

Towards a better understanding of the *Pharetra fidei*

A critical edition of part 1 of version 2 of the text

Research Master Thesis

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Introduction

The thirteenth to fifteenth centuries mark a transition from a relative tolerance to an opposition from Christians towards the Jews in Europe. Christian literature of the high Middle Ages correspondingly reflects an increasing level of hostility towards the Jews.¹ Although medieval anti-Judaism has extensively been researched, one of the most popular textual witnesses of this development has so far been largely overlooked: the *Pharetra fidei* ('quiver of faith'). This project aims to investigate part of the text in order to increase our understanding of this text.

The collection of manuscripts containing the text called the *Pharetra fidei* were written and copied from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The text consists of two parts: a refutation of the Talmud and an explanation of the truth of the Christian faith. Because of its popularity among Christian polemicists, the *Pharetra fidei* was subject to reformulations and re-elaborations. Some used their material in order to produce textually distinct new works, respectively called here versions 2 and 3. Kaeppli identifies 137 manuscripts in total and according to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, there are nine incunables.² The text was translated into German, as a fifteenth century copy under the title *Der Köcher wider die Juden* shows, found in the collection of the German author Hans Folz (1435/40-1513).³ In the oldest version (version 1), the Refutation of the Talmud (called *Errores Iudaeorum*) and the Truth of the Christian faith (called *Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos*) were two separate works, though often bound together in the same manuscript. The later versions are called *Pharetra fidei* in their entirety, because the first sentence from version 1 of *Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos* was used in versions 2 and 3 as introduction: "Acuite sagittas implete pharetras ad prosternendas uulpeculas que demoliuntur uineas nostras et accipite gladium Spiritus quod est Verbum Dei."

¹ Albrecht Classen, "Complex Relations Between Jews and Christians in Late Medieval German and Other Literature," in *Jews in Medieval Christendom: Slay Them Not*, ed. Kristine Utterback and Merrall Llewelyn Price (Boston: Brill, 2013), 313-338.

² Thomas Kaeppli and Emilio Panelli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi* (Rome: ad Sabinae, 1993), 4:292-296; "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke," Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, last modified 8 June 2021, <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>. According to Novikoff there are five incunables, see: Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 273 note 97.

³ Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge, 1200-1400: Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium* (Boston: Brill, 2007), 391. Its popularity and use needs further research.

Despite the evident popularity of the text, little research has been done on the *Pharetra fidei* so far. A first step necessary for research on these texts is the preparation of critical editions of all versions. Both works of version 1 are edited by Spanish historian Isaac Lampurlanés,⁴ while version 2 and 3 remain unedited. Even though Jewish history scholar Moisés Orfali has written an article on the incunable of version 2, including a transcription of the text of this incunable, the transcription is flawed and there is no comparison with manuscript witnesses of version 2.⁵ A critical edition of version 2 therefore remains a necessary step in the process of a better understanding of the collection of texts called the *Pharetra fidei*. In this thesis, a substantial part of version 2 will be edited, that is, the Refutation of the Talmud. This part has a textual unity derived in part from the distinct origin of the *Errores Iudaeorum* discussed above. The second part, the Truth of the Christian faith, will be left for a future project.

In this introduction to the edition of part 1 of the second version of the text (V.2.1), a brief overview of the content of the text is provided and the origin of the text is discussed in its historical context, as well as the possible authorship and the sources used. This section is concluded with a summary of these findings, where also further steps that need to be taken for a thorough understanding of the *Pharetra fidei* will be discussed. The introductory chapters are concluded with a description of the manuscripts and the incunable used for this edition, and the rules of the edition.

The remainder of the thesis consists of the critical edition, based on four manuscripts and one incunable. This incunable is the only incunable available of version 2 and necessary to include for a better comparison with Orfali's article. Because of COVID-19, it was not possible to travel and this project depended therefore on the availability of the manuscripts online and on the libraries willing to send their scans. I am therefore very grateful to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, the Bibliothèque Municipale in Rouen and the Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek in Erfurt for sending me scans of their manuscripts. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362 (siglum A in the

⁴ Isaac Lampurlanés, "The *Errores Iudaeorum* by Friar Thibaud de Sézanne: A Critical Working Edition," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 55 no. 3 (2020): 365-418; Isaac Lampurlanés, "*Pharetra fidei contra iudaeos*: Sus fuentes y una edición de trabajo," *Sefard* 80 no. 2 (2020): 315-364.

⁵ Moisés Orfali, "El 'Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagogam': Un Tratado anonimo de polemica antijuda," *Hispania* LIV 2 no. 187 (1994): 679-732.

critical edition) is chosen as the base text because it was written in the first three decades of the fourteenth century and therefore probably the earliest available text of version 2. Two other manuscripts were also written in the fourteenth century and one manuscript was written the fifteenth century, the same century that the incunable was published.

1. Content of part 1 of version 2 of the *Pharetra fidei*

Version 2 of the *Pharetra fidei* distinguishes itself from the other versions in its first paragraphs. After the opening sentence mentioned in the introduction, it discusses the theme of the work, a passage from Proverbs 14:1: “A wise woman buildeth her house: but the foolish will pull down with her hands that also which is built.”⁶ This passage is explained in the following paragraphs, where a parable introduces two characters, Ecclesia and Synagoga. A beautiful young woman is going from Jericho to Jerusalem to sacrifice in the Temple. On her way, she meets an old blind woman, Synagoga, who had been struck blind when she sacrificed in the Temple. The young woman wants to help Synagoga on her way and they come to a place where a well springs from a rock. The well splits into two streams. We are told that the rock is Jesus, the well is his teaching and the two streams are the two senses of Scripture: literal and allegorical. The young woman places herself between the two streams and explains to Synagoga that she is blind because she has strayed from the path of truth and has rejected the true faith. Synagoga asks her who she is that she dares speak to her in that way. The young woman reveals that she is Ecclesia, and she will show her companion the errors of the Talmud. According to the Spanish philologist Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, this parable is unique.⁷

What follows is a summary of the three objectives of the text: to explain the errors of the Talmud, to teach the true doctrine and to respond to Synagoga’s objections. Throughout the text, Ecclesia holds long monologues, explaining the errors of Talmudic passages and referring to biblical passages and other sources to show the truth, while Synagoga objects or asks questions in short sentences. Ecclesia uses the language of a scholastic, disproving Synagoga’s arguments.

Hartmann has identified the text of the *Pharetra fidei* as a dispute, a subgenre of the dialogue, because it contains the two distinctive characteristics of this subgenre. Firstly, the work relates to contemporary polemics with concrete social consequences, because it deals with a religious conflict that has a social and political resonance. Secondly, the interlocutors represent opposing positions. One

⁶ This translation is based on the Douay-Rheims Bible, available online at <http://www.drbo.org/>.

⁷ Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, “Drei Schriften mit dem Titel *Pharetra fidei*,” *Aschkenas* 11 (2001): 336; “Es gibt in der mittelalterlichen Literatur Dialoge zwischen Ecclesia und Synagoga, aber sie werden meistens als zwei Königinnen oder als Mutter und Tochter dargestellt, die sich am Kreuz unterhalten.”

character is recognisable as the author's mouthpiece (in this case Ecclesia), who speaks at greater length than her opponent and presents the more convincing arguments. The debate does not stage the search for a common solution, but the reader is led to believe that only one position is correct.⁸

V.2.1 is divided into the following chapters.

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| I. Thema | 181v ⁹ |
| II. Parabola | |
| III. Isti errores sunt excerpti de Thalmut de iudeo baptizato | |
| IV. Quid Deus operetur cottidie | 182r |
| V. De blasphemia iudeorum in Deum | 182v |
| VI. De odio iudeorum contra christianos | |
| VII. De turpitudine Thalmut | |
| VIII. De odio iudeorum contra christianos | 183r |
| IX. Quid iudei sentiant de angelis | |
| X. Quid sentiant de demonibus | |
| XI. Sententia eorum de animabus | |
| XII. Fabula de angelo mortis | |
| XIII. Contra fabulam de pixide in Thalmut | 183v |
| XIV. De mutatione sabbati | 184r |
| XV. De innouatione legis | |
| XVI. Epylogus predictorum | |

⁸ Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge*, 104-105.

⁹ The folio numbers are based on Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362, siglum A in the critical edition.

2. Origin of the *Pharetra fidei*

The origin of this text is somewhat obscure. The text itself gives a clue as to the date, since it accuses the Jews of being obdurate for more than 1300 years, which implies that the text was written after 1300 (see l. 318). A part of the text was likely written as one of the polemical writings against the Jews, engendered by the anti-Talmudic movement in Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the twelfth century, the Qur'an was translated into Latin,¹⁰ which inspired anti-Jewish polemicists to take a close look at the Talmud in order to translate it as well. A century later, the Talmud became the sole target and tool to refute contemporary Judaism. The converted Jew Nicholas Donin (13th century) translated a few excerpts from the Talmud and presented these to Pope Gregory IX in 1239, as part of thirty-five accusations against the Jews. In answer, the pope ordered an investigation of the Talmud and asked all European kings and bishops to confiscate the Talmudic works for examination. The only king who obeyed was Louis IX of France. His examination was concluded with a ban of the Talmud and a consequent burning of the books in 1241/42 at the Place de la Grève in Paris. A few years later, a delegation of French Jews went to see the new pope in Lyon asking for a reconsideration of the ban of the Talmud, arguing that the Jewish communities could not properly observe their commandments without the reading of the Talmud. In response, Pope Innocent IV commissioned his apostolic legate in Paris, Odo of Châteauroux, to lead a revision of the case against the Talmud, which entailed the translation of the Hebrew Talmud into Latin: this constitutes the work known as *Extractiones de Talmud*. This translation, along with other Latin materials from the Paris Disputation, made up the dossier of the trial which became the basis for the second condemnation of the Talmud in 1248. The anti-Talmudic movement in Paris engendered a series of polemical writings against the Jews and it is likely in this context that the text known as the *Errores Iudaeorum* was first composed.¹¹ Lampurlanés believes the text of the *Errores Iudaeorum* to have been written after 1239, when Donin went to the pope with his thirty-five articles, but before 1245,

¹⁰ Robert of Ketton's translation for Peter the Venerable (Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete) is datable to 1142-1143, see J. Yolles, "Scientific Language in the Latin Qur'ans of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 22 no. 3 (2020): 122.

¹¹ Lampurlanés, "The *Errores Iudaeorum*," 366-369.

because version 1 does not quote the Latin translation of the *Extractiones de Talmud*, see chapter 4.3.¹² The origin of the *Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos*, which was often copied after the *Errores Iudeorum* in the same manuscript, unfortunately remains obscure.

The manuscripts of version 2 discussed in this thesis were all copied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362 (siglum A) was likely copied in the first three decades of the fourteenth century and was therefore produced within fifty to eighty years of version 1. The manuscripts of version 2 were used by monasteries in west Germany (Cologne and Mainz), south east Germany (Asbach and Tegernee) and Austria (Seckau and Lilienfeld).

While in other countries the Jews were actively suppressed, within the Holy Roman Empire, there seems to have been hardly any preaching campaigns against Jews until the middle of the fifteenth century. Sermons were seldom compulsory in the same sense that they were in late medieval Italy and Spain.¹³ There were no formally staged disputations between theologians and rabbis, or any public proceedings against the Talmud.¹⁴ The public transmission of anti-Jewish ideas (at least in writing) within the Empire was, therefore, relatively limited until the fifteenth century. Ocker names only four original works by friars and an equally small number of mendicant classics circulating within the Empire: the *Pharetra fidei* is included in this second category.¹⁵ The *Pharetra fidei* is therefore one of the very few works that can tell us more about the transmission of anti-Jewish ideas in the thirteenth- to sixteenth-century Empire among a broad audience.¹⁶

As far as we know, all manuscripts were produced in and used by religious institutions. Three manuscripts have a Benedictine monastic provenance: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 3243 (from the Abbey of Asbach near Passau),

¹² Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 393.

¹³ In spite of the Council of Basel’s (1432) call for obligatory Jewish attendance at annual sermons, see Christopher Ocker, “Contempt for Friars and Contempt for Jews in Late Medieval Germany,” in *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Susan Myers and Steven McMichael (Boston: Brill, 2004), 124.

¹⁴ In spite of the Council of Constance’s (1414-1418) order that dangerous books must be confiscated and burned, see Christopher Ocker, “Contempt for Friars,” 125.

¹⁵ The other works are *Epistola ad Rabbi Isaacum* by Alphonsus Bonihominis and Nicolaus of Lyra’s *Questio de adventu Christi* and *Responsio ad quendam Iudeum*, see Christopher Ocker, “Contempt for Friars,” 124-125.

¹⁶ Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge*, 105; Gilbert Dahan, *The Christian Polemic against the Jews in the Middle Ages*, transl. Jody Gladding (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 84-85.

Köln, Historisches Archiv, GB 4° 66 (Abbey of Great St. Martin, Cologne) and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19610 (Abbey of Tegernsee, southern Bavaria).¹⁷ Two manuscripts were in the possession of Augustinian monasteries: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 312 (Chorherrenstift Seckau, Styria) and Klosterneuburg, Bibliothek des Chorherrenstifts, 933, n° 49 (Chorherrenstift Klosterneuburg, north of Vienna).¹⁸ Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 130 was formerly owned by the Carthusian abbey of St. Michael in Mainz and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362 by the Cistercian abbey of Lilienfeld, in Lower Austria.¹⁹ Finally, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4180 was owned by an as-yet unidentified monastery dedicated to St. Andrew. The only known incunable edition of version 2, written between 1488 and 1490, was printed in Zaragoza, Spain.²⁰ It was edited by Gonzalo García de Santa María (1447-1521), a *converso* from Zaragoza. The printer, Pablo (Paulus) Hurus (died after 1505), was a German born in Konstanz (Constance), but active in Zaragoza.²¹

¹⁷ “Geschichte,” Kloster Asbach, accessed December 15, 2021, <https://kloster-asbach.de/geschichte/>; “Gross St. Martin,” 40 Jahre Förderverein Romanische Kirche Köln, accessed December 15, 2021, <https://www.romanische-kirchen-koeln.de/rkk/martin/>; Martial Staub, “Tegernsee,” in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. André Vauchez et al., transl. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: Clarke; Paris: Cerf; Rome: Città Nuova, 2000), 2:1414; W. Störmer, “Tegernsee,” in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias: Lexikon des Mittelalters Online (Stuttgart: Metzler, [1977]-1999), 8:523-524.

¹⁸ H. Dopsch, “Seckau,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 7:1660-1661; Werner Maleczek, “Klosterneuburg,” *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, 1:806; F. Röhrig, “Klosterneuburg,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 5:1225-1226.

¹⁹ Reinhard Schmid, “Mainz - St. Michael - Michaelsberg,” in *Klöster und Stifte in Rheinland-Pfalz*, accessed December 15, 2021, <http://www.klosterlexikon-rlp.de/rheinessen/mainz-st-michael-michaelsberg.html>; N. Mussbacher, “Lilienfeld,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 5:1984-1985.

²⁰ *Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagogam*, ed. Gonzalo García de Santa María (Zaragoza: Paul Hurus, c.1488-1490).

²¹ Laura Delbrugge, *A Scholarly Edition of Andrés de Li's Thesoro de la passion (1494)*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 41 (Boston: Brill, 2011), 3.

3. Authorship

The authorship of the text of the *Pharetra fidei* remains debated. This chapter discusses three men that have been proposed as author, both in manuscripts and in catalogues of version 2 manuscripts.

3.1 Theobaldus of Saxannia

One of the names most frequently associated with the text is that of the Dominican Theobaldus of Saxannia (13th century, Saxonia, Sexannia, Thibaud of Sézanne). Theobaldus is named several times as author of version 1. *Errores Iudaeorum* (V.1.1) was generally contributed to Theobaldus within manuscript copies, as can be seen in the first line of the text: *Ista sunt excerpta de Erroribus iudaeorum in Talmud, quos transtulit frater Theobaldus subprior ordinis praedicatorum Parisiensis.*²² Because V.1.1 and V.1.2 were often bound together, he was also proposed as the author of V.1.2 (*Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos*). However, according to Lampurlanés, these two works were produced in different contexts and by different hands.²³

Theobaldus is also mentioned as the author of version 2 in the catalogue descriptions of Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 873,²⁴ Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 312,²⁵ London, British Library, Royal 8 F XI²⁶ and incunable Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2661.²⁷ However, Gonzalo García de Santa María writes in the preface of the incunable that the work was anonymous. He laments that this minimizes its authority and thus places it under the protection of the archbishop of Seville, Diego de Mendoza, to whom he dedicates it.²⁸

²² Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 397, l. 1-2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 383-384.

²⁴ Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz* (Vienna: Prachner, 1956), 2:90-93; Maria Mairold, *Die datierten Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz bis zum Jahre 1600*, Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich 6 (Wien: Verlag d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss, 1979), 1:92.

²⁵ Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1942), 1:178-79.

²⁶ George Warner and Julius Gilson, *Catalog of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, British Museum (London: The Trustees, 1921), 1:268-269.

²⁷ “Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagogam,” Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, Biblioteca Nacional de España, accessed December 15, 2021, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000177093>; Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, “El *Dialogus pro ecclesia contra synagogam* impreso por Pablo Hurus: autoría, fecha y transmisión manuscrita,” *Se farad* 62 (2002): 3.

²⁸ Hartmann, “El *Dialogus*,” 18 note 48.

Because Saxannia (probably today's Sézanne, dep. Marne, France) is a little-known place, this author is sometimes called Theobaldus de Saxonia or Saxo.²⁹ Theobaldus of Saxannia was the sub-prior of the Dominican convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris, c. 1240-1250. As a converted Jew, it is assumed that he knew Hebrew and rabbinic literature well.³⁰ His name appears among the *boni viri* who were signatories of the final condemnation of the Talmud promoted by Odo of Châteauroux in Paris on the 15th of May 1248. Before signing the condemnation in 1248, Theobaldus must have read the *Extractiones de Talmud* which served to support the arguments against the Talmud.³¹

3.2 Nicholas of Lyra

A second name proposed as the author of the *Pharetra fidei* is the Franciscan scholar Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270-1349). In München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 3243, version 2 of the *Pharetra fidei* is followed by a treatise of Nicholas (*Responsio ad quendam Iudaeum*).³² It is therefore not surprising that the name Nicholas of Lyra was added to the title of the *Pharetra* by a second hand (f. 203r).³³ The catalogues of München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19610,³⁴ Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonianische Handschriften Sammlung, 4° 116³⁵ (both of which contain a writing by Nicholas of Lyra before the *Pharetra fidei*) and Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. Leber 59³⁶ also name Nicholas of Lyra as the author.

Nicholas of Lyra was a Franciscan Hebraist and biblical scholar and a member of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris in the first three decades of the fourteenth century. He drew from Jewish traditions in his biblical exegesis, using rabbinic texts by utilizing and Christianizing them through exegesis and anti-Jewish polemic.³⁷ Nicholas' extensive writings suggest an ambivalence

²⁹ Hartmann, "Drei Schriften," 331.

³⁰ Gilbert Dahan, "Thibaud of Sézanne (13th c.)," *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, 2:1434.

³¹ Lampurlanés, "The *Errores Iudaeorum*," 370, 393.

³² Carolus Halm et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (München: Bibliotheca regia, 1894), 1.2:85-86.

³³ Hartmann, "Drei Schriften," 340-341.

³⁴ Halm, *Catalogus codicum latinorum*, 2.2:259.

³⁵ Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887), 374-375.

³⁶ Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue General des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France: Départements* (Paris: Plon, 1888), 2.2:72.

³⁷ Gilbert Dahan, "Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270-1349)," *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, 2:1019-

toward Jews as stubborn unbelievers who nonetheless held indispensable keys to understanding Christian Scripture.³⁸ The attribution of the text to Nicholas of Lyra is not convincing, according to Hartmann, because of the content and style of the *Pharetra fidei*, which differs greatly from Nicholas' original work.³⁹

Nicholas of Strassburg

A third proposed author of the text is the Dominican Nicholas of Strassburg (first traceable 1318-died after 1331, also known as Nicolaus de Argentina). Köln, Historisches Archiv GB 4° 66 mentions him in a list of possible authors from whom excerpts were used in the text: "Que omnia et singula vel quasi excerpta sunt ex libro fratris Theobaldi subprioris Parisiensis predicti vel ex compendio fratris Nicolai de Argentina et ex libro Petri Alphuncii."⁴⁰ According to Hartmann, the scribe might have mentioned Nicholas because of the similarities between the *Pharetra fidei* and a writing of Nicholas, but she does not believe it is likely that the scribe actually believed Nicholas to be co-author. She suggests that the scribe had a copy in which Nicholas was named the author of the *Pharetra fidei*. However, since he recognised that it is largely the writings attributed to Theobaldus, which in turn show partial similarities with Petrus Alfonsi, he decided to present the *Pharetra fidei* as a collection of excerpts from the works of these three authors (Theobaldus of Saxannia, Petrus Alfonsi and Nicholas of Strassburg).⁴¹

Nicholas of Strassburg was appointed vicar of the province of Teutonia of the Dominican order in 1325. Before that, he had been a lecturer of theology in the Studium Generale. As vicar, he rejected the accusations of heresy against Meister Eckhart and was accused himself by the court of the Archbishop of Cologne of impeding inquisition. Nicholas' work shows that he had experience with writing anti-Jewish work and the use of dialogue.⁴²

1020; Deeana Copeland Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 1-13.

³⁸ Copeland Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers*, 1-13.

³⁹ Hartmann, "Drei Schriften," 340.

⁴⁰ Joachim Vennebusch, *Die theologischen Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln* (Köln: Böhlau, 1980), 2:70; Hartmann, "Drei Schriften," 340.

⁴¹ Hartmann, "Drei Schriften," 341-343.

⁴² Idem.

The discussion of the possible authorship shows that the text of the *Pharetra fidei* was associated with the Dominican and Franciscan orders. These orders were both founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century and focused on preaching and mission. They developed scholastic systems for teaching theology to equip their members to guard the orthodoxy. Tribunals of inquisition were assigned to both orders, though to the Franciscans in lesser numbers than to the Dominicans.⁴³ The text of the *Pharetra fidei* might therefore have been used as tool, to teach the students how to defend the Christian faith and refute the arguments of the Jews with whom they came into contact. This use is in consistency with the general growth in popularity of the disputes in the High Middle Ages; they fulfilled a didactic need for the clergy because of the spread of Jewish communities throughout Central and Northern Europe.⁴⁴

⁴³ Marie-Humbert Vicaire, "Dominicans," *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, 1:442-445; Giulia Barone, "Franciscans, Franciscanism," *idem*, 1:567-569.

⁴⁴ Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge*, 109-111.

