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T. +34 93 581 10 22
sp@uab.cat
http://publicacions.uab.cat

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Introduction

The Latin translations of the Babylonian Talmud which were carried out in Paris in the years between 1238 and 1248 are a milestone of Christian-Jewish relations. Compiled with the purpose of serving as a textual basis for the trial against the Talmud, the thirty-five articles of accusation by the Jewish convert Nicholas Donin, and the far more extensive and systematic *Extractiones de Talmud*, bring the Talmudic text to the centre of anti-Jewish polemical discourse in an unprecedented way. If it is true that the Talmudic corpus and its contents were not unknown to Christianity, having been mentioned already in the ninth century by the Carolingian bishop Agobard of Lyon, and used for anti-Jewish polemic more extensively in the twelfth century in Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* (Dialogue against the Jews) and Peter the Venerable's *Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem* (Against the deep-seated hardness of the Jews), they had never before been treated in such a rigorous and systematic way as in the translations of the 1240s. These translations make the Talmud not merely a part of the controversy, but its main objective. Moreover, they present themselves as an independent work in their own right – a Latin Talmud – and not just as accessory to a work of controversy, even if their polemical purpose is clear.

The Latin Talmud translations of the 1240s have been the object of scholarship since at least the 18th century: this is when we find the first fragmentary editions in Jacques Échard's *Sancti Thomae Summa suo auctori vindicata* (Paris, 1708). Further fragments were published later by Isidore Loeb (1880-1881), Joseph Klapper (1926), Erich Klibansky (1933), Gilbert Dahan (1990s) and José María Millás Vallicrosa (1960), and more recent studies have shown the role the Latin Talmud translations played in the context of Christian-Jewish polemic. These include Chen Merchavia's *The Church Versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature (500-1248)* (Hebrew, 1970), Robert Chazan, John Friedman and Jean Connell Hoff, *The Trial of the Talmud. Paris, 1240* (2012) 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* (2011).

However, our research project based at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, which envisages the critical edition of the *Extractiones de Talmud*, "The Latin Talmud and Its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic" (LATTAL), brought to light new insights and perspectives. Our philological work has brought forth new findings about the complexity of the translation process, the manuscript tradition of the *Extractiones*, their chronology and their influence on later polemics and on cultural history at large.

This volume, collecting revised and enlarged versions of papers presented at the 51st International Congress on Medieval Studies (May 12-15, 2016, Western

Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, USA) and at the 23rd International Medieval Congress (04-07 July 2016 University of Leeds, UK), introduces the reader to the latest results obtained by Alexander Fidora and his research team during the editorial work and points to new perspectives and horizons in research on Jewish-Christian relations, including the work of additional scholars who have been in close exchange with the LATTAL team.

The first contribution – "The Latin Talmud and its Place in Medieval Anti-Jewish Polemic" by Alexander Fidora – introduces the reader to the *Extractiones de Talmud*, setting it in the history of Christian-Jewish controversy and pointing to some examples of the complexity met with during the course of the editorial work, such as the existence of two versions of the *Extractiones*. In particular, the article brings to light entanglement between Nicholas Donin's thirty-five articles and one of these versions of the *Extractiones*.

The presentation of the work continues with the chapter "El estadio textual de las *Extractiones de Talmud* en el BnF ms. lat 16558" by Óscar de la Cruz Palma, which focuses on the intricate manuscript tradition of the work. It discloses the history of different redactions that the translation underwent before coming to its most mature phase, as represented by the manuscript lat. 16558 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Until now, this manuscript has been regarded by scholars as a unique exemplar of the "original" translation, the other manuscript witnesses being just modifications of it.

The third chapter, "Looking for Polemical Argument: A Closer Look into the Latin Translation of the Talmud, *Extractiones de Talmud* (c. 1244-45)" by Ulisse Cecini addresses the contents and the methodology of the translation. It shows the high level of knowledge of Jewish culture possessed by the translator and the fundamental literality of the translation when compared to the original Hebrew/Aramaic Talmud. At the same time, Cecini shows how the apparent fidelity to the original does not rule outthe bias of the translator(s) in service of the polemic against the Talmud.

The next contribution, "Hebrew *Hapax Legomena* from the Bible in the Latin Talmud: Some comments regarding their textual transmission and their Latin translation" by Eulàlia Vernet i Pons concentrates on direct Biblical quotations from prophetic books containing *hapax legomena* and other textual difficulties faced by the translator of the Talmud. It uncovers how the translator not only makes use of Jerome's Vulgata for the translation of such Biblical verses, but also follows other *versiones* in given occasions. Thus, the study intertwines reflections on Biblical textual transmission in the Talmud with an assessment of the Biblical knowledge and language skills of the translator.

In the chapter: "The Latin Talmud Translation: The Hebrew Sources", Annabel González Flores looks for the historical text that was translated in the *Extractiones*, bearing in mind the very complex textual transmission of the original Talmud in its century-long history from the Near East to Europe. González Flores identifies passages in the Latin text that allow the postulation of textual variants in its *Vorlage* in comparison with the Hebrew/Aramaic canonical text of the Vilna Talmud from

the nineteenth century and checks those variants in the still extant manuscripts of the Talmudic tradition.

The cultural influence of the Latin Talmud is the object of the chapter: "The Latin Talmud Translation: The Epitome" by Isaac Lampurlanés Farré. The study focuses on the *Excerptum de Talmud*, an hitherto unedited translation of Talmudic passages. The study reveals the text to be a re-elaboration of the *Extractiones* and carefully describes its relationship to the latter, highlighting similarities and distinctions. Moreover, the contribution offers further insights into the complex redaction history of the *Extractiones*, showing how different redaction layers and versions of the *Extractiones* are reflected in the textual evidence given by the *Excerptum*.

Around the *Extractiones de Talmud*, a dossier of related documents was built whose final version is portrayed by the aforementioned manuscript (lat. 16558 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France). One of the parts of the dossier, carefully described in its entirety in the second chapter of this volume, is represented by a collection of Latin translations of commentaries to Biblical verses by the famous Jewish commentator of the eleventh century Shlomo Yitzhaqi, known by the name of Rashi. The chapter: "Rashi's Glosses on Isaiah in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558" by Görge K. Hasselhoff edits and comments twelve glosses on Isaiah from this corpus. The commentary deals with the original text by Rashi, the method followed by the translator and its possible *Vorlage*.

Rashi and his rendering into Latin are also the object of the contribution: "A Priest's 'Uncircumcised Heart'. Some Theological-Political Remarks on a Rashi's Gloss in tractate Sanhedrin and its Latin translation in *Extractiones de Talmud*" by Federico Dal Bo. The chapter concentrates on a particular gloss of Rashi which deals with the question of whether or not an apostate "Jewish priest" should be admitted into the Temple service. After inscribing Rashi's statement into the complex internal Jewish debate about the question and highlighting the intended ambiguity of its interpretation, Dal Bo comments on the translation choices made by the Latin translator who, on the contrary, offers an explicit and specific interpretation. Thus, the study reveals once again the dynamics at work and the different layers of interpretation that hide behind such "correct" – but nevertheless alienating – translations as those given in the *Extractiones de Talmud*.

The chapter: "The References to the Talmud in Andrew of St. Victor's Biblical Commentaries" by Montse Leyra offers a view on the Christian treatment of Talmudic material preceding the *Extractiones* through the analysis of references to Jewish religious practices and traditions in the Biblical commentaries of Andrew of St. Victor (d. 1175). The study focuses on Andrew's sources and is particularly interested in the question of whether they go back to Talmudic commentaries of Jewish authors of the twelfth century or rather to Latin exegesis (Jerome, *Glossa ordinaria*). Even if the latter is often the case, the other possibility also presents itself. This, one may reflect, could possibly be seen as a trend which eventually led, even if not directly, to the turning point represented by the *Extractiones*, which went straight to the Hebrew sources and translated them.

"An Unrevealed Source: The Talmud in Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla Literalis*" by Ari Geiger analyses the role of Talmudic quotations in the Bible commentary *Postilla literalis super totam Bibliam*, written by Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1349). It is shown how Nicholas avoids citing the Talmud and that, when he does cite it, his purpose is to ridicule the Talmudic material. This seems to be the consequence of the hostile attitude towards the Talmud prevalent in the cultural environment the author inhabited, an attitude which discouraged him to make a neutral or constructive use of Talmudic quotations in his commentary.

This last contribution rounds up this volume of studies about the Latin Talmud. The work as a whole gives a comprehensive picture of the most recent discoveries and reflections concerning this ground-breaking collection of translations from the 1240s, from the historical context, through text-transmission and redaction problems, to methodological issues, external influences and different perspectives on the subject in precedent and subsequent works. Therefore, it is a pleasure for the editors to let the volume speak and to thank all the contributors and the European Research Council (FP7/2007-2013/ERC Grant Agreement n. 613694) for making it possible. The editors would also like to thank the University Press of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and Sarah Wood for the final revision of the volume.

Bellaterra, November 2017

Ulisse Cecini
Eulàlia Vernet i Pons

(More on our project under http://pagines.uab.cat/lattal/)

List of Abbreviations

Ab: Aḇot (אבות)
Abd: Obadiah (*Abdias*)
Agg: Haggaiah (*Aggeus*)
Am: Amos (*Amos*)
Ant. Jud: *Antiquitates Judaicae*
Az: ʿAḇoda Zara (עבודה זרה)
Bek: Bekhorot (בכורות)
Bell. Jud: *Bellum Judaicum*
Ber: Berakhot (ברכות)
Bb: Baba Batra (בבא בתרא)
BH: Biblia Hebraica
Bm: Baba Meṣiʿa (בבא מציעא)
Bq: Baba Qamma (בבא קמא)
Ct: Song of Songs (*Canticum Canticorum*)
Dn: Daniel (*Danihel*)
Dt: Deuteronomy (*Deuteronomium*)
Er: ʿErubin (עירובין)
Ex: Exodus (*Exodus*)
Ex. Rab: Exodus Rabbah
Ez: Ezekiel (*Hiezechiel*)
Gn: Genesis (*Genesis*)
haf.: *haf'el* (causative)
Heb.: Hebrew
hif.: *hif'il* (causative)
Hul: Ḥullin (חולין)
Ier: Jeremiah (*Hieremias*)
impf.: imperfective (prefix conjugation)
Is: Isaiah (*Isaias*)
KJV: King James Version
Lam. Rab: Lamentations Rabbah
Lat: Latin
Lev. Rab: Leviticus Rabbah
Lv: Leviticus (*Leviticus*)
Mak: Makširin (מכשרין)
Mcc: Maccabees (*Macchabeorum*)
Meg: Megila (מגילה)
Men: Menaḥot (מנחות)
Mish: Mishna
Mq: Moʿed Qatan (מועד קטן)
Mt: Matthew (*Mattheus*)
Nid: Nidda (נידה)
Nm: Numbers (*Numeri*)
perf.: perfective (suffix conjugation)
Pes: Pesaḥim (פסחים)
Prv: Proverbs (*Proverbia*)
Ps: Psalm(s) (*Psalm*(*i*))
ptc.: participle
Qid: Qiddušin (קידושין)
Rg: Kings (*Regum*)
Rh: Roš ha-Šana (ראש השנה)
Sab: Šabbat (שבת)
San: Sanhedrin (סנהדרין)
Sir: Sirach (*Ecclesiasticus*)
So: Zephoniah (*Sofonias*)
Sot: Soṭa (סוטה)
Suk: Sukka (סוכה)
Tam: Tamid (תמיד)
Tan: Taʿanît (תענית)
TB: *Talmud Bavli*, Talmud of Babylon
TJ: Talmud of Jerusalem
Yeb: Yeḇamot (יבמות)
Yom: Yoma (יומא)
Za: Zechariah (*Zaccharias*)
Zeb: Zeḇaḥim (זבחים)

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

Alexander Fidora
(ICREA and Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

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

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013)/ERC Grant agreement n. 613694 (CoG: "The Latin Talmud").

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 IIIIor 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 Iudaeos*, 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 Kniewasser, "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: Görge 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, Iudaee, bestia, librum tuum, illum, inquam, librum tuum, illum Talmuth tuum, illam egregiam doctrinam tuam, propheticis 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 Chancellier 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 1244/45[14] 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 Judiciorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio saec. XII <usque ad 1735> in Ecclesia proscripti sunt atque notati; Censoria etiam judicia 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 mccxxxvi. 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 xii^{o} [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 Inguimbertine, 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 Gerona", 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 Alraum *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 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.

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 polemic[22] 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 Cusanus-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 Görge 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 Talmut. Tratado apologético de Jerónimo de Santa Fe*. Ed. Moisés Orfali, Madrid, 1983, pp. 254-256.
23. On the Talmud in the *Postilla* see Deeana Copeland Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers. Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Age*s, 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.

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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 juden 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 blasphemiis contra Christum et beatam virginem
15-25	Blasphemous teachings about God	De blasphemiis contra Deum
26 sq.	Blasphemous teachings about Jesus and Mary	De malis quae dicunt de goym, id est christianis
		De erroribus
28-30	Blasphemous teachings about the Church	De sortilegiis
31-33	Teachings that promise blessings to Jews and the opposite to Christians in the world to come	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, ^{2}1966 [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 *P*, fol. 11va	**Nicholas Donin, *P*, 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, perec Iubal [*lege* '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 perec Iubal [*lege* '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 rendering[31] 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 Mercchavia, "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.

El estadio textual de las *Extractiones de Talmud* en el BnF ms. lat 16558*

Óscar de la Cruz Palma
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Abstract

This chapter proposes a new reading of the text of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 16558, thus far the main reference for scholarly research on the *Extractiones de Talmud*. This manuscript displays substantial textual variants when compared to the rest of the manuscript tradition. A study of these variants in the light of the Hebrew Talmud reveals that the Paris manuscript, despite being the oldest copy of the *Extractiones*, contains the text at its most mature stage in a reiterated editorial process.

1. El contexto de las *Extractiones de Talmud*

El manuscrito latino de la Bibliothèque nationale de France 16558 ha sido el principal testimonio utilizado por la bibliografía que estudia las *Extractiones de Talmud*.[1] Puesto que este manuscrito transmite ciertos documentos relacionados con la llamada Disputa de París de 1240 –respecto a la cual la traducción del Talmud no es ajena–, y se ha visto en él una cierta unidad temática, este testimonio fue acertadamente visto por Gilbert Dahan como un "*dossier* concernant l'affaire du Talmud".[2] Otro argumento que debe añadirse para reclamar la importancia de este manuscrito es su datación (s. XIII), que lo sitúa como el más antiguo (*antiquior*) de la transmisión de las *Extractiones*. Sin embargo, el proceso de edición crítica de esta traducción latina del Talmud nos permite confirmar el famoso principio de G. Pasquali, *recentiores non deteriores*. Veremos que el estadio de transmisión de las *Extractiones* en el citado manuscrito de París corresponde a un momento en el que el texto ya había sufrido una serie de reducciones, correcciones e indexaciones que indican un estadio evolucionado de las *Extractiones*, y ello a pesar de que los demás testimonios conservados son siempre cronológicamente posteriores. Se podría afirmar en este momento, pues, que este magnífico testimonio –textualmente excelente– presenta una situación algo paradógica,

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1. Puede verse la reproducción de la BnF en el link http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52504712p (consultado el 24.10.2016).
2. Gilbert Dahan, "Les traductions latines de Thibaud de Sézanne", en: Gilbert Dahan/Élie Nicolas (Eds.), *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242-1244*, Paris, 1999, pp. 95-120 (en p. 95).

porque siendo el más antiguo de las *Extractiones*, presenta el texto más reciente, es decir, el resultado de un cierto proceso de corrección.

Otro aspecto que todavía no ha sido explicado de este manuscrito es la relación que existe entre los varios documentos que contiene, con la excepción de los estudios vertidos sobre las cartas papales relacionadas con la condena del Talmud (fols. 230vb-231va y 232va-234va), para las cuales este testimonio sigue siendo una de las fuentes principales.[3] Puesto que en este estudio haremos ciertas referencias a las *Extractiones* (fols. 97ra-211ra) en relación con otros documentos del manuscrito, conviene proseguir recordando la estructura y los contenidos que ofrece el mismo.[4] Son los siguientes:

***P*$_1$** fols. 1ra-3vb: [op. I. praef.] Praefatio (= fols. 97ra (1) - 99rb (3))
fols. 3vb-4va: [op. I] Extractiones de Talmud (*sed tantummodo partim* Ber 3a-Ber 3b = fols. 99rb (3)-100ra (4))

***P*$_2$** fols. 5ra (2)-96ra:
fols. 5ra (2)-9ra: [op. III.1] De auctoritate Talmud: De auctoritate legis super os quod vocant Talmud
fols. 9ra-12va: [op. III.2] De sapientibus et magistris: De sapientibus et magistris et potestate et honore eorum
fols. 12vb-14vb: [op. III.3] De blasphemiis humanitatis Christi: De blasphemiis contra Christum et beatam Virginem
fols. 14vb-18rb: [op. III.4] De blasphemiis contra Deum: Sequitur de blasphemiis et quibusdam indignis de Deo dictis et scriptis in Talmud
fols. 18rb-24rb: [op. III.5] Contra christianos: Sequitur de malis quae dicunt de *goym*, id est christianis
fols. 24rb-33va: [op. III.6] De erroribus
fols. 33vb-37vb: [op. III.7] De sortilegiis
fols. 37vb-41va: [op. III.8] De somniis
fols. 41va-44rb: [op. III.9] De futuro saeculo et statu post mortem
fols. 44va-46rb: [op. III.10] De Messia
fols. 46rb-66va: [op. III.11] De quibusdam levioribus erroribus sive stultitiis
fols. 66va-70vb: [op. III.12] De turpitudinibus et inmunditiis
fols. 70vb-96ra: [op. III.13] De fabulis
fols. 96rb-96v: *vacat*

3. De estas cartas papales puede leerse la traducción inglesa de Jean Connell Hoff en John Friedman/Jean Connell Hoff/Robert Chazan, *The Trial of the Talmud, Paris 1240*, Toronto, 2012, pp. 93-101 (a partir de la ed. latina de Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*. *Vol. 1: Documents, 492-1404*, Toronto, 1988). Fueron publicadas por primera vez por Isidore Loeb, "Notes et mélanges. Bulles inédites des Papes", en: *Revue des études juives* 1 (1880), pp. 294-298.
4. Puede verse una enumeración de los contenidos en Dahan, "Les traductions latines" (cit. n. 2), pp. 118-120, y en Ulisse Cecini/Óscar de la Cruz/Eulàlia Vernet, "Observacions sobre la traducció llatina del Talmud (París, mitjan segle xiii)", en: *Tamid* 11 (2015), pp. 73-97 (en n. 39).

P <PRIMERA PARTE>
fols. 97ra (1)-211ra:
fols. 97ra-99rb (3): [op. I. praef.] Praefatio
fols. 99rb (3)-211rb (115): [op. I] Extractiones de Talmud

<SEGUNDA PARTE>
fols. 211rb-211va: [op. II.1] Prologus in secundam partem
fols. 211va-217vb: [op. II.2] <De articulis litterarum papae>: Hii sunt articuli pro quibus praecepit Papa Gregorius libros hoc continentes comburi
fols. 217vb-224va: [op. II.3] De quibusdam librorum: Sequitur de quibusdam, de diversis libris collectis, librorum et locorum ordine non servato
fols. 224va-230vb: [op. II.4] De glossis Salomonis Trecensis
fols. 230vb-231va: [op. II.5] Epilogus cum confessionibus magistri Vivi Meldunensis et magistri Iudas
[op. II.5.1] <Confessio magistri Vivi Meldunensis>
[op. II.5.2] <Confessio magistri Iudas>
fols. 231va-232va: [op. II.6] Quaedam nomina magistrorum
fols. 232va-234va: [op. II.7] <Epistulae super condemnatione Talmud>
[op. II.7.1] <Epistula Odonis Tusculanensis ad Innocentium IV Papam>
[op. II.7.1.1] <Epistula Gregorii Papae ad regni Franciae archiepiscopos>
[op. II.7.1.2] <Epistula Gregorii Papae ad Portugalliae regem>
[op. II.7.1.3] <Epistula Gregorii Papae ad Parisiensem episcopum>
[op. II.7.1.4] <Epistula Gregorii Papae ad episcopum et priorem Praedicatorum et ministrum Minorum fratrum Parisius>
[op. II.7.2] <Alia epistula Odonis ad litterarum inspectores>
fol. 234va: [op. II.8] <explicit>: Explicit inconsummatum opusculum contra voluntatem auctoris. Regi saeculorum inmortali invisibili soli Deo, honor et gloria; iudaeis autem in praesenti, confusio ad poenitentiam [ad] in salutem. Amer anime amen anime. <*signum*> Finis <*signum*>.
fols. 234va-238vb: <index locorum Bibliae>

Es necesario continuar reseñando una observación de tipo codicológico que resulta imprescindible para comprender la compleja estructura de este manuscrito. Se trata del hecho que es el resultado de haber encuadernado tres ejemplares codicológicamente distintos (en calidad de pergamino y en manos de copia, aunque cronológicamente muy próximos entre sí). Aunque ignoramos la fecha en que fueron reunidos estos tres ejemplares en la misma encuadernación, vemos que una mano de época moderna ha enumerado todos los folios de manera consecutiva, aunque los folios de cada parte mantienen restos de su propia enumeración original

e independiente. De ahí que reflejemos la doble enumeración de estos folios, para hacer visible su naturaleza miscelánea. Llamaremos al primer ejemplar que aparece P_1, al que corresponden los fols. 1r-4v. Este testimonio P_1 resulta ofrecer la misma información que aparecerá más tarde en los folios 97ra (1)-100ra (4), esto es, una copia del Prólogo [op. I. praef.] y los primeros lugares de la traducción del Talmud (concretamente cinco *extractiones* de Ber 3a y las siguientes cuatro *extractiones* de Ber 3b). Más abajo hablaremos de la comparación entre ambos pasajes para referirnos al valor testimonial en el *stemma*.

Llamaremos P_2 al segundo testimonio que aparece en este volumen y que ocupa los fols. 5ra-96ra en la enumeración contigua. Vemos que en el fol. 5r se observa una antigua enumeración .2., que tendrá su continuación .3. en el fol. 17r; .4. en el fol. 29r; .5. en el fol. 41r;. .6. en el fol. 53r; .7. en el fol. 65r; .8. –medio cortado por el encuadernador– en el fol. 77r; y .9. en el fol. 89r. Como consecuencia, estamos en este caso en una enumeración, no de los folios, sino de los cuadernos en formato 12º –y, efectivamente, el tamaño del manuscrito es reducido, como suele corresponder a esta encuadernación–. Podríamos conjeturar, pues, que esta enumeración por cuadernos perteneció a una época antigua del manuscrito, cuando fueron reunidos los testimonios P_1 y P_2, de manera que se enumeró el primer cuaderno de P_2 con la enumeración del segundo cuaderno, habiéndose considerado que los folios de P_1 se correspondían con el primer cuaderno (aunque no era de 12 folios).

Llamaremos P al tercer testimonio encuadernado, que se extiende desde el fol. 97r hasta el 238v. No sólo ofrece una calidad de pergamino y una mano distinta a los folios anteriores (de P_1 y P_2), sino que también conserva su propia enumeración, esta vez expresada en números arábigos desde el folio 1 hasta el 99 y en romanos desde el folio .c. en adelante (igualmente a causa de la encuadernación, sin embargo, muchos de estos números se han perdido, de manera que el último conservado es el .cxxxiii. en el fol. 230r).

Así como la foliación consecutiva puede ser un argumento relativamente válido para pensar en la fecha en que estos tres testimonios fueron unidos bajo la misma encuadernación, encontramos otra prueba que indicaría su antigüedad. Se trata del ex-libris que se lee en el último folio (238vb):

> Iste liber est pauperum magistrorum de Sorbona ex legato magistri Petri de Lemovicis quondam socii domus huius, in quo continetur Talmud iudeorum. Precii .lx. solidorum. Catenabitur tertius (*fort*.) inter sermones.

Pierre de Limoges (Petrus de Lemovicis) fue un *socius* de La Sorbonne, muerto repentinamente el 2 de noviembre de 1306 en Blaie (cerca de Bordeaux). Según Albert Soler "llegà una biblioteca de cent vint volums a la Sorbona". [5] Uno de ellos es,

5. La expresión del ex-libris *tertius inter sermones* nos ofrece una dificultad en la lectura del número; sin embargo, en el catálogo de manuscritos de la biblioteca de P. de Limoges dado por Albert Soler, "Els manuscrits lul·lians de Pere de Llemotges", en: *Llengua & Literatura* 5 (1992-1993), pp. 462-469 (en

pues, el manuscrito que nos ocupa. Ahora lo importante es que la datación codicológica que podríamos establecer de la segunda mitad del s. XIII queda corroborada y que, por lo tanto, el manuscrito ya estaba encuadernado tal y como lo conocemos (es decir, con los tres testimonios que lo conforman P_1, P_2 y P) también en el momento de su donación. Visto el catálogo de manuscritos dado por el citado Albert Soler, no parece imposible que esta encuadernación miscelánea fuera de P. de Limoges, puesto que existen otros manuscritos de su propiedad que habían sido encuadernados por él mismo.[6]

Pero el asunto de la encuadernación nos conduce a otros problemas que nos plantea este manuscrito. Uno de ellos es el hecho de que aparezca en primer lugar la traducción de los lugares talmúdicos ordenados temáticamente (así en la parte del ms. P_2). Sin embargo, hay varias pruebas que demuestran que las *Extractiones de Talmud* (op. I, en el ms. *P*, fols. 99rb-211rb) son una traducción secuencial del Talmud, en base a la cual (y a otros documentos de los que hablaremos) se elaboró la citada edición organizada por temas. Por lo que los tratados que aparecen al inicio de este manuscrito, codicológicamente independiente (P_2), fueron ciertamente elaborados después de haber obtenido las *Extractiones* (legibles en *P*). Se trata, pues, de una transposición de dos textos (la traducción secuencial y su edición temática) que aparecieron en el orden inverso en que los presenta este manuscrito. La razón de ello no nos parece clara, pero quizá fuera debido al hecho de querer ofrecer primordialmente una disposición de las *Extractiones* (temática), pensando que la lectura de ésta fuera más fácil de usar o más útil para aquellos lectores que pretendieran documentar sus tratados con citas latinas del Talmud.

Al mismo tiempo, parece a primera vista sorprendente la repetición del prólogo [op. I praef.], en los folios 1ra-3vb de P_1 y en los folios 97ra-99rb de *P*. Su lectura nos indica que sirvió de prólogo a las *Extractiones* y, por lo tanto, se esperaba en el lugar que ocupa dentro del ms. *P*. Sin embargo, su aparición en posición anterior a P_2, es decir, a la edición temática, parece indicar que también fuera dado como prefacio a este ejercicio de reordenación sobre la traducción secuencial. Ciertamente, los contenidos que ofrece este prólogo también funcionan pensando exclusivamente en la versión temática. Es importante hacer notar que uno de los manuscritos de esta misma tradición, el ms. de Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, ms. Min. 71 (s. XIII-XIV), al que llamaremos *S*, transmite en los folios 60r-61v una redacción del citado prólogo con bastantes características especiales que indican haber sido adaptado para servir expresamente de presentación a la versión temática del Talmud.[7]

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pp. 447-470) [el mismo argumento en Albert SOLER, "Ramon Llull and Peter of Limoges", en: *Traditio* 48 (1993), 93-105], aparecen varios volúmenes de *Sermones* de su autoría. Así los mss. de la BnF 16482 (pero titulado *Distinctiones*) y 16503; y parcialmente los ms. lat. 15972 (fol. 87); 15972 (fols. 174-177), 16435 (fols. 121v-127), 16481 (fols. 124ss.; 186ss.).

6. Así, respecto al ms. lat. de la BnF 15972, SOLER, "Els manuscrits" (cit. n. 5), pp. 464, apunta que es un "volum factici format per Pere de Llemotges"; y el 16356 contiene indicaciones de haber sido reunido por él mismo.

7. Sobre la comparación entre estos dos prólogos, véase en este volumen la contribución de Isaac Lampurlanés.

En suma, pues, tanto porque el prólogo aparece repetido en este manuscrito para abrir tanto la versión secuencial [op. I] como la versión temática [op. III.1-13], como porque existen evidencias de un prólogo expreso para esta última, puede verse que el texto que transmite P_2 –es decir, la edición temática de las *Extractiones*–, incluso encuadernado junto con las *Extractiones*, fue pensado, visto o presentado como una monografía que indexaba los lugares talmúdicos por temas. Efectivamente, sabemos además que este tratado temático –y no la más completa traducción secuencial– fue la base del *Excerptum* elaborado posteriormente.[8]

Refiriéndonos todavía al conjunto de los contenidos de este manuscrito, observamos que el testimonio parcial al que llamamos *P* está estructurado en dos partes. Esta división viene dada por la indicación expresa de la existencia de un *Prologus in secundam partem* [op. II.1] y que nos permite deducir que el *Prologus in primam partem* correspondiente sería el que ya hemos referido y que se puede leer en sus fols. 97ra-99rb [op. I. praef.]. Si leyéramos este segundo prólogo, veríamos que podría interpretarse que servía de presentación a las dos obras siguientes [op. II.2 y op. II.3] y no a todo el resto del *dossier*. Efectivamente, así como este nuevo prólogo se refiere a los artículos atribuidos a Donin [op. II.2], nos interesa más ahora destacar el op. II.3. Se trata de una antología de textos talmúdicos traducidos igualmente al latín, para cuya explicación no hemos encontrado referencias bibliográficas hasta este momento.

En nuestra opinión, la breve Antología de los fols. 217vb-224va [op. II.3] sería la prueba de la existencia de un segundo ejercicio de traducción del Talmud al latín, elaborada por el mismo *translator*, aunque con un *interpres* distinto que el que actuó en la elaboración de las *Extractiones*. Para sostener esta interpretación, podríamos acudir a sendos prólogos, en los que una voz (anónima, pero la misma que redacta los dos prólogos, y, por lo tanto, identificable con el *translator*) hace mención de dos *interpretes* distintos y desconectados entre sí que, por lo tanto, elaboran dos traducciones independientes del Talmud:

> [op. I. praef.] Deus autem duos sibi providit interpretes catholicos in hebraea lingua quam plurimum eruditos. Hoc autem fidelitatis eorum infallibile mihi praestitit argumentum: quod, cum multa magna et notabilia de praedictis libris diversis temporibus, posteriore ignorante quae vel qualiter ab ore prioris interpretis transtuleram, etsi propter difficultatem et obscuritatem hebraici, quandoque variaverint verba, eandem tamen sententiam et sensum tenuerunt. [*apud* P_1 fol. 1ra *et P* fol. 97ra (1)].

> [op. II.1] Quoniam "in ore duorum vel trium testium stat omne verbum" [Mt 18, 16; cf. Dt 17, 6], 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. [*apud P* fol. 211rb (115)].

8. Véase nuevamente la contribución de I. Lampurlanés en este volumen.

Además, la comparación entre los mismos lugares talmúdicos elegidos en las *Extractiones* y en esta Antología demuestra que estamos ante traducciones independientes. Así, por ejemplo:

Op. II.3 *De quibusdam librorum*	**Op. I Extractiones de Talmud**
[Ber 64a] Dicit rby Auvein: Quicumque comedit in mensa sapientium, acsi reficeretur claritate Dei, sicut scriptum est: "veneruntque Aaron et omnes sapientes Israhel ut comederent panem cum eo coram Deo" [Ex 18, 12]. Comederunt ergo coram Deo? Comederunt coram Moyse? –Solutio:– Sed ostendit scriptura quod, qui comedit in mensa sapientium, tantum valet acsi viveret de gloria Dei. [*apud P* fol. 223va (126)]	[Ber 64a] Omnis qui habet delicias de convivio in quo sapiens comedit, ita est acsi videret faciem Dei, sicut scriptum est: "veneruntque Aaron et omnes seniores Israhel ut comederent panem cum eo coram Domino" [Ex 18, 12]. [*apud P* fol. 124ra (28)].

Pero el aparente desorden de los lugares talmúdicos que ofrece esta Antología podría verse explicado si la ponemos en relación con el op. II.2, es decir, con las citas talmúdicas que ilustran las treinta y cinco acusaciones de Donin. Si hacemos un cuadro con los lugares tomados del Talmud en los op. II.2 y II.3, se vería que no comparten ninguno de ellos. Si además observáramos que ambos trabajos (los op. II.2 y II.3) comparten características semejantes, interpretaríamos finalmente que la Antología [op. II.3] es el resto de los pasajes de la traducción del Talmud que no fueron utilizados para ilustrar los artículos de Donin. En consecuencia, pues, los op. II.2 y II.3 deberían leerse como un conjunto de lugares talmúdicos pertenecientes al mismo *corpus*, pero distribuidos para su uso en las acusaciones de Donin –sí el op. II.2, pero no el op. II.3–.

Esta hipótesis aumenta su interés, si tenemos en cuenta la secuencia siguiente de los acontecimientos: acusaciones de Donin (c. 1238-1239), la Disputa de París (1240) y la siguiente aparición de las *Extractiones* (1244-1245).[9] De ser cierta nuestra hipótesis, las dos obras, op. II.2 (Donin) y op. II.3 (Antología), contienen la más antigua traducción latina del Talmud que transmite el *dossier*, traducción que habría sido elaborada por el primer *interpres* unos cinco o seis años antes de que el segundo *interpres* elaborara las *Extractiones*.[10] Creemos, además, que el *translator*,

9. Para la datación de las *Extractiones* en 1244-1245, véanse Alexander Fidora, "Textual Rearrangement and Thwarted Intentions: The Two Versions of the Latin Talmud", en: *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 2/1 (2015), pp. 63-78; Alexander Fidora/Ulisse Cecini, "Nicholas Donin's Thirty-Five Articles Against the Talmud: A Case of Collaborative Translation in Jewish-Christian Polemic", en: Charles Burnett/Pedro Mantas-España (Eds.), *'Ex Oriente Lux'. Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society*, Cordova/London, 2016, pp. 187-199.
10. Para la deducción de las fechas, véase el citado Fidora, "Textual Rearrangement" (cit. n. 9). En apoyo de este argumento, véase el Prólogo a la segunda parte [op. II.1.Praef.]: "...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".

sin embargo, sería la misma persona que habría trabajado con ambos. G. Dahan[11] se aventuró a atribuir su identidad a Thibaud de Sézanne –aunque se refería siempre al *translator* de las *Extractiones*–. En nuestra opinión, este *translator* todavía sigue en el anonimato, como también lo es la identidad de ambos *interpretes*.[12]

2. El texto de las *Extractiones de Talmud*

El manuscrito que nos ocupa, pues, ofrece dos traducciones latinas del Talmud: la que contiene los Artículos de Donin [op. II.2] junto con una Antología situada a continuación [op. II.3]; y la que ofrece de manera secuencial las *Extractiones de Talmud* [op. I]; mientras que todo este material sirvió de base para construir varios tratados organizados temáticamente [op. III.1-13]. Puesto que parece correcto afirmar que ambas fueron redactadas independientemente por dos *interpretes*, aunque verosímilmente por el mismo *translator*, nos permitimos ahora concentrar el análisis textual en las *Extractiones*.

El manuscrito *P* de las *Extractiones* es el más antiguo de la transmisión, pero se conservan otros testimonios no menos valiosos. Son los siguientes:

W: Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, ms. I Q 134 a (med. s. XIII, 2 fols.): *tantummodo* fol. 1: San 90a - 94b; fol. 2: Nid 17a - Qid 31a : Ed. Klap.

F : F_7 F_8 F_9

- F_7: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, coll. Antonio Magliabechi, Magl. II-I-7 (heb. s. XII).
- F_8: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, coll. Antonio Magliabechi, Magl. II-I-8 (heb. s. XIII *ex*.- XIV *in*.).
- F_9: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, coll. Antonio Magliabechi, Magl. II-I-9 (s. XIII *ex*.- XIV *in*.).

S: Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, ms. Min. 71 (s. XIII-XIV, fols. 60-153).

G: Girona, Arxiu Capitular, ms. 19b (misceláneo, s. XIV: fols. 44r (1r) - 81v (38)).

C: Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, lat. 153 (s. XIV, fols. 1ra-78vb).

B: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 306 (s. XV -a. 1437-, fols. 46-136).

Z: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, lat. 1115 (*olim* 2103, fin s. XVII).

11. Dahan, "Les traductions latines" (cit. n. 2).
12. Esta hipótesis será objeto de estudio en un trabajo próximo. También lo serán los opúsculos que compilan traducción de las glosas de Rashi [op. II.4]. Puede verse una edición reciente en Görge Hasselhoff, "Rashi and the Dominican Friars", en: Charles Burnett/Pedro Mantas-España (Eds.), *'Ex Oriente Lux'. Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society*, Cordova/London, 2016, pp. 201-215.

Comencemos por despejar el manuscrito *Z*, puesto que puede considerarse un *codex descriptus* de *P*.[13] También dejaremos de lado los dos únicos folios conservados en Wrocław, del que nos ocuparemos cuando nuestro trabajo de edición crítica esté más avanzado.

El manuscrito *S* nos transmite el prólogo [op. I.praef.], pero en una redacción adaptada como presentación de los tratados que organizan temáticamente el Talmud [op. III.1-13]. Aunque ahora no parece relevante porque no transmite la traducción secuencial (*Extractiones*), nos ofrece datos sobre la composición de estas partes que parecen ser útiles para la reconstrucción del proceso de elaboración de este conjunto de textos.

Llamamos manuscrito *F* a un testimonio que actualmente se conserva encuadernado en tres volúmenes (F_7, F_8 y F_9). Se trata de una redacción hebrea del Talmud (incompleto), pero los dos últimos ofrecen una amplia muestra del texto de las *Extractiones* situada en los márgenes, a la altura del texto hebreo correspondiente. Es, pues, un testimonio bilingüe hebreo-latino (*Extractiones*). A pesar de que su datación parece posterior al ms. *P*, los extractos latinos que transmite (sin duda, el mismo que el de las *Extractiones*) mantienen, sin embargo, una serie de características que, a nuestro juicio, sitúan a este testimonio –como veemos en el apartado siguiente– como el texto *antiquior*. Aun teniendo en cuenta que *F* es incompleto, quizá su característica más relevante es que es el único que lee ciertos lugares de las *Extractiones* que son inexistentes en el resto de testimonios. Es decir, encontramos algunos pasajes latinos que únicamente existen en F_8 y en F_9.

El manuscrito de Berlin (*B*) presenta el texto a renglón completo y transmite las *Extractiones* con bastantes errores de lectura. Sin embargo, este testimonio debe situarse en un lugar muy próximo a la versión más antigua, según algunos rasgos que iremos viendo, pero de los que ahora destacamos el hecho de compartir la exclusividad de algunos pasajes de las *Extractiones* que sólo se leen en *B* y en *F*. Además, ofrece algunas variantes textuales respecto a *F* que parecen indicar que se trata de una copia que emprendió enmiendas.

Finalmente, también el manuscrito *C* puede considerarse un *codex descriptus* de *G*. Sin embargo, el hecho que *G* sea incompleto, hace que *C* gane valor textual para aquellos lugares perdidos en su modelo *G*.

El estadio del manuscrito de *G* (y, según hemos dicho, de su copia *C*) es también relevante. Mantiene los mismos lugares talmúdicos que *P*, habiendo ya perdido los pasajes que sólo se leían en *F* o en *F* y *B*. Esta transmisión *GC* ofrece lecturas opuestas a *P* y al mismo tiempo lecturas compartidas con *F* y/o *B*, pero también lecturas propias. Es interesante reseñar que *GC* ofrecen en los folios iniciales una indexación temática de las *Extractiones*, construida a partir de indicaciones con letras del alfabeto en los márgenes. Aunque *G* perdió los primeros cuadernos –presumiblemente

13. Matizadamente, las variantes textuales del prólogo y los lugares iniciales de las *Extractiones* que transmite P_1 pueden coincidir con lecturas de *Z*; pero desde el punto de vista del estadio del texto, está claro que *Z* se ajusta muy estrechamente al texto transmitido por *P*.

seis– que contenían este índice (puesto que la parte conservada se inicia a la altura de Ber 15a en fol. 1ra –con la doble enumeración 44–), mantiene las letras referenciales que demuestran haberlo tenido. En conjunto, la textualidad de *GC* puede situarse en un estadio medio entre los extremos *F* y *P*, es decir, en nuestra opinión, entre el estadio más próximo a la redacción de las *Extractiones* (*F*) y el resultado de un proceso de corrección, representado en *P*. Intentaremos demostrar el proceso de evolución del texto latino de las *Extractiones* en el apartado siguiente.

3. Situación textual

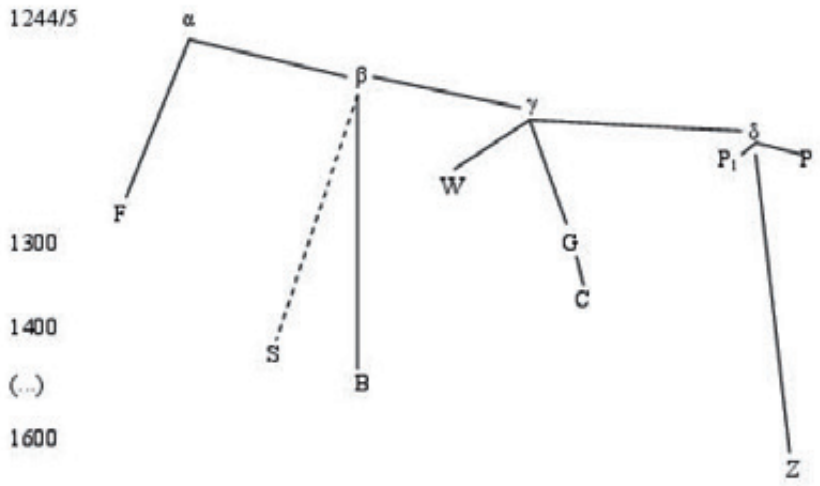
Nuestra hipótesis central en este trabajo acaba de ser anunciada en la conclusión del apartado anterior: la calidad textual del manuscrito *P*, aun siendo codicológicamente el más antiguo, es el resultado de un cierto proceso de corrección que lo sitúa en el estadio textual más evolucionado. Igualmente, por ser el manuscrito que transmite de manera más completa el *dossier* de la traducción latina del Talmud –hecho que lo ha convertido en el referente bibliográfico más frecuente, si no prácticamente en el único–, el manuscrito *P* se detecta como un texto "editado" y preparado para ser utilizado con el objetivo de la refutación del judaísmo.

Además, así como el texto de los testimonios *GC* había constituído exclusivamente un índice de temas, el manuscrito *P* ofrecía dos elementos originales de indexación igualmente exclusivos: una mano última clasificó la mayoría de los lugares talmúdicos con las categorías siguientes (citados a continuación por orden alfabético): *blasphemia*[op. III.3-4], *error*[op. III.6], *fabula*[op. III.13], *de futuro*[op. III.9], *goy*[op. III.5], *inmunditia*[op. III.12], *de sapientibus*[op. III.2], *de somniis*[op. III.8], *sortilegium*[op. III.7], *stultitia*[op. III.11], *superbia*, *de Talmud*[op. III.1] y *turpitudo*[op. III.12].[14] Asimismo, es frecuente la aparición de la indicación *nota* acompañando a cualquiera de las categorías citadas o bien de manera aislada –indicio que, como veremos, también tiene interés en la transmisión del texto–. Hemos comprobado que, aunque estas categorías parecen tener relación con los temas de los opúsculos temáticos III.1-13, han sido añadidas en el margen posteriormente a la construcción de los mismos. La principal explicación para pensar en esta secuencialidad es que es frecuente que un lugar categorizado de una manera (por ejemplo: *de Talmud*), después o bien no aparezca en la parte temática correspondiente (es decir en el op. III.1) o bien aparezca en otra parte temática.[15] Y la principal razón que se nos ocurre por la que apareció esta clasificación en el margen de los pasajes es que los lugares indicados sirvieran como una ampliación de los pasajes ya incluidos en cada opúsculo –véanse las relaciones que hemos dado en forma de superíndice sobre las categorías–. Finalmente –y quizá sea

14. Se aprecian otras anotaciones que afectan a lugares aislados, como, por ejemplo, *de inferno* (una sola vez: Ber 57b), o *de statu fatali* (una sola vez: Ber 18b).
15. Aquí sólo tenemos espacio para poner un caso sobre este rasgo: por ejemplo, Ber 31a: *Si quis audit aliquid de halaka...* aparece recogido en el opúsculo centrado en el Talmud [op. III.1] (en P_1 fol. 5rb), pero las notas marginales de *P* lo indican como *stultitia* (en *P* fol. 110ra).

la última aportación hecha sobre el testimonio *P*– otra mano posterior (quizá Pierre de Lemoges?) añadió tras el *explicit* del *dossier* un índice de citas bíblicas.

La hipótesis que acabamos de formular nos requiere su plasmación en forma de *stemma* y su demostración, que podría expresarse del modo siguiente:[16]



3.1. Lugares propios de F*: la primera edición de las* Extractiones

Como hemos indicado, el manuscrito de Firenze (*F*) transmite parte del Talmud hebreo en tres volúmenes (F_7, F_8 y F_9), de los que sólo los dos últimos ofrecen en el margen lugares de las *Extractiones*. Una de las características más importantes de este testimonio –también indicada anteriormente– es que ofrece pasajes propios, es decir, traducción latina de lugares talmúdicos no transmitidos por ninguno de los demás testimonios conservados. En el ejemplo seleccionado a continuación, único en F_8, vemos que aparecen subrayadas las glosas al texto, un rasgo que mantendrá también el texto transmitido por *P*, pero que habrá perdido sistematización en *GC* y será prácticamente desaparecido en *B*. Y también veremos que *F* ofrece localiza-

16. Este stemma es necesariamente especulativo, porque está siendo dado en el momento en que todavía no hemos concluido la edición crítica de las *Extractiones*. Al mismo tiempo, ya que nuestro estudio se dirige a las distintos estadios de redacción o corrección del texto, nos podemos permitir no apreciar las diferencias textuales entre P_1, *P* y *Z*, al que consideramos *descriptus* (en realidad, de un subarquetipo δ). Lo mismo ocurre en la relación entre *G* y *C*, de los que podría especularse un subarquetipo en común, aunque las semejanzas son tan significativas que también podemos hablar de *descriptus*. Estos matices serán objeto de futuros estudios. Finalmente, la línea discontinua de *S* afecta sólo al prólogo, ya que este manuscrito transmite los tratados temáticos [op. III.1-13] y un prólogo [op. I. praef.] sensiblemente adaptado a la versión temática, aunque textualmente basado en una redacción común que ya aparecía en el representante de β, es decir, el ms. *B*.

ciones de lugares bíblicos citados, otro rasgo que mantendrán todos los testimonios, pero que también será más sistemático en *P* (es decir, tenderá a citar algunos otros lugares que no aparecían localizados en los demás testimonios):

> [Bb 15b] [F_9 24a] –De discordia inter magistros quo tempore Iob fuit, probat quod non fuit tempore iudicum–, quia non posuit Deus spiritum prophetiae a tempore Moysi super gentes saeculi, sicut scriptum est –Exo. .xxxiii.–: "in quo enim scire poterimus invenisse nos gratiam in conspectu tuo nisi ambulaveris nobiscum et glorificemur ab populis omnibus" [Ex 33, 16] –in hoc scilicet quod nullus prophetat nisi de populo tuo–. Dixit autem Dominus ad Moysen: et verbum istud quod locutus es faciam.

Pero el ejemplo que acabamos de recoger, sin embargo, resulta algo curioso, porque aparecerá retraducido en el resto de manuscritos del modo siguiente:

> *in P* 138vb; *B* 97ra; *C* 34ra; *Z* 271r (123)
>
> [Bb 15] Omnes magistri intelligunt quod Iob fuit de Israhel. Si enim velles dicere quod fuit de gentibus a tempore Moysi et infra, requievitne Spiritus Dei super gentes saeculi? Nonne dicit Dominus meus –Talmud scilicet–: Rogavit Moyses quod non requiesceret Spiritus Dei super gentes saeculi et concessit ei, sicut scriptum est –Ex. .xxxiii.–: "et erimus separati ego et populus tuus ab omni gente quae est super faciem terrae" [Ex 33, 16 –s. hebr.–]? –Dixit autem Dominus ad Moysen: Et verbum istud quod loquutus es faciam–.
>
> 1 Omnes *om*. *B* magistri intelligunt... Israhel *om*. *B* Iob *om*. *C* || 1-2 *transp*. velles dicere *C* || 2-3 Dei super] desuper *C* || 3 Talmud scilicet *lin*. *PZ* scilicet *om*. *CB* || 4 et *add*. Deus *B* || 5 Ex. .xxxiii. *mg*. *PZ* || 5-6 tuus ab omni... autem *om*. *C*

Algunos de los lugares latinos que aparecen únicamente en *F* se corresponden con los *incipit* de cada capítulo (*perec*). Así, por ejemplo, leemos la secuencia siguiente:

> [F_8 27b] TERTIUM *PEREC*
>
> [Bq 27a] [F_8 27b] QUI MOVET CUNCTAM... [Mish Bq III, 1]
>
> [Bq 28a] [F_8 29b] <*add.* stultitia *mg*. *PZ*> Si mulier "miserit manum et adprehenderit verenda eius, abscindes manum illius" [Dt 25, 11-12]. Dicit Talmud: Accipies pecuniam pro emenda.

en donde, el inicio del capítulo de Bq III, es decir, correspondiente a la parte de la Misná *Qui movet cunctam*, sólo aparece en F_8. Este rasgo es significativo, porque, aunque la entidad textual de estos *incipit* de capítulo parece menor, en un testimonio

bilingüe como es *F* pueden haber tenido la función de ayudar a localizar al lector latino su posición en el capítulo del tratado que estaba leyendo. Es decir, si bien estos inicios dan mayor entidad a la identificación, más simple, de *tertium perec* –para el ejemplo elegido–, su *incipit* –en el ejemplo, *Qui movet cunctam*– parecería irrelevante para el contenido del texto. Por esa razón, desaparecieron en el resto de la transmisión manuscrita.

El hecho de que *F* sea un testimonio bilingüe hebreo-latino resulta especialmente sugerente, visto, además, que transmite una redacción previa a las correcciones progresivas que iremos viendo más abajo. Es verosímil y sugerente pensar que la anotación de las *Extractiones* se hizo originalmente al margen del hebreo, es decir, acompañando a los lugares seleccionados del Talmud. Sin embargo, el manuscrito de Firenze mantiene algunos errores que pueden interpretarse que sean de copia, por lo que esta idea del original bilingüe debe tomarse con cautela. Así, por ejemplo, en

> [Bb 58a]: "Dicit rby Benaa: Respexi in duobus talis eius et erant similes duobus radiis solis: Omnia respectu Sarae, quasi simia respectu hominis; et Sara respectu Evae, quasi simia respectu hominis; et Eva respectu Adae, quasi simia respectu hominis; et Adam primus respectu Dei, quasi simia respectu hominis",

se da que *Omnia*, que traduce 'todo el mundo' [TB הכל][17], se lee *Onram* en F_9 (fol. 64b *infra*).

