

The Latin Talmud and its Place in Medieval Anti-Jewish Polemic*

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Abstract

After sketching Christian attitudes towards the Talmud from the ninth century onwards, this chapter presents the *Extractiones de Talmud*, i.e. the Latin translation of almost two thousand passages from the Oral Torah prepared in Paris in the year 1244/45. It describes some of the challenges in editing this fundamental text, such as the fact that its manuscript tradition offers at least two versions, namely a translation that follows the sequence of the Talmudic tractates and a second one that rearranges this material according to subjects of controversy. A historical and philological analysis of these two versions suggests that the second one emulates and re-enacts Nicholas Donin's thirty-five articles against the Talmud from the year 1238-39.

The Talmudic corpus developed in the same period and context as early Christianity, and though there are not many explicit mentions of Christianity in the Talmud, there are clear intimations of polemic and rulings designed to differentiate and create barriers between Jews and Christians. Yet, it was not until the Middle Ages that Christians started showing interest in the Talmud,¹ one of the first Christian figures to address the Talmud being the ninth-century Carolingian bishop Agobard of Lyon, who mentions it in a letter he wrote to the emperor, Louis the Pious.²

The first to engage more intensively with the Talmud was the early-twelfth-century convert Petrus Alphonsi, who in a very popular work (*Dialogus contra Iudaeos*) justifies his conversion by vilifying his old faith, Judaism, along with Islam. He did this by sharply attacking the Talmud and ridiculing many of the teachings found

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1. A fact which may be explained in terms of the late reception of the Talmud in Europe. See Talya FISHMAN, *Becoming the People of the Talmud. Oral Torah as Written Tradition in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, Philadelphia, PA, 2011.
2. See Agobard's *De iudaicis superstitionibus*, 10, with allusions to Ber, Az and others: "Dicunt denique Deum suum esse corporeum, et corporeis liniamentis membra distinctum, et alia quidem parte illum audire ut nos alia videre, alia vero loqui vel aliud quid agere; ac per hoc humanum corpus ad imaginem Dei factum, excepto quod ille digitos manuum habeat inflexibiles ac rigentes, utpote qui nil manibus operetur; sedere autem more terreni alicuius regis in solio, quod a IIIlor circumferatur bestiis, et magno quamvis palatio contineri" (*Agobardus Lugdunensis, Opera omnia*. Ed. Lieven van Acker, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 52, Turnhout, 1981, pp. 205-206).

in it.³ While Petrus Alphonsi's polemic against the Talmud would be continued by other Christian authors, such as Peter the Venerable,⁴ there were also other approaches towards rabbinic literature in the twelfth century such as that of the School of St. Victor in Paris. The Victorines availed themselves of the new Jewish commentaries being written on the Bible, such as that of Rashi (Solomon Yitzhaki, 1040–1105), who also wrote an extended commentary on the Talmud. This attempt to try to understand the original meaning of the Biblical text (the *hebraica veritas*) in order to make more sense of Christianity also implied using the Talmud which elaborates on the meaning of that text.⁵

One of the most significant moments for the systematic polemic by the Christian world against the Talmud was the approach made by a Jewish convert, Nicholas Donin, to pope Gregory IX in 1238–39 with a list of thirty-five articles against the Talmud. The immediate result of this was the inquisitorial process against the Talmud which took place in 1240 in Paris under king Louis IX and which led to the burning of the Talmud in 1241/1242.⁶ Both the Hebrew and Latin accounts of this disputation show that Christians had become uneasy about this post-Biblical Jewish literature and how it portrayed Christianity.⁷ Recent scholarship has tried to establish

