is not *états de finance* that we want, it is *Etat-Generaux*!". This spark kindled a great fire. The last States General had been called in 1614.

By this time the French people was pervaded by a general emotion and by a general desire for a reform in the administration. This has been clearly revealed in the so-called "*cahiers des plaintes et des doléances*" (17). In these we find an almost general demand for a change in the administration.

Politically, the "*cahiers*" of the three Estates had much in common—every Estate was weary of despotism. Constitutionally, however, the Estates essentially differed. The First and Second Estates were for an aristocratic liberty; the Third Estate wished to mould a new Constitution based on democracy.

This Constitution was to be formed by the States General, in which the Third Estate was to be doubly represented, the King remaining a mere provisional sovereign until the new order was established. With the establishment of this new Order a hereditary monarchy was to be declared to govern France, the States General were to be convoked at regular intervals. The legislative power was to belong to the Estates acting jointly with the King, the taxing power to appertain exclusively to the Estates, the executive power to remain with the King (18).

The battle was fought and the III Estate was the winner of the day. On the 5th of May, 1789, the States General met at Versailles. The III Estate had a double representation. There were in all 1200 representatives: 290 of the Clergy, 270 of the Nobility and 498 of the bourgeoisie. The assembly was divided into three factions: the aristocrats who wanted to maintain the old regime, the moderate party who asked for the abolition of the States and demanded a new form of government according to their philosophical views, and the democratic party who proposed a full equality among all. The majority claimed more power to the Assembly than it was given them by the Royal decree, and stirred the people against the King.

(17) The *cahiers de plaintes et des doléances* were lists of complaints and grievances drawn up by a rule by each Estate in every district, and entrusted to the electors to present them to the King. Out of these *cahiers* of the districts a *cahier* of the Province was drawn up, and in the States General a committee of each Estate formed out of the provincial *cahiers*; a general *cahier* for their own Estate and this *cahier* was presented to the King.

(18) Montague F. C.: The Elections to the States General (in Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, pp. 119-144).

Half of the clergy were with the III Estate for a votation per head and not per Order. The Nobles and the other half of the Clergy protested. On 17th June, the III Estate declared itself the "*National Assembly*", the only legitimate representative of the nation, thus suppressing the juridical existence of the other two Orders and the old hierarchical order of the States General. The King had to yield to this declaration and ordered those who had protested to do like him.

But the King seeing that Necker was very popular and fearing his policy, dismissed him from his office. The mob of Paris took up arms, the bells gave the alarm, all shops were closed. It was the opening of the Revolution.

QUÆSTIONES

de re Morali—Canonica—Liturgica

CASUS MORALES:

Carolus miles noluit accedere ad Communionem, quia se reum iudicabat de gravi iudicio temerario: nam cum ad castra iret noctu, vidit non ita longe alium militem cum quadam muliere, qui amplexi inter se sedebant in deserto, nec ipse eos poterat agnoscere propter noctis tenebras, et valde cupiebat scire qui essent.

Quaeritur :

Primo: Quid requiratur ut quis fiat reus de mortali peccato quoad iudicium temerarium.

Secundo: Liceatne alicui quendam iudicare sine ullo peccato quamvis signa peccati ipse videat.

Tertio: Quenam differentia sit inter iudicium temerarium et suspicionem temerariam.

Quarto: Propter desiderium agnoscendi illas personas inter se amplexantes in casu nostro, sitne Carolus dicendus reus de gravi peccato in suo iudicio.

AD PRIMUM QUAESITUM RESPONDEO :

Constat ex verbis Christ apud Lucam VI. 37 iudicium temerarium perfectum et simul plene deliberatum de gravi malo proximi, esse peccatum mortale contra iustitiam. Ratio est, quia gravis injuria irrogatur proximo, et cum sine sufficienti causa habetur improbus sicque perperam contemnitur.