Y, finalmente, lecturas del texto latino que no tienen correspondencia con el texto hebreo que transmite *F*, con lo que éste no puede tenerse en cuenta como la fuente directa de la versión latina.[18]

La exclusividad de los rasgos de *F* (básicamente dos, es decir: pasajes exclusivos y lecturas propias *ante correctionem*) nos permiten situar al testimonio de Firenze como el representate *antiquior*, como el más próximo al texto original de las *Extractiones*. Si añadimos, además –como iremos viendo–, que el texto de *F* aparece corregido posteriormente en comparación con los demás testimonios, esta hipótesis queda confirmada.

17. Vemos que la lectura hebrea correspondiente es segura en varias tradiciones talmúdicas que son referenciales para la edición de las *Extractiones*. Así, en la versión posterior y canónica de la edición de Vilna se lee הכל; y la misma se encuentra en los modelos que pueden considerarse representantes de la *Vorlage* de la traducción latina, es decir, tanto en el mismo ejemplar bilingüe *F*, como en el ms. hebreo de München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. hebr. 95. Para las fuentes manuscritas de los *Talmudim*, utilitzamos la base de datos del Saul Lieberman Institute: *Sol and Evelyn Henkind Talmud Text Database* (versión 5) del Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research of the Jewish Theological Seminary.
18. Para estos casos, véase la contribución de Ulisse Cecini, "The *Extractiones de Talmud* and Their Relationship to the Hebrew Talmud Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (MS Magl. coll. II.I.7, 8 and 9)", en: *Sefarad* 77/1 (2017), pp. 91-115.

3.2. La copia "en limpio" de B*: la segunda edición de las* Extractiones

El manuscrito de Berlín (*B*) ofrece dos características que indican que este testimonio representa el paso de un original bilingüe de las *Extractiones* (representado por *F*) a una copia exclusivamente de la traducción latina. Una es el hecho de mantener ciertos pasajes leídos únicamente con *F*. Significaría que la transmisión progresiva del original de las *Extractiones* fue seleccionando progresivamente de todos los lugares escogidos, dejando de lado una parte de ellos. Así, pues, de la selección más amplia del conjunto del Talmud (*F*), el testimonio *B* representaría una primera criba de los pasajes ya traducidos al latín (lugares propios de *FB*). Así, por ejemplo, en la secuencia siguiente, concurren casi todas las características de la secuencia de la transmisión de las *Extractiones*:

in F_9 3b; *B* 95rb-va; *P* 137va; *G* 53va; *C* 33rb; *Z* 269r

[Bb 2b] Dicit rab Huna: Malum est hominem stare in agro vicini sui in hora qua seges est in stipula –ne fascinet–.

[Bb 3b] Quod non est scola diruenda donec alia facta sit.

[Bb 3b] Herodes fuit famulus Asmunei et concupivit filiam domini sui et audivit vocem dicentem: Omnis serviens qui modo rebellabit contra dominum suum prosperabitur. Et occidit omnes dominos suos praeter illam filiam. Quando ipsa vidit quod volebat eam capere, ascendit super tectum, levavit vocem et dixit: Omnis qui dicit "ego sum de familia Asmunei" servus est. Hoc dicto, occidit et mortua est. Tunc Herodes accepit eam et abscondit in melle septem annis. Aliqui dicunt quod coibat cum eam; alii quod non, sed, ut diceretur filiam regis, accepit.

[Bb 3b] Et quaesivit: Qui sunt qui dicunt: "non poteris alterius gentis hominem regem facere, qui non sit frater tuus" [Dt 17, 15]? Hii sunt magistri. Tunc ivit... (*reducido para el ejemplo*)

[Bb 4a] <*add.* stultitia *mg. PZ*> Dicit rab Iuda: Quare fuit Danihel damnificatus –id est, quare positus "in lacu leonum" [cf. Dn 6, 7; 6, 12; 6, 16]–? Quia dedit consilium Nabuchodonosor impio, sicut scriptum est: "peccata tua elemosynis redime" etc. [Dn 4, 24].

1 *add.* sortilegium *mg. PZ* Dicit rab Huna] Rab Huna dicit quod F_9 hominem] homini F_9 in agro vicini sui] in campo proximi sui F_9 in agro [proximi]<vicini> sui *Z* || 2 seges *om*. F_9 ne fascinet *lin*. *PZ*] quia fascinat *et lin*. F_9 || 3 Bb 3b *tantummodo in* F_9 || 4-10 Bb 3b *tantummodo in* F_9B || 4 Asmunei] Hassemunay F_9 Asmunay *B* sui *add*. [in hora qua seges est in stipula] *B* || 6 Et occidit] occidit ergo *B* ipsa] ipsam *B* || 7 volebat] voluit *B* super] in *B* levavit] levavitque *B* || 8 Asmunei] Hasmunay F_9 Asmunay *B* || 10 coibat cum] cognoscebat *B* accepit] acceperit *B* || 11-12 Bb 3b - 4a *tantummodo in* F_9B || 11 Et quaesivit] Ait Herodes *B* || 12 qui *add*. scilicet *B* || 14 Dicit *praem*. Nonne F_9B *transp*. damnificatus Danihel F_9 || 15 id est... leonum *lin*. PF_9Z *Z* positus *add*. fuit F_9 || 16 Nabuchodonosor impio] nabu hoc impio *sic GC*

En el aparato que hemos construido para este lugar, vemos que Bb 3b (1) sólo ha sido transmitido por F_9; y los dos lugares siguientes, Bb 3b (2) y Bb 3b (3), sólamente por F_9B, de manera que la secuencia de estas *extractiones* quedó reducida a la lectura de Bb 2b y Bb 4a en los testimonios restantes.

La segunda característica de *B* es que, además de haber discriminado algunos de los lugares de las *Extractiones*, los corrige. Si observamos el aparato del ejemplo anterior, se aprecian numerosos ejemplos de la intervención de *B* sobre su texto base representado aquí por F_9. No hay que despreciar la desaparición de los subrayados para las glosas que ya ofrecía *F* y que mantiene *P*, pero que perdió por completo *B* y mantuvo aleatoriamente *GC* (ver lin. 16).

Pero al mismo tiempo, *B* mantiene rasgos conjuntivos con *F* que nos permiten continuar apreciando que todavía la tradición de los demás manuscritos representa un estadio de corrección más avanzado. Así, en la línea 15 del mismo ejemplo anterior, el caso más claro es la redacción: Dicit *praem*. Nonne F_9B. Abundaremos en estas características en los ejemplos que iremos dando a continuación..

3.3. La selección fijada: la tercera edición de las Extractiones

En nuestra idea de ver en la transmisión de los manuscritos de las *Extractiones* un proceso de edición, los testimonios *PGC* coinciden en el cuerpo de texto. Es decir, representan un estadio en el que ya se prescindió de los lugares exclusivos en *F* o en *F* y *B*. Sin embargo, el texto siguió siendo corregido, confirmando así un nuevo estadio del mismo. Hemos representado este estadio con el subarquetipo γ, del que hablamos a partir del resto de manuscritos que de él dependen. Recordemos que hemos decidido dejar de lado el análisis de *W*. Sin embargo, todavía devemos distinguir la agrupación *GC* frente a *P*.

3.4. G *y* C*: La cuarta edición de las* Extractiones

Teóricamente, las disensiones entre *P* y *GC* indicarían que estos dos últimos mantienen un estadio más próximo a la que hemos llamado “tercera edición”. Es decir, en el apartado siguiente veremos que *P* todavía ofrecerá lecciones propias que podrán interpretarse como las últimas correcciones de la transmisión.

Los numerosos errores conjuntivos entre *G* y *C* permiten detectar también que *C* puede considerarse un *codex descriptus* de *G*. Sin embargo, como hemos dicho, el hecho que *G* sea fragmentario, o, dicho de otro modo, que *C* sea único en la transmisión de una parte de esta “cuarta edición”, le da un valor extraordinario. Pongamos, en primer lugar, algunos errores inequívocamente conjuntivos respecto a los demás testimonios:

> [Ber 17b] Non sit nobis filius vel discipulus qui *exurat* –id est faciat *aorser*, id est foetere– cibum suum –doctrinam– sicut Iesus *Noceri* –id est Nazarenus–.

qui exurat] si exurgat *GC* id est] sic *GC* aorser] acurser *GC* id est foetere] hoc est facere *GC* id est... foetere *lin*. *G*

[Ber 25b] Si quis immergat se et non poterit...

immergat se] ingumgat *sic GC*

[Ber 53a] Dicit rby Ioce: Si quis sentit bonum odorem in castro et maior etiam pars habitantium sit de Israhel, non benedicet, quia filiae Israhel faciunt thurificationem –sortilegiis–.

maior] a maiore *GC* maiorem *B* non benedicet... Israhel *om*. *GC*

Además, los testimonios *GC* añaden un *index rerum* al inicio de las *Extractiones*, cuyas referencias vienen indicadas en el margen con letras del alfabeto. Sin embargo, si bien *G* perdió este índice –por haber perdido los primeros folios, en los que se encontraba–, mantiene las letras de referencia que lo demuestran. Así, por ejemplo, si tomamos la entrada para "Talmud", lo indexaron del modo siguiente (conservado en *C* fol. 11r-v) –demostramos su eficacia referencial sólo para las dos primeras entradas, utilizando también el testimonio *G*–:

TALMUD: Talmud studentes qualiter benedicant Deum dum intrant scolas et Deus qualiter eis compatitur, in prima parte .A.

B. Meretur mortem quid docet Talmud coram magistro suo et de fabula Samuhelis et matris eius, qui contrarium fecit coram Levi. In prima parte, .AF. in fine.
   Compruébese, efectivamente, en *G* 45rb: "prima pars AF. : [Ber 31b] Et dixit Heli: verum dixisti, sed meruisti mortem, quia doces *halaka* coram magistro tuo; quia omnis qui docet *halaka* coram magistro suo meretur mortem".

C. In Talmud est melius studere quam in qualibet alia re et quare in quarta parte, .B.
   En *G* 52va: "quarta pars .B. : [Bm 33b] Dicit rby Iohan: In diebus Rby, fuit dictum hoc verbum –hoc scilicet quod *non est melior modus studendi quam in Talmud* [Bm 33a]; ex quo enim multiplicati fuerunt discipuli Samay et Hylel...".

D. Talmud fuit compilatum per Rabi. Misit ex assertionibus multorum magistrorum quos Israhel fecit congregari. Ibi.

E. Qui habet scientiam legis Talmud, perinde est acsi per eum aedificaretur templum. In .vii. parte, .D. in principio.

F. Quia Ionathas dixit quod Davit sciebat plus de Talmud quam ipse. Saul coepit invidere. In .vii. parte, .G. ad medium.

[...] (omitimos aquí las entradas G. - Q.)

R. Quod Talmud numquam mentitus est et quod fuit lex data verbo a Deo Moysi in monte Sinai cum omnibus expositionibus suis; et quod solemnius legitur inter

> iudaeos Talmud quam Biblia, nec vocaretur magister qui sciet Bibliam cordetenus nec sciret Talmud; et quodlibet sit verum quidquid continetur in Talmud, non tantum est curandum nisi in eo quod pertinet ad legem, et Talmud sunt verba sapientum; et quicumque illa transgreditur magis peccat quam transgressorum verborum legis scriptae. In secundo libro .viii. parte, C.E.I. Vide angelus .G.; excommunicatio .D.; expedicio .A.; halaca A.; Helias D.; homo M.; ira G.; iudaeus .B.; magister B. I. N. Q.; memoria A. B. C.; mors C.; mortua R.; oblivio D.; peccata AN.; publicatio A.; scolaris C.; saeculum O. S.; significatio A.

3.5. Las Extractiones *de* P *(y Z): la quinta edición, con el texto más evolucionado*

Los rasgos destacados del conjunto de la transmisión de las *Extractiones* nos permiten recoger algunas observaciones que caracterizan a *P*. Es también el momento de despejar el manuscrito *Z*, que se ofrece como un *codex descriptus* de este manuscrito.

Se trata de un texto que ya ha sufrido una reducción progresiva respecto a los testimonios *F* y *B*, pero que ya el subarquetipo γ (al que pertenece) ya había cerrado.

Como dijimos al inicio, el ms. *P* puede considerarse un *dossier* relativo al Proceso de la condena del Talmud, en torno a la disputa de París de 1240. Se trata del testimonio más completo en cuanto a la traducción latina del Talmud, acompañado de "documentos históricos", es decir, de pruebas que sirven para documentar el proceso de traducción y condena del mismo (ver el apartado 1 de este trabajo).

Otra característica que también hemos explicado en el apartado 3 es que la mayoría de los pasajes que selecciona las *Extractiones* vienen clasificados por alguna de las categorías *blasphemia*, *error*, *fabula*, etc.

El ms. *P* ofrece, además, un *index locorum Bibliae* en los últimos folios, de una mano distinta a la del resto del volumen, tras el *explicit* del dossier (fol. 234va-238vb). Tras éste, se lee el ex-libris de donación del manuscrito a la Bibliothèque de La Sorbonne, que también hemos recogido en el apartado 1 de este trabajo.

Nos queda argumentar que el testimonio *P* ofrece un estadio de corrección posterior al resto de manuscritos, aunque, al mismo tiempo, conserva ciertos rasgos formales que lo relacionan con la versión que consideramos más antigua, transmitida por el testimonio bilingüe de Firenze (*F*). Uno de ellos es el subrallado sistemático de las glosas añadidas por los traductores (casi siempre pertenencientes a Rashi),[19] rasgo que perdió sistematización en *G* –en donde aparece reflejado aleatoriamente y de manera escasa– y fue prácticamente desestimado por los copistas de *B* –inexistente– y de *C* –escaso–.

19. Tampoco aquí hay lugar para demostrar la dependencia de las glosas latinas con las de Rashi. Para ello, véanse Görge Hasselhoff, *Dicit Rabbi Moyses: Studien zum Bild von Moses Maimonides im lateinischen Westen vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg, ^{2}2005; Cecini *et al*., "Observacions sobre la traducció" (cit. n. 3).

Nos queda, pues, insistir en el estadio del texto, es decir, su nivel de corrección en la copia y en la transmisión. Algunos rasgos, además, podrán verse en los aparatos de los ejemplos que hemos ofrecido.

Las variantes que pertenecen sólo a *P* son numerosas. Un nuevo ejemplo nos permitirá confirmar algunos de los rasgos de las características de este testimonio:

in P 133rb (37); F_8 98b; *G* 9ra (52); *C* 31ra; *B* 88vb; *Z* 263r (107)

[Bq 80a] Dicunt magistri: Accidit de quoddam iusto quod suspirabat ex corde et quaesierunt causam a medicis. Et responderunt quod non curaretur nisi biberet lac calidum de mane in mane. Et adduxerunt ei capram et ligaverunt ad pedem lecti et suggebat lac eius de mane in mane. Et non multum post venerunt eum videre socii ipsius. Quam cito viderunt capram ligatam ad pedem lecti, retrocesserunt et dixerunt: Fur armatus est in domo istius et intrabimus? Resederunt et perscrutati sunt nec invenerunt in eo peccatum, nisi de capra, et ipsemet dixit: In hora mortis scio in me ipso quod non est in me peccatum, nisi peccatum de capra, quia trangressus sum verba sociorum meorum qui dicunt quod non debet nutriri minutum animalis in terra Israhel.

add. stultitia *mg*. *PZ* || 2 responderunt *praem*. illi F_8 || 3 biberet] suggeret F_8 || 3-4 Et adduxerunt ei capram... in mane *om*. *PGCBZ* || 5 *transp*. videre eum *GCB* || 7 perscrutati sunt] investigaverunt F_8 || 11 in terra] in cena *GC*

En donde se percibe claramente que el testimonio de Firenze (ahora F_8) sufrió correcciones u omisiones significativas desde el momento de su copia. Luego, algunos errores conjuntivos de *B* con *GC* o bien frente a estos dos últimos permiten ver a *P* (y su *descriptus Z*) con bastantes lecturas propias. Debe incluirse la indicación de las mencionadas categorías, en este caso *stultitia*.

En bastantes ocasiones, las lecturas propias de *P* se explican por una estilización del texto, sentida, quizá, como una búsqueda de mayor corrección –aunque en ocasiones consigue un mayor alejamiento– en la expresión latina. Así, por ejemplo:

En Ber 16b: “Non est benedictio de mortuis danda pro servo mortuo vel ancilla...” : danda *PZ*] dicenda *GCB* [TB אומרים, ptc. msc. pl., lit. *dicentes*]

Ber 18b: “...ut se immergeret in aqua” : in aqua *PZ*] in aquam *GCB*

En Ber 19a: “...ergo mortui sciunt si quis obloquatur de eis” : de *om. GCB* [omitido en la edición actual del TB]

Ber 23a: “Et quia fures tollebant, ponebant super arbores...” : ponebant] posuerunt *GCB*

En Ber 23a: "Qui vadit adsellare ad cameras, quae ad hoc deputatae sunt, debet dimittere philacteria longe per quattuor ulnas; sed in agrum vel alium locum, non oportet quod dimittat ea" : sed] si *GCB* [TB *sed* אבל]

Ber 24a: "Qui suspendunt philacteria, suspenditur vita eius" : suspendunt] suspendit *GCB* [cuando era un participio singular masculino *qal* sustantivado en TB (Vilna, Múnich y Florencia) התולה]

En Ber 25b: "Si quis immergat se et non poterit se reinduere et dicere lectionem "Audi Israhel" ante solis occasum, coperiat se et dicat in aqua" [Mish Ber III, 5] : occasum] ortum *GCB* [TB הנץ החמה]

En Ber 32b: "Rby Hyzia dicit: Tria prolongant hominis vitam..." : dicit *om*. *GCB*[20]

En Ber 33b [Mish Ber V, 3] "Debet imponi illi silentium qui dicit: "Super nidum volucrum veniant pietates tuae" : *transp*. tuae veniant pietates *GCB* [alterando el orden orginal del hebreo, más extraño en latín, TB האומר על קן צפור יגיעו רחמיך]

En Ber 34b: "Dicit rby Hyia: Omnes prophetae non prophetaverunt nisi in diebus Messiae, sed de alio saeculo nemo umquam scivit nisi Deus": in] de *GCB* [siendo mejor la lectura de *GCB* según TB לימות המשיח]; nemo unquam scivit] nullus umquam scivit aliquid *GC* numquam illius scivit aliquid *B* [esta segunda variante plantea otro problema que ahora no viene al caso, porque ninguna de las redacciones se ajusta literalmente al hebreo עין לא ראתה].

En Ber 56b: "Dixit iterum: Vidi quod eradicabam stellas. Respondit: Filium Israhel occidisti" : stellas] stellam *GCB* [siendo en el original una forma arameizante (con el artículo sufijado) y singular en TB כוכבא].

En Ber 51a: "Rby Ioce dicit: Istud saeculum et aliud duabus manibus debet sumi ciphus benedictionibus" : benedictionibus] benedictionis *GCB* [TB בכוס של ברכה]

La cita bíblica contenida en Ber 56b: "Qui videt harundinem in somnio, manicet et dicat: 'calamum quassatum non conteret' [Is 42, 3] antequam praeveniantur ab illo: 'ecce confidis super harundinem confractam' [Is 36, 6]" aparece nuevamente traducida del hebreo, según las variantes textuales: harundinem confractam] baculum harundineum confractum *GCBVg*. [en TB על משענת הקנה]. Quizá la razón es hacer aparecer la palabra *harundinem* en este lugar (y no *baculum harundineum* de la versión de Jerónimo) para hacer más claro y explícito el lugar

20. En este caso vemos que en la redacción del ms. de Múnich se lee el verbo de lengua abreviado y el nombre del rabino. Quizá pueda considerarse, pues, un ejemplo de revisión del texto hebreo por parte de *P*, como diremos más abajo.

talmúdico *qui vident harundinem in somnio*, aunque la Vulgata está mas cerca del original hebreo.[21]

4. Conclusiones

El manuscrito *P*, el más utilizado para la bibliografía sobre las *Extractiones*, transmite un texto excelente, si bien a menudo corregido, en ocasiones alejándose de la versión hebrea y en ocasiones revisando la traducción latina con el original. La datación paleográfica y codicológica lo sitúa, además, como el testimonio *antiquior*. Aunque la encuadernación agrupa en realidad tres testimonios (a los que hemos llamado, por orden de aparición, P_1, P_2 y *P*), el volumen ofrece el *dossier* más completo que existe sobre el proceso de condena del Talmud, que llega a su *acmé* con la celebración de la llamada Disputa de París entre los días 25-27 de junio de 1240, y se extiende con otros documentos fechados hasta en 1248.

Si bien los testimonios que se conservan de las *Extractiones* –sean completos o parciales– son siempre posteriores, textualmente transmiten estadios progresivos anteriores al que transmite *P*. Es decir, las *Extractiones* del manuscrito *P*, aun siendo excelentes, deben leerse como resultado de un cierto proceso de corrección de la versión latina, y no como el "original" o primera versión de la traducción emprendida del Talmud al latín.

21. Las correcciones a las citas bíblicas o las glosas que las acompañan deberían ser también objeto de otro trabajo monográfico.

Looking for Polemical Argument: A Closer Look into the Latin Translation of the Talmud, *Extractiones de Talmud* (c. 1244-45)*

Ulisse Cecini
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Abstract

This chapter reveals the polemic attitude behind the apparent literality of the *Extractiones de Talmud*. After showing that good knowledge of the source languages and of Jewish culture characterises the translation, I show through examples taken from the tractate Sanhedrin how these features – in connection with the extrapolation of the chosen passages from their context and the literal but not context-oriented vocabulary used in the translation – are mechanisms that serve a will to bring forth textual evidence for the condemnation of the Talmud.

1. Introduction

In the years 1239-1248 CE the ecclesiastical authorities investigated the Talmud and produced a Latin translation of a large selection of almost 2000 Talmudic passages, a work which constitutes what we now call the *Extractiones de Talmud*.[1] The

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1. Seminal studies about this work are 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; Solomon Grayzel, "The Talmud and the Medieval Papacy", in: Walter Jacob *et al.* (Eds.), *Essays in Honor of Solomon B. Freehof*, Pittsburg, 1964, pp. 220-245 (esp. pp. 224-229); Chenmelech Merchavia, *The Church versus Talmudic and Midrashic literature (500–1248)*, Jerusalem, 1970 [Hebrew]; Gilbert Dahan/Élie Nicolas (Eds.), *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242-1244*, Paris, 1999. For the latest developments and a general reassessment of the question, see 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; Eulàlia Vernet, "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; John Friedman/Jean Connell Hoff/Robert Chazan, *The Trial of the Talmud*, *Paris, 1240*, Toronto, 2012; 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. Further bibliography is to be found in this volume esp. in the contributions by Óscar de la Cruz, Alexander Fidora and Eulàlia Vernet. For future publications on the Latin Talmud by of the research project "The Latin Talmud and its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic", consult the website http://pagines.uab.cat/lattal.

Talmud had in fact been accused of blasphemy against the Christian religion by the French Jewish convert Nicholas Donin in the year 1239. This led to a trial against the Talmud, which took place in Paris and thus regarded mainly the French Jewish community. The trial articulated itself in different phases. At first, a public dispute was organised in Paris between Christian theologians and a selected number of Jewish Rabbis, on the basis of thirty-five articles of accusation brought forth by Donin to Pope Gregory IX.[2] Concluding this phase, a first condemnation and public burning of the Talmud took place between 1240 and 1242. Around the year 1244 the new Pope Innocent IV, after a request by the French Jewish community, demanded of the Apostolic Legate in France Odo of Châteauroux that the case be revised, leading to a second condemnation in the year 1248. It was for this revision that a larger selection of Talmudic passages was translated into Latin, constituting what we now call the *Extractiones de Talmud*.

The present study will offer a closer look into the Latin translation of a few selected passages from the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin, taken from the *Extractiones de Talmud*, highlighting their polemical perspective and showing the *modus operandi* of the translator.[3] Even if in the past scholars such as Gilbert Dahan stated that the translation maintains a high degree of literality and that there is "neither falsification nor distortion of the texts",[4] it will be shown that the selection of the passages, the extrapolation from their context and their evaluation were indeed informed by a polemical attitude and by the purpose of finding evidence to condemn the Talmud. This will be done by comparing the Latin translations and the message

2. For an alternative perspective, which questions the historicity of a public disputation in favor of an an "inquisitorial-like procedure before a specially appointed commission made up of senior clergymen [...] during which Rabbi Yeḥiel [of Paris] and another rabbi, Judah ben David of Melun, were asked a series of questions" based on Donin's thirty-five articles of accusation, which "they responded with short, succint replies", see Harvey J. Hames, "Reconstructing Thirteenth-Century Jewish-Christian Polemic. From Paris 1240 to Barcelona 1263 and Back Again", in: Ryan Szpiech (Ed.), *Medieval Exegesis and Religious Difference. Commentary, Conflict and Community in the Premodern Mediterranean*, New York, 2015, pp. 115-127 (notes on pp. 241-246), esp. pp. 115-116.
3. As it is not the issue of this paper, it will spoken generally about a single "translator", but the Extractiones are probably the result of a team work of translators and redactors. As it was shown in 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. 187-199, this was also the case of Nicholas Donin's thirty-five articles in Latin against the Talmud, the first step of the Talmud trial and one of the documents attached to the *Extractiones* in the *dossier* portrayed by manuscript Paris, BnF, Lat. 16558 (henceforth P, on which see Óscar de la Cruz' article in this volume). On Donin's thirty-five articles and their relation to the *Extractiones*, see Fidora, "Textual Rearrangement" (as in note 1); *Id.*, "The Latin Talmud and its Translators" (as in note 1); The different stages of the translation of the *Extractione*s and its redactions are visible e.g. through different textual evidence contained in the manuscripts. I show this in my article: "The *Extractiones de Talmud* and their relationship to the Hebrew Talmud manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (MS Magl. coll. II.I.7, 8 and 9)", in: *Sefarad* 77/1 (2017), pp. 91-115.
4. Gilbert Dahan, "Les traductions latines de Thibaud de Sézanne", in: Dahan/Nicolas (Eds.), *Le brûlement* (as in note 1), pp. 95-120, at p. 115: "Il n'y a ni falsification ni gauchissement des textes".

which they convey with the original text, taking into consideration the context which surrounded it.

2. Looking for polemical argument

If we look at Odo of Châteauroux's answer to the request of Pope Innocent IV, this already makes clear that the *Extractiones* are the product of something which purported to be a "revision", whose actual aim was to look for further material to confirm the first condemnation. Odo's words to the Pope are in fact the following:

> In it [i.e. the Talmud] are contained so many falsities and offensive things that they are a source of shame to those who repeat them and horror to those who hear them [...]. And, furthermore, when a diligent examination was subsequently made [he is talking about the first trial], it was found that the said books were full of errors, and a veil has been placed over their hearts to such an extent that these works turn the Jews away not only from a spiritual understanding but even from a literal one and toward fables and fictions. Hence it is obvious that the masters of the Jews of the kingdom of France recently uttered a falsehood to Your Holiness and the venerable fathers, the lord cardinals, [here is the request of the Jews we mentioned before] when they said that they are unable to understand the Bible and other provisions of their Law according to their faith without those books that are called in Hebrew the Talmud. Indeed when the aforesaid examination was made and all the masters of theology and canon law as well as many others deliberated, in accordance with the apostolic mandate all the aforesaid books that could be found at that time were then burned in a bonfire. [And now comes Odo's opinion about the revision process] It would be no small scandal as well as an eternal reproach to the Apostolic See if the books, so solemnly and justly burned in the presence of all the scholars and the clergy and people of Paris, were tolerated by apostolic mandate or even returned to the masters of the Jews, for this tolerance would be seen as a kind of approval. [...] Thus, although the aforesaid books contain some good things, although few and far between, they must be utterly condemned.[5]

5. Edition of the Latin Text from the manuscript *P*, fols. 232va-233vb, in Merchavia, *The Church* (as in note 1), pp. 450-451 (with some orthographic normalization on my part): "In qua [*sc.* lege alia, *i.e.* Talmud, *Cecini*] tot abusiones et tot nefaria continentur, quod pudori referentibus et audientibus sunt horrori [...]. Facta etiam postea diligenti examinatione inventum est quod dicti libri erroribus erant pleni, et est velamen positum super corda ipsorum in tantum, ut non solum ab intellectu spirituali Iudaeos avertant, immo etiam a litterali, et ad fabulas et quaedam fictitia convertant. Unde manifestum est magistros Iudaeorum regni Franciae nuper falsitatem Sanctitati Vestrae, et venerabilibus patribus dominis cardinalibus suggessisse, dicentes quod sine illis libris, qui hebraice Talmud dicuntur, Bibliam et alia instituta suae legis secundum fidem ipsorum intelligere nequeunt. Facta vero praedicta examinatione, omnium magistrorum theologiae et iuris canonici, et aliorum multorum habito consilio, iuxta mandatum apostolicum omnes praedicti libri, qui tunc haberi potuerunt incendio fuerunt tunc cremati. Et esset scandalum non minimum, et sedis apostolicae sempiternum obprobrium, si libri coram universitate scholarium et clero et populo Parisiensi

I will now show how this attitude reveals itself in the translation. The first observation that we can make about the *Extractiones de Talmud* is that, as a translation, they respect the literal meaning of the text and that the translation was made by people who were well versed in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, in Jewish culture and in the Talmudic commentary literature. Some examples will now prove this statement.

We can find in the *Extractiones* words which are not translated, but left in Hebrew and then explained. This happens with simple words as well as with complex expressions. As far as the simple words are concerned, we can mention examples such as the word *avozazara*, rendition of *ʾaḇôdâ zarâ* (אבודה זרה), literally 'foreign service' or 'foreign cult'. This is sometimes explained literally as *servitium peregrinum* (e.g. in San 63b: "Omnia vilia verba et polluta prohibita sunt, praeter quam super *avozazara* –servitium peregrinum– quia ibi concessa sunt [...]"),[6] but is mostly rendered in its actual meaning of (idolatric) non-Jewish cult, through the word *idolatria* (e.g. in San 7a: "[...] Melius est quod dimittam eos servire *avozazara* –id est[7] idolatriae–, quia forte paenitebunt [...]).[8] Sometimes we can also find explanations which are not completely neutral, but instead have already a polemical connotation, like the explanation of the word *goy*, the non-Jew. Despite a few explanations of the term as *gentilis* (e.g. in San 55a (*gentilis*): "*Goy* –gentilis scilicet vel Christianus– si coit cum iumento, lapidabiturne iumentum? In Isrehelita est ibi offendiculum et vilitas et propter hoc debet lapidari iumentum cum quo coit"[9] or San 101a (*gens*): "Lex enim accingit se cilicio et stat coram Deo et dicit: Domine saeculi, filii tui ita faciunt mihi sicut cythara in qua cantant *goym* –gentes–"),[10] this word is mostly explained as *christianus*[11] (e.g. in the very same San 55a).[12]

As far as the more complex expressions are concerned, we can offer the examples of the exegetical procedures *qal wa-ḥomer* and *gᵉzērâ šavâ*, as in the following

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tam solemniter et tam iuste concremati, mandato apostolico tolerarentur, vel etiam magistris Iudaeorum redderentur, haec enim tolerantia, quaedam approbatio videretur. [...] Sic quamvis praedicti libri aliqua bona contineant, licet rara, nihilominus sunt damnandi" (Edition also in Jacques Échard/Jacques Quétif, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati*, vol. 1, Paris, 1719, p.128-129 (partial edition) and Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, Philadelphia, PA, 1933, pp. 275-277, note 3, also with English translation). The English translation quoted here is from Jean Connell Hoff, "The Christian Evidence", in: Friedman *et al.*, *The Trial of the Talmud* (as in note 1), pp. 93-125: here pp. 98-100 (the explanations in square brackets are mine).

6. *P* fol. 159vb. For the phonetic transcription of Hebrew words into Latin, according to Ashkenazi pronunciation, see Vernet, "On the Latin Transcription" (as in note 1).
7. id est *supra lineam P*.
8. *P* fol. 146va.
9. *P* fol. 157vb.
10. *P* fol. 176rb.
11. Concerning this, we find also a general statement in the prologue of the *Extractiones* (*P* fol. 97vb): "*Goy* idem est quod 'gens', et *goym* quod 'gentes', sed ad christianos usus [*other mss.* usu] restringitur" (*Goy* is the same as 'nation [=non-Jew]', and *goym* as 'nations', but their use is [or in their use they are] limited to the Christians).
12. In the manuscript: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. coll. II.I.9 (Henceforth F_9), p. 189, we interestingly find only "christianus si coit cum iumento", without "Goy –gentilis scilicet vel".

passage from San 99a. In it we find a comment on the Biblical verse Numbers 15, 31: "For he despised the word of the Lord and has violated his commandment".[13] The Talmudic text affirms that this verse applies to someone who says that the Torah is not from heaven. And even if he says that the entire Torah is indeed from heaven, except some passages which Moses said by himself, or some subtlety or this or that exegetical argument (including the two we mentioned), he still has violated the commandment of the Lord, because he has excluded something from the Divine origin of the Torah. The text of the *Extractiones* reads as follows:[14]

> [San 99a] "verbum Domini contempsit et pactum eius fecit inritum etc." [Nm 15, 31] Hic est qui dicit: Tota lex [= Torah] est de caelo praeter quam illud verbum quod Moyses dixit a semetipso. Et quamvis diceret: Tota lex est de caelo [...] praeterquam istud *calvahomer* –Praeter aliquod leve et grave id est aliquod argumentum a maiori vel a minori– vel praeter istam *gzerasava* –id est decisionem aequalem ut quando aliqua dictio est in duobus locis et utrobique accipitur pro eodem–. Hoc est quod scriptum est: "verbum Domini contempsit et pactum eius fecit inritum".

I have highlighted the glosses by writing them in a smaller character and putting them between dashes. The "calvahomer" is explained as "something 'light and heavy' [literal translations of the words *qal* and *ḥomer*], that is some kind of argument *a maiori* or *a minori*". The *qal wa-ḥomer*, lit. "light and heavy", is in fact an argument *a minori ad maius* or *a maiori ad minus* – that is to say, when something applies in a lenient case then it surely also applies in a more serious situation, or the reverse of that: that is to say from a more serious to a more lenient situation. The "gzerasava" is explained as an "'equal decision' [again a literal translation], like when an expression is in two different passages and in both of them it is interpreted with the same meaning". The *gezērâ šavâ*, literally "similar verdict", is a procedure based on analogy and applies laws of one Biblical passage to another one, which is actually unrelated but contains a similar word or phrase as the first one.

An example of good knowledge not only of Hebrew itself, but also regarding a subtle explanation given using the numerical value of the Hebrew letters, can be found in the following example from San 100a:[15]

תלמוד בבלי מסכת סנהדרין דף ק עמוד א

דְּאָמְרֵי בְּמַעֲרָבָא מִשְּׁמֵיהּ דְּרַבָּא בַּר מָרִי: עָתִיד הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ הוּא לְיִתֵּן לְכָל צַדִּיק וְצַדִּיק שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת וַעֲשָׂרָה עוֹלָמוֹת, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר לְהַנְחִיל אֹהֲבַי יֵשׁ וְאֹצְרוֹתֵיהֶם אֲמַלֵּא - יֵשׁ בְּגִימַטְרִיָּא תְּלַת מְאָה וַעֲשָׂרָה הֲוֵי.

13. BH Nm 15, 31: כִּי דְבַר־יְקֹוָק בָּזָה וְאֶת־מִצְוָתוֹ הֵפֵר
14. *P* fols. 174vb-175ra.
15. Text and translation are quoted from *Talmud Bavli. The Schottenstein Edition*. Ed. Hersh Goldwurm, Brooklyn, NY, 1990-. The tractate Sanhedrin is in the volumes 47-49.

> [San 100a]: For they say in the West [heb. *ma'ᵃrāḇâ*] in the name of Rava bar Mari: In the future the Holy One, Blessed is He, will give to every righteous person three hundred and ten worlds, as it is stated: *That I may grant to those who love me substance, and that I may fill their treasuries*. The numerical value [heb. *gêmaṭrîâ*] of *yesh* is three hundred and ten.

The Latin translation reads as follows:[16]

> Dicitur in *mareva* ex nomine Rava: Sanctus, benedictus sit ipse, daturus est cuilibet iusto trecenta et decem saecula, sicut scriptum est: "ut ditem diligentes me et thesauros eorum repleam" [Prv 8, 21] –in hebraeo est sic:– "ad haereditando diligentes me est" –est latine, is hebraice, quod valet trecenta et decem, quia *iod* valet decem et *syn* trecenta–.
>
> It is told in the *mareva* [cfr. heb. *ma'arāḇâ*, i.e. the West], in the name of Rava: The Holy One, may He be blessed, will give to each righteous person three hundred and ten worlds, as it is written: That I may enrich those who love me and fill their treasures [this is a quotation from the Latin *Vulgata*]. In Hebrew [explains the translator] it is [literally] so: to inherit [for] those who love me it is. The Latin "est" [it is] is in Hebrew "is" [heb. *yēš*]. Now this is worth three hundred and ten, as the *yôd* is worth ten and the *šîn* three hundred.

The translator understands perfectly the Talmudic explanation and, after having quoted the Biblical verse from Proverbs 8, 21 according to the *Vulgata* of St. Jerome, gives a very literal translation of the first part of Biblical quotation to make the Latin reader understand the point, explaining the value of the single letters in an extra gloss. So the Hebrew *le-hanḥîl ʾohabay yēš we-ʾoṣrotêhem ʾamallēʾ* (which is translated in the King James Version as "that I may cause those that love me to inherit substance") is translated as follows: *le-hanḥîl*, which is composed of the preposition *le*+ the construct infinitive of the causative modus (i.e. the *hifʿil*) of the verb *naḥal* ('to inherit'), to convey the function of a final sentence (English "that I may cause to inherit"), is translated using the Latin periphrasis *ad* + gerund (*ad haereditando*). *ʾOhaḇay*, the present participle plural of the verb *ʾahaḇ* (engl. 'to love', hence 'those who love') with the suffix object of the first person singular ('those who love me'), is literally translated, as happens in the *Vulgata*, as *diligentes me* (here, too, present participle + pronoun object first person singular. The *yēš* (which is the whole point of the question), is translated as *est* ('it is' or 'there is'), because if it is true that it means 'being', 'existence' or 'substance'[17] and in this last acception

16. *P* fols. 175vb-176ra.
17. See Francis Brown/S. R. Driver/Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon. With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic. Coded with the Numbering System from* Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible, Peabody, MA, ^{7}2003 [^{1}1906, Boston, MA], *s.v.* יֵשׁ, p. 441.

is used here, usually it is used in Hebrew to express the existence of something, i.e. with the meaning of 'there is'. This *yēš*, which does not appear in the translation of the Vulgata and is fundamental to understanding the explanation containing the number three-hundred and ten, is put as the "est" in the new literal translation and explained in the gloss.

All this shows very clearly how the translator is acquainted with the language and the hermeneutics of the Talmud. Hence, when we find omissions or misinterpretations in the translation, we should ask ourselves if they were made on purpose, with polemical intent.

We will see now, in fact, that the translation, though being literal and in a way accurate, uses extrapolation from the context and misinterpretation to provide a selection of Talmudic passages that could support the polemic against the Talmud. The deliberate misintepretation is achieved by focussing on a single aspect without relating it to the more complex discourse it lies within. Sometimes the polemical potential of the chosen passage is rather obvious, and we will see some examples of this kind of passage; elsewhere, however, the extrapolation is made in a manner which is so extreme that it is difficult to understand what point is actually at stake. Indeed, this too could be a polemical strategy. By extrapolating the sentence from its context in such a way that the reader does not understand the point of the sentence, the translator intends the reader to think how silly, unreasonable or unlogic Talmudic reflections are. Let us begin with a couple of fairly obvious examples:

The first example focuses on a word which could be translated as "prostitute". The passage is contained in Sanhedrin 39b:[18]

תלמוד בבלי מסכת סנהדרין דף לט עמוד ב
וְהַזֹּנוֹת רָחֲצוּ וגו' - אָמַר רַבִּי אליעזר [אֶלְעָזָר] לְמָרָק שְׁתֵּי חֲזִיזוֹנוֹת - אַחַת שֶׁל מִיכָיְהוּ וְאַחַת שֶׁל אֵלְיָהוּ.
בְּמִיכָיְהוּ כְּתִיב אִם שׁוֹב תָּשׁוּב בְּשָׁלוֹם לֹא דִּבֶּר ה' בִּי, בְּאֵלְיָהוּ כְּתִיב בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר לָקְקוּ הַכְּלָבִים אֶת דַּם נָבוֹת. רָבָא אָמַר: זוֹנוֹת מַמָּשׁ, אַחְאָב אִישׁ מְצוּוָּן הָיָה וְעָשׂתָה לוֹ אִיזֶבֶל שְׁתֵּי צוּרֵי זוֹנוֹת בְּמָרְכַּבְתּוֹ, כְּדֵי שֶׁיִּרְאֶה אוֹתָן וְיִתְחַמֵּם.

The beginning is a Biblical quotation which needs to be explained, taken from the middle of 1 Kings 22, 38 (*we-ha-zonôt rāḥāṣû*).[19] The King James Version translates it as: "and they washed his armour", where "his armour" is the translation for *ha-zonôt*. The point is that the word which here is translated with armour, *zonâ*, here in the plural *zonôt*, could also mean "prostitute". In the continuation of the passage, the Talmud explains the term as follows:

18. Text from *The Schottenstein Edition* (as in note 15).
19. The whole verse, which relates what happened after Ahab was killed, reads (KJV): "And *one* washed the chariot in the pool of Samaria; and the dogs licked up his blood; and they washed his armour; according unto the word of the Lord which he spake".
(BH I Rg 22, 38: וַיִּשְׁטֹף אֶת־הָרֶכֶב עַל בְּרֵכַת שֹׁמְרוֹן וַיְלַקְּקוּ הַכְּלָבִים אֶת־דָּמּוֹ וְהִזֹּנוֹת רָחֲצוּ כִּדְבַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר דִּבֵּר׃)

> Rabbi Eleazar said: to clarify two visions [Heb. *ḥezyônôt*]. One by Michaiah and one by Elijah. In Michaia's [vision], [Scripture] writes: *If thou return at all in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me*. [1Kings 22, 28 KJV]. In Elijah's [vision], [Scripture] writes: *In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth* [*shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine*]. [1Kings 21,19 KJV]

According to the rules of exegetical interpretation the letters *hē* (ה) and *ḥêt* (ח) are interchangeable.[20] So, the word *ha-zonôt* could be read as *ḥezyônôt* (prophetical visions) and the verse "they washed *ha-zonôt*" is interpreted to mean: "they clarified the prophetical visions". Which prophetical visions? The two by Michaia and Elijah.

The Talmudic text, however, continues:[21]

> Rava said: [*ha-zonôt* means] actual prostitutes. Ahab was a cold man, and Jezebel [his wife] made two pictures of prostitutes on his chariot for him, so that he would see them and become aroused [thus, the verse means: The chariot became drenched with Ahab's blood and this washed away the pictures].

The Latin translation of this passage reads as follows:[22]

> [San 39b] "Laverunt currum"[23] [III Rg 22, 38] –hebraeus: laverunt *zonot* id est meretrices– Dicit rby Eliezer: Et haec fuerunt prophetiae Heliae et Micheae, quae fuerunt declaratae. Rava dicit quod Acab fuit homo frigidus et Iezabel uxor sua fecit ei duas imagines mulieris in curru, ut videndo eas calefaceret et hoc est quod scriptum est "Laverunt *zonoz*".
>
> They washed the chariot –Hebrew: they washed the *zonot* i.e. the prostitutes–. Rabbi Eliezer says: And these were the prophecies by Elijah and Michaia, which were made clear. Rava said that Ahab was a cold man and Jezabel his wife made two women-like images on the chariot, so that he will become aroused by seeing them, and this is what is meant by Scripture: "they washed the *zonot*".

So, if we compare the Latin with the Hebrew, we could say that it is literally translated. However, we can spot a few significant differences. We can see that the first explanation, which does not interpret the word as meaning actual prostitutes, is offered in a very summary and unclear way. Even though the translator – as we saw

20. See *The Schottenstein Edition* (as in note 15), San 39b[2], note 19.
21. Translation from *The Schottenstein Edition* (as in note 15).
22. *P* fol. 155ra.
23. Actually we would expect here "habenas laverunt" as the Hebrew word *ha-zonôt* is in the second part of the verse (see above, note 19). The full text of this verse from the Vulgata is: "et laverunt currum in piscina Samariae et linxerunt canes sanguinem eius et habenas laverunt iuxta verbum Domini quod locutus fuerat".

before – would be capable of doing so, no explanation is given as to how a word which should mean prostitutes has come to be interpreted as prophecy. Nor are the two prophecies at stake quoted, as it happens in the original Talmudic text. The translator is simply not interested in this explanation. The translation is very literal and correct, but it is just put there without any context and language explanation. The Latin Christian reader, who does not know the original text, would not understand this explanation. On the other hand, the other explanation, which understands the word as actual prostitutes, is reported in full detail, creating in the reader the impression that the Talmud insists on an interpretation that is inappropriate for the Christian audience.

The next example is even more obvious. A passage of San 98b recites:[24]

תלמוד בבלי מסכת סנהדרין דף צח עמוד ב
לְאַפּוּקֵי מִדְּרַבִּי הִילֵּל דְּאָמַר: אֵין מָשִׁיחַ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, שֶׁכְּבָר אֲכָלוּהוּ בִּימֵי חִזְקִיָּה

> [A previous teaching serves] to exclude [the opinion] of Rabbi Hillel, who said: there will be no Messiah for the Jewish people, because they already enjoyed him in the days of Ezechias [i.e. Rabbi Hillel is convinced that Ezechias was the Messiah].

The Latin translation reads as follows:[25]

> [San 98b] Rby Hylel dicit: Non erit ultra Messias Israheli, quia comederunt illum in tempore Ezechiae.[26]
>
> Rabbi Hillel says: There will be no further Messiah for Israel, because they ate him at the time of Ezechias.

Before looking at the content of the translation, we would like to say incidentally at this point that this passage exemplifies very well how the *Extractiones* are structured. What is quoted here is all the information the reader obtains about this passage. In the *Extractiones* you find one passage translated after another, juxtaposed without any contextualization or explanation as to why it was chosen.

Now to the content: the people of Israel, according to the Latin translation of the Talmud, ate the Messiah. As a matter of fact, if we look at the original text we find *ʾaḵalû-hû* (אכלוהו), i.e. the verb *ʾāḵal* in the third person plural in the perfect tense and the suffix of third person singular. The verb *ʾāḵal* means 'to eat'. As a consequence the text means 'they ate him', in Latin 'comederunt eum'. Therefore, the Latin translation is a literal translation. However, is it also a correct translation?

24. Text and translation from *The Schottenstein Edition* (as in note 15).
25. *P* fol. 174ra-b.
26. Normalised orthography according to the *Vulgata*. Manuscripts have Sedechyae/Sedechiae.

If we look into the Sokoloff and Jastrow dictionaries, we find of course that the first meaning of *ʾāḵal* is 'to eat', or 'to devour', but then we also find meanings like 'to consume', or 'to enjoy the usufruct'. We also find more disparate meanings: in the appropriate context this verb could mean 'to irritate', 'to earn a fee', 'to inform on someone', 'to enjoy usury', or even 'to sleep with'.[27] In this case the meanings 'to consume', or 'to enjoy' are the most probable: the Messiah will not come because the Israelites already consumed his presence: already enjoyed his presence at the time of Ezechias. However, the translator goes straight for the most horrifing, although literal, meaning.[28]

We have seen that the translator has the tools to understand the context properly and to explain the Hebrew when it is not clear. In this case, however, the translator just puts the sentence there, without any context or explanation. This is in fact the strategy. The translator has shown elsewhere through detailed explanation a deep knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish culture, and thus has gained the trust of the reader. So, when an explanation is left out and a translation like this one is made, the reader has no doubt that this translation must be correct, because such a translator, who has demonstrated such a competence elsewhere, would have been able to distinguish between different meanings and to underline the correct interpretation with a gloss if it were necessary. So, the translator chooses either the detailed explanation when this serves the polemic – as in the case of *ha-zonôt* – or the absence of any explanation and the most literal translation without context when *this* is the best way to serve the polemic, as in the example I have just shown.

As the last example from very many that could be presented, I have chosen an extreme instance of extrapolation from context. This time I will begin with the Latin translation of it:[29]

> [San 4b] "Tribus vicibus per annum apparebit omne masculinum in conspectu Domini Dei tui" [Dt 16, 16; cf. Ex 23, 17; Ex 34, 23]. Dicit Rby Huza: Ab hac lege inmunis est monoculus.

27. See Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, Ramat-Gan/Baltimore, MD, 2002, *s.v.* 1# אכל, pp. 129-131; Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature*, New York, 1996, *s.v.* אכל, p. 63.
28. If it is true that the image of eating the Messiah could evoke the Eucharist, I do not think that this is what motivated the translator to choose this passage and to translate in such a way. The purpose of the Talmud trial and therefore of this translation is to show how the Talmud misinterprets the message of the Bible, or how it is full of "falsities and offensive things" which "are a source of shame to those who repeat them and horror to those who hear them", to recall Odo of Châteauroux's words. There would be a turn in the Christian attitude towards the Talmud towards looking for Christian contents and interpretation in it, in order to prove to the Jews that *their* books confirm the Christian interpretation of scripture. However, this was a later development, whose first steps would be traced in the dispute of Barcelona of 1263 (the key figures of which were the Dominican Ramon de Penyafort and the Jewish convert Pau Cristià) and in the work of the Dominican friar Ramon Martí, also in the second half of the 13th century (on this see *e.g.* Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, London, 1982, esp. pp.103-169).
29. *P* fol. 146va.

> Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord thy God. [Quotation from Dt 16, 16; cf. Ex 23, 17; Ex 34, 23] Rabbi Huza says: The one-eyed person is immune from this rule.

This is the passage that opens the translation of Sanhedrin: as usual without any context or explanation. What does this passage mean? Why did the translator select it? We have a rule and a seemingly arbitrary exemption from the rule. The total absence of any context makes this rule sound silly and arbitrary. It appears as though the Talmud interprets the Scripture without any rationality, that it plays with it and makes rules that have no sense: it appears to be a truly absurd book. The passage can be recognised as a translation of a few lines from Sanhedrin 4b. Before showing it as it appears in the Talmud, I introduce briefly the matter at stake in this section of the tractate. The fragment translated into Latin is in fact part of a larger discussion about the pre-eminence of written or pronounced text at the time of making rules. In fact, Hebrew writings traditionally only record the consonantal text, as the consonants are the bearers of the meaning of a word.

