Hebrew *Hapax Legomena* from the Bible in the Latin Talmud: Some Comments Regarding their Textual Transmission and their Latin Translation[*]

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Abstract

This chapter analyses direct Biblical quotations from prophetic books containing *hapax legomena* and other textual difficulties, in order to understand how the Latin translation of the Talmud (Paris, mid-13th c.) interprets Biblical verse. It also seeks to ascertain in which cases the Latin translation follows other *versiones* different from those of the *Vulgata* which is usually quoted in the Latin Talmud. The study aims to contribute to our understanding not only of the characteristics of Biblical textual transmission in the Latin Talmud, but also of the level of knowledge of Biblical Hebrew possessed by the Latin Talmud translators as they rendered obscure Biblical passages.

Introduction

The *Extractiones de Talmud* is a Latin compilation designed to discredit the Talmud and Judaism. Consisting of translated extracts of Talmudic passages, it was put together in the 1240s.[1] Belonging to the context of the Disputation of Paris in 1240, the *Extractiones de Talmud* is one of the most outstanding textual witnesses to Christian-Jewish polemic during the Middle Ages.[2]

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1. The most important dates regarding the Latin Talmud and its trial are the following: 1236, conversion of Nicholas Donin; 1239, Nicholas Donin sends to Pope Gregory IX thirty-five articles of accusation against the Talmud; 1240, public disputation and condemnation of the Talmud in Paris; 1244-45, the new Pope, Innocent IV, asks Odo of Châteauroux for a revision of the case (*Extractiones de Talmud*); 1248, definitive condemnation of the Talmud.

2. On the manuscript and textual transmission of the Latin Talmud, see the following works: Ulisse Cecini/ Óscar de la Cruz/Eulàlia Vernet, "Observacions sobre la traducció llatina del Talmud (París, mitjan segle XIII)", in: *Tamid* 11 (2015), pp. 73-97; Alexander Fidora, "The Latin Talmud and its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic", in: *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1/2 (2014), pp. 337-342; *Id.*, "The Latin Talmud and its Translators: Thibaud de Sézanne vs. Nicholas Donin?", in: *Henoch* 37/1 (2015), pp. 17-28; *Id.*, "Textual Rearrangement and Thwarted Intentions. The Two Versions of the Latin Talmud", in: *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 2/1 (2015), pp. 63-78; Görge K. Hasselhoff/Óscar de la Cruz, "Ein Maulbronner Fragment der lateinischen Talmudübertragung des 13. Jahrhunderts (mit Edition)", in: *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 74 (2015), pp. 331-344; Joseph Klapper, "Ein Florilegium Talmudicum des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görres-*

This Latin translation of the Babylonian Talmud, written in Paris after the Disputation (1240) during the years 1244-45,[3] is – in both its sequential and its thematic parts – philologically accurate and loyal to its Hebrew original, although the translator cuts and omits some passages deliberately.[4]

Thus, from a philological and textual point of view, the translator of the *Extractiones* focuses on a particular Talmudic passage, chosen *ad hoc* to be used in the framework of the theological Disputation, but often omits passages from the Gemara or the Mishna. The result is a translated text that deletes some canonical information that is important to a correct understanding of the Talmudic passage. In the case of the *Extractiones* the direct translation of the original Talmudic text is clear. The following example helps us to understand the nature of this translation:

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gesellschaft 1 (1926), pp. 3-23; Chenmelech MERCHAVIA, "Latin Translations in the Talmud Manuscript Florence and the Manuscript Paris, 16558" [Hebrew], in: *Kiryat Sefer* 41 (1965-1966), pp. 543-556; *Id.*, "Talmudic Terms and Idioms in the Latin Manuscript Paris B.N. 16558", in: *Journal of Semitic Studies* 11 (1966), pp. 175-201; *Id.*, *The Church versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature (500-1248)*, Jerusalem, 1970 [Hebrew] and José María MILLÁS VALLICROSA, "Extractos del Talmud y alusiones polémicas en un manuscrito de la Biblioteca de la Catedral de Gerona", in: *Sefarad* 20 (1960), pp. 17-49. The structure of the Latin Dossier (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 16558, 13th c., 238 fols.) is as follows: FIRST PART (fols. 1ra-211ra). *Extractiones de Talmud*: 1a) fols. 1ra-96ra: Talmud translation (Thematic). The folios 1ra-4va contain the same prologue and the beginning of the sequential Berakhot of 1b; this text stops in the middle of column 4va. The thematic translation begins with the new folio 5ra. 1b) fols. 97ra-211ra: *Extractiones de Talmud* (Sequential) with *Praefatio in extractiones de Talmud*. SECOND PART (fols. 211rb-238rb). Documents and other translations. Fols. 211va-217vb: Nicholas. Donin's thirty-five articles. Fols. 217vb-224va: Talmudic anthology. Fols. 224va-230vb: Anthology of Rashi's glosses. Fols. 230vb-231va: Depositions of the Rabbis Yehiel and Yehuda (Lat. *Vivus*; *Iuda*). Fols. 231va-232va: List of names of talmudic Rabbis. Fols. 232va-234va: Letters and official documents relating to the Talmud controversy. Fols. 234va-238vb: Biblical index.

3.   On this subject, see FIDORA, "The Latin Talmud and its Translators" (as in note 2), p. 27, as well as his contribution in this volume.

4.   Regarding the transmission of the Talmud from its origins to the Middle Ages, see Daniel BOYARIN, *A Traveling Homeland. The Babylonian Talmud as Diaspora*. Philadelphia, PA, 2015; Talya FISHMAN, *Becoming the People of the Talmud. Oral Torah as Written Tradition in Medieval Jewish Cultures,* Philadelphia, PA, 2011 and Erich KLIBANSKY, "Zur Talmudkenntnis des christlichen Mittelalters", in: *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 77 (1933), pp. 456-462, among others. On the subject of the Latin Talmud and its historical context, see John FRIEDMAN/Jean CONNELL HOFF/Robert CHAZAN, *The Trial of the Talmud, Paris, 1240*, Toronto, 2012; Robert CHAZAN, "Trial, Condemnation, and Censorship. The Talmud in Medieval Europe", in: Friedman *et al.*, *The Trial of the Talmud*, pp. 1-92; Gilbert DAHAN/Élie NICOLAS, *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242-1244*, Paris, 1999; FIDORA, "The Latin Talmud and its Translators" (as in note 2), p. 17; John FRIEDMAN, "The Dirge of Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg on the Burning of the Talmuds of Thirteenth-Century France by King Louis IX", in: Friedman *et al.*, *The Trial of the Talmud*, pp. 169-172; John FRIEDMAN, "The Disputation of Rabbi Yehiel of Paris", in: Friedman *et al.*, *The Trial of the Talmud*, pp. 126-168; Jean CONNELL HOFF, "The Christian Evidence", in: Friedman *et al.*, *The Trial of the Talmud*, pp. 93-126; Isidore LOEB, "La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud", in: *Revue des études juives* 1 (1880), pp. 247-261; *ibid.* 2 (1881), pp. 248-270; *ibid.* 3 (1881), pp. 39-57; Hyam MACCOBY, *Judaism on Trial. Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization), London, Portland, [3]2001 and Paul Lawrence ROSE, "When Was the Talmud Burnt at Paris? A Critical Examination of the Christian and Jewish Sources and a New Dating. June 1241", in: *Journal of Jewish Studies* 62 (2011), pp. 324-339.