Tamen ad peccatum mortale committendum, iudicium debet esso 1o, firmum, seu citra dubio et sic iudicium differt a dubio, ab opinione, et a suspitione; 2o, debet esse plene deliberatum quia secus deest elementum essentielle ad constituendam gravem imputabilitatem; 3o, de re graviter infamante personam determinatam et cognitam, quia secus deest elementum essentielle in objecto ad gravem imputabilitatem constituendam; 4o, innixum insufficienti fundamento, seu sine morali de re certitudine, quia nemo malus nisi probetur. Verumtamen, iudicium non erit vere temerarium si indicia magnam habent probabilitatem, etsi non omnino sufficiant ad certitudinem, quia

morali certitudo et magna probabilitas parum distant, et ideo **iuxta theologos** gravi non censetur injuria judicare certum, quod est valde probabile. Sed in praxi iudicia temeraria plerumque excusantur a mortali, sive quia fundamentum judicatur sufficiens, sive quia non iudicia, sed suspiciones tantum habentur, sive quia non plene advertitur ea esse temeraria, sive quia malum non est grave.

AD SECUNDUM:

Distinguendum est: Iudicium ferri potest in intentionem agentis vel in ejus actum externum. Nulli licet alium iudicare de ejus intentione nisi sit ex officio. Ut quis possit licite, ait Angelicus, iudicare de intentione, iudicium ejus debet esse de his in quibus habet auctoritatem, aliter iudicium erit usurpatum. Et sic explicantur verba Christi: Nolite iudicare, nolite condemnare. Quoad actum externum seclusa intentione agentis, dicendum quod licet alicui ferre iudicium, sed quando loquimur de iudicio temerario, potius intelligere volumus iudicium circa pravitatem intentionis, quod ut iam diximus numquam licet.

AD TERTIUM:

Iudicium temerarium differt a suspicione temeraria, quia suspicio habetur quando ad credendum illud inclinatur, sine tamen vero assensu. Sic iudicium temerarium differt a suspicione temeraria quae est suspensio quidem iudicii cum propensione tamen iudicandi sine sufficienti motivo alium esse malum. In quantum ad malitiam tam iudicium temerarium quam suspicio temeraria sunt prohibita ut numquam possint fieri. Veritas primi patet ex dictis ad primum; veritas autem secundi patet ex eo quod etiam suspicione temeraria irrigetur gravis injuria proximo Quod tibi non vis alteri ne facias. Immo, ait Sanctus Thomas, suspicio temeraria habet diversos gradus, quia quanto magis procedit suspicio, tanto magis est vitiosa. Est autem triplex gradus suspicionis: primus quidem gradus est ut homo ex levibus indiciis de bonitate alicujus dubitare incipiat; secundus gradus est cum aliquis pro certo malitiam alterius aestimat ex levibus indiciis; tertius gradus est cum aliquis iudex ex suspicione procedit ad aliquem condemnandum. Sanctus Thomas non dubitat asserere quin hoc ultimum directe ad injustitiam pertineat et ideo sit peccatum mortale.

AD QUARTUM:

Tota quaestio versatur circa desiderium agnoscendi illas personas inter se amplexantes. Si Carolus voluit agnoscere personas ex mera curiositate, non videtur adfuisse in hoc peccatum grave; si vero ut postea eas personas iudicaret et condemnaret de earum intentione, objective loquendo, Carolus potuit reum esse de peccato gravi quia hoc evenire potuit ex quadam malevolentia in proximum, contra charitatem. Iudicia enim et suspensiones saepe proveniunt ex perversitate affectus, nimirum a) ex conscientia propriae malitiae, unde facile aliquis de aliis malum opinatur, secundum illud Eccle: "In via stultus ambulans cum ipse sit insipiens, omnes stultos aestimat". Et ex malo affectu ad alterum; cum enim aliquis contemnit vel odit aliquem aut irascitur vel ex invidia ex levibus signis opinatur mala de ipso, quia unusquisque facile credit quod appetit. Hinc Angelicus 2, 2ae q. 60 art. 3 concludit: "Etsi suspensiones mali vitare non possumus quia homines sumus, iudicia tamen continere debemus".

* * *

Paulus et Philippus inter sese conviciis laedebant ambo irati: ille coram decem audientibus vocavit hunc adulterum, dum talis non erat, et hic animo vindictae vocavit illum furem, dum talis non erat. Joseph unus ex audientibus e suo servitio paucis post diebus dimisit Paulum, qui aurificinam suam administrabat. Philippus, audito sermone sacro de detractioe, accessit timoratus ad confessarium, qui, audita confessione, inquit: "Ad nihil tenebris, quia quod ille tibi fecit ipse ei feciste," et eum absolvit.