4. Sources

4.1 *Errores Iudaeorum* (V.1.1)

The distinct works *Errores Iudaeorum* (V.1.1) and *Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos* (V.1.2) were combined for the first time in version 2 of the text. In this chapter, these works will only be compared to part one of version 2 (V.2.1). The similarities between V.1.1 and V.2.1 are substantial, starting with a description of the four talmudic books and ending with the epilogue. Parts are copied literally while regularly parts of texts are added with more extensive arguments or extra sources. A few times, chapter parts are rearranged to fit the argument of the author of version 2 better while other parts of V.1.1 are ignored. Below, the chapters of V.2.1 and the chapters of V.1.1 are compared by content.

| | |
|---|--|
| V.2.1 | V.1.1 ⁴⁵ |
| I. Thema | [absent] |
| II. Parabola | [absent] |
| III. Isti errores sunt excerpti de Thalmut de iudeo baptizato | <i>Ista sunt excerpta de Erroribus iudaeorum in Talmud</i> XII. Qualiter Deum blasphemant |
| IV. Quid Deus operetur cottidie | I. Quod sit opus Dei per diem et noctem |
| V. De blasphemia iudeorum in Deum | II. Quod iudaei imponunt Deo peccatum |
| VI. De odio iudeorum contra christianos | III. De odio in Christum et in christianos IV. De blasphemia iudaeorum contra ecclesiam et sacramenta V. Oratio iudaeorum contra christianos |
| VII. De turpitudine Thalmut | VI. De erroribus iudaeorum circa opus primae creationis et aliis figmentis |
| VIII. De odio iudeorum contra | VII. Qualiter imprecantur iudaei |

⁴⁵ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 365-418.

| christianos | christianis |
|---|---|
| IX. Quid iudei sentiant de angelis | VIII. Opinio iudaeorum de angelis X. Obiectiones contra praedictos errores |
| X. Quid sentiant de demonibus | X. Obiectiones contra praedictos errores |
| XI. Sententia eorum de animabus | IX. Omnes animas ab initio creatas dicunt X. Obiectiones contra praedictos errores |
| XII. Fabula de angelo mortis | XIV. Opinio eorum de morte XV. Quod gravissime puniatur qui deridet Talmud |
| XIII. Contra fabulam de pixide in Thalmut | XI. Isti sequentes errores sunt excerpti de Talmud a quodam iudaeo baptizato |
| [absent] | XIII. De altercatione Moysi cum angelis |
| XIV. De mutatione sabbati | [absent] |
| XV. De innouatione legis | [absent] |
| XVI. Epylogus predictorum | XVI. Epilogus et conclusio ex praemissis |

As can be seen, the content generally has the same order; only chapter XII and XV from V.1.1 are taken up earlier in V.2.1. The division of the content by chapters differs however. Not only are the titles different, they sometimes integrate several chapters of V.1.1, or divide one chapter into several chapters. V.1.1 chapter X, for instance, reappears in three chapters of V.2.1. V.1.1 chapter XIII (*De altercatione Moysi cum angelis*) does not reappear in V.2.1 at all. Unique parts of V.2.1 are the first two chapters, containing the biblical text and parable (discussed in the introduction and chapter 1), and chapter XIV (*De mutatione sabbati*). Another notable difference between V.1.1 and V.2.1 is the addition of a dialogue in V.2.1. Version 1 does already give hints of a dialogue that version 2 used to create the active dialogue between Synagoga and Ecclesia, see for example:

| V.2.1 l. 471-493 | V.1.1 l. 398-409 ⁴⁶ |
|--|--|
| <p>Contra. Hec plura possunt obici. Primo quero de alis angeli de qua materia sint, quod totiens transit speram ignis et ignitum aerem et quod non comburuntur.</p> <p>Synagoga: “Hoc precauet ex potencia diuinitus sibi data.”</p> <p>Ecclesia: “Nunquit simili modo non poterat precauere ne iudeus ipso inuito laberetur ab alis eius? Item cum iussu Dei cogereetur exire iurauit quod non exiret.”</p> <p>Contra. Dicitur in Hester: <i>Non est qui possit resistere uoluntati tue</i>. Et Iob: <i>Quis restitit ei et pacem habuit?</i> Item contra hoc quod adhuc uiuat, quero an sit moriturus.</p> <p>Synagoga: “Nunquam.”</p> <p>Ecclesia: “Contra dicit hoc Psalmus: <i>Quis est homo unde et non uidebit mortem?</i> Quasi dicat nullus quia <i>omnes morimur et quasi aqua in terram dilabimur</i>. Vt dicitur id est Regum II, item Ecclesiastes IX: <i>Nemo est qui semper uiuat</i>. Hec omnia sunt contra iudeos qui dicunt Heliam et Enoch et suum messiam nunquam morituros. Dicunt etiam quod qui deridet Thalmut turpissima pena puniatur. Quare ergo non fuit punitus rex Francie, qui non solum derisit, set</p> | <p>Hic plura possunt obici. Primo quaere de alis angeli de qua materia sint, quod totiens transvolant caelum igneum, id est spheram ignis et ignitum aerem et non comburuntur.</p> <p>Respondet iudaeus: Hoc praecavet ex potentia a Deo sibi data.</p> <p>Tunc dic: Numquid simili modo non poterit praecavere quod iudaeus non laberetur ab alis eius eo invito? Item quod dicitur quod cum iussu Dei cogereetur exire, iuravit quod non exiret. Contra: Voluntati Dei nemo resistere potest, unde in Iob: »<i>quis restitit ei et pacem habuit</i>«. Item contra hoc quod adhuc vivat, quaere quando sit moriturus.</p> <p>Si dicit iudaeus nunquam, contra: Psalmus: »<i>quis est homo qui vivet et non videbit mortem</i>«, quasi dicat nullus, quia omnes morimur et quasi aqua in terram dilabimur, ut dicitur secundus Regum et Salomon in Ecclesiaste nono: »<i>nemo est qui semper vivat</i>« etc.</p> |

⁴⁶ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 407.

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| etiam combussit omnes libros Thalmut in regno suo? Et quare non fuerunt puniti clerici qui hoc procurauerunt.” | |
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The possible authorship of the text suggests that version 1 was used as a tool or handbook for mission to the Jews (see chapter 3). The dialogue in version 2, on the other hand, might indicate a turn towards a literary text. The religious orders that used version 2 (Augustine, Benedictine, Carthusian and Cistercian, see chapter 2) were not as active in mission to the Jews as the Franciscans and Dominicans.⁴⁷ We might therefore assume that version 2 is a reworking of version 1 with a different purpose: to educate members of religious orders for the sake of education. However, further research is necessary for a conclusive note on the subject.

4.2 *Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos* (V.1.2)

V.2.1 only contains a small part of the *Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos*, while V.2.2 is almost entirely devoted to this text. Some of the few similarities between V.2.1 and V.1.2 are discussed here. Version 2 opens with an introduction used in version 1, from which the *Pharetra fidei* derives its name (see also the introduction):

| V.2.1 l. 1-6 | V.1.2 ⁴⁸ |
|--|---|
| Incipit pharetra ⁴⁹ contra iudeos. Acuite sagittas implete pharetras ad prosternendas uulpeculas que demoliuntur uineas nostras et accipite gladium Spiritus quod est uerbum Dei. Vt testimoniis legis et prophetarum superbus Goliad id est populus iudeorum tanquam proprio gladio superetur. | Incipit Pharetra fidei contra iudaeos. Tolle arma tua pharetram et arcum ad uulnerandas uulpeculas quae demoliuntur uineas nostras et accipe gladium spiritus quod est uerbum Dei ut testimoniis legis et prophetarum superbus Goliath –id est populus iudaeorum– tanquam proprio gladio superatur. |

⁴⁷ Goulven Madec, “Augustinianism,” *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, 1:132-133; André Vauchez, “Benedict of Nursia, Benedictine Rule,” *idem*, 1:166-169; Daniel le Blévec, “Carthusians, Charterhouse,” *idem*, 1:245-246; Jean-Baptiste Auberger, “Cistercians, Cîteaux,” *idem*, 1:310-311.

⁴⁸ Lampurlanés, “*Pharetra fidei*,” 335, no line numbers.

⁴⁹ *Fidei* was added by several manuscripts, see the textual apparatus.

There are some other brief sections of V.1.2 that were integrated in the text of V.2.1, among which sources that are not mentioned in V.1.1 (for example, Josephus' Histories). One entire chapter of V.2.1, *De innouatione legis* (chapter XV), contains a lot of similarities with chapter XXVIII in V.1.2, *De mutatione legis ueteris in nouam*.⁵⁰ As is the case in the examples given above, this is not simply a matter of direct replication of the earlier text; rather the excerpts from V.1.2 have here been reworked modestly. It is likely that this text was placed here because it is the only text of V.1.2 that contained a reference to the Talmud.⁵¹ The table below shows how these texts compare to each other.

| V.2.1 l. 627-674 | V.1.1 ⁵² |
|---|--|
| <p>De innouatione legis. Si Deus celum et terram innouabit ut Paulo ante dictum est quid miratur iudeus quod legem innouauit quam ipsi sepe preuaricati sunt sicut dicitur Ieremias XXXI: <i>Ecce dies ueniunt dicit Dominus et feriam domui Israel et domui iuda fedus nouum non secundum pactum quod pepigi cum patribus uestris in die quam apprehendi manum eorum ut educerem eos de terra Egipti, pactum quod irritum fecerunt et ego dominatus sum eorum dicit Dominus. Set hoc erit pactum quod feriam cum domo Israel dabo legem meam in uisceribus eorum et in corde eorum scribam eam et cetera.</i></p> | <p>De mutatione legis veteris in nouam. De mutatione legis veteris in nouam dicit Ieremias trigesimo primo capitulo: «<i>ecce dies ueniunt dicit Dominus et feriam domui Israhel et domui Iuda foedus nouum non secundum pactum quod pepigi cum patribus eorum in die qua adprehendi manum eorum ut educerem eos de terra Aegypti pactum quod irritum fecerunt et ego donatus sum eorum ait Dominus sed hoc erit pactum quod feriam cum domo Israhel post dies illos dicit Dominus dabo legem meam in visceribus eorum et in corde eorum scribam eam et ero eis in domum et ipsi erunt mihi in populum et non</i></p> |

⁵⁰ See the textual apparatus, siglum *D* also contains the word *mutatione* instead of *innouatione*.

⁵¹ Lampurlanés, "Pharetra fidei," 328-329.

⁵² Ibid., 362-363, no line numbers.

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| <p>Vbi in latino habemus fedus nouum. In hebreo habetur berith hadasa id est legem nouam. Teste Moyse qui sepe legem suam berith appellat.</p> <p>Eandem auctoritatem sanctus Paulus sic ponit. Hebreos VII [sic]:</p> <p><i>Consumabo super domum Israel et super domum iuda testamentum nouum non secundum testamentum quod feci patribus eorum in die quam apprehendi manum eorum ut educerem eos de terra Egipti quoniam ipsi non permanserunt in Testamento meo et ego neglexi eos et cetera. Et Paulus infert dicendo, nouum in ueterauit prius, quod autem antiquatur et senescit prope interitum est.</i></p> <p>Synagoga: “Si hoc nouum Testamentum filiis ecclesie datum est quomodo uerum est quod sequitur. In auctoritate Ieremie:</p> <p><i>Et non docebit ultra uir proximum suum et uir fratrem suum dicens cognosce Dominum. Omnes enim cognoscent me a minimo usque ad</i></p> | <p><i>docebit ultra vir proximum suum et uir fratrem suum dicens cognosce Dominum omnes enim cognoscent me a minimo usque ad maximum ait Dominus quia propiciabor iniquitatibus eorum et peccati eorum non ero memor amplius».</i></p> <p>Ubi in latino habetur ‘foedus nouum’ in hebraeo habetur berith hadasa quod interpretatur nova lex Mose testante qui in multis locis praecepta legis suae berith appellatur,</p> <p>unde Paulus eandem auctoritatem Ieremiae sic introducit in epistula ad hebraeos octavo: «<i>ecce dies uenient dicit Dominus et consummabo super domum Israhel et super domum Iuda testamentum nouum non secundum testamentum quod feci patribus eorum</i>» et cetera.</p> <p>Haec omnia referuntur ad tempus gratiae.</p> <p>Quod autem dicitur: «<i>non docebit ultra vir proximum suum omnes enim cognoscent me a minimo usque ad maximum</i>»</p> |
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| <p><i>maximum.</i>”</p> <p>Ecclesia: “Solutio. Hec referuntur ad eos qui Spiritum sanctum receperunt qui docuit eos omnem ueritatem. Secundum quod Dominus ait Iohalem II: <i>Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem id est super diuersa genera hominum utriusque sexus et prophetabunt filii uestri et filie uestre,</i> et illi non haberunt necessitatem ab inuicem doceri quia Spiritus sanctus dederat legem suam in uisceribus eorum et in corde eorum ut predictum est. Potest etiam hoc uerbum. <i>Non docebit ultra uir fratrem suum</i> et cetera. Refertur ad statum glorie in quo omnes sancti cognoscent Deum facie ad faciem.” Synagoga: “Nos referimus hec messie nostro quem uenturum speramus.”</p> <p>Ecclesia: “Contra. Hoc est contra doctores Thalmut. Dicit enim rabi Leui in cezer Nassym id est in secundo. Super illud: <i>Ibunt de uirtutem in uirtutem.</i></p> <p>Non est quies sapientibus in futuro seculo. Set quare? Quia ibunt de loco ad locum ad docendum Thalmut et ideo non requiescent. Quomodo ergo implebitur quod dictum est. <i>Non docebit uir fratrem suum.</i> Stabit ergo predictam sententia.”</p> | <p>refertur ad statum glorie, ubi uidebimus Dominum sicuti est. Hoc non possunt iudaei referre ad tempora Messiae.</p> <p>Tunc enim docebunt se mutuo, unde legitur in Talmud, in cezer Nassym, id est in secundo: <i>«ibunt de uirtute in uirtutem».</i></p> <p>Ibi dicit rabi Leui: Non est quies sapientibus in futuro saeculo. Quare? Quia ibunt de loco ad locum ad docendum Talmud et ideo non requiescent. Si iudaeus obicit quod paulo post sequitur in Ieremia: <i>«haec dicit Dominus si mensurari poterunt caeli de sursum et fundamenta terrae</i></p> |
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| | <p><i>deorsum et ego abiciam universum semen Israhel propter omnia quae fecerunt» consentiamus quod Dominus non abiecit universum semen Israhel, sed tamen infideles de quibus ipse dicit per Malachiam primo: «non est mihi voluntas in vobis dicit Dominus exercituum et munus non suscipiam de manu vestra ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus et in omni loco sanctificatur et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus».</i></p> |
|--|---|

This example also shows the integration of dialogue in V.2.1. The final quotation employed in V.1.2 above, drawn from Malachi 1, is integrated into a different chapter of V.2.1 (l. 538-540).

4.3 Medieval anti-Jewish works

Aduersus Iudeorum inueteratam duritiem was written by the French Benedictine Peter the Venerable (c. 1092-1156), abbot of Cluny, around 1140. This work uses the word Talmud for the first time in Latin. It contains a lot of the anti-Jewish writings of the Andalusian *converso* Petrus Alfonsi (11th century-died after 1116), but expresses a more aggressive stance.⁵³ The author of the text of the *Pharetra fidei* may have drawn on either Peter the Venerable's *Aduersus Iudeorum* or Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogus* – either via Peter the Venerable, or independently. Based on the comparison below, we can conclude that the author of the *Pharetra fidei* most likely used the text of Petrus Alfonsi, however, both sources are included in the notes of the critical edition in order to leave both options open.

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| V.2.1 l. 87-100 | Petrus Alfonsi, <i>Dialogus</i> , | Petrus Venerabilis, |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|

⁵³ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 366.

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| | cap. 1 col. 0550B - 0551A ⁵⁴ | <i>Aduersus Iudeorum</i> <i>inueteratam duritiem</i> cap. 5 l. 919-927 ⁵⁵ |
| Et quod ab eius oculis due lacrimae prodeunt in mare magnum stillantes. Et has fulgorum illum esse affirmant qui nocte ab ethere uidetur stillare. Contra. Si Deus plorat est miser. Si in lacrimas resoluitur est corruptibilis quia omne resolubile est corruptibile. Item si Deus resoluitur in aquis lacrimarum, consequens est quod elementum sit Dei materia, scilicet aqua, et cum materia prior sit materiatio, sequeretur quod aqua prior esset Deo. | Nec hoc sufficit eis de Deo dicere, sed eum etiam quotidie semel in die plorare, et ab eius oculis duas prodeuntes lacrymas in magnum mare dicunt concidere, et has fulgorem esse affirmant illum qui tempore nocturno de stellis videtur cadere. Haec autem ratio, Deum ex quatuor elementis ostendit compositum esse. Neque enim fiunt lacrymae nisi ex humiditatis abundantia descendentis de capite. Si vero ita est, ergo elementa sunt Dei materia. Omnis autem materia prior est et simplicior forma. Ergo et haec priora et simpliciora Deo sunt, quod nefas est credere. Itaque si Deus talis est ut dicitis esse, cum nec cibo | Dicitis et in caelesti illa et ueracissima scriptura uestra Thalmuth legitis Deum cotidie semel in die plorare et ab eius oculis duas prodeuntes lacrimas in magnum mare decidere et has illum esse affirmatis fulgorem qui tempore nocturno cadere uidetur de stellis. |

⁵⁴ Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogus*, titulus 1 (ed.: PL 157: 550B-551A).

⁵⁵ Petrus Venerabilis, *Aduersus Iudaeorum inueteratam duritiem*, ed. Y. Friedman, CCCM 58 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985).

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|--|--|--|
| <p>Item Deum dicunt rugire ut leonem. Et celum pulsare pedibus more calcantium</p> <p>et mouere caput et dicere, “Heu heu mihi, ut quid domum meam in desertum redegi</p> <p>et populum meum in gentes transtuli? Et heu filiis qui de mensa patris translati sunt.”</p> | <p>fruat nec potu, et quotidie duas ex se emittat lacrymas, necesse est eum decrescere, nisi forte de aquis quae super coelo sunt jugiter bibat.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Fletus quoque ipsius quem Deo indigne ascribunt, Iudaeorum captivitatem causam esse dicunt; quin etiam propter dolorem eum ter in die ut leonem rugire asserunt, et propter id coelum pulsare pedibus more calcantium in torculari, more etiam columbae quemdam susurri sonitum dare, et quaque vice caput movere, et dolentis dicere voce: Heu mihi, heu mihi! ut quid domum meam in desertum redegi, et templum meum cremavi, et filios meos in gentes transtuli? Heu patri qui transtulit filios suos! et heu filiis qui translati sunt de mensa patris sui!</p> | <p>Fletus quoque ipsius quem Deo ascribitis causam Iudeorum captiuitatem esse dicitis. Quin etiam propter dolorem eum ter in die ut leonem rugire et ea de causa caelum pulsare pedibus more calcantium in torculari asseritis. More insuper columbae quemdam susurrii sonitum dare et quaque uice caput mouere et dolentis dicere uoce: Heu michi, heu michi! Vtquid domum meam in desertum redegi et templum meum cremaui et filios meos in gentes transtuli! Heu patri qui transtulit filios suos et heu filiis qui translati sunt de mensa patris sui.</p> |
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In the thirteenth century, the Talmud itself became the sole target and tool to refute Judaism for being blasphemous and heretical.⁵⁶ The thirty-five accusations against the Talmud which Nicholas Donin presented to Pope Gregory IX contained arguments that can also be found in the *Pharetra fidei*,⁵⁷ see for example:

| V.2.1 l. 215-226 | V.1.1 l. 71-79 ⁵⁸ | Nicholas, Article 15 ⁵⁹ |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Asserunt etiam Deum multum peccasse sicut legitur in cezer Casassim, id est in tercio, super hoc uerbo Genesis, id est: <i>Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna</i>, id est solem et lunam. Ibi dicit rabi Anania: “Dixit luna coram Deo: ‘Est possibile duobus regibus uti una corona, id est mihi et soli, uti una gloria?’ Dicit ei Deus: ‘Vade, minora te ipsam.’ Dicit luna: ‘Domine Deus, nunquit quia dixi hoc uerbum minorabo me?’ Dicit ei Deus: ‘Vade, et</p> | <p>Asserunt etiam Deum multum peccasse sicut legitur in cezer Cazassym, id est in tertio, super hoc uerbo genesis primo: »fecit Deus duo luminaria magna«, id est solem et lunam. Ibi dicit rabi Anaya: Dixit luna coram Deo: Est possibile duobus regibus uti una corona, id est mihi et soli uti una gloria? Dicit ei Deus: Vade, minora te ipsam. Dicit luna: Domine Deus, numquid, quia dixi hoc uerbum minorabo me? Dicit ei Deus: Vade et</p> | <p>Asserunt etiam Dominum peccasse. Hoc legitur in Kazassym, in macecta Sirassim, in perez Illu terefod, id est istae raptae. Scriptum est: “Fecit Deus duo magna luminaria,” et scriptum est: “Luminare magnum” et “luminare paruum.” Dixit luna coram sancto, benedictus sit ipse, coram Deo: Domine saeculi, est possibile duobus regibus quod seruiant uni coronae? Dixit ei Deus: Vade et minora te ipsam. Dixit coram eo: Domine saeculi, quia dixi coram te uerbum decens,</p> |

⁵⁶ Alexander Fidora and Ulisse Cecini, “Nicholas Donin’s Thirty-Five Articles Against the Talmud,” in *Ex Oriente Lux: Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society*, ed. Charles Burnett and Pedro Mantas-España (Córdoba: Editorial Universidad de Córdoba, 2016), 190-191.

⁵⁷ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 368, 373.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 376.

⁵⁹ Alexander Fidora, “The Latin Talmud and Its Translators: Nicholas Donin vs. Thibaud de Sézanne?” *Henoch. Historical and Textual Studies in Ancient and Medieval Judaism and Christianity* 37 no. 1 (2015): 23.

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| presis nocti.’ Dicit luna: ‘Quid ualet candela in meridie?’ Dicit Deus: ‘Vade et computet Israel dies et menses et annos in te.’ Videns quod non quiesceret animus lune dixit: ‘Afferte super me penitentiam quia minoravi lunam.’” | praesis nocti. Dicit luna: Quid valet candela in meridie? Dicit ei Deus: Vade et computet Israhel dies, menses et annos in te. Videns Deus quod non quiesceret animus lunae dixit: Adferte super me paenitentiam, quia ego minoravi lunam. | minorabo me? Dixit ei Deus: Vade et praesis diei et nocti. Dixit ei: Quid valor candelae ad meridiem? |
|---|--|---|

Another source related to the Paris Disputation, a Talmudic Anthology from an anonymous writer, also contains similarities with the *Pharetra fidei*. This anthology might be from Donin’s hand, containing texts that were not included in his thirty-five accusations.⁶⁰ The following table shows an example of the similarities between V.2.1, V.1.1 and the Anthology.

| Version 2.1 l. 145-149 | Version 1.1 l. 28-31 ⁶¹ | Talmudic Anthology San 39b ⁶² |
|---|---|---|
| Dicit ibi rabi Samuel: “Illa hora uolebant angeli laudes canere Deo more solito, set Samay, id est Deus ait: ‘Vos me letificatis et laudes canitis et opera manuum mearum in periculo sunt hostium et | Dicit ibi rabi Samuhel: Illa hora volebant angeli canere laudes Domino more solito, sed Samay, id est Deus, ait: ›Vos me laetificatis et laudes canitis et opera manuum mearum in periculo sunt hostium vel in mari | Dicit rby Samuhel –in perec eadine–: Quid est quod scriptum est: »ita ut ad se invicem toto noctis tempore accedere non valerent«? In illa hora voluerunt angeli ministerii cantare. Dixit eis Deus: Opera manuum |

⁶⁰ Ulisse Cecini and Óscar de la Cruz, “Beyond the Thirty-Five Articles: Nicholas Donin’s Latin Anthology of the Talmud,” in *The Talmud in Dispute During the High Middle Ages* ed. Alexander Fidora and Gorge Hasselhoff (Barcelona: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2019), 67.