3. Also Petrus Alphonsi criticizes the anthropomorphic representations of God in the Talmud, e.g. at Ber 6a: “Si nosse cupis, ubi scriptum sit: in prima parte vestre doctrine est, cuius vocabulum *Benedictiones*. Si igitur vis scire quomodo: dixerunt deum habere caput et brachia [...]” (PETRUS ALPHONSI, *Dialogus contra iudeos*, I. Ed. Klaus-Peter Mieth/Esperanza Ducay/María Jesús Lacarra [Diálogo contra los Judíos], Huesca, 1996, p. 12). For a useful survey of Talmudic quotations in the *Dialogus* see Manfred KNEWASER, “Die antijüdische Polemik des Petrus Alfonsi (getauft 1106) und des Abtes Petrus Venerabilis von Cluny († 1156)”, in: *Kairos* 22 (1980), pp. 34–76. For a critical appraisal of his familiarity with Jewish traditions: Görg K. HASSELHOFF, “Petrus Alfonsis Judentum vor dem Hintergrund seiner Zeit”, in: Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann/Philipp Roelli (Eds.), *Petrus Alfonsi and His 'Dialogus'. Background, Context, Reception* (Micrologus Library 66), Florence, 2014, pp. 61–76.
4. Cf. his *Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, where the Talmud is mentioned for the first time by its proper name: “Produco igitur portentuosam bestiam de cubili suo, et eam in theatro totius mundi, in conspectu omnium populorum ridendam propono. Profero tibi coram universis, Iudaeae, bestia, librum tuum, illum, inquam, librum tuum, illum Talmuth tuum, illam egregiam doctrinam tuam, prophetis libris et cunctis sententiis authenticis praeferendam” (PETRUS VENERABILIS, *Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, 5. Ed. Yvonne Friedman, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 58, Turnhout, 1985, pp. 125–126). See also, Yvonne FRIEDMAN, “Anti-Talmudic Invective from Peter the Venerable to Nicholas Donin (1144–1244)”, in: Gilbert Dahan/Élie Nicolas (Eds.), *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242–1244*, Paris, 1999, pp. 171–189.
5. For the presence of Talmudic material in Victorine exegesis see the article by Montse Leyra in this volume as well as, for the more general context, Rainer BERNDT, “The School of St. Victor in Paris”, in: Magne Sæbo (Ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation. Vol. II: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages. Part II: The Middle Ages*, Göttingen, 2000, pp. 467–495.
6. The exact date of the burning is disputed. See Paul Lawrence ROSE, “When was the Talmud Burnt in 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.
7. For an edition of Donin's thirty-five articles and the Latin account of the Talmud disputation see Isidore LOEB, “La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud”, in: *Revue des études juives* 1 (1880), pp. 247–261; 2 (1881), pp. 248–270; 3 (1881), pp. 39–57; a new critical edition of the Hebrew account is currently under preparation by Piero Capelli. The Latin and Hebrew documents have been collected and translated in: John FRIEDMAN/Jean CONNELL HOFF/ROBERT CHAZAN (Eds.), *The Trial of the Talmud, Paris, 1240*, Toronto, 2012.

a direct relation between developments at the University of Paris during the first half of the thirteenth century and the trial against the Talmud. Thus, Alex J. Novikoff has suggested interpreting the Talmud trial in relation to the genre of academic disputations, while Yossef Schwartz has put forward a list of papal proceedings which address academic heresy in Paris and at other universities, such as Aristotelian philosophy.⁸ As Schwartz has demonstrated, the protagonists of these events, in particular pope Gregory IX, Odo of Châteauroux and William of Auvergne, were also the driving force behind the trial against the Talmud,⁹ a fact which underscores the parallel nature of the events.

Though the Talmud went up in flames at the Place de la Grève, it was not the end of the story, as some Jews approached Gregory's successor, pope Innocent IV (crowned June 25, 1243), in order to get the ruling against the Talmud revoked. These events constitute the backdrop of the very first translation into Latin of almost 2000 passages from the Babylonian Talmud entitled *Extractiones de Talmud*, which were commissioned by Odo of Châteauroux. This extraordinary collection, which is not only the first but also the largest corpus of Latin Talmud translations, must be considered a landmark in the history of Christian-Jewish relations. Shortly after, Christians would realize that this literature could also be used in an affirmative manner in order to substantiate Christian truths. An example of this affirmative use of the Talmud is the (in)famous Barcelona disputation of 1263, which pitted another Jewish convert, friar Paul, against one of the greatest Jewish figures of his time, Nahmanides, with the former wishing to prove some of the central tenets of the Christian faith using the Talmud as his proof text.¹⁰