Primo: Quoad moralem iustitiam, quomodo explicanda sit aequiparatio.

Secundo: Quatenam virtutes offendat detractor vera dicens.

Tertio: Confessarius sua ratione fundatus, iudicaveritne recte et iuste de casu Philippi.

Quarto: Quis gravior iudicandus sit Paulus an Philippus quoad damnatum causatum.

Quinto: Philippus ob suspensionem malae famae a se Paulo affixae, obligeturne inquirere de causa, qua Paulus remotus est a servitio Josephi.

AD PRIMUM QUAESITUM RESPONDEO :

Triplici modo aequiparatio secundum Angelicum explicatur quoad iustitiam moralem : scilicet :

Primo modo : quaerendo si sint plures species iustitiae : hoc supposito, quodnam sit objectum et cuius iustitiae in specie ordinem qui in qualibet specie invenitur. Tres enim sunt species iustitiae ratione habita relationum quae in societate civili reipsa existunt : iustitiae nempe generalis vel legalis quae inclinatur omnes homines ad reddendum communitati quod ipsae debetur et iustitia particularis quae inclinatur ad reddendum singulis quod ipsis debetur ; et iustitia distributiva quae regit ordinem totius ad partes. Hinc ex hoc primo modo, aequiparatio explicatur in hoc quod est iusta moraliter .

Secundo modo : ex objecto cuiusque iustitiae in specie. Nam iustitia supponit notionem iuris, quod est ejus objectum. Jus sensu proprio et primario significat personae potestatem moralem inviolabilem aliquid faciendi vel exigendi ; hoc sensu dicimus : utitur iure suo ; secundo significat id, quod iustum aequale seu quod alteri debitum est. Iam vero ius prout significat id, quod alteri debitum est, constituit objectum iustitiae.

Tertio modo : aequalitas explicatur ex ordine qui extat ex tribus speciebus iustitiae. Nam in communi ratione iustitiae omnes univoce conveniunt, cum tria elementa ad essentiam iustitiae requisita in omnibus reperiantur ; tamen in eo differunt quod ratio iuris et debiti quod respiciunt, sit essentialiter diversa et pari modo aequalitas quam statuunt inter debitum et acceptum sit specificè diversa.

AD SECUNDUM :

Peccatum detractionis in casu est certe contra charitatem. Utrum vero sit etiam contra iustitiam commutativam non omnes conveniunt ; sententia valde communis tamen affirmat.

AD TERTIUM :

Certum est confessarium in casu male se gessisse. Ut rite **Sacramentum poenitentiae** administret confessarius debet inquire de dispositione poenitentis. Philippus poenitens objective loquendo mortaliter peccavit et ideo de suo peccato se poenitere debet et paratus esse reparare iniuriam illatam Paulo dummodo

verò Paulus ex sua parte sit etiam paratus ad famam reparandam Philippi. Adesse potuerit tamen causa excusans ex parte Philippi a restitutione famae si ipse antea diffamatus est a Paulo qui non vult iniuriam reparare. In hoc casu, uti asserunt theologi, adest quaedam compensatio: et obligatio reparandi ex parte Philippi differi potest donec alter famam resarcire paratus sit. Hoc tamen confessarius inquirere neglexit et ideo damnandus.

AD QUARTUM:

Secundum quod adulterium respicit praeceptum gravius quam furtum, sic videtur quod Paulus gravius iudicandus est. Sed quoad effectus videtur Philippus gravius peccavisse. Nam per hoc quod Philippus vocavit Paulum furem, Paulus aliquod damnus passus est et ideo gravius iudicandus est Philippus quam Paulus.