Latin Talmud (Ber 9b)

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3" align="center">

Latin Talmud (Ber 9b)
[*P* 104vb (8)] [*C* 16rb-va] [*B* 53vb] [*Z* 221r (23)][5]

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[Ber 9b] Rab Ame dicit: Quid est "ego sum qui sum" [Ex 3, 14]? Hoc est: ego sum vobiscum in ista servitute et ero vobiscum in servitute regum –Hoc dicit de captivitate in qua modo sunt–. Et dixit Moyses: Domine saeculi, nimis est denuntiare tribulationem in tempore suo –quasi dicens: quare praedicis eis secundam captivitatem–. Tunc dixit ei Deus: "qui est misit me ad vos" [Ex 3, 14]. Quare dixit Helias bis "exaudi me" [III Rg 18, 37]? Ut avertas corda eorum, ne credant quod sit sortilegium.

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<tr><td colspan="3" align="center">**Babylonian Talmud (Ber 9b)[6]**</td></tr>
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<td>Florence Ms.</td>
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(Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. Coll. II.I.7)

א"ר אמי א' לו הק' למשה לך אמר להם

לישר' אני הייתי עמכם בשעבוד זה ואני

אהיה עמכם בשעבוד מלכיות א' לפניו רבנ'

של עולם די [דייה] לצרה שעתה א' לו הק' לך אמר

להם אהיה שלחני אליכם עניני ייי עניני

א"ר אמי א' אליהו לפני הק' רבנ' של עולם

עניני שתרד האש מן השמים ותאכל את

העולה עניני שתסיח מדעתן שלא יאמרו

מעשה כשפים הם מתני' מאימתי

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(München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 95)

א"ר אמי אמ' לו הקב"ה למשה לך אמור להן לישראל אני אהיה עמכם בשעבוד זה ואני אהיה עמכם בשעבוד מלכיות אמ' לפניו רבונו של עולם דייה לצרה בשעתה א"ל הקב"ה למשה לך אמר להן לישראל אהיה שלחני אליכם עניני ייי עני א"ר אמי אמ' אליהו לפני הקב"ה רבונו של עול' עניני שתרד אש מן השמים ?()? עניני שיסיחו מדעתם נביאי הבעל כדי שלא יאמרו מעשה תהו ובהו הן מעשה כשפים הן [והיינו דכתיב

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אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא למשה לך אמור להם לישראל אני אהיה עמכם בשעבוד זה ואני אהיה עמכם בשעבוד מלכיות אמר לפניו רבונו של עולם דיה לצרה בשעתה אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא לך אמור להם שמות ג' אהיה שלחני אליכם מלכים א' י"ח עני ה' עני אמר רבי אבהו למה מה אמר אליהו עני שתי פעמים מלמד שאמר אליהו לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא רבונו של עולם עני שתרד אש מן השמים ותאכל כל אשר על המזבח ועני שתסיח דעתם כדי שלא יאמרו מעשה כשפים הם שנאמר מלכים א' י"ח

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The Latin translation of the Babylonian Talmud appearing in the *Extractiones* gives us information about the Hebrew philological and Masoretic knowledge of the translator, who was very well acquainted with the Hebrew and text language.

Consequently, this Latin translation is careful and accurate as regards the Hebrew text and its transmission, except for deletions in some text passages, as we will see below.

1. The translation of Biblical quotations in the Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin)

A priori, as far as the Latin Talmud is concerned, we should ask ourselves which textual Biblical tradition is reflected in the Latin translation, and also if there are other Jewish or Christian, pre-Masoretic, Masoretic, or Rabbinic textual traditions aside from the canonical text of the Latin Vulgate.[7] For now, then, one might put forward the following questions regarding the transmission of the Biblical text.

Firstly, from the point of view of the Jewish tradition, is it possible to find direct Biblical quotations translating as a calque the Masoretic *textus receptus*? If yes, then why; what reasons lie behind this? Secondly, is it possible to find readings of *Targumim*? If yes, how important are the Aramaic translations appearing in the Latin Talmud? Third, is it possible to find any kind of Rabbinic or medieval Jewish exegesis in the Latin translation?

From the point of view of the Christian tradition, is it possible to find the Vulgate manuscript tradition appearing in the direct Vulgate quotations from the Latin Talmud? And can Septuagintal readings be found in the Latin Talmud Biblical quotations? Finally, even though it seems unlikely, is there any trace of secondary Biblical readings, such as the old Vetus Latina version (translated from the LXX) or even another quasi lost Greek tradition, such as the Jewish translations from Aquila, Simmachus, or Theodotion?

In order to answer these questions regarding the Biblical nature of the direct quotations in the Latin Talmud, I analysed all the quotations from poetic Biblical books

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7.   For the history of the Latin Bible, see Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1893; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions", in: *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19 (1988), pp. 137-159; 276-314; Amaury d'Esneval, "La division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l'édition parisienne du XIIIe siècle", in: *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 62 (1978), pp. 559-568; Bonifatius Fischer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte*, Freiburg/Br., 1986; François L. Ganshof, "La revision de la Bible par Alcuin", in: *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 9 (1947), pp. 7-20; François L. Ganshof, "Charlemagne et la revision du texte latin de la Bible", in: *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 44 (1974), pp. 271-281; Raphael Loewe, "The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate", in: Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 102-154; Laura Light, "Versions et revisions du texte biblique", in: Pierre Riché/Guy Lobrichon (Eds.), *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*, Paris, 1984, pp. 55-93; Beryl Smalley, "The School of Andrew of St. Victor", in: *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 11 (1939), pp. 145-167 and *Ead.*, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, ³1983 [¹1941] and Frans van Liere, "Andrew of St. Victor, Jerome, and the Jews: Biblical Scholarship in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance", in: Thomas J. Heffernan/Thomas E. Burman (Eds.), *Scripture and Pluralism. Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Studies in History of Christian Traditions 123), Leiden/Boston, 2005, pp. 59-75.

appearing in Sanhedrin, looking in particular for those which present special textual difficulties. Prophetic and poetic Biblical books are significant – from the point of view of language and text transmission – when they contain many archaisms, arameisms, *hapax legomena*, and other specific features and phenomena. Then, I compiled and studied exhaustively all direct quotations found in the following Biblical books: Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel), Minor Prophets (Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Zachariah, Malachi) and wisdom Books (Job and Psalms).

The main feature we find in the direct quotations from the Bible in the *Extractiones de Talmud* is that, as a norm, the Biblical quotations of the Latin Talmud transmit the *Vulgata versio*. There are, however, a number of exceptions to this rule, since in some cases the Biblical quotation is translated from the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible. The author's loyalty to the Latin Vulgate version does not make the task of translating the Latin Talmud any easier.

When the Vulgate does not read the Masoretic vocalisation, then it becomes another version: a different translation from the original Hebrew Masoretic text or from traditional Jewish understandings of the meaning of the latter. This paper aims to focus on these exceptions – i.e. Latin quotations different from the Vulgata and having *hapax legomena* – in order to try and find out the reason for the divergence and to define the features of these translations.

The features that are applicable to this translation of the Talmud also give us a very specific profile of the translator: I would like to show some examples illustrating this. Among the Biblical books mentioned (Major and Minor Prophets, Psalms and Job), the number of direct quotations from Sanhedrin is ninety-five. Among the ninety-five mentioned, the number of quotations that read (totally or partially) the Hebrew Bible and not the Vulgate is nineteen. Hence, it follows that Biblical quotations not reading Jerome are in a minority, i.e. only c. twenty per cent (namely 19.9999%).[8]

As a norm, there is an observable trend towards using use the Vulgate when translating direct Biblical quotations, even in the textual passages which present difficulties regarding the transmission of the Biblical text, as we can see in the following example (San 22b).

