

László Benke

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR
BIBLE IN MEDIEVAL ITALY**

M.A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

June 2003

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László Benke
(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, László Benke, candidate for the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 1 June 2003

Signature

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION	1
I.1. THE RESEARCH QUESTION	1
I.2. THE SOURCE MATERIAL	2
I.2.a. <i>The group MS Can.Or.10; MS Can.Or.11; MS JTS L667</i>	2
I.2.b. <i>MS Mich.Add.1a</i>	4
I.2.c. <i>MS Parma Biblioteca Palatina 3068</i>	5
II. BIBLES OF COMMUNITIES IN CONFRONTATION.....	6
II. 1. PURPOSES AND APPLICATIONS OF THE EARLY ITALIAN BIBLE.....	6
II.1.a. <i>The Christian tradition</i>	6
II.1.b. <i>The Jewish Tradition</i>	22
II.2. FORCED AUDIENCE: MENDICANT PROSELYTIZING IN THIRTEENTH-SIXTEENTH CENTURY ITALY	34
II.3. CONCLUSION	40
III. CHRIST AND THE JEWS: POLEMICAL READINGS FOR CHRISTOLOGICAL PROOF-TEXTS IN THE JUDEO-ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS.....	41
II.1. THE BEGETTING: PSALMS 2:7-9.....	42
II.2. THE <i>MAGI</i> ON THE ROAD: MICAH 5:1	44
II. 3. PALM SUNDAY: ZECHARIAH 9:9	46
II.4. ON THE CROSS: ZECHARIAH 12:10	47
II.5. THE ANOINTED ONE CUT OFF: DANIEL 9:24-26A	49
II. 6. THE RESURRECTION: PSALMS 16:9-10	51
II.7. THE HIGH PRIEST: PSALM 110	53
II.8. THE LION FROM THE TRIBE OF JUDA: GENESIS 49:8-12	55
IV. CONCLUSION.....	59
BIBLIOGRAPHY	61
APPENDIX I	66
APPENDIX II.....	69
APPENDIX III.....	82

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor and “manager,” Piroska Nagy, for believing in me at the very beginning.

I also thank Géza Komoróczy for supervising my work.

I want to express my gratitude to István Perczel, Tamás Visi and Gianpaolo Salvi for their learned comments and suggestions.

Creating a basis of primary texts for this paper has proved to be an extremely complex task. Without the help of Seth Jerchower (University of Pennsylvania), Menachem Schmelzer (Jewish Theological Seminary), Doris Nicholson (Oriental Reading Room, Bodleian Library) and Ottó Sándor Gecser (CEU) I could not have pieced together the jigsaw puzzle of the essential sources. For the same reason I am most grateful to the Yad Hanadiv Research Support Grant at the Central European University, as their financial support made it possible for me to have access to a great part of my sources.

I am also thankful to Joseph Abraham Levi (Rhode Island College) and again Seth Jerchower, who helped me to gather important reference works when I started my research.

I am immensely indebted to Matthew Suff for steadily and patiently correcting my Hunglish.

But most of all, my thanks go to Zsuzsi, my dear wife, whose love makes me overcome all difficulties.

List of Illustrations

MS JTS L667 [Isaiah 7]	83
MS JTS L667, 198r [Isaiah 11]	84
MS JTS L667, 231v [Isaiah 53]	85
MS JTS L667, 231r [Isaiah 53]	86
MS JTS L667, 237v [Isaiah 61]	87
MS JTS L667, 380v [Zechariah 12]	88
MS Mich.Add.1a, 1v	89
MS Mich.Add.1a, 3v [Genesis 1:1]	90

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. The research question

The most consistent conflicts between Jews and Christians have hinged on their differing readings of Biblical passages. For Christians, the chief value of the Old Testament lay in the prophecies and “prefigurations” that, as they believe, were fulfilled in the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth. Jews reading the same texts might understand them as personifications of the vanquished people of Israel, apply them to the future redemption or, in many cases, fail to discern any messianic content whatsoever.

In most districts of central Italy during the sixteenth century, Jews were compelled to attend missionary sermons delivered by mendicant preachers. They certainly had to react to the attacks against their faith, forming a response to soften the effects of Christian proselytising. The most suitable space for such a reaction were the synagogue and the elementary school—two places where vernacular translations were in use for the edification of the most vulnerable part of the community that is “simple people,” women, and children.

This paper will try to bring to light the manner in which medieval translations of the Bible prepared by Italian Jews contained anti-Christian polemical material. It will aim at the analysis of the most popular Christological proof texts, that is, the Old Testament prophecies that Christians believed to have predicted the advent, ministry, sufferings and resurrection of Christ. These were the most accentuated texts in the course of Jewish-Christian religious encounters, and thus most probably form a doctrinal fault-line between the vernacular Bibles of the two communities. A second answer that is to be accrued from such inquiry is to what extent were the polemical

readings inspired by exegesis or prompted by the Jewish translator's own efforts to point out a discrepancy in the Christian interpretation.

I.2. The source material

I.2.a. The group MS Can.Or.10; MS Can.Or.11; MS JTS L667

The only complete extant Judeo-Italian Bible is currently split into three codices. Watermarks that appear in this group point to the mid-sixteenth century.¹ MS Can.Or.10 (or Oxford Neubauer 168) contains an Italian translation to the Pentateuch, written in vocalised Hebrew characters, in Italian semi-cursive script, on 188, quarto size, paper folios. MS Can. Or. 11 (or Oxford Neubauer 169) is continuation of Can.Or.10, containing the Hagiographa on 240 folios. At the end of the manuscript I found the note נדפס פיאטלו בנאפולי (?) שנת ה'ת' Folios 27r-36r, comprising part of Psalms, are written by a different hand, in sephardic semi-cursive script. Folios 26; 85; 106; 108-109; 130-133; 159-160; mostly separating Biblical books, are blank.² The third codex, MS JTS L667 (or MS Lutzky; MS Adler 2291) contains the Prophets.³ It has 384 paper folios, with the same two hands that can be detected here as well.

¹ Two watermarks are certainly identifiable by Briquet's collection: one is nr. 8390 or 8391, as of Rome 1529 and Lucca 1578, the other one is nr. 7629, as of Rome 1566.

² The two manuscripts, forming part of the Canonici collection, are described in Abraham Adolf Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 28 (entries 168, 169); and in Malachi Beit-Arié and R. A. May, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library: Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. I. (A. Neubauer's Catalogue)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 168-169. The Canonici collection is a group of 110 manuscripts purchased in 1817. "Or." stands for *Orientalis*, referring to the Oriental Collection of the Bodleian Library.

³ I had no opportunity to see this manuscript at first hand, but I was provided with photocopies from requested parts. I have information of its physical peculiarities from Menahem Banitt [Max Berenblut], "A Comparative Study of Judaeo-Italian translations of Isaiah," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 1949).

The paper folios have an average of 31 lines in all codices, some pages having only 24 and others having up to 35. Between the hands there is a marked difference in slant and in the size of the letters. One of them, moreover, adds linear designs at the end of shorter lines and writes with more care than the other. Two systems of vocalisation can be distinguished: the one (A) producing Italian semi-cursive has no short /e/ (*segol*) and writes even *del* and *per* with long /e/ (*tsereh*); the one producing sephardic semi-cursive (B) has short /e/ for closed syllables; (A) has no vowel sign under the ם representing the name of God; (B) has *hataph-qamets*; (A) has *il* for the masculine definite article for a noun beginning with a consonant; (B) has *el*. However, since the two systems of writing and vocalisation do not coincide, we are to conclude that the same one who wrote did not always vocalise. Indeed, there is a great difference in ink between the black letters and the brownish vowel-signs, showing a later vocalisation. Accordingly, the vocalisation system can change in the middle of a book, without any corresponding change in the handwriting. This procedure of writing whole books without vocalising and then adding would also explain the omission, here and there, of the vocalisation of a line and even of a page or two. It is clear that the various books were written separately and kept separate for a rather long time. The first pages of each of the books are soiled and even damaged. Moreover, the beginning of each book is written with great care, but, as the book progresses, the handwriting becomes more and more careless. Only Isaiah 54:1-59:15, Amos and the Song of Songs of this Bible were submitted to scholarly research.⁴

⁴ See Appendix I.

I.2.b. MS Mich.Add.1a

MS Mich.Add.1a (or Oxford Neubauer 39; *Degel Yehudah*) contains the Pentateuch with Italian translation and the commentary of Leone (R. Yehuda Aryeh) da Modena.⁵ According to its colophon, from Genesis to Leviticus it was written by Yizhaq ben Yeshu'a (מרשניה), the rest by Ephraim ben Yochanan (בזינאני),⁶ it was finished on the twenty-sixth of Tebeth 5350 (= 1590 CE), and Yizhaq ben Mordekhai Ventura sold it to R. Ya'akov (דילמט) at Venice, on the fifth of Cheshwan, 5492 (= 1732 CE). Notes by censors Camillo Jaghel (1613) and Renato da Mod[en]a (1626) are found on folios 386v and 645r (the last page), the latter reads: "Non è contra alli canoni ecc.ti."⁷

The Biblical text in Hebrew is written in square characters without vowel points, the Italian translation in square characters with vowel points, and the commentary in Italian rabbinical cursive script, on 645, folio size, paper folios. The first leaves are heavily stained, folios 387 and 514 are blank. Between 385r and 386v one page is cut out—it was probably judged unreadable: also the on two adjacent pages the ink shows through and stains the opposite page. Folio 506 contains a map of

⁵ Umberto Cassuto attributes the authorship of the commentary to a different Yehudah, living in Emilia in the first half of the sixteenth century; see "Bibliografia delle traduzioni giudeo-italiane della Bibbia," in *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag Armand Kaminka* (Vienna: Verlag des Wiener Maimonides-Instituts, 1937), 137. A description of Mich.Add.1a can be found in Abraham Adolf Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 8, and in Malachi Beit-Arié and R. A. May, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library: Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. I. (A. Neubauer's Catalogue)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 6. "1a" and "1b" must be due to the arbitrary grouping of the manuscripts, as thematically they are not connected: 1b (Neubauer 1282) is a copy of the מאמר הגמול' הנפש of R. Hillel of Verona, written by Shmuel ha-Rofe ben Mattithiyah, finished on the 28th of Iyyar 5238 (= 1478 CE), in Italian rabbinic character, small folio size, paper, 38 folios, slightly damaged and stained.

⁶ The colophon is hardly readable; that is perhaps why Seth Jerchow reads the first name (which I would spell יאִישׁע) Isaac b. Elisha in the catalogue appended to *Jerchow 2001*.

⁷ I could not make out the one on folio 386v.

the exodus and a note of Menachem Ram of Vignola (ויניולה) dated 5346 (= 1585 / 1586 CE). So far no scholarly work has dealt with this manuscript.

I.2.c. MS Parma Biblioteca Palatina 3068

The fifth Judeo-Italian source for this paper, MS Parma Biblioteca Palatina 3068 (or De Rossi it.1), is fragmentary: it includes a part of the Latter Prophets from Jeremiah 6:28 to Malachi, presenting a short *lacuna* (Zac. 12:3-13:8). Originally it contained all the prophetic books—these are listed in the *explicit* of the last page. I am not familiar with its physical aspects in detail as I was provided with its transliteration prepared by Seth Jerchower.⁸ It shows one hand, in Hebrew characters. The dating of Parma 3068 by the paper watermark debated. Malachi Beit-Arié and Seth Jerchower are essentially in agreement that the manuscript is at least *post quem* datable to 1456. Jerchower, having produced a word list and a tentative concordance for all of the manuscripts, would date the text of the translation, as compiled in Parma Palatina 3068, to no later than the first two decades of the fourteenth century. All in all, about 5% of Parma 3068 has appeared in various editions or formed the subject of Ph.D. dissertations.⁹

⁸ I owe the physical description of this manuscript to Umberto Cassuto, “Bibliografia delle traduzioni giudeo-italiane della Bibbia,” in *Festschrift zum siebzegsten Geburtstag Armand Kaminka* (Vienna: Verlag des Wiener Maimonides-Instituts, 1937), 129-141.

⁹ See Appendix I.

II. BIBLES OF COMMUNITIES IN CONFRONTATION

II. 1. Purposes and applications of the early Italian Bible

II.1.a. The Christian tradition

Rallegrati Christianissimo lettore, che de le letterali lingue non hai cognitione...

Antonio Brucioli, *Al lettore salute*,¹⁰ 1532.

The origin and early phase of the Biblical tradition in Italian cannot be successfully approached without taking into account the fact that it is inseparable from the major lines of development of the Italian literature in general, and more closely, the evolution of theories on Biblical translations. Although it would be far beyond the scope of this paper to enter into details on methodological problems,¹¹ still, as far as the Christian context is concerned, the ambivalent heritage Jerome left to his successors is worth noting: the Latin Father on the one hand argued for translation according to meaning (*sensum de sensu*), rather than a verbatim method (*verbum de verbo*), while at the same time he exempted the Scriptures from this rule, claiming that the divine message is contained in each single word and the very word order as

¹⁰ Preface to Brucioli's 1532 translation of the complete Bible.

¹¹ Apart from the evaluation of juxtaposed glosses, which is a key issue in the research for the author's purposes. Moreover, for the sake of unambiguous phrasing all renderings will be regarded as translations in the following pages, although the term "vulgarisation" would be more proper in the case of source-oriented Italian renderings from Latin, comprising most Biblical translations of our concern. For the gradual shift from vulgarisation into translation, which marked the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see the in-depth study of Giorgio Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre* (Turin: Einaudi, 1991). The same process within the context of Bible translations is analysed in Andrea Bernardelli, "Volgarizzare o tradurre: Appunti per una prima ricerca sulle prime Bibbie italiane a stampa (1471-1545)," *Quaderni d'italianistica: Official Journal of the Canadian Society for Italian Studies* 17, no. 2 (1996): 37-59 (henceforth: Bernardelli, *Volgarizzare*), and in Lino Leonardi, "'A volerla bene volgarizzare...' Teorie della traduzione biblica in Italia (con appunti sull'Apocalisse)," *Studi medievali*, 37 (1996): 171-201.

well.¹² Medieval Biblical translation chose to maintain the latter standard, ignoring the considerable freedom Jerome had demonstrated in his own work.¹³ In Italy, generally speaking, the older versions are rendered more freely than the later. A notable exception is Domenico Cavalca's early thirteenth-century version of Acts: in his short preface the Dominican friar outlines his method of maintaining the original as far as seemed possible within the limits of the vernacular.¹⁴ Later on, it was chiefly the humanists who opened the debate over translation methods.¹⁵

It was Samuel Berger in the late nineteenth century who took on the lion's share of mapping the distribution and origin of the Italian Biblical manuscripts and *incunabula*, pointing out that the earliest extant versions of these could be dated to the fourteenth century.¹⁶ Still, it is regarded as plausible that the whole Bible had been

¹² Most of all, *Epistula* 57:5. On the translational and interpretative character of the Vulgate, see Eva Schultz-Flügel, "The Latin Old Testament Tradition," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 1, ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 642-661, and René Kieffer, "Jerome: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics," *ibid.*, 663-681.

¹³ For an essential bibliography on medieval translation theory, visit Stephen Carey's website: <http://www.the-orb.net/wemsk/translationwemsk.html>. His list does not contain the following items I found relevant: Giacomo Devoto, "La Bibbia e le forze di conservazione linguistica nell'alto Medio Evo," in *La Bibbia nell'alto Medioevo*, Settimane di Studio 10 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1963), 55-66; Carlo Alberto Mastrelli, "La tecnica delle traduzioni della Bibbia," *ibid.*, 657-681; Jeanette Beer, "Medieval Translations: Latin and the Vernacular Languages," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and Arthur George Rigg (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1996), 728-733; Irven M. Resnick, "*Lingua Dei, Lingua Hominis*: Sacred Language and Medieval Texts," *Viator* 21 (1990): 51-74.

¹⁴ The same verbatim technique is well demonstrated, for example, by Dante in *Convivio* 2:12: "Li cieli narrano la gloria di Dio, e l'opere delle sue mani annunzia lo fermamento," for the Vulgate "Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei et opera manum eius adnuntiat firmamentum" (Psalms 18:2, iuxta LXX).

¹⁵ Brucioli's prologue to his 1532 complete Bible is paradigmatically quotable in this regard; this is to be found in Luisa Ferretti Cuomo, "Traduzioni bibliche giudeo-italiane ed umanistiche," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 111, no. 2 (1995): 206-245.

¹⁶ Samuel Berger, "La Bible italienne au Moyen Âge," *Romania* 23 (1894): 358-431 (henceforth: Berger, *La Bible*). For a comprehensive list of the manuscripts, Lino Leonardi, "Inventario dei manoscritti biblici italiani," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 105, no. 2 (1993): 863-886, is to be consulted, in that it is much more updated: in recent times the works of SISMEL and the Fondazione Ezio Franceschini (both in Florence) shed new light on the corpus. The French researcher's conclusions about the origin and sources of the versions—to be discussed in the following pages—have been accepted by all later scholars; see the following: Bernardelli, *Volgarizzare*, 41; Umberto Cassuto, "Bible—Translations—Italian," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 4 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1996), 878 (there is no reference here to Cassuto's study, on which the editorial staff leaned); Kenelm Foster, "Vernacular Scriptures in Italy," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 452-465 (henceforth: Foster,

translated into Italian, in northern Italy, by the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁷ The identity of the authors is not known: with regard to all manuscripts but one no translator can be named prior to 1471. Only one name, that of Domenico Cavalca (ca. 1270-1342), can without doubt be connected to a version of the Acts. Instead, we are left with various dialectical indications in the texts suggesting certain regions of medieval Italy within which the vernacular versions circulated: the language of the translations is usually Tuscan—the Florentine predominance is remarkable—or, to a lesser extent, Venetian.¹⁸ Apart from the linguistic area, that is, possible place of activity, no indication is given with regard to the anonymous authors. In all translations the source language was Latin, in that the source text was exclusively Jerome’s Vulgate. It was to be in 1530 that the humanist Antonio Brucioli’s translation of the New Testament and his 1532 translation of the entire Bible, both printed in Venice, claimed, for the first time, to have gone back to the original Greek and Hebrew texts. Nevertheless, Brucioli seems to have relied heavily on the new Latin translation of Santi Pagnini and Erasmus. The first Italian who undoubtedly utilised Hebrew and Greek sources was the Calvinist Giovanni Diodati in his 1607 Bible (printed in Geneva).¹⁹

As far as the originals are concerned, Italian Old Testament manuscripts reflect a number of rare readings, which suggest that the source texts were

Vernacular). One remarkable exception is the supposed Waldensian origin of the Italian Bible (more on this later).

¹⁷ The theory is, again, Berger’s, and despite the lack of evidence, is widely accepted. Lyrical translations, however, were undoubtedly composed at such an early date. The most renowned of these are the *Cantico delle creature*, a free adaptation of Psalm 150, written by St. Francis of Assisi in the early 1210s, and the Cremonese Gherardo Pateng’s *Splanamento de li Proverbi di Solomone*, again from the first half of the thirteenth century.

¹⁸ For the latter, see Anna Morisi Guerra, “Di alcune edizioni veneziane della Bibbia nella prima metà del Cinquecento,” *Clio* 21 (1985): 50-57. Note also that the majority of the manuscripts are preserved in Florentine and Sienese libraries.

¹⁹ Ironically, it was Diodati’s tendency not to stray far from the familiar Vulgate in phrase or cadence—despite the use of Hebrew and Greek sources—that made his version successful. In a modernised form, this has remained the Bible of Italian Protestants today. See William A. McComish, *The Epigones: A Study of the Theology of the Genevan Academy at the Time of the Synod of Dort, with Special Reference to Giovanni Diodati* (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1989).

independent of the standard mid-thirteenth-century Vulgate of Paris. In addition, an archaic chapter-division of the Pentateuch and Job, proper to Latin texts prior to the thirteenth century, is found in the Sienese manuscripts.²⁰ Therefore, the translators most likely made use of Vulgate versions current in southern France and northern Italy before the mid-thirteenth century.²¹

After a thorough inquiry into the sources of the Italian translators, Berger concluded that the thirteenth-century Italian Bible was dependent to a large measure on French (and Provençal) vernacular versions, this influence seeming especially clear in the case of the Psalter and the New Testament as a whole.²² In fact, this was the case with contemporary Italian letters in general: the early vernacular literature reflects a strong transalpine dependence. The body of written works produced in the Italian language had its beginnings in the thirteenth century—until that time nearly all literary works were written in Latin—and was heavily indebted to French prose and verse romances (chiefly stories from the Carolingian cycles) and strongly reliant on Provençal love lyrics. Italians, who copied and imitated the literary standards set by France in order to come up to them, had developed a French-inspired literature by the thirteenth century. The prestige of written culture in *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* obviously exerted a strong influence on the early development of the Italian Bible as well. Dante's view is especially noteworthy in this regard, in that in his treatise concerning the literary application of the vernacular (ca. 1307) he refers to French as

²⁰ For example, Siena Bibl. Com. I.V.5 and F.III.4, both from the early fourteenth century.

²¹ See Foster, *Vernacular*, 459, and Guy Lobrichon, "Pour l'étude de la tradition et du texte de la Vulgate latine en Italie (XIII^e siècle)," in *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8-9 novembre 1996*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), 23-33.