Moreover, the structure of Hebrew grammar as well as the context often guide the reader to vocalise the text in the correct way. Indeed, there are cases in which for a given combination of consonants only one correct vocalisation is possible. However, it is also possible that a given combination of consonants could be vocalised in different ways. In this case, tradition comes to the reader's aid, and through the use of diacritical signs placed below or above the letter, suggests a vocalised reading. Nevertheless, there are also cases in which the vocalised reading proposed by the tradition clashes with the "natural" vocalisation one would expect, given the consonantal scheme one has to vocalise. As I said before, usually a certain consonantal scheme already suffices to determine the correct vocalisation. However, when the proposed traditional vocalisation collides with the expected "natural" vocalisation for a given consonantal scheme, one should determine what has pre-eminence at the time of defining a rule: the written or the pronounced form of a word. In the section we are handling, the text of the Talmud gives a series of examples to show that the pronounced form of a word (i.e. the reading suggested by the tradition) has pre-eminence over the written form. However, the Talmudic discussion reaches a point where the following problem is analysed: what was discussed until now is valid when you have the simple alternative between a "natural" reading, proceeding from the consonantal scheme which is written, and a traditional reading, which clashes with the immediate reading for the given consonantal scheme: i.e. the word should be written in another way, to be read in the way that the traditional reading suggests. What happens, however, when for a given consonantal scheme, the two vocalisation possibilities – the "natural" and the traditional – were both completely acceptable? The Talmud offers here the case of the following Biblical precept, which in occurs in Ex 23, 17, Ex 34, 23 and Dt 16,16:

שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זְכוּרְךָ אֶל־פְּנֵי הָאָדֹן יהוה:[30]

Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God.

Now, the word that is the object of reflection in our Talmudic Passage is the verb *yērā'ê* (יֵרָאֶה). It comes from the verb רָאָה (*rā'â*), which means 'to see', and in this vocalisation it is a niphal (a stem which we could define as (medio-)passive), third person singular, imperfect conjugation, so it means 'he shall be seen or appear'. However, if we isolate this verb, in this consonantal scheme, the most obvious and common vocalisation will be that of the active, that is to say *yir'ê* (יִרְאֶה), i.e. 'he shall see'. Both vocalisations are theoretically acceptable for this consonantal scheme. So how could a preference be given to one of them? The Talmud brings this verse as an example for a ruling determined on the basis of both vocalizations. Let us now read it:[31]

תלמוד בבלי מסכת סנהדרין דף ד עמוד ב

דְּתַנְיָא יוֹחָנָן בֶּן דַּהֲבַאי אוֹמֵר מִשּׁוּם רַבִּי יְהוּדָה בֶּן תֵּימָא: הַסּוּמָא בְּאַחַת מֵעֵינָיו - פָּטוּר מִן הָרְאִיָּה.
שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר יֵרָאֶה יֵרָאֶה - כְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁבָּא לְרְאוֹת כַּךְ בָּא לֵירָאוֹת. מַה לִּרְאוֹת בִּשְׁתֵּי עֵינָיו - אַף לֵירָאוֹת בִּשְׁתֵּי עֵינָיו!

For it was taught: Yoḥanan ben Dahavay says in the name of Rabbi Yehudah ben Tema: A person who is blind in one eye is exempt from appearing (at the holy temple during the pilgrimage festivals), for it is stated: (every male) shall see (and also) (every male) shall be seen. [The Talmud does not quote the entire verse, but just the two possible vocalisations] (This teaches that) In the manner that (God) comes (to the holy temple) to see (the pilgrims, as implied by the traditional pronounced form), so does he come (to the temple for His Divine Presence) to be seen (by the pilgrims, as implied by the "natural" vocalisation). Just as (God comes) to see with his two eyes, so too must he be seen with two eyes.

So this was the point of this ruling and the reason why a one-eyed person is exempt from appearing in the temple. The Latin translator chose not to show all this, but just isolated the ruling to underline an apparently absurd regulation, even if for example the point could have been made that here there is an anthropomorphical

30. In the three occurences the Hebrew text is basically the same, except for slight variants in the final mention of God. Ex 23, 17 has אֶל־פְּנֵי הָאָדֹן יהוה, Ex 34, 23 has אֶת־פְּנֵי הָאָדֹן יהוה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל and Dt 16, 16 has אֶת־פְּנֵי יהוה אֱלֹהֶיךָ, the preceding text is identical. The Latin *Vulgata* text, however, translates the sentences in a different way every time. The wording which we find in the *Extractiones* is the one of Dt 16, 16. We quoted here the Hebrew text from Ex 23, 17, as it is the first occurrence of the precept in the Bible and in modern Talmud editions (e.g. *Der babylonische Talmud*. Ed. Lazarus Goldschmidt, Frankfurt am Main, 1996, vol. 8, p. 479, note 93) it is the verse which is usually associated with this Talmudic passage. In any case, the ending of the sentence does not play a role in the argumentation of the Talmudic passage.

31. Text and translation from *The Schottenstein Edition* (as in note 15).

description of God (a topic of anti-Talmudic polemics) as it is said that God has two eyes. However, the translator merely wishes to point out that there is a commandment from the Bible to which the Talmud seemingly makes an arbitrary exception. We have shown that this exemption is in fact far from arbitrary, but it is not in the interest of the translator to show the rational process leading to the exemption.

3. Conclusion

The Latin translator – or, more correctly, the team behind the translation – of the Talmud was well versed in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages and in Jewish culture. They had the cultural tools to understand the Talmud and show this through glosses of Hebrew technical terms and new translations of Biblical passages which are more literal and therefore enable the reader to understand the discussion. However, this knowledge is displayed in order to trick the reader into trusting the translation. The literal translation is used in precisely the same way. It is used to create aberrant translations and to extrapolate words or phrases from their context, thus guiding the interpretation of the reader in the desired direction. This shows that there is more to a good and truthful translation than just to respect words alone, and that knowledge of a language and a culture is not a guarantee of impartiality or objectivity.

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

Eulàlia Vernet i Pons
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

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 Margins of 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)

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

[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.

Babylonian Talmud (Ber 9b)[6]

Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.
(Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. Coll. II.I.7)	(München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 95)	
א"ר אמי א' לו הק' למשה לך אמר להם לישר' אני הייתי עמכם בשעבוד זה ואני אהיה עמכם בשעבוד מלכיות א' לפניו רבונ' של עולם די [דייה] לצרה שעתה א' לו הק' לך אמר להם אהיה שלחני אליכם עיניני יי' עיניני א"ר אמי א' אליהו לפני הק' רבונ' של עולם עיניני שתרד האש מן השמים ותאכל את העולה עיניני שתסיח מדעתן שלא יאמרו מעשה כשפים הם מתני' מאימתי	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 עניני 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	אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא למשה לך אמור להם לישראל אני הייתי 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 עניני ה' עניני אמר רבי אבהו למה אמר אליהו עניני שתי פעמים מלמד שאמר אליהו לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא רבונו של עולם עניני שתרד אש מן השמים ותאכל כל אשר על המזבח ועניני שתסיח דעתם כדי שלא יאמרו מעשה כשפים הם שנאמר מלכים א' י"ח

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.

5. On the manuscripts containing the Latin Talmud and the *sigla codicum*, see the contribution by Alexander Fidora in this volume.
6. For the Talmudic manuscript sources, I quote the editions appearing in the *Sol and Evelyn Henkind Talmud Text Database* (version 5) by the Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

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

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 lateinsichen 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, ^{3}1983 [^{1}1941] 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* (עֹשַׂיִךְ) and *bo'alayiḵ* (בֹּעֲלַיִךְ). The Latin translation follows the Vulgata and translates the suffixed *qal* participle *bo'alayiḵ*

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*.

(בֹּעֲלַיִךְ) as "dominabitur tui", whereas a more literal translation would be the translations appearing in Targum (*mārîḵ*, 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.		
[5]כִּי בֹעֲלַיִךְ עֹשַׂיִךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ	[5]אֲרֵי מָרִיךְ דְּעָבְדִיךְ יוֹי שְׁמַיָּה וּפָרֵקִיךְ קַדִּישָׁא דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אֱלָהּ כָּל אַרְעָא יִתְקָרֵי׃	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׳	שנאמר ישעיהו נ״ד כי בועליך עושיך ה׳ צבאות שמו תנא אין איש מת אלא לאשתו ואין אשה מתה אלא לבעלה אין איש מת אלא לאשתו שנאמר	[5]Quia dominabitur tui qui fecit te.	[5]ὅτι 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).

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)] [F_9 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.		
[14]אָז אַשְׁקִיעַ מֵימֵיהֶם וְנַהֲרוֹתָם כַּשֶּׁמֶן אוֹלִיךְ נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה:	[14]בְּכֵין אַשְׁקֵיט אַשְׁקִית לְעַמְמַיָּא וּמַלְכֵיהוֹן בְּנִיחַ אֲדַבַּר אֲמַר יוי אֱלָהִים:	אמ' ר' חנינא אין בן דוד בא עד שיבקשו דג קטן לחולה ולא ימצא שנ' אז אשקיע מימיהם אוביש ונהרותם בשמן אוליך	א"ר חנינ' 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 Translterations 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, "*Peshaṭ*, *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 ישׁה '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)] [F_9 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 דְּאַתְקִין עָלְמָא בְּמַחְשָׁבַת דַּעְתֵּיהּ רַבְתָּא אַסְגִּי עוֹבָדֵי בְּרֵישִׁית בְּסַגֵּי חָכְמָתֵיהּ:	ואיב׳ אימ׳ מהכא הפלי׳ עיצה הגדי׳ תושייה	ואיב׳ אי׳ מהכ׳ הפלי׳ עצ׳ הגדיל תושי׳	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 ὑψώσατε 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. *ubeged bôgedîm* (heb. וּבֶגֶד בּוֹגְדִים) as *praevaricatione praevaricatorum* and not Vg. *praevaricatione transgressorum*.

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 94a)
[*P* 169ra (73)] [F_9 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 מִכְּנַף הָאָרֶץ זְמִרֹת שָׁמַעְנוּ צְבִי לַצַּדִּיק וַאֲמַר רָזִי־לִי רָזִי־לִי אוֹי לִי בֹּגְדִים בָּגָדוּ וּבֶגֶד בּוֹגְדִים בָּגָדוּ׃	16 מִבֵּית מַקְדְּשָׁא דְּמֵיתָמָן עִתִּיד לְמִיפַּק חַדְוָא לְכָל יָתְבֵי אַרְעָא תּוּשְׁבָּחָא שְׁמַעְנָא לְצַדִּיקָיָא אֲמַר נְבִיָא רָז אָגַר לְצַדִּיקָיָא אִיתַּחְזִי לִי רָז פּוּרְעָנֻתָא לְרָשִׁיעָיָא אִתְגְּלִי לִי וַי לְאָנוֹסָיָא דְּמִתְאַנְסִין וְלִבְזּוֹז בָּזוֹזִין דְּהָא מִתְבָּזְזִי׃	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 *'abî'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)] [F_9 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־יֶלֶד יֻלַּד־לָנוּ בֵּן נִתַּן־לָנוּ וַתְּהִי הַמִּשְׂרָה עַל־שִׁכְמוֹ וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ°פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ אֵל גִּבּוֹר אֲבִיעַד שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם:	[5] אֲמַר נְבִיָא לְבֵית דָוִיד אֲרֵי [1] רָבֵי [2] רבִיא אִתְיְלִיד לָנָא בַר אִתְיְהִיב לָנָא וְקַבֵּיל אוֹרַיְתָא עְלוֹהִי לְמִיטְרַה וְאִתקְרֵי שְׁמַיָה מִן קֳדָם [1] מַפלִי [2] מַפלִיא עֲיִצָא אֶלָהָא גִיבָרָא קַיָים עָלְמַיָא מָשִׁיחָא דְשַׁלְמָא יְסַגֵי עָלָנָא בְיוֹמוֹהִי:	צבאות במשמ' רזון אמ' ר' יוח' אמ' הקבה יבא חזקיה בעל שמונה שמות ויפרע מסנחריב שיש לו שמונה שמות חזקיה דכת' כי ילד יולד לנו ותהי המשרה ע[ל] שכמו ויקרא שמו פלא יועץ אל גיבור אבי עד שר שלום	א"ר יוחנן א' הק"ב יבא חזקי' בע' שמנ' שמו' ויפרע מסנחרי' שיש לו שמנ' חזקי' דכ' בי' כי ילד יולד לנו בן ניתן לנו ותהי המשר' על שכ' ויקר' שמו פל' יוע' א' גבו' אביע' 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)] [F_9 246 *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 מִפְּנֵי֙ חֶרֶב נְטוּשָׁה וּמִפְּנֵי֙ קֶשֶׁת דְּרוּכָ֔ה וּמִפְּנֵי כֹ֖בֶד מִלְחָמָֽה׃	15 אֲרֵי מִן קֳדָם קִיטָוֹל עְרַקוּ מִן קֳדָם חֲרַב שְׁלִיפָא וּמִן קֳדָם קֶשֶׁת מְתִיחָא וּמִן קֳדָם תְּקוֹף קְרָבָא׃	שנ׳ כי מפני חרבות נדדו	שנאמר 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 (קְטָלוּהִי):

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 95b)

[*P* 171rb (75)] [F_9 246 *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
(Is 37, 38)	(Is 37, 38)	Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.	(Is 37, 38)	(Is 37, 38)
38 וַיְהִי֙ הוּא מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶ֣ה בֵּ֣ית נִסְרֹ֣ךְ אֱלֹהָ֗יו וְאַדְרַמֶּ֤לֶךְ וְשַׂרְאֶ֙צֶר֙ הִכֻּ֣הוּ בַחֶ֔רֶב וְהֵ֖מָּה נִמְלְט֣וּ אֶ֣רֶץ אֲרָרָ֑ט וַיִּמְלֹ֤ךְ אֵסַר־חַדֹּן֙ בְּנ֣וֹ תַחְתָּ֔יו:	38 וַהֲוָה הֲוָא סָגִיד בֵּית נִסרוֹך טָעוּתֵיה וְאַדרַמֶלֶך וְשַׂראֶצֶר בְּנוֹהִי קְטָלוּהִי בְּחַרְבָּא וְאִנּוּן אִשְׁתֵּיזָבוּ לַאֲרַע קַרדוֹ וּמַלֶך אֶסַר חַדוֹן בְּרֵיה תְּחוֹתוֹהִי:	דכת׳ ורויה דרביעאה דמי לבר אלה״ין אי לא הוה חזר מנא ידע סנחריב ושני בניו דכת׳ ויהי הוא משתחוה בית נסרוך אלהיו אדר מלך ושרא צר בניו הכוהו בחרב	א׳ חמש׳ סנחרי׳ ושני בניו ונבוכ׳ נצ׳ ונבוזראדן [נבוזרדן] גמר׳ נבוכדנצ׳ דכ׳ וראוי׳ דרביעא׳ דמי לבר אלהין ואי לא דהוה חזי ליה מנ׳ הוה ידע סנחרי׳ ושני בניו דכ׳ ויהי הו׳ משתחו׳ בית נסרוך אלהיו ואדרמל׳ ושראצר בניו הכוהו בחרב	דכתיב דניאל ג׳ ורוה דרביעאה דמי לבר אלהין ואי לאו דחזייה מנא הוה ידע סנחריב ושני בניו דכתיב מלכים ב׳ י״ט ויהי הוא משתחוה בית נסרוך אלהיו ואדרמלך ושראצר 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 παταχρον 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) 37 וַיְהִי֙ הוּא מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶ֣ה בֵּ֣ית נִסְרֹ֣ךְ אֱלֹהָ֗יו וְאַדְרַמֶּ֤לֶךְ וְשַׂרְאֶ֙צֶר֙ (כד) [בָּנָ֔יו] הִכֻּ֣הוּ בַחֶ֔רֶב וְהֵ֖מָּה נִמְלְט֣וּ אֶ֣רֶץ אֲרָרָ֑ט וַיִּמְלֹ֤ךְ אֵסַר־חַדֹּן֙ בְּנ֣וֹ תַחְתָּ֔יו:	(IV Rg 19, 37) 37 וַהֲוָה הֲוָא סָגִיד בֵּית נִסרוֹך טָעוּתֵיה וְאַדרַמֶלֶך וְשַׂראֶצַר קְטָלוּהִי בְּחַרְבָּא וְאִנּוּן אִשְׁתֵּיזָבוּ לַאֲרַע קַרדַו וּמַלֶך אֶסַרחַדוֹן בְּרֵיה תְּחוֹתוֹהִי:				(IV Rg 19, 37) 37Cumque 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.	(IV Rg 19, 37) 37καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ προ-σκυνοῦντος ἐν οἴκῳ Νεσεραχ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ Αδραμελεχ καὶ Σαρασαρ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπάταξαν αὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσώθησαν εἰς γῆν Αραρατ καὶ ἐβασίλευ-σεν Ασορδαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ.

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 (יְהוָה) 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 (יְהוָה), for it is translated in both cases as *Deus*:

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 92a) [*P* 166va (70)] [F_9 237b] [*G* 16rb (59)] [*C* 47rb] [*B* 129vb] [*Z* 316v (214)] [San 92a] Magnum etiam est vindicta, quia scriptum est: "Deus ultionum Deus" [Ps 93, 1].						
Biblia Hebraica (Ps 94, 1)	Targum (Ps 94, 1)	Babylonian Talmud (San 92a)			Vulgata (Ps 93, 1)	LXX (Ps 93, 1)
		Florence Ms.	Munich Ms.	Vilna Ed.		
אֵל־נְקָמוֹת יְהוָה אֵל נְקָמוֹת הוֹפִיעַ:	אלהא מרי פורענותא יהוה אלהא מרי פורענותא הופע:	דכת׳ אל נקמות ייי הכי נמי אמ׳ ל׳ למילתיה הכי נמי כדעולא דאמ׳ עולא	דכ׳ אל נקמו׳ ייי׳ אל נקמו׳	דכתיב תהלים צ״ד אל נקמות ה׳ אל נקמות הופיע	Psalmus ipsi David, quarta sabbati. *Deus ultionum Dominus; Deus ultionum libere egit*.	ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ τετράδι σαββάτων ὁ θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων ἐπαρρησιάσατο.

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 *meṭalṭeleḳā* (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 פֹּה וּמִי לְךָ פֹּה כִּי־חָצַבְתָּ לְךָ פֹּה חֹצֵב קִבְרוֹ מָרוֹם חֹקְקִי בַסֶּלַע מִשְׁכָּן לוֹ׃ 17 הִנֵּה יְהוָה מְטַלְטֶלְךָ טַלְטֵלָה גֶּבֶר וְעֹטְךָ עָטֹה׃	16 וְתֵימַר לֵיהּ מָא לָךְ כָּא וּמָא לָךְ כְּדֵין אֲרֵי אַתְקֵינְתָּא אַתְקִינַת לָךְ כָּא אֲתַר אַתְקִין בְּרוֹמָא אַתְרַיהּ שַׁוֵּי בְּכֵיפָא בֵּית מְדוֹרֵיהּ׃ 17 הָא יוי מְטַלְטֵיל לָךְ טַלְטוֹל דְּגִיבָר וְתִתְפַּיְנָךְ בַּהתָא׃	נביא ואמ' לוֹ 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 כי חצב' לך פה קב' הנ' יי' מטלטלך טלטל' גבר א' רב לומ' לך טילטול' דגבר' קש'	נביא ואמר לוֹ 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 לחם פָּתֻרָךְ, lit. "those who eat bread on your table"), the Latin Talmud translation (*panis tuus*) reads literally – morphologically and semantically – the *textus receptus masoreticus leḥmeḵā* (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)][F_9 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.		
7 עַד־הַגְּבוּל שִׁלְּחוּךָ כָּל אַנְשֵׁי בְרִיתֶךָ הִשִּׁיאֻךָ יָכְלוּ לְךָ אַנְשֵׁי שְׁלֻמֶךָ יָכִילוּ לָךְ אַנְשֵׁי לחם פָּתֻרָךְ שָׂמוּ מָזוֹר תַּחְתֶּיךָ אֵין תְּבוּנָה בּוֹ:	7 מִן תְּחוֹמָא אַגְלָיוּךְ כָּל אֲנָשׁ קְיָמָךְ שׁלמך אַטְעֲיוּךְ יְכִילוּ לָךְ אֲנָשׁ שְׁלָמָךְ אָכְלֵי לחם פָּתֻרָךְ שַׁוִּיאוּ תַקְלָא תְּחוֹתָךְ מְדַלֵּית בָּךְ סַכְלְתָנוּ:	*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" (אַחֵית מטרא) (**nḥt* haf. impf. 1st person singular).

Latin Talmud (Sanhedrin 97a)
[*P* 172rb (76)] [F_9 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 מְמַנְעִית מִנְכוֹן יָת מְטַרָא בְּסוֹף תְּלָתָא יַרְחִין לְזִמַן חֲצָדָא וְאַחֵית מְטַרָא עַל קַרְתָא חֲדָא וְעַל קַרְתָא חֲדָא לָא אַחֵית מטרא אַחֵית מטרא אַחְסָנְתָא חֲדָא יֵיחוֹת עֲלַהּ מְטַרָא וְאַחְסָנְתָא דְלָא יֵיחוֹת עֲלַהּ מְטָרָא תֵּיבַשׁ:	תנו רבנן שבוע שבן דוד דוד שנה ראשונ' מתקיים מקרא זה והמטרתי על עיר אחת ועל עיר אחת לא אמטיר	ת"ר שבוע שבן דוד בא בו שנ' 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 μερίς 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 loanwords, *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

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".

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 (XII^{e}-XIV^{e} 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.

The Latin Talmud Translation: The Hebrew Sources*

Annabel González Flores
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Abstract

The Latin work *Extractiones de Talmud* is the translation of the Hebrew text of the Talmud *Babli*. It emerges from an attentive analysis and comparison of the texts, which highlights the presence of Hebraisms as well as the fidelity to the original text. Notwithstanding, until today there is still no study that attempts to reconstruct the plausible Talmudic sources for the Medieval Latin translation of the text. In order to find the Hebrew manuscript tradition which underlies the translation, I identified passages in the Latin text that differ from the edition of the Hebrew-Aramaic canonical text of the Vilna Talmud and then looked for a similar text in the medieval Hebrew manuscripts. The aim of this paper is to provide a brief characterization of the transmission of the Hebrew Talmud manuscripts preserved in Europe, in order to reconstruct, if possible, the sources of the Latin text of the *Extractiones*.

1. Introduction

During the eleventh century, the Talmud[1] became a study book for young Jews and the most important part of their religious education.[2] In Sepharad the written text of

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1. The structure and content of the Talmud consists of two corpora of different origin and period: the legal compendium of the Mishna, written in Hebrew; and the Gemara, which is an extensive, but partial, commentary on the Mishna, written in Aramaic. A distinction should be made between the Talmud of the Land of Israel (commonly known as *Yerushalmi*) and the Babylonian Talmud (*Babli*), depending on the geographical/linguistic origin of the Gemara. The latter was the most authoritative and the best-known in medieval Europe. On the different strata of the Talmud, with its different origins and stages – and therefore different languages – see Moulie Vidas, *Tradition and the Formation of the Talmud,* Princeton, 2014 (esp. pp. 1-19 and 45-80); David Brodsky, "Lo que nos enseña Kalá Rabati sobre la redacción del Talmud", in: *Miscelanea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 65 (2016), pp. 33-58. In contrast, Neusner considers the Talmud as a document whose writing and formation are unified. See: Jacob Neusner, *The Reader's Guide To the Talmud*, Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2001.
2. With regard to the different ways of studying the Talmud in Sepharad and Ashkenaz see David Weiss, "The Study of the Talmud in the Thirteenth Century", in: *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 1/4 (1889), pp. 289-313; Avraham (Rami) Reiner, "De la France à la Provence: L'assimilation des innovations des tossafistes dans la tradition talmudique de Provence", in: Danièle Iancu-Agou (Ed.), *Philippe le Bel et les Juifs du royaume de France (1306)*, Paris, 2012, pp. 57-66.

the Talmud was copied accurately and with all the respect owed to a fixed and immutable sacred text. However, in the Ashkenazi area,[3] the oral traditions were alive: the written text was considered as an open document, and therefore the rabbis took the liberty of correcting the text when they deemed necessary.[4]

The Latin version, *Extractiones de Talmud*, translates the text of the Babylonian Talmud as it emerges from a careful analysis and comparison of the texts, which highlights the presence of Hebraisms and remains faithful to the original onomastics. Although the Latin translation was elaborated with clear polemical theological aims, it is a literal and methodical translation from the original text. Its prologue offers a brief phonetic treatise to justify the criteria of the transcription of certain Hebrew words into Latin. It also includes a lexicon of technical words from the Talmudic tradition that are used in the Latin translation.[5] Nevertheless, until today there is still no study that attempts to reconstruct a plausible Talmudic textual tradition behind the Medieval Latin translation of the text.

To find the Hebrew manuscript tradition, I identified passages in the Latin text that differ from the edition of the Hebrew-Aramaic canonical text of the Vilna Talmud.[6] I also sought in the medieval Hebrew manuscripts the source that was used

3. According to Malachi Beit-Arié, the geocultural area of Hebrew book of Sepharad includes the Iberian Peninsula, Provence, the Bas Languedoc, the Maghreb and Sicily: areas with different Iberian Jewish communities during the Late Middle Ages. Ashkenazi regions were France, England and the Rhine zone. See Malachi Beit-Arié, "Commissioned and Owner-Produced Manuscripts in the Sephardi Zone and Italy in the Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries", in: Javier del Barco (Ed.), *The Late Medieval Hebrew Book in the Western Mediterranean. Hebrew Manuscripts and Incunabula in Context*, Leiden/Boston, 2015, pp. 15-27, at p. 15.
4. While the Jewish sages of Sepharad were open to the profane sciences, in Ashkenaz, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the sciences that had arrived in Europe through Arabic intermediation were almost entirely disregarded. The only texts studied were of religious character, in Hebrew and Aramaic. There was an almost exclusively religious culture where three currents of thought coexisted: a) the traditionalist trend; b) a new conception of the Talmud; c) a mystical movement of the Ashkenazi pietists. On this theme see Colette Sirat *et al.* (Eds.), *La conception du livre chez le piétistes ashkenazes au Moyen Âge* (École Pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques 6), Geneva, 1996, pp. 8-30. We can observe in the Ashkenazi books, both in their exterior appearance as well as in their Hebrew writing, the mark of the Christian culture. On this subject see Colette Sirat, "Looking at Latin Books, Understanding Latin Texts. Different Attitudes in Different Jewish Communities", in: Giulio Busi (Ed.), *Hebrew to Latin, Latin to Hebrew. The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism,* Colloqium Held at the Warburg Institute, London, October 18-19, 2004, vol. 1, Milan, 2006, pp. 9-24 (esp. on pp. 10-11 and notes 6 to 8).
5. See 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 (esp. pp. 79-80); Eulàlia Vernet, "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 (esp. pp. 201-202).
6. This edition was the most reproduced edition of the Babylonian Talmud from the late nineteenth century onwards. It was printed in the Lithuanian capital by the Romm brothers. This canonical edition publishes the Mishna and the Gemara in the central column, while in the margins are the posterior rabbinical comments, the most notable of which are the Rashi (1040-1105) commentaries whose glosses are also present in the Latin version of the Talmud. It was Daniel Bomberg (c. 1483-1549), who made the first complete

to prepare the Latin translation. I looked for differences in a number of areas, and mainly in onomastic, loan words, textual variants, and the order and composition of treatises. It is also important to find manuscripts containing Rashi's commentaries as well as the manuscripts which include the Minor Treatises. These latter are not incorporated into the canon of Vilna, but in medieval times they often circulated along with the Talmud. The glosses of Rashi were occasionally included, either after the Mishna and the Gemara, or, usually, in a separate booklet called *peruš ha-quntres* – lit. 'commentary of the booklet' – since it was not until the sixteenth century that the page composition was established.

When analysing the differences between the Latin and the original text, I realised that there is a manuscript tradition which matches the Latin text very well: namely, the tradition which left traces in the Florence and Munich *Talmudim*.

2. Reconstructing the Hebrew Sources: The Florence and Munich Manuscripts

Before delving into textual details, here are some general data about the manuscripts:

2.1. The Florence Manuscript[7]

The Florence manuscript is a partial Talmud *Babli* in 3 volumes. Although the three volumes have been catalogued under a single shelfmark, the date of composition of the first volume – Firenze, Magl. Coll. II.I.7 (henceforth F_7) –, namely 1177, is not the same as the other two volumes – Firenze, Magl. Coll. II.I.8 and II.I.9 (henceforth F_8 and F_9) – which came later (13th century). Being more or less contemporary to

edition of the Babylonian Talmud and who set its characteristic *mise en page*. On this subject see Yaakov Elman, "The Babylonian Talmud in its Historical Context", in: Sharon Liberman Mintz/Gabriel Goldstein (Eds.), *Printing the Talmud: From Bomberg to Schottenstein*, New York, 2005, pp. 19-27; Marvin J. Heller, "Designing the Talmud: The Origins of the Printed Talmudic Page", in: *Tradition* 29/3 (1995), pp. 40-51; Mordechai Glatzer, "Early Hebrew Printing", in: Leonard Singer Gold (Ed.), *A Sign and a Witness. 2000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York/Oxford, 1988, pp. 80-91; Colette Sirat, "Le livre hébreu en France au Moyen Âge", in: *Michael: On the History of the Jews in the Diaspora* 12 (1991), pp. 299-335.

7. Found in Florence at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, in the Magliabechi Collection, under the shelfmark Magl. Coll. II.I.7, 8 and 9. This manuscript is reproduced entirely in *Babylonian Talmud, Codex Florence: Florence National Library II.I.7-9: the Earliest Dated Talmud Manuscript*. Ed. David Rosenthal, Jerusalem, 1972 [Introduction: English and Hebrew]. For general information and the most relevant bibliography concerning the Florence manuscript see: Cecini *et al.*, "Observacions sobre la traducció" (as in note 5), esp. pp. 88-94; Ulisse Cecini, "The *Extractiones de Talmud* and Their Relationship to the Hebrew Talmud Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (MS Magl. coll. II.I.7, 8 and 9)", in: *Sefarad* 77/1 (2017), pp. 91-115; Colette Sirat, "Les manuscrits du Talmud en France du Nord au XIIIe siècle", in: Gilbert Dahan/Élie Nicolas (Eds.), *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242-1244*, Paris, 1999, pp. 121-139.

the Latin Talmud, this manuscript is interesting because it is very close to the *Vorlage* of the Latin translations and also contains Latin translations from the *Extractiones*, written as *glossae marginales*.

2.2. The Munich Manuscript[8]

This manuscript is undoubtedly the most important Talmud manuscript[9] because it is the only one that contains the entire Talmud and also includes the Minor Treatises and other rabbinical works.[10] An addition, particular feature is its placing of the Mishna in the centre of the bifolio, in square, angular letters, while the Gemara around it occupies most of the page and is written in a smaller rabbinical script.[11]

In order to bring the text of the Mishna and the Gemara together, the scribe "aired" the text by leaving blank spaces and often extended the last letters of the lines of the Gemara so that the folios are pleasant to read, despite the density of the text (only 30mm in height for ten lines).

In both texts, the titles, the first words and the colophon of each treatise are written in square script. When at the bottom of the page a word of evil omen such as

8. Nowadays this manuscript is in Munich at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, under shelfmark BSB Cod. hebr. 95. The manuscript is reproduced entirely in: *Babylonian Talmud, Codex Munich 95: The Only Manuscript in Existence Containing the Complete Text of the Talmud*. 3 vols., Facsimile Edition, Jerusalem, 1971 (repr. of *Talmud Babylonicum Codicis Hebraici Monacensis 95. Der Babylonische Talmud nach der Münchener Handschrift Cod. Hebr. 95.* Ed. Hermann L. Strack, Facsimile. Leiden, 1912). The manuscript was studied and described by Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, vol. 1, Munich, ²1895, p. 60; Moritz Altschüler (Ed.), *Cod. Hebr. Monac. 95. Die Pfersee-Handschrift.* Heft 1, Leipzig/Vienna, 1908; Sirat, *Les manuscrits du Talmud en France du Nord au XIIIe siècle* (as in note 7); Colette Sirat, "Le Talmud: le texte et les livres", in: Frédéric Barbier *et al*. (Eds.), *Le livre et L'Historien. Etudes offertes en l'honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*, Paris, 1997, pp. 47-67.
9. This manuscript is based on a textual witness from the middle of the ninth century, Wilhelm Bacher, "Talmud", in: *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, 1906, pp. 1-27, on p. 11. Also quoted in Israel Lewy, *Jahres-Bericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars*, Breslau, 1905, pp. 3-52, on p. 28.
10. Of the 584 folios that constitute the Codex only 480 contain the Talmud. The codicological description of this manuscript has been made based on the following articles: Sirat, "Les manuscrits du Talmud en France" (as in note 7), pp. 121-139; *Ead*., "Le livre hébreu en France au Moyen Âge" (as in note 6); Bacher, *Talmud* (as in note 9), on pp. 4-6.
11. The Munich manuscript measures 280mm in height by 215mm in width. The written space is 260mm by 160mm. The 577 folios are of very fine parchment, and the total thickness of the codex is 92mm. We can distinguish the hair and the flesh side, since it is folded in *quaternions* (with some *terniones* or *quiniones* at the end of the treatises) that begin on the flesh side. The prickings have been made in the outer margins and these have been doubled by the particularly long lines that frame the text. The ruling was made on both sides of each bifolium with a brown or grey lead stylus and the arrangement of the lines is different on each page. The text of the Mishna, written in square script, occupies two columns, varying in width and in height, arranged in the centre of the bifolio; there are between 28 to 48 lines per page. Around it, the Gemara appears in a minuscule rabbinical script, with 80 lines per page.

'death', 'sin', 'punishment' is written, the scribe includes at the bottom of the page a pious formula or auspicious verse.[12]

The copyist has carefully corrected his own copy, and other hands have added glosses and comments. However, the beautiful handwriting notwithstanding, the manuscript is full of slips of the pen and omissions.

The manuscript's date of composition as indicated on one of the pages (f. 501r) is *Kislev* 12th 5103 (corresponding to 12 November 1342), while on another page (f. 563v) I read *Ṭebet* 17th 5103 (corresponding to 15 December 1342). The person for whom the manuscript was written was Jeḥosphia Benjamin, though Mattatiah ben Joseph is the name substituted on folios 501a and 563b, where Jeḥosphia's name was erased. The copyist up to f. 575r was Salomon ben Samson.

Jeḥosphia names some prominent Talmudists and liturgical poets among his ancestors (f. 576r), such as Binjamin ben Samuel of Coutances in Normandy, and his brother Joseph Ṭob ʿElem (Bonfils) of Limoges, who lived in the middle of the eleventh century.[13]

Despite typical French paleographic features and the model of divorce (f. 573r-575v), dated in Paris in 1308, the copyist never lived in France, and it is probable that Salomon ben Samson was born in Germany into one of the families of Jews expelled from France in 1306.[14]

The content of the Munich Manuscript:[15]

fol. 1v *Baraita deMelekhet ha-Mishkan*: is a *baraita* on the erection of the tabernacle.
fol. 2v An alphabetical poem from the pen of Jeḥosphia Benjamin.
fol. 4r *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the Great Order of the World. It gives a chronology detailing the dates of Biblical events from the Creation to Alexander the Great's conquest of Persia.
fols. 8r-501v Talmud.[16]

12. For instance, in the folio 348r, the word *magefa* ('epidemic', 'plague') concludes the page, and the scribe has added at the bottom of the page: "We have applied ourselves to Your law, to Your commandments [which protect us from troubles]". Sirat, "Le livre hébreu en France au Moyen Âge" (as in note 6), on p. 321.
13. See *Talmud Babylonicum* (as in note 8), p. IV. Strack also mentions that Zunz doubts that Binjamin ben Samuel and Joseph Ṭob were really brothers. See Leopold Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, 1865, p. 138.
14. Colette Sirat, "Les manuscrits du Talmud en France" (as in note 7), on p. 139.
15. The parts of the Munich manuscript, except the Talmud and the Mishna, are transcribed in the work of Taussig, see Shelomoh Zalman Taussig, *Meleches Schlome: Enthält verschiedene Talmudische Abhandlungen und Traktat Schekalim*, Krotoschin, 1876 [Hebrew].
16. In folio 157v the copyist copied magical recipes dealing with water and the creation of living beings. Concerning this subject see Giuseppe Veltri, "'Watermarks' in the MS Munich, Hebr. 95: Magical Recipes in Historical Context", in: Shaul Shaked (Ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Pratice of Magic in Antiquity*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 255-268.

fols. 502v-563r Mishna.
fols. 565b-571a *Masekhtot Qetanot*: Minor Treatises:[17]
Abot de-Rabbi Natan, a chapter of the fathers according to Rabbi Natan.[18]
Dereq Erets, literally means "the way of the world", which in this context refers to deportment, manners and behavior.
Pirqei Ben Azzai
Kallah, 'bride'. A treatise on engagement, marriage and co-habitation.
Sopherim, 'scribes'.
Gerim, 'conversion to Judaism'.
fols. 571r-572r *Seder Tannaim we-Amoraim*, a list of the teachers whose names are found in Mishna and Talmud.
fols. 573r-575v *Ṭofsei shetirot*, a divorce dated 1308 in Paris.
fols. 575v-576r *Tequnot*, ordinances of Rabbenu Gershom and Rabbenu Jacob Tam.
fols. 576r A genealogy of the owner.
fols. 576v Document on the purchase of the manuscript.
fols. 577v List of owners.

3. Examples of the possible Hebrew sources

In what follows, I will give some examples of the differences between the Latin text and the Hebrew canonical text which can be explained by the Florence manuscript or by the textual tradition of the manuscript of Munich.

17. The Minor Tractates are normally printed at the end of *Seder Neziqin* in the Talmud. In addition to the treatises that appear in the Talmud of Munich, they include: *Ebel Rabbati*, a preparation in Mourning. This treatise deals with laws and customs relating to death and mourning, and is sometimes euphemistically called *Semakhot* 'joys'; *Kallah Rabbati*, that is an elaboration of the treatise *Kallah*; *Dereq Erets Zuta*, aimed at scholars, is a collection of maxims that exhort self-examination and modesty; *Pereq ha-Shalom*, a chapter that deals with the peace; *Sefer Torah*, which explains the regulations for writing scrolls of *Torah*; *Mezuzah*, a piece of parchment contained in a case attached to the doorpost; *Tefilin*, a treatise concerning the phylacteries; *Tsitsit*, fringes; *Abadim*, a chapter regarding the slaves; *Kutim*, a section relating to the Samaritans. There was also a lost treatise called *Erets Israel* about laws concerning the Land of Israel. Three of these tractates were also printed in the first edition of Venice (1520-1523). In the third edition (1550) three new tractates were added. The other treatises were joined to the Talmud Romm-Vilna edition (1883). For a brief description of these tractates see Günter Stemberger/H. L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. Translated from German and edited by Markus Bockmuehl, Minneapolis, ^{2}1996 [^{1}1992]; for an English translation of the minor treatises see Aaron Cohen (Ed.), *The Minor Tractates of the Talmud: Massekhtot Ketannoth*. Translated into English, with Notes, Glossary and Indices under the Editorship of Aaron Cohen, 2 vols., London, 1971.
18. Even though *Abot de-Rabbi Natan* is the first and longest of the minor tractates, it probably does not chronologically pertain to that collection, having more the character of a late *Midrash*.

3.1. Differences in the order of treatises

I can explain two important differences that I find between the Latin and the Hebrew text of the Vilna using the manuscript tradition of Munich. These formal differences are:

Firstly, in the Latin Talmud, the tractate *Niddah* 'menstrual impurities' is inside the order of *Nashim* 'women', instead of in the order of *Tohorot* 'pure things'. This is also the case in the Munich manuscript.

Secondly, there is the internal reference in the *Extractiones* to some minor treatises, such as *Kallah* 'bride', and *Sopherim* 'scribes'. These treatises were independent of the canonical Talmudic units – it seems that the *Gaonic* circles would not accept them and therefore they were not included in the Talmud –; nevertheless, later, the rabbinical authorities used them to make decisions concerning halakhic questions. It is for this reason that these minor tractates were copied together with the Talmud in medieval times. I can explain also this difference between the Latin text and the canonical text of Vilna Talmud through a close reading of the text of the Munich manuscript.

3.2. Some examples of textual differences

That the manuscripts of Florence and Munich can be considered very close to the Talmud manuscript used for the Latin translation is clearly seen in the passage from Bm 58b:

	Extractiones[19]	**Vilna**[20]	**Engl. Transl. of Vilna**	**Munich**[21]	**Florence**
1	Dicit rby Iohannen: Omnes descendunt in infernum [cf. Ps 113, 25 –iuxta LXX–] praeter tres. Quid est "praeter tres"? Sed sic dices: "omnes qui descendunt in infernum reascendunt praeter tres", qui descendunt, sed non reascendunt: [1)]ille qui imponit cognomen proximo suo; [2)] et qui facit albescere faciem proximi sui [3)]et qui iacet cum coniugata. **1** Dicit *praem*. quia BF_8 | Iohannen] Iohan *PGCZ* Ioh. *B* F_8 **5-9** praeter tres. Quid est... infernum *om*. *B* **9** infernum] inferno *GC* **13** cognomen *add*. non *GC*	דאמר רבי חנינא הכל יורדין לגיהנם חוץ משלשה […] כל היורדין לגיהנם עולים חוץ משלשה שיורדין ואין עולין ואלו הן [3]הבא על אשת איש [2]והמלבין פני חבירו ברבים ו[1]המכנה שם רע לחבירו.	For R' Ḥannina said: All descend to Gehinnom[6] except for three. […] All those who descend to Gehinnom[22] ascend except three, who descent but not ascend. And these are: someone who cohabits with another man's wife, someone who makes friend's face turn white in public, and who calls his friend an embarrassing nickname.	דא"ר חנינ' הכל יורדין לגהינ' ועולי' חוץ משלש' שיורדין ואי' עולין […] כל היורדין עולין חוץ משלש' שיורדי' ו[1]אי' עולין המכנ' שם לחבירו ו[2]המלבין פני חבי' ברבים [3] והבא על אש' איש היינו.	דאמ' ר' יוח' הכל יורדין לגיהנם חוץ משלשה חוץ משלש' […] כל היורדין לגיהנם עולין חוץ משלש' שיורדין ואינן עולין ו[1]אילו הן המכנה שם חבירו (והמכנה) [2]והמלבין פני חבירו ברבים (והוע) [3]והבועל אשת איש הינו.

19. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558 (*P*): fol. 135ra; Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. Coll. II.I.8 (F_8): fol. 229b; Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 19b (*G*): fol. 52va; Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, Ms. 153 (*C*): fol. 32ra; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. lat. fol. 306 (*B*): fol. 90rb; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1115 (*Z*): fol. 225v [I underlined the differences between manuscripts. The numbers [1)], [2)], [3)] mark off the order for the men that are descending]. For these manuscripts containing the Latin Talmud 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 (esp. p. 66); CECINI *et al.*, "Observacions sobre la traducció" (as in note 5); Óscar DE LA CRUZ, "El estadio textual de las *Extractiones de Talmud* en el BnF ms. lat 16558" and Alexander FIDORA, "The Latin Talmud and its Place in Medieval Anti-Jewish Polemic" in this volume.
20. Here and from now on, the text of the Talmud is quoted from the Schottenstein Edition, *Talmud Bavli. The Schottenstein Edition*. Ed. Hersh Goldwurm, New York, 1990-. The English translation is also based on the Schottenstein edition, with some modifications regarding the transcription of Hebrew words.
21. The source for the Florence and Munich text is: The Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research, *The Sol and Evelyn Henkind Talmud Text Databank*, Version 5, Bar-Ilan University, 2002.
22. The place where children were sacrified to the god Moloch was originally in the Valley of Ben-Hinnom בְּגֵי בֶן־הִנֹּם (גיהנם). For this the valley was deemed to be accursed, and 'Gehinnom' (גיהנם) therefore soon became a figurative equivalent for 'hell'. See Kaufmann KOHLER/Ludwig BLAU, "Gehenna", in: Isidore Singer (Ed.), *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, New York/London, 1903, pp. 582-584.

I can see that the order for men descending to hell in the text *Extractiones de Talmud* is the same as that in the manuscripts of Florence and Munich. This can be seen below:

1. *Ille qui imponit cognomen proximo suo* correspond to the Hebrew אילו הן המכנה שם חבירו,[23] the translation for both the Latin and the Hebrew text is: "someone who gives his friend a nickname".
2. *Et qui facit albescere faciem proximi sui* matches with the Hebrew והמלבין פני חבירו ברבים, the translation for both the Latin and the Hebrew text being: "someone who makes his friend's face turn white in public". [24]
3. *Et qui iacet cum coniugata* corresponds to the Hebrew [25]הבא על אשת איש. The meaning of the Latin and Hebrew text is: "someone who lies with another man's wife".

However, the name of the Rabbi in the *Extractiones* and in the Florence manuscript is *Iohannen* while in Munich (and in Vilna edition) it is Rabbi Ḥannina. In this case, the Latin text follows the tradition of the Florence Manuscript.

The following example, San 11a,[26] although showing that the Florence manuscript is very close to the source of the Latin translation of the Talmud, also demonstrates that it does not coincide exactly. Fortunately, these small differences can be explained by the tradition of the Munich manuscript.

23. The copyist of the Munich manuscript often used abbreviations For instance, 'אי for ואילו; 'חבי for חבירו, among others.
24. "In public" is only present in Hebrew.
25. The Florence manuscript has הבועל אשת איש הינו, "someone who has a sexual intercourse with another man's wife".
26. For the passages from Sanhedrin I thank Ulisse Cecini. See his publication Cecini, "The *Extractiones de Talmud* and Their Relationship" (as in note 7).

	Extractiones[27]	Vilna	Engl. Transl. of Vilna.	Munich	Florence
1 5 10	Unde accidit quod magistri comedebant in solario Bezgoria[28] in Hiericho descenditque super eos filia vocis et dixit: Inter vos est homo qui dignus est ut poneret Deus spiritum suum super eum, sed generatio sua non est digna. **1** unde] sicut *F* **3** solario] salario *C* | bezgoria] hezgazya *P* hetgazya *F* bezgazia *C* bezgazia *Z* **4** Hiericho] jericho *PZ* ierico *CF* iericho *B* **5** descenditque] et descendit *F* descendit *C* **9** poneret deus] deus poneret *B* **10** spiritum *add*. [sanctum] *C*	פעם אחת היו מסובין בעליית בית גוריה ביריחו ונתנה עליהם בת קול מן השמים יש כאן אחד שראוי שתשרה עליו שכינה (כמשה רבינו) אלא שאין דורו זכאי לכך.	One time [the sages] were reclining in the attic of Guryah's house in Jericho and an echo of a voice came to them from the heaven, saying: There is one here who deserves to have God's divine presence rest upon him as it Moses, our teacher, but this generation does not merit this.	פע' אח' היו מסובין בעליי בי' גורי' ביריחו ונתנ' עליה' בת קו' מן השמי' יש כאן אדם אח' ביניכ' שראוי שתשר' עליו שכינ' אל' שאין דורו זכיי לכך.	פעם אחת היו מסובין בעלייה בית גריא ביריחו וניתנה עליו בת קול משמים יש כאן אדם אחד שתשרה שכינה עליו אלא שאין דורו ראוי לכך.

In the Latin text we can observe *inter vos est homo qui dignus est*, that is: "among you there is one man here who is worthy", while in the Vilna Edition it is written יש כאן אחד שראוי, "there is one here who is worthy". If we look at the manuscript of Florence we find reflected יש כאן אדם אחד "there is one man" of the Latin text. However, the words "among you" and "worthy" are missing. To find an exact concordance between the Latin and the Hebrew text we must see the text of the Munich manuscript: *inter vos* corresponding to 'ביניכ "among you", *est homo*, corresponding to 'יש כאן אדם אח "there is one man here" and *qui dignus est*, corresponding to שראוי "who is worthy".

In the following example, San 105b, we can see that the Latin translation is very close to the textual tradition of Munich manuscript:

27. *P*146vb (50); F_9 115a infra; *C* 38rb; *B*106rb; *Z*: 283v (148); *G abest*.
28. For the different manners to transcribe in the Latin Talmud the term *Bezgoria* see, Vernet, "On the Latin Transcription of Hebrew" (as in note 5), on p. 213.

	Extractiones[29]	**Vilna**	**Engl. Transl. of Vilna**	**Munich**	**Florence**
1	Fuit quidam *myn* in vicinia rby Iossua, qui multum	ההוא מינא דהוה בשיבבותיה דרבי יהושע בן לוי דהוה קא מצער ליה יומא חד נקט תרנגולתא ואסר ליה בכרעיה ואותיב אמר כי מטא ההוא שעתא אילטייה כי מטא ההוא שעתא נמנם אמר שמע מינה לאו אורח ארעא דכתיב משלי י"ז גם ענוש לצדיק לא טוב אפילו במיני לא איבעי ליה למימר הכי.	There was a certain heretic who was in the neighborhood of R' Yehoshua ben Levi, who used to harrass [R' Yehoshua]. One day, [R'Yehoshua] took a rooster, tied it by its foot, sat it up, and stared intently at it. He said: When that moment comes [that the rooster's comb pales], I will curse [the heretic]. When that moment came, however, [R' Yehoshua] dozed off. [R'Yehoshua] said: One may deduce from this that it is not proper [to have another punished on one's account] as it is written: "It is also not good for a righteous person to punish" [Prv 17, 26], which implies that one should not pronounce [curses] even against heretics.	ההו' מי' דהוה בשיבבותי' דר' יהוש' בן לוי דהוה קמצע' לי' יומ' חד נקט תרנגולת' ואסר לי' בכרעי' [דפוריא] ואותיב א' כי מט' ההי' שעת' אילטייה כי מט' ההי' שעת' נמנם א' ש"מ לאו אורח ארע' דכ' גם ענוש לצדי' לא טוב אפי' במינין לא איבעי לי' למימ' הכי [דכתי' ורחמיו על כל מעשיו].	ההוא מינא דהוה בשיבבותיה דר' יהוש' בן לוי דהוה קא מצער ליה יומא חד נקט תרנגולתאויתי סבר כי מטיא ההיא שעתא אלטיה אדהכי מיתנמנם וחליף ההיא ש(ל)ת?' אמ' ש"מ לאו אורח ארעא למיעבד הכי דכת' גם ענוש לצדיק (כי) [לא] טוב.
5	adversabatur ei. Accepit itaque rby Iossua gallum in manu sua, dicens intra se: Quando				
10	illa hora veniet maledicam ei. Quando vero hora venit dormitavit.				
15	Tunc dixit: Modo scio quod hoc non est bonum, quia scriptum est: "et miserationes eius				
20	super omnia opera eius" [Ps 144, 9].				

2 myn *add*. haereticus in talmud F_9 **4-5** multum adversabatur ei] adversabatur ei quam plurimum F_9 **6-7** itaque...Iossua *om*. F_9 **8** sua *om*. F_9 **10** hora illa *transp*. F_9 **14** Modo] nunc F_9 **15** quod *om*. *GC*.

In the Latin text appears the Biblical verse Ps 144, 9 *et miserationes eius super omnia opera eius*, "compassionate toward all your works". In contrast, in the Vilna edition and the Florence manuscript the Biblical quotation that appears is Prv 17,

29. *P* 179va (83); F_9 269b; *G* 14rb (57) *C* 53va; *Z* 339r (259).

26: "it is also not good to fine the righteous". However, in the manuscript of Munich the two Biblical quotations appear: Prv 17, 26 in the body of the text and Ps 144, 9 in the interlinear space.