⁶¹ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 398.

⁶² The Latin text comes from Cecini and De la Cruz, *Beyond the Thirty-Five Articles*, 72.

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| in mari submerguntur.”” | submerguntur<. | mearum submerguntur in mari et vos cantabitis coram me? |
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V.2.1 derived all its Talmudic references from version 1. Lampurlanés has concluded that V.1.1 does not contain any original translations of the Talmud, but relied mostly on Donin’s article and the Talmudic Anthology, as well as on the *Dialogus* of Peter Alfonsi.⁶³ Theobaldus was therefore, in his opinion, not the convert expert on the Talmudic lore that Dahan believes him to be.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, V.1.1 shows a new way to deal with the discovery of the Talmud. Theobaldus offered his own responses and refutations to the Talmudic passages, while other contemporary texts only present the Latin translations of the Talmud.⁶⁵ It is noteworthy that *Extractiones de Talmud* is not quoted in V.1.1, while Theobaldus must have had knowledge of its existence (see chapter 3.1). Lampurlanés therefore concludes that Theobaldus must have written the *Errores Iudaeorum* before 1245.⁶⁶

The only Talmudic source that V.2.1 derived from V.1.2 is not to be found in the Latin texts surrounding the Paris Disputation, except for the *Extractiones de Talmud*.

| | | |
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| V.2.1 l. 668-671 | V.1.2 ⁶⁷ | <i>Extractiones de Talmud</i> Beraḳot 64a, l. 1041-43 ⁶⁸ |
| Ecclesia: “Contra. Hoc est contra doctores Thalmut. Dicit enim rabi Leui in cezer Nassym, id est in secundo, super illud: Ibunt de uirtutem in uirtutem. Non est | Tunc enim docebunt se mutuo, unde legitur in Talmud, in cezer Nassym, id est in secundo: «ibunt de virtute in virtutem». Ibi dicit rabbi Levi: Non est | Sapientes magistri non habebunt requiem in futuro saeculo, sicut scriptum est: «ibunt de exercitu in exercitum»— littera nostra: «de virtute in virtutem»— |

⁶³ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 378-380.

⁶⁴ Gilbert Dahan, “Les traductions latines de Thibaud de Sézanne,” in *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242–1244*, ed. Gilbert Dahan and Élie Nicolas (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 101.

⁶⁵ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 380, 392-393.

⁶⁶ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 370, 393.

⁶⁷ Lampurlanés, “*Pharetra fidei*,” 363, no line numbers.

⁶⁸ *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, ed. Ulisse Cecini and Óscar de la Cruz Palma (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 117.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| quies sapientibus in futuro seculo. | quies sapientibus in futuro saeculo. | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|

It is possible that V.1.2 relied on the *Extractiones de Talmud* for this reference, but Lampurlanés does not find this convincing because of its difference in textuality. He believes that the reference comes from V.1.1 and was added in a later stage than the original writing of V.1.2., either intentionally or through an error of the copyist.⁶⁹ However, there is no mention of this reference in Lampurlanés critical edition of V.1.1. The possibility of the *Extractiones de Talmud* as source must therefore be reconsidered.

4.4 Ancient sources: Josephus and Aristotle

V.2.1 refers briefly to two ancient sources, namely Josephus and Aristotle. Both were very popular sources among scholastic Christian writers.⁷⁰ Several medieval authors have written commentaries of their works.⁷¹ The writer of the *Pharetra fidei* might have referred directly to these works, or have drawn his allusion from a reference in a third author, yet to be identified. Because the references are very short and not direct, it is difficult to determine their precise source.

⁶⁹ Lampurlanés, “*Pharetra fidei*,” 328-331.

⁷⁰ Matthew Pollard “The *De Excidio* of ‘Hegesippus’ and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages,” *Viator* 46 no. 2 (2015): 65-100; Norman Kretzmann et al., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

⁷¹ See for instance Flavius Josephus (Latin trans.), *Antiquities*, eds. R.M. Pollard et al., 2013-2019, sites.google.com/site/latinjosephus and R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts of Latin Commentaries on Aristotle in British Libraries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

Conclusion

The second version of the *Pharetra fidei* distinguishes itself from the first version in its introduction, which contains a parable featuring Ecclesia and Synagoga, and a summary of the three objectives of the text: to explain the errors of the Talmud, to teach the true doctrine and to respond to Synagoga's objections. Throughout the work, these two women remain in dispute. V.2.1, which is the subject of this thesis, mainly focuses on the refutation of the Talmud. Ecclesia shows Synagoga where she is wrong by referring to biblical, Talmudic and other sources, while Synagoga objects or asks questions in short sentences.

Where in version 1, the *Errores Iudaeorum* (V.1.1) and the *Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos* (V.1.2) remained separate works, in version 2 these works are integrated. V.2.1 not only begins with the opening line of V.1.2, it also integrates parts of the text. Most of the content of V.2.1 is derived from V.1.1, however, including most of its references to other sources. V.2.1 is therefore a reworking of version 1, in which the author changed the order of chapters and arguments, added a dialogue, left parts out and added text of his own.

V.1.1 was likely written by Theobaldus of Saxannia around the time of the Paris Disputation. V.1.2 is often contributed to him as well, but other possible authors are Nicholas of Lyra and Nicholas of Strassburg. Unfortunately, the origin and author of V.1.2 remain obscure. The integration of these two texts into version 2 was likely done at the beginning of the fourteenth century, well within one hundred years of their original composition. Most of the manuscripts of version 2 were used in the Holy Roman Empire, where there was a relative tolerance towards the Jews. Consequently, in the Empire there were a relatively limited number of texts circulating anti-Jewish ideas, of which the *Pharetra fidei* is an important, and as-yet understudied witness.

The text of the *Pharetra fidei* made use of several sources, including several medieval anti-Jewish works that were written earlier than (*Dialogus*, Alfonsi) or in the context of the Paris Disputation (Donin's articles and the Talmudic Anthology). The text relies on these sources for the Latin translation of the Talmud, but is the first to offer a response and refutation of these passages.

This thesis aims to partly close our knowledge gap on the *Pharetra fidei* by providing the first critical edition of V.2.1, as a starting point for a more accurate

edition of the text and to serve scholars interested in late medieval polemical works. The apparatus not only reveals significant differences between version 1 and version 2, but also reveals problems in the only prior edition of the text, which is based on the incunable. This edition is based on four manuscripts written in the fourteenth and fifteenth century and one incunable, published in the fifteenth century, which are further discussed in the following paragraphs.

It is to be hoped that this thesis inspires further projects on the making of the critical editions of V.2.2 and version 3, as well as further research on the vernacular text. Once critical editions exist of the *Pharetra fidei* and its reworkings, these editions can be compared. Written in the centuries during which hostility against the Jews increased, they contributed to the theoretical dialogue between Christians and Jews. Because of their multiple adaptations, the texts can tell us more about how anti-Jewish works developed and disseminated and how a theological scholarly text was instrumentalized and maybe even weaponized in this interreligious polemic.

List of identified text witnesses of version 2

Manuscripts used for this edition

- Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362, ff.181v-188v (s. XIV, Lilienfeld)
- Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Leber 59, pp. 1-107 (s. XIV)
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonianische Handschriftensammlung, 4° 82, pp. 130-148 (s. XIV)
- Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4180, ff. 26r-42v (s. XV)

Manuscripts not consulted for the edition, but partly referred to in the introduction

- Brno, Statni Vedecka Knihovna, Mk 43 (.148), ff. 1r-18r (s. XIV)
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonianische HandschriftenSammlung, 4° 116, ff. 204-216 (s. XV)
- Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 312, ff. 2-15 (s. XIV, Chorherrenstift Seckau)
- Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 873, ff. 129v-148v (s. XV)
- Klosterneuburg, Bibliothek des Chorherrenstifts, 933, n° 49, ff. 239-248 (s. XIV)
- Köln, Historisches Archiv GB 4° 66, ff. 24r-39r (s. XV, Kloster Groß St. Martin, Köln)
- London, British Library, Royal 8 F XI, ff. 43-61 (s. XIV, Köln)
- Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 130, ff. 24v-55v (s. XV, St. Michael's Abbey, Mainz)
- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 3243, ff. 203r-218r (s. XV, Kloster Asbach)
- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19610, ff. 134r-141r (s. XV, Kloster Tegernsee)
- Salzburg, Benediktiner-Erzabtei St. Peter, Stiftsbibliothek -b.VI.11, ff. 143r-171v (s. XV)

Incunable

- Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagogam. Ed. Gonzalo Garcia de Santa Maria. Zaragoza, Paul Hurus, c. 1488-1490. ISTC: id00166100. USTC No. 765846. GW M45807. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Espana INC/2661. Available through Biblioteca Digital Hispanica, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000177093>.

Features of text witnesses used for the edition

Incunable

I Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagoram, ISTC: id00166100, USTC No. 765846, GW M45807. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Espana INC/2661 Zaragoza, printed by Pablo Hurus, c. 1488-1490, edited by Gonzalo García de Santa María. 44 pages. Printed in one column, 28-31 lines. Gothic script in two sizes. Woodcut initials.⁷²

Sextus ille papirius p. 2-4; *Repertorium titulorum huius operis* 4-6; **Incipit Dyalogus** 6-44.

Gonzalo García de Santa María writes in his preface that he found the text in a manuscript that did not mention the author.⁷³ Some additions are written by hand in the margins of the Madrid copy. This is the text that was likely published by Orfali in 1994,⁷⁴ but my critical edition contains the original text of the incunable, because of multiple unexplained discrepancies between the article of Orfali and the incunable,⁷⁵ with a single exception, where a hole in the paper of the incunable made a word unreadable (*noluit*, 346).

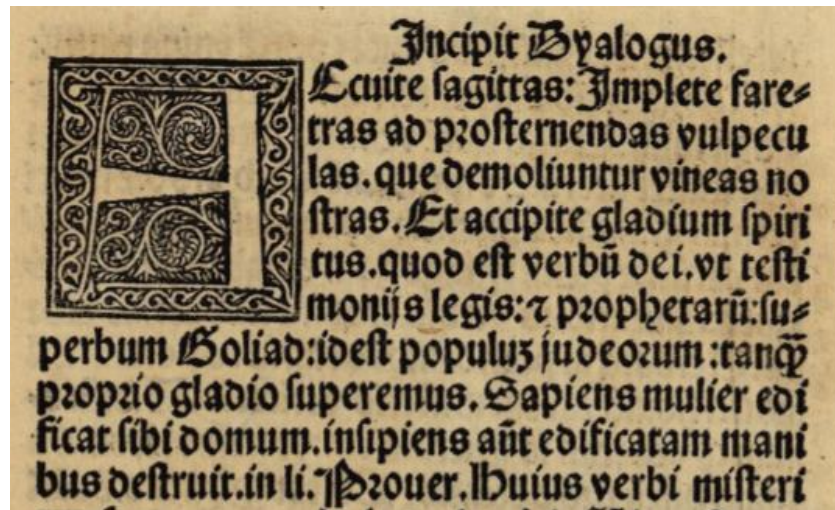


Figure 1: *Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagoram*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC 2661, p. 6.⁷⁶

⁷² Biblioteca Nacional de España, “*Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagoram*.”; Hartmann, “*El Dialogus*,” 3.

⁷³ Hartmann, “*El Dialogus*,” 3.

⁷⁴ Orfali, “*El ‘Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagoram’*,” 679-732.

⁷⁵ A few examples: 84 *eum* for *euum*, 121 *fie* for *facie*, 203 *auulos* for *auulsos*, 262 *donos* for *domos*, 289 *hebetur* for *habetur*.

⁷⁶ Biblioteca Nacional de España, “*Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagoram*.”

Manuscripts

A Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362

Parchment. 241 fol. 34 x 25 cm, written in two columns, each 45-47 lines. Fleuron initials, marginal miniatures, red rubrics, red and blue initials. Date: before 1332.

Versus proverbiales fol. 1r-2v, 238, 239v-241r; *Historia Apollini Tyrii* 3r-7r; *Visio Pauli Apostoli apocrypha* 7r-8v; *Dialogus lucis et tenebrarum* 8v-18r; *Esdrae liber quartus* 18v-26v; *De ritibus Taratarorum* 27r-36r; *De Sarcacenis* 36r-38v; *Historia de conjugio Joseph et Assenech sumpta ex sacra historia* 38v-40r; *Testamenta duodecim patriarcharum* 40r-41r; *De Secundo philosopho* 41r-42r; *Excerpta ex Ambrosii, Augustini et Chrysostomi libris de Trinitate et de praedestinatione* 42r-42v; *Secreta secretorum, cum epistola Philippi interpretis ad Guidonem Papam* 43r-48r; *Summa de exteriori homine* 58v-62v; *Summa de interiori homine* 62v-68v; *Dialogus duorum monachorum, unius de ordine Cluniacensium et alterius de ordine Cisterciensium* 68r-84v; *Tabula exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti ad omnem materiam* 85r-119v; *Orationes sacrae duo* 119v-120v; *Stimulus amoris* 121r-132r; *Narratiunculae tres latinae* 132r; *De caritate, e libris patrum* 132v-140v; *Breviloquium* 140v-175v; *Evangelium Nicodemi* 176r-181v; ***Pharetra contra Judaeos* 181v-188v**; *Tractatus de Beata Virgine Maria* 189r-199r; *Tractatus de gloriosa Virgine Maria super: Missus est Gabriel* 199r-207r; *Florigerus* 207r-213r; *Tractatus de septem sacramentis* 213r-222v; *De templo quomodo aedificari debeat* 223r-226r; *De conflictu civitatis Babilonis et Jerusalem* 226r-226v; *De formula honestae vitae* 227r-228r; *Excerpta* 228r-229v; *De convenientia evangelistarum* 230r-231r; *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* 231r-232r; *Visio cujusdam militis nomine Tundali de Hibernia* 232r-235r; *De pomo* 235r-237r; *Visio cujusdam Nicolai* 237r-237v; *Paraphrasis orationis dominicae* 237v; *Rhythmi de adulatore* 238r; *Musica coelestis, I.e. Adumbratio universi* 239r.

Writer's note: *Hoc volumen frater christianus partim scripsit et partim ut scriberetur de paupertate sua comparavit. Hoc qui a domo alienaverit aut volenter viciaverit anathema sit amen.* (fol. 1v). Ownership registration: *Liber beate marie virginis in Lylinveld.* Christian von Lilienfeld was from 1302 to his death before

1332 subprior and then prior of Lilienfeld. Later the manuscript was owned by Dr. med. Wolfgang Lazius (1514-1565) from the university of Vienna.⁷⁷

The scribe uses relatively few abbreviations, even when quoting biblical passages. On occasion, words forgotten by the scribe are added above the line or in the margins, often seemingly by the same hand. Elaborate use is made of red ink, not only to indicate titles, but also when Ecclesia or Synagoga are speaking and where a new argument begins.

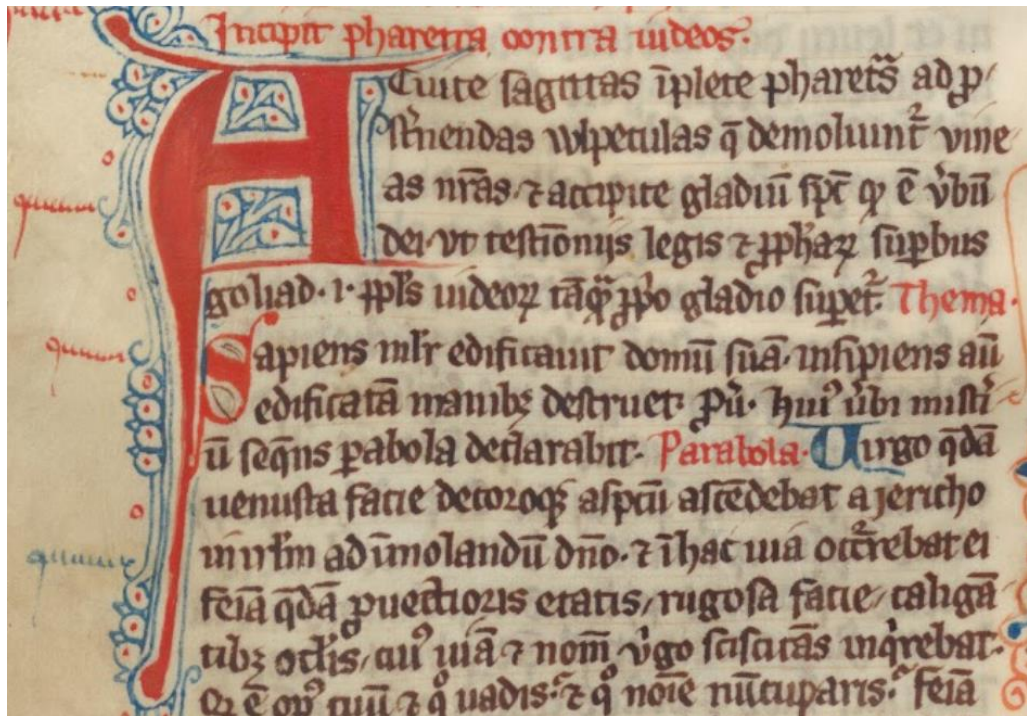


Figure 2: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362, f. 181b.⁷⁸

B Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Leber 59

Parchment. 108 pages. 21x14 cm, written in two columns. Red rubrics, red initials.

Date: 14th century.⁷⁹

Pharetra fidei contra Iudeos super Talmuth p. 1-107; List of 13 masses to implore divine clemency p. 108.

⁷⁷ Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis (ed.), *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* (Wien: Gerold, 1864), 1:54-55; Franz Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek bis zum Jahre 1400*, Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich (Wien: Böhlau, 1969), 1:20-21.

⁷⁸ I am grateful to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Vienna for sending me the scans of the manuscript.

⁷⁹ Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue General des Manuscrits*, 72.

B contains more errors than the other text witnesses.⁸⁰ Some spaces were kept open and filled in later by another hand. A scribe from 1680 has left some comments in the margins, noting that the manuscript was in the library of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (shelfmark 978) in Paris and referring to seventeenth century literature on the burning of the Talmud under Louis IX (p. 27).

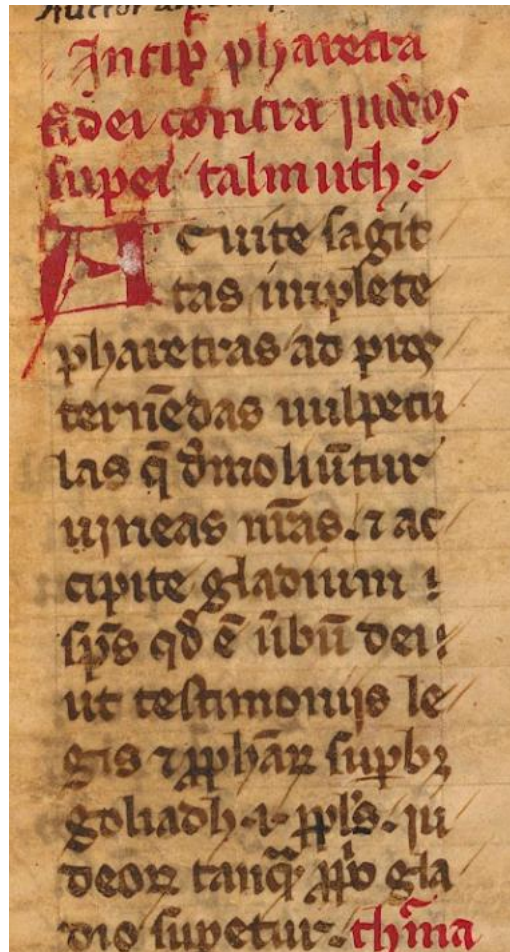


Figure 3: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. Leber 59, p. 1.⁸¹

C Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonianische Handschriftensammlung, 4° 82

Parchment. 148 pages. Written in two columns. Red initials. Date: 1346-1355.⁸²

Item (Iohannis Caldrini) tabula optima de dictis originalibus tocius canonis biblie repertis in decretis et decretalibus; utilis est p. 1-65'; Alfonsius de exemplo vivendi 66-85'; De oracione dominica multa bona 86-96; Alfonsius de altercacione

⁸⁰ A few examples are 77 *sanduaria* for *sanctuaria*, 359 *blas* for *sub labiis*.

⁸¹ I am grateful to the Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen for sending me the scans of the manuscript.

⁸² Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 374-375.

duorum Iudeorum, an Messias in lege promissus advenerit 98-112'; *Determinacio Nicolai de Lyra contra Iudeos, quod Messias in lege eis promissus fuit Ihesus* 113-129; ***Pharetra christianorum eiusdem contra Iudeos* 130-148.**

This manuscript was pre-owned by the Bibliothek des Amplonius Rating, property of Ratinck de Berka. The scribe uses Arabic numbers and relatively many abbreviations.

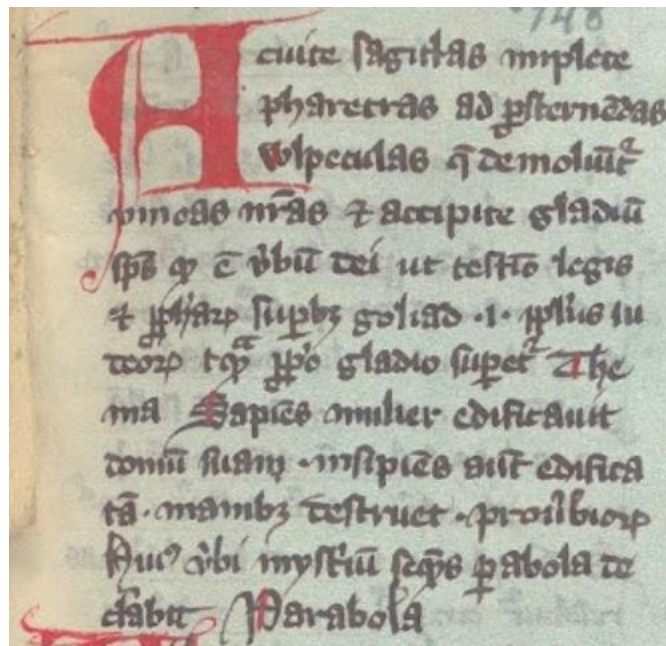


Figure 4: Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonianische Handschriftensammlung, 4° 82, p. 130.⁸³

D Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4180

Paper. 242 fol. 30x21,3 cm, written in one column of 35-49 lines. Red initials. Date: 15th century.⁸⁴

De nativitate Domini, passione, resurrectione, regno atque iudicio 1r-25v; ***Pharetra fidei christianae contra iniquos Judaeos* 26r-42v**; *Tractatus contra Hussitas* 42v-90r; *Sermon, De Corpore Christi* 90r-122r; *Oratio legagorum regis Galliae in concilio Constantiensi ad Bohemos* 122v-124r; *Utrum licitum sit in ecclesia pecuniam, candelam aut aliud hujusmodi offerri* 124v-125v; *Tractatus*

⁸³ I am grateful to the Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek of Erfurt for sending me the scans of the manuscript.

