

The Influence of the *Extractiones de Talmud* on Anti-Jewish Sermons from the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries *

Alexander Fidora

ICREA and Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

There can be no doubt that the *Extractiones de Talmud*, that is, 1,922 passages from the Talmud which were translated into Latin in 1244/45, had an enormous impact on the official position of the Church on Judaism and the legal status of the Jews. Not only did this translation confirm the condemnation in 1240 of the Talmud, but it was also instrumental in the so-called ‘final sentence’ against the Talmud which was issued in May 1248 by Odo of Châteauroux, Papal Legate in France and former Chancellor of the University of Paris.¹

Their role within the official legal procedure against the Talmud is confirmed by the manuscript tradition of the *Extractiones de Talmud*, which are usually transmitted as part and parcel of a veritable Church dossier on the Talmud. This includes, among other materials, Nicholas Donin’s thirty-five articles against the Talmud from 1238/39,² the reports of the subsequent Talmud-disputation that took place in Paris in 1240, a series of papal letters from Gregory IX and Innocent IV from 1239 to 1247, as well as Odo’s final sentence from 1248.³

By contrast, very little is known about the impact of this impressive translation enterprise outside of the official legal procedure against the Talmud, that is, beyond the 1240s. One may therefore enquire: Was the role of the *Extractiones de Talmud* confined to these events or were they read and received by subsequent authors who were writing in different contexts? The fact that we have at our disposal nine manuscripts of the *Extractiones de Talmud*, which contain its original and/or a thematically rearranged version,⁴ as well as two manuscripts that offer a summary of the

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1. See Fidora, ‘The Latin Talmud and Its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic’ and, more specifically for the exact place of the *Extractiones* in the events of the 1240s, Fidora, ‘Textual Rearrangement and Thwarted Intentions’.
2. For a recent reappraisal of Nicholas Donin and his famous articles, see Fidora and Cecini, ‘Nicholas Donin’s Thirty-Five Articles Against the Talmud’.
3. For a thorough analysis of the various contents and layers of the texts in this dossier, which is based on its most complete manuscript, see de la Cruz, ‘El estadio textual de las *Extractiones de Talmud* en el BnF ms. lat 16558’, pp. 24-25.
4. The following manuscripts contain both versions: Paris, BnF, MS lat. 16558 (13th century) and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1115 (end of the 17th century, a direct copy of the former). The sequential version on its own is contained in: Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I Q 134 a (13th century, fragment), Girona, Arxiu Capitular, MS 19b (14th century, incomplete), Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 153 (14th century) and Berlin, SPK, MS Theol. lat. fol. 306 (15th century, incomplete). The thematic version on its own is contained in: Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, MS Min. 71 (13th/14th century) and Stuttgart, Hauptstaatsarchiv, SSG Maulbronner Fragment (14th century, fragment). In addition, we

thematic version,⁵ speaks in favour of a wider interest in the text. Moreover, some of these manuscripts belonged to outstanding personalities, such as Peter of Limoges and Nicholas of Cusa.⁶ Yet neither of these figures seems to have paid much attention to the text.⁷ Thus far, the only mentions of the *Extractiones* in thirteenth and fourteenth-century philosophy and theology that I could identify with certainty, are a few direct quotations in Albert the Great's works, who was among the signatories of the final sentence.⁸ Yet, if we turn to a different 'lieu de la polémique',⁹ namely sermon literature, the prospect might be more favourable, as two studies by David Behrman and Nicole Bériou suggest. In what follows, I will therefore look into some sermons by Odo of Châteauroux and Berthold of Regensburg, which these scholars have discussed, and compare them with the *Extractiones*. I will also refer to another preacher and his sermons, namely the Catalan Franciscan Bernat de Déu, who was active in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

That Odo of Châteauroux should be acquainted with the Latin Talmud is not surprising, as he commissioned the work¹⁰ and issued the final condemnation of the Talmud in May 1248.¹¹ In his *Sermo de conversione iudaeorum*, which has been

dispose of a Hebrew manuscript with the Latin translations of the *Extractiones* in its margins: Florence, BNC, Magl. II-I, 7-9 (13th century). For the sequential version, see the recent edition *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*; an edition of the thematic version is in preparation.