AD QUINTUM:

Per se ex iustitia Philippus tenetur dubium remove et ideo inquirere utrum calumnia sua in Paulum fuerit vera causa damni. Sed per accidens Philippus non tenetur ex iustitia hoc inquirere. Nam etsi ejus actio fuerit vere iniusta et forsar etiam causa efficax damni, actio non fuit theologicè cupabilis, quia damnus utpote non praevisus non fuit illatum in conscientia. Philippus nullo modo advertere potuit praesentiam domini ipsius Pauli. Nihilominus ex caritate, Philippus, cum certus sit Paulum non esse furem, debet adire Josephum et ipsi narrare factum, sed tantum ex caritate, et si adhuc causam remove possit, ad hoc tenetur tamen vero non cum gravi incomodo.

QUAESTIONES CANONICAE:

Quandonam et ubinam impertiri possit benedictio nuptialis.

Benedictio nuptialis distinguitur duplex: altera simplex, quae habetur in Rituali Romano; altera solemnis quae habetur in Missali.

Solemnis consistit in tribus orationibus, quarum duae dicuntur post Pater noster, tertia vero post 'Ite Missa est' vel 'Benedicamus Domino'. Non licet dare solemnem benedictionem extra Missam nisi habetur speciale privilegium. Ex canonicis 1101, 1102, 1108, 1143 sequitur ut sollempnis benedictio

nuptialis dari nequeat a) si mulier eam iam in alio matrimonio accepit; si matrimonium celebratur tempore clauso, nisi adsit licentia Ordinarii; si matrimonium celebrandum est mixtum. Hortandi sunt sponsi ut in Missa nuptiali communicent.

b) Benedictio simplex debet dari in ecclesia vel oratorio publico aut semi publico, non autem in domo privata neque in ecclesia vel oratoriis seminarii vel religiosarum nisi ex licentia Episcopi.

* * *

An canonico iubilato, licet non intervenienti, debeatur portio emolumentorum provenientium ex associatione cadaverum et ex respectivis funeralibus in casu.

Tubilatus habet ius tum ad fructus praebendae tum ad distributiones etiam inter praesentes, nisi quoad istas obstet vel expressa fundatoris aut pii oblitoris voluntas vel ecclesiae statutum aut consuetudo (Can. 422 p. 2).

QUAESTIONES LITURGICAE:

Preces post unamquamque Missam privatam etiam de Requie, ex Decreto Leonis XIII. f.m. ubinam sint dicendae, quomodo sint recitandae, et quandonam omitti possint.

Ubinam sint dicendae.

Celebrans recitato ultimo Evangelio, manibus junctis, vel directe per viam breviorē descendit ad medium vel rursus ascendit ad medium altaris, ubi Cruci caput profunde inclinatur et vel ad secundum altaris gradum vel in planum descendit ubi genuflexus sive in ora suppedanei sive in infimo altaris gradu cum populo aut saltem cum ministro ter recitat Ave Maria cum Salve Regina et versiculis, deinde Orationem atque invocationem Sancti Michaelis Archangeli cui addatur trina invocatio Cor Jesu etc. (S. Cong. Rituum, 6 Jan. 1844, 18 Jan. 1885).

Quomodo recitandae sint.

Clara et intelligibili voce cum populo. Submissa voce in Oratoriis Communitatis Religiosae quando ipsa Communitas vel lectionem meditationis vel S. Officium recitat.

Quandonam omitti possint.

Quando Missa celebratur cum aliqua solemnitate. Vide Decreta S.C. Rituum, 19 Jan. 1906, 8 Jun. 1911.

* * *

In Ecclesia Z, inter cantum Hymni "Te Deum" in nocte Nativitatis D.N.J.C., Parochus, accepto velo humerali, defert processionaliter Imaginem Divini Infantis sub umbrella. Cum autem ad Altare pervenerit, Imaginem ponit in eodem throno, ubi alias SS. Sacramentum publicae adorationi exponi consuevit. Thronus vero est super tabernaculum positus, ita ut idem tabernaculum pro basi inserviat. Tu quid malum observas contra modum agendi hujus Parochi?

Interrogata S.R.C. Anno 1901 (D. 4079 ad IV) ad liceat imaginem seu parvam statuam Jesu Infantis a praesepe remove et processionaliter per Celebrantem ad altare majus deferre cum velo humerali et sub umbrella respndit: "Nihil obstare quominus simulacrum processionaliter deferatur, absque velo humerali et sine umbrella".