⁸⁴ Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis (ed.), *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, band 3 (Wien: Gerold, 1864-1899), 194-195; Franz Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich (Wien: Böhlau, 1971), 2:85.

asceticus 126r-132r; *Tractatus contra necessitatem utriusque speciei in Coena Domini* 133r-146v; *Compendium historiae evangelicae* 147r-148r; *Lucerna simplicium, id est, Tractatus catecheticus* 148v-166r; *Tractatus de clavium potestate* 166v-172v; *Ars bene moriendi* 173r-176v; *De modo confitendi* 178r-192v; *Opusculum peccatorum, quod revera est locus Innocentii III papae e libro De miseria humanae* 192r-193r; *De decimis, primitiis et oblationibus* 193v-208r; *Sermon, De caritate* 208v-214r; *Expositio brevis: Quid representant nobis indumenta sacerdotalia in sacra missa* 214v-215r; *Poenitentiale excerptum, quod inscribitur Summa de confessione et multis aliis bonis, cum indice capitulorum praemisso* 217r-242v.

The manuscript belonged to the monastery dedicated to St. Andrew (f. 1r: *Iste liber est monasterii Sancti Andree*) and from an unknown monastery (f. 1r: *Iste liber est monasterii sancti amm ...* the rest was even with an UV-lamp unreadable).⁸⁵

The chaptertitles are written in the margins of the manuscript, these were added later by the same hand, as can be deduced from the different ink colour. Arabic and Latin numbers are used interchangeably. The letters *n*, *m* and *u* are very similar and hard to distinguish.

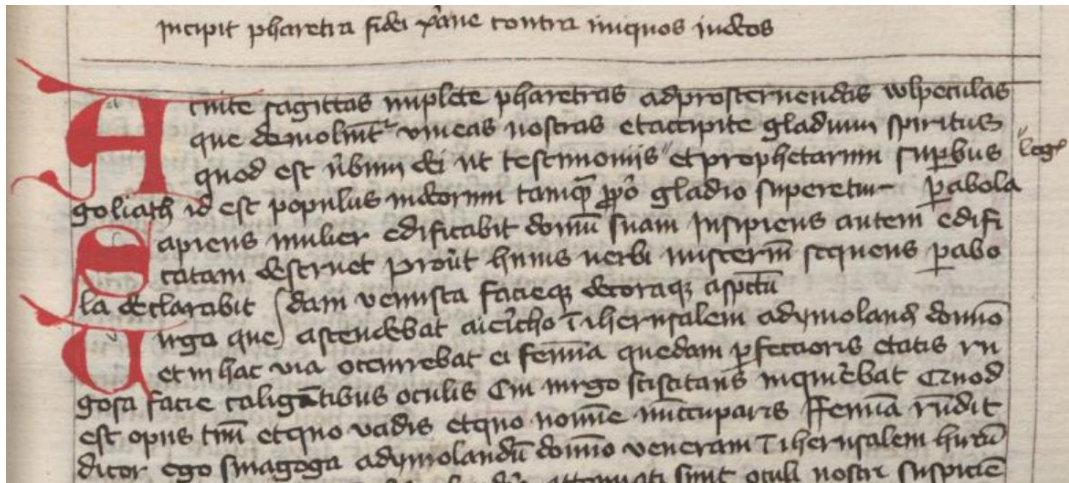


Figure 5: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4180, f. 26a⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2:85.

⁸⁶ "Theologische Sammelhandschrift," Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, accessed 19 January, 2022, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13958758>.

Editorial principles

Presentation of the text

The main body of the text is based on the text of manuscript Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362 (A). Differences of the other manuscripts (B, C and D) or the incunable (I) are collated in the apparatus criticus. Angle brackets <...> enclose words added in the edition.

The orthography and punctuation of the Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (CCCM) is followed.⁸⁷ This means that the letter *u* is used for *u* and *v*, but the capital *V* for *U* and *V* is used. The letter *i* is used for *i* and *j*, both in the case of capital and lowercase letters. E-caudata are represented by an *e*, in accordance with normal medieval standards. Capital letters are used in case of the first word of a Latin title, nomina sacra and proper names. The punctuation reflects modern usage: no attempt has been made to represent the irregular (and sometimes misleading) punctuation found in the manuscripts. Direct speech is placed within double quotation marks. Direct quotations of the Bible are placed in italics, while echoes and paraphrases of biblical passages are given in standard type. Cardinal and ordinal numbers are written in full form or Roman numerals. Abbreviations are silently expanded, in which case a spelling is used in accordance with the writing of manuscript A (for instance: *michi* instead of *mihi*).⁸⁸

Apparatus criticus

The apparatus criticus contains the variants of the manuscripts B, C and D⁸⁹ and the incunable I. Occasionally, there is also a reference to the base text (A).

The size of the apparatus criticus is restricted by the disregarding of those variants that do not affect the sense of the text.⁹⁰ Therefore, there is no indication

⁸⁷ “Instructions and Style-Book for the Publication of Texts in Corpus Christianorum by means of Classical Text Editor (CTE 10.03) (v. 3.0 / Sept. 2020) based on and referring to Instructions and Style-Book for the Publication of Texts in Corpus Christianorum (v. 3.2 / Sept. 2020),” Corpus Christianorum Turnholti, last modified September 2020, <https://www.corpuschristianorum.org/author-info>.

⁸⁸ The abbreviation *hē* could mean both *hoc* and *hunc*. Where it refers to the Talmud, I use *hunc* (male, singular, accusativus) in accordance with Petrus Venerabilis’ indication of the Talmud as a male word. See, for instance, Petrus Venerabilis, *Aduersus Iudeorum inueteratam duritiem*, cap. 5, l. 1737: “Si temetipsum despicias, Thalmuth tibi seruandus est.”

⁸⁹ Although the titles of manuscript D are written in the margins, this is not included in the apparatus, but mentioned in the features of text witnesses (see above).

⁹⁰ For more information, see Antoine Dondaine, “Variantes de l’apparat critique dans les éditions

of orthographic variants such as single or double consonants (*b/bb*; *c/cc* etc.), the addition of *h* after a consonant or before a vowel (*c/ch*, *t/th*, *a/ha*, *i/hi*, *y/hi* etc.) and letter combinations that sounded roughly equivalent in medieval Latin (*bp/pp*; *c/t*; *co/quo*; *ch/k*; *ct/t*; *d/t*; *f/ph*; *i/y*; *m/n*; *p/ph*; *tz/z*; *xs/s*) except where the meaning of the word changes because of these variants. In addition, no distinction is made between the following orthographies: *dampnationem* / *damnationem*; *condempnandum* / *condemnandum*; *absorti* / *absorpti*; *sollemnitates* / *solemnitates*; *vitricus* / *victricus*; *destructio* / *desctructio*; *auctoritatem* / *autoritatem*. Also, no variants are given of biblical names such as *synagoga* (*synaguoga*, *sinagoga*), *Ierusalem* (*Iherusalem*), *Israel* (*Israhel*), *Iesus* (*Ihesus*) etc., or the spelling of *Thalmut* (*Thalmuth*, *Talmuth*, *Thalmot*, *Thalmūt*, *Talmut*). However, all variants of proper names not mentioned in the Bible are included, such as rabbis, because these might be relevant for their identification. Finally, there is no distinction between ordinal and cardinal numbers in the apparatus.

The following abbreviations are used in the apparatus criticus:

| | | | |
|----------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|
| a.c. | ante correctionem | in marg. | in margine |
| a.m. | alia manu | in ras. | in rasura |
| bis scr. | bis scripsit | om. | omisit |
| del. | deleuit | p.c. | post correctionem |
| eras. | erasit | sup. l. | supra lineam |
| exp. | expunxit | ut uid. | ut uidetur |

Notes

There are two sets of notes in addition to the apparatus criticus. The first one indicates the biblical quotes and refers to Weber's edition of the Latin Vulgate.⁹¹ The abbreviations of the biblical books are in accordance with the rules of CCCM.⁹² Where the Psalms are quoted, they are without exception based on the *Psalmi iuxta LXX*. The orthography and grammar of *A* is followed in its quotations of the Bible, even where it differs from the Latin Vulgate, and the variants of biblical quotations

de textes latins médiévaux," *Bulletin de la Société internationale pour l'étude de la philosophie médiévale* 4 (1962): 90.

⁹¹ Robert Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra: Iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

⁹² "Instructions and Style-Book for the Publication of Texts in Corpus Christianorum," 27.

are given between the texts in the apparatus criticus. However, where the variants differ in their use of ‘et cetera’ after the quotations is not included, nor where *B*, *C*, *D* and *I* have shorter quotations than *A*. Longer quotations are all included.

The second set of notes contains other sources, among which a range of Talmudic sources; these are based on the references of Lampurlanés in his critical edition of the *Errores iudaeorum* and written according to the Vilna Edition and its system of page numbering.⁹³

⁹³ Lampurlanés, “The *Errores Iudaeorum*,” 394. The Vilna edition was the most reproduced edition of the Babylonian Talmud from the late 19th century onwards, printed in the Lithuanian capital by the Romm brothers. I follow the Schottenstein edition, a modern reworking of the Vilna edition: Hersh Goldwurm (ed.), *Talmud Bavli: The Schottenstein Edition* (New York: Mesorah, 1990-).

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Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Leber 59.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 362.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4180.

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Conspectus siglorum

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- B. Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Leber 59, ff. 1-107 (s. XIV)
- C. Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonianische Handschriftensammlung, 4° 82, ff. 130-148 (s. XIV)
- D. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4180, ff. 26r-42v (s. XV)

Editiones

- I. *Dialogus pro Ecclesia contra Synagogam*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2661 (s. XV)

Incipit pharetra contra iudeos.

Acuite sagittas implete pharetras ad prosternendas
uulpeculas que demoliuntur uineas nostras et accipite
gladium Spiritus quod est Verbum Dei. Vt testimoniis
legis et prophetarum superbus Goliad, id est populus 5
iudeorum, tanquam proprio gladio superetur.

Thema.

Sapiens mulier edificauit domum suam insipiens
10 *autem edificatam manibus destruet*, Prouerbia. Huius uerbi 10
mysterium sequens parabola declarabit.

Parabola.

Virgo quedam uenusta facie decoroque aspectu
ascendebat a Iericho in Ierusalem ad immolandum 15
Domino. Et in hac uia occurrebat ei femina quedam
prouectoris etatis, rugosa facie caligantibus oculis cuius
uiam et nomen uirgo sciscitans inquirebat: “Quod est opus
tuum et quo uadis? Et quo nomine nuncuparis?” Femina

2 Acuite...pharetras] cfr. Ier. 51, 11 3 uulpeculas...uineas] cfr. Cant. 2,
15 4 gladium...4 Dei] Eph. 6, 17 9 Sapiens...10 destruet] Prou. 14, 1

1 Incipit...iudeos om. C | pharetra] fidei add. B; fidei christiane add. D
pharetra...iudeos] Dialogus I | contra] iniquos add. D | iudeos] super
Talmuth add. B 4 testimoniis] testimonio C 5 legis] om. sed add. in
marg. D | superbus] superbum B C I | Goliad] Goliadh B; Goliath D
6 superetur] superemus I 8 Thema] parabola D; om. I 9 edificauit]
hedificat B; edificabit D; edificat sibi I | suam om. I 10 manibus om. D
destruet] B^{p.c.}; destruit in libro I 13 Parabola om. D I 14 Virgo] uirga D
quedam...aspectu] D^{sup. l.} | facie] facieque D | decoroque] decoraque
D | aspectu] aspetum D 16 occurrebat] occurit I | quedam om. C
17 prouectoris] profectoris D | caligantibus] elegantibus C | cuius...
nomen] cui D 18 uiam et om. C | uirgo om. B I; et uiam C

20 respondit: “Synagoga ego dicor. Ad immolandum Domino
 ueneram in Ierusalem. Hircum pro peccatis immolaui et
 pre solis splendore *attenuati sunt oculi mei, suspicientes in
 excelso* et ideo erraui in solitudine in inaquoso et uiam
 ciuitatis habitaculi non inueni.” Cuius uirgo predicta pie
 25 miserta cum ad uiam reducere conaretur inuenerunt
 fontem de petra largiter emanantem. Fons ipse est sacra
 doctrina. *Petra autem erat Christus*. Hic fons in duos
 riuulos deriuatur, scilicet in litteralem et spiritualem
 intellectum. Ad sinistram autem partem hic riuuli
 30 synagoga cecidit super terram aridam ut quiesceret quasi
 lassa. Virgo autem uenusta inter riuulos, scilicet inter
 litteralem et spiritualem intellectum, se sub palma
 fructifera in graminea planicie collocauit.

10

Virgo igitur caritate plena synagogam ex laboribus
 35 fatigatam salutaribus uerbis erudire studuit sic exorsa:
 “Verba que in primo michi occursum respondisti si
 aduertis, non carent misterio ueritatis. Dixisti enim, quod
 ueneras in Ierusalem ut immolares Domino hircum pro

22 attenuati...22 excelso] Is. 38, 14 **23** erraui...23 inueni] Ps. 106, 4
27 Petra...Christus] 1 Cor. 10, 4

20 Synagoga *om. I* | Synagoga...dicor] respondit dicor ego synagoga *B C D* | dicor] synagoga *add. I* **22** mei] nostri *D* **23** excelso] *Cp.c.* | in³ et *C D*; uia *add. I* | inaquoso] inaquosa *I* **24** pie] pia *B* | pie miserta] miserta pie *C*; miserta pia viscera gestans *I* **25** miserta] uiscera gestans *B*; quam *add. D* | reducere] ducere *C* | inuenerunt] ambe *add. I* **26** emanantem] effluentem *B C D I* | ipse] ipsa *C*; iste *D* | est sacra] sacra est *D* **29** partem hic] unius *D* | hic] unius *B I*; *om. C* | riuuli] unius *add. C*; partem *add. D* **30** synagoga] *om. sed add. in marg. C* quasi] quia *C* **31** inter] duos *add. B C D I* | inter *om. I* **32** intellectum *om. I* | palma] arbore *I* **34** igitur] autem *C* | caritate] claritate *C* synagogam] fatigatam *add. C* **35** fatigatam *om. C* **36** Verba...34 que] quia *C* | primo] cum *add. C* | occursum] occurso *B D I* | respondisti] dedisti uerba que dixisti *C* **37** carent] careat *D* **38** ueneras] (ueritas *a.c.*) *Dp.c.*

peccatis. Constat quod hircus est animal fetidum. Sic fetet
 tuum Domino holocaustum, sicut ipse ait per Ysaïam I: *ne* 40
offeratis ultra sacrificium frustra incensum uestrum
abominatio est michi. Dauid etiam ait: *Sacrificium Deo*
spiritus contribulatus. Dixisti etiam quod defecerunt oculi
 tui suspicientes in excelso. Et bene quidem, quia tu
 agnitionem uere fidei perdidisti, et ideo etiam in solitudine 45
 a uia rectitudinis aberrasti.”

Synagoga: “Que es tu, que tam procaci sermone
 10 audes michi exprobrare que sum genitrix prophetarum et
 patriarcharum et reges in meo gremio educaui?”

Ecclesia: “Ego sum ecclesia tanquam ancilla humilis 50
 a Domino Deo electa in qua figure patriarcharum et
 prophetarum oracula sunt completa. Tu autem quasi Vasti
 regina superba es a rege celi propter infidelitatis tue
 contumaciam reprobata. Ego quasi Hester humilis in regis
 palacium sum assumpta. De me scriptum est: *Astitit regina* 55
a dextris tuis. Tamen ut secundum uaticinium Ysaye
 reliquie filiorum Israel salue fiant, ausculta sermones meos

40 ne...39 michi] Is. 1, 13 42 Sacrificium...43 contribulatus] Ps. 50, 19
 52 Tu...55 assumpta] cfr. Esth. 1-2 55 Astitit...56 tuis] Ps. 44, 10
 57 reliquie...fiant] cfr. Is. 10, 22

39 est om. C | fetidum] et add. I | Sic] Domino add. B D I; sit Domino
 C 40 Domino om. B C D I | sicut] sic C 41 offeratis] afferatis C
 ultra] add. sed del. holocau C | sacrificium] Domino add. D 42 etiam]
 autem B I; enim C | etiam ait] autem dixit D 43 contribulatus] cor
 contribulatus add. C | defecerunt] attenuati sunt C 45 uere fidei] fidei
 uere C | etiam om. C 46 aberrasti] oberrasti B C I 47 Synagoga]
 respondit add. B^{p.c.} C D I | que] me add. C 48 audes...45 michi] mihi
 audes B I; michi audes D | michi om. C | exprobrare] exprobare C
 que] quia C | prophetarum et om. C D | prophetarum...patriarcharum]
 genitrix patriarcharum et prophetarum B I 49 et] prophetarum et add. D
 50 Ecclesia] uirgo ait B C D I 51 figure] prophetarum et add. C | et
 prophetarum om. D 52 oracula] occulte D | completa] complete D
 Vasti om. I 53 regina] Vasti add. in marg. I | tue om. D 55 assumpta]
 unum add. B 57 fiant] fient D | ausculta] sculta B; ascolta I

et propinabo tibi aquam sapientie salutaris. *Audi tacens et pro reuerencia accedet tibi bona gracia.*”

60 Primo ergo tibi errores tuos de Thalmut declarabo et eorum fallacias ueritatis testimoniis extirpabo, quia non poteris suscipere semina ueritatis, nisi prius extirpatis spinis et uepribus falsitatis. Et ideo Dominus, Ieremie III^o: *Nouate uobis noualia et nolite serere super spinas.*

65 Secundo tibi testimoniis legis et prophetarum aperiam uere fidei documenta.

Deinde tibi ad obiectiones tuas per singula respondebo.

10

70 Isti errores sunt excerpti de Thalmut a iudeo baptizato.

Primo ergo errores Thalmut declaremus. Thalmut, id est doctrina, diuiditur in IIII libros quorum quilibet appellatur cezer in genere. Habet tamen quilibet nomen speciale. Primus uocatur Mohoz, id est terminus. Secundus

75

58 Audi...59 gracia] Eccli. 32, 9 **62** suscipere...63 falsitatis] cfr. Matth. 13 **64** Nouate...spinas] Ier. 4, 3

58 salutaris] salutatis *D* **59** pro] per *D* | reuerencia] reuerenciam *D* accedet] accedat *C*; accidet *D* | bona *om. B C I* | gracia] bona *add. B C I* **60** ergo] igitur *B C I*; *om. D* | tuos *om. C* | et...61 extirpabo *om. C* **63** ideo] ait *add. B C D I* | Dominus] per *add. B D I* **64** noualia] nouale *D* | serere] seminare *I* **65** tibi *om. C* | testimoniis] testimonio *C* aperiam] tibi *add. B C* **67** tibi *om. C*; ad dormienta et *add. D* **70** Isti *om. C*; hec ponim *D* | Isti...excerpti *om. I* | errores sunt] sunt errores *B* sunt *om. C* | sunt...71 baptizato] Talmuth *D* | excerpti] (excepti *a.c.*) *A^{p.c.}*; excepti *C* | de] libris *add. I* | a] *om. sed add. sup. l. A* | a...71 baptizato *om. C*; et quod Deus doleat de malis iudeorum et quod studeat in Talmut et quod Deus ut leo rugiat *I* **72** ergo] igitur *B C D I* | errores] de *add. C* | Thalmut¹] de *add. C* | declaremus] declaramus *D* | id...73 est] enim *D* **74** cezer] thezer *C* | Habet *om. C* | quilibet] habet *add. C* **75** Mohoz] Mochor *C*; Machor *D*

uocatur Nassim, id est mulieres. Tercius Cirassim, id est
 sanctuaria. Quartus Iessuhor, id est salutationes. Hunc
 Thalmut preferunt iudei libris Moysi et Prophetis, et ut
 magis ad credendum Thalmut alliciant, fabulis addunt
 fabulas, dicentes quod Deus studuerit in Thalmut. 80

Contra. Ergo non haberet plenitudinem scientie quod
 est heresis. Set contrarium dicit Iesus filius Syrach. *Omnis
 sapientia a Domino Deo est et cum illo fuit semper et est
 ante euum*, Ecclesiastes I. Item legitur in cezer Mohoz, id
 10 est in primo, quod Deus cottidie ploret pro aduersitatibus 85
 iudeorum ad maiorem dampnationem christianorum. Et
 quod ab eius oculis due lacrimae prodeunt in mare magnum
 stillantes. Et has fulgorum illum esse affirmant qui nocte
 ab ethere uidetur stillare.

Contra. Si Deus plorat est miser. Si in lacrimas 90
 resoluitur est corruptibilis quia omne resolubile est
 corruptibile. Item si Deus resoluitur in aquas lacrimarum,
 consequens est quod elementum sit Dei materia, scilicet

82 Omnis... 84 euum] Eccli. 1, 1

87 oculis...magnum] cfr. Petrus Venerabilis, *Aduersus Iudeorum inueteratam duritiem* cap. 5, l. 919; cfr. Petrus Alphonsus, *Dialogus* cap. 1 col. 0550B

76 Nassim] Nassym B; Naysim D; Nassy I | Cirassim] Lyrassim B; Cyrassim C; uocatur Tyssasim D; Cadasin I 77 sanctuaria] sanduaria B Quartus] uocatur add. D | Iessuhor] Iessuhom B; Iessuor C; Iessuchor D; Iessuom I | salutationes] saluationes B | Hunc] hoc I 78 et²... 80 fabulas om. C 79 Thalmut] homines add. I 80 studuerit] studeat B C D I 81 Contra] ecclesia D | Ergo] si sic esset Deus I 82 Set om. I contrarium] enim add. I | Syrach] Sirach D; Sidrach I 84 I] ecclesia add. D | cezer] theser C; textu I | Mohoz] Mochor C; Mohos D | id... 85 primo om. I 85 in om. C | cottidie om. C | ploret] cottide add. C 86 iudeorum] et add. B C D I 87 ab] ex I | prodeunt] prodedunt C; protedunt D 88 fulgorum] fulguorem B; fulgorem C D I | illum esse om. C | qui] de add. D 89 ethere] stillaut add. D | stillare] ecclesia add. D 90 est miser] miser est C | lacrimas] lacrimis I 91 est corruptibilis] corruptibilis est C 93 Dei] et I | Dei materia] materia Dei B C D

aqua, et cum materia prior sit materiato, sequeretur quod
 95 aqua prior esset Deo.

Item Deum dicunt rugire ut leonem. Et celum pulsare
 pedibus more calcantium et mouere caput et dicere, “Heu
 heu michi, ut quid domum meam in desertum redegi et
 populum meum in gentes transtuli? Et heu filiis qui de
 100 mensa patris translati sunt.” Et quod cottidie oret pro eis.