As in the previous example here, Az 2b, we find a correspondence between the Latin text of the *Extractiones* and that of the Munich Manuscript.[30]

	Extractiones[31]	**Vilna**	**Engl. Transl. of Vilna**	**Munich Manuscript**
1 5 10	Dicet eis Dominus: De quo intromisistis vos in hoc saeculo? Respondebunt coram ipso: Domine saeculi, multa fora fecimus, plura balnea fecimus, aurum et argentum multiplicavimus; et hoc totum fecimus pro Israhel ut studerent in lege. **11** studerent *sic codd*	אמר להם הקב"ה במאי עסקתם אומרים לפניו רבש"ע הרבה שווקים תקנינו הרבה מרחצאות עשינו הרבה כסף וזהב הרבינו וכולם לא עשינו אלא בשביל ישראל כדי שיתעסקו בתורה.	The Holy One, Blessed is He, says to [the Romans]: With what did you involve yourselves? They respond before Him: Master of the Universe, we established many marketplaces, constructed many bathhouses, and amassed much silver and gold. And all of these we did only for the sake of the Jews so that they should be able to involve themselves in Torah study.	א' להן הקב"ה במה עסקתם בעול' הזה אמ' לפניו רבו' ש"ע הרב' שווקי' תקננו הרב' מרחצאו' עשינו הרב' כסף וזהב הרבינו וכלן לא עשינו אל' בשביל ישר' שיעסקו בתור'.

In the Latin text we can observe *De quo intromisistis vos in hoc saeculo*. The words *hoc saeculo* – 'this world' – are missing in the Vilna edition. Notwithstanding, in the margins, written by a different hand, in the Munich manuscripts we can read בעולם הזה 'this world'.

The following example, San 35a,[32] clearly demonstrates that the Florence manuscript is a witness of textual revisions applied to the Latin translation of the Talmud.

30. Unfortunately, the treatise Aboda Zara is missing from the Florence manuscript.
31. *P* 185 ra (89); *G* 66rb (23); *C* 55vb; *Z* 348r (277).
32. This example is quoted in Cecini *et al.*, "Observacions sobre la traducció" (as in note 5), on p. 15, also, is quoted in Cecini, "The *Extractiones de Talmud* and Their Relationship" (as in note 7).

	Extractiones[33]	**Vilna**	**Engl. Transl. of Vilna**	**Munich**	**Florence**
1 5 10 15	Dicit rby Eleazar: Ieiunium cum quo non fit elemosyna, quasi effunderetur sanguis, et hoc est quod scriptum est: "Iustitia habitavit in ea -glossa Salomonis: quia post ieiunium dabant elemosynas pauperibus-, nunc autem homicidae -glossa: quia pauperes spem habent in eis et ipsi dimittunt eos mori fame-" [Is. 1, 21][34]. Verum est -dicit Talmud-, sed hoc erat quando dabantur panis et dactili, sed ubi non dabantur dactili non erat curandum. **1** *add.* error *mg*. *PZ* | rby] raby *G* rabi *C* rbi F_9B | Eleazar] Eleasar *B* **2** Ieiunium] quod ieiunio F_9 **3** elemosyna] iustitia id est elemosina F_9 | quasi *praem*. est F_9 **6** habitavit] habitabit *B* **7** glossa] *add*. *et del*. *textum quem legi non potest* F_9 | Salomonis *om*. F_9 **9** elemosynas pauperibus] pauperibus elemosynas F_9 **10** nunc] non *B* **11** glossa *add*. Salomonis F_9 **12** ipsi *om*. F_9 **16** dabantur] dabatur F_9GC **17** et *om*. *GC* **17** dactili] dactyli *Z add.* non erat *C* | sed *om*. *Z* **17-18** sed ubi...dactili *mg*. *G* **18** non *om*. F_9B | dactili] denarii BF_9 dactyli *Z*	אמר רבי אלעזר אמר רבי יצחק כל תענית שמלינין בו את הצדקה כאילו שופך דמים שנאמר מלאתי משפט צדק וגו' והני מילי בריפתא ותמרי אבל בזוזי חיטי ושערי לית לן בה.	For R' Eleazar said in the name of R' Yitzkhaq: on any fast day that day delay [giving] charity until morning, [they are considered] as if they shed blood; for it is stated: It was full of judgement; righteousness etc. [lodged in it]. This statement applies [only] to [a place in which it is customary to distribute at the conclusion of a fast] bread or dates , but [a place in which it is customary to distribute donations of] money, raw wheat or raw barley, there is no [objection to waiting until the next day].	דא"ר אלעז' כל תעני' שמלינין בה צדק' כאילו שופך דמי' שנ' צדק ילין בה ועת' מרצחים.	דאמ' ר' אלעז' כל תענית שמלינין בו צדק כאילו שופך דמים שנ' מלאו משפט צדק ילין בה ועתה מר(ח) צחין.

We may observe that the Latin translator added Rashi's Glosses explaining why the Biblical verse is related to what R. Eleazar says: "the Bible says about Jerusalem: "where justice lived", because alms were given to the poor; "now, on the other hand, murderers", because the poor trust those who have to give them alms, but when the latter fail to do so they let the poor die of hunger".

33. *P* 151rb (55); F_9 156a; *G* 11ra (54); *C* 40va; *B* 111va; *Z* 290v (162).
34. Is 1, 21: אֵיכָה הָיְתָה לְזוֹנָה קִרְיָה נֶאֱמָנָה מְלֵאתִי מִשְׁפָּט צֶדֶק יָלִין בָּהּ וְעַתָּה מְרַצְּחִים

It is also interesting to note that the Latin translation of the Florence Manuscript is more accurate because it translates the Hebrew Talmudic text literally: it is written *cum quo non fit iustitia* and explains that in this context, *iustitia* means *elemosyna*. The word 'justice', *iustitia* (Hebrew root צדק), is precisely the one that connects the sentence of Rabbi ʾElʿazar to the Biblical verses. The last stage of the Latin Text in the *Extractiones* does not show any connection to the Biblical quotations because it replaces the word *iustitia* with *elemosyna*.

In the examples above we have seen that the textual variations between the Latin translation and the canonical edition of the Vilna Talmud could be explained by the Florence or Munich manuscript. However, in the following example, Tam 27b, it does not seem to be the case, as the name *Hennina* does not appear in any manuscript.[35]

	Extractiones[36]	**Vilna**	**Engl. Transl. of Vilna**	**Munich**	**Florence**[37]
1	Dicit rby Hennina: Nullus debet bibere aquam et dare discipulo suo nisi prius effuderit de illa. Accidit enim de quodam qui dedit discipulo suo et non effudit prius et ille postea mortuus est. In illa hora statuerunt quod nullus biberet et daret discipulo suo nisi prius effunderetur de ea.	לחייא בריה וכן א"ל רב הונא […] לא ישתה אדם מים ויתן לתלמידו אלא אם כן שפך מהן ומעשה באחד ששתה מים ולא שפך מהן ונתן לתלמידו ואותו תלמיד איסטניס היה ולא רצה לשתות ומת בצמא באותה שעה אמרו לא ישתה אדם מים ויתן לתלמידו אא"כ שפך מהן.	Rav said to his son Chiya, and similarly Rav Huna said to his son, Rabbah […] A person should not drink water and then give to his disciple to drink unless he pours from [the water]. And there was an incident involving one, who drank water and did not pour from [the water] and he gave it to his disciple. That disciple was squeamish and did not want to drink –from de cup- and he died of thirst. At that time they said: a person should not drink water and give to his disciple to drink unless he pours some of it –over the edge of the cup.	לר' חייא בריה וכן א"ל רב הונא […] לא ישתה אדם מים ויתן לתלמידו אלא א"כ שפך מהם ומעשה באחד ששת' מים ולא שפך מ?ה?ם ונתן לתלמידו ואסטנס היה ומת בצמא באותה שעה אמרו אל ישתה אדם מים ויתן לתלמידו אלא א"כ שפך מהם.	רב הונא לרבה בריה […] לא ישתה אדם מים ויתן לתלמידו אלא אם כן שפך מהן ומעשה באחד ששתה מים ולא שפך מהן ונתן לתלמידו ואיסטנס היה ומת בצמא באותה שעה אמרו לא ישתה אדם מים ויתן לתלמידו אלא אם כן שפך מהן.
5					
10					
15					

18 effunderetur] effunderet *GC*

35. Nonetheless, a confusion between the name חנינא (Ḥannina) and the name הונא (Huna) can be supposed to explain this incongruence.
36. *P* 205ra (109); *G* 71rb (28); *C* 65ra; *Z* 381r (343).
37. The treatise Tamid is in the codex F_7 of the Florence manuscript. As I have said before, this manuscript should be considered apart from the other two. Even if it is close in date and style to the subsequent one, it is another codicological unit and it does not contain the Latin translations in its margins.

4. Conclusions

After the Babylonian Talmud reached Ashkenazi Christian Europe around the eleventh century, it became the core of Medieval Jewish Studies and the different Talmudic schools copied the manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud.

Christians tried to prove that the Jews were wrong in their way of interpreting Scripture, and the translation of several passages of the Talmud in Latin became a new method of refuting Judaism. However, even today there is still no study that attempts to reconstruct plausible Hebrew Talmudic manuscript sources for this translation.

My opinion concerning the Hebrew sources behind the Latin translation of the Talmud is that the textual tradition is portrayed by the manuscripts of Florence – which contain the *Extractiones* as marginal glosses– and by the Munich Talmud both of which elaborate the Latin text of the *Extractiones*.

The Latin Talmud Translation: The Epitome *

Isaac Lampurlanés
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Abstract

This chapter briefly introduces and describes the work known as *Excerptum de Talmud*, starting with a description of the two extant manuscripts. It continues by focussing on the contents of the work, showing its relation to the *Extractiones de Talmud* and giving some remarks about ways in which it differs from the latter. Finally, it deals with how the *Excerptum* relates to the Sequential and Thematic translations of the *Extractiones* and their traditions, trying to demonstrate which version the *Excerptum* uses.

The *Extractiones de Talmud* were the first extensive and methodical translation of numerous Talmudic passages into Latin. The passages first translated in the *Extractiones* follow the order of the Talmudic tractates (hence, I will refer to it as the "Sequential translation"). The first translation was subsequently rearranged into thematic sections focussing on different polemical topics. The second rearrangement (referred to as the "Thematic translation") contains additional materials not found in the Sequential translation and taken from Nicholas Donin's thirty-five articles against the Talmud, which were presented to Gregory IX in 1238-39, an additional anthology of translated Talmudic passages and Rashi's glosses, among others. All these can be found, together with the *Extractiones*, in the Paris manuscript, BnF, lat. 16558, from the thirteenth century.[1] This thematic arrangement of the Talmudic materials was clearly more useful and an excellent source for later polemical works against the Jews. However, the material seems to have been almost totally ignored, and was not used in later polemical literature. Subsequent polemicists, like Jerónimo de Santa Fe in his *De iudaicis Erroribus ex Talmud* (1412), or Alonso de Espina, in his encyclopedic *Fortalitium fidei* (1458-85), went back to the Jewish sources themselves[2] or to other Latin sources, disregarding the extensive Latin translation of the *Extractiones*. However, we find two works that seem to be an exception to this rule and that seem to have used the *Extractiones*.

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1. See in this volume the chapter by Óscar de la Cruz about the description of the Paris *dossier*, BnF, Ms. lat. 16558.
2. This is the case for Jerónimo de Santa Fe. See: Hieronymus de Sancta Fide, *De Iudaicis Erroribus ex Talmut. Tratado apologético de Jerónimo de Santa Fe*. Ed. Moisés Orfali, Madrid, 1983, p. 65.

The first of these is the *Errores iudaeorum* by the Dominican Thibaud de Sézanne,[3] who for a long time has been thought to have been one of the translators of the *Extractiones* due to the textual similarities between the works.[4] However, a more in-depth reading raises doubts about whether he really knew the material from the Sequential translation. This is because the correspondences between the *Errores* and the *Extractiones*, which can be found in the Thematic translation, appear to go back to Donin's articles rather than to the material from the Sequential translation.[5]

The second source which seemingly used the *Extractiones* is by an anonymous author and is called *Excerptum de Talmud*. As will be shown in what follows, it contains passages from the *Extractiones de Talmud* and is, in essence, a summarized version of the *Extractiones*, hence we refer to it as an "Epitome". It represents a further selection of the passages of the *Extractiones* which sometimes incorporate additions and variations that intentionally radicalize their polemical purpose.[6] I will now focus on this work, its manuscript tradition, its content and its relation with the *Extractiones* in both their Sequential and Thematic version.

Manuscripts

Two manuscripts containing this work are conserved:

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 21259 (henceforth *Y*).
London, British Library, Add. 19952 (henceforth *L*).

Y is a manuscript containing four originally separated parts dated from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. It is made of parchment and measures 35 x 22 cm, with 278 folios. The first part of the manuscript, where we find the *Excerptum*, has the following works: *Notitia de Machometo* by William of Tripolis (fols. 1r-12v); *Itinerarium* by Odoricus de Pordenone (fols. 13r-27va); a different version of the Pseudo-Beda's *De miraculis septem mundi*; and finally the *Excerptum de Talmud*

3. On the *Errores*, its manuscripts and Thibaud de Sézanne, see: Heinz Pflaum, *Die religiöse Disputation*, Geneva, 1935, p. 79, n. 2; Thomas Kaeppeli/Emilio Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi. Vol. 4 T-Z*, Rome, 1993, pp. 292-295; Moisés Orfali, "El 'Dialogus pro ecclesia contra synagogam': Un tratado anónimo de polémica antijudía", in: *Hispania* 54/2 (1994), pp. 679-732; Carmen Cardelle, "Drei Schriften mit dem Titel *Pharetra fidei*", in: *Aschkenas* 11 (2001), pp. 327-349; *Ead*., "El *Dialogus pro ecclesia contra synagogam* impreso por Pablo Hurus: autoría, fecha y transmisión manuscrita", in: *Sefarad* 62 (2002), pp. 3-19.
4. 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 (esp. pp. 100-101).
5. Alexander Fidora, "The Latin Talmud and its Translators. Thibaud de Sézanne vs. Nicholas Donin?", in: *Henoch* 37/1 (2015), pp. 17-28 (esp. p. 23).
6. Within the project "The Latin Talmud and its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic" I have been carrying out an edition and a preliminary study of the work *Excerptum de Talmud* since 1st October 2015.

(fols. 28v-39va). It is written in black lettering using two columns and can be dated to the middle of the fourteenth century.[7]

The other manuscript, *L*, belonged to the library of Nicholas of Cusa and is dated in the middle of the 15th century. It is made of paper, with a size of 21 x 15 cm and contains 113 folios.[8] We can divide it into two parts according to the hands that wrote its content. A first part (fols. 1r-84v) contains the *De condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum*, translation of Franciscus Pipinus of Bologna from Marco Polo's original. At the end of this part we find a subscription that gives us the date *anno 1445*, although the catalogue of the library has it (wrongly) as 1472.[9] The second part, written by another hand, has the works *Notitia de Machometo et de libro legis Sarracenorum* by William of Tripolis (fols. 85r-98v) and the anonymous author's *Excerptum de Talmud* (fols. 99r-111r). It can be said that Nicholas of Cusa knew and read this second part because there are glosses and markers of his hand in the *Notitia*,[10] although there is no gloss in the *Excerptum*.[11] In addition, according to Peter Engels, the second part of the manuscript *L* is a copy of the *Notitia de Machometo* and *Excerptum de Talmud* extant in *Y*.[12]

Both witnesses of the *Excerptum* are, unfortunately, bad copies. The manuscripts show that neither the copyists nor the epitomist himself knew Hebrew, since we find strange spellings of Hebrew words. That is what we can see in the following passages, where the misspellings appear when compared with the *Extractiones* versions:[13]

7. Manuscript description in: Karl Halm/Georg von Laubmann/Wilhelm Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Munich, 1878, p. 303; Guilielmus Tripolitanus, *Notitia de Machometo. De statu Sarracenorum*. Edited and translated by Peter Engels, Würzburg-Altenberge, 1992, pp. 113-114.
8. Manuscript description in: Guilielmus Tripolitanus, *Notitia*, 1992 (as in note 7), pp. 118-119; Herrad Spilling, "Cod. Harl. 3934, 3992 und Cod. Add. 19952", in: *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 12 (1977), pp. 59-71 (esp. pp. 62-63).
9. Berthold L. Ullman, "Manuscripts of Nicholas of Cues", in: *Speculum* 13/2 (1938), pp. 194-197 (esp. pp. 195-196).
10. James E. Biechler, "Three Manuscripts on Islam from the Library of Nicholas of Cusa", in: *Manuscripta* 27/2 (1983), pp. 91-100 (esp. pp. 98-99).
11. Although Nicholas of Cusa mentioned some Jewish sages, he never referred to the Talmud: see Görge K. Hasselhoff, "The Image of Judaism in Nicholas of Cusa's Writings", in: *Medievalia & Humanistica* 40 (2014), pp. 25-36.
12. Guilielmus Tripolitanus, *Notitia*, 1992 (as in note 7), p. 123.
13. Italics are mine. The given text of the *Extractiones* comes from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558, henceforth *P*.

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic *Extractiones***	**Sequential *Extractiones***
[*Y* fol. 32va-vb; *L* fol. 103v]	[*P* fol. 29ra]	[*P* fol. 190rb]
[Az 20b] Item: Dicunt magistri: *Malachi nau* –id est angelus mortis– plenus est oculis et in hora qua infirmus decedit, stat ad caput eius et evaginatus gladius in manu eius et gutta amaritudinis dependit in illo quam cito infirmus videt illam contremiscit et aperit os eius et ille proicit eam in os eius et per illam moritur, per illam fetet, per illam viridescit facies eius.	[Az 20b] Dicunt magistri: *Malaach Mavet* –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 contremiscit et aperit os et ille proicit eam in os eius. Per illam moritur, per illam fetet, per illam viridescit facies eius.	[Az 20b] Dicunt magistri *Malaach Mavez* –angelus mortis– plenus est oculis et in hora qua infirmus decedit, stat ad caput eius et evaginatus gladius quem manu ipsius et gutta amaritudinis dependet in illo quam cito infirmus videt illam contremiscit et aperit os et ille proicit eam in os ipsius. Per illam moritur, per illam fetet, per illam virescit facies illius.
[*Y* fol. 39rb, *L* fol. 110v]	[*P* fol. 92rb]	[*P* fol. 203vb]
[Bek 57b] Item: Quadam vice cecidit ovum *barvica* et submersit sexaginta castra et contrivit trecentas quercus.	[Bek 57b] Quadam die cecidit ovum *bariucaneri* –volantis– et submersit sexaginta castra et contrivit trecentas quercus.	[Bek 57b] Quadam vice cecidit ovum *bariucanen* et submersit sexaginta castra et contrivit trecentas quercus.

In the first example, in the text from the Epitome we see the word *Malachi nau* which clearly corresponds to the *Malaach Mavet*[14] of the texts from the *Extractiones*. In the other case we find the enormous bird *Bar Yochani* whose name in the *Excerptum* is reduced and is erroneously cut.[15]

Similarly, we also find corruptions in the rabbis' proper names:

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic *Extractiones***	**Sequential *Extractiones***
[*Y* fol. 31rb, *L* fol. 102r]	[*P* fol. 19ra]	[*P* fol. 133vb]
[Bq 113b] Item: Dicit *rabi Levi*: Si *Goy* –id est Christianus– traditus est in manu tua –id est potestate illius–, rapina eius, etiam admissio, concessa sunt tibi –hoc est, potes ei auferre sua et res inventas retinere–.	[Bq 113b] Dicit *rab Bivi*: Si *Goy* traditus est in manu tua –id est in potestate–, rapina eius et admissio concessae sunt tibi –hoc est potes ei auferre et inventa retinere–.	[Bq 113b] Dicit *rab Bivi*: Si *Goy* traditus est in manu tua –si praesis illi–, rapina illius et admissio concessa est tibi –id est potes ei auferre et amissa retinere–.

14. מַלְאָךְ הַמָּוֶת 'the angel of death'.
15. Heb. בַּר יוֹכָנִי

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic** *Extractiones*	**Sequential** *Extractiones*
[*Y* fol. 29va, *L* fol. 100r]	[*P* fol. 9va]	[*P* fol. 112va]
[Ber 44a] Item: Rabi Avehu tantum comedebat, quod muscae cadebant de fronte ipsius prae pinguedine. *Rabi* Ate et *rabi* Ame similiter comedebant, quod capilli cadebant eis et Relakos tantum, quod fere sensum admiserat –ex dictis talium sanctorum compositus est Talmud–.	[Ber 44a] Rabi Avehu tantum comedebat, quod muscae cadebant de fronte ipsius prae pinguedine. *Rab* Ace et *rab* Amme tantum similiter comedebant, quod capilli cadebant eis et Relakos tantum, quod fere admittebat sensum –ex dictis talium sanctorum compositus est Talmud–.	[Ber 44a] Rby Abhu tantum comedebat, quod muscae cadebant de fronte eius prae pinguedine. *Rab* Ace et *rab* Amme tantum similiter comedebant, quod capilli cadebant eis et Relakys tantum, quod fere admittebat sensum.

In these examples, for instance, we see in Bq 113b how the epitomist misunderstood the name of the rabbi, *Bivi*, and wrote *Levi*, which might have been a Jewish name more familiar for Christians. Moreover, the epitomist, disregarding the distinct meanings of the Hebrew words, homogenized the terms *rab* and *rby*, both extant in the *Extractiones*, and wrote always *rabi*.[16]

Content

As mentioned previously, the *Excerptum de Talmud* is a summary of the *Extractiones de Talmud*. Therefore, apart from being a selection of passages from the *Extractiones*, the content of the passages is also reduced. We can notice that the epitomist skips circumstantial or uninteresting parts of the text in order to focus on the most polemical. In the following examples we can see that the text in italics from the *Extractiones* is missing in the *Excerptum*.

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic** *Extractiones*	**Sequential** *Extractiones*
[*Y* fol. 39ra, *L* fol. 110v]	[*P* fol. 89va]	[*P* fol. 194vb]
[Nid 61a] Item: Og, propter suam longitudinem, evasit diluvium. Noe enim quando aperuit arcam, ipse inmisit caput suum.	[Nid 61a] *"et ecce unus qui evaserat"* [Gn 14, 13] *et cetera. Dicit rby Iohan*: Iste fuit Og qui evasit de diluvio. –Glossa: quia Noe aperuit fenestram arcae et Og inmisit caput suum–. Quaeritur in libro Kadassym.	[Nid 61a] *"et ecce unus qui evaserat nuntiavit Abram"* [Gn 14, 13] *dicit rby Iohan:* Iste fuit Og, rex Basan, qui evaserat de diluvio –Glossa: quia Noe aperuit fenestram arcae et Og inmisit caput suum et sic evasit– Quaeritur in libro Kadassym.

16. For the difference between the terms *rab* and *rabi*, where the former especially designates the sages from Babylon, see the prologue of the *Extractiones* (*P* fol. 97va): "*rab* seu *rby* interpretatur 'magister'; sed *rab* de illis specialiter dicitur qui in Chaldea docuerunt".

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic** *Extractiones*	**Sequential** *Extractiones*
[*Y* fol. 39rb, *L* fol. 110v]	[*P* fol. 77vb]	[*P* fol. 142va]
[Bb 74a] Item: Dicit rabi Iohan: Vidi piscem qui extraxit caput suum de aqua et duo oculi sui erant sicut duae lunae. Emittebatque aquam de duabus naribus suis sicut duo flumina.	[Bb 74a] Dicit rby Iohan: *Quadam vice navigabamus et* vidi piscem qui extraxit caput suum de aqua et duo oculi ipsius sicut duae lunae. Emittebatque aqua de duabus naribus suis sicut duo flumina *de Coza.*	[Bb 74a] Dicit rby Iohan: *Quadam vice navigabamus et* vidi piscem qui extraxit caput suum de aqua et duo oculi illius sicut duae lunae. Emittebatque aqua de duabus naribus suis sicut duo fluvii *de Coza.*
[*Y* fol. 39rb, *L* fol. 110v]	[*P* fol. 16ra; fol. 77va]	[*P* fol. 142ra]
[Bb 74a] Item: Dicit Rava: Vidi in monte Syna bufones ita magnos sicut albi muli.	[Bb 74a] Dixit Rava *filius filii Ana: Dixit mihi quidam mercator: veni, ostendam tibi* montem Syna. Et vidi *quod circundabant* eum bufones ita magni sicut albi muli.	[Bb 74a] Dicit Rava: *Dixit mihi mercator: veni, ostendam tibi* montem Synai. Et vidi *quod in circuitu eius erant* bufones ita magni sicut albi asini.

Rashi's glosses seem to have been a particular focal point for the epitomist. If in the Paris dossier Rashi's glosses to the Bible – contained in the part named *De glossis Salomonis* – and the glosses to the Talmud extant in the *Extractiones* were assumed to be as authoritative as the Talmud itself,[17] in the *Excerptum* we can see that the gloss is even more important[18] than the passage itself. This is why sometimes the *Excerptum* only reports Rashi's gloss, leaving out the passage it refers to, as it the case of the following examples:

17. Gilbert Dahan, "Rashi, sujet de la controverse de 1240. Edition partielle du ms. Paris, BN lat. 16558", in: *Archives Juives* 14 (1978), pp. 43-54; See also: Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian scholars*, Pittsburgh, 1963, pp. 115-129; Gilbert Dahan, "Un dossier latin de textes de Rashi autour de la controverse de 1240", in: *Revue des études juives* 151 (1992), pp. 321-336; Görge K. Hasselhoff, "The Parisian Talmud Trials and the Translation of Rashi's Bible Commentaries", in: *Henoch* 37 (2015), pp. 29-42; *Id.* , "Rashi for Latin Readers: The Translations 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. 103-110.
18. Piero Capelli, "Rashi nella controversia parigina sul Talmud del 1240", in: Marcello Milani/Marco Zappella (Eds.), *Ricercare la sapienza di tutti gli antichi (Sir 39, 1). Miscellanea in onore di Gian Luigi Prato*, Bologna, 2013, pp. 441-448 (esp. p. 444). Besides, in Ramon Martí's *Pugio fidei* Rashi's glosses are weightier and numerous than are the Talmudic texts themselves; see: Görge K. Hasselhoff, "Rashi and the Dominican Friars", in: Charles Burnett/Pedro Mantas-España (Eds.), *'Ex Oriente Lux'. Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society*, Cordova/London, 2016, pp. 201-215, at p. 210.

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic** *Extractiones*	**Sequential** *Extractiones*
[*Y* fol. 28vb, *L* 99r] [Ber 28b] Glossa Salomonis: Non assuefaciatis filios vestros in *Mikara* -id est Biblia-, quia nimis abstrahit ad aliam doctrinam, et facite eos sedere inter genua sapientum qui docent Talmud.	[*P* fol. 5rb] [Ber 28b] Quando rbi Eliezer –seu Eleazar– infirmabatur intraverunt discipuli eius ad ipsum visitandum et dixerunt ei: Magister, doce nos vias vitae, verbum in quo lucremur vias futuri saeculi. Dixit eis: Estote veloces in honorem sociorum vestrorum et prohibete filios vestros et avertite a studio legis –Glossa Salomonis: Non assuefaciatis eos *Mykara* –Biblia–, quia nimis abstrahit ad aliam doctrinam –infidelitatem–, et facite eos sedere inter genua sapientium –qui docent Talmud– et per hoc lucrabimur vitam futuri saeculi-.	[*P* fol. 109vb] [Ber 28b] Discipuli rby Eleazar venerunt ad eum et dixerunt: Rby, doce nos consuetudinem vitae postquam veniamus ad futurum saeculum –vitam aeternam–. Qui dixit eis: Honorate socios vestros et avertite filios vestros a studio legis, quia abstrahit cor ad infidelitatem.
[*Y* fol. 29vb, *L* fol. 100r] [San 17a] Item: Glossa Salomonis: Magistri sortilegiorum ad cogendum sortilegos qui inducunt et impingunt homines in sortilegia sunt sicut Iesus Nazarenus.	[*P* fol. 12vb] [San 17a] Dicit rbi Iohan: Non statuebantur *Cenhezerim* – septuaginta iudices– nisi essent domini scientiae, et nisi scirent septuaginta *lingatgia* et nisi essent magistri sortilegiorum. –Glossa Salomonis: Magistri sortilegiorum ad detegendum sortilegos qui inducunt et impingunt homines in sortilegia sua sicut Iesus Nazarenus–. Idem est in libro Kazassym.	[*P* fol. 147ra] [San 17a] Dicit rby Iohan: Non statuebantur *Cenhezerim* –id est septuaginta iudices– nisi essent domini scientiae et magnae proceritatis staturae, et decori aspectus, et senes, et nisi scirent septuaginta *lingatgia*, et nisi essent magistri sortilegiorum. –Glossa Salomonis: Magistri sortilegiorum ad detegendum sortilegos quasi incitant et impingunt homines in sortilegia sua, sicut Iesus Noceri–Nazarenus–.
[*Y* fol. 30va, *L* fol. 101r] [San 38a] Item: Glossa Salomonis: Angeli de caelo absolvunt Deum a iuramento.	[*P* fol. 16ra] [San 38a] Salatiel quare sic vocatus est? Aliqui dicunt Salatiel idem est quod solutum Deo. Deus enim fecit solvi iuramentum suum. Iuraverat enim quod Iechonias non haberet ultra filios –Glossa Salomonis: Angeli de caelo absolverunt Deum a iuramento illo, sicut legitur in *Agaza de Vagikara Raba* super illud verbum: "scribe virum istum sterilem" [Ier 22, 30]–.	[*P* fol. 152rb] [San 38a] Salatyel –frutex Dei– quare sic vocatus est? Quia Deus fecit matrem ei ipsum concipere tali modo quo mulier concipere non potest. Tenemus eum pro vero, quod nulla mulier concipit stando et ista stando concepit. Locus enim carceris ita strictus erat quod non poterant decumbere. Aliqui dicunt aliter: Salatiel, id est quod solutum Deo, quia Deus fecit solui iuramentum suum. Iuraverat enim quod Iechonias non haberet filios. –Dicit Glossa Salomonis: Quod angeli de caelo absolvunt Deum a iuramento illo, sicut legitur in *Agaza de Vagicia Raba* super illud verbum: "scribe virum istum sterilem" [Ier 22, 30]–.

In the first example from Ber 28b in the *Excerptum* we only find the gloss of Rashi, which the sequential *Extractiones* do not have. In addition, we see that the thematic version and the sequential one are textually different. That shows that in this case, the thematic text does not come from the sequential *Extractiones* but from the article of Donin containing this passage.[19] In the other examples, relating to San 17a and San 38a, the epitomist only selected the glosses, which are seemingly more interesting for him and the polemists than the Talmudic passages.

In some cases in the Epitome we find Rashi's glosses without the common heading *Glossa* or *Glossa Salomonis*, as is usually given in the *Extractiones*:

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic *Extractiones***
[*Y* fol. 31va; *L* fol. 102r-102v]	[*P* fol. 22rb]
[Krubot, *P* 210va] Item: *Goym* –id est christiani– credunt in Iesu Nazareno qui est corpus abhominatum.	[Krubot, *P* 210va] *Goym* corpus abhominatum acceleratio sceleris eorum –Glossa: credunt in Iesu Nazareno qui est corpus abhominatum et proiectum de fovea sua–.
[*Y* fol. *L* fol. 104v]	[*P* fol. 34rb]
[Ber 51b] Item: Qui bibit bis postquam surrexerit de mensa, daemones habent potestatem nocendi ei.	Non benedices super scyphum infortunii. Quid est scyphus infortunii? Hic est secundus scyphus. –Glossa Salomonis: Qui enim bibit bis postquam surrexit de mensa, daemones habent potestatem nocendi ei–.

When it comes to the relation between the Epitome and each version of the *Extractiones*, the *Excerptum* is apparently closer to the thematic version than to the sequential, since all the material of the *Excerptum* can be found in it. This is significant because the Thematic *Extractiones* have material not included in the Sequential version: there are passages from Donin's thirty-five articles, a further anthology of Talmudic passages and Rashi's commentaries to the Bible. This is the case for the following examples; they are both in the *Excerptum* and in the thematic *Extractiones* but not in the sequential one, since they come from Donin's articles:

19. Isidore Loeb, "La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud", in: *Revue des études juives* 2 (1881), pp. 248-270 (esp. pp. 262-263): VIIII[us]. qui prohibent ne infantes Biblia utantur, quia non est modus, ut dicunt, discendum ea, sed doctrinam talmud preferentes, quedam ediderunt pro sua voluntate mandata. Hoc legitur in macecta *Brakot*, in perec *Thephilat hasahar* (quod est oracio matutina), ubi dicitur: "Quum Rby Elyezer fuit infirmus, discipuli eius intraverunt ad ipsum visitandum et dixerunt ei: Magister, doce nos vias vite, verbum in quo lucremur vias futuri seculi. Dixit eis: Estote veloces in honorem sociorum vestrorum et prohibete filios vestros a studio legis". –Glossa Salomonis: Non assuefaciatis eos in mykara (Biblia), quia nimis abstrahit ad aliam doctrinam (infidelitatem). –Et iterum ait: "Facite filios vestros sedere inter genua sapiencium discipulorum et per hoc lucrabimini vitam alterius seculi".

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic *Extractiones***	**Donin's articles**
[*Y* fol. 28vb, *L* fol. 99r] [Meg 25b; cf. Nid 73a] Item: Qui studet in *Halakot* –id est in sententiis Talmud– adsecuratum est ei, quod erit filius futuri saeculi.	[*P* fol. 5vb] [Meg 25b; cf. Nid 73a] Dictum est de domo Heliae: Omnis qui studet in *Halakot* –sententiis Talmud– adsecuratum est ei, quod erit filius futuri saeculi. Eadem verba sunt in libro *Nassym* in macecta *Nyda*.	[*P* fol. 217va] [Meg 25b; cf. Nid 73a] XXXII[us]. Ac securus est in futuro qui in doctrina prefata studuerit in presenti. Hoc legitur in libro *Mohed*. in macecta *Meguilla*, in perec *Bene hair*: Dictum est in domo Helye: Omnis qui studet in *Halakod* –verbis Talmut–, assecuratum est ei, quod erit filius futuri seculi. Eadem verba sunt in libro *Nassim*, in macecta *Nydda*, in fine.[20]
[*Y* fol. 29va, *L* fol. 100r] [Er 21b] Item: Omnis qui deridet verba sapientum punitur in stercore bulliente.	[*P* fol. 12rb] [Er 21b] Dicit rab Papa: Docet quod omnis qui irridet verba sapientium punitur in stercore bulliente.	[*P* fol. 213rb] [Er 21b] Dicit Rab Papa: Docens quod omnis qui irridet verba sapiencium punitur in stercore bullienti.[21]
[*Y* fol. 29va, *L* fol. 100r] [Rh 17a] *Hasana* primo capitulo dicitur: *Mynim* sunt discipuli Iesu Nazareni qui subvertunt verba Dei vivi in malum.	[*P* fol. 12vb] [Rh 17a] In *Ros Hasana* in primo capitulo dicitur: *Mynim* sunt discipuli Iesu Nazareni qui subverterunt verba Dei vivi in malum.	[*P* fol. 217ra] [Rh 17a] In libro enim *Mohed*, in macecta *Roshasana* –id est caput anni–, in primo perec dicitur: *Mynim* sunt discipuli Ihesu noceri qui subverterunt verba Dei vivi in malum. Eadem verba sunt in eodem libro in macecta *Brakot*.[22]

Among the main arguments for this link between the Epitome and the thematic version, in the *Excerptum* we find chapters dealing with polemical topics, whose titles are strikingly similar to those found in the thematic *Extractiones*:[23]

20. Isidore Loeb, "La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud", in: *Revue des études juives* 3 (1881), pp. 39-57, at p. 53.
21. Loeb, "La controverse" (as in note 19), p. 262.
22. Loeb, "La controverse" (as in note 20), p. 51.
23. 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, at p. 68; Judah M. Rosenthal, "The Talmud on Trial: The Disputation at Paris in the Year 1240", in: *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 47/1 (1956), pp. 58-76 (esp. pp. 75-76).

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic *Extractiones* (in *P*)**
No name[18]	De auctoritate Talmud
De magistris Talmud	De sapientibus et magistris
Blasphemiae contra Christum	De blasphemiis contra Christum et beatam virginem
Blasphemiae contra Deum, creatorem omnium	De blasphemiis contra Deum
Contra Christianos et ecclesiam Dei sunt ista quae sequuntur	De malis quae dicunt de *goym*, id est christianis
Oratio contra Christianos	De erroribus
De stultitiis et execratione iudaeorum	De sortilegiis
De sortilegiis iudaeorum et de infidelitate ipsorum	De somniis
Fictio iudaeorum de futuro saeculo	De futuro saeculo
De adventu Messiae	De Messia
De stultitiis iudaeorum	De stultitiis
De inmunditiis iudaeorum	De turpitudinibus et immunditiis
De somnis seu visionibus nocturnis iudaeorum	De fabulis
De fabulis iudaeorum	

Nonetheless, despite these apparent similarities, in the *Excerptum* we find changes and innovations on the titles: The *Excerptum* adds the chapter *Oratio contra Christianos*, whereas the thematic version lacks it;[25] the chapters of the *De somniis* and the *De stultitiis* are displaced in the Epitome and they also appear with a different title, and the same is true of *De futuro saeculo*, which is *Fictio iudaeorum de futuro saeculo* in the *Excerptum*. This shows us that the *Excerptum* is meant to be a new work, independent from its source, and not just a selection of passages.

In order to show more resemblances with the thematic version, we may also underline close connections between textual and lexical elements.

24. The first part of the *Excerptum* lacks a title in the manuscripts. However, this part clearly relates to the passages that deal with the Talmud and its authority in Judaism. This explains why Herrad Spilling only mentioned twelve issues of anti-Jewish polemic instead of thirteen when describing the manuscript Add. 19952: Spilling, "Cod. Harl. 3934" (as in note 8), p. 66.
25. Even if it does not exist as a chapter title, the content of this chapter of the *Excerptum* does appear, with additions, in the chapter *Contra christianos* of the thematic version (*P* fols. 21va-22va) and in the section of the dossier *De libro Krubot* (*P* fols. 206vb-207rb; 210va-210vb).

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic *Extractiones***	**Sequential *Extractiones***
[*Y* fol. 39ra, *L* fol. 110v]	[*P* fol. 83vb]	[*P* fol. 170va-170vb]
[San 95b] Item: Legimus quod longitudo exercitus Sennacherib erat quadringentarum leucarum et *longitudo* colli equorum quadraginta leucarum.	[San 95b] Legimus quod longitudo exercitus Sennacherib erat quadringentarum leucarum et *longitudo* colli equorum quadraginta leucarum.	[San 95b] Legimus quod longitudo exercitus Sennacherib erat quadringentarum leucarum et *latitudo* colli equorum quadraginta leucarum.
[*Y* fol. 32ra, *L* fol. 103r]	[*P* fol. 29rb-29va]	[*P* fol. 195ra]
[San 91b] Item: Dicit rabi Cenlay: Qualiter est puer in utero matris... –et infra– candela accensa est super caput eius et intuetur ab uno capite mundi usque ad aliud et docet eum tota lex. Quando vero *egreditur* de utero, angelus percutit eum super *buccam* et faciet eum oblivisci totius legis, ut scriptum est: "statim in foribus peccatum aderit" [Gn 4, 7]; nec egredietur donec iuraverit quod fiat probus homo, unde scriptum est: "mihi curvabitur omne genu et confitebitur omnis lingua" [Is 45, 23].	[San 91b] Dicit rbi Cenlai: Qualiter est puer in utero matris... –et infra– candela accensa est super caput illius et intuetur ab uno capite mundi usque ad aliud, sicut scriptum est: "quando lucebat lucerna eius super caput meum" [Iob 29, 3] nec super hoc mireris. Homo enim dormit et per somnium videt in Hispania... –et infra– et docetur eum tota lex. Quando vero *egreditur* ex utero, angelus percutit eum super *buccam* et facit eum oblivisci totius legis, sicut scriptum est: "statim in foribus peccatum aderit" [Gn 4, 7]; nec egreditur donec iuraverit quod erit probus homo, unde scriptum est: "mihi curvabitur omne genu et confitebitur omnis lingua" [Is 45, 23].	[Nid 30b][26] Puer in utero matris habet candelam super caput et videt ab uno capite mundi usque ad aliud et docetur eum totam legem. Quando vero *exit*, angelus percutit eum super *os* et facit oblivisci et faciunt eum iurare quod erit iustus et non impius. –Alibi etiam est hoc plenius infra–.

In the examples we can see that the text of the *Excerptum* closely corresponds to the thematic version both textually and lexically. Thus, in the samples from San 91b and Nid 30b there are texts and passages that the sequential version lacks. In the example from San 95b one finds the word *longitudo*, shared between *Excerptum* and the thematic version, whereas *latitudo* is used in the Sequential.

Also, the Epitome provides new readings and variations that enhance the polemical potential and thus make the text more acrimonious or let the Talmud appear more ridiculous.

26. The passage from San 91b, extant in the Thematic version and in the epitome, is not in the Sequential *Extractiones*. The only passage from the Sequential version related to it by content is this from Nid 30b, which remarks at the end that the same content reoccurs more extensively in another place. Indeed, the passage from San 91b is found in the anthology of further Talmudic material (in the *dossier P* fol. 224rb-224va); the Thematic version must have taken the passage from this anthology.

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic *Extractiones***	**Sequential *Extractiones***
[*Y* fol. 33va, *L* fol. 104v]	[*P* fol. 42va]	[*P* fol. 140va]
[Bb 58a] Rabi Bannaa: Inveni Eliezer, servum Abrahae, stantem in porta et dixi ei: Quid facit Abraham, pater noster? Respondit Eliezer: Dormit in gremio Sarae et ipsa quaerit ei *pediculos* in capite.	[Bb 58a] Rbi Benaa signabat sepulcrorum speluncas. Quando venit ad speluncam Abraham, patris nostri, invenit Elyezer, servuum Abraham, stantem in porta et ait illi: Quid facit Abraham, pater noster? Respondit Elyezer: Dormit in gremio Sarae et ipsa quaerit ei in capite.	[Bb 58a] Rby Benaa signabat sepultorum speluncas. Quando venit ad speluncam Abraham, patris nostri, invenit Eliezer, servum Abraham, stantem in porta et ait illi: Quid facit Abraham, pater noster? Respondit Eliezer: Dormit in gremio Sarae et ipsa quaerit ei in capite.
[*Y* fol. 33vb, *L* fol. 104v]	[*P* fol. 43va-43vb]	[*P* fol. 166va]
[San 92a] Item: Dicit rabi Yessa: Quicumque docet legem in hoc saeculo docebit etiam eam in *inferno*.	[San 92a] Dicit rab Sesa: Quicumque docet legem in hoc saeculo docebit eam in futuro.	[San 92a] Dicit rab Sesa: Quicumque docet legem in hoc saeculo docebit eam in futuro.
[*Y* fol. 31ra, *L* fol. 101v]	[*P* fol. 18va]	[*P* fol. 120ra]
[Ber 57b] Item: Dicit rabi Symeon: Omnes gentes convertendae sunt ad *Messiam*.	[Ber 57b] Qui videt locum a quo *avoza zara* eradicata est debet dicere: Benedictus Deus, qui eradicavit *avoza zara* de terris nostris et sicut inde eradicata est, sic eradicetur de omnibus locis Israhel et convertantur corda eorum qui ei serviunt ad serviendum tibi, Domine. Extra terram Israhel non oportet hoc modo dicere. Et rbi Symeon dicit quod immo, quia omnes gentes convertendae sunt ad iudaismum sicut scriptum est: "reddam populis labium electum ut invocent omnes in nomine Domini et serviant ei umero uno" [So 3, 9].	[Ber 57b] Qui videt locum a quo *avoza zara* eradicata est –id est servitium peregrinum– debet dicere: Benedictus, qui eradicavit *avoza zara* de terris nostris et sicut inde eradicatum est, sic eradicetur de omnibus locis Israhel et convertantur corda eorum qui ei serviunt ad serviendum tibi, Domine. Extra terram Israhel non oportet sic dicere. Et rby Symeon dicit quod immo, quia omnes gentes convertendae sunt ad iudaismum sicut scriptum est: "reddam populis labium electum ut invocent ei umero uno" [So 3, 9].

In the first example of Bb 58a we observe that the epitomist added *pediculos* to the Latin text, making the tale from the Talmud ridiculous, since lice are not mentioned in the original text. In the second sample, there is a manipulation of the original *in futuro* (the world to come) in order to condemn the Jews to go to Hell. Finally, in the passage of Ber 57b, the epitomist entirely changes the meaning of the Talmudic passage by Christianising the text with the addition of *Messiam* – laden with a clear Christian connotation[27] – instead of the word *iudaismum* as found in the *Extractiones*.

27. Also, Ramon Martí in his *Pugio fidei* tried to prove the coming of the Messiah through Jewish sources including the Talmud. See Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, Ithaca/London, 1982, pp. 132-133.

Furthermore, being a revision of the *Extractiones* and a new text, the *Excerptum* yields lexical variations that do not match any *Extractiones* version, leading us to consider that they might be incorporated by the very epitomist. In the following example we can find an extra sentence in the *Excerptum* which is non-extant in the other versions and summarises the precedent content.

Excerptum de Talmud	**Thematic** *Extractiones*	**Sequential** *Extractiones*
[*Y* fol. 38rb-38va, *L* fol. 109v-110r] [Bb 74b] Item: Dicit rabi Iuda: Quicquid Deus creavit in saeculo, masculum et feminam creavit. Leviathan ergo masculum et feminam creavit. Si autem masculus cum femina coirent, totus mundus periret. Et quid fecit Deus? Castravit masculum et occidit feminam et sallitam servavit eam pro iustis in futuro saeculo, secundum quod scriptum est: "et occidit cetum qui in mari est" [Is 27, 1]. Similiter bovem, qui singulis diebus depascit mille montes, masculum et feminam creavit, secundum quod scriptum: "meae sunt omnes bestiae silvarum" [Ps 49, 10]. Isti duo, si coirent, destruerent totum mundum. Ideo, castravit Deus masculum et infrigidavit feminam, unde scriptum est: "Fortitudo eius in lumbis eius et virtus eius in umbilico ventris eius" [Iob 40, 11]. Fortitudo eius: hoc est masculi; et virtus eius: hoc est feminae. De piscibus autem quare occidit feminam et non infrigidavit potius? Quia pisces nimis fructificant, nec prodesset infrigidatio. Et quare tunc non potius interfecit masculum? Quia scriptum est: "draco iste quem formasti ad inludendum ei" [Ps 103, 26]. Non enim esset decens quod luderet cum femina vel diceret quod femina sallita melior est quam masculus. Feminam vero bovis quare infrigidavit potius quam occidit? Quia piscis sallitus bonus est, carnes vero sallitae non valent. *Ut ergo daret nobis carnes recentes et pisces sallitos, feminam bovis infrigidavit et non occidit et feminam piscis occidit et sallitam servavit.*	[*P* fol. 78rb-78va] [Bb 74b] Dicit rab Iuda: Rab dicit: Quicquid Deus creavit in saeculo suo, masculus et feminam creavit eum. Et Leviathan, masculum et feminam creavit eum. Et si coirent simul destruerent totum mundum. Et quid fecit Deus? Castravit masculum et occidit feminam et salliit eam pro iustis in futuro saeculo, secundum quod scriptum est: "et occidet cetum qui in mari est" [Is 27, 1]. Similiter bovem, qui singulis diebus depascit mille montes, masculum et feminam creavit, de quo scriptum est: "meae sunt omnis ferae silvarum Beemoth in montibus milium" [Ps 49, 10]. Et, si coirent simul, destruerent totum mundum. Ideo, castravit Deus masculum et infrigidavit feminam, unde scriptum est: "fortitudo eius in lumbis eius et virtus eius in umbilico ventris eius" [Iob 40, 11]. Fortitudo eius: hoc est masculi; et virtus eius hoc est feminae. De piscibus, quare occidit feminam et non potius infrigidavit eam? Pisces enim nimis fructificant, nec prodesset infrigidatio. Et quare non interfecit masculum et feminam reservavit? Quoniam scriptum est: "draco iste quem formasti ad ludendum in eo" [Ps 103, 26], nec esset decens quod luderet cum femina vel dic, si vis, quod femina sallita melior est quam masculus. Et feminam bovis quare infrigidavit et quare non occidit illam ut reservaret eam iustis in futuro saeculo? Quare piscis sallitus bonus est, sed carnes sallitae non valent.	[*P* fol. 143ra-143rb] [Bb 74b] Dicit rab Iuda: Quicquid Deus creavit in saeculo suo, masculum et feminam creavit. Et Leviathan, masculum et feminam creavit eum. Et si coirent simul destruerent totum mundum. Et quid fecit Sanctus, benedictus sit ipse? Castravit masculum et occidit feminam et salliit eam pro iustis in futuro saeculo, sicut scriptum est: "et occidet cetum qui in mari est" [Is 27, 1]. Similiter bovem, qui depascit mille montes singulis diebus, masculum et feminam creavit, de quo: "iumenta in montibus millenariis –ubi habemus 'iumenta in montibus et boves'–" [Ps 49, 10]. Et, si coiret masculus cum femina sua, destruerent totum mundum. Et quid fecit sanctus, benedictus sit ipse? Castravit masculum et infrigidavit feminam, sicut scriptum est: "fortitudo eius –id est masculi– in lumbis eius et virtus eius –id est feminae– in ventris umbilico eius" [Iob 40, 11]. De piscibus, quare occidit feminam et non potius infrigidavit eam? Pisces enim nimis fructificant, non prodest infrigidatio. Et quare non dimisit feminam Leviathan et occidit masculum? Propter hoc quod scriptum est: "draco quem formasti ad ludendum in eo" [Ps 103, 26], nec esset decens quod Deus luderet cum femina. Et feminam bovis quare infrigidavit? Quare non occidit, ut reservaret illam iustis in futuro saeculo, sicut fecit de femina Leviathan? Quia pisces salsi boni sunt, carnes autem salsae non tantum valent.