Following the Barcelona disputation, a Catalan Dominican, Ramon Martí, completed (in c. 1280) his magisterial *Pugio fidei* ('Dagger of Faith') containing innumerable citations from the Talmud and further rabbinical writings proving that the Messiah had already come. Unlike in his earlier work, the *Capistrum Iudaeorum* ('Muzzle of the Jews'), where he also included Latin quotations from the Talmud, in

8. See Alex J. NOVIKOFF, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation. Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance*, Philadelphia, PA, 2013, pp. 190-200; Yossef SCHWARTZ, "Authority, Control, and Conflict in Thirteenth-Century Paris: Contextualizing the Talmud Trial", in: Elisheva Baumgarten/Judah D. Galinsky (Eds.), *Jews and Christians in Thirteenth-Century France*, New York, 2015, pp. 92-110. Walter Pakter suggested understanding the bull *Parens scientiarum* (1231) as being directed against both Aristotelian natural philosophy and Hebrew studies; Walter PAKTER, *Medieval Canon Law and the Jews*, Ebelsbach, 1988, p. 71. However, this interpretation is based on a misunderstanding of "lingua azotica": what Gregory IX is actually addressing in his bull is not the study of Hebrew but the use of the vernacular (*lingua azotica*) in academic circles.
9. In addition to Schwartz, see also Nathalie GOROCHOV, *Naissance de l'Université. Les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)*, Paris, 2012, in particular the chapter "Censure et intolérance au temps de Guillaume d'Auvergne, évêque de Paris, et du Chancelier Eudes de Châteauroux (1238-1244)", pp. 526-540.
10. See, for these developments, Jeremy COHEN, *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, Ithaca/London, 1982; Robert CHAZAN, *Barcelona and Beyond. The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1992.

the *Pugio fidei* Ramon Martí first cites the texts in their original language and then provides Latin translations. Altogether, these translations constitute a second corpus of Latin Talmud translations that deserves close attention.¹¹

The texts surrounding the Parisian controversy against the Talmud have survived in several manuscripts, the most complete of which – though not the original one –¹² is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558. This manuscript offers a comprehensive ‘dossier’ on the Talmud affair, its first part containing the *Extractiones de Talmud*, while the second part includes Nicholas Donin’s thirty-five articles against the Talmud, Latin fragments from Rashi’s Torah-commentaries, etc. Though scholars have been dealing with this dossier for more than 300 years, we still lack a thorough interpretation of the dossier and of the *Extractiones de Talmud* in particular, of which there is still no critical edition.¹³

In order to be able to examine the use of the Talmud in the Latin Middle Ages, our research team is currently preparing the very first edition of the *Extractiones de Talmud* on the basis of all extant manuscripts. The eight Latin manuscripts identified so far yield two different versions of the *Extractiones de Talmud*: the first version which was prepared in 1244/45¹⁴ lists the Talmudic passages according to the se-