5. This *Excerptum* of the thematic version of the *Extractiones* is preserved in the manuscripts Munich, BSB, clm 21259, fol. 28va-39va (14th century) and London, British Library, Add 19952, fol. 99r-111r (after 1445). Isaac Lampurlanés is currently preparing an edition of this text.
6. Peter of Limoges was the owner of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 16558, as is stated at fol. 238v: 'Iste liber est pauperum magistrorum de Sorbona, ex legato magistri Petri de Lemovicis, quondam socii domus huius, in quo continetur Talmud iudaeorum'. For Nicholas of Cusa and MS London, British Library, Add 19952, see Spilling, 'Cod. Harl. 3934, 3992 und Cod. Add. 19952'.
7. The same is true for William of Auvergne. While the Bishop of Paris clearly was a driving force of the 'Trial against the Talmud', there is no evidence in his *Opera omnia* of a direct use of the *Extractiones de Talmud*.
8. See Fidora, 'Albert the Great and the Talmud', where I show that in his commentaries on the Gospel of Saint Matthew, the *Sentences* and the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Albert quotes from the *Extractiones*' Latin translation of Berakhot and Bava Batra.
9. For sermon literature as a place of anti-Jewish polemic, see, among others, Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen Âge*, pp. 366-371.
10. In the prologue to the *Extractiones de Talmud*, which constitute the first part of the Talmud dossier, one reads that the translation was prepared 'de mandato venerabilis patris Othonis Tusculani episcopi sedis apostolicae legati'. Odo was created cardinal in May 1244 and appointed papal legate between July and October of the same year. This information is relevant for establishing the *terminus post quem* of the *Extractiones*, which were probably translated towards the end of the year 1244 or in 1245. On Odo's ecclesiastical career, see Iozzelli, *Odo da Châteauroux: politica e religione nei sermoni inediti*, p. 26.
11. For the document and the list of signatories, see Denifle and Châtelain, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, pp. 209-211. The theologians and masters of law in this list have been identified in Gorochov, *Naissance de l'Université. Les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)*, pp. 535 and 544-545.

edited by David Behrman,¹² he refers to several Talmudic passages contained in the *Extractiones*, though he does not quote from them literally. Rather, he prefers to put these passages into his own words as in the following fragment from Bava Batra 74a, which purports to prove the revolution of the sky:

Legitur etiam in eodem libro quod quidam Rabbi venientes ad locum in quo coniugitur caelum terrae viderunt quondam fenestram in caelo, in qua reposuerunt quendam calatum quem portabant, et post aliquantulam horam volentes accipere calatum suum, nec calatum nec fenestram invenerunt. Sed facta revolutione caeli utrumque invenerunt. Et per hoc perpenderunt quod caelum movebatur. Et infinita talia in praedicto libro [*scil.* in libro Talmud] scripta sunt [...].¹³

For this, the *Extractiones* give a much more detailed and, in fact, literal rendering:

Dicit Rava: Dixit mihi dictus mercator: Veni, ostendam tibi ubi caelum et terra se mutuo osculantur. Duxit me et ego accepi calatum meum, posuique illum in una fenestra caeli et ivi ad orationem. Quando autem oravi et redii, non inveni calatum meum. Tunc dixi mercatori: Suntne latrones in caelo? Qui respondit: Non, sed haec est sphaera caeli quae semper volvitur; expecta usque cras, hac eadem hora, et invenies illum. Expectavi et inveni – dicit glossa Salomonis quod non duxit eum ad finem mundi, quia usque illuc sunt quingenti anni itineris, sed duxit illum in alterum locum ubi caelum adheret terrae.¹⁴

Even though Odo's sermon only loosely follows this translation, there can be no doubt that his source, here and in other places, are the *Extractiones de Talmud*, particularly as we do not have at our disposal any alternative sources for most of these references, such as Nicholas Donin's thirty-five articles, which do not cover these passages.

Less evident, both textually and historically, is Berthold of Regensburg's debt towards the *Extractiones de Talmud*. Berthold, who dies in about 1272, is famous for his sermons, which he delivered throughout German-speaking countries in Latin and German. Both corpora of sermons convey a strong anti-Jewish sentiment and stigmatize Jews as heretics,¹⁵ with all the consequences that this entails:

12. See Behrman, '*Volumina vilissima*'.

13. Behrman, '*Volumina vilissima*', p. 205.

14. Here and in what follows, I quote from the critical edition of the *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem* (indicating the paragraph numbers, here no. 815). To allow comparison with the manuscripts, I provide the folio numbers of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 16558, abbreviatea as *P*. Here *P* 142rb-va.