1.1. Latin Talmud (San 22b)

In the following Biblical quotation there are two (morphological) *hapax legomena* in the *textus receptus masoreticus*: *'ośayiḵ* (עֹשָׂיִךְ) and *bo'alayiḵ* (בֹעֲלָיִךְ). The Latin translation follows the Vulgata and translates the suffixed *qal* participle *bo'alayiḵ*

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8.   Among the prophetic and poetic books quoted in Sanhedrin, the book of Isaiah is the most quoted (45 direct quotations). The book that presents more discrepancies regarding the Latin Vulgate text in Sanhedrin is Minor Prophets, which contains fifteen direct quotations, of which five quotations read the *textus receptus masoreticus*.

(בְּעֲלַיִךְ) as "dominabitur tui", whereas a more literal translation would be the translations appearing in Targum (*mārîk*, מָרִיךְ) and Septuagint (κύριος).[9]

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 22b)
[*P* 149rb (53)] [*F*₉ 134b] [*C* 39vb] [*B* 109rb] [*Z* 287v (156)]
[San 22b] Sicut scriptum est "Dominabitur tui qui fecit te" [Is 54, 6] – vas scilicet. Quando vir moritur, non moritur nisi uxori suae, sicut scriptum est: (...).

Biblia Hebraica (Is 54, 5)	Targum (Is 54, 5)	Babylonian Talmud (San 22b)			Vulgata (Is 54, 5)	LXX (Is 54, 5)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
⁵כִּי בֹעֲלַיִךְ עֹשַׂיִךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ	⁵אֲרֵי מָרִיךְ דְּעָבְדִיךְ יוי שְׁמֵיהּ וּפָרְקִיךְ קַדִּישָׁא דְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֱלָהּ כָּל אַרְעָא יִתְקְרֵי:	שנ׳ כי בועליך עושיך ייי צבא׳ שמו תנא אין איש מת אלא לאשתו ואין אשה מתה אלא לבעלה אין איש מת אלא לאשתו ואין אשה מתה אלא לבע׳ שנ׳	שנ׳ כי בועליך עושיך ואין איש מת אל׳ לאשתו שנ׳	ד׳׳נ ישעיהו שנאמר כי בועליך עושיך ה׳ צבאות שמו תנא אין איש מת אלא לאשתו ואין אשה מתה אלא לבעלה אין איש מת אלא לאשתו שנאמר	⁵Quia dominabitur tui qui fecit te.	⁵ὅτι κύριος ὁ ποιῶν σε κύριος σαβαωθ ὄνομα αὐτῷ

1.2. *Latin Talmud (San 98a)*

We find another example in Sanhedrin 98a. In this case, the translation of the versicle reads the *versio Vulgata* in Ezekiel 32, 14. It is interesting to observe, however, that the morphological Hebrew *hapax legomenon 'ašqîy'a* (אַשְׁקִיעַ, a Hifil imperfective 1st person singular of the verbal root *šaqa'*, *šq'- > šaf.?; 'sink, sink down') is translated in both cases (Vulgate and Latin Talmud) with the periphrasis "purissimas reddam aquas" (in both cases, the Targum and the exegetic translation derived from it are not followed).

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9. For the Targumic sources, cf. *Targum. Material derived from the Hebrew Union College CAL* (Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon project).

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 98a)
[*P* 173va(77)] [*F₉* 252a] [*G* 18vab (61)-19ra (62)] [*C* 50va] [*Z* 328v (238)]
[San 98a] Dicit rby Hennina: Messias non veniet donec quaeratur pro infirmo parvus piscis et non possit inveniri. Sicut scriptum est: "Tunc purissimas reddam aquas eorum et flumina eorum quasi oleum adducam –in quo pisces non vivunt–" [Ez 32, 14].

Biblia Hebraica (Ez 32, 14)	Targum (Ez 32, 14)	Babylonian Talmud (San 98a)			Vulgata (Ez 32, 14)	LXX (Ez 32, 14)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
¹⁴אָז אַשְׁקִיעַ מֵימֵיהֶם וְנַהֲרוֹתָם כַּשֶּׁמֶן אוֹלִיךְ נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה׃	¹⁴בְּכֵן אַשְׁקֵיט אֵשְׁקֵית לְעַמְמַיָּא וּמַלְכֵיהוֹן בְּנַיחַ אֲדָבַר אֲמַר יְוֹי אֱלֹהִים׃	אמ' ר' חנינא אין בן דוד בא עד שיבקשו דג קטן לחולה ולא ימצא אז שנ' אז אשקיע מימיהם אוביש ונהרותם בשמן אוליך	א'ר חניי' אין בן דוד בא עד שיבוקש דג קטן לחול' ולא ימצ' שנ' אז אשקיע מימיה' ונהרות' בשמן אוליך	אמר רבי חנינא אין בן דוד בא עד שיתבקש דג לחולה ולא ימצא שנאמר יחזקאל ל"ב אז אשקיע מימיהם ונהרותם כשמן אוליך	¹⁴ Tunc purissimas reddam aquas eorum, et flumina eorum quasi oleum adducam, ait Dominus Deus.	¹⁴ οὕτως τότε ἡσυχάσει τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἔλαιον πορεύσονται λέγει κύριος.

2. Direct Biblical quotations not translated from the Latin Vulgate in the Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin): *hapax legomena* and other features of the translation

In accordance with the aims of this chapter, I now analyse the direct Biblical quotations in Sanhedrin that constitute an exception because they were not translated directly from the Latin Vulgate. The Biblical Books containing these quotations are Major and Minor Prophets, Job and Psalms, as I have observed; they contain specific lexical richness and archaic language.

In the course of my research, I have observed various phenomena regarding these Biblical quotations: there are cases, for example, where Rabbinic exegesis prevails over the Latin Vulgate.[10] We find other cases where the literalness of the original

10. On the subject of medieval Jewish and Christian exegesis, see especially Ari GEIGER, "Nicholas of Lyra's Literal Commentary on Lamentations and Jewish Exegesis: A Comparative Study", in: *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010), pp. 1-22; Görge K. HASSELHOFF, "Rashi for Latin Readers: The Transliterations of Paris, 1240. With an Edition of the Excerpts from Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy", in: Görge K. Hasselhoff/Knut Martin Stünkel (Eds.), *Transcending Words. The Language of Religious Contact Between Buddhists, Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Premodern Times*, Bochum, 2015, pp. 103-109; Sarah KAMIN/

Hebrew text is kept. There are quotations where the translation is *ad sensum* and cases where the *textus receptus* has various readings (including pre-Masoretic and Masoretic interpretation).

2.1. Cases where Rabbinic exegesis prevails over the Latin Vulgate

2.1.1. Latin Talmud (San 26b)

As for the first case (San 26b), in the Latin Talmud we can find some examples whereby the lexical translation of the words is closer to Rabbinic exegesis than to the Vulgate. In the quotation below, the Hebrew word *tûšîyyâ* (תּוּשִׁיָּה) is translated as *fundamentum*, following in this case a *glossa* of Rashi.[11] The Latin translation of the Talmud follows in this quotation the Hebrew *textus receptus* and not that of the Vulgate.

It is interesting to note that the Hebrew word *tûšîyâ* (תּוּשִׁיָּה), which in Biblical Hebrew means 'sound, efficient wisdom', was translated in the Latin Talmud as *fundamentum*. *Tûšîyâ* 'wisdom' is a technical and specific word of Jewish wisdom literature:[12] it is a name for Torah, because Torah is the embodiment of God's wisdom.