²² Berger, *La Bible*, 373-406. The precise stemmatic history of the versions has been explored, regrettably, only in the case of Revelations, by Lino Leonardi, "Versioni e revisioni dell'Apocalisse in volgare. Obiettivi e metodi di una ricerca," in *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8-9 novembre 1996*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), 37-92.

the foremost among the vernacular tongues in poetic beauty, and he mentions the French Bible as an example.²³ Moreover, the Florentine poet inserts in the prose of his *Convivio* (ca. 1304-1307) more than fifty Biblical quotations in Italian, without alluding to his source.²⁴

A salient piece of evidence to support a connection between the two Romance Biblical traditions is found in the subdivision and arrangement of the texts. Two of the oldest and best Italian manuscripts follow a numbering of the psalms which is unknown in Latin manuscripts, but appear in French versions prior to the mid-thirteenth century: Siena F.III.4 and Florence Bibl. Naz. Pal. 2 have 175 and 180 psalms respectively, due to dividing Psalm 119. With regard to the New Testament, some versions show a book order which is extremely rare in Latin codices, but is found in the Zürich manuscript of the Waldensian New Testament (which is, most probably, based on an early Provençal version): *inter alia*, Florence Riccardiana 1252 has Gospels—Catholic epistles—Paul—Acts—Revelations.

However, the most eloquent testimonies for transalpine impacts on the initial formation of the Italian Bible are beyond question the disjunctive errors and paraphrases they share with Provençal versions. The following examples for paraphrases are taken from the Gospels:²⁵

²³ *De vulgari eloquentia* 1:10:2: “Quelibet enim partium largo testimonio se tuetur. Allegat ergo pro se lingua *oil*, quod propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem quicquid redactum sive inventum est ad vulgare prosaycum, suum est: videlicet Biblia cum Troianorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata et Arturi regis ambages pulcerrime et quamplures alie ystorie ac doctrine.”

²⁴ For an exhaustive study on Dante’s relationship with the Bible, see a collection of essays in Giovanni Barblan, ed., *Dante e la Bibbia: Atti del Convegno Internazionale promosso da “Biblia”, Firenze, 26-28 settembre 1986* (Città di Castello: Tiferno Grafica, 1988).

²⁵ Emphasis mine. These and other examples are reported in Berger, *La Bible*, 385-386, and Foster, *Vernacular*, 461. Unfortunately, our authorities have not adduced much evidence of such variants in the Old Testament.

John 1:1*Vulgate**Riccardiana 1252**Provençal MS Paris B.N. fr. 2425**Provençal MS Paris B.N. fr. 6261**Vaudois MS, Carpentras Bibl. Mun. 22**Guiart Desmoulins (Picardy, 1295)*In principio erat **Verbum**.Nel cominciamento era **il figliuolo di Dio**.**Lo filh** era al començament.En lo comensamen era **lo filh de Dieu**.**Lo filh** era al començament.**Au commencement fu** li Fieux.**Matthew 21:9***Vulgate**Riccardiana 1252**Provençal MS Paris B.N. fr. 6261**Vaudois MS, Carpentras Bibl. Mun. 22*Hosanna **filio David!****Facci salvi** figliuolo di David!**Salva nos**, filh de David!**Fay nos salf** filh de David!**John 11:16; 21:2***Vulgate**Riccardiana 1252**Provençal MS Lyons Palai des Arts 36**Vaudois MS, Carpentras Bibl. Mun. 22***Thomas, qui dicitur** Didymus...Tomaso, il quale è detto **incredulo**...Tomas, que es ditz **no crescenz**...Tomas, loquals es ditz **dubitos**...

The fact that these textual variants appear in the parallel passages of the above manuscripts consolidates the argument for an intimate connection between Italian and Gallic versions, if not even partial derivation of the former from the latter. Their nature—exegetical paraphrase or slack etymology of Hebrew and Greek terms left without translation in the Latin source—on the other hand indicates how vernacular translations were generally conceived and for what purpose they were compiled (more on this later). The French dependence in the case of the Old Testament is primarily sustained by the Tuscan Psalters, which often present a word-by-word following of parallel passages in French translations. The following example is Psalm 1, taken from a complete Tuscan Old Testament manuscript from ca. 1300-1325, compared to that of a French Psalter.²⁶

²⁶ The example is reported in Berger, *La Bible*, 374, who fails to provide a precise dating for the French Psalter, because “the state of the French Psalter is extremely confused,” and therefore he had to refer to two different manuscripts when examples were needed. All emphasis here is Berger’s, to signal the authors’ additions or inaccuracies in comparison to the Vulgate. He also ventures the conclusion that this Italian Psalter was not even prepared from the Latin, but a French original.

Siena Bibl. Comunale F.III.4.

¹Beato è quell'uomo che non andò nel chonsiglio de' malvagi e non istette ne la via de' pecchatori e non sedette in chattedra di pistolença. ²Ma la sua volontà **sarà** ne la leggie del Nostro Signore e **in quello** penserà il dí e la notte. ³Et sarà sí come l'arbolo piantato al lato al chorso dell'aqua, che darà il frutto suo nel tenpo suo, e la sua foglia non **chaderà**, e cciò che farà **sarà in prosperità**. ⁴**E gli malvagi non saranno in tale maniera**, ma ssaranno sí chome la polvare che 'l vento **lieva di la terra**. ⁵Et però non risuciteranno li malvagi nel dí del giudicio, né i pecchatori nel chonsiglio de' giusti. ⁶E perciò ha chonosciuto el Signore la via de' giusti, e la via de' pecchatori perirà.

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¹Beneürez **est** li homs qui n'ala pas ou conseil des felons, et qui n'estut pas en la voie des pecheürs, et qui ne sist pas en chaïere de pestillance. ²Mes sa volonté **est** en la loi de Nostre Seingneur, et en la loi d'icelui pensera par jour et par nuit. ³Et il sera come li fuz qui est plantez delez le decorement des eves, qui donnera son fruit en son temps, et sa fueille ne **charra** pas, et tout ce que il fera **sera touz jorz en prosperité**. ⁴**Li felon ne seront mie en tele maniere**, mes ausi come la pouldre que li venz **lieve de la terre**. ⁵Et porce ne ressordront mie li felon en jugement, ne les pecheürs ou conseil des justes. ⁶Por ce a conneü Nostre Sires la voie des justes, et la voie des felons perira.

As far as the target language is concerned, the general predominance of Tuscan in the translations is again in line with the development of secular literature in Italy, which tended to be linguistically more or less Tuscan from the later decades of the thirteenth century. This means that the use of this dialect does not necessarily indicate a geographically Tuscan provenance. In fact, "standard Italian" at first was basically a Florentine dialect stripped of local peculiarities, which began to develop as a literary vehicle in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Accordingly, an anonymous translator in the fourteenth or fifteenth century justified his choice in a preface as follows: "volgarizzando seguiteremo uno comune parlare toscano, però che è il più intero et il più aperto communemente di tutta Ytalia, et il più piacevole e il più intendevole de ogni lingua."²⁷

The authors

As was mentioned above, the authors are not identified in the manuscripts. Berger's most conjectural thesis was that the first Italian versions might have been the work of Waldensian heretics or near-heretics who were either missionaries from France or, more likely, Italians affected by their preaching.²⁸ Little wonder that this hypothesis emerged as a "reflex action" in the early phase of research: the members of this movement first raised the demand for Bible-study among the laity.²⁹ The accounts of its earliest history contain references to vernacular Gospels: Waldes, the wealthy Lyonese merchant, converted to evangelical belief driven by a passage from John which had been translated upon his request by two priests (1170). His followers, nine years later, appeared in Rome to receive the *predicationis auctoritas* from the third Lateran Council, presenting to Pope Alexander III a book in *lingua conscriptus gallica in quo textus et glosa Psalterii pluriorumque legis utriusque librorum continebatur*.³⁰ Later on, wherever the Waldensians' appearance is attested, the presence of vernacular Bibles is immediately testified by local Councils, which applied measures to confine their spreading.³¹ The earliest reference to their activity in Italian territories—where Waldensians seceded from their *fratres ultramontani* at the beginning of the thirteenth century—is Cesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (ca. 1220). Here the Cistercian monk connected the great extent of

²⁷ MS Riccardiana 1787, reported in Berger, *La Bible*, 408-409, Foster, *Vernacular*, 456, and Bernardelli, *Volgarizzare*, 41.

²⁸ Berger, *La Bible*, 416-419.

²⁹ I have not considered it necessary to review the scholarly literature on this subject.

³⁰ Their petition, in the 1990 edition of Walter Map, is reported in Grado Giovanni Merlo, "Bibbia ed eretici del pieno Medioevo," in *La Bibbia nel Medio Evo*, ed. Giuseppe Cremascoli and Claudio Leonardi (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1998), 429-430.

³¹ See Grado Giovanni Merlo, *ibid.*, 425-437, and *idem*, *Valdesi e valdismi medievali* (Turin: Claudiana, 1991).

heterodoxy in Lombardy with the activity of heretical *magistri, aperte legentes et sacram paginam perverse exponentes*.³²

The supposed Waldensian origin of the Italian Bible seems therefore justifiable, but a final proof is still lacking. Although it was favoured by the authority of Cassuto,³³ present-day scholars generally hold a contrary opinion.³⁴ The fact that the Italian Scriptures—just like the Provençal New Testaments—convey orthodox doctrines³⁵ cannot be raised as a valid objection: this heresy was a question of ecclesiastical discipline rather than of doctrine. Therefore, their traditional character is not incompatible with a potential Waldensian origin. What is certain, however, is that it did not remain the patrimony of dissident preachers: as will be explained, the most active copiers and propagators of the vernacular Biblical manuscripts were unequivocally the friars, especially Dominicans, and to a lesser extent, Franciscans.

The early prints

The present paper is particularly concerned with the *incunabula*.³⁶ The pre-tridentine period is marked by the *editio princeps* of the Bible in Italian, on August 1, 1471,

³² Cesarius's complaint, in the 1851 Cologne edition of J. Strange, is reported in Grado Giovanni Merlo, "Bibbia ed eretici del pieno Medioevo," in *La Bibbia nel Medio Evo*, ed. Giuseppe Cremascoli and Claudio Leonardi (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1998), 433.

³³ Umberto Cassuto, "Bible—Translations—Italian," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 4 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1996), 878. The editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia* do not reveal from which study of Cassuto they compiled this entry.

³⁴ Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, "Les Bibles vaudoises à la source des Bibles Italiennes?" *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 105, no. 2 (1993): 845-855; Guy Lobrichon, "Panorama en bref des recherches actuelles sur la Bible au Moyen Âge," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 105, no. 2 (1993): 827-836.

³⁵ For example, Revelations 1:13 in most of the Italian manuscripts (e. g. Riccardiana 1250; Riccardiana 1538) might hint at the cult of the Virgin Mary (and at the veneration of saints in general): the Vulgate "in medio septem candelabrorum similem filio hominis" becomes "nel meço di secte candelier de l'oro simigliante al Figliuol de la Vergine." (See Berger, *La Bible*, 405.)

³⁶ This paper will not dedicate much attention to all printed Bibles, but rather to the first incunables of 1471.

printed by Wendelin of Speier (Vindelius de Spira).³⁷ The translation was compiled by a Camaldolese monk, Niccolò Malermi (*alias* Malerbi, ca. 1420-1481). Malermi was most probably born in Venice in 1420, and entered into the Congregation of Monk Hermits of Camaldoli—an independent offshoot of the Benedictine Order, founded at Camaldoli as part of the monastic reform-movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—in 1470. Another work of his, a vernacular translation of Jacopo da Varagine’s *Legenda aurea*, appeared in print in 1475, bearing the title *Legenda dei santi* (Venice: Nicolaus Jenson). He died in 1481 or 1482.

In the preface to his Bible the author claimed to have translated the whole Bible, but his work is rather to be perceived as a revision of earlier manuscript versions (being akin principally to MS Siena F.III.4)—moreover, as an effort to bring these closer to the Vulgate and incidentally to make their language less Tuscan and more Venetian.³⁸ According to the comprehensive catalogue of Edoardo Barbieri,³⁹ in a twenty-year period following the first one, the Malermi Bible appeared in more than ten editions. The last one was printed in 1567.

Between 1471, marked by this first Bible, and the end of the century as many as ten different versions were made (later, in 1528, the new Latin version of Santi Pagnini led to a new crop of Italian translations). The second Italian Bible to appear in print was merely a compilation of preceding versions. It was printed soon after the first edition, in Venice, on October 1, 1471, by Nicolaus Jenson.⁴⁰ The anonymous

³⁷ As will be seen later, the General Council of Trent (1545-1563) is not arbitrarily chosen as a *terminus ante quem*, in that it was a decisive landmark in the production of Italian Bibles.

³⁸ See Bernardelli, *Volgarizzare*, 42-43, and Foster, *Vernacular*, 453.

³⁹ Edoardo Barbieri provides a list of all editions in “La fortuna della ‘Bibbia vulgarizzata’ di Niccolò Malerbi,” *Aevum* 63 (1989): 440-489. See also *idem*, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento: Storia e bibliografia ragionata delle edizioni in lingua italiana dal 1471 al 1600*, 2 vols. (Milan: Editio Bibliografica, 1992).

⁴⁰ For me it is still a mystery why some attribute the printing work to Adam of Ammergau (e. g. Bernardelli, *Volgarizzare*, 56), whereas all others do so to Jenson (e. g. Foster, *Vernacular*, 453). I preferred the latter merely on a “majority decides” basis.

author presents no attempt at revision, piecing together his Bible mainly from that of Malermi, and to a lesser extent, the earlier manuscript tradition. The Jenson Bible was forgotten until the nineteenth century, when it was discovered, and out of both patriotic and literary interests in the language of the *Trecento* it began to be regarded as a treasure of the purest Tuscan and therefore to be called the “Bibbia volgare,” that is, the vernacular Bible *par excellence*.⁴¹ Its ten-volume edition of Carlo Negroni (Bologna, 1882-1887) serves as a basic source text for the present thesis.

The Catholic Church and the vernacular Bible

The Catholic Church’s attitude towards the Italian Bible needs a brief digression here.⁴² In the period preceding the Counter-Reformation Rome’s attitude towards rendering the Bible accessible in the common vernaculars differed from country to country, and could occasionally be considerably tolerant. There was no unified standpoint, despite the fact that the discussion on the liturgical use of Romance languages had been ongoing since the eighth century.⁴³ In Italy, while indeed not promoting it, the Papacy showed no hostility in principle to the translation of the Bible, and posed no serious obstacle in its diffusion (as was the case also in German- and Polish-language areas)—whereas in other territories of the West (such as France

⁴¹ Negroni’s preface (*Al commendatore Francesco Zambrini Presidente della Commissione pei Testi di Lingua*) reads: “... vedete destino! il raffazzonamento del Malermi, bizzarro e incondito miscuglio dell’oro del trecento col metallo assai meno prezioso che si spendeva nella seconda metà del secolo seguente, ebbe l’onore di parecchie ristampe; dove che la Bibbia del Jenson, la quale per antonomasia fu chiamata di poi la *Bibbia volgare*, o sia che pochissime copie se ne sieno tirate, o che si sieno perdute, o quale altra che ne sia stata la cagione, è divenuta al dì d’oggi siffattamente rara, da doverla gli studiosi reputare come l’araba fenice.” Carlo Negroni, ed., *La Bibbia Volgare secondo la rara edizione del 1 ottobre MCCCCLXXI*, 10 vols (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1882-1887), vii. (In order to differentiate from the Malerbi Bible, it was also called *Bibbia d’ottobre*.)

⁴² Again, I have not considered it necessary to review the scholarly literature on this subject; the notes will identify those recent accounts that I consider to be of importance for present purposes.

⁴³ The use of common tongues in liturgy is amply dealt with by Vittorio Coletti, *Parole dal pulpito: Chiesa e movimenti religiosi tra latino e volgare* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983), 22-28, and Michel Zink, “La prédication en langues vernaculaires,” in *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4., ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 489-516.

and Spain) it proved to be severely condemnatory: vernacular Bibles had been prohibited for a long time. Surprisingly enough, it was not primarily the contents that provoked aversion: the key to the ambiguous attitude is rather the identity and purposes of those who made use of the texts. This is attested, for example, by Innocent III, to whom the Bishop of Metz, anxious about the numerous lay people of his diocese who read the Gospels and the Psalms *in lingua gallica*, had addressed a letter. In his reply the pope suggests not taking immediate steps to quash this practice, which might prove to be also positive, but to retrace thoughtfully *quis fuerit auctor translationis illius, que intentio transferentis, que fides utentium, que causa docendi*.⁴⁴ Since the translations into Italian covered almost exclusively orthodox purposes, church authorities hardly had reasons to raise objections.

If the advent of the printing press brought about the first turning point in the Italian Bible production—not so much concerning the contents, but rather the diffusion of sacred texts in Italian—the Council of Trent (1546-1563), with the Inquisition's enactments in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (1559), outlawing vernacular translations and holding out the prospect of harsh measures against those who were circulating them, signalled without doubt the second. This, among the “*Biblia prohibita*,” reads as follows: *Biblia omnia vulgari idiomate, germanico, gallico, hispanico, anglico sive flandrico etc. conscripta nullatenus vel imprimi, vel legi, vel teneri possint absque licentia Sacri Officii S. Rom. Inquisitionis*.⁴⁵ In one of the final sessions of the Council the decree was mitigated in order that the special

⁴⁴ *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 214: col. 698. Ultimately, the Waldensians of Metz were labelled heretics, and their books were burned; see Vittorio Coletti, *Parole dal pulpito: Chiesa e movimenti religiosi tra latino e volgare* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983), 41-42.

⁴⁵ Reported by Vittorio Coletti, *Parole dal pulpito: Chiesa e movimenti religiosi tra latino e volgare* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983), 204.

permit could be obtained also from the local bishop or superior, not only the Inquisition.⁴⁶

The *Index*, beyond an obvious quantitative decline, brought about a geographical shift as far as the centre of the Italian Bible production is concerned: from the second half of the sixteenth century all Bibles printed up to that time in Venice moved into “exile,” to be edited in Geneva. Officially permitted Biblical editions were reduced to mere literary exercise, or corollary, at Eucharistic celebrations. In fact, from the last decades of the *Cinquecento*, up to the *secolo dei Lumi*, only rhymed translations and paraphrases were general in Italy, and moreover, solely of those Bible verses which had an intrinsic poetical value and which from a theological-doctrinal viewpoint did not present any risk of potentially “heretical” interpretation; in most cases, the Psalms. On the other hand, lectionaries—collections containing portions of the Bible appointed to be read on particular days of the year—enjoyed a measure of success, primarily the ones containing revelations on the Eucharist; this indicates again that believers were allowed to read in their native tongue only those parts of the Holy Writ which were most congenial to Catholic doctrines.⁴⁷ These homiletical collections bear titles such as *Meditazioni di Cristo*; *Fioretti della Bibbia*; *Natività, vita e passioni di Gesù*; *Pianti e lamenti della Vergine* etc.

⁴⁶ It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter into details on the Council; for these, beyond Coletti’s work, see Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura, 1471-1605* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997), *passim*, especially 18, and F. J. Cohen, “The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to the Present Day,” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. S. L. Greenslade, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 199-237. In 1589 Sixtus V extended the *Index* “Books of the Jews” containing anything which might be construed as being against the Catholic Church, and in 1595 the *Index expurgatorius* of Hebrew books was established. As will be presented, MS Mich.Add.1a is marked by censors on folios 386v and 645r.

⁴⁷ See Gianpaolo Garavaglia, “I lezionari in volgare italiano fra XIV e XVI secolo: Spunti per una ricerca,” in *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: atti del Convegno internazionale, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8-9 novembre 1996*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence: Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino, 1998), 365-392.

The measures implemented in Trent naturally led to a rash of pirate versions, first of all revisions of the humanist Brucioli's 1532 Bible (inspired by Protestant doctrines). This, consequently, led to a Dominican counter-offensive, which was, beyond personal attacks by preachers and inquisitors, marked by the preparation of "anti-Bruciolian" Bibles.⁴⁸ The regulations of Trent were to be mitigated only by a 1758 constitution of Benedict XIV, *Sollicita ac provida*, which liberalised the reading of vernacular Bibles, although maintaining the Roman monopoly of the translations.⁴⁹

The application of the versions

As was indicated, the Bibles that have come down to us with any reference of ownership belonged to mendicant friars—apart from a small minority that were the property of members of the Florentine nobility—chiefly to Dominicans, and to a lesser extent, Franciscans.⁵⁰ They appear to have been applied not so much for private devotion and liturgical purposes, but mostly for public reading. It is mainly the explicative glosses that evidence their usage in public space. It is supposed that the verses that are interspersed with glosses in order to elucidate the meaning or bring out points of doctrine—most frequently New Testament passages, which form part of the Missal—might indicate that translation did serve to a certain extent as a medium

⁴⁸ Benedetto da Foiano's ill-famed play of words in one of his sermons of the 1550s is particularly remarkable: "i Brucioli non sono buoni ad altro che essere arsi" (Tuscan "brucioli"; standard Italian "trucioli" means 'wood shavings'). Ironically enough, da Foiano himself was later accused of Lutheranism, and starved to death in the Castel Sant'Angelo. "Anti-Bruciolian" editions were produced by Fra Zaccheria da Firenze (New Testament; Venice: Lucantonio Giunta, 1536) and by Santi Marmochino (Old Testament; Venice: Eredi di Lucantonio Giunta, 1538). Both are heavily indebted to Brucioli's, to such an extent that they can be considered as its strictly doctrinal revision. See Bernardelli, *Volgarizzare*, 42-43.