It is also the case that the epitomist follows his particular criterion when changing some words from the source text, thus correcting and improving the text of the *Extractiones*:

Excerptum de Talmud	**thematic *Extractiones***	**sequential *Extractiones***
[*Y* fol. 38va, *L* fol. 110r]	[*P* fol. 81ra]	[*P* fol. 159rb]
[San 59b] Item: Dicit rabi Iuda: Adam comedebat in horto Paradisi et angeli ministri assabant ei carnes et *refrigerabant* ei vinum. Serpens vero hoc vidit et invidit.	[San 59b] Dicit rby Iuda: Adam primus comedebat in horto Paradisi et angeli ministerii assabant ei carnes et *refrigidabant* vinum. Serpens vidit et invidit. Ergo Adam comedit carnes, verum est, sed fuerunt carnes quae descenderunt de caelo –quasi diceret: has potuit comedere, non alias–.	[San 59b] Dicit rab Iuda: Adam primus comedebat in horto Paradisi et angeli ministerii assabant ei carnes et *refrigidabant* ei vinum. Serpens vidit et invidit. Ergo Adam comedit carnes, verum est, sed fuerunt carnes quae descenderunt de caelo –quasi diceret: has potuit comedere, sed non alias–.
[*Y* fol. 36ra, *L* fol. 107r]	[*P* fol. 46rb]	[*P* fol. 99rb]
[Ber 3a] Item: Tres custodiae nocte sunt et in qualibet Deus sedet et clamat ut leo, sicut scriptum est: "Deus de excelso rugiet" [Ier 25, 30]. In prima custodia rudit asinus, in secunda latrant canes, in tertia *sugit* infans ubera matris suae et mulier loquitur cum viro suo.	[Ber 3a] Tres custodiae sunt in nocte et in qualibet Deus sedet et clamat ut leo, sicut scriptum est: "Dominus de excelso rugiet" [Ier 25, 30]. In prima custodia rudit asinus, in secunda latrant canes, in tertia *lactet* infans ubera matris suae et mulier loquitur cum viro suo.	[Ber 3a] Tres custodiae sunt in nocte et in qualibet Deus sedet et clamat ut leo, sicut scriptum est –Iere. xxv. f–: "Dominus de excelso rugiet" [Ier 25, 30] et cetera. In prima custodia rudit asinus, in secunda latrant canes, in tertia *lactet* infans ubera matris suae et mulier loquitur cum viro suo.

In San 59b we see that the epitomist prefers the term *refrigerare* instead of the *refrigidare* used in the *Extractiones*. In the example of Ber 3a we rather notice that the epitomist changes words with the same meaning (*sugit*/*lactet*).

In order to finish this presentation of the *Excerptum*, we will see a piece of the prologue to the *Excerptum* that also heads, more extensively, the *Extractiones* (being placed both before the thematic and the sequential version).

Excerptum	***Prologus* in *P*[28]**
[*Y* fol. 28va, *L* fol. 99r]	[*P* fol. 1rb; fol. 97ra-97rb]
Iudaei duas leges dicunt Dominum Moysi tradidisse, scilicet: legem scriptam et legem super os vel in ore. *Haec lex dici solum poterat et eam scribere non licebat.* Hanc legem dicunt iudaei Talmud –id est documentum vel doctrinam– antonomasice.	Ut autem quae translata sunt melius intelligi possint, sciendum quod iudaei dicunt duas leges in monte Synai Dominum Moysi tradidisse: una est lex in scripto et alia est lex super os vel in ore, sicut patebit inferius. Porro legem in ore Talmud –id est documentum seu doctrinam– antonomasice vocant.

We can observe that in the *Excerptum* there is a sentence that both *Prologi* of *P* do not have. This might be considered as an addition by the epitomist; however, we find the same sentence in the prologue of the thematic *Extractiones* in the manuscript Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, Ms. Min. 71 (13th/14th century),[29] in the folio 60r. Apart from this added sentence, in the prologue we also see other textual similarities with the thematic *S*.

Excerptum	***Prologus* in *P***	***Prologus* in *S***
[*Y* fol. 28va, *L* fol. 99r]	[*P* fol. 1rb; fol. 97rb]	[*S* fol. 60r]
Haec lex continet sex libros, scilicet: *Gerasim* –id est *semina*–, et *Tearoht* –id est *munditiae*–, *Mohet* –id est terminus–, *Iessuhot* –id est salvationes–, *Nassim* –id est mulieres–, *Kadassyim* –id est sanctuaria–.	Continet autem sex libros quorum duo non habentur a multis. Unus dicitur *Zeraym* –id est *seminum*–, alius *Tearod* –id est *munditiarum*–, unus quattuor aliorum appellatur *Mohed* –id est terminus–, alius *Iessuhoz* –id est salvationes–, tertius est *Nassim* –id est mulieres– et quartus *Cazassim* –id est sanctuaria–.	Continet autem sex libros quorum duo non habentur in usu, videlicet: *Zeraym* –id est *semina*–, et *Tearot* –id est *munditiae*–. Aliorum quattuor nomen sunt ista: *Motheo* –id est terminus–, *Iessuhod* –id est salvationes–, *Nassym* –id est mulieres–, *Kadassym* –id est sanctuaria–.

Therefore, the *Excerptum* seems to follow the tradition of the text of *S*. In addition, we find some other close textual coincidences between *S* and the *Excerptum* that differ from the readings of thematic *P*.

28. In *P* we find two prologues that were meant to introduce the *Extractiones*: one heading the thematic *Extractiones* (fols. 1ra-4va) and the other heading the sequential *Extractiones* (fols. 97ra-99rb). However, that which heads the thematic *Extractiones* is the same prologue that is meant to introduce the sequential: we find some excerpts of the Berakhot which correspond to the beginning of the sequential version at the end of this prologue.
29. Henceforth *S*.

Excerptum	**Thematic *P***	**Thematic S**
[*Y* fol. 34rb, *L* fol. 105r] [San 98a] Item: Dicit rabi *Alacocudre*: Si reges ex toto corde convertantur, Messias veniet cum nubibus. Sin autem ascendet super asinam.	[*P* fol. 45rb] [San 98a] Dicit rbi *Alaccendre*: Scriptum est: "ecce cum nubibus quasi filius hominis veniebat" [Dn 7, 13]. Et iterum scriptum est: "ecce rex tuus veniet tibi iustus et salvator ipse pauper et ascendens super asinam" [Za 9, 9]. Si reges ex toto corde convertantur, veniet cum nubibus. Sin autem ascendet super asinam.	[*S* fol. 108v] [San 98a] Dicit rbi *Allacocudre*: Scriptum est: "ecce cum nubibus caeli quasi filius hominis veniebat" [Dn 7, 13]. Et iterum scriptum est: "ecce rex tuus veniet tibi iustus et salvator ipse pauper et ascendens super asinam" [Za 9, 9]. Si reges ex toto corde convertantur, veni et cum nubibus. Sin autem ascendet super asinam.
[*Y* fol. 31vb, *L* fol. 102v] [Ber 34b] Item: Dicit rabi Asse: Non sunt in oratione *denudanda* peccata, quia scriptum est: "Beati quorum remissa *sunt peccata*" [Ps 31, 1] et cetera.	[*P* fol. 25ra] [Ber 34b] Dicit rab Asse: Non sunt in oratione *demandata* peccata, quia scriptum est: "Beati quorum remissa sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta" [Ps 31, 1] et cetera.	[*S* fol. 83v] [Ber 34b] Dicit rab Asse: Non sunt in oratione *denudanda* peccata, quia scriptum est: "Beati quorum remissa sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta *sunt peccata*" [Ps 31, 1].

Nonetheless, sometimes readings of the *Excerptum* seem to follow the thematic from *P* rather than that from *S*. However, one should consider that the copy of *S* is very corrupted.

Excerptum	**Thematic *P***	**Thematic *S***
[*Y* fol. 28vb, *L* fol. 99r] [San 91b-92a] Dicit rabi Symeon: Quicumque impedit *Halaka* ab ore sapientis magistri *etiam* pueri in uteris matrum maledicunt *ei*, sicut scriptum est "qui abscondit frumenta [San 92a] maledicetur in populis" [Prv 11, 26].	[*P* fol. 6va] [San 91b-92a] Dicit rbi Symeon: Quicumque impedit *Halaka* ab ore sapientis magistri *etiam* pueri in uteris matrum maledicunt *ei,* sicut scriptum est: "qui abscondit frumenta [San 92a] maledicetur in populis" [Prv 11, 26].	[*S* fol. 63r-63v] [San 91b-92a] Dicit rbi Symeon: Quicumque impedit *Halaka* ab ore sapientis magistri *cum* pueri in uteris matrum maledicunt *eis*, sicut scriptum est: "qui abscondit frumenta [San 92a] maledicetur in populis" [Prv 11, 26].
[*Y* fol. 28vb, *L* fol. 99r-99v] [Az 35a] Quid est "meliora sunt ubera tua vino" [Ct 1, 1]? Dicit rabi Dymi: Hoc modo dixit synagoga coram Deo: Domine saeculi, dulciora sunt mihi ubera amicorum tuorum –magistrorum in Talmud– quam fundamenta legis *scriptae*.	[*P* fol. 7rb] [Az 35a] Quid est "meliora sunt ubera tua vino" [Ct 1, 1]? Dicit rbi Dymi: Hoc modo dixit synagoga coram Deo: Domine saeculi, dulciora sunt mihi verba amicorum tuorum –magistrorum in Talmud– quam fundamenta legis *scriptae*.	[*S* fol. 64r] [Az 35a] Quid est "meliora sunt ubera tua vino" [Ct 1, 1]? Dicit rab Dymi: Hoc modo dixit synagoga coram Deo: Domine saeculi, dulciora sunt mihi verba amicorum tuorum –magistrorum in Talmud– quam fundamenta legis *scripturae*.

Conclusion

The Disputation of Paris in 1240 provided the background for what was then the largest translation of the Talmud, known as *Extractiones de Talmud*. This enormous corpus, even though it could have provided useful controversial material for polemists, nevertheless had few repercussions after the Disputation except for the *Excerptum de Talmud*.

Throughout this study, we have been able to show how the *Excerptum* was created from the thematic version of the *Extractiones*. It is not a mere rewriting of the *Extractiones* in a shorter form; on the contrary, the writer took part in the rearrangement and completion of this work according to their own criteria. Therefore, the epitomist remade the structure of the chapters of the thematic *Extractiones*, displacing the extant topics and even creating the chapter *Oratio contra Christianos*. The epitomist was also responsible for removing sections of text from the selected passages in order to focus more on their most polemical parts, such as Rashi's glosses. Moreover, the epitomist did not only focus on structural matters, but also changed some words and expressions for stylistic reasons, as well as adding new information in order to enhance certain polemical points or to clarify unintelligible or overly-long passages.

Within the thematic tradition portrayed by the manuscripts *P* and *S*, the *Excerptum* represents a separate branch. This makes the *Excerptum* an important witness when studying the thematic *Extractiones*, since it gives us additional information about them. For instance, the witness of the *Excerptum* confirms that there were two traditions, spreading independently of each other, with their own, specific prologue: the tradition of the sequential *Extractiones* with the prologue which we find in *P*; and the tradition of the thematic version with its own prologue that we have in *S*. Hence we can infer that the *Excerptum* cannot come from manuscript *P* because this manuscript lacks the thematic prologue. On the other hand, the manuscript *S* cannot be the source of the *Excerptum* either, because in some cases the *Excerptum* gives the same readings that *P* has.

Ultimately, we conclude that the *Excerptum* bears witness to a tradition of the thematic *Extractiones* that circulated with its own prologue independently, as the manuscript *S* portrays. However, we do not have the manuscript source (i.e. original textual tradition) from which *Excerptum* takes its text.[30] The *Excerptum* contains the textual variations of this lost manuscript in addition to its own variants, the latter having been inserted by the epitomist.

30. On the manuscripts containing the *Extractiones* see the article by Alexander Fidora in this volume.

Rashi's Glosses on Isaiah in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558*

Görge K. Hasselhoff
(Technische Universität Dortmund)

Abstract

Within the manuscript with the excerpts from the Talmud there is also a list of a little less than 170 snippets from Rashi's Bible commentaries. In this article these comments or glosses are briefly introduced and then the twelve glosses on Isaiah are analysed.

When in the 1240s in Paris some unknown translators started to translate Jewish writings, they did not focus on the Talmud as an old Jewish writing. They rather focused on the Talmud as a work of the Tosafist School of the eleventh and twelfth century as can be shown from the glosses that were translated with the excerpts of the Talmud. Most of these glosses stem from "Salomon", i.e. Rabbenu Shlomo Yitzhaqi – or abbreviated: Rashi –, the head of the academy in Troyes. Rashi commented on nearly all treatises of the Talmud and on nearly all books of the Hebrew Bible.[1] Therefore it is not wrong to state, as Talya Fishman some years ago did, that with his comments the textualization of (European) Judaism started.[2]

Yet, the Parisian translators did not only translate the Talmud with Rashi's glosses. As an appendix to the sequential translation we do not only find a Latin rendering of parts of a Jewish prayer book (*Liber Krubot*; Heb.: *Sefer Qerubôt*),[3] but also some 167 excerpts from Rashi's comments on the Bible. Considering that Rashi commented on most Biblical books, that does not seem to be much, but it is more than nothing.

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1. For Rashi's life and oeuvre see Avraham Grossman, *Rashi*, Oxford/Portland, OR, 2012; Johannes Heil, "Raschi. Der Lebensweg als soziale Landschaft", in: Daniel Krochmalnik *et al.* (Eds.), *Raschi und sein Erbe. Internationale Tagung an der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien mit der Stadt Worms*, Heidelberg, 2007, pp. 1-22.
2. See Talya Fishman, *Becoming the People of the Talmud. Oral Torah as Written Tradition in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, Philadelphia, PA, 2011.
3. This translation will soon be edited by Wout van Bekkum and myself.

I.

Before I turn to the comments on Isaiah I will say something about the list of excerpts in general. First of all, quite telling are the remarks in the preface of the "thematic" version of the Latin Talmud[4] where the compilator states that he translated nearly nothing from Rashi's comments, because they were full of strange ideas (*mirabilia*). In addition, these comments were in large parts taken from the Talmud. By commenting the Old Testament from this Talmudic perspective, he neither meets a literal nor a spiritual meaning of scripture, but perverts its meaning and turns it into fables. Nonetheless the Jews attribute him great authority, even as if it were from the Lord's mouth. His comments on the Talmud were quite often inserted into the sentences. Finally, the translator adds, his body has been buried with great honours, but his soul nonetheless rests in the outmost hell (*infernus novissimus*).[5]

Later on in the manuscript (fols. 224va-230rb) the above mentioned list of 167 excerpts follows. These excerpts are taken from all parts of his comments on the Bible although there are some peculiarities as can be shown by the distribution on the Biblical books: 93 of all these comments are taken from his comment on the Torah, i.e. about 60 percent. These comments itself are mostly on Genesis (41)[6] and Exodus

4. On the relation of the two Talmud translations see Alexander Fidora, "Textual Rearrangement and Thwarted Intentions. The Two Versions of the Latin Talmud", in: *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 2/2 (2015), pp. 63-78; and the articles by him and Isaac Lampurlanés in this volume.
5. Paris, Bibliotèque nacionale de France, Ms. lat. 16558 (henceforth *P*), fol. 3rb-va: "De glosis uero salomonis trecensis super uetus t.[estamentum] pene nichil transtuli, licet sint ibi mirabilia infinita. Et de talmut magnam contineant partem. [*P* fol. 3va] Et quamuis taliter totum glosauerit uetus t.[estamentum], quod nichil penitas ibi relinqueret incorruptum, ita quod nec literalem nec spiritualem intelligenciam seu sensum delinquat, sed totum peruertat et conuertat ad fabulas? Iudei tamen quicquid dixit auctoritatem reputant, ac si de ore domini fuerit eis dictum. Huius glose super talmut frequenter in sequentibus inueniuntur inserte. Sepultum est corpus eius honorifice trecis, et anima in inferni novissimo". – Quoted after Erich Klibansky, "Beziehungen des christlichen Mittelalters zum Judentum, 1. Zur Talmudkenntnis des christlichen Mittelalters", in: *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 77 (1933), pp. 456-462, at p. 457. – It needs further research to establish the relation of this version of the preface to the different one in the manuscript of Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, Ms. Min. 71, fol. 61v, which reads: "De glosis uero salomonis trecensis super uetus testamentum pauca transtuli uel excerpsi, licet sint ibi mirabilia infinita et de talmut magnam contineant partem ut pote exinde sumpte. Dicitur enim in talmut in capitulo *helec*, quod qui detegit faciem in lege et non secundum *halaka*, i.e. qui glosat legem et non per talmut quamuis habeat in manu sua legem et bona opera non habebit partem in futuro seculo. Iste salomon licet tali modo totum uetus testamentum glosauit, quod nichil in eo relinqueret incorruptum, ita quod ulterius dimictat sanum spiritualem intellectum ut pote qui totum peruertit et conuertit ad derisionem et fabulas. Iudei tamen quicquid scripsit et dixit auctoritatem reputant ac si de ore dei eis fuisset dictum. Glose ipsius super talmut frequenter in sequentibus inseruntur. Corpus eius a iudeis trocis est honorifice sepultum et a demonibus anima prout uiuerit in inferno".
6. They are edited by Gilbert Dahan, "Rashi, sujet de la controverse de 1240. Edition partielle du ms. Paris, BN lat. 16558", in: *Archives Juives. Cahiers de la Commission française des Archives Juives* 14 (1978), pp. 43-54, at pp. 46-54.

(33),[7] whereas the three other books are touched only briefly: Leviticus: 3 comments, Numbers: 7 comments and Deuteronomy: 9 comments.[8] The missing roughly 40 percent of translations are distributed more or less equally to the other parts of the Bible: 40 (44) translations relate to the commentaries on the Books of Prophets,[9] and 34 (30) translations to the *Ketuvim*. To be more precise, most translations of the *Ketuvim* are taken from the commentaries on Proverbs (14),[10] Ecclesiastes (or Qohelet, 8) and Song of Songs (4), whereas Job (1), Psalms (2) and Lamentations (1) are more or less neglected.[11] The distribution of comments from the Books of Prophets is also remarkable. Most Earlier Prophets are represented by one to six translations (Joshua: 1, Judges: 5; I Samuel: 4; II Samuel: 6; I Kings: 1), leaving out only II Kings,[12] whereas the Later Prophets receive comparably little attention: From five of the comments on the Twelve Minor Prophets we find one to five translations: Jonah (1), Micah (1), Habakkuk (1), Obadiah (3), and Zechariah (5).[13] There are no excerpts taken from the commentaries on Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Instead we find four excerpts on Daniel[14] which, according to the Christian tradition, is counted among the prophetical literature whereas in the Hebrew Bible it belongs to the Writings. Finally we find altogether twelve excerpts from the *Commentary on Isaiah* to which I now will turn to.

II.

The book of Isaiah is by far the longest prophetical book of the Hebrew Bible and contains 66 chapters. To each of its chapters we find Rashi's comments, roughly

7. They are edited in Görge K. Hasselhoff, "Der Talmudprozess von 1240 und seine Folgen", in: Jochen Flebbe/Görge K. Hasselhoff (Eds.), *'Ich bin nicht gekommen, Frieden zu bringen, sondern das Schwert'. Aspekte des Verhältnisses von Religion und Gewalt*, Göttingen, 2017, pp. 155-169, at pp. 161-166.
8. They are edited in Görge K. Hasselhoff, "Rashi for Latin Readers: The Translations 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. 103-110, at pp. 108-110.
9. It is 44 references including the book of Daniel which in the Christian tradition is part of the prophetical books and 40 references without Daniel. Correspondingly, it is 34 or 30 references to the "Writings" which in the Jewish tradition include Daniel.
10. They are edited in Gilbert Dahan, "Un dossier latin de textes de Rashi autour de la controverse de 1240", in: *Revue des études juives* 151 (1992), pp. 321-336, at pp. 335-336.
11. The excerpts from Ecclesiastes through to Lamentations are edited in: Görge. K. Hasselhoff, "The Parisian Talmud Trials and the Translation of Rashi's Bible Commentaries", in: *Henoch* 37 (2015), pp. 29-42, at pp. 37-40.
12. The excerpts from Judges and I-II Samuel are edited in: Görge K. Hasselhoff, "Rashi and the Dominican Friars", in: Charles Burnett/Pedro Mantas-España (Eds.), *'Ex Oriente Lux'. Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society*, Cordova/London, 2016, pp. 201-215, at pp. 211-215; the excerpts from Joshua and I Kings are edited in Hasselhoff, "The Parisian Talmud Trials" (as in note 11), p. 37.
13. They are edited in: Hasselhoff, "The Parisian Talmud Trials" (as in note 11), pp. 40-41.
14. They are edited in: Hasselhoff, "Rashi and the Dominican Friars" (as in note 12).

every second to third verse is commented on.[15] Compared with that, twelve translated comments are not that many. They nonetheless are interesting since they give some information on what was interesting or available for the translator.

So let us first have a look on the distribution. We find one excerpt from the comments on chapters 12, 23, 27, 34, 63, and 66 respectively, and two excerpts from the comments on chapters 24, 33, and 65 respectively. With other words, none of the messianic texts from the first eleven chapters and from the second part of Isaiah ("Deutero-Isaiah") is translated. Compared to its length, the third part of Isaiah (the last seven chapters) receives relatively many comments (four, i.e. one third).

If we now focus on the texts translated, and compare them with what we find in today's standard version as it is printed in the *Miqraot Gedolot* we discover further interesting aspects. Therefore I will now go through these comments and compare them with the translations.[16]

a) Isaiah 12, 2

On Isaiah 12, 2 (כִּי־עָזִּי וְזִמְרָת יָהּ יְהוָה וַיְהִי־לִי לִישׁוּעָה:) – "for the strength and praise of the Eternal the Lord was my salvation") Rashi's explanation is as follows:

> Until now His Name was divided, and with the downfall of Amalek, it became whole, and so Scripture states (Exodus 17, 16): "For the hand is on the throne of the Eternal (כֵּס יָהּ)," implying that the throne is incomplete and the Name is incomplete until the Lord wages war against Amalek.[17]

The main point is: God's name was divided, i.e. into Yah and YHWH, and had to be unified, but now, after the destruction of Amalek this division comes to an end.

The Latin translator renders this as follows:

> Fortitudo et laus mea dominus etc. [Is 12, 2]. Glosa: nomen domini modo dimidiatum est, non enim est ibi pro ezonay nisi ia, sed ad ruinam esau et generis sui, xristianorum, reintegrabitur.

At first sight this translation seems to be completely different. But it is not because if we leave aside the underlined parts we have a nearly verbal translation of

15. See, e.g., the comments printed in the *Miqraot Gedolot* series (see next note).
16. The Rashi's Hebrew comments and their translations, as well as the Bible translations, are quoted after *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah, Translation of Text, Rashi and Other Commentaries*. Transl. A. J. Rosenberg, vol. 1-2, Brooklyn, NY, 5th printing 2007-2012; and after http://www.chabad.org/library/bible_cdo/aid/15932 (last visited on 25 July 2016); for the critical edition of the Latin texts see the appendix.
17. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), p. 113 (English transl. *ibid.*, p. 114):
עד הנה היה שמו חלוק ובמפלתו של עמלק נעשה שלם וכן הוא אומר כי יד על כס יה (שמות י"ז) אין הכסא שלם ואין השם שלם עד שתהא מלחמה לה' בעמלק

the first half of Rashi's commentary. Only "Amalek" is replaced by "esau et generis sui" which might point to a different writing in the manuscript used or to a gloss by the translator.[18] Whether the second half of the explanation is left out by the translator or whether it was not in the *Vorlage* cannot be decided.

What is interesting in the excerpt are the two glosses that are underlined at least in the oldest manuscript we use: Whereas "xristianorum" is simply an explanation of "esau" that can be found quite often in the excerpts from the Talmud as well as in the translation of the glosses, the other addition is more interesting. Here the translator or the commentator goes back to the Hebrew Bible text and explains his *modo dimidiatum* by pointing at the two divine names in the verse. God's undivided name is the unspeakable tetragrammaton which is rendered in the Ashkenazic pronunciation in *ezonay* (for *adonay*). Already Isaiah replaced it by *yah*.

b) Isaiah 23, 5

כַּאֲשֶׁר־שֵׁמַע לְמִצְרַיִם יָחִילוּ כְּשֵׁמַע צֹר׃ [5]

Like the report concerning Egypt, shall they quake at the report of Tyre

Rashi's comment on Isaiah 23, 5 is a bit longer and reads as follows:

> Like the report concerning Egypt: which they heard about the Egyptians, that I had brought ten plagues upon them, and that they finally drowned in the sea.
> shall they quake: They shall be frightened.
> at the report: When the listeners hear that the report concerning Tyre has been announced, for also the plagues of Tyre shall be in the same pattern as those plagues: "Blood and fire" (Joel 3, 3); (Isaiah 66, 6) "A voice of tumult from the city," like the croaking of the frogs, (Infra [Isaiah] 34, 9) "And its brooks shall be turned to pitch and its dust into sulphur," on the pattern of the plague of lice. (Ibid. 11) "But the pelican and hedgehog shall take possession of it," after the pattern of the plague of a mixture of noxious beasts. (Ezekiel 38, 22) "And I will hold judgment over him with pestilence and with blood," a pattern of the plague of murrain. (Zechariah 14, 12) "His flesh shall consume away," after the pattern of the plague of boils. (Supra [Isaiah] 18, 5) "And he shall cut off the tendrils," after the pattern of the hail and locusts; (infra [Isaiah] 34, 6) "And a great massacre in the land of Edom," corresponding to the plague of the first born. This system is true if this צוֹר is another city (Edom, Rome [Parshandatha]). If it is actually Tyre, because the sea inundated it, the prophet says about it, "Like the report concerning Egypt," and I say that the entire section, indeed, is talking about Tyre, because Zidon is near it. ([Other editions read:] And I say that the entire section is, indeed, talking about Tyre. Because Zidon is near it, he juxtaposes Zidon to it [Parshandatha].)[19]

18. Amalek was Esau's grandson (cf. Gn 36,12).
19. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), pp. 184-185 (English transl. *ibid.*):

It is obvious that Rashi picks three terms of the Biblical verse and explains each of them in his typical manner. The first two explanations are typical of most of his commentaries: The Biblical expression is explained by rephrasing its content. To the first explanation it is added that the story relates to the ten plagues in Egypt. The third explanation illustrates the report by adducing several Biblical verses. The formulation in brackets gives a different wording of the last sentence.

The Latin rendering of that comment is much shorter and reads as follows:

> Cum auditum fuerit de egypto dolebunt cum audierint de tyro [Is 23, 5]. [Glosa:] sicut auditum fuit de egypto quod percussi eos x plagis et in fine submersi sunt in mari ita terrebuntur cum audierint x plagas quas missurus sum super tyrum, si tyrus est roma, sanguinem et ignem et uocem tumultus ville sicut fuit plaga ranarum et conuertentur torrentes eius in picem et sulphur.

This version reads like putting together the first explanation and the first section of the third explanation. It is not clear whether the translator summarises Rashi or whether the comment used was as short as it appears. In any way, the emphasis of the translation lies on the equation of Egypt and Tyre which stands for Rome.

c) Isaiah 24, 17

פַּחַד וָפַחַת וָפָח עָלֶיךָ יוֹשֵׁב הָאָרֶץ:[17]

Fright and a pit and a trap [shall come] upon you, inhabitant of the land.

Two parts of this verse are explained briefly as follows:

> Fright and a pit and a trap [shall come] upon you: upon the peoples dwelling in the land. a pit: a hole in which to fall, as he goes on to state.[20]

In the Latin version we find a different rendering that reads as follows:

כאשר שמע למצרים - אשר שמעו על מצרים שהבאתי עליהם עשר מכות וסוף טבעו בים יחילו - יבהלו

כשמע - השומעים כשיצא שמע צור כי גם מכותיה של צור יהיו דוגמת אותן מכות דם ואש דוגמת מכת דם, קול שאון מעיר (לקמן ס''ו) זו קרקרו' הצפרדעים. ונהפכו נחליה לזפת ועפרה לגפרי' (לקמן לד) דוגמת מכת כניס. וירשוה קאת וקפוד דוגמת מכת ערוב. ונשפטתי אתו בדבר (יחזקאל ל''ח) דוגמת מכת דבר. המק בשרו (זכריה י''ד) דוגמת מכת שחין. וכרת הזלזלים (לעיל י''ח) דגמת הברד והארבה. וטבח גדול בארץ אדום (לקמן ל''ד) כנגד מכת בכורות השיטה הזאת אם צור זו היא עיר אחרת ואם צור ממש לפי שכסה אותה הים הוא אומר עליה כאשר שמע למצרים ואני אומר שכל הענין מדבר בצו' העיר שהרי סמוך לה צידון.

20. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), pp. 195-196 (English transl., p. 195):

פחד ופחת ופח עליך - על עמים יושבי הארץ

פחת - גומא ליפול בה כמו שמפרש ואומר

> Formido et fouea et laqueus super te qui habitator es terre [Is 24, 17]. Glosa: hoc est super te esau qui modo dominaris, per edom et esau vbique in talmud significantur xristiani.

It seems that the translator picked the inhabitants of the earth and explicated them first with *super te esau* and than with his own comment *per edom et esau vbique in talmud significantur xristiani*, that was already alluded to. Noteworthy is that in this case the translator explicitly connects the explanation to the Talmud.[21]

d) Isaiah 24, 18

> 18וְהָיָה הַנָּס מִקּוֹל הַפַּחַד יִפֹּל אֶל־הַפַּחַת וְהָעוֹלֶה מִתּוֹךְ הַפַּחַת יִלָּכֵד בַּפָּח כִּי־אֲרֻבּוֹת מִמָּרוֹם נִפְתָּחוּ וַיִּרְעֲשׁוּ מוֹסְדֵי אָרֶץ׃
>
> And it shall come to pass, that he who flees from the sound of the fright shall fall into the pit, and he who ascends from within the pit shall be snared in the trap, for windows from above have been opened and the foundations of the earth have trembled.

The first part of the explanation of Isaiah 24, 18, which reads as follows:

> he who flees from the sound of the fright shall fall into the pit, etc.: Whoever escapes the sword of the Messiah the son of Joseph shall fall into the sword of the Messiah the son of David, and whoever escapes from there shall be snared in the trap of the wars of Gog.[22]

is again rendered verbally into:

> Et erit qui fugerit a facie formidinis cadet in foueam [Is 24, 18]. Glosa: qui euaserit gladium messie filii ioseph incidet in gladium messye filii dauid.

The second part is left out. Again it is likely that this part was missing in the manuscript used by the translator although it is also possible that he simply left it out.

e) Isaiah 27, 1

> 1בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יִפְקֹד יְהוָה בְּחַרְבּוֹ הַקָּשָׁה וְהַגְּדוֹלָה וְהַחֲזָקָה עַל לִוְיָתָן נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ וְעַל לִוְיָתָן נָחָשׁ עֲקַלָּתוֹן וְהָרַג אֶת־הַתַּנִּין אֲשֶׁר בַּיָּם׃

21. See also above a (Is 12, 2).
22. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), pp. 195-196 (English transl. *ibid.*):
הנס ממקול הפחד יפול אל הפחת וגו'. הנמלט מחרב משיח בן יוסף יפול אל חרב משיח בן דוד והנמלט משם ילכד בפח במלחמת גוג.

On that day, the Lord shall visit with His hard and great and strong sword on leviathan the barlike serpent, and upon leviathan the crooked serpent, and He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.

On Isaiah 27, 1 today's version is divided into five segments:

> on leviathan the barlike serpent: Jonathan renders: On the king who aggrandized himself like Pharaoh the first king, and upon a king who was as haughty as Sennacherib the second king. בָּרִיחַ is an expression of 'straight' like a bar, since he is the first. (The matter of simplicity is related to oneness. Since Pharaoh was the first great king, he is referred to as 'the barlike serpent,' a straight, penetrating serpent, that does not coil.)
> crooked: An expression of 'double,' since he is the second one. (I.e. the bend in the serpent indicates duality, thus the number two.) And I say that these are three important nations: Egypt, Assyria, and Edom. He, therefore, stated concerning these as he said at the end of the section (v. 13), "And those lost in the land of Assyria shall come, as well as those lost in the land of Egypt," and since the nations are likened to serpents that bite.
> leviathan the barlike serpent: That is Egypt.
> leviathan the crooked serpent: That is Assyria.
> and He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea: That is Tzor that is the head of the children of Esau, and it is situated in the heart of the seas, and so Kittim are called the islands of the sea, and they are the Romans [according to certain manuscripts]. ([Some editions read:] They are the Greeks.)[23]

Only the last part is translated as follows:

> Et occidet cetum qui in mari est [Is 27, 1]. Glosa: hic est tyrus qui est caput domus esau et sedet in corde maris et roma similiter sedet in corde maris et insule maris dicuntur romani domus esau.

As already the translation indicates there are varieties in the manuscripts. Therefore I hold that the translator translates his *Vorlage* rather literally.

23. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), p. 211 (English transl. *ibid.*):
על לויתן נחש בריח וגו'. ת"י על מלכא דאתרברב כפרעה מלכא קדמאה ועל מלכא דאתגאי כסנחרב מלכא תנינא. בריח לשון פשוט כבריח הזה לפי שהוא ראשון
עקלתון - ל' כפול לפי שהוא שני ואומר אני לפי שאלו שלש אומות חשובות מצרים ואשור ואדום לכך אמר על אלו כמו שאמר בסוף הענין ובאו האובדים בארץ אשור והנדחים בארץ מצרים וע"ש שנמשלו עכו"ם ומזלות כנחשים הנושכים
לויתן נחש בריח הוא מצרים: לויתן נחש עקלתון הוא אשור
והרג את התנין אשר בים. הוא צור שהוא ראש והוא יושבת בלב ימים וכן כתיים קרויים איי הים והן עכו"ם.
For the last sentence, the English translation, which records different manuscript traditions, translates the version given, e.g., by the Responsa Project, Version 24 Bar-Ilan University:
והרג את התנין אשר בים - היא צור שהיא ראש לבני עשו והיא יושבת בלב ימים וכן כתיים קרויים איי הים והן רומיים.

f) Isaiah 33, 23

[23] נִטְּשׁוּ חֶבָלֶיךָ בַּל־יְחַזְּקוּ כֵן־תָּרָנָם בַּל־פָּרְשׂוּ נֵס אָז חֵלֵק עַד־שָׁלָל מַרְבֶּה פִּסְחִים בָּזְזוּ בָז׃

Your ropes are loosed, not to strengthen their mast properly; they did not spread out a sail; then plunder [and] booty were divided by many; the lame takes the prey.

Rashi's comments on Isaiah 33, 23 are again seven very short remarks mostly consisting of one or two explanatory words:

Your ropes: that draw the ship, you sinful city. ([Mss. yield:] you, sinful Rome.)
properly: prepared well.
a sail: Heb. נֵס, the sail of a ship.
they did not spread out a sail: They will not be able to spread the sail that guides the boat.
then plunder [and] booty were divided: (עד) related to עֲדָאָה, plunder, in Aramaic.
by many: Many will divide the plunder of the heathens. ([Mss. yield:] the plunder of Edom.) ([Others:] the nations.) ([Still others:] Sennacherib.)
lame: Israel, who were weak until now.[24]

Of these short explanations the translator picks two and renders them as follows:

Laxati sunt funiculi tui [Is 33, 23]. Glosa: funiculi tui roma peccatrix, et infra:
claudi diripient rapinam [Is 33, 23]. Glosa: israel qui sunt quasi claudi, diripient predam tuam, per romam intelligunt ecclesiam.

The first explanation is clearly the one that the *Miqraot Gedolot* gives as a variant of the manuscripts; the second relates to the last explanation which seems to have been extended, using a comment by Rashi now lost. The underlined addition by the translator is again one that is known from other passages of the translation and equalises Rome with the Church.

g) Isaiah 34, 5/35, 1

[5] כִּי־רָוְתָה בַשָּׁמַיִם חַרְבִּי הִנֵּה עַל־אֱדוֹם תֵּרֵד וְעַל־עַם חֶרְמִי לְמִשְׁפָּט׃

24. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), pp. 275-276 (English transl. *ibid.*):
נטשו חבליך. המושכים את הספינה את עיר החייבת {רומי החייבת}
כן. הכן היטב
תרנם. תורן הספינה
בל פרשו נס. לא יוכלו לפרוס וילון המנהיג את הספינה
אז חולק עד שלל. עדאה
מרבה. הרבה יחלקו שלל העכו"ם {סנחריב}
פסחים. (ישראל) שהיו עד עכשיו חלשים
The variants here given in the curly brackets are from the Responsa Project, Version 24 Bar-Ilan University. I rely on the translator for the ulterior variants suggested in the translation.

> For my sword has become sated in the heaven. Behold, it shall descend upon Edom, and upon the nation with whom I contend, for judgment.
>
> [1] יִשְׂשְׂוּם מִדְבָּר וְצִיָּה וְתָגֶל עֲרָבָה וְתִפְרַח כַּחֲבַצָּלֶת׃
> Desert and wasteland shall rejoice over them, and the plain shall rejoice and shall blossom like a rose.

Here, I change the order of my presentation and start with the Latin version that reads as follows:

> Inebriatus est in celo gladius meus [Is 34, 5]. Glosa: quia nulla gens punietur hic inferius donec princeps eius, angelus qui ei preest, puniatur et postea populus sibi subditus punietur, et super destruccionem edom et bosre, ecclesie, letabitur deserta inuia etc. [Is 35, 1] totum xxxiiij capitulum exponit de roma.
>
> My sword has become sated in the heaven. Gloss: Because no people are punished here below, as long as his prince – i.e. the angel that rules them – becomes punished and afterwards the people that he has subjugated will be punished. And over the destruction of Edom and Bozrah, i.e. the Church, the desert will rejoice etc. – The whole 34th chapter talks about Rome.

There is only a thematic similarity with the explanation known to us as the standard version in *Miqraot Gedolot* that reads as follows:

> [Is. 34, 5] For My sword has become sated in the heaven: To slay the heavenly princes, and afterward it shall descend on the nation Ishmael ([mss. and Kli Paz:] Edom) ([Warsaw ed.:] Babylonians) below, for no nation suffers until its prince suffers in heaven.
> the nation with whom I contend: (עַם חֶרְמִי), the nation with whom I battle. This is a Mishnaic expression: (Keth. 17b) They taught this in connection with time of strife (חֲרוּם). Comp. (I Kings 20, 42) "The man with whom I contend (אִישׁ־חֶרְמִי)," referring to Ahab.
> [Is. 35, 1] shall rejoice over them: (יְשֻׂשׂוּם) This is usually the sign of the direct object, inappropriate here in the case of an intransitive verb. (like יָשׂוּשׂוּ מֵהֶם, shall rejoice from them). Comp. (Jer. 10, 20) "My sons have gone away from me (יְצָאֻנִי)". Also, (I Kings 19, 21) "He cooked the meat for them (בִּשְּׁלָם)," equivalent to בִּשֵּׁל לָהֶם, "He cooked the meat for them".
> Desert and wasteland: Jerusalem, called 'wasteland,' and Zion, called 'desert,' they shall rejoice over the downfall of the mighty of the heathens and Persia ([Manuscripts yield:] of Edom and Bozrah). ([The Warsaw edition reads:] the mighty of Seir (and Bozrah).)
> and the plain shall rejoice: the plain of Jerusalem.[25]

25. (Is 34, 5) *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), p. 278 (English transl. *ibid.*):
כי רותה בשמים חרבי - להרוג שרים של מעלה ואחר כך תרד על האומה ישמעאל למטה שאין כל אומה לוקה עד שילקה שר שלה במרום.

It seems that the translator had a different version.

h) Isaiah 63, 1

[1] מִי־זֶ֤ה בָּא֙ מֵאֱד֔וֹם חֲמֻצִ֖ים בְּגָדִ֑ים מִבָּצְרָ֗ה זֶ֚ה הָדָ֣ר בִּלְבוּשׁ֔וֹ צֹעֶ֖ה בְּרֹ֣ב כֹּחֽוֹ אֲנִ֤י מְדַבֵּר֙ בִּצְדָקָ֔ה רַ֖ב לְהוֹשִֽׁיעַ׃

Who is this coming from Edom, with soiled garments, from Bozrah, this one [Who was] stately in His apparel, girded with the greatness of His strength? "I speak with righteousness, great to save".

With the excerpt from the commentary on Isaiah 63, 1 we face a similar situation as before. The commentary is quite long and divided into four different sections, but it has no real equivalent to the Latin translation:

> Who is this coming from Edom: The prophet prophesies concerning what the Holy One, blessed be He, said that He is destined to wreak vengeance upon Edom, and He, personally, will slay their heavenly prince, like the matter that is said (supra 34, 5), "For My sword has become sated in the heaven". And afterward, (ibid.) "it shall descend upon Edom," and it is recognizable by the wrath of His face that He has slain [them with] a great massacre, and the prophet is speaking in the expression of the wars of human beings, dressed in clothes, and when they slay a slaying, the blood spatters on their garments, for so is the custom of Scripture; it speaks of the Shechinah anthropomorphically, to convey to the ear what it can hear. Comp. (Ezek. 43, 2) "His voice is like the voice of many waters". The prophet compares His mighty voice to the voice of many waters to convey to the ear according to what it is possible to hear, for one cannot understand and hearken to the magnitude of the mighty of our God to let us hear it as it is.
> Who is this coming from Edom: Israel says, "Who is this, etc.?" And He is coming with soiled garments, colored with blood, and anything repugnant because of its smell and its appearance fits to the expression of חֲמוּץ, soiling.
> from Bozrah: Our Rabbis said (see Makkoth 12a): "The heavenly prince of Edom is destined to commit two errors. He thinks that Bozrah is identical with Bezer in the desert, which was a refuge city. He will also err insofar as it affords refuge only for inadvertent murder, but he killed Israel intentionally". There is also an Aggadic midrash (see above 34, 6) that because Bozrah supplied a king for Edom when its first king died, as in Gen. (36, 33), "And Jobab the son of Zerah from Bozrah reigned in

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עם חרמי - עם מלחמתי ל' משנה (כתובות יז) בשעת חירום שנו וכן (מלכים א כ) את איש חרמי דאחאב

(Is 35, 1) *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), pp. 282-283 (English transl. *ibid.*):

ישושום. ישישו עליהם (כמו ישושו מהן) כמו (ירמיה י) בני יצאוני שפתרונו יצאו ממני וכן בשלם הבשר (מלכים א' יט) בשל להם הבשר

מדבר וציה. ירושלים הקרויה ציה וציון הקרויה מדבר הן ישושו על מפלתם של גבורי עובדי כוכבים ופרס ותגל ערבה. ערבתה של ירושלים

his stead," and Bozrah is of Moab, according to the matter that is stated (Jer. 48, 24): "Upon Kerioth and upon Bozrah".
this one: who was stately in His attire, צֹעֶה, and girded with the greatness of His strength. And the Holy One, blessed be He, replies to him, 'It is I, upon Whom the time has come to speak of the righteousness of the Patriarchs, and of the righteousness of the generation of religious persecution, and My righteousness, too, is with them, and I have revealed Myself as being great to save.' And they say, 'Why is your clothing red? Why are your garments red?'[26]

The Latin translation to that comment reads as follows:

Quis est iste qui venit de edom tinctis vestibus de bosra [Is 63, 1]. Glosa: israel querent hoc modo quia vestimenta dei tincta sanguine edom et bosre, et princeps rome, Angelus ecclesie errabit in tribus, credet enim quod bosra sit bosor in solitudine et in hoc errabit et eciam in hoc quod bosor non tuetur homines qui scienter occiderunt sed ignoranter et populus eius scienter israel interfecit, tercio in hoc errabit quod ciuitas illa ponita est in refugium non angelis sed hominibus.

Who is he who came from Edom with coloured clothing from Bozrah? Gloss: Israel asked that way because God's clothing was coloured with the blood of Edom and Bozrah, and the prince of Rome, the Angel of the Church, erred in three things: [first,] he believed that Bozrah was Bezer in the desert and in that he erred, and [secondly] also in that that Bezer did not protect people [verbally: men] who knowingly murdered, but unwillingly, however his people killed Israel on purpose, thirdly he erred in that that this city offered shelter not to angels but to mankind.

It seems that the translation translates a different version from the third section which in itself is a rendering from bMakkot 12a, although it is also possible that he picked only those passages that fitted to his purpose.[27]

26. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), pp. 486-487 (English transl. *ibid.*):
מי זה בא מאדום. נתנבא הנביא על שאמר הקב''ה שעתיד לעשות נקמה באדום והוא עצמו בכבודו יהרג את שר שלהם תהלה כענין שנאמר כי רותה בשמים חרבי ואחר כך על אדום תרד ונכר בזעם פניו שהרגם הרג רב והנביא מדבר בלשון מלחמות בני אדם לבושי בגדים ובהרגם הרג הדם נתז על בגדיהם כי כן דרך הכתובים מדברים בשכינה כדרך בני אדם לשבר את האוזן מה שהיא יכולה לשמוע וכן וקולו כקול מים רבים דימה הנביא קול חזק שלו לקול מים רבים לשבר את האוזן כדרך שאפשר לה לשמוע שאין להבין ולהאזין ברוב גבורות אלהינו להשמיעה כמות שהיא
מי זה בנ מאשום. ישראל אומר מי זה וגו' ובא חמוץ בגדים צבועים בדם וכול דבר שהוא מתנאץ בדיחו ובמראיתו נופל בו ל' חימוץ
מבצרה, אמרו רבותינו (מכות י''ב ושם איתא שלש) שתי טעיות עתיד שר של אדום לטעות כסבור הוא שבצרה היא בצר במדבר שהיתה עיר מקלט, וטועה משום שאין קולטת אלא שוגג והוא הרג את ישראל מזיד. ועוד יש מדרש אגדה על שהספיק' בצרה מלך לאדום במות מלכה הראשון וימלך תחתיו יובב בן זרח מבצרה ובצרה ממואב היא כענין שנא' על קריות ועל בצרה זה. שהיה הדור בלבושו וצעה ונאזר ברב כחו. והקב''ה משיבו אני הוא שעלתה לפני לדבר בצדקת האבות ובצדקת דורו של צרה וצדקתי גם היא עמהם ונגליתי להיות רב להושיע והם אומרים מדוע אדום ללבושך מדוע בגדיך אדומים

27. I thank Ulisse Cecini for that suggestion.

j) Isaiah 65, 11

[11] וְאַתֶּם עֹזְבֵי יְהוָה הַשְּׁכְחִים אֶת־הַר קָדְשִׁי הָעֹרְכִים לַגַּד שֻׁלְחָן וְהַמְמַלְאִים לַמְנִי מִמְסָךְ׃

You who forsake the Lord, who forget My holy mount, who set a table for Gad and who fill mingled wine for a number.

Again the comment on Isaiah 65, 11 is fourfold and reads as follows:

who forsake the Lord: The wicked of Israel who adopted paganism and died in their wickedness.
who set a table for Gad: The name of a pagan deity on the name of the zodiac, and in the language of the mishnah, (Shabbath 67b) "May my fate be lucky (גָּד גַּדִי) and not fatigued".
for a number: Heb. לַמְנִי;. According to the number of the computation of the priests, they would fill basins of mingled wine.
mingled wine: Heb. מִמְסָךְ, wine mingled with water as was customary. Comp. (Prov. 23, 30) "To search for mingled wine (מִמְסָךְ)". Also (ibid. 9, 2), "She mingled (מָסְכָה) her wine". Some interpret לַמְנִי, to the pagan deities that you appointed (מִנִּיתֶם) over yourselves, but וּמָנִיתִי אֲתֶכֶם, which is not punctuated וּמָנִיתִי with a 'dagesh,' indicates that it is an expression of counting.[28]

And again I do not find a parallel in the Latin translation:

Et vos qui dereliquistis dominum qui ponitis fortune mensam, et libatis super eam, hebreus qui implent domino mixturam [Is 65, 11]. Glosa: domino, i.e. monasterio, hoc est sancto quem sibi preposuerunt aut patronum fecerunt. Item alia glosa: qui inplent domino mixturam secundum numerum hominum nam secundum numerum religiosorum implent vasa eorum vino, sed subiungit penam numerabo vos in gladio etc. [Is 65, 12].

And you, who forsake the Lord, who set a table for fate, and consecrate over it [the table], Hebrew: who fill mingled [wine] for the Lord. Gloss: the Lord, i.e. the monastery, that is the holy [one] that they put in charge or they made a patron. Also another gloss: who fill mingled [wine] for the Lord according to the number of people [literally: men]. In fact they filled a jar with wine according to the number of practicing [people], but he added a punishment: I will count you with the sword and so on [Is 65, 12].

28. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), pp. 501-502 (English transl. *ibid.*):
עוזבי ה'. רשעי ישראל שהחזיקו בעכו"ם ומתו ברשעם
העורכים לגד. שם עכו"ם העשוים על שם המזל ובל' משנה יש גד גדי וסינוק לא
למני. למניין חשבון הכומרים היו ממלאים אגנות מזג יין
ממסך. יין מזוג במים כמשפטו כמו לחקור ממסך (משלי כ"ג) מסכה יינה (שם ט') ויש פותרים למני לעכו"ם שמניתם עליכם
אבל ומניתי אתכם שלא נקוד ומניתי דגש יורה שהוא לשון מניין

Nonetheless there is something remarkable in that excerpt: The Biblical verse ends verse with ‘et libatis super eam’, but now the translator adds ‘hebreus qui implent domino mixturam’, but it is not clear what is supplemented here. Does he want to say: *in hebraico* and give a – literally correct – variant reading for *qui de-reliquistis dominum*?

k) Isaiah 66, 17

[17]הַמִּתְקַדְּשִׁים וְהַמְטַהֲרִים אֶל־הַגַּנּוֹת אַחַר)אֶחָד] (אַחַת[בַּתָּוֶךְ אֹכְלֵי בְּשַׂר הַחֲזִיר וְהַשֶּׁקֶץ וְהָעַכְבָּר יַחְדָּו יָסֻפוּ נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃

“Those who prepare themselves and purify themselves to the gardens, [one] after another in the middle, those who eat the flesh of the swine and the detestable thing and the rodent, shall perish together”, says the Lord.

Also the last comment translated is fourfold in the standard version of Rashi’s comments and reads as follows:

> Those who prepare themselves: Heb. הַמִּתְקַדְּשִׁים. Those who prepare themselves, “Let you and me go on such-and-such a day to worship such-and-such an idol”.
> to the gardens: where they plant vegetables, and there they would erect idols.
> [one] after one: As Jonathan renders: a company after a company. They prepare themselves and purify themselves to worship, one company after its fellow has completed its worship.
> in the middle: In the middle of the garden. Such was their custom to erect it.[29]

In parts we find an equivalent in the Latin translation:

> Qui sanctificabant et mundos se putabant in ortis etc. [Is 66, 17]. Glosa: qui se preparant et dicunt ad inuicem ego et tu ibimus illa die ad illam ecclesiam que sic vocatur, et preparant se vt vna societas veniat post aliam ego autem opera eorum et cogitaciones eorum venio ut congregem cum omnibus gentibus et linguis [Is 66, 18] dicit dominus vermis eorum non morietur et ignis non extinguetur [Is 66, 24].

29. *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (as in note 16), p. 514 (English transl. *ibid*.):
המתקדשים. המזדמנים אני ואתה נלך ליום פלוני לעבוד עכו"ם פלונית
אל הגנות. שזורעין שם ירק ושם היו מעמידין עכו"ם
אחר אחת. כמה שתירגם יונתן סיעה בתר סיעה מתקדשים ומטהרים לעבוד סיעה אחר שגמרה חבירתה את עבודתה
בתוך. באמצע הגינה כן היה דרכם להעמידה

The first and the third section (the latter without the introduction) are translated and added by to snippets of two further verses. Again it seems that the translator used a slightly different manuscript version.

III.

To conclude this brief survey: the number of excerpts is, admittedly, rather small and the translator covers only few of Rashi's comments. Nonetheless the translations themselves are quite interesting for various reasons.