The translator follows here the glossa of Rashi: –glossa Salomonis: hii sunt iusti qui addiscunt legem, qui sunt fundamentum mundi. *Tussyia* enim dicitur fundamentum et lex–).[13]

Avrom SALTMAN, *Secundum Salomonem. A Thirteenth-Century Latin Commentary on the Song of Solomon*, Ramat Gan, 1989; Raphael LOEWE, "Latin Superscriptio MSS on Portions of the Hebrew Bible other than the Psalter", in: *Journal of Jewish Studies* 9 (1958), pp. 68-70, and MERCHAVIA, "Latin Translations in the Margins" (as in note 2), pp. 543-556, among others. For the medieval Jewish Biblical exegesis, see the following works: Rainer BERNDT, "Les interprétations juives dans le *Commentaire de l'heptateuque* d'André de Saint Victor", in: *Recherches Augustiniennes* 24 (1989), pp. 199-240; Gilbert DAHAN, "Les interprétations juives dans les commentaires bibliques des maîtres parisiens du dernier tiers du XIIe siècle", in: *Michael: On the History of the Jews in the Diaspora* 12 (1991), pp. 85-110; Aryeh GRABOIS, "The *Hebraica Veritas* and Jewish-Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century", in: *Speculum* 50 (1975), pp. 613-634; Herman HAILPERIN, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, Pittsburgh, PA, 1963; Sarah KAMIN, "Affinities Between Jewish and Christian Exegesis in Twelfth-Century Northern France", in: Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein/David Assaf (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Panel Sessions: Bible Studies and Near East, Jerusalem, August 4-12, 1985*, Jerusalem, 1988, pp. 141-155 and Michael A. SIGNER, "*Pešaṭ, Sensus Litteralis*, and Sequential Narrative: Jewish Exegesis and the School of St. Victor in the Twelfth Century", in: Barry Walfish (Ed.), *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume*, vol. 1, Haifa, 1993, pp. 203-216.

11. On the first translations of Rashi into Latin, see KAMIN/SALTMAN, *Secundum Salomonem* (as in note 10), p. 29.

12. From a Semitic comparative point of view, this noun is preserved as a substantive also in Ugaritic (*tšyt*) with the meaning 'triumph, success' (Ug. *yml'u lbh bšmḫt kbd 'nt tšyt* "ihr Herz ist erfüllt mit Freude, die Leber der Anat mit Triumph", see Francis BROWN *et al.*, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Peabody, MA, [7]2003, p. 1579 and Gregorio DEL OLMO/Joaquín SANMARTÍN, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language*, Leiden/Boston, 2003, p. 882).

13. The translator relates this feminine noun to a hypothetical verbal root ישׁ 'to assist, to support' (a root not documented in the Hebrew Bible) or perhaps from the existential particle יֵשׁ ('being, substance').

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 26b)
[*P* 150va (54)] [*F₉* 142a][*C* 40rb] [*B* 110va] [*Z* 289r (159)]
[San 26b] Item in Isaia: "mirificavit consilium suum et magnificavit fundamentum" [cf. Is 28,29]. –glossa Salomonis: hii sunt iusti qui addiscunt legem, qui sunt fundamentum mundi. *Tussyia* enim dicitur fundamentum et lex–.

Biblia Hebraica	Targum	Babylonian Talmud			Vulgata	LXX
(Is 28, 29)	(Is 28, 29)	(San 26b)			(Is 28, 29)	(Is 28, 29)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
²⁹ גַּם־זֹאת מֵעִם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת יָצָאָה הִפְלִיא עֵצָה הִגְדִּיל תּוּשִׁיָּה:	²⁹ אַף דָּא מִן קֳדָם יוי נְפַקַת דְּאִתַקַּן עָלְמָא בְּמַחְשָׁבַת דַּעְתֵיהּ רַבְּתָא אַסְגִּי עוֹבָדֵי בְרֵישִׁית בְּסַגִּי חׇכְמָתֵיהּ:	²⁹ ואיב' אימ' מהכא הפלי' עיצה הגדי' תושייה	²⁹ ואיב' אי' מהכ' הפלי' עצ' הגדיל תושי'	²⁹ ואיבעית אימא מהכא ישעיהו כ"ח הפליא עצה הגדיל תושיה	²⁹ Et hoc a Domino Deo exercituum exivit, ut mirabile faceret consilium, et magnificaret justitiam.	²⁹ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ ἐξῆλθεν τὰ τέρατα βουλεύσασθε ὑψῶσατε ματαίαν παράκλησιν.

2.2. Cases where the literalness of the original Hebrew text is kept

Regarding the cases where the literalness of the original Hebrew text is kept, in the Latin translation of the *Extractiones* there are several cases in which the translator disregards the *latinitas* of the Vulgate and offers a calque translation from the Hebrew text.

In these cases, the Latin Talmud translation keeps the idiosyncratic, specific nature of the original language, such as *figurae etymologicae*, polyptoton, and also internal accusative, as in the following examples.

2.2.1. Latin Talmud (San 94a)

Although in this versicle of Isaiah (24, 16) the translator offers us the Vulgate quotation, the Latin translator of the Talmud wants to be more loyal to the Hebrew original, maintaining the *figura etymologica* when translating Heb. *uḇeged bôgedîm* (heb. וּבֶגֶד בּוֹגְדִים) as *praevaricatione praevaricatorum* and not Vg. *praevaricatione transgressorum*.

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 94a)
[*P* 169ra (73)] [*F₉* 242a][*W* 1vb] [*G* 17rb (60)] [*C* 48va] [*B* 133ra] [*Z* 321r (223)]

[San 94a(2)] Exivit filia vocis et dixit: "Praevaricatores praevaricati sunt et praevaricatione praevaricatorum praevaricati sunt" [Is 24, 16].

Biblia Hebraica (Is 24, 16)	Targum (Is 24, 16)	Babylonian Talmud (San 94a)			Vulgata (Is 24, 16)	LXX (Is 24, 16)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
¹⁶ מִכְּנַ֨ף הָאָ֜רֶץ זְמִרֹ֤ת שָׁמַ֨עְנוּ֙ צְבִ֣י לַצַּדִּ֔יק וָאֹמַ֥ר רָזִי־לִ֛י רָֽזִי־לִ֖י א֣וֹי לִ֑י בֹּגְדִ֣ים בָּגָ֔דוּ וּבֶ֥גֶד בּוֹגְדִ֖ים בָּגָֽדוּ׃	¹⁶ מִבֵּית מַקְדְּשָׁא דְּמִיתַּמַּן עֲתִיד לְמִיפַּק חֶדְוָא לְכָל יָתְבֵי אַרְעָא תּוּשְׁבְּחָא שְׁמַעְנָא לְצַדִּיקַיָּא אֲמַר נְבִיָּא רָז אֲגַר לְצַדִּיקַיָּא אִיתַחֲזִי לִי רָז פּוּרְעָנוּ לְרַשִׁיעַיָּא אִתְגְּלִי לִי וַי לְאָנוֹסַיָּא דִּמְתַּאֲנְסִין וְלִבְזוֹז בָּזוֹזִין דְּהָא מִתְבְּזִיז׃	¹⁶ יצתה בת קול ואמרה בוגדים בגדו ובגד בוגדים בגדו	יצת' בת קול ואמר' בוגדי' בגדו ובגד בוגדי' בגדו מאי בוג' בגדו ובג' בוג' בג'	יצאה בת קול ואמרה ישעיהו כ"ד בוגדים בגדו ובגד בוגדים בגדו	¹⁶ A finibus terrae laudes audivimus, gloriam Justi. Et dixi: Secretum meum mihi, secretum meum mihi. Vae mihi! praevaricantes praevaricati sunt, et praevaricatione transgressorum praevaricati sunt.	¹⁶ ἀπὸ τῶν πτερύγων τῆς γῆς τέρατα ἠκούσαμεν ἐλπὶς τῷ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ ἐροῦσιν οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον.