⁴⁹ For details, see Gianpaolo Garavaglia, "Traduzioni bibliche a stampa fra Quattrocento e Settecento," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 105, no. 2 (1993): 858-862.

⁵⁰ For a detailed list of evidence, see Berger, *La Bible*, 406-410, and Foster, *Vernacular*, 458. Two are worth reporting here: firstly, as has been mentioned, a Tuscan version of the Acts, contained in a few manuscripts, has a preface written by its author Domenico Cavalca (ca. 1270-1342); as such, it is the

towards the illiterate laity.⁵¹ Having already seen paraphrases shared by Italian and French or Provençal manuscripts, two further examples of juxtaposed glosses that appear to serve for this purpose (both found in the 1471 Jenson Bible), will suffice here:⁵²

Genesis 1:16 ed il luminare minore, **cioè la luna**, che soprastesse alla notte

for the Vulgate *et luminare minus [*] ut praeesset nocti*

Genesis 3:1-2 Ma il serpente, il quale era più callido di tutti gli altri animali della terra li quali avea fatto avea fatto il Signore Iddio, se ne venne alla femmina, **conoscendola di più fragile natura dell'uomo**, e dissele: perchè comandò Iddio a voi, che non mangiasti **del legno della sapienza del bene e del male**, ma d'ogni **altro** pomo del legno del paradiso **sie?**

for the Vulgate *Sed serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus terrae quae fecerat Dominus Deus qui dixit ad mulierem [*] cur praecepit vobis Deus ut non comederitis [*] de omni [*] ligno paradisi...*

Beyond their supposed liturgical application, the Biblical texts were certainly used for community reading in monasteries. Apart from the fact that fourteenth-century manuscripts from Dominican convents are marked for this purpose, most of the explicative glosses and prologues presume a learned audience that, according to Bernardelli, was to be trained to explain doctrinal instruction to a wider public.⁵³ In this case they were intended without doubt to train skilled preachers for the mendicant

only Italian piecemeal Bible from before 1471 that bears a reference to authorship. Secondly, note that most manuscripts derive from Dominican libraries, such as that of the Florentine Santa Maria Novella.

⁵¹ The supposition is Foster's (463), while the distribution of the samples for what I think may have served to instruct either lay people or monks, is mine, and is merely based on the "gravity" of the comments.

⁵² The signs [*] serve to indicate where the author interpolated his paraphrases. To indicate these, emphasis has been given. Both examples are provided in Luisa Ferretti Cuomo, "Traduzioni bibliche giudeo-italiane ed umanistiche," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 111, no. 2 (1995): 213; 214.

⁵³ Bernardelli, *Volgarizzare*, 41. The Italian scholar also suggests that the technique of explicative glosses—together with the vernacular Bibles—was taken over from Waldensian preachers.

orders. MS Siena Bibl. Comunale F.III.4 (ca. 1300-1325) starts with a prologue of this kind.⁵⁴

Inchomincia il libro primo de la bibia e del vechio testamento. [...] Nel principio e inançi che 'l mondo fosse creato e tutte l'altre chose che ssono, era el Figliuolo di Dio appo il suo Padre. E questo Figliuolo era Iddio appo lo Padre in Trinitade, per lo quale tuttee le chose che ssono fatte, e sença lui è fatto nulla. E quello ch'è fatto in lui sí è vita, la quale vita sí era lucie degli uomini. E questa lucie in tenebre risprende sença essare da le tenebre chonpresa. De la chui Trinitade questo abbiamo fermamente a ttenere che inn una sustançia sieno tre persone. [...] Nel chominciamento creò Iddio lo cielo et la terra...

From the New Testament, the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:9-13), as it appears in the fourteenth-century Venetian MS Marciana I.It.3, again may bear witness to this kind of application:⁵⁵

⁹**O** Pare Nostro de cielo, lo to nome sia santifichado, ¹⁰**a ço che io vegna en lo to regno** [*sic*]. La tua voluntade sia fata **en cielo et** en terra sí como ella è fata in cielo. ¹¹**Misier**, dona a nuy **da viver** de die en dy, ¹²et a noy perdona li nostri pechadi, sí como noy perdonemo a coloro che n'à offeso. ¹³E non menar nuy in tentacion, **ço es a dir che Dio no debia comportar che nuy siamo menadi in temptacione**, ma delivra del male. Amen. **Amen sí vale altretant en questo luogo come a dir: Dio lo faça. En altra parte en ly vagnely, là o' ello scritto fiade: Amen dico vobis, ço es a dir en quella fiada: Io ve digo veraxiamente.**

The fact that both the manuscripts and the *incunabula* are found in the hands of Dominicans and Franciscans—leaders of a severe counter-attack upon heretical tendencies—supports the idea that the improved preaching of mendicant friars, which from this period onwards largely contributed to the waning of the appeal of heretical movements in Italy, was sustained by the help of vernacular Bible texts. Accordingly, if Berger's lastly mentioned thesis proves well founded and these versions indeed

⁵⁴ Reported in Berger, *La Bible*, 366-367.

⁵⁵ Reported in Berger, *La Bible*, 388. Emphasis, for the author's additions to the Vulgate, is Berger's.

originated among heretics, they were adopted in turn by their ideological opponents.

As Kenelm Foster, himself a member of the Order of Preachers, writes,⁵⁶

The friars had many and close contacts with the laity, especially in the cities, and their ideal of an apostolate of preaching and teaching [...] naturally led the friars to make use of, and quickly to become the most conspicuous promoters of, vernacular versions of the Scriptures. [...] Hence, it was in the houses of the friars, that we find, in the later middle ages, the chief centres of the diffusion of the Italian Bible. It is significant that a version of the Acts of the Apostles contained in the Vaudois manuscripts of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries is the one made or revised a few decades earlier by the Dominican Cavalca. Heretics themselves, in this case, were now receiving back from Catholic hands material, which the church may, in the first place, have adopted from heretical sources.

II.1.b. The Jewish Tradition

*e siano li paroli questi che io comanno a te oggi sopra lo core tuo
e meltarai essi a li figlioli toi*

Deut. 6:6-7, MS Mantova 1561

As the development of oral translations of the Bible apparently followed the same patterns, the Jewish tradition of translating the Bible into the vernacular for cultic and academic purposes will receive a brief digression here. This practice is rooted in the period following the destruction of the First Temple (586 BCE), characterized by the ongoing decline of Hebrew as a spoken language and its supersession by Aramaic. The Jewish diaspora in Babylonia is believed to have exchanged Hebrew for Aramaic as its vernacular in only a few generations.⁵⁷ As a result, despite the strong opposition on the part of some sages to the translation of the sacred texts from the “holy” Hebrew, Biblical texts were translated into Aramaic—hence the term “targum,” that

⁵⁶ Foster, *Vernacular*, 462.

⁵⁷ See Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *The History of the Hebrew Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 112ff. For the language situation in the first few centuries of the Roman Empire, see John Sawyer, *Sacred Texts in Sacred Languages* (London: Routledge, 1999), 9ff.

is, “translation.”⁵⁸ Although without direct evidence, there is a widespread conjecture that it originated in association with the liturgical reading of Scripture in the synagogues, and therefore, as a genre, the Targum was originally oral.⁵⁹ However, the earliest extant texts of the Targum are essentially literal translations of the Hebrew Bible, and appear to have been incorporated in the curriculum of the Palestinian academies, where the method of study was the review of the weekly lection twice in the Hebrew original and once in Aramaic—competence in the understanding of Scripture presupposed the ability to translate the text.⁶⁰

In Palestine the Pentateuch (*Torah*) was divided into 154 sections (*parashot*) and was completed in a triennial cycle, while the Babylonian lectionary divided the Pentateuch into 48-54 sections and was completed annually. The weekly *parashah* was accompanied by readings from the Prophets (*haftaroth*), and the Hagiographa, assigned to festivals. The Aramaic translation was declaimed by the cultic translator (*meturgeman* or *turgeman*) after each individual verse of the Pentateuchal reading and after every three verses of the Prophetic lessons. Severe rules regulated this practice, in order to prevent misrenderings, and chiefly in order not to convey the conception that the Targum was equal in sanctity and authority to the Bible itself.⁶¹ According to these, the declaimer could not read his translation from a written text, and nor could he be corrected by the Hebrew reader in order to avoid conveying the impression to

⁵⁸ The earliest pieces of evidence to attest this practice are among the Qumran finds: considerable portions of the Targum to Leviticus and Job were discovered in caves four and eleven (4QtgLev and 11QtgJob), the former dating from the second century BCE, the latter assigned to the middle of the first century CE. About the liturgical role of the Aramaic translation, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 175.

⁵⁹ See Étan Levine, “The Targums: Their Interpretative Character and Their Place in Jewish Text Tradition,” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 1, ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 323-331.

⁶⁰ Although initially the Targum conformed as closely as possible to the original text, paraphrase later occasionally took the place of translation, mostly in order to obviate anthropomorphisms in references to God.

⁶¹ Most of all, in the Mishnaic tractate *Megillah* (3:10, 4:4, 6:9).

the audience that canonised material was being presented. Apparently, oral synagogal translations into Latin in the Latin-speaking communities of the Jewish diaspora followed the same patterns of development and practice.⁶² In order to arrive at the Romance translations of our concern, it is time now to narrow our focus to that language area.

As for the questions of dating the Jewish translations into Latin, it seems to have reached a satisfactory conclusion after a series of debates, in the first half of the last century. Although no direct evidence has come down to us, Umberto (Moshe David) Cassuto, the doyen of Biblical studies of his time, argued for the earliest centuries CE as the period in which Roman Jews introduced the oral translation of the Hebrew Bible into Vulgar Latin in their synagogues.⁶³ He joined previous scholars by emphasising the divided character of the Jewish communities that settled in Latium from the Eastern Mediterranean: while their majority stemmed from Hellenised Jewry and spoke Greek, a small minority consisted of those who derived from Aramaic-speaking groups. Cassuto's major step forward was, however, the demonstration of how Latin was prevailing in both circles in an everyday context by the earliest decades of the first century CE, displacing in everyday usage both traditional languages at this early date.⁶⁴ In all probability, though, Jews were less quickly Latinised in the south of the Peninsula, where Greek lived on somewhat longer. However, as the Venosa catacomb inscriptions testify, Latin steadily gained ground

⁶² On the liturgical usage of Greek and Latin around the turn of the CE period, see also Seth Jerchow, "Ritual: VI. Judentum," in *Der neue Pauly* vol. 10 (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1999), 1038-1039.

⁶³ Umberto Cassuto, "The Jewish Translation of the Bible into Latin and its Importance for the Study of the Greek and Aramaic Versions," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1975), 285-298. This 1949 study of his was originally presented in a public lecture at Hebrew University in 1943 (henceforth: Cassuto, *The Jewish*). If he was right, Roman Jews preceded their Christian neighbours by at least one hundred years in adopting Latin as a liturgical language.

⁶⁴ Cassuto, *The Jewish*, 286-290. Prior to Cassuto the supersession of Greek by Latin was dated to the fourth century on the basis of the distribution of Greek and Latin Jewish cemetery inscriptions, but his

there as well from the third to the sixth century. All in all, it is estimated that there were 50,000 Jews in Italy during the first century of the Empire, of whom over half were concentrated in or around Rome where twelve synagogues are known to have existed, although not contemporaneously.⁶⁵

As a second step, Cassuto also opposed a then-widespread conjecture that Latin Biblical translations were prepared from Greek versions possessed by the local Jewish community.⁶⁶ To summarise: the earliest Jewish immigrants in Rome, when reading the Torah and the prophetic lessons in the holy congregation, translated them orally into their vernacular: into Greek if they belonged to the Hellenising section, or into Aramaic if they belonged to that minority. After these tongues fell into disuse under further generations, the synagogal translators—obviously after a certain period of transition—began to render the Biblical texts into their native tongue, which was initially Vulgar Latin. This practise is testified in one of the *Novellae* of Justinian, issued in the year 553. Italian Jews are granted here permission to recite their Scriptures in their local tongue:⁶⁷

Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν, ἄδειναν εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Ἑβραίοις κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς τὰς αὐτῶν, καθ' ὃν Ἑβραῖοι ὅλως τόπον εἰσὶ, διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκειν τοῖς συνιούσιν, ἢ καὶ τῆς πατρίου τυχὸν (τῆς ἰταλικῆς [*var. lec.* ἰταλίας; ἰταλῆς] ταύτης φασμέν), ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπλῶς...

We proclaim, therefore, that permission is granted to all Jews so desirous, to read in their synagogues, wherever Jews may be found, the Holy Scriptures

detailed study on the contents of the epitaphs and on literary documents demonstrated that since they were associated with ancestral tradition, Greek and Aramaic were still in use in inscriptions only.

⁶⁵ See Leo Levi, “Italy,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 9 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1996), 1115ff.

⁶⁶ Cassuto, *The Jewish*, 290. For the concepts that the Italian-born scholar is arguing against, see David Simon Blondheim, *Les Parlers Judéo-Romans et la Vetus Latina: Étude sur les rapports entre les traductions bibliques en langue romane des juifs au Moyen Âge et les anciennes versions* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Édouard Champion, 1925).

⁶⁷ I quote the text from R. Schöll and G. Kroll, eds., *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. 3 [Novellae Iustiniani] (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), 714-718. (The translation is Cassuto’s, from Cassuto, *The Jewish*, 294.)

before the assembly in Greek or in the language of whichever country it may be, by which we mean that of Italy or any other language in general.

The earliest written document of such a Latin translation is the *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*, compiled probably in Rome, between the years 294 and 313 CE. The anonymous Jewish author, in his effort to compare the legislation of the *Torah* to Roman law, quotes a number of Biblical passages (taken from Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy) in Latin. It is assumed that the translation of the Biblical texts contained in the *Collatio* might be a tradition of the Italian Jews who were using a Latin translation of the Bible in their synagogues and schools.⁶⁸

The most relevant piece of information on the cultic application of vernacular translations in Italy is found among the *responsa* of thirteenth-century Roman rabbinical scholars.⁶⁹ Among the ones collected by Zedekiah Ben Abraham Anav in his major compendium on religious law (*halakha*) concerning the liturgy, the *Shibbolei ha-Leket* ("The Gleaned Ears," 1242/1244), some discuss the question whether the declamation of the local translation can occupy the place of the Aramaic version, and whether a person thereby fulfils his duty of reading the Targum:⁷⁰

ומצות הקורין בתורה להעמיד תורגמין לתרגם מה שהן קורין כדי להשמיע לנשים ולעמי הארץ כדכתיב ויקראו בספר תורת אלהים מפורש ושום שכל ויבינו במקרא ואמר מר ויקראו בספר תורת אלהים זה מקרא מפורש זה תרגום [...] ונראה למורי ר' יהודה [...] שהלעז שלנו הוא במקום תרגום שלהן שהתרגום ארמי הוא היה הלעז שלהן ובשם ר' נטרונאי גאון ז"ל מצאתי אלו שאין מתרגמין ואומרים אין אנו צריכים לתרגם תרגום דרבנן אלא בלשון שלנו בלעז שהצבור מבינים בו אין יוצאין ידי חובתן מאי טעמה דהדין תרגום על קראי אסמכוה דרבנן דאמר ר' איקא בר אבין אמר רב חננאל מאי דכתיב ויקראו בספר תורת אלהים וגו' ויקראו זה מקרא מפורש זה תרגום ושום שכל אלו הפסוקים וכיון דכן הוא לא אפשר דלא מתרגמינן בהדין תרגום

⁶⁸ See Umberto Cassuto, "Saggi delle antiche traduzioni giudeo-italiane della Bibbia," *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* 1 (1934): 105. The *Collatio* itself, preserved in three manuscripts, was discovered in the sixteenth century and firstly published in Basle, 1574 (the most recent edition is that of Baviera, Florence, 1940).

⁶⁹ The *responsa* literature (Hebrew: *sheelot u-tshuvot*, "questions and answers") comprises replies made by rabbinical decisors (*posqim*) in answer to questions about Jewish law submitted to them.

⁷⁰ The text I report here is from Solomon Buber, ed., *Shibbolei ha-Leqet ha-Shalem* (Vilnius: 1886), 56-57. The translation, including the paragraph division and all punctuation, is mine.

דרבנן ואם יש מקום שרוצין לפרש להם יעמוד אחד חוץ מהמתרגם ויפרש להם כלשונם [...] שכל עקרו של תרגום אינו אלא לפרש דברי תורה לנשים ולעמי הארץ שאינן מבינן בלשון הקודש תדע שכן הוא [...] שאחר שקרא בתורה בלשון עברית פירשו בלשון ארמית שהוא היה הלעז שלהן להבין לנשים ולעמי הארץ שלא היו מבינן בלשון הקודש כדכתיב ובניהם חצי מדבר אשדודית ואינן מבינן לדבר יהודית וגו' [...] והתרגום הוא לעז הבבליים [...] ויראי שמים יצאו את לתרגם בלשון ארמית ולפרש בלעז שלהן איש איש בלשונו:

Those who read out the *Torah* are commanded to summon translators to translate into Aramaic⁷¹ what they are reading out [from the Bible] in order to let the women and the simple people hear [it as well].⁷² As is written: “They read out the book of the *Torah* of God, explaining it and giving the meaning so that the people could understand what was being read.”⁷³ Mar said⁷⁴ ““They read out the book of the *Torah* of God”—this is the reading of the Scripture.⁷⁵ ‘Explaining it—this is the Aramaic translation.’ [...] My master, R. Yehuda,⁷⁶ [...] maintained that this “our common language”⁷⁷ [refers to the language] of their place, because the Aramaic translation [was prepared] in their own language. [Moreover,] under the name of Rav Natronai Gaon,⁷⁸ may his memory be blessed, I found [this instruction]: “Those who do not translate into Aramaic, and say ‘we don’t have to translate into the translation of the Sages, but into our own language, the common language that the community understands,’ they do not fail to fulfil their duty.” Why would it be so?⁷⁹ It was the sages who inferred from this verse⁸⁰ the duty of the Aramaic translation of what is read out! As R. Iqā bar Abin said in the name of Rav Hananel:⁸¹ “What does it mean: ‘They read out the book of the *Torah* of God etc.’? ‘They read out’—this [refers to] Scripture, ‘explaining it’—this [refers to] the Aramaic translation, ‘and giving the meaning’—this [refers to] the verses.” And since it is impossible not to translate into Aramaic,

⁷¹ The verb *tirgem*, meaning simply “to translate,” is used to denote the declamation of the Targum.

⁷² Zedekiah Ben Abraham Anav opens the chapter by referring to a Talmudic tradition (bT Megillah 3a and Nedarim 37b; jT Megillah 4:1), which, upon an exegesis on Nehemiah, originally discussed the division of the Bible into verses.

⁷³ Neh. 8:8.

⁷⁴ Mar (Aram. “lord”), a term of respect, indicating a Talmudic authority. When a passage already quoted in the Talmud is quoted again, it is introduced with the words “Mar said,” which in the context merely means “It has been stated above.”

⁷⁵ The exegesis is supported by the fact that the Hebrew word for Scripture (*miqra*) derives from the root *qr*, “to read.”

⁷⁶ The one who is speaking here is not identified in the text; he must be an Italian authority, just like R. Yehuda.

⁷⁷ A quotation from the Talmudic context, noted above.

⁷⁸ Natronai Bar Hilai, ninth-century Gaon (Hebrew “excellency,” the title accorded to the Jewish spiritual leaders and scholars who headed the Talmudic academies of Babylonia) of Sura, one of the most prolific writers of *responsa*. Natronai’s oeuvre is a suitable authority to support the position of those who were inclined to get rid of the Targum in Italy, in that he was known for his respect for local peculiarities: for example, he always replied in the language in which he was addressed, whether Hebrew, Aramaic or Arabic.

⁷⁹ The supporters of the conservative opinion to be explained hereafter are also not identified.

⁸⁰ *Asmakhta* (Aramaic “support”), legal term introduced in the Talmud: in rabbinical exegesis it denotes the use of a Biblical text (in our case, Neh. 8:8) as a “support” for a *halakhah* (legal decision), without suggesting that the given *halakhah* is derived directly from this exegesis.

⁸¹ Both are third-century Babylonian sages.

because this is an order of the Sages, if there are places where they want to explain to the people, let someone, other than the [Aramaic] translator, stand up, and let him explain in their language. [...] Because [also] the essence of the Aramaic translation is nothing but to let the women and the simple people understand, because they do not understand the holy language, you know that it is so. [...] [In truth,] after having read out the *Torah* in Hebrew they explained it in Aramaic because this was their common language, in order that the women and the simple people might understand, because they did not understand the holy language, as is written: “And their children spake half in the language of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews’ language etc.”⁸² [...] And the Aramaic translation is the language of the Babylonians. [...] And those who fear the Heavens concluded all: [it is a duty] to translate into Aramaic and to explain in the common language of all places.