Firstly, the translations of the Biblical texts do not always go with the Vulgate version – at least not with the version printed in Stuttgart. That means that the translator had the Hebrew Biblical text together with Rashi's comments at hand. Although he knew the Vulgate's text he was looking for a kind of *hebraica veritas*.

Secondly, in some cases we can give proof that the translator followed closely Rashi's text. In those cases he does not we have to ask: Did the translator have a different text? Did he skip some passages (of course, in some cases he seems to do)? Did he just summarise the argument? My preliminary conclusion is: He sometimes skipped passages in which he was not interested – as is the case with the translations from the Talmud[30] –, but in everything he translated he closely followed his *Vorlage*. Being that the case, we have an early witness for the state of Rashi's commentaries in c. 1240.[31]

Thirdly, the translator's glosses to Rashi's glosses do help readers from the middle ages to understand Rashi – at least, they were intended to do that. For us, these comments point to the circumstances and interest of the translator: He seems to have mainly looked for proof that Rashi wrote against Christianity and collected comments that contained notions and names such as Edom, Esau, Rome which where usually attributed to Christians and Christianity. But still we cannot explain the reason for his translations. Some excerpts might simply have caught his interest in the matter.

Finally, Rashi was a Jewish authority that Christians in the Paris of the 1240s had to know, as they had to know the Talmud or Maimonides.

30. See the articles by Óscar de la Cruz Palma, Ulisse Cecini, Alexander Fidora, and Isaac Lampurlanés in this volume.
31. The problem touched is that we do not really know which passages in Rashi's commentaries are "his" achievement and which are the additions by his students. See, e.g., René-Samuel Sirat (Ed.), *Héritages de Rachi*, Paris; Tel Aviv, 2nd edition 2008; Devorah Schoenfeld, *Isaac on Jewish and Christian Altars. Polemic and Exegesis in Rashi and the 'Glossa ordinaria'*, New York, 2013. All manuscripts with Rashi's comments are dated 13th century or later (see http://alhatorah.org/Commentators:R._Shelomo_Yitzchaki_%28Rashi%29/ManuscriptsandEditions [last visited on 25 July 2016]).

Appendix: *Glosse Salomonis in Isaiam*[32]

The following edition is based on four manuscripts, none of them being the original one.[33]

The oldest manuscript (*P*) is kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and seems to have been written in the middle of the 13th century. It is close to the original version. The scribe copied all marginal notes and references to the Biblical places and underlined all glosses which are added to Rashi's explanations. The marginal notes and the underlinings are here represented.

In the 17th century, the manuscript *P* was copied. The scribe of that manuscript (*M*)[34] is relatively careful, but sometimes inserted incorrect conjectures.

The other two manuscripts are a bit younger than P and represent a second tradition. Both seem to be copies of the hyparchetype of that second tradition. Both are of southern French origin. The manuscript from Carpentras (*C*) belonged to an Augustinian monastery in Aix[35] and was written towards the beginning of the 14th century and contains among others pieces from *Victoria Porcheti aduersus impios Hebreos*.[36] The manuscript from Girona (*G*) was copied together with Ockham's *Dialogi*; it therefore must also stem from the 14th century.[37] The manuscript might have been brought to Catalunya during the papacy of Pope Benedict XIII when he moved from Avignon to Penyiscola. Both manuscripts are closely related to each other but seem to be independent copies of the same *Vorlage*.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558, fols. 224va-230rb, at 229rb-vb (13th century)
C = Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale L'Inguimbertine, Ms. 153, fols. 74ra-76va, at 76ra-b (14th century)
G = Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 19b, fols. 79ra-81rb, at 81ra (14th century)
M = Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1115, fols. 412r-421r, at 419v-420r (17th century)

32. I wish to thank Ulisse Cecini for his commentaries and corrections.
33. A final description of all manuscripts will be provided in the critical edition of the Latin Talmud that Ulisse Cecini and Óscar de la Cruz currently prepare.
34. For the edition of the Latin Talmud this manuscript has been given the siglum *Z*. Since in the other editions from Rashi this manuscript features as *M*, this siglum will be kept here.
35. See C. G. A. Lambert, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Carpentras*, vol. 1, Carpentras, 1862, p. 85.
36. For further literature see Görge K. Hasselhoff, "Die Drucke einzelner lateinischer Übersetzungen von Werken des Maimonides im 16. Jahrhundert als Beitrag zur Entstehung der modernen Hebraistik: Agostino Giustiniani und Sebastian Münster", in: Giuseppe Veltri/Gerold Necker (Eds.), *Gottessprache in der philologischen Werkstatt: Hebraistik vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Leiden/Boston, 2004, pp. 169-188, at pp. 175-176 and 187.
37. The manuscript was described by José María Millás Vallicrosa, "Extractos del Talmud y alusiones polémicas en un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Catedral de Gerona", in: *Sefarad* 20 (1960), pp. 17-49, and by Alexander Fidora, "Die Handschrift 19b des Arxiu Capitular de Girona. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des lateinischen Talmud", in: Claudia Alraum *et al.* (Eds.), *Zwischen Rom und Santiago. FS Klaus Herbers*, Bochum, 2016, pp. 49-56. Both authors did not take into account that Ockham's treatise was copied on the same material.

yes. xii Nota	[*P* 229rb *C* 76ra *G* 81ra *M* 419v] Fortitudo[38] et laus mea dominus etc.[39] [Is 12, 2]. Glosa: nomen domini modo dimidiatum est, non enim est ibi pro ezonay[40] nisi ia[41], sed ad ruinam esau et generis sui, xristianorum, reintegrabitur[42].
ys. 23	Cum auditum fuerit de egypto dolebunt cum audierint de tyro [Is 23, 5]. [Glosa:] sicut auditum [*P* 229va] fuit de egypto quod percussi eos x plagis[43] et in fine submersi sunt in mari ita terrebuntur cum audierint x plagas quas missurus sum super tyrum, si tyrus[44] est roma, sanguinem et ignem et uocem tumultus ville sicut fuit plaga ranarum et conuertentur torrentes eius in picem et sulphur.
Nota ys. 24	Formido et fouea et laqueus[45] super te qui habitator es terre [Is 24, 17]. Glosa: hoc est super te esau qui modo dominaris, per edom et esau vbique in talmud significantur xristiani.
	Et erit qui fugerit a facie formidinis cadet in foueam [Is 24, 18]. Glosa: qui euaserit[46] gladium messie filii ioseph incidet in gladium messye filii dauid.
Nota ys. 27	Et occidet cetum[47] qui in mari est [Is 27, 1]. Glosa: hic[48] est tyrus qui[49] est caput domus esau et sedet in corde maris et roma similiter sedet in corde maris et[50] [*M* 420r] insule maris dicuntur romani[51] domus esau.
ys. 33 Nota	Laxati[52] sunt funiculi tui [Is 33, 23]. Glosa: funiculi tui roma peccatrix, et infra:
	claudi diripient rapinam [Is 33, 23]. Glosa: israel qui sunt quasi claudi, diripient predam tuam, [*C* 76rb] per romam intelligunt ecclesiam.
Nota ys. 34	Inebriatus[53] est in celo gladius meus [Is 34, 5]. Glosa: quia nulla gens punietur hic inferius donec princeps eius, angelus qui ei[54] preest, puniatur et postea populus sibi subditus punietur, et super destruccionem edom et bosre[55], ecclesie, letabitur deserta[56] inuia etc. [Is 35, 1] totum xxxiiij[57] capitulum exponit de roma.

38. *C G add*. mea
39. *C G* dicit
40. *C* eronay *G* edonay
41. *M* ya
42. *C* retegrabitur *G corr*. *ex* retegrabitur
43. *C* plagiis
44. *C G* ty
45. *C* laqus
46. *M* euasit
47. *G corr*. *ex* setum
48. *C* hoc
49. *P* que
50. *P M om*. et roma ... maris et
51. *C G* roma
52. *C G* lazari
53. *P* Inobriatus
54. *C G* enim
55. *C* ~~bos~~ vosre
56. *C G cum Vg*. *add*. et
57. *P* xxiiij

Nota ys. 63	Quis est iste qui venit de[58] edom tinctis[59] vestibus[60] de bosra[61] [Is 63, 1]. Glosa: israel querent hoc modo quia[62] vestimenta dei tincta sanguine edom et bosre, [*P* 229vb] et princeps rome, Angelus ecclesie errabit in tribus, credet enim quod bosra sit bosor in solitudine et in hoc errabit et eciam in hoc quod bosor non tuetur homines qui scienter occiderunt sed ignoranter et populus eius scienter israel interfecit, tercio in hoc errabit quod ciuitas illa ponita est in refugium non[63] angelis sed hominibus.
Nota ys. 65	Et vos qui dereliquistis[64] dominum qui ponitis fortune mensam, et libatis[65] super eam, hebreus qui implent[66] domino mixturam [Is 65, 11]. Glosa: domino, i.e.[67] monasterio, hoc est sancto[68] quem sibi preposuerunt aut patronum fecerunt. Item[69] alia[70] glosa: qui inplent[71] domino mixturam[72] secundum numerum hominum nam secundum numerum religiosorum implent vasa eorum[73] vino, sed subiungit penam numerabo vos in gladio etc. [Is 65, 12].
Nota ys. 66	Qui[74] sanctificabant et mundos se putabant[75] in ortis[76] etc.[77] [Is 66, 17]. Glosa: qui[78] se preparant et dicunt ad inuicem[79] ego et tu ibimus illa die ad illam ecclesiam que sic vocatur, et preparant se vt vna societas veniat post aliam ego autem[80] opera eorum et[81] cogitaciones eorum venio ut congregem cum omnibus gentibus et linguis [Is 66, 18] dicit[82] dominus vermis eorum non morietur et ignis[83] non extinguetur[84] [Is 66, 24].

58. *C G* ad
59. *P* cunctis
60. *P C* ve. *G* ves
61. *P C* bos. *G corr. ex* bos
62. *C add.* videbunt videbunt *G add.* ~~videbuntur~~ videbunt
63. *P* nec
64. *M* reliquistis
65. *C G* bibitis
66. *P* inpleuit
67. *M* in
68. *C* santo
69. *C G* in
70. *C G* vasa
71. *M* implent
72. *C* misturam
73. *C G add.* vasa
74. *M* Quia
75. *M* deputabant
76. *M* hortis
77. *Om.* C
78. *C G* quasi
79. *C G* add. et
80. *C G* in
81. *Om.* C G
82. *G* dixit
83. *P* ig.
84. *C G P* extin.

A Priest's "Uncircumcised Heart" Some Theological-Political Remarks on a Rashi's Gloss in Tractate Sanhedrin and its Latin Translation in *Extractiones de Talmud*

Federico Dal Bo*
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Abstract

The Latin translation of a relatively short gloss from Rashi's commentary on the Talmud provides an insight into the politics of conversion in the French-German Jewry between the 10th-13th centuries and allows to assume that the Hebrew term *kômer* might be used in post-Talmudic commentaries in order to designate Jewish apostates who converted to Christianity, either deliberately or under duress. The Latin translator of the Talmud seems to be aware of this connotation and makes these inter-cultural implications manifest.

The translation of large passages from the Talmud into Latin – commonly designated as *Extractiones de Talmud* – was hardly intended to satisfy the Christians' erudite interest in Judaism. The unprecedented effort of translating into Latin large sections from the main work of Rabbinic literature originated within the context of the Paris disputation on the Talmud; therefore, its purposes were not simply documentary but also polemical and ideological.[1]

On the one hand, this first systematic translation of the Babylonian Talmud into a Western language had obviously been appointed with the explicit purpose of making it accessible to Christian intellectuals;[2] on the other hand, this documentary intent

* Marie Curie post-Doctoral fellow at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Tal Ilan (Freie Universität Berlin) for reading a first draft of this paper.

1. For a general treatment of the Paris disputation, see the following article in the present volume: Alexander Fidora, "The Latin Talmud and its Place in Medieval Anti-Jewish Polemic" as well as the general bibliography treated there. See also: 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; Alexander Fidora, "Die Handschrift 19b des Arxiu Capitular de Girona: Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des lateinischen Talmud", in: Claudia Alraum *et al.* (Eds.), *Zwischen Rom und Santiago. Festschrift für Klaus Herbers zum 65. Geburtstag*, Bochum, 2016, pp. 49-56.
2. The *Extractiones* are the most systematic attempt of providing a Christian reader with a comprehensive translation from the Babylonian Talmud and therefore are qualitatively superior to fragmentary and partial translations to be found, for instance, in the 12th-century Jewish convert Peter Alphonsi's *Dialogi contra Judeos* (1110), where he maintains that the Jews are following an "outdated" version of the Law as well as in 12th century abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable's *Tractatus adversus Judaeorum inveteratem duritem* (1142-1143) that is mostly based on Peter Alphonsi's work and, possibly, on some indirect translations of the Talmud to be found in the French version of the Hebrew satirical text *Alpha Beitha de-Ben Sira (The Alphabet of Ben Sira)*. On these topics, see: Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue against the Jews*, Washington,

was somehow secondary to its ultimate theological-political goal: explaining why the Jews had resisted conversion to Christianity for more than a millennium and what consequences Christian society should draw from their "stubbornness" as well as from their alleged "blasphemy" against Christianity. In this context it is hardly surprising that even the tiniest portion of a Talmudic text – such as a later, marginal gloss on it – could eventually catch the attention of the anonymous Latin translator and offer the opportunity for some theological-political remarks on Judaism and its interaction with Christianity.[3]

An opportunity of this kind of remark was provided by a relatively short gloss of the prominent French-Jewish commentator Rabbi Shlomo ben Itzhaq – known as Rashi among the Jews and as *Salomon Trecensis* in the *Extractiones*.[4] Rashi comments on tractate Sanhedrin and expresses his opinion on a very specific issue: should an apostate "Jewish priest" be admitted into the Temple service?[5] Rashi's

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2006; see also: Irven M. Resnick, "Humoralism and Adam's Body. Twelfth-Century Debates and Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogus contra Judaeos*", in: *Viator* 36 (2005), pp. 181-189; see also: Talya Fishman, *Becoming the People of the Talmud. Oral Torah as Written Tradition in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, Philadelphia, PA, 2011.

3. There is no actual contradiction between compiling an *anthology* from the larger corpus of the Babylonian Talmud as in the case of the *Extractiones* and the need for examining each theologically (and ideologically) relevant detail therein. These are two complementary attitudes that respond well to the same purpose of providing a *significant* piece of Jewish religious literature that would be *representative* of the specific character of the Jews. On the relationship between fragments, compendia, and anthologies with a general epistemological attitude, see the classic work of Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 25th Anniversary Editon, With a New Preface by the Author, New York, 2014, pp. 125-126.
4. Rabbi Shlomo ben Itzhaq (1040-1105) is probably the most famous and celebrated commentator on Scripture and Babylonian Talmud. Scholarship about him is very large. See, for instance: Esra Shereshevsky, *Rashi, the Man and his World*, Northvale, 1996; see also the new bibliography on Rashi commentary in: Pinchus Krieger, *Parshan-Data. Supercommentaries on Rashi's Commentary on the Pentateuch*, New York, 2005, pp. 41-46.
5. Talmudic phraseology usually designates 'Jewish priests' either with the Hebrew Biblical term *kôhen* or with the Aramaic calque *kahna'*, whereas it designates analogous figures in other religions either with the fundamentally neutral Hebrew term *kômer* (that in modern Hebrew usually designates either a Catholic or a Protestant 'priest') or the slightly more marked Aramaic term *kûmra'* ('pagan priest'). Interestingly enough, the homograph Syriac term *kûmra'* appears to be more generic and designates either an 'Israelite priest', 'a Catholic priest', or also a 'pagan priest'. PhD candidate Vincenzo Carlotta (Humboldt University) has brought to my attention that the Greek name *Komarios* or *Komerios* – to whom the early Greek anonymous alchemical *Teaching of Komarios to Cleopatra* is ascribed – might resonate with a Semitic substratum, possibly with an Aramaic-Syriac variance of the term *kûmra'*, employed in that context in order to designate a 'magician' and also to convey a sense of antiquity. The lexicological distinction between these terms is especially relevant when discussing the later commentaries on the Talmud that explicitly mobilize the term *kômer* in order to designate someone who became an apostate and possibly became a 'priest' of another religion. For a specific treatment of these terms, see *infra*. Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud and Yerushalmi, and Midrashic Literature*, London, 1903, vol. 2, pp. 615 and 621; cf. Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, Ramat-Gan, 2002, pp. 554 and 563; see also: Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Suriacum*, Winona Lake, 2009, p. 608. See also: Richard Reitzenstein, *Alchemistische Lehrschriften und Märchen bei den Arabern*, Giessen, 1923, n. 2 , p. 66. See also: Frank Sherwood Taylor, "The Origins of Greek Alchemy", in: *Ambix* 1/1 (1937), pp. 30-48, especially pp. 42-44.

opinion caught the attention of the anonymous Latin translator who aptly reported the gloss and expanded on it.

Yet the exegetical path that leads from the original Talmudic text, to Rashi's gloss, and eventually to its reception in the Latin translation is not as linear as it might appear at first. On the contrary, it involves a number of exegetical steps and several theological presuppositions that require a detailed treatment. Only in this way is it possible to appreciate the theological-political tensions underlying both Rashi's commentary on the Talmud and in its reception in the Latin translation, for the good use of a Christian audience.

1. A Talmudic problem: accessing Holy Things after defilement?

The first complication pertains to the strange relationship between Rashi's gloss and the very text on which he comments. The Talmudic passage in tractate Sanhedrin actually deals with the issue of the "son of a foreigner" who has defiled himself but wishes to access the Holy again.[6] Rashi's gloss, on the other hand, appears to deal with a quite different topic: an apostate Jewish priest who wishes to access the Holy.

A similar topic is discussed elsewhere both in the Mishna and in the Gemara of tractate Menaḥot. Due to its relevance, it is necessary to examine the passage in detail–in each step of its textual and historical development. At first one note that the text of the Mishna is quite linear, as usual:

> הרי עלי עולה יקריבנה במקדש ואם הקריבה בבית חוניו לא יצא. שאקריבנה בבית חוניו יקריבנה במקדש ואם הקריב בבית חוניו יצא […] הכהנים ששמשו בבית חוניו לא ישמשו במקדש בירושלם ואין צריך לומר לדבר אחר […] הרי הם כבעלי מומין חולקין ואוכלין אבל לא מקריבין (משנה מנחות יג י)

> [Whover says] "A burnt-offering [shall be] upon myself", he shall offer in the Temple [of Jerusalem] and, if he has offered it in the Temple of Onias, he has not fulfilled [his vow]. [Whoever says] "I will offer in the Temple of Onias", he shall offer it in the

6. The "son of a foreigner" can be designated either with the Biblical expression *ben neḵar* or with the later Hebrew expression *ben noḵrî*; both of them designate the same social entity: a non-Jewish individual who is poorly assimilated and therefore has a limited ability of accessing Jewish rites. The expressions *ben neḵar* and *ben noḵrî* are semantically equivalent but their difference in mophology manifest an interesting development in the Hebrew vocabulary designating non-Jewish individual among the people of Israel. Hebrew lexicography shows that the Biblical expression *ben neḵar* ('foreigner') – based on the substantive *neḵar*, derived from the Hebrew term *neḵer* ('calamity', 'strangeness') – allowed in time the formation of the adjective *noḵrî* that eventually developed in an autonomous homographic substantive designating a 'foreigner'. The concurrence between the Biblical based expression *ben neḵar* and the later Hebrew term *noḵrî* eventually determined the obsolescence of the Biblical expression *ben neḵar* in favor of the later one. The Talmud usually employs the Biblical expression *ben neḵar* in form of quotation from Scripture and the later Hebrew term *noḵrî* as correlated concept, whereas post-Talmudic employ also the later Rabbinic expression *ben noḵrî* – possibly modelling it on the basis of the Biblical expression *ben neḵar*. In the present context all these expressions will be treated as virtually equivalent ones.

> Temple [of Jerusalem] and, if he has offered in the Temple of Onias, he has fulfilled [his vow] […] The priests who served in the Temple of Onias shall not serve in the Temple in Jerusalem and there is no need to say about [the case in which they served] something else […] Hence, they are like those who have blemishes (*ba'aleî mûmîn*): they share and eat but they do not offer [sacrifices].[7]

It is evident that this Mishna does not treat the issue of a Jewish priest being unclean in general terms; it discusses the issue in an historically and geographically quite defined circumstance: namely, the very specific case of a Jewish priest officiating in the "Temple of Onias", a Jewish temple erected in Egypt by the Zadokite High Priest Onias IV after the high-priesthood in Jerusalem was hijacked by the Hasmonean family.[8] The Mishna thus discusses a subtle issue: whether officiating according to Jewish rituals in a place other than the Temple of Jerusalem can be regarded as legitimate. The negative answer clearly shows the ideological prominence that the Temple of Jerusalem enjoyed at the time of the redaction of the Mishna but also the incipient worries of the Rabbinic elite about the possible contact between the Jewish population with other religions. The decisive assumption is that Jewish individuals– or even priests –who served a "foreign cult" and eventually returned to the Jewish faith may be readmitted to the service in the Temple but treated "as if" they acquired some (physical) blemish (*mûm*).[9]

7. Mish., Men. XIII, 10. The translation is mine.
8. Many historical facts about the foundation of a Jewish temple in Leontopolis have not been established yet and there is no scholarly consensus thereupon. Josephus informs us that this temple was founded by "Onias son of Simon" (*Bell. Jud.* 7.423 and *Ant. Jud.* 12.387) but it is disputed if this individual shall identified with the High Priest Onias III or rather his son, provided that the latter was actually ever established as Onias IV. The temple was established between the 170-162 BCE and functioned continuously until its destruction in 73 CE, by Roman hands – either by the Roman *praetor* Tiberius Julius Lupus or by Valerius Paulinus (Joseph Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*, Princeton, 2012, p. 129). It is possible that permission for edification was granted by the Pharaoh Ptolemy IV, possibly in connection with the desecration of the Temple of Jerusalem by the Syrian king Anthiochus IV Epiphanes in 168 BCE, in the flashpoint of the Maccabean Revolt. On Anthiochus Epiphanes, see: Daniel R. Schwartz, "Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Jerusalem", in: David Goodblatt/Avital Pinnick/Daniel R. Schwartz (Eds.), *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27-31 January, 1999, Leiden, 2001, pp. 45-56. On the Temple of Onias, see, for instance: John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem. Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*, Cambridge, ²2000, pp. 64-82; Timothy Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity*, Tübingen, 2010, pp. 38-39 and 72-73; Louis H. Feldman/Reinhold Meyer (Eds.), *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings*, Minneapolis, 1996, pp. 49-50.
9. The Rabbinic term *mûm*, deriving as contraction from the Biblical Hebrew term *mᵉ'ûm* ('something') and eventually borrowed by Aramaic as *mûma'* designates an unspecified physical blemish both in animals and humans, as well as a moral or legal blemish. In the present case, the predominant physical connotation of the term is quite obvious due to context. See: Jastrow, *Dictionary* (as in note 5), p. 743; cf. Sokoloff, *Dictionary* (as in note 5), pp. 647-648. For a tentative determination of *mûm* as a physical defect of the eye, see for instance: Julius Preuss, *Biblical and Talmudic Medicine*, Translated and edited by Fred Rosner, New York, 2004, p. 260.

It is especially the Babylonian commentary on the Mishna – the Gemara – that takes the discussion out from this locally specific issue and transforms it into an opportunity for discussing a much broader and theologically poignant matter: whether a Jewish priest who has served a "foreign cult" may be reintegrated into legitimate service at the Temple or rather treated as an apostate – regardless of his willingness to repent and access the Holy again.

The discussion is quite complex and will be mentioned here only briefly – specifically with respect of the rulings concerning the Jewish priests:

גמ'. אמר רב יהודה: כהן ששחט לעבודת כוכבים, קרבנו ריח ניחוח. אי עבד שירות, אין. שחיטה, לאו שירות הוא? […] איתמר: שגג בזריקה - רב נחמן אמר: קרבנו ריח ניחוח, רב ששת אמר: אין קרבנו ריח ניחוח. אמר רב ששת: מנא אמינא להּ? דכתיב: "והיו לבית ישראל למכשול עון" (יחזקאל מד יב), [מאי] לאו? או מכשול או עון. ומכשול – שוגג. ועון – מזיד. ורב נחמן? מכשול דעון. אמר רב נחמן: מנא אמינא להּ? דתניא: "וכפר הכהן על הנפש השוגגת בחטאה בשגגה" (במדבר טו כח). מלמד שכהן מתכפר על ידי עצמו. במאי? אילימא בשחיטה, מאי איריא שוגג? אפילו מזיד נמי! אלא לאו בזריקה. ורב ששת? אמר לך: לעולם בשחיטה, ובמזיד לא נעשה משרת לעבודת כוכבים. ואזדו לטעמייהו, דאתמר: הזיד בשחיטה רב נחמן אמר: קרבנו ריח ניחוח, ורב ששת אמר: אין קרבנו ריח ניחוח. רב נחמן אמר קרבנו ריח ניחוח, דלא עבד שירות; רב ששת אמר אין קרבנו ריח ניחוח, (תלמוד בבלי, מנחות קט ע"א-ב)

Gemara: Rav Yehudah said: A priest who had slaughtered an animal to worshippers of stars, his offering smells pleasing. If he served service [he is disqualified]: slaughtering is no service […]. It is said: [Whoever] sprinkles [blood] inadvertently. Rav Nahman said: His offering smells pleasing. Rav Sheshet said: His offering does not small pleasing. Rav Seshet said: Whence do I say it? As it is written: "and they became a stumbling block of iniquity unto the House of Israel" (Ez 44, 12). This means either "stumbling" or "iniquity". [The term] "stumbling" [means] "was inadvertent" (*šagag*) and [the term] "iniquity" [means] "was deliberate" (*mezîd*) and Rav Nahman? [It means:] "stumbling block of iniquity". Rav Nahman said: Whence do I say it? It is taught [in a *baraita*:] "'And the priest shall atone the soul that is erring, as it sins inadvertently' (Num 15, 28): [this] teaches that a priest will atone for himself. And how? You might say: By slaughtering. What is [the sense of] holding [the term] "inadvertently"? [It is] even [the same ruling] if he was deliberate! Rather only in [the case of] sprinkling [blood]. And Rav Sheshet? He said to him: Still about slaughtering and not [in case of] deliberate [transgression] made in order to make service for the worshippers of stars. They followed their opinion, as it is said: He was deliberate in slaughtering. Rav Nahman said: His offering smells pleasing. And Rav Sheshet said: His offering does not smell pleasing. Rav Nahman said: His offering smells pleasing as it was not serving a service. Rav Sheshet said: His offering does not smell pleasing as it was made to worshippers of stars.[10]

10. TB Men 109a-b. The translation is mine.

It is evident that the Gemara expands on the primitive issue treated in the Mishna. It is no longer a question about serving a Jewish cult outside the perimeter of Jerusalem. The question is now much more radical and pertains to the possibility of admitting whoever had served a "foreign cult" back into the Jewish faith. The Gemara generally agrees that a Jewish priest who served in a "foreign cult" has actually defiled the Jewish service in the Temple. And yet there is a specific disagreement between two the third generation Babylonian *'amoraîm* – Rav Sheshet and Rav Nahman bar Jacob – on the final condition of the transgressor and, more specifically, on the grade of exclusion that has to be imposed on this hypothetical Jewish priest.[11] Rav Sheshet maintains that whoever served a "foreign cult" should be disqualified forever from officiating in the Temple, whereas Rabbi Nahman appears to be more lenient and argues that only some limitations in cult and prayers should be established regarding his person. It is especially the latter ruling that is subject to a relevant theological expansion in the later commentaries on the Talmud and specifically in Rashi's glosses.

2. Serving a "foreign cult": the *Ri'šônîm* on forced conversions

It is specifically the Gemara's expansion on the initial juridical issue that catches the attention especially of the *Ri'šônîm*: namely, the "first" Jewish authorities who were active between the 10th and 15th century and had provided the core of the commentaries on the Talmud – today extant in the margins of any ordinary Talmud edition.

In the present case, it is particularly important to take into account the response of Rashi together with the one of his predecessor: Rabbenu Gershom ben Yehudah – the leading Talmudic authority of the 10th century Ashkenazi Judaism.[12] Both Rabbenu Gershom and Rashi seem to agree that the apostasy of the Jewish priest has been caused, in this very particular case, by "inadvertence": either by error or negligence of some specifics. At some point in his commentary on the Talmud,

11. The Babylonian Rabbis Rav Sheshet and Rav Nahman bar Jacob are usually regarded as a "disputing pair" in the Babylonian schools, the latter being associated with the Exiliarch (the *Reîš Galuta'*) in the Babylonian Talmud. On this topic, see: Barak S. Cohen, "Rav Nahman and Rav Sheshet: Conflicting Methods of Exegesis in Tannaitic Sources" [Hebrew], in: *Hebrew Union College Annual* 76 (2005), pp. 11-32; see also: *Id*., *The Legal Methodology of Late Nehardean Sages in Sasanian Babylonia*, Leiden, 2011, pp. 133-134; Geoffrey Herman, *A Prince Without a Kingdom: the Exiliarch in the Sasanian Era*, Tübingen, 2012, pp. 149 and 190-192.
12. Rabbenu Gershom ben Yehudah Me'or ha-Golah (960-1028) was the leading halakhic authority among German Jews. For his role especially in treating Jewish apostates, see: Simha Goldin, *Apostasy and Jewish Identity in High Middle Ages Northern Europe. "Are You Still My Brother?"*, translated by Jonathan Chipman, Manchester, 2014, pp. 7ss. Recent scholarship has proven how deep the relationship between the French and the German Jewry was in the Middle Ages, especially in the 12th-13th centuries. See, for instance: Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages*, Detroit, 1992; see also the more recent: *Id*., *The Intellectual History and Rabbinic Culture of Medieval Ashkenaz*, Detroit, 2012.

for instance, Rabbenu Gershom even emphasizes that an inadvertent transgression by a Jewish priest could also be pictured in this way: a Jewish individual who was simply being present during an idolatrous service but "his heart" (*libbô*) was constantly directed "to the sky" (*wᵉ-ʻamad hû' še-libbô lᵉ-ʻolam lᵉ-šamaîm*).[13] As a consequence, not surprisingly, does Rabbenu Gershom maintain that a Jewish priest who has served a "foreign cult" may be reintegrated into the service at the Temple, without particular limitations – as ruled by the early Jewish scholar Rav Nahman. This opinion is quite clearly maintained in Rabbenu Gershom's and Rashi's *responses* on the "apostate Jewish priest" – which is overtly discussed in connection with one's suffering from some unspecified physical blemishes (*mûmîn*). Rabbenu Gershom clearly maintains that a Jewish individual who has become a "priest to a foreign cult" (*kômer lᵉ-ʻavodâ zarâ*) but then repented, turning back to his Jewish faith, should be admitted, metaphorically, to the service in Jerusalem. The only limitation would then be that he should be treated as someone suffering from an unspecified physical blemish:

> ותשובה לשואלי על עסק כהן שנשתמד ועשה תשובה, אם ראוי לישא כפיו, ולקרות בתורה ראשון, או לא. כך דעתי נוטה, שאעפ"י [שחטא], כיון שעשה תשובה ראוי לעלות לדוכן, ולישא כפיו [...] כיון שחזר, חזרה בו קדושתו, ולא פקעה ליה קדושתיה [...] ובעלי מומין קדושה יש בהן, שאילמלא אין בהם קדושה ומחוללים הם, האיך אוכלים וחולקים בתרומה ובקדשי קדשים? אלא פשיטא, קדושה יש בהן, והרי הן ככהנים בעלי מומין (ר' גרשום, שאלות ותשובות, ד')

> [This] is the answer to your question whether a [Jewish] priest who became an apostate (*še-ništamad*) and repented is worthy of raising his palms and of reading first from Scripture or not. I am inclined to assume that, although he sinned, because he repented, [he is] worthy to stand straight and to raise his palms […] just as he returned [to the Jewish faith], so did sanctity return, and he is no lacking in his sanctity […] [just like] those who have blemishes (*ba'aleî mûmîn*), sanctity is in them, since were sanctity was not in them and they were profane, how could they eat and share their portion (*tᵉrumâ*) and the most Holy Things? Rather it is obvious! Sanctity is in them and therefore they are like priests who have blemishes (*ba'aleî mûmîn*).[14]

Rabbenu Gershom's interpretation is the same as Rav Nahman's. It is Rashi who expands on it and specifies how this physical disability does not affect hands, as Jewish priests would consequently be disqualified from delivering blessings:

> הרי אלו כבעלי מומין כו'. מהכא נפקא לו דכהן שהמיר דתו וחזר בתשובה כשר לדוכן. שהרי לא מצינו כהן בעל מום שיהא פסול לדוכן, אלא אם היה לו מום בידיו [...] כל שכן בזמן הזה, שאין שירות ואין מקדש, דודאי כשר לדוכן ולקרות בתורה תחילה (רש"י, שאולות ותשובות, קע)

13. Rabbenu Gershom on TB Men 109a. The translation is mine.
14. Rabbenu Gershom, *Še'elôt wᵉ-Tᵉšuvôt* §4. The translation is mine.

> Hence, they are like those who have blemishes etc. From here one doubts whether a [Jewish] priest who changed his religion (*še-hemîr datô*) and returned with repentance [to the Jewish faith] is fit to stand straight [in order to deliver a blessing]. Hence we do not find that a [Jewish] priest who has a blemish (*ba'al mûm*) should be disqualified from standing straight, unless there is some blemish on his hands […]. All the more in this time that there is neither service nor Temple [of Jerusalem], he is surely fit to stand straight and to read Scripture at the beginning.[15]

One should note at first that both Rabbenu Gershom and Rashi agree in treating leniently this rather academic issue: a Jewish priest who served a "foreign cult" and wants to access the Holy in the Temple of Jerusalem. As far as the said Temple has ceased to exist before almost a millennium, it is evident that the question at stake has an academic nature. And yet it is also clear that this issue offers an opportunity to cautiously deal with the much more immediate issue of one who served a "foreign cult" and desires to return to the Jewish faith.

A theological-political profile emerges here. Both Rabbenu Gershom and Rashi treat the legal issue of a Jewish priest officiating in a "foreign cult" as a watermark for the very issue of Jews who have suffered from forced conversion in the French-German context. Both Rabbenu Gershom and Rashi are lenient in responding to the academic issue but are also sufficiently subtle in treating the service of a "foreign cult" by a Jewish priest under two simultaneous perspectives as an "inadvertent" – read: "unwanted" – transgression but also as a sort of "physical disability".

It should be noted that the Biblical stringency of disqualifying "idolatrous" Jewish priests from serving in the Temple is somehow legally bypassed by posing an expectation: physical defects unaffecting the hands would enable a Jewish priest anyhow to deliver a blessing and such an ability would still qualify him fit for officiating. In so doing, Rabbenu Gershom and Rashi accomplish two different goals. On the one hand, they circumvent the Biblical stringency on the matter and provide with a cautious ruling on their contemporary Jews who were forced to convert to Christianity but were willing to return to the Jewish faith. On the other hand, the assimilation of apostasy to a physical defect provides also with a hermeneutical basis for connecting a specific condition of the body to a specific condition of the soul. It is specifically this latter connection that is particularly important for appreciating Rashi's gloss on tractate Sanhedrin and its reception in the Latin translation of the Talmud.

15. Rashi, *Še'elôt wᵉ-Tᵉšuvôt* §170. The translation is mine.

3. Rashi commenting on tractate Sanhedrin: the "son of a foreigner" in condition of uncleanness

As anticipated, Rashi provides with his ruling on a Jewish priest who served a "foreign cult", while formally commenting on another issue in tractate Sanhedrin: whether a "son of a foreigner" may be allowed to access the Holy after defiling himself. The passage on which Rashi comments in tractate Sanhedrin also occurs as a parallel in tractate Zeḇaḥim:

> תנו רבנן: "בן נכר" (יחזקאל מד ז) - יכול בן נכר ממש? תלמוד לומר: "ערל לב" (שם); אם כן, מה תלמוד לומר: "בן נכר" (שם)? שנתנכרו מעשיו לאביו שבשמים; ואין לי אלא ערל לב, ערל בשר מנין? תלמוד לומר: "וערל בשר" (שם). וצריכי, דאי כתב רחמנא ערל בשר, משום דמאיס, אבל ערל לב דלא מאיס אימא לא. ואי אשמעינן ערל לב, משום דאין לבו לשמים, אבל ערל בשר, דלבו לשמים, אימא לא. צריכי. (תלמוד בבלי זבחים כב ע"ב)

> Our Rabbis taught: "Son of a foreigner" (*ben neḵar*) (Ez 44, 7). One could [think of] an actual son of a foreigner? This means: "Uncircumcised in heart" (*ibid*.). If so, what does [the expression] "son of foreigner" (*ibid.*) mean? That his deeds are estranged to his Father who is in heaven (*še-nitnakrû ma'aśiw lᵉ-'aḇîw še-ba-šamaîm*). This implies only [someone who is] uncircumcised in heart [as a case of defiling a sacrifice]? Whence [someone who is] uncircumcised in flesh (*'erel baśar*)? [Both of] them are needed, since the Merciful [One] writes: "uncircumcised in flesh" (*ibid*.) because [he is physically] repulsive but [whoever is] "uncircumcised in heart" (*ibid*.) is not [physically] repulsive. As we heard about [someone] uncircumcised in heart, [I would say it is] because his heart is not [directed] to the heavens, but [whoever is] "uncircumcised in flesh", whose heart is [directed] to the heavens he is not [disqualified]. [Both of] them are needed.[16]

This parallel text in tractate Zeḇaḥim is particularly relevant for a number of reasons. Firstly, this text is formally a *baraita*: an early Hebrew Palestinian source that is mentioned as an "external source" in the Babylonian Talmud but that has not been included in the Mishna.[17] Secondly, this text uses the notion of "uncircumcised

16. TB Zeb 22b. The translation is mine.

17. The emergence of a *baraita* as a supplementary source for Talmudic disputation should be treated together with the much more complex question on the kind of textual and editorial relationship the Mishna entertains with the Tosefta (literally: 'supplement'). The traditional view that assumes that the Mishna predates the Tosefta so that the latter necessarily plays a secondary role in the development of Rabbinic literature cannot be held any longer. Recent scholarship maintains that the entire corpus of early Rabbinic literature – from which Mishna, Tosefta, and *baraitot* eventually originated – has a much more complex textual history and it is possible to assume that these texts are actually in competition one with the other. On these topics, especially in connection with several "Gender issues", see: Federico Dal Bo, *Massekhet Keritot. Text, Translation, and Commentary*. A Feminist Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud (FCBT V/7), Tübingen, 2013, pp. 15-19. See also: Jacob Naum Epstein, *Introduction to Amoraitic Literature*, Jerusalem/Tel Aviv, 1961 [Hebrew]; Yaakov Elman, "Babylonian Baraitot in the Tosefta and the 'Dialec-

heart" (*'erel leḇ*) in order to describe the condition of uncleanness from which the "son of a foreigner" obviously suffers. Thirdly, it cannot be excluded that this early Hebrew source had initially been excluded from formal codification into the Mishna perhaps due to its theological-political potentialities. Fourthly, it is plausible that tractate Zeḇaḥim quotes here from an early discarded *Palestinian* Hebrew source that is eventually been mentioned only in the *Babylonian* discussion on the Mishna, exactly because the Persian setting in which the Babylonian Talmud was produced (rather than the Christian one in which the Talmud of the Land of Israel was) enabled more open criticism towards rising Christianity.[18]

The *baraita*'s use of these two concepts – "circumcision of the body" and "circumcision of the heart" – has here a genuine juridical value. The *baraita* assimilates, by analogy, a condition of uncleanness deriving from a physical condition (the lack of "circumcision of the body") to the one deriving from a non-physical condition (the lack of "circumcision of the heart"); in other words, the condition of "being uncircumcised" (*'orlâ*) simultaneously provides with a juridical and cultural line of demarcation: whoever is "uncircumcised" – either in body or in spirit – is disqualified from fully accessing the Holy. The *baraita*'s mobilization of these two concepts here recalls the previous discussion between Rav Sheshet and Rav Nahman but especially Rabbenu Gershom's and Rashi's treatment thereof. Just as the *Ri'šônîm* assimilate apostasy to a physical defect, so does the *baraita* treat here a question of uncleanness as a matter of circumcision. The use of these two fundamentally theological concepts – "circumcision of the body" and "circumcision of the heart" – is intended to offer a juridical foothold by which to treat apostasy as a form of physical disability and therefore to be able to respond accordingly.

The use of "physical categories" for treating "spiritual categories" is surprising; indeed it is not uncommon in Talmudic literature and possibly reflects a specific trait of rabbinic hermeneutics. Nevertheless, the act of juxtaposing the Biblical categories of "body" and "heart" can hardly be regarded here as "neutral"; they rather respond to some implicit theological presupposition, possibly some covet animosity against the Christian cult in the Land of Israel in Talmudic times. With respect to these subtle implications, it is obvious that the Babylonian Gemara, by accepting and integrating the *baraita* into its main body, was somehow accepting its theological-political implications, without necessarily spelling them out.

Particularly important in the present case is the *Ri'šônîm*'s association of the text of this *baraita* with the juridical issue whether a Jewish priest in condition of uncleanness due to serving foreign gods may then be reintegrated into the cultic service or he should be disqualified from it forever. What is then Rashi's final response on the matter?

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tology' of Middle Hebrew", in: *Association for Jewish Studies* 16 1/2 (1991), pp. 1-29; Judith Hauptman, *Rereading the Mishnah: a New Approach to Ancient Jewish Texts*, Tübingen, 2005.

18. On the influence of Persian setting in the Jewish-Christian relations in the Babylonian Talmud, see: Shai Secunda, *The Iranian Talmud. Reading the Bavli in Its Sasanian Context* (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion), Philadelphia, PA, 2013.

Interestingly, Rashi provides no relevant commentary on the issue examined in the *baraita*; he is rather more interested, as it were, in expanding its theological-political premises. This involves supplementary exegetical steps; therefore, a small digression is necessary.

4. Estrangement from God: the *Ri'šônîm* commenting on the "son of a foreigner"

It cannot be emphasized enough that both Rabbenu Gershom and Rashi comment on a very specific issue (a "son of a foreigner" suffering from uncleanness) with reference to quite a different juridical case (a Jewish priest who served a "foreign cult"). The connection between these two cases can only be seen with difficulty at first and it requires that the theological-political implications at stake be well understood. In both cases a contamination by the non-Jewish exteriority has taken place and it is indeed this contact – or, better put, the evaluation thereof – that manifests a theological-political prominence.

It is then not too surprising that Rabbenu Gershom – while commenting on the issue of a "son of a foreigner" in a parallel text from tractate Ta'anit – then provides also the appropriate vocabulary by which to answer the question whether a Jewish priest who served a foreign cult might ever be reintegrated into the Jewish service of the Temple. Rabbenu Gershom appears to acknowledge the theological-political potentialities of the juridical question. While he comments on it, he does not hesitate to spell this case in much more modern terms:

> "בן נכר ערל לב" (יחזקאל מד ז), זה כהן משומד "שנתנכרו מעשיו לאביו שבשמים" (תלמוד בבלי זבחים כב ע"ב). "ערל בשר" (שם) כהן "שמתו אחיו מחמת מילה" (תלמוד בבלי חולין ד ע"ב)
>
> "Son of a foreigner [who is] uncircumcised in heart" (Ez 44, 7): this is an apostate (*mešûmad*) [Jewish] priest "whose deeds are estranged to his Father who is in heaven" (TB Zeb 22b); "uncircumcised in flesh" (ib.) [is a Jewish] priest, "whose brothers died in consequence of circumcision [and therefore he was not circumcised]" (TB Hul 4b).[19]

Rabbenu Gershom's choices of language are quite remarkable. Just by elaborating on a few terms did Rabbenu Gershom manage to expand the social and theological perimeter of the issue at stake – a "son of a foreigner" in condition of uncleanness – without altering its fundamentally juridical nature. He never abandons the field of juridical speculation. Indeed, one should not overlook the fact that there is no actual relevance to the question whether the "son of a foreigner" will ever access the Holy again, since the Temple has long been destroyed. Therefore, the issue

19. Rabbenu Gershom on TB Tan 18a. The translation is mine.

should necessarily be treated as a theoretical question or updated to a present context, possibly by expanding its juridical perimeter. This is indeed the hermeneutical strategy followed by Rabbenu Gershom, who has deliberately decided to expand the issue about the "son of a foreigner" and to answer the other one about an "idolatrous" Jewish priest with it. In so doing he obviously orients the deep sense of the discussion in one specific direction: how should one treat Jews who have become Christian – even if not Christian priests – and eventually returned to their Jewish faith? The ability to understand Rabbenu Gershom's actual question depends on his ability of moving out from the historical perimeter of the early juridical issue and then address the present question of those Jews who had converted to Christianity and typically joined some kind of Christian order. This passage takes place with few terminological changes that only an expert – a Talmud scholar – might be able to decipher.

Firstly, Rabbenu Gershom explicitly identifies a "son of a foreigner" (*ben neḵar*) with a "Jewish priest" (*kôhen*) whose deeds "were estranged" (*nitnakrû*) from the Jewish faith.[20] The use of a set of words that are etymologically related – such as: the adjective "foreigner" (*noḵrî*) and the verb "to estrange" (*l^e-hitnaker*) – is quite eloquent; it also provides with an hermeneutical justification for juxtaposing two otherwise distinct juridical issues: a "son of a foreigner" and a "Jewish priest" who would like to access the Holy again. Secondly, Rabbi Gershom takes the caution of generalizing the name of God who is simply mentioned as "his father who is in heaven" (*'aḇîw še-ba-šamaîm*).[21] This lexical choice probably underplays the theological-political potentialities of the previous innovation, as if none should really understand this commentary in too overtly polemical terms and eventually realize that the "Father who is in heaven" exactly is the appellative the Christians usually employ to designate their God.[22] Thirdly, Rabbi Gershom also designates this individ-

20. For a similar wordplay, see also a classic passage from an early Jewish commentary on Scripture: *Mekhilta Amalek*, 3, 2, 168 on Ex 18, 3.
21. It is noteworthy that most of the manuscripts of tractate Zevahim read *l^e-'aḇîw še-ba-šamaîm* ("to his father who is in heaven"), with the exception of Ms Columbia X 893 T 141 and the 1522 print in Venice by Daniel Bomberg that read simply *la-šamaîm* ('to heaven'), possibly due to a crasis or out of theological precaution.
22. It should be emphasized how this relatively neutral Hebrew expression *'aḇîw še-ba-šamaîm*, founded on some Biblical sources and usually designating a liturgical expression from the Jewish prayer book (*Siddur*) is anyway quite ambiguous in the present context, as it might designate either the Christian faith (due to its resonance with the Latin prayer *Pater Noster*) or the Jewish "religion of the Fathers" (due to its resonance with the Jewish prayer *'Aḇinû Malkenû* as well as with the prayer *Yehi Raṣôn Mi-li-fanay 'Aḇinû Še-ba-šamaîm*). Interestingly enough, recent scholarship has emphasized the presence of Christian motifs in Medieval Hebrew incantations and occasionally grouped Christian prayers designated as *paṭer nośṭeyr* (that is to say: *pater noster*) under the title *'Aḇînû Malkenû*. This ambiguity is intrinsic to Jewish intellectual production in times of duress or persecution. For a classical treatment of this topic, see: Leo Strauss, *Persecution and the Art of Writing*, Chicago, 1952. See also: Katelyn Mesler, "The Three Magi and Other Christian Motifs in Medieval Hebrew Medical Incantations. A Study in the Limits of Faithful Translation", in: Resianne Fontaine/Gad Freudenthal (Eds.), *Latin-into-Hebrew: Texts and Studies*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2013, pp. 161-218. Cf. also n. 20.

ual who has estranged himself from the divinity with a very marked term: *mešûmad* – an "apostate"; one who has "destroyed" his previous affiliation with the House of God. One would simply assume that Rabbi Gershom is here stigmatizing any ordinary individual who has renounced the Jewish faith. And yet his choice of designating this person as a *mešûmad* ("a destroyed") instead of as a *mûmar* ("a changed one") should be treated more carefully.[23] At first, the term *mešûmad* appears more negative, as it does not designate an individual who has not simply "changed" from his previous religious affiliation but rather someone who had actually "destroyed" it. A close examination of Rabbenu Gershom's phraseology evidences the use of the term *mešûmad* – despite appearances – as designating quite a different condition: the condition of one who was *forced* to convert to another faith.

With respect of this closer examination of Rabbenu Gershom's terminology, it is clear that his commentary on the Talmudic passage manifests an actuality for the difficult times of 10th century Askhanazi Jewry. While answering the juridical question whether the "son of a foreigner" may access the Holy again, Rabbenu Gershom is actually providing an answer to the question about Jews who had been forced to convert to Christianity but wished to return to the faith "of their fathers" – as subtly implied by the generic expression "his father who is in heaven". Rabbenu Gershom's final verdict is that whoever was forced to convert will be able to return to his faith without any blemish. Whether Rabbenu Gershom's tolerance was motivated by personal issues is here irrelevant for treating this Rabbinic ruling especially in light of its reception in the Latin translation of the Talmud.

The *Extractiones* do not appear to be aware of Rabbenu Gershom's ruling on the matter but they carefully report the opinion of Rashi, who fully accepts his predecessor's ruling on the matter. This is particularly evident if one examines Rashi's commentary on a parallel passage in tractate Sanhedrin – whose excerpts represent a substantial portion of the Latin translation.

Rashi here quotes Rabbenu Gershom's response almost word-for-word. Yet he elaborates shortly on the consequence of "alienating himself" from God; he also applies the same phraseology that one would read in the previous juridical treatment of the "circumcision of the body" and the "circumcision of the heart", slightly expanding on the stigmatization of this act of estrangement:

23. Interestingly enough, tractate Zeḇaḥim underwent some censorship or self-censorship in time. Rabbenu Gershom has evidently derived the notion of *kôhen mešûmad* ('a [Jewish] apostate priest') from the Hebrew expression *Iśra'el mešûmad* ('an apostate Israelite') that occurs in all the manuscripts of tractate Zeḇaḥim – with the only exception of Ms. Cambridge T-S- AS 75.37 that has a scribal error: *Iśra'el mešûmaḵ* – whereas the canonical edition of Vilna reads: *Iśra'el mûmar* ('a changed Israelite') as an obvious consequence of censorship and self-censorship. The "transformation" of the original Hebrew expression *Iśra'el mešûmad* into *kôhen mešûmad* is probably hermeneutical and does not involve specific understanding of this phraseology with respect of the social and cultural settings within the 11th-12th centuries French-German Jewry. For a careful treatment of the terms *mešûmad* and *mûmar*, especially in connection with the French-German Jewry in Middle Ages, see the excellent study of David Malkiel, *Reconstructing Ashkenaz. The Human Face of Franco-German Jewry, 1000-1250*, Stanford, 2005.