11. For a list of Talmudic passages in the *Pugio* see Chenmelech MERCHAVIA, “*Pugio fidei*: An Index of Citations” [Hebrew], in: Aharon Mirsky/Avraham Grossman/Yosef Kaplan (Eds.), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Jerusalem, 1988, pp. 203-234.
12. On this manuscript and its place in the transmission of the *Extractiones de Talmud* see the article by Óscar de la Cruz in this volume.
13. Fragments of the Latin Talmud from the Paris dossier have already been edited by Jacques ECHARD, *Sancti Thomae Summa suo auctori uindicata*, Paris, 1708, pp. 572-600, which was reproduced by Charles DU PLESSIS D’ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio Iudiciorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio saec. XII <usque ad 1735> in Ecclesia proscripti sunt atque notati; Censoria etiam iudicia insignium academiarum*, 3 vols., Paris, 1728-1736, vol. I, pp. 146-156; further transcriptions of fragments were provided by Erich KLIBANSKY, “Beziehungen des christlichen Mittelalters zum Judentum”, in: *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 77 (1933), pp. 456-462; and Chenmelech MERCHAVIA, *The Church versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature (500-1248)*, Jerusalem, 1970 [Hebrew], pp. 446-458. For a transcription of the thirty-five articles from the Paris manuscript see the edition above note 7.
14. This date emerges from the prologue to the second part of the dossier which states that the *Extractiones de Talmud* were produced “5 or 6 years” after Nicholas Donin submitted the thirty-five articles to pope Gregory IX, i.e. 1238-39. Cf. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558, fol. 211rb: “Quoniam in ore duorum vel trium testium stat omne verbum [Mt 18, 16; Dt 19, 15] ad maiorem praecedentium firmitatem et certitudinem quaedam repetere, quaedam superaddere utile iudicavi quae ex ore alterius interpretis sunt translata quinque vel sex annis prius, licet hic ponantur posterius. [...] Anno enim ab incarnatione Domini mcccxxvi. circiter, Pater misericordiarum Iudaeum quemdam nomine Nicolaum Donin de Rupella vocavit ad fidem, in hebraeo plurimum eruditum etiam secundum testimonium Iudaeorum, ita ut in natura et grammatica sermonis hebraici vix sibi similem inveniret. Hic accessit ad sedem apostolicam et bonae memoriae Gregorio Papae [sc. Gregorius IX, 1227-1241], pontificatus eius anno xiiº [sc. 1238-39], praedictorum librorum nefandam detexit malitiam et quosdam specialiter expressit articulos [...]”.

quence of the Talmudic treatises ('sequential version'), whereas the other version arranges them according to subjects of controversy ('thematic version').

Two manuscripts offer both versions, i.e. the sequential and the thematic one, namely:

- P* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558 (13th century)¹⁵
- Z* Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1115 (end of the 17th century, a direct copy of *P*)

Four manuscripts contain only the sequential version:

- W* Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Ms. I Q 134 a (13th century, fragment)¹⁶
- G* Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 19b (14th century, incomplete)¹⁷
- C* Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Ms. 153 (14th century)
- B* Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. lat. fol. 306 (15th century, incomplete)¹⁸

The remaining two offer the thematic version:

- S* Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, Ms. Min. 71 (13th/14th century)
- M* Stuttgart, Hauptstaatsarchiv, SSG Maulbronner Fragment (14th century, fragment)¹⁹

In addition to these eight manuscripts, two manuscripts have come down to us which offer a short version or an epitome of the thematic Latin Talmud:

15. The manuscript belonged to Pierre of Limoges; cf. the note on fol. 238v: "Iste liber est pauperum magistrorum de Sorbona, ex legato magistri Petri de Lemovicis, quondam socii domus huius, in quo continetur Talmut Iudeorum". It is possible that the Biblical index at the end of the manuscript is from his hand. See the specimen of his handwriting in Madeleine MABILLE, "Pierre de Limoges et ses méthodes de travail", in: *Traditio* 48 (1993), pp. 244-251. Also see the article by Óscar de la Cruz in this volume.
16. Edited in Joseph KLAPPER, "Ein Florilegium Talmudicum des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 1 (1926), pp. 3-23.
17. On this manuscript see José María MILLÁS VALLICROSA, "Extractos del Talmud y alusiones polémicas en un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Catedral de Girona", in: *Sefarad* 20/1 (1960), pp. 17-49, and more recently Alexander FIDORA, "Die Handschrift 19b des Arxiu Capitular de Girona: Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des lateinischen Talmud", in: Claudia Alraun *et al.* (Eds.), *Zwischen Rom und Santiago. Festschrift für Klaus Herbers zum 65. Geburtstag*, Bochum, 2016, pp. 49-56.
18. This manuscript belonged to the Bishop of Brandenburg Stephan Bodeker. See Bernhard WALDE, *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Münster i. W., 1961, pp. 51-63.
19. Edited in Görg 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.

- Y München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 21259 (14th century)
 L London, British Library, Add. 19952 (15th century)²⁰

To these Latin manuscripts one has to add the three-volume Hebrew Talmud from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, coll. Antonio Magliabechi, Magl. II-I, 7-9 with Latin quotations related to the *Extractiones de Talmud* in the margins of the last two volumes.²¹ This manuscript probably hints at the way in which the Latin translation of the Talmud was produced, namely adding the Latin rendering in the margins of a Hebrew text. However, differences between the Hebrew text of Florence and the translated texts in its margins make it unlikely that Florence is the *Vorlage* of the Latin translation. Rather, it seems to be a *Reinschrift* of separate Talmudic manuscripts with Latin translations in their margins.