Nec licet ponere Imaginem Divini Infantis super Tabernaculum sed in medio altaris ad pedes Crucifixi. (Vide Concilium Reg. Melit Append. XI, nr. 7).

C. BONNICI.

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B o o k R e v i e w s

Prof. Saydon is carrying on with his self-appointed task of giving to Malta a translation of the whole Bible in the vernacular. These three books, plus the *Book of Job*, which is in print, have been published in the short interval of eight months. The principal merit of the whole work is that the translator is reproducing in his work the original shades of meaning of the original texts, a point already noted by Father Vaccari (1).

IL-KOTBA TA' ESDRA U NEHEMIJA maqlubin mill-Lhudi, Malta 1946.

Esdra u Nehemiya — In his introduction to this book the translator does not embrace any of the current systems of chronology with respect to the journey of Esdra and Nehemiah: "It is not easy to state which theory is better because both of these present some problem yet unsolved" (p. VI). It was written by an unknown writer some time after 332 B.C. making use of pre-existing material written by Esdra and Nehemias.

KTIEB TOBIJA maqlub mill-Grieg, Malta, 1947.

Tob'ija (Tobit) — The original Hebrew text is lost, and the translation was made from Greek. The translator preferred the Codex Sinaiticus to the Codex Vaticanus, the latter being more polished and chosen by many interpreters, the former more inelegant and corrupt, but certainly more Semitic and therefore nearer to the Semitic original. This same text has been chosen by the latest Catholic commentator of Tobit* (A. Miller-J. Schildenberger, *Die Bucher Tobias... ubersetzt und erklart*; Bonn, 1940-41). The advantages of this preference are apparent in the fluent style of the Maltese translation which is strongly influenced by the underlying Semitic text sometimes incorrectly translated by the Green translator. Thus, for example, the monotonous co-ordination of sentences which ignores the syntactical value of the Hebrew conjunction *waw* 'and' is avoided and the text is rendered more in accordance with requirements of Hebrew syntax and our literary tastes: 1, 12 reads thus: *u meta (C.V. talli) ftakart f'Alla... u tani l-gholi hlewwa ...u kont nixtrilu* Saydon's trans-

(1) Cfr. *Biblica* 1939.

lation reads: "*U talli ftakart f'Alla tani l-għoli ħlewwa... u kont naxtrilu...*" The second *u* has been omitted because according to Hebrew syntax it simply serves to introduce the principal sentence after a subordinate clause; so also in 1, 15 instead of: "*u meta miet Emmesser u sar sultan* (Vat. omits 'u') *Sauherib*", Saydon's translation reads: "*u meta miet Emmesser, sar sultan Sauherib*", in strict conformity with Hebrew syntax. The translator here and there followed other versions for it is conceivable and indeed certain that this Codex presents also additions and retouchings of which it is desirable to be shorn off; thus section 4, 7-18 which is missing in the Sinaiticus, is supplied from the Cod. Vat. This Codex was followed also in the version of 13, 1-18, where the Sin. is problematic. The translator upholds the historical character of the narrative, though the writer had in mind the teaching of a moral lesson rather than relating a historical event.

KTIEB ESTER maqlub mill-Lhudi, Malta, 1947.

Ester — The book has come down to us in two forms, a shorter form which has been preserved in the MT and a longer form which has been handed down by the LXX. The Latin Vulgate has the longer form, but the additional sections are not found in Hebrew. It is very difficult to explain the origin of these two forms. The translator is inclined to believe that the additional parts were originally written in Greek and introduced into the Greek version by the translator of the Hebrew text of *Ester*. Their inspiration and canonicity is, however, beyond question. *Ester* was written by an unknown Hebrew, who made use of earlier documents, and translated into Greek at the time of Ptolemy XIV. King of Egypt (Vulg. 11, 1) 51-47 B.C.

This trio of books presents Prof. Saydon at his best with his concise style and terse Maltese; indeed one is struck by his ability to concentrate so much material and discussion thereof in so short a space. Naturally, notes are not so full as one should expect, since his principal aim is to give to the Maltese people a Biblical Text in their own tongue. We look forward to the publication of that great work of art and treatise of philosophy: the Book of Job.