Contra. Si Deus dolet de iudeorum desolatione et non
 potest retractare est miser et impotens. Si potest retractare
 et non uult, constat quod non dolet. Aut quem orat pro eis? 10
 Si orat aliquem potenciosem se, constat quod Deus non est
 105 perfectus in sua potencia. Si autem orat impotenciosem est
 stultus. Quorum utrumque est heresis.

Synagoga: “Hucusque silui et paciens fui, nunc etiam
 loquar et respondebo tibi. Quid miraris si dico Deum
 meum pro me lacrimas fundere. Et tu dicis Deum Iesum
 110 pro te crucifixum et sanguinem fudisse?”

96 Deum...leonem] Seder Zera'im, Beraḳot 3a | rugire...97 calcantium]
 cfr. Petrus Venerabilis, *Aduersus Iudeorum inueteratam duritiem* cap. 5, l.
 925; cfr. Petrus Alphonsus, *Dialogus* cap. 1 col. 0550D | celum...97
 caput] Seder Zera'im, Beraḳot 59a **97** Heu...100 sunt] cfr. Petrus
 Venerabilis, *Aduersus Iudeorum inueteratam duritiem* cap. 5, l. 927; cfr.
 Petrus Alphonsus, *Dialogus* cap. 1 col. 0551A

94 cum] terram *B* **95** prior esset] esset prior *C* **96** Deum dicunt] dicunt
 Deum *I* | ut] sicut *C* | pulsare *om. B C D I* **97** pedibus] mouere *add. B*
I | calcantium] pedibus ceruire *add. C* **98** michi] me *I* | ut quid *om. D*
99 heu] hei *I* | qui] quo *C* **100** quod *om. C* **101** Contra] ecclesia *D*
 iudeorum desolatione] desolatione iudeorum *C* **102** potest¹...Si *om. C*
 retractare² *om. I* **103** dolet] doleat *C* | quem] quod non *I* | orat] adorat
D; oret *I* | eis] preterea *add. I* **104** orat] adorat *D* | constat] contra
 dicitur *I* | est] esset *D* **105** potencia] potenciora *B* | autem *om. B D I*
 autem orat] oret *C* | orat] adorat *D* | impotenciosem] se *add. B C D*;
 impotenciosem se *I* **107** Synagoga *om. D* **108** loquar] loquor *C*
 respondebo] tibo *add. D* **109** meum] flere *add. I* | me] et *add. I* | Et] si
I | Deum] tuum *add. B I* | Deum Iesum] Iesum Deum tuum *C* | Iesum]
 tuum *add. D* **110** sanguinem fudisse] fudisse sanguinem *D*

Ecclesia: “Dico Iesum crucifixum in humanitate in Deum assumpta deitas autem semper impassibilis permanet. Licet in una persona Christi due sint nature unite, scilicet deitatis et humanitatis, sicut tibi in sequentibus probabo, tamen sola humana natura passa est. 115 Sicut enim in homine due sunt unite substantie, scilicet corpus et anima, solum autem corpus uulnerari potest ferro et sanguinem fundere, set anima non.”

Synagoga: “Quid etiam miraris, si dixi Deum dolere 10 pro me? Nonne in Genesi dicitur: *Tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus. Delebo inquit hominem quem formaui a facie terre. Penitet me fecisse hominem.*” 120

Ecclesia: “Quando Scriptura humanas passiones Deo attribuit, ipsa loquitur per quandam similitudinem. Sicut enim qui penitet et dolet de facto studet illud subito 125 retractare uel destruere si potest sic Deus dicitur penitere de formatione hominis quando illum uoluit delere. Set si Deus de iudeorum captiuitate doleret, subito reuocaret; set quia non reuocat constat quod non dolet.”

20 130

120 Tactus ... 122 hominem] Gen. 6, 6-7

112 deitas] diuinitas C | semper impassibilis] impassibilis semper C
 113 Licet om. B; autem add. I | Christi om. C | sint nature] nature sint C | nature] persone D 114 unite] nature add. D; unitate I | scilicet deitatis] deitatis scilicet C 115 humana om. I | humana natura] natura humana C | passa] humana I | est] passa add. I 116 enim om. B C D I
 117 uulnerari potest] potest uulnerari C 119 dixi] dico B C D I | Deum] meum add. C 121 a] de C 123 humanas] humana I | passiones] aliquid I 124 attribuit] tunc add. C | ipsa om. I | quandam om. C 125 et] uel B D I | subito ... 126 retractare om. C 126 sic] contra C | dicitur] potest D 128 subito] eam add. C | set] et C 129 non¹...quod om. I | dolet] doleat C; idcirco non reuocat add. I

Quid Deus operetur cottidie.

Quid Deus faciat et quid operetur cottidie per XXIII
 horas dicit rabi Mei in cezer Naasyim, id est in secundo:
 “Cum homo dicit, ‘Doleo, infirmus sum,’ illa hora Deus
 135 dicit in celo: ‘Doleo caput, doleo brachium.’ Et subdit: ‘Si
 ita dicit Deus super sanguine iniquorum, quanto magis
 super dolore iustorum, id est sapientium in Thalmut.’”

Contra. Cottidie mali et iusti dolent aliqui. Ergo Deus
 semper dolet. Ergo Deus non est beatus, quod est
 140 blasphemia. Nos predicamus Christum semel crucifixum 10
 tantum in humana natura, non in diuina, et hoc iudeis est
 scandalum. Set ipsi credunt semper pati Deum cum tamen
 ipse dicat Malachias II [sic]: *Ego Dominus et non mutor.*
 Item Exodus VII, ubi legitur quod Pharaon persequatur
 145 Israel usque ad mare rubrum. Dicit ibi rabi Samuel: “Illa
 hora uolebant angeli laudes canere Deo more solito, set

140 Nos...crucifixum] Cfr. 1 Cor. 1, 23 **141** hoc...142 scandalum] Cfr. 1 Cor. 1, 23 **143** Ego...mutor] Mal. 3, 6 **144** Pharaon... 145 rubrum] cfr. Ex. 14

134 hora...135 brachium] Seder Neziqin, Sanhedrin 46a **145** Dicit... 149 submerguntur] Seder Neziqin, Sanhedrin 39b

131 Quid...cottidie *om. D* | Deus *om. I* | cottidie *om. B* | cottidie...132 Quid *om. I* | cottidie...132 faciat *om. C* **132** faciat...per] in *I* operetur *om. D* | operetur cottidie] faciat *C* **133** horas] horis diei et noctis *I* | Mei] (Meir *eras.*) *A^{p.c.}*; Meyr *B D* | Mei in] Meitteli *I* | Mei... cezer] rabi Meyer in thesser *C* | Naasyim] Naasym *B*; Nassim *C*; Naasim *D I* **134** Doleo *om. C* | infirmus sum *om. D* | sum] doleo *add. C* Deus *om. I* | Deus... 135 dicit] dicit Deus *B C D* **135** in celo] Deus *I* Et *om. B* **136** sanguine] sanguinem *B C D I* **137** id est] idem *D* sapientium] sapientium *B* **138** Contra] ecclesia *add. D* | dolent aliqui] aliqui dolent *B C I* | aliqui] aliquid *D* **139** Ergo Deus] et sic *I* | Ergo... beatus *om. D* | Deus *om. B C* **141** in² *om. C* | iudeis est] est iudeis *C D* **142** Set] si *C*; at *I* | ipsi] dicunt et *add. I* | credunt] Deum *add. B C D I* Deum *om. B C D I* **143** dicat] per *add. B C D I* | Malachias] capitulo *add. C* | II] III *I* | Dominus] sum *C* | mutor] synagoga *add. D* **144** Item] in *add. B D*; preterea in *I* | VII *om. I* **145** ibi *om. D I* Samuel] quod *add. I* **146** laudes *om. C* | laudes canere] canere laudes *B D I* | Deo] laudes *add. C*

Samay, id est Deus ait: ‘Vos me letificatis et laudes canitis et opera manuum mearum in periculo sunt hostium et in mari submerguntur.’”

Contra. Nunquit propter periculum iudeorum Deus 150
contempsit laudes angelorum, aut propter laudes
impediebatur ab auxilio iudeorum? Et ideo uerum est quod
dicit Ysaïas: *Stultus fatua loquetur et cor eius faciet
iniquitatem*, scilicet credendo ea que sunt fatua.

Item querit rabi Auen a rabi Iuda: “Quod est opus 155
10 Dei?” Respondit Iudas: “Hore diei sunt XII. Primis tribus
horis sedet Deus et studet in Thalmut. Aliis tribus sedet in
duabus sedibus et iudicat totum mundum. Et cum uidet
mundum condempnandum surgit a sede iusticie et sedet in
sedem misericordie. Terciis tribus horis mundum pascit a 160
rinoceronte usque ad pulicem. Quartis tribus horis sedet et
ludit cum Leuiathan, unde Psalmus: *Draco iste quem
formasti ad illudendum ei.*”

153 Stultus... 154 iniquitatem] Is. 32, 6 162 Draco... 163 ei] Ps. 103, 26

157 Aliis... 162 Leuiathan] Neziqin, ‘Aḥoda Zara 3b

147 letificatis] letificastis *D* | laudes] meas *add. D* 148 et¹] tamen *add. I*
150 Contra] ecclesia *add. D* | Deus... 151 contempsit] contempsit Deus
C 151 aut] autem *D* | laudes²] angelorum *add. B C D I* 152 ab *om. I*
auxilio] auxilium *I* | Et ideo] hinc patet *I* | ideo] dictum *add. D* | est]
esse *I* | quod... 153 dicit *om. D* 153 dicit] dicitur *B*; legitur *I* | Ysaïas]
XXXII *add. B D I*; XXXII si *add. C* | faciet] faciat *C* 155 Auen *om. B*
C; Atten *D*; quidam *I* | rabi²] uenerabili *B I* 156 Respondit] respondet *I*
157 in¹] lege *add. B C I* | Thalmut] legem *add. D* | tribus] horis *add. C*
160 sedem] sede *B I* | horis] passit *add. C* | mundum pascit] pascit
mundum *B I* | mundum... a] ab *D* | pascit *om. sed add. sup. l. A*; *om. C*
161 rinoceronte] moter nionte *ut uid. C* | Quartis] aliis *B*; ultimis *I*
sedet et *om. I* 162 quem] tu *add. C* 163 ei] ecclesia *add. D*

Contra. Primum prius est obiectum. Contra ultimum
 165 dico quod miser esset Deus, si hoc pro delectatione
 assumeret sibi quod cum dracone luderet, cum hoc
 delectatio etiam apud homines uana iudicaretur. Set si
 litteralis sensus ibi queritur, dicatur quod formatus est
 draco ut per incantatores illudatur ei, ut inuenitur in
 170 Naturalibus.

Idem querit quid in nocte faciat Deus. Idem
 respondet: “Si uis, dic idem quod in die. Vel dic quod
 ascendit super cherubin leuem et circuit et transit per
 XVIII secula seculorum, unde Psalmus: *Currus Dei in*
 175 *cherubin X milibus multi.*

Contra. Quo circuit qui ubique est, qui dicit: *Celum et*
terram ego implebo? Set si haberet necessitate moueri de
 loco ad locum et non posset per se nisi sederet super
 cherubin, debilis esset.

174 Currus... 175 multi] Ps. 67, 18 **176** Celum... 177 implebo] Ier. 23, 24

169 in... 170 Naturalibus] *Non inueni*

164 Primum] esset *add. I* | prius] primo *B I*; *om. C* | est *om. I*
 obiectum] obiciendum *B*; obiiciendum tamen *I* **165** esset] est *C I* | hoc]
 sibi *add. C*; hac *D* **166** assumeret *om. B I*; assumiret *D* | sibi *om. C D*
 quod] assumeret et *B I* | luderet *om. C* | hoc] leo *B*; hec *D I* **167** etiam]
 et *C*; uana *D* | uana *om. D* | iudicaretur] iudicaretur *C* **168** litteralis]
 littera *D* **169** ut²] nec *D* **170** Naturalibus] synagoga *add. D* **171** Idem¹]
 item *B C D I* | querit quid] queritur *D* | quid *om. B C I* | nocte] quid
add. B C D I | faciat] facit *B I* | Idem²] item *B D*; *om. C*; et iterum *I*
172 respondet] respondit *B D* **173** super *om. C*; in *D* **174** unde] *om. sed*
add. sup. l. C | Psalmus] Psalmista *D I* | Dei] eius decem milibus
 multiplex *D* | in... 175 cherubin *om. C* **175** cherubin] cherub *D* | multi]
 multiplex *C*; multiplex ecclesia item *D* **176** Quo] uel quid *add. B I*
 ubique] undique *D* | qui²] et *D* **177** implebo] impleo *B I* | Set] at *I* | si]
 ipse *add. D* | necessitate] necesse *D I* **178** ad] (*a a.c.*) *B^{p.c.}* | posset]
 ubique *add. C* | nisi] et *C* **179** debilis] debilis *C* | esset] synagoga
add. D

Item dicit rabi Aha ad rabi Naaman: “Scito quod non
 fuit gaudium coram Deo a tempore desertionis templi,
 unde Ysayas XIII [sic]: *Vocauit Dominus in die illa ad
 fletum et planctum et ad caluicium et ad cingulum sacci.*”
 Deinde subdit rabi Naaman: “Et sic tristabitur donec
 restaurabitur templum.”

Contra. Si non fuit gaudium coram Deo set tristicia,
 ergo miseria, ergo non beatitudo, quod est heresis et
 blasphemia. Cum dicit Psalmus: *Delectationes in dextera
 tua usque in finem.* Idem: *Confessio et pulcritudo in
 conspectu eius.* Idem: *Gloria et diuicie in domo eius.*
 Idem: *Beati qui habitant in domo tua Domine.* Quomodo
 esset familia beata Domino manente in tristicia? Quod
 autem dicit Ysayas: *Vocauit Dominus*, et cetera, patet
 quod ibidem iudeis comminatur penam propter eorum
 peccata. Quod autem paulo post sequitur: *Recedite a me
 amare flebo.* Vox hec sonat non in persona Dei, set Ysaie,

182 Vocauit...183 sacci] Is. 22, 12 **188** Delectationes...189 finem] Ps.
 15, 10 **189** Confessio...190 eius¹] Ps. 95, 6 **190** Gloria...eius²] Ps. 111,
 3 **191** Beati...Domine] Ps. 83, 5 **193** Vocauit Dominus] Is. 22, 12
195 Recedite...196 flebo] Is. 22, 4

180 rabi Aha] rabin C | Aha] Archa D; Acha I | rabi Naaman] rabin A C
181 desertionis] destructionis C^{p.c.} **182** XIII] XXII B I; om. C D
 Vocauit] uocabit B C D I **183** et¹] ad add. D | planctum] (plantum a.c.)
 B^{p.c.} | sacci] sancti I **185** restaurabitur om. B C D I | templum]
 restaurabitur add. B; reparabitur add. C; restaurabitur ecclesia add. D;
 restauretur add. I **187** ergo¹] go D; et I | ergo miseria om. C | est
 heresis] heresis est C | heresis...188 blasphemia] est blasphemia et
 heresis I **188** dicit] dicat B D I | Psalmus] Psalmista D I **189** Idem]
 item C; Psalmus XV item alibi I | in²...190 Idem] et alio in loco I
190 eius¹] tuo D | Idem...191 Idem] item C **191** Idem] item B I
 Domine Deo et cetera item gloria et diuicie etiam domo eius C
 Quomodo] ergo add. D **192** manente] existente C | Quod] quomodo C;
 quid D **193** dicit] dixit I | Vocauit] uocabit B C D I | Dominus] ad
 fletum add. B D I; in die illa ad fletum add. C | cetera] caluicium B D I;
 tibi C **194** ibidem...comminatur] idem comminatur iudeis C | penam]
 peniam C **195** paulo om. C **196** amare] om. sed add. sup. l. A | hec]
 om. C | sonat non] non sonat B C D I | persona] personam B

qui etiam flendo studuit populum ad fletum penitentiae
prouocare.

Item querit rabi Ysaac a rabi Iuda: “Quid facit Deus
200 ne tristetur?” Respondet: “Sedet et docet Thalmut eos qui
moriuntur paruuli et indocti. Sicut dicit Ysayas XXVIII.

*Quem docebit scientiam et quem intelligere faciet
iudicium? Ablactatos a lacte auulsos ab uberibus.”*

Contra. Hereticum est dicere quod Deus pro
205 subleuamine tristitiae suae occupet se cum doctrina
paruulorum, cum eos et in momento posset docere omnem
scientiam sicut Ieremiam qui ait: *Misit de excelso ignem in
ossibus meis, et erudiuit me.* Verbum autem Ysaie intendit
quod ablactatos a lacte uoluptatis et crapulae. Et auulsos ab
210 uberibus mundanae delectationis Deus instruit, quia ante
dixerat proximo uersu: *Sacerdotes et prophete nescierunt,
pre ebrietate absorti sunt a uino, et cetera.*

10

De blasphemia iudeorum in Deum.

202 Quem...203 uberibus] Is. 28, 9 **207** Misit...208 me] Lam. 1, 13
211 Sacerdotes... 212 uino] Is. 28, 7

197 studuit] induit *B* **198** prouocare] sinagoga *add. D* **199** Ysaac] Isaac
C | facit] faciat *C* **200** tristetur] testetur *C* | Respondet] respondit *B D*
201 dicit Ysayas] dicitur Ysaye *B^{p.c.}* | XXVIII] *om. sed add. a.m. B;*
XVIII *D* **202** scientiam] scientia *D; om. I* **203** Ablactatos] ablactos *I*
lacte] et *add. C* | uberibus] ecclesiae *add. D* **204** Hereticum] heresis *D*
dicere *om. B D I* | dicere...Deus] ut *C* **205** subleuamine] subleuatione *B*
C D I | tristitiae suae] suae tristitiae *C* **206** eos et] etiam *C* | et] etiam *B D;*
om. I **207** sicut] legitur apud *add. I* | qui *om. D* | excelso] celo *I*
208 Ysaie] intelligitur *add. B;* Ieremie *C* | intendit] intelligitur *I*
209 ablactatos] ablactos *I* **211** dixerat] in *add. I* | Sacerdotes] sicut
doctores *I* **212** uino] quod Deus multum peccauerit *add. I* | cetera] petat
penitentiam absolutionem et ueniam et *I* **214** De] se *I* | blasphemia...
Deum] maledicat *I* | in] contra *D* | in Deum *om. B;* nota *C*

Asserunt etiam Deum multum peccasse sicut legitur 215
in cezer Casassim, id est in tercio, super hoc uerbo
Genesis, id est: *Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna*, id est
solem et lunam. Ibi dicit rabi Anania: “Dixit luna coram
Deo: ‘Est possibile duobus regibus uti una corona, id est
michi et soli, uti una gloria?’ Dicit ei Deus: ‘Vade, minora 220
te ipsam.’ Dicit luna: ‘Domine Deus, nunquit quia dixi hoc
uerbum minorabo me?’ Dicit ei Deus: ‘Vade, et presis
nocti.’ Dicit luna: ‘Quid ualet candela in meridie?’ Dicit
10 Deus: ‘Vade et computet Israel dies et menses et annos in
te.’ Videns quod non quiesceret animus lune dixit: 225
‘Afferte super me penitentiam quia minorauit lunam.’”

Item ubi legitur in Psalmo: *Quibus iurauit in ira mea*.
Ibi dicit in cezer Iessuhor, id est in III^o, rabi Ratha: “Dixit
Deus: ‘In ira mea iurauit de subuersione Israel et penitet
me, afferte super me absolutionem et ueniam, set quis 230
absoluet me?’”

217 Fecit...magna] Gen. 1, 16 227 Quibus...mea] Ps. 94, 11

218 Dixit...226 lunam] Seder Qodašim, Hüllin 60b 227 Item...mea]
Seder Mo'ed, Hagiga 10a 228 rabi...231 me] Seder Neziqin, Baba Batra
74a

215 sicut] ut C 216 cezer] thesser C | Casassim] Carassim B I; Cyassim
C; Cyrasim D | in² om. D | hoc] illo I 217 Genesis...est¹ om. C; unde
primo I | id est¹] primo B D | magna] Genesis primo add. C
218 lunam] et add. C | Ibi] ubi I | Anania] quod add. I 219 id est] et I
220 uti om. D | Dicit] dixit autem I 221 Dicit] dixit C; respondit I
luna] nunquid add. C | nunquit om. C | quia om. D | dixi] dixit D
222 minorabo] te add. sed exp. D | Dicit] dixit B I; ipsam dixit C | Vade
om. I 223 nocti] nocte C | Dicit¹] dixit C I; ei add. D | Dicit²] respondit
ei I 224 Vade om. B D I | Vade et] ut C | Israel dies] dies Israel C
225 Videns] Deus add. B D; autem Deus add. I | quod] Deus quia C
animus lune] luna D 227 Item] synagoga add. D 228 Ibi dicit] dixit I
cezer] ceser B; thesser C | Iessuhor] Iessuor C; Iesuchor D; Iessuon I
Ratha] Racha C; Iatha D; Raha I 230 set] et C

Contra. Si Deus eget absoluteione et uenia, ergo
 peccatum cadit in Deum, quod est blasphemia dicere, cum
 Moyses dicat, Deuteronomium XXXII: *Deus fidelis et*
 235 *absque ulla iniquitate iustus et rectus.* Ergo secundum
 legem tanquam blasphemi sunt lapidandi qui dicunt Deum
 posse peccare, uel credunt. Item super illo uerbo Ieremie
 XII: *Reliqui domum meam dimisi hereditatem meam.* Dicit
 rabi Iohel: Tres sunt custodie angelorum nocte, et super
 240 custodiam custodia est Deus qui se Dominus clamat sicut
 leo, et flens: “Ve michi et maledictus ego, quia dimisi
 templum et iudeos et desertam dimisi domum meam,
 combussi palacium meum et captiuauit filios meos inter
 gentes seculi.”

245 Contra. Si Deus flet et semetipsum maledicit, ergo est
 miser et impotens seipsum iuuare et alios, quod est heresis
 credere.

Item dicit rabi Iohel: “A tempore quo Deus templum
 deseruit, locus IIII cubitorum inter ruinas ei remansit, ubi
 250 studet in Thalmut, et cottidie exercet studium docendo

234 Deus... 235 rectus] Deut. 32, 4 238 Reliqui... meam²] Ier. 12, 7

238 Dicit... 244 seculi] Seder Zera'im, Beraḳot 3a 248 A... 251 imbuti]
 Seder Zera'im, Beraḳot 8a

232 Contra] ecclesia *D* | eget] indiget *B I*; indiget (*in marg.*) de *C*
 233 dicere *om. I* 234 dicat] in *add. D* | XXXII] XXXIII *B C D I*
 235 ulla *om. I* | rectus] et *add. D* 237 uel] ut *D* 238 XII] XXII *B C I*
 Reliqui] reliquis dimisi *C* | dimisi *om. C*; et *D* | meam²] synagoga *add.*
D | Dicit] dixit *I* 239 Iohel] Iehel *B* | nocte *om. C* 240 custodia *om. B*
 est Deus] Deus est *C* | se Dominus] sedens *C* | Dominus] Deus *D*;
 Dominum *I* 241 et flens] flens et dicens *I* | quia] qui *C I* 242 desertam
 dimisi *om. D* | meam] et *add. C* 243 inter... 244 seculi *om. C*
 244 seculi] ecclesia *add. D* 245 flet] fleret *C* | semetipsum] seipsum *B*
C D I | maledicit] malediceret *C* | est... 246 miser] miser est *D* | est...
 246 et¹ *om. C* 246 impotens] esset et miser *add. C* 247 credere]
 synagoga *add. D*; *om. I* 248 Iohel] Iosel *I* 249 cubitorum] inter *add. D*

pueros qui moriuntur tali scientia imbuti,” ut legitur in cezer Iessuhor.