2.2.2. Latin Talmud (San 94a)

Although in this quotation the translator writes the text of the Vulgate, it is interesting to observe the translator's own reading regarding the Hebrew epithet *'aḇî'ad* (אֲבִיעַד, lit. 'my father forever'), which is rendered more literally in the Latin Talmud translation (*Pater aeternus*) than in the Vulgate (*Pater futuri saeculi*).

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 94a)
[*P* 169va (73)] [*F₉* 243a][*W* 1vb] [*G* 17va (60)] [*C* 48vb] [*B* 133rb] [*Z* 321v (224)]

[San 94a] Dicit rby Iohannen: Dixit sanctus, benedictus sit ipse: Veniat Ezechias qui habet octo nomina et vindicet me de Sennacherib, qui similiter habet octo. Ezechias, quia scriptum est: "et vocabitur nomen eius admirabilis Consiliarius, Deus fortis, Pater aeternus, Princeps pacis" [Is 9, 6].

Biblia Hebraica (Is 9, 5)	Targum (Is 9, 5)	Babylonian Talmud (San 94a)			Vulgata (Is 9, 6)	LXX (Is 9, 5)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
⁵ כִּי־יֶ֣לֶד יֻלַּד־לָ֗נוּ בֵּ֚ן נִתַּן־לָ֔נוּ וַתְּהִ֥י הַמִּשְׂרָ֖ה עַל־שִׁכְמ֑וֹ וַיִּקְרָ֨א שְׁמ֜וֹ פֶּ֠לֶא יוֹעֵץ֙ אֵ֣ל גִּבּ֔וֹר אֲבִיעַ֖ד שַׂר־שָׁלֽוֹם׃	⁵ אֲמַר נְבִיָּא לְבֵית דָוִיד אֲרֵי ¹ רַבֵּי ² רַבְיָא אִתְיְלֵיד לַנָא בַּר אִתְיְהֵיב לַנָא וְקַבֵּיל אוֹרַיְתָא עֲלוֹהִי לְמִיטְרַהּ וְאִתְקְרִי שְׁמֵיהּ מִן קֳדָם ¹ מַפְלִי ² מַפְלִיא עֵיצָא אֱלָהָא גִּיבָּרָא קַיָּם עָלְמַיָּא מְשִׁיחָא דְּשְׁלָמָא יַסְגֵּי עֲלַנָא בְּיוֹמוֹהִי׃	צבאות במשמ' רזון אמ' ר' יוח' אמ' הקבה יבא חזקיה בעל שמונה שמות ויפרע מסנחריב שיש לו שמונה שמות דכת' כי ילד יולד לנו ותהי המשרה על] שכמו ויקרא שמו פלא יועץ אל גיבור אבי עד שר שלום	א"ר יוחנן א' הק"ב יבא חזקי' בע' שמנ' שמ' ויפרע מסנחרי' שיש לו שמנ' חזקי' דכ' בי' כי ילד יולד לנו בן ניתן לנו ותהי המשר' ילד לנו ותהי המשרה על] שכמו ויקר' שמו פל' יוע' א' גבו' שר שלו'	אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא יבא חזקיהו שיש לו שמונה שמות ויפרע מסנחריב שיש לו שמונה שמות חזקיה דכתיב ישעיהו ט' כי ילד יולד לנו בן ניתן לנו ותהי המשרה על שכמו ויקרא שמו פלא יועץ אל גבור אבי עד שר שלום	⁶ Parvulus enim natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis, et factus est principatus super humerum ejus: et vocabitur nomen ejus, Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus, Fortis, Pater futuri saeculi, Princeps pacis.	⁵ ὅτι παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν υἱὸς καὶ ἐδόθη ἡμῖν οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄξω εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰρήνην καὶ ὑγίειαν αὐτῷ.

2.2.3. *Latin Talmud (San 95b)*

In this case, the Latin translation of the Talmud offers the Vulgate quotation, but it adds some hypercorrections to the Jerome text: the passive participle feminin sg. *neṭûšâ* (נְטוּשָׁה, ptc. pass. fem. sg. of **nṭš-* 'to leave, forsake') is translated in genitive singular as a (*gladii*) *acuti* (ptc. perf. of *acuo*) and does not offer the Vulgate reading (*gladii*) *imminentis*.

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 95b) [*P* 171ra (75ra)] [*F₉* 246 *supra*] [G 18ra (61)] [*C* 49va] [*B* 135ra-rb] [*Z* 324r (229)] [San 95b] Sicut scriptum est: "a facie gladiorum fugerunt a facie gladii acuti" [Is 21, 15].					
Biblia Hebraica (Is 21, 15)	Targum (Is 21, 15)	Babylonian Talmud (San 95b)		Vulgata (Is 21, 15)	LXX (Is 21, 15)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.	
¹⁵ כִּי־מִפְּנֵי חֲרָבוֹת נָדָדוּ מִפְּנֵי חֶרֶב נְטוּשָׁה וּמִפְּנֵי קֶשֶׁת דְּרוּכָה וּמִפְּנֵי כֹּבֶד מִלְחָמָה:	¹⁵ אֲרֵי מִן קֳדָם קִיטוֹל עָרְקוּ מִן קֳדָם חָרֵב שְׁלִיפָא וּמִן קֳדָם קַשַּׁת מְתִיחָא וּמִן קֳדָם תְּקוֹף קְרָבָא:	שנ׳ כי מפני חרבות נדדו	שנ׳ כי מפני ישעיהו כ״א מפני חרבות נדדו	שנאמר ישעיהו כ״א מפני חרבות נדדו	¹⁵ A facie enim gladiorum fugerunt, a facie gladii imminentis, a facie arcus extenti, a facie gravis praelii.	¹⁵ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φευγόντων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πλανωμένων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς μαχαίρας καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τοξευμάτων τῶν διατεταμένων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεπτωκότων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

2.3. Cases where the translation is ad sensum

When it comes to the cases where the translation is *ad sensum*, we can find some examples in which the translation does not follows the Vulgate, but is less literal but more *ad sensum*, as we can see in the following examples.

2.3.1. Latin Talmud (San 95b)

The translation of this versicle follows the Vulgate in Isaiah 37, 38, but with some important variations: where the Hebrew gives *hikkuhû baḥereḇ* (Heb. הִכֻּהוּ בַחֶרֶב) "they struck him with the sword", the Vulgate translates literally *percusserunt eum gladio*, while the Latin Talmud translates *ad sensum* (*occiderunt eum*), as does the Targum (קַטְלוּהִי):

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 95b)
[*P* 171rb (75)] [*F₉* 246 *supra*] [*G* 18ra (61)] [*C* 49va] [*B* 135rb-va] [*Z* 324v (230)]
[San 95b] Quia scriptum est: "et species quarti similis filio Dei" [Dn 3, 92] et nisi vidisset eos quomodo scivisset? Sennacherib et duo filii eius, sicut scriptum est: "cum adoraret in templo Nesrach Deum suum Adramelech et Sarasar filii eius occiderunt eum" [Is 37, 38; IV Rg 19, 37].