15. For Berthold and the Jews, see the overview in Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, pp. 227-238.

Sie sint ze ketzern worden [...] unde habent ein buoch gemachet, daz heizet dalmut. Daz ist allez sament ketzerie, unde dâ stêt sô verfluochtiu ketzerie an, daz daz übel ist daz sie lebent.¹⁶

In his very polemical anti-Jewish preaching, Berthold of Regensburg repeatedly refers to the teachings of the Talmud, and in some cases, he directly quotes from Latin translations of the text, such as Sermon XXVIII, which aims to prove the superiority of Christianity over Pagans, Jews, and Heretics. In order to substantiate his claim that the Jewish religion is irrational, Berthold quotes the following passage from Yevamot 63a which expounds Genesis 2.23:

Quid est quod scriptum est Genesis II: ‘Hoc nunc os ex osse meo?’ [Gn 2:23] Glossa: Hoc nunc ergo animalibus coiverat cum aliquibus, quae non placuerunt ei, ostendens quod coivit Adam cum omnibus brutis, nec tamen cessavit appetitus eius, donec Eva ei coniuncta fuit.¹⁷

The very same passage on Adam’s sodomite practices with animals in Paradise is also contained in the sequential version of the *Extractiones de Talmud*, which offers the following rendering:

Dicit rby Eleazar: Quid est hoc quod scriptum est: ‘Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea?’ [Gn 2:23] Per hoc potestis discere quod Adam coit cum omnibus animalibus domesticis et silvestribus et non refriguit animus eius donec Eva fuit ei data.¹⁸

While this rendering is close to Berthold’s wording, it lacks at least one characteristic of the latter’s text, namely its reference to a gloss. The thematic version of the *Extractiones de Talmud* offers such a gloss, for it reads:

Dicit rby Eleazar: Quid est: ‘Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea?’ [Gn 2:23] Docet quod venit super omne animal domesticum et feram, id est coit cum illis, nec refriguit animus eius donec Eva fuit ei parata. Glossa Salomonis: Hoc nunc, ergo aliis vicibus servivit, id est coit, et non ascenderunt in animum eius.¹⁹

Yet the thematic version of the *Extractiones* does not seem to be Berthold’s direct source either. For the gloss in the thematic version is in fact a textual contamination from Nicholas Donin’s thirty-five articles against the Talmud, whose Article 34 has:

16. Berthold of Regensburg, *Vollständige Ausgabe seiner deutschen Predigten*, vol. 1, p. 401.

17. Quoted from the edition in Czerwon, *Predigt gegen Ketzer. Studien zu den lateinischen Sermones Bertholds von Regensburg*, pp. 214-215. In Schönbach’s earlier edition, this sermon takes the number XXVII (Schönbach, *Studien zur Geschichte der altdutschen Predigt*, passage quoted on p. 31).

18. *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 1718 (P 196vb).

19. P 70ra.

Dicentes Adam cum omnibus brutis et serpentem cum Eva coisse. De Adam legitur in libro Nassym, in macecta Ievamot, ibi dicit rby Eleazar: Quid est quod scriptum est: ‘Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea?’ [Gn 2:23] Docet quod venit super omne animal et feram, nec fuit reffrigidatus eius animus donec fuit ei parata Eva. Glossa Salomonis: Hoc nunc, ergo aliis vicibus servivit, coit cum illis, et non ascenderunt in animum eius, id est non placuerunt ei.²⁰

The addition of ‘non placuerunt ei’, which, being part of the gloss, occurs only in Berthold and Donin, confirms Nicholas Donin’s thirty-five articles, and not the *Extractiones de Talmud*, as Berthold’s source.