Contra. Si Deum continet locus IIII cubitorum paruus, est. Contrarium legitur III Regum VIII: *Si celum et celi celorum te capere non possunt quanto magis hec domus*, et cetera. Item, si studet in Thalmut ignarus est. 255

Item dicit rabi Iohel: “In tempore quo intrant iudei domos orationis et domos scholarum dicunt: ‘Sit nomen eius magnum benedictum.’ Et respondet Deus, id est loco Dei unus de sapientibus: ‘Beatus rex quem laudant in domo sua ita.’ Tunc omnes respondent quasi cum blasphemia: ‘Ve patri qui captiuauit filios suos. Ve ipsis filiis qui captiuati sunt. Ve eis qui carent mensa patris sui.’” 260

Contra. Moyses dixit: *Qui maledixerit patri morte moriatur*, set ipsi maledicunt eterno patri, ergo morientur eternaliter morte corporis et anime. 265

254 Si...256 domus] III Reg. 8, 27 265 Qui...266 moriatur] Ex. 21, 17

257 In...264 sui] Seder Zera’im, Beraġot 3a

251 pueros] paruulos C | scientia] non add. B C D I 252 cezer] thesser C | Iessuhor] Iesuom B; Iessuchor ecclesia D; Iessuon I 253 Deum] Deus D | locus] locum D 254 Contrarium] tamen add. I | legitur] apporet C | celum] celi D 255 magis] minus C | hec om. I 256 et cetera hec I | in om. D | est] sinagoga add. D 257 Iohel] Iohe I | In] a C 258 domos¹] domum C | domos²] domus C | dicunt] sic add. C 259 magnum om. D; et add. I | respondet] respondit B D | id est om. I 260 Dei om. I | unus] unius I 262 ipsis...263 filiis] filiis ipsis D 263 qui¹] quia B^{p.c.}; quia C | qui²] om. sed add. sup. l. A 264 sui] ecclesia add. D 265 maledixerit] maledixerint I | patri] autem matri add. C 266 moriatur] morietur C; moriantur I 267 eternaliter] eternali D morte] scilicet add. D

De odio iudeorum contra christianos.

270 Dicit rabi Symeon: “Quilibet christianorum qualibet
arte uel ingenio potest decipi sine peccato,” ut legitur in
cezer Iessuhor, id est in IIII. Idem dicit: “Optimum
christianorum occidere melius est quam caput serpentis
conterere.” Et infra: “Optimus christianorum tanquam
275 turpis et blasphemus est occidendus.”

Contra. Iosephus uero dicit libro XVIII quod Iacobus
dictus frater Iesu tante fuit sanctitatis ut destructio
Ierusalem et calamitas quam passi sunt iudei per Tytum 10
eis accidit propter necem Iacobi. Cum autem idem Iacobus
de pinna templi precipitatus fuit pro eo quod Christi
280 gloriam predicauit et pro peccato mortis eius destructa sit
Ierusalem. Secundum Iosephum constat quod ueritatem
predicauit et quod ipsi grauissime peccant occidendo
christianos.

270 Quilibet...271 peccato] Seder Neziqin, Baḥa Qamma 113a
272 Optimum...274 conterere] Masektot Qatanot, Soferim 15, 10
274 Optimus...275 occidendus] cfr. Seder Neziqin, Sanhedrin 58b
276 Iosephus...279 Iacobi] Iosephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae* liber XX,
cap. XVIII to XX

269 De] malis que sibi suadent *add. I* | odio] nobis *I* | odio iudeorum]
blasphemia *C* | iudeorum *om. B* | iudeorum contra *om. I* | christianos]
christianis inferri et qualiter beatam uirginem et sanctos nostros
blasphemant et contra nos specialiter et quotidie imprecantur *I*
270 Symeon] Simeon *I* | christianorum] christianus *I* 271 decipi (decipit
a.c.) *Ap.c.*; *om. B C D I* | peccato] decipi *add. B C D I* 272 cezer] thesser
C | Iessuhor] Iessuhom *B*; Iessuior *C*; Iessuchor; Iessuom *I* | IIII] libro
Talmuth *add. D* | Idem] deinde *B I*; item *C* 273 occidere *om. B C D I*
est] occidere *add. B C D I* 274 Et infra] item *C* | infra] subiungit *I*
275 et blasphemus] blasphemator *B C D I* | occidendus] ecclesia *add. D*
276 uero] uester *B D*; *om. C I* | libro XVIII *om. C* 277 Iesu] Domini *C*
destructio] destructa *D* 278 calamitas] calamitatis sic *I* | iudei *om. B C*
D I 279 accidit] acciderit *B C I* | necem] mortem *I* | autem] enim *I*
280 pinna] pinaculo *D* | templi] fuisset *add. C* | precipitatus *om. D*;
precepitatus *I* | fuit] fuerit *B D I*; *om. C* | pro] precepitatus *D* 281 sit]
est *D* 283 ipsi] ipse *B* | grauissime peccant] gauissime peccant *C*

Legitur etiam in cezer Iessuhor, id est in IIII^o, quod 285
 quelibet uerba polluta in peccatum reputantur, preter illa
 que in contemptum ecclesie uergere dinoscuntur. Item, in
 eodem: Omnis blasphemia uetita est iudeis, preter
 blasphemiam ecclesie, unde ab omnibus habetur in usu
 quod etiam beate uirgini maledicunt et eucharistiam 290
 sacrificium pollutum uocant. Et cum audiunt canpanam
 portari cum corpore Christi pessime blasphemant.

Item legitur in cezer Carassim, id est in IIII^o, quod
 10 statutum est inter eos ab omnibus communiter sapientibus
 quod ter singulis diebus in oratione quam efficaciorum 295
 asserunt. Maledicant ministris ecclesie, regibus et
 rectoribus et omnibus inimicantibus iudeis. Hec oratio
 continetur in Thalmut et debet stando dici et coniunctis
 pedibus, nec ullo modo debet loqui de aliqua re quam diu
 eam dicit. Si etiam eum serpens in talo morderet non debet 300
 hanc orationem interrumpere. Hanc dicunt uiri et mulieres
 taliter ad minus cottidie. Verba autem orationis sunt hec:
 ‘Conuersis non sit spes et omnes repente dispergantur et in

285 quod...287 dinoscuntur] Seder Neziqin, Sanhedrin 63b

288 Omnis...292 blasphemant] Seder Neziqin, Sanhedrin 63b

285 in¹] eodem libro I | cezer] thesser C | Iessuhor] Iessuor C; Iessuchor D; Iessuom I | id...III^o om. I 287 uergere] uigere D | dinoscuntur] dicuntur C; dignoscuntur I 288 uetita] fetida C D 289 blasphemiam] blasphemia C 290 etiam] et I | beate] Marie add. C | maledicunt] meledicunt sic I | et] etiam B 292 portari] portarie C; pulsare D Christi] Domini B I 293 cezer] thesser C | Carassim] Carassym B; Cyrassim C; Cassim D; Cadasim I | III^o] III B C I; libro Talmuth add. D 294 est om. C | communiter sapientibus] sapientibus communiter est C 295 in om. C | in oratione] morem D | quam] quem D 296 asserunt] esse add. D | Maledicant] maledicunt C D 297 omnibus] omnibus I oratio] etiam D 298 continetur] continentur D | debet] dici add. B I stando dici] dici stando C D | dici om. sed add. sup. l. A; om. B I 299 aliqua re] Cp.c. 300 dicit] et add. I | eum om. B C D I | talo] eum add. B I; eam add. C 301 orationem] orationi B 302 taliter om. B C D I minus] ter add. B C D I | sunt hec] hec sunt D

numerum paruum minuantur et amplius non resurgant. Et
 305 omnes inimici gentis tue Israel discendantur, et regnum
 nequicie christianorum eradicans confringas et conteras.
 Fac Domine, fac, comple quod petimus in diebus nostris
 uelociter.' Hec maledictio uocatur Nimin.

Contra. Cum sic cottidie orando clament, et tamen
 310 non exaudiantur, quia regnum christianorum proficit. Ipsi
 autem deficiunt constat quod inique orant, unde Dominus,
 Ysayas I: *Cum extenderitis manus uestras, auertam oculos
 meos a uobis et cum multiplicaueritis orationem non
 exaudiam, manus enim uestre plene sunt sanguine. In
 315 ecclesia uero adimpletur hoc uerbum: Qui maledixerit tibi
 sit ille maledictus et qui benedixerit tibi, et cetera. Ex hoc
 etiam patet quod Dominus omnino abiecit eos qui
 clamauerunt ad eum plus quam mille CCC annis, nec
 liberat eos de manibus christianorum, cum tamen prius
 320 sepe liberauerit eos de manibus gentilium.*

10

313 et...314 sanguine] Is. 1, 15 **315** Qui...316 tibi] Gen. 27, 29

308 Hec...Nimin] Seder Zera'im, Beraĥot 28b

304 resurgant] resurgent *C* **305** gentis *om. I* | tue] tui *I* | discendantur] discendantur *C I* **306** eradicans] eradicans *C* | et *om. D* **307** fac *om. C D* comple] compleri *I* **308** uelociter *bis scr. A* | Nimin] ecclesia *add. D*; sic *add. I* **309** Cum sic] si *C* | cottidie orando] orando cottidie *D* | orando] *om. sed add. sup. l. A* | orando...310 exaudiantur] *om. sed add. a.m. B* tamen] cum *C*; *om. I* **310** proficit Ipsi] *om. sed add. a.m. B* **311** quod] quia *B D* | Dominus] in *add. B D I*; *om. C* **312** I] III *D* **313** orationem] orationes *B C I* **314** uestre] sanguine *add. B C D I* | sanguine *om. B C D I* **315** adimpletur impletur *C* | hoc uerbum] uerbum hoc *B D I* | uerbum *om. C* | maledixerit] maledixit *D* **316** et cetera] benedictionibus repletur *B C D*; sit ille benedictus *I* | Ex] et *I* **317** omnino *om. B C I* eos] omnino *add. C I* | qui] omnino quia *B*; quia *C* **318** clamauerunt] clamauerunt *D* | ad] Dominum *add. C* | eum] Deum *B C* | eum... mille] Dominum per *I* | plus quam *om. D* | annis] annos *I* **319** liberat] liberauit *D*; liberabat *I* | manibus] manu *C* **320** liberauerit] liberauit *C D* | manibus] manu *C*

De turpitudine Thalmut.

Ponunt etiam quedam turpia que horror est audire, set
tamen ut plene sciantur errores in Thalmut quem ipsi sic
autenticant scribere non inutile arbitramur. In Genesis III 325
legitur quod Adam dixit: *hoc os nunc ex ossibus meis*.
Dicit rabi Elezer, quod Adam coiuit cum omnibus brutis et
iumentis et inde geniti sunt homines monstruosi. Ex hoc
concludo, ergo asina et simia et similia sunt nouerce
iudeorum. 330

10 Synagoga: “Ergo etiam sunt nouerce christianorum et
aliorum hominum cum Adam sit pater omnium.”

Ecclesia: “Hoc non sequitur, quia soli iudei hoc
affirmant et non alii.”

Item dicit rabi Salomon, quod ante creationem Eue, 335
Adam uxorem habuerit nomine Lillis. Fuit autem Adam
pro ligno uetito excommunicatus a Deo CXXX annos in
quibus ex uxore Lilli genuit tantum demones. Ex hoc

326 hoc...meis] Gen. 2, 23

327 quod...328 monstruosi] Seder Našim, Yeḇamot 63a

322 De turpitudine] quod Adam secundum *I* | Thalmut] coierit cum
iumentis et brutis et ex eis homines generauerit monstruosos *add. I*
323 set *om. C I* 324 in *om. I* | quem] quos *C* | ipsi] ipse *B* | sic *om. C*;
tantum *I* 325 autenticant] auctorizant *I* | In *om. I* | III] ubi *add. B D I*
326 Adam dixit] dixit Adam *D* | os nunc] nunc os *B C D I* 327 Elezer]
Elyezer *B*; Eleizer *C*; Eleazer *D*; Eliezer *I* 328 inde] *B^{p.c.}* | geniti] nati
C | monstruosi] ecclesia *add. D* | Ex] et *I* 329 ergo] quod *C I* | et
simia *om. B I* | simia] (*simea a.c.*) *A^{p.c.}*; *symea D* | simia et *om. C*
nouerce] nouerca *C* 331 etiam...nouerce] et *I* | sunt] et *C* 332 cum]
etiam *add. C* | omnium] respondet ecclesia *add. B* 333 hoc] crediunt et
add. D 335 Item] synagoga *add. D* 336 uxorem habuerit] habuit
uxorem *I* | habuerit] habuit *B C D* | Lillis] et quod *add. I* | autem
Adam] Adam ante *I* 337 uetito] fetido *I* | a Deo] *om. D*; per *add. I*
Deo] quod *add. B* | CXXX] XXX *B I* | annos] annis *B C D*
338 demones] ecclesia ergo *add. D*

concludo, ergo demones sunt fratres iudeorum, non
 340 aliorum hominum quia soli iudei qui patrem suum
 infamant Adam confusionem, que ex patris infamatione
 sequitur, reportant. Et quia demones sunt eorum fratres,
 necessario diuident cum eis hereditatem scilicet inferni
 possessionem.

345 Synagoga: “Hoc non oportet quia licet Esau et Iacob
 fratres essent, tamen Esau cum Iacob noluit diuidere
 hereditatem.”

Ecclesia: “Hoc ideo fecit Esau quia timuit hereditatis
 diminutionem. Set dyabolus habundat in hereditate
 350 uermium et ignium infernalium, ergo libenter diuidet cum
 eis.”

Item dicit rabi Esaia quod serpens qui decepit Euam
 coiuit cum ea. Ex hoc concludo ergo serpens est uitricus
 iudeorum et ideo adhuc imitantur morem serpentium.

355 Psalmus: *Furor illis secundum similitudinem serpentis.*

346 Esau...347 hereditatem] cfr. Gen. 27 **352** serpens...Euam] cfr. Gen. 3, 4-6 **355** Furor...serpentis] Ps. 57, 5

352 quod...353 ea] Seder Mo'ed, Šabbat 146a; cfr. Seder Neziqin, 'Aboda Zara 22b

339 ergo] quod *C D I* | non] autem *add. I* **340** soli] sunt *add. I* | qui] quo *C*; *om. D* **341** infamant] *om. C* | infamant Adam] Adam infamant *B D*; Adam infamant et *I* | Adam] infamant *add. in marg. C* confusionem] conclusionem *B C* | ex] infamia *add. I* | patris *om. D* patris infamatione] infamatione patris *B C* | infamatione *om. I* **342** reportant] reprobant *D* **343** necessario] iuste *I* | diuident] diuidunt *D I* **345** oportet] sequitur necessario *I* **346** fratres essent] essent fratres *B C D I* | Esau...Iacob] Iacob *C* | Iacob] *om. sed add. sup. l. A*; fratre *D* **348** ideo *om. C* | hereditatis...349 diminutionem] diminutionem hereditatis *D* **349** diminutionem] et idcirco partem contempsit ut paruam *add. I* **352** Item] synagoga *add. D* | Esaia] Osaya *B I*; Osaxa *C*; Osia *D* quod] quando *add. C* | qui *om. C* **353** ea] ecclesia *add. D* | ergo] quod *C I* **354** morem] mortem *I* | serpentium] serpentinum unde *B*; serpentis unde *C*; serpentum unde *I* **355** Psalmus] *LVII add. I* | serpentis] sicut aspidi surdae *add. B*; sicut aspidis surde *add. D I*

Obturauerunt enim aures ne audirent doctrinam Christi
 licet uiderent miracula. Idem, *acuerunt linguas suas sicut
 serpentes* scilicet in Christi accusationem. *Venenum
 aspidum sub labiis eorum*, in ecclesie blasphemationem.

Item dicit rabi Auelyn, super illud Genesis III [sic]: 360
Masculum et feminam creauit eos, quod Adam ex una
 parte fuerit masculus ex alia femina, set Deus uidens
 deformitatem eius semper spreuit eum. Item dicit Auelyn
 super illud Deuteronomium XIII, quod Moyses misit XII
 10 exploratores in terram promissionis, et quod filia cuiusdam 365
 gygantis de stirpe Enachim captiuauit eos, et patris suis
 faucibus deuorandos imposuit. Illi tamen adiutorio Dei
 liberati fugerunt. Hec uidens uxor gygantis et ipsos
 retinere uolens tantum post ipsos urinauit quod fere
 submerserat fugientes. 370

Idem rabi Auelyn dicit super illud Deuteronomium
 III: *Monstratur autem lectus eius ferreus IX cubitos*

357 acuerunt...358 serpentes] Ps. 139, 4 358 Venenum...359 eorum]
 Ps. 139, 4 361 Masculum...eos] Gen. 1, 27; 5, 2 364 Moyses...367
 imposuit] cfr. Num. 13; Deut. 1, 22-40 372 Monstratur...ferreus] Deut.
 3, 11

360 super...363 eum] Seder Mo'ed, 'Ērūḇin 18a

356 Obturauerunt] obturauerunt C | enim om. D | aures] suas add. D
 357 licet] licent D; nec I | Idem] Psalmus B I; unde Psalmus C; item
 Psalmista D | linguas] liguas C 358 scilicet om. B C D I | Christi]
 scilicet add. D | accusationem] accusatione B D 359 sub labiis] blas B
 eorum] scilicet add. D I | blasphemationem] blasphematione D;
 synagoga add. D 360 Auelyn] Auenyl B C; Aueylin D; Auenil I
 362 fuerit] fuit B C D I | masculus] et add. I | alia] altera B D I | set]
 ideo I 363 semper om. C | eum] synagoga add. D | dicit] idem rabbi
 add. I | Auelyn] Auenyl B C; Aueylin D; Auenil I 364 XIII] III^o B C;
 om. D; ubi legitur I 365 et om. D | et quod] set C | filia] filius D
 366 suis] sui B C D I 367 imposuit] exposuit I | adiutorio Dei] Dei
 adiutorio I 368 liberati] fuerunt et add. D | fugerunt] fugierunt B | Hec]
 hoc C D I 369 ipsos] eos D 371 Idem] item B C; synagoga item D; item
 dicit I | Auelyn] Auenyl B C; Aueylin D; Auenil I | dicit om. I | illud
 om. C

habens uirilil manus. Cum Moyses ipsum Og regem
 Basan occidere debuisset, habuit in manu securim cum
 375 hastili X cubitorum, et longitudo Moysi fuit X cubitorum.
 Percutiens uero gygantem Og, X cubitis saltauit in altum
 et uix tetigit eum uulnere circa talos qui corruit et mortuus
 est.

De eodem Og dicunt iudei quod cum ipse uidisset
 380 exercitum Israel tulit inaudite magnitudinis molarem et
 imposuit capiti suo ut exercitum sterneret uniuersum. Set
 uppupa, auis paruula, supersedit illi molari. Et rostro
 tamen foramen perfodit illi molari ut transiens per caput
 eius collo eius deprehenderet. Et mox dentes eius tantum
 385 creuerunt ut impedirent ne molarem denuo subleuarent.
 Quod Moyses cernens eum predicto modo interemit. Vnde
 etiam dicitur in Thalmut quod cum idem Og computruisset
 et ossa eius aruissent quidam uenator insecutus fuit
 ceruum per tibiam Og uno die.

10

373 Cum...378 est] Seder Zera'fm, Beraḳot 54b **379** De...386
 interemit] Seder Zera'fm, Beraḳot 54b **386** Vnde...389 die] Seder
 Ṭohorot, Nidda 24b

373 habens] longitudinis et IIII latitudinis ad mensuram cubiti *add. I*
 manus] quod *add. I* | Og] uidelicet *add. I* **374** occidere] uellet *add. sed*
exp. D **375** X¹...fuit *om. B C D* | et...fuit] ipseque Moyses *I*
 cubitorum²] erat stature qui *add. I* **376** uero *om. I* | gygantem *om. C*
 Og] et caput *add. D; om. I* **377** eum] *om. sed add. sup. l. A* | uulnere]
om. D **378** est] synagoga *add. D* **379** ipse *om. D* **380** tulit] molam *add.*
B; molem add. C D | inaudite magnitudinis *om. I* | molarem *om. B C D;*
 molam in audite magnitudinis scilicet trium leucarum in quolibet quadro *I*
381 exercitum sterneret] posterneret exercitum *D* | sterneret] externeret
I | uniuersum] iactu suo *I* **382** illi] ille *B; moli C* | molari Et] mole que
I | molari...383 molari] mole *B D; om. C* **383** tamen...ut] eam
 perforans lapis *I* **384** collo] collum *I* | deprehenderet] dependeret *D;*
 deprehendit *I* **385** creuerunt] terruerunt *D* | molarem] molam *B D I;*
 molem *C* | subleuarent] subleuaret *B C D;* subleuasset *I* **386** eum *om.*
D | modo] enim *add. D* | interemit] peremit *B C D I* **387** etiam] et *D*
 dicitur *om. C* | idem] id *D* **388** et...aruissent *om. B D I* | aruissent *om.*
C **389** Og] eius *I* | uno] una *C* | die] ecclesia *add. D*

Contra. Hec omnia sunt contra textum Moysi qui 390
dicit Deuteronomium III quod lectus eius ferreus habet IX
cubitos uirilil manus.

Synagoga: “Hic lectus fuit cuna infancie eius.”

Ecclesia: “Falsum est quia cum intentio Moysi esset
describere magnitudinem eius, non descripsisset eum 395
penes quantitatem infantilem, nec dixisset lectus set
lectulus. Item falsum est quod Moyses fuerit X cubitorum
quia tabernaculum quod fecerat Moyses habuit in
10 altitudine X cubitos quia sic Moyses intrans tabernaculum
capite tetigisset summitatem eius.” 400

De odio iudeorum contra christianos.

In festo Mardochei quod adhuc celebrant XV
kalendas Marcii quotiens nominatur Aman conterunt ollas
in synagogis dicentes: sicut contritus est Aman. Sic 405
christianorum regnum uelociter conteratur.