Biblia Hebraica	Targum	Babylonian Talmud (San 95b)			Vulgata	LXX
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
(Is 37, 38)	(Is 37, 38)	(Is 37, 38)			(Is 37, 38)	(Is 37, 38)
³⁸ וַיְהִי הוּא מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בֵּית נִסְרֹךְ אֱלֹהָיו וְאַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ וְשַׂרְאֶצֶר בָּנָיו הִכֻּהוּ בַחֶרֶב וְהֵמָּה נִמְלְטוּ אֶרֶץ אֲרָרָט וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֵסַר־חַדֹּן בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	³⁸ וַהֲוָה הוּא סָגֵיד בֵּית נִסְרוֹךְ טָעֲוָתֵיהּ וְאַדְרַמְלַךְ וְשַׂרְאֶצַר בְּנוֹהִי קַטְלוּהִי בְּחַרְבָּא וְאִנּוּן אִשְׁתֵּיזִבוּ לְאַרְעָא קַרְדוּ וּמְלַךְ אֵסַר חַדֹן בְּרֵיהּ תְּחוֹתוֹהִי׃	דכת' ורויויה דרביעאה דמי לבר אלה''ין אי לא הוה חזר מנא ידע סנחריב ושני בניו דכת' ויהי הוא משתחוה בית נסרוך אלהיו אדר מלך וישרא צר בניו הכוהו בחרב	א' חמשי סנחרי' ושני בניו ונבוכ' נצ' ונבוזראדן [נבוזראדן] גמר' נבוכדנצ' דכ' וראויי דרביעא' דמי לבר אלהין ואי לא דהוה חזי ליה מנ' הוה ידע סנחרי' ושני בניו דכ' ויהי הו' משתחוה' בית נסרוך אלהיו' ואדרמל' וישראצר בניו הכוהו בחרב	דכתיב דניאל ג' ורוה דרביעאה דמי לבר אלהין ואי לאו דחזייה מנא הוה ידע סנחריב ושני בניו דכתיב מלכים ב' ל''ט ויהי הוא משתחוה בית נסרוך אלהיו ואדרמלך וישראצר בניו הכוהו בחרב	³⁸ Et factum est, cum adoraret in templo Nesroch deum suum, Adramelech et Sarasar, filii ejus, percusserunt eum gladio, fugeruntque in terram Ararat; et regnavit Asarhaddon, filius ejus, pro eo.	³⁸ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν προσκυνεῖν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Νασαραχ τὸν πατάχρον αὐτοῦ Αδραμελεχ καὶ Σαρασαρ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπάταξαν αὐτὸν μαχαίραις αὐτοὶ δὲ διεσώθησαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ασορδαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.
(IV Rg 19, 37)	(IV Rg 19, 37)				(IV Rg 19, 37)	(IV Rg 19, 37)
³⁷ וַיְהִי הוּא מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בֵּית נִסְרֹךְ אֱלֹהָיו וְאַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ וְשַׂרְאֶצֶר (כד) [בָּנָיו] הִכֻּהוּ בַחֶרֶב וְהֵמָּה נִמְלְטוּ אֶרֶץ אֲרָרָט וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֵסַר־חַדֹּן בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	³⁷ וַהֲוָה הוּא סָגֵיד בֵּית נִסְרוֹךְ טָעֲוָתֵיהּ וְאַדְרַמְלַךְ וְשַׂרְאֶצַר בְּנוֹהִי קַטְלוּהִי בְּחַרְבָּא וְאִנּוּן אִשְׁתֵּיזִבוּ לְאַרְעָא קַרְדוּ וּמְלַךְ אֵסַר חַדֹן בְּרֵיהּ תְּחוֹתוֹהִי׃				³⁷ Cumque adoraret in templo Nesroch deum suum, Adramelech et Sarasar filii ejus percusserunt eum gladio, fugeruntque in terram Armeniorum: et regnavit Asarhaddon filius ejus pro eo.	³⁷ καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ προσκυνοῦντος ἐν οἴκῳ Νεσεραχ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ Αδραμελεχ καὶ Σαρασαρ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπάταξαν αὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσώθησαν εἰς γῆν Αραρατ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ασορδαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

Munich Ms. additional text:
א' לא הוה חזר מנא ידע סנחריב ושני בניו דכת' ויהי הוא משתחוה בית נסרוך אלהיו אדר מלך וישרא צר בניו הכוהו בחרב
ואי לא דהוה חזי ליה מנ' הוה ידע סנחרי' ושני בניו דכ' ויהי הו' משתחו' בית נסרוך אלהיו' ואדרמל' וישראצר בניו הכוהו בחרב

2.3.2. Latin Talmud (San 92a)

Regarding this Biblical quotation (Ps 93, 1) we find different readings translating the name of God: while the Hebrew tetragrammaton (יְהֹוָה) is *Dominus* in the Vulgate (= LXX Κύριος), in our Babylonian Talmud it is *Deus*. For this quotation, the Latin Talmud does not distinguish between אֵל (Vg. *Deus*, LXX θεὸς) and the tetragrammaton (יְהֹוָה), for it is translated in both cases as *Deus*:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="6"><div align="center">Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 92a)
[<i>P</i> 166va (70)] [<i>F_g</i> 237b] [<i>G</i> 16rb (59)] [<i>C</i> 47rb] [<i>B</i> 129vb] [<i>Z</i> 316v (214)]</div></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">[San 92a] Magnum etiam est vindicta, quia scriptum est: "Deus ultionum Deus" [Ps 93, 1].</td></tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblia Hebraica

(Ps 94, 1)</td>
<td>Targum

(Ps 94, 1)</td>
<td colspan="3">Babylonian Talmud

(San 92a)</td>
<td>Vulgata

(Ps 93, 1)</td>
<td>LXX

(Ps 93, 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td rowspan="2">אֵל־נְקָמוֹת
יְהֹוָה אֵל
נְקָמוֹת הוֹפִֽיעַ:</td>
<td rowspan="2">אלהא מרי
פורענותא
יהוה אלהא
מרי פורענותא
הופע:</td>
<td>Florence Ms.</td>
<td>Munich Ms.</td>
<td>Vilna Ed.</td>
<td rowspan="2">Psalmus ipsi David, quarta sabbati. *Deus ultionum Dominus; Deus ultionum libere egit.*</td>
<td rowspan="2">ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ τετράδι σαββάτων ὁ θεὸς ἐκδική-σεων κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκδικήσε-ων ἐπαρρησιά-σατο.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>דכת' אל נקמות ייי הכי נמי אמ' ל' למילתיה הכי נמי כדעולא דאמ' עולא</td>
<td>דכ' אל נקמו' ייי אל נקמו'</td>
<td>דכתיב תהלים צ"ד אל נקמות ה' אל נקמות הופיע</td>
</tr>
</table>

2.4. Cases where the textus receptus *has various readings (pre-Masoretic and Masoretic interpretation)*

As for the cases where the *textus receptus* has various readings (pre-Masoretic and Masoretic interpretation), there are some cases where the Latin Talmud reads translating the Masoretic vocalisation of the Biblical text. This vowel notation system consisting of diachritical notes was set by the Masoretes in a later time (7th-10th c.) than the translation of Jerome (4th c.).

2.4.1. Latin Talmud (San 26a)

In the following example it can be observed that the second hemistich of the versicle (Is 22, 17) is difficult to translate (BH lit. is to be read: "hurleth thee with a hurling, Oh man").

In this case, the Latin Talmud is far away from the Vulgate reading, when translating from *textus receptus masoreticus* the polyptoton (*figura etymologica*) and also

when translating the hifʿil participle using a causative construction with a personal verbal form (*asportari te faciet* in: "Ecce Dominus asportari te faciet asportatione viri").