In the above sequence two confronting positions have been presented: some maintain that the Scripture is not necessarily to be translated into Aramaic if it is translated into the local vernacular instead, whereas the others hold the contrary, referring to the authority of the sages, who codified the necessity of reading the Targum. The latter, prevailing, consolidate the Aramaic translation in synagogal worship, but at the same time—by attributing different liturgical roles to all three parts of the Biblical reference—this concluding position offers equal space for translation into the common tongue. Thus, beyond the fact that the Aramaic translation preserved a sacral role even when Aramaic was no longer the vernacular of the Jews,⁸³ we learn from this debate that in thirteenth-century Italy an oral practice of vernacular translations was in liturgical use, and was diffused to such an extent as to threaten to elbow the Aramaic translation out of the synagogue. In fact, the rabbis did not ponder whether there was a need for an Italian translation to be delivered, but whether it was enough for it to be delivered alone, discarding the Aramaic tradition.

⁸² Neh. 13:24. The whole verse reads as follows: “And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews’ language, but according to the language of each people.”

⁸³ This was the case in the Arab world as well, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 158, 176.

We have jumped an eight-hundred year gap between the *Collatio* and the rabbinical dispute found in Zedakiah Anav's collection. In the meantime, a second language shift had gradually occurred among the Jews living in central and southern Italy, where a special dialect took shape from the early Middle Ages onwards, which today is called Judeo-Italian or Judeo-Roman (*giudeo-romanesco*).⁸⁴ Since the earliest known texts in this dialect are glosses in Shabbethai Donnolo's (913-ca. 982) tenth-century *Sefer Hakhmoni* (a commentary to the mystical *Sefer Yezira*, written in Hebrew), the greater part of the period of transition from Late Latin to Judeo-Italian is undocumented. Interestingly enough, just like the Aramaic, the Latin translation also survived over the time that had passed it by—although in a completely different way. According to Cassuto, a twelfth-century convert, Odo, was reliant on the synagogal Latin translation when composing his manual, without doubt to arm Christian missionaries in proselytising among Jews.⁸⁵

It was only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that, along with the formation of a major Jewish cultural centre in Rome, that Judeo-Italian developed into a type of *koine* used in written documents by Jews throughout Italy (who called it *latino* or *volgare*), and that considerable literary production began in this dialect—in Hebrew characters.⁸⁶ Generally speaking, this dialect is central Italian—it belongs to the vast linguistic and geographical area that covers Marche, Umbria, and Latium –

⁸⁴ For the foregoing, see the following: Marco Mancini, "Sulla formazione dell'identità linguistica giudeo-romanesca fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento," in *Roma nel Rinascimento*, ed. Luca Serianni (Rome: Istituto Storico per il Medioevo, 1992), 53-122; Joseph (Giuseppe) Barukh Sermoneta, "Judeo-Italian," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 10 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1996), 427-429; Seth Jerchow, "Judeo-Italian," in *The Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2000), 359-361. This shift was naturally part of the formation of Romance languages, among which Judeo-Italian developed in the south-central group of Italian dialects. Despite its close affinity to other dialects, the archaic phonetic and morphological characteristics it presents, as well as an ancient vocabulary—all preserved as a result of Italian Jewry's historical mobility—are remarkable distinguishing features.

⁸⁵ Cassuto, *The Jewish*, 295-296. More on Odo later.

mixed up with expressions and phrases borrowed from Hebrew.⁸⁷ The use of the Hebrew alphabet might be motivated by more factors: ignorance of the Latin alphabet (as to learn the Hebrew alphabet was a religious duty, to learn the Latin one a luxury); respect and appropriateness (as it would seem absurd to produce a prayer book or Biblical manuscript in the Latin alphabet or to introduce a long Hebrew work with a different type); secrecy (particularly important in account books).⁸⁸

Since in their primary, cultic form of application they required orality, dialect versions of the Bible, the prayer book and Biblical glossaries have been preserved in manuscript only from the fifteenth century onwards, and certainly from a site other than the synagogue. Sermoneta's statement that Italian Jews translated the Bible, the prayer book, the Passover *Haggadah*, the Ethics of the Fathers, various hymns and large portions of the liturgy, to assist children and women who could read Hebrew without actually knowing the language, seems well founded.⁸⁹ This means that the context for the origin of Judeo-Italian Bible production is not the liturgy, but rather the elementary school (*beyt-sefer*) or home study.

However, the problem why the first manuscripts we have were preserved from that period, still needs to be settled. The conjecture that local Jewish authorities

⁸⁶ For the material produced in this period, consult Giulio Busi, *Libri e scrittori nella Roma ebraica del medioevo* (Venice: Luise Editore, 1990) and Joseph Abraham Levi, "La ienti de Sion: Linguistic and Cultural Legacy of an Early Thirteenth-Century Judeo-Italian Kinah," *Italica* 75 (1998): 1-21.

⁸⁷ For a bibliography of Judeo-Italian one should consult Paul Wexler, *Judeo-Romance Linguistics: A Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publications, 1989). The most relevant works are Luisa Ferretti Cuomo, "In margine al giudeo-italiano, note fonetiche morfologiche e lessicali," *Italia* 1 (1976): 30-53; Joseph Sermoneta and Isaac Benabu, eds., *Judeo-Romance Languages* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim – Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1985); Joseph Abraham Levi, "La ienti de Sion': Linguistic and Cultural Legacy of an Early Thirteenth-Century Judeo-Italian Kinah," *Italica* 75 (1998) 1-21; Seth Jerchow, "Judeo-Italian: A Short Typological Description," paper presented at the International Conference of the Baruch College and The American Society of Geolinguistics on Language and Identity, New York, 4 October 2002. Moreover, in his work on the ghetto of Rome, Milano includes a chapter on the ghetto jargon of Rome, see Attilio Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma* (Rome: Carucci Editore, 1988), 435ff.

⁸⁸ For more on this, see Alan Freedman, *Italian Texts in Hebrew Characters: Problems of Interpretation* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972), 23ff.

⁸⁹ Joseph Barukh Sermoneta, "Judeo-Italian," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 10 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1996), 427-429.

wanted to preserve one genuine reading for posterity—for fear that the Italian oral tradition together with the elders of the communities would be lost in a time of persecution—is appealing, but difficult to support. Firstly, Italy (just like Germany) was too divided to be able to threaten the Jews with such a persecution or to expel them simultaneously from every region (as happened in unified kingdoms such as Edward I’s England). Instead, one city would close its gates to them, another in its vicinity open them up. Secondly, the external features of the manuscripts to which I had access show that they were produced in the course of several years or even decades, and not under the pressure of a serious threat. Finally, they are far from forming a unified *corpus*. In his *Observations* Seth Jerchower wishes to stress the plural *corpora*, as the various manuscripts and texts point to consolidations of multiple textual traditions: with regards to the major *corpora* of complete texts, the Parma manuscripts and the group MS Can.Or.10, MS JTS L667, MS Can.Or.11 substantially differ in terms of lexicon, grammar, and diachrony.⁹⁰ In fact, the confused state of the Biblical versions was deplored also by Leone da Modena in the introduction to his glossary, where he described the text of the Jewish translations to the Bible as *tutta goffa e senza grazia*.⁹¹ Instead, the reason might be found rather in the economic consolidation of Jewish communities in districts of central and northern Italy. Towards the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth, the Jews in Italy—who had large amounts of liquid capital, which was realised after they were obliged to leave the south at the end of the thirteenth century, or when they left Rome, which declined after the Holy See moved to Avignon—embarked on a new

⁹⁰ Seth Jerchower, “Observations on the Current State of Judeo-Italian Corpus Studies,” paper presented at the session of the University of Pennsylvania and the Albert Ludwigs Universität Freiburg on Sacred Texts in Jewish Languages, Washington DC, 18 December 2001 (henceforth: *Jerchower 2001*).

sphere of economic activity as small-scale moneylenders. At the same time, numerous Jews from Germany, and some from France, crossed the Alps to escape persecution, and also settled down in towns in the north of Italy, where they opened loan banks. Their financial consolidation, which also resulted in an unprecedented cultural activity, may have granted more opportunity to assist home study of children and women.

As was mentioned, beyond its synagogal, cultic role, another way of application of the Romance translations was didactic. What it did not succeed in the synagogue, it managed to obtain in elementary schools (*batey-sefer*), replacing the Targum as auxiliary material for the instruction of the Bible. Reminiscences from his childhood caught Cassuto himself:⁹²

Every Jew who was educated in Italy, and was taught Bible by a teacher of the old type, will doubtless remember the strange form in which his teacher rendered the words of scripture orally into Italian. Peculiar words, foreign to the normal vocabulary used by the tutor and by the pupils, phrases that were even more extraordinary, and a syntax that differed from that of the Italian spoken and written in our times, largely distinguished this translation. [...] Many of my age will still remember, I am sure, the voice of the old teacher who used to teach them, in their youth, the recitation of the *Shema*, and who would render *'im shamo'a tishme'un* [if you will surely hearken] by the so-called Italian expression, *se ascoltando ascolterete*,⁹³ that one who speaks correct Italian would never think of using.

The way that the language of Judeo-Italian Biblical translations was affected by the special application as auxiliary material for culto-didactic purposes can easily

⁹¹ *Galut Yehudah, Novo ditionario hebraico e italiano* (Venice, 1612; Padua, 1640). See also Menahem Banitt [Max Berenblut], "A Comparative Study of Judaeo-Italian translations of Isaiah," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 1949), 196.

⁹² Cassuto, 1949, 285.

⁹³ Deut. 11:13. In other manuscripts, such as in MS Parma Palatina 6 and MS Mantova 1561, this translation of the verse containing the *figura etymologica* (combined by the *status absolutus* and the finite form of the verb *šm'*, "to hear," expressing emphasis) appears as "e sarà se intennendo intennerete a li comannamenti mei"; in Can. Or. 10 (166v): E serà se ubbidendo ubbiderete a commandamenti mei che io vi commando oggi a amare A' Iddio vostro e servire a esso con tutto il cor vostro e con tutta l'anima vostra"; Mich. Add. 1a (554v): "E sarà se ascoltando ascoltarete a commandamenti mei che io vi commando oggi a amare Iddio il Dio vostro et osservare lui con tutto il cor vostro e con tutta l'anima vostra."

be reconstructed from Cassuto's account. Their usage, requiring a mechanical following of the original, resulted in a peculiar, "Hebraised" language in the translations. In fact, the most striking characteristic in the Judeo-Italian Bibles as well is literalism. The tendency is the avowed principle of all translations from the Septuagint, imperative for the translators of Holy Writ. The principle of literalism reflects itself in many aspects. In its simplest form the same Hebrew word is translated by one equivalent throughout the Bible, even when, in a particular context, it has a totally different meaning.⁹⁴ No words are added only to make a sentence clear—in the first place this afflicts the indefinite article and the verb "to be"—but every affix of the Hebrew text must have its counterpart in the translation—this time causing the pleonastic use of *fare* in the case of Hebrew causative verb stem (*Hiph'il*). Moreover, Hebrew idiomatic expressions, the Hebrew order of words are retained, just like the adaptation of Hebrew morphology and syntax. A few monstrosities are presented in the examples below:⁹⁵

MS Mich.Add.1a

Gen. 1:2	Le facce delle acque	<i>for</i>	עַל-פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם (idiom)
Gen. 2:12	E l'oro della terra quella	<i>for</i>	וַיִּהְיֶה הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא (superfluous use of the definite article)
Gen. 2:15	E puselo nell' orto de Eden Per cultivar la e per guardar la	<i>for</i>	וַיַּנְחֵהוּ בְּגֶן-עֵדֶן לְעִבְדָּהּ וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ (genders confused)
MS Can.Or.10			
Gen. 2:14	Esso che va al mizrah	<i>for</i>	הוּא הַחֲלָד קִרְמָת (superfluous use of the personal pronoun)
Gen. 3:11;	che nudo tu;	<i>for</i>	כִּי עֵירֹם אָתָּה; (absence of the

⁹⁴ For details, see Menahem Banitt [Max Berenblut], "A Comparative Study of Judaeo-Italian Translations of Isaiah," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 1949), 31.

⁹⁵ Other examples will be offered in chapter III. For studies on Hebrew elements in the vocabulary of Judeo-Romance languages, see Maria Mayer-Modena, "Le choix 'hébraïque' dans le lexique des langues juives," in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, August 4-12, 1985*, vol. 1 [Hebrew and Jewish Languages], ed. Johannes Michael Reinhart (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986), 85-92, and *idem*, "Biblical Characters and their Metaphorical Function in Judeo-Italian and Italian," in *Mechkarim ba-lashon ha-Ivrit uvi-leshonot ha-Yehudim muggashim li-Shelomo Morag* (Studies in Hebrew and Jewish Languages Presented to Shelomo Morag) (Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 1996), 61-72.

Gen. 3:14;	maledetto tu;		אָרור אַתָּה	copular verb)
Gen. 3:19	che polvere tu		כִּי־עָפָר אַתָּה	
Gen. 3:14	e polvera mangerai tutti i	for	וְעָפָר תֹּאכַל	(idiom)
	giorni de le vite tue		כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ	
MS Can.Or.11				
Ps. 22:11	dal ventre de la madre mia	for	מִבֶּטֶן אִמִּי אֲלִי	(absence of the
	Iddio mio tu		אַתָּה	copular verb)
Ps. 22:7	E io verme e non omo	for	וְאֲנֹכִי תוֹלַעַת וְלֹא	(absence of the
	vetuperio de omo e dispreççato		אִשׁ חֲרָפָה	copular verb)
	de popolo		אָדָם וּבְזוּי עָם	
Ps. 22:3	E tu santo che siedi nelli lodi	for	וְאַתָּה קְדוֹשׁ יוֹשֵׁב	(adaptation of the
	Yisrael		תְּהִלּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל	status constructus)

Beyond the peculiarity of the artificial, “bookish” language, translations and glossaries naturally show the effects of rabbinical exegesis (the comparative study will offer such examples).

II.2. Forced audience: mendicant proselytizing in thirteenth-sixteenth century Italy

*Essi mi hanno reso geloso con ciò che non è Dio,
mi hanno provocato ad ira con i loro idoli vani;
e io li renderò gelosi con gente che non è un popolo,
li provocherà ad ira con una nazione stolta.*

Deuteronomy 32:12 (Diodati)

Commenting on Deuteronomy 32:21, a verse in which Moses foretells the future punishment of the Jews by “a no people,” a Jewish writer of the late thirteenth century explained: “He means at the hands of the Franciscans and the Dominicans; for they are everywhere oppressing Israel, and they are called ‘a no people’ because they are more wretched than all mankind.”⁹⁶ The comment shows that in certain periods the

⁹⁶ I owe the quotation from *Sefer Da‘at Zeqenim* (ed. Isaac Joseph Nunez-Vaez, Leghorn, 1783) to Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), 13. For the following I used as basic reference material David Berger, “The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages,” in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict (From Late Antiquity to the Reformation)*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 484-513; Bernhard Blumenkranz, “The Roman Church

friars belonging to the Franciscan and Dominican Orders were perceived by their Jewish neighbours as mortal enemies. In his analytical account of the confrontations between the two groups until the mid-fourteenth century, Jeremy Cohen writes,⁹⁷

From the establishment of these first and most important mendicant orders in the Roman Church [...] until the end of the medieval period and even beyond, Dominican and Franciscan friars directed and oversaw virtually all the anti-Jewish activities of the Christian clergy in the West. As inquisitors, missionaries, disputants, polemicists, scholars, and itinerant preachers, mendicants engaged in a concerted effort to undermine the religious and physical security of the medieval Jewish community. It was they who developed the papal Inquisition, who intervened in the Maimonidean controversy, who directed the burnings of the Talmud, who compelled the Jews to listen and respond to their inflammatory sermons, and who actively promoted anti-Jewish hatred among the laity of Western Christendom.

In fact, the activity of the Dominicans soon after their foundation became largely directed against the Jews. The bull *Turbato corde* of Pope Clement IV (1267), reissued by Gregory X (1274) and Nicholas IV (1288 and 1290), likened to heretics the converted Jewish “backsliders” together with those who had assisted them to return to Judaism, and entrusted the Dominican and Franciscan inquisitors with the prosecution of such persons.⁹⁸ For Italian Jews among their most memorable achievements in that early period was without doubt the mass conversion and annihilation of Apulian Jewish communities under the Angevin crown in the 1290s.⁹⁹

and the Jews,” *ibid.*, 193-230; Bernhard Blumenkranz, “Dominicans,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 6 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1996), 161-164; Cecil Roth, “Sermons to Jews,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 14 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1996), 1184-1185.

⁹⁷ Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 13.

⁹⁸ For the text of papal bulls normative for Jews, see the following: 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] (Philadelphia: The Dropsie College, 1933); *idem*, “The Papal Bull *Sicut Judeis*,” in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict (From Late Antiquity to the Reformation)*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 231ff; *idem*, “Popes, Jews, and Inquisition from ‘*Sicut*’ to ‘*Turbato [corde]*,’” in *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, ed. Kenneth R. Stow (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Detroit: Wayne State University, 1989), 1ff. See also Kenneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1975).

⁹⁹ About the role of the Dominican Fra Bartolomeo di Aquila see Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 85-88.

The Dominicans were also to the forefront in organising public disputations.¹⁰⁰

The tone of religious polemics naturally varied, and might be light and almost playful, grave and serious, or wild and passionate.¹⁰¹ Italy apparently offered a place to all kinds. Learned disputations of a harmless nature took place frequently there. The most important Jewish debaters' manual in the period of our concern is also in some part based on the author's own experience in such a dispute: the "Magen Abraham" (or "Wikkuach"), of Abraham Farissol (ca. 1451-ca. 1525), dedicated to the defence of Judaism without giving offence to the Christian counterpart in religious disputes, was written after a "friendly" disputation that took place in Ferrara, in the court of Ercole I d'Este. Mendicant friars, though, pressed on to arrange disputations of hostile character. To the earlier charge that the Talmud contained blasphemies against Christianity, there was added, after the twelfth century, the three accusations that consequently became the "standard" ones: the Jews use Christian blood for ritual purposes (blood-libel), they desecrate and torture the consecrated host, and they poison the wells. The Jews' condition, scattered and powerless as they were, with no lands of their own, was adduced as one major evidence for their rejection and the election of the Gentiles as the people of God. Although Dominicans of the Iberian Peninsula authored the most relevant anti-Jewish writings,¹⁰² polemical works occupy a certain place also in Italy, some of them are *In sectam hebraicam* of Gratiadei Aesculanus (d. 1341); *Capistrum Judaeorum* (before 1418) of Lauterius de Batineis. Augustus Justiniani, who also translated the New Testament into Hebrew, published

¹⁰⁰ The major lines of anti-Jewish argumentation can be followed in the three large-scale disputations (Paris, 1240, Barcelona, 1263, Tortosa, 1413-1414), see Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (London: Littman Library, 1983).

¹⁰¹ For a general work on medieval Jewish-Christian polemics, see Bernhard Blumenkranz, "The Roman Church and the Jews," in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 193-230.

the pamphlet *Adversus impios Hebraeos* in the first half of the sixteenth century. Antoninus Stabili (d. 1583) published in Italy *Fascicolo delle vanità Judaiche diviso in giornate sedeci*.¹⁰² In the same decade century Sixtus Medices in Venice attacked on a more everyday plane the activity of Jewish moneylenders in *De foenore Judaeorum*. Although previously the progressive monopolization of money-lending by Jewish bankers had been justified both morally and theologically—it helped the poor and saved Christians from committing the sin of usury—form the 1460s onwards mendicant friars advanced the argument that it was necessary to protect Christians from the voracity of Jewish usurers and sought to annihilate their activity by founding Christian charitable loan-banks (*monti di pietà*) that worked with a remarkably low rate of interest. Foremost among those in favour of the institution was Bernardino of Feltre, who bent all his charismatic talent to denouncing the Jewish moneylender. His sermons led to the establishment of the *monti* in many cities and were instrumental in the widespread persecution of Jews during the blood libel in Trent in 1475 as well as in other parts of the Peninsula.

Another genre of anti-Judaic sentiment in some Italian cities was employed theatrically to unleash a controlled, symbolic violence that ended up reinforcing order after exhausting itself through ritual.¹⁰⁴ Examples of this kind include such sacred medieval performances as the Holy Shower of Stones (*Sassaiola Santa*) in fifteenth-century Umbria, a regulated ritual in which a controlled mob stoned Jews during Holy Week, or the participation of naked Jews in the Palio of Siena. In Rome, the Church's need to maintain the Jewish presence coalesced with the demands of the social order.

¹⁰² Raymond Martini's *Pugio fidei christianae* is particularly remarkable in this regard; see Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

¹⁰³ For a description of these and other works, see Bernhard Blumenkranz, "Dominicans," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 6 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1996), 161-164.

Here, especially in the sixteenth century, the violence of the lower classes was ritualised through the “sermon-as-theatre,”¹⁰⁵ led by Dominican and Franciscan friars. This element of mendicant activity is strictly connected to the subject of this paper.