391 lectus...392 manus] cfr. Deut. 3, 11 403 In...405 Aman] cfr. Esth.
9

403 In...404 Aman] This appears to refer to the Jewish feast of Purim

391 eius om. C | IX] X C I 393 fuit cuna om. C | cuna] cunis B; om. I
infancie] infacie D | eius] sue C 394 cum] si C^{in marg.} 395 non...396
penes] circa C | descripsisset] descripsit D | eum] eam D
396 quantitatem] C^{p.c.}; eius add. C | nec] non C 397 fuerit] fuit B D; om.
C | cubitorum] fuit add. C 398 quia] quoniam I | tabernaculum]
(tabernaculorum a.c.) D^{p.c.} | in...399 altitudine om. C 399 quia] et C;
om. I | sic] sic ergo I 400 capite] caput D | tetigisset] tetegisset C
summitatem] tectum B C D I | eius] quod falsum esse uidetur add. D;
quod est falsum add. I 402 odio iudeorum] imprecatione I | odio...
contra] maledictione C | contra] intra D | christianos] christianorum C
406 christianorum regnum] regnum christianorum B C D I

Quid iudei sentiant de angelis.

De angelis dicunt quod Deus ex ore suo cottidie
 410 spirat multa milia angelorum. Vnde Psalmus: *Qui facit*
angelos tuos spiritus.

Contra. Si Deus spirat angelos aut illi spiritus sunt de
 substantia et natura Dei uel de alia. Si sunt de substantia
 diuinitatis et illa substantia postea diuiditur in multos
 415 angelos, ergo Deus est per partes diuisibilis in plures
 substantias ergo corruptibilis, quia omne diuisibile per
 partes est corruptibile.

10

Synagoga: “Nonne ignis sine corruptione diuiditur?”

Ecclesia: “Ignis non sine diminutione diuiditur set ab
 420 igne alia materia apposita inflammatur. Si uero tu dicis
 quod illi spiritus sunt de alia substantia quam diuina, quero
 de qua, aerea uel ignea. Tunc Deus indigeret quod sua
 natura aere uel igne sustentaretur, sicut nos indigemus
 aeris attractione per pulmonem propter cordis
 425 refrigerationem et postea respiramus. Si sic esset in Deo,

410 Qui...411 spiritus] Ps. 103, 4

416 quia...417 corruptibile] cfr. inter alios. Raymundus Lullus, *Liber reprobationis aliorum errorum Auerois contra Christi fidem sanctam catholicam aliqui nituntur inducere* (op. 164), dist. 2, l. 801.

408 Quid] quod *D I* | iudei *om. B C* | iudei sentiant] sentiant iudei *D*
 iudei...angelis] Deus ex ore suo spiret quotidie angelos *I* | sentiant]
 sentiunt *B* **409** ex] de *C* **410** multa] plura *B C D I* | angelorum] primo
add. B | Psalmus] Psalmista *D* **411** tuos] suos *B C D I* | spiritus] et
 ministros suos et cetera ecclesia *add. D* **412** aut] autem *C* **413** et] uel
C | et natura *om. D* | uel de] aut *D* | uel...alia *om. C* | de¹ *om. B I*
414 diuinitatis] deitatis *C D*; Dei *I* | illa] ista *D* | substantia *om. I*
 postea *om. D* **415** diuisibilis *om. D* **416** substantias] et *add. C*
 corruptibilis] corruptilis *B^{p.c.}*; corrumpitur *I* **419** non] diuiditur *add. D*
 sine] corruptione *add. C* | diuiditur *om. D* **420** apposita] opposita *B I*;
om. C **422** qua] si *add. I* | Deus] Dominus *I* **424** aeris attractione]
 attractione aeris *B C I*; attractacione aeris *D* | cordis] aeris *D*
425 respiramus] quod *add. I* | Deo] tunc *add. C D*

esset imperfectus. Vel unde respiravit antequam ignem uel
aerem crearet? Quod autem dicitur: *qui facis angelos tuos
spiritus*, sic expone: Qui facit suos spiritus angelos, id est
qui natura sunt spiritus facit eos angelos officio, id est
nuntios in nostrum ministerium mittendo.”

430

Quid sentiant de demonibus.

Demonēs dicunt habere corpora et eos comedere et
bibere et generari et generare.

10 Contra. Si generant habent corpora solida quia ex 435
corporibus aereis non possent generare, et si habent
corpora solida, quomodo possunt intrare in homines et
loqui ex eis? Sicut impossibile est quod unus digitus intret
in alium, quia secundum Philosophum in Sex principiis,
impossibile est duo corpora esse in eodem loco simul. 440
Item, si habent corpora solida, quare non uidentur, cum
omne corpus sit uisibile si non est glorificatum.

439 Sex...440 simul] cfr. Aristoteles, *Physica* IV; cfr. Aristoteles, *De Anima* II

426 Vel] dic etiam *I* | respiravit] *B^{p.c.}*; spirasset *D* | ignem uel *om. C*
427 crearet] creauit *C*; creasset *D* | facis] facit *B C D I* | tuos] suos *B C I*
I | tuos...428 facit *om. D* 428 expone] expotur *C* | facit *om. C*
spiritus²] facit *add. C* | angelos *om. D* 429 natura] sua *add. I*
430 mittendo] mittendos *I* 432 Quid sentiant] fabula *B* | sentiant] iudei
add. D | demonibus] demoniis *D* 433 Demonēs] demonēs habeant
corpora et comedant et bibant et generent iudei *I* | dicunt] debent *D*;
demonēs *add. I* | eos *om. I* 434 et generari *om. D* | generari et *om. C*
generare] et generari *add. C*; et generari ecclesia *add. D* 435 generant]
ergo *add. B D I* | ex...436 corporibus *om. C* 436 aereis] *B^{p.c.}*; aerea
corpora *C*; aeris *D I* | et *om. I* | habent] ergo haberent *I* 437 quomodo]
quando *C* | in *om. D I* 438 Sicut] cum *I* | est] sit secundum
Philosophum *I* 439 in¹ *om. C* | Philosophum] eum *I* | Philosophum in]
auctorem *C* | in²...principiis *om. D* | principiis] principiorum *C*
440 corpora] simul *add. B C I* | simul *om. B C I* 442 corpus] solidum
add. B C D | sit...si] solidum *I* | si] scilicet *B C D* | est *om. B C D I*
glorificatum] quod *add. D*

Sentencia eorum de animabus.

445 Ex errore Esseorum habent quod dicunt omnes
animas ab inicio esse creatas et esse simul in quodam
receptaculo.

Contra. Dominus ait ad beatum Iob, Iob XXXVIII:

Vbi eras quando ponebam fundamenta terre, et cetera.

450 *Cum me laudarent astra matutina, id est angeli, quasi
dicat: tunc nusquam eras. Et sequitur: Nunquit sciebas
tunc quod nasciturus esses et numerum tuorum dierum
noueras?* Per hoc reprobatur opinio quam dicunt quod ante
infusionem anime in corpus sciant omnia.

10

455

Fabula de angelo mortis.

Referunt angelum mortis, quem dicunt

Malachinauet qui iugulat morituros, cuidam uiro Iosue

449 Vbi...terre] Iob 38, 4 **450** Cum...matutina] Iob 38, 7
451 Nunquit...453 noueras] Iob 38, 21

457 Referunt...461 paradisum] Seder Našim, Ketubbot 77b

444 Sentencia] sentiant *D* | Sentencia... animabus *om. C* | Sentencia...
445 habent] sit uisibile *I* | eorum *om. D* | animabus] anima *D*
445 Esseorum] eorum *B C D I* | quod] omnes anime sint ab initio create
inter alios errores *add. I* | omnes] omnis *D* **446** esse¹ *om. I* | quodam
om. C **447** receptaculo] ecclesia *add. D* **448** Contra] dixit *add. C* | ait
om. C | Iob² *om. B C D I* | XXXVIII] XXVIII *I* **450** laudarent]
laudabant *D* | id est] et *I* **452** esses] eras *D* | tuorum dierum] dierum
tuorum *B C D I* **453** quam] quod *B D*; eorum qui *C* | quam dicunt *om. I*
454 infusionem anime] infusione *B* | anime *om. C D I* | corpus] anima
add. B C D I | sciant] sciat *B D I* | omnia] nomina *D* **456** Fabula]
fabulam *C*; iudeorum *add. D*; *om. I* | de...mortis] quedam *C* | angelo]
eo qui angelum *I* | angelo mortis] demonibus *D* | mortis] decepit et in
paradisum prosillit et de iis qui irrident Talmut *add. I* **457** quem dicunt
om. C | dicunt] dicit *A*; dicunt *B D I* **458** Malachinauet] Malathmaueth
B; Malechimauet id est *C*; Malachmouet *D*; Malathmauec *I* | iugulat]

filio Leui astitisse et dixisse. “Ad hoc ueni ut moriaris et
animam tuam suscipiam.” Qui ait: “Nequaquam 460
consentiam nisi prius michi ostendas paradisum.” Quem
angelus in alis suscipiens duxit ad locum ubi uidere posset
paradisum. Ille autem prosiliens ab alis angeli cecidit in
paradisum. Quem cogens angelus exire set non preualuit.
Cumque de eo querimoniam poneret angelus et iussu Dei 465
cogeretur exire, iurauit ille quod non exiret. Et dedit Deus
sententiam ut si inueniretur aliquando periurasse in diebus
10 suis, tunc eum hoc iuramentum non iuuaret, sin autem
tunc maneret in paradiso. Et non est inuentum eum
unquam periurasse et sic remansit ibi et adhuc uiuit. 470

Contra. Hec plura possunt obici. Primo quero de alis
angeli de qua materia sint, quod totiens transit speram
ignis et ignitum aerem et quod non comburuntur.

Synagoga: “Hoc precauet ex potencia diuinitus sibi
data.” 475

eiugulat *C*; iugilat *D* | morituros] quam dicunt *add. C* | cuidam] quidam
C | uiro] rabi *add. sup. l. B*
459 filio] ben *add. sup. l. B* | et¹] ei *add. C* | Ad hoc *om. C* | hoc] hunc
D **461** michi ostendas] ostendas michi *D* **462** suscipiens] assinuens *D*
duxit] enim *add. D* | posset] possit *B* **463** ab] angelis *add. sed exp. D*;
ad *I* | cecidit] tendit *B*; tetendit *I* **464** set *om. B C D I* **465** de eo] Deo *C*
D I | angelus *om. C* **466** ille] illis *I* **467** inueniretur aliquando]
aliquando inueniretur *B C D I* **468** hoc *om. D* **469** tunc *om. B D I*; non
C | maneret] remaneret *B C D I* | inuentum] innuentum *A*; inuentus *D I*
eum *om. D I* | eum...470 unquam] unquam eum *C* **470** remansit]
permansit *B C I* | et²...uiuit *om. C* | uiuit] ecclesia *add. D* **471** Hec]
hoc *I* | possunt] possent *D I* | obici] obiici *I* | alis] primo *C* **472** angeli]
angelo *C* | angeli...qua] angelorum cuius *I* | materia] materie *I* | sint]
sunt *ale D*; sunt *I* | transit] transeunt *D*; transeunt per *I* **473** quod *om. I*
comburuntur] comburantur *B*; comburatur *C*; comburentur *D*
474 Synagoga] si *C* | Hoc] pre ceteris *add. I* | precauet] cauet *I* | ex
potencia] expositor *I* | potencia] *B^{p.c.}* | potencia...sibi] materia sibi
diuinitus *C* | diuinitus] diuina *D* **475** data] datum *I*

Ecclesia: “Nunquit simili modo non poterat precauere ne iudeus ipso inuito laberetur ab alis eius? Item cum iussu Dei cogere exire iuravit quod non exiret.”

480 Contra. Dicitur in Hester: *Non est qui possit resistere uoluntati tue*. Et Iob: *Quis restitit ei et pacem habuit?* Item contra hoc quod adhuc uiuat, quero an sit moriturus.

Synagoga: “Nunquam.”

Ecclesia: “Contra dicit hoc Psalmus: *Quis est homo unde et non uidebit mortem?* Quasi dicat nullus quia
485 *omnes morimur et quasi aqua in terram dilabimur*. Vt 10
dicitur id est Regum II. Item Ecclesiastici IX: *Nemo est qui semper uiuat*. Hec omnia sunt contra iudeos qui dicunt Heliam et Enoch et suum messiam nunquam morituros. Dicunt etiam quod qui deridet Thalmut turpissima pena
490 puniatur. Quare ergo non fuit punitus rex Francie, qui non

479 Non...480 tue] Esth. 13, 9 **480** Quis...habuit] Iob 9, 4 **483** Quis...
484 mortem] Ps. 88, 49 **485** omnes...dilabimur] II Reg. 14, 14
486 Nemo...487 uiuat] Eccle. 9, 4

476 Ecclesia *om. C* | simili] simili *D* | non *om. C D* **477** laberetur] et
add. sup. l. B; laboraretur *C*; liberaretur *I* | alis eius] eius alis *D* | eius]
deponeretur *add. B*; de potentia *add. C*; et deponeretur *add. I* **478** exire]
quomodo *add. I* | iuravit *om. D* | exiret] iuravit ecclesia *add. D*
479 Contra *om. I* | Dicitur] enim *add. I* | in *om. B C D* | Hester] quod
add. C | est qui] sit quo *C* **480** restitit] resistet *B I* | restitit ei] resistet
tibi *C* | pacem habuit] habet pacem *D* | habuit] habebit *C* **481** quod]
dicitur quod *add. I* | uiuat] uiuit *B C D I* | sit] mortuus an *add. C*
moriturus Synagoga *om. I* **482** Nunquam] morietur *add. C*; unquam *I*
483 Ecclesia...hoc] moriturus nec ne cum dicat *I* | Contra...Psalmus
om. C | hoc *om. B D* | Psalmus] Psalmista *D* **484** unde] *om. sed add.*
sup. l. A; qui uiuit *B C D I* | mortem] uel *add. D* **485** omnes] omnis *D*
aqua] aque *B* | terram] terra *C* **486** id...Regum *om. I* | id...II] dicitur
II^o Regum *B C* | id...Item] secundum *D* | II] Regum *add. I*
Ecclesiastici] etiam *I* | IX *om. C D* **487** sunt contra] contraria sunt *D*
iudeos] iudeis *D* **488** et²...messiam *om. C* | suum *om. D* | morituros]
bis. scr. sed exp. D **489** Thalmut...491 libros *om. C* | pena] puniendus
est et ilico *add. I* **490** puniatur] moriatur *D*; punitur *I* | Quare] *B^{in ras.}*
ergo] statim *add. B I* | fuit] statim *D* | punitus] fuit *add. D*

solum derisit, set etiam combussit omnes libros Thalmut
in regno suo? Et quare non fuerunt puniti clerici qui hoc
procurauerunt.”

Contra fabulam de pixide in Thalmut.

495

In prima parte que dicitur Benedictiones super illud
Exodi: *Videbis posteriora mea faciem autem meam uidere
non poteris*, scribunt iudei Deum in Cesarie pixidem
gestare corrigia ligatam, et ipsius corrigie nodum a
10 posteriori parte capitis sub cerebro firmatum. Intra 500
pixidem uero esse IIII cartulas iudeorum laudes
continentes. In summo autem sinistri brachii gestare eum
aliam pixidem simili corrigia ligatam cartamque ibi esse
continentem omnes laudes que in predictis esse dicuntur.
Et de hoc intelligunt illud Ysayas LXII: *Iurauit Dominus* 505
in dextera sua et in brachio fortitudinis sue, id est in
sinistra sua. Et dicunt Moysen <uidisse> pilleum siue

497 Videbis...498 poteris] Ex. 33, 23 505 Iurauit...506 sue] Is. 62, 8

498 scribunt...504 dicuntur] Seder Zera'im, Berakot 7a 505 Et...509
imponere] Seder Zera'im, Berakot 6a

491 Thalmut] quod *add. C* 492 suo] deridebuntur *add. C* | clerici]
fratres predicatorum *B*; fratres predicatorum *C D I* 493 procurauerunt]
ordinauerunt *D* 495 Contra...de] quod Deus in *I* | Contra...Thalmut]
synagoga *D* | de...Thalmut *om. C* | pixide] come sue et *add. I* | in
Thalmut *om. B* | Thalmut] brachio teneat cartas iudeorum laudes
continentes et de detestatione scelerum iudeorum et eorum reprobatione et
suorum sacrificiorum et de comminatione contra eos *I* 496 dicitur]
dicuntur *D* 498 Deum *om. sed add. in marg. C* 499 nodum] nondum *B*
500 posteriori] posteriore *C D* | firmatum] firmatam *D* | Intra] iuxta *D*
501 pixidem uero] uero pixidem *D* | cartulas] cartellos *I* 502 eum] eam
D 503 cartamque] cartulam *C* 505 intelligunt] intelligitur *I* 506 et *om.*
D | in² *om. I* 507 sua] scilicet *D*; *om. I* | Et] ut *D* | Moysen] *C^{p.c.}*
uidisse] *addidi*; *om. A* | pilleum] pillium *D* | siue] suum *B*; siuem *D*;
suum et *I*

corrige nodum illius, scilicet corone quam dicunt angelum
Muctaron singulis diebus capiti Dei imponere.

510 Contra. Lex de hiis nichil dicit. Nunquit Deus non
posset aliter laudes eorum notare nisi seruaret in cartulis
scriptas cum tamen ipse dicat: *Ego Dominus scrutans*
renes et corda. Quero an illa pixis et corrigia et cartule sint
de substantia Dei an de aliena. Si sunt de substantia diuina,
515 quomodo igitur separantur a Deo ut angelus rursus sibi
imponat et liget? Si autem sunt de alia substantia, quero de
qua materia sint. Et si Deus indiget extranea materia ad 10
suum ornatum ergo in se est insufficiens.

 Quod autem dicunt quod in IIII cartulis laudes
520 contineantur iudeorum ego probo ex Scripturis quod
potius in thesauris Dei continentur eorum uituperationes.
Continetur igitur apud Deum scelerum ipsorum detestatio.
Item eorum reprobatio. Tercio sacrificiorum suorum et
orationum et festorum reprobatio. Quarto super ipsos

512 Ego...513 corda] Ier. 17, 10

508 corrige] (corrugia a.c.) *D^{p.c.}* | nodum] nondum *B* | angelum] angeli
B; angelos *C I* 509 Muctaron] Mutatron *B*; Mutatim *C*; Mucraten *D*;
Mutuo *I* 510 Nunquit] *del. sed nonne add. in marg. C* | non *om. C*
511 aliter] alicui *C* | notare] nominare *C* | cartulis] caralis *C^{p.c.}*
512 scriptas] scriptis *I* 513 renes...corda] scrutans corda et renes *D*
Quero] ergo *add. B C D I* 514 de² *om. sed add. sup. l. A; om. B C I*; alia
sicut *D* | substantia²] Dei aut *add. B I* 515 igitur] ergo *B C D I*
separantur] seperantur *D* | ut] et *I* | rursus *om. D*; missus *I* | sibi]
responsium *add. D* 516 imponat] imponet *C* | substantia *om. B C D I*
517 materia¹...Et] nam *I* | extranea] de *C* | materia²] extranea *add. C*
518 ornatum] ornatum *B* | ergo] est *add. C* | est *om. C* 519 laudes...
520 contineantur] contineantur laudes *B C D I* 520 iudeorum] eorum *C*
ex Scripturis *om. C* 521 potius] continentur *add. I* | continentur]
contineantur *C*; *om. I* | eorum uituperationes] uituperationes eorum *C*
522 Continetur] continentur *B C* | igitur] enim *C* | ipsorum] eorum
reprobatio siue *C* | detestatio] destatio *I* 523 Tercio] II^o *D* | et *om. B C*
D I 524 et *om. C* | ipsos] eos *D*

diuina comminatio. De scelerum ipsorum detestationem 525
dicitur Ieremias III: *Frons mulieris meretricum facta est
tibi et noluisti erubescere.* Exodus: *Video quod populus
dure ceruicis est.* Item Deuteronomium: *Semper rebelles
fuiſtis Deo a die quam nosse uos cepi. Noui quod post
mortem meam inique agetis et occurrent uobis mala in 530
extremo tempore.*

De secundo scilicet eorum reprobatione, Ieremias
XIII [sic]: *Si steterit Moyses et Samuel contra me non est
10 anima mea ad populum istum.* Item Osee I: *Non addam
ultra misereri domui Israel set obliuione obliuiscar eorum. 535
Item Amos V: *Domus Israel cecidit non addiciet ut
resurgat, et cetera.* De tercio scilicet sacrificiorum
reprobatione Malachias I: *Non est michi uoluntas in uobis**

526 Frons...527 erubescere] Ier. 3, 3 **527** Video...528 est] Ex. 32, 9
528 Semper...529 cepi] Deut. 9, 24 **529** Noui...531 tempore] Deut. 31,
29 **533** Si...534 istum] Ier. 15, 1 **534** Non...535 eorum] Os. 1, 6
536 Domus...537 resurgat] Am. 5, 1 **538** Non...540 gentibus] Mal. 1,
10-11

525 comminatio] de reprobatione iudeorum *add. B*; de reprobatione
iudeorum et *add. I* | De] reprobatione iudeorum de *add. C* | ipsorum
eorum *B C I* | detestationem] detestatione *B D I* **526** dicitur] dicit *B C I*
III...527 tibi *om. B C I* | meretricum] meretricis *D* **527** noluiſti
erubescere] Dominus ad Moysen *B C*; Dominus Adonay et cetera et in *I*
erubescere] erubescere et Dominus ad Moysen in *D* | quod] quia *B I*
populus] iste *add. B D I* **528** est] sit *B I* | Deuteronomium] IX *add. B C*
D I **529** quam] qua *B C D*; quo *I* | nosse uos] uos nosse *C* | Noui] scio
add. B; scio *C*; et scio *add. I* **530** uobis mala] mala uobis *C* | mala] *om.*
sed add. sup. l. A **531** tempore] item Ysaiaſ XLVIII^o scio quia durus es
tu et neruus ferreus ceruix tua et frons tua herea est *add. B I*; item Ysaiaſ
XLVIII^o scio quod durus es et neruus ferreus ceruix tua et frons tua enea
est *add. C*; item Ysaie XLVIII scio quod durus es tu et neruus ferreus et
ceruix tua et frons tua erea est *add. D* <Is. 48, 4> **532** secundo] seculo *B*
reprobatione] habetur *add. B C I* **533** steterit] steterint *B C I* | contra]
coram *B C D I* **535** misereri] miseri *B* **536** V] *X B D I*; III^o *C* | cecidit]
et *add. C* | addiciet] adiciam *B C*; adiciam *I* **537** scilicet] in *D*
sacrificiorum...538 reprobatione] reprobatione sacrificiorum dicit
Dominus per *C* **538** reprobatione] dicit Dominus per *add. B D I* | *I om.*
C | michi *om. C* | uoluntas] mea *add. C*

et munus non suscipiam de manu uestra ab ortu solis
 540 usque ad occasum magnum nomen meum in gentibus.
 Ecce patet electio gentium et reprobatio iudeorum. Item
 Ysayas I: *Quo michi multitudinem uictimarum uestrarum*
dicit Dominus, plenus sum, et cetera. Ne offeratis
sacrificium frustra, incensum abhominatio est michi
 545 *neomenias et sabbatum et festiuitates alias non feram.*
Iniqui sunt cetus uestri. Kalendas, uestras et
sollemnitates odiuit anima mea. Et cum multiplicaueritis
orationem non exaudiam. Manus enim uestre sanguine
plene sunt. Item Dominus ad Ieremiam: *Noli orare pro*
 550 *populo isto. Cum ieiunauerint non exaudiam eos.*

10

De quarto dicitur Deuteronomium: *Maledictus eris in*
ciuitate in agro et maledictus fructus uentris tui, et eris in
exemplum et in opprobrium cunctis populis terrarum et
ignominia tua non delebitur nec in semine tuo.