It is also interesting to observe that the Hebrew hifʿil participle *meṭalṭelekā* (מְטַלְטֶלְךָ, vb. *ṭwl, a pilpel participle masculine singular hifil 'to cast') is a *hapax legomenon*; in this case, the Latin Talmud translation "asportari te faciet asportatione viri" (heb. מְטַלְטֶלְךָ טַלְטֵלָה גֶּבֶר) reads as the Greek LXX version (καὶ ἐκτρίψει ἄνδρα).

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 26a)
[*P* 150rb (54)] [*F*₉ 141b] [*C* 40ra] [*B* 110rb] [*Z* 288v (158)]
[San 26a] Et dixit ei propheta: "Quid tu hic et quis tu hic. Quia excidisti tibi hic sepulchrum? Ecce Dominus asportari te faciet asportatione viri" [Is 22, 16-17].

Biblia Hebraica (Is 22, 16-17)	Targum (Is 22, 16-17)	Babylonian Talmud (San 26a)			Vulgata (Is 22, 16-17)	LXX (Is 22, 16-17)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
¹⁶ מַה־לְּךָ פֹה וּמִי לְךָ פֹה כִּי־חָצַבְתָּ לְּךָ פֹּה קָבֶר חֹצְבִי מָרוֹם קִבְרוֹ חֹקְקִי בַסֶּלַע מִשְׁכָּן לוֹ: ¹⁷ הִנֵּה יְהוָה מְטַלְטֶלְךָ טַלְטֵלָה גֶּבֶר וְעֹטְךָ עָטֹה:	¹⁶ וְתֵימַר לֵיה מָא לָךְ כָא וּמָא לָךְ כְּדֵין אֲרֵי אַתְקֵינָתָא אַתְקֵינַת לָךְ כָא אַתָר אַתְקֵין בְּרוּמָא אַתְרֵיהּ שַׁוִי בְכֵיפָא בֵּית מְדוֹרֵיהּ: ¹⁷ הָא יוי מְטַלְטֵיל לָךְ טַלְטוּל דְּגֵבָר וְתִחְפֵּינָךְ בַהְתָא:	נביא ואמ' לו מה לך פה מה לך פה כי חצ' לך פה הנה ייי מטלטל טלטל' גבר אמ' רב טילטולא דגברא קשי מדאיתתא ועטך עט אמ' ר' יוחנ' מלמד	נבי' וא"ל מה לך פה ומי לך פה חצב' לך ייי' מטלטלך טלטל' גבר א' רב לך לום לך טילטול' דגבר' קש'	נביא ואמר לו ישעיהו כ"ב מה לך פה ומי לך פה כי חצבת לך פה קבר הנה ה' מטלטלך טלטלה גבר	¹⁶ Quid tu hic, aut quasi quis hic? quia excidisti tibi hic sepulchrum, excidisti in excelso memoriale diligenter, in petra tabernaculum tibi. ¹⁷ Ecce Dominus asportari te faciet, sicut asportatur gallus gallinaceus; et quasi amictum, sic sublevabit te.	¹⁶ τί σὺ ὧδε καὶ τί σοί ἐστιν ὧδε ὅτι ἐλατόμησας σεαυτῷ ὧδε μνημεῖον καὶ ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ ἐν ὑψηλῷ μνημεῖον καὶ ἔγραψας σεαυτῷ ἐν πέτρᾳ σκηνήν ¹⁷ ἰδοὺ δὴ κύριος σαβαωθ ἐκβαλεῖ καὶ ἐκτρίψει ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὴν στολήν σου.

2.4.2. Latin Talmud (San 92a)

For the next example, is interesting to observe the textual variation in the quotation, because this Biblical versicle had different reading traditions since its pre-Masoretic times.

Whereas Vulgate (*qui comedunt tecum*) seems to read as Targum does (אָכְלֵי לֶחֶם פָּתוֹרָךְ, lit. "those who eat bread on your table"), the Latin Talmud translation (*panis tuus*) reads literally – morphologically and semantically – the *textus receptus masoreticus leḥmekā* (לַחְמְךָ), but translates *ad sensum* the Hebrew expression *yāśîmû māzôr* (יָשִׂימוּ מָזוֹר), lit. "they have laid a wound" (Lat. "ponent insidias") for "dolor est".

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 92a)					
[P 166va (70)][*F₉* 237b] [*W* 1rb] [*G* 16rb (59)] [*C* 47va] [*B* 129vb] [*Z* 316v (214)]					
[San 92a] Qui dat panem suum illi qui non habet scientiam –legis scilicet–, dolor veniet super eum, sicut scriptum est: "Panis tuus dolor est subtus te, non est prudentia in eo" [Abd 1, 7].					
Biblia Hebraica (Abd 1, 7)	Targum (Abd 1, 7)	Babylonian Talmud (San 92a)		Vulgata (Abd 1, 7)	LXX (Abd 1, 7)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.	
⁷עַד־הַגְּבוּל שִׁלְּחוּךָ כֹּל אַנְשֵׁי בְרִיתֶךָ הִשִּׁיאוּךָ יָכְלוּ לְךָ אַנְשֵׁי שְׁלֹמֶךָ לַחְמְךָ יָשִׂימוּ מָזוֹר תַּחְתֶּיךָ אֵין תְּבוּנָה בּוֹ:	⁷מִן תְּחוּמָא אַגְלְיֻוּךְ כָּל אֱנָשׁ קְיָמָךְ שְׁלַמְךָ אַטְעֲיוּךְ יְכִילוּ לָךְ אֱנָשׁ שְׁלָמָךְ אָכְלֵי לֶחֶם פָּתוֹרָךְ שַׁוִּיאוּ תַקְלָא תְחוֹתָךְ מִדְּלֵית בָּךְ סֻכְלְתָנוּ:	*Vacat*	וא״ר אלע׳ הנותן פתו למי שאין בו דיע׳ ייסורין באין עליו שנ׳ לחמך ישימו מזור תחתיך אין מזור אל׳ ייסורין שנ׳ וירא אפרי׳ את חוליו ויהוד׳ את מזורו וא״ר אלעז׳	ואמר רבי אלעזר כל הנותן פיתו למי שאין בו דעה יסורין באין עליו שנאמר עובדיה א׳ לחמך ישימו מזור תחתיך אין תבונה בו ואין מזור אלא יסורין	⁷ Usque ad terminum emiserunt te: omnes viri foederis tui illuserunt tibi: invaluerunt adversum te viri pacis tuae, qui comedunt tecum, ponent insidias subter te; non est prudentia in eo.	⁷ ἕως τῶν ὁρίων σου ἐξαπέστειλάν σε πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς διαθήκης σου ἀντέστησάν σοι ἠδυνάσθησαν πρὸς σὲ ἄνδρες εἰρηνικοί σου ἔθηκαν ἔνεδρα ὑποκάτω σου οὐκ ἔστιν σύνεσις αὐτοῖς.

2.5. Cases with grammatical and morphological variations differing from the Vulgate

As for the cases with grammatical and morphological variations differing from the Vulgate, the following example (San 97a) features grammatical and morphological differences when compared to regarding the canonical text of the Vulgate.

2.5.1. Latin Talmud (San 97a)

In this example, we find variations regarding the verbal modus: Latin Talmud *pluam* (future indicative 1st person singular), but Vg *plui* (perfect indicative 1st person singular), both translated from Hebrew *wehimṭarettî* (וְהִמְטַרְתִּי, perf. hif. 1st person singular) and Hebrew *'amṭîr* (אַמְטִיר, impf. hif. 1st person singular). The Aramaic Targum translates literally as "I will fall rain" (אֲחֵית מטרא) (*nḥt haf. impf. 1st person singular).