Systematic efforts to proselytise among Jews in Italy are clearly evidenced from earlier times; particularly remarkable is a manual prepared by the twelfth-century convert, Odo, in which he cites Biblical verses first in Hebrew, then the same in Latin characters, and finally a Latin translation, apparently to arm missionaries in proselytising.¹⁰⁶ However, systematic organising of such ambitions is strictly connected to the Order of the Preachers who, both in order to understand the authoritative books for Judaism themselves, and to be better prepared for their spoken and written missionary activities among the Jews, introduced the study of Hebrew from the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁷

Compulsory conversionist sermons were established as a general practice in 1278, when the bull *Vineam Soreth* of Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) gave it explicit papal authorisation—up to that time these were held occasionally. The bull ordered the grand master of the Dominicans to select trained men to preach Christianity to the Jews, whose attendance of the missionary sermons was compulsory. In Italian soil the practice became established first in Lombardy, in the same year that the bull was issued (a second territory to introduce it was England, one year later, under Edward I). Secular rulers were requested not to interfere with the preachers, who were appointed

¹⁰⁴ See Anna Foa, *The Jews of Europe after the Black Death* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 46.

¹⁰⁵ Anna Foa, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ See Johann Fischer, “Die hebräischen Bibelzitate des Scholastikers Odo,” in *Biblica* 15 (1934), 50-93; Umberto Cassuto, “The Jewish Translation of the Bible into Latin and its Importance for the Study of the Greek and Aramaic Versions,” in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1975), 295.

¹⁰⁷ The Spanish Dominicans Raymond de Peñaforte (d. 1275) and Raymond Martini (1220-1285) played an important part in this development, see Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991),

Lettore degli ebrei (“Reader, i.e. Preacher, to the Jews”). However, missionising among Jews was enforced only sporadically, as most local rulers failed to grant their consent the Dominicans had to obtain for the introduction of such sermons.¹⁰⁸

Already in the “age of the ghetto,”¹⁰⁹ with the anti-Jewish reaction accompanying the Counter-Reformation, the institution of missionary activity was placed on a new basis. In the bull *Vices eius nos* of 1577, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) ordered the Jews of Rome and other places in the Papal States to send a certain quota of their number on specified occasions to one of the Christian churches located in the proximity of the Jewish district, in order to hear a sermon which might open their eyes to the true faith. Seven years later, the same pope returned to the subject in the bull *Sancta mater ecclesia*, laying down more precise conditions: in Rome itself 100 males and 50 females had to attend each week the designated church (some of which still has Latin inscriptions in Hebrew letters). Since this kind of obligation could be and was sabotaged by the unwillingness of Jews, Dominicans initiated the practice of visiting the synagogue themselves, arriving usually at the end of the morning service on Saturday. In order to listen to these addresses—generally delivered by converts from Judaism whose fee was paid by the Jewish community—the audience was examined to ensure that their ears were not plugged, that they did

passim. Later, At the Council of Vienne (1312), the Spanish Dominican Raymond Lull elicited a general decision calling for the teaching of languages (Hebrew and Arabic) for missionary activities.

¹⁰⁸ See Pier Giovanni Donini, *Le comunità ebraiche del mondo: Storia della diaspora dalle origini a oggi* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1988), 63. A list of sermons that appeared in edition, though without reference to the content or the audience, is provided in Carlo Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy,” in Beverly Maine Kienzle, ed., *The Sermon*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 81-83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 526ff.

¹⁰⁹ The term is widely used to indicate the period between Paul IV’s bull *Cum nimis absurdum* of 1555 and the emancipation starting in the late 1840s, under the pontificate of Pius IX. See Lynn M. Gunzberg, *Strangers at Home: Jews in the Italian Literary Imagination* (Berkeley, Cal., University of California Press, 1992), 16f.

not have any book in Hebrew letters to read secretly under the bench, and a certain aid crew, armed with rods, saw to it that they paid attention.¹¹⁰

The introduction of the conversionist sermon is documented in most Italian towns in the last decades of the sixteenth century—the most important exception was Venice, where the authorities forbade it. Though in some places the system was suspended in the eighteenth century (in Mantua, for example, it was abolished in 1699), the institution of the conversionist sermon continued in the Peninsula down to the period of the French Revolution. It was renewed after the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of papal rule, to be abolished by Pope Pius IX in 1846.

II.3. Conclusion

The confrontational milieu of religious encounters between mendicant friars and Jews in the period of our concern, and the field of application of the Judeo-Italian Bible, justify a quest for doctrinally prompted variant readings: Biblical translations prepared for home study for women and children was certainly a proper means to respond to and compensate for the Biblical argumentation of Christian missionary activity.

Moreover, during such research to the passages where the translator ignores the strict rule of literalism deserve particular attention.

¹¹⁰ See Attilio Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma* (Rome: Carucci Editore, 1988), 283-306.

III. CHRIST AND THE JEWS: POLEMICAL READINGS FOR CHRISTOLOGICAL PROOF- TEXTS IN THE JUDEO-ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS

*E disse a loro: queste sono le parole ch'io vi preponeva quando io era con voi,
imperò ch'era bisogno che si adempisse ogni cosa ch'è scritta
nella legge di Mosè e nelli profeti,
li quali parlarono di me.*

*E allora aperse a loro il senso; e acciò che intendessero la scrittura, disse a loro:
egli era scritto, egli era il bisogno, che Cristo patisse morte,
e resuscitasse il terzo giorno;
e di predicare nel nome suo la penitenza e la remissione de' peccati a tutte le genti,
incominciando da Ierusalem.*

E voi siete testimoni di questi fatti.

Bibbia volgare, Luke 24:44-48

The technical remarks made here will introduce the present chapter. My tool for selecting the Biblical passages that were to be compared was Heinz Schreckenberg's catalogue of *adversus Iudaeos*-literature.¹¹¹ The selection was simply based on the quantitative appearance of quotations in the polemical texts.

The 1471 the Dominican "Jenson Bible" (*Bibbia volgare*) will be quoted as it appears in the modern edition by Carlo Negroni.¹¹² The Dominican translator's source texts are taken from the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate (V),¹¹³ while the Hebrew will be

¹¹¹ Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995-1997). The fourth volume deals with visual representations, see idem, *Christliche Adversus-Judaeos-Bilder: das Alte und Neue Testament im Spiegel der christlichen Kunst*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999).

¹¹² Carlo Negroni, ed., *La Bibbia Volgare secondo la rara edizione del 1 ottobre MCCCCLXXI*, 10 vols. (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1882-1887). Two editorial indications were applied in the text: Negroni enclosed in parentheses the translator's comments and paraphrases that in the incunable were not marked to be different from the Biblical text itself. Moreover, he used square brackets wherever he found that an Italian word (mostly negative particles or prepositions) was, due to the copyist's carelessness, missing from the print. Apparently, Negroni also adapted the orthographical conventions of his own time: the Malerbi incunable that I had opportunity to consult reflects a much earlier orthography.

¹¹³ *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber OSB, Bonifatius Fischer OSB and Jean Gribomont OSB (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).

taken from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartiensia* (BH).¹¹⁴ All quotation from Jewish exegetes were found in Menahem Kohen's edition of the Rabbinical Bible.¹¹⁵ My source for identifying the New Testament occurrences of Old Testament quotations, was the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum graece*.¹¹⁶

II.1. The begetting: Psalms 2:7-9

Can. Or. 11, 27r

Racconto per statuto A' disse a me **figliol mio sei tu, oi oggi creai te.**

Domanda' a me e darò a te genti tua eredità e tua possessione li fini de la terra.

Diromperai essi con verga di ferro como vaso di vasellaro ne farai di essi peççi.¹¹⁷

מ
אֶסְפָּרָה אֶל חָק יְהוָה אֲמַר
אֵלַי בְּנֵי אֲתָה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדֶּתִיךָ:
שֶׁאֵל מִמֶּנִּי וְאֲתָנָה גּוֹיִם נַחֲלֶתֶךָ
וְאֲחֲזֶתֶךָ אֶפְסֵי אֲרֶץ:
תִּרְעַם בְּשֹׁבֶט בְּרֹזֶל כָּכְלִי
יִוצֵר תַּנְפִּצֵם:

Bibbia volgare, 5:149-150

Il Signore disse a me: **tu sei il mio figliuolo, io oggi t'ho generato.**

Addomanda a me, e io ti darò genti per la tua eredità, e li termini della terra in possessione tua.

Tu reggerai loro in verga ferrea; sì come vaso di terra, fatto per mano del figolaio, spezzerai loro.

ו

*Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu
ego hodie genui te*

*postula a me et dabo tibi gentes
hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam
terminos terrae*

*reges eos in virga ferrea tamquam vas
figuli confringes eos*

This Psalm is directly quoted or referred to in the New Testament concerning Christ: his takeover and overall dominion over his enemies were supported through the last verses,¹¹⁸ while the highlighted section in verse 7, according to Paul's interpretation, refers to his resurrection as a spiritual childbearing.¹¹⁹ In Hebrews it appears to have the same interpretation, as it is cited together with Psalm 110,

¹¹⁴ *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartiensia, editio funditus renovata*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, fourth ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990). In the Hebrew texts *Ketiv* is marked by [1], *Qeri* by [2].

¹¹⁵ Menachem Kohen, ed., *Mikra'ot Gedolot "Haketer"* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1999).

¹¹⁶ *Novum Testamentum graece*, ed. Erwin Nestle and Kurt Aland, 25th edition (London: United Bible Societies, 1971).

¹¹⁷ Note the pleonasm in *ne farai di essi*.

¹¹⁸ Rev. 2:26; 12:5; 19:15. The first verses of the Psalm, bearing witness against the contemporary rulers of the early Church, are quoted in Acts 4:25-26.

meaning that the “generation” happened when Christ was appointed to minister as High Priest.¹²⁰ Accordingly, the *Glossa ordinaria* to this verse reads ‘*Hodie.*’ *Etsi possit accipi de die qua secundum hominem natus est, tamen hodie quia praesentiam significat, de sempiterna generatione sapientiae Dei accipiat.*¹²¹

Yalad, the Hebrew verb here, in the Hebrew Bible expresses either “to bring forth, bear” (as a mother) or “to beget” (as a father).¹²² Authorities of Jewish exegesis understood it here as a kind of “adoption” or “nomination” of David by God through the act of appointing him king over Israel. In Rashi we read¹²³ “‘You are my son’—you are a leader of Israel that is called ‘My firstborn son.’¹²⁴ Because they all depend on you, David, you are called my son. ‘I this day’—today, on the day when I crowned you as king over my sons. ‘Have I begotten you’—so that you can be called my son, and be as dear as a son, all in merit of the people of Israel. [...]” Similarly we find Solomon referred to as a son: “‘I will be his father and he will be my son.’¹²⁵” The Targum retains the point that David was worthy of being called God’s son on his own merit: “HaShem said: ‘you are as dear to me as a son to his father, pure and innocent as a son on the day he is born to his father.’”

The Judeo-Italian translator appears to avoid any term that might be taken as indicating generation of a son by his father, and renders *yalad* by “create”—even at the cost of deviating from the major lines of exegesis. Moreover, doing so he breaks his strict rules for literalism. In fact, *yalad* is translated within the same Judeo-Italian

¹¹⁹ Acts 13:33. See also Christ the “firstborn from the dead,” in Colossians 1:18, or the “firstfruits of the dead,” in 1 Corinthians 15:20.

¹²⁰ Hebrews 1:5; 5:5; 7:28.

¹²¹ Walafridus Strabus, *Opera Omnia*. Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina 113, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1841-1857; facsimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1982-1993), cols. 846, 847.

¹²² See, for example, Genesis 4:1, 18.

¹²³ The English translation of Rashi’s following comment is that of Nosson Scherman and Meir Zlotowitz, eds., *Tehillim: A New Translation with Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources* vol. 1 (New York: Mesorah Publications, 1987), 68f.

¹²⁴ Exodus 4:22.

Bible also by the word used here in the Christian translations: “Se io faccio venire al dolore del parto e non farò partorire disse A’ se io che fo **generare** e ritengo desse l’Iddio tuo” (Isaiah 66:9, JTS L667, 240r). Therefore, in all probability, his use of *creare* is due to the pressure of Christological exegesis.

II.2. The *magi* on the road: Micah 5:1

Parma 3068

E tu *Bet-Lechem* de *Afrat* menuro a
essere in migliari de *Yehudah* de ti a mi
jiscirà a essere puestaturo in *Yisra’el* e
**jisciuti sui da *Mizrach* da dī de
senpere.**

וְאַתָּה בֵּית־לֶחֶם אֶפְרַתָּה צְעִיר לְהִיּוֹת בְּאַלְפֵי
יְהוּדָה מִמֶּדֶד לִי יֵצֵא לְהִיּוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
וּמוֹצֵאתוֹ מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם:

Bibbia volgare, 8:248

E tu, Betleem, che se’ come Efrata, e
piccola nelle migliaia di Giuda; di te mi
uscirà colui che fia Signore in Israel, e
**lo suo uscimento si è dal principio,
nelli dī della eternitade.**

ו

*et tu Bethleem Ephrata parvulus es in milibus
Iuda ex te mihi egredietur qui sit dominator in
Israhel et egressus eius ab initio a diebus
aeternitatis*

For Christians, Micah’s prophecy foretold where Christ was to be born. According to the Gospels, sages in Jesus’ time accepted it as a Messianic prediction.¹²⁶ Medieval interpreters apparently followed the same tradition. However, since Israel was already in diaspora, they do not infer from it a concrete indication of the birthplace of the Messiah himself, but rather that he will descend from King David (who was born in Bethlehem). Rashi comments in this sense, stating “‘Out of you will he come forth unto me’—Messiah son of David,” and so does Ibn Ezra, “Out of the sons of your first sons [that is, the Davidic dynasty] will come the Savior for Israel.”

The highlighted section contains a parallelism (the one who is to be a ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been *from of old* [*qedem*], *from everlasting* [*mimey*

¹²⁵ 2 Samuel 7:14.

¹²⁶ See Matthew 2:6, John 7:42.

‘*olam*], is to be born in Bethlehem). Our translators differ in the understanding of its first member. In fact, *qedem* appears in two meanings in the Hebrew Bible: if used for time, it means “ancient times” (introduced usually by the preposition “from”), used even of eternity, of that at least which has no beginning.¹²⁷ If used for space, its other meaning is “East.”¹²⁸

Micah’s parallelism was understood by medieval Jewish exegetical authorities to express the same message in both of its members. In the Targum we find: “from you shall come forth before me the Messiah, to exercise dominion over Israel, he who has been mentioned from of old, from ancient times.”¹²⁹ Rashi turns his readers to a verse in a Psalm dedicated to Salomon: “‘his goings forth have been from of old’—‘his name shall be continued as long as the sun.’”¹³⁰ As Rashi reveals at the commentary of that Psalm, he understood “eternity” for *qedem*: “‘his name shall be continued as long as the sun’—[the name] of Salomon will be remembered eternally [*le-‘olam*] for his wealth and wisdom.”¹³¹

If *qedem* is understood as speaking of an eternal origin, the description also corresponds to the Christian conception of the pre-existence of Christ. I suppose this is what the Jewish translator tried to avoid, translating “East” (Judeo-Italian: *Mizrach*), even at the price of breaking the parallelism and contradicting his exegetical authorities.

¹²⁷ *Inter alia*, Deuteronomy 33:27, Psalms 44:2, 55:20, 74:12, 77:6, 12, Isaiah 23:7.

¹²⁸ *Inter alia*, Genesis 2:8, 3:24, 12:8, Numeri 34:11, Joshua 7:2, Judges 8:11, Job 1:3, Isaiah 11:14, Jeremiah 49:28, Ezekiel 25:4.

¹²⁹ The English translation of this Targumic section is taken from Martin McNamara, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 122.

¹³⁰ Psalms 72:17.

¹³¹ “As long as the sun” in Psalms 72:17 is understood in the sense of eternity also the Talmud, see bSanhedrin 98b.

II. 3. Palm Sunday: Zechariah 9:9

Parma 3068

Allegriti in nimio jenta de Çion steremisci
jenta de *Yerushalaim* ecco re tuo virrà a ti
justo e **salvato** esso povero e cavalca
supera asino e supera puledero figli de
aseni

נ
גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי
בת ירושלם הנה מלכך יבוא
לך צדיק ונושע הוא עני
ורכב על חמור ועל עירבנא תנות:

Bibbia volgare, 8:347

Allègrati, figliuola di Sion; e loda Iddio,
[figliuola di] Ierusalem. Ecco il tuo re
viene giusto e **salvatore**; egli sarà povero,
e cavalcherà l'asina, e sopra lo puledro
figliuolo dell'asina.

ט

*exulta satis filia Sion iubila filia
Hierusalem ecce rex tuus veniet tibi iustus
et salvator ipse pauper et ascendens super
asinum et super pullum filium asinae*

The original participle of the highlighted verb (*yasha'*, “to save, deliver”) is in an intransitive verb-stem. Nevertheless, the Aramaic translation rendered it by the active voice: “behold, your king comes to you, he is righteous and brings deliverance, meek and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of a she-ass.”¹³² Medieval commentators appear to agree with this reading as they point to either the Messiah or Nehemiah as the saviour foretold in the prophecy. In Rashi we read “Behold, your King comes unto you”—it is not possible to explain this in any way other than referring to the Messiah King, about whom it is written “and his dominion [will be] from sea to sea,”¹³³ and we did not find such a ruler in Israel in the time of the Second Temple.” Ibn Ezra proceeds by quoting sages who argue for different identities for the promised deliverer.

For Christians, the fulfilment of this verse was declared in the New Testament at Jesus’ triumphant entry into Jerusalem.¹³⁴ It may have been due to some pressure of

¹³² The English translation of this Targumic section is taken from Martin McNamara, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 205.

¹³³ Zechariah 9:10.

¹³⁴ Matthew 21:5; John 12:15.

Christian exegesis that the Jewish translator ignores all his authorities. He chooses the passive voice by translating “saved”—understanding probably “saved in battle”¹³⁵—instead of the traditional reading, “saviour.” The importance of his deviation from this Targum is stressed by the fact that he prefers “people of Zion, people of Jerusalem” found in the Targum, in contrast to the Hebrew text, which has “daughter of Zion, daughter of Jerusalem.”

II.4. On the cross: Zechariah 12:10

JTS L667, 380r-381v¹³⁶

E verserò sopra la casa de David e sopra l’abitatori de *Yerushalaim* spirito de grazia e de cordoglio e risguarderanno a me quello che **infilzorono** e ripetaranno sopra esso come il¹³⁷ repito che si fa sopra l’uno nato e amariando sopra esso come amariarse sopra il primo nato.

ו
וּשְׁפַכְתִּי עַל־בֵּית דָּוִיד וְעַל
יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם רוּחַ חֵן וְתַחֲנוּנִים
וְהִבִּיטוּ אֵלַי אֶת אֲשֶׁר־דָּקְרוּ
וְסָפְדוּ עָלָיו כְּמִסְפֵּד עַל־הַיָּחִיד
וְהִמָּר עָלָיו כְּהִמָּר עַל־הַבְּכוֹר:

Bibbia volgare, 8:356-357

E spargerò sopra la casa di David, e sopra li abitatori di Ierusalem, lo spirito della grazia; **e lo prezzo raduneranno a me, il quale loro amarono**; e piangerannolo di pianto, quasi come uno solo figliuolo, e dorrannosi sopra lui, sì come si suole dolere sopra uno che sia primogenito.

ו

et effundam super domum David et super habitatores Hierusalem spiritum gratiae et precum et aspicient ad me quem confixerunt et plangent eum planctu quasi super unigenitum et dolebunt super eum ut doleri solet in morte primogeniti

Zechariah’s prophecy in the medieval Jewish exegetical tradition was connected to the tradition of a suffering, dying Messiah, son of Ephraim.¹³⁸ As Ibn Ezra explains, “Messiah son of Joseph will be killed. Then Hashem in his anger will destroy all peoples who have come against Jerusalem, and this is ‘they will look,’

¹³⁵ *Yasha* ‘ is probably used in this sense in other Biblical contexts; see Deuteronomy 33:29, and Isaiah 30:15.

¹³⁶ This verse is missing from MS Parma 3068.

¹³⁷ This word is written above the line by the same hand as correction of its omission.

¹³⁸ See Martin McNamara, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 218.

meaning, ‘all peoples will see then, what I will do against those who killed Messiah son of Joseph.’” Interestingly enough, the Targum of this passage was possibly subjected to incomplete revision as a reaction to Christian citation of this verse as a messianic proof-text: it reads “they shall entreat me because they were exiled.”¹³⁹ The Judeo-Italian Bible does not follow this, and therefore shows no particular reading here, as it translates thus: “they will look upon me whom they have pierced.”