The historical objectives of our research, which are closely connected to its philological outcomes, are to study the *Extractiones de Talmud* in the context of Christian-Jewish intellectual encounters, providing answers to questions such as: what was the *Extractiones*' exact position within the Talmud-controversy of the 1240s, and how do they relate to previous Christian interest in the Talmud, for instance, to the Victorine exegesis, as well as to subsequent developments, such as Ramon Martí's and Jerónimo de Santa Fe's anti-Jewish polemic²² or Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla*.²³ For this purpose, it is of paramount interest to analyse the relationship between the Talmud translation of the *Extractiones de Talmud* and the thirty-five articles that Nicholas Donin submitted to pope Gregory IX,²⁴ as well as other polem-

20. The manuscript belonged to the library of Nicholas of Cusa; see its description by Herrad SPILLING, "Cod. Harl. 3934, 3992 und Cod. Add. 19952", in: *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusamus-Gesellschaft* 12 (1977), pp. 59-71. However, the text of the Latin Talmud does not have any traces of (intense) reading, in contrast to the other works contained in the manuscript; nor does Nicholas refer to the Talmud in his works; see Görg K. HASSELHOFF, "The Image of Judaism in Nicholas of Cusa's Writings", in: *Medievalia & Humanistica* 40 (2014), pp. 25-36.
21. Cf. Chenmelech MERCHAVIA: "Latin Translations of the Talmud in the Margins of Ms. Florence and Ms. Paris 16558" [Hebrew], in: *Kiryat Sefer* 41 (1965-1966), pp. 543-556. See also, more recently, Malachi BEIT-ARIÉ *et al.*, *Codices hebraicis litteris exarati quo tempore scripti fuerunt exhibente. Vol. IV: De 1114 à 1200* (Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi. Series Hebraica), Turnhout, 2006, pp. 46-49.
22. In his edition of Jerónimo's *De iudaicis erroribus ex Talmud*, Moisés Orfali offers a concordance of Talmudic passages contained in Jerónimo, in Ramon Martí and in the *Extractiones de Talmud*. See HIERONYMUS DE SANCTA FIDE, *De Iudaicis Erroribus ex Talmud. Tratado apologético de Jerónimo de Santa Fe*. Ed. Moisés Orfali, Madrid, 1983, pp. 254-256.
23. On the Talmud in the *Postilla* see Deana Copeland KLEPPER, *The Insight of Unbelievers. Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, PA, 2007, pp. 56-57 and *passim*. On the Talmud in Paul of Burgos' *Additiones* to Nicholas' commentary see Chenmelech MERCHAVIA, "The Talmud in the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos", in: *Journal of Jewish Studies* 16 (1965), pp. 115-134.
24. For a *status quaestionis* on Nicholas Donin and his thirty-five articles see Alexander FIDORA/ULISSE CECINI, "Nicholas Donin's Thirty-Five Articles Against the Talmud. A Case of Collaborative Translation in Jewish-Christian Polemic", in: Charles Burnett/Pedro Mantas-España (Eds.), *'Ex Oriente Lux'. Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society*, Cordova/London, 2016, pp. 187-200.

ical texts, such as the *Errores Iudaeorum* by Thibaud de Sézanne,²⁵ the very popular anonymous *Pharetra fidei*²⁶ or the so-called *Passau Anonymus*.²⁷

At the same time the *Extractiones de Talmud* must be compared to the overall structure and sources of the Christian-Jewish disputations held in Paris in 1240 and in Barcelona in 1263, respectively. This procedure sheds new light on the possible context of composition of the *Extractiones de Talmud* and their author's identity and intention. On the basis of the analysis of the role of the Talmud in these disputations, it will be possible to understand with more precision both the earlier and later evolution of different attitudes towards the reception of the Talmud in the Latin Middle Ages.