Yet one should not rush to the conclusion that Berthold of Regensburg depends exclusively on Nicholas Donin. Nicole Bériou²¹ pointed out other passages that yield evidence to the contrary, such as the following quotation from his Sermon XXVIII, which can be read as a continuation of Sermon XXVIII. Here, the German Franciscan quotes from, among other texts, Bava Kamma 60b, which deals with *malach ha-mavet*, the angel of death:

Dic de angelo Malachamaut. – Credunt iudaei, quod, si fuerit mortalitas in villa, quod non est ambulandum per medium viarum, quia angelus mortis illic vadit. Si autem non est mortalitas, non est ambulandum per latera viarum, quia angelus mortis per illa vadit, quia, quando non habet licentiam occidendi, vadit latitando.²²

In the *Extractiones de Talmud*, the angel of death is already introduced in the prologue where it is defined as: ‘*Malaac mavez*, id est angelus mortis, dicitur angelus qui omnes morientes interficit, et Duma vocatur in Talmud alicubi’.²³ Subsequently, the angel of death appears several times throughout the translation, including the passage from Bava Kamma 60b (sequential version):

Si sit mortalitas in villa, non ibit homo in medium viarum propter hoc quod angelus mortis vadit per medium viarum; ex quo cum habet licentiam – nocendi –, vadit plane. Si sit pax in villa, non vadat per latera viarum, quia angelus mortis per ea vadit; ex quo enim non habet licentiam – nocendi –, vadit latitando.²⁴

20. P 217va-b. Also in Loeb, ‘La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud’, 3 (1881), p. 54. English translation in Friedman, Connell Hoff and Chazan, *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240*, p. 120. See also the new critical edition by Piero Capelli in this volume.

21. Bériou, ‘Entre sottises et blasphèmes’, pp. 224-225.

22. Czerwon, *Predigt gegen Ketzer. Studien zu den lateinischen Sermones Bertholds von Regensburg*, p. 224. In Schönbach’s edition this sermon takes the number XXVIII (Schönbach, *Studien zur Geschichte der altdutschen Predigt*, passage quoted at p. 41).

23. *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 21 (P 97vb).

24. *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 649 (P 138ra). Neither the thematic version of the *Extractiones* nor its summary offer any significant changes to this text, which they include in the section ‘De sortilegiis’.

There isn't a parallel text for this fragment in Nicholas Donin's thirty-five articles²⁵ and the verbal coincidences are overwhelming. Small differences such as *occidendi* for *nocendi* are misreadings or scribal errors. It should also be noted that *nocendi* is an explanatory addition by the translators of the *Extractiones de Talmud*, which is not found in the Talmud itself; hence its appearance in Berthold's text, even if misread as *occidendi*, yields further evidence for the reliance of his sermon on the *Extractiones*.

That Berthold knew and used the *Extractiones* is also obvious from further texts he quotes in Sermon XXVIII. Thus, immediately after the above passage from Bava Kamma 60b, he continues:

Dixerunt sapientes de angelo mortis, quod plenus est oculis. In hora, qua infirmus mori debet, stat ad caput eius, gladium evaginatum habens in manu, et in ipso gladio amara gutta effusa, quam, postquam infirmus videt, totus contremiscit, apertoque ore eius proicit eam intus, et per illam moritur, et per illam fetet, per illam pallescitur vultus eius.²⁶

This passage draws directly from the Latin translation of Avodah Zarah 20a from the *Extractiones*, which runs as follows (sequential version):

Dicunt magistri: *malaac mavez* – angelus mortis – plenus est oculis, et in hora qua infirmus decedit, stat ad caput eius, et evaginatus gladius in manu ipsius et gutta amaritudinis dependet in illo, quam cito infirmus videt illam, contremescit et aperit os, et ille proicit eam in os ipsius: per illam moritur, per illam fetet, per illam virescit facies illius.²⁷

Again, the verbal coincidence is striking and it leaves no room for doubt that in this extract Berthold follows the *Extractiones*; even more so, considering that this text has no direct parallel in either Donin's articles nor in any other contemporary material we know of.

Our textual comparisons thus substantiate Bériou's contention that Berthold of Regensburg is a 'témoin probable' of the early reception of the *Extractiones*.²⁸ As we have seen, Berthold of Regensburg had full access to a manuscript which contained these two texts at least, that is, Donin's articles and the *Extractiones*. As a matter of fact, both

25. A brief mention of *malach ha-mavet* can only be found in Thibaud de Sézanne's *Errores iudaeorum* (sometimes erroneously referred to as *Pharetra fidei*): '*Malach Mavet* autem dicunt esse daemonem qui interficit morientes', MS Munich, BSB, clm 23923 (15th century), fol. 20rb. For Thibaud, see also Fidora, 'The Latin Talmud and its Translators: Thibaud de Sézanne vs. Nicholas Donin?', where I show that, contrary to what some have claimed, Thibaud cannot be the translator of the *Extractiones*.