As for its Christian interpretation, Zechariah’s prophecy is quoted in the Gospel of John at the scene when one of the soldiers standing nearby the cross pierces the side of Jesus with his spear.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, in Revelations, it bears reference to the second, glorious coming of Christ, when “every eye will see him, they also, who pierced him.”¹⁴¹ The highlighted passage of the *Bibbia volgare* (“and they will gather for me the price that they loved”), is particularly remarkable here, just because it differs from both the Vulgate and the New Testament. In fact, the Dominican translator completely ignored how the Vulgate quotes Zechariah in both the Gospel of John (*transfixerunt*) and in Revelations (*pupugerunt*). He is not in agreement also with the other Venetian Dominican Bible of 1471, that of Niccolò Malermi, which follows the Vulgate, “et lor guardarono a me che hanno cōficto.”¹⁴²

Instead, the anonymous Dominican translator appears to have been led purely by anti-Judaic sentiments. Beyond his will to allude here to the thirty pieces of silver,¹⁴³ the price of the betrayal, and to Luke’s remark that the Pharisees were covetous,¹⁴⁴ he was certainly motivated by one of the leading issues in the Italian

¹³⁹ The English translation and the assessment of this Targumic section is taken from Martin McNamara, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 218.

¹⁴⁰ John 19:37.

¹⁴¹ Rev. 1:7. See also Matthew 24:30.

¹⁴² Also the Calvinist Giovanni Diodati (1607) is at the same opinion here, translating “e riguarderanno a me, che hauranno trafitto.”

¹⁴³ Matthew 27:3.

¹⁴⁴ Luke 16:14ff.

mendicant offensive against Jews: the opposition to lending money at interest—
practised by Jewish loan-bankers.

II.5. The Anointed One cut off: Daniel 9:24-26a

Can. Or. 11, 145r-146v

Li settanta settimane sono sentençiate sopra il popolo tuo e sopra la città de la santità tua a fornire il ribellio e a compire li peccati e a perdonare la colpa e a condurre la giustizia de secoli [Ø] e a ongere la santità de la santità.

E saperai e intenderai dal uscita della parola a far ritornare e a murare *Yerushalaim* infino a **l'onto duce** sette settimane e settimane sessanta doi tornerà e sarà fabbricata la piaçça e la cava e ne li angustii de tempi.

E dopo li settimana sessanta doi sarà tagliato **l'onto e non a esso**¹⁴⁵

Bibbia volgare, 8:78-79

Settanta ebdomade sono abbreviate sopra lo popolo tuo, e sopra la città santa tua, acciò che si consumi la prevaricazione, e lo peccato abbi fine, e la iniquità sia cassa, e rappresentisi la giustizia sempiterna, **e adempiasi la visione e li detti de' profeti**, e ungasi il Santo de' santi.

Sappi adunque, e considera che dall' uscita della parola, che Ierusalem si debba edificare persino a **Cristo duca**, saranno ebdomade [sette ed ebdomade LXII]; e sarà edificata la piazza (cioè Ierusalem) e li muri nella brevità del tempo.¹⁴⁶

E dopo LXII ebdomade sarà ucciso **Cristo**, **e non sarà più suo il popolo lo quale lo negarà**.

א

שבע שבועים נחתך על-עמך
ועל-עיר קדשך לכלאים הפשע
1 ולחתם 2 ולחתם 1 חטאות 2 חטאת
ולכפר עון ולהיא צדק עלמים
ולחתם חזון ונביא ולמשח קדש קדשים:

ותדע ותשכל מנמצא דבר להשיב ולבנות
ירושלם עד-משח נגיד שבועים שבועה ושבועים
ששים ושנים תשוב ונבנתה רחוב וחרוץ
ובצוק העתים:

ואחרי השבועים ששים ושנים
יכרת משח ואין לו

ב

*septuaginta ebdomades abbreviatae sunt super
populum tuum et super urbem sanctam tuam ut
consummetur praevaricatio et finem accipiat
peccatum et deleatur iniquitas et adducatur
iustitia sempiterna et impleatur visio et prophetes
et unguatur sanctus sanctorum*

*scito ergo et animadvertite ab exitu sermonis ut
iterum aedificetur Hierusalem usque ad christum
ducem ebdomades septem et ebdomades sexaginta
duae erunt et rursum aedificabitur platea et muri
in angustia temporum*

*et post ebdomades sexaginta duas occidetur
christus et non erit eius*

¹⁴⁵ Or *e non ha esso*; both are written with the same characters (אס) and mean the same. *Non a esso* is more likely to be used for the *lamed possessivi* here, as Hebrew possessive constructions are often expressed by the *a* preposition in the Judeo-Italian Bibles.

¹⁴⁶ The difference here, between *ne li angustii de tempi* and *nella brevità del tempo*, is surely not doctrinally prompted.

The cryptic numerical calculations of Daniel in chapter 9 are not referred to in the New Testament. Nevertheless, they were extensively quoted in the course of medieval Jewish-Christian polemical encounters, to such an extent that they formed a hot topic of controversy at the Barcelona disputation in 1263.¹⁴⁷ The fact that also Italian Christians grasped this Scripture as a suitable place for anti-Judaic polemics is evidenced by the paraphrastic insertion of the Dominican translator for the elliptical ending formula. Thus *occidetur christus et non erit eius* (approx. “the Anointed One will be slain and will have nothing” or “will have no one”) is straightforwardly put in the sense of the rejection of Israel: “the people that will deny him will not be his any more.”

The first striking point in the Judeo-Italian translation is that it gives an Italian equivalent for the Hebrew *Mashiach*, although that is one of the few words—generally proper names, toponyms or the four cardinal points—that the Judeo-Italian translations always retain in Hebrew, with the same spelling they have in the source texts. The translator’s purpose, to avoid a reference here to The Anointed One and to indicate just an anointed one, is highly revealing, and is parallel to the exegetical tradition built on the text. In fact, Rashi and Ibn Ezra, though suggesting quite different solutions for the identity of the anointed prince, are in perfect agreement that *mashiach* is not used here as a proper name, but as a title for one who is anointed with the holy oil of anointment.¹⁴⁸ Rashi suggests King Agrippa II or Cyrus (called *mashiach* in Isaiah 45:1), while Ibn Ezra proposes Nehemiah, who was appointed governor of Judah, or Yehoshua ben Yehotzadak, the high priest who returned to

¹⁴⁷ See Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (London: Littman Library, 1983), 123f.

¹⁴⁸ For the far-reaching speculations on Daniel’s seventy sevens, see Nosson Scherman and Meir Zlotowitz, eds., *Daniel: A New Translation with Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources* (New York: Mesorah Publications, 1980), 259ff.

Palestine with the first refugees. One hundred years later Nachmanides, the representative of the Jewish party in Barcelona, was to oppose the Christology of the convert Pablo Christiani by declaring that the anointed prince was Zerubbabel.¹⁴⁹

The problem why *lachatom chazon ve-navi*’ (“to seal vision and prophet,” that is, to fulfil the promised prophecy), has no translation in the Judeo-Italian text is also to be settled. First, this might stem from a difference of the manuscript versions of Daniel (although the critical apparatus of the Biblia Stuttgartensia does not inform us about such variants to this section). One simple reason might be also be, naturally, *lapsus*. Either of these is to be accepted, as wilfulness cannot be successfully argued for. Since the translator apparently understood the prophecy for one of those anointed ones who had been proposed by exegetical authorities, he had no reason to manipulate the text in such a radical way, only in order that “to seal vision and prophet” be omitted from the catalogue of events that were about to take place during the seventy weeks revealed to Daniel.

II. 6. The resurrection: Psalms 16:9-10

Can. Or. 11, 30r

Se allegra il cor mio e se rallegra l’anima mia
ancora il corpo mio abiterà securamente.
Per ché non lassarai l’anima mia alla **fossa**
non darai il mesiricordioso tuo per vedere la
fossa.

מ
לְכֵן שִׂמְחָה לְבִי וַיִּגֵּל כְּבוֹדִי
אֶפְרָיִם יִשְׁכֵּן לְבֶטֶח:
כִּי לֹא־תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לְשׂאֵל
לֹא־תִתֵּן חֲסִידֶיךָ לְרֹאשׁוֹת שְׁחָת:

Bibbia volgare, 5:178

Per questo il mio cuore s’è rallegrato, e la mia
lingua dimostrò letizia; e sopra tutto la mia
carne si riposerà in speranza.
Però che tu non lascerai l’anima mia nello
inferno; nè darai il santo tuo, che venga in
corruzione.

ד

*propter hoc laetatum est cor meum et
exultavit lingua mea insuper et caro mea
requiescet in spe
quoniam non derelinques animam meam
in inferno non dabis sanctum tuum videre
corruptionem*

¹⁴⁹ See Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (London: Littman Library, 1983), 124.

This passage received its New Testament interpretation as Biblical evidence for the resurrection of Christ first by Peter, who quoted it in his sermon at Pentecost, then by Paul preaching in the synagogue of Antioch (of Pisidia).¹⁵⁰ Christian translators follow Luke, who took the two members of the parallelism in the sense of escaping “hell” and physical “corruption” in Acts; hence, “you will not leave my soul in hell, neither will you give your righteous one to see corruption.”

Medieval Jewish interpreters differ in their explanations to this verse. Rashi explains that David made this confession after having repented from his sin and having been assured that he would not die for it.¹⁵¹ In his view the Psalm is to be understood as follows: “you will not leave me in the pit [of sin], neither will you give your righteous one to see the grave.”¹⁵² For David Kimchi, however, the second clause of the parallelism is a repetition of the previous thought with different words. Kimchi appears to follow the Talmudic tradition that lists both *sheol* and *shachat* as two of the seven names for *Gehinnom*.¹⁵³ The Jewish translator, following the latter view, reveals that in certain cases he is ready to deviate from literalism, if this choice is supported by strong exegetical tradition. In the case of this Christological proof-text, his choice may have also been motivated by anti-Christian polemics.

¹⁵⁰ Acts 2:25-28; 13:35.

¹⁵¹ See 2 Samuel 12:13.

¹⁵² Nosson Scherman and Meir Zlotowitz, eds., *Tehillim: A New Translation with Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources* vol. 1 (New York: Mesorah Publications, 1987), 197ff.

¹⁵³ bEruvin 19a.

II.7. The High Priest: Psalm 110

Can. Or. 11, 30r

Detto de A' al signor mio sedi da la destra mia
in fino a tanto che io porrò li nemici toi
scabello de piedi toi.

La virga de la forteçça tua manderà A' da
Çion a dominare intra li nimici toi.

Il popolo tuo volontariamente nel dì del
esercito tuo nelli adorneçi¹⁵⁴ de la santità da la
volva dal alba per e la rosata del tuo
nascimento.

Giurò A' e non si volterà **tu sei maggiore per
sempre per caosa esser tu re de giusticia.**

וְנֵאמָר יְהוָה לְאֹדְנִי שֵׁב
לִימִינִי עַד-אַשְׁוִית
אֹיְבֶיךָ חֶדְם לְרַגְלֶיךָ:
מִטֶּה-עוֹד יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן
רֹדֶה בְּקֶרֶב אֹיְבֶיךָ:
עַמּוֹד נִדְבַת בְּיוֹם חֵילֶךָ בְּהַדְרֵי-קֹדֶשׁ
מִרְחֹם מִשְׁחָר לֶךְ טַל יִלְדֶּתִיךָ:

נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם אֶת־הַכֹּהֵן
לְעוֹלָם עַל-דִּבְרָתִי מִלְכִּי-צֶדֶק:

Bibbia volgare (Ps. 109) V:196-200

Disse il Signore al Signore mio: sedi alla
destra mia, insino ch' io ponerò li tuoi nemici,
come scabello de' tuoi piedi.

Il Signore manderà la bacchetta della virtù tua
di Sion; signorizza in mezzo de' nemici tuoi.
Sarò teco nel principio, nel dì della virtù tua,
nella luce de' santi; prima che lucifero, del
ventre te generai.

Giurò il Signore, e non si pentirà; **tu sei
sacerdote in eterno secondo l' ordine di
Melchisedec.**

ט

*dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris
meis donec ponam inimicos tuos
scabillum pedum tuorum*

*virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex
Sion dominare in medio inimicorum
tuorum*

*tecum principium in die virtutis tuae in
splendoribus sanctorum ex utero ante
luciferum genui te*

*iuravit Dominus et non paenitebit eum tu
es sacerdos in aeternum secundum
ordinem Melchisedech*

The Epistle to the Hebrews cites this verse to support the idea that the Levitical priesthood, and the order of Aaron has been substituted by the ministry of Jesus, the High Priest after the order and in the likeness of Melchizedek.¹⁵⁵ The renewal of priesthood brings along with it the corollary that “the former commandment is set aside because of its weakness and uselessness.”¹⁵⁶ Besides that, the first verse of this psalm appears in the controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees: the latter are reduced to silence by Jesus' question: why is the Messiah

¹⁵⁴ Must be a dialectal form for *adornati*.

¹⁵⁵ Hebrews 5-8.

¹⁵⁶ Hebrews 7:18.

called the son of David, if David himself calls him Lord?¹⁵⁷ The answer of later Jewish exegetes: God was speaking to Abraham in the psalm, promising to him that his sons' sons will be kings and priests. Furthermore, according to both Rashi and Ibn Ezra, what God said was entirely fulfilled in the time of David's sons.¹⁵⁸ They interpret the controversial verse as follows: "according to Melchizedek's word, God decided that the priesthood should stem from Abraham."

The Italian Jewish translator does not take into account this exegetical background. Instead, he accurately follows the Targum by writing "superior" (*maggiore*) for "priest," thus eliminating the reference to priesthood, and introducing in an unusually jolty way (*per caosa esser tu*, instead of "in the manner, mode") a literal translation for the proper name of Melchizedek (*re de giustizia*¹⁵⁹). In this way the historical figure of Salem's King is dissolved in the translation without a trace, and the outcome ("you are a leader forever for the reason that you are a king of justice") is quite different from what it would be by a literal translation ("you are a priest according to the manner of Melchizedek"). The following of the forced and certainly doctrinally prompted Aramaic translation to this Psalm, in contrast to other lines of exegesis, shows a remarkable sensitivity towards the Christian message on the supersession of Israel's divine service.

¹⁵⁷ Matthew 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34-36; Hebrews 1:13.

¹⁵⁸ See Nosson Scherman and Meir Zlotowitz, eds., *Tehillim: A New Translation with Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources* vol. 2 (New York: Mesorah Publications, 1987), 1341ff.

¹⁵⁹ Naturally, in his own specific narrative context the Jewish translators do not circumscribe Melchizedek: Genesis 14:18 (Mich. Add. 1a, 39r): "e Malki-çedeq re de Shalem trasse pane"; (Can. Or. 10, 10r) "e Malki-çedeq re de Shalem cavò pane."

II.8. The lion from the tribe of Juda: Genesis 49:8-12

Can. Or. 10, 45v

Yehudah sei tu loderanno te li fratelli toi la mano tua serà nel ceppeço¹⁶⁰ de li nemici toi saluteranno a te li fili del padre tuo.

Come leoncello de leoni *Yehudah* dal lopio del figlio mio te partisti se inclinò giace come il leone e come leone chi farà levare esso.

Non se cessarà la **virga** de *Yehudah* e **scrivano** da infra piedi soi infino a che venga **Mashiach** e a esso serà **adunança** di popoli.

Lega a la vite il puledro suo e al ramo il figlio del asina sua laverà nel vino il vestimento suo e in sangue de uve il coprimento suo.

Inrossito nelli occhi per il vino e inbianchito nelli denti per il latte.

Mich. Add. 1a, 128r-129v

Yehuda sei tu loderanno te li fratelli toi la mano tua serà ne la coppa de li nemici toi revereranno a te li fili del padre tuo

Come leoncello de leoni *Yehudah* della rapina figliol' mio te partisti se inclinò giace come il leone e come leone chi farà levare esso

Non se levarà **scetro** de *Yehudah* e **instituire** da intra i piedi sue in sin che verrà **il discendente suo** qual' alui¹⁶¹ **l'ubbediença** de i popoli.

Lega a la vite il puledro suo e al ramoscello il figliolo del asina sua lava nel vino il vestito suo e in succo de uve il coprimo suo.

Rossito nelli occhi per il vino e bianchito nelli denti per il latte.

Bibbia volgare, 1:8-12

Iuda, te loderanno li fratelli tuoi; la tua mano sarà sopra la sommità delli nimici tuoi; te adoreranno¹⁶² li figliuoli del padre tuo.

Catello dello leone, Iuda; alla preda figliuolo mio, se' venuto; e riposandoti, giacesti come

ז
יְהוּדָה אֶתָּה יוֹדוּךָ אֶחָיִךְ
יָדְךָ בְּעֶרְףְּ אֹיְבֶיךָ יִשְׁתַּחֲווּ
לְךָ בְּנֵי אֲבִיךָ:
גֹּר אַרְיֵה יְהוּדָה מִטֶּרֶף בְּנֵי
עֲלִית כָּרַע רֶבֶץ כְּאַרְיֵה וְכָלְבִּיא
מִי יִקְיָמוּ:
לֹא־יִסּוּר שִׁבְט מִיְּהוּדָה וּמַחֲקֵק
בֵּין רִגְלָיו עַד כִּי־יָבֹא 1 שִׁילָה 2 שִׁילֹ
מ
וְלוֹ יִקָּהֶת עַמִּים:
אֶסְרִי לְגִפֶּן 1 עִירָה 2 עִירוֹ וְלִשְׂרָקָה
בְּנֵי אֶתְנוֹ כָּבֹס בֵּין לְבָשׁוֹ
וּבְדָמ־עֲנָבִים 1 סוּתָה 2 סוּתוֹ:
חֲכָלִילִי עֵינַיִם מִזֵּין וּלְבָנ־שָׁנַיִם
מִחֲלָב:

ט

Iuda te laudabunt fratres tui manus tua in cervicibus inimicorum tuorum adorabunt te filii patris tui

catulus leonis Iuda a praeda filii mi ascendisti requiescens accubuisti ut leo et

¹⁶⁰ This must be etymologically related to *coppa* ("nape").

¹⁶¹ Note again the impact of the Hebrew inseparable prepositions on the orthography.

¹⁶² It is important to remark that the use of *salutare* and *reverare* in the Judeo-Italian versions is no less revealing of a divine service than *adorare* in the Bibbia volgare, as the Hebrew *hishtachawe*, expressing worship by prostration received the same Italian equivalents also in the Judeo-Italian translations to the Decalogue (Exodus 20:5; Deuteronomy 5:7).

leone, e quasi come leonessa: chi susciterà *quasi leaena quis suscitabit eum* lui?

Non sarà tolta la **verga regale** di Iuda, e lo *non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda et dux de duca* delli fianchi suoi, intanto che venga *femoribus eius donec veniat qui mittendus* **colui che dee essere mandato**; e quelli sarà la *est et ipse erit expectatio gentium* **espettazione** delle genti,

legando alla vigna lo popolo suo, e alla vite, *ligans ad vineam pullum suum et ad vitem* figliuolo mio, l' asina sua. Laverà nel vino la *o fili mi asinam suam lavabit vino stolam* stola sua, e nel sangue dell' uva lo pallio suo. *suam et sanguine uvae pallium suum* Più belli sono gli occhii suoi che il vino, e li *pulchriores oculi eius vino et dentes lacte* denti suoi più bianchi di latte. *candidiores*

Commonly referred to as the “Shiloh-text,” this prophecy’s Judeo-Italian translations drew up the most complicated formula of all. It is reported in this paper through the two versions that are available for the Pentateuch chiefly to illustrate the variety of readings proposed within the Judeo-Italian Biblical *corpora*.

Christian apologists took extensive advantage of this passage in anti-Judaic polemical writings as a major support for their historical argumentation. The most controversial verse, in its Christian reading, declared, “the sceptre will not be taken away from Judah until the one, who is to be sent, comes.” Apologists insisted on this passage with, for its ground, the unhappy state of the Jews—and chiefly the fact that no Jewish royal house had been on power since the time of Herod—evidence that Christ had already come. This interpretation is found in the *Glossa ordinaria*, which has the following:¹⁶³

‘Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda, etc.’ Tandiu enim ex semine Iudae reges apud Iudaeos fuerunt, donec Christus ex Virgine nasceretur. Primus enim in gente Iudaeorum rex alienigena fuit. Herodes, quando jam Christus natus est. Qui ergo negat venisse Christum, ostendat regem de tribu Iuda in gente Iudaeorum.

¹⁶³ *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 113, col. 178.

This, consequently, brought in evidence that the Jews had been definitely rejected by God.¹⁶⁴

Shilo's identification with the Messiah in Jewish exegesis appears to have been universally accepted during the Talmudic age, while for *mechoqeq* (approx. "lawgiver") either the descendants of Hillel or the scribes of the judges were understood.¹⁶⁵ As for the Aramaic translation, some of its solutions for this verse are likely to have been designed to form an early Jewish response to the Christian claims. It reads "The ruler shall never depart from the house of Judah, nor the scribe from his children's children for evermore, until the Messiah comes, to whom belongs the kingdom, and him shall nations obey."¹⁶⁶ The insertion "for evermore" may counter Christian polemics against the Jews, which stressed that they had been deprived of their status as the chosen people. Similarly, the insertion to lay emphasis on the royal power of the Messiah, "to whom belongs the kingdom," may also have been designed as an anti-Christian demonstration: the predicted Messiah was to have his kingdom in this world ("and him shall the nations obey") and since Jesus did not establish such an earthly reign, his Messianic claim could be pronounced *ipso facto* invalid.