As the above sketch of the manuscript tradition shows, the transmission of the *Extractiones de Talmud* is complex both from a philological and a historical point of view. If editing a translation is in itself a challenge, the fact that this translation has survived in two different versions, which reflect either different phases of the translation process or maybe even different intentions lying behind it, makes the work even more complicated. Only a combination of philological and historical approaches allows for an unravelling of the relation between the two versions of the Latin Talmud.

At present, the examination of the texts and their historical circumstances suggests the following scenario: the sequential Talmud translation contained in manuscripts *P*, *Z*, *W*, *G*, *C* and *B* might have been a direct result of the more tolerant climate under pope Innocent IV after the death of his predecessor Gregory IX. It is in fact very likely that Innocent had ordered the Paris authorities to revise the case of the Talmud, since the French Jews approached him claiming not be able to practice their religion without the Talmud, and that the sequential Talmud translation from

25. Based on a comparison between the thematic version of the Latin Talmud and Thibaud's *Errores Iudaeorum*, Gilbert Dahan suggested that Thibaud was the author of the Latin Talmud. See Gilbert DAHAN, "Les traductions latines de Thibaud de Sézanne", in: Gilbert Dahan/Élie Nicolas (Eds.), *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242-1244*, Paris, 1999, pp. 95-120. However, he did not take into account that the *Errores Iudaeorum* and the thematic version of the Latin Talmud both depend on a common source for the passages which he compared. See Alexander FIDORA, "Textual Rearrangement and Thwarted Intentions. The Two Versions of the Latin Talmud", in: *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 2/1 (2015), pp. 63-78.

26. On this work – and also on the *Errores Iudaeorum*, which are sometimes subsumed under the same title – see Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, "Drei Schriften mit dem Titel *Pharetra fidei*", in: *Aschkenas* 11 (2001), pp. 327-349, and, by the same author, "El *Dialogus pro ecclesia contra synagogam* impreso por Pablo Hurus: autoría, fecha y transmisión manuscrita", in: *Sefarad* 62 (2000), pp. 3-19. Isaac Lampurlanés is currently preparing a working edition of both the *Errores Iudaeorum* and the *Pharetra fidei*.

27. See Alexander PATSCHOVSKY, *Der Passauer Anonymus. Ein Sammelwerk über Ketzer, Juden, Antichrist aus der Mitte des xiii. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1968. Fragments have been edited in Manuela NIESNER, 'Wer mit jüden well disputiren'. *Deutschsprachige Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 2005, pp. 477-508.

1244/45 was the immediate result of this revision.²⁸ However, the French ecclesiastics were certainly not content with the new pope's attitude, and so they decided to rearrange the translation according to subjects of controversy, just as Nicholas Donin had done in his thirty-five articles against the Talmud from 1238-39, so that the wickedness of the Talmud would jump to the pope's eyes. Thus, for the final condemnation of the Talmud in 1248, the newly translated *Extractiones de Talmud* were adapted to the very document that had triggered the whole Talmud trial and its burning: rather than a revision, as intended by the pope, the *Extractiones de Talmud*, and more precisely their thematic version, ended up being a vigorous re-enactment of the first Talmud trial of 1240.²⁹

This historical reconstruction receives philological support from the fact that the thematic Talmud translation emulates the structure of Nicholas Donin's thirty-five articles:

Donin's 35 articles from 1238-39	Headings of the thematic version
1-9 Jewish claims about the authority of the Talmud	De auctoritate Talmud De sapientibus et magistris
10-14 Teachings condoning or even requiring anti-Christian behaviour	De blasphemis contra Christum et beatam virginem
15-25 Blasphemous teachings about God	De blasphemis contra Deum
26 sq. Blasphemous teachings about Jesus and Mary	De malis quae dicunt de goym, id est christianis
28-30 Blasphemous teachings about the Church	De erroribus
31-33 Teachings that promise blessings to Jews and the opposite to Christians in the world to come	De sortilegiis De somniis De futuro saeculo
34 sq. Foolish things concerning Biblical figures	De Messia De stultitiis De turpitudinibus et immunditiis De fabulis