26. Czerwon, *Predigt gegen Ketzer. Studien zu den lateinischen Sermones Bertholds von Regensburg*, p. 224 (Schönbach, *Studien zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt*, p. 41).

27. *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 1556 (P 109rb). Again, the thematic version and its summary offer no relevant variants for this passage, which they include in sections 'De erroribus' and 'De stultitiis' respectively.

28. Bériou, 'Entre sottises et blasphèmes', p. 225.

versions of the *Extractiones*, the sequential and the thematic one, are often transmitted along with Donin's articles.²⁹ However, the blending together of the two passages on the angel of death, that is, Bava Kamma 60b and Avodah Zarah 20a, does not reflect the rearrangement of the texts in the thematic version, where these occur in different sections, i.e. 'De sortilegiis' and 'De erroribus'. Hence, there is no reason to hold that Berthold relied on the thematic version rather than on the original sequential version of the *Extractiones*.

Where and how Berthold of Regensburg consulted the Latin Talmud dossier is unclear. While later reports of Berthold's possible sojourn in Paris seem to be legendary, there is evidence that Pope Urban IV asked Berthold to assist Albert the Great – Bishop of Regensburg between 1260 and 1262 –, in the preaching of the crusades to the Holy Land. Indeed, there is evidence that both men were in correspondence with each other.³⁰ Was it Albertus Magnus then, who was familiar with the dossier, who provided Berthold with the source texts?

In the second decade of the fourteenth century, Bernat de Déu, yet another Franciscan,³¹ again referred extensively to the *Extractiones de Talmud* in his sermons. Bernat, who was active in the Franciscan convents in Cervera and Lleida, devoted a whole sermon to the Jews, which Oriol Catalán has prepared an edition of.³² In a brief introductory note, the Catalan Franciscan explains that he wrote this sermon because preaching must target not only the vices of the Christians, but also the 'errores infidelium'. Therefore, and in order to rebut them, he reports 'aliqua nephanda quae dicunt contra scripturam sacram, contra Deum et contra fideles ut ex hiis possit eos confundere'.³³ Bernat draws on a variety of materials for this purpose. Thus, like Berthold of Regensburg, he knows and quotes from Nicholas Donin's thirty-five articles against the Talmud, as the following text from Bava Batra 74a reveals:

Audivit vocem Dei dicentis: 'Vae mihi quia iuravi', super quod dicit glossa Salomonis quod istud dicitur de iuramento subiectionis quo subiecit Israel nationibus.³⁴

29. Or at least they were bound together, as in the case of MS P.

30. See Czerwon, *Predigt gegen Ketzer. Studien zu den lateinischen Sermones Bertholds von Regensburg*, pp. 21-22 and p. 40.

31. Extrapolating from the case of Berthold of Regensburg, Christoph Cluse has assumed a strong Franciscan and Dominican interest in the *Extractiones*. While further research is needed to substantiate this claim, the case of Bernat de Déu certainly contributes to it. See Cluse, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden*, p. 363: 'Es ist unzweifelhaft, dass die grob verzerrenden Auszüge (*extractiones*) aus dem Talmud, die seit 1240 vor allem unter den Mendikanten kursierten, zu einer beträchtlichen Verdüsterung des Judenbildes beigetragen haben'.

32. Catalán Casanova, 'Los sermones de Bernat de Déu, O.F.M.'. His edition is based on the manuscript Tarragona, BPE, MS 163 (14th century), fol. 143rb-144ra, which can be accessed at <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=397190>.

33. Tarragona, BPE, MS 163, fol. 143rb: 'Quia praedicator verbi Domini debat esse armatus non solum contra vitia fidelium, sed etiam contra errores infidelium, idcirco pono hic aliqua nephanda quae dicunt contra scripturam sacram, contra Deum et contra fideles ut ex hiis possit eos confundere'. Catalán Casanova, 'Los sermones de Bernat de Déu, O.F.M.', p. 439.