After a collation of this tradition and the content of the Judeo-Italian translations, two points seem to require some remark. Firstly, the translators do not follow Targumic polemical additions to the Hebrew text. Secondly, MS Mich.Add.1a, which bears censorial notes (by Camillo Jaghel, 1613, and Renato da Modena, 1626), ignores the whole Jewish exegetical tradition (among them the authority of the

¹⁶⁴ On this passage's career in polemical literature, see Bernhard Blumenkranz, "The Roman Church and the Jews," in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict (From Late Antiquity to the Reformation)*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 222.

¹⁶⁵ The Messiah is named *Shiloh* in bSanhedrin 98b. For the same in the Midrashim and Rashi, see H. Freedman, ed., *Midrash Rabba: Genesis* (London, Soncino Press, 1983), 956, and Abraham ben Isaiah and Benjamin Sharfman, eds., *The Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary* (New York: S. S. & R. Publishing Company, 1976), 489-490.

Talmud) literally equating *Shiloh* with *Mashiach*; instead, it reads “his descendant.” Why would a—most probably, convertite—censor prefer this reading for *Shiloh* (which, read as *she+lo*, “which is his,” is to a certain extent allowed by the Hebrew text¹⁶⁷), is hard to ascertain. The only satisfactory solution seems that *Mashiach* certainly recalled in him the Jewish notion of Messiah (expressed in the Targum)—so different from his Catholic Jesus—unlike “his descendant,” which seemed more acceptable also on the basis of the New Testament.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ The English translation for and the assessment of this Targum is borrowed from Bernard Grossfeld, ed., *The Targum Onkelos to Genesis* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 158-162.

¹⁶⁷ Ancient versions also take *Shiloh* as such a compound; thus the Septuagint translate τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, that is, “until there come what is stored up for him.” (Jerome obviously tried to decode *Shiloh* by *shalach*, “to send,” invoking a New Testament context; see Luke 3:15; Matthew 11:3; Luke 7:19; John 6:14.)

¹⁶⁸ See “the Lion who is from the tribe of Juda,” in Revelations 5:5.

IV. CONCLUSION

The outcomes of the comparative analysis of the Dominican and the Jewish Bibles offer a number of points for a conclusion.

Our quest for polemical readings in the translations prepared by Jews has covered texts in which the semantic field of the Hebrew original allowed for more than one solution in Italian. Out of the eight sample texts submitted to analysis, in all but two (III.4, 8) the choice the Jewish translator went to a reading that may have been prompted by anti-Christian polemics. This may also point out that the Jewish translators perceived a remarkable pressure from Christological doctrine.

With regard to exegetical authorities, the translator's solutions can be arranged into the following categories:

1. He follows an unanimous exegetical tradition—that may have stemmed from anti-Christian polemics as well (III.5);
2. He picks the polemical variant out of a contradictory exegetical tradition (III.6, 7);
3. He introduces a polemical reading ignoring or contradicting all exegetical authorities (III.1, 2, 3).

Moreover, he is ready to contradict all other exegetes to favour the Targum's polemical reading (III.7), but he does not follow the Aramaic translation if it has additions to the text (III.8). Therefore, although literalism seems to be a rather flexible principle in the case of Christian proof-texts (III.1, 6, 7), additions would go beyond the limit.

Finally, the occurrence of anti-Judaic polemical insertions and paraphrases in the Dominican translation certainly points to “hot topics” in Christian-Jewish conflicts current at the time and in the place of its preparation. In the texts investigated above,

two of these were found: the rejection of Israel (III.5) and the Jews' greed for money (III.4).

Through quests for polemical readings in the two communities' Biblical translations, therefore, more light could be shed on the nature of Christian-Jewish polemical encounters.

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APPENDIX I

Inventory of Judeo-Italian biblical translations

The following list is borrowed from Seth Jerchow, “Observations on the Current State of Judeo-Italian Corpus Studies,” paper presented at the session of the University of Pennsylvania and the Albert Ludwigs Universität Freiburg on Sacred Texts in Jewish Languages, Washington DC, 18 December 2001. Items that have received publication are indicated.

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JTS MS L669. Psalms, Roman characters. Corfu, 1769 (Cassuto no.29).
JTS MS L670, Psalms Roman characters. Corfu, ca. 1750-1800.
Oxford Neubauer 168 = MS Can.Or.10, Pentateuch.

<p>+JTS MS L667 = MS Lutzky, Prophets.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Isaiah 54:1-59:15—Menahem Banitt [Max Berenblut], “A Comparative Study of Judaeo-Italian translations of Isaiah,” Ph.D. diss., (Columbia University, 1949) ➤ Amos—Umberto Cassuto, “Il libro di Amos in traduzione giudeo-italiana,” in <i>Miscellaneo in onore di H. P. Chajes</i> (Florence, 1930), 19-38.
<p>+Oxford Neubauer 169 = MS Can.Or.11, Writings.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Luisa Ferretti Cuomo, “Verso la metà del XV secolo, un umanista impara l'ebraico? Da un quadernetto di studio, la traduzione interlineare del Cantico dei Cantici,” In <i>La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8-9 novembre 1996</i>, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), 329-363.
<p>Oxford Neubauer 39 = MS Mich.Add 1a = Degel Yehudah, Pentateuch. Genesis–Leviticus copied by Isaac ben Elisha, da Rossena, 1586; Numbers–Deuteronomy copied by Ephraim ben Johanan, da Anagni, 1590 (Cassuto no.23).</p>
<p>Parma Palatina MS 2167 (De Rossi it.218). Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Esther, Psalms 1-36 (interlinear translation of Hebrew text), Roman characters, ca. 1450 (Cassuto no. 25).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Luisa Ferretti Cuomo, “Verso la metà del XV secolo, un umanista impara l'ebraico? Da un quadernetto di studio, la traduzione interlineare del Cantico dei Cantici,” In <i>La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8-9 novembre 1996</i>, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), 329-363.
<p>+Parma Palatina MS 2506 (De Rossi it.2). Proverbs; Job; Lamentations; Psalms 68, 84; Deuteronomy 32, 33; Genesis 49; Song of Songs; Psalm 45; Ecclesiastes 1-2,12. Hebrew characters, ca. 1500 (Cassuto no.26).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Luisa Ferretti Cuomo, “Verso la metà del XV secolo, un umanista impara l'ebraico? Da un quadernetto di studio, la traduzione interlineare del Cantico dei Cantici,” In <i>La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8-9 novembre 1996</i>, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), 329-363.
<p>+Parma Palatina MS 3068 (De Rossi it.1). Prophets (from end of Jeremiah 6.28), Hebrew characters, after 1457 (Cassuto no.25).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Jeremiah 6:28-7:5; Ezekiel 1:1-3; Nahum: 2:1-3; Malachi 3:24—David Camerini, “Une ancienne version italienne des Prophètes,” <i>Révue des Études Juives</i> 72 (1921): 29-39 ➤ Amos—Umberto Cassuto, “Il libro di Amos in traduzione giudeo-italiana,” in <i>Miscellaneo in onore di H. P. Chajes</i> (Florence, 1930), 19-38. ➤ Obadiah—Savino Savini, “Un ignoto episodi della Storia della Diffusione della Bibbia in Italia,” <i>Aperusen</i> 5-6 (1922): 247-263. ➤ Jonah—Luisa Ferretti Cuomo, <i>Una traduzione giudeo-romanesca del Libro di Giona</i> (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988). ➤ Joel—Luisella Giachino, “Un volgarizzamento giudeo-italiano del Libro di Gioele,” Ph.D. diss. (Università di Venezia, 1989). ➤ Habakkuk—Habakkuk: Seth Jerchow, “La tradizione manoscritta giudeo-italiana della Bibbia: Il Libro di Habakkuk,” Ph.D. diss. (Università degli Studi di Firenze, 1993).

+Philadelphia CJS RAR MS 26 (Dropsie MS HB 22). Bible (excerpts, <i>passim</i>), Roman characters, 1530-1540 ca.

Printed editions

Proverbs, Ezechia Rieti, Hebrew characters. Venice, 1617 (Cassuto no. 35).
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Ecclesiastes, David de Pomis, Hebrew characters. Venice, 1571 (Cassuto no. 37).

APPENDIX II

Methodology of transliteration

I based my methods of transliteration on Alan Freedman's guidelines,¹⁶⁹ with the aim to offer a transliteration that is at the same time faithful to the original and serviceable.

As for the vowel system, my absolute principle was fidelity, although *hireq* and *tsere* / *segol*, just like *shureq* / *qibbutz* and *holem* (that is, the vowel points for [i] and [e], and the ones indicating [o] and [u]), respectively, are used totally interchangeably and that can look surreal when transliterated.¹⁷⁰ I am sure that not all the vowels were pronounced as they are written, because the same word is dotted with different vowels in its different occurrences, and in some instances the adjectives are not harmonised with their nouns in gender and number. But if I should start correcting the Italian scribe, I should have to know precisely in the case of each single vowel how it was uttered, and thus what the copyists should have written. I naturally did not dare to undertake a continuous alignment of the vowels as they appeared in the written text to what I imagine they really sounded like. I rather leave the text as it is, asking for my reader's trust that bizarre constructs such as *settimani sessanta doi; ne li angustii de tempi* or *sarà* and *serà* within the same verse are not due to the odd frame of mind of the transliterator.

In the case of the consonantal system, however, I felt free to differentiate between single and doubled consonants wherever I felt the need, because—contrarily to the peculiarities found in the way the vowel-points appear—doubled consonants

¹⁶⁹ Alan Freedman, *Italian Texts in Hebrew Characters: Problems of Interpretation* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972), 52-73.

were not marked because of such a “handicap” of the Hebrew alphabet (*dagesh* is not used in the Italian texts that I consulted). This, of course, can be regarded as arbitrary, but knowing that the copyists could not mark double consonants, and that it is only some dialects of Veneto (surely not *romanesco*!) that do not have consonant gemination, I did not want to leave *tuta la tera* and others in such a form. Especially not if it makes a difference in meaning (as in *Tutti noi come li pecori errammo ciascuno a la via sua* (Isaiah 53:6): the Italian translator knew that אִירָאמוּ stands for הָעִירָא here, and therefore it was not to be read *eramo* but *errammo*). The second and last point where I differed, for the sake of ease, from the way proposed by Freedman was the transliteration of [dʒ], signed by single or doubled *yod*, and which I transliterated according to modern Italian orthography (thus *oggi* instead of *ojji* and *giorni* instead of *jjorni*). The sound [k], signed by *quf*, is transliterated with /c/ or /ch/ also by Freedman, who also contends that the transliterator has to make a difference between [p] and [f], written with the same *pe* (*raphe* is only randomly inserted).

Naturally, the accents are my additions to serve the legibility of the text, particularly in the case of final stress and where the accent stroke can differentiate between two words (such as *è* and *e*, are written in the same way in Hebrew characters). The same goes for /h/, which I added for the same purpose, although it has a mere distinctive (for example, *a* and *ha*) or orthographical role (in syllables such as *gi*, *ge* and *ghi*, *ghe*) in Italian.

The only interpunction in the Judeo-Italian texts is *sof pasuq*, which I render by a full stop.¹⁷¹ In some places, especially in Can.Or.11, even this is missing,

¹⁷⁰ This is a common feature in the vocalisation of Judeo-Italian, causing major problems for transliterators of rhymed texts, see the *Elegia giudeo-italiana* in Gianfranco Contini, *Poeti del Duecento* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1960), vol. 1, 35-42, vol. 2, 796-797.

¹⁷¹ Surprisingly enough, the apostrophe of the definite article that precedes a singular noun starting with a vowel (*l'*) is also marked (״).

resulting in hardly divisible texts in bulk. Where the Biblia Stuttgartensia has *sof pasuq*, I added the full stops also to these verses for the sake of clarity. I write phonetically and in italics the words—mostly proper names—that have maintained their Hebrew form. Where I feel it important or peculiar, I make mention of Semitisms in the Italian text, but I have no intention of marking all such verses.

A' will stand for א', which replaces the tetragrammaton in the Can.Or. and JTS manuscripts because of the taboo on the name of God. Mich.Add.1a has a different solution: it uses *Iddio*. Accordingly, יהוה אלהיכם is rendered in the former texts A' *Iddio vostro*, whereas the latter reads *Iddio il Dio vostro*.

Finally, I always sign the folio numbers of a given passage in the manuscripts, except for Parma 3068: Seth Jerchower's transliteration does not contain a numbering.

Controversial texts

The following verses were recurrent in Jewish-Christian polemics, but were not included in the comparative analysis of this paper.

Genesis 1:26-27

Can. Or. 10, 1r

E disse Iddio: facciamo lo omo con la forma nostra secondo la similitudine nostra e podestarao pesci del mare e nel volatile del celo e nella bestia e in tutta la terra e in ogni de movimento che si move sopra la terra. E creò Iddio l'omo con la forma sua con forma de Iddio creò esso maschio e femmina creò essi.

Mich. Add. 1a, 7v-7r

E disse Iddio: facciamo omo nella forma nostra come la semilitudina nostra e dominerà nei pesci del mare e nel augello de i celi e ne

Bibbia volgare, 1:26-27

E disse: facciamo l'uomo alla imagine ed alla similitudine nostra; e sopastea a' pesci del mare e agli uccelli del cielo volatili, e a tutte le bestie e a ciascuna creatura, a tutti li rettili (ferucole) che si muovono nella terra.

E creò Iddio l'uomo alla imagine sua; ed alla imagine di Dio creollo, maschio e femmina.

la bestia et in tutta la terra et in tutto il serpo
che serpe sopra la terra.
E creò Iddio l'omo nella forma sua nella
forma de Iddio creò lui maschio e femmina
creò loro.

Genesis 3:14-15

Can. Or. 10, 2r

E disse Iddio dovino al serpento per ché tu
facesti questo maledetto tu più de tutta la
bestia e più de ogni animale del campo sopra il
ventre tuo andrai e polvera mangerai tutti i
giorni de le vite tue.

Et odio ponerò fra te e fra la donna e fra il
seme tuo e fra il seme suo esso te
ciecarà/cecarà il capo e tu lo ferirai nel
calcagno.

Bibbia volgare, 1:34

Disse lo signore Iddio allo serpente: perciò
che tu hai fatta questa cosa, maledetto sii tu
tra tutti gli animali e le bestie della terra;
sopra lo petto tuo andrai, e la terra mangerai
tutti i dì della vita tua.

E l'inimistà porrò tra te e la femina, tra il
seme tuo e il seme di lei; ed ancora ella ti
attriterà lo capo tuo, e tu insidierai lo calcagno
suo.

Mich. Add. 1a, 13r

E disse Iddio *dovino* al serpento per ché hai
fatto questo maledetto tu più de tutta la bestia
e più de tutta la fiera del campo sopra il corpo
tuo andrai e polvera mangerai tutti i giorni de
le vite tue.

Et odio ponerò tra te e tra la donna e tra
l'ereda tua e tra l'ereda sua egli *amacarà* a te
il capo e tu morderai alui il calcagno.

Genesis 3:22

Can. Or. 10, 2r

E disse Iddio ecco Adam mo quasi uno de noi
a sapere bene e male.

Mich. Add. 1a, 14v-14r

E disse Iddio dovino ecco l'omo è come un di
noi a sapere bene e male.

Bibbia volgare, 1:26-27

E disse Iddio dovino ecco, Adam, fatto se'
quasi come uno di noi, sapiente lo bene e lo
male.

Genesis 11:7

Can. Or. 10, 8v

Discendiamoci e confondiamo la lingua loro
acciò niuno intendi la lingua del prossimo
suo.

Bibbia volgare, 1:64

Venite dunque, andiamo e confondiamo quivi
le lingue loro, acciò che non oda ciascuno la
voce del prossimo suo.

Mich. Add. 1a, 32r
 Discendiamoci et abbaliamo ivi la favella che
 non intendeno omo la favela del compagno
 suo.

Genesis 15:6

Can. Or. 10, 10r
 e credette in A' e fu riputata a esso a giusticia

Bibbia volgare, 1:79
 E credette Abram a Dio; e reputato è a lui a
 giustizia.

Mich. Add. 1a, 40r
 e crese in Iddio e stimola alui a justicia

Exodus 12:46

Can. Or. 10, 57r
 e osso non rompete in esso

Bibbia volgare 1:319
 e la bocca di quello non romperete.

Mich. Add. 1a, 166v
 et osso non rompete de quello

Exodus 20:4-5; 7; 8

Can.Or.10, 69r
 Io A' Iddio tuo che cavai te de la terra de
Miçrayim de la casa de servitù.
 Non averai dei altri dinanzi a mi.
 Non te farai dolato né alcuna semilitudine che
 sia in celo di sopra e che sia in terra di sotto e
 che sia ne li acqui di sotto a la terra.
 Non saluterai a essi né servirai a essi perché
 io A' Iddio tuo Iddio geloso [...]
 Non giurare il nome de A' Iddio tuo in vano
 perché non perdona A' quello che giura il
 nome suo in falsità. [...]
 Ricordati del dì del *Shabbat* per santificarlo.

Bibbia volgare, 1:353-355
 Io sono lo Signore Iddio tuo, il quale trassi te
 della terra d' Egitto, e della casa della servitù.
 Non averai altri Iddii innanzi a me.
 Non farai a te intagliatura, e niuna
 similitudine la quale è in cielo di sopra, nè di
 quelle che sono nella terra di sotto, nè di
 quelle che sono nell' aque sotto la terra.
 Non adorerei quelle cose, nè coltiverai. In
 verità io sono lo Signore Iddio tuo, forte ed
 amatore [...]
 Non riceverai il nome di Dio invano; e colui il
 quale piglierà il nome del Signore Iddio suo
 indarno, sarà colpevole. [...]
 E stiate a mente, che lo die del sabbato tu
 santifichi.

Mich. Add. 1a, 185r-189v
 Io Iddio il Dio tuo che ho cavato te de la terra
 de *Miçrayim* da casa de schiavi.
 Non sarà a te dei alieni avanti a me.
 Non fare a te idolatri qual si voglia imagine
 che ne i celi di sopra e che ne la terra di sotto
 e che ne l'acque di sotto la terra.
 Non reverere a loro che io Iddio il dio tuo
 Iddio geloso [...]

Non alçare il nome de Iddio Iddio tuo in vano
che non solverà Iddio quel che alzarà il nome
suo in vano. [...]
Ricordando il giorno de la vacaçione a
santificarlo.

Deuteronomy 5:6-9; 11; 12

Can.Or.10, 160r
Io A' Iddio tuo che cavò te de la terra de
Miçrayim de la casa de la servitù.
Non sia a te dii alieni dinanzi a me.
Non te farai dolato né alcuna semilitudine che
sia in celo di sopra e che sia in terra di sotto e
che sia ne li acqui sotto a la terra.
Non salutarai a essi né servirai a essi perché
A' Iddio tuo Iddio gelante [...]
Non giurare il nome de A' Iddio tuo in falsità
per ché non perdona A' quello che giurasi il
nome suo in vanità. [...]
Guarda il dì del *Shabbat* per santificare esso.

Mich. Add. 1a, 534v-534r
Io Iddio il Dio tuo chi feci uscire te da la terra
di *Miçrayim* da casa di schiavi.
Non sarà a te dii alieni a me.
Non fare a te idolatri qual si voglia imagine
che ne i celi de sopra e che ne la terra di sotto
e che nel'acque sotto la terra.
Non reverere loro e non servire lor' che io
Iddio il Dio tuo Iddio geloso [...]
Non giurare per il nome de Iddio il Dio tuo in
vano che non assolve Iddio quel che giura il
nomo suo in vano. [...]
Avvertendo il giorno del sabato a santificarlo.

Deutoronomy 21:23

Can. Or. 10, 175v
la maladiçione de Iddio l'appiccato

Mich. Add. 1a, 587v
che biastema l'Iddio egli che è sospeso

Deuteronomy 23:20-21

Can.Or.10, 177v

Bibbia volgare, 2:227-229

Io sono Iddio, tuo Signore, il quale ti menai
della terra d' Egitto, di casa di servitù.
E guarda che tu non abbia dinanzi da te, nè
adori agl' idii altrui.
Non ti farai alcuna imagine scolpita (nè
rilevata) di tutte le cose che sono disopra in
cielo, e che sono di sotto in terra, e stanno
sotto la terra nell' aqua.
Non le adorerai, e non farai loro reverenza;
impercio ch' io sono Iddio, tuo Signore [...]
Non piglierai (nè ricorderai) il nome del tuo
Signore invano; imperciò che non passerà
senza punizione colui il quale sopra cosa vana
pigherà (e nominerà) il suo nome. [...]
Guarda il dì del sabbato, e fa che tu lo
santifichi, siccome ti comandò Iddio, tuo
Signore.

Bibbia volgare, 2:310-311

egli sia da Dio maledetto (e specialmente) chi
istà appiccato in su il legno.

Bibbia volgare, 2:320

Non darai a usura al fratello tuo usura de pecunia usura de cibo usura alcuna cosa che se da a usura.

Al stranio darai a usura e al fratello tuo non darai a usura a ciò che te benedica A' Iddio tuo.

Mich.Add.1a, 595v

Non fare feneravre al fratel tuo fengerativo de argento fengerativo de cibo fengerativo qual si voglia cosa che fenera.

Al alieno farai fenerare et al fratel tuo non farai fenerare per ché benedirà te Iddio.