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 97a)						
[*P* 172rb (76)] [*F₉* 249b] [*G* 18va (61)] [*C* 50ra] [*B* 136va] [*Z* 326r (233)]						
[San 97a] Dicunt magistri: In primo anno hebdomadae in qua filius David veniet –Messias– verificabitur illa auctoritas: "Pluam super unam civitatem et super alteram non pluam" [Am 4, 7].						
Biblia Hebraica (Am 4, 7)	Targum (Am 4, 7)	Babylonian Talmud (San 97a)			Vulgata (Am 4, 7)	LXX (Am 4, 7)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
⁷ וְגַם אָנֹכִי מָנַעְתִּי מִכֶּם אֶת־הַגֶּשֶׁם בְּעוֹד שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים לַקָּצִיר וְהִמְטַרְתִּי עַל־עִיר אֶחָת וְעַל־עִיר אַחַת לֹא אַמְטִיר חֶלְקָה אַחַת תִּמָּטֵר וְחֶלְקָה אֲשֶׁר־לֹא תַמְטִיר עָלֶיהָ תִּיבָשׁ:	⁷ וְאַף אֲנָא מְנָעִית מִנְּכוֹן יָת מִטְרָא בְּסוֹף תְּלָתָא יַרְחִין לִזְמַן חֲצָדָא וְאַחֵית מִטְרָא עַל קַרְתָּא חֲדָא וְעַל קַרְתָּא לָא אַחֵית מִטְרָא אַחֲסָנְתָּא חֲדָא יֵיחוּת עֲלַהּ מִטְרָא וְאַחֲסָנְתָּא דְּלָא יֵיחוּת עֲלַהּ מִטְרָא תִּיבַשׁ:	תנו רבנן שבוע שבן דוד שנה ראשונ' מתקיים מקרא זה והמטרתי על עיר אחת ועל עיר אחת לא אמטיר	ת'ר שבוע שבן דוד בא בו שני ראשונ' נתקיים מקר' זה והמטרתי על עיר אחת ועל עי' אח' לא אמטי'	תנו רבנן שבוע שבן דוד בא בו שנה ראשונה מתקיים מקרא זה עמוס ד' והמטרתי על עיר אחת ועל עיר אחת לא אמטיר	⁷Ego quoque prohibui a vobis imbrem, cum adhuc tres menses superessent usque ad messem: et plui super unam civitatem, et super alteram civitatem non plui; pars una compluta est, et pars super quam non plui, aruit.	⁷ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνέσχον ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν ὑετὸν πρὸ τριῶν μηνῶν τοῦ τρυγήτου καὶ βρέξω ἐπὶ πόλιν μίαν ἐπὶ δὲ πόλιν μίαν οὐ βρέξω μερὶς μία βραχήσεται καὶ μερὶς ἐφ᾽ ἣν οὐ βρέξω ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν ξηρανθήσεται.

3. Conclusion

I have offered here a set of observations on the direct Biblical quotations appearing in the Latin Talmud, namely from the tractate of Sanhedrin. I focused the analysis on those quotations from prophetic and Wisdom Biblical books because they contain, in terms of language and textual transmission, more complexities than the other ones: the language and structure of prophetic and poetic language often

involves complex philological phenomena (archaisms, arameisms and other loan-words, *hapax legomena*, etc.) that are not present in the more standard classical Hebrew of Biblical prose.

Thus I want to see how these Biblical quotations, which differed from the Vulgate and presented particular textual difficulties (such us *hapax legomena*), were translated and how the translators coped with textual passages containing especial difficulty and complexity.

We have observed how, in these cases, although eighty percent of the Biblical quotations are translated according to the canonical text of the Vulgate (this translation being an ecclesiastical work), twenty percent of the quotations nevertheless differ from Jerome, when translating totally or partially direct from the Hebrew Bible (i.e., the Jewish canonical *textus receptus masoreticus*).

When analysing these exceptions, I have observed that in most cases, the Latin translation of Talmud Babli reads the Masoretic vocalization of the text: i.e., the text of the Hebrew Bible, which was vocalized *a posteriori* of the Vulgate.

In some cases the quotation is translated reading the Rabbinic exegesis of the text. In others, the translator seeks to be loyal to the Hebrew original text. This is achieved by adding hypercorrections in the Vulgate quotation and maintaining linguistic phenomena from Hebrew into Latin – such as the use of the *figura etymologica* (*polyptoton*) – or when using internal accusatives, which are linguistic features of the Semitic languages. We find some other cases which offer a more *ad sensum* translation (sometimes comparable to *targumim*); we have also analysed several quotations with grammatical or morphological variations from the Vulgate.

It is interesting to underline the high level of knowledge of the Hebrew text and language possessed by the translator of the Latin Talmud. The Biblical quotations are closely respected in the Latin translation of the *Extractiones de Talmud*: not only in the Vulgate quotations, but also in the reading and translating of the Masoretic text.

This feature points to the translator's *modus operandi* of loyalty and respect, carefulness and literalness towards the Hebrew text and its transmission, as if to keep the canonicity of the sacred text in the Latin translation. This fact should not surprise us if we bear in mind that, at the same time, the same phenomenon occurs in the Latin translation of the Babylonian Talmud: an accurate translation except for deletions in some text passages.

The translator's considerable philological, linguistic and Masoretic knowledge with reference to the Hebrew original is clearly observable in the translated text.[14] Different features are observed, such as the presence of Hebraisms in the Latin text, some calque translations of Hebrew expressions and the fidelity to onomastic

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14. On the translators of the Extractiones see Fidora, "The Latin Talmud and its Translators" (as in note 2), pp. 25-27.

names of the rabbis (although these may appear abbreviated). All these features lead us to believe that the Latin Talmud translator(s) are translating from the Talmudic Hebrew original text.

The translators' in-depth knowledge regarding the original language of the text is not only philological, but also exegetical and rabbinical.[15] However, the Vulgata *versio* is used as a reference text when translating the direct quotations from the Bible: with some exceptions, as discussed in this chapter.[16] All these special features lead us to consider the possibility that the translator could perhaps have been a "converted Jew".

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15. Regarding knowledge of Hebrew language in the Middle Ages, see Berthold ALTANER, "Zur Kenntnis des Hebräischen im Mittelalter", in: *Biblische Zeitschrift* 21 (1933), pp. 288-308; Ángel CORTABARRIA BEITIA, "L'étude des langues au Moyen Âge chez les Dominicains. Espagne, Orient, Raymond Martin", in: *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'études orientales* 10 (1970), pp. 189-249; Gilbert DAHAN, "Juifs et chrétiens en Occident médiéval. La rencontre autour de la Bible (XIIe-XIVe s.)", in: *Revue de synthèse* 110 (1989), pp. 3-31; Gilbert DAHAN, "La connaissance de l'hébreu dans les correctoires de la Bible du XIIIe siècle. Notes préliminaires", in: *Revue théologique de Louvain* 23/2 (1992), pp. 178-190 and Colette Sirat, "Le livre hébreu en France au Moyen Âge",

16. The same occurs for the direct Biblical quotations found in the anonymous Latin translation of the Rashi Commentary on the Song of Songs (Song of Solomon), dating from the second half of the 13th century. In this commentary the Biblical quotations are also from the Vulgate – see KAMIN/SALTMAN, *Secundum Salomonem* (as in note 10), p. 7 and 16; its anonymous author does not translate into Latin those passages that by their exegetic nature are etymological: see *ibid.*, pp. 29-31.