"בן נכר ערל לב" (יחזקאל מד ז) זה כהן משומד "שנתנכרו מעשיו לאביו שבשמים" (תלמוד בבלי זבחים כב ע"ב), ונערל לבו, או "ערל בשר" (שם), כהן שמתו אחיו מחמת מילה (תלמוד בבלי חולין ד ע"ב)

"Son of a foreigner [who is] uncircumcised in heart" (Ez 44, 7) this is an apostate (*mešûmad*) [Jewish] priest "whose deeds are estranged to his Father who is in heaven" (TB Zeb 22b) and his heart was made uncircumcised; "uncircumcised in flesh" (*ibid*.) [is a Jewish] priest, "whose brothers died in consequence of circumcision [and therefore he was not circumcised]" (TB Hul 4b).[24]

Regardless of its spontaneous or forced nature, it is evident that Rashi conceives of the act of converting to another religion – namely Christianity in the French-German context – in extremely negative terms. What is here relevant is Rashi's choice of describing it in terms of making his heart uncircumcised.

Again, one cannot fail to appreciate the subtleties of these linguistic choices. There is no need to emphasize how Rabbinic hermeneutics has always needed to circumvent the pressure of foreign authorities that have variously imposed more or less invasive kinds of censorship. Just as Rabbenu Gershom intended to respond indirectly to the question whether Jews forced to convert may be accepted into the Jewish community again, so did Rashi amplify this former response by stigmatizing any kind of compulsion to convert. The use of the metaphor of an "uncircumcised heart" is relevant because Rashi uses typical Biblical phraseology by turning upside down – when not "deconstructing" – the opposition between body and soul. As far as Christians may assume, in tendentious Pauline terms, one should be circumcised in the heart rather in the body. Rashi turns this theology upside down: whoever has (forcedly) converted to Christianity has really made his "heart" "uncircumcised".

5. Translating Rashi into Latin: making the implicit explicit

It is difficult to evaluate the impact of these glosses on the outer world. The *Ri'šônîm*'s refined lexical choices, as well as the nature of Talmudic reasoning itself, encouraged the art of dissimulation with respect of the outer, non-Jewish, hostile world. As far as both Rabbenu Gershom and Rashi ruled emphatically leniently about those who were forced to convert to Christianity, there is no doubt that their intervention would still be transmitted cautiously if not to say covertly. Rashi's notion itself of an "uncircumcised heart" would still have required a complex process of disambiguation in order to be appreciated in its full theological-political power.

The Latin translation of the Talmud reported in the *Extractiones* would well represent the opportunity for making the implicit explicit, due to obvious linguistic reasons. What appeared quite "complex" in the intricate structure of Biblical, Talmudic, and post-Talmudic phraseology, would necessarily have required a sort

24. Rashi on TB San 22b. The translation is mine.

of "simplification" in the process of translation – and particularly in the process of translating these texts for the sake of foreign, non-Jewish, Christian authorities. Indeed the necessity of "clarifying" any "intricate" text in the Talmud – whenever it treated cultic, religious, magical, or polemical issues – was not simply linguistic but theological-political. It was the Parisian ecclesiastical authorities on behalf of the Church of Rome that required these enigmatic, almost secret texts to be clarified and made explicit. Therefore any relevant text – regardless of its length – should have been translated into Latin and clarified.

How, then, did the Latin translator treat this complex gloss from Rashi's commentary on the Talmud? Even though the text had been composed carefully, in harmony with the hermeneutical and the conceptual universe of the Talmud, the Latin translator did not fail to appreciate its polemical nature and showed an ability to read between the lines – almost in the literal sense of the word. At first glance the Latin translation of Rashi's gloss seems quite ordinary and unimpressive:

> Incircumcisus corde hic est sacerdos qui factus est Christianus, cuius opera sunt aliena a Deo et talis non debet intrare in templum.
> Uncircumcised in heart: this is a priest (*sacerdos*) who was made Christian, whose works are alien to God and as such shall not enter the Temple.[25]

Yet it would be a mistake to treat this translation too superficially. It is not simply a linguistic passage from Hebrew to Latin; rather it is a direct response to Rashi's desired reticence in words. Just as Rashi is refined and subtle, hiding within the Talmudic context, so is the Latin translator explicit and manifest; just as Rashi's linguistic choices are always susceptible to multiple readings, so is the Latin translation correct and therefore unambiguous. The reading that the Latin translator offers to the Christian audience is both a translation and at the same time an explanation – in the etymological sense of the word: the gloss's reticent sense to the Jewish reader has been made explicit and transparent for the sake of the Christian reader. It is possible to read the Latin translation exactly as an equal and opposite reaction to Rashi. There is no need for exaggerating or coloring the original Talmudic text, which is usually rendered accurately and precisely. Yet this precision should not be mistaken for an anachronistic philological accuracy. The question rather conveys the more challenging Foucaultian notion of "discourse", as embodiment of power in texts. Indeed, it is the act of translating itself that has the effect of "unmasking" the content of the Talmud.[26]

This does not simply take place because, as is trivially evident, the act of translating makes a textual content readable to others but also and especially because the act of evidencing its theological-political potentialities necessarily disrupts the text's

25. *Extractiones de Talmud*, TB San 22b, *B* 109va. The translation is mine.
26. For the use of Foucault's notion of "discourse" in the treatment of Talmudic texts, see for instance: Sergey Dolgopolski, *The Open Past. Subjectivity and Remembering in the Talmud*, New York, 2013. For its application in the case of Gender Studies issues, see again: Dal Bo, *Massekhet Keritot* (as in note 17).

original "texture". Although reticence can hardly be proven true for *every* Talmudic text, it surely applies well to the present case and its treatment by the *Ri'šônîm*, who are fully immersed in a potentially threatening social-religious context and therefore are extremely cautious while treating the sensitive issue of forced Jewish converts. By the very act of showing the scandalous nature of these texts, in the Latin translator's opinion, is coincidental with the act of removing its veneer of reticence and making them speak aloud what the *Ri'šônîm* only whispered.[27]

Such a *translation effect* can hardly be neglected, then. The Latin translator is explicit where Rashi is ambivalent as well the former is specific where the latter is generic. The Latin translator's hermeneutical strategy appears to be equal and contrary to Rashi's. This is particularly evident when one examines two lexical choices of the Latin translator: namely, the rendering of the expressions *kôhen mešûmad* ("a destroyed priest") and *'aḇîw še-ba-šamaîm* ("his father who is in heavens"). The *kôhen mešûmad* ("a destroyed priest") becomes the blatant *sacerdos qui factus est Christianus* ("a priest who was made Christian"). Rashi's *'aḇîw še-ba-šamaîm* is rendered overtly and clearly with *Deus* ("God"). The Latin translator then speaks up what Rashi does not exactly because the former is empowered to do so, whereas the latter is not.

6. Conclusion: Literacy and Power

This inversion in the power hierarchy between commentator and translator *vis-à-vis* the Christian authorities seems to provide the best explanation why the Latin translation of the Talmud – as to be found in the *Extractiones* – is generally a very accurate and correct piece of scholarship. The lack of manipulations or alterations of the original text as well as the Latin translator's insistence on using keywords in Hebrew rather than translating them show how complex the cultural forces at work here are. One would be mistaken to assume as exhaustive the explanation that the Latin translator did actually translated "correctly" because he was exactly asked to be so. This almost tautological argument oversimplifies a cultural and intellectual dynamic that is much more complex and cruel. As far it is superficially true, the explanation that the Latin translator translated correctly because he wanted to be correct seems to miss the deeper reason at work here. There is indeed an unavoidable tension between a (Talmudic) text or (Rashi's) commentary inbuilt with ambiguities, allusions, and reticence and a (Latin) translation that *imposes* a uniqueness in speech and form that would ultimately alienate the Talmudic text from itself.

27. It should also be emphasized that not only the Talmudic text but also Rashi's commentaries (especially the Biblical ones) underwent a process of censorship or self-censorship. Therefore it cannot be excluded that also Rashi's glosses had been mitigated in time, especially considering his quite transparent opposition to Christianity. On this topic, see: Michael T. Walton/Phyllis J. Walton, "In Defense of the Church Militant: The Censorship of the Rashi Commentary in the Magna Biblia Rabbinica", in: *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21/3 (1990), pp. 385-400; Avraham Grossman, "Rashi's Position on Prophecy among the Nations", in: Elisheva Carlebach/Jacob J. Schacter (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Jewish-Christian Relations*, Leiden, 2011, pp. 397-417.

The References to the Talmud in Andrew of St. Victor's Biblical Commentaries

Montse Leyra Curiá
(Universidad San Dámaso, Madrid)

Abstract

In his commentaries to the Pentateuch and to the Former and Latter Prophets, Andrew of St. Victor (died 1175) often refer to Jewish religious practices and traditions that have parallels in either the Talmud of Babylonia or the Palestinian one. From the date of its manuscripts (middle thirteenth century) it appears that the Latin version of the Talmud was written several decades after Andrew's death and thus could not have been his source. On the other hand, the Victorine transmits interpretations of Biblical texts similar or identical to those written by Jewish medieval authors contemporary with him. In this paper I propose to ascertain the origin of Andrew's references to Jewish traditions found in the Talmud, whether they were derived from earlier Latin sources or from Jewish authors earlier to or contemporary with him. I also try to work out whether or not the Victorine employs specific formulas or expressions to refer to the Talmud and whether he distinguishes between it and other interpretations by Jewish authors earlier to or contemporary with him (especially Rashi and R. Joseph Qara) or does not display any awareness of the difference between the various sources.

Introduction

In his Biblical commentaries, Andrew of St. Victor (died 1175) often refers to Jewish religious practices and traditions. A group of these references have identical or similar parallels in either the Talmud of Babylonia or the Palestinian one. The Latin version of the Talmud was written in the middle thirteen century and therefore could not have been Andrew's source.[1] On the other hand, Andrew also transmits interpretations of Biblical texts similar or identical to those found in the commentaries of Jewish authors belonging to the twelfth-century Northern-French school of literal exegesis or other Jewish medieval authors.[2]

1. The *Extractiones de Talmud* from 1244/1245 are preserved in eight manuscripts (in particular: Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 16558): see Alexander Fidora, "The Latin Talmud and Its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic", in: *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1/2 (2014), pp. 337-342, at p. 338.
2. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 103-105, 154-156. For the Jewish movement towards literal exegesis in northern France, see Avraham Grossman, "The School of Literal Jewish Exegesis in Northern France", in: Magne Saebø (Ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, vol. 1, part 2, Göttingen, 2000, pp. 321-371; Avraham Grossman, *The Early Sages of France: Their Lives*,

In this paper, I propose to search for the sources of these parallels to the Talmud in some of Andrew's commentaries, to ascertain their origin and to work out whether or not Andrew employs certain formulas or expressions to refer to the Talmud and whether he distinguishes between it and other interpretations by Jewish authors earlier or contemporary with him (especially Rashi and R. Joseph Qara) or does not display any awareness of the difference between the various sources.

I shall restrict my analysis to those interpretations which feature explicit ascriptions to the Jews/Hebrews or to Jewish traditions (*in hebraeo*, *secundum hebraeos*) and to those interpretations which feature these ascriptions together with a verb of speech, thought, or writing, that is, where Hugh or Andrew assert that either the Jews say or hold a certain interpretation.[3] I will not consider those interpretations according to the Hebrews which refer to features of the Hebrew language (Andrew, *In Gen*. 1, 29) or to the differences pointed by Andrew between his Latin version and the *in hebraeo* text. I have focused on references to Jewish traditions in Genesis, Exodus, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Prophets.

I. Jerome

The works of Jerome constitute the main source for all the material related to the Hebrew text, the Hebrew language, and Jewish exegesis found in Latin Christian writings from the late antique and the medieval period. Therefore, many of the interpretations that Andrew ascribes to the Hebrews or to Jewish traditions in their commentaries on Genesis and some *in hebraeo* interpretations in their commentaries on other Biblical books are ultimately traceable to Jerome's *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Genesim* (*HQG*), to some of his letters, or to one of his Biblical commentaries. A number of references to the Jews or to a Jewish tradition in Andrew's commentaries with parallels in the Talmud are found as well with identical or very similar wording in one of Jerome's works or in one of the later Latin sources that transmit them.[4] For example, in his comment on Obadiah 1, 1, Andrew writes:

Leadership and Works, Jerusalem, [3]2001 [Hebrew], especially chaps. 1 and 8; Eliezer de Beaugency, *Commentary on Ezekiel and the Twelve Minor Prophets of Eliezer of Beaugency*. Ed. Samuel A. Poznański, Warsaw, 1913 [Hebrew], pp. ix–ccxxx, especially xiv and n. 1.

3. Both Hugh and Andrew employ the expressions *hebraeus, hebraei, apud hebraeos* and *iudaei* to refer to both Biblical Hebrews and their Jewish contemporaries. I have respected the differences between the Latin expressions by using the English translations, 'the Hebrew/Hebrews', 'according to the Hebrews', and 'the Jews', respectively.

4. On Jerome's Hebrew knowledge and on Jewish traditions transmitted by Jerome, see for instance: Görge K. Hasselhoff, "Revising the Vulgate: Jerome and his Jewish Interlocutors", in: *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 64/3 (2012), pp. 209-221; Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the "Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim"*, Oxford, [2]2002 [[1]1993]; Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, *The Vulgate as Translation: Some Semantic and Syntactical Aspects of Jerome's Version of the Hebrew Bible*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1968; *Id*., "Jewish Traditions in the Writings of Jerome", in: Derek R. G. Beattie/Martin J. Mc Namara (Eds.),

Andrew	
Visio Abdie. Abdiam aiunt esse Hebrei qui sub Achab pauit centum prophetas in specubus qui non curuauerunt genu Baal et de VII milibus erant quos Helias arguitur ignorasse.[5]	*The vision of Abdias*. The Hebrews say that Obadiah is the one who under Ahab supplied with food in caves a hundred prophets, who did not bend their knees before Baal and were among the seven thousand whom Elijah is shown not to have known.[6]

In I Kings 18, 4, a person named Obadiah, the governor of Ahab's household, is reported to have hidden a hundred prophets in caves and provided them with food. The identification of this person with the prophet Obadiah appears only in TB, San 39b:

Sanhedrin 39b	
TB Vilna: אמר רבי יצחק מפני מה זכה עובדיהו לנביאות מפני שהחביא מאה נביאים במערה שנאמר מלכים א' י"ח ויהי בהכרית איזבל את נביאי ה' ויקח עובדיהו מאה נביאים ויחביאם חמשים איש במערה	R. Isaac said: Why did Obadiah attain the gift of prophecy? – Because he hid a hundred prophets in caves, as it is written, *For it was so when Jezebel cut off the prophets of the Lord that Obadiah took a hundred prophets and hid them, fifty in a cave*.[7]

Andrew's comment, however, is identical to Jerome's comment on the beginning of the Book of the prophet Obadiah:

The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context, Sheffield, 1994, pp. 420-430; Moritz Rahmer, *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus: durch eine Vergleichung mit den jüdischen Quellen kritisch beleuchtet*, vol. 1, Breslau, 1861. For studies on the Biblical canon at the beginning of Christianity and at the time when Jerome translated the Hebrew Bible into Latin, see: Agustín Giménez González, *"Si el justo es hijo de Dios, le socorrerá" (Sab 2, 18): Acercamiento canónico a la filiación divina del justo perseguido en Sab 1-6*, Asociación Bíblica Española 48, Estella, 2009, pp. 73-79; Julio Trebolle Barrera, *La Biblia judía y la Biblia cristiana*, Madrid, ³1998 [¹1993], pp. 256-259 and the bibliography cited in pp. 283-284.

5. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Opera VIII*: *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas: Super Abdiam*. Ed. Frans A. van Liere/Mark Zier, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 53G, Turnhout, 2007, p. 161, ll. 2-4.
6. I have followed the 'Douay-Rheims-Challoner' Bible translation of the Vulgate for the Biblical lemmata introducing the commentaries of the Latin authors treated in this article.
7. *The Babylonian Talmud*. *Seder Nezikin*: *Sanhedrin*. Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Jacob J. Schacter (chapters 1-6) and Harry Freedman (chapter 7); under the editorship of Isidore Epstein, London, 1959, p. 253.

Jerome	
Visio Abdiae. Hunc aiunt esse Hebraei qui sub rege Samariae Achab, et impiisima Iezabel pauit centum prophetas in specubus, qui non curuauerunt genu Baal, et de septem milibus erant, quos Helias arguitur ignorasse. [8]	*The vision of Abdias*. The Hebrews say that Abdias is the one who under Ahab, King of Samaria and the impious Jezebel supplied with food in caves a hundred prophets, who did not bend their knees before Baal and were among the the seven thousand whom Elijah is shown not to have known.

In addition, whereas Sanhedrin mentions only that Obadiah hid the prophets, both Andrew and Jerome claim in addition that the prophet provided them with food.

Other references of Andrew to Jewish traditions with Talmudic parallels are identical or very similar to Jerome's parallel comments and can be traced back to him. These include: 1) Andrew's prologue to his commentary on the prophet Malachi, addressing the identification of the prophet Malachi with Ezra the priest, contained in TB, Meg 15a;[9] 2) his comment on Jonah 1, dealing with the identification of Jonah with the widow's son whom Elijah raised from the dead, which is found in the TJ, Suk 5, 1;[10] 3) his comment on Obadiah 1, identical in content to a parallel in the TJ, Tan 1, 1;[11] 4) his interpretation of Gn 49, 27, with a parallel in TB, Zeb 54a-b, explaining that the altar of the sacrifices was built in the territory corresponding to the tribe of Benjamin;[12] 5) his comment on Os 11, 12, with a parallel in both TB, Sot 37a and the Midrash on Ps 76, 1 on the reason why Judah merited the kingship over all the other tribes;[13] 6) his comment on Mal 3, 1, with a parallel in TB, Sab 118a.[14]

8. Hieronymus, *Opera Exegetica 6, Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*. *In Abdiam* I. Ed. Marc Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 76, Turnhout, 1969, p. 352, ll. 1-4.
9. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas. Super Malachiam*, 2007 (as in note 5), p. 328, ll. 2-3; Hieronymus, *Opera Exegetica 6*: *Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*. *In Malachiam Prophetam*, Prol., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 76A, Turnhout, 1970, p. 901, ll. 15-19.
10. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas. Super Ionam*, 2007 (as in note 5), p. 168, ll. 2-3; Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*. *In Ionam*, 1969 (as in note 8), Prol., p. 378, ll. 35-37.
11. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas. Super Abdiam*, 2007 (as in note 5), p. 162, ll. 28-32; Hieronymus, *In Abdiam I*, 1969 (as in note 8), p. 355, ll. 120-125.
12. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Opera I. Expositio super Heptateuchum*. *In Genesim*. Ed. Charles Lohr/ Rainer Berndt, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 53, Turnhout, 1986, p. 94, ll. 3081-3090; Hieronymus, *Opera Exegetica 1: Hebraicae Quaestiones in libro Geneseos*. Ed. Paul de Lagarde, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 72, Turnhout, 1959, p. 56, ll. 20-29; Rainer Berndt, "Les interprétations juives dans le *Commentaire de l'Heptateuque* d'André de Saint-Victor", in: *Recherches Augustiniennes* 24 (1989), pp. 199-240, at p. 218, n. 94.
13. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas. Osee* III, 2007 (as in note 5), p. 70, ll. 1934-1939; Hieronymus, *In Osee* III, xi: 12, 1969 (as in note 8), pp. 129-130, ll. 379-385; *The Midrash on Psalms*, II. Translated by William G. Braude (Yale Judaica Series 13), New Haven, 1959, pp. 13-14.
14. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas. Super Malachiam* III, 1, 2007 (as in note 5), p. 338, ll. 292-296; Hieronymus, *In Malachiam Prophetam*, III, 1, 1970 (as in note 9), pp. 928-929, ll. 57-63.

II. Later Latin sources

Another group of Andrew's interpretations, some of which are also found in Jerome, appear to have been transmitted to Andrew *via* Latin sources later than Jerome. For example, in his comment on Gn 4, 26, Andrew writes:

Andrew: *In Gen*., ll. 1333-1336	
Iste coepit inuocare nomen Domini. […] Arbitrantur Hebraei, quod iste primus in nomine Domini ad repraesentandum ipsum sub oculis, ut deuotius coleretur, imagines quasdam adinuenerit.[15]	*This one began to call upon the name of the Lord.* […] The Hebrews think that this was the first that on the name of the Lord devised certain statues to represent Him visually so that He could be worshipped more devotedly.

Rainer Berndt points to two possible sources for Andrew's interpretation of Gn 4, 26: Jerome's *Hebraicae Quaestiones* and the Babylonian Talmud, Sab 118b.[16] Jerome and the TB, Sab render:

***Quaestiones Hebraicae* (Lag. 10. 5-7)**	**TB, Sab 118b**
[…] *tunc initium fuit inuocandi nomen domini*: licet plerique Hebraeorum aliud arbitrentur quod tunc primum in nomine Domini et in similitudine eius fabricata sint idola.[17]	אמר רבי חייא בר אבא אמר רבי יוחנן: כל המשמר שבת כהלכתו, אפילו עובד עבודה זרה [כדור] אנוש-מוחלין לו, שנאמר אשרי אנוש יעשה זאת וגו' מחללו, אל תקרי מחללו אלא מחול לו.[18]
Then there was a beginning of calling on the Name of the Lord; although the majority of the Hebrews think something else, that then, for the first time, idols were constructed in the Name of the Lord and His likeness.	R. Ḥiyya b. Abba said in R. Joḥanan's name: He who observes the Sabbath according to its laws, even if he practises idolatry like the generation of Enosh,[19] is forgiven, for it is said: *Blessed is Enosh that does this* … [that keeps the Sabbath *meḥallelo from profaning it*][20] read not *meḥalelo* but *maḥul lo* [he is forgiven].

15. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *In Genesim*, 1986 (as in note 12), p. 44, ll. 1333-1336.
16. Berndt, "Les interprétations juives" (as in note 12), p. 207, n. 22.
17. Hieronymus, *Hebraicae Quaestiones* (as in note 12), p. 8, ll. 5-7; I follow the English translation of Hebrew Questions *Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, a translation with an introduction and commentary by Charles T. R. Hayward, Oxford, 1995, p. 35.
18. Source: *Responsa Project* - Version 23. Bar-Ilan University.
19. According to tradition, idolatry commenced in his days.
20. Is 56, 2.

However, Hugh comments on this text:

Hugh on Gn 4, 26	
Iste cepit inuocare Dominum. Nouum cultum uel nouas orationes inueniens ad inuocandum Dominum specialiter uel imagines ad Dominum representandum et magis diligendum.[21]	*This one began to call upon the Lord*. Devising a new form of worship or new prayers to call upon the name of the Lord in particular, or devising statues to represent the Lord and love Him more.

However, the Babylonian Talmud could hardly have been the source of the Victorines, since the idea of idolatry is absent from Hugh and Andrew. On the other hand, I do think that the interpretation of the Victorines is ultimately traceable to *HQG*. Indeed, they must have employed as one of their sources either *HQG* or one of the other sources that render Jerome's work verbatim, namely Hrabanus and Angelom. Andrew could also have used the Glossa Ordinaria. It is evident, however, that Andrew did not rely exclusively on any one of the mentioned sources, but that he also drew on Hugh. For he notably modified Jerome's interpretation in *Hebraicae Quaestiones* on the basis of Hugh's comment on the same Biblical text. The Victorines omitted the idea of Enoch's fabrication of idols, which is present in the Talmud, *HQG*, and the sources dependent on the latter, and they write instead of Enoch's creation of statues or images representing God to help people worship Him with devotion.

The Glossa Ordinaria (interlinear) appears to have been Andrew's source for two interpretations that have parallels in the Talmud, to wit his comment on Gn 6, 16 (2), not found in Jerome's *HQG* but with a parallel in both TB, San 108b and TJ, Pes 1, 1,[22] and his interpretation of Gn 22, 21, which is also found in Jerome's *HQG* with a parallel in the Palestinian Talmud Sot 5, 5.[23]

21. Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Notae in Pentateuchum*, Paris, BnF, lat. 2092 (the third quarter of the twelfth century), fol. 87v. I have employed the Latin word *notae* as a title of Hugh's comments on the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, since the word *notae* is found as a part of the *incipit* and *explicit* of Hugh's comments on each Biblical book in at least nine of the manuscripts. For instance, in Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms. 23 (B. 01.05), fol. 48r, one reads: "Expliciunt note super Genesim ad litteram. Incipiunt note de Exodo". Other examples may be found in Trinity College Library, Ms. 23 (B. 01.05), fols. 53r, 57r; Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 7531, fol. 268v; Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 14507, fol. 150v, 182r; Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 15695, fol. 79r; Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 15315, fol. 182r; Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 13422, fol. 32v; Douai, Bibliothèque, Ms. 362, fols. 133r, 139v; Douai, Bibliothèque, Ms. 365, fols. 97r, 103v.

22 Andreas de Sancto Victore, *In Genesim*, 1986 (as in note 12), p. 47, ll. 1430-1432. I have consulted the Interlinear Gloss in: *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria: facsimile reprint of the editio princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*. Ed. Karlfried Froehlich/Margaret Gibson, vol. 1, Turnhout, 1992: *Genesis*, p. 36, and the manuscripts Paris, BnF, lat. 14399, fol. 39v, and Paris, Bibl. Maz., 131 (int.), fol. 32r; see Montse Leyra Curiá, *The Victorine Exegesis on the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets: The Sources of the* In Hebreo *Interpretations in the Light of Its Parallels With the* Peshat *School of Northern France and Other Jewish Sources*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2012, pp. 81-82; Berndt, "Les interprétations juives" (as in note 12), p. 208, n. 31, points to Remigius of Auxerre, TB, San 108b, and Rashi as possible Jewish sources for Andrew.

23. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *In Genesim*, 1986 (as in note 12), p. 71, ll. 2311-2313; Hieronymus, *Hebra-*

III. Jewish contemporary sources

Finally, a group of Andrew's references to Jewish traditions contained in the Talmud are not found in Jerome or other Latin sources. However, similar parallels to these references of Andrew are also found in the Midrashim and/or in interpretations of one or several Jewish exegetes contemporary with him, such as Rashi, Joseph Qara, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, Bekhor Shor, or in Radak, who lived several decades later than Andrew, but who wrote interpretations which probably were known among the Jews contemporary with him.[24] For some interpretations, Andrew shares more elements with the Midrash or with Rashi or the Jewish contemporary exegete than with the Talmudic text.

Michael Signer points to two interpretations in Andrew's commentary on Ezekiel that have parallels in two Talmudic texts as well as in Rashi and Joseph Qara: Ez 10, 2 and Ez 10, 14.[25] Signer also refers to the formulas that Andrew employs in his comments to refer to Jewish traditions: *Hebrei uero ex suorum traditione preceptorum huiuscemodi* ("the Hebrews, however, out of the following tradition of their teachers"), which appears in Andrew's comment on Ez 10, 14; and *Hebreorum traditio* ("a tradition of the Hebrews"), which appears in Andrew's interpretation of Ez 10, 2. In addition, Signer explains that Andrew's exposition of Ez 10, 14 can be found in the Babylonian Talmud, Hag 13b, but also appears in R. Joseph Qara's comment on the text.[26] While Signer gives a detailed analysis of Andrew's comment on Ez 10, 14, he refers only briefly to Andrew's comment on Ez 10, 2 and makes no reference whatsoever to the midrashim that also contain that interpretation. Thus, I turn to an analysis of the latter's comment in the next paragraph.

Andrew's interpretation of Ez 10, 2 is very similar to TB, Yom 77a. Andrew writes:

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icae Quaestiones (as in note 12), p. 27, ll. 10-16; see: Leyra Curiá, *The Victorine Exegesis* (as in note 20), p. 67; Berndt, "Les interprétations juives" (as in note 12), p. 213, n. 58, points to Jerome's *Hebrew Questions* and to the TJ, Sot 5, 5 as two possible sources for this interpretation of Andrew.

24. See Signer's Introduction in Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Opera VI. Expositio in Ezechielem*. Ed. Michael A. Signer, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 53E, Turnhout, 1991, pp. xxvii-xxviii.
25. See Signer's Introduction in *Expositio in Ezechielem*, 1991 (as in note 24), pp. xxviii-xxix.
26. For Andrew's comment on Ez 10, 14, see: Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio in Ezechielem*, 1991 (as in note 24), pp. 54-55, ll. 62-93. Ez 10, 14 addresses why the ox face in Ez 1, 10 is changed into a cherub's face in Ez 10, 14. Signer does not mention that one element of Andrew's interpretation is also transmitted by Rashi's parallel interpretation of the Biblical text.

Andrew	
Et dixit ad uirum qui indutus erat lineis et ait. […]. Cum premissum sit, *et dixit*, quare statim adiunxit, *et ait*, cum hoc idem sit si utrumque ad eadem refertur personam? […]; primum Hebrei ad dominum, secundum ad uirum lineis indutum Gabrielem referunt. Gabrieli dixit dominus ut ingrederetur in medio rotarum que erant subtus cherubin et impleret manus suas prunis qui erant inter cherubin et effunderet super ciuitatem. Gabriel uero ait ad cherubin ut illi carbones, unde manus suas implere iussus est, porrigeret. […] Iccirco dicunt Gabrielem potius de manu cherub quam de medio rotarum ignitos carbones accipere uoluisse, quia caloris eorum aliquid diminuentur dum de medio rotarum ubi ardebant tollerentur et in manus eius darentur. Hos Gabrielem carbones a quinto die sexti mensis anni sexti transmigrationis Iechonie usque ad finem anni undecimi Sedechie in manu sua portasse et ex eis super ciuitatem effusis cum uastaretur ipsam incendisse hebreorum habet traditio.[27]	*And he spoke to the man, that was clothed with linen, and said*: […]. Having previously written 'and he spoke', why did he [the writer] immediately after add 'and he said', given that this means the same thing if both [words] refer to the same person? […]; the Hebrews refer the first to the Lord; the second, to the man clothed in linen, Gabriel. The Lord commanded Gabriel to enter in between the wheelwork even under the cherub, to fill both his hands with burning coals from between the cherubim and to scatter them over the city. Gabriel, however, asked the cherub to reach out to him the coals with which he had been commanded to fill his own hands. […] Therefore, Gabriel is said to have wanted to receive the glowing coals from the cherub's hand rather than from the middle of the wheels so that something of their heat should be diminished while they were lifted up off the wheels where they were burning and handed over into his hands. A tradition of the Hebrews has it that Gabriel carried these coals in his hand from the fifth day of the sixth month of the sixth year of Jeconiah's transmigration until the end of Zedekiah's eleventh year, and, having been scattered over the city, when the latter was devastated, He burnt it.

In his comment, Andrew brings two elements which are present in TB, Yom 77a: a) the man clothed in linen is identified with Gabriel, and b) the coals become cold in the process of being passed from the cherub into the hands of Gabriel.

TB, Yom 77a	
וישלח הכרוב את ידו מבינות לכרובים אל האש אשר בינות הכרבים וישא ויתן אל חפני לבש הבדים ויקח ויצא. אמר רב חנא בר ביזנא אמר רבי שמעון חסידא: אילמלא לא נצטננו גחלים מידו של כרוב לידו של גבריאל לא נשתיירו משונאיהן של ישראל שריד ופליט. וכתיב והנה האיש לבוש הבדים אשר הקסת במתניו משיב דבר לאמר עשיתי כאשר צויתני.[28]	*And the cherub stretched forth his hand between the cherubim unto the fire that was between the cherubim, and took thereof and put it into the hands of him that was clothed in linen, who took it and went out* (Ez 10, 7). R. Ḥana b. Bizna said in the name of R. Simeon the Pious: Were it not for the fact that the coals of the hand of the cherub became cold [in the process of coming] into the hands of Gabriel, there would not have been left over from the 'enemies of Israel' one to remain or one to scape, for it is written: *And behold the man clothed in linen, who had the inkhorn on his side, reported, saying: "I have done according to all that Thou hast commanded me"* (Ez 9, 11).[29]

27. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio in Ezechielem*, 1991 (as in note 24), pp. 52-53, ll. 8-30.
28. Source: *Responsa Project* - Version 23. Bar-Ilan University.
29. *The Babylonian Talmud*. *Seder Mo'ed: Yom'a*. Translated into English with Notes, Glossary, and Indices by Leo Jung; under the editorship of Isidore Epstein, London, 1959, p. 374.

These two elements are also found in both Midrashim *Leviticus Rabbah* 26, 8 and *Lamentations Rabbah* 41. In addition, these Midrashim share another two elements with Andrew's interpretation not found in the Talmudic text: c) that the repetition of the phrase 'he said' indicates that two dialogues happened instead of just one: the first dialogue describes the Lord speaking to the angel, and the second, the angel speaking to the cherub; and d) that Gabriel carried off the coals in his hands for six years.

Leviticus Rabbah 26, 8	**Midrash Lamentations Rabbah 1, 41**
ויאמר אל האיש לבוש הבדים ויאמר הקדוש ברוך הוא אמר למלאך והמלאך לכרוב אמר לו גזר עלי הקדוש ברוך הוא ואני אין לי רשות ליכנס למחיצתך אלא עשה עמי צדקה ותן לי שני גחלים משלך שלא אכוה מיד וישא ויתן אל האיש לבוש הבדי', ר' פנחס אמר הפשירן ונתנן לו אר"י דסכנין בשם ר' לוי ו' שנים היו אותן גחלים עמומות בידו של גבריאל סבור שישראל עושין תשובה כיון שלא עשו בקש לזרקן ולקעקע ביצתן אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא גבריאל גבריאל.[30]	א"ר יוחנן בשם ר"ש בן יוחאי כל מקום שנאמר ויאמר ויאמר לא נאמר אלא להדרש הה"ד (יחזקאל י') ויאמר אל האיש לבוש הבדים ויאמר בא אל בינות לגלגל וגו' מהו ויאמר ויאמר שתי פעמים אלא הקדוש ברוך הוא אמר למלאך ומלאך אמר לכרוב אף על פי שגזר עלי הקדוש ברוך הוא ליקח הגחלים איני יכול ליכנס לפנים ממחיצתך, אלא עשה עמי צדקה ותן לי שתי גחלים משלך שלא אכוה, הה"ד (שם יחזקאל י') וישא ויתן אל חפני לבוש הבדים, מהו וישא ויתן, אמר ר' יצחק הפשירן ונתנן בכפו, ר' יהושע דסכנין בשם ר' לוי שש שנים היו הגחלים עמומות בידו של גבריאל, סבור שישראל עושין תשובה, וכיון שלא עשו תשובה בקש לזורקן עליהם בחימה, קרא לו הקדוש ברוך הוא ואמר לו גבריאל גבריאל.[31]
And He spoke to the man clothed in linen, and said (Ez 10, 2), which implies that the Holy One, blessed be He, spoke to the angel and the angel told it to the cherub. The angel said to the cherub: "The Holy One, blessed be He, has decreed that I should do it, but I have no right to enter your division; do it then for me as an act of charity and give me two live coals of yours, so that I be not scorched". Forthwith he *Took thereof, and put it into the hands of him that was clothed in linen* (ib. 7). R. Phinheas explained that he cooled them and gave them to him. R. Joshua of Siknin observed in the name of R. Levi: For six years those coals lay dead in the hand of Gabriel, who thought that Israel would repent. When they neglected to do so he sought to hurl them down and exterminate them. Said the Holy One, blessed be He, to him: "Gabriel, Gabriel! […]".[32]	R. Joḥanan said in the name of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai: Wherever 'He said' occurs twice in a passage, the purpose is to convey some inner meaning. For instance, *And He said unto the man clothed in linen, and He said*: *Go in between the wheelwork, even under the cherub, and fill both thy hands with coals of fire* (Ez 10, 2). Why is 'He said' repeated? It signifies that the Holy One, blessed be He, spoke to the angel and the angel said to the cherub, "Although the Holy One, blessed be He, decreed that I should take the coals of fire, I am unable to enter within your domain; so perform an act of righteousness with me, and give me two burning coals of yours in order that I may not be scorched". Hence it is stated, *And* [*the cherub*] *took thereof, and put it into the hands of him that was clothed in linen, who took it and went out* (*ibid*. 7). What means *And took thereof and put it?* R. Isaac said: The cherub cooled them and placed them in his hand. R. Joshua of Siknin said in the name of R. Levi: For six years the coals were kept dimly glowing in the hands of Gabriel, who thought that Israel would repent. When they failed to repent he wanted to cast them upon the people in his wrath. The Holy One, blessed be He, called to him, saying, "Gabriel, Gabriel! […]".[33]

30. Source: *Responsa Project* - Version 23. Bar-Ilan University.
31. Source: *Responsa Project* - Version 23. Bar-Ilan University.
32. *Midrash Rabbah: Leviticus*. Ed. Harry Freedman/Maurice Simon; chaps. 20-37, translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Judah J. Slotki, London/New York, 1983, p. 337.
33. *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations*. Ed. Harry Freedman/Maurice Simon, translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Abraham Cohen, London-New York, 1983, pp. 118-119.

Rashi shares with Andrew's interpretation the same elements as the Midrashim *Leviticus* and *Lamentations Rabbah* do, but he also chronologically situates the date of the period during which Gabriel kept the coals in his hands: from the sixth year of Jeconiah's transmigration until the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in which the city was destroyed.[34] In his interpretation of the passage, Joseph Qara includes the same elements that Rashi does except the explanation for the addition of meaning when *he said* is repeated.[35]

Rashi	**Joseph Qara**
... (ויאמר... ויאמר) - כל מקום שנאמר 'ויאמר'... 'ויאמר' אינו אלא לידרש: הקדוש ברוך הוא אמר לגבריאל, והוא בקש מן הכרוב לתתם לו, כדי שיצטננו גחלים ותֵקֵל הגזירה ;וכן הוא מפורש בעניין `ויאשא ויתן אל חפני לבוש הבדים`. וזרוק אל העיר- לא זרקם מיד, שש שנים עשו הגחלים עוממות בידו, שהרי נבואה זו נאמרה בשנה השישית, והעיר חרבה בשנה אחת עשרה.	... וישא ויתן אל חפני לבוש הבדים- הפשירן ונתן לו, שעד שנשא ונתן אל חפני לבוש הבדים, נצטננו הגחלים. הוא שאמרו רבותינו ז''ל: שש שנים עשו גחלים עמומות בידו של גבריאל; שהרי נבואה זו נאמרה בשנה ששית לגלות יהויכין, ובשש שנים אחרי כן נשרף הבית כדכתיב.
[*Wa-yomer ... wa-yomer*] – Wherever it says *Wa-yomer* […] *wa-yomer* is meant to be expounded midrashically. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Gabriel, and he [Gabriel] asked the cherub to give them to him, so that the coals might be cooled and the decree [of punishment] be lightened (*Lam. Rab.* 1, 41) and this is stated explicitly when the matter is recounted (lit. 'in the matter' = *bainyan*): "and he took some and put it into the hands of the one clothed in linen" (Ez 10, 7). *And scatter them over the city* – He did not scatter them immediately. The coals were becoming dim in his hand for six years, for this prophecy was uttered in the sixth year (Ez 8, 1) and the city was destroyed in the eleventh year (BH II Rg 25, 2-9).	*And he took some and put it into the hands of the one clothed in linen*. He tempered them and gave [them] to him, for by the time he had taken some and put it into the hands of the one clothed in linen, the coals had cooled. This is what our rabbis their memory be blessed said (Lev. Rab. 26, 8): "For six years, the coals were becoming dim in Gabriel's hand; for this prophecy was said in the sixth year of Yehoyakim's exile (Ez 8, 1) and six years afterwards the temple was burnt, as it is written" (BH II Rg 25, 2-9).

Rashi shares five elements with Andrew. He or Joseph Qara, who shares four of the five elements included in Rashi, may have been the source that transmitted these Jewish traditions to Andrew. Andrew, therefore, had access to the interpretation that he ascribes to the tradition of the Jewish teachers both in early Jewish works, such as the Talmud and Midrashim, and in Jewish scholars contemporary to him. Since Andrew did not master the Hebrew language, he probably took this information from one of the latter.

Andrew's interpretation of Ezekiel 9, 6 is similar to its parallel in TB, Sab 55a and to Rashi's comment on that text of Ezekiel in some respects, but it differs from them in others.[36] Andrew's comment on Ez 24, 7, on the identification of the blood

34. *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': A Revised and Augmented Scientific Edition of* '*Mikra'ot Gedolot*' *Based on the Aleppo Codex and Early Medieval MSS: Ezekiel*. Ed. Menahem Cohen, Ramat-Gan, 2004 [Hebrew], p. 48.
35. *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': Ezekiel*, 2004 (as in note 34), p. 49.
36. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio in Ezechielem*, 1991 (as in note 24), pp. 49-50, ll. 119-138; *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': Ezekiel*, 2004 (as in note 34), p. 46.

poured out upon the bare rock in Ez 24, 7 with the blood of Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada the priest,[37] is similar to its parallel in TB, Git 57b, but shares more elements with the Midrash *Lamentations Rabbah* (proems) and Rashi's and Radak's comments on Ez 24, 7.[38] Andrew's interpretation of Ez 24, 17, which deals with prescriptions and prohibitions when mourning for one's own relatives, presents some elements that are also found in TB, Mq 15a-b, Rashi, and Joseph Qara on Ez 24, 17, while other elements appear in TB, Mq 27a-b, Rashi, and Joseph Qara.[39] However, Andrew also expounds details that do not appear in Mq 15b or 27a-b but only in Rashi, whereas on the other hand, he does not include all of the elements that are present in these two talmudic passages.

Andrew's interpretation of Hab 3, 3, which is not found in Jerome, presents similarities with its Talmudic parallel TB, Az 2b but is closer to Rashi's and Joseph Qara's respective comments on this passage.[40] Andrew's interpretation of Joel 1, 4, also not found in Jerome, contains a few elements present in TJ, Tan 3, 6, but shares more content with Rashi's comment on the same Biblical text.[41]

One of Hugh's interpretations in his comment on Ex 1, 11 (adopted by Andrew), involving the explanation of the Hebrew word *misḵenôt* מסכנות as 'of the poor ones', is found in the Babylonian Talmud Sot 11a as well as in *Ex. Rab*. I, 10.[42] However, Hugh and Andrew's comments include an alternative interpretation that is also present in the comments of *Ex. Rab.* I, 10, the Targum Onkelos, Rashi, Rashbam, and Bekhor Shor on the text.[43] On the other hand, Hugh's explanation of the two interpretations of the Hebrew word is based on supposed differences in its orthography. However, the orthographic differences pertain to the supposed underlying word *miškenôt* משכנות with *šin* (as underlies the Vulgate's translation) rather than the actual underlying Hebrew (*miskenôt*) מסכנות with *samek*. This complex error shows that Hugh has not read the He-

37. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio in Ezechielem*, 1991 (as in note 24), p. 108, ll. 11-15; see Signer's Introduction there, p. xxix.
38. *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations*, 1983 (as in note 33), pp. 32-34; *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': Ezekiel*, 2004 (as in note 34), p. 162.
39. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio in Ezechielem*, 1991 (as in note 24), p. 109, ll. 19-25; *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': Ezekiel*, 2004 (as in note 34), pp. 166-167; see Signer's Introduction in *Expositio in Ezechielem*, 1991 (as in note 24), pp. xxx-xxxi.
40. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas. Super Abacuch*, 2007 (as in note 5), pp. 243-244, ll. 506-510; *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'*; online: www.mgketer.org/mikra [22.12.2016].
41. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas. Super Iohel*, 2007 (as in note 5), p. 88, ll. 38-44; *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'* online: as in note 40 [22.12.2016].
42. Marianne Awerbuch, *Christlich-jüdische Begegnung im Zeitalter der Frühscholastik* (Abhandlungen zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog, 8. Ed. Helmut Gollwitzer), Munich, 1980, p. 226; Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge*, Paris, 1999, p. 282; Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Pent.*, Paris, BnF. Ms. lat. 2092 (as in note 21), fol. 100r-v.
43. Rashi, *Rashi: the Commentary of Solomon b. Isaac on the Pentateuch*. Ed. Avraham Berliner, ^{2}1905 [^{1}1866] [Hebrew], p. 102; Rashbam, *The Torah Commentary of Rashbam*. Ed. David Rosin, Breslau, 1881 [Hebrew], p. 79; Bekhor Shor, R. Joseph, *The Commentaries of Rabbi Joseph Bekhor Shor on the Torah*. Ed. Yehoshafat Nevo, Jerusalem, 1994 [Hebrew], p. 97; Dahan, *Les intellectuelles* (as in note 42), p. 282; Awerbuch, *Christlich-jüdische Begegnung* (as in note 42), p. 226.

brew but heard his information from a contemporary informant: he is putting into written form interpretations transmitted orally, and perhaps not fully understood. Though Andrew knew some Hebrew he did not master the language.[44] Probably, he drew the Talmudic and Midrashic interpretations from one of his contemporary sources.

Another of Andrew's interpretations having a close parallel in the Talmud but also in the Jewish Northern French exegetes is his comment on Ex 23, 19. Andrew writes:

Andrew	
Non coques haedum in lacte matris suae, siue agnum. Verbum hebraicum, pro quo nos 'haedum' siue 'agnum' habemus, magis 'separatum' significat. Et est sensus: Nihil quod separatum est a carne, id est quod per generationem carnalem conceptum et editum est, quod propter aues determinandum Iudaei putant; nihil, inquam, tale *in lacte coques*.	*Thou shalt not boil a kid in the milk of his dam*, or a sheep's lamb. The Hebrew word for which we have "the young of a goat or of a sheep" means rather 'separated'. And the sense of the text is the following: you should cook in milk nothing such that has been separated from the flesh, i.e., conceived or brought forth *via* fleshly generation, which according to the Jews must be specified because of the birds.
Obseruant usque hodie Iudaei, ut nullius gressibilis animalis carnes – in lacte uel cum aliquo eorum, quae de lacte fiunt, ut caseo uel butyro et huiusmodi, coctas – comedant. Non ideo putant *in lacte matris suae*, agni scilicet uel haedi uel separati, dictum fuisse, quod si in alterius pecoris lacte coquatur transgressio non sit; sed quia hoc lac paratius et magis praesto quam aliud forsitan inueniri posset. Nec ideo de agno uel haedo hoc prohibitum, quod de aliis animantibus hoc fieri liceat. Sed quod de hoc animali praecipitur, de omnibus potius uult –exceptis auibus, quae non de carne sed de ouis separantur debere intelligi.	The Jews take care to the present day not to eat the flesh of any walking animal when it has been cooked either in milk or in any product made from milk, such as cheese or butter. They do not think that it has been said *in the milk of his dam*, that is, of the sheep or goat or separated, such that if it were cooked in the milk of any other animal, it would not be a transgression, but perhaps because this milk could be found more readily and at hand than any other. And it is not forbidden to do with respect to the sheep or goat what is permitted with respect to other animals, but what it is taught to do with respect to this animal should be understood preferably with respect to every animal, except birds, which are not brought forth *via* the flesh but through eggs.
Sunt tamen, qui non de quolibet agno uel haedo hoc dictum putant, sed de his tantum quae Domino offeruntur. De quibus Dominus in lege praecipit, dicens: "Bos, ouis, et capra, cum generata fuerint, septem diebus erunt sub ubere matris suae. Die autem octauo et deinceps offerri poterunt Domino". Hi hoc modo litteram exponunt. *Non coques haedum*, id est: Non offeres ad occidendum et coquendum, dum est *in lacte matris suae*, id est dum recenter natus non herba pascitur, sed solo lacte matris suae alitur.[45]	However, there are those who think that this was said not about all sheep or goats but only about those that are offered to the Lord. About them, the Lord in the Law commands saying: "When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is brought forth, then it shall be seven days under the udder of its dam; but on the eighth day, and thenceforth, it may be offered to the Lord". These [commentators] explain the letter in the following way: *Thou shalt not boil a goat's kid*, i.e. you shall not offer it to be killed or cooked while it is *in the milk of his dam*, that is, while having been recently born, it does not yet feed on grass but only on its mother's milk.

44. See Signer's Introduction in Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio in Ezechielem*, 1991 (as in note 24), pp. xxi-xxv; Leyra Curiá, *The Victorine Exegesis* (as in note 22), pp. 198-203.
45. Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Heptateuchum: In Exodum*, 1986 (as in note 12), pp. 137-138, ll. 1506-1530.

R. Berndt refers to this comment of Andrew and points to the Babylonian Talmud, to the *Mekhilta de R. Yishmael*, and to Bekhor Shor's parallel interpretation as its possible sources.[46] However, I have found no similarity between Bekhor Shor's interpretation and the ones contained in Andrew's comment. On the other hand, I do think we should distinguish between three different interpretations within Andrew's comment, each of which may traced to different Jewish sources. Andrew's explanation that what is forbidden with respect to sheep or goats should be understood with respect to every animal, except birds, is found in both TB, Hul 113a-b and in Rashi's interpretation of the Biblical verse. For Rashi, the word גדי *gedî* means the 'young' of any animal and not just a young goat.

Ḥullin 113b	**Rashi**
שנאמר לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו ג' פעמים, פרט לחיה ולעוף ובהמה טמאה [...]. גמ'. מנא הני מילי? א"ר אלעזר, אמר קרא: וישלח קיג ע'"בן[יהודה את גדי] כאן - גדי עזים, הא כל מקום שנאמר גדי סתם - אפילו פרה ורחל במשמע; ולילף מיניה! כתיב קרא אחרינא: ואת עורות גדיי העזים, כאן גדיי העזים, הא כל מקום שנאמר גדי סתם - אפילו פרה ורחל במשמע:[47]	לא תבשל גדי. אף עגל וכבש בכלל גדי אין גדי אלא לשון וולד רך ממה שאתה מוצא בכמה מקומות בתורה שכתוב גדי והוצרך לפרש אחריו עזים כגון אנכי אשלח גדי עזים, את גדי העזים, שני גדיי עזים, ללמדך שכל מקום שנאמר גדי סתם אף עגל וכבש משמע.
For it is written thrice, thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk, to exclude wild animals, fowls, and unclean animals […]. Gemara: Whence do we know this? R. Eleazar said, Because the verse says: *And Judah sent the kid of the goats*; [113b] here it was a '*kid of the goats*', but elsewhere, wherever 'kid' is stated, it includes [the young of] the cow and the ewe. And might we not derive the rule from that? There is another verse, which says, *The skins of the kids of the goats*; here it was '*kids of the goats*', but elsewhere, wherever 'kid' is stated, it includes [the young of] the cow and the ewe.[48]	לא תבשל גדי. Thou shalt not seethe a kid – A calf and a lamb also are comprehended under the term גדי, for גדי means nothing more than a young tender animal, *as you may gather* from *the fact* that you will find in several passages in the Torah that the term גדי is used and that *the writer* felt it necessary specially to explain *it by adding* after it the word עזים, as, e.g., (Gn 38, 17) "I will send forth a גדי of the goats" (*ibid*. vs. 20); "the גדי of the goats" (*ibid*. 27, 9); "two kids of the goats (גדיי עזים)". *This fact serves* to show you that wherever גדי is mentioned without further description the term implies also a calf and a lamb.[49]

46. Berndt, "Les interprétations juives" (as in note 12), p. 227, num. 150.
47. Source: *Responsa Project* - Version 23. Bar-Ilan University.
48. *The Babylonian Talmud*. *Seder Kodashim: Hullin*. Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Eli Cashdan; under the editorship of Isidore Epstein, London, 1959, pp. 621-622.
49. Rashi, *Rashi's Commentary on the Pentateuch*, ²1905 (as in note 43), p. 164; Rashi, *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi's Commentary: Exodus*. Translated into English and Annotated by Morris Rosenbaum/Abraham M. Silbermann in coll. with Aaron Blashki and Louis Joseph, New York, n. d.