34. Tarragona, BPE, MS 163, fol. 143va. Catalán Casanova, 'Los sermones de Bernat de Déu, O.F.M.', p. 439.

This goes back to Donin's Article 17, namely:

Et audivi filiam vocis – vocem Dei – dicentis: 'Vae mihi, quia iuravi'. Glosa: de subiectione Israel.³⁵

This is the only instance of the gloss from Rashi in conjunction with the Talmudic passage. The Talmudic passage is contained in the *Extractiones*, but without the gloss (both in the sequential and the thematic version).³⁶ From Donin, Bernat also quotes the sodomite practices of Adam in Paradise, which Berthold also refers to.³⁷

Other passages, however, go back to the *Extractiones de Talmud*, as the following one from Berakhot 3a:

Tres custodiae sunt in nocte et qualibet Deus sedet et clamat ut leo et dicit: Vae mihi quia destruxi domum meam et captivavi filios meos inter gentes saeculi.³⁸

This clearly corresponds to the *Extractiones*:

Tres custodiae sunt in nocte, et in qualibet Deus sedet et clamat ut leo, et dicit: Vae mihi, quia destruxi domum meam et combussi palatium meum et captivavi filios meos inter gentes saeculi!³⁹

While Donin's rendering is close to this, it is more complex:

Tres custodiae sunt in nocte et supra quamlibet custodiam est custodia, sedens Deus et clamans sicut leo et dicens: Vae mihi quia destruxi domum meam et combussi palatium meum et captivavi filios meos inter gentes saeculi.⁴⁰

35. P 214vb-215ra. Also in Loeb, 'La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud', 3 (1881), p. 40. English translation in Friedman, Connell Hoff and Chazan, *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240*, p. 112. It is worth noting that Bernat supplies Rashi's name at this place. From the materials he was reading, he apparently knew that the *glossa* to the Talmud *par excellence* was Rashi's.
36. Sequential version P 142rb, thematic version P 77va. See *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 813.
37. Compare Bernat's 'Adam ante formationem Evae coivit cum omni animali et fera et postea serpens cum eo' (Tarragona, BPE, MS 163, fol. 143rb) with Donin's Article 34: 'Dicentes Adam cum omnibus brutis et serpentem cum Eva coisse'. The manuscript's 'eo' is clearly a scribal mistake for 'ea'. (P 217va, ed. Loeb, p. 54, trans. Friedman, p. 120).
38. Tarragona, BPE, MS 163, fol. 143va. Catalán Casanova, 'Los sermones de Bernat de Déu, O.F.M.', p. 439.
39. *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 2 (P 99rb).
40. Article 18: P 215ra, ed. Loeb, p. 41, trans. Friedman, p. 113. Even more complex is the rendering in the *Errores iudaeorum*, MS Munich, BSB, clm 23923, fol. 18vb 'Dicit rabi Iohel: Tres sunt custodiae angelorum et super custodiam est Deus qui sedet clamans sicut leo et flens: Vae mihi et maledictus ego quia dimisi templum et iudaeos deseram et dimisam domum meam combussi palatium meum et captivavi filios meos inter gentes saeculi'. The *Errores* are one of the main sources for yet another contemporary anti-Talmudic work, the *Passau Anonymus*. At the present passage, for instance, the *Passau Anonymus* has: 'Dicit rabbi Johel: Tres custodiae angelorum sunt nocte, et super omnem custodiam custodia est Deus, qui sedet clamans

Other passages find no correlation at all in Donin and must therefore be attributed to the *Extractiones*, as in the case of the following text from Bava Batra 73b about a new-born antelope which is said to have the size of Mount Tabor:

Vidi bubalum qui in die qua natus fuit erat ita magnus sicut mons Thabor.⁴¹

Extractiones:

Dicit Rava: Vidi *ozila* bubalum in die qua natus fuit et erat ita magnus sicut mons Thabor.⁴²

Apart from minor stylistic changes, the only remarkable difference between both texts is that Bernat drops the transcription from the Hebrew (*ozila*), as he also does in other places (see below), in order to adjust his text to a non-specialist audience.

Such examples of a direct use of the *Extractiones* in Bernat's sermon can easily be multiplied, as in the case of the following text from Sanhedrin 55b, on the blasphemer who is punished only if he utters the divine name. Bernat states:

Qui blasphemat nomen domini non tenetur, nisi expresse nominet nomen domini Adonay.⁴³

Extractiones:

Qui blasphemat nomen domini non tenetur – ad mortem – nisi nominet expresse nomen domini – Adonai.⁴⁴

As a matter of fact, all Talmudic quotations in Bernat's sermon, can, without exception, be traced back either to Donin's articles, the sequential *Extractiones*⁴⁵ or to a third source that Oriol Catalán has conveniently identified in his edition of this sermon, that is, Ramon Martí's *Pugio fidei*.