K. SANT.

LA SACRA BIBBIA tradotta dai testi originali con note a cura del Pontificio Istituto Biblico. — **IL PENTATEUCO TRADOTTO DALL'EBRAICO**; Firenze, Salani, 1943. **I LIBRI STORICI, I**; Firenze, Salani, 1947.

Over 25 years ago the Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome undertook the translation of the Bible from the original tongues into Italian. The Pentateuch was published in 1923 (Milano, Società Vita e Pensiero) and was followed in 1925 by the poetical books: *Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus* — (Roma, Pontificio Istituto Biblico) translated by Father A. Vaccari S.J., general director of the whole work. For some 20 years no more translations came out. During this long interval the original plan seems to have been slightly revised. The director still remains Fr. Vaccari, the general plan and principles of the translation are unchanged, but under other respects, especially in its typographical dress, the latest publications show a marked improvement over the former ones.

The Pentateuch has been brought out in a second edition in 1943. An Introduction covering 61 pages, against 11 of the first edition, deals briefly but clearly with such fundamental questions as Biblical Canon, Inspiration and Inerrancy, Text and Versions, the Latin Vulgate, Translation of the Bible in vernacular languages, the land and times of the O.T., its interpretation, composition and authorship of the Pentateuch. The translation and notes are substantially the same as those of the first edition with occasional changes and additional notes. Thus Gen. 2, 6, which in the first edition read: "ma un vapore si levava dalla terra e bagnava tutta la superficie terrestre"; has been translated so: "e dalla terra facesse salir l'onda ad irrigare la superficie del suolo" (1). Gen. 9, 26 "Benedici, o Signore, i padiglioni di Sem" has been changed into "Benedetto sia Sem dal Signore, mio Dio". The change is not necessarily an improvement. On pp. 77f an important note on the extension of the Flood has been added, and the opinion which restricts the Flood to a portion of the inhabited land is, at least, considered possible.

Some errors in the first edition have been corrected, but a

(1) For the reasons justifying this rendering see my article in *Scientia* 2 (1936) 11-16.

few have been left unchanged. In Gen. 8, 4 we still read "il 14 del mese", while the Massoretic text has "on the 17th day" and the LXX and Vulgate read "the 27th day". In Ex. 4, 19, the words "in Madian" are omitted in both editions. In Ex. 19, 13, the words "Quondo sonerà il corno alla distesa, saliranno il monte", left out in the first edition, have now been added. Ex. 27, 2 "lo rivestirai d'oro" has been corrected into "lo rivestirai di bronzo" according to Hebrew. In Numb. 4, 1, the words "e ad Aronne" are omitted in both editions. Numb. 11, 5 "meloni" and Numb. 20, 5 "fichi" are omitted in both.

The first part of the second volume, includes *Josue*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, 1 and 2 *Samuel* (Vulg. 1 and 2 *Kings*), 1 and 2 *Kings* (Vulg. 3 and 4 *Kings*). The general introduction and those preceding the several books are very brief, but the notes are more copious than in the Pentateuch. The translation shows the same qualities as that of the Pentateuch, that is, critical reconstruction of the Hebrew text with the aid of the LXX and the ancient versions, fluency of diction, elegance of style and, above all, a high standard of scholarship. These points deserve a special mention, as illustrating the exegetical stand of the translators. The book found in the temple during the reign of Josiah was Deuteronomy not the whole Pentateuch. The date of the fall of Jericho and consequently that of the crossing of the Jordan is about 1200 B.C. (against Garstang who places the opening of the book of Josue in the year 1407 B.C., cp. *Jashua*, *Judges*, p. 66). There is no accurate chronology in the book of Judges in spite of its dates, and the period of the Judges, apparently extending over 410 years (p. 85) is reduced to less than 150 years (p. 10).

I have noticed only very few printer's errors. The date of the ecclesiastical *Imprimatur* should be MCMXLVI and not MCMLXVI. Looking eagerly forward for the publication of the remaining parts I feel sure that the whole work will be helpful and useful not only to the educated laymen and theological students but to biblical students as well.

P. P. S.