The second interpretation in Andrew's comment – that the verse *Thou shalt not boil a goat's kid in the milk of his dam* wishes to outlaw the boiling of the young of any mammal in its mother's milk, but that the text specifies 'goat' because this milk could be found more readily to hand than any other – is close to that in the *Mekhilta de R. Yishmael* and in Rashbam's comment on this Biblical text. For Rashbam, גדי means a young goat, but the rule applies to all animals since the Bible follows the principle of the most likely occurrence.

R. Yishmael: Kaspa, ch. 5, 14	**Rashbam**
מפני מה דיבר הכתוב בגדי, מפני שהחלב מרובה באמו.[50]	לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו. דרך העזים ללדת שני גדיים יחד, ורגילים היו לשחות אחד מהם, ומתוך שרוב חלב בעזים כדכתיב 'ודי חלב עזים ללחמך וגו', היו רגילים לבשלו בחלב האם, ולפי ההווה דבר הכתוב. וגני הוא הדבר ובליעה ורעבתנות לאכול חלב האם עם הבנים. ודוגמא זו באותו ואת בנו ושילוח הקן. וללמדך דרך תרבות ציווה הכתוב. ולפי שברגל היו אוכלין בהמות הרבה, הזהיר בפרשת הרגלים שלא לבשל ולא לאכול גדי בחלב אמו והוא הדין לכל בשר בחלב כמו שפירשו רבותינו בשחיטת חולין.
Then why does Scripture speak of a kid? Because its mother produces a lot of milk.[51]	לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו. *You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk*: Goats generally give birth to two kids at the same time. It was customary, then, to slaughter one of the two. And since goats produce much milk, as it says (Prv 27, 27), *Goats' milk will suffice for your food* [*and the food of your household*], it was common custom to boil the kid in its mother's milk. The text describes the most likely occurrence. It is disgraceful and voracious and gluttonous to consume the mother's milk together with its young.[52]

Andrew adduces a third interpretation: the view of those who think that the precept *Thou shalt not boil a goat's kid in the milk of his dam* refers only to animals offered to the Lord. Andrew probably associates Ex 23, 19 with Lv 22, 27: "When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is brought forth, then it shall be seven days under the dam; but from the eighth day and thenceforth it may be accepted for an offering made by fire unto the Lord". Andrew explains that, according to these people, "Not seethe a kid" means: you shall not offer it to be killed or cooked while it is "in the milk of his dam".

50. *Mekhilta de Rabbi Yišmael, 'im hilufei girsaḇt we-he'arot*. Ed. H. Saul Horowitz/Israel Abraham Rabin, Frankfurt am Main, 1931 [Hebrew], www. daat.ac.il, sefaria virtu˙alit [24.12.2016].
51. Jacob Neusner, *Mekhilta According to R. Ishmael: An Analytical Translation*, vol. 2: *Kaspa*, Atlanta, Georgia, 1988, p. 249.
52. Rashbam, *The Torah Commentary of Rashbam*, 1881 (as in note 43), p. 121; Martin I. Lockshin, *Rashbam's commentary on Exodus: An Annotated Translation* (Brown Judaic Studies 310), Atlanta, Georgia, 1997, p. 287.

This interpretation is partially represented in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*.[53] Maimonides writes that the reason for the prohibition to seethe a kid in its mother's milk (a prohibition that he takes literally) is that this was a practice of idol worshippers in their cultic practices, and therefore the Torah prohibits this practice during the Pilgrimage festivals.[54] So for Maimonides, the origin of this prohibition was with respect to animals consecrated to the Lord. Andrew expounds three interpretations, the first two of which are found in early Jewish sources (the Babylonian Talmud Hul 113a-b and the *Mekhilta de Rab. Yishmael*, respectively) as well as in Jewish exegetes from the twelfth-century Northern-French school (Rashi and Rashbam, respectively). The third is similar, but not identical to Maimonides' interpretation in *The Guide for the Perplexed*. Since Andrew did not master the Hebrew language, it is not likely that he read the *Mekhilta* or the Babylonian Talmud by himself. In addition, Andrew refers to the Jewish customs of not eating milk or milk products, which he probably learned from the Jews who lived in France in his own time. It is likely that he drew this interpretation from one of the Northern-French Jewish exegetes, such as Rashbam, and that Rashbam or another exegete does not reflect in his commentary everything that he transmitted to Andrew.

To summarise, Andrew's references to Jewish traditions found in the Talmud are, on a good number of occasions, actually derived from Jerome. For a number of interpretations found in the Talmud, Andrew drew on other Latin sources such as the Glossa Ordinaria, or on both Jerome and a later Latin source, such as Hugh of St. Victor. A third group of Andrew's interpretations show that Andrew also borrowed the Talmudic material from Jewish authors contemporary with him. It appears that Andrew interacted with contemporary Jewish exegetes, and that he heard from them Talmudic interpretations orally. He might have had a rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew, but this was not enough to enable him to read the Hebrew text of the Talmud by himself. There are several expressions that Andrew employs to refer to Jewish traditions found in the Talmud: *Hebreorum traditio, arbitrantur Hebrei*, *tradunt iudaei*. Out of all those, however, the expression that most clearly reveals that he is pointing to the Talmud is that which he employs in his comment on Ez 10, 14: *Hebrei uero ex suorum traditione preceptorum huiuscemodi* ("out of the following tradition of their teachers").

53. Moses Maimonides, *Guía de Perplejos*. Ed. David Gonzalo Maeso, Madrid, 1983, section III, chap. 48, p. 532. I thank Mordechai Cohen for having drawn my attention to this source.
54. Also Ibn Ezra in the Shorter Commentary on Ex 23, 19, *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': Exodus*, 2007 (as in note 34), p. 50.

Talmudic Quotations in Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla Literalis*

Ari Geiger
(Bar Ilan University)

Abstract

The *Postilla literalis super totam Bibliam*, written by Nicholas of Lyra (France, 1270-1349) is remarkable for the extensive use of texts and oral traditions of Jewish origin made by its author. This paper deals with the place of the Talmud among the Jewish sources cited in the *Postilla*. For Nicholas the Talmud was a new doctrine invented by the Jews sometime in their past but believed to be divine and to be given to Moses in Sinai. When reading Nicholas' *Postilla*, one finds many citations from medieval Jewish sources, but very few excerpts from the Talmud except as polemic with the purpose of ridiculing and disproving them. It appears that Nicholas avoided direct Talmudic citations within the *Postilla*, likely due to the hostile attitudes prevalent specifically toward the Talmud within the Christian world he inhabited.

The Franciscan scholar Nicholas of Lyra is considered to have been one of the most important Christian exegetes of the Bible. Nicholas was born in 1270 and worked as a Christian scholar in Paris during the first half of the fourteenth century until his death in 1349. He composed several works in various fields, one of which was his most famous work *Postilla literalis super totam Bibliam*, his commentary on the entire Bible.[1] There are several aspects that make the *Postilla* unique; first and foremost, its strikingly literal approach to the text in contrast to the dominant Christian exegesis.[2] Equally remarkable was Nicholas' exceptional and extensive reliance on the Hebrew text of the Bible in his commentary along with Jewish interpretations, especially those of Rashi.[3]

1. On Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla literalis* see Philip D. W. Krey/Lesley Smith (Eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, Leiden, 2000; Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 2nd part, vol. 2, Paris, 1961, pp. 344-358. Quotations from Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla Literalis* are taken from *Biblia sacra cum glossis interlineari et ordinaria, Nicolai Lyrani postilla et moralitatibus, Burgensis additationibus et Thoringi replicis*, vol. 1, Lyon, 1545. Quotations from other editions will be cited *in situ*.
2. On different aspects of literal exegesis in the *Postilla*, see Frans van Liere, "The Literal Sense of the Books of Samuel and Kings: from Andrew of St. Victor to Nicholas of Lyra", in: Krey/Smith (Eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra* (as in note 1), pp. 59-82; Mary Dove, "Literal Senses in the Song of Songs", in: *ibid.*, pp. 129-146.
3. The most comprehensive study thus far about Nicholas and his Jewish sources is that by Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, Pittsburgh, PA, 1963, pp. 137-358. Other studies are: Deeana C. Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, PA, 2007; Ari Geiger, "A Student and an Opponent: Nicholas of Lyra

In this article I will examine the place of the Talmud among the Jewish sources Nicholas used in the *Postilla*. I will begin by discussing his interpretation of the term *Talmud* – determining Nicholas' understanding of its composition and rabbinic literary content, followed by an investigation into the nature of this compilation, whether theological, legal (*halakhic*) or perhaps something else. Then I will examine Nicholas' attitude toward the Talmud, by comparing his references to Talmudic quotations with his citations from other Jewish sources.[4]

The contrast in Nicholas' time between the central function of the Talmud in the Jewish world and the antipathy that developed toward it among Christians necessitates examination of the status of the Talmud in the *Postilla*. The Talmud was the most frequently studied text among Jews, particularly those in ashkenazic academies (*yeshivot*) in Germany and those that still remained in France in Nicholas' time.[5] It was also the most important literary source of the critical and fundamental basis underlying responses to various queries for *halakhic* determination necessary for daily Jewish practice. Coincidentally and to some extent consequently, a strong antipathy in the forms of polemical writings and confiscations of the Talmud developed among members of the Church.[6] This contrast must have presented a dilemma for

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and his Jewish Sources", in: Gilbert Dahan (Ed.), *Nicolas de Lyre, franciscain du XIVe siècle, exégète et théologien*, Turnhout, 2011, pp. 167-203.

4. This article is based on comprehensive research conducted on the *Postilla* on the books Genesis–Deuteronomy and examinations of Jewish quotations from other books of the Bible in the *Postilla* which appear in Wolfgang Bunte, *Rabbinische Traditionen bei Nikolaus von Lyra: ein Beitrag zur Schriftauslegung des Spätmittelalters*, Frankfurt am Main, 1994. Bunte collected only part of the quotations from Jewish sources, but in light of the significant results of this study, these were sufficient to complete the impression obtained from the in-depth study of the Pentateuch.

5. See Talya Fishman, *Becoming the People of the Talmud. Oral Torah as Written Tradition in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, Philadelphia, PA, 2011, pp. 7-8. Fishman's entire book is devoted to the process of the canonization of the Talmud and its becoming central in halakhic determination for medieval Jews. For a summary of the book see *ibid.*, pp. 10-19. On the central place held by the Talmud over Bible study in medieval Jewish academies, see Frank Talmage, "Keep Your Sons from Scripture: The Bible in Medieval Jewish Scholarship and Spirituality", in: Thome Clemens/Michael Wyshogrod (Eds.), *Understanding Scripture: Explorations of Jewish and Christian Traditions of Interpretation*, New York, 1987; Ephraim Kanarfogel, "On the Role of Bible Study in Medieval Ashkenaz", in: Barry Walfish (Ed.), *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume*, vol. 1, Haifa, 1993, pp. 151-166. An expression of the centrality of the Talmud in Jewish religious life can be found in the Jews' appeal to Pope Innocent IV requesting the return of their confiscated books of the Talmud. Innocent writes, in a letter from 1247, that, according to the Jews, without the Talmud they are unable to comprehend the Bible and their laws. See Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*. *Vol. 1: Documents, 492-1404*, Toronto, 1988, pp. 196-197; Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, vol. 1, New York, 1966, pp. 274-275.

6. The struggle against rabbinic literature focused on Talmud, a term with diverse meanings among Christians. The conflict was expressed through anti-Talmudic polemic in the twelfth century, and by confiscation and prohibition of its possession by the Inquisition beginning in the mid-thirteenth-century. Different accusations were raised by the Church against the Talmud, as being a new doctrine preventing Jews from accepting Christianity; containing heresy against God, contempt of Christian saints and utter nonsense; inciting hatred of Christians by Jews. On this see Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jews in Medieval Christianity*, Berkeley, 1999, pp. 317-363; *Id.*, *The Friars and the Jews: the Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, Ithaca, 1982, pp. 57-76, 78-81, 91-98, 122-128, 147-150, 165-168; John Fried-

Nicholas of Lyra, pitting his loyalty to the dictates of the Church leaders against his need to use as many Jewish sources as possible, particularly one as central as the Talmud in writing the *Postilla.*

Nicholas of Lyra's perception of the term *Talmud*

How did Nicholas of Lyra understand the term *Talmud*? What did he know about it and the circumstances of its composition?

A passage from one of Nicholas' works might provide some insight into this issue. At the beginning of *Quaestio de Adventu Christi*, a polemical essay he wrote against the Jews,[7] Nicholas presents the body of rabbinic literary knowledge necessary to successfully argue against Jews. And this is how he describes the Talmud:

> Preter Scripturas canonicas sunt alie scripture a Iudeis recepte tanquam autenticate, scilicet Thalamud, quia, secundum ipsos, Scriptura ista non differet a Scripturis canonicis, nisi sicut lex dato verbo a lege data in scripto, quia ista fuit Moysi revelata a Domino sicut et illa que sunt scripta in libris Moysi.[8]

This citation indicates that, for Nicholas, the term 'Talmud' represents a new doctrine believed by the Jews to have been given to Moses on Mount Sinai, preserved and transmitted orally through the generations. This is in contrast to the Jewish perception that 'Talmud' refers to the compiled commentary on the Mishna, based on hundreds of years of discussion by Talmudic sages.[9]

Nicholas further explains the reasons why the Talmud remained in oral form for so many years and describes the process of its transmission throughout its history until it was written.[10] He then goes on to describe another type of rabbinic literature:

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man/Jean Connell Hoff/Robert Chazan, *The Trial of the Talmud, Paris, 1240*, Toronto, 2012; Gilbert Dahan/Elie Nicolas (Eds.), *Le brûlement du Talmud a Paris 1242-1244*, Paris, 1999.

7. On this work see Deeana C. Klepper, *Nicholas of Lyra's* Quaestio de adventu Christi *and the Franciscan Encounter with Jewish Tradition in the Late Middle Ages*, PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1995; *Ead*., "The Dating of Nicholas of Lyra's *Quaestio de adventu Christi*", in: *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 86 (1993), pp. 297-312.
8. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 13781, fol. 56r.
9. In the introduction to the anthology *Extractiones de Talmud* (compiled in the mid-thirteenth century as part of the Talmudic disputation), the Talmud is indeed described as a body of work belonging to a certain period and ascribed to Rav 'Aši (one of its compilers). However it is only according to one of the manuscript versions that the author showed awareness of the time gap between the editing of the Mishna by R. Judah haNaśi and Rav 'Aši's compiling of the Talmud. See Chen Merchavia, *The Church Versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature (500-1248)*, Jerusalem, 1970 [Hebrew], p. 322.
10. This description is parallel in part to one which appears in Mish. Ab I, 1. Nicholas cites only the first links in the chain of transmission listed in Tractate Aboth (Moses, Joshua, the elders and after them *auctores posteriores* who wrote the Talmud).

> Similiter dicta doctorum Hebraicorum qui glossaverunt Vetus Testamentum sunt autentica apud eos multo magis quam apud nos dicta Augustinus et aliorum catholicorum doctorum, et hoc accipiunt ex hoc quod habetur Deut. 17, "non declinabis ad dextram neque ad sinistram", ubi loquitur Scriptura de sacerdotibus et doctoribus ad quos precipit Scriptura in dubiis recurrere, et eorum sententiam indiscusse tenere.[11]

In this paragraph, Nicholas refers to post-Talmudic Jewish exegesis on the Old Testament, most likely medieval Jewish commentaries.[12] He emphasizes that although they are more recent, these sources have no less authority than the Talmud, just as the Church fathers are accorded relatively high authority even though they are subsequent to the New Testament.

It appears from his descriptions in these two paragraphs, that in contrast to the Jewish belief Nicholas himself views the Talmud as a new doctrine invented by the Jews sometime in their past. This may be a reflection of the Christian perspective that just as Jesus brought the world a New Testament interpreting the Old Testament in an innovative way, the same is true of the Jewish perception of the Talmud. Nicholas presents post-Talmudic Jewish literature as parallel to patristic literature from the perspective of the authority each one holds among believers in their respective religions. However, there are at least two other possible explanations for this parallel. Each of these corpora constitutes the literary period following their respective "new" Testaments, and they both regard scriptural interpretation as being of central importance in each of these religions.

This approach to the Talmud is consistent with that which was commonly held in late Medieval Christianity. The list of charges against the Talmud sent in 1239 by Nicholas Donin to Pope Gregory IX indicates familiarity with the Jewish belief

11. BnF, Ms. lat. 13781 (as in note 8), fol. 56r. This principle of Sages' authority based on the verse in Dt 17, 11 appears in Nicholas Donin's indictment against the Talmud (paragraph 7). See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558, fol. 213ra; Isidore Loeb, "La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud", in: *Revue des études juives* 2 (1881), p. 261. Nicholas indicates here the exposition on Dt 17, 11 in the Sifra Dt 154; the application of this exposition appears in a number of places in the Talmud, for example: Ber 19b; Sab 23a; Men 38a.

12. So it seems, though Nicholas does not write it explicitly. This was also the understanding of Gilbert Dahan (*The Christian Polemic against the Jews in the Middle Age*, Notre Dame, 1998, pp. 95-96) and Deeana Klepper (*The Insight of Unbelievers* [as in note 3], p. 92). Ramon Martí, in his introduction to *Pugio fidei*, also speaks of three parts of Jewish literature: "illis testamenti ueteris, quos iudei recipiunt libris, necnon et de talmud ac reliquis scriptis suis apud eos autenticis" (Raymundus Martini, *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos*, Leipzig, 1687 [repr. Farnborough Eng., 1967], *praefatio*, p. 2. Nicholas was aware of the developments and changes in Judaism. He mentions *Hebrei Moderni* in a number of places (Ex 16, 15, Hbr 2, 11). Jeremy Cohen (*Living Letters* [as in note 6], pp. 356-358) shows that in Ramon Martí's view there were significant differences between the new Jews and those from the time of the Sages. In Cohen's opinion a change occurred in the Christian perception of Judaism, viewing it as heresy because it had ceased to be the Old Testament Judaism, as discussed by Augustine in formulating his Doctrine of the Jewish Witness. For a summary of this opinion see: *ibid*., pp. 358-363. Other scholars do not accept Cohen's opinion on this issue (*ibid*., p. 359).

in the Divine source of the Talmud (that is the oral Law).[13] Ramon Martí's *Pugio fidei* mentions this belief as well.[14] Both Donin and Martí also refer to the belief that the Talmud was only put in writing many years after it was transmitted to Moses.[15] There are early and mid-thirteenth-century documents relating to the struggle against the Talmud, which argue that the Talmud was the Jewish alternative to, and in competition with, the New Testament.[16]

This perception of the Talmud as the Jewish New Testament gives us a glimpse into the ways Christians characterized this text. The most widely used Latin term in Christian literature for the Hebrew *Talmud* is *Doctrina*,[17] typical of the way they translate Hebrew terms literally[18] in the sense that *limmud* לימוד, which is the root

13. Paragraphs 1-2. BnF, Ms. lat. 16558 (as in note 11), fol. 211ra-b; Loeb, "Controverse" (as in note 11), pp. 253-255.
14. He presents this perception of Judaism in the introduction to the treatise (Martini, *Pugio fidei*, 1687 [as in note 12, p. 3]), and later refutes it (Pars 2, Cap. 14, Art. 8; p. 450).
15. Paragraphs 3-4. BnF, Ms. lat. 16558 (as in note 11), fol. 211vb-212rb; Loeb, "Controverse" (as in note 11), pp. 255-257; Martini, *Pugio fidei*, 1687 (as in note 12), *Praefatio*, p. 3.
16. One of the reasons given for the Talmud disputation was that it prevented Jews from seeing the truth of the Christian faith, as Innocent IV wrote to the King of France in May 1244. See Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See* (as in note 5), pp. 180-181; Grayzel, *Church* (as in note 5), pp. 250-252. The words of Petrus Venerabilis also indicate this as being one of the problems of the Jewish Talmud. See Petrus Venerabilis, *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem*. Ed. Yvonne Friedman, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 58, Turnhout, 1985, p. 186, ll. 2180-2182; 187, ll. 2193-2198. It is noteworthy that Nicholas does not reproach the Jews here with the widespread accusation that the Talmud replaced the Old Testament in their eyes, despite the fact that this would be a direct inference from the perception of the Talmud as a Jewish parallel to the New Testament. For references to this accusation see for example in Clement IV's request to Jaume I [1267] (Simonsohn, *Holy See* [as in note 5], pp. 235-236; Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, vol. 2, New York, 1989, pp. 99-102) and in the edict of Honorius IV to the archbishop of Canterbury [1286] (Simonsohn, *Holy See*, pp. 262-263; Grayzel, *ibid.*, p. 157). This also seems to be the case for Petrus Venerabilis whose fifth chapter of his polemic against the Jews is devoted to the Talmud, where he views the Talmud as the Jews' central authority. See for example Petrus Venerabilis, *Adversus Iudeorum*, 1985, pp. 125-126, ll. 30-38; 139, ll. 515-534.
17. Thus in the polemic of Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue against the Jews*. Ed. Irven M. Resnick, Washington, DC, 2006, p. 32, as well as in Petrus Venerabilis, *Adversus Iudeorum*, 1985 (as in note 16), pp. 125-126, ll. 32-35; 186, ll. 2178-2180. Identification of the Talmud with *Doctrina* also continued in the thirteenth century. For example, in Gregory IX' edict to the archbishops of France (June 1939). See Grayzel, *Church* (as in note 5), pp. 240-241. In addition, in the report Odo of Châteauroux wrote on the Talmud in August 1247. See Grayzel, *ibid.*, p. 276, n. 3, and also in some of the indictments against the Talmud (Loeb, "Controverse" [as in note 11], pp. 262-263; BnF, Ms. lat. 16558 [as in note 11], fol. 213rb) and in the *Extractiones* (*ibid.*, fol. 97rb). In addition, we continue to find the term *Doctrina* used in conjunction with *Talmud* later than Nicholas. For example in Paul of Burgos' (c. 1351-1435) *Additiones* to Nicholas' *Postilla* on Za 5, 1.
18. There are multiple examples of this. Donin's indictment contains the translated term Oral Law (תורה שבעל פה): *lex super os* or *verba super os* (Loeb, "Controverse", [as in note 11], paragraphs 2, 3, pp. 254-256; BnF, Ms. lat. 16558 [as in note 11], fols. 211vb-212ra). This can be seen in Nicholas of Lyra's writing as well. He brings an interpretation in one of his polemics from "libro… qui dicitur *ceder olam*, id est ordo seculi" (Nicolaus de Lyra, *Tractatulus contra quondam Iudaeum ex verbis Evangelii, Christum & eius doctrinam impugnantem*, in: *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria...*, vol. 6, Venice, 1601, p. 1728E).

word of *Talmud* תלמוד, means 'study'. It is impossible however to ignore the fact that *Doctrina* has a very specific meaning for Christians, that is a collection of binding principles of faith on various subjects. In addition, the New Testament brought by Jesus contains no laws but rather a collection of beliefs brought to replace the laws in the Old Testament. Therefore the "new Jewish Testament", that is the Talmud, was generally considered a system of (heretical) beliefs invented and written by the Jews long after the closing of the Bible, despite the fact that it actually deals primarily with law (*halakha*) and not theology.[19]

Indeed there are examples of Christian scholars with exceptional expertise (usually guided by Jewish converts) in the structure of the Talmud and the *halakhic* material it contains, the most prominent of whom is the author of the collection *Extractiones de Talmud*.[20] However, we do not find evidence of this type of expertise in Nicholas of Lyra's work.

As we saw above in his polemic, Nicholas made clear his belief that Jewish Biblical exegesis is not part of the Talmud and was written after it. If so, what is found in the Talmud? According to Nicholas it contains theology and *dogma* but not Biblical interpretation. Nicholas was mistaken on this point as well, since the Talmud is full of interpretations of the Old Testament, though it contains neither sequential nor systematic interpretation of the Biblical text.

Nicholas' distinction between the theological character of the Talmud and the interpretive nature of the later Jewish literature becomes apparent in light of the picture presented below of the uses made by Nicholas of Talmudic sources, or more precisely his references to the Jewish citations he brought in the *Postilla*.

Talmudic citations in Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla Literalis*

1. Quotations attributed to Mishnaic and Talmudic sages

Which Jewish sources did Nicholas use and how many of them were taken from the Talmud? An attempt to identify the Jewish sources used by Nicholas of Lyra in the *Postilla Literalis* demonstrates that a very large number come from Rashi

19. Thus for example, in the chapter devoted to an attack on the Talmud from his polemical treatise against the Jews, Petrus Venerabilis writes: "Ea si ut a me expressa sunt uera sunt, immo quia sunt, falsum est quod dixistis Iosue uestrum uidisse Christianos in inferno, quia credunt in Filium Mariae et non obseruant legem Moysi et quia non *credunt Thalmuth*" (Petrus Venerabilis, *Adversus Iudeorum*, 1985 [as in note 16], p. 169, ll. 1555-1558). Petrus uses the word *credunt*, a verb that applies to a system of beliefs and not a legal text.
20. The *praefatio* to the *Extractiones* contains a description of the Talmudic structure. It shows a good, if incomplete acquaintance of the author with the Talmud, including the distinction between Mishna and Talmud and the division into *Sedarim* (Orders) and tractates (BnF, Ms. lat. 16558 [as in note 11], fol. 97rb, quoted in 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 [esp. pp. 79-80]).

on the Bible (eleventh century, France).[21] The remainder of the quotations we find come from other Jewish commentators (R. Moshe HaDarshan, R. Shᵉmuel ben Meir (Rashbam), R. Joseph Qara – are all eleventh-twelfth century French commentators), as well as Maimonides (twelfth century, Spain and Egypt), but are not attributed to them.

Did Nicholas use earlier sources, from the Mishna and the Talmud (first-fifth centuries)? Materials from earlier sources are found in the *Postilla*, but it is unlikely that they were gleaned directly from their original texts. There are few citations by Nicholas of Mishnaic and Talmudic sages.[22] But there are almost no instances where Nicholas attributes these sages (or their statements) as deriving from the Mishna (a term I have not thus far found in Nicholas' writings) or the Talmud (which also contains those same quotations by Mishnaic sages).[23] Because the Mishna was well known to Jews of his time and many sections were cited in medieval writings, Nicholas would have had ample opportunity to gather these sources from contemporary Jewish literature, such as Rashi's commentary on the Bible. It is interesting to note that although many of the comments attributed to the sages from the Mishnaic period appear in Rashi's commentary on the Bible (Nicholas' primary source for learning Jewish interpretations), Nicholas attributes them to one of those sages and not to Rashi. For example, Nicholas' interpretation of the sin of Nadav and Avihu (Lv 10):

Rashi, Leviticus 10, 2	***Postilla* on Leviticus 10, 1**
Rabbi Eliezer said: the sons of Aaron died only because they gave decisions of religious matters in the presence of their teacher, Moses. Rabbi Yishma'el said: they died because they entered the Sanctuary intoxicated by wine. You may know [that this is so] because after their death he admonished those who survived that they should not enter when intoxicated by wine.[24]	dicit R. Simeon quod causa mortis Nadab et Abiu fuit eo, quod potati etiam plus debito intraverunt ad ministrandum, et pro tali irreverentia mortui sunt. Et hoc videtur ex litera praecedenti, cum dicit "arreptisque Nadab et Abiu" etc., ex quo videtur quod impetuose, et sine directione ex calefactione vini ingresserunt se ad ministrandum. Hoc etiam videtur ex litera consequenti, quia, immediate post factum istud, Dominus dixit ipsi Aaron: "Vinum & omne quod inebriare potest, non biberis tu & filii tui" etc.[25]

21. This refers to interpretations ascribed to Rashi, those more generally to the "Jews", or those unascribed to any prior source. See Hailperin, *Rashi* (as in note 3), pp. 137-246; Geiger, "A Student and an Opponent" (as in note 3), pp. 177-187.
22. For example: R. Shimʿon (Lv 10, 1); R. ʿAqiva (Nm 11, 22), R. Nathan (Nm 24, 17); R. Bereḥia (Ps 109, 3).
23. I found no incidences in the *Postilla* on the Pentateuch where Nicholas quoted sages from the Mishna or Talmud and ascribed them to these works. I did find two such sources quoted in the *Postilla* on other books of the Bible. See *Postilla* on Amos 9, 11; Agg 2, 8. Unlike Nicholas who appears to not have been aware of the distinction between Mishna and Talmud, the editors of the *Extractiones* were aware. See: Cecini *et al.*, "Observacions" (as in note 20), p. 75.
24. Translation from *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi's Commentary*. Ed. Morris Rosenbaum/Abraham M. Silbermann, Jerusalem, 1973, p. 38.
25. Page 231C.

Comparison with Rashi's citation on this section shows similarities which suggest that Rashi may have been the source. Rashi brings the same explanation as that of Nicholas ("they entered drunk"), although in the name of R. Yishma'el (not R. Shimʿon).[26] If it is true that Rashi also adds the opinion of R. 'Eliʿezer that Aaron's children were conveying their decisions of religious matters in the presence of their teacher (a sign of disrespect), this is not an argument against the hypothesis that Nicholas used Rashi. Nicholas may have just chosen to discard this part of the commentary. It is also common to find Nicholas attributing citations simply to Rashi without further noting that Rashi himself attributed these sources to Mishnaic or Talmudic sages.[27]

These phenomena point to the likelihood that Nicholas did not learn Rashi's words by reading his commentary, but rather by oral study from someone of Jewish origin, who taught him from memory but who did not know Rashi's primary sources.[28] In other (far fewer) cases, like the one discussed here, he remembered that the commentary he was transmitting was attributable to a Mishnaic sage (whether he remembered it directly or mediated through Rashi) and shared it with Nicholas in the sage's name, in which case Nicholas attributed them to that particular Mishnaic sage. It is because Nicholas perceived the Talmud as a theological composition comprising a complete belief system, as distinguished from the later Biblical commentaries, that he mentioned these sages only by name, failing to identify them as Mishnaic or Talmudic sages. Apparently, for him these sages were Jewish exegetes rather than Talmudic sages, thus reflecting his flawed knowledge of the history of rabbinic literature and Jewish sages.

2. Attributed Talmudic citations

It is extremely rare to find interpretations attributed to the Talmud in the *Postilla*. Here is one example of the few:

> Dicunt Hebraei quod habetur in Talmud, quod iste hircus qui offerebatur in neomenia erat pro expiatione ipsius Dei, eo quod minoravit lunam.[29]

Even when citing Talmudic excerpts Nicholas usually does not mention the word *Talmud*, but rather the tractate in which they appear (which he refers to as *liber*), for example:

26. Both versions appear in different textual versions of *Leviticus Rabbah*. See *Leviticus Rabbah*. Ed. Mordechai Margaliot, New York, ^{2}1993 [^{1}1956-1958], p. 255.
27. For example, *Postilla* on Nm 11, 1; 27, 3 (cf. Rashi on the same verses).
28. See Geiger, "A Student and an Opponent" (as in note 3), pp. 179-187.
29. *Postilla* on Nm 28, 15, p. 315G. Nicholas presents the legend of the moon being reduced in size as punishment for the moon's complaint that it was not feasible that the moon and the sun remain equally large and rule together over the heavens (Hul 60b).

> dicitur in quodam libro qui apud Iudaeos dicitur 'liber benedictionum', vel 'benedictiones'…[30]

This is also the case when he cites and attributes to the Palestinian Talmud.[31]

> sciendum quod in Zenhedrin Ierosolymitano (qui apud hebraeos est liber autenticus) dicitur…[32]

Nicholas did not invent this method of citing the tractate rather than the Talmud.[33] It is found in earlier Christian sources. Ramon Martí commonly used this style in his *Pugio fidei*. An example of this can be seen when Martí brings a parallel to a narrative brought by Nicholas from Tractate Berakhot (cited above). He then references: "libro Berachot, distinctione *Haroeh makom*" (meaning tractate Berakhot, chapter named 'haroeh makom').[34] This narrative is also mentioned in mid-thirteenth-century documents written concerning the Talmud disputation, and cited either by tractate and chapter names or only by the name of a sage who is said to have stated it rather than referenced using the term Talmud.[35] It is not surprising that Nicholas uses this method to cite Talmudic material, since most of his Talmudic citations also appear in earlier Christian texts and it is likely that these were his source.[36]

We cannot know with certainty whether Nicholas was aware that these *libri* (meaning the tractates he referenced) were part of the Talmud. We do not find statements by Nicholas saying that they are. However, it is difficult to accept the possibility of this having been well known to Ramon Martí yet unknown to Nicholas.

30. *Postilla* on Nm 21, 33, p. 301. Here Nicholas brings the legend from Ber 54b, telling of Og, king of the Bashan, wanting to destroy the camp of Israel.
31. The acquaintance of Ashkenazi sages with material from the Palestinian Talmud was usually second-hand, as it was a relatively unknown corpus in the medieval Jewish world. On this see Baruch M. Bokser, "An Annotated Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Palestinian Talmud", in: Wolfgang Haase (Ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 19/2, Berlin/New York, 1979, pp. 139-256, especially 235-237; Ephraim E. Urbach, *The Tosaphists: their History, Writings and Methods*, vol. 2, Jerusalem, 1986 [Hebrew], pp. 703-712. Given this, the question of how Nicholas became familiar with and where he acquired citations from the Palestinian Talmud deserves special attention and research, issues I am unable to discuss in this article.
32. Prologue to Is 35. *Biblia Sacra cum glossis, interlineari et ordinaria, Nicolai Lyrani postilla, ac moralitatibus, Burgensis additionibus, et Thoringi replicis*, vol. 4, Venice, 1588, p. 64F. See also quotation from Palestinian Sanhedrin in I Mcc 6, 49.
33. For additional examples in the *Postilla* see II Rg 21, 16 (quotation from Yeb); Am 9, 11 (San); Agg 2, 8 (San).
34. Martini, *Pugio fidei*, 1687 (as in note 12), 3.3.22.27, p. 939. Even in the example I brought in which Nicholas refers to the Talmud, Martí explicitly cites the tractate and chapter names in the title: "In libro Cholin, distinctione *illu tarphoth behema*" (that is tractate Ḥullin, chapter '*Elu terefot*). See: Martini, *Pugio fidei*, 3.3.22.13, p. 931.
35. See Alexander Fidora, "The Latin Talmud and its Translators. Thibaud de Sézanne vs. Nicholas Donin?", in: *Henoch* 37 (2015), p. 23.
36. See pp. 171-172.

It is not surprising that in most cases Nicholas' Talmudic citations are theological rather than exegetical,[37] given his perception of the Talmud as theological. For comparison, when he elaborates on *halakhic* issues, he references them to 'the Jews' (for example: *dicunt Hebraei*) or to Rashi rather than the Talmud, despite its actually being the most primary Jewish source for such matters.[38]

Nicholas of Lyra's attitude to Talmudic citations

Nicholas writes in his introduction to the *Postilla*:

> Intendo non solum dicta doctorum catholicorum, sed etiam Hebraicorum, maxime Rabbi Salomonis, qui inter doctores Hebraeos locutus est rationabilius declarationem sensus litteralis inducere. Aliqua etiam dicta Hebraeorum valde absurda aliquando, licet valde raro, interponam, non ad tenendum ea, vel sequendum; sed ut per haec appareat quanta cecitas contigerit in Israel, secundum dicta Pauli apostoli ad Romanos undecimo: propter quod etiam dictis Hebraeorum non est inhaerendum, nisi quantum rationi consonant et litterae veritati.[39]

Study of the *Postilla* reveals that in the majority of cases Nicholas accepts most of the Jewish sources he includes, arguing only about those chapters or verses of distinctive Christological character and to a lesser extent about other theological issues in debate with Judaism.[40] In addition there are a relatively small number of places where he includes exegetical critique (unrelated to religious dispute) of the Jewish interpretation.[41] Thus it can be asserted that Nicholas generally agreed with the interpretations by the medieval Jewish exegetes (primarily Rashi) along with those of the Mishnaic and Talmudic sages, whom he perceived as Biblical commentators.

37. The Talmudic interpretation cited on Nm 28, 15 refers to the atonement by men for God's sin. Nicholas and other Christian scholars rejected this on theological grounds. In Am 9, 11, Agg 2, 8 and in the prologue to Is 35, Talmudic interpretations are brought in the framework of an exchange regarding the Messiah, that is Jesus, usually as proof of his Messianism. Talmudic discourse regarding God's weeping at the destruction of the Temple and the exile of the people of Israel (brought on Is 22, 5) is related to the theological question of the identity of the chosen people and the feasibility of Israel's redemption after the advent of Jesus.
38. For example, in the *Postilla* on Ex 12, 12-23 where Nicholas is deeply preoccupied with *Halakhic* details in light of the Rabbinic literature. Similarly in other places in the books of Leviticus and Deutoronomy.
39. Page 3H.
40. See Geiger, "A Student and an Opponent" (as in note 3), pp. 193-202. On the anti-Jewish polemic in the *Postilla* see also Klepper, *Insight of Unbelievers* (as in note 3), pp. 82-108; Hailperin, *Rashi* (as in note 3), pp. 148-149, 151-153, 157-184; Cohen, *Friars* (as in note 6), pp. 170-191; Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1990, pp. 415 and 441-446.
41. On this see Geiger, "A Student and an Opponent" (as in note 3), pp. 195-199; *Id*., "Exegetical Critique against Jewish Interpretations in Nicholas of Lyra's Literal Commentary" [Hebrew], in: *Shenaton, An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near East Studies* 18 (2008), pp. 225-245.

However the picture changes when we encounter Talmudic quotations (whether cited as deriving from the Talmud or by specific tractate). These almost always appear in a polemical context.[42] Some of these texts are narratives that Nicholas either negates completely or attempts to prove as illogical. Regarding the narrative that he brings as derived from the Talmud (Nicholas' reference of it is cited above), where it is stated that God bid the people of Israel to atone at every new moon for His having reduced the moon's size, he writes:

> …Ex quo patet Iudaeorum caecitas, imo insania, qui credunt deum indiguisse expiatione, et peccasse.[43]

In the *Postilla* Nicholas refers twice to the narrative quoted from tractate Berakhot regarding the death of Og, king of Bashan (Nicholas' reference is cited above). First in his interpretation of Nm 21, 33 he writes:

> Sed quia hoc est ita absurdum, quod non indiget alia improbatione, ideo hoc posui in hoc loco, ut videatur quanta caecitas est in Iudaeis, qui credunt hoc esse verum ad literam.[44]

Nicholas brings it again in his interpretation of Dt 3, 11, where he elaborates, at great length with much technical detail along with mathematical calculations, to explain why according to logic and the words of the Bible this narrative makes no sense.

It seems therefore, that Nicholas' decision to include theological statements or narratives that appear in the Talmud in his commentary was part of his declared goal of including a few Jewish interpretations which he rejected, alongside many others which he adopted. He could have easily found most of the unacceptable Jewish interpretations in that repository of Rabbinic literature, the Jewish exegetical texts where he got most of his Jewish material. It was however the Talmudic legends, infamously known as absurd and especially presumptuous, that he found to be particularly good examples to illustrate the Jews' blindness.

There is another characteristic of Nicholas' Talmudic citations in the *Postilla*. In contrast to most of the Jewish interpretations he cited, which he learned directly from the Jews (the majority of which were not yet known in the Christian world), most of Nicholas' Talmudic quotations can be further characterized as having been taken from earlier polemical writings.[45] Nicholas does not appear to have invested

42. See n. 38. In addition to those that appear there, an example from Nicholas' polemical essay he cites from Tractate Shabbat can be added: "libro qui dicitur Sabath qui apud Hebraeos autentico dicitur" (Nicolaus de Lyra, *Tractatulus contra quondam Iudaeum* [as in note 18], p. 1719B).
43. *Postilla* on Nm 28, 15, p. 315H.
44. Page 301F.
45. The legend of Og, king of the Bashan, from Ber 54b appears in Petrus Alfonsi, Petrus Venerabilis, *Extractiones de Talmud* and Ramon Martí. The wording in the *Postilla* is close to that which appears in Martí.

much effort in seeking sources for the purposes of Talmudic denunciation, choosing rather to reuse sources brought by his predecessors. It seems that in this way Nicholas managed to fulfill his obligation to the Church and remind his Christian readers that he remained devout despite the many Jewish sources he brought in his commentary.

Summary and conclusions

The two corpora referred to as Talmud, Babylonian and Palestinian, are written compilations of discourse including exegetical discussions on the Mishna which took place over hundreds of years beginning in the third century. Each was edited at different points in time into its own corpus comprising various tractates based on the order of the Mishna. It became widespread throughout the Jewish world in the early medieval period (sixth-tenth centuries). As it became the most studied literary compilation in the Jewish world and the most important for Jewish *halakhic* determination, it came to the attention of Christian scholars, some of whom began investigating it and its contents. In this process, they began to express their developing hostility toward it in the forms of polemical essays against the Jews beginning in the twelfth century and persecution of the Talmud beginning in the thirteenth century.[46]

Only a few in the Christian world had a reasonable (though incomplete) understanding of the Talmud, knowledge of its essence (a commentary on the Mishna), of the period and method of its evolution (compilation of extracted discussions from Jewish academies) and its content (primarily *halakhic* in nature). Many others had vague and erroneous concepts of the nature of the Talmud, largely due to influences of Christianity and Christian concepts. Nicholas of Lyra was one of these. He perceived the Talmud as *Doctrina*, a false set of beliefs that Jews erroneously considered to have been given to them by Moses at Sinai and then transmitted orally before being set down in writing. This is despite the truth (in Nicholas' view) that it was invented long after Sinai. He perceived the Talmud as a new doctrine, a type of "Jewish New Testament" the authority of which is equivalent to (and perhaps greater than) that of the Old Testament. Regarding the extent of Nicholas' familiarity with the Talmud, there is no evidence in the sections of the *Postilla* studied for this research that Nicholas had any understanding that the Talmud was a composition with the fundamental purpose of interpreting a previous body of literature (the Mishna), nor does he mention the Mishna itself. Nicholas was equally oblivious to

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See Ari Geiger, *The Commentary of Nicholas of Lyra on Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy*, PhD diss., Bar-Ilan University, 2006 [Hebrew], pp. 61-62; Merchavia, *Church versus Talmud* (as in note 9), p. 371. The legend from Hul 60b is found in the *Extractiones* and in Martí, see Geiger, *ibid.*, p. 64. The legend from Ber 59a (appears in the *Postilla* on Is 22, 5) is found in Alfonsi, *Dialogue* (as in note 17), p. 67-68; Petrus Venerabilis, *Adversus Iudeorum* (as in note 16), pp. 150-151, ll. 919-936; BnF, Ms. lat. 16558 (as in note 11), fols. 14vb, 99rb, 121ra, 214ra; Martini, *Pugio fidei*, 1687 (as in note 12), p. 473.

46. Fishman, *Becoming the People of the Talmud* (as in note 5), pp. 169-176.

the clear emphasis in the Talmud to matters of *halakha*. In addition, according to his description, later Jewish sages began to write Jewish commentaries on the Old Testament, which were considered to be authoritative in the Jewish world.

In writing his literal commentary on the Bible, many of the sources Nicholas used came from the second type of Rabbinic literature, medieval Jewish commentaries (primarily that of Rashi) which he had likely learned orally from people of Jewish origin. When dealing with theologically oriented Biblical texts, Nicholas quotes from Maimonides' theology,[47] yet another type of Jewish literature. In contrast, in the *Postilla* Nicholas cites very few quotations as having originated from the Mishna or Talmud. He attributes most of those he does quote to the sages cited as having made them, but in general there is no evidence that he was even aware of the origins of these statements in the Mishna or Talmud. The few quotations that are attributed to the Talmud are usually cited by referring to a specific tractate, rather than by using the word 'Talmud'. Nicholas gives no indication that he knew from earlier Christian sources that these tractates were part of the Talmud, despite the possibility that he might have. Most of the Talmudic materials he includes are narratives that appear in earlier Christian writings and in most cases these seem to be his sources. Indeed, he uses these texts for the purposes of polemic just as they were used in the sources from which he takes them.

It is clear therefore that the distinction Nicholas makes between the Talmud and Jewish Biblical interpretations reflects his differing attitudes toward the two types of Rabbinic literature. He views the Talmud as a system of false beliefs and foolish narratives, while the Jewish commentaries provide a source that aid in understanding the Bible and solving the challenges of its interpretation.[48] Understandably then, most of the Jewish sources he cites derive from Bible commentaries rather than the Talmud.

However, there is another more prosaic explanation for the relative absence of Talmudic sources. Since the *Postilla* is itself an exegetical composition, it was necessary to find exegetical rather than theological materials among the Rabbinic literary sources, which according to Nicholas were to be found in Biblical commentaries rather than Talmudic sources. Furthermore, literal Jewish commentary is obviously less threatening to Christians, as it deals with the more technical aspects of the Biblical text (philology, history etc.), rather than the theological aspects dealt with (according to Nicholas) in the Talmud.

However this explanation is insufficient since the Talmud is actually full of Biblical interpretations. Indeed many of these were used in the very interpretations Nicholas did quote. It is difficult to assume that Nicholas was completely unaware of the connection between the Talmud and the Bible commentators in the period

47. See for example, *Postilla* on Ier 23, 6; prologue to Ez 40; Prv 25, 11.
48. At this point I need to note another type of Rabbinic literature – Aramaic translations, which despite their having been written in the period of the Jewish sages, were favored by Nicholas, who used them to demonstrate that they too interpreted the Christological sections of the Bible as Messianic. See Hailperin, *Rashi* (as in note 3), pp. 158-160, 167-174, 183, 243.

that followed it. There were Christians who predated Nicholas who added Rashi's commentaries to their reservoir of rejected Rabbinic literature they referred to as Talmud.[49] How then to explain the fact that he avoided adopting Talmudic interpretations and only used them in negative contexts in the *Postilla*, and yet chose to include so many of Rashi's interpretations which did originate in the Talmud?

It is possible that Nicholas was unaware of the number of Rashi's interpretations that actually came from Talmudic literature (the Talmud and Midrashic collections). Given that his source for these was most likely an oral transmission from converts, who most likely did not have enough expertise in Jewish sources to know Rashi's sources or had managed over time to forget them and only to remember the interpretations themselves. It is possible that occasionally they were able to remember and inform Nicholas of a Talmudic source for one or another interpretation, but probably could not have done so for the majority of them.

In addition, since before his time Christians had rarely engaged in literal exegesis, there was a dearth of previous literal Christian interpretations that might have constrained Nicholas to use Jewish sources. To this end Nicholas was forced to surrender his principles and occasionally use Talmudic sources. Thus perhaps, it was their later quotation by other Judaic commentaries that allowed him to camouflage their more ancient source and disguise the fact that he was adopting Talmudic interpretations, even if he had knowledge of their Talmudic origin.

Alternatively it might be suggested that Nicholas might be among those who did not feel the entire Talmud should be condemned. It must be remembered that prevailing attitudes by the Christian world toward the Talmud were diverse. Alongside those who wished to confiscate the entire Talmud, there were those who felt that it was possible to excise forbidden parts leaving those which were not considered defective. Innocent IV and his successors held this opinion during the second wave of Talmudic confiscations in the 1240s and later on.[50] Ramon Martí explained that even if part of the Talmud contained heresies and stupidities, other sections were not only valid but were actually worthy for use in arguing for Christianity,[51] an opinion we find echoed in Nicholas of Lyra's polemical treatise.[52]

From all this it emerges that Nicholas was circumspect in his use of materials from the Talmud. An expert in Jewish sources could identify Talmudic sources in the *Postilla*, but the Christian reader would have had no way of discerning this.

49. See Gilbert Dahan, "Rashi, sujet de la controverse de 1240. Édition partielle du ms. Paris, BN lat. 16558", in: *Archives juives* 14 (1978), pp. 43-54; *Id*., "Un dossier latin de textes de Rashi autour de la controverse de 1240", in: *Revue des études juives* 151 (1992), pp. 321-336; Bernard Gui, *Manuel de l'Inquisiteur*. Ed. Guillaume Mollat, vol. 2, Paris, 1927 [repr. 1964], pp. 13-19.
50. For a discussion of the approach of Innocent IV and his followers to the Talmud see Cohen, *Living Letters* (as in note 6), pp. 325-334. For a slightly different approach see Friedman *et al*., *The Trial of the Talmud* (as in note 6), pp. 22-30, 52-59.
51. See Cohen, *Living Letters* (as in note 6), pp. 349-356; Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response*, Berkeley, 1989, pp. 96-100; Cohen, *Friars* (as in note 6), pp. 137-139.
52. BnF, Ms. lat. 13781 (as in note 8), fol. 56r.

Indeed Nicholas' explicit words about the Talmud would have led the Christian reader specifically to the flawed elements it contains. In this way Nicholas was able to enjoy the many Talmudic interpretations of the Bible (in many cases perhaps without his knowledge) while remaining aligned with the generally hostile attitudes held toward the Talmud by the Church.

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Studies on the Latin Talmud gathers the latest findings on the Latin translation of the Babylonian Talmud which was produced in Paris in the 1240s and eventually led to its condemnation by the Catholic Church in 1248. Prominent international scholars guide the reader through the historical circumstances of the translation, its methodology, the manuscript tradition and the intertextual relations with Latin and Hebrew sacred texts and commentaries (Latin and Hebrew Bible, Rashi, Church Fathers, Jewish and Christian commentators), thus giving unprecedented insight into this fundamental chapter of Christian-Jewish relations. Authors of the contributions are: Ulisse Cecini, Federico Dal Bo, Óscar de la Cruz Palma, Alexander Fidora, Ari Geiger, Annabel González, Görge Hasselhoff, Isaac Lampurlanés, Montse Leyra and Eulàlia Vernet.

The Editors:

Ulisse Cecini graduated in Milan in Classical Philology and obtained his Ph.D. in Latin Medieval Philology in Erlangen with a thesis on Latin Qur'an translations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He was awarded scholarships and research projects from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the German Ministry of Education. He has a strong training in Latin literature, palaeography and oriental languages, as well as in translation studies and relationships between Christian, Jews and Muslims in the Middle Ages. Currently he works on the critical edition of the Latin Talmud at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in the ERC-Project "The Latin Talmud and its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic", funded by the European Research Council of the European Union (FP7/2007-2013/ERC Grant Agreement n. 613694).

Eulàlia Vernet i Pons graduated in Classical Philology (2001) and Semitic Philology (2004) at the Universitat de Barcelona. She obtained two PhD Grants (2002-2006) for doctoral studies in Germany (Freie Universität Berlin, Seminar für Semitistik). In 2008 she obtained her PhD in Semitic Philology (with a study on the historical reconstruction of the verbal root in Hebrew and Protosemitic). From 2007 to 2014 she has been assistant professor at the Department of Semitic Philology of the Universitat de Barcelona. Since 2012 she collaborates with the Museu d'Història de Barcelona as a specialist on the medieval Jewish quarter of the city. She currently works in the ERC-Project "The Latin Talmud and its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic" focusing on the Hebrew and Aramaic text of the Babylonian Talmud that lies behind its Latin translation.

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