28. In fact in a letter from Innocent IV to Louis IX dated August 12, 1247, the pope insisted on the revision of the condemnation of the Talmud on the grounds of the following complaint: "Sane magistris Iudaeorum regni tui nuper proponentibus coram nobis et fratribus nostris quod sine illo libro, qui hebraice Talmut dicitur, Bibliam et alia statuta suae legis secundum fidem ipsorum intelligere nequeunt" (Solomon GRAYZEL, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century. Vol. 1: A Study of Their Relations During the Years 1198-1254, Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period*, New York, ²1966 [Philadelphia, PA, 1933], pp. 274-281, at p. 276 and 278).

29. The text of the final condemnation of the Talmud from May 1248 is published in GRAYZEL, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (as in note 28), pp. 278-279: "Exhibitis nobis auctoritate apostolica a magistris Iudaeorum regni Franciae quibusdam libris qui Talmut appellantur [...] pronuntiamus praedictos libros tolerandos non esse, nec magistris Iudaeorum restitui debere, et ipsos sententialiter condemnamus".

Moreover, the thematic version of the Latin Talmud incorporates expressions as well as larger passages from Donin's work which are absent from the sequential version, as the following text, dealing with the question whether Rabbinic authority can abolish divine law:

Thematic version <i>P</i> , fol. 11va	Nicholas Donin, <i>P</i> , fol. 212va
De sapientibus et magistris Sequitur in Talmut: "Volui tibi ostendere vii modis", quorum unus est de lege qua praecipitur quod iubilent prima die mensis septimi, et scribae prohibuerunt quod die sabbati non fiat hoc. Dicit enim Raba quod fortassis obliviscerentur portare tubas in synagogam et sic oporteret eas quaerere et portare per vicos, quod esset grande peccatum, ut legitur in libro Mohed, in macecta Tuca, in capitulo, pereg Iubal [<i>lege</i> 'Lulab'].	Articulus VI Dixit ei: "Volui tibi obicere vii modis", quorum unus est de lege qua praecipitur quod iubilent prima die vii mensis, et scribae prohibuerunt quod die sabbati non fiat hoc. Dicit enim Rava quia fortassis obliviscerentur portare tubas in synagoga et sic oporteret eas quaerere et deferre per vicos, quod esset grande peccatum, ut legitur in libro Mohed, in macecta Chuca, in pereg Iubal [<i>lege</i> 'Lulab'] vaharava.

It is not only the almost complete verbal coincidence of the two passages that yields overwhelming evidence for the close relation of both texts, but also the specific arrangement of the Latin Talmud passages, which combine Yeb 90b with Suk 29a, clearly shows the close dependence of the thematic version on Nicholas' composition. The thematic version of the *Extractiones* represents therefore a kind of synthesis of Donin's thirty-five articles and the original sequential translation of the Talmud that followed the bibliographical order of its tractates.

As was said before, the relationship between the different texts of the Talmud dossier, which has been addressed briefly here, is only one of the many problems which the editors of the *Extractiones de Talmud* have to face. Other difficulties concern the translation process of the texts, for instance, whether they were translated directly from Hebrew into Latin or whether there was a French intermediary,³⁰ and still other questions refer to the relation between the Hebrew original and its Latin rendering³¹ or the status of the Bible quotations in the Latin translation.

Many of these issues, including the previous and subsequent Christian use of the Talmud in the School of St. Victor and by Nicholas of Lyra, will be addressed in the chapters of this volume.

30. It is telling, in this respect, that the Latin Talmud translation uses French doublets in order to explain difficult Hebrew and Aramaic terms. A preliminary list of these terms can be found in Chenmelech MENCHAVIA, "Talmudic Terms and Idioms in the Latin Manuscript Paris B.N. 16558", in: *Journal of Semitic Studies* 11 (1966), pp. 175-201.

31. Cf. Eulàlia VERNET I PONS, "On the Latin Transcription of Hebrew and Aramaic Proper Names in the Latin Talmud (Tractate Sanhedrin). Phonetic Features of the Translation", in: *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 2/2 (2015), pp. 197-219.