542 Quo...543 sum] Is. 1, 11 543 Ne...549 sunt] Is. 1, 13-15
 549 Noli...550 eos] Ier. 14, 11-12 551 Maledictus...552 tui] Deut. 28,
 16-18

539 et] nec *D* | non *om. D* | ab...solis] a solis ortu *C* 541 Ecce] hinc
add. C | gentium] gentibum *C* 542 I Quo] quid *C* | Quo] quid *D I*
 michi] in *add. C* | multitudinem] multitudo *D* 543 sum] holocausta
 arietum *add. B*; holocaustis arietum *add. C I*; holocausto arietum *add. D*
 et] adipe pinguium et sanguinem uitulorum et agnorum et hycorum nolui
 et *add. C* | cetera] adipem pinguium et sanguinem uitulorum et agnorum
 et yrcorum nolui et infra *B*; adipem pinguium et sanguinem uitulorum et
 agnorum et hircorum nolui et I^o *D*; adipem pinguium sanguinem
 uitulorum et agnorum et hircorum nolui et subiungit *I* | offeratis] ultra
add. B I; afferatis *C* 544 frustra] et *add. C* 545 neomenias] neomineas
C | et¹ *om. C* 546 Kalendas] bucellas *I* | Kalendas uestras *om. C*
 547 sollempnitates] uestras *add. B C D I* 548 exaudiam] uos *add. B C D*
I | sanguine *om. B C I* 549 sunt] sanguine *add. B C I* 550 ieiunauerint]
 ieiunauerit *B C I* 551 quarto] scilicet comminatione Domini super iudeos
add. B I; scilicet comminatione Dei super iudeos *add. C* | dicitur] habetur
B C I; scilicet comminatione Domini super iudeos *D* | Deuteronomium]
 dicit *add. D* 552 ciuitate...agro] in agro in ciuitate *I* | et¹ *om. C* 553 in
om. C

Comminatur etiam eis penam eternam Deuteronomium 555
 XXXII: *Ignis succensus est in furore meo et ardebit usque
 ad inferni nouissima*. Hec omnia sunt qua recondita sunt in
 pixide Dei. Vnde paulo post sequitur: *Nonne hec recondita
 sunt apud me*, et cetera. Item Ysayas ultimo: *Vermis eorum
 non morietur*, et cetera. 560

Synagoga: “Hec omnia dicta sunt contra X tribus que
 recedentes a Ierusalem abierunt post Ieroboam ad
 ydolatriam.”

10 Ecclesia: “Contra dicitur in primo Ysaie: *Visio Ysaie
 super Iudam et Ierusalem*. Ibidem LXX: transtulerunt 565
 ‘contra Iudeam et Ierusalem’ in qua includitur tota terra X
 tribuum. Vnde sequitur: *Cognouit bos possessorem suum
 et asinus pre Dominus sui*. Populus Dei iam non erant qui
 abierant post ydola, sicut nec illi qui adorauerunt uitulum

556 Ignis... 557 nouissima] Deut. 32, 22 558 Nonne... 559 me] Deut. 32,
 34 559 Vermis... 560 morietur] Is. 66, 24 564 Visio... 565 Ierusalem]
 Is. 1, 1 567 Cognouit... 568 sui] Is. 1, 3

555 Comminatur] comminatur C; comminuetur I | etiam] autem C
 eternam] comminatur *add. I* 556 XXXII] XXXIII B D I; XXXVI C
 Ignis *om. B I* | est] ignis *add. B I* 557 sunt qua *om. B C I* | qua] que D
 558 recondita] condita C D 559 me] et signata in thesauris meis item
 Ysayas primo ue genti peccatrici populo pleno iniquitate *add. B* | cetera]
 signata in thesauris meis D I | Ysayas] I^o ue genti peccatrici populo pleno
 iniquitate item Ysaie *add. D*; I ue genti peccatrici populo pleno iniquitate
 item apud eundem *add. I* <Is. 1, 4> 560 cetera] ignis eorum non
 extinguetur B C D I 561 dicta *om. C* | contra *om. B D I*; de C | tribus]
 tribubus B C D I 562 recedentes] recedentes B; a Roboam et *add. I* | a]
om. sed add. sup. l. B; tribu *add. B*; ab C | Ieroboam] Ieroniam D; et *add.*
I 564 Ecclesia *om. C* | in... Visio] I^o C | primo] principio D | Ysaie]
om. I 565 Iudam] Iudea C | Ibidem LXX] *om. D* | Ibidem... 566
 Ierusalem *om. C* 566 Iudeam] Iudam D | qua] quo C | includitur]
 concluditur B C D I | X] XII B C D I 568 et... iam] Israel autem non
 cognouit etiam C | pre Dominus] presepe Domini B D I | sui] Israel
 autem non cognouit me et populus meus me non intellexit *add. B*; Israhel
 autem me non cognouit et populus meus non intellexit *add. D*; Ysrael
 autem non cognouit me et *add. I* | Populus] meus non intellexit me
 populus *add. I*

570 conflatilem de quibus Dominus ait Moysi: *Descende,*
peccauit populus tuus. Non modo ‘meus’, set populus Dei
 uidebantur qui remanserant circa templum in Ierusalem, de
 quibus Dominus hic dicit: *populus meus non me intellexit.*
 Et infra: *Quis cecus, nisi seruus meus?”*

575 Synagoga: “Vel saltem illud non sustinebo de iudeis
 dictum quod de fine Ysaie adduxisti: *Vermis eorum non*
moriatur, et cetera. Quod potius de gentibus uel christianis
 uidetur esse dictum, quia dicitur paulo ante: *Qui*
comedebant carnem suillam et murem, et cetera. Hec enim 10
 580 iudei non comedunt.”

 Ecclesia: “*Quecumque lex loquitur hiis qui in lege*
sunt loquitur. Vnde cum Dominus per Ysaiam
 reprehendisset iudeos de multis preuaricationibus, ultimo
 addidit etiam hanc: *Qui comedebant carnem suillam,* et
 585 cetera. Hec enim erant iudeis per legem prohibita non aliis
 gentibus quibus lex non fuerat data, quia tales non poterant
 dici legis preuaricatores. Postea statim in prophetia

570 Descende...571 tuus] Ex. 32, 7 **573** populus...intellexit] Is. 1, 3
574 Quis...meus] Is. 42, 19 **576** Vermis...577 morietur] Is. 66, 24
578 Qui...579 murem] Is. 66, 17 **581** Quecumque...582 loquitur] Rom.
 3, 19

570 Descende] quia *add. D* **571** modo *om. C*; dixit *I* **572** uidebantur]
 uidebatur *C I* | qui remanserant *om. C* | remanserant] manserant *I* | in
om. D **573** quibus Dominus] quo *C* | quibus...hic] quo hic Dominus *B*
I | Dominus] hiis *D* | hic] Dominus *add. D* | dicit] Dominus *add. C*
 non] set modo *B I* | me] non *add. B I*; *om. D* | intellexit] intellexit *D*
574 Et...meus *om. C* **575** Vel saltem *om. C* | saltem illud] id *I* | iudeis]
 esse *add. B C D I* **576** de] in *D* | Ysaie adduxisti] adduxisti Ysaie *C*
 non...577 morietur *om. C* **577** uel] et *C*; de *add. I* **578** Qui] quod *I*
579 murem] mirram *B*; mirram *I* | Hec] hanc *C* **583** de *om. D*
584 addidit] addit *B I* | etiam *om. C* | Qui] quia *I* | carnem *om. D*
585 erant iudeis] iudeis erant *I* | iudeis] prohibita *add. C* | prohibita *om.*
C | non] autem *add. B C I*; nunc autem *D* **586** gentibus] gentilibus *D*
 fuerat] fuit *C* **587** legis *om. C* | statim] subiungitur *add. C* | prophetia]
 gentium *add. B I*; prophetiis *D*

subiungitur de uocatione gentium et quorundam iudeorum
per Christi aduentum. Vnde sequitur: *Venio ut congregem*
cum omnibus gentibus et linguis, quia de omnibus 590
gentibus aliquos congregabo. Sequitur: *et inuenient et*
uidebunt gloriam meam et ponam in eis signum. Signum
scilicet crucis quod ponitur in omnibus ciuitatibus et
ecclesiis christianorum. Sequitur: *Et mittam ex eis qui*
saluati fuerunt ad gentes in mare tenentes sagittam meam 595
et annunciabunt gloriam meam gentibus. Hec dicuntur de
10 Christi apostolis et doctoribus ecclesie qui sagitta
predicationis populos Domino subdiderunt. Vnde Psalmus:
Sagitte tue acute populi sub te cadent.”

Synagoga: “Quod sequitur ibi de iudeis uidetur esse 600
dictum: *Et adducerunt omnes fratres uestros de cunctis*
gentibus donum Domino et assumam ex eis in sacerdotes.”

Ecclesia: “Omnes fratres iustorum sunt qui per ueram
fidem et iusticiam preparantur ad regnum celorum.

Psalmus: *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare* 605
fratres in unum. Quod autem illi tempore noue legis
20 adducantur Domino patet ex sequentibus quia sequitur:

589 Venio...592 signum] Is. 66, 18-19 **594** Et...596 gentibus] Is. 66, 19
599 Sagitte...cadent] Ps. 44, 6 **601** Et...602 sacerdotes] Is. 66, 20-21
605 Ecce...606 unum] Ps. 132, 1

588 subiungitur *om. C* **589** per] post *I* | Venio] ueniam *C D* **590** cum]
ex (de *a.c.*) *C^{p.c.}* | quia] et *D* | de *om. B*; ex *I* **591** aliquos *om. C*; aliquid
D | congregabo] congregauit et *I* | Sequitur *om. B* | inuenient] uenient
B C I; uenient et congregabo *D* **592** Signum *om. D* **593** scilicet]
uidelicet *B C I*; uidelicet sancte *D* | ponitur] ponetur *B C D* **595** fuerunt]
fuerint *D* | mare] manu *D* | tenentes] tangentes *D* | sagittam] sagittas
D | meam *om. B C D* **596** et] sequitur et *add. I* | de *om. D* **597** Christi
apostolis] apostolis Christi *C* | qui] quo *C* **598** Domino *om. C* | Vnde
om. D **599** populi...te] et *C* | cadent] Psalmo XLIII *add. I*
601 adducerunt] adducunt *D*; adduxerunt *I* **602** donum] Domini *C*; *om.*
D; Dominum sic *I* | in] *om. sed add. sup. l. D* **603** ueram] naturam *D*
604 celorum] unde *add. B C D I*

*Quia sicut celi noui et terra noua que ego facio stare
coram me, dicit Dominus, sic stabit semen uestrum, id est*
610 *apostoli qui nati sunt de iudeis. De quibus Psalmus: Nati
sunt tibi filii constitues eos principes, et cetera.”*

De mutatione sabbati.

Sequitur: *Et erit mensis ex mense et sabbatum ex*
615 *sabbato. Ecce quam manifeste prophetatum est de*
transmutatione festorum ueteris Testamenti in festa noui
Testamenti, et de transmutatione sabbati in sabbatissimum 10
diei diuinite. Pro quibus insultant nobis iudei quod per
uiolationem sabbati transgrediamur mandatum Dei. Quod
620 *autem dicitur sic accipe si uis ad litteram intelligere: Sicut*
iudei decimo die mensis septimi celebrant diem
expiationum, qui et dies propiciationis est, affligentes in
eo animas suas ut dicitur Leuiticus, sic nos in mense Aprili
celebramus diem expiationis et propiciationis scilicet diem
625 *parasceue.*

608 Quia...609 uestrum] Is. 66, 22 **610** Nati...611 principes] Ps. 44, 17
614 Et...615 sabbato] Is. 66, 23

608 stare] stant *B C I* **610** de] ex *B C I* | quibus] dicitur in *add. B C*;
dicit *add. D*; dicitur *add. I* | Psalmus] pro patribus tuis *add. B C D*;
XLVIII pro patribus tuis *add. I* **611** filii] *om. sed add. in marg. C* | eos...
622 in *om. D* **613** mutatione] transmutatione *C* **615** prophetatum...de]
dicit de *C* | de] *om. sed add. sup. l. A* **617** sabbatissimum] sabbatum *C*;
sabbatissimum *I* **618** diei] diem *I* | diuinite] dominice *B*; diuinitate] *C*;
dominicum *I* **621** septimi] (septimi *a.c.*) *Cp.c.* **622** qui...propiciationis]
om. sed add. in marg. B | propiciationis] propiciationum *B C I* **623** eo]
ea *C*; eos *D* | animas] principes *D* | suas] super *D* | ut...624
celebramus *om. D* | dicitur] legitur *B*; in *add. C*; legitur in *I* | Aprili]
Aprilis aliquando *I* **624** diem¹] omnem *D* | expiationis...625 parasceue]
terram *D*

De innouatione legis.

Si Deus celum et terram innouabit ut paulo ante dictum est, quid miratur iudeus quod legem innouauit quam ipsi sepe preuaricati sunt, sicut dicitur Ieremias 630
XXXI: Ecce dies ueniunt dicit Dominus et feriam domui Israel et domui iuda fedus nouum non secundum pactum quod pepigi cum patribus uestris in die quam apprehendi manum eorum ut educerem eos de terra Egipti, pactum quod irritum fecerunt et ego dominatus sum eorum dicit 635
 10 *Dominus. Set hoc erit pactum quod feriam cum domo Israel dabo legem meam in uisceribus eorum et in corde eorum scribam eam, et cetera. Vbi in latino habemus ‘fedus nouum’, in hebreo habetur ‘berith hadasa’ id est ‘legem nouam’, teste Moyse qui sepe legem suam ‘berith’ 640 appellat. Eandem auctoritatem sanctus Paulus sic ponit. Hebreos VII [sic]: Consumabo super domum Israel et super domum Iuda testamentum nouum non secundum testamentum quod feci patribus eorum in die quam apprehendi manum eorum ut educerem eos de terra Egipti 645 quoniam ipsi non permanserunt in testamento meo et ego neglexi eos, et cetera. Et Paulus infert dicendo, nouum*

631 Ecce...638 eam] Ier. 31, 31-34 642 Consumabo...647 eos] Hebr. 8, 8-9 647 dicendo...649 est] Hebr. 8, 13

627 innouatione] mutatione D | legis] sabbati D 628 innouabit] innouauit B C I | ut] cum D 629 quod] si Deus D | innouauit] innouauerit I 630 dicitur] dicit B D I 631 ueniunt] uenient D 632 fedus] pactum D | secundum] solum D 633 pepigi] pepigi C quam] qua B C I 634 pactum...635 quod] quod pactum C 635 dicit] ait B C 636 pactum om. D 637 Israel] Daud D 638 et cetera] ecclesia D 639 hebreo] autem add. B; hebraico C | hadasa] hasdasa C 641 sanctus] scilicet B; om. C I | ponit] ad C; ad add. I 642 Hebreos] Cp.c.; Hebreorum D | VII] VIII B C D I 643 non] nam D 644 feci] fecit B in om. D | quam] qua B C D I 646 testamento] nouo add. D 647 neglexi] neclexi B

inueterauit prius, quod autem antiquatur et senescit prope interitum est.

650 Synagoga: “Si hoc nouum testamentum filiis ecclesie datum est, quomodo uerum est quod sequitur in auctoritate Ieremie: *Et non docebit ultra uir proximum suum et uir fratrem suum dicens: ‘cognosce Dominum’*. *Omnes enim cognoscent me a minimo usque ad maximum.*”

655 Ecclesia: “Solutio. Hec referuntur ad eos qui Spiritum sanctum receperunt qui docuit eos omnem ueritatem. Secundum quod Dominus ait Iohelis II: *Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem*, id est super diuersa genera hominum utriusque sexus *et prophetabunt filii uestri et filie uestre*, et illi non haberunt necessitatem ab inuicem doceri quia Spiritus sanctus dederat legem suam in uisceribus eorum et in corde eorum ut predictum est. Potest etiam hoc uerbum: *Non docebit ultra uir fratrem suum*, et cetera, referri ad statum glorie in quo omnes sancti cognoscent Deum facie ad faciem.”

10

652 Et...654 maximum] Ier. 31, 34 **657** Effundam...658 carnem] Ioe 2, 28 **659** et...660 uestre] Ioe 2, 28 **663** Non...664 suum] Ier. 31, 34

648 inueterauit] ueterauit *B D I*; ueterauerit *C* **650** hoc] ergo *D* **652** ultra uir] uir ultra *C* **653** dicens...Dominum] sequitur et *C* | enim *om. C* **654** minimo] eorum *add. B I*; minore *C* **655** Ecclesia] ecclesie *B* referuntur] *B^{p.c.}*; referunt *C* **656** receperunt] acceperunt *C* **657** ait] per *add. B C D I* | Iohelis] prophetam *add. C* **658** super² *om. D* **660** illi] ideo *C* | haberunt] habuerunt *B C I* | necessitatem] necesse *D I* necessitatem ab *om. C* | ab] ad *D I* **661** inuicem] necessitate *add. C* dederat] dedit *D*; declarauit *I* **662** corde] corda *B C I* | eorum²...est *om. D* **663** Potest *om. C*; possunt *D* | etiam] item *C* | uerbum] predictum *add. D* | ultra] *om. sed add. sup. l. A* | ultra uir] uir ultra *D* **665** sancti *om. D* | cognoscent] cognoscunt *B C I*

Synagoga: “Nos referimus hec Messie nostro quem uenturum speramus.”

Ecclesia: “Contra. Hoc est contra doctores Thalmut. Dicit enim rabi Leui in cezer Nassym, id est in secundo, super illud: *Ibunt de uirtutem in uirtutem*. Non est quies 670 sapientibus in futuro seculo. Set quare? Quia ibunt de loco ad locum ad docendum Thalmut et ideo non requiescent. Quomodo ergo implebitur quod dictum est: *Non docebit uir fratrem suum*. Stabit ergo predictam sententia.”

10

675

Epylogus predictorum.

Quod autem iudei secundum auctoritatem Ieremie irritam fecerint legem Domini non solum opere transgrediendo set etiam intellectum peruertendo patet ex omnibus erroribus Thalmut prenotatis. Continet enim hic 680 liber blasphemias in Deum, sicut quod Deus fleat, et quod possit peccare, et quod petat penitentiam, et quod

670 Ibunt... uirtutem²] Ps. 83, 8

669 Dicit...674 sententia] Seder Zera'im, Berakot 64a

666 Nos] autem *add. C* | referimus hec] hec referimus ad tempus *B D I* hec] ad tempus *C* | nostro] nostri *B D I*; *om. C* 667 uenturum] futurum *C*; esse *add. D* 668 Ecclesia *om. B* | doctores] in *add. C*; uestros *add. D* | Thalmut] *om. sed add. sup. l. A* 669 Dicit enim] enim dicit *D* | Leui in] Benyamin *D* | cezer] thesser *C* | Nassym] Vassym *B*; Naasim *D* id...in² *om. C* | secundo] sequitur *C*; libro *add. D* 670 super *om. C* uirtutem¹] uirtute *B C D I* 671 quare] queritur *B*; *om. C I* 672 ad¹] in *D* docendum] in *add. D* | et *om. C I* | requiescent] requiescunt *B C D* 673 ergo] tunc *add. B I*; autem *C* | implebitur] replebitur *I* | est] *om. sed add. sup. l. C* 674 ergo predictam] igitur *C* | predictam] predicta *B D I* sententia] predicta nota *add. C*; patria *D* 678 fecerint] fecerunt *B D* Domini] Dei *C*; *om. D* | opere] opera *C* 679 transgrediendo] *B^{p.c.}* set...peruertendo *om. C* | intellectum] intellectu *D* 680 erroribus Thalmut] Talmuth erroribus *D* | prenotatis] ecclesia *add. D* | hic *om. I* 681 liber] ille *add. I* | sicut] scilicet *C* 682 possit *om. I* | peccare] peccet *I* | quod¹ *om. I* | quod petat] agere *C*

maledicat seipsum, et quod iudei cottidie malidicunt Deo
 sic: “Ve patri qui captiuauit filios suos,” et multas alias
 685 blasphemias.

Item contra hominem multas continet blasphemias, ut
 quod Adam et Euam infamant de crimine pessimo cum
 iumentis et serpente ut predictum est. Item Thalmut
 continet incredibilia, ut quod uppupa rostro perforauit
 690 molarem lapidem quem super caput dicunt portasse regem
 Og, et quod idem Og tam magnus fuerit quod uenator in
 osse tybie eius a restem ceruum agitauerit uno die.

10

Synagoga: “Nonne Deus potuit hec facere?”

Ecclesia: “Quare similiter tu non credis quod Deus
 695 potuit facere et fecit uirginem parere, cum hec multo sit
 honestius et magis conueniat diuine potencie quam
 ridiculosa agere? Item Thalmut continet fabulas
 histrionicas, sicut quod uxor gygantis tantum urinauerit
 quod fere submerserat XII exploratores. Continet etiam
 700 multas alias fabulas de Vehemoth et Leuiathan quos dicunt

684 Ve...suos] Seder Zera'im, Beraġot 3a

683 cottidie malidicunt] maledicant cotidie *B I* | malidicunt] maledicunt
C D 684 sic Ve] sicut *C* 686 Item...blasphemias *om. D* 687 infamant]
 infament *C* 688 ut] in *add. D* | predictum] dictum *C I*; predictis *D* | est]
 patet *D* 689 ut] ita *C* | quod] cum *B* | uppupa] cum *add. B* | rostro *om.*
D | perforauit] perforauerit *C I* 690 molarem] montem *B C D I*
 lapidem] lapideum *B C D I* | super caput *om. C* | portasse *om. C*
 691 Og¹] sunt caput portasse *add. C* | idem Og *om. C* | fuerit] fuit *B I*
 692 eius...restem] arefacte *D* | eius...agitauerit] sue agitauerit ceruum
C | a restem] arido *I* | restem] re *B* | uno] una *C* 693 potuit *om. I*
 potuit hec] hec potuit *B*; hoc potuit *C D* | hec] hoc *I* | facere] potuit *add.*
I 694 similiter tu] tu similiter *B I* | tu *om. C D* 695 facere *om. C* | hec]
 hoc *C D I* 696 conueniat] competat *D* 698 histrionicas] historionicas *D*
 sicut] scilicet *C* | quod *om. I* | urinauerit] urinavit *B C D I* 699 fere
 submerserat *om. C* | submerserat] submerserant *B* | exploratores] fere
 erant submersi *add. C* 700 Vehemoth] Behemoth *B*; Behemot *C*;
 Belemoth *D*; Bethemot *I* | et] de *add. C*

se comesturos per mille annos cum tamen in resurrectione
corpora facta immortalia non indigeant alimento.”

701 se] esse *D* | comesturos] comessuros *D* | tamen in] post *C*
resurrectione] resurrectionem *C*; ratione *I* **702** immortalia] corporali *add.*
B C I; mortali *add. D*