Concerning the textual basis for Bernat's quotations from the *Extractiones*, it is tempting to relate them back to the Girona manuscript of the Latin Talmud, though this manuscript may have a slightly later date than his sermon, as the first part of the

sicut leo et flens: Vae mihi et maledictus ego, quia dimisi templum et iudaeos, desertam misi domum meam combussi palatium meum et captivavi filios meos inter gentes saeculi.' Edited in Niesner, 'Wer mit juden well disputiren', p. 494. On the *Passau Anonymus* see Patschovsky, *Der Passauer Anonymus*.

41. Tarragona, BPE, MS 163, fol. 143vb. Catalán Casanova, 'Los sermones de Bernat de Déu, O.F.M.', p. 441.

42. *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 804 (P 141rb).

43. Tarragona, BPE, MS 163, fol. 143va. Catalán Casanova, 'Los sermones de Bernat de Déu, O.F.M.', p. 439.

44. *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 1081 (P 158ra).

45. While I cannot exclude that Bernat used the thematic version of the *Extractiones*, his quotations do not reflect any traces of the textual rearrangement of the latter.

manuscript contains William of Ockham's *Dialogi* from the 1330s (today MS 19a).⁴⁶ Therefore, while the Girona manuscript can hardly be considered the immediate source of Bernat's quotations, it mirrors some (though not all) of the textual variants of this sermon, as the following example from Yevamot 105b may show:

Abraam percussus est lepra et duo filii submersi quia restiterunt rabi Ysmael in scola Talmud.⁴⁷

Here, the text of the Paris manuscript MS lat. 16558 of the *Extractiones* reads as follows:

Abzan percussus fuit lepra et duo filii eius submersi, quia restitit rby Ismahel in *ies-siva* – scola Talmud.⁴⁸

In the Girona manuscript, fol. 68ra, 'Abzan' (= Abdan) can indeed be read as 'Abran', that is 'Abraam' in Bernat, and the reference to the 'iessiva' or *yeshiva* is missing, as in Bernat. However, Girona changes 'restitit', which is the semantically correct translation, to 'restituit', which is wrong. Bernat keeps the semantically correct lexical option 'resistere', but changes its numerus, and thus alters the meaning of the passage (for it is not Abdan and his sons, or Abdan's two sons, but Abdan himself who challenged the rabbi). Given the proximity here and in other passages between the rendering of Bernat's text and the Girona manuscript, it is very likely that Bernat drew on a *Vorlage* which belonged to the family of the Girona manuscript.

This inquiry into the reception of the *Extractiones de Talmud* suggests that their principal impact was on the genre of homiletical literature. The claim that the interest in the *Extractiones* during the High and Late Middle Ages went hand in hand with homiletic concerns receives support from at least one manuscript of the Latin Talmud, namely the Codex from Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, MS Min. 71, which comprises the *Extractiones*, along with several sermons. The last part of this manuscript, which has received the general title, 'Breviloquium pauperis et sermones epistolares optimi cum Talmut', contains Berthold's homiletic cycle, 'Rusticanus de tempore et de sanctis' (fol. 240ra-268vb). Other as yet unpublished sermons in the manuscript belong to Walter of Bruges (fol. 154ra-217va).⁴⁹

46. On this manuscript, see Millás Vallicrosa, 'Extractos del Talmud y alusiones polémicas en un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Catedral de Gerona' and Fidora, 'Die Handschrift 19b des Arxiu Capitular de Girona'. For the above reasons, the dating of the manuscript in both articles, i.e. 13th/14th century, should be modified in favour of the 14th century.

47. Tarragona, BPE, MS 163, fol. 143va. Catalán Casanova, 'Los sermones de Bernat de Déu, O.F.M.', p. 439.

48. P 197rb (*Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, no. 1730).

49. See Gamper, Knoch-Mund and Stähli, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Ministerialbibliothek*

We may therefore conclude that, contrary to what it may seem, the *Extractiones de Talmud* were both read and used during the Middle Ages. If we still know very little about their influence, this may not be an indicator of the lack of such an influence, but rather stem from the fact that many sermons from the Middle Ages still await editions.

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