Isaiah 7: 10-17

JTS L667, 195r

E aggiunse A' a parlare a *Ahaz* dicendo dimandati un segno da A' Iddio tuo profonda la dimanda o inalza di sopra.

E disse *Ahaz*: non dimanderò e non proverò a A'.

E disse odite adesso la casata de David se vi par poco affaticare l'omini che voi affaticate ancora l'Iddio mio.

Per tanto vi darà esso A' segno ecco la giovane gravida e partorirà un figlio e chiamerà el nome suo '*Immanu'el*.

Butire e mele mangerà a ciò che sappia abominare el male e eleggere el bene.

Per ché innanzi che sappia el puto abominare el male e eleggere el bene sarà abbandonata la terra la quale tu ti infastidisci da la faccia de doi re soi.

Condurrà A' sopra te e sopra el popolo tuo e sopra la casa del padre tuo di che non vinovo dal di che si separò *Efraim* da *Yehudah* el re de *Asshur*.

Isaiah 11:1

JTS L667, 198r

E uscirà una verga de la stirpa de *Yishai* e

(Allo strano e) al forestiere sì; ma al tuo fratello presterai quello che avrà bisogno senza usura alcuna, acciò che Iddio tuo Signore ti benedica in tutte quante le opere delle tue mani, nella terra la quale andrai a possedere.

Bibbia volgare, 6:408-409

E parlò Iddio ad *Acaz*, dicendogli:

Addomanda a te uno segno dal tuo Signore Iddio nel profondo dello inferno, ovvero dalla parte alta di sopra; (quasi dica: se tu non credi, di' a quelli dello inferno, che escano fuori e dicanloti; o di' a quelli di paradiso, che te ne facciano certo).

E disse *Acaz*: io non dimanderò segno, e non tenterò lo Signore.

E disse: udite, o casa di David; or parvi poco di essere molesti a me, che ancora siete molesti al mio Iddio?

E però esso Iddio vi darà il segno. Ecco la vergine concepirà, e partorirà lo figliuolo, e lo suo nome chiamerà Emanuel.

Ed egli mangerà miele e lo butirro, acciò ch'elli sappia riprovare (chi farà) lo male ed eleggere lo bene.

Però che, inanzi che il fanciullo sappi schifare lo male ed eleggere lo bene, sarà abbandonata la terra, la quale tu detestasti dalla faccia di due suoi re.

Iddio adducerà sopra te, e sopra il popolo tuo, e sopra la casa del padre tuo, li di i quali non vennero dallo di dello separamento di *Efraim* da *Giuda* con lo re delli *Assiri*.

Bibbia volgare, 6:425

Una verga uscirà della radice di *Iesse*, e uno

ramo de li radici fortificherà.

fiore salirà di quella radice.

Isaiah 42:1

JTS L667, 221r

Ecco el servo mio che mi sostentorò esso
eletto mio compiacimento del anima mia detti
lo spirito mio sopra esso el giudicio a li genti
farà oscire.

Non sclamerà e non innalcerà e non farà odire
fora la voce sua.

Canna speçcata non romperà e el lino
fomicoso non lo sforçarà

Bibbia volgare, 6:538

Ecco lo mio servo, io riceverò lui; egli sì è
mio eletto, però che la mia anima sì si diletto
in lui (e fulle in piacere); io diedi (e puosi) lo
mio spirito sopra lui, acciò ch' elli proferisse
giudicio alle genti.

Isaiah 53

JTS L667, 231v-232v¹⁷²

Chi avesse creso a la odita nostra e la força de
A' sopra chi si è apparsa?

E cresce¹⁷³ come la rama dinançi a esso e
come la radice da la terra secca non forma a
esso né adorneçça a esso e vedemo esso e non
è parença né lo disereravamo.

Dispreçcato e vitato de li omini omo di dolore
e molestato da la infermità e come
ascondimento di¹⁷⁴ faccia da esso dispreçcato
e non istimavamo esso.

Certamente infermità nostra esso portò e li
dolori nostri esso sopportò e noi putammo¹⁷⁵
esso piagato ferito de Iddio e omiliato.

E esso addolorato per li nostri ribellii¹⁷⁶
contritato per li colpi nostri teramento de
nostra pace e con la ferita sua era medecina a

Bibbia volgare, 6:583-585

Chi credette al nostro udimento? a chi è
rivelato (e manifestato) lo braccio del
Signore?

E sale come una verghetta piccola innanzi a
lui, e sì come la radice ch' esce della terra che
ha bisogno d' acqua; nè non è bellezza in lui,
nè bella forma; e vedemmolo, e non ci era
alcuno aspetto, e desiderammo lui,
disprezzato e peggio trattato di tutti li uomini,
uomo pieno di dolori ed esperto nella
infirmidade; e lo suo volto era quasi nascoso e
dispetto (cioè disprezzato, e che non si
curava); e però noi non lo riputammo a niente.
E veramente lui fu quello che (portò e) tolse li
nostri tormenti, e portò li nostri dolori; e noi
lo riputammo quasi come leproso, e percosso
da Dio, e umiliato.

Ed egli fu ferito per le nostre malvagitati, e fu
tritato (cioè battuto) per le nostre fellonie; la
disciplina della nostra pace fu sopra lui, e

¹⁷² The Judeo-Italian text presents an unprecedented number of corrections, most of which appear to be strictly grammatical. The most remarkable is the Jewish translator's preference for *ribellio* instead of *peccato* when translating *pesha'*.

¹⁷³ Or *crescé*, if read as *passato remoto*.

¹⁷⁴ *la* is cancelled here, and *di* is written next to it by the same hand as a correction.

¹⁷⁵ I am not sure I have correctly read אִי־פִּשְׁתָּאֵנוּ, this undotted mess of consonants, some of which bear signs of correction. I omitted *e* from before *putammo* in the transcription, as it is absolutely unnecessary.

¹⁷⁶ *peccati*, still undotted, is cancelled here, and *ribellii* is written next to it by the same hand as a correction.

noi.

Tutti noi come¹⁷⁷ li pecori errammo ciascuno a la via sua siamo voltati e A' fece incontrare a quello la colpa de tutti noi.

Molestato e è afflito e non aprì la bocca sua come l'agnello che¹⁷⁸ al macello è condotto e come la pecora denançi a tosatori è muta e non aprì la bocca sua.

Da la stregença e dal giodiçio fu tolto e a la¹⁷⁹ generazione sua chi parlerà per ché fu tagliati da terra de viventi per il ribellio del popolo mio piaga a esso.

E dette con li impii la fossa sua e con ricco li alturi sui non per torto che fece né inganno ne¹⁸⁰ la bocca sua.

E A' volse contrito esso fecelo ammalare se poneva per la colpa l'anima sua vederà il seme prolongherà li giorni e la volontà de A' per mezzo suo prosperarà.

Da la fatica de l'anima sua vederà sarà saçio con il saper suo giostifecherà el giusto servo mio a molti e la colpa loro esso sopportarà.

Per questo darò a esso parte con molti e con forti partirà spogli¹⁸¹ per avere sparso a la morte l'anima sua e con ribelli¹⁸² fu contato e esso peccati de molti sopportò e per ribelli¹⁸³ faceva oraçione.

siamo sanati per le percosse che lui ricevette nella carne.

Tutti noi errammo quasi come pecore, e ciascuno andò per la sua via; e lo Signore puose in lui le malvagitati di tutti noi. Fue offerto in sacrificio, però ch' elli volse, e non aperse la sua bocca (cioè per lagnarsi); e sarà menato alla morte come la pecora, e tacerà come l' agnello quando è nelle mani del tonditore, e non aprirà la sua bocca.

Ed è levato dell' angoscia e del giudicio; e chi potrà narrare (e contare) la sua generazione? lo quale è tagliato (e separato) dalla terra de' viventi; io percossi lui per la fellonia del mio popolo.

E darà li malvagi per la sepoltura, e li ricchi per la morte sua; però che non ha fatto alcuna iniquitate, e nella sua bocca non fu inganno. E lo Signore lo volle tritare (e tormentare) nella infermitade; s' egli averae posta l' anima sua per lo peccato, egli vederà la generazione che durerà per lungo tempo, e la volontà di Dio si dirizzerà nella sua mano.

Però che la sua anima s'affaticò, e però egli vederà e sazierassi; nella scienza sua esso giusto giustificherà molti miei servi, e porterà le loro iniquitati.

E però io distribuirò a lui molti, e dividerà le vestimenta de' forti, però che diede l' anima sua alla morte, e fu reputato colli scellerati; elli portò le peccata di molti, e pregò per li travaricatori (della legge e delli comandamenti).

Isaiah 61:1-4

JTS L667, 237v

Lo spirito de A' Iddio sopra me per ciò che A' onse me per *annonciare* a li omili

Bibbia volgare, 6:613-614

Lo spirito di Dio è sopra me, però che lo Signore hae unto me; ad annunciare alli

¹⁷⁷ *era* (starting probably *eramo* or *eravamo*) is cancelled here, and *come* is written next to it by the same hand as a correction.

¹⁷⁸ This word is written above the line by the same hand as correction of its omission.

¹⁷⁹ This word is written above the line by the same hand as correction of its omission.

¹⁸⁰ This word is written above the line by the same hand as correction of its omission.

¹⁸¹ *pred* (starting probably *preda*) is cancelled here, *spogli* is written next to it as a correction.

¹⁸² An **ſ** is cancelled from the end of the word: with it we would read *ribellii* ("revolts"), while without it we have *ribelli* ("rebels").

¹⁸³ The same correction is made on this *ribelli*.

mi ha mandato a legare li piaghi a i contriti di core a bandire a pregioni la libertà e a li liberati l'aprire de la carcera.
A bandire l'anno de la volontà a A' e el di de la vendetta a l'Iddio nostro a consolare tutti li attristati.

mansueti ha mandato me, acciò ch' io dèssi medicina alli contriti nel cuore, e perch' io predicassi alli imprigionati la perdonanza; e alli rinchiusi, che dovea loro essere aperto; e per che io predicassi l' anno pacifico al Signore, e lo di della vendetta al nostro Iddio; acciò che consolassi tutti quelli che piangono.

Jeremiah 31:31-34

Parma 3068

Ecco di venno ditto de Dume Det e stagliarajo cun casata de *Yisrael* e cun casata de *Yehudah* patto nuvo

No cume patto che stagliaji cun li pateri luri in di de lu infurtire mio in mane lura per trajere essi da terra de *Mitsraim* che essi ruppero lu patto mio e ijo signurezaji in essi ditto de Dume Det

Che questo lu patto che stagliarajo cun casata de *Yisrael* da pui li dé essi ditto de Dume Det detti la lea mea enfera de essi e supera lu coro loro scheriverajo essa e serajo a essi a Det e essi seranno a mi a pupelu

E nun annesciaranno plu omo a lu cunpagno suo e omo a lu frato suo a dire cunusciti Dume Det che tutti essi cunusciananno mi da miççeno loro e fina granno loro ditto de Dume Det che perdunarajo a la culpa lura e a lu peccato loro nun recorderajo

Bibbia volgare, 7:160-161

Ecco vengono li di dice Iddio; e pattuirò [col]la casa d' Israel e colla casa di Giuda (farò) patto nuovo;

non secondo ch' io patovii colli vostri padri, quando io pigliai la loro mano per menarli della terra d' Egitto; e fu patto, che lo fecieno tornare adietro, e io ho avuto la signoria sopra loro, dice Iddio.

Ma questo sarà lo patto ch' io pattovirò con la casa d' Israel dopo quelli di, dice Iddio; e darò la mia legge nelle sue interiora, e nello loro cuore scriverò quella; e sarò loro Iddio, ed egli saranno mio popolo.

E non ammaestrerà più l' uomo lo suo prossimo e lo suo fratello, dicendo: ogni cosa m' è Iddio; tutti mi conosceranno dal piccolo insino al grande, dice Iddio; però ch' io sono appresso alla loro iniquitate, e non averò più memoria del peccato loro.

Hosea 6:1b-3

Parma 3068

Jetti e turnarimo a Dume Det che esso lupiavo e guarirà nui ferivo e enfascerà nui
Abbefecarà nui di dui dij in di terça adriarà nui e viveremo denançi de esso

E saparemo seguitaremo per cunuscere Dume Det cume alba deritta la jisciuta soa e verrà cume pluja a nui e cume tardivo satulla terra

Bibbia volgare, 8:138

Venite, e torniamo al nostro Iddio.

Però ch' egli incominciò, e sanerà noi; e percuoterà noi, e farà la cura di noi.

Elli farà noi vivi dopo due di; e resusciterà noi al terzo di, e viveremo nel suo conspetto.

E sapremo e seguitaremo (lui) acciò che noi cognosciamo lo Signore; l' uscimento [suo] è preparato come l' alba del die, e verrà a noi come lo vento acquaio, quando viene a tempo, e quano viene serotino alla terra.

Joel 2:28-32

Parma 3068

E serà dapu questo reverçarajo lu spirito mio
supera onne carna e prufetezaranno li figliuli
vusteri e li figliuli vusteri li veccheli vusteri
sunni insugnaranno li juveni vusteri visiuni
vedaranno

E ečia supera li servi e supera li ançelli in li di
essi reverçarajo lu spirito mio

E darajo maravegli in li çeli e in la terra
sangua e fuco e datteli de fumo

Lu sulu serà revultato a scureto e la luna a
sangua denançi lu venire di de Dume Det lu
granno e temuto

E serà onne che clamarà in numo de Dume
Det serà scanpato che in munto de Çion e in
Yerušalaim serà scanpatiçço cume disse
Dume Det e in remagnençii che Dume Det
clama

Bibbia volgare, 8:174-175

E dopo queste cose sarà che io spargerò lo
mio spirito sopra ogni generazione; e li vostri
antichi sogneranno sogni, e tutti li altri vostri
vederanno le visioni.

E io ancora spargerò lo mio spirito in quello
tempo sopra li miei servi, e sopra le mie
serve, (e profeteranno).

E farò meraviglie in cielo (di sopra) e nella
terra (di sotto), cioè sangue, fuoco e vapore di
fumo.

Lo sole si muterà in tenebre, e la luna in
sangue, innanzi che vegna lo di del Signore,
grande e terribile.

E chiunque averà chiamato lo nome di Dio,
sarà salvo, (cioè che averà fatto l'opere
secondo Iddio); però che la salvezione sarà
nel monte di Sion e in Ierusalem, sì come egli
disse, e nello rimanente di coloro i quali averà
chiamati.

Malachi 3:1

Parma 3068

Ecco ijo manno anjulo mio e sgummerà via
denançi de mi e subito verrà a tenpelo suo lu
signuro che vui çerchiti e anjulo de lu patto
che vui vulentiti ecco venne disse Dume Det
de osti.

Bibbia volgare, 8:376

Ecco io manderò l'angelo mio; e
apparecchierà la (tua) via inanzi alla mia
faccia. E incontinente verrà al tempio lo
Signore lo quale voi addomandate, e l'angelo
del testamento lo quale voi volete. Ecco che
viene, dice lo signore delli esèrciti.

Psalms 22:1-19

Can. Or. 11, 32r-33r

Iddio mio Iddio mio per ché abbandonasti me
lontano da la salvaçione mia paroli del grido
mio.

Dio mio io chiamo de di e non mi rispondi e
de notte non è silençio a me.

E tu santo che siedi nelli lodi *Yisrael*.

In te confidarono li patri nostri confidarono e
liberasti essi.

In te sclamarono e furono scappati in te hanno
confidato e non si vergognarono.

E io verme e non omo vetuperio de omo e
dispreççato de popolo.

Bibbia volgare, V:196-200

Dio, Dio mio, riguarda in me: per ché m' hai
tu abbandonato lontano dalla mia salute per le
parole de' miei delitti?

Dio mio, grideroe nel giorno, e non esaudirai;
e la notte, e non mi sarà reputato a stultizia.

Ma (che) tu abiti nel santo, o laude d' Israel.

In te hanno sperato i nostri padri; sperarono e
liberastili.

A te gridorono, e furono salvati; in te
sperarono, e non furono confusi.

Ma io sono verme, e non uomo; obbrobrio
delli uomni, e scacciamento del popolo.

Tutti quelli che mi vedono mi beffano aprono
li labbra movono il capo.

Chi si rimuniva a A' lo scapparà li liberarà per
ché se conpiacque in esso.

Per ché tu sei che cavasti me dal ventre che
me fai confidare sopra li çini de la madre mia.

Sopra te fui gittato da la volva dal ventre de la
madre mia Iddio mio tu.

Non te discostare da me per ché la angustia è
prossima ché non è chi aiuti.

Agirono me torri molti forti de *Bashan* me
attorniarono.

Aprirono sopra me la bocca loro come leone
che rapisce e grida.

Come li acqui sono versato e sono disperse
tutti li ossa mei fu il cor mio come cera che si
disfa dentro li istentini.

Si seccò come vaso secco la virtù mia e la
lingua si accostò al palato mio e nella polvere
della morte deponerai me.

Per ché me girarono I cani compagnia de
maligianti me attorniarono come leone le
mane mei e li piedi mei.

Conto tutti li ossa mei e si vederano
risguarderano in me.

Spartiino i vestimenti me a essi e sopra il
vestimento mio getteno la sorte.

Tutti quelli che mi videro, mi schernirono;
parlarono colle labbra, e movettero il capo.

Chi ha sperato nel Signore, ora il delibere;
faccilo salvo, perchè vuole lui.

Però [che] tu sei quello che mi traesti del
ventre; sei mia speranza dalle mammelle della
mia madre.

Dal ventre sono gittato in te; tu sei mio Iddio
dal ventre della mia madre.

Non ti partire da me. Imperò che si appressa
la tribulazione, e non è cui mi aiuti.

Hannomi circondato molti vitelli; i grassi tauri
mi hanno assediato.

Sopra di me hanno aperto loro bocca, come
pigliante leone e ruggente.

Aperto sono come aqua; spartite sono tutte le
mie ossa. Fatto è il mio cuore, come cera
strutta nel mezzo del mio ventre.

Seccata è la mia virtù, come (parte di) vaso di
terra; accostata è la mia lingua al palato; è
haimi menato in polvere della morte.

Però che molti cani hannomi circondato; mi
hanno assediato il consiglio de' maligni.

Forato hanno le mie mani e gli miei piedi.

Hanno dinumerato tutte le mie ossa. E me
videno, e considerorono me.

Partirono a sè le mie vestimenta, e sopra la
mia veste misero la sorte.

Psalms 69:1-10; 19-22

Can. Or. 11, 50r-51r

Venni ne li profondità de le acque e corsi di
acque me diluvio.

Me affatigo nel mio chiamare si è induchita la
gola mia. Se consumarono li occhi mei de
sperare ne lo Iddio.

Se moltiplicarono fino che li capelli del capo
mio li odianti mei inmeritamente se
inportirono quelli che consumano li nemici
mei senza caosa quello che non sforzai me
istringeno a rendere. (...)

Per ché per te sopportai il vituperio e copri la
vergogna la faccia mia.

Fo fatto stranio a fratelli mei e forestiero a
filii de la madre mia.

Per ché il zelo de la casa tua me consuma e li

Bibbia volgare, 5:333ff

Fammi salvo, Iddio; però che entrono
l'acque insino all'anima mia.

Son sommerso insino al luto del profondo; e
non è sostanza.

Per che nel profondo del mare sommersemi la
tempesta.

M'affaticai gridando; sono fatto rauco;
vennero a meno li occhi miei, sperando
nell'Iddio mio.

Quelli che mi hanno odiato senza cagione
sono moltiplicati sopra li capelli del mio capo.
Gli miei nemici, che mi hanno perseguitato
ingiustamente, sono confortati; allora rendeva
quelle cose che non ho tolto. (...)

Però [che] per te ho sostenuto la ingiuria; la

¹⁸⁴ *contrittasi* is cancelled here, and *condolesi* is written next to it by the same hand as a correction.

vituperii de li vituperanti tui cadono sopra di me. (...)

Tu conoscesti il vetuperio mio e la confusione e la vergogna mia incontra di te li angustiatori mei.

Il vituperio ha contritto il cor mio debilitato e aspettai quello che condolesi¹⁸⁴ e non fu e a consolatori e non ritrovai.

E buttano/*bettono* nel cibo mio il tossico e ne la sete mia me abeverarono aceto.

confusione ha coperta la mia faccia.

Io sono fatto straniero da' miei fratelli, e come pellegrino da' figliuoli di mia madre.

Il zelo della tua casa mi ha inghiottito; e gli vituperii delli tuoi riprovatori cascarono sopra di me. (...)

Tu sai il mio improprio, e la mia confusione, e la mia reverenza.

Tutti che mi tribulano sono nel tuo cospetto; il mio cuore ha aspettato l'improprio e la miseria.

E aspettai chi meco si contristassero, e non furono; e non trovai chi me consolasse.

E per mio cibo mi dettero il fiele; e abbeverarono la mia sete coll'aceto.

Psalms 118:22

Can. Or. 11, 72r

La preta che abominarono li fabbricanti divenì nel capo del cantone.

Da A' diviene questo e maravigli ne li occhi nostri.

Bibbia volgare 5:490

La pietra che gli edificanti reprobano, è fatta in capo del cantone.

Dal signore è fatto questo; ed è mirabile nelli occhii nostri.

APPENDIX III